

Adab Al-Rafidayn



https://ojs.uomosul.edu.ig/index.php/radab

Combating Moral Corruption in the Mamluk Era(648-923 AH/1250-1517 AD): A Historical Study

Othman Ismael Al-Tel



Department of English language / Al-Quds University (Abu Dis)-Palestine

Article Information

Article History: Received Apr 19, 2025 Revised May 18,2025 Accepted June 01,2025 Available Online December 2025

Keywords: Mamluk era, Moral corruption, Alcohol, Cannabis (hashish), Vice

Correspondence: Othman Ismael Al-Tel oaltel@staff.alguds.edu

Abstract

The Mamluks ruled Egypt more than two and half century. During the Mamluk era the Egyptian society, such as other human societies through history witnessed of many aspects of moral corruption. Despite the modern studies addressing many issues related to the Mamluk history, however, none of these studies dealt with in details of the efforts of the Mamluk state to combat moral corruption in Egypt expect in brief indications. Hence, the importance of this study, which adopts a historical approach by referring to and analyzing the available primary historical narratives. This study sheds light on the efforts of the Mamluk state to combat moral corruption in Egypt. It focuses on issues such as the prohibition of alcohol, vice, cannabis (hashish), and other immoral practices. The study highlights measures taken by the state, including the issuing of decrees banning these activities, raids on places where such substances were consumed or promoted, and the punishments imposed on violators. It also discusses the restrictions placed on women, as they were considered a significant factor linked to moral corruption, especially regarding their presence in public places, attire, and attendance at places associated with immoral behavior.

DOI: 10.33899/radab.2025.157677.2324, @Authors, 2023, College of Arts, University of Mosul. This is an open access article under the CC BY 4.0 license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

مكافحة الفساد الأخلاقي في العصر المملوكي648-923هـ/ 1250-1517م دراسة تاريخية عثمان إسماعيل الطل *

ملخص

حكم المماليك مصر مدة تزيد على القرنين والنصف من الزمن، في هذه المدة وجد في المجتمع المصرى كغيره من المجتمعات البشرية عبر التاريخ، العديد من مظاهر الفساد، ورغم تناول الدراسات الحديثة الكثير من القضايا المتعلقة بالتاريخ المملوكي، إلا أنها لم تتناول بشكل مفصل الجهود التي كانت الدولة المملوكية تبذلها في مكافحة هذا الفساد إلا في إشارات مقتضبة، ومن هنا تأتي أهمية هذه الدراسة التي تعتمد المنهج التاريخي إذ تم الرجوع إلى الروايات التاريخية الأولية المتاحة ونقدها وتحليلها.

^{*} قسم اللغة الانكليزية/ جامعة القدس (أبو ديس)، فلسطين

نتناول الدراسة جهود الدولة المملوكية في مكافحة الفساد الأخلاقي في مصر، فتناولت مواضيع: مكافحة الخمر، والرذيلة، وأماكن اللهو والفساد، ومكافحة الحشيش، والتجار، والمتعاطين، من اصدار الأوامر والمراسيم بالمنع، ومن مداهمة أماكن التعاطي والترويج، والعقوبات التي كان يتم انزالها على هؤلاء. كما تناولت مسالة التضبيق على النساء باعتبارهن عنصراً رئيساً من العناصر التي يرتبط بها الفساد الأخلاقي بشكل خاص سواء أكان ذلك من حيث الخروج للشوارع، أو اللباس، أو ارتياد أماكن اللهو والفساد.

كلمات مفتاحية: العصر المملوكي، الفساد الأخلاقي، الكحول، الحشيش، الرذيلة.

Introduction:

The Mamluks of Egypt ruled for nearly two hundred and seventy years. They are referred to as Mamluke Sultanate. During this period, a large number of Sultans has been ruled. The Egyptian society consists of two class, the first was the ruling one which contain the Mamluks and their senior staff, and the lower class which contains small traders, jurists, craftsmen, farmers and others. Political, economic and military. The history of Mamluks has received great attention from modern scholars, and social aspects received some of this attention. But there are some social aspects that need more study and research.

It is necessary to say that Mamluk society, like other human societies, suffered he many aspects of corruption which no society devoid from. In Egypt, particularly in the Mamluk era, there were many kind of corruption, whether corruption related to the ruling class, such as the phenomenon of bribery, making money, obtaining gains, paying the penalties, etc., in addition to moral corruption that dominates to the lower class, such as the spread of alcohol, cannabis (hashish), vice and other moral corruption. Therefore, this study is examine the efforts made by the Mamluk state in combating this moral corruption. This topic was dealt with in a few recent studies when the researches giving some examples of combating moral corruption through context of discussing other topics. Among these studies, for example, and not limited to, a study was conducted by Qasim (1998), on the topic "The era of the Mamluk sultans, political and social history". Another study was conducted by Muslahi (2005), on the topic "Prostitution in Egypt in the Mamluk era 648 -923 AH/1250-1517 AD", and the study of abu Baker al-Majdub "Moral and social corruption and its impact on weakening and the fall of states: The Mamluk Sultanate of the Circassians as a model", in addition to the study of Sami al-Mukhaizeem, "The Bahri Mamluke State's Policy Towards Alcohol (khamr) Prohibition (648-784,AH/1250-1382, AD), journal of the Saudi Historical Society", (2017), which examine the Mamluke state position towards alcohol drinking and the reason of behind the easing of the rules of the Prohibition which be attributed to the financial benefits gained by the Mamluke state and the varieties of alcohol drinks and wine places of production in Egypt and the financial benefits of alcohol trade in in the Mamluke state. In addition to the study of Asmaa `Abdlnasir Mohammad Ahmad, "The role of the Ayyubid and Mmamluke state in combating alcohol and drugs", (2019), Which covers the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods and also focuses on the punishments imposed on the drinker of wine and drug users.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the study is divided to three sections. The first section deals with the prohibition of alcohol, cannabis (hashish) and the places of practicing corruption. The second section deals with punishing the consumers and merchants of such prohibited products, while the third section presents the reasons for combating corruption. The study also includes an introduction, conclusion and a list of references.

The concept of corruption:

Linguistically, the word corruption has more than one meaning. In Arabic, (corruption 'with /a/ on the /s سار, is derived from the triliteral verb 'corrupted'. People say فسد الشيء 'something is corrupted'. In a sense, it is the opposite of righteousness (Ibn Manzur (n, d), 3412; al-Fayrouzabadi, 2008, 1246). It is said that people are corrupted, meaning they are destroyed (Group of Researchers, 2004, 688; al-Fayrouzabadi,

2008, 1246). It can also mean they turned against each other and severed ties of kinship. Furthermore, corruption is the opposite of interest, and the opposite of reform. It also means immorality, prostitution, and disrespect for customs and laws. Besides, it means destruction, defect, drought, etc. A person is corrupted if he disbelieves in God and commits sins (The Holy Quran, Surat Al-Baqarah, 30). Ibn Seeda and Al-Raghib Al-Asfahani said: Corruption is the deviation of something from moderation, whether little or much, and its opposite is righteousness (Al-Isfahani (n, d), 1:491).

Therefore, it is obvious that the predominant meaning of corruption is that it is the opposite of righteousness, and deviation from moderation. Significantly, it is the opposite of interest and reform. Al-Askari said: Corruption is "deviation from all that reason calls for. It is the opposite of righteousness..." (al-Askari, 1980, 208). Ali Yousef Al-Rawashdeh believes that there is no wide gap between the linguistic meaning and the technical meaning of corruption, as it's linguistic meaning is the opposite of righteousness, and that it indicates deviating from moderation. It also means destruction and devastation. Corruption is the opposite of interest. It is also the opposite of reform (al-Rawashdeh, 2018, 233). The word corruption and its derivatives are mentioned in about fifty verses of the Holy Quran (Abdel-Baqi, 1364, 518-519), as it came with multiple meanings and different aspects (al-Rawashdeh, 2018, 233-234). It comes to mean moral corruption, which means immorality, entertainment, prostitution and disrespect for customs and laws (The Holy Quran, Al-Mu'minun, 5-7). It is the opposite of the meaning of righteousness (The Holy Quran, Surat Al-A'raf, 56, 142; Surat Ash-Shu'ara, 152), which is the meaning that this study deals with.

Islam has included a punishment for every corruption (Smadi, 2003, 18-19). as the punishment for a drinker of alcohol in Islam according to most jurists is ta`zeer punishment and flogging, the number of which varies among jurists; flogging is between forty and eighty lashes (Smadi, 2003, 15-22), while the punishment for adultery is flogging for the unmarried adulterer (The Holy Quran, Surat An-Nur, 2), and ¹ stoning for the married adulterer (Morsi, (n, d), 29-30).

Section One: Prohibition of Alcohol, Cannabis (Hashish), Pubs, Brothels

The first references to the prohibition of alcohol in the Mamluk era date back to the reign of Sultan al-Dahir Baybars300). He began his -, who was known that he never drink alcohol (Ibn Shaddad, 1983, 299² rule in the year 658 AH/1260 AD, by issuing an order to prohibit alcohol. Ibn Taghri Bardi says about this: "On Monday, the seventeenth of Dhu al-Hijjah, King al-Dahir Baybars issued an order on concerning the spreading of alcohol throughout his country called pouring of alcohol and threatened to kill anyone who made it. So an incalculable amount of alcohol was poured. The guarantee for this in the lands of Egypt in particular was a thousand dinars every day. An order was issued in this regard and was read on the pulpits of Egypt and Cairo (Ibn Taghri Bardi, (n, d), 7, 154; Al-Suyuti, 1967, 2, 296; Asmaa `Abdlnasir; 2019, 4).

In 661 AH/1263 AD, Sultan al-Dahir Baybars ordered the emptying of the border from Frankish liquors (Ibn Abdul-Dahir, 1976, 176). It seems that some people did not comply with the royal orders, and

¹ God Almighty said: "A women and a man who commit fornication: flog both of them with one hundred lashes and do not let compassion for either of them possess you where Allah's deen is concerned, if you have iman in Allah and the Last Day. A number of mminun should witness their punishment". (The Holy Quran, Surat Surat An-Nur, 2).

The translatoin of the verse taken from: Abdalhaqq and Aishha Bewely, the noble Quran, A new reading of its meaning in English, published by: Bookwork, Norwitch, uk, 1420 AH/1999 AD.

² Sultan al-Dahir Baybars: Mamluk Sultan (657-675 AH / 1260-1277 AD), about him see: Ibn Taghri Bardi, Jamal al-Din Abi al-Mahasin Yusuf (n, d). Al-Nujoum Al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa Al-Qahira, edition by Dar al-Kutub, Egypt, Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, Vol. 7, p. 74 et seq. Al-Maqrizi, Taqi al-Din Abi al-Abbas Ahmad bin Ali bin Abd al-Qadir (d. 845 AH) (1997). Al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat Dawul al-Muluk, edited by Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Atta, Muhammad Ali Baydoun Publications, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, Vol. 1, p. 594 et seq. Ibn Duqmaq, Ibrahim Muhammad Aydmar Al-Ala'I (d. 809 AH) (1985). Al-Jawhar Al-Thamin in Sirat Al-Muluk wa Al-Salatin, edited by Muhammad Kamal Izz Al-Din Ali, World of Books, Beirut, Vol. 1, pp. 293-308; Al-Malati, Abd al-Basit bin Khalil bin Shaheen, (1987). Nuzhat al-Asateen fi Man Wali Misr Min al-Salatin, edited by Muhammad Kamal al-Din Izz al-Din Ali, Cairo, Library of Religious Culture, pp. 74-76; Ibn Shaddad, Izz al-Din Muhammad bin Ali bin Ibrahim (d. 684 AH/1285 AD) (1983). Tarikh al-Malik al-Dahir, Inayat Ahmad Hoteit, Franz Steis-Wiesbaden, p. 31, etc.

perhaps the laxity of supervision in implementing the orders and decrees in pursuing and restricting alcohol sellers and users led to the return to issuing new orders to confirm this. Sami al-Mukhaizeem argues that the reasons behind the non-compliance of the Mamluke state regarding guarantee of wine is due to the high to the financial benefits gained by the Mamluke state. In addition to the insistence of ministers and officials especially from the people of the book during financial crises(al-Mukhaizeem, 2014, 93-94), and he aded the Mamluke State's did not have stable policy to follow up the decisions issued regarding alcohol (al-Mukhaizeem, 2014, 114).

In 662 AH/1264 AD, he ordered the prohibition of all intoxicants (Ibn Shaddad, 1983, 299-300). He also ordered the ale houses to be closed¹ and destroyed (Ibn Abd al-Dahir, 1976, 228-229). In 665 AH/1265AD, he abolished cannabis (hashish) and guaranteed this abolishing in all regions of Egypt (Ibn Duqmaq, 1985, 1, 300). He returned and repeated the same order in 676 AH/1278 AD, when he ordered the pouring out of alcohol. In this regard, Ibn Duqmaq said: "The Sultan ordered the pouring out of alcohol, and the combating of corruption and wrongdoings in the Egyptian lands, and he wrote about this to all parts of his country." (Ibn Duqmaq, 1985 1, 300), moreover, Hanbali, and Al-Safadi statues that the Sultan was strict in pouring out alcohol and removing evils in that year. (Al-Hanbali, 1991, 564; Al-Safadi, 2000, 10, 214).

Moreover, sources mention in the events of 664/1266 that the sultan increased his denial of evil, and he ordered spoiling wine and excluding effects of evil. So, bars in all his kingdoms in Egypt and Syria were banned, forbidding wine and cannabis (hashish) Asmaa `Abdlnasir; 2019, 4-5). Baybars stressed the punishment of the wine users, which led him to call the people on the feast days of the same year: "Whoever drinks wine or brings it will be hanged". It is also mentioned in the events of 670/1272 that Sultan Baybars was firm in fighting against corruption and evil.

Orders were issued repeatedly to ban alcohol. In 680 AH/1281AD, Sultan Qalawun issued a decree to pour out alcohol. "A decree was issued to pour out alcohol and abolish this evil practice, and that was abolished." (al-Maqrizi, 1936, 1, S, 597). Furthermore, Sultan Al-Dahir Baybars (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 2, 143) ordered the emptying of the port of Alexandria from Frankish alcohol (Ibn Abd al-Dahir,1976, 176, lamenting the debauchery and licentiousness. In this regard, Ibn Daniyal Al-Mawsili said poetry, lamenting the debauchery and licentiousness (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 1, 326-328).

In this respect, Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun on the coasts (Ibn al-Wardi, 1969, 2: 380). In 710 AH/1310 AD, he abolished (Ibn Taghri Bardi (n, d), 46) "the fees of the provinces, the leaders, the deputies, and the police, because they were collected from the market overseers and the houses of obscenities. Besides, what is happened in it from injustice and abominations more than indescribable. Thus, he abolished all of that. He also abolished the fees and taxes that were taken from prostitutes, this abolishing "what the Mehtar Tashtkhana took for the Sultan from prostitutes, abominations, and obscenities. It was a large sum (Ibn Tagri Bardhi, (n, d), 47)." In 803 AH/1400 AD ((Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 2, 142; Ibn al-Sayrafi, 1970), 2, 453), orders were issued to pour out alcohol, while Sultan Lajin² was strict in preventing all forbidden things (Al-Maqrizi, 1997, 2: 865). During the reign of Sultan Barsbay, Al-Muhtasib poured out a lot of alcohol. In 822 AH/1419 AD (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 3, 192), he poured out a lot of this for forbidden drink (al-Maqrizi, 1997): Al-Suluk, 2, 495). In 837 AH/1433 AD, a winepress

¹Ale: A type of beer (beer), made from corn, barley, or wheat. See: Dahman, Muhammad Ahmad (1990). Dictionary of Historical Words in the Mamluk Era, 1st edition, Dar Al-Fikr Al-Mu'asim, Beirut and Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus, p. 137. And see: Ibn Manzur, Lisan Al-Arab, pp. 4191-4192.

² Sultan Lajin: Mamluk Sultan (696-698 AH/1297-1299 AD). See about him: Ibn Duqmaq, Al-Jawhar Al-Thamin, Vol. 1, pp. 341-346; Al-Malati, Nuzhat Al-Asateen, pp. 91-92.

was burned. Likewise (Ibn Al-Sayrafi, 1970), 3, 274), Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri¹ banned wine (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 4, 76-77), which was the same measure taken by his deputy in Syria (Ibn Tulun, 1998), 1, 232).

Cannabis (hashish) was often associated with wine, and it is noted that in many cases, orders to ban wine were accompanied by a ban on cannabis (hashish) and the prosecution of its promoters and users. In this regard, al-Dahir Baybars issued an order in 665 AH/1266 AD to ban the sale of cannabis (hashish) in all of Egypt (Ibn Duqmaq, 1985, 1, 300), burned it, and ordered to punishment its residents (Ibn Iyas, 1984), 1, 326), in which al-Ilm ibn al-Sahib Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Yusuf said poetry in. (n, d), 7, 380; Ibn Al-Imad Al-Hanbali, 1991), 7, 706).

Because of the spread of vice and adultery linked with the presence of women in the places of drinking alcohol and smoked cannabis (al-hashish), the Sultan Al-Dahir Baybars began banning women from working in prostitution in 665 AH/1267 AD. Commenting on this, Ibn Abd Al-Dahir said: "He also banned prostitutes and all other forms of immorality in all his kingdoms, and large taxes were taken from them. All of this was done out of a desire to protect people's morals and money, and to reform the corruption of their conditions that the kings had deliberately caused." (Ibn Shaddad, 1983, 300). As many sources have mentioned, this resulted in all of Egypt being cleansed of evil doings, taverns were looted (al-Dawadari, 1994, 5, 141), and corrupt women were imprisoned until they could marry (al-Magrizi, 1997, 2:59; al-Dawadari, 1994, 5, 141; al-Suyuti, 1967, 2, 296, Asmaa `Abdlnasir; 2019, 4)), Al-Dahir Baybars was not satisfied with that. Therefore, in the year 669 AH/1271 AD, he banned women from mourning the dead. The Sultan announced in Cairo that no mourning procession should be held with drums, and no mourner should mourn the dead (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 4, 76). Then he mocked at a mourner who had mourned with drums. Barakat bin Musa put her on a donkey, with drums hanging around her neck, and her face smeared with black. When that happened, the women stopped those heinous acts. Then the governor announced that women should not go out to mourn at night. In that night, the pilgrims left Cairo. When the plague increased, the Sultan announced that the princes and officials should prevent the princess from sitting at their doors. In the year 750 AH/1350 AD, some women's clothing was banned because it contained forbidden things. Judge Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin al-Mukram bin Abi al-Hasan al-Ansari, the writer for Prince Zayn al-Din Katbugha al-Mansouri, wrote a memorandum for spreading justice in the year 679 AH/1280 AD. It included controls to combat corruption (Al-Magrizi, 1997, 4, 110-111). This involved placing controls on women, such that they were prevented from leaving their homes at night, and closing the places where young men gathered for prostitution, and that men and women should not meet on Friday nights at the al-Gharafatain (name of place), and women should be prevented from doing so (Ibn al-Furat, 1938, 7, 196-197).

To reduce women's going out at night, the state were prohibited muleteers (Al-Makariya) from transporting them, in particular those whom he doubt that they are going to commit a sin, this comes because the muleteers may prefer to transfer them more than others because they pay to them more than others (al-Subki, 1948, 140). Al-Subki said about this: "Except for the immoral women and the singers among them, because they exaggerate in their rent, as they pay more than others." The muleteers were repeatedly threatened from transporting women. In 793 AH/1390 AD, the state threatened to punish: "any muleteer who transports a woman will be mediation (Altawseet), and any women found walking will be mediation (Altawseet), " (Ibn al-Sayrafi, 1970, 1: 334; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 1: 418; Ibn al-Furat, 1938, 9, S 2, 266) In 833 AH/1429 AD and 835 AH/1431 AD, "muleteers were threatened with hanging and women with drowning (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 3, 439). "Kitbugha, the deputy of the sultan, ordered that

¹ Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri: Mamluk Sultan (906-921 AH/1501-1516 AD), See: Al-Malati, Nuzhat al-Asateen, pp. 155-157.

women be prevented from going out to the graves in Al-Qarafa (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 3, 193) and elsewhere. He threatened to punish those who disobeyed the order. He also prohibited women from wearing wide-sleeved cloth. Therefore, he was very strict in applying these procedures, which made Ibn Hajar say that "the good people were happy with that, and the evil people were sad, ..., so that no one during the period of his rule was able to be immoral or licentious in his presence" (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 3, 418). In the year 822 AH / 1420 AD, Al-Muhtasib and the governor prevented women from wailing over the dead in the markets, and punished a group of them. Thus, people suffered comprehensive harm, and due to ban women from markets, the merchants in the markets stopped buying and selling decreased. In this respect, a woman would not walk behind a funeral procession, even if it was her son or brother¹, and when the washerwoman went out to wash a dead woman, she would take a piece of paper from Al-Muhtasib and put it on her headband sewn into the garment so that it would be known that she was a washer. They were extremely strict with women. In this respect, the Sultan put the men and women in the prisons, and released them all, and all the prisons were closed. But the people did not get any good from this action, as theft increased in Cairo, and those who were in debt refused to pay the debts, and the people's rights were lost, as some poets said about that (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 2, 182-183).

In 793 AH/1390 AD, women and men were banned from riding boats for pleasure and entertainment on the Nile, and those who did so were threatened with "drowning and mediation (Altawseet)". Therefore, people refrained from demonstrating immorality and debauchery (Ibn al-Sayrafi (1970): V. 1: 334; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 1: 418; Ibn al-Furat, 1938, 9, S 2, 266).

Section Two: Prosecuting and punishing drug users and traders:

The royal orders were sometimes coupled with some strict measures that were taken to implement and impose the royal orders. Al-Dahir Baybars was very strict in this, as he threatened to kill anyone who produced alcohol when he banned it in 658 AH/1260 AD. In 676 AH/1278 AD, he became more strict in punishing those who consumed alcohol. This strictness is clearly evident in the death penalty for drinking alcohol, which is a punishment that exceeds the punishment or penalty for drinking alcohol in Islamic law. In this regard, the incident of Ibn Al-Kazrouni, who was arrested while drunk and crucified with a jar of wine around his neck, is known in historical sources, even the poet Ibn Daniyal said a poem bout it (Al-Hanbali, 1991, 7, 64; Al-Safadi (2000): V. 10: 214).

It seems that this incident had an effect in deterring many who were doing such things (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 1, S. 1, 326). Ibn Iyas said that when the leaders of debauchery saw what happened to Ibn al-Kaziruni, they submitted and obeyed. He described the situation in Egypt as a result of the severity in pursuing corruption. "Then Sheikh Shams al-Din Ibn Daniyal made a nice statement about this incident, saying: When I came from Mosul to the Egyptian lands in the Dahiri state, God blessed its time, and made its drinks sweeter. I found those customs obsolete, the places of comfort in them were not pleasant, and the masters of debauchery and licentiousness were frowning. The Sultan's order defeated the army of Satan, and al-Harrani, the governor of Cairo, took charge of spilling the wine, burning the cannabis (hashish), and dissipating the counterfeit, and asked the sodomites and homosexuals to repent, and he confiscated the buildings and the vessels, and the debauchees were greatly harmed. In this respect, Ibn al-Kaziruni was crucified with a bottle of wine around his neck. Then the news spread, the denunciation occurred, the drunken stayed at home, and the laws were implemented. At that time, some of my friend invited me to his place, and he put me up among his family and relatives, and apologized for not giving me the honor I

¹. The washerwoman: It is understood from the text that she is the woman who washes the dead.

deserve. He said: I came to know that Abu Marra has died, so let us lament him, describe the situation and mourn him. So I began and said poetry in this (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 1, S. 1, 326-337).

During the reign of Al-Dahir Baybars, Al-Harrani, the governor of Cairo, took charge of spilling alcohol, burning cannabis (hashish), and dissipating counterfeit goods. He asked the homosexuals and sodomites to repent, and confiscated buildings and vessels. The drunken were severely harmed, and Ibn Al-Kazeroni was crucified with a bottle of wine around his neck. Then the news spread, criticism occurred, the drunken stayed at home, and the laws were implemented (Ibn Iyas, Bada'i' Al-Zuhur, 1, S 1, 326-330). The governor of Egypt, Qudaydar¹, took responsibility for monitoring the implementation of the Sultan's decisions. He tracked down everyone who made wine, and brought the chief of the porters and ordered him to bring everyone who was carrying grape. When they appeared before him, he asked them the names of those who were buying grapes and their places of residence, and he brought the guards of the neighborhoods and districts to show him everyone who made wine. People were afraid of the alcohol they had, so they threw it into the drains, the vaults, and the alleys, and they offered money to whoever took it from them until a jar of wine was sold for a dirham. "People would pass by the doors of the houses and alleys, and you would see a lot of jars of wine, but no one would be able to take anything from them." Prince Oudaydar looked for the cannabis (hashish) places, and attacked Bab al-Luq line, took a lot of cannabis (hashish) from it, and burned it at Bab Zuwayla. The governor of Cairo continued to spill alcohol and burn the cannabis (hashish) until God purified the country from them. He looked for the tyrants and the corrupt people, so they feared him and fled the country. Furthermore, he demolished places that were run as dens of corruption and built a mosque in their place (al-Maqrizi, Al-Khitat, I, 2, 149; Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani, Al-Maqrizi, Al-Khitat, Vol. 2, p. 149; Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani, (n, d), 4, 244). Then the Sultan ordered the chamberlain of the chamberlains and the governor of Cairo in the year 699 AH/1300 AD to visit the homes of the Christians, break the wine jars they had², burn the places of cannabis (hashish) and leave nothing possible in that. And something similar to this incident happened during the reign of Al-Ashraf bin Shaaban bin Hussein. In this respect, the writer Ibrahim Al-Ma'mar, supporting the ban of hashish, said about that some verses of poetry (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 4, 76-77). This was in the year 669.

When the prince took over the kingship during the reign of Sultan Al-Malik Al-Salih Ismail bin Al-Nasir bin Muhammad bin Qalawun³, he strictly prohibited alcohol in Egypt and Cairo. The first thing he did was to demolish the Treasury of Items (Al-Maqrizi, 1997, 3: 393-395; Ibn Taghri Bardi, 1985, 3, 85-86; Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani, (n, d), l, 411). The Armenians had turned it into a tavern inside Cairo, and the immortal and prostitutes would gather there and commit sins and immorality beyond measure. Wine was made there and sold throughout the year. It was said that in one year they made thirty-two thousand jars of

¹ Prince Saif al-Din Qudaydar: Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad appointed him governor of Cairo after Prince Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Khazin in the year 724 AH. He treated people well, poured out alcohol, burned cannabis (hashish), and restrained the wicked. He kept the affairs of Cairo and Egypt in order. He was a companion of Ibn Taymiyyah during his stay in Egypt. He died in the year 730 AH. See: al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aybak (d. 764 AH) (1998). A'yan al-'Asr wa Awwan al-Nasr, edited by Ali Abu Zayd and others, Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'asir, Beirut, and Dar al-Fikr, Damascus, Vol. 4, pp. 79-80; Ibn Kathir, Abu al-Fida al-Dimashqi (701-774 AH) (1998). Al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah, Beirut, Maktabat al-Maarif, (7th ed). Vol. 14, p. 113.

² Prince Alaa Al-Din Mughultay Al-Jamali, one of the Sultanate's Mamluks, began in the year 730 AH/1329 AD to build a mosque between the two walls of Cairo. It was called the Mosque of Repentance due to the great corruption that had occurred there. He delivered the sermon there. Ibn Tagri Bardhi, Al-Nujum Al-Zahira, Vol. 9, pp. 96-97..

³Al-Salih Ismail: Mamluk Sultan (751-754 AH/1351-1354 AD). See about him: Ibn Duqmaq, Al-Jawhar Al-Thamin, Vol. 1, 392-393; Al-Malati, Nuzhat Al-Asateen, p. 98.

wine "and wine was sold there in front of all witnesses and no one dared to deny it" (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 3, 393-395).

As he did with the Treasury of Items, the governor of Cairo ordered the same to be done with the houses of the prisoners in the citadel. Therefore, he went to them and smashed the wine jars there, removed its stores from the citadel and housed them with the Christians of the Treasury of Items next to the mound between the Mosque of Ibn Tulun and Cairo, were they settled and make from it their home (Ibn Qadi Shahba, 1994): Volume II, 1, 252-253; al-Magrizi, 1997, 3, 394-395).

The prince insisted on combating drinking wine (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 3, 393-395), "and he called out to whoever brought a drunkard or someone with a jar of wine, he would honor him. So the common people sat down to watch the drunkards in every way. Whenever they brought him a drunken soldier, he beat that soldier, cut his salary and honored whoever he arrested. In 709 AH/1310 AD, the Sulatn Baybars al-Ghanksheer issued an order forbidding wine and cannabis (hashish) Asmaa `Abdlnasir; 2019,5), moreover, in the year 709 AH/1310 AD, the Sultan and Prince Saif al-Din al-Shaykhi, one of the Burjiya, were appointed to demolish the places of wine without making any exceptions. Al-Shaykhi carried out what he was asked to do. Al-Maqrizi said about that: "Al-Shaykhi was very strong and strong-willed. He went to the governor of Cairo and its leaders and the owners of the quarters, and asked them about the places of wine. Unfortunately, they did not answer him. They hid all the places. Therefore, he beat a group of them with whips until they show him the grape pressers or those who had wine. He wrote down their names, and among them were several princes, writers, soldiers and merchants (al-Magrizi, 1997, 2, 430-431). Then he began to visit the houses secretly so that the drunkards would not know until they were attacked by the carpenters and builders to inspect the wine treasuries and take them out. Consequently, a severe calamity befell the people. Many of those who had been hiding wine were disgraced, and things were looted from their homes, due to the large number of common people who gathered, and the owner of the house had fled in fear for his life. The soldiers and others took what had enriched them. People began to inform each other, and a group of them took revenge on their enemies for that. The homes of the Jews and Christians were also visited, and the wine they had in them was spilled. The matter went beyond the princes, and the homes of those who were known to drink wine were visited, including the home of Prince Ala al-Din Mughultay al-Masudi, one of the princes of the Burjiya. Thus, God removed great corruption. But because of this, great corruption also occurred from the looting of money. When the matter became serious, the princes gathered and told the Sultan about it, so he stopped it.

During the reign of Sultan Barsbay, Prince Qarqamas, the chamberlain of the chamberlains, tracked down the places of corruption, spilled the wine, burned the hashish, demolished the taverns and houses of debauchery, and prevented gatherings in places of corruption (Ibn Al-Sayrafi, 1970), 3, 144).

The wine vessels that he broke amounted to about ten thousand jars, and when he spilled the wine on the ground, someone said poetry in this regard (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 2, 122).

In 803 AH/1400 AD, orders were issued to spill alcohol, so Prince Yalbugha al-Salami al-Istadar headed to Shubra and broke the wine jars there. He did the same in Minyat al-Umara, Tanan, Bilbeis, and some neighborhoods in Cairo. It was said that "the total amount of what he broke was close to fifty thousand jars" (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 2, 142).

In 819 AH/1417 AD, Prince Sudan Qara Saql, the chamberlain of the chamberlains, attacked the banks of the Nile, and spilled alcohol there. Moreover, he expelled the people, and prevented them from meeting, as they had displayed the evils of alcohol and intoxicants. Much importantly, he prevented the meeting of women with men (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 6, 413).

Thousands of wine jars were also spilled in 822 AH/1419 AD, and places of corruption in Cairo were raided (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 2, 142). In this respect, Sadr al-Din, the inspector of Cairo, accompanied by the governor, raided the places the moral corruption, spilled alcohol, prevented the demonstration of hashish, and prevented prostitution and the demand for obscenity in the markets (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 6, 495-510). In 831 AH/1427 AD, many jars were poured from all over the country, most of them in Damietta (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 6, 495, Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1994, 3, 192).

Alcohol was also poured in 822 AH/1419 AD, and places of corruption in Cairo were raided. Besides, orders were tightened on women to prevent them from entering Al-Hakim Mosque, as many abominations and corruptions were committed there "by women, men, youths and boys (81)" (Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 1969, 3, 202; al-Maqrizi, 1997, 6, 511). Strict measures were taken in 827 AH/1423 AD to curb prostitution in Egypt. In this respect, orders were issued to oblige prostitutes to marry and that their dowries should not exceed four hundred dirhams, two hundred of which should be paid in advance. "This was announced but nothing was done", which means that the Sultanic orders were not implemented (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 7, 100; Ibn Shahin al-Dhahiri, 2002, 157).

The strictness in banning alcohol continued until the Sultan burned a winepress belonging to some Mamluks in 837 AH/1433 AD until it turned to ashes (Ibn Al-Sayrafi, 1970, 3, 274). The houses of the Jews and Christians were also raided, and the alcohol they had was spilled. The matter extended to the princes' offices, and the houses of those known for drinking alcohol were raided, including the house of Prince Ala al-Din Malghatay al-Masudi, one of the princes of the Burjiya. Thus, God removed great corruption, but this also caused great corruption in the looting of money. When the matter became severe, the princes gathered and told the Sultan about it, so he stopped it (Al-Maqrizi, 1997, 2, 430-431). In the year 910 AH/1505 AD, the Sultan's deputy abolished the taverns and prevented the People of the Covenant from trading in alcohol (Ibn Tulun, 1998, 6, 511).

Babi, a minister appointed by Sultan Khushqadam¹, often raided the houses in Birkat al-Ritli and searched for the wrongdoings: "Whoever was found drinking alcohol, if he was a leader, he would confiscate his possessions, and if he was not, he would punish him." Perhaps this is the reason why people hated him, which leading some poets to mentioned this hating in some poetry (Ibn Iyas, 1951, 137).

In 910 AH/1505 AD, Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri ordered the attack on Christians homes, the destruction of their wine jars, and the burning of hashish places (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 4, 76-77).

Therefore, it is obvious that the practice of prostitution, debauchery, and immorality continued after the end of the Mamluk era. When the plague spread in 919 AH/1513 AD (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 4, 303), the Sultan called for the banning of wine, hashish, and forbidding sinful women from committing adultery. This call continued for three consecutive days due to the increase in the plague.

Section Three: Reasons for Combating Corruption:

Historical sources usually did not always directly highlight the reasons behind the ban on alcohol, and the severity in that. However, it appears from most of the sources that there were two strong reasons that prompted the ban, the first of which was the piety of the Sultans, and the spread of dissolution in society that prompted them to do so. It was known that Al-Dahir Baybars did not drink alcohol. Ibn Abd al-Dahir said: "he never drank alcohol during his entire life, according to what I have been told by one of his trusted confidants, and when he became king - may God have mercy on him - he banned everything that intoxicates (Ibn Shaddad, 1983, 299-3009). "He himself explained when he ordered in the year 662 AH/1264 AD the abolition of the ale and the destruction of its houses, that he was doing this to draw closer to God Almighty,

¹ Sultan Khushqadam: Mamluk Sulatn (864-871 AH/1460-1467 AD), about him see: Malati, Nuzhat al-Asateen, p. 140.

considering it an evil. Thus, in a letter to Prince Izz al-Din al-Halabi, he wrote: "I desire for you to remove this evil for my sake, for some of the righteous talk to me about it and said (the wheat that God created as a food of the world is trampled underfoot!) and I drew closer to God by abolishing it. Whoever gives up something for God, God will compensate him with something better than it, and whoever has something in this regard, God will compensate him from God's lawful money". Thus, orders were issued to adopt this (Ibn Abd al-Dahir,1976, 228-229). Sami al-Mukhaizeem see that the Mamluke sultans are quickly revoke their allowing of alcohol guarantee when the economic improved, or in response to the scholar advice, in addition to their seeking to draw close to God (al-Mukhaizeem, 2014, 93-94), or under the pressure of lower class played a major role in the Mamluke state decisions to prevent aklcohol, because the Mamlukes sough to get closer to the lower class and rise the sultan's statues among them (al-Mukhaizeem, 2014, 113).

It is important to note here that he banned the guarantee of alcohol, although it used to bring in a thousand dinars to the treasury every day in Cairo alone (Ibn Shaddad, 1983, 300). This indicates that religious motivation was the primary motive for what he did, ignoring the great economic gains that could be achieved from maintaining it. Furthermore, Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad bin Qalawun (Ibn Taghri Bardi, (n, d), 9, 174). Ibn Taghri Birdi said about him that he hated drinking alcohol, punished the drunkards, and punished the princes who drank it. His son, Sultan Al-Malik Al-Salih Ismail bin Al-Nasir bin Muhammad bin Qalawun, was strict in prohibiting alcohol in Egypt (al-fistat), and Cairo. The first thing he started with was demolishing the Treasury of Items (al-Maqrizi, 1997, 3, 393-395). Sultan Lajin, as described by Al-Maqrizi, was brave and ahead of his peers in chivalry, very loyal to his friends and who knows. He forbade wearing gold clothes. Besides, he was strict in prohibiting all forbidden things, and ordered some of the princes' sons to stop drinking alcohol. He used to fast during the months of Rajab and Sha'ban, worship at night, and give a lot of charity, while being gentle and humble (Al-Maqrizi, 1997, 3, 393-395). Therefore, Babi, the minister of Sultan Khushqadam, hated anyone who got drunk (Ibn Iyas, 1951, 137).

Sometimes the spread of epidemics was linked to the spread of adultery in society. When the epidemic increased in Ramadan of the year 841 AH/1438 AD, the Sultan gathered the four judges. Their opinion was that this was due to the spread of adultery and the increase in women going out in the streets and markets while unveiled, and they suggested that they be banned from going out. The Sultan supported this and ordered its implementation. Ibn Iyas said about this: "The epidemic increased greatly in Egypt - and that was the time when Al-Bukhari's complete reading the Holy Quran. When the four judges and scholars met, the Sultan complained to them about the increasing epidemic in Cairo. They said to him: "The epidemic only appears among a people when adultery is widespread among them, and women have increased their outings in the streets, and they are unveiled day and night in the markets." Some scholars advised the Sultan to prevent women from going out in the streets, except to the bathhouse only. The Sultan leaned towards this and called out in Egypt, Cairo and its outskirts to prevent all women from leaving their homes to the streets, as the Scholars played major role in combating alcohol, they are writing about it, in addition they are requesting the Sultans and prices and advising them to prevent it (al-Mukhaizeem, 2014, 111-112). The governor and chamberlains began to track down women in the streets and beat those they found riding or walking (Ibn Iyas, 1984, 2, 182-183).

When the epidemic increased in the year 848 AH/1444 AD, Al-Muhtasib tried to alleviate this by attacking places of corruption. When he did that in Bulaq, the people attacked him, insulted him and stoned him, forcing him to flee. Al-Sakhawi said: "I wish it had been the end, for corruption before him was more widespread, and God knows the corrupter from the reformer (Al-Sakhawi, 1986, 8). " Qasim Abdo Qasim believes that in most cases, people interpret disasters purely in religious and moral terms, attributing their causes to God's wrath due to the corruption of morals and the spread of immorality and debauchery. People

and rulers resort to religion, turn to worship, and launch campaigns against the dens of corruption. Once the crisis ends and the gloom subsides, things return to their original state (Qasim, Abdo Qasim, 1998, 363). He adds that the Nile's cessation of flow or the spread of the epidemic, and the resulting disorder and chaos, were explained in light of the corruption of people's morals and their preoccupation with the lights of amusement and corruption. State representatives would launch inspection campaigns and attack dens of corruption and places of debauchery, and warehouses of hashish and alcohol. He gives examples of what happened in the years: in 789 AH/1387 AD, when the deputy of the sultan Prince Sudun attacked hikers on the riverbank and attacked places of selling alcohol, and destroyed large quantities of it, in addition to the warehouses of alhashish and burn destroyed large quantities of it (Qasim, Abdo Qasim, 1998, 366), and when the plague spread in 841 AH/1437 AD, the Sultan hold a meeting in the castle attendees by some jurists, whom some of them told him when adultery spread in society, plague widespread, so he prevent women never from going out (Qasim, Abdo Qasim, 1998, 363-364).

Conclusion:

The study showed that the Mamluk state throughout its long history fought moral corruption to varying degrees. wine and alcohol was at the forefront of the manifestations of corruption due to the great close connection between them and moral corruption.

The fight against moral corruption took place by different ways, orders and decrees were issued to ban wine all hashish, combating the places of drinking alcohol and smoked alhashish and destroyed what found of it.

The study shows that the state often imposed harsh penalties on traders, violators from alcohol and hashish dealers and users. The penalties may reach crucifixion, which are penalties that exceed the penalties stipulated in Islamic law.

The fight against moral corruption was not limited only to the Sultans, rather, the prices, deputies, jurists shared them in doing so. Jurists were of writing to the prices about the importance of spreading justice, preventing corruption, and imposing controls on women.

It also appears that the strict treatment of women was due to linked with the presence of women in the markets, and in the places of drinking alcohol and smoked alhashish, for this reason, they were prevented from going out to markets and cemeteries and walking behind funerals, and even some types of clothing were banned for them, and strict punishment was imposed on those who violated the orders issued to them to prevent the transport of women to those places.

The reasons that motivated the sultans and other deputies and governors combating moral corruption. Some did so out of religious motives, while others were perhaps motivated by the spread of this negative phenomenon in society, and its reaching a stage that required state intervention to limit it.

In some cases, the state connect between the spread of the epidemics particularly the plague and the spread of vices and adultery in society which led to campaigns the places of drinking alcohol and smoked alhashish, and extremism in preventing women from going out.

What is criticized about the efforts made by the state to fight moral corruption is that these efforts were not regular or continuous, which is confirmed by the large number of orders and decrees that were issued to prevent vice and alhashish, and prevent women to go out.

The abundance of issuing numerous of orders and decrees indicates the laxity of supervision in implementing the orders and decrees in pursuing and restricting alcohol and alhashish sellers and users which seems to have usually been campaigns that only lasted for limited periods and then stopped. Perhaps, what indicates this is the reappearance and spread of these phenomena.

References:

- 1. The Holy Quran.
- 2. Abdalhaqq and Aishha Bewely, the noble Quran, A new reading of its meaning in English, published by: Bookwork, Norwitch, uk, 1420 AH/1999 AD.
- 3. Asmaa `Abdlnasir Mohammad Ahmad, The role of the Ayyubid and Mmamluke state in combating alcohol and drugs", (2019).
- 4. Abdul-Baqi, Muhammad Fuad (1364). The indexed dictionary of the words of the Holy Quran, Cairo, Dar Al-Hadith, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Masryia Press.
- 5. Ibn Duqmaq, Ibrahim Muhammad Aydamur Al-Ala'I (d. 809 AH), (1985). Al-Jawhar Al-Thamin in Sirat Al-Muluk wa Al-Salatin, edited by Muhammad Kamal Al-Din Izz Al-Din Ali, Alam Al-Kutub, Beirut.
- 6. Ibn Iyas (n, d), Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Hanafi, Bada'i' al-Zuhur fi Waqa'i' al-Duhur, edited by Muhammad Mustafa, Mecca, Dar al-Baz Library (n.d.).
- 7. Ibn Iyas (1984). Bada'i' al-Zuhur in Waqa'i' al-Duhur, edited by Mustafa Ziyadah, Cairo, Egyptian General Book Authority.
- 8. Ibn Iyas (1951). Muhammad ibn Ahmad, Unpublished Pages from Bada'i' al-Zuhur in Waqa'i' al-Duhur, edited by Muhammad Mustafa, Royal Society for Historical Studies, Dar al-Ma'arif, Egypt.
- 9. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Ali (d. 852 AH) (1994). Inba' al-Ghamr bi-Abna' al-Umar, edited by Hassan Habashi, Cairo, 1415 AH-1994.
- 10. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Ali (d. 852 AH) (n, d). Al-Durar Al-Kamina fi A'yan Al-Mi'at Al-Thamina.
- 11. Al-Hanbali, Shihab al-Din Abi al-Falah Abd al-Hayy ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Akri al-Dimashqi (1032-1089 AH), (1991). Shathrat Al-Dahab fi Akhbar man Dhahab, edited by Abdul Qadir al-Arna'ut and Mahmoud al-Arna'ut, Dar Ibn Kathir, Beirut.
- 12. Al-Dawadari, Abu Bakr ibn Abdullah ibn Aybak (1994). Kanz al-Durar and Jami' al-Ghurar, edited by Edward Badin, Beirut.
- 13. Group of researchers, The Intermediate Dictionary (2004). Al-Mu'jam Al-Wasit, The Arabic Language Academy, (4Edition). Egypt, The Arabic Language Academy Al-Shorouk International Library.
- 14. al-Mukhaizeem, Sami ibn Sa'ed ibn 'Abdullah, The Bahri Mamluke State's Policy Towards Alcohol (khamr) Prohibition (648-784,AH/1250-1382, AD), journal of the Saudi Historical Society, year 16, issue 35 pp. 69-115.
- 15. Qasim, Abdo Qasim (1998). The era of the Mamluk Sultans, Egypt, Ain for Human and Social Studies and Research.
- 16. Al-Rawashdeh, Ali Yousef (2018). The meanings of the term "corruption" and its derivatives in the language, and their uses in the Holy Quran, Studies Sharia and Law Sciences, *Volume 45, Issue 4, Supplement 2*.
- 17. Smadi, Ahmed Yousef Ali (2003). The Punishment of the Drinker of Alcohol between Hadd and Ta'zir, King Saud University Journal, *Issue 16, Educational Sciences and Islamic Studies* (1).
- 18. Al-Subki, Taj al-Din Abd al-Wahhab (d. 710 AH) (1948). Mu`eed Al-Ni`am wa Mubeed Al-Niqam, edited by Muhammad Ali al-Najjar, Abu Zayd Shalabi, and Muhammad Abu al-Uyun, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Egypt.
- 19. Al-Sakhawi, Muhammad bin Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Abi Bakr bin Othman (d. 902 AH) (1896). Al-Taber Al-Masbuk fi Dhail Al-Suluk, printed and corrected by Ahmad Zaki Bey, Al-Amiriya Press, Bulaq, Egypt.

- 20. Al-Suyuti, Jalal al-Din Abd al-Rahman (1967). Hassan al-Muhadhara in Tarikh Misr and al-Qahira, edited by Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim, Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya.
- 21. Ibn Shahin al-Dhahiri, Zayn al-Din Abd al-Basit ibn Khalil (d. 844 AH/920 AD) (2002). Nayel al-Amal fi Dhayl al-Duwal, manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. 610, 285 Hunt, edited by Omar Abd al-Salam Tadmuri, Part Four, Beirut, Al-Maktaba al-Asriya.
- 22. Ibn Shaddad, Izz al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Ibrahim (d. 684 AH/1285 AD) (1983). Tarikh al-Malik al-Dahir, edited by Ahmad Hattit, Franz Steiz Wiesbaden.
- 23. Al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil bin Aybak (d. 764 AH) (1998). A'yan al-'Asr wa Awwan al-Nasr, edited by Ali Abu Zaid, etc., Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'asir, Beirut, and Dar al-Fikr, Damascus.
- 24. Al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil bin Aybak (d. 764 AH) (2000). Al-Wafi bil-Wafiyat, edited by Ahmad al-Arna'ut and Turki Mustafa, Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, Beirut.
- 25. Al-Isfahani, Abu al-Qasim al-Husayn bin Muhammad, known as al-Raghib (n, d). Al-Mufradat fi Gharib al-Quran, Part One, Nizar Mustafa al-Baz Library.
- 26. Ibn al-Sayrafi, al-Khatib Ali bin Dawud (1970). Nuzhat al-Nufus wa al-Abdaan fi Tawarikh al-Zaman, edited by Hassan Habashi, Dar al-Kutub Press.
- 27. Ibn Taghri Bardi, Jamal al-Din Abi al-Mahasin Yusuf (d. 874 AH/1470 AD) (n, d). Al-Nujoum Al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa Al-Qahira, illustrated edition by Dar al-Kutub, Egypt, Ministry of Culture and National Guidance.
- 28. Ibn Taghri Bardi, Jamal al-Din Abi al-Mahasin Yusuf (d. 874 AH/1470 AD) (1985). Al-Manhal al-Safi and al-Mustawwafi ba'd al-Wafi, edited by Nabil Muhammad Abd al-Aziz, Egyptian General Book Authority,
- 29. Ibn Tulun, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Ahmad al-Salihi (d. 953 AH) (1998). Mufakahat al-Khulan fi Hawadith al-Zaman, with marginal notes by Khalil al-Mansur, Muhammad Ali Baydoun Publications, Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
- 30. Ibn Abd al-Dahir (1976). al-Rawd al-Zahir in Sirat al-Malik al-Dahir, edited by Abd al-Aziz al-Khuwaitir, Riyadh.
- 31. al-Askari, Abu Hilal (1980). Mu`jam Al-Furuq Al-Lughwia, edited by the Committee for the Revival of Arab Heritage at Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, Beirut, Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida.
- 32. Ibn al-Furat, Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahim (1938). Tarikh Ibn al-Furat, Volume 9, Part 2, edited by Constantine Zurayq and Najla Izz al-Din, Beirut, American Press.
- 33. Ibn Qadi Shahba, Taqi al-Din Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad (779-851 AH 1377-1448) (1994). Tarikh Ibn Qadi Shahba, edited by Adnan Darwish, French Institute for Arabic Studies, Damascus, Volume II.
- 34. Ibn Kathir, Abu al-Fida al-Dimashqi (701-774 AH) (1998). Bidayah wa al-Nihayah, 7th ed). Beirut, Maktabat al-Maarif.
- 35. Al-Maqrizi, Taqi al-Din Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Abd al-Qadir al-Ubaidi (d. 845 AH) (1936). Al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat Dawul al-Muluk, Part One, Section Two, published by Muhammad Mustafa Ziyadah, Cairo, Dar al-Kutub al-Masriyya Press.
- 36. Al-Maqrizi, Taqi al-Din Abu al-Abbas Ahmad bin Ali bin Abdul Qadir (d. 845 AH) (1997). Al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat Dawul al-Muluk, edited by Muhammad Abdul Qadir Atta, Muhammad Ali Baydoun Publications, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut.
- 37. Al-Malati, Abdul Basit bin Khalil bin Shahin (844-920 AH) (1987). Nuzhat al-Asateen fi Man Wali Misr Min al-Salatin, edited by Muhammad Kamal al-Din Izz al-Din Ali, Cairo, Library of Religious Culture.
- 38. Ibn Manzur (n, d). Lisan al-Arab, Cairo, Dar al-Ma'arif.
- 39. Fayruzabadi Majd al-Din Muhammad bin Ya'qub (d. 817 AH) (2008). Al-Qamus al-Muhit, reviewed by Anas Muhammad al-Shami, Zakaria Jabir Ahmad, Cairo, Dar al-Hadith.

40. Ibn Al-Wardi, Zain Al-Din Omar (1969). Tarikh Ibn Al-Wardi, Al-Haidariyya Press, Najaf.