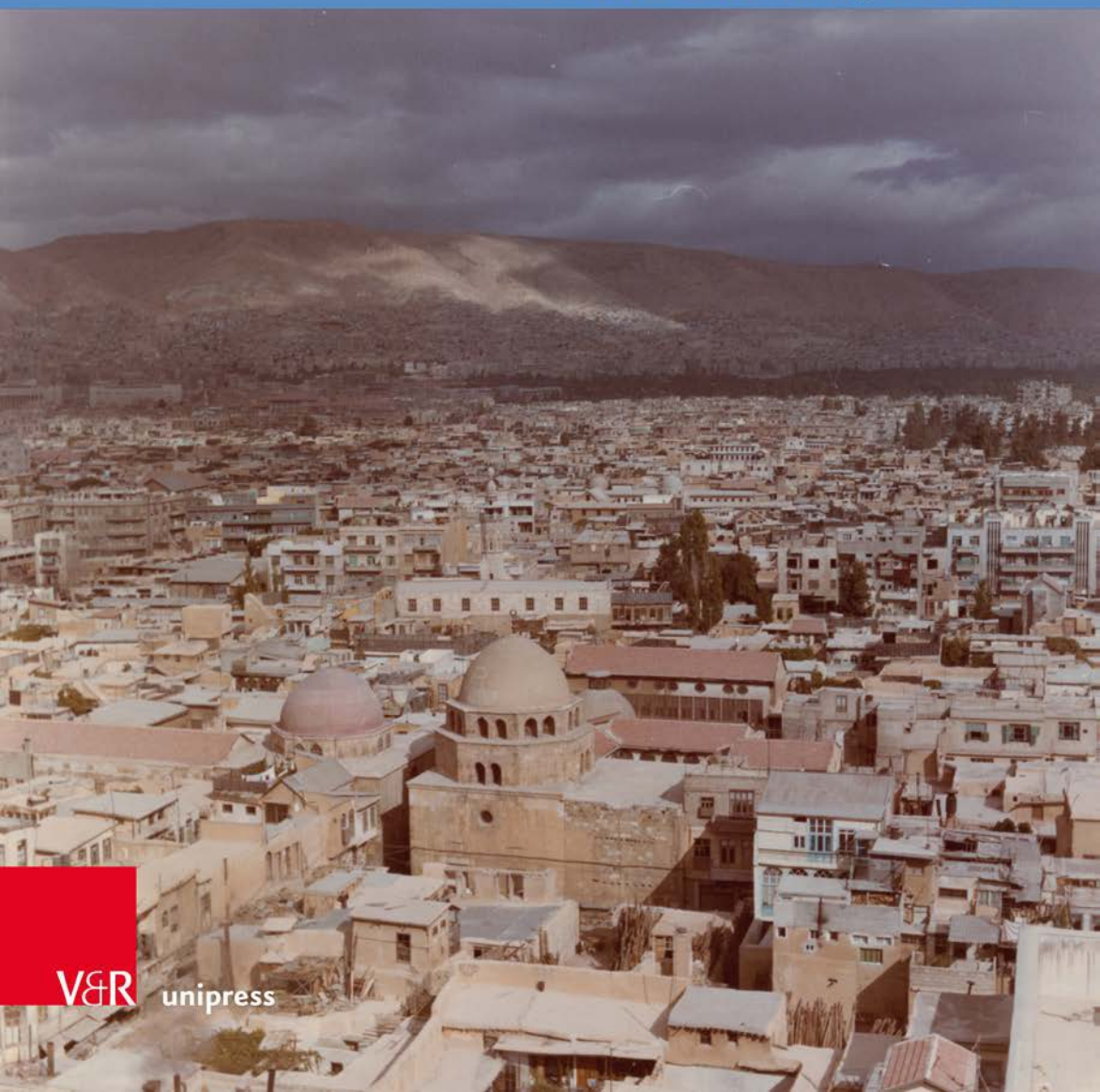


Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī

# Maqāmat al-Naṣr fī Manāqīb Imām al-‘Aṣr

Edited and translated by Yehoshua Frenkel

Bonn University Press



V&R

unipress



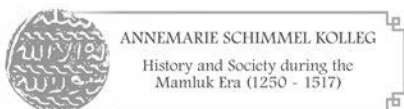
**unipress**

© 2023 V&R unipress | Brill Deutschland GmbH  
ISBN Print: 9783847114574 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847014577

## Mamluk Studies

Volume 28

Edited by Stephan Conermann and Bethany J. Walker



Editorial Board: Thomas Bauer (Münster, Germany), Albrecht Fuess (Marburg, Germany), Thomas Herzog (Bern, Switzerland), Konrad Hirschler (Hamburg, Germany), Anna Paulina Lewicka (Warsaw, Poland), Linda Northrup (Toronto, Canada), Jo Van Steenberghe (Gent, Belgium)

The volumes of this series are peer-reviewed.

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī

**Maqāmat al-Naṣr fī  
Manāqīb Imām al-‘Aṣr**

Edited and translated by Yehoshua Frenkel

With one figure

V&R unipress

Bonn University Press



Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data are available online: <https://dnb.de>.

**Publications of Bonn University Press  
are published by V&R unipress.**

Sponsored by the DFG-funded Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study “History and Society during the Mamluk Era, 1250–1517”.

© 2023 by Brill | V&R unipress, Theaterstraße 13, 37073 Göttingen, Germany,  
an imprint of the Brill-Group

(Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)  
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, V&R unipress and Wageningen Academic.  
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Cover image: Michel Écochard Archive, courtesy of Aga Khan Documentation Center, MIT Libraries (AKDC@MIT)  
Typesetting: SchwabScantechnik, Geiststraße 11, 37073 Göttingen, Germany

**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | [www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com](http://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com)**

ISSN 2198-5375

ISBN 978-3-8470-1457-7

# Contents

Preface . . . . .	7
Introduction . . . . .	9
The Arabic Text . . . . .	29
English translation . . . . .	103
Addenda . . . . .	175
Bibliography . . . . .	181
Indexes . . . . .	201

Supplementary material can be accessed online:  
[https://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com/frenkel\\_edition](https://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com/frenkel_edition)  
(see downloads)  
Password: JxAa2XUheV

Source of Facsimiles:  
[facsimile 1] Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī (710–779/1311–1377),  
*Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk* [The Strings’ Gem: About the governing of the Mamlūk Turks]  
(Süleymaniye Umumi Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya ms. 233).  
[facsimile 2] Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Subkī al-Shāfiʿī  
(727–771/1327–1370), *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* (Jerusalem, NLI, ms. Yah. Ar. 198);  
al-al-Ṣafadī’s introduction and colophon. (accessible online)



## Preface

This book narrates a 14<sup>th</sup> century episode in the history of Mamlūk Damascus. The edited and translated text report in rhymes on the dismiss and return to power of a famous jurists, a scion of a family that provided several players in the religio-bureaucratic arena of the Sultanate. The text, although it is not a chronicle per se, casts light on the position of this class during those days, as well as on the governing establishment's political play.

During the years of research and writing I benefited from support and good advice of friends and colleagues. Naming them risks the danger of omission. Yet the ASK at the University of Bonn deserves special thanks. Kindly it provided highly supportive working conditions.

Last, but not least, I would like to praise my family for bearing with me for long periods of absence and distraction.





## Introduction

### 1. The Author

Little is known about the author of *Maqāmat al-naṣr fī manāqib imām al-ʿaṣr* (The victorious assemblies: on the virtues of our days' leader), the holograph that is the backbone of this study. Of his environment we know more. Zamlakā is a village in the countryside around Damascus (*ghūṭa*), north-east of the city. In his dictionary, Yāqūt lists the place and provides two pronunciations or variants of its name: Zamlakā and Zamlalukān.<sup>1</sup>

Several Mamluk-period men carried the attribution (*nisba*) adjective-name (ibn) al-Zamlakānī, an indication of their place of origin. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Khalaf Ibn Khaṭīb Zamlakā (d. 651/1253) is one of them.<sup>2</sup> Contemporaneous Damascene sources portray him as a scholar who held religio-bureaucratic positions.<sup>3</sup> They name several compositions written by him in the traditional field of Qurʾānic studies.<sup>4</sup> This data was recorded and transmitted by later authors.<sup>5</sup> From this transmission we can deduce that he acquired some prestige

1 Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī (574–626/1179–1229), *Muʿjam al-buldān* [Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch] ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866–1873), 2: 945–946; ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (613–684/1217–1285), *al-Aʿlāq al-khatira fī dhikr umarāʾ al-shām wal-jazīra: taʾrīkh madīnat dimashq* ed. Sāmī Dahhān (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1956), 1: 162, 1163 (no. 589, 610, 611); Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), 555.

2 Abū al-Fidā ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (701–774/1301–1373), *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* ed. ʿA. Maṣṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 1424/2004), 801–802 (no. 885).

3 G. J. H. Van Gelder, *Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 161–162.

4 Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Zamlakānī (651/1253), *al-Burhān al-Kāshif ʿan iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* ed. Khadijah al-Ḥadīthī Aḥmad Maṭlūb (Baghdad: Diwān al-Awqāf, 1974); *ibid*, *al-Mujīd fī iʿjāz al-Qurʾān al-majīd* (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-ʿArabiyya, 1410/1989).

5 Taj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Subkī al-Shāfiʿī (727–771/1327–1370), *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā* ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilu (Cairo: ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964–1976 [reprinted Dār Iḥya al-Turath al-Arabi, n.d.], 8: 316 (1222).

during his lifetime and that his writings were well received by later scholars.<sup>6</sup> His son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Shāfiʿī (d. 690/1291),<sup>7</sup> is depicted as a junior jurist.

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Zamlakānī (667–727/1269–1327), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid's grandson (*al-ḥafīd*) was, without doubt, the best-known of the Zamlakānīs.<sup>8</sup> He was a Shāfiʿī jurisprudent and judge.<sup>9</sup> As an important actor in the institutionalized religious field he performed a key role in the religio-political arena of his time. Hence, he attracted the attention of contemporaneous writers, who portray him as the leader of the Shafiʿite congregation in Syria (*shaykhunā*).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, due to his partisan opposition to (*risāla fī al-radd ʿalā*) Ibn Taymiyya,<sup>11</sup> and his association with the latter's trial, he also gained fame in other Sunni circles.<sup>12</sup> Chronicles that report on Damascus and on the sultans' court in the Citadel mention him,<sup>13</sup> as do entries in biographical dictionaries.<sup>14</sup> The compilers of

- 6 Abū Shāma ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāfiʿī (599–665/1202–1268), *Tarājim riḡāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wal-sābiʿ* (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1947/1974), 188.
- 7 Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Isnawī (704–772/1305–1370), *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* ed. K. Y. al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1987), 1: 510–511 (no. 584–586); Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, 835 (no. 924).
- 8 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1296–1363), *A ʿyān al-aṣr wa-a ʿwān al-naṣr* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1418/1998), 4: 624–642 (no. 1673); Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, 9: 190–206 (no. 1395); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449), *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a ʿyān al-mīʿa al-thāmina* (Haidarabad/Beirut: Dār Iḥyā al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.), 4: 74–76 (no. 210); Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad Ibn Qādi Shuhba (779–851/1377–1448), *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya* (Haidarabad: Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1399/1979), 2: 383–87 (no. 566).
- 9 Benjamin Jokisch, “Socio-Political Factors of *Qadāʾ* in Eighth/Fourteenth Century Syria,” *al-Qantara* 20/2 (1999): 519, 521.
- 10 Abū al-Fidā Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr (701–774/1301–1373), *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya* ed. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Cairo: Hajar, 1998), 18: 286.
- 11 al-Subkī composed a similar work (*al-Durra al-muḍiyya fī al-radd ʿalā ibn taymiyya*). Cf. Caterina Bori, “The Collection and Edition of Ibn Taymiyah's Works: Concerns of a Disciple,” *MSR* 13 (2007): 48; Yossef Rapoport, “Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths,” in Michael Winter & Amali Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 207–211.
- 12 A synopsis of al-Zamlakānī's *ʿUjlat al-raghīb* was written in Damascus in 717/1317 by Abū Saʿīd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Kaykaldī al-ʿAlāʾī al-Shāfiʿī (694–761/1294–1359), who also copied a *fatwa* issued by Ibn al-Zamlakānī. Paris ms. Arabe 2322ff. 129r–135r and 136r–144r; *ʿUjlat al-rākib fī dhikr ashraf al-maʿāqib* [the rider's speeding up to elaborate the qualities of the most excellent noble], Damascus ms. Ṣahariyya 3765 *majāmiʿ* 28 no. 8ff. 84–112 [written in 740/1339]. I was not able to consult the printed edition by Khayr Allah al-Sharīf (Damascus: Dār al-Tabbāʾ, 1413/1993).
- 13 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (677–733/1278–1333), *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1424/2004), 32: 13 (701/1302); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allah al-ʿUmarī (700–750/1301–1349), *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* ed. K. Jabūri (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2010), 4: 29–30 (an ego-document; al-Zamlakānī told me); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 286–288.
- 14 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1296–1363), *al-Wāfi bil-wafayāt*, ed. Arnaʾut (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā al-Turāth, 2000), 4: 151–156 (no. 1749; quotes *al-qādi* Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allah [al-ʿUmarī?]).

these works aimed at preserving the fame of “important” personalities, and clearly evaluated him as such a figure. The history of these compilations reveals that such evaluations were well-received in the scholarly milieu of late Mamluk Damascus.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, he is mentioned occasionally in the documentation from the Sultanate and even in writings from beyond its boundaries and time.<sup>16</sup>

Faṭḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Khaṭīb Zamlakā (645–699/1247–1299),<sup>17</sup> his son ʿAlī (d. 750/1394),<sup>18</sup> and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nizām al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Faṭḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Zamlakānī (d. 797/1394)<sup>19</sup> belonged to another branch of Ibn Khaṭīb Zamlakā’s family.<sup>20</sup> Is it possible that this Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī is the author of our *unicum* text?<sup>21</sup> Certainly he was not the last author to carry the indicative adjective (*nisba*) al-Zamlakānī.

In his work on the governors of Damascus,<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn alludes to a certain al-Zamlakānī (d. c. 863/1458).<sup>23</sup> This Ibn al-Zamlakānī is presumably identical with an author whom Ibn Ḥajar mentions in the biography of the emir Bashqird al-Nāṣirī (d. in Damascus in 702/1302–03).<sup>24</sup> I assume that he is one and the same Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Zamlakānī, who composed a historical survey of

15 Thomas Bauer, “Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works – Part I: The Life of Ibn Nubātah,” *Mamluk Studies Review* 12/1 (2008): 19.

16 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (1173–1250/1759–1839), *al-Badr al-ṭālī ʿbi-maḥasin man ba ʿda al-qarn al-sābiʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1418/1998).

17 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tabaqat al-shaʿfiʿiyya*, 2: 210 (no. 461).

18 Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (779–851/1377–1448), *Taʾrikh* ed. ʿAdnan Darwish (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1977–97), 2: 692.

19 Sami G. Massoud, “Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s ʿal-Dhayl al-Muṭṭwal’: The Making of an all Mamluk Chronicle,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, Nuova Serie 4 (2009): 72.

20 Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Ḥijjī al-Ḥasbanī (751–815/1350–1414), *Taʾrikh Ibn Ḥijjī: ḥawāḍith wa-wafayāt 796–815/1393–1413* ed. A. al-Kundarī (Beirut: Dar al-Hazam, 2003), 97.

21 The Yahuda manuscript is the only one known.

22 Sami G. Massoud, “Notes on the Contemporary Sources of the Year 793,” *MSR* 9 (2005): 204 (with references to Ibn Ṭūlūn and Laoust).

23 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī (1473–1546/880–953), *Iʿlām al-warā biman wulliya nā ʿiban min al-atrāk bi-dimashq al-shām al-kubrā* [The notification of mankind about the governors of Damascus] ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1964/1984), 30.

24 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fi aʿyan al-miʿa al-thāmina*, 1: 470–471 (no. 1268); Muḥammad Murād Ramzī al-Qazānī (1855–1935), *Talḥīq al-akhbār wa-talqīh al-āthār fi waqāʾi Qazān wa-Bulghār wa-mulūk al-Tatār* (1907; reprinted Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002) 328, wrongly reads AH 752. This is a 19<sup>th</sup>-century compilation on the history of the Turkic peoples, which includes a chapter on the Mamluk Sultanate. On him, see Alfrid Bustanov, “Speaking ‘Bukharan’: The Circulation of Persian Texts in Imperial Russia,” in Nile Green (ed.), *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019): 202; Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAqīl Mūsā, *al-Mukhtār al-maṣūn min aʿlām al-qurūn: mukhtārāt tisʿat ʿashar kitāban min al-qarn al-thāmin ḥattā al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar* (Jedda: Dār al-Andalus al-Khaḍrā, 1415/1995), 78.

Islam.<sup>25</sup> This writer is mentioned by Franz Rosenthal, who writes in his introduction to Ibn Khaldūn's al-Muqaddima:

[and] around the year 1425 a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn az-Zamlakānī incorporated excerpts from Ibn Khaldūn's *History* in his *Tadhkirah*, of which a manuscript is preserved in Cairo (Egyptian Library, Taymur, *adab* 604). Ibn az-Zamlakānī tells us that he used a manuscript of [Ibn Khaldūn's] *History* (*ta'rikh*) deposited in the Mu'ayyadiya Library in Cairo.<sup>26</sup>

The brief sketch presented here contributes very little to our efforts to identify and portray the *Maqāma*'s author. We can assume that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī's communication with the religious establishment of Damascus was eased by his genealogy, being a scion of a well-established Shafi'ite family. His socio-political identity drove him to become a passionate supporter of al-Subkī and his extended family. This passion compelled him to defend the cause of his master and persuaded him to compose and perform the text studied here.

Our failure to properly identify the author does not negate the *maqāma*'s value as a historical source. The text manifests the actual reality of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Mamlūk Damascus, the religious establishment's prevailing world view, and the urban elite's modes of social and political discourse and operation. Appearing in the preface, the writer is the main speaker whose narration dominates the composition. No interval separates the narrator and the author, who voices his personal opinion. In his aim to mobilize his audience and to consolidate al-Subkī's position, the text serves as an agent.<sup>27</sup>

25 See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī al-Anṣārī, *al-Juz' al-thānī min kitāb 'Uqūd al-jumān fī tārikh al-zamān* (Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Völlers 0662), fol. 3a; I believe that his chronographer is the very same Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī, the compiler of '*Umdat al-zurafā' fī akhbār al-khulafā'*' whom Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥarīrī al-Maghribī (926/1520) mentions in *Kitāb Muntakhab al-zamān fī tārikh al-khulafā' wal-'ulamā' wal-a'yān* ed. 'Abduh Khalifa (Beirut: Dār 'Ishtār, 1993–1995), 26. Cf. Abbès Zouache, "Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī (m. apr. 926/1520)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 66 (2017): 247.

26 Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), Franz Rosenthal (trans.), introduction p. LXVI and note 80 (Taymūr, *Adab* 604).

27 Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984/1986), 14; François Cooren, "Textual Agency: How Texts Do Things in Organizational Settings," *Organization* 11/3 (2004): 373–393.

## 2. The Leading Hero

Of Ibn al-Zamlakānī's hero, the protagonist of his prosimetric *maqāma*,<sup>28</sup> we are much better informed.<sup>29</sup> Several lineal descendants of the Egyptian-Syrian al-Subkī house became leading members of Mamlūk Damascus' religious elite. Tāj al-Dīn (the Crown of Islam) Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī al-Shāfiʿī (727–771/1327–1370) is probably the most prominent member of the well-known al-Subkī family.<sup>30</sup>

Taqī al-Dīn, and his son Tāj al-Dīn,<sup>31</sup> who is the central pillar of the text examined in this study, were productive writers. Their literary production has been researched extensively. Moreover, far from being shy of revealing themselves, they both composed a remarkable number of ego-documents.<sup>32</sup> So we are well informed about their careers and their legal and theological positions, as well as their reception.

In a panegyric poem, Tāj al-Dīn praises his father Taqī al-Dīn.<sup>33</sup> He employs a boastful and self-satisfied style to present him. His short, highly ornate lines reflect clearly the religious establishment's world vision and their idealistic values:

The people's leader who assembled all branches of knowledge / The distinctive [master] of his days. Ascending to incomputable heights.

He wrote an exegesis of the Qurʾān / in which he demonstrated that the source of knowledge handed over guidance to him.

In the field of Hadith (the Prophet's maxima) / caravans of those who seek valuable knowledge travelled to him from all over.

28 The title page of Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Anṣārī al-Subkī al-Shāfiʿī (727–771/1327–1370), *Kitāb Iʿlām al-aʿlām bi-manāqib shaykh al-Islām qādī al-quḍāh ʿAlī al-Subkī raḥimahu Allāhu* (Princeton: Islamic Manuscripts, Ar. Garrett no. 2258Y) contains the line “*wa-yaliḥu manāqibʾ ibnʾ al-Subkī al-madhkūr li-Ibnʾ al-Zamlakānī*”. I was not able to identify a book or a manuscript that carries this name. Does it refer to the text studied here?

29 On the family, see Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Academian der Araber und ihre Lehrer nach auszügen aus Ibn Schohba's Klassen der Schfeiten* [Abū-Bakr b. Aḥmad Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt*] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1837), 37–43 (no. 49–53); Donald P. Little, “Al-Ṣafadī as Biographer of his Contemporaries,” in D. P. Little (ed.), *Essays on Islamic Civilization: presented to Niyazi Berkes* (Leiden: Brill, 1976): 205.

30 D. W. Myhrman, introduction to al-Subkī's *Muʾīd al-niʾam wa-mubīd al-niqam* (London: Luzac, 1908), 8–34; Jonathan Porter Berkey, “Al-Subkī and His Women,” *MSR* 14 (2010): 7–8.

31 Mona Hassan, *Longing for the Lost Caliphate: A Transregional History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 27–30, 118–120.

32 Jonathan Porter Berkey, “Al-Subkī and His Women,” *MSR* 14 (2010): 1–17.

33 Cf. Bilal Orfali, “*Ghazal* and Grammar: al-Bāʿūnī's *Taḍmīn Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik fī L-Ghazal*,” in Bilal Orfali (ed.), *In the Shadow of Arabic: The Centrality of Language to Arabic Culture. Studies Presented to Ramzi Baalbaki on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 449; and cf. the panegyric poem in praise of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. c. 800/1397), *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa fī al-dawla al-zāhiriyya* (A Chronicle of Damascus 786–799/1389–1397) ed. and trans. W. M. Brinner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), fol. 198b–199b. p. 261 (English; AH 799).

In the subjects of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl*) he recorded excellency / and in the branches of Islamic law (*furūʿ*) he was extremely energetic.

In the field of Arabic linguistics / throughout the Universe he always served as a model. He comprehended philology, nouns' and verbs' declinations, and grammar / His poetic compositions were the best.

He mastered genealogy and history / and the most obscure situations he understood assuredly.

Eloquently he interpreted complex texts / and produced clear interpretations.

In prosody, rhymes and *istidlāl*<sup>34</sup> / he did not encounter the slightest difficulty.

In religious logic as well as in all other topics / he was the most knowledgeable, the instructor and the mentor.<sup>35</sup>

Born in Cairo in 727/1327, Tāj al-Dīn's career is associated with Damascus, where his father, the hardly less famous Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Subkī al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiʿī (683–756/1284–1355),<sup>36</sup> was appointed to a juridical position (739/1338–1339).<sup>37</sup> At a young age Tāj al-Dīn became a teacher (*mudarris*) and served as a preacher (*khaṭīb*) at the Umayyad Mosque, and a judge (*qāḍī*) in Damascus (Ramadan 754/September 1354). Shortly afterwards, he obtained the position of the chief provincial Shafiʿite judge (Ṣafar 756/February 1355). This was his first term in that office. Over the years he would fill it several times.<sup>38</sup> During his intensive career, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī attracted students, who did not conceal their admiration for his achievement and power. Such respect would not save him, however, from dismissals and even from the dungeon.

A prolific author, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī was well received among his colleagues in the Mamlūk realm.<sup>39</sup> Holding influential positions, he magnetized his contempo-

34 Inferential reasoning or aesthetic discovery. Beatrice Gruendle, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry: Ibn Al-Rumi and the Patron's Redemption* (2010), 85; José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, *Aesthetics in Arabic Thought from Pre-Islamic Arabia through al-Andalus* (2017), 337.

35 Tāj al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, 10: 140; Taqī al-Dīn's biography in the *Ṭabaqāt* was reproduced in *Kitāb Iʿlām al-aʿlām bi-manāqib shaykh al-Islām qāḍī al-quḍāh ʿAlī al-Subkī raḥimahū Allāhu*. See above note 28.

36 See his biography in Tāj al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, 10: 139.

37 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fi aʿyān al-miʿa al-thāmina*, 4: 425–428 (no. 2547; quotes Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Hījī and Taqī al-Dīn al-Zubayrī). On the last names see in Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis lil-muʿjam al-mufahris* ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī. (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa 1992–1994), 2: 169–170 (no. 132) and *Dhayl al-durar al-kāmina fi aʿyān al-miʿa al-thāmina* ed. A. Darwish (Cairo, 1412/1992), 207–208 (no. 351).

38 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 562–563, 565–566, 567; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 2: 76–78; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1441), *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk* ed. Saʿīd ʿA. ʿAshūr (Cairo: Matbaʿat Dār al-Kutub, 1427/2007), 3: 19–20, 22–23.

39 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fi aʿyān al-miʿa al-thāmina*, 4: 51–52 (no. 149: *qaraʾtu bi-khaṭṭ al-subkī*); Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (849–911/1445–1505), *al-Itqān fi ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ed. Shuʿayb al-ʿArnaʿūt (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-risālah, 1429/2008), 288, 299; *al-Muḥadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fi al-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab* ed. al-Tuḥamī al-Ḥāshimī (al-Maghreb, Ṣundūq Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1995), 169; Mamluk period exegeses of al-Subkī's *Jamʿ*

raries, who used flattering words to express their admiration.<sup>40</sup> They also report on his religio-administrative career,<sup>41</sup> and on his achievements and setbacks (*miḥna* pl. *miḥan*; literally: testing or trial).<sup>42</sup> His position in questions of Ashʿarite theology,<sup>43</sup> and in the polemics generated by Ibn Taymiyya, increased his fame,<sup>44</sup> both among his contemporaries and in modern Islamic scholarship.<sup>45</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, al-Subkī's contemporary, validates this deduction in a short report.<sup>46</sup> His depiction of al-Subkī was summarized by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba.<sup>47</sup> These lines in his notebook preserve al-Subkī's image in later Mamlūk biographies. Reporting on events that took place in the year AH 771 (1369–1370), Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba transmits Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī's account:

In this year died the chief judge Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Naṣr al-Subkī (...) who served as an arbitrator in Damascus. He was an outstanding leader. An expert magistrate, he was the preferred universal leader of an inherited nobility. The fame of his supreme intellect spread to remote horizons. Lofty are the branches of his noble deeds and the streams of his excellent virtue are gushing. Eloquent are his expressions and his excellent knowledge is indubitable. Prime commanders boasted that he was their companion, and prominent leaders were pleased to be associated with him. His legal decisions relieved and satisfied councils' headmen. His inspiration engulfed pulpits and schools. He studied, taught and wrote. On behalf of his father he served as a model to learners and scholars. He was beneficial to scholars engaged in learning and to students of religious knowledge. A great number of followers and companions profited by listening to him.<sup>48</sup>

---

*al-jawamiʿ* serve as an additional indication to his fame, the dissemination of his works and the favourable reception of his views.

40 See Addendum 1.

41 Ibn Kathir: see section 3; Ibn Ḥabīb: see the next paragraph.

42 On this term under the Mamluks, see Eliyahu Ashtor (E. Strauss), "L'Inquisition dans l'état Mamlouk," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 25 (1950): 11–26.

43 George Makdisi, "Ashʿarī and the Ashʿarites in Islamic Religious History – I," *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 37–80; "Ashʿarī and the Ashʿarites in Islamic Religious History – II," *Studia Islamica* 18 (1963): 19–39.

44 Rebecca Hernandez, *The Legal Thought of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī: Authority and Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 106–111; Konrad Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture: The Library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī* (Edinburgh University Press, 201), 573c.

45 In the early stages of oriental studies European scholars were particularly mesmerized by al-Subkī's biographical dictionary and his guide to crafts and social order. *E.F.* vol. 9: 743–745 (by Schacht/Bosworth); Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton University Press, 1992), 184–188.

46 Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī (710–779/1311–1377), *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk* [The Strings' Gem: About the governing of the Mamlūk Turks], Ayasofya Kütüphanesi, ms. 233 fol. 229r; H. E. Weijers, "Summa Operis *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk* conscripti ab al-Ḥasan ibn ʿOmar ibn Ḥabīb," *Orientalia* 2 (Amsterdam, 1846): 195–491 (on al-Subkī: 427) I was not able to locate this section in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sprenger 63 manuscript. The new printed edition by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin (Cairo, 2014) ends in the year 714.

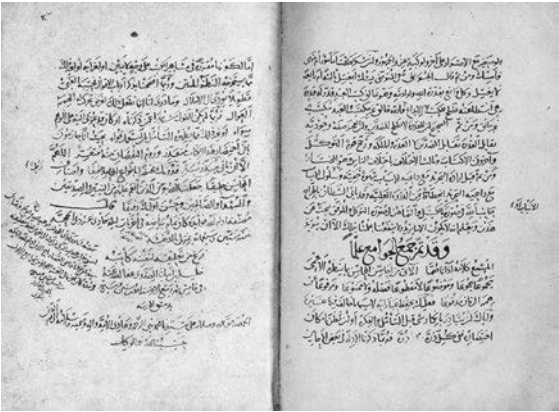
47 Paris, BNF ms. Arabe 1721, f. 45. And see the Addendum 1.

48 For the Arabic edition of this text, see Addendum 2.



Historians of the Shāfiʿī law school made wide use of Tāj al-Dīn's *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, which enhanced his fame among Middle Islamic scholars as well as among modern researchers, who benefit from the rich prosopographical details on traditionalists and transmitters of Islamic law that these volumes contain. No less influential is his *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niqam*, a book that contains some useful historical information and throws light on contemporary customs and the ideal organization of society.<sup>49</sup> His intellectual biography (*muʿjam*),<sup>50</sup> which was composed in 757/1356,<sup>51</sup> is an important source for the study of Islamic learning under the Mamlūks.

The wide reception of this image and its transmission kept Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's fame alive, certainly among Shāfiʿite jurists, but also among the general community of Muslim scholars. Later historians and biographers incorporated these accounts into their writings.<sup>52</sup> Al-Subkī's favourable image in post-Mamlūk Sunnī circles is not contradicted by the fact that these lines are not found in the published edition of Ibn Qādi Shuhba's biographical dictionary. However, an explanation of this absence is beyond the scope of these introductory remarks.



Pages from Ṣafādī's copy of al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ fi ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* that was written during the author's lectures at the ʿAdaliyya. Jerusalem, NLI, Yahuda collection ms. Arab 198.

49 Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiʿī al-Subkī (727–771/1327–1370), *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niqam* [The Restorer of Favours and the Restrainer of Chastisements] ed. D. W. Myhrman (London: Luzac, 1908); eds. M. A. al-Najjar, Abu Zayd Shalabi, & M. Abu al-ʿUyun (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanajī, 1992); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 73.

50 Literally a biographical collection. These compositions name teachers, places of learning, positions (*waṣīfa* or *khidma*) and dates.

51 Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad [b. Yahya b. Muḥammad [Ibn Saʿd al-Ṣālihi al-Maqdisi al-Ḥanbali (703–759/1303–1358), *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh li-Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī al-Subkī* (727–771/1327–1370), ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Rāʾid Yūsuf al-Anbakī, Muṣṭafā Ismāʿīl al-Aʿzamī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2004). ed. Muḥsin b. Muḥammad Eit Balʿid (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1425/2004).

52 Ibn Qādi Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, 3: 140–143 (no. 649). For his notebook that summarized Ibn Ḥabīb, see the addendum 1.

### 3. Crisis in Damascus

A detailed biographical portrait of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī is beyond the scope of this study. Aiming to portray the socio-political background of Ibn al-Zamlakānī's epistle, I will restrict my remarks to his role in the local religious administration and to his communications with the ruling military aristocracy.<sup>53</sup>

Not long after his nomination, al-Subkī's Damascene rivals, who also sent a delegation to Cairo, lobbied to limit his power. They achieved some success. On 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354, the young al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was reinstalled as the sultan of Egypt and Syria, although news of the coup d'état reached Damascus only ten days later.<sup>54</sup> A couple of weeks after this upheaval, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī was again appointed to serve as the chief Shafi'ite judge of the province of Damascus.

On an unspecified day during the early months of 759/1358, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allah, the grandson of Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Kafri, the chief Hanafite judge in Damascus, married the daughter of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, who undoubtedly at that moment nurtured hopes of consolidating his position in Damascus.<sup>55</sup> Yet within only a few months the wheel of fortune had turned again (Shaʿbān 759/July 1358). Tāj al-Dīn was dismissed (*ḥaṣalat lahu miḥna*) and was replaced by his cousin Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā' Muḥammad al-Subkī, while the qadi Ibn al-Kafri was replaced by Ibn al-Sirāj al-Ḥanafī.

However, following the death in Cairo of the emir Shaykhū, from wounds suffered during an assassination attempt in 758/1357, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, who was reinstalled as sultan, overcame the emir Ṣarghitmish, the commander in chief (*atābak*) of the army.<sup>56</sup> His arrest in Ramadan 759/1 September 1358, saved Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's career.<sup>57</sup> He was summoned to Jerusalem and Hebron (Shawwāl 759/September 1358), where the sultan was busy supervising an impressive renovation project (761/October 1360).<sup>58</sup>

Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was able to retain the reins of power for several years before being ousted by Yalbughā (read Yulbughā) al-Khaṣṣakī in Jumādā I 762/March 1361.<sup>59</sup> This

53 This section is based on a conference paper, "A Strife in Mamlūk Damascus," presented at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg (University of Bonn, July 2015). I would like to thank Kate Raphael and Reuven Amitai, the conveners of the conference, "Between Saladin and Selim the Grim: Syria under Ayyubid and Mamluk Rule".

54 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 1–4; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāyah*, 18: 563–564.

55 Ibn Qāḍi Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 131 (Jumādā I 759/April 1357).

56 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic architecture in Cairo: an introduction* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 121.

57 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalil. b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1296–1363), *Alḥān al-sawājiʿ bayna al-bādiʿ wa-al-murājiʿ* ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʿir, 1425/2004), 402–405 (a congratulation letter and a praise poem by this author); al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-aṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, 2: 247–252; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 8: 587–590; Ibn Qāḍi Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 133–135, 373; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 39.

58 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāyah*, 8: 614.

59 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 60–63.

talented army commander rose to play a prominent role in the politics of the Mam-lūk sultanate during the second reign of the sultan al-Ḥasan (755–762/1354–1361).<sup>60</sup> The political role of the *amīr* Yulbughā in the struggle that tore apart the governing elite in Cairo during the 1360s is documented in the Mamlūk sources.<sup>61</sup> There can be no doubt Yulbughā al-Khaṣṣakī was the mastermind of the coup that culminated in the al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's assassination in Jumādā I 762/March 1361.

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Salāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (762–764/1361–1363), another scion of the sultan al-Qalāwūn, was placed on the throne by the insurgents. His was an empty title, since the sultan had no say in political and administrative issues (*lam yabqī lil-manṣūr siwā al-ism*). To calm Syria, the sultan travelled to Damascus and met with local religious functionaries (Shawwāl 762/August 1361). Shortly afterwards (in Muḥarram 763/November 1361), Yulbughā married *khwand* Tulubāy, a Mongolian concubine of the murdered al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn.<sup>62</sup> At that moment he played the role of the strong man in Cairo and Syria (*qāma bi-tadbīr al-mamlaka*),

A couple of years later, on 15 Shaʿbān 764/29 May 1363, Yulbughā decided to remove the sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr from the throne and replace him with the ten-year-old al-Ashraf Shaʿbān b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn. At this juncture in the sultanate's history, Yulbughā, the commander-in-chief of the Mamlūk armies (*atābak*), was the de facto ruler of Egypt and Syria (*niẓām al-mulk*).<sup>63</sup> Depicted as a devoted Muslim, he is said to have endowed considerable sums to bolster up the cause of Islam.<sup>64</sup> During the months that concern us here he served as the de facto head of the sultanate, till regicide ended his life (764–778/1363–1376).<sup>65</sup> His execution in Rabiʿ II 768/December 1366, after a relatively long period of practically seating on the throne of the sultanate, also not de jure, is the *terminus ante quem* of Ibn al-Zamlakānī's composition.<sup>66</sup> As a supporter of the Hanafite School of law,

60 Šārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aydamar Ibn Duqmaq al-ʿAlāʾī (745–809/1344–1407), *al-Jawhr al-thamīn fī siyār [al-khulafāʾ] al-mulūk wal-salāṭīn* ed. M. K. ʿI. ʿAlī (Beirut: ʿAlām al-Kutub, 1428/2008), 210–211.

61 Jo van Steenberg, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khaṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamlūk Society: A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131/3 (2011): 423–443; idem. "On the Brink of a New Era? Yalbughā al-Khaṣṣakī (d. 1366) and the Yalbughāwīyah," *MSR* 15 (2011): 117–152.

62 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 64–65, 67, 73, 130–131.

63 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 85 (764/1363), 91, 92, 97 (765/1364), 98–99 (766/1365); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 697–698 (766/1365 on his involvement in the nomination of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī in Cairo), 713–714, 717 (767/1366), 724–725 (768/December 1366, which is the last piece of information in this book).

64 On this policy see Y. Frenkel, "Awqāf in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām," *MSR* 13/1 (2009), pp. 149–166.

65 On the narratives of the revolt against him, see Sami G. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 13–86.

66 On his last days, see Aḥmad al-Bayrūtī, *Kitāb* (written in 784/1382), (Oxford: Bodleian MS Marshall Or. 36 (= Uri 712), 2b-3b. The continuum that opens with the line "and about this the *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār has said," is missing. During the fighting against his adversaries

Yulbughā al-Khaṣṣakī, whom al-Zamlakānī associates with the biblical Joseph,<sup>67</sup> implemented, during these years, a policy of propping up his favourite *madhhab*.<sup>68</sup>

While the violent battle for power in Cairo shook the Sultanate's ruling military aristocracy, Damascus experienced local confrontations within the religious apparatus. Nevertheless, al-Subkī experienced some moments of relief. Simultaneously with his juridical position as *qāḍī*, Tāj al-Dīn also held several teaching jobs, a common practice among the religious-bureaucratic establishment of his days. He was nominated professor of the Aminiyya School. His inauguration ceremony attracted a considerable number of admirers (Rabīʿ al-Awwal 763/January 1362). Two months later he was even appointed as the judge of the lands beyond the Euphrates.<sup>69</sup> Soon, however, he would discover that success is a short-lived accomplishment.

On the afternoon of 11 Shaʿbān 763/5 June 1362, a herald (*barīd*) entered Damascus. Tāj al-Dīn was ordered to give up his juridical position and travel to Cairo. In a portentous ceremony, he departed Damascus the next day (12 Shaʿbān 763/6 June 1362).<sup>70</sup> Several months of intensive court politics enabled him to regain his position and, on Ṣafar 764/November 1362, Tāj al-Dīn was reappointed to the post of chief Shafiʿite *qāḍī* of Damascus.<sup>71</sup> He met with the viceroy at the Dār al-Saʿāda (1 Rabīʿ II 764/17 January 1363). This was followed by a public reception at the al-ʿĀdiliyya school,<sup>72</sup> and after that he was nominated to the professorship (*mudarris*) of the Nāṣiriyya *madrasa* (Rabīʿ the Second 764/January 1363).<sup>73</sup> In a public ceremony involving much pomp, he was dressed with the official garb (2 February 1363). Simultaneously, he replaced the deceased preacher of Damascus's Umayyad mosque, where he delivered the Friday *khuṭba* (Dhū al-Qaʿda 764/August 1363).<sup>74</sup>

Yulbughā employed cannons (*makāhil al-naḥḥ*); 6b, 9b, 10a (quotes Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, 3: 300–301; the poet Ibn Nubata; and the biographer Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafādī).

67 Koby Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)," *MSR* 16 (2012): 63–69; This use of the image of the biblical Joseph in comparison to the Muslim Sunni sultan can be traced already in the propaganda of Saladin. Y. Frenkel, "Crusaders, Muslims and Biblical Stories: Saladin and Joseph," in A. Boas (ed.), *The Crusader World* (London: Routledge/Taylor and Francis, 2015), 362–377.

68 Abū al-Maḥāsīn Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Birdī (813–874/1411–1470), *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wal-mustawfi baʿda al-wāfi* (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-miṣriyya al-ʿamma lil-kitāb, 1427/2006), 12: 162; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3/2: 305–306; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʾyān al-miʾa al-thamīna*, 4: 438–440; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat*, 3: 300–301 (AH 768).

69 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 8: 651–652, 656.

70 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 660–661, 663–664.

71 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 668; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 218; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʾrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 81.

72 On this school (*madrasa*) see ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Nuʾaymī (845–927/1441–1521), *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris* ed. I. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990), 1: 271–278.

73 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 671; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 218–219, 260; On this institution, see Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yunīnī's Dhayl mirʾat al zamān* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1: 145 (note 266).

74 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 678–679, 681; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 221.

His entourage's reaction to his return is reflected in the verses of the well-known littérateur Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363):

Leanness welcomed us as we entered Damascus, it was very dense and it looked as if we were penetrating a wetland covered by reeds.

If a person plunges into a pond, still it is more pleasant than falling into fate's potholes.<sup>75</sup>

Yet, as previously observed, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's position was never secure. His involvement in the administration of taxes and finance exposed him to danger. Soon he was again summoned to the Citadel (Muḥarram 765/October 1363). His diplomatic and political qualifications enabled him to regain his lost position (Rabi' the First 765/December 1363). Back in Damascus, he even obtained (in Jumādā the First/ February 1364) the professorship of a new Shafi'ite school (al-Tadmuriyya). Yet towards the end of that year al-Subkī was once more ordered to report to the Citadel, where he remained for a couple of months (Rabi' the First–Jumādā the Second 766/December 1364–March 1365).<sup>76</sup> Then, as the clouds of autumn gathered overhead, he was summoned again to present himself at the Cairene court in the Citadel (1 Rabi' the First 767/15 November 1365).<sup>77</sup> For eighty long days he was held far away from Damascus till permission was finally granted him to depart from Cairo.

During his absence, the viceroy of Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Manklī Bughā, called a meeting at Dār al-Sa'āda<sup>78</sup> (on 24 Rabi' the First 767/8 December 1365). The leading local religio-functionaries gathered and deliberated al-Subkī's future.<sup>79</sup> Ibn Kathīr was among the participants in the convention. In an ego-document he reports:

On Monday morning a crowded gathering (*majlis*) was convened at Dār al-Sa'āda to debate the charges that were cast against the chief Shafi'ite judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) Tāj al-Dīn the son of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī. I was among those who were summoned to participate in the deliberations and took my seat amid other participants. Among them were the additional three chief judges and scholars of Islam's four legal schools, as well as other participants. The viceroy Sayf al-Dīn Manklī Bughā also joined the congress.<sup>80</sup> He was back from the sultan's court in Cairo, where he had been given a royal edict to call an assembly (*majlis*) and to enquire [into the accusations]. Two memorandums (*maḥḍar*) have been issued:

75 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 668–669.

76 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 683–684, 685, 687, 695, 696–697.

77 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3: 108, 113 (767/January 1366).

78 William M. Brinner, "Dar al-Sa'ada and Dar al-'Adl in Mamluk Damascus," in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem: Cana, 1977), 235–248.

79 Several months later he would be replaced by Aqtamur 'Abd al-Ghani and would take a position in Aleppo (Muḥarram 768/September 1366). Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī (710–779/1311–1377), *Tadhkirat al-Nabih' fi ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banayh'* ed. M. M. Amin (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 1976), 3: 300 [he is quoted by Aḥmad al-Bayruṭī, *Kitāb* (written 784/1382), Bodleian MS Marshall Or. 36 (= Uri 712), fol. 1v].

80 The list of Ibn Kathīr's lost works contains a biography of him.

1) one charging [al-Subkī] and 2) one supporting him. The incriminating document was signed by the senior Malikite and Hanbalite judges and others. It contains severe allegations and accusations. A listener would have had to be deaf to not hear about these unacceptable acts [committed by the accused]. The other document carried the signatures of Shafi'ite scholars and other supporters of al-Subkī, who cherish him. I also signed it, since I believe that only good was done by him. The viceroy has ordered the gathering to split into two opposing parties (*tā'ifa*), and so each party faced the other. Shams al-Dīn b. Ghazzī and Badr al-Dīn b. Wahba, the deputies of the chief Shafi'ite judge [al-Subkī], stood for him and joined his other supporters.

Jamāl al-Dīn, the chief Hanbalite judge of Damascus, stated that the accusation statement signed by him is based upon hard facts and that the charges can be proved by him. Shams al-Dīn b. Ghazzī immediately responded by saying: "You only established your resentment and hatred towards the chief judge, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī." This provoked a noisy exchange of accusations and a heated dispute. Matching accusations were echoed by Jamāl al-Dīn, the chief Malikite judge. The row was prolonged, and the parties lingered in their positions till the session dissolved. As I was near the gate and about to leave, the viceroy sent for me. The parties and the three judges were seated. He suggested that an agreement should be reached, I and the sheikh Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī al-Jabl<sup>81</sup> supported his counsel and suggested that the accusations against Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī be eradicated and the two complainants drop their case. The Malikite judge was ready to back down, yet the Hanbalite insisted on continuing. At this point we disbanded, and the case remained unsolved.

On Friday afternoon we assembled again. The viceroy invited us and we agreed on the contents and style of the reports that would be dispatched to the headquarters in Cairo, supplemented with the viceroy's official memorandum (*muṭālī'a*). This decision was executed and the courier carried the memos to the Citadel on the Hill. Several weeks later, on Friday evening (19 Rabi' the Second/2 January 1366) we assembled again at the Dār al-Sa'āda. The three chief judges and other men participated in the gathering. The viceroy attempted at length to reach an agreement between al-Subkī, the chief Shafi'ite judge, who still was waiting in Cairo, and the other three chief judges. Yet his efforts resulted only in a long dispute and the disagreement continued. However, by the end some inclined to compromise. In my account of the coming month, I will report on this development.

On Friday (19 Rabi' the Second/2 January 1366), the abovementioned three judges, a group of expounders of Islamic law (*muftī*), the deputies of the Shafi'ite judge, i. e. Shams al-Dīn b. Ghazzī, Badr al-Dīn b. Wahaba, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Qāḍī al-Zabadānī, myself – the author Imād al-Dīn b. Kathīr, (...) and representatives of the rival party (...) gathered. I came across the viceroy at the gallery at the entrance to Dār al-Sa'āda hall. The viceroy sat at the entrance as we gathered around him. He opened by addressing us: "if we Turks (i. e. army officers) fail to reach an agreement, then we summon religious scholars who find the way to restore harmony. What can we do when you, the religious establishment, fail to agree? Who will bring to an accord?" Next he repeated the accusations made against

81 Sharf al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma al-Ḥanbalī. See Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh*, 3: 295 (AH 767); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 717.

[Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī al-Shafīʿī], which have been already mentioned previously. He argued that the charges and claims, which had been written in the documents and presented at the assembly, serve our enemies. So he urged the judges to agree upon a reconciliation. Some did not respond and the others did not agree. A debate developed at the assembly. The charges were discussed once again. At the end the viceroy asked us: “Have you not heard God’s words: Allah forgives whatever happened in the past (Q. 5: 95)?” These words softened the hearts of the assembly. The viceroy ordered the chief secretary to compose a memorandum and to report to Cairo about the agreed settlement. With this positive conclusion we departed. The case terminated.

Shortly after this assembly, al-Subkī departed Cairo and headed northward, back home (29 Jumādā the First 767/11 February 1366). In Damascus, his supporters received him in a colourful and noisy festival. Next day a conference was held to finalize the last touches of the settlement that had been agreed between the disputing parties (1 Jumādā the Second 767/13 February 1366).<sup>82</sup> Yet Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī’s relief lasted only a short period. At the end of that year his patron in the Citadel of Cairo was executed. Following Yulbughā al-Khāṣṣakī’s downfall, al-Subkī lost his position as the Shafīʿite judge of Damascus. He was replaced by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī in Jumādā I 769/February 1368. Shortly afterwards he would face charges of embezzlement (Shaʿbān 769/March 1368).<sup>83</sup> Yet after several months al-Subkī successfully obtained a restoration decree (Dhū al-Qaʿda 769/June 1368) and saw al-Bulqīnī’s departure from town.<sup>84</sup>

In 769/1368 Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī was imprisoned. While awaiting the decision from Cairo he was confined in the citadel of Damascus. The court assembled at Dār al-Saʿāda, where Tāj al-Dīn faced very serious accusations of misappropriating property (Shaʿbān 769/April 1368).<sup>85</sup> His ordeal (*fitna*; *miḥna*)<sup>86</sup> continued for

82 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, 18: 707–13, (727/1366; who was a participant/observer). This episode is the last event reported by Ibn Kathīr; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 272–73; This date is the *terminus post ante* of Ibn al-Zamlakānī’s composition.

83 For a similar situation a generation later, see Lutz Wiederhold, “Legal-Religious Elite, Temporal Authority, and the Caliphate in Mamluk Society: Conclusions Drawn from the Examination of a ‘Zahiri Revolt’ in Damascus in 1386,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999): 203–235.

84 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 314–19, 345–346, 347, 374; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat*, 3: 321, 329; Aḥmad al-Bayrūtī, *Kitāb*, 41r.

85 In an ego document, Ibn Hījī says: “I had obtained an *ijāza* from him as early as 771/1369 or even earlier. This resulted from the fact that in those days I lived in the al-Umariyya neighbourhood, while my father travelled with al-Bulqīnī to Cairo, because of the Tāj al-Dīn [al-Subkī’s] affair. I entered the Nūr al-Dīn Ḥammām (bath) and saw him there... According to the notary Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Kasirat, who served with us in the ‘Adaliyya, he passed away on the first day of the current month”. Ibn Hījī, *Taʾrīkh*, 39–40 (796/1393).

86 On this term see Evgeny I. Zelenev and Milana Iliushina, “The ‘Fitna’ Concept within the Context of the Sultan Barquq (1382–1399) and the Karamanids Relations”, *Iran and the Caucasus* 20 (2016): 179–190.

eighty days. Only the intervention of the judge Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Munajjā improved al-Subkī's condition and lifted the restrictions. Returning from Cairo to Damascus, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī retook several lucrative positions (Rabīʿ I 770/October 1368), in addition to his position as the chief judge. As already mentioned above, traditionally these offices were held by the leading Shafīʿite jurists.<sup>87</sup> He succeeded in increasing his status and income by inheriting the post of the *mudarris* of the al-Shāmiyya al-Juwāniyya academy, which until then had been in the hands of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Faṭḥ, the now deceased son of his sister (d. Shawwāl 771/May 1370).<sup>88</sup> This was a very short-lived position, which ended with al-Subkī's death several weeks later (7 Dhū al-Ḥijja 771/1 July 1370).<sup>89</sup>

#### 4. The Text

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Zamlakānī composed the *Maqāmat al-naṣr fī manāqib imām al-ʿaṣr* at an unspecified date (presumably between Jumādā II 767-Rabīʿ II 768/February-December 1366). His short prosimetric epistle (*maqāma*) revolves around a dramatic episode in the life of al-Subkī, who is the central figure (protagonist) of the plot. Moreover, Ibn al-Zamlakānī's storyline casts light on the Damascus political environment, on a power struggle that ruptured the religious establishment, and on the communication of this class with the governing Mamlūk elite in Damascus and Cairo. The narrative also projects the reaction of al-Subkī's circle to the impeachment and arrest of the imposing jurisconsult (*faqīh*), their admired authority (ʿālim).<sup>90</sup> Since the scheme of the text before us is a short narrative-epistle in ornamental rhymed prose it fits the general outlines of the *maqāmā* genre.<sup>91</sup>

Ibn al-Zamlakānī's *maqāma* is a unique work. The composer justly names his literary piece a *maqāma*, a label that deserves a short explanation. The term has its own history, and was first used in Arabic literary texts.<sup>92</sup> In the period studied

87 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 346–47; this is the *terminus post quem* of Ibn al-Zamlakānī's composition.

88 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 362.

89 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 363 (Dhū al-Ḥijja 771/July 1370), 372–375; Aḥmad al-Bayrūtī, *Kitāb* 57b–59a (who was a contemporary: “I heard from his student”). He quotes Ibn Nubāta and Badr al-Dīn ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*; the printed edition of that work ends in AH 770).

90 On panegyric composition in those years, see Jo Van Steenberghe, “Qalāwūnid Discourse, Elite Communication and the Mamluk Cultural Matrix: Interpreting a 14th-Century Panegyric,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43 (2012): 1–28.

91 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002) 87, 211–213; Rina Drory, “maqāma (pl. maqāmāt)” in Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature* (London: Routledge, 1998), 2: 507.

92 On the multiple meanings of this term and heterogeneous genre, see Donald S. Richards, “The ‘Maqāmāt’ of Al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscript,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22/2 (1991): 92; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “The early Maqāma: towards



here, this genre encompassed diverse oral and written oeuvres.<sup>93</sup> In our study, the term *maqāma* signals a story that is transmitted by a narrator (or at least told in his voice), who distances himself from the event and names several secondary characters, evil and good.<sup>94</sup> He lectures about an episode in rhyming prose.<sup>95</sup> It is a biographical note,<sup>96</sup> not a biography, which is a selective account of a single life starting from birth but which often does not reach the grave.<sup>97</sup>

The aesthetics of the *maqāma* were determined by the style's conventions,<sup>98</sup> and by the expectations of the public whom the author addressed. In our case, four potential audience circles can be identified: 1) the sultan in the Citadel, 2) the commander of the armies (*atabāk*), Yulbughā al-Khaṣṣākī (the Cairene kingmaker), and his entourage, 3) the *qāḍī* al-Subkī himself and his adherents, and 4) the religious establishment in Damascus.

To praise his hero's virtues and to depict the Islamic ideals of government and justice Ibn al-Zamlakānī compiled a rich text. Inserting long citations, which can be identified as extracts from earlier works the author wove a complex narrative.<sup>99</sup> Studded with verses from the Qurʾān, prophetic sayings, maxims by highly respected early Muslims and aphorisms from the Persian and Greek traditions that were

---

defining a genre," *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft* 51 (1997): 577–599. On the history of the genre and its development, see Devin Stewart, "The *Maqāma*," in Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature 6: Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 145–158; Philip F. Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a nexus of interests," in Julia Bray (ed.), *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim horizons* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 153.

93 Cf. Salah al-Dīn Khalīl. b. Aybak al-Ṣafādī (696–764/1296–1363) *Maqāmāt rashf al-raḥīq fī waṣf al-ḥarīq* (Ammān: al-Risāla, 2002), that tells of a fire in Mecca; or the erotic *maqāma* by Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Suyūtī (849–911/1445–1505), *Rashf al-zulāl min al-sihr al-ḥalāl* [The drinking of blood/milk from a forbidden spell] (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 1997).

94 Cf. Maurice A. Pomerantz, "A *Maqāma* Collection by a Mamlūk Historian: al-*Maqāmāt* al-Ḡalālīyya by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ṣafādī (fl. First Quarter of the 8th/14th c.)," *Arabica* 61 (2014): 640–656.

95 Roger Allen, *A Period of Time: A Study of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's Hadith Isa ibn Hisham* (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 1992), 15–16.

96 ʿAbd al-Rahman Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (849–911/1445–1505), *Sharḥ maqāmāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṣuyūtī* ed. Samir Maḥmūd Durūbī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1989), 1: 223.

97 Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, expanded edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 11.

98 Poets in the lands of the sultanate produced a considerable number of verses eulogizing sultans, emirs and scholars. See for example Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātāh al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366), *Diwān Ibn Nubātāh* (Beirut, Dār Iḥyā al-turath al-ʿArabī, n.d.), who names the house of al-Subkī and the sultan al-Ḥasan; Bauer, "Ibn Nubātāh al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366)," *Mamluk Studies Review* 12/1 (2008): 9–10; "Ibn Nubātāh al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works Part II: The *Diwān* of Ibn Nubātāh," *Mamluk Studies Review* 12/2 (2008): 51.

99 On this feature of the *maqāma*, see Alexander E. Elinson, "Tears Shed over the Poetic Past: The Prosification of Rithā' al-Mudun in al-Saraqustī's 'Maqāma Qayrawāniyya,'" *Journal of Arabic Literature* 36/1 (2005): 1–27.

incorporated into Islamic political texture. The discourse also contains passages extracted from the mirrors for princes and sultans literature (*specula principum*).<sup>100</sup>

Particularly visible are the long quotations from al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj al-mulūk*.<sup>101</sup> The considerable number of extant manuscripts of the *Sirāj* indicate that it was a popular book in the Middle Islamic period Arab-Islamic world.<sup>102</sup> Crafted as a mirror for princes, the *Sirāj al-mulūk* illuminates the ideal model of Islamic government.<sup>103</sup> Al-Ṭurṭūshī emphasizes the value of justice (ʿ*adl*) as the very foundation of a vibrant polity.<sup>104</sup> Righteousness is the prime virtue in which the ruler must be clothed. He deals with two levels of justice, one that he calls prophetic and the other that he defines as political. The first is in accordance with revelation and religion and the second develops from customs and political wisdom. Injustice (*jawr*), which undermines the social order and welfare, threatens both categories. Our author uses particularly the passages from the *Sirāj* that highlight this line of argumentation, as also other sections that portray the ideal Muslim ruler.

Governors, Ibn al-Zamlakānī argues, should work closely with the religious establishment. They should recognise that the ʿ*ulamā* are the central prop of the Islamic government. The religious scholars are, in his presentation, the key to an effective regime. No doubt, Ibn al-Zamlakānī follows al-Ṭurṭūshī and bestows upon the Muslim scholars and jurists the authority to legitimate Muslim rulers' actions, their policy and other measures taken by them. This rationale is in line with his efforts to represent al-Subkī, his mentor, as the pillar of the Damascene scene. Such narrative technique seems quite common in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Damascus. References to

100 *Naṣiḥat al-mulūk in Arabic* (literally "advice for rulers"). See Louise Marlow, "Surveying Recent Literature on the Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes Genre," *History Compass* 7/2 (2009): 523–538; Linda T. Darling, "Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability," in Al. Classen (ed.), *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 223–243.

101 This Fatimid author and his works are well researched. s.v. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 10: 739; Mohammed A. Bamyeh, *Anarchy as Order: The History and Future of Civic Humanity* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009), 77–78; M. Fierro, "Ṭurṭūshī", in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), vol. 3 (1050–1200): 387–395; Louise Marlow, "Among Kings and Sages: Greek and Indian Wisdom in an Arabic Mirror for Princes," *Arabica* 60 (2013): 24.

102 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walid al-Turtūshī al-Mālīkī (451–520/1160–1126), *Sirāj al-mulūk* ed. Muḥammad F. Abū Bakr (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1414/1994).

103 On this genre, see the recent study by Linda T. Darling, "Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East". For an automated text analysis of these texts, see Lisa Blaydes, Justin Grimmer, Alison McQueen, "Mirrors for Princes and Sultans: Advice on the Art of Governance in the Medieval Christian and Islamic Worlds" (Stanford University Mimeo, 2014).

104 Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 176–77; Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Politics* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 105–106.