

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL CAPITAL: REPRODUCTION OF MUKHTASARS IN THE INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES OF THE MAMLUK

Büşra S. KAYA

İstanbul Üniversitesi
busrasddkakaya@gmail.com
0000-0002-5799-6684

Abstract

In recent years, Pierre Bourdieu's views on social structure and order, consisting of reproduction, competition, and struggle in education and various cultural fields, attracted the attention of modern researchers in understanding the socio-intellectual life of the Mamluks. Bourdieu's methodology, which usually involved criticisms of existing assumptions, was based on investigating each subject in its context. His explanations for determining the social order among complex social relations played an essential role in understanding the data in the Mamluk texts. This paper benefits from Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and reproduction to understand the production of knowledge in the socio-intellectual life of the Mamluk and tries to base the tex-

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Dîvân *DISİPLİNLERARASI
ÇALIŞMALAR DERGİSİ*
Araştırma Makalesi

Cilt 28 sayı 55 (2023/2): 61-90
Gön. Tar.: 11.04.2023
Kabul Tar.: 28.11.2023
Yay. Tar.: 31.12.2023
doi: 10.20519/divan.1113236

tual reproduction in the intellectual circles of the Mamluk on the *mukhtasar*.

The study proposes a quadruple categorization of the mukhtasar, which are claimed to be the primary texts of the cultural activities in the Mamluk period. Accordingly, the effect of mukhtasars produced by the Mamluk *ulama* concerning the transfer and transformation of knowledge are among the most significant matters emphasized. Firstly, the study discusses the significance of the commentaries written by the Mamluk cultural elite on mukhtasars in the transfer of knowledge. Secondly, the contribution of the summarizations performed on mukhtasars to reproducing knowledge is examined. Thirdly, mukhtasars introduced by the ulama belonging to four *madhhabs* in Mamluk intellectual circles because of their search for a shared methodology are reviewed. Finally, independent mukhtasars produced during the Mamluk period are discussed within the historical process. It should be noted that this paper, which is conducted to determine the significance of mukhtasars during the Mamluk period, recognizes the characteristics of higher education in the period within itself.

Keywords: Cultural Capital, Reproduction, Mamluk, Intellectual Environment, Mukhtasar.

INTRODUCTION

The political and social structure of the Mamluks and the position of the ulama in the relatively complex higher education system have been among the fundamental problems encountered in understanding the Mamluk texts. The differentiation of its political structure compared to the past, its social order combining various ethnic and cultural elements, and its legal system based on four madhhabs cause quite a confusion, and the problems in the collection and understanding of the texts produced by the Mamluk cultural elite further increase this complexity. Bourdieu,¹ whose theories/theoretical conceptualization are used in our study, tried to explain the social order through competition, conflict, and power within political, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital. According to Bourdieu, these capital resources corresponded to structures that reflected social class and constituted social power. During the Mamluk period, political, military, and economic capitals among these capitals fell into the area of power and governance of the political elite; however, only cultural capital was an area where the political elite could not get involved. They could not get

1 Unlike Marx, Bourdieu does not restrict the concept of capital to the field of economics in his explanations of the social order. Bourdieu, who states in his work *La Reproduction* that there are political, cultural, and symbolic capitals as distinct types of capital, asserts that cultural capital can exist in a variety of forms and that it is possible to gain power in more than one capital area and be a part of different habitus. According to Bourdieu, an individual with the power of the capital amount they have in different habitus will enter an environment of struggle and competition to maintain this power. Sometimes, this can also be sustained through marriage. Bourdieu, who differs from Marx and Weber in that capital is not limited to the economic field and in terms of transition between classes, thinks that every event should be evaluated in its period and under its conditions. See ed. Güney Çeğin and Emrah Göker, Alim Arlı, Ümit Tathıcan, *Ocak ve Zanaat: Pierre Bourdieu Derlemesi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 145-158. See also Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994); W. W. Clifford, "Ubi Sumus? Mamluk History and Social Theory," *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 45-62.

involved in this area due to their Turkish origin, lack of knowledge of Arabic, having had military training, and their inability to participate in a long-term scientific activity. Their efforts to include their children, who could not replace them in office, indicated their desire to gain power in cultural capital. In his analyses of the social order, Bourdieu drew attention to his comparisons between economic and cultural capitals. He explained that cultural capital corresponded to a relatively more permanent structure regarding their transfer to the next generations. Bourdieu used the concept of habitus when talking about this transfer. He used the concept of habitus to explain the transfer of these characteristics by stating that individuals had the characteristics of their culture, in other words, the class they belonged to.² According to Bourdieu, individuals inherited the characteristics and experience of the class they belonged to in their behavioral patterns and conveyed them within this framework. In this sense, while the intellectual environment created by the cultural elite attributed a shared identity to the individuals involved in this area, the transfer of the experience they gained and the reinterpretation of this experience according to the conditions of their period would fall within this cultural environment. According to Bourdieu, the cultural environments of individuals had a structure that shaped them, determined the level of their connection with knowledge, and at the same time was shaped by them.³

The texts preferred to be transferred in the Mamluk intellectual circles after the Mongol invasions were preferred by individuals

2 According to Bourdieu, individuals have a voice in the field in which they are engaged to the extent of their power. In this context, they can have different powers and capitals with their network of relations in more than one field. The competition and struggle of the individual with other individuals in the field to retain and preserve this capital constitute the most crucial dynamic ensuring the social order's continuity and transformation. Anne Jourdain and Sidane Naulin, *Pierre Bourdieu'nun Kuramı ve Sosyolojik Kullanımları*, trans. Öykü Elitez (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 105-122; Çeğin, ed., *Ocak ve Zanaat*, 397-421. See also Jo Van Steenberg, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-political Culture, 1341-1382* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

3 Çeğin, ed., *Ocak ve Zanaat*, 303-367; Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999), 220-229; Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81-114.

belonging to the cultural elite and were shaped in line with their needs and interests. Accordingly, the texts preferred to be transferred shed light on the transformative and constructive aspect of this cultural environment. Individuals included in the Mamluk cultural circles were able to develop solutions to different needs and problems using their knowledge and cultural capital. All texts produced by individuals based on their cultural capital ensured the development of the individual within a structured intellectual environment and shaped the intellectual environment that continued to be structured. At this point, it can be argued that the texts produced by the Mamluk cultural elite derived from specific needs or problems.⁴

The concept of habitus introduced by Bourdieu meant that individuals were fond of their homes and could find their way by guessing or manually, even if they got lost in the dark. On the other hand, individuals felt uncomfortable in a house they visited for the first time as a guest. To find their way easily there, they must have visited that house many times and attained some information about the interior structure of that house. Hence, habitus was a set of information and predispositions that enabled individuals to find their ways in their homes, even if they had fallen in the dark. Similarly, habitus was the name given to all information and predispositions that led to the solution when difficulties emerged in the social areas of individuals.⁵ The Mamluk cultural elite reinterpreted the knowledge they gained in the face of political, social, and cultural problems to find a solution after the Mongol invasions. The recognition of the political legitimacy of the Mamluk military class by the cultural elite and the new legal and information system they introduced transformed themselves and reconstructed society through the texts they produced. At this point, the cultural effort of the Mamluk ulama was of great importance in the transformation and construction of the Mamluk social structure. After the Mongol invasions, many social groups with different ethnic and sectarian origins gathered in the Mamluk lands. Trying to solve the difficulties and problems experienced by these social groups together with their elements of political, economic, and cultural

4 Chamberlain, *Knowledge, and Social Practice*, 69-91; Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos*, 16-22, 123-169.

5 Richard Nice, trans., *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press 1999), 52-64.

capitals, the Mamluk elite created new areas of competition, hosting a wealth of text production that had never been experienced before. The significant elements of this cultural production were mukhtasars.⁶

Bourdieu's social theory was groundbreaking for the researchers of the Mamluk. After Lapidus, many Mamluk researchers used Bourdieu's theory to explain the social order and the role of the ulama in this structure. Ulrich Haarmann⁷ emphasized the subsystems of the *awlad al-nas*⁸ (the children of the Mamluk amirs) concerning the social, political, and cultural relations between the political and cultural elite of the Mamluks. Carl F. Petry,⁹ Daphna Ephrat,¹⁰

6 Mukhtasar: Durmuş, who defines mukhtasar as the type of writing that consists of the summary writing of a work, notes that it is a type of writing that is written as a separate article for students engaging in scientific work to remove the unnecessary parts and explain the incomprehensible parts of a relatively long text previously written in a particular science branch for easier memorization. In expressing his opinions about mukhtasar, Kaya notes that especially fiqh mukhtasars constitute a literary genre representing a writing tradition directly related to the history of Islamic sciences. See İsmail Durmuş, "Muhtasar," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 31: 57-59; Eyyüp Said Kaya, "Muhtasar," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 31: 61-62. See also Mohammad Fadel, "The Social Logic of Taqlid and the Rise of the Mukhtasar," *Islamic Law and Society* 3/2 (1996): 215-233; Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-Ayni, al-Maqrizi, and Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani," *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85-107.

7 David Ayalon, "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon: Ayyubids, Kurds, and Turks," *Der Islam* 54 (1977): 1-32; Donald P. Little, "Religion under Mamluks," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 165-181; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 81-114; Jonathan P. Berkey, "Mamluk Religious Policy." *Mamluk Studies Review* 13/2 (2009): 7-22.

8 Awlad al-nas are the children of the Mamluk amirs, born to free Muslim parents and given Arabic names. Since these children could not go through the stages their fathers had, they were not allowed to reach the degrees they had. Thus, they belonged to the "circle" class in the Mamluk state order. Awlad al-nas was a name given to them, meaning the children of the elite military group, and it was forbidden for these children to inherit the rank and position of their fathers. See Seyyid Muhammed es-Seyyid, "Evlâdü'n-nâs," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 11: 525-526.

9 Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press., 1982).

10 Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: The Sunni 'Ulama' of Eleventh Century Baghdad* (Albany: State University of New York Press 2000).

and Jonathan P. Berkey¹¹ pointed out that the individual relationship networks of the Mamluks determined the informal education system. According to Berkey, the cultural elite in Mamluk society helped balance social divisions. Michael Chamberlain,¹² a student of Lapidus, stated that unofficial social networks in Mamluk society could be understood easily by looking beyond institutional and official structures. He argued that the social order in Mamluk society was established between the owners of political and cultural capitals. Bourdieu's remark that interconnected social networks developed among the ever-changing balances of power was a significant inspiration for Chamberlain. According to Chamberlain, ulama families representing the cultural elite in Mamluk society struggled to retain control of information for social survival to gain power and status. Chamberlain believed that Damascus hosted rich examples of a perpetual arena of competition and struggle among elite families. Chamberlain's study on the Mamluk social order adopted a utilitarian approach, focusing on an information-oriented urban area. This paper takes the studies mentioned above a step forward, arguing that mukhtasars were the key texts concerning the master element of the struggle and competition in knowledge transfer between cultural capital owners in the Mamluk period. Therefore, this paper, which proceeded by using the concepts in Bourdieu's social theory, also takes advantage of the views of Lapidus, Petry, Berkey, and Chamberlain and aims to address a fundamental work under each heading.

COMMENTARIES ON MUKHTASARS WRITTEN IN THE PRE-MAMLUK PERIOD

After the Mongol invasions, Islamic society lost its higher education institutions and libraries. In addition, many ulama living in the Abbasid lands, where political unity was destroyed, were either murdered or forced to leave their countries. During this period, many scholars who fled from various parts of the Islamic world and came to the Mamluk lands adopted the duty of transferring the knowledge they had acquired. The ulama continued to transfer information through the fundamental texts they had read in

11 Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press 1992).

12 Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*.

the course circles established within the Mamluk cultural circles. The scientific activities supervised by the political elite in Damascus and Cairo during the Mamluk period were reinforced by the higher education institutions and libraries established in these cities.¹³ The prominent ulama of the period tried to bring the missing copies of the books they collected from the neighboring regions or to obtain their reproductions into the Mamluk libraries. Thus, many fundamental works were collected in the libraries of Mamluks affiliated with higher education institutions.¹⁴ Utilizing the texts formerly taught in the course circles in the Mamluk *madrasas* led to writing various commentaries on the mukhtasars preferred by the Mamluk ulama. The work of Ibn al-Salah (d. 643/1245), titled *al-Muqaddimah*,¹⁵ was among the studies in the hadith field of Islamic sciences on which the highest number of commentaries had been produced. In the fields of Sarf and Nahw, more than one hundred and fifty commentaries were written on *al-Shafiya*¹⁶ and *al-Kafiya*¹⁷ of Ibn al-Hajib (d. 646/1249). The work titled *Miftâh*

13 Donald P. Little, "Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 9-20; Berkey, Jonathan P. "Mamluk Religious Policy," 13/2: 7-22; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 152-176; Igarashi Daisuke, "Madrasahs, Their Shaykhs, and the Civilian Founder: The Basitiyah Madrasahs in the Mamluk Era," *Orient: Journal of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 48 (2013): 79-94.

14 See Little, "Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs," 9-20; Yaacov Lev, "Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans," *Mamluk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009): 1-26; Thomas Herzog, "Social Milieus and Worldviews in Mamluk Adab-Encyclopedias: The Example of Poverty and Wealth," in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250-1517)*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Gottingen: Bonn University Press, 2014), 61-81.

15 Ibn al-Salah's *al-Muqaddimah* is a mukhtasar work that addresses the issues of hadith methodology in an organized manner. It was written so that students could quickly memorize the hadith method, and after him, many annotations and postscripts were written on it. See M. Yaşar Kandemir "İbnü's-Salah," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 21: 198-200.

16 Ibn al-Hajib's *al-Shafiya* work is an introductory mukhtasar about the *sarf* discipline. It has attracted great interest since the day it was written and is one of the first works in the Islamic world in teaching *sarf*. See Hulusi Kılıç, "İbnü'l-Hâcib," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 21: 55-58.

17 Ibn al-Hajib's work titled *al-Kafiya* is an introduction mukhtasar about *nahw* discipline and is one of the first works in the Islamic world on the teaching of *nahw*. See Hulusi Kılıç, "İbnü'l-Hâcib," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 21: 55-58.

*al-ulûm*¹⁸ by al-Sakkaki (d. 626/1229) and the *Talkhis al-Miftah*¹⁹ by al-Qazwini (d. 739/1338) became the most famous works with many commentaries in grammar and eloquence. In Hanafi fiqh, many commentaries were written on Kuduri's (d. 428/1037) *al-Mukhtasar*²⁰ and Marghinani's (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidaya*.²¹ Ibn al-Hajib's (d. 646/1249) *al-Mukhtasar*²² in Maliki fiqh and al-Khiraqi's (d. 334/946) *al-Muhtasar*²³ in Hanbali fiqh had been the works on which many commentaries were written during this period. The commentaries written during the Mamluk period on the main mukhtasars on the transfer of knowledge became the most significant evidence of Mamluk intellectual circles' academic effort to

18 Sakkaki's work titled *Miftah al-ulûm* is an important work that concisely brings together three essential branches of science: sarf, nahw, and rhetoric. Sakkaki, who thinks that language plays a crucial role in understanding the divine will in the Qur'an and solving the problems encountered, gave this name to his work. Numerous postscripts and annotations have been written about the work. See İsmail Durmuş, "Sekkâkî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 36: 332-334.

19 It is the summary of the third part on rhetoric of Kazvini's work named *Miftah al-ulum* by Sakkaki. However, the author clearly expresses his views on rhetoric in his work, which differ from Sakkaki's. See İsmail Durmuş, "Kazvîni," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 25: 156-157.

20 Kuduri's *al-Mukhtasar* is one of the most trusted texts in the Hanafi madhhab. It has gained fame as both a textbook and a reference work in the history of Hanafi fiqh with its regular systematicity, rich content, and simple style. See Ferhat Koca, "Muhtasar," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 31: 64-66.

21 Marghinani's work on Hanafi fiqh. It is the author's work that brings together the issues addressed in Kuduri's work, titled *al-Muhtasar*, one of the most well-known texts of the madhhab, and Muhammad al-Shaybani's work titled *al-Jami' al-saghîr*. See Cengiz Kallek, "el-Hidaye," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 17: 471-473.

22 *Muntaha al-sûl* is a mukhtasar written by Ibn al-Hajib in jurisprudence, which he wrote using the *mutakallimun* method. The reason for mentioning the work with the procedural record is to avoid confusing it with *Mukhtasar al-muntaha*, one of the main works of the Maliki madhhab. Many postscript and annotation studies have been written on Ibn al-Hajib's *al-Mukhtasar*. See Ferhat Koca, "el-Muhtasar," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 31: 67-70.

23 It is known that Khiraki did not give this work a special name, which is the first fiqh text written on the Hanbali madhhab. This arrangement of Khiraki, which is based on the primary texts of the Shafii madhhab, was followed after him. Many studies have been done regarding the work. Until Muvaffakuddin ibn Kudame al-Maqdisi (b. 620/1223) wrote his work, *al-Muqni*, it was considered the only law work in the Hanbali school. Şükrü Özen, "Hırakî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 17: 322-323.

understand these mukhtasars. These concerns and efforts of the Mamluk ulama to preserve and transfer the scientific knowledge brought by the Islamic civilization before the Mongol invasions led to the widespread recognition and teaching of the mukhtasars.

It was already known that the first commentaries on the mukhtasars were written within the period after the 4th century. All commentaries on mukhtasars, from the first commentaries written on mukhtasars to the end of the Mamluk period, developed in the tradition of a teacher-student relationship built upon the work discussed. Commentaries on mukhtasars were produced based on the needs emerging from the scientific studies between the teacher and students in various course circles during the Mamluk period, as in the past. The commentaries written in the Mamluk geography, on such texts as Ibn al-Salah's *al-Mukhtasar*, Ibn al-Hajib's *al-Kafiyah*, and al-Khiraqi's *al-Mukhtasar*, introduced the experience, understanding, and preferences in different geographies in these fields of science to the Mamluk geography. The commentaries written on mukhtasars during the Mamluk period had particular significance in revealing an effort to be understood, opening new areas of competition and struggle, and demonstrating the dimensions of the impact of the mukhtasars on Islamic society. It can be argued that the main mukhtasars in various fields of science were reviewed in a shared pool and became the master texts of many course circles within the period following the Mongol invasions. The ulama, who gathered in Mamluk cities with the experience of different geographies, taught the mukhtasars they preferred in their course circles. The commentaries on the mukhtasars taught in these course circles had traces of the discussions, competition, and struggle areas during the Mamluk period. The commentaries written on these texts, which carry the scientific knowledge of the pre-Mongolian period, enabled scientific discussions in a common language.

The work with the highest number of commentaries written during the Mamluk period was the *Muqaddimah* by Ibn al-Salah. Ibn al-Salah, born in Shahrazur village of Arbil immediately before the Mamluks in 577/1181, belonged to the ulama family thanks to his father and grandfather. He began his primary education with his father by memorizing the Qur'an. Then, he studied the Shafii fiqh. Observing his interest in science, his father sent him to Mosul to study it. He was taught hadith there by Ibn al-Semin and studied the *al-Muhazzab* by Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi. In addition, he became

an assistant of Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Yunus at the Nizamiyya Madrasah. He taught in Jerusalem for a while at the Salahiyah Madrasah. Upon the arrival of the Crusaders, he moved to Damascus and started to teach at the Rawahiyyah Madrasah. When al-Malik al-Ashraf founded the Dar al-Hadith al-Ashrafiyyah in 630/1233, he appointed Ibn al-Salah as the head of this madrasah. Then, Ibn al-Salah attended to his students, training Abu Shama al-Maqdisi, Ibn Khallikan, and Yunini in his course circles. He completed his work in 634/1237. He compiled his work under sixty-five headings to include all subjects of the hadith science, particularly al-muhaddisu'l-fasil by Ramhurmuzi (d. 360/971), *Ma'rifah anwa al-'ulûm al-hadith* by al-Hakim al-Nisapuri (d. 405/1014), and *al-Kifâyah* by Hatib al-Baghdadi (d. 463/1071). The work was considered the revival of hadith science at its time. The introductory part included the definition of the hadith science and the value of the individuals engaged, its place among other sciences, the value of understanding hadiths beyond writing them, and the degrees of hadiths. The work continued with some significant subjects about hadith science under different headings.²⁴

The work of Ibn al-Salah emerged as a mukhtasar that was considered a masterpiece in the science of hadith, on which many discussions were made among the Mamluk ulama. Iraqî, the leading hadith scholar of the Mamluks, noted it as the most valuable work on the science of hadith. Various commentaries and annotations were written by many scholars, especially Zayn al-Din al-Iraqî (d. 806/1404) and Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449), on Ibn al-Salah's *Muqaddimah*, which was the first comprehensive mukhtasar in the field of hadith science. Moghultay b. Kilic (d.762/1361), one of the significant Mamluk intellectuals, wrote his criticisms on *Muqaddimah* in his work called *Islahu Ibn Salah fî 'ulûm al-hadis*, and Badr al-Din al-Zarkashi (d. 794/1392) produced his work *an-Nukat 'alâ Muqaddimah Ibn Salah* to indicate where he considered the author wrong or disagreed with his views. Iraqî produced two works on this work, one of which was poetry, and tried to respond to the criticisms with various explanations without disturbing the arrangement of the work in his work called *al-Nukat*. On the other

24Abu Nasr Taj al-Din Subki, *Tabaqat al-Shafîyya* (Cairo: Matbaat 'Isa, 1964). 1: 217, 4: 117, 5: 209, 246, 8: 326-336; Taki al-Din Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tabaqat al-Shafîyya* (Beirut: 'Alam al-Kutub, 1986), 2: 113-115; M. Yaşar Kandemir "İbnü's-Salah," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 21: 198-200.

hand, Ibn al-Hajar wrote his work *al-Ifsah bi takmil al-nukat li-Ibn Salah* to criticize the views of Iraqi on the work. A commentary titled *al-Manhaj al-sawi* was written by Muhammad b. Abu Bakr Ibn Jamaah (d. 819/1416), the grandson of Badr al-Din Ibn Jamaah (d. 733/1333), about his work titled *al-Manhal al-rawi*, which included corrections and explanations concerning the work. Similarly, many additions to and explanations about the work were made in the commentaries by Ala' al-Din Ibn Turkmani (d. 750/1349) and Abu al-Fida Ibn Kathir (d. 774/1373).

It is titled *at-Taqrîb wa al-taysir li ma' rifat sunnat al-bashir*, also written by Nawawi (d.676/1277) about the work named *Irshad al-tullab* written by Nawawi, based on Ibn al-Salah's *al-Muqaadimah*. Its summary attracted great attention of the Mamluk ulama. Commentaries were written on these two works of al-Nawawi by prominent hadith scholars of the period, such as Shams al-Din al-Sakhawi (d. 902/1497) and Suyuti (d. 911/1505). Intellectual works that staged the great competition and hassle to gain power in the cultural capital area were realized based on this mukhtasar. It was later followed by the summaries and resummaries of Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401) titled *al-Muqni fi 'ulûm al-hadith* and *at-Tadhqirah fi 'ulûm al-hadith*, respectively. 'Umar b. Raslan (d. 805/1403), who belonged to the prominent ulema family of the period, wrote a commentary titled *Mahasin al-Istilah* on this work. In this study, he added five more chapters to the collection of Ibn al-Salah and increased the number of hadith sciences to seventy.²⁵

Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, known as the most famous hadith scholar of the Mamluk period, disliked the arrangement of the work and rearranged it. Ibn Hajar added forty more chapters to the work in his work called *Nukhbat al-fiqar*, and later he felt the need to reinterpret this work with a commentary under the name of *Nuzhah al-nazar*. These two works, which he started in 812/1409 and completed in 818/1415, created a comprehensive competition area in Mamluk and Ottoman intellectual circles. In the work on which many works were produced, a commentary titled *Natijah al-nazar* was written by Badr al-din Abu al-Ma'ali, son of Ibn Hajar,

²⁵Abu 'Amr Taki al-Din Ibn al-Salah, *Muqaddimatu Ibn al-Salah wa mahasin al-istilah*, ed. Aisha Abd al-Rahman, (Cairo: Dar al-Maaref, 1989), 17-22, 39-62; Ibn Hajar, *Sharh al-Nuhba al-fikar* (Damascus, 1992), 18-36; Abu al-Fazl Jalal al-Din Suyuti, *Nazm al-ikyan fi a'yan al-a'yan* (Beirut: Maktaba al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 47; M. Yaşar Kandemir, "Mukaddimetü İbni's-Salah," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 31: 121-124.

in the work called *Bahcah al-nazar* by his contemporary Kamal al-Din al-Shumunni, who wrote commentaries before its author. The Hanafi scholar Ibn Qutlubugha (d. 879/1474) wrote an annotation about the work, and there are commentaries by Ali al-Qari' (d. 1014/1605) and Yahya b. Muhammad al-Munawi (d. 871/1467). It is known that these works continued until today, especially with the Turkish translation of Muhammad b. Omar al-Iskilibi among the manuscripts found in Edirne Selimiye. Thus, the studies on the mukhtasar of the hadith science, which started with Ibn al-Salah's *Muqaddimah*, improved during the Mamluk period and continued afterward. The commentaries of the Mamluk ulama, which centered around the work of Ibn al-Salah, which was the mukhtasar of the previous scientific knowledge in the field of hadith, were of great importance in terms of demonstrating the grounds and continuity of the scientific discussion development based on the mukhtasar.²⁶

MUKHTASARS ON THE MUKHTASARS WRITTEN BEFORE THE MAMLUKS

Mukhtasars written on the mukhtasars can be seen in Mamluk intellectual circles. History and *tabaqat* sources of the period include many examples related to the subject. Mukhtasars written by the Mamluk ulama on the mukhtasars produced before the Mongol invasions may give an opinion, demonstrating how the Mamluk cultural elite ensured continuity and transformation in the production of information. It is known that the competition between the ulama belonging to the four madhhabs that gathered in Mamluk cities was quite active. The efforts of the ulama, who belonged to each of the four madhhabs, to ensure the continuity and transformation of the transmission of information about their madhhabs enabled the production of many intellectual products during the Mamluk period. Mukhtasars written by Shafii and Hanafi ulama for their students, which were very influential in the higher education system of the period, emerged as the product of an active struggle and competition.²⁷ Al-Nawawi, whose name we

26M. Yaşar Kandemir, "Mukaddimetü İbni's-Salah," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 31: 121-124.

27Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999), 15-88. In his work, which addresses the production of

have heard frequently since the early days of the Mamluks, and his work *al-Minhaj* were discussed in this part.

Al-Nawawi was born in 631/1233 in the Nawa region of southern Syria. Due to his interest in science, his father sent him to the Rewahiyah Madrasah in Damascus when he was eighteen. There, he memorized the fundamental texts of the Shafii fiqh. He participated in the lecture circles of prominent scholars in the fields of hadith, fiqh, and linguistics and achieved their approval. After 660/1262, he devoted himself to training and teaching students. Many students he trained include well-known names such as Ibn Jamaa, al-Azrai, al-Mizzi, Ibn al-Naqib, and Umar Ibn Qathir. Al-Nawawi, who taught in the leading higher education institutions of the period, was assigned as the director of Dar al-Hadith al-Ashrafiyyah in 665/1267 after Abu Shamah al-Maqdisi. He stayed in this office until he died in 675/1277. Al-Nawawi opposed the Sultan's request for a fatwa to seize the people's properties to gain power against the enemy against the Mongol invasion in Syria, and he was appreciated due to his attitude towards Sultan Baibars.²⁸

The significance of al-Nawawi in our study was based on his mukhtasar titled *al-Minhâj al-tâlibîn*, which he wrote about the mukhtasar titled *al-Muharrar* written by Rafii before the Mongol invasions in the early periods of the Mamluks. Al-Nawawi's *al-Minhaj*, which was highly acclaimed in intellectual circles, was among the texts read by many in the biographical encyclopedias of the period. Al-Nawawi completed his work on May 1, 669/1271. Rafii's commentary called *al-Muharrar*, which had become very

legitimate language after the social structure has survived certain crises, Bourdieu deals with the importance of preserving and representing identity in this new social structure to establish the social order. According to Bourdieu, the teacher's authority is vital in transferring higher education structure and cultural capital. He states that in this structure, where the cultural capital ensures its continuity through the production and transfer of knowledge, the students are tested through the texts preferred by the authoritative teachers. Thus, their competence is determined through these texts. See also Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, 108-176.

28 Dhahabi, *Tadhkira al-huffaz* (Beirut: Daru l-hya-i Turath al-Arabi, 1956), 4: 1470-1474; Kutubi, *Fawât al-wafayât*, ed. Salah al-Din Mohammad b. Shakir b. Ahmed (Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, 1973), 4: 264-268; Abu Nasr Taj al-Din Subki, *Tabaqat al-Shafiyya* (Cairo: Matbaat 'Isa, 1964), 8: 395-400; Abu al-Fazl Jalal al-Din Suyuti, *al-Minhâj al-sawi fi tarjama al-Imâm al-Nawawi*, ed. Ahmad Shafeek (Beirut 1988).

popular in the central regions of the Islamic world before the Mongol invasions, was initially written to summarize al-Ghazali's *al-Wajiz* one of the primary texts of the Shafii madhhab. The work, which became famous in its period, was revisited by al-Nawawi in intellectual circles during the Mamluk period. Al-Nawawi believed it should be concise for students to memorize; therefore, he summarized *al-Muharrar* and renewed the text with additions, corrections, and explanations. In particular, al-Nawawi graded the views of the sectarian imam Shafii according to the strength of his evidence and revealed the work within the historical process by distinguishing the views of the sectarian scholars from the views of Shafii and the views of the Shafii from the ancient and subsequent views. While Rafii's work became famous as the work that best compiled the Shafii fiqh, al-Nawawi's *al-Minhaj* took its place among the most fundamental texts of the Mamluk and the Shafii fiqh. The fact that it was written to enable the students receiving higher education in the intellectual circles of Mamluk to memorize easily made it easier for the work to become famous and be the fundamental material of scientific discussion.²⁹

After the work of al-Nawawi, the works written in the field could not remain independent from this work. The fact that the work revealed its field competence within the environment of competition and hassle in the Mamluk intellectual circles ensured that al-Nawawi could maintain its cultural capital in the following periods. Written by an author with power and authority in Shafii fiqh, *al-Minhaj* established the connection with the knowledge before the Mamluk, playing a determining role afterward. Therefore, al-Nawawi's mukhtasar built a structure that could not be ignored by individuals who desired to obtain cultural capital in their field. Considering the intensity of the competition and hassle in the field, it was also important that the cultural elite of the Mamluk period wrote plenty of commentaries, annotations, and research on the work. These works, which were almost thirty in number, mainly included *Daqiq*, written by al-Nawawi on his work, the commentary of al-Mahalli titled *Kanz*, *Umdat* by Ibn al-Mulaqqin, the commentaries of Qadi Shuhbe and Qadi Ajlun, and revealed the interest and competition concerning the work in intellectual environments. The

²⁹Yaw al-Nawawi, *Minhaj al-talibin* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Arabiyya 1328).

See also Abu al-Khayr Shams al-Din Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-lami' li ahl qarn al-tasi'* (Beirut: Dar al-Maktaba al-Hayat, n.d.), 6: 243, 262, 265, 266, 313, 7: 164, 9: 22-23, 104, 108.

commentaries on this text written by al-Haythami and al-Ramli attracted attention, especially among the Shafii ulama. Nevertheless, the works on al-Nawawi's mukhtasar titled *al-Minhaj* were more comprehensive than some commentaries we listed. The commentaries produced from the period when the work was written and the continuous scientific discussions over the mukhtasar of al-Nawawi led to the production of various texts on these commentaries. These works, which once again revealed the competence of al-Nawawi in cultural circles, presented us with the historical course of the scientific discussions over a certain mukhtasar, also demonstrating the continuity of the scientific knowledge in the area where the work was written and the subject of these discussions. Ibn al-Mulaqqin's summary titled *Tafahhum* and al-Ansari's work *al-Manhaj* could be noted as other summaries.³⁰

The work, which drew the attention of various researchers in the modern period, was valuable in revealing the continuity relationship established by the Mamluk cultural elite through the mukhtasar and how they held control of information over a specific area. The Mamluk ulema, which established a competition area in the higher education system of the period through the mukhtasar, revealed their power and authority in the cultural capital area through these texts. The mukhtasar, written by the Mamluk ulama revealed the social and intellectual dimensions of continuity and transformation and stood out with their formation of a shared discussion ground and language. The fact that the mukhtasar formed a basis for discussion in intellectual circles evidenced the authority of its author along with the power and popularity he gained. Al-Nawawi's *al-Minhaj* also became the focus text of scientific discussions after it was written and had a notable impact.

MUKHTASARS WRITTEN WITH COLLECTIVE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES IN THE PERIOD OF MAMLUKS

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The Mongol invasions greatly affected the formation of the Mamluk social and political order and its differentiation from the previous Islamic societies regarding structure. After the Abbasid

30M. Kamil Yaşaroğlu, "Minhâcü't-tâlibin," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 31: 111-112.

caliphate and the destruction of the Caliphate of Cordoba, different social groups from the eastern and western lands of the Islamic world came to the region, finding the opportunity to live in these lands in safety and stability. The problem of the legitimacy of the Mamluk political elite, which was relatively different from other Islamic states, increased the influence of the ulama in ensuring social order. Numerous higher education institutions established in the Mamluk cities of Damascus and Cairo by the political elite ensured the legitimacy of the political elite while protecting scientific activities and ulama.³¹ Many prominent names from different denominations in the Mamluk lands found an environment supporting their scientific activities in the course circles they established. By protecting the ulama, the Mamluk sultans gained a reputation before the society and the ulama who recognized their legitimacy. Higher education institutions established in Mamluk cities were also constructed based on social needs and requirements. The higher education structure in Mamluk cities, which offered the richest examples of the history of Islamic civilization, had a model that supported the ulama and science students from various regions, where four Sunni madhhabs were officially educated and taught the theological and rational sciences. The education of four Sunni madhhabs in the same madrasah in these lands brought together different perspectives regarding their ulama and students. The higher education system of the Mamluks, which enabled different madhhab members to present their cultural capital, witnessed the emergence of areas of great competition and hassle among intellectual circles. Being able to work in many higher education institutions created a great competitive environment among the ulama. Similarly, being able to receive education as a scholarship student in these higher education institutions was also a reason for competition and hassle.³² Therefore, obtaining knowledge of other madhhabs other than the knowledge of their madhhab led to increased cultural capital and provided strength in the field of competition in Mamluk cities. Many students who sought to address their intellectual interests in the Mamluk cultural circles persistently attended the lessons of the renowned ulama of

31 Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth Century Egypt and Syria," 33: 81-114; Berkey, "Mamluk Religious Policy," 13/2: 7-22

32 Lev, "Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans," 13/1:1-26.

the period. Intellectuals trained within the higher education system of the Mamluk, where four Sunni madhhabs were educated comprehensively and in various environments, started to produce shared methodological texts in time. The students, who witnessed different sectarian knowledge and reasoning, went to reinterpret the knowledge they obtained from their teachers belonging to various madhhabs and schools according to their periods. During the Mamluk period, the most significant of these works included *Jam' al-Jawami'* by Taj al-Din al-Subki.³³

Taj al-Din al-Subki, born in 727/1327 in an ulema family in Cairo, received his first education from his father, Taqi ad-Din. He came to Damascus at an early age with his father, who was the qadi al qudat. He attended the lectures of the prominent ulama there. He took lessons from 172 teachers, including al-Dhahabi, al-Mizzi, Shams al-Din Ibn al-Naqib, Ibn al-Taymiyyah, Abu Hayyan, and Ibn al-Jamaa. At a young age, he received approval for teaching and giving a fatwa and started to teach in many madrasahs of Damascus. Then, he moved to Cairo and worked as a mudarris in institutions such as Imam Shafii Mosque, Sheikhuniyye Madrasah, and Ibn al-Tolun Mosque. In 756/1355, he replaced his father as the qadi al qudat of Damascus. Taj al-Din, who wrote works in various genres, combined the methods of mutakallimun and fuqaha in the works that had been written in fiqh. Al-Subki's works were influenced by al-Baydawi from the school of mutakallimun.³⁴

The work of al-Baydawi titled *Minhaj al-vusul* was among the most significant works that summarized the knowledge of the Shafii madhhab before him and transferred the mutakallimun method to the next period. The work of al-Baydawi was a mukhtasar written on al-Razi's *al-Mahsul*; however, al-Baydawi also included his views. Many works had been written for centuries on this work, which systematically and concisely dealt with the Shafii fiqh method, and it was taught as a textbook in madrasahs. On the other hand, Al-Subki's *Jam' al-Jawami'* was a work he summarized from about 100 methodological works that had survived until his period.

33Yossef Rapoport, "New Directions in the Social History of the Mamluk Era," *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250-1517)*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Goettingen: Bonn Univ Press., 2014), 143-155. Taj al-Din Subki, *Jam' al-Jawami' fi ilm usul al-fiqh*, ed. Akile Huseyn (Beirut 2011).

34Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, *al-Durar al-kamina fi ayan al-mia al-thamina* (Cairo: 1966-1967), 3: 140; Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-lâmi'*, 1: 242, 343, 6: 5, 7: 40-41, 9: 25, 66, 218.

Al-Subki's mukhtasar, which had the influence of the mutakallimun method rather than the fuqaha method, and he was a Shafii, was very important in that it was the product of the effort to bring together all the knowledge revealed in the Hanafi and Shafii methods before him. In his work, al-Subki adopted an approach similar to Baydawi's system. His work consisted of a muqaddimah and seven parts, which he started with definitions. Then, he continued by addressing the basics of the fiqh method in both schools. While al-Subki prioritized his preferred views in his work, the work attracted interest from intellectual circles for centuries due to being a summary of all previous procedural books. While there was great competition and hassle about the work, commentaries were written by the prominent ulama, such as al-Zarkashi, al-Ghazzi, and al-Mahalli, during the Mamluk period. It is known that al-Suyuti turned the work into a poem, and Zakariyyah al-Ansari wrote a separate mukhtasar.³⁵

SPECIFIC MUKHTASARS WRITTEN DURING THE MAMLUK PERIOD

At the end of the Mamluk period, it was observed that the texts produced by the Mamluk ulama were then revealed in independent disciplines due to the preservation, reproduction, and shared methodological approaches of the previous knowledge of Islamic sciences. Especially in the last century of the Mamluks, there were multiple examples of independent mukhtasars, corresponding to a period when the scientific knowledge of the Mamluk ulama in some disciplines matured. In the Mamluks' last century, the Mamluk cultural elite wrote many independent mukhtasars on fiqh, hadith, theology, language and history, and intellectual sciences. The independent mukhtasars in various branches of science then implied that scientific knowledge had been absorbed, and students became open to education and criticisms of intellectual circles. The fact that some mukhtasars survived the criticisms of these cultural circles and became famous enabled intellectual authors to become open to criticism in these circles. These texts presented to

35Ali Bardakoğlu, "Cem'u'l-cevâmi" *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* 7: 343-344.

intellectual circles could have led to the reinforcement or weakening of the authority and power of the author. Therefore, the independent mukhtasars became widespread within the higher education system of the Mamluks, many commentaries and annotations were written on them, and they were considered texts that proved their authority. This acceptance was a feature that increased the prestige of the author of the mukhtasar and contributed to his cultural capital.³⁶

Among independent mukhtasar authors in the Mamluk period, one of the most prominent authors was al-Kafiyaji. Al-Kafiyaji, born in Bergama in 788/1386, was known by this name because he repeatedly read Ibn al-Hajib's work *al-Kafiyah*, a famous work of the Arabic nahw in the period. Trained by the prominent scientists of the period, such as Ibn al-Malak, Burhan al-Din Haydar, and Molla al-Fanari, al-Kafiyaji left for the pilgrimage and stayed in Jerusalem on his return. After spending three years in Jerusalem, he settled in Cairo in 830/1427. He taught in many higher education institutions in this Mamluk city, such as Barsbay Tumb and Sheikhuniyah Khanqah as the sheikh al-shuyukh. Many of his students, such as Zakariya al-Ansari, al-Sakhawi, and al-Suyuti, continued his course circles and benefited from his cultural capital.³⁷

The independent mukhtasar written by al-Kafiyaji about the science of history in the last century of the Mamluk was remarkable. Al-Kafiyaji's work, which he called *al-Mukhtasar fi al-tarih* was of great importance in terms of defining history as a branch of science and being the first work on the method of the science of independent history written during the history of Islamic civilization. A logi-

³⁶In his work entitled *Cultural Production*, Bourdieu states that the use of language by the cultural elite in the transfer of knowledge and the texts they produce gain power in cultural capital while expressing that cultural production actually affects the economic capital. In his opinion, while the practices of the cultural elite at the point of knowledge transfer build their habitus, the various types of relationships they establish with other capital owners ensure that they gain power in different habitus areas. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge, 2004), 161-176.

³⁷Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-lâmi'*, 7: 259-261; Abu al-Fazl Jalal al-Din Suyuti, *Bughyah al-wuât fi tabaqât al-lughaviyyin wa al-nuhat* (Cairo 1326), 48; Abu al-Fazl Jalal al-Din Suyuti, *Husn al-muhadara fi tarikhî Misr wa al-Qahirah*, ed. Mohammad Abu al-Fazl Ibrahim (Cairo: Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1967), 1: 64, 314-317; Abu al-Baraqaq Ibn 'Iyas, *Badâi' al-dhuhûr fî vaqâi' al-dhuhûr* (Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Misriyya, 1982), 2: 152.

cal pattern was observed in the work of al-Kafiyaji, complying with the reasoning style of the Transoxiana Hanafi scholars. In his work, he included the definition, subject, and purpose of the science of history and the necessity of a methodology to study the science of history. The fact that the work of al-Kafiyaji was the oldest historical work written in a universal sense further increased the value of the work. Al-Kafiyaji completed his work on December 31, 1462/866, and divided his mukhtasar into two main parts. In the first part, he clarified the concepts of solar year and lunar year, month, day, and time. He then talked about the first appearance of the Hijri calendar and the calendars used by other nations. Next, he discussed the necessity of a methodology to study the science of history and provided information about the characteristics a historian should have. Al-Kafiyaji started the second part of the mukhtasar with the relationship of historical science with existence and other sciences. According to him, history was a science that dealt with time, its states, and the states of related things in terms of determining and identifying their hours. In his mukhtasar, al-Kafiyaji noted that the subject of history was limited to what happened afterward. According to him, for a matter or event to be the subject of history, it should be strange, in other words, different from other events, and it should include elements such as encouragement and avoidance. He believed that the primary purpose of the historian was to keep a reliable record of the human being. While this independent mukhtasar of al-Kafiyaji constituted a comprehensive field of discussion after him, it must have been very effective for the prominent historians of the period, al-Sakhawi and al-Suyuti, to produce texts in the same genre. Al-Sakhawi and al-Suyuti reconsidered the mukhtasar of their teacher with different approaches and produced a new independent mukhtasar each.³⁸

The work of al-Sakhawi titled the *Ilan* was more of a defense of the science of history and had the impact of the competent had-

³⁸The literature that developed through the work of Kafiyaji, named *al-Mukhtasar*, ensured the construction of a new cultural capital area, as in other examples of mukhtasar. The struggle for power in this area ensured its continuity and transformation, even though it created new areas of competition and struggle in the habitus established by the cultural elite among themselves on the construction of a new capital area. See Pierre Bourdieu, "The New Capital: Social Space and Field of Power," *Practical Reason on the Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Polity Series, 1998), 31-35. See also Kasım Şulul, *Kafiyeci'de tarih usulü* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003).

ith approach of the period. Al-Sakhawi divided his work into parts about the definition, subject, and purpose of the science of history and then evaluated and classified all the works on history. According to him, individuals who did not know the value of history could not understand the usefulness and effectiveness of this discipline. Having used almost eighty resources, al-Sakhawi defined history as “knowing the time.” According to him, history “dealt with the facts in time and space in determining their appointment and time.” Al-Sakhawi limited the subject of history to individuals and time and defined the topics of history as various events experienced by individuals over time. According to al-Sakhawi, including narratives and historical events in the Qur’an was the most powerful and sufficient evidence that history was a respected branch of science. Emphasizing that there was a strong relationship between hadith sciences and history, al-Sakhawi noted that history was a science that belonged to the sciences of hadith. Al-Sakhawi, who also conveyed various views from his teacher al-Kafiyaji in his work, later opened a title called *The Wisdom of History* and continued defending history. Under this heading, he classified the individuals who found the science of history unnecessary and evaluated each of their arguments. Then, he stated that individuals who dealt with the science of history should not write to benefit certain people or to obtain a benefit without implications, recording the information completely and accurately. According to him, the historian should carefully avoid making mistakes and fear Allah for it. After that, he mentioned the mukhtasar of al-Subki on history titled *al-Qaidah fi al-muarrikhin*.³⁹

Al-Suyuti, another student of al-Kafiyaji, started his mukhtasar titled *as-Shamarih fi ‘ilm al-târikh*⁴⁰ with the beginning of history. He talked about history from Adam to Noah and after the flood, to the history of the Prophets Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Solomon, and Jesus, and finally to Prophet Mohammad and the awarding of prophecy to him. After that, he provided the reader with information on how the calendar emerged in Islamic history. Al-Suyuti’s mukhtasar, much shorter than the other two texts, ended with

39 Abu al-Khayr Shams al-Din Sakhawi, *Flân bi al-tawbih l iman thamma ahl al-tarikh*, ed. Franz Rosenthal (Beirut n.d.).

40 Abu al-Fazl Jalal al-Din Suyuti, *al-Shamarih fi ‘ilm al-târikh*, ed. Anwar Mahmood- Mohammad Salim (Cairo 2009).

mentions of the benefits of the science of history and how it was determined.

The writing of independent mukhtasars in various branches of science during the last period of the Mamluks could be interpreted as the ulama of the period having achieved the age of maturity. Al-Kafiyaji and his students, whom we discussed in the study, presented determinations containing significant evidence and approaches about whether history, which was the subject of great debates even in the modern period, was a science. In particular, the mukhtasar of Kafiyaji discussed knowledge successfully and logically, creating a separate work with the view that history was a scientific discipline. In *al-Muhtasar fi't-tarih*, al-Kafiyaji eliminated the doubts of modern historians and revealed determinations far beyond the debates they had by including the definition, subject, purpose, and scope of history and evaluating the problems it dealt with in this branch of science rationally. It was also significant that history was considered a separate discipline, and its value among other branches of science was explained by an intellectual living in the Mamluk lands during the late Middle Ages.

CONCLUSION

This paper, which discusses mukhtasars regarding the historical development that provided a shared information transfer channel, a ground for discussion, and an intellectual language in the Mamluk lands, presents a classification on the subject. This paper, which claims that the competition and struggle in cultural circles at the point of transfer of information in the Mamluk period continued through mukhtasars, tries to address the issue in its context. In particular, mukhtasars, the center of text production in Mamluk intellectual circles, formed an essential element of competition and hassle among cultural elites. It was believed that mukhtasars had great importance in establishing direct contact with the knowledge produced in the Islamic world before the Mongols and their impact afterward.

It is essential to make sense of intellectual activities within the differentiated political and social structure of the Mamluk period and to evaluate them within the conditions of the period. Accordingly, the madrasah structures, built by the Mamluk political elite

in Mamluk cities to gain legitimacy and reputation, offered education to the four madhhabs, supported the scientific activities of the cultural elite, and established a relationship based on mutual benefit. The political elite, which gained prestige among the owners of cultural capital, was thus accepted and approved by society. The fact that the ulama recognized the Mamluk political elite and accepted it as legitimate power by social groups was crucial in establishing social order. The Mamluk ulama represented a structure that maintained order between their cultural capital and the political elite and society.

The Mamluk cities of Damascus and Cairo present the most vivid examples of gaining power and authority among the ulama in the cultural capital. In these lands, where cultural elites from the four Sunni madhhabs came together, the effort to gain power and authority among their madhhab and other madhhab members corresponded to the hassle areas that we often encounter in the tabaqats of the period. In addition, one of the most vibrant structures in which the hassle took place in Mamluk intellectual circles was the production of texts. When the text production of the Mamluk ulama is evaluated horizontally and vertically from historical and geographical perspectives, the results obtained could be vibrant. Having power and authority over texts in transferring information led to the acceptance and spread of a text in intellectual circles and the emergence of new intellectual products through that text. Thus, the author of the text, who became famous among the cultural elite, significantly contributed to his cultural capital. In Mamluk higher education, the most common type of text produced was mukhtasar. Mukhtasars of almost every discipline were linked to the scientific debates in previous periods and ensured continuity in knowledge production. These texts, which developed in intellectual circles around the cultural elite in various Mamluk cities, stood out with scientific development in the Mamluk period. Fiqh mukhtasars, which belonged to four Sunni madhhabs and formed the basis for the transfer of knowledge between segments from different ethnic backgrounds, also brought together the differences of the period. While mukhtasars, which were the product of the common methodological approaches introduced by the Mamluk ulema, reflected the traces of the period and gave an idea about the breadth and depth of the cultural capital of the Mamluk ulama.

The competition that developed over mukhtasar writing in this period, the revival of pre-Mongolian scientific knowledge in these

lands, the gaining of a new interpretation with different perspectives in intellectual circles, and the opening to discussion with new meanings may indicate the extent of the wealth in text production in the Mamluk period. These conscious efforts of the Mamluk ulama to ensure intellectual continuity made it necessary to reinterpret the sources of information from different geographies to the Mamluk lands. Anyone who read a mukhtasar representing one of the most essential elements of an individual's ability to participate in intellectual circles in the Mamluk lands from a prominent scholar could now leave the public and join intellectual circles. In this sense, reading mukhtasars constituted the determining element of the distinction between the average and the intellectual, which exceeded social boundaries in the social structure. The strengthening and development of the individual's cultural capital in Mamluk intellectual circles also had an area built on mukhtasars.

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KÜLTÜREL SERMAYE KAVRAMINA BİR KATKI: MEMLÜK ENTELEKTÜEL ÇEVRELERİNDE MUHTASARIN YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ

Öz

Pierre Bourdieu'nün eğitim, kültürel alanlarda yeniden üretim, rekabet ve mücadeleden oluşan toplumsal yapı ve düzene dair görüşleri, son yıllarda Memlüklerin sosyo-entelektüel hayatının anlaşılmasında modern araştırmacıların oldukça dikkatini çekmektedir. Bourdieu'nün genellikle mevcut varsayımların eleştirisini içeren metodolojisi, her konuyu kendi bağlamı içinde incelemeye dayanmaktadır. Karmaşık sosyal ilişkiler arasında toplumsal düzeni belirlemeye yönelik açıklamaları, Memlük metinlerinde yer alan verilerin anlaşılmasına önemli bir katkı sağlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, Memlüklerin sosyo-entelektüel hayatındaki bilgi üretimini anlamak için Bourdieu'nün kültürel sermaye ve yeniden üretim kavramlarından yararlanacak ve Memlüklerin entelektüel çevrelerindeki metinsel yeniden üretimi muhtasar metinler üzerinden temellendirmeye çalışacaktır.

Çalışma, Memlükler dönemindeki yüksek öğretim faaliyetlerinin ana metinleri olduğu iddia edilen muhtasalar için dördü bir kategorizasyon önermektedir. Buna göre, Memlük uleması tarafından üretilen muhtasaların bilginin aktarılması ve dönüştürülmesindeki etkisi, üzerinde durulan en önemli konular arasında yer almaktadır. Çalışmada ilk olarak, Memlük kültürel elitinin muhtasalar üzerine yazdığı şerhlerin bilgi aktarımındaki önemi tartışılmaktadır. İkinci olarak, muhtasar metinler üzerine yapılan özetlemelerin bilginin yeniden üretimine katkısı ele alınmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak, Memlük entelektüel çevrelerinde dört mezhebe mensup ulemanın ortak bir metodoloji arayışı neticesinde ortaya koydukları muhtasalar gözden geçirilmektedir. Son olarak da Memlükler döneminde üretilen müstakil muhtasar metinler tarihsel süreç içerisinde ele alınmaktadır. Muhtasaların Memlükler dönemindeki önemini tespit etmek amacıyla yapılan bu çalışmanın, dönemin yüksek öğretiminin kendi içindeki özelliklerini de göz ardı etmediğini belirtmek gerekir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültürel Sermaye, Yeniden Üretim, Memlük, Yüksek Öğretim, Muhtasar

