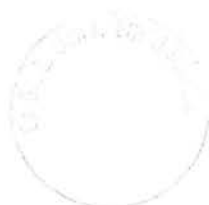


**The development of the Mamluk land tenure
system in Egypt from 697/1297 to 882/1477**

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**Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy to the Department of Islamic and
Middle Eastern Studies.**

The University of Edinburgh 1998



Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me, the undersigned and does not represent the work of any other person.

Al-Wahaibi, Khalid

Acknowledgements

First I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisor Dr. Carole Hillenbrand; without her help and guidance I would not have been able to overcome difficulties that faced me in the course of my work. I am also indebted to the following libraries: the British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Dar al-Kutub (Cairo), Deutschestaatsbibliothek and the Princeton Library for their great help in providing me with necessary materials.

Special thanks go to Edinburgh University Library for their great efforts in providing me with the sources that I needed.

I am grateful to my parents and brothers for their great encouragement, guidance and support, and most of all to my wife who has shown great patience and given me much assistance in overcoming difficulties.

Note on Transliteration

In view of the length of this thesis and the frequency and complexity of the names, both Arabic and Turkish, of persons and places, a decision has been taken to dispense with transliterating them in the main body of the text. However, for scholarly purposes, an alphabetical list of the amirs properly transliterated, can be found at the end of the thesis.

Abstract of thesis

This study deals with the development of the land tenure system in Egypt from 697/1297 to 882/1477. It discusses in detail the land tenure system in Egypt 775/1373 during the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and in the year 882/1477 during the reign of al-Ashraf Qaytbay, as presented in Ibn al-Ji'an's work Al-tuhfa. It also traces the development of the whole system from 697/1297 to 882/1477, to highlight the trends of change, and discusses the reasons behind such change and the results of such changes.

Chapter 1 surveys the primary Arabic sources and modern scholarly studies on Mamluk economic history. Chapter 2 analyses the life and works of Ibn al-Ji'an whilst Chapter 3 discusses the administrative terminology used by Ibn al-Ji'an and other sources. Chapters 4 and 5 give an analysis of the land tenure system during the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and al-Ashraf Qaytbay. Chapter 6 considers aspects of the development of the land tenure system and the underlying reasons of change. The conclusions summarise the main trends inherent in the land tenure system during the Mamluk period.

Abbreviations

A Social and Economic History - Ashtor, A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages.

al-Awqaf - Muhammad Amin, al-Awqaf wa 'l-hayat al-ijtima' iyya fi Misr (648/1250 - 923/1517)

Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su' al - Al-Balatunusi Tahrir al-su' al 'an ma yahill wa yahrum min al-amwal al-mukhtasa bi Bayt al-Mal Ms. Dar al-Kutub Cairo no.233829.

Al-Dalil - Ibn Taghri Birdi, Al-dalil al-shafi 'ala al-manhal al-safi

Al-Daw' - al-Sakhawi, al-Daw' al-lami 'li-ahl al-qarn al-tasi'

Al-Durr - Ibn Hajar, Al-durr al-kamina fi a'yan al-miah al-thamina

Al-Intisar - Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar li-wasitat 'iqd al-amsar

al-Jawhar - Ibn Duqmaq, al-Jawhar al-thamin fi sirr al-khulafa' wa 'l-muluk wa 'l-salatin

Al-Majma' - 'Abd al-Basit, Al-majma' al-mufannan bi'l mu'jam al-muanwan

al-Manhal - Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-Safi wa 'l-mustawfi ba'd al-wafi

Al-Maqrizi, Khitat - Al-Maqrizi, al-Mawa'iz wa 'l-iti'bar fi dhikr al-khitat wa 'l-athar

Al-Nujum - Ibn Taghri Birdi, Al-nujum al-zahira fi muluk Misr wa 'l-Qahira

Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat - Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab

Al-Rawd al-Basim - ' Abd al-Basit, Al-rawd al-basim fi hawadith al-' umr wa ' l tarajim

al-Suluk - al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk li ma ' rifat duwal al-muluk

Bada' i - Ibn Iyas, Bada' i al-zuhur fi waqa' i al-duhur

Dhayl - al-Yunini, Dhayl mir' at al-zaman

Halm - Agypten nach den mamlukischen Lehenregistern

Inba - Ibn Hajar Inba al-ghumr bi-abna' al-' umr

Ibn al-Ji' an, Al-tuhfa - Ibn al-Ji' an, Al-tuhfa al-saniyya bi asma' al-bilad al-misriyya

Ibn Qadi Shuhba - Tarikh Ibn Qadi Shuhba

Kashf al-zunun-Hajji Khalifa, Kashf al-zunun fi ' l- asma' al-kuttab wa ' l-funun

Masalik - Al-' Umari, Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar

Nuzum - Al-Turkhan, al-Nuzum al-iqta' iyya fi ' l-sharq al-awsat fi ' l- ' usur al-wusta

Poliak, Feudalism - Poliak, Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon (1250-1900)

Shakir Mustafa - Shakir Mustafa, al-Tari' kh al-' arabi wa ' l-mu' arrikhun

Subh - al-Qalqashandi, Subh al-a' sha fi sina' at al-insha'

Tarikh - Ibn al-Furat, Tarikh al-rusul wa ' l-muluk

The Financial System - Rabie, The Financial System of Egypt AH 564-741 1169-1341

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INTRODUCTION

There has been exhaustive scholarly discussion on the iqta system of Egypt. In his work Islamic History: a framework for enquiry, Humphreys¹ points to the importance of Halm's tables² for research into the economic history of Mamluk Egypt and the fact that very few scholars have drawn on these tables. Similarly, Ulrich Haarman³ has indicated the significance of the works of Ibn al-Ji'an⁴ and Ibn Duqmaq⁵ for the study of land tenures and their political and economic development, but insufficient use has been made so far of these important sources.

From the studies of Haarman and Humphreys, I realised the importance of Ibn al-Ji'an and Ibn Duqmaq's works for research into the land tenure system in Egypt. Because of many gaps in Ibn Duqmaq's work concerning the figures of area measurement (misaha), the estimation of the yearly yield (ibra), and land

1 Humphreys, R.S. Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry, London 1991.

2 Halm, Heinz, Agypten nach den mamelukischen Lehensregistern, 2 vols, Wiesbaden 1979-82.

3 Haarman, Ulrich, "The sons of Mamluks as fief holders in late medieval Egypt" in Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East, ed. T. Khalidi, Beirut, 1984, pp. 141-168.

4 Ibn al-Ji'an, Yahya Ibn Shakir (d. 885/1480), Al-tuhfa al-saniyya bi-asma' al-bilad al-misriyya, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo, 1898.

5 Ibn Duqmaq, Ibrahim b. Muhammad (d. 809/1406), Al-intisar li-wasitat 'iqd al-amsar, vols 4-5, ed. K. Vollers, Cairo, 1890.

tenures, his work has not been used as the main basis for the discussion.

On the other hand, Ibn al-Ji'an's data have been utilised extensively for the study of the development of land tenures in two key periods, i.e. the year 775/1373 in the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and the year 882/1477 in the reign of al-Ashraf Qaytbay.

As the data presented by Ibn al-Ji'an reflect the situation in these particular two years only, there is also need for a wider search in the Mamluk sources to trace the development of the land tenure system from the beginning of the Mamluk state until the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay. The thesis will also examine the underlying purpose and results of the land tenure system.

The aims of the research

The broad aims of the discussion in this thesis are to analyse the data presented in Ibn al-Ji'an's work Al-tuhfa in general and more especially to make a comparison between the land tenure allocations in the reigns of both al-Ashraf Sha'ban and al-Ashraf Qaytbay. By using other Mamluk primary sources and modern studies, I will trace the development of the land tenure system in Egypt from the end of the seventh/thirteenth century until the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay. A further goal of this research is to discover the causes behind the changes in the land system from iqta on the one hand to waqf private properties (milk) and rizaq on the other hand, and the consequences of such a development. Furthermore, each category of tenure of agricultural land will be defined and its revenue specified. The share of each army group in the agricultural land will be

mentioned and other persons who benefited from the tenure of agricultural land will also be indicated.

Methodology and approaches

To achieve the above goals, I have utilised the Bodleian manuscript of Al-tuhfa as the main source for this study. This is for a number of reasons. It is the oldest copy of the work, composed in 883/1478 when the author was still alive. It was written for the collection of Yashbak min Mahdi al-Dawadar, a great amir in Qaytbay's period. At his behest Ibn al-Ji'an composed Al-tuhfa al-Saniyya.⁶ The fine handwriting of this copy and the vocalisation of the words make it relatively easy to read and use.

As Ibn al-Ji'an might not have been able to perform by himself the process of collection of the material because of his advancing age, he probably had to hand over the task to more than one person, probably to clerks in the diwan al-jaysh to copy it. This may explain why there are minor differences as presented by the different copies of Al-tuhfa⁷ in data in respect to land tenure, and to a lesser extent, area measurement misaha, and the estimation of the yearly yield (ibra). It is prudent therefore to use one reliable copy, such as the Bodleian manuscript, to avoid minor differences in giving information on the forms of land tenure for a single village in the same period. Whatever the merits of the Bodleian manuscript

⁶ Cf. p.37.

may be, it has a small number of mistakes in the names of the ranking amirs and some gaps. This problem will be overcome by making comparisons with the published copy of Al-tuhfa as well as the Cambridge manuscript.⁸ It should be emphasised that only the material which is provided by the Bodleian manuscript will be utilised to mention land tenure, area measurement, and the estimation of the yearly yield, unless there are gaps concerning the data of area measurement and the estimation of the yearly yield not mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an. In such a situation Ibn Duqmaq's figures will be used to cover such gaps.

The area measurement figures and rizaq mentioned in the work of Ibn al-Ji'an belong to the famous cadastral survey,⁹ al-Rawk al-Nasiri, which took place in 715/1315, while the estimation of the yearly yield and the land property belong to the years 775/1373 and 882/1477. Ibn al-Ji'an's dependency on al-Rawk al-Nasiri can be explained in that the records of this survey were a more reliable source than other registrations for the area measurement of the villages in Egypt. However, it surely cannot reflect the complete picture of the condition of the agricultural land at the end of al-Ashraf Sha'ban's period and in particular how many faddans were under cultivation out of the total area measurement of each

⁷ The similarities and differences between the published text of Al-tuhfa and the Bodleian manuscript are discussed in Chapter One of the thesis. Cf. p.35.

⁸ Ibn al-Ji'an, Taqwim al-bilad al-misriyya fi'l-a'mal al-sultaniyya (Al-tuhfa al-Saniyya) ms. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, no. Q9.65.

⁹ cf. For more information about this survey, cf. Sato, Tsugitaka, State and rural society in medieval Islam: sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun, Leiden, 1997, pp.135-152.

village. It seems likely that some factors such as epidemics¹⁰, which must have swept off unknown numbers of the population, may well have decreased the amount of the labour force needed to cultivate the land and to keep the irrigation system working. As a consequence of this, part of the agricultural land in each village may have been left fallow. The extent of the impact of such epidemics on cultivation is unknown and the opinion of al-Maqrizi, who was usually interested in economic matters in the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'ban, does not indicate any sign of decline in the agricultural sector or any other economic sector, in spite of the insufficient inundation of the Nile in 776/1374 which led to a small famine that continued until the end of al-Ashraf Sha'ban's period.¹¹

Calculation methods

As for those villages which had more than one land tenure, the share of each land tenure is equal to the number of villages, area measurement, and the revenue divided by the number of land tenures. So each land tenure hypothetically got either $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, since their share were not specified.

There were unspecified shares for the land tenures in a number of villages. In order to quantify these approximately, the share of each category of land tenure

¹⁰ For the epidemics in Egypt in the period from 715/1315 to 777/1375 and their role in the decline of Egypt in general, cf. Ashtor, A Social and Economic History pp. 301-5.

¹¹ Al-Maqrizi, Al-suluk, pt. 3, vol. I, pp. 281-3. Idem, Ighatha al-ghumma bi kashf al-ghumma, ed. M.M. Ziyada and J. Al-Shayyal, Cairo, 1990, pp.76-7.

has been derived by dividing the villages, area measurement, and ibra by the number of land tenures in the villages.

The area measurement of a village consisted of two parts, one part which belonged to the category of land tenure and usually contained most of the agricultural land in a village and was called misaha. The other part that had a very small share of the village agricultural land was called rizaq. In most cases the misaha and rizaq were recorded separately. In rare cases both parts were recorded in one figure. For both parts the unit of area measurement was the faddan which, according to Hinz, equalled 6,368 square metres. The misaha figure will be mentioned in faddans for the different categories of agricultural land. If the misaha figure is different from the total of the area measurements of individual categories of agricultural land,¹² then if most copies of Al-tuhfa agree on the area measurement of one category - arable land (naqa), the formula for the area measurement of another category, pasture land (khirs) will be calculated by subtracting naqa from misaha.

The methodology used to denote the rank of named ranking amirs

As indicated already, the information on land tenure used in this thesis belongs to the year 775/1374. Details of named ranking amirs will be investigated by trawling through the chronicles which were written in this period, both before and after the above date. The reference to an amir's rank closest to 775/1374 will

be used and any reference before that date will be omitted. Any mention of an advancement in rank after the above date will also be overlooked.

If the rank of a particular amir is not mentioned at all then we will concentrate on the estimated figures of *ibra* which were provided by al-'Umari as a model to identify the rank of a ranking amir¹³ in his work entitled Masalik al-absar.¹⁴ If there is a contradiction between the information mentioned by the chronicles and the degrees of yearly yield as presented by al-'Umari, the information given by the latter will be considered the right choice for the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban, because al-'Umari's information is chronologically close to the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and it may be assumed therefore that he was drawing on figures which had remained more or less intact in three decades between the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and his own time.

If the estimated figure of the rank provided by a source or sources does not reach the minimum figure provided by al-'Umari for that rank, the estimation presented will be considered as belonging to the rank directly below - in spite of the fact that it goes beyond the figure provided for that lower rank by al-'Umari.

12 For an explanation of different categories of agricultural land, cf. Chapter 3, pp.187-223. For an explanation of rizaq, cf., also Chapter 3.

13 For the discussion of the estimation of the yearly yield of al-'Umari, cf p.176-179.

14 Al-'Umari, Ahmad b. Yahya b. Fadl Allah (d. 749/1349), Masalik al-absar fi-mamalik al-amsar, ed. Ahmad Fu'ad Sayyid, Cairo, 1985, p.29.

If there is no agreement among the copies of Al-tuhfa about the area measurement of naqa or khirs, the misaha figure will be mentioned. However, Ibn al-Ji'an usually neglects the categories of agricultural land for most of the villages. In this case the misaha figure of the village will be considered to signify only the naqa type of agricultural land which al-Nuwayri described as cultivated land.¹⁵ When the estimation of the yearly yield (ibra) is considered, it will be mentioned as dinar jayshi. If the land tenure mentioned in the name of a high ranking amir or institution is waqf, rizaq or milk and it belonged to the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban or before that period, then there is a strong possibility that it continued without any change until the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay.

In rare cases where there is one land tenure or mixed land tenures (waqf, rizaq or milk) it is probable that they date to al-Ashraf Qaytbay's period, especially as there seems to be a clear trend towards mixed land tenures in his reign, as can be seen from the data provided by Ibn al-Ji'an.

Appendix

The data recorded in these tables are divided in parts: the first part deals with the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban. The second part deals with the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay. Together, the analysis presents a complete picture of land tenure in Egypt in both periods.

¹⁵ Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol 8, p.248.

However, this picture is totally different with Ibn Duqmaq's work which remained in an incomplete draft and with a great number of gaps in data concerning land tenure and to a lesser extent, the area measurements and estimations of the yearly yield figures. The available data provided by Ibn Duqmaq are not enough to provide a complete picture of the distribution of land tenure in Egypt in the period of al-Zahir Barquq. Therefore, they will be omitted from the analysis process. However, the data provided by Ibn Duqmaq concerning area measurement and the estimation of annual yearly yield will be used as a supplementary source to complete gaps left by Ibn al-Ji'an related to these types of information. This is especially useful for the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban which was very close to that of al-Zahir Barquq and hence it is less likely that changes in area measurement and the estimation of the annual yearly yield had occurred.

In each part of the appendix, the records in these tables were organised according to the category of land tenure, and depending on whether they were devoted to the benefit of persons or institutions. These land tenures are as follows:

- (A). Iqta - In this category in Mamluk times, land was generally allocated to eight groups of land as follows: (1) named ranking amirs (10 muqta'in (3) Bedouin (4) mixed categories of iqta holders (5) governors (wulat) (6) miscellaneous ranking amirs with and without mentioning the rank, (7) Royal mamluks (al-mamalik al-sultaniyya) and (8) Halqa.
- (B). Diwan - This category can be divided in general into four smaller types as follows: (1) al-diwan al-sultani li'l-dawla al-sharifa (2) al-diwan al-

khas or al-khas al-sharif (3) al-diwan al-mufrad and (4) diwan al-Dhakhira.

- (C). Private property (milk - amlak). - This category can be divided in general into smaller types as follows: (1) The estates of the ruling sultans (al-amlak al-sharifa) and (2) the property of individuals (milk fulan).
- (D). Endowment (waqf - awqaf)
- (E). Rizqa (pl. rizaq) - This category was divided into al-rizaq al-ihbasiyya and al-rizaq al-jayshiyya
- (F). The Abbasid caliph in Cairo
- (G). Ashraf in Egypt
- (H). Amirs of Mecca and Medina or al-Ashraf in Hijaz
- (I). Court Retinue (al-Hashiyya)
- (J) Monthly salary (Jamikiyya)
- (K) Allowances (rawatib)
- (L) Fleet (al-shawani)
- (M) Mixed categories of land property.

The contents of the thesis

This study consists of an introduction, six chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography and an appendix.

In Chapter One I have reviewed three primary sources, al-Nuwayri, Ibn al-Ji'an, and al-Balatunusi. Four modern studies written by Poliak, Turkhan, Muhammad Muhammad Amin and Thayer are also discussed in this chapter.

In Chapter Two, the discussion concentrates on the work of Ibn Duqmaq entitled *Al-intisar* and the work of Ibn al-Ji'an entitled *Al-tuhfa*. I have studied the contents of these two works, their sources of information and the dates of composition.

In Chapter Three, the study focuses on providing notes about *misaha*, *ibra*, the Sultan's bureau, endowment (*waqf*), *iqta* and *rizaq* according to both *Al-tuhfa* and other Mamluk sources.

In Chapter Four, the discussion is concentrated on the analysing of the data concerning land tenures in the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and the share of each category and sub-category in area measurement, types of cultivated land and revenue (*ibra*).

In Chapter Five, analyses of the data concerning land tenures in the reign of al-Ashraf Qaytbay and the share of each category and sub-category in area measurement, types of cultivated lands, and revenue (*ibra*). The discussion concentrates on a comparison between the shares of land tenure in the periods of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and al-Ashraf Qaytbay.

In Chapter Six, the study focuses on the data provided by other Mamluk sources concerning the development of land tenure system from al-Rawk al-Husami until Qaytbay's period, and the reasons behind the development.

Finally, a few overall conclusions are given.

CHAPTER 1

1. A Critical Survey Of The Primary Sources

Any student of Mamluk history must have observed the large number of sources that he should explore for the purpose of his study. These sources are not just historical writings such as chronicles and biographies, but they are also in the form of administrative manuals, encyclopaedias, military handbooks and literary anthologies¹⁶. According to Shakir Mustafa, these sources number 1,596 works compiled by 600 authors from Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz¹⁷. They contain a mine of data for all aspects of the Mamluk state, society, economy, administration, military system and education in the areas of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz.

It should be emphasized that the vast majority of these works are in the form of chronicles and biographical dictionaries. Only a limited number of works were composed as encyclopaedias, administrative manuals and military handbooks. Some works were also written about the ethnic and religious minority groups, such as the Bedouin and dhimmis¹⁸.

16. Salim, M.R. 'Asr al-salatin al-mamalik wa nitajuhu al-i'lmi wa'l-adabi, 6 vols., Cairo, 1946-62; Shakir Mustafa, Al-ta'rikh al-'arabi wa'l-mu'-arrikhun, vols. 3 & 4, Beirut, 1993.

17. Ibid vol. 3, p.12.

18. Ibid, vol. 3, pp.13-14.

1.1 Historiographical Works

The major contribution to our knowledge of Mamluk historiography has been made by scholars such as Little¹⁹ Haarmann,²⁰ and Shakir Mustafa²¹. They have examined the types of work written and the scholarly environment which produced them. There is no need, therefore, to repeat in detail what they have already said.²²

1.1.1 An explanation for the prolific output of historiography in the Mamluk period.

In 1970 Little asked "why so many historians of high calibre flourished at a time when all other arts and sciences.... were in decline?"²³ To provide the answer to this question is not an easy task because of the large cluster of factors involved in creating an environment in which historical writings can flourish. Of course, an attempt to explain this phenomenon was started twenty years ago by scholars

¹⁹. Little, Donald, An introduction to Mamluk historiography, Montreal, 1970.

²⁰. Haarmann, Ulrich, Quellenstudien zur fruhen Mamlukenzeit, Freiburg, 1970, "Auflosung und Bewahrung der Klassischen Formen Arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken", Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, vol. 121, 1971, p.46ff.

²¹. Shakir Mustafa, op.cit. vols. 3 & 4.

²². Cf. also al-Wahaibi, Khalid, The contribution of 'Abd al-Basit to Mamluk historiography : A Critical edition of parts of his unpublished work, Nayl al-Amal, unpublished M.Litt., University of Edinburgh, 1992. This dissertation looked at the contribution of one little-known Mamluk historian.

such as Haarmann and more recently by Shakir Mustafa. Their explanations and my own views will be utilised to provide an answer to this phenomenon.²⁴

One factor involved in the prolific output of Mamluk historical works may have been the attempt on the part of the Muslim intelligentsia to sustain and perpetuate the heritage of Muslim civilisation which was under threat from the aggression of Mongols and Crusaders against the Muslim lands and their intellectual achievements. Accordingly, in order to preserve this heritage, the Muslim intelligentsia from the 7th/13th century onwards compiled extensive works in the form of biographical dictionaries and encyclopaedias²⁵. Biographical dictionaries immortalised the most important people who had distinction and success in politics, administration, Islamic studies, Arabic language and literature and sciences.²⁶ Encyclopaedias too played the same role

23. Little, D., *op. cit.* p.1.

24. Haarmann, U., Quellenstudien. Cf. also Shakir Mustafa, *op. cit.* vol.3, pp.7-90.

25. Ibid, pp.80-82.

26. Ibn Khallikan, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim (d. 681/1282) Wafayat al-a'yan wa inba' abna' al-zaman, 8 vols. ed. Ihsan Abbas, Beirut, 1968-1972.

Al-Dhahabi, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Uthman (d.748/1347) Siyar 'alam al-nubala', 11 vols, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnaut and others, Beirut, 1981, p.82.

Ibn Shakir al-Kutubi, Muhammad b. Shakir b. Ahmad (d.784/1363) Fawat al-wafayat, 2 vols, ed. Muhammad b. Muhy al-Din 'Abd al-Hamid, Cairo, 1951.

as biographical dictionaries in preserving knowledge. The compilers of such encyclopaedias gathered and classified materials belonging to a wide variety of works collected by previous generations of Islamic scholars in order to preserve knowledge and to present it for general readers, and especially to the scribes in the government bureaucracy.²⁷

An additional impetus was provided by the desire to record the Mamluk success in defeating the Mongols and expelling the last Crusaders from Syria. Mamluk historians considered their history, culture, and civilization as being a continuation of the preceding Muslim generations²⁸ and the culmination of Muslim success.

A further contributory factor in the growth of Mamluk historical writing was the political stability and economic prosperity enjoyed from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth centuries, resulting in an increase of population and investment in urban structures, especially educational institutions such as

Ibn Aybak al-Safadi, Khalil b. Aybak b. 'Abd Allah (d.764/1363) Al-wafi bi'l-wafayat, ed. by a number of scholars, vols. 1-18, 21-22, Wiesbaden, 1949-1991.

Cf. also Al-'Umari, Ahmad b. Yahya b. Fadl Allah (d.749.1349) Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar (Dawlat al-mamalik al-ula) ed. D. Krawulski, Beirut, 1986, cf. Introduction, pp.10-31.

27. For examples of encyclopedias, cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-arab; al-Watwat, Mabahij al-fikar; al-'Umari, Masalik al-absar; al-Qalqashandi, Subh al-'asha.

28. Shakir Mustafa, op. cit., vol. 3, pp.79-83.

cf. also al-'Umari, op.cit., Introduction. pp.10-31.

madrastas and khanqahs in both Egypt and Syria by the Mamluk elite for religious, political and social motives.²⁹ The number of students and scholars increased sharply, which may also have increased the number of those interested in reading and writing history among academic groups, especially since history was present in all the religious sciences such as tafsir, hadith, and fiqh, which dominated the education system.³⁰

Another factor contributing to the burgeoning of Mamluk historiography was the increasing influence of the religious elite in Mamluk urban society, an influence which had never been achieved to such an extent by this class in previous centuries.³¹ Moreover, the importance of this class is reflected in a large number of biographical works compiled in the Mamluk period in which the life of this class was recorded in detail.³²

A last reason for the phenomenon of copious historiography in the Mamluk period may well be the desire on the part of the ruling class to encourage court chronicles and biographies in order to enhance the dignity and prestige of the

29. For economic prosperity and population growth cf. Ashtor, E. A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, London, 1976, pp.288-300.

For the involvement of the Mamluk elite in urban society, cf. Lapidus, Ira, M. Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, pp.68-78.

30. According to Rosenthal, history was not included as a subject in Muslim higher education., Rosenthal, Franz A history of Muslim historiography, Leiden, 1952, pp.38-9.

31. Lapidus, op. cit. pp.107-41.

state and to persuade their subjects, who were not pleased with the change from the Ayyubid rulers to a slave monarchy, especially in the early years of their rule. The population as a whole had good reason to feel proud of the achievements of their new rulers. Therefore, bibliographical literature flourished more than in any other period of Islamic history.³³ Authors from different backgrounds, clerks and scholars, wrote siras for the Mamluk Sultans. They praised the Mamluk sultans for their achievements as political and military leaders and described their good deeds. This also reflects, of course, the attempts of some authors to gain personal advantage.³⁴ Furthermore, as usual, the influence of the Sultan and his ruling elite, as the main power in the state to which all events were attached, induced historians of this period, like their predecessors, to record state affairs in such detail. Moreover, the participation of the awlad al-nas³⁵ in writing history could have been influenced by motives of corporate loyalty, as they considered themselves belonging to the ruling class.

1.1.2 The characteristics of Mamluk historiography

It seems that Mamluk historiography was well within the mainstream of Muslim historiography and that not many changes occurred in its traditional form and

32. Shakir Mustafa, op. cit. vol. 3, pp.23-4.

33. Holt, P.M. "Three Biographies of al-Zahir Baybars" in D.O. Morgan, ed. Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds, London, 1982, pp.19-20.

34. Ibid, pp.20-27.

35. The sons of sultans and amirs who were born as free men. Cf. the glossary.

content. But Mamluk historiography had its own characteristics too, which can also be considered as an indication of the point of development that Muslim historiography had reached by the Mamluk period.³⁶

As in earlier eras of Islamic history, the annalistic form of historical writings was very common in this period too and most of the historians used this form for writing history. The basic unit for this form was a year which was divided into months, days, and sometimes even hours. The authors of these chronicles, while discussing contemporary affairs, wrote their works in an exhaustive way, very similar to the journalists of our day, which resulted in the recording of copious data on matters to do with society, government, army, education, economy and so on.³⁷

As mentioned above, having biographical dictionaries was another achievement of Mamluk historians. This was the genre of writing which they wrote most effectively and frequently. Each biography was written to give a complete picture of the person as far as possible. In this we can find details about a person's birth and death, education, career, wealth, family and so on. Thus such works provide us with useful information about education, social position and social life in Mamluk urban society which could not be found in similar works produced during the previous centuries.

³⁶. Shakir Mustafa, *op. cit.* vol. 3, p.29.

³⁷. *Ibid*, vol. 3, pp.85-91.

Another characteristic of Mamluk historiography is that it demonstrates a decline in the quality of style in writing historical works, both in the neglect of grammar and the utilising of many colloquial terms. It seems that all Mamluk historians use some colloquial words, but some of them are excessive in their usage of colloquial words and terms which cause their works to become nearly pure colloquial. Neglecting grammar was a feature of some of the historians who belonged to the Turkish community or of those who did not have a thorough knowledge of basic Arabic literature and language, such as Baybars al-Mansuri, al-Dawadari, Ibn Duqmaq, Ibn al-Furat, Ibn al-Sayrafi and others.³⁸

1.2 Secretarial Manuals

It seems that these manuals had followed a long journey of development from the days of Abd al-Hamid al-Katib in the Umayyad period until the Mamluk era, with the appearance of al-Qalqashandi's work Subh al-a'sha at the end of the 8th /14th century, which can be considered as an 'encyclopaedic bureaucratic vade mecum'³⁹ as mentioned by Bernard Lewis.

38. Shakir Mustafa, op. cit. vol. 3, pp.13, 27, 72-87.

39. A good survey was done by al-Droubi. Cf. Al-Droubi, Samir, A critical edition of and study of Ibn Fadl Allah's manual of secretaryship Al-ta'rif bi'l - mustalah al-sharif, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1988, English text, pp.46-71; for a general study of insha'; cf. EI²: insha (Roemer). Cf. also Lewis, B. "The use by Muslim historians of non-Muslim sources" in Lewis, B. and Holt, P. Historians of the Middle East, London, 1962, p.182 ff.

There are at present eight manuals composed in the Mamluk period from 7th/13th to 9th/15th century.⁴⁰

In chronological order these manuals are as follows:

1. Al-Burra al-muwashsha fi sina 'at al-insha' by Musa ibn al-Hasan al-Mawsili (d. 700/1300).⁴¹
2. Husn al-tawassul li-sina' at al-tarassul by Shihab al-Din Mahmud al-Halabi (d. 725/1324).⁴²
3. Al-ta'rif bi'l - mustalah al-sharif by Ahmad ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari (d. 749/1349).⁴³
4. Al-tibyan fi istilah ahl al-zaman by Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Halabi (d. after 778/1376).⁴⁴
5. Tathqif al-ta 'rif bi'l mustalah al-sharif (d. after 786/1384) by Taqi al-Din, 'Abd al Rahman Ibn Nazir al-Jaysh.⁴⁵

40. Al-Droubi, English text, pp.54-71.

41. MS. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, no. 3242.

42. ed. Akram Uthman Yusuf, Baghdad, 1980.

43. ed. by al-Droubi, op. cit.

44. MS. Deutschestaatsbibliothek, Berlin, no. 8641.

45. ed. Vesely, R., Cairo, 1987.

6. Subh al-a 'sha fi sina 'at al-insha' by Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Qalqashandi (d. 821/1418).⁴⁶
7. Qala'id al-juman fi mustalah mukatabat ahl al-zaman by Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qalqashandi (the son) (d.876/1471).⁴⁷
8. Al-maqsad al-rafi 'al-mansha al-hadi li-diwan al-insha' by Baha al-Din Muhammad al- Khalidi (d. 937/1530).⁴⁸

The aim of the authors of these manuals was to provide a thorough knowledge for the beginner clerks in the diwan al-insha.⁴⁹ In these manuals, the authors tried to give the correct formula of address for state correspondence, such as letters to caliphs, kings and rulers in the east and the west, as well as to crown princes of sultanates and viceroys in Egypt and Syria, chiefs of the Bedouin, Kurds, and Turkomans in Mamluk territories, letters to turban-wearing officials, such as viziers and chief judges, and also for documents bestowing appointments and land grants.⁵⁰

46. 14 vols. Cairo, 1919-22.

47. MS, British Library No. 5625.

48. MS Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, No. 1573.

49. Al-Halabi, Shihab al-Din, op. cit. p.71; cf. al-'Umari, op. cit; al-Qalqashandi, op. cit., vol. 1, 6-8.

50. Al-Droubi, English text, op. cit. pp. 58, 60.

The importance of the documents provided by these manuals stems from their data which relate to the finances of the Mamluk empire. As Rabie mentioned in his analysis of Subh al-as'ha, most of the documents in this book must be treated as chancery models and are therefore less reliable as historical documents than archival records.⁵¹ This point of view has its own solid base, since the aim of these manuals was, indeed, to present the correct formula of address for state correspondence. Most of the authors of such manuals were employed in the diwan al-insha. As there are no archival records left for comparison, it is wise to treat these documents as chancery models only.

Another shortcoming of some of these manuals, as Humphreys mentions in his analysis of Subh al-a'sha is that they give a normative, somewhat idealised and static account, which minimises change and glosses over the realities of actual political bureaucratic behaviour.

51. Rabie Hassanein, The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341, London, 1972, p.18. Cf also Roemer, *EI*², vol. 3, p.1242. Humphreys on the other hand holds the opposite view. He mentions without further explanation that most of the documents in Subh al-asha are 'drawn largely from the archives'; see Humphreys, *op-cit.*, p.175.

1.3 Primary Resources - Manuscripts

1.3.1 Al-Balatunusi, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Abi Bakr (d.after 889/1484), Tahrir al-s'ual 'an ma yahill wa yahrum min al-amwal al-mukhtasa bi Bait al-Mal, ms. Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, no.23829-b.

The author's full name is Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Balatunusi al-Shafi'i⁵², but both Hajji Khalifa⁵³ and Ahlwardt⁵⁴ have mentioned the author's names only as far as 'Abd Allah. The names of the author's father and grandfather suggests that he might be the son of a scholar from the Balatunusi family called Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Khalik⁵⁵.

But this assertion is probably not correct for two reasons. The author mentions that al-Balatunusi was his teacher (shaikhuna)⁵⁶. If he was the author's father, he would have used the term 'my father'(waliduna) in many places instead of 'my teacher'. Also, his grandfather's name is mentioned on the first page of the

⁵² Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'al, Ms. Dar al-Kutub, Cairo No. 23829B, fols.IA, 93A.

⁵³ Hajji Khalifa, Mustafa b. 'Abd Allah (d.657/ 1067), Kashf al-zunun 'an asami' al-kutub wa'l funun, vol.1, Beirut 1990, p.357.

⁵⁴ Ahlwardt, W, Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol.5, Berlin, 1889-99, p.136. This information is quoted from Tabatabai, Hosseini Modarressi, Kharaj in Islamic Law, London, 1983, p.70, footnote no.9.

⁵⁵ For the biography of this scholar, cf. al-Sakhawi Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman(d.902/1496), Al-daw' al-lami li-ahl al-qarn al-tasi, vol.8, Beirut, n.d. pp.86-8.

manuscript (majmu') in the Dar al-Kutub in Cairo⁵⁷. Therefore, one may deduce that the author of Tahrir al-s'ual is not the son of the Shafi'i scholar - Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Khalil al-Balatunusi but that this scholar might have been one of his relatives.

The author belonged to a family originated from a village on the north Syrian coast called Balatunus⁵⁸ and the family bore its nisba.⁵⁹ Both his father, Muhammad and his grandfather, 'Abd Allah were faqihs, probably of Shafi'i, school of law to which the author also belonged⁶⁰. He may also have lived in Syria, as one can conclude from the study of his work Tahrir al-s'ual in which he mentions that one of his scholars, Shaykuna al-Balatunusi, probably a relative of his, studied with him in Damascus before the scholar's death in 863/1458⁶¹. It seems that the author obtained an authorisation to give fatwas before 871/1466. This may be surmised from the fact that Tahrir al-s'ual was composed in Safar

56 Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'al, fols. 21B, 31B, 45A, 70A.

57 Ibid, fol.1A.

58 Yaqut al-Hamawi (d.626/1228), Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol.1, Beirut, 1984, p.478.

59 Al-Sakhawi attributed the village Balatunus to Tripoli in Lebanon which was probably not correct. Cf. Al-Sakhawi, Al-daw', vol.11, p.191.

60 Hajji Khalifa, Kashf al-zunun vol.1, Beirut, 1990, p.357; cf. also al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'al, fol. 93A.

61 For the biography of al-Balatunusi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Khalil, cf. al-Sakhawi, Al-daw', vol.8, pp. 86-8, cf. also al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'al, fols. 21B, 31B, 45A, 70A.

871/September 1466 and that the work was written because of a question asking the author for a formal legal opinion⁶².

As no further information about the author's life, education and career, can be obtained from the available sources, one can only assume that he continued living in Damascus as a scholar, probably until after 889/1484, as one can surmise from a scribal note in which he asks God to extend the author's life.⁶³ One can therefore conclude, that the author of Tahrir al-s'ual was a Syrian Shafi'i scholar, who lived and was educated probably in Damascus and his full name was Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Abi Bakr al-Balatunusi al-Shafi'i.

1.3.1.1 The attribution of the work to the author.

The oldest attribution belongs to Hajji Khalifa who mentions that Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah composed a work called Tahrir al-maqal fi ma yahill wa yahrum min Bait al-Mal⁶⁴. Similarly, Ahlwardt, the editor of the index of the Arabic manuscripts of the Berlin State Library, mentions that a work preserved in the above library had the same author's name and title⁶⁵.

⁶² Ibid., fols. 2A, 2B, 93A.

⁶³ Ibid., fol. 93A.

⁶⁴ Hajji Khalifa, Kashf, vol.1, p.357.

⁶⁵ Ahlwardt, Verzeichnis, vol.5, p.136.

On the other hand, the Dar al-Kutub manuscript has the full name of the author as, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Abi Bakr al-Balatunusi and the title Tahrir al-s'ual 'an ma yahill wa yahrum min al-amwal al-mukhtasa bi-Bayt al-Mal. This fact is made known from a note written on the first page of the manuscript which is a collection of works of the author, majmu'. It is said that this was the last version from the author's pen⁶⁶. Therefore, the copy of the work in the Dar al-Kutub in which both the name and title are cited will be accepted as the most correct one.

1.3.1.2. The date of composition

Both the Dar al-Kutub manuscript and Hajji Khalifa mention that the author finished writing the work in Safar 871/September 1466⁶⁷. However, it is possible that the author continued to work, until 889/1484 when the last version of the work was written down by the scribe.⁶⁸

1.3.1.3 The Description of the Tahrir al-su'al manuscript in the Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, No.23829B.

As already mentioned, the Tahrir al-su'al is included in a manuscript of collected⁶⁹ works of the author, which are as follows:⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'al, fol.1A.

⁶⁷ Hajji Khalifa, Kashf, vol.1, p.357. cf. also al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'al, fol.93A.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Fu'ad al-Sayyid, Fihrist Dar al-Kutub, vol.1, Cairo, 1961, p.p. 128-9.

1. Tathbit qawa'id al-arkan.
2. Al-risala al-wadiha.
3. Tahrir al-jawab fi'l radd' ala man atlaqa ibahat libs al-sinjab.

This manuscript is the last version of the author's work and written from the author's draft by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Mahmud in Rabi' II 889/April 1484⁷¹. There are also three commentaries on this work, written by three Syrian Shafi'i scholars, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Qadi 'Ajlun⁷², Khattab b. 'Umar b. Muhammad al-Shafi'i⁷³ and Yusuf b. Ahmad b. Nasir al-Bawni⁷⁴.

The work consists of 93 folios with each page of 20 x 15.5 cm size having 17 lines each.

1.3.1.4 Contents of the Work.

The aim of the author was to give an opinion based on Islamic law about the resources of the Treasury. This arose from a context in which many people took

70 Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-su'ul, fol.1A.

71 Ibid, fol.93A.

72 Ibid., fols. 94B, 95A; cf. also al-Sakhawi, Al-daw', vol.8, p.96.

73 Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-s'ual, fols. 95B-96B, cf. also al-Sakhawi, Al-daw', vol.3, p.181-2.

74 Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al-s'ual, fols. 97A-98A; cf. also al-Sakhawi, Al-daw', vol.10, p.298.

exclusive possession of the resources of the treasury without doing any work or without being entitled to benefit from it according to Islamic Law.

The immediate reason for the author's composition of this work was a question posed to him as to whether a daughter had the right of inheritance to her father's rizqa or not? In his reply to this matter, the author invalidated the legal opinions of other scholars who allowed the transformation of the resources of the Treasury into private property. The author also discussed a number of issues on relations to the treasury in respect to Islamic law. These issues concerned the practices of Nur al-Din, *vis-a-vis* the Treasury, the requirements (shurut) of the post of (imam), and of the posts of qadi and faqih.

The author also discussed the definitions of rizaq, iqta, waqf and related issues. According to Islamic Law, the right to sell cultivated land belonged to the Treasury and the lawfulness of the endowment of the property also belonged to the Treasury.

Furthermore, the author also talked about the fear of God (taqwa), and the public good (maslaha). He discusses the endowment of shrines, the establishment of buildings near them and the bringing of devout offerings (nadhr) to them. He criticised those who administered these shrines and benefited from such offerings. He also examined the competence (ahliyya) of the faqihs of his time to obtain a legal judgement and he accused various people like judges, Sufis and the Mamluk army for taking unlawful money.

For the writings of his work, the author depended on a large number of authors which are frequently quoted, such as al-Bukhari and Muslim, al-Shafi'i⁷⁵, al-Mawardi⁷⁶, 'Izz al-Din b. 'Abd al-Salam⁷⁷, al-Ghazali⁷⁸, al-Adhru'i⁷⁹, al-Qarafi⁸⁰, al-Balatunusi⁸¹, al-Nawawi⁸², al-Saubki⁸³, and Taqi al-Din al-Hisni⁸⁴.

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- 75 Al-Shafi'i, Muhammad b. Idris (d.204/820), cf.al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols.12A, 46A. Cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.6, p.26.
- 76 Al-Mawardi, 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Habib (d.450/1058); cf. al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 12A, 16A, 35A, 45A, 58A; cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.4, p.327.
- 77 'Izz al-Din b. 'Abd al-Salam, 'Abd al-Aziz b. 'Abd al-Salam(d.660/1262). Cf.al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 11B, 33A, 36B, 60A, 73A, 74B, cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.4, p.21.
- 78 Al-Ghazali, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad (d.505/111). Cf.al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 13A, 32B, 40A, 41A, 47B, 52A, 57B, 62B, 72B, 73B, 74A, 75B, 81A. Cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.7, p.22.
- 79 Al-Adhuri, Ahmad b. Hamdan b.Ahmad (d.783/1381). Cf. al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, 15A, 42B, 52A, 55A, 58B, 71A; cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.1, p.119.
- 80 Al-Qarafi, Ahmad b. Idris b. 'Abd al-Rahman (d.684/1285). Cf. al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 16B, 29B, 57A; cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.1, pp.94-5.
- 81 Al-Balatunusi, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Khalil (d.863/1458). Cf. al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 21B, 31B, 45A, 70A. Cf. also al-Sakhawi, al-Daw', vol.8, pp.86-8.
- 82 Al-Nawawi, Yahya b. Sharaf b. Mari (d.676/1277). Cf.al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 23A, 37B, 42A, 43B, 44A, 57A, cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.8, p.149.
- 83 Al-Subki, 'Abd al-Wahhab b. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Kafi (d.771/1370). Cf.al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 24A, 59B, 63B,cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.3, p.185.
- 84 Al-Hisni, Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah (d.829/1426). Cf. al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fols. 27A, 38A, 47B, 53A, 54B, 57B, 73B, 80B. Cf. also al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.2, p.69.

1.3.1.5 The importance of the work.

As we have seen from the above discussion, the work is a criticism by a Shafi'ite faqih of the practice of Mamluk society in exploiting of the resources of the Treasury. The author discusses the matter from the point of view of Islamic Law, as was interpreted by Shafi'ite madhhab. Though the author's concentration is on Islamic Law, he mentions, in a number of cases, the actual practices of the people and their views on the Treasury and its resources. Many people took advantage of the Treasury resources without doing any work or having any right to benefit from them⁸⁵. It was a common practice that the iqta of the army could be transferred to rizaq by the official approval of the Sultan and the same could be held permanently or transferred to an inheritor who could claim his share in it⁸⁶. As for the army personnel they believed that iqtas were only belongings and that they could be inherited like private property⁸⁷. They sold and bought them as they liked. Higher officials were involved in this, as were both the ruling elite and the ordinary people, those suitable for war and those who were not suitable, those who deserved benefits from the Treasury and those who did not. The properties of the Treasury were transferred to waqf, private property (milk) and rizaq⁸⁸. The author goes on to say that the way to transfer Treasury property

⁸⁵ Al-Balatunusi, Tahrir al- su'al, fol.1A-2B.

⁸⁶ Ibid, fols. 2A-2B, 4B, 5A.

⁸⁷ Ibid. fols. 6B, 7B.

⁸⁸ Ibid, fols. 7A, 7B.

was to persuade the ruling elite that it would be endowed for pious purposes. The Treasury property would be bought with false documents and then some of it would be used to endow a shrine, hermitage or another religious establishment. The aim of the owner was to keep control of the property. He endowed only some of the revenue for pious purposes and most of it was kept for himself and his descendants after him. In the waqf book he stipulated that the administration of the waqf should be carried out by him and his descendants⁸⁹. Thus the wealthy in the community bought the iqtas and transferred them to private properties⁹⁰.

1.3.2. Ibn al Ji'an, Yahya b. Shakir b. 'Abd al-Ghani (d.885/1480)⁹¹, Al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi Asma' al-Bilad al-Misriyya, Ms.Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. Hunt 2.

1.3.2.1. Attribution of work to Ibn al-Ji'an, Yahya b. Shakir b. 'Abd al-Ghani

Al-Baghdadi in his work Hadiyat al-'Arifin attributed Al-tuhfa al-Saniyya to his son, Ahmad b. Yahya b.Shakir (d.930/1524).⁹²

⁸⁹ Ibid fol.79B.

⁹⁰ Ibid, fol.80A.

⁹¹ For more details about the biography of the author cf. ch.2, pp.

⁹² Al-Zirikli, Al-A'lam, vol.1, p.270; al-Baghdadi, Isma'il Basha (d.1339/1920), Hidayat al-'Arifin vol.1, Istanbul, 1951, p.140.

This attribution cannot be accepted because Ahmad was just a clerk in the Diwan al-insha' and his knowledge of the financial and administrative affairs of Mamluk Egypt was not solid enough to write a work like Al-Tuhfa⁹³.

On the other hand, Moritz, who was the first to edit the text, mentioned⁹⁴ that one of the manuscripts he used for editing, states that Al-Tuhfa al-saniyya fi'al-aqalim al-misriya' was composed by al-Faqir Ahmad b. al-Ji'an, the clerk (katib) of al-Rawk al-Nasiri⁹⁵. This attribution is also not correct for a number of reasons. The date of writing the copy is not mentioned by Moritz, the title is not correct and is distorted as we will see and the 'clerk' of al-Rawk al-Nasiri is a strange post for the author since, although the records of al-Rawk al-Nasiri were kept and utilized by the army bureau, no such post looking after these records is mentioned in the Mamluk sources. Moreover, the data provided in Al-tuhfa not belong completely to al-Rawk al-Nasiri or to one diwan, but came from different diwans. Therefore, the author must have been a very prominent administrative officer to get access to such records. This clearly shows that the name mentioned is not the author of Al-tuhfa. However, in the oldest copy of Al-tuhfa, preserved in Bodleian Library, the author's name is mentioned as Al-

93 For his biography, cf. al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, vol.1, p.270.

94 Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa al-Saniyya, ed. Moritz, French Introduction, p.3.

95 Al-Rawk al-Nasiri was a survey of the Egyptian cultivated land ordered by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun. For more details cf. Sato, Tsugitaka The evolution of the Iqta system under the Mamluks- an analysis of al-Rawk al-Husami and al-Rawk al-

Imam Sharaf al-Din Yahya b. al-Ji'an⁹⁶. This name belonged to the Chief Accountant (mustawfi) of the army diwan in the first years of the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay, a man called Yahya b. Shakir b. 'Abd al-Ghani, who died in 885/1480, and is certainly the author of Al-Tuhfa. His depth of knowledge about the army diwan and the Egyptian villages⁹⁷ is mentioned by al-Sakhaawi and his post surely enabled him to gain access to all the available records.

A number of scholars, such as Moritz⁹⁸, al-Zirikli⁹⁹, and Shakir Mustafa¹⁰⁰, attribute the work to Ibn al-Ji'an Yahya b. Shakir. Therefore, one can be confident that the author of Al-tuhfa al-Saniyya is Yahya b. Shakir b. 'Abd al-Ghani.

1.3.2.2. The title of the work.

In his French introduction, Moritz mentions two titles belonging to the two manuscripts used by him in his edition of Al-tuhfa; firstly the Schefer manuscript

Nasiri. Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Banko No.37, (Tokyo, 1979), p.p.99-131

⁹⁶ Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa, Ms.Bodleian Library, Oxford Hunt No. 2, fol.1.

⁹⁷ al-Sakhaawi, al-Daw', vol.10, p.228.

⁹⁸ Ibn al- Ji'an, Al-tuhfa

⁹⁹ Al-Zirikli, al-A'lam vol.1, 270; Ibid, vol.8, p.149.

¹⁰⁰ Shakir Mustafa, al-tarikh al-'arabi wa'l mu'arrikhun, vol.3, Beirut, 1990, p.244.

in which the title quoted by Moritz¹⁰¹ is Daftar al-jarakisa and secondly the Muhammad Amin Bey Sami manuscript for which Moritz gives the title Al-tuhfa al-Saniyya fi'l aqalim al-misriyya¹⁰². The Cambridge manuscript copy of Al-tuhfa is in a different hand and it has the title Kitab taqwim al-buldan al-misriya fi'l a'mal al-sultaniyya¹⁰³. On the other hand, the oldest copy of the work, the Bodleian Library manuscript, cites the title as follows Al-tuhfa al-saniya bi-asma' al-bilad al-misriyya¹⁰⁴.

In the Cambridge University Library copy, the author's name is mentioned and it was probably written in the Ottoman period. The title mentioned by Muhammad Amin Bey Sami can be ignored since the author's name is not correct and the title, as it is written, has little meaning. The oldest copy of the manuscript the Bodleian one must have the exact title Al-tuhfa al-saniyya bi-asm'a al-bilad al-misriyya, this is also confirmed by modern scholars such as Moritz, al-Zirikli and Shakir Mustafa.

1.3.2.3 The Moritz edition of Al-tuhfa.

In 1898, Moritz edited Al-tuhfa al-saniyya, using three manuscripts, two of which belonged to the Khedivi Library (Dar al-Kutub) in Cairo and the third one

101 Ibn al- Ji'an, Al-tuhfa, French introduction , p.3.

102 Ibid.

103 Taqwim al-bilad al-misriyya fi'l a'mal al-sultaniyya, Ms. Cambridge University Library, No.Qq.65.

was M.Charles Schefer's copy.¹⁰⁵ He also used De Sacy's edition¹⁰⁶. It seems that Moritz also acquired a photostat copy of the Bodleian manuscript Hunt.2, but that he never used it in his edition¹⁰⁷. This conclusion is based on the fact that Moritz gave no symbol for the Bodleian manuscript as he did for the other four copies used in his edition.¹⁰⁸ A comparison between the text of Al-tuhfa edited by Moritz and Bodleian manuscript No.Hunt.2 reveals that Moritz did not use this copy.

The methodology used by Moritz is very simple. He considered only those analogous sentences and words to be put in the text, while the variant ones were put as footnotes. This way, it was not possible to present the original work of the author; because it was not edited in a scholarly manner. The best method is to consider the oldest copy as the base for any edition and to use other copies only as additional ones in order to help to fill the gaps or correct the text¹⁰⁹. Also, the editor did not provide much discussion on the copies he used for his edition.

104 Ibn al- Ji'an Al-tuhfa, Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no.Hunt.2., fol. 1a.

105 Ibn al- Ji'an , Al-tuhfa, French Introduction, p.2.

106 De Sacy, Silvestre, Relation de l'Egypte, par Abd al-Latif, medecin arabe de Bagdad, Paris 1810, pp.581-704.

107 Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa, French Introduction. pp.2-3.

108 Ibid, pp.2,4.

109 Salah al-Din al-Munajjid, Qawa'id tahqiq al-makhtutat, Beirut, 1970, pp.12-14.

1.3.2.4. The Bodleian manuscript Hunt.2

This copy was written in Sha‘ban 883/October-November 1478 by a scribe called Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Hassani for the library of the most influential ranking amir in Qaytbay’s period, Yashbak min Mahdi al-Dawadar¹¹⁰.

1.3.2.5 Description of the Bodleian manuscript. Hunt.2.

This copy consists of 264 folios. The folios measure 23x15.5 cm 28x18.5 cm, each having 13-14 lines. Each province and village name is written in a separate triangular box in big font. This manuscript is the oldest copy of the work and was written when the author was still alive. This copy is written in very beautiful and clear handwriting and the words are vocalised and dotted, thereby making it easier to read.

Furthermore, the Bodleian copy has more information than the one edited by Moritz. Since the Bodleian copy is the original work of the author I have used it for my study of the land tenure system. Any a new edition of Al-tuhfa must take the above copy as basis for such work.

1.4 Al-Nuwayri, Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab b. Muhammad, Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab

Al-Nuwayri was born on the 21st Dhu’ l-Qa‘da 677/5 April 1279 in Ikhmim in Upper Egypt.¹¹¹ In contrast to al-Nuwayri’s own indication about his place of

¹¹⁰ Ibn al- Ji’an Al-tuhfa, Ms.Bodleian Library Oxford No. Hunt.2 fol.264A.

birth, his friend al-Idfawi and one of his biographers, mentions that he was born in Qus where he spent his early life.¹¹² This difference between the two authors can be resolved, if we assume that al-Nuwayri would know more about himself than others and that he would tell the truth about his place of birth. It might be that al-Nuwayri's family had moved to Qus just a short time after his birth in Ikhmim. So it might be reasonable to suggest that al-Idfawi met al-Nuwayri in Qus where they became friends and that this made him believe that al-Nuwayri was born there.

From the incomplete information provided by al-Idfawi, we may suggest that al-Nuwayri possibly obtained his basic knowledge in Arabic, fiqh, hadith, and memorising the Quran when he was still living in Qus. Unfortunately, very little is known about his father, 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Muhammad and al-Nuwayri himself provides scanty information. Kratschkowsky, however, suggests that al-Nuwayri's father was a scribe (katib).¹¹³ Thirty years later Kratschkowsky

111. Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab*, Cairo, 1990, vol. 30, pp.386-7.

Jamal al-Din read the date wrongly as 767/1365. cf. Amina Muhammad Jamal al-Din, Al-Nuwayri wa kitabuhu Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab Cairo, 1984, p.33..

112. Al-Idfawi, Ja'far b. Tha'lab, Al-tali al-sa'id al-jami 'asma' nujaba' al-sa'id, ed. Amin 'Abd al-'Aziz, Cairo, 1914, pp.46-7.

113. art: al-Nuwayri (Kratschkowsky) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition, Leiden, 1936, p.968.

repeats this assertion in his book Istoria Arabskoi Geograficheskoi Literaturny.¹¹⁴ In both cases he does not mention his primary source of information, which may suggest that what he says is an unsubstantiated hypothesis.

If we agree with Kratschkowsky, then we may assume that al-Nuwayri must have acquired a knowledge of mathematics and according to the practice of the time, that he may have received his basic training in accountancy from his father, but there is no evidence from the sources to prove such a statement.

According to information provided by the sources, al-Nuwayri started working in the diwans in 698/1298 when he joined the service as a clerk (katib) in the Sultan's private diwan (al-diwan al-khass) in Cairo.¹¹⁵ A shortage of information prevents us from knowing the exact date on which he left Qus to go to Cairo, and whether al-Nuwayri joined the service in the same year in which he moved away from Qus. Logically he must have left Qus to travel to Cairo at least a year before he commenced working in the diwan al-khass. This can be deduced from the fact that he was in need of more advanced education which might not have been possible in a remote town in the most distant part of Upper Egypt. In addition to that, for employment in diwan al-khass one might have needed

114. J.I.Kratschkowsky, Istoria Arabskoi Geograficheskoi Literaturny, Moscow and Leningrad, 1957. Translated into Arabic by Salah al-Din Hashim, as Al-adab al-jughrafi al-a'rabi, Beirut, 1987, p.439.

115. Jamal al-Din , al-Nuwayri, p.35.

tuition for special skills in accountancy which was not available to a young man who came from such a remote place as Qus. So a possible scenario might be that al-Nuwayri left Qus, after he had obtained a basic knowledge in Arabic and Islamic studies approximately at the age of fifteen, for a higher education in Cairo where his father possibly worked. In these years he concentrated his efforts in studying as well as training himself in accountancy and developed his skills and knowledge about the work in the diwan.

In 701/1302, he was sent to Damascus to supervise the Sultan's private properties in Syria. After two years in this post he returned to Cairo where he continued his work in the Sultan's private diwan, in which he was also in charge of accounting and the book keeping of the Mansuri Hospital.¹¹⁶ In 710/1311 he was shifted to Tripoli because of the rivalry between himself and the wakil of the diwan al-khass Ibn 'Ubada. As a result, al-Nuwayri's relationship with the Sultan deteriorated and by order of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad he was whipped, humiliated and sent to Tripoli to the post of Katib al-sirr¹¹⁷, where he remained for nearly eight months.¹¹⁸

116. Ibid., pp.41-56.

117. The Katib al-Sirr is a chief secretary, in charge of writing documents and state papers in the diwan al-insha cf. Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.1, pp.137-8.

118. Idfawi, Tali, p.47; al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk li mar'ifat duwal al-muluk, pt2, I, Cairo, 1971, p.91. Jamal al-Din, al-Nuwayri, pp.62-4.

Al-Nuwayri was then transferred to the diwan al-jaysh, where he became an inspector of the army (nazir) in Tripoli province until 712/1313 when he returned to Egypt.¹¹⁹ From then on, we only know that he was appointed chief clerk (nazir al-diwan) possibly in the diwan al-jaysh in the Egyptian provinces, al-Duqahliyya and al-Murtahiyya.¹²⁰ However, it seems that he continued working in government administration and enjoyed good relations with some of the high ranking amirs, but that he was also interested in education and he made an effort to study hadith and Arabic literature with prominent scholars of his time.¹²¹

This widening of his interests may be explained by the fact that al-Nuwayri was no longer able to stand the rivalry and disputes of his associates which could lead to humiliation or ridicule. In addition to this, it might be that he had lost the ambition to reach the highest posts in the diwan after his punishment and that he believed he could not regain the favour of the Sultan. Fortunately, because of this, Arabic literature gained an author of one of the best encyclopaedias composed in the Mamluk period.

119. Idfawi, Tali, p.47. Al-Safadi, Wafi, vol.7, p.165; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, al-Durr, vol.1, pp.209-10. Rabie, The Financial System, p.17; Jamal al-Din, al-Nuwayri, pp.65-9.

120. Idfawi, Tali, p.47; al-Safadi, Wafi, vol. 7, p.165; Rabie, The Financial System, p.17; Jamal al-Din, al-Nuwayri, p.70.

121. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 1, p.3. Jamal al-Din, al-Nuwayri, pp.73-7.

After his return to Cairo al-Nuwayri concentrated his efforts on composing Nihayat al-arab which he continued writing in its historical parts until 730/1329, two years before his death in Ramadan 732/June 1330.¹²²

1.4.1 Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab

This encyclopaedic work represents an example of encyclopaedia composition in the Mamluk period, a genre in which other authors, such as al-Watwat,¹²³ al-'Umari¹²⁴ and al-Qalqashandi¹²⁵ made their contributions.

The aim of the author of this work is to provide all the knowledge essential for the clerks (kuttab) in the diwans¹²⁶ and for this purpose he wrote in summary

122. In addition to the above mentioned sources, cf. also Ibn Habib, Tadhkirat al-Nubih fi ayyam al-Mansur wa banih, vol. 2, ed. Muhammad Muhammad Amin, Cairo, 1982, p.246; Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-safi wa'l-mustawfi ba'd al-wafi, vol. 1, ed. Muhammad Muhammad Amin, Cairo, 1985, p.381; Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Leiden, 1949, vol.2, p.175; cf. idem, Supplement, Leiden, 1938, vol.2, pp.173-4; Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli, al-A'lam, Beirut, 1986, vol. 1, p.165.

123. Al-Watwat: Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Yahya al-Kutubi, Mabahiz al-fikar, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Shami, Kuwait, 1981. Cf. also Mabahij, ed. R. Maury, Paris, 1979, 2 vols. I could not see this edition.

124. Al-'Umari, Masalik.

125. Al-Qalqashandi, Subh.

126. Krachkovsky, EI¹, p.968. Idem, Istoria, Arabic trans. p.435.

form. This work is composed in thirty volumes and it took nearly twenty years to complete.¹²⁷

Nihayat al-arab is divided into five sections called furu'. Each furu' is divided into five parts (qism, pl. aqsam); each part has a different number of chapters (abwab) varying from two to fourteen. The first section is assigned for the earth and heaven. The second section is devoted to a discussion of man (al-insan), the third deals with animals (al-hayawan), the fourth plants (al-nabat), and the fifth section is devoted to history, which fills more than half of the work (from volume 13 to volume 32).¹²⁸

1.4.1.1 Importance Of The Work In General.

According to Krachkovsky, Nihayat al-arab is an important source for geographers, botanists and historians of civilisation. It is also a first class source of history as well as historical geography for events contemporary with the life of the author and periods¹²⁹ immediately preceding it. Above all the historical accounts given by al-Nuwayri concerning Mamluk history in his own time and especially the period of al-Nasir Muhammad are of great value. It is important to

127. It has reached vol.31 in its published form. However, the last volume has not been published and is still preserved in manuscript form. Cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 31. ed. al-Baz al-Urini, Cairo, 1992.

128. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 1, pp. 3-25. Krachkovsky, EI¹, p.968; idem, Istoria, pp.439-41. Cf. also n.7.

129. Krachkovsky, Istoria, pp.440-1, cf. also Chapoutot Ramadi, "L'agriculture dans l'Empire Mamluk au moyen age d'apres al-Nuwayri". Cahiers de Tunisie 1974, vol.22,p.p. 23-45.

recall that his employment in the diwan and his connection with the amirs gave him the opportunity to obtain original information from people connected with events.

Another important aspect of al-Nuwayri's work which has been mostly ignored by all those who have written about his life is the material he provided on the financial system of Mamluk Egypt. The significance of his work in this sphere comes from the fact that his is the only work composed in the Mamluk period focusing specifically on financial matters, although we can find material concerning financial and administrative matters scattered through the works of al-'Umari, al-Qalqashandi and al-Maqrizi, in addition to the information found in the secretarial manuals. Moreover, al-Nuwayri's work reflects the personal experience of its author in the diwan al-khass, and the diwan al-jaysh in both Syria and Egypt, and the actual administrative procedures in his own time; his work does not depend on the contribution of previous authors.

1.4.1.2. The reason for the composition by al-Nuwayri of the section entitled Kitabat al-tasarruf.

According to al-Nuwayri, when he started writing his chapter on writing (al-kitaba), he wished to ignore writing about the administrative and financial procedures (kitabat al-tasarruf) and to restrict his discussion to secretarial procedures (kitabat al-insha'). While adhering to the usual mode of composition in his time, he acceded to the requests of some of his friends to write a summary for employees in the financial diwan which the beginners could

comprehend.¹³⁰ He also emphasises that he could not find a book or any literary work on this subject, since each clerk (katib) usually contented himself with his own knowledge and experience. So, according to al-Nuwayri, his composition was created by him and it was his own idea¹³¹ only.

1.4.2. The definition of the term al-kitaba, according to al-Nuwayri.

Writing (al-kitaba), according to those who practise it, can be divided into five categories: kitabāt al-insha', kitabāt al-diwan wa'l-tasarruf, kitabāt al-hukm wa'l-shurut, kitabāt al-naskh, and kitabāt al-ta'lim.¹³²

1. Kitabat al-insha'

This category comprises nearly the whole of the seventh volume.¹³³ In these pages, the author tries to provide all the necessary advice for a beginner secretary in Arabic to be able to write in a good style (balagha) and with correct language (fasaha). He also mentions the tools used for writing, such as pens and ink, the merits that a scribe should have and the requisite knowledge he must acquire in different fields.

¹³⁰. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, p.193.

¹³¹. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, pp.193-4.

¹³². Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 7, p.4.

¹³³ (from page 4 to page 312 and 190 pages of Volume 8, from page 1 to page 191). Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.7, pp.4-31, vol.8, pp.1-191

Al-Nuwayri provides quotations in both poetry and prose to clarify his ideas. He also offers a large number of examples of fine writing which he quotes from the works of famous authors.¹³⁴

2. Kitabat al-hukm wa'l-shurut.

This type of writing belongs to judicial registration dealing with differences between people in their daily life.¹³⁵

3. Kitabat al-naskh

This category of writing concerns the procedures employed in copying a book or the draft of books on subjects like fiqh, the Arabic language, history and poetry, and the necessary knowledge which a copier (nasikh) must acquire to do the job proficiently.¹³⁶

4. Kitabat al-ta 'lim

According to al-Nuwayri, this category is divided into two types: ta lim ibtida' and ta'lim intiha. Ta lim ibtida'. This deals with the way to teach a basic knowledge of writing to the children. Ta'lim intiha deals with how to teach fine hand writing with different kinds of pens (aqlam).¹³⁷

5. Kitabat al-diwan wa'l-tasarruf.

In his introduction to this topic al-Nuwayri mentions a number of matters that he has discussed. Firstly, what each clerk in charge (mubashir) needs to function and the different procedures of functioning. Secondly, what customary rules (al-qawa'yd al-'urfiyya) and official rules (al-qawa'id al-istilahiyya) have been

134. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 7, pp.4-31. Examples quoted from famous authors, cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, pp.1-191.

135. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 9, pp.1-156.

136. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 9, pp.214-7.

137. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, , vol. 9, pp.218-20.

established. Thirdly, what the clerk in charge must pass up (to a higher official) and what he must receive (from inferior clerks). Fourthly, the methods of accounting.¹³⁸

According to al-Nuwayri, the main branches of kitabat al-diwan are as follows:

1. Administration of the army (mubasharat al-juyush).
2. Administration of the chest (mubasharat al-khizana).
3. Administration of the treasury (mubasharat bayt al-mal).
4. Administration of the granaries (mubasharat al-ihra').
5. Administration of taxes which were collected according to the lunar calendar on a monthly basis (mubasharat al-hilali).
6. Administration of the collection of the poll tax (mubasharat al-jawali).
7. Administration of the taxes which were collected according to the solar calendar on a yearly basis (mubasharat al-kharaji).
8. administration of the plantations of sugar cane, presses and sugar factories or refineries (mubasharat al-aqsab wa'l-m'a asir wa matabikh al-sukar).¹³⁹

1.4.3. The date of composition

According to Amina, al-Nuwayri started writing his encyclopaedia after his return from Tripoli and his settling in Cairo in 712/1312. He continued writing it until 730/1329.¹⁴⁰ Another view suggests that he started writing the first

138. Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat*, vol. 8, p.194.

139. Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat*, vol. 8, p.195.

140. Jamal al-Din, *Al-Nuwayri*, pp.111, 114.

volume in 714/1314, two years after his settling in Cairo.¹⁴¹ Evidence to support both the suggestions come from Volume Nineteen¹⁴² in which al-Nuwayri mentions that he finished writing it in 718/1318.¹⁴³ He might, therefore, have started his first volumes years before this date which is similar or near to the date given by Krachkovsky and Jamal al-Din.

What is more important than this is to answer the question - when was the topic of *kitab al-diwan wa'l-tasarruf* completed by al-Nuwayri? The answer to this question can be traced in al-Nuwayri's book itself. In Volume eight, al-Nuwayri emphasizes that a *muqta* whose *iqta* was located in Egypt was not allowed to collect the poll tax, al-mawarith al-hashriyya¹⁴⁴ and al-rizaq al-ahbasiyya.¹⁴⁵ This statement is repeated in Volume 31 when the author talks about the results of the Lachen land survey (al-rawk al-husami) which took place in Egypt in 697/1297.¹⁴⁶ Eighteen years later al-Nasir Muhammad's land survey (al-rawk al-

141. Krachkovski, "al-Nuwayri", EI¹, vol. 3, p.968.

142. Vol. 19 = vol. 21 of the published edition.

143. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 21, p.540. Jamal al-Din, Al-Nuwayri, pp.111-2.

144. Al-mawarith al-hashriyya was a tax imposed on the inherited wealth of a dead person. cf. The financial system, pp.127-32.

145. Al-rizaq al-ahbasiyya, as mentioned by al-Nuwayri, are those cultivated lands which had been kept for the benefit of institutions and religious communities such as Friday mosques (jawami'), mosques (masajid), hospices (rubat), hermitages Friday preachers and Sufis. cf. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 31, p.348.

146. Ibid.

nasiri) took place in Egypt. One of the results of this survey was that the muqta were allowed to collect the poll tax as well as other taxes on the borders of their iqta.¹⁴⁷ This indicates clearly that al-Nuwayri's statement in Vol.8 is compatible with the results of al-rawk al-husami and not with al-rawk al-nasiri which proves that the topic of kitab al-diwan wa'al-tasarruf had been written before 715/1315 and reflected the situation of the financial and administrative system before this period.¹⁴⁸

1.4.4. A discussion of the contents of Kitabat al-diwan wa'l-tasarruf.

A detailed description of this section of al-Nuwayri's work is now given below since its value as the sole administrative manual of the Mamluk period has been underestimated by scholars.

1. Administration of the Army

Under the heading:

"An indication of what the clerk in charge of the diwan al-jaysh needs according to the conventional practice which had been firmly established at the time," the author discusses in a few pages a number of issues concerning the administrative procedures practised by functionaries. One of the major functions of the clerk in charge of the diwan al-jaysh was to

¹⁴⁷. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, in Maqrizi, Suluk, pt 2/1 pp.153-4. Margin no. 7.

¹⁴⁸. Cf. Gladys Frantz Murphy, The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans, Cairo, 1986, p.70, n. 2.

register the names of freed cavalries (al-halqa), high ranking amirs and their mamluks, chiefs of Bedouin and Turcoman tribes, and the way they were paid: iqtas, salaries and rations.

The second major task undertaken by the employees in this diwan was looking after the iqtas. This included the registration of names of the iqta holders, the obligation of some muqtas towards the state other than military service, the registration of the agricultural lands which were given in the form of iqta by recording the name of the village, the description of the borders of the iqta, the measurement of land in a village according to faddans, recording the average yearly revenue (ibra) from the iqta, the evaluation of the yearly revenue of agricultural lands, the registration of transformation from one iqta to another either because of promotion or death of the muqta or his dismissal from service and what administrative procedure should take place to scrutinize the period of service of an amir or cavalry man after his death or dismissal and the payment he had already received until that time.¹⁴⁹

2. The Administration of the Royal Privy Purse.

The main function of the clerk in charge of the Royal Privy Purse was the registration, organisation and safe keeping of all kinds of possessions and recording them according to their weight, measurement and number of

loads. These items included money, silver, gold and robes of honour. They might have included spices, perfumes and works of art as well.

The second function of this clerk was to record those items which were donated to high ranking amirs and officials in the diwans, or bestowed upon envoys.

The third function of this clerk was the supplying of the personal provisions that accompanied the sultan (khaza'in al-suhba) on his travels, hunting, picnicking, war and official visits to the provinces in his empire. This included all the necessary items as well as luxuries which he might need during the course of his travels until his return to Cairo.¹⁵⁰

3. The administration of the Treasury

The clerk in charge of this diwan was responsible for the recording, book keeping and accounting of the money from taxes or other kinds of revenue which he either kept as his trusteeship or provided according to a written order of payment from the sultan.¹⁵¹

149. This is only a summary. A full discussion of this topic is given in Chapter 4 of this thesis. For the time being cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, pp.200-13.

150. Ibid., pp.213-7.

151. Ibid., pp.217-9.

4. The administration of the Granaries.

The clerk in charge of this department was responsible for book keeping and accounting the amount of grain, that was brought to the granaries from the agricultural lands belonging to the sultan's private diwan (al-khass), which he received as his trusteeship and paid out according to a written order of payment.¹⁵²

5. Administration of the Royal Palace (Mubasharat al-Buyut al-Sultaniyya)

The administration of the royal palace was maintained by five departments, each one of which was assigned to a particular job. These departments were as follows:

(i). The Department of the Royal kitchen and stores (al-hawaij khana)

The prime function of the clerk in charge of this department was to provide all necessities for the royal kitchen, the royal tables and wood and candles for lighting the palace. Secondly, he was to record the names of the dealers of foodstuffs and the book keeping of transactions with tradesmen. His third function was the registration of those who received rations from the sultan.

¹⁵². Ibid., pp.219-21.

The registration and book keeping of the supplies which were received from tradesmen and expenditure according to the order of payment¹⁵³ was also this clerk's responsibility.

- (ii) The Department of the Royal drinks department, pharmacy, confectionery and fruits (al sharab khana).

This Department dealt with the registration and book keeping of the items in this store, either receiving or paying out for the needs of the sultan's table or for those of patients.¹⁵⁴

- (iii) The Department of the Royal laundry and bath (al-tisht khana)

The function of the clerk in charge of this department was to provide all the necessities used for the sultan's laundry and bath which he received from the royal stores and chest.

153. Ibid., pp.221-224.

154. Ibid., pp.224-5.

- (iv) The Department of the Royal furniture, furnishings, beds and tents used by the sultan, his retinue, servants and ranking amirs on the sultan's travels, hunting and war (al-firash khana)

The function of the clerk in charge of this department was to look after the stores which held the furniture, to register this and provide of any type of furniture which might be needed for the use of the sultan.¹⁵⁵

- (v) The Department of the Royal Arsenal (al-silah khana)

The function of the clerk in charge of the arsenal was the safe-keeping of the weapons brought into the arsenal and the recording of the items inside and those which were taken out from there.¹⁵⁶

6. An indication of the sources of monthly money and its provenance and what the clerk in charge needed.

The definition of the term amwal al-hilali, according to al-Nuwayri, is the monthly rent and instalments on houses, shops, baths, bakeries, and hand mills which used cows or the water of the river which flowed the whole year round as a form of power, causing these devices to irrigate pastures. It also applied to fisheries and the tax on herds (zakat al-mawashi). The

155. Ibid., pp.226-7.

156. Ibid., pp.228-9.

clerk was responsible for the administrative procedures used to record and collect these rents and instalments.¹⁵⁷

7. The administration of the collection of the poll tax (mubasharat al-jawali).

This section is entitled:

“An indication of the poll tax imposed on non-Muslims and what was mentioned about it in the Tradition and the practice of the second caliph ‘Umar who regulated its collection, what process the clerks in our time have practised for collecting it and its place in their accounting, its average in the iqta, how the clerk in charge must function and what he needs”.

The author discusses a number of issues concerning this tax. First of all, he provides a summary of the poll tax according to the Qu‘ran, the tradition of the Prophet, Islamic law and the regulation of the second caliph ‘Umar. Then, he discusses when the collection process took place and what the average number of iqtas was, if the iqtas were located in Syria.

Thirdly, he mentions the administrative procedures which were practised in the collection processes of this tax.¹⁵⁸

157. Ibid., pp.228-33, 262-3.

158. Ibid., pp.228-33, 262-3.

Another section is entitled:

8. "An indication of the sources of al-kharaji and its types, and what the clerk in charge needs".

The definition of al-kharaji, according to al-Nuwayri, comprises all the money collected yearly from taxes and rents paid in cash and kind, from the kharaj tax imposed on cultivated land which grew crops, palm trees, orchards and grapevines, from rent collected from the hand mills which were operated by seasonal water in Syria, and dues imposed on farmers. The author also mentions the administrative practice of the collection of kharaj and the farmers' gifts in both Egypt and Syria.¹⁵⁹

9. Sugarcane and its presses

This topic deals with the cultivation of sugar, from the time of its planting until it is ready for consumption.¹⁶⁰

A final section, entitled:

10. "An indication of cases of accounting and how the clerk in charge proceeds and on what he can rely on", deals with the different administrative and financial procedures practised in the diwans such as

158. Ibid., pp.234-45.

159. Ibid., pp.245-63.

160. Ibid., pp.264-72.

registration, daily book keeping and different phases of accounting, in addition to the duties of the clerks in the diwans.¹⁶¹

1.5 A reappraisal of Poliak's scholarly discussion concerning the revenue from the iqta.

Poliak discussed the Mamluk iqta system in two of his works. The first was an article published in 1937 entitled "Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamluks". His second discussion was in 1939 in a book in which he revised his previous ideas with minor changes and additions. This work may, therefore, be taken as a true reflection of Poliak's views on this subject. Poliak's definition of iqta as a source of revenue¹⁶² is most appropriate and sound and can be applied to the whole Mamluk period. On the other hand, he mentions the contents of this source of revenue as follows:

"but many of them (i.e. iqtas) were annual allowances from the revenue of a tax, custom or excise levied by the central government, mines or specified taxes, customs and excises levied by the fief-holder in places which belonged to the central government."¹⁶³.

161. Ibid., pp.273-305.

162. Poliak, Feudalism, p.18.

163. Ibid.

This statement requires some clarification. It is true in general that the Mamluk state assigned annual allowances of particular taxes to high-ranking amirs and halqa, but this was by no means a general rule and the actual practice differed from the first Mamluk period to the second, and even in one individual period one can find difference in practice.

A second point to be discussed is Poliak's statement that

"land being regarded only as a source of revenue, the territorial fief was not an expanse containing villages, forests, mountains, meadows and deserts, but it consisted, as a rule, only of lands bringing a fixed income, viz. of cultivated lands which belong to the inhabited places enumerated in the feudal charter."¹⁶⁴

This statement is true to the extent that the iqta in the Mamluk era "consisted, as a rule, only of lands bringing a fixed income" generally, but they did not only consist "... of cultivated lands which belonged to the inhabited places enumerated in the feudal charter". There is evidence from the work of Ibn al-Ji'an Al-tuhfa, on the Egyptian iqta, which makes it clear that the iqtas consisted in some places of pasture lands (khirs), marshland (mustabhir) or even sometimes unirrigated land (sharaqi).

A third point concerns whether the iqta was located in one place or scattered in different areas. According to Poliak:-

"on the contrary a Syrian, Palestinian or Lebanese field was, after 1313, scattered as a rule in various parts of that province in which the knight served, and an Egyptian, after 1315, in various parts of Egypt".¹⁶⁵

First, there is no supporting footnote in Poliak's book to substantiate his claim, which clearly weakens his proposition. Secondly, the scattering of iqtas had been practised since the Ayyubid period.¹⁶⁶ So Poliak's emphasis on the scattering of iqtas after the year 1315 in Egypt does not have a basis in concrete evidence. Moreover, Poliak is also not precise enough when he writes about the "knight", for the scattering processes of the iqtas affected only the high-ranking amirs and not the halqa or the Mamalik al-Sultaniyya of whom a specific number of each group shared a village.¹⁶⁷

A fourth issue relates to Poliak's assertion that

"since 1313-15 the sultan often granted portions of different villages instead of a whole village, and small portions of several scattered villages instead of a great portion of a single village."¹⁶⁸

164. Ibid, p.18.

165. Ibid, p.19.

166. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.46-7.

167. Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa, p.

168. Poliak, Feudalism, p.19.

This statement seems to be dependent on what al-Maqrizi writes in his book al-Khitat

"... and the Copts practised every kind of deceit, and they started to weaken the Egyptian army. They scattered a single iqta in different places so that some of the collection took place in Upper Egypt, some in al-Sharqiyya province and some in al-Gharbiyya province to exhaust the soldier and increase expense."¹⁶⁹

With reference to the above statement and other information in the same section of this work of al-Maqrizi, it appears that, as a consequence of the cadastral survey (al-Rawk al-Nasiri) of al-Nasir Muhammad, the iqta of an individual soldier was transferred to a number of different places. He does not, however, mention anything which specifically concerns the iqtas of high-ranking amirs. Moreover, the processes of exchange (muqayadat) in the iqtas between halqa soldiers, which occurred after the death of al-Nasir Muhammad, can be provided as evidence that this process of scattering the portions of a single iqta was limited to iqtas of the halqa soldiers only. It is significant to note that there is no information mentioned by available sources concerning the exchange of iqtas between high-ranking amirs.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹. Al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, Cairo, 1853-4, vol. 1, p.90.

¹⁷⁰. Al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, vol 2, p. 219, idem, al-Suluk li mar'ifat duwal al-muluk, Cairo, 1958, pt.2/3, pp. 643, 687, 689.

A second source used in this connection by Poliak is Ibn Taghribirdi's biographical work al-Manhal al-Safi from which he quotes a single case,¹⁷¹ without any specific details. The third source used by Poliak was al-Buhturi, a native Syrian and the historian of the Arab tribe of Buhturi in West Lebanon. So, the information he provides about the iqta system concerns the Buhturi domain at the particular time of writing and it cannot necessarily be applied to Egypt or even other parts of Syria.¹⁷²

Al-Maqrizi does not say that the practice of scattering portions of iqtas continued or was often utilized by the Mamluk state after the death of al-Nasir Muhammad. The iqta registrations for the reigns of three Mamluk sultans (al-Ashraf Sha'ban, al-Zahir Barquq, and al-Ashraf Qaytbay), which were copied down by Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an, show clearly that the number of cases of scattering the portions of a single iqta of the high-ranking amirs are considerably fewer in number when compared with the large number of cases in which they were assigned a whole portion of a single village. Furthermore, there is no mention at all in these registrations about the scattering of portions of the halqa or of the Mamalik al-Sultaniyya. When a group of halqa soldiers were assigned a single village, the same process happened with the Mamalik al-Sultaniyya. It was even the case in some records that a number of the halqa and a number of the Mamalik al-Sultaniyya shared the same village.

171. Poliak, Feudalism, p.19.

172. Al-Buhturi, Salih b. Yahya (840/1436), Tarikh Beirut, ed. Lewis Cheikho, 1927.

Overall, it should be emphasised that Poliak's discussion is general in both time and place. He tries to cover the whole Mamluk era in both Egypt and Syria (Bilad al-Sham). His method does not recognize the differences between Egypt and Syria nor does he notice changes or attempt to trace the development of the iqta revenue right through the Mamluk era.

1.6 A review of al-Turkhan's work on cultivated land and taxes assigned in the form of iqta, and the yearly revenue from them.

The discussion will be concentrated only on al-Turkhan's book al-Nuzum al-Iqta' iyya since no other works were written by the author concerning the subject under study. This work was a Ph.D. thesis published in the form of a book in Cairo in 1968. The discussion on the above subject is spread through five chapters.

In Chapter two entitled The Mamluk sultans and the iqta, al-Turkhan, depending on al-Maqrizi and Ibn Iyas, mentions the classification of land tenures in Egypt, and al-Qalqashandi's account of the share of the sultan and amirs in cultivated lands. In this discussion, the author stretches these statements to include the whole Mamluk era.¹⁷³ Al-Turkhan ignores the fact that the shares of the sultan, amirs, halqa and al-Mamalik al-Sultaniyya in the cultivated lands were different from the first Mamluk era to the second, in addition to the wide dispersal of different types of land tenures, other than iqta, such as waqf, milk,

¹⁷³. Al-Turkhan, Nuzum pp.63,-4.

rizqa in considerable numbers especially in the second Mamluk era.¹⁷⁴

Depending on al-Qalqashandi, al-Turkhan mentions that the cultivated land assigned in the form of iqtas was grouped in categories from the perspective of irrigation, fertility and production. The sultan and higher ranking amirs received the best of these lands whilst the average quality lands were assigned to al-Mamalik al-Sultaniyya. The most inferior quality lands were assigned to halqa and the Bedouin.¹⁷⁵

My criticism of al-Qalqashandi's above statement will be discussed in the coming pages. For the time being, I have two main comments. First of all, in practice, the factors involved in the creation of the quality of cultivated land assigned in the form of iqta were variable from year to year, according to the Nile flood and human activity on the land itself. Secondly, the changing of an iqta through the years from one iqta holder to another and the distribution process were dependent normally on the availability of iqtas, especially if we consider that the purpose of assigning the iqta was to provide the muqta with a fixed yearly revenue sufficient for him to support his military obligations.

174. Ibn al-Ji'an, *Al-tuhfa*.

175. Al-Turkhan, *Nuzum*, pp.64-5.

In Chapter-5 of his book, which deals with the iqta holders, al-Turkhan mentions that, after the period of Sultan Sha'ban b. Husayn¹⁷⁶, the payment to the awlad al-nas who were working in the Mamluk army was by monthly salary (jamikiyya).¹⁷⁷ This statement, however, is not true since most of the halqa cavalries in the 9/15th century were alwlad al-nas¹⁷⁸ and the halqa were always paid by iqtas.

Al-Turkhan also states the estimation of the yearly yield (ibra) for the iqtas of this group (i.e. halqa) according to al-Maqrizi's records of al-Nasir's cadastral survey.¹⁷⁹ The development and changes in the condition and status of the iqtas belonging to the halqa after the cadastral survey are ignored altogether in spite of many indications in the historical sources.

The author does not offer much explanation concerning the relationship between the number of mamluks and horsemen an amir can keep and the rank of amir, the relationship between the rank and the iqta, the relationship between the iqta of the amir and the number of mamluks he must keep in his service. However, he mentions that the increasing of an iqta of some amirs can be attributed to

176. The reign of al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. al-Husayn, (764/1362 - to 778/1376) Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-jawhar al-thamin fi sirr al-khulafa' wa'l-muluk wa'l-salatin, ed. Sa'id Aba'l-Fattah 'Ashur, Mecca, 1982, pp.409-36.

177. Al-Turkhan, Nuzum, p.148.

178. Ayalon, David, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army", in Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517), London, 1977, p.457.

three reasons - the weakness in the personality of the sultan, the status of the amir and his relationship with the sultan and the ambitions and the oppressive measures of the amir. But he does not provide any examples from Mamluk historical works to support his ideas. He also emphasises that no relationship existed between the *ibra* and the rank of the amir.¹⁸⁰

In Chapter 7 on The local administration of the *iqtas*, al-Turhkan starts by mentioning that he deduces from his study of the above subject a number of issues. According to him, there were several issues or "facts" which dominated the local administration of the *iqtas* in the Mamluk era. They were the emergence of codification, legislation and polemics in *fiqh* on the method of handing over the land to the farmer sharing (*muqasama*), renting (*ijara*) or other means and the sharing of the - harvest and the legal opinions (*fatawa*) issued to deal with these matters. In spite of what he considers as a "fact", he does not spend much effort in dealing with this subject and he only mentions two legal opinions; one concerning the sharing (*muqasama*) and the other concerning the rent (*ijara*) of the *iqta* land.¹⁸¹

In response to these assertions, it must be stated that the legislation process concerning the sharing and renting had started and developed centuries before

179. Al-Turkhan, Nuzum, p.148-9.

180. Ibid., pp.158-63.

181. Ibid., pp.233, 238-9.

the Mamluk era. Therefore, in what way can we regard what has been mentioned by the author as a fact?

Secondly, al-Turkhan believes that the exploitation of the iqta land was similar in both the sultan and amir's iqtas in which each of them had a diwan with a clerk to look after his iqta.¹⁸² This is only partly true. Although it is a well-known fact that the amir had a separate administration to deal with the affairs of his iqtas, the status, authority, and powers of his administration as opposed to those of the amirs were very different.

A third "fact" put forward by al-Turkhan is that the high ranking amir, the holder of the iqta, did not dwell in his iqta to look after it. The reasons which are provided by al-Turkhan to explain this "fact" are not weighty enough. He mentions that some sources explain this as being brought about by the fact that the amir's iqta was scattered. Al-Turkhan, from his side, refuses this explanation and points to the fact that the amir was not interested in travelling to investigate and supervise the affairs of his iqta except on irregular occasions with the sultan's permission. A second reason adduced by al-Turkhan is that the continuation of the iqta in the muqta's hand was not guaranteed in perpetuity. The third reason is that the Mamluk sultans were concerned to keep the amirs away from their iqtas to prevent them from establishing dangerous clannishness

¹⁸². Ibid., p.233.

which might create disunity and work against the state.¹⁸³ As al-Turkhan does not accept the first reason, we will concentrate our efforts on the second and third reasons and will discuss al-Turkhan's arguments about them.

In general, the iqta was guaranteed to be in muqta's hand in perpetuity except when he became unable to perform his military duties. Even if al-Turkhan's statements were true, this would not prevent the muqta from looking after his iqta, especially when the iqta was his only source of income.

Concerning the third reason, the establishment of dangerous clannishness leading to disunity, this could not occur in a centralised state like the Mamluk one. The iqta was only a type of payment utilized instead of a salary without bestowing upon the muqta any important authority at a local level. In addition to that, most of the high-ranking amirs had posts in the royal court or as governors in the Egyptian and Syrian provinces. Therefore, it is clear that the iqta holders naturally dwelt at their place of work and only visited their iqtas. However, the farming and supervision of cultivation were not considered as suitable work in Mamluk society, especially for Mamluk amirs who were members of the higher classes of that society. This sprang possibly from the bad conditions of the peasants (fallahin) during this period.¹⁸⁴ The actual work of administering the iqtas was the responsibility of the clerks.

183. Ibid., pp.233-4.

184. Ibn al-Hajj, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Abdari (d.737/1336), al-Madkhal, vol.4, Cairo, 1929, p.9.

Regarding the amir's mamluks, they usually stayed with the amir and formed an element of his household. On the other hand, al-Turkhan mentions the orders of Sultan Baybars to the inspectors of the army to bring the jund from their iqtas.¹⁸⁵ First of all, there is no indication in the source, on which al-Turkhan depends, for supporting his suggestion that they were staying in their iqtas. Secondly, the meaning of the word jund in the first Mamluk era was usually applied to ajnad al-halqa and less frequently to the amir's mamluks. Thirdly, the presence of the jund in the iqtas could be explained by the fact that they were supervising the harvest or collecting their share of the crops.

The second statement mentioned by the author to support his proposition is that, as a result of the epidemic which afflicted Egypt in 749/1348, only a small number of farmers were left to harvest the crops which forced the jund to work themselves and they could not harvest most of the crops.¹⁸⁶ This statement is a true indication of the main facts. The jund carried out the harvest process because of the emergency situation caused by the death of the farmers. But it was not the usual practice that the jund participated in the cultivation process. So, the evidence provided by the author is not strong enough to prove his suggestion that this became a regular practice.

Another factor was the intervention of the Mamluk sultan in the local exploitation of all cultivation processes right from preparing the land for

185. Al-Turkhan, Nuzum, p.234.

cultivation until the harvest. As a result of this intervention, the sultan was able to collect his kharaj, 'ushur, taqawi and loans.¹⁸⁷ It is true in general that the Mamluk state kept central supervision over the iqta, but it does not mean that this grip was very tight throughout the whole period. There are indications, that this control decreased after al-Nasir's cadastral survey and that it definitely went into further decline towards the end of the Mamluk era.

A second case which might have involved state intervention was the collection of kharaj. There is ambiguity concerning the question as to who was the beneficiary of the kharaj - the state, or the muqta. There is no clear and cogent answer to this question since all Mamluk sources keep quiet about this matter, although there are indications in Nihayat al-arab and in Subh al-a'sha which might suggest that kharaj tax was assigned in the form of iqta.¹⁸⁸

Now, let us return to al-Turkhan's statement that the muqta was responsible for collecting the kharaj and handing it to the state.¹⁸⁹ The sources used to support this proposal are al-Nuwayri, al-Qalqashandi, al-Maqrizi and Ibn Shahin. When I returned to the previously mentioned pages in the books of these authors, I could not find any indication which might suggest that the muqta was responsible for collecting the kharaj tax and delivering it to the state. On the

186. Ibid., p.234.

187. Ibid., pp.234-5.

188. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-Arab, vol 8, pp.208-9.

second occasion, al-Turkhan mentions, depending on al-Asadi's work Al-taysir wa'l it'ibar that in turning over the report of the iqta to the muqta some information had to be given concerning the iqta information such as the amount of kharaj tax which must be received by the diwan¹⁹⁰. Returning to the same information in the published edition of al-Asadi's book, I discovered that there is a contradiction between al-Turkhan and the sources he used. Al-Asadi only says that in turning over the report of the iqta to the muqta there was a mention of the amount of kharaj tax of the iqta.¹⁹¹ Therefore, there is no evidence in support of al-Turkhan's proposal that the muqta handed over the kharaj to the state.

A second problem concerns the spreading of the utilisation of the rent as a method of exploiting the iqta land.¹⁹² The questions which arise from this transformation and are not answered by the author are as follows: when was the rent first used to exploit the iqta? Why did rent replace kharaj as a method of exploiting the iqta? How was the rent process practised?

It seems after reading al-Turkhan's book and analysing the issues raised by this chapter that al-Turkhan tends to make sweeping generalisations in which a

189. Al-Turkhan, Nuzum, p.199.

190. Ibid., p.235.

191. Al-Asadi, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Khalil, Al-taysir wa'l-it'ibar wa'l-Tahriyr wa'l-ikhtibar, ed. 'Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat, Cairo, 1967, pp.73-94.

192. Al-Turkhan, Nuzum, pp. 239-42.

reader cannot observe any attempt at tracing developments; to him the whole Mamluk period remains constantly in the same mould.

1.7 A discussion of Muhammed Muhammad Amin, *Al-awqaf wa'l-hayat al-ijtima 'iyya fi Misr (648/1250 - 923/1517) Cairo, 1980.*

This work consists of seven chapters which are as follows:

1.7.1 Chapter 1 - Waqf before the Mamluk period.

This chapter, traces the development of the waqf system in Egypt from ancient Egyptian times until the end of the Ayyubid period. The author studies a number of issues concerning the waqf system in the period of the Prophet and the Rashidun Caliphs, and presents arguments on the waqf system by the schools of law. There is also discussion of the transformation of cultivated land (kharaj land) into waqf during the period covered by this chapter and reasons are given for the development of such practices. The development of the waqf system in Egypt from the Arab conquest until the Ayyubid period is also analysed.

1.7.2 Chapter 2 - The flourishing of the waqf system and its organisation and management in the Mamluk period.

Here, the author concentrates his efforts on discussing a number of issues such as the reasons for the flourishing of the waqf system in the Mamluk period, the characteristics of Mamluk waqf and the administration of the waqf system by the state.

1.7.3 Chapter 3 - The waqf and social services

Here the author shows that social services such as, food, water and health care were provided by the waqf system for the people of Egypt.

1.7.4 Chapter 4 - Waqf and religious life.

The author studies various subjects such as the influence of waqf in the establishment and maintenance of mosques, khanqahs, promoting people's faith, influence of waqf in the flourishing of mysticism in Egypt, the link between waqf and hajj and waqf and jihad.

1.7.5 Chapter 5 - Waqf and intellectual life

In this chapter, the author makes us aware of the many ways in which the waqf system helped Egyptian society to establish educational institutions such as the madrasa, maktab and libraries and how salaries were paid to teachers, scholars and students who studied or worked in these institutions.

1.7.6. Chapter 6 - Waqf and economic life

In this chapter, the author, discusses the bad effect of the waqf system on the Egyptian economy and the impact of bad economic performance on those who benefited from the waqf income. He also studies the transformation of cultivated land belonged to iqta to waqf and its impact on the Mamluk army. Moreover, he mentions the administration of institutions supported by waqf income and the functions of each employee.

1.7.7 Chapter 7 - The decline of the waqf system in the Mamluk period.

Here, the author concentrates on how the influential Mamluk elite stole the waqf or the institutions supported by waqf by imposing taxes or maladministration and the reaction of ordinary people to this conduct.

1.7.8. A Critique Of Amin's Work

This work covering all aspects of the waqf system in Egypt during the Mamluk period is very comprehensive and is based on much research in the field. However, in spite of the high merits of the work, there are a number of points that must be mentioned about its general nature, the author's combining of waqf and rizaq and the organization of the text.

Generally speaking, the book covers more than two centuries and deals with different aspects of the system. Thus, one does not have room for studying each issue in detail or in depth and because of this, I believe that Amin might not have used all the waqf documents at his disposal, leaving some data untouched.

Regarding the combining of waqf and rizaq, the author, although he treats them as one system, concentrates mainly on waqf, leaving only a few discussions for rizaq. However, the distinction between waqf and rizaq is clear; a rizaq was assigned by the state for the upkeep of religious institutions and paid for their imams, khatibs and so on, in the Egyptian provinces. They could be used as a political instrument to gain the loyalty of certain people, waqf on the other hand, was mainly for charitable purposes; it was established by people themselves and

funded from their properties. Therefore, we must regard each one as a different system, as the purpose of their establishment was different and they were administered by separate diwans.

1.8 An overview of Heinz Halm, *Agypten nach den mamlukischen Lehenregistern*.¹⁹³

This work consists of two volumes. The first volume deals with Upper Egypt and al-Fayyum province. The author starts the volume with a discussion of the cadastral surveys (rawks) which took place in Egypt from the Arab conquest until the end of the Mamluk era. He also mentions the area measurement (misaha), the categories of land, the estimation of yearly yield (ibra), and forms of land tenure such as diwans, iqta, waqf, rizaq, and milk.

The major effort of the author is aimed at providing data concerning the villages of the provinces of Upper Egypt and al-Fayyum. The discussion is organized as follows:

The provinces covered are:

Qus, Ikhmim, Asyut, Manfalut, al-Ushmunain, al-Bahnasa, Atfih, al-Jiza, al-Fayyum.

For each province, the author mentions a number of issues concerning the canals (khuljan), the total area measurement of the villages in the province in faddans

¹⁹³ 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1979-1982.

and in square kilometres, according to both Ibn al-Ji'an and modern surveys and studies. He also cites the total estimation of the villages in the province in dinar al-jayshi.

The villages in each province are presented in Latin alphabetical order. For each village, the author provides data concerning the name of the village, the area measurement and its estimation according to Ibn Duqmaq. Also, in each village, the area measurement figure and the estimation figure belonging to the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and the estimation figure belonging to the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay are cited according to Ibn al-Ji'an. The land tenure of the village is given according to Ibn Duqmaq for the period of Sultan Barquq. The land tenures of the periods of both al-Ashraf Sha'ban and al-Ashraf Qaytbay according to Ibn al-Ji'an are also mentioned for each village. As far as al-Fayyum province is concerned, the data of area measurement, the estimation of yearly yields and land tenures are mentioned according to the period of al-Nabulsi for the period of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub and according to Ibn al-Ji'an for the periods of al-Ashraf Sha'ban and al-Ashraf Qaytbay.

The second volume concentrates its discussion on the provinces of Lower Egypt. The discussion is organized in the following order:

Cairo al-Dawahi, Qalyub, Ibyar, Minuf, al-Buhayra Fuwa wa al-Muzahamiyatayn, al-Gharbiyya, al-Daqliyya, Coastal regions (al-thughur).

The data provided for each village and province are similar to those mentioned for Volume 1.

A critique of Halm's work

This work concentrates on the historical topography of Egypt from early times until the end of the Mamluk era. The author has used in his work a large number of sources such as Arab geographers, Ibn Mammati¹⁹⁴, al-Nabulsi¹⁹⁵, Ibn Duqmaq¹⁹⁶ and Ibn al-Ji'an¹⁹⁷. He also utilises modern surveys and maps. In general this work is a most reliable tool for the study of the historical geography of Egypt in both the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

However despite the merits of Halm's work, there are a number of points which need to be discussed. The data as presented in both the volumes of the work do not help any project which aims at a statistical analysis of the land tenure system of the periods of the three Sultans (Shab'an, Barquq and Qaytbay). The author mentions that Ibn Duqmaq depended on al-Rawk al-Nasiri for writing the names of the villages, area measurement figures and the estimation of the yearly yield figures.

This is likely to be incorrect because Ibn Duqmaq does not mention in his work,

¹⁹⁴ Ibn Mammati, al-Asad b. al-Khatir (d.606/1209), Qawanin al-dawawin, ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo, 1943.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Nabulsi, 'Uthman b. Ibrahim (d.685/1286) Tarikh al-Fayyum wa biladihi, ed. Moritz, Cairo 1899.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn Duqmaq, Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Aydamur (d.809/1406), Al-intisar li wasitat iqd al-amsar, vol.4-5, ed. Vollers, Cairo, 1893.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa ed. Moritz.

Al-intisar, that he used the records of al-Rawk or nor does he quote al-Rawk in the pages of his work. Moreover, a detailed comparison of the area measurement figures belonging to Ibn Duqmaq and those figures, which Ibn al-Ji'an mentions explicitly as belonging to al-Rawk al-Nasiri shows that the two sets of figures are not identical. Furthermore, Ibn Duqmaq did not have much opportunity to obtain access to such records which were normally located in the diwan al-jaysh because he was not a clerk in any diwan nor was he an influential person to whom such an access would be possible¹⁹⁸. From the above discussion, one is likely to expect that Ibn Duqmaq did not derive his records from the archives of al-Rawk al-Nasiri or directly from the registers of the diwan al-jaysh but that he managed to obtain those from oral contemporary information from one or more clerks in the diwans.

Another point raised by Halm's book is that he believed that the estimation of the *ibra* of villages, which determined that al-Rawk al-Nasiri was utilized without a change until the end of the Bahri era and that both Ibn Duqmaq's *ibra* figures and those figures mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an for al-Ashraf Sha'ban's period belonged to the above Rawk.

The author has not provided a single piece of evidence to support his point of view. Ibn Duqmaq, as we have tried to prove, only used the contemporary records of the diwan al-jaysh through oral sources. Furthermore, it was a common practice of the army bureau that the *ibra* of a village was re-examined

every three years in order to assess the change in productivity of the cultivated land and to assign the village to a new muqta¹⁹⁹.

Therefore, one is more content to say that al-Rawk al-Nasri did not use the same figures as Ibn Duqmaq or Ibn al-Ji'an for the estimation of the villages in Egypt and that the figures provided by both Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an belonged to the records of contemporary registers only.

1.9 Review of Jennifer Thayer, Land politics and power networks in Mamluk Egypt - an unpublished Ph.D thesis, New York University, 1993.

This work consists of an introduction, four chapters and closing remarks. In her introduction, the author reviews in general the modern works on Mamluk economic and social history written by Poliak, Ashtor, Udovititch, Rabie, Hinz, Shoshan and Petry. She criticises their views on the Mamluk regime as a period of greed, total power, maladministration and their being blamed for the decline of Egypt as one of the great economic powers in the Middle East.

She also mentions in general the importance of the Mamluk elite as wealthy land estates holders and she underlines the part played by their sons, the awlad al-nas in the social and political affairs of urban Egyptian society. The author, also

198 Cf. also Chapter 2, pp.

199 Cf. also Chapter three, pp.

discusses in general the role of ordinary people in the economic, political and social life of Mamluk Egypt.

1.9.1 Chapter 1 - Land Tenure

The author studies different types of land tenures in Egypt during the Mamluk period. These land tenures include iqta, waqf, rizaq, milk and Sultan's diwans. Starting with the iqta system, she studies a number of issues concerning the surveys, of al-Rawk al-Husami and al-Rawk al-Nasiri, the administration of iqta including the recording and registration of iqtas and land holders and the method employed by diwan al-jaysh for evaluating the yearly yield of iqta lands. She then provides skeletal information about the cultivated land that belonged to the sultan's diwans, waqf, rizaq al-ihbasiyya, al-jayshiyya and private property (milk).

1.9.2 Chapter 2 -The Taxation System

The author discusses a number of issues concerning the taxes (jizya, kharaj) the types of cultivated land, the procedures for assessment and collection of kharaj tax according to Mamluk and Ayyubid sources, the contribution of ordinary people to farming and the management of the collection procedures of the taxes.

1.9.3 Chapter 3 -The Grain Economy

In this chapter the author highlights the importance of grain, especially wheat, as an agricultural commodity for both land tenures and consumers. Here the author discusses the segments of Mamluk society (the Mamluk army, Sultan, waqf and ordinary people), which could claim access to the ownership of grain. Secondly,

she mentions the supply procedures for the harvest from cultivated land to the cities and the limitations in the capacity of Mamluk elite as the supplier of grain to the city markets in consideration of the needs of the sultan and ranking amirs for feeding the army and their house-holds. Thirdly, she discusses the demand for grain by the consumers in the cities, the factors causing their price variation in the market and the part played by the Sultan and ranking amirs in this regard.

1.9.4. Chapter 4 - The Qusayr Documents

Here the author throws light on some fragments from the Qusayr documents which belonged to the grain trade between Egypt and Hijaz via Quysar, a port on the Red Sea.

A critique of Thayer's work

As one goes through this work in a comprehensive and careful manner, one discovers that Chapters 1 and 2 discuss issues that have already been studied by other scholars like Poliak, Turkhan, Rabie, Hinz, Sato, Tabatabia and Muhammad Amin. It is also noticeable that the author does not provide any new data or information which can add to our knowledge of the land tenures and taxation system of Mamluk Egypt, in addition to what has already been supplied by other authors. Similarly, Chapter 4 has little value since the Qusayr

documents have already been studied by Witcombe and Johnson²⁰⁰, and the author depended entirely on the above work for her discussion.

As far as methodology and aims are concerned, the author tries to use Mann's principle that "Societies are constituted on multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power" as a base for her discussion. She aims to demonstrate that both ordinary and Mamluk segments were interdependent concerning the administration and management of the cultivated land. However, she tries a new approach in studying the participation of the ordinary segments of Mamluk Egypt in land management, emphasizing their role as administrators, beneficiaries and pensioners of the land production. She also tries to fit Mann's principle into the Mamluk environment characterized by the power and wealth of the Mamluk elite.

One can accept the author's proposition that ordinary people had a part in the land management and acquired a share in the land production which might have led to their participation in the political and economic life of the regime. On the other hand, their participation in land management was on behalf of their masters - the Mamluk land holders - and their share of land production did not exceed 30% of the total production of the Egyptian cultivated land.

Moreover the Mamluk elite was a class which had a solidarity among its members and dominated political life and wealth, in contradistinction to the ordinary

²⁰⁰ Quseir al-Qadim 1980 : a preliminary report

people who belonged to different classes and the solidarity among their classes was very weak. One may conclude that the author has overestimated the participation of the ordinary people in the network of power in Mamluk Egypt and that their part in this respect was limited. Certainly, Chapter 3 is the most valuable contribution in this work. The author extends the study of Lapidus²⁰¹, and has added many points to our knowledge of the ownership, supply and demand for the grain in Mamluk Egypt.

201 The grain economy of Mamluk Egypt.

CHAPTER 2

2. The Mamluk Land Registrations According To Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn Al-Ji'an

As a result of the vicissitudes of time, all archives concerning the Mamluk era in Egypt have totally disappeared. Those documents which have survived have come to us not in their original form (as archives), but through a process of quoting and copying by narrative sources, or are found in secretarial manuals which used them as model documents for the purpose of training the novice secretaries.²⁰²

Except for a few documents which were cited in narrative sources, the bulk of these documents were quoted or copied by secretarial manuals. The best example of these secretarial manuals which are often mentioned in the context of the Mamluk period is Subh al-a'sha of al-Qalqashandi. Although it is a fact that this manual contains a large number of documents compared with its counterparts in Mamluk times, it includes few documents which concern the Mamluk iqta system and sheds little light on any discussion of this issue. Confirming the above statement, I have studied all the diplomas or acts granting iqtas (manashir) which are preserved in this manual. It is clear that although they produce some valuable reasons for assigning the iqta to the iqta holder and his obligations towards the state in return, these diplomas remain silent about

²⁰² R. Stephen Humphreys, Islamic History: pp.40-1.

anything concerning area measurement (misaha), the estimation of the yearly yield of the iqta (ibra) and even sometimes the name of the village or villages that have been assigned in the form of iqta.²⁰³

There is, however, much value to be gained from a study of two works, Al-intisar²⁰⁴ by Ibn Duqmaq and Al-tuhfa ²⁰⁵by Ibn al-Ji'an. Both these works contain a bulk of land records, probably quoted or copied from the archives of the diwan al-jaysh, concerning land tenures, area measurement (misaha) and the estimated yearly yield of the villages (ibra), for the periods of three sultans (Sha'ban, Barquq and Qaytbay). In order to benefit from such data in the task of studying the land tenure system in the Mamluk era, both the works of Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an must be discussed in a comprehensive and accurate manner. The aim will be to evaluate the works of both Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an with regard to the study of the land tenure system. In order to achieve this objective, the work in this chapter has been divided into two parts with each part sub-divided into a number of topics and each topic dealing with a number of issues.

In Part I, I will provide as comprehensive a biography of Ibn Duqmaq as possible. I will also analyse and evaluate his work al-intisar. Part II will be a detailed discussion of the biography of Ibn al-Ji'an in which his work Al-tuhfa

²⁰³. Al-Qalqashandi, Subh al-a'sha, vol.13, pp.172-200.

²⁰⁴ Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar li wasitat 'iqd al-amsar, ed. K. Vollers, Cairo, 1893, vols. 4 and 5.

²⁰⁵ Ibn al-Ji'an al-Tuhfa, ed. Moritz.

will be analysed and evaluated. The discussion of these two works will concentrate on a number of issues concerning the sources of information which were used by each author and whether they utilised the archival records or not. It will also mark out the date or period to which all data belong and will also mention the contents of both al-intisar and Al-tuhfa.

2.1 The evaluation of the work Al-intisar of Ibn Duqmaq.

2.1.1 The biography of Ibn Duqmaq

Ibn Duqmaq, Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Aydamur Sarim al-Din was born in Cairo on 4 Ramadan 745/19 January 1445²⁰⁶, into a family which belonged to the awlad al-nas. He spent his early life in Cairo where he possibly acquired his basic knowledge in Arabic, fiqh, tafsir and hadith according to the practice of his time.²⁰⁷ According to Ibn Taghri Birdi, Ibn Duqmaq studied with a number of Hanafi scholars, but he did not continue his studies with them. Instead, he turned for a while to Arabic literature before being attracted to history where he finally found his favourite interest. Indeed, it was in this field that he composed most of his works.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Ibn Iyas, Ahmad (d. after 930/1523), Bada'i 'al-zuhur fi waqa'i 'al-duhur, ed. Muhammad Mustafa, Wiesbaden, 1974, vol.5, pt.2, p.776.

²⁰⁷ Ibn Taghri Birdi, Yusuf (d. 874/1469), Al-manhal al-safi wa'l-mustawfi ba'd al-wafi, ed. Muhammad Muhammad Amin, Cairo, 1985, vol. 1, pp.138-9.

²⁰⁸ Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139.

It is also mentioned by both Ibn Taghri Birdi and al-Sakhawi that Ibn Duqmaq used to wear a soldier's uniform, which may suggest that like his colleagues from the awlad al-nas, he served in the halqa ²⁰⁹.

During his last years, around 807/1403 or 808/1404, Ibn Duqmaq became the governor (wali) of Damietta, but he remained in this post only for a short period. He was dismissed and returned to Cairo where he died shortly afterwards, in Dhu'l-Hijja 809 / April, 1407, at the age of sixty four.²¹⁰

The biography of Ibn Duqmaq is found in only a condensed form in the available Mamluk sources. They suggest, however, that he was "the historian of Egypt" of his time.²¹¹ According to Ibn Taghri Birdi, who probably quoted from al-Maqrizi's work Durr al-uqud al-farida fi tarajim al-a'yan al-mufida²¹², Ibn Duqmaq had a comprehensive knowledge of the Mamluk state, its history and its high-ranking amirs.²¹³ It is a pity that this work of al-Maqrizi is apparently available only in

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p.139. Cf. also al-Sakhawi, op. cit. vol. 1, p.146. For more detail about the awlad al-nas as a group in the halqa, EI²; art. EI², halka.

²¹⁰ Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.140. Al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol. 1, pp.145-6. Ibn Iyas, op. cit., vol. 5, pt. 2, p.776.

²¹¹ Al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol.1, p.145. Ibn Iyas, op.cit., vol.5 pt. 2, p.776.

²¹² Durr al-'uqud al-farida is a biographical dictionary of contemporary dignitaries. Cf. Shakir Mustafa, Al-tarikh al-'arabi wa'l mu'arrikhun, Beirut, 1990, vol. 3, p.148.

²¹³ Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139.

manuscript form in private hands in Mosul. Possibly, it contains a biography of Ibn Duqmaq. It is clear, however, that he was an authoritative historian of the Mamluk state whose works were quoted by most of the Mamluk historians, who came after him, such as Ibn Hajar, al-'Ayni, al-Maqrizi, Ibn Taghri Birdi, and Ibn Iyas.²¹⁴

2.1.2 Ibn Duqmaq's Historical Works

According to Ibn Taghri Birdi who quoted from al-Maqrizi, Ibn Duqmaq composed more than two hundred historical works. Among them are some cited by al-Maqrizi but he does not mention their names²¹⁵ exactly.

1. A large annalistic history (Tarikh kabir 'ala al-sinin)²¹⁶

There is a mention of an annalistic history called Nuzhat al-anam fi tarikh al-Islam, but according to the words of Ibn Duqmaq himself, this was only his smaller annalistic history, which probably means that he wrote another more

²¹⁴ Ibn Hajar mentions in his book Inba al-ghumr that he quotes from Ibn Duqmaq's works frequently for writing his work. He also accuses al-'Ayni of copying from Ibn Duqmaq's works. Cf. Ibn Hajar Ahmad b. 'Ali(d.852/1449), Inba al-ghumr bi-abn'a al-'umr, ed. 'Abd Allah b. Ahmad, Beirut 1986, vol.1, p.293. There are indications that al-Maqrizi, Ibn Taghri Birdi and Ibn Iyas knew Ibn Duqmaq's works and probably used them. Cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, op.cit., vol.1, p.130. Cf. also Ibn Iyas, op.cit., vol.5 pt. 2, p.776.

²¹⁵ Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139.

²¹⁶ Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139.

voluminous annalistic historical work²¹⁷ too. In spite of the disappearance of Ibn Duqmaq's longer work, a number of volumes of the Nuzhat al-anam still exist in manuscript form in the libraries of Paris, Gotha, Cairo and Istanbul.²¹⁸

2. A biographical dictionary (Tarikh 'ala al-huruf).²¹⁹

This is possibly a reference work attributed to Ibn Duqmaq by al-Baghdadi called Al-Durr al-munaddad fi wafiyat ummat Muhammad²²⁰.

Unfortunately there is no mention in the extant sources of the existence of this work. However, there is another biographical dictionary composed by Ibn Duqmaq called Turjuman al-zaman fi tarajim al-a'yan which could be an

²¹⁷ Ibn Duqmaq, op. cit., vol. 4, p.114.

²¹⁸ For more information about Ibn Duqmaq's work Nuzhat al-anam cf. Ibn Iyas, op.cit., vol. 5, pt. 2, p. 776. cf. also Hajji Khalifa, Mustafa b. 'Abd Allah (d. 1067/1675), Kashf al-zunun asma' al-kutub wa'l-funun, Istanbul, 1941 vol. 2. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Leiden, 1949, vol. 2, p. 62. Ibn Duqmaq, al-Jawhar al-thamin fi sirat al-khulafa' wa'l muluk wa'l salatin, ed. Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattah 'Ashur, Mecca, 1982, Introduction, pp.13-4, Shakir Mustafa, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 131.

²¹⁹ Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139.

²²⁰ Al-Baghdadi, Isma'il Basha, Hidayat al-'arifin, vol.1, p.18.

abbreviated version of his work Al-durr al-munaddad. Some volumes of Turjman al-zaman still survive in manuscript form in Istanbul.²²¹

3. **A history of the Mamluk State in two volumes (Akhbar al-dawla al-turkiyya fi mujalladayn).**²²²

This work is probably identified as a historical work attributed to Ibn Duqmaq by Ibn Iyas and called Al-nafha al-miskiyya fil-dawla al-turkiyya.²²³ According to the available sources, there is no indication of the existence of such a work.

4. **A biography of al-Zahir Barquq (Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir Barquq).**²²⁴

The name of this book, as mentioned by Ibn Duqmaq, is 'Iqd al-jawahir fi sirat al-Malik al-Zahir'²²⁵ and it is abstracted by the same author in Yanbu al-mazahir

221 For more information about Turjuman al-zaman, cf. Hajji Khalifa, op. cit., vol. 1, p.396. Brockelmann, op. cit., Supplement, vol. 2, p.50. Ibn Duqmaq, Jawhar, Introduction p.14. Shakir Mustafa, op. cit., vol. 3, pp.131-2.

222 Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit. vol. 1, p.139.

223 Ibn Iyas, op. cit., vol. 5 pt. 2, p.776.

224 Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139.

225 Ibn Duqmaq, al-Jawhar, p.469.

fi sirat al-Malik al-Zahir²²⁶. There is no mention according to the available sources of either the original work or its summarised form.

5. **A biographical dictionary of the dignitaries of the Hanafi school of Islamic Law (Tabaqat al-Hanafiyya).**²²⁷

There is a work attributed to Ibn Duqmaq by Hajji Khalifa called Nazm al-juman fi tabaqat ashab imamina al-nu`man.²²⁸ The name of this work is slightly different as it is written in existing volumes of the work where it is called Nazm al-juman fi tabaqat ashab al-nu`man, which may indicate that the word imamina in the Hajji Khalifa title was added by him. Some volumes of this work still exist in manuscript form in the libraries of Berlin, Munich, Paris and Istanbul.²²⁹

There are also a number of works composed by Ibn Duqmaq which are not mentioned or referred to indirectly by his biographers. These works are as follows:-

226. Hajji Khalifa, op. cit., vol. 2, p.2151.

227. Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.139. Al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.145. Ibn Iyas, op. cit., vol. pt.2, p.776.

228. Hajji Khalifa, op. cit., vol. 2, p.1961.

229. Brockelmann, op. cit., vol. 2, p.62 and Supplement vol.2, p.50. Ibn Duqmaq, al-Jawhar, Introduction, p.13. Shakir Mustafa, op. cit., vol. 3, pp.131-2.

i. **Al-jawhar al-thamin fi siyar al-khulafa' wa'l-muluk wa'l-salatin.**²³⁰

This is a general historical work in summary form from the first caliph Abu Bakr until the end of the year 796/1393. The author concentrates only on important events and devotes half of the work to Mamluk history.

ii. **Al-kunuz al-makhfiyya fi tabaqat al-sufiyya.**²³¹

This work is mentioned only by Ibn Duqmaq himself and no other available sources have attributed such a work to him or given any details about its existence. Anyhow, it seems from the title that this work must be a Sufi biographical dictionary.

2.1.3 Al-intisar li wasitat 'iqd al-amsar.

2.1.3.1 The scope of the work and its contents

In spite of the Mamluk historians' knowledge of Ibn Duqmaq's work, none of them attributes Al-intisar to him and the oldest known attribution belongs to Hajji Khalifa. Hajji Khalifa who probably quotes from an unknown source mentions that Ibn Duqmaq composed this book in ten volumes (mujalladat) and that he summarised it in a book called Al-durra al-mudiyya fi fadl Misr wa'l-

²³⁰. Edited by Said 'Abd al-Fattah 'Ashur, Mecca, 1982.

²³¹. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 5, p.33.

Iskandariyya.²³² However, Hajji Khalifa does not disclose any other details or describe the contents of Al-intisar or its summarised version Al-durra.

In fact, Al-intisar exists in a very rare copy containing only volumes four and five of the work in the author's handwriting and it was published one hundred and three years ago by Vollers. According to the available sources, no other copy of the above work has been discovered nor has the existence of its summarised version Al-durra been confirmed.

According to Vollers²³³ and followed by Pedersen²³⁴ and Krachkovsky²³⁵, the original aim of the author was to describe ten of the important cities or countries in the Islamic world in his time with close attention to Egyptian cities and Egypt itself, in order to prove that Egypt had more merits than other cities or countries. Moreover, Krachkovsky, who follows Vollers' conclusion, is convinced that Ibn Duqmaq succeeded in finishing only two volumes out of the ten which he planned to write.²³⁶ In spite of this assertion by these two scholars, there is no evidence as to where they derived the information which led them to reach such a conclusion. Perhaps they were interpreting the title of the work to indicate that

232. Hajji Khalifa, op. cit., vol. 1, p.174.

233. Vollers, Al-intisar, Introduction, p.5.

234. J. Pedersen, "Ibn Dukmak", Encyclopaedia of Islam, reprint of the first edition, Leiden, 1987, vol.3, p.374.

235. Krachkovsky, Istoria, pp.507-8.

236. Vollers, Al-intisar, Introduction, p.6. Krachkovsky, op.cit., p.508.

the author planned to discuss other countries or cities in the other (now missing) volumes. But this is very far from being proven.

In the context of this discussion it is important to note that volumes four and five of Al-intisar still exist in the author's handwriting, according to the editor of Al-intisar. This is confirmed by a waqf book which declares that volume five of Al-intisar was endowed by al-Fakhri (Fakhr al-Din) 'Abd al-Ghani b. Abi'l-Faraj for his madrasa al-fakhriyya and volume 5 makes reference to volume 4.²³⁷ This strongly suggests that Ibn Duqmaq certainly finished writing the first three volumes. In view of Hajji Khalifa's previous comment about Al-intisar and its summarised version Al-durra and the fact that there is no sign in the existing copy to indicate that Volume 5 is the last volume of his work, one may assume that Ibn Duqmaq did indeed finish the remaining volumes six, seven, eight, nine and ten, not just in a draft, but in a fair copy of the work. On the other hand, one can assume that Al-intisar probably concentrated only on the geography of Egypt as can be seen from the title of the abstracted version of Al-intisar - Al-durra, which deals only with the geography of Egypt and one may assume that the usual similarities existed between the original work and its summarised version.

²³⁷. For the biography of 'Abd al-Ghani b. Abi'l-Faraj. Cf. al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol. 4, pp.248-50.

Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol.5, pp.42-126.

2.1.3.2 The contents of the existing copy of Al-intisar

Only two volumes of this work (volumes 4 and 5) deal with the geography of Egypt.

Volume 4

This volume discusses the historical topography of old Cairo (Misr) from the beginning of the Islamic era until the author's own time. He mentions its magnificent buildings (udur), quarters (harat), lanes (aziqa), ways (durub), alleys (khuwakh), markets (aswaq), noteworthy places (amakin tudhkar), open spaces (rihab) and soon. There is also mention of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and living rooms²³⁸ (qayasir) as well as hostelries (fanadiq), sugar refineries (matabikh al-sukar), roofed galleries (saq'aif), slopes ('iqab), hills (kiman), cellars ('aqbiya), pools (birak), great mosques (jawami'), schools (madaris), hospices (rubat), mosques (masajid), cloisters (zawaya'), public baths (hammam), monasteries (adyira) and churches (kana'is). After he has finished recording these topographical sites and other famous places in old Cairo, Ibn Duqmaq goes on to talk about the provinces of Upper Egypt, of which two are mentioned in this volume (Jiza and Atfih).

Volume 5

The author begins his discussion with the province of al-Bahnasa. He then continues talking about the rest of the provinces of Upper Egypt, one after

²³⁸. M. Streck, "Kaysariyya", EI², vol. 4, p.840.

another, until he reaches the province of Qus. After that Ibn Duqmaq discusses the provinces of Lower Egypt, beginning with Cairo. In this account he mentions some of its topographical sites, before proceeding to talk about the Cairo countryside (al-dawahi) and its villages. Thereafter, the author continues talking about the rest of the provinces of Lower Egypt until he reaches Alexandria. Concerning the Egyptian provinces, the author provides the name of the province, the name of the villages which belong to the province, in alphabetical order, the area measurement of each village, the estimation of the yearly yield from each village, and the land tenures of each village in each province.

As already mentioned, only a draft copy of Al-intisar has survived and this creates a number of problems. First of all, there is no sign of an introduction to the work nor is there any indication of the completion of this work. Secondly, there are places such as Cairo, Damietta and Alexandria about which the author gives only brief information and he omits to mention al-Fayyum province altogether. There are, moreover, a large number of gaps in the data, especially about land tenures. It is also regrettable that the data concerning area measurement and, to a lesser degree, those concerning the estimation of the yearly yield of each village, are slim. Moreover, the names of some villages are not pointed or even mentioned at all.

2.1.3.3 The date of composition of the existing copy of Al-intisar

There is no indication in the existing volumes of the work about the exact date of its composition nor is there any relevant information in the available sources. The only possible way, therefore, to establish its date is to return to the text itself, searching for clues to suggest the right answer to this question. After looking through the text, two clues emerge which shed light on the exact date of

composition. A first hint comes in 796/1393 when Ibn Duqmaq mentions that al-Sultan Barquq had bought a hostelry (funduq) from the sons of Baktamur al-Saqi.²³⁹ This clue suggests that Ibn Duqmaq had not finished writing his work before 796/1393.

A second piece of evidence is to be found amongst the biographies of high-ranking amirs and iqta holders in Mamluk sources. One such amir called Mahmud al-Ustadar, who is frequently mentioned by Ibn Duqmaq as an existing iqta holder, was, according to the sources, dismissed from his post and his rank and the sultan confiscated his wealth in 797/1394. This presupposes that Ibn Duqmaq's information about this amir belongs to a date not beyond the year 797/1394.²⁴⁰ Both these clues suggest clearly that the most likely period for the composition of the work lies before 796/1393 and not 797/1394. And that it was completed during 796/1393 or in the months of 797/1394 preceding the dismissal of Mahmud.

2.1.4 The sources used by Ibn Duqmaq for writing the existing copy of *Al-intisar*.

As a result of the geographical and historical nature of the work, the author depends heavily upon previous works on the topography (*khitat*) of Cairo, the history of Egypt, the works of Arab geographers, and others. The names of al-

²³⁹. Ibn Duqmaq, *Al-intisar*, vol. 4, p.40.

²⁴⁰. For the biography of Mahmud al-Ustadar cf. al-Maqrizi, *al-Suluk*, pt.2 vol.3, pp.829-85.

Qudai²⁴¹ al-Kindi,²⁴² Ibn al-Mutawwaj,²⁴³ and Ibn Yunus²⁴⁴ are frequently cited by Ibn Duqmaq. Less frequently, the author mentions the names of Jamal al-Din

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241. Al-Quda'i, Muhammad b. Salama (d.457/1064). The work of al-Quda'i which was probably used by Ibn Duqmaq is Al-mukhtar fi dhikr al-khitaf wa'l-athar. For this book cf. al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.5. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, pp.32, 34-5, 55, 91, 99; 5, p.127.
242. Al-Kindi, Muhammad b. Yusuf (d.350/961). For his biography cf. al-Maqrizi al-Muqaffa', ed. Muhammad al-Ya'lawi, Beirut, 1991, vol. 7, pp.489-90. A number of works of this author were mentioned and consulted by Ibn Duqmaq. The names of the works are as follows: (1) Tafsil khitat al-riya, (2) A'yan al-mawali, (3) Kitab al-umara', (4) Al-jund al-gharbi. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, pp.14, 19, 23, 25, 51, 53, 62, 63, 87.
243. Ibn al-Mutawwaj, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (d.730/1329). Although Ibn Duqmaq did not mention the name of the work of this author which he consulted, we can assume that he probably used the work of Ibn al-Mutawwaj on Khitat, called 'Iqad al-Mutammil. For the biography of Ibn al-Mutawwaj, Cf. al-Maqrizi, al-Muqaffa', vol. 6, p.160.
244. Ibn Yunus, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ahmad b. Yunus al-Sadafi (d.347/958). Ibn Duqmaq consulted his work Tarikh al-ghuraba' or in another version Dhikr al-ghurba al-Waridin 'ala Misr. He might also have used another historical work, belonging to Ibn Yunus, called Akhbar misr wa rijaluha. For the biography of Ibn Yunus and his works Cf. Ibn Khallikan, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr (d.681/1282), Wafayat al-a'yan, ed. Ihsan Abbas, Beirut, 1970, vol. 3, pp.137-8.

al-Yaghmuri,²⁴⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam,²⁴⁶ Ibn Sa'id,²⁴⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir,²⁴⁸ Ibn Zulaq,²⁴⁹ al-Tabari,²⁵⁰ al-Sa'mani,²⁵¹ Ibn-jalabraghib,²⁵² Abu'l-Fida,²⁵³ al-

Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, pp.4, 8, 9, 10-11, 16, 21, 24-25, 40, 51, 53, 55, 64, 72, 125.

245. Al-Yaghmuri, Yusuf b. Ahmad (d.673/1274). For his works and his biography cf. Shakir Mustafa, Al-tarikh, vol. 4, p.144. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, p.58, and vol. 5, pp.35, 43, 46, 122.
246. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 'Abd al-Rahman, b. 'Abd Allah (d.257/871). Ibn Duqmaq probably consulted his work Futuh misr. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol.4, pp.74,86.
247. Ibn Sa'id, 'Ali b. Musa (d.673/1274). For the biography of this author and his works cf. Ibn Aybak al-Safadi, Al-wafi bi'l wafayat, Stuttgart, 1991, vol. 22, pp.253-4. Ibn Duqmaq cited one of the works of the author which he consulted called Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Mughrib cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, pp.35,43-4.
248. Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Zahir (d. 692/1293). For the biography of this author and his works Cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 7, ed. Muhammad Amin, Cairo, 1993, pp.98-100. Ibn Duqmaq mentioned and consulted the author's work Al-rawda al-bahiyya al-zahira fi khitat al-muziyya al-qahira. This work is preserved in the British Library, cf. British Library, London, ms. no.OR 13.317. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 5, pp. 36-7, 146.
249. Ibn Zulaq, al-Hasan b. Ibrahim b. al-Husayn (d.387/997). For more information about this author and his works, cf. Ibn Khallikan, op. cit., vol. 2, pp.91-2. Ibn Duqmaq probably consulted Ibn Zulaq's work, Khitat misr cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, p.34; vol. 5, pp.26, 34.

Udfuwi,²⁵⁴ Ibn Bishr,²⁵⁵ al-Yumni²⁵⁶, 'Ala al-Din b. al-Nabulsi²⁵⁷ and an anonymous²⁵⁸ author. The above authors' works mostly provided geographical

250. Al-Tabari, Muhammad b. Jarir b. Yazid (d.310/922). Cf. Ibn Khallikan, op. cit. vol. 4, pp.191-2. Ibn Duqmaq probably consulted his history Tarikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk, cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 5, pp. 44, 119, 125.
251. Al-Sa'mani, 'Abd al-Karim b. Abi Bakr b. Muhammad (d.614/1217). Cf. Ibn Khallikan, op. cit., vol. 3, pp.207-12. Ibn Duqmaq probably consulted his work Al-ansab; cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol.5, p.68.
252. Ibn Jalabraghib - I have not discovered any information about this scholar.
253. Abu al-Fida, Isma'il b. 'Ali (d.732/1331). For the biography of this author and his works, cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, op. cit., vol. 2, ed. Muhammad Muhammad Amin, Cairo, 1984, pp.399-408. Ibn Duqmaq consulted his work Taqwim al-buldan. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 5, pp.61, 71, 82.
254. Al-Udfuwi, Ja'far b. Tha'lab (d.748/1347). For the biography of this author, cf. al-Maqrizi, al-Muqaffa', ed. Muhammad al-Ya'lawi, Beirut, 1991, vol. 3, p.36. Ibn Duqmaq consulted his work Al-tali al-sa'id bi-asma' al-fudala'. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq Al-intisar, vol.4, p.116 and vol. 5, pp.28, 33-4.
255. Ibn Bishr, Abi Umar, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Qasim b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Salim b. Bishr al-Misri. I could not find any more information about his biography in the available sources. Ibn Duqmaq consulted one of the author's historical works and called it Tarikh Ibn Bishr. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, p.28.
256. The name al-Yumni could not be identified. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, pp. 11, 23-4, 39, 127.

descriptions and historical information about Egypt. It is unlikely that Ibn Duqmaq would have been able to obtain data from them about land tenures, the area measurement of the villages, and the estimation of the yearly yield from the villages. This conclusion is derived from the fact that all the iqta holders mentioned by Ibn Duqmaq belong to the second period of Sultan Barquq. The works used by Ibn Duqmaq belong to a period more than half a century at least before that date.

It is also noteworthy that these data bear a close resemblance to official records. Such records would have been difficult of access. Ibn Duqmaq does not indicate his source but it seems highly likely that the only opportunity for him to acquire such data was through the utilisation of the official records. There is a statement cited by Ibn Duqmaq indicating that he saw and used official registrars (jara'id). This statement can be translated as follows:

"Also there are villages which belonged to the Maryut district as witnessed in old registers "²⁵⁹

257. 'Ala al-Din b. al-Nabulsi. I could not find any biography for him nor his complete name. Ibn Duqmaq consulted his work *Husn al-sarira fi ittikhadh al-hisn bi'l-jazira*. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, *Al-intisar*, vol. 4, p.117.

258. The anonymous author of a book about Alexandria called *Al-risala al-ufiyya fi fadl al-Iskandriyya*. Cf. Ibn Duqmaq, *Al-intisar*, vol.5, p.116.

259. Ibn Duqmaq *Al-intisar*, vol. 5, p.127.

If we agree that Ibn Duqmaq copied or quoted from official registers, then the next step is to answer the question as to whether Ibn Duqmaq used the records of al-Nasir Muhammad, the cadastral survey (al-Rawk al-Nasiri), or just official records from his time?

In order to establish whether Ibn Duqmaq was dependent on the cadastral survey of al-Nasir Muhammad or not, we must compare the data provided by Ibn Duqmaq with the records from the cadastral survey, but the difficulty here is that no records from this survey have had a chance to survive in archival form. Therefore, we have to rely on the work or works which are quoted or copied from the records of this survey to make a comparison process possible. Luckily, we know that Ibn al-Ji'an, in his work Al-tuhfa mentioned a number of area measurements which belonged to nine villages in al-Buhayra province and that they were derived from al-Nasir Muhammad's cadastral survey. When the area measurements of these villages which belonged to the above survey are compared with those area measurements of the same villages that were provided by Ibn Duqmaq, the result from this comparison shows that only two villages from the sample of nine tally exactly. The other seven are different.²⁶⁰ Although this result comes from a sample of nine villages from thousands of villages recorded by Ibn Duqmaq, it indicates even in a narrow framework that he might have used a source of information other than al-Nasir Muhammad's survey.

The similarities found in the area measurements of two villages do not mean 100% that these records were derived from the above survey. It could also indicate that no changes had occurred in these two villages which might explain

²⁶⁰. Cf. Table 1.

the above similarities. Thus, there is a possibility that Ibn Duqmaq used the contemporary records which probably belonged to the army registers, due to the predominance of the category of iqta as against other types of land tenures and because these iqtas were administered by the diwan al-jaysh.

2.2 An evaluation of the work Al-tuhfa by Ibn al-Ji'an

2.2.1 The biography of Ibn al-Ji'an

Yahya b. Shakir b. 'Abd al-Ghani b. Majid, Sharaf al-Din, Abu Zakariyya, Ibn al-Ji'an²⁶¹ belonged to a family, most of whose members served in the Mamluk administration.²⁶² His grandfather, 'Abd al-Ghani, was a secretary in the Department of the army (Katib diwan al-jaysh).²⁶³ His father Shakir also served as secretary in the Department of the army after his father 'Abd al-Ghani and he

261. Al-Sakhawi, *op.cit.*, vol.10, Ibn Iyas, *op. cit.*, vol.5c, p.168.

262. For the service of Muslim Copts in the Mamluk fiscal bureaux, cf. Carl F. Petry, "Copts in medieval Egypt", in A.S. Atiya ed. The Coptic Encyclopedia, vol. 2, pp.618-35. The oldest mention of the family of Ibn al-Ji'an serving in the Mamluk bureaucracy belongs to the period of al-Nasir Muhammad. Cf. Al-Yusufi, Musa b. Muhammad (d.759/1358) Nuzhat al-nazir fi sirat al-Malik al-Nasir, Beirut, 1986, pp.262-3.

263. Al-Sakhawi, *op.cit.*, vol.4, p.248. According to Petry, the katib diwan al-jaysh was an accountant of receipts from land allotments (iqta 'at) in the Egyptian and Syrian provinces which were used to support the royal Mamluk amirs. Petry, *op. cit.*, p.623.

had worked in the royal repository of robes in the citadel. His career progressed until he reached the post of accountant in the army bureau (mustawfi)²⁶⁴ which he kept until 864/1459 when he asked for his son to be appointed to this post instead of himself.²⁶⁵

It seems also that other members of this family worked in the royal repository of robes in the citadel. Ibn al-Ji'an's uncle Ibrahim became nazir al-khizana and one of his brothers called 'Abd al-Ghani also worked in the same department.²⁶⁶ According to al-Sakhawi, the post of supervisor of the royal repository of robes in the citadel and the post of accountant in the army bureau became the monopoly of this family²⁶⁷ during this time.

Yahya was born in Cairo in 814/1411 where he grew up and was educated. He studied Arabic, Islamic sciences, mathematics and algebra with prominent scholars of the time.²⁶⁸ His intellectual achievement was praised by al-Sakhawi

264. According to Petry, mustawfi diwan al-jaysh was 'an accountant in the army bureau who oversaw revenues yielded by land allotments to support the sultan's Mamluks and amirs'. Cf. Petry, op. cit., p.625.

265. For Shakir's service in the diwan al-jaysh and the chest, cf. al-Sakhawi, op.cit., vol.3, pp.291-2. Cf. also Ibn Taghri Birdi, Hawadith al-duhur fi mada al-ayyam wa'l-shuhur, ed. William Popper, Berkeley, 1930-42, p.332.

266. Al-Sakhawi, vol. 1, p.68; vol. 4, pp.85,248, 269.

267. Ibid, vol. 4, p.291.

268. Al-Sakhawi, vol. 10, pp.226-8.

who believed that if Yahya had exerted greater efforts in studying and teaching he could have become a famous scholar.²⁶⁹

Because of his family responsibilities as the eldest son and the intellectual environment which made it difficult for "Muslim Copts" to join the class of 'ulama', he joined the Mamluk administration which offered him a better future and where he could look after his family's interests at the same time.²⁷⁰

According to the practice of the time, the training of new clerks in the diwans was mainly family based.²⁷¹ The date when Ibn al-Ji'an first joined the diwan al-jaysh is not given by the available sources but it can be assumed to have happened after he had acquired a good educational foundation, perhaps at the age of twenty. His qualifications, intelligence and good manners helped him to progress and obtain the trust of the Mamluk sultans.²⁷² In 864/1459 he became an accountant in the army bureau instead of his father who relinquished the post

269. Ibid., p.228.

270. For more information about "Muslim Copts" in the Mamluk environment, cf. Petry, *op. cit.*, pp.618-9. For the standard of living of the class of 'ulama', cf. al-Maqrizi, *Iqathat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*, English translation by Adel Allouche, Salt Lake City, 1994, p.73.

271. For an example of corporate training among Ibn al-Ji'an's family, cf. al-Sakhawi, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p.291; vol. 4, p.248.

272. *Ibid*, vol. 10, pp.226-8.

for his son.²⁷³ In 873/1468 he also became an officer-in-charge of the royal repository of robes in the citadel, while the authority of his brother's son, Abd al-Qadir, who was the head of this office, was reduced sharply as a result and he became an official in name only.²⁷⁴ Since none of the sources mention the dismissal or resignation of Ibn al-Ji'an from his post as an accountant in the army bureau, we can assume that he remained in this post until his death. He died in 885/1480 and was buried in his family cemetery in Cairo.²⁷⁵

In spite of the shortage of information about this author, it can be concluded that Ibn al-Ji'an was one of the famous and respected persons in the society of his time. His work as an accountant in the army department gave him many opportunities to obtain wide knowledge about the diwan al-jaysh in general and its specific financial affairs in particular. According to al-Sakhawi, he had an unrivalled knowledge of the army bureau and of the arrangement and names of the villages.²⁷⁶

273. Ibn Taghri Birdi, Hawadith, p.332.

274. Al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol. 10, p.229.

275. Ibid, vol. 10, p.229.

276. Al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol. 10, p.228.

2.2.2 The work composed by Ibn al-Ji'an

Despite the failure of the biographers of Ibn al-Ji'an to attribute any book to him, he did write a book called Al-tuhfa al-saniyya bi asma' al-bilad al-misriyya, as we have already mentioned.²⁷⁷

2.2.2.1 The date of composition

There is a manuscript copy of Al-tuhfa which was written in 883/1478 while the author was still living.²⁷⁸ Therefore, it seems probable that Ibn al-Ji'an finished writing his work before the above date. The next step then is to look for the date of finishing the work before 883/1478. In order to look for clues which point to such a date, one must refer to the text and investigate the biographies of iqta holders who belonged to al-Ashraf Qaytbay's period to pursue the development in their careers and to establish the dates of their advancement, dismissal and death. They must have been employed in Egypt and dismissed from the service or died some time before 883/1478.

In spite of a large number of iqta holders mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an, two high-ranking amirs appear to fit these requirements. The first iqta holder is Jani Bak min Tattakh, the holder of the post of amir silah²⁷⁹, who is mentioned four times

²⁷⁷. This work was edited by K. Moritz, Cairo, 1898.

²⁷⁸. Ibn al-Ji'an, Al tuhfa, Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms Hunt no. 2, cf. the last page in this manuscript.

²⁷⁹. Ibn al-Ji'an, op. cit., pp, 8, 45, 78, 112.

by Ibn al-Ji'an. According to Ibn Iyas, Jani Bak min Tattakh became amir silah only in 880/1475²⁸⁰. Therefore, Ibn al-Ji'an's reference means that he knew about this information and recorded the same in 880/1475 or thereafter. This probably suggests that Al-tuhfa was composed either in 880/1473 or after that date because if he had started writing it before 880/1475 he would not have had the chance to mention the new post of this high-ranking amir, especially as he cites it in the first pages of the work and repeats it three times.

The second relevant iqta holder is Jawhar al-Zammam who is recorded by Ibn al-Ji'an as iqta holder of two villages.²⁸¹ However, according to Ibn Iyas, the impression given is that he is still alive. This amir died in 882/1477.²⁸² So, one can assume that sometime between 880/1475 and 882/1476 is probably the right date for placing the composition of Al-tuhfa.

2.2.2.2 Reasons for its composition

It seems from Ibn al-Ji'an's introduction that Al-tuhfa was composed by order of either al-Sultan Qaytbay or one of his high ranking amirs. There is no indication of any name or rank, or even a title of this dignitary, but the author's mode of address and language suggest that it is more likely that he is referring to a high

280. Ibn Iyas, op. cit., vol. 5, pp.109-10.

281. Ibn al-Ji'an, op. cit., pp.41,175.

282. Ibn Iyas, op. cit., vol. 5C, p.127.

ranking amir than to the sultan.²⁸³ Additional evidence can be found in the finest and oldest copy of Al-tuhfa which was written during the author's lifetime in 883/1478, for the collection of a high-ranking amir called Yashbak min Mahdi al-Dawadar²⁸⁴, one of the most powerful and important amirs in Qaytbay's court. This could indicate that the composition of Al-tuhfa was carried out according to an order given by this amir to Ibn al-Ji'an.²⁸⁵

One may assume that the composition of this book by one of the top clerks in the diwan al-jaysh reflects the need of the Mamluk state for a new cadastral survey, especially when we consider that no other survey had taken place in Egypt since the cadastral survey ordered by al-Nasir Muhammad in 715/1315²⁸⁶ and that

283. He asks God on behalf of him who ordered its writing and its composition to extend his life and achieve his aims. May God make his end a good one and elevate him in the life to come (al-akhira) to a most glorious position and continue his shadow over the Muslim people and settle him in this life by his merit. Cf. Ibn al-Ji'an, op.cit., p.2.

284. For the career of Yashbak min Mahdi al-Dawadar in the Mamluk state and his achievements, cf. al-Sakhawi, op. cit., vol. 10, pp.272-4; Cf. also Ibn Iyas, Bada'i', vol. 5c, p.59.

285. For an indication of Yashbak's order to make a copy of this work cf. Ibn al-Ji'an, op. cit. Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hunt No. 2, the last folio in the manuscript.

286. For the cadastral surveys (rawks) undertaken in Egypt from the beginning of Islamic rule until the end of the Mamluk era, cf. Halm, op.cit. vol. 1, pp.8-29; for

many changes had occurred since this survey which affected the whole of society, politically, economically, military, and socially. Such a project would prove very difficult for an empire suffering from a long period of economic decline, in addition to the impact and political sensitivity which such a project would cause to the Mamluk state, especially when a large area of agricultural land had been transferred to waqf, milk, rizaq instead of iqtas as had been the case in the previous century.²⁸⁷ So, in order to obtain knowledge about the condition of the Egyptian provinces in general and the iqtas in particular, without upsetting the ruling class at the same time, instead of commissioning a large-scale cadastral survey, a more modest project, which aimed at giving a comprehensive idea of the condition of the iqtas to the interested amir, Yashbak, was undertaken.

Ayyubid and Mamluk cadastral surveys cf. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.49-56; for Mamluk surveys in particular cf. Sato Tsugitaka, "The evolution of the iqta System under the Mamluks - an analysis of al-Rawk al-Husami and al-Rawk al-Nasiri". Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, No. 37 (Tokyo, 1979), pp.99-131.

287. For more information about the economic decline of the Mamluk empire in general, cf. Eliyahu Ashtor, A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, London, 1976, pp.301-31. For further information about the economical, political and administrative situation in Qaytbay's period, cf. Carl Petry, Protectors or Praetorians? The last Mamluk sultans and Egypt's waning as a great power, Albany, 1994; also idem, Twilight of Majesty: The reigns of the Mamluk sultans al-Ashraf Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri in Egypt, Seattle, 1993. The transformation of agricultural land from iqta form to other categories of land tenures will be discussed in a separate chapter.

2.2.2.3 Contents of the book

The author starts his discussion by mentioning the estimation of the yearly yield from the provinces in Egypt at the end of Shawwal 777/March 1376 and the number of the villages which belonged to these provinces excluding the province of al-Jiza. After that, he mentions the estimated gross value of the yield from the provinces of Lower Egypt (al-Wajh al-Bahri) and a number of villages which belonged to the provinces of this half of the country, then cites the estimation of the yearly yield of each province and the number of villages which belonged to it. Ibn al-Ji'an sets these provinces in the following order:

The Cairo countryside (al-Dawahi), Al-Qalyubiyya, Al-Sharqiyya, Al-Daqahliyya, The countryside of Damietta (Dawahi thughur Dimyat), Al-Gharbiyya, Al-Munufiyya, Abyar wa jazirat Bani Nasr, Al-Buhayra, Fuwa wa Muzahimatayn, Nistarwa, The countryside of Alexandria (Dawahi thughur al-Iskandariyya), Al-Jiza.²⁸⁸ For this province, the author cites only the estimation of the yearly yield of those villages which were assigned in the form of iqta without mentioning the number of these villages or the total number of villages of the province. After this he talks about Upper Egypt (al-Wajh al-Qibli) declaring the estimation of the yearly yield from the provinces of this half of the country and the number of its villages. Then he cites the estimation of the yearly

²⁸⁸. The author mentions the province of al-Jiza as one of the provinces of Lower Egypt, but he corrects this when he discusses the province in detail and puts it side by side with the other provinces of Upper Egypt as is usually the case in geographical works of the time. Cf. Ibn al-Ji'an, *op. cit.*, pp.4, 138, Cf. also Ibn Duqmaq, *Al-intisar*, vol. 4, p.128.

yield of each province and the number of villages which belonged to it. The author set these provinces in the following order:

Atfih, Al-Fayyum, Al-Bahnasa, Al-Ushmunayn, Asyut, Ikhmim, Qus

Ibn al-Ji'an does not mention the number of villages which belonged to the last of these provinces.

Ibn al-Ji'an continues to use the above order of the provinces in his detailed discussion of these provinces, except for the province of al-Jiza which he reclassifies and puts in his first list when he talks about the provinces of Upper Egypt. However, the author starts his detailed discussion with the provinces of Lower Egypt, mentioning the names of the villages of each province in alphabetical order, the area measurements of the villages of the province and the number of faddans which were excluded from the area measurement of the village and devoted by the state to religious purposes (*rizqa* pl. *rizaq*), according to the cadastral survey²⁸⁹ of al-Nasir Muhammad.

Ibn al-Ji'an mentions the estimation of the yearly yield from the villages during the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban, probably for the year 775/1373, and during the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay, probably from 880/1475 to 882/1477. If the *ibra* has changed after the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban the author occasionally cites the date of the new *ibra* and implies that it has remained the same until his own

²⁸⁹. Ibn al-Ji'an's dependence upon this cadastral survey will be studied in the coming pages.

time.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, he cites the category or categories of land tenure or land tenures in the period of al-Ashraf Sha 'ban probably for the year 775/1373, and in the period of al-Ashraf Qaytbay, probably from 880/1475 to 882/1477.²⁹¹

Ibn al-Ji 'an treats the other divisions of Egypt in the same way. For some of the villages he also cites that part of the agricultural land of the village which has been sold by the Treasury (Bayt al-mal), and sometimes he even mentions the exact number of faddans which have been sold and the date of selling.²⁹² He also mentions, when he talks about some of the villages, the condition of the agricultural land, if it was cultivated or uncultivated,²⁹³ the categories of agricultural land in a village,²⁹⁴ and the transfer of the administrative dependency of some of the villages from one province to another and the date of such a transfer.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, he cites, on some occasions, in the case of the existence of more than one category of land tenure in a village, the proportion of each category of the agricultural land.

290. Ibn al-Ji'an, op. cit., p.2; Cf. Ibid. fol.1A.

291. Ibn al-Ji'an, op. cit., Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hunt No.2, fol. 14A.

292. Cf. Table.2.

293. Cf. Table 3.

294. Cf. Table 4.

295. Cf. Table 5.

In spite of the abundant information supplied by Al-tuhfa, the text has a number of lacunae. Neither the area measurement figures for some villages,²⁹⁶ nor the estimation of the yearly yield figures for some villages are cited.²⁹⁷

2.2.2.4 The sources used by Ibn al-Ji'an

Al-Rawk al-Nasiri in Egypt

This cadastral survey which was carried out in Egypt in 715/1315 by al-Nasir Muhammad was the most comprehensive and large-scale survey performed in Egypt in the Mamluk era, and according to both Ibn Taghri Birdi and Ibn Iyas this cadastral survey was still in use during their times, although they do not provide further information about the nature of such a usage.²⁹⁸

This leads us to the question as to whether Ibn al-Ji'an utilized the cadastral survey registers of al-Nasir Muhammad as one of his sources for writing Al-tuhfa and for which kind of information. There are two points which should be raised regarding the dependence of Ibn al-Ji'an on al-Nasir Muhammad's cadastral

²⁹⁶. Cf. Table 6.

²⁹⁷. Cf. Table 7.

²⁹⁸. For a comprehensive study of this survey Cf. Sato, op. cit., pp.107-24. For the continuation of the use of this cadastral survey in the 9th/15th century and thereafter, cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, Al-nujum al-zahira fi muluk misr wa'l-Qahira, Cairo, n.d. vol. 9, p.51, cf. also Ibn Iyas, op. cit., vol. 5, p.446.

survey. First of all, in his discussion about the province of al-Qalyubiyya, the author mentions the following:

"The province of al-Qalyubiyya and its villages, the area measurement of each village and its rizaq according to the cadastral survey (al-rawk al-Nasiri), of al-Nasir Muhammad, the estimation of the yearly yield of each village (ibra) and the land tenure of each village during the period of al-Ashraf Sha 'ban b. Husayn and now".²⁹⁹

This statement indicates clearly that the area measurement of the villages in the province of al-Qalyubiyya and their faddans of rizaq were derived from the records of the above survey. In addition to the above statement, Ibn al-Ji 'an mentions the words rawk or al-rawk al-Nasiri on a number of occasions concerning the area measurement, mostly for the province of al-Buhayra, the number of faddans for the rizaq and that some villages did not survive this cadastral survey.³⁰⁰

In Ibn al-Ji 'an's text, there are firmly dated land tenures and ibra which belonged both to the period of al-Ashraf Sha 'ban b. Husayn and al-Ashraf Qaytbay. As there is more than a century between these two periods, this makes any attempt

²⁹⁹. This statement is not mentioned in the published form of Al-tuhfa edited by B. Moritz . It belongs to the Bodleian Library manuscript only. Cf. Ibn al-Ji 'an, Al-tuhfa, Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hunt No. 2, vol. 14A.

³⁰⁰. Cf. Table 8.

to apply the area measurement which belonged to one period for the other useless, especially since the efficiency of the administrative system in the later period had declined and its ability to perform a survey even on a small scale was unlikely, and there is certainly no mention in Mamluk sources to confirm that such an attempt ever took place. So, in order to obtain accurate data about area measurement for both the periods, Ibn al-Ji'an was forced to use records of a large scale survey and the only survey which had taken place in Egypt before his time and was still intact was al-Rawk al-Nasiri. Therefore, he had recourse to its data.

On the whole, depending on the above evidence, one can conclude that Ibn al-Ji'an utilised records derived from the cadastral survey of al-Nasir Muhammad concerning the area measurement and the number of faddans which were devoted for religious and charity purposes (rizaq) probably for all the villages in Egypt. One cannot, however, be fully confident about this, because no clear and conclusive statement is given by the author to support such an attitude, except in the case of al-Qalyubiyya province.

A second source used by Ibn al-Ji'an was the registers of the diwan al-jaysh. He utilised these to record the estimation of the yearly yield from the villages as well as the land tenures during the periods of both al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husayn and al-Ashraf Qaytbay. A third source he used was the register of al-Mirza (Jaridat al-Mirza). This register seems to have functioned only for al-Jiza province which was probably not surveyed by the cadastral survey³⁰¹ of al-Nasir Muhammad. According to Ibn al-Ji'an, his information about the area measurement of a

³⁰¹. Ibn al-Ji'an, op. cit. p.138.

village called Abu'l-Namras belonging to the province of al-Jiza was derived from the register of al-Mirza.³⁰² Therefore, one may conclude that the area measurement mentioned for villages in the province of al-Jiza was probably derived from the local register belonging to this province only. However, there were other sources which the author might have used for writing Al-tuhfa. They were :

The Register of the diwan al-ahbas, The Register of diwan al-Awqaf al-Ahli and al-Hukmiyya. The Registers of the Sultan's diwans (al-diwan al-sultani li 'l-dawla al-sharif and al-diwan al-mufrad).³⁰³ The Register of the Treasury.

The author derived from these registers the data concerning the area measurement and estimation of the yearly yield of villages which were supervised by each diwan. As for the treasury register he probably used it for information on the transformation of ownership of land from the Treasury by selling it to private landlords.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, after studying Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an's works, one can conclude that a number of points concern each of them. Ibn Duqmaq's work Al-intisar covered the second period of al-Sultan Barquq, and the data provided by the author were probably derived from the contemporary records of

³⁰². Ibid, p.139.

³⁰³ For more information about these diwans, cf. Chapter 3, p.

the diwans gleaned from oral sources. This is also an incomplete work (in first draft) and there is a great deal of missing information concerning the land tenures, the area measurement and the estimation of the yearly yield of the villages in Egypt. Because of this, an analysis of the data provided by Ibn Duqmaq does not produce an accurate picture of the land tenure system during the period of Barquq .

On the other hand, Ibn al-Ji'an's work is more voluminous. It is a complete draft written by the author in which he has used more reliable sources than Ibn Duqmaq's. These are mainly the records of al-Rawk al-Nasiri and the records of diwans. Ibn al-Ji'an has also traced the condition of agricultural land (both cultivated and uncultivated) and the estimation of yearly yield figures for two periods (those of Sha'ban and Qaytbay) and for some villages he has even provided the exact date of any changes. Furthermore, he has mentioned the land tenure or land tenures of the villages for two periods and for some villages the share of each one in the agricultural land.

Ibn al-Ji'an has also traced the change of the administrative dependency of some villages from one province to another and the dates of such transfers. He has mentioned the categories of agricultural land in some of the villages and has recorded the transformation of ownership of cultivated land from the Treasury to the private sector through selling contracts and he has given the date of such transfers.

Despite the obvious merit of Ibn al-Ji'an's work, there is some missing information concerning the figures of area measurement and estimation. Some problems concerning the interpretation and analysis of the data provided by Ibn al-Ji'an will be discussed in Chapter 3.

TABLE 1

**The comparison between the records of al-Rawk al-Nasiri and the figures of
Ibn Duqmaq**

| No. | Name of province | Name of a village | Area measurement in faddans according to al-Rawk al-Nasiri | Area measurement in faddans according to Ibn Duqmaq | ID | IJ(folio number) |
|-----|------------------|-------------------|--|---|------------|------------------|
| 1 | Al-Buhayra | Abu'l Zarazir | 611 | 621 | Vol.5, 101 | 163A |
| 2 | Al-Buhayra | Abu'l Sahma | 410 | 410 | Vol.5, 101 | 163A |
| 3 | Al-Buhayra | Abu'l Ghizlan | 2,450 | 2,400 | Vol.5, 102 | 163A |
| 4 | Al-Buhayra | Abu Kharasha | 816 | 814 | Vol.5, 102 | 163B |
| 5 | Al-Buhayra | Khamarat Dakduka | 418 | 960 | Vol.5, 106 | 175B |
| 6 | Al-Buhayra | Shubra Wasim | 700 | 900 | Vol.5, 109 | 180A |
| 7 | Al-Buhayra | Shisht | 2,704 | 2,704 | Vol.5, 110 | 180B |
| 8 | Al-Buhayra | Mahallat Nakla | 1,420 | 1,760 | Vol.5, 112 | 188A |
| 9 | A-Buhayra | Minyat Yazid | 588 | 586 | Vol.5, 112 | 189B |

ID = Ibn Duqmaq

IJ = Ibn al-Ji'an

TABLE 2**Villages sold by the Treasury**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Al - Buhayra | Timilas | 181B |
| 2. | Fuwa | Damalij | 191B |
| 3. | Al - Jiza | Abu Sir al - Sidr | 195B |
| 4. | Al - Jiza | Tirsa | 200A |
| 5. | Al - Ushmunayn | Abu Qurqas | 239B |
| 6. | Asyut | Al - Qitatiyya | 253A |
| 7. | Al - Dawahi (Cairo) | Al - Khandaq | 5A |
| 8. | Qalyub | Al - Qasir | 9A |
| 9. | Qalyub | Sanafir | 12A |
| 10. | Al - Daqahliyya | Barnibara | 63A |
| 11. | Minuf | Shatanuf | 149B |
| 12. | Minuf | Minyati Khaqan | 153B |
| 13. | Ibyar | Dalka | 159B |

TABLE 3**Uncultivated villages**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Al - Gharbiyya | Tamris | 117A |
| 2 | Al - Sharqiyya | Umm Amir | 26A |
| 3. | Al - Daqahliyya | Birkat Fayad | 44A |
| 4. | Al - Daqahliyya | Tiraz Shanuda | 69B |
| 5. | Al - Daqahliyya | Masjid Maymun | 71A |
| 6. | Al - Gharbiyya | Barim | 94B |
| 7. | Al - Gharbiyya | Dakhnuqa | 102A |
| 8. | Al - Buhayra | Abu'l - Aranib | 163B |
| 9. | Al - Buhayra | Al - Hawd al - Yahudi | 167A |
| 10. | Al - Daqahliyya | Hawd al - ' Arab | 65B |
| 11. | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Juma | 244B |

TABLE 3 (contd.)**Uncultivated villages**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 12. | Al - Buhayra | Al - Naqidi | 170A |
| 13. | Al - Buhayra | Al -Ism al -Tayyib | 171B |
| 14. | Al - Buhayra | Bayt Lama | 173A |
| 15. | Al - Buhayra | Khafaj Mustajad | 175A |
| 16. | Al - Buhayra | Diqras | 176B |
| 17. | Al - Buhayra | Qabr Rawq | 183A |
| 18. | Al - Iskandariyya | al - Kabs | 193A |
| 19 | Atfih | Al - Zanqur al - Bahri | 206B |
| 20. | Atfih | Al - Shifa | 206B |
| 21. | Atfih | Al - Musa `ada | 206B |
| 22. | Atfih | Batin Imran | 207A |

TABLE 3 (contd.)

Uncultivated villages

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 23. | Atfih | Al - Mawsiliyat | 207A |
| 24. | Atfih | Jaza'ir al - Maymun | 207B |
| 25. | Atfih | Jazirat Abi `Ali | 207B |
| 26. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Jahil | 207 B |
| 27. | Atfih | Jazirat Ibrahim b. Fa'iz | 207B |
| 28. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Saff | 207B |
| 29. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Qit al - Qibliyya | 208A |
| 30. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Wusta | 208A |
| 31. | Atfih | Jazirat Rikab | 208A |
| 32. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Istabl | 208A |
| 33. | Atfih | Jazirat Ramad Tizmant | 208A |

TABLE 3 (contd.)**Uncultivated villages**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 34. | Atfih | Ghayada | 209A |
| 35. | Atfih | Minyat al - Basak | 209A |
| 36. | Al - Gharbiyya | Balutis | 96B |
| 37. | Al - Buhayra | al - Kawm al - Ahmar | 169A |
| 38. | Al - Fayyum | Saqil | 217A |
| 39. | Al - Fayyum | al - Tarima | 211A |
| 40. | Al - Fayyum | Tirsa | 214A |
| 41. | Al - Fayyum | al - Zahiriyya | 211A |
| 42. | Al - Bahnasa | Jazirat al - Basliya | 229A |
| 43. | Al - Bahnasa | Jazirat al - Kawashira | 229A |
| 44. | Asyut | al - Qattatiyya | 253A |

TABLE 3 (contd.)**Uncultivated villages**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 45. | Ikhmim | Abu Bishada | 256B |
| 46. | Ikhmim | Al - Jaza'ir | 256B |
| 47. | Ikhmim | Al -Marzuqiyya | 257A |
| 48. | Qus | Al - Manshiyya | 260A |
| 49. | Qalyub | Jazirat Shalqan | 9B |

TABLE 4

The categories of agricultural land

| No | Province | Village | Naqa | Khirs | Mustabhir | Sharraqi | Sibakh | Hikr | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|----------------|------------------------------|------|-------|-----------|----------|--------|------|-------------------|
| 1. | Al - Sharqiyya | Abu Akim | | | | | x | | 16A |
| 2. | Al - Gharbiyya | Dimaba Shaba | | | | | x | | 103B |
| 3. | Ibyar | Ibshada | x | x | | | | | 156B |
| 4. | Ibyar | Ikhsha | x | x | x | | | | 156B |
| 5. | Ibyar | Ikwa | x | x | | | | | 157A |
| 6. | Ibyar | Alta wa'l Adawi | x | x | x | | | | 157A |
| 7. | Ibyar | Babij wa Mahallat al - Laban | x | x | | | | | 157B |
| 8. | Ibyar | Barhim | x | x | | | | x | 157B |
| 9. | Ibyar | Bilshaya | x | x | | | | | 157B |
| 10. | Ibyar | Bulmusht | x | x | | | | | 158A |
| 11. | Ibyar | Hisat Amir | x | x | x | | | | 158B |
| 12. | Ibyar | Jazirat al - Hajar | x | x | | | | | 158B |
| 13. | Ibyar | Diqrin | x | x | | | | | 159A |
| 14. | Ibyar | Disya | x | x | | | | | 159A |
| 15. | Ibyar | Dilsayn | x | x | | x | | | 159A |
| 16. | Ibyar | Daljamun | x | x | x | | | | 159B |
| 17. | Ibyar | Dimshawayh al - Bighal | x | x | | | | | 159B |
| 18. | Ibyar | Dalaka | x | x | | | | | 159B |
| 19. | Ibyar | Damalij | x | x | x | | | | 159B |
| 20. | Ibyar | Danasur | x | x | | | | | 160A |
| 21. | Ibyar | Saft al - Muluk | x | x | | | | | 160A |
| 22. | Ibyar | Diyama | x | x | x | | | | 160A |
| 23. | Ibyar | Salamun / Fil | x | x | x | | | | 160A |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

The categories of agricultural land

| No | Province | Village | Naqa | Khirs | Mustabhir | Sharai | Sibakh | Hikr | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|------|-------|-----------|--------|--------|------|-------------------|
| 24. | Ibyar | Shubra al - Lamna | x | x | | | | | 160B |
| 25. | Ibyar | Shubra al - Lawn | x | x | | | | | 160B |
| 26. | Ibyar | Shubra Bitus | x | x | | | | | 161A |
| 27. | Ibyar | Shuna | x | x | x | | | | 161A |
| 28. | Ibyar | Shashfir | x | x | | | | | 161A |
| 29. | Ibyar | Tamalaha | x | x | | | | | 161A |
| 30. | Ibyar | Qalib | x | x | x | | | | 161B |
| 31. | Ibyar | Asif | x | x | | | | | 161B |
| 32. | Ibyar | Mishla | x | x | | | | | 161B |
| 33. | Ibyar | Minyat al - Mukram | x | x | x | | | | 162A |
| 34. | Ibyar | Minyat Futays | x | x | | | | | 162A |
| 35. | Ibyar | Minyat Shahala | x | x | x | | | | 162A |
| 36. | Ibyar | Nadir | x | x | | | | | 162A |
| 37. | Al - Buhayra | Damanhur al - Wahsh | | | | x | | | 162B |
| 38. | Al - Buhayra | Ramsis | | | | x | | | 177B |
| 39. | Al - Bahnasa | al - Fant | x | x | | | | | 224A |
| 40. | Asyut | Udrunka / Rifa | x | x | | | | | 252B |
| 41. | Asyut | Abu Hudri | x | x | | | | | 252B |
| 42. | Asyut | Al - Babarat | x | x | | | | | 252B |
| 43. | Asyut | Babshay | x | x | | | | | 253B |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

The categories of agricultural land

| No | Province | Village | Naqa | Khirs | Mustabhir | Sharaqi | Sibakh | Hikr | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|----------|----------------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|-------------------|
| 44. | Asyut | Al - Milk | x | x | | | | | 253B |
| 45. | Asyut | Jazirat Shandawid | x | x | x | | | | 254A |
| 46. | Asyut | Sidfa | x | x | x | | | | 254B |
| 47. | Asyut | Shiflaq | x | x | | | | | 254B |
| 48. | Asyut | Shandawid | x | x | | | | | 255A |
| 49. | Asyut | Tahta | x | x | | | | | 255A |
| 50. | Asyut | Tahanhur / Shaqlil | x | x | | | | | 255B |
| 51. | Asyut | TukhTakrima | x | x | x | | | | 255B |
| 52. | Asyut | Qulqaris | x | x | | | | | 255B |
| 53. | Ikhmim | Abu Bishada | x | x | | | | | 256B |
| 54. | Ikhmim | Idfa | x | x | x | | | | 256B |
| 55. | Ikhmim | Al - Maraghat /Zamakhir | x | x | | | | | 257A |
| 56. | Ikhmim | BalASFura | x | x | | | | | 257A |
| 57. | Ikhmim | Jaza'ir al - Jabal | x | x | | | | | 257B |
| 58. | Ikhmim | Dijirja | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 59. | Ikhmim | Samant | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 60. | Ikhmim | Shansif | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 61. | Ikhmim | Damnu | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 62. | Ikhmim | Suhay | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 63. | Ikhmim | Qilfaw | x | x | | | | | 258B |
| 64. | Ikhmim | Minshat Ikhmim | x | x | | | | | 258B |
| 65. | Qus | Udfu | x | x | | | | | 259A |
| 66. | Qus | Abnud | x | x | | | | | 259A |
| 67. | Qus | Armant | x | x | | | | | 259A |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

The categories of agricultural land

| No | Province | Village | Naqa | Khirs | Mustabhir | Sharaqī | Sibakh | Hikr | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|----------|---------------------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|-------------------|
| 68. | Qus | Al - Balyana | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 69. | Qus | Al - Jabalayn | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 70. | Qus | Usfun / Tafis | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 71. | Qus | Al - Haraja | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 72. | Qus | Al - Dimuqrat | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 73. | Qus | Al - Manshiyya / Jarf al - Bija | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 74. | Qus | Bardis | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 75. | Qus | Al - Muraja at | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 76. | Qus | Al - Uqsarayn | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 77. | Qus | Bahjura | x | x | | | | | 260B |
| 78. | Qus | Jarf al - Sayyaf | x | x | | | | | 260B |
| 79. | Qus | Babij al - Qahraman | x | x | | | | | 260B |
| 80. | Qus | Jazirat al - Dayr / Umm `Ali | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 81. | Qus | Damamin | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 82. | Qus | Jazirat Qift | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 83. | Qus | Dishna | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 84. | Qus | Dandara | x | x | x | | | | 261B |
| 85. | Qus | Danfiq / Dayr Qattan | x | x | | | | | 261B |
| 86. | Qus | Zarnikh / Kawm al-Shaqaf | x | x | | | | | 261B |
| 87. | Qus | Samhud | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 88. | Qus | Sanhur | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 89. | Qus | Shatfaina | x | x | | | | | 262A |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

The categories of agricultural land

| No | Province | Village | Naqa | Khirs | Mustabhir | Sharaqī | Sibakh | Hikr | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|----------|------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|-------------------|
| 90. | Qus | Tukh Damanu | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 91. | Qus | Faw Ba 'sh | x | x | | | | | 262B |
| 92. | Qus | Gharb Qamula | x | x | | | | | 262B |
| 93. | Qus | Farjut | x | x | | | | | 362B |
| 94. | Qus | Qasr Bani Kulayb | x | x | | | | | 263A |
| 95. | Qus | Makhanis | x | x | | | | | 263A |

TABLE 5

Transformation of administrative dependency

| No | Village | From the province of | Date of transformation | To the province of | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Al - Khashaba | Al - Sharqiyya | | Qalyub | 8A |
| 2. | Hissat al - Ma`ni | Al - Sharqiyya | | Qalyub | 10A |
| 3. | Minyat Asim | Al - Sharqiyya | Safar 803 / October1400 | Qalyub | 14A |
| 4. | Al - Lahun | Al - Fayyum | Dhu'l - Qa`da 753 / December 1352 | Al - Bahnasa | 225A |
| 5. | Tahmaya Bani Ghani | Al - Ushmunayn | | Al - Bahnasa | 234A |
| 6. | Banub | Al - Ushmunayn | | Manfalut | 251B |
| 7. | Sirqina | Al - Ushmunayn | | Manfalut | 251B |
| 8. | Mayr / al - Qusiya | Al - Ushmunayn | | Manfalut | 252A |
| 9. | Abu Hudri | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 252B |
| 10. | Al - Babbarat | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 252B |
| 11. | Al - Milk | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 253B |
| 12. | Jazirat Shandawid | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 254A |
| 13. | Saqiyat Qulta | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 254B |
| 14. | Shiflaq | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 254B |
| 15. | Shandawid | Ikhmim | | Asyut | 254B |
| 16. | Dumuh al - Lahun | Al - Fayyum | | Al - Bahnasa | 229A |

TABLE 6**Villages with no area measurement figures**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Qalyub | Jazirat al - Quritiyyin | 9B |
| 2. | Qalyub | Kharab Fazara | 10A |
| 3. | Qalyub | Dijwa / Kiyad | 10A |
| 4. | Qalyub | Mujual al- Bayda | 13B |
| 5. | al - Sharqiyya | Ard al - Jumayma | 16B |
| 6. | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Jifar bi Qatya | 18B |
| 7. | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Salihyya | 21A |
| 8. | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Turturi / al - Rashidi | 21A |
| 9. | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Mu'aysira min nawahi al - jistr | 25A |
| 10. | al - Sharqiyya | Amyayh | 26B |
| 11. | al - Sharqiyya | Biltan | 29A |
| 12. | al - Sharqiyya | Jazirat al - Ghazlaniyya | 34A |
| 13. | al - Sharqiyya | Dahsifat al - Shurafa | 35B |
| 14. | al - Sharqiyya | Salamun min nawahi al - Jistr | 38B |
| 15. | al - Sharqiyya | Tunaijir | 45B |
| 16. | al - Sharqiyya | Adad Bani Rub `i | 46A |
| 17. | al - Sharqiyya | Qabr al - Wali | 47B |
| 18. | al - Sharqiyya | Kafr Bani Hubaysh | 49B |
| 19. | al - Sharqiyya | Mudawwarat Jamil | 50A |
| 20. | al - Sharqiyya | Manshiyat Kardida | 50A |
| 21. | al - Sharqiyya | Manzil Na'im | 51A |
| 22. | al - Sharqiyya | Minyat Ya `ish | 55A |
| 23. | al - Sharqiyya | Wadi al - Sadir | 57A |
| 24. | Dimyat | Al - `Adiliyya | 79B |
| 25. | Dimyat | Turbat Minyat Sinan al - Dawla | 79B |
| 26. | Dimyat | Sharnibara | 80A |
| 27. | Al - Gharbiyya | Al - Hamudiyya | 86A |

TABLE 6 (contd.)**Villages with no area measurement figures**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 28. | Al - Gharbiyya | Qabrit = Kabrit | 118B |
| 29. | Al - Gharbiyya | Mahallat al - Jundi | 123A |
| 30. | Al - Gharbiyya | Minyat al - Ashraf | 130B |
| 31. | Al - Gharbiyya | Malal | 136A |
| 32. | Minuf | Balajim | 146A |
| 33. | Minuf | Shatanuf | 149B |
| 34. | Al - Buhayra | Sawaqi Ghurlu al - Jukandar | 167B |
| 35. | Al - Buhayra | Al - 'Umariyya | 168B |
| 36. | Al - Buhayra | Dakduka | 176B |
| 37. | Fuwa | Al - Jaza'ir | 191A |
| 38. | Fuwa | Itqina | 191A |
| 39. | Fuwa | Burunbara | 191A |
| 40. | Fuwa | Diba | 191B |
| 41. | Fuwa | Jazirat al - Dhahab | 191B |
| 42. | Fuwa | Damalij | 191B |
| 43. | Fuwa | Sindiyun | 191B |
| 44. | Fuwa | Minyat Bani Murshid | 192A |
| 45. | Fuwa | Nutubis al - Rumman | 192A |
| 46. | Nastarawa | Al - Rus | 192B |
| 47. | Nastarawa | Rashid | 192B |
| 48. | Nastarawa | Al - Burullus | 192B |
| 49. | Nastarawa | Baltim | 192B |
| 50. | Nastarawa | Sinjar | 192B |
| 51. | Al - Iskandariyya | Al - Jiddiyya | 193B |
| 52. | Al - Iskandariyya | Santariyya | 193B |
| 53. | Al - Iskandariyya | Makbul | 194A |
| 54. | Al - Iskandariyya | Bayn al - Karyun wa'l - Jinan | 194A |

TABLE 6 (contd.)**Villages with no area measurement figures**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 55. | Al - Iskandariyya | Dayrut | 144A |
| 56. | Al - Jiza | Abu Ghalib | 195A |
| 57. | Al - Jiza | Akhsas `Atiyya | 195B |
| 58. | Al - Jiza | Aradi al - Milk | 195B |
| 59. | Al - Jiza | Abu Qutna | 195B |
| 60. | Al - Jiza | Al - Barraniyya | 196A |
| 61. | Al - Jiza | Al - Harraniya | 196B |
| 62. | Al - Jiza | Al - Hitan al - Bid | 196B |
| 63. | Al - Jiza | Al - Dimnawiyya | 196B |
| 64. | Al - Jiza | Al - Shawbak | 197A |
| 65. | Al - Jiza | Al - Gharat | 197B |
| 66. | Al - Jiza | Al - Mujarrad / al - Mulaqqi | 1298A |
| 67. | Al - Jiza | Al - Kawm al - Ahmar | 198A |
| 68. | Al - Jiza | Al - Mansuriyya | 198B |
| 69. | Al - Jiza | Al - Akhsas wa'l - Manashi | 198B |
| 70. | Al - Jiza | Al - Munzaliqa | 198B |
| 71. | Al - Jiza | Al - Nakhla | 198B |
| 72. | Al - Jiza | Tirsa | 200A |
| 73. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat Batin Jabra | 200B |
| 74. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Tair | 200B |
| 75. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat Barnasht | 200B |
| 76. | Al - Jiza | Jazair al - Khiyar | 200B |
| 77. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Faras | 200B |
| 78. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Aqraz Hawd al - Duqqi | 201A |
| 79. | Al - Jiza | Hawd al - Duqqi | 201A |
| 80. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Asal | 201A |
| 81. | Al - Jiza | Jazirat Darawa | 201A |

TABLE 6 (contd.)**Villages with no area measurement figures**

| | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 82. | Al - Jiza | Hawd al - Bassal | 201A |
| 83. | Al - Jiza | Hawd al - Muariyyin | 201A |
| 84. | Al - Jiza | Khalij al - Tin | 201B |
| 85. | Al - Jiza | Saqiyat Makka` | 202A |
| 86. | Al - Jiza | Shubramant | 202B |
| 87. | Al - Jiza | Atf Buhbayt | 203A |
| 88. | Al - Jiza | Qannasa | 203A |
| 89. | Al - Jiza | Minyat al - Qayd | 204B |
| 90. | Al - Jiza | Minyat al - Sayyadin | 204B |
| 91. | Al - Jiza | Minyat Anduna | 204B |
| 92. | Al - Jiza | Minyat Kardak | 205A |
| 93. | Al - Jiza | Muta | 205B |
| 94. | Al - Jiza | Wardan | 205B |
| 95. | Atfih | Uskur | 206A |
| 96. | Atfih | Aqwaz Bani Bahr | 206A |
| 97. | Atfih | Al - Tabbin | 206A |
| 98. | Atfih | Al - Hilf / Ras al - Khalij | 206B |
| 99. | Atfih | Al - Hayy al - Kabir | 206B |
| 100. | Atfih | Al - Hayy al - Saghir | 206B |
| 101. | Atfih | Al - Salihyya | 206B |
| 102. | Atfih | Al - Qilabiya | 206B |
| 103. | Atfih | Al - Zanqur al - Bahri | 206B |
| 104. | Atfih | Al - Saff | 206B |
| 105. | Atfih | Al - Shaqqa | 206B |
| 106. | Atfih | Al - Kabira / Batin Rikab | 207A |
| 107. | Atfih | Al - Widy | 207A |
| 108. | Atfih | Al - Ash`ab | 207A |

TABLE 6 (contd.)**Villages with no area measurement figures**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 109. | Atfih | Batin Imran | 207A |
| 110. | Atfih | Al - Mawsiliyat | 207A |
| 111. | Atfih | Al - Istabl | 207A |
| 112. | Atfih | Batin al - Baniyasi | 207A |
| 113. | Atfih | Bani Manuk | 207A |
| 114. | Atfih | Bayad | 207B |
| 115. | Atfih | Jaza'ir al - Maymun | 207B |
| 116. | Atfih | Jazirat Abi ' Ali | 207B |
| 117. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Jahil | 207B |
| 118. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Dayr | 207B |
| 119. | Atfih | Jazirat Ibrahim b. Fayiz | 207B |
| 120. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Saff | 207B |
| 121. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Ajawi | 208A |
| 122. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Qitt al - Qibliyya | 208A |
| 123. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Wusta | 208A |
| 124. | Atfih | Jazirat Rikab | 208A |
| 125. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Far | 208A |
| 126. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Kalbiyya | 208A |
| 127. | Atfih | Jazirat al - Istabl | 208A |
| 128. | Atfih | Jazirat Qaysar al - Ruqaymi | 208B |
| 129. | Atfih | Hayy al - Shurafa ' | 208B |
| 130. | Atfih | Sul | 208B |
| 131. | Atfih | Hulwan | 208B |
| 132. | Atfih | Khanzab | 208B |
| 133. | Atfih | Tura | 208B |
| 134. | Atfih | Ghammaza | 209A |
| 135. | Atfih | Qubaybat Uskur | 209A |

TABLE 6 (contd.)

Villages with no area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 136. | Atfih | Masjid Musa | 209A |
| 137. | Atfih | Ghayyada | 209A |
| 138. | Atfih | Qubaybat Atfih | 209A |
| 139. | Atfih | Manyal Sultan | 209A |
| 140. | Atfih | Minyat al - Basak | 209A |
| 141. | Al - Fayyum | Ibshayat al - Rumman | 209B |
| 142. | Al - Fayyum | Al - Rubayyat | 211A |
| 143. | Al - Fayyum | Al - Hanbushiyya | 211A |
| 144. | Al - Fayyum | Al - Rubiyyin | 211A |
| 145. | Al - Fayyum | Al - Ghaba / al - Ta'ifa | 211B |
| 146. | Al - Fayyum | Al - Manshiyya | 211B |
| 147. | Al - Fayyum | Al - A`lam | 212A |
| 148. | Al - Fayyum | Hajar al - A`lam | 212A |
| 149. | Al - Fayyum | Babij Anshu | 212B |
| 150. | Al - Fayyum | Birkat al - Sayyid | 213A |
| 151. | Al - Fayyum | Bamuyya | 213A |
| 152. | Al - Fayyum | Birkat Baydif | 213A |
| 153. | Al - Fayyum | Dayr Abi Ja`ran | 215B |
| 154. | Al - Fayyum | Sinnuris | 216A |
| 155. | Al - Fayyum | Shubays | 217A |
| 156. | Al - Fayyum | Saqil | 217A |
| 157. | Al - Fayyum | Aqula | 217B |
| 158. | Al - Fayyum | Maqtul | 219A |
| 159. | Al - Fayyum | Minyat al - Batsh | 219B |
| 160. | Al - Fayyum | Nawahi al - Jibal | 219B |
| 161. | Al - Bahnasa | Abu Sir Quridis | 221A |
| 162. | Al - Bahnasa | Idrija | 221B |

TABLE 6 (contd.)**Villages with no area measurement figures**

| No | Province | Village | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 163. | Al - Bahnasa | Al - Murij | 225A |
| 164. | Al - Bahnasa | Jazirat Sawaqi al -Ash'ari | 229A |
| 165. | Al - Bahnasa | Dajlut al - Hijara | 229A |
| 166. | Al - Bahnasa | Dahmaru | 230B |
| 167. | Al - Bahnasa | Atf Khallas | 234B |
| 168. | Al - Bahnasa | Al - Wahat | 238B |
| 169. | Al - Ushmunayn | Bawit Jazirat al - Hajar | 243A |
| 170. | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Umm al - Bus | 244B |
| 171. | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Darut Sarabam | 245A |
| 172. | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Fakhr | 245A |
| 173. | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Wadi al - Tayr | 245A |
| 174. | Al - Ushmunayn | Makusa | 249B |
| 175. | Al - Ushmunayn | Minyat Bani Khasib | 251A |
| 176. | Manfalut | Manfalut / Kufur | 251B |
| 177. | Asyut | Al - Khusus | 253A |
| 178. | Ikhmim | Jaziratayal - Kirmaniyya | 257B |
| 179. | Qus | Marj Bani Humaym | 263A |
| 180. | Qus | Naqqada | 263B |
| 181. | Qus | Huw /al - Kawm al - Ahmar | 263B |
| 182. | Qus | Aswan | 263B |
| 183. | Al - Gharbiyya | Al - Murayj | 89B |
| 184. | Al - Gharbiyya | Al - Maghtas | 90B |
| 185. | Al - Gharbiyya | Birkat Attaf | 94B |
| 186. | Al - Fayyum | al - Zahiriyya | 211B |

TABLE 7**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | al-Sharqiyya | Abu Akim | 16A |
| 2. | al-Daqahliyya | Aja | 57B |
| 3. | al-Daqahliyya | Abu Dawud | 57B |
| 4. | al-Daqahliya | Ard Hindi | 58A |
| 5. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Jamaliyya | 59B |
| 6. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Jumayyiza | 60A |
| 7. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Khaysa | 60A |
| 8. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Qibab al-Sughra | 61B |
| 9. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Qibab al-Kubra | 62A |
| 10. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Manwa | 62B |
| 11. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Mirsa | 62B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 12. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Majnuna | 62B |
| 13. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Mu'tasimiyya | 62B |
| 14. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Hala | 63A |
| 15. | al-Daqahliyya | Balajhur | 63B |
| 16. | al-Daqahliyya | Biljah | 64A |
| 17. | al-Daqahliyya | Hisas Jumayjim | 65A |
| 18. | al-Daqahliyya | Khalij Quzman | 66A |
| 19. | al-Daqahliyya | Shanasha | 68B |
| 20. | al-Daqahliyya | Shannisa | 69A |
| 21. | al-Daqahliyya | Qunayda | 70A |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 22. | al-Daqahliyya | Mahallat Inshaq | 71A |
| 23. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat al-Ziman | 72B |
| 24. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat al-Tabl | 73A |
| 25. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Sharif | 76B |
| 26. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Tarif | 76B |
| 27. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat 'Abd al-Mu'min | 77A |
| 28. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Azzum | 77A |
| 29. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Awwam | 77B |
| 30. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Mahallat Damana | 78A |
| 31. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Mahmud | 78A |
| 32. | al-Daqahliyya | Niqita | 78B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 33. | Dimyat | Sufayta | 80A |
| 34. | Al-Gharbiyya | Ibshu | 81A |
| 35. | Al-Gharbiyya | Ibtu | 81B |
| 36. | Al-Gharbiyya | Abyuqa / al-Farajun | 82A |
| 37. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Bashma/Bashandila | 83B |
| 38. | Al-Gharbiyya | Abu'l-Malis | 82A |
| 39. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Ti'baniyya | 84B |
| 40. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al – Hamra al-Sharqiyya | 85B |
| 41. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Darawatayn | 86A |
| 42. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Rukniyya | 86B |
| 43. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Sumayri | 87A |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 44. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Qasriyya | 88B |
| 45. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Qaytun | 89A |
| 46. | Al-Gharbiyya | Birkat Attaf | 94B |
| 47. | Al-Gharbiyya | Balankuma | 96B |
| 48. | Al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Barash | 99B |
| 49. | Al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Tandita | 100A |
| 50. | Al-Gharbiyya | Dikraw | 103A |
| 51. | Al-Gharbiyya | Dimitnu | 104A |
| 52. | Al-Gharbiyya | Shubra al-Lawq | 112A |
| 53. | Al-Gharbiyya | Shintina al-Hajar | 114B |
| 54. | Al-Gharbiyya | Shintina Ayyash | 114B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|--------------|---|-------------------|
| 55. | Al-Gharbiyya | Sawada | 115A |
| 56. | Al-Gharbiyya | Quzman | 119A |
| 57. | Al-Gharbiyya | Qalib Yunus | 119B |
| 58. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallati Namun wa Yuhannis | 122A |
| 59. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Abi 'Ali al-Qunitra al-Gharbiyya | 122B |
| 60. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Diyayh | 124B |
| 61. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Malik | 125A |
| 62. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Musa | 125B |
| 63. | Al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Uwaysh | 135A |
| 64. | Minuf | Abjij | 139B |
| 65. | Minuf | Minyat al-Qasri | 155A |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 66. | Al-Buhayra | Ard Tu ' raf bi'l-Nujum | 165A |
| 67. | Al-Buhayra | Arsaf | 165A |
| 68. | Al-Buhayra | Bastara | 172B |
| 69. | Al-Buhayra | Tall Baqa | 173B |
| 70. | Fuwa | Jazirat al-Dhahab | 191B |
| 71. | Fuwa | Minyat Hammad | 192A |
| 72. | Al-Iskandariyya | Al-Jinan wa'l-Hafir | 193B |
| 73. | Al-Iskandariyya | Makbul | 194A |
| 74. | Al-Jiza | Abu Rajwan | 194B |
| 75. | Al-Jiza | Abu Shanif | 195A |
| 76. | Al-Jiza | Ard al-Sidra | 195B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| 77. | Al-Jiza | Al-Nawhat | 196A |
| 78. | Al-Jiza | Al-Balajir | 196A |
| 79. | Al-Jiza | Al-Baydafi | 196B |
| 80. | Al-Jiza | Al-Khur | 196B |
| 81. | Al-Jiza | Al-Khayzuraniyya | 196B |
| 82. | Al-Jiza | Al-Hadday | 196B |
| 83. | Al-Jiza | Al-Riqqa | 197B |
| 84. | Al-Jiza | Al-Tarfayya | 197A |
| 85. | Al-Jiza | Al-Salihyya | 197A |
| 86. | Al-Jiza | Al-Atf | 197B |
| 87. | Al-Jiza | Al-Yila | 197B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----|----------|------------------|-------------------|
| 88. | Al-Jiza | Al-Qawturi | 197B |
| 89. | Al-Jiza | Al Gharat | 197B |
| 90. | Al-Jiza | Al-Qashshashiyya | 197B |
| 91. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kunayyisa | 197B |
| 92. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kawm-Aswad | 198A |
| 93. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kawm-Saghir | 198A |
| 94. | Al-Jiza | Al-Mu'tamidiyya | 198A |
| 95. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kawm al-Ahmar | 198A |
| 96. | Al-Jiza | Al-Lubayni | 198A |
| 97. | Al-Jiza | Al Mu'arqab | 198A |
| 98. | Al-Jiza | Al-Mu'aysira | 198B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 99. | Al-Jiza | Al-Haiyha | 198B |
| 100. | Al-Jiza | Umm Dinar | 198B |
| 101. | Al-Jiza | Awsim | 199A |
| 102. | Al-Jiza | Batin Jabra | 199A |
| 103. | Al-Jiza | Badsa | 199A |
| 104. | Al-Jiza | Birak al-Khiyam | 199A |
| 105. | Al-Jiza | Al-Akhmas | 199A |
| 106. | Al-Jiza | Bajama | 199A |
| 107. | Al-Jiza | Burtus | 199A |
| 108. | Al-Jiza | Birkat al-Tin | 199A |
| 109. | Al-Jiza | Bashtil | 199B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|------|----------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 110. | Al-Jiza | Bani Bakkar | 199B |
| 111. | Al-Jiza | Bani Yusuf | 199B |
| 112. | Al-Jiza | Bustan al-Ashrafi | 199B |
| 113. | Al-Jiza | Bamha | 199B |
| 114. | Al-Jiza | Bani Majdul | 199B |
| 115. | Al-Jiza | Baharmis | 199B |
| 116. | Al-Jiza | Buhbayt | 200A |
| 117. | Al-Jiza | Baydaf | 200A |
| 118. | Al-Jiza | Jabra | 200A |
| 119. | Al-Jiza | Jazair Badsa | 200B |
| 120. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat Abu Sa'id | 200B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|------|----------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 121. | Al-Jiza | Jazira bi Jiwar al-Qaturi | 200B |
| 122. | Al-Jiza | Jazira bi Jiwar al-Munzaliqa | 200B |
| 123. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat al-Aqraz | 201A |
| 124. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat Salah | 201A |
| 125. | Al-Jiza | Hawd al-Santa al-Qibli | 201A |
| 126. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat Muhammad | 201A |
| 127. | Al-Jiza | Hawd al-Santa al-Bahri | 201A |
| 128. | Al-Jiza | Hajir Umm Dinar | 201A |
| 129. | Al-Jiza | Darawa | 201B |
| 130. | Al-Jiza | Dahshur | 201B |
| 131. | Al-Jiza | Dhat al-Kawm | 201B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 132. | Al-Jiza | Dumuh | 201B |
| 133. | Al-Jiza | Rifat Jamil | 201B |
| 134. | Al-Jiza | Zikri al-Saghir | 201B |
| 135. | Al-Jiza | Zikri al-Kabir | 202A |
| 136. | Al-Jiza | Saqiyat Bayan | 202A |
| 137. | Al-Jiza | Saqiyat Khawaja | 202A |
| 138. | Al-Jiza | Surdayka | 202A |
| 139. | Al-Jiza | Saft Nahya | 202B |
| 140. | Al-Jiza | Shubra Bar | 202B |
| 141. | Al-Jiza | Shimq | 202B |
| 142. | Al-Jiza | Tamwayth | 202B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 143. | Al-Jiza | Saqqara | 202B |
| 144. | Al-Jiza | Shubramant | 202B |
| 145. | Al-Jiza | Saqil | 202B |
| 146. | Al-Jiza | Zahiriyyat Bani 'Utba | 203A |
| 147. | Al-Jiza | Tuhurmus | 203A |
| 148. | Al-Jiza | Tahma | 203A |
| 149. | Al-Jiza | Zahr Shamas | 203A |
| 150. | Al-Jiza | Atf Buhbayt | 203A |
| 151. | Al-Jiza | Qannasa | 203A |
| 152. | Al-Jiza | Kildasa | 203A |
| 153. | Al-Jiza | Mukhnan | 203A |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 154. | Al-Jiza | Marj Antar al-Qibli | 203A |
| 155. | Al-Jiza | Malaqat Awsim | 203B |
| 156. | Al-Jiza | Malaqat Sinin | 203B |
| 157. | Al-Jiza | Marj Antar al-Bahri | 203B |
| 158. | Al-Jiza | Malaqat al-Aqsab | 203B |
| 159. | Al-Jiza | Manshiyat Dahshur | 204A |
| 160. | Al-Jiza | Manshiyat Nahya | 204A |
| 161. | Al-Jiza | Manyal Ibn Askr | 204A |
| 162. | Al-Jiza | Manshiyat Tamwayh | 204A |
| 163. | Al-Jiza | Minyat al-Qa'id | 204A |
| 164. | Al-Jiza | Manyal Nabit | 204B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)**Villages with no ibra figures**

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|------|------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 165. | Al-Jiza | Minyat al Sayyadin | 204B |
| 166. | Al-Jiza | Minyat Anduna | 204B |
| 167. | Al-Jiza | Minyat Rufai | 204B |
| 168. | Al-Jiza | Minyat Rahina | 205B |
| 169. | Al-Jiza | Mihwalat Burtus | 205B |
| 170. | Al-Jiza | Nikla | 205B |
| 171. | Al-Jiza | Mihwalat Awsim | 205B |
| 172. | Atfih | Jazirat Ibrahim b. Fa ' iz | 207B |
| 173. | Al-Bahnasa | Dajtut al-Hijara | 229A |
| 174. | Manfalut | Manfalut/Kufur | 251B |
| 175. | Manfalut | Saqiyyat Qulta | 254B |

TABLE 7 (contd.)

Villages with no ibra figures

| No | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 176. | Manfalut | Shandawid | 255A |
| 177. | Qus | Huw / Al-Kawm al-Ahmar | 263B |
| 178. | Qus | Aswan | 263B |

TABLE 8

Al-Rawk al-Nasiri

| No | Village | Information in al-Rawk | IJ |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------|
| 1. | Aradi Al-Bal | It contained rizaq | 4B |
| 2. | Al-Matariyya | Its area measurement | 5B |
| 3. | Khusus 'Ayn Shams | It contained rizaq | 6A |
| 4. | Shubra al- Khayma | It contained rizaq | 6A |
| 5. | Kom Ashfin | It contained rizaq | 6B |
| 6. | Tafahna al- Sughra | Its ibra is given | 31B |
| 7. | Nuba | It contained rizaq | 56B |
| 8. | Qabrit = Kabrit | Not surveyed | 118B |
| 9. | Shatanuf | Its area measurement not fixed | 149B |
| 10. | Abu'al-Zarazir | Its area measurement | 163A |
| 11. | Abu'al-Sahma | Its area measurement | 163A |
| 12. | Abu'al Ghizlan | Its area measurement | 163A |
| 13. | Abu Kharasha | Its area measurement | 163B |
| 14. | Khammarat Dakduka | Its area measurement | 175B |

TABLE 8(contd.)

Al-Rawk al-Nasiri

| No | Village | Information in al-Rawk | IJ (folio number) |
|-----------|----------------|--|--------------------------|
| 15. | Ramsis | Its area measurement | 177B |
| 16. | Shubra Wasim | Its area measurement | 180A |
| 17. | Shisht | Its area measurement | 180B |
| 18. | Shandid | Its area measurement | 180B |
| 19. | Abu'l-Numrus | It was not surveyed by al-Rawk al-Nasiri | 194B |
| 20. | Al-Khusus | It was not surveyed by al-Rawk al-Nasiri | 253A |

CHAPTER 3

3. Terminology

3.1 Area measurement (misaha) and the categories of agricultural land.

As mentioned before, Ibn Duqmaq did not utilise the records of the cadastral survey carried out by al-Nasir Muhammad, but he depended heavily on the contemporary registers of the army bureau. The area measurement cited by Ibn Duqmaq reflects these contemporary records. He does not declare the total area measurement of the villages and he neglects to mention the number of faddans which were devoted by the state to religious and charitable purposes (rizaq). What Ibn Duqmaq mentions about area measurement refers to that part of the cultivated land which was assigned by the state in the form of iqta or other forms of land tenure.

According to Walther Hinz,³⁰⁴ the faddan in Egypt in the Mamluk era was the equivalent of 6,368 square metres. The fractional units of the faddan such as a quarter, a sixth, a half, a third and so on are mentioned by both Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an. It is clear that Ibn Duqmaq cites them more frequently than Ibn al-Ji'an; this might point to the registers of the army bureau, which reflect the changes that occurred after the Rawk al-Nasiri, the main source used by Ibn al-Ji'an for area measurement.

³⁰⁴ Walther Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, Leiden, 1955. Translated into Arabic by K.J. Asali, Al-Maka'il wa'l-awzan al-islamiyya wa ma yu'adiluha fi'l-nizam al-mitri, Amman, 1970, pp.97-8.

Ibn Duqmaq also utilizes smaller measurements called qirats which are less than the faddan for small areas. According to Popper, the qirats was equal to 1/24 of any unit.³⁰⁵ Rabie, on the other hand, mentions that the qirats "is still in use in Egypt especially among small landed proprietors. The value of the qirats varies according to time, area and the condition of the property".³⁰⁶

Ibn Duqmaq uses the qirats as a smaller scale measure of the area of two villages. He mentions, for example, that the area measurement of a village in the province of Atfih was six hundred and fifty two faddans and five qirats.³⁰⁷ For the same province, Ibn Duqmaq declares that the area measurement of a village called Jazirat al-Dayr was one hundred and fifty three faddans and two qirats.³⁰⁸ No other mention of this measurement is found in his text relating to other provinces. This may well indicate that this measurement was in use in the province of Atfih only. It is also mentioned by al-Yusufi in Nuzhat al-Nasir, when he speaks about a tower called al-Atlas, whose measurement was one faddan and a half and two qirats.³⁰⁹ It is clear therefore, that the qirats was utilised in the Mamluk era, though probably on

305. William Popper, Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382-14678, A.D. Systematic notes to Ibn Taghri Birdi's chronicles of Egypt, Berkeley, 1957, Vol.16, p.36.

306. Rabie, The Financial System, p.49.

307. Ibn Duqmaq, Al-intisar, vol. 4, p.133.

308. Ibid, vol.4, p.135.

309. Al-Yusufi, Nuzhat, p.407.

a very small scale. Taking the statements of Popper, Rabie³¹⁰ and Hinz³¹¹ about the value of the qirats, one can say that it was equal to 1/24 of a faddan. One can deduce that in Egypt in the Mamluk era the qirats was equal to 6368 square metres divided by 24 = c. 265 square metres.

3.1.2 Qanun

According to al-Nuwayri, the administrative measures concerned with kharaj in Egypt, were based on what land could be irrigated by the Nile river³¹². He also mentions that irrigation reports were submitted by officials known as khulis³¹³ for every village in each lunar year. In their reports the officials mention their names and the names of the villages and their chiefs, the total area measurement of the cultivated land and the number of faddans which could be irrigated [rayy] and those which were not irrigated (sharaqi)³¹⁴.

From the above discussions, we can conclude that an investigation of irrigated and non-irrigated land was the practice every year, according to

310. Rabie, The Financial System, p.49.

311. Hinz, Islamische Masse, p.98.

312. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, p.246.

313. Khuli pl. Khawala. "His duty is to measure the land and to know the cultivation of the peasants" cf. Huseyn Efendi, Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution, translated from Arabic by Stanford J.Shaw, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1964, p.53.

314. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, p.247. cf. also Murphy, Gladys Frantz, The agrarian administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans, Cairo 1986, pp.27-43.

routine administrative procedures, and that these were different from the records of a survey (*rawq*) which was carried out once or twice a century. One may therefore suggest that the term qanun as mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an³¹⁵ for some villages was probably not gleaned from the record of the survey of al-Nasir Muhammad, but rather from the local registers of *kharaj* in each village.

Ibn al-Ji'an divides the total area measurement of a village into two categories and calls one of them *misaha* and the other *rizqa*. He rarely mentions the total area measurement of the village. If he does so, then he calls it the area measurement (*misaha*) including the *rizqa* (al-misaha ma'a al-rizqa).³¹⁶ What Ibn al-Ji'an says about *misaha* refers to that part of the cultivated land of the village which was assigned in the form of *iqta* or other types of land tenure. For him, *rizqa* means that part of the cultivated land of the village which was devoted by the state to religious and charitable purposes.

It is important to note that his data concerning *misaha* and *rizqa* are probably derived from the records of al-Rawk al-Nasiri which took place in 715/1315. We can also say that he traced the development of the area measurement of the villages after the above survey and recorded the changes for them³¹⁷. However, there are *rizqa*, which are mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an, belonging to the land tenure which existed after the above cadastral survey.

315 Cf. Table 1.

316 Cf. Table No.2

317 Cf. Table no.3.

Moreover, the part of the village (misaha) which was assigned in the form of iqta or for other types of land tenure might include more than one category of agricultural land such as naqa, khirs, sharaqi and mustabhir. These above categories of agricultural land were widespread in the time of the Rawk in the provinces of Ibyar wa Jazirat Bani Nasr in Lower Egypt, and in al-Bahnasa, Asyut, Ikhmim and Qus in Upper Egypt.³¹⁸ The categories of this land are as follows:

3.1.3.1 Al-naqa:

Al-naqa is agricultural land which contained black soil suitable for cultivation. If this land was not cultivated, a high quality grass, called al-kutayh in Upper Egypt, grew in it and this grass was used as fodder, instead of clover,³¹⁹ for horses, pack animals, riding animals (al-dawabb) and livestock (al-mashiyya)

3.1.3.2 Al-khirs:

According to Ibn Mammati, al-khirs is

" poor land in which obstacles for cultivation are deeply rooted. It is grazing land and it is worse than al-wasakh al-ghalib.³²⁰

³¹⁸. According to al-Nuwayri, the majority of khirs lands were located in the north of Upper Egypt (al-Sa'id al-a'la). Cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, p.248. cf. also Table No.4.

³¹⁹. Ibid, p.247.

³²⁰. Al-wasakh al-ghalib is a category of land which according to Ibn Mammati was "land containing vegetation which makes it unamenable. The cultivators cannot bring it under control and its abundance prevents them from cultivating anything on it. It is

However, clearing it and clearing the above-mentioned al-waskh makes cultivation possible and it becomes very productive."³²¹

According to al-Nuwayri, al-khirs is the land on which vegetation (al-halfa) grows and it is not cultivated unless the grass has been removed from it and the land cleared.³²² In spite of the confidence of both Ibn Mammati and al-Nuwayri in the possibility of putting this category of agricultural land under cultivation, a waqf belonging to the first half of the 9/15th century mentions that khirs land was not suitable for cultivation.³²³

In fact, this category of agricultural land needed some investment in order to clear it of grass and put it under cultivation, such investment was not available at all times. The other way to benefit from such land, which is also likely to have happened in the Mamluk era, is to use it as pasture for the livestock of the iqta holder or indeed to impose tax on livestock which came to graze on the land.

sold as grazing land" Cf. Richard Cooper, "Land classification terminology and the assessment of the Kharaj tax in Medieval Egypt", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 1974, vol.xvii, p.96.

321. Ibid.

322. Al-Nuwayri, op.cit., vol. 8, p.248.

323. Ahmad Daraj, Hujjat waqf Barsbay, Cairo, 1963, p.48.

3.1.3.3 Al-sharaqi

In general this is non-irrigated land.³²⁴ Ibn Mammati, however, provides more details concerning this category by saying that it is "a land which is not reached by water, either on account of the insufficiency of the Nile flood and the elevation of the land or because the water course is dammed."³²⁵

3.1.3.4 Al-mustabhir:

According to Ibn Mammati, this is "low land where there is no way for the water to be drained off, if it enters and the period for sowing will be over before it subsides. Sometimes a cultivator sets up water scoops (al-sawaqi) thereon and uses them to irrigate lands in need of water."³²⁶ However, al-Nuwayri has a more precise definition although he uses the term canals' land instead of low land while citing the possibility of its cultivation. According to him, it is the land of canals (khuljan) in which water remains until the cultivation season has passed. Some of the lands remain uncultivated (bur) and some are cultivated with vegetables and water melons (maqathi).³²⁷

Ibn Ji'an mentions these last three categories of agricultural lands as rare cases compared to the majority of cultivated land in Egypt, which may well have consisted mainly of the naqa category of black soil land suitable for

324. Al-Nuwayri, op.cit., vol. 8, p.247.

325. Cooper, Land Classification, p.96.

326. Ibid.

327. Al-Nuwayri, op.cit., vol. 8, p.248.

cultivation. This fact is confirmed by waqf documents which describe the cultivated land with the term al-tin al-suad as an indication of the black soil.³²⁸

While the categories of land mentioned for some villages belonged to the misaha, the rizaq probably consisted of one type - naqa. This fact comes to light after studying 95 villages which were in these categories. The author links these categories with misaha, while rizaq is mentioned as a separate element. Therefore, one can assume that cultivated land belonged to the naqa type, the category which can guarantee a revenue, rather than categories which needed some investment before they were ready for cultivation. There are also 186 villages mentioned without area measurement figures³²⁹, and 49 villages mentioned as being uncultivated (kharab) or inundated and cut off by the Nile river, mostly after the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban³³⁰.

3.2.2. sabkha pl. sibakh

The sale marsh land unsuitable for the cultivation of grains. The soil of this land was sometimes used to fertilize flax.³³¹

328. For example cf. Daraj, Hujjat Waqf, pp.12, 20, 23-5, 28, 51. According to Halm "Ibn al-Ji'an only mentions naqa land explicitly, to distinguish it from land of low quality". Cf. Halm, Agypten vol.1, p.39.

329 cf. Table no.5.

330 Cf. Table No.6.

331 Copper, Richard. "Land classification terminology and the assessment of the kharaj tax in medieval Egypt", JESHO, XXII, 1974, p.96.

hikr pl. akhar

The land which was rented on a monthly basis to use as stables or for cultivation or for other purposes.³³²

3.2 The estimation of the yield of the villages (ibra) and the administrative measurements (al-dinar al-jayshi).

3.2.1 ibra

In the 4/10th century al-Khwarazmi described ibra as an average value of the yield of two years; the revenue of one was very poor and the revenue of the other rich. Both revenues were lumped together and divided by two. The result of this calculation, in addition to taking account of the changes in the prices of agricultural products and other contingencies arising is ibra.³³³ This definition by al-Khwarazmi is indeed rare in its precision. Similar definitions are hard to find.

One attempt at a definition of this term is that provided by Cahen when he writes that ibra was the appellation in all medieval Muslim administration

³³² Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol. 8, pp.228-9.

³³³ Al-Khwarazmi, Muhammad b. Ahmad (d. second half of the 4/10 century), Mafatih al-'ulum, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden, 1895, pp.60-1. Cf. also C.E. Bosworth, "Abu 'Abd Allah al-Khwarazmi on the technical terms of the secretary's art : a contribution to the administrative history of medieval Islam", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 1969, vol. xii, pp.135-6. Cf. also Rabie, The Financial System, p.47. The complicated situation under the Ayyubids has been fully discussed by Cahen and Cooper.

for the estimation of the fiscal value of the area considered.³³⁴ However, this definition is too general and it does not explain the method used by Muslim administration to reach this estimation. Although *ibra* was clearly mentioned in the medieval Muslim world its application inevitably varied from area to area and period to period.

Concerning the Mamluk practice, one must rely on the statements and passages of al-Nuwayri, al-'Umari, al-Qalqashandi, al-Maqrizi and Ibn al-Ji'an. The oldest explanation mentioned by the Mamluk sources is that of al-Nuwayri. According to this author, the *ibra* of a village is dependent on the yield (al-mutahsil) which consists of cash ('ayn) and kind (ghala) over three harvesting years. The yield obtained from these three years was probably lumped together and divided by three to get the average yield of the village - *ibra*³³⁵.

However, the above statement describes only the procedure of re-investigating the old *ibra* by clerks in the army bureau which took place every three years,³³⁶ and it does not answer the question of how an *ibra* had first been obtained.

An attempt to answer this question was undertaken by Heinz Halm who describes *ibra* as representing the hypothetical taxation value determined at

334. Claude Cahen, "Le regime des impots dans le Fayyum", *Arabica*, 1956, vol. 3, p.12.

335. Al-Nuwayri, *op.cit.*, vol.8, 201, 203, 297.

336. *Ibid*, p.203.

the rawk, based on the average of extremely poor and good yields of the preceding years³³⁷.

Halm's emphasis on the determination of *ibra* at the rawk in general and at al-rawk al-Nasiri in particular, depends, for the latter, on the similarities between *ibra* figures relating to the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban b. Husain and figures relating to the period of al-Zahir Barquq.³³⁸ This implies that *ibra* figures must have remained static as they had first been settled by the rawk.

Halm's statement ignores the fact that *ibra* was reinvestigated according to Mamluk practice every three years, which means that rawk records might be used to check the old *ibra* to update the official registers and did not prevent a new investigation. Bearing in mind the need to reassign the villages to a new *iqta* holder, the state needed accurate information about contemporary *ibra* figures.

Furthermore, the similarities of *ibra* figures for these two periods do not prove that *ibra* had first been settled at the cadastral survey of al-Nasir Muhammad, because there is no evidence provided by Halm to support his idea and there is no such mention or indication ever found in Ibn Duqmaq's and Ibn al-Ji'an's works to support such a claim.

337. Halm, Agypten Lehensregistern, vol. 1, p.40.

338. *Ibid*, pp.40-1.

3.2.2 The administrative measure (al-dinar al-jayshi) and its relevance to ibra.

According to Cahen, the ibra since the Ayyubid period had been calculated in Egypt in an arbitrary "administrative" currency known as al-dinar al-jayshi.³³⁹ The oldest mention³⁴⁰ in Mamluk sources of al-dinar al-jayshi as a measure for the calculation of ibra belongs to the records of al-rawk al-Nasiri which were probably copied by al-Maqrizi from its registers. In one place he says that he saw the registers, but he does not mention that he copied from them.³⁴¹

The value of al-dinar al-jayshi, according to the records of the above survey as recorded by al-Maqrizi ranged between 7 to 10 dirhams depending on the various categories of the army.³⁴²

The following categories are mentioned:

339. For more information about al-dinar al-jayshi in the Ayyubid era cf. Cahen, op.cit., p.12. cf. also Rabie. The Financial System in Egypt, p.48. Cf. also Richard Cooper, "A note on the dinar jayshi", JESHO 1973, vol. 16, pp.317-8.

340. In spite of the fact that the writing of al-Nuwayri belongs to the period before al-rawk al-Nasiri, he does not mention any information about al-dinar al-jayshi when he talks about ibra.

341. This conclusion was reached after considering the nature of the data provided by al-Maqrizi which are likely to have been quoted from archive records. It is likely that the author saw the registers of al-Rawk al-Nasiri, and that he therefore probably utilized them for this report. Cf. Al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol. 1, p.95. Cf. also, vol. 2, pp.217-9.

342. Ibid. Cf. also Table no.7.

Al-dinar al-jayshi - 10 dirhams

This applied to the following groups or individuals.

1. Ranking amirs of one hundred and the commander of one thousand (amir mia wa muqaddam alf),³⁴³ Khassikiyya³⁴⁴ and Kharijiyya.³⁴⁵

(A) Viceroy of the Empire (Na'ib al-sultana).³⁴⁶

(B) Wazir

2. Ranking amirs of drums or forty (Amir tablakhana)³⁴⁷ and Khassikiyya

343. Amir mi'a wa muqaddam alf : a ranking amir entitled to keep in his service at least one hundred horsemen and to command a battalion of one thousand of the enlisted troops when on the march or in the field. Cf. al-'Umari, Masalik, p.27. Cf. also Popper, "Systematic Notes", vol. 15, p.86. Cf. also David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army", in Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517), London, 1977, Part I, pp.467-9.

344. Al-Khassikiyya : they were the elite mamluks of the ruling sultan. Cf. Ayalon, Studies on the Structure, pp.213-6.

345. Kharijiyya : they were the ranking amirs from outside the ruling sultan's household.

346. Na'ib al-Saltana : According to Popper, "the occupant of this office performed many functions of the sultan himself, such as the public hearing of petitions, authorizing army enlistment, heading state processions, replying to correspondence" etc. Cf. Al-'Umari, op.cit., pp.55-6. Cf. also al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.2, pp.214-5. Cf. also Popper, "Systematic Notes", vol.15, p.90.

3. Ranking amirs of ten (amir 'ashara).³⁴⁸ Khassikiyya and Kharijiyya
4. Commanders of the royal mamluks (Muqaddamu al-mamalik al-sultaniyya).
5. The royal mamluks (Al-mamalik al-sultaniyya).³⁴⁹
6. Free cavalries (Ajnad al-halqa).³⁵⁰

Al-dinar al-jayshi = 9 dirhams.

This applied to the following:

347 Amir tablakhana: a ranking amir entitled to keep in his services at least forty horsemen. Cf. al-'Umari, op.cit., p.28. Cf. also Popper, "Systematic Notes", vol. 15, p.86. Cf. also Ayalon, Studies on the Structure, pp.469-70.

348 Amir 'ashara : a ranking amir entitled to keep in his services at least ten horsemen. Cf. al-'Umari, op.cit., p. 28. Cf. also Popper, op.cit., vol. 15, p.86.

349. Al-Mamalik al-sultaniyya : the mamluks of the ruling sultan. They were divided into three groups. (A) The mamluks purchased by the ruling sultan (mushtarawat or ajlab). (B) The mamluks who were transferred to the ruling sultan's service or possession after a ranking amir's death or dismissal (al-sayfiyya). (C) The mamluks who were transferred to the ruling sultan's services or possession from the previous sultans (al-Qaranis). Cf. Popper, op.cit., vol.15, p.87. Cf. also Ayalon, op. cit., pp.204-28.

350. Ajnad al-halqa: A division of the Mamluk army consisting of different elements such as local citizens, sons of mamluks, mamluks and even amirs. Cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, pp.203-4. cf. al-'Umari, op. cit., pp.28-9. Popper, op. cit., vol.15, p.88. Ayalon, op.cit., pp.448-59.

1. Adjutants of the army (Nuqaba' al-uluf)³⁵¹
2. Commanders of the free cavalries (Muqaddamu al-halqa).

Al-dinar al-jayshi = 8 dirhams

This applied to the following:

1. Ranking amirs of tablakhana (Kharijiyya).
2. Al-Wulat al-astablakhanat.³⁵²

Al-dinar al-jayshi = 7 dirhams

This applied to the following:

1. **Al-wulat al-'asharat**

A discussion of the dinar al-jayshi and the estimation of the revenue

The above mentioned list shows that the value of al-dinar al-jayshi and the amount of ibra differed according to the rank and post, and whether the ranking amir belonged to the ruling Mamluk elite or not. Also there are

351. Nuqaba' al-uluf : I could not find any information about this term, although it seems to be similar to naqib al-jaysh who functioned near the chief of the military police. Cf. Popper, *op. cit.*, vol.15, p.94. Cf. also Ayalon, *op.cit.*, p.64.

352. I cannot find any information about Astablakhana.

differences in *ibra* figures between ranking amirs of the same rank in spite of their obligation to maintain the same number of horsemen.³⁵³

Let us turn to a discussion of how the revenue was estimated, according to al-Maqrizi's account. He mentions that the total revenue (*al-irtifa'*) is linked to the number of *irdabb*³⁵⁴ of wheat and other grains, in which the price of the *irdabb* of wheat equals 20 dirhams and the price of the *irdabb* of other grains is equal to 10 dirhams.³⁵⁵

These prices of wheat and other grains are mentioned with little changes by al-'Umari twenty three years later. Al-'Umari declares that the

"average prices in most times were as follows: one *irdabb* of wheat equals 15 dirhams, barley equals 10 dirham, and the other grains follow the same pattern (*wa baqiyat al-hubub ala hadha al-namudhaj*)".

Here al-'Umari may mean that the prices of the *irdabb* of other grains ranged between 10-15, except rice which was worth more than that.³⁵⁶

353. Al-Maqrizi, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, pp.218-9. Cf. also the tables.

354. According to Hinz, the *irdabb* as a weight was equal to 69.6 kg. of wheat and 56 kg. of barley. If it was measured it was equal to 90 litres. Cf. Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, p.58.

355. Al-Maqrizi, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, p.218.

356. Al-'Umari, *op.cit.*, p.17.

A comparison between the two lists reveals that the price of one irdabb of wheat cited by al-Maqrizi was 5 dirhams higher than al-'Umari's price, while the prices of other grains were quite similar.

The link between the total revenue and grains such as wheat, barley, lupin, kidney beans (lubiyya), beans (ful), bitter vetch (julban), and lentil (adas)³⁵⁷, which are winter crops, leads us to the conclusion that the evaluation of army clerks depended only on the cultivation of winter grain crops which was usually practised because of basin irrigation that did not allow more than one crop to be grown on the same land. Summer crops needed perennial irrigation and fertilizer which meant investment which was not likely to happen in the Mamluk period for most of the cultivated lands.³⁵⁸ On the other hand, it is more likely that the Egyptian clerks of the army bureau had a better knowledge about the average prices of grains than al-'Umari who depended on his own experience. Therefore, the account of al-Maqrizi is probably more dependable.

This leads us to the conclusion that the evaluation of the clerks concentrated on winter crops, especially grains probably paid by peasants through the kharaj tax in kind or cash, and the prices were fixed according to the average prices in the market, although the practising of such a procedure means that iqta holders were liable to lose if the prices of grains dropped below the average. However, this rarely happened, because the powerful iqta holders

357. For the grain cultivated in Egypt, Cf. *ibid*, p.16.

358. For more information about agriculture in this period, cf. Richard S. Cooper, "Agriculture in Egypt, 640-1800" in Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1977, pp.188-204.

could easily establish their monopoly to raise the prices.³⁵⁹ If the prices of grains were higher than the average, the iqta holder probably stood to benefit the most from such a situation and his income became higher than the one originally estimated by the army bureau.

However, this total revenue which the iqta holder could collect from his iqta was not his net income, because he was obliged to pay the expenses (kulaf) of the shipment of grains and tax. According to al-Maqrizi, the ibra of the iqta was fixed at the rawk al-Nasiri after considering the expenses of transporting grains to Cairo and the amount of tax imposed on them.³⁶⁰ It seems that the obligation of iqta holders to pay for the expenses towards the shipment of grains and tax imposed on them was practised years before the rawk al-Nasiri. Ibn Aybak al-Dawadari mentions in his book al-Durra al-Zakiyya for the year 678/1279 that his father who was one of the iqta holders had said

"A ship has arrived with my cargo of three hundred irdabbs of beans (ful), and the broker offered one irdabb for three dirhams nuqra³⁶¹ and he or I paid the tax to the state and the rent of the ship; after everything, eighty five dirhams nuqra were left over for me from three hundred irdabbs of beans".³⁶²

359. Ira M. Lapidus, "The grain economy of Mamluk Egypt", JESHO, 1969, vol. xii, pp.1-15.

360. Al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol. 2, p.218. Cf. also vol. 1, p.88.

361. Dirham nuqra : the dirham which was struck of pure silver (100%). Cf. A. Ehrenkreutz, "Contribution to the fiscal administration of Egypt in the Middle Ages", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1954, vol. xvi, p.503.

362. Ibn Aybak al-Dawadari, al-Durra al-zakiyya, p.226.

The above statement shows that the iqta holder paid 815 dirhams nugra as expenses from a total revenue of 900 dirhams for selling 300 irdabb beans. This means that on this occasion more than 90% of the total was paid as expenses by the iqta holder.

This case reflects the method of high taxation on grains which was employed before al-Nasir Muhammad's reforms in which a number of taxes such as sahil al-ghala³⁶³ and nisf al-samsara³⁶⁴ that affected the sale of grains were abolished by the rawk al-Nasiri.

Returning to the passage of al-Maqrizi, we are able to discover that the percentage of expenses to the total revenue ranged between 7-11% depending on the rank and post; even in the same rank, differences could occur between the Mamluk elite of the sultan and other ranking amirs.³⁶⁵ The net income (al-khalis) was equal to the total revenue (al-irtifa') minus expenses (kulaf). This net income also differed according to the rank and post, and on whether the ranking amir belonged to the elite mamluks of the sultan or not.³⁶⁶

363. Maks sahil al-ghalla: a tax levied on grains brought to Cairo, where grains were taxed before they were sold. Cf. Al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol. 1, pp.88-9. Cf. also Rabie, The Financial System, pp.103-4.

364. Nisf al-samsara: a tax collected by the state from each broker who received 2% brokerage from 100 dirhams merchandise sold. Cf. Al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.89. Cf. also Rabie, The Financial System, pp.104-5.

365. Cf. Table No.7.

366. Ibid.

After studying the above passage of al-Maqrizi, a number of further points may be made. First of all, al-dinar al-jayshi was equal to a different number of dirhams, ranging between 7-10. It did not have any link with the ordinary gold dinar in circulation, which had an exchange rate to dirhams in the Bahrid Mamluk period equal to 1 : 20.³⁶⁷ Secondly, al-dinar al-jayshi cannot be considered even as a standard measure at any level because its relation to the dirham and the currency in circulation was not constant. As a third factor, the absence of any logical connection between al-dinar al-jayshi and the dirham on the one hand and between the total revenue and expenses on the other leads us to conclude that the whole thing was just an administrative mathematical device attempting to create a balance between the size of the Mamluk army and the resources available on one hand and the sultan's policy on the other. Lastly, it seems that such proposals due to a lack of practicality did not have any chance of being put into practice and probably never were. A new exchange rate between al-dinar al-jayshi and the dirham was employed. Different amounts of *ibra* were utilised additionally, as we shall see in the next section.

3.2.3 Al-'Umari's information on al-dinar al-jayshi and the *ibra*

In 738/1337, 23 years after the rawk al-Nasiri, al-'Umari mentions in his work Masalik al-absar:

³⁶⁷. E. Ashtor, A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, London, 1976, p.292.

"Al-dinar al-jayshi was the equivalent of $13 \frac{1}{3}$ dirhams³⁶⁸; normally it stood for 40 black dirhams³⁶⁹, each black dirham being equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the (circulated) dirham, but there were no black dirhams in Egypt except "nominal" ones, not "real" ones; on the other hand, in Alexandria they existed and every two of them was equal to one (circulated) dirham".³⁷⁰

One can understand from al-'Umari's statement that the normal practice in 737/1336 or perhaps years before that date that al-dinar al-jayshi was the equivalent of 40 black dirhams, and that this situation had changed in his time when al-dinar al-jayshi came to stand for $13 \frac{1}{3}$ of the circulated dirham. The reason for this change may have been because black dirhams, which had been in circulation since the end of the Ayyubid era and probably continued in circulation until the period of al-Nasir Muhammad, had become more scarce or were withdrawn from circulation because of their low value. This might have forced the clerk of the army bureau to replace them with al-Nasiri dirhams which were circulated in al-'Umari's time. However, the exchange rate between al-dinar al-jayshi and the dirham in circulation was the same as the exchange rate with black dirhams. The explanation of this came from the fact that 1 dirham (Nasiri) was equal to 3 black dirhams and $13 \frac{1}{3}$ dirhams

368. According to al-'Umari, the alloy of the dirham in circulation consisted of $\frac{2}{3}$ silver (66% - 70%) and $\frac{1}{3}$ (30% - 34%) copper. Cf. al-'Umari, Masalik, p.14. Cf. also Ashtor, A social and economic, pp.291-2.

369. Black dirham - a dirham which originally belonged to the Ayyubid era, but which continued to circulate in the Mamluk period, probably until the period of al-Nasir Muhammad. Cf. Al-'Umari, Masalik, pp.14,89. Cf. also Rabie, The Financial System, pp.22, 184.

370. Al-'Umari, Masalik, p.14.

(Nasiri) was equal to 40 black dirhams. Therefore, the exchange rate between al-dinar al-jayshi and the dirham in circulation (al-Nasiri) was the same as the exchange rate with black dirhams.

One can also understand from al-'Umari's statement that al-dinar al-jayshi was not a currency in circulation, but it can be considered as an administrative measure linked with a currency in circulation which was al-dirham al-Nasiri.

Al-Umari also provides 'ibra figures related to different ranking amirs and to the halqa of his own time. These figures indicate: "that the iqta of some of the powerful amirs of one hundred came close to the sultan in Egypt and reached 200,000 dinar jayshi and perhaps more than that. As for others, their ibra figures decreased progressively down to 80,000 dinar jayshi and around this figure. As for the tablakhana amirs, their ibra reached up to 30,000 dinars and more and decreased to 23,000 dinars.

On the other hand, the maximum (ibra) of amirs of ten was 7,000 dinars, or less than that. As for iqtas of the halqa cavalry some of these iqtas reached 1,500 dinars. This amount and around it are the iqtas of the chiefs and the commanders of the halqa, then less than that down to 250 dinars jayshi. The iqtas of the amirs of mamluks depended on the amir's judgement as to whether they received more or less.

One can understand from the above information that there was a linkage between the iqta of an amir of a certain rank and the number of al-dinar al-jayshi. The number of al-dinar al-jayshi specified for each rank ranged between a minimum and a maximum, and the number of al-dinar al-jayshi assigned for ranking amirs of the same rank ranged between these two points. The ranking amirs who had a close relationship with the sultan were able to

obtain a greater number of al-dinar al-jayshi than other amirs of the same rank.

It is also worth mentioning that al-'Umari's figures are different from those mentioned by al-Maqrizi which were probably copied from the registers of the rawk al-Nasiri. Al-'Umari also fails to cite the ibra figures of the royal mamluks and the total revenue, expenses and net income for each group or rank. In sum, al-'Umari's passage is more general and less detailed than al-Maqrizi's previously discussed passage, but it is more realistic, as it reflects more the differences in ibra figures between iqta holders of the same rank. Furthermore, the number of horsemen that the ranking amirs were entitled to keep in each rank was not strictly fixed. Al-'Umari's contention was that an amir of hundred, according to his rank, was entitled to keep in his service at least one hundred horsemen, but some of them could keep ten to twenty more horsemen. As for the tablakhana amirs, they were entitled to keep in their service at least forty horsemen, although some might keep in their service more than this number, up to seventy horsemen. As for an amir of ten, he was entitled to keep in his service at least ten horsemen, although some of them might keep twenty horsemen in their service, but they were still in the same rank.³⁷¹

One can understand from this that ranking amirs of each rank were obliged to keep in their service a minimum number of horsemen, but an increase in the number of horsemen in their service did not mean that the rank was raised higher.

³⁷¹. Al-'Umari, op. cit., pp.27-8. Cf. also Table no. 8.

There must surely have been a link between the *ibra* figures and the number of horsemen that the ranking amir were obliged to keep in their service. Any increase in the number of horsemen was achieved only if there was an increase in revenue the ranking amir received from his *iqta* which meant an increase in the *ibra* figures. By contrast, an increase in *ibra* figures did not mean in all cases that the ranking amir had an increase in the number of horsemen in his service, but it could mean that the amir's share of the *iqta* had been increased while the number of horsemen in his service remained the same.

3.2.4. Al-Qalqashandi's information about the *ibra* and *al-dinar al-jayshi*.

Al-Qalqashandi writes:

"As for the *dinar al-jayshi*, it is "nominal", not real. It is used by clerks of the army bureau in the *ibra* of the *iqta*. They fix for each *iqta* a certain number of dinars, few or plentiful, and perhaps some of the *iqtas* are left without *ibra*. Such an action is of no use and there is no value in fixing it (*ibra*). The yield (*al-muhsil*) of an *iqta* of one hundred dinars could be more than the yield of an *iqta* with two hundred dinars. According to the custom of the people, it (*al-dinar al-jayshi*) is thirteen and one third dirhams, which might reflect the situation of the value of gold at the time when the army was first organised".

Presumably al-Qalqashandi is referring here to the beginning of the Bahri Mamluk period. The rate of gold in the previous century was near to this rate. Therefore, the blood money was fixed by the legal scholars who evaluated it in cash as one thousand dinars or eleven thousand dirhams, so

for each dinar there were twelve dirhams and that was its exchange rate at that time.³⁷²

It seems after reading this passage that al-Qalqashandi had not obtained sound information about the *ibra* and the procedure used by the clerks to fix its figures according to the rank or according to the army groups, nor is his information clear on the relationship between al-dinar al-jayshi and the dirham.

Moreover, al-Qalqashandi attempts to postulate a link between the exchange rate of al-dinar al-jayshi and the dirham and the exchange rate of the gold dinar with the dirham, by saying that blood money was equal to 1,000 dinars, which was equivalent to 12,000 dirhams with the exchange rate as 1:12. This conjecture is not convincing, because the exchange rate between al-dinar al-jayshi and dirham was $1:13 \frac{1}{3}$ while the exchange rate between the gold dinar and dirham had been fixed at 1:12. Therefore, they are not identical. On the other hand, the exchange rate between the gold dinar and the silver dirham never reached this level in the Mamluk era.³⁷³ Therefore, there was no link between al-dinar al-jayshi and the gold dinar. In spite of these over-estimations and wrong considerations by al-Qalqashandi, his passage is useful in that it reflects the situation when the *ibra* had started to lose some of its credibility as a measure of the revenue from the *iqta*.

³⁷². Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh*, vol. 3, p.509.

³⁷³. For the exchange rate between the dinar and the dirham in the Mamluk period. Cf. Ehrenkretz, *Contribution*, pp.503-4. Cf. also Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.184-94. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic*, pp.291-2.

3.2.5 Ibn al-Ji'an's information about the ibra and al-dinar al-jayshi

According to Ibn al-Ji'an,

"The original base on which the ibra of the villages had been fixed was that an ibra of each village was according to its yield (al-mutahsil). The explanation of this estimation that the value of al-dinar al-jayshi was $13 \frac{1}{3}$ dirhams is that if we want to know the yield of each village, we look for its ibra for example, if the ibra is 6,000 dinar jayshi then we know that its yield is 80,000 dirhams. As a long time has passed since the value of al-dinar al-jayshi was fixed and most of the villages have been ruined and the circumstances have changed, the villages, which were ruined, have been re-cultivated and inhabited and the villages which were flourishing have been devastated, and the price (sir) of the dinar (gold?) has increased and this matter became increasingly difficult and problematic. Therefore, there is no advantage in the ibra. But it can be used now in general; if the ibra of a village, is 1000 dinar jayshi and the ibra of another village is 10,000 dinar jayshi, this only means that the former in its value does not correspond to the latter, as would result by more consideration, reasoning and contemplation".³⁷⁴

One can understand from Ibn al-Ji'an's passage that the value of al-dinar al-jayshi continued to be $13 \frac{1}{3}$ dirhams. The ibra in Ibn al-Ji'an's time had lost most of its value as a measure for the yield of the villages because of the changes in the condition of the cultivated lands. Ibn al-Ji'an mentions that the "price (sirr) of the dinar (al-dinar) had changed and increased and this matter became increasingly difficult and problematic". Does the word "al-dinar" refer here to al-dinar al-jayshi or to the gold dinar? The answer to this question would appear to be that the word "al-dinar" refers to the gold dinar. This

³⁷⁴. Ibn al-Ji'an, al-Tuhfa, p.3.

answer comes from the fact that the word "value" (qimat) is attached to al-dinar al-jayshi while the word "price" (sirr) is applied to the word "al-dinar". Furthermore, Ibn al-Ji'an mentions that the price of "al-dinar" rose sharply and this could only happen to the gold dinar as a currency and not to al-dinar al-jayshi which was only an administrative measure.

If we believe that the word "al-dinar" refers to the gold dinar, then how can the changes and the rise in price (sirr) of the dinar be considered as a factor in the decline of the ibra as a measure of the yield of the village, as Ibn al-Ji'an has mentioned? This can happen only if the gold dinar (al-dinar) is linked with al-dinar al-jayshi and if 1 dinar jayshi = 1 gold dinar and if the exchange rate between the gold dinar and the silver dirham had changed and the value of gold had increased so that the exchange rate of $13 \frac{1}{3}$ was not useful any more.

On the other hand, the exchange rate of the gold dinar which was equal to $13 \frac{1}{3}$ dirham was that of a pure gold dinar equivalent to $13 \frac{1}{3}$ pure silver dirhams (nuqra), but the fact was that these highly alloyed dinars and dirhams had very little chance of circulating on a large scale because there were not sufficient stocks of gold and silver on which the Mamluk sultans could draw to do this.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁵. For the exchange rate between the pure dinar and the pure dirham cf. Ehrenkreutz, Contribution, pp.503, 505. Cf. also Jere L. Bacharach and Ado A. Gordus, "Studies on the Fineness of Silver Coins", JESHO, vol. XI, 1968, p.310. Cf. Rabie, The Financial System, p.174, footnote no. 4. For the monetary system of the Mamluks until al-Nasir Muhammad's reign cf. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.184-9. For general observations about the Mamluk monetary system. Cf. Ashtor, A Social and Economic, pp.291-2, 323-5. Cf. also Bacharach, "Studies on the Fineness", pp.307-317.

3.2.6 The presentation of the ibra figures by Ibn al-Ji'an in Al-tuhfa

Ibn al-Ji'an mentions in his introduction to Al-tuhfa that he will give the ibra figures of the Egyptian provinces, as they were laid down in al-Ashraf Shab'an's period. If the ibra's figure of a village had changed from what it was before, then he mentions the ibra figure as it now was³⁷⁶. This statement by Ibn al-Ji'an clearly shows that the author does not mention the second ibra figure unless the ibra figure of the village had changed and those villages which are mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an as having only one ibra figure had not had their ibra changed. When Ibn al-Ji'an refers to the previous situation (he uses the verb Kanat) one may assume he means al-Ashraf Sha'ban's period whilst the word "now" refers to al-Ashraf Qaytbay's period, i.e. the author's own time.

However, on one occasion Ibn al-Ji'an mentions that the ibra figure of a village in al-Sharqiyya province called Tifahna al-Sughra belonged to al-Rawk al-Nasiri (ibratuha fi'l-Rawk)³⁷⁷. In his discussion about the ibra provided by Ibn Duqmaq and Ibn al-Ji'an, Halm suggests that the ibra figures determined in the survey of al-Nasir Muhammad did not change until the end of the Bahri era (715-792/1315-1390)³⁷⁸.

³⁷⁶ Ibn al-Ji'an, al-Tuhfa, Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hunt no.2, fol.1,

³⁷⁷ Ibid., fol.31B.

³⁷⁸ Halm, Agypten Lehenregistern, p.41.

On the other hand, the village which Ibn al-Ji'an mentions as having an ibra figure belonging to al-Rawk al-Nasiri was according to Ibn al-Ji'an not surveyed by the same cadastral survey³⁷⁹. Thus he contradicts himself.

Furthermore, as we have mentioned before, the ibra figure of a village was investigated every three years according to Mamluk practice³⁸⁰. In any case, whenever there was a need to reassign the village to a new muqta such an investigation process was inevitable. Therefore, one can conclude that the ibra's figure of the village mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an might have been first determined by al-Rawk al-Nasiri. However, there is a good chance that a new ibra figure was recorded between 715/1315 and the period of al-Ashraf Shab'an (764-778/1362-1376).

When the author mentions ibra figures using the word Kanat these data certainly belong to al-Ashraf Sha'ban's period. This did not contradict the fact that these ibra figures might have been first determined during the period of al-Rawk al-Nasiri and then continued without any change until al-Ashraf Qaytbay's period. It could also be possible that the figures were changed after the above survey and reached the period of al-Ashraf Sha'ban as new figures or that they were changed during the latter period.

When referring to the ibra figures which had been changed, the author uses phrases such as "settled" (*istaqarrat*), "settled after that" (*istaqarrat ba'd dhalik*) and "settled by half" (*istaqarrat bi haqq al-nisf*). Ibn al-Ji'an rarely

³⁷⁹ Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa, fol.31B.

³⁸⁰ Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, pp.202-3.

mentions the word "now" (al-an) when he points to the second ibra figure³⁸¹. The dates when second ibra figures are given belong to the years 771/1369, 780/1378, 784/1382, 790/1388, 792/1389 (two cases), 795/1393, 800/1397, 801/1398, 803/1400 (two cases), 804/1401, 807/1404, 808/1405 (3 cases), 809/1406, 812/1409, 813/1410 (two cases), 825/1421 (3 cases), 826/1422 and 827/1423³⁸².

From the above discussion, one may deduce that the ibra figures had been changed mainly before al-Ashraf Qaytbay's period, probably from the end of the 8th/14th century, when they began to change and continued until the first half of the 9th/15th century. From 2163 villages mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an, there are 485 in which the ibra figures have been changed from what they were during al-Ashraf Shab'an's period³⁸³. On the other hand, there were 178 villages, for which no ibra figures are mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an. Therefore, the number of villages for which ibra figures had not changed is 1500.

From the above discussion, a number of conclusions concerning ibra and al-dinar al-jayshi emerge. Primarily, ibra is an estimation of the yearly yield from an iqta or a village, calculated by an administrative measure called al-dinar al-jayshi which has a specified link with the ordinarily circulated currency. This link is not, however, revealed by Mamluk sources and has not been properly understood by modern scholars until now. Secondly, there was a link between the ibra as an estimation on one hand and the grain

381 Cf. Table no.9.

382 cf. Table no.9.

383 For the total number of villages in Egypt, cf. Ibn al-Ji'an, al-Tuhfa, ed. Moritz, pp.3-4.

production in Egypt and the fluctuation of its prices on the other hand, although one cannot understand the exact basis of such a link. Thirdly, there is a link between the decline of *ibra* as a utilised measure of yield in the Mamluk period and the ruin of cultivated land and inflation on the other.

Because of the deficiency of our knowledge about *ibra*, one is ready to accept Haarmann's statement that:

“the figures of the *ibra* thus yield historical information not in absolute terms and not in isolation, but rather as indicators of a ratio. Knowing the *ibra* of a province or of the whole of Egypt at a certain date, we can estimate the share of certain groups (such as the *awlad al-Nas*, the Eunuchs, the Turcomans, the Abbasid Shadow Caliphs of Cairo, the *Wafidiyya*, the Royal Mamluks etc.) or of the different legal types of land (such as *Waqf*, Allodial and *Rizqa* lands or the different kinds of *Diwani* land) in the total territory and to each other in exact percentages”³⁸⁴.

3.3 LAND TENURE

3.3.1 IQTA

This topic has been studied in detail by a number of scholars such as Poliak³⁸⁵, al-Turkhan³⁸⁶ and Rabie³⁸⁷. The aim here is to give only a general

³⁸⁴ Haarmann, Ulrich, “The sons of Mamluks as fief-holders in late medieval Egypt”, in Tarif Khalidi ed. Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East, Beirut, 1984, p.146.

³⁸⁵ Poliak, op.cit.

³⁸⁶ Al-Turkhan, op.cit.

picture of the system as practised in the Mamluk period with special concentration on the revenue from the iqta.

The iqta in the Mamluk period was a system of regular payment in which the cavalry of the Halqa, royal Mamluks, mamluks of the ranking amirs, ranking amirs and Bedouin were assigned, instead of a salary, a fixed yearly revenue from the cultivated land or taxes belonging to urban areas . This revenue differed according to the rank of the amir and the favour of the Sultan. The muqta had full responsibility to collect the share of these groups and to maintain the productivity of the cultivated land assigned to them³⁸⁸.

The iqta of a ranking amir was divided into two parts; one was the private share of the ranking amir (khash al-amir) and the other was the share belonging to the amir's mamluks. The share of each party was either fixed by the state according to the amir's diploma (manshur) or it was left to the ranking amir's discretion³⁸⁹. The iqta could be the complete revenue of villages or shares in different villages. It could be located in one province or scattered in different provinces. It could also be from the cultivated land or it could be from both cultivated land and the taxes from urban areas. These differences and diversities in the revenue of the iqta related to the availability of the financial sources to be distributed and to the political motives of the

387 Rabie Hassanein, *op.cit.*, Chapter 2.

388 Al-'Umari, *Masalik*, p.29; al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol.2, pp.217-9, cf. also Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.26-68.

389 Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat*, vol.8, 207. Cf. also al-'Umari, *Masalik*, p.29, cf. also. Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.37-8.

Sultan, and they varied according to the conditions of the cultivated land and the size of the army³⁹⁰.

The muqta could enjoy the revenue from his iqta until his death, unless he was dismissed from the service because of old age, illness, or for political reasons³⁹¹.

An iqta was assigned to a muqta mainly in return for his military service; he should be ready for war fully armed at any time the sultan asked and against any enemy of the Sultan. The other obligation of the muqta was to take care of the cultivation and irrigation of the land assigned to him in the form of iqta. He was also required to assist the Sultan in constructing dams for the benefit of the provinces and to clean the canals (khuljan). A Bedouin muqta had to watch the roads, transport the crops belonging to the Sultan's diwans, supply post stations with horses, and send horses and camels as annual gifts to the Sultan³⁹².

The affairs of the iqta were administered by the diwan al-Jayshi. This diwan registered the names of muqtas and recorded the cultivated land assigned in the form of iqta by declaring the name of the village and giving a description of the boundaries of the iqta, the measurement of land in faddans (misaha)

³⁹⁰ This topic will be discussed at length in Chs 4-6, Cf. also Ch.1, pp.

³⁹¹ Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.13, p.51. cf. also. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Nujum, vol.10, pp.310-1. Cf. also Ayalon, "Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonment in Mamluk Society", in Ayalon, The Mamluk Society, London, 1979, pp.25-33, cf. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.58-62.

³⁹² Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, p.201, Rabie, The Financial System, pp.32-4, 68-72.

and the estimation of the yearly yield (ibra). The other function of the diwan al-jaysh was the evaluation of the yearly revenue from the cultivated land (al-mutahsil), the registration of the transfer of an iqta from one muqta to another and the reassigning of an iqta to a new muqta after the death or dismissal from the service of the existing one³⁹³.

3.3.1.1 Ranking Amirs

According to Humphreys, the ranks of amirs of ten, tablakhana and one hundred were first introduced in Baybars' period. They were developed from the Ayyubid system of rank, with more emphasis on the linking of a rank with a specific number of horsemen and a specific amount of revenue from the iqta³⁹⁴. These three ranks, which were developed under Baybars, were formalised and implemented as an official hierarchy by the Sultans who ruled after him.

The oldest text, which mentions them as a hierarchy of rank, belongs to the period of al-Nasir Muhammad. According to al-Maqrizi, there were three ranks mentioned in al-Rawk al-Nasiri records. These ranks were as follows:

- 1) **Amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand (Amir mi'ah wa muqaddam alf).**
- 2) **Amir of forty (Amir tablakhana)**
- 3) **Amir of ten (Amir ashara)**

³⁹³ Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat*, vol.8, pp.200-13. Al-'Umari, *Masalik*, p.60-1.

³⁹⁴ Humphreys, R.Stephen, "The emergence of the Mamluk army", *Studia Islamica* vol.XLVI, 1997, pp.165-7, 177-9.

The number of ranking amirs were as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| Amir of one hundred | = | 24 Amirs, the Na'ib al-Saltana, the Wazir, 8 Khassikiyya, 14 Kharijiyya |
| Amir of forty | = | 200 amirs, 54 Khassikiyya, 146 Kharijiyya |
| Amir of ten | = | 200 amirs, 30 Khassikiyya, 170 Kharijiyya |

The number of horsemen an amir was entitled to keep was as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|--------------|
| Amir of one hundred | = | 100 horsemen |
|----------------------------|---|--------------|

The total number of horsemen for this rank was 2400

| | | |
|----------------------|---|---------------|
| Na'ib al-Saltana | = | 100 horsemen |
| Wazir | = | 100 horsemen |
| 8 Khassikiyya | = | 800 horsemen |
| 14 Kharijiyya | = | 1400 horsemen |
| Amir of forty | = | 40 horsemen |

The total number of horsemen for this rank was 8000

| | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------|
| 54 Khassikiyya | = | 2160 horsemen |
| 146 Kharijiyya | = | 5840 horsemen |
| Amir of ten | = | 10 horsemen |

The total number of horsemen or these ranks was 12,400³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol.1, pp.217-8.

Twenty years later al-'Umari mentions the number of horsemen that a ranking amir was entitled to keep as follows:

An Amir of one hundred was entitled to keep at least one hundred horsemen and some amirs of this rank might have ten or twenty horsemen more.

An Amir of forty (tablakhana) was entitled to keep at least forty horsemen and among these ranking amirs some had up to seventy horsemen.

Amir of ten was entitled to keep at least ten horsemen and some of them had up to 20 horsemen³⁹⁶.

While al-Maqrizi's passage points to a fixed number of horsemen for each rank, the account of al-'Umari indicates that the number of horsemen ranged from a minimum of a hundred to an unknown quantity for the rank of one hundred, from between forty, to one hundred horsemen for the rank of forty and between ten to forty horsemen for the rank of ten. The difference in the number of horsemen for each rank could be attributed to the difference in the revenue of iqta assigned to each amir in the same rank. This is clear from both the passages of al-Maqrizi and al-'Umari, as has already been discussed.

The iqta of the ranking amir was not fully devoted to his mamluks; rather a part of the revenue from the iqta was for the mamluks and the other part was the private share of the amir (khas al-amir) for maintaining his household. The share of the amir's mamluks was either specified in his diploma

³⁹⁶ Al-'Umari, Masalik, pp.27-8.

(manshur) or mostly it was left to the amir's discretion whether to give them a piece of land from his iqta or a sort of monthly salary³⁹⁷.

The revenue of the iqta of these three ranks is recorded in the form of estimation called *ibra*. This was calculated by the administrative measure *al-dinar al-jayshi* in the periods of al-Nasir Muhammad, al-Ashraf Sha'ban, and al-Ashraf Qaytbay and concerned ranking amirs, *halqa*, royal mamluks and Bedouin. The available data will be discussed in depth in Chapters four and five³⁹⁸.

From the above discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn. The hierarchy which consisted of amirs of ten, forty and one hundred was introduced by Baybars and continued until the end of the Mamluk period³⁹⁹. The minimum number of horsemen the ranking amir should maintain to put in the field of war was clearly fixed but any additional horsemen the amir kept were not part of the contractual aspects of his rank, but were left to his discretion. The iqta of the ranking amir was enough to maintain a minimum number of horsemen and to maintain the amir's private life.

³⁹⁷ Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat*, vol.8, p.207; cf. al-'Umari, *Masalik*, p.29, cf. also. Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.36-8.

³⁹⁸ For the time being cf. Tables 8 and 9, al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol.1, pp.218-9, al-'Umari, *Masalik*, p.29.

³⁹⁹ For more information about the ranks in the Mamluk army, cf. Ayalon "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army". In Ayalon, "Studies on Mamluk Egypt" London, 1977, pp.467-75.

3.3.1.2 The royal mamluks (al-mamalik al-sultaniyya).

Horsemen of slave origin (mamluks) were in the service of the Sultan. These Mamluks can be divided into three groups.

- 1) **Mamluks** (Mushtarawat or ajob) bought by the Sultan in power.
- 2) **Mamluks** of the previous Sultan or Sultans who came to the sultan's service after their master's death.
- 3) **Mamluks** of a ranking amir who came to the Sultan's service after the death of the amir or after his dismissal from services. These mamluks were called Sayfiyya⁴⁰⁰.

The number of royal mamluks assigned iqta in Egypt on the eve of al-Rawk al-Nasiri were 2000 horsemen. The revenue of the iqta will be discussed later in the next chapters⁴⁰¹.

3.3.1.3 Halqa

The halqa was the division of the Mamluk army which consisted of mainly free horsemen, Kurds, local citizens, sons of mamluks and Turkish and Mongol tribesman who had entered the Mamluk territory in quest of asylum (Wafidiyya). Sometimes, slave horsemen also entered this division such as

⁴⁰⁰ Al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, pp.218. Also al-'Umari, Masalik, p.29. cf. Table no.7.

⁴⁰¹ Popper William, Systematic notes, pp.87-8. Ayalon, "Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army". In Ayalon, Studies on Mamluk Egypt, London, pp.77. pp.204-28.

royal mamluks and the mamluks of ranking amirs⁴⁰². Their number, according to the records of al-Rawk al-Nasiri, was 8,932 horsemen.

In the field of war, each forty of them were under the control of one commander of troops (*muqaddam al-halqa*). They were stationed in Cairo and in the various provincial capitals. They were under the authority of the Sultan only and were assigned *iqta* as income⁴⁰³. The revenue of their *iqta* will be discussed in the coming chapters⁴⁰⁴.

3.3.1.4 Al-muqta'in

Ibn al-Ji'an mentions this group as *iqta* holders of a large number of villages for both al-Ashraf Sha'ban and al-Ashraf Qaytbay's periods. There would appear to be no mention of al-muqta'in other than this in any other Mamluk sources.

The word 'al-muqta'in' means the *iqta* holders, and is the plural of al-muqta (the *iqta* holder). Ibn al-Ji'an, on the other hand, has explicitly cited other *iqta* holders such as 'halqa, al-mamalik al-Sultaniyya, Ranking Amirs and Bedouin'. If Ibn al-Ji'an clearly cites the names of other *iqta* holders, one may assume that al-muqta'in might be a separate category of *iqta* holders. Indeed,

402 Ibid, pp.449-451.

403 Popper, "Systematic notes", pp.88-89. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, p.201, 203-4. Cf. al-'Umari, Masalik, p.29.

404 For the time being cf. al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.219; al-'Umari, Masalik p.29, cf. also Table no.7.

Ibn al-Ji'an mentions on one occasion that a village called al-Bayrum in al-Sharqiyya belonged to al-muqta'in al-Mamalik and halqa⁴⁰⁵.

From the above discussion, one can postulate two possibilities. Firstly, the muqta'in denotes the Royal mamluks and halqa iqta holders mentioned by the author for the village of al-Bayrum. This could have then been suggested by extension to apply to all the villages mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an. Evidence supporting such a hypothesis comes from the fact that the number of villages mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an as belonging to the Royal mamluks and halqa were very few, as compared to those mentioned as being assigned to al-muqta'in. On the other hand, there is no mention at all in other Mamluk sources of a category of iqta holder or a group called al-muqta'in in the Mamluk army. Furthermore, the term al-muqta'in does not denote the Mamluks of ranking amirs because they received income from their master's iqtas. Therefore, they may not be considered as a category of their own.

A second possibility is that the term al-muqta'in refers to a separate category of iqta holder other than the Royal mamluks and halqa. It is certainly right to point out that the single case of al-Bayrum cited by the author is not enough proof to indicate that all villages mentioned as belonging to al-muqta'in were assigned to the royal Mamluks and halqa.

On the other hand, al-Maqrizi declares that a large number of ordinary people had bought the iqtas of the original halqa and that most of the soldiers of the halqa, during his time - the second half of ninth/fifteenth century - were

⁴⁰⁵ Ibn al-Ji'an, al-Tuhfa, Ms. Bodleian Library, Oxford No. Hunt.2, fol.18A.

artisans⁴⁰⁶. Of course, most of the ordinary people who entered this division had no experience in the art of war and none of them participated in any fighting. Therefore, one may assume that Ibn al-Ji'an mentions the halqa as a contingent which fought in the army in war, whilst al-muqta'in were just iqta holders who acquired their iqtas not because of their ability to fight but rather because they had money to pay or they were beneficiaries from the cultivated land.⁴⁰⁷

It would seem more likely that al-muqta'in, as mentioned by Ibn al-Ji'an, probably means these ordinary people or others who acquired the iqtas either by buying them or being assigned them as a kind of pension. Because such people had not much experience in matters of war, they were not cited as a part of the halqa and he mentioned them as a separate group⁴⁰⁸.

3.3.1.5 al-'Urban

This term was used in the Mamluk period to indicate the Bedouin tribes living in the Egyptian provinces. Some of these tribal chieftains were assigned villages in the form of iqta in some Egyptian provinces. The iqtas were given for a number of purposes and reasons, such as in return for supplying the army with auxiliary forces, guarding the roads against highway men and smugglers, transporting crops, supplying post centres with horses,

⁴⁰⁶ al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol.1, p.219; al-Qalqashandi, *Subh*, vol.4, p.16

⁴⁰⁷ cf. Chapter 6. for more details about ordinary people in halqa.

⁴⁰⁸ The development of the status of halqa in the Mamluk period will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6.

sending horses and camels as annual gifts to the Sultan, enabling the iqta holders to collect the income of their iqtas and collaborating with the governor's inspectors (kushshaf)⁴⁰⁹.

3.3.1.6 Governors (wulat)

The governor (wali) was a ranking amir responsible for state affairs in the province. He was responsible for keeping order in the province, for informing the sultan of any new developments which occurred in the province under his authority, for leading the garrison under his control against any enemy of the sultan (Mamluk amirs , Bedouin), and helping the officials of the diwans to collect taxes from the peasants .⁴¹⁰ However, the ranks of these governors differed according to the importance of the province under their control. Their ranks in al-Ashraf Sha'ban's period were as follows⁴¹¹ :

Upper Egypt

Amir Tablakhana - Qus, Asyut, al-Ushmunayn, al-Bahnasa, Manfalut, al-Fayyum, al-Jiza

Amir of ten Atfih

Lower Egypt

⁴⁰⁹ The iqta of this category will be discussed in the next chapters(Ch.4 & Ch.5)

⁴¹⁰ Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh*, vol.4, pp.60-1.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.26-8, 66-8. The iqta of the governor will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Amir Tablakhana - al-Sharqiyya, al-Minufiyya, al-Gharbiyya, al-Buhayra, Wali Qatiyya

Amir of ten - Qalyub, Dimyat, Ashmum

3.3.1.7 The revenue of the iqta - the taxes collected by the muqta.

The muqtas were either permitted to collect all the taxes within the limits of their iqtas or were assigned only a portion of the taxes. The darbasta⁴¹² iqta (in which the holder was allowed to collect all the taxes) is rarely mentioned by Mamluk historians before 697/1297 and, according to available sources, there would appear to be only three instances of it. In the first case, the sultan al-Mansur Qalawun granted an iqta of darbasta type in 685/1286 to the amir 'Alam al-Din Sinjar al-Dawadar al-Salihi, and according to Baybars al-Mansuri, the same amir was granted this type of iqta before this date⁴¹³.

The second case comes from the period of al-Sultan Khalil b. Qalawun. Sultan Khalil granted a portion of his iqta in the form of darbasta with its poll tax (jawali) and inheritance tax (mawarith al-hashriyya)⁴¹⁴ to the amir Badr al-Din Baysari al-Shamsi in 692/1292. The same village (Minyat Bani Khasib) was granted again in the form of iqta darbasta to the amir Taqtaqi al-

412 Darbasta is a Persian word which means 'completely' or 'wholly'. Cf. Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, p. Cf. also Rabie I, The Financial System, p.43.

413 Baybars al-Mansuri, al-Zubda, p.299.

414 According to Baybars al-Mansuri, Al-tuhfa, p.133. Idem, al-Zubda, p.344.

According to al-Nuwayri, it was in 690/1291. Cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat vol.31, p.217.

Ashrafi⁴¹⁵. It seems from the above discussion that the holders of this type of iqta were intimates (khushdash) and drinking companions (nadim) of the Sultan⁴¹⁶.

According to al-Nuwayri, the first development that occurred was that the number of taxes which the muqtas were allowed to collect was increased after al-Husami's cadastral survey in 697/1297 and all iqtas were transferred to darbasta. This means that, according to al-Nuwayri, muqtas had the right to collect all taxes within the borders of their iqtas except poll tax, inheritance tax⁴¹⁷, and also al-rizaq al-ihbasiyya⁴¹⁸. All other types of financial resources were granted in the form of iqta⁴¹⁹.

The second development took place after the Nasiri cadastral survey (al-rawk al-Nasiri) when the muqta had the right to collect all the taxes including poll

415 al-'Ayni, Iqd al-juman, vol.3, p.417.

416 For a biography of Sinjar al-Dawadar. cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-Safi, vol.6, pp.68. For a biography of Baysari al-Shamsi - cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-Safi, vol.3, pp.500-2. For a biography of Taqtaqi bin Abdallah al-Ashrafi. Cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-Safi, vol.6, p.427.

417 Al-mawarith al-hashriyya was a tax imposed on the inherited wealth of a dead person. Cf. The Financial System, pp.127-132.

418 Al-rizaq al-ahbasiyya, as mentioned by al-Nuwayri, were those cultivated lands or other kinds of financial resources which had been kept to benefit institutions such as Friday Mosques, mosques, monasteries, hermitages, Friday preachers and Sufis, cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-Arab, vol.31. p.348.

419 Ibid.

tax and other sources of revenue, in addition to al-diyafa which was calculated in the ibra of the iqta⁴²⁰. In the words of al-Nuwayri :.... "and specific villages were selected for every amir and all the sultan's army in the area of his iqta. Poll tax and other sources of revenue were appended to him and thus all the villages became the sultan's grant to the amirs in the form of darbasta and likewise with halqa⁴²¹.

These developments, which occurred after these two cadastral surveys, did not increase the revenue from the iqta because it was already fixed by the army administration office(diwan al-jaysh).

(A) Taxes collected by muqtas in rural areas.

1. Kharaj al-muzar'a

This tax was imposed on cultivated land(al-naqa) or other categories of land which were put under cultivation like al-wasakh al-muzdara⁴²² or al-khirs⁴²³ which could be irrigated (al-rayy) and then cultivated with different kinds of crops (winter crops). This category of kharaj tax was paid in cash (a'yn) or in

420 Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-Arab, in al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2 sec1 715/1315, margin no.7, pp.153-4; Ibid., pp.149-50. Idem, al-Khitat, vol.1, p.88. Ibn Tagihri Birdi, al-Nujum al-zahira, vol.9, pp.49-50.

421 al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-Arab, in al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2 sec.1 pp.153-4, margin no.7.

422 Cooper, Qawanin, p.36.

423 al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, p.248.

kind (ghila). The tax rate per faddan differed according to the crop price in the market, the fertility of the land, and according to the transport charges. As mentioned by al-Nuwayri, crops which were paid in kind such as wheat, barley, beans, chick peas, bitter-vetch and lentils differed according to the fertility of the land from 13 irddab per faddan on an island in the province of Qus in Upper Egypt to one sixth of an irddab per faddan on khirs lands⁴²⁴. It is also mentioned by al-Nuwayri that the linen crop (kattan) reached the highest tax rate among the crops paid in cash. The highest tax rate paid for a flax crop in Jiza province reached 250 dirhams per faddan⁴²⁵. This suggests that a high value was put on the flax crop in the market since it produced both fibre and linen seeds. Another significant factor was the closeness of Jiza province to the Cairo markets where spinning mills and oil pressing mills were located added to the fact that a large population lived there⁴²⁶. In addition to the value of the crop in the market, crop rotation utilised in Egypt (Lower Egypt) to maintain the productivity of the land caused the revenue from such lands to decrease because of the cultivation of some crops which had a lower value in the market, as a result of which the total revenue from an iqta decreased.

424 Ibid, p.249.

425 Ibid.

426 According to Ibn Mammati, one faddan produced up to 30 bundles (habl) and 3-6 irddabs of linseed. Ibn Mammati, Qawanin, p.116.

2. Kharaj al-ratib

According to al-Nuwayri, this tax was imposed on land where palm trees, vineyards, orchards, and summer crops were cultivated. They were irrigated by hydraulic devices called al-sawaqi which can take water from one level to another. The number of faddans cultivated and the tax rate for each faddan were fixed every year whether the land was irrigated or not or cultivated or not. Even if the person who had made a contract to cultivate the land died, his inheritors had to pay the tax; they were exempted from paying the tax or part of it only if the river had flooded the cultivated land. This tax was paid in cash instalments at fixed times during the harvest of fruits and other crops⁴²⁷.

One may understand from al-Nuwayri's passage that contractors were allowed to cultivate any crop they preferred and planted whatever they liked. If we understand the word mazru'at to mean crops and word ghurus to mean plants, the only crops which needed a perennial irrigation system using hydraulic devices must have been the summer crops, especially since the author himself mentions sugar cane as one of the crops on which tax was imposed⁴²⁸. However, al-Nuwayri's data contrast with those of his predecessor, Ibn Mammati, who includes summer crops in the same category of kharaj⁴²⁹.

427 al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, pp. 254-5.

428 Ibid, pp.253-4.

429 Ibn Mammati, Qawanin pp. 114-21.

3. Gifts (Khadam al fallahin or al-Diyafa)

According to al-Nuwayri, this duty was a part of the financial resources called al-jihat al-kharaji and it was collected every year from the areas which had been granted in the form of iqta. The fallahin had to supply the muqta with a number of items such as goats, chickens, rusks, and eggs according to the custom of each province⁴³⁰. One hundred years later, al-Maqrizi, while discussing al-rawk al-Nasiri, adds to al-Nuwayri's list; lambs (khiraf), clover(barsim), wheat meal(kak), and lentils (adas)⁴³¹. In addition to the above items, Ibn Taghri Birdi adds geese, as another item included in this duty⁴³².

However, the list was in no way comprehensive. One may observe that this duty included different kinds of livestock and a number of crops cultivated within the limits of the iqta, or made from agricultural products. So one may assume that this duty gave the fallahin an opportunity to enjoy the benefit of using the cultivated land which had been granted to the muqta. In other words, it was a kind of sharing arrangement.

It was a common practice in Egyptian rural areas to devote a piece of land to fodder cultivation for the animal stock in the village. However, the introduction of the iqta system in Egypt might have encouraged the cultivation of crops like clover or lucerne even further because of the

⁴³⁰ Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, pp. 245, 261.

⁴³¹ Al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.88; idem, al-Suluk li ma'rifat duwal al-muluk, pt. 2/1, pp.149-50.

⁴³² Ibn Taghri Birdi, vol.9, p.43.

increasing demand for fodder for the amir's household which consisted of a large number of mamluks and servants who needed riding animals like horses, mules and camels. In addition to the increasing demand for meat among the Mamluk elite this might have caused the muqta to include crops like clover among items paid as duty to feed the increasing number of both livestock and riding animals. Indications in support of the above statement were the large number of livestock found in the amir's ownership after his death⁴³³ and the common practice among the Mamluk elite, especially high ranking amirs, of spending a considerable fortune on daily rations for their own mamluks in order to maintain their loyalty towards them. However, the only information found in this regard, according to al-Nuwayri, was that the daily ration supplied by a high ranking amir called Baysari al-Shamsi al-Salihi to his mamluks and their sons included five, twenty, seventy pounds (ritls)⁴³⁴ of meat plus spices, vegetables, and wood, and the same quantities of fodder for each of them. The total daily ration of meat consumed on the amir's table was 3000 pounds (ritls), and the total fodder eaten daily by the horses was

⁴³³ al-Yusufi, Musa b. Muhammad b. Yahya (d.759/1353). Nuzhat al-nazir fi sirat al-Malik al-Nasir, ed. Ahmad Hutayt, Beirut, 1986, pp. 167-8. Cf. al-Dawadari, Abu Bakr b. 'Abd Allah b. Aybak (d. after 736/1335), Al-Durr al-fakhir fi sirat al-Malik al-Nasir, ed. H. Roemer, Cairo. 1960, p. 374. According to this source, pigs were being reared in the iqta land of the amir Ilmas al-Hajib. For the amir Tarantay al-Mansuri, Na'ib al-Sultana, cf. al-A'yni, Mahmud b. Ahmad (d.855/1451), Iqd al-juman fi tarikh ahl al-zaman, vol.3, Cairo, 1989, p.28.

For the amir Izz al-Din al-Afram, cf. Ibid, pp.338-9; For Baydara al-Mansuri, Na'ib al-Sultana cf. Ibid, p.219.

⁴³⁴ The Egyptian ritl in the Mamluk period was equal to 450-500 grams. Cf. W. Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, translated by Kamil al-Asli, Amman, 1970, p.32.

3000 'aliqa⁴³⁵. This example, however, is concerned with an amir of one hundred and the number mentioned by historians might be exaggerated, but it can be used as an indication of the need of a ranking amir for large quantities of meat and fodder for consumption.

There was another item which could be included in this duty, although it was never mentioned by the Mamluk authors as a specific item paid by Egyptian peasantry in the form of diyafa. This item was straw(tibn). According to Ibn Mammati, all the straw in Egypt was divided into three divisions; one share for the state(diwan), one for the holder of iqta and one for the peasants. The collection of straw in all Egyptian provinces was done in the same manner. One may deduce that this distribution procedure provided each party with one third of the straw collected from each village⁴³⁶.

One may deduce from reading Ibn Mammati, al-Nuwayri, al-Maqrizi and Ibn Taghri Birdi, that the diyafa was collected by the muqta or muqtas every year, and that the quantities and kinds of items differed according to the different customs of the provinces. One may also deduce that some items which were included in this duty, such as lambs, goats, chickens, ducks, and geese might involve the muqta's sharing in the offspring of these creatures; this share might be collected through the months of the year. After the rawk al-Nasiri, the duty of diyafa was paid in cash and was included in the ibra of the muqta

⁴³⁵ Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.31, ed.al-Baz al-Arini, Cairo, 1992, pp.337-78.

⁴³⁶ Cooper, Qawanin, p.288. cf. also al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.210.

4. Tax on grazing animals (al-mara'i)

This was imposed on livestock which pastured on the grazing land belonging to the iqta after the Nile had receded from the land and after the sheep and goats and other livestock had finished grazing⁴³⁷. The grazing land in Egypt differed according to the quality of vegetation. According to al-Nuwayri, the best grass was grown on the land which had black soil called al-naqa. This grass, called al-kuttayh in Upper Egypt, was used as fodder for horses and other livestock instead of clover(barsim). This grass might have grown in other parts of Egypt, but it was widespread in Upper Egypt because of the abundance of alluvial deposits left by the Nile river in this area⁴³⁸. Other types of land like al-khirs and al-waskh al-ghalib or al-ghalib which were covered with vegetation of an inferior quality were used as pastures and were widespread in Upper Egypt. The reason for such a situation, according to al-Nuwayri, was that, because of the wide extent of the lands, some cultivated lands were left fallow year after year⁴³⁹.

If an iqta was located in Upper Egypt, the chances for the muqta to have pasture land included in his iqta were far greater than in other parts of Egypt. The muqta had two ways to benefit from such an opportunity; he could either use the pasture land for his own livestock or collect the tax imposed on the livestock grazing on it.

437 Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, p.262; al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.107.

438 Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat vol.8, p.247.

439 Cooper, Qawanin, p.36. cf. also al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.3, p.248.

According to al-Nuwayri, there was a yearly tax imposed on the owners of livestock, after the Nile water had receded and grass had grown, as a recompense for the quantities of grass consumed. The revenue from tax increased or decreased according to the size of livestock grazed on the land. The fiscal practice in this matter was that the mushidd⁴⁴⁰, a number of witnesses (shuhud)⁴⁴¹ and the clerks(kuttab) participated in assessing the number of goats and other livestock and in collecting from the owners a fixed amount according to the tax rate(dariba) and custom in each province(jiha)⁴⁴².

It would appear that there were certain kinds of livestock, such as goats and lambs, which belonged to the Bedouin or semi-Bedouin tribes and grazed in herds. It is likely that peasants(fallahin) were not involved in such a practice because they were more involved customarily with the husbandry of cows and buffaloes(jamus) which could easily provide them with fodder from the remainder of the harvest crops, straw or clover or lucerne.

One may reach certain conclusions about the revenue from this tax. The revenue depended on the number of faddans of grazing land included in the iqta. Thus a large area was more likely to provide fodder for a greater number of livestock than smaller areas. It depended on the kind of grass or vegetation grown on it. It seems that al-naqa grass land, where grass called al-

⁴⁴⁰ Mushidd was a military associate who gave support to the local staff in collecting taxes. Cf. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.151-3.

⁴⁴¹ Shahid, pl. shuhud. Their main function, according to Rabie, was to keep correct and witness the day book (ta'liq al-muyawama). Cf. Rabie, The Financial System, p. 159.

⁴⁴² Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, p.262.

kuttayh grew, was more in demand than other types of grasslands with less high quality vegetation. Moreover, the inundation of the river Nile was another factor that enabled the growth of grass, and its fluctuation over the years made the revenue from this tax increase or decrease accordingly. The size of the livestock grazed on the land marked the fluctuation in the rate of revenue from this tax. More demand for pastures meant an increasing size of livestock grazed on the land, thus producing a higher revenue for the muqta or muqtas.

5. Poll tax (jawali)

This tax was imposed on non/Muslims, both Copts and Jews. The rate of tax in the Mamluk period, before al-rawk al-Nasiri, amounted to 56 dirhams per head when it was collected by the Treasury. After al-rawk al-Nasiri the jawali tax was calculated in the ibra of each iqta and collected by the muqta. This situation made the process of collecting this tax more difficult for the clerks of an amir's diwan, because the tax payer had the opportunity to move from one village to another. Sometimes the muqta was forced to accept a jawali tax as low as 4 dirhams per head, whereas before the rawk al-Nasiri, it could be as high as 56 dirhams⁴⁴³.

(B) Temporary taxes

According to al-Maqrizi and other Mamluk historians, there were a number of tax revenues which were assigned in the form of iqta to ajnad al-halqa and ranking amirs. These taxes, the existence of which is mentioned in the

⁴⁴³ al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, pp.242-5; cf. al-Maqrizi, Khitat, vol.1, p.90. cf. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.55, 111-2.

historical works of the Mamluk period, were finally abolished by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 715/1315. This practice was intact before this date and may well have been in use before the Mamluk period itself.

These taxes were imposed on urban areas, affecting in most cases trade and transaction. These are called mukus in the sources. These taxes are as follows:

1. Tax on grain trade (sahil al-ghala)

This tax was imposed on grain crops (ghala) like wheat, barley, bitter-vetch, beans, chick peas, and lentils. These grain crops were brought by merchants from all over Egypt and were sold in the markets of Cairo and Fustat. The merchants had to pay two and a half dirhams for each irddab before they were allowed to sell in the Cairo markets⁴⁴⁴. Six other types of small taxes, which could be a branch of the above tax, were apparently also added to this tax; but there is no firm evidence in support of this. These taxes are al kharuba, al-thumn, al-wazana, al-qadaha, al-samsara, al-luqta⁴⁴⁵. It seems from al-Maqrizi's comments that the people who benefited most from the tax on the grain trade were the captains of the ships(nawati), the weighers(kiyyalin), military associates(mushiddin) and clerks(kuttab). There were sixty people involved in the collection of this tax. According to al-Maqrizi, the above tax was assigned in the form of iqta for four hundred ajnad al-halqa or six hundred ajnad and a number of ranking amirs⁴⁴⁶. The

444 al-Maqrizi, Suluk, pt. 2/1, p.150.

445 al-Dawadari, al-Durr al-fakhir, p.287.

446 al-Maqrizi, Suluk, pt. 2/1, p.150; Ibid, p.537.

total annual revenue from this tax was 4,600,000 dirhams. The annual revenue from the iqta of one jundi al-halqa ranged, according to al-Maqrizi, from three to ten thousand dirhams. However, the same author contradicts himself elsewhere when he mentions that the annual revenue of one jundi al-halqa ranged from six to eight thousand dirhams⁴⁴⁷.

2. Half of the brokerage (nisf al-samsara)

This tax was imposed on the sale of any kind of merchandise which was worth a hundred dirhams or more. According to al-Maqrizi and Ibn Taghri Birdi, the tax was two dirhams for every merchandise worth one hundred dirhams and was divided equally between the state and the brokers. This tax was assigned as an iqta for a number of ajnad al-halqa⁴⁴⁸.

3. Protection tax (rusum al-wilayat wa'l-muqaddamin nuwwab shuratiyya)

According to al-Maqrizi and Ibn Taghri Birdi, this tax was imposed on market managers (urafa' al-aswaq), and on places of prostitution (buyut al-fawahish). It seems that it was imposed in lieu of protection. A number of ajnad al-halqa and a number of amirs were assigned the income of this tax in

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, pp.150, 537.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.150-51, cf. also Ibn Taghri Birdi, Nujum, vol.9, p.45. cf. also Rabie, The Financial System, p.104.

the form of iqta⁴⁴⁹. The annual revenue from the iqta is not mentioned in the available sources.

4. Tax on domestic animals (muqarr al-hawa'is wa'l-bighal)

This was the tax imposed on domestic animals in all Egyptian provinces. Some of the revenue from this tax was assigned in a form of iqta to a number of ajnad and amirs. The annual revenue of each iqta is not mentioned in the available sources⁴⁵⁰.

5. Tax on prisons (muqarr al-sujun)

According to al-Marqizi and Ibn Taghri Birdi, this tax was actually imposed on all prisoners who had to pay six dirhams or more, the moment they entered the prison, and this revenue was assigned in the form of iqta to a number of amirs and soldiers. In this case also, the annual revenue of each iqta is not mentioned in the available sources⁴⁵¹.

449 al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2/1 pp.150-151. Cf.also Ibn Taghri Birdi, Nujum, vol.9, p.45. cf. also Rabie, The Financial System, pp.113-4.

450 al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2/1 pp.150-151. Cf.also, Ibn Taghri Birdi, Nujum , vol.9, p.45. Rabie, The Financial System, p.

451 Al-Dawadari, al-Durr al-Fakhir, p.287. Cf. al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2/1, pp.150-1; cf. also Ibn Taghri Birdi, Nujum, vol.9, pp.46-7.

6. Tax on farmers in the chicken trade (tarh al -faruj or muqarr tarh al-fararij)

This was a state monopoly to force the people to buy chicken from only one tax farmer(damin) in each province and city all over Egypt, in lieu of a certain amount of money paid yearly by the tax farmers to the state. This source of income was assigned in the form of iqta to a number of ajnad and amirs but no information about the annual revenue from each iqta is mentioned in the available sources⁴⁵².

7. Tax on saving funds from construction of dykes (mutawaffir al-ghararif).

According to al-Maqrizi, this tax was collected from engineers and governors in all Egyptian provinces. It seems that this due was probably an overabundance of money paid by farmers(fallahin) and muqtas to the engineers and governors, who were responsible for maintaining the dams. The excess money from tax imposed on cultivators and muqtas was assigned in form of iqta to a number of ajnad al-halqa, but no information is given in the available sources about the annual revenue of each iqta⁴⁵³.

⁴⁵² Al-Dawadari, al-Durr al-Fakhir, p.287. Cf.al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2/1, pp.1-152. Cf. also.Ibn Taghri Birdi, Nujum, vol.9, pp.46-7.

⁴⁵³ Al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2/1 pp.151-2. Cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Nujum vol.9, pp.47-8, cf. also Rabie, The Financial System,. p.115.

8. Al-mizr (a kind of beer)

According to al-Maqrizi, al-Zahir Baybars had abolished a tax imposed on mizr and a number of muqtas who were assigned the revenue of this tax were recompensed with another kind of income⁴⁵⁴.

General comment on temporary taxes

Al-Dawadari mentions that all taxes (jihat, al-mu'amalat) in Cairo and Fustat after the rawk the Nasiri which were assigned in the form of iqtas were cancelled or transferred to the sultan's private diwan (al-khass)⁴⁵⁵. We may deduce from this that some other taxes were assigned in the form of iqta, although the available sources do not identify them.

(C) Iqta of the taxes from the cities and towns

The policy of assigning taxes from the cities in the form of iqta, which had been practised by the Ayyubids, was continued by the Mamluks. In 652/1254-55, Damietta was assigned in the form of iqta by Sultan Aybak to Amir 'Ala al-Din Aydughdi al-'Azizi, in addition to the iqta he had already been receiving. According to al-Dawadari, the muqta had the right to enjoy the whole revenue from the taxes in the city, which equalled 30,000 dinars⁴⁵⁶.

⁴⁵⁴ al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 1/2, p.525. For taxes imposed on wines, beers and hashish, cf. Rabie. The Financial System. pp.120-2.

⁴⁵⁵ Al-Dawadari, al-Durra al-fakhir, p.287; cf. al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-arab, in al-Maqrizi, al-Suluk, pt. 2, margin no.7, 153-4.

⁴⁵⁶ Al-Dawadari, al-Durra p.24.

On the other hand, Alexandria was assigned in the form of iqta in 650/1252-53 by Aqtay, but no information is provided by the sources to identify whether the amir was allowed to enjoy the whole revenue from the city (all taxes) or a portion of it (a limited number of taxes)⁴⁵⁷. It seems that this policy was short-lived and both the iqtas were cancelled and the tax revenue from these two cities was transferred to the sultan's private diwan (al-khass)⁴⁵⁸.

3.3.2 Rizaq

Al-rizaq al-ihbasiyya

The cultivated lands in Egyptian villages were set aside by the state for the benefit of mosques, grand mosques, monasteries, hermitages, schools, Friday preachers and Sufis and for the benefit of particular persons⁴⁵⁹.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-Safi, vol.2, p.502. Ibn al-Amid, al-Makin Jirjis(d. about 672/1274). Akhbar al-Ayyubiyyin ed. C. Cahen as "La chronique des Ayyoubides", Bulletin d'etudes orientales, XV, 1955-57, pp.109-84. Reprinted by Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya, Cairo. n.d., p.42.

⁴⁵⁸ Faris al-Din Iqtay was killed in 651/1253 by Sultan Aybak. Cf. Ibn al-'Amid, Akhbar, p.40; al-Dawadari, al-Durr p.24, Baybars al-Mansuri, Al-tuhfa, p.43. Amir Aydughdi was imprisoned in 653/1255 which meant that he lost his post and iqta. Cf. Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Manhal al-Safi, vol.3, p.161.

⁴⁵⁹ Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.31, p.348. Cf. also al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, vol.1, p.97 and vol.2, p.295. Cf. also Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.4, p.39.

There is no doubt that such a practice by the state was not a Mamluk invention and that it had been employed centuries before by previous dynasties. According to al-Qalqashandi:

"al-Layth b. Sa'd, a famous qadi and faqih in the 3rd century (9th century A.D) bought pieces of lands in Egyptian villages from the public treasury and endowed them for charitable purposes. Then the houses and shops in Fustat and other places were endowed for charitable purposes and fell under the authority of the diwan al-ahbas, after the rizaq of preachers had been included. Rizaq from the lands increased in Baybars' period because of al-Sahib Baha' al-Din b. Hinna and continued to increase until our time"⁴⁶⁰.

However, in the course of time, the amount of cultivated land assigned for the benefit of religious and charitable purposes (rizaq) increased in the Mamluk era and reached 130,000 faddans towards the end of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad's period in 740/1339⁴⁶¹. It seems that such an increase in the assigning of cultivated land for charitable purposes can be attributed to al-Nasir Muhammad's policy, in which he allowed large number of lands belonging to the treasury to be distributed in the form of charity (sadaqa).

This is also suggested by al-'Umari who mentions:

"For this Sultan, there are charities in progress (jariya), and lucrative (dara) allowances, some of them as a piece of land in a village, some of them as allowances in cash (mablagh) or kind (ghala: includes wheat, barley, bread, meat, oil, clothes). As meat,

460 Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.4, p.39. Cf.also. Ibid, vol.11, pp.252-3.

461 Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Nujum, vol.9, pp. 131-2.

oil and cloth were in less supply and rare, they were given only to those who were favoured (by the sultan). Land, cash, kind, (i.e. grain etc) and bread are plenty and easily obtained, and in most cases the sons inherited it from their fathers and from brother to brother and from cousin to cousin. Even if the allowances have been cut from the beneficiary after his death, his relative can complain for his dependent to receive the dead relative's allowance which he was getting⁴⁶².

Al-rizaq al-jayshiyya

These were pieces of land in Egyptian villages assigned as pension for military persons who were released from service because of old age or illness, to benefit them during their life. They were sometimes transferred to their families after their death. These rizaqs were issued by the diwan al-jaysh.

There are a number of indications found in the Mamluk sources that point to a system of tarkhan. This term is mentioned in the Mamluk sources to indicate that a ranking amir or a knight, who was dismissed from service because of his old age, illness, or for a political reason, was entitled to keep his iqta or some of its income as pension⁴⁶³. However, the income from this pension did not always come from the land. It is also mentioned that it could come as an yearly salary or allowance or both.

⁴⁶² al-'Umari, Masalik, p.50.

⁴⁶³ Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.13, p.51. Cf also Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Nujum, vol.10, pp.310-1. Cf. also D. Ayalon, "Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonment in Mamluk society", in D. Ayalon, The Mamluk military society, London, 1979, pp. 25-33.

3.3.3 Waqf

The term waqf was used to donate an entity (land, buildings, slaves domestic animals,) which possessed income or performed work or generated products, all of which could be devoted to supporting a charitable work or good cause under Islamic law.

As our interest is in the cultivated land in Egypt, other types of waqf will be ignored from our discussion. It is a well known fact acknowledged by most students of Islamic history that cultivated land in Egypt was treated as state property and peasants had no right of ownership. They were left to farm the land and pay taxes⁴⁶⁴. Therefore the only way to transfer these lands to waqf was through the transformation of the ownership from the state or Bayt al-mal to the people, who could then endow it to support charity. This only happened if the Imam, who was in power or who was authorised by Islamic law, allowed publicly the treasury to sell the land to the public for the interests of Muslim people.⁴⁶⁵

The process of transformation took place gradually and 95% of the land, when the Mamluks came to power in the middle of the 7th/13th century, still belonged to the state, which assigned most of it in the form of iqta. This situation had changed slowly in the Bahri period, and developed in the

⁴⁶⁴ Muhammad Muhammad Amin, al-Awqaf wa'l-hayat al-ijtima 'iyya fi Misr (648-923/1250-1517), Cairo, 1980, pp.41,46.

⁴⁶⁵ This topic will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6.

9th/15th century to reach its peak towards the end of the Mamluk rule in which half of the total land of Egypt had been transferred to waqf⁴⁶⁶.

In addition to the waqf on public utilities (Al-waqf al-khayri) (madrassa, khanqah, masjid, jami, ribat, zawiya, bimaristan), and the waqf for the creator of an endowment and his descendants after his death, (al-waqf al-ahli), another type of waqf emerged. It was a combination of both the above waqfs, in which the creator of a madrasa or jami' received an income for such a utility. This was far below the yield of the waqf while the bulk of it was devoted to himself and to his descendants after his death.⁴⁶⁷

A few important definitions are now given.

Milk pl. amlak

Generally milk land means the land possessed by private ownership through purchasing from public treasury. However, Ibn al-Ji'an mentions a number of villages as the sultan's private properties and called them "al-Amlak al-Sharifa" or said simply that they belonged to the sultan. Most of these villages belonged to sultan Sha'ban's period and were transferred to other kinds of land tenures after his death. This might indicate that these villages were put in the sultan's domain during his rule and that they changed to

⁴⁶⁶ The reasons for such development from state land to waqf and private ownership will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6.

⁴⁶⁷ Amin, *Awqaf*, pp. 72-3.

other categories of land tenure in the reigns of the sultans who came after him.⁴⁶⁸

3.3.4 Diwans

According to al-Qalqashandi, "all villages in Egypt, both upper and lower, belonged to the Sultan's diwans or were assigned to the ranking amirs and cavalries (ajnad) in the form of iqta and only a small share belonged to waqf"⁴⁶⁹.

From al-Qalqashandi's passage we understand that a number of bureaux were responsible for the administration of the state (sultan's) share of cultivated land in Egypt by collecting taxes, dues, customs and administering both the collection and expenditure processes. Al-Qalqashandi, who wrote at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, mentioned that the sultan's share was administered by the diwan al-wizara, al-diwan al-khass, al-diwan al-mufrad and diwan al-amlak.

1. Diwan al-wizara or al-diwan al-sultani li'l-dawla al-sharifa

The similarity between the term wizara and al-dawla is confirmed by al-Qalqashandi, who mentions that according to custom ('urf) the word al-dawla was particularly devoted to the affairs of wizara⁴⁷⁰. Therefore, we can consider them as one diwan. The cultivated land belonging to this diwan

468 Cf. the tables.

469 Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.3, p.522.

470 Ibid, vol .5, p.439.

consists of two provinces, al-Jiza and Manfalut. As for Jiza province, its income, mainly cash (darahim), was collected for the public treasury and paid out according to its expenditure procedure. Maybe, small quantities of wheat were carried from some villages to the sultan's granaries in old Cairo. Also there were land plots of clover which were designated for winter grazing of the horses of the royal stables, ranking amirs and royal mamluks ⁴⁷¹. Manfalut, the second province belonging to this diwan, was of greater importance and had more yield. Most of its kharaj was in cash, including wheat, beans and barley. The grains were carried to the royal granaries and stables. It was possible that some cash was carried to the public treasury. Other than these two provinces, the rest of the villages were scattered in both Upper and Lower Egypt . Their number in Upper Egypt was more than Lower Egypt, but it had decreased in al-Qalqashandi's time to a few villages only⁴⁷².

The income of this diwan was devoted to paying the salaries (jamikiyya) of royal mamluks. The diwan continued to perform this until the establishment of al-diwan al-mufrad, which was also responsible for the salaries, both in cash and kind, of the officials working in the diwan. This diwan also provided the royal kitchen with meat, sugar, oil, rose water and other commodities and provided allowances of meat, bread, sugar, sweets, candles, oil, fodder, sheep for sacrifice and so on, to the ranking amirs' clerks (arbab al-aqlam) who had obtained the favour of the sultan. The diwan al-wizara was also responsible for supplying barley as fodder for the horses of the royal

471 Ibid , vol.3, pp.522-3.

472 Ibid , vol.3, pp.522-3.

mamluks and for the royal stables. In winter, the ranking amirs and royal mamluks were given plots of clover in Jiza province instead of barley. In time of war, before the establishment of both al-diwan al-khass and al-diwan al-mufrad, the diwan al-wizara used to pay an extra subsistence allowance (nafaqa) to each of the ranking amirs, at the start of the campaign to cover some expenses of the war. Khalil al-Zahiri mentioned that this diwan had 300 employees at the time of al-Zahir Barquq and its monthly expenditure was 50,000 dinars.⁴⁷³

2. Al - Diwan al - khass or al - khass al - sharif

The villages and cities belonging to this diwan consisted of al-Iskandariyya, Taruja, Fuwa, and Nastarawa⁴⁷⁴. The income derived from these places was devoted to supplying cash (silver, gold), robes of honours, spices, perfumes, and other luxuries to the Royal privy purse. This diwan provided clothes for the royal mamluks, ranking amirs, and other officials in the diwan. Al-Khass was also responsible for supplying robes of honours to the ranking amirs and the officials in the diwans. It was likely that the khass were in charge of

⁴⁷³ Al-Umari, Masalik, pp.29, 30, 49. Cf. also, al Qalqashandi, vol.3, pp.522-3. cf. also vol.4, p.29. cf. also al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, vol.2, pp.223-4. Cf. al-Zahiri, Khalil Zubdat kashf al-mamalik wa bayan al-turuq wa'l-masalik, Paris, 1894, pp.97-8. Cf. also Ayalon, "The system of payment in Mamluk military society", in Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517), London, 1977, 48-61, 258-62, 269-70, 279-83.

⁴⁷⁴ Al-Qalqashandi, Subh, vol.3. pp. 523-4.

paying gifts to visiting embassies or the embassies the sultan sent to foreign governments.⁴⁷⁵

3. Al-Diwan al-mufrad

This diwan was established by Sultan al-Zahir Barquq in 797/1395 and to it were transferred the villages belonging to his iqta when he was still a ranking amir of one hundred. After that its revenue increased and a large number of villages were assigned to this diwan. The income from these villages was devoted to providing the mamluks of al-Zahir Barquq (mushtarawat), whose number gradually mounted to 5,000 mamluks, with all necessities including salary, fodder and clothes.⁴⁷⁶

4. Diwan al-amlak

This diwan was established by al-Sultan al-Zahir Barquq to look after those villages which were designated as the Sultan's private income (khass bi'l-sultan)⁴⁷⁷.

⁴⁷⁵ Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat, vol.8, pp.213-217. Cf. also al-'Umari, Masalik, pp.29, 49. Cf. also al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, vol.2, pp.223-227. Cf. also Ayalon, "The system of Payment", p.286.

⁴⁷⁶ Al-Qalqashandi, Subh vol.3, 524, Cf.also. Al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, vol.2, pp.223-224. Cf. also Ayalon, "The system of payment", pp.280, 283-286.

⁴⁷⁷ Al-Qalqashandi , vol.3, p.524.

TABLE 1

QANUN

The villages whose area measurement is mentioned according to the term
qanun

| NO. | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ |
|-----|---------------|----------------------|------|
| 1 | Qalyub | Al-Haraz | 7B |
| 2 | Al-Sharqiyya | Al-Suwaysa | 20B |
| 3 | Al-Sharqiyya | Birkat al dab | 28A |
| 4 | Al-Sharqiyya | Tall al-dhahab | 31B |
| 5 | Al-Sharqiyya | Tall 'Azzun | 31B |
| 6 | Al-Sharqiyya | Tall Haywayn | 32A |
| 7 | Al-Sharqiyya | Shawbak Ikrash | 42B |
| 8 | Al-Sharqiyya | Minyat Abu 'Ali | 52B |
| 9 | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-qitfa | 62A |
| 10 | Al-Gharbiyya | Absira/al-sakhawiyya | 82B |
| 11 | Al-Gharbiyya | Bidshasha | 82B |
| 12 | Al-Jiza | Birkat al-tin | 199A |
| 13 | Atfih | Ahwad rumi | 200A |

IJ = Ibn al-Ji'an, Al-tuhfa

TABLE 2

The area measurement including rizaq

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ |
|-----------|-----------------|---|-----------|
| 1 | Al - Daqahliyya | Al - Junayna | 59B |
| 2 | Al - Daqahliyya | Al - Sa'idiyya | 61A |
| 3 | Al - Daqahliyya | Al - Qalyubiyya | 62A |
| 4 | Al - Daqahliyya | Al - Lu'lu'a | 62A |
| 5 | Al - Daqahliyya | Al - Manwa | 62B |
| 6 | Al - Daqahliyya | Al - Maliha | 62B |
| 7 | Al - Daqahliyya | Turbat al - Khash shab | 64A |
| 8 | Al - Gharbiyya | Dimillash | 105A |
| 9 | Al - Gharbiyya | Shirbin | 113B |
| 10 | Minuf | Al - Birak al - Sharqi wa'l - Gharbi | 141A |
| 11 | Minuf | Bamam | 158A |
| 12 | Al - Buhayra | Al - Jalamun | 166B |

TABLE 3

Changes in area measurement after al-Rawk al-Nasiri

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | NOTES | IJ |
|----|----------------|----------------------|--|------|
| 1 | Qalyub | Al -Qasir | Its area figure excluding the part which had been sold by the treasury | 9A |
| 2 | Qalyub | Sanafir | Its area figure excluding land which had been sold by the treasury | 12A |
| 3 | Al - Sharqiyya | Al - Santa | Its area figure excluding the share of waqf | 20A |
| 4 | Al - Sharqiyya | Al - Salihiyya | Its area figure excluding private land and what was allocated to the lack of Tinnis | 21A |
| 5 | Al - Gharbiyya | Abu'l - Mallis | Its area figure excluding the faddans which belonged to the Bedouin | 82A |
| 6 | Al - Gharbiyya | Shubra Antwa | Its area figure excluding the faddans which were set aside for some undisclosed purpose | 133A |
| 7 | Al - Gharbiyya | Zahr al - Jamal | Its area figure including land under cultivation (al-mutamayyiz) | 117A |
| 8 | Al - Gharbiyya | Mahallat al - Marhum | Its area figure excluding the rizqa of Jami Arghun al - Isma'ili | 123B |
| 9 | Al - Gharbiya | Nimra al - Basal | Its area figure excluding 500 faddans for al - muqta' in and milk | 138A |
| 10 | Al - Buhayra | Taruja | Its area figure does not belong to al - Rawk al - Nasiri | 173B |
| 11 | Al - Buhayra | Timlas | Its area figure excluding land which had been sold | 181B |
| 12 | Al - Buhayra | Kom al - Tubul | Its area figure was equal approximately to 200 faddans | 185A |
| 13 | Al - Jiza | Abu Sir al - Sidr | Its area figure including those lands which had been sold | 195B |
| 14 | Al - Jiza | Tirsa | Its area figure excluding 200 faddans which had been sold | 200A |
| 15 | Al - Jiza | Minyat Tanash | Its area figure including the lands which had been added to it from Jazirat Muhammad | 205A |
| 16 | Atfih | Minyat al - Basak | Its area figure excluding private lands and the part which was cut off by the Nile river | 209A |

TABLE 3 (contd.)

Changes in area measurement after al-Rawk al-Nasiri

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | NOTES | IJ |
|----|----------------|----------------|---|------|
| 17 | Al - Bahnasa | Qila / Tawa | Its area figure excluding private lands | 235A |
| 18 | Al - Ushmunayn | Abu Qurqas | Its area excluding 400 faddans which had been sold by the treasury to Taybugha al - Tawil | 239B |
| 19 | Al - Ushmunayn | Al - Qalandun | Its area figure excluding private lands | 242A |
| 20 | Asyut | Al - Qatatiyya | Its area figure excluding 100 faddans | 253A |
| 21 | Asyut | Baqur | Its area figure excluding an oil pass under of waqf and private lands | 254A |
| 22 | Asyut | BuTayj | Its area figure excluding private lands | 254A |
| 23 | Asyut | Tahnahur | Its area figure excluding private lands | 255B |
| 24 | Ikhmim | Baslafura | Its area figure excluding private lands | 257A |

TABLE 4

Categories of lands

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | NAQA | KHIRS | MUSTABHIR | SHARAQI | SIBAKH | HIKR | IJ |
|----|----------------|------------------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|------|
| 1 | Al - Sharqiyya | Abu Akim | | | | | x | | 16A |
| 2 | Al - Gharbiyya | Dimaba Shaba | | | | | x | | 103B |
| 3 | Ibyar | Ibshada | x | x | | | | | 156B |
| 4 | Ibyar | Ikhsha | x | x | x | | | | 156B |
| 5 | Ibyar | Ikwa | x | x | | | | | 157A |
| 6 | Ibyar | Alta wa 'l 'Adawi | x | x | x | | | | 157A |
| 7 | Ibyar | Babij wa Mahallat al - Laban | x | x | | | | | 157B |
| 8 | Ibyar | Barhim | x | x | | | | x | 157B |
| 9 | Ibyar | Bilshayya | x | x | | | | | 157B |
| 10 | Ibyar | Bulmusht | x | x | | | | | 158A |
| 11 | Ibyar | Hisat Amir | x | x | x | | | | 158B |
| 12 | Ibyar | Jazirat al - Hajar | x | x | | | | | 158B |
| 13 | Ibyar | Diqrin | x | x | | | | | 159A |
| 14 | Ibyar | Disya | x | x | | | | | 159A |
| 15 | Ibyar | Dilsayn | x | x | | x | | | 159A |
| 16 | Ibyar | Dalgamun | x | x | x | | | | 159B |
| 17 | Ibyar | Dimshawayh al - Bighal | x | x | | | | | 159B |
| 18 | Ibyar | Dalaka | x | x | | | | | 159B |
| 19 | Ibyar | Damalij | x | x | x | | | | 159B |
| 20 | Ibyar | Danasur | x | x | | | | | 160A |
| 21 | Ibyar | Saft al - Muluk | x | x | | | | | 160A |
| 22 | Ibyar | Diyama | x | x | x | | | | 160A |
| 23 | Ibyar | Salamun / Fil | x | x | x | | | | 160A |
| 24 | Ibyar | Shubra al - Lamna | x | x | | | | | 160B |
| 25 | Ibyar | Shubra al - Laun | x | x | | | | | 160B |
| 26 | Ibyar | Shubra Bitus | x | x | | | | | 161A |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

Categories of lands

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | NAQA | KHIRS | MUSTABHIR | SHARAQI | SIBAKH | HIKR | IJ |
|----|--------------|---------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|------|
| 27 | Ibyar | Shuna | x | x | x | | | | 161A |
| 28 | Ibyar | Shashfir | x | x | | | | | 161A |
| 29 | Ibyar | Tamalaha | x | x | | | | | 161A |
| 30 | Ibyar | Qalib | x | x | x | | | | 161B |
| 32 | Ibyar | Asif | x | x | | | | | 161B |
| 32 | Ibyar | Mishla | x | x | | | | | 161B |
| 33 | Ibyar | Minyat al - Mukram | x | x | x | | | | 162A |
| 34 | Ibyar | Minyat Futays | x | x | | | | | 162A |
| 35 | Ibyar | Minyat Shahala | x | x | x | | | | 162A |
| 36 | Ibyar | Nadir | x | x | | | | | 162A |
| 37 | Al - Buhayra | Damanhur al - Wahsh | | | | x | | | 162B |
| 38 | Al - Buhayra | Ramsis | | | | x | | | 177B |
| 39 | Al - Bahnasa | al - Fant | x | x | | | | | 224A |
| 40 | Asyut | Udrunka / Rifa | x | x | | | | | 252B |
| 41 | Asyut | Abu Hudri | x | x | | | | | 252B |
| 42 | Asyut | Al - Babarat | x | x | | | | | 252B |
| 43 | Asyut | Babshay | x | x | | | | | 253B |
| 44 | Asyut | Al - Milk | x | x | | | | | 253B |
| 45 | Asyut | Jazirat Shandawid | x | x | x | | | | 254A |
| 46 | Asyut | Sidfa | x | x | x | | | | 254B |
| 47 | Asyut | Shiflaq | x | x | | | | | 254B |
| 48 | Asyut | Shandawid | x | x | | | | | 255A |
| 49 | Asyut | Tahta | x | x | | | | | 255A |
| 50 | Asyut | Tahanhur / Shaqlil | x | x | | | | | 255B |
| 51 | Asyut | TukhTakrima | x | x | x | | | | 255B |
| 52 | Asyut | Qulqaris | x | x | | | | | 255B |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

Categories of lands

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | NAQA | KHIRS | MUSTABHIR | SHARAQI | SIBAKH | HIKR | IJ |
|----|----------|---------------------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|------|
| 53 | Ikhmim | Abu Bishada | x | x | | | | | 256B |
| 54 | Ikhmim | Idfa | x | x | x | | | | 256B |
| 55 | Ikhmim | Al - Maraghat/Zamak hir | x | x | | | | | 257A |
| 56 | Ikhmim | BalASFura | x | x | | | | | 257A |
| 57 | Ikhmim | Jazair al - Jabal | x | x | | | | | 257B |
| 58 | Ikhmim | Dijirja | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 59 | Ikhmim | Samant | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 60 | Ikhmim | Shansif | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 61 | Ikhmim | Damnu | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 62 | Ikhmim | Suhayy | x | x | | | | | 258A |
| 63 | Ikhmim | Qilfaw | x | x | | | | | 258B |
| 64 | Ikhmim | Minshat Ikhmim | x | x | | | | | 258B |
| 65 | Qus | Udfu | x | x | | | | | 259A |
| 66 | Qus | Abnud | x | x | | | | | 259A |
| 67 | Qus | Armant | x | x | | | | | 259A |
| 68 | Qus | Al - Balyana | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 69 | Qus | Al - Jabalayn | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 70 | Qus | Usfun / Tafis | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 71 | Qus | Al - Haraja | x | x | | | | | 259B |
| 72 | Qus | Al - Dimuqrat | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 73 | Qus | Al - Manshiyya / Jarf al - Bija | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 74 | Qus | Bardis | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 75 | Qus | Al - Muraja 'at | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 76 | Qus | Al - Uqsurrayn | x | x | | | | | 260A |
| 77 | Qus | Bahjura | x | x | | | | | 260B |
| 78 | Qus | Jarf al - Sayyaf | x | x | | | | | 260B |

TABLE 4 (contd.)

Categories of lands

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | NAQA | KHIRS | MUSTABHIR | SHARAQI | SIBAKH | HIKR | IJ |
|----|----------|------------------------------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------|------|
| 79 | Qus | Babij al - Qahraman | x | x | | | | | 260B |
| 80 | Qus | Jazirat al - Dayr / Umm 'Ali | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 81 | Qus | Damamin | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 82 | Qus | Jazirat Qift | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 83 | Qus | Dishna | x | x | | | | | 261A |
| 84 | Qus | Dandara | x | x | x | | | | 261B |
| 85 | Qus | Danfiq / Dayr Qattan | x | x | | | | | 261B |
| 86 | Qus | Zarnikh / Kum al Shaqaf | x | x | | | | | 261B |
| 87 | Qus | Samhud | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 88 | Qus | Sanhur | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 89 | Qus | Shatfayna | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 90 | Qus | Tukh Damanu | x | x | | | | | 262A |
| 91 | Qus | Faw Ba' sh | x | x | | | | | 262B |
| 92 | Qus | Gharb Qamula | x | x | | | | | 262B |
| 93 | Qus | Farjut | x | x | | | | | 362B |
| 94 | Qus | Qasr Bani Kulayb | x | x | | | | | 263A |
| 95 | Qus | Makhanis | x | x | | | | | 263A |

TABLE 5

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|----|----------------|--------------------------------------|-----|
| 1 | Qalyub | Jazirat al - Quritiyyin | 9B |
| 2 | Qalyub | Kharab Fazara | 10A |
| 3 | Qalyub | Dijwa / Kiyad | 10A |
| 4 | Qalyub | Mujual al- Bayda | 13B |
| 5 | al - Sharqiyya | Ard al - Jumayma | 16B |
| 6 | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Jifar bi-Qatya | 18B |
| 7 | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Salihyya | 21A |
| 8 | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Turturi / al - Rashidi | 21A |
| 9 | al - Sharqiyya | Al - Mu'aysira min nawahi al - jistr | 25A |
| 10 | al - Sharqiyya | Amyayh | 26B |
| 11 | al - Sharqiyya | Biltan | 29A |
| 12 | al - Sharqiyya | Jazirat al - Ghazlaniyya | 34A |
| 13 | al - Sharqiyya | Dahsifat al - Shurafa' | 35B |
| 14 | al - Sharqiyya | Salamun min nawahi al - Jistr | 38B |
| 15 | al - Sharqiyya | Tunajjir | 45B |
| 16 | al - Sharqiyya | Adad Bani Rub'i | 46A |
| 17 | al - Sharqiyya | Qabr al - Wayli | 47B |
| 18 | al - Sharqiyya | Kafr Bani Hubaysh | 49B |
| 19 | al - Sharqiyya | Mudawwarat Jamil | 50A |
| 20 | al - Sharqiyya | Manshiyat Kardida | 50A |
| 21 | al - Sharqiyya | Manzil Na'im | 51A |
| 22 | al - Sharqiyya | Minyat Ya'ish | 55A |
| 23 | al - Sharqiyya | Wadi al - Sadir | 57A |
| 24 | Dimyat | Al - 'Adiliyya | 79B |
| 25 | Dimyat | Turbat Minyat Sinan al - Dawla | 79B |
| 26 | Dimyat | Sharnibara | 80A |
| 27 | Al - Gharbiyya | Al - Hamudiyya | 86A |

TABLE 5 (contd)

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------------|------|
| 28 | Al - Gharbiyya | Qabrit = Kabrit | 118B |
| 29 | Al - Gharbiyya | Mahallat al - Jundi | 123A |
| 30 | Al - Gharbiyya | Minyat al - Ashraf | 130B |
| 31 | Al - Gharbiyya | Malal | 136A |
| 32 | Minuf | Balajim | 146A |
| 33 | Minuf | Shatanuf | 149B |
| 34 | Al - Buhayra | Sawaqi Ghurlu al - Jukandar | 167B |
| 35 | Al - Buhayra | Al - 'Umariyya | 168B |
| 36 | Al - Buhayra | Dakduka | 176B |
| 37 | Fuwa | Al - Jaza'ir | 191A |
| 38 | Fuwa | Itqina | 191A |
| 39 | Fuwa | Burunbara | 191A |
| 40 | Fuwa | Diba | 191B |
| 41 | Fuwa | Jazirat al - Dhahab | 191B |
| 42 | Fuwa | Damaliy | 191B |
| 43 | Fuwa | Sindiyyun | 191B |
| 44 | Fuwa | Minyat Bani Murshid | 192A |
| 45 | Fuwa | Nutubis al - Rumman | 192A |
| 46 | Nastarawa | Al - Rus | 192B |
| 47 | Nastarawa | Rashid | 192B |
| 48 | Nastarawa | Al - Burullus | 192B |
| 49 | Nastarawa | Baltim | 192B |
| 50 | Nastarawa | Sinjar | 192B |
| 51 | Al - Iskandariyya | Al - Jiddiyya | 193B |
| 52 | Al - Iskandariyya | Santariyya | 193B |
| 53 | Al - Iskandariyya | Makbul | 194A |
| 54 | Al - Iskandariyya | Bayn al - Karyun wa'l - Jinan | 194A |

TABLE 5 (contd)

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|----|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| 55 | Al - Iskandariyya | Dayrut | 144A |
| 56 | Al - Jiza | Abu Ghalib | 195A |
| 57 | Al - Jiza | Akhsas 'Atiyya | 195B |
| 58 | Al - Jiza | Aradi al - Milk | 195B |
| 59 | Al - Jiza | Abu Qutna | 195B |
| 60 | Al - Jiza | Al - Barraniyya | 196A |
| 61 | Al - Jiza | Al - Harraniyya | 196B |
| 62 | Al - Jiza | Al - Hitan al - Bid | 196B |
| 63 | Al - Jiza | Al - Dimnawiyya | 196B |
| 64 | Al - Jiza | Al - Shawbak | 197A |
| 65 | Al - Jiza | Al - Gharat | 197B |
| 66 | Al - Jiza | Al - Mujarrad / al - Mulaqqi | 1298A |
| 67 | Al - Jiza | Al - Kawm al - Ahmar | 198A |
| 68 | Al - Jiza | Al - Mansuriyya | 198B |
| 69 | Al - Jiza | Al - Akhsas wa'l - Manashi | 198B |
| 70 | Al - Jiza | Al - Munzaliqa | 198B |
| 71 | Al - Jiza | Al - Nakhla | 198B |
| 72 | Al - Jiza | Tirsa | 200A |
| 73 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat Batin Jabra | 200B |
| 74 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Ta'ir | 200B |
| 75 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat Barnasht | 200B |
| 76 | Al - Jiza | Jaza'ir al - Khiyar | 200B |
| 77 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Faras | 200B |
| 78 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Aqraz Hawd al - Duqqi | 201A |
| 79 | Al - Jiza | Hawd al - Duqqi | 201A |
| 80 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat al - Asal | 201A |
| 81 | Al - Jiza | Jazirat Darawa | 201A |

TABLE 5 (contd)

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----|-----------|------------------------------|------|
| 82 | Al - Jiza | Hawd al - Bassal | 201A |
| 83 | Al - Jiza | Hawd al - Mu'ariyyin | 201A |
| 83 | Al - Jiza | Khalij al - Tin | 201B |
| 84 | Al - Jiza | Saqiyat Makka | 202A |
| 85 | Al - Jiza | Shubramant | 202B |
| 86 | Al - Jiza | Atf Buhbayt | 203A |
| 87 | Al - Jiza | Qannasa | 203A |
| 88 | Al - Jiza | Minyat al - Qayd | 204B |
| 89 | Al - Jiza | Minyat al - Sayyadin | 204B |
| 90 | Al - Jiza | Minyat Anduna | 204B |
| 91 | Al - Jiza | Minyat Kardak | 205A |
| 92 | Al - Jiza | Muta | 205B |
| 93 | Al - Jiza | Wardan | 205B |
| 94 | Atfih | Uskur | 206A |
| 95 | Atfih | Aqwaz Bani Bahr | 206A |
| 96 | Atfih | Al - Tabbin | 206A |
| 97 | Atfih | Al - Hilf / Ra's al - Khalij | 206B |
| 98 | Atfih | Al - Hayy al - Kabir | 206B |
| 99 | Atfih | Al - Hayy al - Saghir | 206B |
| 100 | Atfih | Al - Salihyya | 206B |
| 101 | Atfih | Al - Qilabiyya | 206B |
| 102 | Atfih | Al - Zanqur al - Bahri | 206B |
| 103 | Atfih | Al - Saff | 206B |
| 104 | Atfih | Al - Shaqqa | 206B |
| 105 | Atfih | Al - Kabira / Batin Rikab | 207A |
| 106 | Atfih | Al - Widy | 207A |
| 107 | Atfih | Al - Ash'ab | 207A |

TABLE 5 (contd)

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----|----------|---------------------------------|------|
| 108 | Atfih | Batin Imran | 207A |
| 109 | Atfih | Al - Mawsiliyyat | 207A |
| 110 | Atfih | Al - Istabl | 207A |
| 111 | Atfih | Batin al - Baniyasi | 207A |
| 112 | Atfih | Bani Manuk | 207A |
| 113 | Atfih | Bayad | 207B |
| 114 | Atfih | Jaza'ir al - Maymun | 207B |
| 115 | Atfih | Jazirat Abi 'Ali | 207B |
| 116 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Jahil | 207B |
| 117 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Da'ir | 207B |
| 118 | Atfih | Jazirat Ibrahim b. Fa'iz | 207B |
| 119 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Saff | 207B |
| 120 | Atfih | Jazirat al Ajawi | 208A |
| 121 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Qitt al - Qibliyya | 208A |
| 122 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Wusta | 208A |
| 123 | Atfih | Jazirat Rikab | 208A |
| 124 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Far | 208A |
| 125 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Kalbiyya | 208A |
| 126 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Istabl | 208A |
| 127 | Atfih | Jazirat Qaysar al - Ruqaymi | 208B |
| 128 | Atfih | Hayy al - Shurafa' | 208B |
| 129 | Atfih | Sul | 208B |
| 130 | Atfih | Hulwan | 208B |
| 131 | Atfih | Khanzab | 208B |
| 132 | Atfih | Tura | 208B |
| 133 | Atfih | Ghammaza | 209A |
| 134 | Atfih | Qubaybat Uskur | 209A |

TABLE 5 (contd)

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------|------|
| 135 | Atfih | Masjid Musa | 209A |
| 136 | Atfih | Ghayyada | 209A |
| 137 | Atfih | Qubaybat Atfih | 209A |
| 138 | Atfih | Minyat al-Sultan | 209A |
| 139 | Atfih | Minyat al - Basak | 209A |
| 140 | Al - Fayyum | Ibshayat al - Rumman | 209B |
| 141 | Al - Fayyum | Al - Rubayyat | 211A |
| 142 | Al - Fayyum | Al - Hanbushiyya | 211A |
| 143 | Al - Fayyum | Al - Rubiyyin | 211A |
| 144 | Al - Fayyum | Al - Ghaba / al - Ta'ifa | 211B |
| 145 | Al - Fayyum | Al - Manshiyya | 211B |
| 146 | Al - Fayyum | Al - A'lam | 212A |
| 147 | Al - Fayyum | Hajar al - A'lam | 212A |
| 148 | Al - Fayyum | Babij Anshu | 212B |
| 149 | Al - Fayyum | Birkat al - Sayyid | 213A |
| 150 | Al - Fayyum | Bamuyya | 213A |
| 151 | Al - Fayyum | Birkat Baydif | 213A |
| 152 | Al - Fayyum | Dayr Abi Ja'ran | 215B |
| 153 | Al - Fayyum | Sinnuris | 216A |
| 154 | Al - Fayyum | Shubays | 217A |
| 155 | Al - Fayyum | Saqil | 217A |
| 156 | Al - Fayyum | Aqula | 217B |
| 157 | Al - Fayyum | Maqtul | 219A |
| 158 | Al - Fayyum | Minyat al - Batsh | 219B |
| 159 | Al - Fayyum | Nawahi al - Jibal | 219B |
| 160 | Al - Bahnasa | Abu Sir Quridis | 221A |
| 161 | Al - Bahnasa | Idrija | 221B |
| 162 | Al - Bahnasa | Al - Murij | 225A |

TABLE 5 (contd)

Villages without area measurement figures

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----|----------------|----------------------------|------|
| 163 | Al - Bahnasa | Jazirat Sawaqi al -Ash ari | 229A |
| 164 | Al - Bahnasa | Dajtut al - Hijara | 229A |
| 165 | Al - Bahnasa | Dahmaru | 230B |
| 166 | Al - Bahnasa | Atf Khallas | 234B |
| 167 | Al - Bahnasa | Al - Wahat | 238B |
| 168 | Al - Ushmunayn | Bayt Jazirat al - Hajar | 243A |
| 169 | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Umm al - Bus | 244B |
| 170 | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Darut Sarabam | 245A |
| 171 | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Fakhr | 245A |
| 172 | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Wadi al - Tayr | 245A |
| 173 | Al - Ushmunayn | Makusa | 249B |
| 174 | Al - Ushmunayn | Minyat Bani Khasib | 251A |
| 175 | Manfalut | Manfalut / Kufur | 251B |
| 176 | Asyut | Al - Khusus | 253A |
| 177 | Ikhmim | Jaziratay al - Kirmaniyya | 257B |
| 178 | Qus | Marj Bani Humaym | 263A |
| 179 | Qus | Naqqada | 263B |
| 180 | Qus | Huw /al - Kawm al - Ahmar | 263B |
| 181 | Qus | Aswan | 263B |
| 182 | Al - Gharbiyya | Al - Murayj | 89B |
| 183 | Al - Gharbiyya | Al - Maghtas | 90B |
| 184 | Al - Gharbiyya | Birkat Attaf | 94B |
| 185 | Al - Fayyum | al - Zahiriyya | 211B |

TABLE 6

Uncultivated villages, according to the evidence of Ibn al-Ji'an

| NO | PROVINCE | VILLAGE | IJ |
|----|-------------------|------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Al - Gharbiyya | Tamris | 117A |
| 2 | Al - Sharqiyya | Umm Amir | 26A |
| 3 | Al Daqahliyya | Birkat Fa'ad | 44A |
| 4 | Al Daqahliyya | Tiraz Shanuda | 69B |
| 5 | Al Daqahliyya | Masjid Maymun | 71A |
| 6 | Al - Gharbiyya | Barim | 94B |
| 7 | Al - Gharbiyya | Dakhnuqa | 102A |
| 8 | Al - Buhayra | Abu'l - Aranib | 163B |
| 9 | Al - Buhayra | al - Hawd al - Yahudi | 167A |
| 10 | Al - Daqahliyya | Hawd al - 'Arab | 65B |
| 11 | Al - Ushmunayn | Jazirat Juma | 244B |
| 12 | Al - Buhayra | Al - Naqidi | 170A |
| 13 | Al - Buhayra | Al -Ism al -Tayyib | 171B |
| 14 | Al - Buhayra | Bayt Lama | 173A |
| 15 | Al - Buhayra | Khafaj Mustajad | 175A |
| 16 | Al - Buhayra | Diqras | 176B |
| 17 | Al - Buhayra | Qabr Rawq | 183A |
| 18 | Al - Iskandariyya | al - Kabs | 193A |
| 19 | Atfih | Al - Zanqur al - Bahri | 206B |
| 20 | Atfih | Al - Shifa | 206B |
| 21 | Atfih | Al - Musa'ada | 206B |
| 22 | Atfih | Batin Imran | 207A |
| 23 | Atfih | Al - Mawsiliyyat | 207A |
| 24 | Atfih | Jaza'ir al - Maymun | 207B |
| 25 | Atfih | Jazirat Abi 'Ali | 207B |
| 26 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Jahil | 207 B |

TABLE 6 (contd.)

Uncultivated villages, according to the evidence of Ibn al-Ji'an

| NO | Province | Village | IJ |
|----|----------------|--------------------------------|------|
| 27 | Atfih | Jazirat Ibrahim b. Faiz | 207B |
| 28 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Saff | 207B |
| 29 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Qit al - Qibliyya | 208A |
| 30 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Wusta | 208A |
| 31 | Atfih | Jazirat Rikab | 208A |
| 32 | Atfih | Jazirat al - Istabl | 208A |
| 33 | Atfih | Jazirat Ramad Tizmant | 208A |
| 34 | Atfih | Ghayada | 209A |
| 35 | Atfih | Minyat al - Basak | 209A |
| 36 | Al - Gharbiyya | Balutis | 96B |
| 37 | Al - Buhayra | al - Kum al - Ahmar | 169A |
| 38 | Al - Fayyum | Saqil | 217A |
| 39 | Al - Fayyum | al - Tarima | 211A |
| 40 | Al - Fayyum | Tirsa | 214A |
| 41 | Al - Fayyum | al - Zahiriyya | 211A |
| 42 | Al - Bahnasa | Jazirat al - Basliyya | 229A |
| 43 | Al - Bahnasa | Jazirat al - Kawashira | 229A |
| 44 | Asyut | al - Qattatiyya | 253A |
| 45 | Ikhmim | Abu Bishada | 256B |
| 46 | Ikhmim | Al - Jaza'ir | 256B |
| 47 | Ikhmim | Al - Marzuqiyya | 257A |
| 48 | Qus | Al - Manshiyya | 260A |
| 49 | Qalyub | Jazirat Shalqan | 9B |

TABLE 7

The revenue of the iqtas according to al-Rawk al-Nasiri

| No | Rank | Ibra/al-Dinar al-Jayshi | The value of al-Dinar al-Jayshi /Dirham | Total revenue in dirhams | Expense s (kulaf) | Percentage of expenses from the total revenue | Net income in dirhams |
|----|--|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | Amir mi'ah wa muqaddam alf | | | | | | |
| | (A) Khassikiyya | 100,000 | 10 | 1,000,000 | 100,000 | 10% | 900,000 |
| | (B) Kharijiyya | 85,000 | 10 | 85,000 | 70,000 | 8.2% | 780,000 |
| 2 | Amir Tablakhana | | | | | | |
| | (A) Khassikiyya | 40,000 | 10 | 400,000 | 35,000 | 8.7% | 365,000 |
| | (B) Kharijiyya | 30,000 | 8 | 240,000 | 24,000 | 10% | 216,000 |
| 3 | Amir of ten | | | | | | |
| | (A) Khassikiyya | 10,000 | 10 | 100,000 | 7,000 | 7% | 93,000 |
| | (B) Kharijiyya | 7,000 | 10 | 70,000 | 5,000 | 7.1% | 65,000 |
| 4 | Inspectors (kushshaf) | 20,000 | 8 | 160,000 | 15,000 | 9.3% | 145,000 |
| 5 | Governors of the rank of Tablakhana (Wulat Astablakhana) | 15,000 | 8 | 120,000 | 10,000 | 8.3% | 110,000 |
| 6 | Deputy Governors | 5,000 | 7 | 35,000 | 3,000 | 8.5% | 32,000 |
| 7 | Commanders of the Royal Sultans | 1,200 | 10 | 12,000 | 1,000 | 8.3% | 11,000 |
| 8 | Commanders of Halqa | 1,000 | 9 | 9,000 | 900 | 10% | 8,100 |
| 9 | Nuqaba' al-Uluf | 400 | 9 | 3,600 | 400 | 11% | 3,200 |
| 10 | 400 of the Royal Mamluks | 1,500 | 10 | 15,000 | | | 15,000 |
| 11 | 500 of the Royal mamluks | 1,300 | 10 | 13,000 | | | 13,000 |

TABLE 7 (contd)

The revenue of the iqtas according to al-Rawk al-Nasiri

| No | Rank | Ibra/al-Dinar al-Jayshi | The value of al-Dinar al-Jayshi/Dirham | Total revenue in dirhams | Expense s (kulaf) | Percentage of expenses from the total revenue | Net Income in dirhams |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 12 | 500 of the Royal Mamluks | 1,200 | 10 | 12,000 | | | 12,000 |
| 13 | 600 of the Royal mamluks | 1,000 | 10 | 10,000 | | | 10,000 |
| 14 | 1,500 Halqa | 900 | 10 | 9,000 | | | 9,000 |
| 15 | 1,350 Halqa | 800 | 10 | 8,000 | | | 8,000 |
| 16 | 1,300 Halqa | 700 | 10 | 7,000 | | | 7,000 |
| 17 | 1,300 Halqa | 600 | 10 | 6,000 | | | 6,000 |
| 18 | 1,300 Halqa | 500 | 10 | 5,000 | | | 5,000 |
| 19 | 1,100 Halqa | 400 | 10 | 4,000 | | | 4,000 |
| 20 | 1,032 Halqa | 300 | 10 | 3,000 | | | 3,000 |
| smaller governors | | | | | | | |

TABLE 8

The revenue of the iqta of the Mamluk army according to al-'Umari

| No | A | B | C | D |
|-----------|---|-------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Rank | ibra/dinar jayshi | Dinar jayshi value in dirham | Total revenue in dirhams |
| 2 | Amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand | | | 0 |
| 3 | (A) Maximum | 200,000 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 2,666,666.667 |
| 4 | (B) Minimum | 80,000 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 1,066,666.667 |
| 5 | Amir Tablakhana | | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 0 |
| 6 | (A) Maximum | 35,000 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 466,666.6667 |
| 7 | (B) Minimum | 23,000 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 306,666.6667 |
| 8 | Amir of ten | | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 0 |
| 9 | (A) Maximum | 7,000 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 93,333.33333 |
| 10 | Muqaddam al-Halqa | | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 0 |
| 11 | (A) Maximum | 1,500 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 20,000 |
| 12 | Halqa cavalry | | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 0 |
| 13 | (A) Minimum | 250 | 13 ¹ / ₃ | 3,333.333333 |

TABLE 9

The changing Ibra

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|--|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 1 | al-Dawahi | Damanhur | Change established in 807/1404 | 6A |
| 2 | al-Dawahi | Minyat al-Umara | Settled after that | 6B |
| 3 | Qalyub | Sirya Qua | Settled after that | 10B |
| 4 | Qalyub | Sindiyyun | Settled | 11B |
| 5 | Qalyub | Shubra Haris | Reduced by half | 11B |
| 6 | Qalyub | Shalaqan | Reduced by half | 12B |
| 7 | Qalyub | Minyat al-Rakha | Reduced by half | 13B |
| 8 | Qalyub | Muna Marzuq | Settled | 13B |
| 9 | Qalyub | Minyat Asim | Reduced by half | 14A |
| 10 | Qalyub | Namun al-Sidr | Settled in 771/1369 and then settled in 826/1422 | 14A |
| 11 | al-Sharqiyya | Abjuj | Settled in 800/1397 | 15A |
| 12 | al-Sharqiyya | Abu'l-Iyal | Reduced in 804/1401 buy half | 15B |
| 13 | al-Sharqiyya | Aburdayn | Reduced in 809/1406 by half | 15B |
| 14 | al-Sharqiyya | Itmida | Settled in 790/1388 | 16A |
| 15 | al-Sharqiyya | Askar | Settled in 804/1401 | 16B |
| 16 | al-Sharqiyya | al-Baqqar | Settled in 808/1405 | 17B |
| 17 | al-Sharqiyya | al-Tallayn | Settled lately | 18A |
| 18 | al-Sharqiyya | al-Hakimyya | Settled in 825/1421 | 18B |
| 19 | al-Sharqiyya | al-Dahtamun | Settled in 813/1410 | 19B |

TABLE 9(contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 20. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Ramla | Settled lately in 803/1400 | 20A |
| 21. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Shimut | Reduced by half | 20B |
| 22. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Arin | Settled lately | 22A |
| 23. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Aras | Settled in 825/1421 | 22A |
| 24. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Asayd | Settled in 825/1412 | 22B |
| 25. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Uqda | Settled after that | 23A |
| 26. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Qubba bi Damshir | Then it was reduced by half | 23B |
| 27. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Zahiriyya by Wadi al-Sadir | Settled in 792/1389 | 21B |
| 28. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Qiniyat | Settled lately | 24A |
| 29. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Ma'muna | Settled after that | 24B |
| 30. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Ma'muna | Settled | 25A |
| 31. | al-Sharqiyya | al-Nakhkhas | Settled in 801/1398 | 25A |
| 32. | al-Sharqiyya | Birash | Settled in 780/1378 | 27B |
| 33. | al-Sharqiyya | Narshut | Settled in 827/1423 | 27B |
| 34. | al-Sharqiyya | Bantaf | Settled on 792/1398 | 29A |
| 35. | al-Sharqiyya | Bani Shibil | Settled on 3-Ramadan 795/20 July 1393 | 29A |
| 36. | al-Sharqiyya | Bani Nafa | Settled in Muharram 808/May 1405 | 30A |
| 37. | al-Sharqiyya | Bir Imara | Reduced by half in 803/1400 | 31A |
| 38. | al-Sharqiyya | Timay/al-Mandid | Reduced by half | 34A |
| 39. | al-Sharqiyya | Hawama = Dawama | Settled after that | 35B |

TABLE 9(contd)

The changing Ibra

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 40. | al-Sharqiyya | Zabala | Settled after that in 803/1400 | 37B |
| 41. | al-Sharqiyya | Sarnaja | Then settled in 813/1410 | 37B |
| 42. | al-Sharqiyya | Sabmuwa Maqam | Settled after that in 808/1405 | 38B |
| 43. | al-Sharqiyya | Sanhut | Settled after that | 40A |
| 44. | al-Sharqiyya | Shubr al-Khammara | Settled lately | 40B |
| 45. | al-Sharqiyya | Shubra Sura | Settled after that | 41A |
| 46. | al-Sharqiyya | Shubra al-Nakhla | Settled after that | 41A |
| 47. | al-Sharqiyya | Shubra Muqummus | Settled after that | 41A |
| 48. | al-Sharqiyya | Shanbarat al-Mamuna | Settled after that | 41B |
| 49. | al-Sharqiyya | Tahla al-'Arab | Reduced by half | 44A |
| 50. | al-Sharqiyya | Tifat Bani Haram | Reduced by half | 44B |
| 51. | al-Sharqiyya | Tukh al-Aqlam | Reduced by half | 46A |
| 52. | al-Sharqiyya | Ghifa | Reduced by half | 47A |
| 53. | al-Sharqiyya | Fisha Bana | Settled | 47B |
| 54. | al-Sharqiyya | Manzil Nima | Settled after that | 51A |
| 55. | al-Sharqiyya | Manshiyat Ibn Antar | Settled lately | 51A |
| 56. | al-Sharqiyya | Minyat al-Du'ayb | Settled after that | 52A |
| 57. | al-Sharqiyya | Minyat al-Qurashi | Settled after that | 53A |
| 58. | al-Sharqiyya | Minyat Bashar | Settled after that | 53B |
| 59. | al-Sharqiyya | Minyat Hummayyir | Settled after that | 54B |
| 60. | al-Sharqiyya | Minyat Suhayl | Settled by half | 55A |
| 61. | al-Sharqiyya | Malamis | Settled after that | 55B |
| 62. | al-Sharqiyya | Baltit | Settled after that | 55B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 63. | al-Sharqiyya | Nishwa | Settled | 56A |
| 64. | al-Daqahliyya | Ashmum Tanah | Settled after that | 57B |
| 65. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Baramunayn | Settled | 58A |
| 66. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Busratayn | Settled | 58B |
| 67. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Judayyida | Reduced by half | 59A |
| 68. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Bahw/Minyat Furik | Reduced by half | 59A |
| 69. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Hawawisha | Settled after that | 59B |
| 70. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Hamra/Sinbill awin | Settled | 60A |
| 71. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Tambuq al-Qibli | Settled after that | 61A |
| 72. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Sharqiyya | Settled after that | 61A |
| 73. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Tambuq al-Bahri | Settled after that | 61A |
| 74. | al-Daqahliyya | al-Lulu'a | Settled lately | 62A |
| 75. | al-Daqahliyya | Biddin | Settled after that | 63B |
| 76. | al-Daqahliyya | Tall al-Diba | Settled | 64B |
| 77. | al-Daqahliyya | Tilbanat Adi | Settled after that in 784/1382 | 64B |
| 78. | al-Daqahliyya | Tilbant Aja | Settled by half | 64B |
| 79. | al-Daqahliyya | Jaliyya | Settled by half | 65A |
| 80. | al-Daqahliyya | Dibwa | Settled after that | 66A |
| 81. | al-Daqahliyya | Diballa | Settled by half | 66A |
| 82. | al-Daqahliyya | Dumuh | Settled after that | 66B |
| 83. | al-Daqahliyya | Diyarb Balajhur | Settled after that | 67A |
| 84. | al-Daqahliyya | Sallant | Settled after that | 67B |
| 85. | al-Daqahliyya | Sinfas | Now settled | 67B |
| 86. | al-Daqahliyya | Sharimsah | Settled after that | 68A |
| 87. | al-Daqahliyya | Shawat Sallant | Settled | 68A |
| 88. | al-Daqahliyya | Shanuda | Settled | 68A |

TABLE 9 (contd)

The changing Ibra

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 89. | al-Daqahliyya | Shuha | Settled after that | 69A |
| 90. | al-Daqahliyya | Qaryat al-Zahiriyya | Settled | 70A |
| 91. | al-Daqahliyya | Kum al-Dhara | Settled | 70B |
| 92. | al-Daqahliyya | Kum Bani Maras | Settled | 70B |
| 93. | al-Daqahliyya | Kum Bani Hani | Settled after that | 71A |
| 94. | al-Daqahliyya | Mahallat Damana | Settled | 71A |
| 95. | al-Daqahliyya | Manshiyyat al-Ikhwa | Reduced by half | 72B |
| 96. | al-Daqahliyya | Manshiyyat al-Zahir | Settled after that | 71B |
| 97. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat al-Qummus | Settled | 73B |
| 98. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat al-Nahhal | Reduced by half | 73B |
| 99. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Amarma | Settled after that | 73B |
| 100. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Bani Salsil | Settled | 74A |
| 101. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Jarrah | Settled | 75A |
| 102. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Khayrun | Settled | 75A |
| 103. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Samannud | Settled lately after that | 76A |
| 104. | al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Karmal | Settled | 78A |
| 105. | al-Daqahliyya | Nujayr | Reduced by half | 78B |
| 106. | al-Gharbiyya | Ibshawayh al-Malaq | Settled lately | 81B |
| 107. | al-Gharbiyya | Ibnahs | Settled | 81B |
| 108. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Badhinganiyya | Settled after that | 83B |
| 109. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Bakatush | Settled | 84A |
| 110. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Bindariyya | Settled | 84A |

TABLE 9 (contd)

The changing Ibra

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 111. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Banshalil | Settled | 84B |
| 112. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Rahibayn | Now | 86B |
| 113. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Sukkariyya | Settled | 86B |
| 114. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Tayifa | Settled | 87A |
| 115. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Tawila bi Nasart | Settled | 87B |
| 116. | al-Gharbiyya | Kafr al-Miny | Settled | 89A |
| 117. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Kunyiyisa | Settled | 89B |
| 118. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Mu'isra | Settled | 90A |
| 119. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Manshiyya al-Jadida | Settled | 91A |
| 120. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Mima/ Askar | Settled after that | 91B |
| 121. | al-Gharbiyya | al-Nawiyya | Settled | 91B |
| 122. | al-Gharbiyya | Amyut | Settled after that | 92B |
| 123. | al-Gharbiyya | Bisat al-Ahlaf | Settled | 94B |
| 124. | al-Gharbiyya | Bisat Qurus | Settled | 95A |
| 125. | al-Gharbiyya | Bastuwaysa | Settled | 95A |
| 126. | al-Gharbiyya | Biwala | Settled | 98A |
| 127. | al-Gharbiyya | Tataya | Settled | 98A |
| 128. | al-Gharbiyya | Tira/Shubra Malaja | Settled | 98B |
| 129. | al-Gharbiyya | Janaj | Settled | 99A |
| 130. | al-Gharbiyya | Hanut | Settled | 99A |
| 131. | al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Shabshir | Settled after that | 100A |
| 132. | al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Mahdi | Settled | 100B |
| 133. | al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Karram | Settled | 100B |
| 134. | al-Gharbiyya | Dar al-Baqar al-Bahriyya | Settled | 101A |
| 135. | al-Gharbiyya | Kharshit | Settled | 101A |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 136. | al-Gharbiyya | Dar al-Baqar al-Qibliyya | Settled | 101A |
| 137. | al-Gharbiyya | Dijna | Settled | 101B |
| 138. | al-Gharbiyya | Difriya | Settled | 102B |
| 139. | al-Gharbiyya | Dakkuda | Settled | 103A |
| 140. | al-Gharbiyya | Damat | Settled | 103B |
| 141. | al-Gharbiyya | Dimaqs | Now | 104B |
| 142. | al-Gharbiyya | Damanhur Wahshi | Reduced by half | 105A |
| 143. | al-Gharbiyya | Dimilvash | Reduced by half | 105A |
| 144. | al-Gharbiyya | Dinushar | Reduced by half | 106A |
| 145. | al-Gharbiyya | Diya al-Kum | Reduced by half | 106A |
| 146. | al-Gharbiyya | Diyarb | Settled lately | 106A |
| 147. | al-Gharbiyya | Zamzur | Settled lately | 106B |
| 148. | al-Gharbiyya | Samul | Settled | 107A |
| 149. | al-Gharbiyya | Saradus | Settled | 107B |
| 150. | al-Gharbiyya | Salaka | Settled lately in 812/1409 | 108A |
| 151. | al-Gharbiyya | Sarinqash | Settled | 110A |
| 152. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Babin | Settled | 111A |
| 153. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Balula | Settled | 111A |
| 154. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Bin al-Qibliya | Settled | 111B |
| 155. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra bin al-Bahriyya | Settled lately | 111B |
| 156. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Tana | Settled | 111B |
| 157. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Qabbala | Settled after that | 112A |
| 158. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Qas | Settled lately | 112A |
| 159. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Marriq | Settled lately | 112B |
| 160. | al-Gharbiyya | Shubra Nabas | Settled | 113A |
| 161. | al-Gharbiyya | Shurmillus | Settled | 113B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 162. | al-Gharbiyya | Shishta | Reduced by half | 113B |
| 163. | al-Gharbiyya | Shishin al-Kum | Reduced by half | 114A |
| 164. | al-Gharbiyya | Shifa/Qurun | Settled after that | 114A |
| 165. | al-Gharbiyya | Shandalat | Settled | 114B |
| 166. | al-Gharbiyya | Shinraqa | Reduced by half | 115A |
| 167. | al-Gharbiyya | Surad | Reduced by half | 115B |
| 168. | al-Gharbiyya | Tashubra Qattara | Reduced by half | 116A |
| 169. | al-Gharbiyya | Tamnikh | Settled | 117A |
| 170. | al-Gharbiyya | Tukh Mutur | Settled | 117B |
| 171. | al-Gharbiyya | Atf Shubra Tauna | Settled | 118B |
| 172. | al-Gharbiyya | Quhafa | Settled | 118B |
| 173. | al-Gharbiyya | Qutur | Settled | 119A |
| 174. | al-Gharbiyya | Quwaysina | Settled | 119B |
| 175. | al-Gharbiyya | Kitana | Settled | 120A |
| 176. | al-Gharbiya | Kafr Bani Suhaim | Settled | 120A |
| 177. | al-Gharbiyya | Kunayyisat Saradus | Settled | 120B |
| 178. | al-Gharbiyya | Kum al-Sudan | Settled | 121A |
| 179. | al-Gharbiyya | Kum al-Raml | Settled | 121A |
| 180. | al-Gharbiyya | Matbul | Settled | 122A |
| 181. | al-Gharbiya | Mahallat al-Dakhil | Settled lately | 123B |
| 182. | al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat al-Qasab al-Gharbiyya | Reduced by half | 123B |
| 183. | al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat al-Qasab al-Sharqiyya | Reduced by half | 123B |
| 184. | al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Khalaf | Reduced by half | 124A |
| 185. | al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Zayyad | Reduced by half | 124B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 186. | al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Ruh | Settled | 124B |
| 187. | al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Misir | Settled | 125A |
| 188. | al-Gharbiyya | Mustaya | Reduced by half | 125B |
| 189. | al-Gharbiyya | Misir | Reduced by one third | 126A |
| 190. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Dawla | Settled | 128B |
| 191. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Sudan | Settled | 129A |
| 192. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Shamiyyin | Settled | 129A |
| 193. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Shujaiyyin | Reduced by half | 129A |
| 194. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Ujayl | Reduced by half | 129B |
| 195. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Mukhlis | Settled after that | 130A |
| 196. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Muz | Settled | 130B |
| 197. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat al-Ahlaf | Reduced by half | 130B |
| 198. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Badr Tammas | Settled | 131A |
| 199. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Bira | Settled | 131A |
| 200. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Ja'far | Reduced by half | 131B |
| 201. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Sunqur/Qitun | Settled | 133B |
| 202. | al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Yazid | Settled | 136A |
| 203. | al-Gharbiyya | Naburuh | Settled | 136B |
| 204. | al-Gharbiyya | Nashin al-Qanatir | Settled | 137B |
| 205. | al-Gharbiyya | Nafara | Reduced by half | 137B |
| 206. | al-Gharbiyya | Nimra al-Basal | Settled | 138A |
| 207. | al-Gharbiyya | Hurin Buhurmus | Settled | 138B |
| 208. | al-Gharbiyya | Hurin Tataya | Reduced by half | 138B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 209. | Minuf | Abkhash al-Kabir | Reduced by half | 140A |
| 210. | Minuf | Abyuha | Reduced by half | 140A |
| 211. | Minuf | Abu Raqaba | Settled | 140A |
| 212. | Minuf | al-Rahibyin | Reduced by half | 142A |
| 213. | Minuf | al-Sahil | Reduced by half | 142A |
| 214. | Minuf | al-Sawalih | Reduced by half | 142B |
| 215. | Minuf | al-Firawniyya | Settled | 143A |
| 216. | Minuf | al-Qanatirayn | Reduced by half | 143A |
| 217. | Minuf | Minya al-Bayda | Reduced by half | 144A |
| 218. | Minuf | Ilmayh | Reduced by half | 144A |
| 219. | Minuf | al-Minya al-Wusta | Reduced by half | 144A |
| 220. | Minuf | al-Unjub | Settled | 144B |
| 221. | Minuf | Tilbant Abjj | Settled | 146B |
| 222. | Minuf | Sarawa | Settled | 147B |
| 223. | Minuf | Subk al-'Abid | Settled | 147B |
| 224. | Minuf | Sirsina | Settled | 148A |
| 225. | Minuf | Sinjirj | Settled | 148B |
| 226. | Minuf | Samallaha | Settled | 148B |
| 227. | Minuf | Shubra Balula | Settled | 149A |
| 228. | Minuf | Shubra al-Nakhla | Reduced by half | 149A |
| 229. | Minuf | Shamama | Reduced by half | 149B |
| 230. | Minuf | Shumairif | Reduced by half | 149B |
| 231. | Minuf | Shanufa | Reduced by half | 150A |
| 232. | Minuf | Shanawal | Reduced by half | 150A |
| 233. | Minuf | Shushayh | Settled | 150B |
| 234. | Minuf | Shibin al-Kum | Settled by half | 150B |
| 235. | Minuf | Fisha al-Kubra | Settled | 150B |
| 236. | Minuf | Fisha al-Sughra | Settled | 151B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 237. | Minuf | Kafr Azzaz | Reduced by half | 152A |
| 238. | Minuf | Quras | Settled | 152A |
| 239. | Minuf | Kum al-Dab | Settled | 152A |
| 240. | Minuf | Kum Shish | Settled | 152B |
| 241. | Minuf | Muna Wahla | Reduced by half | 153A |
| 242. | Minuf | Manyal Abu Sunaita | Settled | 153B |
| 243. | Minuf | Manyal 'Abbas | Reduced by half | 154A |
| 244. | Minuf | Minyat Khalaf | Reduced by half | 155B |
| 245. | Minuf | Minyat Afif | Reduced by half | 155B |
| 246. | Minuf | Hit | Settled | 156A |
| 247. | Ibyar | Iksha | Reduced lately | 156B |
| 248. | Ibyar | Alta/'Adawi | Reduced lately | 157A |
| 249. | Ibyar | Balmshit | Now Same | 158A |
| 250. | Ibyar | Bunufar | Reduced by half | 158A |
| 251. | Ibyar | Juraisan | Settled lately | 158A |
| 252. | Ibyar | Sumyatis | Settled lately | 160B |
| 253. | Ibyar | Sansaft | Reduced by half | 160B |
| 254. | Ibyar | Shubra al-Lawn | Settled | 161A |
| 255. | Ibyar | Shubra Bitus | Reduced after that | 161A |
| 256. | Ibyar | Asif | Reduced by half | 161B |
| 257. | Ibyar | Minyat Shahala | Reduced by half | 162A |
| 258. | al-Buhayra | Abu Manjuf | Settled | 164A |
| 259. | al-Buhayra | Ibyays | Reduced by half | 164B |
| 260. | al-Buhayra | Itqwa | Reduced by half | 164B |
| 261. | al-Buhayra | Iflaqa | Settled | 165B |
| 262. | al-Buhayra | al-Sawwaf | Now | 167B |
| 263. | al-Buhayra | al-Safasif | Reduced by half | 168A |
| 264. | al-Buhayra | al-Quhuqiyya | Reduced by half | 168B |
| 265. | al-Buhayra | al-Karyun | Reduced by half | 169A |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 266. | al-Buhayra | al-Kum al-Akhdar | Settled | 169A |
| 267. | al-Buhayra | al-Mahamma | Settled | 169A |
| 268. | al-Buhayra | al-Marj | Reduced by half | 169B |
| 269. | al-Buhayra | al-Musin | Settled | 109B |
| 270. | al-Buhayra | Imlit/Zahr al-Timsah | Reduced by half | 171A |
| 271. | al-Buhayra | al Aslab | Reduced by half | 171B |
| 272. | al-Buhayra | Babshay | Settled | 171B |
| 273. | al-Buhayra | Barsiq | Reduced by half | 172A |
| 274. | al-Buhayra | Barnuj | Reduced by half | 172A |
| 275. | al-Buhayra | Buturis | Reduced by half | 173A |
| 276. | al-Buhayra | Balaqtar | Settled | 173A |
| 277. | al-Buhayra | Baywayt/Jazir al-Malik | Reduced by half | 173B |
| 278. | al-Buhayra | Tall al-Siba | Settled lately | 173B |
| 279. | al-Buhayra | Tilimsa al-Kubra | Settled | 174A |
| 280. | al-Buhayra | Jaza'ir 'Isa | Reduced by half | 174B |
| 281. | al-Buhayra | Kharabziyaq | Reduced by half | 175A |
| 282. | al-Buhayra | Dubaysa | Settled | 175B |
| 283. | al-Buhayra | Khunayza | Settled | 175B |
| 284. | al-Buhayra | Disunis al-Maqaridi | Settled lately | 176A |
| 285. | al-Buhayra | Dimitwayh/Sirsiqa | Settled | 177A |
| 286. | al-Buhayra | Dimshawayh | Settled | 177A |
| 287. | al-Buhayra | Sidrisha | Reduced by half | 178B |
| 288. | al-Buhayra | Saft Khalid | Settled | 178A |
| 289. | al-Buhayra | Salamun | Settled | 178A |
| 290. | al-Buhayra | Saft Kildasa | Reduced by half | 178B |
| 291. | al-Buhayra | Sumukhrat | Settled | 178B |
| 292. | al-Buhayra | Samadisa | Settled | 179A |
| 293. | al-Buhayra | Shanabada | Reduced by half | 179A |
| 294. | al-Buhayra | Sanhur Talut | Settled | 179A |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 295. | al-Buhayra | Shabur al-Nakhla | Settled lately | 179B |
| 296. | al-Buhayra | Shubra Khit | Reduced by half | 179B |
| 297. | al-Buhayra | Shubra Wish | Settled by half | 180A |
| 298. | al-Buhayra | Shubra Nuna | Settled | 180A |
| 299. | al-Buhayra | Sharnub | Settled by half | 180A |
| 300. | al-Buhayra | Shisht | Settled | 180B |
| 301. | al-Buhayra | Shandid | Settled | 180B |
| 302. | al-Buhayra | Shanshir | Settled | 181A |
| 303. | al-Buhayra | Saifiya | Settled | 181A |
| 304. | al-Buhayra | Tabranba | Settled lately | 181A |
| 305. | al-Buhayra | Talamsus | Reduced by half | 181B |
| 306. | al-Buhayra | Talamsus | Reduced by half | 181B |
| 307. | al-Buhayra | Fisha Balkhaya | Settled | 182B |
| 308. | al-Buhayra | Qabr al-Mara | Settled | 182B |
| 309. | al-Buhayra | Qafila | Reduced by half | 183B |
| 310. | al-Buhayra | Qabil | Reduced by half | 183A |
| 311. | al-Buhayra | Qalawat Afrim | Settled | 184A |
| 312. | al-Buhayra | Kunayyisat al-Ghit | Reduced by half | 184B |
| 313. | al-Buhayra | Kiman Siras | Reduced by half | 185A |
| 314. | al-Buhayra | Luqin | Settled lately | 185A |
| 315. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat al-Kurum | Reduced by half | 185B |
| 316. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Bishr | Reduced by half | 186A |
| 317. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Thabit | Reduced by half | 186A |
| 318. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Hasan | Reduced by half | 186B |
| 319. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Dawud | Reduced by half | 186B |
| 320. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Zabal | Reduced by half | 186B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 321. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Sa | Settled | 187A |
| 322. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Farnawa | Reduced by half | 187A |
| 323. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat Qays | Settled | 187B |
| 324. | al-Buhayra | Mahallat kil | Settled | 187B |
| 325. | al-Buhayra | Masjid Khanim | Reduced by half | 188A |
| 326. | al-Buhayra | Minyat Tarrad | Settled | 189A |
| 327. | al-Buhayra | Nitma/Mahallat Ahmad | Settled | 189B |
| 328. | al-Buhayra | Nidayba | Settled | 189B |
| 329. | al-Buhayra | Warzafa | Reduced by half | 190B |
| 330. | al-Buhayra | Yatis | Reduced by half | 190B |
| 331. | al-Fuwa | al-Atf | Reduced by half | 191B |
| 332. | al-Iskandariya | Itku | Settled | 193A |
| 333. | al-Jiza | Abu Ghalib | Reduced by half | 195A |
| 334. | al-Jiza | al-Akhsas/ al-Manashi | Reduced by half | 198B |
| 335. | al-Jiza | Bulaq al-Takruri | Settled | 200A |
| 336. | al-Jiza | Tirsa | Settled lately | 200A |
| 337. | al-Jiza | Manyal Ayyash | Settled | 204A |
| 338. | al-Jiza | Minyat Qadus | Reduced by half | 205A |
| 339. | Atfih | Atfih al-Madina | Settled lately | 206A |
| 340. | Atfih | al-Burunbul | Settled | 206A |
| 341. | Atfih | Aqwaz Bani Bahr | Settled | 206A |
| 342. | Atfih | al-Tabbin | Settled | 206A |
| 343. | Atfih | al-Salihiyya | Reduced by half | 206B |
| 344. | Atfih | al-Qilabiyya | Reduced by half | 206B |
| 345. | Atfih | al-Hayy al-Saghir | Settled | 206B |
| 346. | Atfih | al-Istabl | Settled | 207A |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 347. | Atfih | Sul | Settled | 208B |
| 348. | Atfih | Hulwan | Settled | 208B |
| 349. | Atfih | Abhit | Settled | 209B |
| 350. | al-Fayyum | Abhit | Settled | 209B |
| 351. | al-Fayyum | Akhsas al-Hallaq | Reduced by half | 210A |
| 352. | al-Fayyum | Atfih Shalla | Reduced by half | 210B |
| 353. | al-Fayyum | al-Maslub | Settled lately | 211B |
| 354. | al-Fayyum | Bilala | Settled | 213B |
| 355. | al-Fayyum | Haladah | Reduced by half | 214B |
| 356. | al-Fayyum | Dhat al-Safa | Reduced by half | 214B |
| 357. | al-Fayyum | Dinqarat Jaradu | Settled | 215B |
| 358. | al-Fayyum | Sayla | Settled | 216A |
| 359. | al-Fayyum | Sadamuh | Reduced by half | 216B |
| 360. | al-Fayyum | Shaba | Settled | 216B |
| 361. | al-Fayyum | Ghabat Baja | Reduced by half | 217B |
| 362. | al-Fayyum | Anz | Reduced by half | 217B |
| 363. | al-Fayyum | Gharaq Ajran | Settled | 217B |
| 364. | al-Fayyum | Mutul | Settled | 218B |
| 365. | al-Fayyum | Manshiyyat al-Tawahin | Settled | 219A |
| 366. | al-Fayyum | Minyat Shusha | Settled | 219A |
| 367. | al-Fayyum | Manshiyyat Rabi b.Hatim | Reduced by half | 219B |
| 368. | al-Fayyum | Hawwara al-Bariya wa Qibliyya | Settled | 220A |
| 369. | al-Bahnasa | Absuj | Settled | 220B |
| 370. | al-Bahnasa | Ibsaq/Tambabu | al-Bahnasa | 220B |
| 371. | al-Bahnasa | Ibwan | Settled | 220B |
| 372. | al-Bahnasa | Abu Dukhan | Settled | 221A |
| 373. | al-Bahnasa | Ibwit | Settled | 221B |
| 374. | al-Bahnasa | Idrija | Settled | 221B |
| 375. | al-Bahnasa | Ishrubu | Settled | 222A |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 376. | al-Bahnasa | Ishni/Tambada | Settled | 222A |
| 377. | al-Bahnasa | Itsa | Settled | 222A |
| 378. | al-Bahnasa | al-Buaraqī | Settled | 222B |
| 379. | al-Bahnasa | Iqfahs | Reduced by half | 222B |
| 380. | al-Bahnasa | al-Burj | Reduced by half | 223A |
| 381. | al-Bahnasa | al-Basqanun | Settled | 223A |
| 382. | al-Bahnasa | al-Bahjur | Settled | 223B |
| 383. | al-Bahnasa | al-Bayhu/al-Nakhla | Reduced by half | 223B |
| 384. | al-Bahnasa | al-Zaytun | Settled | 224A |
| 385. | al-Bahnasa | al-Qayat | Settled | 224A |
| 386. | al-Bahnasa | al-Kufur al-Suliya | Reduced by half | 224A |
| 387. | al-Bahnasa | al-Kum al-Akhdar | Settled | 224B |
| 388. | al-Bahnasa | Ihrit | Settled | 225B |
| 389. | al-Bahnasa | Ihnas al-Madina | Settled | 225B |
| 390. | al-Bahnasa | Ihnasiyya al-Sughra | Reduced by half | 225B |
| 391. | al-Bahnasa | Ihwa | Settled | 226A |
| 392. | al-Bahnasa | Baha | Settled | 226A |
| 393. | al-Bahnasa | Bam | Settled | 226A |
| 394. | al-Bahnasa | Biba al-Kubra | Settled | 226A |
| 395. | al-Bahnasa | Bijaj | Settled | 226B |
| 396. | al-Bahnasa | Barut | Settled | 227B |
| 397. | al-Bahnasa | Bani Harun | Reduced by half | 228A |
| 398. | al-Bahnasa | Bahafshim | Settled | 228A |
| 399. | al-Bahnasa | Bash Qara | Settled | 228B |
| 400. | al-Bahnasa | Tizmant | Reduced by half | 228B |
| 401. | al-Bahnasa | Balla | Settled | 228B |
| 402. | al-Bahnasa | Dajtut Haraja | Settled | 229B |
| 403. | al-Bahnasa | Dishasha | Settled | 229B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 404. | al-Bahnasa | Dayr al-Qastun | Settled | 230B |
| 405. | al-Bahnasa | Dayquf | Settled | 231A |
| 406. | al-Bahnasa | Dayr Atiya | Settled | 231A |
| 407. | al-Bahnasa | Saqiyat Mahfuz | Reduced by half | 231A |
| 408. | al-Bahnasa | Sital | Settled | 231B |
| 409. | al-Bahnasa | Saft Abu Jirja | Settled | 231B |
| 410. | al-Bahnasa | Sandafa | Settled | 232B |
| 411. | al-Bahnasa | Sayla | Reduced by half | 232B |
| 412. | al-Bahnasa | Shimm al-Basal | Reduced by half | 233A |
| 413. | al-Bahnasa | Shumusta | Settled | 233A |
| 414. | al-Bahnasa | Safaniyya | Reduced by half | 233B |
| 415. | al-Bahnasa | Taha al-Madina | Settled | 233B |
| 416. | al-Bahnasa | Tirfa | Reduced by half | 234A |
| 417. | al-Bahnasa | Tarfaya | Reduced by half | 234A |
| 418. | al-Bahnasa | Qay | Settled | 234B |
| 419. | al-Bahnasa | Kum al-Raml | Reduced by half | 235B |
| 420. | al-Bahnasa | Kum al-Rahib | Reduced by half | 235B |
| 421. | al-Bahnasa | Minbal | Reduced by half | 236A |
| 422. | al-Bahnasa | Manshiyyat Qay | Reduced by half | 236B |
| 423. | al-Bahnasa | Manaswayh | Reduced by half | 236B |
| 424. | al-Bahnasa | Manyal Bani 'Ali | Settled | 236B |
| 425. | al-Bahnasa | Nina/Bahnana | Reduced by half | 238A |
| 426. | al-Bahnasa | Harabshant/al-Kawashira | Reduced by half | 238A |
| 427. | al-Bahnasa | Hintafa | Reduced by half | 238B |
| 428. | al-Ushmunayn | Abraht | Settled | 239A |
| 429. | al-Ushmunayn | Abu'l-Hudr | Settled | 239A |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 430. | al-Ushmunayn | Ibwan Atiya | Settled | 239B |
| 431. | al-Ushmunayn | Abyuha/Dayr al-Asal | Settled | 239B |
| 432. | al-Ushmunayn | Udmu | Reduced by half | 240A |
| 433. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Badraman | Settled | 240A |
| 434. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Birba al-Kabir | Settled | 240B |
| 435. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Birak/Khalij al-Dhahab | Settled | 240B |
| 436. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Jabiyya | Settled | 241A |
| 437. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Dawwadiyya | Settled | 241A |
| 438. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Rayramun | Reduced by half | 241B |
| 439. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Tayyiba | Settled | 241B |
| 440. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Arin al-Qibli | Settled | 241B |
| 441. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Kudya | Reduced by half | 242A |
| 442. | al-Ushmunayn | al-Wahta | Reduced by half | 242B |
| 443. | al-Ushmunayn | Amshul | Reduced by half | 242B |
| 444. | al-Ushmunayn | Balhama | Settled | 243B |
| 445. | al-Ushmunayn | Bani Siraj | Settled | 244A |
| 446. | al-Ushmunayn | Jazirat Sukkara | Settled | 245A |
| 447. | al-Ushmunayn | Dashlut | Settled | 245B |
| 448. | al-Ushmunayn | Darut Ashmum | Reduced by half | 245B |
| 449. | al-Ushmunayn | Damshir | Reduced by half | 246A |
| 450. | al-Ushmunayn | Dima | Settled | 246B |
| 451. | al-Ushmunayn | Dayr Samalut | Reduced by half | 246B |
| 452. | al-Ushmunayn | Dayr Asud | Reduced by half | 246B |
| 453. | al-Ushmunayn | Ramjus | Reduced by half | 247A |
| 454. | al-Ushmunayn | Rida | Reduced by half | 247A |
| 455. | al-Ushmunayn | Saw | Settled | 247A |
| 456. | al-Ushmunayn | Saft al-Khammara | Settled | 247B |

TABLE 9 (contd)**The changing Ibra**

| A | B | C | D | E |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| NO | Province | Village | Change/Date | IJ |
| 457. | al-Ushmunayn | Saft al-Muhallabi | Settled | 247B |
| 458. | al-Ushmunayn | Samalut | Settled | 247B |
| 459. | al-Ushmunayn | Samant | Reduced by half | 248A |
| 460. | al-Ushmunayn | Sanabu | Settled | 248A |
| 461. | al-Ushmunayn | Sumubu Wa Umm al-Bakarir | Settled | 248A |
| 462. | al-Ushmunayn | Tukh al-Khayl | Reduced by half | 248B |
| 463. | al-Ushmunayn | Tahnasha | Settled | 248B |
| 464. | al-Ushmunayn | Zahr al-Jamal | Settled | 249B |
| 465. | al-Ushmunayn | Qaydhua | Reduced by half | 249B |
| 466. | al-Ushmunayn | Muisarat al-Rayramun | Settled lately | 249B |
| 467. | al-Ushmunayn | Maqtul | Reduced by half | 250A |
| 468. | al-Ushmunayn | Mallawi | Settled | 250A |
| 469. | al-Ushmunayn | Mantut | Reduced by half | 250B |
| 470. | al-Ushmunayn | Mansafis | Reduced by half | 250B |
| 471. | Manfalut | Darutsarbbam | Settled lately | 251B |
| 472. | Asyut | Abu Hudri | Settled | 252B |
| 473. | Asyut | Jazirat Shandid | Settled | 254A |
| 474. | Asyut | Butij | Settled | 254A |
| 475. | Asyut | Dayr Abi Maqrufa | Settled | 254A |
| 476. | Asyut | Mushta | Settled | 257A |
| 477. | Ikhmim | al-Maraghat | Settled | 257A |
| 478. | Ikhmim | BalASFura | Settled | 257A |
| 479. | Ikhmim | Jazair al-Jabal | Settled | 257B |
| 480. | Qus | al-Qusurayn | Reduced by half | 260A |
| 481. | Qus | Farjut | Settled | 262B |
| 482. | Qus | Makhanis | Settled | 263A |

TABLE 10

Village without ibra

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------|
| 1. | Al-Sharquiyya | Abu Akim | 16A |
| 2. | Al-Daqahliyya | Aja | 57B |
| 3. | Al-Daqahliyya | Abu Dawud | 57B |
| 4. | Al-Daqahliyya | Ard Hindi | 58A |
| 5. | Al-Daqahliyya | al-Jamaliyya | 59B |
| 6. | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-Jumayyiza | 60A |
| 7. | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-Khaysa | 60A |
| 8. | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-Qibab al-Sughra | 61B |
| 9. | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-Qibab al-Kubra | 62A |
| 10. | Al-Daqahliyya | al-Manwa | 62B |
| 11. | Al-Daqahliyya | al-Mirsa | 62B |
| 12. | Al-Daqahliyya | al-Majnuna | 62B |
| 13. | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-Mu'tasimiyya | 62B |
| 14. | Al-Daqahliyya | Al-Hala | 63A |
| 15. | Al-Daqahliyya | Balajhur | 63B |
| 16. | Al-Daqahliyya | Biljah | 64A |
| 17. | Al-Daqahliyya | Hisas Jumayjim | 65A |
| 18. | Al-Daqahliyya | Khalij Quzman | 66A |
| 19. | Al-Daqahliyya | Shanasha | 68B |
| 20. | Al-Daqahliyya | Shannisa | 69A |
| 21. | Al-Daqahliyya | Qunaida | 70A |
| 22. | Al-Daqahliyya | Mahallat Inshaq | 71A |
| 23. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat al-Ziman | 72B |
| 24. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat al-Tabl | 73A |
| 25. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Sharif | 76B |
| 26. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Tarif | 76B |
| 27. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat 'Abd al-Mumin | 77A |
| 28. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Azzum | 77A |
| 29. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Awwam | 77B |
| 30. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Mahallat Damana | 78A |
| 31. | Al-Daqahliyya | Minyat Mahmud | 78A |
| 32. | Al-Daqahliyya | Niqita | 78B |
| 33. | Dimyat | Sufayta | 80A |
| 34. | Al-Gharbiyya | Ibshu | 81A |
| 35. | Al-Gharbiyya | Ibtu | 81B |

TABLE 10 (contd)**Village without ibra**

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----|--------------|--|------|
| 36. | Al-Gharbiyya | Abyuqa / al-Farajun | 82A |
| 37. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Bashma / Bashandila | 83B |
| 38. | Al-Gharbiyya | Abu'l-Malis | 82A |
| 39. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Ti'baniyya | 84B |
| 40. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Hamra al- Sharqiyya | 85B |
| 41. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Daraawatayn | 86A |
| 42. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Rukniyya | 86B |
| 43. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Sumayri | 87A |
| 44. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Qasriyya | 88B |
| 45. | Al-Gharbiyya | Al-Qaytun | 89A |
| 46. | Al-Gharbiyya | Birkat Attaf | 94B |
| 47. | Al-Gharbiyya | Balankuma | 96B |
| 48. | Al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Barash | 99B |
| 49. | Al-Gharbiyya | Hissat Tandita | 100A |
| 50. | Al-Gharbiyya | Dikraw | 103A |
| 51. | Al-Gharbiyya | Dimitnu | 104A |
| 52. | Al-Gharbiyya | Shubra al-Lawq | 112A |
| 53. | Al-Gharbiyya | Shintina al-Hajar | 114B |
| 54. | Al-Gharbiyya | Shintina Ayyash | 114B |
| 55. | Al-Gharbiyya | Sawada | 115A |
| 56. | Al-Gharbiyya | Quzmun | 119A |
| 57. | Al-Gharbiyya | Qalib Ynus | 119B |
| 58. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallati Namun wa Yuhannis | 122A |
| 59. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Abi 'Ali- Qunitra al-Gharbiyya | 122B |
| 60. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Diyayh | 124B |
| 61. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Malik | 125A |
| 62. | Al-Gharbiyya | Mahallat Musa | 125B |
| 63. | Al-Gharbiyya | Minyat Uwaish | 135A |
| 64. | Minuf | Abjjj | 139B |
| 65. | Minuf | Minyat al-Qasri | 155A |
| 66. | Al-Buhayra | Ard Tu raf bi al- Nujum | 165A |
| 67. | Al-Buhayra | Arsaf | 165A |
| 68. | Al-Buhayra | Bastara | 172B |

TABLE 10 (contd)**Village without ibra**

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|------|
| 69. | Al-Buhayra | Tall Baqa | 173B |
| 70. | Fuwa | Jazirat al-Dhahab | 191B |
| 71. | Fuwa | Minyat Hammand | 192A |
| 72. | Al-Iskandariyya | Al-Jinan wa al-Hafir | 193B |
| 73. | Al-Iskandariyya | Makbul | 194A |
| 74. | Al-Jiza | Abu Rajwan | 194B |
| 75. | Al-Jiza | Abu Shanif | 195A |
| 76. | Al-Jiza | Ard al-Sidra | 195B |
| 77. | Al-Jiza | Al-Nawhat | 196A |
| 78. | Al-Jiza | Al-Balajir | 196A |
| 79. | Al-Jiza | Al-Baidafi | 196B |
| 80. | Al-Jiza | Al-Khur | 196B |
| 81. | Al-Jiza | Al-Khayzuraniyya | 196B |
| 82. | Al-Jiza | Al-Hadday | 196B |
| 83. | Al-Jiza | Al-Riqqa | 197B |
| 84. | Al-Jiza | Al-Tarfayya | 197A |
| 85. | Al-Jiza | Al-Salihiyya | 197A |
| 86. | Al-Jiza | Al-Atf | 197B |
| 87. | Al-Jiza | Al-Yila | 197B |
| 88. | Al-Jiza | Al-Qawhuri | 197B |
| 89. | Al-Jiza | Al-Gharat | 197B |
| 90. | Al-Jiza | Al-Qashshashiyya | 197B |
| 91. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kunayyisa | 197B |
| 92. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kaum-Aswad | 198A |
| 93. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kawm-Saghir | 198A |
| 94. | Al-Jiza | Al-Mu'tamidiyya | 198A |
| 95. | Al-Jiza | Al-Kawm al-Ahmar | 198A |
| 96. | Al-Jiza | Al-Lubayni | 198A |
| 97. | Al-Jiza | Al-Mu'arqab | 198A |
| 98. | Al-Jiza | Al-Mu'aysira | 198B |
| 99. | Al-Jiza | Al-Haysha | 198B |
| 100. | Al-Jiza | Umm Dinar | 198B |
| 101. | Al-Jiza | Awsim | 199A |
| 102. | Al-Jiza | Batin Jabra | 199A |
| 103. | Al-Jiza | Badsa | 199A |
| 104. | Al-Jiza | Birak al-Khiyam | 199A |

TABLE 10 (contd)

Village without ibra

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|------|----------|------------------------------|------|
| 105. | Al-Jiza | Al-Akhmas | 199A |
| 106. | Al-Jiza | Bajama | 199A |
| 107. | Al-Jiza | Burtus | 199A |
| 108. | Al-Jiza | Birkat al-Tin | 199A |
| 109. | Al-Jiza | Bashtil | 199B |
| 110. | Al-Jiza | Bani Bakkar | 199B |
| 111. | Al-Jiza | Bani yusuf | 199B |
| 112. | Al-Jiza | Bustan al-Ashrafi | 199B |
| 113. | Al-Jiza | Bamha | 199B |
| 114. | Al-Jiza | Bani Majdul | 199B |
| 115. | Al-Jiza | Baharmis | 199B |
| 116. | Al-Jiza | Buhbayt | 200A |
| 117. | Al-Jiza | Baydaf | 200A |
| 118. | Al-Jiza | Jabra | 200A |
| 119. | Al-Jiza | Jaza'ir Badsa | 200B |
| 120. | Al-Jiza | Al-Jiza Jazirat Abu Sa'id | 200B |
| 121. | Al-Jiza | Jazira Bi Jiwar al-Qaturi | 200B |
| 122. | Al-Jiza | Jazira Bi Jiwar al-Munzaliqa | 200B |
| 123. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat al-Aqraz | 202A |
| 124. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat Salah | 201A |
| 125. | Al-Jiza | Hawd al-Santa al-Qibli | 201A |
| 126. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat Muhammad | 201A |
| 127. | Al-Jiza | Hawd al-Santa al-Bahri | 201A |
| 128. | Al-Jiza | Hajir Umm Dinar | 201A |
| 129. | Al-Jiza | Darawa | 201B |
| 130. | Al-Jiza | Dahshur | 201B |
| 131. | Al-Jiza | Dhat al-Kaum | 201B |
| 132. | Al-Jiza | Dumuh | 201B |
| 133. | Al-Jiza | Rifat Jamil | 201B |
| 134. | Al-Jiza | Zikri al-Saghir | 201B |
| 135. | Al-Jiza | Zikri al-Kabir | 202A |
| 136. | Al-Jiza | Saqiyyat Bayan | 202A |
| 137. | Al-Jiza | Saqiyyat Khawaja | 202A |

TABLE 10 (contd)**Village without ibra**

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|------|----------|-----------------------------|------|
| 138. | Al-Jiza | Surdayka | 202A |
| 139. | Al-Jiza | Saft Nahya | 202B |
| 140. | Al-Jiza | Shurba Bar | 202B |
| 141. | Al-Jiza | Shima | 202B |
| 142. | Al-Jiza | Tamwaith | 202B |
| 143. | Al-Jiza | Saqqara | 202B |
| 144. | Al-Jiza | Shubramant | 202B |
| 145. | Al-Jiza | Saqil | 202B |
| 146. | Al-Jiza | Zahiriyyat Bani Utba | 203A |
| 147. | Al-Jiza | Tuhumus | 203A |
| 148. | Al-Jiza | Tahma | 203A |
| 149. | Al-Jiza | Zahr Shamas | 203A |
| 150. | Al-Jiza | Atf Buhbayt | 203A |
| 151. | Al-Jiza | Qannasa | 203A |
| 152. | Al-Jiza | Kildasa | 203A |
| 153. | Al-Jiza | Mukhnan | 203A |
| 154. | Al-Jiza | Marj Antar al-Qibli | 203B |
| 155. | Al-Jiza | Malaqat Awsim | 203B |
| 156. | Al-Jiza | Malaqat Sinin | 203B |
| 157. | Al-Jiza | Marj Antar al-Bahri | 203B |
| 158. | Al-Jiza | Malaqat al-Aqsab | 203B |
| 159. | Al-Jiza | Manshiyyat Dashur | 204A |
| 160. | Al-Jiza | Manshiyyat Nahya | 204A |
| 161. | Al-Jiza | Manyal Ibn Askr | 204A |
| 162. | Al-Jiza | Manshiyyat Tamwayh | 204A |
| 163. | Al-Jiza | Minyat al-Qa'id | 204A |
| 164. | Al-Jiza | Manyal Nabit | 204B |
| 165. | Al-Jiza | Minyat al Sayyadin | 204B |
| 166. | Al-Jiza | Minyat Anduna | 204B |
| 167. | Al-Jiza | Minyat Rufa'i | 204B |
| 168. | Al-Jiza | Minyat Rahina | 205B |
| 169. | Al-Jiza | Mihwalat Burtus | 205B |
| 170. | Al-Jiza | Nikla | 205B |
| 171. | Al-Jiza | Mihwalat Ausim | 205B |
| 172. | Al-Jiza | Jazirat Ibrahim b. Fai'z | 207B |

TABLE 10 (contd)**Village without ibra**

| No | Province | Village | IJ |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------|
| 173. | Altfih | Dajlut al-Hijara | 229A |
| 174. | Al-Bahnasa | Manfalut/Kufur | 251B |
| 175. | Manfalut | Saqiyat Qulta | 254B |
| 176. | Manfalut | Shandawid | 255B |
| 177. | Manfalut | Huw / Al-Kawm al-Ahmar | 263B |
| 178. | Qus | Aswan | 263B |