CHAPTER 7

Changing patterns of Muslim commercial space in the later middle ages

Muslim commercial institutions that had taken shape in the early Islamic period continued to evolve and thrive in the later middle ages. The large volume of business coming through the *funduqs*, *fondacos*, and other facilities in Egypt, Syria, and the Maghrib is attested in a wide range of sources from the second half of the thirteenth century through the first decades of the sixteenth century. The Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) described the Funduq Bilāl al-Mughīthī in Cairo where "merchants and businessmen store their goods . . . I entered one day and saw their crates, large and small, lined up against the wall, leaving only a narrow passage between them. These containers were filled with incalculable sums of silver and gold."[1] Felix Fabri, a German pilgrim who came through Alexandria in the 1480s, was equally awed by the quantities of commodities packed into the Venetian *fondacos* in that city, one of which "was completely filled and overflowing with sacks and baskets of merchandise, so that there was hardly any space left to walk around, even though the courtyard was vast and there were numerous rooms." The second Venetian *fondaco* was "even larger than the first, [and] there was a stupefying quantity of different kinds of merchandise, both those things which they wish to import from our regions and those which they wished to export from here."[2]

Despite the bustling traffic that continued to come through *funduqs* and *fondacos* in the later middle ages, there were distinctive new developments in the use and terminology of commercial space in Muslim cities during the Mamlūk period (1250–1517). Most strikingly, for the purposes of this chapter, *funduqs* gradually became less prevalent in the Near East, and their range of function diminished. Although the word itself did not disappear during the Mamlūk period, many buildings that had once been *funduqs* fell into disuse, were demolished, or were converted into other types of commercial

[1] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 92.
[2] Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 163 [130b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 694–695.

facility – usually either *khāns* or *wakālas*. Data from chronicles, *waqf* endowments, and other materials all indicate the ascendancy of *khāns* and *wakālas* in Mamlūk lands, and the increasing preference for these facilities over other commercial spaces. When the new port region of Būlāq was developed in Cairo in the fifteenth century, merchants built dozens of *wakālas* as sites for their business and storage instead of the *funduqs* that had filled much the same functions in the earlier port of Fusṭāṭ.[3] As a result of these shifts in usage in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the modern Arabic word *funduq* no longer carries the rich mixture of charitable, regulatory, and commercial significance that had once characterized this institution.

The *fondaco* did not share the fate of the *funduq*. Instead, it still flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and continued to facilitate European traffic in Muslim cities into the Ottoman period. Although the two institutions continued to go by the same title (*funduq*) in Arabic, there was an increasing differentiation between the function and regulation of *fondacos* for western Christian traders and *funduqs* for merchants from within the *Dār al-Islām*. The entrenchment of western "national" *fondacos* as a points of mediation for cross-cultural trade, and their proliferation during the later middle ages, had a significant negative impact on the status and function of traditional *funduqs* in Mamlūk lands. The role of western *fondacos* in the late medieval Islamic world will be discussed in the next chapter.

The shifting terminology of trade and changing use of commercial space in Mamlūk cities resulted from a complex mixture of political and economic strategies on the part of sultans, alternating stability and disruption in their realms, contemporary linguistic and demographic changes, and the growing hegemony of western shipping in the Mediterranean. The advent of the Circassian line of Mamlūk sultans after 1382, beginning with Sultan Barqūq, and the ravages of Tīmūr in Syria in 1401, may have marked particular turning-points. This was also a time of profound change – even crisis – throughout the medieval Mediterranean world. A slowly cooling climate, together with recurring famine and plague in the fourteenth century and later, put an end to the demographic, agrarian, and commercial expansion that had been underway in the Mediterranean world since the early middle ages. Differential response to these challenges in Europe and the Near East, together with new developments in technology, markets, fiscal policies, and political vision, all influenced Mediterranean commerce and led to shifts in its commercial institutions. Meanwhile, there was also a widening gap

[3] Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq in the Mamlūk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983) 89–101.

between the eastern and western Islamic worlds (Mashriq and Maghrib). This led not only to disparate trading relations with European states, but also to differences in the function and nomenclature of commercial buildings between the two ends of the Muslim Mediterranean. Thus, while the *funduq* became less common in Egypt and Syria in the later middle ages, it continued to flourish in the Maghrib through the Ottoman period.

In the eastern Islamic world, Mamlūk rulers were keen to regulate trade and to cull profits from the *funduq* and other commercial facilities. As a result, their period was characterized by protectionist economic strategies, by increased regulation of the western *fondacos*, and by the shifting focus of Muslim merchants towards overland and Red Sea-to-Indian Ocean traffic. In the hope of profiting from merchant business, Mamlūk rulers experimented with taxes, monopolies, *waqf* endowments, controls on trade, and other methods of asserting their presence within the economic sphere. Not all of these were new, since many built on economic policies developed in the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. For example, the idea of using the *wakāla* as an official facility for channeling traffic in certain products, and thereby accessing their profits, had roots in the twelfth century and possibly even earlier, but preference for the *wakāla* grew markedly under the later Mamlūks. Some Mamlūk innovations, particularly the rejuvenation of an official mail service (*barīd*), had a strongly positive effect on overland trade and communications, and enhanced the network of rural *khāns* in Syria and Egypt. But many Mamlūk fiscal tactics turned out to be short-sighted, being less concerned with the long-term economic health of their realm than with speedy gains for government coffers, or the immediate advancement of certain sultans, amirs, merchant groups, or sectors of trade. Al-Maqrīzī, who served as a market inspector (*muḥtasib*) in Cairo, making him intimately familiar with commercial facilities in that city, was particularly critical of the economic policies initiated after the dynastic shift in 1382.[4]

The advent of Mamlūk rule in Egypt and Syria in 1250 issued in a new system of political power based on clientage, talent, and professional advancement rather than on dynastic inheritance. This had a profound impact on practices of inheritance and endowment, and, by extension, the foundation of commercial buildings. All mamlūks were originally slaves of foreign non-Muslim origin, brought to Egypt as young boys, converted to Islam, and meticulously trained in the arts of war and politics. Each mamlūk served under an amir in a cohort with others of his own status, and those who were adept and successful could expect to rise in the ranks,

[4] Adel Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics. A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994) 2–4.

eventually becoming amirs themselves. Ultimately, a man with the right talents and connections would be chosen as sultan. This system was very different from previous Ayyūbid policies, where all rulers were drawn from the dynasty of Saladin. Early Mamlūk rulers were not usually related to each other by blood (although this became more common later).

These changes in dynastic understanding had implications for inheritance and for the transfer of wealth to heirs. Mamlūk sultans and amirs were discouraged from passing on power to their own line. Nor – in theory – could they bequeath real property, such as land and buildings, since these were distributed temporarily as perks of the job. Money and goods could, however, be amassed for personal use and passed on to family members. These rules put a premium on cash revenues derived from rents, taxes, fees, *waqf* income, and other sources.

The *funduq* was one among a number of urban facilities (the traditional constellation of baths, markets, ovens, *khāns*, *wakālas*, etc.) that could produce revenues through renting or farming the property, collecting taxes, and charging fees for storage and lodging. Many *funduqs*, particularly small-scale facilities, would have been privately owned or leased by ordinary citizens. Others were part of *waqf* endowments, or under the control of Mamlūk amirs and sultans. These beneficiaries derived income either from regular rental payments or as a percentage of the profits of the enterprise. These financial arrangements and the avid interest of Mamlūk officials in commercial buildings are attested in *waqf* deeds, contracts, chronicles, and urban surveys.[5]

Sources indicate a thriving commercial sector in the Mamlūk capital, and a broad array of mercantile facilities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of these commercial buildings were now in the heart of Cairo proper (al-Qāhira), in the area north of the Citadel, or in the new port of Būlāq, rather than in Fusṭāṭ, the older southern area of the city.[6]

[5] It has not been possible to consult the unpublished manuscripts of *waqfiyyāt* in Cairo for this project, nor to pursue this avenue fully in published sources. Among edited texts, see those in Ibn Habīb, *Tathkerat al-nabih*, II, 427–448 (my thanks to Niall Christie for drawing my attention to this collection). Sultan Barsbay endowed a *funduq* in Cairo in 1442 and Qāyit Bay (1468–1496) constructed four *wakālas* and two *khāns* in the same city. Barsbay's *waqf* has been partially published in Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1961), and also in Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, appendix, 8–10. On the foundation of Qāyit Bay, see Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāytbāy's Investments," 29. See also Randi Deguilhem, *Le Waqf dans l'espace islamique outil de pouvoir socio-politique* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1995).

[6] On changes in the city and its topography, see Casanova, *Reconstitution topographique*; Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*; Laila Ibrahim, *Mamluk Monuments of Cairo* (Cairo: Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1976); Garcin (ed.), *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*, 135–156, 177–203; S. Denoix, "Histoire et formes urbaines (éléments de méthode)," in *Itinéraires d'Egypte: mélanges offerts au Père Maurice Martin*, ed. Christian Découbert (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1992) 45–70.

Reports vary on the exact number of each type of facility, since some buildings changed their names over time, while others went by several names simultaneously. Terms could also be nested together, so that a *khān* might be part of a *qayṣāriyya*, or a *funduq* might be one element within a larger interconnected commercial complex such as the Khān al-Khalīlī.[7] Sometimes chroniclers used several terms, even if they had slightly different meanings, simply for rhetorical effect and to vary their language. Thus, when al-Maqrīzī reported that the *khāns* of Cairo "were crammed with newly-arrived travelers and the *funduqs* were filled with residents," it is hard to know if he was distinguishing between two distinct types of hostel, one for transient guests and the other for long-term lodgers, or merely making a nicely parallel statement.[8]

In most cases, however, al-Maqrīzī's use of language was neither random nor merely rhetorical. He mentioned a number of buildings that shifted from one designation to another, indicating that the name of a commercial building could change without alterations to its physical structure. For example, two *funduqs* established in Cairo in the Ayyūbid period were collectively called the Khān al-Masrūr by the fourteenth century.[9] The Wakāla Qawṣūn was also originally built as a *funduq*, probably in the 1330s, but had been converted into a *wakāla* by the end of the century (though al-Maqrīzī pointed out that it still had "the same purpose [*fī maʿnī*] as a *funduq* or *khān*").[10] The same pattern occurred with the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya, a building constructed as "a *funduq* with living quarters on the upper floors" in 1391, which was almost immediately commandeered by Sultan Barqūq, who "ordered that it be made into a *wakāla* for the storage of merchandise arriving in Cairo by sea [i.e. along the river from Alexandria] from the province of Syria."[11]

[7] André Raymond and Gaston Wiet discuss the issue of terminology in their introduction to al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, I. Some buildings normally termed *wakālas* or *khāns* were only described in generic terms in epigraphy. The Khān al-Khalīlī was simply called *makān* or *ḥisn* in three inscriptions dating from the time of its restoration by Sultan Ghūrī (1501–1516) (M. Van Berchem [ed.], *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, XIX: Egypte [Cairo: Insitut français d'archéologie orientale, 1903] part 1, 595–596 (nos. 406–408). On Ghūrī's foundations, see K. A. Alhamzeh, "Late Mamlūk Patronage: Qansuh Ghūrī's *waqf* and his Foundations in Cairo," Ph.D. dissertation (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1993).

[8] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 361.

[9] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 92. The slippage in terminology from *funduq* to *khān* was already occurring in the Ayyūbid period, but it became more pronounced after the thirteenth century.

[10] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93. The date is suggested by a Cairene inscription, dated 1330, recording the foundation of a *khān* (either the same or a different building) built by the amir Qawṣūn (Combe et al. [eds.], *Répertoire*, XIV [no. 5580]).

[11] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 94. This may be the same facility as the *funduq al-wakāla* listed by Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, IV, 40.

Al-Maqrīzī's use of particular words for urban facilities indicates that shifts in terminology were systematic, repeated, and unidirectional. He and other authors mentioned *funduqs* that became *khāns* or *wakālas*, but the transition never went in the other direction. Evidently, these terms were not identical or interchangeable (although they did overlap and it was common to find slippage from one to another in popular usage), and over time the *funduq* lost ground to rival institutions. In order to understand these changes, this chapter will turn to each term individually, examining its range of meaning and function, looking for chronological and geographical patterns in its use, and charting alterations over time. The chapter concludes by suggesting reasons for these shifts in the function and relative prominence of the *funduq*, *khān*, and *wakāla* during the Mamlūk period.

THE *FUNDUQ*

Functionally, there was little to set most *funduqs* in Mamlūk cities apart from their predecessors in the Ayyūbid period and earlier. What was different was that the *funduq* gradually became less common, and many of its functions were shared – and increasingly usurped – by other urban commercial facilities.[12] As in the past, terminology often overlapped. Al-Maqrīzī casually mentioned a *funduq* in Cairo that "was called the Khān al-Ḥajar" in 1329, and the double terminology was still in place a century later when this building was renovated and endowed as part of a *waqf* by Sultan Barsbay in 1442.[13] By the eighteenth century, the facility was no longer either a *funduq* or a *khān*, but was known as the Wakāla al-Danūsharī.[14]

Increasingly, the designation "*funduq*" might refer only to certain parts of a building, not necessarily the entire complex. The 1442 *waqf* of Barsbay (above) described a *funduq* with storerooms, a central courtyard with a well, and upper chambers and apartments, while there were a number of other adjacent amenities – shops and a bread oven – nearby. Other endowments

[12] In Cairo, Maqrīzī mentioned several *funduqs* built in the second half of the thirteenth century (such as the Funduq al-Ṣāliḥ, founded by a son of the Sultan Qalāwūn in the early 1280s ([*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 92–93]), and a number of others established in the fourteenth century. He listed no *funduqs* built under this name in the fifteenth century. The slightly earlier historian Ibn Duqmāq (d. 1407) named sixteen facilities in a section devoted to *funduqs* in Cairo in his *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, IV, 40–41, but cited forty-one in the index. In general, Ibn Duqmāq said little about individual facilities. Also on citations to *funduqs*, *khāns*, and *wakālas* in the work of Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī, see al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 23–24 and Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (ed.), *Index des Hiṭaṭ. Index analytique des ouvrages d'Ibn Duqmāq et de Maqrīzī sur le Caire* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983).

[13] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, IV, part II, 853; Darrāj, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay*; Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, appendix, 8–10.

[14] Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, 9.

show a similar conjunction of related urban facilities, not all of which were considered part of the *funduq* proper. This was not necessarily a new development, since deeds and contracts had traditionally spoken of *funduqs* and "their appurtenances." However, the overlapping use of urban real estate became more necessary as the population and commercial activities of Cairo grew denser in the Mamlūk period.

One innovation was the development of the *rabʿ*, apartment complexes built on the upper floors of commercial buildings (such as *funduqs* and *wakālas*) in Mamlūk Cairo. These close-packed dwellings for the urban poor were accessed by exterior stairways, not from the interior courtyard, thus preserving a separation between the spaces for business and for habitation within the same structure. In many cases, local merchants and traveling traders no longer lodged in the same buildings with their goods and business associates, as had been the standard pattern in earlier *funduqs*.[15]

Although the use of buildings might change, their basic form did not. *Waqf* texts and surviving buildings – such as the partial remains of a *funduq* constructed by Sultan Barsbay in Cairo in 1423 (and later called the Wakāla al-Ashrafiyya) – show the continuing generic form of a central courtyard with storage-rooms on the first floor and living-chambers above.[16] As with many urban facilities, however, it was often necessary to adapt the shape of a building to make the most of limited space. Thus, the *funduq* noted above was roughly rectangular with three floors, and had been fitted into the corner of two streets behind their shop fronts. On the ground floor, the courtyard and storerooms around it were accessible through a single gate. Some of the chambers on the second and third floors overlooked the courtyard, while others looked into the side streets. A number of shops opening onto the street backed onto the courtyard (and had upper chambers of the *funduq* built above them), but did not connect to the courtyard. Although this complex of shops, warehouse space, and living-chambers appear to be all the same structure, possibly only the internal courtyard and areas accessible from this space were actually considered part of the *funduq*.[17]

[15] Hazem Sayed, "The *Rabʿ* in Cairo: A Window on Mamluk Architecture and Urbanism," Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1987) 95–98, 140–143; André Raymond, "The Rabʿ: A Type of Collective Housing in Cairo during the Ottoman Period," in *Proceedings of Seminar Four in the Series: Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, held in Fez, Morocco, October 9–12, 1979* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980) 56. See also Mirfat Maḥmūd ʿIsā, "Dirāsa fī wathāʾiq al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ibn Ḥusayn," *al-Muʾarrikh al-Miṣrī* 21 (1999) 155–156.

[16] S. Denoix, "Topographie de l'intervention du personnel politique à l'epoque mamelouk," in Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, 1, 42. This structure was called a *funduq* in its endowment text, and Denoix noted it as the Funduq of Barsbay.

[17] Denoix, "Topographie," 44.

Endowment documents provide some idea of the physical elements within *funduqs*, and these show little change from earlier periods. They pay careful attention to the structure of buildings – stairs, corridors, roofs, doors, storerooms, chambers, benches, shops – and to provisions for light and air (windows, skylights), water (wells, cisterns), heating and cooking (ovens, chimneys), and sanitation (gutters, pipes, and latrines). In some cases, they mention decorative elements such as marble, tiles, and furnishings.[18]

Al-Maqrīzī's descriptions of contemporary *funduqs* add functional information to these spare outlines provided in *waqf* deeds. His descriptions of buildings built as *funduqs*, whether or not they still went by that name, emphasized their use for both lodging and commerce. For example, the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya was originally intended as "a *funduq* with living quarters on the upper floors," but the rest of his information on this building related to commercial matters.[19] Likewise, the Wakāla Qawṣūn, first built as a *funduq*, had provided space for housing as well as commerce, though the living-space fell from use. According to al-Maqrīzī, the upper floors of this building had 360 rooms, all of which had once been filled with tenants – up to four thousand men, women, and children at a time.[20] The mention of whole families inhabiting this space suggests that these were apartments for local people (*rab'*), not temporary rooms for traveling merchants.

Al-Maqrīzī's detailed survey of fourteenth-century Cairo indicates that a number of *funduqs* still served as facilities for trade and storage, though some earlier buildings had ceased operation by the time of his writing. As we have seen above, the Funduq Bilāl al-Mughīthī (founded in the late thirteenth century) was filled with the bales and boxes of the "merchants and businessmen, who continue to store their goods in this *funduq*."[21] Another *funduq* in Cairo, the Funduq al-Ṭurunṭāyī, was the place where merchants bringing olive oil from Syria were accustomed to deposit their cargoes, until the building was destroyed by a massive fire (fueled by stocks of oil) in 1321.[22] Later, the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ, a facility in Fusṭāṭ incorporated into a

[18] There are many such examples. See *waqf* texts published in Denoix's study *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, 41–44; appendix, 1–3, 8–10. Also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tathkerat al-nabih*, II, 427–448; Niall Christie is preparing a study and translation of this latter text.

[19] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 94.

[20] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93. Apparently only a few of these apartments were still inhabited at the time of al-Maqrīzī's account.

[21] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 92.

[22] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 94. Commercial buildings were often prone to fire, and the consequent economic losses sometimes merited mention in chronicles. Al-Nuwayrī's account of Peter of Cyprus's attack on Alexandria in 1365 reported that many buildings were burned by the Franks, including *funduqs*, markets, shops, *qayṣāriyyas*, and a *wakāla* (al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-ilmām*, ed. E. Combe and A. S. Atiya [Hyderabad: Osmania University, 1969] II, 166).

waqf in 1340, was devoted to the sale of "all different sorts of fruit grown in the gardens in the suburbs of Cairo," in distinction to produce brought overland from Syria, which was sold through the Wakāla Qawṣūn. In the interior of the *funduq* there were "shops where the people sell fruit . . . and the area between the shops is covered with a roof in order to shade the fruit from the heat of the sun." The aroma and beauty of the ripe fruit, al-Maqrīzī added, made the whole building seem like Paradise.[23] Other *funduqs* in the city were devoted to commerce in sugar, cotton, rice, and other goods, or catered to particular groups of merchants.[24]

A number of *funduqs* fell on hard times in the early fifteenth century. In 1418, the sultan al-Mu'ayyad tore down the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ, on the grounds that it obscured the windows of a neighboring mosque, although he had to pay dearly for permission to annul its *waqf*.[25] Another facility, the Funduq of Masrūr (also called the Khān al-Masrūr), suffered a similar fate. During its heyday, in the Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods, this building had hosted merchants and merchandise from Syria, and it served as the market where young prospective mamlūks were sold after their arrival in Egypt.[26] However, its business declined "following the destructions which took place at the time of the invasion of Tīmūr, leading to the ruin of Egyptian [trade], the number of merchants declined . . . [and] the prestige of the *khān* quickly diminished and it was no longer maintained." The structure was demolished in 1428.[27] Not all *funduqs* disappeared during the early fifteenth century, but their numbers certainly diminished in relation to other, more popular, commercial facilities.

Fifteenth-century accounts by European travelers described *funduqs* in Cairo, but they made clear that these facilities were generally used by Muslim merchants rather than foreign Christian traders.[28] These western

[23] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93. The location of the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ is shown by Casanova, *Reconstitution topographique*, 205, 213.

[24] Ira Lapidus mentioned a sugar factory converted into a *funduq* by a Karīmī merchant (who died in 1400–1401) (*Muslim Cities*, 212); A cotton *funduq* appears in a *waqf* endowment of Qāyit Bay (L. A. Mayer [ed.], *The Buildings of Qāytbāy as Described in his Endowment Deed* ([London: Arthur Probsthain, 1938] 31–33); Subhi Labib cited a *funduq al-ʿanbar* (either for amber or merely a warehouse) in Cairo ("Egyptian Commercial Policy," 72). On Karīmī *funduqs* in Mamlūk Egypt, see Muhammad Ashqar, *Tujjār al-tawwābil fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿAmmāh lil-Kutub, 1999) 206–211.

[25] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93. Al-Maqrīzī estimated the cost of demolition at 30,000 *mu'ayyidī* dirhams (previously, the *funduq* had yielded 1,000 dirhams monthly to its *waqf*).

[26] Doris Behrens-Abouseif et al., "Le Caire," in Garcin (ed.), *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*, 192.

[27] Al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 135.

[28] The use of the word by visitors from Europe (in contrast to a Maghribi writer such as Ibn Baṭūṭṭa or Leo Africanus) makes it probable that they were also called *funduqs* in local Arabic. Pero Tafur, a Spanish traveler, remarked on "una alhóndiga donde se allegan los xpianos" in Cairo in 1435–1439 (Pero Tafur, *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos [1435–1439]* [Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1874] 77).

accounts provide useful eyewitness information on the physical and fiscal function of commercial spaces in the Mamlūk capital. Anselm Adorno, who came through Cairo in 1470–1471, remarked that the merchants and businessmen ("mercatores et negotiatores") in the city were "so rich that they almost functioned as a royal treasury and made loans to the sultan. There are an almost infinite number of *fundici* for the pagans, but none for Christian Franks because they never or very rarely come" to Cairo.[29] A decade later, in 1481, the Jewish traveler Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra also described *funduqs* in Cairo, where

> there are all kinds of goods, and the merchants and craftsmen sit near their shops, which are very small, and show samples of their goods; and if you wish to buy from them . . . they bring you into their warehouse, and there you can see the wonderful goods they have, for you could hardly believe that there are one thousand and more warehouses in each *funduq*; and there is nothing in the world that you do not find in the *funduqs* in Miṣr, even the smallest thing.[30]

Funduqs also continued to do business in Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and other regional markets, although there are less data on these cities than for the Mamlūk capital. *Waqf* materials from Alexandria cite the presence of *funduqs* in the city, including one from 1326 that not only described a *funduq* as part of the endowment, but also mentioned two others (one a *funduq* for silk) as neighboring properties.[31] Al-Nuwayrī also listed several *funduqs* in Alexandria in 1365, specifically tagging some as belonging to Muslims and others as Christian.[32] Christian sources abundantly document the existence of *fondacos* for western merchants and travelers in Alexandria, since this city was the main terminus for European commercial business in Egypt, and occasionally also mention facilities of the same name for non-western traders, usually described as Turks, Saracens, or Tatars. References to *funduqs* are less common in Syrian cities, especially after the thirteenth century, by which point the *khān* had gained virtual hegemony among commercial facilities in this region. Thus, when the famous lexicographer Ibn Manẓūr (d.1311–1312) reported that the word *funduq* originated among

[29] Anselm Adorno, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–71)*, ed. and trans. J. Heers and G. de Groer (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978) 188–189. It seems likely that Adorno intended to imply a connection between rich merchants, *funduqs*, and the wealth of the sultan, since *funduq* revenues did indeed yield rich returns to Mamlūk state coffers. He may, however, have also been drawing on the contemporary model of Italian banking houses in describing these transactions as loans.

[30] E. N. Adles (ed. and trans.), *Jewish Travellers* (London: Routledge, 1930) Hebrew 56, English 169–170.

[31] Ibn Habīb, *Tathkerat al-nabih*, II, 428–433; Niall Christie, "Reconstructing Life in Medieval Alexandria from an 8th/14th century *waqf* Document" (unpublished article).

[32] Al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-ilmām*, II, 166. Also on *funduqs* in Alexandria, see Martina Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte 9.15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Klaus Schwartz Verlag, 1992) esp. 250–252.

the *ahl al-Shām*, he was quoting earlier dictionaries rather than marking contemporary usage.[33] A few *funduqs* appear in Syrian *waqf* endowments and chronicles, indicating a continued presence, and some of these facilities apparently flourished. The Funduq ʿĀ'isha in Aleppo, for example, was filled with storerooms and shops in the fifteenth century.[34]

As in earlier periods, Mamlūk *funduqs* could produce considerable revenue. According to al-Maqrīzī, the *funduq* known as the Khān al-Ḥajar provided an income of 3,000 dirhams a month from its shops and upper rooms in 1326, while the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ took in 1,000 dirhams a month in the early fifteenth century.[35] This latter income went to support a *waqf* for the founder's *khanqāh* in Qarafa. Merchants arriving in the Funduq al-Ṭurunṭāyī paid tariffs on the olive oil they sold or stored within its walls, with one trader owing 20,000 silver dirhams in tax (*maks*) on a large cargo brought from Syria.[36]

These taxes were collected by the manager of the establishment (*ṣāḥib al-funduq*), who lived off a percentage of this income (often 5 percent or a bit more), combined with revenues from sales in the *funduq*, storage fees, and rents from sub-leasing shops, rooms, and stables. The manager was responsible for maintenance of the building, and paid an annual rent. The balance of *funduq* revenues (along with the rent) would have been forwarded to a private owner, *waqf* estate, or other beneficiary.[37] In 1303, a *funduq* in Cairo was raided during the night, and the manager, who was present in the building, was forced to open the storerooms. All of its cash revenues, in gold, silver, and copper coins, were lost. Much of this money had been earmarked for pious endowments.[38]

[33] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, x, 313. Ibn Manẓūr probably based his information on earlier dictionaries such as those by al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughah*, ix, 412; and al-Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv, 277.

[34] Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, *"Les Trésors d'or" d'Ibn Sibṭ al-ʿAjamī*, trans. J. Sauvaget (Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1950) 138 [text 88b]. Earlier, a Venetian commercial manual written in Acre in the 1260s had referred to the "*fontego* of the Sultan" in Aleppo, where cotton was stored and handled in return for various fees, but this may have been a western usage (Jacoby, "A Venetian Manual," 425; my thanks to David Jacoby for his advice on this matter). For references to *funduqs* in Mamlūk Damascus, see Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *"Les Perles choisies" d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, trans. J. Sauvaget (Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1938) 187 (French), 242 (Arabic); H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," 7 (1896) 396, 398–399. Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xi (1941) (no. 4332) records a 1251 *waqf* including a *funduq* in Damascus.

[35] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, iv, part 2, 853; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 93.

[36] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 94.

[37] Apparently typical arrangements are detailed in a rental contract for a *funduq* in Fusṭāṭ in 1311. See Amin, *Fihrist wathā'iq al-Qāhirah*, 77; Niall Christie, "A Rental Document from 8th/14th Century Egypt" (unpublished article). Also Maya Shatzmiller, "*Waqf Khayrī* in Fourteenth-century Fez: Legal, Social, and Economic Aspects," *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes* (Madrid) 2 (1991) 207.

[38] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, iii, part 3, 1053.

Patterns of commercial space were strikingly different in the Islamic west during this period, since *funduqs* in Maghribi cities were never displaced by the *khān* or the *wakāla*. Instead, evidence from Tunis, Fez, Granada, and other western cities indicates that *funduqs* remained the dominant commercial institution in the Maghrib throughout the later middle ages. *Funduqs* in the Islamic west served a broad spectrum of functions, with some devoted to storage and sales, some specializing in lodging, while other became sites for manufacturing, weaving, and craft production.[39]

As in earlier periods, there were considerable numbers of *funduqs* in every major town in the Maghrib.[40] During the Marīnid period (1217–1465), their capital city of Fez was an important mercantile and cultural center, with flourishing commercial institutions, religious schools, and other facilities. In many cases, new Marīnid *madrasas* were directly funded by revenues from the local *funduqs*. Scholars, students, and merchants – both Muslims and European Christians – came to the city to learn and trade, and they all needed places to work and stay. Muslim and Jewish refugees from Spain may also have sought temporary lodging in *funduqs* in Marīnid cities.[41] In the fourteenth century, the chroniclers Ibn Abī Zarʿ and al-Jaznāʾī tallied 467 *funduqs* in Fez, while al-Anṣārī counted 360 *funduqs* in Ceuta in 1422.[42] In the early sixteenth century, Leo Africanus counted 200 hostels in Fez, and remarked that their concessionaires (consuls or *amīns*) each paid a regular fee to the owners of the buildings or to the governor of the city in return for their use.[43]

[39] This is often evident from *waqf* data, such as an endowment with revenues coming from a textile atelier on the ground floor of a *funduq* in Tlemcen in 1568–1569 (Charles Brosselard, "Les Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen," *Revue Africaine* 22 [1860] 241–243).

[40] Minor towns, in contrast, had few such facilities. In the early fifteenth century, al-Anṣārī described the village of Binyūnis as having "no *fanādiq*, except for one single *funduq*, located on the shore, outside of the walls" ("Une Description de Ceuta musulmane au xve siècle. *L'Iḥtiṣār al-aḫbār* de Muḥammad al-Kāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Anṣārī," ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hespéris* 22 [1935] 171; French trans. "La Physionomie monumentale de Ceuta: un hommage nostalgique à la ville par un de ses fils, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī," trans. A. M. Turki, *Hespéris-Tamuda* 20–21 [1982–1983] 156).

[41] In Fez, the district known as Funduq al-Yahūd may have grown up around a *funduq* for Jewish merchants, or possibly refugees from Spain, although Jews probably no longer lived in this neighborhood by the later middle ages. See David Corcos, "Les Juifs du Maroc et leurs mellahs," in *Studies of the History of the Jews of Morocco* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1976) 71; also Mercedes García-Arenal, "Jewish Converts to Islam in the Muslim West," in *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, ed. U. Rubin and D. Wasserstein (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997) 242.

[42] Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Kitāb al-anīs al-muṭrib*, 26; al-Jaznāʾī, *Kitāb zahrat al-ās* 33 (Arabic), 81 (French) (a more recent edition [Rabat: *al-Matbaʿa al-malakiya*, 1967, p. 44] gives the number as 469); al-Anṣārī, "Description de Ceuta," 160 (Arabic), 139 (French).

[43] Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. A. Epaulard (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1956) 190–191.

Funduqs in Maghribi cities provided substantial revenues to the government, to private owners, and to pious foundations (often termed *ḥabūs* rather than *waqf* in the Islamic west). Although the Mamlūk historian al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349) claimed that the Marīnids were less avid in the foundation of *waqfs* than their Almoravid and Almoḥad predecessors, this was probably not actually the case. Marīnid sultans not only created many new endowments, especially during the reigns of three consecutive rulers in the period 1310–1359, but they also renovated and re-endowed earlier foundations.[44] Although it could be difficult, it was possible to change the provisions of a *waqf*, especially if an endowed property were declared derelict. Thus, a query put to Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdūsī (d. 1446), a *qāḍī* in Fez, asked whether it was permissible to turn a long-abandoned *ḥabūs* property into a *funduq* to supply revenues for the Friday Mosque. The answer was positive; conversion to a *funduq* was admissible provided that the building in question was in such a state of disrepair that it could not be used for its original purpose.[45] More commonly, new endowments were created out of privately held real estate – as in Tlemcen, where a *ḥabūs* foundation made in 1364 included land and buildings – a *funduq*, baths, ovens, mills, and shops – that had been the personal property (*mulk*) of a Zayyānid amir.[46]

Sometimes only part of a *funduq* was cited in a pious endowment, indicating that its easily divisible cash revenues were its most important aspect. Thus, in 1325, the Madrasa al-ʿAṭṭārīn in Fez was funded by seven-eighths of the income from one *funduq* and half of the proceeds from another, together with income from various shops and houses. Likewise, a bequest for the Madrasa Miṣbāḥīyya noted income from five-eighths of a local *funduq* in 1346. The Madrasa al-Ṣiḥrīj in Fez, however, derived income from "the entire building of the Funduq Ibn Khunūsa" (along with numerous other properties) in 1323, while the Madrasa of Abū al-Ḥasan in Salé claimed the profits from three whole *funduqs* plus a quarter of a fourth.[47]

Many *funduqs* in the Maghrib specialized in particular commodities, and their profits derived from the storage, sale, and taxation of these items. It appears that they preserved this function to a greater degree than their counterparts in Mamlūk lands, in large part because *funduqs* in western

[44] Shatzmiller, "Waqf Khayrī," 195–199.

[45] Al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār*, VII, 57.

[46] Shatzmiller, "Waqf Khayrī," 202–205.

[47] Madrasa al-ʿAṭṭārīn: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) 204–206 (no. 5500); Madrasa Miṣbāḥīyya: *ibid.*, XVI (1964) 15–18 (no. 6020) (the latter text was also edited by Alfred Bel, in his "Inscriptions arabes de Fès," *Journal Asiatique* 12 [1918] 256–262); Madrasa of al-Ṣiḥrīj: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) 186–189 (no. 5480) (also in Bel, "Inscriptions arabes de Fès" 10 [1917] 222–231); Madrasa of Abū al-Ḥasan: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XV (1956) 211–213 (no. 5941).

cities were never rivaled by the *khān* or *wakāla*. Tax revenues devoted to *waqfs* during the reign of the Ḥafṣid sultan Abū Fāris (1394–1434) included 3,000 dinars annually from the vegetable *funduq* in Tunis, 1,500 dinars from the salt *funduq*, and 1,000 dinars from the *funduq* for eggs.[48] Whether or not these figures reflect actual cash sums, it is clear that these facilities channeled traffic in certain products and collected considerable amounts of money. Other data also link *funduqs* with specific commercial items in Marīnid cities. One of the *funduqs* supporting the *ḥabūs* for the Madrasa of Abū al-Ḥasan in Salé, noted above, was connected with a warehouse for salt, and revenue from salt pans also funded the endowment.[49] Likewise, a *ḥabūs* for the Madrasa Dār al-Makhzan in Fez, dated 1321, included seven-eighths of the income from a *funduq* for the storage and sale of wheat.[50] A century later, writing in 1422, al-Anṣārī also described the Funduq al-Kabīr in Ceuta as a depot for the storage of grain ("l-ikhtizān al-zaʿ"), with

> fifty-two storage chambers, including granaries and rooms *(hurī wa buyūt)*. Nine of these storage rooms can hold up to one thousand *qafīz* of grain, and the capacity of the whole [*funduq*] is inestimable. The *funduq* is so large that it has two gates, one opening into the courtyard and the other giving access to the second floor . . . camels bearing their loads enter these two high and wide gates.[51]

These references to *funduqs* for grain and salt are reminiscent of similar facilities not far away, in southern Castile, south Italy, and Sicily, where the Alhóndiga del Pan in Seville and the royal warehouses (*fondacos*) controlled traffic in wheat and salt, and channeled revenues from this trade to royal treasuries.

Unlike their counterparts in southern Europe, Maghribi *funduqs* never came to concentrate exclusively on goods, and they always continued to house merchants, travelers, and artisans. Al-Anṣārī reported that "the largest of the *funduqs* [in Ceuta] serving as residences for merchants and others is the *funduq* known as the Funduq Ghānim. It has three floors, with eighty

[48] Zarkashī, *Tāʾrīkh al-dawlatayn*, 102; French trans. *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafçides, attribuée à Zerkechi, traduction française d'après l'édition de Tunis et trois manuscrits*, trans. E. Fagnon (Constantine: A. Braham, 1895) 188–189.

[49] Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XV (1956) 211–213 (no. 5941).

[50] "Funduq darb al-ghurabāʾ al-kāʾin bi-jurnah": Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) 157–161 (no. 5441); also Bel, "Inscriptions arabes de Fès" 10 (1917) 159, 163. Bel translated *jurnah* as *abattoir* (though with a note indicating some doubt), but the word is much more likely to pertain to grain. R. Dozy (*Supplément aux Dictionaires arabes* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1881] 1, 189) lists *juraynah* and *jarwān* as places where wheat was stored and sold, and *jurn* as a place for drying grain.

[51] Al-Anṣārī, "Description de Ceuta," 160 (Arabic), 139 (French). This building was built in the thirteenth century under the administration of Abū al-Qāsim al-ʿAzafī (1249–1279). See also Christophe Picard, *La Mer et les musulmans d'occident au moyen âge, XIIIe–XIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997) 144.

rooms and nine upper apartments. It is an old building, dating to the Almoravid period."[52] The description of this *funduq* is very similar to that of *funduqs* in Fez, such as the large three-storied Funduq al-Tiṭwānīyīn, built in the fourteenth century as a hostelry and commercial depot for merchants from Tetuan.[53] Leo Africanus later described hostels in early sixteenth-century Fez (his adopted home town) as large and well built, with three stories and up to 120 rooms, providing shelter both for foreign travelers and other people without home or family (perhaps including refugees from Spain, like his own family). Lodgers in these *funduqs* were responsible for supplying their own food, beds, and bedding.[54] Despite Leo's remark that *funduqs* provided accommodation for the homeless of Fez, there is no indication whether indigent residents paid any fee for lodging, nor any suggestion in western *ḥabūs* materials that hostelries could themselves be the object of pious endowments (as had been the case in Ayyūbid Egypt).

Across the Straits of Gibraltar, *funduqs* also continued to flourish in Naṣrid Granada, supported by commercial traffic to and from this small and beleaguered Muslim state. Both Christian and Muslim merchants trafficked with Naṣrid ports, mainly Málaga and Almería, bringing necessary foodstuffs, particularly wheat, and exporting silk and dried fruits. Málaga was also an important stopping-point for ships outbound from the Mediterranean, where they could put in and wait for a favorable wind before heading for Seville or northern Europe. Sailors and merchants from these ships surely took advantage of the *funduqs* in Málaga for lodging and leisure during this period of inactivity. Data on Naṣrid *funduqs* is scarce, in keeping with the general paucity of late medieval Arabic material from the Peninsula. We know almost nothing of Naṣrid *waqf* endowments, although there is some information on hostelries in chronicles and legal sources. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374) spoke favorably of the "many *funduqs* and mosques" in Málaga, and a fifteenth-century poem mentioned travelers lodging in a *funduq* in that city, and enjoying the regional wine.[55] Merchants from Genoa and

[52] "Li-suknā al-nās min al-tujjār wa ghayrihim": al-Anṣārī, "Description de Ceuta," 160–161 (Arabic), 140 (French).

[53] For an architectural description of this *funduq* and other commercial buildings in Maghribi cities, mainly from later periods, see Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 182–185, 198, 203–204, passim.

[54] Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 190. Leo also observed that a number of hostelries in Fez were brothels, employing both female and male prostitutes (191).

[55] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, "El *Parangón entre Málaga y Salé* de Ibn al-Jaṭīb," trans. Emilio García Gómez, *al-Andalus* 2 (1934) 191; ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qaysī, *Dīwān* (Tunis and Carthage: Bayt al-Ḥikmah, 1988) 253–254 (the word here is spelt *fundūq*). This poem is translated by María Isabel Calero Secall and Virgilio Martínez Enamorado in *Málaga, ciudad de al-Andalus* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1995) 262–263. The authors also identify several other *funduqs* in late medieval Málaga, locating them on a map of the city (125, 255–256). See also F. Guillen Robles, *Málaga musulmana* (Málaga:

the realms of Aragón were also reported to eat, live, and do business in the Christian *fondacos* in Málaga and Almería during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

There were also *funduqs* inland in the city of Granada itself, and in smaller towns.[56] The fourteenth-century Funduq al-Jadīd in Granada, now called the Corral del Carbón, is one of the very few medieval *funduqs* still standing and easily accessible today. Its architecture conforms, in terms of size and design, with late medieval reports of *funduqs* elsewhere in the Islamic world. This large building (measuring 28 × 30 meters) has a monumental gateway opening onto a central courtyard surrounded by three stories. Each floor has small independent rooms (twenty-one on the ground level, twenty-two on each of the upper floors) opening on the courtyard or onto narrow balconies overlooking this central space. The low supports for these galleries are of stone, with upper stories made of wood. Originally, the building had no openings or exterior windows except for the one gate.[57] Though now the most famous, the Corral del Carbón was not the only *funduq* in Naṣrid Granada. Several others are known to have existed, including one *fondaco* (the *funduq al-jinuyyīn*) for Genoese merchants doing business in the city. Most *funduqs* in Granada, as elsewhere, were clustered in the center of the city, near the main mosque and market.[58]

THE *KHĀN*

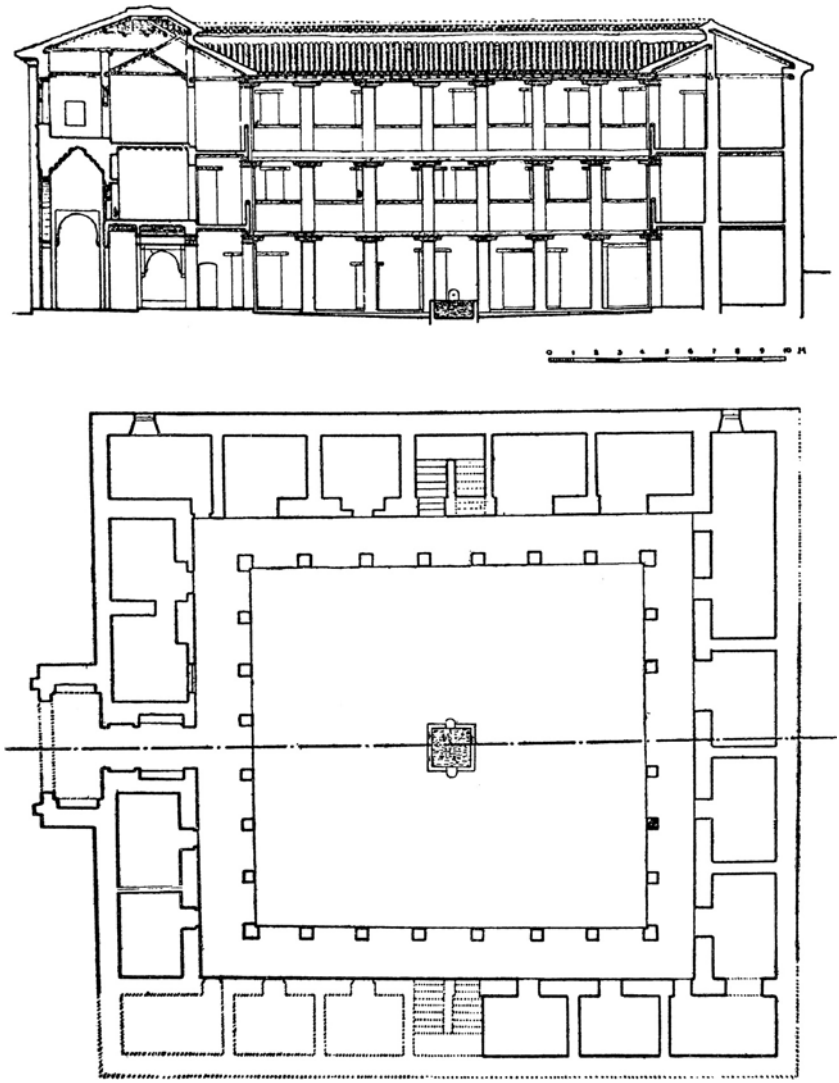
Although *khāns* had existed in Muslim lands from the earliest Islamic period, the term became increasingly common in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk cities until these facilities emerged as the dominant form of commercial and lodging-space in the eastern Mediterranean by the thirteenth century. One cause for this shift was new patterns of overland trade, creating closer contacts between Mamlūk lands (Egypt and Syria), Anatolia, Iraq, and other eastern markets where the *khān* had always been more prevalent. Political and demographic factors also led to changes in ethnicity, language, and

Imp. De M. Oliver Navarro, 1880; repr. Málaga: Editorial Arguval, 1994) II, 491, 494. Starting in the 1330s, Málaga appears to have overtaken Almería as the most most important Naṣrid port. See Blanca Garí, "Why Almería? An Islamic Port in the Compass of Genoa," *Journal of Medieval History* 18 (1992) 228.

[56] A *fatwa* from the Granadan jurist Abū Sa'īd b. Lubb (d. 1381) concerned a *funduq* in a small town shared between two owners (al-Wansharīsī, *Mi'yār*, VIII, 134).

[57] The best description of this building is in Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas," 459–64.

[58] Luis Seco de Lucena, *Plano de Granada árabe* (Granada: Imprenta de el Defensor de Granada, 1910) 52 and map.



9 Plan and elevation of the Corral del Carbón (*funduq al-jadīd*) in Granada, fourteenth century (from Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas," facing p. 464).

culture. The growing prevalence of the *khān* was already underway by the 1180s, when a *funduq* established in Syria by Saladin was almost immediately known as the Khān al-Sulṭān in local parlance.

While the term *khān* gained ground in the eastern Mediterranean, *funduqs* remained much more common in the Islamic west. This distinction in regional usage is evident in the observations of Maghribi travelers writing about their experiences in Egypt and Syria. Their descriptions often use the word *funduq* for buildings called *khān* by natives of Mamlūk realms. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarked that at each of the way-stations (*manāzil*) between Egypt and Syria, there was a *funduq* "which they call a *khān*, where travelers alight with their beasts, and outside each *khān* is a public watering place and a shop at which the traveler may buy what he requires for himself and his beast."[59] More than a century later, in 1481, the Jewish traveler Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra also reported that in Gaza he "saw the *funduq* called Al-Khān, and this is the place where the troops or caravans stop."[60] In a more urban context, the early sixteenth-century traveler Leo Africanus described the markets of Cairo and the

> *funduq* called the Khān al-Khalīlī, where the Persian merchants stay. This *funduq* looks like a great lord's palace; it is very high, very solid, and has three floors. On the ground floor are the rooms where the merchants receive their customers and sell merchandise of great value. Only merchants who are very wealthy have a counter in this *funduq*. Their merchandise consists of spices, precious stones, and cloth from India, such as crepe.[61]

The Khān al-Khalīlī was well known in the late Mamlūk period, and it had been lavishly rebuilt by Sultan Ghūrī (1501–1516) shortly before Leo Africanus' arrival in Cairo.[62] In Leo's eyes, it was probably very similar both functionally and architecturally to the contemporary Funduq al-Jadīd in his native Granada or the Funduq al-Ṭiṭwānīyīn in Fez, where Leo's family had taken up residence after fleeing Spain in the years following 1492.

[59] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Battuta*, 1, 112, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 71–72.

[60] Meshullam ben Menahem, *Masa' Meshullam mi-Volterra be-erez yisrael bi-shnat 1481*, ed. Abraham Yaari (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1948), 180.

[61] Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 504–505; There is a translation of this passage in G. Wiet, *Cairo, City of Art and Commerce* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964) 104–105. Leo Africanus also provides a detailed description of other facilities which he calls "*funduqs*" in Cairo, particularly those selling luxury textiles imported from Syria, Italy, the Crown of Aragón, and elsewhere in Europe (*Description de l'Afrique*, 504–505; Wiet, *Cairo*, 104–105). Leo's account was originally written in Andalusi Arabic, but the text only survives in a contemporary Italian translation.

[62] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt 1382–1469* AD, trans. W. Popper (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954–1960) 1, 106. References to the Khān al-Khalīlī may pertain either to a specific building or to the larger complex of commercial buildings of which this *khān*/*funduq* was one element.

The ubiquitous term *khān* was even applied to the western *fondacos* in Alexandria and elsewhere by the fourteenth century. The Venetian and Genoese enclaves in Acre were converted into *khāns* after the demise of Christian control in that city in 1291, and the same terminological trend was true of buildings still functioning as *fondacos* (in the sense of regulated western commercial and residential facilities in Mamlūk cities). In 1368, instructions from the king of Cyprus to envoys from Genoa and Pisa allowed them to enter into negotiations with the Mamlūk sultan regarding a communal facility in Alexandria for merchants from Cyprus, a building "commonly called the Khān al-Mūsā" ("vulgariter nuncupatam Han de la Moze").[63] More amusingly, a couple of decades later in 1384, the pilgrim Frescobaldi resorted to spurious etymology in his report that during the time of Muslim prayers, "all the Christian Franks are locked in a building called a *cane* [obviously *khān*] and the keeper of the *cane* locks them in, and this name comes from [the fact] that we are *cani* [i.e. dogs]" in their eyes.[64] Local Christians, as Frescobaldi went on to note, were not locked up but merely remained in their homes during prayer periods.

Non-urban khāns *in Syria and Egypt*

Whereas *funduqs* were found only in Mamlūk cities, *khāns* flourished both in urban centers and along caravan routes linking Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijāz. Wherever there were travelers, trade, and pilgrimage traffic, there were likely to have been *khāns* or similar facilities, whether on the outskirts of a village or along any well-traveled road. Many new *khāns* were constructed along rural routes in the Mamlūk period, especially in the period 1300–1340. These projects were mainly funded by local governors and amirs, and occasionally by the sultan. The new network of roadside *khāns* took advantage of earlier hostels established under the Ayyūbids, but while these thirteenth-century structures were often of modest size and construction, the new *khāns* constructed in the fourteenth century tended to be much larger and more strongly built.[65]

[63] Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, II, 306.

[64] Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 42. As will be evident in the next chapter, this report of a curfew makes clear that the building in question was a western *fondaco*.

[65] Among the many studies of Mamlūk *khāns*, see Sauvaget "Caravansérails syriens"; René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927); K. A. C. Creswell, "Two Khāns at Khān Ṭūmān," *Syria* 4 (1923) 133–139; Elisséeff, "Khān"; Etienne Combe, "Inscription arabe d'un khan ottoman à Rosette," *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 35 (1943) 114–123; Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais" 97–111; Petersen, "Syrian and Iraqi Hajj Routes," 51–52. See also foundation inscriptions edited in Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) (nos. 5235, 5368, 5418) and XVII (1982) (no.778 010); also L. A. Mayer, "Satura epigraphica," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (Jerusalem) 1 (1931) 42–43.

One important catalyst for the development of an enhanced network of *khāns* was the growth of centralized power in Egypt under Mamlūk rule, together with the newly peaceful state of roads linking Syria and Egypt in the wake of Mamlūk victories over the Mongols in 1260 and the demise of the last of the Crusader states in 1291. Greater security increased overland travel, whether for commerce, pilgrimage, or government business. At the same time, the improvement of the official system for communications, the *barīd* or mail service, both fostered and benefited from these *khāns*, which were built at regular intervals of about 20 to 30 kilometers, along all the routes between major cities. Sultan Baybars (1260–1277) was credited with reviving and reorganizing the *barīd* system, and further building in the early fourteenth century increased the speed of the service. Greater numbers of *khāns* – and shorter distances between them – allowed a relay of post-riders to convey royal messages more quickly from place to place. Along the road from Damascus to Homs (about 180 kilometers), the number of *khāns* grew from five in the reign of Baybars, to six in about 1300, then seven in about 1340.[66] At least one of the original five, the Qara Khān, must have been directly commissioned by Baybars himself, since it bears his emblem of a running panther carved above the door.[67]

Sultans, as well as post-riders and ordinary people, might stay in *khāns* when they traveled, a circumstance that often led to renovations and further endowments. Baybars established a *khān* outside Jerusalem when he visited that city in 1263, making it part of a *waqf* to provide bread, sandals, and money to pilgrims coming to the holy city.[68] When Barqūq arrived in Damascus in 1394, the whole city was filled with his Egyptian retinue, which spread through the city, occupying houses, stables, and *khāns* both inside and outside the walls.[69] A century later, Qāyit Bay progressed through Syria in 1477, stopping at *khāns* near Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Gaza. South of Damascus, he founded a new *khān*, and near Aleppo, he ordered repairs to commercial facilities originally constructed by al-Malik al-Ashraf a century before.[70]

As well as serving the needs of the Mamlūk administration, *khāns* provided lodging to merchants, pilgrims, and other wayfarers. Traders and

[66] Sauvaget, *La Poste*, 12–13, 31–33, 69–76, 80–82. Sauvaget also included maps showing the location of Mamlūk *khāns* and distances between them. Chroniclers often mentioned *khāns* in passing. See, for example, Ibn Ṣaṣrā's description of rebels camping at Khān Lājīn in 1389 (*Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 19); or Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā's note that travelers to Beirut stopped at Khān al-Ḥuṣayn in the 1360s (*Kitāb ta'rīkh Bayrūt* [Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1927] 168–169).

[67] Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais," 103.

[68] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, part 2, 491, 521.

[69] Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 96b.

[70] H. Devonshire, "Relation d'un voyage du Sultan Qāitbāy en Palestine et en Syrie," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo) 20 (1922) 9, 14, 20–21, 28, 31.

their caravans made use of the network of state-administered *khāns* at least until the middle of the fourteenth century, when rising costs prompted the government to limit commercial access to these facilities. After 1340, Muslim merchants had to apply for special permission to take advantage of the shelter and supplies offered in state-run *khāns*.[71] To avoid such restrictions, merchants often established hostels for themselves and others. One wealthy merchant from Damascus died in 1445 after spending "more than one hundred thousand dinars" on the construction of several large *khāns* along the route between Syria and Egypt, as well as building facilities for pilgrims on the route to the Ḥijāz.[72]

A number of *khāns* were established as *waqfs*, and – like the facility founded by Baybars near Jerusalem – they provided charitable lodging, handouts, and other services to pilgrims and poor travelers. The Khān al-Aiyash, built by the governor of Damascus on the outskirts of the city in 1291, was endowed with a *waqf* (supported by revenues from another *khān*, shops, and an abattoir)

> for its maintenance and repair, as well as for the repair of the mosque and well within it . . . and [to pay for] whatever is needed, such as oil, mats, lamps, ropes, and buckets for the well, for an *imam* who will receive forty dirhams per month, a *muezzin* at thirty dirhams, and a porter at thirty dirhams. Money is [also] to be given to the poor who come, and to wayfarers in need.[73]

Another hostel, the Khān al-Sabīl, was founded in Syria by al-Malik al-Ashraf in 1371 with a similar endowment to maintain the building and provide mats and other amenities for its guests.[74] Other facilities simply welcomed passing travelers, including one *khān* constructed in 1259 to accommodate "all who arrive, who change their place, flee, stay, or depart."[75] Likewise, the Khān al-Aḥmar was built in Beisan in 1308 "for the use of all passers-by, whoever they be."[76] The Khān al-Khattāb, which was founded near Damascus by a rich amir in 1325, was said to be a great comfort to travelers, and another small *khān* built in 1396 was dedicated to lodging "sons of the road" ("ibnā' al-sabīl").[77]

[71] Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 124.
[72] Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," (1895) 261–262.
[73] Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIII (1944) (no. 4946). Also Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens," (1940) 1–3.
[74] Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XVII (1982) (no. 773 005); Also Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens," (1940) 10–12.
[75] Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XII (1943) (no. 4446).
[76] Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) (no. 5235); Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens," (1940) 3–4.
[77] Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," (1895) 236 and 283; Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens," (1940) 13–14.

The accounts of western Christian pilgrims show that these travelers were also welcome to stay in state-run *khāns* in Syria and Egypt. Simon Semeonis passed through Gaza in 1323 and described a walled enclosure (that he called a *fundus*) "in which all travelers may rest in safety and find water for their animals without paying any fee. The sultan has provided this for the safety and protection of travelers."[78] In 1395, along similar lines, Ogier d'Anglure reported that he and his companions "put up at an inn, about two leagues from Jerusalem, which the sultan had completely rebuilt to accommodate pilgrims and other foreigners. The lodging is near . . . a castle that was called the Red Tower."[79] A century later, Felix Fabri arrived at what seems to have been the same building, though now much dilapidated, "whereof the four walls alone remain standing, which once was a caravanserai or inn (*diversorium erat sive hospitium*), and is called the Red House . . . We entered into this house, lighted candles, and made the place fit for us by clearing away the ordure of man and beast, whereof it was full, and putting stones to sit on and sleep on."[80]

Felix Fabri's comments, and similar remarks by other travelers, point to a significant decline in the quality of accommodation in rural *khāns* in the later Mamlūk period. Although these structures continued to provide shelter and access to water, by the later fifteenth century some facilities had little or no staff, nor did they necessarily offer furnishings or other amenities to travelers. During the early 1430s, Bertrandon de la Broquière had been inclined to praise his lodgings, describing a *khān* ("une maison qu'ilz appelent Kan") in Hebron as "a shelter built by charity to lodge passers-by in the shade in these regions," and another near Damascus as "the finest *khān* I have ever seen."[81] By the end of the century, however, Felix Fabri and others had little good to say about the frightful *khāns* along their route. In 1495, an Italian Jewish traveler complained that there were no proper inns along the routes in Syria, at least not like those of Italy in which one could expect rooms with beds and tables. Instead, at the end of the day they would arrive at a dilapidated building called "*al-han*,"

[78] Semeonis, *Itinerarium*, 105. Although Simon used the latinized term *fundus,* Arabic sources make clear that this hostel was a *khān*.

[79] Ogier d'Anglure, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage of Ogier VIII, Seigneur d'Anglure*, trans. Roland A. Brown (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975) 38. Despite its name, this was not the same as the Khān al-Aḥmar noted above, but another well-known *khān* on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho, often associated – in the minds of Christian pilgrims – with the *pandocheion* visited by the Good Samaritan (L. A. Mayer, "The Name of Khān el Aḥmar, Beisān," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* [Jerusalem] 1 [1932] 95).

[80] Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, II, 80 [211b].

[81] Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'outremer*, ed. Charles Scheffer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1842) 19, 54; trans. Galen R. Kline (New York: Peter Lang, 1988) 12, 31.

where they could buy food, but had to sleep in the courtyard with their animals.[82] Muslim sources also indicate that the network of Mamlūk *khāns* was in disarray by the later fifteenth century. This decline was probably a result of plague and subsequent demographic decline, weakening of the centralized Mamlūk state and the political shift to Circassian rulership, bedouin incursions, and the depredations of Tīmūr in Syria in 1401.

Beyond Mamlūk borders, there were also *khāns* in Seljuq Anatolia and in the eastern Islamic world during the thirteenth century. Many were located on routes bringing traffic to and from Mamlūk markets. Merchants traveling from Damascus to Baghdad and beyond, or slave traders bringing their cargoes of future mamlūks from the Black Sea region across Anatolia to the Mediterranean (and eventually to Egypt), needed hostels along the way. These structures were invariably called *khān* or *caravanserai*, and there is no trace of the *funduq* or *fondaco* in Seljuq lands except in texts written by European authors.[83]

There was a sudden proliferation of Seljuq *khāns* in Anatolia in the thirteenth century, especially in the years before 1250. Many of their foundation inscriptions survive, and these record that at least nine *khāns* were founded by Seljuq sultans, seven by sultanas, six by amirs, four by viziers, and three by private individuals.[84] These *khāns* were run for profit, though often to benefit a *waqf*. It seems likely that this surge in building activity was the result of a concerted effort to accommodate and take advantage of the growing slave traffic coming through Seljuq lands in the late Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. These massive square stone *khāns* were remarkably homogeneous in form, and many were located along the main routes running from Black Sea ports, particularly Samsun, to the Mediterranean cities of Alanya or Antalya, via Sivas, Kayseri, and Konya.[85] Seljuq trade routes tended to follow earlier patterns, often tracing those once used by Roman

[82] These observations, made by a pupil of Obadiah da Bertinoro, are cited in Hirschberg, *History of the Jews in North Africa*, 474–475. The text is edited by A. Neubauer, in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums* 3 (1863) 276.

[83] *Khāns* were certainly present in Iraq under Mongol rule, the best known being the Khān Mirjān in Baghdad (sometimes known also as *tīm*). Inscriptions recording *waqfs* for the Madrasa Mirjānīyya, made in 1357 and 1359 during the Jalāyrid period, record a number of different *khāns* providing revenue to this endowment (Combe et al. [eds.], *Répertoire*, XVI [1964] [nos. 6283, 6329]). See also Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 360–361, 370–371; Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 173; Guthrie, *Arab Social Life*, 98. Caravanserais were common further east, but this word rarely appears in a Mediterranean context except in the writings of Persian travelers. See Kiāni and Kleiss, *Kārvānsarāhā-ye Irān*.

[84] Erdmann and Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 204–205. On these foundations, see also Rogers, "*Waqf* and Patronage," 74–75. Most of these inscriptions can be found in Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, X (1939) (no. 3838), XI (1941) (nos. 4007, 4021, 4127, 4156, 4162, 4190, 4263, 4311, 4313); there are also fourteenth-century endowments: XIV (1954) (nos. 5277, 5590).

[85] Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 349.

and Byzantine merchants, and some Seljuq *khāns* may even have reused stones from earlier hostelries.[86] *Khān* construction continued in Anatolia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under the early Ottomans, though forms and functions were more varied than the thirteenth-century Seljuq structures, and unlike their Seljuq counterparts, many of these later buildings were in urban locations.[87]

Urban khāns *in Mamlūk cities*

Although the network of non-urban *khāns* serving the Mamlūk *barīd* was one of the most striking innovations in long-distance travel during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, many of the most important Mamlūk *khāns* were located in Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and other cities.[88] In an urban context, *khāns* functioned in very similar ways to *funduqs* and *wakālas*. All three could be the property of private individuals, of the state, or tied up in *waqf* endowments. *Khāns* catered to urban commercial needs, serving as depots, markets, and warehouses, while also providing lodging for merchants, pilgrims, scholars, and other travelers. The Sufi scholar al-Zawāwī, arriving from Bougie in 1451, stayed in a *khān* on Rawḍa Island during most of his time in Cairo. This hostel was known as the Khān Daʿūd al-Maghribī, and may have specialized in housing guests from the Islamic west.[89] Like contemporary *funduqs*, urban *khāns* also preserved unsavory associations with prostitution and drinking in the Mamlūk period. Al-Zawāwī's dream-diary told of encountering a prostitute outside another *khān* in Cairo – a common occurrence in reality as well as in dreams.[90] In contrast to the standardized square design of rural *khāns*, urban *khāns* came in many shapes and sizes. Though most preserved the basic traditional form of a central courtyard with warehouse space and shops, and rooms above, their architecture was often dictated by surrounding buildings or by the wealth of the founder.

From the thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries, Mamlūk rulers – including Baybars, Barsbay, Qāyit Bay, and Ghūrī – were patrons

[86] Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais," 102.

[87] Elisséeff, "Khān," 1013; Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais," 102–103. Also Gabriel Mandel, *I caravanserragli Turchi* (Bergamo: Lucchetti, 1988).

[88] Many of these facilities have been described and mapped in works devoted to the history and architecture of these cities. See Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*; Dorothée Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Structur einer orientalisch-islamischen Stadt* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1989) 59–60; Eddé, *Principauté ayyoubide d'Alep*, 511–529.

[89] Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood*, 106. Other Sufi travelers, including Ibn Baṭūṭṭa, often chose to lodge in *ribāṭs* or *zāwiyas* rather than *khāns*.

[90] Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood*, 120.

of extensive architectural projects that included *khāns* and other commercial buildings in their capital city. Sultans often purchased properties in the center of Cairo in order to endow new *waqfs*, sometimes breaking up older endowments in the process. As suitable urban properties became ever more scarce, would-be benefactors had to resort to a variety of investment strategies in order to acquire real estate. Between 1451 and 1456, for example, Sultan Qāyit Bay bought up a large number of urban and rural properties to convert into *waqfs*, dipping into both personal resources and the public *bayt māl* to fund his purchases.[91] Mamlūk amirs and lesser officials also sponsored *khāns* and other commercial spaces in Cairo, but these were generally less ambitious.

The situation was somewhat different outside Egypt, where sultans apparently preferred to found roadside *khāns* associated with the *barīd* rather than commercial *khāns* in cities. In Syria, urban *khāns* and other commercial facilities were more likely to be founded by locally based amirs and merchants. According to Ira Lapidus, three out of five *khāns* with known founders in Mamlūk Damascus were built by amirs, and two by merchants; in Aleppo, nine *khāns* were funded by amirs.[92] Another *khān* in Aleppo was constructed by a rich Mamlūk merchant (who died in 1490) with the proceeds of a large sum of gold that he had received as a commercial deposit.[93]

As in earlier periods, the evidence is categorical that *khāns* – like *funduqs* – could produce substantial revenues. One wealthy governor of Damascus, in the early fourteenth century, was reputed to own *khāns* and other real estate worth over 2.5 million dirhams.[94] Revenue was produced through rents, fees for lodging and storage, and taxes on commercial transactions. Though ubiquitous, these levies sometimes gave rise to complaint. When Baybars attempted to reimpose taxes (including a charge of 2 dinars per *khān*) in Damascus after a long period without such exactions, his requests were apparently met with resistance.[95] A century later, in 1389, the house of an amir in Damascus was looted by a angry crowd of people, who complained that he had reinstated taxes and demanded unwarranted rents on "*khāns*, orchards, and estates" for his personal profit.[96]

[91] Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāytbay's Investments," 29–34; Carl Petry, *Protectors or Pretorians? The Last Mamliuk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994) 198–202; Leonor Fernandes, "Mamlūk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997) 117–118.

[92] Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 59–60.

[93] Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, "Trésors d'or," 157 [102a].

[94] Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 50.

[95] Malcolm Lyons, *The Arabian Epic: Heroic and Oral Story-telling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 1, 33.

[96] Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 13 (25a).

Like *funduqs*, but unlike rural *khāns*, the names of urban *khāns* frequently linked them to economic and artisanal activities. The pattern appears especially true in Syria, where chroniclers mention a number of commercial *khāns* in Damascus, including one for eggs (*bayḍ*) and another for silk (*ḥarīr*), and many others named after their patrons or the *waqf* with which they were associated.[97] The commerce of Aleppo particularly flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century, perhaps in response to growing Ottoman traffic to the north, and numerous new *khāns* and other commercial buildings were built in the city to accommodate the needs of trade and traders. By this point there were *khāns* for fish (*samak*), henna (*ḥinna*), milk (*labn*), soap (*ṣābūn*), honey (*ʿasal*), oil (*zayt*), two for charcoal (*faḥm*), and for merchants selling fat (*al-dahhāhīn*), bow-makers (*qawwāsīn*), potters (*fākhūra*), workers in gold thread (*qaṣṣābiyyah*), wood-turners (*kharrāṭīn*), and flour-merchants (*daqqāqīn*) – as well as many other *khāns* with less indicative names.[98] This pattern appears to have persevered into the Ottoman period, when a tally of revenues from Aleppo in 1583 listed income from some of the same *khāns* that had been noted in Mamlūk sources.[99] Nevertheless, Ottoman economic policies tended to be less monopolistic than Mamlūk ones, and many of the *khāns* that had controlled traffic in certain goods lost their hold on these trades by the middle of the sixteenth century.[100] This loss may have also been due to the growing prevalence of the *wakāla* in late Mamluk and early Ottoman cities, and the increasing preference of merchants and rulers for this latter institution.

THE *WAKĀLA*

Wakālas had been common in Egypt since the Fāṭimid period, but they became the dominant type of commercial space in late Mamlūk and Ottoman cities (especially in Egypt, but also in Syria and North Africa) by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq cited only a handful of *wakālas* in the Mamlūk capital in the late fourteenth and early

[97] Eggs: Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 41 (11b); silk: Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Ḥārāt Dimashq al-qadīma," ed. H. Zayāt, *al-Mashriq* 35 (1937) 33–35. Other Damascene *khāns* appear in al-Jazarī, *Chronique*, 9 (no. 46); Mayer (ed.), *The Buildings of Qāytbāy*, 51; Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIII (1944) (no. 5034); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas*, 168, (Arabic) 90 (French).

[98] Ibn al-Shiḥnah, "Les Perles choisies," 193–195 [248–250]; Sibṭ al-ʿAjamī, "Trésors d'or," 53 [39a], 137–138 [88b]; Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XVII (1982) (no. 774 010), XV (1956) (no. 5951); Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 169; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 172–173. There was also a *khān* for eggs in Aleppo in the middle of the fifteenth century (Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 100). Other *khāns* in Aleppo appear in epigraphy: see Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XV (1956) (no. 5971); Ernst Herzfeld (ed.), *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Syrie du Nord, Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep 76 (Cairo: Insitut français d'archéologie orientale, 1955) (nos. 194, 271, 275).

[99] Sauvaget, *Alep*, 254–256.

[100] Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 100.

fifteenth centuries, with most of these buildings located in the commercial heart of Cairo north of the Citadel. Several, including the Wakāla Qawṣūn and the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawāniyya, had been originally built as *funduqs*, but were later converted into *wakālas*. The development of the new port region of Būlāq in the fifteenth century promoted the construction of new *wakālas*, and these were always the primary commercial facility in this area of the city. By the late Ottoman period, *wakālas* had achieved hegemony in Cairo, so that early modern European visitors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commented on the numerous *okels* (also *hokels* or *oquelles*) of the city.[101] The *Description de l'Egypte*, a survey commissioned by Napoleon in 1798, counted 206 *wakālas* in the city, but only 13 *khāns* and not a single *funduq*.[102]

Architecturally and financially, there was often little to distinguish between these three types of commercial facility, at least on the ground floor. Like *funduqs* and urban *khāns*, *wakālas* were buildings with limited access, in the interests of security, with gatekeepers to guard the single gateway and lock the doors at night. The ground floor had individual storerooms that could be locked, and which were rented by merchants. The Wakāla Qawṣūn (originally a *funduq*) had "numerous warehouses (*makhāzin*) around [the courtyard], and [the founder] had stipulated that nobody who rented any of these warehouses would pay more than five dirhams, and no tenant would be expelled. Now [the tenancy on] these warehouses is passed down to heirs because of the modest rent and other advantages."[103] The courtyard was used for business transactions and the exchange of goods, usually at wholesale rather than retail.

Although *wakālas* displayed similar commercial functions to *funduqs* and *khāns*, they were not particularly associated with lodging or hospitality. Thus, the upper floors were often not connected to the commercial part of the building. In most cases, the apartments (*rabʿ*) on the upper stories of a *wakāla* were separate from the ground floor, and were reached by a flight of stairs on the outside of the building. *Wakālas* frequently provided cash revenues to a *waqf*, but unlike *funduqs* and *khāns*, they did not also offer free lodging to poor travelers or needy pilgrims.

[101] Al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 17. On Ottoman *wakālas* in Egypt and Syria, see also Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 192–196; André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th–18th centuries. An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1984) 44; B. S. Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities. Building and Planning Principles* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986) 82.

[102] *Description de l'Egypte* (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1809–1828); tally cited by André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1973) 254. Elsewhere, Raymond cited 360 *wakālas* in early modern Cairo (*Great Arab Cities*, 46).

[103] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93–94.

This distinction between business and hospitality can be traced back to the origin of the *funduq*, *khān*, and *wakāla*. Whereas the first two had served as hostelries from their earliest existence, providing both lodging and commercial space, the *wakāla* had evolved from purely mercantile origins. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, the customs house (*dār al-wakāla*) and the office of its merchant representative (*wakīl al-tujjār*) were already well established in the Fāṭimid period to serve the needs of trade and traders in Egypt.

The *wakāla* had long been associated not only with commerce, but also with the official regulation and control of commercial activity in Egypt and other regions. This regulatory function is also seen in the *khān* and *funduq*, but is most striking for the *wakāla*, especially in terms of the oversight of imported commodities. This had been true at least since the twelfth century. In 1123, a Fāṭimid vizier ordered the erection of a *dār al-wakāla* in Cairo for merchants arriving from Syria and Iraq.[104] The official and legal nature of these buildings is also suggested in a Geniza document from 1141, noting that partnerships were only valid if they had been contracted in a *dār al-wakāla*.[105] Later, a vizier to the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–1238) demonstrated the utility of these facilities in serving royal fiscal ends when he ordered the closure of all *funduqs* and *wakālas* "in which were sold linens and other goods," in order to redirect their sales to the "*dār al-wakāla* of the sultān."[106]

Mamlūk rulers, more than their predecessors – and also more than their contemporaries in the Islamic west – experimented with the imposition of government monopolies on certain types of commercial goods, and they worked to direct trade along certain routes and to particular markets. The *wakāla* presented the ideal instrument to facilitate these fiscal and regulatory ambitions, and these facilities became the preferred instruments for channeling commercial revenues to individual rulers, to their *waqf* endowments, or to the state treasury.[107] This trend was particularly characteristic of the later Mamlūk era, as when Sultan Barsbay imposed a state monopoly on the pepper trade in 1429, channeling profits to his own purse.[108] Such

[104] Ibn Muyassar, *Annales d'Egypte*, 62; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 188.
[105] ENA 4020, f. 2; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 188.
[106] Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, IV.1, (1974), 32–33 (Arabic), 68 (English).
[107] The *funduq* could also have filled this role, and did in fact promote rather similar ends in earlier centuries, but by the Mamlūk period too many *funduqs* were serving other purposes, or were already tied up in *waqf* property. In the contemporary Maghrib, it appears that *funduqs* continued to serve a regulatory function through the fifteenth century, especially controlling commercial traffic in wheat and salt, and *wakālas* only gained ground in the Islamic west in a later period.
[108] Labib, "Egyptian Commercial Policy," 77.

strategies were generally reactive rather than proactive moves, designed to garner immediate revenue in times of need rather than to promote long-term economic benefits.

The *wakāla* increasingly served as the primary facility through which rulers sought to control trade in particular goods, such as fruit, pepper, sugar, silk, linen, cotton, soap, and wheat. Al-Maqrīzī distinguished between the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ in Fusṭāṭ, where local fruit was brought for sale, and the Wakāla Qawṣūn in Cairo, which had essentially "the same purpose as a *funduq* or *khān*," but which handled imported "merchandise from Syria such as olive oil, sesame oil, soap, syrups, pistachios, walnuts, almonds, carob beans, fruit juice, and such like."[109] These items were either marketed wholesale in this facility or disseminated for resale to markets elsewhere in Egypt (possibly including the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ).[110] By the early fifteenth century, both of these facilities had fallen on hard times, hit by changes in political and economic circumstances. Their demise may have enhanced the revenues of another *wakāla*, the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya, which had been established in the early 1390s by Sultan Barqūq as a depot for Syrian goods arriving in the capital by boat.[111]

It is striking that while early facilities were often named after amirs and officials (Masrūr, Qawṣūn, Ṭurunṭāyī, etc.), many of the great commercial complexes established in the late Mamlūk period bore the names of sultans (for example the Wakāla of Qāyit Bay, built in 1480, and the Wakāla of Ghūrī, built in 1504–1505). But this is not to imply that all eastern *wakālas* were owned by the sultan – far from it. The utility and flexibility of the *wakāla* as a lucrative commercial facility promoted its development not only as a state-run facility but also as a privately owned commercial space. Many *wakālas* were founded and owned by individual merchants, and used not only for sales, but also for warehousing and manufacturing space. Many, also, were incorporated into private *waqf* endowments. The development of the port of Būlāq provided a particularly fruitful opportunity for these new foundations, and many merchants established their own commercial offices and *wakālas* in this region of the city. A Karīmī merchant, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṭanbadī (d. 1432) chose this area as the site of his new *wakāla* in the early fifteenth century, shortly before Sultan Barsbay clamped down on Karīmī activities.[112] *Wakālas* would continue to serve as sites for private

[109] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93.
[110] *Ibid.* Also, al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 141–142. See comment in Labib, "Egyptian Commercial Policy," 72.
[111] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93–94. Revenues from the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya went to a *waqf* established by the sultan.
[112] Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*, 22–23.

commercial activity, especially under Ottoman administration, not only in Egypt but also in Syria and the Maghrib.[113]

In many ways, the use of commercial space in the late medieval Muslim Mediterranean world reflected patterns established in earlier centuries. The basic facilities for commerce and lodging – the *funduq*, *khān*, and *wakāla* – continued to exist, but their relative prevalence, range of function, and relationship to each other changed significantly by the fifteenth century. In the Mamlūk realms of the Islamic east, *funduq*s became less common. Many of these buildings shifted their designation to *khān* or *wakāla* as these two institutions became the dominant facilities for lodging, storage, and business in Egyptian and Syrian cities. In the Maghrib, however, *funduqs* continued to flourish, although they took on a more residential and artisanal role than had been characteristic in earlier times. *Khāns* were always rare in the Muslim west, and although *wakāla*s would be successfully introduced to Maghribi cities, they were never so common here as in Egypt.

No single factor triggered the decline of the *funduq* in Mamlūk lands and the simultaneous rise of the *khān* and the *wakāla*. Instead, a number of different causes, both natural and intentional, worked together to bring about this gradual change. The shifting prevalence of commercial terminology may be partially explained by simple changes in language. As one term became more common, another declined, even though both might refer to the same building with roughly similar functions. But it seems that the situation was more complex than simple linguistic preference. When al-Maqrīzī noted that a building constructed as a *funduq* had been converted into a *wakāla* shortly thereafter, by order of the sultan, it is evident that more was at stake than mere nomenclature. Some functions of the facility must have altered along with the name.

On a political level, the change in regime in 1250 was undoubtedly significant, since Mamlūk rulers instituted new regulations and undertook closer oversight of merchants and commercial space. These methods of control were built on earlier patterns, particularly those developed by Ayyūbid administrators, but the Mamlūk government augmented and extended their supervision of trade and traders. During the first century of Mamlūk rule, the state inaugurated a more coherent and integrated network of roads, hostels, overland trade, and communications, thereby creating new and

[113] Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Ismā'īl Abū Taqīyya* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998) 127–133; Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*, 17; M. Callens, "L'Hébergement à Tunis: fondouks et oukalas," *Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* (Tunis) 70 (1955) 257–271.

more secure links between the political hub, in Cairo, and provincial cities in Syria. In part, these developments were made possible by the defeat of the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt in 1260, and the fall of the last crusader outpost at Acre in 1291, events that gave early Mamlūk rulers control of the entire Syrian region, including the critical markets in Aleppo and Damascus. The reestablishment of the *barīd* helped to consolidate Mamlūk power in Syria, and led to the foundation of a network of roadside *khāns*. The increased security of roads connecting Egypt and Syria, with links to markets in Anatolia, Iraq, and further east, lent a new vitality to the overland caravan trade by the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Meanwhile, linguistic and demographic changes also played a role in shifting the terminology of trade and architecture. The advent of the Mamlūk administration increased the use of Turkish in Syria and Egypt among the administrative elite, many of whom commissioned architectural projects such as *khāns*. The increasing popularity of the *khān* was also promoted by commercial contacts with adjacent regions under the rule of the Seljuqs and other Turkic dynasties in Anatolia and Iraq. The demographic crises brought about by famine and plague in the fourteenth century likewise played a role in fostering subsequent changes in the use of commercial space. Hostelries and markets were badly affected in 1348, when any place of communal activity could become a hothouse for disease. In Bilbays, al-Maqrīzī reported that "the mosques, *funduqs*, and shops were filled with the dead, and nobody could be found to bury them," while in Alexandria, "the *dār al-wakāla* and the market had to be closed, because there was nobody to come to them" and the *funduqs* were likewise shut, "since there was nobody to keep guard over them."[114] These facilities reopened as the crisis passed, but as elsewhere, plague paved the way for change. The need for stricter oversight and controls in time of emergency may have led to general acceptance of more stringent government regulations and control of commercial facilities. It is also likely that only the more successful commercial facilities, or those with official sponsorship, managed to reopen their doors in the aftermath of plague closures.

A new political regime and speculative economic practices in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries further augmented the process of institutional change in Egypt and Syria. Al-Maqrīzī was clearly of the opinion that new monetary and fiscal policies instituted after the shift to Circassian rulership in 1382 had a devastating affect on the Egyptian economy. Certainly, the actions of Sultans Barqūq, Mu'ayyad, Barsbay, and other rulers in

[114] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, II, part 3, 777–779.

the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had an impact on trade and commercial facilities. This is evident in the imposition of monopolies, the suppression of the Karīmī merchants, the demolition of some commercial buildings (often *funduqs*), and the construction of others (usually *wakālas*).

In many cases, these royal maneuvers were probably a reaction to broader economic realities in Mamlūk realms, not merely the imposition of sultanic whim and the desire for personal wealth. There were far-reaching changes in progress starting in the later fourteenth century, including the destructive campaigns of Tīmūr in Syria, the decline of the *pax mongolica* across Asia, ongoing outbreaks of plague, the rise of Ottoman states and trade in Anatolia, the virtual hegemony held by western European ships over Mediterranean sea routes, and the consequent shift of Muslim commercial attention to overland traffic and shipping in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. All of these factors contributed to the realignment of commercial facilities in Mamlūk cities.

Finally, one of the most important reasons for the decline of the *funduq* was the increasing importance of western *fondacos* and merchants. The proliferation of European *fondacos* was fueled by the fact that both local Muslim governments and foreign Christian traders profited from these institutions. The German pilgrim Felix Fabri was not the only observer to be awed by the profusion of goods and people trafficking through the *fondacos* in Alexandria during the late fifteenth century. As western *fondacos* became entrenched in Islamic port cities, and indispensable to the process of cross-cultural commerce, their success began to erode the traditional identity of the Muslim *funduq*. The expansion of late medieval *fondacos* in Mamlūk realms and in the Maghrib, and their impact on the late medieval *funduq*, will be examined in the next chapter.