

LINDA T. DARLING  
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

## Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice

One of the prominent ideologies of justice in medieval Egypt was the one called the Circle of Justice.<sup>1</sup> That term refers to an ancient concept of justice in which the king at the top of society was seen as dependent on the peasants at the bottom; they could only provide him revenue if he provided them justice. Justice, in this view, meant much more than equality before the law; it had to include peace, protection, good organization, and a functional infrastructure. In its summarized form the Circle consisted of eight sentences:

The world is a garden for the state to master.  
The state is power supported by the law.  
The law is policy administered by the king.  
The king is a shepherd supported by the army.  
The army are assistants provided for by taxation.  
Taxation is sustenance gathered by subjects.  
Subjects are slaves provided for by justice.  
Justice is that by which the rectitude of the world subsists.<sup>2</sup>

Scholars who have referred to this idea have emphasized the absolutist and elitist elements of it and have often neglected its acknowledgment that the ruler's power rested on the well-being and productivity of his subjects. I would argue, however, that this understanding of political interdependence was pervasive enough in Egyptian society to be known to peasants and artisans as well as rulers and scribes, that institutions were established and maintained to implement it, and that ordinary people used these institutions to demand justice from their rulers, whether

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<sup>1</sup>A version of this article, part of a larger study I am preparing on the dissemination and implementation of the Circle of Justice (*Justice and Royal Power in the Middle East*), was presented at the American Research Center in Egypt Convention, Tucson, Arizona, April 2004; I thank the members of the audience for all their helpful comments.

<sup>2</sup>This version of the Circle is from *The Counsels of Alexander*, presented to the Timurid prince Baysunghur, reproduced and translated by Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, 1989), 12; it is identical to one of those in the *Sirr al-Asrār*, our earliest source for the saying.



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DOI: [10.6082/M1G44ND9](https://doi.org/10.6082/M1G44ND9). (<https://doi.org/10.6082/M1G44ND9>)

DOI of Vol. X, no. 2: [10.6082/M1JH3J9R](https://doi.org/10.6082/M1JH3J9R). See <https://doi.org/10.6082/7GWG-2X45> to download the full volume or individual articles. This work is made available under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (CC-BY). See <http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/msr.html> for more information about copyright and open access.

or not they received it.<sup>3</sup> First, although Muslims attributed this idea to the Persians, the Persians inherited it from the Assyrians and the Assyrians from the Sumerians. By the time of the rise of Islam, it had been promulgated for three millennia; any idea repeated that long is bound to seep into people's consciousness to some degree. Second, this concept of justice formed the ideological underpinning for a number of social institutions that touched the lives of ordinary people throughout the Islamic period, notably the regulation of taxation by surveys and registers and the *mazālim* court, the court for redress of wrongs.

As my colleagues who are Mamluk historians know, I am not a Mamluk historian but an Ottomanist. Anne Broadbridge, however, has drawn our attention to the fact that Ibn Khaldūn, famed as the transmitter of the Circle of Justice to the Ottomans, was not without influence in his own society.<sup>4</sup> In this article, therefore, I will examine medieval Egyptian society's use of this concept. In so doing, I acknowledge my debt to the many scholars who have already researched aspects of this issue and propose that by knitting their work together we may gain a new view of the subject. First, let us look at the origin of the saying (the origin of the idea itself would take us back to the Sumerians and is outside the scope of this article).

The eight sentences quoted above came from a tenth-century book called *Sirr al-Asrār* or *Secretum Secretorum*, at least part of which was supposedly written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great.<sup>5</sup> That book contained several variations of the sentences, attributed to different people: Aristotle, the Persian king Anūshirvān, the fourth caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the Muslim conqueror of Egypt 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, suggesting that a variety of earlier sources existed at that time which are no longer known to us. The eight sentences initially became popular in Spain, where they were quoted around 980 by Ibn Juljul in a biography of Aristotle that appeared in his collection of medical biographies, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' wa-al-Hukamā'*.<sup>6</sup> A shorter four-line version, which had first appeared as a quotation

<sup>3</sup>See Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Politics* (London, 1997); Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2001).

<sup>4</sup>Anne F. Broadbridge, "Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 233; Cornell H. Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and 'Ibn Khaldūnism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198–219.

<sup>5</sup>See Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. 5, *Secretum Secretorum*, English trans. Ismail Ali (Oxford, 1920), 224–27; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, ed., *Fontes Graecae Doctrinarum Politicarum Islamicarum*, pt. 1, *Testamenta Graeca (Pseudo-) Platonis, et Secretum Secretorum (Pseudo-) Aristotelis* (Cairo, 1954), 126–28.

<sup>6</sup>Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān ibn Juljul al-Andalūsī, *Les générations des médecins et des*



from anonymous sources in the *adab* work of Ibn Qutaybah (828–89), *‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār*, was disseminated by Ibn Juljul’s compatriot, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (d. 940), through his *adab* work *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, where it was attributed to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ.<sup>7</sup> This version became very popular in Egypt. The eight sentences first appeared in Egypt around 1050 in an *adab* anthology by al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, who used a version replacing the word “king” with “imam.”<sup>8</sup>

The Fatimids (969–1171), who ruled Egypt in al-Mubashshir’s time, belonged to a movement with a powerful sense of social justice and an expectation of a charismatic ruler to enact it. The precise nature of the ruler’s charisma was a secret imparted only to initiates, but his reforming role was part of the movement’s official propaganda. The Fatimid caliphs, especially in their celebration of public festivals and processions, drew on the common people’s ideology of the ruler as a fountain of justice to whom petitions were addressed, a victorious warrior, sponsor of the infrastructure, and bestower of prosperity.<sup>9</sup> A legal compendium by the chief Fatimid qadi al-Nu‘mān highlighted the interdependence of ruler and people and warned that God

hearkens to the prayer of every oppressed one. . . . Cherish most that conduct which conforms to the highest degree of rightfulness, is the most perfect expression of obedience to the Lord, and ensures most the contentment of the common people, for the discontent of the common people outweighs the contentment of the retinue.<sup>10</sup>

He stressed the interdependence of all social groups and the contribution of that interdependence to the prosperity of the whole society, and therefore recommended that the ruler maintain the populace in good order:

Take care of those who pay the *kharāj* and consider everything that will keep them in good estate, for upon their welfare rests that

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*sages (Ṭabaqāt al-‘aṭibbā’ wal-ḥukamā’)*, ed. Fu’ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1955), 26. Many of the quotations of this saying were listed by Iḥsān ‘Abbās, ed., *Ahd Ardashīr* (Beirut, 1967), 98; and Joseph Sadan, “A ‘Closed-Circuit’ Saying on Practical Justice,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 325–41; but these scholars did not contextualize or discuss them.

<sup>7</sup>Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalūsī, *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1928), 1:18.

<sup>8</sup>Abū al-Wafā’ al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Los Bocados de Oro (Mujtār al-Ḥikam)*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Beirut, 1980), 222.

<sup>9</sup>Paula Sanders, “From Court Ceremony to Urban Language: Ceremonial in Fatimid Cairo and Fustāṭ,” in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 311–22.

<sup>10</sup>Gerard Salinger, “A Muslim Mirror for Princes,” *Muslim World* 46 (1956): 28, 33.



of others. . . . They and none other are the mainstay of the state, and the people are dependent on them. Therefore you should care for the cultivation of their land and the favorable state of their livelihood more than for the easy collection of their *kharāj*.<sup>11</sup>

In the first century of their rule, the Fatimids could take credit for a rise in Egyptian prosperity, perhaps by following this advice. The protection they provided enhanced their legitimacy, according to the Persian poet and pilgrim Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in the 1040s.

The people are so secure under the sultan's reign that no one fears his agents, and they rely on him neither to inflict injustice nor to have designs on anyone's property. . . . The security and welfare of the people of Egypt have reached a point that the drapers, moneychangers, and jewelers do not even lock their shops—they only lower a net across the front, and no one tampers with anything.<sup>12</sup>

The Fatimids put great stress on their ability to supply grain and bread and to control the grain merchants. They also paid for the repair of irrigation works, provided public safety, granted land to petitioners, and reportedly presided over the *mazālim* court in person.<sup>13</sup> A Fatimid political testament called the judicial office "the balance of God's justice which He has established on earth to vindicate the offended against the offender, to defend the weak against the strong"; it urged rulers to hear the grievances of the people and lighten their tax burden in times of distress, and recommended that judges be appointed who were learned, forbearing, pious, who would not be impatient, "get angry with the contenders, or be exasperated at the halting speech of stammerers."<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Sayrafī, author of a treatise on bureaucracy, saw the people's petitions as improving the state's reputation by bringing injustices to the attention of the ruler, initiating investigations, and

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 33.

<sup>12</sup>Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (New York, 1986), 55–57.

<sup>13</sup>Boaz Shoshan, "Fāṭimid Grain Policy and the Post of the Muḥtasib," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (1981): 183–85; Yaacov Lev, "The Suppression of Crime, the Supervision of Markets, and Urban Society in the Egyptian Capital during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 90; Kenneth M. Cuno, *The Pasha's Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858* (Cambridge, 1992), 20; Sadik A. Assaad, *The Reign of al-Hakim bi Amr Allah (386/996–411/1021): A Political Study* (Beirut, 1974), 78–83.

<sup>14</sup>Salinger, "Muslim Mirror," 34, 31.



promoting the good behavior of officials.<sup>15</sup> All sorts of people used the *mazālim* court: Muslims and non-Muslims, city dwellers and country folk, rich and poor sent petitions or brought their cases to the court in Cairo and obtained responses to their pleas.

During the Ayyubid period, the Circle of Justice became one of the elements in the legitimation of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn ‘Ayyūb. His biographer, the religious scholar Ibn Shaddād, began the biography with chapters on religion and justice describing Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a just governor, quoting the Prophetic definition of a just governor as the Shadow of God upon earth, and alluding to the just governor’s favored position on the day of resurrection. In the role of a just ruler, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn performed a revenue survey, remitted non-Quranic taxes (restored by later sultans),<sup>16</sup> and regularly held *mazālim* court. As Ibn Shaddād described the court:

Every Monday and Thursday he sat in public to administer justice, and on these occasions jurisconsults, kâdis, and men learned in the law were present. Every one who had a grievance was admitted—great and small, aged women and feeble men. He sat thus, not only when he was in the city, but even when he was travelling; and he always received with his own hand the petitions that were presented to him, and did his utmost to put an end to every form of oppression that was reported. Every day, either during the daytime or in the night, he spent an hour with his secretary, and wrote on each petition, in the terms which God suggested to him, an answer to its prayer.<sup>17</sup>

In this receptive atmosphere, literature on justice began to emerge. A work of advice written for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the virtues of leadership quoted the eight-line Circle of Justice in a section on the virtue of justice, putting it in the mouth of

<sup>15</sup>Henri Masse, “Ibn el-Çairafi, Code de la chancellerie d’état (Période fâtimide),” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 11 (1914): 113–15.

<sup>16</sup>Claude Cahen, “L’Évolution de l’iqta’ du IXe au XIIIe siècle: Contribution à une histoire comparée des sociétés medievals,” *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): 46; al-Maqrīzī, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), 75–76, 231. A twelfth-century history of eastern Anatolia equated justice with remission of non-Islamic taxes and injustice with “murder, mulcting, and the imposition of illegal taxes” (Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State* [Istanbul, 1990], 34, 42, 109).

<sup>17</sup>Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *The Life of Saladin, by Behā ed-Dîn*, trans. C. W. Wilson and Lieutenant-Colonel Conder (London, 1897; reprint as *Saladin, or, What Befell Sultan Yusuf* [Lahore, 1976]), 15.



Anūshirvān.<sup>18</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's vizier was also the recipient of a work of *adab* that quoted the four-line Circle and attributed it to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ.<sup>19</sup>

Other Ayyubid rulers do not seem to have shared Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's concern for justice; only once did the historian al-Maqrīzī mention any later sultan remitting taxes, even temporarily.<sup>20</sup> Still, the institutional mechanisms for delivering justice that were so highly developed under the Fatimids continued to operate under the Ayyubids. People presented petitions in "Houses of Justice" in Aleppo and Cairo which were constructed in imitation of the one previously built by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in Damascus. Rulers handled petitions privately as well as in public, sometimes appointing others to preside over the public sessions. They considered cases with the aid of a panel of qadis, and their decrees were transmitted not by mere secretaries but by high court officials and religious scholars.<sup>21</sup> Documents were registered in the government offices before being issued, and governors and deputies, headmen and holders of *iqṭā'*s were required to enforce the sultan's orders. The few decrees still extant convey the stress placed by Ayyubid administrators on the need "to protect the subjects whose affairs were entrusted to us by God."<sup>22</sup>

The Circle of Justice was disseminated more widely in the Mamluk period. Authors quoted it in a variety of different literary genres and contexts, perhaps as part of a broader effort to Islamize and acculturate their foreign-born rulers. The eight-line version appeared in a work on politics written by the jurist and qadi Ibn Jamā'ah. Although he was a jurist, Ibn Jamā'ah apparently saw no conflict between the Quran and the Circle of Justice. He wrote that "justice is the cause of the increase of blessings and of the growth of prosperity, but that injustice and tyranny are the reason for the destruction of empires," and he expected the sultan to

<sup>18</sup> Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Al-Nahj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsat al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1994), 248.

<sup>19</sup> Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far ibn Shams al-Khilāfah, *Kitāb al-Ādāb*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (Cairo, 1930), 27. This author's source was probably *Al-Iqd al-Farīd*, which has the same form of the saying, also attributed to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *History of the Ayyubid Sultans*, 233.

<sup>21</sup> Yasser Tabbaa, "Circles of Power: Palace, Citadel, and City in Ayyubid Aleppo," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 182–83; idem, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, PA, 1997), 63–66; S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Ayyūbid Period," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964): 14–16. Ibn Shaddād himself waited on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for this purpose and was active in his administration of justice; in this way rulers could conveniently obey the counsel of advice writers to associate with religious scholars rather than courtiers and scribes whose faith might be less orthodox.

<sup>22</sup> S. M. Stern, "Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai," in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. idem (Columbia, SC, 1965), 13; Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1993), 23.





practice justice, since "the justice of the king is the life of the subjects and the spirit of the realm."<sup>23</sup> In exchange for obedience to the ruler, the people had the right to demand justice from him.<sup>24</sup> Ibn Jamā'ah even quoted the Circle, though in a garbled form:

The kingdom is a building supported by the army. The army are soldiers assembled by money. Money is sustenance obtained from prosperity, and prosperity is an accomplishment brought about by justice. And the wise men say that the world is a garden whose wall is the state. The state is authority supported by the soldiers. The soldiers are an army assembled by money. Money is sustenance gathered by the subjects. The subjects are servants raised up by justice.<sup>25</sup>

Surprisingly, Ibn Jamā'ah's opposite number, Ibn Taymīyah, who recommended a public policy based completely on the Quran and hadith, a *siyāsah shar'īyah*, also held an understanding of the ruler's tasks that incorporated aspects of this concept of justice. Like al-Māwardī, he awarded to the sultan the authority to administer justice, wage holy war, lead prayers, and relieve the oppressed, and on that account designated him as God's Shadow on Earth. Without precisely defining justice, he quoted a hadith about the just ruler and likened him to a shepherd, responsible for the flock: "he is the right ruler who gives to men what men need and never appropriates except what is lawful and decent." Government in his view had essentially two functions, fiscal and judicial, and its purpose was "the improvement of the religious and material conditions of men."<sup>26</sup>

Ibn Jamā'ah's offhand quotation of the eight-line Circle suggests that the idea was familiar to many of his readers. This impression is strengthened by the fact that al-Waṭṭaṭ introduced a section on justice in his book of ethics by paraphrasing

<sup>23</sup>Quoted in Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (Cambridge, 1962, reprint, Westport, CT, 1985), 50; Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam, An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford, 1981), 140.

<sup>24</sup>Irmeli Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," *Studia Orientalia* 82 (1997): 145.

<sup>25</sup>Hans Kofler, "Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-al-Dīn ibn Ḡamā'ah," *Islamica* 6 (1934): 363; partially quoted in Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 50; and in Lambton, *State and Government*, 143 and n. 16.

<sup>26</sup>Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah, *Ibn Taimiyya on Public and Private Law in Islam*, trans. Omar A. Farrukh (Beirut, 1966), 187–88, 33, 19, 71; see also Fauzi M. Najjar, "Siyasa in Islamic Political Philosophy," in *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani*, ed. Michael E. Marmura (Albany, 1984), 100.



the Circle's last line, doubtless expecting his readers to recognize the quotation:

For justice is the support of the world and the faith,  
And the cause of the health of all creation.<sup>27</sup>

Readers could have encountered the Circle in a new biography of Aristotle by the thirteenth-century Egyptian author Ibn Abī Usaybī'ah, found in his collection of medical biographies called *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*. Expanding upon Ibn Juljul's earlier biographical collection, this book listed among the sayings of Aristotle the eight sentences, which he desired to be written at his death on the sides of his costly tomb. The eight sentences, carefully numbered, were marked on an abstract eight-sided diagram (of the tomb?).<sup>28</sup>

Other Mamluk authors and encyclopedists, whose books were accessible in private and public libraries throughout the city, wrote chapters on justice and injustice in which they liberally cited the Circle of Justice, most often in its four-line form. The administrator al-Nuwayrī, in his encyclopedic reference work of *adab* and history *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, quoted the standard version and attributed it to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ; Ibn Ya'qūb included it in a condensation of the Seljuk grammarian al-Zamakhsharī's *adab* collection; and al-Ibshīhī, in his anthology of "edifying discourses and wise maxims" called *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustazraf*, gave it five terms, and traced it to Anūshirvān.<sup>29</sup> The eight-line version appeared in al-'Abbāsī's *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal*, introduced by the note that Alexander had had between his hands an eight-sided wheel or ball of gold which Aristotle had invented, on each side of which was a political sentence on which he was to act. It was also quoted in Ibn al-Azraq's *Badā'i' al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Milk*, a work that drew on Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup>Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyá al-Waṭwaṭ, *Ghurar al-Khaṣā' is al-Wāḍiḥah wa-'Urar al-Naqā' is al-Fāḍiḥah* (Būlāq, 1867), 33.

<sup>28</sup>Muwaḥfaq al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās ibn Abī Usaybī'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut, 1980), 102–3.

<sup>29</sup>Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964), 6:35; Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Ya'qūb, *Rawḍ al-Akhyār, al-Muntakhab min Rabī' al-Abrār fī 'Ilm al-Muḥāḍarāt fī Anwā' al-Muḥāwarāt min al-'Ulūm al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Funūn al-Adabīyah lil-Zamakhsharī* (Būlāq, 1862), 35–36; Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ibshīhī, *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustazraf* (Beirut, 1983), 1:228. On Cairo libraries see Otfried Weintritt, "Concepts of History as Reflected in Arabic Historiographical Writing in Ottoman Syria and Egypt (1517–1700)," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 199–200.

<sup>30</sup>Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* (Beirut, 1989), 71. Sadan also mentions an unnamed sixteenth-century Egyptian author who described the eight sentences as being written on a wheel or ball which Aristotle turned to demonstrate their continuousness and





The history written by Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), with its well-known *Introduction (Muqaddimah)* containing the author's principles of analysis, was probably the most outstanding cultural product of the period. Ibn Khaldūn served as a *mazālim* judge, qadi, and royal advisor, describing his work in the *mazālim* court in his autobiography: "I made the utmost effort to enforce God's law, as I had been charged to do. . . . I considered the plaintiff and the accused equally, without any concern for their status or power in society; I gave assistance to any weaker party, to level out power inequalities; I refused mediation or petitions on either party's behalf."<sup>31</sup> In the *Muqaddimah* he quoted the Circle of Justice in three versions: the tale of Bahrām and the owls first told by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956), the four-line saying of Anūshirvān, and the eight sentences of Aristotle.<sup>32</sup> Unlike others who cited the Circle, Ibn Khaldūn did not consider it a mere literary gem or even a piece of good advice; to him it summarized the real nature of human association and formed the key to the science of civilization which he had been led by God to understand and set forth. He credited the author of the *Sirr al-Asrār* with the circular arrangement of the eight sentences but expressed his disapproval of all previous writers for not supporting this crucial statement with arguments or pursuing its historical implications, as he intended to do in his *Introduction*:

These are eight sentences of political wisdom. They are connected with each other, the end of each one leading into the beginning of the next. They are held together in a circle with no definite beginning or end. The author was proud of what he had hit upon and made much of the significance of the sentences. When our discussion in the section on royal authority and dynasties has been studied and due critical attention given to it, it will be found to constitute an exhaustive, very clear, fully substantiated interpretation and detailed exposition of these sentences.<sup>33</sup>

Ibn Khaldūn felt that all others who had copied and relayed the Circle of

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interrelatedness; al-'Abbāsī was perhaps this author's source (Sadan, "A 'Closed-Circuit' Saying," 335 and n. 20). Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Azraq, *Badā'i' al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Milk*, ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār (Baghdad, 1977–78), 1:229.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *Le Voyage d'Occident et d'Orient*, trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 154–55; translated in Morimoto Kosei, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 112.

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 1:80–82.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 81–82; abridgement, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, by N. J. Dawood (Princeton, 1967; hereafter cited as Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood), 40–41.



Justice had at best touched upon the problems he sought to analyze in depth; Ibn al-Muqaffa' merely mentioned them in passing, and al-Turtūshī presented illustrative stories without any analysis. Specialists in religious law such as al-Māwardī discussed the legal conditions under which rulers might assume power, but Ibn Khaldūn was investigating the nature of civilization and the requirements of human existence and therefore found the ruler's behavior more significant than his origin or intentions. He saw the duties of a good ruler as protecting the community, restraining mutual hostility and attacks on property, supervising the market and enforcing contracts, issuing trustworthy coinage, and keeping the people satisfied with their lot in life. Royal authority, according to him, was a relationship with the ruled: "A ruler is he who has subjects (*ra'āyā*) and subjects are persons who have a ruler. . . . If such rulership is good and beneficial, it will serve the interests of the subjects." Since civilization was prior to religion, the shari'ah should be seen not as a constitution for the state but as a measuring stick for rulers, who should employ it in combination with ethical-rational principles in a combination best described in the letter of advice by Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, which he quoted in full.<sup>34</sup> That letter described the governor as

a watchman, and a shepherd; the people in your realm are only called "your flock" because you are their shepherd and their overseer; you take from them that which they hand over to you from their surplus income and subsistence means, and you expend it on things which will ensure their continued material well-being and spiritual welfare and which will alleviate their burdens. . . . As a consequence, charitable works will abound in your land and prosperity will be general in your territories. The land under your rule will burgeon with fertility, the yield from the land tax will increase, and your income in kind will be proportionately expanded. By this means you will be able to strengthen the bonds linking your army to you, and you will bring contentment to your people through the personal largess which you will be able to lavish upon them.<sup>35</sup>

According to Ibn Khaldūn, struggle for power did not in itself delegitimize kingship, but a king's power could be dissipated by tyranny.<sup>36</sup> The ruler and his army were supported by the wealth of the conquered cities, and they returned the

<sup>34</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 1:383; 2:140–56.

<sup>35</sup>C. E. Bosworth, "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū'l-Yamīnain's Epistle to His Son 'Abdallāh (206/821)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970): 37–38.

<sup>36</sup>Lambton, *State and Government*, 163; Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 92.



people's taxes in the form of gifts and public works. In order to maintain their power, the powerful became personally involved in the production of wealth. They would be successful in this as long as they remained just, but as the level of luxury among the rulers increased so would the level of exploitation, and injustice soon produced division and "the ruin of civilization."<sup>37</sup> So insistent was Ibn Khaldūn on this point that in discussing the injurious effects of injustice on society he repeated in full the story of Bahrām and the owls, a cautionary tale in which Bahrām passed by a ruined village where two owls were hooting. On asking what they were saying, the king learned that the two owls were to be married, and that the female owl had demanded as a wedding present twenty ruined villages like that one so that she could hoot in them. The male owl responded that if the king continued in his unjust ways, he would easily be able to give her a thousand ruined villages.<sup>38</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī's retelling of the story ended by quoting the vizier's advice from the Circle of Justice, from which Ibn Khaldūn drew the logical conclusion:

"O King, the might of royal authority materializes only through the religious law, obedience toward God, and compliance with His commands and prohibitions. The religious law persists only through royal authority. Mighty royal authority is achieved only through men. Men persist only with the help of property. The only way to property is through cultivation. The only way to cultivation is through justice. Justice is a balance set up among mankind. The Lord set it up and appointed an overseer of it, and that is the ruler. . . ." The lesson this story teaches is that injustice ruins civilization. The ruin of civilization has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty.<sup>39</sup>

In keeping with Ibn Khaldūn's view of the Circle of Justice as an essential social mechanism, we will proceed to examine how this concept of justice appeared in actual Egyptian life and practice. Its long life and popularity cannot be attributed merely to the cleverness and pithiness of the forms in which it was stated. Rather,

<sup>37</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 1:284, 313, 340–41; 2:3, 5, 105, 139; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 108, 134–35, 189–90, 238.

<sup>38</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 2:104–5; see Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, trans. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. Charles Pellat (Paris, 1962), 1:222–24; idem, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1965–79), 1:293–94. Other authors transferred this story to Anūshirvān or another monarch.

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 2:104–6; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 238–39.



it encapsulated elements of the political relationship that were valued by both the rulers and the ruled. First of all, it provided criteria for legitimating and praising the ruler. Many quotations could be cited; for example, in the fifteenth century a member of the ulama called attention to the rulers' devotion of their lives to the defense of the believers, their protection of the helpless subjects against brigandage and robbery, and their maintenance of order in the cities.<sup>40</sup> The Mamluk rulers themselves adopted it as a standard of behavior; Sultan Qalāwūn's instructions to his deputy stated that "justice results in the cultivation of the land and financial profits which are the essential element, or basis, of the armies," and so he ordered his deputy to "collect proper petitions from all the people to discuss them in order to preserve that golden age" because "the strong must not use their power to dominate the weak."<sup>41</sup>

The Mamluk armies were supported by *iqṭā'*s, and it was in the allocation of *iqṭā'*s and the administration of taxes that the rural population felt the ruler's justice or injustice most directly. Ordinarily government agents estimated taxation levels on the basis of the height of the Nile flood and made a more accurate assessment at the end of the growing season by surveying the actual area planted to crops. "This," said al-Nuwayrī in his secretarial handbook, "is justice and equity, and whoever departs from it has erred and done wrong." An earlier handbook by the late Ayyubid finance official al-Nābulusī had decreed "failure to make a survey of all private and public property annually, by faithful and recognized assessors, together with honest and intelligent soldiers who are heedful, scribes who are expert in surveying, and two or three of the most faithful accountants, who fear for their honor" to be "amazing negligence."<sup>42</sup> Under the Mamluks, however, the soldiers and administrators who received *iqṭā'*s were responsible for making the survey themselves, which left ample room for abuses.<sup>43</sup> Another type

<sup>40</sup>Ulrich Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing 'Ulamā' Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 70.

<sup>41</sup>Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689A.H./1279–1290A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 257, 259–60; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 108–9.

<sup>42</sup>Quoted in Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, Supplément aux Annales islamologiques, no. 9 (Cairo, 1986), 11–13, 52; and Charles A. Owen, "Scandal in the Egyptian Treasury: A Portion of the *Luma' al-Qawānīn* of 'Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955): 80.

<sup>43</sup>Frantz-Murphy, *Agrarian Administration*, 69–70. The historian al-Maqrīzī stated that in the early period a survey was performed every thirty years, or once a generation, to readjust the assessed amounts; this period coincided with the solar/lunar year cycle which generated an extra



of survey, a *rawk*, was made to allocate the *iqṭā*'s among their holders; the Mamluks made two of these surveys, in 1298 and 1315. They had the effect of centralizing landholding in the hands of the elite: the first took *iqṭā*'s from ordinary soldiers and redistributed them to Mamluk officers, while the second increased the number of *iqṭā*'s under the direct control of the sultan.<sup>44</sup> Despite this centralization, however, later Mamluk sultans were unable to maintain the irrigation works or to force the *iqṭā*' holders to do so, and demands for heightened revenue were not met by any improvement in production. The people responded to increasingly oppressive tax collection not with open rebellion but with foot-dragging and evasion, and finally by petitioning the *mazālim* court.<sup>45</sup>

The *mazālim* court, the court for the redress of wrongs, was described by the finance official al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) as "rendering justice to the victim of a wrong against the one who committed it, delivering the right from the wrong, succoring the weak against the strong, assuring the observation of the rules of justice throughout the realm."<sup>46</sup> This institution goes back to ancient Mesopotamia, and the Mamluk rulers also maintained it. During times of political upheaval, however, the *mazālim* court was not convened. Reopened when the crisis was under control, it symbolized the stability and order provided by a powerful sultan. As elsewhere in the Muslim lands, the *mazālim* court heard cases against qadis, the great men of the realm, and the sultan himself. Under the Mamluks, however, the *mazālim* court changed over time from an imitation of Ayyubid judicial practice to a ceremonial occasion renewing the ruler's legitimacy, and royal judicial activity was transferred to other locations.<sup>47</sup>

The Mamluks first heard *mazālim* cases in the old Ayyubid House of Justice

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lunar year every thirty-three solar years; *ibid.*, 56; Michael Brett, "The Way of the Peasant," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 51. It also coincided with the conjunction of the two unlucky planets Saturn and Mars in the sign of Cancer once every thirty years, presaging disturbances and poor conditions; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 261.

<sup>44</sup>Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 52–55; P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696–9/1296–9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1973): 527–29; Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 31–53.

<sup>45</sup>Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 315; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 106.

<sup>46</sup>Al-Qalqashandī, quoted in Émile Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, ser. 3, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1938–43), 2:147.

<sup>47</sup>Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," 148; P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 247; Tyan, *Histoire*, 184–85, 194, 199.





in a Cairo madrasah. In 1262, to reinforce the independence of the Mamluk regime, Sultan Baybars built a new House of Justice near the Citadel. In 1315 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built a second one inside the Citadel, with open sides to suggest the sultan's accessibility. He presided over its sessions in person, surrounding them with ceremonies courting popular support.<sup>48</sup> Greater attention to justice was possible during his reign because the threat from the Mongols and Crusaders was receding and the sultan was becoming less a military commander and more a head of state.<sup>49</sup> In 1387 Sultan Barqūq started hearing *mazālim* cases in the Royal Stables below the Citadel. This was not degrading; in Turkish practice stables were often places of political sanctuary. The *mazālim* sessions in the Royal Stables were preceded by a magnificent military procession down from the palace and featured the chief qadis, government officials, and military officers arrayed around the sultan in advisory positions.<sup>50</sup> The House of Justice in the Citadel then became the place where the sultan "held court" in the ceremonial sense, received ambassadors, announced state decisions, set prices and coinage values, received taxes, and distributed robes of honor.<sup>51</sup> Special *mazālim* courts held at the enthronement of new sultans were ceremonies of legitimation, including the reception of petitioners from all over the country. The hearing of petitions was made a symbolic ornament to the ruler's power and lost some of its effectiveness as a complaint against governmental oppression, becoming a vehicle for the advancement of officials and the achievement of the sultans' political aims.<sup>52</sup>

In this situation, real complaints began to employ less formal but more effective channels, such as the sultan's wife or the bureaucracy.<sup>53</sup> According to al-Qalqashandī, the majority of petitions were handled through administrative channels. Mamluk

<sup>48</sup>Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Mazālim under the Bahrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985), 51; Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the *Dār al-'Adl* in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 14, 18; for diagrams of the locations of these buildings see *ibid.*, 8–11.

<sup>49</sup>The role of the "vicegerent," who took charge while the sultan was away on campaign, declined in importance at just this time; P. M. Holt, "The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. *idem* (Warminster, England, 1977), 53.

<sup>50</sup>Walther Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), 115; Tyan, *Histoire*, 2:247–50; Nielsen, *Secular Justice*, 56–58.

<sup>51</sup>Nielsen, *Secular Justice*, p. 52; *idem*, "Mazālim and *Dār al-'Adl* under the Early Mamluks," *Muslim World* 66 (1976): 130. For a description of these ceremonies see S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Mamluk Period (Notes on the Mamluk Documents from Sinai)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29 (1966): 265–66.

<sup>52</sup>Nielsen, *Secular Justice*, 61, 123.

<sup>53</sup>Nielsen, "Mazālim and *Dār al-'Adl*," 120.





administration was highly developed, to judge by the flourishing genre of secretarial manuals, at least eight of which were produced during the Mamluk period. These manuals described bureaucratic methods and document production, transmitting the governing heritage of previous regimes as well as current modifications to it. The greatest of them, al-Qalqashandī's magisterial fourteen-volume *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, continued to be read by succeeding regimes as a summation of the best in administrative practice. Extant petitions, and decrees issued in response to them, show that the form of the petition and the procedures used to handle it modified Fatimid precedents only slightly.<sup>54</sup> The topics of complaint in surviving documents include such problems as interference with a poor man's palm trees, Bedouin raids on St. Catherine's monastery, and an *iqṭā'* holder's taking revenue to which he was not entitled.<sup>55</sup>

If the petition process became ineffective, the populace could resort to mass demonstrations. Because the rulers disapproved of popular political activity, however, they tried to maintain a certain level of responsiveness to petitions as a safety valve. The records show that when the authorities became too oppressive, the people did take their demands for justice to the streets.<sup>56</sup> An upsurge of crime, urban rioting, or Bedouin incursions was interpreted as a lapse in the ruler's ability to govern and a strike against his legitimacy. "Every grain crisis thus became a . . . political struggle."<sup>57</sup> In 1412 the sultan punished grocers who closed their shops in the wake of coinage inflation, because the people's inability to buy bread could be interpreted as the ruler's inability to feed his flock.<sup>58</sup> Mamluk sultans, to maintain the public order on which their power rested, dispensed free

<sup>54</sup>Samir al-Droubi, *A Critical Edition of and Study on Ibn Faḍl Allāh's Manual of Secretaryship 'Al-Ta'rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf'* (al-Karak, Jordan, 1992), 68–79; J. S. Nielsen, "Mazālim," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:933–35; Stern, "Petitions from the Mamluk Period," 240–41, 251.

<sup>55</sup>Stern, "Petitions from the Mamluk Period," 245, 250; D. S. Richards, "A Mamlūk Petition and a Report from the *Dīwān al-Jaysh*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977): 3.

<sup>56</sup>Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," 148–49; Miura Toru, "The Structure of the Quarter and the Role of the Outlaws—The Ṣāliḥīya Quarter and the Zu'r in the Mamluk Period," in *Urbanism in Islam: The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam* (Tokyo, 1989), 3:420, 423–24; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 52, 54, 56.

<sup>57</sup>Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 147; Boaz Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1980): 461. For another food riot with political implications see Richard T. Mortel, "The Decline of Mamluk Civil Bureaucracy in the Fifteenth Century: The Career of Abū'l-Khayr al-Naḥḥās," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 6 (1995): 181.

<sup>58</sup>Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy'," 465.



grain to the poor, took steps to deal with plague or communal strife, and tried to control the violence of the mighty. There was no regular institutional mechanism for this kind of relief; it was thought to proceed directly from the personal justice of the ruler.<sup>59</sup> Sultan Qāyṭbāy used his judicial role in *maẓālim* to emphasize his solidarity with his subjects and to win their loyalty, intervening personally in cases of official dereliction and announcing his return to health after a riding accident by presiding over the *maẓālim* court. His successor Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, in order to be seen as the fountain of justice, tore down the House of Justice and built a bigger and more magnificent one. He also restored the Nilometer, Egypt's barometer of prosperity, and initiated popular festivities, acting as the bestower of the people's well-being by praying for the annual flood. An advice book written for him, *Ṭahrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*, was dedicated to the intricacies of judging *maẓālim* cases.<sup>60</sup>

According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās, however, royal injustice was a key issue in the fall of the Mamluks. His narrative of their last days was couched in terms of the Circle of Justice and its absence. He told how Sultan al-Ghawrī's preparations for war with the Ottomans included oppressive levies on peasant villages and extortion of money from women whose fathers had died and who sacrificed their dowries to pay. Those governing the city in his absence were all known tyrants, except for his regent Tūmānbāy, who heard petitions and was "beloved by the people and the poor." In the first battle against the Ottomans, Sultan al-Ghawrī was killed and his body lost, never to be buried in the magnificent tomb for which he had squeezed so much money from the people. He was commemorated in a verse describing the disastrous effects of injustice:

Look with wonder at al-Ashraf al-Ghuri,  
Who, after his tyranny had reached its height in Cairo,  
Lost his kingdom in an hour,  
Lost this world and the world to come.

<sup>59</sup>Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," 149–50; Carl F. Petry, "'Quis Custodiet Custodes?' Revisited: the Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 30; William Tucker, "Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 122.

<sup>60</sup>Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), 79, 106; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians?* 155–58, 164, 161; idem, "Royal Justice in Mamluk Cairo: Contrasting Motives of Two Sultans," in *Saber Religioso y Poder Politico en el Islam* (Madrid, 1994), 197–211. For an interpretation of al-Ghawrī's actions as resulting from piety see Robert Irwin, "The Privatization of 'Justice' under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 69. Ibn al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-A'raj, *Ṭahrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im (Alexandria, 1982).



Tūmānbāy was chosen as his successor to “abolish the tyrannical innovations of al-Ghuri.” In an act heavy with symbolism, he tore down al-Ghawrī’s stone seat or throne and replaced it with a simple wooden dais. A poem on the occasion explained its meaning:

The Dais of Justice has come back,  
 The “Mastabah” of Injustice has been pulled down;  
 Tuman Bai has become amongst the people  
 As one who causes the wolf to live with the sheep in peace.  
 Oh! what a King he is! his justice has become notorious  
 Amongst Arabs, and people of other countries.

Besides making symbolic gestures, Tūmānbāy punished advisors who recommended oppressive measures, even to raise money for an army bonus, and he tried to enforce Islamic law. It was too little too late, though; in the last battle his troops fled, leaving him to defeat.<sup>61</sup>

To Ibn Iyās, and perhaps to most Egyptians in the Mamluk period, the Circle of Justice was more than a literary curiosity or a propaganda ploy of rulers. It also played a central role in the moral economy of medieval Egyptian peasants, soldiers, and even historians, encapsulating the people’s expectations of their rulers and providing a measuring rod for how well or poorly they met them. Rulers were well aware of these expectations and tried to live up to them, or at least to appear as if they did. The people’s obedience was carefully graded to match their estimate of the ruler’s justice, and they took advantage of the institutions of petitioning and the *mazālim* court to register their complaints. Other popular actions, such as bread riots and the withholding of taxes, also played on the same understanding of an interdependence between the people’s welfare and the sultans’ power. Thus, the idea behind the Circle of Justice must be taken seriously as a political idea in the Egyptian context. It is clear that our image of Mamluk government as pure force, which we tend to derive from the notorious custom of Egyptian peasants not to pay their taxes until they were beaten to within an inch of their lives, has to be modified to include a calculus of justice based on the time-honored Circle, according to which the peasants’ ability to provide revenue was understood to be dependent on the ruler’s ability to provide justice and good administration.

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<sup>61</sup>Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt in the Year A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516)*, trans. W. H. Salmon (London, 1921; reprint, Westport, CT, 1981), 5–6, 10–11, 17–18, 26, 44, 51–53, 57, 58, 76, 78–80, 93–95, 112–13.



"Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice," *Mamluk Studies Review* 10 (2006): 1-17. "Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Centre," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3: *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1838*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 118-31. "Osmanlı Maliye Tarihinde Gelir-Toplama ve Meşruiyet" [Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy in Ottoman Fiscal History], in *Osmanlı Maliyesi Kurumlar ve Bâkîtâşeler*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), 1: 39-50. "The Prince