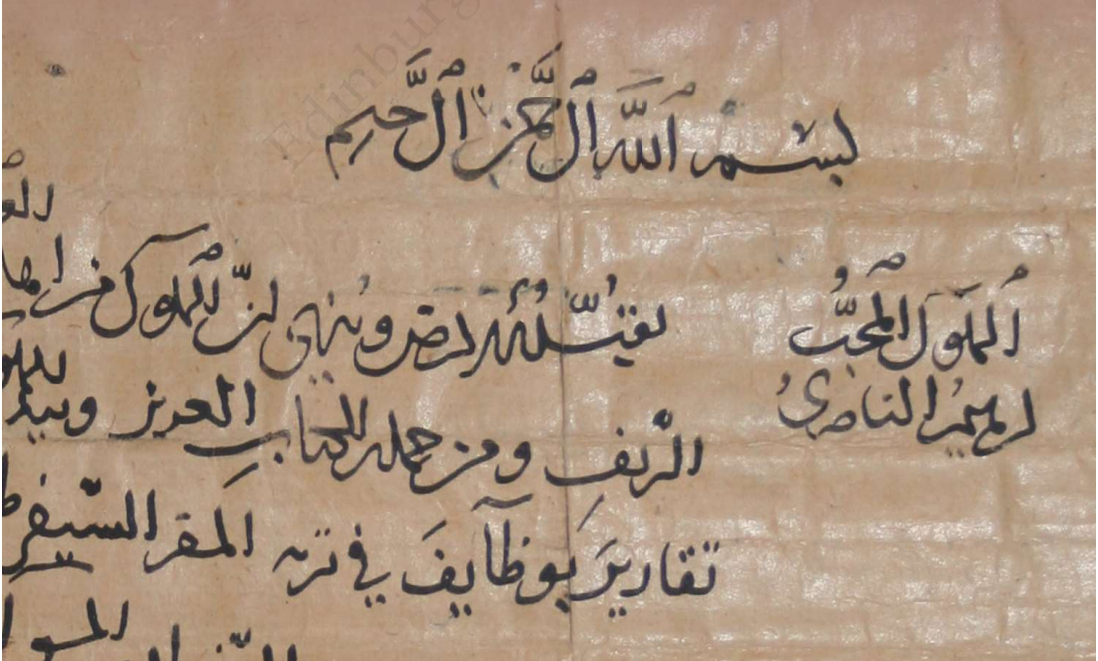
SAID ALJOUMANI AND KONRAD HIRSCHLER

OWNING BOOKS AND PRESERVING DOCUMENTS IN MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM

THE LIBRARY OF BURHAN AL-DIN



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Argument and Historiographical Setting: Books, Documents and Social Practice

Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Nāṣirī died in the autumn of the year 1387, on what was probably a mild day in Jerusalem. Most readers of this book have surely never heard of him, as Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was neither rich nor famous, was part neither of the political nor the social elite, and was neither an acclaimed scholar nor a widely travelled trader. He was, rather, a man of modest means whose routine life juggling numerous part-time positions as reciter in his home town of Jerusalem did not leave any trace in the chronicles of his period. Yet his death gave birth to a remarkable collection of inventories and lists that tell a tale of material objects (mostly books, but also pots and plates), social aspiration and archival reconfigurations. This paperwork allows us a unique insight into a non-elite life and also a non-elite library in medieval Bilād al-Shām. It is precisely because Burhān al-Dīn was in many ways so unremarkable that his life is central to the lines of argument that this book will pursue. This tale of aspiration, books and archival collections does not take place in highly visible social sites, such as the Sultan's court or prestigious *madrasa*s. Rather, it mostly takes place in the mundane mainstream of Arabic Muslim society of that period – in modest dwellings, narrow alleyways and little-known mausolea.

We do not know what Burhān al-Dīn's death meant emotionally to Shīrīn, his wife, and the five children he left behind. We are, however, quite well-informed about the financial and legal side of things, as his death set in motion two closely linked routine processes in order to settle his estate. His personal belongings were firstly converted into easily divisible cash by public auction, and at the same time documents linked to him were brought together in order to settle outstanding claims and debts. Even though these were routine processes, Burhān al-Dīn's case is unusual in that the 'estate archive', as

we call it, of over fifty documents that was assembled to sort out his inheritance has survived until today. This corpus of documents, currently held in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram al-sharīf (Temple Mount) in Jerusalem, provides the scaffolding for re-creating the world of Burhān al-Dīn. In the sale booklet of his estate we see, for instance, (parts of) the material world of an average Jerusalem household of the period: combs change hands as much as razors, cushions, vessels, jars, fans, knives and door bolts. We get an idea of the clothing worn by a man such as Burhān al-Dīn, including over-garments, knitwear, long robes and headgear. Finally, and most importantly for the lines of discussion developed here, the booklet contains information on over three hundred books that had been in his ownership – Burhān al-Dīn's library.

This book proposes three main arguments, and the phenomenon of significant non-elite book ownership is central to the first: namely, that the use of the written word, literacy, had by the eighth/fourteenth century become a central feature of almost all spheres of life in the region. With this line of argument, the present book completes in some sense a trilogy on documented libraries and book collections from pre-Ottoman Bilād al-Shām.[1] The two previous studies have shown, firstly, how large and diverse the contents of library collections in endowed organisations were (the library of the Ashrafīya Mausoleum in seventh/thirteenth-century Damascus),[2] and secondly how important personal book collections of scholars were in the urban topographies of books (the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library of ninth/fifteenth-century Damascus).[3] The library of Burhān al-Dīn in eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem, in turn, shows the decisive role of non-elite book ownership within urban topographies of books.

This study not only extends the argumentation of its two predecessors on books and libraries. It also looks beyond the world of books and libraries to develop an argument on the salience of the written word with reference to pragmatic literacy, that is, the use of written documents for often very

[1] Bilād al-Shām refers to the modern nation-states of Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Jordan, Syria (except for northern Mesopotamia) and parts of southern Turkey. It is the most frequently used geographical term in the chronicle of Jerusalem by al-ʿUlaymī (d. 928/1522), *al-Uns al-jalīl* (Schick, *Geographical Terminology*, 93).

[2] Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*.

[3] Hirschler, *Monument*.

mundane and even trifling transactions.[4] In contrast to colleagues working on medieval Europe, we are much more hesitant to identify a 'writing revolution' in a specific period.[5] There is, however, no doubt that astonishingly mundane transactions triggered the writing of documents, among them intricate orders to pay very modest salaries and receipts for paying equally modest rents for what must have been very humble dwellings. The dense networks of books and also documents that we will see in the following chapters were part of the long-term processes of textualisation and popularisation in Egypt and Syria (and probably beyond) in this period.[6] By combining the analysis of book ownership (and library) with the analysis of document use (and archiving) in one specific case study, this book suggests a distinct approach that might contribute to further conversations on literacy in the pre-Ottoman period. Both fields are highly dynamic, as evidenced by the recent publication of Beatrice Gruendler's *Rise of the Arabic Book* and Marina Rustow's *Lost Archive*. We are thus in a much better position to think of books and documents together now than we were two decades ago.

The second main argument of this book puts an emphasis on social practices, namely socio-cultural practices establishing patronage–client relationships between members of the military and political elites on the one hand and members of wider society on the other. We argue that these patronage–client relationships were not exclusively established and maintained through endowed organisations (such as *madrasa*s), as scholarship has emphasised so far. Rather, we can also observe institutionalised practices of peripheral households providing patronage outside such organisational structures – practices that are below the radar of most of our available sources. This argument is intended to be part of a wider rethinking of late medieval society in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām, in particular the gradual fading of the 'state' as an analytical category.[7] Scholarship has used this category profusely, but has hardly ever conceptualised what this state was meant to be. One of us pleads guilty for having in the past used this term in exactly this under-conceptualised way where it

[4] In taking this approach we were inspired by works such as Bainton, *History and the Written Word*.
[5] See for instance Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday*.
[6] Hirschler, *Written Word*.
[7] This development was also inspired by debates on the 'state' in late medieval European political history such as Watts, *Making of Polities*.

does not contribute to clarity of argument but, on the contrary, puts a thin structuralist veneer over highly complex – and highly fascinating – processes.[8]

Rather than falling back on this under-conceptualised and under-explained concept of statehood, some recent scholarship has adopted a much more fine-grained approach in analysing the production, contestation and implementation of political authority by focusing on different loci of authority, among them the household, as analytical units. In this book, we refer in particular to the work of Jo van Steenbergen in analysing social structures during this period in terms of household politics and competition.[9] As we will see, paying closer attention to precise historical actors and processes, rather than to how 'the Mamluk State' supposedly is doing something or other, allows a much better understanding of the documents that an individual such as Burhān al-Dīn produced and received. The concept of the state might have mileage for analysing other phenomena, but for this book's characters and this book's objects, for the institutions and organisations it analyses, and for the developments and processes it traces, this concept proved to have no value.

The book's third line of argument is concerned with archival practices. The question of the archive is one of the few topics where the field of late medieval Arabic history has had something like a debate, and the relevant scholarship will be reviewed in Chapter 3. Our contribution to this debate is not particularly conceptual, as we broadly follow the line first indicated by Tamer El-Leithy, which emphasises a focus on archival process rather than searching for the brick-and-mortar archive.[10] This in turn allows us to suggest a set of archival practices that led to the formation of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus of over 900 documents. The main point here is that numerous archival actors (once again, decisively more complex – and fascinating – than a 'state') were the protagonists in preserving paperwork in numerous archival sites widely distributed across the urban topography (mostly 'at home'). This wide spatial distribution of documents brings the book's arguments full circle, to some extent, because Burhān al-Dīn's books, too, were redistributed across more than sixty new households when they left his home after the auction.

[8] Hirschler, *The Formation of the Civilian Elite*.
[9] In particular, van Steenbergen, *Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State*, and in a more syntactical way van Steenbergen, *History of the Islamic World*.
[10] El-Leithy, *Living Documents, Dying Archives*.

It is precisely this wide distribution of books *and* documents that underlies the argument that literacy, in terms of textualisation and popularisation, had become such a central feature of life in this period.

This book thus engages with three fields of studies (library/book studies, history of the Mamluk period and documentary/archival studies) and we will review the relevant scholarship in the following chapters. However, the (non-)use of two terms, 'institution' and 'Mamluk', are linked to broader changes in scholarship and deserve to be addressed right away in this introduction. With regard to the use of the term 'institution', Hofer has successfully introduced a differentiation to the field of the pre-Ottoman history of Egypt and Syria: institutions show patterns of discursively recognised ways of behaviour whereas organisations arise from highly institutionalised social fields.[11] In that sense, the *madrasa*s, mausolea and *khānqāh*s in which we find Burhān al-Dīn procuring salaried positions are referred to as organisations in this book. By contrast, his strategy of acquiring personal stipends from households of the military-political elite is understood as an institutionalised pattern of behaviour. This terminological convention can be fruitfully combined with Paula Manstetten's suggestion that we should focus on *processes* of institutionalisation, rather than on binaries such as formal/informal and systematic/unsystematic, in order to analyse changes in social and cultural practices.[12] This emphasis on how institutions gradually crystallise via – often very non-linear – processes is particularly helpful when thinking about book collections. For understanding the making and unmaking of book collections and libraries, binaries such as 'formal endowed library' versus 'informal private library' are generally analytical cul-de-sacs that create more problems than they solve.

The second terminological convention adopted in this book concerns the term 'Mamluk' and is more controversial. The qualifier 'Mamluk' was an enormously successful point of reference for the formation of a distinct (and by now quite large) field of studies. Universities and research institutes across West Asia, North Africa, Europe, Japan and the USA hired in this area in the course of the second half of the twentieth century, leading to a steep rise in publications, specialised conferences and large-scale research projects.

[11] Hofer, *Popularisation of Sufism*.
[12] Manstetten, *Ibn 'Asākir's History of Damascus*.

Yet the adoption of this term to characterise and shape a scholarly field called Mamluk Studies has come at a cost. There has been a tendency to overstate the importance of military slavery and of a supposed shared ethnogenesis on an elite level in analysing the political and social processes between the seventh/thirteenth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries in West Asia and North Africa (the 'Mamluk' period).[13] The time has come to conceptually 'de-Mamlukise' our field, and we will largely avoid the term in this book, as the cultural, political and social processes that we observe are hardly ever specifically 'Mamluk'.

The terminological alternatives to 'Mamluk' are – we must admit – at least equally fraught with problems. Jo van Steenbergen has proposed the term 'Cairo Sultanate' and this does indeed work in many cases. However, there is a stylistic issue (try to derive an adjective from this term), and at some points using this term underplays the agency of individuals and groups situated in regions beyond Cairo. In such cases we have thus simply used the centuries, and if that was too awkward we have resorted to the term 'medieval'. Now, 'medieval' is obviously packed with problems, and Thomas Bauer has formulated a wonderfully eloquent and beautifully sharp argument against using this term for the history of non-European regions.[14] Colleagues working on European medieval history abandoned the idea that this term has any analytical value long ago and they use it as a purely descriptive and conventional term.[15] So, in some sense one can argue that 'medieval' is by now an empty chronological marker that has as little analytical usefulness for the history of Latin Europe as it has for the history of other world regions such as West Asia, North Africa and South Asia. In our view the term is actually particularly attractive for talking about the history of regions such as West Asia and North Africa, because it is so obviously alien and analytically pointless. Now that

[13] Van Steenbergen, *Revisiting the Mamlūk Empire*, *History of the Islamic World* and *Nomen Est Omen*.

[14] Bauer, *Warum es kein islamisches Mittelalter gab*.

[15] As already evident in Gerhard, *Periodization in European History* from 1956. See also Reuter, *Medieval: Another Tyrannous Construct?*; von Moos, *Gefahren des Mittelalterbegriffs*; Holmes and Standen, *Towards a Global Middle Ages*; Dusil et al., 'Typisch Mittelalter?'. Suggestions for discarding the term for European history have not yet proposed convincing alternatives – see for instance Jussen, *Richtig denken im falschen Rahmen?* – and often end up with something called 'pre-modern'. For a recent contribution to this debate that indicates a more profound rethinking of the 'medieval' and explicitly refers to T. Bauer's impact see Depreux et al., *Relevanz der Mediävistik*.

historical scholarship has so lovingly taken apart and emptied 'medieval' in the last few decades we consider it to have less conceptual potential for damage than 'Mamluk'. The term 'Mamluk' has not been reduced yet to such a mere descriptive and conventional status, but rather still carries analytical connotations, for instance regarding military slavery as the central phenomenon of the period – connotations that are entirely irrelevant or even misleading for the individuals, groups and objects we are discussing in this book.

Profiling and Situating the Library

At the centre of this book's arguments stands Burhān al-Dīn's library. This library matters so much because it was impressively large, and at the same time because it is the oldest library of an individual in Jerusalem (and wider Bilād al-Shām) for which we have comprehensive documentary evidence. On the first point, size, the number of books that Burhān al-Dīn owned, over three hundred, needs to be put into perspective to have any meaning. If we consider Latin European libraries and book collections, we see that in the British Isles the number of books in medieval monastic libraries typically did not exceed the low to mid-hundreds and only the most remarkable libraries, such as those at Norwich Cathedral's priory, Christ Church Cathedral and St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, and Bury St Edmunds Abbey, had collections that came close to 2,000 volumes.[16] In France, the royal library in the Louvre, founded during the lifetime of Burhān al-Dīn and dissolved three decades after his death, was the largest library after the papal libraries in Avignon and the library of the Sorbonne, but did not exceed 900 manuscripts.[17] Cistercian monasteries in the Holy Roman Empire at this point had an average stock of 400 books, not so many more than Burhān al-Dīn kept at home.[18] It thus seems that the collection of books in the house of this unremarkable individual in Bilād al-Shām was not too far from the numbers of books held in quite august libraries in Latin Europe.

To drive this point home, it is obviously much more appropriate to draw comparisons with personal libraries beyond the highest elites. In Latin Europe,

[16] For details see Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, 3.
[17] Kopp, *Der König und die Bücher*.
[18] Neddermeyer, *Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, I, 70.

parish priests are to some extent comparable with a reciter such as Burhān al-Dīn in social and intellectual terms; the book ownership patterns of Bavarian priests a century after Burhān al-Dīn died have received the closest attention. The parish priest Mathias Bürer (d. 1485) left twenty-six manuscripts to St Gall, Johannes Molitoris owned more than forty volumes and Ulrich Pfeffel owned thirty-two manuscripts and three printed books. However, parish priests more typically owned much smaller collections of one or two books.[19] When more substantial personal libraries arose on the British Isles in the sixteenth century, obviously a period when the number of printed books shot up, 'a library of 100 books was a substantial collection'.[20] The extent of Burhān al-Dīn's holdings is also quite impressive when turning to the Iberian Peninsula during the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. Here, Jewish book owners and their libraries were found to possess an average of twenty-eight books per owner with few individuals owning well over 100 books.[21] In Iberian Christian society numbers were more modest, and even the largest libraries of the aristocracy did not go beyond 'a couple of hundred books'.[22] We will return to the numbers in Chapter 4, but the main point here is that we find, in the eighth/fourteenth century in a relatively small town such as Jerusalem in the house of a rather average individual such as Burhān al-Dīn, a number of books that is strikingly high in trans-regional comparative perspective.

What does this statement and the book's three main arguments mean in the wider scheme of things? This book is obviously a micro-history and, like any micro-history, it raises the question of the extent to which broader statements can be derived from this one case. In order to tackle this issue, we have contextualised the case study at various stages of the argument in order to make transparent our process of formulating broader statements. The splendid recent examples of documentary micro-history such as Elizabeth Lambourn's *Abraham's Luggage* and Nandini Chatterjee's *Negotiating Mughal Law* have shown in what ways micro-historical approaches hold so long as the methodological approach is clearly laid out. Following these examples, we argue that the case of Burhān al-Dīn's books is indeed representative of broader trends

[19] Wranovix, *Priests and Their Books*.
[20] Purcell, *Country House Library*, 56.
[21] Hacker, *Jewish Book Owners and Their Libraries*, 95.
[22] Lawrance, *Une bibliothèque fort complète*, 1,079.

in terms of quantity, but we are much more hesitant – on account of much weaker contextual data – to make the same claim for representativeness with regard to content, that is the intellectual profile of the library's books.

Apart from size, the second special feature of this library is that it is the oldest documented personal library in Jerusalem and Bilād al-Shām.[23] This phrase warrants some discussion, as any town and city in the region has a history of libraries that starts well before the eighth/fourteenth century. In addition, the claim to an 'oldest' anything in Jerusalem is particularly sensitive on account of the disputed status of the city in the modern period. What we refer to here is not that Burhān al-Dīn's library was some kind of beginning or that Jerusalem was at the centre of some major development – if Jerusalem was indeed the *City of the Book*,[24] the major urban centres in Bilād al-Shām such as Damascus and Aleppo were the metropolises of the book. Burhān al-Dīn's books constitute simply the oldest library outside an organisation (synagogue, monastery, *madrasa* and so on) for which we have documentary evidence. There is no doubt that many personal libraries had previously existed in Jerusalem and many more in wider Bilād al-Shām, but these remain elusive on account of scarce extant documentation.

That documentary evidence is available for this library is so crucial because what we know about the library history of Jerusalem (and most other towns and cities in the region) mostly comes from narrative reports such as chronicles.[25] These include, for instance, the cathedral library used by William of Tyre in the sixth/twelfth century,[26] but even the existence or non-existence of a library in a town as large as Frankish Acre is open to discussion.[27] In the rare cases where documentary evidence has survived these are libraries attached to some kind of organisation, such as the Frankish Augustinian chapter library in nearby Nazareth from c. 1200, for which a very brief book list exists.[28] Jerusalem is in one way special in terms of the history of libraries in the region,

[23] We thank Merav Mack for her crucial advice on the wider library history of Jerusalem.
[24] Mack and Balint, *Jerusalem. City of the Book*.
[25] In addition, we have ample evidence of Jerusalem's book culture beyond libraries, see for instance Goldstein, *Arabic Book Culture*.
[26] Mayer, *Pontifikale von Tyrus*; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 20.
[27] As evident from Rubin, *Learning in a Crusader City*.
[28] Beddie, *Notices of Books in the East*; Bale, *Reading and Writing in Outremer*, 112; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 35.

namely because it houses several medieval libraries that have had a more or less continuous existence until today, such as the patriarchal Greek Orthodox library[29] and the Franciscan library at Mount Zion.[30] However, they are again of limited relevance for our topic as they are attached to organisations and did not have individual owners. In addition, these libraries have been heavily reconfigured in the course of recent centuries and it will require very detailed studies to reconstruct their actual holdings at a given point in the past.

Jerusalem is special in another way, in that it houses extant historical family libraries, such as, most famously, the Khālidīya and the Budayrīya libraries. Here we have book collections that were once owned by individual family members, and these libraries have an enormous potential for writing the book history of Jerusalem and thus contributing to the wider history of libraries in West Asia and North Africa. However, these libraries were heavily reconfigured in the late Ottoman period when they gained their status as family libraries and when individual collections were merged.[31] More importantly, even if we were able to reconstruct the libraries of individual family members they would go back no further than the twelfth/eighteenth century and are thus much younger than Burhān al-Dīn's book collection. Finally, one would have expected documentary corpora other than the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus to yield material, especially the Cairo Geniza(s). Here we do indeed find many lists on books and libraries in Cairo, but they are conspicuously silent on libraries in Jerusalem.[32] At most we get letters referring to books from a pre-Frankish synagogue library.[33] Burhān al-Dīn's library is thus indeed, for the time being, the oldest documented personal library in the history of Jerusalem – and wider Bilād al-Shām.[34]

[29] Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, 213–34.

[30] Campopiano, *Writing the Holy Land*, 55–87.

[31] The history of the library provided by al-Khālidī, *al-Maktaba al-khālidīya* and the historical sketch in Ju'beh and Salameh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Khālidīya* can now be enlarged by the rich data of the library's manuscript notes.

[32] Frenkel, *Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah*, summarising Allony, *Jewish Library*, does not refer to any documents linked to libraries in Jerusalem. Miriam Frenkel confirmed this absence of book lists linked to Jerusalem in an email communication (June 2021).

[33] Goitein, *Contemporary Letters*.

[34] Contributions such as Scheiner, *Ibn 'Asākir's Virtual Library* strive to reconstruct the texts available to a specific scholar, but not a 'library'. Libraries owned by individuals beyond Bilād al-Shām include the seventh/thirteenth-century case studied in D'Ottone, *Bibliothèque d'un savant yéménite*.

While Burhān al-Dīn's library can lay claim to being the oldest comprehensively *documented* library of an individual in Bilād al-Shām, it is by no means the oldest *preserved* library of an individual owner. We have not succeeded in matching a single title listed in the sale booklet for his collection with an actual codex currently sitting on the shelves of some library around the world (see Chapter 7 for details on this) – yet surely there are extant codices. His library is thus a virtual or phantom library which we know existed, but for which the material traces are missing. That we could not work with extant codices is exactly the opposite of the situation for the Rifāʿīya library. This is one of the oldest preserved libraries from Bilād al-Shām that has not reached us via an organisation's library such as a *madrasa* library. Boris Liebrenz has studied this mid-nineteenth-century Damascene library, which was transferred as such to Leipzig.[35] For this library we thus have the actual books, but neither the library nor its owner is mentioned in any Arabic documentation, so that we have two perfectly inverted cases: no codices, but ample documentation for Burhān al-Dīn's library (calling for the documentary approach);[36] ample codices, but no additional Arabic documents for the Rifāʿīya (calling for the corpus approach).[37]

The field of Arabic-script library and book studies has undergone an amazing development in recent years. We have reviewed this development before and there is no need to repeat it here.[38] However, for the line of work that we pursue, documentary-based library archaeology, there are two pioneering predecessors who need to be mentioned as we are so deeply indebted to their main publications, both published in the 1960s: ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, the documentary grand master of Egypt, especially with his *Dirāsāt fī al-kutub wa-al-maktabāt al-islāmīya*; and Youssef Eche (Yūsuf al-ʿĪsh), director of the Ẓāhirīya Library in Damascus, with his *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et*

[35] Liebrenz, *Rifāʿīya aus Damaskus*. Thanks to the work by Paul Love another large cluster of libraries has entered scholarship over the last decade, the North African Ibadi libraries (cf. Love, *Ibadi Muslims of North Africa*).

[36] Though this 'ample' documentation is still very patchy when compared to cases such as the late medieval royal library at the Louvre in Paris (discussed by Kopp, *Der König und die Bücher*), for which we have four inventory lists for less than fifty years, and further lists on lending and acquisitions, as well as bills, receipts and payment orders (in addition to extant codices and illustrations).

[37] On the different approaches (narrative/normative-sources, corpus and documentary), see Hirschler, *Monument*, 5–9.

[38] Aljoumani, *Maktaba madrasīya fī Ḥalab*, 9–17; Hirschler, *Monument*, 5–17.

semipubliques. There are also two new projects on libraries in the late eighth/fourteenth and early tenth/sixteenth century that are of direct relevance to our work.[39] Kristof D'Hulster has taken a decisive first step in reconstructing the court library in Cairo using the corpus approach. In his *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves*, and in a steady stream of addenda since, he offers a splendid discussion of numerous books and titles that had once been part of the library of Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16). In his Ph.D., Kyle Wynter-Stoner (University of Chicago) undertakes a similar reconstruction project identifying the extant codices that once were in the library of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ustādār (d. 799/1397). Maḥmūd was the major-domo of the sultan in Cairo from 792/1390 to 798/1395 and thus one of the most prominent officers of his time. He also delved into the murkier side of life (at least that is how he was portrayed) and he even plays a walk-on part in the story of Burhān al-Dīn, as we will see. Both projects show the vivid book culture within the military and political elite (severely under-studied so far) and the crucial importance of book ownership in this section of society.[40] A recent important development in the history of books and libraries specifically in Bilād al-Shām has been the development of a cluster of works on Aleppo. Feras Krimsti has studied the extant library of a Maronite physician of the eighteenth century, and Benedikt Reier the earlier book inventory of an Aleppan book collector.[41] Simon Mills has published an analysis of the English side of the story during the seventeenth century with a heavy emphasis on local scholars and booksellers in Aleppo.[42]

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[39] To this can be added Déroche, de Castilla and Tahali, *Les livres du sultan*, on the collection of Arabic codices in the San Lorenzo de El Escorial Library, which contains the books of the library of Moroccan Sultan Mūlay Zaydān. This corpus reflects to a large extent the profile of an early modern court library that was closely connected to the Cairene book market via the trans-regional book trade (many of them sold in public auctions similar to that of Burhān al-Dīn).

[40] On this issue see also Franssen, *Mamlūk amīr's Library* and Mauder, *In the Sultan's Salon*.

[41] Krimsti, *Lives and Afterlives*; Reier, *Bibliophilia in Ottoman Aleppo*. Charles Wilkins (Wake Forest) is working on an Aleppan estate inventory with 200 books left by a notable in the late eleventh/seventeenth century. The famous post-Ottoman conquest inventory of books in the citadel has finally been published in a slightly flawed edition (Inbaşı, *Haleb Kalesinde Tespit Edilen Kitaplar*), and D'hulster, *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves*, includes the authoritative version.

[42] Mills, *Commerce of Knowledge*.

In methodological terms, the most relevant line of research on Arabic-script book and library history are those studies within the documentary approach based on estate inventories. These studies are all placed in the Ottoman period because no other significant Arabic book-related inventory other than that of Burhān al-Dīn is known so far (or has been studied so far) for the pre-Ottoman period.[43] For the Ottoman period, by contrast, we have ample evidence, and of particular relevance for our purposes are those studies based on non-elite individuals beyond the usual scholarly contexts.[44] To these belong, for instance, analyses of book ownership within the military in Constantinople,[45] among women,[46] and among individuals from different walks of life in the Balkans and Damascus.[47] These studies show how socially widespread book ownership was in the Ottoman period, including among artisans and merchants. In methodological terms, the most important point coming out of the work with these inventories is the complexity of their quantitative data. Rather than trying to aggregate them into large samples – to flatten their respective meanings – each inventory has to be studied in its own right as to what it actually is: a representation (often partial) of one specific individual's possessions.[48] Furthermore, as we will see in the following as well, the term 'inventory' is often too blunt and most documents require much more careful discussion in order to understand their respective function. The micro-historical approach taken in this study was thus adopted not only out of necessity, but also as an explicit methodological choice inspired by Ottoman-period studies on inventories and lists.

Inventories and other lists are thus far from being neutral evidence; they are highly framed by legal, economic, cultural, social and linguistic factors.[49] For instance, inventories are never complete; they always marginalise or sideline what is seen as trivial, worthless and compromising. As Rudolf Schenda

[43] Non-Arabic book-related inventories include that for the French crusader knight Odo de Nevers (d. 1266) in Acre, including a missal, a breviary, a 'romanz de Loheranz' and 'a romanz de la terre d'outre mer' (cf. Bale, *Reading and Writing in Outremer*, 86).

[44] Aydın and Erünsal, *Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre*, use inventory registers to study book ownership among students, and Sievert, *Verlorene Schätze* among bureaucrats.

[45] Öztürk, *Askeri kassama ait*.

[46] Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kadınlar Ne Okuyordu*.

[47] Balkans: Sabev, *Private Book Collections* and Zubceviz, *Book Ownership*; Damascus: Establet/Pascual, *Les livres des gens*.

[48] On this see in particular Neumann, *Arm und Reich in Qaraferye*.

[49] See Young, *List Cultures* for one example of the long list of scholarship on inventories and lists.

showed decades ago for the European context, inventories of books did, for instance, systematically exclude 'trashy' literature.[50] Precisely because inventories are much more than just harmless lists they 'must be acknowledged as some of the most important evidence of culture, not just concerning things of the past, but regarding the relation of humans and things, that is, about (contexts of) life'.[51] The sale booklet at the centre of this book – and other documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn – look like rather boring lists, but they unfold considerable analytical potential once seen as such complex objects with many functions that deserve to be read in their specific historical context.

The Ḥaram al-sharīf Corpus

Burhān al-Dīn's estate archive is part of (or rather, distributed across) the corpus of documents preserved in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram al-sharīf, one of the most important pre-Ottoman documentary corpora for Bilād al-Shām and Egypt. The documents were 'academically discovered' in the course of the 1970s in several batches in drawers of the museum. The main protagonists in this process were Amal Abul-Hajj, Linda Northrup and Donald Little.[52] Notes accompanying the documents show that they had been known before: a member of staff had already started to work on some of them before the 1970s.[53] How and when the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus – as we call it today – came into being is entirely unknown so far and this constitutes a major methodological challenge for anyone working on and with these documents. We are only beginning to understand the steps that led to the amalgamation of what must have been clearly distinct collections. The situation recalls that of the Acquired Persian Documents in the National Archives of India (Delhi), where the collection is, as Nandini Chatterjee has argued, made up of a small number of family archives, the traces of which have been erased.[54] In response to this situation, Chapter 3 of this book centres on the question of how one of these independent collections in Jerusalem, Burhān al-Dīn's estate archive, was

[50] Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch*.
[51] Jaritz, *Stories Inventories Tell*, 166.
[52] Northrup/Abul-Hajj, *Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents*; Little, *Catalogue*. On Donald Little see the volume dedicated to his memory, Massoud, *Studies in Islamic Historiography*.
[53] Little, *Catalogue*, 2.
[54] Chatterjee, *Negotiating Mughal Law*, 28.

formed and how it might have joined others to become part of the present-day corpus.

The Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus has a complex and dynamic history of reconfigurations and material changes not only before the 1970s, but also thereafter. When the documents were prepared for cataloguing in the 1970s they were unfolded, and folding patterns potentially going back to the eighth/fourteenth century were lost. Subsequently, they were wetted with water and 'placed while still damp between the pages of Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture* ... and on top of these were placed, for extra pressure, a number of Islamic tombstones from those available in the museum'.[55] In this process further material evidence was lost and thus the history of sub-collections erased. Such lost evidence includes, for instance, information about which documents had been kept in a bundle as well as some of the strings that kept bundles of documents together. In subsequent years further changes occurred, and these can be traced to some extent via three sets of photographs that were taken over the years: the black and white photographs taken by Martin Lyons in 1978, the colour photographs taken in 2010 and a new set of colour photographs taken in 2014.[56] For instance, two of those strings still visible in the 1978 set had disappeared by the time that the 2010 set of photographs was taken.[57] In the 1978 set we see that the classmarks assigned by Amal Abul-Hajj, Linda Northrup and Donald Little were pencilled in Arabic numbers on the documents (e.g. '٦١' (61) on Plate I.1). Between 2011 and 2014 the classmarks were slightly amended by adding '2824.' to the old classmark system so that document '61' became '2824.61'.[58] In this process the new classmarks were also written onto the documents in pencil (see e.g. Plate I.2 for '2824.61').[59]

[55] Little, *Catalogue*, 4.

[56] The 1978 set was deposited at McGill University and most editions until well into the 2010s de facto relied on (microfilm) copies of these images. They were made available online in 2021: https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1102813166 (last accessed 5 September 2022). The 2010 set was produced under the supervision of Christian Müller (Paris) and Khader Salamah (Jerusalem) in December 2010 with some additions in February 2011. At the same time, the documents were placed in protective folders. It is not clear why the 2014 set of photographs was produced so shortly after the 2010 set.

[57] #507 and #774.

[58] For the sake of simplicity we refer to the documents in this book with the established system used by Christian Müller, that is '#061' for '2824.61'.

[59] In the colour photographs we see, furthermore, that in addition to the pencil classmarks one user had written the classmarks in blue pen on many documents, especially in the lower numbers.

An exciting change with respect to the known corpus transpired during our work on this book, namely that the 'core corpus' of 883 documents, photographed by Martin Lyons in 1978 and catalogued by Donald Little in 1984 (the basis for all work on the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus so far), is not the end of the story.[60] Rather, there are almost a hundred additional documents that we call the 'Ḥaram al-sharīf plus corpus', which significantly expands the known corpus of documents.[61] These documents will be described in a supplementary catalogue that we are preparing with Zahir Bhallo (Hamburg). Suffice to say here that the new corpus enlarges the number of Persian/Persianate documents, adds some Ottoman-period documents, and contains further legal, trade and endowment-related documents produced in Jerusalem. Most important for our purposes here is that the plus corpus added two further documents directly relevant for Burhān al-Dīn, namely a draft list of the estate of his deceased wife[62] and a list produced after the auction of his belongings.[63] How and when these 'new' documents became part of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is unclear. Amal Abul-Hajj, Linda Northrup and Donald Little never mention any further documents in their publications,[64] the same goes for the colleagues who subsequently worked on these documents (such as Kāmil al-ʿAsalī, Donald Richards and Christian Müller), and Martin Lyons did not photograph any documents other than the core corpus of 883 documents. The first (implicit) reference to the existence of further documents in the Islamic Museum is found in an article by Khader Salameh, the director of the museum, in 2001 when he speaks of '950 items', that is, clearly a higher

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[60] We use here the number of 883 to quantify the core corpus, but this is only the number of classmarks in Little's catalogue. Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 27, refers to 915 sheets and draws attention to the fact that documents #057 and #099 are in fact the same document. In addition, we show in this book that documents #061, #180 and #532 all belong to one single document.

[61] This additional discovery was first announced in the paper Hirschler, *Wathāʾiq jadīda min al-Quds al-mamlūkīya* [New Documents from Mamluk Jerusalem] at the online workshop 'The History of Jerusalem through the Documents and the Manuscripts of the Ḥaram al-sharīf', Freie Universität Berlin, 17 March 2021.

[62] #897.

[63] #968.

[64] Linda Northrup was kind enough to discuss in detail their work in the 1970s with us on several occasions in 2020 and 2021. She also does not recall any further documents besides those catalogued by Donald Little.

number.[65] The additional documents were part of the 2010 set of photographs and that of 2014, but so far none of them has been edited or even referred to in scholarship. Even though the provenance of the plus corpus is so unclear, there is no doubt that its documents belong to the core corpus and that they shared a similar trajectory. The documents in the core corpus and the plus corpus display a significant overlap in terms of language, period and content. In future we can thus simply speak once again of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus without 'core' and 'plus', the only very pleasant difference being that the corpus has grown.

With the cataloguing of the documents and their availability as microfilm copies from the early 1980s onwards, numerous documents have been edited in recent decades. This occurred in the 1980s in particular, but the recent years have seen a pleasing stream of publications in Arabic (see Appendix 3).[66] A major challenge that remains is the dispersed nature of the printed editions, which are often difficult to track down. The Munich *Arabic Papyrology Database* provides the texts of many of these documents in digital format, but not images.[67] A major milestone was the launch of the Paris *Comparing Arabic Legal Documents* database in 2021 with (often improved) editions of documents previously published in print.[68] It not only provides text and image, but has also started to offer online-only editions of previously unpublished documents. This book edits a further twenty-one documents (twenty-three when counting by classmarks). Yet, the ultimate aim has to be that the editions and photos are one day available on the website of their home institution, the Islamic Museum in Jerusalem.

While scholarship has produced many editions, the analytical potential of the documents remained rather underused for a long period. The turning point in this regard, and thus a milestone in understanding the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, has been the work, by Christian Müller in particular but not exclusively, with regard to legal practices. Our work is deeply indebted to Müller's

[65] Salameh, *Primary Sources*, 3–5. Regrettably, he does not explicitly discuss why there is a difference between his number and the number known at this point.

[66] Muḥammad, *Idārat amwāl awqāf*; Muḥammad, *Marsūm al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Īnāl*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Taʿāmulāt al-qaḍāʾīya*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Anas, *ʿAqdā zawāj*.

[67] https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/project1c.jsp (last accessed 30 November 2021).

[68] https://cald.irht.cnrs.fr (last accessed 30 November 2021). Among the documents available on CALD and cited in the following pages are #206, #315, #494 and #706.

publications, and rather than adding another panegyric to his *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, suffice to say that this book is by far the most referenced title in the following pages. One article based on a Ḥaram al-sharīf document brings us back to the library of Burhān al-Dīn. This is the 1984 article by Ulrich Haarmann, *The Library of a Fourteenth Century Jerusalem Scholar*, which actually highlighted the books of Burhān al-Dīn some forty years ago when academic interest in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents awoke. With his trademark acumen Ulrich Haarmann had understood the importance of this topic and made the first tentative suggestions regarding what this document actually was, and the identity of some books. Yet, in this seven-page article, he did not identify any of the dozens of buyers mentioned in the document or discuss any of the prices. Regrettably, he was never able to embark on the 'exhaustive study which I hope to complete in the not too distant future'.[69] In a sense, the present book is based on Ulrich Haarmann's article and pays tribute to the crucial role he has played with regard not just to this document, but also the development of the field of Mamluk Studies as a whole.

A Brief Outline of this Book

This book starts with six thematic chapters in the book's narrative Part I that build up its core arguments. The twin Chapters 1 and 2 offer a social biography of Burhān al-Dīn, with a focus on understanding how he was financially able to amass such a substantial library. The core axis of argumentation of these two chapters is to show how deeply involved Burhān al-Dīn was in the bookish culture of his time as a non-elite member of society. Chapter 1 engages with the current discussion on the attendant complications of the catch-all term 'scholar'. It also establishes the historical non-elite context of Burhān al-Dīn and his books, with an emphasis on endowments. Chapter 2 extends this discussion and suggests how we can make sense of his peculiar professional trajectory and how we can acknowledge his agency. This includes the identification of a set of socio-cultural practices that allowed a modest reciter such as Burhān al-Dīn to pursue a successful career, which we call that of a 'multiple part-time reciter'.

[69] Haarmann, *Library*, 327 (his 1983 article with the same title is largely identical). Waseem Farooq proposed further readings in his MA thesis *Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī. A 14th Century Mamluk Scholar in Jerusalem* (SOAS History Department 2014).

After two chapters devoted to Burhān al-Dīn, the twin Chapters 3 and 4 zoom in on the documentary protagonist of this study, the sale booklet. A discussion of the archival and documentary practices evident in this booklet allow it to be contextualised within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus at large. The starting point for Chapter 3 is very basic, namely, why did this sale booklet survive? This question obviously comes out of the micro-historical focus of our book and the concern that we might be dealing here with a documentary outlier. In consequence, we examine in detail the archival practices that are evident from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus at large, the Burhān al-Dīn documentary subcorpus specifically and the sale booklet itself to suggest archival trajectories. These archival trajectories, in turn, can only be understood with reference to the sale booklet's function and an understanding of what this booklet actually was and was not meant to do. In terms of argumentation, these chapters thus focus on pragmatic literacy. The large number of documents produced during this period, as well as the intricate documentary and archival practices, indicate just how deeply the written word had penetrated society beyond the world of books at this point. Widespread pragmatic literacy was certainly not a new phenomenon in West Asia and North Africa, but the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is probably a very good prompt for further thought on the issue.

Chapter 5 finally takes us to the library itself and emphasises the important contribution it makes to our knowledge of book culture beyond the realms of the political elite, scholarly organisations and scholarly elite households. It suggests that this book collection fulfilled the specific cultural and social function of a 'prestige library' and that this function was reflected in the books' profile. In its final part the chapter presents the afterlife of the book collection and takes a brief look at how Burhān al-Dīn's books were sold at the auction and the profile of the 'auction community' that came together for this event. This is crucial because the sale booklet names more than sixty buyers and thus provides a wealth of data on further book ownership in Jerusalem during that period. This dense network of new owners indicates once again how bookish societies such as that of Jerusalem were at this point in history.

Chapter 6 turns to the book prices, which are of outstanding importance because we have so far only very patchy evidence of book prices for the pre-Ottoman Arabic lands. The main purpose here is to gauge the financial means necessary to participate in the world of books as book owner or even as patron

of a substantial personal library – in other words, to ask how expensive a book was in late medieval Jerusalem. Against this background, this chapter extends the argument on widespread literacy by highlighting the broad range of book prices that allowed different social groups access to the world of books. In methodological terms the chapter thinks about whether broader conclusions can be drawn from different sets of data and how to read the numerals that we find in late medieval documentary sources.

Chapter 7 starts the book's documentary Part II. It offers an analysis and an edition of the sale booklet, and its data provides much of the scaffolding for the previous chapters. This is a rather descriptive chapter that does not offer much in terms of argument, yet it took us the longest to complete. Identifying the buyers and book titles, understanding the objects mentioned, reading the numerals, interpreting the strokes, trying to make sense of folding lines and actually solving the order of the sheets was for a long time one of our main occupations. We hope that some readers will follow, and in some cases challenge, our readings and interpretations.

Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the documentary network around the sale booklet and an edition of the relevant four documents that were written with reference to the booklet in the days after the auction. Again, there is no great argument, but the chapter is absolutely essential in terms of Part I of the book working, and hopefully might furnish another helpful example of how to read such seemingly decontextualised lists and how to make connections. Appendix 1 provides an overview of documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn's life and estate and is meant as a point of reference while reading the preceding chapters. Appendix 2 provides the edition of another sixteen of these documents as a complement to those already edited, in the hope that their publication in one open-access location will facilitate future access.

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PART I

THE NARRATIVE

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1

Making a Living in Endowments

This and the following chapter sketch the social environment of the book's protagonist, Burhān al-Dīn, during the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century in Jerusalem.[1] This sketch is crucial, because knowing what books stood on the shelves (or in this case lay in the bookcases) of an individual is only meaningful when we are also able to locate that person in social terms. A 'mere' edition of yet another book list might provide us with more book titles (and in this case book prices), but in terms of its impact on the field of Middle Eastern history such an edition, stripped of its social *Sitz im Leben*, would be missing a crucial dimension. This wider context is especially relevant as book ownership in the pre-modern period is generally associated with social elites. Yet, Burhān al-Dīn and his enormously rich and varied book collection were situated outside the sphere of elite culture and they thus give a rare glimpse into the bookish practices of wider sections of society.

Some facts about Burhān al-Dīn's biography have been established over the last few decades on the basis of the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents, with Christian Müller having written the most detailed overview so far.[2] However, what is missing is an analysis setting Burhān al-Dīn's life and his books into the wider world of social practices and political spaces. These first two chapters will show how Burhān al-Dīn skilfully employed the social opportunities

[1] According to #039 his full name was Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Zayn al-Dīn Rizq Allāh b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī (d. 789/1387). We assume that his death date was in late Ramaḍān because the acknowledgement deeds #313 and #676 show that the first monthly obligatory maintenance payment was paid for the following month of Shawwāl. Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 172 suggests early or mid-Shawwāl 789, which is also possible as the payment in #313 could be just a partial payment. Haarmann, *Library*, 327 was still working with a very incomplete corpus and thus erroneously put his death one year too late.

[2] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 169–75.

offered by the provincial but 'sacred' town of Jerusalem to make a decent living in the late eighth/fourteenth century. This skilfulness meant that he accumulated considerable wealth in the last decade of his life. Donald Little, with his usual insight, described Burhān al-Dīn as an 'enterprising, hard-working scholar-Ṣūfī', without, however, discussing this phrase further – as is so often the case in his publications.[3] The following will show that 'enterprising' and 'hard-working' are indeed apt terms for capturing Burhān al-Dīn's numerous endeavours to gain employment and stipends.

The use of the epithet 'scholar' brings us to the crux of this and the following chapter. We will argue that this term is much too broad to be analytically useful for understanding Burhān al-Dīn's background and setting his books in their proper social space – the world of an individual who worked hard to survive on the edges of the scholarly world by juggling numerous positions and stipends. Burhān al-Dīn never made it into the inner circle of the Jerusalemite scholarly elites, but his case shows how such individuals were adept at using the room for manoeuvre they had within the transforming cultural and political landscapes to make a living. We will, more specifically, see that Burhān al-Dīn employed two distinct social strategies not only to insert himself into the town's network of endowed organisations (discussed in this chapter), but also to gain patronage from peripheral households of the military-political elite (discussed in the following chapter). Our focus on thinking about Burhān al-Dīn's social life means that his activities are very much framed by the perspective of position, income and status. This is certainly not the whole story and we do not intend to exclude or downplay his activities as reciter of Koran, *ḥadīth* and other sacred texts and how they were deeply meaningful aspects of his and his audiences' lives. The distinct emphasis that we put on the material side of things is a mere analytical necessity for developing (in chapters of reasonable length) a point that is crucial for the overall architecture of this book's argument.

Before we analyse Burhān al-Dīn's life, let us take a step back and briefly look at the broader political and social picture of Jerusalem in his lifetime. In contrast to modern perceptions of the political map of the region, Jerusalem was during this period not a political heavyweight: it only became the seat of

[3] Little, *Significance of the Ḥaram Documents*, 218.

a governor in the late eighth/fourteenth century, and even then the governors were often middle-ranking officers of whom we know little.[4] One of the town's main functions within the political topography of the Cairo Sultanate was that of a place of exile.[5] Yet Burhān al-Dīn did not even have any contacts with this modest political elite of his home town. The town was also not of strategic importance: it did not have a city wall in this period and all that one chronicler had to say about its citadel was that 'it does not matter whether it exists or not as it is useless and does not protect the town'.[6] Jerusalem was also too far from the coast and from the main trading routes to emerge as an important commercial centre. A generous estimate puts the town's population at around 20,000 inhabitants.[7] The earliest Ottoman figures, 130 years later, counted no more than 934 households.[8] Even though such figures are highly approximative, they reinforce the impression of a town that was no economic or political epicentre during this period.

However, Jerusalem had a religious significance that allowed it to punch above its political, economic and demographic weight and thus attract a considerable number of endowments.[9] Even though the case of Jerusalem can certainly not be compared with the high number of often very substantial endowments that were established in cities such as Cairo, Damascus, Alexandria and Aleppo, the town's Ḥaram al-sharīf itself attracted substantial pious investments.[10] The best survey lists almost ninety religious organisations (*madrasa*s, *khānqāh*s, mausolea and so on) that were endowed in Jerusalem in the period of the Cairo Sultanate.[11] The presence of the sultanic Manṣūrī Ribāṭ shows that the political elite in Cairo had incentives for spiritual investments and

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[4] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, VII, 186; Little, *Jerusalem under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks*, 187.

[5] See Onimus, *Maîtres du jeu*, 358 and Ayalon, *Discharge from Service* for Jerusalem as a site of political exile.

[6] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, III, 544.

[7] Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 225, based on the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus.

[8] Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 61.

[9] Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, discusses this issue on the basis of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, and Little, *Mujīr al-Dīn*, on the basis of al-ʿUlaymī's chronicle *al-Uns al-jalīl*.

[10] For the development of the Ḥaram al-sharīf up to the Crusading period see Kaplony, *The Haram of Jerusalem*. For the post-Crusader period see Hawari, *Ayyubid Monuments*, Burgoyne, *Smaller Domes*, Hillenbrand, *Ayyubid Aqsa*, Flood, *Ambiguous Aesthetic* and Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*.

[11] Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 65–74.

that the town was more than a provincial backwater. We have several periods of particularly intensive investment in the city and the surrounding regions, such as during the reigns of Sultan Baybars in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century and Sultan Qāytbāy in the late ninth/fifteenth century.[12] The most important period of urban rebuilding took place during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn in the early eighth/fourteenth century with the governor of Damascus Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz playing a prominent role. These monuments still define to some extent the urban tissue and 'old' city skyline of Jerusalem.[13]

New endowments established in the late eighth/fourteenth century were, however, less impressive. We can take as an example one of these new endowments, the Ṭāz Mausoleum in which Burhān al-Dīn worked for many years. Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz was a prominent officer whose career began during the rule of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn's sons in the 740s/1340s. He belonged to that generation of officers who were able to build up massive households that constituted the main centres of power in the late Qalāwūnid period.[14] His splendid palace in Cairo still testifies to the central role he and his peers played in the period's politics.[15] Yet he increasingly lost influence in the 750s/1350s during the reconfigurations of the Qalāwūnid political matrix and was finally reduced to a minor position and then blinded. After a modest comeback he endowed his mausoleum in Jerusalem, which did not even come close to the splendour of his palace in Cairo. Furthermore, he was not even buried in this mausoleum; his final resting place was Damascus.[16] It is from among such figures, who fell outside the inner circle of political authority, that those endowing in Jerusalem were primarily recruited in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century.

Jerusalem was thus of limited political significance, but it was home to a substantial number of endowments that provided income for scholars. In consequence we see a group of elite scholars who were closely linked with the

[12] Da'adli, *Jerusalem Mamluk Regional Building Style*.
[13] Da'adli and Barbé, *Development of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn Quarter*.
[14] Here the work of Jo van Steenbergen is crucial, for instance his *Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State*.
[15] On his demise cf. Onimus, *Maîtres du jeu*.
[16] Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 399–411.

town, such as those belonging to the Banū Jamāʿa family. For instance, a contemporary of Burhān al-Dīn named Sarī al-Dīn married into the Jamāʿa family. We find this Sarī al-Dīn in several important positions in Jerusalem, such as preacher (*khaṭīb*) in the Aqṣā Mosque.[17] We will meet Sarī al-Dīn again in Chapter 3, as he had a central role in the formation of what we know today as the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus of documents. For our purposes here, that is, identifying him as a member of the scholarly elite of Jerusalem, he is typical in the sense that his prominent appointments in Jerusalem alternated with appointments in Damascus, such as the chief judgeship of the city. The scholarly elite of Jerusalem was thus in many ways a quite mobile elite that was, in particular, deeply intertwined with the elite of Damascus. Even though Burhān al-Dīn lived in the same period as Sarī al-Dīn, their social worlds hardly overlapped – for a start, there is no indication that Burhān al-Dīn ever left Jerusalem or held any of the town's lucrative positions. Burhān al-Dīn thus had to entertain very different strategies to make a living and, as we will see, he was highly skilled in carving out a place for himself within the landscape of endowments and within the political landscape of peripheral military households.

Methodological Considerations – Documents and Analytical Terms

In methodological terms, the reconstruction of Burhān al-Dīn's life is based on the large cluster of Ḥaram al-sharīf documents that are linked to him, the 'Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus'. Donald Little counted thirty-nine such documents[18] and Christian Müller identified further documents to establish a corpus of forty-nine Ḥaram al-sharīf documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn.[19] We count fifty-two documents (see Appendix 1), and this higher number is the result of identifying additional documents in the known Ḥaram al-sharīf core corpus as well as finding new documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf plus corpus. The most important additions to Burhān al-Dīn's corpus are the two sheets #180 and #532, which have so far not been seen as part of the corpus but are beyond doubt part of the sale booklet and are thus indispensable in analysing his library. More exciting still, after we came to understand that the Ḥaram

[17] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 512–16.
[18] Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 315.
[19] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 175.

al-sharīf corpus was larger than scholarship had assumed (see Introduction), was the discovery of additional traces of Burhān al-Dīn's documentary world in this Ḥaram al-sharīf plus corpus.[20]

The Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus will be discussed in Chapter 3 in more detail to understand the production of individual documents, how they came together as a corpus, and the subsequent archival preservation of this corpus. We will describe it here briefly in so far as it is relevant to the discussion of its protagonist's social world. Among these fifty-two documents, twenty-four refer to his working life (most importantly, Burhān al-Dīn's petitions for a job, subsequent diplomas and declarations by administrators of endowed organisations and members of the political elite granting him a job, payment orders for his salaries, and an accounts sheet of a primary school mentioning his salary), eleven refer to other matters in which he was involved during his lifetime (such as settling the estate of a deceased wife, divorce papers, rent receipts for his house, the purchase contract for another house and his neighbour's consent to extending this house) and seventeen refer to the settlement of his estate after his death (such as the acknowledgement deeds on the monthly obligatory maintenance payments for the children he left behind, decisions by a deputy judge on the amount of these maintenance payments, our sale booklet concerning his estate, and accounts linked to this sale).

Counting things in any documentary corpus is as complex as counting things (books, volumes, parts, titles and so on) in a library corpus and the documentary corpus of Burhān al-Dīn is no exception. When we refer to a 'document', this is in the vast majority of cases one physical sheet – fifty-two documents of the corpus simply consist of one such single sheet of paper or parchment.[21] However, there is one document that consists of more than one sheet, the sale booklet concerning his estate. This document consists of three sheets (#061, #180 and #532), and they must have become separated at some point over the last few centuries (more on this in Chapter 4). Our corpus is thus made up of fifty-two documents on fifty-four separate sheets.

[20] These include documents #897 (division of the estate of Fāṭima 1, the deceased wife of Burhān al-Dīn) and #968 (a list of receivables from the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate).

[21] Though one of these 'sheets' (#369) is in reality the product of two distinct documents sewn together.

In order to profile our corpus numerically, we need one further number in addition to 'document' and 'sheet', as many of these documents carry more than one 'text'. For instance, a document with a (successful) petition for a job on the front will have the corresponding diploma of appointment on its back. While this is one material 'document', there are two independent 'texts' and the number of texts in documentary corpora is thus in general significantly higher than that of documents or that of sheets. To provide the number of such texts is a much more subjective endeavour than counting documents or sheets, as it depends on the research interest. If one employs the documents to understand legal procedure, as Christian Müller did, a judge's crisp note on top of a document indicating that this document has been admitted for a lawsuit ('*uddu'iya bihi*') is a stand-alone text. If one is interested in archival practices, as we are in Chapter 3, the archival note on the back of document such as 'monthly obligatory maintenance payment for Jamāl, son of [Burhān al-Dīn] al-Nāṣirī' ('*farḍ Jamāl / Ibn al-Nāṣirī*') is a text in its own right (see Plate III.5b). If we combine all these perspectives, the number of texts in the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus is well over one hundred.[22]

For the purposes of the first two chapters, we have limited the 'texts' to those that are of immediate relevance for analysing Burhān al-Dīn's social world. From this perspective we arrive at a total of sixty-three texts in our fifty-two documents on fifty-four sheets.[23] That the life of an individual as average as Burhān al-Dīn led to the production of so many documents and texts is a clear indicator of the crucial role that the written word had come to play by this period in the sphere of pragmatic literacy – it emphatically does not mean at all that Burhān al-Dīn was of outstanding importance. On the contrary, these fifty-two documents are only part of the much larger overall documentary corpus that must have been triggered by Burhān al-Dīn's

[22] References to an individual text follow the system established by Christian Müller in his work on the overall Ḥaram al-sharīf documentary corpus, that is in the format '#039/1' for the chronologically first text on the document carrying the classmark #039.

[23] Six of these additional texts are from petitions for a paid position that carry the diploma of appointment on their back (#007, #009, #010, #013, #305 and #310); two additional texts are revisions on the amount of the maintenance payments (#052 and #111); one is a note on the back of an acknowledgement of a debt that the repayment was made (#016); Burhān al-Dīn's house purchase document carries two additional texts (#039).

marriages, divorces, sales, purchases, job applications, salary payments and so on, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

The statement that the extant number of documents 'may well make [Burhān al-Dīn] the best-documented Muslim of the Middle Ages' might have been slightly over the top.[24] For a start, the estate archive of the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents is more extensive than that of Burhān al-Dīn. Yet Burhān al-Dīn did indeed leave a fascinating paper trail, the survival of which is very unusual for a non-elite individual (and even for many elite individuals) of that period.[25] That no detailed biography of him has been written so far is astonishing. Few other similar individuals are so visible through documentary corpora. One of them is the Indian Ocean trader Abraham Ben Yijū from the sixth/twelfth century, whom we know through the documentary corpus linked to him from the Cairo Geniza(s). Even though we have fewer documents relating to him, he has been a highly rewarding subject to narrate and to analyse in various ways.[26]

Even a paper trail as dense as that of Burhān al-Dīn's has many gaps, and this has considerable methodological implications. For example, we can never be sure whether the first document that we have on a specific issue is the first document that was produced. At the same time, the absence of documents on specific issues cannot be taken as proof that Burhān al-Dīn was not involved in a specific activity. However, the survival of the documents that we do have was not random, but follows the archival logic of an 'estate archive' that Chapter 3 will set out. In consequence, it is possible to detect patterns and structures from this incomplete and archivally reconfigured documentary corpus to understand Burhān al-Dīn's social world, and this is what the following will do.

Simply a 'Scholar'?

The most important point in starting to sketch Burhān al-Dīn's life is an absence, but in this case not a documentary absence: none of the numerous narrative texts that were produced during his lifetime and in the subsequent

[24] Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 315.

[25] Though future research will certainly unearth different source corpora in order to write the biographies of non-elite individuals; see e.g. Nakamachi, *Life in the Margins*.

[26] Ghosh, *Antique Land* and Lambourn, *Abraham's Luggage*.

decades ever mentioned him. We do not find any reference to him in the vast corpus of biographical compendia and chronicles written in Bilād al-Shām and Egypt in the course of the late eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries.[27] Although these texts are teeming with individuals linked to the scholarly world, Burhān al-Dīn was too insignificant to be mentioned or referred to. One might argue that this was because the authors of these texts wrote from the perspectives of their respective home towns, especially Cairo, but also Damascus, Aleppo or Alexandria. In consequence, the scholarly communities of those provincial towns without their own historian systematically tended to stay below the narrative radar – a metropolitan bias, so to say. Jerusalem did indeed take a long time to find its historian. It was not until one hundred years after Burhān al-Dīn's death that this changed and Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī (d. 928/1522) produced his combined chronicle and biographical compendium of Jerusalem and Hebron, the well-known *al-Uns al-jalīl*.[28] Al-ʿUlaymī includes a number of Jerusalemite scholars from the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century, but Burhān al-Dīn is not among them.

Burhān al-Dīn's absence from the narrative record, even the indigenous Jerusalem narrative record, is not by chance, but is closely linked to the social environment in which he lived. He did not hail from a prominent family of Jerusalem: none of his forefathers or foremothers made it into any chronicle or biographical compendium. More importantly for our purposes, he himself never held a position in the town's judiciary as a judge, a deputy judge or any other functionary. He also never held one of the lucrative teaching positions in the town's most generously endowed *madrasa*s such as the Ṣalāḥīya or the Tankizīya. When al-ʿUlaymī crafted his book one century later, he started his section on biographies of scholars with those holding positions in the Ṣalāḥīya Madrasa. Evidently, Burhān al-Dīn neither appears in this section nor in al-ʿUlaymī's following sections on the judges and the preachers in the Aqṣā Mosque. Tellingly, he also does not appear in al-ʿUlaymī's sections on jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) and scholars where the author casts his net wide to include a broad social section of the scholarly world.

[27] For the vast number of biographical compendia produced in this period see Reier, *Documents in Books*.

[28] Al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*; Little, *Mujīr al-Dīn*.

The silence of the sources means that we do not even know Burhān al-Dīn's birth date, and have to make with a rough estimate. In one of his petitions for a job in the town's central Muslim sanctuary, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, from the year 781/1380 (#009/1) he claimed that he had performed pious recitations on the Ḥaram al-sharīf without remuneration for twenty years. There is little reason to take such a claim by a petitioner at face value as he certainly had strong incentives to exaggerate his track record and come up with an impressive number. However, in the margin of this report we see that the responsible in charge wrote a note saying that the validity of the claim was to be checked (the document's second text, #009/2). The subsequent diploma of appointment (the document's third text, #009/3) was indeed only issued after this check had taken place. In other words, it is highly likely that Burhān al-Dīn's claim must have had some degree of veracity even if the exact number of twenty years is not a quantitative factoid. Now, if we assume that he started these recitations on the Ḥaram al-sharīf at the relatively young age of twenty-five, this takes us to the year 736/1335 as an (admittedly very rough) earliest birth year. From his documents we know that he died in the year 789/1387 (see Introduction), which would mean that he died at an age of slightly over fifty years.

In light of the absence of Burhān al-Dīn from the narrative record, placing him in his society has been difficult. Previous scholarship has thus resorted to one of the most widespread fall-back options in our field, namely to describe such an individual simply with the catch-all term 'scholar', that is to say, as belonging to the *'ulamā'*.[29] There is nothing wrong in describing him as a member of the *'ulamā'* and thus using the emic term per se. Yet, as an etic term of analysis it is woefully imprecise and thus of limited usefulness for the purpose of social history. The *'ulamā'* are, as is well known, one of the best-studied sections of pre-Ottoman society, yet the field of Mamluk Studies, as Nobutaka Nakamachi pointed out, generally uses this term without much precision.[30] The foundational work on the social history of this group, Carl Petry's seminal *Civilian Elite of Cairo*, for instance, defined them rather briefly as those 'who were regarded as the literati of traditional Islamic cultures'.[31] Such a literatus

[29] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 169 and Little, *Five Petitions*, 349.
[30] Nakamachi, *Life in the Margins*.
[31] Petry, *Civilian Elite of Cairo*, 4.

could in social terms be anybody from the most prominent judge who was part of a city's social elite to a very humble part-time Koran reciter in a small neighbourhood mausoleum who could barely make a living from this stipend.

It is thus necessary to differentiate the emic category 'scholars' and to develop a terminology – which we do not have at the moment, and which this book does not claim to develop – to reflect the wide variety of social contexts in which the different members of this group acted. If we imagine the scholarly world as concentric circles, a small scholarly social elite (those being part of the notables, the *aʿyān*) was situated at the centre. In Jerusalem, for instance, the above-named Sarī al-Dīn, who was preacher in the Aqṣā Mosque and also chief judge in Damascus, belonged to this elite. These are thus individuals who held highly remunerated positions and who have a very strong presence in our narrative sources. Yet the vast majority of those linked to the scholarly world were positioned in much larger circles at a considerable distance from this centre.

To give one example of such a group of literati outside the inner elite circle: the notary witnesses (sg. *shāhid*) constituted an indispensable tier of legal administration, independently validating legal transactions and, as court-appointed witnesses, validating documents produced by judges.[32] Until recently, we knew very little about this group, but the academic 'discovery' of the diary of one of these witnesses, Ibn Ṭawq from Damascus, at the very end of the Cairo Sultanate, has changed this. His text has substantially added to our knowledge of what the modest life of one of these otherwise unknown 'scholars' looked like.[33] On the basis of the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents, Christian Müller has been able to show how large this hitherto rather hidden group was. For Jerusalem alone he identified more than one hundred individuals who acted as notary witnesses in a period of only four years.[34] That such witnesses acted as a coherent social group during political conflicts indicates the existence of a distinct identity.[35] Another group that is often dealt with under the wide label of scholars, but which arguably had a distinct identity

[32] On the role of the *shāhid* in the late medieval period see for instance Amīn, *al-Shāhid al-ʿadl* and El-Leithy, *Living Documents, Dying Archives*.
[33] Wollina, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag*; Shoshan, *Damascus Life 1480–1500*.
[34] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 280–319.
[35] Olsen, *Just Taxes?*, 9.

too, is that of 'popular' preachers.[36] To subsume such groups under a catch-all category of *'ulamā'* does a disservice to understanding their specific places within these concentric circles – places that were very distinct from those of judges or teachers at prestigious *madrasa*s.

Burhān al-Dīn was certainly not 'an average "college teacher"' as he has been erroneously called.[37] He never taught in a *madrasa* and never earned as much as teachers in endowed organisations. We find him much further from the centre, in proximity to notary witnesses and modest popular preachers. He thus belonged to that group of literati that was positioned – in the case of Burhān al-Dīn at least for most of his career – in the outer circles of the scholarly world at a considerable distance from the elite centre. This does not mean that he and his peers among the notary witnesses and the popular preachers were outsiders, but they clearly operated in a social world very different from that of those holding the lucrative judiciary and teaching positions in the town, such as Sarī al-Dīn. Their distance from the scholarly centre is also evident in the fact that peripheral scholars hardly ever produced written works, with Ibn Ṭawq being a rare exception.

The following will propose that Burhān al-Dīn belonged to a sub-category of peripheral scholars that can be labelled 'multiple part-time reciter' – admittedly quite a descriptive and not a very elegant term.[38] Members of this group held two, three or more very modestly paid positions at the same time in order to make a living in this gig economy. These were not the prestigious and well-paid teaching positions of Jerusalem, available at the likes of the Ṣalāḥīya Madrasa and the Tankizīya Madrasa, yet they were better paid than the menial positions that we also find in mosques, *madrasa*s and mausoleums (such as gatekeeper, water carrier and sweeper). In the case of Burhān al-Dīn we will see that he started to hold so many of these positions that he was able to accumulate considerable wealth, even if only in the last decade of his life.

To hold a position as a multiple part-time reciter one required some background of learning, and those holding them certainly saw themselves as literati of traditional Islamic culture. As we will also see in the case of Burhān al-Dīn,

[36] On this group see Berkey, *Popular Preaching*.
[37] Haarmann, *Library*, 328.
[38] The activities of these reciters include those outlined in al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 156–63: *qāri' al-ushr* and, especially, *qāri' al-kursī*.

engagement with this textual tradition was not so much in terms of what we intuitively associate with scholarly practices, that is, teaching, commenting, interpreting and potentially authoring books. Rather, we see that such a multiple part-time reciter made his living by holding several of the numerous positions of recitation with modest remuneration that were available in a town such as Jerusalem. In these posts, members of this group recited the Koran and numerous other texts such as *ḥadīth* and even Koranic exegesis (*tafsīr*). One position never paid a sufficient stipend or salary for survival on it alone, but an individual could make a decent living on the outer circles of the scholarly world by combining several of these positions.

These multiple part-time reciters should not be confused with those scholars who held in parallel several well-paid 'full-time' positions as teachers in *madrasa*s.[39] These elite scholars sub-contracted one or several of their positions for lower pay and were thus able to generate a very considerable income. These scholars could be labelled, borrowing a term from the medieval Latin West, 'pluralists', and their plush social world was quite different from that of most of their part-time colleagues who performed the recitations in the same organisations. Sarī al-Dīn, for instance, had simultaneously held several teaching positions in Damascus and was then appointed to several positions in Jerusalem, including becoming preacher in the Aqṣā Mosque.[40] This did not pose a serious problem for him. Rather, he saw opportunities: he simply sub-contracted his positions in Damascus and moved to Jerusalem to take up his multiple appointments there.

Burhān al-Dīn's career shows that being a multiple part-time reciter meant starting at the outer edge of the scholarly world. Yet there was the possibility of moving closer to the centre over the years, and during the last decade of his life he was carving out an increasingly comfortable place for himself. What makes his case interesting is that the unique documentary corpus linked to him allows us to understand the social agency and strategies of such an individual. This micro-historical approach shows that positions were not primarily 'bestowed' upon or 'granted' to him. Instead, we see an individual who actively pursued his two strategies to make a decent living: He skilfully

[39] Petry, *Civilian Elite of Cairo*, 252.
[40] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh*, III, 475.

navigated the rich landscape of endowments in Jerusalem to obtain positions (discussed in this chapter), while also procuring personal stipends from individual patrons among the peripheral political elites of the region (discussed in the next chapter).

The World of Endowments

So, let us start with the first strategy that Burhān al-Dīn pursued to make a living in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem, namely to seek positions in endowed organisations. This strategy was firmly embedded within the significant role that such organisations played in the cities and towns of that period. It thus comes as no surprise that the earliest trace of Burhān al-Dīn's professional life is a petition in which he seeks an appointment in the above-mentioned Manṣūrī Ribāṭ, an organisation endowed by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in the late seventh/thirteenth century.[41] The Manṣūrī Ribāṭ was a multi-functional organisation centred on a hospice that also provided for the poor (number 1 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[42] Burhān al-Dīn applied for a remunerated appointment from this organisation's endowment after the previous beneficiary died and the application was successful. This happened in the year 770/1368, roughly twenty years before his death in 789/1387.

However, this first trace of his professional life shows Burhān al-Dīn at the very outer edges of the scholarly world in social terms – the remuneration he sought consisted of nothing more than four loaves of bread a day. Burhān al-Dīn's statement that he had a family to care for, and was thus particularly needy, seems genuine enough given that he was applying for such a humble appointment. What job he applied for at the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ is not clear from the petition. It was most likely a position as a reciter, as he refers in his petition to 'recitation' (*qirā'a*) and promises an intercessory prayer (*du'ā'*) after this recitation. That this was indeed an application as reciter is especially likely as 'recitation/intercessory prayer packages' were important in Burhān al-Dīn's

[41] #013 (1.2.770/1368).

[42] Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 129–40. On the term *ribāṭ* see Little, *Nature of khānqāhs, ribāṭs and zāwiyas*.

Table 1.1 Burhān al-Dīn's positions and stipends

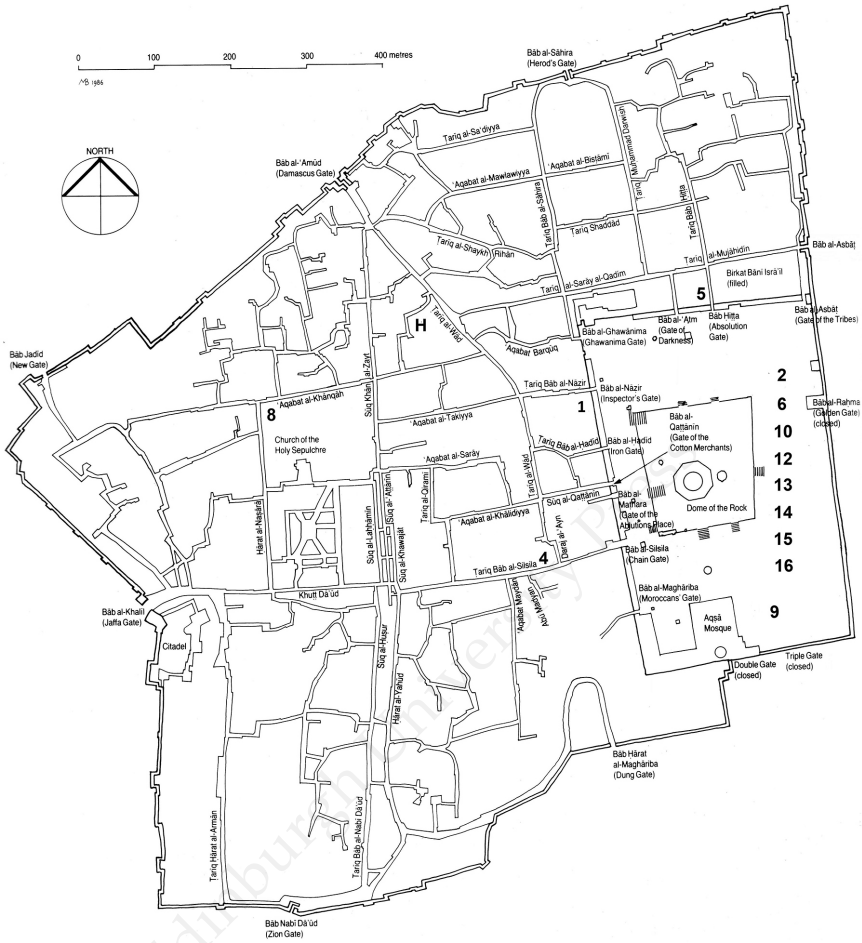
No.	Position/stipend	Place/patron	Year	Doc. #
1	position	Manṣūrī Ribāṭ	770	013
2	stipend	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Salāma b. Abī Bakr al-Fāriqānī	774	603
3	position	unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*	775	010
4	position	Ṭāz Mausoleum	775	005, 007, 014, 303, 310
5	position	Awḥadīya Mausoleum	780	203
6	position	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf (Sitt ʿĀ'isha)	780	509
7	position	primary school Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās	780	049
8	position	Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh	780	289, 336, 509, 699
9	position	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf (Aqṣā Mosque)	781	305
10	position	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf	781	009
11	stipend	Aḥmad b. Sayf al-Dīn Bustumur	781	490
12	stipend	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī	782	508
13	stipend	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Ḥaydar al-ʿAskarī al-Manṣūrī	782	004
14	stipend	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / ʿAlī b. Qōjā al-ʿAlā'ī	783	012
15	stipend	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aqbughā Yankī	788	002
16	stipend	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar Ṣārim al-Dīn	?	026

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strategy for accumulating part-time positions, as we will repeatedly see during the following years.

The recitation of Koran, *ḥadīth* and other sacred texts was provided for in any endowment in this period.[43] While teaching was not all-pervasive, founders did systematically provide funds for reciters, even in small-scale organisations with modest endowments. We will see that Burhān al-Dīn appears as such a reciter of the Koran, but that he gradually built up a reputation for one specific form of recitation, namely 'reciter of *mīʿād*'. It is in this field that he must have gained something of a reputation within Jerusalem. We do not know too much about *miʿād* sessions, except that they consisted of the recitation of different texts, but two documents from the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus give us the best insight we have into what such a session actually entailed during

[43] Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*.



Map 1.1 Locations of Burhān al-Dīn's positions and stipends; based on Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 34 (Fig. 1, © Kenyon Institute [British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem])

this period in Jerusalem. The first of these documents lays out the structure of the recitation session as follows. First came Koranic exegesis, followed by some *ḥadīth*, then stories of the virtuous ('*ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*'), and finally Koranic verses (*sūra* no. 113, 114, 1 and the beginning of 2).[44] The second document is strikingly similar and has exegesis, *ḥadīth* and the stories of the virtuous in the

[44] #026.

same order. However, instead of Koranic recitation this document mentions the more generic term 'exhortation' (*maw'iẓa*).[45]

Burhān al-Dīn was already in his mid-thirties (according to our above estimate of his birth date) when he applied for the daily bread allowance at the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ. Even though the cities and towns of Bilād al-Shām and Egypt had so many endowments with numerous employment opportunities in this period, to enter this system as somebody on the fringes of the social world was seemingly far from straightforward. The impression that Burhān al-Dīn was just finding his feet in the professional world of multiple part-time reciters when he was in his thirties is reinforced by the next documentary trace that we get of his life. Five years after his appointment in the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ, he submitted a petition to apply for a place of lodging ('*an yakūna ... munazzalan*') in an unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ* in 775/1373 (number 3 in Table 1.1).[46] It is unclear whether this 'place of lodging' entailed a remunerated position, as neither the petition nor the response by the endowment's supervisor mentions any specific task or a salary. However, it is likely that this 'lodging' did not mean that Burhān al-Dīn would dwell in this organisation as he already had a family, as we know from his Manṣūrī Ribāṭ application and as he underlined in this petition once again. Rather, this application was most likely for a position, and as Burhān al-Dīn stressed his background as reciter of the Koran ('*min ḍummāl al-Qur'ān*') it is likely that this was another recitation position. We do not know whether he ever got this position as the response was somewhat lukewarm: in principle he could get this lodging/position, the supervisor of the endowment wrote on the petition, but if there was no vacancy he would have to wait until one of the current beneficiaries moved on or died. It is probably fair to say that Burhān al-Dīn was still struggling at this point, at roughly forty years old, to translate his qualifications as a reciter into well-remunerated positions.

[45] #002.

[46] #010 (20.2.775/1373). Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 340 assumes that this document refers to al-Ribāṭ al-Manṣūri. While this cannot be excluded, it seems rather unlikely as the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ shows no signs of having included a *madrasa*. In his *al-Uns al-jalīl* al-'Ulaymī has a strong tendency to call multi-functional organisations a '*madrasa*', but this is not the case for the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ (al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 43).

These two applications were for positions in endowed organisations, the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ and the unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*, and pursuing such positions was clearly the norm during that period for those working within the wide folds of scholarship and ritual. We thus see that he petitioned in the same year, 775/1374, for another position at another endowment in the town, the Ṭāz Mausoleum (number 4 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1) – and this time petition and diploma explicitly refer to him as 'reciter'.[47] As mentioned before, this mausoleum was founded just over a decade earlier, making it a relatively new establishment in the town.[48] Once again, Burhān al-Dīn underlined his poverty and the family he had to care for; he offered his services as reciter and, once again, he promised intercessory prayer after the recitations. The petition and diploma of appointment are not overflowing with details: neither what exactly he was meant to recite nor his salary are mentioned. This was because both Burhān al-Dīn and the endowment supervisor, a certain Malik, clearly knew what they were speaking of, and they both referred to his appointment as 'on the model of those reciters [already] installed' in the mausoleum with a 'salary like that of his peers'.[49]

We do hear more details, as his job at the Ṭāz Mausoleum seemingly required, inconveniently for him, regular reappointment procedures. Conveniently for us, we thus have a longer paper trail on this position. For the following decade four more documents exist that give an insight into what he was doing in this mausoleum for what salary.[50] All four documents refer without exception to his position as reciter (in one document 'at the tomb'), either without spelling out what he was meant to recite[51] or naming him as Koran reciter (*qāri' al-'ushr*).[52] Apart from recitation, two of the Ṭāz documents mention him as the Keeper of the Koran in the mausoleum (*khādim al-rab'a*).[53] The shifting job descriptions match the two salaries that we get for his work at the Ṭāz Mausoleum: when he was appointed as reciter at the tomb and Koran

[47] #310.
[48] On this mausoleum cf. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 399–411.
[49] #310/1, ll. 6 and 7 and #310/2, l. 8.
[50] #007 (777/1376), #303 (780/1378), #005 (784/1382) and #014 (785/1383).
[51] #007 (tomb), #303 and #014.
[52] #007, #303 and #005. Al-Subkī describes '*qāri' al-'ushr*' as the person who recites Koran before a teaching session starts (al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 156).
[53] #303 and #005.

reciter at the same time in 777/1376 he earned thirty-five dirhams per month.[54] However, a diploma of appointment eight years later only referred to him as a reciter, and his salary dropped to fifteen dirhams per month.[55] It is highly likely that Burhān al-Dīn thus continuously held positions in this mausoleum for some fifteen years from when he was forty years of age up to the end of his life.[56]

Five years after he had started in the Ṭāz Mausoleum, in 780/1379, he was appointed as a reciter at yet another endowment, the Awḥadīya Mausoleum (number 5 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[57] Little is known about the size of the endowment of the Awḥadīya Mausoleum, and judging from the meagre documentary and narrative record it was no hotbed of teaching activities.[58] The crisp diploma of appointment handed to Burhān al-Dīn (really quite a grandiose term for such a small sheet of paper) is a highly informal document which stands out from the other more carefully produced diplomas that he received. It seems to have been written in haste, and there is also, in contrast to most other diplomas, no petition from Burhān al-Dīn. This might be linked to the fact that the previous post-holder was fired because he was unqualified (‘*li-ʿadam ahlīyatihi*’) and a replacement was urgently needed. Burhān al-Dīn was to receive a salary ‘in accordance with the endower’s stipulation’, but we regrettably do not learn what this stipulation was. The endowment deed of this mausoleum has not come down to us, nor has any other document on an appointment in this mausoleum, but it is fair to assume that this rather modest mausoleum was not among the best-paying employers of Jerusalem. Donald Richards has suggested that an isolated numeral ‘five’ written at the lower end of the sheet refers to a monthly salary of five dirhams.[59] This would be a very

[54] #007.
[55] #014.
[56] Two documents (#005 and #007) refer to ‘*al-faqāha*’ and ‘al-*faqīh*’ (jurisconsultant). This reference is highly unusual as it would entail a very different scholarly training from that for recitation. Most likely, these terms must here not be read here as referring to a position, but rather as an honorific, similar to the use of the term *qāḍī* (judge) in many documents, which does not necessarily mean that the individual in question actually held a judgeship.
[57] #203.
[58] On this mausoleum founded by the Ayyubid notable al-Malik al-Awḥad in 697/1298 see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 167–77.
[59] Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 167.

modest salary indeed – as we will see further down, a household such as that of Burhān al-Dīn needed roughly one dirham per day for buying bread.

As is the case with all his other positions, except that in the Ṭāz Mausoleum, we do not know how long this appointment lasted. While there was paperwork for hiring someone, there was no equivalent for when a position ended. We thus do not know how many positions exactly Burhān al-Dīn held at any given time, for instance whether he still held his positions in the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ and the unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ* when he was appointed in the Awḥadīya Mausoleum. This is an issue to which we shall return, but at any rate it is possible to state that Burhān al-Dīn was gradually establishing himself as a reciter in Jerusalemite endowments throughout the 770s/1370s. At the end of this decade, in his mid-forties, he had been successively (or simultaneously) the reciter in four different organisations (Manṣūrī Ribāṭ, unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*, Ṭāz Mausoleum and Awḥadīya Mausoleum).

We see that, on the basis of his success in acquiring positions in fairly minor organisations, Burhān al-Dīn moves on to a new stage in his professional life in the 780s. He now turns to securing positions in the very heart of Jerusalem's sacred Muslim topography, the Ḥaram al-sharīf. Before he received the post in the Awḥadīya Mausoleum he must already have held a position financed by one of the many small endowments that make up the highly complex endowment structure of the Ḥaram al-sharīf.[60] In a document from the year 780/1378 he appears as reciter in an endowment called Sitt 'Ā'isha (number 6 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[61] In this document, Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī (we have no idea who he was) declares that he has no claims against Burhān al-Dīn regarding the salary (*jāmakīya*) for recitations. Christian Müller has already suggested reading this document as follows: Burhān al-Dīn, having been appointed to this recitation position, 'sub-contracted' it to al-Ṣafadī, who did the actual recitation work for a share of the salary.[62] The document would thus be al-Ṣafadī's acknowledgement that he had received his dues from Burhān al-Dīn. As we have seen, sub-contracting salaried positions for a lesser salary was a well-established practice

[60] The exact structure of this massive endowment landscape is still under-studied, but the first steps have been taken in this direction, such as Muḥammad, *Idārat amwāl awqāf*.
[61] #509 (1.8.780/1378), see Appendix 2.
[62] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171.

in the period of the Cairo Sultanate, especially for well-paid 'full-time' positions of the pluralists mentioned above, and these payments were often part of much more complex financial transactions.[63] This document shows that such practices might have also existed for much more modest positions, and with regard to Burhān al-Dīn this would mean that by his mid-forties he was sufficiently established to engage in such a practice.[64]

As a consequence of Burhān al-Dīn becoming increasing more established as a reciter in endowments, we see that positions on the Ḥaram al-sharīf take centre stage during the last decade of his life. A year after the sub-contracting document was produced, he petitioned to be reappointed to a post as reciter of *mīʿād* in the Aqṣā Mosque in 781/1379 (number 9 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[65] This is the first document that specifically used the term that was so crucial in his professional specialisation, 'reciter of *mīʿād*'. The reason he had to petition for this reappointment is not clear, but there seems to have been a conflict in the background. At any rate, he was successful and received the post with a salary of twenty dirhams per month. As things were going well, four months later he submitted a petition for another job on the Ḥaram al-sharīf (number 10 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1). Here, he asked to be appointed as reciter of *ḥadīth* and made his claim that he had done so without remuneration for twenty years.[66] Again, he was successful and received this endowed position, which carried with it a salary of twenty dirhams per month.

Burhān al-Dīn must have kept all or some of these positions within the Ḥaram al-sharīf endowment structure throughout the last decade of his life. While we do not have further diplomas of appointment (or reappointment) to these positions, his continued employment as reciter is evident from four payment orders (a very rare document indeed) issued between 781/1379–80

[63] Petry, *Civilian Elite of Cairo*, 252 and in more detail the numerous cases where scholars receive or buy a salaried position (or a share thereof) mentioned in Ibn Ṭawq's notebook (cf. El-Leithy, *Living Documents, Dying Archives*, 413).

[64] The only alternative interpretation of this document would be that Burhān al-Dīn was the supervisor of this small endowment and had paid al-Ṣafadī's salary. However, there is also a deputy supervisor named in the declaration, Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, from whom Burhān al-Dīn had previously received the salary. An administrative structure under which an endowment's supervisor received the money from his deputy and then had this declaration produced after paying the money to one of the endowment's beneficiaries is rather unlikely.

[65] #305 (8.8.781/1379).

[66] #009 (18.12.781/1380).

and 789/1387–8, the year of his death.[67] In these documents the endowment administration orders (or rather endorses) salary payments for Burhān al-Dīn. These documents are real gems for those wanting to study the history of bureaucracy, as we find up to ten signatures by different officials of the endowment administration on one single payment order.[68] However, what sums were actually paid out for which month(s) has completely eluded us so far and understanding these very brief but highly complex texts is beyond the remit of this book.[69] The main point for us is that the payment orders always refer to Burhān al-Dīn holding a post ('*waẓīfa*') as reciter either of *mīʿād* sessions[70] or of the Koran.[71]

Despite all the positions that Burhān al-Dīn had already secured as a reciter up to the early 780s, there was seemingly the need (or the opportunity) to work in other fields as well, namely as a primary school teacher. This was again a position within the Jerusalemite network of endowments, and again a rather modest one. We only know of it because he is named in the annual accounts sheet of a primary school that has – uniquely – survived. These are the accounts for the year 780/1378–9 of a school endowed by an officer named Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās (entirely unknown to us except that he might be Buyer 41 in the sale booklet) where Burhān al-Dīn appears as the teacher of orphans ('*muʿallim al-aytām*'; number 7 in Table 1.1).[72] Such teaching positions in primary schools were certainly not held by scholars in the inner circle of the scholarly world and contemporary sources frequently derided these teachers.[73] Burhān al-Dīn received a salary of around twenty-nine dirhams per month.[74] The day after the accounts sheet was drawn up, the endowment's supervisor seemingly wanted to streamline things and issued a diploma that not only continued Burhān al-Dīn's appointment, but 'authorised' Burhān al-Dīn at the same time to directly collect his salary from the Jerusalemite shops endowed

[67] #665 (781/1379–80), #668 (786/1384–5), #835 (787/1385–6) and #666 (789/1387–8).
[68] #666.
[69] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 128 proposes that #665 refers to 20 dirhams, #668 to 20.5 dirhams and #666 to 20.5 dirhams as well.
[70] #665, #668 and #666.
[71] #835.
[72] #049. This accounts sheet was drawn up 14.4.781/1379. On this school see Richards, *Primary Education*.
[73] Ghersetti, *Stupid Schoolteachers*.
[74] #049: The annual salary is 348 dirhams.

for the benefit of this primary school.[75] One might read this authorisation as a demonstration of increasing trust in Burhān al-Dīn, granting him prerogatives in the endowment's administration. However, this was a double-edged sword: Burhān al-Dīn now had to collect his salary in person from shop owners who might have been more or less forthcoming with their dues. In addition, his monthly salary was fixed at thirty dirhams and the increased responsibility thus entailed no increase to his salary.[76]

In the early 780s/1380s, when he was in his mid-forties, Burhān al-Dīn thus worked as a primary school teacher and had securely established himself in his home town as a reciter (on the Ḥaram al-sharīf as well as in the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ, the unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*, the Ṭāz Mausoleum and the Awḥadīya Mausoleum). In addition, he must have held a position in at least one further organisation in Jerusalem, the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh (number 8 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1). This *khānqāh*, or *ṣūfī* hospice, was founded by Saladin in 585/1189, two centuries before that in which Burhān al-Dīn lived, and was an organisation separate from the Ṣalāḥīya *madrasa*.[77] It is one of the rare pre-Ottoman organisations for which we have the text of the endowment deed (though reworked and summarised in an Ottoman court register from 1022/1614).[78] This deed makes clear that being appointed as a *ṣūfī* in this *khānqāh* entailed two central obligations: reciting the Koran and saying intercession prayers for the endower. The *ṣūfīs* thus had to recite the Koran every day after sunset prayer, perform *dhikr*, and then pray for the endower. On Fridays they had furthermore to recite the Koran (either in the building of the *khānqāh* or in the Aqṣā Mosque) after sunrise and pray for the endower. Studying seems to have been a lesser priority, as although the *ṣūfīs* were meant to read classics ('*kalām al-a'imma al-mashā'ikh al-ṣūfīya*') every Friday, the deed already assumed that this might not be the actual practice and implored them to study at least 'on some Fridays'.[79] The tasks that came with a position

[75] #003 (25.1.781/1379).

[76] The twenty-nine dirhams per month of the previous year had probably just been the result of deductions from his salary of thirty dirhams after he had missed some days of work.

[77] On the *khānqāh* in general see Fernandes, *Evolution of a Sufi Institution*. On this *khānqāh* in particular see Hawari, *Ayyubid Monuments*, 230–4, Frenkel, *Political and Social Aspects* and Hofer, *Popularisation of Sufism*, 44–6.

[78] Published by al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 81–102.

[79] Al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 94.

in this endowment thus perfectly fit the professional profile that Burhān al-Dīn had developed.

Burhān al-Dīn was probably appointed in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh in or shortly before the year 780/1378. We do not know the exact year, but four documents in the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus describe him in passing as 'one of the *ṣūfīs* in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh'[80] and the earliest one dates to that year.[81] He probably never left this appointment, as the last reference linking him to this *khānqāh* dates from 788/1386, one year before his death.[82] Burhān al-Dīn's salary in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh is not mentioned in the passing references to him as a *ṣūfī* and the other sources, such as the Ottoman summary of the original endowment deed, are silent as well. In the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus we find the best source for this organisation, an accounts book for two months of the year 791/1389,[83] but it only provides the total amount of the salaries for all *ṣūfīs* without an indication of how many there were.

Burhān al-Dīn never secured a position in one of the prestigious *madrasa*s of Jerusalem, but with the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh he managed to get a foothold in one of the most prominent endowments outside the Ḥaram al-sharīf. It is arguably for this reason that completely unrelated documents started to name his affiliation to that organisation as a kind of honorific title. That documents never refer to him by any of his other positions in the non-Ḥaram al-sharīf endowments makes this especially noteworthy. His appointment in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh must thus have been a particularly significant position in the eyes of his social milieu and a major moment in his professional trajectory.

The *ṣūfī* element of Burhān al-Dīn's career calls for one final comment. Donald Little was struck by the references to Burhān al-Dīn as one of the *ṣūfī*s in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh, and in his catalogue entries he faithfully drew the reader's attention to this one, rather minor, detail.[84] These short references were taken up in following scholarship and amplified so that 'Burhān al-Dīn was a *ṣūfī* as well as a reciter'[85] or simply became a '*ṣūfī*-scholar'.[86] However,

[80] #289, #336, #509 and #699.
[81] #509.
[82] #336.
[83] #774.
[84] Little, *Catalogue*, 17, 208, 220, 232 and 247.
[85] Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 289.
[86] Al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 45.

there are two problems with this label. Firstly, Burhān al-Dīn held numerous positions and stipends in the course of his life that we know of. Only one of them is in a *ṣūfī khānqāh*, so why single this one out? Moreover, the references to him being 'one of the *ṣūfīs* in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh' mostly do not come out of documents appointing him to a position, but personal documents, such as deeds by divorced wives or his neighbour's permission to extend the house.[87] Secondly, and much more importantly, the notion of this period's *ṣūfīsm* as a mystical form of Islam purportedly clearly distinct from the rest of society is no longer tenable. Scholarship has shown that *ṣūfī* practices spread throughout society[88] and it is thus debatable to what extent it is useful to frame Burhān al-Dīn in terms of purportedly 'mystic leanings'.[89]

At the beginning of the 780s Burhān al-Dīn thus had been successively (or simultaneously) reciter in five different organisations (Manṣūrī Ribāṭ, unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*, Ṭāz Mausoleum, Awḥadīya Mausoleum and Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh), reciter in various endowments on the Ḥaram al-sharīf and teacher in Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās's primary school. The numerous positions Burhān al-Dīn held in endowments show what we mean by the term 'multiple part-time reciter'. While he was able to secure a place within the Jerusalemite landscape of endowments as a reciter, all these positions were of a modest nature. Burhān al-Dīn had to accumulate several of them and he still had to moonlight in other posts, such as teaching in a primary school.

Conclusion

The positions that Burhān al-Dīn accumulated are positions far below the radar of the narrative sources that reported on Jerusalem and its scholars. It is precisely this silence of the sources that makes the social practices of Burhān al-Dīn as visible from his documentary corpus so important. When reading these narrative texts, the trajectories of such multiple part-time reciters – and those of other professional groups to be identified in future scholarship – remain blurry or even entirely invisible. Burhān al-Dīn might have been a scholar, but his social world has to be reconstructed from the patchy documentary corpus

[87] Divorced wives: #289 and #699; house: #336.
[88] Hofer, *Popularisation of Sufism*; specifically for Syria see Ephrat, *Sufi Masters and the Creation of Saintly Spheres*.
[89] Haarmann, *Library*, 332.

in order to be described in any meaningful sense. This change of perspective shows the social agency of an individual on the edges of the scholarly world in pursuing employment opportunities in endowed organisations by developing an increasingly clear professional profile. Reconstructing the biography of such a peripheral 'below-the-radar' individual is also crucial for understanding the full impact of the increasing number of endowments on urban life in this period. We thus have here an example of probably quite a large stratum of middling part-timers who were able to make a living in the networks of endowments without ever making their way into any narrative source.

To apply the catch-all category of scholar, and the implications this term carries for those described in the chronicles and biographical compendia, is an exercise of limited usefulness for locating Burhān al-Dīn and his books in the social fabric of Jerusalem during that period. His world, and that of his fellow part-timers, was far from the world of those holding the prestigious positions in the *madrasa*s or the prominent positions in the judiciary, such as Sarī al-Dīn. For the course of the immediate argument pursued in this book, the main point established here is thus the relatively modest social world in which Burhān al-Dīn acted. This, in turn, is crucial in order to appreciate why the large number of books that he owned matters, and why his intensive documentary practices matter.

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2

Beyond Endowment

In the previous chapter we saw how a multiple part-time reciter such as Burhān al-Dīn was able to navigate the endowment topography in a town such as Jerusalem. This chapter will extend the argument on the social agency of such an individual, who did not belong to the elite circle of his society, and look at a second strategy that he employed to make a living outside endowed organisations. The latter part of the chapter will then connect his professional profile (inside and outside endowments) with those aspects of his personal life that we are able to detect from the estate archive.

Understanding the second strand of his strategy is crucial if we are to gain a fuller picture of the social world of peripheral scholars – and get new insights into the socio-cultural practices of peripheral officers in the late eighth/fourteenth century. This strand will take us away from the world of endowed organisations into an environment of institutionalised patterns of interaction. We have here a phenomenon that is entirely different from procuring salaried positions in endowments, and one that is centred on what is probably best called 'personal stipends'. Within this second strand Burhān al-Dīn approaches households on the fringes of the military-political elite, offers a Jerusalem-based 'recitation/intercessory prayer package' to a patron and subsequently receives a monthly stipend outside any endowment structure. We have seen that his first strategy was embedded within the long-term process of the growing importance of endowments within the urban landscape that had especially accelerated under the Qalāwūnids. This second strand, in turn, is much more difficult to place in the different rhythms of historical developments because it has very low visibility. Patronage was certainly part of the long-term socio-cultural practices of households of the military and political elite. However, we will argue, this specific form of patronage between peripheral

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scholars and officers is a development specific to the late Qalāwūnid and early Barqūqid periods in the late eighth/fourteenth century. The institutionalised practice that we see here complements in that sense the study by Mathieu Eychenne of personal relationships and networks in seventh/thirteenth- and eighth/fourteenth-century society.[1]

Burhān al-Dīn's Social World beyond Endowments

Scholarship on the relations between scholars and military-political households in the medieval period has tended to focus on interactions framed by endowments and payments channelled through endowments.[2] This, for instance, is the perspective taken by Michael Chamberlain in his seminal work, where he almost exclusively focuses on the endowment as the organisational framework while stipends beyond such organisations are tucked away in the footnotes.[3] In the same vein, scholarship specifically on the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents and on Burhān al-Dīn has strongly focused on endowments, so that it has not even identified what we call 'stipends' as distinct from his endowed positions. A typical example of such an endowment-centred view argues, for instance, that, 'like [those of] many other professionals, scholars, and day laborers in cities throughout the region, [Burhān al-Dīn's] livelihood depended on these endowed institutions'.[4]

We have identified no fewer than six such personal stipends that Burhān al-Dīn procured from various officer-patrons and these stipends played a significant role in his income (numbers 2, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[5] All these stipends are strikingly similar, almost to the point of being identical: Burhān al-Dīn is tasked with reciting a *mīʿād* and then making an intercessory prayer for the officer-patron (we find, for instance, the phrase

[1] Eychenne, *Liens personnels*, 101–51.

[2] Such as the study on Cairo by Loiseau, *Reconstruire la maison du sultan*.

[3] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice* (for instance p. 51, n. 75). Forms of patronage beyond organisations also do not feature prominently in the analysis of Barqūqid political practices by Onimus, *Maîtres du jeu*, in the overview of patronage practices in Little, *Jerusalem under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks*, or in the summary of military patronage by Igarashi, *Charity and Endowments*.

[4] Luz, *Mamluk City in the Middle East*, 134. Frenkel, *Political and Social Aspects* follows the same argument.

[5] Declarations of intent: #603 (774/1372); #508 (782/1380); #004 (782/1380); #012 (783/1381); #002 (788/1386); Request: #026 (undated).

'he [the officer-patron] gains reward and intercessory prayer from the servant [Burhān al-Dīn] in the noble places').[6] These recitations are always meant to take place on the Ḥaram al-sharīf (in or close to the Dome of the Rock, the Aqṣā Mosque or the Chain Gate on the western façade of the Ḥaram al-sharīf). All documents spell out in great detail where and when exactly (day and time) the recitation had to take place (sometimes even the texts to be recited in the *mīʿād* session are put down in writing, as we have seen). All stipends are provided by peripheral households of the military and political elite that are hardly traceable in the narrative source corpus. Those three officer-patrons who can be geographically located were active in southern Bilād al-Shām (though not in Jerusalem itself). The stipend is always for a modest sum of either ten or fifteen dirhams. What we have here is thus a group of institutionalised personal stipends that are held together by numerous similar characteristics, and that are clearly distinct from the endowment-related positions of the first group.

The differences between the endowment positions and the personal stipends are not that evident from the documents at first glance – and these blurred borders are highly significant. This is the case because the patrons of these stipends strove to imitate 'real' endowment positions and to depict the stipend in terms of an endowed long-term position. For instance, one of the documents granting Burhān al-Dīn such a stipend depicts it as being hereditary, and Burhān al-Dīn's son, in the event that he was qualified to do so, was meant to succeed his father. This officer-patron even tasks a third party, the *imām* of the Dome of the Rock, with the 'supervision' of this stipend. The term used for this task, '*naẓr*', is exactly the same term as that used for the task of supervising endowments. As is the case in endowment deeds, the diploma also stipulates how this supervision is to be passed down once the current *imām* steps down or dies.[7]

While these peripheral officers strove to couch their stipends in terms reminiscent of endowments, they engaged in a practice that was clearly different from distributing positions in an endowment. They might have intended this stipend to continue for many years or even decades, but an officer-patron could simply stop paying the money whenever he wished to – in contrast

[6] #007, l. 10/11. Similar in #010, l. 6/7 and #013, ll. 8–11.
[7] #002.

to an endowment position, there was no organisational framework and no mortmain property with which to secure a stipend's existence in the long run. Without considering these documents in more detail, it has been tempting to see them as identical to the diplomas of appointment for endowed positions that we have seen in the previous chapter. In consequence, the documents on positions and stipends have just been bundled and described erroneously as 'documents, dealing mostly with his application for, and his appointment to, various positions in Jerusalem pious establishments'.[8]

The confusion in modern scholarship between endowed positions and personal stipends is closely linked to the terminology used in the documents and the way this terminology has been interpreted. Three documents that award Burhān al-Dīn a stipend start with the term '*marsūm*', and Donald Little thus intuitively listed them in his catalogue as 'decrees'.[9] Here they find themselves in an awkward group with lordly decrees, especially the ones issued by the sultans in Cairo (such as #008 by al-Malik al-Nāṣir b. Qalāwūn and #034 by Baybars). The translation of *marsūm* as 'decree' might work very well for the documents issued by the sultans. The low-ranking officers certainly wanted these *marsūm* also to be seen as lordly 'decrees', but in reality this term does not catch at all the social function of those documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn.

Christian Müller has already pointed out that the term '*marsūm*' can refer to documents with very different legal implications. He argued that several of them should rather be called 'diplomas of appointment' (*Ernennungsdiplome*) as they share few functions with lordly decrees, and we have adopted his term for documents on endowed positions.[10] Yet the *marsūm*s on stipends refer to very different practices and are more informal than the label 'diploma' implies. It is for this reason that we do not use the term 'diploma of appointment' for these *marsūm* 'decrees', but opt for 'declaration of intent'.

That neither the label (lordly) 'decree' nor (endowment-related) 'diploma of appointment' works for these documents is clearer still when we turn to those two declarations of intent that do not start with the term '*marsūm*',

[8] Haarmann, *Library*, 327.
[9] #002, #004, #012.
[10] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 137–46. In our case e.g. #203 and #214.

but with '*yaqūlu*' ('he says').[11] For this reason Donald Little put them into an entirely different group in his catalogue. Christian Müller called these *yaqūlu* documents 'declarations' as they are nothing more than self-binding declarations without the involvement of third parties. This is also evident in terms of formality, because they often do not carry witness signatures, which are omnipresent in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, and those that do carry such signatures are much less standardised than those seen on other documents.[12] We obviously agree wholeheartedly with this characterisation of 'our' two declarations. Where we differ is in relation to the three documents for stipends that open with the word '*marsūm*' – Little's 'decrees' *or* Müller's 'diplomas'. We argue that these three are, de facto, no different from the two declarations. All five documents are expressions of exactly the same practice and all five have thus to be seen, in terms of social and political history, as a coherent group of documents – declarations of intent.

Once we start to see the personal stipends as a group, a clear pattern of socio-cultural practices emerges. The six officer-patrons providing the stipends[13] are almost invisible in the narrative sources and they were clearly the heads of minor households within the political structure of the Cairo Sultanate. These personal stipends allowed such officer-patrons of modest standing to have pious recitations performed in their name within one of the most scared spaces in the realm. The alternative approach, to set up an endowment for this purpose, as their more prominent peers such as Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz did, was beyond the financial means of this group of households. Offering patronage via stipends thus allowed these officers to insert their names into the Ḥaram al-sharīf's soundscape along with those of their more prominent peers.[14] What we have here is thus an institutionalised socio-cultural practice of peripheral households in the province that would have escaped us had we focused exclusively on endowments to understand the patronage offered by the military and political elites. These practices have eluded us, as the narrative sources

[11] #603 and #508.
[12] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 131–6.
[13] We have five declarations of intent (#002, #004, #012, #508, #603) and one further request to an officer regarding an existing stipend (#026).
[14] On the topic of pre-Ottoman soundscapes, see the first reflections by Frenkel, *Mamluk Soundscape*.

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hardly take notice of the low-ranking officer-patrons or the beneficiaries at the margins of the scholarly world – never mind the relationship between them.[15]

Once we start to see Burhān al-Dīn's social practice in more detail we are able to acknowledge the agency of such an individual. The documents on the stipends depict a world of grandiose officers granting or bestowing on him positions, so that scholarship has tended to rank the agency of scholars rather low in such patronage relationships. There is instead a much more fascinating world of an individual who actively procured personal stipends from individual patrons. Just as 'court' chroniclers were not just socially dependent mouthpieces of their royal patrons,[16] Burhān al-Dīn certainly was strongly positioned in his relationships with his various patrons. Burhān al-Dīn's agency in convincing peripheral officer-patrons to issue such declarations of intent for personal stipends is at first glance unclear, as none of these documents carries his petition. This is a practice clearly distinct from the diplomas of appointment in endowments, where the vast majority carry Burhān al-Dīn's petition on the front.[17] Yet clear patterns emerge, most importantly that he did not approach households across Egypt and Bilād al-Shām, but – as we have seen – specifically targeted officers who resided in southern Bilād al-Shām: two of them lived in Gaza and a third officer-patron resided in al-Ramla.[18] The absence of petitions and the geographical proximity make it likely that Burhān al-Dīn approached these low-ranking officers in person to offer his recitation/intercessory prayer package. This must have happened either when these officers passed through Jerusalem or when Burhān al-Dīn travelled to nearby towns such as Gaza and al-Ramla to procure new patrons. The personal stipends that Burhān al-Dīn procured show indeed a very 'enterprising' individual, to return to Donald Little's term.

For the peripheral officer-patrons, the act of providing stipends in one of the most sacred sites controlled by the Cairo Sultanate was highly meaningful in spiritual and social terms. They clearly did not have the means to set up

[15] On the learned activities of those officers who made it into the narrative texts see Mauder, *Gelehrte Krieger* (English summary: Mauder, *Education and Learning*).

[16] Banister, *Professional Mobility*; Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography*.

[17] Such as #007, #009, #010, #013, #305 and #310.

[18] On patronage and investment in the urban infrastructure of medieval Gaza see Amitai, *Development of a Muslim City*.

endowments, unlike their more prominent peers. They were probably also not able to procure the services of any of the renowned scholars of the town to perform these recitations for them in exchange for their modest stipends. We have seen that they tried to compensate for their inability to set up endowments by couching their stipends in terms of endowments. In a similar vein, they also strove to compensate for the lack of glamorous scholar-clients by describing their humble client Burhān al-Dīn in rather hyperbolic terms. One of the officers, Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, described Burhān al-Dīn in his declarations of intent, for instance, as 'the lofty seat, the master, the meritorious judge' (*'al-majlis al-'ālī al-mawlawī al-qaḍā'ī al-fāḍilī*').[19] Documents produced within Jerusalem, by contrast, use much less exalted titles for Burhān al-Dīn, typically along the lines of 'the virtuous, ascetic and worshipping shaykh' (*'al-Shaykh al-ṣāliḥ al-'ābid al-zāhid*').[20] The officers strove to imitate the more grandiose world of endowments not only in textual terms, but also in terms of materiality. Staying with the document by Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, this is also materially one of the most impressive objects that Burhān al-Dīn ever received. At fifty-nine centimetres in length this scroll is the longest document in the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus and the text was written upon the sheet with very generous line-spacing. The terminology and the materiality of this document were clearly meant to impress those who saw the scroll and imply that a prominent officer was hereby tasking a famous scholar. The aim was to reproduce the documentary splendour of the endowment-related decrees of the political elite and to attach themselves to the material documentary world of their prominent peers.

If we now chronologically map Burhān al-Dīn's strategy of procuring personal stipends onto the first strand of him acquiring more and more positions in the endowments of Jerusalem, we see that the timeline fits neatly. As we saw above, he spent most of the 770s building up his standing in more and more endowed organisations, and in the 780s he was able to move to endowed positions on the Ḥaram al-sharīf. After Burhān al-Dīn had secured these multiple modest positions his prospects for further employment were rather limited, as the better-paid positions in endowments required more scholarly training

[19] #004, l. 5. On the term *majlis* in documents see Guo, *Commerce, Culture and Community*, 22–4.
[20] #303 and #005.

than he probably possessed. The timeline of his personal stipends thus has to be set against this background: he only procured one such personal stipend in the 770s,[21] but in the 780s he received four of them (the document for the sixth stipend is undated, but most likely also refers to the 780s when he was juggling many positions and stipends).[22] He thus not only used his positions in different endowments to acquire endowed positions on the Ḥaram al-sharīf, but he also successfully intensified his activities to procure personal stipends from peripheral officers across southern Bilād al-Shām. Considering the intimate link between the political elites and the world of *ṣūfism*, it is highly likely that Burhān al-Dīn became an even more sought-after reciter after he had attached himself to the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh. In addition to those stipends known to us, there were most likely more attempts by Burhān al-Dīn to procure stipends from other officers. Some of them might have been successful, but for some reason the declaration of intent has not come down to us, and other attempts certainly failed and left no paper trail.

Burhān al-Dīn acquired his first such stipend in 774/1372 when an otherwise unknown officer, Salāma b. Abī Bakr al-Fāriqānī, identified as the 'chamberlain in Gaza', declared his intention to pay him the modest sum of fifteen dirhams a month (number 2 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1). In exchange, Burhān al-Dīn was to recite *mīʿād* sessions in the officer's name on Tuesdays (in the Aqṣā Mosque after morning prayer) and Fridays (in the Dome of the Rock after morning prayer, then at the Chain Gate after afternoon prayer and finally once again in the Dome of the Rock between sunset and evening prayers).[23] Six years later, in 782/1380, we see further stipends: first, a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī, identified as '*al-janāb al-karīm*' from al-Ramla and otherwise again entirely unknown, promises the very modest sum of ten dirhams per month (number 12 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1). Burhān al-Dīn was to recite in his name at the Chain Gate three times a week: Tuesday mornings, Wednesday mornings and Friday after the noon prayer. In this document we also find one of the lists of the texts that Burhān al-Dīn was to recite.[24]

[21] #603 in the year 774/1372.
[22] #508, #004, #012 and #002.
[23] #603.
[24] #508. This officer seemingly endowed a *zāwiya* in al-Ramla (al-Khaṭīb, *Qiṣṣat madīnat al-Ramla*, 84).

Within ten days another officer, the above-mentioned Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, issues his impressive scroll and declares his intent to pay Burhān al-Dīn at least fifteen dirhams per month (number 13 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[25] He wanted Burhān al-Dīn to recite on four days a week: Tuesdays (in the Dome of the Rock between sunset and evening prayers), Thursdays (again in the Dome of the Rock between sunset and evening prayers), Fridays (at the Chain Gate after the noon prayer) and Saturdays (in the Aqṣā Mosque between sunset and evening prayers).[26]

A year later, Burhān al-Dīn procured his next personal stipend in 783/1381 from the officer ʿAlī b. Qōjā al-ʿAlāʾī (number 14 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[27] Al-ʿAlāʾī tasked Burhān al-Dīn with reciting *mīʿād* for his 'spiritual reward' (*thawāb*) every day of the week after morning prayer opposite the Dome of the Rock.[28] Five years later, in 788/1386, the officer ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aqbughā Yankī,[29] described as the 'former chamberlain in Gaza', promises him a stipend of ten dirhams per month (number 15 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1). This document does not refer to a new stipend, but it does mention that Burhān al-Dīn is to 'continue', so he must already have held this stipend. This is one of the documents in which we find a list of the texts that Burhān al-Dīn was to recite. For this officer-patron Burhān al-Dīn was to recite three days a week in the Dome of the Rock: Thursdays (after sunset prayer), Fridays (before noon prayer) and Sundays (after morning prayer).[30] Finally, we have the undated request by Burhān al-Dīn addressed to another officer-patron, a certain Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar Ṣārim al-Dīn (number 16 in Table 1.1 and Map 1.1).[31] In this request, Burhān

[25] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, I, 156 reports that a new governor of Sinjār was appointed, a certain Ḥaydar b. Yūnus, known as Ibn al-ʿAskarī. who might be identical with this officer (we thank Jo van Steenbergen for this reference).

[26] #004.

[27] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 145, n. 438 assumes that this was not an officer because the relational name (*nisba*) linking him to a Sultan is missing. However, ʿAlī uses the titles '*al-mawlawī*' and '*al-makhdūmī*', in addition to the interlinear '*al-janāb*' between lines 6 and 7. These points make it likely that this ʿAlī hailed from the military and political elite.

[28] #012.

[29] Al-Bayrūtī, *no title*, Oxford Bodleian Ms. Marshall 36, fol. 62v reports for the year 772 that Aqbughā Yankī, one of the ten amirs, was banished to Tripoli (we thank Jo van Steenbergen for this reference).

[30] #002.

[31] #026. The name of 'al-Mamlūk Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Ṣārimī' written in the margins of lines 2 to 4 has caused considerable confusion in scholarship. As al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 206 already pointed out, we would normally expect to find the petitioner's name in this position, which is

al-Dīn writes that he currently recites for him in the Aqṣā Mosque four days a week after morning prayer (on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays). He asks his patron to agree to a streamlined schedule of recitations in his name: on Mondays after sunrise at the Chain Gate, after noon prayer on Tuesdays in the Aqṣā Mosque, and on Fridays after morning prayer, also in the Aqṣā Mosque.

On account of Burhān al-Dīn's increasing connections with the peripheral military and political elite in the region, we also observe that he branched out into another professional activity. In the early 780s/1380s he is appointed as legal proxy (*wakīl*) by an officer called Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sayf al-Dīn Bustumur (number 11 in Table 1.1).[32] In this function Burhān al-Dīn was, in particular, to look after the officer's modest entitlement of one dirham per day from the 'Dīwān al-Qumāma', which is linked to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[33] In line with what we saw on the declarations of intent for personal stipends, this officer also somewhat exaggerated Burhān al-Dīn's scholarly credentials and the *wikāla* document called him a scholar of *ḥadīth*, a '*muḥaddith*'.[34] Burhān al-Dīn was beyond doubt a reciter of *ḥadīth* and on the basis of the many posts and stipends he held one has to assume that he must have been quite talented. Yet there is little indication in those documents produced within Jerusalem that there was any claim that he was a scholar of *ḥadīth* transmission or even *ḥadīth* interpretation that would warrant the use of the term '*muḥaddith*'.[35]

clearly not the case. Little, *Catalogue*, 52 interprets this name as 'the addressee', but it would be fairly unusual for a petitioner to address his patron as '*al-mamlūk*'. Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 132, n. 377 interprets the name as that of the issuer (though Ṣārim al-Dīn did not issue this document), but also states that it is the name of Burhān al-Dīn (133). The most likely scenario is that Burhān al-Dīn wrote this request and sent it to his patron, who endorsed it (admittedly in a very unusual way) with his name in the margins and sent it back. This is especially likely as this request must have been returned to Burhān al-Dīn for his personal archive and have finally ended up in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. (On this issue, see Chapter 3.)

[32] #490 (781/1380).

[33] The 'Dīwān al-Qumāma' levied taxes on Christian pilgrims (al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, II, 140 and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, I, 312 [biography of Ibn Nubāta, d. 768/1366]). On such taxes see Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya*, 134–6; on *ahl al-dhimma* in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents see 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ta'āmulāt al-qaḍā'īya*. In contrast to our reading of this document, Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 170 argues that Burhān al-Dīn himself was entitled to one dirham per day.

[34] #490, l. 5.

[35] The only other document where this term is used is #843, a receipt for payment of rent (see Appendix 2).

If we consider the positions in endowment and stipends together, Burhān al-Dīn had an impressive number of jobs. As we have seen, the problem we face is that we do not know how long most of them lasted, and it is thus impossible to say with certainty exactly how many part-time positions he held at any given point. However, it is possible to take a sample year and make an argument about his positions and stipends for that period. For this purpose we can take the year 782/1380–1. To avoid overestimating we will discard the earlier positions from the 770s/1370s in the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ and the unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*, as well as the personal stipend that he had received in 774/1372 from Salāma b. Abī Bakr al-Fāriqānī, as we do not know whether they were still ongoing. Even with this rather cautious approach, we see that he most likely held no fewer than nine positions and stipends in the year 782/1380–1. These are those in the Ṭāz Mausoleum (we have a diploma of reappointment from late 780),[36] in the Awḥadīya Mausoleum (he was appointed in late 780),[37] in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh (a document from 782 describes him as one of its *ṣūfīs*),[38] as reciter of *mīʿād* on the Ḥaram al-sharīf (we have a diploma of reappointment from 781[39] as well as a payment order for this year[40]), as reciter of *ḥadīth* again on the Ḥaram al-sharīf (we have his diploma of appointment from 781)[41] and as teacher in Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās's primary school (we have his diploma of appointment from 781).[42] In addition, he held two personal stipends from officer-patrons (two declarations of intent date to 782)[43] and worked as legal proxy for a third officer (the document dates to late 781).[44]

With his success in procuring an increasing number of appointments in endowments and of personal stipends from the late 770s onwards, Burhān al-Dīn's schedule must have been rather busy. In our sample year 782/1380–1, the two stipends alone required him to recite on Tuesday in the morning as well as between sunset and evening prayers, on Wednesday in the morning,

[36] #303.
[37] #203.
[38] #289.
[39] #305.
[40] #665.
[41] #009.
[42] #003.
[43] #004 and #508.
[44] #490.

between sunset and evening prayers on Thursday, after the noon prayer on Friday, and between sunset and evening prayers on Saturday. Add to this the daily tasks for his recitation positions in various endowments as well as his job as a primary school teacher, and his life must have been packed to the limit. There are indications that he struggled to manage this schedule. For instance, the last diploma of reappointment for the Ṭāz Mausoleum mentioned for the first time that he was to recite for the duration of two hours.[45] The four previous diplomas for this mausoleum had nothing to say on this matter except from generic references to the endowment's stipulations.[46] Had Burhān al-Dīn started to cut corners to reconcile all his obligations? Are we seeing here a grumpy endowment supervisor scolding one of his men who tended to rush his recitations? That one of the declarations of intent by an officer-patron saw the need to warn him not to miss a single day might also be interpreted in the same way.[47]

Previous scholarship has expressed doubts that an individual was actually able to juggle so many tasks.[48] The fact that we find a crutch among the items sold in the auction (obj7 in the sale booklet) might indicate that Burhān al-Dīn walked with a limp and that this made his punishing schedule harder still. There are two possible solutions as to how he carried out the tasks without cutting too many corners. One possibility is that he sub-contracted tasks, and we have seen one document that arguably indicated this practice,[49] but this practice would obviously have meant him forgoing a percentage of the modest salaries. The other and more likely solution returns us to the stipends he received from officer-patrons, as they provide more details on working patterns. The two stipends he received in the year 782 indicate that things were complicated, as they required him to undertake recitations at the same time (Friday after the noon prayer).[50] As he procured these two stipends within ten days, these two Friday recitations must have clashed. The solution for this clash in his schedule might have been that he performed both recitations at

[45] #014 (785/1383), l. 10.
[46] #310, #007, #303 and #005.
[47] #004.
[48] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171: 'chronological overlaps that seem to make it impossible that all tasks could be fulfilled simultaneously'.
[49] #509 (780/1378).
[50] #004 and #508.

the same place, the Chain Gate. Burhān al-Dīn thus most likely simply condensed these two recitations into one reading of the texts in question. As he still spoke the required intercessory prayers after this recitation for each of the two officer-patrons, he fulfilled his 'contractual' obligations. In that sense the undated request to an officer-patron to change times and places of recitations might have been driven by the need to condense two or more obligations into a single recitation. The life of a multiple part-time reciter seemingly required pragmatic and creative solutions.

If we now start to look at the wider picture, we see that Burhān al-Dīn was able to convert the sanctity of Jerusalem into employment opportunities and became a successful participant in the town's spiritual economy. This economy was very much driven by the investments that Jerusalem attracted, as we have seen above, in the form of endowed organisations, but Burhān al-Dīn's case shows that there were also mechanisms that have been less visible up until now, and future scholarship will certainly bring up further such mechanisms. One example worth pursuing, one particularly fitting for a book on books, is the endowment of individual books, in contrast to endowments of full-scale libraries. We are still in the early stages of understanding the pre-Ottoman history of libraries in Jerusalem, but work by Bashir Barakat has unearthed many relevant codices endowed by members of the military and political elites.[51] Arguably, we have here cases of modest officers endowing individual codices to insert themselves into existing libraries. Burhān al-Dīn's strategy thus drew on one aspect of a much wider spectrum of socio-cultural practices in which low-ranking officers' households inserted themselves into the material and social landscapes of Jerusalem.

That we are able to see the case of Burhān al-Dīn simply comes down to the survival of the extraordinarily rich documentary corpus linked to him. These documents are of particular importance, as in the entire Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus the only declarations of intent by officer-patrons for stipends (whether couched in terms of *marsūm* or *yaqūlu*) are the five linked to Burhān al-Dīn. To stress it again: that only the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus preserves such documents is not because he was such an unusual character, but because the survival of this corpus is unique, as we will discuss in the following chapter.

[51] Barakat, *Tārīkh al-maktabāt al-ʿarabīya*.

What we have here are thus traces of socio-cultural practices beyond the political and scholarly elites that are certainly worthy of further pursuit on the basis of other documentary corpora. This is especially promising because the field of Mamluk Studies has started to take note of the role of minor households in other contexts, such as important archival actors.[52] Similar lines of research are already pursued for other periods, such as Marina Rustow's work on Geniza documents for the Fatimid period, where she argues that they give insight into 'the day-to-day logistics of rule, which the chronicles mention obliquely or not at all, since they tend to train their gaze on the ruling elite and the military while ignoring the mid- and lower-level officials'.[53]

To understand how Burhān al-Dīn's life fits into in the wider scheme of things, we need to return to the question raised at the beginning of this section on the historical contexts of the two strategies that Burhān al-Dīn pursued. As for his first strategy of securing positions in endowments, the process of waqfisation and the increasing role of households as central building blocks of the political system were crucial. These developments are closely linked to the concept of the 'military patronage state', where the field of politics is peopled by households who compete for influence, economic resources and cultural capital. Analysing political authority in these terms is closely linked to how Jo van Steenbergen conceptualised late Qalāwūnid politics as more than turmoil and chaos.[54] This competition between households also led to distinctive forms of the mediation of power that entailed a blossoming of endowments, which led to distinctive new layouts and skylines in the cities of Egypt and Syria.[55] Against this background, the case of Burhān al-Dīn securing salaried positions within the endowment landscape of Jerusalem is a typical product of the massive investment by the military-political elites in the urban infrastructure.

This raises questions about the context within which Burhān al-Dīn was able to secure his stipends. He secured patronage from modest military households with rather limited political influence which strove to translate

[52] Livingston, *Paperwork of a Mamluk Muqṭa'*.
[53] Rustow, *Jews and the Fāṭimid Caliphate*, 170.
[54] Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*.
[55] Van Steenbergen, *History of the Islamic World*, 241–3. For the example of Gaza see Amitai, *Development of a Muslim City* and for the other towns in Palestine see the inscriptions in Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palestinae*.

their limited economic resources into the most splendid cultural prestige possible. Were these socio-cultural practices specific to the period in question, that is, the late Qalāwūnid (up to 784/1382) and early Barqūqid period (784/1382–791/1389)? The problem for any such diachronic argument is that the absence of similar documents from earlier periods cannot be taken as an indicator that such practices did not exist – this might simply be an indicator of the special status of the documentary corpus linked to Burhān al-Dīn. However, there are indications that there is at least some diachronic specificity to this second strand. Clément Onimus has provided a detailed account of the Barqūqid reign (784/1382–815/1412), when the sultans attempted to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the households of the officers and to pacify the political landscape. These attempts ultimately failed; this period witnessed rather the continuation of the patterns of intensive household competition from the late Qalāwūnid period, and in many cases even an intensification of this competition.[56]

This development of continuing household competition might in turn be combined with Bethany Walker's analysis of ceramic artefacts as evidence of political transformations.[57] Walker shows that in the course of the eighth/fourteenth century the broadening of the group of officers meant also a broadening of artistic patronage well beyond the sultanic household. As a result, sgraffito ware rose in popularity among peripheral households, and we see that the style of these artefacts was heavily influenced by the more expensive items preferred in court culture, such as silk textiles. In a second step, such vessels were mass-produced and inscribed with generic dedications, allowing an even wider group of society to participate in their consumption.[58] That we see peripheral officers as patrons of non-endowed recitation sessions can be seen as a parallel development. Arguably, we have here another socio-cultural practice that spread widely in the military elite and in which more households could participate. These recitation sessions were designed with an eye on the 'real' endowed practice. This urge to imitate the more capital-intensive endowment is particularly evident in how the declarations of intent strove to

[56] Onimus, *Maîtres du jeu*.
[57] Walker, *Ceramic Evidence* (we thank Jo van Steenbergen for drawing our attention to this article).
[58] Walker, *Ceramic Evidence*, 88.

imitate decrees. Yet just as the new patron of ceramic ware could not afford silk textiles, the patrons of Burhān al-Dīn (and probably many similar patrons) could not afford a full-scale endowment. The socio-cultural practice of offering 'cheap' stipends was thus arguably a practice adopted by members of the military-political elite who were not able to establish their patronage relationship with wider society via endowments. Rather, they strove to frame this practice in terms which seemed to imply a replication of offering patronage via endowments, but which represented a de facto reconfiguration of how political power was mediated and who was mediating it.

Beyond Positions and Stipends

So far, we have seen what a peripheral scholar in Jerusalem made of the limitations and opportunities offered by endowment and patronage in the late eighth/fourteenth century. This reconstruction of Burhān al-Dīn's professional life and the two strategies associated with it drew on the twenty-four documents that refer to his working life. There are almost thirty further documents that offer unique insights into the personal life of this multiple part-time reciter.[59] This extensive documentation will allow us to examine how the social timeline that we have seen so far with reference to paid positions and stipends played out in other aspects of his life, where he appears as husband, widower, divorcee, father and house owner. In this section we thus move away from looking at his life in terms of the wider argument and strive, rather, to sustain the arguments built up so far on the social world of such an individual with the unique information that we have on him.

Burhān al-Dīn was the head of a household, with the typical complicated family relationships that we see with so many individuals of his period (Figure 2.1). In particular his marital relationships were complex, and they fit with Yossef Rapoport's dictum that '[t]he pre-modern Middle East was another traditional society that had consistently high rates of divorce over long periods of time'.[60] Burhān al-Dīn entered into marriages with at least four women: Fāṭima (prosaically called 'Fāṭima 1' in the following), Maryam bt.

[59] Eleven documents produced during his lifetime and seventeen documents on the settlement of his estate.

[60] Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce*, 2.

ʿUmar,[61] Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh b. Fahd al-Khalīlī and Shīrīn bt. ʿAbd Allāh. His numerous marriages, combined with the fact that two of his wives had the same name and, to make things more confusing still, both had a son called Maḥmūd, has led to confusion in previous scholarship.[62] There is no conclusive proof that Burhān al-Dīn had more than one wife at any given moment. These marriages could have been successive marriages, because one of his wives (Fāṭima 1) died and two of his marriages (with Maryam bt. ʿUmar and Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh) ended in divorce. The two divorces were in the last decade of his life, and prior to this period he most likely did not have the financial means to entertain a large-scale household.

Even if the documents do not provide any dates for his marriages, we can establish a rough timeline that is relevant for the argument we make later on how he moved closer to the social elite of the town. Burhān al-Dīn certainly was already married to Fāṭima 1 in 778/1376 when their son Maḥmūd Kamāl was born,[63] but we regrettably do not know when she died as the document on the division of her estate is undated.[64] The marriage with Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh must have ended in late 782/1381 when she issued an acknowledgement deed stating she had no further claims against her former husband from the marriage, but noting that she was three and a half months pregnant with his child.[65] Fewer than fifteen months later the (probably childless) third marriage with Maryam came to an end, as is evident from her acknowledgement deed dated to early 784/1382.[66] Burhān al-Dīn must have quickly remarried (or else had already entered into this fourth marriage at an earlier point), as is evident from a document produced five months after Maryam's acknowledgement

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[61] #699 (see Appendix 2).

[62] Other documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus show that the practice of giving the same name to one's children was not uncommon. We find for instance three brothers called 'Muḥammad the elder known as the first, middle Muḥammad known as the second and small Muḥammad known as the last' (#355a, l. 9/10).

[63] #622 (22.9.788/1386) mentions that he was ten years old ('*al-ʿushārī al-sinn*').

[64] #897 (undated), see Appendix 2.

[65] #289 (782/1381). In her edition of this document, Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 258–62, does not have anything on pregnancy in her translation and Little, *Catalogue* also seems to misread the passage. Little, *Five Petitions*, 368 erroneously states that the other acknowledgement by Maryam (#699) mentions that she is pregnant.

[66] #699 (12.2.784/1382), see Appendix 2.

deed. This is a sale contract in which Shīrīn acquires a female West African slave and is named as the wife of Burhān al-Dīn.[67]

We hardly know anything else about his four wives, and this includes their family background. However, it is clear that two of his wives had considerable personal wealth: Fāṭima 1 left roughly 2,000 dirhams to her son Maḥmūd Kamāl, her daughter Khadīja, her husband and her mother when she died.[68] This substantial inheritance means that Burhān al-Dīn had either married a wife who was substantially better off than himself or – more likely – that Fāṭima 1 was financially successful during their marriage and built up some wealth. She must have kept this wealth separate from her husband's affairs. They lived until her death – as we will see below – in very modest accommodation, for which Burhān al-Dīn was paying the rent. Only after her death, arguably on account of the inheritance and his increasing professional success, was he able to purchase a house.

Shīrīn, his last wife, must also have been well-off. She wrote a *ṣadāq* (dower) of at least 570 dirhams into their marriage contract (this is how much she received after he died).[69] This is a sum that indicates some wealth, even though it is certainly some way off that enjoyed by the social elite of the period.[70] Shīrīn could also afford to buy a slave for 480 dirhams, more than half of what Burhān al-Dīn had paid four years earlier for a house.[71] In addition, when Burhān al-Dīn wanted to extend this house some years later, Shīrīn bought household objects from him, including all the white copper goods in the house, a wrought iron plate (*ṭabaq kīrān*), two medium-sized copper drinking bowls (*ṭāsa*) and several engraved copper bowls for curdling milk (*zubdīya*). For this she paid the considerable sum of 500 dirhams. This payment was intended to finance the extension, and Shīrīn made sure that a contract was drawn up in which Burhān al-Dīn undertook to exclusively use

[67] #382 (17.7.784/1382).

[68] #897 (undated). This document is a draft version without witness signatures and without standard items such as expenses for porters and brokers. The way a cash sum of eighty dirhams is shared shows that the division was meant to follow the *sharīʿa* rules for this constellation (1/4 for husband, 1/6 for mother, 2/3 of remainder for son, 1/3 of remainder for daughter). Yet, the overall division of the inheritance does not match these shares and the overall sum (and the respective shares) must thus be taken as approximative values.

[69] #800b, left, l. 6/7.

[70] Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce*.

[71] Slave: #382; house: #039.

the monies for this purpose. In addition, she not only obliged him to hand over the ownership of these household objects, but she also forced him to grant part-ownership of the extension to the two sons she had with him.[72] That Shīrīn was well-off is also evident from how she handled monetary affairs after Burhān al-Dīn had passed away. She was, for instance, in no hurry to receive the monthly obligatory maintenance payment for her two sons from her deceased husband's estate. She only collected her entitlement for the first month of maintenance half a year later.[73] By contrast, the guardian of one of Burhān al-Dīn's other sons made sure that he received his payment right from the first month of entitlement.[74] This impression of considerable wealth is corroborated by the honorific '*al-Ḥājja al-jalīla*' used for her in documents.[75] This title implied, according to al-Qalqashandī, prominent social status and is not a title that was ever used for Burhān al-Dīn.[76]

Looking at the timeline of Burhān al-Dīn's marital relationships, it is striking that the early 780s are once again a crucial period: the death of Fāṭima 1 at some point after 778/1376; divorce from Fāṭima bt. 'Abd Allāh in 782/1381; divorce from Maryam in 784/1382; and in the same year Shīrīn appears in the documentary record as his wife. This is exactly the period when things started to go increasingly well for Burhān al-Dīn in terms of his professional career. Is it by chance that he divorced two wives in this period and married Shīrīn, who came from a wealthy background? Was Burhān al-Dīn marrying closer to the social elite after increasing his monthly income? We have little hard evidence to corroborate this hypothesis, but it is at least clear that the two divorces, from Fāṭima bt. 'Abd Allāh and Maryam, were *ṭalāq* divorces initiated by him. This is noteworthy as we have many other examples from this period where the divorce was initiated by women. Normatively, women had limited possibilities for initiating a divorce, but surviving divorce papers of that period, especially from the Damascus Qubbat al-khazna corpus,[77] show that in practice they could do so. This is visible in the documentary record of the period in the form

[72] #622 (788/1386).
[73] #313 (4.5.790/1388) for the 5th and 6th month of the year 790 in addition to the back payment for the 10th month of the year 789.
[74] #676 (20.11.789/1387) for the 10th and 11th months of the year 789 (see Appendix 2).
[75] #382.
[76] Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery*, 102/3.
[77] Mouton, Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Mariage et séparation à Damas*.

of *khulʿa* agreements, where the husband agreed to a divorce in exchange for the wife renouncing her claim to the dower or deferred marriage gift (*ṣadāq*). However, in the case of Burhān al-Dīn it was clearly he who initiated these two divorces as he had to pay the *ṣadāq* in both cases.

Burhān al-Dīn had at least one daughter and four sons. There might have been more children, but the archival logic of the surviving documentary corpus means that only those who were minors at the point of his death, and who thus were entitled to monthly obligatory maintenance payments and consequently were mentioned in the relevant documents, are visible. We can be certain that he and Shīrīn only had two sons, Muḥammad and ʿAlī, who had received a share in the house extension. Any child born before the sale of the household objects would have been mentioned in that contract and any child born between this sale and Burhān al-Dīn's death less than a year later would have appeared in the documents on the maintenance payments for children. In addition, all documents mentioning Shīrīn in connection with children exclusively refer to these two sons.[78] He also had two children with Fāṭima 1, a daughter called Khadīja and a son called Maḥmūd Kamāl,[79] born approximately 778/1376.[80] Khadīja must have been the older daughter, as she was not a minor at the point of Burhān al-Dīn's death (unlike with Maḥmūd Kamāl no monthly obligatory maintenance payments are made for her). In this case we can also be reasonably certain that he had only these two children with this wife, as the document on the division of her estate would have mentioned any further children.[81]

With Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh he had a son called Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī,[82] the child with whom Fāṭima was pregnant when Burhān al-Dīn divorced her.[83] An acknowledgement deed for Burhān al-Dīn for having paid the maintenance

[78] #052, #108, #183, #188, #192 and #313.

[79] This son is called 'Kamāl' in #106 (between Muḥarram and Rabīʿ II 790/1388) and #115 (4.9.790/1388). #118 (7.6.790/1388) has him as 'Maḥmūd al-mulaqqab bi-Kamāl'. #622 (22.9.788/1386), in turn, has him as 'Jamāl al-Dīn Kamāl'.

[80] #622 (22.9.788/1386) mentions that he was ten years old ('*al-ʿushārī al-sinn*').

[81] #897 (undated).

[82] #111 shows that Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī (as he is named in the document's text) was also called Jamāl (as he is named in the archival note on the document's verso); see Appendix 2.

[83] The *nisba* 'al-Subāʿī' must have been given to Maḥmūd at his birth, as it most likely refers to the fact that his mother was only seven months pregnant with him: #289, dated to 4.10.782, states that she has been pregnant for three and a half months, which takes us back to Jumādā II as the likely date of conception. #458, in turn, gives his birth as 10.1.783, that is, seven months later. It is on this basis that we argue that Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī (as he is, for instance, named in #111) is identical to

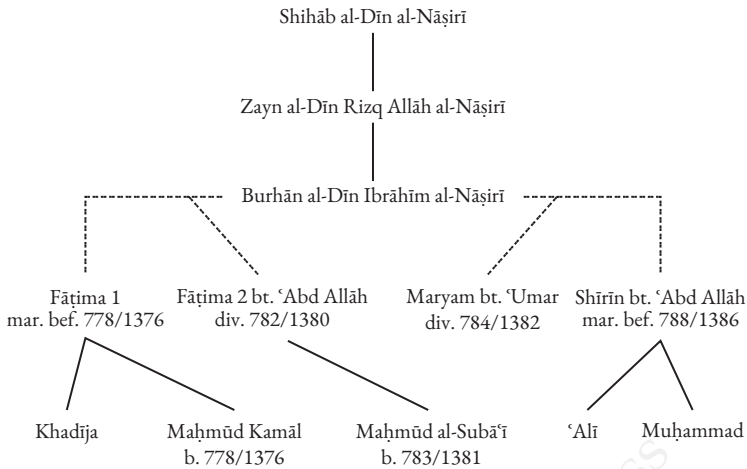


Figure 2.1 Family tree of Burhān al-Dīn (dotted lines: marriages)

for his infant son provides us with Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī's exact birth date, 10 Muḥarram 783/1381.[84] This son was, at least in the period after Burhān al-Dīn's death, for reasons unknown to us, in the care (*ḥiḍāna*) not of his mother Fāṭima, but of his maternal grandmother Umm Muḥammad.[85]

Our information on Burhān al-Dīn's children is very limited, as none of them made it into any narrative sources and they are not mentioned in any documents other than those linked to Burhān al-Dīn. However, one son, Maḥmūd Kamāl, deserves further discussion as he is the only descendant who appears in our sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's estate. Maḥmūd Kamāl, the son of the deceased Fāṭima 1, is a bit of a special case in various ways. First of all, he stands out because the other three children receiving maintenance payments after Burhān al-Dīn's death (Shīrīn's sons Muḥammad and ʿAlī as well as Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh's son Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī) were in the care of family members, either mother or grandmother. Thus, whenever the judge's trustee (*amīn al-ḥukm*), who was in charge of settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate, paid out

Fāṭima's infant mentioned in #458. By contrast, Müller, in *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 175, assumes that this anonymous infant by Fāṭima had died.

[84] #458 (18.3.783/1381). According to this deed Burhān al-Dīn had to pay maintenance for his infant son from 10. Muḥarram 783.

[85] #111/1.

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the monthly obligatory maintenance payments for these three children, their relatives-cum-guardians are mentioned.[86] However, the acknowledgement deeds for Maḥmūd Kamāl are in the name of a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, who acted as his guardian, but there is no indication that he was related to the child.[87] Before Burhān al-Dīn's death Maḥmūd Kamāl lived in his father's care[88] and he must have ended up without a relative looking after him after his death.

As mentioned above, Maḥmūd Kamāl is the only child who appears in the sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, referred to as 'the orphan Kamāl' (Buyer 20). It is astonishing to find a minor as a 'buyer' as this would have required full legal capacity, and in fact the payment was deducted from the monthly maintenance payments that Maḥmūd Kamāl's guardian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad received.[89] The few modest objects that Maḥmūd Kamāl acquired look like a survival kit for an orphan who has lost his home: he bought a mat to sleep on with a cover and a blue cushion, in addition to a wooden stool, a small carpet and half a Koran.[90] The fact that his legal guardian received slightly higher monthly maintenance payments than the other guardians for the initial months after Burhān al-Dīn's death (noted as an additional allowance for clothing, *kiswa*) reinforces the impression of a child left destitute with no family.[91] In the same vein, his guardian must have been particularly keen to receive this payment, as the first payment for Maḥmūd Kamāl precedes those for his half-siblings.[92]

Burhān al-Dīn lived with his family (whatever the respective composition of this family was) for most of his life in rented accommodation. We have three rent receipts for a house (*dār*) for the years 777–8/1375–7 issued by the house's owner Fāṭima (who is not identifiable as either of his wives with

[86] On this position, see Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 319–23.
[87] #106, #115 and #118. 'Muḥammad b. Aḥmad', mentioned in #676, another acknowledgement deed, is identical with him.
[88] #622 (788/1386), l. 10 where it is said that Maḥmūd Kamāl is under his father's *ḥajr* and *wilāyat al-naẓr*.
[89] #106 (between Muḥarram and Rabīʿ II 790/1388).
[90] #106, l. 8 and #180, ll. 15–19: (o24) *liḥāf yamanī, bisāṭ ṣaghīr, mikhadda zarqā, kursī khashab, ṭarāḥa, nisf khatma*.
[91] #106.
[92] #800a, left, l. 6.

the same name).[93] We do not know where this house was located, but the monthly rent of eight dirhams indicates a very modest dwelling. Such rather low-priced housing certainly fitted this period of his life when he only held a few part-time jobs, and it shows that Fāṭima 1 had drawn a very firm line between her wealth and Burhān al-Dīn's monies. However, with his increasing success in procuring positions and stipends in the late 770s, and perhaps the inheritance from Fāṭima 1, he bought his own property in 780/1379 for the sum of 825 dirhams.[94] As we will see in the following chapter, the sale documents of the previous owners also ended up in his hands (and thus in his estate archive), so that we can follow how these previous owners had developed this property over the previous decade. Nine years earlier, in 771/1369, one Abū Bakr al-Nassāj had bought a subterranean 'Roman vault' and three adjacent plots of land from different owners for a total of 450 dirhams.[95] After two years, Abū Bakr sold this vault and the plots as one single property to a certain Maryam al-Rūmīya (not identifiable as Burhān al-Dīn's wife Maryam) for the price of 500 dirhams.[96] In the following years Maryam built a house on this property, which she sold five years later, in 778/1379, for 820 dirhams. The buyer, Muḥammad al-Zaydī, finally sold the property a few days later to Burhān al-Dīn. These transactions are by themselves full of fascinating stories (for instance, al-Zaydī forced Maryam to sell the house after she could not repay her debt) which are regrettably beyond the focus of our discussion here.

This property was located close to the Qanāṭir Khuḍayr neighbourhood in the northern part of Jerusalem and a street in that area still carries this name today ('H' on Map 1.1).[97] The sale contract names the neighbours (in order to delineate the property's borders) and we find among them a carpenter (Ḥusayn al-Najjār) and the descendants of a teacher in one of the *madrasa*s of Jerusalem (the Arghūnīya).[98] Another document shows that a new neighbour moved in during the subsequent years and this is again an individual carrying

[93] #843 (12.1.778/1376), #850 (30.6.778/1376) and #109 (2.1.779/1377).
[94] #039/1 (21.11.780/1379), #039/2 (23.11.780/1379) and #039/3 (25.11.780/1379). This property purchase is discussed from a legal perspective in wonderful detail by Müller, *Ventes de Biens Immobiliers*; see also Müller, *Écrire pour établir la preuve*.
[95] #369/1, #369/2 and #369/3.
[96] #369/4 and #369/5.
[97] Al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 53/4 names this neighbourhood and describes the wider area.
[98] #369/1, l. 6/7. On the Arghūnīya see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 356–67.

a craftsman's name, Muḥammad al-Qaṣṣāb, the butcher.[99] In social terms one can see how Burhān al-Dīn fitted into this neighbourhood inhabited by professionals and craftsmen in the later part of his life. This house was also located close to all his different workplaces – though one has to say that Jerusalem was so small that there were few dwellings that would have been inconvenient. The Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh was 200 metres away (number 8 on Map 1.1), the Ṭāz Mausoleum (number 4) and the Awḥadīya Mausoleum (number 5) lay at a distance of 450 metres and the Aqṣā Mosque on the Ḥaram al-sharīf was the furthest, at 650 metres.

The house that Maryam al-Rūmīya had built, which Burhān al-Dīn bought and extended, was on the plusher side of Jerusalemite properties in this period. It was, according to the sale contract, a two-storey house with an external toilet (*murtafaq*) and a courtyard (*sāḥa*).[100] As Nimrod Luz points out in his survey of buildings in Jerusalem, the presence of such a courtyard adjacent to a house was not the norm during this period. Burhān al-Dīn's house was thus in Luz's view more generous than the vast majority of dwellings in that period, even though it was not a 'luxurious house' (a category that Luz discusses separately).[101] When Burhān al-Dīn extended the house ten years later, this extension must have been quite considerable and he had to obtain the consent of the butcher neighbour, whose property was affected by this project.[102] As we will see below, the house and the courtyard were large enough to accommodate a crowd of some one hundred individuals during the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's belongings.

The ability of Burhān al-Dīn to buy this house is an outward expression of his talent for accumulating part-time positions as well as stipends and thus a considerable monthly income. The statement that he was 'not expected to have been making a profitable living'[103] ignores the enterprising nature of Burhān al-Dīn. If we return to our sample year 782/1380–1, it is possible to calculate an approximate salary, even though we do not have exact figures for all the nine jobs that he most likely held in that year. As we do not have any comparative

[99] #336, l. 3 (22.6.788/1386).
[100] #039.
[101] Luz, *Mamluk City in the Middle East*, 76–8.
[102] #336 (22.6.788/1386).
[103] Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 289.

Table 2.1 Burhān al-Dīn's salaries and stipends in dirhams (numbers refer to positions given in Table 1.1)

No.	Place/patron	Salary
1	Manṣūrī Ribāṭ	*raṭl* bread/day
2	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf /Salāma b. Abī Bakr al-Fāriqānī	15/month
4	Ṭāz Mausoleum	15–35/month
7	primary school Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās	30/month
9	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf (Aqṣā Mosque)	20/month
10	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf	20/month
12	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī	10/month
13	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Ḥaydar al-ʿAskarī al-Manṣūrī	15/month
14	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / ʿAlī b. Qōjā al-ʿAlāʾī	15/month
15	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aqbughā Yankī	10/month
16	al-Ḥaram al-sharīf / Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar Ṣārim al-Dīn	20/month

data for his salary as legal proxy, this cannot be estimated and is thus left out. His monthly income from the Ṭāz Mausoleum was at this point thirty-five dirhams,[104] from the Awḥadīya Mausoleum most likely fifteen dirhams,[105] from the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh most likely fifteen dirhams,[106] as reciter of *mīʿād* on the Ḥaram al-sharīf twenty dirhams,[107] as reciter of *ḥadīth* on the Ḥaram al-sharīf again twenty dirhams,[108] as teacher in Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās's primary school thirty dirhams,[109] from the personal stipend from Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar fifteen dirhams and from the personal stipend from Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī ten dirhams.[110] In total Burhān al-Dīn thus drew a total monthly salary of roughly 160 dirhams that year. As there might have been other positions for which no documents have survived, and as our estimates of undocumented salaries have been very conservative, we take this figure to be the minimum.

[104] The diploma of reappointment from the year 780/1378 (#303) does not mention a salary, but the diploma from 777/1376 (#007) cites this salary.

[105] The diploma of appointment from the year 780/1379 (#203) does not cite a salary. As Burhān al-Dīn's known salaries were mostly between 10 and 20 dirhams, we take a value of 15 dirhams in these cases.

[106] We only have indirect references to this position (such as in #289). We thus also take the value of 15 dirhams here, though this is certainly a very conservative estimate.

[107] #305.

[108] #009.

[109] #003.

[110] #004 and #508.

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Such a figure is obviously only meaningful when compared with other salaries and/or prices in Jerusalem from the same period. For this purpose, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus of documents with almost 700 documents dated to only a twenty-year period (between 780 and 800) would seem a good source of comparative data.[111] Yet this is not the case; almost all salaries mentioned in these documents refer to Burhān al-Dīn alone. However, there are some comparative sums that might be helpful in putting his salary of at least 160 dirhams in perspective. As he was able to rent a (modest) dwelling for a monthly rent of eight dirhams and to buy a (rather lavish) house for 825 dirhams, this salary was certainly very substantial. This seems to be confirmed when we look at the commercial estate market, as a shop owner in Jerusalem during this period seemingly had to reckon on paying forty dirhams a month to rent a shop.[112] Turning to staple food, we will see in Chapter 6 that Burhān al-Dīn's household required some thirty dirhams per month in order to buy bread.

One comparative salary that we do have is for the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh. The accounts for the year 791/1389, shortly after Burhān al-Dīn's death, provide the salary for the supervisor of the endowment (*nāẓir*), who was simultaneously the scholarly head (*shaykh*) of this organisation. Such senior positions in the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh must have been among the best-remunerated positions in Jerusalem, as it was one of the heavyweights in the town's endowment landscape. Holding its leading administrative and scholarly positions at the same time meant that the post-holder drew two substantial salaries concurrently. The accounts cover a period of one month and twenty days and the post-holder is paid 771 dirhams.[113] This is equal to a monthly salary of circa 460 dirhams for both positions or (assuming that they carried the same salary) 230 dirhams for each position. Burhān al-Dīn's 160 dirhams thus brought him close to the salary of one of the more prominent positions in Jerusalem – though it seems that he had to work much harder for it.

[111] The best overview of the corpus is Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 27–44.

[112] A rent of 40 dirhams is mentioned in two documents linked to Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, #788 and #790. (We thank Michail Hradek/Munich for this reference, who dates both documents – in contrast to Little, *Catalogue* – to the year 786/1384.)

[113] #774 (791/1389): 10 Dhū al-Qaʿda (11th month of the calendar) to 30 Dhū al-Ḥijja (12th month of the calendar); Little, *Catalogue* suggests that the first day reads '20', not '10'.

To provide a second contextual figure for Burhān al-Dīn's salary: one year before his death Sultan Barqūq endowed his combined *khānqāh* and *madrasa* in Cairo. For a sultanic endowment in Cairo we can expect salaries to be above the average for those paid in Jerusalem. The six *shaykh*s for law and *tafsīr* received between 300 and 500 dirhams, well above Burhān al-Dīn's income. Yet the *shaykh* of *ḥadīth* at this splendid organisation only received 150 dirhams and the *shaykh* for Koran recitation 100 dirhams. The other employees who recited the Koran (there were many such positions) received around thirty dirhams. Burhān al-Dīn's 160 dirhams once again did not bring him close to the best-paid positions in this endowment, but they put him above the salaries that some *shaykhs* received in this prestigious organisation at the heart of the Sultanate.[114] Most likely these *shaykhs* also held numerous positions so that their total income was still well above that of Burhān al-Dīn. His income did not make Burhān al-Dīn part of the social elites of his time, but he was certainly able to secure a salary that allowed him some comfort in the final decade of his life.

That Burhān al-Dīn was a very successful multiple part-time reciter is also evident from what happened when he died. Firstly, he was given a splendid funeral that cost 148 dirhams (more than a sixth of the price of an above-average house).[115] Secondly, he left his heirs, in addition to his property, more than 9,000 dirhams' worth of personal belongings from his household (among them books worth more than 7,000 dirhams). True, we only have the sale prices and we do not know how much he actually spent on these objects. However, there is no compelling reason to assume that there were significant rises or falls in the value of goods in his lifetime. Among the valuable items other than books that he left were his overgarments: a black one with fur that went for 133 dirhams and two blue ones that fetched 100 and fifty dirhams respectively.[116] One can easily picture them as part of his professional attire as a successful reciter in Jerusalem. The same is true for a less valuable white

[114] Mostafa, *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh und Mausoleum des Barqūq*, 166/7.

[115] Accounts sheet #800 has a section on expenses, including 48 dirhams for '*tajhīzuhu*' ('preparing him [for the funeral]') and 100 dirhams for the cemetery ('*jabbāna*'), most likely purchasing the plot of land, perhaps also a gravestone, etc. The term '*tajhīzuhu*' and the same sum is repeated in the accounts #793b, right, l. 2/3. We find the term '*tajhīz*' in this sense also in documents referring to other individuals such as #400a, ll. 5–6.

[116] Obj77, obj56 and obj36.

overgarment, a woollen garment, a long white robe, a white robe of honour, several other robes and two items of headgear.[117]

During his lifetime, Burhān al-Dīn was able to accumulate personal objects worth ten times the price of an above-average house in Jerusalem. This is impressive, but still some way off the attainments of the affluent members of Jerusalem's society of that period. One such affluent individual who is visible from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī who died in 788/1386, one year before Burhān al-Dīn passed away. His estate archive gives a rare insight into the commercial and social world of a Jerusalemite merchant of that period. These papers show that he conducted trans-regional commercial transactions to the value of almost 30,000 dirhams.[118] Shortly before his death he 'gave' (the legal procedure was much more complicated) his son and his daughter 10,000 dirhams each. We do not know how much money was left in the estate after these gifts, but it must have been substantial: in the year after his death alone his widow received over 2,000 dirhams in the form of monthly maintenance payments for their children.[119]

Conclusion

The micro-historical analysis of the social life of Burhān al-Dīn has shown that he belonged to a world of peripheral scholars situated at a considerable distance from the elite scholars in the centre. He certainly did not play in the same social league as the trader al-Ḥamawī, nor with the scholars who held full-time positions in the great endowments, or many members of the military-political elite. Yet his example shows that at least some peripheral scholars could draw on the rich landscape of endowments in Jerusalem and the patronage offered by minor households to secure a considerable income. This is relevant for the main topic of the present study, Burhān al-Dīn's books, in two ways. Firstly, his book collection required considerable monetary investment, and it is noteworthy that we find so many books on the shelves of an individual who did not belong to the social elite of his town. We will return to the question of book prices in Chapter 6, but the presence of so many books in his house indicates

[117] Obj11, obj40, obj12, obj9 and obj71.

[118] One of his 'accounts books', #816b, mentions silk worth 28,790 dirhams that he brought to Cairo in the year 770/1368 (we thank Michail Hradek/Munich for this reference).

[119] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 175–94.

that significant book ownership was widely distributed across different social groups. Secondly, Burhān al-Dīn was also never part of the inner circle of the scholarly community in cultural terms. He authored no text to qualify him as a prominent participant in the scholarly world of Jerusalem, let alone Bilād al-Shām or the wider region. And yet he assembled a considerable book collection that one would have expected to see in the houses of those scholars known to us from their own works – not in the household of a rather marginal multiple part-time reciter.

For the wider field of the study of late medieval history in West Asia and North Africa, the decisive argument made here is the existence of vivid patronage relationships outside endowments. The personal stipends that Burhān al-Dīn received indicate how households on the periphery of the political structure of the Cairo Sultanate were able to engage in wider society. As we reconceptualise practices of document preservation we are identifying multiple actors and multiple sites well beyond the 'state' and large households. The agency of peripheral military households detected in this chapter underlines to what extent political authority in general was dispersed across a multitude of actors.

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3

Archival Practices and Pragmatic Literacy

The preceding chapters discussed Burhān al-Dīn's social world in order to situate his life, and by implication his considerable book collection, within the wider society of the late eighth/fourteenth century. Before we start discussing the actual book collection in Chapter 5, this and the following chapter will contextualise the sale booklet of his estate, the documentary centrepiece of this book. This will be done by considering first the archival and then the documentary practices that are visible from this booklet within the framework of the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus and the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus at large. While the discussion is to a large extent a micro-history of this document's production and preservation, two principal argumentative strands will be pursued in the background: one on methodology when working with such lists, and the other on the spread of pragmatic literacy in this period.

Contextualising the booklet in archival terms is methodologically necessary in order to tackle one very basic question: why did this sale booklet survive in the first place? This is the only such list of a sale of an estate with books within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus of over 900 documents. No other comparable list is known from anywhere in Bilād al-Shām and Egypt for the entire pre-Ottoman period. Are we thus just dealing with an outlier, with an exception that does not provide any general insights into the wider book culture during this period? This would obviously render pointless the whole argument of the previous two chapters, that is, our description of Burhān al-Dīn as a non-elite member of society who was nevertheless deeply involved in the bookish culture of his time. This argument aimed to show that Burhān al-Dīn's case could be paradigmatic for a larger group of book owners who have eluded us so far. If only one such document was ever produced, however, the paradigmatic dimension of our argument vanishes into thin air.

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It is thus necessary to discuss the archival practices that are evident from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus at large, the Burhān al-Dīn documentary sub-corpus specifically and the sale booklet itself in order to sketch their respective archival trajectories. This discussion will show that the uniqueness of this booklet today is the outcome of specific archival strategies and decisions, not necessarily because other such lists were never produced (and the same goes also for other documents unique to him such as the declarations of intent by his patrons). These archival strategies, in turn, can only be understood if we deconstruct what we call today the 'Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus', look at its numerous sub-corpora in their own right, and start to listen to the multi-layered stories they have to tell.

The second argumentative strand of this and the following chapter concerns the degree of literacy in a town such as Jerusalem in the late eighth/fourteenth century. Addressing the fact that an individual who never made it into the narrative sources of the period owned such a massive book collection is obviously the basic point of this book as a whole. The widespread practice of book ownership within sections of society beyond the elites in the centre tells us a lot about book culture and 'book literacy' during this period. This theme will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 5 when we discuss the book collection itself.

Here, a different form of literacy is of interest, pragmatic literacy. As we have seen, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus includes no fewer than fifty-four documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn (his estate archive).[1] That we find such a high number of documents on one such individual indicates how deeply the written word had penetrated society beyond the world of books by this point. They show how, in relatively average sections of society, writing, sending, receiving, handling and preserving documents was part of daily life. This chapter will repeatedly touch on this issue, in particular by thinking about which social actors handled what documents before they went into the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. The sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's estate itself reflects this wider writerly world. Burhān al-Dīn never authored a book, and as far as we know he did not copy any books (at least we could not find his name in any

[1] Burhān al-Dīn's 'documentary corpus' (see Appendix 1), by contrast, encompasses fifty-two documents.

relevant codex currently located in Jerusalem; see Chapter 7). However, in his estate we find all the writing equipment one needed: pens, pen knives, a wooden writing case, two other writing cases, a parchment scroll, scissors and three pen boxes.[2] Widespread pragmatic literacy was certainly not a new phenomenon in the region and we have several fascinating corpora through which to study this phenomenon, such as the Cairo Geniza(s). Yet for the eighth/fourteenth century the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is probably the best starting point for thinking on this issue.

Archival Practices and the Ḥaram al-sharīf Sub-corpora

The Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus with its 900-plus documents is a peculiar collection. There is no other large-scale collection from the pre-Ottoman Arabic lands that has such a compact profile in terms of geography (the vast majority of documents are linked to the town of Jerusalem), content (the vast majority are legal documents) and period (almost 90 per cent are from the eighth/fourteenth century).[3] Most other collections with such a compact profile are clearly the product of archival reconfigurations of documents in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (the Egyptian collections of endowment records in Wizārat al-awqāf and Dār al-wathā'iq are the most important such collections for Mamluk Studies).[4] In the case of collections that seem to have a century-long shared trajectory, such as the Cairo Geniza(s) or the Damascene Qubbat al-khazna, their profile is much more diverse (most importantly including books and documents) and their trajectories up to the point of their academic discoveries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are certainly much more complex than hitherto assumed.[5]

As a result of its compact nature, it was fairly tempting to see the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus as one single medieval 'archive' and thus also to assume that this corpus had a continuous and linear shared history. In this sense it was a historian's dream – one single and compact corpus with a clear provenance.

[2] Obj21, obj37c, obj33, obj68b & obj31, obj67, obj84a and obj37a.

[3] Unless otherwise noted, all numerical information on the overall Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is drawn from Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*.

[4] Livingston, *Managing Paperwork*.

[5] Jefferson, *Deconstructing 'the Cairo Genizah'*; Jefferson, *Age of Discovery*; D'Ottone et al., *The Damascus Fragments*.

Donald Little did not discuss this topic at length, but he repeatedly referred in passing to a conceptualisation of the corpus as either a court archive or a judge's archive.[6] This suggestion was taken up in subsequent scholarship and became one of those free-floating assumptions that gradually become widely accepted without ever being investigated in any depth.[7] Christian Müller, however, put this assumption under closer scrutiny and convincingly argued that the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus has quite a different story. It was not the archive of a court or judge; this collection of documents was, rather, put together in the framework of an investigation into a corrupt judge involved in various malpractices. This Jerusalem judge, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Ghānim (d. 797/1395), was accused of misappropriating assets of foundations and properties of notables. As a result, his 'line manager', the above-mentioned Damascene judge Sarī al-Dīn (and preacher in the Aqṣā Mosque), started to collect documents to investigate Sharaf al-Dīn's conduct of affairs and to look into specific cases. This investigation led nowhere as Sharaf al-Dīn died before its conclusion and his main accomplice Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the major-domo of the sultan in Cairo, met the same fate shortly after. With their deaths the documents assembled in the course of the investigation must have lost their function, but they stayed together throughout the following centuries and constitute the majority of the documents (roughly 60 per cent) in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus.[8]

With the notion of a simple court or judge archive laid to rest, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus now becomes an even more intriguing site of inquiry into practices of collecting and preserving documents. On the one hand, as the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents do not constitute one single and compact archive they have the ability to tell rich stories of archival practices from the period before they went into the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. On the other hand, and far more importantly, it is far from clear whether the documents we call the

[6] Little, *Catalogue*, 12/13 ('There is the distinct possibility, then, that the Ḥaram documents constitute the remains of archives kept by the Shāfiʿī court in Jerusalem'); also Little, *Ḥaram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture*, 62. Little, *The Use of Documents*, 11/12 ('being, I believe, remnants from the archives of a late fourteenth century Shāfiʿī judge'); also Little, *Five Petitions*, 350 and Little, *Two Petitions and Consequential Court Records*, 171. He later revised this position, e.g. Little, *Ḥaram Documents Related to the Jews*, 242.

[7] For instance, in Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 248/9 and Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery*, 98 ('surviving section of the Shāfiʿī court archive of Jerusalem').

[8] Müller, *Ḥaram al-Šarīf Collection*; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 509–27.

'Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus' today had a shared history over the centuries – just as is the case with the 'Cairo Geniza corpus' (or rather corpora), as Rebecca Jefferson has so elegantly shown.[9] As we will see, there is a fair chance that the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus has a much more complex history, where different holdings started to acquire this one coherent label at a later date. Both points, archival plurality and archival trajectory, have a direct impact on how we read our sale booklet and how we understand its survival.

This inquiry has to be situated within the much wider debate on the archive (or rather archival practices) in the field of Middle Eastern history. The point of departure of this debate goes back to Michael Chamberlain, who in the early 1990s polemically proposed a notion that had implicitly been around for many decades and that he summarised in his dictum: 'As a general and necessarily loose principle, where in the high and late medieval Latin West collections of documents were on occasion lost by accident, in the Middle East it was by accident that they survived.'[10] His argument met with a very critical response that underlined the fact that an exceptionally high number of original documents have survived – certainly more for the early Middle Ages in the Middle East than in the Latin West.[11] However, as Francisco Apellániz has noted, the production and survival of documents is not necessarily identical to the archival preservation of these documents. Apellániz forcefully argues against what he calls the 'materialist explanation' of brandishing more or less fragmentary documentary collections as proof of the existence of the Middle Eastern medieval archive per se.[12] In a similar vein, it has been proposed that the debate on archives should be closed altogether and replaced with a move towards an examination of 'cultures of documentation'.[13]

The debate triggered by Michael Chamberlain has by now developed well beyond simply pointing to the existence of documents or clinging to the modern conceptualisation of the archive. Rather, we have two closely intertwined, and to some extent contradictory, directions of research that are

[9] Jefferson, *Age of Discovery*.
[10] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 16.
[11] El-Leithy, *Living Documents, Dying Archives*, 391; Bauden, *Mamluk Era Documentary Studies*, 17; Rustow, *Petition to a Woman*, 23; Rustow, *Lost Archive*.
[12] Apellániz, *Breaching the Bronze Wall*, 38–85.
[13] Pickett and Sartori, *Archetypical Archive*.

directly relevant for our discussion here. On the one hand, historians have started to think about the traces of previous archival collections in those 'non-archival' collections that we have today. The main example of this is Marina Rustow's forceful argument on the Fatimid archive on the basis of documents from the Cairo Geniza.[14] On the other hand, there is a discernible trend that considers the pre-Ottoman archive not primarily as a stable spatial entity centred around one actor, but rather in terms of archival practices.[15] These practices were inscribed in specific cultural and social fields well beyond the central bureaucracy in Cairo. In this conceptualisation the 'archive' thus becomes a set of multifaceted and polycentric processes that are spread much more widely across society. Daisy Livingstone has conducted the most important work in this regard by identifying the archive of an *iqṭāʿ* holder in the Qalāwūnid period and discussing endowment-related archival practices at the very end of the Cairo Sultanate.[16]

Any such consideration of archival practices in this way should be linked to the current reassessment of the pre-Ottoman period mentioned in the previous chapters. In the field of political history, Jo van Steenbergen has been central to reconceptualising the Cairo Sultanate as a polity with structures far less centralised than we had assumed.[17] Of particular relevance for thought about archival practices is the analysis of political authority as a military-patronage state organised around numerous competing elite households.[18] If we start to look at this period not primarily in terms of a purportedly highly centralised state but in terms of households, this has a direct impact on the question of who handled and preserved documents: the elite households were often the primary sites of archival practices.[19] In that sense, Nandini Chatterjee's dictum

[14] Rustow, *Lost Archive*; Several contributions in D'Ottone et al., *The Damascus Fragments*, discuss the same issue for the Damascene Qubbat al-khazna.

[15] El-Leithy, *Living Documents, Dying Archives*; Hirschler, *From Archive to Archival Practices*; Livingston, *Managing Paperwork*.

[16] Livingston, *Paperwork of a Mamluk Muqṭaʿ* and Livingston, *Documentary Constellations*.

[17] Van Steenbergen, *Revisiting the Mamlūk Empire*.

[18] Van Steenbergen, *Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State*; Van Steenbergen, *'Mamlukisation' between Social Theory and Social Practice*; Van Steenbergen, *Mamlūk Sultanate*.

[19] Hirschler, *From Archive to Archival Practices*. This emphasis on households as crucial sites of archival practices obviously contradicts Marina Rustow's argument (in *Lost Archive*) on the central role of the Fatimid chancery to some extent. These different lines of argument might be simply down to diachronic change, but our guess is that we might end up with a vision of a more mixed system in the various periods.

on South Asia that the Mughal archives were simply 'at home' resonates strongly with the mounting evidence for late medieval Egypt and Syria.[20]

Recent scholarship has started to identify the first household archives of officers who carefully preserved documents as proof of rights and status.[21] These household archives rarely had a stable trajectory up to the present day and many of these collections are lost or have been heavily reconfigured. It thus takes particular acumen to identify them, as Boris Liebrenz has done while working on documents reused for the pasteboards of a book.[22] There are also remnants of other documents that we argue come from household archives, such as the notebook of the historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441)[23] and an autograph copy of the *Mu'jam* by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449).[24] These deeds had been cut into pieces and the authors reused them as writing material for their respective work.

If we recalibrate our archival vision from 'state' to households, we start to see that archival practices were widespread across different sites in society well beyond the archives in the citadels of Cairo and the other major cities. In order to understand the multitude and complexity of archival practices in a society such as that of the Cairo Sultanate it is not only necessary to include spatiality in our analysis: one further crucial notion is that of time. Daisy Livingston has underlined the importance of archival 'life-spans' that are in turn closely linked to documentary 'life-cycles' in studying the preservation of documents.[25] Introducing the notion of time further allows the recalibration of our focus away from the archive with the implied connotation of long-term (or unlimited) preservation, towards archival practices involving a multitude of social actors who preserved documents for different purposes with different time frames in mind. A modest trader's accounts book, as we have discussed elsewhere, was thus subject to different archival practices at

[20] Chatterjee, *Negotiating Mughal Law*, 234.
[21] Livingston, *Paperwork of a Mamluk Muqṭa'*.
[22] Liebrenz, *Archive in a Book*.
[23] Bauden, *Destin des archives*, 38; Bauden, *Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents*.
[24] Ibn Ḥajar, *Mu'jam*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murad Molla 609. We thank Benedikt Reier for drawing our attention to this codex.
[25] Livingston, *Managing Paperwork*. For the question of time in studying documents see Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday* for the medieval European context, especially Chapter 1, 'The Life-expectancy of Documents'.

various stages of its life cycle.[26] In the trajectory of documents, phases such as those when they are 'documents lying around' are crucial for our understanding of why and how they were preserved.[27] Benedikt Reier, in turn, shows how scholarly documents were reworked in multiple stages to feed into biographical compendia.[28]

Factoring in time in order to make sense of archival practices is highly relevant for the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. The notion of a court or judge archive with a stable trajectory of 600 years has been laid to rest, but the documents still have an archival history – or rather, numerous archival histories. To extract these histories we have to think about the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents in terms of archival traces of previous archival collections in the plural, and also in terms of polycentric archival practices. That the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is in itself not one single central court archive does not mean that we can sit back and ignore the potential of what its constituent sub-corpora can tell us about document preservation in pre-Ottoman West Asia and North Africa. In this perspective, even the sub-corpus assembled in the course of Sarī al-Dīn's investigation can be understood as an archival collection with a short time span for the purpose of holding the judge to account. The documentary profile of this 'investigation archive' was strongly shaped by its function of informing an inquiry into the malpractices of Sharaf al-Dīn and his associate Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and many documents in today's Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are linked to Sharaf al-Dīn in one way or another (addressed to him, issued by him, discussing matters related to him, written under his supervision and so on).[29] A particular focus of the investigation into his malpractices, as reflected in the corpus's profile, was estate inventories, as this was a process particularly susceptible to embezzlement. Almost half of all the documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are such inventories – and most of them were produced during Sharaf al-Dīn's short tenure of the judgeship between the years 793/1391 and 797/1395.[30] Yet there are also many documents in the investigation archive that have nothing to do with estate inventories and that were brought in from other archival spaces.

[26] Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Trading Fruits and Legumes*.
[27] Livingston, *Paperwork of a Mamluk Muqṭaʿ*.
[28] Reier, *Documents in Books*.
[29] Müller, *Ḥaram al-Šarīf Collection*, 436.
[30] Müller, *Ḥaram al-Šarīf Collection*, 391.

Analysing the investigation archive by itself will thus yield many new archival trajectories, but there are also many Ḥaram al-sharīf documents that do not belong to this particular archive. These documents add further dimensions of archival plurality that are crucial for the discussion of the Burhān al-Dīn documentary sub-corpus and our sale booklet. For instance, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus contains Sultanic decrees, mostly on the endowment of the Ḥaram al-sharīf, with no connection whatsoever to the investigation. They include decrees issued by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars some 150 years prior to the investigation, by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn a century earlier and by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq fifty years after the investigation, and another issued seventy years after it by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam.[31] Apart from the 'Sultanic decree subcorpus' (and it is highly likely that this is indeed an independent sub-corpus with its own history), another group of over two dozen documents is concerned with the day-to-day administration of the Ḥaram al-sharīf endowment in the early fourteenth century. The documents in this 'administrative endowment subcorpus' are all linked to Palestinian villages endowed to the Ḥaram al-sharīf.[32] One of the most visible sub-corpora is the Persianate sub-corpus of seventy-six documents, of which twenty-one are related to the Ādūjī b. Yāzilī family. These Persianate papers date from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, with a cluster from the first half of the fourteenth century – up to a century before the investigation into Sharaf al-Dīn started. They were mostly issued in the regions ruled by the Mongol Chubānid and (probably) Jalāyirid dynasties. Again, this 'Ādūjī family subcorpus' certainly has no connection to the investigation archive – and also not to the Sultanic decree sub-corpus or the administrative endowment sub-corpus – and must have its own fascinating story.[33] All these 'frozen' sub-corpora have not been properly researched yet as remnants of once-independent archival collections.[34] A crucial task of our field will thus be to 'excavate' those – and

[31] Baybars: #034 (664/1266); Ibn Qalāwūn: #008 (701/1302); Jaqmaq: #308 (844/1441?); Khushqadam: #001 (866/1462). On the Sultanic decrees see Muḥammad, *Marsūm al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Īnāl*.

[32] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 160–2; Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*.

[33] Zahir Bhalloo (Hamburg) is working on these documents in the framework of his project 'The Persian Documents from al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem, 1300–1353'.

[34] On the idea of the 'frozen' archive and its excavation see Livingston, *Managing Paperwork*.

further – archives from within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus and many other modern-day corpora – to conduct archival archaeology.

There are further very distinct and substantial sub-corpora within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus where a link with the investigation archive is unlikely. One of them is the 'al-Yaghmūrī household archive', which consists of documents linked to the household of the officer and short-time governor of Jerusalem Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī (d. 811/1408).[35] Two sub-corpora are of particular relevance for the present discussion. These two groups of documents – we call them 'estate archives' – are each centred on an individual: the wealthy trader Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī and our multiple part-time reciter Burhān al-Dīn.[36] The number of documents in these sub-corpora is impressive: ninety-one sheets (al-Ḥamawī) and fifty-four sheets (Burhān al-Dīn).[37] What we have in both cases are clusters of documents that are clearly distinct from the enormous number of estate inventories that go back to the investigation archive. The vast majority of the estate inventories are the only document we have pertaining to a given individual and there are no further documents on them in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. There is, however, no doubt that many of these estate inventories must have triggered a lengthy process of settling the individual's estate and thus many more documents. Repeatedly, these inventories sketch a highly complex network of financial obligations whose elucidation would require much more paperwork than the single inventory available to us. A certain Nafīsa who traded agricultural products is just one example. Looking at who seemingly owed her money and to whom she owed money, we can see that her (lost) estate archive must have been quite large.[38] Yet all those documents that must have once formed Nafīsa's estate archive are gone and all we have is what was deemed necessary by those building up the investigation archive, the inventory of her estate. The sub-corpora of al-Ḥamawī and Burhān al-Dīn are thus not special because their production was unique, but because they survived as entities – their special status was thus the outcome of specific archival practices.

[35] So far we have identified documents #023, #024, #600, #602 and #841 as belonging to this household archive.

[36] Research on al-Ḥamawī's accounts is part of the Ph.D. thesis of Michail Hradek (Munich).

[37] The number for al-Ḥamawī is taken from Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 175.

[38] Lutfi, *Documentary Source*.

The role of the 'formal' sub-corpus of individual inventories within the investigation archive is evident, as these inventories were required to get to the bottom of what Sharaf al-Dīn was up to. But, there is no immediate link between this investigation and the Sultanic decree sub-corpus, the Ādūjī family sub-corpus, the administrative endowment sub-corpus or the two estate archives of al-Ḥamawī and Burhān al-Dīn. Why should the contract for the sale of a slave belonging to one of Burhān al-Dīn's wives, Shīrīn, be part of the investigation archive, or the papers for his divorce from Fāṭima? While the investigation archive is beyond doubt a central element in the story of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, it is not the same as the collection as a whole. We have to think about the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus as an object with many different parts with different micro-histories, a 'distributed object' so to say.[39] It is thus time to look at its constituent parts, its sub-corpora, in their own right and bring to light their very different trajectories and background stories. While we will do this here for the Burhān al-Dīn sub-corpus, the archival micro-histories of the Sultanic decree sub-corpus, the Ādūjī family sub-corpus, the administrative endowment sub-corpus, the al-Yaghmūrī household sub-corpus and the al-Ḥamawī sub-corpus – in addition to other sub-corpora that have yet to be identified, and the archival 'pre-histories' buried within the investigation archive – will only be understood once they have come under the spotlight of future scholarship.

Archival Sites before the Estate Archive: Households and Organisations

In order to understand the Burhān al-Dīn sub-corpus, we first need to understand the sites from which the documents were taken in order to build up this collection. The preceding chapters divided the documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn into three groups according to their relevance for writing his biography: those linked to his positions and stipends, those linked to other issues during his lifetime and those linked to the settlement of his estate. These documents constitute what we have called the Burhān al-Dīn documentary 'corpus' when using them to write his biography and 'sub-corpus' when thinking about their position within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. In the following, we will use the

[39] Taking up the terminology of Gell, *Art and Agency*.

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term 'estate archive' to look at the almost identical group of documents from the perspective of archival history (see Appendix 1 for the two documents that are part of this estate archive, but not of the documentary corpus). As will be argued, the judge's trustee (*amīn al-ḥukm*) put this estate archive together after Burhān al-Dīn's death in order to determine the value of his estate. To understand the survival of the sale booklet we have not only to extricate this estate archive from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus but to go back one step further: we also need to think about the previous archival provenance of the documents that went into this estate archive and discuss from where these documents made their way into the estate archive – their archival genealogy, so to say. This discussion will bring out the large number of archival sites in a town such as Jerusalem where different actors, inscribed in specific cultural and social fields, were instrumental in preserving these documents before they started to converge in one single estate archive. This will lead to the subsequent question, namely, at what point did this estate archive join other corpora, such as the investigation archive, to ultimately form what we call today the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus?

Before the judge's trustee brought the relevant documents together in the estate archive that he was building to settle Burhān al-Dīn's case, one of the pre-estate archival sites where these documents had been kept was the archival collections of endowed organisations. From these organisational archives originate the four payment orders issued by the Ḥaram al-sharīf endowment administration[40] and the annual accounts sheet of Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās's primary school.[41] The archival logic for preserving such orders and such an accounts sheet in the respective organisational archive is apparent, as they were certainly papers that any supervisor of an endowment would want to preserve for several years in case of an investigation into the endowment's finances. Indeed, we find on the back of the primary school accounts an archival note indicating that it had been part of a larger archival collection: 'Blessed sheet on what was spent for the orphans in the primary school of the officer ... Īyās ... dated 14.4.781'.[42] This archival note was visible once the accounting sheet had been

[40] #665 (781/1379–80), #668 (786/1384–5), #835 (787/1385–6) and #666 (789/1387–8).
[41] #049.
[42] #049.

folded and clearly indicates that this document was part of a larger collection of paperwork in this endowment. The four payment orders, in turn, show a coherent rectangular format,[43] making it likely that they were produced with an eye to preservation in an office of the Ḥaram al-sharīf endowment administration or the household of one of its officials.

The existence of such organisational archival sites in Jerusalem is clearly evident from al-ʿUlaymī's chronicle of the town. When he penned his work a century later, he toured the town's endowed organisations to gather information on their endowments and was thus able, in most cases, to provide the exact date of foundation. In numerous instances he explicitly stated that he saw the endowment deed[44] or that it existed even though he was not able to access it.[45] In other cases, he highlighted and lamented the absence of deeds[46] and observed whether a deed had been lost and replaced with a later *maḥḍar* document.[47] These deeds were certainly in use for a long time; al-ʿUlaymī was able to see original documents dating back more than 200 years. As well as the endowment deeds themselves we can be certain not only that the documents related to complex property transaction leading up to the establishment of an endowment, but also that those that continued thereafter were also part of such long-term archival practices.[48]

The payment orders and the annual accounts sheet from the estate archive of Burhān al-Dīn certainly had shorter active archival lifespans than the foundation deeds and other property-related documents when they were still in their respective organisational archive. Yet their format and the archival notes written on them show that those who handled these documents did so with an eye to (at least short-term) archival preservation. From the documents in Burhān al-Dīn's estate archive, it seems that the administrators in these organisations were willing to hand over original documents to the judge's trustee. The accounts for the primary school as well as the payment orders were certainly the original documents and not copies specifically produced for the trustee.

[43] The horizontal width is between 13.2 and 14 centimetres and the vertical length between 9.1 and 10 centimetres.
[44] For instance, al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 39, 42.
[45] For instance, al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 40, 48.
[46] For instance, al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 40.
[47] For instance, al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 42, 43, 46.
[48] For the archiving of such property-related documents see Livingston, *Documentary Constellations*.

The second archival site where documents had been kept before the judge's trustee brought them together in the estate archive was Burhān al-Dīn's personal archive. Here, we have a rare chance to see a personal archive 'at home' in a household that did not belong to the military or social elite of its time. This archive included first and foremost the documents linked to his positions and stipends: twelve diplomas of appointment,[49] five declarations of intent,[50] al-Ṣafadī's declaration that he had no claims against Burhān al-Dīn[51] and Burhān al-Dīn's request to change the time or place of his recitations.[52] Three documents show that his divorce businesses from Fāṭima bt. 'Abd Allāh and Maryam were settled,[53] one document concerns the estate of his deceased wife Fāṭima 1,[54] and in a further seven documents he either rents a house[55] or buys/extends his house.[56]

The logic of why Burhān al-Dīn preserved these documents for an extended period is, in most cases, apparent: the diplomas and declarations were crucial for proving his entitlements in case of dispute. Indeed, we see that Burhān al-Dīn repeatedly refers in his petitions to previous documents that he claims to have in his possession. For instance, when he petitioned for his position in the Ṭāz Mausoleum to be continued he always referred to himself in the third person and made a point of mentioning the 'documents that he [that is Burhān al-Dīn] has in his possession' regarding his current position as reciter.[57] If his correction from singular to plural was more than a rhetorical device he must have had in his possession more documents than we know of today.[58] The logic for archival preservation is also evident in his request to change the time and place of recitations, as this document updated the conditions of a previous declaration of intent for this stipend (again a document that we do not have today). Al-Ṣafadī's declaration on the sub-contracted job, as

[49] #003, #005, #007, #009, #010, #013, #014, #203, #303, #305, #310 and #490.
[50] #002, #004, #012, #508 and #603.
[51] #509.
[52] #026.
[53] #289, #458 and #699.
[54] #897.
[55] #109, #843 and #850.
[56] #039, #336, #369 and #619.
[57] #007, l. 7/8: '*mā bi-yadihi min ~~al-taqrīr~~ al-taqārīr fī al-turba al-sharīfa bi-al-qirā'a*'.
[58] The only preserved document on the Ṭāz Mausoleum dated earlier than petition #007 in the estate archive of Burhān al-Dīn is #310.

well as the paperwork from the ex-wives, were worth keeping as they all proved that these individuals could not lodge further claims against Burhān al-Dīn.

He evidently also had a strong incentive to archive the sale contract of his house and his neighbour's consent to extend it. He was also careful to keep the sale documents of the owners for the previous decade (first Abū Bakr al-Nassāj, then Maryam al-Rūmīya and finally Muḥammad al-Zaydī), as ten years earlier a somewhat sensitive property transaction had taken place. Abū Bakr al-Nassāj bought one of the courtyards that he consolidated into one single property (the house had not been built yet) from the Public Treasury.[59] Such transactions to individuals offered plenty of opportunities for embezzlement. In consequence, such transactions were subject to particular scrutiny and were generally conducted in front of a judge.[60] The document that was produced during this process proved the transaction's propriety and was thus of particular importance. Its importance is evident from the fact that it was later sewn together with the subsequent sale contract for the property in which Abū Bakr al-Nassāj sold the consolidated property to Maryam. This sewn 'double-contract' came into the possession of Burhān al-Dīn and his sale contract explicitly refers to it.[61] Those producing the sale contracts on this house clearly did so with the expectation that they would be preserved for a long period of time. For this reason, these are the only documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn written on sturdy parchment, not paper. However, this choice of material was to prove ill-fated in the long run as the parchment documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are among those to have been damaged the most by insects – paper documents in Jerusalem, as in other cities of the region such as Cairo, had better survival rates.[62]

While Burhān al-Dīn's incentive for preserving documents linked to his positions, his divorces and his house are evident, the archival logic behind preserving the receipts for rent payment for the long term is, at first glance, elusive. As he had moved out of the rented property and bought his own house, it was rather unlikely that the landlady could still drag him before a

[59] #369/2.
[60] Müller, *Ventes de Biens Immobiliers*.
[61] #039/2.
[62] Little, *Catalogue*, 277; see Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 25–31 for Cairo.

judge over unpaid rent.[63] Preserving unnecessary paperwork is certainly not a practice unique to Burhān al-Dīn, which reminds us that the phase of 'documents lying around' has to be taken seriously when thinking about document preservation.[64] In fact, other documents too might come under this rubric of documents lying around. This is particularly true for those papers that do not seem to have legal validity but are, rather, informal drafts and accounts produced in the process of preparing the final document. For instance, the document on the estate of his deceased wife Fāṭima 1 carries no signatures by notary witnesses and is clearly a first overview. The draft character of this document is also evident from the fact that this list was written on the back of a re-purposed document (entirely unrelated to Burhān al-Dīn) that must have been cut into pieces.[65] The phenomenon of reusing old paperwork is by contrast not visible in those documents of Burhān al-Dīn (and the wider Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus) that can be considered final documents.

The third pre-estate archival site where documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn had been kept was Shīrīn's personal archive. Burhān al-Dīn and Shīrīn lived in the same household, but there is no doubt that she had a strong interest in keeping her wealth and paperwork under her control and separate from his. Only two of Shīrīn's documents went into the estate archive, the sale contract for the slave and the contract in which Burhān al-Dīn sold household objects to her.[66] These documents were legal proof that the slave and the household objects were Shīrīn's property and not part of Burhān al-Dīn's estate. The contract on the household objects was also proof that her two sons were entitled to part-ownership of the house extension. There were certainly more documents in Shīrīn's possession, in particular the marriage contract with Burhān al-Dīn that must have set out the amount of her deferred marriage gift (*ṣadāq*) in case of divorce.

[63] The preservation might, however, be linked to the fact that he was paying the rent while the estate to which this house belonged was in the process of being settled. Consequently, these documents might have been sensitive, and one of them carries the signature of a witness (#843) and another a judge's note (#850).

[64] Livingston, *Paperwork of a Mamluk Muqṭa'*.

[65] #897. We still see on the top right corner that at least two sheets of paper were pasted together to produce the original document, which was then cut into pieces to make paper for drafts (see Plate III.16).

[66] #382 and #622.

Both Burhān al-Dīn's and Shīrīn's personal archival collections are particularly fascinating as they give an insight into what archival practices looked like in a household beyond the military and social elite – and how deeply entrenched pragmatic literacy was. Such documentary collections must have been widely spread across society, and the al-Ḥamawī sub-corpus is another such group of documents that urgently deserves closer scrutiny from an archival perspective. In addition, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is teeming with further documents providing insights into the paper-soaked world of households in this period. Document #792, for instance, is a very informal list of dozens of documents with debt claims that the owner held against others. It thus functioned as an archival handlist for navigating what must have been a very substantial household archive. This list, and many other pieces of evidence such as the above-mentioned late-medieval diary of Ibn Ṭawq in Damascus, with its continuous references to documents, indicate the masses of paperwork held in household archives that have since vanished (or that we have not yet found). Such household archives from Jerusalem preserved within a larger collection are particularly fascinating as the best-known cases so far come from Egypt and in particular the Geniza, such as the documentary assemblages of Nahray b. Nissīm from the fifth/eleventh century[67] and of Abraham Ben Yijū from the sixth/twelfth century.[68]

The documents that Burhān al-Dīn preserved (and the same goes for Shīrīn's documents) are thus of crucial importance for understanding this world of small-scale archival locations. These documents are in material terms less consistent than those that were produced in organisational contexts. In the latter case we see that there was a tendency to produce documents of similar format to facilitate their storage and such organisational archives also tended to use archival notes.[69] Remnants of such organisational archives thus often provide material clues of their archival past. Remnants of personal archives, by contrast, are much less likely to bear such traces. Burhān al-Dīn, for instance, did primarily preserve documents which he received and over whose format he had no control: rent receipts from his landlady, diplomas from administrators

[67] See in particular Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions*.
[68] See in particular Lambourn, *Abraham's Luggage*.
[69] Anna Steffen (CSMC, Hamburg) is undertaking a study of these archival notes.

in endowments, declarations from officer-patrons, the old sale contracts for his property, and so on. While the logic for preserving them is thus apparent from analysing their content, their materiality provides no indication of their shared archival past.

The Formation of the Estate Archive

With the death of Burhān al-Dīn the archival status of documents linked to him changed drastically. Different archival actors certainly discarded many of the documents at various points over the following years and decades, as they had become irrelevant. In this sense they joined the vast majority of documents ever produced, since during any archiving process discarding documents is as important as preserving them. However, one group of documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn was still needed in order to settle the size of his estate and its division among his heirs. In consequence, these documents most likely went from their previous three archival sites into a new archival context, the estate archive in the house of the judge's trustee. As Christian Müller has shown on the basis of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus (to be more exact, almost exclusively on the basis of Burhān al-Dīn's and al-Ḥamawī's sub-corpora), such a trustee was first and foremost responsible for the day-to-day management of the inheritance for minors and absent heirs according to a judge's decisions. This included paying out the obligatory maintenance payment (*farḍ*). This trustee could also play a much more active role in managing the estate (such as lending money from the estate, returning pawned objects and paying rent for shops) and, of particular relevance for our purposes here, in sorting out the estate in the months after the death had occurred.[70]

In the case of Burhān al-Dīn, this trustee was a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Adhraʿī, who thus must be seen as the person who shaped the estate archive. Al-Adhraʿī must have had several men who were working for him, as is evident from one of the accounts for settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate, which says that fifteen dirhams were paid to the men of the trustee.[71] We know some members of his retinue by name, such as a certain Shams al-Dīn

[70] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 319–23.

[71] #800a, left. The document has only *rajjāla*, but we see in other documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus (such as #175a, left, l. 28 and #175a, right, l. 27) the term *rajjālat al-ḥukm*, which we interpret as those working for the judge's trustee.

Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī, who appears in the paperwork as receiving payments from buyers, or a certain (Ibn) ʿAshā, who wrote the sale booklet.[72] In the lengthy process of settling the estate, al-Adhraʿī and his men not only brought together the documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn from the three previous archival sites, but they also added those seventeen documents produced during the course of the process. These documents include, primarily, the two decisions by the deputy judge on the amount of the maintenance payment[73] and the nine deeds of the guardians of Burhān al-Dīn's children acknowledging that they had received such payments.[74] In addition, our sale booklet and four accounts linked to this sale, as well as a document concerning a loan from Burhān al-Dīn's estate to a third person, were added to this growing estate archive.[75]

The estate archive in al-Adhraʿī's household thus absorbed documents from the previous three archival sites and kept growing with the documents produced in the process of settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate. We can understand the social logic for him building up this estate archive by turning to the documents of the trader al-Ḥamawī in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus – arguably another estate archive that al-Adhraʿī and his retinue built up.[76] Here, we see that al-Adhraʿī was officially appointed to settle al-Ḥamawī's complex business affairs.[77] Getting his head around who owed what to al-Ḥamawī and what, in turn, al-Ḥamawī owed and to whom certainly required al-Adhraʿī to consult numerous contracts, deeds, receipts and so on from al-Ḥamawī's lifetime, which accounts for the large number of commercial documents linked to al-Ḥamawī that we have today. When al-Adhraʿī and his men were assembling the al-Ḥamawī estate archive they were able to get hold of accounts dating back more than twenty years. Thus the building up of an estate archive must in some cases have been a very protracted and complex affair that meant combing through a large house archive and assembling further documents from across the city (and beyond). From documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus we get further glimpses of how those responsible for handling paperwork in medieval

[72] For al-Ṣayrafī, see documents #793, #800 and #812; (Ibn) ʿAshā also bought items in the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate and identified himself as the sale booklet's scribe (see Buyer 70).
[73] #052 and #111.
[74] #106, #108, #115, #118, #183, #188, #192, #313 and #676.
[75] #061/#180/#532 (sale booklet), #812 (accounts) and #016 (money lending).
[76] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 184–6.
[77] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 321/2.

Jerusalem proceeded upon the death of an individual. In one of them, the trustee recounts that upon entering the house of the deceased he found a list with debts and claims. This list was then entered into the process of settling the estate so that debts could be paid and claims resolved.[78] In another case, the estate inventory is drawn up shortly before the death and the inventory refers to different pieces of paperwork recording outstanding payments.[79]

The process of sorting out the estate of the deceased was evidently important because the inheritance could only be divided among the heirs after the financial affairs had been settled. This was thus a very sensitive period during which the diligence and propriety of the trustee was central to the amounts that the heirs would later receive. The complexity of this process might explain why Shīrīn, for instance, took a legal proxy (*wakīl*) to represent her during this period, whereas in earlier contracts she had acted on her own without a proxy.[80]

That the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate was only the starting point of a much longer process for al-Adhraʿī is evident from the paperwork that he and his men produced. At other auctions of estate libraries, as we know from narrative sources, the objects were sold for cash only.[81] Though this practice secured instant payment it probably fetched lower prices. In the case of the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate – and seemingly this was the general practice – buyers could settle the price at a later point (and thus they probably tended to make higher bids). It is because of this procedure of delayed payments that we have not only the sale booklet, but also four further accounts and lists linked to this sale (the documentary network discussed in Chapter 8). The fact that numerous documents of different types were produced to get hold of the cash shows that the procedure was not entirely straightforward. At least some buyers must have been reluctant to fulfil the obligations they had entered into during the auction. For instance, in the first list of payments al-Adhraʿī and his men were able to record fifty-two payments, but even here twenty-four of these payments were only partial payments that required further chasing up.

[78] #741 (793/1391), death of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Maghribī.

[79] #146 (795/1393), Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Qāriʾ.

[80] A certain 'Shaykh Ismāʿīl' (Buyer 47) is named as Shīrīn's proxy slightly more than a month after her husband's death (#532a, left, ll. 21–33; 789/1387). The earlier contracts without a proxy are #622 (788/1386) and #382 (784/1382).

[81] Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, VI, 100 (biography of ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Mulaqqin who attended this auction).

All this chasing up had to be done while they were also busy sorting out other matters. The expenses recorded in one of the accounts (#800) give a picture of the things that needed attention: the washing of the corpse and the cemetery needed to be sorted out, debts needed to be settled, claims of his children and his widow paid out, porters brought in, candles for the auction bought and so on.

Arguably, the delay between the death of an individual and the final settlement of his or her estate also explains why the amounts of the maintenance payments for children tended to fluctuate in the initial months after the death. In the case of al-Ḥamawī we have very substantial fluctuations, and these were probably linked to the changing size of the estimated estate in the course of the settlement.[82] In the case of Burhān al-Dīn we also see that in the period between his death and the final settlement the maintenance payments fluctuated. A deputy judge took a first decision on the amount of the payment slightly more than one month after Burhān al-Dīn's death. He issued two separate, but almost entirely identical, documents on the same day, one for Shīrīn's sons ʿAlī and Muḥammad (#052/1, see Plate III.2a) and one for Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī, the son of Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh (#111/1, see Plate III.5a). According to the two documents the three sons were meant to receive twenty dirhams per month each. The document for the fourth son, Maḥmūd Kamāl, is missing, but an acknowledgement deed from this period (#106, see Plate III.3a) shows that he received the slightly higher amount of twenty-five dirhams per month. Some four months after his first decision the same deputy judge added a revised decision on the documents (#052/2 and #111/2) in which he raised the monthly payments to thirty dirhams per month. It was probably only at this point that the settlement of Burhān al-Dīn's estate was concluded and that the final entitlement of all heirs, including his children, could be calculated.

It was during these five months, before the estate of Burhān al-Dīn was settled, that al-Adhraʿī and his men must have built up the estate archive. To do so they arguably went to Burhān al-Dīn's house and took those documents that were necessary for understanding whether there were outstanding salaries and stipends (the diplomas and declarations, as well as the request to change the time and place of recitations). Al-Adhraʿī also took those documents that

[82] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 191.

showed that no other people had claims against Burhān al-Dīn (the three declarations by his ex-wives and al-Ṣafadī). Finally, he made sure that he acquired the documents necessary to sort out the ownership of Burhān al-Dīn's house. While he was at it, he may also have picked up other documents that we find in the corpus that have no bearing on settling the estate, such as the receipts of rent payments. While al-Adhraʿī was sorting Burhān al-Dīn's papers, Shīrīn certainly made sure that he also saw the two documents showing her ownership of the slave and the household objects so that her property did not become part of her husband's estate.

The next step for al-Adhraʿī and his men in settling the estate was to obtain documents on positions for which Burhān al-Dīn's own archive seemingly did not hold the diplomas or where the information on the salary was inadequate. For this, al-Adhraʿī went to endowments and requested the relevant documents. As he himself was working in the administration of the endowment of the Ṣalāḥīya Madrasa,[83] he was certainly able to ask the right questions and get the documents he needed: the four payment orders from the Ḥaram al-sharīf endowment administration and the annual accounts sheet of Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās's primary school. In total, he collected at least thirty-seven documents before starting his work on settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate. In the following months the new documents produced during the process of settling the estate joined the older ones: the decisions by the deputy judge instructing him how much monthly maintenance to pay; the deeds by the legal guardians acknowledging these payments; the deed on the money he lent from Burhān al-Dīn's estate; and, finally, the paperwork linked to selling the estate, our sale booklet and the four lists and accounts in which he and his scribe al-Ṣayrafī recorded who had paid his dues and who had not yet paid. In the end the estate archive thus comprised at least fifty-four documents linked to the financial affairs of Burhān al-Dīn assembled from various archival sites. Again, it is evident that only a part of the estate archive has come down to us and that it must have originally been larger, including, for instance, promissory notes that are now lost.[84]

[83] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 320.
[84] On these notes, of which we know from accounts #800, see Chapter 8.

The archival nature of those documents that were being produced in the process of the judge's trustee settling the estate is much more apparent than in the case of the documents that were previously preserved in Burhān al-Dīn's and Shīrīn's personal archives. As we have seen, the latter were in a wide variety of formats and did not carry archival notes. By contrast, al-Adhraʿī and his men, such as al-Ṣayrafī and (Ibn) ʿAshā, acted within a social context that had clear ideas about the materiality of the documents they produced and their future preservation. This is particularly evident in the case of acknowledgement deeds, which tend to carry archival notes.[85] These notes were systematically placed on the top left corner of the document's verso to aid retrieval in the future. The documents were thus part of a larger archival collection grouped together for practical purposes. Al-Adhraʿī and his men needed such finding aids in order to navigate paperwork, as they had a lot of it: they made payments to three different guardians for the estate of Burhān al-Dīn alone (Shīrīn, Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī's grandmother Umm Muḥammad and Maḥmūd Kamāl's guardian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad).[86] These guardians came to collect their monies on quite a regular basis (the documents indicate that this occurred roughly every second month). In addition, al-Adhraʿī handled several other estates; as seen above, we definitely know of al-Ḥamawī's estate, so that his dossier(s) for such payments must have been quite thick. That he must have handled a lot of papers is also evident from the occasional mistakes he made. For instance, on one of the documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn we see that he had initially written an erroneous archival note ascribing it to 'the orphans of al-Ḥamawī'.[87]

The materiality of the documents gives us some clues as to how the trustees organised the numerous estate archives they would be building up at any given moment. For instance, it is commonsensical that they would have kept the acknowledgement deeds of the legal guardians on payments received in the same dossier as the documents issued by judges on how much maintenance the trustees were actually to pay out. In the case of Burhān al-Dīn we have the two above-mentioned documents by the deputy judge for the maintenance

[85] #106, #108, #115, #118, #183, #188 and #192.

[86] Shīrīn and Umm Muḥammad were not legal guardians (*waṣī*), but were fostering (*ḥiḍāna*) the children in their care.

[87] #016, see Plate III.1b (middle of page).

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payments for ʿAlī and Muḥammad (#052) as well as for Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī (#111). It is indeed very likely that al-Adhraʿī kept both decisions in the same dossier as the acknowledgement deeds, since the decisions carry the same archival notes as the acknowledgement deeds and they do so in the same position (the top left of the verso). That these judicial decisions and the deeds were kept in one archival context is made more likely by the fact that all these documents have a very similar format.[88] At this stage it comes as no major surprise that the document on al-Adhraʿī lending money from Burhān al-Dīn's estate to a third person also carries an archival note, again at exactly the same position as those of the decisions and the deeds. That this money-lending document belonged to the same archival dossier is also highly likely, as it again has the same format as the decisions and the deeds.[89]

The trustee's estate archive ceased to receive new documents one year after Burhān al-Dīn's death. After the settlement of his estate we see that al-Adhraʿī continued to issue estate-related documents for two more months.[90] For the following months, until late 790/1388, four more acknowledgements of payments by a new trustee, a certain Muḥammad al-Ḥusbānī, exist for the Burhān al-Dīn corpus.[91] Thereafter we have complete radio silence on any matters linked to Burhān al-Dīn. This documentary silence did not occur because the entitlements of his children had come to an end. Their guardians certainly continued to receive such payments for many more years and acknowledgement deeds continued to be issued – they just no longer became part of this archive as the estate itself had been conclusively settled. It is striking that only two months after the last surviving document for Burhān al-Dīn's estate was issued, the last document was issued in the estate archive on al-Ḥamawī, and here again we find complete documentary silence thereafter.[92] Again, payments were certainly made over the following years and acknowledgement deeds continued to be issued, but they were no longer placed in the estate archive of al-Ḥamawī.

[88] The two decisions #052 and #111 are between 18 to 18.5 centimetres by 22 to 26 centimetres, which is also the range for most deeds with archival notes, though they can be slightly wider (up to 19.5 centimetres) and longer (up to 28 centimetres).

[89] #016 (19x26 centimetres).

[90] #016/2 (?.4.790/13889 and #313 (4.5.790/1388).

[91] #118 (7.6.790/1388), #108 (3.7.790/1388), #115 (4.9.790/1388) and #183 (4.9.790/1388).

[92] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 192 (#582, 25.11.790).

In all likelihood, the estate archives of Burhān al-Dīn and al-Ḥamawī were handed over to the judge some months after the estates had been settled. At this point the two estate archives with all their old documents had become useless for the trustee's purposes, as he had successfully reached a final settlement. This trustee, whether al-Adhraʿī, al-Ḥusbānī or somebody else, continued to pay the maintenance for the children of Burhān al-Dīn and al-Ḥamawī and to collect the new acknowledgement deeds. These acknowledgement deeds must have been preserved in different dossiers and all these deeds are lost (or at least they are not in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus) – as is the case for thousands (or tens of thousands?) of other acknowledgement deeds that must have been issued in eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem alone.

The estate archive is a remarkably ambiguous phenomenon when thinking about archival practices and the household as an archival site in the medieval period. We are not dealing here with a highly personal archive, such as those of Burhān al-Dīn and Shīrīn. Nor are we dealing with an organisational archive like those found in endowed organisations such as *madrasa*s or *khānqāh*s. This ambiguous status is linked to the fact that the position of the judge's trustee was, as Christian Müller has shown, seemingly not a firmly institutionalised position in Jerusalem at this point. There is no consistent title for this role and there could be more than one trustee in any given period.[93] The paperwork that this trustee produced was thus clearly part of a legal process and had significant legal relevance, yet the site of this archive was most likely his own household. Just like the investigation archive, estate archives were not collections brought together with any expectation that they would be preserved for many centuries. It is precisely because they had such a short shelf life that such archival practices highlight the significance of the household as a central site of archival preservation.

From Estate Archive to Ḥaram al-sharīf Sub-corpus

What we have seen above is that the estate archive of Burhān al-Dīn (and that of al-Ḥamawī) has a trajectory that is radically different from that of other sub-corpora within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. We still know next to nothing about the archival history of, let us say, the Sultanic decree sub-corpus

[93] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 319–23.

or the administrative endowment sub-corpus. Yet it is evident that their trajectories are very different and that a completely different set of archival actors were involved in shaping these respective sub-corpora as we see them today. In consequence, each of these sub-corpora has its own very peculiar profile in terms of the kind of documents it preserves. The entire Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus preserves three acknowledgement deeds in which divorced women attest that they have no claims against their ex-husbands[94] – two of which refer to Burhān al-Dīn.[95] The corpus preserves two *yaqūlu* declarations in which officers promise to pay a scholar a salary[96] – both of them refer to Burhān al-Dīn.[97] It preserves eight petitions with responses on their backs[98] – six of them refer to Burhān al-Dīn.[99] Every single diploma and declaration issued by an endowment or an officer for an individual that is today preserved in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus refers to Burhān al-Dīn.[100] Yet neither the Burhān al-Dīn sub-corpus nor that of al-Ḥamawī contains what one might have expected in the context of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus as it has hundreds of them, an estate inventory.

We will return to this point later on, but it is important to underline here that the extent of the survival of specific kinds of documents is linked to idiosyncratic archival practices. There were, certainly, thousands of acknowledgement deeds written by divorced women in the eighth/fourteenth century in Jerusalem, yet only those linked to Burhān al-Dīn have survived. In the same vein, petitions with a response on the back were a widespread form of written communication. That so few survived is no indication that few were produced: it reflects, rather, the filter of archival practices. Any archive we work on is 'shaped by power relations in both past and present and between past and present, and by the institutions through which power is mediated'.[101] To this we can add numerous other factors, such as simple neglect and chance, that impact on the shape of any collection. It would thus be audacious to rely too

[94] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 86.
[95] #289 and #699. The third deed is #680.
[96] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 133.
[97] #508 and #603.
[98] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 153.
[99] #007, #009, #010, #013, #305 and #310. The other deeds are #025 and #215.
[100] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 142.
[101] Brown et al., *Documentary Practices*, 12/3.

much on the shape of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus for argumentative purposes, in particular on the absences from this corpus. For most of its history we simply do not know who the archival actors were and thus what hidden power relations were written into its sub-corpora, which ultimately came together to form what we call today the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus.

The independence of Burhān al-Dīn's and al-Ḥamawī's estate archives from the investigation archive is thus crucial in order to show that they were subject to their very own archival filters. That these two sets of documents did not join the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus as part of the investigation archive is also evident from the timeline of archival events. The investigation into Sharaf al-Dīn's tenure of the judgeship and thus the formation of the investigation archive only started seven years after Burhān al-Dīn's and al-Ḥamawī's estate archives had been closed. One might be tempted to construct a link between the investigation into Sharaf al-Dīn's practices and Burhān al-Dīn himself. For instance, Sharaf al-Dīn was the scholarly head (*shaykh*) of the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh when Burhān al-Dīn held a position there.[102] Yet there is not the slightest sign of impropriety concerning the settlement of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, and the same goes for that of al-Ḥamawī.

If al-Adhraʿī's estate archives on Burhān al-Dīn and al-Ḥamawī had their own histories, when did they join the investigation archive and the other sub-corpora of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus? We can only speculate as to how and why this happened, as the later history of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, before its academic discovery in the 1970s, has not yet been studied.[103] This discovery already shows that the history of this corpus is possibly more complex than that of one single corpus moving through the centuries: even within the Islamic Museum the documents that today constitute the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus were discovered in two distinct batches, in 1974 and 1976. We obviously do not know how these two batches came into being. However, before the 1970s discoveries someone must have already started to work on these documents as the second batch was accompanied by modern paper slips with notes on fifteen of the documents.[104] Today we also know that there was a

[102] Little, *Catalogue*, 10.
[103] Northrup and Abul-Hajj, *Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents*; Little, *Catalogue*, 1–4.
[104] Little, *Catalogue*, 1/2.

third batch that was not discovered in the 1970s, the Ḥaram al-sharīf plus corpus discussed in the Introduction.

We do not know how, when and in how many batches and bundles the documents came into the Islamic Museum, which was founded in 1922.[105] However, there are at least indications that what we know as the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus today might not have been on the Temple Mount in the nineteenth century.[106] When the French archaeologist Charles Clermont-Ganneau made a survey of monuments and inscriptions in Jerusalem in the early 1870s he also heard that pre-Ottoman documents were held in the citadel (today often called 'Tower of David').[107] He did not see these documents, but his report has some credibility as he had it on the authority of a member of the Abū al-Su'ūd family. This family owned an important family library with a long pedigree and their members were certainly well-versed in the written culture of the town.[108] As we do not know of other pre-Ottoman-period documents from Jerusalem – those held by the town's Christian organisations would certainly not have been deposited in the citadel[109] – it is probable that the documents of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus were part of (or identical to) what this nineteenth-century writer called an 'archive' in the citadel.

A possible, though highly hypothetical, scenario thus seems to be that several groups of pre-Ottoman documents were preserved in Jerusalem at different sites. These were distinct groups such as the investigation archive, the estate archives of Burhān al-Dīn and al-Ḥamawī, the decrees by sultans from Cairo, the administrative endowment archive and the family archive of the

[105] The archival trajectory of the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents certainly has to be seen as part of the wider history of archival (re)configurations in Jerusalem in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries; see for instance the Open Jerusalem project, http://www.openjerusalem.org/ (last accessed 8 June 2021).

[106] Scholarship has so far not discussed this issue, but the hegemonic (and often implicit) assumption is clearly one of 'long-term preservation' somewhere on the Ḥaram al-sharīf (see e.g. Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 22).

[107] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, I, 237: 'The Arabic Archives in Jerusalem – The Mussulman Abu's So'ūd told me that the archives of the Mehkemeh of Jerusalem did not contain any documents which date more than three centuries back; all the documents of an earlier period than this having been removed into the Kal'a (the Citadel), where they are at this day.' Al-'Ārif, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 312 translated the 'documents' in this passage as '*sijillāt*'. On this basis, supposedly lost 'Mamluk *sijillāt*' have regrettably become an established fact in subsequent scholarship, e.g. 'Amrū, *Qal'at al-Quds*, 43.

[108] On this family see Barakat, *Tārīkh al-maktabāt al-'arabīya*, 72/3.

[109] For one such collection, see Pahlitzsch, *Documents in Intercultural Communication*.

Ādūjī family. At some point these different groups of documents must have been joined. This might have happened in the Ottoman period when some administrator or scholar brought together the various groups of what had by then become 'old' and arcane-looking documents. Or this amalgamation might have happened only in the Mandate Period. This is at least the case for the Aqṣā Mosque Library, which was founded in the 1920s and brought together the codices scattered across various sites on the Ḥaram al-sharīf.[110] The Islamic Museum was founded in exactly the same period and one can easily imagine that documents scattered across the Ḥaram al-sharīf and beyond were brought together. We thus do not know when exactly the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus was formed, and the only date visible to us is when the documents in the first and second batch received the running classmarks from 1 to 883 in the 1970s. At any rate, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is in all likelihood a corpus that resulted from archival reconfigurations that took place much later than the production of these documents or the investigation into Sharaf al-Dīn.

For the purpose of this book, two points coming out of the discussion on the archival trajectories of the documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn are particularly relevant. First, the fact that our sale booklet is the only such document to survive within such a large number of books does not necessarily make it an outlier. If we misunderstand the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus and see it as one coherent historical group of documents, we might reasonably wonder to what extent this list and its books are representative of wider developments at all; out of over 900 documents we only have this one single document listing so many books. That a document is the only one to survive does not mean, however, that it was the only one to be produced. All diplomas and declarations issued by endowments or officers for an individual in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus exclusively refer to Burhān al-Dīn, but it is evident that endowment supervisors and officers issued many more such documents. These are lost, most likely because the archival sites in which they were preserved did not have as long a life cycle as the household archive of Burhān al-Dīn and, more importantly, the subsequent estate archive. The absence of other sale booklets is thus a question that needs to be discussed in the context of the archival history of

[110] Salameh, *Primary Sources*, 2/3.

documents in Jerusalem. It cannot be taken per se as an argument for the purportedly exceptional status of Burhān al-Dīn's list.

The second main point pertains to pragmatic literacy. The estate archive of Burhān al-Dīn contained no fewer than fifty-four documents. This is already a very large number, but we can be certain that his life triggered more, probably many more, documents. The formation of the estate archive had a massive impact on which of his documents have come down to us – only those needed to settle the estate. All other documents were deemed to be irrelevant and many of them had come to the end of their archival lifespan when Burhān al-Dīn died. To this we must add documents that Burhān al-Dīn himself discarded over the course of his life, such as the many receipts on rent payments that he must have received, for example. We find a trace of one such further document, which has since perished, in the sale booklet itself. In addition to the 273 book lots and the eighty-six lots with household objects that were sold, there was also one document on sale from Burhān al-Dīn's household. This was a bill of exchange (*ḥawāla*) in his favour.[111] Whoever bought it in the auction subsequently cashed it in and the bill must then have disappeared – it is at least not in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. It thus joined the fate of at least dozens of other documents that passed through Burhān al-Dīn's hands but are not visible to us. These documents might have been burned or reused as wrapping material, or they might reside today in the pasteboard of some codex.[112]

The estate archives of Burhān al-Dīn and al-Ḥamawī, the family archive of the Ādūjī family, the investigation archive, the archive of sultanic decrees, the al-Yaghmūrī household archive and the administrative endowment archive were only a few of many more archival constellations. That these few archival sites covering such a short period have left us 900 documents shows that tens of thousands of other documents were issued in this period and that the number of documents circulating in medieval Jerusalem must have been staggeringly high. This pragmatic documentary culture certainly relied upon a widespread and high degree of literacy. To cite just one example: the accounting sheet for the primary school for orphans in which Burhān al-Dīn taught has separate

[111] #532b, right, ll. 29–31.
[112] For one such household archive in a pasteboard see Liebrenz, *Archive in a Book*.

budgetary items for ink and pens as well as for paper. Even these orphans were prepared early on to deal with the writerly world in which they lived.[113]

Those documents from the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus that have survived give us a unique insight into how deeply rooted and widely spread documents were for even the most mundane transactions, such as rent payments, beyond the spheres of the social and political elites. If we are to complain about bureaucracy today, we should consider this: when Burhān al-Dīn applied for his daily allowance of four loaves of bread a day at the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ, he first wrote a petition. Once he had submitted that petition, somebody, most likely the endowment's supervisor, wrote in the margins 'It shall be scrutinised!'[114] In response, a report was prepared that showed that the death of the previous recipient made it possible to allocate the allowance to Burhān al-Dīn. This report was written on a separate sheet of paper and subsequently glued to the petition. Once the enlarged document was ready the endowment's supervisor received it again, and he wrote his order that Burhān al-Dīn was entitled to the allowance over the join of petition and report.[115] Four texts, a written report produced, paper sheets glued together – all for a daily bread allowance. In the same vein, the four payment orders issued by the Ḥaram al-sharīf endowment administration are, as said before, real gems in terms of the history of bureaucracy. A single order can carry up to ten signatures by different officials of the endowment administration.[116] It is not difficult to imagine poor Burhān al-Dīn trudging from individual to individual, desperately trying to get all of them to sign this order in order for him to receive his salary. The world of the written word in the late eighth/fourteenth century did not encompass large book collections only, but also perplexingly intensive documentary practices in day-to-day life.

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[113] #049; Richards, *Primary Education*. On primary education in this period see Hirschler, *Written Word*, 82–123.

[114] #013. We are here following the reading of Diem, *Philologisches*, 42–6.

[115] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 138 and 440 (n. 145) proposes a different timeline, most importantly that the order was written before the lower document that was glued to the petition. However, as the order was written over the join we follow Diem.

[116] #666.

Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised the sale booklet by looking at its archival trajectory, and this has allowed us to develop two principal arguments. The first argument is crucial in methodological terms. Namely: that this list is today unique does not mean that comparable book collections were rare. The fact that similar lists did not survive in the rich Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is not proof that Burhān al-Dīn's book collection was an exception. Rather, the archival context shows that this document was preserved as part of a small estate archive, not as part of some large Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. The question, therefore, is not why we do not have more of these lists in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, but rather why similar estate archives have not survived in greater numbers (or have not yet been identified in greater numbers).

The second argument leads towards the book's claim regarding literacy. This chapter has shown how widespread pragmatic literacy was and how even the most mundane transactions were recorded in writing as a matter of course. Even more importantly, many of these documents went into archival collections that were kept by numerous actors across the urban topography. We thus see that different individuals, groups and organisations actively preserved (and discarded) textual artefacts that had been produced in the course of their activities. The very fact that the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is not a simple archive but the result of complex processes of amalgamation provides a unique opportunity to take a look at the highly complex landscape of documentary cultures and archival practices. This all-pervasive presence of documents and archival collections shows that Jerusalem, as much as other towns and cities in the region, was home to a society characterised by a strikingly high degree of pragmatic literacy.

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4

Lists and Inventories: The Sale Booklet's Documentary Logic

Having established that Burhān al-Dīn is representative of wider sections of his period's society and that the sale booklet is not a documentary outlier, we can now turn to the booklet itself. The consideration of the archival context of Burhān al-Dīn's sub-corpus, and thus the sale booklet too, has allowed us to see its documents as more than random sheets among the hundreds of Ḥaram al-sharīf documents. Having reconstituted its archival context, we can now think in more detail about what this document was actually meant to do and not do when it was being produced. Using highly generic labels to describe it as a 'book list' is most unhelpful in this process. Rather, this is a document that was produced for specific purposes that had a strong impact upon what was included and what was left out. Such a sale booklet would naturally represent the books in a given collection quite differently from a book list produced as a catalogue or in the framework of an endowment. The tendency to subsume very different book lists under a highly generic label that obliterates their specificity is also a phenomenon in book studies regarding other parts of the globe. For instance, Joseph Dennis has shown, in his work on *School Library Book Lists in Ming and Qing Local Gazetteers*, that what scholarship had previously called 'library catalogues' are in fact a colourful variety of very different lists.[1] The compilers of these lists wrote them with very different intentions in mind, and many of these 'catalogues' do not reflect the actual books held in a library at all, but rather what the compiler thought should be in a decent Confucian

[1] https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/research/projects/school-library-book-collections-ming-qing-and-republican-china (last accessed 3 March 2021).

school library. In order to avoid classifying our sale booklet as a simple list, this chapter will thus discuss the aim behind the writing of the booklet, how it has to be seen as part of a wider documentary network, and how it recorded the information on books.

The methodological issue at stake is thus the documentary logic of the sale booklet itself. What exactly was this list's function and how is it linked to other documents? An example might clarify why we will spend so much time on this problem. Our sale booklet also contains many household objects, such as chairs, pillows and mortars. On this basis, Ulrich Haarmann assumed that 'the atmosphere in which this lowly shaykh lived and worked emerges from our document',[2] implying that we can use the list to write a straightforward history of a household's material world. Such a suggestion sounds even more exciting four decades later now that the 'material turn' has entered the historical disciplines with full force and a fascinating book can be written on a list of trans-oceanic luggage that is much shorter than the sale booklet.[3] Yet, as we have seen in Chapter 2, Burhān al-Dīn sold numerous household objects to his last wife Shīrīn just a year before he died to raise money for his house extension project.[4] The objects she bought clearly included many household objects that were much more valuable than those we see in our booklet. They certainly remained in the household, but as they went into Shīrīn's ownership the documentary logic of the booklet means they go unmentioned. What we see is thus not the household of a 'lowly shaykh' at all, but instead a view that is highly skewed by what this booklet actually was, and was not, meant to do – its documentary logic.

Documentary Practices before the Archive: Three Sheets, Twelve Pages, One Document

The first point to discuss with regard to the sale booklet is as basic as it is crucial. Thus far, we have simply stated that the sale booklet consists of three sheets, but whether these three sheets constitute one single document is in reality a far more complex issue. The three sheets have distinct identities in the

[2] Haarmann, *Library*, 329.
[3] Lambourn, *Abraham's Luggage*.
[4] #622 (788/1386).

modern Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus and each carries a different classmark, #061, #180 and #532 (see Plates I.1–I.6). Sheet #061 explicitly mentions Burhān al-Dīn and his estate in the heading, but no such link with Burhān al-Dīn exists for the two other sheets – at least not at first glance. Those assigning the classmarks in the 1970s (Amal Abul-Hajj, Linda Northrup and Donald Little)[5] considered the three sheets to be three distinct documents – thus three different classmarks. It was nonetheless evident that the three sheets share many features, and in his subsequent catalogue Donald Little put them under one heading, '*Mufradāt*', and stated that they might actually constitute one single document.[6] Ulrich Haarmann sat on the fence in his brief article about this sale booklet, stating that 'our list ... includes, besides nr. 61, possibly also nrs. 180 and 532', adding that 'there remains the possibility that these two sheets refer to different holdings'.[7] On the basis of the different classmarks subsequent scholarship has increasingly assumed that the three sheets are distinct documents without explicitly discussing the issue.[8] Christian Müller also saw them as distinct documents and argued that Ulrich Haarmann's cautious suggestion was wrong, as '#532 does not refer to the same estate as #061 and includes also household objects'.[9]

So, let us explain why we consider the three sheets to be a single document. First of all, the materiality is strikingly similar. All three sheets have the same *daftar* (booklet) format and are of very similar size.[10] The *daftar* format, characterised by being about a third higher than wide, is admittedly widespread in the documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus and thus certainly an insufficient basis for a convincing argument on any sheets belonging together.[11] However, such *daftar* papers and booklets were usually vertically folded two times

[5] Northrup and Abul-Hajj, *Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents*; Little, *Catalogue*.

[6] Little, *Catalogue*, 359/60. Yet, in subsequent articles he tended to discuss them separately, such as Little, *Ḥaram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture*, 71 where he discusses #061 without mentioning the other two sheets.

[7] Haarmann, *Library*, 327 and 328.

[8] Al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 50 and Luz, *Mamluk City in the Middle East*, 134.

[9] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 123 (see also 172 and 429).

[10] Little, *Catalogue*, 360 erroneously gives the measurements of #180 as '18 x 20.5' whereas the correct length is 28 centimetres.

[11] Müller, *Ḥaram al-Šarīf Collection*, 444/5. Allowing for a variation of three centimetres, he counts 170 documents with this format among the c. 419 estate inventories that he discussed in that article.

before the scribes started writing on them, resulting in four columns. Our sale booklet, by contrast, was only folded once, resulting in only two columns. In fact, speaking of 'columns' is not very helpful for our list and it is better to think of it in terms of simple 'pages' as we will see in a minute.

A further striking material similarity between the three sheets is that they all have holes in their upper halves (see Plate I.7). These holes are not the result of insect damage, but of archival actors who pricked the documents to thread through a string for holding documentary bundles together. Three documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus still carried such strings when they were photographed in 1978 (see Plates I.8a–I.8c).[12] The survival of these strings is remarkable considering that the documents were by this point almost 600 years old. Regrettably, two of the three strings have since disappeared.[13] The documentary bundles in the archival collections that went into the modern Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus were certainly once tied with many more strings. In his catalogue Donald Little states that 'several such bunches [of documents] were, in fact, found tied together in the Ḥaram al-sharīf with the string still intact', but he regrettably only recorded three strings and he did not record which documents had belonged to any of these three tied bundles.[14] The holes in the sale booklet's three sheets are thus nothing unusual at all, but in documents of the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus holes come in many different shapes and at slightly varying positions – a topic that has hardly been studied so far.[15] The holes in the three sheets, however, are all in exactly the same position and have exactly the same shape.[16]

Apart from materiality, a second reason why we consider the three sheets to be one single document is that they are all informed by the same approach to organising the page. This starts with the script, which is in our view the same,[17] but goes well beyond that. Most importantly, the layout on all three

[12] #507, #774 and #836.

[13] #507 and #774.

[14] Little, *Catalogue*, 335. The only strings he recorded were those belonging to #507, #774 and #836.

[15] On these archival holes in documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, see Livingston, *Managing Paperwork* as well as the ongoing projects by Anna Steffen (CSMC, Hamburg) and Michail Hradek (Munich), who is working on the holes in the documents linked to the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī.

[16] For an example of differently shaped holes, see the round holes in #785, #787, #788 and #790.

[17] See for instance how similar words such as '*dīwān*' (#061a, right, l. 8 and 15; #180a, right, l. 4; #532b, right, l. 25) and 'Burhān' (#061a, right, ll. 8 and 15; #180a, right, ll. 3 and 8; #532b, right, ll. 30 and 32) are written.

sheets is identical: the name of the buyer serves as 'heading' (highlighted in yellow in Plate I.9); beneath it is a list of the objects this buyer bought (the lots) (highlighted in blue in Plate I.9); under each lot (of one or several objects) we find the price (highlighted in grey in Plate I.9); and on the left of the last lot we find the sum total this buyer had to pay (highlighted in orange in Plate I.9).[18] In the entire Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus we do not have any other sale booklet that is organised by the names of the buyers.[19]

That these sheets are linked is also evident from one of those moments when things got messy. This is the fault of one of the participants in the auction, whose name was registered on sheet #061. He had bought a book (or rather several parts of the *ḥadīth* collection *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*), and the document's scribe duly noted this lot and its price under the buyer's name.[20] This buyer subsequently changed his mind, so that the scribe had to carefully erase the price beneath the title, and wrote 'transferred' in its place. He also reduced the overall sum this buyer had to pay from 109.5 to eighty-seven dirhams (thankfully without erasing the original price), showing that the price for this book had been twenty-two and a half dirhams (see Plate I.10). We find exactly the same title, 'parts of Muslim', under the name of another buyer, who is, conveniently for us, registered on sheet #532.[21] Not only the title but also the price is exactly the same (twenty-two-and-a-half dirhams), so that the case of this 'transferred' object shows beyond doubt that the two sheets #061 and #532 are part of one and the same document.

Finally, there is compelling external evidence in the shape of the four other accounts and lists linked to the sale and discussed in Chapter 8. All four list the names of individuals and sums paid or owed. These lists have been crucial

[18] The sum total is indicated by the abbreviation 's-h' (سه), meaning 'his sum total' (حسابه). For the use of this abbreviation see for instance the mathematical treatise by Abū Bakr al-Ḥaṣṣār (6th/12th century), *al-Bayān wa-al-tidhkār*, fol. 7a. That this abbreviation was used in all three sheets is another indicator that these three sheets belong together. Many other lists in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus do not use this abbreviation, but rather use the phrase '*min al-darāhim*' (for instance #176, #177, #179 and #480; on this see also Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 114).

[19] The closest we get are documents linked to a sale from the estate of al-Ḥamawī, but here we see different documentary practices: they are either organised by the objects (followed by buyer and price; #777, #778, #786) or by buyer (followed by the overall sum, but without mentioning the objects; #780).

[20] #061a, right, l. 27 (Buyer 5; just after entry 'book 31' in our list).

[21] #532b, left, l. 7 (Buyer 58; entry 'book 235').

for making sense of the sale booklet as well as for identifying buyers, and we will repeatedly refer to them in the following. Three of them are among the most important additions to the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus, as up until now scholarship had not linked them to him.[22] For our purposes here, these accounts are helpful as we see that the individuals listed in them always match those in the sale booklet. In payment list #812, for instance, fifty-two payors are mentioned, all of whom we find as buyers in the sale booklet. What is important for us is that these fifty-two individuals are distributed across the three sheets of the sale booklet, #061, #180 and #532. As we observe the same phenomenon in the other three accounts and lists (#968 with over eighty names, #793 with over seventy names and #800 with forty names) they provide irrefutable evidence that the three sheets constitute one single document, the sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's estate.[23]

The only element that made us initially hesitate is that the colours of the ink and paper of sheet #180 differ slightly from the colours of sheets #061 and #532. However, this colour difference is arguably not linked to the sheets' production, but to different preservation trajectories: the sheets were most likely preserved at some point over the past 600 years in different locations with differing exposure to light and variations in humidity. This separate preservation context is especially likely as sheet #180 shows some insect damage while we do not see any such damage on the two other sheets. Alternatively, sheet #180 might have been preserved in the same bundle as the other two sheets, but was simply the top item of the bundle and thus more exposed to material damage.

It is thus beyond doubt that these three sheets constitute one single document or – more helpfully – one booklet with three sheets. So, let us look at how this scribe actually put this booklet together, as this was certainly a widespread practice during this period. If we put the sheets together, we see that #061 was the top sheet, followed by #180 in second position and #532 in third (see Plate I.11). However, this description is slightly misleading as our scribe did not write the sheets separately and then put them together. Rather, he first produced a booklet of blank sheets and only then started to write. He did so by putting

[22] #793, #800 and #968.

[23] Further arguments showing that the three sheets were one document linked include the fact that Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl appears as Buyer 20 on #180a, left, ll. 15–19 as 'the orphan Kamāl'.

three blank sheets on top of each other and then he vertically folded them in the middle to produce a *daftar* booklet (see Plate I.12 for the look of such a *daftar* in general).[24] Each sheet now made four pages (two on the front and two on the back), and in contrast to other *daftar* booklets the scribe did not fold it again to make two columns on each page. Rather, he now had a simple booklet with a total of twelve pages. The scribe clearly folded the sheets before he wrote the list as the script always stops before the fold (right-hand pages) or starts from the fold (left-hand pages) – if he had folded the sheets after writing the list, some words, or some letters at least, would have appeared on or run over the fold.

After producing a blank booklet, the scribe filled the first page (Plate I.13), but his choice of the first page meant that the booklet's fold was on the left-hand side (the usual orientation of books in left-to-right writing systems such as English). It would have been very unusual for an Arabic writing scribe to open the booklet now with this orientation and continue writing on the subsequent page. Rather, he turned the booklet over so that the fold was now on the right-hand side (just as any other Arabic book). In this way, the second page became the 'front' page of the booklet and the scribe now followed the standard logic of right-to-left scripts, opening the booklet and filling its pages one after the other (see Plate I.14).[25]

Once we have restored the sheets to their original order it becomes obvious that several features that seemed puzzling when looking at the three sheets separately now make sense. For instance, sheets #061 and #180 each has a blank page (#061b, left and #180a, right), and it might thus seem as if each of them came to an end after three pages had been filled. This apparent lack of continuity has certainly contributed to previous scholarship seeing the sheets as separate documents. Yet, once we reconstitute the original booklet, these blank pages make perfect sense as they are now the two last pages of the booklet (one of these blank pages is visible in Plate I.14 at the very end).[26] If we

[24] See Little, *Catalogue*, 333 and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 120–6 for *daftar*s in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus.

[25] This system of filling the pages of a booklet was by no means the only way, as other documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, such as accounts by the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, show (see Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 181/2).

[26] The page order is as follows: page 1 – #061a, right; page 2 – #061a, left; page 3 – #061b, right; page 4 – #180a, left; page 5 – #180b, right; page 6 – #532a, left; page 7 – #532b, right; page 8 – #532b, left; page 9 – #532a, right; page 10 – #180b, left; page 11 – #180a, right; page 12 – #061b, left.

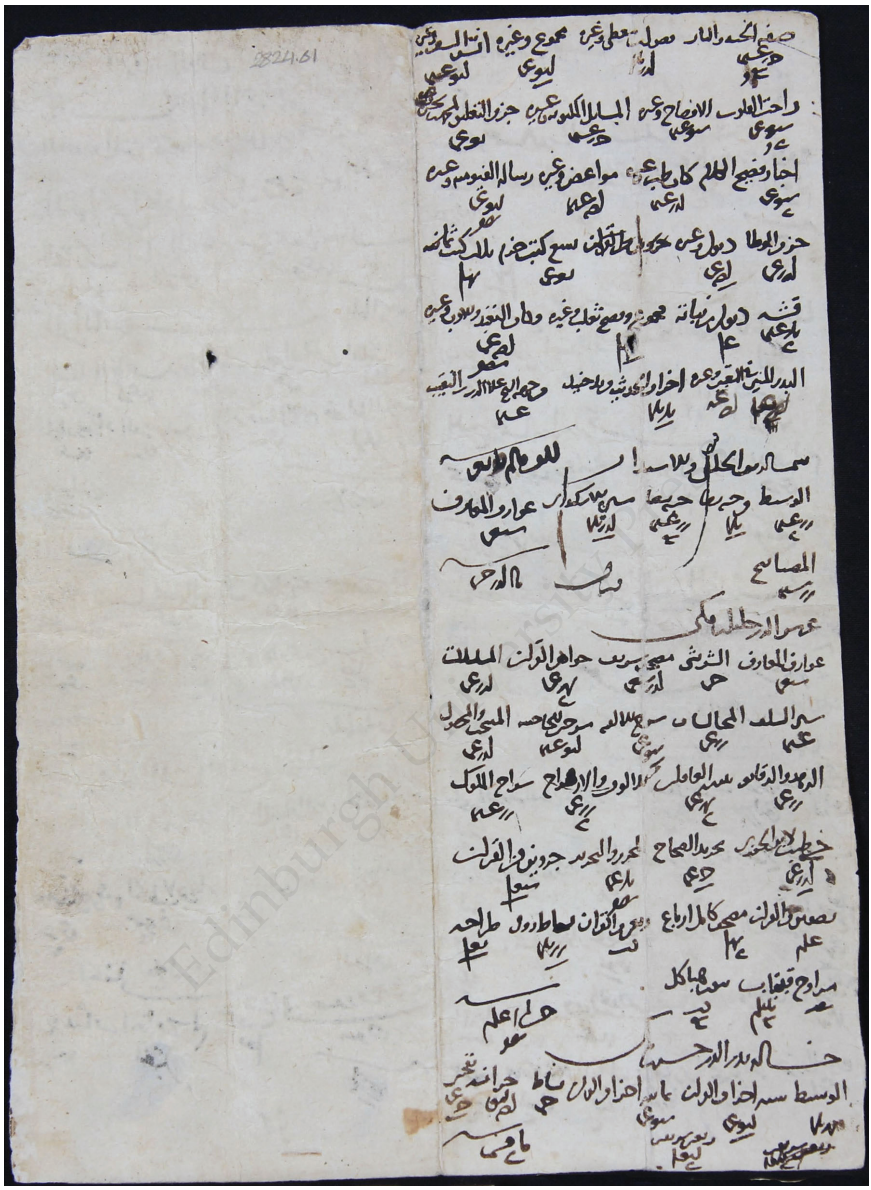
Plate Section I

The Sale Booklet

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I.1 Sale Booklet, sheet 1a with pages 1 (right) and 2 (left)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #061a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



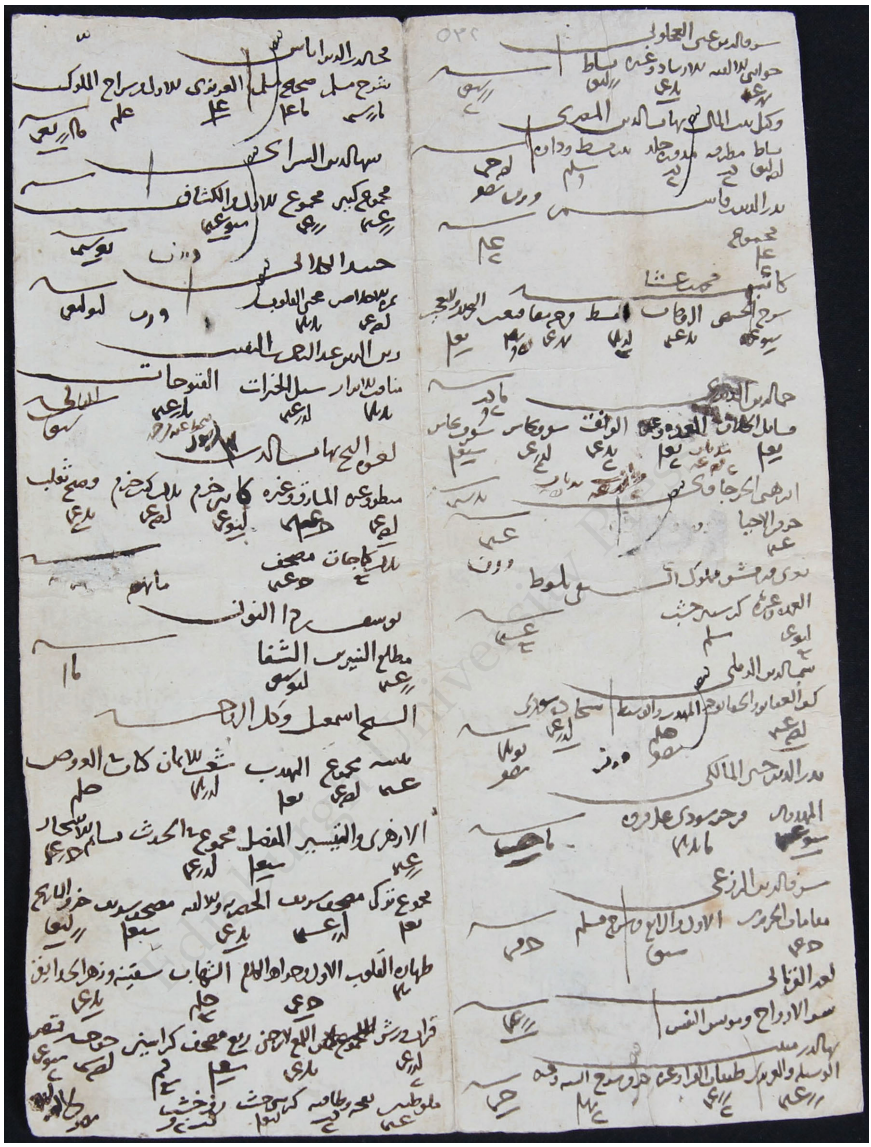
I.2 Sale Booklet, sheet 1b with pages 3 (right) and 12 (left)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #061b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



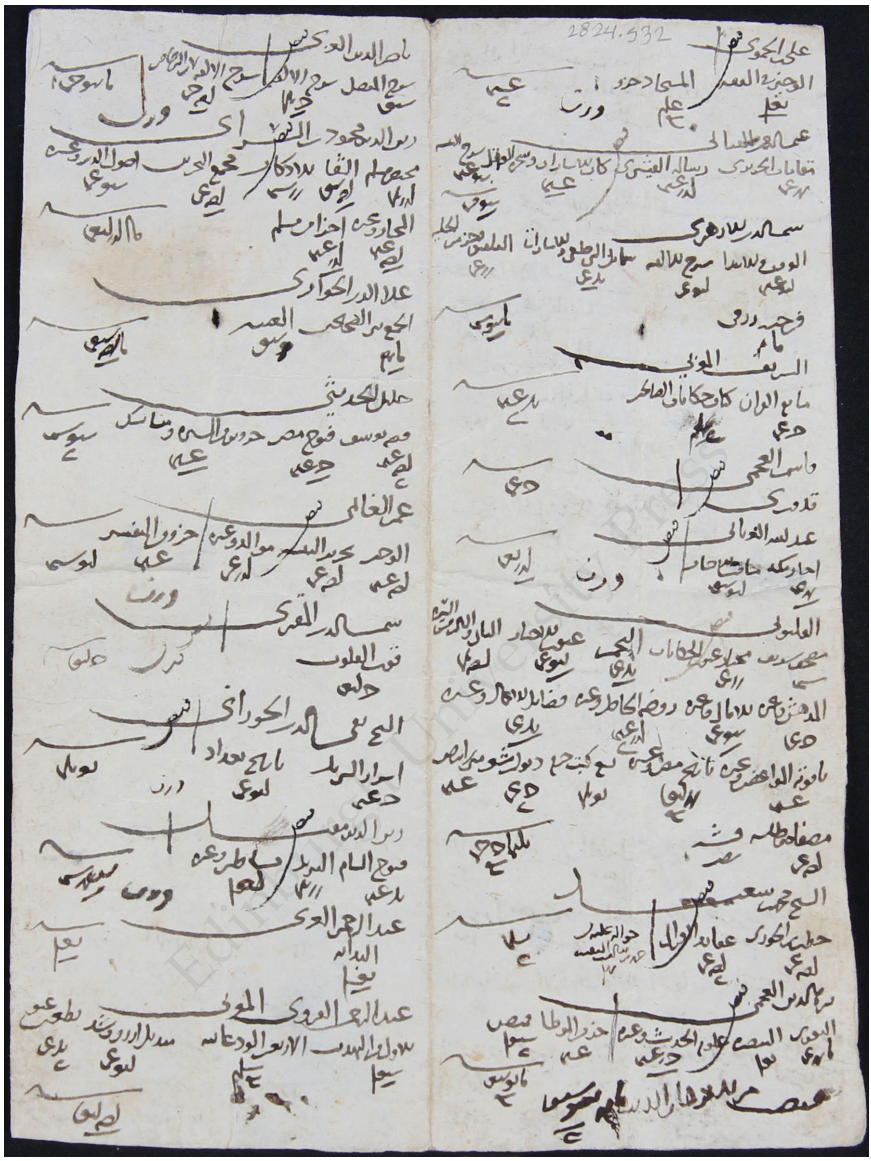
I.3 Sale Booklet, sheet 2a with pages 11 (right) and 4 (left)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #180a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



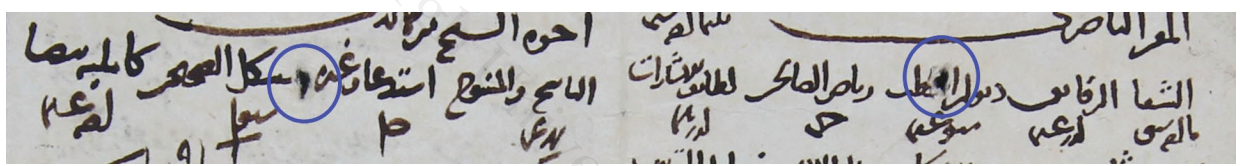
I.4 Sale Booklet, sheet 2b with pages 5 (right) and 10 (left)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #180b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



I.5 Sale Booklet, sheet 3a with pages 9 (right) and 6 (left)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #532a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

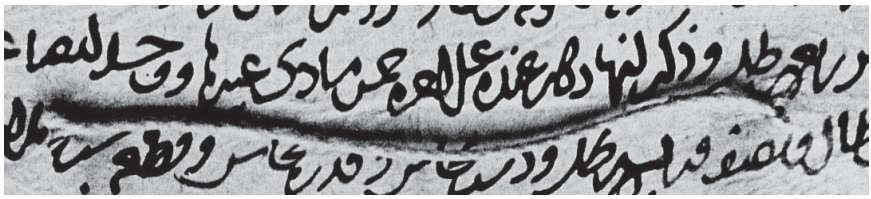


I.6 Sale Booklet, sheet 3b with pages 7 (right) and 8 (left)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #532b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



I.7 Threading holes, sheet 1a, upper half
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #061a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

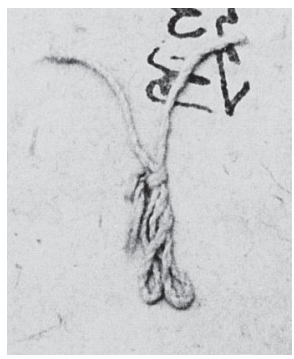
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I.8a Bundle string photographed in 1978
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #507, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

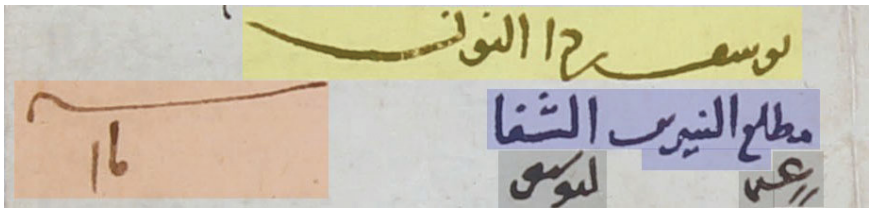


I.8b Bundle string photographed in 1978
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #774, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

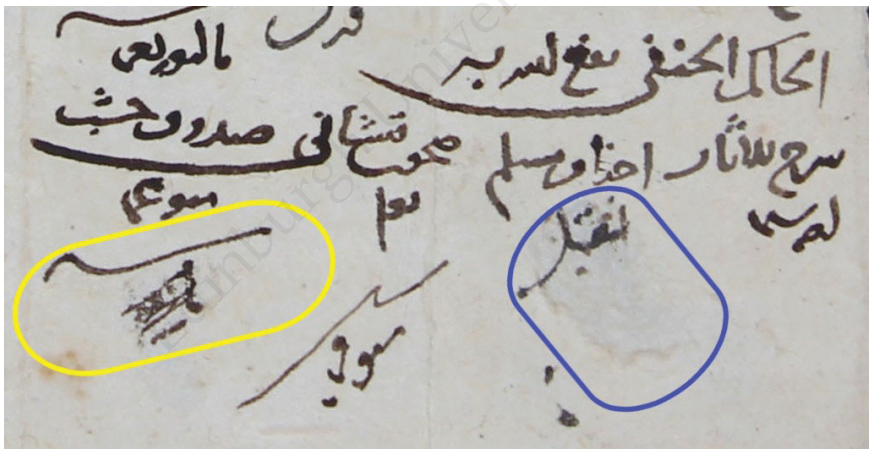


I.8c Bundle string photographed in 1978
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #836, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

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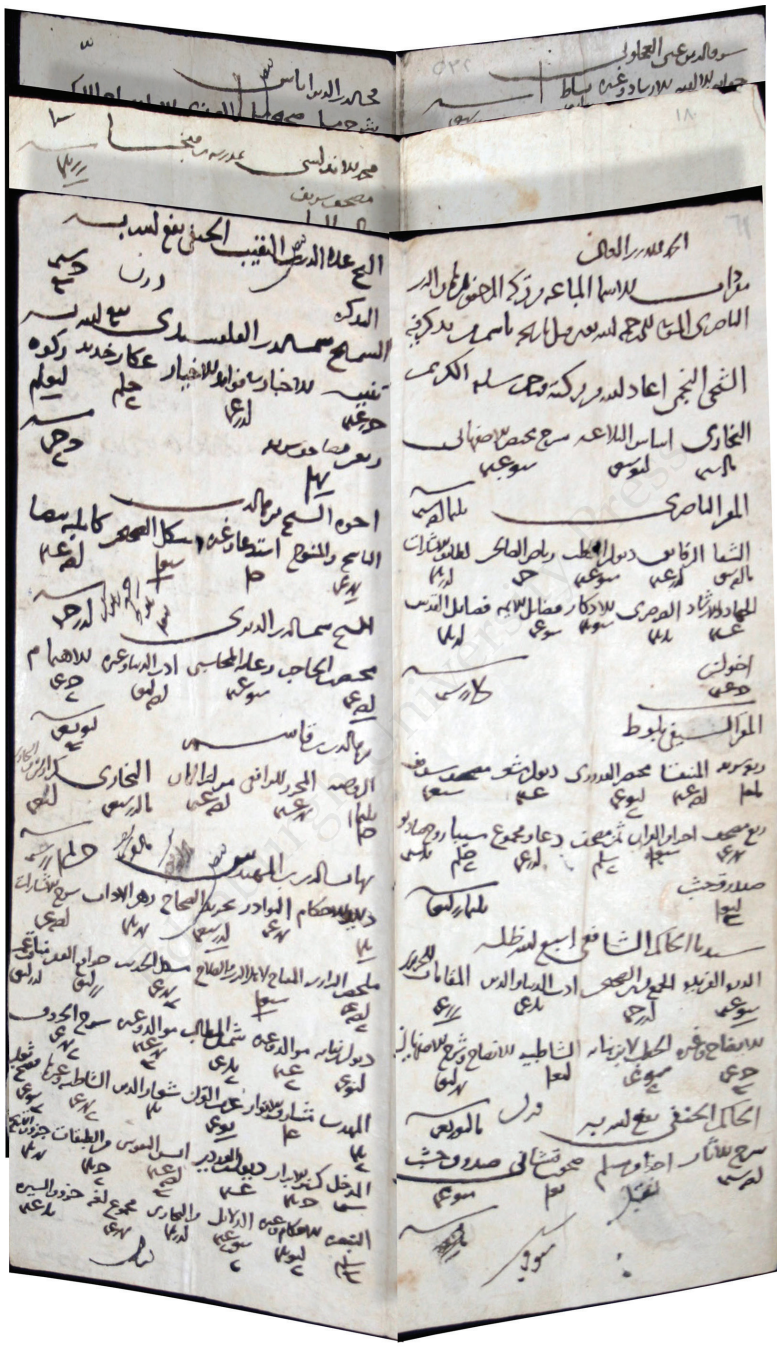


I.9 Typical layout of entry in the sale booklet (sheet 3a): name of buyer (yellow), object/title of book (blue), price (grey), sum total (orange)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #532a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



I.10 Corrected entry in sale booklet (sheet 1a): erased price for parts of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (blue), corrected sum total (yellow)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #061a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

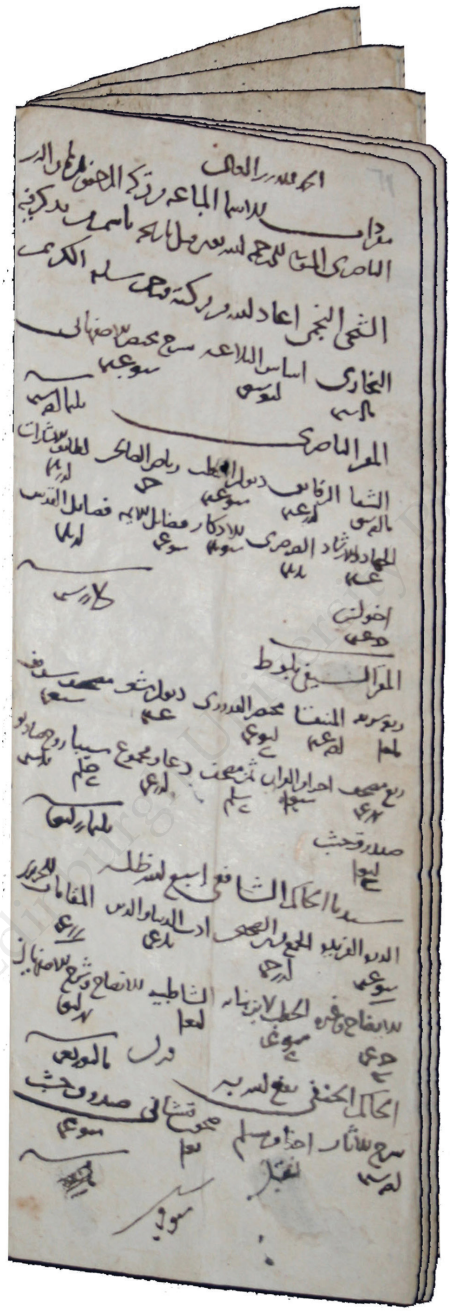
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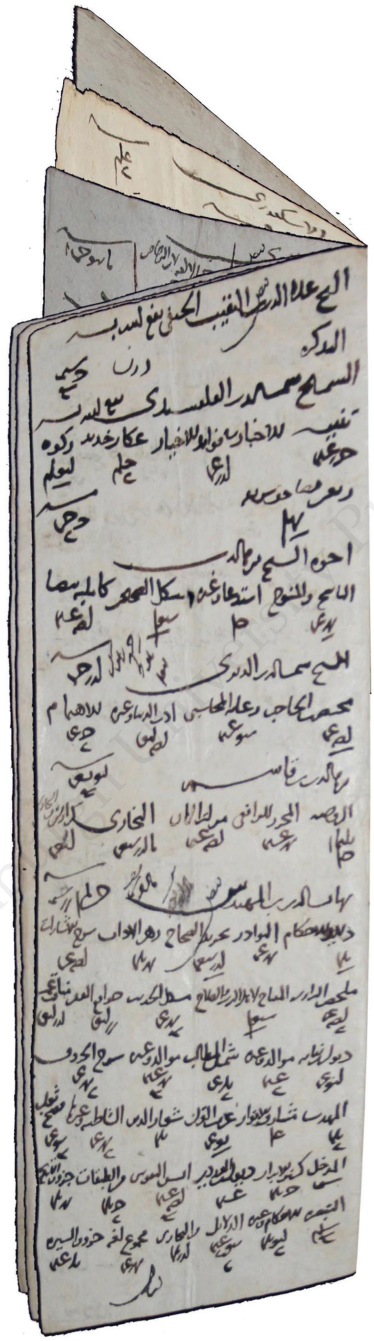
I.11 Order of sheets in the sale booklet (digitally altered image)



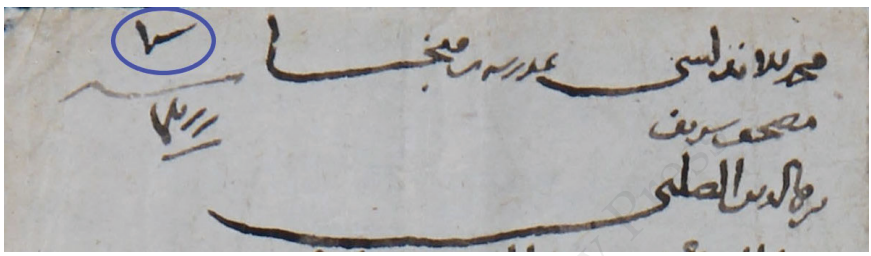
I.12 Blank sheets of sale booklet in *daftar* format before the scribe started to write (digitally altered image)



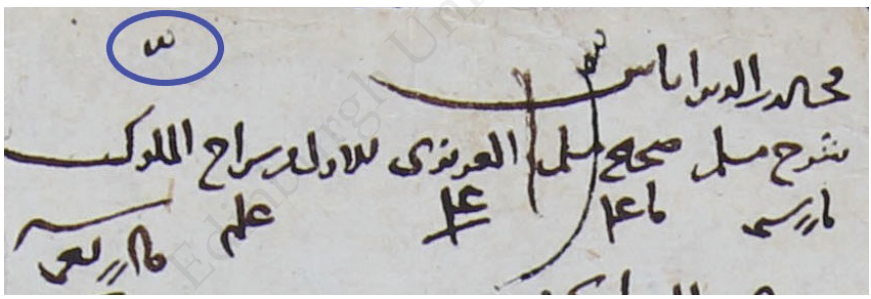
I.13 Sale booklet in *daftar* format after the scribe had filled the first page (#061a, right) (digitally altered image)



I.14 Sale booklet in *daftar* format after the scribe had filled all pages (digitally altered image)

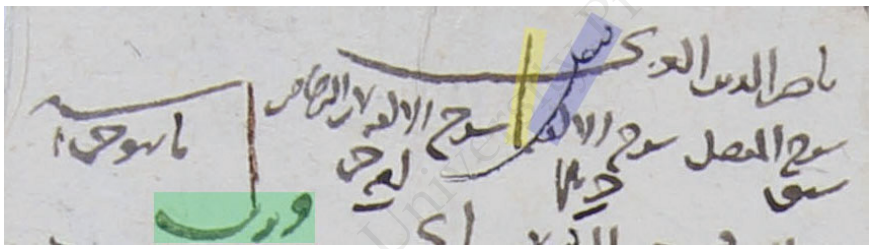


I.15a Sheet number in sale booklet, sheet 2a
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #180a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



I.15b Sheet number in sale booklet, sheet 3a
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #532a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

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I.16 Keeping track of payments in the sale booklet (sheet 3b): 'received' vertically written across a name (blue), strikethrough (yellow), 'weighted' (green)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #532b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

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number the twelve pages of the booklet – something none of its medieval users would have done – page ten (#180b, left) is the only page in the booklet that is not filled to the bottom with text, but it breaks off after three quarters of the page. Page eleven and page twelve in turn are completely blank. Restoring the booklet's original shape has also solved two enigmatic signs in the document that we had been unable to make sense of for a long time. In the top left corner of the recto of sheet two (#180, the booklet's 'page four') and sheet three (#532, the booklet's 'page six') we find symbols that are not linked to the buyers' names, the objects or the prices (see Plates I.15a, b). However, if we put the sheets into the right order, it becomes apparent that they are numbers that the scribe put on the sheets to indicate their order. The symbol on sheet three can clearly be read as '3', and we find the same numeral on other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents.[27]

Using such a sheet-numbering system was important, as the sheets were not sewn together but were instead simply nestled into each other. That the sheets remained discrete items is evident from the subsequent list of receivables #968 that lists eighty-five individuals, all of whom we find in the sale booklet.[28] This debtors' list is in fact a condensed version of the sale booklet, and the interesting bit is the order of the names in this list. They show that the writer of #968 copied the names of the buyers and the total sums they owed from the sale booklet. More precisely, the order of names shows that he first took sheet #061 and copied all its names on recto and verso, then took the third sheet #532 and again copied all the names, and finally did the same for the second sheet #180.[29] In other words, we see the logic of the three-sheet booklet as one unit, but we also see that its sheets continued to be used as independent objects; hence its scribe had been careful to indicate their order with sheet numbers. Another subsequent estate-related document from the documentary network

[27] For instance, the symbol is on #077, which is connected to #306 (Little, *Catalogue*, 373/4). We thank Daisy Livingston for drawing our attention to this document. Other examples include #773, #774 and #775. It is interesting, furthermore, to note that the signs used for '2' and '3' are identical to those that we find on Saljuk coinage; cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Nuqūd al-islāmīya fī al-ʿahd al-saljūkī*.

[28] The sale booklet contains eighty-seven names and we believe that the two missing names were simply left out by accident.

[29] The order of names in #968 compared to the booklet is: #061a, right/b, left/a, right; #532a, left/b, right/b, left/a, right; #180a, left/b, right/b, left. The scribe of #793 also proceeded in the order #061, #532 and #180 for listing the debtors.

around the sale booklet, #793, is an accounts sheet with receivables, expenses and payments that also contains a list of names, and here again we have a scribe using the three sheets of the sale booklet separately rather than leafing through them in the format of a booklet.

We now know that the three sheets belong together, so we must also ask whether any sheets are missing. The possibility that our list is incomplete is obviously very problematic if we are to make any statements about what books Burhān al-Dīn owned. Ulrich Haarmann was troubled by this and suggested that this document 'conceivably [included] other sheets which are not now extant'.[30] However, it is clear by now that this is simply not the case. We have seen that the booklet's final pages are blank, showing that no further sheets were used to register the sales during the auction. More important is the evidence of the four accounts and lists linked to the sale. Here, we see that all the individuals named are identifiable in the three sheets of the sale booklet. As we have seen, all fifty-two payors in payment list #812, for instance, are identifiable in our three sheets. If there had been more sheets to the sale booklet, the four accounts and lists of the documentary network around the sale booklet, including #812, would have listed at least some names that we do not find on our three sheets.

The Documentary Context of the Book List

Having established that the three sheets belonged together and that the booklet has come down to us in its entirety, it is time to turn to the purpose of this sale booklet and the objects it lists.[31] This question is particularly pertinent as the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents have so far been mostly studied from a legal perspective: Donald Little's catalogue of the documents is organised according to criteria of *shurūṭ* literature and the study by Christian Müller focuses on judicial practice.[32] Our sale booklet is not primarily a legal document, and, rather, needs to be discussed from the perspective of social history. This brings us back to the methodological point made above: presuming that this

[30] Haarmann, *Library*, 327/8.

[31] The recent work by the Munich *Arabic Papyrology Database* on types of documents goes in another direction, as it focuses on formal criteria and not on the documents' functions. See for instance Potthast, *Diplomatik mamlūkischer Verwaltungsdokumente*.

[32] Little, *Catalogue*; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*.

list directly and unproblematically mirrors the household objects in Burhān Dīn's home would be a decontextualised reading of this list's documentary logic and thus misleading. We have to go back one step further: it is not only that some objects were missing because Shīrīn had bought them, but, much more importantly, this list is by its nature not an estate inventory listing all the possessions of a deceased individual. There are many estate inventories in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus on account of their massive presence in the investigation archive sub-corpus, but our sale booklet is not one of them.

Estate inventories constituted the first step in settling the deceased's estate and were drawn up either shortly before or soon after the individual had died. The second step in this process was to divide the estate according to the deceased's will and the rules of Islamic law; the third step was to safeguard the rights of those heirs who were not yet able to take ownership of their share, children or absent heirs.[33] The estate archive of Burhān al-Dīn is mostly concerned with the first step, but this step was far more complicated than just drawing up an estate inventory. That there is no estate inventory for either Burhān al-Dīn or al-Ḥamawī might be linked to the fact that their personal and business affairs were simply too complicated to be compressed into one single document.[34] Consequently, the judge's trustee, al-Adhraʿī, embarked on a lengthy process of drafting various documents to sort out their affairs. In the case of Burhān al-Dīn, as we have seen, this period lasted five months and we assume that this final point is the same moment that the deputy judge made his revised (and so far as we know final) decision on the monthly maintenance payments for Burhān al-Dīn's children.[35]

At an early stage in the course of settling the estate, al-Adhraʿī also organised the sale of objects from Burhān al-Dīn's household, and the following chapter will look at this sale in more detail. Such sales were not unusual, and we have several documents linked in one way or another to such estate sales in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. The principal aim of such sales was to facilitate the

[33] For an expert discussion of estate-related procedures see Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, especially 389–466, and also Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*.

[34] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 434 underlines the fact that the absence of such inventories should not necessarily be read as indicating that such documents were never produced, as we miss them in several other cases as well.

[35] #052/2 and #111/2.

division of the estate among those entitled to a share according to the Islamic law of inheritance.[36] It is easier to divide cash than to quarrel over the value of objects. The exact form of documents produced during the sale of an estate depended on numerous factors, such as the individual scribe, the number of items sold and the value of these items. In addition, scribes produced draft versions first and subsequently rewrote them into neater shape. We will examine below how our booklet was positioned in this process of producing different documents for a sale.

In the process of this sale, al-Adhraʿī had the document produced to which we have designated the untechnical term 'sale booklet', but which in reality might have had a much more precise function. In his handbook for notaries from the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Asyūṭī describes the process of settling the estate as consisting of three stages that in turn entailed the production of three different documents.[37] One of these is the *ʿarḍ* document that, according to his definition, was meant to list the sold objects, the buyers' names and the total sums – all the elements that we find in our sale booklet. The only element that we find is missing when comparing it with al-Asyūṭī's definition is the names of the brokers.[38]

Our sale booklet does not carry a date, but evidence from other documents indicates that the sale must have taken place in late 789/1387, one month after Burhān al-Dīn's death at most.[39] Before conducting the auction, al-Adhraʿī must have established which objects were actually part of the estate and which belonged to other owners. This entailed, for example, taking Shīrīn's sale contract of household objects aimed at separating her belongings from Burhān al-Dīn's estate.[40] This had a massive impact on what we see in this list. There are few valuable household objects, such as the engraved copper bowls that Shīrīn had bought; rather, we see a list of the leftovers. These include two glass jars with copper casing that went for a quarter of a dirham, fans sold for half a dirham, a chain, a stone and comb that together fetched two and a half dirhams,

[36] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 429–34.
[37] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 459–63.
[38] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 462.
[39] Payment list #812 must have been written on the day of the auction at the earliest. Al-Adhraʿī started this list on 3.11.789/1387, slightly more than a month after the assumed death date of Burhān al-Dīn in late Ramaḍān (ninth month).
[40] #382 and #622.

and two razors with a knife that went for three dirhams.[41] Among the more valuable objects on sale, apart from the books, were Burhān al-Dīn's garments (his black fur overgarment fetched 133 dirhams and his blue overgarment sold for 100 dirhams), wooden chests (at 160 dirhams the most expensive objects), a sword for eighty dirhams and carpets that sold for seventy-five dirhams.[42]

If the household objects in the sale booklet are not representative of the material world of Burhān al-Dīn's household, what about the books? Can we take the list as reflecting what books he actually owned? There is no evidence to suggest that any previous transaction of books took place that was similar to that of Shīrīn's household objects. As such, a transaction would have had a direct impact on settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate, and we can expect that any such document would have reached us via the estate archive that al-Adhraʿī built up. However, it has to be stressed that this sale booklet is not a legal document. No one is named as issuing it, there is no date, and it is devoid of the otherwise omnipresent witness signatures. This is, rather, an informal list that al-Adhraʿī used for the practical purpose of settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate. Most importantly, the list does not give any indication of whether all the books and objects owned by Burhān al-Dīn were put up for auction. There is a fair chance that the heirs did not want to convert all his assets into cash and decided to divide some of these books and objects among themselves as some of them might have had particular emotional significance for the heirs. We do not have any documents explaining who received what in the end, but this possibility must be kept in mind.

However, even if we cannot necessarily take this as a complete list of all the books Burhān al-Dīn owned, it is fair to assume that only a few books were missing. Since what we see is a massive book collection with hundreds of books and a value of more than 7,000 dirhams, it is highly unlikely that a significant part of his library remains invisible to us. Moreover, the fact that this booklet is not a legal document, such as a will, might actually even be advantageous. As has been argued for the use of documents for English book history, wills

[41] Jars: obj86; fans: obj15; chain/stone/comb: obj46; two razors/knife: obj80.

[42] Black overgarment: obj77; blue overgarment: obj56; wooden chests: obj3; sword: obj28; carpets: obj13, 18, 22, 64, 65, 69.

are more difficult to use as inventories as they generally only list a selection of books owned by the testator.[43]

The documentary context of the sale booklet is thus rather encouraging as to its usefulness for understanding Burhān al-Dīn's world of books. The three sheets belong together, the list is complete, and the likelihood that a significant number of books was taken out of the estate before the auction is low. The next point to establish is that this list is not a transcription produced during the auction itself. The list is very well and consistently organised, there are hardly any corrections (the 'transferred' object mentioned above is one of the few exceptions),[44] and the scribe knew exactly how many pages he would need. If one makes a booklet of sheets stacked on top of each other, folds them in the middle and runs out of space on the last page, it is impossible to add a further sheet without this being evident in the order of pages. This booklet must thus have been written after the auction drawing from an original 'live' transcript. The layout of this (lost) draft transcript must have followed the course of the auction and thus been organised by the lots on offer rather than the buyers, like our sale booklet. This is how other lists of sales in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are indeed organised.[45] Our sale booklet must thus have been the result of a scribe sitting down after the auction and calmly reorganising the list of lots by buyer. This rewriting also reflected a fair degree of social engineering. It is certainly not by chance that those who seem to come from the wider populace are at the end of the protocol, such as a certain Abū Yazīd al-ʿAjamī (Buyer 80) who spent three dirhams on a knife and two razors. By contrast, those who carry the honorific titles of the scholarly, military and political elite (such as *shaykh*, *maqarr* and *sayyidunā*) are at the top of the list.

We chose the name 'sale booklet' to emphasise that the core function of this document was to serve accounting purposes.[46] Its scribe was a certain

[43] Harris, *Role of Owners*.

[44] Another mistake must have happened when the scribe copied the original 'transcript' of the auction. For entry 'book 189' he erroneously first wrote '*al-Majmūʿ li-Ibn*' before he realised his mistake, crossed it out and wrote the correct '*al-Lumaʿ li-Ibn Jinnī*'.

[45] For instance, #770/b.

[46] Haarmann, *Library*, 328, interprets the list as a possible 'first draft', which is in our view emphatically not the case, and describes it as 'records of *sold* objects', which has to be refined in light of the four accounts and lists linked to the sale (of which he was not aware). The sale booklet is thus at best a record of 'reservations' as the respective sale was only concluded once the price was actually paid.

Muḥammad (Ibn) ʿAshā, who is only known because he was at the same time one of the buyers (Buyer 70). He identified himself in the list as 'its scribe',[47] and he must have worked for al-Adhraʿī. He produced this clean booklet to keep track of who owed how much and who had paid his dues in the weeks after the sale. This is evident from two terms and numerous vertical strokes that were added to the sale booklet at a later point. As we have seen, the sale booklet can be read in conjunction with payment list #812, which simply lists the names of the buyers and the amount they had actually paid. For instance, the first name in #812 is Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazāwī, who paid 157 dirhams. We find this same person in our sale booklet as Buyer 57, who is indeed registered after the auction as owing the sum total of 157 dirhams.[48] In the sale booklet – and now it gets interesting – we see that his name has a vertical strikethrough (highlighted in yellow in Plate I.16) and in addition the term '*qubiḍa*' ('received') is vertically written across the name (highlighted in blue in Plate I.16). We observe this phenomenon with forty-one buyers, though with some variation as we find some names with the term '*qubiḍa*' and strikethrough (seventeen) and in other cases only the term '*qubiḍa*' (eight) or only the strikethrough (sixteen). These notes in the sale booklet on who paid his dues must have been added with reference to payment list #812 as well as the three other accounts and lists (see Chapter 8). The sale booklet must thus be read in conjunction with this documentary network of accounts and lists to understand its documentary features.

The sale booklet provides even more details on the payments. In the process of keeping track of who had paid his dues, al-Adhraʿī also noted down whether the individual's payment had been settled in 'weighted' dirhams by writing another term, '*wuzina*', close to the sum total of those who had paid (highlighted in green in Plate I.16). This shows that many buyers paid with silver coins of irregular weight where the only chance to determine their value was to weigh them – a standard feature of this period's coinage systems.[49] It is for this reason that 'live' transcripts of estate sales, including information on the costs of the auction, often list the 'money-changer', whose expertise

[47] #532a, right, l. 10: '*kātibuhu*'.
[48] #532b, left, ll. 1–3.
[49] On this issue for Egypt see Schultz, *Monetary History*.

was required to determine the actual value of the coins of different weight and purity that were handed over. However, since the Ayyubid period highly regulated silver coins had also been in circulation in Bilād al-Shām, allowing payments to be undertaken by counting coins rather than weighing.[50] We assume that those sums paid without the scribe noting down '*wuzina*' refer to payments in such regular coins.

That this list's function was primarily situated in the world of accounting is also evident from the few interlinear insertions that we find beyond the list's standard items (name of buyer, list of the objects bought, price of each object and sum total). In one instance al-Adhraʿī or one of his men noted the current state of one of the buyers' accounts, '265 [dirhams] received, 291 [dirhams] outstanding'.[51] In other instances it was noted that a third person had paid part of the buyer's sum total.[52] Our sale booklet was thus neither an ad hoc transcript of the auction nor a legal document with an intended longer life cycle.

That the sale booklet is such an 'in-between' protocol has several consequences for the information it contained. In contrast to legal documents the list only needed to be comprehensible for al-Adhraʿī, his scribe(s) and probably the deputy judge al-Ṣarfanī, who seems to have supervised the settling of the estate (apart from being Buyer 4). In consequence, the information on many buyers' identities was often recorded in a very condensed format that was clearly only intended as an aide memoire for people al-Adhraʿī and his men knew quite well. It was thus sufficient for them to identify an individual only via his role in the process of settling the estate, such as 'the guardian' (*'al-Waṣī'*, Buyer 24). In the same way, books are identified in a very succinct way, often with not more than one single keyword, such as *al-Wasīṭ* (book 102), even though there are numerous book titles with this keyword. As will become evident in the following chapters, in many cases it is thus far from straightforward to identify to what book a keyword refers and to what individual a 'name' refers.

[50] Heidemann, *Economic Growth and Currency*.

[51] #061a, left, ll. 15–19 (Buyer 10, Burhān al-Dīn b. Qāsim). The payment he made is indeed registered with '265' in #812 (here he is Payor 22) and #793.

[52] #061a, left, l. 6 (Buyer 8, al-Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn); #061b, right, l. 11 (Buyer 11, Ibn al-Muhandis): entry 'book 101'; #532a, left, l. 10 (Buyer 44, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Naqīb).

The sale booklet also does not dig too deeply into more complex lots of books. For five lots with a total of nineteen books the scribe simply mentions that 'incomplete/damaged books' (*kharm*) are sold, but does not provide any detail as to what these books might have been.[53] This sale booklet produced for accounting purposes also did not entice the scribe to describe in much detail multiple-text or composite manuscripts, which he simply lists as '*majmūʿ*'.[54] In other cases he provided more detail, but these were again the bare minimum that he needed to identify what was sold. He thus wrote that a *majmūʿ* was 'large', or that it was written in 'Turkic language', or that it pertained to specific fields of knowledge such as lexicography and *ḥadīth*.[55] In the same vein, he was perfectly fine with just noting the sale of 'two books of medicine' without any indication of titles.[56] Finally, the scribe mentioned rather laconically in several instances after a title that the book contained further titles (*wa-ghayruhu*).[57]

Apart from its status as an in-between protocol, the second issue that impacts on the scribe's choice of what to include and what to leave out is that this list was part of a much wider documentary network. We have the four accounts and lists linked to the sale, and without these four documents the sale booklet would have remained much more enigmatic. In addition, the four accounts and lists give fascinating insights into how protracted and complex it was for the trustee to chase the buyers up to actually pay their dues (see also Chapter 8). This is not the place to give these additional documents the detailed analysis they deserve, but it is important to briefly profile them. All these documents are lists of some kind and they are written in a highly informal way. Like the sale booklets they do not carry any signatures; they were thus not written as legal documents, but as informal paperwork to keep track of receivables, payments and expenses incurred during the sale. They all look similar at first glance, but closer analysis shows that they served different functions: #968 is a condensed version of the booklet and was meant to give a crisp overview of who owed how much; #812 was a payment list recording actual payments;

[53] Book 95 (9 books), book 147 (1 book), book 164 (2 books), book 165 (3 books) and book 218 (9 books).
[54] Book 83, book 155, book 171 and book 255.
[55] Large: book 154; Turkic: book 179; lexicography: book 79; *ḥadīth*: book 177.
[56] Book 140.
[57] For instance, book 136, book 162, book 163, book 212 and book 213.

#800 is an account recording payments and expenses incurred during the sale of the estate; and #793 is a second account that again registered payments and expenses, but also listed receivables.

In addition to the four accounts and lists, there is one further case where we see that the sale booklet was embedded in a much wider documentary network. Al-Adhraʿī did not receive the sum owed by Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl (Buyer 20) for his survival kit, fifty-six and a half dirhams, in cash. Rather, al-Adhraʿī offset the sum, as we have seen, against the monthly maintenance payment that Maḥmūd Kamāl's legal guardian received. In consequence, we see this sum reflected in an entirely different document, the acknowledgement deed that al-Adhraʿī issued for this purpose.[58] The name of Maḥmūd Kamāl in the sale booklet, however, bears neither a strikethrough nor the term 'received' that would have indicated that his dues were settled. Nor is this payment registered in payment list #812 or the payment sections on the accounts #793 and #800. Though we cannot explore this in any depth here, the fact that a buyer sometimes pays part of the sum due by another buyer indicates that further transactions took place in the background of the sale booklet that are not visible to us. Any reading of this booklet thus always has to factor in that it was part of such a wider documentary network.

Counting Books

The final step in this chapter is what might seem like a rather tiresome exercise, namely counting books. This is crucial if we are to understand the documentary logic of the sale booklet. This is much more than a bean-counting exercise, it is a crucial step in getting a feel for the materiality of the texts in the library. As much as the analysis of any archival corpus requires clarity on the difference between document, sheet and text, the analysis of a library demands that terms such as 'book', 'text', 'title', 'volume', 'codicological unit' and so on are used with precision. The reason this is so important is that each writer of a document, and each author of a narrative text, had different preoccupations and interests when talking about books. When translocating this conceptual cacophony into our modern studies, we end up in a terminological quagmire if we do not move beyond commonsensical categories such as 'book'.

[58] #106 (between Muḥarram and Rabīʿ II 790/1388).

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In terms of counting books, there are three main methods of quantification that can be given for a book collection on the basis of our sale booklet. Firstly, the collection can be quantified according to 'lots', that is, either an individual book or a group of books that were sold as a single lot in the auction (see Table 4.1). In the sale booklet each 'lot' carries its own price, for example '*The Classes of Koran Recitators*, 16.25 Dirhams', 'nine incomplete books, 19 Dirhams' or 'a knife and two razors, 3 Dirhams'.[59] Burhān al-Dīn's book collection was sold in 273 book lots (in addition to the eighty-six lots of household objects and one lot comprising one document). This is the easiest number to establish, as it follows the logic of the sale booklet and is roughly equivalent to what can be called 'entry' in other medieval book lists. Yet the number of lots is not the only, nor necessarily the most helpful, number via which to understand how many books Burhān al-Dīn's library contained.

The second possibility is to quantify the collection according to 'titles', that is counting the textual unit irrespective of lot (there can be more than one title in a lot) and irrespective of the books' materiality ('codicological units'). There are 292 titles in the sale booklet, but this number comes with caveats as some of these titles are duplicates. More problematically, this number includes 266 'proper' titles, but also those cases where the book(s) are only described very generically, such as '*majmūʿ*' (multiple text or composite manuscript), '*dīwān*' (anthology of poetry), '*tārīkh*' (history) or even just '*kitāb kharm*' (incomplete/damaged book). At the same time, the actual number of titles in Burhān al-Dīn's library was probably higher, as the multiple text or composite manuscripts contained more than one title, and perhaps even dozens of titles. This applies not only to those books explicitly labelled *majmūʿ* in the booklet, but also to the almost forty cases where the scribe mentions a title and then simply puts a '*wa-ghayruhu*' ('and more still') behind it.[60] We estimate that there were somewhere in the region of 350 titles in this library. Yet it is clear that the sale booklet is less helpful on titles than other kind of book-related documents. Its function for accounting purposes and its status as in-between protocol meant the scribe had no reason to register the details of all titles in a

[59] Book 271, book 95 and obj80a/b.

[60] We depart here from Haarmann, *Library*, 330, who sees this term as a reference either to additional titles or to additional books.

given book. By contrast, the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list written a century later in Damascus shows that the scribe of a list written prior to the endowment of his books had a far greater incentive to register multiple titles contained in one single book.[61]

Finally, we can quantify a book collection in terms of 'codicological units', that is, each physical object is counted irrespective of whether it is a stand-alone unbound quire, a 'proper' one-volume book or one volume of a multi-volume book. There are numerous lots with two titles in the sale booklet and we consider these to be two distinct codicological units, not one book with two texts. This is because several of these lots unequivocally show that the scribe was registering distinct objects. In lot 98, for instance, the scribe first mentions that the buyer acquired a multiple-text or composite manuscript (*majmūʿ*) and then mentions title 98b, *al-Faṣīḥ*, which was clearly not part of the *majmūʿ*. It has to be said that the sale booklet is not a rich source on the number of codicological units as the scribe had little interest in the materiality of the books that were sold. In most cases it is entirely unclear whether the title refers to a single loose quire or a large multi-volume book.

How little material information we get from the sale booklet becomes clearer when we compare it with another document from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, #652, which at first glance seems to be unrelated to the story of Burhān al-Dīn and his books.[62] This document was produced because an individual named Burhān al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī had run into financial troubles. He thus pledged several of his books to a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, probably as security for a loan. When Muḥammad's grandfather died an estate inventory must have been prepared (we do not have this) and Muḥammad made sure to separate his property from that of his grandfather as they had been living in one household. In this process of separating the property document #652 was prepared, and this document also contains the list of the books that al-Qalqashandī had pledged to secure the loan. Looking at this list – and we return now to the issue of materiality – one gets the impression that complete works were rather rare in the bookish world of medieval Jerusalem. There is only the 'first' (volume?) of al-Bukhārī's history, the 'second' (volume?) of

[61] Hirschler, *Monument*.
[62] We thank Bashir Barakat for drawing our attention to the importance of this document.

al-Āmidī's *Aḥkām*, the 'fourth' (part) of the *Kifāya*, the 'second quarter' of al-Ḥāwī's *Sharḥ*, the 'first' (volume?) of Ibn Khallikān's history, and so the list goes on. In the case of document #652 there was a clear rationale for describing the books' materiality as the document was meant to carefully differentiate between the property of Muḥammad and that of his grandfather. By contrast, in Burhān al-Dīn's sale booklet there was little documentary logic in listing the objects in much detail. Document #652 thus provides us in some sense with the material details that are missing from the sale booklet. These details are particularly relevant as the books described in this list come out of the immediate historical context of Burhān al-Dīn's library: the previous year, the same al-Qalqashandī attended the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate library (he appears in our sale booklet as Buyer 8) and bought three books as well as a robe of honour.

On account of the function of the sale booklet being an in-between protocol, reaching any certainty as to the number of codicological units in Burhān al-Dīn's library is thus difficult. This is compounded by the second major problem in this regard, namely that we have not been able to identify a single codex that actually was present in the library of Burhān al-Dīn (see Chapter 7). In consequence, we do not have actual objects that would allow us to understand how the scribe (Ibn) 'Ashā 'translated' the materiality of books into the way he registered them in his sale booklet – evidence that has been crucial in our previous work on book lists.[63] However, when we consider the information in the sale booklet and supplementary evidence, we arrive at a number of approximately 350 codicological units. There are 273 book lots, each containing at least one codicological unit. Seventeen lots have two titles that we count, as stated above, as two different books, thus bringing the number of codicological units to 290. Four lots contain 'damaged books' with the number in one lot ranging between two and nine, adding a further nineteen codicological units so that the number stands at 319. To this we have to add books that most likely consisted of more than one volume. For instance, the most expensive book in the auction was *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn wa-ʿumdat al-muftīn* by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) (book 43). Modern editions have up to twelve volumes, and the hefty price of 305 dirhams, more than a third of

[63] Aljoumani, *Maktaba madrasīya*; Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*; Hirschler, *Monument*.

Table 4.1 The sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate in numbers

	Lots	Titles	Codicol. units
Books	273	mid-300s	mid-300s
Objects	86		
Document	1		

what Burhān al-Dīn had paid for his house, makes it extremely likely that we are looking here at a complete set of numerous volumes. Other books, such as al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (one set sold for 260 dirhams (book 1) and another for 172 dirhams (book 46)) were also certainly multi-volume works. Yet the materiality of the books provided by document #652 makes it unlikely that we have too many multi-volume works, so that the estimate of around 350 is realistic.

Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised the sale booklet by looking at the archival and documentary practices in which it was embedded. This has allowed us to develop two principal arguments directly relevant to reading this list. Firstly, this list is unique today, but that does not mean that comparable book collections were rare. Jerusalem, like other towns and cities in the region, was an urban society characterised by a high degree of literacy. We have seen how pragmatic literacy was widespread and how, as a matter of course, even the most mundane transactions were recorded in writing. One would thus have expected more such lists to survive in the rich Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, and one might be tempted to see the uniqueness of our list as proof that Burhān al-Dīn's book collection itself was rather the exception. However, the archival and documentary contexts show that this document was produced in very specific circumstances: to settle a complicated estate. More importantly, this document was preserved as part of a small estate archive, not as part of some large Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. The question is thus not why we do not have more lists like this in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, but rather why similar estate archives have not survived (or have been identified).

The second main argument pertains to methodology. Book lists from the pre-Ottoman period have come down us in different shapes. We have the example of a library catalogue, of lists in endowment deeds, and a list written

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prior to the endowment of books.[64] To simply bundle these under the heading 'book lists' is at some points a tactical necessity for pushing the field of Arabic-script book and library studies forward (just as it was with the term 'Mamluk'). Yet this grouping is devoid of any analytical meaning as it sidelines the specific documentary contexts in which they were produced and the impact these contexts had on how the lists were written. A library catalogue intended for long-term use as an aid to navigating the book shelves was evidently underlain by very different documentary practices from those underpinning a document written in the framework of the legal act of endowing books. Both, in turn, follow very different sets of documentary logic from our in-between sale booklet. Only when we pay due attention to these contexts can we understand what has been included and what excluded, and why a specific 'book list' takes its own idiosyncratic form.

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[64] Library catalogue: Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*; endowment deeds: Liebrenz, *Waqf of a Physician*; al-Nashshār, *Tārīkh al-maktabāt*; list written prior to the endowment of the books: Hirschler, *Monument*.

5

The Making and Unmaking of a Prestige Library

In this chapter we finally turn to the library of Burhān al-Dīn itself and the trajectory of his books after their owner's death. The chapter is based on the two central ideas of the previous chapters, namely: the agency of Burhān al-Dīn in carving out an increasingly comfortable social space with an ever-growing number of positions and stipends in the last decade of his life, and the documentary and archival logic of the sale booklet's production and survival. The central argument of this chapter is that Burhān al-Dīn built up his library to translate his increasing wealth and his new social status into a collection of culturally prestigious objects, something that we will call a 'prestige library'. In this sense the collection must be read not only as a reflection of his intellectual interests, but also as an object that was meant to do something. The second strand of argumentation pursued here picks up and develops the question of the survival of this unique document that we started to consider in the previous chapters. Here we propose that while what has come down to us of Burhān al-Dīn's library, the sale booklet, is unique, it is unlikely that his sizeable library was exceptional within the actual library landscape of medieval Jerusalem and its rich topography of the written word. Burhān al-Dīn's books thus contribute an important dimension to our knowledge of book culture beyond the realms of the political elite ('palace library'), beyond the world of scholarly organisations and beyond the world of scholarly elite households. His book collection can not be labelled with generic descriptors such as a 'typical scholarly' (or 'Arab' or 'Mamluk' or 'Muslim') library, but this collection must be analysed and interpreted in its specific social and cultural setting.

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In a first step, the library's size will be set in perspective in order to consider how representative such a personal book collection was in eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem. We will then discuss in what ways this considerable library fulfilled the specific cultural and social function of a prestige library and how this function was in turn reflected in the books' profile. The intellectual profile of this library will also be analysed to understand the reading interests of an individual of some wealth who was neither part of the social elite of Jerusalem nor of the town's scholarly inner circle. In a final step, the chapter presents the afterlife of the book collection and takes a brief look at how Burhān al-Dīn's books were sold at the auction, and the profile of the 'auction community' that came together for this event. This is crucial, because the sale booklet not only gives us a unique snapshot of what books such an average individual owned, but it provides us, via the auction community, with a wealth of data on subsequent book ownership. More than sixty buyers purchased books from Burhān al-Dīn's estate, and it is thus possible to trace the next stage of ownership in these books' trajectories. Some went into the collections of well-known scholars or members of the political elite, but in many other cases we see that the next stage of these books' trajectory was another household that again remained below the radar of the narrative sources.

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Numbers in Perspective

Whether we count Burhān al-Dīn's book in terms of lots, titles or codicological units, he undoubtedly owned a large and, as we will see in the following chapter, valuable collection. To get a sense of proportion we can set this library in relation to the other documented libraries from Bilād al-Shām. We now have three documented book collections from this region. In addition to Burhān al-Dīn's library, there are the Ashrafīya library endowed in mid-seventh/thirteenth-century Damascus and the library of the scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī from late ninth/fifteenth-century Damascus. The Ashrafīya library had some 2,000 books on its shelves whereas Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī owned a library with over six hundred books (codicological units). The Ashrafīya functioned as a public library and was set up by one of the city's rulers, so that the large number of books is not surprising. The library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, by contrast, was built up in the home of a scholar, so it is understandable that its holding was smaller than that of the Ashrafīya and its royal patron. At the same time, Ibn ʿAbd

al-Hādī was a very active scholar who himself authored hundreds of books, so that a substantial collection of over six hundred books fits his profile. It is perfectly reasonable that Burhān al-Dīn, who was less central to the scholarly world of his time and who never authored a book, had a smaller library.

These numbers show us that the quantitative dimension of book ownership in the pre-Ottoman Arabic-speaking lands is much more modest than the fantastic figures that we often find in narrative sources.[1] Even these more modest numbers indicate that the towns and cities (and rural areas?) in the region were highly bookish. With Burhān al-Dīn we are looking at a rather average social and cultural world, but the number of books this average individual was buying, owning and bequeathing is still staggering in a comparative perspective, as we saw in the Introduction. This staggering number of books brings us back to a question that we raised in the previous chapters from the perspective of the document's survival, that is, to what extent was such a library typical of personal libraries in pre-Ottoman Jerusalem or even wider Bilād al-Shām? Here the question is, more specifically, how its large number of books sits within the overall landscape of the libraries owned by individuals in Jerusalem. As far as the town's Arabic libraries are concerned, Bashir Barakat has written the best study of their history.[2] In particular he has mined the rich Ottoman court registers to provide a fascinating overview of the rich library landscape in Jerusalem during this period.[3] Yet even in this study traces of the pre-Ottoman periods are very faint, and it is evident how little we actually know about issues such as owning, trading and collecting books.[4]

However, in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus there are a further dozen documents that provide insights into the Arabic libraries of individuals in Jerusalem that have hitherto not been discussed in scholarship. The main relevant point coming out of them for our discussion is that the numbers of books in these documents are substantially lower than what we see for Burhān al-Dīn. With one exception there are always under twenty titles (or 'volumes' or 'books',

[1] On this issue see Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*.
[2] Barakat, *Tārīkh al-maktabāt al-ʿarabīya*.
[3] Many of the relevant entries are reproduced in Ghosheh, *Encyclopaedia Palestinnica*, Vol. 16: Manuscripts and Libraries in Palestine, 1516–1918.
[4] Al-Uzbakī, *Tārīkh maʿālim al-masjid al-Aqṣā* lists many codices that once circulated in Jerusalem.

depending on how the scribe of the respective document counted). We find a slightly higher number in an informal protocol documenting the confiscation of the estate of a certain Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Turkī.[5] This Muḥyī al-Dīn was the Shaykh of an otherwise unknown establishment called Zāwiyat Muḥammad Bāk,[6] where he also resided. His estate came into the focus of the corrupt judge Sharaf al-Dīn.[7] Muḥyī al-Dīn's profile is strikingly similar to that of Burhān al-Dīn: he too did not make his way into the narrative sources and was linked to a rather marginal scholarly organisation, but he had clearly built up some wealth. Among the items listed in the protocol are the contents of Muḥyī al-Dīn's library. This is not a detailed list comparable to the sale booklet for Burhān al-Dīn's estate, but it has very useful numerical information on the library, which is described as containing '34 scholarly books in large and small volumes as well as quires' in addition to a Koran in a leather case.[8]

That we do not find any other book collection in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents comparable to that of Burhān al-Dīn in quantitative terms indicates that we cannot present his library of over 300 titles as a straightforward example of book ownership in Jerusalem in the medieval period. Yet, and here we return to Chapter 3, we have to consider the archival logic of the sale booklet and of Burhān al-Dīn's estate archive at large. That the sale booklet is the only surviving such document in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus does not necessarily make it an outlier, but goes back to the fact that so few estate archives have been preserved within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus. In consequence, Burhān al-Dīn's library is exceptional only within the source corpus that we have for medieval Jerusalem – basically the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents.

That his library was not entirely unique is indicated by those documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus that contain brief hints at book collections. For instance, document #706 records a (probably confiscated) estate being

[5] #178 (793/1391).

[6] Al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 43 calls it 'al-Zāwiya al-Muḥammadīya', located at the western wall of the Ḥaram close to Bāb al-Nāẓir and endowed by a Muḥammad Bāk Zakarīya al-Nāṣirī in 751/1350. This *zāwiya* also appears in other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents not linked to Muḥyī al-Dīn such as #100, #206, #358, #429, #540, #643; see Muḥammad, *Ijrā'āt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*.

[7] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 517-9. Other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents concerning him are #210, #315, #719, #768.

[8] #178a, left, ll. 14–17: '*kutub 'ilm mujalladāt mā bayna kibār wa-ṣighār 'idda 34 wa-karārīs*'.

handed over to the men of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the major-domo of the sultan in Cairo, who was systematically appropriating estates in Jerusalem together with the town's shady judge Sharaf al-Dīn.[9] Part of this estate was 'the books left behind', which does not imply a remarkable book collection. However, Kyle Wynter-Stoner has shown that these were the books of the personal library of Ibrāhīm ibn Jamāʿa (d. 790/1388), a prominent scholar of Jerusalem – books that constituted an important part of the famous library that Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd endowed some months later in Cairo.[10] What we have here are thus some vague words hidden in a document that in reality refer to what must have been a massive library. Document #706 is neither the actual estate inventory nor a sale booklet, but if such a document existed and had survived, we would have had a fascinating insight into another personal library of Jerusalem that existed during the lifetime of Burhān al-Dīn.

To what extent Burhān al-Dīn's library was exceptional within the historical topography of personal libraries in the town is thus a question that the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus simply does not allow us to settle. Nonetheless, the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate allows us at least to get some sense of the bookish world beyond the silence of the sources. When we look at the post-Burhān al-Dīn trajectory of his books, we will see that some of the buyers left the auction with a number of books far greater than the low numbers that we find in those few Ḥaram al-sharīf documents that give insights into individuals' Arabic libraries in Jerusalem. These books most likely joined other books in their new homes and in some cases formed libraries with one hundred books at least. Yet none of these new libraries is in any way evident in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents. The example of Burhān al-Dīn's books and their trajectories thus already indicates the rich world of personal libraries in a town such as Jerusalem in this period – a world which systematically stayed below the radar of the narrative sources, but for which we also have a systematic loss of documents.

The silence of the sources goes beyond the narrative texts and the documents associated with book ownership. In Chapter 7 we will discuss our efforts to track down the actual codices that had once been in Burhān al-Dīn's

[9] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 439, 519–20.
[10] Kyle Wynter-Stoner's Ph.D. project at the University of Chicago.

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library. The frustrating result (we did not find a single codex) is probably also down to the fact that book owners such as Burhān al-Dīn did not tend to put ownership notes on their books in this period. This means that one of the most important methods for writing the history of the Arabic-script book, analysing manuscript notes, might be of very limited usefulness for writing the history of individuals' libraries in the pre-Ottoman period. In other words, without the survival of this sale booklet there would not have been any other way of knowing of the existence of Burhān al-Dīn's books. That this library is a lone star in the dark sky of book history is not because other large-scale non-elite libraries did not exist. On the contrary: many such stars once shone brightly, but have vanished from sight with the silence of the sources and the loss of documents.

Burhān al-Dīn's Prestige Library

That Burhān al-Dīn's library was part of a wider topography of comparable libraries brings us to its very purpose. This takes us back to Chapter 1, which argued that the catch-all term 'scholar' is of limited analytical usefulness in writing a social history. In the same vein, to label libraries 'scholarly libraries' will also not get us very far in writing the history of the Arabic book. For instance, the library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī in Damascus was as much a 'scholarly library' as that of Burhān al-Dīn, yet they fulfilled two distinct functions. In the case of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī we are looking at a scholar's working library, an 'author library', so to say, and also a library that was meant to monumentalise a bygone era of scholarship – a library that was carefully built up in the course of his life and that he intensively used.[11] Burhān al-Dīn, by contrast, probably never authored a work; he spent most of his career without owning any books, and only had the financial means to acquire books towards the end of his life. To frame his book collection simply in terms of 'the library of a … scholar'[12] is thus of limited usefulness for understanding the radical differences between library projects such as those of Burhān al-Dīn and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī.

[11] Hirschler, *Monument*. For Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's scholarly oeuvre see Aljoumani and Hirschler, *Mu'allafat Yūsuf b. Ḥasan Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī*.
[12] Haarmann, *Library*.

As much as Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's library fulfilled a specific cultural and social function, building a monument, so did Burhān al-Dīn's library. We argue that the function of this library was that of a 'prestige library' in the sense that it was part of an assemblage of material objects well beyond books that Burhān al-Dīn acquired in the last decade of his life in parallel to him moving closer to the elite. We have seen that Burhān al-Dīn's life changed substantially in his last ten years, once he had established himself in the endowment landscape of Jerusalem and successfully offered recitation/intercessory prayer packages to peripheral officers. It was during this time that he bought a home so as to translate his new social status into more luxurious housing, moved closer to the social elite through his marriage to Shīrīn, and accumulated belongings worth ten times the price of an above-average house in Jerusalem. For instance, clothing sold at the auction alone fetched more than 530 dirhams, including expensive items such as the black fur overgarment that went for 133 dirhams.[13] The list of these items shows an individual who certainly had the means to project his new social status: two pieces of headgear, seven overgarments in various colours, a woollen garment, a garment in 'upper Egyptian' style, a white robe of honour, two robes, two long robes and a garment described as 'wide' that we know little else about.[14]

It is within this context of increasing wealth that Burhān al-Dīn also purchased his books. As much as he transformed his material world with regard to housing and clothing, books started to enter his house in larger numbers. How crucial books were in displaying cultural and social status is something that is not visible from the sale booklet by itself, and here the narrative texts are far superior. The way they describe book ownership and the anecdotes they use to illustrate this show to what extent books were a crucial marker of cultural and social elite status.[15] This is shown wonderfully for the third/ninth century by Beatrice Gruendler and for the period closer to Burhān

[13] Obj77.

[14] Headgear: obj71 and obj53; overgarments in various colours (*mi'zar*, *mallūṭata* and *farjīya*): obj11, obj36, obj52, obj56, obj57, obj70 and obj77; woollen garment: obj40; garment in upper Egyptian style: obj29; white robe of honour: obj9; two robes: obj51 and obj60; two long robes: obj12 and obj38; wide garment: obj34.

[15] Liebrenz, *Curious Readers*, 411 analyses the library of Saʿdī b. ʿĪsā b. Amīr Khān (d. 945/1539) as a 'vehicle for ... the representation of [his] learned and cultured self'.

al-Dīn by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, who quotes a statement by a prominent judge in the late ninth/fifteenth century that he regarded himself as being a privileged man because he had not only a fine home but also a library of 1,000 select bound books.[16]

The case of Burhān al-Dīn was arguably similar; as much as his house and clothing were meant to project his new social status, so were the books that gradually started to form his prestige library. The books in this library must have been impressive and they must have gained a reputation within Jerusalem. The fact that the auction community encompassed some one hundred persons from different social backgrounds, as we will see below, indicates that Burhān al-Dīn must have built up a library that was noticed. In that sense, Burhān al-Dīn's project was successful, as his display of increasing wealth via upscale housing, luxurious clothing and his prestige library must have come to the notice of his contemporaries. Arguably, Burhān al-Dīn made sure that his prestige library had some visibility in his house. Obviously, we do not have any direct indication of where his books were placed within his house, but the sale booklet offers some clues. It lists among his possessions two *khazā'in* (obj19 and obj43) that were most likely linked to the storage of books. The term *khizāna* is widely used in the period's narrative sources and documents when talking about storing books.[17] It covers a wide range of meanings stretching from library to library room to bookcase; it is often difficult to pin down what exactly it refers to.[18] In our sale booklet the term obviously does not refer to the abstract notion of a 'library' or a 'library room', but to concrete objects, bookcases. These two cases sold for quite substantial prices, thirty-six and forty-one dirhams, and it is highly likely that Burhān al-Dīn used them to store and display his books.

To store books in cases was linked not only to the prestige function of the library, but also to practical concerns. Smaller book collections could easily be stored in the chests (*ṣandūq*, pl. *ṣanādīq*) described in narrative sources.[19] This is confirmed by the few documentary glimpses that we get into book storage

[16] Gruendler, *Rise of the Arabic Book* and Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 151.
[17] Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*.
[18] Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, 87/8.
[19] Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, 86–8.

in other houses of Jerusalem in this period. In the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents we find a mention in the protocol of the confiscation of Muḥyī al-Dīn's estate in which two chests 'to store the scholarly books' are noted.[20] While storage in chests was certainly possible for Muḥyī al-Dīn's thirty-odd books, it was hardly an option for Burhān al-Dīn's collection with well over 300 codicological units. Although he also owned two chests (obj3), it is much more likely that these books were proudly displayed in the bookcases. This is especially likely as previous work on book storage in pre-Ottoman Bilād al-Shām has shown that books held in a 'public' library were definitely stored on shelves (probably bookcases). Bookcases are also the default option for portraying book storage in the best set of medieval depictions that we have of libraries, the illustrations of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*.[21]

The term 'prestige library' is not meant to reduce the meaning of Burhān al-Dīn's books to mere tools for displaying wealth and to reduce the significance of his library to nothing but a site of material prestige. There is no question that these books had multiple meanings for Burhān al-Dīn and he certainly engaged with them in other ways than displaying them as markers of social and cultural status. Most importantly, this collection certainly was also a scholarly resource for him. However, this professional function should not be overstated: for most of his life Burhān al-Dīn simply had very few books in his house and this absence of books did not pose any problem for his professional activities. His field of professional specialisation, recitation, could be pursued without him having access to a large number of written texts. The texts he recited, especially the Koran and *ḥadīth*, were texts that he often knew by heart or for which personal notebooks were sufficient. As we have seen, Burhān al-Dīn was probably also not an author of books, and this sets him clearly apart from Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī and his scholarly working library. For this scholar-author, who authored hundreds of books, it was essential to have a reference library. While Burhān al-Dīn's library thus had a scholarly bent to it, its main function lay rather in its prestige.

[20] #178a, right, line 19/23: '*zawj ṣanādīq … wasṭānīya judad waḍaʿa fīhā kutub al-ʿilm*'.

[21] Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*. See Liebrenz, *Curious Readers* for a discussion of an early Ottoman-period illustration.

The Profile of a Prestige Library

That Burhān al-Dīn's books had a very strong prestige element to them does not mean that they were a random collection of pieces for showing off. Rather, his library clearly reflected his professional world as a reciter and contained the thematic subjects that interested a book owner and reader such as Burhān al-Dīn. As the following discussion will show, his book collection was very closely aligned to his professional profile, with, most importantly, books linked to recitation taking a prime place.

In methodological terms, we have established the thematic profile of Burhān al-Dīn's library by relying on the titles as given in the sale booklet. This method of exclusively relying on short titles has its pitfalls, as the booklet does not provide any further indication of the subject. This is very different from the Ashrafīya catalogue where the thematic subject was one of the organising principles and where a short title thus always comes alongside a thematic context. Our sale booklet, by contrast, is a document of accountancy, not of bookmanship, and it is organised by buyers. Exclusively relying on short titles is fraught with further difficulties because we have not been able to identify any actual books that were once displayed on Burhān al-Dīn's bookcases. This is very different from the case of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's endowment list where a large number of books could be identified so that it was possible to externally verify the thematic profiles of the short titles in his list.

The following discussion is based on thematic categories that we have ascribed to these works. That such an exercise is problematic is well-known in historical library studies[22] and we want to highlight three caveats in particular. Firstly, in many cases the title provided in the sale booklet is so generic that it is impossible to identify with any degree of certainty which book is meant. This goes, for instance, for entries such as '*majmūʿ*' (multiple-text or composite manuscript), which can refer to any topic or title, and for entries such as *al-Madkhal* (*The Introduction*), which can refer to numerous different books. The second challenge is that some texts have not come down to us and are not known from other sources. In consequence, any thematic ascription would be based on the (fragmentary) title alone and is thus far from self-evident and

[22] Liebrenz, *Rifāʿīya aus Damaskus*, 80–4; Krimsti, *Lives and Afterlives*, 203.

Table 5.1 Thematic categories in Burhān al-Dīn's library

Thematic category	No. of titles	Percentage	Average price (dirhams)
Koran	40	18.5	20
ḥadīth	36	16.5	51.5
fiqh/uṣūl al-fiqh	23	10.5	32.5
history	21	9.5	26.5
ṣūfism	15	7	33.5
sermons/paraenesis	14	6.5	17.5
grammar	14	6.5	24
poetry	11	5	17.5
adab	10	4.5	19
devotion	9	4	52.5

Note: Calculated on the basis of those 219 titles to which a thematic category could be ascribed; percentages have been rounded to the nearest .5.

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often simply impossible. Thirdly, reducing the thematic breadth of works into one single term is an inexact science, as many works are encyclopaedic or at least highly heterogeneous. Despite these caveats such thematic categories are helpful as heuristic tools for understanding in broad brush-strokes what fields a collection covered. In the case of Burhān al-Dīn's library it was possible to ascribe a thematic category to some 82 per cent of all titles,[23] which is fairly close to the number of titles to which a thematic category could be ascribed in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library (87 per cent).

The most prominent subject in the library of Burhān al-Dīn are books linked to the Koran; with forty titles this subject has a hefty share of 18 per cent. This might seem self-evident in a Muslim-context library, but a look at the comparator libraries shows that this is not the case. The share in Burhān al-Dīn's library is outstandingly high when compared to that in the Ashrafīya library (2.5 per cent) or the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library (1.5 per cent). This high percentage certainly goes back to Burhān al-Dīn's main field of professional activity, Koran recitation. Fifteen of these titles are texts on various aspects linked to the study of the Koran, such as exegesis and, obviously, recitation. Yet the bulk of the entries in this category are the Koran itself.

[23] Calculated on the basis of the 266 'proper' titles, of which 219 can be matched with a thematic category.

However, in many cases the objects themselves were not very impressive. There were numerous incomplete Korans and these went for rather low prices. The overall average price for a book (irrespective of number of texts and volumes) at the auction was twenty-seven dirhams. That the prices for what must have been very fragmentary Korans started at two dirhams (book 126) puts them thus at the very bottom of the price range, and the vast majority went for below-average prices, mostly for fewer than twenty dirhams. This phenomenon is similar to the case of incomplete Bibles for which we also find very low prices in the Geniza book lists.[24] In the case of the Koran one gets the impression of the working library of a reciter, rather than a collector's prestige library containing lavish exemplars with exquisite paper, impressive bindings and so on. As Burhān al-Dīn was required to recite specific sections from the Koran in his recitations it might be that these 'fragmentary' Korans were de facto booklets serving recitation purposes. The low value of these fragmentary Korans suggests that Burhān al-Dīn bought at least some of the cheaper copies in earlier periods of his life and that books linked to the Koran had, at least in part, an existence independent from the prestige function of the library. However, we do also find copies of the Koran that must have been quite lavish objects, such as a Koran sold for seventy-two dirhams (book 108). Overall, within the upper tier of luxurious books in Burhān al-Dīn's library, the Koran did not have such a special place and even the copy sold for seventy-two dirhams only made it to rank twelve of the most expensive books.

The field of *ḥadīth* was a very close second among Burhān al-Dīn's books, with thirty-six titles or 16.5 per cent. Again, this might seem self-evident for a 'Muslim' library, but the two comparator libraries give a very different picture: in the Ashrafīya library the field of *ḥadīth* was, with 3 per cent, at the very margins; in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library the vast majority of titles belonged to it (62.5 per cent). The latter is easily explained by the fact that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's main (and for many years exclusive) field of scholarly activity was that of *ḥadīth*. This was definitely not the case for Burhān al-Dīn, who was neither engaged in scholarly *ḥadīth* transmission nor *ḥadīth* interpretation.

[24] Olszowy, *Cheap Books*, 84/5.

That *ḥadīth* still came in second place in his library is linked to his professional profile as a reciter of *mīʿād* sessions that included ritual recitations of *ḥadīth*.[25]

When looking at the titles of *ḥadīth* in the Burhān al-Dīn library in more detail, it is striking that one specific form of engagement with the reports on the Prophet's sayings and deeds is missing: post-canonical *ḥadīth* transmission. This is the exact opposite of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's library, which was, in its textual configuration and its material form, first and foremost a monument to this line of scholarship.[26] There were thus hardly any of the booklets typical of this line of *ḥadīth* transmission in Burhān al-Dīn's bookcases, such as *muʿjam* or *mashyakha* (presenting an author's shortest and most prized chains of transmission) or, most importantly, booklets with collections of forty *ḥadīth*s. There are only two titles that clearly belonged to post-canonical *ḥadīth* scholarship.[27] This near-complete absence of post-canonical *ḥadīth* booklets might be linked to the fact that this line of scholarship was, as far as we know, heavily centred on the *ḥanbalī* milieu of Damascus, especially the Maqdisī family.[28] It might be that for a community such as the *shāfiʿī madhhab* in Jerusalem, to which Burhān al-Dīn belonged, these booklets never played a central role in their scholarly outlook and scholarly practices – or, alternatively, that they had fallen out of fashion by the late eighth/fourteenth century.

Rather weakly represented in Burhān al-Dīn's library is another line of *ḥadīth* scholarship that had its heyday in the ninth/fifteenth century in Bilād al-Shām and Egypt, *ḥadīth* commentary, with only two titles.[29] While the absence of post-canonical *ḥadīth* booklets might be explained by *madhhab* affiliation, this does not work for the field of *ḥadīth* commentary, where *shāfiʿī* scholars were particularly active. The low number of commentaries in Burhān al-Dīn's library is thus another indicator that his interest focused on the recitation of the texts themselves rather than on other forms of scholarly engagement. If Burhān al-Dīn had an interest in *ḥadīth* he most likely turned to the primer for *ḥadīth* studies by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) (book 224). This work

[25] #026 and #002.
[26] Hirschler, *Monument*, especially 50–9. On the development of *ḥadīth* scholarship in this period see Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*.
[27] Book 110 (*al-Musalsalāt*) and book 252 (*al-Arbaʿīn al-Wadʿānīya*).
[28] Hirschler, *Monument*.
[29] Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God*.

had become enormously popular in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām at this point and it is no surprise that Burhān al-Dīn had it in his house.[30]

What we do find on Burhān al-Dīn's bookcases are the 'canonical' *ḥadīth* collections, especially the *ṣaḥīḥs* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875) as well as the *Muwaṭṭa*' by Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796). Around half of the *ḥadīth* titles are linked to these works if we add 'derivative' works, such as summaries of these collections. That these foundational texts are part of his library might once again seem self-evident. However, it is striking that they are so poorly represented in Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's library even though this library was stacked from top to bottom with books from the field of *ḥadīth*. The presence of these collections in Burhān al-Dīn's house can thus not simply be explained by this being a 'Muslim library' or a 'scholar's library'. Rather, this was exactly the material that was relevant for recitation sessions and thus of high relevance for this specific book collection.

With the books of *ḥadīth* we also enter a world of rather splendid objects as these works must have been very impressive in material terms. Several of these large-scale *ḥadīth* collections came in several hefty volumes and it is thus not surprising that the field of *ḥadīth* had the second highest price average among the titles sold at the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's books. We find six *ḥadīth* titles among the ten most expensive books sold over the two days,[31] including copies of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in second and third place. As they sold for 260 and 172 dirhams they, and similarly expensive works, were the ideal objects to put on display in the bookcases of a prestige library.

Another splendid object brings us to Islamic law, which comes in third place among thematic fields, with twenty-three titles or 10.5 per cent. Here we find *al-Rawḍa* by al-Nawawī, the massive flagship of *shāfiʿī* law at this point. This book went for 305 dirhams, while the average price for a book was twenty-seven dirhams at this auction. Selling for more than a third of the price of Burhān al-Dīn's above-average house, this was certainly the finest object that he had in his prestige library. In terms of intellectual profile, his books in this field did not focus on the abstract issues of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, that is, the question of what sources are permissible and what methodology should

[30] Gharaibeh, *Sociology of Commentarial Literature*.
[31] Books 1, 46, 150, 151, 222, 236.

be applied to extrapolate rules from these sources. There are only two titles in this field.[32] Rather, Burhān al-Dīn's interest was in applied law, and here it quite clearly shows that he was strongly affiliated with the *shāfiʿī madhhab*, to which sixteen of the titles belonged. Three other titles were on *ḥanafī* law and a single title on *mālikī* law. The prices for law books other than al-Nawawī's *al-Rawḍa* were rather modest and the majority sold for under twenty dirhams.

With the next field, history, we return to books that contained the texts Burhān al-Dīn needed when narrating the stories of the virtuous ('*ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*') as he was also required to do during his *mīʿād* sessions.[33] Books linked to this field take fourth rank with twenty-one titles or 9.5 per cent. That these books' profile was closely linked to Burhān al-Dīn's recitation activities is also evident from the fact that contemporaneous works were absent. Rather, those from the early Islamic period and those concerned with Jerusalem dominate. Among those on early Islamic history are works on early Muslim expansion (*Futūḥ al-Shām* and *Futūḥ Miṣr*) and biographies of leading figures (*Manāqib ʿUmar* and *Faḍāʾil al-aʾimma*), but biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad (*al-Sīra*) are the largest group.[34] By contrast, there is not a single historical title authored during the period of the Cairo Sultanate. Yet a slight local flavour is discernible with a book on the *Merits of Jerusalem* (*Faḍāʾil al-Quds*) and the biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235).[35] The prices of historical books were average and none of them fetched more than fifty dirhams.

Another source for stories of the virtuous were the books linked with *ṣūfīsm* that come in fifth place with fifteen titles or 7 per cent. These books clearly show that Burhān al-Dīn was very much at home in the world of *ṣūfī* practices and ideas, and we have seen that he was affiliated with the Ṣalāḥīya Khānqāh. As Ulrich Haarmann has already shown, here we find several 'classics' such as *al-Riʿāya* by al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), the *Risālat* by al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and *Qūt al-qulūb* by al-Makkī (d. 386/998).[36] There are also authors closer to Burhān al-Dīn's age such as *al-Futūḥāt* by Ibn al-ʿArabī

[32] Books 115a and 115b.
[33] #026 and #002.
[34] Books 217, 248 and 57, 12 and 80, 141, 211, 240a.
[35] Books 13 and 49.
[36] Haarmann, *Library*, 331. Books 40, 195, 245.

(d. 638/1240) and two copies of *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* by al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234).[37] It is noteworthy that the *Risālat* by al-Qushayrī was the most popular work in individuals' book collections in medieval Jerusalem. In addition to Burhān al-Dīn's library we find it in three other homes documented within the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus.[38] Its concise combination of manual and biographical work seemingly made it a must-have. The prices for books on *ṣūfīsm* were slightly above average and we again find copies that certainly took a prominent place in this prestige library. Among them are the two copies of the handbook *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, which sold for seventy dirhams apiece and must have been impressive material objects.

One of the two thematic categories that come in joint sixth place are books with sermons in the field of paraenesis. This group of books is also closely related to Burhān al-Dīn's *mīʿād* sessions, where such material was highly relevant. In this field we find six titles by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), who was undoubtedly one of the most popular authors in this field.[39] There were even two copies of Ibn al-Jawzī's compendium on model sermons, *al-Tabṣira*, in Burhān al-Dīn's library. The prices for books in this field were, together with those for works of poetry, at the very bottom end of the price range.

As a reciter Burhān al-Dīn also had a sustained interest in grammar, which we also find ranked sixth. Among the fourteen books in this field of knowledge we find standard works such as *al-Alfīya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274), three copies of *al-Faṣīḥ* by Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) and *al-Lumaʿ* by Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002).[40] Commentaries were more numerous, and we find five commentaries on Ibn Mālik's *Alfīya* alone, including *Sharḥ al-Alfīya* by Aḥmad al-Qudsī Ibn al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 790/1388–9).[41] The prices for grammatical books were slightly below average and few of them went for more than thirty dirhams. There were copies that sold for higher prices and that clearly fitted the materiality of a prestige library, such as a commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal* for seventy dirhams.[42]

[37] Books 161, 104/106.
[38] #652, #768 and #939.
[39] Books 75, 120, 134, 212, 216, 220.
[40] Books 181b, 68/98b/166, 189.
[41] Books 113, 199, 227, 228, 253.
[42] Book 226.

The 'thematic' fields of poetry (eleven titles) and *adab* (ten titles) are ranked eighth and ninth respectively. With a combined 9.5 per cent they fall well above the ratio of such titles in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library (3.4 per cent), but far below the Ashrafīya library, which had the astonishingly high ratio of 49.5 per cent of titles in these two fields. In Burhān al-Dīn's library we find, unsurprisingly, three copies of the bestseller among *adab* works in this period, the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), as well as the anthology *Zahr al-ādāb* by al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022).[43] Among the poetic works we find classics such as two copies of the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955), but also more contemporary collections such as those by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) and Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366).[44] What is striking is that these titles all fetched rather modest prices and that the fields of *adab* and poetry (together with sermons) are at the lower end of average prices. While illustrated copies of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* belong to the top tiers of Arabic bookmanship, the three copies on Burhān al-Dīn's bookcases must have been much more modest objects as they sold for below-average prices, between fifteen and eighteen dirhams.

The last field to be mentioned, in tenth place, is again closely linked to Burhān al-Dīn's activities as reciter of *mīʿād* sessions – devotional texts dedicated to the Prophet Muḥammad, with nine books. What stands out in this group is that one single text, *al-Shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149), was held in three copies, clearly reflecting this work's enormous popularity.[45] In this group are also three books described as *Mawālid*, that is on the Prophet's birth.[46] The books in this field certainly fitted the prestige library profile of this collection as they have the highest price average. One of the copies of the *Shifāʾ* sold for 171 dirhams, a fifth of the price of Burhān al-Dīn's house, and must have been splendidly decorated.[47] The two other copies must have also been beautiful objects as they sold for seventy-four and seventy-one-and-a-half dirhams respectively.[48]

[43] Books 26, 194, 267 and 51.
[44] Books 132, 133 and 71, 58.
[45] Books 4, 169 and 230.
[46] Books 59, 61 and 243.
[47] Book 4.
[48] Books 169 and 230.

All other fields of knowledge are represented in Burhān al-Dīn's library, with five books or fewer, including theology with five titles or 2.5 per cent. This field was clearly not a major concern for Burhān al-Dīn and this figure matches the low ratios of theology in the Ashrafīya library (2.5 per cent) and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library (4 per cent). Fields such as medicine (two titles), logic (two titles), lettrism (one title) and oneiromancy (one title) were of rather marginal importance for Burhān al-Dīn as well.

However, even among these marginal fields there are some interesting phenomena. For instance, political thought had some minor traction, with four entries. It is noteworthy that these were in fact only two titles, but each was held in two copies. These titles were *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) and *Sirāj al-mulūk* by Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126?).[49] From the documented book collections it is evident that the *Sirāj* was popular in Bilād al-Shām as we also find two copies on the shelves of the Ashrafīya library.[50] In addition, we again see the *Sirāj* coming up in the few other book-related documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf. We have seen above the informal protocol documenting the confiscation of the estate of Muḥyī al-Dīn mentioning thirty-four books.[51] In that document no book titles were mentioned, but thankfully we also have an account of the sale of this estate.[52] This account (see Table 6.3) shows that Muḥyī al-Dīn also had the *Sirāj* among his books.

From this discussion of the intellectual profile of Burhān al-Dīn's books and their prices it is clear that this library has its very own story to tell. It is to a large extent a library that reflected the professional profile of a reciter, and one that is deeply shaped by its function as a prestige library. The comparisons with the Ashrafīya and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī libraries from Bilād al-Shām show how wildly different libraries in one region can look and how inappropriate sweeping categories such as 'Muslim library', 'Mamluk library' or 'scholarly library' are for analytical purposes.

There are several aspects that these three libraries share and that are worth emphasising because of their repercussions on how we see the Arabic-Muslim

[49] Books 25/41 and 119/153.
[50] Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, entries 559 and 1571.
[51] #178 (793/1391).
[52] #768 (793/1391).

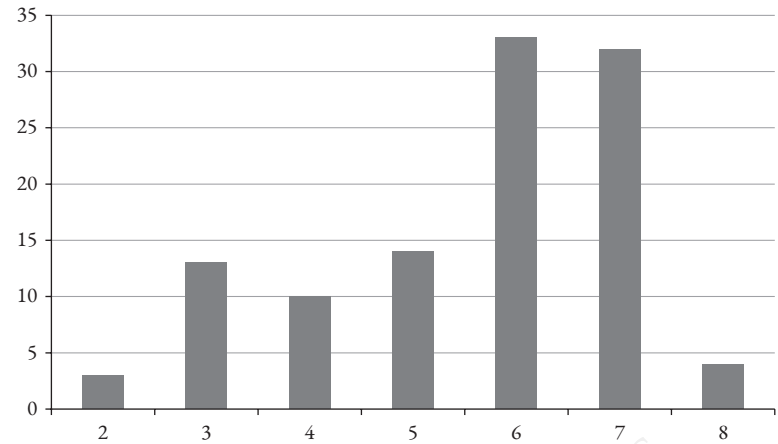


Figure 5.1 Burhān al-Dīn's library, chronological distribution of datable works by *hijrī* century (according to author's death date)

written tradition. The first of these shared characteristics concerns the chronological distribution of the titles of Burhān al-Dīn's library according to when they were authored (Figure 5.1). Here we see that the immediate past of Burhān al-Dīn, the eighth/fourteenth century, plays a very limited role, with four titles.[53] By contrast, the seventh/thirteenth and the sixth/twelfth centuries are very strongly represented, with thirty-two and thirty-three titles respectively. After that we have a very steep decline in numbers for the fifth/eleventh century (fourteen), the fourth/tenth century (ten), the third/ninth century (thirteen) and the second/eighth century (three). This chronological distribution is very similar to what we see in earlier Damascene libraries, such as the Ashrafīya library, and Damascene personal book collections, such as those discussed by Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual.[54] It is particularly noteworthy that what had once been called 'classical age' in our field of study, the first centuries of the *hijrī* calendar, play a very modest role. Owners of libraries were much more interested in those works produced in the two to three centuries prior to the foundation of the library in question

[53] The following discussion is based on those 109 titles for which an author with known life dates could be proposed.

[54] Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, 111; Establet and Pascual, *Les livres des gens*, 154/5.

Table 5.2 Most popular authors (by entry) in Burhān al-Dīn's library

	Author	Death date	No. of entries
1	Ibn al-Jawzī	597/1200	8
2	Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī	606/1210	5
2	al-Nawawī	676/1277	5
2	al-Ghazālī	505/1111	5
5	al-Bukhārī	256/870	4
6	Razīn al-ʿAbdarī	524/1129 or 535/1140	3
6	al-Ḥarīrī	516/1122	3
6	al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ	544/1149	3
6	Thaʿlab	291/904	3

than they were in what increasingly became codified as 'classical' works from the nineteenth century onwards.[55]

This chronological distribution is also evident when we look at the popularity of authors in Burhān al-Dīn's library measured by the number of books that represent them on his shelves (see Table 5.2). The most popular author (with eight entries) is Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), whose sermons are particularly well-represented.[56] It has to be underlined that Ibn al-Jawzī also ranked highly in the other documented libraries from Bilād al-Shām (fifth most popular author in the Ashrafīya library; thirty-one entries in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library). The next group of authors in Burhān al-Dīn's library are those with five titles and they include Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210)[57] as well as al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277).[58] Those who are absent are those authors whom we consider today as 'classical', such as the jurisprudent and historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) or the belletrist al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868). We do not find any of their books in Burhān al-Dīn's bookcases, on the shelves of the Ashrafīya library or in the library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī.

A second commonality of the three libraries that is worth mentioning for its relevance for modern-day perceptions of the past concerns their regional

[55] For the most innovative account of the process of defining classics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*.
[56] Books 57, 72, 75, 120, 134, 212, 216, 220.
[57] Books 52, 53, 115a, 115b, 246.
[58] Books 7, 11, 43, 197, 231.

profile. Those few books authored close to Burhān al-Dīn's lifetime tend to be books from Jerusalem. Among the five books authored closest to his lifetime, three were definitely by scholars of Jerusalem. These were Aḥmad al-Qudsī Ibn al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 790/1388–9), Khalīl b. Kaykaldī (d. 761/1359) and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī (d. 697/1298).[59] This strongly regional profile goes hand in hand with those of the Ashrafīya library catalogue and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī collection, where we find a similar regional bent. This in turn brings up Shahab Ahmed's analysis of the bibliography of a work written in sixth/twelfth-century Bukhara, which also showed a heavily regionalised profile of the recent works. Virtually all of the books cited that were written in the previous 200 years came from the surrounding area.[60] The picture that we get from documented book collections in Bilād al-Shām, and elsewhere, is thus not indicative of a highly connected and highly mobile scholarly world. This picture, in turn, is confirmed by Maxim Romanov's quantitative analysis of biographical compendia, which demonstrates that the idea of a closely connected trans-regional scholarly world is much more complex than previously assumed.[61]

A final point that these libraries share is that the world of libraries in medieval Bilād al-Shām was a rather monolingual one. The Ashrafīya had at least forty-four Persian titles (2 per cent of the overall collection), but this number was directly linked to one of its patrons' Persianate background. By contrast, in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library all of the titles were without exception in Arabic. The almost exclusive world of Arabic books in Damascus also did not fundamentally change in the Ottoman period, at least not in personal libraries.[62] In the library of Burhān al-Dīn we find at least a Turkic (*turkī*) composite or multiple-text manuscript (book 179) and potentially two Persian titles (book 85 and book 178). All these titles sold for below-average prices, the composite or multiple-text manuscript for as little as nine dirhams.

Despite the three shared features with the other documented pre-Ottoman libraries from Bilād al-Shām in terms of chronology, region and language, the

[59] Ibn al-Raṣṣāṣ: cf. book 228; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 218; Khalil: cf. book 38; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 164; al-Maqdisī: cf. book 100; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 691–700, p. 317.
[60] Ahmed, *Mapping the World*, 24–43.
[61] Romanov, *After the Classical World*.
[62] Establet and Pascual, *Les livres des gens*, 155/6.

really outstanding point is the extent to which Burhān al-Dīn's library has its own story. Its books were thematically closely connected to his professional interests and they indicate little shared ground with the other two libraries in terms of thematic profiles. Even the ratio of fields such as Koran or *ḥadīth* can be worlds apart, depending on the specific social and cultural context in which such a library was placed. In particular, the specificity of each library also needs to be considered when analysing the libraries' functions in order not to end up with blunt terms such as 'scholarly library'. True, Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's library was the working library of a scholar, but its really unique feature was its function as a bookish monument to a glorious past of scholarship (in the eyes of its builder). In the same vein, the library of Burhān al-Dīn reflected his professional interest (though it is much less clear to what extent this really was a working library). The salient function of this library was at any rate something very different, that is, ownership of a library commensurate with the owner's increasing social status, a library to be seen and a library to be displayed.

The Post-Burhān al-Dīn Trajectory of his Books

The aim of Burhān al-Dīn to build up a prestige library commensurate with his professional success was arguably achieved, as it must have had a certain reputation within Jerusalem. This is evident from the large crowd that its sale attracted: the list names eighty-seven buyers and there were certainly further onlookers and bystanders who did not buy anything and thus remain invisible to us. To this we can add those who ran the auction and of whose presence we know from the accounts: the trustee and his men, the broker(s), notary witnesses,[63] those arranging the books, those carrying them, and so on. As we are looking at roughly one hundred participants, it probably helped that Burhān al-Dīn's house had the luxury of a courtyard to accommodate this crowd. The estate was sold in 360 lots (273 book lots, eighty-six lots of household objects and one lot with a document), and one can imagine how long it must have taken to conclude the proceedings. This probably explains why the auxiliary expenses also include costs for candles, seemingly to continue the auction after darkness had fallen. On top of that the accounts mention that

[63] #800b, left, l. 6.

some costs were incurred on the 'second day', clearly showing that this auction did not conclude on a single day.[64]

The auction community that came together during these two days to outbid each other for items from Burhān al-Dīn's household and books from his prestige library were a colourful crowd of different social groups. There were members of the military and political elites such as Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī (Buyer 2), most likely a prominent officer and vice-regent (*nā'ib al-salṭana*), who also acted as supervisor of the endowments in the Ḥijāz and invested in the pious topography of Jerusalem. There was also al-Sayfī Bulūṭ (Buyer 3), most likely an officer who belonged to the household of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the major-domo of the Sultan and accomplice of shady Sharaf al-Dīn, the town's judge. Among those attending the auction we also find members of the city's judiciary, especially judges and deputy judges such as the *shāfi'ī* deputy judge al-Ṣarfanī (Buyer 4), his maternal uncle and *shāfi'ī* judge Badr al-Dīn Ibn Makkī (Buyer 14), and the *ḥanafī* scholar and short-term deputy judge of Jerusalem Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (Buyer 57). Not only those holding the central positions in the judiciary were in attendance, but the most famous scholars of the town as well, such as Ibn al-Muhandis (d. 803–4/1401–2) (Buyer 11).

Apart from these members of the political, social and cultural elites, there are also many individuals who cannot be identified in any narrative or documentary sources. We can thus only place them in society via the information we get from the sale booklet itself, the names with which they are designated. The modest amounts they spent indicate some distance from the political and scholarly inner circles of the town. A certain 'Umar Zajjāj (Buyer 17), for instance, whose name indicates that his profession was that of a glazier, only bought one item at the auction. Muḥammad al-Sakākīnī (Buyer 39), who most likely dealt in knives or sharpened them, went home with a copper vessel, a chain, a (sharpening?) stone and a comb. Further down we see other buyers who seem to have come from rather modest backgrounds and many of whom were small-scale buyers. The auction community that assembled for the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate was thus not only impressively large, but also represented a cross-section of the town's male Muslim population.

[64] #800b, left, l. 2–6.

Those members of the auction community who belonged to the elite formed a closely knit group in many ways. It would be a step too far to present here the numerous ways in which these individuals were related or professionally connected. Yet even from the few documents linked to this sale we see numerous connections between them. When the buyers had to pay for their purchases in the days following the auction, they used this opportunity to settle other financial obligations that must have existed among them. Buyer 6, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naqīb, thus paid twenty dirhams of the 1,295 dirhams that Buyer 11, Ibn al-Muhandis, had to pay.[65] Al-Sayfī Bulūṭ (Buyer 3), in turn, contributed four dirhams to the fifty-two dirhams Buyer 7, al-Qalqashandī, was asked to pay.[66]

The members of the auction community are of outstanding importance for this study on book culture in medieval Jerusalem. That we have so many names in the sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's estate provides a rare opportunity to follow trajectories of books, to get a glimpse into dozens of additional homes and to get to know dozens of further book owners in Jerusalem in the eighth/fourteenth century. This information is so relevant because the library of Burhān al-Dīn disappeared with the death of its owner. Libraries such as that of Burhān al-Dīn were fleeting affairs that have left little trace, but this sale booklet documents one of those moments when such a library and its books became visible. For endowed libraries we have longer periods of stability, and one of the most outstanding cases is Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's library. This monument had a long life cycle and most of its books are still in Damascus today, still standing or lying next to each other on the shelves of the National Library. This is in stark contrast to the library of Burhān al-Dīn and other personal libraries that underwent regular reconfigurations in quick succession. For the longest stretches of their life cycles books remain hidden from our eyes, but they become visible when they move: when they enter a library, when they are endowed, when they are sold, when they are bequeathed, and so on. Burhān al-Dīn's books were only one part of a vast stock of books that continuously moved through a town such as Jerusalem and were constantly reconfigured in new collections and found new homes. The exceptional beauty of the sale

[65] #061b, right, l. 11 (see book 101).
[66] #061a, left, l. 11.

booklet is thus that it gives an insight not only into Burhān al-Dīn's library, but also into the subsequent trajectories of his books.

Among the eighty-seven buyers who attended the auction twenty are not of further interest for the history of the book as they exclusively bought objects other than books.[67] These include numerous individuals who are not identifiable in any other sources, such as Abū Yazīd al-ʿAjamī (Buyer 80), perhaps a migrant from the East, who spent three dirhams on a knife and two razors or Ibn Sharwīn (Buyer 86), who went home with two glass jars with copper casing for a quarter of a dirham. Some had clearly come to restock their household, such as a certain Ḥusayn al-Ḥalabī (Buyer 40), who spent eleven and a half dirhams on a bathing bucket, a copper vessel and a candlestick. In other cases, the professional background is apparent, such as Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kutubī (Buyer 29), whose name indicates that he was producing and/or trading in books. He acquired three pen boxes, a bookcase and several pen knives for just under seven dirhams. In this group of buyers who did not acquire books, we thus clearly get a better view of those members of the auction community who did not belong to the town's political and military elites. We also see some identifiable individuals focusing on objects other than books. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (Buyer 68) was a notary witness in Jerusalem from 789/1387 onwards, but also *imām* and intermittently head of the treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*) from 795/1392 onwards. He spent more than fifty-one dirhams on a writing case, a comb box, a parchment scroll, a scutcher and an expensive carpet. A deputy judge, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Karakī (Buyer 28), spent fifty dirhams on a blue overgarment, but did not buy any books.

Among the sixty-seven buyers who bought books, we have been able to identify thirty-two. When identification was possible this was either because narrative sources mention the individual (especially al-ʿUlaymī's chronicle of Jerusalem) or because the buyer is mentioned in other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents (especially from the Burhān al-Dīn corpus). Ulrich Haarmann was not able to identify any buyers, and this was down to the fact that he was only focusing on the sale booklet and was not working with the four accounts and

[67] Buyers 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 47, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86.

lists of the documentary network around the sale booklet (Chapter 8).[68] These documents yielded crucial additional information on many individuals, especially further parts of their name not mentioned in the sale booklet, which clarified the readings of several names that would have otherwise remained too tentative for us to venture an identification. That the vast majority of these individuals are not named in any narrative source should not come as a surprise. If more sale booklets from estate auctions had been preserved from Jerusalem in this period, we certainly would have found Burhān al-Dīn as a buyer of books, but trying to identify him via narrative sources would have been as unsuccessful as it was for many of the buyers in the sale of his estate.

The most important aspect of the post-Burhān al-Dīn trajectories of his books is that they went into the ownership of sixty-seven individuals – a strong indicator of how widespread book ownership must have been in a town such as Jerusalem. Among those buyers we find some who went home with dozens of books and others who purchased a single book. In this regard, the small-scale buyers are of particular interest as they perhaps show that books also moved into homes with very few books. At the auction, the buyers purchasing books spent 131 dirhams on average, and we define 'small-scale' as those spending less than half of this sum, that is fewer than sixty-five dirhams. According to this definition there were thirty-one small-scale buyers at the auction. These included non-identified individuals such as Shams al-Dīn al-Tūnisī (Buyer 30), who bought one incomplete book for three and a half dirhams. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī (Buyer 65), whom we only know as notary witness from other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents, spent nine and a half dirhams on one book. The *mamlūk* of a peripheral official, Taghrī W-r-m-sh (Buyer 73), spent just over twenty dirhams on a book and two wooden stools. Among the small-scale buyers we have also identified scholars, such as Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-'Arrābī (Buyer 33), who spent twelve dirhams on one part of an exegetical work that most likely joined a book collection in his home.

On the other side of the spectrum, we find individuals who must have been very well-off and could spend lavishly at such an auction. The top buyer

[68] Haarmann, *Library*, 329: 'The available narrative sources have so far yielded no information on these fourteen men, nor on the thirty-five and thirty-nine names given in documents 180 and 532 respectively.'

was the Jerusalemite *ḥanbalī* scholar Ibn al-Muhandis (d. 803/4–1401/2) (Buyer 11), who spent 1,295 dirhams on fifty-six books (and some small pieces of furniture). The numerous books that he bought at this auction alone constitute a considerable library, and in this case we see how a wealthy scholar was expanding his large library. The books were not to stay in his home for long; narrative sources write of him that, while 'he acquired many booklets (*ajzā'*) and books', 'after his death his books were dispersed despite their large number'.[69] Among those spending larger sums on books were also the judges and deputy judges whom we have seen above, such as the *shāfi'ī* deputy judge al-Ṣarfanī (Buyer 4), who spent 194 dirhams on nine books, his maternal uncle and *shāfi'ī* judge Badr al-Dīn Ibn Makkī (Buyer 14), who spent 180-and-a-quarter dirhams on four books (in addition to a carpet, a bookcase and a cooking pot), and the *ḥanafī* scholar and short-term deputy judge of Jerusalem Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (Buyer 57), who spent 157 dirhams on three books, and so on. Apart from the scholarly elite, the members of the town's military and political elite were also eagerly buying books. Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī (Buyer 2), most likely a prominent officer, spent 466 dirhams on eleven books (and a small table). Al-Sayfī Bulūṭ (Buyer 3), most likely an officer of the household of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, spent 346 dirhams on ten books (in addition to household items).

The limited data of the sale booklet also offers some insights into the profiles of the new libraries into which Burhān al-Dīn's books moved. For instance, al-Sayfī Bulūṭ's books – very fittingly – do not suggest an individual deeply steeped in scholarly debates. Among the ten books he bought, five were (more or less complete) copies of the Koran, in addition to a prayer book without a title, a poetic *dīwān* without a title, a multiple-text or composite manuscript without a title and an unidentified work with the title *Selection*. The only identifiable book that went into his ownership was the *ḥanafī* law compendium *The Summary*.[70] The most expensive item he bought was not a book, but two chests[71] – perhaps this officer was looking for an appropriate way to store or transport a modest book collection.

[69] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, II, 86.
[70] Books 14–22.
[71] Obj3 for 160 dirhams.

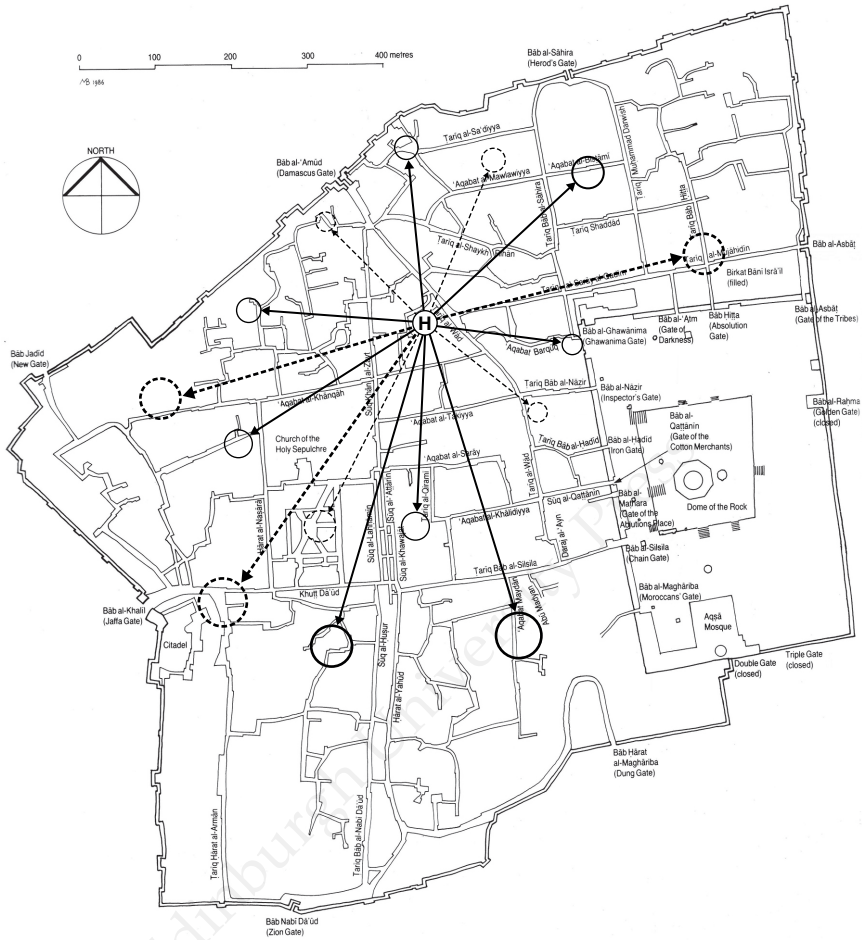
In contrast to the 'general reader' profile of this officer, the auction's top buyer, the scholar Ibn al-Muhandis, took the chance to buy across virtually all scholarly fields represented in Burhān al-Dīn's library, including the only books on lettrism and oneiromancy, one of only two books each on medicine and logic, but also numerous books in the fields of *ḥadīth*, lexicography, poetry, *ṣūfism*, theology, law and so on. The scholarly buyer Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (Buyer 57) took a different approach. He only bought three books, but he had a clear idea what he wanted for his library. All three books were commentaries on grammatical works, one on al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Mufaṣṣal* and two on Ibn Mālik's *al-Alfīya*.[72]

The sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate thus offers a rare chance to see numerous books on the move through the urban topography of Jerusalem. Map 5.1 visualises what happened. The solid arrows and circles symbolise those books that went with identifiable, and thus relatively prominent, owners into new libraries. The dotted arrows and circles, by contrast, refer to those books that went into the libraries of unidentified, and thus socially less prominent, owners. It goes without saying that we obviously do not know where the buyers really lived, as such beautiful estate archives as are extant for Burhān al-Dīn have not been preserved for them. The main point of this map is to highlight the role of the buyers indicated with dots. The solid arrows and circles are what one would have expected, book owners belonging to military, political and scholarly elites (or at least being close to them) with probably rather large book collections. The dotted arrows and circles denote a bookish world outside such large libraries, showing rather that book ownership was widely spread across the town. The social position of those who owned books thus ranged from the town's scholarly and military elite in the centre to numerous individuals at a great distance from the centre who never made it into the historical record apart from their brief appearance in this sale booklet.

The sale booklet allows us to follow the books into the next stage of their life cycles, but we do not know what happened to the books after they reached the homes of the new owners. Did the new owners bequeath their collection to a family member, did they endow some or all of the books into an organisation of learning (such as a *madrasa*), did they sell them before

[72] Books 226–8.

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Map 5.1 Trajectories of Burhān al-Dīn's books after the auction (solid arrows/circles: libraries of identifiable new owners, dotted arrows/circles: libraries of unidentified new owners); based on Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 34 (Fig. 1, © Kenyon Institute [British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem])

they died, or were the books again auctioned to settle their estates? Wherever they went, many of them should have been mentioned in the paper trail that the respective transaction triggered, but we have not found documents that would help us understand the further trajectories of these books. Almost all of these books have thus vanished from sight, and there are very few exceptions where we are able to see some of them at a further stage of their life cycle,

such as the previously discussed document #652. Here books are named that a certain Burhān al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī had to pledge as security for a loan. Al-Qalqashandī had attended the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate library as Buyer 8 and it is very likely that Burhān al-Dīn's books were also pledged to secure the loans. Their stay in the new library of al-Qalqashandī was thus a very short one and beyond this short episode they are also no longer traceable. In the case of Ibn al-Muhandis (Buyer 11) we have seen that his library was also dispersed after a short period.

The impression that we get from the snapshot provided by our sale booklet and other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents is thus one of a town where numerous books rapidly moved across the urban trajectory at dizzying speed. This mobility of books is certainly in no way unique to Jerusalem, and research on trajectories of books in other medieval collections has shown rapid changes of ownership often occurring every few years.[73] In our case the households were spread across the urban topography of Jerusalem and spread across the town's social groups. In the previous chapters we have argued that the large number of documents that were produced for the most mundane transactions indicates a high rate of pragmatic literacy in Jerusalem. The high number of books circulating in Jerusalem at high speed also supports this argument and suggests that considerable rates of literacy must have existed that allowed numerous individuals to engage with books and documents.

Apart from the wide distribution of literacy, the spread of books across Jerusalem's urban topography indicates that the map of its learned places, its *lieux de savoir*, goes well beyond the learned organisations and households of the scholarly elites. Rather, the network of book culture had many more nodes where books were stored and read. The problem is that these nodes were so fleeting and left so few traces in the sources. What is missing so far for Jerusalem is one of those pre-Ottoman Arabic Muslim book collections that has survived to some degree as one corpus, that is, a collection that has had a reasonably stable trajectory over the past centuries – or that can at least be reconstituted. There are some rare cases where we are able to do this, and one of them is the personal library of Ibrāhīm ibn Jamāʿa (d. 790/1388) mentioned

[73] Hirschler, *Monument*, 101/2.

above. Ibrāhīm died just a year after Burhān al-Dīn and he was also closely connected to Jerusalem. After his death Ibrāhīm ibn Jamāʿa's massive book collection ended up (via his son Muḥibb al-Dīn) in the ownership of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who, as we have seen, was one of the most prominent officers of his time and an accomplice of Sharaf al-Dīn in misappropriating estates in Jerusalem. Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd endowed his books to the Cairene *madrasa* that he had set up, and these books moved in the following centuries again to numerous libraries. Kyle Wynter-Stoner identified the extant books that once were in the library of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd and thus also those that once were in the library of Ibrāhīm ibn Jamāʿa. Another example of a personal library with a reasonably stable trajectory is that of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, of which many books are still in Damascus today.[74] In both cases it is evident that these collections went through an endowment and that this moment was crucial for their preservation until now. The case of Burhān al-Dīn is so special because it was not linked to a moment of endowment, so that we have here a rare snapshot of a very fleeting personal library and its afterlife.

Conclusion

The discussion of Burhān al-Dīn's library has shown the crucial role of personal libraries in the mobilisation and distribution of books in urban topographies. To have a document on an estate auction is particularly important as personal ownership could be so short-lived and libraries such short stages in the life cycles of books. To endow books certainly did not mean to immobilise them (that only remained theory), but it certainly gave book collections a higher chance of a more stable trajectory. The thousands and thousands of cases where books were mobilised in the pre-Ottoman period via estate auctions, by contrast, are effectively impossible to reconstruct on the basis of the available sources. The sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn (and the documents linked to the auction) has given a unique glimpse into a moment when the book became an object on the move, and thus a rare insight into the period's book culture. The documents produced at such moments give us a snapshot of the rapid movements of books across the urban topography of a town such as Jerusalem.

[74] Hirschler, *Monument*.

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The rapidity of these movements is particularly clear in the case of Burhān al-Dīn, who only owned these books for a short period of time. They quickly moved with their new owners into new homes, new streets, new quarters and, in some cases, new towns and cities.

The moment when these books show up in Burhān al-Dīn's home is a particularly fleeting moment of no more than ten years in many cases. His increasing success as a reciter in Jerusalem and his ability to identify new patrons allowed him to build up an impressive prestige library with outstandingly expensive books in a short period of time. There is no information on where he purchased his books, but it is highly likely that previous sales of estate libraries were occasions when his buyers met Burhān al-Dīn in the last decade of his life. Over these years he built up a prestige library commensurate with his new social and cultural status that contained what must have been gems of Arabic book culture, such as the copy of *al-Rawḍa* by al-Nawawī and several other multi-volume works. There is no doubt that this library, with its focus on *mīʿād*-related topics, reflected Burhān al-Dīn's professional profile, but to label it a scholarly library would be too broad and too narrow at the same time. It would be too broad because Burhān al-Dīn did not use this library in the context of teaching, participating in scholarly circles or authoring books. He did not perform such activities, and his book collection certainly served purposes other than the libraries of the scholars who taught in *madrasa*s, held judgeships or authored books. At the same time the label would be too narrow as it does not catch the library's prestige function, a function that has hitherto been mainly associated with court libraries.

After moving into new homes, these books may have started to serve different functions. In the home of Ibn al-Muhandis they came into a scholarly library whose bibliophile owner was a scholar of considerable standing. In other homes they certainly retained their primary status as objects of prestige. Each of the new sixty-seven book collections into which Burhān al-Dīn's went had its own story and would deserve its own analysis if we had the required sources. We have hardly any information on what happened to these books in the next decades or centuries and what different book collections they joined in the course of their life cycles. What we can see via the sale booklet is the astonishingly wide distribution of book ownership in Jerusalem during this

period. If we add to this what we saw in Chapter 3, the wide distribution of substantial documentary collection right across the urban topography of Jerusalem, there is little doubt that many members of its society were intimately connected with the written word – whether in the shape of documents or the form of books.

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6

Book Prices

In the preceding chapters we have seen to what extent pragmatic and bookish literacy permeated the topography of a town such as Jerusalem. This diffusion of the written word in the shape of ever-present documents and a large number of personal libraries outside endowed organisations and elite households was neatly exemplified by Burhān al-Dīn's estate archive, his prestige library and the subsequent trajectories of his books. His library not only contained many books, as we have seen, but was also a very valuable collection in monetary terms. In this chapter we turn to the book prices, the final aspect that makes the sale booklet such a fascinating source. These prices are of outstanding importance because previously we had only very patchy evidence of book prices for the pre-Ottoman period. The auction of Burhān al-Dīn's books, by contrast, provides prices for 274 books for one single town within two days – quantitative book data that is uniquely concentrated.[1]

To continue our literacy argument from the previous chapters, we will take this data to analyse the social accessibility of books and to gauge the financial means necessary to participate in the world of books as book owner or even as patron of a substantial personal library. Thus far we have approached this question with a focus on book owners with a relatively modest social position. This approach was, on the one hand, via the professional biography of Burhān al-Dīn as a multiple part-time reciter, and on the other, via the subsequent trajectory of his books. Here we saw that his books went into numerous households across the urban topography of Jerusalem and that individuals from different social groups were among the buyers. In this chapter we move away

[1] On another case of well-documented book prices see Déroche, de Castilla and Tahali, *Les livres du sultan*, I, 95–109.

from the social profiles of book owners and will, rather, zoom in on the actual book prices. We will thus ask to what extent the information on these prices provides a more systematic insight into what social groups were actually able to own books in late eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem. In the end, this discussion comes down to the (seemingly simple) question of how expensive books were in late medieval Jerusalem.

This discussion is not just a simple matter of analysing unproblematic quantitative data. Precisely because previous discussions of pre-Ottoman book prices have not been fully satisfactory, this chapter will also deal with two major methodological issues, which might be labelled 'meaning' and 'reading'. 'Meaning' refers to the question of how to interpret quantitative data on book prices and whether broader conclusions can be drawn from different sets of data. 'Reading', in turn, refers to a question that might seem at first glance rather pedestrian, namely how to read the numerals that we find in late medieval documentary sources. As will become evident, this is far from a banal question, as we find in the sale document – and in many other documents and texts produced by notary witnesses – an intricate notation system that has hitherto not even been given a satisfactory name. In contrast to previous scholarship, which has labelled this notation system '*siyāqa*' script, we suggest that we are here dealing with 'Arabic documentary numerals'.

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Really an Auction? And Where?

The economy of the book in the medieval period has not yet been at the centre of scholarship on the Arabic lands, though many studies have touched upon it in passing. Doris Behrens-Abouseif has been important in trying to push the field in this direction and Maya Shatzmiller has attempted to trace the development of book prices – an issue to which we return below.[2] In consequence, the question of where exactly books were traded within the urban topography (as well as outside towns and cities) remains rather poorly explored. The economy of the book certainly rested to a large extent on the actual book market, about which we have a decent amount of knowledge for cities such as

[2] Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*; Shatzmiller, *Adoption of Paper*.

Cairo and Damascus.[3] Here, the *warrāq* (stationers) and the *kutubīyūn* (book dealers) not only traded books, but also produced them. No book market has yet been identified for Jerusalem during the medieval period and even for the Ottoman period our knowledge is very limited.[4] Our main narrative source for pre-Ottoman Jerusalem, al-ʿUlaymī's *al-Uns al-jalīl*, shows the author's great interest in documents and archival collections, but little to no interest in the book trade or book ownership. In the same vein, we have not found a single reference to a book market in the entire corpus of the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents. The absence of a market in the currently available sources certainly does not mean that there was no specialised book market in the town – there is a very fair chance that future scholarship will identify one.

At any rate, what we want to suggest here is that the field might have been fixated on the market as the physical space where books were traded during the pre-Ottoman period. As an alternative it might be more useful to look at other mechanisms that show how quickly books changed hands, as we saw in the case of Burhān al-Dīn, and how book collections were thus regularly reconfigured. One of these mechanisms, and arguably a very important one, was the sale (generally by auction) of estate libraries in physical spaces beyond markets, which is how Burhān al-Dīn's books were sold. For the Ottoman period it has been argued that in seventeenth-century Aleppo, for instance, buying at auctions of estates was the principal way of buying books.[5] The auction as a crucial site of bookish transactions has, however, been slow to come into the focus of scholarship, which has repeatedly questioned to what extent we can read estate documents as referring to effective sales. There is caution as to whether the 'prices' in many estate registers might not actually be sums paid after an auction, but rather a judge's estimates in order to divide the objects of the estate according to the heirs' relative entitlements.[6] The documents produced for the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, however, leave no doubt that we are looking at an actual auction and at actual prices, not at a judge's estimate. The sale booklet is organised by buyers and the accounts produced in the days

[3] Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 71–102; Quickel, *Making Tools*; Pomerantz, *Maqāmah on the Book Market*; Aljoumani, *Warāqa*; Hirschler, *Monument*, 70–2.
[4] Barakat, *Tārīkh al-maktabāt al-ʿarabīya*, 29/30.
[5] Mills, *Commerce of Knowledge*, 73/4.
[6] Liebrenz, *Der Wert von Büchern*, 659; Quinn, *Books and Their Readers*, 27/8.

following the auction clearly show that al-Adhraʿī and his men chased these buyers to obtain the cash they owed.

For the pre-Ottoman periods, references to such 'auctions' often provide little insight into how such estate sales actually worked.[7] Most evidence is very brief and open to interpretation, such as a newly discovered type of manuscript note, the 'vendor's note',[8] which might be read as suggesting that auctions were common in the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. In addition, we have the standard problem that trade-related sources for this period tend to focus on long-distance trade, evidence of which is found in letters, for example. Local trading, by contrast, is in many ways much less visible and its written manifestation less prone to survival – the papers of the trader al-Ḥamawī are a rare example.[9] Against this background, Burhān al-Dīn's paperwork in his estate archive is relevant because it is to date the first documentary window onto the sale of books from an estate in the pre-Ottoman period.

The sale of assets to settle a deceased's estate (whether in form of an auction or not) could take place in different locations. The jurist al-Asyūṭī described the process in the ninth/fifteenth century as a process of sales made in market-places in his discussion of the issue in his seminal notary handbook *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*. According to him, moveable assets were grouped and then taken to the appropriate market – small items to the trinket market, books to the book market and so on – where they were sold in the presence of notary witnesses.[10] Such market sales for estates are described not only in this normative source, but also in narrative sources for Cairo and Damascus.[11]

The documentary record of Burhān al-Dīn's estate shows that such market sales were not the only option. His legacy was definitely not sold in market-places, but most likely in his house and, more importantly, in the form of one public auction of the entire estate. If his books, his furniture, his clothing and his household objects (including cushions, combs, razors and scutchers) had been brought to the respective markets this would certainly

[7] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 429–34.
[8] Liebrenz, *Vendor's Note*.
[9] Obviously the Geniza documents have provided the basis for the most spectacular books on long-distance trade, such as Lambourn, *Abraham's Luggage* and Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions*.
[10] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 369/70.
[11] Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 74/5 for Cairo and Liebrenz, *Rifāʿīya aus Damaskus*, 266 for Damascus (Ibn Ṭawq).

have left some trace in the estate's documentary record. For instance, not only the name of the buyer, but also the name of the witness vouching for the respective transaction on the market would have been registered somewhere. Furthermore, the sale booklet clearly shows that many buyers bought a wide variety of objects. For instance, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl b. Makkī (Buyer 13) went home with twenty-two books as well as an Anatolian carpet, several fans, an ottoman, a pair of wooden clogs and an oven. It is highly unlikely that these transactions took place on different markets and were then simply recorded in one entry in our sale booklet. There is no space to discuss this in detail, but the second cluster of documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus on the sale of an estate (that of the trader al-Ḥamawī) gives the same impression of a sale that was not dispersed across various markets.

That the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate took place at a one-off house auction is also evident from the 'auxiliary' expenses of running the sale. Such expenses were repeatedly recorded in other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents for the sale of estates, and typically included costs for paper (because so much paperwork was produced), for porters (because goods needed to be moved), for money-changers (because different monetary systems were used) and for witnesses (because legal certainty was needed).[12] In the case of Burhān al-Dīn's estate the expenses were recorded in the two accounts #793 and #800 of the sale (see Chapter 8). Here, we find one intriguing item, namely a payment for 'arranging the books' (*tartīb al-kutub*).[13] Burhān al-Dīn's books must thus have been displayed to the potential buyers in a single place when they were offered for sale. This did not happen in the market, where the professional book traders would certainly not have taken a special fee for arranging books – this was part and parcel of their job and included in their fee.

That an in-house auction is the most likely possibility for the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate is supported by another item listed as an expense, the fees for the porters. In the accounts for settling his estate there is a special fee for those 'carrying the books' (*ḥaml kutub*, #800), who are called in another list 'porters of chest' (#793) as the books must have been carried around in one of Burhān al-Dīn's chests. These porters only received half a dirham for

[12] For instance #591, ed. Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 111–26.
[13] #800b, left, l. 4.

their services, while those arranging the books, for instance, received fifteen and a half dirhams. This paltry sum suggests that the porters did not carry all these books through the streets of Jerusalem to the market, but that they only moved them within the house of Burhān al-Dīn. That an in-house auction is the most likely option for the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate is finally supported by the fee paid to the professional broker (*dalāla*). The accounts mention one single fee of forty dirhams, not various fees due to brokers working at different markets.[14]

We are thus definitely looking at an auction and not at a judge's estimate or a sale dispersed across markets. From Burhān al-Dīn's documents we get a good impression of how such an auction must have played out. A crowd of roughly a hundred persons must have jostled in his house and courtyard for the two days of the sale. It was October, but the auction continued after the sun set and as darkness began to fall, shortly after six o'clock, as we have seen from the expenses for candles.[15] Near-contemporary descriptions of auctions of estate libraries in narrative sources give us an insight into how the many moments of nerve-wrecking bidding must have felt for the members of this auction community. For instance, one scholar at an estate sale had his eye on an autograph of the dictionary *Lisān al-ʿarab*. When 'he sought to buy it … he started to bid and others started to increase their bids … The price rose higher and higher … he was afraid of increasing his bid any further' and had to give up on any hope of buying this book.[16] During the two auction days, when the large crowd of people was bustling around Burhān al-Dīn's house there must have been many such moments when people tried to get hold of the books and other objects they had set their hopes on, sometimes in vain.

The Meaning of Prices

If we are looking here at one single auction, this also means that the sale booklet offers a uniquely compact set of data points for pre-Ottoman book prices.[17] In order to understand the quality of this data it is necessary to reflect on the

[14] #800b, left, ll. 2–6.
[15] See above for our estimate that his death occurred in late Ramaḍān (9th month), which was in the year 789 in mid-October.
[16] Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, V, 162 ('Alī b. Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī).
[17] We thank Georg Christ for feedback on this section on book prices.

meaning of book prices, and for this we can briefly turn to previous scholarship. Maya Shatzmiller has made the most significant foray into this question and has put forward, for instance, a graph illustrating the long-term development of book prices in Egypt between the third/ninth and the seventh/thirteenth centuries.[18] Here she makes the very interesting argument that we observe a fall in book prices on account of the fall in the price of paper. Her limited data set of only 171 book prices means that the statement that '[the results] show that the average price of a book volume in Egypt went from 4.2105 dinars in the 9th century to 0.5153 dinars in the 13th century' has to be taken with a degree of caution. Most problematically, the 'average' book prices for the third/ninth century and for the fourth/tenth century are based on one single data point respectively.[19]

A second layer of complication is added by the fact that such research only refers to 'books', as if there were a clear and consistent terminology in medieval texts when speaking about a written artefact. As we have seen above, when talking about books we need to be precise as to whether the 'book' referred to is a part, a volume, a multi-volume text, a multiple-text book, and so on, to avoid ending up in a terminological quagmire. Comparing a small number of data points without factoring in the object's materiality makes broad assertions on the development of book prices a rather risky affair. As we have seen, even the prices within Burhān al-Dīn's auction for 'the Koran' varied greatly, ranging between two (book 126) and seventy-two dirhams (book 108). These different prices were exclusively tied to the materiality of the objects. If we had taken the prices from different documents the terminology would not necessarily have indicated these very different materialities. Looking at a small number of data points, one might thus have been tempted to observe a massive fall (or rise) in prices and to link this phenomenon with broader economic developments or fluctuating paper prices.

Apart from the size of the data set and the materiality, a third layer that needs to be factored in, especially when comparing prices across far-flung regions and across centuries, is cultural factors. The very same text in the very

[18] Shatzmiller, *Early Knowledge Economy*.

[19] Shatzmiller, *Early Knowledge Economy*, 7/8. The subsequent Shatzmiller, *Adoption of Paper*, uses the same data, though the number of data points is no longer given.

same materiality could obviously fetch very different prices depending on the popularity of the text itself, the popularity of the book's scribe in a specific region or period, the popularity of a specific scholar who left notes in the book, and so on. The cultural values attached to a specific work are obviously hardly ever explicated when it is sold, but it is clear that being an autograph, being in the hand of a known student of the author, its transmission by scholars important in a specific region, former ownership by prestigious scholars and being the only copy in that region were among the factors that bestowed cultural prestige and monetary value on a book. There are at least some occasional insights that we get from book lists that help us to understand how these factors played out. For instance, in his endowment list from the ninth/fifteenth-century, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī noted next to one book that he paid a high price for it as it carried the marginalia of a well-known scholar.[20]

We can stay with this endowment list so as to further explicate the issue of cultural factors. The numerous small *ḥadīth* booklets that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī owned had probably been items of considerable value in the seventh/thirteenth century. Two hundred years later this genre had largely fallen out of fashion and prices had fallen considerably – he bought some of these booklets even on the trinket market.[21] The very same Damascene booklets would also have fetched a significantly lower price in Cairo in the seventh/thirteenth century, as this peculiar form of *ḥadīth* transmission and the Damascene protagonists inscribed in the manuscript notes were much less valued in a Cairene context. The changes in these prices again have nothing to do with broader economic developments or paper prices, but are as important as materiality when thinking about book prices over long periods and across regions.

The fourth and final issue that affects the meaning of quantitative data on book prices in addition to the size of data sets, materiality and cultural factors is linked to the sources for this data. The prices that we get for the pre-Ottoman period are often mediated via narrative sources, especially chronicles and biographical compendia, and these texts tend to focus on the outstanding cases. As Doris Behrens-Abouseif cautions, the authors were mostly interested in prices for particularly valuable copies and luxurious books, while the standard

[20] Hirschler, *Monument*, no. 498.
[21] Hirschler, *Monument*, 70–2.

run-of-the-mill book rarely caught their attention. Typical examples of this tendency to focus on the pricey items are the libraries that went into Sultanic endowments in Cairo in the late eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth centuries.[22] That the average price of the book in these endowments was at least one gold dinar certainly does not give us an impression of book prices in Egypt at that point, only an idea of a very narrow segment at the top end of the market. The more we move back in time, the fewer sources we have and the greater the focus on the exceptionally luxurious and grandiose. For the third/ninth century, the figures given for the sale of book collections clearly only reflect the plush and luxurious end of book culture.[23]

In short, the data sets which we have on pre-Ottoman book ownership are still far too small and far too inconsistent for us to start drawing graphs or advancing arguments with any claim of statistical authority. Even the statistical analyses for the numerous estate records in the Ottoman court registers, which are much more comprehensive and have far more consistent data sets, are far from straightforward. Christoph Neumann has warned against rushing into quantitative exercises on the basis of this seemingly neat data and rightly insists that the registers' documentary and social logic ought to be considered.[24]

In order to understand book prices, we thus need to do more than quarry quantitative information from narrative and documentary texts. If we stay with scholarship on the Ottoman period and its attempts to trace the development of book prices, the long road ahead of pre-Ottoman scholarship becomes clearer still. For the Ottoman period we do have much larger sets of data and the prices can be derived from a much broader set of sources (especially court registers, manuscript notes and narrative texts) and are thus of much better quality. Yet we still have a far from clear picture of the development of book prices, even within one single city such as Damascus.[25] The most convincing data so far was derived from fairly consistent sources for short periods of time, as discussed in the important article by Establet and Pascual.[26] Here they ana-

[22] Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 83.
[23] See for instance the examples given in Gruendler, *Rise of the Arabic Book*, 141–2 and Touati, *L'Armoire à sagesse*.
[24] Neumann, *Arm und Reich in Qaraferye*.
[25] Liebrenz, *Der Wert von Büchern*.
[26] Establet and Pascual, *Les livres des gens*.

lyse hundreds of estate inventories in Damascene court registers for a period of some thirty years around the year 1100/1700, but even so they hesitate to make a clear argument on the relative value of book prices and their diachronic development.

What do these methodological reflections on the size of data sets, materiality, cultural factors and the sources for this data mean for the quantitative data derivable from Burhān al-Dīn's books? To what extent do these factors limit the usefulness of this data? The main limitation that we have to acknowledge is the issue of materiality. As we have not been able to track down any actual books it is impossible to get an idea of factors such as paper quality, the presence of decorative elements, bindings, the quality of the script and the lavishness of the page layout. The impact of materiality on the prices in the sale booklet is only known for a few outliers at the very end of their life cycle. Nineteen books are described as incomplete or damaged (*kharm*), yet here we are not told these books' titles.[27] In other cases, we get at least some explanation behind the varying prices via the information on the completeness of the work in question. For instance, the *ḥadīth* compendium of Muslim sold once for 110 dirhams (most likely a complete copy) and once for twenty-two and a half dirhams. In the latter case the writer of the booklet mentions that these were only parts of (*ajzā' min*) the work.[28] Just how problematic the absence of materiality is in most other cases is neatly illustrated by the varying prices for copies of the Koran, which cannot be meaningfully analysed from the booklet itself. The same goes for examples such as copies of the *ḥadīth* compendium *Tajrīd al-ṣiḥāḥ*. Seemingly, both were complete, but one sold for seventy-two and a half dirhams (book 50) and the other for thirteen and a half dirhams (book 122b). The booklet provides no information as to why the prices were so different.

On the positive side, the data in Burhān al-Dīn's case is less problematic with regard to cultural factors because the prices derived from the sale booklet were all paid in one consistent setting (same days, same city, same group of buyers). Within the framework of this single auction the cases of very similar

[27] Book 95 (9 books), book 147 (1 book), book 164 (2 books), book 165 (3 books), book 218 (9 books).
[28] Books 151 and 235.

prices for the same book suggest that copies of comparable materiality fetched similar prices. Examples include: the two copies of the above-mentioned *ṣūfī* handbook *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, which sold for exactly the same price, seventy dirhams each;[29] the two copies of the sermons by Ibn al-Jawzī that sold for almost the same price, twelve dirhams and eleven and a half dirhams;[30] and the three copies of the *Maqāmāt* that were sold at prices within a very narrow range of fifteen to eighteen dirhams.[31]

In the same vein, the data from the booklet is also less problematic with regard to the two other issues laid out above, size of the data set and mediation via narrative sources. From the booklet we get the prices for 274 books, which is a fairly large number compared with what we have for other pre-Ottoman settings. More importantly perhaps, the numbers are derived from a documentary source that does not have the same selection bias towards the pricy and the luxurious as narrative texts. Without doubt, the data is far from perfect. We will never know, for instance, what these nineteen incomplete and damaged books were. Yet we do gain an insight into the value of a personally owned book collection that we would never have been able to derive from chronicles or biographical compendia.

The Affordability of the Book

So, having established that we are looking at prices paid at an actual auction and having assessed the quality of this data, we can turn to the core question of this chapter: what do these 274 book prices actually tell us about the social accessibility of the written word in late eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem? The central and most important point that comes out of the following analysis is that there was a considerable range of book prices that catered for different social groups. Some books at the bottom end of this range were definitely within reach of a large section of the population of Jerusalem, such as the aforementioned copy of the Koran for two dirhams and the *Shāṭibīya* ode on Koran recitation for four dirhams.[32] At the top end, by contrast, we see books that were clearly only affordable for a select group of the town's population,

[29] Books 104 and 106.
[30] Books 120 and 220.
[31] Books 26, 194 and 267.
[32] Books 126 and 29.

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Table 6.1 Distribution of book prices (in dirhams) in the sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's estate by decile

Decile	0–10	10–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	70–80	80–90	90–100
Price	>2	>9	>11.25	>13.5	>16	>18	>21.75	>26	>32.5	>52

such as the previously mentioned multi-volume works *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn* for 305 dirhams and al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* for 260 dirhams.[33]

That the prices at the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's many books differed by a factor of over 150 means that a book was available for individuals with a range of incomes.[34] The significance of this argument only comes out if we look at the distribution of book prices, rather than the average price. The average price of a book from Burhān al-Dīn's estate was twenty-seven dirhams, but on account of eight expensive outliers above 100 dirhams this value is of limited usefulness. More meaningful is that the median was eighteen dirhams,[35] that is to say that half of the books sold for eighteen dirhams or fewer. As we will see in more detail below, eighteen dirhams was roughly equal to eighteen days of bread consumption by an average household at that time. The distribution by decile shows clearly how many books were at the lower end of the price range, and that a fifth of the books sold for fewer than nine dirhams (roughly equal to nine days of bread consumption by an average household).

Before we move on with the argument that Burhān al-Dīn's books show how modest households were able to purchase books, we have to turn once again to the question of the extent to which this sale booklet is actually representative. It could very well have been the case that the prices paid at the auction of his estate were for some reason outstandingly low (or high). We do have some evidence from other auctions in Jerusalem, and it indicates that the prices for Burhān al-Dīn's books were in line with those paid elsewhere. If we return to the above-mentioned account of the sale of Muḥyī al-Dīn's estate,[36] we see that five titles overlap with those in Burhān al-Dīn's auction. At Muḥyī

[33] Books 43 and 1.
[34] See Quinn, *Books and Their Readers*, 41–7 for price ranges in seventeenth-century Istanbul.
[35] The median was more precisely 18.125 dirhams.
[36] #768 (793/1391).

al-Dīn's auction the *Risāla* by al-Qushayrī, for instance, sold for eighteen dirhams; the same book fetched only a slightly higher price, twenty-two dirhams, at Burhān al-Dīn's auction.

The book prices paid at Burhān al-Dīn's auction thus seem to be representative, and this is probably also true for the other objects sold. If we turn to objects other than books, we also see a broad range of prices with numerous cheap items, so that participants were able to buy very differently priced pieces of furniture and clothing. The prices for such objects show a similar distribution as the prices of books. Among the fifteen most expensive items sold at the auction we certainly find ten books, but we also find two overgarments (for 100 and 133 dirhams), a pair of chests for 160 dirhams, a sword for eighty dirhams and a carpet for seventy-five dirhams. The average price of twenty-three dirhams for non-book objects was only slightly lower than that for the books (twenty-seven dirhams) and the median of twelve dirhams for non-book objects is not that far from the median for books (eighteen dirhams). Book prices were thus not on a level entirely separate from the prices for other household objects, so we can think of books as being in the same material world as cushions, vessels, jars, fans, combs and knives. This is a world where most households certainly owned a jar, but where such jars could obviously range from modest pottery to luxurious metal ware. Similarly, books could be owned by many households, but these books greatly varied in material terms.

That differently priced books catered for socially different groups of buyers is evident from an examination of the nexus between social status and the prices paid for books. Those buying the books in the top decile of the price range clearly belonged to the social elite of Jerusalem, with almost all buyers spending considerable sums above 100 dirhams.[37] Here, we find also those top spenders who spent at least 300 dirhams at this auction, including Buyer 11 with 1,295 dirhams and Buyer 10 with 566 dirhams.[38] Among the buyers of books in the top decile we find prominent officers (Buyers 2, 3 and 41), the *ḥanafī* judge (Buyer 5), the *shāfiʿī* deputy judge of Jerusalem (Buyer 4) and other prominent scholars (Buyers 11, 12, 57, 59).

[37] The exceptions are Buyer 6 (65.75 dirhams), Buyer 76 (85 dirhams), Buyer 5 (87 dirhams) and Buyer 53 (92.5 dirhams).

[38] The other buyers in this group are Buyer 13 (510.5 dirhams), Buyer 2 (466 dirhams), Buyer 1 (361 dirhams), Buyer 54 (355.75 dirhams) and Buyer 3 (346 dirhams).

If we turn to the lowest decile of the price range, we see a very different group of buyers who in general belonged to the above-defined 'small-scale' buyers who spent fewer than sixty-five dirhams. The buyers in this decile tend to be those individuals who are not identifiable, and here we have, for instance: Buyer 30, who acquires nothing but an incomplete or damaged (*kharm*) book for three and a half dirhams; a notary witness (Buyer 65), who went home with a book for nine and a half dirhams; a certain Muḥammad b. Yūnus (Buyer 87) and his purchase of a complete copy of the Koran for twelve and a half dirhams; a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zayn (Buyer 22), who bought an incomplete copy of the biography of the Prophet for fourteen and a half dirhams; and the glazier ʿUmar (Buyer 17) and the book he bought for fifteen dirhams. In other words, the books in the lower deciles circulated in a social world that was at some distance from that of the town's judges and officers.

Up until now, the argument that prices for some books were so low that individuals across a broad range of social backgrounds could buy them has been based on comparing book prices within the sale booklet, matching them with book prices from other estates, and the social background of buyers. A very important dimension for understanding the meaning of book prices has been missing so far: comparing them with the prices for other goods in Jerusalem during this period. Frustratingly, the enormous set of Ḥaram al-sharīf documents proves to be of limited usefulness for calculating living expenses as they provide very little information on prices of staple goods. Most monetary data points are, rather, for financial transactions (debts and repayments of debts) and salaries (almost exclusively linked to Burhān al-Dīn), as well as sale prices and rent for houses (although apart from Burhān al-Dīn's house, we do not know what these houses looked like). What is entirely missing from these documents is information about the price of living, for example how much individuals spent each day on bread.[39] That said, there are at least some prices of staple goods, even if they refer to transactions between wholesale merchants.

[39] Such prices include the one we find in accounts #803 of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī. Here he mentions that he bought from his uncle 500 raṭl (925 kg) of pistachios for 725 dirhams, that is, one dirham buys 1.28 kilogram. However, this price is difficult to use for calculating the value of books, for several reasons: the transaction took place twenty years prior to Burhān al-Dīn's death (year 769); we do not know in which season this price was paid; pistachios were not a staple food; and it is a transaction between wholesale merchants, which does not reflect the retail price on the market (we thank Michail Hradek/Munich for this reference).

We are lucky enough to have a price from the year 788/1386–7, that is one year before the death of Burhān al-Dīn, for one of the most important food commodities in Palestine, olive oil. Here we see that one dirham bought roughly half a litre of olive oil.[40]

As the documents from Jerusalem are not of great help regarding other retail prices, we can turn to the narrative sources for bread prices. There are no reports on Jerusalem, but we have information on Damascus. As Jerusalem belonged to the same zone of coinage circulation as Damascus[41] and was also under its political influence we can assume that prices in Jerusalem broadly mirrored those in Damascus. For 789, the year Burhān al-Dīn died, we read of a rise in prices and a dirham only bought 1.85 kilograms of bread.[42] The challenge here is that – just like books – the texts tend to only mention prices that were extraordinary, for example after a significant rise. However, we know at least that this rise was much less dramatic than during the food crisis in northern Syria twenty years earlier. At that point, one dirham only bought 0.3 kilograms of bread and chroniclers reported that corpses, cats and dogs were eaten.[43]

In order to contextualise the rise of prices in Damascus in the year 789 we can take an event from the following year: the population was again riled on account of rising bread prices, so the governor ordered that bread be sold at a price that would calm the population. This new price meant that one dirham bought 3.7 kilograms of bread.[44] This price must have been identical (or close) to the standard price in southern Bilād al-Shām in that period to have had the intended political effect. Adam Sabra has suggested that average bread consumption for an adult urban dweller (in his case in Cairo) was one

[40] In #809 (we thank Michail Hradek/Munich for this reference) we find the price of 290 dirhams for 100 *raṭl* of oil, that is 185 kilograms of oil. The density of oil is around 90 per cent that of water, so one kilogram of oil roughly equals 1.1 litre of oil, so 185 kilograms is equal to around 203.5 litres. One *raṭl* of oil costs 2.9 dirhams (equal to one kg of oil for 1.57 dirhams) so one litre of oil cost 1.43 dirhams. If, therefore, one dirham was paid for 0.7 of a litre of oil between wholesale merchants, we can estimate that one dirham would buy half a litre of oil on the market. For the *raṭl* see Hinz, *Maße und Gewichte*, 30–1.

[41] Jerusalem documents regularly state prices in 'the dirhams currently used in Damascus'; see for instance #039 and #622.

[42] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, V, 198 (one *raṭl* of bread for one dirham).

[43] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, IV, 391 (one *raṭl* of bread for six dirhams).

[44] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh*, III, 241/2 (two *raṭls* of bread for one dirham).

kilogram of bread per day,[45] and one can surmise that children consumed on average a third of that amount. In consequence, a household with three adults and four children would require roughly four kilograms of bread per day, which would have cost slightly more than one dirham.[46] Burhān al-Dīn certainly had three adults in his household at any given point considering his multiple wives, the presence of a slave (though Shīrīn might have paid for her food) and possibly also those of his children who had grown up, and so on. He thus required thirty dirhams per month to pay for bread, not to mention the cost of other food items, drinking water, rent, clothing and heating in the winter months.

On the basis of this bread price (one dirham for 3.7 kilograms) and the olive oil price (one dirham for 0.5 litres), it is clear that the books in the top deciles of the price range carried too hefty a price tag for the average household. The *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*, at 305 dirhams, was equivalent to over 1,100 kilograms of bread (the equivalent of 275 days of bread for an average household) or over 150 litres of olive oil. Al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* at 260 dirhams was equivalent to over 950 kilograms of bread (the equivalent of almost 240 days of bread for an average household) or 120 litres of olive oil. Such prices were also out of reach if we recall the fact that Burhān al-Dīn bought his house for 825 dirhams. Yet, if we consider that half of the books of Burhān al-Dīn sold for eighteen dirhams or fewer, the costs of book ownership look much more moderate. Those buying the books in the lowest deciles, at nine dirhams or fewer, did not need a high income to become a book owner. The cheapest book, at two dirhams, was equivalent to just under seven and a half kilograms of bread (the cost for two days of bread for an average household) or one litre of olive oil. The *Shāṭibīya*, at four dirhams, in turn had a worth comparable to fifteen kilograms of bread (the equivalent of between three and four days of bread for an average household) or two litres of olive oil.

This brings us to the last take on how to understand the meaning of the book prices in Burhān al-Dīn's estate: salaries. The library that Burhān al-Dīn

[45] Sabra, *Poverty and Charity*, 120. He translates *raṭl* as 'pound'. The Egyptian *raṭl* in this period, according to Hinz, *Maße und Gewichte*, was equivalent to c. 500 grams.

[46] The document on his position in the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ shows that in Jerusalem a *raṭl* was equivalent to four loaves of bread (#013, 1.2.770/1368).

had in his house was, at a total sale price of roughly 7,400 dirhams, a major investment. This sum is the equivalent of five years of bread for an average household or 3,700 litres of olive oil, and it certainly expressed an income well beyond that of most households in Jerusalem. Considering Burhān al-Dīn's monthly income of at least 160 dirhams for the last decade of his life, the acquisition of such a library seems realistic: if he bought all of his books for roughly the same value as they sold, this would mean that he spent some sixty dirhams per month on books. So, for somebody like him who was able to successfully navigate the market for minor part-time positions in the scholarly world, acquiring such a large number of books was clearly a possibility. That his books subsequently went into sixty-seven new households, among which we find quite modest ones, shows that cases such as his were not unique in this period.

Those books in Burhān al-Dīn's library that are of relevance for our argument here are thus the cheap books. Similar books, or rather booklets, certainly made up a considerable portion of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's library – though we do not have book prices in his case. A better-documented case of cheap books comes from the Geniza in Cairo, where Judith Olszowy-Schlanger has identified books in rotuli format as the equivalent of modern 'pocket editions'. She argues that these popular books were accessible to a much wider section of the population while the more expensive books (there is a similar range as in Burhān al-Dīn's library) clearly catered for a different readership. In the case of the Geniza the analysis is based on extant copies – exactly the kind of information we are missing for Burhān al-Dīn's books. It is thus possible to show that such books were made of cheap writing material (such as reject parchment or reused paper/parchment), that they often had no rulings and that they were written at great speed.[47] While the Geniza offers the actual material artefacts, the estate of Burhān al-Dīn and its subsequent diffusion offers one social context in which such cheap books arguably circulated.

Pinning down the social contexts of non-elite owners of books in the Geniza material is difficult, and the most recent overview article on books and libraries in the Geniza by Miriam Frenkel remains very cautious in this regard.[48] For Egypt or Bilād al-Shām we only have the case of Burhān al-Dīn

[47] Olszowy, *Cheap Books*.
[48] Frenkel, *Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah*.

for a personal documented book collection with prices, so we have to look further to obtain further context concerning the circulation of cheap books. Here, we can consider Jewish book owners and their libraries on the Iberian Peninsula during the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries, as discussed by Joseph Hacker.[49] Their wills, inventory lists and notarised lists come of course from a very different historical context and a radically different documentary context. For instance, Christian scribes were often not terribly interested in recording Hebrew-script books or were simply not able to do so. Yet the available documentation of over a hundred lists with over 3,000 books shows how widespread book ownership was, even though there were many reasons why books were excluded from documents. With an average of twenty-eight books per owner we see a range from small-scale owners with one or two books to individuals with well over a hundred books. Overall, it is evident that book ownership reached well beyond elite households and into the social contexts of 'laborers, craftsmen, merchants, financial agents and money lenders'.[50]

To return to Jerusalem, the estate inventories in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are rather silent on books, as has been mentioned above, but this might be a function of the nature of the documents rather than proof of the absence of books. One striking element that merits further investigation is that we seem to have a socially biased selection of estate inventories in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, with a strong focus on non-elite individuals. This might at least explain why book ownership in elite households is not visible from this corpus. Yet we now know that books were also present in many non-elite households and that the books of Burhān al-Dīn went into sixty-seven households. This wide diffusion of his books relative to the near-silence of estate inventories indicates either that for some reason a large proportion of inventories registering books have not made their way into the corpus or that books were not systematically recorded. Yet we have seen that there are a dozen documents that give some insight into individuals' Arabic libraries in Jerusalem, including the library of Muḥyī al-Dīn. These were generally collections with under twenty items, and

[49] Hacker, *Jewish Book Owners and Their Libraries*.
[50] Hacker, *Jewish Book Owners and Their Libraries*, 95.

Table 6.2 Books in Ḥaram al-sharīf documents

No.	Doc. no.	Name of owner	Date	No. of titles	Other details
1	#939	Muḥammad al-Raṭūnī	no date	11	+ 1 *majmūʿ* + 2 Korans
2	#595	al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wāḥid	781/1379	2	in 9 volumes + 2 Korans
3	#178	Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā	793/1391		34 volumes + quires
4	#768	Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā	793/1391	16	+ incomplete volumes
5	#652	Burhān al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī	793/1391	16	+ 2 volumes
6	#776	al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Saʿdī	794/1392	4	+ numerous quires + 2 Korans
7	#087	Nāṣir al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghazzī	795/1393		half a Koran
8	#146	Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq	795/1393		1 bound book + books + quires
9	#494	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nassāj	795/1393		15 volumes
10	#570	Yūsuf b. Sufyān b. Baykāl al-Rūmī	795/1393	4	+ 1 book as security
11	#227	Amal Ilmish al-Turkīya	796/1394		one complete Koran
12	#284	Yalbughā b. ʿAbd Allāh	796/1394	7	+ 8 books + 2 Korans + 1 *majmūʿ*
13	#448	al-Shaykh ʿUmar al-Sharafī	796/1394		old, small and incomplete Koran
14	#772-1	Mīrān al-ʿAjamī	796/1394		2 Korans

Note: The numbers are approximate as the scribes had very different ways of noting sheets, quires, volumes, titles and books.

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their owners (including one woman called Amal)[51] left rather modest estates. The numbers in Table 6.2 represent the number of books found in these houses, and these are a low estimate as not all books were registered.[52]

What we see here are thus modest personal collections that sometimes contain no more than half a Koran, but where we also see households with double-digit numbers of volumes or titles. All the owners of these books are individuals who are not identifiable in narrative texts and the way they are named in the documents also does not imply elite status. The impression

[51] #227 (796/1393).
[52] #570, l. 6 states, for instance, 'and books, among them [4 books are listed]'.

that we are dealing here with rather modest households is corroborated by the other few belongings listed in the documents. The owner of the books in document #146 (our number 8), for instance, is introduced as 'a sickly man, called Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, known as the reciter in the Ibn al-Nafīs Zāwiya'. It seems that this Muḥammad never received an honorific title (*laqab*) and was renowned for reciting in a rather minor *zāwiya*. This social selection bias is for our purposes not a major methodological impediment as our interest lies in such examples of small-scale book owners. If Muḥammad's only job was indeed reciter in the Ibn al-Nafīs Zāwiya, he was a part-time reciter, but not one with multiple positions. In this case it is quite remarkable that he owned one bound book, several (seemingly unbound) books and further quires.

In the same vein, another book owner, Yalbughā b. 'Abd Allāh, is also identified without honorific or title. The names indicate a slave background, but we find in his house a book collection of nine titles and eight further books. Among these modest book owners were also craftsmen and traders. The estate inventory of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nassāj, who might have been a weaver by profession, shows that he owned fifteen volumes. These examples thus provide cases of book ownership in Jerusalem that reached well beyond elite households. That they are only the tip of the iceberg is evident when we return to al-Qalqashandī and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. The document that we have was meant to carefully differentiate between the property of Muḥammad and that of his deceased grandfather. The fact that Muḥammad's books were described in such loving detail implies that his grandfather probably owned books too – otherwise the scribe could have simply written 'the books' and the issue would have been settled. Unfortunately, the estate inventory of the grandfather has been lost and thus his book collection vanished without leaving a trace in the written record.

Regrettable too is that the vast majority of documents do not provide any prices for the objects they list. In the case of Muḥyī al-Dīn we thankfully also have an account of the sale of this estate and hence book prices.[53]

[53] #768 (793/1391).

Table 6.3 Books sold from the estate of Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Turkī, according to the makhzūma #768 (793/1391) in order of prices paid

Title	Price (dirhams)
Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn	73
muṣḥaf sharīf (Koran)	67
al-Jamʿ bayna al-saḥīḥayn[54]	30
al-Ishrāq[55]	22
al-Niḥal wa-al-milal[56]	20
Risālat al-Qushayrī[57]	18
Sirāj al-mulūk[58]	15
Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā 'and more still'[59]	14
Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn (two volumes)	13.5
Minhāj al-bayān 'and more still'[60]	13
al-Jawāhir 'and more still'[61]	13
al-Mughnī fī al-ṭibb[62]	12
al-Burda 'and more still'[63]	6
Nihāyat al-iqdām[64]	5.5
[parts] of *al-Mudhish*[65]	4.5
Ṭarīqat al-khilāf[66]	2

[54] Numerous works with this title exist.
[55] Not identified; the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) is rather unlikely.
[56] Numerous works with this title exist.
[57] Authored by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072; cf. book 195 in Burhān al-Dīn's list).
[58] Authored by Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126?; cf. book 119 in Burhān al-Dīn's list).
[59] Numerous works with this title exist; cf. (e.g.) Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, nos 260 and 261. 'And more still' is the literal translation of '*wa-ghayruhu*'; by it, the writer of the list meant that the manuscript (or the lot) contained additional titles, and not just the one that he cites.
[60] Arguably the pharmacological work *The Method of Demonstrating* by Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā Ibn Jazla (d. 493/1100), of which we also find eight copies in the Ashrafīya Library (Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, nos 1030 and 1480).
[61] Numerous works with this title exist.
[62] Possibly the medical work *The Sufficient Book Concerning the Treatment of Illnesses and the Knowledge of Afflictions and Affections* by Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 495/1101; cf. Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, no 1037).
[63] The famous ode in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad by Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī (d. c. 694/1294; cf. Hirschler, *Monument*, nos 227m and 572n).
[64] Possibly the theological work *Kitāb Nihāyat al-iqdām fī ʿilm al-kalām* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153; ed. and tr. Alfred Guillaume, London 1934).
[65] Authored by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200; cf. book 212 in Burhān al-Dīn's list).
[66] Several works with this title exist.

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Among the sixteen titles in Muḥyī al-Dīn's small library we have two items, a Koran codex for sixty-seven dirhams and al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* for seventy-three dirhams, that fall at the higher end of book prices. In the case of Muḥyī al-Dīn we have, exceptionally, two different documents mentioning his books, and these were written by two different scribes.[67] As always, these scribes had different methods of registering books, but in this case this is to our advantage as we have the number of titles in one list and the number of physical volumes in the other. We thus know that the sixteen titles came in thirty-four volumes and the hefty prices for the most expensive books in Muḥyī al-Dīn's estate certainly reflect the fact that they were multi-volume works.

Apart from these top two books, the prices for Muḥyī al-Dīn's books are significantly lower. The third book, entitled *al-Jam' bayna al-saḥīḥayn*, fetched thirty dirhams and the next two books already sold for twenty-two and twenty dirhams respectively. The remaining eleven books were cheap books costing fewer than twenty dirhams and buyers were able to get hold of books valued as low as two and a half dirhams, four and a half dirhams, five and a half dirhams and six dirhams. It is in this book collection by Muḥyī al-Dīn, and those of the other small-scale book owners of late eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem, that we see traces of how peripheral households participated in the world of book ownership – households similar to those where Burhān al-Dīn bought cheap books to stock his library and households similar to those into which his cheap books went after the sale of his estate.

The sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn and the wider Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus thus show that book ownership was widely spread across society. To what extent this was also the case in Syria, Egypt or even more widely throughout North Africa and West Asia – and for what periods of time – remains to be seen. There is no a priori reason to assume that Jerusalem would have had a different social topography for books from that of Hama, Hims, Aleppo, Damascus or Cairo. However, in terms of period we might have to factor in the Black Death, which first struck the region in 748/1347 and recurred in the following decades. The subsequent demographic decline meant that the salaries of those who survived went up. At the same time, the supply of books must have been high after each wave as auctions of personal libraries went

[67] #178 (793/1391) and #768 (793/1391).

also up.[68] Thus, at least in the immediate aftermath of the first major wave the prices for books – together with those for other non-essential products – went down. Burhān al-Dīn died fifty years after the first wave and it is not certain to what extent subsequent waves entailed further steep demographic decline. In consequence, the wide spread of books across society might have been facilitated by the Black Death and falling prices, but on account of the distance in time we are hesitant to simply reduce the phenomenon to this factor alone.

Reading Book Prices (and Other Numerals)

So far, we have problematised the meaning of the quantitative information derived from the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents and used it to build our argument on the financial affordability of the book in late eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem. In this discussion the 'raw' data itself, the numbers, has appeared as straightforward and rock-solid material. Yet any reader who has worked with the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents (or any other medieval documents with numbers) knows that this raw data is far from straightforward and rock-solid – and this brings us to the problem of reading numerals. The crux of the problem is that most quantitative data in these documents is provided in an intricate system of numerals that Donald Little described as '*siyāqa*' script. They are highly condensed ligatures of the Arabic numbers written out and thus very distinct from the standard digits as we know them today – Table 6.4 provides an overview of the shape of these ligatures. In order to tackle the problem of reading these numerals, the following discussion has two aims. Firstly, it suggests that the term '*siyāqa*' is inadequate and should be replaced with the term 'Arabic documentary numerals'.[69] Secondly, and more importantly, it proposes an overview of how to read these numerals.[70]

The ligatures that we call numerals here have nothing to with Arabic alphanumerical notation systems. These *abjad* or *abjadīya* systems assign each of the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic alphabet a numerical

[68] On the demographic and economic consequences of the Black Death see Dols, *Black Death*, Pamuk and Shatzmiller, *Plagues, Wages, and Economic Change*, and Borsch and Sabraa, *Plague Mortality*.

[69] Rustow, *Lost Archive* refers to such signs rather as 'cipher', and this is indeed in many ways a better term than 'numeral'. However, we opted not to use it, as cipher carries the connotation of a secret sign, which we wanted to avoid at all costs.

[70] We thank Marina Rustow (Princeton) for her feedback on this section.

value (*alif* equals one, *bā'* equals two, *tā'* equals 400 and so on) and were, for instance, often used in chronograms. The ligatures discussed here, by contrast, are abbreviations of the written versions of the numbers, but have become so different from the underlying word that they can justifiably be called 'numerals'. In the 'foundation' document of the field of Ḥaram al-sharīf documents, Donald Little's *Catalogue*, the author is very open about his reading of '*siyāqa*' numerals in many cases being highly tentative. In subsequent articles, he repeatedly returned to the challenge of these numerals that he 'gradually learned to read after much trial and, alas, continuing error'.[71] As this issue was laid open right from the inception of the field, acknowledging that these numerals are a major problem is part and parcel of any serious study of these documents. Huda Lutfi, for instance, was very cautious, saying that '[t]he sum ... is written in Siyakah script; my deciphering of the script may be liable to error'.[72] Donald Richards quite frankly stated in one of his editions that '[a]ll the figures must remain doubtful'.[73] In his study of Burhān al-Dīn's library, Ulrich Haarmann entirely stayed away from the numbers and concluded his brief discussion with the warning that a 'full appreciation, however, of these figures, which ... will first have to be deciphered from their *siyāq* "camouflage", will require careful study of comparable texts both in and beyond the Ḥaram collection'.[74]

As a consequence of this uneasiness about the reading of numerals, correcting previous readings – or at least challenging them – is standard practice when working with these documents.[75] In a lengthy article, Werner Diem challenged many previous readings, especially of numerals, and Christian Müller does so in the course of his book.[76] As is evident from our own Appendix 1 we have also departed from several previous readings of dates. While the reading of dates is often a highly complex exercise, this is even more the case for less predictable numbers on quantities of goods and prices – the reason Ulrich

[71] Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 94.
[72] Lutfi, *Documentary Source*, 225.
[73] Richards, *Primary Education*, 227.
[74] Haarmann, *Library*, 333.
[75] Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 258–62 dated #289 to the year 702 and she corrected this subsequently to the correct year 782 in Lutfi and Little, *'Iqrārs from Al-Quds': Emendations*.
[76] Diem, *Philologisches* and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*.

Haarmann did not try at all to provide any reading of the hundreds of numerals in the sale booklet of Burhān al-Dīn's library.[77]

That Donald Little put the problem of reading the numerals right at the centre of the field from the moment of its inception has been a major blessing. This is particularly evident if we look at other examples. For instance, the journal of the Damascene notary witness Ibn Ṭawq has had – quite rightly – an important impact in our field, and we have briefly mentioned him and his work before.[78] His journal is so important that a recent book-length study of Damascus is entirely based on it, especially on its quantitative information (in particular prices).[79] Yet, how the numerals, the raw data, are written and how they are read is not problematised in this study at all. The author entirely relied on the modern standard numerals as given in the edition, but one simple check of a digital facsimile of the unique manuscript would have shown that these numerals are highly problematic.[80] This is the case because in his edition the editor 'translated' the very difficult Arabic documentary numerals of Ibn Ṭawq into modern standard print numerals. Yet the editor does not problematise anywhere the fact that we are facing here a fiendishly difficult practice of writing numerals. His readings of the numerals are in fact much less straightforward and rock-solid, as the edition implies – they are the result of complex and debatable interpretative processes. In consequence, if one does not consult the manuscript one moves within the illusory comfort of a pleasantly smooth modern edition with straightforward quantitative information. However, these seemingly smooth numerals are for the most part highly disputable and often plainly wrong.[81] As a result, all the 'rich data' derived from this journal and the vast majority of arguments based on it are – to put

[77] Difficulties in reading numbers probably also explain some articles' practice of relying entirely on the rather arbitrary corpus of documents published so far, such as Maḥmūd, *Wathā'iq al-Ḥaram al-sharīf*.

[78] Ibn Ṭawq, *al-Ta'līq*.

[79] Shoshan, *Damascus Life*, 17 and Appendix.

[80] Ibn Ṭawq, no title, Damascus, National al-Asad Library (formerly Ẓāhirīya) 4533.

[81] To take just one sample page from the edition, vol. I, p. 220 (fol. 40b in the manuscript), the following numbers at least have to be corrected: l. 6: 1,000 (not 2,000), 2,065 (not 3,065); l. 8: 1,000 (not 2,000); l. 14: 12,800 (not 12,080); l. 17: 300 (not 200). Systematic errors include the misreading of '¼' as '2' (for instance, edition vol. I, p. 26 (fol. 1b, line 6 in the manuscript)) or the fraction ¾ being overlooked (for instance, edition vol. I, p. 206 (fol. 34a, line 10 in the manuscript)).

it mildly – on shaky ground. Building such arguments in fact requires the republication of the entire edition of the journal with major revisions.

Even though the problematic nature of the numerals has been openly discussed in studies of the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents, this discussion was often relegated to the footnotes. Donald Little was fully aware of the need for a 'fuller study' on this issue that sadly never materialised,[82] and there is thus an urgent need to push the discussion ahead. For a start, one very obvious aspect that requires fuller discussion is that of terminology. Donald Little proposed the term *siyāqa*, but – as so often in his oeuvre – he never explained that choice. On account of his strong influence this term has remained the standard way of referring to these numerals in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents until the present day and has also made its way into Arabic-language scholarship.[83] Donald Little of course adopted this term from Ottoman Studies, where broadly comparable ligatures were widespread and have been well-studied.[84] In this context they were called *siyāqa* numerals because they were used alongside the *siyāqa* script.[85] While the Ottoman history of these numerals has been fairly well-studied, this is not the case for its previous historical development. In consequence, scholarship has developed highly divergent narratives – often with nationalistic undertones – that have not been put into communication. An often-found argument is that these numerals first appeared under the Saljuks and this is sometimes taken further to construct a specific Turkic genealogy for them.[86] Another author could easily claim that we have here a system invented in Yemen in the seventh/thirteenth century.[87]

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[82] Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 94.

[83] Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 44; Muḥammad, *Qāʾimat hadāyā*; Muḥammad, *Ijrāʾāt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*.

[84] For an overview see C. J. Heywood, *Siyāḳat*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, ed. P. Bearman, T. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7080 (last accessed 31 March 2021).

[85] The classic work on this issue is Fekete, *Siyaqat-Schrift*. More recent scholarship includes Otar, *Muhasebede Siyakat Rakamları* and Öztürk, *Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde siyakat*.

[86] Even Kawatoko, *On the Use of Coptic Numerals*, speaks of 'the Siyaqat letters of Turkey' (60). This narrative has also been widely adopted in Arabic-language scholarship: Ḥanash, *al-Madrasa al-ʿuthmānīya*, 232; Ḥanash, *al-Wathāʾiq al-ʿuthmānīya*, 85-6 and 191-92; Ḥasanayn, *Fann al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, 63; Ṣābān, *al-Muʿjam al-mawsūʿī*, 137; al-Bahnasī, *Muʿjam*, 75; Zayn al-Dīn, *Muṣawwar*, 383; Barakāt, *al-Khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, 33; al-ʿAzzāwī, *al-Khaṭṭ*, 415–6.

[87] *Nūr al-maʿārif fī nuẓum wa-qawānīn*, II, 59–63.

In fact, what we have here is a widespread practice of writing numerals that continued to evolve over the centuries and arguably took one specific form of evolution in the context of Ottoman *siyāqa* script. Once the nexus with the *siyāqa* script was consolidated it became perfectly reasonable to designate these numerals with the same term. Yet, there is no reason to project this development back onto the rich diversity of Arabic documentary numerals and to reduce this rich tradition to nothing but a precursor to its later Ottoman branch. These numerals have a long pre-Ottoman pedigree and this pedigree has no nexus whatsoever with the *siyāqa* script. Arabic documentary numerals were rather used in combination with *naskhī* script, such as in our Ḥaram al-sharīf documents, and in combination with *kūfī* script, such as on Saljuk coins.[88] A term such as 'Mamluk *siyāqa*'[89] is thus misleading as it implies a linear historical continuity that did not exist. It is also misleading as it anachronistically uses a term that the modern reader might believe to be an expression current in the period of the Cairo Sultanate.[90] However, the term *siyāqa* in connection with numerals was entirely foreign to texts on administrative and documentary affairs in the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries such as al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, al-Asyūṭī's *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* and al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*.[91]

Apart from the term *siyāqa*, we also find the term '*dīwānī* numerals' in scholarship, with reference to the term for administrative department (*dīwān*).[92] Most likely, the usage of these numerals in the Ottoman administration inspired this terminology and those pre-Ottoman examples where we indeed see a link to political authority further encouraged scholarship to keep using this term. Such earlier examples include the secretary Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d. 448/1056), who refers to Arabic documentary numerals in his book on

[88] Al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Nuqūd al-islāmīya fī al-ʿahd al-saljūkī*, 101.

[89] Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 94.

[90] The term '*ʿilm al-siyāqa*' did exist in the pre-Ottoman period; see C. J. Heywood, *Siyāḳat*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, ed. P. Bearman, T. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7080 (last accessed 31 March 2021). However, it referred to book-keeping, not the documentary numerals.

[91] We find the term in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, VIII, 213, 214, 283 and 284 in the meaning of 'column'.

[92] Al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Nuqūd al-islāmīya fī al-ʿahd al-saljūkī*, 110; Broome, *Coinage of the Seljuqs of Rum*, 27; Muḥammad, *Qāʿimat hadāyā*; Khan, *Legal and Administrative Documents*, 507.

official correspondence written in fifth/eleventh-century Baghdad,[93] Saljuk coins where we repeatedly find the same numerals,[94] and examples from the Cairo administration around the year 700/1300, to which we will return later.

If we take a broader look, no exclusive link between these numerals and official administration exists. Rather, we see them in a wide variety of different documentary contexts. These include: Abū Isḥāq, a trader in modern-day Afghanistan who operated independently of any particular official administration and used these numerals in his accounting book; administrative documents from the sixth/twelfth century preserved at the Mashhad shrine;[95] endowment deeds written in Cairo during the lifetime of Burhān al-Dīn;[96] the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents as the largest corpus known so far; and the journal of Ibn Ṭawq from Damascus from just before the Ottoman period. We also find these numbers in documentary manuscript notes such as endowment notes,[97] transmission notes,[98] laudatory notes (*taqrīẓ*),[99] reading notes[100] and summary notes.[101] This use of Arabic documentary numerals has not yet been systematically recorded, but Boris Liebrenz has started to gather numerous occurrences.[102]

Once we free Arabic documentary numerals from the conceptual *siyāqa* and *dīwānī* restraints, we can start to look at their pre-Ottoman pedigree in more detail. This takes us well beyond any Turkic or Yemenite genealogies and into widely different geographical areas. One of the earlier examples of the use

[93] Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 43.

[94] This link was particularly emphasised by Hinz, *Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter*.

[95] Shaykholhokamaei and Soleymani, *Sākhtār-shināsī-yi panj waraq-i ḥisāb* (we thank Zahir Bhallo for drawing our attention to this article).

[96] Mostafa, *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh und Mausoleum des Barqūq*.

[97] See for instance the endowment note by Muḥammad b. Qawām al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī in Damascus, year 826, in the manuscript Damascus, *Majmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabīya* 21, fol. 1a (numeral ‘6’).

[98] See for instance the *samāʿ* notes written in Alexandria in the years 729 and 731 in the manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct 3810, fols 1a, 7a–7b (numeral ‘7’).

[99] See for instance the two *taqrīẓ* notes dated to the year 826 in the manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Wetzstein II 164, fols 159b and 163a (numeral ‘6’).

[100] See for instance the reading note dated to the year 744 in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Arabe 724, fol. 272b (all numerals) and the reading note dated to the year 859 in the manuscript Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha orient. A 1658, fol. 101a (all numerals).

[101] See for instance the note on the number of *ḥadīth*s in one of the recensions of al-Bukhārī’s compendium in the manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Wetzstein II 1333, fol. 197r.

[102] Our thanks to Boris Liebrenz (Leipzig) for sharing his ongoing work on manuscript notes, especially those in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, with us.

of these numerals is found in documents from a region far from Jerusalem, modern-day Afghanistan, from the early fifth/eleventh century. The accounts book of a certain Abū Isḥāq on textiles dealing from the year 411/1021–2 uses such documentary numerals exclusively.[103] The numerals used are absolutely identical with those that we find in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents even though they were separated by almost 400 years and thousands of miles. In the same vein, the numerals on Saljuk coinage are, except from the numbers for 'one' and 'three', identical with those in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents.[104] Our numerals also appear in Cairo in a stand-alone (Fatimid?) list that Tamer El-Leithy discovered among the Geniza papers in which a scribe practised writing numerals.[105] The numerals in this list are exactly the same as those used in the documents produced in late eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem. Staying in Cairo, the numerals appear in trans-Mediterranean lists of gifts sent around the year 700/1300 by the Cairo Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn to the Aragonese king James I (r. 1285–1327).[106] During the same period, these numerals were also employed for administrative purposes in Yemen.[107] Below, we will see that some differences can be observed between regions and periods, but these are so few that it is possible to subsume these numerical writing systems – for the time being – under one single category of 'Arabic documentary numerals'.[108]

We are far from really understanding this practice in any detail, and our aim here is to connect some dots and to put the problem on the agenda of scholarship. The situation is similar with regard to the second main numerical writing system in pre-Ottoman documents and literary texts produced in West Asia and North Africa, namely the so-called Coptic numerals. These were also

[103] The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Ms.Heb.8333.23.

[104] Al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Nuqūd al-islāmīya fī al-ʿahd al-saljūkī*; Broome, *Coinage of the Seljuqs of Rum*.

[105] Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York ENA 3936.7 (we thank Tamer El-Leithy for drawing our attention to this document and sharing it with us).

[106] These lists are discussed by Bauden, *Lists of Gifts*, and we use the illustrations in this article for our present discussion. The lists in question are Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Cancilleriá, Cartas árabes, no. 146 (dated 699/1300) and Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Cancilleriá, Cartas árabes, no. 149 (714/1315).

[107] *Nūr al-maʿārif fī nuẓum wa-qawānīn*, II, 59–63.

[108] It remains to be seen whether there is a distinct Persianate tradition. At the very least the fractions as listed by Hinz, *Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter*, are very foreign when compared with those used in the late medieval documents.

numerals derived from an alphabetical system, in this case Greek.[109] Yet, the terminology for these numerals is – as much as is the case with our '*siyāqa*' – far from straightforward and scholarship often also refers to them as Greek numerals or Rūmī numerals.[110] The Genizah Research Unit (Cambridge)[111] and the Princeton Geniza Project, in turn, have started to use the term *ḥurūf al-zimām*.[112] This Greek/Coptic/Rūmī/*ḥurūf al-zimām* system has a history that is probably even richer than *siyāqa*, and it is most likely that we will end up with a more granular terminology which better reflects divergent practices in different regions and different periods. The Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus will be part of this discussion as we find in many of its documents Arabic documentary numerals (such as those by Burhān al-Dīn), but also other documents that intensively use the Greek/Coptic/Rūmī/*ḥurūf al-zimām* system (such as the accounts by the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn[113]).

One topic in this discussion will be whether the Arabic documentary numerals can even be called an entirely distinct 'system'. As they are highly condensed ligatures of the Arabic numbers written out they are often positioned on a continuum, with the standard way to write out Arabic numerals at the other end. Thus, to say whether a ligature is an Arabic documentary numeral or just a hastily written numeral is in many cases not straightforward. This is evidently different for the Greek/Coptic/Rūmī/*ḥurūf al-zimām* numerals that do not look like anything Arabic at all. Whether the term 'Arabic documentary numerals' is the most fortunate remains to be seen, but it is useful to differentiate these numerals from the Greek/Coptic/Rūmī/*ḥurūf al-zimām* system based on the Greek alphabet.

Who opted at what points for either of the two systems (respectively, for one of the branches that we will have to define) is evidently still entirely unclear. However, for the late medieval setting of the present book, there seems to be one very distinct link that might allow us to narrow down one context in which Arabic documentary numerals were intensively used – documents linked to notary witnesses. The Ḥaram al-sharīf documents come from this

[109] On these numerals see Kawatoko, *On the Use of Coptic Numerals*.
[110] Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 97.
[111] Connolly, *'Coptic' Numerals and Genizah Studies* (accessed 31 October 2021).
[112] Elbaum and Rustow, *Basic Guide* (accessed 2 January 2022).
[113] See for instance account #583 (we thank Michail Hradek/Munich for this reference).

milieu to a large extent, and this link might also explain why Ibn Ṭawq used Arabic documentary numerals in his narrative text. Ibn Ṭawq was himself a notary witness and his journal includes such a large number of documents that it has been described as 'a detailed log of a notary's professional calendar'.[114] The Arabic documentary numerals appear in this log exactly in those places where he reproduces the contents of yet another document, and it is clear that in many cases he had these documents in front of him when reproducing them in his narrative text. If there is something like a specific system of Arabic documentary numerals during the period of the Cairo Sultanate, this salient role of notary witnesses seems to be the most promising point to pursue.

That Arabic documentary numerals were so widespread allows us to do away with scholarly myths that have started to surround the '*sīyāqa*' numbers other than the nationalistic undertones. Scholarship has repeatedly suggested that these numerals might have functioned as a secretive code, describing them as 'obscure' numerals in need of 'deciphering'[115] or as needing 'to be deciphered from their *sīyāq* "camouflage"'.[116] There is no question that these numerals are very difficult to read for us and present a major obstacle when approaching such documents. Yet the fact that these numerals remained unchanged over long periods and across far-flung regions indicates that they were not exactly a highly secretive code. They appeared on texts as public as coins and manuscript notes, they were understood by a group as large as the notary witnesses, and they could be used in documents sent across the Mediterranean to the court of Aragon. Arabic documentary numerals are simply difficult for us to read, but they were not secretive and such tropes of secrecy are centred on the researchers' own experiences of incomprehension. Comparable tropes are known from other fields such as linguistics, where the languages spoken by itinerant groups with non-conforming grammars 'are frequently described by scholarly and lay observers as "secret languages"'.[117] It is also important to underline that Arabic documentary numerals are in no way more forgery-proof than the standard numerals. For instance, it requires minimal intervention and skill to change '4' to '9', '40' to '90', '400' to '900' and so on.

[114] El-Leithy, *Living Documents, Dying Archives*, 412.
[115] Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 86 and 322.
[116] Haarmann, *Library*, 333.
[117] Richardson, *Invisible Strangers*, 197.

From the above, it is evident that the history of numerical systems employed in Arabic-script documents and codices remains to be written. Our field has only started to scratch the surface of different systems, of their diachronic development, of their interconnections and of their social contexts. To write this history we first need to do the groundwork, and this includes providing research tools with which to facilitate the future use of documents containing such numerals. The following list is meant as a contribution in this direction. It is an expanded list of Arabic documentary numerals that is based on the work done by Donald Little, especially the list he suggested after almost two decades of working with the documents.[119] In order to give an idea of the variations of Arabic documentary numerals, we have opted to move beyond the corpus of the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents and we juxtapose numerals from three contexts: Abū Isḥāq's account book (early fifth/eleventh century; modern-day Afghanistan), documents on Burhān al-Dīn from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus (late eighth/fourteenth century; Jerusalem) and Ibn Ṭawq's journal (early tenth/sixteenth century; Damascus).

Table 6.4 Comparison between Arabic documentary numerals in Abū Isḥāq's account book (411/1021–2), documents on Burhān al-Dīn (780s/1380s) and Ibn Ṭawq's journal (late ninth/fifteenth century)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
'and' (*wa*)				IṬ uses this mark in conjunction with numbers higher than 11, while for BD the equivalent figure is 21; in BD the stroke can be horizontal or slanted.
⅛				
⅙				

[119] Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*. Apart from its comparative nature, our list reflects the progress that has been made in the meantime (for instance the numeral for '33' in his list is really the numeral for '303') and to fill voids (e.g. there are no fractions). The Table in Mostafa, *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh und Mausoleum des Barqūq*, 168/9 has very few examples and is of limited benefit as it uses print numerals.

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Table 6.4 (continued)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
¼				
⅓				
½				additional understroke in BD
¾				
1				
2				
2 (in 12-92)				
3				
3 (in 13-93)				
4				BD has two ligatures that differ at the end
4 (in 14-94)				
5				BD has two ligatures that differ at the end
5 (in 15-95)				the ligatures can be closed or open in all cases
6				
6 (in 16-96)				
7				

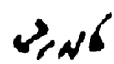
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Table 6.4 (continued)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
7 (in 17-97)				
8				
8 (in 18-98)				
9				
9 (in 19-99)				
10				BD has two ligatures that differ at the end
10 (in 11-19)				
11.5				
12				
13				
15				
15.75				
16				
18.25				
19				
20				

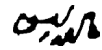
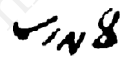
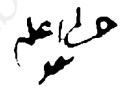
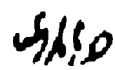
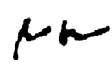
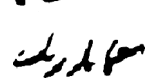
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Table 6.4 (continued)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
25				
26				
30				
35				
38				
40				
50				
60				
70				
80				
90				
100				IṬ writes the final *yā'* of ماية in 100 and 300-900 as a second stroke if no other numeral follows
150				AI always writes the final *yā'* of ماية in 100 and 300-900 as a second stroke
188				IṬ omits the second stroke when a numeral follows
194				
200				

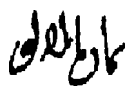
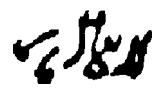
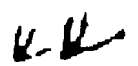
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Table 6.4 (continued)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
242				
252				
300				IṬ writes the final *yā'* as a second stroke as no other numeral follows
305				
350				
400				
466				
468				
500				
510.5				
523				
600				
606				
700				
733				

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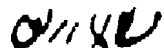
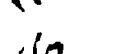
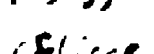
Table 6.4 (continued)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
783				'80' is written here as a simple stroke very similar to 'and'. The reading of '783' – in contrast to '703' – is only secure because we know when BD lived.
784				here a different shape is used for '700'[118]
800				
891				AI retains the final *yā'* even though another numeral follows
900				
950				
1,000				
1,365				
1,962				
2,000				
2,100				
2,533				

[118] #005.

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Table 6.4 (continued)

Value	Abū Isḥāq	Burhān al-Dīn	Ibn Ṭawq	Remarks
2,496				
3,000				
3,300				
4,000				
6,660				
7,592				
12,800				
15,000				
16,300				
17,500				
19,421				

Edinburgh University Press

Looking Beyond Jerusalem: The Dynamics of the Written Word and its Materiality

This book had as its starting point a micro-history, the story of a reciter owning books and preserving documents in medieval Jerusalem. While reconstructing and writing this story we have focused on Burhān al-Dīn's social position and his cultural practices, but we hope that we have also succeeded in bringing to life the day-to-day travails of such an individual. There is no doubt that in more able hands his story could serve as inspiration for the Palestinian equivalent to Amitav Ghosh's *In an Antique Land*. What we want to do in this conclusion is more mundane, namely to reflect on how this micro-history contributes to wider discussions and wider developments in studying the medieval history of West Asia and North Africa. This reflection will be focused on those three areas where we think that this book has something to say that might resonate beyond the small worlds of hardcore bibliophiles and document scholars: firstly, by offering a broader historical argument on literacy, secondly by engaging with the methodological turn towards materiality, and thirdly by placing a conceptual emphasis on processes.

As for the historical argument, this study of Burhān al-Dīn's books completes a trilogy of analyses of documented book collections in medieval Bilād al-Shām that are known to date. It thus functions as a capstone for an (admittedly modest) arch encompassing the Ashrafīya library of seventh/thirteenth-century Damascus and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī library of ninth/fifteenth-century Damascus. The conclusion of this trilogy is a good point at which to step back and reflect on the bigger picture. The first point coming out of these studies is how unhelpful categories such as 'Islamic library' are. More fitting is a heuristic typology of libraries, namely the endowed library

(Ashrafīya), the author library (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī) and the prestige library (Burhān al-Dīn). These different types reflect the very different profiles of the books on their shelves and their meanings for their owners and users. The endowed library clearly catered for broader reading interests and larger reading audiences and was thus characterised by a wide range of diverse works. The author library, in turn, catered for the scholarly interests of its owner, who routinely employed these books in the process of producing new texts – in the case of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī a particular focus was *ḥadīth*. The prestige library reflected the wider cultural world in which its owner acted, but had neither the breadth of the endowed library nor the clear thematic profile of the author library.

The main argument emanating from the present study and the trilogy as a whole, however, is that the written word played an increasingly central role in the socio-cultural practices of these societies. The massive growth of local endowed libraries across urban topographies, especially from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, meant that the book was more and more tightly woven into the fabric of society. The Burhān al-Dīn library was arguably the result of the diffusion of the written word into ever-wider sections of society. After the spread of the endowment libraries we see here a further step, where considerable book collections started to be found well beyond the endowment, the court and the elite scholar's household. The history of literacy, book ownership and authorship in Arabic-speaking societies has by now its fair share of revolutions and turning points and we do not want to add yet another one. We argue, however, that over the course of the eighth/fourteenth century we see a further rise in the number of people who actively engaged with the written word. True, the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus is a rare snapshot and there is always the danger of advancing over-consistent arguments on the basis of very inconsistent source corpora. However, having studied various manifestations of the written word in medieval Bilād al-Shām (libraries such as the Ashrafīya and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī collections as well as documentary corpora such as the Ḥaram al-sharīf and the Qubbat al-khazna corpora), we are in a position to at least suggest that in this period more and more people started to own books and to engage with documents. This was not a torrent of literacy flooding society, but a multifaceted and complicated development. The case of post-canonical *ḥadīth* booklets, which went into decline precisely in the

eighth/fourteenth century with fewer and fewer of them produced, is a case in point. Yet, overall there is ample evidence for the hypothesis that there were significantly more individuals in Bilād al-Shām who routinely dealt with books and documents in the year 800/1397 than there were in the year 700/1300.

This hypothesis and the trilogy underlying it were based on very specific case studies, and with each case the lingering doubt remains as to whether it is just an exception, nothing but an odd one out. Looking at them in combination and considering those features they share and do not share has made what is actually unique and what is, rather, a broader trend more evident. In consequence, when an earlier book argued that 'it seems likely that at least for Syrian and Egyptian cities the proportion of those able to read simple texts was rather a two-digit than a one-digit number',[1] we can now make such statements with much more confidence. One aspect that has remained completely beyond the scope of our studies is the rural areas, for which documentary corpora and evidence of book ownership are much sparser. In addition, the world of books (less so that of documents) as we represent it is still an overwhelmingly male history.

Our work has also shown that a simplistic dichotomy between literate and illiterate would not serve the field. Rather, it is evident that, as has been argued for medieval Europe, a 'plurality of written cultures coexisted'[2] where individuals had the ability to engage with the written word to very varying degrees. The example of Burhān al-Dīn shows the staggering number of books that could be found in the house of an individual who – had his estate archive not survived – would have vanished from the historical record without a trace. How often Burhān al-Dīn read his books, whether he even read all of them, what he made of them and other similar questions have to remain unanswered. It is clear, however, that the written word in the form of the book was part and parcel of the world of this rather average individual in eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem. This spread of literacy is not the outcome of a technological revolution, and paper had been around for centuries in West Asia and North Africa. Rather, we see here a typical example showing that

[1] Hirschler, *Written Word*, 29.
[2] Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday*, 7.

technological change does not automatically lead to far-reaching changes, but that its impact depends on individuals and societies adopting this change.

This book has extended the argument of its two predecessors in that it dealt with the question of how the written word was woven into the social-cultural fabric by looking not just at books, but also at pragmatic literacy. This world of documents was invisible in the case of the Ashrafīya Library, as neither its endowment deed nor a single sheet of its day-to-day paperwork (such as accounting books, payment slips and petitions) has survived (or rather, has been identified thus far). There were some glimpses of the documentary world in the case of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, who bound several of his documents into the intricate books that he produced. The nature of the Ḥaram al-sharīf source corpus means that the intimate link between the world of books and the world of documents is only fully visible in the case of Burhān al-Dīn. His case clearly shows to what extent the large number of books he owned went hand in hand with the large number of documents that he preserved at home. Not only were there many documents, they also came in wildly different shapes and forms. This wide range in the documents' materiality shows how many actors were involved in producing such paperwork – individuals who clearly had very different ideas of what a document was meant to look like. In the course of the eighth/fourteenth century, it thus seems that an increasing number of ordinary men and ordinary women produced documents in their day-to-day activities without having recourse to professional scribes who would have imposed a larger degree of uniformity.

The number of documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn and their material variety thus indicate, as do the size of book collections, the extent to which the written word had penetrated day-to-day activities in the late eighth/fourteenth century beyond the *madrasa*, beyond the court, beyond the world of legal administration and beyond the households of the political elite. This was a world in which lay people could use documents with utmost efficiency for the most banal transactions, such as concise receipts for rent payments for modest houses. It is also clear that medieval people were keen conservers of their documents, that they carefully safeguarded the documents they received and that those dealing with their estates skilfully reconfigured these personal collections into the new archival configurations they needed: estate archives. Individuals were thus not just using more documents: they also considered

them to be of increasing importance and relevance, and thus made them retrievable in various ways.

This increasing role of the written word in wider sections of the population was arguably part of a wider transformation of society and economy. Georg Christ has proposed that external shocks such as climate change and, especially, the Black Death in the eighth/fourteenth century with the subsequent series of epidemics triggered a shift towards what he characterises as a 'fully mature knowledge economy'. This meant that the role of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors diminished during the period of the Cairo Sultanate while the tertiary sector (long-distance trade and higher education) thrived.[3] In combination with the continuing spread of endowments and processes of bureaucratisation, the amount of paperwork that circulated within society and the numbers of those who handled it certainly increased. Our observation that wider sections of society had increased rates of pragmatic literacy and also bookish literacy in the eighth/fourteenth century was thus arguably linked to a profound transformation of social structures and thus also of cultural practices.

Whereas this literacy argument addresses a historical phenomenon, we see our book's second contribution as being to the wider field of the methodology of how we study the past, specifically the topic of materiality. The study of the medieval history of West Asia and North Africa emerged within a strongly text-centred philological tradition, and the later emergence of the field of Mamluk Studies took place with this same approach to the past. The focus was on publishing an 'authoritative' and unified version of a given text at the expense of the multiple traditions that fed into the handwritten versions that went before it. In the process, the material texture vanished from sight. Issues such as the differing layouts of the same text, the bindings of the codices, the papers on which the text was written, the usage traces on the books, the composite manuscripts into which they might have been bound, and other features were more often than not invisible when accessing the printed edition. Today we often worry about how the ubiquity of the digital facsimile might undermine an appreciation of the material artefact. Whatever the negative impact of the digital might be, it will always have a far less disastrous impact

[3] Christ, *Economic Decline*.

than print editions have had on our understanding of handwritten writerly culture.

Our field has come a long way since its text-centred beginnings, and the material turn in wider history has changed scholarly approaches in many ways. Scholarship on book studies has been particularly prone to integrating the material turn, and this methodological development might radiate to the wider field of studying the medieval history of West Asia and North Africa. For instance, analysing the library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī without paying heed to his binding strategies, without 'reading' his composite manuscripts as intricate material constructions, would have meant missing out on essential elements of this splendid monument to medieval Syrian book culture. As regards Burhān al-Dīn's library, consideration of its material objects made its main contribution in terms of enabling us to understand the documentary corpus. The nesting of the booklet's sheets and the folding of the documents, the layout of the page and the format of the sheet, archival holes and archival strings have all been central elements for building up this book's arguments. The material plurality of documents, for instance, is so important for literacy because it shows that people from very different walks of life claimed the right to produce documents and did not hesitate to do so in very idiosyncratic (or 'unprofessional') ways. This wild world of documentary formats can hardly be described with the functional categories that we as modern historians might try to create. Paying attention to these ever-new material forms of documents is crucial for understanding the increasingly writerly world in which these individuals lived.

Apart from the historical and the methodological, this book's third contribution lies in the conceptual, namely in its emphasis on processes and actors, rather than structure. The book has thus not been on a quest to find the archive, but has been interested in archival practices sustained by various social actors; it has not been on a quest to identify the state, but was interested in socio-cultural practices driven by households within the military and political elite; and it has not primarily been on a quest to find stable libraries, but rather to discover the processes of how and by whom libraries were made and unmade. As we have seen, especially, in Chapter 3, the first and the second element, 'archive' and 'state', are closely interconnected: most document preservation in the political elite was carried out in a polycentric network of households and far from any 'state' archive. In the civilian elite we observe a similar

complex network of processes. Even if papers were legally relevant, such as in the case of estate archives, the archival actor in Jerusalem was not the judge or an organisation called 'court', but a rather obscure trustee – an 'official' whom we only know from the paperwork that he himself left behind. It will thus be our task to retrace the faint traces of such elusive archival practices on those documents that have reached us, rather than trying to slot them into visions of state structures. In this book we suggested, for instance, that the 'estate archive' is an important stage in the trajectories of many papers. Listening to the archival stories of documents will certainly bring up many other social sites where documents were (even if only for short periods) brought together, preserved and reconfigured. There is, however, little doubt that in late medieval society home is the prime site where practices of document preservation should be looked for – the homes of judges and notary witnesses, of administrators and officers, and of traders and reciters.

Distributed document preservation, especially in homes, is particularly crucial for furthering our understanding of social processes. It brings into focus a growing number of actors who confidently claimed a considerable role within society via asserting the right to keep (and to discard) documents. The agency of these individuals has often been overlooked in scholarship that has privileged 'Mamluk' state structures and endowed organisations in understanding how society functioned or failed to function. The social strategy of Burhān al-Dīn has only become evident as a result of a detailed study of how declarations of intent (not 'decrees' or 'diplomas') were produced, used and preserved. His socio-cultural practice of acquiring personal stipends from low-ranking officers is exactly one point where we see the agency of otherwise invisible individuals – individuals whose social position cannot be grasped with the catch-all term 'scholar'. The specific case detected here, patronage between peripheral scholars and low-ranking officers, is in this particular shape probably a development specific to the late Qalāwūnid and early Barqūqid periods in the late eighth/fourteenth century. There is no doubt that a further interest in social and cultural practices will bring out other manifestations of such practices and will allow us to get a better understanding of their historical dynamics.

The conceptual emphasis on processes has, finally, been crucial for the way we approach libraries. Before serious library history emerged as a

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sub-field, the discipline of studying medieval West Asia and North Africa was dominated by its fixation on the 'holy trinity' of the grand royal libraries of 'Abbasid Baghdad, Fatimid Cairo and Umayyad Cordoba. It was arguably the typical lure of the stable organisation that contributed to a focus on these libraries, even though the extant documentation for them is – to put it mildly – not overwhelming. At the same time, the massive evidence that we have for ephemeral book collections was simply sidelined. The history of libraries cannot be written with any precision if the focus is on neat, long-lasting and easily definable organisations – the search for 'the' library will end in an impasse just as much as will the search for 'the' archive. The demise of the grand royal libraries of 'Abbasid Baghdad, Fatimid Cairo and Umayyad Cordoba (however 'grand' they really were) was not a sign of decline or decay. Rather, their end was part of the long-term process of books being reconfigured in new collections. In the same vein, endowed libraries in the period of the Cairo Sultanate had rather short life cycles. This was not because endowment administrators or the political elite were inherently corrupt, but because libraries have to be, in most cases, thought of as processes, not as stable entities. To write such a processual history of libraries and book collections dispenses with the need to engage in hackneyed debates on decline, corruption, malpractices, plunder and theft. Rather, it enables us to see how specific individuals and specific organisations acquired, materially changed and divested books. The history of libraries is thus one of constant reconfiguration, of books that rapidly move and on collections that disappear as quickly as they come into being. The analytically richest moments in the history of a library are generally not when it was extant, but are to be found in the process of its books coming together and in the process of its books parting company while moving on to their next life stage.

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PART II

THE DOCUMENTS

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7

Analysis and Edition of the Sale Booklet

After the narrative Part I, this Part presents the core documents from Burhān al-Dīn's estate archive. In this chapter we start with the contents of this book's central objects, the three-sheet document that we call a 'sale booklet'. We settled on the term after initially referring to it as an 'auction list'. However, once we had identified the documentary network to which this booklet belonged (for this see Chapter 8) it became clear that this document was not so much a reflection of the actual proceedings of the auction – this must have been done in another 'ghost' document that is lost. The booklet, rather, aimed at reworking the details of the auction to group together what was sold to each buyer and what each buyer had to pay. This booklet was written by the otherwise unknown scribe Muḥammad (Ibn) ʿAshā, who was in the service of the judge's trustee, al-Adhraʿī. Apart from writing this booklet, this scribe also appears as one of the buyers in this auction (Buyer 70). In the booklet we find the names of the eighty-seven buyers who participated in the auction, the books and other objects they bought, the price for each item and the total sum owed by each buyer. (For the methodology we used to identify the buyers, see Chapter 8.)

This booklet subsequently remained in use and served as a point of reference when al-Adhraʿī and his men registered payments. That they kept returning to this booklet is evident from the strokes as well as the terms '*qubiḍa*' and '*wuzina*', all added in subsequent days (see Chapter 4). In addition, they had this booklet in front of them when they were writing document #968 and the debtor list in document #793. The booklet is undated, but, like document #812, it was clearly written at an early point in the process of settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate (see Chapter 8 for the timeline). This is evident from its role as a point of reference for other documents and also from a heading, which

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is quite detailed when compared with later documents: 'Itemised list of the names [of the objects] sold from the estate of the late Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī, who passed into the mercy of God the Almighty before the date [of this list's writing]; [organised] according to those [buyers] mentioned therein'.

The (Vanished) Books of Burhān al-Dīn's Library

As repeatedly mentioned, this study (and thus also this chapter) is missing one crucial component, namely the actual books that once were in Burhān al-Dīn's home. The identification of the written artefacts would have added a crucial material dimension to our overall discussion of Burhān al-Dīn's books. It would have been particularly helpful for writing the present chapter in order to identify book titles. In the absence of the actual codices, we have had to rely exclusively on the rather concise and often entirely elusive short titles given in the sale booklet. Comparing our data with extant books would have been hugely useful in helping us decrypt the scribe's practice of 'translating' the long titles on the actual codex into the short entries that we find in the sale booklet.

Identifying books is a crucial step in any historical work on a vanished library, and more and more work is being conducted in this regard.[1] As part of our contribution, we want to briefly lay out our approach when conducting this, ultimately unsuccessful, search. The field is still far from having easily accessible and reliable data from many libraries holding Arabic codices, and under these circumstances no project can claim to have conducted a comprehensive search. Rather, one has to opt for those modern collections that seem to be the most promising repositories for identifying the books in question. We focused our search on collections that are today in Jerusalem, as there is some probability that at least a few of Burhān al-Dīn's books stayed in the town. In these collections, we identified all the codices that carry title components matching those in the sale booklet and that were written before the year of Burhān al-Dīn's death (789 *hijrī*). On each of these codices we looked for evidence (ownership statements, reading notes, endowment notes

[1] The most pertinent recent examples are Necipoğlu, Kafadar and Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge*; D'hulster, *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves* and Kyle Wynter-Stoner's Ph.D. project (University of Chicago).

and so on) that might have linked it to Burhān al-Dīn or to the buyer of the respective book.

Within Jerusalem, we conducted our search in the four main manuscript collections, the Aqṣā Mosque, the Khālidīya, the Budayrīya and the National Library of Israel, in addition to smaller collections that hold very few early codices, such as the Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī Library (with eight codices before the year 789) and the Uzbakīya Library (with one codex before the year 789). In the National Library of Israel, currently the largest library with Arabic codices in the city, considerable segments of the collections are not directly relevant as they have no specific historical link to Palestine. This is especially true for the Yahuda collection, which was acquired in cities all over the Middle East.[2] In this sense, the probability of finding a Burhān al-Dīn book in this collection is as high (or low) as in other collections such as Princeton University Library or the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. The National Library also holds the collection of approximately six hundred codices labelled 'AP' that form part of a larger collection of what is euphemistically called 'Abandoned Property'. These codices reflect an important part of the pre-1948 manuscript topography of Palestine and can be considered as local as their peers in the Aqṣā Mosque, the Khālidīya or the Budayrīya libraries.[3]

The first step (matching title and period on the basis of catalogues[4]) led to numerous candidates across the libraries. In the Aqṣā Mosque library, for instance, the search led to thirty codices that had a relevant title element and were written before the year 789. However, following the second step (checking the manuscript notes) none of these codices could be securely ascribed to the library of Burhān al-Dīn. There were near-misses, such as a copy of *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) of which we find a copy in the sale booklet (book 7).[5] The Aqṣā manuscript does indeed carry an ownership note of one of the buyers from the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's books, namely Ibn

[2] Ukeles, *Abraham Shalom Yahuda*.

[3] On the printed AP items in the NLI see Amit, *Salvage or Plunder* and Derri, *Construction of 'Native' Jews*, 15–19.

[4] Salameh, *Fihris makhṭuṭāt Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*; Ju'beh and Salameh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Khālidīya*; Salameh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Budayrīya*; Barakat, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Maktabat Dār Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī*; Barakat, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Uzbek Zawiya* (we thank Samel Thope, National Library of Israel, for sharing a list of the AP codices).

[5] Salameh, *Fihris makhṭuṭāt Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, I, 85 (no. 76).

al-Muhandis (Buyer 11), who bought dozens of books in the auction.[6] This note is undated, but the codex also contains a note of transmission for this same scholar referring to a reading session in Damascus just a year after Burhān al-Dīn's death.[7] One could easily see that Ibn al-Muhandis bought the book and then travelled to Damascus to acquire an *ijāza*, licensing him to transmit the work.

Regrettably, it was not Ibn al-Muhandis who bought Burhān al-Dīn's *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* in the auction, but rather the prominent officer and vice-regent Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādar (Buyer 2). One could assume that Nāṣir al-Dīn bought the book and sold it shortly after to Ibn al-Muhandis, but the problem is that there is no positive evidence for such an assumption in terms of manuscript notes. In addition, this would make the story even more complicated because the ownership note explicitly states that Ibn al-Muhandis bought the codex from the heirs of somebody called Badr al-Dīn. Thus, the book would have had to have passed from Burhān al-Dīn to Nāṣir al-Dīn, subsequently to this Badr al-Dīn and finally to Ibn al-Muhandis, who took it to Damascus, in less than a year. While this is not impossible, *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* was a highly popular title so there is too high a chance that Ibn al-Muhandis's book that we find in the Aqṣā Mosque Library today is a codex that had nothing to do with that of Burhān al-Dīn.

Another group of strong contenders were those titles for which only few codices exist. For instance, the Aqṣā Mosque Library holds a copy of Ibn Shaddād's biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir al-sulṭānīya*.[8]

[6] Fol. 175a:
الحمد لله وحده/ اشترى سيدنا العبد الفقير إلـ[ـى الله تعالى ...]/ المسلمين **أبي العباس أحمد** أعزه اللـ[ـه تعالى ...]/ بدر الدين تغمده الله تعالى بر[حمته ...]/ [من ثمن الدين من ثمن ...؟]/ بتمامه وكماله ولم يتأخر له من [... مطالبة] ولا شيء [...]/ أشهد عليهما بذلك / محمد بن محمود الحنفي الثقفي.

[7] Fol. 175b:
[الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا] محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليمًا كثيرًا إلى يوم الدين حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل أما بعد فقد سمع جميع كتاب الرياض للشيخ الإمام العالم الرباني محي الدين أبي زكريا يحيى النووي قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه على الشيخ الإمام المسند المعمر برهان الدين إبراهيم بن الشيخ ضياء الدين أحمد بن الشيخ برهان الدين إبراهيم بن فلاح الإسكندري أبقاه الله تعالى بسماعه له عل الشيخ الإمام العالم العامل علاء الدين أبي الحسن علي بن الشيخ الأجل موفق الدين إبراهيم بن داود ابن العطار الشافعي رحمه الله وهو معارض بأصله سنة ثلاث عشرة وسبعماية بدار الحديث النورية بدمشق المحروسة بسماعه له من المصنف رحمة الله تعالى عليه فسمعه الجماعة بقراءة الشيخ الإمام العالم شهاب الدين **أبو العباس أحمد بن شمس الدين محمد بن أحمد بن محمد الحسني الحنبلي الشهير بابن المهندس** ... وصح ذلك وثبت في مجالس آخرها ثامن عشر شوال سنة تسعين سبعماية بالجامع الأموي بدمشق المحروسة ... صحيح ذلك وكتب [إبراهيم] بن إبراهيم بن فلاح الإسكندري الشافعي عفا الله عنه.

[8] Salameh, *Fihris makhṭuṭāt Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, I, 189 (no. 203).

In the sale booklet we find that this title (book 49) was bought by Ibn al-Muhandis. However, there is no positive evidence on the Aqṣā codex in terms of relevant manuscript notes. In addition, it was not possible to identify clusters of such contenders via other provenance criteria, such as a shared later owner/library or nearby classmarks in the Aqṣā Mosque.[9] In consequence, it was impossible to move this book or any of its peers from the group of contenders to the group of possible matches.

In total we identified more than a hundred codices in the libraries of Jerusalem (forty-three in the Budayrīya, thirty in the Aqṣā Mosque, twenty-five in the Khālidīya, three in the 'AP' section of the National Library of Israel and two in the Dār Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī) that matched in terms of title and period. That we were not able to link any of them to the library of Burhān al-Dīn might be of interest to further provenance research. This might mean that Burhān al-Dīn and the other buyers never, or rarely, wrote ownership notes on their books and that these books were subsequently so often reconfigured in new collections that there are no other provenance criteria in terms of shared trajectories. That book owners rarely wrote their names on the books they owned is very likely, as the number of ownership notes on these manuscripts is often quite low. For instance, the copy of *al-Nawādir al-sulṭānīya* in the Aqṣā Mosque Library carries notes relevant for its readership, but none for its ownership even though it is by now almost 800 years old.[10] That the owners did not write their names into the books they owned might be due to the fact that books were highly mobile objects that moved so rapidly between a high number of households that owners did not individually mark them. The absence of ownership notes is a fascinating phenomenon that brings up the much wider question of who put 'when?', 'for what reasons?' notes on manuscripts. The cultural logic of when manuscript users noted their engagements on the object was evidently deeply inscribed in power structures, with female users, for instance, or users from non-elite backgrounds, probably less likely to

[9] On using such provenance criteria in the identification of codices see Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* and Hirschler, *Monument*.

[10] The codex (Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqṣā 203) has four reading notes and one further note that has been partly scratched off so that it is impossible to know what kind of relationship (reading/lending/owning/endowing) it referred to.

leave their name on the manuscripts. This topic will certainly be a vivid field of research in years to come.[11]

In addition to searching the main Jerusalem collections with a Palestinian heritage, we also followed up references to Jerusalem codices in other libraries. By necessity, this was not done systematically, but was based on identifying books concerned with the Palestinian written tradition. To these belong, for instance, Bashir Barakat's *Tārīkh al-maktabāt al-ʿarabīya*, which has a chapter dedicated to 'the Jerusalem manuscripts removed from Palestine' and Yusuf al-Uzbaki's *Tārīkh maʿālim al-masjid al-Aqṣā*, where we checked more than 100 titles of codices that were produced or circulated in Jerusalem.[12] Apart from searching Jerusalem collections and checking Jerusalem codices around the world, a final approach was to follow up on prominent book owners who acted in in proximity to Burhān al-Dīn's auction. To these belong the major-domo of the Sultan in Cairo, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was implicated in the misdeeds of the judge Sharaf al-Dīn in Jerusalem and whose officer, al-Sayfī Bulūṭ, was at the auction (Buyer 3). As mentioned above, Maḥmūd built up a massive library which he endowed in Cairo, and which he sourced to a large extent in Bilād al-Shām, in particular from a member of the Jamāʿa family, Ibrāhīm ibn Jamāʿa (790/1388).[13] Frustratingly, checking books that had once belonged to Maḥmūd again did not bring up any convincing trace of a codex that had once belonged to Burhān al-Dīn.

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Identification of Buyers, Books and Other Objects

We turn now to an annotated version of the sale booklet. In the following list, those parts of the personal name (including titles and invocations) mentioned in the sale booklet are underlined. For instance, Buyer 1 appears in the sale booklet as 'al-Shaykh al-Najmī aʿāda Allāh barakatahu wa-raḥima salafahu al-karīm' and he is in the following list as 'al-Shaykh al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Najmī, *aʿāda Allāh barakatahu wa-raḥima salafahu al-karīm*'

[11] Matthew Keegan discusses the issue with regard to audition certificates in the framework of his ongoing book project, *Before World Literature: al-Ḥarīrī's Impostures in an Islamic Age of Commentary*.

[12] Eight titles showed a potential overlap with a title in Burhān al-Dīn's sale booklet. We then checked the respective codex, but none of them contained compelling evidence that it was indeed in the library of Burhān al-Dīn.

[13] This library is the subject of the Ph.D. thesis by Kyle Wynter-Stoner (University of Chicago).

to differentiate between information taken from the booklet and what we added from other sources ('al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān'). In those cases where the buyer's name appears in one of the other documents in the estate-related documentary network (see Chapter 8), the respective debtor or payor number, as well as the name used in that document, if different, are provided. Also underlined in the following list are those parts of the book title and the author's name mentioned in the sale booklet. This includes frequently occurring terms referring to the materiality of the codex such as 'parts of' (*ajzā' min*) and 'complete' (*kāmil*) as well as the term '*wa-ghayruhu*' ('and more still') that the scribe used to indicate further titles. For example, the sale booklet provides for book 82 the following information: 'Fuṣūl Ibn Muʿṭī wa-ghayruhu'. In our list this title appears as '*Kitāb al-Fuṣūl*; A: Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Nūr Ibn Muʿṭī al-Zawāwī (d. 628/1231); ed. M al-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1977; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*'. Bibliographical references are omitted for well-known works. 'Ashrafīya' refers to the respective entry in the Ashrafīya catalogue from the late seventh/thirteenth century (cf. Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*) and 'Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī; *Fihrist*' refers to the endowment list from the late ninth/fifteenth century (cf. Hirschler, *Monument*). For those lots with two books (identified as 'a' and 'b'), the price is given under book 'b'. On the challenge of ascribing thematic categories, see Chapter 5. Objects other than books are referred to as 'obj'; the only document listed in the inventory is numbered as 'docum 1'.

Abbreviations: 'A' = author; 'FI' = further information; 'C' = thematic category; 'sum total': sum total owed by buyer

#061a right = page 1 (Plate I.1)

BUYER 1 al-Shaykh al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Najmī, *aʿāda Allāh barakatahu wa-raḥima salafahu al-karīm* [ll. 4–6], sum total: 361 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 1, al-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn) and #968 (Debtor 1, al-Khaṭīb).

The elaborate invocation after the name of this scholar ('*shaykh*') indicates that he and his family members were prominent individuals. The very concise form of his name given here suggests, furthermore, that he was

well-known to those drafting the sale booklet. The most likely candidate is the Jerusalemite *shāfiʿī* scholar Muḥammad Najm al-Dīn (d. 795/1393), who belonged to the Banū Jamāʿa dynasty, which held office across Egypt and Bilād al-Shām (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 108). Najm al-Dīn was *khaṭīb* in the Ṣalāḥīya Madrasa. He was well-known to the judge's trustee, al-Adhraʿī, who was responsible for running this auction. The close connection between the two is evident from document #717, in which Najm al-Dīn gave al-Adhraʿī the authority to oversee the settling of the estate of the trader al-Ḥamawī (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 187).

(book 1) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*; A: Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870); Price: 260; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 46, 47, 78)

(book 2) *Asās al-balāgha*; A: Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144); Price: 74; C: rhetoric.

(book 3) *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Iṣfahānī*; This is most likely an unidentifiable commentary on one of the many abridgements of the *Kitāb al-aghānī* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), such as the *Mukhtaṣar al-aghānī* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim (d. 604/1207, cf. Sawa, *Music Performance Practice*, 32). Price: 27; C: poetry/adab. (cf. book 30b)

BUYER 2 al-Maqarr Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī al-Karakī [ll. 7–13], sum total: 466 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 2 & Payor 48), #812 (Payor 20, Ibn Shihāb) and #968 (Debtor 2, *al-nāʾib*).

As other documents (such as #968) refer to the same individual as '*nāʾib*' (vice-regent), this is most likely the prominent officer and vice-regent (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādar. He also acted as supervisor of the endowments in the Ḥijāz and invested in the pious topography of Jerusalem (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 273).

(book 4) *al-Shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*; A: al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149); Ashrafīya, no. 577; Price: 171; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional. (cf. book 169, 230)

(book 5) *al-Raqāʾiq*; Most likely a book on asceticism and piety as authors used the terms *zuhd* and *raqāʾiq* interchangeably (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1422).

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This could be the work by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ishbīlī Ibn al-Kharrāṭ (d. 582/1186; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 911 and al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 581–90, p. 112). Price: 22; C: asceticism. (cf. book 116)

(book 6) *Dīwān al-khuṭab*; tentative reading; One might think of the work of Ibn Nubāta (fl. 4th/10th c.), but we find that work with a different title below (cf. book 28). This is thus more likely the collection of sermons by A: Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 622/1225); (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 621–30, p. 133–5); Price: 27; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 7) *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*; A: Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277); Price: 50; C: ethics.

(book 8) *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1551), but the suggestion of Haarmann, *Library*, 332 is possible: A: ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072). This author's Koran commentary fits Burhān al-Dīn's intellectual world and contemporary authors referred to the work with this title (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 461–70, p. 172). Price: 32; C: Koran – study of.

(book 9a) *al-Jihād*; The keywords of 9a and 9b most likely refer to two distinct titles. There are numerous possibilities for titles containing the term '*jihād*' and this entry is thus not identifiable.

(book 9b) *al-Irshād*; There are numerous possibilities for titles containing the term '*irshād*' and this entry is thus not identifiable. Price: 20. (cf. book 254)

(book 10) *al-Ṣarṣarī*; This entry merely mentions the author's name. There are two main possible identities for this author: the *ḥanbalī* scholar Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṣarṣarī (d. 716/1316) and the author of devotional *ṣūfī* poetry, especially in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, A: Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf al-Ṣarṣarī (d. 656/1258). The latter was better known in Bilād al-Shām (for one example cf. Guo, *Mamluk Syrian Historiography*, I, 68) and is also suggested by Haarmann, *Library*, 331. Price: 33; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional.

(book 11) *al-Adhkār*; There are numerous possibilities for works with the term '*adhkār*' (invocation and recollection of God), but in the context of Jerusalem in this period the work by A: Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), an author who has at least one work in this list (book 7, in addition to the other

likely entries book 43, 142a, 197 and 231), is very likely. Price: 37; C: sufism. (cf. book 231)

(book 12) *Faḍā'il al-a'imma*; The Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī *fihrist* has titles such as *Faḍl al-åimma al-arbaʿa* (cf. Hirschler, *Monument*, no. 143f) and *Manāqib al-åimma al-arbaʿa* (cf. Hirschler, *Monument*, no. 397b) referring to the founders of the four main Sunni *madhhab*s. Price: 17; C: history – merits – individuals.

(book 13) *Faḍā'il al-Quds*; popular title with numerous possibilities (cf. ʿAsalī, *Makhṭūṭāt faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*); Price: 32; C: history – merits – places.

(obj1) *ikhwān*: table (Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I, 651), Price: 4.25.

BUYER 3 al-Maqarr al-Sayfī Bulūṭ [ll. 14–20], sum total: 346 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 3 & Payor 49), #812 (Payor 18) and #968 (Debtor 3).

> This could be the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Bulāṭ, who belonged to the household of Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the major-domo of the Sultan from 792/1390 to 798/1395. He was one of those accused of malpractices in the investigation (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 515–18) that led to the formation of the investigation archive, which forms the largest sub-corpus in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus as we know it today (see Chapter 3). Sayf al-Dīn appears also in another estate record from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus (e.g. #768a [Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 451]) and one of his *mamlūk*s appears further down (Buyer 73).

(book 14) *Rabʿa sharīfa*; A (incomplete?) copy of the Koran (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 503). Price: 8; C: Koran – text.

(book 15) *al-Muntaqā*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1851/2) and thus not identifiable; Price: 21.

(book 16) *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*; A: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037); ed. ʿA. al-Azharī, Cairo: Dār al-Iḥsān 2017; Price: 14.25; C: fiqh – ḥanafī.

(book 17) *Dīwān shiʿr*; not identifiable; Price: 20; C: poetry.

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(book 18) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 70; C: Koran – text.

(book 19) *Muṣḥaf*; We take the term *rub'* to refer to one quarter of the full text. *Rub'* can also refer to one quarter of a *juz'*, a thirtieth part of the full text. However, this would mean that here a quarter of a thirtieth, that is a hundred and twentieth, is sold for 18 dirhams. This would give a potential, and highly unlikely, price of 2,160 dirhams if the copy had been complete. Price: 18; C: Koran – text. (cf. book 35, 126, 130, 190)

(book 20) *al-Qur'ān*; parts of (*ajzā' min*) the Koran; Price: 7; C: Koran – text.

(book 21) *Muṣḥaf*; We take the term (*thumn*) to refer to one eighth of the full text. *Thumn* can also refer to one eighth of a *juz'*, a thirtieth part of the full text. However, this would mean that here an eighth of a thirtieth, that is a two hundred and fortieth, was sold for 6.25 dirhams. This would give a potential, and highly unlikely, price of 1,500 dirhams if the copy had been complete. Price: 6.25; C: Koran – text.

(book 22a) *Du'ā'*; C: prayer book.

(book 22b) *Majmū'*; not identifiable multiple-text (or composite) manuscript; Price: 12.

(obj2) *sībā*: tripod (Haarmann, *Library*, 330; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 710/1 for *sība*), Price: 5.25.

(obj3) *zawj ṣanādīq*: pair of chests, Price: 160.

(obj4) *ṣandūq khashab*: wooden chest, Price: 4.25.

BUYER 4 Sayyidunā al-Ḥākim al-Shāfi'ī, *asbagha Allāh ẓillahu* [ll. 21–5], sum total: 194 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 4) and #968 (Debtor 4, al-Shāfi'ī).

> This is most likely Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣarfanī, who was the *shāfi'ī* deputy judge of Jerusalem from the beginning of 789/1387 to mid-790/1388,[14] that is, the period when this sale booklet was written. The title '*ḥākim*' refers to the judge himself rather than his deputy, but we see

[14] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 263/4: 'Abū Bakr lbrāhīm al-Ṣarwī (?) {P 116}'.

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in #052/1 and #111/1 (see Appendix 2) that the professional witnesses also refer to al-Ṣarfanī as '*sayyidunā al-ḥākim*'. The identification of this buyer as al-Ṣarfanī is more likely still because he was closely involved in settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate: he decided the amount of the maintenance payments for Burhān al-Dīn's children (#052 and #111) and he also endorsed individual payments (#108 and #118). He is not Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī, who assisted al-Adhraʿī in settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate (#793, #800 and #812).

(book 23) *al-Durra al-farīda*; A: Ḥusayn b. Abī al-ʿIzz al-Hamadānī (d. 643/1245), who was one of the leading scholars of Koran recitation in Bilād al-Shām (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 641–50, pp. 224–6) and authored a commentary on the *Shāṭibīya* (cf. books 29 and 67) with the title *al-Durra al-farīda* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 646). Price: 27.5; C: Koran – recitation.

(book 24) *al-Jamʿ bayna al-ṣaḥīḥayn*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 599); Haarmann, *Library*, 330–1 suggested authorship of Ibn al-Kharrāṭ (cf. book 5); however, considering other documented book collections (Ashrafīya, no. 1438; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 439l) and contemporary sources (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 631–40, p. 361; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 651–60, p. 358), the most likely author is A: Muḥammad b. Futūḥ al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095); Price: 52; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 236)

(book 25) *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*; A: al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058); Ashrafīya, no. 9; Price: 13; C: political thought. (cf. book 41)

(book 26) *al-Maqāmāt*; A: al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122); Ashrafīya, no. 1095; Price: 16.5; C: adab. (cf. book 194, 267)

(book 27) *al-Īḍāḥ*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 209–10); Haarmann, *Library*, 330 suggested the work by A: al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī Abū ʿAlī (d. 377/987); considering that the Ashrafīya book list (nos 30a, 952, 1415) and contemporary sources (e.g. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 681–90, p. 51 and al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 691–700, p. 52) used the keyword '*al-Īḍāḥ*' for this work, this is indeed highly likely. FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 15.75; C: grammar.

(book 28) *al-Khuṭab*; A: ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad Ibn Nubāta (fl. 4th/10th c.); Price: 17.25; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 29) *al-Shāṭibīya*; A: Abū al-Qāsim b. Firruh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194); Price: 4; C: Koran – recitation. (cf. book 67)

(book 30a) *al-Ifṣāḥ*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 81) and thus not identifiable. (cf. book 86)

(book 30b) *Sharḥ al-Iṣfahānī*; This is most likely an unidentifiable commentary on the *Kitāb al-aghānī* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967). Price: 48; C: poetry/adab. (cf. book 3)

BUYER 5 al-Ḥākim al-Ḥanafī [ll. 26–8], sum total: 87 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 5) and #968 (Debtor 5, al-Ḥanafī).

Khalīl b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAjamī al-Bāyartī (?) (d. 801/1398) was appointed as (first) *ḥanafī* judge in Jerusalem in 784/1382. Other documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus show that he held this position for well over a decade, at least until 796/1393 (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 233–5). He was in all likelihood in this post when Burhān al-Dīn died in 789/1387.

(book 31) *Sharḥ al-Āthār*; This is most likely a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Āthār* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. c. 187/803) (ed. al-Afghānī, Beirut 1993). *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 211 mentions a commentary (*sharḥ*) by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933), arguably the *Sharḥ maʿānī al-Āthār*. Price: 61; C: fiqh – ḥanafī/ḥadīth.

The following entry for *ajzāʾ min Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* was transferred (‘*nuqila*’) to book 235.

(obj5) *ṣuḥūn qashānī*: china plates, Price: 9.

(obj6) *ṣandūq khashab*: wooden chest, Price: 17.

#061a left = page 2 (Plate I.1)

BUYER 6 al-Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī [ll. 1–2], sum total: 65.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 14), #800 (Payor 9), #812 (Payor 36) and #968 (Debtor 6).

Jerusalemite scholar, fl. 797/1395 (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 220/1); named together with Buyer 9, Shams al-Dīn, in al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 221.

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(book 32) *al-Tadhkira*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 391–3) and thus not identifiable. Price: 65.75. (cf. book 135)

BUYER 7 al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Qalqashandī [ll. 3–7], sum total: 55.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 6 & Payor 40), #812 (Payor 10) and #968 (Debtor 7).

d. 809/1406, settled in Jerusalem to become one of its leading scholars in the field of *shāfiʿī* law (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, VII, 137), brother of Buyer 8.

(book 33) *Tanbīh*; As this term is not determined, this is most likely not a keyword drawn from a title but a generic description of a text of admonition. Price: 25; C: sermons/paraenesis. (cf. book 170)

(book 34) *al-Akhbār fī fawā'id al-akhyār*; A: Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990 or 384/994); for instance, MS Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 5855 (no evident link to Burhān al-Dīn); Price: 12; C: sufism.

(obj7) *ʿukkāz ḥadīd*: iron crutch, Price: 5.25.

(obj8) *rakwa*: copper pot, Price: 4.5.

(book 35) *Maṣāḥif sharīfa*; two quarters (*rubʿayn*) of the full text (cf. book 19, 126, 130, 190). Price: 8.5; C: Koran – text.

BUYER 8 al-Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl al-Qalqashandī, his brother [ll. 8–11], sum total: 52 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 7 & Payor 47), #812 (Payor 16) and #968 (Debtor 8).

d. 790/1388–9; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 161/2; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, VII, 137; brother of Buyer 7; In a codex today held in Damascus we see him attending, together with his brother, the scholarly reading of a *ḥadīth* collection in the Aqṣā Mosque in 772/1370.[15] The scribe of the sale booklet notes that four dirhams of the sum total were paid by 'Maqarr Sayfī Bulūṭ' (Buyer 3). Al-Qalqashandī subsequently ran into financial troubles (according to document #652) and had to pledge several of his books as security for a loan (discussed in Chapter 4).

[15] Damascus, National al-Asad Library (formerly Ẓāhirīya), MS 3787/3, fol. 35b.

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(book 36) *al-Nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1920) and thus not identifiable; Price: 18.5; C: Koran – study of.

(book 37) *Istidʿā'*; The Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī *fihrist* uses the same term '*Istidʿā'*', also undetermined, for a request for an *ijāza* (cf. Hirschler, *Monument*, no. 521c); FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 5; C: ijāza.

(book 38) *Mushkil al-ṣaḥīḥayn*; the Jerusalemite scholar A: Khalīl b. Kaykaldī (d. 761/1359); Sezgin, GAS, I, 132, 142; Price: 7.5; C: ḥadīth.

(obj9) *kāmilīya bayḍā'*: white robe of honour (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 317), Price: 21.

BUYER 9 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dayrī [ll. 12–14], sum total: 94.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 8), #800 (Payor 39) and #968 (Debtor 9).

> Jerusalemite *ḥanafī* scholar (d. 827/1424), who is constantly referred to as 'Shams al-Dīn al-Dayrī' in al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*. He later took up the *ḥanafī* judgeship in Cairo (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, VIII, 88/9). He is named together with Buyer 6, 'Alā' al-Dīn, in al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 221.

(book 39) *Mukhtaṣar*; A: ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar al-Mālikī Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249); Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 571; Price: 11.5; C: fiqh – mālikī.

(book 40) *al-Riʿāya li-ḥuqūq Allāh*; A: Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857); ed. ʿA. Maḥmūd/ʿA. ʿAṭā', Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha 1970; Price: 27; C: sufism.

(book 41) *Adab al-dunyā*; possibly A: al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058); FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Ashrafīya, no. 9; Price: 41; C: political thought. (cf. book 25)

(book 42) *al-Ihtimām*; This is most likely *al-Ihtimām bi-talkhīṣ kitāb al-ilmām* by A: ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Nūr al-Ḥalabī (d. 735/1334) (ed. Ḥ. Riyāḍ, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfīya 1990), a commentary on Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's (702/1302) *al-Ilmām bi-aḥādīth al-aḥkām*. Price: 15.25; C: ḥadīth/ fiqh – shāfiʿī.

BUYER 10 Burhān al-Dīn b. Qāsim [ll. 15–19], sum total: 566 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 9 & Payor 52, Burhān al-Dīn Qāsim), #812 (Payor 22) and #968 (Debtor 10).

> Not identified; we find the interlinear accounting note '*qubiḍa 265 baqiya 291*' ('265 [dirhams] received, 291 [dirhams] outstanding') next to this buyer's sum total, which matches the amount recorded in accounts #793 and #812. However, the sum total he owed is unstable: the sale booklet initially recorded 556 dirhams (faint traces of the 'fifty' are visible) and this matches the sum of the individual prices he had to pay as well as the interlinear note (265+291 = 556). This sum total was subsequently altered to '566' without any of the individual prices being altered. In #793 and #968 we find, furthermore, a sum total of 576 dirhams and there is no explanation for these different sums.

(book 43) *al-Rawḍa*; There are numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 924–33), but the high price indicates a large and popular work. This makes the *shāfiʿī* fiqh work *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn wa-ʿumdat al-muftīn* by A: Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), an author who has at least one work in this list (book 7, in addition to the other likely entries book 11, 142a, 197 and 231), very likely. Numerous authors wrote a commentary on this work in the subsequent centuries. The *Rawḍa* is a summary of the legal commentary by al-Rāfiʿī, the author of the book in the subsequent lot. Price: 305. C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

(book 44) *al-Muḥarrar*; A: ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226); ed. M. Ismāʿīl, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya 2005; Price: 28; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī. (cf. book 122a)

(book 45) *Mirʾāt al-ẓamān fī tārīkh al-aʿyān*; A: Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256); Price: 11; C: history.

(book 46) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*; A: Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870); Price: 172; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 1, 47, 78)

(book 47) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*; quires of (*karārīs min*); A: Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870); Price: 40; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 1, 46, 78)

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BUYER 11 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Muhandis [61a, ll. 20–33–61b. ll. 1–13], sum total: 1295 dirhams.[16] Listed in #793 (Payor 1), #800 (Payor 5), #812 (Payor 24) and #968 (Debtor 11).

> Jerusalemite *ḥanbalī* scholar (d. 803/4–1401/2), al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, II, 86. The scribe of the sale booklet notes two monetary transactions for this buyer (see book 101 below).

(book 48) *Dalā'il al-aḥkām*; There are several possibilities for this title, but on account of the regional context and the following title, the most likely is A: Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Rāfiʿ Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235); *Dalā'il al-aḥkām min aḥādīth al-rasūl*, ed. M. Shaykhānī/Z. al-Ayyūbī, Damascus: Dār Qutayba 1992; Price: 30.5; C: ḥadīth.

(book 49) *al-Nawādir al-sulṭānīya*; There are again numerous possibilities, but on account of the previous title and the strong Jerusalem link, the most likely is A: Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Rāfiʿ Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235); Price: 18; C: history – biography – Ayyūbid.

(book 50) *Tajrīd al-ṣiḥāḥ*; A: Razīn b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿAbdarī (d. 524/1129 or 535/1140); mentioned in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 345 and all references in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* with this title refer to this book; Price: 72.5; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 121, 122b)

(book 51) *Zahr al-ādāb*; A: Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī (d. 413/1022); Ashrafīya, no. 541; Price: 38; C: adab – anthology.

(book 52) *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*; Most likely a commentary on the *Ishārāt* by Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037). Following the suggestion by Haarmann, *Library*, this is arguably the work by A: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 606/1210). This author is likely as we have books by him elsewhere in this sale booklet (cf. book 53, 115, 246) and as al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* explicitly refers to this exact title (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 601–10, p. 214). Price: 11; C: philosophy.

(book 53) *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Rāzī*; A: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 606/1210); This compendium on philosophy and

[16] Adding the individual prices suggests the sum total should be 1,297.75, but he indeed only paid 1,295 dirhams, as is evident from accounts sheet #812.

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logic is admittedly a rather surprising book for this collection, but the reading is reasonably clear and we find the same author elsewhere (cf. book 52, 115). Price: 11.25; C: logic.

(book 54) *al-Miftāḥ li-ahl al-Dīn wa-al-ṣalāh*; There are numerous titles with the keyword '*miftāḥ*' (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1,769–72), but none with the exact wording found here. Price: 7.5.

(book 55) *Mushkil al-ḥadīth*; two main possibilities: ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889; mentioned al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 271–80, p. 382) or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015; ed. D. Gimaret, Damascus 2003); Price: 18.75; C: ḥadīth.

(book 56) *Jawāmiʿ al-fiqar wa-lawāmiʿ al-fikar*; commentary on the chronicle by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī (d. 427/1036 or 431/1040); A: Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kirmānī (d. c. 620/1223); Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, II, 626; Price: 46; C: history.

(book 57) *Manāqib ʿUmar*; Contemporary sources are aware of two authors of such a title: (1) ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1203; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 591–600, p. 446) and (2) Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 591–600, p. 290). As we have no other book by ʿAbd al-Ghanī in this sale booklet (and hardly any by another author from the Damascene *ḥanbalī* Maqdisī environment), Ibn al-Jawzī, who has numerous titles in this inventory (cf. book 72, 120, 134, 216, 220 and possibly 75, 208, 212), is more likely. He has two titles starting with '*Manāqib ʿUmar*', one referring to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and one to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The latter was more popular (we find it, for instance, in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 22) and thus is the most likely version here. Price: 42; C: history – merits – individuals.

(book 58) *Dīwān Ibn Nubāta*; A: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar Ibn Nubāta (d. 405/1015); Ashrafīya, no. 420; or A: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (d. 768/1366; cf. Bauer, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī*). We find the same title further down (cf. book 97). As it is unlikely that a book collection with a rather weak profile in poetry contained two copies of the same *dīwān*, the most likely option is that the *dīwān*s of both Ibn Nubātas were held. Price: 14; C: poetry.

(book 59) *Mawālid*; The term '*mawālid*' (sg. *mawlid*) is here most likely used in the sense of panegyric poems in honour of the Prophet. FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 20.25; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional. (cf. book 61, 243)

(book 60) *Shams al-maṭālib*; unidentified; Price: 13.25.

(book 61) *Mawālid*; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 28.75; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional. (cf. book 59, 243)

(book 62) *Sharḥ al-ḥurūf al-jāmiʿ bayna al-ʿārif wa-al-maʿrūf*; following Haarmann, *Library*, 331 arguably A: Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾūsī al-Qazwīnī (fl. 658/1260); Browne/Nicholson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 289. Price: 18.25; C: lettrism.

(book 63) *al-Muhadhdhab*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1912–14) and thus not identifiable. On account of the prominence of *shāfiʿī* works in this library a cautious case can be made for *al-Muhadhdhab* by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) (cf. book 172, 265a). Price: 30.25; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

(book 64) *Mashāriq al-anwār*; Contemporary sources are aware of two authors of such a title: (1) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 641–50, p. 445); (2) ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 541–50, p. 200). Both titles are linked to *ḥadīth*. Haarmann, *Library*, 331 suggested al-Yaḥṣubī, who is indeed slightly more likely as he has another title in this sale booklet (cf. book 4). Price: 10; C: ḥadīth.

(book 65) *Gharīb al-Qurʾān*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1,207) and thus the author is not identifiable; Price: 19.5; C: Koran/lexicography.

(book 66) *Shiʿār al-dīn*; the lost work by A: Ḥamd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 388/998); Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 469 is one of the few biographies that mention it and Ibn Taymīya, *Minhāj*, V, 63 one of the few works that cites it. Price: 30; C: theology (uṣūl al-dīn).

(book 67) *al-Shāṭibīya*; A: Abū al-Qāsim b. Firruh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194); FI: *wa-ghayruhā*; Price: 18.25; C: Koran – recitation. (cf. book 29)

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(book 68) *al-Faṣīḥ*; A: Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); Ashrafīya, no. 1302a; Price: 17.75; C: lexicography. (cf. book 89, 98b)

(book 69) *al-Madkhal*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1941–3) and thus not identifiable. Price: 60.

(book 70) *Kanz al-abrār*; A: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240); Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, II, 120; Price: 35; C: ḥadīth.

(book 71) *Dīwān al-Wardī*; most likely A: ʿUmar b. Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349); ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī, Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabīya; Price: 20; C: poetry.

(book 72) *Uns al-nufūs*; most likely A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, S, I, p. 505; Price: 21.75.

(book 73) *al-Ṭabaqāt*; Extracts from/parts of (*min*) a (biographical?) work, but there are numerous possibilities and it is thus not identifiable. Price: 35.25; C: history – biographies.

(book 74) *Tārīkh*; A part of (*juz' min*) a chronicle. Price: 38; C: history.

(book 75) *al-Tabṣira*; There are numerous possibilities for this keyword (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 338–9). However, in light of several preaching-related books in Burhān al-Dīn's collection (cf. books 6 and 28), one of them by Ibn al-Jawzī (cf. book 120), this is most likely the *Tabṣira* by A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200; *al-Tabṣira*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya 1986). We find a second copy further down. Price: 6.75; C: sermons/paraenesis. (cf. book 134)

(book 76) *al-Aḥkām*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 19–22) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 34.25.

(book 77) *al-Dalā'il*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 760) and thus not identifiable. The vast majority of titles with this keyword are on the signs of prophethood and this is also reflected in a list such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist* (nos 265, 503f and 533f). Price: 27.25; C: prophethood.

(book 78) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*; Extracts from/parts of (*min*) this work. A: Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870); Price: 32; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 1, 46, 47)

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(book 79) *Majmūʿ lugha*; No title contained in this multiple-text (or composite) manuscript is given. '*Lugha*' refers most likely to C: lexicography; Price: 18.

(book 80) *al-Sīra*; This is most likely a part of (*juz' min*) a biography of the Prophet. There are several possibilities, but considering what books the Ashrafīya cataloguer entered as '*sīra*', the most likely authors are: (1) Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767)/Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828) (Ashrafīya, no. 547) and (2) Aḥmad Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) (Ashrafīya, no. 1222c); Price: 23; C: history – biography of the Prophet. (cf. book 141, 211, 240a)

#061b right = page 3 (Plate I.2)

(book 81) *Ṣifat al-janna wa-al-nār*; Haarmann, *Library*, proposes the work by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245) that we find in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 543e and is mentioned in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 2013. However, titles by authors from the Damascene *ḥanbalī* Maqdisī environment are rare in this sale booklet and this is thus more likely the work by A: Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī Abū Nuʿaym (d. 430/1038) whose work is also in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 531k and is mentioned in contemporary sources (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 421–40, p. 276). Price: 25.875; C: theology.

(book 82) *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl*; A: Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Nūr Ibn Muʿṭī al-Zawāwī (d. 628/1231); ed. M al-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo: ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1977; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 32; C: grammar.

(book 83) *Majmūʿ*; not identifiable multiple-text (or composite) manuscript; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 14.5.

(book 84) *Athar al-safar*; very tentative reading and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 24.

(book 85) *Rāḥat al-qulūb*; The spelling of the title suggests a Persian-language work. This is possibly a *ṣūfī* work such as the *Rāḥat al-qulūb* ascribed to Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Manīrī/Manērī (d.782/1381; Agra Maṭbaʿ Mufid-i ʿām 1321[1903]). Price: 17.375; C: sufism.

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(book 86) *al-Ifṣāḥ*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 81) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 27. (Cf. book 30.)

(book 87) *al-Masā'il al-maknūna*; A: al-Ḥakīm Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī (d. c. 318/936); ed. M. I. al-Juyūshī, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-ʿArabī 1980; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*. Price: 25; C: sufism.

(book 88) *al-Taʿlīq*; a part (*juz'*) of an unidentified work by A: Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā whose identity is unclear. FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 19.

(book 89) *Akhbār Faṣīḥ al-kalām*; No such title is identifiable, but this is clearly one of the works referring to *Faṣīḥ al-kalām* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d. 291/904). On similar works cf. Ashrafīya, nos 966 and 1328b; Price: 17.25; C: lexicography. (cf. book 68, 98b)

(book 90) *Kitāb ṭibb*; not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 22; C: medicine.

(book 91) *Mawāʿiẓ*; not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 21; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 92) *Risālat al-Fayyūmīya*; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; The missing article in '*risāla*' is probably a slip of the pen and the correct title is more likely *al-Risāla al-Fayyūmīya*. Haarmann, *Library*, 332 suggests that these are the glosses of A: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fayyūmī (d. after 770/1368) on al-Rāfiʿī's commentary on *al-Wajīz* by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; cf. book 192); Price: 14.5; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

(book 93) *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*; A part of (*juz' min*) the *ḥadīth* collection by A: Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796); Price: 12; C: ḥadīth.

(book 94) *Dīwān*; not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 11.5; C: poetry.

> The next entry *juz'ayn min al-Qur'ān* (two parts of the Koran) does not carry a price and is crossed out. This is most likely the item that we find below (cf. book 123).

(book 95) *Tisʿat kutub*; Here nine incomplete books (*kharm*) are sold as one lot and the sale booklet gives no indication as to their authors, titles or content. The standard term for incomplete books is *makhrūm* (pl. *makhārīm*), as, for instance, used in Ashrafīya, no. 339. The form used here is also attested in book 148, 212, 213, 266. Price: 19.

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(book 96) *Thalāthat kutub*; As in the previous entry, several (most likely incomplete) books are sold in bulk. The term '*thamāniya*' (eight) is crossed out, because the writer first wrote out the price in full and then remembered that he was using Arabic documentary numerals. He thus crossed out the term and duly added the number in its correct form below. Price: 8.

(obj10) *qushsha*: small pieces of furniture (al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, XVII, 333), Price: 23.25.

(book 97) *Dīwān Ibn Nubāta*; Price: 10; C: poetry. (cf. book 58)

(book 98a) *Majmūʿ*; not identifiable multiple-text (or composite) manuscript.

(book 98b) *Faṣīḥ*; A: Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); Ashrafīya, no. 1302a; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 10.5; C: lexicography. (cf. book 68, 89)

(book 99a) *Kitāb al-taʿabbud*; The only known book with this title is the one by Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Wahb (fl. 4th/10th century). This work has been lost and is only known from a reference to it in his *al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān*. The likelihood that such an obscure book was the one sitting on the shelves of Burhān al-Dīn is minimal.

(book 99b) *al-Adab*; not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 11.5.

(book 100) *al-Badr al-munīr fī al-taʿbīr*; A: Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī (d. 697/1298); al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 691–700, p. 317; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 11; C: oneiromancy.

(book 101) *al-Ḥadīth*; The term (*ajzāʾ min*) most likely does not refer to 'parts of' one specific *ḥadīth* collection such as that by al-Bukhārī, as the name would have been specified (as we see in book 1, 32, 47, 79, 94). More likely, we are dealing here with brief post-canonical *ḥadīth* collections that often carry the 'title' '*juz*", of which there are many in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī collection (Hirschler, *Monument*). This entry is followed by the phrase '*min yadd Junayd*' ('from the hand of Junayd'). Haarmann, *Library*, 331 assumes that this refers to an autograph, but this would have certainly been described with the phrase '*bi-yadd*' or '*bi-khaṭṭ*'. The following 'entry' in this line '*min jihat al-Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naqīb 20*' (our Buyer 6) refers to a monetary transaction (Ibn al-Naqīb paid 20 dirhams of this buyer's sum total) and it is most likely that the phrase '*min yadd Junayd*' refers to a monetary

transaction as well. Another reason why it is unlikely that this phrase is part of the proper entry is the way the writer positioned the price: in general, prices are put beneath the middle of the title, slightly to the right. Here, however, if we take the phrase '*min yadd Junayd*' to be part of the title as well the price is positioned unusually far to the right. Price: 33.5; C: ḥadīth.

BUYER 12 Shams al-Dīn al-Khalīlī [ll. 14–18], sum total: 252 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 35), #812 (Payor 5) and #968 (Debtor 12).

> This is the Jerusalemite scholar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān (d. 805/1402) (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, II, 140 ('known as Ibn Uthmān al-Khalīlī'); al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 164; misread in Haarmann, *Library*, 329 as 'Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī' as in the black and white reproductions Haarmann used, the second *yā'* is not visible; #793 has him as 'Ibn al-Khalīlī'; #812 has him as 'Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Khalīlī'). The addition '*wa-al-Ustadār*' ('and the major-domo') is entirely unclear to us. It is unlikely that this is a second buyer of the same lot, especially as no major-domos appear in any of the other accounts and lists linked to the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate.

(book 102) *al-Wasīṭ*; There are numerous 'intermediate' books. Considering the usage in contemporary sources and the holdings of the Ashrafīya Library (Ashrafīya, nos 1373, 1376, 1397), the two most evident candidates are the works by: (1) al-Ghazālī (*al-Wasīṭ fī al-madhhab*, ed. A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār al-Salām 1997) and (2) al-Wāḥidī (*al-Wasīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-majīd*, ed. ʿĀ ʿAbd al-Mawjūd, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya 1994). Price: 26.25. (Cf. book 127, 142b, 265b.)

(obj11) *farjīya bayḍā'*: white overgarment (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 327–34), Price: 30.5.

(obj12) *jubba bayḍā'*: white long robe, Price: 26.75.

(book 103) *Sīrat al-Iskandarī*; The phrasing of the title makes it unlikely that this is a version of the *Sīrat al-Iskandar* on Alexander the Great. It is impossible to identify who 'al-Iskandarī' is. Price: 32.5.

(book 104) *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*; A: Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234); Ashrafīya, no. 723; Price: 70; C: sufism. (Cf. book 106.)

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(book 105) *al-Maṣābīḥ*; most likely A: al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd (Ibn) al-Farrāʾ al-Baghawī (d. c. 516/1122); Ashrafīya, no. 917; Price: 66; C: ḥadīth.

BUYER 13 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl b. Makkī [ll. 19-31], sum total: 510.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 10 & Payor 32), #812 (Payor 2) and #968 (Debtor 13).

> This is most likely Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn ʿAskar, who plays a prominent role in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents between the years 790/1388 and 796/1393 as representative of the *bayt al-māl* in settling estates (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 557). 'Ibn 'Askar' is clearly evident in account sheet #812.

(book 106) *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*; A: Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234); Ashrafīya, no. 723; Price: 70; C: sufism. (Cf. book 104.)

(book 107) *al-Sharīshī*; Haarmann, *Library*, 333 identifies this as the commentary of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222) on the *Maqāmāt*, but the basis for this identification is entirely unclear. Price: 50.

(book 108) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 72; C: Koran – text.

(book 109) *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*; A: al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); Ashrafīya, no. 290; Price: 18.25; C: Koran – study of.

(book 110) *al-Musalsalāt*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 12; C: ḥadīth.

(book 111) *Siyar al-salaf*; A: Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī (d. 535/1140–1); Ashrafīya, no. 548; Price: 20; C: history – biography/ḥadīth.

(book 112) *al-Mujālasāt*; Haarmann, *Library*, 330 ascribes this title to Thaʿlab (d. 291/904), which is, however, only one of several possibilities. Price: 16.

(book 113) *Sharḥ al-Alfīya*; The main work could be the *Alfīya* by Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Nūr Ibn Muʿṭī (d. 628/1231; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 492), but judging from its popularity in the Damascene Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī endowment one hundred years later this is more likely the work by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274) (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, nos 18, 149,

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255, 386). If that is the case this could be the commentary by the Jerusalemite scholar Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Ibn al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 790/1388; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 218). Price: 17.5; C: grammar.

(book 114) *Sharḥayn li-l-Ḥājibīya*; two unidentifiable commentaries; The main work is arguably the *Kāfiya* by ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar al-Mālikī Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249; cf. book 39). Price: 24; C: grammar.

(book 115a) *al-Muntakhab*; 115a and 115b are most likely separate titles as a combination of these two keywords is highly unlikely. We have both titles as separate works by one author, namely A: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 606/1210), who is also suggested by Haarmann, *Library*, 331. On the *Muntakhab* see Sarrio Cucarella, *Muslim-Christian Polemics*, 2015, 274. C: uṣūl al-fiqh.

(book 115b) *wa-al-Maḥṣūl*; A: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 606/1210); Ashrafīya, no. 937; Price: 12; C: uṣūl al-fiqh.

(book 116) *al-Zuhd wa-al-raqā'iq*; One of the books on asceticism and piety with this title, such as *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-al-raqā'iq*, arguably by A: Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797, ed. Ḥ. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1966), who is suggested by Haarmann, *Library*, 332. Price: 16; C: asceticism. (Cf. book 5.)

(book 117) *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*; There are several possibilities. Haarmann, *Library*, 332 proposed A: Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. between 373/983–4 and 393/1002–3) and his identification is indeed highly likely as contemporary sources (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*) always mean this work when they use the title '*Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*'. Price: 18.25; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 118) *al-Ulūf wa-al-arwāḥ*; very tentative reading and thus not identifiable; Price: 16.25.

(book 119) *Sirāj al-mulūk*; A: Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126?); Ashrafīya, no. 559; Price: 26; C: political thought – mirror for princes. (cf. book 153)

(book 120) *Khuṭab*; A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); most likely his *al-Lʾālī fī khuṭab al-mawāʿiẓ* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1534); Price: 12.5; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 121) *Tajrīd al-ṣiḥāḥ*; A: Razīn b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿAbdarī (d. 524/1129 or 535/1140); Price: 15.5; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 50, 122b)

(book 122a) *al-Muḥarrar*; The keywords '*muḥarrar*' and '*tajrīd*' certainly refer to two different titles, here by A: ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226); C: fiqh – shāfiʿī. (cf. book 44)

(book 122b) *al-Tajrīd*; most likely A: Razīn b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿAbdarī (d. 524/1129 or 535/1140); Price: 13.5; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 50, 121, 258a)

(book 123) *al-Qurʾān*; two parts of (*juzʾayn min*) the Koran; Price: 7.5; C: Koran – text.

(book 124) *al-Qurʾān*; two halves of (*niṣfayn min*) the complete text (cf. book 139); Price: 10; C: Koran – text.

(book 125) *Muṣḥaf*; complete (*kāmil*) Koran divided into quarters (*arbāʿ*); Price: 8.25; C: Koran – text.

(book 126) *al-Qurʾān*; two quarters (*rubʿayn*) of the full text (cf. book 19, 35, 130, 190); Price: 2; C: Koran – text.

(obj13) *bisāṭ rūmī*: Anatolian carpet, Price: 36.5.

(obj14) *ṭarrāḥa*: Ottoman (al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ*, 547), Price: 9.5.

(obj15) *marāwiḥ*: fans, Price: 0.5.

(obj16) *qabqāb*: wooden clogs (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 347–9), Price: 3.75.

(obj17) *tannūr hayākil*: oven (Haarmann, *Library*, 330: consisting of different parts) (cf. obj30), Price: 2.75.

BUYER 14 his maternal uncle Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Mūsā Ibn Makkī [ll. 32–6], sum total: 180.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 11 & Payor 39, Badr al-Dīn Makkī), #812 (Payor 9) and #968 (Debtor 14).

> Jerusalemite *shāfiʿī* scholar and judge (d. 817/1414–15; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 130 and al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, III, 129/30); probably identifiable as 'al-Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan', who appears twice in documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus as representative of the *wakīl bayt al-māl* (#380 and #772a, cf. Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 410).

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(book 127) *al-Wasīṭ*; Price: 38. (cf. book 102, 142b, 265b)

(book 128) *al-Qur'ān*; six parts of (*sittat ajzā' min*) the Koran; Price: 14.5; C: Koran – text.

(book 129) *al-Qur'ān*; eight parts of (*thamānīyat ajzā' min*) the Koran; Price: 17; C: Koran – text.

(obj18) *bisāṭ*: carpet, Price: 50.

(obj19) *khizāna*: (book-?)case, Price: 41.

(obj20) *tanjīr*: cooking pot; The most likely reading here is *ṭanjīr* with the initial emphatic 'ṭ' written as a 't', Price: 15.5.

(book 130) *al-Qur'ān*; two quarters (*rub'ayn sharīfayn*) of the full text (cf. book 19, 35, 126, 190). Price: 4.25; C: Koran – text.

#180a left = page 4 (Plate I.3)

BUYER 15 Muḥammad al-Andalusī [ll. 1–2], sum total: 36.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 27) and #968 (Debtor 52).

Not identifiable, except as 'the Andalusian' and at this point being resident in the Manjakīya Madrasa in Jerusalem (our reading of 'bi-madrasat Ibn Manjā'). He is the only buyer for which a place of residence is given. This was most likely a scholar who was passing through Jerusalem or had only arrived at the *madrasa* founded by Sayf al-Dīn Manjak (d. 776/1375) shortly before the sale. Cf. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 384–98 and al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 37.

(book 131) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 36.5; C: Koran – text.

BUYER 16 Burhān al-Dīn al-Ṣallatī [ll. 3–5], sum total: 19.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 28 & Payor 15), #800 (Payor 12), #812 (Payor 37) and #968 (Debtor 53).

not identified

(book 132) *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; A: Aḥmad al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955); Ashrafīya, no. 397; Price: 9.75; C: poetry.

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(book 133) *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī wa-Yatīmat al-Dahr*; A: Aḥmad al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955) and al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038); Ashrafīya, no. 1388; Price: 9.75; C: poetry.

BUYER 17 ʿUmar al-Zajjāj [ll. 6–7], sum total: 15 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 23), #800 (Payor 23), #812 (Payor 45) and #968 (Debtor 54).

not identified

(book 134) *al-Tabṣira*; A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); Price: 15; C: sermons/paraenesis. (cf. book 75)

BUYER 18 Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiʿī Ibn Abī Maḥmūd [ll. 8–10], sum total: 66.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 5), #800 (Payor 4), #812 (Payor 28) and #968 (Debtor 55).

Jerusalemite scholar (d. 821/1418–19; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 168).

(book 135) *al-Tadhkira*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 391–3) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 22. (cf. book 32)

(book 136) *al-Ṣafwa*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1,079–80) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 18.25.

(book 137) *al-Fatḥ*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1,231–6) and thus not identifiable; Price: 26.5.

BUYER 19 Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Quṭb [ll. 11–14], sum total: 142 dirhams [138 w-z-n]. Listed in #793 (Payor 4), #800 (Payor 8), #812 (Payor 27) and #968 (Debtor 56).

not identified

(book 138) *al-Akhṭār wa-al-miḥan*; tentative reading, not identified; Price: 23.

(obj21) *aqlām*: pens, Price: 8.

(obj22) *bisāṭ*: carpet, Price: 75.

(obj23) *sudda khashab*: wooden bench, Price: 36.

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BUYER 20 al-Yatīm Maḥmūd Jamāl al-Dīn Kamāl [ll. 15–19], sum total: 56.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 29) and #968 (Debtor 57).

Burhān al-Dīn's son Kamāl, a minor. He is known to us from the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents #106, #115 and #118, where his guardian, Shihāb al-Dīn, acknowledges receipt of monthly maintenance payments for under-age heirs (see Appendix 2). In contrast to most other buyers Kamāl does not settle his dues in cash (as we find for many buyers in account sheet #812). Instead the sum is (as we see in document #106) deducted later from the monthly maintenance payments that the judge's trustee, al-Adhraʿī, paid his guardian. Document #106 deducts the sum of 56 dirhams and lists some of the objects that we see here (*liḥāf*, *bisāṭ* and *mikhadda*). As Kamāl was a minor this sale must have been conducted on his behalf by Shihāb al-Dīn, whom we find further down as Buyer 24.

(book 139) *Khatma*; We take the term *niṣf* to refer to one half of the full text of the Koran. *Niṣf* can also refer to one half of a *juz'*, a thirtieth part of the full text. However, this would mean that here one half of a thirtieth, that is a sixtieth, is sold for 10 dirhams. This would give a potential, and unlikely, price of 600 dirhams if the copy had been complete. Price: 10; C: Koran – text. (cf. book 124)

(obj24) *liḥāf yamanī*: Yemeni cloth, Price: 20.

(obj25) *bisāṭ ṣaghīr*: small carpet, Price: 15.

(obj26) *mikhadda zarqā*: blue cushion, Price: 10.

(obj27) *kursī khashab*: wooden stool (cf. obj54, obj75), Price: 1.5.

BUYER 21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb [ll. 20–2], sum total: 12.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 30, Ibn al-Khaṭīb), #800 (Payor 36) and #968 (Debtor 58).

not identified

(book 140) *Kitābayn ṭibb*; Price: 12.25; C: medicine.

BUYER 22 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zayn [ll. 23–5], sum total: 14.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 31) and #968 (Debtor 59).

not identified

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(book 141) *al-Sīra*; This is most likely an incomplete (*min*) biography of the Prophet. There are several possibilities, but considering what books the Ashrafīya cataloguer entered as '*sīra*', the most likely authors are: (1) Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767)/Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828) (Ashrafīya, no. 547) and (2) Aḥmad Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) (Ashrafīya, no. 1222c); Price: 14.5; C: history – biography of the Prophet. (cf. book 80, 211, 240a)

BUYER 23 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Shīdha [ll. 26–8], sum total: 10.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 32, Shihāb al-Dīn Shīdha), #800 (Payor 32) and #968 (Debtor 60).

not identified

(book 142a) *al-Tahdhīb*; The two title terms in 142a and 142b would not be identifiable on their own on account of numerous book titles containing them. However, extracts from these two works (*min*) are combined here in one single book so that they most likely shared a theme. In this case, it is highly likely that the first refers to *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa-al-lughāt* by A: Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), an author who has at least one other work in this list (book 7, in addition to the other likely entries book 11, 43, 197 and 231). C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

(book 142b) *al-Wasīṭ*; most likely A: al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), author of *al-Wasīṭ fī al-madhhab* (Ashrafīya, no. 1376). Al-Nawawī repeatedly refers to al-Ghazālī's *al-Wasīṭ*. Price: 10.25; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī. (cf. book 102, 127, 265b)

BUYER 24 al-Waṣī Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad [ll. 29–31], sum total: 117.16 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 21), #800 (Payor 19), #812 (Payor 43) and #968 (Debtor 61).

To identify this person as the legal guardian of Burhān al-Dīn's son Kamāl (see above Buyer 20) was a long process. Firstly, Shihāb al-Dīn is mentioned in other Ḥaram al-sharīf documents (#106, #115 and #118), where he acknowledges receipt of the monthly maintenance payments for Kamāl (see Appendix 2). In two of these documents (#115 and #118 [archival note]) he is also called 'Ibn al-Bawwāb'. This addition was crucial

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for identifying him and matching him in the documentary network in the next step: such an 'Ibn al-Bawwāb' (without any further addition) is listed in the documents #793, #800 and #812, whom we could initially not identify. The sums this individual owed and paid in these accounts match in turn the sum that the individual called '*al-Waṣī*' (guardian) had to pay according to the sale booklet. There is thus no doubt that this 'guardian' is Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb.

(book 143) *al-Witrīya*; A: Mālik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Māliqī (d. 672/1273–4; Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, II, 1); Price: 8.75; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional.

(book 144) *Zād al-musāfir*; several possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 946–7) and thus not identifiable; Price: 4.

(obj28) *sayf*: sword, Price: 80.

(obj29) *kisāʾ ṣaʿīdī*: Upper Egyptian garment, Price: 21.

(obj30) *haykal*, *ghayruhu*: part of an oven (?), other (cf. obj17), Price: 2.16.

(obj31) *dawāt*: writing case, Price: 1.25.

BUYER 25 ʿAlī b. Raslān [ll. 32–4], sum total: 70 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 28), #800 (Payor 28), #812 (Payor 50) and #968 (Debtor 62).

not identified

(book 145) *Muṣḥaf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 18; C: Koran – text.

(obj32) *takht khashab*: wooden box, Price: 52.

BUYER 26 Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Naqīb [ll. 35–7], sum total: 16 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 63, Yūsuf Ibn al-Naqīb).

Document #968 calls him 'Yūsuf Ibn al-Naqīb' and this is most likely Yūsuf Ibn al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī, a notary witness who repeatedly appears in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 309, 323 and 574/5).

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(book 146) *Kashf ʿulūm al-ākhira*; arguably the *al-Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ʿulūm al-ākhira* by A: al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; tr. and ed. L. Gautier, *La perle précieuse: traité d'eschatologie musulmane*, Geneva 1878); Price: 9.5; C: theology.

(obj33) *dawāt khashab*: wooden writing case, Price: 6.5.

BUYER 27 Shams al-Dīn al-Muwaqqiʿ [ll. 38–40], sum total: 48 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 64).

not identified; This was most likely a court secretary, for his role see Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 268–80.

(obj34) *ḥulla sābigha*: wide garment, Price: 40.

(obj35a) *fanārayn*: two lanterns.

(obj35b) *wa-jaʿba khashab*: a wooden case (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 197; in Ḥaram al-sharīf document #772a we find a leather *jaʿba* in the sense of a quiver), Price: 8.

#180b right = page 5 (Plate I.4)

BUYER 28 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh al-Shāfiʿī al-Karakī [ll. 1–2], sum total: 50 dirhams.[17] Listed in #793 (Debtor 33) and #968 (Debtor 65).

Jerusalemite deputy judge (d. c. 830/1426; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 168).

(obj36) *farjīya zarqā*: blue overgarment (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 327–34), Price: 50.

BUYER 29 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kutubī [ll. 3–5], sum total: 6.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 43), #812 (Payor 13) and #968 (Debtor 66).

not identified

(obj37a) *thalāthat maqālim*: 3 penboxes.

[17] The sum total was originally 150 dirhams, but was subsequently corrected to 50. We still find the sum of 150 dirhams in his entry in #968.

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(obj37b) *bayt kutub*; bookcase.

(obj37c) *sakākīn*: penknives, Price: 6.75.

BUYER 30 Shams al-Dīn al-Tūnisī [ll. 6–7], sum total: 3.5 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 67).

not identified

(book 147) *Kitāb*; incomplete (*kharm*, cf. book 95) book; Price: 3.5.

BUYER 31 al-Nāṣirī al-Dallāl [ll. 8–10], sum total: 24.3 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 34), #800 (Payor 40) and #968 (Debtor 68).

not identified

(obj38) *jubba ṭirḥ*: long robe, Price: 19.

(obj39) *zawjayn qabāqīb*: 2 pairs of wooden clogs (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 347–9), Price: 5.3.

BUYER 32 Shihāb al-Dīn Saḥlūl [ll. 11–13], sum total: 28 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 35, Ibn Saḥlūl) and #968 (Debtor 69, Ibn Saḥlūl).

not identified

(book 148) *al-Qur'ān*; parts of (*ajzā' min*) the Koran; Price: 28; C: Koran – text.

BUYER 33 Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Shāfi'ī al-'Arrābī [ll. 14–16], sum total: 12 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 70).

Jerusalemite deputy judge (d. 841/1437–8; al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 172; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, I, 40) who also taught in the Ṣalāḥīya Madrasa.

(book 149) *al-Tafsīr*; part of (*juz' min*) a Koran commentary; Price: 12; C: Koran – study of.

BUYER 34 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl b. al-Duwayk [ll. 17–19], sum total: 30 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 36, Khalīl al-Duwayk) and #968 (Debtor 71).

not identified

(obj40) *kisā' ṣūf*: woollen garment, Price: 30.

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BUYER 35 Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī [ll. 20–2], sum total: 10 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 44), #812 (Payor 14) and #968 (Debtor 72).

not identified

(obj41) *ʿubwatayn zajjāj*: two glass jars (cf. obj86), Price: 10.

BUYER 36 ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāfiʿī al-Rabbāwīya [ll. 23–5], sum total: 5.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 37 & Payor 46, al-Rabbāwī), #812 (Payor 17) and #968 (Debtor 73.

judge (d. 841/1437; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, V, 157–8).

(obj42) *labbād*: felt cloth, Price: 5.75.

BUYER 37 Yūsuf al-Jītī [ll. 26–7], sum total: 36 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 22), #800 (Payor 21), #812 (Payor 44) and #968 (Debtor 74).

not identified

(obj43) *khizānat khashab*: wooden (book-?)case, Price: 36.

BUYER 38 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iskandarī [ll. 28–30], sum total: 10 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 38) and #968 (Debtor 75, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iskandānī).

not identified

(obj44a) *ṭāsa ṣughrā*: small bowl (Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 67).

(obj44b) *dast ṣaghīr*: small dish (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 441), Price: 5.

BUYER 39 Muḥammad al-Sakākīnī [ll. 31–3], sum total: 8.875 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 39) and #968 (Debtor 76).

not identified

(obj45) *saqraq nuḥās*: copper vessel (*saqraq* in the meaning of vessel is, for instance, mentioned in Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, II, 280/1), Price: 6.375. (cf. obj47, obj73, obj74)

(obj46a) *silsila*: chain.

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(obj46b) *ḥajar*: (sharpening?) stone.

(obj46c) *mashṭ*: comb, Price: 2.5.

BUYER 40 Ḥusayn al-Ḥalabī [ll. 34–6], sum total: 11.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 37), #812 (Payor 7) and #968 (Debtor 77).

not identified

(obj47) *saqraq nuḥās*: copper vessel [P: 8.125]. (cf. obj45)

(obj48a) *saṭl*: bathing bucket.

(obj48b) *sham'adān*, *ghayruhu*: candlestick, other, Price: 3.375.

#532a left = page 6 (Plate I.5)

BUYER 41 Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās [ll. 1–3], sum total: 296.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payors 6 and 33), #800 (Payor 24), #812 (Payor 3) and #968 (Debtor 15).

The large amount this buyer spends indicates a wealthy individual. This might be the officer Fakhr al-Dīn Iyās, who endowed the primary school in Jerusalem in the late eighth/fourteenth century (Richards, *Primary Education*) where Burhān al-Dīn taught. We only know of this primary school, and its patron, from the two Ḥaram al-sharīf documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn (#003 and #049).

(book 150) *Sharḥ Muslim*; unidentified commentary on the *ḥadīth* compendium *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by Muslim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 261/875); Price: 166; C: ḥadīth – commentary. (cf. book 268)

(book 151) *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; A: Muslim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 261/875); Price: 110; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 235)

(book 152) *al-'Azīzī*; not identified; Price: 10.5; C: adab. (cf. book 270b)

(book 153) *Sirāj al-mulūk*; first part of (*al-awwal min*); A: Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126?); Ashrafīya, no. 559; Price: 10; C: political thought – mirror for princes. (cf. book 119)

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BUYER 42 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sarāʾī [ll. 4–6], sum total: 69.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 20), #800 (Payor 18), #812 (Payor 42) and #968 (Debtor 16).

not identified; mentioned in account sheet #812 as 'Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-Sarāʾī'.

(book 154) *Majmūʿ*; large (*kabīr*) composite or multiple-text manuscript; Price: 26.

(book 155) *Majmūʿ*; composite or multiple-text manuscript; Price: 16.

(book 156) *al-Kashshāf*; first part (*al-awwal min*); possibly the exegetical *tafsīr*-work by Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144); Ashrafīya, no. 1434; Price: 27.5; C: Koran – exegesis.

BUYER 43 Junayd al-Kaylānī [ll. 7–9], sum total: 44 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 18), #800 (Payor 16), #812 (Payor 40) and #968 (Debtor 17).

not identified

(book 157) *Thamarat al-ikhlāṣ*; not identified; Price: 11.

(book 158) *Muḥyī al-qulūb*; not identified; Price: 33.

BUYER 44 Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī [ll. 10–12], sum total: 78 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 12, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naqīb), #800 (Payor 35) and #968 (Debtor 18).

Notary witness in Jerusalem between 788/1386 and 797/1394 (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 271–2, 323); brother of Buyer 45. The scribe of the sale booklet notes that eight dirhams are paid by a third person ('*rasūl*'?) so that the remaining sum total for this buyer was 70 dirhams.

(book 159) *Manāqib al-abrār*; arguably *Manāqib al-abrār min maḥāsin al-akhyār* by A: al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr Ibn Khamīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 552/1157); Ashrafīya, no. 928; Price: 33; C: sufism – biographies.

(book 160) *Subul al-khayrāt*; A: Yaḥyā b. Najāḥ al-Qurṭubī (d. 422/1031); *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 978; Price: 22; C: sermons/paraenesis.

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(book 161) *al-Futūḥāt*; Haarmann, *Library*, 331 suggests *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya fī asrār al-mālikīya wa-al-mulkīya* by A: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). On account of the numerous *ṣūfī* works in this inventory this is possible, but clearly this must be an abridgement or incomplete copy of the massive complete work. Price: 23; C: sufism.

BUYER 45 al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Naqīb, his brother [ll. 13–17], sum total: 101 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 13 & Payor 29), #800 (Payor 31, Naqīb), #812 (Payor 51) and #968 (Debtor 19).

Jerusalemite scholar (d. 816/1413; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, II, 32); brother of Buyer 44.

(book 162) *Manṭiq*; That this 'keyword' has no article indicates that either the scribe of the sale booklet was not able to identify the text or that this was a text without title (such as a notebook). FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 11.5; C: logic.

(book 163) *al-Mashāriq*; The two strongest contenders for this keyword are *Mashāriq al-anwār ʿalā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār* by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā (d. 544/1149) and *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīya* by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252). FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 25; C: ḥadīth – study of.

(book 164) *Kitabayn* two incomplete (*kharm*, cf. book 95) books; Price: 14.5.

(book 165) *Thalāthat kutub*; three incomplete (*kharm*, cf. book 95) books; Price: 11.

(book 166) *Faṣīḥ*; A: Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); Price: 13.25; C: grammar.

(obj49) *thalāthat kumājāt*: The reading is clearly كماجات and this term refers to 'ash bread' (Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 487). Even if the price fits, it seems rather unlikely that '3 pieces of ash bread' were on offer at this auction. Price: 0.75.

(book 167) *Muṣḥaf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 25; C: Koran – text.

BUYER 46 Yūsuf b. Dhā al-Nūn [ll. 18–20], sum total: 100 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 14) and #968 (Debtor 20).

not identified

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(book 168) *Maṭlaʿ al-Nayyirayn*; unidentified; Price: 26.

(book 169) *al-Shifāʾ*; A: al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149); Ashrafīya, no. 577; Price: 74; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional. (cf. book 4, 230)

BUYER 47 al-Shaykh Ismāʿīl, wakīl al-zawja [ll. 21–33], sum total: 446.625 dirhams.[18] Listed in #812 (Payor 23) and #968 (Debtor 21).

> The identity of this proxy (*wakīl*) of Shīrīn (‘*al-zawja*’) is unknown. Shīrīn most likely appointed him during the sensitive period when Burhān al-Dīn’s estate was being settled (see Chapter 3).

(book 170) *Tanbīh*; Price: 20; C: sermons/paraenesis. (cf. book 33)

(book 171) *Majmūʿ*; not identifiable multiple-text (or composite) manuscript; Price: 11.

(book 172) *al-Muhadhdhab*; numerous possibilities; Price: 9; arguably C: fiqh – shāfiʿī. (cf. book 63)

(book 173) *Shuʿab al-īmān*; A: al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalīmī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 403/1012–13); Price: 32; C: theology.

(book 174) *Kitāb fī al-ʿarūḍ*; Price: 5; C: poetry – metrics.

(book 175a) *al-Azharī*; unidentified.

(book 175b) *al-Taysīr*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 26.

(book 176) *al-Mufaṣṣal fī al-naḥw*; most likely A: Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144); Price: 7.5; C: grammar.

(book 177) *Majmūʿ fī al-ḥadīth*; most likely composite manuscript, Hirschler, *Monument*; Price: 12; C: ḥadīth.

(book 178) *Nasāʾim al-asḥār*; most likely the Persian *Nasāʾim al-asḥār* (ed. Urmawī, Tehran 1338/1959) by Naṣīr al-Dīn Kirmānī; Price: 15; C: history – biographical dictionary (wazīrs).

[18] The sum given in the sale booklet is 441.5 dirhams.

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(book 179) *Majmūʿ*; Turkic (*turkī*) composite or multiple-text manuscript; Price: 9.

(book 180) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 22; C: Koran – text.

(book 181a) *al-Ḥuṣrīya*; A: ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī (d. 488/1095); *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1337; C: Koran – recitation.

(book 181b) *al-Alfīya*; most likely A: Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274); Price: 13.5; C: grammar.

(book 182) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 7; C: Koran – text.

(book 183) *Juzʾ fī al-tārīkh*; not identifiable; Price: 46.5; C: history.

(book 184) *Ṭahārat al-qulūb wa-al-khuḍūʿ li-ʿallām al-ghuyūb*; A: ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz al-Dīrīnī (d. 694/1295); ed. Miṣr: al-Jamālīya al-Ḥadītha; Price: 30; C: sufism.

(book 185) *Jawāhir al-kalām*; first part of (*al-awwal min*); several possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 15.5.

(book 186) *al-Shihāb*; most likely A: Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062); Ashrafīya, no. 576; Price: 5.75; C: ḥadīth.

(book 187a) *Safīna*; unidentified oblong-shaped book bound at the top of the folia with the lines running parallel to the spine (Hirschler, *Ashrafīya Library Catalogue*, 62) arguably in the sense of an *adab* multiple-text manuscript (ʿAwwād, *al-Safīna*, 551); C: adab.

(book 187b) *Zahr al-ḥadāʾiq*; possibly ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qayrawānī (d. 539/1144), who authored a commentary on *al-Raqāʾiq* by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797); Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, II, 466; Price: 13.5; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 188) *Qirāʾat Warsh*; referring to the recitation according to ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd Warsh (d. 197/812); Price: 12.25; C: Koran – recitation.

(book 189) *al-Lumaʿ*; A: Abū al-Fatḥ Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002); Ashrafīya, no. 897; Price: 13; C: grammar. The scribe of the sale booklet erroneously wrote '*al-Majmūʿ li-Ibn*' then realised his mistake and crossed it out.

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(book 190) *Muṣḥaf*; one quarter (*rubʿ*) of the full text (cf. book 19, 35, 126, 130); Price: 7.5; C: Koran – text.

(book 191) *Karrāsayn*; most likely two quires of one book or two different books; on this term cf. Hirschler, *Monument*; Price: 5.75.

(obj50) *khūja*: cloth (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 127–31), Price: 61.

(obj51) *qamīṣ*: robe, Price: 17.25.

(obj52) *mallūṭatayn*, 2 overgarments (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 412–13; Ḥallāq/Ṣabbāg, *al-Muʿjam al-jāmiʿ*, 210), Price: 20.

(obj53) *lafḥa*, *ṭāqiya*: scarf?, headgear, Price: 2.25.

(obj54) *kursī khashab*: wooden stool, Price: 4. (cf. obj27)

(obj55) *raff khashab*: wooden shelf, Price: 2.375.

#532b right = page 7 (Plate I.6)

BUYER 48 ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥamawī [ll. 1–3], sum total: 20.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 16, ʿAlī al-Ḥamawī), #800 (Payor 14), #812 (Payor 38) and #968 (Debtor 22).

not identified

(book 192) *al-Wajīz fī al-fiqh*; possibly *al-Wajīz fī fiqh madhhab al-imām al-Shāfiʿī* by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); Price: 9.5; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī. (cf. book 241)

(book 193) *al-Mustajād*; arguably a part (*juzʾ*) of *al-Mustajād min faʿlāt al-ajwād* by A: al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994) (authorship disputed); Ashrafīya, no. 992; Price: 10.75; C: adab.

BUYER 49 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar al-Qibābī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī [ll. 4–6], sum total: 87.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 15), #800 (Payor 38) and #968 (Debtor 23).

Jerusalemite *ḥadīth* scholar (d. 838/1438; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, IV, 113/4; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Manhaj*, V, 217/8).

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(book 194) *Maqāmāt*; A: al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122); Price: 18; C: adab. (cf. book 26, 267)

(book 195) *Risālat al-Qushayrī*; A: ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072); Ashrafīya, no. 467; Price: 22; C: sufism.

(book 196a) *Kitāb al-Ishārāt*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable. (cf. book 200b)

(book 196b) *Shajarat al-ʿaql*; arguably the work by the secretary, *adīb* and poet A: Sahl b. Hārūn b. Rāhawayh (d. 215/830); Ashrafīya, no. 640; Price: 20.5; C: adab?

(book 197) *Sharḥ al-Tanbīh*; On account of the strong *shāfiʿī* profile of this book collection and the large number of commentaries on *al-Tanbīh fī furūʿ al-shāfiʿīya* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 489), this is most likely a commentary on this work by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083). The most likely author is thus A: Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), who has at least one work in this list (book 7, in addition to the other likely entries book 11, 43, 142a and 231) and who is suggested by Haarmann, *Library*, 332. Price: 27; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

BUYER 50 Shams al-Dīn al-Azharī [ll. 7–11], sum total: 167.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 11), #800 (Payor 1), #812 (Payor 33) and #968 (Debtor 24).

not identified

(book 198) *al-Waqf wa-al-ibtidāʾ*; numerous possibilities (cf. book 261) and thus not identifiable; Price: 24; C: Koran – recitation.

(book 199) *Sharḥ al-Alfīya*; most likely a commentary on the *Alfīya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274, cf. book 113); Price: 14; C: grammar.

(book 200a) *Shamāʾil al-Nabī*; most likely A: Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892); *Shamāʾil al-Nabī*, ed. M. Y. Faḥl, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī 2008; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional.

(book 200b) *al-Ishārāt*; not identified, cf. book 196a; Price: 13.5.

(book 201a) *al-Talfīq*; not identified.

(book 201b) *al-Ḥalabīya*; arguably a part of (*juz' min*) *al-Risāla al-Ḥalabīya fī al-ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadīya* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya (d. 751/1350; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 861); Price: 16.

(obj56) *farjīya zarqā*: blue overgarment (see obj36), Price: 100.

BUYER 51 al-Sharīf al-Maghribī [ll. 12–14], sum total: 23.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 16, al-Zayn al-Maghribī), #812 (Payor 26) and #968 (Debtor 25).

not identified

(book 202) *Manāfiʿ al-Qur'ān*; numerous possibilities; Price: 15.

(book 203) *Kitāb Ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*; arguably *Rawḍ al-rayaḥīn fī ḥikāyat al-ṣāliḥīn* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367, ed. I. ʿUbaydī, Cairo: al-Ḥalabī 1955); Price: 8.5; C: sufism.

BUYER 52 Qāsim al-ʿAjamī [ll. 15–16], sum total: 15 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 7), #800 (Payor 20), #812 (Payor 29) and #968 (Debtor 26).

not identified

(book 204) *Qudūrī*; arguably the *Mukhtaṣar* on Ḥanafī *fiqh* by A: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037), especially as the buyer seems to come from the *ḥanafī* ʿAjamī family (cf. Buyer 5); Price: 15; C: fiqh – ḥanafī.

BUYER 53 ʿAbd Allāh al-Firyābī [ll. 17–19], sum total: 92.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 17), #800 (Payor 15), #812 (Payor 39) and #968 (Debtor 27).

not identified

(book 205) *Akhbār Makka*; several possibilities and thus not identifiable; Haarmann, *Library*, 332 suggests Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azraqī as author. Price: 18.5; C: history.

(book 206) *Manāqib al-aḥbab*; arguably the biographical compendium *Manāqib al-aḥbab wa-marātib ūlī al-albāb* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shāfiʿī (d. 776/1374–5; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 689 and II, 1836), a summary of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nuʿaym (d. 430/1038); Price: 74; C: ḥadīth – study of.

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BUYER 54 al-Shaykh ʿAlī al-Qalyūbī [ll. 20–8], sum total: 355.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 17 & Payor 30), #800 (Payor 33, al-Shaykh ʿAlī), #812 (Payor 21) and #968 (Debtor 28).

not identified; The title 'al-Shaykh' indicates a scholarly background.

(book 207) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 60; C: Koran – text.

(book 208) *Mukhtār ʿuyūn al-ḥikāyāt*; possibly selection from the *ʿUyūn al-ḥikāyāt* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 15; Price: 16.

(book 209) *al-Najm*; several possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 13.5.

(book 210) *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 14.5; possibly C: adab.

(book 211) *al-Sīra*; most likely the second and third part (*al-thānī wa-al-thālith*) of the *Sīrā* by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767)/Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828); Ashrafīya, no. 547; Price: 31; C: history – biography of the Prophet. (cf. book 80, 141, 240a)

(book 212) *al-Mudhish*; most likely the work by A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); Ashrafīya, no. 926; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 15; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 213) *al-Amālī*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 161–6) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 17.5.

(book 214) *Rawḍat al-khāṭir*; not identified; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 22.25.

(book 215) *Faḍā'il al-aʿmāl*; several possibilities (Ashrafīya, nos 805 and 1189a and *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1274) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 13.5; C: ḥadīth – merits.

(book 216) *Yāqūtat al-mawāʿiẓ*; A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); ed. A.ʿA. ʿAwḍā, Cairo: Dār al-faḍīla 1994; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 20; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 217) *Tārīkh Miṣr*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 303–4) and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 46.75; C: history.

(book 218) *Tisʿat kutub*; nine incomplete (*kharm*, cf. book 95) books; Price: 39.

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(book 219) *Dīwān shiʿr*; unidentified; Price: 15.25; C: poetry.

(obj57) *miʾzar abyaḍ*: white overgarment (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 38–46), Price: 20.

(obj58a) *miṣfā*: sieve (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 839).

(obj58b) *ṭāsa*: bowl (cf. obj44a), Price: 11.

(obj59) *qushsha*: small pieces of furniture (cf. obj10), Price: 0.5.

BUYER 55 al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd [ll. 29–31], sum total: 30.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 8), #800 (Payor 22), #812 (Payor 30) and #968 (Debtor 29).

possibly al-Anṣārī al-Zawārī al-Shāfiʿī who served briefly as judge of Jerusalem, fl. 788/1386 (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 249).

(book 220) *Khuṭab*; A: Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200); Price: 11; C: sermons/paraenesis.

(book 221) *ʿAqāʾid al-Ghazālī*; A: al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); most likely the chapter *Kitāb Qawāʿid al-ʿAqāʾid* of his *Iḥyāʾ* (cf. book 262); Price: 11.25; C: creed.

(docum 1) *ḥawāla* for him [the deceased] from Burhān al-Dīn al-Naqīb; Price: 8.

BUYER 56 Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-ʿAjamī [ll. 32–5], sum total: 179.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 2), #800 (Payor 6, Ibrāhīm), #812 (Payor 25) and #968 (Debtor 30).

not identified

(book 222) *al-Baghawī*; This term most likely refers to the *shāfiʿī* scholar al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d.c. 516/1122) whose fame rested on two *ḥadīth* collections, *Sharḥ al-sunna* and *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*. It is impossible to know what text(s) exactly are meant here, yet as the author's full name is not given a *ḥadīth* text is highly likely. The hefty price indicates that this must have been a large work. Price: 118; C: ḥadīth.

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(book 223) *al-Tabṣira*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 337–9) and thus not identifiable; Price: 9.

(book 224) *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*; arguably the famous introduction to *ḥadīth* studies by A: Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245) that also carries this title (*ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. N. ʿItr, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr 1986); FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 25.5; C: ḥadīth.

(book 225) *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*; A part of (*juzʾmin*) the *ḥadīth* collection by A: Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796); Price: 20; C: ḥadīth.

(obj60) *qamīṣ*: robe, Price: 7.25.

#532b left = page 8 (Plate I.6)

BUYER 57 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazzī [ll. 1–3], sum total: 157 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 31), #812 (Payor 1) and #968 (Debtor 31, al-Ghazāwī).

arguably the *ḥanafī* scholar and short-term deputy judge of Jerusalem Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, d. 844/1441 (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 223–4).

(book 226) *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*; one of the many commentaries on the work by al-Zamakhsharī (cf. book 176); Price: 70; C: grammar.

(book 227) *Sharḥ al-Alfīya*; most likely a commentary on the *Alfīya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274, cf. book 113); Price: 35.5; C: grammar.

(book 228) *Sharḥ al-Alfīya*; the Jerusalem scholar A: Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Qudsī al-Ḥanafī Ibn al-Raṣṣāṣ/al-Raṣṣāṣī (d. 790/1388–9; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 218); Price: 51.5; C: grammar.

BUYER 58 Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Sarāʾī [ll. 4–8], sum total: 242 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 27, Maḥmūd al-Sarāʾī), #800 (Payor 30), #812 (Payor 49) and #968 (Debtor 32).

not identified; most likely identifiable as Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Khalīl, the person to whom al-Adhraʿī lent money from Burhān al-Dīn's estate (#016, see Appendix 2).

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(book 229) *Mukhtaṣar Muslim*; unidentified summary of the *ḥadīth* compendium *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by Muslim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 261/875); Price: 32; C: ḥadīth.

(book 230) *al-Shifāʾ*; most likely A: al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149); Price: 71.5; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional. (cf. book 4, 169)

(book 231) *al-Adhkār*; There are numerous possibilities for works with the term '*adhkār*' (invocation and recollection of God), but in the context of Jerusalem in this period the work by A: Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), an author who has at least one work in this list (book 7, in addition to the other likely entries book 11, 43, 142a and 197), is very likely. Price: 66; C: sufism. (cf. book 11)

(book 232) *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*; several possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1599) and thus not identifiable; Price: 11.5.

(book 233) *Uṣūl al-Dīn*; not identified; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 17; C: theology.

(book 234) *al-Mukhtār*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 21.5.

(book 235) *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; parts of (*ajzāʾ min*) A: Muslim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 261/875); Price: 22.5; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 151)

BUYER 59 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Ḥawārī al-Shāfiʿī [ll. 9–11], sum total: 171.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 18 & Payor 34), #812 (Payor 4) and #968 (Debtor 33).

> Jerusalemite scholar (account sheet #812 names him '*shaykh*') and deputy judge, d. 830/1427 (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 170).

(book 236) *al-Jamʿ bayna al-ṣaḥīḥayn*; several possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 101.5; C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 24)

(book 237) *al-Ghunya*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1211–13) and thus not identifiable, though the *Ghunya* by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149, ed. M. Z. Jarrār, Beirut 1982) is

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likely on account of the numerous books on *ḥadīth* in this sale booklet; Price: 70; C: ḥadīth?

BUYER 60 Khalīl al-Ḥadīthī [ll. 12–14], sum total: 67.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 19 & Payor 9), #800 (Payor 3), #812 (Payor 31) and #968 (Debtor 34).

not identified

(book 238) *Qiṣṣat Yūsuf*; not identified; Price: 21.25; C: qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'.

(book 239) *Futūḥ Miṣr*; A: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871); Ashrafīya, no. 1429; Price: 25.5; C: history.

(book 240a) *al-Sīra*; most likely two parts of (*juz'ayn min*) the *Sīrā* by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767)/Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828); Ashrafīya, no. 547; C: history – biography of the Prophet. (cf. book 80, 141, 211)

(book 240b) *Manāsik*; most likely unidentified *Manāsik al-ḥajj* work on pilgrimage rituals; Price: 20.5; C: rituals.

BUYER 61 ʿUmar al-Ghānimī [ll. 15–17], sum total: 64 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 41), #812 (Payor 11, ʿUmar b. Ghānim) and #968 (Debtor 35).

not identified

(book 241) *al-Wajīz*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 2001–4), but on account of previous entry book 64 this might be *al-Wajīz fī fiqh madhhab al-imām al-Shāfiʿī* by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); Price: 21; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī. (cf. book 192)

(book 242) *Taḥrīr al-tanbīh*; A: Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 489); commentary on *al-Tanbīh fī furūʿ al-shāfiʿīya* by al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083); Price: 11; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

(book 243) *Mawālid*; Price: 12; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; C: Prophet Muḥammad – devotional. (cf. book 59, 61)

(book 244) *al-Tafsīr*; Price: 20; a part of (*juz' min*) an unidentified work of C: Koran – exegesis.

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BUYER 62 Shams al-Dīn al-Muqrī' [ll. 18–20], sum total: 45 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 19, Ibn al-Muqrī'), #800 (Payor 17), #812 (Payor 41) and #968 (Debtor 36, Ibn al-Muqrī').

not identified

(book 245) *Qūt al-qulūb*; A: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī (d. 386/998); Ashrafīya, no. 850; Price: 45; C: sufism.

BUYER 63 al-Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿUthmān al-Ḥawrānī al-Ḥanafī [ll. 21–3], sum total: 39 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 42), #812 (Payor 12) and #968 (Debtor 37).

Jerusalemite scholar, deputy judge and notary witness, d. 804/1401–2 (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 271–2, 272).

(book 246) *Asrār al-tanzīl*; A: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 606/1210); *Asrār al-tanzīl wa-anwār al-ta'wīl*, ed. ʿA. ʿUmayra, Cairo 2000; Price: 25; C: Koran – exegesis.

(book 247) *Tārīkh Baghdād*; numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 288) and thus not identifiable; Price: 14; C: history.

BUYER 64 Zayn al-Dīn Muqbil b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shihābī al-Yaghmūrī [ll. 24–6], sum total: 68 dirhams.[19] Listed in #793 (Payor 10), #800 (Payor 10), #812 (Payor 32) and #968 (Debtor 38).

Officer who belonged to the household of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī (d. 811/1408), the governor of Jerusalem in 796/1394.[20] Muqbil is mentioned in an estate inventory dated to 796/1394 (#496).

(book 248) *Futūḥ al-Shām*; several possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 23; C: history.

(book 249) *al-Tanzīl*; Price: 36; most likely C: Koran – study of.

(obj61) *bisāṭayn*, *ghayruhu*: 2 carpets, other, Price: 9.

[19] The sum given in the sale booklet is 67.5.

[20] Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 416, follows al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 166, who gives his death date as 801. However, earlier sources agree on 811/1408 (most importantly Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr*).

Edinburgh University Press

BUYER 65 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī [ll. 27–9], sum total: 9.5 dirhams. Listed in #800 (Payor 37) and #968 (Debtor 39).

Jerusalemite notary witness, fl. 805/1402–3 (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 227, n. 490).

(book 250) *al-Buldān*; several possibilities and thus not identifiable; Price: 9.5.

BUYER 66 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qarawī al-Maghribī [ll. 30–4], sum total: 41.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 20 & Payor 3), #800 (Payor 7, al-Qarawī), #812 (Payor 26, al-Sharīf al-Maghribī) and #968 (Debtor 40).

not identified

(book 251) *al-Tahdhīb*; first part of (*al-awwal min*); numerous possibilities (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 515-8) and thus not identifiable; Price: 7.5.

(book 252) *al-Arbaʿīn al-Waḍʿānīya*; with reference to Ibn Waḍʿān (d. 494/1101); Price: 6.75; C: ḥadīth – collection – 40.

(obj62a) *mandīl azraq*: blue cloth.

(obj62b) *shadd*: kerchief (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 213–15), Price: 14.

(obj63) *naṭʿayn ʿitq*; 2 circular antique leather cloths, Price: 13.25.

#532a right = page 9 (Plate I.5)

BUYER 67 Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-ʿAjlūnī [ll. 1-3], sum total: 76.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 26), #800 (Payor 27), #812 (Payor 48) and #968 (Debtor 42).

Notary witness in Jerusalem from 777/1376 until at least 805/1402–3 (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 322, 325–7, 559–60).

(book 253) *Ḥawāshī al-Alfīya*; most likely a commentary on the *Alfīya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274) as we find them in high numbers in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī collection (Hirschler, *Monument*); Price: 18; C: grammar.

Edinburgh University Press

(book 254) *al-Irshād*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 13.5. (cf. book 9b)

(obj64) *bisāṭ*: carpet, Price: 46.

BUYER 68 Wakīl bayt al-māl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī [ll. 4–6], sum total: 51.5 dirhams.[21] Listed in #793 (Payor 36, al-Muqri' al-mu'adhdhin), #812 (Payor 6, Shihāb al-Dīn al-mu'adhdhin) and #968 (Debtor 43).

Notary witness in Jerusalem from 789/1387 onwards; was also *imām* and intermittently head of treasury from 795/1392 onwards (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 404–5, 415, 456–7).

(obj65) *bisāṭ*: carpet, Price: 41.

(obj66) *miṭraqa*: scutcher (cf. obj84b), Price: 2.25.

(obj67) *mudawwara jild*: parchment scroll, Price: 2.25.

(obj68a) *bayt mashṭ*: comb case.

(obj68b) *dawāt*: writing case, Price: 6.125.

BUYER 69 Badr al-Dīn Ibn Qāsim [ll. 7–9], sum total: 10.25 dirhams.

not identified

(book 255) *Majmū'*; composite or multiple-text manuscript; Price: 10.25.

BUYER 70 Muḥammad 'Ashā, the document's scribe [ll. 10–12], sum total: 102.375 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 23 & Payor 50, Ibn 'Ashā), #812 (Payor 19) and #968 (Debtor 44).

not identified

(book 256) *Sharḥ al-Khubayṣī*; A: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Khubayṣī (d. 731/1330–1); most likely his commentary on *al-Kāfiya* by Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1370); Price: 17.5; C: grammar.

[21] The sum of the individual prices gives rather a sum of 51.675 dirhams.

Edinburgh University Press

(book 257) *al-Rawḍāt*; not identifiable; Price: 23.

(obj69) *busuṭ*: carpets, Price: 32.75.

(obj70) *farjīya bayḍā*: white overgarment, Price: 18.

(obj71) *qabʿayn*: two pieces of headgear (Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 344–7), Price: 1.625.

(book 258a) *al-Tajrīd*; most likely A: Razīn b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿAbdarī (d. 524/1129 or 535/1140); C: ḥadīth. (cf. book 50, 121, 122b)

(book 258b) *al-Taʿjīz*; most likely A: ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī (d. 671/1272) who authored *al-Taʿjīz fī ikhtiṣār al-Wajīz* on *shāfiʿī* law (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, I, 417); Price: 9.5; C: fiqh – shāfiʿī.

BUYER 71 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dayrī [ll. 13–15], sum total: 63 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 45).

not identified

(book 259) *Masāʾil al-khilāf*; most likely a legal treatise; arguably anonymous and thus similar to such works in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, nos 508d and 514b; Price: 9.5; C: fiqh.

(obj72) *sikr bāb*: door bolt (This term is clearly readable in another Ḥaram al-sharīf document, namely #772b.), Price: 11.25.

(book 260) *al-ʿUmda*; numerous possibilities (Ashrafīya, no. 1457); FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 9.25. (cf. book 263)

(book 261) *al-Waqf*; Price: 13.25; probably one of the many works entitled *al-Waqf wa-al-ibtidāʾ* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1470) on C: Koran – recitation.

(obj73) *saqraq nuḥās*: copper vessel (cf. obj45), Price: 12.25.

(obj74) *saqraq nuḥās*: copper vessel, Price: 7.5. (cf. obj45)

BUYER 72 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarjāwī [ll. 16–18], sum total: 20 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 13), #800 (Payor 11) and #812 (Payor 35).

not identified

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(book 262) *al-Iḥyā'*; a part of (*juz' min*) the work by A: al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); Ashrafīya, no. 1448; Price: 20; C: sufism. (cf. book 221)

BUYER 73 Taghrī W-r-m-sh mamlūk al-Sayfī Bulūṭ [ll. 19–21], sum total: 20.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 24 & Payor 51) and #968 (Debtor 46).

not identified, cf. Buyer 3 for Bulūṭ

(book 263) *al-'Umda*; FI: *wa-ghayruhā*; Price: 14.75. (cf. book 260)

(obj75) *kursīyayn khashab*: 2 wooden stools (cf. obj27), Price: 6.

BUYER 74 Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī [ll. 22–4], sum total: 39.5 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 47).

not identified

(book 264) *Kashf al-'aqā'iq wa-al-ḥaqā'iq*; not identified; Price: 21.5.

(book 265a) *al-Muhadhdhab*; There are numerous possibilities for this keyword. As it is combined with the following title in one part (*juz'*) it might refer to *al-Muhadhdhab* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083), as this period's authors combined these two legal works in commentaries and abridgements (e.g. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1620). C: fiqh – shāfi'ī. (cf. book 63 and 172)

(book 265b) *al-Wasīṭ*; There are numerous possibilities for this keyword. As it is combined with the preceding title in one part (*juz'*) it might refer to *al-Wasīṭ* by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) as this period's authors combined these two legal works in commentaries and abridgements (e.g. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1620). Price: 5.5; C: fiqh – shāfi'ī. (cf. book 102, 127, 142b)

(obj76) *sajjāda sūdā*: black prayer carpet, Price: 11.5.

Edinburgh University Press

BUYER 75 Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Mālikī [ll. 25–7], sum total: 150.5 dirhams.[22] Listed in #793 (Debtor 25), #800 (Payor 29), #812 (Payor 52) and #968 (Debtor 48).

not identified

(book 266) *al-Mahdawī*; Here the scribe of the sale booklet seemingly identified a book by its author. There are several possibilities and the title is thus not identifiable. Price: 17.5.

(obj77) *farjīya sūdā ʿalā farwa*: black overgarment with fur, Price: 133.

BUYER 76 Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥamdān al-Zarʿī [ll. 28–30], sum total: 85 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 26 & Payor 25, Ḥamdān al-Zarī), #800 (Payor 25, Ḥamd al-Zarī), #812 (Payor 47) and #968 (Debtor 49, Ḥamdān al-Zarʿī).

not identified

(book 267) *Maqāmāt*; A: al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122); Ashrafīya, no. 1095; Price: 15; C: adab. (cf. book 26, 194)

(book 268) *Sharḥ Muslim*; first and fourth part (*al-awwal wa-al-rābiʿ min*) of an unidentified commentary on the *ḥadīth* compendium *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by Muslim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 261/875); Price: 70; C: ḥadīth – commentary. (cf. book 150)

BUYER 77 Aḥmad al-Qaramānī [ll. 31–2], sum total: 16.5 dirhams.[23] Listed in #793 (Payor 24), #800 (Payor 26), #812 (Payor 46) and #968 (Debtor 50).

not identified

(book 269) *Sirr al-arwāḥ wa-Muʾnis al-nafs*; not identified; Price: 16.5.

Edinburgh University Press

[22] The sum total was originally 160.5 dirhams, but was subsequently corrected to 150.5. We still find the sum of 160.5 dirhams in his entry in #968.

[23] The sum total was originally 36.5 dirhams, but was subsequently corrected to 16.5. We still find the sum of 16.5 dirhams in his entry in #968.

BUYER 78 Shihāb al-Dīn (Ibn al-)Muthbit [ll. 33–5], sum total: 50.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 21 & Payor 12, Ibn al-Muthbit), #800 (Payor 2), #812 (Payor 34) and #968 (Debtor 51).

This is most likely the notary witness Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Muthbit, who appears in #741 (dated 15.12.793/1391).

(book 270a) *al-Wasīla*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable.

(book 270b) *al-ʿAzīzī*; possibly the anonymous *al-ʿAzīzī al-muḥallā bi-al-dhahab*, a copy of which is in the Khālidīya Library in Jerusalem (MS 1692; Ju'beh/Salameh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Khālidīya*, 739) or *al-Lāmiʿ al-ʿAzīzī* by Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/105); Price: 26; C: adab. (cf. book 152)

(book 271) *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ*; numerous possibilities and thus not identifiable; FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 16.25; C: history – biographical dictionary.

(book 272) *Sharḥ al-sunna*; one part (*juzʾ min*); several possibilities (e.g. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Fihrist*, no. 504a); FI: *wa-ghayruhu*; Price: 8.25.

#180b left = page 10 (Plate I.4)

BUYER 79 Muḥammad al-Iskandarī [ll. 1–3], sum total: 10.25 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 40, different *nisba*) and #968 (Debtor 78).

not identified

(obj78) *ṣandūq*: chest, Price: 7.75.

(obj79) *qushsha*: small pieces of furniture (cf. obj10), Price: 2.5.

BUYER 80 Abū Yazīd al-ʿAjamī [ll. 4–6], sum total: 3 dirhams. Listed in #968 (Debtor 79).

not identified

(obj80a) *sikkīn*: knife.

(obj80b) *mūsayn*: two razors, Price: 3.

Edinburgh University Press

BUYER 81 Aḥmad al-Saqqā [ll. 7–8], sum total: 6.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 41, Aḥmad Saqqā) and #968 (Debtor 80).

not identified

(obj81) *hāwan maksūr*: broken mortar, Price: 6.5.

BUYER 82 al-Bawwāb ʿAlī [ll. 9–10], sum total: 2.75 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 42) and #968 (Debtor 81).

not identified

(obj82) *qushsha*: small pieces of furniture (cf. obj10), Price: 2.75.

BUYER 83 ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ṣāʾigh [ll. 11–12], sum total: 4 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 45), #812 (Payor 15) and #968 (Debtor 82).

not identified

(obj83) *mīzān*: scale, Price: 4.

BUYER 84 Muḥammad Shuqayr [ll. 13–14], sum total: 3.375 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Payor 38), #800 (Payor 13), #812 (Payor 8) and #968 (Debtor 83).

not identified

(obj84a) *miqaṣṣ*: scissors.

(obj84b) *miṭraqa*: scutcher (cf. obj66).

(obj84c) *mighrafa*: cup, Price: 3.375.

BUYER 85 Yūsuf al-Miṣrī al-Dallāl al-Ḍarīr [ll. 15–16], sum total: 3 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 43) and #968 (Debtor 84, al-Ḍarīr).

not identified

(obj85) *sikkīn ḥadīd*: iron knife, Price: 3.

Edinburgh University Press

BUYER 86 Ibn Sharwīn [ll. 17–18], sum total: 0.25 dirham. Listed in #968 (Debtor 85).

not identified; the Jerusalemite scholar mentioned in al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 362 has the same name, but his death date 897/1492 is too late. As 'Sharwīn' is a rare name it is likely that the Ibn Sharwīn mentioned in this inventory is an ancestor of the scholar mentioned by al-ʿUlaymī.

(obj86) *ʿubwatayn bi-bayt nuḥās*: two glass jars with copper casing (cf. obj41), Price: 0.25.

BUYER 87 Muḥammad b. Yūnus [ll. 19–20], sum total: 12.5 dirhams. Listed in #793 (Debtor 44), #800 (Payor 34, Ibn R-y-s) and #968 (Debtor 86).

not identified

(book 273) *Muṣḥaf sharīf*; a complete copy of the Koran; Price: 12.5; C: Koran – text.

Edinburgh University Press

Edition of the Sale Booklet (*Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum* #061, #180 and #532)

To facilitate comparison with the original, this edition edits the document as we find it today, in three separate sheets. Thus, it does not follow the order of pages when these sheets were nested together as a booklet. The above English list, by contrast, follows the booklet's order of pages.

Symbols used:

|| interlinear text
[ ] editors' insertion of letters or words
[?] tentative reading
[...] non-legible or missing word(s)
* = vertical strikethrough of name

61 أ/ يمين

1- الحمد لله رب العالمين
2- مفردات الأسماء المباعة من تركة المرحوم برهان الدين
3- الناصري المتوفى إلى رحمة الله تعالى قبل تاريخه باسم من يذكر فيه
4- **الشيخي النجمي أعاد الله من بركته ورحم سلفه الكريم**
5- البخاري أساس البلاغة — شرح مختصر الأصفهاني — ســـــــــ

15- ربعة المنتقا[24] مختصر ديوان شعر مصحف شريفة القدوري

16- 8 21 14¼ 20 70

17- ربع أجزاء من ثمن دعاء سيبا زوج صناديق مصحف القرآن مصحف ومجموع

18- 18 7 6¼ 12 5¼ 160

19- صندوق خشب سـه

20- 4¼ 346

21- **سيدنا الحاكم الشافعى أسبغ الله ظله**

22- الدرة الفريدة الجمع بين الصحيحين أدب الدنيا والدين المقامات للحريري

23- 27½ 52 13 16½

24- الإيضاح وغيره الخطب لابن نباتة الشاطبية الإفصاح وشرح الأصفهاني سـه

25- 15¾ 17¼ 4 48 وزن 194

26- **الحاكم الحنفى نفع الله به**

27- شرح الآثار أجزاء من مسلم صحون قيشاني صندوق خشب سه سـه

28- 61 نُقل 9 17 ~~109~~[25] 87

61 أ/ يسار

1- الشيخ علاء الدين بن [ابن] النقيب الحنفى نفع الله به

2- التذكرة وزن 65¾

3- **الشيخ شمس الدين القلقشندي نفع الله به**

4- تنبيه الأخبار في فوائد الأخيار عكاز حديد ركوة

5- 25 12 5¼ 4½

6- ربعين مصاحف شريفة سـه

[24] هكذا في الأصل والصواب المنتقى.
[25] مضروب عليها في الأصل.

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-7	8½				55¼
-8	**أخوه الشيخ برهان الدين**				
-9	الناسخ والمنسوخ	استدعاء وغيره	مشكل الصحيحين	كاملية بيضاء	
-10	18½	5	7½	21	سـه
-11			من جهة مقر سيفي بلوط 4		52
-12	**الشيخ شمس الدين الديري**				
-13	مختصر بن الحاجب	رعاية المحاسبي	أدب الدنيا وغيره	الاهتمام	سـه
-14	11½	27	41	15¼	94¾
-15	**برهان الدين بن قاسم**				
-16	الروضة	المحرر للرافعي	مرآت الزمان[26]	البخاري	كراريس من البخاري
-17	305	28	11	172	40
-18					سـه
					قبض 265 بقي
-19					291
-20	**شهاب الدين بن المهندس**				566
-21	دلائل الأحكام	النوادر	تجريد الصحاح	زهر الآداب	شرح الإشارات
-22	30½	18	72½	38	11
-23	ملخص الرازي	المفتاح لأهل الدين والصلاح	مشكل الحديث	جوامع الفقر	مناقب عمر
-24	11¼	7½	18¾	46	42
-25	ديوان ابن نباتة	موالد وغيره	شمس المطالب	موالد وغيره	شرح الحروف
-26	14	20¼	13¼	28¾	18¼
-27	المهذب	مشارق الأنوار	غريب القرآن	شعار الدين	الشاطبية وغيرها فصيح ثعلب

[26] هكذا في الأصل والصواب (مرآة الزمان).

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-28	30¼	10	19½	30	18¼	17¾
-29	المدخل	كنز الأبرار	ديوان الوردي	أنس النفوس	من الطبقات	جزو من التاريخ
-30	60	35	20	21¾	35¼	38
-31	التبصرة	الأحكام وغيره	الدلائل	من البخاري	مجموع لغة	جزو من السيرة
-32	6¾	34¼	27¼	32	18	23
-33					وزن	

61 ب/ يمين

-1	صفة الجنة والنار	فصول بن معطي وغيره	مجموع وغيره		أثر السفر؟ وغيره
-2	25⅛¾	32	14½		24
-3	راحت القلوب	الإفصاح وغيره	المسائل المكنونة وغيره		جزو التعليق لمحمد بن يحيى وغيره
-4	17⅛¼	27	25		19
-5	أخبار فصيح الكلام	كتاب طب وغيره	مواعض وغيره[27]		رسالة الفيومية وغيره
-6	17¼	22	21		14½
-7	جزء من الموطأ	ديوان وغيره	~~جزوين من القرآن~~		تسع كتب خرم ~~ثلاث كتب ثمانية~~
-8	12	11½	———————		19 8
-9	قشة	ديوان بن نباتة[28]	مجموع وفصيح ثعلب وغيره		وكتاب التعبد والأدب وغيره
-10	23¼	10	10½		11½
-11	البدر المنير في التعبير وغيره	أجزاء من الحديث من يد جنيد			من جهة الشيخ علاء الدين بن النقيب

[27] هكذا في الأصل والصواب مواعظ.
[28] هكذا في الأصل والصواب ديوان ابن نباتة.

Edinburgh University Press

-12	11	33½		20	ســـــــه
13					1295
-14	**شمس الدين الخليلي**		قبض		**والأستدار***
-15	الوسيط	فرجية بيضاء	جبة بيضاء	سيرة الإسكندري	عوارف المعارف
-16	26¼	30½	26¾	32½	70
-17	المصابيح				سـه
-18	66			وزن	252
-19	**غرس الدين خليل بن مكي**				
-20	عوارف المعارف	الشريشي	مصحف شريف	جواهر القرآن	المسلسلات
-21	70	50	72	18¼	12
-22	سير السلف	المجالسات	شرح الألفية	شرحين للحاجبية	المنتخب والمحصول
-23	20	16	17½	24	12
-24	الزهد والرقائق	تنبيه الغافلين	الألوف والأرواح؟	سراج الملوك	
-25	16	18¼	16¼	26	
-26	خطب لابن الجوزي	تجريد الصحاح	المحرر والتجريد	جزوين من القرآن	
-27	12½	15½	13½	7½	
-28	نصفين من القرآن	مصحف كامل أرباع	ربعين من القرآن	بساط رومي طراحة	
-29	10	8¼	2	36½	9½
-30	مراوح	قبقاب	تنور هياكل		سـه
-31	½	3¾	2¾		510½
-32	**خاله بدر الدين حسن بن مكي**				
-33	الوسيط	ستة أجزاء من القرآن	ثمانية أجزاء من القرآن	بساط	خزانة تنجير
-34	38	14½	17	50	41 15½
-35	ربعين شريفين				سـه
-36	4¼				180¼

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180 أ/ يسار

-1 **محمد الأندلسي بمدرسة بن منجا** سه
-2 مصحف شريف 36½
-3 **برهان الدين الصلتي**
-4 ديوان المتنبي وغيره ديوان المتنبي ويتيمة الدهر سه
-5 9¾ 9¾ 19½
-6 **عمر الزجاج*** سه
-7 التبصرة لابن الجوزي وغيره 15
-8 **برهان الدين بن أبي محمـود***
-9 التذكرة وغيره الصفوة وغيره الفتح سه
-10 22 18¼ 26½ وزن 66¾
-11 **شمس الدين بن القطـب***
-12 الأخطار [و] المحن أقلام بساط سدة خشب سه
-13 23 8 75 36 142
-14 وزن وزن
[138][29]
-15 **اليتيم كمال**
-16 نصف ختمة لحاف يمني بساط صغير مخدة زرقا كرسي خشب
-17 10 20 15 10 1½
-18 سه
-19 56½
-20 **شمس الدين الخطيب**
-21 كتابين طب سه
-22 12¼
-23 **عبد الرحمن بن الزيـن***
-24 من السيرة سه
-25 14½
-26 **شهاب الدين أحمد بن شيذة**
-27 من التهذيب والوسيط سه
-28 10¼
-29 **الوصي**
-30 الوترية زاد المسافر سيف كساء صعيدي هيكل وغيره دواة سه

[29] أي وَزَنَ 138 درهمًا من أصل 142 درهمًا.

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-31	8¾	4	80	21	2⅙	1¼	117⅙
-32	**علي بن رسلان***						
-33	مصحف		تخت خشب			سه	
-34	18		52			70	
-35	**جمال الدين النقيب**						
-36	كشف علوم الآخرة		دواة خشب			سه	
-37	9½		6½			16	
-38	**شمس الدين الموقع***						
-39	حلة سابغة		فنارين وجعبة خشب			سه	
-40	40		8		وزن	48	

180 ب/ يمين

-1	**شمس الدين الكركي**			سه
-2	فرجية زرقاء			50
-3	**شهاب الدين أحمد الكتبي***			
-4	ثلاث مقالم، وبيت كتب، وسكاكين			سه
-5				6¾
-6	**شمس الدين التونسي**		قبض	سه
-7	كتاب خرم			وزن 3½
-8	**الناصري الدلال**			
-9	جبة طرح		زوجين قباقيب	سه
-10	19		5⅓	24⅓
-11	**شهاب الدين سحلول**			
-12	أجزاء من القرآن			سه
-13				28
-14	**برهان الدين العرابي**			
-15	جزء من التفسير			سه
-16				12
-17	**غرس [الدين] خليل بن الدويك**			
-18	كساء صوف			سه
-19				30
-20	**برهان الدين الحوراني**			
-21	عبوتين زجاج			سه

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-22			10
-23	**علي الرباوي**		
-24	لباد		سه
-25	5¾		5¾
-26	**يوسف الجيتي***		سه
-27	خزانة خشب		36
-28	**عبد الرحمن الإسكندري**		
-29	طاسة صغرى	ودست صغير	سه
-30	5	5	10
-31	**محمد السكاكيني**		
-32	سقرق نحاس	سلسلة وحجر ومشط	سه
-33	6⅛¼	2½	8⅛¾
-34	**حسين الحلبي***		
-35	سقرق نحاس	سطل وشمعدان وغيره	سه
-36	[8⅛]	3⅛¼	11½

180 ب/ يسار

-1	**محمد الإسكندري**		
-2	صندوق	قشة	سه
-3	7¾	2½	10¼
-4	**أبو يزيد العجمي***		
-5	سكين وموسين		سه
-6	3	وزن	3
-7	**أحمد السقا**		سه
-8	هاون مكسور		6½
-9	**البواب علي**		سه
-10	قشة		2¾
-11	**عبد العظيم الصايغ***		سه
-12	ميزان	وزن	4
-13	**محمد شقير***		سه
-14	مقص ومطرقة ومغرفة	وزن	3⅛¼

[30] هذا الرقم مكرر.

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15- **يوسف المصري الدلال**	سه
16- سكين حديد	3
17- **ابن شروين***	سه
18- عبوتين ببيت نحاس	¼ درهم
19- **محمد بن يونس**	سه
20- مصحف شريف	12½

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532 أ/ يمين

1- **شرف الدين عيسى العجلوني***
2- حواشي الألفية الإرشاد وغيره بساط سه
3- 18 13½ 46 76¼
4- **وكيل بيت المال**  **شهاب الدين* المصري**
5- بساط مطرقة مدورة جلد بيت مشط ودواة[31] سه
6- 41 2¼ 2¼ 6⅛ وزن 51⅛½
7- **بدر الدين بن قاسم**
8- مجموع سه
9- 10¼
10- **كاتبه محمد عشا**
11- شرح الخبيصي الروضات بسط فرجية بيضاء قبعين التجريد والتعجيز سه
12- 17½ 23 32¾ 18 1½⅛ 9½ 102⅛¼
13- **جمال الدين الديري**
14- مسائل الخلاف سكر باب العمدة وغيره الوقف سقرق نحاس سقرق نحاس سه
15- 9½ 11¼ 9¼ 13¼ 12¼ 7½ 63
16- **إبراهيم الحرجاوي*** 
17- جزء من الإحياء سه
18- 20 وزن 20
19- **تغري ورمش**[32] **مملوك السيفي بلوط**
20- العمدة وغيرها كرسيين خشب سه
21- 14¾ 6 20¾

[31] في الأصل داوة.
[32] وقد يُقرأ الاسم تغري قرمش/قرقش، ولكن أثبتنا «تغري ورمش» استنادًا إلى الوثيقة 793/أ/ يمين- السطر 12.

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22- **شمس الدين الرملي** — بعض

23- كشف العقائق والحقائق — جزء المهذب والوسيط — سجادةسودى[33] — سه

24- 21½ — 5½ — 11½ — وزن — 39½

25- **بدر الدين حسين المالكي**

26- المهدوي — فرجيةسودى[34] سه على فروة

27- 17½ — 133 — 150½

28- **شرف الدين* الزرعي**

29- مقامات الحريري — الأول والرابع من شرح مسلم — سه

30- 15 — 70 — 85

31- **أحمد القرماني*** سر الأرواح — سه

32- ومؤنس النفس — 16½

33- **شهاب الدين مثبت[35]*** — بعض

34- الوسيلة والعزيزي — طبقات القراء وغيره — جزء من شرح السنة وغيره — سه

35- 26 — 16¼ — 8¼ — 50½

532 أ/ يسار

1- **فخر الدين الدين[36] إياس*** — بعض

[33] هكذا في الأصل والصواب سجادة سوداء. ولكن يُلاحظ أنه يكتب الألف الممدودة في نهاية الكلمة ألفاً مقصورة.
[34] هكذا في الأصل والصواب فرجية سوداء.
[35] يمكن أن يقرأ الاسم (منيب)، ولكنه وردَ معجماً (ابن المثبت) في 793/أ/ يمين- السطر 10.
[36] مكرر في الأصل.

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-2	شرح مسلم	صحيح مسلم	العزيزي	الأول من سراج الملوك	سه
-3	166	110	10½	10	296½
-4	**شهاب الدين السرائي***	قبض			
-5	مجموع كبير	مجموع	الأول من الكشاف		سه
-6	26	16	27½	وزن	69½
-7	**جنيد* الكيلاني**	قبض			
-8	ثمرة الإخلاص	محيي القلوب			سه
-9	11	33	وزن		44
-10	**زين الدين عبد الرحمن بن النقيب**				
-11	مناقب الأبرار	سبل الخيرات	الفتوحات	منحوا عنه من جهة رسول	الباقي سه
-12	33	22	23	8	70
-13	**أخوه الشيخ شهاب الدين**				
-14	منطق وغيره	المشارق وغيره	كتابين خرم	ثلاث كتب خرم	فصيح ثعلب
-15	11½	25	14½	11	13¼
-16	ثلاث كماجات	مصحف			سه
-17	¾	25			101
-18	**يوسف بن ذا النون**				
-19	مطلع النيرين	الشفا			سه
-20	26	74			100
21	**الشيخ إسماعيل وكيل الزوجة**				
-22	تنبيه	مجموع	المهذب	شعب الإيمان	كتاب في العروض
-23	20	11	9	32	5
-24	الأزهري والتيسير	المفصل	مجموع في الحديث	نسائم الأسحار	
-25	26	7½	12	15	
-26	مجموع تركي	مصحف شريف	الحصرية والألفية	مصحف شريف	جزء في التاريخ
-27	9	22	13½	7	46½

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-28	طهارة القلوب	الأول من جواهر الكلام	الشهاب	سفينة وزهر الحدائق		
-29	30	15½	5¾	13½		
-30	قرات[37] ورش	~~المجموع لابن~~[38] اللمع لابن جني	ربع مصحف	كراسين	جوخة	قميص
-31	12¼	13	7½	5¾	61	17¼
-32	ملوطتين	لفحة وطاقية	كرسي خشب	رف خشب		سه
-33	20	2¼	4	2⅛¼		441½[39]

532 ب/ يمين

-1	**علي بن الحموي***	بخ				
-2	الوجيز في الفقه	المستجاد جزؤ		سه		
-3	9½	10¾	وزن	20¼		
-4	**عبد الرحمن القبابي**	بخ				
-5	مقامات الحريري	رسالة القيشري[40]	كتاب الإشارات وشجرة العقل	شرح التنبيه	سه	
-6	18	22	20½	27	87½	
-7	**شمس الدين الأزهري**					
-8	الوقف والابتداء	شرح الألفية	شمائل النبي صلعم والإشارات	التلفيق وجزؤ من الحلبية		
-9	24	14	13½	16		
-10	فرجية زرقى[41]		سه			
-11	100		167½			
-12	**الشريف المغربي**					

[37] هكذا في الأصل والصواب قراءة.
[38] مضروب عليها في الأصل.
[39] الصواب 446.125.
[40] هكذا في الأصل والصواب القشيري.
[41] هكذا في الأصل والصواب فرجية زرقاء.

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-13	منافع القرآن		كتاب حكايات الصالحين		سه
-14	15		8½		23½
-15	**قاسم***		**العجمي***		سه
-16	قدوري				15
-17	**عبد الله *الفريابي**				
-18	أخبار مكة	مناقب الأحباب			سه
-19	18½	74		وزن	92½
-20	**القليوبي**				
-21	مصحف شريف	مختار الحكايات	عيون النجم	عيون الأخبار	الثاني والثالث من السيرة
-22	60	16	13½	14½	31
-23	المدهش وغيره	الأمالي وغيره	روضة الخاطر وغيره	فضائل الأعمال وغيره	
-24	15	17½	22¼	13½	
-25	ياقوتة المواعض[42] وغيره	تاريخ مصر وغيره	تسع كتب خرم	ديوان شعر	مئزر أبيض
-26	20	46¾	39	15¼	20
-27	مصفاة وطاسة	قشة			سه
-28	11	½			355¾
-29	**الشيخ محمد بن**		**سعيد***		

[42] هكذا في الأصل والصواب المواعظ.

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-30	خطب بن الجوزي[43]	عقائد الغزالي	حوالة عليه من جهة برهان الدين النقيب			سه
-31	11	11¼	8		30¼	
-32	**برهان الدين *العجمي**	بعض				
-33	البغوي	التبصرة	علوم الحديث وغيره	جزؤ من الموطأ	قميص	سه
-34	118	9	25½	20	7¼	179¾
-35	قبضت من يد برهان الدين 179¾					

532 ب/ يمين

-1	***ناصر الدين الغزي**	بعض				
-2	شرح المفصل	شرح الألفية	شرح الألفية لابن الرصاصي			سه
-3	70	35½	51½		وزن	157
-4	**زين الدين محمود بن السرائي**	بعض				
-5	مختصر مسلم	الشفا	الأذكار	مجمع البحرين	أصول الدين وغيره	
-6	32	71½	66	11½	17	
-7	المختار وغيره	أجزاء من مسلم				سه
-8	21½	22½				242
-9	**علاء الدين الحواري**					
-10	الجمع بين الصحيحين		الغنية			سه
-11	101½		70			171½
-12	**خليل الحديثي**					

[43] هكذا في الأصل والصواب خطب ابن الجوزي.

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-13	قصة يوسف	فتوح مصر	جزوين من السيرة ومناسك				سه
-14	21¼	25½	20½				67¼
-15	**عمر الغانمي***						
-16	الوجيز	تحرير التنبيه	موالد وغيره	جزؤ من التفسير			سه
-17	21	11	12	20	وزن		64
-18	**شمس الدين المقرئ***						
-19	قوت القلوب						سه
-20	45				وزن		45
-21	**الشيخ تقي الدين الحوراني***						
-22	أسرار التنزيل	تاريخ بغداد					سه
-23	25	14			وزن		39
-24	**زين الدين**		**مقبل***				
-25	فتوح الشام	التنزيل	بساطين وغيره				سه
-26	23	36	9		وزن		[44]67½
-27	**عبد الرحمن الغزي**						
-28	البلدان						سه
-29	9½						9½
-30	**عبد الرحمن القروي المغربي**						

[44] هكذا في الأصل والصواب 68.

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-31	الأول من التهذيب	الأربعين الودعانية	منديل أزرق وشد	نطعين عتق
-32	7½	6¾	14	13¼
-33				سه
-34				41½

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8

Analysis and Edition of the Documentary Network around the Sale Booklet

In addition to the sale booklet, the trustee al-Adhraʿī and his men produced four further documents after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate in the process of settling the estate: list #812 (a list of payments) and list #968 (a list of receivables), as well as the accounts #800 (an accounts with payments and expenses) and accounts #793 (another accounts with payments and expenses in addition to receivables). These four documents, along with the sale booklet, make up what we refer to as the 'documentary network'. We employ this term for the entire network of documents that we navigated in order to fathom the underlying logic behind what was written in the sale booklet and reach conclusions about these buyers and what these purchases can tell us about them and the deceased's library. The intricate system of documents created around such a mundane auction is also crucial for our argument that pragmatic literacy had deeply penetrated the social fabric of a town such as Jerusalem by the late eighth/fourteenth century. This chapter first discusses the network and then provides editions of the individual accounts and lists.

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Analysis of the Documentary Network

These four documents matter firstly because they have been so crucial for understanding the sale booklet, the auction and Burhān al-Dīn's books. There are many lists and accounts in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus, and they can be quite difficult to understand. In many cases the correct reading of a number in the sale booklet could only be ascertained after we saw it written in three slightly varying forms in the network documents. The same is true for names, where the network documents often offered the decisive clue as to how to read

a specific name. In addition, the documents allowed us to identify further individuals as the scribes often used different parts of the name of a person to identify him in the various documents, such as the first name (*ism*, e.g. Muḥammad), the father's name (*nasab*, e.g. Ibn Yūsuf), the honorific (*laqab*, e.g. Shihāb al-Dīn) and the relational name (*nisba*, e.g. al-Qalqashandī). While this divergence in naming one and the same individual in different documents is normally a problem for the purpose of identification, the inverse was true in our case once we understood the documents' interconnected logic. From that point onwards, the divergence in naming patterns repeatedly helped us to identify persons in other sources, especially al-'Ulaymī's chronicle *al-Uns al-jalīl*.

In order to match an individual bearing different names in the documents, the sums this individual owed or paid, as well as the repetitive order of names, were crucial pieces of evidence. For instance, Payor 6 in #812 is a certain 'Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mu'adhdhin' (Plate II.1, left side, line 9), but no entry in the sale booklet seemed to match this name. Yet this individual paid fifty-one-and-a-half dirhams and there is only one person in the entire sale booklet who owed exactly this sum at this position in the order of names, a certain 'Wakīl bayt al-māl Shihāb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī' (Buyer 68 on Plate I.5, right side, line 4). As we know from other sources that this Shihāb al-Dīn also held religious functions, it is feasible that the writer of #812 used 'al-Mu'adhdhin' (*muezzin*) to identify him.

Matching names between documents and thus getting additional identity markers enabled us to identify the buyers in other sources in order to gain a sense of their historical contexts. To give but three examples of how we proceeded for this step of identifying individuals: the sale booklet has 'al-Maqarr al-Nāṣirī' as Buyer 2. While the name hints at the political elite there was no further evidence in the booklet to identify the buyer as such. Yet #968 lists the same person as Debtor 2, but calls him 'vice-regent' (*nā'ib*). In combination, this information allowed us to identify the individual as the prominent officer and vice-regent (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādar. The sale booklet also includes a certain 'Shihāb al-Dīn Muthbit' (Buyer 78; Plate I.5, right side, line 33), who we were not able to identify from this name alone. However, the additional documents linked to the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate have him as 'Ibn al-Muthbit' (#968: Debtor 51, #800:

Payor 2 and #793: Debtor 21/Payor 12). As we know that the *laqab* 'Shihāb al-Dīn' was generally combined with the name 'Aḥmad' it is possible to identify him as the notary witness 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Muthbit', who appears in Ḥaram al-sharīf document #741. The final example is Buyer 24 in the sale booklet, who is called only 'the guardian' (*al-waṣī*) – not a very helpful title with which to identify him. Moreover, this title never occurs in the other network documents. It was thus evident that he must have been one of those names in these documents which we were unable to match with those in the sale booklet. One of those unmatched names was a certain '(Ibn) al-Bawwāb' (#812: Payor 43, #793: Debtor 42/Payor 21, #968: Debtor 81 and #800: Payor 19). It was only possible to match this (Ibn) al-Bawwāb with the booklet's guardian when we found in Ḥaram al-sharīf documents #106, #115 and #118 that a certain 'Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb' was described as 'the guardian' for Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl.

The second reason why these documents are of relevance goes beyond Burhān al-Dīn's books, their buyers and these buyers' identities. The lists and accounts in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus have to a large extent remained unstudied, not only because they are challenging to read but because they generally lack context. These are clearly working documents that were produced for internal purposes to keep track of the movement of specific monies, and they were clearly written with a rather brief life cycle in mind. For instance, the beginning of #968, which says 'al-Khaṭīb: 361; al-Nā'ib: 466; Bulūṭ: 346; al-Shāfi'ī: 194; al-Ḥanafī: 87' is in itself meaningless. By reading these accounts and lists as a network and subsequently linking them to the Burhān al-Dīn sub-corpus it was possible to understand their logic and their function within the process of settling the estate. As these documents are among the first such lists and accounts from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus to be set into a historical framework, they might serve future scholarship as it turns to other lists and accounts in this corpus (or elsewhere).

These network documents elude easy categorisation, and the rather clumsy descriptors we chose for them reflect our own struggle to make sense of their precise function. The documents do not fit any legal or administrative category of documents described in the texts of that period or subsequent categories devised by modern historians. Their elusiveness is a result of them being part of a network; they can actually only be read as part of this specific

network and not as stand-alone pieces. Paul Bertrand (from whom we borrowed the term 'documentary network') has argued, for comparable cases in the medieval European context, that such network documents 'were at once different and interconnected, each document functioning correctly with reference to others'.[1] In his case, the spread of such unclassifiable documents was an expression of the spread of pragmatic literacy in the thirteenth century. In our case the diachronic element is more difficult to argue, but there is no doubt that the intricate system of documents created around such a mundane auction shows to what extent pragmatic literacy had penetrated the social fabric of a town such as Jerusalem by the late eighth/fourteenth century.

As Table 8.1 shows, the four documents and the sale booklet served different functions as the trustee and his men were establishing, recalculating and keeping track of three different sums: the amount each buyer had (still) to pay; the amount of money already received from the buyers at a given point; and the expenses incurred in the process of settling the estate. We thus have separate lists for receivables, for payments and for expenses. To make things more complicated we find different lists on one and the same document; #793 is the most complex one, as it carries two lists for payments, one receivables list and one expenses list. Even if a document has only one function the documentary practices can still be complex. For instance, #812 only lists payments, but it consists of two separate lists, one written by al-Adhraʿī on 3.11.789/1387 on the recto of the sheet and the other written by his scribe Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī eleven days later on its verso. We see that some buyers first made a partial payment to al-Adhraʿī and settled the remainder eleven days later.[2]

These documents were used at different moments during the settling of the estate and were written by different scribes. The documents in Table 8.1 are organised according to the chronology that we suggest for them, but it has to be underlined that only two of them actually carry a date (#812 and #968). Further documents may very well have existed, and we have given one example of such a 'ghost document' where we are certain that it must have. This is the

[1] Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday*, Ch. 6.

[2] For instance, Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās (Payor 3), who owes 296.5 dirhams. He pays 69.75 dirhams in the first accounts and 226.75 dirhams in the second accounts.

'live' transcript of the auction discussed in Chapter 4, that is, a draft document that must have been written during the auction to keep track of who bought which lot. The chronology suggested here is based on the documentary logic evident from these accounts and lists. For instance, documents #793 and #800 are very similar and both are undated. Yet it is highly likely that #793 is the later document as it pulls together various bits of information that we find in #800 separately, such as the costs for the porters or the payments to Shīrīn.

Document #812 was the first document to keep track of the payments that started to come in during the auction and in the following days. In parallel with #812, or shortly after, al-Adhraʿī must have decided to let his scribe Muḥammad (Ibn) ʿAshā write a clean version of the 'ghost' live transcript, the sale booklet. Here, (Ibn) ʿAshā took the information from the live transcript, which must have been organised by the objects sold, and re-arranged it by the buyers. This was evidently a much more useful way of organising a list meant to keep track of receivables and payments. At the same time, al-Adhraʿī also wanted a short version of this list, and one of his scribes produced #968, which is a summary of the sale booklet. The scribe of #968 copied the names of the buyers and the total sums they owed from the sale booklet in exactly the same order, though the booklet's sheets were separate rather than folded

Table 8.1 The documentary network for settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate

Document	Function of doc. is to register ...	Scribe	Date	No. of names	Names in order of ...
ghost document ('live transcript')	objects' prices	al-Adhraʿī or one of his men	before 3.11.789	prob. 87	sold objects
#061/#180/#532 ('sale booklet')	receivables & prices	Muḥammad (Ibn) ʿAshā	before 14.11.789	87	social status
#812	payments	al-Adhraʿī al-Ṣayrafī	3.11.789 14.11.789	52	incoming payments
#968	receivables	al-Adhraʿī or one of his men	14.11.789	86	= sale booklet
#800 ('1st account')	payments & expenses	al-Ṣayrafī	shortly after 14.11.789	40	~ #812
#793 ('2nd account')	payments, receivables & expenses	al-Ṣayrafī	shortly after 14.11.789	76 (52 payors)	= sale booklet & #812

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into booklet (*daftar*) form. The sale booklet was clearly more authoritative than #968 and was continuously updated. For instance, the amounts due from three buyers were altered in the booklet and this was done by wiping away the old sums (though they remained legible) and writing the new sums in their place.[3] Yet we see that document #968 retained the old sums in all three cases.

The five documents settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate form such a dense network that information is often duplicated in a variety of ways. For instance, #812 and #793 both list buyers' payments and in each document we find fifty-two buyers settling their obligations in full or in part. Apart from three cases the names are exactly identical in both lists, and so are, in most cases, the amounts they paid.[4] Yet we can see why al-Adhraʿī and his scribes had two lists with the same information, as #793 also has a debtors' list to simplify the process of keeping track of receivables.

The underlying logic to this method of keeping track of receivables brings us to a fascinating feature that has hardly been studied so far in late medieval Arabic lists, namely strikethroughs. As briefly mentioned previously, we observe in the sale booklet that numerous names have vertical strikethroughs, and/or the term '*qubiḍa*' ('received') was vertically written across the name (see Plate I.16). We observe this phenomenon with forty-one buyers, though with some variation, as we find some names with the term '*qubiḍa*' and strikethrough (seventeen) and in other cases only the term '*qubiḍa*' (eight) or only the strikethrough (sixteen). The logic of these features only became clear to us when we worked with the other accounts and lists, that is, once we had reconstituted the documentary network. It transpired that the strikethroughs and the term were added when the scribe al-Ṣayrafī was writing account #793. To write #793, al-Ṣayrafī took the list of payments #812 and copied the names in exactly the same order (the names on page #793a, left, follow the same order as those on #812b, left, and those on #793b, left, follow the same order as those

[3] (1) Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Mālikī (Buyer 75 in the sale booklet) is registered as owing 150.5 dirhams, but this sum was originally 160.5 dirhams, which we also find in #968 (Debtor 48). The alteration from '60' to '50' is clearly visible. (2) Aḥmad al-Qaramānī (Buyer 77) is registered as owing 16.5 dirhams, but this sum was originally 36.5 dirhams, which we also find in #968 (Debtor 50). The alteration from '30' to '10' is again clearly visible. (3) Shams al-Dīn al-Karakī (Buyer 28) is registered as owing 50 dirhams, but this sum was originally 150 dirhams, which we also find in #968 (Debtor 65). The alteration to the '100' is once again clearly visible.

[4] Buyers 47, 51 and 75 are in #812, but not in #793. Buyers 34 and 73 are in #793, but not in #812.

Plate Section II

The Documentary Network around the Sale Booklet

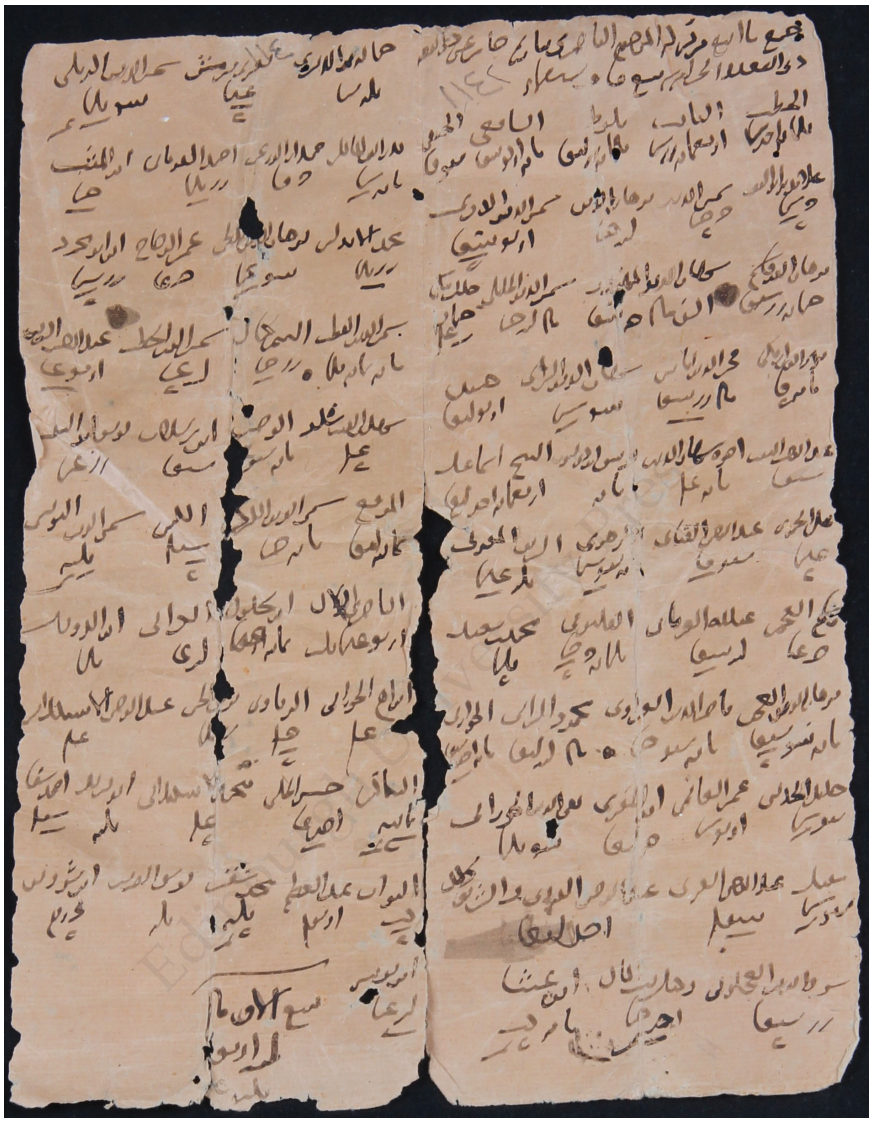
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II.1 List of payments after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, sheet 1a
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #812a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



II.2 List of payments after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, sheet 1b
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #812b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



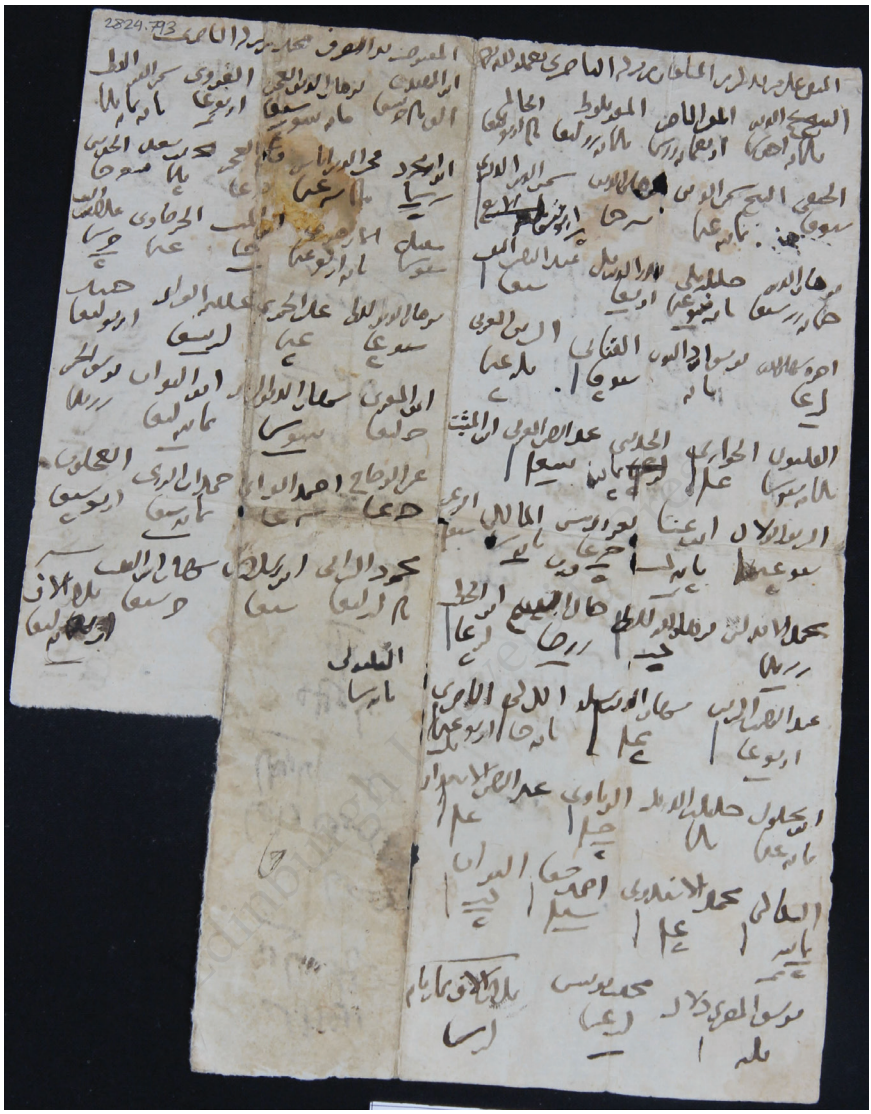
II.3 List of receivables after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #968, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



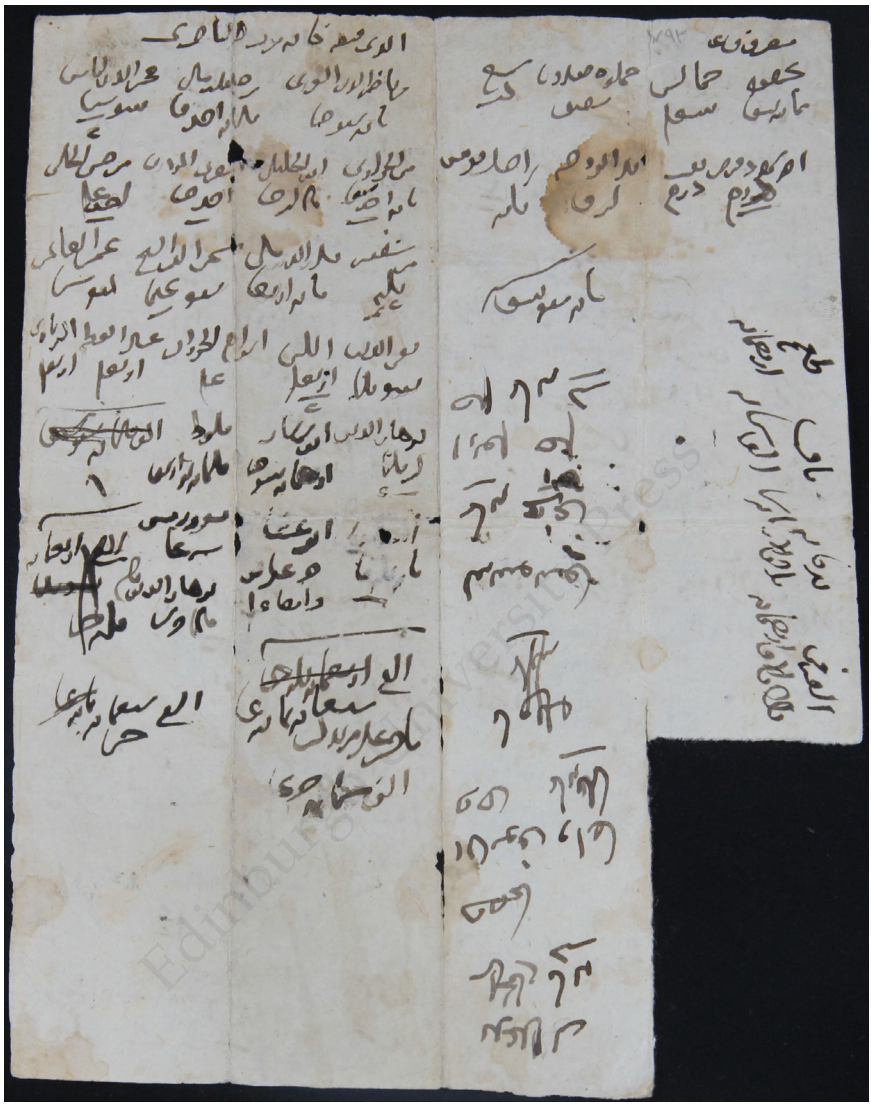
II.4 First accounts with payments and expenses after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, sheet 1a
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #800a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



II.5 First accounts with payments and expenses after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, sheet 1b
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #800b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



II.6 Second accounts with receivables, expenses and payments, sheet 1a
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #793a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



II.7 Second accounts with receivables, expenses and payments, sheet 1b
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #793b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

on #812a, left). That al-Ṣayrafī relied on #812 is not too surprising as he had written half of it himself in the previous days. The next step for producing the new account #793 was that he wrote a list of those buyers who had not yet fully settled their obligation. For this list, he took the sale booklet and checked whose names did not appear among those who had paid in #812. For this debtors' list he clearly leafed through the sheets of the sale booklet, as the order of names follows exactly that of the booklet's sheets (Debtor 1 in #793 is Buyer 1 in the sale booklet, Debtor 2 is Buyer 2 and so on). As with #968, we observe here too that al-Ṣayrafī did not follow the 'page logic' of the booklet where the sheets were nestled together. Rather, he took the sheets of the booklet separately and first took sheet #061 and copied the names of those still owing monies (Debtors 1 to 11), then took sheet #532 and again copied the relevant names (Debtors 12 to 26), and finally did the same for sheet #180 (Debtors 27 to 44).

The main incentive for al-Adhraʿī and his men in producing this documentary network in the days after the auction of Burhān al-Dīn's estate was to make sure that no buyer evaded payment. However, producing ever newer lists and accounts was not sufficient for this purpose. Rather, they had to engage with the documents in their hands, in particular the sale booklet, and here we come to the strikethroughs. While writing #793 al-Ṣayrafī not only copied the order of names from the sale booklet, but he also used it in a more active way. While making his way through the booklet he crossed out the names of those who had settled their obligations in full. In this way he could be sure from whom he and his colleagues still had to collect the outstanding monies. While crossing out the names in the sale booklet he did the same in list #812, more precisely only in the second part that he had written himself.

After this point al-Adhraʿī and his men no longer used the sale booklet to keep track of the incoming payments (if all names had been crossed out in the sale booklet we would not have been able to see the work in progress and thus to identify its function during the writing of document #793). Rather, we see that the debtors' list in #793 became the list they henceforth worked from to collect monies. In this new debtors' list numerous names carry a strikethrough that must have been added in the following days (sixteen out of forty-four) when more and more debtors settled their obligations in full.

The documents on settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate were not only connected to each other in intricate ways; they were also part of a much wider

documentary network of which we only see glimpses. For example, the list of expenses in accounts #800 registers three substantial payments to individuals otherwise unknown (800 dirhams to Ibn Shujāʿ (?), 300 dirhams to al-Shaykh Aḥmad and 200 dirhams to Ibn Ṣaṣar). None of these individuals, or the payments, are linked to any person or transaction in the other lists. They were most likely creditors who successfully claimed repayment of outstanding debts from Burhān al-Dīn's estate. To claim these debts, they must have produced promissory notes that have since disappeared from our historical record.[5]

Edition of the Documentary Network

In the lists below, the names appearing in the documents are matched with the buyers in the sale booklet. We also provide the sum given in the sale booklet if it differs from the sum mentioned in the respective document. We do not provide cross-references among the individuals named in the documents as this information can be found in the respective entry of the individual in the sale booklet in Chapter 7.

I Document #812 – List of Payments (Plates II.1 and II.2)

This document was written by the judge's trustee al-Adhraʿī and his scribe al-Ṣayrafī. It is a list of fifty-two payors who settled their obligations either in part or in full. This list is divided into two sections, with al-Adhraʿī first registering twenty-three payors (dated 3.11.789/1387) and al-Ṣayrafī subsequently registering twenty-nine payors (dated 14.11.789/1387).

In this document al-Adhraʿī and al-Ṣayrafī registered the names of the payors without considering the order of names in the sale booklet. That the order of names is entirely different means that #812 most likely reflects the order of the actual payments coming in. This list remained subsequently in use and served as point of reference for at least two further documents, #793 and #800. The order of names in #793 is identical to the order in #812 and the order of names in #800 is very similar to it. That #793 and #800 were written after #812 is evident from the fact that these two documents have

[5] Such promissory notes often took the form of an acknowledgement deed (*iqrār*; cf. Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 472–6). In the context of settling estates, we find in estate inventories the term *masṭūr* when the witnesses registered the presence of promissory notes (for instance #146 (795/1393), Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Qārī', l. 7).

several buyers who settled their obligations in full while these buyers had not yet done so in #812. That #812 is an early document in the process of settling Burhān al-Dīn's estate is also obvious from the fact that it has, like the sale booklet, a detailed heading, which gives a full rendering of his name, 'Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī', and the invocation 'may God have mercy upon him'. In the subsequent documents, by contrast, the invocation disappears and the name is shortened to 'al-Nāṣirī'. At this later point, the scribes clearly knew that these documents would go into the file of Burhān al-Dīn, which already contained several network documents.

The document's two sections each have the heading '... [the document's writer] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Adhraʿī from what was sold of the estate of the late Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī (may God have mercy upon him) on the 3rd Dhū al-Qaʿda of the year [78]9' and 'What Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī received on the 14th Dhū al-Qaʿda 789'.

Identification of Payors (al-Adhraʿī's list)

Payor 1 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazāwī: 157 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 57
Payor 2 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn ʿAskar: 381 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 13 (510.5 dirhams)[6]
Payor 3 Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās al-ʿAjamī: 69.75 + 226.75 = 296.5 dirhams; in sale booklet buyer 41. This payor settles his obligations in two instalments. The second payment is registered in the second list on this accounts' verso (see Payor 3b below).
Payor 4 al-Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥawārī: 171.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 59
Payor 5 Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Khalīlī: 252 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 12
Payor 6 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Muʾadhdhin: 51.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 68[7]

[6] This identification is tentative, as the *laqab* in the accounts seems to read "Izz al-Dīn'. However, we argue here that it should read 'Ghars al-Dīn' just as in the sale booklet. This Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl b. Makkī is the only possible match among the five buyers who spent more than 381 dirhams in the sale booklet. In addition, we find in #793, which follows the order of the names of #812, in exactly this position the payment of exactly the amount owed by 'Khalīl b. Makkī' according to the sale booklet.

[7] He is named in the sale booklet quite differently as 'Wakīl bayt al-māl Shihāb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī'. However, the match is feasible, as he also held religious functions (Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 404/5) which might explain 'al-Muʾadhdhin', and as the sum of 51.5 dirhams is identical in both cases.

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Payor 7 Ḥusayn al-Ḥalabī: 11.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 40
Payor 8 Shuqayr: 3.375 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 84
Payor 9 Badr al-Dīn Ibn Makkī: 140 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 14 (180.25 dirhams)
Payor 10 Shams al-Dīn al-Shaykh: 27.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 7 (55.25 dirhams)
Payor 11 ʿUmar b. Ghānim: 64 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 61
Payor 12 Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥawrānī: 39 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 63
Payor 13 al-Kutubī: 4.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 29 (6.75 dirhams)
Payor 14 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī: 10 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 35
Payor 15 ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm: 4 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 83
Payor 16 Burhān al-Dīn al-Shaykh: 33.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 8 (52 dirhams)
Payor 17 al-Rabbāwī: 4 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 36 (5.75 dirhams)
subtotal: 1,454 dirhams[8]
Payor 18 Bulūṭ: 340 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 3 (346 dirhams)
Payor 19 Ibn ʿAshā: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 70 (102.375 dirhams)
Payor 20 Ibn Shihāb: 458.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 2[9] (466 dirhams)
Payor 21 al-Qalyūbī: 183.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 54 (355.75 dirhams)
subtotal: 2,451 dirhams
Payor 22 Burhān al-Dīn b. Qāsim: 265 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 10 (566 dirhams)[10]
Payor 23 Ismāʿīl: 2.5;[11] in sale booklet Buyer 47 (446.5 dirhams)[12]
subtotal: 2,718.5 dirhams

Identification of Payors (al-Ṣayrafī's list)

Payor 24 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Muhandis: 1,295 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 11
Payor 25 Burhān al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī: 179.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 56

[8] Our readings of the amounts paid by Payor 1 to Payor 17 give the slightly higher sum of 1,460 dirhams.
[9] This match exclusively relies on the sums involved.
[10] The list adds '*yad kātibihi*', which might mean that the document's scribe, here al-Adhraʿī, paid this sum.
[11] On account of damage to the document, the exact sum is not known.
[12] The only buyer with the name Ismāʿīl in the sale booklet is Buyer 47.

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Payor 26 al-Sharīf al-Maghribī: 14.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 66 (41.5 dirhams)

Payor 27 Shams al-Dīn al-Quṭb: 138 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 19 (142 dirhams)[13]

Payor 28 [Ibn Abī Muḥammad: 66.75 dirhams]; in sale booklet Buyer 18[14]

see Payor 3 above: Payor 3b Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās: 226.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 41

Payor 29 Qāsim al-ʿAjamī: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 52

Payor 30 al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd: 30.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 55

Payor 31 al-Ḥadīthī: 54 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 60 (67.25 dirhams)

Payor 32 Muqbil: 67 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 64 (68 dirhams)

Payor 33 Shams al-Dīn al-Azharī: 124 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 50 (167.5 dirhams)

Payor 34 Shihāb al-Dīn (Ibn al-)Muthbit: 50.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 78

Payor 35 al-Ḥarjāwī: 20 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 72

Payor 36 al-Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naqīb: 65.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 6

Payor 37 al-Ṣallatī: 17.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 16 (19.5 dirhams)

Payor 38 ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥamawī: 20.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 48

Payor 39 al-Firyābī ʿAbd Allāh: 92.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 53

Payor 40 Junayd: 44 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 43

Payor 41 Shams al-Dīn al-Muqriʾ: 45 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 62

Payor 42 Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Sarāʾī: 69.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 42

Payor 43 Ibn al-Bawwāb: 42.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 24 (117.16 dirhams)

Payor 44 Yūsuf al-Jītī: 36 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 37

Payor 45 ʿUmar al-Zajjāj: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 17

[13] '*Wuzina*'.

[14] The payor and the sum are not identifiable, owing to damage to the document. The name and sum proposed here exclusively rely on the position of the name. #793 has the same order of names as #812 and we find Ibn Abī Muḥammad in #793 at exactly the position at which we have the damage in this document.

Payor 46 Aḥmad al-Qaramānī: 16 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 77 (16.5 dirhams)

Payor 47 al-Zarʿī: 6.5 + 78.5 = 85 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 76

Payor 48 Sharaf al-Dīn al-ʿAjlūnī: 75.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 67 (76.25 dirhams)

Payor 49 Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Sarāʾī: 242 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 58

Payor 50 Ibn Raslān: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 25

Payor 51 al-Akh Shihāb al-Dīn: 75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 45 (101 dirhams)

Payor 52 Ḥusayn al-Mālikī: 150 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 75 (150.5 dirhams)

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Edition of Document #812 (Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum)

Symbols used:

|| interlinear text
[ ] editors' insertion of letters or words
[?] tentative reading
[...] non-legible or missing word(s)
* = vertical strikethrough of name

812/أ/يسار

1 [... كاتبه؟] محمد بن عبد الله الأذرعي
2 مما أبيع من تركة المرحوم برهان الدين الناصري تغمده
3 الله برحمته و[ذلك في] ثالث شهر ذي القعدة الحرام
4 من شهور سنة تسع و[ثمانين وسبعماية]
5 من ناصر الدين الغزاو[ي] من عز الدين خليل بن عسكر
6 157 381
7 من فخر الدين إياس العجمي من الشيخ علاء الدين بن الحواري
8 69¾ 171½
9 من شمس الدين بن الخليلي من شهاب الدين المؤذن
10 252 51½
11 من حسين الحلبي من شقير بدر الدين بن مكي
12 11½ 3⅛¼ 140
13 شمس الدين الشيخ عمر بن غانم تقي الدين الحوراني
14 27½ 64 39
15 الكتبي إبراهيم الحوراني عبد العظيم برهان الدين الشيخ
16 4¾ 10 4 33¾
17 الرباوي ســـــــــه بلوط ابن عشا
18 4 1454 340 15
19 ابن شهاب القليوبي ســـه
20 458¾ 183½ ~~170¾~~ 69، 16[15] 2451

[15] These two numbers refer most likely to two partial payments that this buyer made before he paid the full sum of 183.5 dirhams.

812/ب/يمين

1	[يد كاتبه]	مكملة [...]	
2	من برهان الدين بن قاسم	إسماعيل	
3	265	[2½]	2718½
4	[...]		

812/ب/يسار

1	الذي قبضه شمس الدين الصيرفي بتاريخ رابع عشر			
2	ذي القعدة سنة تسع وثمانين وسبعمائة			
3	من شهاب الدين المهندس	برهان الدين العجمي*	الشريف المغربي [...]	
4	1295	[1] 79¾	14½	
5	من شمس الدين القطب*	[...]	[فخر] الدين إياس*	
6	138	[... ¾]	226¾	
7	*قاسم العجمي	الشيخ محمد بن سعيد*	الحديثي	مقبل*
8	15	30¼	54	67
9	شمس الدين الأزهري*	شهاب الدين مثبت*	الحرجاوي*	
10	124	50½	20	
11	الشيخ علاء الدين بن النقيب*	الصلتي	علي بن الحموي	
12	65¾	17¼	20¼	
13	الفريابي عبد الله*	جنيد*	شمس الدين المقري	
14	92½	44	45	
15	شهاب الدين بن سرائي*	ابن البواب	يوسف الجيتي	
16	69½	42½	36	
17	عمر الزجاج	أحمد القرماني	الزرعي*	
18	15	16	6½, 78½	
19	شرف الدين العجلوني	زين الدين محمود بن السرائي	ابن رسلان	
20	74¼،نقد 2	242	70	
21	الأخ شهاب الدين	حسين المالكي		
22	75	1[50]		

Edinburgh University Press

II Document #968 – List of Receivables (Plate II.3)

This document – we do not know its scribe's name – was used by al-Adhraʿī and his men as a very concise summary of the sale booklet containing only the buyers' names and the total sums they owed. This summary list lists eighty-five of the eighty-seven names in the sale booklet. We assume that these two names were left out by mistake.[16] The list has also a 'mystery buyer', a certain al-Sharīf al-Dallāl (Debtor 41), who also appears in accounts #793 (Debtor 22). This debtor is not mentioned in the sale booklet and must have been added later to the list of debtors, either because the scribe forgot to list him in the sale booklet or because this al-Sharīf al-Dallāl bought items after the sale booklet had been written.

In this document the scribe followed the order of names in the sale booklet, and we see that he first took sheet #061 and copied all its names, then took sheet #532 and again copied all the names and finally did the same for sheet #180 (see the footnotes under 'Identification of Debtors' below). The close relationship between the sale booklet and this list is also evident from the fact that in seventy-seven cases the sums match exactly. In three cases the sums did originally match, but were subsequently altered in the sale booklet.[17] In three other cases the difference is merely half a dirham.[18]

The document's heading reads 'All that was sold of the estate of the late al-Nāṣirī, 15 Dhū al-Qaʿda 789'. In our view this list was written shortly after the sale booklet, but before documents #800 and #793. This assumption is very much based on the three 'outdated' sums that we find in this document. They match sums in the sale booklet, but in the sale booklet they were subsequently altered, something which did not happen here. Al-Adhraʿī and his men must have altered the sums in the sale booklet while collecting the outstanding monies. During this time, they were also producing the accounts #800 and #793. The present document #968 did thus not have the function of the sale booklet, which was used for keeping track of monies received and outstanding monies.

[16] Badr al-Dīn Ibn Qāsim (Buyer 69 in sale booklet) and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarjāwī (Buyer 72).
[17] Debtors 48, 50 and 65.
[18] Debtors 38, 40 and 61.

Identification of Debtors

Debtor 1 al-Khaṭīb: 361 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 1
Debtor 2 al-Nā'ib: 466 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 2
Debtor 3 Bulūṭ: 346 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 3
Debtor 4 al-Shāfi'ī: 194 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 4
Debtor 5 al-Ḥanafī: 87 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 5
Debtor 6 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Naqīb: 65.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 6
Debtor 7 Shams al-Dīn: 55.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 7
Debtor 8 Burhān al-Dīn: 52 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 8
Debtor 9 Shams al-Dīn al-Dayrī: 94.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 9
Debtor 10 Burhān al-Dīn Qāsim: 576 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 10 (566 dirhams)
Debtor 11 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Muhandis: 1,295 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 11
Debtor 12 Shams al-Dīn al-Khalīlī: 252 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 12
Debtor 13 Khalīl b. Makkī: 510.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 13
Debtor 14 Badr al-Dīn Ibn Makkī: 180.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 14[19]
Debtor 15 Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās: 296.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 41
Debtor 16 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sarā'ī: 69.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 42
Debtor 17 Junayd: 44 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 43
Debtor 18 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naqīb: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 44
Debtor 19 his brother Shihāb al-Dīn: 110 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 45 (101 dirhams)
Debtor 20 Yūsuf b. Dhū al-Nūn: 100 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 46
Debtor 21 al-Shaykh Ismā'īl: 441.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 47
Debtor 22 'Alī al-Ḥamawī: 20.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 48
Debtor 23 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qibābī: 87.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 49
Debtor 24 al-Azharī: 167.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 50
Debtor 25 al-Sharīf al-Maghribī: 23.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 51
Debtor 26 Qāsim al-'Ajamī: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 52
Debtor 27 'Abd Allāh al-Firyābī: 92.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 53

[19] This is the last name taken from sheet #061 of the sale booklet. The following names are taken from sheet #532.

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Debtor 28 al-Qalyūbī: 355.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 54
Debtor 29 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd: 30.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 55
Debtor 30 Burhān al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī: 179.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 56
Debtor 31 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazāwī: 157 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 57
Debtor 32 Maḥmūd al-Sarāʾī: 242 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 58
Debtor 33 al-Ḥawārī: 171.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 59
Debtor 34 Khalīl al-Ḥadīthī: 67.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 60
Debtor 35 ʿUmar al-Ghānimī: 64 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 61
Debtor 36 Ibn al-Muqriʾ: 45 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 62
Debtor 37 Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥawrānī: 39 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 63
Debtor 38 Muqbil: 67 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 64 (67.5 dirhams)
Debtor 39 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghazzī: 9.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 65
Debtor 40 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qarawī: 41 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 66 (41.5 dirhams)
Debtor 41 al-Sharīf Dallāl: n/a; not in sale booklet, in #793 Debtor 22 (27.25 dirhams)
Debtor 42 Sharaf al-Dīn al-ʿAjlūnī: 76.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 67
Debtor 43 Wakīl bayt al-māl: 51.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 68[20]
Debtor 44 Ibn ʿAshā: 102.375 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 70
Debtor 45 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dayrī: 63 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 71[21]
Debtor 46 Taghrī W-r-m-sh: 20.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 73
Debtor 47 Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī: 39.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 74
Debtor 48 Badr al-Dīn al-Mālikī: 160.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 75 (150.5 dirhams)[22]
Debtor 49 Ḥamdān al-Zarʿī: 85 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 76
Debtor 50 Aḥmad al-Qaramānī: 36.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 77 (16.5 dirhams)[23]

[20] The scribe forgot to note down the following entry, which should have been Badr al-Dīn Ibn Qāsim (Buyer 69 in sale booklet).
[21] The scribe forgot to note down the following entry, which should have been Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarjāwī (Buyer 72 in sale booklet).
[22] The original sum in the sale booklet was also 160.5 dirhams, but the sum was subsequently altered to 150.5.
[23] The original sum in the sale booklet was also 36.5 dirhams, but the sum was subsequently altered to 16.5.

Princeton University Press

Debtor 51 Ibn al-Muthbit: 50.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 78[24]
Debtor 52 Muḥammad al-Andalusī: 36.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 15
Debtor 53 Burhān al-Dīn al-Ṣallatī: 19.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 16
Debtor 54 ʿUmar al-Zajjāj: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 17
Debtor 55 Ibn Abū Maḥmūd: 66.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 18
Debtor 56 Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Quṭb: 138 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 19[25]
Debtor 57 al-Yatīm Kamāl: 56.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 20
Debtor 58 Shams al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb: 12.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 21
Debtor 59 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zayn: 14.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 22
Debtor 60 Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shīdha: 10.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 23
Debtor 61 al-Waṣī: 117 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 24 (117.16 dirhams)
Debtor 62 Ibn Raslān: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 25
Debtor 63 Yūsuf Ibn al-Naqīb: 16 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 26
Debtor 64 al-Muwaqqiʿ: 48 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 27
Debtor 65 Shams al-Dīn al-Karakī: 150 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 28 (50 dirhams)[26]
Debtor 66 al-Kutubī: 6.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 29
Debtor 67 Shams al-Dīn al-Tūnisī: 3.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 30
Debtor 68 al-Nāṣirī al-Dallāl: 24.3 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 31
Debtor 69 Ibn Saḥlūl: 28 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 32
Debtor 70 al-ʿArrābī: 12 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 33
Debtor 71 Ibn al-Duwayk: 30 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 34
Debtor 72 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī: 10 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 35
Debtor 73 al-Rabbāwī: 5.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 36
Debtor 74 Yūsuf al-Jītī: 36 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 37
Debtor 75 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iskandānī: 10 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 38
Debtor 76 al-Sakākīnī: 8.875 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 39
Debtor 77 Ḥusayn al-Ḥalabī: 11.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 40
Debtor 78 Muḥammad al-Iskandānī: 10.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 79

[24] This is the last name taken from sheet #532 of the sale booklet. The following names are taken from sheet #180.
[25] 138 dirhams is his obligation in weighted dirhams (see Chapter 7).
[26] The original sum in the sale booklet was also 150 dirhams, but the sum was subsequently altered to 50.

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Debtor 79 Abū Yazīd: 3 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 80
Debtor 80 Aḥmad al-Saqqā: 6.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 81
Debtor 81 al-Bawwāb: 2.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 82
Debtor 82 ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm: 4 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 83
Debtor 83 Muḥammad Shuqayr: 3.375 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 84
Debtor 84 Yūsuf al-Ḍarīr: 3 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 85
Debtor 85 Ibn Sharwīn: 0.25 dirham; in sale booklet Buyer 86
Debtor 86 Ibn Yūnus: 12.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 87
total: 9,242 dirhams[27]

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[27] Our readings of the amounts owed by the debtors give a sum of 9,216.75 dirhams.

Edition of Document #968 (Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum)

968/أ/ يمين

1 جميع ما أبيع من تركة المرحوم الناصري بتاريخ خامس عشر ذي القعدة
2 ذي القعدة الحرام سنة تسع ثمانين وسبعماية

3	الخطيب	النائب	بلوط	الشافعي	الحنفي
4	361	466	346	194	87
5	علاء الدين ابن النقيب	شمس الدين	برهان الدين	شمس الدين الديري	
6	65¾	55¼	52	94¾	
7	برهان الدين قاسم	شهاب الدين المهندس	شمس الدين الخليلي	خليل بن مكي	
8	576	1295	252	510½	
9	بدر الدين ابن مكي	فخر الدين إياس	شهاب الدين السرائي	جنيد	
10	180¼	296½	69½	44	
11	عبد الرحمن النقيب	أخوه شهاب الدين	يوسف ابن ذو النون	الشيخ إسماعيل	
12	70	110	100	441¼	
13	علي الحموي	عبد الرحمن القبابي	الأزهري	الشريف المغربي	
14	20¼	87½	167½	23½	
15	قاسم العجمي	عبد الله الفريابي	القليوبي	محمد بن سعيد	
16	15	92½	355¾	30¼	
17	برهان الدين العجمي	ناصر الدين الغزاوي	محمود السرائي	الحواري	
18	179¾	157	242	171½	
19	خليل الحديثي	عمر الغانمي	ابن المقرئ	تقي الدين الحوراني	
20	67¼	64	45	39	
21	مقبل	عبد الرحمن الغزي	عبد الرحمن القروي	والشريف دلال	
22	67	9½	41	[...]	
23	شرف الدين العجلوني وكيل بيت المال		[28]	ابن عشا	
24	76¼	51½		102⅛¼	

[28] سقط سهوًا من حصره بدر الدين بن قاسم انظر 235/أ/ يمين- السطر 7.

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968/أ/ يسار

1	جمال الدين الديري	[29]	تغري ورمش	شمس الدين الرملي
2	63		20¾	39½
3	بدر الدين المالكي	حمدان الزرعي	أحمد القرماني	ابن المثبت
4	160½	85	36½	50½
5	محمد الأندلسي	برهان الدين الصلطي	عمر الزجاج	ابن أبو محرد[30]
6	36½	19½	15	66¾
7	شمس الدين بن القطب	اليتيم كمال	شمس الدين الخطيب	عبد الرحمن الزين
8	138	56½	12¼	14½
9	شهاب الدين بن شيذة	الوصي	ابن رسلان	يوسف ابن النقيب
10	10¼	1[1]7	70	16
11	الموقع	شمس الدين الكركي	الكتبي	شمس الدين التونسي
12	48	150	6¾	3½
13	الناصري الدلال	ابن سحلول	العرابي	ابن الدويك
14	24⅓	28	12	30
15	إبراهيم الحوراني	الرباوي	يوسف الجيتي	عبد الرحمن الإسكندراني
16	10	5¾	36	10
17	السكاكيني	حسين الحلبي	محمد الإسكنداني	أبو يزيد	أحمد السقا
18	8⅛¾	11½	10¼	3	6½
19	البواب	عبد العظيم	محمد شقير	يوسف الضرير	ابن شروين
20	2¾	4	3⅛¼	3	¼ درهم
21	ابن يونس	ســـــه			
22	12½	9242			

[29] سقط سهوًا من حصره إبراهيم الحرجاوي انظر 235/أ/ يمين- السطر 61.
[30] يقصد برهان الدين ابن أبي محمود.

Edinburgh University Press

III Document #800 – First Accounts with Payments and Expenses (Plates II.4 and II.5)

This document was written by al-Ṣayrafī and has two components: (1) list of forty payors, that is, those buyers who settled their obligations in part or in full; and (2) expenses incurred during settling the estate.

When writing this list, al-Ṣayrafī clearly had document #812 in front of him as the order of names is very similar (though not completely identical). The position of each payor in #812 is indicated below in brackets. The document's two sections have the headings 'Monies received by Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī from the [outstanding] dirhams [from the sale of the estate] of al-Nāṣirī' and 'Expenditure by the [document's] scribe from [the revenues of the sale of] al-Nāṣirī's estate'. We assume that al-Ṣayrafī wrote this document before #793 as #793 pulls together various bits of information that we find in #800 separately, such as the costs for the porters or the payments to Shīrīn.

Identification of Payors

Payor 1 al-Azharī: 167 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 50 (167.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 33]

Payor 2 Ibn al-Muthbit: 50.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 78 [in #812 no. 34]

Payor 3 al-Ḥadīthī: 58 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 60 (67.25 dirhams) [in #812 no. 31]

Payor 4 Ibrāhīm Ibn Maḥmūd: 66.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 18 [in #812 no. 28]

Payor 5 Ibn al-Muhandis: 1,295 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 11 [in #812 no. 24]

Payor 6 Ibrāhīm al-ʿAjamī: 179.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 56 (179.75 dirhams) [in #812 no. 25]

Payor 7 Zayn al-Dīn al-Qarawī: 14.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 66 [in #812 no. 26]

Payor 8 Ibn al-Quṭb: 138 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 19 (142 dirhams) [in #812 no. 27]

Payor 9 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Naqīb: 65.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 6 [in #812 no. 36]

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Payor 10 Muqbil: 67 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 64 (68 dirhams) [in #812 no. 32]

Payor 11 al-Ḥarjāwī: 20 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 72 [in #812 no. 35]

Payor 12 al-Ṣallatī:[31] 17 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 16 (19.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 37]

Payor 13 Muḥammad: 3.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 84 (3.375 dirhams) [in #812 no. 8]

Payor 14 Ibn al-Ḥamawī: 20 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 48 (20.25 dirhams) [in #812 no. 38]

Payor 15 al-Firyābī: 91.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 53 (92.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 39]

Payor 16 Junayd: 44 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 43 [in #812 no. 40]

Payor 17 Shams al-Dīn al-Muqrī': 45 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 62 [in #812 no. 41]

Payor 18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sarā'ī: 69.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 42 [in #812 no. 42]

Payor 19 al-Bawwāb: 48.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 24 [in #812 no. 43]

Payor 20 Qāsim: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 51 [not in in #812]

Payor 21 Yūsuf al-Jītī: 36 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 37 [in #812 no. 44]

Payor 22 Ibn Sa'īd: 30.25 dirhams;[32] in sale booklet Buyer 55 [in #812 no. 30]

Payor 23 'Umar: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 17 [in #812 no. 45]

Payor 24 Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās: 226.75; in sale booklet Buyer 41 (296.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 3]

Payor 25 Ḥamd al-Zarī: 85 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 76 [in #812 no. 47]

Payor 26 Aḥmad al-Qaramānī: 16 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 77 (16.5 dirhams)[in #812 no. 46]

Payor 27 al-'Ajlūnī: 74 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 67 (76.25 dirhams) [in #812 no. 48]

[31] Here written as 'al-Sallatī'.

[32] The '.25' is not visible in the document. However, we find material damage at this position and the sum total for this buyer in #968 and the sale booklet is 30.25 dirhams.

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Payor 28 Ibn Raslān: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 25 [in #812 no. 50]
Payor 29 Ḥusayn al-Mālikī: 147 dirhams;[33] in sale booklet Buyer 75 (150.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 52]
Payor 30 Maḥmūd al-Sarā'ī: 242 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 58 [in #812 no. 49]
Payor 31 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Naqīb: 75 + 12.5 = 87.5 dirhams;[34] in sale booklet Buyer 45 (101 dirhams) [in #812 no. 51]
Payor 32 Aḥmad b. Shīdha: 10.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 23 [not in #812]
Payor 33 al-Shaykh ʿAlī al-Qalyūbī: 160 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 54 (355.75 dirhams) [in #812 no. 21]
Payor 34 Ibn R-y-s: 13.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 87 (12.5 dirhams) [not in #812]
Payor 35 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naqīb: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 44 [not in #812]
Payor 36 Shams al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb: 12 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 21 (12.25 dirhams) [not in #812]
Payor 37 al-Ghazzī: 9.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 65 [not in #812]
Payor 38 Ibn al-Qibābī: 87.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 49 [not in #812]
Payor 39 Shams al-Dīn al-Dayrī: 94 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 9 (94.75 dirhams) [not in #812]
Payor 40 al-Nāṣirī: 12 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 31 (24.3 dirhams) [not in #812]

sum total: 3,955 (0.5 + 0.25 + 0.5)[35]

Expenses

2,000 ...

al-Shaykh Aḥmad	300 dirhams
maintenance payment for [Maḥmūd] Kamāl	40 dirhams
witnesses ...	34 dirhams
Ibn Shujāʿ (?)	800 dirhams

[33] Tentative reading.
[34] Payment in two instalments.
[35] Our readings of the amounts paid by the buyers give a sum of 3,966 dirhams.

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Ibn Ṣaṣar	200 dirhams
clothing (*kiswa*)[36]	17 dirhams
retinue of the trustee[37]	15 dirhams
porters	4 dirhams
and also the second day	5 dirhams[38]
porters of books	0.5 dirhams[39]
candles	2 dirhams[40]
washing of corpse and shroud	48 dirhams[41]
wife [Shīrīn]	50 dirhams
and also	32 dirhams[42]
arranging the books	15.5 dirhams
brokerage	40 dirhams
witnesses	150 dirhams
cemetery	100 dirhams
deferred marriage gift (*ṣadāq*) and *kiswa* [Shīrīn]	570 dirhams
subtotal: 1,015 dirhams	
remainder: 8,669.5 dirhams[43]	
Price of …	1,084 dirhams
and also price of …	434.5 dirhams
…	441.625 dirhams
naqd (fees for money-changer?)	347 dirhams
total: 2,227.125 dirhams	

Edinburgh University Press

[36] Most likely for Maḥmūd Kamāl.
[37] The document has only '*rajjāla*', but we see in other documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus (such as #175a, left, l. 28 and #175a, right, l. 27) the term '*rajjālat al-ḥukm*', which we interpret as those working for the judge's trustee.
[38] See the expenses in #793, where we find that the two payments for the porters added up to nine dirhams.
[39] Cf. #793, where we find the same sum for 'porters of chests'.
[40] Cf. #793, where we find the same sum.
[41] Cf. #793, where we find the same sum.
[42] Cf. #793, where we find that the two payments for the wife added up to 82 dirhams.
[43] How the remainder has been calculated remains unclear to us.

Edition of Document #800 (Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum)

800/أ/ يمين

1 مقبوض يد محمد الصيرفي من دراهم الناصري
2 ~~برهان الدين أبو محمود~~
3 الأزهري ابن المثب الحديثي إبراهيم ابن محمود
4 167 50½ 58 66¾
5 ابن المهندس إبراهيم العجمي الزين القروي ابن القطب
6 1295 179½ 14½ 138
7 علاء الدين النقيب مقبل الحرجاوي السلطي
8 65¾ 67 20 17
9 محمد ابن الحموي الفريابي جنيد
10 3½ 20 91½ 44
11 شمس الدين المقرئ شهاب الدين السرائي البواب
12 45 69½ 48½
13 قاسم يوسف الجيتي ابن سعيد عمر
14 15 36 30 15
15 فخر الدين إياس حمد الزري أحمد القرماني
16 226¾ 85 16
17 العجلوني ابن رسلان حسين المالكي محمود السرائي
18 74 70 147 242
19 شهاب الدين النقيب وأيضاً أحمد بن زبيدة الشيخ علي القليوبي
20 75 12½ 10¼ 160
21 ابن الريس عبد الرحمن النقيب شمس الدين الخطيب
22 13½ 70 12

800/أ/ يسار

1 الغزي ابن القبابي شمس الدين الديري الناصري
2 9½ 87½ 94 12
3 سـ ـــــه
4 3955 (½، ¼، ½)

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5	مصروف من ذلك			
6	ألفي [...]		يد الشيخ أحمد	فرض كمال
6			300	40
7	شهود [...]	ابن [شجاع/ نخاع؟]	ابن صصر	كسوة
8	34	800	200	17
9	رجالة			
10	15			

800/ب/ يسار

1	مصروف من يد كاتبه من تركة الناصري			
2	حمالين	وأيضاً ثاني يوم	حمل كتب	شمع
3	4	5	نصف	2
4	تجهيزه	يد الزوجة	وأيضاً	ترتيب الكتب
5	48	50	32	15½
6	دلالة	شهود	جبانة	صداق وكسوة
7	40	150	100	570
8				سـ ـه
9				1015
10	الباقي			
11	8669½			ثمن [...] بجوالين[44]
12				1084 إلا ثلث
13	[...]			وأيضاً ثمن حوائج
14	441⅛½			434½
15	نقد			سـ ـه
16	347			[45]2227⅛

[44] الجوال: معربه الجوالق، وهو الشوال: البالة، حزمة بضائع. ينظر دوزي، تكملة المعاجم العربية، ج6، 389. والبستاني، محيط المحيط، 490.

[45] الصواب 2307.125.

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IV Document #793 – Second Accounts with Receivables, Expenses and Payments (Plates II.6 and II.7)

This document was written by al-Ṣayrafī and has four components: (1) list of forty-two debtors,[46] that is, a list of the receivables; (2) expenses incurred during settling the estate; (3) and (4) two lists with a total of fifty-two payors, that is, those buyers who settled their obligations in part or in full. In total, this document mentions seventy-six names (there are ninety-four individuals in the two lists, but several names appear in both lists). We were able to match seventy-five names appearing in this document, except for the 'mystery buyer' al-Sharīf al-Dallāl (Debtor 22) whom we also find in list #968 (Debtor 41).

In this document al-Ṣayrafī proceeded with two different systems, as is evident from the order of names. For the payors, the scribe took list #812 and copied the names in the exact order. The position of each payor in #812 is indicated in brackets further down. For the debtors, by contrast, he went through the sale booklet and took first sheet #061, then sheet #532 and finally sheet #180 to record those who still owed monies (see the footnotes below in 'Identification of Debtors').

The document's four sections have the headings 'Outstanding obligations of those mentioned in ... of al-Nāṣirī's estate' [Debtors' list], 'Monies received by Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī from [the sale of] al-Nāṣirī's estate' [Payors' list 1], 'Expenses' and 'Monies received by [the document's] scribe from [the sale of] al-Nāṣirī's estate' [Payors' list 2].

Identification of Debtors

Debtor 1 al-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn: 361 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 1

Debtor 2 al-Maqarr al-Nāṣir: 466 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 2 (see Payor 48 below)

Debtor 3 al-Maqarr Bulūṭ: 346 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 3 (see Payor 49 below)

Debtor 4 al-Ḥākim: 244 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 4 (194 dirhams)

[46] The list has 44 entries, but Debtor 21 was listed by mistake (there is no sum, and we indeed see further down that this buyer paid his obligations in full as Payor 12). The following entry (Debtor 22 al-Sharīf al-Dallāl: 27.25 dirham) is the 'mystery buyer' whom we cannot match with any name in the sale booklet.

Debtor 5 al-Ḥanafī: 87 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 5

Debtor 6 al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn: 28 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 7 (55.25 dirhams), see Payor 40 below

Debtor 7 Burhān al-Dīn: 56 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 8 (52 dirhams), see Payor 47 below

Debtor 8 Shams al-Dīn al-Dayrī: 94.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 9

Debtor 9 Burhān al-Dīn: 576 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 10 (566 dirhams), see Payor 52 below

Debtor 10 Khalīl b. Makkī: 127.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 13 (510.5 dirhams), see Payor 32 below

Debtor 11 Badr al-Dīn Makkī: 40.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 14 (180.25 dirhams), see Payor 39 below[47]

Debtor 12 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naqīb: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 44 (78 dirhams)

Debtor 13 *akhūhu* Shihāb al-Dīn: 12.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 45 (101 dirhams), see Payor 29 below

Debtor 14 Yūsuf b. Dhā al-Nūn: 100 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 46

Debtor 15 al-Qibābī: 87.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 49 (87.5 dirhams)

Debtor 16 al-Zayn al-Maghribī: 23.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 51 (23.5 dirhams)

Debtor 17 al-Qalyūbī: 367 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 54 (355.75 dirhams), see Payor 30 below

Debtor 18 al-Ḥawārī: 10 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 59 (171.5 dirhams), see Payor 34 below

Debtor 19 al-Ḥadīthī: 8.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 60 (67.25 dirhams), see Payor 9 below

Debtor 20 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maghribī: 9.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 66 (41.5 dirhams), see Payor 3 below

Debtor 21 Ibn al-Muthbit: n.a.; in sale booklet Buyer 78[48] (see Payor 12 below)

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[47] This is the last name taken from sheet #061 of the sale booklet. The following names are taken from sheet #532.

[48] No sum is given for Ibn al-Muthbit, and the scribe entered his name probably by mistake as he is mentioned further down (see Payor 12) as having paid the full sum. That something went wrong here is also evident from the fact that this is the only point where the order of names (of Debtors 21 to 23) is slightly out of order when compared with the sale booklet.

Debtor 22 al-Sharīf al-Dallāl: 27.25 dirhams; 'mystery buyer' not mentioned in the sale booklet (cf. #968, Debtor 41, al-Sharīf Dallāl)
Debtor 23 Ibn ʿAshā: 102.375 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 70, see Payor 50 below
Debtor 24 Taghrī W-r-m-sh: 15.75 dirhams (*wuzina*); in sale booklet Buyer 73 (20.75 dirhams), see Payor 51 below
Debtor 25 al-Mālikī: 160.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 75 (150.5 dirhams)
Debtor 26 al-Zarʿī: 7 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 76 (85 dirhams), see Payor 25 below[49]
Debtor 27 Muḥammad al-Andalusī: 36.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 15
Debtor 28 Burhān al-Dīn al-Ṣallatī: 2.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 16 (19.5 dirhams), see Payor 15 below
Debtor 29 Jamāl al-Yatīm: 56.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 20
Debtor 30 Ibn al-Khaṭīb: 12.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 21
Debtor 31 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zayn: 14.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 22
Debtor 32 Shihāb al-Dīn Shīdha: 10.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 23
Debtor 33 al-Karakī: 150 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 28 (50 dirhams)
Debtor 34 al-Nāṣirī: 24.3 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 31
Debtor 35 Ibn Saḥlūl: 120 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 32 (28 dirhams)
Debtor 36 Khalīl al-Duwayk: 30 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 34
Debtor 37 al-Rabbāwī: 5.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 36 (see Payor 46 below)
Debtor 38 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iskadānī [Iskandarī]: 10 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 38
Debtor 39 al-Sakākīnī: 8.875 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 39
Debtor 40 Muḥammad al-Iskandarī: 10.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 79
Debtor 41 Aḥmad Saqqā: 6.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 81
Debtor 42 al-Bawwāb: 2.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 82
Debtor 43 Yūsuf al-Miṣrī Dallāl: 3 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 85
Debtor 44 Muḥammad b. Yūnus: 12.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 87
sum total: 3,862 dirhams

[49] This is the last name taken from sheet #532 of the sale booklet. The following names are taken from sheet #180.

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Identification of Payors 1

Payor 1 Ibn al-Muhandis: 1,295 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 11 [in #812 no. 24]

Payor 2 Burhān al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī: 179.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 56 [in #812 no. 25]

Payor 3 al-Qarawī: 14.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 66 (41.5 dirhams), see Debtor 20 above [in #812 no. 26]

Payor 4 Shams al-Dīn al-Quṭb: 138 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 19 (142 dirhams [138 w-z-n]) [in #812 no. 27]

Payor 5 Ibn Abū Muḥammad:[50] 66.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 18 [in #812 no. 28]

Payor 6 Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās: 226 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 41 (296.5 dirhams), see Payor 33 below

Payor 7 Qāsim al-ʿAjamī: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 52 [in #812 no. 29]

Payor 8 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd: 30.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 55 [in #812 no. 30]

Payor 9 al-Ḥadīthī: 59 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 60 (67.25 dirhams), see Debtor 19 above [in #812 no. 31]

Payor 10 Muqbil: 67 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 64 (68 dirhams) [in #812 no. 32]

Payor 11 al-Azharī: 124 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 50 (167.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 33]

Payor 12 Ibn al-Muthbit: 50.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 78 (see Debtor 21 above) [in #812 no. 34]

Payor 13 al-Ḥarjāwī: 20 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 72 [in #812 no. 35]

Payor 14 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Naqīb: 65.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 6 [in #812 no. 36]

Payor 15 Burhān al-Dīn al-Ṣallatī: 17.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 16 (19.5 dirhams), see Debtor 28 above [in #812 no. 37]

Payor 16 ʿAlī al-Ḥamawī: 20.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 48 [in #812 no. 38]

[50] The document reads 'Ibn Abū M-ḥ-r-d'.

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Payor 17 ʿAbd Allāh al-Firyābī: 92.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 53 [in #812 no. 39]
Payor 18 Junayd: 44 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 43 [in #812 no. 40]
Payor 19 Ibn al-Muqriʾ: 45 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 62 [in #812 no. 41]
Payor 20 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sarāʾī: 69.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 42 [in #812 no. 42]
Payor 21 Ibn al-Bawwāb: 48.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 24 (117.16 dirhams) [in #812 no. 43]
Payor 22 Yūsuf al-Jītī: 36 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 37 [in #812 no. 44]
Payor 23 ʿUmar al-Zajjāj: 15 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 17 [in #812 no. 45]
Payor 24 Aḥmad al-Qaramānī: 16 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 77 (16.5 dirhams) [in #812 no. 46]
Payor 25 Ḥamdān al-Zarī: 78.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 76 (85 dirhams), see Debtor 26 above [in #812 no. 47]
Payor 26 al-ʿAjlūnī: 74.25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 67 (76.25 dirhams) [in #812 no. 48]
Payor 27 Maḥmūd al-Sarāʾī: 242 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 58 [in #812 no. 49]
Payor 28 Ibn Raslān: 70 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 25 [in #812 no. 50]
Payor 29 Shihāb Ibn al-Naqīb: 75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 45 (101 dirhams), see Debtor 13 above [in #812 no. 51]
Payor 30 al-Qalyūbī: 160 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 54 (355.75 dirhams), see Debtor 17 above [in #812 no. 21]
subtotal: 3,440.5 dirhams[51]

Identification of Payors 2

Payor 31 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ghazzī: 157 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 57 [in #812 no. 1]
Payor 32 Khalīl b. Makkī: 381 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 13 (510.5 dirhams), see Debtor 10 above [in #812 no. 2]
Payor 33 Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās: 69.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 41 (296.5 dirhams), see Payor 6 above [in #812 no. 3]

[51] Our readings of the amounts paid by the buyers give a sum of 3,455.25 dirhams.

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Payor 34 al-Ḥawārī: 171.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 59, see Debtor 18 above [in #812 no. 4]

Payor 35 al-Khalīlī: 252 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 12 [in #812 no. 5]

Payor 36 al-Muqri' al-mu'adhdhin: 51.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 68 [in #812 no. 6]

Payor 37 Ḥusayn al-Ḥalabī: 11.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 40 [in #812 no. 7]

Payor 38 Shuqayr: 3.375 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 84 [in #812 no. 8]

Payor 39 Badr al-Dīn Makkī: 140 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 14 (180.25 dirhams), see Debtor 11 above [in #812 no. 9]

Payor 40 Shams al-Dīn al-Shaykh: 27.5 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 7 (55.25 dirhams), see Debtor 6 above [in #812 no. 10]

Payor 41 ʿUmar al-Ghānimī: 64 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 61 [in #812 no. 11]

Payor 42 Taqī al-Dīn: 39 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 63 [in #812 no. 12]

Payor 43 al-Kutubī: 4.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 29 (6.75 dirhams) [in #812 no. 13]

Payor 44 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī: 10 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 35 [in #812 no. 14]

Payor 45 ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm: 4 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 83 [in #812 no. 15]

Payor 46 al-Rabbāwī: 4 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 36 (5.75 dirhams), see Debtor 37 above [in #812 no. 17]

Payor 47 Burhān al-Dīn: 32.75 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 8 (52 dirhams), see Debtor 7 above [in #812 no. 16]

Payor 48 Ibn Shihāb: 459; in sale booklet Buyer 2 (466 dirhams), see Debtor 2 above [in #812 no. 20]

Payor 49 Bulūṭ: 342 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 3 (see Debtor 3 above) [in #812 no. 18]

Payor 50 Ibn ʿAshā: 15 +10 = 25 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 70 (102.375 dirhams), see Debtor 23 above [in #812 no. 19]

Payor 51 Taghrī W-r-m-sh: 16 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 73 (20.75 dirhams), see Debtor 24 above [not in #812]

Payor 52 Burhān al-Dīn: 265 dirhams; in sale booklet Buyer 10 (566 dirhams), see Debtor 9 above [in #812 no. 22]

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subtotal 1: 2,453 dirhams[52]
subtotal 2: 2,718 dirhams
subtotal 3: 2,750 dirhams

Expenses

washing of corpse and shroud	48 dirhams[53]
porters	9 dirhams[54]
porters of chest	0.5 dirham[55]
candles	2 dirhams[56]
one of the *farḍ* witnesses	1.5 dirhams
naqd (fees for money changer?)	1 dirham
wife [Shīrīn]	82 dirhams[57]
...	[3] dirhams

subtotal: 137 dirhams

Here follows a list of further items and sums (partly turned by ninety degrees) that have remained unclear to us.

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[52] Our readings of the amounts paid by the buyers give a sum of 2,545 dirhams.
[53] Cf. #800, where we find the same sum.
[54] Cf. #800, where we find two sums for two different days.
[55] Cf. #800, where we find the same sum for 'porters of books'. The chests were most likely used to move books during the auction.
[56] Cf. #800, where we find the same sum.
[57] Cf. #800, where we find two sperate payments of 50 and 32 dirhams.

Edition of Document #793 (Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum)

793/أ/ يمين

1	المتقي[58] على من يذكر من المباعات من تركة الناصري تغمده الله برحمته				
2	الشيخ نجم الدين	المقر الناصر	المقر بلوط	الحاكم	
3	361	466	346	244	
4	الحنفي	الشيخ شمس الدين	برهان الدين	*شمس الدين الديري	
5	87	28	56	94¾	
6	برهان الدين	خليل بن مكي	بدر الدين مكي	عبد الرحمن النقيب*	
7	576	127½	40½	70	
8	أخوه شهاب الدين	يوسف ابن ذا النون	القبابي*	الزين المغربي	
9	12½	100	87¼	23¼	
10	القليوبي	الحواري*	الحديثي*	عبد الرحمن المغربي*	ابن المثبت
11	367	10	8¼	9½	[]
12	الشريف الدلال*	ابن عشا	تغر ورمش	المالكي	الزرعي
13	27¼	102⅛¼	وزن 15¾	160½	7
14	محمد الأندلسي	برهان الدين السلطي*	جمال اليتيم	ابن الخطيب*	
15	36½	2½	56½	12¼	
16	عبد الرحمن* بن الزين	شهاب الدين* شيذة	الكركي*	الناصري*	
17	14½	10¼	150	24⅓	
18	ابن سحلول	خليل الدويك	الرباوي*	عبد الرحمن* الإسكداني	
19	120	30	5¾	10	
20	السكاكيني*	محمد الأسندوني*	أحمد سقا*	البواب*	
21	8⅛¼½	10¼	6½	2¾	
22	يوسف المصري دلال*	محمد بن يونس			ســـــــه
23	3	12½			3862

[58] هكذا في الأصل والصواب المتبقي.

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793/أ/ يسار

1	المقبوض يد الصيرفي محمد من تركة الناصري				
2	ابن المهندس	برهان الدين العجمي	القروي		شمس الدين القطب
3	1295	179¾	14½	138	
4	ابن أبو محرد	فخر الدين إياس	قاسم العجمي	محمـ[ـد] بن سعيد	الحديثي
5	66¾	226	15	30¼	59
6	مقبل	الأزهري	ابن المثب	الحرجاوي	علاء الدين النقيب
7	67	124	50½	20	65¾
8	برهان الدين السلطي	علي الحموي	عبد الله الفرابي	جنيد	
9	17¼	20¼	92½	44	
10	ابن المقرئ	شهاب الدين السرائي	ابن البواب	يوسف الجيتي	
11	45	69½	48½	36	
12	عمر الزجاج	أحمد القرماني	حمدان الزري	العجلوني	
13	15	16	78½	74¼	
14	محمود السرائي	ابن رسلان	شهاب ابن النقيب		
15	242	70	75		
16	القليوبي				ســـــه
17	160				3440½

793/ب/ يمين

1	مصروف عـ[59]			
2	تجهيزه	حمالين	حملوه صندوق[60]	شمع
3	48	9	½	2
4	أحد شهود فرض	نقد	يد الزوجة	[...]
5	درهم و½	درهم	82	[3]
6				ســـــه
7				147
8	طعم	400	~~103~~ ~~8½~~	

[59] عـ: لا ندري ما المقصود به، وربما يكون (عنه).
[60] هكذا في الأصل وربما يريد (حَمَلة صناديق).

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9	باق		1600	49 ،1		
10	تركاته		3160	10½ ،8½ 5 ،4		
11	الصيرفي		3400	5، 8، 2½		
12	يد علاء الدين					
13	من الحمام 102					
14	[...]					
15	[...]			وأيضاً		
16	55			38½		

793/ب/ يسار

1	الذي قبضه كاتبه من تركة الناصري				
2	من ناصر الدين الغزي	من خليل بن مكي	فخر الدين إياس		
3	157	381	69¾		
4	من الحواري	ابن الخليلي	المقرئ المؤذن	من حسين الحلبي	
5	171½	252	51½	11½	
6	من شقير	بدر الدين مكي	شمس الدين الشيخ	عمر الغانمي	
7	3⅛¼	140	27½	64	
8	تقي الدين	الكتبي	إبراهيم الحوراني	عبد العظيم	الرباوي
9	39	4¾	10	4	4
10	برهان الدين	ابن شهاب	بلوط		سه
11	32¾	459	342		~~1377~~
12	~~[...]~~	ابن عشا	تغر ورمش		
13	~~[183½]~~	15	16		
14		وأيضا 10	برهان الدين قاسم		ســـه
15			265		2453/~~2439~~
16	ســـه				
17	~~2453~~				
18	718			2750/~~2718~~	
19	تأخر على من يذكر				
20	1615				

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Appendix 1 Overview of Documents Linked to Burhān al-Dīn's Life and Estate

This appendix provides an overview of all those documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf collection that are linked to Burhān al-Dīn. In the course of working on this book we have examined all the documents from the Ḥaram al-sharīf collection (almost 1,000), and we are now in a position to confidently state that there are no further documents linked to Burhān al-Dīn. The corpus assembled here differs in some cases from that of previous scholarship. We identified additional documents in the known Ḥaram al-sharīf core corpus (#180, #532 and #793) and found new documents in the Ḥaram al-sharīf plus corpus (#897 and #968). For instance, document #793 was ascribed to an unknown 'an-Nāṣirī' or to the estate of the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī.[1] Yet document #793 is beyond doubt one of the accounts that were used in settling the estate of Burhān al-Dīn. The names of the payors and debtors, as well as the sums owed, are identical to those in the other accounts and lists used in settling his estate.[2] We not only added, but also discarded: for instance, Ḥaram al-sharīf document #667 is an acknowledgement deed in which a widow receives the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (*farḍ*) for her children from her deceased husband's estate. Nine other such deeds in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are linked to Burhān al-Dīn.[3] However, #667 has in our view – and in contrast to previous scholarship – nothing to do with Burhān al-Dīn as we read the name of the deceased husband in #667, 'al-Dayrī', differently (though reading names in the documentary scripts employed in the Ḥaram al-sharīf documents is far from an exact science). More importantly, this

[1] Little, *Catalogue*, 369 and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 180 and 188–91.
[2] These other documents were #061/#180/#532 (sale booklet), #800, #812 and #968.
[3] #106, #108, #115, #118, #183, #188, #192, #313 and #676.

document summarily refers to 'the mother of the half-orphans', that is, one single mother of the children left by the deceased husband. As Burhān al-Dīn left 'half-orphans' to several mothers the acknowledgement deeds linked to him always set out exactly who received the sum in question as there was more than one single widow/recipient. In consequence, it is unlikely that #667 belongs to the Burhān al-Dīn documentary corpus.

It was particularly painful discarding the diploma of appointment #214 from the corpus, because it feels very much like one of his Burhān al-Dīn's documents. It is a diploma appointing a person in the Turbat Ṭāz (the other five documents on this *turba* in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are all linked with Burhān al-Dīn).[4] This diploma was issued by an administrator called Malik (the other three documents issued by this administrator in the Ḥaram al-sharīf corpus are all linked with Burhān al-Dīn).[5] In addition, this person is appointed as reciter for a rather modest monthly salary (exactly the professional world of Burhān al-Dīn). This person is called Ibrāhīm al-Nāṣirī (exactly the *ism* and *nisba* of Burhān al-Dīn), but he carries the *laqab* Ṣārim al-Dīn rather than Burhān al-Dīn. It was perfectly normal for an individual to be known under more than one *laqab* and it might be the case that our Burhān al-Dīn was known by the honorific Ṣārim al-Dīn at a younger age. However, as a matter of precaution and in the absence of other evidence for such a double *laqab* we decided to discard this document from the Burhān corpus.

In the following, first, the documents are grouped according to the terminology used in this book. Secondly, a list according to the call numbers in the Islamic Museum in Jerusalem is provided. Identical or variant readings of a document's date in previous publications are indicated in brackets after the date. We provide, in all relevant cases, the reference to the document's edition.[6]

Burhān al-Dīn's documentary corpus: This is the analytical category for those fifty-two documents that are directly linked to Burhān al-Dīn and that were produced during his lifetime (twenty-four on his working life (#002,

[4] #005, #007, #014, #303 and #310.

[5] #005, #014 and #310.

[6] Several documents have been edited previously, especially by al-'Asalī. We edited all remaining documents except for those cases where we were not fully satisfied with our readings of the text (#622 and the four payment orders for the salary of Burhān al-Dīn #665, #666, #668 and #835). The launch of the *Comparing Arabic Legal Documents* database, https://cald.irht.cnrs.fr (last accessed 5 September 2022), in 2021 has added numerous additional documents.

#003, #004, #005, #007, #009, #010, #012, #013, #014, #026, #049, #203, #303, #305, #310, #490, #508, #509, #603, #665, #666, #668, #835), seventeen on settling his estate (#016, #052, #061/#180/#532, #106, #108, #111, #115, #118, #183, #188, #192, #313, #676, #793, #800, #812, #968) and eleven on other matters (#039, #109, #289, #336, #382, #458, #622, #699, #843, #850, #897). All documents in this appendix are part of this corpus except for #369 and #619, which are sale deeds of the house that Burhān al-Dīn bought in #039 and were written before his lifetime.

Estate archive on Burhān al-Dīn: These are the fifty-four documents brought together to settle Burhān al-Dīn's estate. All documents in this appendix were part of this archive.

Burhān al-Dīn's home archive: Thirty documents that Burhān al-Dīn himself preserved before they went into the estate archive (#002, #003, #004, #005, #007, #009, #010, #012, #013, #014, #026, #039, #109, #203, #289, #303, #305, #310, #336, #369, #458, #490, #508, #509, #603, #619, #699, #843, #850, #897).

Organisational archives: Five documents preserved in Jerusalem's endowments before they went into the estate archive (#049, #665, #666, #668, #835).

Shīrīn's home archive: Two documents that Shīrīn herself preserved before they went into the estate archive (#382, #622).

#002 declaration of intent (stipend, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aqbughā Yankī), beg.3.788/1386
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 199/200 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 36)

#003 diploma of appointment (maktab Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās), 25.1.781/1379 (= Little, *Catalogue* and Diem)
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 195/6 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 32–4)

#004 declaration of intent (stipend, Ḥaydar al-ʿAskarī al-Manṣūrī), 25.1.782/1380 (Little, *Catalogue* proposes '781'; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 170 suggests '782'; Diem reads '783'; al-ʿAsalī did not suggest a year)
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 197/8 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 34/5)

#005 diploma of continued appointment (Ṭāz Mausoleum), 20.6.784/1382 (Little, *Catalogue* reads 'Rabīʿ')
ed. Frenkel, *Relationship*, 107

#007 petition (#007/1) + diploma of continued appointment (#007/2) (Ṭāz Mausoleum), 10.12.777/1376 (#007/2)
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 203–5; em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 38–40

#009 petition (#009/1) + diploma of appointment (#009/2) (al-Ḥaram al-sharīf), 18.12.781/1380 (= Little, *Five Petitions*; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 170 suggests '782'; Burgoyne [= Richards], *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 72: '763') (#009/2)
ed. Little, *Five Petitions*, 381–8

#010 petition (#010/1) + diploma of appointment (?) (#010/2) (unnamed *madrasa*-cum-*ribāṭ*), 20.2.775/1373 (= Diem; al-ʿAsalī reads '770'; Little, *Catalogue* and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171 read '780') (#010/2)
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 212–14 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 46–8)

#012 declaration of intent (stipend, ʿAlī b. Qōjā al-ʿAlāʾī), 6.3.783/1381 (al-ʿAsalī: '730'; Little, *Catalogue* proposes 'Rabīʿ II 780'; Diem and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 169: '773')
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 208 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 40–2)

#013 petition (#013/1) + report/diploma of appointment (#013/2) (Manṣūrī Ribāṭ), 1.2.770/1368 (= Little, *Catalogue* and al-ʿAsalī; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171 and Diem: '777') (#013/2)
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 209–11 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 42–6)

#014 diploma of continued appointment (Ṭāz Mausoleum), 17.2.785/1383
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, I, 201–2 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 37–8)

#016 two acknowledgement deeds (debt), 18.12.789/1387 (#016/1), ?.4.790/1388 (#016/2) (Little, *Catalogue*: ?.3.790)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

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#026 request to change places and times of recitation (stipend, Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar Ṣārim al-Dīn), undated (780s/1380s?)
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 206

#039 sale contract (house) (#039/1) + certification (#039/2) + ratification (#039/3), 21.11.780/1379 (#039/1), 23.11.780/1379 (#039/2) and 25.11.780/1379 (#039/3)
ed. Müller, *Écrire*, 86–93

#049 annual accounts sheet (children school, Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās), 14.4.781/1379
ed. Richards, *Primary Education*, 228/29

#052 two decisions by judge (*farḍ*), 6.11.789/1387 (#052/1), 22.2.790/1388 (#051/2)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#061 sale booklet concerning Burhān al-Dīn's estate (incl. #180 and #532), undated (most likely on same date as #968, i.e. 15.11.789/1387)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Chapter 7)

#106 acknowledgement deed by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad (*farḍ*), undated (most likely Muḥarram 790/1388)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#108 acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn (*farḍ*), 3.7.790/1388
ed. Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 267–9 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*)

#109 receipt for payment of rent, 2.1.779/1377 (= Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171; Little, *Catalogue*: '2.1.774')
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#111 two decisions by judge (*farḍ*), 6.11.789/1387 (#111/1), 1.3.790/1388 (#111/2)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#115 acknowledgement deed by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad (*farḍ*), 4.9.790/1388
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#118 acknowledgement deed by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad (*farḍ*), 7.6.790/1388
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#180 see #061 (ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler, Chapter 7)

#183 acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn (*farḍ*), 4.9.790/1388
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 107

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#188 acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn (*farḍ*), 22.2.790/1388
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#192 acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn (*farḍ*), 5.1.790/1388
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 105

#203 diploma of appointment (Awḥadīya Mausoleum), 13.12.780/1379 (= al-ʿAsalī and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 169; Little, *Catalogue*: '?.12.787')
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 169

#289 acknowledgement deed by divorced wife (Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh), 4.10.782/1381
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 116; Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 258/9 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*)

#303 diploma of continued appointment (Ṭāz Mausoleum), 10.8.780/1378 (Frenkel, *Relationship*, 108: '708'; Little, *Catalogue*: '20 Muḥarram'; Burgoyne [= Richards], *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 76: 'without date').
ed. Frenkel, *Relationship*, 108

#305 petition (#305/1) + diploma of continued appointment (#305/2) (al-Aqṣā Mosque), 8.8.781/1379 (#305/2)
ed. Little, *Five Petitions*, 372–9

#310 petition (#310/1) + diploma of appointment (#310/2) (Ṭāz Mausoleum), 15.9.775/1374 (#310/2)
ed. Little, *Five Petitions*, 365–72

#313 acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn (*farḍ*), 4.5.790/1388
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#336 neighbour's permission to extend building, 22.6.788/1386
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 280/1; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathāʾiq*, 70–6

#369 three sale contracts (#369/1, #369/2 and #369/4) + 2 certifications (#369/3 and #369/5) (Roman vault and courtyards), 10.1.771/1369 (#369/1), 19.1.771/1369 (#369/2), 4.2.771/1369 (#369/3), 3.5.773/1371 (#369/4), 5.5.773/1371 (#369/5)

#382 sale contract (slave), 17.7.784/1382 (al-ʿAsalī and Burgoyne [= Richards], *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 72: '740')
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya*, I, 252/3; Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 313–17

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#458 acknowledgement deed by brother of divorced wife Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh, 18.3.783/1381 (= al-ʿAsalī; Little, *Catalogue*: ʿRabīʿ II')
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, II, 115

#490 diploma of appointment (legal proxy, Aḥmad b. Sayf al-Dīn Bustumur), 25.10.781/1380 (al-ʿAsalī: '15')
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, II, 140

#508 declaration of intent (stipend, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī), 16.1.782/1380
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#509 declaration of no further claims, 1.8.780/1378
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#532 see #061 (ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler, Chapter 7)

#603 declaration of intent (stipend, Salāma b. Abī Bakr al-Fāriqānī), 17.6.774/1372
ed. al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya*, II, 167

#619 sale contract (house), ?.11.780/1379 (Müller, *Ventes de Biens Immobiliers*, 224: 5.11.778/1377)

#622 sale of household items to Shīrīn, 22.9.788/1386

#665 payment order for salary of Burhān al-Dīn (al-Ḥaram al-sharīf), 781/1379–80 (= Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171; Little, *Catalogue*: '787')

#666 payment order for salary of Burhān al-Dīn (al-Ḥaram al-sharīf), 789/1387–8 (= Little, *Catalogue*; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171: '784')

#668 payment order for salary of Burhān al-Dīn (al-Ḥaram al-sharīf), 786/1384–5 (Little, *Catalogue*: no date; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171: '783')

#676 acknowledgement deed by Muḥammad [Aḥmad] b. Aḥmad (*farḍ*), 20.11.789/1387
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#699 acknowledgement deed by divorced wife (Maryam), 12.2.784/1382
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#793 second accounts with payments, receivables & expenses for estate of Burhān al-Dīn, undated (shortly after 15.11.789/1387)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Chapter 8)

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#800 first accounts with payments & expenses for estate of Burhān al-Dīn, undated (shortly after 15.11.789/1387)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Chapter 8)

#812 list of payments received from the sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, 3. and 14.11.789/1387 (Little, *Catalogue*, 369 and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 172 only refer to the second date. What they have as the recto side is rather the verso side that was written subsequently.)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Chapter 8)

#835 payment order for salary of Burhān al-Dīn (al-Ḥaram al-sharīf), 787/1385–6

#843 receipt for payment of rent, 12.1.778/1376 (= Little, *Catalogue*; Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 171: '18.1.778')
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#850 receipt for payment of rent for three months in year 778/1376, 30.6.778/1376 (?)
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#897 division of the estate of Fāṭima 1 (deceased wife of Burhān al-Dīn)
this draft list (written on the verso of an old document) is undated
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Appendix 2)

#968 list of receivables from sale of Burhān al-Dīn's estate, 15.11.789/1387
ed. Aljoumani/Hirschler (Chapter 8)

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Appendix 2 Edition of Sixteen Documents Linked to Burhān al-Dīn's Life and Estate

This appendix contains the edition of sixteen previously unedited Ḥaram al-sharīf documents that were relevant for affairs during Burhān al-Dīn's lifetime (seven documents) and for settling his estate (nine documents). The documents are thus concerned with rent payments (#109, #843 and #850), a stipend (#508), claims against him (#509), divorce (#699), the death of his wife Fāṭima (#897) and his estate (#016, #052,#106, #111, #115, #118, #188, #313 and #676). The documents will be described only briefly as more details can be found in the book's main text. Plate Section III contains the reproduction of the documents edited here.

Symbols used:

|| interlinear text
[ ] editors' insertion of letters or words
[?] tentative reading
[...] non-legible or missing word(s)

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #016 (Plates III.1a and III.1b)

Acknowledgement deed of a certain Zayn al-Dīn (most likely identifiable as Buyer 58 in the sale booklet), to whom al-Adhraʿī lent money from Burhān al-Dīn's estate with acknowledgement deed by al-Adhraʿī on verso stating that the debt was repaid and with archival note on verso (this document has a second erroneous archival note linking this document to 'the orphans of [the trader Nāṣir al-Dīn] al-Ḥamawī', whose estate al-Adhraʿī and his men were also handling at this point)

16/أ

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 أقر الشيخ الصالح زين الدين محمود بن خليل بن داوود من القدس الشريف إقراراً
3 صحيحاً شرعياً في صحة منه وسلامة وجواز أمر أنَّ عليه وفي ذمته بحق صحيح شرعي لأيتام
4 برهان الدين إبراهيم الناصري المحجور عليهم حجر الشرع الشريف من الدراهم الفضة
5 الجيدة معاملة يومئذ بالشام المحروس ماية درهم وأربعين درهما نصفها
6 سبعون درهما مؤجلة تحل عليه جملة واحدة عند مضي أربعة أشهر من بعد
7 تاريخه أقر بالملاءمة والقدرة على ذلك وقبض العوض الشرعي عن ذلك من يد
8 الصدر الأجل شمس الدين محمد بن جمال الدين عبد الله الأذرعي أمين الحكم
9 العزيز بالقدس الشريف أعزه الله تعالى وبه شهد عليه ثامن عشر ذي الحجة الحرام
10 من شهور سنة تسع وثمانين وسبعماية وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل
11 شهد عليه بذلك — شهد على إقراره بذلك — شهد عليه بذلك
12 كتبه محمد بن أبي العمري[1] — كتبه أبو بكر أحمد الحنفي[2] — كتبه عيسى بن أحمد العليمي[3]

16/ب

لأيتام الحموي

يحلها عاشر ربيع الآخر

حجة
الشيخ محمود
بإقرار فيها
الحمد لله

[1] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 565: 'al-Ghamrī'.
[2] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 543.
[3] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 561.

أقر الشيخ شمس الدين محمد أنه قبض وتسلم وصار إليه
من المقر المذكور باطنا
جميع المبلغ المعين باطنا وجملته 140 د[4] [المتأخرين؟]
كتبه
المقر [... ...] وبه شهد عليه في شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
تسعين وسبعمية
شهد على ذلك
كتبه ناصر بن [شاهين؟]

شهدت على ذلك و
كتبه حسن بن القاسمي[5]

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[4] د، مختصر درهما.

[5] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 558.

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #052 (Plates III.2a and III.2b)

Decision on the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for ʿAlī and Muḥammad, the sons of Shīrīn and Burhān al-Dīn, by Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣarfanī, the shāfiʿī deputy judge of Jerusalem[6] *(#052/1), revised some three months later (#052/2), with archival note on verso*

6.11.789/1387 (#052/1) and 22.2.790/1388 (#052/2)

1/أ/52

فرضت دلاء وأذنت فيه

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 فرض قدره كاتبه العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى أبو بكر بن إبراهيم الصرفني الشافعي النائب في الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف أعانه الله تعالى ولطف به
3 لمحمد وعلي يتيمي برهان الدين الناصري المقيم والدهما كان بالقدس الشريف المستمرين تحت حَجْر الشرع الشريف وحضانة والدتهما
4 شيرين بنت عبد الله المقيمة بالقدس الشريف في مالهما المخلف لهما عن والدهما المذكور أعلاه برسم طعامهما وشرابهما
5 وزيتهما وصابونهما وحمامهما وأجرة حضانتهما وما عساهما يحتاجان إليه خلا الكسوة في كل شهر يمضي من تاريخه
6 من الدراهم الفضة الوازنة الجارية في المعاملة أربعين ما[7] نصفها عشرون ما[8] بينهما بالسوية ثم أذن الفارض المذكور
7 أعلاه للحاجة المذكورة أعلاه أن تقبض القدر المعين أعلاه من المال المخلف لهما المستقر تحت يد أمين الحكم وتنفقه على الأولاد المذكورين

[6] Most likely Buyer 4 in the sale booklet; see also Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 263/4: 'Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm al-Ṣarwī (?) {P 116}'.

[7] ما، مختصر درهماً.
[8] أي درهماً.

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8 وأن تقترض عند العذر وترجع عند الإمكان إذنا شرعيًا وبه أشهد عليه في سادس شهر القعدة سنة تسع وثمانين [و] سبعمية

9 شهد على الحاكم المشار إليه أعلاه — أشهد على سيدنا الحاكم — أشهد على سيدنا الحاكم المشار

10 أيده الله تعالى بما نسب إليه فيه أعلاه — المشار إليه أعلاه أيده الله تعالى — إليه أعلاه أيده الله تعالى بما نسب إليه

11 في تاريخه أعلاه كتبه إبراهيم بن محمود[9] — بما نسب إليه فيه أعلاه كتبه محمد بن عبد [الغني ...] — فيه أعلاه في تاريخه كتبه علي بن أبي بكر[10]

2/أ/52

1 الحمد لله
2 ثم فرض كاتبه أبو بكر بن إبراهيم
3 الشافعي النائب في الحكم العزيز
4 بالقدس الشريف للمفروض لهما
5 زيادة على الفرض المذكور
6 تسوية في كل شهر يمضي من تاريخه
7 بما فيه من كسوة عشرين ما[11]
8 تتمة ذلك ستون ما
9 وأذن لها أن تقبض القدر
10 المعين وتنفقه في مصالح
11 المذكورين وأشهد عليه
12 في ثاني عشري شهر صفر
13 المبارك سنة تسعين وسبعماية

52/ب

1 فرض أولاد
2 الناصري

[9] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 277 and 558.
[10] Might be identical to the notary witness identified in Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 325.
[11] أي درهماً.

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #106 (Plates III.3a and III.3b)

Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb (Buyer 24), guardian of Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl, stating that he received the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for the period Muḥarram to Rabīʿ II 790/1388, with archival note on verso

undated (most likely Muḥarram 790/1388)

106/أ

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 أقرَّ الصدر الأجل شهاب الدين أحمد بن المرحوم شهاب الدين أحمد بن شرف الدين عيسى
3 إقرارًا شرعيًا أنه قبض وتسلَّم وصار إليه من يد الصدر الأجل شمس الدين محمد
4 ابن المرحوم جمال الدين عبد الله أمين الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف من الدراهم
5 الفضة معاملة يومئذ ماية درهم نصفها خمسون ما[12] وذلك عن فرض كمال
6 ولد المرحوم برهان الدين الناصري | وكسوته | عن أربعة شهور أولهم مستهل سنة
7 تاريخه وآخرهم سلخ شهر ربيع الآخر منها وذلك بما في القبض المذكور من ثمن
8 لحاف وطراحة وبساط ومخدة الثمن عن ذلك ستة وخمسون ما[13] وبقية المبلغ
9 فضة قبض ذلك قبضًا وافيًا كاملًا ولم يتأخر له من المبلغ المعين أعلاه
10 الدرهم الفرد وعليه الخروج من تبعة ذلك بطريقه الشرعي وبه مخرجه
11 وكسوته وهو صحيح في تاريخه المعين أعلاه والحمد لله وحده
12 شهد عليه بذلك شهد عليه بذلك
13 إبراهيم بن محمد بن داود[14] كتبه إبراهيم بن محمود[15]

106/ب

1 فرض كمال
2 [ابن الناصري]

[12] ما، مختصر درهماً.
[13] أي درهماً.

[14] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 559.
[15] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 277 and 558.

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #109 (Plate III.4)

Receipt issued by Fāṭima bt. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī for Burhān al-Dīn, confirming that he paid the rent for the house for four months up to the end of the year 778/1377

2.1.779/1377

أذنت في ذلك
على ما درج فيه
كتبه علي بن محمد الشافعي

1 قبض من الشيخ برهان الدين الناصري أجرة الدار سكنه
2 الجارية في ملك فاطمة ابنة المرحوم علاء الدين علي بن السكاكي
3 عن أربع شهور آخرها سلخ الحجة سنة تسع [و] سبعين [و] سبعمية
4 قاله سيدنا العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى أقضى القضاة
5 علاء الدين الحاكم بالقدس الشريف أيده الله تعالى
6 نصفها 16 32
7 تاريخ ثاني شهر [الحجة] الحر[ا]م سنة تسع [و] سبعين [و] سبعمية

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #111 (Plates III.5a and III.5b)

Decision on the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for Maḥmūd al-Subāʿī, the son of Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd Allāh and Burhān al-Dīn, by Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣarfanī, the shāfiʿī deputy judge of Jerusalem[16] *(#111/1), revised some four months later (#111/2), with archival note on verso*

6.11.789/1387 (#111/1) and 1.3.790/1388 (#111/2)

1/أ/111

فرضت ذلك وأذنت فيه

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

2 فرض قدره كاتبه العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى أبو بكر إبراهيم الصرفني الشافعي النائب في الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف أعانه

3 الله تعالى ولطف به لمحمود السباعي يتيم برهان الدين الناصري المقيم كان بالقدس الشريف المستمر تحت حجر الشرع الشريف وحضانة

4 جدته أم أمه المدعوة أم محمد المقيمة بالقدس الشريف في ماله المخلف له عن والده المذكور برسم طعامه وشرابه وزيته

5 وصابونه وحمامه وأجرة حضانته وما عساه يحتاج إليه خلا الكسوة في كل شهر يمضي من تاريخه من الدراهم الفضة

6 الوازنة الجارية في المعاملة عشرين ما[17] نصفها عشرة دراهم فرضاً شرعياً ثم أذن الفارض المذكور أعلاه للحاجة المذكورة أعلاه أن تقبض

7 القدر المعين أعلاه من المال المخلف لليتيم عن والده المذكور وتنفقه عليه وأن تقترض عند العذر وترجع عند الإمكان

8 إذناً شرعياً وبه أشهد عليه في سادس شهر القعدة الحرام سنة تسع وثمانين [و] سبعمية الحمد لله

[16] Most likely Buyer 4; see also Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 263/4: 'Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm al-Ṣarwī (?) {P 116}'.

[17] ما، مختصر درهماً.

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9	شهدت على سيدنا ومولانا المشار إليه	أشهد على سيدنا الحاكم	أشهد على سيدنا الحاكم
10	أعلاه أيده الله تعالى بما نسب إليه فيه	المشار إليه أعلاه أيده الله تعالى	المشار إليه أعلاه أيده الله تعالى
11	أعلاه في تاريخه كتبه إبراهيم بن محمود[18]	بما نسب إليه فيه أعلاه كتبه محمد بن عبد [الغني ...]	بما نسب إليه فيه أعلاه في تاريخ[ـه] كتب علي بن أبي بكر[19]
12			

2/أ/111

1 ثم
2 ثم فرض كاتبه المذكور أعلاه
3 لليتيم المذكور أعلاه خارجًا
4 عن الفرض المذكور أعلاه في
5 كل شهر يمضي من تاريخه من
6 الدراهم الفضة زيادة على
7 المعين تسوية عشرة دراهم
8 تتمة ثلاثين فرضًا شرعيًا [صحيحاً]
9 أشهد عليه في مستهل ربيع الأول سنة تسعين وسبعمية

111/ب

1 فرض جمال
2 ابن الناصري

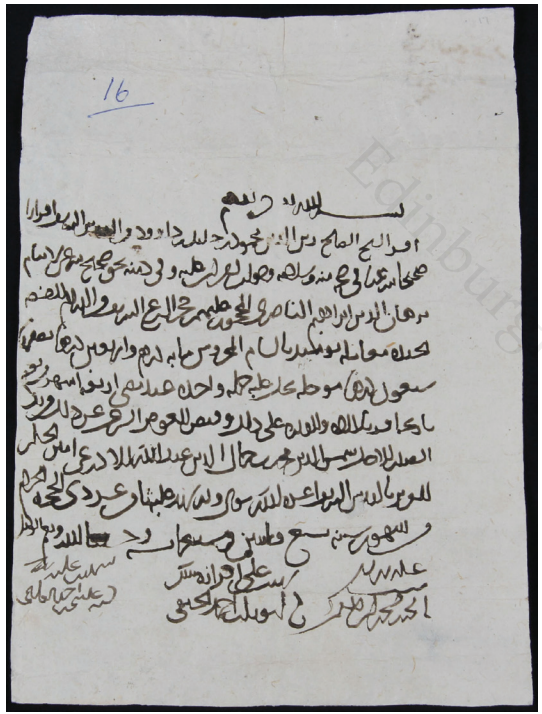
[18] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 277 and 558.
[19] Might be identical to the notary witness identified in Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 325.

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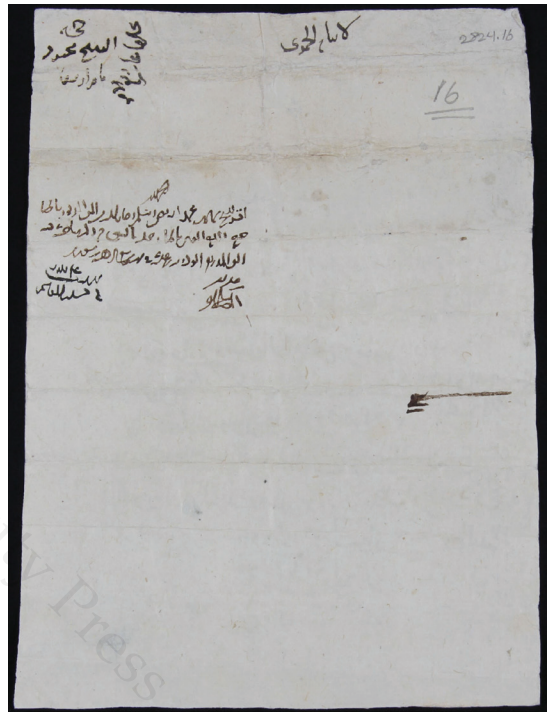
Plate Section III

Sixteen Documents Linked to Burhān al-Dīn's Life and Estate

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III.1a Acknowledgement deed on money lending from Burhān al-Dīn's estate
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #016a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

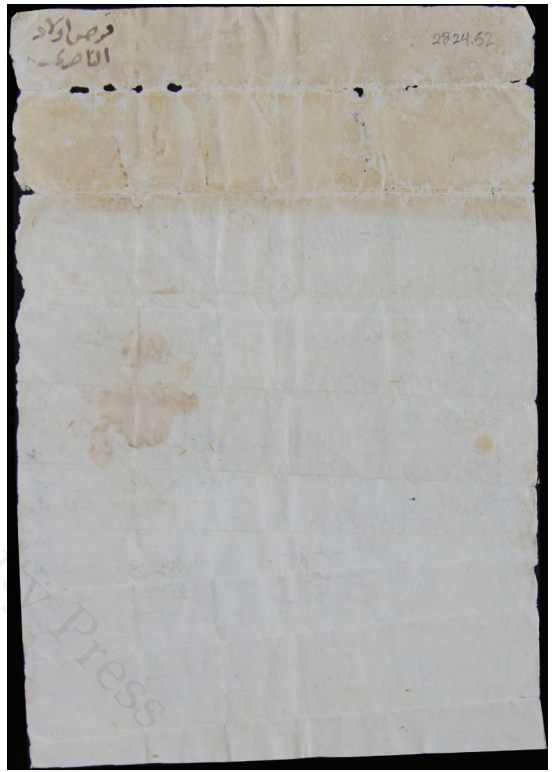


III.1b Acknowledgement deed on repayment of debt and archival notes (incl. erroneous note on the right ascribing the document to the estate archive of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #016b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

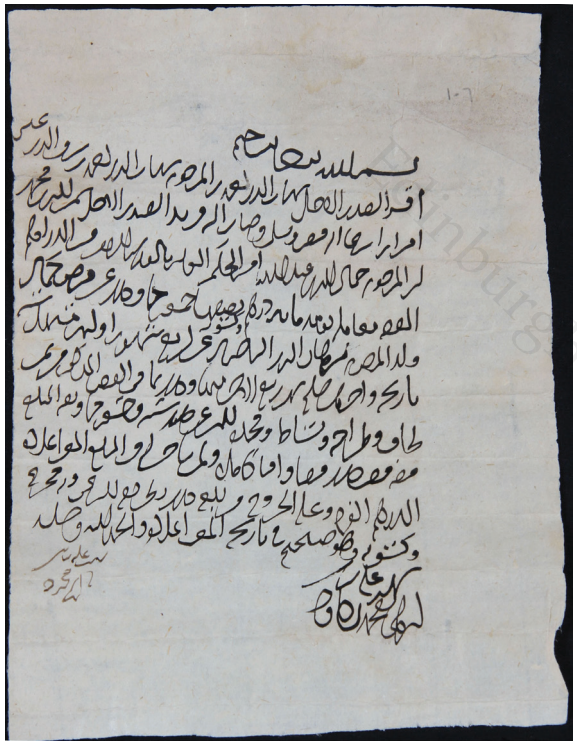
Edinburgh University Press



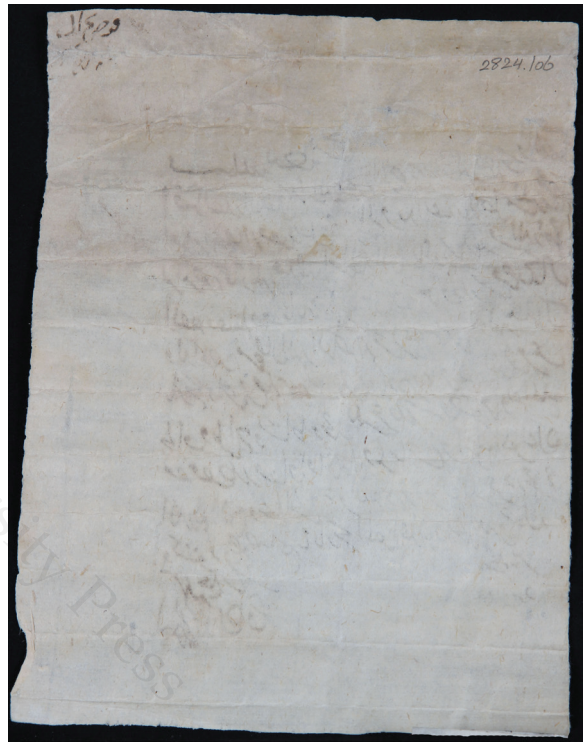
III.2a Decisions on the monthly obligatory maintenance payment
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #052a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



III.2b Archival note
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #052b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

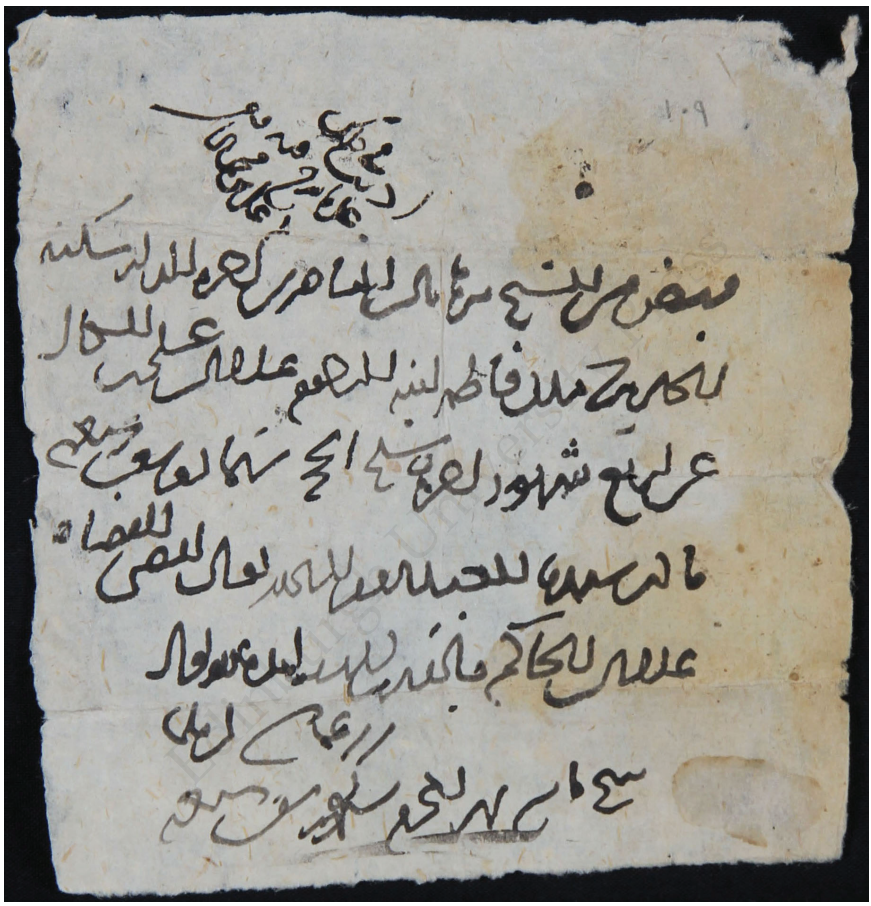


III.3a Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #106a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



III.3b Archival note
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #106b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

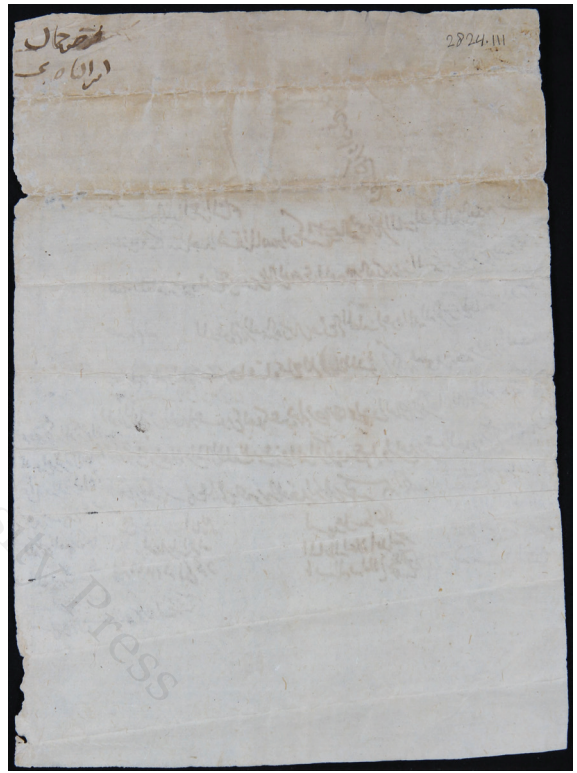
Edinburgh University Press



III.4 Receipt for payment of rent
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #109, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

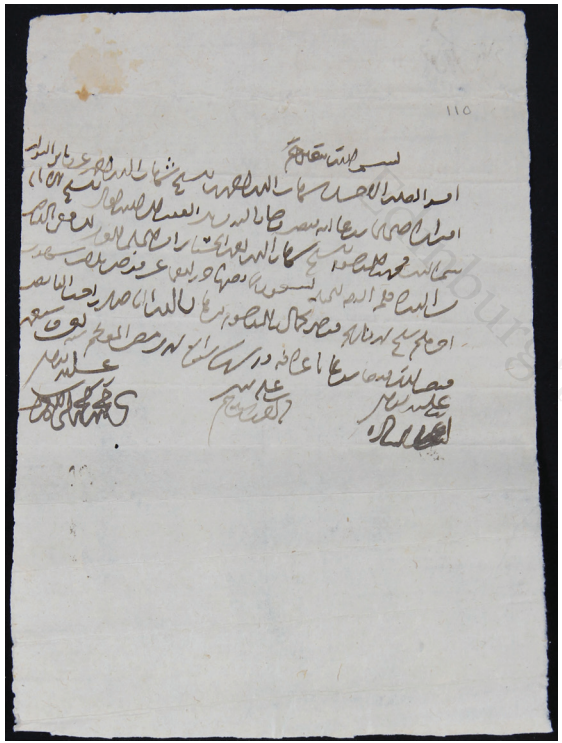


III.5a Decisions on the monthly obligatory maintenance payment
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #111a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

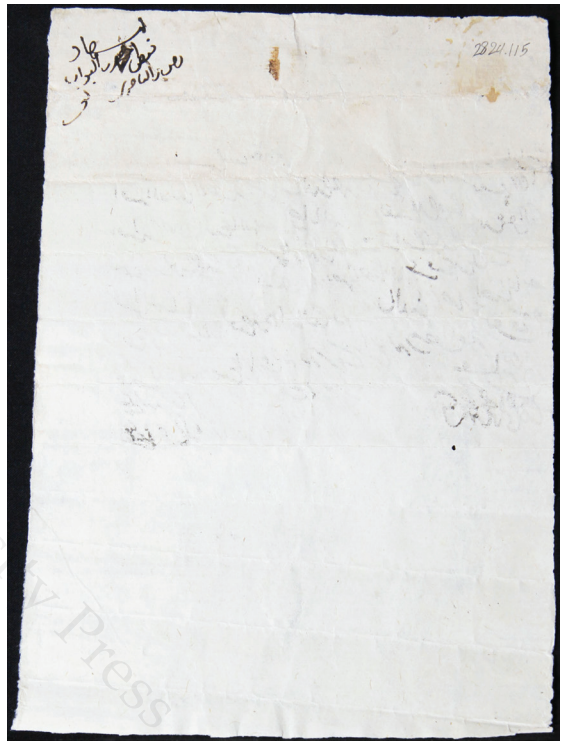


III.5b Archival note
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #111b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

Edinburgh University Press

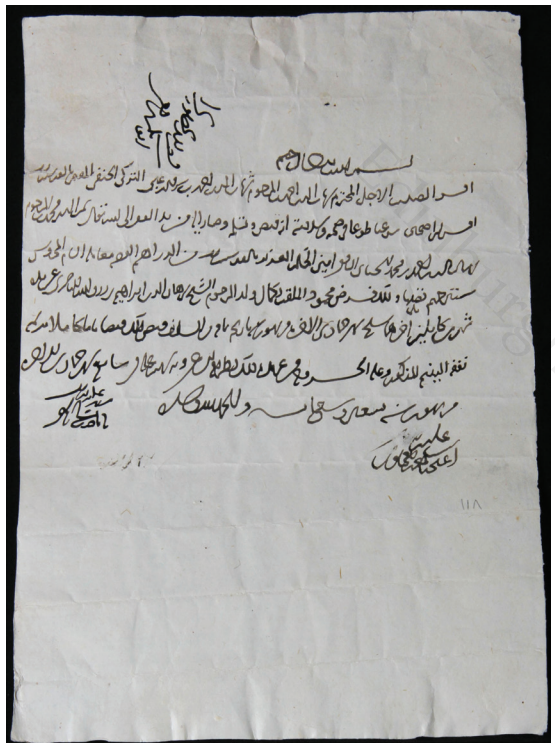


III.6a Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #115a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

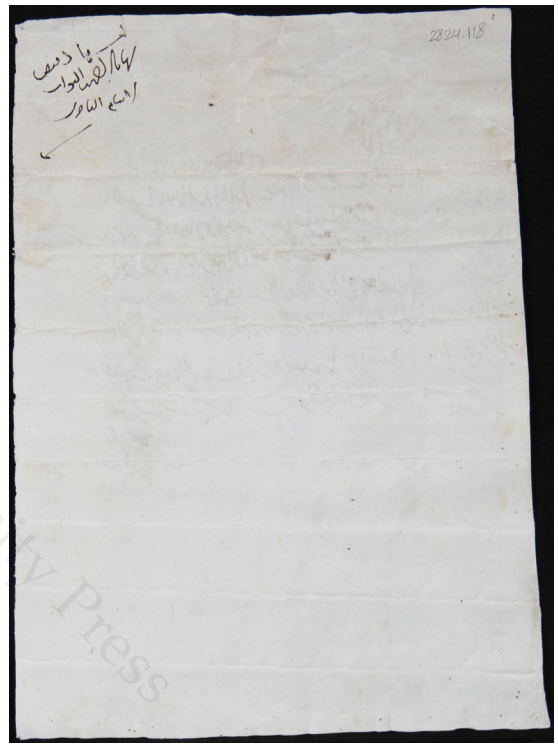


III.6b Archival note
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #115b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

Edinburgh University Press

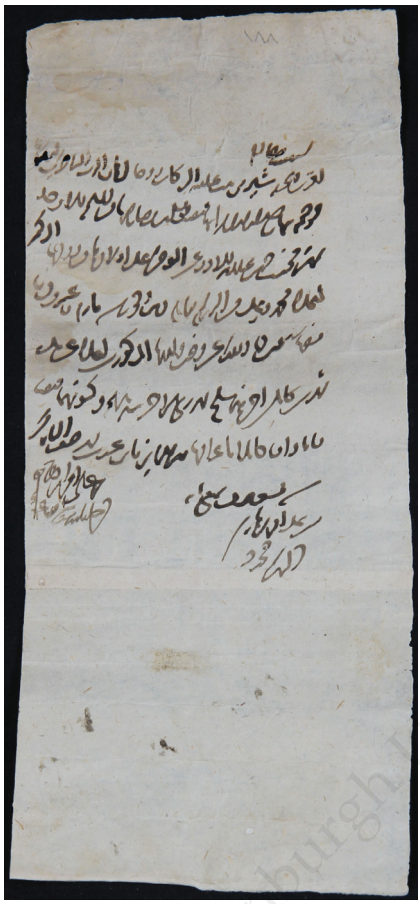


III.7a Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #118a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

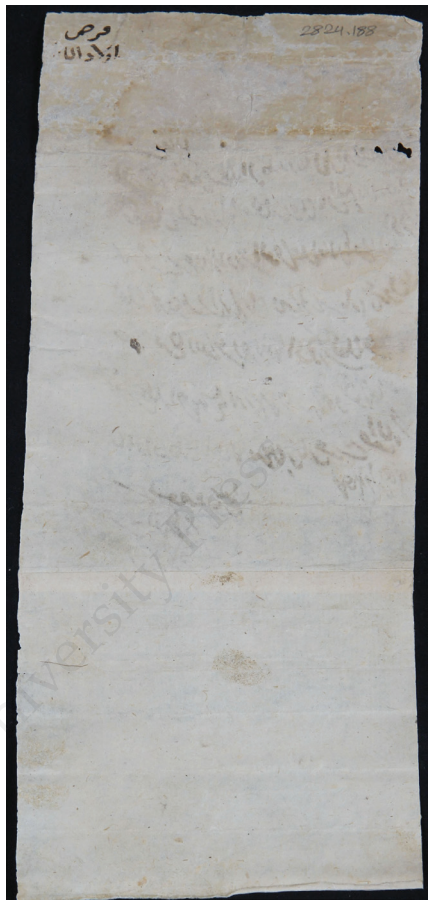


III.7b Archival note
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #118b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

Edinburgh University Press

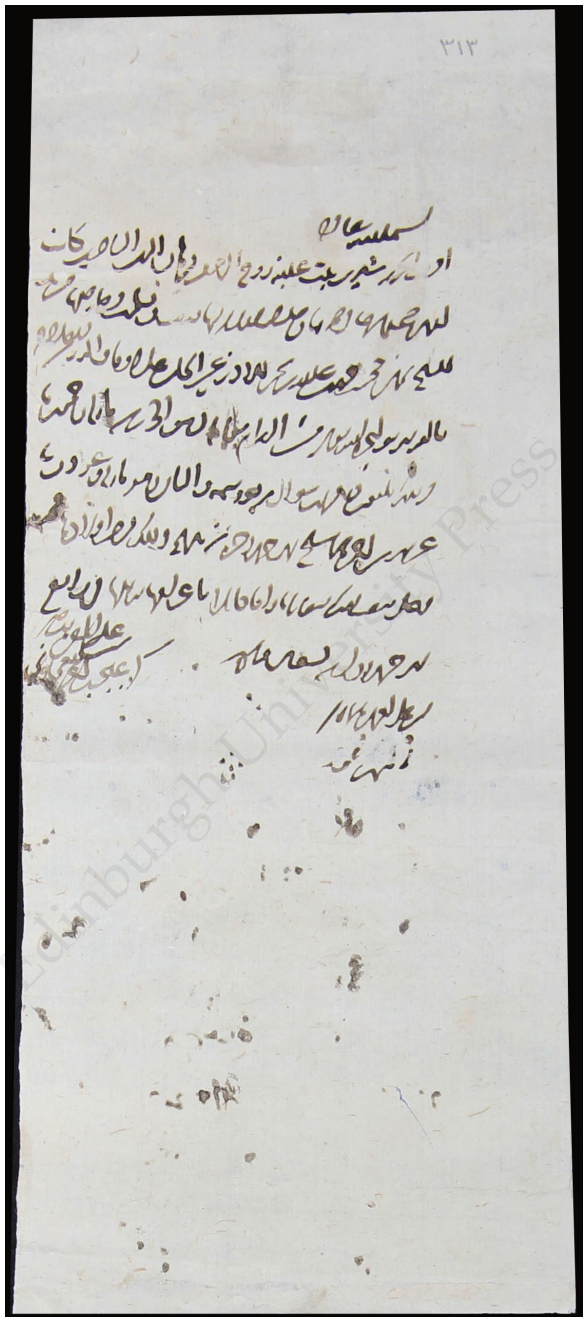


III.8a Acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic
Museum, #188a, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



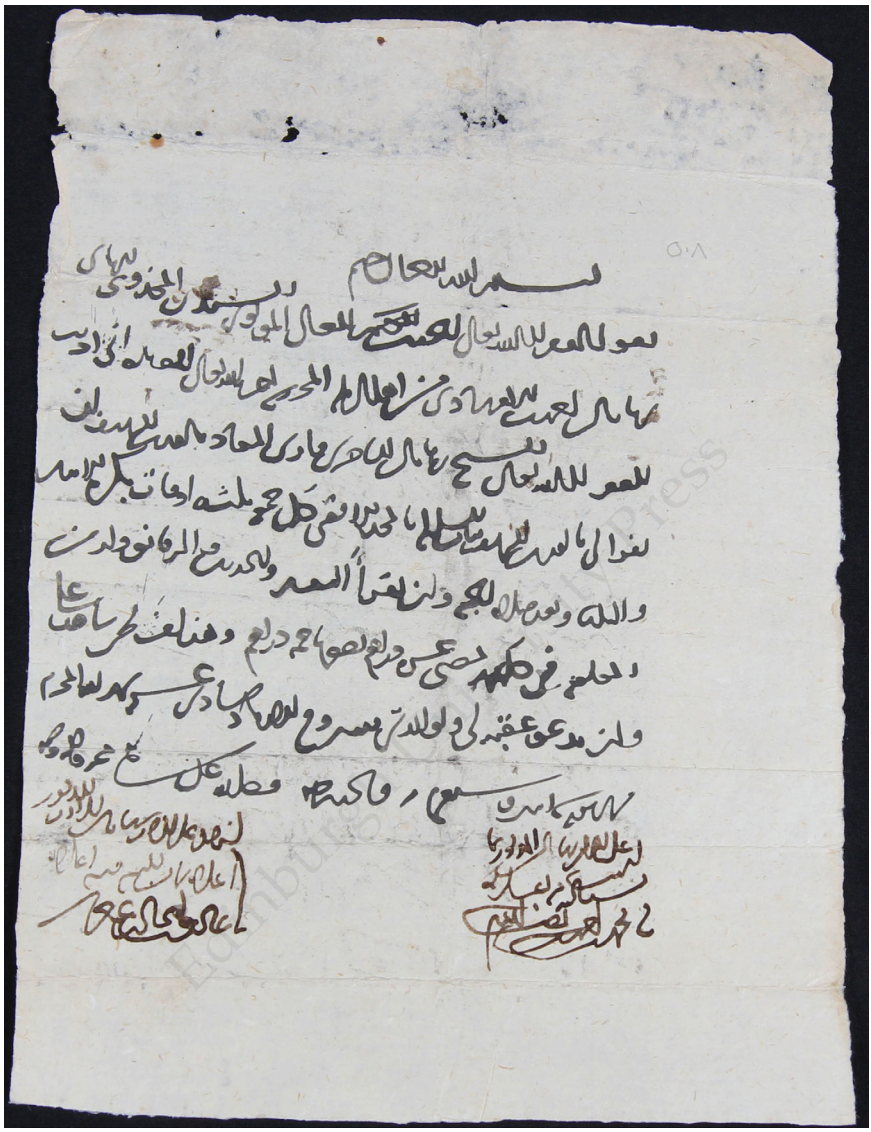
III.8b Archival note
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic
Museum, #188b, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

Edinburgh University Press

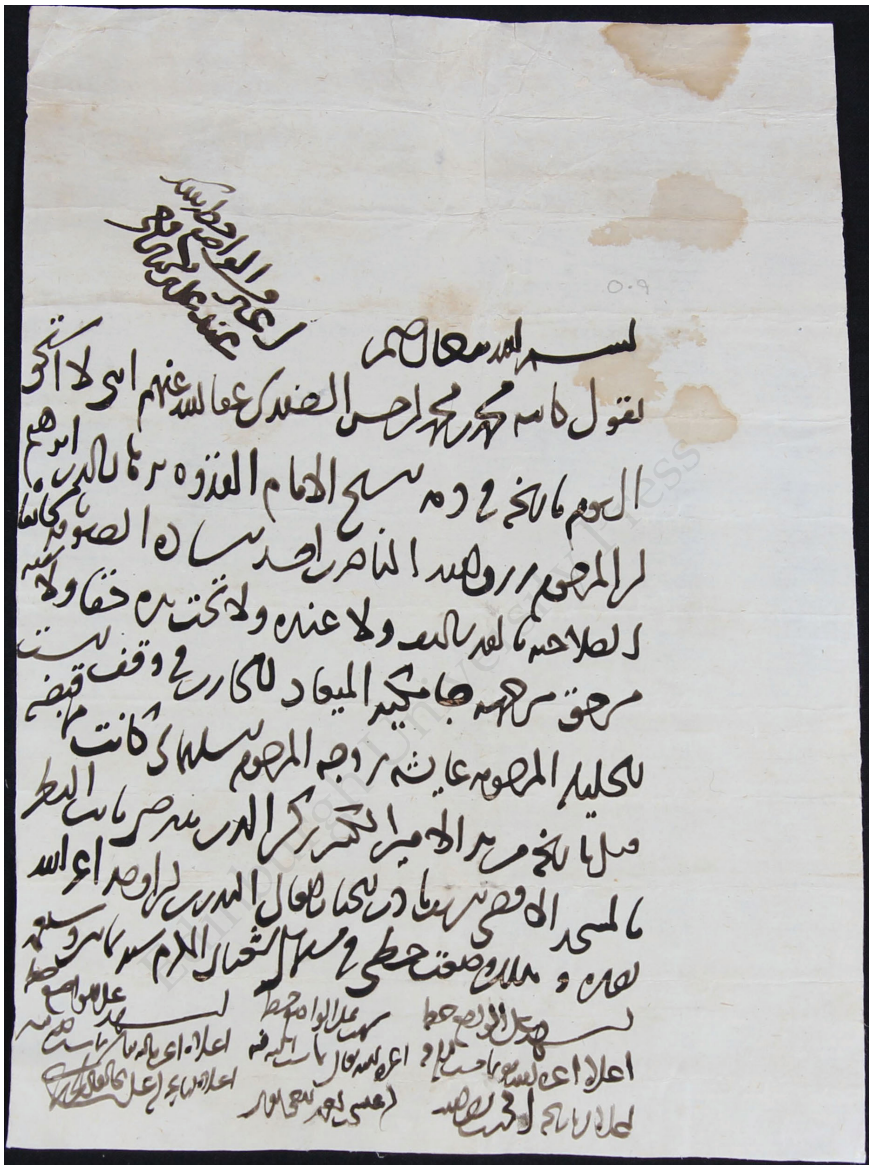


III.9 Acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #313, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

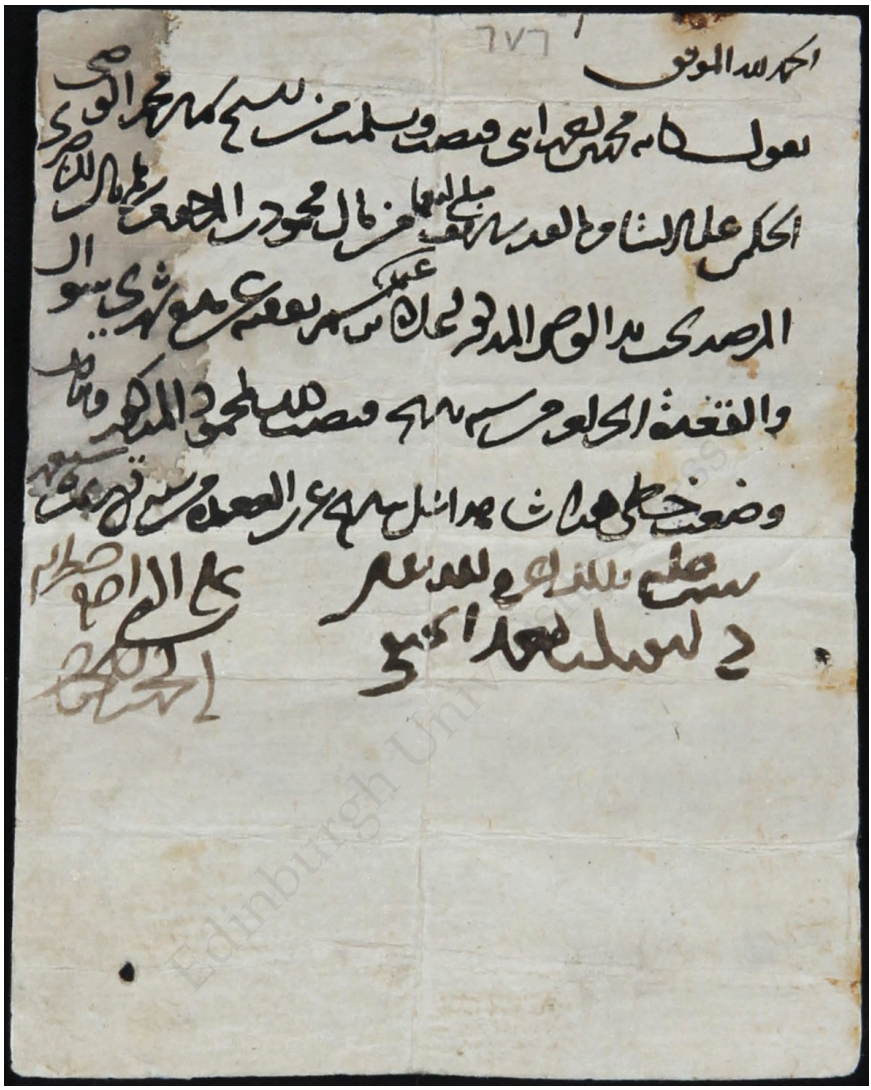
Edinburgh University Press



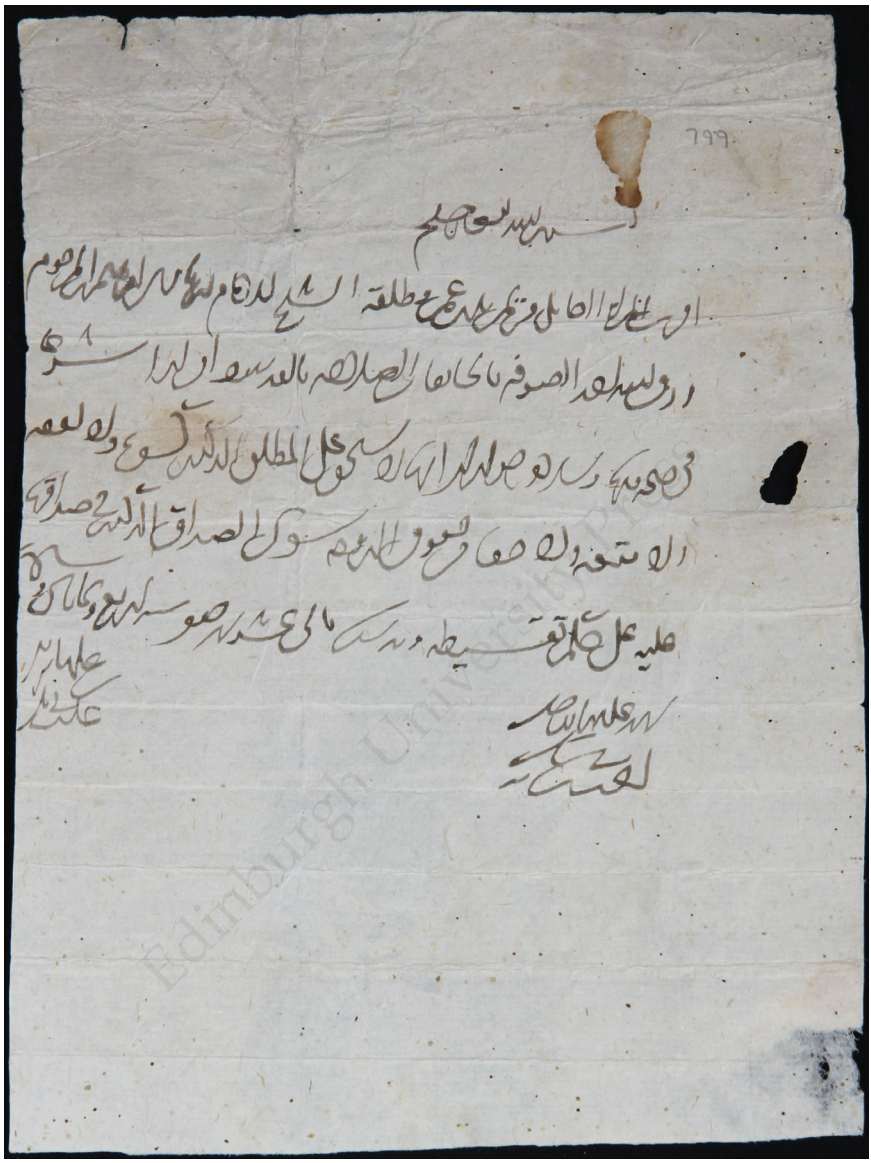
III.10 Declaration of intent (stipend, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #508, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



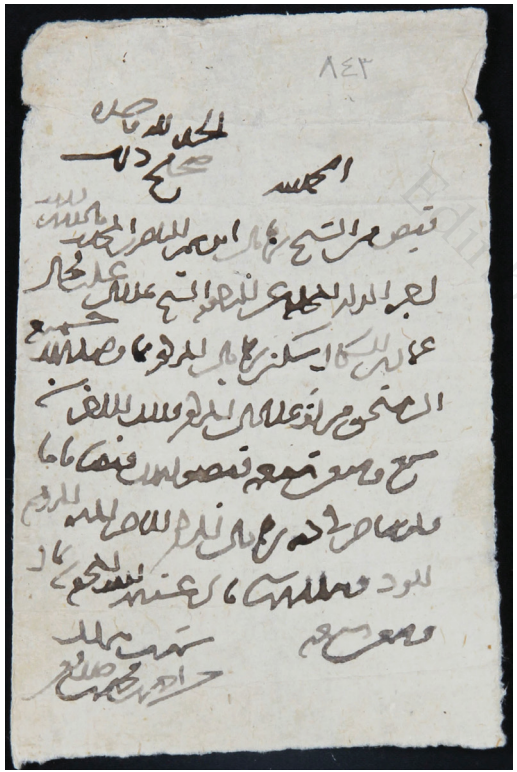
III.11 Declaration of no further claims
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #509, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



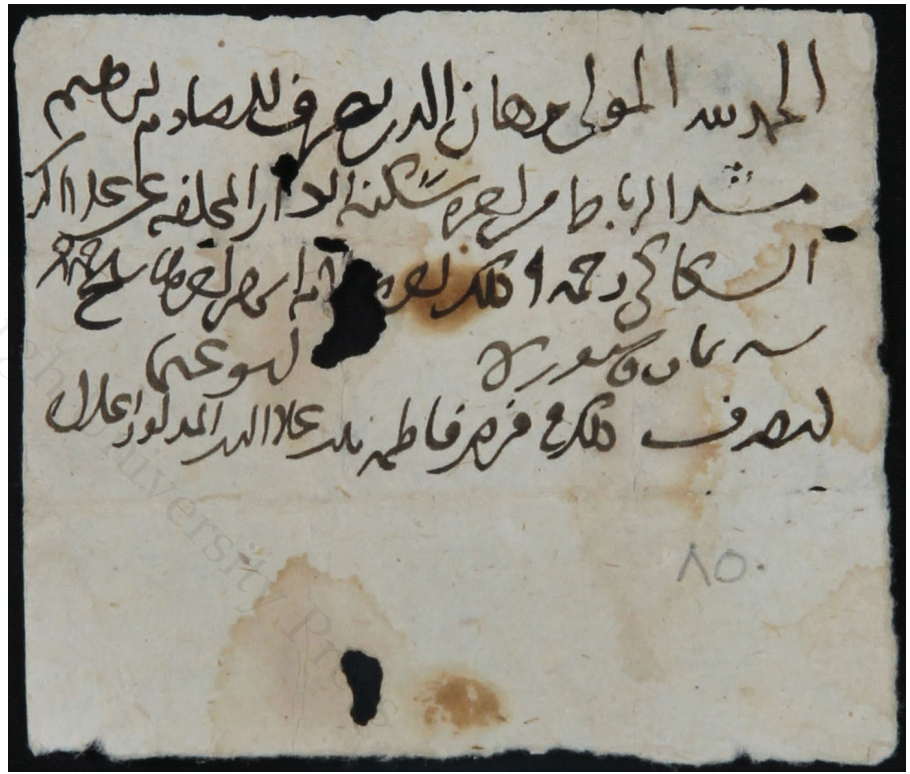
III.12 Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #676, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh



III.13 Acknowledgement deed by Burhān al-Dīn's divorced wife Maryam
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #699, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

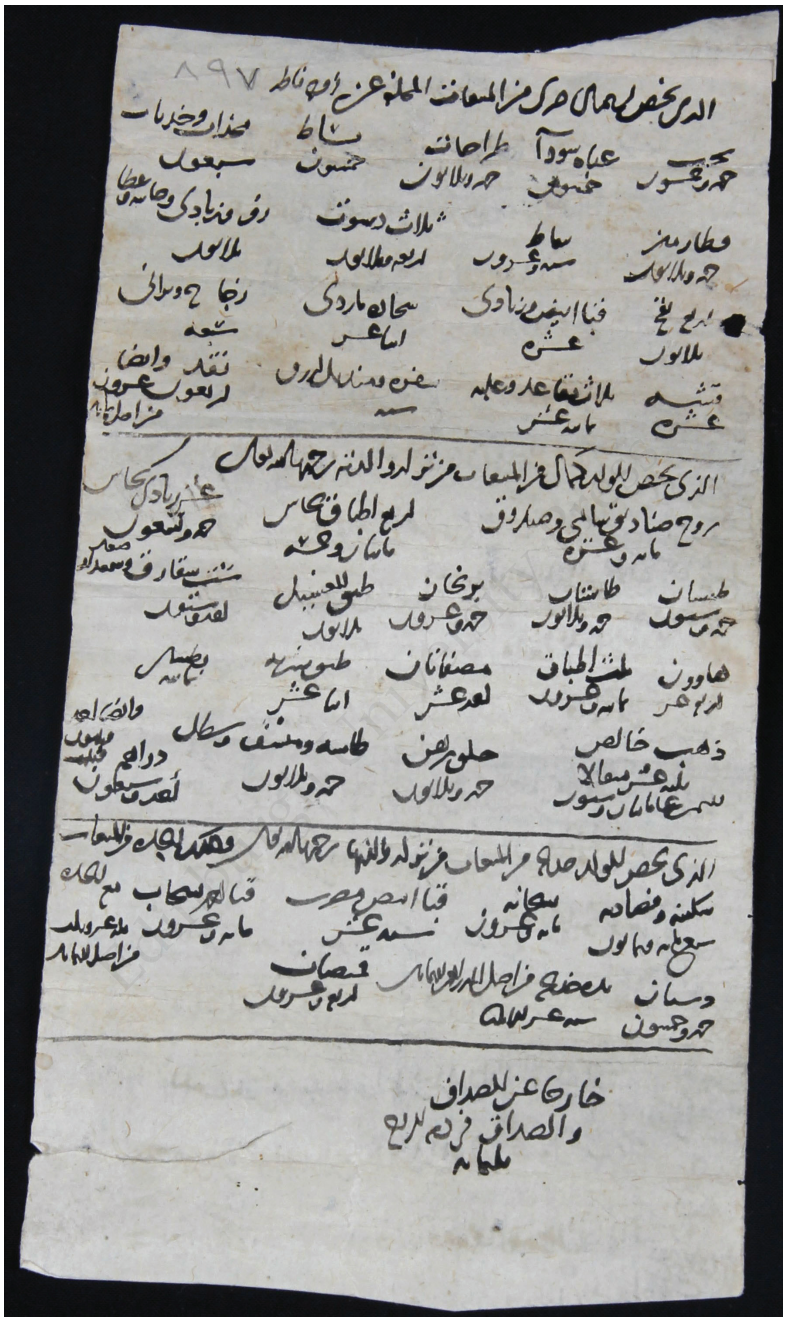


III.14 Receipt for payment of rent
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #843,
© Mohammad H. Ghosheh



III.15 Receipt for payment of rent
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #850, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

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III.16 Division of the estate of Fāṭima 1 (deceased wife of Burhān al-Dīn)
Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #897, © Mohammad H. Ghosheh

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #115 (Plates III.6a and III.6b)

Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb (Buyer 24), guardian of Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl, stating that he received the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for the period Rajab to Ramaḍān 790/1388, with archival note on verso

4.9.790/1388

115/أ

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 أقر الصدر الأجل شهاب الدين أحمد بن الشيخ شهاب الدين أحمد عُرف بابن البواب
3 إقرارًا صحيحًا شرعيًا أنه قبض وصار إليه من يد الفقير إلى الله تعالى الشيخ الإمام
4 شمس الدين محمد بن المرحوم الشيخ شهاب الدين أحمد الحسباني أمين الحكم العزيز الشافعي بالقدس
5 من الدراهم الفضة الجيدة تسعون ما[20] نصفها خمس وأربعين عن فرض ثلاث شهور
6 آخرهم سلخ شهر تاريخه فرض كمال بن المرحوم برهان الدين الناصري و[أجزت؟] القابض
7 قبض ذلك قبضًا شرعيًا باعترافه وبه شهد في رابع شهر رمضان المعظم سنة تسعين وسبعماية
8 شهد عليه بذلك شهد عليه بذلك شهد عليه بذلك
9 كتبه عبد الله بن [...][21] كتبه أحمد بن إبراهيم[22] كتبه محمد بن محمد بن أبي العمري[23]

115/ب

1 إشهاد
2 قبض أحمد بن البواب
3 فرض ابن الناصري تسعين

[20] ما، مختصر درهماً.

[21] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 535 proposes 'Abd Allāh b. al-Dayrī'.
[22] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 544/5.
[23] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 565: 'al-Ghamrī'.

Edinburgh University Press

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #118 (Plates III.7a and III.7b)

Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb (Buyer 24), guardian of Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl, stating that he received the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for the two months Jumādā I and Jumādā II 790/1388, with archival note on verso

7.6.790/1388

118/أ

فرض ذلك بحضوري كتبه
أبو بكر الشافعي

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 أقر الصدر الأجل المحترم شهاب الدين أحمد بن المرحوم شهاب الدين أحمد بن شرف الدين عيسى التركي الحنفي المقيم بالقدس الشريف
3 إقرارًا صحيحا شرعيًا طوعًا في صحته وسلامته أنه قبض وتسلم وصار إليه من يد الفقير إلى الله تعالى شمس الدين محمد بن المرحوم
4 شهاب الدين أحمد بن محمد الحسباني الشافعي أمين الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف من الدراهم الفضة معاملة الشام المحروس
5 ستين درهم نصفها |ثلاثين| وذلك فرض محمود الملقب بكمال ولد المرحوم الشيخ برهان الدين إبراهيم بن رزق الله الناصري عن مدة
6 شهرين كاملين أخرهما سلخ شهر جمادى الآخرة من شهور سنة تاريخه بما فيه من السلف قبض ذلك قبضًا تامًا كاملًا برسم
7 نفقة اليتيم المذكور وعليه الخروج من عهدة ذلك بطريقه الشرعي وبه شهد عليه في سابع شهر جمادى الآخرة
8 من شهور سنة تسعين وسبعماية والحمد لله وحده
9 شهد عليه بذلك — شهد عليه بذلك
10 كتبه عيسى بن أحمد العجلوني[24] — كتبه ناصر بن [شاهين؟]

[24] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 559.

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ب/118

1 إشهاد قبض
2 شهاب الدين أحمد بن البواب
3 لأيتام الناصري
4 ستين

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #188 (Plates III.8a and III.8b)

Acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn, widow of Burhān al-Dīn, stating that she received the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for her sons Muḥammad and ʿAlī for the two months Rabīʿ I and Rabīʿ II 790/1388, with archival note on verso

22.2.790/1388

188/أ

1 بسم الله تعالى
2 أقرت الحرمة شيرين بنت عبد الله التي كانت زوجا لبرهان الدين الناصري إقرارا شرعيا
3 في صحة منها وجواز أمر أنها قبضت وتسلمت وصار إليها من الشيخ الأوحد
4 شمس الدين محمد بن جمال الدين عبد الله الأذرعي الوصي على أولادها من زوجها المذكور
5 أعلاه محمد وعلي من الدراهم معاملة دمشق المحروسة ماية وعشرون ما[25]
6 نصفها ستون ما[26] وذلك عن فرض ولديها المذكورين أعلا[ه] عن مدة
7 شهرين كاملين آخرهما سلخ شهر ربيع الآخر سنة تاريخه وكسوتهما قبضا
8 تاما وافيا كاملا باعترافها بشهادتها في ثاني عشري شهر صفر المبارك
9 سنة تسعين وسبعماية
10 شهد على إقرارها به — شهد على إقرارها به
11 كتبه إبراهيم بن محمود[27] — كتبه خليل بن يوسف [...][28]

188/ب

1 فرض
2 أولاد النا[صريٍ]

[25] ما، مختصر درهماً.
[26] أي درهماً.

[27] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 277 and 558.
[28] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 557.

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #313 (Plate III.9)

Acknowledgement deed by Shīrīn, widow of Burhān al-Dīn, stating that she received the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for her sons Muḥammad and ʿAlī for the month of Shawwāl 789/1387 and for the two months Jumādā I and Jumādā II 790/1388

4.5.790/1388

1 بسم الله تعالى
2 أقرت الحرمة شيرين بنت عبد الله زوج المرحوم برهان الدين الناصري كانت
3 إقرارًا صحيحًا شرعيًا في صحة منها وجواز أمر أنها قبضت وتسلمت وصار إليها من يد
4 الشيخ شمس الدين محمد بن جمال الدين عبد الله بن يحيى الأذرعي الجابي على أوقاف المدرسة الصلاحية
5 بالقدس الشريف أعزه الله تعالى من الدراهم معاملة دمشق المحروسة ماية وخمسون ما[29]
6 من ذلك ثلاثون ما[30] عن شوال سنة 789 والباقي وهو ماية وعشرون ما[31]
7 عن شهرين آخرهما سلخ شهر جمادى الآخرة سنة تاريخه وذلك فرض أولادها محمد
8 وعلي قبضت ذلك قبضًا تامًا وافيًا كاملًا باعترافها بشهادتها في رابع
9 شهر جمادى الأول سنة تسعين وسبعمية
10 شهد على إقرارهما به — شهد على المقرين به
11 كتبه إبراهيم بن محمود[32] — كتبه عيسى بن أحمد العجلوني[33]

[29] ما، مختصر درهماً.
[30] أي درهماً.
[31] أي درهماً.

[32] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 277 and 558.
[33] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 559.

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #508 (Plate III.10)

Declaration of intent by 'al-janāb al-karīm' Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shādī from al-Ramla to pay Burhān al-Dīn ten dirhams per month in exchange for reciting miʿād *sessions in his name three times a week at the Chain Gate*

16.1.782/1380

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 يقول الفقير إلى الله تعالى الجناب الكريم العالي المولوي السندي المخدومي الشهابي
3 شهاب الدين أحمد بن الأمير شادي من أهل الرملة المحروسة أعز الله تعالى أنصاره أني أذنت
4 للفقير إلى الله تعالى الشيخ برهان الدين الناصري قارئ الميعاد بالقدس الشريف أن
5 يقرأ لي بالقدس الشريف بباب السلسلة بالمسجد الأقصى كل جمعة ثلثة [ثلاثة] أوقات بكرة الاثنين
6 والثلثا [الثلاثاء] وبعد صلاة الجمعة وأن يقرأ التفسير والحديث والرقائق وله من
7 المعلوم في كل شهر يمضي عشرة دراهم نصفها خمسة دراهم وهذا خطي شاهد عليَّ
8 وأن يدعو عقبه لي ولوالدتي [سروح؟ ...] سادس عشر شهر الله الحرام
9 من شهور سنة اثنتين [و] ثمانين [و] سبعماية والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
10 أشهد على الأمير شهاب الدين المذكور بما أشهد على الأمير شهاب الدين الآذن المذكور
11 نسب إليه فيه أعلاه أعلاه بما نسب إليه فيه أعلاه
12 كتبه محمد بن أحمد بن نصر [...] كتبه [...]

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #509 (Plate III.11)

Declaration by a certain Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī of no further claims against Burhān al-Dīn regarding the salary (jāmakīya) for recitations at the Sitt ʿĀ'isha endowment on the Ḥaram al-sharīf

1.8.780/1378

اعترف الواضع خطه بذلك
عند علي بن محمد الشافعي

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2 يقول كاتبه محمد بن محمد ابن حسن الصفدي عفا الله عنهم أنني لا أستحق
3 اليوم تاريخه في ذمة الشيخ الإمام القدوة برهان الدين إبراهيم
4 ابن المرحوم رزق الله الناصري أحد السادة الصوفية بالخانقاه
5 الصلاحية بالقدس الشريف ولا عنده ولا تحت يده حقًا ولا بقية
6 من حق من جهة جامكية الميعاد الجاري في وقف الست
7 الجليلة المرحومة عايشة زوجة المرحوم السليماني كانت مما قبضه
8 قبل تاريخه من يد الأمير الكبير ركن الدين بيبرص [بيبرس] نائب النطر
9 بالمسجد الأقصى الشريف بإذن الجناب العالي البدري الأوحد أعز الله
10 نصره وبذلك وضعت خطي في مستهل شعبان المكرم سنة ثمانين وسبعمية

11 أشهد على الواضع خطه	شهدت على الواضع خطه	أشهد على الواضع خطه
12 أعلاه أعزه الله تعالى بما نسب إليه فيه	أعزه الله تعالى بما نسب إليه فيه	أعلاه أعزه الله تعالى بما نسب إليه فيه
13 أعلاه في تاريخه كتبه محمد بن نصر الله	كتبه عيسى بن أحمد العجلوني[34]	أعلاه في تاريخه كتبه علي [عبد الغني الجزري؟][35]

[34] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 559.
[35] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 552: "Alī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al- ...'.

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #676 (Plate III.12)

Acknowledgement deed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bawwāb (Buyer 24, here called 'Muḥammad b. Aḥmad'), guardian of Burhān al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd Kamāl, stating that he received the monthly obligatory maintenance payment (farḍ) for the two months Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'da 789/1387

20.11.789/1387

1 الحمد لله الموفق
2 يقول كاتبه محمد بن أحمد أنني قبضت وتسلمت من الشيخ شمس الدين محمد الوصي
3 الحكمي على الأيتام بالقدس الشريف | مبلغ أربعين نصفه عشرين | من مال محمود بن المرحوم برهان الدين الناصري
4 المرصد تحت يد الوصي المذكور أعلاه برسم نفقته عن مدة شهري شوال
5 والقعدة الحرام من سنة تاريخه قبضت ذلك لمحمود المذكور وبذلك
6 وضعت خطي هذا شاهدًا عليَّ بتاريخ عشرين القعدة من سنة تسع وثمانين وسبعمية
7 شهد عليه بذلك أعزه الله تعالى شهد على الواضع خطه به
8 كتبه أبو بكر بن أحمد الحنفي[36] كتبه محمد بن [الجود؟][37]

Edinburgh University Press

[36] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 543.
[37] See Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 568 proposes 'Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī'.

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #699 (Plate III.13)

Acknowledgement deed by Burhān al-Dīn's divorced wife Maryam bt. 'Umar[38] *stating that she has no further claims against him except the ṣadāq (deferred marriage gift)*

12.2.784/1382

1 بسم الله [الرحمن الرحيم؟]
2 أقرت المرأة الكامل مريم بنت عمر مطلقة الشيخ الإمام برهان الدين إبراهيم بن المرحوم
3 رزق الله أحد الصوفية بالخانقات الصلاحية بالقدس الشريف إقرارًا شرعيًا
4 في صحة منها وسلامة وجواز أمر أنها لا تستحق على المُطَلِّق المذكور كسوة ولا نفقة
5 ولا متعة ولا حق من حقوق الزوجة سوى الصداق المذكور في صداقها
6 عليه على حكم تقسيطه وبه شهد في ثاني عشر شهر صفر سنة أربع وثمانين وسبعمية
7 شهد عليها بذلك شهد عليها بذلك
8 أحمد بن [...][39] علي بن أبي بكر[40]

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[38] Little, *Catalogue*, 220 misreads the name as 'Qaratamur bint 'Amr', and Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 175, has 'Qaratamar bt. 'Umar'.
[39] Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 549 suggests 'Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Anṣārī'.
[40] Might be identical to the notary witness identified in Müller, *Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 325.

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #843 (Plate III.14)

Receipt issued by Fāṭima bt. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī for Burhān al-Dīn confirming that he paid the rent for the house up to the end of the year 779/1378

12.1.778/1376

الحمد لله الحمد لله وحده

صحيح ذلك

1 قُبض من الشيخ برهان الدين إبراهيم الناصري المحدث بالقدس الشريف
2 أجرة الدار المخلفة عن المرحوم الشيخ علاء الدين علي بن محمد بن
3 عمار بن السكاكي سكنى برهان الدين المذكور بها وصار ذلك جميعه
4 إلى مستحق ميراث علاء الدين المذكور وذلك إلى آخر سنة
5 سبع وسبعين [و] سبعمية قبض ذلك قبضًا تامًا
6 ولم يتأخر في ذمة برهان الدين المذكور إلى آخر المدة الدرهم
7 الفرد وبه أشهدت في ثاني عشر شهر الله المحرم سنة ثمان
8 وسبعين [و] سبعمية شهدت بذلك
9 كتبه أحمد بن محمد بن [...] الشافعي

Edinburgh University Press

Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #850 (Plate III.15)

Receipt issued by Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm in the name of Fāṭima bt. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī for Burhān al-Dīn, confirming that he paid the rent for the house for three months up to the end of Jumādā II 778/1376

30.6.778/1376 (?)

1 الحمد لله المولى برهان الدين يصرف للصارم إبراهيم
2 مشد الرباط من أجرة سكنه الدار المخلفة عن علاء الدين
3 السكاكي رحمه [الله] وذلك أجرة [ثلا]ثة أشهر آخرها سلخ جمادى آخر
4 سنة ثمان وسبعين وسبعمية 24
5 ليصرف ذلك في فرض فاطمة بنت علاء الدين المذكور أعلاه

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Jerusalem, al-Ḥaram al-sharīf, Islamic Museum, #897 (Plate III.16)

Draft of the division of the estate of Fāṭima 1, the deceased wife of Burhān al-Dīn and mother of Khadīja and Maḥmūd Kamāl. This draft was written on the verso of a disused document.

undated

1	الذي يخص إبراهيم الناصري من المبيعات المخلفة عن زوجه فاطمة				
2	تخت	عباءة سوداء	طراحات[41]	بساط	مخدات وخديات[42]
3	خمسة وخمسون	خمسون	خمسة وثلاثون	خمسون	سبعون
4	قطارميز[43]	سماط[44]	ثلاث دسوت[45]	رف وزبادي[46] وخابية[47] وغطاء	
5	خمسة وثلاثون	ستة وعشرون	أربعة وثلاثون	ثلاثون	
6	أربع بقج[48]	قباء أبيض وزبادي	سجادة ماردي	زجاج وبراني[49]	
7	ثلاثون	عشرة	اثنا عشر	سبعة	
8	قشة	ثلاث مقاعد وعلبة أزرق	سَفْرة[50] ومنديل	نقد	وأيضاً
9	عشرة	ثمانية عشر	ستة	أربعون	عشرون
10					من أصل ثمانين

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41 مفردها طرَّاحة: فراشٌ مربعٌ يُجلَس عليه، عاميَّة. يُنظر البستاني، محيط المحيط، 547.

42 الخدِّيّة هي المخدة. ينظر دوزي، تكملة المعاجم العربية، ج4، ص 27. ويبدو من السياق أنها نوع خاص من المخدَّات.

43 جمع قطرميز: بوقال، قمقم، برنية، وهو وعاء ذو عنق قصير عريض الفم. يُنظر دوزي، تكملة المعاجم العربية، ج8، 310.

44 سِمَاط: قطعة من الجلد تُمَدُ على الأرض وتوضع عليها صحون الطَّعام. يُنظر دوزي، تكملة المراجع العربية، ج6، 146.

45 مفردها دست: القِدر النحاسيّ، عاميَّة. يُنظر الخفاجي، شفاء الغليل، 123.

46 الزَّبادي جمع زُبديَّة: وعاء من الخزف المحروق المطليّ بالميناء يُخثَّر فيها اللبن. دوزي، تكملة المعاجم العربية، ج 5، 282، الحاشية رقم (654).

47 الخابية: الجَرَّة يُجعل فيها الماء. يُنظر الزبيدي، تاج العروس، ج2، 224، البستاني، محيط المحيط، 213.

48 البُقجَة: الصرَّة من الثياب ونحوها. ينظر البستاني، محيط المحيط، 47. البقجة: قطعة مربعة من قماش مبطن تختلف ألوانها، تلفف بها الملابس لحفظها. دوزي، تكملة المعاجم العربية، ج1، 390.

49 البَرْنِيَّةُ: إناءٌ من خَزَفٍ كَمَا فِي الصِّحاحِ. وَفِي المُحْكَم: شِبْهُ فخَّارَةٍ ضخْمةٍ خَضْراء، ورُبَّما كانتْ مِن القَوارِيرِ الدِّخانِ الواسِعَةِ الأَفْواه. يُنظر الزبيدي، تاج العروس، ج 34، 243.

50 سَفْرَة: ما يُبْسط تحت الخوان من جلد أو غيره. البستاني، محيط المحيط، 413.

11 الذي يخص الولد كمال من المبيعات من تركة والدته رحمها الله تعالى

12	زوج صناديق سالمي وصندوق	أربع أطباق نحاس	عشر زبادي نحاس	
13	مائة وعشرة	مائتان وخمسة	خمسة وتسعون	
14	طشتان	طاستان	بربخان[51]	طبق للغسيل ست سقارق[52] وشمعدان صغير
15	خمسة وستون	خمسة وثلاثون	خمسة وعشرون	ثلاثون أحد وستون
16	هاون	ثلث أطباق	مصفاتان	طبق شربة بطنيتان[53]
17	أربعة عشر	ثمانية وعشرون	أحد عشر	اثنا عشر ثمانية
18	ذهب خالص ثلاثة عشر مثقالاً	حلق رهن[54]	طاسة ومنسف وسطل	دراهم وأيضا أحد وثلاثون قبلهم
19	الثمن مائتان وستون	خمسة وثلاثون	خمسة وثلاثون	أحد وسبعون

20 الذي يخص الولد خديجة من المبيعات من تركة والدتها رحمها الله تعالى وكذلك الجدة من المبيعات

21	سكينةوفِصَادية[55]	سخانة	قباء أبيض مصري	قباء أحمر سنجاب[56] مع الجدة
22	سبعمائة وثمانون	مائة وعشرون	ستة عشر	مائة وعشرون ثلاثة عشر وثلث من أصل الثمانين
23	دستان	يد خديجة من أصل الدراهم الثمانين	قميصان	
24	خمسة وخمسون	ستة عشر إلا ثلث	أربع وعشرون	
25	خارجاً عن الصداق			
26	والصداق في ذمة الزوج			
27	ثلثمائة			

[51] والبَرْبَخ: منفذ الماء ومجراه وهو الإرْدَبة والبالوعة من الخزف. ينظر البستاني، محيط المحيط، 33. ولكن جاء في الوثيقة 195/أ- السطر 8: "وبربخ نحاس مخرم، ...، وزبدية نحاس أصفر وغطاء بربخ"، وكذلك في الوثيقة 607/أ- السطر 6 "وبربخي نحاس أصفر". أي أن البربخ نوع من الأواني النحاسية.

[52] "السقرق من التركية سُوقُره أو صوقره الحيّز بين جانبين أو بين شيئين وهم استعملوه بمعنى المغرفة يَغرف بها السمَّانُ والعطَّارُ العدسَ والرزَ والفلفلَ والكزبرة، وهي ذات فجوة ولها مقبض كما يطلقونها على ضرب من أباريق الزيت ذات المقبض، والمصب. وفي اللاذقية يطلقون السقرق على إبريق الماء وجمعوه على السقارق". الأسدي، موسوعة حلب، 360. واستعمال هذه الكلمة بمعنى الإناء قديم؛ فقد جاء عند أبي شامة " إبريق يشم، طشت يشم، سقرق مينا". أبو شامة: كتاب الروضتين: ج2: 280–281. كما جاء عند ابن كثير: "ثم خلع عليهما وأطلق لهما خمسين سَقرقاً في كل سَقرَقٍ خمسة آلاف درهم". ابن كثير: البداية والنهاية: ج14: 805. والسقرق في هذين النصين جاء بمعنى الإناء.

[53] بَطانيَّة: جلد غنم بصوفه، وغطاء من الصوف مبرقش أو مخطط بألوان، ورداء مبطن للأولاد. ينظر دوزي، تكملة المعاجم العربية، ج1، 377.

[54] أي أنَّ هذا الحلق كان مرهوناً عند فاطمة.

[55] الفِصَاديَّة: سفيفة تُلف بها البنود المضفور بها شعر المرأة، عاميَّة. البستاني، محيط المحيط، 692.

[56] ربما يقصد قباء أحمر بلون السنجاب، أو قباء بفرو سنجاب.

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Appendix 3 List of Edited Ḥaram al-sharīf Documents

This appendix lists all edited Ḥaram al-sharīf documents published up until 2021. It is based on Christian Müller's list of editions up until 2011 found in his *Kadi und seine Zeugen* (576–82). Many of these editions can be found in digital format in the Munich *Arabic Papyrology Database* (text only) and the Paris *Comparing Arabic Legal Documents* platform (image and text, often with emendations).[1] *Comparing Arabic Legal Documents* has now also started online-only editions (see below, #333). In the following list 'em.' stands for 'emendations'.

#001: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 189–91 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 28–32).

#002: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 199/200 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 36).

#003: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 195/6 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 32–4).

#004: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 197/8 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 34/5).

#005: Frenkel, *Relationship*, 107.

#006: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 183–5 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 25–8).

#007: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 203–5 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 38–40).

[1] https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/project1c.jsp; https://cald.irht.cnrs.fr (last accessed 30 November 2021).

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#008: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 181/2; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathāʾiq*, 41–7 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 23–5).
#009: Little, *Five Petitions*, 381–8.
#010: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 212–14 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 46–8).
#012: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 208 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 40–2).
#013: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 209–11 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 42–6).
#014: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 201/2 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 37/8).
#016: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#020: Ghawānma, *Tārīkh niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 194; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathāʾiq*, 48–57.
#022: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 241.
#025: Little, *Five Petitions*, 351–7.
#026: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 206.
#028: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 227–9.
#030: Müller, *Crimes without Criminals*, 146–52; Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 132–4.
#031: *see* #032 and #650.
#032: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 221.
#034: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 177–80 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 21–3).
#035: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 276 (recto only).
#036: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 237/8 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 55–7).
#039: Müller, *Écrire pour établir la preuve*, 86–93.
#043: Ghawānma, *Tārīkh niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 190.
#046: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 245.
#047: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* l, 254.
#048: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 258.
#049: Richards, *Primary Education*, 228/29.
#052: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#059: Richards, *Mamlūk Barīd*, 208/9.
#060: Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery*, 218/9.

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#061: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Chapter 7.
#067: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 168 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 63–4).
#068: Diem, *Philologisches*, 16.
#074: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 274 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 57–9).
#075: Müller, *Crimes without Criminals*, 152–5.
#082: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 38.
#106: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#108: Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 267–9 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*, 327/8).
#109: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#111: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#115: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#118: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#133: Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 97–111.
#163: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 267; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathā'iq*, 84–9.
#178: Muḥammad, *Ijrā'āt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*, 83–6.
#180: *see* #061.
#181: Müller, *Constats d'héritages*, 308–10.
#182: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* l, 280 (left column only).
#183: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 107.
#184: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 109; Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 262–6 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*, 326/7).
#186: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 92.
#188: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#192: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 105.
#197: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 42.
#198: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 89.
#199: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 87.
#200: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 78.
#201: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 90.
#202: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 97.
#203: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 169.
#205: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 113; Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 269–73 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*, 328/9).
#206: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 103.

#209: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 120 (recto only).
#211: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 83–5.
#214: Diem, *Philologisches*, 11.
#215: Little, *Five Petitions*, 359/363.
#220: Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathāʾiq*, 98–103.
#223: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 70; cf. Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 282–4.
#229: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* l, 231.
#232: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 215/6 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 49–51).
#265: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 72; cf. Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 274–6.
#269: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 48.
#272: Richards, *Mamlūk Barīd*, 208.
#278: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 217/8 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 51–4).
#287: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 111; Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 273–7 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*, 329).
#288: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 135.
#289: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 116; Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 258–62 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*, 326).
#292: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 76.
#293: Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 259–61.
#298: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 149; Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 325.
#301: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 37.
#302: Abdul-Rahman, *Arabic Marriage Contract*, 125–34.
#303: Frenkel, *Relationship*, 108.
#305: Little, *Five Petitions*, 372–9.
#307: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 165/6 (em. Diem, *Philologisches*, 59–62).
#309: Muḥammad, *Marsūm al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Īnāl*, 165–7.
#310: Little, *Five Petitions*, 365–72.
#311: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* l, 187.
#312: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 101.

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#313: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#315: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 118 (recto only); Lutfi, *Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs*, 278–87 (em. Lutfi/Little, *Iqrārs from Al-Quds*, 329).
#316: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 147; Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 317.
#326/1: Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathā'iq*, 58–69.
#330: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Taʿāmulāt al-qaḍā'īya*.
#331: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 59.
#332: Muḥammad, *Idārat amwāl awqāf al-Ḥaram*, 266–9.
#333: Müller, *Document JerH_333 on endowed villages*.
#334: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 22.
#335: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 270; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathā'iq*, 90–7; *see* Little, *Ḥaram Documents related to the Jews*, 243–57.
#336: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 280/1; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathā'iq*, 70–6.
#346: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 99.
#348: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 259.
#355: Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 126–69.
#367: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 248–50.
#373: Müller, *Crimes without Criminals*, 157–9.
#374: Richards, *Mamlūk Barīd*, 208/9.
#376: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 265.
#382: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 252/3; Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 313–17.
#395: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 263.
#412: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 45.
#436: Müller, *Écrire pour établir la preuve*, 94–7.
#441: Müller, *Écrire pour établir la preuve*, 94–7.
#445: Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery*, 222/3.
#458: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 115.
#459: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 95.
#460: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 46.
#461: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 44.
#467: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 40.

#469: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 50.
#487: Muḥammad, *Ijrā'āt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*, 80–2.
#488: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 68; Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 265–7.
#490: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 140.
#494: Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathā'iq*, 109–15.
#495: Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery*, 220/1.
#501: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 273.
#503: Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathā'iq*, 104–8.
#508: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#509: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#531: Muḥammad, *Ijrā'āt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*, 99–102.
#532: *see* #061.
#535: Richards, *Mamlūk Barīd*, 208/9.
#554: Little, *Ḥaram Documents related to the Jews*, 233–43.
#573: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 164.
#574: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 152–4; Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 298/309.
#577: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 43.
#586: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 158.
#591: Little, *Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant*, 111–26.
#593: Richards, *Glimpses of Provincial Mamluk Society*, 54/5.
#595: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 137.
#596: Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 279–82.
#603: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 167.
#607: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 58–60.
#609: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 51.
#613: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 142.
#616: Little, *Two Petitions and Consequential Court Records*, 185–7 (recto only).
#620: Maḥāmīd, *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Quds al-thaqāfī*, 207–9.[2]
#628: Müller, *Crimes without Criminals*, 159–61.
#635: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* II, 33.

[2] We thank Umar Jamal Muhammad Ali (Sohag University) for drawing our attention to this edition.

#636: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 66; Ṣāliḥīya, *Min wathāʾiq*, 77–83; Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 270–3; Little, *Ḥaram Documents related to the Jews*, 257–62.

#640: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 62.

#642: Müller, *Crimes without Criminals*, 161–6; Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 224.

#645: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 129.

#646: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān/Anas, *ʿAqdā zawāj*, 303–10.

#647: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 53–7.

#648: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 28.

#649: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 25; Little, *Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem*, 18–21.

#650: Little, *Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem*, 30–5.

#653/1: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 19/20; Little, *Court Record of a Divorce Hearing*, 76/7.

#653/2: Little, *Court Record of a Divorce Hearing*, 79.

#654: Little, *Two Petitions and Consequential Court Records*, 174/5.

#676: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.

#688: Little, *Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds*, 321.

#691: Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 256–9.

#694: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 53.

#695: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 48.

#697: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 74; Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 276–9.

#699: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.

#703: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 63; Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 262–4.

#706: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* II, 127.

#710: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq maqdisīya* I, 260.

#712: Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 252–6.

#719: Muḥammad, *Ijrāʾāt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*, 87–91.

#720: Müller, *Écrire pour établir la preuve*, 94–7.

#763: Muḥammad, *Idārat amwāl awqāf al-Ḥaram*, 265/6.

#767j: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 66.

#768: Muḥammad, *Ijrāʾāt jard al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīya*, 92–8.

#769a/b: Muḥammad, *Idārat amwāl awqāf al-Ḥaram*, 270–9.
#770th: Richards, *Mamlūk Barīd*, 209.
#793: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Chapter 8.
#800: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Chapter 8.
#812: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Chapter 8.
#833: Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisīya* I, 235 (recto only).
#840: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 40.
#843: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#847: Richards, *Qasāma in Mamlūk Society*, 267–8; Muḥammad, *Idārat amwāl awqāf al-Ḥaram*, 270–2.
#849: Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 63.
#850: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#897: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Appendix 2.
#968: Aljoumani/Hirschler, *Library of Burhan al-Din*, Chapter 8.

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