

MAMLŪK STUDIES  
REVIEW

XVIII



2014–15

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MIDDLE EAST DOCUMENTATION CENTER (MEDOC)  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

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Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatawa* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. An article or book review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* makes its author a contributor to the scholarly literature and should add to a constructive dialogue.

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## The Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Noah Gardiner, (Ph.D. 2014, University of Michigan) has been named recipient of the 2014 Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for his dissertation:

“Esotericism in a manuscript culture:  
Aḥmad al-Būnī and his readers through the Mamlūk period”

Gardiner’s dissertation is not only an in-depth and welcome reconsideration of the work and thought of Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 or 630/1232–3) and his esoteric discourse of lettrism, both of which the author ably situates historically and intellectually, but a demonstration of the historiographical uses to which medieval manuscripts can be put beyond producing editions of texts. By cataloguing and examining the social-material traces in the large corpus of Būnian manuscripts (most notably paratextual matter like audition certificates) Gardiner is able to track to a remarkable degree the growing and changing textual communities linked to the Būnian corpus. Gardiner develops a sophisticated theoretical apparatus, drawing from a variety of secondary scholarship, including recent work on reading practices, textual economies, and manuscript cultures, to track the manuscript record. This focus on manuscript culture is derived from Gardiner’s conviction that “a given medieval Arabic manuscript is by no means simply a copy of a text, but rather one edge or node of a network or community of human actors—readers, teachers, copyists, booksellers—as well as other manuscripts.”

The committee commends Gardiner for his painstaking work collecting, examining, and organizing the Būnian manuscripts from all over the world as well as the critical work of determining the authenticity and character of a variety of texts attributed to al-Būnī, especially the various *Shams al-ma‘ārif* manuscripts. This study lays solid groundwork for future work on al-Būnī and demonstrates the rich potential paratextual manuscript material offers for writing social and cultural history.

The Prize Committee for 2014 consisted of Nathan Hofer (University of Missouri), chair; Th. Emil Homerin (University of Rochester); and Kristina Richardson (Queens College of the City University of New York).

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of \$1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2014 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2014, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2015. Submissions should be sent electronically to Marlis J. Saleh, Editor, *Mamlūk Studies Review*, at msaleh@uchicago.edu.

**Previous Prize Winners:**

2004: Tamer el-Leithy, Princeton University, “Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo: 1293–1524.”

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2006: Nahyan A. G. Fancy, University of Notre Dame, “Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection: The Interaction of Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288).”

2007: No prize was awarded.

2008: No prize was awarded.

2009: No prize was awarded.

2010: No prize was awarded.

2011: Joint award:

Nathan C. Hofer, Emory University, “Sufism, State, and Society in Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1309,”

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2012: Elias Ibrahim Muhanna, Harvard University, “Encyclopaedism of the Mamluk Period: The composition of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī’s (d. 1333) *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*.”

2013: No prize was awarded.

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## Editorial: Open Access and Copyright

*MSR* has been published online as an Open Access journal since 2009 (Vol. XIII, No. 1), which means that all new and back issues are freely available online as PDF files. We believe that free and open access to scholarship benefits everyone. As the Open Access movement has evolved, however, it has become clear that we must clarify our policies—for our readers and our authors—in order to comply with accepted best practices that make Open Access effective.

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With all of this in mind, and to avoid any misunderstandings, we have created a Memorandum of Understanding to which all authors must agree before we can publish their work. It is available on our website (<http://mamluk.uchicago.edu>). We have also updated our Editorial Statement and Style Guide, which is also available on our site.

Finally, we consider this change in copyright policy to apply retroactively to all content published since the journal's first issue (in 1997), as all back issues have been freely available online for years (thus Open Access in practice, if not explicitly in policy). Though older issues still state that the copyright belongs to the Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC) at The University of Chicago, we want to make it clear that each article is the property of its author(s). We do plan to ammend older issues' copyright statements with the new licensing information.

Please contact me if you have questions about these changes to our policies.

I am confident that our mission to promote scholarship on the Mamluks will be enhanced. I hope that ever greater access to such scholarship will serve to attract scholars, including those of our current peers who might discover in the Mamluks a new area of interest, and, even more importantly, the future scholars who will one day find and edit the manuscripts, analyze the sources, write the articles, and publish this and other journals.

Marlis J. Saleh

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AMIR MAZOR

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

## The “Manṣūriyah Legacy”: The Manṣūrī Amirs, Their Mamluks, and Their Descendants during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Third Reign and After

The long third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41) put an end to the turbulent Manṣūriyah period (689–709/1290–1310), in which the mamluks of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678–89/1279–90) filled the highest positions of the sultanate. Several scholars have tried to find a “rational explanation” for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s unprecedented long reign. Robert Irwin and Peter M. Holt argue, based on the basic political “model” of David Ayalon, that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad succeeded in the tough mission of eliminating his father’s mamluks, the Manṣūriyah, while advancing his own personal loyal mamluks, the Nāṣiriyah.<sup>1</sup> However, later studies, conducted by Reuven Amitai, Jo Van Steenbergen, and Winslow W. Clifford, indicate that the political-military elite that was fostered by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad consisted of members of other *khushdāshīyāt* besides the Nāṣiriyah, as well as *wāfidīyah* (refugees from the Mongol Ilkhanate or Seljukid Anatolia) and *awlād al-nās* (sons of mamluks).<sup>2</sup> This heterogeneous composition of the military elite makes explaining the long duration of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign more difficult. Scholars hold different views with regard to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s policy. Amalia Levanoni indicates that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lost his authority over his personal mamluks, so one cannot see the Nāṣiriyah mamluks as a more loyal factor than any other political faction.<sup>3</sup> Jo Van Steenber-

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This article is a revised version of part of a chapter from my Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2012. In a somewhat different form it appears in my book, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment: The Manṣūriyya in the First Mamluk Sultanate* (Bonn, 2015). I would like to thank my colleague and friend Dr. Koby Yosef for the data concerning several mamluks and descendants of Manṣūrī amirs, discussed in this article.

<sup>1</sup>Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 106; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 107.

<sup>2</sup>Reuven Amitai, “The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn,” *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 149–50; Jo Van Steenbergen, “Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2005): 173–98, esp. 194; W. W. Clifford, “State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 684–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995), 249–72.

<sup>3</sup>Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 60–72.



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gen, on the other hand, asserts that “it was his [al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s] solid, engaged, and independent position at the very top of the military hierarchy and of the government’s administration that account for the continuous subordination of this elite.”<sup>4</sup> Reuven Amitai suggests that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad promoted the “non-Nāṣirite” amirs in order to create a counter-balance to the power of his own mamluks.<sup>5</sup> Winslow Clifford argues that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s policy stemmed from the need to continue the constitutional order, the *nizām*, in which resources were distributed in an orderly and agreed-upon way among the members of the Mamluk elite.<sup>6</sup>

The policy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad might seem even more enigmatic, given the prominent position of the Manşūrīyah, the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s father, Sultan Qalāwūn, during al-Nāṣir’s third reign. Though the above-mentioned scholars pointed out in their studies that several Manşūrī amirs gained honorable positions from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the widespread assumption is that the Manşūrīyah faction, which consisted mostly of opponents of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was more or less eliminated by this sultan, and definitely lost its political power.<sup>7</sup>

However, a thorough examination of the Manşūrīyah’s role during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign might challenge this assumption. In what follows, I trace the careers of dozens of the Manşūrīyah amirs, their mamluks, and descendants, after 709/1310, in order to evaluate more precisely the position of the Manşūrīyah during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign and after. First, I will describe the moves made by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad against the Manşūrīyah in his first years as an autonomous sultan. Then I will discuss the Manşūrīyah amirs who were arrested or executed, and those who were not arrested at all. After that, I will discuss the mamluks and descendants of the Manşūrīyah amirs, who became amirs in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign and after. The findings of this prosopographical examination do not necessarily bring about a better understanding of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s policy or explain his successful continuous rule. However, I will add my own opinion on this disputed issue.

<sup>4</sup>Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite,” 195.

<sup>5</sup>Amitai, “Military Elite,” 160.

<sup>6</sup>Clifford, “State Formation,” 272–74.

<sup>7</sup>On these studies and their incomplete findings with regard to the Manşūrīyah’s political position during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, see below.



## 1. Manṣūrī Amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Third Reign

### 1.1. The Manṣūrīyah Amirs Who Were Arrested or Executed

#### 1.1.1. *The Moves Made by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad against the Manṣūrīyah*

When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was crowned as sultan for the third time in 709/1310, the Manṣūrīyah amirs filled the highest positions in the political-military elite. About forty prominent Manṣūrī amirs had passed away by this time, as a result of internal conflicts among the mamluk amirs, military confrontations with external enemies like the Mongols or the Crusaders, or natural deaths. The senior amirs were in their sixties, whereas the youngest, those whom Qalāwūn purchased during his reign, were in their thirties or forties. After about twenty years in which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was forced to accept the Manṣūrīyah amirs' *de facto* rule, and sometimes also *de jure*, he must have been angry with many of them and seen a significant risk to his rule in their current positions. The young sultan, hence, took gradual steps in order to reduce the power of these amirs.

The first step against the Manṣūrīyah was taken on 16 Shawwāl 709/19 March 1310, only two weeks after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad entered Cairo and was crowned as sultan. About twenty or thirty amirs who were the supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, the former sultan and the greatest enemy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, were arrested. Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions that all of them belonged to the Burjīyah, i.e., the fellows of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr within the Manṣūrīyah corps. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, however, the arrested amirs were those who were made amirs by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>8</sup> Examination of the identities of the twenty-two arrested amirs, as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, reveals that not all of them belonged to the Manṣūrīyah-Burjīyah. Most of the names are not mentioned in the sources before that, so there are only four who could be certainly classified as Burji amirs: Tākiz (or: Balabān) al-Tughrīlī, Aybak al-Baghdādī, Qijmās (Bashshāsh) al-Jūkandār, and Balāṭ al-Jūkandār. Another Manṣūrī amir mentioned among them is Mankubars or Baybars al-Manṣūrī. Among the arrested amirs were supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr who did not belong to the Manṣūrīyah-Burjīyah, like Sārūjā and Jaraktamur ibn Bahādur *ra's nawbah*.<sup>9</sup> Aybak al-Baghdādī died in

<sup>8</sup> Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar*, ed. Hans R. Roemer (Freiburg and Cairo, 1960), 9:196; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Akhbār al-Miʿah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1348), 1:534; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1930–73), 2:76; Khalil ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 5:92.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:76; Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:12–13; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad ʿAlawī Shaltūt (Cairo, 1992–98), 32:155. Tākiz or Balabān al-Tughrīlī is mentioned in the sources in different variants, such as: Dabākuz, Tanākur, Tabākur, Batākuz, or Bākīr. However, this amir is to be identified with Balabān al-



prison in the Cairo citadel in 722/1322.<sup>10</sup> It seems that Tākiz too died in prison, since he is not mentioned in the sources afterward.

Three weeks later, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took measures to promote the Manṣūrī amirs who seemed to be more loyal to him at the expense of those Manṣūrī amirs who were among his opponents during his confrontation with Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr (708–9/1309–10). Among the former were the three governors of the Syrian districts of Aleppo, Ḥamāh, and Tripoli—Qarāsunqur, Qibjaq, and Asandamur Kurjī—whereas among the latter were the deposed sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, his close friend and governor of Damascus Aqūsh al-Afram, and the former *nāʿib al-salṭanah* (vice-sultan), Salār. Qarāsunqur was appointed as the governor of Damascus while Aqūsh al-Afram was exiled to the remote fortress of Ṣarkhad as its governor; Qibjaq was appointed as the governor of Aleppo, while Asandamur Kurjī took Qibjaq’s position as the governor of Ḥamāh. Quṭlūbak al-Kabīr al-Manṣūrī, another of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s opponents, was exiled from Cairo and appointed governor of Safad. Baktamur al-Jūkandār, who joined the “pro-Nāṣirite” Manṣūrīyah coalition headed by Qarāsunqur, arrived in Cairo from Safad and was appointed *nāʿib al-salṭanah* instead of Salār. Other Manṣūrī amirs, who are not mentioned as opponents of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, remained in their offices: Sunqur al-Kamālī as *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* in Egypt, Qarālājīn as *amīr majlis* and later as *ustādār*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī as *dawādār*, and Balabān (or: Ṭurunṭāy) al-Muḥammadī al-Manṣūrī as *amīr jāndār*.<sup>11</sup>

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad turned now to deal with his greatest enemies among the Manṣūrīyah: Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, Salār, and Aqūsh al-Afram. From his place of refuge in Akhmīm, Upper Egypt, deserted by almost all of his allies and mamluks, Baybars asked *amān* from the sultan. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad agreed and dispatched his Manṣūrī *khushdashs* Baybars al-Manṣūrī and Bahādur Aṣ to receive his allegiance to the new sultan and to escort him to the remote fortress of Ṣahyūn in northern Syria. However, shortly after that, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad changed his mind and ordered al-Jāshnakīr brought to Cairo immediately. For that purpose, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dispatched other Manṣūrī amirs, Bahādur al-Ḥājī, Asandamur Kurjī, Qarāsunqur, and Baktamur al-Jūkandār. Baybars al-Jāshnakīr sur-

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Tughrīlī; see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:168, n. 4. Similarly, Qijmās al-Jūkandār, known as Bashāsh, is mentioned in different variants, such as Qijmāz, Qijmār, Qijqār, Qimār, Bijās, or Qihmāsh. See on Qijmās, Balāṭ, and Mankubars, 1.1.2. below.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:240.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:75, 77; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:11; Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo, 1987), 209–10; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:156–67. The same biographical data is mentioned both for Balabān and Ṭurunṭāy al-Muḥammadī. It is probable, then, that the two names refer to the same amir; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494–95, 2:218; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:162; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:418, 675; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115.



rendered himself to Qarāsunqur near Gaza, and the next day, when they arrived in the vicinity of Cairo, Qarāsunqur handed al-Jāshnakīr to Asnadamur Kurjī, who brought him to Cairo. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad repeated to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr all the evils that the latter had done to him, Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was executed, probably by strangling, on 15 Dhū al-Qa'dah 709/16 April 1310.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's most loyal amirs, the most prominent members of the Burjīyah. In the end of 709/spring 1310, the Burjis Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī and Baktūt al-Fattāḥ were arrested.<sup>13</sup> Baktūt al-Fattāḥ was executed in his prison in Alexandria not long after.<sup>14</sup> Another Burji amir who was arrested at the same time was Mughulṭāy al-Ba'li.<sup>15</sup> Qarāsunqur, the governor of Damascus, was ordered to arrest the Burji amirs Baybars al-'Alamī and Nughāy al-Jamdar al-Manṣūrī. The two amirs were arrested in the Damascus citadel, and Nughāy died there in Jumādā II 710/October 1310.<sup>16</sup> In the end of 709/May 1310 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested also the prominent Burji amir and son-in-law of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, Burlughay al-Ashrafī, together with other amirs related to him. This was after Bughlughay tried to murder al-Nāṣir Muḥammad together with Aqūsh al-Ashrafī and the Burjīyah. <sup>17</sup>Bughlughay was starved to death in Rajab 710/November 1310.

A short time after that, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested three of the closest associates of Aqūsh al-Afram, took their *iqṭā'āt*, and imprisoned them in Alexandria.<sup>18</sup> In 710/1310 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also arrested the Burji Ṭashtamur al-Jumaqdār and the Manṣūrī Balabān (or: Ṭurunṭāy) al-Muḥammadi.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:80–81, 272–75; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:78–80; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:156, 158. On the military capture of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr by Qarāsunqur, see Ismā'īl Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Maktab Taḥqīq al-Turāth (Beirut, 1994), 14:45. It was also said that Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was executed by drinking poison; see Khalīl ibn Ayyub al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Istanbul, Damascus, Wiesbaden, and Stuttgart, 1931–93), 10:350; idem, *A'yān*, 2:73

<sup>13</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:14.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:490.

<sup>15</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:125; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:355.

<sup>16</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:14; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:159. On the death of Nughāy, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:525; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:217. Baybars al-'Alamī was probably released a short time after his arrest, since he was arrested again in 712/1312; see below.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:16–17, 216; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:88.

<sup>18</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84; these three were Quṭlūbak al-Ūshāqī, Alṭunqush (or: Alṭunfush) the ustādār of al-Afram, and 'Alī ibn Ṣabīḥ. Quṭlūbek was released only in 735/1334; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393; on Alṭunqush see 2.1 below.

<sup>19</sup>K. V. Zetterstéén, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hīgra, nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 152; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:162. On Balabān or



In the same year, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad succeeded also in eliminating Salār. As sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s deputy, Salār changed his “political tendencies” immediately after Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was forced to leave Cairo. Salār safeguarded the Cairo citadel, expressed his rejection of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, and demonstrated his support for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad unambiguously. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, Salār gave him precious gifts, including slaves, horses, and expensive fabrics. Still feeling unsecure in Cairo, Salār asked to be appointed governor of al-Shūbak, and he made his way there in Shawwāl 709/March 1310.<sup>20</sup> For a short time, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad satisfied Salār, and made him amir of one hundred.<sup>21</sup> However, after the execution of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and the arrest of his associates, the sultan felt strong enough to arrest about twenty of Salār’s close associates, mamluks, and brothers, as a preliminary to the arrest of Salār.<sup>22</sup> Then al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dispatched his envoys to bring Salār to Cairo. At first, Muḥammad ibn Biktāsh al-Fakhrī was sent, but Salār was cautious and refused to come to Cairo. Later, however, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad used the more effective tactic in which Manşūrī amirs caught their *khushdāshs* for him once more. The sultan dispatched Salār’s close friends Sanjar al-Jawlī al-Manşūrī and Baybars al-Manşūrī to al-Shūbak. These two amirs succeeded in convincing their *khushdāsh* to travel to Cairo for “consultation with the sultan.” At the same time, the sultan ordered two other Manşūrī amirs, Qarāsunqur and Asandamur Kurjī, who were the governors of Damascus and Ḥamāh, to block the roads from Syria to the Mongol Ilkhanate in order to prevent Salār’s defection to these territories. Immediately after his arrival in Cairo, Salār was arrested in the citadel and was starved to death, while all his innumerable monies and properties, hidden in many places, were brought to the royal treasury. Salār died on 24 Rabīʿ II/19 September 1310 or about a month later, in 20 Jumādā I 710/14 October 1310.<sup>23</sup>

At approximately the same time, in Rabīʿ II 710/August 1310, another Manşūrī amir, Bahādur al-Ḥājj, met his death. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad feared his arrival in

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Ṭurunṭay al-Muḥammadī, see n. 11 above; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:162; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:418, 675; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:75; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:11; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:155.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:160.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:15; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:86–87. The Arabic sources mention six brothers of Salār: Mughulṭay, Lājīn, Samūk (or: Samuk, Samūl), Ādam, Jubā, and Dāwūd. The last two arrived to the sultanate together with Salār’s mother in 705/1305 as part of the Wāfidīyah; see Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manşūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 385. Only three brothers are mentioned among Salār’s associates who were arrested (Samuk, Jubā, and Dāwūd). The last two brothers were released in Rabīʿ II 715/July 1315; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:16–18; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:88; Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 215–16.



Cairo, and appointed him governor of Tripoli. The tension between the two, however, continued to escalate until Bahādur's death, which was likely the result of being poisoned by envoys of the sultan.<sup>24</sup>

In 710/1310 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad managed to capture Asandamur Kurjī. Asandamur was the governor of Tripoli and one of the main supporters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his struggle with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. After his arrival in Cairo, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed Asandamur governor of Ḥamāh. However, a few months later the sultan ordered Asandamur to leave his office for the Ayyubid prince Abū al-Fidā'. Asandamur refused, and after the death of Qibjaq, the governor of Aleppo, Asandamur took over this city. Asandamur was captured in Aleppo by many of his Maṣūrī *khushdāshs*, and they took him to Cairo, where he was put in prison and died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 710/March 1312.<sup>25</sup>

Several other prominent Maṣūrī amirs were arrested at the end of 710 and the beginning of 711/1311, after an unsuccessful attempt to depose the sultan and to crown his nephew Mūsá ibn 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn. The leaders of the conspirators were *nā'ib al-saltānah* Baktamur al-Jūkandār and Butkhāṣ al-Manṣūrī. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad captured not only these two Maṣūrī amirs, but also their *khushdāshs* and friends—Kirāy, the governor of Damascus, Quṭlūbak, the governor of Safad, and Quṭlūqatmur, the governor of Gaza.<sup>26</sup> Butkhāṣ was executed in Dhū al-Qa'dah 711/March 1312.<sup>27</sup> Baktamur al-Jūkandār stayed in prison until he was executed in 716/1316.<sup>28</sup> Kirāy also died in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's prison, but of natural causes, in 719/1319.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1991), 2:507; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:24, 216; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 90, 96.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:23–24, 26–27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:89–91, 93; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:167–68; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:188; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:208–9. On his death, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:535, 679; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:52. However, al-Maqrīzī mentions Asandamur Kurjī among the amirs who were executed by strangling in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168). According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Asandamur died in 721/1321 (*Durar*, 1:388).

<sup>26</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:91–93, 104; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:24–28, 30; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 224.

<sup>27</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:679; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:473.

<sup>28</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:168; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:485. On the arrest of Quṭlūbak, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:105; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 228.

<sup>29</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:199; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:245; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 24:332–33; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:267; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣafī wa-al-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa'īd 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1984–2009), 9:123. Kirāy was jailed in very good conditions; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:154; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:332. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Kirāy was released in 717/1317 but arrested again and held until his death in 719/1319 (*Durar*, 3:267).



At the end of 711/spring 1312, three prominent senior Manşūrī amirs—Qarāsunqur, Aqūsh al-Afram, and his father-in-law Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh—defected to the Ilkhanid Mongols, after al-Nāşir Muḥammad made every possible effort to capture them. Despite the fact that Qarāsunqur had been the head of the “pro-Nāşirite” coalition during the conflict between al-Nāşir Muḥammad and sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, the new sultan was intimidated by Qarāsunqur. Qarāsunqur, who had sharp political instincts, escaped dangers time and again. Unlike Salār who was tempted to go to Cairo, or Asandamur Kurjī who was not suspicious enough, Qarāsunqur, who served now as the governor of Damascus, requested that the sultan appoint him governor of Aleppo. This request was not only in order to move even farther from Cairo, but also to feel more secure in the company of his loyal associates that he had managed to acquire during his long period as governor of this district. The sultan agreed to that and appointed him governor of Aleppo at the end of 710 or the beginning of 711/May 1311.<sup>30</sup> However, al-Nāşir Muḥammad dispatched his loyal mamluk Arghūn al-Dawādār ostensibly to escort Qarāsunqur to Aleppo, but he actually ordered Arghūn to capture him.<sup>31</sup> Qarāsunqur managed to avoid capture again, but felt totally unsecure in Aleppo. In Shawwāl 711/February 1312, while Qarāsunqur made his way to Mecca for the hajj, he managed to escape once more from another capture attempt by al-Nāşir Muḥammad, and received asylum from the Syrian Bedouin chieftain ʿĪsā ibn Muḥannā.<sup>32</sup>

Qarāsunqur now contacted Aqūsh al-Afram so that the latter would join him in defecting to the Mongols. Aqūsh, who was appointed governor of Tripoli after the death of Bahādur al-Ḥājj, realized that if he did not act in time his end would be like that of most of the other Manşūrī amirs who lead the “anti-Nāşirite” coalition, such as his close friend Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār. Hence, Aqūsh al-Afram together with his father-in-law Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh fled to ʿĪsā ibn Muḥannā, too, and joined Qarāsunqur on his way to the Mongols. The Manşūrī amirs received a warm and honorable welcome from Ilkhan Ōljeitū, who—according to the Mamluk sources—gave Qarāsunqur the district of al-Marāghah in Azerbaijan as an *iqṭāʿ*, Hamadhān district to Aqūsh al-Afram, and Nahāwand to Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh.<sup>33</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad continued with his attempts to

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:93; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:94; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:217–18.

<sup>31</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:94.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 2:108–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30–31; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:94; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:218; Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 235; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:219.

<sup>33</sup>On Qarāsunqur and Aqūsh al-Afram, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:110, 115; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:31–33; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:185. On Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh, see al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:95. On the warm welcome and the high position they received from the Ilkhan, see Ibn al-



murder Qarāsunqur and Aqūsh al-Afram. He dispatched assassins to the Ilkhanid territories who failed in their mission again and again, and the two Manṣūrī amirs died of old age in the Ilkhanid territories.<sup>34</sup>

The defection of Qarāsunqur and Aqūsh al-Afram caused al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to start an unprecedented wave of arrests: no less than fifteen high-ranking Manṣūrī amirs were captured in Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312, due to the sultan's suspecting them of collaboration with the defectors. These Manṣūrī amirs were: Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Sunqur al-Kamālī, Lājīn al-Jāshnakīr (Zīrbāj), Baynajār al-Manṣūrī, al-Dukuz al-Ashrafī, Mughulṭāy al-Masʿūdī, Baybars al-ʿAlamī, Baybars al-Majnūn, Sanjar al-Barwānī, Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī, Baybars al-Tājī, Baybars al-ʿAlāʾī, Baktūt al-Qarmānī, and Kashlī.<sup>35</sup> These captured amirs were imprisoned in several jails, mainly in Cairo, Kerak, and Alexandria. Six of them died in prison: Baybars al-ʿAlāʾī, Baybars al-Tājī, Baynajār al-Manṣūrī, Sunqur al-Kamālī, al-Dukuz al-Silaḥdār al-Ashrafī, and Baybars al-Majnūn.<sup>36</sup>

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Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:230, 233, 268–70. On the protection they received from the Bedouin chieftain before their defection, see Joseph Drory, “The Role of Banū Faḍl in Fourteenth Century Northern Syria,” in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V*, Proceedings of the 11th, 12th and 13th International Colloquium, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, May 2002, 2003, and 2004, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Kristof D’Hulster (Leuven, 2007), 478–79.

<sup>34</sup>Qarāsunqur died, according to most of the sources, in al-Marāghah in 728/1328; see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:89; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 9:48; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:273–74; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:305. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghribirdī, however, mention Qarāsunqur also among the people who died in 741/1340–41; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:554; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:326. According to these sources, Qarāsunqur captured and killed no less than one hundred twenty-four assassins sent by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:143, 207, 554–58; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:273–74; idem, *Al-Manhal*, 9:48; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 24:220; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:59. The data concerning Aqūsh al-Afram is also confusing, since he too died far away from the territories of the sultanate. Al-Ṣafadī mentions that Aqūsh had a stroke in 714/1314 and lived like that until his death after the year 720/1320 (*Aʿyān*, 1:571, 569; *Wāfi*, 9:334). According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Aqūsh had a stroke after 720/1320 (*Durar*, 1:398). Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that Aqūsh died as a result of his stroke, in 720/1320 or 716/1316–17 (*Al-Manhal*, 3:13). According to al-Ṣuqāʿī, the news of Aqūsh's death reached the sultanate in 717/1317; see Faḍl Allāh al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. and tr. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 180. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that Aqūsh died in Muḥarram 716/April 1316 in Hamadān (*Sulūk*, 2:167) and that his stroke and death were in 714/1314–15 (*Al-Muqaffā*, 2:236, 245); Ibn Taghribirdī mentions too that Aqūsh died in this year, but in al-Marāghah (*Al-Nujūm*, 9:237).

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:33–34; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:117–19; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:196–97; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:77–78; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:243.

<sup>36</sup>Baybars al-ʿAlāʾī, who served as governor of Homs, died in Kerak in 712/1312; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:509. Baynajār died in 716/1316; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:471; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:168. Sunqur al-Kamālī and al-Dukuz al-Ashrafī died in the Cairo citadel in 718/1318; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:189. Baybars al-Majnūn died in 715/1315, 716/1316, or after 718/1318. Al-Maqrīzī mentions Baybars al-Majnūn among the amirs who were executed by strangling by order of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad



The year 712/1312, therefore, may be considered as the watershed after which the Manşūrīyah’s power was significantly weakened.<sup>37</sup> Six to nine Manşūrī amirs were arrested after 712/1312 and it seems that this was due to minor political disagreements, especially with the governor of Syria, Tankiz. In Ramaḍān 713/December 1313 al-Nāşir Muḥammad imprisoned Aybak al-Rūmī due to a disagreement between the latter and Aydughdī Shuqayr, al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s confidant. Aybak is not mentioned in the sources anymore, so it is probable that he died in prison.<sup>38</sup> In 714/1314 Balabān al-Shamsī was arrested because of his misconduct as the *amīr al-ḥajj*.<sup>39</sup> In the same year the governor of Safad, Balabān Ṭurnā, was arrested, after demonstrating his dissatisfaction with the fact that the sultan had empowered Tankiz as the supreme governor of all the districts of Syria.<sup>40</sup> In 715/1315–16 al-Nāşir Muḥammad arrested two other high-ranking Manşūrī amirs, Bahādur Āş and Tamur al-Sāqī, the governor of Tripoli. The first was arrested due to a disagreement with Tankiz.<sup>41</sup> In 720/1320 Sanjar al-Jawlī, the governor of Gaza, was arrested too, also as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz.<sup>42</sup> In Ramaḍān 722/September 1322 Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī was arrested after refusing to leave Cairo for Safad. He died in prison in Shaʿbān 728/June 1328.<sup>43</sup>

Three other Manşūrī amirs were arrested by al-Nāşir Muḥammad during his third reign: Ṭughjī al-Manşūrī, who was one of the prominent Burji amirs, died

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in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168). However, the same historian mentions shortly after that this amir was among the amirs whose prison conditions in the citadel tower were worsened; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:183. According to al-Şafadī, Baybars al-Majnūn died in Rabīʿ I 715/June 1315 (*Aʿyān*, 2:76). Baybars al-Tāji probably died in his prison too, since he is not mentioned in the sources anymore. All the other amirs who were captured were released after shorter or longer jail periods, as I discuss in 1.1.2 below.

<sup>37</sup>See also the opinion of Reuven Amitai, “Military Elite,” 156, 159.

<sup>38</sup>Aybak al-Rūmī was captured together with his close friend (*khushdāsh*) from the Burjiyah, Baybars al-Aḥmadī. However, the latter was released immediately and continued to serve as a high-ranking amir until his death from old age in 746/1345–46; see Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 160; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:128; David Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks—Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate,” *Tārīḥ* 1 (1990): 38. See section 1.2 below for more on Baybars al-Aḥmadī’s career.

<sup>39</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:212; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:136.

<sup>40</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:137. Balabān Ṭurnā was appointed as governor of Safad in Jumādā I 712/September 1312; see Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 149; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:199. He is not mentioned explicitly as Manşūrī, but he is mentioned together with other Manşūrī amirs; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:168.

<sup>41</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:41; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:107–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:497. On Bahādur’s disagreement with Tankiz, see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:166.

<sup>42</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:469; idem, *Wāfi*, 15:483.

<sup>43</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:701–2; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:238.



in prison in 738/1337–38;<sup>44</sup> Balabān al-‘Anqāwī al-Zarrāq al-Manṣūrī, who died in 732/1332 after his release from prison, when he was over seventy;<sup>45</sup> and Aydamur al-Yūnusī, who was released in 735/1335.<sup>46</sup>

To sum up: forty-six prominent Manṣūrī amirs were arrested during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, about forty of them during the first three years of his rule. However, during these three years, only eighteen amirs were executed after their arrest or died in jail. Among the nine amirs who were arrested between 712/1312 and 722/1322, only three died in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s prison. Three other amirs were forced to escape to the Ilkhanid Mongols. Thus, we may conclude that out of the forty-six amirs who were arrested, twenty-two amirs were executed or died in prison. The other twenty-four amirs were released after being imprisoned (discussed below). Three other amirs defected to the Ilkhanid Mongols.

### 1.1.2. *The Amirs Who Were Arrested*

The jail periods of the twenty-four prominent Manṣūrī amirs who were arrested during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign stretched from a few months to twenty-six years. In what follows, I briefly discuss the jail periods and careers of these Manṣūrī amirs, in addition to their attitude toward al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

1. Ṭashtamur al-Jumaqdār (Burji) was imprisoned in Rabī‘ I 710/August 1310 but released together with other Burji amirs already in 711/1311.<sup>47</sup> Ṭashtamur is not mentioned in the sources after his release, so it is reasonable to assume that he continued as an amir like Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, who was released together with him (see below).
2. Baktūt al-Qarmānī (Burji) was arrested for the first time in Rabī‘ II 712/August 1312, as mentioned above, but probably stayed in jail for a short period since already at the beginning of 713/May 1313 he was dispatched to al-Raḥbah as governor, after serving as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus.<sup>48</sup> Baktūt was arrested again in 726/1326 as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz, and was released in 734/1333.<sup>49</sup> Until his second arrest he held several important offices, like *kāshif al-qilā‘ al-shāmīyah* (supervisor of the for-

<sup>44</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:317; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:457.

<sup>45</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:49–50; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494. See section 1.1.2 below.

<sup>46</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:387; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393. See section 1.1.2 below.

<sup>47</sup>Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 152; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:211.

<sup>48</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:123.

<sup>49</sup>Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāṣir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 191; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:272, 371.



tresses in Syria), *shādd al-dawāwīn* and *ustādār* in Damascus, governor of Homs, amir in Damascus, and *shādd* in Tripoli. After his release in 734/1333, Baktūt again became *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus, probably until his death as a result of the epidemic of 749/1348–49.<sup>50</sup> Baktūt al-Qarmānī served in all these positions despite being one of the associates of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Baktūt received an amirate at the beginning of the joint rule of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār, and during the conflict between Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad he was sent by the former to capture Nughāy al-Jamdār, who started the wave of defection to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side.<sup>51</sup>

3. Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (Burji) was arrested during the wave of arrests in Shawwāl 709/March 1310. However, he was released less than two years later and became one of the most prominent amirs in the Mamluk Sultanate. He was the amir of one hundred twenty mamluks, and one of the consultant (*mashūrah*) amirs of the sultan.<sup>52</sup> In 715/1315 Aydamur was among the amirs who took part in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s *rawk* reform.<sup>53</sup> In 732/1332 he was *amīr al-ḥajj* and he died five years later in 737/1337.<sup>54</sup> Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī was one of the main supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and only in the last stages of the conflict was he forced to move to the side of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>55</sup>
4. Bahādur Āṣ was the governor of Safad and in 712/1312 became amir in Damascus.<sup>56</sup> He was imprisoned in 715/1315, as mentioned above, as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz. However, he was released two years later, and immediately was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus by the sultan.<sup>57</sup> Later he became amir of one hundred until his natural death in Damascus in

<sup>50</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:87, 105, 183, 192, 793; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:182; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:717, 3:720; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:489–90; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:237; Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks,” 38.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:873; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:251.

<sup>52</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:660; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:181; idem, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:312. On the *mashūrah* amirs, see Holt, “The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate,” in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 44–61; Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite,” 187, n. 65.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:146.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:351, 426; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:312; Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks,” 38; Clifford, “State Formation,” 252–53. Clifford mentions that Aydamur was governor of Damascus in 712/1312, but I did not find this in the sources.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:78; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:272.

<sup>56</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:199.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:172; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:41.



730/1329.<sup>58</sup> According to Ibn Kathīr, Aydamur was *ra's maymanat al-shām* and one of the most senior amirs in Damascus.<sup>59</sup> Bahādur Āṣ is usually mentioned as one of the supporters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. When Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was crowned sultan, Bahādur refused, at first, to swear allegiance to him.<sup>60</sup> Later he assisted al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to enlarge his circle of supporters by secretly swearing the amirs to the latter.<sup>61</sup> Bahādur Āṣ, together with Baybars al-Manṣūrī, suggested to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr that he leave Cairo and renounce his rule as sultan for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>62</sup> Later, these two Manṣūrī amirs captured Baybars al-Jāshnakīr for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>63</sup>

5. Aqūsh al-Manṣūrī was imprisoned by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for three years, 710–13/1310–13, and after his release he was made an amir. In 719/1319 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made him *amīr ṭablkhānah* and he was dispatched together with other amirs to defeat the Bedouins in 'Aydhāb.<sup>64</sup> In 724/1324 he was sent out, probably from Cairo, to serve as amir in Damascus or Aleppo. He died three years later.<sup>65</sup> Aqūsh was in prison during the conflict with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, probably because of his involvement in the murder of Sanjar al-Shujā'ī in 693/1294.<sup>66</sup>
6. Aqūsh al-Ashrafī was in prison from Rabī' II 712/August 1312 until Rajab 715/October 1315.<sup>67</sup> Before his arrest and after, he gained a high and honorable position in the sultanate. He is mentioned as the only amir for whom al-Nāṣir Muḥammad stood up out of respect.<sup>68</sup> From Jumādā II 711/October

<sup>58</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:56; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:326.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:120.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:236.

<sup>61</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:297; idem, *A'yān*, 2:56–57; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:245–46.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 2:270; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:70.

<sup>63</sup> See n. 12 above.

<sup>64</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 160.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:400; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 174; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:257; idem, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:274.

<sup>66</sup> Aqūsh al-Manṣūrī is probably to be identified with the amir of the same name who (or whose mamluks) murdered al-Shujā'ī; see Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, 1942), 8:182; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:276; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 302; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:46; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:78.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:578; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:395.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:378; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 9:336; idem, *A'yān*, 1:578; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:27.



1311 until his arrest he was governor of Damascus.<sup>69</sup> Right after his release he was made an amir of one hundred twenty.<sup>70</sup> In 721/1321 he was the commander of the Mamluk force that defeated the Armenians in Ayas.<sup>71</sup> He is mentioned as a commander also in the following year.<sup>72</sup> In 723/1323 he was appointed as the manager of the hospital (*bīmāristān*) in Cairo.<sup>73</sup> In 727/1327 he was the *amīr al-ḥajj* of Egypt.<sup>74</sup> In Muḥarram 734/September 1333, however, he was exiled from Cairo and appointed governor of Tripoli.<sup>75</sup> Aqūsh al-Ashrafī was arrested in Jumādā II 735/January 1335 and died in prison less than a year later, in Jumādā I 736/December 1335.<sup>76</sup> He was not executed but died as the result of an accident.<sup>77</sup> Aqūsh was one of the most loyal amirs (*khawāṣṣ*) of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Kerak in 708/1309 he expelled Aqūsh since he tried to restrict the property of the former.<sup>78</sup> Baybars al-Jāshnakīr relied on Aqūsh al-Ashrafī during his conflict with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and it was only in the last stage, when al-Jāshnakīr’s defeat was clear, that Aqūsh al-Ashrafī was forced to leave him and to join the supporters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>79</sup> Later, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made his way to Cairo as the new sultan, Aqūsh, together with Burji amirs, planned to murder him.<sup>80</sup> However, Aqūsh al-Ashrafī is also mentioned as the one who fulfilled all the orders of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad already when the latter was exiled to Kerak in 697/1297.<sup>81</sup>

7. Baybars al-Manṣūrī was arrested and held in Alexandria for five years, from Rabiʿ II 712/August 1312 to Jumādā I 717/July 1317. After his release he gained a high position in the sultanate until his death in Ramaḍān 725/August 1325. Baybars al-Manṣūrī became amir of one hundred and *ra’s al-maysarah*.<sup>82</sup> Be-

<sup>69</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:105; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 9:336.

<sup>70</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144, 159; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:232; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 9:336.

<sup>71</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:229.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 2:236.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 2:247.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 2:290.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 2:371; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:378.

<sup>76</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:405; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:310.

<sup>77</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:30; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:581.

<sup>78</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:139; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:469.

<sup>79</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:264, 9:4; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:66.

<sup>80</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:73.

<sup>81</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:832–33; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 314; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:331.

<sup>82</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:509–10; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:252; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:172.



fore his arrest he served as *dawādār* and as *nāʾib al-salṭānah* for about a year.<sup>83</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī tried to stay away from political conflicts. At the beginning of the conflict between Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, it seems he was neutral. Later he inclined to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's side, when the latter's power was strengthened. When it became clear that Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was going to lose, Baybars al-Manṣūrī advised the sultan to abdicate in favor of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Afterward, as mentioned above, Baybars al-Manṣūrī captured Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, Salār, and others, on the orders of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

8. Qijmās (Bashshāsh)<sup>84</sup> al-Jūkandār (Burji) was among the amirs who were captured right after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's arrival in Cairo, in Shawwāl 709/March 1310. He was released five and a half years later, in Rabīʿ II 715/July 1315, and made *amīr ṭablkhānah*.<sup>85</sup> In 734/1334 he was appointed governor of Homs and died in the same year.<sup>86</sup> Qijmās was one of the greatest supporters and associates of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and was loyal to him until the last stages of his conflict with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>87</sup>
9. Mankubars (or Baybars) al-Manṣūrī was arrested together with Qijmās and other confidants of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. It is not mentioned when he was released, but he died in 718/1318, probably as the governor of ʿAjlūn. He is mentioned as one of the veteran Manṣūrī amirs who gained a high position in the sultanate.<sup>88</sup>
10. Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī was arrested in the big wave of arrests in Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312. He was released in Ṣafar 720/March 1320.<sup>89</sup> Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made him amir of ten and sent him to Safad, where he held the office of *nāʾib al-qaḻʾah* until his death in 724/1324. Before his arrest he was *shādd al-dawāwīn* and *ustādār* in Damascus.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:103; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30. For Baybars' self-testimony, see Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 228.

<sup>84</sup> See n. 9 above.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:222; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:41.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:371, 377; Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks," 38.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261, 271; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:64, 71.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:243; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 76, 189. Al-Maqrīzī mentions this amir as Baybars, whereas Ibn Taghribirdī refers to him as Mankubars.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:202; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:623.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Ṣuqāʾī, *Tālī*, 193; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:623; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:94, 100. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ṭūghān stayed in his prison in Kerak until his



11. Sanjar al-Barwānī was arrested and held, according to most of the sources, from Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312 to Ṣafar 720/March 1320, like Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī.<sup>91</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, however, he was released only in 727/1327 and appointed as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo until his death in 731/1331.<sup>92</sup>
12. Sanjar al-Jāwli was arrested only in 720/1320 as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz, the governor of Damascus.<sup>93</sup> In 726/1326 he was transferred to prison in Alexandria and a year later to a more comfortable imprisonment in one of the towers of the Cairo citadel.<sup>94</sup> In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 728/September 1328 he was released after eight years and three months.<sup>95</sup> Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him government of Gaza from Jumādā I 711/October 1311 until his arrest nine years later. The sultan added several other places in Palestine under his supervision and gave him a vast *iqṭāʿ*.<sup>96</sup> In 713/1313 he was sent to Syria to assist the sultan in his *rawk* reform.<sup>97</sup> Four years later al-Jāwli is mentioned as a commander of a Mamluk force that besieged a Bedouin force near Jerusalem.<sup>98</sup> After his release at the end of 728/1328 he gained an even higher position than he had before his arrest. At the beginning he was *amīr ṭablkhānah*, but soon he became amir of one hundred and one of the consultant amirs (*mashūrah*) of the sultan.<sup>99</sup> In 732/1332 he was among the amirs who performed the hajj pilgrimage with the sultan. According to al-Maqrīzī, he was then an *amīr ṭablkhānah*. Ibn al-Dawādārī, however, mentions him among the amirs of one hundred.<sup>100</sup> During this decade Sanjar al-Jāwli was appointed as the *nāzir* of the Māristān hospital in Cairo.<sup>101</sup> In 741/1341, the year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, Sanjar is still

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death after 720/1320 (*Durar*, 2:228). Ṭūghān was arrested for a very short time before 712/1312; see Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 223–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:228.

<sup>91</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:202; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:318; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 170.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:173; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:338.

<sup>93</sup> See n. 42 above.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:274, 286.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:209, 299, 304; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:90; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:78.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:101; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 227. Al-Ṣafadī mentions that Sanjar al-Jāwli was also the governor of Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Qaqun, Lod, and Ramla (*Wāfī*, 15:483).

<sup>97</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:127; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:36.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:176.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:469; *idem*, *Wāfī*, 15:483; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:274.

<sup>100</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366.

<sup>101</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:420.



mentioned as one of the senior *mashūrah* amirs.<sup>102</sup> He continued his career after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death. In 743/1343 he was appointed governor of Homs for three months, later as the governor of Gaza for a similar period, and then he returned to his senior amirate in Cairo.<sup>103</sup> Sanjar al-Jāwli held other offices until he was murdered in Ramaḍān 745/January 1345.<sup>104</sup>

Sanjar al-Jāwli's political inclinations are puzzling. On the one hand, Sanjar is mentioned as a close associate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He served as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's *ustādār* during his second reign and took care of all his interests.<sup>105</sup> As described above, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also sent Sanjar to persuade Salār to come to Cairo, where he was executed. He even brought Salār's extensive property from his house to the sultan's treasury.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, there are several testimonies that Sanjar al-Jāwli was an opponent of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. First, Sanjar was Salār's closest friend and he served Salār's mamluks, Kitbughā and Butkhāṣ. Second, Aqūsh al-Afram, the governor of Damascus, had used Sanjar to prevent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from entering Damascus. And finally, Sanjar only joined al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's coalition at a late stage, after Aqūsh al-Afram had escaped from Damascus.<sup>107</sup> It seems, therefore, that Sanjar al-Jāwli was an associate of both al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Salār, he maneuvered between the two, and in the end he sided with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in order to protect his life and position. Sanjar, however, is mentioned as the one who washed the dead bodies of both al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Salār.<sup>108</sup>

13. Aydamur al-Yūnusī (Burji) was arrested and held for a long period that probably exceeded eight years, though it is not mentioned when he was imprisoned. In 727/1327 he was transferred with other amirs from Alexandria to Cairo, where he was imprisoned in *al-jubb* (the pit) jail.<sup>109</sup> Aydamur was released in Rajab 735/March 1335 together with other amirs and was made amir in Tripoli.<sup>110</sup> His death year is not mentioned. Aydamur was a

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:164.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:620; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:469; idem, *Wāfi*, 15:483.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:468; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:674.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 6:75; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 15:472; idem, *A'yān*, 2:468.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:17.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261, 265. About Sanjar al-Jāwli's service to Kitbughā and his mamluk, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:674.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:18–19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:171.

<sup>109</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:286.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 2:387; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393.



supporter of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and was one of his associates from the Burjīyah.<sup>111</sup>

14. Mughulṭāy al-Ba‘li (Burji) was arrested and held for about ten years, from 709/1310 to 720/1320. His death year is not mentioned. He was a confidant of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. When the latter became sultan, he sent Mughulṭāy to Kerak in order to take the property that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took with him.<sup>112</sup>
15. Balabān al-Shamsī was arrested only in 714/1314. He was released in 725/1325<sup>113</sup> and served as amir in Damascus and Aleppo until his death in 745/1345.<sup>114</sup>
16. Balabān Ṭurnā was also arrested in 714/1314, as a result of a dispute with Tankiz. He was released in Sha‘bān 726/July 1326, and made *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus and later amir of one hundred. He was one of Tankiz’s associates, and died in Damascus in Rabī‘ I 734/November 1333.<sup>115</sup>
17. Lājīn Zīrbāj al-Jāshnakīr al-‘Umarī al-Manṣūrī was arrested during the wave of arrests in Rabī‘ II 712/August 1312 and released at the end of 728/October 1328, after more than sixteen years.<sup>116</sup> He died three years later, in Ṣafar 731/November 1330 as a result of the plague in Cairo.<sup>117</sup> Lājīn Zīrbāj was one of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s loyal associates. He took the army’s allegiance to the sultan after the caliph crowned Baybars al-Jāshnakīr as sultan for the second time, during the conflict with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>118</sup> Until his arrest he was one of the senior amirs.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 406; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:235–36.

<sup>112</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 5:125; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:355.

<sup>113</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:264, 269.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:675.

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:45; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:377; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:304. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, after his release, Balabān Ṭurnā was sent to Aleppo as an amir (*Kanz*, 9:320). Al-Maqrīzī, contradicting all other sources including himself (*Sulūk*, 10:115), mentions Balabān Ṭurnā among the amirs who were executed in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168).

<sup>116</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:298; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:180; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:271. While al-Maqrīzī mentions that in Rajab 727/May 1327 Lājīn Zīrbāj was transferred to *al-jubb* prison in the Cairo citadel (*Sulūk*, 2:286), according to al-Yūsufī, Lājīn was released in this year (*Nuzhat al-Nāẓir*, 234).

<sup>117</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:358; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:271; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:338.

<sup>118</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 406; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:223.

<sup>119</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231, 235.



18. Mughultāy al-Mas'ūdī (Burji) was imprisoned for twenty years, from Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 712/August 1312 to 732/1332. He died two months after his release.<sup>120</sup> Before his arrest he was amir of one hundred and one of the senior amirs in the sultanate.<sup>121</sup> Mughultāy was probably one of the Burji amirs who were loyal to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, according to Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Mughultāy deliberately delayed pursuing Nughāy al-Jamdār and the other amirs who defected to Kerak, in order to save the sultanate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>122</sup>
19. Tamur al-Sāqī was also imprisoned for twenty years, from Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 715/July 1315 to 735/1335.<sup>123</sup> After his release he was *baṭṭāl* in Damascus, and later he was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* and amir of one hundred. He was among the honorable *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He died in Cairo in 743/1343.<sup>124</sup> Before his arrest he was governor of Homs and in 711/1311 he is mentioned as one of the senior amirs in the sultanate.<sup>125</sup> In Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 712/July 1312 he was appointed governor of Tripoli.<sup>126</sup> Tamur al-Sāqī is not mentioned as supporting either al-Nāṣir Muḥammad or Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad entered Damascus, Tamur arrived there with the army of Homs to welcome him.<sup>127</sup> He was the head of the *muqaddamah* that marched in front of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on his way to Cairo.<sup>128</sup>
20. Baybars al-ʿAlamī was one of the senior Burji amirs. He was arrested already in 709/1310.<sup>129</sup> However, he was released shortly thereafter and was arrested again during the big wave of arrests in Rabī<sup>c</sup> 712/August 1312. This time he stayed in prison for about twenty-three years until his release in

<sup>120</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:351, 355.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 2:54; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231.

<sup>122</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 414; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:250.

<sup>123</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:519. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, Tamur al-Sāqī was arrested in 714/1314 (*Kanz*, 9:283, 293).

<sup>124</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:519. Ibn Taghribirdī and al-Maqrīzī mention that Tamur al-Sāqī died at the end of 742/May 1342 (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:77; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:616).

<sup>125</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231.

<sup>126</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:118; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:34; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:243; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:195.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:268; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:68–69; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:152.

<sup>128</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 201.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84.



735/1335.<sup>130</sup> Baybars al-ʿAlamī moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side during the latter’s first attempt to enter Damascus.<sup>131</sup>

21. Kashlī was also imprisoned from 712/1312 to 735/1335.<sup>132</sup> Though he is not mentioned explicitly as a mamluk of Qalāwūn, he was arrested together with several other Manşūrī amirs in 712/1312.<sup>133</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Kashlī was made amir again after his release, like all of his friends. Indeed, he might be identified with the amir named Kashlī (which is not a common name) who is mentioned as the *wālī* of Qūṣ who died there in 740/1339.<sup>134</sup>
22. Balāṭ al-Jūkandār (Burji) was imprisoned for about twenty-five years, from Shawwāl 709/March 1310 to Rajab 735/June 1335. After his release he became amir in Tripoli.<sup>135</sup> Balāṭ was one of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s greatest supporters.<sup>136</sup>
23. Balabān (or: Ṭurunṭāy) al-Muḥammadī was arrested and held for a similar period to Balāṭ, from 711/1311 to 737/1337, and after his release also became an amir (of ten) in Tripoli. Later he served as amir in Damascus until his death in 745/1345.<sup>137</sup>
24. Balabān (or: Baybars) al-ʿAnqāwī was arrested by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and released, probably close to his death, in Ramaḍān 732/May 1332. He was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84, 378. Al-Maqrīzī mentions Baybars al-ʿAlamī’s name among the amirs who were executed in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168), though the same author mentions in the same source that in 727/1327 Baybars al-ʿAlamī was among the amirs who were moved later to the *al-jubb* prison in the Cairo citadel (*Sulūk*, 2:286).

<sup>131</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:150.

<sup>132</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393.

<sup>133</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:77–78.

<sup>134</sup> Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Şāliḥī wa-Awlādihi*, ed. B. Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 90.

<sup>135</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393.

<sup>136</sup> Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Zubdah*, 406; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:46; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:235, 251.

<sup>137</sup> See n. 11 above; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:418, 675; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115.

<sup>138</sup> See n. 45 above.



## Conclusions

The data detailed above, though not complete, shows that twelve out of the twenty-four Manṣūrī amirs who were arrested but not executed were released after relatively short periods that did not exceed eight years. Most of the other twelve amirs stayed in jail for longer periods, some of which lasted for twenty years or more. After their release, however, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made most—if not all—of them amirs. Seven of them were made amirs of one hundred and at least four became *amīrs ṭablkhānah*. Geographically, seven served in Cairo while eleven served in Syria. And eight belonged to the elite of the Burjīyah.

In many cases, it is hard to find a correlation between the attitude of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad toward the Manṣūrī amirs and their loyalty to him during his conflict with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Although al-Nāṣir Muḥammad hastened to eliminate his most bitter enemies—mainly the former sultan and his viceroy, Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār—other amirs who were close associates of these two continued to serve as high-ranking amirs. For example, the eight or nine high-ranking Burji amirs who were arrested, and were the biggest supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, were not all kept in jail for long periods. Burji amirs who fought against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, like Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, Baktūt al-Qarmānī, Qijmās, and Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, were detained for relatively short periods, and after their release were made *amīrs ṭablkhānah* and even amirs of one hundred. On the other hand, a Burji amir like Baybars al-ʿAlamī who moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side at an early stage was imprisoned for more than twenty years. Other Manṣūrī amirs who supported al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, like Baybars al-Majnūn and Baybars al-ʿAlāʾī, died in prison.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad persecuted Qarāsunqur, who led the coalition that resisted sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.

### 1.2. The Manṣūrīyah Amirs Who Were Neither Arrested nor Put to Death

Alongside the amirs who were executed, died in prison, or arrested, other Manṣūrī amirs were not imprisoned at all during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. In what follows, I will discuss these amirs and their careers.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Baybars al-Majnūn, Baybars al-ʿAlāʾī, and Baybars al-ʿAlamī joined al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s ranks during his first attempt to go out from Kerak to Damascus; see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:152; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 140. Later, these two amirs planned to attack Aqūsh al-Afram, who was Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s close confidant and the governor of Damascus, and this plan forced al-Afram to leave Damascus for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 2:265; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:67.

<sup>140</sup> I do not discuss here four amirs who are mentioned originally as mamluks of Qalāwūn but were moved to the service of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad when they were very young: Alṭunbughā al-Šāliḥī al-Nāṣirī, Aruqṭāy al-Ḥājj, Aytmiş al-Muḥammadī, and Arghūn al-Dawādār.



1. Qibjaq served one year as the governor of Aleppo until his death from a disease in Jumādā I 710/September 1310.<sup>141</sup>
2. Aqūsh al-Mawṣilī (known as: *qattāl al-sabʿ*) died in Rajab 710/November 1310 when he was amir of one hundred.<sup>142</sup>
3. Aqjubā al-Manṣūrī died in Rabīʿ II 710/September 1310. He served as governor of Damascus and Gaza, *shādd al-dawāwīn*, and *ustādār* in Damascus. It seems that he continued to serve as *shādd* in Damascus until his death.<sup>143</sup>
4. Qarālājīn was amir of one hundred in Egypt. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 709/April 710, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad continued his appointment as *amīr majlis*. Later, Qarālājīn was appointed *ustādār* until his death in Shaʿbān 715/November 1315. In 711/1311 he is mentioned among the most senior amirs in Egypt. In the same year he was one of the amirs of one hundred who were sent to fight against the Mongols who planned to attack Syria. In his death year he held the *iqṭāʿ* of an amir of one hundred twenty horsemen.<sup>144</sup>
5. Ālmalik<sup>145</sup> managed to recommend himself to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad already when he served as a messenger between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak and Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in Cairo. Ālmalik became amir of one hundred and a member of the sultan’s *khāṣṣakīyah* during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.<sup>146</sup> In 732/1332 Ālmalik was one of the amirs who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage.<sup>147</sup> In 741/1341, the year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, Ālmalik was one of the senior consultant amirs.<sup>148</sup> After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, in 744/1343, Ālmalik was appointed as *nāʿib al-salṭanah*. He died in 747/1346–47.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:216.

<sup>142</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:172; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 9:335; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:96; Amitai, “Military Elite,” 153.

<sup>143</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:173.

<sup>144</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:159; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:232; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 148, 152; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 235.

<sup>145</sup> Ālmalik was among the prisoners of the Abulustayn battle (675/1277). Qalāwūn gave him to his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī. It is reasonable to assume that he moved to the ranks of the Manṣūrīyah after ʿAlī died in 687/1288; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:411.

<sup>146</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:411; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:85.

<sup>147</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:351.

<sup>148</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:164.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 10:87; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:640, 723.



6. Sanjar al-Jumaqdār (or al-Bashmaqdar) (Burji) served as amir of one hundred and belonged to the consultant amirs (*mashūrah*) of the sultan. He is mentioned as one of the amirs of one hundred who commanded the Mamluk raids on Cilicia in 714/1314 and in 722/1322. After the death of Bahādur Āṣ in 730/1329, Sanjar was transferred from Cairo to Damascus and received Bahādur's *iqṭāʿ*, which was the *iqṭāʿ* of an amir of one hundred. Sanjar continued to serve as amir in Damascus until his death of old age in 745/1345.<sup>150</sup>
7. Qullī al-Silaḥdār (Burji) was amir of one hundred from the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, a position he seems to have held until his death in 717/1317. He was one of the high-ranking amirs in the sultanate in the year 711/1311.<sup>151</sup> In 712/1312 and 714/1314 he is mentioned as one of the amirs of one hundred.<sup>152</sup> He died in Cairo in 717/1317.<sup>153</sup> Qullī was one of the main supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. He is mentioned several times together with the Burji amirs who were loyal to Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. He was among the amirs who received the army's allegiance on behalf of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>154</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī mentions, however, that when Qullī was sent together with Mughulṭāy al-Masʿūdī to stop Nughāy al-Jamdār, who was on his way to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak, they deliberately delayed their pursuit of the defectors in order to save the sultanate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>155</sup> Unlike his friend Mughulṭāy, who was imprisoned for twenty years as mentioned above, Qullī was never arrested and became one of the senior amirs of the sultanate.
8. Baybars al-Aḥmadī (Burji) was a *khushdāsh* and a close associate of Aybak al-Rūmī, one of the most loyal Burji amirs of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, while Aybak was captured and probably died in prison, Baybars al-Aḥmadī, who was captured together with his friend in 713/1313, was released immediately after and continued to serve as amir of one hundred

<sup>150</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:465; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:173–74; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:236, 675; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 276. On the expeditions to Cilicia see: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:139, 234; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:284, 309. Ibn Taghribirdī mentions Sanjar as “al-bashmaqdar” (*Al-Nujūm*, 10:115).

<sup>151</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231.

<sup>152</sup> Amitai, “Military Elite,” 149; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:138–39; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:284; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:39–40.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:241; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:180.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:233.

<sup>155</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 414; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:250.



throughout al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.<sup>156</sup> In 709/1310 he was appointed as *amīr jāndār*.<sup>157</sup> In 732/1332 he is still mentioned as one of the most honored amirs of the sultanate, and among the amirs of one hundred who performed the hajj pilgrimage together with the sultan.<sup>158</sup> After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad he kept his high position and was one of the main decision-makers in the sultanate. Later he was appointed the governor of Safad (742–43/1342) and Tripoli (743–46/1342–45) and then he returned to serve as *amīr jāndār* in Cairo. He died in Muḥarram 746/May 1345 when he was in his eighties (or over seventy).<sup>159</sup>

9. Kūkāy al-Silaḥdār al-Manṣūrī was an amir of one hundred who owned a lot of property during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He died in the plague of 749/1348–49.<sup>160</sup>
10. Jūbān al-Manṣūrī is mentioned as a mamluk of al-Ashraf Khalīl, who made him an amir.<sup>161</sup> It seems, then, that he moved to al-Ashraf Khalīl’s mam-luks at a relatively early stage of his education. Jūbān, on the one hand, secretly swore allegiance to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and promised to assist him in his conflict with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>162</sup> On the other hand, Jūbān was sent to block the roads to Damascus in order to prevent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s entrance to the city.<sup>163</sup> He moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side only when Aqūsh al-Afram was forced to leave Damascus.<sup>164</sup> However, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him a high-ranking amir in Damascus until his death there in Ṣafar 728/December 1327. As a result of a dispute with Tankiz, he moved to Cairo for one and a half years in 721/1321, but after that came back to Syria. In 726/1326 he was the *amīr al-ḥajj* of Syria.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>156</sup> See n. 38 above; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:81.

<sup>157</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 149.

<sup>158</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:365–66.

<sup>159</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:698; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:143.

<sup>160</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:162–63; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:376; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:270; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:24; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:796.

<sup>161</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:542; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:172.

<sup>162</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:260; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:63.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:63.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:265.

<sup>165</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:172; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:304; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:62.



11. Kundughdī al-Zarrāq al-Manṣūrī was one of the senior amirs in Egypt. He was *ra's al-maysarah* and commanded the Mamluk forces that were dispatched to Cilicia. He died in 745/1345 in Aleppo.<sup>166</sup>
  
12. Kujkun al-Manṣūrī served as amir in Damascus until his death of old age in 749/1349. According to several historians, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lowered his rank to amir of ten and wished for his death. However, according to al-Shujā'ī, Kujkun was amir of one hundred in Damascus. Indeed, in 722/1322 Kujkun commanded the expedition to Ayas, together with Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, who held the rank of amir of one hundred twenty, as mentioned above. Two years earlier, Kujkun was the commander of a Mamluk force aimed to attack the Mongols around the area of Sinjār. It is reasonable to assume, then, that Kujkun was a high-ranking amir during most, if not all, of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>167</sup>
  
13. Kahardāsh al-Zarrāq al-Manṣūrī served as amir of fifty in Damascus from the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign until his death at his home in Sha'bān 714/November 1314.<sup>168</sup> In 712/1312 he was among the amirs who accompanied the sultan for the hajj pilgrimage.<sup>169</sup> Kahardāsh was one of the amirs sent by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr to prevent the defection of Nughāy al-Jamdār to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak. Hence, he was definitely not one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's confidants.<sup>170</sup>
  
14. Sanjar al-Khāzin served about one year as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Egypt at the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>171</sup> Later he was the *wālī* of the Bahnasā district in southern Egypt. In 712/1312 he was appointed as the *wālī* of Cairo, an office he held, continuously or alternately, until 724/1324.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>166</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:675.

<sup>167</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 9:121; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:149–50. According to al-Shujā'ī, Kujkun died in 739/1439 (*Tārīkh*, 56). For his leadership of the Mamluk forces in 720/1320 and 722/1322, see Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā'il Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fī mā ba'da Ta'rīkh Ibn al-'Amīd*, ed. and tr. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 10, 17; On his amirate of one hundred, see al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 56.

<sup>168</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:269–70; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:162; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:216.

<sup>169</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:228.

<sup>170</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:251.

<sup>171</sup>Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 153.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid, 175.



He is mentioned among the amirs of Egypt in 732/1332.<sup>173</sup> He died in Jumādā II 735/February 1335 when he was about ninety.<sup>174</sup>

15. Balabān al-Tatarī was one of the senior amirs of Qalāwūn, as al-Şafadī and Ibn Taghrībirdī note. However, he is mentioned in the sources only during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. In 713/1313 he was *amīr al-ḥajj*. He died in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 725/October 1325.<sup>175</sup>
16. Aqūsh al-Raḥbī al-Manşūrī served as *wālī* of Damascus for more than eleven years, from 707/1307 to 719/1319. Tankiz captured him in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 714/March 1315, but only confiscated his property. From Şafar 719/March 1319 until his death, four months later, Aqūsh served as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus.<sup>176</sup>
17. Baybars al-Awḥadī served as *wālī* of the Cairo citadel from 720/1320 until 736/1336. He died in 740/1339.<sup>177</sup>
18. Balabān al-Ḥusaynī (or: al-Ḥasanī), who was the *amīr jāndār* of Qalāwūn,<sup>178</sup> served as governor of the Giza district and in 729/1329 was appointed as *wālī* of Damietta.<sup>179</sup> During the 730s/1330s, he was one of the *jamdārīyah* amirs in Egypt and a vizier.<sup>180</sup> He died in the plague of 749/1348–49 when he was over eighty.<sup>181</sup>
19. Nukbāy al-Barīdī al-Manşūrī is mentioned only in the late years of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. In 737/1337 he was appointed as *wālī* of Qaṭyā and

<sup>173</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368.

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:172; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:471; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:120, 387–88; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:305. Al-Şafadī mentions that he thinks that Sanjar al-Khāzin was imprisoned in 715/1315 (*A‘yān*, 2:471). However, if he was imprisoned he was released in the same year, since he is mentioned as the *wālī* of Cairo in the same year.

<sup>175</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:493; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:266; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:270.

<sup>176</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:576–77; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:74, 76.

<sup>177</sup> Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 170; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:399, 504–5; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368. Al-Shujā‘ī mentions this amir as Balabān al-Awḥadī, who served as *wālī* of the citadel’s gate (*Tārīkh*, 89).

<sup>178</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:483.

<sup>179</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:310.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368, 374, 380.

<sup>181</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:793; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:237.



three years later he moved to serve as *wālī* of Alexandria. Later he became *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *mihmāndār* in Cairo. He died in 749/1349.<sup>182</sup>

20. Baktamur al-‘Alā’ī is not mentioned as a prominent amir before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. Since he also died quite late, he probably belonged to the younger generations of the Manṣūrīyah mamluks. From Sha‘bān 715/November 1315 to 723/1323 he served as the *ustādār* of the sultan, and then he moved to Damascus.<sup>183</sup> In 730/1329 he was appointed governor of Gaza.<sup>184</sup> In 735/1335 he moved to serve as governor of Homs.<sup>185</sup> In 739/1338 he was, probably, again appointed governor of Homs, until his death in 745/1344–45.<sup>186</sup>
21. Biktāsh al-Mankūrsī was a veteran Manṣūrī amir, though he is not mentioned before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. He was appointed *shādd al-awqāf* (supervisor of the endowments) of Damascus in 712/1312 according to al-Ṣafadī, or ten years later according to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī. Biktāsh was a close associate of Tankiz. When Tankiz was arrested, Biktāsh was also, and his property was confiscated. However, he was released and served several times as governor of Ba‘albek. In 754/1353, in his old age, he still acted as *amīr al-ḥajj*. Biktāsh died in Sha‘bān 757/July 1365 when he was over a hundred years old.<sup>187</sup>
22. Kitbughā *ra’s nawbah* (al-‘Ādilī) al-Manṣūrī was invited from Aleppo to Damascus when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo in 709/1310, and was appointed *shādd al-dawāwīn* and *ustādār* there.<sup>188</sup> In the next year he was *amīr al-ḥajj* of Damascus.<sup>189</sup> Later he became amir of one hundred and the chief *ḥājib* in Damascus. He died in Shawwāl 721/November 1321.<sup>190</sup>
23. Bahādur al-Sanjarī (Burji) served during the first decade of the eighth/fourteenth century as the governor of the Damascus citadel, *nā’ib al-ghaybah*,

<sup>182</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:410, 491, 797; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:242.

<sup>183</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 148; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:246.

<sup>184</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:317.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:379.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:459, 675.

<sup>187</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:481–82; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:699–700.

<sup>188</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:43; al-Ṣuqā’ī, *Tālī*, 188.

<sup>189</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:264.

<sup>190</sup> Al-Ṣuqā’ī, *Tālī*, 188; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:81; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:234. Kitbughā *ra’s nawbah* is probably identical to Kitbughā al-‘Ādilī, since the same biographical details are mentioned concerning both amirs, though Ibn Ḥajar cites them as two different amirs (*Durar*, 3:264).



manager of the hospital of Damascus, and in other offices.<sup>191</sup> In Ramaḍān 711/January 1312 he moved to serve as the governor of al-Bīrah.<sup>192</sup> Twenty years later he was appointed governor of Gaza, and he died in 733–34/1333 while governor of Homs.<sup>193</sup>

24. Baybars al-Shujāʿī (Burji) was made an amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s first or second reign (693–94/1293–94; 698–708/1299–1309). He is mentioned as one of the *ṭablkhānah* amirs of Egypt in 709/1310.<sup>194</sup> He is not mentioned among the amirs who were arrested.
25. Aydamur al-Shujāʿī (Burji), like the above-mentioned Baybars al-Shujāʿī, was made amir before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.<sup>195</sup> He is mentioned later as *nāʿib qalʿat* of Safad, governor of al-Bīrah, and *nāẓir al-Ḥaramayn* in Jerusalem.<sup>196</sup>
26. Al-Shaykhī (Burji) was appointed by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in 709/1310 to oversee the eradication of alcohol in Cairo.<sup>197</sup> He is not mentioned among the amirs who were arrested or executed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.
27. Bilik al-ʿUthmānī al-Manşūrī is mentioned as an amir in Tripoli who was sent in 717/1317 as a commander of a thousand horsemen to fight against a local Syrian Shiʿite leader.<sup>198</sup>
28. Mubārak al-Manşūrī, though not identified with certainty as a mamluk of Qalāwūn, is mentioned as an amir of fifty in Damascus. He moved to Tripoli and became blind, but later his sight was restored. He died in 717/1317.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:15; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:61; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:949.

<sup>192</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:106; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:61–62.

<sup>193</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:371; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 187.

<sup>194</sup> Baybars al-Manşūrī mentions that Baybars al-Shujāʿī and Aydamur al-Shujāʿī became amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign (*Zubdah*, 217). Since Baybars al-Shujāʿī is mentioned as amir already in 709/1310, it is clear that he became amir several years earlier; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77.

<sup>195</sup> See n. 194 above.

<sup>196</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:530.

<sup>197</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:53.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:175.

<sup>199</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:190; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:275–76.



29. Murshid al-Khaznadār (eunuch) served as *muqaddam al-mamālik al-sultānīyah* during Qalāwūn's reign. He died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 710/March 1311 in Cairo, or according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, six years later. He served as *zamām al-dār* and *khaznadār*.<sup>200</sup>
30. Mukhtār al-Manṣūrī al-Bakansī al-Bilbaysī (eunuch) served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *khaznadār* in the Damascus citadel. He died in 716/1316.<sup>201</sup>

We may conclude from the data mentioned above as follows:

1. About thirty Manṣūrī amirs were never arrested during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Three senior Manṣūrī amirs—Qibjaq, Aqūsh al-Mawṣilī (*qaṭṭāl al-sabʿ*), and Aqjubā al-Manṣūrī—died of natural causes in the first year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.
2. Among the remaining twenty-seven amirs, at least twenty were known as amirs before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, most of them as prominent amirs.
3. Ten out of these twenty-seven amirs, it seems, were high-ranking amirs, i.e., amirs of one hundred, during different periods in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Most of the remaining seventeen were probably *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.
4. About half of these twenty-seven amirs served in Cairo, and the other half in Syria.
5. Seven amirs belonged to the Burjīyah.
6. Four amirs sided with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr during his struggle with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The Burjī amirs Qullī al-Silaḥdār and Baybars al-Aḥmadī, together with Jūbān and Kahardāsh, were generally supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, they gained high status and positions in the service of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The first two were amirs of one hundred in Cairo, the third was a high-ranking amir in Damascus, and the fourth was amir of fifty in Damascus.

<sup>200</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 154; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:96; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:245. The *zamām al-dār* was in charge of the door that separated the sultan or the amir and his servants and eunuchs; see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʿ* (Cairo, 1913–22), 5:459–60.

<sup>201</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:198; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:237; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:244; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:63.



7. At least five Manşūrī amirs continued their military-political careers even after the death of al-Nāşir Muḥammad.

Hence, similar to the analysis of the data concerning the Manşūrī amirs who were arrested, there is no consistent or “rational” policy of al-Nāşir Muḥammad toward the veteran and senior Manşūrī amirs, or even toward his enemies among them and those from the Burjīyah.

### 1.3. Conclusions

The prosopographical data of seventy-nine Manşūrī amirs, most of whom filled the most important positions of the sultanate on the eve of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign, reveals that twenty-two of them were executed by al-Nāşir Muḥammad or died in his prison, twenty-four were arrested (twelve of them for relatively short periods of less than eight years), three escaped to the Mongols, and thirty were not arrested at all. Thus, whereas thirty-seven amirs were “purged” by al-Nāşir Muḥammad by execution, imprisonment for long periods, or defection from the sultanate, forty-two continued their political-military careers since they were not arrested at all or were released after a few years in prison. About seventeen of the Manşūrī amirs were high-ranking amirs, probably all of them amirs of one hundred, during different periods of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Though al-Nāşir Muḥammad eliminated many of his Manşūrī opponents, there were several Manşūrī amirs, and especially Burji-Manşūrī amirs, who gained positions of honor during his reign despite the fact that they had been supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Four Manşūrī amirs, and one of their associates, are still mentioned among the twenty-five amirs of one hundred in 741/1341, on the eve of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s death.<sup>202</sup> About ten Manşūrī amirs continued their political-military careers even after al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s death.

The prosopographical data and analysis, as discussed above, is partial. There are probably additional prominent Manşūrī amirs who are not discussed here since the Muslim historians did not explicitly mention their affiliation to the Manşūrīyah, or the required data regarding their careers. However, the impression that arises from this analysis and its conclusions is that the Manşūrī amirs played an important, if not central, role in al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. This impression is strengthened by the testimony of their contemporary al-Nuwayrī (677–733/1279–1333), who served as an official in *dīwān al-khāşş* (the sultan’s treasury) and *dīwān al-inshā’* (the chancery), and as *nāzir* in *dīwān al-jaysh* (in charge of the *iqṭā’āt*), and had a close relationship with al-Nāşir Muḥammad and several

<sup>202</sup>These four amirs were Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwli, Kūkāy, and Ālmalik. Another amir of one hundred was Jankalī ibn Bābā, a Mongol *wāfidī* who belonged to the circle of the high-ranking amirs who supported Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. For example, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:143–44; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:146, 177; Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite,” 174, 177.



Manṣūrī amirs.<sup>203</sup> In the last volume of his encyclopedia, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, composed between the years 725/1325 and 730/1330, al-Nuwayrī testified that the Manṣūrīyah mamluks are “the most honorable amirs in our time.”<sup>204</sup> Ibn al-Furāt (733–807/1334–1405), whose work is based on al-Nuwayrī’s, mentions several decades later that “the Manṣūrīyah mamluks were the most honorable amirs during most of the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.”<sup>205</sup>

Hence, according to both the biographical data concerning the Manṣūrī amirs and general observations of the Muslim historians, the Manṣūrīyah still held a prominent position in the Mamluk Sultanate about twenty years after its alleged “elimination.”

## 2. The Mamluks and Descendants of the Manṣūrīyah

The number of the mamluks and descendants of prominent Manṣūrī amirs who became part of the political-military elite during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign and after is more than twice that of the Manṣūrī amirs themselves. In what follows (2.1), I will discuss the careers of amirs who were originally mamluks of Manṣūrī amirs, and (2.2) amirs who were descendants of the Manṣūrī amirs (*awlād al-nās*).

### 2.1. The Mamluks of the Manṣūrī Amirs

#### *The Mamluks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr:*

A “large group” (*jamā‘ah kabīrah*) of the mamluks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr moved to the ranks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s mamluks after Baybars was captured. It would appear that Baybars al-Jāshnakīr manumitted most, if not all, of these mamluks and some of them were amirs. Among them were Baktamur al-Sāqī, Bilik al-Sāqī, Ṭughān al-Sāqī, and Qubātamur (or: Quyātamur).<sup>206</sup> Three other amirs who were originally among Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s mamluks are mentioned, so in total seven amirs are known from the sources:

<sup>203</sup> Little, “Historiography,” 430; Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, “Al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī al-Tamīmī al-Ḳurashī al-Shāfi‘ī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:156–57; Aminah Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn, *Al-Nuwayrī wa-Kitābuhu Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab: Maṣādiruhu al-Adabīyah wa-Ārā‘uhu al-Naqḍīyah* (Cairo, 1984), 27–79.

<sup>204</sup> “Wa-baqāyā al-mamālīk al-Manṣūrīyah ilā al-ān hum a‘yān al-umarā’ fī waqtinā hādhā” (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:176). On the years in which al-Nuwayrī wrote the last volume of his encyclopedia, see Jamal al-Dīn, *Al-Nuwayrī wa-Kitābuhu*, 112; Chapoutot-Remadi, “Al-Nuwayrī,” 158.

<sup>205</sup> “Wa-baqāyā al-mamālīk al-Manṣūrīyah kānū a‘yān al-umarā’ fī ghālib dawlat al-malik al-Nāṣir...” (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 8:97–98).

<sup>206</sup> Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāṣir*, 149.



1. Baktamur al-Sāqī was raised by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr from early childhood.<sup>207</sup> When Baybars became sultan he appointed Baktamur as *jamdār* and later as *sāqī*. In 709/1309 Baybars made Baktamur an amir.<sup>208</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī claims that since Baybars al-Jāshnakīr conferred upon Baktamur an amirate of ten, he must have been the master who manumitted him as well.<sup>209</sup> Baktamur’s loyalty to his master is clear. When Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s mamluks started to abandon him one by one, Baktamur was the only one who defended his master with his body and caught a mamluk who tried to escape with Baybars’ gold.<sup>210</sup> Despite all that, Baktamur became one of the most senior amirs in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, he appointed Baktamur as his *sāqī*.<sup>211</sup> Baktamur’s promotion by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was very quick and before too long Baktamur became the sultan’s closest confidant.<sup>212</sup> However, like many of the high-ranking amirs, at some point Baktamur aroused the sultan’s suspicions. Baktamur was murdered in 733/1333, after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad feared that he was planning to murder him.<sup>213</sup> The descendants of Baktamur were also amirs: three of his sons, two of his grandsons, and one great-grandson. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī was an amir of one hundred already in 726/1325 when he was about thirteen. He was very close to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and married a daughter of Tankiz. However, he was executed with his father seven years later.<sup>214</sup> ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad was an amir as well<sup>215</sup> and his son Khiḍr ibn ‘Umar also received an amirate of ten, from 764/1363 until his imprisonment in 802/1399.<sup>216</sup> Another son of Baktamur al-Sāqī, Muḥammad, was promoted from amir of ten to *ṭablkhānah* in 742/1341.<sup>217</sup> The third son, ‘Umar ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī, was an amir, and his son, Khiḍr, is mentioned as amir of ten in 791/1389, 801/1398–99, and 802/1399.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>207</sup>Ibid., 148

<sup>208</sup>Ibid; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:468.

<sup>209</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:300.

<sup>210</sup>Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 149.

<sup>211</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:300.

<sup>212</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:709–10; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 149–50.

<sup>213</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:364.

<sup>214</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:486–87; Donald S. Richards, “Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 41.

<sup>215</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:534.

<sup>216</sup>Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50.

<sup>217</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:563; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 47.

<sup>218</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:593, 654, 876, 987; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50.



2. Qubātamur (or: Quyātamur) al-Muẓaffarī was promoted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad until he became *jamdār*. He was among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who were sent to capture Tankiz in 740/1340.<sup>219</sup> He is mentioned as an amir of one hundred in 742/1342.<sup>220</sup> In Muḥarram 743/June 1342 Qubātamur was released from jail and sent to Syria as amir.<sup>221</sup>
3. Bulak al-Jamdār (al-Muẓaffarī) al-Nāṣirī<sup>222</sup> was *amīr ṭablkhānah* during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. In 732/1332 he was among the amirs who accompanied the sultan on his hajj pilgrimage. He is mentioned with Qubātamur as one of the amirs who were sent to Damascus in order to confiscate the property of Tankiz in 740/1340. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death he served as the governor of Safad and amir of one hundred in Cairo until his death in the plague of 749/1348.<sup>223</sup>
4. Ṭūghān al-Sāqī al-Muẓaffarī is also mentioned among the *ṭablkhānah* amirs who accompanied the sultan on the hajj of 732/1332.<sup>224</sup> His son Ḥusayn was an amir too.<sup>225</sup>
5. Ṣafanjī al-Ruknī, who gained high status in the service of his master Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, was transferred to Damascus and served there as amir until his death in 734/1334.<sup>226</sup>
6. Baybars al-Muẓaffarī al-Ruknī was a mamluk of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr according to Ibn al-Taghrībirdī and the anonymous chronicle published by K. V. Zetterstéén. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-

<sup>219</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:498.

<sup>220</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:51.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 10:79.

<sup>222</sup> This amir is probably to be identified with Bulak al-Sāqī, who is mentioned by al-Yūsufī among the amirs who were taken by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from the ranks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's mamluks. Al-Maqrīzī, indeed, mentions him as Bulaq al-Muẓaffarī al-Jamdār (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:355, 498, 793). The editor of *Nuzhat al-Nāzir* also identifies Bulak al-Sāqī with Bulaq al-Jamdār al-Nāṣirī (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 149, n. 2). *Al-Muqaffā* is the only source that mentions two different amirs named Bulak (Bulak al-Muẓaffarī and Bulak al-Jamdār al-Nāṣirī), both of whom became amirs of one hundred and died in the same year. In my opinion, this is a mistake of al-Maqrīzī, who is actually referring to the same amir (*Al-Muqaffā*, 2:495).

<sup>223</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:52; *idem*, *Wāfī*, 10:388; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:495; *idem*, *Sulūk*, 2:352, 498, 793.

<sup>224</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:117.

<sup>226</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:553.



Shujā‘ī, this mamluk was originally a mamluk of Baktamur al-Silaḥdār al-Zāhirī-Manşūrī, and later transferred to the mamluks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, Baybars al-Muẓaffarī was transferred to the ranks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s mamluks before the latter became sultan, and became amir during his master’s reign. When al-Nāşir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, Baybars al-Muẓaffarī moved to his service and informed him about the sultan’s nephew Mūsá ibn ‘Alī ibn Qalāwūn’s intention to depose him. During al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign Baybars served as the governor of al-Buḥayrah district in the western delta, and later as the governor of Alexandria. He died in 740/1339–40.<sup>227</sup>

7. Şawāb al-Ruknī (eunuch) served as *muqaddam al-mamālīk al-sultānīyah* for his master Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Al-Nāşir Muḥammad deposed him when he reached Cairo, but in 721/1321 returned him to his position.<sup>228</sup> Şawāb was deposed again in 728/1328.<sup>229</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Salār:*

1. Aşlam al-Qibjaqī al-Silaḥdār was probably a mamluk of Qalāwūn, but moved to Salār when he was young and he is considered his mamluk.<sup>230</sup> Aşlam is mentioned as an amir of one hundred already in 712/1312.<sup>231</sup> He was among the amirs who were commanders during the conquest of Ayas in 722/1322.<sup>232</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad exiled him to Yemen in 725/1325, and when he came back to Egypt he was imprisoned in Alexandria for seven years due to the sultan’s suspicion that Aşlam was going to murder him.<sup>233</sup> After his release he served as amir again, probably in Cairo, and in 741/1340–41 he was appointed governor of Safad. He received (again) an amirate of one hundred

<sup>227</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:509; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 205; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:527–28; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:505; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:325; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 89–90.

<sup>228</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:208.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* 2:296.

<sup>230</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī mentions that Aşlam served Salār at first (*Durar*, 1:389). According to al-Şafadī, Aşlam was a *khushdash* of Baybars al-Salārī (*A‘yān*, 2:81). Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that Aşlam was a mamluk of al-Nāşir Muḥammad who also manumitted him (*Al-Manhal*, 2:455). According to other sources, however, he was originally Qalāwūn’s mamluk (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:722; idem, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:218; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:175) but moved to Salār (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:218).

<sup>231</sup> Amitai, “Military Elite”, 149–50.

<sup>232</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:309.

<sup>233</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:218



in Cairo lasting until his death in 747/1346.<sup>234</sup> Three of his sons were amirs too.<sup>235</sup> One of them, Shihāb al-Dīn or Bahā' al-Dīn became *amīr ṭablkhānah* in 742/1341.<sup>236</sup> Another son, Amir Aḥmad, died in 749/1348–49.<sup>237</sup>

2. Āqsunqur al-Salārī, like Aṣlam, probably belonged to the mamluks of Qalāwūn but moved to Salār when he was young and he is considered Salār's mamluk. Al-Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk* mentions that Āqsunqur was originally a mamluk of Salār.<sup>238</sup> However, in his *Al-Muqaffā* and *Khiṭaṭ* he mentions, like Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Shujāʿī, that Āqsunqur originally belonged to the mamluks of Qalāwūn but moved to Salār after the murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293.<sup>239</sup> At the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign Āqsunqur was made an amir and was promoted to the rank of amir of one hundred. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also married his daughter to him. In 738/1337–38 he was appointed as *amīr al-ḥajj*. In 741/1341 he was appointed governor of Safad and in the same year, governor of Gaza. In 743/1343 he became *nāʾib al-salṭānah* until his imprisonment and death in 744/1344.<sup>240</sup>
3. Baybars al-Salārī was exiled (probably from Cairo) to Safad in 727/1327, where he served as amir and later as *ḥājib*. Five years later he served as amir in Damascus. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death he returned to Safad and served as *ḥājib* until his death in 743/1342.<sup>241</sup>
4. Qīrān al-Salārī served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *naqīb al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah* until after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death.<sup>242</sup> His son Arghūn (d. 772/1370) inherited his father's office and later served as *naqīb al-jaysh*, during the reign

<sup>234</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:389; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:318–19; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:722.

<sup>235</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:319.

<sup>236</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 44.

<sup>237</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:792.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:620.

<sup>239</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:265; idem, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz wa-al-ʿItibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1853–54), 2:310; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:394; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 274.

<sup>240</sup> Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzīr*, 393; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 274; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:508, 517, 568; idem, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:265–66; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:310; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:105; idem, *Al-Manhal*, 2:499–500.

<sup>241</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:81; idem, *Wāfī*, 10:353; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:478.

<sup>242</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:259.



of Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (748–52/1347–51; 755–62/1354–61). He gained a high and honored position in the sultanate.<sup>243</sup>

5. Bilik Abū Ghuddah, who served as Salār’s *ustādār*, became amir *ṭablkhānah* and one of the *ustādārs* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He died in 734/1334.<sup>244</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Lājīn*

1. Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī served as the powerful governor of Damascus, and actually of Syria, during most of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. Lājīn purchased Tankiz from the slave trader al-Sīwāsī, when Tankiz was brought to Egypt as a young boy. After Lājīn’s murder in 698/1299, Tankiz joined the ranks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s *khāṣṣakīyah*. Tankiz was beside the young sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār (699/1299) and about ten years later, he accompanied the sultan to his exile in Kerak. Already before that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had made Tankiz an amir of ten.<sup>245</sup> Tankiz, hence, was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s mamluk for ten years before the latter’s third reign. However, Tankiz was a young *kutābbī* (novice) mamluk of Lājīn for several years before he moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s ranks. It seems that he was also manumitted by Lājīn, since his *nisbah* is al-Ḥusāmī, after Lājīn’s *laqab*, Ḥusām al-Dīn.<sup>246</sup> Three of Tankiz’s sons—‘Alī, Muḥammad, and Aḥmad—became amirs.<sup>247</sup> Tankiz’s grandson Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz was also an *amīr ṭablkhānah* and a member of the *khāṣṣakīyah*.<sup>248</sup> The latter’s son, i.e., Tankiz’s great-grandson, also called Muḥammad, was probably an amir since he bore the *laqab* Nāṣir al-Dīn. He died young in 802/1399.<sup>249</sup>
2. Ṭughāy al-Kabīr al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī was made an amir by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 709/1309 and gained high rank. Ṭughāy, however, was caught and executed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 718/1318 since the latter feared his

<sup>243</sup>Ibid., 1:350–51; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* 3:192; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:117. On *naqīb al-jaysh* and *naqīb al-mamālīk*, see David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army, III,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 64–65.

<sup>244</sup>Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāṣir*, 215; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:376.

<sup>245</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:152–53, 327; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:118.

<sup>246</sup>David Ayalon, “Names, Titles, and ‘Nisbas’ of the Mamluks,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 213.

<sup>247</sup>Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 48. On ‘Alī ibn Tankiz, see al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 3:320–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:35. On Muḥammad, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:152.

<sup>248</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:605, 827, 832; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>249</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, ed. Adnan Darwish (Damascus, 1977–97), 4:136.



ambitions. Ṭughāy had a “pact of brotherhood” (*ukhūwah, muwākhāh*) with Tankiz, since they were both originally mamluks of Lājīn.<sup>250</sup>

3. Aydughdī Shuqayr was one of Lājīn’s favorite mamluks. In 696/1296, immediately after Lājīn was crowned sultan, he made Aydughdī an amir and less than two years later, Lājīn planned to appoint Aydughdī governor of Aleppo.<sup>251</sup> After Lājīn’s murder, Aydughdī became a close friend of Lājīn’s cousin and governor of Damascus, Aqūsh al-Afram. However, when the political power of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak strengthened, Aydughdī abandoned al-Afram in favor of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and he even incited him against al-Afram. In the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, Aydughdī became one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s closest associates (*khawāṣṣ*), with the help of his Ḥusāmī *khushdash* Ṭughāy. He became amir of one hundred and one of the sultan’s main advisers. However, al-Nāṣir feared Aydughdī’s intentions to murder him, so he arrested him in 715/1315 and executed him.<sup>252</sup>
4. Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī al-Turkmānī was raised by Lājīn from childhood. In 696/1296, after Lājīn was crowned as sultan, he made Bahādur amir together with others of his favorite mamluks. Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī remained amir until al-Nāṣir Muḥammad captured him together with his *khushdash*s Aydughdī Shuqayr and Baktamur al-Ḥājib in 715/1315. He remained in prison for fifteen years until he was released due to the mediation (*shafā‘ah*) of his *khushdash* Tankiz. After his release he became amir of one hundred in Cairo until his death in 739/1339.<sup>253</sup>
5. Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Manṣūrī (Lājīn al-Ṣaghīr)<sup>254</sup> was appointed as *wālī al-barr* (the governor of the Damascus countryside) by Sultan Lājīn in Muḥarram 698/October 1298. After Lājīn’s murder he was arrested and held for several

<sup>250</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:221–22; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 16:444–46; idem, *A‘yān*, 2:595–97; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77.

<sup>251</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:853.

<sup>252</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 3:343; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:144; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:650–51; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:260; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:425–26.

<sup>253</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:501; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:496; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:59–60; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:354; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 54–55.

<sup>254</sup> Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Manṣūrī al-Ṣaghīr belonged to the mamluks of Lājīn, since he bore the same *nisbah* as Jaghān, who was another mamluk of Lājīn and died before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. This *nisbah* refers both to the *laqab* and the *nisbah* of Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī, i.e., “al-Ḥusāmī al-Manṣūrī.” Lājīn al-Ṣaghīr appointed Tankiz, his *khushdash*, in charge of his will; see al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:179.



months.<sup>255</sup> In 702/1303 after the battle of Shakḥab he was again appointed *wālī al-barr* of Damascus.<sup>256</sup> In 711/1312 he was appointed *wālī al-wulāh* of al-Qiblīyah (governor of the southern districts of Egypt).<sup>257</sup> He is mentioned again as *wālī al-barr* of Damascus one year later.<sup>258</sup> In 712/1312 he was appointed *amīr al-ḥajj* and in 720/1320 governor of Gaza. Later he served as governor of al-Bīrah until his death in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 729/September 1329.<sup>259</sup>

6. Bahādūr al-Jūkandār was made amir by his master Sultan Lājīn in 696/1296.<sup>260</sup> He served as amir of fifty in Damascus and died in 723/1323.<sup>261</sup>

Three other prominent amirs who originally belonged to Lājīn’s mamluks died before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign or they are not mentioned in the sources during his reign.<sup>262</sup> It should be mentioned that the grandson of Mankūtāmūr the mamluk of Lājīn, Mūsá ibn ‘Alī ibn Mankūtāmūr (d. 757/1356), was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Tripoli.<sup>263</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Kitbughā:*

1. Ughurlū al-‘Ādilī was raised from childhood by Kitbughā, and when Kitbughā became sultan he appointed Ughurlū as amir in Cairo.<sup>264</sup> Later Kitbughā appointed Ughurlū governor of Damascus for three months, in 695–96/1296–97. Ughurlū served as amir in Damascus after his master’s deposition and he became amir of one hundred until his death in his home in

<sup>255</sup> Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–92), 2:244; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:179.

<sup>256</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:22.

<sup>257</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:216.

<sup>258</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:54.

<sup>259</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:179; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:316. According to Ibn Kathīr he died one year later (*Bidāyah*, 14:118).

<sup>260</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumān*, 3:353.

<sup>261</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:54.

<sup>262</sup> These amirs are: Aqūsh al-Rūmī al-Ḥusāmī, who was killed by his own mamluks (al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumān*, 3:353; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:63–64); Jaghān, who died in 699/1300 (Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:150); and Bālūj al-Ḥusāmī (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:92).

<sup>263</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 5:485; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:378; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>264</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:224.



Damascus in 719/1319.<sup>265</sup> Ughurlū's son 'Alī (d. 749/1348) was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus.<sup>266</sup>

2. Ughulbak mamluk of al-Ādil Kitbughā was appointed as *wālī al-barr* of Damascus in 713/1313–14 and died in 722/1322.<sup>267</sup>
3. Uljaybughā al-Ādilī was amir of one hundred in Damascus during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. He was one of Tankiz's associates and was arrested together with him. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad died, he was released and returned to serve as amir of one hundred. He served as *nā'ib al-ghaybah* in Damascus and died in 754/1353.<sup>268</sup> His son Muḥammad (d. 781/1379–80) was amir of one hundred as well. He also served at different times as *amīr ṭablkhānah*, as the governor of Gaza, and as *ḥājib*.<sup>269</sup>
4. Baydarā al-Ādilī was married to the daughter of his master Kitbughā. He was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus, probably until his death in 714/1314.<sup>270</sup>
5. Ṭuruntāy al-Zaynī al-Ādilī, who served as the *dawādār* of Kitbughā, became amir and a hadith scholar. He died in 731/1331.<sup>271</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Aqūsh al-Afram:*

1. Alṭunqush (or: Alṭunfush) al-Jamālī served as the *ustādār* of his master Aqūsh al-Afram. When Aqūsh al-Afram defected to the Mongols, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested Alṭunqush, but after a while released him and made him *amīr ṭablkhānah*. Alṭunqush was appointed governor of al-Sharqīyah district in northern Egypt and in 732/1333 was appointed *ustādār* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's son, Ānūk. Later he became the *ustādār* of the sultan himself.

<sup>265</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:76; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:245; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:305; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:199; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:390–91; al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī*, 185.

<sup>266</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:30; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 3:303; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45.

<sup>267</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:546–47.

<sup>268</sup>Ibid., 1:598–99; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:406; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:247–48.

<sup>269</sup>Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 43.

<sup>270</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:513.

<sup>271</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 16:432; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:217; the son of Ṭuruntāy, Khalīl, was also a prominent hadith scholar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:89; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1936–37), 2:47. Another mamluk of Kitbughā, who was called Ṭuruntāy al-Zaynī and had an interest in hadith but is not mentioned explicitly as an amir, died in 728/1328; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:218.



Altunqush was among the amirs who accompanied the sultan’s royal hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332. He continued to serve as amir in Cairo after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, until his own death in 745/1345.<sup>272</sup>

2. Sunqur al-Jamālī served as a member of the *barīdiyah* of Tankiz and later as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and as the governor of Ba‘albek. He died in 749/1349.<sup>273</sup> His son Abū Bakr (d. 803/1401) served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and later as amir of one hundred in Cairo, as *ḥājib*, and as *amīr al-ḥajj* for several years.<sup>274</sup>
3. Tulak al-Ḥasanī al-Arghūnī, who was originally a mamluk of Aqūsh al-Afram and later moved to Arghūn al-Dawādār, is mentioned as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus in 748/1347–48, so it is reasonable to assume that he was an amir also during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. In 750/1349 he was *ḥājib ṣaghīr* in Damascus and in 752/1351 *ḥājib ṣaghīr* and *amīr akhūr* in Cairo. He died in 753/1352.<sup>275</sup> His son Muḥammad ibn Tulak (d. 799/1397) served as an *amīr ṭablkhānah* as well as holding several other offices.<sup>276</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Qarāsunqur:*

Several mamluks of Qarāsunqur became amirs. The sources mentioned the names of some of them but only added data for a few of them. Some of them were made *ṭablkhānah* amirs, like Baykhān, Mughultāy, and Balabān. Others became amirs of ten, like Bahādur and ‘Abdūn.<sup>277</sup> Amir Butkhāṣ, who was one of Qarāsunqur’s mamluks, commanded a Mamluk force that defeated Mongols raiding Karkar in 708/1308–9.<sup>278</sup> It is very likely that most of Qarāsunqur’s mamluks who were amirs continued to serve as amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. However, the sources mention only Balabān Jarkas who served as the governor of Qal‘at al-Muslimīn (Qal‘at al-Rūm), and died in 745/1344–45.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>272</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:352, 674–75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:410; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 276; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352, 674–75.

<sup>273</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:477–78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:176.

<sup>274</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:198–99; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 41.

<sup>275</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:604; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:387.

<sup>276</sup> For more about him, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:639; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 47.

<sup>277</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:98; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:221.

<sup>278</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 402–3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:140.

<sup>279</sup> Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl Abū al-Fidā’, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Beirut, 1972), 4:143.



*The Mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī:*

Al-Ṣafadī mentions that most of the mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī (d. 700/1300) became the greatest amirs of the sultanate in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, among them Aydughmish *amīr akhūr*, Ṭughrāy al-Jāshnakīr, Mankūtāmūr al-Ṭabbākhī, and others.<sup>280</sup> The sources provide the following data regarding these three amirs:

1. Aydughmish *amīr akhūr* was transferred to the *khāṣṣakīyah* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad probably after the death of his master Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī in 700/1300. Aydughmish became amir of one hundred and was appointed as *amīr akhūr kabīr* (grand master of the stable) in 712/1312. Aydughmish served in this office for about thirty years, until the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Later, he served as the governor of Aleppo and as the governor of Damascus until his death in 743/1343.<sup>281</sup> Due to Aydughmish's high status in the sultanate, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made his four sons amirs; among them 'Alī, Ḥājj Malik, and Aḥmad are mentioned.<sup>282</sup> 'Alī is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* and his brother Aḥmad among the amirs of ten who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage of 732/1332.<sup>283</sup> Aḥmad was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 741/1340.<sup>284</sup> Ḥājj Malik was *amīr ṭablkhānah* at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign.<sup>285</sup> He is also mentioned as an amir of ten about fifty years later, in 791/1389.<sup>286</sup>
2. Ṭughrāy al-Jāshnakīr al-Nāṣirī was transferred to the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī's mamluks after the latter's death in 700/1300. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made him amir and appointed him as *jāshnakīr* (taster). Ṭughrāy gained very high status during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign. In 729/1329 he held the *iqṭā'* of an amir of one hundred.<sup>287</sup> In 739/1339 he was appointed governor of Aleppo. About a year later, when Tankiz was captured, Ṭughrāy was returned to Cairo. In 743/1343 he

<sup>280</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:43.

<sup>281</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:99–100; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:653; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:320–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:426–28; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 250–51.

<sup>282</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:346; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:100. According to al-Shujā'ī, four of Aydughmish's sons were amirs (*Tārīkh*, 251).

<sup>283</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352.

<sup>284</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45.

<sup>285</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:559.

<sup>286</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 9:99; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 49.

<sup>287</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:314.



was appointed governor of Tripoli until his death a year later.<sup>288</sup> His son, Muḥammad, was also an amir.<sup>289</sup>

3. Mankūtamur al-Ṭabbākhi became a high-ranking amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. He died in 718/1318.<sup>290</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Ṭurunṭāy (d. 689/1290)*

1. Baktamur al-Ḥāḥib was a mamluk of Ṭurunṭāy while the latter was still a mamluk of Amir Qalāwūn. Ṭurunṭāy raised and manumitted Baktamur.<sup>291</sup> During Aqūsh al-Afram’s tenure as governor of Damascus (698–709/1299–1310), Baktamur served as *shādd al-dawāwīn* of Damascus and later as *ḥāḥib*.<sup>292</sup> Baktamur al-Ḥāḥib is mentioned among the amirs of Syria who refused to swear allegiance to Baybars al-Jāshnakir. In Muḥarram 710/June 1310 he was appointed governor of Gaza.<sup>293</sup> Eight months later Baktamur became amir of one hundred and was appointed wazir.<sup>294</sup> Shortly after, in 711/1311, he was removed from the wazirate to the office of *al-ḥāḥib al-kabīr* in Egypt.<sup>295</sup> After four years in this office, Baktamur was arrested, but released one and a half years later. He was appointed governor of Safad and received a lot of money from the sultan.<sup>296</sup> After three months, in Ṣafar 717/April 1317, Baktamur was returned to Cairo as amir of one hundred.<sup>297</sup> In 725/1325 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested Baktamur again,<sup>298</sup> but he was probably released shortly after, since he died in his home in Cairo in 728/1328 or 729/1329, or 738/1337–38.<sup>299</sup> Two of Baktamur’s sons were amirs, as was at least one of

<sup>288</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:578; idem, *Wāfi*, 16:425; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:216; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:107; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:659.

<sup>289</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:51.

<sup>290</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:43; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:189.

<sup>291</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:314; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:278; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 33:292–93.

<sup>292</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:287.

<sup>293</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:161.

<sup>294</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:89; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:24.

<sup>295</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:28; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:100–1.

<sup>296</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144, 162–63; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:55; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:62; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:288.

<sup>297</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:181.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:260.

<sup>299</sup> Al-Ṣafadī mentions in *A’yān* that Baktamur al-Ḥāḥib died in 727/1327, or, according to another manuscript, in 728/1327–28 (*A’yān*, 1:704). According to Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, Baktamur died in 728/1327–28 (*Durar*, 1:484). Other sources mention that Baktamur died in 729/1328–29 (al-Maqrīzī,



his grandsons and great-grandsons. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 786/1384), who was also the grandson of Aqūsh al-Ashrafī on his mother’s side, served as amir of one hundred and *ḥājib* in Cairo and continued to hold his father’s property.<sup>300</sup> Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib was an amir of ten when he was only thirteen. He was arrested together with his father in 742/1342 and his *iqṭāʿ* was transferred to his brother ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>301</sup> Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh was an amir of ten.<sup>302</sup> ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib is mentioned as an amir too. Even the great-grandsons of Baktamur were amirs and their sons are mentioned in the sources. Among Baktamur’s great-grandsons Amir ‘Alī is mentioned.<sup>303</sup>

2. Balabān al-Ḥusāmī was appointed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as *shihnah* (in charge of public security) and then as *barīdī*. Later, in 735/1335, he was appointed as *wālī* of Cairo and five months later as *wālī* of Damietta, until his death in 736/1336.<sup>304</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Baydarā:*

1. Asandamur al-Qalījī was a mamluk of Baydarā who was transferred to the mamluks of Ṭurunṭāy. During al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign he served as *wālī* of al-Buḥayrah district. Before his death in the plague of 749/1348–49 he served for several days as *wālī* of Cairo.<sup>305</sup>
2. Ṭaybars al-Khaznadārī was originally a mamluk of Bilik al-Khaznadārī al-Zāhirī and later was transferred to the mamluks of Baydarā. After his master’s death he became a close associate of Sultan Lājīn, who appointed him

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*Sulūk*, 2:214; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:277; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:116). Al-Ṣafadī mentions in his *Wāfī* (and based on that Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions in his *Al-Manhal*) that Baktamur died ten years later, in 738/1337–38 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:192; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:289).

<sup>300</sup> ‘Abd Allāh held other offices as *amīr ṭablkhānah*; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:144–45; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 7:83; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2:64; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 40–41.

<sup>301</sup> Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 33:294; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:314; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:277.

<sup>302</sup> Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:133.

<sup>303</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*, 11:242; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2:64, 77. The last honorable descendant of Baktamur al-Ḥājib was his great-great-grandson, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 895/1490); see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*, 8:257.

<sup>304</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:491; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 231; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:493; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:377.

<sup>305</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:387.



*naqīb al-jaysh*. Ṭaybars held this office as *amīr ṭablkhānah* until his death in 719/1319.<sup>306</sup>

### **Other Mamluks of Manşūrī Amirs:**

1. Arghūn, the mamluk of Bahādur Samiz al-Manşūrī, was an associate of Tankiz and served as *mushidd al-zakkāt* (overseer of the spice traders) and later in 728/1328 as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus. In 732/1331 he was appointed governor of Ba‘albek. Later he served as amir in Tripoli.<sup>307</sup>
2. Qadādār, the mamluk of Bughlughay al-Ashrafī, was appointed governor of al-Gharbīyah district in 723/1323, and a few months later, governor of al-Buḥayrah district. One year later, he was appointed *wālī* of Cairo in order to restore order and morality to the city. In 729/1329 he left his office and a few months later he died.<sup>308</sup>
3. Ayās al-Shamsī, the mamluk of Sunqur al-A‘sar al-Manşūrī, served as the governor of Qal‘at al-Rūm before al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Later he moved to Ḥamāh and from Ramaḍān 710/January 1311 he served as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 711/April 1312 he was transferred to Tripoli, where he served as amir. He died in 722/1322.<sup>309</sup>
4. Ṭūghān al-Shamsī, the mamluk of Sunqur al-Ṭawīl al-Manşūrī, served as *wālī* of Ashmūnīn and *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Cairo. In 740/1340–41 he was appointed *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus until his death in the same year.<sup>310</sup>
5. Aqjubā, the mamluk of Baybars al-Ṭājī, served as amir in Damascus. He was executed in 720/1320 after he claimed to be a prophet.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>306</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:246; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 128–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:229.

<sup>307</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:462–63. For more on Bahādur Samiz, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:433; idem, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:217; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:60. On *shādd al-zakkāt*, see Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-A‘shā fī Şinā‘at al-Inshā‘*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987), 4:193.

<sup>308</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:250, 256, 312, 327; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:148–49; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:283–84.

<sup>309</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:641–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:420; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 153; Sunqur al-A‘sar moved to the mamluks of Qalāwūn when the latter was sultan; see al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:478.

<sup>310</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:227–28; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 4:38; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 121.

<sup>311</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:321; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:250.



6. Alṭunbughā al-Jāwli, the mamluk of Sanjar al-Jāwli, had moved to Sanjar's service from the mamluks of an amir named Ibn Bākhil. Sanjar appointed Alṭunbughā as his *dawādār* and Alṭunbughā served as amir in Damascus until his death in 744/1343.<sup>312</sup>

It should be noted that there were dozens of amirs, originally mamluks of Maṣṣūrī amirs, who became *amīrs ṭablkhānah* or amirs of ten, that the sources do not discuss or that we cannot affiliate explicitly to Maṣṣūrī amirs. As mentioned above, it is noted that “most” of the mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī became prominent amirs in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign. Similarly, most of Sunqur al-A'sar's mamluks became amirs after his death.<sup>313</sup>

### Conclusions:

1. Forty mamluks who originally belonged to Maṣṣūrī amirs served as amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Fourteen of them continued to serve as amirs after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death.
2. Twenty-one sons of these forty amirs, four of their grandsons, and three of their great-grandsons are also mentioned as amirs.
3. Approximately ten amirs served for certain periods as amir of one hundred in Cairo during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign; three others served as amirs of one hundred in Damascus. Three amirs continued to serve as amirs of one hundred after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, and two others became amirs of one hundred after the sultan's death; three of the descendants of the mamluks of the Maṣṣūrī amirs were amirs of one hundred.
4. Most of the amirs who served as amirs of one hundred originated among the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's greatest enemies, like Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār, or Kitbughā and Lājīn, who deposed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from the sultanate when he was young.
5. Approximately ten amirs served as *amīrs ṭablkhānah* in Cairo during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, and six as *amīrs ṭablkhānah* in Syria.
6. Half of the amirs, about twenty, served in Egypt, mainly in Cairo.

<sup>312</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:407; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:105.

<sup>313</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:480.



## 2.2. The Descendants of the Manşūrī Amirs

### *Bahādur Āṣ*

The five sons of Bahādur Āṣ became amirs: Muḥammad, ‘Umar, ‘Alī, Abū Bakr, and Aḥmad.<sup>314</sup> The sources add information about only three of them:

1. Muḥammad ibn Bahādur Āṣ was appointed amir of one hundred by sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (748–52/1347–51; 755–62/1354–61).<sup>315</sup> He was deposed from the governorship of Homs in 754/1353.<sup>316</sup> In 776/1374 he was appointed governor of Bahnasā district in southern Egypt.<sup>317</sup> It is reasonable to assume that he was already an amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign. Muḥammad’s son Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh had an *iqṭā’* in Syria. ‘Abd Allāh died in 761/1360.<sup>318</sup>
2. ‘Umar was *amīr ṭablkhānah*. He died in 731/1331 in Damascus.<sup>319</sup>
3. ‘Alī was amir of ten in Damascus and died in 744/1343.<sup>320</sup>

### *Qarāsunqur*

Three of Qarāsunqur’s sons were amirs during their father’s life, i.e., during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. Muḥammad was an amir of one hundred, ‘Alī was an amir of forty and later an amir of one hundred, and Faraj was an amir of ten.<sup>321</sup>

1. Muḥammad ibn Qarāsunqur was an amir even before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. He is mentioned as a commander already at the battle of ‘Urḍ, which preceded the battle of Shakḥab (Marj al-Şuffar) in 702/1303.<sup>322</sup> According to al-Şafadī, Muḥammad convinced his father to support al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and not Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>323</sup> Muḥammad continued to serve

<sup>314</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 2:57; al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:297; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:497.

<sup>315</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:61; Ibn Taghribirdī, probably mistakenly, mentions Muḥammad ibn Bahādur as *ra’s nawbah* (*Al-Manhal*, 5:127).

<sup>316</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 2:53.

<sup>317</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:232.

<sup>318</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 2:732–33.

<sup>319</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:341; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>320</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 3:315–16; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 49.

<sup>321</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 4:98; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:222; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:251–52.

<sup>322</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:931.

<sup>323</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 4:91–92; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:216.



as amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign and, as mentioned above, as amir of one hundred. In 761/1360 he is still mentioned as amir.<sup>324</sup>

2. 'Alī ibn Qarāsunqur served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo. He is mentioned among the commanders who were sent in 716/1316 against the Bedouin revolts in southern Egypt, and in 723/1323 in the expedition to Nubia. After the arrival of the news of Qarāsunqur's death in 728/1328, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sent 'Alī to serve as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus. In Damascus he became a close associate of Tankiz and was made amir of one hundred until his death in 748/1347. 'Alī's son Muḥammad was an amir too.<sup>325</sup>
3. Faraj ibn Qarāsunqur received an amirate of ten from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 711/1311. In 723/1323 he was jailed in the Cairo citadel's *al-jubb* prison, where he remained for five years. After the arrival of the news of Qarāsunqur's death in 728/1328, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sent Faraj to Damascus as either an amir of ten (according to al-Maqrīzī) or as an *amīr ṭablkhānah* (according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī). Faraj died in Damascus in 734/1333. His son, who also bore the name Faraj, was an amir too.<sup>326</sup>

### *Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (Burji)*

Three of Aydamur's sons were amirs. Two of them, 'Alī and Muḥammad, received their amirate during their father's lifetime (he died in 737/1337). After his death, another son, Mūsá, became an amir.<sup>327</sup>

1. 'Alī is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332. He was amir in Damascus in the last years before his death in 762/1360–61.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>324</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:148.

<sup>325</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:238; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:250, 305, 754; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:473–74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:95–96; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 41, 45.

<sup>326</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:109, 249, 305; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:31; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:230; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45.

<sup>327</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:312; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:661.

<sup>328</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:103; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:30; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45. According to al-Shujāʿī, 'Alī died in 740/1339 (*Tārīkh*, 89).



2. Muḥammad ibn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī is mentioned among the amirs of ten who accompanied al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332.<sup>329</sup> He died in 740/1339.<sup>330</sup>
3. Mūsá ibn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī became an amir after his father’s death in 737/1337. He was an amir of ten and died in 776/1374–75.<sup>331</sup>

### *Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī (Burji)*<sup>332</sup>

Three of Baktamur’s sons were amirs. Asanbughā was an amir of one hundred, ‘Alī and Aḥmad were *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.<sup>333</sup>

1. Asanbughā<sup>334</sup> was an amir of one hundred during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign.<sup>335</sup> He was born in the first decade of the eighth/fourteenth century, so when his father was captured by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 722/1322 (and six years later was executed), Asanbughā was probably in his twenties. This fact did not prevent him from being a close associate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and conducting an honorable career during the latter’s reign. Asanbughā was arrested after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death (741/1341), and was released at the beginning of al-Şāliḥ Ismā‘īl’s reign (743/1342). He became *amīr akhūr kabīr* of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748–52/1347–51 and 755–62/1354–61) and of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān (764–78/1363–77). Later he served as governor of Alexandria, governor of Aleppo, and as chief *ḥājib* of Egypt. He died in 777/1375 when he was over seventy.<sup>336</sup>
2. ‘Alī ibn Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo, and after his father’s death in 728/1328 he moved to Damascus. Later he was twice appointed governor of al-Raḥbah. He died in 762/1361.<sup>337</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:103; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:367.

<sup>330</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:505.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:247.

<sup>332</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:457.

<sup>333</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:482.

<sup>334</sup> Al-Maqrīzī is the only source that mentions the name Ismā‘īl instead of Asanbughā (*Al-Muqaffá*, 2:186).

<sup>335</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:386; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:186. From Ibn Taghrībirdī, however, we are given the impression that Asanbughā received the rank of amir of one hundred only after the death of the sultan (*Al-Nujūm*, 11:140).

<sup>336</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 11:140; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:386; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:186; *idem*, *Sulūk*, 3:75, 258; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 42.

<sup>337</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:32; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 3:309–10.



3. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī was *amīr ṭablkhānah*, and he was also exiled to Damascus after his father's death.<sup>338</sup>

### Salār

ʿAlī ibn Salār was made an amir of ten in Cairo by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the beginning of the latter's third reign.<sup>339</sup> Later he became an *amīr ṭablkhānah*. He is mentioned as an amir in Egypt in 732/1332.<sup>340</sup> ʿAlī died in 742/1341–42 and the sultan transferred his amirate of *ṭablkhānah* to his son Khalīl.<sup>341</sup> Khalīl ibn ʿAlī ibn Salār (d. 770/1368–69) served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo and was *nāẓir al-awqāf* (supervisor of the endowments) of his grandfather Salār.<sup>342</sup>

1. Abū Bakr ibn Salār bore the amir *laqab* "Sayf al-Dīn." His son Mūsá (d. 797/1395) was amir of ten and served as *amīr ṭabar* (in charge of the axe bearers).<sup>343</sup>
2. Nāṣir ibn Salār served as amir of ten in Cairo when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad began his third reign.<sup>344</sup> The name Nāṣir might refer to the *laqab* Nāṣir al-Dīn [Muḥammad?]. Indeed, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah mentions the amir "Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Salār" who served as governor of the Aleppo citadel.<sup>345</sup> It should be noted that two brothers of Salār, Daʿūd and Jubā, who were the greatest supporters of Salār during his conflict against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, were released by the latter already in 715/1315, after five years of imprisonment.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>338</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:309.

<sup>339</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:11; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:75; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuhfah*, 206; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:281–82.

<sup>340</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368.

<sup>341</sup> Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 220; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:615.

<sup>342</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:90; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 46.

<sup>343</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:626, 848; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Hyderabad, 1969), 3:280.

<sup>344</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51.

<sup>345</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:363.

<sup>346</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144.



**Kitbughā**

1. Anaş ibn Kitbughā was appointed by his father, Sultan Kitbughā, as his deputy when he left Cairo for Damascus in 695/1296.<sup>347</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad honored and promoted not only Anaş but also his children.<sup>348</sup>
2. ‘Alī ibn Kitbughā was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* in 742/1341.<sup>349</sup> It is reasonable to assume, then, that he was amir during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign as well.
3. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil Kitbughā died as amir of ten in Cairo in 744/1344. His son Aḥmad inherited his amirate.<sup>350</sup>

**Ṭurunṭāy**

1. Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who accompanied Baybars al-Manşūrī when he was dispatched to put down the Bedouin revolt in southern Egypt in 700/1300.<sup>351</sup> Despite his blindness, he became amir of one hundred during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign. He died in 731/1331.<sup>352</sup> His son ‘Abd Allāh, who was also the son of Qibjaq’s daughter, was an amir of ten and died in 741/1341 when he was only eighteen.<sup>353</sup>
2. ‘Alī ibn Ṭurunṭāy was an amir of ten in Egypt. He died in 726/1326.<sup>354</sup>

**Kujkun**

1. Muḥammad ibn Kujkun was *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *amīr shikār* (master of the royal hunt) in Damascus. In 752/1351–52 he was appointed *wālī al-wulāh*

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<sup>347</sup>Ibid., 1:816.

<sup>348</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:417; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:628–29.

<sup>349</sup>Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 45. It is not explicitly mentioned that ‘Alī’s father was al-‘Ādil Kitbughā. However, since there are no other mamluks named Kitbughā mentioned in the sources except Kitbughā *ra’s nawbah* al-‘Ādilī al-Manşūrī (see n. 190 above), I assume that he is the son of al-‘Ādil Kitbughā.

<sup>350</sup>Al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 266.

<sup>351</sup>Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Zubdah*, 349.

<sup>352</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:480; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:459; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:338; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 43.

<sup>353</sup>Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 317; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 121.

<sup>354</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 3:384; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā‘il, *Āgypten und Syrien*, 36. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, ‘Alī died in 766/1364–65; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:56; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 49.



(head of the northern or southern districts of Egypt). In 754/1353 he was appointed governor of Homs, where he died a few months later at age sixty.<sup>355</sup>

2. Aḥmad ibn Kujkun is mentioned among the amirs of ten who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332.<sup>356</sup>

### *Aybak al-Ṭawīl*

1. Muḥammad ibn Aybak al-Ṭawīl served as *shādd al-sāhil* and *wālī al-wulāh bi-al-ṣafaqah al-qibliyah* (in charge of the southern districts of Damascus). Later he was in charge of the fortresses of al-Raḥbah and al-Ja'bar. Toward the end of his life he served for about half a year as amir in Safad until his death in the plague of 749/1348.<sup>357</sup>
2. 'Alī ibn Aybak al-Ṭawīl served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus, probably during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign. Later he served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Tripoli. In 760/1359 or 761/1360 he became *amīr ḥājib* in Tripoli and in 763/1362 amir in Damascus, where he died in 764/1363.<sup>358</sup>

### *Other Sons of Maṣṣūrī Amirs*

1. Jaraktamur ibn Bahādur *ra's nawbah* presented himself to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr after his father's death in 693/1293, and he was made amir by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in 708/1309. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, he wanted to arrest Jaraktamur but the latter received a pardon, thanks to the efforts of his father-in-law, Qarāsunqur.<sup>359</sup> Jaraktamur continued to serve as amir, and in 722/1322 he is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who accompanied the sultan on his hajj.<sup>360</sup> In 735/1334 he was appointed governor of Gaza, and in 736/1336 governor of Homs. In 740/1340 he is mentioned again among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.<sup>361</sup> His two sons were *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.<sup>362</sup>

<sup>355</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:104; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:151.

<sup>356</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352.

<sup>357</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:341–42; idem, *Wāfi*, 2:233; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:393.

<sup>358</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 3:304.

<sup>359</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:534; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 223.

<sup>360</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366.

<sup>361</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:379, 403, 499, 571, 579–80, 615; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45–46.

<sup>362</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 46.



2. ‘Alī ibn Ṭuġhrīl al-Iġhānī is mentioned as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in 725/1325. Later he became an amir of one hundred in Cairo. He is mentioned as one of the greatest amirs in 740/1339–40. In 748/1347 he served for a few months as the chief *ḥājib* of Damascus. He died in Cairo in the plague of 749/1348–49.<sup>363</sup>
3. Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Aḥmadī served as one of the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* in Egypt. He died in 752/1351 in southern Egypt.<sup>364</sup> His son Aḥmad is mentioned as an amir of ten in 778/1377 who accompanied the sultan on hajj.<sup>365</sup>
4. Quṭlījā ibn Balabān al-Jūkandār was an *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him one of the *silahdārīyah*. He died in 720/1320.<sup>366</sup>
5. Muḥammad ibn Tamur al-Sāqī was an amir who died in Damascus in 728/1328 when he was thirty-five.<sup>367</sup>
6. Khalīl ibn Balabān Ṭurnā is mentioned as an *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Syria at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign.<sup>368</sup>
7. Baktamur ibn Kirāy was an amir who died in 731/1331.<sup>369</sup>
8. Muḥammad ibn Aqūsh al-Maṭrūḥī was an amir and a hadith scholar. He died in 735/1335.<sup>370</sup>
9. Aḥmad ibn Ālmalik al-Jūkandār was made an *amīr ṭablkhānah* by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and amir of one hundred in the reign of Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (748–52/1347–51; 744–62/1354–61). In 775/1373–74 he served as governor of Gaza and later as the governor of Jerusalem and Hebron. In the same year he came back to Cairo and served as a *ḥājib* there. In 779/1377–78 he left his military-political career and became a devout Sufi.

<sup>363</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:260, 498, 738, 795; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 3:385; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:56; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 41–42.

<sup>364</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:253; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:857.

<sup>365</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 11:71.

<sup>366</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:128–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:255; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>367</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:374; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:412.

<sup>368</sup> Al-Shujā’ī, *Tārīkh*, 95.

<sup>369</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:337.

<sup>370</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:340.



He died in 793/1391.<sup>371</sup> Another amir of one hundred was Aḥmad's cousin Albakī ibn akhī Ālmalik (d. 756/1355), who served before him as governor of Gaza.<sup>372</sup>

10. Muḥammad ibn Mughulṭāy al-Mas'ūdī served as the *wālī* of Cairo. He became an amir of twenty in 791/1389 and died one year later.<sup>373</sup>
11. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Biktāsh al-Mankūrsī was appointed by his father as *amīr al-ḥajj* in 754/1353. Before his death in 757/1356 Biktāsh gave his *iqṭā'* to his son.<sup>374</sup>
12. Muḥammad ibn Ṭūghān (al-Manṣūrī) is mentioned among the *awlād al-nās* who were made amirs of one hundred by Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>375</sup> It is reasonable to assume, then, that he served as an amir also during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign.
13. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-'Alā'ī was an amir.<sup>376</sup>

## Conclusions

1. Thirty-nine sons of Manṣūrī amirs, and ten of their grandsons, became amirs.
2. Four of them were amirs of one hundred during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign; three others became amirs of one hundred after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, most of them during the reign of Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.
3. Among the amirs of one hundred are the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's enemies, like Ṭughrīl al-Ighānī and Qarāsunqur.
4. Eleven were *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.

<sup>371</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:108; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 41.

<sup>372</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:405; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 41.

<sup>373</sup>Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 9:135, 214; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:653; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 48.

<sup>374</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:699–700; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51.

<sup>375</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 5:127. Most of the other recipients of this amirate of one hundred were sons of Manṣūrī amirs, so it is reasonable to assume that he is the son of Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī, though only the name Ṭūghān is mentioned.

<sup>376</sup>Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51.



5. Nineteen amirs continued (and several started) to serve after al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s death.

## Final Conclusions

During the first three years of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign, dozens of Manşūrī amirs—and others who were related to them—were imprisoned or executed by the young sultan. These moves might convey the impression that the Manşūrīyah was eliminated by al-Nāşir Muḥammad. However, a closer look at the careers of the Manşūrī amirs reveals that many of them, including al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s former enemies, continued to play an important role in the political-military life of the sultanate during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. This conclusion is strengthened by the observations of Mamluk historians. Moreover, many of the mamluks and descendants of these Manşūrī amirs gained very high positions as amirs in the sultanate during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign and after. The conclusive findings are as follows: Forty-two Manşūrī amirs conducted honorable careers during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Seventeen of them served as amirs of one hundred during different periods of his third reign; forty mamluks of the Manşūrī amirs became amirs as well, fifteen of them amirs of one hundred. Twenty-one of their sons and seven of their descendants are also mentioned as amirs; thirty-nine sons of Manşūrī amirs and ten of their grandsons became amirs during and after al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign. Eight of them were amirs of one hundred. The “Manşūrīyah heritage” thus consisted of at least one hundred sixty amirs who continued to play an important part in the military and political Mamluk elite from al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign up to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. Among these amirs, not less than forty-three (more than twenty-five percent) served as amirs of one hundred for certain periods.

The studies of Amitai, Levanoni, Van Steenberg, and Clifford, mentioned at the beginning of this article, already pointed out that the military elite during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign was not based purely on the Nāşirīyah mamluks. However, the data discussed in the present article reveals that the Manşūrīyah’s position was much more dominant than previously assumed. Amitai, in his analysis of the military elite in 712/1312, classified four out of twenty-two amirs of one hundred as belonging to the Manşūrīyah, though at least thirteen of them were Manşūrī amirs or related to them.<sup>377</sup> Van Steenberg, who examined the

<sup>377</sup>The four amirs who are classified as Manşūrī mamluks are Sanjar al-Jumaqdār, Qarālājīn, Aybak al-Rūmī, and Baybars al-Aḥmadī. However, three other amirs, who are mentioned as “non-affiliated,” should be added: Ayadamur al-Khaṭīrī, Qullī, and Ālmalik. Other amirs of one hundred mentioned in this list who were related to the Manşūrīyah are Jankalī ibn Bābā al-



identity of the members of the military elite thirty years later on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, correctly identified four out of the twenty-five amirs of one hundred as Maṣṣūrī amirs, but four other amirs that were related to the Maṣṣūrīyah should be added.<sup>378</sup> In his dissertation, Clifford mentions only sixteen Maṣṣūrī mamluks (really only eleven), seven of their sons, and three of their grandsons, who served as amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>379</sup> Ayalon, it should be noted, discusses only four Burji amirs who continued their careers during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>380</sup>

Finally, we must return to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's enigmatic policy and his long reign, given the prominent position of the Maṣṣūrīyah and many other amirs who were related to them during this period. This question can be refined even further, since many of the high-ranking amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign belonged or were related to his greatest opponents and enemies. In my opinion, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could not assert real authority over his own mamluks, since, in contrast to his father Qalāwūn, who fostered his Maṣṣūrīyah mamluks for many years before becoming sultan, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was only twenty-four at the beginning of his third reign. Most of his mamluks were more or less his age or even older than him, and he did not have the opportunity to educate them "as father" for many years and thus to achieve severity (*saṭwah*)

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Wāfidī, who is mentioned together with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's Burji supporters (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:251) and Ḥusayn ibn Jāndār (or: Jāndārbak), Wāfidī's son, who was a close associate of Aqūsh al-Afram (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:313–14). Other amirs of one hundred originated among the mamluks of Maṣṣūrī amirs: Bahādūr al-Mu'izzī and Aydughdī Shuqayr were mamluks of Lājīn, Aṣlam was a mamluk of Salār, and Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī a mamluk of Ṭuruntāy; see Amitai, "Military Elite," 149.

<sup>378</sup> The Maṣṣūrī amirs are Ālmalik, Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwli, and Kūkāy. Two other amirs of one hundred are the mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī al-Manṣūrī, Aydughmish *amīr akhūr*, and Ṭurghāy al-Jāshnakīr. Jankalī ibn Bābā was a supporter of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, and Qumārī al-Kabīr was the brother of Baktamur al-Sāqī, Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's loyal mamluk; see Van Steenbergen, "Mamluk Elite," 174, 177.

<sup>379</sup> Clifford, "State Formation," 261–72, esp. 265–66. Clifford mentions only these eleven Maṣṣūrī amirs: Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwli, Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī al-Rūmī, Sanjar al-Jumaqdār, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Bahādūr Ās, Tamur al-Sāqī, Balabān Ṭurnā, Baktūt al-Qarmānī, Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, and Baktamur al-Jūkandār. In addition, he classified as Maṣṣūrī mamluks five other amirs: Āqsunqur al-Salārī (whom I considered a mamluk of Salār); Alaqtamur or Araqtamur al-Sāqī (who is not mentioned as Maṣṣūrī in any of the sources I have checked); Baybars al-Ḥājib (who is mentioned as Maṣṣūrī only in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Manhal*, 3:475, as opposed to idem, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:100–1; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:508); Qirtāy (al-Ashrafī; see Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Āgypten und Syrien*, 9, 21; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:248; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:101–2; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:376); and Aruqtāy, whom I considered as Nāṣirī; see n. 140 above. Clifford discusses only three mamluks of the Maṣṣūrīyah amirs, those of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī and Alṭunfush, the mamluk of Aqūsh al-Afram; see Clifford, "State Formation," 264.

<sup>380</sup> Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burji Mamlūks," 38.



over his mamluks. Similarly, the Nāşirīyah mamluks never felt emotions of awe (*mahābah*) toward their master, unlike the feelings of the Manşūrīyah mamluks toward their master Qalāwūn. In addition, it seems that during the turbulent Manşūrīyah period, the main principles of mamluk loyalty, those between fellows of the same *khushdāshīyah* and even between mamluks and their master, were much eroded. The fact that al-Nāşir Muḥammad used Manşūrī amirs to arrest their own *khushdāshs*, as mentioned above in section 1.1, is only one example of the weakness of the solidarity among the members of the Manşūrīyah.<sup>381</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad understood, hence, that a threat to his rule could come from any political contender, regardless of their affiliation to a certain patron or *khushdāshīyah*. How, then, did this sultan manage to preserve his rule for such a long time? I believe that it was mostly thanks to a combination of his ever-suspicious, maybe paranoid, character, his highly effective intelligence network of internal spies and, above all, a great deal of luck. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī testified, after an incident in 721/1321 in which the sultan succeeded in saving himself from a great danger posed by his mamluks, that “it was a wonder that he emerged unscathed.”<sup>382</sup> These kinds of wonders, it seems, continued to accompany Sultan al-Nāşir Muḥammad during his long reign.

<sup>381</sup> See: Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment*, 147–94.

<sup>382</sup> “*Wa-‘uddat salāmatuhu min al-‘ajā’ib.*” See Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 64 (=al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:229).



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## The Iconography of a Military Elite: Military Figures on an Early Thirteenth-Century Candlestick

### The History and Provenance of the Candlestick

While working as an archaeologist in the Yemen in the early 1970s, Professor Paolo Costa found in the *sūq* or old bazaar of Ṣan‘ā’ a battered but apparently medieval inlaid brass candlestick-base.<sup>1</sup> The tube or holder for this candlestick was missing, but the base was abundantly decorated with abstract patterns, inscriptions and—somewhat unusually—a running frieze of horsemen in combat (photographs 1 and 2). This remarkable object was then displayed at the Museum of Mankind’s<sup>2</sup> *Nomad and City* exhibition in a section entitled *The City of San‘a*, which itself formed part of London’s *Festival of Islam* in 1976.

Amongst those who saw and, insofar as possible, studied Paolo Costa’s candlestick-base in the *The City of San‘a* exhibition was Professor Eva Baer, a renowned scholar of medieval Islamic metalwork who subsequently noted with regret that she was not permitted to take photographs of the object.<sup>3</sup> Another of the visitors was myself, then a student at London University’s School of Oriental and African Studies, who was undertaking research for a short Master’s thesis on medieval Islamic military technology.<sup>4</sup> Similarly denied permission to take photographs, or indeed to make detailed sketches, I contacted Professor Costa. He was then working as an archaeological advisor to the Ministry of National Heritage in the Sultanate of Oman. Not only did he give me permission to photograph the candlestick-base; he even allowed me to make “careful pencil rubbings” of its decoration—especially those military figures which I already considered to be significant for the study of medieval Islamic military technology.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Information provided by Professor Costa’s wife, Professor Germana Graziosi (email, 10 October 2012).

<sup>2</sup>From 1970 until 2004 the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum established what was in effect a separate museum in Burlington Gardens; this was known as the Museum of Mankind from 1970 until 1997.

<sup>3</sup>Eva Baer, *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian Images*, Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas, vol. 4 (Leiden, 1989), 46.

<sup>4</sup>This mini-thesis, entitled “Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour,” was done under the supervision of Professor Geza Fehervari of SOAS and was eventually published in a very modified form as *Islamische Waffen* (Graz, 1981).

<sup>5</sup>In a letter to Dr. Brian Durrans, Keeper of the Ethnographical Department, dated 13 July 1977.



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At that time the candlestick was in the care of Professor R. B. Sergeant and it was at his house outside Cambridge that I was able to take the photographs and make the rubbings which contributed to my subsequent doctoral thesis at Edinburgh University.<sup>6</sup> Here my supervisor, Professor Robert Hillenbrand, was the first to suggest that, on the basis of the inscriptions and abstract decorations, the candlestick might be from the Ayyubid period, if not necessarily of Ayyubid manufacture, rather than being Mamluk as originally thought.

Throughout my correspondence with Professor Costa he made it clear that he intended to publish his candlestick-base as soon as other commitments allowed him to do so. His letters also invited me to contribute to such a publication where the military figures, their military equipment, costume, horse-harness, and combat techniques were concerned. Sadly this project never came to fruition. Instead, Professor Costa decided to sell the candlestick-base at Sotheby's in London. It came up for sale in an auction entitled *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures* on 30 April 1992, though I was unaware of this fact until many years later.

By then I had, with Professor Costa's permission, published photographs and drawings of the military figures, and have continued to do so in a variety of both academic and non-academic books and articles. However, the most significant description of this candlestick-base was in the catalogue which accompanied the Sotheby's sale of 1992. Here it was described as "An Ayyubid or Early Mamluk Brass Candlestick-base, North Mesopotamia or Syria, mid-13th century." The unnamed author of this catalogue entry also expressed his thanks to Dr. Marian Wenzel for her assistance. The catalogue then stated that the object had "truncated conical concave sides, torus mouldings at the top and bottom, the drip holder recessed, the cylindrical shaft missing but originally secured on the inside with a star-shaped bolt, decorated with engraved designs and additional copper and silver inlays. 23cm; 9 in. high, 34.2cm; 13in. diameter at base."<sup>7</sup> At the auction Professor Costa's candlestick-base was purchased by the Qatar Museums Authority and is now understood to be in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha.

Before looking at the decoration of the candlestick-base it might be worth noting that the star-shaped bolthead or rosette in this particular object has fifteen points or leaves (photograph 3). Dr. Julian Raby has elsewhere noted that one of two similar candlestick-bases—the one he dates to ca. 1225—has a rosette bolthead

<sup>6</sup>Undertaken in Edinburgh University's Department of Fine Arts, under the supervision of Professor Robert Hillenbrand, and eventually resulting in a doctoral thesis entitled "The Military Technology of Classical Islam" (presented in 1982).

<sup>7</sup>Sotheby's London, *Islamic and Indian Art, Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, April 29–30, 1992, p. 28, item 52 [auction catalogue].



with twelve such “leaves.” The second, which dates from 1248, has ten.<sup>8</sup> There does, indeed, seem to have been a tendency for such securing rosettes to be simplified with fewer “leaves” as the years went by, perhaps indicating an early date for the Costa candlestick. There are also eight rivet holes or remaining rivets around the broken hole in the top, which once secured the now missing candle holder.

Abundant decoration on the sides and top of this candlestick-base may be divided into three categories: abstract motifs, inscriptions, and the naturalistic representations of armored horsemen in combat. Having described the object as being of great rarity and importance, the Sotheby’s catalogue went on to state that:

The piece is decorated with both engraving and inlays, the copper and silver hammered into minute lines of “wriggle-work,” of which some is lost but a considerable amount remains.... Above and below [the horsemen, photographs 4 to 12] are ornamental bands of plaited kufic script, broken at a number of points by round medallions containing arabesques, and octagonal medallions with interlace designs. The horizontal shoulder has a narrow band of naskhi script, and within is a plaited guilloche framing four quatrefoils alternating with four roundels. Two of the quatrefoils contain birds of prey on top of their catches, and two single figures manipulating animals or birds [photographs 13 and 14]; the roundels are filled with interlacing patterns.<sup>9</sup>

As already stated, the inscriptions are in two distinct locations and two different forms of script. Those on the sides are in a style known as Knotted Kufic in which the vertical lines of the Arabic letters *alif* and *lām* were intertwined with each other. Professor Robert Hillenbrand has suggested that in several regions of the medieval Middle East, notably the Fertile Crescent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, patterns of “knotting” on public buildings and on smaller portable objects may have had a talismanic purpose, as a form of protection against the forces of evil. He further suggested that the use of Knotted Kufic inscriptions may similarly have had a talismanic purpose over and above, or even superseding, their literal content.<sup>10</sup> He went on to note that the eleventh to thir-

<sup>8</sup>Julian Raby, “The Principle of Parsimony and the Problem of the ‘Mosul School of Metalwork,’” in *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World*, ed. V. Porter and M. Ross (London, 2012), 33–34.

<sup>9</sup>Sotheby’s London, *Islamic and Indian Art*, 28 [item 52].

<sup>10</sup>Robert Hillenbrand, “Between Iran and Syria: the architecture of Mosul c.1150–1250” (paper presented at the 21st International Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fātimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Eras, Ghent, May 10, 2012).



teenth centuries saw an extraordinary number of what were then seen as astrological portents. Reported by chroniclers at the time, these have been historically or astronomically identified by modern scholars. Of course the Islamic Middle East was at the same time also under serious threat from both east and west—from Latin Christendom in the form of Crusades and the Iberian Reconquista, and subsequently from Central Asia in the form of devastating Mongol invasions.

The question of Knotted Kufic has also been discussed by Dr. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani.<sup>11</sup> Given the dating and provenance which will be suggested for the Costa candlestick below, attention should be drawn to the carved decoration of the Bāb Mūṣil gate in ‘Amādiyah (Iraqi Kurdistan) which dated from 1233–59.<sup>12</sup> This gate and its once magnificent carvings were very similar to the better-known gate at al-Khān in the Jabal Sinjār. The latter dated from 631/1233 and was credited to Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’, the Turkish ruler of Mosul. Here it is also worth noting that Dr. Joachim Gierlichs suggested that the knotting decoration at al-Khān had parallels with knot-work relief ornament seen in Syria.<sup>13</sup> More immediately, both these stone gates are decorated with highly realistic relief carvings of warriors fighting dragons, and although the men on the gates are equipped and clothed as foot soldiers, they nevertheless incorporate several features which can be seen on the horsemen of the Costa candlestick.

An agreed or conclusive transliteration and translation of the inscriptions on the Costa candlestick has yet to be published. Unfortunately those that appeared in the Sotheby’s sale catalogue seem unreliable. According to this catalogue, the inscription in *naskhī* script around the edge of the upper surface or shoulder of the candlestick-base was transliterated as: “*al-‘izz ... [unclear] al-da‘im wa al-‘umr al-tawil al-salim wa al-iqbal (wa) al-za‘id al-jadd al-sa‘id al-dahr al-musa‘id wa al-ni‘ma al-khalid wa al-‘aysh al-raghid wa al-khayr al-waqid wa al-a‘mr al-nafidh wa al-nasr al-ghalib wa al-dawla al-baqiya wa al-salama al-‘aliya wa al-ni‘ma al-salim / wa al-salama [uncertain] kajla wa al-sa‘ada wa ... [unclear] wa al-waqar wa al-‘iffa wa al-‘ifafa.*” This was then translated as: “Perpetual Glory, and Long Safe Life,

<sup>11</sup>A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World 8th–18th Centuries*, Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue (London, 1982), *passim*.

<sup>12</sup>Dr. Gierlichs recorded that the Bāb Mūṣil was intact as late as 1955 but it had collapsed by 1992; see Joachim Gierlichs, “Das Mosul-Tor von ‘Amādiya in Nordirak,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 26 (1995): 200, photographs 2–4. When I visited ‘Amādiyah in 1976 the gate was in the same condition as it would appear in the 1992 photograph. I was then informed that the Bāb Mūṣil had fallen “recently” as a result of heavy snowfall, though it remains possible that the structure was weakened if not actually overthrown during the prolonged Kurdish uprising against the Iraqi central government. Dr. Gierlichs also recorded that the stones which formed the gate had been reassembled since that date, though the photographs in his article indicate considerable damage to the carved reliefs (photographs 5, 7, and 10).

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 200–1.



and Increasing Prosperity, and Rising Good-fortune, and Favourable Existence, and Eternal Grace, and Joyous Life, Approaching Goodness, and Penetrating Authority, and Triumphant Victory, and Lasting Wealth, and High Well-being, and Perfect Grace, Perfect Well-being, and Happiness, and ... [unclear], and Dignity, and Virtue, and Righteousness.”<sup>14</sup>

According to this catalogue, on the sides of the candlestick-base the upper band of inscription in Kufic script (separated by decorative motifs which are here indicated by “/”) was transliterated as: “*al-‘izz al-da’im wa / al-‘umr al-salim wa al-a/ ... [unclear] wa al-d/awla al-baqiya wa al-salama (wa) al-‘aliya wa al-ni’ma al-salim / al-jadd al-sa’id al-da[hr] / al-musa’id wa al-na’im ... [unclear].*” This was then translated as: “Perpetual Glory, and Safe Life, and Al-A ... (unclear) and Lasting Wealth, and High Wellbeing, and Rising Good-Fortune, and Favourable Existence, and Excellent ... [unclear].”<sup>15</sup> The lower band of inscription, again in Kufic script, was transliterated as: “*al-‘izz al-da’im wa al-‘umr (ar)/ al-salim wa-al-iqbal al-za’id wa / al-jadd al-sa’id wa al-dahr wa / wa al-yumn al-khalid wa ... (unclear) al-yumn / al-firaqa al-salama / al-‘aliya wa al-ni’ma al-sabigha / wa al-da’ima al-s’ada.*” It was translated as: “Perpetual Glory, and Safe Life, and Increasing Prosperity, and Rising Good-Fortune, and Existence, and Eternal Good Fortune, and ... [unclear] Good-Fortune, ... [unclear], Inner-Calm, High Wellbeing, and Abundant Grace, and Perpetual Happiness.”<sup>16</sup>

My colleague Dr. Niall Christie has kindly proposed what I believe to be more reliable transliterations and translations.<sup>17</sup> In his communication of 10 December 2012, Dr. Christie agreed that the catalogue should be viewed with some suspicion and went on to state that: “I also wasn’t entirely convinced by the transcription of the inscriptions that it included.... I think that a significant portion of them are correct, but I also think that there may be some errors, with some of the transcriptions that I sent you also filling in some of the gaps that were given in the catalogue’s transcriptions.” In his first communication of 31 July 2012, Niall Christie identified the Arabic terms *shahādah* (testimony, or martyrdom) and although he was unable to identify specific personal names, he did locate what he described as the standard titles *al-mujāhid*, *al-‘ālim*, and *‘izz al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*. The latter he described as a long form of *‘izz al-dīn*, though he was not as yet prepared to be definitive about the latter title. Following up in an email on 14 October 2012, Niall wrote: “In the meantime, the inscriptions that I have been able to make

<sup>14</sup>Sotheby’s London, *Islamic and Indian Art*, 28 [item 52].

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>N. Christie (emails on 31 July, 14 October, and 10 December 2012). He has nevertheless pointed out that working solely from photographs and pencil rubbings is far from ideal. An opportunity to study the inscriptions on the candlestick at first hand is required.



out ... are as follows. (Included in the) Upper register ...: *al-‘ālim khalīṣat amīr al-mu‘minīn* ... ‘the learned, sincere friend of the commander of the faithful ...’ (Included in the) Lower register ...: *‘izz al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* ... ‘power of the world and the faith ...’ (Included in the) Lower register ...: *bi-al-shahādah* ... ‘by testimony [martyrdom] ...’ (Included in the) Lower register ...: *khālīd lahu bi-al-marūwah* ... ‘everlastingly his with chivalry ...’ (Included in the) Lower register ...: *al-salīm, qāhīr al-kuffār, al-‘ālim, al-mujāhid* ... ‘the flawless, conqueror of blasphemers, the learned, the *mujāhid* [fighter for the Faith] ...”

I am also indebted to Dr. Linda Northrup for her assistance and guidance concerning the title *al-‘ālim khalīṣat amīr al-mu‘minīn*. She noted that, according to Ḥasan al-Bāshā’s book *Al-Alqāb al-Islāmīyah fī al-Tārīkh wa-al-Wathā’iq wa-al-Āthār*, the *laqab* of *al-‘ālim khalīṣat amīr al-mu‘minīn*, “the learned, sincere friend of the commander of the faithful,” can be traced back to 465/1072–73 in Aleppo.<sup>18</sup> It was noted by Ibn Shīth in his *Ma‘ālim al-Kitābah* at the end of the Ayyubid period among the *laqabs* of some elite *kuttāb* secretaries in government service. He also pointed out that al-Qalqashandī used it in conjunction with the title *al-jānab al-karīm* among the *laqabs* of *wazīrs* and such senior administrative figures. Both these sources also indicated that the title appeared in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s *Al-Ta’rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*.<sup>19</sup>

This article will look at the military figures on the candlestick in some detail (see parts 2 and 3, to appear in forthcoming issues of *MSR*) but, before doing so, they need to be seen in the context of the use of such figures in various forms of Islamic art from this and earlier periods. The most obvious parallels are between the horsemen on the Costa candlestick and those on another large piece of inlaid metalwork with a similar date and provenance, the famous Freer Gallery Canteen (photographs 15a–c). In my opinion the clear representation of Christian scenes on the candlestick—itself not surprising given the size and importance of the Christian community within the region where it was made—has led to a profound misunderstanding of the military figures which also feature prominently on the Freer Gallery Canteen.

Clearly Christian manuscript illustrations had a substantial influence upon figural representation and several other aspects within Islamic art of the period. This is obvious and barely disputed where Islamic metalwork of the first decades of the thirteenth century is concerned.<sup>20</sup> As Dr. Julian Raby has pointed out, “Christian miniature painting and objects from the Mosul area permit us to assign to Mosul the most studied of the silver-inlaid vessels, the canteen in the Freer

<sup>18</sup> Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Al-Alqāb al-Islāmīyah fī al-Tārīkh wa-al-Wathā’iq wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1957), 200.

<sup>19</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Linda Northrup for both these references, supplied in her emails of 27 October and 3 November 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Raby, “Principle of Parsimony,” 45–48.



Gallery of Art.”<sup>21</sup> However, as Raby also noted, the Canteen is usually attributed to Syria, a provenance which partially stems from a claim made by M. S. Dimand that some of its military figures are Crusaders and that this, in turn, points to the vessel having been made by a Christian craftsman who had emigrated from Mosul to Syria.<sup>22</sup> A chain of arguments was thus established which had, as an essential element, the identification of some of the Canteen’s warriors as Westerners if not specifically as Crusaders.

Yet a close study of documentary, pictorial, and archaeological evidence concerning the military technologies and practices of the medieval Islamic peoples indicates that there is nothing about any of the mounted combat figures on the Freer Canteen which precludes them from being Muslims—still less indicating that they represent Crusaders.

Iconographic similarities between the mounted figures on the Costa candlestick and the Freer Canteen are none the less undeniable, even if the identification of some of them as Crusaders continues to be misleading. It was certainly emphasized in the Sotheby’s catalogue’s description of the candlestick, along with a profoundly incorrect focus upon the supposed presence of Crusader or Western European warriors (see Appendix 1 for a full transcription of this catalogue description). In contrast to the view that such figures in Islamic art reflected Western influence, it is worth noting Erica Cruikshank Dodd’s argument that early medieval Islamic art itself had a significant influence upon the motif of a mounted horseman in many aspects of medieval European art.<sup>23</sup>

While the Sotheby’s catalogue confidently ascribed the candlestick “to the final years of Ayyubid rule in Syria, before the break-up of the Crusader kingdoms, and the Mamluk ascendancy in 1260 A.D.,” Julian Raby was more cautious and came down in favor of early thirteenth-century Mosul as its date and place of manufacture. Even when a generalized dating is agreed upon, there is continuing scholarly disagreement about the precise locations where such pre-Mongol inlaid brass or bronze work was actually made.<sup>24</sup>

Putting aside the question of the identity of those supposedly Crusader fighting men on the Freer Canteen and the Costa candlestick, I believe that Raby is correct in urging caution when using the names of dedicatees, which are pres-

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 46–52.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Erica Cruikshank Dodd, “On the Origins of Medieval Dinanderie: The Equestrian Statue in Islam,” *The Art Bulletin* 51 (1969): 225–29, pls. 17–31.

<sup>24</sup>J. W. Allan, “From Tabriz to Siirt—Relocation of a 13th century Metalworking School,” *Iran* 16 (1978): 182–83; idem, “Originality in Bronze—A thirteenth century Persian school of metalworkers,” *Iran* 15 (1977): 156–64; Raby, “Principle of Parsimony,” 11–85.



ent on some of this metalwork, as an indication of manufacturing provenance, though of course they are of great help when it comes to dating. He is particularly insistent upon the need to “update” the ideas of D. S. Rice:<sup>25</sup> “Rice and many others have tended to deduce provenance from two generalized assumptions. One is that a dedicatee’s name indicates that he was the ‘patron’ of an object. In other words that he actively commissioned the item rather than passively received it. By blithely referring to dedicatees as ‘patrons,’ we subconsciously ignore the possibility of gifts. The second assumption is that Mawsili metalworkers were active where their patrons were located. Taken to its logical conclusion, this would mean that for every ruler for whom we have a surviving inlaid metal object there would have been a local workshop.” In other words there would have been production centers ranging from Yemen, through Egypt, around the Fertile Crescent to Mosul and perhaps beyond—an idea that Raby firmly rejects.<sup>26</sup>

Instead Raby tends towards a much simpler explanation, namely that Mosul may well have been the only significant center of production and export during the early thirteenth century. He then explores the possibility and indeed likelihood that, in the wake of the Mongol invasions and conquests during the mid-thirteenth century, craftsmen who still referred to themselves as *Mawṣilī* (from Mosul) moved to Syria and Egypt, establishing new workshops in Damascus from the 1250s onwards and in Cairo from the 1260s. The evidence, however, clearly points to the Costa candlestick having been made before the Mongol catastrophe. This makes Raby’s study of the first known period of production, from ca. 1220 onwards, particularly relevant.<sup>27</sup> These years saw the rise to power of Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ and his rule over the amirate of Mosul from 1234 until 1259. It would seem clear that Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ was a keen purchaser of such decorated metalwork and that this was a time of considerable production in Mosul.

But who might the Costa candlestick have been made for, or at least to whom might it have been dedicated? As no name has yet been teased out of the singularly difficult inscriptions on the flanks and top of this object, we appear to be left just with the honorific title of *‘izz al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*. This slightly unusual title may prove key to identifying candidates for the role of dedicatee. The latter may, of course, have been deceased by the time the candlestick was commissioned as

<sup>25</sup>D. S. Rice, “The Brasses of Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 627–34; idem, “Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣilī,” *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 283–326; idem, “Studies in Islamic Metalwork,” Part 1, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952): 564–78, Part 2, 15 (1953): 61–79, Part 3, 15 (1953): 229–38, Part 4, 15 (1953): 489–503; idem, *Le Bapistère de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1951); idem, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Paris, 1955).

<sup>26</sup>Raby, “Principle of Parsimony,” 20–21.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 23–37.



a funerary gift or a piece of furniture for a tomb. Indeed the person whom I consider to be the strongest candidate on the basis of the available evidence is likely to have been dead by the time someone else had the candlestick made, almost certainly for political reasons (see below). Niall Christie not only noticed that we have someone called *‘izz al-dīn*, but that this person was also a *khalīṣat amīr al-mu’minīn* or “sincere friend of the commander of the faithful,” in other words the caliph. Furthermore, he was apparently regarded as having been martyred or at least to have died for the faith.<sup>28</sup>

The honorific of *‘izz al-dīn* probably points to a Sunni context because, from the eleventh century onwards, the use of the word *dīn* was normally associated with service on behalf of Sunni orthodoxy, or at least with the adoption of an anti-Fatimid position. As H. Busse noted, the *laqab* of *‘izz al-dīn* was not used under the rule of the Buyids, who were of course Shi‘i, but was also relatively rare in later times, despite the changes seen when the Shi‘i Buyids were replaced by the emphatically Sunni Seljuqs. The candlestick’s inscription uses the longer *laqab* of *‘izz al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* which recalls the Seljuq sultan Ṭughril Beg’s title of *rukn al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*. Here the Buyids’ use of the more typically Shi‘i term *dawlah* had been simply replaced by *dunyā*. However, there is no suggestion that the candlestick dates from Ṭughril Beg’s time. Furthermore the *laqabs* of his Seljuq successors only used the word *dīn*, as did most of the minor dynasties which emerged from the fragmentation of the Great Seljuq empire during the twelfth century. Even the emphatically Shi‘i Isma‘ilis of northern Iran did so from 1166 onwards.<sup>29</sup>

Although *‘izz al-dīn* remained a relatively unusual *laqab*, during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries there were enough men of differing social, political, and military ranks with this title to reduce its usefulness as a means of identifying the dedicatee of the Costa candlestick. Only when it is used in combination with other evidence is it helpful. As the candlestick was found in Yemen, the possibility of it being made for, or dedicated to, an *‘Izz al-Dīn* in this part of the Arabian peninsula needs to be investigated. Here it is worth noting that the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York possesses a fine example of such metalwork, an inlaid brass tray made by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥusayn al-Mawṣilī and dedicated to the Rasulid ruler al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Dāwūd of Yemen (r. 1296–1321). It was, however, almost certainly manufactured much farther north, probably in Mamluk territory. Furthermore, this tray is decorated with military figures which have a number of features in common with those of the candlestick (figures 18a–c).

Might the candlestick have been similarly dedicated to one of this ruler’s predecessors, Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Nāṣir of the Rassid dynasty

<sup>28</sup>Niall Christie in his email of 14 Oct 2012.

<sup>29</sup>H. Busse, “‘Izz al-Dīn,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:294.



of Zaydī imams who ruled the southern districts of highland Yemen (r. 1217–26) (Appendix 2)? If so, might it have been kept in a tomb or shrine associated with the Rassids? If such a place existed, might it have been looted by anti-Zaydī Republican forces during the Yemeni civil war and thus have ended up in the *sūq* of Ṣanʿāʾ? These are fascinating but currently unanswered questions.

Fascinating as the possibility of a dedication to a Yemeni ruler might be, the evidence is largely in favor of a dedicatee much closer to the candlestick's place of origin, namely Mosul and the Jazirah region of northern Iraq, northeastern Syria, and southeastern Turkey. The *laqab* of *ʿizz al-dunyā* remains very rare but sources such as the *Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus* mention several men with this *laqab* during the later twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century, some of whom operated in or near the city of Mosul. Meanwhile the *laqab* of *ʿizz al-dīn* seems to have been particularly popular in this region during this period. Masʿūd Ibn Mawdūd ʿIzz al-Dīn (Masʿūd I), the Zangid ruler of Mosul from 1180 until 1193, is surely too early to have been the dedicatee of the Costa candlestick. Before becoming ruler he had commanded the army of Mosul during the reign of his brother Ghāzī. Both men were opponents of Saladin's rise to domination in the Middle East and Masʿūd ʿIzz al-Dīn was actually in control of Mosul when it was attacked by Saladin in 1182. For a brief period he also took control of Aleppo. When Masʿūd Ibn Mawdūd ʿIzz al-Dīn died, he was buried in a mausoleum inside a madrasah that he himself had established in Mosul.<sup>30</sup> So it remains possible that the candlestick was made at a later date for this mausoleum, perhaps during the reign of his son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Arslan Shāh (r. 1193–1211).

In my opinion, however, a much more likely dedicatee was a similarly named but short-lived and far less prominent ruler of Mosul, Masʿūd Ibn Arslan Shāh al-Malik al-Qāhir ʿIzz al-Dīn (Masʿūd II), who reigned, at least nominally, from 1211 to 1218. He was the eldest son of Arslan Shāh of Mosul and his designated successor though, being very young at the time of his father's death, he was to have a senior mamluk, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', the commander of Mosul's army, as a powerful advisor. So it was that, when Arslan Shāh suddenly died in 1211, Lu'lu' supervised a process whereby Masʿūd received the title of al-Malik al-Qāhir while his younger brother, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, received the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr along with control of two strategic fortresses in the mountains of Kurdistan.

Little is known about Masʿūd Ibn Arslan Shāh al-Malik al-Qāhir ʿIzz al-Dīn's reign, which appears to have been largely peaceful. Nevertheless he—or more likely in reality Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'—did send troops to help the Abbasid caliph Aḥmad Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Nāṣir of Baghdad suppress a revolt in western Iran dur-

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Khallikān, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. B. Mac Guckin de Slane (Beirut, 1970), 3:356–62.



ing 1215. This latter fact could be the reason why the dedicatee of the Costa candlestick appears to be referred to as *khalīṣat amīr al-mu'minīn* or “sincere friend of the commander of the faithful” and as a *mujāhid*. The fact that Mosul was currently under Ayyubid suzerainty does not seem to be reflected in the inscriptions.

To quote the historian Douglas Patton, who specializes in this period: “All that can be said of al-Qāhir (Mas'ūd II) himself is that he appears to have been popular with his subjects. When he died, on 27 Rabi II 615/22 July 1218 (footnote 24, the date is uncertain), the people of Mosul manifested a degree of mourning unprecedented in the city's Atabegid history.”<sup>31</sup> Perhaps this outpouring of popular grief on behalf of a relatively unimportant ruler reflected widespread fear for the future because the young Mas'ūd Ibn Arslan Shāh al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Izz al-Dīn's own infant sons were clearly much too young to rule alone.

Several years of political and military uncertainty would indeed follow before the powerful army commander and regent of Mosul, Lu'lu' Ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū al-Faḍā'il al-Malik al-Raḥīm Badr al-Dīn took legal as well as actual control of the state, being recognized as such by the Abbasid caliph in 631/1233–34. According to Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary, al-Malik al-Qāhir was born in Mosul in the year 590/1194 and died there suddenly on the eve of Monday, 26 Rabī' II 615/22 July 1218. “He also erected a college [madrasah] and was interred within its precincts.”<sup>32</sup>

R. S. Humphries described the problems which Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' faced when Mas'ūd II 'Izz al-Dīn so unexpectedly died, to be nominally succeeded by his ten-year-old son Nūr al-Dīn Arslanshāh II: “The education of this youth and the conduct of affairs of state were in the hands of a mamluk of the first Arslan-shah —Badr al-Din Lu'lu'. The [younger] brother of the late Mas'ud, 'Imad al-Din Zangi, was furious that the throne had not been bequeathed to him, and his revolt against Badr al-Din in Ramadan 615/December 1218 threw the whole region into turmoil.” Although these rivals for power in and around Mosul did not pose a real threat to neighboring Ayyubid rulers, “when the hard-pressed Badr al-Din Lu'lu' called for (al-Malik) al-Ashraf to intervene on his behalf, the latter willingly did so, and it was only due to his efforts that the atabeg (Badr al-Din) of Mosul was able to retain his position.”<sup>33</sup> After a brief struggle, 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī al-Malik al-Manṣūr was placed in the custody of al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Ayyubid ruler of the Diyār Bakr and Jabal Sinjār regions west of the emirate of Mosul. After be-

<sup>31</sup>Douglas Patton, *Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu': Atabeg of Mosul, 1211–1259* (Seattle, 1991), 15.

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:361.

<sup>33</sup>Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus 1193–1260* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1977), 167.



ing freed, he seems to have finally abandoned his political ambitions and instead went to Irbil, where he remained for the rest of his life.<sup>34</sup>

These somewhat localized events would soon be followed by the looming threat and then the horrific reality of Mongol invasion, coupled with the passage of the effectively stateless but still very powerful army of the defeated Khwarazmshah Jalāl al-Dīn as it fled westward from those same Mongols. In fact Jalāl al-Dīn would be assassinated in the mountains north of Mosul on 15 August 1231. Thus Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mosul ruled during one of the most hazardous and chaotic periods in Middle Eastern history. The fact that he held effective power for over forty years, until his death on 26 July 1259 at eighty-plus years of age, is tribute to his extraordinary political and diplomatic skill.

Might the Costa candlestick have played a small part in Badr al-Dīn's political maneuvering? During the decade which followed the death of Mas'ūd II 'Izz al-Dīn, during which Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' gradually usurped authority, it would have been natural for him to emphasize his loyalty to the memory of his legitimate predecessor—namely Mas'ūd II 'Izz al-Dīn. Perhaps the candlestick, which was almost certainly made in Mosul around this period, was commissioned by Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' for 'Izz al-Dīn's mausoleum.

Other less likely candidates as dedicatee on the Costa candlestick include 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaysī, the governor of Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar (now the Turkish frontier town of Cizre) on the Tigris River. He, however, was appointed to this position by the Zangid ruler of Mosul in 541/1146 and must surely be too early to be the dedicatee for this piece of inlaid metalwork. Then there was 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak whose dates are more suitable, having been a mamluk military slave apparently given by Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' to the Ayyubid al-Ashraf of Diyār Bakr and Jabal Sinjār around 1219. He eventually became lord of 'Amādiyah in the Kurdish mountains east of Mosul, where he was still in place at the time of the Mongol invasion.

'Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs, the son of the Seljuq sultan Kay Khusraw of Anatolia, is another possibility, though his dates are perhaps a few years too late. He is, in fact, better known as the supposed patron of the Turkish epic *Dānīshmendnāme* poem, written in its original but now largely lost form around 1245, immediately after the Mongols had defeated the Seljuqs of Rūm (Anatolia). 'Izz al-Dīn 'Īsā, the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar on the Euphrates River in northern Syria, is a further—if unlikely—possibility. He is again somewhat too early, having fought for Saladin, and was in any case probably not important enough to have such a splendid piece of inlaid metalwork dedicated to him.

Then there is 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, a mamluk of the senior Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ādil, who made him governor of Şalkhad in 1215. His dates are there-

<sup>34</sup>Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:361–62.



fore more suitable, but he died in prison, having been removed from office and disgraced by al-ʿĀdil’s successor, Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in 1246–47. When this ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak died in Cairo in August 1248, he was initially buried outside the Bāb al-Nāṣr in the madrasah of Shams al-Dawlah. Later his body was reportedly transferred to a mausoleum in a madrasah which he had commissioned on a hill called al-Sharaf al-ʿĀlin outside Damascus, overlooking the city’s Green Maydan.<sup>35</sup> So perhaps ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak of Ṣalkhad could be regarded as the second most likely candidate, after ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd II of Mosul, for the role of dedicatee on the Costa candlestick.

A final candidate is ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak al-Turkumānī, the first Mamluk sultan of Egypt (r. 1250, 1254–57). Here it is perhaps worth noting that one of the few uses of the phrase *al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* in a *laqab* is found on an inlaid basin dedicated to al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn, the Ayyubid sultan of Syria (r. 1239, 1245–49) and Egypt (r. 1240–49).<sup>36</sup> Here the sultan is referred to as “the triumphant Najm al-dunyā wa’l-dīn.”<sup>37</sup> Niall Christie has suggested that the phrase *khalīṣat amīr al-muʿminīn* (sincere friend of the caliph) might suit a Mamluk sultan because these rulers of Egypt and Syria acknowledged the theoretical superiority of the Abbasid caliph and presented themselves as his deputies. But he also recognized that it was not until 1261 that an enfeebled Abbasid caliphate was re-established in Cairo under Mamluk protection, which is after the death of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak. Nor does it seem clear that Mamluk rulers used such a title before Sultan Baybars resurrected the caliphate in Cairo.

Although the Mamluk sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Malik Aybak’s dates do seem a bit late for the Costa candlestick, it is interesting to note that in 1257 he started negotiations to marry one of the daughters of Badr al-Dīn Luʿluʾ of Mosul, in the hope of forming an alliance. This caused such tension with Shajar al-Durr, Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ’s widow and ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Malik Aybak’s co-ruler, that ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak was assassinated. Even so, the late ruler was not disgraced. Instead his body was laid to rest in a madrasah he had commissioned to be built in Cairo—the Madrasah al-Muʿizzīyah. This leaves open the possibility that the Costa candlestick may have been made in Mosul on the orders of Badr al-Dīn Luʿluʾ for the mausoleum of his anticipated but never-to-be concluded ally. Perhaps the piece was initially being made as a diplomatic wedding gift, and the inscription was then altered to include the term *shahādah* or “martyr” in the light of the circumstances.

[To be continued]

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:428–30.

<sup>36</sup>Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15043.

<sup>37</sup>W. ʿIzzī, “An Ayyūbid Basin of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn,” in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell*, ed. Charles Geddes (Cairo, 1965), 255.



## List of Illustrations

### *Photographs*

Photographs of an inlaid candlestick-base, purchased in the Yemen but probably made in early thirteenth-century Mosul (ex-Paolo Costa collection; now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).

1. The candlestick-base from the side, showing side figures 1 and 9.
2. Part of the top of the candlestick-base, showing quatrefoils containing birds of prey with their catches and two figures holding animals or birds; also where the candle-holding tube has been broken off and some of the rivets which originally secured this tube to the base.
3. The interior of the candlestick-base showing the fifteen-pointed “rosette” which originally secured the candle-holding tube.<sup>1</sup>
4. Side figure 1 (see also line-drawing 1).
5. Side figure 2 (see also line-drawing 2).
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13. One of the top quatrefoils containing a huntsman killing an animal or bird.
14. One of the top quatrefoils containing a huntsman killing an animal or bird.
- 15a–c. Details of horsemen in combat on an oversized, inlaid brass flask known as the Freer Canteen, probably Mosul, early thirteenth century (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, USA, inv. no. 41.10).

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<sup>1</sup>Julian Raby, “The Principle of Parsimony and the Problem of the ‘Mosul School of Metalwork,’” in *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World*, ed. V. Porter and M. Ross (London, 2012), 33–34.



*Line Drawings* (gray tone indicates surviving inlays)

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2. Figure 2 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).
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Above:

Photograph 1. The candlestick-base from the side, showing side figures 1 and 9.

Next page, top:

Photograph 2. Part of the top of the candlestick-base, showing quatrefoils containing birds of prey with their catches and two figures holding animals or birds; also where the candle-holding tube has been broken off and some of the rivets which originally secured this tube to the base.

Next page, bottom:

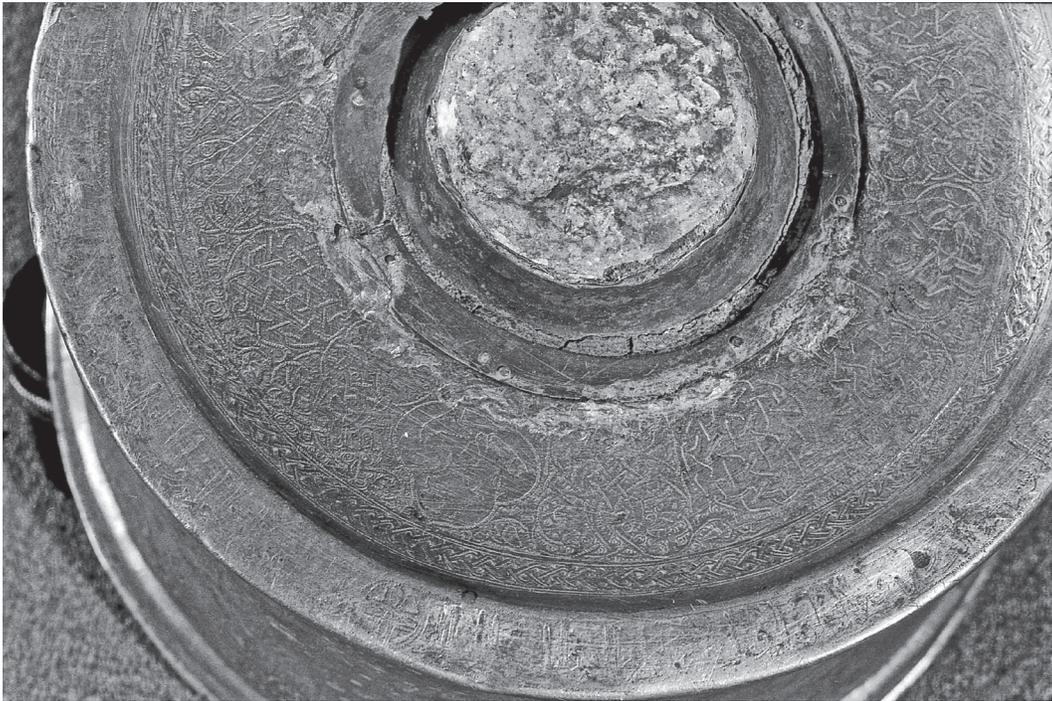
Photograph 3. The interior of the candlestick-base showing the fifteen-pointed “rosette” which originally secured the candle-holding tube.



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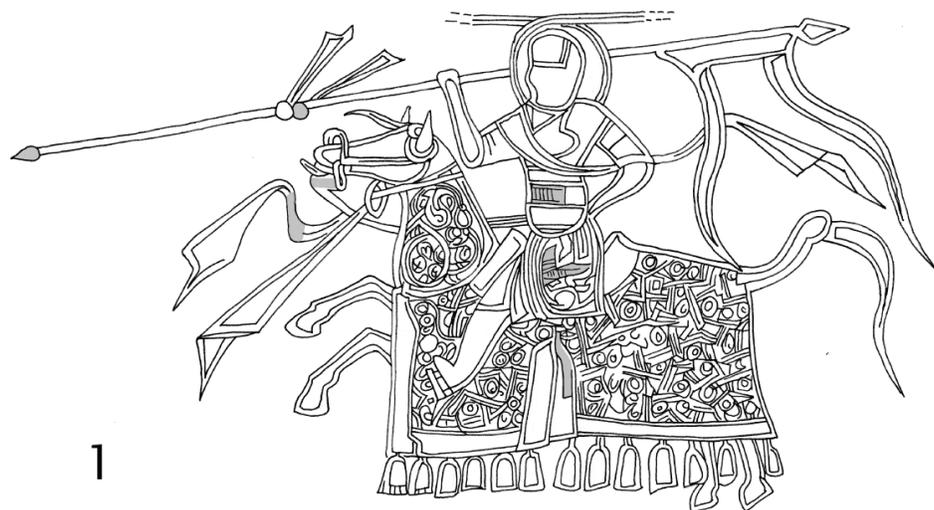
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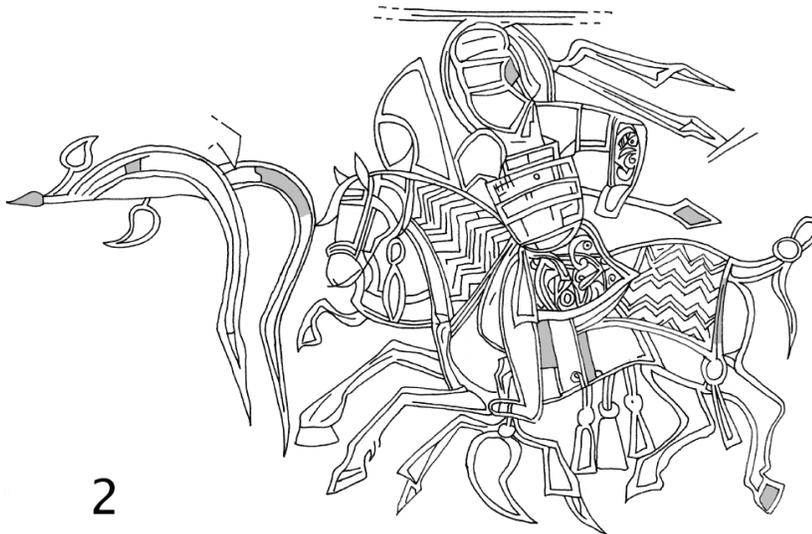
Top: Photograph 4. Side figure 1 (see also line-drawing 1).  
Bottom: Line Drawing 1. Figure 1 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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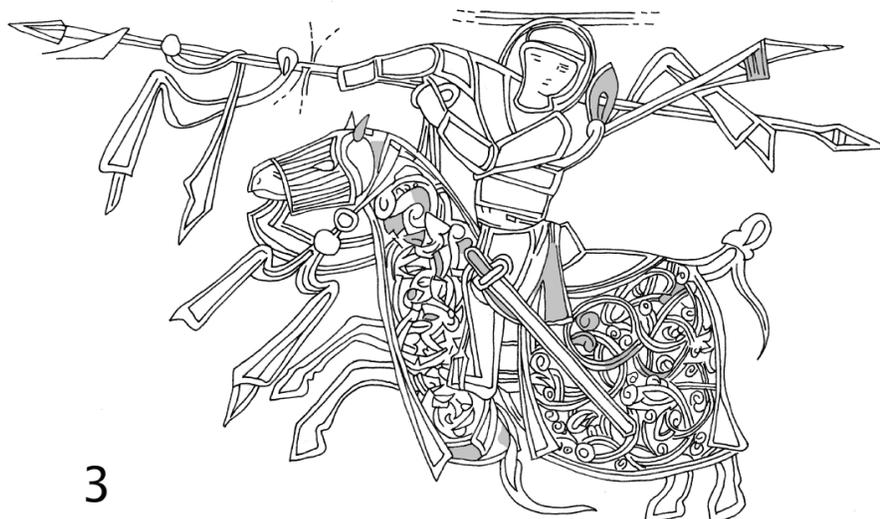
Top: Photograph 5. Side figure 2 (see also line-drawing 2).  
Bottom: Line Drawing 2. Figure 2 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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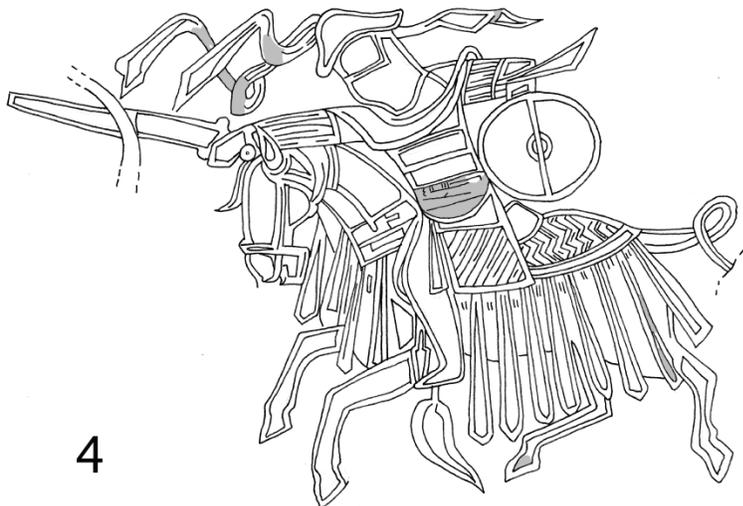
Top: Photograph 6. Side figure 3 (see also line-drawing 3).  
Bottom: Line Drawing 3. Figure 3 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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4

Top: Photograph 7. Side figure 4 (see also line-drawing 4).

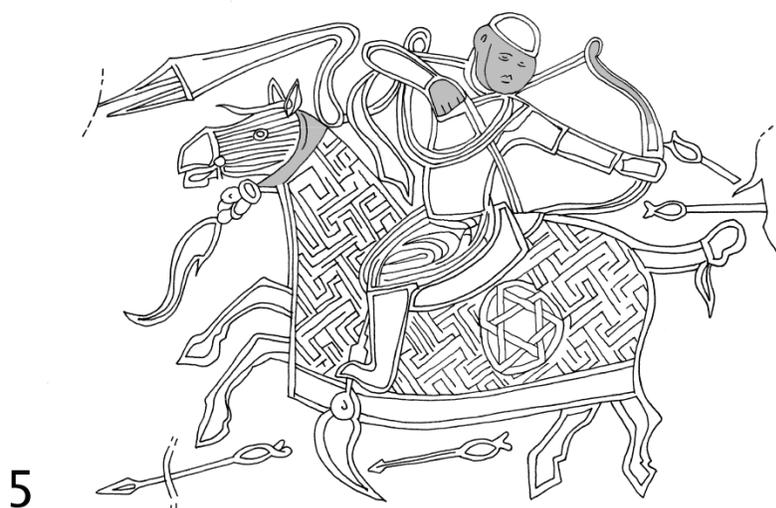
Bottom: Line Drawing 4. Figure 4 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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Top: Photograph 8. Side figure 5 (see also line-drawing 5).

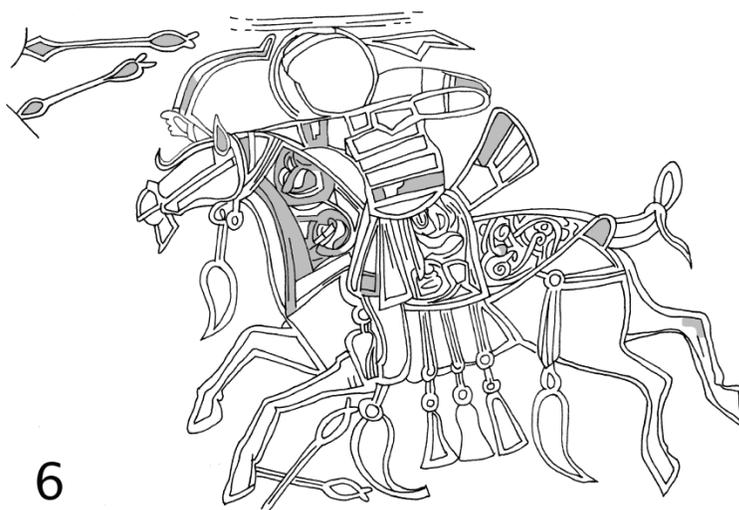
Bottom: Line Drawing 5. Figure 5 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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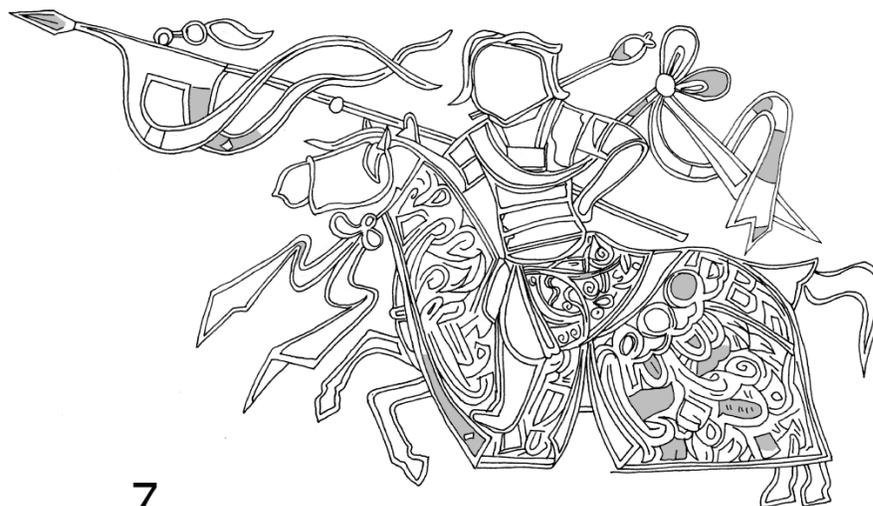
Top: Photograph 9. Side figure 6 [torn negative] (see also line-drawing 6).  
Bottom: Line Drawing 6. Figure 6 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen,  
probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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7

Top: Photograph 10. Side figure 7 (see also line-drawing 7).

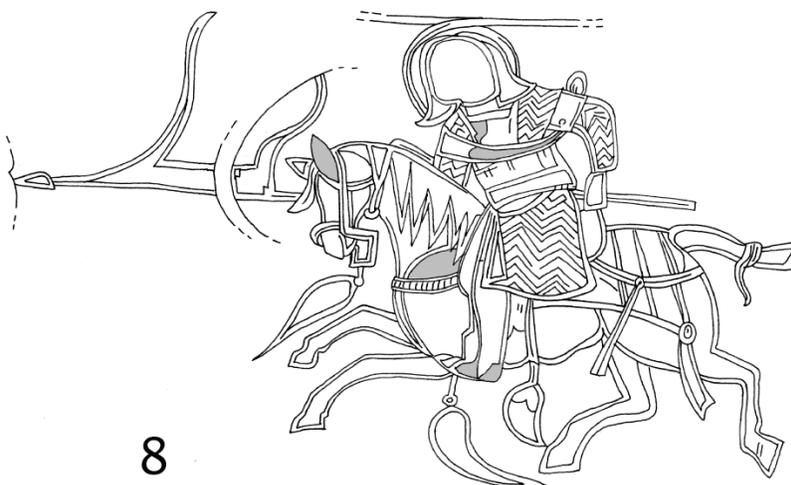
Bottom: Line Drawing 7. Figure 7 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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8

Top: Photograph 11. Side figure 8 (see also line-drawing 8).

Bottom: Line Drawing 8. Figure 8 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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9

Top: Photograph 12. Side figure 9 (see also line-drawing 9).

Bottom: Line Drawing 9. Figure 9 on a candlestick-base purchased in the Yemen, probably early thirteenth-century Mosul (Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar).



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Photograph 13. One of the top quaterfoils containing a huntsman killing an animal or bird.



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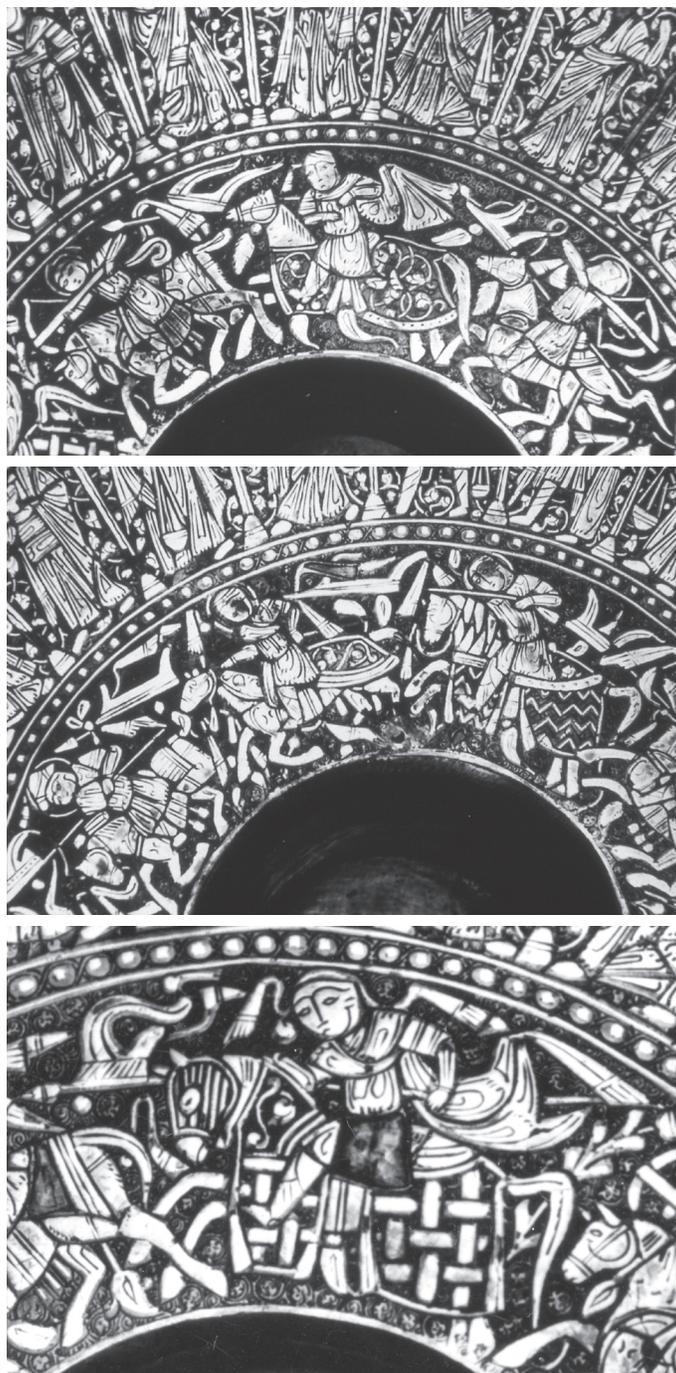
Photograph 14. One of the top quaterfoils containing a huntsman killing an animal or bird.



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Photographs 15a–c. Details of horsemen in combat on an oversized, inlaid brass flask known as the Freer Canteen, probably Mosul, early thirteenth century (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, USA, inv. no. 41.10).



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**Appendix 1. Extract from the Sotheby's Sale Catalogue *Islamic and Indian Art, Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*. London, Wednesday 29th and Thursday 30th April 1992 [item 52] (London, 1992), page 28.**

“This remarkable candlestick base is obviously a piece of great rarity and importance. It is a virtually unique record of the impression Western men-at-arms made on Muslim craftsmen around the middle of the thirteenth century.

The piece is decorated with both engraving and inlays, the copper and silver hammered into minute lines of ‘wriggle-work,’ of which some is lost but a considerable amount remains.

The decoration of the main portion consists of a broad frieze of nine mounted horsemen..., progressing to the left between plant sprays against a plain background. They wear a variety of armour, headgear and costume. The appurtenances include what at first glance appear to be western armour and western-style horse caparisons, and if one distinguishes between ‘European’ and Muslim warriors in the frieze, they fall into two categories, each group following and attacking a group from the opposite camp. Only the Muslims carry bows while mounted on horses, and only Christians wear helms and the kettle helmet or ride with their legs straight rather than bent, and these are the distinctive features of each group. Both Christians and Muslims in this dramatic scene brandish further weaponry, including swords, shields and spears with floating banners. Both arrows and birds ... fly about between the horsemen, and two dogs run between the horses’ feet...

Above and below are ornamental bands of plaited kufic script, broken at a number of points by round medallions containing arabesques, and octagonal medallions with interlace designs. The horizontal shoulder has a narrow band of naskhi script, and within is a plaited guilloche framing four quatrefoils alternating with four roundels. Two of the quatrefoils contain birds of prey on top of their catches, and two single figures manipulating animals or birds; the roundels are filled with interlacing patterns.

The closest parallel for the central iconography is another inlaid brass object, a canteen in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (Atil 1975, pp. 69–75), also with a frieze of nine armoured horsemen, and further figures drawn from Christian iconography including the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel and scenes from the life of Christ. The Freer canteen is assumed to be an Ayyubid piece made by Syrian Muslim craftsmen for Christian patrons (Baer 1983). The style is somewhat rigid and lacks the freedom of observation of typical Jaziran workmanship (Nassar 1985, pp. 85–98).

Even so, with a slight rearrangement of the warriors, the two pieces would appear to have a common model. A comparison of the horse caparisons and the



pennants swinging on the lances, as well as the positioning of the horsemen (both pieces have two horse-archers, each shown twisted round to shoot behind him) indicate a close connection between the two. There was conjecturally a third piece, probably in another material, which was the inspiration for both. It seems unlikely that the candlestick was copied from the canteen, the candlestick being certainly more detailed and probably closer to the original.

Although the candlestick has no elements of Christian iconography, it is not impossible that there was once a row of Saints on the missing shaft. An Islamic glass canteen, in the Diözesanmuseum, Wien—dating from around the mid-13th century—has horsemen and revellers on the body and a frieze of saints round its neck, continuing the ‘earth-heaven’ arrangement of some Ayyubid metalwork which places Christian motifs above more worldly designs below. (Baer 1983, Pl.50: a ewer in Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst).

The frieze on the candlestick is presented with an amplitude and richness of detail absent from the Freer canteen. Rather than the single plaques of silver which make up major garment panels on the riders on the canteen, small pieces on the candlestick were assembled for every image; of these two survive forming the faces of riders, and these have the subtlety of facial rendering characteristic of certain examples of Jaziran metalwork. Like them, this feature is combined with a lively originality of subject matter.

Baer (p. 242) regards the candlestick of the greatest importance: *‘In Mesopotamian metalwork ... only a very few battle scenes are as yet known. Of particular interest is [this candlestick] where this theme constitutes the principal decoration... nine warrior horsemen are seen galloping to the left [with] long-sleeved shirts which, to judge by the incised pattern, must be of plate mail. A scarf is wound around their shoulders, and a band flies from their helmets [which] are rounded, and an attached visor covers either the forehead or the entire face of the warrior. Some riders, armed with round shields, flat or embossed, and bows, turn to shoot, while several shapely pointed arrows fly in the air. Others have a sword hanging at their sides, while a few carry a lance, or a banner on a long pointed staff ... some of the horses, too, appear to be wearing armour, at least the head protection is clearly visible, and the body is protected either by a kind of jacket or by a long saddle cloth with a slit at each side. Two or three tassels are suspended from the edge of this cloth ...’, the accuracy of this portrayal is so far unique for early thirteenth century Mesopotamian metalwork, and can only be compared with illustrations in contemporary manuscripts such as the *Kitab al-Diryaq* (Book of Antidotes) in Vienna, and in particular the *Varqa* and *Gulshah* manuscript in Istanbul’.*

Mosul, one of the chief cities of the Jazira, was particularly noted for metalwork and manuscript illumination in the 13th century. Merchants from Mosul (known elsewhere as Mossolini, Mosolins or Mosserins) regularly visited Acre,



even in times of open warfare between Christians and Muslims, and traded in luxury merchandise.

The piece was discovered in the Yemen, and along with another related piece was exhibited in an exhibition at the Museum of Mankind, London, in 1976 (*City of Sana'a*, The Ethnographic Department of the British Museum, 1976).

As already noted, parallels for various aspects of the decoration suggest that the piece was probably made by craftsmen in the Jazira, the area between the Tigris and Euphrates including east Syria, south-east Anatolia and northern Iraq, the most likely centre of production being Mosul. Although the style would suggest an Ayyubid date round the mid-13th century, the western helm and kettle-helmets would suggest a slightly later date. On the other hand, the fact that only copper and silver were used for the inlay would indicate an earlier date, for by the mid-13th century only silver or gold were used. The candlestick can thus be confidently ascribed to the final years of Ayyubid rule in Syria, before the break-up of the Crusader kingdoms, and the Mamluk ascendancy in 1260 A.D.”



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## Appendix 2: The Rassid Zaydī Imamate of Yemen in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries

Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Nāṣir, of the Rassid line of Zaydī imams of Yemen, dominated the southern districts of the Yemen highlands from the death of his father al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamzah in 1217 until 1226. Thereafter he may have controlled Ṣan‘ā’ until the Rasulid takeover in 1229. Following the Ayyubid conquest of much of Yemen in 1174 A.D., al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamzah clearly had negotiations with the Ayyubid ruler of Yemen, al-Malik al-‘Azīz Tuḡtigin, in 1196–97.<sup>1</sup> The Rassid-Zaydī dynasty were Shi‘i while the Ayyubids were of course Sunni, and it is unclear how Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Nāṣir dealt with the Ayyubid rulers of Yemen. The latter were replaced by the nevertheless essentially friendly Rasulid dynasty around 1228–29—that is, during the life of Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Nāṣir. The Rassid-Zaydī’s main power base was also Sa‘dah rather than Ṣan‘ā’. Nevertheless, “they revived somewhat under the first Rasulid rulers of Yemen.”<sup>2</sup>

If the Costa candlestick was indeed dedicated to a local Yemeni religious and political leader, might the titles included in its inscriptions indicate some form of at least nominally shared authority with the last Ayyubid or first Rasulid rulers of Yemen? In the context of its military iconography it is worth noting that the Yemeni chronicler Ibn Ḥatīm regarded the Rasulids as non-Arabs, possibly as having Turcoman origins, though other sources consider them “pure” Arabs.<sup>3</sup> In reality the family may have been of Arab origin, but was then Turkified while they retained their Arab genealogy before reappearing under Abbasid domination in the mid-twelfth century and then passing under Ayyubid patronage. Others regarded them as simply Turks who stemmed from the Manjik tribe.<sup>4</sup> Again bearing in mind the heavily armed and armored cavalymen on the Costa candlestick, it should be noted that there are numerous references to elite Ayyubid mamluk cavalry known as *tawāshī* serving in Yemen during this period, alongside lower status mamluks called *qaraghulām*.<sup>5</sup> Local cavalry were of course more numerous, while the bulk of Yemeni armies still consisted of either tribal or city-based militias.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hāṭim, *A Critical Edition of Kitāb al-Simṭ al-Ghālī al-Thaman fī Akhbār al-Mulūk min al-Ghuzz bi-al-Yaman: The Ayyūbids and Early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, ed. and tr. G. R. Smith, vol. 1, *Gibb Memorial Series 26* (London, 1974), 80.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1996), 98.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Hāṭim, *Kitāb al-Simṭ*, 91.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 85–86.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 125–26.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 71–73.



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## The Politics of Place in the Works of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī

It is well known that from its inception Arabic geographical writing was linked to political power. Among the earliest geographers in the Islamic world were career administrators for the Abbasid regime, and their works reflected—and at times facilitated—the monitoring, taxation, and general control of an empire.<sup>1</sup> This role of geographer-administrator continued well into the Mamluk period, and one of the two individuals whose writing will be analyzed below, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, fits easily into this category. However, other kinds of writing were devoted to representations of territory, sometimes in ways that were not so directly connected to political power or that were meant to challenge such power. Even though the notable religious scholar Ibn Taymīyah is not usually associated with geography, some of his works explicitly invoke the geographical imagination in order to exhort political leaders or question their authority. In this article, I argue that the representation of territory was a useful strategy for promoting particular agendas, adopted equally by scholars of such contrasting orientations and backgrounds as Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī. This argument also allows me to show that what I have called a “discourse of place” was not only alive and well but also a potent mode of political expression in the early eighth/fourteenth century.

The discourse of place is a conceptual framework that brings together texts devoted in whole or large part to representing a plot of land, often at the scale of a city or region, and is meant to transcend conventional bounds of genre by illuminating patterns among works that are often categorized separately, such as world and regional geographies, topographical histories, religious treatises, literary anthologies, and travelogues. In other words, by treating these texts as a discourse, I maintain that they demonstrate a distinct intertextuality and a shared reservoir

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An early version of this article was presented as a lecture at the University of Chicago on January 16, 2009. I would like to thank Marlis Saleh and Bruce Craig for that invitation and for their kind support over the years. An even earlier version of one part of this article was presented at the colloquium “Ibn Taymiyya and His Times” held at Princeton University in April of 2005. I would like to thank Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed, the organizers of that colloquium, for including me in such a fruitful conversation. For the noteworthy edited volume it inspired, see Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed, eds., *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times* (Oxford, 2010).

<sup>1</sup>On the significance of “administrative geography” in the early Abbasid period, see André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du 11e siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1967), especially chapter 3.



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of conventions, sources, and vocabulary that make it possible to assess dynamics of production, reproduction, and transformation over time, an exercise that is possible for the Islamic world from as early as the third/ninth century on.<sup>2</sup> Thus, a comparative and historical analysis of works in the discourse of place illustrates the flexible ways in which authors could draw from similar sources for different purposes and employ representations of territory to express a variety of loyalties and agendas over the centuries.

To get a sense for how the discourse of place operated in the early Mamluk period, I will analyze selected works by Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, two well-known and prolific authors and near contemporaries, though the younger al-ʿUmarī came of age in a much more politically stable and peaceful climate, a contrast that is reflected in their writing. These two authors make for an illuminating comparative case because of their different backgrounds and attitudes toward the Mamluk regime. Although both of them occasionally clashed with members of the ruling elite, Ibn Taymīyah's career reflects the anxieties and concerns of the would-be independent member of the *ʿulamāʾ* constantly negotiating his distance from the regime. By contrast, al-ʿUmarī came from a family of career administrators and was groomed from an early age to work directly for the state. These differences make possible a fruitful comparison of the ways in which they each participated in the discourse of place as a means of accommodating, addressing, or assessing Mamluk power.

### **Ibn Taymīyah as Syrian Patriot**

Taqī al-Dīn ibn Taymīyah's family fled the vicinity of Ḥarrān (near present-day Urfa, formerly known as Edessa, in Turkey) for Damascus when Ibn Taymīyah was six years old in 667/1269. Educated in Hanbali madrasahs in Damascus, Ibn Taymīyah was qualified to issue fatwas, or religio-juridical opinions, by the age of seventeen, and in his twenties he had already occupied prominent teaching posts and delivered public lectures at the Umayyad Mosque. He was active as a local leader in Damascus during the invasions of Syria by the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān in 699/1299–1300 and 700/1300–1, urging people to stay in the city and resist the Mongols. Again, during Ghāzān's third invasion of Syria in 702/1303, he exhorted the Mamluk army to defend Damascus, and he and his students joined the combatants. Over the next two decades, he wrote hundreds of fatwas and religious treatises, some of which gained him considerable notoriety and caused him to come into conflict with other religious scholars, Sufis, and members of the Mamluk administration on more than one occasion. Having spent time in and

<sup>2</sup>For more on the "discourse of place" and its early development, see Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (New York, 2012).



out of prisons in both Cairo and Damascus, he finally died in a Mamluk prison in Damascus in 728/1328.<sup>3</sup>

As mentioned before, Ibn Taymīyah is not generally thought of as a geographically-oriented scholar. As far as his interest in territory goes, he is most known for his strong stance against *ziyārah* (“pious visitation”) of a variety of sites thought to bring *barakah* (“blessings”) to the visitor, such as mountain tops, caves, and tombs, most famously the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina and various loci of devotion in and around Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Although I will not deal directly with his stance on *ziyārah* here, I do consider his writings on *ziyārah* to engage the terms and conventions of the discourse of place, if only in order to reject them, and that this rejection had immense political resonance—in fact, it was the reason for his final incarceration. I will return to this briefly at the end of the article. The other major territory-related concern in his oeuvre is a consideration of the *faḍā’il* (“merits”) of the region of “al-Shām,” a toponym meant to convey the area sometimes referred to as geographical or Greater Syria, which is my focus here.<sup>5</sup> While his stance against *ziyārah* constituted a dissenting voice, his representation of Syria as meritorious was much more in line with the way in which the discourse of place had evolved by his time. That is, in a handful of essays and fatwas, he uses source material and conventions that would have been familiar to his audience from a proliferation of other *faḍā’il* treatises in circulation on Syria and Syrian cities—not to mention the many on other towns and regions in the Islamic world—composed over the past several centuries.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>The biographical literature on Ibn Taymīyah is copious. For prominent examples, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966–67), 1:154–70; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwad et al. (Beirut, 1994), 14:7–11. See also Henri Laoust, “La biographie d’Ibn Taymīya,” *Bulletin d’Etudes Orientales* 9 (1942–43): 115–62.

<sup>4</sup>See Niels Henrik Olesen, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya* (Paris, 1991); *Ibn Taymiyya’s Struggle against Popular Tradition*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad ʿUmar Memon (The Hague, 1976); Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous* (Leiden, 1999), 168–218; Josef Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), 125–40; C. D. Matthews, “A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymiyyeh) on the ‘Merits’ of Jerusalem and Palestine,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56, no. 1 (1936): 1–21.

<sup>5</sup>In the English translations from Ibn Taymīyah’s works that follow, whenever I use “Syria,” the corresponding Arabic term is “al-Shām.” Like many authors from this period, Ibn Taymīyah uses the toponym “Dimashq” when he wants to refer to the city of Damascus and the toponym “al-Shām” when he wants to refer to a greater regional entity, which is, nonetheless, only vaguely delineated, but which certainly includes multiple cities, towns, and rural areas, among them Damascus and Jerusalem. In other words, “al-Shām” is not often used as a synonym for Damascus in this period, as it is in modern usage.

<sup>6</sup>For more on *faḍā’il* literature, see Rudolf Sellheim, “Faḍīla,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (hereafter *EI2*), 2:728–29; Ernst August Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang: Die Faḍā’il als literarisches und*



Because texts enumerating the *faḍā'il* of cities and regions were so popular by his time, it will be useful to paraphrase Niels Henrik Olesen's important discussion of Ibn Taymīyah's attitude toward this enterprise more generally. Olesen persuasively establishes Ibn Taymīyah's reluctance to endow any locality with permanent *faḍā'il*.<sup>7</sup> According to Ibn Taymīyah, *faḍā'il* reside in people, not places, and at any given time the *faḍā'il* of a locality may only be expressed in terms of the *faḍā'il* of its inhabitants. Furthermore, Olesen observes that Ibn Taymīyah recommends residence in a particular locality only if it provides the best conditions for an individual believer's obedience to God (*tā'ah*) and performance of good works (*ḥasanāt*).<sup>8</sup> According to Ibn Taymīyah: "Residence in any spot that provides the conditions for someone to be the most obedient to God and His Prophet and to perform the most good works and charitable deeds, inasmuch as he or she is the most aware, most capable of, and most enthusiastic about doing so, is preferable to a spot in which the circumstances for obedience to God and His Prophet are other than that."<sup>9</sup> Since the best conditions for such piety might vary from time to time and from believer to believer, no single locality could possibly provide such conditions to all believers and for all time.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, temporary *faḍā'il* might accrue to a place if a particular historical context made it a physical setting that nurtured faith and stimulated righteous action in its residents.<sup>11</sup>

Despite this reluctance to attribute *faḍā'il* directly and indefinitely to territory, he seems to do just this to Syria.<sup>12</sup> In an essay on the *manāqib* ("virtues") of Syria,

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*gesellschaftliches Problem in Islam* (Freiburg, 1975).

<sup>7</sup>Olesen, *Culte des saints*, 193–211.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 206–8.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmū' Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah*, 35 vols., ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Āṣimī al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Āṣimī al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī (Riyadh, [1961–66]), 27:39. This work will be hereafter referred to as "MF." Compare with MF, 18:283; translated in Yahya Michot, *Muslims under Non-Muslim Rule* (Oxford, 2006), 80: "That is why the best land, for what is of merit for any man, is a land where he is more obedient to God and His Messenger. This varies as situations (*hāl*) vary, and by no means is the land identified where it would be better for one to settle."

<sup>10</sup>Olesen, *Culte des saints*, 207.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 208.

<sup>12</sup>This discussion is based primarily on the following two texts: "Faṣl thabata lil-Shām wa-ahlihi manāqib bi-al-kitāb wa-al-sunnah wa-āthār al-'ulamā'" (Essay on the virtues attached to Syria and its people in the Quran, the Sunnah, and scholarly traditions) in MF, 27:505–11; and "Mas'alah: hal tufaddalu al-iqāmah fi al-Shām 'alā ghayrihi min al-bilād? (Question [introducing a fatwa]: is residence in Syria preferable to other countries?)" in MF, 27:39–47. These texts are not dated, but, as will become clear in the discussion below, the former postdates Ghāzān's first invasion of Syria in 699/1299 and the latter probably does too. Olesen argues that few of Ibn Taymīyah's writings regarding the *faḍā'il* can be dated with precision, but that they display considerable



Ibn Taymīyah starts by claiming that “blessings reside in it” (*al-barakah fīhi*).<sup>13</sup> This is a remarkably unqualified statement for Ibn Taymīyah to make in representing a plot of land, and he justifies it on the basis of an exegesis of five Qurānic verses (7:137, 17:1, 21:71, 21:81, 34:18), each of which contains some variation on the phrase “the land that [God] blessed” (*al-arḍ allatī bāraknā fīhā*).<sup>14</sup> The first of these verses refers to “the land both east and west” that God blessed for the Israelites; the second to the area around al-Masjid al-Aqṣá blessed by God, which acted as the destination for Muḥammad’s “Night Journey” (*isrāʾ*);<sup>15</sup> the third to the land that God blessed and to which He sent Abraham and Lot; the fourth to the land blessed by God for Solomon’s kingdom; and the fifth to the towns that God blessed and to which He instructed the people of Sheba to migrate.

In all five verses, Ibn Taymīyah interprets the land that God blessed as Syria.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Ibn Taymīyah points out that Syria is home to Mount Sinai, on the summit of which Moses received his revelation, as referred to in Sūrat al-Ṭūr (52:1) and Sūrat al-Tīn (95:2).<sup>17</sup> Thus, Ibn Taymīyah situates Syria’s blessings in the context of sacred history, or the unfolding of God’s plan for humankind punctuated

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consistency and it is likely their numbers increased toward the end of his life; Olesen, *Culte des saints*, 11.

<sup>13</sup>MF, 27:505. Olesen suggests that he uses the term *manāqib* on purpose, as it connotes the virtues of people whereas *faḍāʾil* connotes the merits of things or places; Olesen, *Culte des saints*, 192, note 1. Others have argued that the two terms are used interchangeably; see Asma Afsaruddin, “In Praise of the Caliphs: Re-creating History from the *Manāqib* Literature,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999): 329–50.

<sup>14</sup>MF, 27:505–6. See also *ibid.*, 27:41.

<sup>15</sup>This leaves no doubt as to the exegesis of the “Night Journey” verse (17:1) that Ibn Taymīyah favors; he considers al-Masjid al-Aqṣá a site in Syria rather than heaven. For more on this, see B. Schrieke [J. Horowitz], “Miʾrādī,” *EI2*, 7:97–100.

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Taymīyah does not mention Quran 5:21, in which Moses urges the Israelites to enter “the holy land” (*al-arḍ al-muqaddasah*), a verse that was quoted frequently in the discourse of place to refer to Syria; see, for instance, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1951), 1:129–30; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Faḍāʾil al-Quds*, ed. Jibrāʾil Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1979), 67–69; and below in the discussion of al-ʿUmarī. It is unclear why Ibn Taymīyah is willing to assign blessing but not holiness to land, though in one place he refers to an exchange between Abū al-Dardāʾ (d. 32/652) and Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 35/655 or 36/656) in which the former’s exclamation, “Onward to the holy land,” is met by the latter’s criticism, “Truly the land does not sanctify anyone; it is only a man’s actions that sanctify him” (MF, 27:45). See also MF, 18:283; translated in Michot, *Muslims under Non-Muslim Rule*, 80–81. For a similar exchange relating to Syria, see Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, vol. 5 of *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 115.

<sup>17</sup>MF, 27:506. This is a very unusual attribution. Most representations of Syria in the discourse of place up to Ibn Taymīyah’s time consider Syrian territory to stretch from the town of al-ʿArīsh to the Euphrates. These borders would put Mount Sinai in Egyptian territory, not Syrian. Furthermore, Sūrat al-Tīn is commonly quoted in representations of Syria in the discourse of place, but



by moments of prophecy and divine intervention to guide the faithful from Creation until the Final Judgment. It could be argued that in each of these Quranic verses God's endowment of the land of Syria with blessings was an instrumental phase in the onward march of sacred history, not a timeless, eternal endowment. Ibn Taymīyah does not, however, suggest that these blessings expired with the conclusion of the historical episode they were meant to accompany. In fact, the sense is that the repetition of this blessing over so many centuries, from the time of Abraham to Moses to Solomon to Muḥammad, solidified it as an attribute of the land itself.

Next, Ibn Taymīyah summarizes Syria's virtues on the basis of God's revelation, with an eye to both the sacred past and the sacred future, before presenting hadith as further evidence:

In [the land that God blessed] is al-Masjid al-Aqṣá and the place to which the prophets of the Israelites were sent; Abraham's immigration (*hijrah*) was to it, as was the "Night Journey" (*masrá*) of our Prophet, and His ascension (*mi'rāj*) was from it; in it is His dominion and the buttress of His religion and His book, as well as a victorious band from within His community (*tā'ifah manṣūrah min ummatihi*); in it will be the place of the [final] congregation (*maḥshar*) and of the [final] return, just as Mecca was the place of beginning. For Mecca is the "Mother of Towns" (*umm al-qurá*) from which the earth unfolded, while it will be in Syria that the people will be assembled [at the end of time].

He continues by explaining why Syria in fact could be seen as rivaling Mecca in virtues: "The place of the emission and emanation of His religion was Mecca, while the place of the appearance, perfection, and completion of His religion until the Kingdom of the Mahdī (*ḥattá mamlakat al-mahdī*) is Syria, for Mecca was the first but Syria will be the last."<sup>18</sup> This passage could have come out of any of the works devoted to the representation of Syria in the discourse of place since the third/ninth century, so similar is it in tone and emphases, especially its eschatological dimension and the rivalry it suggests with Mecca.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore,

not because it refers to Mount Sinai in its second verse. Rather, its first verse, "By the fig and the olive," is interpreted in these works as referring to Damascus and Jerusalem respectively.

<sup>18</sup> *MF*, 27:507. Compare with *ibid.*, 27:43–44.

<sup>19</sup> On the *fadā'il al-Shām* composed by al-Raba'i, see Paul M. Cobb, "Virtual Sacrality: Making Muslim Syria Sacred before the Crusades," *Medieval Encounters* 8, no. 1 (2002): 35–55. On the *fadā'il al-Shām* composed by Ibn 'Asākir, see Zayde Antrim, "Ibn 'Asakir's Representations of Syria and Damascus in the Introduction to the *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 1 (2006): 109–29. For other examples, see al-Muqaddasi, *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, vol. 3 of *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje



it belies Ibn Taymīyah's reluctance to attribute *faḍā'il* directly and indefinitely to territory. If Syria will be the place of the perfection and completion of religion until the coming of the Mahdī—a messianic figure whose appearance heralding the end of time had long been associated with Syria—then the region's blessings are projected into the future, destined and eternal.<sup>20</sup>

Following Olesen, who points out that Ibn Taymīyah's treatment of Syria as a region is markedly different from his treatment of its constituent parts, such as Jerusalem or Mount Lebanon, I argue that he departs from his usual stance on the *faḍā'il* of places, which is linked to his concerns about *ziyārah*, and reproduces material already well known in the discourse of place without critique or qualification to promote a pressing political agenda.<sup>21</sup> In other words, his willingness to ascribe virtues directly to Syria is due to his historical context and his commitment to activism. The key to this agenda can be found at the opening of his essay on the *manāqib* of Syria where he states outright that “these [virtues] are among the things I depend on in my inciting the Muslims to fight the Mongols and commanding them to stay in Damascus and prohibiting them from fleeing to Egypt and calling upon the Egyptian army to come to Syria and to strengthen Syrians in this.”<sup>22</sup> Thus, Ibn Taymīyah celebrates Syria as a territory because it was *Syrian territory* that needed defending from a military assault by the Mongols. If it was simply the Syrian people who were virtuous, then they could flee to Egypt and remain virtuous, ceding the land to the Mongols. However, Ibn Taymīyah was calling for the defense of the territory itself, as well as the people in it, and he does

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(Leiden, 1967), 157; Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf ibn al-Murajjā al-Maqdisī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shafā 'Amr, 1995), 309–27; Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1995), 3:311–15.

<sup>20</sup>For more on the connection between Syrian territory and apocalyptic prophecies, including those that mention the Mahdī, see Wilferd Madelung, “Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31, no. 2 (1986): 141–85; idem, “The Sufyānī between Tradition and History,” *Studia Islamica* 63 (1986): 5–48; David Cook, “Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 66–104.

<sup>21</sup>Making an exception for Syria may have been more palatable to him because it was a region, the larger scale of which distances it from practices of *ziyārah* and *mujāwarah* (settling down in a holy city) which were usually more target-specific (a mosque, shrine, cemetery, or cave) and associated with cities like Mecca or Jerusalem or remote sites like mountaintops rather than regions. While he does mention Jerusalem in these texts, it is only as an example of what Syria contains in the way of blessings. For Ibn 'Asākir's similar de-emphasis on Jerusalem in favor of a greater regional sanctity for Syria, see Antrim, “Ibn 'Asākir's Representations.”

<sup>22</sup>*MF*, 27:505. This statement suggests that these texts were composed at some point after Ghāzān's first invasion of Syria in 699/1299. For a recent discussion of his attitude toward the Mongol invasions and those of his writings that directly address them, see Denise Aigle, “The Mongol Invasions of Bilād al-Shām by Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymīyah's Three 'Anti-Mongol' Fatwas,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 89–120.



so by representing it as a privileged destination for immigration and a divinely favored battlefield for the struggle against disbelief, past, present, and future.

The hadith material that Ibn Taymīyah presents in these texts reinforces the notion that his intention is to incite martial activity on behalf of Syria itself. One of the key traditions quoted by Ibn Taymīyah is quite possibly the most frequently quoted hadith in the written corpus of representations of Syria up to his time. In this tradition, the Prophet Muḥammad predicts the future: “Armies (*ajnād*) will be dispatched, one to Syria, one to Iraq, and one to Yemen.” This foreshadowing of the incipient conquest period draws an enthusiastic response from the Companion ‘Abd Allāh ibn Hawālah al-Azdī (d. 58/678 or 80/699): “O Messenger of God, choose one for me!” At this, the Prophet replies: “Go to Syria.” Then he adds: “Truly, it is God’s best of His lands and for it He chooses the best of His servants. May whoever refuses stay in his Yemen and draw water from its streams; verily, God has vouchsafed Syria and its people to me.”<sup>23</sup> Wilferd Madelung has interpreted the extent of the circulation of this tradition as evidence of Umayyad-era support for the continuing obligation among Muslims to perform the hijrah and thus to join the ranks of recruits in Syria for wars against the Byzantine Empire.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the context in which Ibn Taymīyah cites this hadith suggests its immediate political relevance, its function as a call to arms in and on behalf of Syria at the turn of the eighth/fourteenth century.

Another major hadith quoted by Ibn Taymīyah combines this emphasis on Syria in the past as a privileged destination for armies fighting in the name of God with an emphasis on Syria as the ultimate destination for the struggles of the faithful at the end of time: “A band from my community (*tā’ifah min ummatī*) will remain victorious in the name of the truth, not impaired by those who disobey nor those who desert them, until the Final Hour (*al-sā‘ah*).”<sup>25</sup> Ibn Taymīyah describes this “victorious band,” with reference to a number of early religious authorities, as variously “in Syria,” “in Damascus,” or “in the environs of Jerusalem,” firmly establishing the last stand of the righteous against the forces of infidelity on Syrian soil.<sup>26</sup> Did Ibn Taymīyah see this apocalyptic destiny as a reality

<sup>23</sup>MF, 27:41, 508–9. See also al-Rabā‘ī, *Faḍā’il al-Shām wa-Dimashq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1950), 4–6; Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 310, 313; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 1:47–90.

<sup>24</sup>Madelung, “Has the Hijra Come to an End?” *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 54 (1986): 228.

<sup>25</sup>MF, 27:43, 507. Other examples of this hadith in representations of Syria and Syrian cities include Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 159–60, 319, 323; al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā’il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979), 26; Emmanuel Sivan, “La genèse de la Contre-Croisade: un traité damasquin du début du XIIe siècle,” *Journal Asiatique* 154 (1966): 210, 218; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 1:250–57, 292–95.

<sup>26</sup>MF, 27:43, 507–8. Elsewhere he uses this same hadith to suggest that it is the Mamluk regime or the Mamluk army that is the “victorious band”; see Yahya Michot, “Textes Spirituels d’Ibn



of eighth/fourteenth-century Syria, which would be confirmed upon the successful conclusion of “our jihad with the Mongols”?<sup>27</sup> At the very least, Ibn Taymīyah contends that “the religion of Islam and its shari‘ah are more visible in Syria these days than anywhere else” and implies that “these days” are sufficiently like the Last Days to merit such a representation.<sup>28</sup>

He concludes his essay on the *manāqib* of Syria with the following double prediction, victory in the present as a mirror image of victory in the future: “God will show the Muslims the truth of what I have promised them and the blessing with which I have charged them, and that is a great victory the like of which Muslims have not seen since the Kingdom of Mongols, which oppresses the people of Islam, set out [against us]. For truly, they will not flee, and they will be victorious, just as they will be victorious at the gate of Damascus (*bāb Dimashq*) in the Great Battle (*al-ghazwah al-kubrā*).”<sup>29</sup> The phrase “gate of Damascus” is an allusion to another version of the aforementioned hadith, mysteriously not included in the essay but certainly familiar to Ibn Taymīyah’s audience because of its frequent mention in other works from the discourse of place, which describes the “victorious band” as “fighting at and around the gates of Damascus.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, Ibn Taymīyah takes advantage of the intertextuality of the discourse of place to put a resonant phrase like “gate of Damascus” to work for his agenda, not only to galvanize support for the present struggle against the Mongols, which happened to be taking place at the gates of Damascus, but also to characterize it as a kind of dress rehearsal for the successful stand of the faithful at the end of time.

Though he repeatedly reminds his audience that merits may accrue to people, and specifically to people’s actions, and not to places as such, he seems to have made an exception for Syria. In enumerating its divine blessings and asserting its status as a theater of righteous struggle in the past, present, and future, Ibn Taymīyah was communicating a political agenda, even a wartime statement of patriotism—a representation of a territory as inherently meritorious, the purpose of which is to inspire its defense from aggressors. Ibn Taymīyah’s well-known student ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) reports that Ibn Taymīyah confronted the Mamluk sultan in 700/1300–1, declaring: “If you renounce Syria and its protection, we will proclaim for Syria a sultan who will guard and protect

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Taymiyya XIII,” 2 (<http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/it/works/ITA%20Texspi%2013.pdf>); Aigle, “The Mongol Invasions of Bilād al-Shām,” 111.

<sup>27</sup> *MF*, 27:510.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 27:41.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 27:510–11.

<sup>30</sup> See Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 158; al-Rabā‘ī, *Faḍā’il al-Shām*, 75–76; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 1:240–49; Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar (Beirut, n.d.), 1:40.



and will derive profit from it in times of security... If it was decreed that you were not the rulers or the kings of Syria and if Syrians asked for your help, you would [still] be obligated to help them. How [much more is this the case] since you are their rulers and their sultans and they are your subjects and you are responsible for them?”<sup>31</sup>

While Ibn Taymīyah certainly defended the Mamluks from the charges of infidelity launched at them by the Mongols,<sup>32</sup> the important thing here is not whether he would have actually advocated rebellion against the Mamluks if they failed to protect Syria,<sup>33</sup> but that his representation of Syria should be seen in the context of a particular political agenda, and perhaps what Yahya Michot has called his “profound utilitarianism.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, even if he did not believe that *faḍā’il* resided in places, he was willing to risk a bit of inconsistency and to reproduce selectively the rhetoric of Syrian particularism already widely familiar from the discourse of place as a means to the pressing end of defending the region from the Mongols.

### Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī as a Political Geographer

Born in Damascus in 700/1301, just after the second of Ghāzān’s invasions of Syria, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī was educated specifically for service in the Mamluk sultan’s chancery.<sup>35</sup> After his father was appointed head of the chancery (*kitābat al-sirr*) in Cairo by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn in 729/1328, al-ʿUmarī reportedly worked closely with his father and enjoyed regular contact with the sultan. However, when he criticized the appointment to the

<sup>31</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:13.

<sup>32</sup>Michot, “Textes Spirituels d’Ibn Taymiyya XIII,” note 34. See also Aigle, “The Mongol Invasions of Bilād al-Shām.”

<sup>33</sup>Henri Laoust interprets Ibn Taymīyah on the basis of this statement as “l’avocat de la légitimité d’un véritable séparatisme syrien”; see Laoust, “La biographie,” 127. Reuven Amitai suggests we should take Ibn Kathīr’s portrayal of Ibn Taymīyah’s defiance with a grain of salt, since there is evidence that he was willing to compromise with the Mongols in 699–700/1299–1300 in order to avoid further hardship on the people of Damascus. However, this quote supposedly came in anticipation of the second invasion, and it seems likely that at this point he would adopt a more militant posture in order to avoid a situation in which he might have to compromise again. See Amitai, “The Mongol Occupation of Damascus in 1300: A Study of Mamluk Loyalties,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 34–35, note 56.

<sup>34</sup>Michot, *Muslims under Non-Muslim Rule*, 20.

<sup>35</sup>He also received a fairly traditional religious education, counting among his teachers many of the notable *‘ulamā’* of Damascus, including Ibn Taymīyah; see, for examples among his earliest biographers, Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafādī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arnā’ūt and Turkī Muṣṭafā (Beirut, 2000), 8:163–75; Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut, 1973), 1:157–61.



chancery in Damascus of a Coptic convert supported by both the sultan and the powerful governor of Syria Sayf al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Tankiz, he fell into disfavor and was replaced in the chancery by one of his brothers. A relatively quick reversal of fortunes, prompted by the execution of Tankiz in 741/1340 and the death of the sultan not long afterwards, returned him to public service and to his hometown of Damascus. He worked in the chancery there for some time before retiring to private life until his death in 749/1349.<sup>36</sup> Both during his years in the Mamluk chancery and after his retirement, al-ʿUmarī wrote scores of works, the most famous of which, and the one under study here, is his *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, a voluminous work combining geography, biography, and history in the style, as many have noted, of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī's fourth/tenth-century *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar*.<sup>37</sup>

While Ibn Taymīyah singles out Syrian territory in his writings on the basis of divine favor, al-ʿUmarī regards a plot of land worthy of singling out if it can be shown to be a major unit of political jurisdiction. In other words, for him the exercise of dividing the world into regions is one of what could be called political or administrative geography, an exercise to which he devotes the first four “books” (*sifr*, pl. *asfār*) of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* before shifting to biographical and historical material.<sup>38</sup> In the introduction, al-ʿUmarī criticizes geographical works that describe “the conditions of the regions and what is in them” (*aḥwāl al-aqālīm wa-mā fihā*), but do not include any account of “who has determined their condi-

<sup>36</sup>For summaries of the extant biographical information about al-ʿUmarī, see D. S. Rice, “A Miniature in an Autograph of Shihāb al-dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13, no. 4 (1951): 856–67; and the editor’s introduction to al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jubūrī (Beirut, 2010), 1:5–66.

<sup>37</sup>Al-ʿUmarī’s *Masālik al-Abṣār* was not the only early eighth/fourteenth-century work of its type. The Egyptian civil servant Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1333) authored a universal history, geography, and administrative manual entitled *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* modeled on the earlier *Mabāhij al-Fikar wa-Manāhij al-Ibar* by the Maghribī book dealer Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318). These works are longer and more encyclopedic than the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, and though they include sections on the geography of Egypt and Syria, they do not represent the imperial ordering of the Mamluk territories as comprehensively as al-ʿUmarī’s work does. For more on al-Nuwayrī and Mamluk encyclopedism, see Elias Muhanna, “Why Was the 14th Century a Century of Arab Encyclopaedism?,” in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge, 2013), 343–56; and idem, “Encyclopaedism in the Mamluk Period: The Composition of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī’s (d. 1333), *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2012).

<sup>38</sup>He divides the work into two parts, the first (books 1–4) on “the earth and what it comprises” and the second (books 5–27) on “the inhabitants of the earth.” For a complete list of contents, see the volume of indices published as al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, vol. 28, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 2001).



tions” (*man qannana/bayyana aḥwālahā*) in the past and in the present.<sup>39</sup> The term he favors for a plot of land that may be subjected to such analysis is *mamlakah*, which connotes not merely a region, for which the more neutral term *iqḷīm* would suffice, but a “political realm,” or a territory delineated by the political power that controls it.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, he explains that the *Masālik al-Abṣār* will catalog “what is comprised by the *mamlakah* of each sultan,” defining “sultan” as someone who can lay claim to a *salṭanah*, i.e., extensive territory and substantial armies and wealth, which may include semi-autonomous city-states (such as Ḥamāh in the Mamluk Sultanate and Mardīn in the Ilkhanate).<sup>41</sup> In addition, he warns the reader that he will not provide extensive commentary on territories under the control of non-Muslim political powers (*mamālik al-kaffār*).<sup>42</sup>

Thus, his vision of a plot of land worthy of written representation is one that is under the control of what he would consider a major Muslim political regime. He concludes his introduction with a fitting dedication for a work so focused on the way in which political power shapes territory: “I entered into [the composition of this work] during the days of he who sustained us with his beneficence and safeguarded us in his [capacity as] sultan,” i.e., during the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709/1310–741/1341), whom he addresses as *mālik al-baḥrayn khādīm al-ḥaramayn ḥāmī al-qiblatayn*, among other lofty titles in rhymed prose. This title, “king of the two seas (meaning the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean), protector of the two sanctuaries (meaning Mecca and Medina), and guardian of the two qiblas (meaning Mecca and Jerusalem),” explicitly constructs the sultan’s sovereignty in terms of geography, both in its great extent

<sup>39</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyá al-Sariḥī (Abu Dhabi, 2003), 1:28. Until recently with the 2010 publication of the aforementioned Beirut edition, there had been no published critical editions of the entire work. In this article, I will refer to different editions for different parts of the work.

<sup>40</sup> This is significant because even the third/ninth and fourth/tenth-century geographers of what has become known as the “classical school” or the *masālik wa-al-mamālik* (“routes and realms”) tradition do not regularly use the term *mamlakah* to designate plots of land at the regional scale, preferring instead the more generic terms *iqḷīm* (pl. *aqālīm*) or *bilād* (pl. *buldān*). The most well known of these geographers, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, and al-Muqaddasī, use the term *mamlakah* only in reference to the *mamlakat al-Islām* (“realm of Islam”), which they then divide into regions called *aqālīm*. See al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, ed. Muḥammad Jābir ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī (Cairo, 1961), 15–19; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, vol. 2 of *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 9–17; al-Muqaddasī, *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 62–66. On the *masālik wa-al-mamālik* tradition, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, vol. 1, chapter 8.

<sup>41</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. al-Sariḥī, 1:30. On Ḥamāh, see also al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Mamālik Miṣr wa-al-Shām wa-al-Hijāz wa-al-Yaman*, ed. Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid (Cairo, 1985), 66–67.

<sup>42</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. al-Sariḥī, 1:31.



(encompassing two major bodies of water) and its sacred sites (including the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem).

Nevertheless, al-ʿUmarī devotes the first and second books of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* to other methods of dividing and depicting the world well-established in the discourse of place by his time, such as the system of latitudinal climes adapted from pre-Islamic Hellenistic geographical traditions, which inspired the maps preserved in one of the extant manuscripts of the work.<sup>43</sup> Fuat Sezgin claims that this manuscript, an author’s copy dating to 745/1345, contains the earliest surviving map created on the basis of a set of geographical coordinates inherited from Claudius Ptolemy’s *Geography* and revised under the command of the Abbasid caliph al-Maʿmūn in the early third/ninth century, a project known as “al-Ṣūrah al-Maʿmūniyah.” Al-ʿUmarī’s world map, Sezgin argues, furnishes evidence of the unprecedented strides in mathematical geography and cartography made by scholars in Baghdad over 500 years earlier.<sup>44</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, the fact that al-ʿUmarī includes not only a discussion of the latitudinal clime system, but also a world map, regional maps, and various diagrams that illustrate it, demonstrates the continuing importance of graphic along with written depictions of territory in the discourse of place.<sup>45</sup> It also allows him to exhibit his mastery over the rich heritage of geographical knowledge accumulated in the Islamic world by his time. However, apart from providing a context within which he could argue that the realms ruled by Muslim sultans were located in the most geographically and cosmologically central, and thus climatically favored, portions of the inhabited world, this discussion is relatively incidental to the divisions of the world in which he invests the most value in the work, the “realms of Islam” (*mamālik al-Islām*).

In the third and fourth books, he turns to these avowedly political units, which include, of course, the territories controlled by the Mamluk sultans. First, he establishes the centrality of the “realms of Islam” within the world as a whole as a

<sup>43</sup>This manuscript, including its maps, has been reproduced in facsimile in al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, vol. 1, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 1988).

<sup>44</sup>Fuat Sezgin, *Mathematical Geography and Cartography in Islam and Their Continuation in the Occident*, trans. Guy Moore and Geoff Sammon (Frankfurt am Main, 2000–7), 1:71–137; 3:2–3 (map 1a). Other scholars have argued that the maps designed as part of “al-Ṣūrah al-Maʿmūniyah” have been lost and that al-ʿUmarī’s maps were based on those of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165); see, for example, Gerald R. Tibbetts, “Later Cartographic Developments,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2/book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, 1992), 150–51. For a further contrasting view on al-ʿUmarī’s maps, see David A. King, *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca: Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science* (Leiden, 1999), 23–49, especially 34–37.

<sup>45</sup>On the various methods of dividing the world and the depiction of these divisions in written and graphic form in the early discourse of place, see Antrim, *Routes and Realms*, chapters 4–5.



justification, it is suggested, for their centrality within his work: “The realms of Islam are situated, by the grace of God, in the best parts of the inhabited world, from east to west and from north to south; these are the best parts because they do not stretch beyond the limits of extreme heat or of extreme cold, but stay within the bounds of a pleasant climate.”<sup>46</sup> However, even within his description of the “realms of Islam,” which he arranges in sequence from east to west, it is possible to discern a further focal point, Egypt (*Miṣr*) and Syria (*al-Shām*), the heartland of the Mamluk Sultanate. In fact, al-ʿUmarī explains that the research he conducted for the *Masālik al-Abṣār* would have been impossible if it were not for his experience in the Mamluk chancery, which afforded him the opportunity to meet the ambassadors, merchants, and travelers from the other “realms of Islam” who also recognized the Mamluk Sultanate as a political, economic, and cultural center.<sup>47</sup> Thus, he explains that it was through the lens of imperial administration that he was able to see and describe the diverse and distant lands, from India and Iran, to Mali and Ethiopia, to Morocco and Spain, that together constituted the “realms of Islam.”

He opens his section on Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijāz (book 3, chapter 6) by defining these territories as “a single realm” (*mamlakah wāḥidah*), most of which is located in the third clime, though some portions, such as Aleppo, fall in the fourth.<sup>48</sup> This is significant for two reasons. First, he is explicitly differentiating his division of the world into realms from the latitudinal clime system, as a single realm might clearly overlap two or more climes. Second, by representing Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijāz as a “single realm,” he is challenging what had been the dominant system for regional divisions within the Islamic world up to that point, a division in which Egypt and Syria were not only separate regions, but often competitors.<sup>49</sup> Al-ʿUmarī continues his description of this single political and geographical unit, a plot of land coterminous with the extent of Mamluk power in the eighth/fourteenth century: “It is a large, prosperous realm, and its seat of government is the Citadel of the Mountain [in Cairo] and then Damascus.”<sup>50</sup> Thus, Cairo is the first city of the realm, politically speaking, and Damascus the second. Although al-ʿUmarī was from Damascus, and although Damascus was often the staging ground for challenges to the authority of the reigning sultan in the Mamluk period, he does not characterize it as a rival to Cairo, but as a complementary, albeit secondary, urban node within the same realm.

<sup>46</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>49</sup> On this, see Antrim, *Routes and Realms*, chapters 4–5.

<sup>50</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 11.



After a lengthy explanation of the administrative and political infrastructure that maintained Cairo's control over its subordinate territories, including a lexicon of royal titles, religious appointments, military posts, bureaucratic offices, and categories of landed property and taxation, al-ʿUmarī embarks on his representation of Syria, a representation that focuses on the social, economic, and political structures that integrated the region fully within the realm. This representation also leaves little doubt that al-ʿUmarī's loyalties were to the Mamluk sultans and the territories they controlled in their entirety, rather than to the region of Syria or his hometown of Damascus. Nonetheless, the pages devoted to Damascus, which feature detailed topographical descriptions of its gardens, palaces, suburbs, and water systems, are prefaced by a passage that reveals the significant political and administrative status of the city both within Syria and within the realm more broadly: "All the administrative posts that exist in Cairo also exist in Damascus. This is not the case for the other cities of Syria. For example, [Damascus has] four chief magistracies (*qadāʾ al-qūdāh*) for the four schools of law, a magistrate of the army, a treasury from which to withdraw disbursements and robes of honor, armories and arsenals, and accommodations for the sultan's immediate attendants, such that, if the sultan visited Damascus without retinue, there would be in the city all of the officials necessary for his government."<sup>51</sup> Damascus in al-ʿUmarī's representation was an understudy for the role of imperial capital held by Cairo. The sultan could make an unplanned visit to Damascus without interrupting the smooth operation of state affairs. Nowhere does al-ʿUmarī reveal any tension between the interests of Damascus and Cairo, nor any hint that the Mamluk sultan might not be willing or able to mount a sufficient defense of his Syrian territories if they were threatened with invasion. Rather he portrays Damascus as critical to the power and security of the realm as a whole.

He maintains this emphasis on administrative organization through the rest of his representation of Syria, underlining its status as an integral part of a well-functioning political realm. One of al-ʿUmarī's strategies in this section is to include apt quotations from another Syrian-born bureaucrat who spent most of his career serving a sultan in Cairo, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1199), the senior chancery official under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb over a century earlier.<sup>52</sup> These quotes evoke a parallel between the effective administration of joint Syrian and Egyptian territories past and present and provide colorful details for his topographical survey of the twenty-eight districts (*ʿamal*, pl. *aʿmāl*) falling within the four hinterlands

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 111. For more on the administrative organization of the Mamluk Sultanate, see William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955), 81–115; Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), xix–cxix.

<sup>52</sup>Indeed, his biographers tend to compare him to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil; see al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafī bi-al-Wafayāt*, 8:163; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 1:158.



or marches (*ṣafaqāt*) of Damascus: the southern territories of the Ḥawrān and the Ghawr, the southern coastal territories of Palestine, the northern coastal and mountain territories of Lebanon and the Biqāʿ Valley, and the northeastern territories in and around Homs and Palmyra.<sup>53</sup> He also highlights the five other Syrian cities that acted as centers of formal administrative units and to which were assigned dependencies: Ḥamāh, Aleppo, Tripoli, Ṣafad, and al-Karak.<sup>54</sup> This careful delineation of the administrative divisions of Syrian territory contrasts markedly with the vaguely rendered Syria to which Ibn Taymiyah ascribes virtues. Whereas for al-ʿUmarī political power brought land into sharp focus, for Ibn Taymiyah maintaining a soft focus on land was necessary not only to demand intervention in what was an unstable and shifting wartime situation but also to keep from contradicting his strict stance against the practice of visiting specific sites believed to be holy or blessed.

Al-ʿUmarī’s attention to holy sites in Syria is as much a part of his appreciation of and loyalty to the Mamluk-controlled *mamlakah* as his delineation of its administrative divisions. He inserts a paean to the combined *fadāʿil* of Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥijāz at the beginning of his discussion of the realm as a whole: “[This *mamlakah*] is among the most sublime of the realms because of what it encompasses in the way of revered districts, such as the holy land (*al-ard al-muqaddasah*), and the mosques on the strength of which was established the [hadith of] the three mosques to which alone you may saddle up your riding beasts, and the tombs of prophets, may God bless them, and Mount Sinai (*al-Ṭūr*), and the Nile and the Euphrates, which are both [rivers] of paradise.”<sup>55</sup> This brief sacred geography serves to emphasize the great extent of the realm as well as its coherence and unity. In particular, by mentioning the Euphrates River, al-ʿUmarī establishes a clear eastern boundary, the dividing line between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Ilkhanate, and gestures to the recurrence of this boundary in the corpus

<sup>53</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 118–22.

<sup>54</sup> Unlike another Mamluk-era geographer, Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327), al-ʿUmarī does not refer to each of these units as a *mamlakah*, perhaps because, as mentioned above, al-ʿUmarī’s use of the term *mamlakah* in this section is reserved for the combined territories of Egypt and Syria under Mamluk dominion. Rather, al-ʿUmarī indicates the status of capital city of a Syrian administrative unit by enumerating the dependent districts assigned to it. By naming Gaza and Homs as dependencies of Damascus, he reduces al-Dimashqī’s eight Syrian administrative units to six. Since al-ʿUmarī, unlike al-Dimashqī, was employed within the Mamluk administration, his division of Syrian territory was probably more accurate. Moreover, these are the same six administrative units into which another Mamluk bureaucrat, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), divides Syria several decades later in his *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʿ*. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 32–134; Nicola Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Mamluks* (Beirut, 1953), 13–14.

<sup>55</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 11.



of representations of Syria in the discourse of place up to his time.<sup>56</sup> Significantly, this was a dividing line that had been repeatedly breached during the numerous Mongol invasions of Syria that occurred over the first half of Ibn Taymīyah's lifetime, and his experience of this state of chronic insecurity may explain in part his more ambivalent attitude toward Mamluk power. Al-ʿUmarī's mention of Mount Sinai in this passage can also be contrasted with Ibn Taymīyah's specific attribution of Mount Sinai to Syria. For al-ʿUmarī, there is no competition between Egypt and Syria; Mount Sinai belongs to the realm as a whole. Finally, this passage features a reference to the "hadith of the three mosques," all three of which—the mosques of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem—were located in the realm, reinforcing Mamluk claims to the territory of the Ḥijāz as well as to Syria and Egypt.<sup>57</sup>

Nonetheless, it is to Jerusalem in particular that al-ʿUmarī assigns the lion's share of the realm's religious virtues.<sup>58</sup> He identifies the destination of Muḥammad's "Night Journey" as Jerusalem<sup>59</sup> and "the land that God blessed" (in Quran 21:71, among others) as a circle around Jerusalem with a forty-mile radius.<sup>60</sup> He describes the holy land (*al-arḍ al-muqaddasah*, in Quran 5:21) as stretching "from the Jordan River known as al-Sharīʿah to Palestine known as al-Ramlah in longitude and from the Syrian Sea to the cities of Lot in latitude."<sup>61</sup> Jerusalem also appears as the site of notable religious endowments, building projects, and infrastructural renovations—in particular the water system established by the Syrian

<sup>56</sup>The Euphrates was frequently invoked as the eastern boundary of "al-Shām" in exegesis of the same Quranic verses that Ibn Taymīyah cites on "the land that God blessed"; see, for examples, al-Rabaʿī, *Faḍāʾil al-Shām*, 11; Abū al-Maʿālī, *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis*, 317; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 1:129–30, 133; al-Sulamī, *Tarḥīb Ahl al-Islām fī Suknā al-Shām*, ed. Iyād Khālīd al-Ṭabbāʿ (Damascus, 1998), 26; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, 1:41–44; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa-al-Ḥazīrah*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ed. Dominique Sourdel (Damascus, 1953), 8. It was also often mentioned as one of Syria's borders in earlier geographical literature, such as al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik*, 43; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 165; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 3:312.

<sup>57</sup>On the "hadith of the three mosques," see M. J. Kister, "You shall only set out for three mosques," a study of an early tradition," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969): 173–96.

<sup>58</sup>This also applies to the first section of the work as a whole, in which he lays out the divisions of the world and describes their contents, including prominent mosques and other loci of devotion, though Damascus comes in a close second. See al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. al-Sarīḥī, 1:130–66 (on the Kaʿbah and holy sites around Mecca), 167–79 (on the Prophet's Mosque and holy sites around Medina), 180–230 (on al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and holy sites around Jerusalem), 231–71 (on the Umayyad Mosque and holy sites around Damascus), 271 (on the mosque of Córdoba).

<sup>59</sup>Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 63. See also his treatment of al-Masjid al-Aqṣā in the general introduction to the work as a whole: al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. al-Sarīḥī, 1:180–83.

<sup>60</sup>Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 63. See also al-Muqaddasī, *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 173.

<sup>61</sup>Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 136–37.



governor Tankiz—ordered or financed by the Mamluk ruling elite.<sup>62</sup> This kind of investment suggests the importance of Jerusalem to the realm as a destination for *ziyārah*, especially since the city is not characterized as a particularly important administrative center. Al-ʿUmarī himself seems to have visited the city and its environs for devotional purposes, stating at one point: “I entered some of these places and saw an eyeful of the marvelous structures.”<sup>63</sup> Moreover, he indicates his firsthand knowledge of the exact layout of Jerusalem’s loci of devotion, noting changes taking place in his lifetime up to the year 743/1342.<sup>64</sup>

However, al-ʿUmarī’s Jerusalem was not only a pilgrimage destination for Muslims; he also mentions Christian and Jewish holy sites in and around the city.<sup>65</sup> In fact, he stresses its attractions for pilgrims from all over the world: “Noble Jerusalem is venerated among all Muslims, Jews, and Christians and is a place of pious visitation (*ziyārah*) for all of them, the difference among them being only in the sites of visitation within Jerusalem. We have only pointed this out because in it is a lesson in the mutual agreement as to its veneration and its status as a destination for visitation (*ziyārah*).”<sup>66</sup> In the context of the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, the non-Muslim pilgrims flocking to Jerusalem from all “the corners of the earth and the limits of the sea”<sup>67</sup> reinforces the image of the Mamluk Sultanate’s centrality both in the “realms of Islam” and in the inhabited world more broadly.<sup>68</sup> A city of such widely understood sacred significance served to strengthen the claim of the Mamluk sultans to both temporal and spiritual legitimacy.<sup>69</sup> However, this was more than a matter of prestige for the Mamluk sultans; it was also a source of revenue. The traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions direct taxes levied on Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem in the year 726/1326,<sup>70</sup> and Muslim pilgrims were, if not taxed, then certainly dependent on the foods and services provided locally over the course of their travels.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 137–39.

<sup>63</sup>Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. al-Sariḥi, 1:219.

<sup>64</sup>Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 64; idem, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. al-Sariḥi, 1:188–219.

<sup>65</sup>Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 64, 138.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 65.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 64.

<sup>68</sup>This representation of Jerusalem is mirrored in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Cairo, 1964), 1:325–39. For more on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in this period, see Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1999).

<sup>69</sup>Part of the emphasis on Jerusalem as the major source of Mamluk prestige may also have been the fact that the holy cities of the Ḥijāz, Mecca and Medina, were not as fully under Mamluk control as the regime, or al-ʿUmarī, would have wished; see al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Sayyid, 65.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlah* (Beirut, n.d.), 59; idem, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb (New Delhi, 2004), 1:80.



It is perhaps not surprising, then, that according to Ibn Kathīr the official pretext for Ibn Taymīyah's arrest and imprisonment in the citadel of Damascus in the summer of 726/1326, where he was to die two years later, was his promulgation of judicial rulings against the pious visitation of sites in Jerusalem.<sup>71</sup> In fact, by the early eighth/fourteenth century such practices had become a matter of considerable official pomp and ceremony. It has been speculated that the fêted visits of the governor of Syria, Tankiz, and of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah<sup>72</sup> in 715/1316 prompted Ibn Taymīyah to write one of his most comprehensive critiques of the practice.<sup>73</sup> While he saw the defense of Syria as essential to Mamluk legitimacy, he did not see patronage of, or enrichment from, *ziyārah* as a source of prestige for the regime. Nonetheless, and despite his considerable popularity during his lifetime, there is no evidence that Ibn Taymīyah's disapproval of *ziyārah* had much influence on the widespread recognition and celebration of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage destination or of the Mamluks as its righteous stewards. Al-'Umarī's writings, by contrast, reflect the considerable success the Mamluk sultans had achieved in associating the prosperity, security, and sanctity of their territories with their legitimacy as a political regime and in imposing the administrative, military, economic, and religious infrastructure necessary to maintain it.<sup>74</sup>

In the introduction to her critical edition of the chapters on Egypt and Syria from al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār*, Dorothea Krawulsky argues that the military successes of the first half-century of Mamluk rule against non-Muslim, or nominally Muslim, political powers, such as the Mongols and the Crusaders, generated a sense that the territories under Mamluk control constituted a renewed *Dār al-Islām* ("Abode of Islam"). Thus, according to Krawulsky, the intellectual production of Egyptians and Syrians in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century was universalist and triumphalist, unlike, for instance, historical and geographical writing from Ilkhanid Iran, which was more focused on local issues.<sup>75</sup> The scope and ambition of the *Masālik al-Abṣār*—to describe the entire world, its inhabitants, and their history—serves to strengthen and contextualize its celebration of

<sup>71</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:99.

<sup>72</sup>Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah (d. 733/1333) was the Shafi'i chief judge of Cairo and former preacher at al-Masjid al-Aqsā in Jerusalem.

<sup>73</sup>Laoust, "La biographie," 157–58.

<sup>74</sup>In fact, we might regard al-'Umarī's works as part of this infrastructure, a kind of intellectual infrastructure meant to solidify Mamluk control over the territories of Egypt and Syria in the imagination, just as it was solidified on the ground in the form of fortifications, renovations, armies, and tax collectors. For an earlier example of these parallel processes of legitimizing Mamluk rule both in texts and on the ground, see Zayde Antrim, "Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddād's *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah*," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 1–18.

<sup>75</sup>Al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Dawlat al-Mamālik al-Ūlā*, ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), 31.



Mamluk power and certainly substantiates Krawulsky's thesis. However, it also displays al-ʿUmarī's preoccupation with the precise categorization of territory in relation to political and administrative realities.<sup>76</sup> Though he moves away from the kind of Syrian particularism exhibited in Ibn Taymīyah's work, the attention he pays to contemporary detail in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* reflects the experience of a worldly bureaucrat concerned less with universal Islamic unity than with the efficacy of the Mamluk state in its specifically rendered territories.<sup>77</sup>

What I hope to have shown here is the flexibility and power of the discourse of place. Both Ibn Taymīyah and al-ʿUmarī select from established conventions in the representation of territory—quotations from the Quran and hadith, references to ancient methods of dividing the world, and attention to administrative practicalities—as a way of claiming for Syria political and military protection and belonging. Ibn Taymīyah uses a representation of Syria as an inherently meritorious region in order to demand that the Mamluks defend it against the Mongol invasion. Al-ʿUmarī uses a representation of Syria as an administratively rationalized and integral part of a broader realm to assert the power of the Mamluks and the prosperity and sanctity of the territories under their control. That they each choose to use representations of Syria as a territory to accomplish these political agendas is significant, for there would reasonably be other ways to claim legitimacy for the regime or protection for a group of people living under its authority. Instead, both authors draw from the widely-resonant reservoir of texts, strategies, and source material that made up the discourse of place. In Ibn Taymīyah's case, the decision to participate in the discourse of place was inconsistent with his dissenting stance on the *faḍā'il* of places and related issues of *ziyārah*, which suggests that he must have considered it a particularly effective means to an end,

<sup>76</sup> Another work by al-ʿUmarī, *Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, took this emphasis one step further. Belonging to the genre of *adab al-kātib* ("art of the clerk"), the *Taʿrīf* was intended as a handbook for the aspiring bureaucrat and provides an even more detailed, systematic survey of the administrative districts, bureaucratic offices, and postal routes assigned to Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks.

<sup>77</sup> Al-ʿUmarī's works would serve as the basis for the better-known works on Mamluk history, geography, and administration by the early ninth/fifteenth-century Egyptians Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) and Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441). In particular, al-Qalqashandī's famous compendium, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fi Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʿ*, borrows wholesale from al-ʿUmarī on Egypt and, especially, Syria. The *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* marks both a culmination of this trend in administrative geography and the beginning of the disintegration of the unity of the Mamluk-controlled territories that characterizes al-ʿUmarī's work. Among other differences, al-Qalqashandī's representation of Syria devotes much more space to the city of Aleppo and suggests the increasing decentralization of political power and the rising strategic importance of Aleppo in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century. On this, see Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), especially 20–22.



and the end urgent enough to justify such means. Al-ʿUmārī, on the other hand, happily joined generations of administrators who had asserted the importance of their geographical knowledge to the consolidation and maintenance of political authority, generally dedicating their written work, as al-ʿUmārī does, to a particular ruler or regime. Despite their differences, both al-ʿUmārī and Ibn Taymīyah recognized the power of invoking the geographical imagination to promote a political agenda in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century.



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## Baybars and the Cultural Memory of Bilād al-Shām: The Construction of Legitimacy

The Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Šāliḥī al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658–76/1260–77), who had no ancestry to legitimize his reign, sought to compensate for his lack of pedigree by using other strategies. The question regarding the legitimization of his power has already been addressed in several studies. Denise Aigle showed that the textual sources as well as the sultan’s epigraphical program in Bilād al-Shām contributed to emphasizing his image as the ideal Muslim sovereign and protector of the caliphate and the holy sites, while giving his rule an eschatological dimension.<sup>1</sup> Anne Broadbridge examined the Mamluk strategies of legitimation in the light of an external audience, namely the Mongols, whose ideological challenge played a part in shaping the Mamluk discourse of legitimacy.<sup>2</sup> By studying diplomatic missions and letters, she also stressed the contribution of religious scholars in its elaboration.<sup>3</sup> Following on from these studies, I would like to add a contribution focusing on an issue that has not been approached until now, namely how the propagandists of the time exploited elements in the Muslim historiography of Bilād al-Shām, particularly the narratives of some prominent figures in the Muslim conquest, in order to legitimize Baybars’s domination over this territory.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Denise Aigle, “Les inscriptions de Baybars dans le Bilad al-Sham: Une expression de la légitimité du pouvoir,” *Studia Islamica* 96 (2003): 87–115; Denise Aigle, “Legitimizing a Low-Born, Regicide Monarch: The Case of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars and the Ilkâns in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Representing Power in Ancient Inner Asia: Legitimacy, Transmission and the Sacred*, ed. I. Charleux et al. (Bellingham, WA, 2010), 61–94.

<sup>2</sup> See her dissertation: Anne F. Broadbridge, “Mamluk Ideological and Diplomatic Relations with Mongols and Turkic Rulers of the Near-East and Central Asia (658–807/1260–1405)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001); and more recently, idem, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol World* (Cambridge, 2008), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Anne F. Broadbridge, “Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols: The Reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 91–118.

<sup>4</sup> On the links between Baybars and heroes of the past, see Anne-Marie Eddé, “Baybars et son double: de l’ambiguïté du souverain idéal,” in *Le Bilād al-Šām face aux mondes extérieurs: la perception de l’Autre et la représentation du souverain*, ed. Denise Aigle (Beirut, 2012), 33–46. On chroniclers’ use of figures from the past to legitimize current politics, in particular in relation to the



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Baybars's lack of kinship, as well as his lack of territorial roots, called for the establishment of other forms of attachment and bonds of loyalty that formed the basis of the Mamluk system.<sup>5</sup> One of the essential components in Baybars's discourse was his appropriation of events that were firmly rooted in the Syrian geographical space and linked to great mythical figures, thus forming part of the "cultural memory" of Bilād al-Shām.

The concept of "cultural memory" was defined by the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann.<sup>6</sup> He developed the work of sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who considered collective memory to be a social phenomenon, a reconstruction of the past based on changes in the present.<sup>7</sup> Jan Assmann adopted this idea, but defined memory as essentially cultural: narratives of the collective past are called upon, carefully arranged, and formalized according to patterns that are recognizable to "specialized carriers," "bards, griots" as well as "scribes, scholars, mandarins, and others"<sup>8</sup> who are responsible for transmitting these narratives to the group. Writing, rituals, and festivals all ensure the transmission and longevity of this knowledge of identity and give coherence to the society.<sup>9</sup>

In this article, I propose to examine Baybars's appropriation of the cultural memory of Bilād al-Shām, a process by which the memories of his own reign were inserted into a carefully selected tradition. The article focuses on the accounts of his conquests in Syria, particularly Caesarea and Jaffa, showing them to be the result of a memory-work (*travail de mémoire*). We also see that his program

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Chronicles of Saint-Denis, see Gabriel Spiegel, "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch," *History and Theory* 14 (1975): 314–325.

<sup>5</sup> "The idea that the slave has no territorial referent for belonging and instead forms other kinds of loyalties was the idea upon which the Mamluk system was built." Zayde Gordon Antrim, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss, Harvard, 2005), 306.

<sup>6</sup> Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York, 2011); idem, *Religion And Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford, 2006). Assmann's reflection forms the basis of numerous studies (notably in Germany) on the notion of *memoria*. Antoine Borrut recently showed that this concept can be transposed into an Islamic context: Antoine Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: l'espace Syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72–193/692–809)* (Leiden, 2011). See also Thomas Herzog, "La mémoire des invasions Mongoles dans la Sirat Baybars: persistances et transformations dans l'imaginaire populaire arabe," in *Le Bilād al-Šām*, ed. Aigle, 345–63.

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950); idem, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre Sainte: étude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941). For a summary of his contribution, see Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 21–33.

<sup>8</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 39.

<sup>9</sup> Jan Assmann, *La mémoire culturelle: écriture, souvenir et imaginaire politique dans les civilisations antiques* (Paris, 2010), 52.



of monumental construction represents a “confiscation of collective memory,”<sup>10</sup> aimed at anchoring the new power in the Syrian landscape.

One of the main sources used here is the biography of Sultan Baybars composed during his lifetime by the religious scholar and private secretary of the sultan (*kātib al-sirr*) Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1293).<sup>11</sup> From a historical perspective, this text is the most comprehensive primary source on the events of Baybars’s reign, and it was consequently used and copied by numerous chroniclers: al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333),<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405),<sup>13</sup> who recopied certain passages directly, and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442),<sup>14</sup> who drew substantially from Ibn al-Furāt. The verses composed by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir in praise of the sultan, especially after his victories over the Franks, also figure in the chronicles of Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 724/1325)<sup>15</sup> and al-‘Aynī (d. 855/1451).<sup>16</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s influence was also significant in the Western historiography of the Crusades, considering that among the Arab historians, al-Maqrīzī was accessible to European scholars very early on through Quatremère’s translation.<sup>17</sup> The *Rawḍ* was translated and edited around the same period by Reinaud.<sup>18</sup> Given

<sup>10</sup> According to Jacques Le Goff, *Histoire et mémoire* (Paris, 1988), 130, citing Paul Veyne with regards to the intense building activity of Roman emperors and their “délire de mémoire épigraphique.” See also Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 175.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. A. A. Khuwaytir (Riyadh, 1976). Partial translations: Jacqueline Sublet, *Les trois vies du sultan Baybars* (Paris, 1992) and Sayedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956). See also his biographical entry in: Ibn al-Suqā‘ī (d. 726/1325), *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, ed. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 184; al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), *Nihāyat al-Arab fī-Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1990–92), 31:334; al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338), *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān*, ed. ‘Umar Tadmuri (Beirut, 1998), 1:175–83; al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363), *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. ‘Alī M. Mu‘awwad (Beirut, 2000), 1:no. 222; al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362–63), *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt* (1931–2011), 17:no. 240; Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. C. Zurayq and N. ‘Izz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1939), 8:162; Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1469–70), *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 8:38; Ibn al-‘Imād (d. 1089/1679), *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*, ed. M. A. ‘Aṭā (Beirut, 1998), 5:421.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vols. 29–31.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa’l-Mulūk*, ed. M. C. Lyons, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971).

<sup>14</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma’rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. M. Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934). On al-Maqrīzī’s dependence on Ibn al-Furāt at the start of the Mamluk period, see Reuven Amitai, “Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?),” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 99–118.

<sup>15</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ḥumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. M. M. Amin, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1987–89).

<sup>17</sup> Etienne Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1837–45).

<sup>18</sup> Joseph-Toussaint Reinaud, *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux guerres des croisades, nouvelle édition* (Paris, 1829), 485 ff.



the relative brevity of the Latin accounts of the battles between the Franks and Mamluks, researchers obtained their data largely from these translated Arabic sources.<sup>19</sup>

Baybars also had two other biographers: Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285), and Shāfi' Ibn 'Alī al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 730/1330). The former was an Aleppan scholar who sought refuge in Cairo after the Mongol conquest and stayed at the service of the Mamluks until his death. His biography, from which only a section remains, uses Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's *Rawḍ*, as well as his personal experience in the vicinity of power.<sup>20</sup> The latter biographer, the nephew of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, wrote his biography on Baybars by summarizing the *Rawḍ*.<sup>21</sup> He was, however, quite critical of his uncle's work, which he claimed to have corrected. His text, which was composed under the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn, was perhaps sponsored by this sultan, as suggested by several details aimed at exalting the Qalawunid rulers, while calling on the memory of Baybars. Those biographies must be treated with the utmost caution required for such texts. The royal biographies of Muslim rulers are a highly codified genre: the annals are centered on the personage of the sovereign, preceded by an overview of his career prior to his ascension to power. There is also a section exalting his qualities (*akhlāq, manāqib*),<sup>22</sup> illustrated with edifying anecdotes as well as lists of the noble deeds performed by the prince. An analysis of the sovereign's attributes uncovers a literary discourse with its own codes, intended to highlight the figure of the ideal Muslim ruler.<sup>23</sup> This type

<sup>19</sup> See René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1936), 3:606 ff. (he draws from al-Maqrīzī based on Quatremère's translation and Abū al-Fidā' based on the translation, "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades," which is not a first-hand account of the period of Baybars's reign) or Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1970), 2:451 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Shaddād, *Die Geschichte des Sultans Baibars (Tārikh al-Malik al-Zahir)*, ed. Ahmad Hutait (Wiesbaden, 1983). He was at the service of the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Ḥinnā'. For his use of the *Rawḍ* as a source see Ibn al-Dawadārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), 8:99–101. See also P. M. Holt, "Three Biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars," in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D. O. Morgan (London, 1982), 25.

<sup>21</sup> Shāfi' Ibn 'Alī al-ʿAsqalānī, *Kitāb Ḥuṣn al-Manāqib al-Sirriyah al-Muntaza'ah min al-Sīrah al-Zāhiriyyah*, ed. A. A. Khuwaytir (Riyadh, 1976). See the review by P. M. Holt, "Muhyi al-Din b. 'Abd al-Zahir: al-Rawd al-Zahir fi sirat al-Malik al-Zahir; Shafi' b. Ali b. 'Abbas al-Katib: Kitab husn al-manaqib al-sirriyya al-muntaza'a min al-sira al-Zahiriyya," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41, no. 1 (1978): 152–54, and idem, "Three Biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars," 20–24.

<sup>22</sup> For a history of this notion in Islamic practical philosophy, see Richard Walzer, "Akhlāq," *Encyclopédie de l'islam*, 2nd ed., 1:335–39.

<sup>23</sup> On official historiography under the early Mamluks, see P. M. Holt "The Virtuous Ruler in the XIIIth Century in Mamluk Royal Biographies," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24 (1980): 27–35; idem, "Three Biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars," 19–29. For a comparison with Ayyubid historiography, see idem, "The Sultan as Ideal Ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk Prototypes," in *Suleyman*



of text is not specific to the Mamluk period.<sup>24</sup> By choosing this genre, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir and Baybars’s other biographers inscribed the reign of the first great Mamluk sultan in a lineage of exceptional Muslim rulers.

The text of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir also fulfills a commemorative function: the author celebrates the Islamic past rendered present, reactivated by the remarkable destiny of Sultan Baybars. In the historiographical writing, ancient history and recent past interpenetrate. The act of commemoration combined in the same recitation the great acts of the past, especially those dealing with the Muslim conquests, and those that were coming to pass, that is to say, Baybars’s successful politics against the Franks and his recapture of the territories previously in their hands.<sup>25</sup> The performative dimension of the text, whose passages were read before Baybars himself throughout the composition process<sup>26</sup> (with a court public presumably present during these readings), brought to life this fusion of the past and present. On the oral and public transmission of historiography, in the context of thirteenth-century France, Gabrielle Spiegel wrote: “All texts, to the degree that they formed part of the oral culture of lay society or entered into it by being read aloud, enjoyed a public, collective status as vehicles through which the community reaffirmed its sense of historical identity....The fundamental goal of oral recitation is precisely, to revivify the past and make it live in the present, to fuse past and present, singer and hearer, author and public into a single collective entity.”<sup>27</sup>

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*the Magnificent and his Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London and New York, 1995): 122–37. For a perspective on the sources regarding this sultan’s reign, see also Amina A. Elbandary, “The Sultan, the Tyrant, and the Hero: Changing Medieval Perceptions of al-Zāhir Baybars,” *MSR* 5 (2001): 141–57.

<sup>24</sup> Under the Zangids, the historian Ibn al-Athīr was commissioned to write a chronicle about the Atabeks of Mosul, *Al-Bāhir fī Tārīkh Atabakāt al-Mawṣil* (“The splendid chronicle of the Atabeks of Mosul”), while Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād wrote a chronicle, *Al-Nawādir al-Sultānīyah wa-al-Mahāsīn al-Yūsufīyah* (“The rare and excellent history of Saladin”), dedicated to Saladin. Cf. P. M. Holt, “The Sultan as Ideal Ruler,” 126–27.

<sup>25</sup> The public reading of eulogizing poetic texts in the presence of sovereigns is attested in the Umayyad period as an essential component for establishing the legitimacy of this power: on this subject, see Suzanne Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender, and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode* (Bloomington, 2002), particularly chapter 3. Poetry played the role of historiography in the Umayyad period and of political literature in later periods. See, for example, the recent publication on court culture in the Muslim world: *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung (New York, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> According to Shāfi’ ibn ‘Alī, *Ḥuṣn al-Manāqib*, 166.

<sup>27</sup> Gabriel Spiegel, “Social Change and Literary Language: The Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century Old French Historiography,” in *The Past as Text: the Theory and Practice in Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), 184. Most of these texts concern ancient history, Old French epics, as well as narratives of the Crusades: for example, the vernacular translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, the (largely legendary) account of Charlemagne’s expedition to Spain,



Commemoration, by the recitation of history, in early-thirteenth-century France, as well as at the Mamluk court, rendered the past vibrant and significant in the present. The glorious conquests of the past are fully embodied in Baybars's reign and are considered by the historiography as a forewarning and an argument for legitimacy. The recitations and oral performances at the Mamluk court put forward the arguments on which the legitimacy of the new regime was founded. By calling upon figures from the past who were worthy of being remembered (heroes of the conquest and victors over the Crusaders, as we will see below) and by showing their direct relation to Baybars's reign, the chroniclers sought to give moral justification to his sovereignty. This works like the *exempla* in medieval Western texts. The use of this rhetorical argument, prevalent in both scholasticism and the chronicles, was intended for the edification of the public.<sup>28</sup> It also played a role in the definition of historical causality, and in this way, the past became an explanatory principle of the present: "The present came to be viewed as a fulfillment not only of sacred prophecies but of other events themselves."<sup>29</sup> Events and figures from the past were used to explain and legitimize the current political situation. Muslim historiography abounds in prophecies, signs, and omens that foretell the reign of a sovereign.<sup>30</sup> The evocation of *exempla* from the Islamic past of Syria reveals how the regime's main propagandist (Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir) searched for historical causality to support Baybars's reign. The illustrious ancestor, from the Prophet himself to Muslim heroes of the conquest, hence foretells and legitimizes the current reign.<sup>31</sup>

The first part of the *Rawḍ* is devoted to establishing Baybars's legitimacy. The text is intended for an internal audience, and presents arguments of legitimation concerning Baybars's lack of filiation (*nasab*) and the circumstances surrounding

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or the *Eracles*, the French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum transmarinarum*. Some authors composed their texts directly in French: Villehardouin, Robert de Clari.

<sup>28</sup> In the medieval West, it is widely used in proselytizing texts. See Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu et al., *Le tonnerre des exemples: "exempla" et médiation culturelle dans l'occident médiéval* (Rennes, 2010).

<sup>29</sup> Gabriel Spiegel, "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch," *History and Theory* 14 (1975): 321.

<sup>30</sup> This was the case for the predecessor of Baybars, Quṭuz, whose reign was foretold in prophecies as reported by al-Jazarī, cited in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 24: no. 266, and al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954), 1:368–70.

<sup>31</sup> This historiographical use of *exempla* is not limited to the reign of Baybars: in the writings of the historian Ibn al-Dawādārī, we find the same concern for deciphering the signs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn during the reign of Saladin (*Kanz*, 8:275–76). Note that the figure of Baybars (al-Zāhir) is presented in the legend between the two reigns of al-Nāṣir (Saladin and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad). See Holt, "Muhyi al-Din b. 'Abd al-Zahir," 153, and Eddé, "Baybars et son double: de l'ambiguïté du souverain idéal," 33.



his accession to power.<sup>32</sup> His fictional claim to Ayyubid lineage, as shown in his choice of the *nisbah* al-Ṣāliḥī, compensated for his slave origin and his absence of kinship. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir depicts the connection between Baybars and his master al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ as a way of extolling Baybars as the legitimate heir of the Ayyubid sultan.<sup>33</sup> This detail did not escape Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, who drew attention to the conciseness of his uncle’s account of Baybars’s career before he entered into the service of al-Ṣāliḥ. This conciseness resulted from the fact that Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir had omitted any reference to Baybars’s career under the amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Bunduqdār in order to emphasize his fictive adoption by the Ayyubids.<sup>34</sup>

Besides the lack of filiation, the circumstances surrounding his accession to power formed another stigma that the propagandists of his reign attempted to do away with. Baybars took power following the assassination of Sultan Quṭuz. This assassination followed another regicide ten years prior, notably that of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ’s son, al-Mu‘azzam Tūrān-Shāh, in 648/1250, which marked the advent of Mamluk rule in Egypt.<sup>35</sup> For Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, the two regicides were in fact an expression of divine will (*qadar*).<sup>36</sup> The murder of Quṭuz was narrated in several ways by the chroniclers.<sup>37</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir made Baybars bear the sole responsibility for it. In a fictional dialogue after the assassination, Baybars is said to have been brought to power for this very reason, in the absence of an heir to al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar Quṭuz. However, according to the *Husn*, in which Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī claimed to correct the errors of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, Quṭuz had been executed

<sup>32</sup> On this subject, see Aigle, “Legitimizing a Low-Born,” 61–94.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 46. The negative image given to Tūrān-Shāh and Quṭuz and their inconsequent attitude follows the same lines: neither his legitimate son nor Baybars’s predecessor were worthy of continuing the Ayyubid legacy; see Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 48, 68.

<sup>34</sup> Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Husn al-Manāqib*, 27. See Holt, “Muḥyi al-Din b. ‘Abd al-Zahir,” 153–54.

<sup>35</sup> Here, again, the sources diverge as to the exact implication of Baybars in the assassination of Tūrān-Shāh. An Ayyubid chronicle, “Al-Majmū‘ al-Mubārak” of al-Makīn ibn al-Amīd, ed. by A-M. Eddé and F. Micheau as *Chronique des Ayyoubides, 602–658/1205–6–1259–60* (Paris, 1994), 88, does not attribute any part to Baybars in the amirs’ conspiracy, which was fatal for Tūrān-Shāh. In contrast, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, as we have seen, and even al-Maqrīzī, explicitly name Baybars as the killer (*Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:359).

<sup>36</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 50 and 68. See Aigle, “Legitimizing a Low-Born,” 62.

<sup>37</sup> A first group of authors, following Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, directly implicates Baybars in the assassination of his predecessor, portraying him as inflicting the first sword blow; see Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 68; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 54; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, ed. Khalil Shahada and Souhail Zakkar (Beirut, 2000), 24, 822. Other authors have him playing an indirect role: an alliance of amirs killed the sultan; see al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir’at al-Zamān*, 2:1; Abū al-Fidā’, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1907), 3:207; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lāqadī and Muḥammad Ghāzī Bayḍūn (Beirut, 1999), 13:260–61; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:519. Finally, an intermediary version has Baybars striking the second and fatal sword blow; see Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Husn al-Manāqib*, 31; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:61–62.



by a certain ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Anās. Then, at the meeting of amirs after the assassination, the death of Quṭuz was attributed to Baybars and a consensus was reached as to his accession to power. During the meeting, the “Law of the Turks” ([y]asat al-turk) was evoked: this law stipulates that whoever assassinates a prince should be a prince himself.<sup>38</sup> The reference to the Law of the Turks, which is rarely mentioned in the historiography, was a means for establishing Baybars’s rule. As for Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, he erased the part played by Anās. Even if he did not explicitly mention the Law of Turks,<sup>39</sup> he evoked it: “The one who killed him must take his place.” The events of the past were thus manipulated to provide legitimacy in the present.

In addition to this, the danger posed by the Mongols, who occupied Syria in 658/1259–60, doubled the ideological challenge to the Mamluk ruler, as shown by recent studies.<sup>40</sup> The Mongols, whose dynasty descended from the imperial lineage of Genghis Khan, posed serious competition to the Mamluks in terms of legitimacy, as the Mongol lineage had received the divine favor. A section in the *Secret History of the Mongols* addresses the notions underlying their political legitimacy, in particular the concept of “heaven” (*tenggeri*).<sup>41</sup> In their diplomatic exchanges with the Mamluk sultans, the Mongol khans claim to be assisted in their conquests by the “force” and “good protective fortune” of the eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri*).<sup>42</sup> The Mamluks, however, were unable to rely on such good fortune and were stigmatized in the correspondence by their lack of ancestry and servile origins.<sup>43</sup> Instead, in cooperation with their religious scholarly advisors,

<sup>38</sup> Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib*, 31–32. On this question, see Ulrich Haarmann, “Regicide and the ‘Law of Turks,’” in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), 127–35.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 69.

<sup>40</sup> Broadbridge, “Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols,” 91–118; idem, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol World*, 13; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, “Mongol Imperial Ideology and the Ilkhanid War against the Mamluks,” in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. David Morgan and Reuven Amitai-Preiss (Leiden, 1999), 57–72; Denise Aigle, “La légitimité islamique des invasions de la Syrie par Ghazan Khan (699–700/1300–1302),” *Eurasian Studies* 5 (2006): 5–29.

<sup>41</sup> Marie-Lise Beffa, “Le concept de tänggäri, ‘ciel,’ dans l’Histoire secrète des Mongols,” *Études mongoles et sibériennes* 24 (1993): 215–36; Igor de Rachewiltz, “Heaven, Earth and the Mongols in the Time of Činggis Qan and his Immediate Successors (ca. 1160–1260)—A Preliminary Investigation,” in *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndricks, CICM, on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, ed. N. Golvers and S. Lievens, Leuven Chinese Studies 17 (2007), 107–44.

<sup>42</sup> This was also the case in their correspondence with the Latin West; see Denise Aigle, “De la «non-négociation» à l’alliance inaboutie: Réflexions sur la diplomatie entre les Mongols et l’Occident latin,” *Oriente moderno* 88, no. 2 (2008): 395–436.

<sup>43</sup> See Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol World*, 33.



they chose to emphasize their religious legitimacy and developed the concept of guardianship, promoting themselves as saviors of Islam and the Islamic lands.<sup>44</sup>

In order to provide a response to this double challenge—internal and external—in terms of legitimacy, the propagandists collected arguments in the cultural memory of Bilād al-Shām. This program circulated in the official historiography as well as in the epigraphy and architecture.

### Writing Mamluk Power into the Cultural Memory of Bilād al-Shām: Accounts of Baybars’s Conquests

The accounts of Baybars’s conquests against the Crusaders on the coastal lands include material aside from the events of the conquests themselves: some poetry, letters addressed to Muslims or Frankish rulers, and elements of historiography. These are evocations of the city’s past in association with prior Islamic victories. This historical reminder of previous Islamic victories in places captured by Baybars acts as a sort of catalyst for the cultural memory. In the text of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, it promotes the junction between history as a historical experience (Baybars’ recent conquest of Syria) and history as a text (accounts of Muslim conquests), thus grounding the present action in a tradition. The juxtaposition of these narratives creates a cultural continuity between the past as recorded in the texts and the history that has just occurred.<sup>45</sup>

#### *Futūhāt and Ghazawāt: Textual Accounts of the Conquest*

Baybars’s conquests are qualified by different chroniclers as *futūhāt*, a term designating the Muslim armies’ conquests over the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires.<sup>46</sup> Contrary to the commonly accepted view,<sup>47</sup> Fred Donner showed that *futūh* was a key theme in Muslim historiography that was present at an early stage and responded to the “need to develop an historical vision of how the conquered lands (individually, as part of a whole) came under Muslim control.”<sup>48</sup> The *futūh* ac-

<sup>44</sup> On the concept of guardianship in Mamluk ideology see *ibid.*, 27. On the Mamluk sultan as an ideal Muslim ruler, see Aigle, “Les Inscriptions de Baybars,” 60 ff.

<sup>45</sup> This is a distinction between two kinds of history (which in German is revealed by the distinct words *Historie* and *Geschichte*).

<sup>46</sup> See for instance al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir’āt al-Zamān*, 1:338 (a letter written by Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-‘Ajāmī on behalf of the sultan to Ibn Khallikān about the conquest [*fath*] of Ṣafad); Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:108 (*fath* Caesarea). For a discussion of the term, see Chase F. Robinson, “Conquest,” *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, 2007, 1:387–401.

<sup>47</sup> Notably by Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study* (Princeton, 1994), 31–33.

<sup>48</sup> Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, 1998), 176. The term, appended to this phenomenon retrospectively by Muslim historians,



counts are important for three “main factors”: they provide “a narrative justification of the rule by Muslims and Arabs of non-Muslims and non-Arabs”; they let individuals, families, or tribes “advance a claim, true or spurious, to have participated in the stirring events of the ‘golden age’ of Early Islam”; and finally they can be considered as “pious exhortation to engage in what we may term ‘religious battle.’ Such accounts do not use the term *futūḥ*, a term which clearly has theological overtones of divine assistance to the community as a whole—but employ instead the more neutral term *ghazwah*.”<sup>49</sup> Mamluk chroniclers present Baybars’s conquests as a revival of *futūḥ*, which the Crusades had honored.<sup>50</sup> In al-Nuwayrī’s account, the series of *futūḥ* holds a special place, confirming that this theme had become an essential component for explaining the past.<sup>51</sup>

Elsewhere, the territories annexed by the Mamluk Empire were treated as lands of conquest, referring to the legal framework established in the second century of Islam to justify Muslim control.<sup>52</sup> For Ibn Shaddād and al-Nuwayrī,

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has a meaning much wider than the translation “Islamic conquests,” which focuses on the military dimension. The term designates the process by which the territories were incorporated into the caliphate’s sphere of influence; see Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981), 28.

<sup>49</sup> Donner, *Narratives*, 177–78.

<sup>50</sup> Fred M. Donner showed that the period of the Crusades coincides with the appearance of “pseudo-futūḥ” in the literature, with the *Futūḥ al-Shām* by the pseudo-Wāqidi being the most evocative example: “It is at this time and in this place—geographical Syria—that we see the appearance of a number of Arabic works ostensibly dealing, in a romanticized way, with the first great Islamic conquests.” Fred M. Donner, “Sources of Islamic Conception of War,” in *Just War and Jihad, Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, ed. John Kelsay and James Turner Johnson (New York, 1991), 53.

<sup>51</sup> The accounts of Baybars’s conquests were collected and inserted at the end of the year 675 (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:255–350), that is to say, in the last year of this sultan’s reign, forming a sort of biography, as his death occurred at short notice. It transpired in the same way for Sultan Qalāwūn: his *futūḥāt* are grouped at the start of his reign (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:30–49). For the later Egyptian author Ibn Taghrībirdī, the *futūḥ* of Baybars also hold a special place, incorporated in the year 658, at the start of his reign. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 7:138–73.

<sup>52</sup> This is what made Baybars, based on the Hanafi jurisdiction, seize the orchards at Ghūṭah. On this affair, see Jacqueline Sublet, “Sequestre sur les jardins de la Ghouta (Damas, 666/1267),” *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 81–86; Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIIe-XIIe siècles: vie et structure religieuses dans une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1988), 273–76; Yehoshua Frenkel, “Agriculture, Land Tenure and Peasants in Palestine During the Mamluk Period,” in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 6th, 7th, 8th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 102 (Leuven, 2001), 197–98. Sequestre Sur Les Jardins de La Ghouta (Damas, 666/1267



the lands captured from infidels are distinguished from those captured from the Ayyubids or Ismailis.<sup>53</sup>

Some authors also qualify the Mamluk victories as *ghazawāt*.<sup>54</sup> Even though this term had a more neutral connotation than *futūḥ* at the beginning of Islam,<sup>55</sup> from the Abbasid period onwards, it acquired a meaning inspired by the notion of jihad and territorial conflicts. Michael Bonner demonstrated that the rhetoric of the “*ghāzī*-Caliph” was established under the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, thereafter constituting a reference to the *ghāzī*-amirs and *ghāzī*-sultans.<sup>56</sup> It is in the Turkish sphere that the image of the *ghāzī*-sultan is most widespread: in the case of the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, Zāhir al-Dīn Bābur (d. 1530), similarly to the Ghaznavid sultan Yamīn al-Dawlah Maḥmūd (d. 1030) or the Ottoman sultan Murad II (d. 1451), the revival of the propaganda of the *ghāzī*-sultan was connected with the need for legitimacy and the presence of a frontier.<sup>57</sup> In the case of Baybars, the term *ghazawāt* not only evokes the memory of the Prophet and the Muslim rulers who led expeditions to the Arabo-Byzantine frontier, but also the literary prototypes found in the Turko-Persian world.<sup>58</sup> Baybars’s annual expeditions to the Syrian border, as described by his biographers, depict him as a champion of the faith as well as an aggressive hero and triumphant victor over

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 321–24, in his list of territories annexed by Baybars. Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:239 ff., establishes a distinction between the annexed territories “*min al-bilād al-islāmīyah*” and the overthrow (*futūḥāt*, *ghāzawāt*) of territories fallen into the hands of the Crusaders. On the issue of the fiscal status of territories and their administration as a historiographical theme, see also Donner, *Narratives*, 171–73 and Noth, *Early Arabic*, 35–36 and 48–53.

<sup>54</sup> For example: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:239; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 7:328–29 (*ghazawāt* of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn).

<sup>55</sup> See the citation above. The term *futūḥ* does not appear to have been used prior to Islam. The raids carried out in pre-Islamic Arabia and then at the start of Islam were known as *ghazwah*. F. M. Donner, “The Islamic Conquests,” in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef Choueiri (Malden, MA, 2005), 28.

<sup>56</sup> Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arabo-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, 1996), 99–106. The context of the Crusades was particularly conducive to reviving the figure of the sovereign fighting for the faith, as shown by Linda Darling, “Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context,” *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000): 152 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Ali Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam: A Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (New York, 2008).

<sup>58</sup> Like the heroes described in the *Shahnamah* (Book of Kings), an epic poem composed in Persian around 1010 by Firdawsī and initially dedicated to Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. See *ibid.*, 27–28, 67–73, 142 ff.



the elements (snow and mountains), with just as many motifs as found in the repertoire of the *ghāzī*-sultan.<sup>59</sup>

As to the chronicles, they unravel the series of conquests in an often stereotypical narrative with a repetitive and sequential structure. Recurrent motifs emerge in the chronicles: in the first place, the accounts are largely focused on the personage of the sultan. They stress his involvement in the siege preparations (fabricating machinery, digging ditches, etc.) or in combat by repeating the reflexive formulas, *bi-nafsihi*, *bi-yadihi*. At the siege of Caesarea, for example, Baybars remains diligently on the front (*istamarra ‘alā al-muṣābarah*) and personally participates in the destruction of the city. He was said to be covered by dust, leading to the inclusion of a hadith about being covered by dust on the path of God. The sultan, thus performing an act that was praised by the Prophet himself, makes him worthy of imitation, which is a motif that repeatedly occurs throughout the accounts.<sup>60</sup> In addition, incredible elements are sometimes linked to Baybars’s presence.<sup>61</sup> His behavior during the sieges is equally remarkable: he likes going out *unaccompanied* (*bi-mufradihi*) and insists that he should not be named if recognized.<sup>62</sup> The way in which Sultan Baybars “breaks ties” (to paraphrase Jacqueline Sublet’s words) to overcome space and time makes him figure as a true hero in these accounts.<sup>63</sup>

Other motifs point to temporal coincidences: for example, the bastion (*bāshūrah*) of Arsūf was captured at the moment when Shaykh ‘Alī al-Majnūn fell into a mys-

<sup>59</sup> For the battle against the elements, see for example Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 300, 364. We also find this rhetoric in Baybars’s diplomatic correspondence composed by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (see Anne Troadec, “Une lettre de Baybars au Comte Bohémond VI de Tripoli (début shawwāl 669/mai 1271): une arme dans l’arsenal idéologique des Mamelouks,” in *La correspondance entre souverains, princes et cités-états: approches croisées entre l’orient musulman, l’occident latin et Byzance (xiii<sup>e</sup>-début xvii<sup>e</sup> s.)*, ed. Denise Aigle and Stéphane Péquignot (Turnhout, 2010), 37–54. For a comparison of the Iranian and Islamic motifs used in historiography, see J. S. Meisami, “The Past in Service of the Present: Two Views of History in Medieval Persia,” *Poetics Today* 14, no. 2 (July 1993): 247–75.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 232, 237.

<sup>61</sup> For example, before the siege of Caesarea in 663/1265, “four large siege machines (*manjanikāt*) were mounted in a single day, without speaking of the small ones” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 230). During the siege, Baybars fought until his shield was pierced by numerous arrows (*ibid.*, 231). See also his involvement in the siege of Arsūf (*ibid.*, 236–37) and Ṣafad (*ibid.*, 254).

<sup>62</sup> For example, during the siege of Arsūf: Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 237–38.

<sup>63</sup> For the parallel between the Baybars of historiography and that of the *Ṣirat Baybars*, the epic-fictional fresco in which he is the hero, see Jacqueline Sublet, “Le sultan Baybars, héros de roman: rupture des liens,” *Diogenes* 181 (1998): 100–11, and *idem*, “Un héros populaire dans un espace encombré,” *Arabica* (2003): 144–61. See also an interesting parallel in Baburnama, where Baybars overcomes “the barrier of time and space” in a Heideggerian process of “de-distancing” (Entfernung). See Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam*, 27.



tic trance.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, the Franks of Ṣafad asked the sultan for protection (*amān*) at the time of the Friday sermon (*khutbah*) in the Great Mosque of Damascus.<sup>65</sup> The chroniclers also draw attention to the luck of the calendar, which allows the identification of certain months and days that are auspicious for conquests: notably, the month of Shawwāl when Ṣafad was captured by Saladin and then Baybars,<sup>66</sup> and Thursday, which was seen as particularly favorable for jihad, as supported by a hadith of the Prophet.<sup>67</sup>

In a late source like the Ibn Khaldūn's *Tbar* (d. 808/1406), the systematic use of the formula *iqtaḥamahā 'alayhim* ("he snatched it from them") reinforces the narrative scheme being repeated in siege after siege.

The qualification of these conquests as *futūḥāt* or *ghazawāt* thus inscribed them in continuation with the past. A study of the chronicles shows that they not only aim to record historical facts, but to emphasize the uniqueness of the reign of Baybars, who was presented as both a hero and the ideal Muslim ruler.

### *The Conquest of Caesarea and Caliph 'Umar's Letter*

The conquest of Caesarea in Jumādā I 663/February 1265 marked an important moment in the history of Baybars's reign, as it was his first success against the Franks and it inaugurated what would become his Syrian policy. In terms of historiography, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's account represents a form of textual appropriation of the city's past in order to legitimize Baybars's political strategy. Caesarea was the last Byzantine-held location to fall under Muslim power, as Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir recalls at the end of his historical evocation. The stylistic use of chiasmus in turn magnifies Baybars's conquest, as the city was the first place that the Mamluks recaptured from the Franks in Palestine.<sup>68</sup> The account of Baybars's conquest is followed by a description of the Muslim army's conquest of Caesarea in 19/640,<sup>69</sup> to which we shall now turn.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 241.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 13–14, 287.

<sup>67</sup> "The capture of Caesarea took place on a Thursday, that of its citadel on a Thursday, and that of Arsūf on a Thursday. This is a sign of the good fortune that God accords to the sultan, as it is reported that the Prophet only commenced a journey on Thursdays. The ulama stated that: 'It is preferable that the *mujāhid* only begins an expedition on Thursday following the example of the Prophet on his travels, as actions are presented to God only on Thursday.'" (Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 242).

<sup>68</sup> "*Wa ṣāra al-Shām kulluhu lil-muslimīn*," Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 233.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 232–33. The traditions regarding the capture of Caesarea by the Muslim armies outnumber those relating to the capture of Jerusalem. The dates vary between the years 18, 19, and 20. The seven-month siege was increased to seven years by historiographers



In his account, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir inserted a copy of the letter sent by Caliph ‘Umar to the Syrian governor, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān:

I gave you command of all of the Syrian armies (*ajnad al-Shām*) and wrote to them saying that they should listen to you and obey you, and not refuse any order. Raise the tribute and form an army of Muslims (*akhrij fa-askir bi-al-muslimin*), then lead them to Caesarea, attack, and do not leave before God has accorded you victory. You should not conquer what you have already conquered in Syria while the population of Caesarea is present, [since] your enemies will [always] be your neighbors. The Byzantine emperor (Qaysar) will continue to pursue Syria as long as there is someone to obey him, even though you would have conquered it. May God take away from him all hope of Syria and may He, the Mighty and Great, accomplish it and be the creator of that for Muslims—God willing.<sup>70</sup>

In the text, this letter is followed by a discourse given by one of the vanquishers, ‘Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit,<sup>71</sup> who cited Caliph ‘Umar’s ruling on the pillage of property following Caesarea’s capture: this misappropriation was rendered legitimate as it enabled the Muslims’ success.<sup>72</sup> Caliph ‘Umar’s letter does not figure in the traditional sources on the conquest of Caesarea.<sup>73</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir chose to reintroduce the letter as it helped justify the financing of the war against the infidels, under the caution of the mythic Caliph ‘Umar. This was similarly the case with ‘Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit’s discourse, which was used to legitimize the Muslim

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so that its length coincided with the entire duration of the conquest of Shām. Moshe Sharon, “Ḳaysariyya,” *EI2*, 4:841. See the historical and archaeological studies of Holum: Kenneth G. Holum, “Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 286 (1992): 73–85; idem, *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective after Two Millennia*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 21 (Leiden, 1996); idem, *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition, 400–800 C.E.*, Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture 20 (Bethesda, MD, 2011).

<sup>70</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 232. The theme of divine victory constitutes one of the recurrent aspects in the accounts of *futūḥ*; see Donner, *Narratives*, 177.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit (d. 35/655), one of the *Anṣār* from the Khazraj tribe, who participated in the battle of Badr in addition to all the other battles of the Prophet. He was named qadi of Jerusalem by ‘Umar. See Jean-Louis Déclais, “La kunya du Prophète et le partage du butin: un midrash sur Josué,” *Arabica* 46, no. 2 (1999): 182–83.

<sup>72</sup> “*Innī khā’if alaykum an takūnū ghallaltum, ya’nī saraqtum al-makāsib wa-lam taqsumūhā. Fa-inna ‘Umar, raḍā Allāh ‘anhu, qāla lil-muslimīn fī nawbat al-Yarmūk: Subḥān Allāh, aw qad wāqafūhum, ya’nī al-mushrikīn, mā azunnu illā qad ghallū. Wa-qāla: law lam yaghullū mā wāqafūhum, walizafarū bi-him bi-ghāyr mū’umna, ay bi-ghāyr ta’ab.*” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 233).

<sup>73</sup> Al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ*, (Leiden, 1863–66), 140–41; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk* (Leiden, 1878), 1:2396–97; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus, 1911–14), 4:395.



armies' confiscation of harvests to further the cause of jihad: seized crops were given the status of booty for the benefit of the community (*fay'*), thus helping to continue the war in defense of Islam.<sup>74</sup> The recollection of the past thus served a political purpose with respect to the establishment of Baybars's power in Syria.

The letter also stresses the importance of expelling the Byzantines, designated as *kuffār*, so that they could not use Bilād al-Shām as a base to reconquer other territories. As at the time of the Muslim conquest, Caesarea became the paradigm for Baybars's appropriation of the area,<sup>75</sup> as he systematically destroyed strongholds on the coast, where he drove away the Frankish population (or imprisoned them, as at Arsūf), and then he ensued with a settlement policy by distributing land to the amirs who had taken part in the war. This collective distribution of land was regulated by a charter (*tawqī'*) written for the occasion and inserted into numerous narrative sources.<sup>76</sup> The preamble of the text is a panegyric to the sultan, who is elevated to the rank of hero (*fatan*) with superhuman qualities surpassing those of his predecessors. Anne-Marie Eddé noted that the preamble emphasizes Baybars's struggle against the Mongols, his comparison to Alexander, and his fight against the infidels.<sup>77</sup> The charter relates to the donation of title deeds, since the land was intended to be transmitted to the sons of amirs and their descendants. It therefore concerns a property (*tamlīk*), which reveals how Baybars regarded Syria and his intended use for the territory: the land taken from the Franks was considered collective property by legal decision and distributed to the combatants on a permanent basis for the good of the community.<sup>78</sup> We know

<sup>74</sup> In the pre-Islamic period, the term *fay'* designated the "objects taken as booty and shared among the victors." However, the precedent set by the Prophet's victory over Banū al-Naḍīr (see below) modified its meaning and it referred henceforth to the booty granted by God for the benefit of the Muslim community. *Fay'* denotes what rightfully belongs to the Muslim community. Theorists, however, were subsequently at odds as to the exact content of *fay'* (four-fifths shared among the conquering army or the totality transferred to the State to finance the war effort?). "It would appear that with the notion of *fay'*, the rights of the State to raise heavy taxes are supported, the residents keeping the usufruct while their right of property is held." See F. Lookkergard, "Fay'," *EI2*, 2:889–90.

<sup>75</sup> On Caesarea as a paradigm for the transition of urban space between late antiquity and the Islamic period, see the studies collected in *Shaping the Middle East*.

<sup>76</sup> The text was composed under the supervision of the qadi of Damascus, a court clerk (*'udūl*), and a treasury official (*wakīl bayt al-māl*). The charter should be found in a lacuna of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's text, but it was taken out by Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib*, 94 (end of the *tamlīk*); Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 98–99; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:272–81; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd*, ed. E. Blochet, *Patrologia Orientalis* 12 (1919), 12:479; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārikh al-Duwal*, 1:98–104, 2:78–82; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:2:530–34; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 1:2:11–15.

<sup>77</sup> Eddé, "Baybars et son double: de l'ambiguïté du souverain idéal," 41.

<sup>78</sup> The policy of distributing land to the emirs as *milk* was a milestone in the process of decline of peasant property in the Near East. This process was highlighted by Baber Johansen, *The Islamic*



that during these expeditions, Baybars surrounded himself with legal experts who could provide him with fatwas when the need arose.<sup>79</sup> His successors nevertheless followed a somewhat different territorial policy involving the temporary granting of *iqṭāʿ* to their amirs (*iqṭāʿ istighlāl*).<sup>80</sup> This change in the legal status of land, that is, the Mamluk power's ability to dispose of land and distribute it to the amirs, appears in Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir's account under the auspices of a tradition dating back to the Islamic conquest.

The political management of Caesarea inaugurated what would become Baybars's policy in the territories captured from the Franks. By using documents deemed "authentic" (ʿUmar's letter) or with an authentic quality (ʿUbādah's discourse), the past was commemorated and rendered in the present, thus rewriting Baybars into its reiteration to legitimize his politics.

### *The Capture of Jaffa and Memory of the Prophet*

The accounts from the years 665–66/1266–68, which correspond to Baybars's great offensives against the Franks in Palestine, portray numerous parallels between the sultan and the Prophet. In Shaʿbān 665/April 1267, Baybars led four days of intensive raids in the region of Acre, which is mentioned in all of the Christian sources on the Crusades. These expeditions, accompanied by fires and the destruction of crops and orchards, were declared legal by the ulama.<sup>81</sup> Their justification was based on the Prophet's own actions: the ravages to vineyards in the region of Ṭāʾif, leading its inhabitants to convert to Islam, or taking the date palms on the lands of the Banū al-Naḍir.<sup>82</sup> Looting was similarly rendered legal, as it repeated an act of the Prophet. By the same process, the propagandists of the regime sought to give scriptural sanction to the government's appropriation of land revenues.

The conquest of Jaffa in Jumādā II 666/March 1268 presented the opportunity to write Baybars into a textual continuation with the Prophet, as shown in Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir's account of events, which markedly differs from the other nar-

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*Law on Tax and Rent: the Peasant's Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London, 1988).

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 150 (the arrest of al-Malik al-Mughīth), 238 (siege of Arsūf). Other Mamluk sovereigns did the same: Ibn Taymiyah was at the battle of Shaqḥāb against the Mongols in 702/1303, where he gave fatwas (Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:432, Ibn Abi al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd*, 20:85–86).

<sup>80</sup> Frenkel, "Agriculture, Land Tenure and Peasants," 199 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 282.

<sup>82</sup> For a decryption of the affair of the cut palm trees, see Jacqueline Chabbi, *Le Coran décrypté: figures bibliques en Arabie* (Paris, 2008), 333 ff.



rative sources.<sup>83</sup> According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, the death of John of Ibelin, the Count of Jaffa, with whom the sultan had agreed to a truce, released the sultan from his commitment towards the Franks of Jaffa.<sup>84</sup> Their poor behavior is also mentioned by Baybars’s panegyrist in order to justify the fact that the sultan did not renew the truce. When the sultan was in his camp at al-‘Awjā’, the Castellan of Jaffa and a delegation of townspeople came to negotiate the city’s surrender and the departure of its population. The sultan accepted his demand and the city was taken without any combat. Following the surrender, the sultan then made several decisions: he prohibited looting by the army, ordered the construction of mosques, and forbade shameful acts (*munkarāt*). The citadel was destroyed, and part of its woodwork and marble was recovered to build the mosque of al-Zāhir in Cairo. Finally, the sultan sent Turkmen sentinels on coastal surveillance and proceeded to donate villages to his amirs. He decided that the revenues taken from the region should not be mixed with others, and thus asked for his food and drinks to be procured from these revenues, “as God had conquered this region with his hands.”<sup>85</sup>

The capture of Jaffa is compared with the expeditions of the Prophet against the Jewish tribe the Banū al-Naḍīr. After their being expelled from Medina, “this was the first land granted to the Prophet by God.”<sup>86</sup> According to tradition, this land, which was taken by God’s will without any combat, was not distributed in the usual fashion, but instead given entirely to the *muhājirūn*.<sup>87</sup> This prophetic sanction allowed Baybars’s official historian to grant him the glory of conquest and legitimize his establishment of a special regime for these lands. Baybars, just as the Prophet did with the Banū al-Naḍīr’s palm trees, distributed the captured lands as he wished, although without taking into account the possible claims of their former owners. The lands thus took on the status of *fay’*, which permitted the ruling power to dispose of them. Another source, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who relies heavily on Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir and follows his sequence of events, stresses

<sup>83</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 292–95, is followed by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:298–99; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal*, 1:134, 2:106; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:2:564–65.

<sup>84</sup> On the truce between Baybars and John of Ibelin, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 118.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 294.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* On the Banū al-Naḍīr, see V. Vacca, “Naḍīr (Banū l-),” *EI2*, 7:853–54.

<sup>87</sup> Quran 59:7–10. See Montgomery Watt, *Mahomet* (Paris, 1958, reprint 2005), 462–64; M. J. Kister, “Land Property and Jihād: A Discussion of Some Early Traditions,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34, no. 4 (1991): 305. Baybars, who prohibited looting at Jaffa, also shifted the revenues of this territory from the status of *ghanimah* (booty taken from the enemy) to that of *fay’* (booty rendered to Muslims). S. Rudolph Peters, “Booty,” *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, 1:251–52. Quran 59:6–7 evokes what God accorded to the Muslims (*afā’ah*) without combat. Surah 59 is incidentally known by certain commentators as “Surāt al-Naḍīr.” See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* (1948), 4:330–44.



that it was the Mamluk army's demonstration of force by surrounding the city that drove the Mamluks to the victory. Protection (*amān*) was given to the population who had sought refuge in the citadel and chose to surrender because of the strength of the Mamluk army. Baybars al-Manṣūrī's interpretation of the conquest of Jaffa without a fight is based on the Mamluk army's intimidation of the Franks, and not on any religious considerations.<sup>88</sup>

Other sources, however, recount a very different version of the capture of Jaffa. Two authors, al-Yūnīnī and Ibn al-Dawādārī, wrote their chronicles soon after the events.<sup>89</sup> According to them, the sultan detained the delegation sent from Jaffa to negotiate and then ordered his armies to prepare during the night and thereafter to march into the city. Jaffa was then seized in the early hours of the morning. The population took refuge in the citadel and asked for protection (*amān*), which was subsequently accorded. The sources also tell that the sultan gave the Franks forty thousand dirhams as compensation for what had been seized from them (*'awwadahum 'ammā nuhiba lahum arba'in alf dirham*).<sup>90</sup> The amount may have been negotiated for the surrender of the citadel and taken from the booty after the city's looting. In yet another account, Ibn Kathīr reports that the sultan laid siege to the city. The population asked for protection, but the city was taken by force (*'anwatan*).<sup>91</sup> This term has a legal connotation, designating the appropriation of land by violence in contrast to its conquest following an accord (*ṣulḥan*). This consequently gave the rights to the new power (at the time, the caliphate power; here, the sultan) to dispose of the lands as they chose and dispossess their former owners.<sup>92</sup> The fact that the Mamluk chroniclers do not follow Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's account, unlike in the other narratives of Baybars's conquests, suggests that Ibn

<sup>88</sup> See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 110. "Shāhadū tilka al-juyūsh bi-tilka."

<sup>89</sup> Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, 2:374–76; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:124. These two texts are very close to each other, but it is impossible to establish which one was used as a source by the other. In addition to common elements, each source includes details that do not appear in the other, suggesting the use of a common source. See also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 7:131–32, and Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd*, 12:503.

<sup>90</sup> According to the Western sources on the Crusades, Jaffa was captured by Baybars following a betrayal. However, they do not mention the payment of this sum (*L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'outremer*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* [Paris, 1844–95], 2:447, 456; *Gestes des Chyprois*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Arméniens* [Paris, 1844], 2:771).

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 13:292.

<sup>92</sup> Albrecht Noth, "Some Remarks on the Nationalization of Conquered Lands at the Time of the Umayyads," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 223–28; idem, "Futuh-History and Futuh-Historiography: The Muslim Conquest of Damascus," *Al-Qantara* 10, no. 2 (1989): 453–62.



ʿAbd al-Zāhir manipulated his narrative in order to match his text to the image of the Prophet.

A monumental inscription at the White Mosque in Ramla, dated to 666/1267–68, outlines the expedition against Jaffa in terms similar to the account of Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir: the sultan’s departure from Egypt to fight the infidels in the frontier town (*thaghr*) of Jaffa, the city’s siege, and its capture on the same day with God’s consent (*idhn Allāh*).<sup>93</sup> This epigraphy promotes the propaganda found in the official historiography of Baybars, which seeks to illustrate God’s implication in this victory without battle. By recalling this episode, the White Mosque, constructed during the Umayyad era,<sup>94</sup> became a commemorative monument, a shrine (*mashhad*) or “a place that bears witness.”<sup>95</sup> The monument commemorates a founding event of the new regime (i.e., the conquest of Jaffa with God’s consent and the victory over the infidels). It is interesting to note that the White Mosque was located outside the urban perimeter during the Mamluk period.<sup>96</sup> This location, isolated yet on a highly frequented route, would have reinforced the visual effect of the edifice and its message to an even greater extent.<sup>97</sup> The choice of an Umayyad monument is not without meaning either. The Umayyads made a significant contribution to shaping the Syrian landscape, and architecture was considered a vital support for their *memoria*.<sup>98</sup> From Baybars’s perspective, the Syrian foundation of his ideological construction required him to connect with

<sup>93</sup> For the inscription, see *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, ed. Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1943), vol. 12, no. 4588. On the construction of the mosque, see Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 352; al-ʿUlaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, trans. Henri Sauvaire as *Histoire de Jérusalem et d’Hébron* (Paris, 1876), 207.

<sup>94</sup> The mosque was constructed under the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, according to E. Honingmann, “Al-Ramla,” *EI2*, 8:437.

<sup>95</sup> Christian Décobert, “Un lieu de mémoire religieuse,” in *Valeur et distance: identités communautaires en Egypte*, ed. Christian Décobert (Paris, 2000), 249.

<sup>96</sup> According to the findings of archaeological digs undertaken north of the mosque and the description of al-ʿUlaymī, *Al-Uns*, 296. The city, in fact, was destroyed by Saladin in 583/1191 and remained in ruin. See A. D. Petersen, “Ramla after the Crusades,” in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 450, 453.

<sup>97</sup> The choice of Ramla as a place of memory is explained by the city’s location on the strategic Cairo-Damascus route. Following Jaffa’s destruction by Baybars, Ramla was distinguished as the second urban center in Palestine. The construction of two bridges nearby at Ludd (671/1273) and Yabnah (672/1273–74) corroborates this hypothesis. Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 352; *RCEA* 12, nos. 4660–61; Charles Clermont-Ganneau, “Le pont de Baybars à Lydda,” *Recueil d’archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1888), 1:262–79; Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *Arts et archéologie islamiques en Palestine* (Paris, 2002), 115–17 (Ludd).

<sup>98</sup> See Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 217 ff.



the Umayyad memory. His constructions in Syria are thus rich in quotations from the past and contain many references to Umayyad architecture, notably through borrowed stylistic motifs.<sup>99</sup> The monument thus became a meeting place between past and present through the use of memory and appropriation of space.

The systematic use of historiography in Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s text, always in relation to Baybars’s conquests, aims to suppress the barriers between the past and the present. The reality of the past becomes obvious and immediate. With these accounts, the past gains a political utility and becomes an explanatory principle of Baybars’s success in Bilād al-Shām. Furthermore, as the conquest of Jaffa points out, the past was recreated in the image of the present and then claimed its authority for legitimizing contemporary practices. The purpose of the religious scholar was to make Baybars’s rule acceptable to his subjects. The new Mamluk ideology based on both a religious ideal and the concept of guardianship sought to identify in the historiography of Bilād al-Shām historical precedents of the saviors of Islam on which the present relied. The recollection of figures of the past was also a strategy implemented in Baybars’s architectural program in Syria. The act of restoring buildings was thus memorial, with the selection of monuments linked to events of the past providing patterns of identification that give sense and legitimacy to the present.

## Monumental Construction and Baybars’s Appropriation of the Syrian Space

Baybars invested in the construction and restoration of monuments in Syria. His projects developed in three main directions. Firstly, he restored well-known Islamic sites, such as the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina and the Dome of the Rock

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<sup>99</sup> More than straightforward *imitatio*, these motifs were a real *translatio*: “*Translatio* enables the transmission of an old structure into a new one without the latter becoming an exact imitation. The past transmits its spirit into the present, in order to reflect the same idea. Thus *translatio* is not only the act of transmitting a motif or technique from the Dome of the Rock to the new Mamluk buildings; it also transfers within it the idea of glory, rulership, and triumph of the Islamic faith, from the Umayyad period into the Mamluk one.” Hana Taragan “The Image of the Dome of the Rock in Cairene Mamluk Architecture,” *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/1998): 459. See also by the same author: “Sign of the Time: Reusing the Past in Baybars’s Architecture,” in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honor of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (New York, 2005), 54–66; idem, “Historical Reference in Medieval Islamic Architecture: Baybars’s Buildings in Palestine,” *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 25 (2002): 31–34; idem, “Doors That Open Meanings: Baybars’s Red Mosque at Safed,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2003), 3–20. Nasser Rabat also studied this issue: Nasser Rabat, “The Mosaics of the Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus,” *ARAM Periodical* 9, no. 1–2 (1997): 227–39; idem, “Mamluk Throne Halls: ‘Qubba’ or ‘Iwān’?” *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 201–18.



in Jerusalem, which threatened to collapse, with work beginning in 660/1260–61.<sup>100</sup> He also renovated the mosques in ‘Ajlūn in 662/1263–64<sup>101</sup> and Ramla in 666/1267–68,<sup>102</sup> in addition to the Great Mosque of Homs in 671/1273.<sup>103</sup> Another project initiated by Baybars was to add architectural elements to the “lieux de mémoire religieuse”<sup>104</sup> associated with the great figures of Islamic history: the mosque at the tomb of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd near Homs in 664/1266<sup>105</sup> as well as the tombs of Moses near Jericho in 668/1269–70,<sup>106</sup> Abū Ḥurayrah in Yabnah in

<sup>100</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 89, 416; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 351; al-‘Ulaymī, *Al-Uns*, 238–39; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-A‘lāq al-Khaṭīrah fi Dhikr Umarā’ al-Shām wa-al-‘Jazīrah*, ed. Sami Dahan as *Liban, Jordanie, Palestine, topographie historique d’Ibn Shaddād* (Damascus, 1963), 237; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:2:554, 608; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 1:1:140.

<sup>101</sup> He built a minaret: *RCEA* 12, no. 4528. See Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten Und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)* (Glückstadt, 1992), 2:16, no. 48.

<sup>102</sup> Baybars added two domes to the minaret and *mihrāb* of the white mosque and placed the door in front of the *mihrāb* (al-‘Ulaymī, *Al-Uns*, 207; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 352). The edifice was constructed under the Umayyads, begun under Sulaymān and completed under ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. See E. Honnigman, “al-Ramla,” *EI2*, 8:437–38, and M. Rosen-Ayalon, “The First Century of Ramla,” *Arabica* 43, no. 1 (1996): 250. The inscription on the walls of the mosque that describes Baybars’s victory against the Crusaders in Jaffa was discussed above (*RCEA* 12, no. 4588).

<sup>103</sup> *RCEA* 12, no. 4662. See Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:38, no. 171.

<sup>104</sup> See Décobert, “Un lieu de mémoire religieuse,” in *Valeur et distance*, 247–63. See also a discussion on this French historiographical concept in the Islamic context: Nasser Rabbat, “Al-Maqrīzī’s *Khitat*: an Egyptian Lieu de Mémoire,” in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Leila Abi Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 17–30.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 263; *RCEA* 12, no. 4556–57. In 666, he established a *waqf* for the benefit of the village of Far‘am in the region of Ṣafād (*RCEA* 12, no. 4593); Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:23, no. 88; Yehoshua Frenkel, “Baybars and the Sacred Geography of Bilad al-Sham: A Chapter in the Islamization of Syria’s Landscape,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 160. The mosque had already been restored by Saladin; see Nikita Eliseeff, “Hims,” *EI2*, 3:414.

<sup>106</sup> He added a dome (*qubbah*): Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 351; *RCEA* 12, no. 4612; al-‘Ulaymī, *Al-Uns*, 25–27; Ibn Shaddād, *Liban, Jordanie, Palestine*, 285. The site has been examined in numerous articles: Joseph Sadan, “Le tombeau de Moïse à Jéricho et à Damas: une compétition entre deux lieux saints, principalement à l’époque ottomane,” *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 49 (1981): 59–99; Samuel Tamari, “Maqām Nabī Mūsā (Jericho),” *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 49 (1981): 231–74; Reuven Amitai, “Some remarks on the inscription of Baybars at maqam Nabi Musa,” in *Mamluks and Ottomans*, 45–53; Leo Ari Mayer, “Two Inscriptions of Baybars,” *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 2 (1933): 27–32; Frenkel, “Baybars and the Sacred Geography,” 159; Aigle, “Les inscriptions de Baybars,” 67–68.



673/1274,<sup>107</sup> Jaʿfar ibn Abi Ṭālib al-Ṭayyār near Kerak,<sup>108</sup> Abū ʿUbaydah in ʿAmatā in the Ghawr province in 675/1276–77,<sup>109</sup> and Salmān al-Fārisī in Isdūd.<sup>110</sup> Lastly, Baybars initiated the construction of new mosques in Homs,<sup>111</sup> Ṣafad,<sup>112</sup> Ludd,<sup>113</sup> and Qāqūn,<sup>114</sup> sometimes building mosques on the sites of churches, such as at Barghās,<sup>115</sup> Antioch,<sup>116</sup> and Qārā.<sup>117</sup> He also built numerous *zāwiyahs* for popular contemporary saints (Shaykh al-Khaḍīr<sup>118</sup> and Shaykh Badr at Naplouse).<sup>119</sup>

Yehoshua Frenkel showed that this construction program contributed to outlining the contours of a new sacred topography in Syria.<sup>120</sup> It also influenced the Islamization of the territory by giving it a political dimension in the context of

<sup>107</sup> He added a portico (*riwāq*): Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 158 (*ziyārah*); *RCEA* 12, no. 4686. See also Georges Marçais, “Abu Hurayra,” *EI2*, 1:132–33; Leo Ari Mayer, *Muslim Religious Buildings* (Jerusalem, 1950), 20–24; Hana Taragan, “Politics and Aesthetics: Sultan Baybars and the Abu Hurayra/Rabbi Gamliel Building in Yavne,” in *Milestones in the Art and Culture of Egypt*, ed. Asher Oquadiah (Tel Aviv, 2000), 117–43.

<sup>108</sup> The *mashhad* was extended: see Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 352; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 7:194; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 13:319; Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:16, no. 43.

<sup>109</sup> Construction of a dome (*qubbah*): see Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 351; *RCEA* 12, no. 4714, and 13, no. 4901; al-ʿUlaymī, *Al-Uns*, 240; Frenkel, “Baybars and the Sacred Geography,” 159–69.

<sup>110</sup> Construction of a mosque (*masjid*) above the tomb: see *RCEA* 12, no. 4600; M. Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 1997), 1:124–28; Frenkel, “Baybars and the Sacred Geography,” 158, 165.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 307; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:305; Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:32, nos. 131–32.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 263; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 353; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:2:548; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 1:2:30; Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:23, nos. 89–90; Mayer, *Muslim Religious Buildings*, 44–46; Taragan, “Doors that Open Meanings,” 3–20.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 293; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 352; Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:32, no. 132.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 358.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:293; *RCEA* 12, no. 4554; Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:24, no. 97.

<sup>118</sup> On this surprising figure who was both the advisor and double of Baybars, see Louis Pouzet, “Hadīr Ibn Abī al-Mihranī (m. 7 muh. 676/11 juin 1277), šayḥ du sultan mamelouk al-Malik az-Zāhir Baībars,” *BEO* 30 (1978): 17–83, and more recently Eddé, “Baybars et son double: de l’ambiguïté du souverain idéal.”

<sup>119</sup> *RCEA* 12, no. 4673; Frenkel, “Baybars and the Sacred Geography,” 167.

<sup>120</sup> Frenkel, “Baybars and the Sacred Geography,” 153–70.



the fight against the Crusaders and Mongols.<sup>121</sup> The choice of these sites revealed Baybars's strategy to create a new cultural landscape in which Syria's recent history, strongly marked by the idea of jihad, was superimposed on the commemoration of certain events from the past. As for jihad, the titles given to Baybars in the monumental inscriptions confirm this to be one of his priorities. For the most part, his titles are all variants on the theme of jihad: the fighter of the Holy War (*al-mujāhid*), the fighter against of the unbelievers and the polytheists (*qātil al-kaḥarāh wa-al-mushrikīn*), the conqueror of the citadels and the cities (*fātiḥ al-ḥusūn wa-al-qilā' wa-al-amṣār*), the annihilator of the Franks and Mongols (*mubīd al-Franj wa-al-Tatar*), the one who wrests castles from the hands of the unbelievers (*muqtalī' al-qilā' min yaddi al-kuffār*), and the border warrior (*al-mughāzī, al-murābiṭ, al-muthāghir*).<sup>122</sup> In addition, the inscriptions testify to the special status of the Syrian province, as it is principally in Syria where the sultan's titles form part of the jihadist propaganda.<sup>123</sup> Bilād al-Shām was thus the favored place for expressing the anti-infidel rhetoric.<sup>124</sup>

Jan Assmann highlights the major role played by the landscape as an anchor of memory. The culture of remembrance functions by demarcating the natural space: "The art of memory works with imaginary settings and memory culture with signs based on Nature. Even, or indeed especially, entire landscapes may serve as a medium for cultural memory. These are not so much accentuated by signs ('monuments') as raised to the status of signs".<sup>125</sup> With Baybars, the Syrian landscape as a whole was fashioned as a commemorative space, with monuments and texts providing the public with the opportunity to understand the direction

<sup>121</sup> On the Islamization of the countryside around Jerusalem during the Mamluk period, see Nimrod Luz, "Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland," *MSR* 6 (2002): 133–54.

<sup>122</sup> Denise Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars," 87–115. On the titles of Muslim sovereigns, see the pioneering study of Nikita Elisseff, "La titulature de Nur al-Din d'après ses inscriptions," *BEO* 14 (1952–54): 155–96. On Baybars, see also Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "An Arabic Inscription at Al-Subayba (Qal'at Namrūd) from the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *The Al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress: Towers 9 and 11*, ed. M. Hartal (Jerusalem, 2001), 109–23.

<sup>123</sup> A clear imbalance between Syria and Egypt should be highlighted—Baybars had only a dozen inscriptions engraved in Egypt, while Syria was dotted with numerous inscriptions, gradually marking the advancement of the reconquest and presence of the new Islamic power. This contrasts with the Mamluks' predecessors, the Fatimids and Ayyubids, who left behind numerous inscriptions in Egypt. Baybars's inscriptions in Egypt are the following: *RCEA* 12, nos. 4485, 4501, 4552, 4554, 4562, 4563, 4563, 4564, 4564, 4565, 4565, 4586, 4608, 4723.

<sup>124</sup> This is not new to the Mamluk period. On the foothold of jihad at the Syrian borders, see Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arabo-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, 1996). Under the Mamluks, however, the presence of the enemy (Crusaders and Mongols) within the Syrian territory made Bilād al-Shām the focal point of the holy war.

<sup>125</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 44.



of the new regime. From this perspective, the commemoration of the past, as expressed through the restoration of a monument, translated into a desire to express an affiliation with the Syrian territory and entrench the new power therein.<sup>126</sup>

### *Places of Prophetic Memory: Jerusalem and Yabnah*

Baybars's investment in building and restoring monuments may be seen as a desire to associate himself with key figures of Islamic history: in the first case, the Prophet, and in the second, his Companions. This is at once evident in his restoration of the Medina Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. In his titles, Baybars frequently refers to the *qiblatayn*, Mecca and Jerusalem, presenting himself as their protector (*ṣāhib al-qiblatayn, mālik al-qiblatayn*).<sup>127</sup> The reference to Jerusalem as the first *qiblah* concerns an ancient prophetic tradition before Muḥammad changed its status.<sup>128</sup> The use of this designation for Jerusalem as the "first of the two directions of prayer" (*ūlā al-qiblatayn*) along with the epithets the "second of the two sanctuaries" (*thānī al-masjidayn*) and the "third after the two places of pilgrimage" (*thālith al-ḥaramayn*), spread throughout the Ayyubid period, and continued to do so during the Mamluk period and then under the Ottomans.<sup>129</sup> The affirmation of Jerusalem's sacredness and its ritual importance to Islam, which had witnessed two decisive moments, first in the Umayyad period and then during the Crusades, became amplified during the Mamluk period.<sup>130</sup>

Baybars likewise sought to promote the memory of the Companions. For example, he had the tomb of Abū Hurayrah restored at Yabnah, close to Ramla. Muslim tradition regards Abū Hurayrah as a close Companion of the Prophet, attributing the transmission of 3,500 hadiths to him. He was buried at Medina,

<sup>126</sup> Jan Assmann, "Remembering in Order to Belong," in *Religion And Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, 81–100; Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, esp. Ch. 4: "L'espace syrien du IIe/VIIIe siècle: entre souvenir et oubli."

<sup>127</sup> RCEA 12, nos. 4476, 4556, 4557, 4593, 4612, 4890, 4732, 4733, 4734. This title is peculiar to Baybars and does not figure in any Zangid or Ayyubid titles. See Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars," 66.

<sup>128</sup> See A. J. Wensinck, "Kibla," *EI2*, 4:64–85; R. Kimber, "Qibla," *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, 6:325–28. On the change of the *qiblah* at the time of the Prophet, see Shimon Shtober, "La jajuz an yakun fi alam lil-llahi qiblatayn": Judeo-Islamic Polemics Concerning the *Qibla* (625–1010)," *Medieval Encounters* 5, no. 1 (1999): 85–98.

<sup>129</sup> See Angelica Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam: the Three Honorific Names of the City," in *Ottoman Jerusalem, the Living City (1517–1917)*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London, 2000).

<sup>130</sup> There is an extensive bibliography on the holiness of Jerusalem in Islam. Here, we cite only M. J. Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques: A Study of an Early Islamic Tradition," *Le Museon* 82 (1969): 173–96; Paul M. Cobb, "Virtual Sacrality: Making Muslim Syria Sacred before the Crusades," *Medieval Encounters* 8, no. 1 (2002): 35–55, on the age of the traditions concerning Jerusalem as a place of devotion. See also Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995).



but numerous tombs are found in his name throughout Palestine.<sup>131</sup> Baybars visited his tomb (*ziyārah*) in 661/1262–63, the year before his great offensive against the Frankish states.<sup>132</sup> At the same time, he visited the tomb of Ḍiḥyah al-Kalbī, another Companion with links to Syria.<sup>133</sup> The proliferation of tombs dedicated to the Prophet's Companions, sometimes with several attributed to the same person, is explained by a hadith: "None of my companions will die in a [certain] country, but each of them will be sent as a leader [i.e., for the inhabitants of that country] and as an *illuminato* of the Day of Judgment."<sup>134</sup> The Companions, who were depicted in the most ancient sources (such as the *Maghāzī*) as ordinary human beings, in time became extraordinary figures, being presented as actual saints. In turn, these places of memory of the Companions imparted Baybars with a sacred character himself, as the commemorative inscriptions figuring on the monuments allowed their sacredness to land on their benefactor. The restoration work initiated by the sultan along with the idea of him being a "roaming saint" during these *ziyārahs* to the tombs created a new cultural space linked to the memory of the Prophet.<sup>135</sup>

### *The Appropriation of Memories of Conquest: Ja'far al-Ṭayyār and Khālīd ibn al-Walīd*

Baybars associated himself with places of memory connected with the Islamic conquest of Syria. Such is the case for the tomb of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭayyār, the Prophet's cousin. He was appointed as army commander by Muḥammad in the event that Zayd ibn Ḥārithah should perish during an expedition to the Byz-

<sup>131</sup> See Taragan, "Politics and Aesthetics," 132

<sup>132</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 158.

<sup>133</sup> He was sent to Syria by the Prophet on account of his in-depth knowledge of the area, according to Henri Lammens, "Dihya al-Kalbi," *EI2*, 2:274.

<sup>134</sup> "Mā min aḥādīn min aṣḥābī yamūtu bi-arḍin illā bu'itha qā'idan (*ya'nī li-ahlihā*) wa-nūran yawm al-qiyāmah," M. J. Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided: on Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 42, cited by Taragan, "Politics and Aesthetics," 132. See also Albrecht Noth "The Ṣaḥāba Topos," in *History and Historiography in Early Islamic Times: Studies and Perspectives*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton, forthcoming). On the development of the traditions linked to the stay of the *aṣḥāb* in the given locations, see M. Muranyi, "Sahaba," *EI2*, 8:856–57.

<sup>135</sup> See a parallel with the travels of the Carolingian sovereign, analyzed by Dominique Iogna-Prat, "La construction biographique du souverain carolingien," *Annexes des cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales* 15, no. 1 (2003): 197–224: "La sainte itinérance du souverain carolingien de sanctuaire en sanctuaire met en valeur des pôles sacrés dont le parcours est constitutif d'une mouvance 'patriotique,' c'est-à-dire d'une dynamique créatrice d'espace au gré des déplacements du roi et de l'empereur," 214.



antine frontier. Jaʿfar finally died at the Battle of Muʿtah in Jumādā I 8/629.<sup>136</sup> The traditional accounts highlight his bravery in combat, while the Prophet, who had a vision of the battle from his pulpit (*minbar*), described Jaʿfar as “The Flyer in Paradise” (*al-ṭayyār fī al-jannah*).<sup>137</sup> According to the textual sources based on Ibn Shaddād’s account, Baybars wanted to enlarge Jaʿfar’s shrine (*mashhad*) near Kerak and establish a *waqf* to fund the reception of pilgrims.<sup>138</sup> On the site, however, there is no inscription dating to Baybars’s reign. Al-Ḥarawī and Yāqūt refer to the existence of tombs at the site of the Battle of Muʿtah,<sup>139</sup> as confirmed by an inscription fragment mentioned by Charles Clermont-Ganneau. For the Orientalist, the fragment is “of exceptional interest, as it allows us to authenticate one of the oldest sanctuaries, one of the most glorious relics of Islam at its infancy, and a well-known saying attributed to Muhammad by the tradition.”<sup>140</sup> Despite the absence of archaeological evidence for Baybars’s restorative work, the historian Ibn Kathīr judged the fact sufficiently important to make it figure prominently in his biography of Baybars. If the tomb restored by Baybars is indeed the one bearing the inscription with the Prophetic hadith, then we can see the superimposition of several strata of memory.

In Homs, Baybars had the tomb of Khālid ibn al-Walid restored. Khālid was a champion of the Muslim conquests in northern Syria but he was also a controversial figure because he led the conquests on his own without the consent of the caliph. Although the exact identification of this tomb is uncertain for the Muslim

<sup>136</sup> See L. Veccia Vaglieri, “Djaʿfar Ibn Abī Tālib,” *EI2*, 2:372.

<sup>137</sup> David Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (Cambridge, 2007), 25–26.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 352; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 7:194, Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 13:320. See Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:16, no. 43.

<sup>139</sup> Al-Ḥarawī, *Kitāb al-Ishārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine as *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage* (Damascus, 1953), 19. See also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890), 479, 510.

<sup>140</sup> On the age of the tomb attributed to Jaʿfar, see Charles Clermont-Ganneau, “Le tombeau de Gaʿfar cousin-germain de Mahommet,” *Recueil d’Archéologie Orientale* 3 (Paris, 1900): 278–82. The tomb was subsequently restored under the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir by the governor of Kerak and Shawbak in 727/1327, and then in 752/1351 (*RCEA* 14, no. 5545, and 16, no. 6169).



authors,<sup>141</sup> Baybars nevertheless decided to attribute it to Khālid, resuming the use of his disputed title “Sayf Allāh” in the inscription.<sup>142</sup>

From 664/1265, immediately after the capture of Ṣafad, Baybars desired to take control of this newly conquered area, so he constituted a *waqf* for Khālid’s presumed tomb by assigning it the village of Far‘am, located several kilometers northeast of Ṣafad.<sup>143</sup> In the inscription figuring on a marble slab of the tomb, dated to Rabī‘ I 666/November 1267, the religious merits of the sultan are extolled in Quranic terms as the custodian of God’s blessings (*ni‘mah*; in this context, the fertile lands reclaimed from the infidel Franks).<sup>144</sup> The sultan also decided to render perpetual alms (*ṣadaqah khālidah*) to the tombs of prophets and honest men located in the vicinity of these conquered lands.<sup>145</sup> This ritual endowment was the subject of an oath upon his person (*ashhada ‘alā nafsīhi*) in which the sultan imitated a prophetic gesture by dividing the conquered territory (*qasamtu*) between those who were entitled, i.e., warriors on the path of God (*mujāhidūn*), and those who had assisted in his conquests among the ascetics and saints. In the inscription, the relation to the territory is expressed using a fixed vocabulary inherited from the time of the conquest and, as in the case of Ja‘far, the memory of the Prophet is never entirely absent.

To honor the remains of Khālid, Baybars erected a cenotaph of carved wood on which two almost identical inscriptions were appended. The inscriptions recall the sultan’s journey to Homs during the expedition against Sīs in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 664/August 1266.<sup>146</sup> The text gives the illusion that the sultan participated in the

<sup>141</sup> Yāqūt attributes the tomb to either Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah, an Umayyad prince who built a palace nearby, or Khālid ibn ‘Iyād ibn Ghanm, the conqueror of Jazīrah; see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1995), 2:248; Elisseeff, “Hims,” 3:414; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 356. As to al-‘Umarī, who composed his text several decades after Baybars’s reign, there is no doubt that the tomb is that of the Umayyad prince, and not Khālid ibn al-Walīd’s (al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. A. Basha [Cairo, 1924]), 221.

<sup>142</sup> According to Patricia Crone, the title *Sayf Allāh* appears in the same context as *Fārūq* for ‘Umar or *Jund Allāh* for the Syrian armies. See Patricia Crone, “Khalid Ibn al-Walid,” *EI2*, 4:928, and al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk*, vol. 8, trans. M. Fishbein (New York, 1997), 158.

<sup>143</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 263. Baybars’s policy with regard to the appropriation of conquered territory following the capture of Ṣafad consisted of two parts: the donation of *iqṭā‘* to the amirs who participated in the conquest and the establishment of *waqfs* for the tombs of Muslim saints. On the location of Far‘am, see René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), Map I, C-2.

<sup>144</sup> *RCEA* 12, no. 4593.

<sup>145</sup> On the relationship between these terms in the Quran and their connection with the practice of warfare, see Christian Décobert, *Le mendiant et le combattant: l’institution de l’islam* (Paris, 1991), 194 ff.

<sup>146</sup> *RCEA* 12, nos. 4556–57. See also Abu al-Faraj al-‘Ush, “Les bois de l’ancien mausolée de Khālid ibn al-Walīd à Homs,” *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 111–39.



Sīs expedition in person (*‘inda ‘ubūrihi ‘alā Himṣ lil-ghazāt bi-bilād Sīs*), and in doing so, it deliberately merges the memory of the Islamic conquest with recent events.<sup>147</sup> Yet Baybars did not take part in the attack against Sīs, which was commanded by al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the Ayyubid prince from Hama.<sup>148</sup> After learning of the victory, Baybars set off from Damascus to go and meet the armies. No chronicler mentions this journey to Homs, although the cities of Hama and Apamea are sometimes cited.<sup>149</sup> It was in the proximity of Apamea that Baybars proceeded to share the booty amassed during the expedition in accordance with the tradition of the good Turkish prince.<sup>150</sup> Whether or not Baybars really travelled to Homs at this time hardly changes the fact that he sought to associate the victory of the armies commanded by al-Malik al-Manṣūr with the memory of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd’s victories. Baybars thus enabled his armies to benefit from Khālīd’s blessing in their fight against the infidels, a gesture that was later imitated by al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn, who restored the tomb on his way to the conquest of the Qal‘at al-Rūm, perhaps as a way of associating his own reign with the memory of his predecessor Baybars.<sup>151</sup>

### *‘Ayn Jālūt and the Construction of Memory*

In 658/1261, shortly after his rise to power, the sultan ordered the construction of a monument (*mashhad al-naṣr*) at ‘Ayn Jālūt.<sup>152</sup> According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, he wanted to build a commemorative monument on the site of the Mongol defeat to express his thanks to God for granting him the victory. The location is cited in the *Quran* as the place of the mythical combat between Ṭālūt and Jālūt.<sup>153</sup> As in

<sup>147</sup> For an analysis of the phraseology of the inscription, see Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 206, 230.

<sup>148</sup> On the expedition, see Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 105–6; Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 269; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir‘āt al-Zamān*, 2:343–44; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:290–92; Abū al-Fidā’, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, 3:3–4; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 13:288; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, 1:2:33–36.

<sup>149</sup> Notably by Abū al-Fidā’, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, 4:4, and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:294.

<sup>150</sup> On the redistribution of riches as an essential duty of a prince, see Jurgen Paul, “Perspectives nomades: état et structures militaires,” *Annales, histoire, sciences sociales* 59, nos. 5–6 (2004): 1074; R. Dankoff, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes* (Chicago, 1983).

<sup>151</sup> The inscription mentions two facts: the restoration and his journey to Homs with the armies; see *RCEA* 13, no. 4956.

<sup>152</sup> On this type of construction in the medieval Islamic world, see Thomas Leisten, “Mashhad al-Nasr: Monuments of War and Victory in Medieval Islamic Art,” *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 7–27.

<sup>153</sup> *Quran* 2:247–52. For an analysis of the Biblical-Quranic myth and its connection with the *mashhad* of Baybars, see Aigle, “Les inscriptions de Baybars,” 66–68; Frenkel, “Baybars and the



the previous examples, recent events were reconciled with the Islamic past (here, the Biblical-Quranic myth of the victory over Goliath).

The passage from the Quran dedicated to the figure of Ṭālūt combines two Biblical myths. On the one hand, there is Gideon's battle against the Midianites to deliver the Israelites. His victory resulted from God's counsel to put his army to the test and retain only the best part, despite it numbering less than the enemy.<sup>154</sup> Baybars was thus associated with a lineage of kings who were aided by God in their fight against the infidels.<sup>155</sup> The Quran merges this story with King Saul's battle against the Philistines and David's victory over Goliath. In the story of David, the kingdom fell to him as he was able to overcome the giant Philistine.<sup>156</sup> The figure of Ṭālūt (Saul) in the Quran, however, differs from the Biblical figure. The theme traditionally associated with Saul (i.e., his kingdom) plays a secondary role in the Quran, where his principal function is rather to lead his people to victory. This military motif thus dominates the Quranic passage on Ṭālūt.<sup>157</sup> The Quran's use of this myth can be understood in the context of Muḥammad's life at the time, as the Prophet sought divine sanction to justify the resort to arms to impose his policies, particularly with regard to taxation. In this story, the presentation of the Israelites being expelled from their lands became a paradigm for the birth of the Muslim community: "The Quran in this passage links the political authority with the command to take arms."<sup>158</sup> In the *Tafsīr* of Ibn Kathīr,<sup>159</sup> Ṭālūt is presented as a soldier who has neither *nasab* (*lam yakun min bayt al-mulk*) nor wealth (*lā māl lahu*), but is instead a king chosen by God on account of his military capabilities (*quwwah wa-ṣabr bi-al-ḥarb wa-ma'rifah bihā*). According to the myth, the crown was given to the bringer of victor.<sup>160</sup>

Whether the edifice desired by Baybars was in fact constructed is another issue. Baybars al-Manṣūrī confirms that the edifice did exist at the start of the eighth/

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Sacred Geography," 156–57.

<sup>154</sup> Judges 7:4–7. See Quran 2:250: "When Ṭālūt left with his soldiers, he said to them: 'God is going to test you by a river. He who quenches his thirst will no longer be mine; he who refrains (except for scooping [some water] into the palm of the hand) will be counted as mine.' Apart from a small number, the others drank to their thirst."

<sup>155</sup> Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars," 67.

<sup>156</sup> 1 Samuel 17:31. See Quran 2:252: "They put to flight with the permission of God, and David slew Jālūt. God gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him what he wanted."

<sup>157</sup> See W. A. Saleh, "What if you refuse when ordered to fight? King Saul (Ṭālūt) in the Quran and Post-Quranic Literature," in *Saul in History and Tradition*, ed. C. S. Erlich and M. C. White (Tubingen, 2006), 261–83; Chabbi, *Le Coran décrypté*, 297–300.

<sup>158</sup> W. A. Saleh, "What if you refuse when ordered to fight?," 274.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 1:300–1.

<sup>160</sup> Ibn Shaddād also compares Baybars to Ṭālūt (*Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 318).



fourteenth century,<sup>161</sup> but Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir tells us that the materials intended for ‘Ayn Jālūt had all been used at Kerak.<sup>162</sup> No structure resembling a building has been found on site.<sup>163</sup> The monument, however, still merits our attention as it is important in terms of memory. In addition to the celebration of Ṭālūt, whose parallel with Baybars is striking, the monument refers to the Dome of Victory (*qubbat al-naṣr*) constructed by Saladin after his victory at Ḥaṭṭīn in 583/1187.<sup>164</sup> By ordering the construction of this monument, Baybars perhaps sought to reiterate the act of his illustrious predecessor. Yet Saladin’s Dome of Victory had a rather short existence, as it was described as ruined and abandoned in 1217 by a Western traveler,<sup>165</sup> and it is only mentioned in the Arabic sources by al-Dimashqī.<sup>166</sup> The impact of Saladin’s monument was thus relatively minor. In contrast, Baybars’s monument had a more solid textual basis as it is mentioned in every narrative source on the sultan. The symbolic importance of the Battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt, which far surpassed its military significance, is hence reflected. It seems that these commemorative monuments, which were paradoxically relatively rare in the medieval Islamic world despite the importance of memory, aimed not to mark the area over the long term, but to celebrate a precise event, namely, a military victory.<sup>167</sup> As the significance of the event diminished in the eyes of its contemporaries, the monument lost its function and fell into ruin. In contrast, the importance of the event was much more durable on the textual level as it continued to be mentioned by historians two generations after Baybars’s reign. This textual existence alone can thus be seen as a realm of memory (“lieu de mémoire”).

### *Ṣafad and Quranic Legitimacy*

Baybars’s conquest of Ṣafad took place in Shawwāl 664/July 1266. On the strategic level, its capture was the centerpiece in the Mamluks’ plan to regain the coast. After the victory, as with the other coastal fortresses, Baybars decided to restore it

<sup>161</sup> Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdah*, 71.

<sup>162</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 163, in Jumādā II 661.

<sup>163</sup> Taragan, “Sign of the Time: Reusing the Past in Baybars’s Architecture,” 57.

<sup>164</sup> Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin* (Paris, 2008), 252; Z. Gal, “Saladin’s Dome of Victory at the Horns of Hattin,” in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Kedar (London, 1992), 213–15.

<sup>165</sup> Thietmar in *Croisades et pèlerinages: récits, chroniques et voyages en terre sainte, XIIe-XVIe siècle*, ed. Danielle Régnier-Bohler (Paris, 1997), 933. According to A-M. Eddé, “A monument erected in non-urban zone, away from the population, could only subsist if it became a place of attraction and pilgrimage.” Now, this was not the case for military commemorative monuments, which were in fact relatively rare (Eddé, *Saladin*, 252).

<sup>166</sup> Al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī ‘Ajā’ib al-Barr wa-al-Baḥr*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), 212. See also Leisten, “Mashhad al-Nasr,” 19.

<sup>167</sup> Leisten, “Mashhad al-Nasr,” 22.



and conduct major improvements.<sup>168</sup> The following year, in Rajab 665/March 1267, he went to Ṣafad to take part in the building work. The account of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, as summarized by numerous chroniclers, depicts the sultan’s participation in the work, transporting stones and sand on his back, his energy surpassing the mamluks and amirs present on the site.<sup>169</sup> The effect of the scene is accentuated by the arrival of Frankish messengers, who had come to Ṣafad to negotiate the sharing of revenue for the region of Saydah; the Franks thus became involuntary witnesses to the sultan’s personal involvement in the management of his kingdom. On the ideological level, Ṣafad was presented by the chroniclers as a “bone in the throat of Muslims,” and the narrative of its conquest is recorded by all Syrian and Egyptian authors. Later sources, including administrative and geographical sources, also mention this victory, so that the memory of the conquest of Ṣafad thus forms a part of Syrian textual memory, in the same way as the architectural vestiges left by the sultan.<sup>170</sup>

Baybars had an inscription commemorating the conquest engraved.<sup>171</sup> It differs from the other inscriptions initiated by him in Syria due to its distinct prose: the inscription opens with two Quranic citations,<sup>172</sup> and is composed for the most part in rhymed prose (*saj‘*), a genre rather associated with the victory bulletins composed by chancellery secretaries. The inscription describes the region’s return to Islam by using the stylistic device of inversion, as all that was Christian henceforth became Muslim. The entire territory, visual and sonorous, passes from one allegiance to another, with the new Mamluk order replacing the infidel domination. The inscription also contains expressions identical to those found in a

<sup>168</sup> For an analysis of the implications of constructing the mosque in Ṣafad in terms of the politico-religious propaganda, see Taragan, “Doors that Open Meanings,” 3–20.

<sup>169</sup> See Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 280; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 107; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir‘āt al-Zamān*, 2:361; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 13:289; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:137–38; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 1:128; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:2:558.

<sup>170</sup> Al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbah*, 210; Abū al-Fidā’, *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, trans. M. Stanislas Guyard as *Géographie d’Aboulféda* (Paris, 1883), 22; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A’shā fī Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā’* (Cairo, 1914), 4:150. This was also the case for a later author from the Ottoman period, the qadī Shams al-Dīn al-‘Uthmānī, author of a *Tārīkh Ṣafad*: Bernard Lewis, “An Arabic Account of the Province of Ṣafad I,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 477–88.

<sup>171</sup> RCEA 12, no. 4589. The inscription was certainly destroyed by an earthquake, similarly to the citadel (see Gaston Wiet, “Inscriptions arabes de Syrie,” *Mélanges de l’Institut d’Égypte*, 3:464 no. 4; Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*, Addendum [Leiden, 2007], 153). The inscription was nonetheless recopied in several Mamluk chronicles: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 109; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:137–38; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 1:2:563. The publication in the RCEA is based on the version of al-Maqrīzī, which is similar to that of Baybars al-Manṣūrī (apart from several grammatical variants). Al-Nuwayrī provides a more complete, though relatively different version (see below).

<sup>172</sup> Quran 21:105 and 58:22.



letter written by Baybars to Prince Bohemond VI of Antioch.<sup>173</sup> The most complete version of the inscription appears in the text of al-Nuwayrī:

For We have written in the Psalms (*Zabūr*), after the Remembrance, “The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants.”<sup>174</sup> Those are God’s party; why surely God’s party—they are the prosperous.<sup>175</sup> This well-guarded citadel was restored, reinforced, embellished, and finished after he had delivered it from the hands of the cursed Franks and given it to the hands of the Muslims, transferred from the domain of the Templars to the domain of the brother believers. He returned it to the faith of its infancy, causing loss and grief to the infidels (*khasārah wa-ḥasrah*), and as a result of his efforts and fighting, he substituted mosques for churches and synagogues, replaced infidelity by the faith (*al-kufr bi-al-īmān*), the ringing of bells by the call to prayer (*al-nāqūs bi-al-idhān*), the Gospel by the Quran. He rose in all his glory to the extent that he and his people (*khawwāṣṣahu*) carried the earth and stones from ditches on their heads by order of the sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir, sultan of Islam and Muslims (*sulṭān al-islām wa-al-muslimīn*), he who brings back the lost followers of religion (*mustaridd dawāl al-dīn*), destroyer of the Mongols (*mubīd al-Tatar*), conqueror of cities and fortresses (*fātiḥ al-qilā‘ wa-al-ḥuṣūn wa-al-amṣār*), heir of the kingdom (*wārith al-mulk*), sultan of Arabs, Persians, and Turks (*sulṭān al-‘arab wa-al-‘ajam wa-al-turk*), the Alexander of his time, born under the conjunction of auspicious stars (*iskandar al-zamān ṣāhib al-qirān*),<sup>176</sup> Abū al-Faḥ Baybars, associate of the Commander of the Believers (*qasīm amīr al-mu‘minīn*), may God eternalize his reign. May every prince of Islam who possesses this citadel, may every champion of the faith (*mujāhid, muthāghir*) who forever dwells there, accord to this sultan the reward due to him for his conquest and restoration, and not fail to implore for him, in secret as in public, God’s

<sup>173</sup> It concerns the famous letter sent to Bohemond VI after the fall of Antioch in 666/1268 (Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 309–13; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:128–31). The theme of the inversion is already found in the letters written by the chancellery of Saladin; see Troadec, “Une lettre de Baybars au Comte Bohémond VI de Tripoli (début Shawwāl 669/mai 1271): une arme dans l’arsenal idéologique des Mamelouks.”

<sup>174</sup> *The Quran Interpreted*, trans. A. J. Arberry (New York, 1955), 21, 105.

<sup>175</sup> Quran 58:22.

<sup>176</sup> Anne-Marie Eddé analyzed the introduction in the titles of Baybars, notably at Ṣafad, of this “Alexander with the stars predicting his destiny.” She observes the influence of Shaykh al-Khāḍir: Eddé, “Baybars et son double: de l’ambiguïté du souverain idéal,” 41–42.



mercy throughout his life. For he made it the center of prosperity and protection (*yumn wa-īmān*), after being the center of infidelity and oppression (*kufr wa-ṭughyān*) when everyone said, “May God rebuild this citadel,” after saying “May God hasten the capture.” The real believers must triumph until the day of the Last Judgment.<sup>177</sup>

The first Quranic citation (“For We have written in the Psalms (*Zabūr*), after the Remembrance, “The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants””) indicates the desire to affirm the Quran’s superiority over the other revealed religious texts (the *Zabūr*), a premise subsequently developed in the inscription with the Gospel’s replacement by the Quran and God’s delivery of the earth to the Mamluks.<sup>178</sup> In his commentary to the verse, Ibn Kathīr recalls that the earth belonged to God, but that he bequeathed it to the pious.<sup>179</sup> He also links this verse with Quran 7:128: “Surely the earth is God’s and He bequeaths it to whom He will among His servants. The issue ultimate is to the god-fearing.” This Quranic reference is without doubt a way of lending scriptural support to the Mamluk regime and its domination of Syria. The second citation (“Those are God’s party; why surely God’s party—they are the prosperous”) is an extract of a verse evoking the divine victory accorded to the party of God. Those who chose the party of God were assured victory, as they refused to befriend the infidels. The preceding verse, revealed in a context of tensions between believers and unbelievers, mentions that the believers will not become friends with those who oppose Allah and his Messenger.<sup>180</sup> At the time of the inscription’s composition, the reference to the unbelievers designated the Frankish enemies of the Muslims. Baybars sought to eliminate all challenges to his negotiation policy with the Franks, and his conduct led to certain hostility towards the Christian powers with respect to the path of God. The victory over the Franks in Ṣafad is presented as God’s decree, foretold in the Quran. The Quranic citations are thus used here to legitimize Baybars with regard to his policy towards the Crusaders. The end of the inscription, by its eschatological dimension, also gives legitimacy to Baybars, ensuring that he as well as his partisans triumph in this life and in the Hereafter.

The titles, appearing only in al-Nuwayrī’s version, borrow from those figuring in Baybars’s other inscriptions in Syria. However, the inscription only includes titles specific to the new Mamluk ideology, used for the first time by Sultan Bay-

<sup>177</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:137–38.

<sup>178</sup> For an analysis of the occurrences of *Zabūr* in the Quran, see Jacqueline Chabbi, *Le Coran décrypté*, 292–95.

<sup>179</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 2:201.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn Kathīr’s *Tafsīr* indicates that it was revealed in the context of Muslims’ killing of their relatives at the Battle of Badr (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 4:329).



bars following his victories over the Franks.<sup>181</sup> These titles appear several decades later in the manuals of the chancellery, where several became the protocol for designating the sultan in diplomatic correspondence.<sup>182</sup> The title, *mustaridd dawāl al-dīn*, is the exception, being found in no other inscriptions.<sup>183</sup> The ideological proximity of this inscription to the official correspondence suggests that the instigators of the epigraphical programs were indeed chancellery secretaries.<sup>184</sup> Al-Nuwayrī's inclusion of the complete version of the inscription suggests that he perhaps had access to a chancellery document containing the written version of the text prior to its engraving, a probable hypothesis given his career in the Mamluk administration in Syria.

## Conclusion

In this study, Syria was shown to be the territory promoting the legitimacy of Baybars's power. With arms in hand, the sultan won victories on the battlefields in Syria, which allowed him to establish his dominance. This was publicly proclaimed both in a historiographical initiative that resembled a textual reconquest of Syria's past and in the sultan's investment in monumental construction. The choice of places, dedications, and inscriptions raised these monuments to the rank of veritable signs. They also became realms of memory ("lieux de mémoire"), which is not to be understood as places of remembrance, but rather as places where memory is at work ("là où la mémoire travaille")<sup>185</sup> and an integral part of the propaganda campaign used to legitimize Baybars's rule. This use of memory was designed to associate the recent victories in Syria with a cultural memory specially revived for the occasion. A new collective memory was thus created, centered on the new regime. The aim was not only to connect Baybars's reign with the recent past, but to establish retrospectively causal links, using history to sanction a monarch without a past. The use of memory by the regime's propagandists involved selecting and identifying certain figures from among the heroic conquerors of the past who could herald the reign of Baybars. Of course, the text of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir should not be removed from the milieu of its composition since the author was a close friend of Baybars, and his *sīrah*, intended to be publicly read at court, was a commemorative initiative (in the sense of rendering the past alive in the eyes of the public). With this public recitation and the cre-

<sup>181</sup> For an analysis of Baybars's titles in Syria, see Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars."

<sup>182</sup> See, for example, al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 7:378, based on al-'Umarī's *Ta'rīf*.

<sup>183</sup> I would like to thank A-M. Eddé for the interpretation of this title, which appears with *ṣ* (*ṣawāl* instead of *dawāl*) in al-Nuwayrī's edition.

<sup>184</sup> See the remark of Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 232.

<sup>185</sup> Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1997), 1:17–18, cited by Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 180.



ation of a textual community, the Mamluk power sought to win the loyalty and allegiance of its subjects and create a sense of attachment to the new regime.



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## Murder in Damascus: The Consequences of Competition among Medieval Muslim Religious Elites

### Introduction

On a warm Monday evening Najm al-Dīn ibn Ḥijjī and his 22-year-old wife, Khadījah,<sup>1</sup> moved their bed into the walled garden of their rural Syrian estate. It was August 25th, 1427, the summer had been extremely hot and stormy, and the fall had been slow to arrive. Ibn Ḥijjī had recently moved his home from within the walls of Damascus to an estate about five kilometers to the west, in an orchard between the villages of al-Rubwah and al-Nayrab,<sup>2</sup> on the foothills of Mount Qāsiyūn that rises to the west and north of Damascus. The 62-year-old scholar had been under great strain and for over three years his health had been in decline. But he had recently married Khadījah and it is likely he thought living outside the city would be healthier due to the clean air and cool breezes that wafted down through the narrow valleys to the west. They retired to bed sometime after 8:30 pm, following the *maghrib* prayer, and fell asleep under a bright full moon.

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<sup>1</sup>She was Khadījah bint Amīr Ḥājj ibn al-Bīsrī (d. 878/1474). Al-Sakhāwī states that Khadījah was from a well-connected Mamluk family and was married twice after the death of Ibn Ḥijjī. She would have been 22 years of age at the time of the crime. See Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw’ al-Lāmi’ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi’* (Cairo, 1937), 12:24–25.

<sup>2</sup>Yāqūt ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī lists both al-Nayrab and al-Rubwah (or possibly al-Rabwah) in his *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (Tehran, 1965), 5:330 and 3:26, but does not give their exact location. According to Le Strange, the area is a garden area bordered on the south by the Baradah River and on the north by the Yazīd River. See his *Palestine under the Moslems* (Beirut, 1965), 521. The site of Ibn Ḥijjī’s estate has been replaced in the last century by the Tishrīn Park that is located to the east of the Presidential Palace on the foothills of Mount Qāsiyūn.



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Sometime in the early morning hours, a group of men quietly opened a hole in the high stone wall that surrounded the garden.<sup>3</sup> Two of the men, whom Khadījah later described as being “brown skinned and of medium height and the other [as] tall and fair skinned,” struck Ibn Ḥijjī a blow to the head, causing him to cry out in pain.<sup>4</sup> His cry awoke Khadījah and she sat up thinking that “he had been bitten” by a snake or a scorpion.<sup>5</sup> In the dim light she was startled to see the two men standing at the head of the bed. In a panic she bolted to the house, hiding in an interior room for several hours with a maid. She said that she “did not speak until the men left through the hole (in the garden wall) through which they had entered.”<sup>6</sup> When she returned she found her husband dead. His throat had been cut and he was lying in a pool of his own blood. He had also suffered multiple stab wounds to his head and side.<sup>7</sup>

Within hours news of the crime spread across Damascus and huge crowds gathered in the road outside the estate. The viceroy of Damascus arrived to extend his condolences to the widow after he learned that the corpse had been moved to the family crypt. The crowd, however, became so enraged that he was forced to flee to the citadel commanding the northwest walls of the city.<sup>8</sup> Over the coming weeks the public continued to boil over the murder of Ibn Ḥijjī, creating a sensation across the Mamluk Sultanate, not because violent death was uncommon, or because a famous legal scholar and political figure was the victim, but because it was widely assumed that his rivals among the political *and* religious elite were responsible for his death.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭawī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1989), 2:311.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Ṭūlūn quotes a no longer extant section of the *Dhayl* of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah in his *Qudāt Dimashq: al-Thaghīr al-Bassām fī Dhikr Man Wuliyya Qaḍāʾ al-Shām* (Damascus, 1956), 142–43. The crime was attested to by a number of scholars and the above event is reconstructed primarily from Khadījah’s eyewitness account given the next morning to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. Also see al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān*, 2:311; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Cairo, 1972), 2:116; ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhāt al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (s.n., 1971), 3:119; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*, 6:79; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1909–12), 6:623; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Hyderabad, 1976), 8:131.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qudāt Dimashq*, 142–43.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, 142.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:623; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 8:131; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qudāt Dimashq*, 210, 213.



Ibn Ḥijjī lived through an extremely violent period of Mamluk history which witnessed the destruction of Damascus, a thirty-year period of near-constant civil war, plague, and widespread economic upheaval. The extreme chaos of the period caused widespread feelings of resentment toward political and judicial authorities among some members of the lower *a'yān* and the poor masses. The arbitrary rule of the stratocrats and the always problematic corruption of the qadis caused increasing levels of dissent as the *fuqahā* were seen as being in league with the military rulers. Ibn Ḥijjī had developed a reputation for conflict with the powerful that made it appear as if he were on the side of the dissenters, who, for a time, flocked to his support in ways that threatened the status quo.

It is tempting to attribute Ibn Ḥijjī's influence over the masses of Damascus to charisma, as many of the elements common to the Weberian conception of charisma seem to have been present at the time. Indeed, charisma has become a kind of "catch-all" in the study of religious authority in the pre-modern world, used to explain the attraction between leaders and the groups they led.<sup>10</sup> While there were several religious and political leaders in the period who clearly exhibit a charismatic hold over their followers,<sup>11</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī was not one of them.

Charismatic leaders are generally understood to see themselves as "self-appointed" and especially endowed by God, history, or some beyond-human entity with the skills and qualities necessary to seize the moment. These same qualities are vested in him or her by followers who come to see it as their duty to submit to the authority of the leader.<sup>12</sup> Inherently, charismatics are "revolutionary" in that they arise in times of great chaos and strife and seek to address the fears of their followers by presenting the old order as illegitimate and by embodying a

<sup>10</sup>This has been observed by many scholars who have examined the theory of charisma over the last fifty years. See, for instance, Jerrod M. Post, "Narcissism and the Charismatic Leader-Follower Relationship," *Political Psychology* 7, no. 4 (December, 1986): 676; Martin E. Spencer, "What is Charisma?" *The British Journal of Sociology* 24, no. 3 (September 1973): 341–42; and Thomas E. Dow, Jr., "The Theory of Charisma," *The Sociology Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (Summer, 1969): 306–18.

<sup>11</sup>For instance, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī developed charismatic leadership within the ranks of the *fuqahā* in Egypt and Syria from the early 1430s until his death in 1449. This was manifest in a number of ways, particularly in the passionate following he had among younger students who devoted their lives to propagating his ideas and image after his death; see Jaques, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī* (New York, 2010), 12–13. On a much wider scale, Mālik al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21), through nearly 15 years of rebellion, established an almost unheard-of level of charismatic authority among the Mamluk military and the *a'yān*. As is demonstrated below, after Shaykh succeeded in taking the throne his followers became known as the "Muʿayyadīyah" because of their intense devotion to Shaykh and what he represented.

<sup>12</sup>H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, "Bureaucracy and Charisma: A Philosophy of History," in *Charisma, History, and Social Structure*, ed. Ronald M. Glassman and William H. Swatos, Jr. (New York, 1986), 12. Also see Jerrod M. Post, "Narcissism and the Charismatic Leader-Follower Relationship," 675–88.



new order that brings security and can account for the causes of the insecurities of their followers.<sup>13</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī, however, was not a “self-appointed leader” but, on the contrary, he actively sought judicial, administrative, and teaching appointments which he used to buttress his claims for authority and influence. He was not a “revolutionary” either, seeking to expose the illegitimacy of the old order, but rather he aggressively pursued legitimacy through the prevailing social structures and institutions of the day that required that he curry favor with the stratocratic authorities. It is true that those who flocked to him lived through an era of great distress, but his qualifications for leadership were not deemed greater than others among his contemporaries. In fact, scandal followed Ibn Ḥijjī throughout his life and he was accused of everything from *fujūr* (sodomy) to embezzling *waqf* funds.

Instead of charisma, it appears that Ibn Ḥijjī’s popularity with the lower-*a’yān* and the poor was rooted in his early reputation as a deviant, which first caused the masses to notice him. Following this early charge he was shunned by his contemporaries but was able to rebuild his reputation through repeated acts of audacious and risky behavior that morphed his reputation into that of a rule-breaker, someone who deviated from the norms suitable for his social class. As Jack Katz has observed, there is an analogical relationship between the labelling of deviance and charisma in that those who maintain the status quo see both as rule-breakers and dangers to the system,<sup>14</sup> but they are rooted in different sets of expectations among followers.

The study of deviance is a complicated and highly contested field in sociology. Following Robert Prus and Scott Grills, I define deviance broadly as: Any activity, actor, idea, or humanly produced situation that an audience defines as threatening, disturbing, offensive, immoral, evil, disreputable, or negative in some way.<sup>15</sup> For Prus and Grills, deviance is synonymous with rule-breaking, being sinful, troublesome, incorrigible, bizarre, illegal, taboo, evil, and so forth.<sup>16</sup> At its heart, deviance is a social activity both in its definition and attempts at its regulation, but also in the “auras” that develop around those accused of disreputable conduct. According to the authors, “[a]lthough things defined as deviance may be shrouded in disrespectability, it should *not* be assumed that they are necessarily unattractive to people in other respects. Something may be considered forbidden

<sup>13</sup>Richard Bell, “Charisma and Illegitimate Authority,” in *Charisma, History, and Social Structure*, ed. Glassman and Swatos, 58–60.

<sup>14</sup>Jack Katz, “Deviance, Charisma, and Rule-Defined Behavior,” *Social Problems* 20, no. 2 (Autumn, 1972): 186–202.

<sup>15</sup>Robert Prus and Scott Grills, *The Deviant Mystique: Involvements, Realities, and Regulations* (Westport, CT, 2003), 1, 57.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 42, 57.



or disrespectful, but viewed simultaneously as interesting, fun, adventurous, or exciting. Indeed, certain activities or situations may appear even more alluring to some people because they are forbidden or people may find themselves (curiously) attending more intensely to certain things because of the public notoriety those activities receive.”<sup>17</sup> This is particularly true when an individual or group has developed a reputation for deviating from social norms over the course of years. Expectations of troublesome behavior become “entrenched within a community” so that some sections of society may develop an even deeper fascination with the deviant person or group, so much so that they begin to facilitate the deviant activity.<sup>18</sup> Thus while one section of a community may view the deviant as a villain another section may view him or her as a hero whom they seek to assist in various ways.<sup>19</sup>

The most analogous medieval Arabic word that connotes the idea of deviance is *fiṣq*. *Fiṣq* is a theological term that is associated with the idea of “grave sins” that are usually referred to as *kabāʾir* (as opposed to lesser sins known as *ṣaghāʾir*).<sup>20</sup> The issue of grave sin, its definition, and how it should be punished was one of the earliest and most divisive theological debates in the early Muslim community.<sup>21</sup> Over time definitions of grave sins and their punishments became regularized by the development of Islamic law, and because of the severity of possible punishments for convictions of grave sin—potentially death in most cases—public accusations of depravity or deviance became extremely rare.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, it appears that accusations of deviance were especially rare in the period under review, as is borne out by an exhaustive survey of two important texts from the Mamluk period, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ* by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 8. Emphasis original.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 108.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 75.

<sup>20</sup>Ziauddin Ahmed, “A Survey of the Development of Theology in Islam,” *Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (June 1972): 102. Also see Luṭṭi Ibrahim, “A Comparative Study of the Views of az-Zamakhsharī and al-Batdāwī about the Position of the Grave Sinner,” *Islamic Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 55–73.

<sup>21</sup>There have been a wide range of studies examining the issues of grave sin that arose around the murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān in 35/656. For a good overview of the event and the issues that surrounded it see Martin Hinds, “The Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3, no. 4 (October 1972): 450–69.

<sup>22</sup>Paul R. Powers, “Offending Heaven and Earth: Sin and Expiation in Islamic Homicide Law,” *Islamic Law and Society* 14, no. 1 (2007): 42–80. Also see Ibrahim, “A Comparative Study of the Views of az-Zamakhsharī and al-Batdāwī,” 55–73.



al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) and the *Inbā' al-Ghumr* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448).<sup>23</sup>

The *Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'* contains over 11,000 biographies of the famous and infamous men and women who lived in the ninth/fifteenth century. *Fisq* in its various forms<sup>24</sup> is only mentioned in 18 biographies.<sup>25</sup> It is associated with phenomena such as fornication (*zinā*),<sup>26</sup> evil or injustice (*shurūr*),<sup>27</sup> pederasty (*liwāt*),<sup>28</sup> iniquity or tyranny when describing political leaders (*ẓulm*),<sup>29</sup> greed (*tama'*),<sup>30</sup> oppression (*ʿasf*),<sup>31</sup> morally repugnant action (*qabīḥ al-fi'l*),<sup>32</sup> corruption (*shāban*),<sup>33</sup> ignorance of religion (*jahl*),<sup>34</sup> wine drinking (*shurb khamr*),<sup>35</sup> lying before God (*kidhb*),<sup>36</sup> and sodomy (*fujūr*).<sup>37</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā' al-Ghumr* is an encyclopedic annalistic history of the Mamluk period that begins at the year of the author's birth (773/1372) and concludes just a few years before his death, ending in 850/1446. This text refers to *fiṣq* just 25 times and the term is associated with many of the same phenomena listed by al-Sakhāwī.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>23</sup>As anyone who has used the published editions of these two texts will affirm, indices in these materials are almost useless beyond simple name searches. The author carried out an intensive search of both texts for terms associated with *fiṣq* and while the following is largely accurate it is possible that a few references might have been missed. It is doubtful, however, that many terms were overlooked and the general idea of the rarity of references to deviance and their associated terms is substantiated.

<sup>24</sup>In addition to *fiṣq*, also see *fasaqah* (deviants), *fāsiq* (deviant), and *fusūq* (depravity).

<sup>25</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 1:44–45, 85–86, 265; 2:135, 250, 292, 292; 3:148; 4:10; 5:73, 98–99, 197; 7:59, 94; 8:75–76, 254; 10:256; 11:119.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 1:44.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 1:85; 8:254.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 1:44. *Liwāt* occurs in other biographies without the term *fiṣq* associated with it.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 2:292; 4:10; 5:197; 10:256.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 4:10; 10:256.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 5:197; 10:256.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 7:59.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 10:256.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 1:85; 10:256.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 1:44–45.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 1:85.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:91, 268; 2:11, 15, 162; 3:76, 186, 329, 420; 4:209; 5:119, 151, 167; 6:70, 96; 7:214, 279, 326, 331, 347, 381, 382, 410; 8:2, 141.



Accusations of *fujūr* appear to be even rarer, with al-Sakhāwī referring to such allegations in just nine biographies<sup>39</sup> and Ibn Ḥajar in only four instances.<sup>40</sup> Undoubtedly, sodomy was more common than is represented in these texts but its lack of mention points to the shameful nature of the accusation in medieval Muslim society and demonstrates just how damaging and notorious this accusation must have been to Ibn Ḥijjī's reputation. As is demonstrated below, Ibn Ḥijjī was shunned by his contemporaries for several years following the accusation, but was able to rebuild his career as a result of behaviors that were widely seen as audacious or bold (*miqdām*),<sup>41</sup> such as his intrepid escape from Tīmūr's army following the sack of Damascus, physical fights with opposing parties within the *'ulamā'*, and near-constant conflicts with political authorities, all of which cultivated a reputation for rule-breaking that became attractive to some members of the community, especially low-level *a'yān* and the poor, who were the most alienated by the chaos and corruption of the period. The initial accusation of *fujūr* brought Ibn Ḥijjī to the public's attention in a way that was unusual at the time, which, when combined with his later reputation for rule-breaking, created around Ibn Ḥijjī a "deviant mystique" that drew people to him. He then attempted to manipulate this mystique to acquire power and authority within the Mamluk-*fuqahā'* social dynamic. While this ultimately led to his murder, by exploring the chaos of the period through the window of his life we gain a better view of the dynamics of the Mamluk-*fuqahā'* relationship and how deviant mystique, and not charisma, may have served to elevate Ibn Ḥijjī and others who displayed analogous characteristics.

## Early Life

Najm al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Ḥijjī ibn Mūsá was born in 767/1365–66 in Damascus.<sup>42</sup> He was the son of Ḥijjī ibn Mūsá al-Ḥusbānī, a Shafi'i *faqīh* and teacher in the Syrian-Shafi'i school.<sup>43</sup> Ḥijjī ibn Mūsá died in 782/1380 when Najm al-Dīn was fourteen

<sup>39</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 1:85, 199; 3:158; 5:118; 6:40; 7:252; 9:159; 10:306–7.

<sup>40</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:76, 329, 420; 7:389.

<sup>41</sup>See al-Sakhāwī's biography for Ibn Ḥijjī, 6:72.

<sup>42</sup>For biographies of Ibn Ḥijjī see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā' al-Shāfi'īyah*, ed. Al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-'Alī Khān (Beirut, 1987), 4:95; Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir wa-Nahjat al-Nāẓir* (Damascus, 1991), 2:110; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:129; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:116 (who gives the year of birth as 797. He appears to confuse Najm al-Dīn with his son Bahā' al-Dīn.) Also see Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:110, who gives the year of birth as 768.

<sup>43</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 3:150–51; also see his biographical entry in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:25–26. Both scholars claim that Ḥijjī ibn Mūsá became the leader of the Shafi'i school in Syria.



years old. Even before his death he was uninvolved in Najm al-Dīn's life<sup>44</sup> and his care was left in the hands of his older brother, Shihāb al-Dīn (with whom Najm al-Dīn also studied religious science),<sup>45</sup> and to a little-known scholar, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣafawī (d. ?).<sup>46</sup>

Najm al-Dīn is frequently described as a precocious youth, although he appears to have been a late bloomer. For instance, he did not receive a certification for the memorization of the Quran until the age of fifteen.<sup>47</sup> By this time, however, he seems to have hit his stride and is described as memorizing the *Tanbīh* by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) in just eight months, along with other short legal works.<sup>48</sup> Alongside his brother he also studied with many of the great Damascene Shafi'i scholars, receiving permissions (*ijāzāt*, sing. *ijāzah*) to teach from many of them,<sup>49</sup> including Shihāb al-Dīn al-Zuhri (d. 795/1392), Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 799/1397), Najm al-Dīn Ibn al-Jābbī (d. 787/1385), and Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Sharīshī (or al-Shurayshī; d. 795/1393).<sup>50</sup>

By 789/1387, Shihāb al-Dīn was able to secure a scholarship for Najm al-Dīn to study *fiqh* in Cairo.<sup>51</sup> At almost the same time, the Circassian sultan Barqūq, who had come to power in 784/1382, began to reshuffle amirates in Syria as a means of forestalling another civil war. His strategy largely failed as a series of revolts erupted over the next two years that led to the rise of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī and Tamurbughā al-Mintāsh, who revolted in Syria in the spring of 791/1389.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78.

<sup>45</sup> Aḥmad ibn Ḥijjī (751–816/1350–1413); for his biography see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 4:12–14. Ibn Ḥijjī had another brother, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥijjī (763–800/1361–98), who was a well-regarded Sufi mystic, although he was not described as a jurist. He died from the plague and was buried in the tomb of his father; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 1:682–83.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 4:95; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78. Al-Sakhāwī does not provide a biography for Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣafawī.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78. Most students began studying around the age of five and continued basic studies until approximately 18 years of age. Quran memorization was one of the first aspects of education that students worked on because it is necessary to lead prayers. To receive a certification in Quran required only memorizing a section of the Quran, not the entire text. Many students received a certification by the end of their first year of instruction and certainly before the age of eight. See, for instance, the case of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in Jaques, *Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī*, 35–36.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 4:95.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:29. Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:110, places the date of travel for study as 807.



On 11 Jumādā I/8 May, Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī and a large force marched toward Cairo. A number of the Syrian amirs, now loyal to Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, joined him outside the gates of Cairo and began a siege of the city that lasted for over a month. By the end of Jumādā II/June, Barqūq was forced to flee Cairo and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī became its de facto ruler.<sup>52</sup> Yalbughā immediately banished amirs and troops loyal to Barqūq to Syria in order to remove them from Cairo, thus diminishing the possibility of a palace coup. He also reshuffled the amirates of Damascus, awarding low-level amirs with fiefs in the city and giving many of the former Damascene amirs fiefs in Egypt, which offered a higher income.<sup>53</sup>

The amirs reassigned to Syria soon began to plot against Yalbughā. All eyes were focused on Egypt because it is there that true power was held. The desire to control Cairo meant that Syria, especially Damascus, became the most important site of contest for the throne. It was there that the contests for power in Egypt were fought and there that the moneys necessary to fight a revolt were exacted from amirs, merchants, members of the *a‘yān*, and the common people on a terrific scale.

A short time later, Barqūq was arrested and sent to the prison in Karak where he was to be executed. The former sultan, however, was able to engineer his escape in Ramaḍān 791/September 1389 and within six months he was able to re-seize the sultanate.<sup>54</sup>

During the chaos of the revolt, Barqūq’s removal, and his eventual return, Ibn Ḥijjī appears to have remained in Cairo, living through the attack on the city by Yalbughā’s forces. During this period he occupied himself with studying under Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403). Sirāj al-Dīn was one of the premier jurists of his day and was widely acclaimed as one of the *baqīyah al-mujtahidīn* (remnants of the independent jurists).<sup>55</sup> Najm al-Dīn’s brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, had studied under Sirāj al-Dīn when the latter was appointed chief judge of Damascus in 769/1367–68.<sup>56</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn appears to have been closely associated with Sirāj al-Dīn, studying *fiqh*, grammar, inheritance rules, and interpretive theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) with the jurist.<sup>57</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah states that Najm al-Dīn also studied with Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (d. 806/1404),<sup>58</sup> Sirāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Mulaqqīn (d. 804/1401) (from whom he received permissions to teach *fiqh*<sup>59</sup> and

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 5:408–13.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 42–57.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 460–527; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 120.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā’*, 4:36.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 88.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 29–33.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 43–47.



issue *fiqh* opinions [*fatāwá*, sing. *fatwá*]<sup>60</sup>, Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392),<sup>61</sup> and others.<sup>62</sup> Najm al-Dīn also became a disciple of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṭākī (d. 815/1412).<sup>63</sup> Al-Anṭākī was originally from Damascus, and, as with most of Ibn Ḥijjī's teachers, he may have come to know al-Anṭākī through the efforts of his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.<sup>64</sup>

## Early Professional Career

The political turmoil of the period did not affect Najm al-Dīn's ability to study or gain promotion. Soon after Barqūq regained the sultanate, Ibn Ḥijjī was appointed *muftī* of the Dār al-ʿAdl in Cairo in 792/1390. Along with this appointment, he was made the *shaykh* (master) of the *khānqāh* (Sufi hostel) of ʿUmar Shāh.<sup>65</sup>

Other jurists and scholars, however, were not so lucky. Several who had chosen Yalbughā's side in the war were arrested, tortured, and even executed when Barqūq regained power. For instance, the Shafiʿi jurists Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qurashī, and Muḥammad ibn Shahīd were all imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus, tortured, and executed. Shafiʿi scholars received the greatest benefits and punishments during these revolts because they represented the most important school in the region, carrying the greatest authority with the *aʿyān*, and thus represented the most attractive target for manipulation in the struggles between political rivals.

Different factions also appointed competing chief judges, sometimes with opposing jurists holding the same positions simultaneously, causing a great deal of chaos and confusion. For instance, Ibn Ḥijjī's teacher al-Zuhrī was appointed chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus by the rebel al-Mintāsh in Rabīʿ II 792/March–April 1390. As was common practice during the period, appointment as chief judge also meant the control of the chief preacher's office in the Umayyad Mosque and appointment as headmaster of any number of madrasahs, in this case the Ghazāliyah madrasah.<sup>66</sup> Control of the office of preacher was particularly important because it was used by rebelling amirs to issue new laws, demonize the opposition, and threaten the population if they supported their enemies.

<sup>60</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Dawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 6:78.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahāʾ*, 3:167–68.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:95.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*; also see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Dawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 6:78. Al-Sakhāwī claims that Najm al-Dīn attended over forty lectures given by al-Anṭākī, although Ibn Ḥajar states that he only met with the teacher on one occasion, thus indirectly disputing any disciple/teacher relationship. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 8:129.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 7:98.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahāʾ*, 4:96

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qudāt Dimashq*, 119–20.



Barqūq, however, appointed Sharaf al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Dimashqī as chief Shafī'i judge at the same time, replacing his previous representative, Badr al-Dīn al-Subkī. When Barqūq left Cairo on his invasion of Syria, he removed Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh (who appears to have been in Damascus) for unspecified reasons and appointed Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī (or possibly al-Jazrī) chief Shafī'i judge in his place, even though al-Jazarī was with Barqūq and not in the city. Before reaching Damascus, however, Barqūq reinstated Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh. When Barqūq finally recaptured Damascus in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 793/November 1391, Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh was replaced by the great Shafī'i scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-Bā'ūnī. During all this time, al-Minṭāsh's chief judge, al-Zuhrī, maintained a separate Shafī'i court with his own collection of deputies and other functionaries, although how the two competing Shafī'i courts and their subsidiaries functioned is unclear.<sup>67</sup>

Al-Bā'ūnī and Barqūq enjoyed an unusual relationship. It appears that Barqūq trusted al-Bā'ūnī, whom he took with him during his invasion of Syria and used as a spy to report to Barqūq on the loyalty of the amirs of the city. Barqūq also appointed al-Bā'ūnī chief preacher of the Umayyad Mosque and put him in charge of rebuilding the endowed institutions of the city that had been destroyed or damaged during Yalbughā's and al-Minṭāsh's revolts.<sup>68</sup> Within a few months al-Bā'ūnī's authority was enhanced further when he was allowed to seize the office of controller of the army. Barqūq then ordered al-Bā'ūnī to raid the orphan's *waqf* in order to replenish his depleted coffers. Given the violence of the period, al-Bā'ūnī surprisingly refused to comply, and although he was removed as controller, he appeared to suffer no other punishment.<sup>69</sup>

## A Reputation for Deviance

We hear nothing more about Ibn Ḥijjī until 11 Rajab 795/24 May 1393, when he and Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīb al-Ḥadīthah<sup>70</sup> travelled from Egypt to Damascus. For reasons unstated by historians who note their arrival, they immediately left

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 122–24.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 123.

<sup>70</sup>There appear to be no necrologies for Sharaf al-Dīn, although his brother, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Surūr al-Ḥadīthah (d. 800/1398), also known as Badr al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīb al-Ḥadīthah, was well known; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:674–75; also his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 3:152; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 2:24, and his *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 403–4. Also see Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, 1966), 8:120–21. Their *kunya* is disputed, with some scholars listing it as al-Ramthāwī, al-Nashāwī, al-Rashāwī, or al-Barmāwī. Badr al-Dīn was a widely respected scholar who was a disciple of Ibn Ḥijjī's brother Shihāb al-Dīn; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:675.



Damascus and went on to Ḥimṣ, where they conferred with the viceroy of Syria, Amir Tanam, who was still pursuing the rebel al-Mintāsh.<sup>71</sup>

A few weeks later, on 1 Sha‘bān/12 June, Ibn Ḥijjī, al-Ḥadīthah, and a young man by the name of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghazzī<sup>72</sup> were returned to Damascus in chains due to some event that had occurred in Ḥimṣ. Ibn Ḥijjī appears to have been the focus of the dispute, and the nature of the accusation against him was such that al-Bā‘ūnī ordered that Ibn Ḥijjī be stripped of his position as *muftī*, and banned from teaching in the madrasahs and from teaching *fiqh*. He was also removed from his position at the *khānqāh* of ‘Umar Shāh.<sup>73</sup> By Ramaḍān 795/July–August 1393, the situation had escalated, now involving the grand chamberlain of Damascus, Tamurbughā Manjakī, resulting in Ibn Ḥijjī’s imprisonment in the citadel of Damascus. Manjakī subjected him to torture and forced from him confessions of sodomy (*fujūr*), lying before God (*kidhb*), and of giving false testimony (*zūr*).<sup>74</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, who was a disciple of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī and later served as Najm al-Dīn’s deputy, states that the charges were concocted by al-Bā‘ūnī, although he fails to say why,<sup>75</sup> and Ibn Ḥajar describes it as an “outrage,” implying that the charges were unfounded.<sup>76</sup>

By Dhū al-Qa‘dah/September, Barqūq intervened, apparently at the request of Ibn Ḥijjī’s brother, Shihāb al-Dīn. Barqūq ordered that the confessions be disregarded and the prisoners released. Al-Bā‘ūnī later said that he acquiesced to Barqūq’s order because he had a dream in which God revealed to him his error.<sup>77</sup>

Although the accusations against Ibn Ḥijjī were withdrawn his reputation was so badly damaged that he was shunned by members of the *‘ulamā* and he remained out of office for two years.<sup>78</sup> Finally, in Muḥarram 798/October 1395 Ibn Ḥijjī was appointed to teach law at the Amīnīyah madrasah in Damascus, but this occurred only through the influence of his brother.<sup>79</sup> The following year Ibn

<sup>71</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:468.

<sup>72</sup>Virtually nothing is known of this person besides a brief reference in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah’s *Tārīkh* in which he was said to have recited the *adhān* for Shihāb al-Dīn al-Zuhri in 791/1389 (1:279–80). This kind of study would have occurred while al-Ghazzī was quite young, so it is likely that he would have been in his teens in 795/1393 when this event took place.

<sup>73</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:468. For other, less detailed descriptions of the dispute between Ibn Ḥijjī and al-Bā‘ūnī see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw’ al-Lāmi‘*, 6:78 (who mistakenly places the date of the conflict in 794); Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:129–30.

<sup>74</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:476.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 1:476.

<sup>76</sup>“*Jarrat lahu kāinat ma‘a al-Bā‘ūnī.*” See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:129.

<sup>77</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:476.

<sup>78</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:129.

<sup>79</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā’*, 4:96; also see his *Tārīkh*, 3:574.



Ḥijjī accompanied a group of dignitaries on the hajj and then participated in a delegation of Damascene religious leaders to the funeral of Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī, the chief judge of Mecca.<sup>80</sup>

### Audacity and the Deviant Mystique

On 15 Shawwāl 801/30 June 1399 Barqūq died and was succeeded by his eleven-year-old son Faraj.<sup>81</sup> When Taman, the viceroy of Syria, learned of Barqūq's death he went into revolt, claiming that Faraj was a puppet to other powers. A number of judges and members of the *a'yān* supported Taman's claims,<sup>82</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī among them, and he received an appointment as *tadrīs* at the al-Ghāziyah madrasah "in compensation for his testimony" on the viceroy's behalf.<sup>83</sup> Over the next eighteen months Taman fought a civil war against the forces loyal to the sultan, but despite his youth and wavering support among the Mamluks Faraj defeated Taman in Gaza on 19 Rajab 802/15 March 1400.<sup>84</sup>

The following year, Tīmūr marched out of Iraq and laid waste to much of Syria. By Jumādā I 803/December 1400–January 1401 Tīmūr had taken control of Damascus after Faraj and the armies of Syria and Egypt fled because of rumors that a coup attempt was underway in Cairo.<sup>85</sup> In the mad rush to return to Cairo, the Mamluk army left behind an unprotected mass of judicial and religious leaders, who were quickly captured by Tīmūr's forces. Not only were the *a'yān* of Syria left to suffer and die at Tīmūr's hands, but the city of Damascus was exposed to an almost unimaginable onslaught.

The toll on the population of Damascus and Syria was enormous, but the price paid by the *a'yān* was just as great. Histories of the period are replete with lists of scholars killed or carried off by Tīmūr when in Sha'bān 803/March–April 1401 he finally departed Syria and withdrew back into Iraq. While most scholars tried to hide from Tīmūr's forces, Ibn Ḥijjī and many others were reluctantly pressed into service. Still others, only a few in number, collaborated with the invading forces and became quite wealthy as a result. The most famous of these was Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Kishk and his son Shihāb al-Dīn. Ibn Kishk not only cooperated with Tīmūr, but according to contemporary accounts, actively participated in the administration of the city during Tīmūr's occupation and willingly left with the

<sup>80</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 4:96; *Tārīkh*, 1:621, 648. Also see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:130, and Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:111 (although he places the hajj in 797).

<sup>81</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 5:594–95.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 6:8–19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 4:1–30.

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:35.

<sup>84</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:20–35.

<sup>85</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:48–63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 4:189–228; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:132–53.



withdrawing armies after the sack.<sup>86</sup> By the time Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad and his son reached Tabrīz, Tīmūr seems to have tired of the two and they were forced to flee, but not before acquiring great wealth, sufficient, in fact, for Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Kishk to purchase a hundred slave soldiers and as many concubines.<sup>87</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī was one of thousands of scholars, merchants, and artisans rounded up by Tīmūr's troops and forced to march toward Iraq, many of whom died on the hard trek without proper water and food. During the withdrawal, Ibn Ḥijjī looked for an opportunity to break free from captivity and, after several weeks, was able to escape when he stole the clothes of one of the Bedouin troops who had attached themselves to Tīmūr's forces. He then took the Bedouin's horse and rode out of camp in disguise, arriving in Damascus some weeks later.<sup>88</sup>

The tale of Ibn Ḥijjī's escape is widely recounted in the sources and became a pillar of his overall reputation for audacious behavior, which became interwoven with the scandal of 795/1393. While the accusation of *fujūr* continued to haunt him, it became part of the emerging narrative that cast Ibn Ḥijjī as an impulsive and daring character.

## Opportunity and Promotion

The vacuum caused by the death of so many high-ranking scholars and judicial authorities created opportunities for those who survived. Upon returning to Damascus following his famous escape, Ibn Ḥijjī's career was reborn. Although it is clear that the earlier accusations against him were not forgotten, especially the charges of *fujūr* and *kidhb*, the need for trained judges appears to have overridden his reputation.

Soon after he returned to Damascus he was summoned to Cairo and was almost immediately appointed to be a deputy judge under the great Shafi'i scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī.<sup>89</sup> By Ṣafar 804/September 1401 Ibn Ḥijjī was promoted to chief Shafi'i judge of Ḥamāh, replacing 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Makká, who was appointed judge of Aleppo. Although it took him several months to arrive, by Shawwāl 804/May 1402 he took up his appointment and was immediately ordered by the sultan to lower prices.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:36–38. For a particularly dramatic account of the sack of Damascus, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:132–253.

<sup>87</sup>Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 213; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 2:220–21.

<sup>88</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 4:224–25; 8:130; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78; Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:111–12.

<sup>89</sup>Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:111; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 5:130.

<sup>90</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:258, 269–70; also see his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, 4:96; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 3:1077.



In Rajab 805/February 1403 Ibn Ḥijjī was reappointed as the chief Shafi'i judge of Ḥamāh,<sup>91</sup> but within a few months was forced to flee the town in fear of his life. According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Ḥijjī had somehow come into possession of a letter from the viceroy of Ḥamāh, Amir 'Allān, which purportedly showed that he was plotting to go into revolt against Faraj. Ibn Ḥijjī feared that 'Allān was planning to kill him in order to keep the plot secret, a concern that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, with historical hindsight, states was unfounded.<sup>92</sup> In any case, he returned to Damascus between Shawwāl/May and Dhū al-Qa'dah 805/June 1403.<sup>93</sup>

Vacating his post does not appear to have harmed Ibn Ḥijjī, nor is it known if he exposed the plot to authorities loyal to Faraj. Amir 'Allān was a mamluk of Barqūq who became prominent under Faraj. His loyalty to Faraj was rather weak, however, and in the revolts that followed he shifted allegiance to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.<sup>94</sup> Shaykh was, in this period, a rising power in Syria.

It is unknown what Ibn Ḥijjī did in this period, although it seems that his position among the Damascene *a'yān* was improving because he was asked in Ramaḍān 806/March 1404 to deliver the first *'id al-fiṭr* sermon to be given in the Umayyad Mosque since its near total destruction in Tīmūr's attack.<sup>95</sup> By Muḥarram 807/July-August 1404 Ibn Ḥijjī was appointed as a deputy judge under Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās al-Ḥimṣī, who had just received his appointment by Faraj.<sup>96</sup> The appointment occurred in the context of the increasingly rancorous relationship between Faraj and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, who was now viceroy of Syria and actively supporting the opponents of the sultan. By Ṣafar 807/September 1404 Shaykh had begun plotting with Amir Nawrūz and other contenders for the sultanic throne.<sup>97</sup>

Over the next two years Shaykh and Nawrūz engaged in a protracted civil war across Syria. Sometimes fighting together and at other times independently, each tried to get the upper hand in their fight against Faraj. Faraj, Shaykh, and Nawrūz also began to install their own judges and administrators when they took control of a town, and in some cases, even when they had no physical control of an area.<sup>98</sup>

There are several reasons why the three leaders began to do this. First, fighting was extremely expensive; food and equipment for soldiers and forage for animals

<sup>91</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:306.

<sup>92</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, 4:96.

<sup>93</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 5:88.

<sup>94</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 5:150.

<sup>95</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:357.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 395.

<sup>97</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:110–17.

<sup>98</sup>There were over 10 instances of competitive judicial appointments during the period; see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 123–204, and Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:109.



was costly, and the sudden spike in demand caused prices to soar. Each also had to expend large amounts of gold and silver to buy the loyalties of amirs who attempted to act as kingmakers by staying on the sidelines until a particular battle looked like it was tilting one way or the other. Each judicial, administrative, and teaching appointment required the candidate to pay large fees or bribes for the office. The sultan and rebels became dependent on these fees as a source of revenues that would otherwise have to be taken from an increasingly restive public who tried to hide their wealth to prevent it from being seized whenever troops entered a town, village, or city.

Another aspect not previously considered is the role of judges, teachers, and administrators in acting as propagandists for each claimant. Whenever a new appointment was made there was a ritual process connected to the installation of the new appointee. This involved bestowing a robe of office on the appointee in a public ceremony, but most importantly, it required that the new office holder read an indictment of the former official, listing his faults and the reasons for his replacement. As the civil war raged, the masses were not only victim to the forced surrender of wealth by the Mamluks; they also had to pay extremely high prices for increasingly scarce commodities. The *'ulamā'* became the target of public dissatisfaction because it was they who levied taxes, set prices, and ordered people imprisoned or punished for failure to comply with the laws of the sultan or occupying forces. It became a common feature of indictments to list the abuses of the other claimants to the throne and how their judges and administrators had abused the population under their tenures.

By the 19 Rabi<sup>c</sup> II 809/3 October 1406, after Faraj was able to take control of Damascus, he appointed Ibn Ḥijjī as chief Shafi'i judge. Shaykh had previously installed Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAlāmah al-Ḥusbānī as chief Shafi'i judge when he was in control of the city and Nawrūz had appointed ʿAlā' al-Dīn al-Subkī to the same position. Each appears to have continued to operate autonomous courts with an independent group of deputies, even when, as was the case with al-Ḥusbānī, the chief judge was not actually in the city. For Ibn Ḥijjī, his elevation came after he had earlier been appointed deputy judge under Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥimṣī, who had been appointed chief Shafi'i judge by Faraj before he had taken control of Damascus. As al-Ḥimṣī's deputy, it is likely that Ibn Ḥijjī would have been considered loyal to the sultan and thus a reliable representative to the *a'yān*. Faraj, however, ordered that Ibn Ḥijjī accept as his deputy Shams al-Dīn al-Ikhnā'ī, who had travelled from Egypt with Faraj and was firmly believed to be a Faraj loyalist.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>99</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, 4:96; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:130; Ibn Ayyūb, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir*, 2:111; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:78; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:36; Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 2:755.



In Jumādā II 809/November 1406, as Faraj began preparations for returning to Egypt, he removed Ibn Ḥijjī as chief judge and replaced him with al-Ikhnāʿī, who, among others, accepted as his deputy judge Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf, the son of the confidential secretary of Damascus whom Faraj appointed to act as his spy on the affairs of the mamluks of the city.<sup>100</sup> Faraj, however, gave the position of chief preacher of the Umayyad Mosque to Ibn Ḥijjī's old adversary al-Bā'ūnī, who a short time later asked to be transferred to Mecca, where he became the chief preacher of the Ḥaramayn. According to Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Ḥijjī, Faraj had split the duties of the judges, making al-Ikhnāʿī chief judge, but giving al-Bā'ūnī the other positions traditionally given to the chief judge such as preacher at the Umayyad Mosque, *tadrīs* of the Ghazāliyah madrasah, controller of the Ḥaramayn, and the title *mashāyikh al-shuyūkh*. This, understandably, frustrated al-Ikhnāʿī, but it seems that Faraj no longer had complete trust in him.<sup>101</sup>

Within a week of Faraj's departure, Nawrūz returned to the city and began to fortify the citadel. Upon taking control of Damascus, Nawrūz confirmed al-Ikhnāʿī as chief Shafi'i judge and gave to him all of the offices Faraj had given al-Bā'ūnī.<sup>102</sup> By Ṣafar 810/July 1407 the civil war in Syria was raging to such an extent that Faraj was forced to march on Damascus a fourth time.<sup>103</sup> When he took the town he ordered that all of the judges, the confidential secretary, and the wazir be arrested and tortured until they agreed to pay large bribes as a sign of their guilt for supporting Nawrūz.<sup>104</sup> Al-Ikhnāʿī was among them but, inexplicably, Faraj did not replace him as chief judge immediately.<sup>105</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī and his wife had gone on the hajj the previous year after he was removed by Faraj and does not appear to have returned.<sup>106</sup>

By Rabīʿ II/September, Faraj returned to Cairo, leaving al-Ikhnāʿī as his chief judge. Nawrūz returned to the city within a few days and confirmed al-Ikhnāʿī as his judge. Given his authority, now confirmed by both sultan and rebel, al-Ikhnāʿī began to reshuffle the control of the Shafi'i madrasahs of the city, installing Ibn Ḥijjī's brother as *tadrīs* of the 'Azīziyah madrasah on the 29th of the month. He also aided Nawrūz in seizing the funds of a number of trusts in the city.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 125, 155; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 6:7; Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 2:761.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 2:762.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 2:769; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 125.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:188.

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:189; Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 2:799–800.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 2:800.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 776–77

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 800–12.



Contemporary chroniclers of the period speak uniformly of the widespread fear and hatred of Nawrūz among the population and the *aʿyān* of Damascus. He was a violent man in a period noted for its violence, he abused the elites and the commoners alike, and he used extortion and other means to take money from the people in order to fund his rebellions. By the end of Rajab 810/December 1407 Nawrūz had engineered his rise to the top of authority in Syria. Shaykh, who by this time was the only other threat to Faraj's power, felt that he was too weak to oppose Nawrūz and refused Faraj's offer to become the viceroy of Syria if he would attack the rebel.<sup>108</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar's account of the period is one of confusion among the judges and *aʿyān* in Syria. Faraj and Nawrūz each continued appointing judges in cities they did and did not control. Each time this occurred there was a reshuffling of posts in legal colleges and in the management of trusts. In the few locales controlled by Shaykh he followed suit, so that in some instances there were three chief judges each holding office concurrently in the same city, although how many actually administered the law is unclear because many who were in residence, if not the candidate of the power controlling the territory, were forced to flee for their lives.<sup>109</sup>

By Ramaḍān–Shawwāl 810/January–March 1408, Ibn Ḥijjī and the pro-Faraj scholar Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn al-Adamī collaborated to bring Shaykh and Faraj into an accord.<sup>110</sup> Ibn al-Adamī had been appointed by Faraj as chief Shafiʿi judge of Ḥamāh but fled from the town because Shaykh, who controlled the area, threatened his life. When he arrived in Cairo, Faraj appointed him chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus in absentia.<sup>111</sup> At this time Shaykh, who did not control Damascus and was refusing to assume the governorship of the city, appointed Ibn Ḥijjī chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus, also in absentia. Ibn Ḥijjī was in hiding at the time and he too made his way to Cairo. Faraj, as a sign of goodwill toward Shaykh, briefly appointed Ibn Ḥijjī chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus, but only for thirty days.<sup>112</sup>

Whether or not the efforts of Ibn Adamī and Ibn Ḥijjī were the cause, by Muḥarram 811/May 1408 Shaykh had come out of his lethargy and attacked Nawrūz near Damascus, carrying the flag of the sultan.<sup>113</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar, Shaykh took the town by Ṣafar/June and rode into Damascus greeted by popular celebration. The judges and *aʿyān* rushed to meet and congratulate Shaykh, who, in the midst of the festivities, appointed Ibn Ḥijjī chief Shafiʿi judge.<sup>114</sup> Al-Maqrīzī

<sup>108</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:190–95.

<sup>109</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 6:65–66.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 8:130; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 133.

<sup>113</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:197.

<sup>114</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 6:87–88.



states that this appointment occurred without the authorization of Faraj and that Ibn Ḥijjī selected ten deputy judges, far more than had been the previous practice.<sup>115</sup> Why he selected such a large number of deputies is not clear, but it is likely that given the upheaval and fractious nature of Shafi'i legal authority in Damascus caused by the civil war, he was seeking to widen his, and by extension Shaykh's, base of support.

Although Shaykh had captured the city, Nawrūz had escaped and had fled north into Turkish lands.<sup>116</sup> After Shaykh took Damascus he began to arrest Nawrūz's supporters, so many in fact that Faraj became suspicious of Shaykh's true intentions. When in Jumādā II 811/November 1408 Faraj accused Shaykh of disloyalty, Shaykh called together the judges and *a'yān* of Damascus to swear out statements of loyalty to the sultan. He then sent Ibn Ḥijjī to Cairo with the statements and a letter from Shaykh stating his own loyalty to Faraj.<sup>117</sup>

When Ibn Ḥijjī arrived in Cairo between Sha'bān and Shawwāl/January–February 1409 Faraj angrily rejected Shaykh's statement and began preparations for another invasion of Syria. He arrested Ibn Ḥijjī and in his response to Shaykh's letter, ordered the viceroy to install al-Ikhnā'i as chief Shafi'i judge.<sup>118</sup> It appears that al-Ikhnā'i was still in Damascus, although how he had escaped arrest following Nawrūz's departure is unclear. In any case, when Shaykh learned of the arrest of Ibn Ḥijjī and Faraj's rejection of his letter of submission, he had al-Ikhnā'i arrested and charged him with being in secret communication with Nawrūz. Shaykh also reappointed Ibn Ḥijjī as chief judge in absentia.<sup>119</sup> By 19 Shawwāl 811/7 March 1409 Faraj seemed to have thought better of his initial rejection of Shaykh's letter, and returned Ibn Ḥijjī to Damascus wearing a robe of honor and appointed him chief Shafi'i judge and preacher of the Umayyad Mosque. He also ordered that al-Ikhnā'i be removed from any position previously given him.<sup>120</sup>

By 10 Dhū al-Qa'dah 811/28 March 1409 Faraj again accused Shaykh of going into revolt. Once more Shaykh swore out a statement of loyalty and sent Ibn Ḥijjī to Cairo with the letter. Although he must not have relished the idea of once more standing before the sultan, Ibn Ḥijjī complied, arriving in Cairo on 20 Dhū al-Qa'dah/8 March.<sup>121</sup> Faraj once again rejected the letter and although he did not remove Ibn Ḥijjī as chief judge, he sent him back to Damascus with an order for

<sup>115</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:71–72.

<sup>116</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:199–200.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>118</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:79–83; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 6:94.

<sup>119</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:83.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 84–88.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*



Shaykh to free the pro-Nawrūz amirs Shaykh had previously arrested. Ibn Ḥijjī arrived back in Damascus by 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/26 April but, fearing Shaykh's response, delayed reading Faraj's letter to the viceroy until he was able to do so in front of a collection of judges from the four schools. Although the sources are unclear on the sequence of events that follow, it appears that Shaykh ordered the judges to issue a *fatwá* authorizing war against Faraj. Only his old follower, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusbānī, no longer a chief judge, agreed to do so.<sup>122</sup>

On 11 Muḥarram 812/27 May 1409 Faraj marched from Cairo toward Damascus. By 6 Ṣafar/21 June Faraj entered Damascus and arrested al-Ḥusbānī for his *fatwá*.<sup>123</sup> He also reshuffled the judiciary, removing the sitting Hanafi judge 'Alī ibn al-Ādamī (or possibly Ibn al-Quṭb), replacing him with Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Kishk.<sup>124</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, the deputy Shafi'i judge Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf, who was Ibn Kishk's brother-in-law,<sup>125</sup> accused the previous Hanafi judge of insulting the sultan, causing his removal and eventual trial. He was acquitted of the charge and re-appointed as chief Hanafi judge when Faraj departed the city on 2 Rabī' I/16 July.<sup>126</sup>

This event marks the beginning of the very public and life-long collaboration between Ibn Kishk and Ibn Naqīb. As noted above, Ibn Kishk had participated in Timūr's sack and occupation of Damascus, becoming extremely wealthy and powerful as a result. He amassed a personal guard of a hundred mamluks, more personal retainers than many sultans in the period, which gave him great latitude in his interactions with members of the Mamluk stratocracy and with the 'ulamā. He became, essentially, untouchable by Mamluk authorities who might want to seize him or force him to do their bidding. Ibn Naqīb, as head of the *ashrāf* community in Damascus, was a true charismatic leader of a largely charismatic community.<sup>127</sup> He wore a green face veil to signify his status and, as head of the *ashrāf*, Ibn Naqīb inherited not only a special status but was the object of devotion for many people in Damascus. Over time Ibn Kishk and Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf would develop a special animus toward Ibn Ḥijjī as they competed for power and influence among the 'ulamā and stratocratic elite.

When Faraj arrived in Damascus Ibn Ḥijjī approached the sultan seeking to be confirmed as chief Shafi'i judge. According to al-Maqrīzī, Faraj refused and in-

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

<sup>123</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:204.

<sup>124</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:99.

<sup>125</sup>Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 210.

<sup>126</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 6:142–43, 162–63; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:99.

<sup>127</sup>The *ashrāf* (sing. *sharīf*) were descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad through his two grandsons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. They were widely believed to possess special abilities and were revered by members of the Muslim community.



stead appointed Ibn Ḥijjī chief judge of Ṭarābulus.<sup>128</sup> Within weeks, however, Ibn Ḥijjī was arrested for unspecified reasons and was removed as chief Shafi‘i judge of Ṭarābulus the following month.<sup>129</sup>

By Jumādā I/September, Shaykh briefly retook Damascus with the assistance of some of the *a‘yān* of the city.<sup>130</sup> In the swiftly changing circumstances of the revolt, Faraj turned to his old enemy Nawrūz, appointing him viceroy of Syria on 1 Jumādā II 812/11 September.<sup>131</sup> Upon taking control Nawrūz appointed Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf as controller of the armies of Syria.<sup>132</sup> Ibn Naqīb became a close associate of Nawrūz from this point forward, and each time Nawrūz took control of Damascus, Ibn Naqīb was appointed controller.

As the civil war raged in Syria, Faraj once again marched from Egypt to Damascus. Nawrūz and Shaykh, however, sprinted around his forces and moved toward Cairo, forcing Faraj to end his stay in Syria and head back toward home in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 813/February 1411.<sup>133</sup> Before he left, however, he reappointed Ibn Ḥijjī judge of Ṭarābulus and returned al-Ikhnā‘ī as chief Shafi‘i judge and Ibn Kishk as chief Hanafi judge of Damascus. Just before the sultan’s departure, al-Ikhnā‘ī began to persecute judges who had opposed Faraj or supported Nawrūz.<sup>134</sup>

Sometime in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 813/April 1411 or early Muḥarram 814/April 1411 Faraj, Nawrūz, and Shaykh reached an agreement whereby Taghrībirdī, a long-time supporter of Faraj and the father of the historian Ibn Taghrībirdī, was to become viceroy of Damascus, Shaykh viceroy of Aleppo, and Nawrūz viceroy of Ṭarābulus.<sup>135</sup> Within months Shaykh once more broke his agreement and went into rebellion. This was precipitated by an assassination attempt on Faraj that was followed by mass executions in Cairo. Over one hundred mamluks were executed with many mamluks, judges, and officials arrested throughout the sultanate, including the former chief judge and partisan of Shaykh al-Ḥusbānī. The anger caused by the brutal crackdown prompted many supporters to desert the sultan and go over to Shaykh and Nawrūz.<sup>136</sup>

Faraj departed Cairo in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 814/March 1412 and as he moved across Gaza and Syria toward Damascus he arrested and executed more troops he be-

<sup>128</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:99.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:215–23.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

<sup>132</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 155.

<sup>133</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:240.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 6:233–36.

<sup>135</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:241–43; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 6:225.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 244–53.



lieved to be disloyal.<sup>137</sup> As was the custom at the time, whenever the sultan rode out on campaign he took with him the caliph, the four chief judges of Cairo, other officials, and a large baggage train. Between the 6th and 13th of Muḥarram 815/19–26 April 1412 Faraj left Damascus in pursuit of Shaykh and Nawrūz. On the evening of the 13th, Faraj was wounded and forced to retreat back to Damascus. In the confused withdrawal Faraj became separated from the bulk of his baggage train as well as the dignitaries with whom he was travelling. The rebels captured his baggage containing a large sum of money as well as the caliph, al-Mustaʿīn billāh. When news spread that Faraj had been wounded and that the caliph and the treasure had fallen into the hands of the rebels, the sultan's support began to rapidly erode.<sup>138</sup>

Within hours the Hanafi judge, Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAdīm, and the Shafiʿi judges, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Bāʿūnī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusbānī, all declared their support for Shaykh. This was particularly startling given the long association between al-Bāʿūnī and Barqūq and Faraj. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bārīzī and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ādamī also declared publicly for Shaykh, but this was less of a surprise given their long association with his cause.<sup>139</sup>

The following day Faraj, with just three supporters, entered Damascus and made his way to the citadel where he barricaded himself inside. He also called members of the *aʿyān* and judges together, seeking to gain their support.<sup>140</sup> The situation remained extremely tense as both sides plotted and worked to outmaneuver the other. Although he was advised to flee to Cairo where he might still be able to regroup, the sultan refused because, without the caliph and treasure, his authority was greatly diminished. Later in the day judges loyal to the sultan rode through Damascus proclaiming the abolition of taxes and ordering the people to pray for Faraj. They also called down curses on Shaykh.<sup>141</sup>

On the 17th Shaykh proclaimed himself the “grand amir” and began to appoint officials around the sultanate. He installed Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusbānī as chief judge of Damascus replacing al-Ikhnāʿī.<sup>142</sup> On the 24th the caliph was convinced to depose Faraj and declare himself ruler. The following day he rode at the head of the amirs and read a proclamation announcing the removal of Faraj. Although fierce fighting continued for a few days, by 10 Ṣafar 815/23 May 1412 Faraj was forced to surrender.<sup>143</sup> Al-Ikhnāʿī, who had continued to support Faraj until the

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 259.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., 262–63.

<sup>139</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ al-Ghumr*, 7:51–52.

<sup>140</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:264.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., 264–66.

<sup>142</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ al-Ghumr*, 7:54–55.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., 58; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:268–70.



last, was arrested the same day along with several other judges and religious officials who had opposed Shaykh.<sup>144</sup> On the 16th Faraj, just twenty-four years old, was murdered in the citadel. His body was thrown on a trash heap.<sup>145</sup>

### The Mu'ayyadīyah

Within six months Shaykh deposed the caliph and declared himself sultan.<sup>146</sup> When news arrived in Damascus, Nawrūz, who had been appointed viceroy of the city by the caliph, rejected the announcement. In Shawwāl 815/January 1413 he called a meeting of the *a'yān* and the jurists seeking their advice about the legality of Shaykh's actions. They refused to render an opinion and Nawrūz was forced to begin preparations for war. He moved against a number of Shaykh's supporters in Damascus, Ibn Ḥijjī among them, who was arrested and held in the citadel for fifteen days until he was freed.<sup>147</sup> Ibn Ḥajar suggests that Ibn Ḥijjī was held because he was suspected of spying for Shaykh.<sup>148</sup>

Over the next year Shaykh's forces unsuccessfully pursued Nawrūz. The partisan nature of the conflict trickled down to the jurists. On 19 Jumādā I 816/16 August 1413 Ibn Ḥijjī, still in Damascus, argued with Nawrūz's confidential secretary of Damascus, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Baṣrawī. The argument became so heated that al-Baṣrawī drew an iron mace and began beating Ibn Ḥijjī. Ibn Ḥijjī was able to take the mace from al-Baṣrawī and struck him in the face, injuring him severely. Several Shafī'i deputy judges standing nearby also joined in the attack on Baṣrawī, including the historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. Ibn Ḥijjī was arrested, but after paying a fine was released on 10 Jumādā II/6 September. He then fled Damascus for Cairo.<sup>149</sup>

By the beginning of Muḥarram 817/March 1414 Shaykh grew impatient with efforts to remove Nawrūz and decided to invade Syria;<sup>150</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī, who had fled to Cairo following his fight with al-Baṣrawī, travelled with the Egyptian army.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 59.

<sup>145</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:268–74, 311–15.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., 319–20.

<sup>147</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 7:71.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., 8:130.

<sup>149</sup>Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 134.

<sup>150</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:335. The decision to invade Syria set off an intense theological and legal debate among Nawrūz's supporters. Nawrūz maintained that Shaykh's removal of the caliph was a grave sin and that it was incumbent on the people to oppose him. In an intense and very interesting record of the debate, the jurists and scholars that Nawrūz had assembled refused to take any side on the conflict, leaving Nawrūz to his fate (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām al-Warā'*, 37–38).

<sup>151</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:130.



By 8 Ṣafar/1 May, Shaykh had arrived outside Damascus and engaged Nawrūz in battle. Nawrūz retreated up into the citadel and remained there until 21 Rabīʿ II/12 July, when he was forced to surrender and was executed.<sup>152</sup> From the beginning of Ṣafar/April–May, however, the opposition was over. Shaykh moved to remove all Nawrūz loyalists. He appointed Ṣadr al-Dīn al-ʿAjāmī the controller of the armies of Syria, removing Ibn Naqīb. Shaykh also removed Ibn Kishk as chief Hanafi judge, installing Shams al-Dīn al-Ṭabbānī in his place, and appointed Ibn Ḥijjī as chief Shafiʿi judge.<sup>153</sup>

The ascension of Shaykh and the defeat of Nawrūz marked the beginning of a period of relative calm for the Syrians. The peace led to a realignment of Mamluk politics with Shaykh’s loyalists, known as the Muʿayyadīyah, taking control of almost every level of government. The Muʿayyadīyah were also to be found among the *aʿyān*, especially among the scholars and judges who increasingly came to administer Shaykh’s empire.

A number of jurists emerged in this period who had long careers under Shaykh and his successors. Men such as Ibn Ḥijjī, who had supported Shaykh or who had successfully shifted sides with enough deftness to allow for the illusion of long support, rose quickly in the post-civil war era. Others, such as Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Kishk, were able to use their wealth to good effect. He, for instance, was able to purchase the offices of controller of the armies of Syria and of chief Hanafi judge of Damascus, both in Shawwāl 818/December 1415.<sup>154</sup>

The peace also marked the beginning of Ibn Ḥijjī’s career of flouting political authority, entrenching his reputation as a rule-breaker. In Jumādā II 819/August 1416, Ibn Ḥijjī received a letter from Shaykh confirming him as chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus. He also was ordered to limit the number of his deputies as part of the sultan’s judicial reform efforts. He employed seven deputies but was required to reduce the number to only three: Burhān al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīb, Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥusbānī, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. Ibn Ḥijjī moved one deputy to the Asadīyah madrasah as a *tadrīs* but retained the others.<sup>155</sup>

Foolishly, Ibn Ḥijjī let it be known that he was unhappy with the order, which was related to Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf. Ibn Naqīb and Ibn Ḥijjī had been on different sides of the civil war, with Ibn Naqīb supporting Nawrūz and Ibn Ḥijjī primarily supporting Shaykh. The enmity between the two seemed to carry over into the new period and when Ibn Naqīb heard that Ibn Ḥijjī had criticized the order, he immediately set out for Cairo, where he met with the sultan and reported the

<sup>152</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:282–85.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 134, 207.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.



accusation. According to Ibn Ḥajar, Shaykh flew into a rage and immediately removed Ibn Ḥijjī from office.<sup>156</sup>

By 17 Rajab/10 September, Ibn Naqīb had convinced the sultan to install an associate of his as chief judge, one Shams al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Zayd al-Ba‘labakkī, who had been chief Shafi‘i judge of Ba‘labakk. The order announcing his appointment also reduced the number of deputies to two: Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghazzī and Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥusbānī.<sup>157</sup> It appears that Ibn Naqīb had colluded with several officials in Cairo and Damascus to bring about the new appointment, including the viceroy of Damascus, Alṭunbughā al-‘Uthmānī, and the chief Maliki, Hanafi, and Hanbali judges, as well as Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, a Damascene Hanafi scholar who was quickly becoming a major influence on the sultan in Egypt. This is evident because Ibn Zayd had arrived in Damascus eleven days prior to the written notice from the sultan and was installed immediately by the viceroy and chief judges amid great pomp.<sup>158</sup>

At the installation of Ibn Zayd, Ibn Naqīb personally read the indictment listing the reasons for Ibn Ḥijjī’s removal. In addition to the charge that Ibn Ḥijjī had refused to obey the sultan’s demand to reduce the number of deputy judges, Ibn Naqīb also claimed that Ibn Ḥijjī had mishandled trust funds.<sup>159</sup> This “ritual destruction of respectability”<sup>160</sup> had become a common feature of judicial removal and appointment, but it had a particular impact on Ibn Ḥijjī and his rising reputation for disputing stratocratic authority.

After Ibn Ḥijjī heard the charges he wrote to the sultan complaining that he had not slandered him and denied the charge of mishandling trust funds. Before this could be sent he was arrested and held at the home of the chamberlain for several days until he was transferred to the al-Baybarsīyah madrasah. He again wrote the sultan stating that he agreed to limit the number of deputies to three, and as proof of his honest intentions he offered the sultan ten thousand dinars as a vow to demonstrate his good faith. Eventually, Ibn Ḥijjī was able to travel to Cairo, where he met with the sultan and was able to convince him of his sincerity. On the 4th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah he was returned to office, the sultan bestowing on him a robe of honor.<sup>161</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī arrived back in Damascus on 4 Muḥarram 820/22 February 1417 with a letter returning him to his previous positions, including the chief preacher of the Umayyad Mosque, the *mashyakh al-shuyūkh*, the headmaster of several ma-

<sup>156</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 7:217–18; 8:130.

<sup>157</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 149.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 149–50.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 7:217–18.

<sup>160</sup> Prus and Grills, *The Deviant Mystique*, 76.

<sup>161</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 7:217–18; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:367–73.



drasahs, and the controller of several madrasah guest houses. The established ritual of installation required that the viceroy receive the chief judge in his chambers or at the citadel, where a banquet was held following the reading of the letter of installation. In this instance, the viceroy, Alṭunbughā, left the hall before Ibn Ḥijjī arrived, forcing him, his deputies, and other dignitaries to wait in a heavy rain. Eventually Ibn Ḥijjī was allowed to enter, and following the reading of his installation decree pointedly forgave those who had plotted against him.<sup>162</sup>

This episode indicates that Ibn Ḥijjī had become extremely unpopular with many of the senior members of the non-Shafi‘i *fuqahā*’ as well as stratocratic authorities in Damascus. The fact that Ibn Naqīb could engineer his removal so easily, and with widespread elite support, shows that Ibn Ḥijjī had earned the enmity of the establishment. As will be demonstrated shortly, his refusal to accept the situation, and the apparent ease with which he manipulated his return, appears to have cemented his rule-breaker/outsider mystique among the lower *a‘yān* and the poor.

One of the stipulations that Shaykh had forced on Ibn Ḥijjī was that he had to install Ibn Naqīb as one of his three deputies. Ibn Naqīb, however, quickly developed a reputation for being an extremely poor legal scholar who “made permissible what had traditionally been ruled to be forbidden.”<sup>163</sup> A number of Shafi‘i judges began to complain about his incompetence, which infuriated Ibn Naqīb. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Ibn Naqīb’s anger at the accusations fueled long-term hatred, causing him to “seek to destroy those who were critical of him,” especially Ibn Ḥijjī.<sup>164</sup>

Within several weeks the viceroy Alṭunbughā was accused of plotting a revolt and was removed from his position and imprisoned. By 1 Rabī‘ I/18 April, Shaykh arrived in Damascus to secure the situation. When he arrived he appointed Ibn Naqīb as confidential secretary of Damascus, a position he held for two years. He was also appointed controller of the Umayyad Mosque. It is clear that Ibn Naqīb had become quite close to Shaykh, and it is likely that the sultan relieved him of his duties as deputy judge in order to bring to an end any possible problems caused by his enmity with other Shafi‘i jurists.<sup>165</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī replaced Ibn Naqīb with Tāj al-Dīn al-Ba‘labakkī, who had been a deputy judge in Ṭarābulus. The selection of al-Ba‘labakkī was also controversial among the Damascene scholars because he was an unknown figure with a suspicious legal pedigree. It is unknown why Ibn Ḥijjī made this selection, but it injected further acrimony into an already tense situation and served to poison the

<sup>162</sup>Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 135.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., 155; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:130.

<sup>164</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:130.

<sup>165</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:362–64.



mood between Ibn Ḥijjī and other Shafi'is who were more closely aligned with Ibn Naqīb.<sup>166</sup>

Shaykh appointed a new viceroy of Damascus, Amir Tanbak al-ʿAlāʾī Miyaq, in Ramaḍān 820/October 1417. Miyaq and Ibn Ḥijjī developed a deep dislike for one another that dated from the first six months of Miyaq's control of Damascus and is first mentioned by chroniclers in Jumādā I 821/June 1418.

It appears that some unknown incident occurred between Miyaq and Ibn Ḥijjī which prompted the viceroy to remove the judge without Shaykh's permission, an action that in previous times might have been taken as an act of rebellion. The reason for the arrest was not immediately clear, and although Shaykh was angry at the dismissal, he decided to be diplomatic and did not reprimand the viceroy. He even allowed Ibn Ḥijjī to remain in prison, although he did not move to appoint another judge.<sup>167</sup>

By Shawwāl 821/November 1418, Ibn Ḥijjī was released from jail and resumed his duties, apparently without further consequences from the sultan.<sup>168</sup> By Shawwāl/October of the following year Shaykh was forced to remove Miyaq and replace him with Jaqmaq al-Arghūnshāwī.<sup>169</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī, Ibn Ḥajar reports, went on the pilgrimage when news arrived of the new appointment.<sup>170</sup>

## Rallying the Mob and Overreach

By late 823/1421 Mālik al-Muʿayyad Shaykh had begun to suffer from a variety of illnesses, many caused by his long years in rebellion during which he suffered a number of wounds. His final illness was precipitated by the sudden death of his son and successor Ibrāhīm in Jumādā II 823/June-July 1420.<sup>171</sup> On 9 Muḥarram 824/15 January 1421 Shaykh died<sup>172</sup> and there followed a period of instability as the contenders to the throne jockeyed for control. Amir Ṭaṭar, who acted as regent for Shaykh's one-year-old son Aḥmad, became the de facto sultan, although many, including Jaqmaq, the viceroy of Syria, refused to accept the situation.<sup>173</sup>

Although Ibn Ḥijjī apparently advised Jaqmaq to oppose Ṭaṭar, the revolt failed by Shaʿbān 824/August 1421. Ṭaṭar was universally accepted as sultan following his invasion of Syria and execution of Jaqmaq and other rebels. Although Ibn Ḥijjī

<sup>166</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 136.

<sup>167</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:844; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 7:306–7.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 7:307.

<sup>169</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:406; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Iʿlām al-Warā*, 41.

<sup>170</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 8:130.

<sup>171</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:412–13.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 486.



had been one of those who opposed Ṭaṭar, he was not imprisoned and remained in office.<sup>174</sup> On 3 Ramaḍān/5 October, Ṭaṭar confirmed Ibn Ḥijjī in his position as chief Shafi'i judge, and contrary to previous practice, did not install any new judges. He also reappointed Miyaq as viceroy of Damascus.<sup>175</sup>

Whether it was linked to Miyaq's appointment as viceroy or not, Ibn Ḥajar states that Ibn Ḥijjī, beginning in Shawwāl 824/August-September 1421, began to campaign for the position of chief Shafi'i judge of Egypt.<sup>176</sup> That office was the highest judicial position in the Mamluk empire and was viewed with a jealous eye by many Syrian judges. Few Syrians had held the position and they were, in many respects, considered less important than their Egyptian counterparts. Early in his career Ibn Ḥijjī had served as a deputy to the famous Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī following his escape from Tīmūr. Al-Bulqīnī had been chief Shafi'i judge of Egypt until his death in Shawwāl/August-September.<sup>177</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī travelled to Cairo for the funeral and started to lobby for the open position. Unfortunately for Ibn Ḥijjī, Ṭaṭar died on 4 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/1 December and Ibn Ḥijjī's initial effort failed.<sup>178</sup>

Although Ṭaṭar had ordered that his ten-year-old son Muḥammad should succeed him, by Rabī' II 825/March-April 1422, al-Mālik al-Ashrāf Barsbāy was confirmed as sultan.<sup>179</sup> Unlike Ṭaṭar, Barsbāy moved quickly to reshuffle judges and other administrators, seeking to install those who would be loyal to him. By Shawwāl/October Ibn Ḥijjī was removed as chief judge of Damascus and was replaced by Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī. This was followed by a wholesale reordering of judgeships across Syria over the next month. Barsbāy also removed Ibn Naqīb as confidential secretary of Damascus, who was then ordered to appear before the new sultan in Cairo.<sup>180</sup>

When Ibn Naqīb met with Barsbāy he paid the sultan ten thousand dinars to become an amir, which entitled him to a small retinue of mamluk soldiers and a small fief. He was then reappointed as confidential secretary and installed as controller of the army of Syria. While in Cairo, Ibn Naqīb also married the daughter of Amir Azbak, linking him directly to a powerful Mamluk family.<sup>181</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī was also reappointed sometime before Jumādā I 826/April-May 1423, when he was once again arrested by Miyaq.<sup>182</sup> Miyaq was well known for his

<sup>174</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:130.

<sup>175</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:511-13.

<sup>176</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:131.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., 7:424.

<sup>178</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:517; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:131.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., 544.

<sup>180</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 7:466-68.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid., 468.

<sup>182</sup>The following description is based on the very detailed account given in *ibid.*, 8:12-13.



taste for wine and held several storehouses of the beverage around Damascus. Ibn Ḥijjī, when he learned of the storehouses, demanded that the viceroy destroy the wine and close the storehouses. When Miyaq refused to do so, Ibn Ḥijjī continued to protest. By this point in Ibn Ḥijjī's career his rule-breaking mystique had begun to manifest itself in broad popular support, so much so that he took the extremely dangerous and unusual step of rallying a large crowd of followers who had gathered in front of his home. He then led the mob, possibly with the support of some Mamluk soldiers, to the storehouses and destroyed the wine.<sup>183</sup>

Miyaq became angry, not only at the destruction of the wine, but at the demonstration of power that Ibn Ḥijjī exercised over the masses. He ordered that Ibn Ḥijjī be investigated for the destruction of private property and commissioned a soldier and one of Ibn Ḥijjī's deputies, Abū Shāmah, to look into the matter, fully expecting that Ibn Ḥijjī would be convicted of the charge. To Miyaq's surprise, the commission found that Ibn Ḥijjī had done nothing wrong. Miyaq reacted by firing Abū Shāmah and, as a sign of the Ibn Ḥijjī's power and Miyaq's fear of the results of unilaterally acting against him, the viceroy took the highly unusual step of going to Cairo and personally pleading his case before the sultan. The importance of this action cannot be overstated; that a sitting viceroy had to personally protest the actions of a judge and seek redress from the sultan for the actions of that judge was almost unheard-of in the history of the Mamluks. To bolster his case against Ibn Ḥijjī, Miyaq also accused him of embezzling the inheritance of a man who died without heirs. According to sultanic custom, the money should have devolved to the *bayt al-māl* (treasury) and its seizure amounted to theft from the person of the sultan.

When Barsbāy heard this charge he flew into a rage and immediately developed a deep-seated distrust of the judge that would last until Ibn Ḥijjī's death. When Abū Shāmah heard the accusation and of the anger of Barsbāy, and Miyaq's statement that Abū Shāmah could not be trusted because "he was just like Ibn Ḥijjī," he moved quickly to distance himself from Najm al-Dīn. He immediately wrote out an opinion that Ibn Ḥijjī owed the *bayt al-māl* twenty thousand dinars. Ibn Kishk, one of Ibn Ḥijjī's long-time antagonists, signed the ruling as chief Hanafi judge. This ruling was sent to Barsbāy, who immediately ordered Ibn Ḥijjī to repay the twenty thousand dinars.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid. The text states that Ibn Ḥijjī rode to the storehouse where the wine was destroyed. The text is unclear as to whether other people rode to the storehouse or whether the crowd simply followed Ibn Ḥijjī on foot. There is a slight possibility that there were Mamluk soldiers in the crowd, but this is unlikely given the fact that such an act would be seen by Miyaq as an act of sedition, one that would be cruelly punished. It is also clear that Ibn Ḥijjī instigated the action because following the attack he alone is punished. No soldiers or other people are described as being investigated for the attack.



In Rajab 826/June–July 1423 Miyaq became ill, but due to the strained relations between the two men, Ibn Ḥijjī refused to make the customary sick call to the home of the viceroy. Once again, Miyaq issued an arrest warrant for Ibn Ḥijjī, arguing that his failure to attend on him was tantamount to rebellion. Ibn Ḥijjī, learning that the chamberlain was on his way to arrest him, left the Nāṣirīyah madrasah and went to the *masjid* of the viceroy's palace, thus technically obeying the order to appear at Miyaq's residence without having to actually enter Miyaq's presence. Miyaq, incensed by Ibn Ḥijjī's actions, unilaterally removed him as chief judge and appointed in his stead Qāsim al-Dīn ibn Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, although this was not affirmed by the sultan.<sup>184</sup>

With Ibn Ḥijjī under arrest, Ibn Naqīb, in his capacity as the confidential secretary, modified Miyaq's decree and reappointed his old friend Ibn Zayd al-Ba'labakkī as chief Shafi'ī judge. Abū Shāmah, once Ibn Ḥijjī's loyal deputy, was appointed as Ibn Zayd's deputy. Because of the acrimony that surrounded his appointment, Ibn Zayd was unable to hold court in the Zāhirīyah madrasah as was customary. Instead, he was forced to hear cases in Ibn Naqīb's home with only Abū Shāmah in attendance. Ibn Ḥijjī's deputy, Taqī al-Dīn al-Lūbayānī, continued to hear cases in the Zāhirīyah as a kind of counter-judiciary.<sup>185</sup>

As events will bear out, Ibn Ḥijjī suspected both Ibn Kishk and his brother-in-law Ibn Naqīb of engineering his removal, as did the masses who had become an important source of his power. On 7 Sha'bān/17 July, Ibn Ḥijjī issued a letter to his followers, recounting the events that led to his removal, the accusations against him, and the demand that he pay twenty thousand dinars.<sup>186</sup> On 13 Sha'bān/23 July Ibn Zayd arrived in Damascus and was made preacher of the Umayyad Mosque and *shaykh* of a Sufi hostel.<sup>187</sup> Finally, on the 16th/26th, Ibn Ḥijjī was forced to attend at Miyaq's sick bed. The viceroy died four days later, and was replaced by al-Bajāsi.<sup>188</sup>

On the 24 Sha'bān/2 August, the four chief judges<sup>189</sup> met in council and summoned Abū Shāmah, who was ordered to give evidence of the charges against Ibn Ḥijjī. The Maliki and Hanbali judge attacked Abū Shāmah, holding that he was a poor legal scholar. Others, including the Hanafi judge, Ibn Kishk, Ibn Naqīb, and

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., 8:131; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:637; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 136.

<sup>185</sup>Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 150

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., 137.

<sup>187</sup>Ibid., 150.

<sup>188</sup>Ibid., 137.

<sup>189</sup>It is not stated in the texts who represented the Shafi'is. It seems unlikely that Ibn Zayd would have ruled against Abū Shāmah. If it was Ibn Ḥijjī it seems odd that no mention is made of his presence. It is probable that the judges elected a deputy to serve as chief judge for the purposes of the hearing, most likely Ibn Ḥijjī's deputy, Taqī al-Dīn al-Lūbayānī.



the future viceroy of Damascus, Sūdūn min ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, held that Ibn Ḥijjī was guilty of the crime. Each side sent a report to Cairo.<sup>190</sup>

In the meantime Ibn Ḥijjī was able to pay ten thousand dinars to the sultan and promised to pay another five thousand. Ibn Ḥijjī did not admit guilt by paying the fine and he was able to demonstrate his enormous popularity by stating that the additional sum was guaranteed by a “multitude of people, each promising to pay a hundred dinars, others eighty, and still others even less,” and signed a promissory note to that effect. The impact of such a mass outpouring of support for Ibn Ḥijjī was not lost on the sultan, who immediately reinstated the judge in office on 2 Ramaḍān/9 August. When news of Ibn Ḥijjī’s reappointment reached Damascus there was celebration among the populace. Abū Shāmah was arrested and carried to the tower prison, where he was beaten on the head and neck.<sup>191</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī was finally allowed out of his house that afternoon and walked to *aṣr* prayers and then to the house of the chamberlain. The ordeal had weakened the sixty-year-old man and, unable to walk farther, he was carried at the head of a large crowd to the new viceroy, Tanbak al-Bajāsi, before he was finally returned to his home. He was formally reinstated on the 13th/22nd, receiving robes of office, but due to his weakened condition the actual letter of installation was not read.<sup>192</sup>

On 16 Ramaḍān/24 August, Ibn Ḥijjī was once more called to the house of the chief chamberlain who wanted to know the disposition of the remaining five thousand dinars. Ibn Ḥijjī called each person who had signed promissory notes guaranteeing the funds. According to Ibn Ṭulūn, the examination of the signatories took several days as there were so many who came forward to offer their assistance to Ibn Ḥijjī. This additional indignity further enflamed his supporters.<sup>193</sup> This marks the peak of Ibn Ḥijjī’s authority with the masses and speaks to the size of his actual following. No other religious or political leader in the period was able to demonstrate this kind of popular support.

By Muḥarram 827/December–January 1423–24, Barsbāy suspected al-Bajāsi of disloyalty and replaced him with Sūdūn min ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. By 16 Ṣafar/20 January 1424 al-Bajāsi was arrested and executed.<sup>194</sup> In response to the prospect of another civil war, Barsbāy appears to have moved decisively to move Ibn Ḥijjī out of Syria. It is evident that he feared that Ibn Ḥijjī’s popularity might be put at the service of a rebel, and although there is no direct proof, it is possible that al-Bajāsi’s abortive rebellion may have had the tacit blessing of the judge. While Ibn

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 137–38.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 138–39.

<sup>194</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:573; Ibn Ṭulūn, *I’lām al-Warā*, 46–48.



Ḥijjī was careful not to publicly declare his loyalty to any Mamluk, Barsbāy must have worried that should Ibn Ḥijjī decide to support a potential opponent it might weigh heavily in any effort to gain and keep allies, for no jurist had had the same level of popular support.

On 19 Rabi<sup>c</sup> II 827/22 March 1424, Ibn Ḥijjī received a request to appear before the sultan. This followed numerous previous requests issued over the past several months.<sup>195</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī had been campaigning for the chief Shafi‘i judgeship of Egypt for several years but Barsbāy, fearing the popularity of the judge, refused to comply with his request.<sup>196</sup> Instead, the sultan offered the judge the position of confidential secretary. The confidential secretary was an extremely influential and potentially financially lucrative position whose holder read correspondence to the sultan and wrote out his orders. He was in constant contact with the sultan, and thus from the point of view of Barsbāy, easier to control and manipulate than the more free moving chief judge.

On the 22nd/25th Ibn Ḥijjī received another request from the sultan to take up the position. This time, apparently due to the flowery nature of Barsbāy’s flattery, Ibn Ḥijjī relented. On the 28 Rabi<sup>c</sup> II/1 April Ibn Ḥijjī left for Cairo, although according to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, his appointment was kept secret and no one knew why he was going to Egypt.<sup>197</sup>

In Jumādā II 827/May 1424 Ibn Ḥijjī was officially appointed as the new confidential secretary.<sup>198</sup> Ibn Kishk at the time was in Cairo, where he had paid ten thousand dinars to be confirmed as chief Hanafi judge of Damascus. On the 19th Ibn Naqīb arrived in Cairo and asked for an audience with the sultan.<sup>199</sup> Ibn Ḥijjī’s appointment followed two days later on 21 Jumādā II/21 May.<sup>200</sup> News of the appointment arrived in Damascus on 1 Shawwāl/27 August, surprising many and causing several of Ibn Ḥijjī’s supporters to break with him because they feared he had been co-opted by the sultan.<sup>201</sup> Ibn Ḥajar goes further, arguing that the appointment caused “the majority of his companions to change toward him,” alienating them as they had when he had originally been accused of *fujūr* and *kidhb*.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 139.

<sup>196</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi‘*, 6:78.

<sup>197</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 139.

<sup>198</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:42; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:662.

<sup>199</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:664.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 664–65.

<sup>201</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 139–40.

<sup>202</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:131. In this instance Ibn Ḥajar does not refer directly to the accusation, in fact he only refers to it in veiled language, but it is clear that the alienation is similar to the shunning Ibn Ḥijjī experienced following the original accusation.



On the 12th news arrived that Ibn Naqīb, who had paid a large sum for the position, was appointed as Ibn Ḥijjī's replacement as chief Shafi'i judge.<sup>203</sup>

Within a year it had become clear that Ibn Ḥijjī's appointment had been a plot orchestrated to finally destroy his career and remove him as a potential threat to social and political stability. As a part of his appointment to the office of confidential secretary Ibn Ḥijjī had been required to pay ten thousand dinars and was to pay an additional fifteen hundred a year into the privy account of Barsbāy's son. He was assigned a fief from which he was to generate income from the rents paid to him by tenants. The fief drastically underpaid the required amount so that by the end of the first year Ibn Ḥijjī was in arrears for twelve hundred dinars. When he was unable to pay the required fee he was arrested and carried in chains to the tower of the citadel, where he was tortured.<sup>204</sup>

Further unspecified charges were then levelled against Ibn Ḥijjī that may have referred back to accusations of sodomy lodged against him in 795.<sup>205</sup> After eight days Ibn Ḥijjī was released and sent back to Damascus in chains, travelling with Ibn Naqīb, who had been in Cairo since his appointment as chief Shafi'i judge the previous year. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ṭulūn both make it clear that the general feeling among the *a'yān* was that Ibn Naqīb had plotted with the sultan to entrap Ibn Ḥijjī so as to bring about his downfall.<sup>206</sup>

On 2 Sha'bān 828, Ibn Naqīb and Ibn Ḥijjī entered Damascus. Ibn Ḥijjī was led through the city's gates on foot wearing chains on his arms and legs. Ibn Naqīb rode at the head of the processional, followed by his deputies and attendants. Ibn Naqīb had hoped to humiliate Ibn Ḥijjī and believed that the population would turn against him. Ibn Naqīb went through the streets, but instead of loud acclaim and large crowds, he received a subdued reception. He entered the viceroy's palace and was attended by many officials, except for several Hanafis and Hanbalis who were off in other towns and thus unable to attend.

Ibn Ḥijjī was led to jail. A few weeks later, he was called before a panel of judges to answer the charges against him. The historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah was also called as a witness (he appears to have been in Egypt with Ibn Ḥijjī for the year he was there), and the examination became so heated that he reports that he finally decided to say nothing more out of embarrassment.<sup>207</sup> On 2 Dhū al-Ḥijjah

<sup>203</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 151.

<sup>204</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:585–86; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:686; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:66–68.

<sup>205</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:68.

<sup>206</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:687; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 151.

<sup>207</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 151.



828/16 October 1425 Ibn Naqīb returned to Cairo, leaving his deputies to administer his function as judge.<sup>208</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī lived in Damascus for almost a year without any resolution to the charges levelled against him. Then suddenly on the 23rd or the 26th of Dhū al-Qa‘dah 829/26th or 29th of September 1426 Ibn Ḥijjī received a summons to appear in Cairo.<sup>209</sup> For obvious reasons Ibn Ḥijjī did not want to go. He attempted to delay the trip by writing to Ibn Naqīb in Cairo, asking him to intervene, but he, predictably, refused. Ibn Ḥijjī also sought help from the viceroy of Gaza and Quṭayah, but to no avail. Having no other recourse he departed Damascus, arriving in Cairo about a week later.<sup>210</sup>

There was no news from Cairo until Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when Ibn Ḥijjī wrote his son requesting that he bring some books to him. His son, Bahā’ al-Dīn, departed on the 16th. Finally, on 8 Muḥarram 830/10 November 1426 news arrived that, to everyone’s surprise, Ibn Ḥijjī had been reappointed chief Shafi‘i judge, replacing Ibn Naqīb.<sup>211</sup> Ibn Naqīb had run afoul of Barsbāy when he failed to pay ten thousand dinars as a fee for continuing in office. When Ibn Ḥijjī arrived in Cairo he was treated kindly by the sultan and was, according to the sultan’s attendant, given every honor and shown every concern. Ibn Naqīb, however, treated him rudely and insulted him in front of witnesses.<sup>212</sup>

When the sultan offered the Shafi‘i judgeship to Ibn Ḥijjī, he readily accepted but asked the sultan for a special favor: he wanted Ibn Naqīb to repay the lost income Ibn Ḥijjī had suffered as a result of his removal from office as confidential secretary. The sultan agreed, and Ibn Ḥijjī had a document drawn up listing the fees he required Ibn Naqīb to pay. Al-Maqrīzī marvels at the fact that the sultan did indeed force Ibn Naqīb to do so. Not only that, but the deposed jurist was required to pay Ibn Ḥijjī’s fee for becoming chief judge once more.<sup>213</sup>

News of the events in Cairo reached Damascus on 23 Muḥarram 830/24 November 1426. The post also carried a letter from the sultan in which he heaped further abuse on Ibn Naqīb, stating that several of his rulings were in error and were to be repealed. Ibn Naqīb arrived the same day and was met by members of the *ashrāf* community and a few officials. None of the judges turned out to greet him and neither did any of the *fuqahā’*.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>208</sup>Ibid., 153.

<sup>209</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:107.

<sup>210</sup>Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 140; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:728.

<sup>211</sup>Ibid., 154; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:729.

<sup>212</sup>Ibid., 142; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:734.

<sup>213</sup>Ibid., 141–42.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid.



On 13 Ṣafar/14 December, Najm al-Dīn ibn Ḥijjī arrived in Damascus to great popular acclaim. He was given robes of honor and was attended on by the judges, *fuqahāʾ*, amirs, and a great many people. The viceroy, Sūdūn min ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, however, refused to recognize his appointment and continued to treat Ibn Naqīb as his chief judge.<sup>215</sup>

Ibn Ḥijjī's letter of appointment was read in the *miḥrāb* of the Companions in the Umayyad Mosque. He then recounted his experiences in Egypt and claimed that the sultan gave him five hundred dinars as well as a horse, along with his appointment. This was a sign of great respect for two reasons: (1) he claimed that he was not required to pay the customary fee for the office and (2) only amirs were allowed to ride horses. He also recounted the poor behavior of Ibn Naqīb and how the sultan and the amirs were dissatisfied with his ability to collect taxes and the content of his legal rulings.<sup>216</sup>

On 20 Shawwāl/14 August, a man from the village of Jisrayn came to Damascus and wrote out a complaint against Ibn Naqīb claiming that the former judge had ordered Abū Shāmah to take money from his tribe illegally. Abū Shāmah had collected a thousand dinars and gold from the Banū al-Ḥafīz, claiming it was a tax, and sent this to Ibn Naqīb in Cairo. It appears that members of the tribe had made inquiries about the amount of the tax and it came to pass that the amount collected was more than what Ibn Naqīb reported to the treasury in Cairo. A decree then arrived from the sultan demanding that Ibn Naqīb appear at the palace of the viceroy to answer charges, meaning that if he failed to account for the money he would certainly be tortured until he came up with the missing funds.<sup>217</sup>

When he failed to appear, the viceroy ordered Abū Shāmah to locate Ibn Naqīb, whom Sūdūn min ʿAbd al-Raḥmān still recognized as his chief judge, but the deputy claimed he was unable to do so. Sūdūn min ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then turned to Ibn Ḥijjī, asking him to adjudicate the case. Ibn Naqīb also wrote to Ibn Ḥijjī asking him to intervene on his behalf. Why, given all that had gone before, he thought that Ibn Ḥijjī might come to his aid is unknown, but it is most likely a sign of his desperation.<sup>218</sup>

The order from Sūdūn placed Ibn Ḥijjī in a difficult position. The viceroy had refused to accept his reappointment in the weeks prior to the complaint against Ibn Naqīb, and had persisted in this in the face of great popular acclaim for Ibn Ḥijjī. Ibn Kishk, who was currently serving as chief Hanafi judge and confidential secretary, had supported the viceroy in refusing to accept Ibn Ḥijjī. He was also supported by the Hanafi judge and the controller of the army of Egypt ʿAbd

<sup>215</sup>Ibid.

<sup>216</sup>Ibid.

<sup>217</sup>Ibid., 154.

<sup>218</sup>Ibid.



al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Dimashqī, and others who had benefited from the largess of Ibn Naqīb.<sup>219</sup>

About this time Ibn Ḥijjī moved from Damascus to his rural estate between the villages of al-Rubwah and al-Nayrab. While Ibn Naqīb remained in hiding Ibn Ḥijjī continued his silence about his decision. We do not know whether he decided to intervene or if, by moving out of Damascus, he was signaling his refusal to interpose himself into the situation. By failing to aid Ibn Naqīb, Ibn Ḥijjī forced Sūdūn min ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to punish his choice of Shafī‘i judge whom the sultan had condemned and relieved of his position. Failing to recognize the appointment of Ibn Ḥijjī could be taken as a sign of rebellion and it may have been that the sultan, knowing of Ibn Naqīb’s closeness to Sūdūn, was trying to test the viceroy’s loyalties by allowing the charges against Ibn Naqīb to move forward.

Ibn Ḥijjī was murdered a few days later, before he could announce a sentence on Ibn Naqīb. Although the viceroy claimed to have had nothing to do with the crime, he raided the judge’s estate, taking from his widows and children a great deal of wealth.<sup>220</sup>

## Conclusion

Ibn Ḥijjī’s contemporaries debated his murder, its causes, and those whom they believed were guilty. Ibn Taghribirdī placed the blame for the crime on ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ and Ibn Kishk, for whom he had a personal dislike.<sup>221</sup> Ibn Ḥajar thought Ibn Naqīb was guilty of the crime, saying that “his enemy the *sharīf* had overwhelmed him,” an opinion also held by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.<sup>222</sup> Popular sentiment held that Ibn Kishk and his brother-in-law Ibn Naqīb had conspired together to kill Ibn Ḥijjī, so much so that they were forced to leave Damascus and remain in Cairo for the rest of their lives.<sup>223</sup>

The foregoing has demonstrated that Ibn Ḥijjī’s hold on the masses was not based on charisma but on an aura as an audacious rule breaker, rooted in the early accusation of *fujūr*, and built on his continual run-ins with political and judicial authorities. It is true that attributions of boldness were not uncommon for leading religious figures; both Ibn Kishk and Ibn Naqīb are described as such in their biographies. What is different for Ibn Ḥijjī was the combination of accusations and attributes that caused members of the lower *a‘yān* and the poor to

<sup>219</sup> ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ had been in Damascus until the early part of Ramaḍān/late June and arrived in Cairo on 17 Ramaḍān/12 July. See al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumayr*, 317.

<sup>220</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 142–43.

<sup>221</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 6:623.

<sup>222</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 8:131; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 154.

<sup>223</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 213.



first notice him, and then to follow his activities. The deviant mystique that first developed after the accusations of *fujūr* and *kidhb* were buttressed by the combination of behaviors and actions attributed to Ibn Ḥijjī that set him apart: his daring escape from Timūr's army, his physical altercation with fellow religious scholars, his work to bring the civil war between Faraj and Shaykh to a conclusion, his constant flouting of political authority and the resultant imprisonments, his destruction of Miyaq's private wine stores, and his ability to "thumb his nose" at the establishment by having his followers pay a large part of his fine after the accusation of embezzlement.

This naked demonstration of popular power had never been witnessed in Mamluk history and could not be allowed to stand by the sultan and his supporters. Whether Ibn Naqīb, Ibn Kishk, Sūdūn min 'Abd al-Raḥmān, or others conspired in his murder will never be known. But it is clear that his overreaching use of the mob to demonstrate his power and autonomy forced the sultan and others protective of the status quo to kill him as the only way to return the social system to balance.



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## An Ayyubid in Mamluk Guise: The Portrait of Saladin in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (1575)

Biographical encyclopedias were an important source of information for those sixteenth-century Europeans wishing to inform themselves about the recent events and principal political figures of the Islamic world. Published by Guillaume Rouillé in Lyon in 1551, the *Promptuarium iconum* (“Storeroom of Images”) is notable as the first of this genre of printed books to include a full set of portraits of the Ottoman sultans (Osman I to Süleyman I), each accompanied by a short biographical note. A shrewd businessman, Rouillé probably included these portraits and an image of Tīmūr Lenk (Tamerlane, r. 1370–1405), the victor over sultan Bāyezīd I Yıldırım (r. 1389–1402, d. 1403) at the battle of Ankara in 1402, to cater to the public thirst for information concerning the expanding empire of the Turks.<sup>1</sup> More significant than the *Promptuarium*, however, is the contribution made by the Italian scholar and bishop of Nocera, Paolo Giovio (d. 1552). The author of influential studies of Ottoman and Islamic history, he was also well known in his own time for his portrait collection, located in his houses in Rome and on the banks of Lake Como.<sup>2</sup> Although the majority of the illustrious figures depicted in this extensive group of oil paintings came from antiquity and from late medieval and Renaissance Europe, Giovio also commissioned paintings of all the Ottoman sultans and notable Turkish figures like the admiral, Barbarossa. Among the other Muslims to be included were Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), Tīmūr, the Safavid shahs Ismā‘īl and Tahmāsp, the late Mamluk sultans Qāyṭbāy, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, and al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy II, the Turkoman Ūzūn Ḥasan, and the rulers of Tunis and Morocco.

Each oil portrait was displayed with an explanatory inscription written by Giovio, and these texts formed the basis of his published biographical encyclo-

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<sup>1</sup>On Rouillé’s treatment of the Turkish sultans, see Julian Raby, “From Europe to Istanbul,” in *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul, 2000), 138–41.

<sup>2</sup>The most detailed study of the portrait collection is: Linda Klinger, “The Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio,” 2 volumes (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991). Also: idem, “Images of Identity: Italian Portrait Collections of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, ed. Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (London, 1998), 67–79. On his treatment of the Ottomans, see Raby, “From Europe to Istanbul,” 141–50. On Giovio as an historian of the Islamic world, see Vernon Parry, “Renaissance Historical Literature in Relation to the Near and Middle East (with Special Reference to Paolo Giovio),” in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London and New York, 1962), 277–88.



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pedias. The military and political biographies were grouped together under the title *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, printed in an unillustrated edition in Florence in 1551. In 1575, Peter Perna published an edition of the *Elogia* in Basle containing the same text but with the addition of woodcut portraits by Tobias Stimmer (d. 1584) modeled after the original paintings.<sup>3</sup> Stimmer's striking representation of the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, Saladin (r. 1171–93), is the subject of this article.

### Giovio's Saladin in Text and Image

Giovio's entry devoted to "Saladinus Sulthanus" appears early in the *Elogia*, comprising pages 29–31 of the first book. Stimmer's woodcut portrait is placed immediately beneath the title on page 29 (fig. 1). In common with all of the portraits in the 1575 edition the central woodcut is held within an elaborate inhabited frame. A limited stock of frames are employed throughout the book. Given that the one surrounding the figure of Saladin appears elsewhere in the *Elogia*, there is no reason to assume that it contributes to the iconographic dimensions of the portrait of the sultan. Inside the frame is a half-length representation of an older man dressed in a tightly-fitting buttoned jacket partly covered by a thick, fur-lined cape. The sultan addresses the viewer directly. He sports extended moustaches and a long beard divided into two points.<sup>4</sup> His head is covered by an elaborate turban knotted to create horn-like projections, five of which are visible. His hands can be seen at the base of the image. Their arrangement suggests the holding of a sword or dagger though neither weapon is apparent. Commonly a ruler in an Islamic representation would be seen holding a napkin (*mandil*) and a goblet, but these features are not included in Stimmer's woodcut.<sup>5</sup> Behind his right shoulder is an object comprising what may be a reliquary (bearing a diminutive image of the crucified Christ) fixed onto a pole. The decorative ribbon below the "reliquary" is emblazoned with the words VICTORIAE TESTIS ("commemoration of victory").

The present whereabouts of the original oil portrait in Giovio's collection is unknown, though two copies survive: one in Florence and the other in

<sup>3</sup>Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basle, 1575). The Latin text is now available in an Italian translation: idem, *Elogi degli uomini illustri*, trans. Franco Minonzio and Andrea Guasparri (Turin, 2006). For Saladin, see 467–69.

<sup>4</sup>The interpretation of beard shapes in Europe is dealt with in Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 155–87.

<sup>5</sup>On the symbolism of this object, see Franz Rosenthal, "A Note on the *Mandil*," in *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam*, L. A. Mayer Memorial Studies in Islamic Art and Archaeology 2 (Leiden, 1971), 63–99.



Schloss Ambras in Austria.<sup>6</sup> Comparison with the painted portrait by Cristofano dell'Altissimo (d. 1605) probably made between 1552 and 1568 for Cosimo de' Medici, and now in the Uffizi (fig. 2), suggests that the addition of features into the background of the woodcut is an innovation by Stimmer. No mention of the reliquary/standard is made in the accompanying text, but it may be speculated that Stimmer (perhaps at the behest of his publisher Peter Perna) was making a visual reference to the fragments of the True Cross that are believed to have been captured by Saladin from the Crusader army following the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187. This is not the only example of Stimmer incorporating elements not seen in the surviving oil paintings; for instance, his portrait of Tīmūr has a war-torn landscape in the background containing a schematic representation of a caged figure—that of the defeated Ottoman sultan, Bāyezīd I—carried on a horse-drawn cart.<sup>7</sup> Stimmer's Saladin also differs from Cristofano dell'Altissimo's oil portrait in being half length, thus incorporating the clasped hands of the sultan. In other respects, however, the woodcut follows relatively closely the fully frontal pose, facial features, clothing, and headgear of the painting.

Giovio had written briefly about the career of Saladin in the first book of his *Historiarum sui temporis*, but he provides more detail in the *Elogia*.<sup>8</sup> As might be expected, his biographical treatment of this twelfth-century sultan lacks the degree of accuracy found in his accounts of the Muslim rulers nearer to his own time, particularly the more recent Ottoman sultans. Describing Saladin simply as a “Saracen,” Giovio notes that he came to power through the execution of the Egyptian caliph (i.e., the last Fatimid ruler, al-Āḍid, r. 1160–71), for whom he had been employed as a mercenary. Despite accusing Saladin of perfidy in the overthrow of the caliph, Giovio provides a generous outline of the sultan's character: possessed of courage, an invincible spirit, a sharp mind, and physical strength, Saladin was favored by fortune throughout his military career. He also acted with justice and cultivated religious observance in his empire. Giovio compliments his subject on his use of spies and his ability to judge the ideal times to wage war and to negotiate truces. He refers to Giovanni Boccaccio's (d. 1375, *Decameron* X.9) claim that the sultan even disguised himself as a merchant in order to travel as a spy through France and Italy.

<sup>6</sup>Klinger, “Portrait Collection,” 1:163–64, cat. 312; Friedrich Kenner, “Die Porträtsammlung der Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 19, no. 1 (1898): 115–16.

<sup>7</sup>Giovio, *Elogia*, 102. On this image, see Marcus Milwright, “So Despicable a Vessel: Representations of Tamerlane in Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 322–25, fig. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis* (Florence, 1550–52), 1:221; idem, *Elogia*, 29–31.



In common with many of his contemporaries, Giovio attributes the victory of the Muslim army in 1187 to the rivalries between the Frankish leaders in the Holy Land. He notes that on capturing Jerusalem, Saladin's only restriction on Christian worship was the removal of the bronze bells from the churches. He allowed pilgrims to continue to venerate the Holy Sepulchre and left the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100), first ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem, undeseccrated. Giovio describes the simplicity of Saladin's burial (quoting a short passage from Boccaccio on this theme), and claims that he entrusted the sultanate to his son, Saphandino. In this case, Giovio simplifies the establishment of the Ayyubid confederacy in 1192 and its aftermath, and erroneously asserts that Saladin was Saphandino's father. In fact, Saphandino (or Safandino) is a Latin corruption of the name of Saladin's brother, Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn al-Ādil, sultan of Damascus from 1196 and sultan of Egypt from 1200 to 1218. Giovio's confusion over chronology and Ayyubid genealogy is further illustrated by his assertion that Louis IX's capture of Damietta occurred during the reign of either "Saladin, or, as seems more likely, Saphandino." Giovio does not provide the dates for Louis IX's crusade to the Middle East (1248–54), and it is possible that he confused this with the activities of the earlier French king Louis VII during the ill-fated Second Crusade (1147–49). Giovio also repeats the popular story—first recorded in the mid-fourteenth century—that the captured French king left the Holy Sacrament with the Muslims, pledging to provide the ransom money for it on his return to his country.<sup>9</sup>

The most interesting details come at the end of Giovio's account of the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. He writes of the sultan's appearance: "In life Saladin had the habit, typical of his people, of wearing wrapped around his head a headdress of linen with horns (sing. *cornu*), as visual evidence of the many valiant kingdoms he had conquered. Hereafter, as we know, this type of crown (*diadema*) has been adopted by his successors. This description of the mode of dress of Saladin was communicated to us by the Venetian patrician Donado da Lezze, who has long been magistrate in Cyprus and Syria, famous for his passion for history and antiquities in general."<sup>10</sup> Aside from being a Venetian official, Donado da Lezze's (d. 1526) name appears as author of the *Historia Turchesca*, an influential account of

<sup>9</sup>On this story, see Otto Kurz, "Mamluk Heraldry and the *interpretatio Christiana*," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 297–307; Marcus Milwright, "The Cup of the *Sāqī*: Origins of an Emblem of the Mamluk *Khāṣṣakiyya*," *Aram* 9–10 (1997–98): 248.

<sup>10</sup>Giovio, *Elogia*, 30. I am most grateful to Julian Raby for his corrections to my initial translation of this passage.



the rise of the Ottomans through to 1514.<sup>11</sup> Whether he did, in fact, pen this work is unclear (there are certainly good reasons to doubt that the other attributed author, Giovanni Maria Angiolello, had any role in its production, though the *Historia Turchesca* evidently makes use of his work), but Donado da Lezze was known, as Giovio asserts, for his interest in history and antiquities. The time da Lezze spent in Cyprus and Syria would have attracted Giovio's attention when it came to finding visual source material for his portrait of Saladin.

That Giovio should seek out such information is very much in keeping with what is known about the methods employed in the assembling of his portrait collection.<sup>12</sup> Reviewing the surviving paintings from Giovio's collection, and the copies made for Cosimo de' Medici and Ferdinand von Tirol, it is clear that their value is not primarily aesthetic. Nor do the paintings exhibit the sorts of psychological insights that are apparent in the best Italian portraiture of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, Giovio's collection was much admired in its time; for Giovio and his contemporaries these "portraits" were esteemed because each was based upon a prototype—a painting, coin, medal, sculpture, or drawing—believed to have been made in the presence of the person. Artefacts such as ancient coins and medals must have tested the ingenuity of the artists working for Giovio, and some of the resulting paintings are distinctly lacking in animation. Though variable in quality, these paintings allowed the viewer to get some sense of the "true" appearances of famous figures of past and present. Giovio went to considerable efforts to acquire his likenesses of the Ottoman sultans, even obtaining through intermediaries a set of sixteenth-century Turkish paintings. His representation of Tīmūr may also derive from a fifteenth-century Persian manuscript painting, though the original source is unknown.<sup>13</sup>

It seems clear that da Lezze provided an image of some sort (not just a textual description) that was believed to be a depiction of Saladin. In what medium the image was made or what form it might have taken cannot be ascertained from Giovio's testimony. Neither is it apparent whether this image was made by a European painter or by an artist from the Islamic Middle East. For Giovio, it appears that the most important aspect of the prototype is the distinctive "horned" tur-

<sup>11</sup>Pierre McKay, "The Content and Authorship of the *Historia Turchesca*," in *Istanbul Üniversitesi 550. yıl, Uluslararası Bizans ve Osmanlı Sempozyumu (XV. Yüzyıl): 30–31 Mayıs 2003 = 550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University, International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth century): 30–31 May 2003*, ed. Sümer Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), 213–22. The *Historia Turchesca* is available in an edition edited by Ion Ursu in Bucharest in 1909.

<sup>12</sup>Linda Klinger and Julian Raby, "Barbarossa and Sinan: A Portrait of Two Ottoman Corsairs from the Collection of Paolo Giovio," in *Venezia e l'Oriente Vicino: Atti del primo congresso internazionale sul'Arte Islamica*, ed. Ernst Grube (Venice, 1989), 47–59; Raby, "From Europe to Istanbul," 145–46.

<sup>13</sup>Milwright, "So Despicable a Vessel," 325, fig. 5.



ban. Giovio assumes that these conspicuous projections are symbols of Saladin's territorial conquests.

### Visual Sources from the Middle East

What then was the visual prototype (or prototypes) for the painted image of Saladin in Giovio's collection, and the version of it subsequently produced by Tobias Stimmer? No definitive answer can be offered to this question. If a precise model cannot be located it is possible, at least, to suggest what sort of images may have been employed in the composition of this image? Aside from the connection with da Lezze mentioned above, the painting and the woodcut provide some clues. Noteworthy are the frontality of the sultan and his elaborate turban. These themes are explored in the remainder of this article.

The fact that Giovio's representations of Saladin are fully frontal is worthy of comment as this is very seldom encountered in the remainder of his portrait collection. Presumably, the unusual pose was dictated by the prototype obtained by Giovio, and scholars have speculated whether this may have come from portrait collections in Egypt or Venice. While a Western European source is certainly feasible (see below), there is no reason to discount the portable arts and secular manuscript paintings produced in the Middle East, particularly given the evidence for Giovio procuring such items in his search for reliable images of other Muslim sultans. Although it can hardly be said to be a ubiquitous theme in Islamic art, numerous representations of Muslim caliphs and sultans are known. Commonly, the ruler is distinguished from those around him by his centrality in the composition, his preternatural scale, and his frontality (the attendant figures usually being turned toward him rather than toward the viewer). He may also be seated—cross-legged on either a dais or a bench-like throne—with attendant figures standing. The frontal gaze and central placement are also maintained in images lacking attendant figures.<sup>14</sup> This motif reaches its simplest form in copper coinage (*fals*, pl. *fulūs*), and one such seated, turbaned man appears on a *fals* issued by Saladin in Mayyāfāriqīn in 586/1190–91 (fig. 3).<sup>15</sup> There is no reason, however, to suppose that Giovio possessed a copy of this rather undistinguished

<sup>14</sup>For a discussion of the common imagery of such enthronement scenes in the eastern Islamic world, see Robert Hillenbrand, "Images of Authority on Kashan Lustreware," in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum*, part one, ed. James Allan, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 10 (Oxford, 1995), 167–98.

<sup>15</sup>On this coin and others of the same period, see Nicholas Lowick, "The Religious, the Royal and the Popular in the Figural Coinage of the Jazīra," in *The Art of Syria and the Jazīra, 1100–1250*, ed. Julian Raby, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 1 (Oxford and New York, 1985), 159–74. Rulers wearing headgear comprising projecting "horns," or perhaps feathers, appear on *fulūs* issued in Mārdīn in 581–85 A.H. and Nişibīn in 594 A.H. *Ibid.*, 164–65.



copper coin, or that he had seen the other similar designs on *fulūs* minted by Artuqid and Zengid *atābaks* in northern Mesopotamia during the twelfth century (though he evidently made use of coins in the creation of portraits of some rulers of the ancient world).

A manuscript painting in the Freer Gallery of Art has sometimes been claimed, explicitly or implicitly, to be a near-contemporary image of Saladin (fig. 4), although I am unaware of any evidence to support this assertion.<sup>16</sup> Compared to ruler portraits found in early thirteenth-century manuscripts—such as the famous painting of the enthroned Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', *atābak* of Mosul, with his court on the frontispiece of a copy of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Book of songs) of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, dated 1218–19<sup>17</sup>—this supposed representation of the Ayyubid dynasty's founder looks both schematic in character and rather crudely drawn. The sparseness of the area surrounding the “sultan” has more in common with engineering diagrams. Indeed, the painting is now attributed to a Mamluk-period copy of the *Kitāb fī Ma'rīfat al-Ḥiyal al-Handasīyah* (Book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices) by Abū al-'Izz ibn Ismā'īl ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī (d. 1206).<sup>18</sup>

Other Islamic ruler “portraits” made their way to Europe during the medieval and early modern periods. These include such items as carved ivory from Umayyad Spain and the Fatimid caliphate, and, most pertinently in the present context, inlaid metalwork from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Egypt and Syria. The most famous of these is the so-called *Baptistère de Saint Louis*, an inlaid brass basin dating between the second half of the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century and signed by one Muḥammad ibn al-Zayn.<sup>19</sup> The complex figural cycles on the basin contain two enthronement scenes with unnamed Mamluk sultans flanked by cupbearers and other attendants (fig. 5, a and b). These roundels have as their central focus an enthroned royal figure looking directly out of the scene and holding a beaker and a napkin. Aside from the frontality of the pose in each case, these figures are also interesting for their headgear; rather than a turban, they wear a crown-like head covering with three peaks. Albrecht Fuess has identified this feature as a *sharbūsh*, a triangular hat that was popular with Turkish rulers between the tenth and

<sup>16</sup>For example, the image appears on the front cover of Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin*, Grandes Biographies (Paris, 2008).

<sup>17</sup>For an illustration of this famous image, see David Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London, 2005), 97, no. 54

<sup>18</sup>The illustrations of this text are discussed in: Derek Hill, *The Book of the Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (Dordrecht and Boston, 1974); Rachel Ward, “Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artuqid Court,” in *The Art of Syria and the Jazīra*, ed. Raby, 69–83.

<sup>19</sup>On this basin, see D. S. Rice, *Le baptistère de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1953); Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC, 1981), 76–80, no. 21.



the thirteenth centuries. The *sharbūsh* was apparently introduced to Egypt by the Ayyubids, and it remained in use for some public occasions under the Bahri Mamluk sultans. Amirs were at times allowed to wear it. The Mamluk chronicler al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) indicates that the *sharbūsh* fell out of use during the Circassian (Burji) Mamluk period.<sup>20</sup>

Another inlaid brass bowl signed by Muḥammad ibn al-Zayn carries images of enthroned Mamluk rulers and courtiers (fig. 5. c–e).<sup>21</sup> Like the *Baptistère*, this smaller vessel contains numerous images of early Mamluk headgear. One of the roundels contains an enthroned figure sporting what appears to be a *sharbūsh*. Another enthroned male (not enclosed in a roundel) holding a bow and a mace wears a bifurcated head covering rising to two horn-like projections. The chased lines on the surface of the sections of silver sheet suggest that this might be an elaborately wound turban, though this identification must remain conjectural.

The absence of dedicatory inscriptions on the two vessels signed by Ibn al-Zayn is puzzling; while attempts have been made to attribute the *Baptistère* to Mamluk patrons during the time of Sultan Baybars I (r. 1260–77) or the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–41),<sup>22</sup> there remains the possibility—persuasively argued by Rachel Ward—that some of these lavish items were made for wealthy European patrons, and not for Mamluk sultans or amirs. She notes that those pieces of inlaid metalwork containing the names of members of the Mamluk elite do not employ representations of humans.<sup>23</sup> The first documentary evidence to place the *Baptistère* in France dates to 1742, though it seems probable that it had come into the country considerably earlier.<sup>24</sup> We should perhaps assume a relatively extensive trade in high-quality metalwork (including examples with figural decoration) from Egypt and Syria to Europe during the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods. European coats of arms were

<sup>20</sup>Albrecht Fuess, “Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 31, citing al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-I‘tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid (London, 2002–4), 3:668.

<sup>21</sup>Atil, *Renaissance of Islam*, 74–75, no. 20.

<sup>22</sup>Rice, *Baptistère*; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation,” *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89): 3–9.

<sup>23</sup>Rachel Ward, “The Baptistère de Saint Louis’—A Mamluk Basin Made for Export to Europe,” in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini (London, 1999), 113–32. A noteworthy example of an inlaid vessel made for a European client, but lacking figural ornament, is the brass basin made for Hugh IV of Lusignan, king of Cyprus (r. 1324–59), now in the Louvre.

<sup>24</sup>Rice, *Baptistère*, 1–2.



added to Mamluk metalwork in the fifteenth century, but by that time the taste for human or zoomorphic decoration was waning.<sup>25</sup>

## European Representations of Saladin

The deeds and personality of Saladin were subjects of considerable interest in Europe from the late twelfth century onward. He has been evaluated by historians and his life has been incorporated into literature and poetry (see below). Unsurprisingly the European fascination with the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty and victor at the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn did not just find expression in literature and drama. Medieval representations of Saladin range from manuscript paintings to pieces of architectural ornament. An interesting example of this genre is the slip-painted and glazed tiles from Chertsey abbey (dating to ca. 1250) representing a formalized battle between Richard I and Saladin in which the former succeeds in knocking his Muslim adversary to the ground. The Ayyubid sultan is shown as a beardless youth dressed without armor and wielding an implausibly large sword.<sup>26</sup> An older Saladin features in the illustration of the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in the mid-thirteenth-century volume of Matthew Paris' *Chronica majora* in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge. In this painting, the bearded Saladin (seen in profile) wrests the True Cross from the desperate figure of Guy de Lusignan.<sup>27</sup> Some other medieval representations of Muslims adopt grotesque facial types and darkened skins, presumably as a means to signal the supposedly diabolic nature of their religious practices. For instance, a marginal drawing in the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter repeats the composition of the Chertsey tile, but gives the Muslim knight (Saladin?) a grimace, a hooked nose, and a swarthy complexion.<sup>28</sup>

Fifteenth-century French manuscript painting provides further representations of Saladin. For instance, the *Chronique des empereurs* by David Aubert (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris ms 5090), made between 1461 and 1462 for Philippe le Bon, contains images of a militant Saladin dressed in armor and pursuing battles against the Franks. He has a full, dark beard which separates into two "forks" and wears on his head a conical cap around which is wrapped a relatively small

<sup>25</sup>For example, a candlestick in the British Museum, probably made in Damascus in ca. 1400 and carrying the arms of a Venetian family. Illustrated in: Sylvia Auld, "Master Mahmud and Inlaid Metalwork in the 15th Century," in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (New Haven and London, 2006), 217, cat. 94.

<sup>26</sup>Elizabeth Eames, *English Medieval Tiles* (London, 1985), 38–41, fig. 44.

<sup>27</sup>Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Aldershot, 1987), 269–72, fig. 171.

<sup>28</sup>Reproduced in: Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford and New York, 1995), 51, lower plate.



turban.<sup>29</sup> This arrangement is similar to the type employed by the Ottoman sultans from the time of Meḥmed II Fātiḥ (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) onward in which the fabric of the turban was wound around a ribbed cap (*tāj*), although comparison could also be made with the Mamluk cap (*kallawtah* or *kallaftah*) with its turban.<sup>30</sup> The principal difference appears to be in the quantity of material wrapped around the cap, which in the case of the Ottoman sultans was much more considerable. Saladin’s execution of Renaud de Châtillon, lord of Oultrejourdain, is depicted in an early fifteenth-century *Trésor des histoires* (Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris ms 5077).<sup>31</sup> In this case, the Muslim ruler is shown as an older man with a long white beard which again splits into two. The cap is the prominent aspect of his headgear with the turban reduced to a white band encircling the lower section. Late medieval images of these types did not provide the inspiration for Giovio’s portrait of Saladin, though they may have been picked up in another sixteenth-century biographical encyclopedia. The engraved image of Saladin in *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés* by André Thevet (d. 1590), published in Paris in 1584, makes use of the tall cap and diminutive turban of the type described above (fig. 6).<sup>32</sup> Thevet, unfortunately, does not specify the visual source for the engraving.

Perhaps the most interesting European image of Saladin in the present context is one that appears on a parchment roll in the British library (fig. 7). Produced in Italy in the fifteenth century, this roll (BL MS Add. 30359) is entitled *The Six Ages of the World*, and includes the stern-faced image of “Saladinus rex Aegypti” as number eighty-six in its list of famous personages. The Ayyubid sultan wears a European-style coat of armor, though he carries a scimitar in his right hand rather than a straight sword. His beard is full, but lacks the two points seen in Giovio’s Saladin. In his left hand he carries a golden orb. Although not fully frontal, there is an obvious point of comparison with the portraits created by Cristofano dell’Altissimo and Tobias Stimmer: the fifteenth-century Saladin painted on BL MS Add. 30359 wears a substantial turban with a series of points rising from around its summit.

Are the points around Saladin’s turban on the Italian parchment roll schematic representations of knotted pieces of linen? Both dell’Altissimo and Stim-

<sup>29</sup>These manuscript images are illustrated in the unnumbered color plates in Eddé, *Saladin*.

<sup>30</sup>Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, Hans Huth Memorial Studies 1 (London, 1982), 21–22. Portraits of the sultan are also reproduced in: Julian Raby, “Opening Gambits,” in *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul, 2000), 80–91, cat. 1–8; eds., *Bellini and the East*, ed. Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (London, 2005), 66–79.

<sup>31</sup>Illustrated in the unnumbered color plates in Eddé, *Saladin*.

<sup>32</sup>This book is reprinted under the same title, edited by Reuben Cholakian (New York, 1973). Saladin is dealt with in chapter 137 (627r–629v).



mer devoted considerable attention to the turban of the sultan, indicated by the drawing and modelling of the tight twists of the fabric making up the horns. By contrast, the angular points on the headgear of Saladin in BL MS Add. 30359 have no obvious connection to the wound fabric that makes up the remainder of the turban. Furthermore, these points appear to have been gilded (like the orb, the gold leaf of these sections is now much abraded). Thus, it is more probable that the artist responsible for this “portrait” of the Ayyubid sultan was trying to combine the traditional Muslim turban with a golden crown.

This combination of two types of headgear—one Islamic and the other European—is unlikely to have been drawn from a Middle Eastern image of Saladin. Crowns were not, of course, a normal attribute of Muslim rulers of the Middle East during the medieval period. Instead, authority was connoted by the specific form, color, and dimensions of the turban. This became particularly important during the Mamluk sultanate (see below). Some of the portraits commissioned by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II do show an interest in establishing a symbolic link between the royal turban and the crown. The famous portrait of Mehmed painted by Gentile Bellini (d. 1507) in 1480 surrounds the sultan with seven crowns, six floating in the black background in the upper left and upper right of the painting and a final one stitched in pearls in the sumptuous textile draped over the architectural frame.<sup>33</sup> The bronze medal designed by the same artist and cast in ca. 1480 depicts three identical crowns on the reverse (the obverse carrying the portrait of Mehmed). Given that a medal cast in 1480 by Bertoldo di Giovanni (d. 1491) carries on the reverse the image of three captured female figures, identified by the captions as Greece, Trebizond, and Asia, it is possible that the crowns on Bellini’s medal are meant to stand for the conquests of the sultans.<sup>34</sup> Ottoman experiments with the iconography of European headgear—both royal/imperial and papal—reached their greatest heights with the gold helmet commissioned from Venetian goldsmiths by Sultan Süleymān I Qānūnī (r. 1520–66) in 1532.<sup>35</sup>

If one looks to European art of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, there is much more evidence for the combination of the crown and the turban. In some cases this hybrid headgear is intended merely to signal that the wearer is of royal stature, as can be seen in Peter Flöthner’s (d. 1546) series of princes and kings. An anonymous print of the Judgment of Solomon probably

<sup>33</sup>Bellini’s painting is now located in the National Gallery in London.

<sup>34</sup>Raby, “Opening Gambits,” 88, cat. 5. This medal was commissioned by Lorenzo de’ Medici as a gift for Mehmed II.

<sup>35</sup>On this episode, see Otto Kurz, “A Gold Helmet made in Venice for Sulayman the Magnificent,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 74 (1969): 249–58; Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 401–27.



produced in Wittenberg in the second half of the sixteenth century has the Old Testament king sporting a turban and crown.<sup>36</sup> Hugo van der Goes' (d. 1482/83) Monforte Altarpiece (ca. 1470) has one of the magi wearing a large red hat, somewhat like a turban, circled by a crown, while the kneeling king has set his head covering—a fur hat carrying an inset diadem—on the ground.<sup>37</sup> The magi also wear crowns combined with turbans or other types of hat in Benozzo Gozzoli's (d. 1497) frescos of the Procession of the Magi (1459–60) in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence.<sup>38</sup> Other types of authority might also be signaled by the turban and crown; a printed version of the works of Aristotle made in Venice in 1483 contains hand-painted illuminations by Girolamo da Cremona (fl. 1451–83), including one of the *turba philosophorum* ("crowd of philosophers"). Among the represented philosophers are two of Aristotle's major Muslim commentators, Ibn Rushd (Averroës, d. 1198) and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 1037). The latter wears the robe of an Italian physician but his head is covered by a turban topped with a golden crown.<sup>39</sup>

Commonly the linking of the crown and turban appears to have distinctly negative connotations; these qualities are seen most powerfully in German woodcuts of the sixteenth century. For instance, a woodcut by Erhard Schoen (d. 1592), dated 1531 and entitled "Portal of Shame of the Twelve Tyrants of the Old Testament," represents the Pharaoh wearing a turban surmounted by spikes much like that of Saladin in BL MS Add. 30359. Both are, of course, rulers of Egypt. Another print by Lucas Mayer (active in Nuremberg, 1566–1605), entitled "Mandate and Report of the Great Lord 'Generis Masculini' against the powerless Decrees of 'Feminarius,'" has the ruler wearing a spiked turban.<sup>40</sup> German prints made to express Protestant sympathies often depicted the twin evils of the pope and the Turkish sultan, with the latter often wearing a turban and crown. Matthias Gerung (d. 1570) included this distinctive piece of headgear in a number of woodcuts including memorable representations of: the pope and the sultan dragging infidels and Catholics into Hell (forming the backdrop to Christ preaching); Christ dispatching Roman clerics and infidels into the mouth of Hell; the Turks engulfed in fire brought down from the Heavens. By the same artist is the "Adoration of the

<sup>36</sup>Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*, revised edition ed. Walter Strauss (New York, 1974), 3:822; Walter Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600* (New York, 1975), 3:1265.

<sup>37</sup>Friedrich Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes* (Berlin, 1964), 9–23. The central panel is illustrated on pl. 1.

<sup>38</sup>Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (New Haven and London, 1996), 81–119, pls. 97, 105–9.

<sup>39</sup>Illustrated in: Michael Barry, "Renaissance Venice and her 'Moors,'" in *Venice and the Islamic World*, ed. Carboni, 168, fig. 5.

<sup>40</sup>Geisberg, *Woodcut, 1500–1550*, 3:1070; Strauss, *Woodcut, 1550–1600*, 2:726.



Seven-headed Beast” from his Apocalypse series. Here again one finds a prominent figure wearing a turban and crown.<sup>41</sup>

Intriguingly Saladin himself is sometimes associated with the apocalyptic seven-headed beast (Revelation 12:3). In his commentary on the Book of Revelation entitled *Expositio in apocalypsim*, the twelfth-century theologian Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) identified this beast as the devil and stated that the seven heads represented the seven chief persecutors of the Church running chronologically from Herod to the Antichrist. The sixth head was Saladin, who Joachim claims, “at this present time persecutes the church of God; and has her into captivity with the Lord’s Sepulchre, and the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the land in which the Lord walked [as man]...” In the illustrations of this scene in two early manuscripts of Joachim’s later work on this theme, *Liber figurarum*, in Oxford and Dresden, the sixth head of the beast is identified as “Saladinus” and is the only one of the seven to be adorned with a crown (but no turban).<sup>42</sup>

The horned turban of Giovio’s Saladin can be linked to another group of European images of the sixteenth century. In this case, they are representations not of Saladin or Ottoman rulers, but of Mamluk sultans and governors. A striking enameled plaque, probably produced in Limoges in the sixteenth century, depicts a standing figure wearing an elaborate turban (fig. 8.a). The plaque entered the collection of the Dukes of Brunswick in the eighteenth century. The plaque carries an inscription; the first word unfortunately has disappeared but the second reads SOLTANUS. In an article published in 1913 Marquet de Vasselot pointed to the similarities between this plaque and the painting of Saladin by dell’Altissimo made after the original in Giovio’s portrait collection.<sup>43</sup> Both depict the sultan frontally, he wears rather similar clothing (such as the buttoning of the inner robe and the fur lining of his outer cloak), his beard divides into two points, and his turban rises to a series of projections (four being visible in the enamel plaque and five in dell’Altissimo’s painting). The same areas of similarity can be highlighted with the half-length portrait in Stimmer’s woodcut in the 1575 *Elogia*. Clearly there are also differences, and these are most obvious in the face (and facial expression) of the sultan and in the treatment of the turban. Where dell’Altissimo and Stimmer depict a relatively narrow turban dominated by five curving projections terminating in points, the enameled plaque has a wider lower section rising to a series of balloon-like folds of cloth. This latter feature invites

<sup>41</sup>Strauss, *Woodcut, 1550–1600*, 1:282, 289, 297, 313, 314, 325.

<sup>42</sup>Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford, 1972), 146–52, pl. 21, 22; Robert Lerner, “Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore,” *Speculum* 60, no. 3 (1985): 563–68.

<sup>43</sup>J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, “Un portrait de sultan par un émailleur limousin,” *Archives de l’art français* 7 (1913): 93–104.



comparison with the portrait of the Mamluk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–16) in the 1590 edition of Cesare Vecellio's *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo libri due*.<sup>44</sup>

Figures attired in identifiably Mamluk costumes and headgear are a feature of Italian painting in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, particularly in Venice. In a few cases these are depictions of Muslims within broadly contemporary scenes, but it was also common practice to employ characteristically Mamluk or Ottoman features in Christian religious painting as a means to establish an appropriately “Oriental” visual context for the narrative being represented. These narratives included scenes from Christ's passion and the lives of saints. The most important surviving visual document of the Venetian appreciation of Mamluk culture is an anonymous work entitled *The Reception of the Ambassadors* (fig. 8.b). This work is now dated 1511 or soon afterward on the basis of a recently rediscovered inscription.<sup>45</sup> There is general agreement that this painting provides some topographically accurate details of Damascus, especially the Umayyad mosque, which Julian Raby has demonstrated is probably depicted from the viewpoint of the Venetian compound (*fondaco*) in the city.<sup>46</sup> Equally accurate are the details of the late Mamluk insignia on the walls and gate and the costumes worn by the Mamluk soldiers and officials. Pertinent to the present study is the Muslim man seated at the front of the dais, outside of the gate, for he wears a large and elaborate white turban rising to six rounded projections. Raby and Fuess both conclude that the painting shows a version of the *takhfīfah kabīrah* known commonly as the *nā'ūrah* (“the waterwheel”) because of its distinctive profile. This turban started as a sultanic prerogative, though this restriction was relaxed in the early sixteenth century to allow amirs of one hundred (*amīr mi'ah wa-muqaddam alf*) to wear it as well (see below). This is the senior rank required for the governor (*nā'ib al-salṭānah*) of Syria who is most probably depicted in the *Reception*.<sup>47</sup>

Other painted, drawn, or printed images of Mamluk high officials must have been available in Venice prior to completion of the *Reception of the Ambassadors*, for features such as the insignia, *nā'ūrah*, tall fur hat (*tāqīyah*), and tufted cap (*zamṭ*) appear in religious paintings from 1499 onward. Giovanni Mansueti (fl. 1485–1526) made considerable use of these themes in his cycle of paintings devoted to the life of St. Mark. Consistently the *nā'ūrah* is placed on the head of enthroned figures and clearly acts as a visual shorthand to denote Oriental authority. The *zamṭ* appears several times in the St. George cycle painted by Vittore Carpaccio

<sup>44</sup>Marquet de Vasselot, “Un portrait de sultan,” 99; Raby, *Oriental Mode*, 48, fig. 24.

<sup>45</sup>Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, 22–23, no. 2.

<sup>46</sup>Raby, *Oriental Mode*, 55–60, figs. 38–41.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 62; Fuess, “Sultans with Horns,” 80–81.



(d. 1525/26).<sup>48</sup> Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) too picked up on the vogue for Mamluk detail as the result of his trips to Venice in 1495 and 1505–6. Raby has demonstrated that the German artist's *Small Woodcut Passion* (1509–11) differs significantly from his earlier woodcuts of the same scenes. Where in the earlier representations of the Passion he had employed turbans and other headgear of Ottoman derivation for the tormentors of Christ, these switch largely to Mamluk styles in the *Small Woodcut Passion*. Notably, the woodcut of *Pilate Washing His Hands* has the governor attired in a tall turban with two prominent knots around the ears.<sup>49</sup> This form is probably the turban of the high secretary (*dawādār*) of the Mamluk sultanate, at least in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>50</sup>

Giovio himself commissioned portraits of three Mamluk sultans, Qāyṭbāy, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, and Ṭūmānbāy II, each of whom wears an elaborate turban (figs. 9 and 10).<sup>51</sup> The first two wear turbans with two twisted horns made of fabric at the summit of the turban directly above the forehead (this arrangement is also seen in Vecellio's later depiction of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī). Ṭūmānbāy II has a rather different tall turban with knots of material located near the ears. As noted above, this latter item of headgear is believed to be the type worn by an amir of the rank of *dawādār*; and perhaps indicates that the source for Giovio's portrait was a representation of Ṭūmānbāy II made before he became sultan. Of course, the prototype could also have been another Mamluk notable who rose only to the rank of *dawādār*. Significantly, Giovio specifies the source for his portrait of Qāyṭbāy. He writes that it was made after an image that had been painted for a palace at Memphis destroyed by the Turks in 1517. Friedrich Kenner speculates that the sources for the other Mamluk portraits (and that of Saladin) in Giovio's collection came from Egyptian portrait collections, or possibly Venetian portraits made after originals painted in sixteenth-century Egypt.<sup>52</sup>

## Horned Turbans in the Mamluk Sultanate

The previous section concluded with some evidence of European representations of Mamluk sultans produced during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centu-

<sup>48</sup>Raby, *Oriental Mode*, 35–54, 66–77.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 30, fig. 15.

<sup>50</sup>Fuess, "Sultans with Horns," 81.

<sup>51</sup>For the original images, see: Giovio, *Elogia*, 170 (Magnus Caythbeius = Qāyṭbāy), 222 (Campso Gaurus = Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī); 225 (Tomumbeius ultimus = Ṭūmānbāy). These images were the prototypes for portrait roundels in Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt, 1596). Illustrations of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and Ṭūmānbāy from the edition of 1648 are reproduced in Fuess, "Sultans with Horns," figs. 9, 10 (with translations of the Latin captions).

<sup>52</sup>Kenner, "Die Porträtsammlung," 115–16. Other scholars have suggested a Venetian provenance for the prototype. See Klinger, "Portrait Collection," 2:163.



ries. Given the tendency of European artists to exaggerate qualities of Muslim costume (as writers also did when writing about the cultural practices of the Middle East), one might legitimately ask whether the large and unusually shaped turbans in their paintings and drawings were simply Orientalist fantasies. There is, however, enough evidence—visual and textual—to suggest that this is not the case. The former category offers fewer examples, though it is possible to point to a painting of a battle scene in a sixteenth-century Ottoman *Selīm-nāme* in the Topkapı Sarayı Library. Discussed by Raby and Fuess, this depiction of an engagement between Turkish and Mamluk forces clearly shows the differences in the profiles of the turbans, with the latter possessing a taller profile with a flattened frontal face.<sup>53</sup> Shadow puppets are another important source. In 1909 the renowned Orientalist Paul Kahle bought a cache of ancient shadow puppets in the Egyptian village of Manzalah. He argued that this group of more than eighty fragmentary leather and textile puppets could be dated to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though it now appears likely that they were produced later, and perhaps over a more extended period. Particularly important in the present context is a puppet of a boat containing a wealthy occupant smoking a water pipe (hookah or narghile) (fig. 11).<sup>54</sup> The fact that he is seen smoking argues in favor of a date in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, but his headgear belongs to the end of the Mamluk sultanate. Comparison with Giovio's image of sultan Ṭūmānbāy II (fig. 10) indicates that the man within the boat is probably wearing the turban of the Mamluk *dawādār* (see above).

Recent research by Fuess has provided greater precision for the introduction of the elaborate horned turbans of the Mamluk period. They belong to a type known as the *takhfīfah* (literally, “the lighter one”) that first makes its appearance at the end of the fourteenth century. According to the Egyptian chronicler Ibn Iyās (d. after 1524), it was sultan Barqūq (r. 1382–89, 1390–99) who first wore the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* (“small *takhfīfah*”) in public in 1394. It did not become commonplace at this time, however, and it is only from the late 1460s that it is mentioned more frequently in public gatherings of the Mamluk elite. There was also an evolution toward larger and more complex forms of the *takhfīfah*. In the last years of the fifteenth century there are references to the *takhfīfah kabīrah* (“large *takhfīfah*”).<sup>55</sup> This item of headgear also included horns made from folds of material. As noted above, the largest of all these was the *nā'ūrah* (“waterwheel”) with six horns. Others were equipped with four and two projections. While the *nā'ūrah* was reserved

<sup>53</sup>Raby, *Oriental Mode*, fig. 28; Fuess, “Sultans with Horns,” 83, fig. 13.

<sup>54</sup>This puppet is discussed in: Paul Kahle, “Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten. II. Teil,” *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 153–59; Marcus Milwright, “On the Date of Paul Kahle's Egyptian Shadow Puppets,” *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 52–57, fig. 6. a, b.

<sup>55</sup>Fuess, “Sultans with Horns,” 77–78.



for sultans and governors, there is evidence that sultans did also make use of the *takhfīfah* with two horns; for instance, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī wore such a turban during an embassy with the Venetian Domenico Trevisan in 1512. In his account of this event Trevisan remarks that the two projections on the turban (he calls it a “fez”) were each half the length of an arm.<sup>56</sup> This same two-horn *takhfīfah* can be seen on the head of the sultan in his portrait in Giovio’s *Elogia* (fig. 9). The demise of the *takhfīfah*, *kallawtah*, *zamṭ*, and other distinctive forms of Mamluk apparel occurred in the years following the Ottoman conquest in 1517, and particularly after the suppression of the Mamluk revolt against Turkish rule that occurred after the death of Sultan Selīm I in 1520.

In general terms the turban was understood to connote both authority and Muslim (male) identity. These qualities drew their potency from a hadith variously ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) and the *Rāshidūn* caliphs ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634–44) and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–61): “the turbans (*‘imāmah*, pl. *‘amā’īm*) are the crowns of the Arabs.”<sup>57</sup> The deliberate linkage of the turban and the crown has already been noted in the European portraits of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II Fātiḥ. Fuess has argued that the *takhfīfah*, in both its small and large versions, has more specific meanings that can be located in the political culture of the turbulent last decades of the Mamluk sultanate in Egypt.<sup>58</sup> The key moment occurred at the beginning of the short rule of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1496–98), son of the last great Mamluk sultan, Qāytbāy. According to Ibn Iyās, the young sultan appeared at Friday prayers wearing the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* rather than the official *kallawtah*. This act appears to have been intended as a statement to the Mamluk court: al-Nāṣir was using the *takhfīfah* to signal his desire to create a new political order and to make clear that he would not relinquish power to the older amirs who had served his father (few sons of sultans enjoyed long rules during the fifteenth century, with power usually passing instead to a senior Mamluk amir).

A concerted reaction to al-Nāṣir’s provocative gesture did not take long to materialize. Within a month of the sultan’s adoption of the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah*, the leading amirs took to wearing larger versions of the *takhfīfah* with horns. The political impasse between the young sultan and his court led to al-Nāṣir’s assassination in 1498 and a prolonged struggle for supremacy among the leading amirs that culminated in the elevation of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in 1501. The taste for the horned *takhfīfah* persisted after the death of al-Nāṣir in 1498, and became a dominant feature of court culture in the last years of the Mamluk sultanate. Written

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 78.

<sup>57</sup>M. J. Kister, “The Crowns of this Community’... Some Notes on the Turban in the Muslim Tradition,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000): 217–45.

<sup>58</sup>Fuess, “Sultans with Horns,” 79–80.



sources of the sixteenth century provide indications concerning the symbolism of these striking turbans. Ibn Iyās quotes a remark made by a contemporary poet following a conversation with an amir: “I was in the war and Dhū al-Qarnayn was calling me: ‘I am a ram (*kabsh*). When the sheep pass me by and try to go out then I push them with my horns.’”<sup>59</sup> The recognition of the horns of the *takhfīfah* as references to the ram extended beyond the political elite and became the subject of a popular aphorism. Ibn Iyās also records that the *nā‘ūrah* was understood as the “crown” of the rulers of Egypt, and that it had its origins with the kings of Persia. The Quranic Dhū al-Qarnayn (i.e., “possessor of the two horns”) is identified with Alexander the Great in medieval Islam. Fuess notes the status of Alexander both as an epic hero and archetype of kingship. This ancient ruler was also associated with the ram as the result of having been named the son of the ram-headed Egyptian deity Zeus-Amun.<sup>60</sup>

## Conclusion

While the prototype for Giovio’s Saladin remains unclear, there seems little doubt that it must have been produced in the last two decades of the Mamluk period, or soon after the fall of the dynasty in 1517. The form of the Ayyubid sultan’s headgear in both dell’Altissimo’s painting and Stimmer’s print is the Mamluk *nā‘ūrah*, the six-horned turban that probably evolved from earlier forms of the *takhfīfah kabīrah* worn by powerful amirs during the short rule of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The *nā‘ūrah* appears to have been relatively common during the rule of the penultimate Mamluk sultan, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, and turns up in textual sources, paintings, drawings, and prints. The wearing of the *nā‘ūrah* was restricted to sultans and a few high officials. Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī himself seems to have made use of both the six-horned and two-horned turbans on public occasions, and it is in the latter type that he is depicted in Giovio’s *Elogia*. Giovio was, therefore, mistaken in his belief that Saladin would have worn a turban of this sort and we may also infer that his prototype was probably a representation of a member of the Mamluk elite. More interesting, however, is to establish what Giovio understood of the symbolism of the *nā‘ūrah* and why he might have thought it appropriate as the head-covering of Saladin.

Giovio’s own caption to his painting of Saladin—reproduced in both the 1551 and 1575 editions of the *Elogia*—asserts that the horns of the turban were intended to symbolize the sultan’s victories. Unfortunately, Giovio does not state which military engagements or territorial conquests might be represented by the five

<sup>59</sup>Translated by Albrecht Fuess in *ibid.*, 78. The quote comes from Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr fi Waqā’i‘ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden, 1961), 3:340.

<sup>60</sup>Quran 18:83–98. Fuess, “Sultans with Horns,” 78–79.



horns visible on the sultan's headgear. His failure to provide specific details on this issue is perhaps a further indication of the difficulty he experienced in finding reliable historical information about Saladin. Reviewing the evidence for the symbolism of the *nā'ūrah*, there is little to support the notion that its projections were explicit emblems of victory; rather, it would appear that its six horns were a sign of higher status (Mamluks of lesser rank being restricted to four or two horns on their *takhfīfah*). It is possible, however, that Giovio and his contemporaries may have picked up on the connection made by the Mamluks themselves between the ram-like, two-horn *takhfīfah* and Alexander the Great. If this were the case, though, one would expect the victorious Saladin and not the defeated sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī to have been equipped with the two-horned turban.

Clearly Giovio believed that the *nā'ūrah* was appropriate for Saladin, and some explanation for this can be sought in other European images produced of Muslim rulers during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The painted portrait and medal of Meḥmed produced by Gentile Bellini implied a symbolic equivalence between the crown and the turban. Significantly, the crowns on Bellini's medal are believed to stand for his conquests of Asia, Europe, and Trebizond. The propagandist activities of Süleymān I, particularly the extravagant helmet commissioned in 1529–30 from the Caorlini family of goldsmiths in Venice and delivered to Istanbul in 1532, also sought to forge links between Muslim and Christian traditions of authority. Süleymān gave crowns to vassal Christian rulers, and this practice was perpetuated by later Ottoman sultans. European art of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also provided numerous examples of the combination of the crown (always shown with numerous projections rising vertically from the headband) and the turban into a single piece of Orientalist headgear. This European invention was placed on the heads of the magi, Muslim philosophers, a pharaoh, and in one instance Saladin himself. The sheer variety of wearers does not allow for a single interpretation of the crown-turban, though it is most prevalent in apocalyptic scenes. The association with tyranny is indicated by the pharaoh who wears the crown-turban, while the depiction of Saladin from *The Six Ages of the World* parchment roll encourages a rather bellicose and malevolent reading.<sup>61</sup> Visually, at least, the prominent rising horns of the *nā'ūrah* provided a Muslim counterpart to the crown-turban.

Saladin occupies an ambiguous place in European culture from the late twelfth to the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Giovio reflects this in his own biography of the famous

<sup>61</sup>On the concept of tyranny and its association with Muslim rulers, see Nebahat Avcioglu, "Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny in the Frontispiece to George Sandy's *Relation of a Journey*," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 203–26.

<sup>62</sup>Robert Irwin, "Saladin and the Third Crusade: A Case Study in Historiography and the Historical Novel," in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley (London, 1997), 139–52; Jean



enemy of the Crusaders; Saladin's admirable personal qualities and tactical skills are balanced against his adherence to Islam and his perfidious overthrow of the legitimate ruler of Egypt. It is perhaps the theme of victory that is dominant both in Giovio's writings and in the depiction of Saladin, with the Mamluk horned turban itself becoming a visual manifestation of the sultan's military successes. In this context it is fitting that Stimmer should have added the reliquary, presumably containing the True Cross, into the background of the image. As potent a symbol of Saladin's crushing defeat of the Crusaders as his reoccupation of the holy city of Jerusalem, the supposed presence of this precious relic in the treasury of Cairo continued to excite diplomatic activity in Christian Europe long after the fall of the Ayyubid dynasty.<sup>63</sup> This combination of factors results in one of the most memorable images in the 1575 edition of Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*.

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Richard, "Les transformations de l'image de Saladin dans les sources occidentales," *Revue des mondes musulmanes et de la Méditerranée* 89–90 (2000): 177–87; John Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008), 79–100.

<sup>63</sup>For example, see Aziz S. Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between 1300 and 1330 A.D.* (Nendeln, 1966).



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Figure 1. Saladin from Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel, 1575), 29. Image courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



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Figure 2. Saladin, Sultan of Egypt by Cristofano dell'Altissimo. Oil on wood, mid-sixteenth century. Uffizi 1890 n.15. Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attivà culturali/Art Resource, NY.



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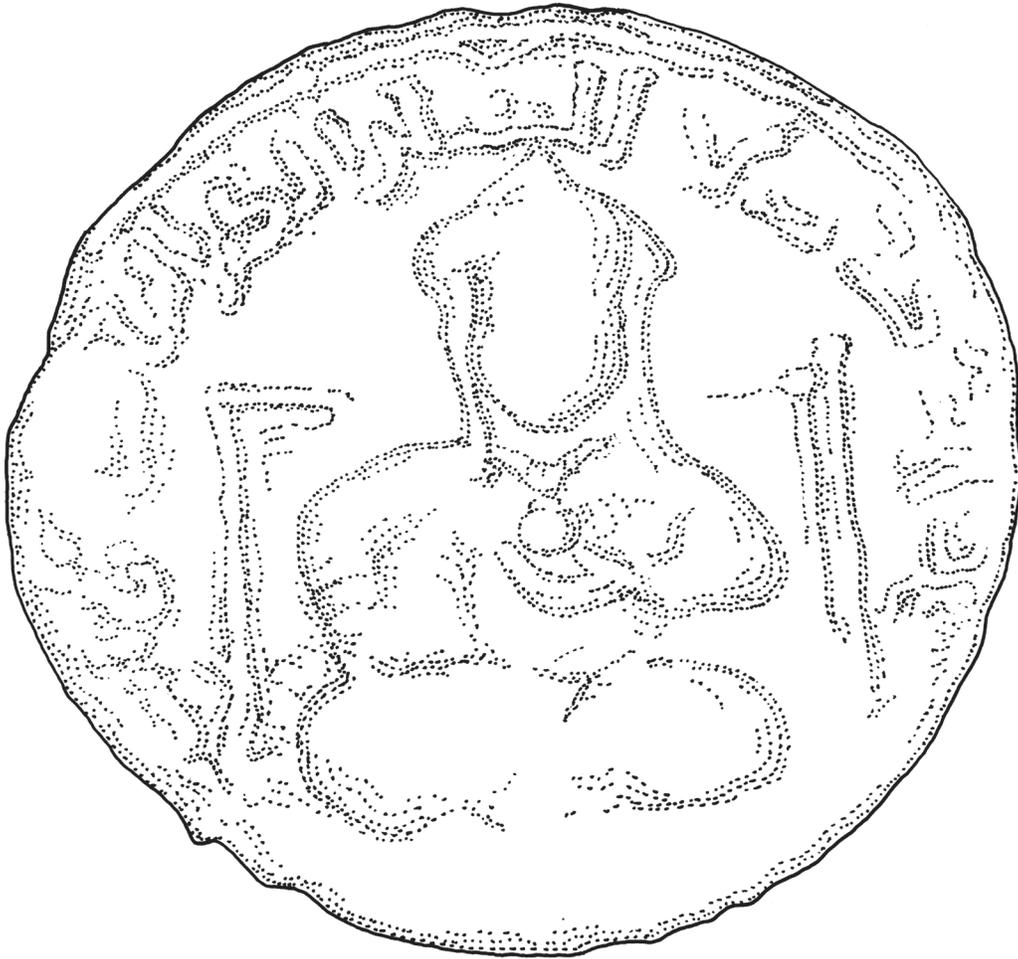


Figure 3. Drawing of *fals* minted in Mayyāfāriqīn in 586/1190–91. After Eddé, *Saladin*.



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Figure 4. Page of a manuscript of al-Jazari's *Kitāb fī Ma'rifat al-Ḥiyal al-Handasīyah*. Manuscript dated 1354. Image courtesy of the Freer and Sackler Galleries. F1932.19.



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Figure 5. (a, b) details of headgear from roundels on the *Baptistère de Saint Louis* (after Rice, *Baptistère*); (c, d, e) Drawings of headgear from an inlaid brass bowl signed by Muhammad ibn al-Zayn, late thirteenth century (after Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, 1981).



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Figure 6. Saladin from André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584), fol. 627r. After Thevet (Cholakian) 1973.



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Figure 7. Saladin from “The Six Ages of the World” (BL MS Add. 30359), Italy, fifteenth century. Ink, pigment, and gilding on parchment. Courtesy of the British Library.



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Figure 8. (a) Drawing of an enameled plaque with a portrait of an unnamed Egyptian sultan. Probably Limoges, sixteenth century. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Brunswick; (b) Drawing of the enthroned governor from *The Reception of the Ambassadors*, 1511. Anonymous Venetian artist. Louvre.



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Figure 9. Portrait of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī from Giovio, *Elogia*, 222. Image courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



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Figure 10. Sultan Tūmānbāy II from Paolo Giovio, *Elogia*, 225. Image courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



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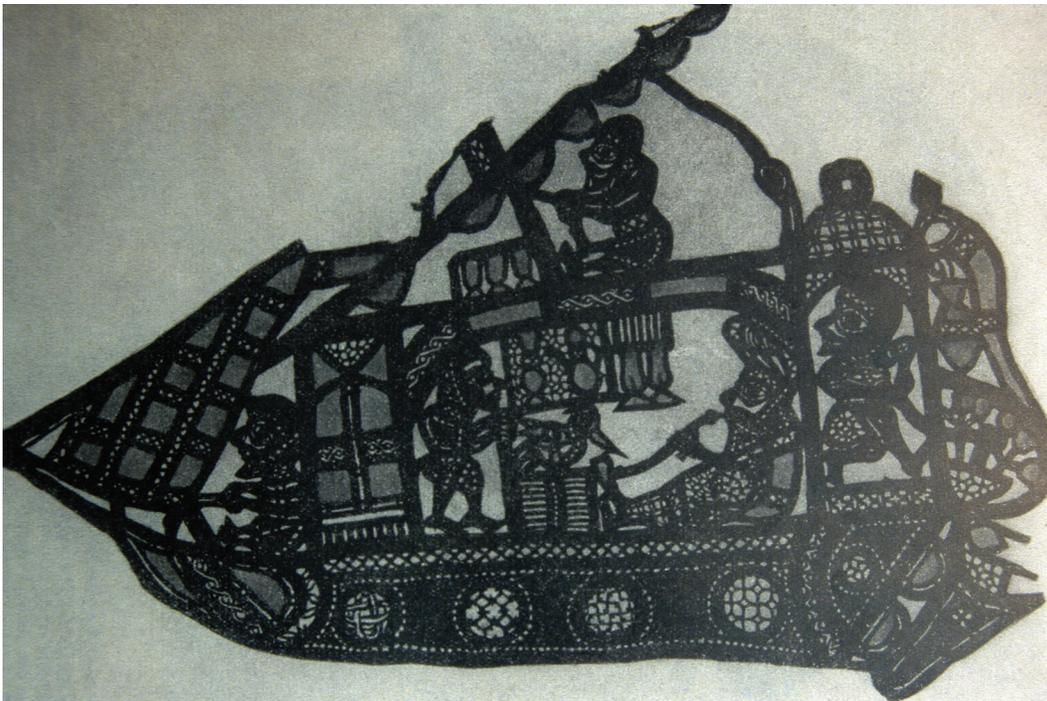


Figure 11. Leather puppet of a boat with sailors and elite occupant. Bought by Paul Kahle in Manzalah, Egypt, 1909. Seventeenth century, Egypt. After Kahle, “Schattenspielfiguren II,” fig. 45 (present whereabouts unknown).



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## “Naught Remains to the Caliph but his Title”: Revisiting Abbasid Authority in Mamluk Cairo

With the exception of the brief anomaly of the “caliph-sultan” al-Musta‘in billāh (808–16/1406–14),<sup>1</sup> Mamlukists have rightly relegated the status of the Abbasids of Cairo, a line of caliphs largely trotted out from seclusion only to lend religious sanction to official events, to the sidelines of Mamluk history. Despite having lost political and religious significance by the mid-fourteenth century, the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo retained a measure of religious authority and enjoyed the reverence of noteworthy sectors of the Cairene population. Few studies of the period have attempted to consider the residual religious authority of the caliphal institution. Most scholars have focused on how the caliphs served to legitimize the Mamluk position both domestically and beyond its sphere of direct control. By describing infrequently discussed ceremonial functions of the caliphs, the present article hopes to approach an understanding of the revived Abbasid caliphate’s significance to the society in which it existed.

### Background

Following elaborate investiture ceremonies in Cairo, the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaṣir billāh (659–60/1261–62), followed by his successor al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (661–701/1262–1302), delegated full authority over the affairs of the Muslims to the Mamluk amir Baybars (657–76/1260–77), legitimizing his rule as sultan and granting him legal authority to appoint offices, prosecute holy war against Mongols and Crusaders, and liberate the lands of Islam or conquer new territories under the control of infidels.<sup>2</sup>

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I wish to thank R. Stephen Humphreys and Roy P. Mottahedeh for insightful comments and assistance during the conference at which I presented an earlier version of this paper. The remaining faults are my own.

<sup>1</sup>The caliph was briefly named interim sultan in Muḥarram 815/May 1412 until al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh seized power six months later. See Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa‘īd ‘Āshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 4:1:207–15; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Umr fī Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1969), 2:506–8; Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 13:141–45.

<sup>2</sup>These duties and more are outlined in the investiture document of the caliph al-Mustaṣir. See Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 102–10. For the most extensive treatment of these two investitures and



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Little is known about the *mélange* of social and political pressures that urged Baybars to install an Abbasid scion in Cairo in 1261.<sup>3</sup> We do know that Baybars' actions were acclaimed by most sectors of the population for restoring what the Mongols had disrupted. In addition, the new Mamluk sultan was formally invested as a "partner" of the caliph (*qasīm amīr al-mu'minīn*).<sup>4</sup> In one stroke, Baybars received legitimacy as a ruler over the affairs of Muslims and his brutal betrayal of his predecessor Quṭuz was conveniently forgiven and forgotten. Quṭuz himself had been interested in inviting a candidate to Cairo to invest as Abbasid caliph and was hardly the only political player of the period interested in doing so.<sup>5</sup> Over time, caliphal recognition would allow Mamluk rulers to transcend their lowly original status as slaves in a public culture preoccupied with a leader's lineage and noble descent.

Of course, as destitute refugees of the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258, the first two caliphs had no real base of power in Egypt. It is no surprise, therefore, that in the early incarnation of Mamluk government, the caliph, despite the traditional, albeit ill-defined, prestige and authority of his household in Sunni Islam, had very little to do after bestowing his (partial) religious authority on the Mamluk sultan.

Modern research concludes that the Abbasid caliphs were primarily expected to strengthen the legitimacy of the Mamluk establishment.<sup>6</sup> The very act of re-

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their implications to date, see: Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden, 1994), 91–107, 177–92.

<sup>3</sup>Students of the period may never fully arrive at a satisfactory understanding of this pressure or convention which drove the popular demand for an unbroken caliphate. See Jonathan Berkey, "Mamluk Religious Policy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 2 (2009): 7–22; Yaacov Lev, "Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 11.

<sup>4</sup>Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1967–68), 2:95. On general usage of the title, see Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʿ* (Cairo, 1963), 6:47, 65, 108, 113; Ḥasan al-Bāshah, *Al-Alqāb al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 1957), 205–6. On the titu- lature of Baybars regarding the caliphate, see Denise Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars dans le Bilād al-Šām: Une expression de la légitimité du pouvoir," *Studia Islamica* 97 (2003): 63–66; Reuven Amitai, "Some remarks on the inscription of Baybars at Maqam Nabi Musa," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (New York, 2006), 50–51.

<sup>5</sup>On Quṭuz's interest in the Abbasid caliphate, see Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-ġāmiʿ al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960–92), 8:87. On the various attempts to re-establish a caliphate slightly prior to Baybars, see: Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, *Qaḍāyā min Tārīkh al-Mamālīk al-Siyāsī wa-al-Ḥaḍārī, 648–923 H/1250–1517 M* (Beirut, 2003), 137–38.

<sup>6</sup>For two important studies, see P. M. Holt, "Some Observations on the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate of Cairo," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67 (1984): 501–2; and Annemarie Schimmel, "Kalif und Kadi im Spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten," *Die Welt des Islams* 24 (1942): 6–26. Sherman Jackson suggested the Abbasid caliphate was not expected to be the sole source of Mamluk legitimacy and could only supplement whatever else Baybars could acquire on his own. See



establishing a caliphate was also presented as a pious deed of the sultan in the service of a greater Islamdom.<sup>7</sup>

Extant Arabic sources place overwhelming emphasis on the caliph's role in political ceremonies, and while he appeared at said functions most frequently with the four chief qadis of Egypt, he did not share their privileges nor was he consulted often on religious matters. True religious authority remained with the ulama, as it had firmly rested since at least the ninth century. In Mamluk Cairo, caliphs often—but not always—received formal Islamic education, though they were not expected to advise the sultan as readily as the chief qadis.<sup>8</sup>

The true nature of the caliph's significance in the Mamluk regime must be studied in depth. It cannot be forgotten, however, that the chief focus for the caliphate was largely within the sphere of Mamluk ceremonial, where it was confined and jealously guarded by the sultans and their supporters.

### Abbasid Prestige in Mamluk Foreign Policy

The caliphate occupied a unique place in Mamluk foreign policy. A resident caliph lent immediate prestige to diplomatic relations with Muslim allies and competitors.<sup>9</sup> In his Mongol policies, Baybars attempted to use the caliph al-Mustansir in 659–60/1261 to engage hostile Mongols in Mesopotamia,<sup>10</sup> and a year later, with

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Jackson, "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-A'azz and the Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 59.

<sup>7</sup>Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 112. The notion that a caliphal restoration was depicted as the product of sultanic piety is inherent in Holt's theory that the royal biographies of Baybars were intended to portray him as a model Muslim ruler. See P. M. Holt, "Three Biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars," in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. David O. Morgan (London, 1982), 19–29; idem, "The Virtuous Ruler in Thirteenth-Century Mamluk Royal Biographies," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24 (1980): 27–35. In his study of manuscripts of the popular fourteenth-century *ṣirah* of Baybars, Thomas Herzog was struck by their collective silence about the earliest Abbasid investitures in Cairo while depicting instead the last caliph of Baghdad as a bloated despot complicit in his own downfall. This may have reflected the desire of the *ṣirah* compilers to promote Baybars' legend as opposed to the historical reality of the Abbasid caliphate in the Mamluk period. See Thomas Herzog, *Geschichte und Imaginaire: Entstehung, Überlieferung und Bedeutung der Sirat Baibars in ihrem sozio-politischen Kontext* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 331–45.

<sup>8</sup>Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirriyah al-Muntaza'ah min al-Sirah al-Zāhiriyah*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 55; Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 6:318. Ibn Qāḍi Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍi Shuhbah*, ed. Adnan Darwish (Damascus, 1994), 3:38; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Akhbār al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67), 1:159; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* (Beirut, 1988), 399.

<sup>9</sup>See Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. 15, 52–53, 68–69.

<sup>10</sup>Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 110–11; Muḥammad ibn Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, vol. 6, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 315; Baybars al-Dawādār



the caliph al-Ḥākim, the sultan cemented relations with the recently converted Mongols of the Golden Horde. The later Islamic conversion of the Mongol Ilkhanids of Persia did little to ease tensions with the Mamluks. Qalāwūn used his access to the Abbasid caliph to demand obedience from the Ilkhanid Tegüder.<sup>11</sup> In diplomatic correspondence of the early fourteenth century, the Mamluk chancery called upon the Ilkhanids to pay homage to Islam's holiest office and the august pedigree of the house of the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās; but the Ilkhanids, as proud descendants of Chinggis Khan, had ideological pre-commitments of their own.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, the Mamluks were able to offer distant Sunni rulers the option of receiving formal acknowledgment from the caliph by way of investiture diplomas for the purpose of warding off challengers and securing the confidence of the subject Muslim population. In distant climes such as Delhi and Bengal, declarations of overt religio-political authority from Cairo, as the new heart of the Sunni world, bore great weight amidst local political tumult.<sup>13</sup> Though the Abbasid caliphate was not widely recognized beyond Mamluk borders, several dynasties (many well beyond the reach of Mamluk territory) petitioned the caliphs of Cairo for official recognition. Chief among them were the Arabic-speaking Muzaffarids of Fārs, the sultans of Delhi, and, perhaps in a moment of Ottoman vulnerability against the Central Asian warlord Temür, the sultan Bāyazīd I in Asia Minor.<sup>14</sup>

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al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 67; Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn*, 44; Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954), 1:449; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 7:79. For a detailed examination of the campaign, see Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat*, 145–56; and Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 56–63.

<sup>11</sup>Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb al-Faḍl al-Maʿthūr min Sirat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1998), 102–3. See also Adel Allouche, “Tegüder's Ultimatum to Qalawun,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (1990), 442; Judith Pfeiffer, “Aḥmad Tegüder's Second Letter to Qalāwūn (682/1283),” in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 178; Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*, 38–44.

<sup>12</sup>Igor de Rachewiltz, “Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7 (1973): 23–28.

<sup>13</sup>For details of Indian embassies seeking sanction from the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo, see Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Sāliḥī wa-Awlādihi*, ed. B. Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1:257–58; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:3:645, 4:2:756, 924–25; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:364; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 15:192–93; ʿAlī ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 362; Muḥammad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Cairo, 1982–84), 3:65. Al-Qalqashandī has also preserved an investiture deed sent to Muṣaffar Shāh of India in the name of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn billāh: *Ṣubḥ*, 10:129–34.

<sup>14</sup>On the Muzaffarids and the Cairo Abbasids, see Maḥmūd Kutubī, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Muṣaffar* (Tehran, 1985), 159; Stephen Album, “Power and Legitimacy: The Coinage of Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Muṣaffar at Yazd and Kirman,” in *Le monde iranien et l'islam: sociétés et cultures*, ed. J.



Securing caliphal approval was also a way, in the case of all three, to strengthen relations with the Mamluks, which may have helped secure access to the lucrative trade routes linking India and the Middle East.<sup>15</sup>

### The Nature of Abbasid Authority in Mamluk Cairo

Through their years of confinement to the citadel or the family residence in the district of al-Kabsh,<sup>16</sup> the caliphs were excluded from courtly and public life in the early years of the Mamluk sultanate. They were often tutored in Islamic sciences and expected to engage in the all-important practice of praying for the government and the sultan's success, and to busy themselves in pious exercises with members of the established religious elite.<sup>17</sup> If ever a caliph (voluntarily or not) ventured into Mamluk politics, it tended to result in shame and exile, followed by dismay and confusion amidst various segments of the population.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the extent of the meager public role given the caliphs existed at the whim of an individual sultan or ruling magnate.

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Aubin (Geneva, 1974), 2:167–70. On the Delhi sultans and the Cairo Abbasids, see Z̄iyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Feroz-Shāhī*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan (Calcutta, 1862), 598–99; Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge, 1999), 271–72. On Bāyazīd I, the Ottomans, and the Cairo Abbasids, see al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, 2:85; Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–91* (Leiden, 1995), 66–67.

<sup>15</sup>Here I have benefitted from comments made by John E. Woods.

<sup>16</sup>This may have been a former palace of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn or Shajar al-Durr. See Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 2002), 3:444–46; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 3:358–59; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 2:281; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1:1:320. On the connection between the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo and Shajar al-Durr, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial,” *Annales islamologiques* 24 (1988): 53; idem, “The *Maḥmal* Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 91–92, 96; idem, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (London, 2007), 9.

<sup>17</sup>Shāfi' ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn*, 55; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 6:318; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa'īd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1984), 4:305. Educating the caliph may have been part of a concerted effort to re-imagine the Commander of the Faithful as a scholar (*ʿālim*), a prospect in line with the classical juristic stipulation that the imam must be a man with religious knowledge sufficient to perform *ijtihād*. See Tarif Khalidī, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (New York, 1994), 196.

<sup>18</sup>The best examples of caliphs that suffered imprisonment or expulsion for interference in Mamluk politics are the third caliph al-Mustakfī (1302–40), exiled to Qūṣ after crossing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; al-Mutawakkil I (1362–83, 1389–1406), accused of treason and imprisoned by Barqūq; and al-Mustaʿīn (1406–14), deported to Alexandria by al-Muʿayyad Shaykh after a brief appointment as “caliph-sultan” in 1412. For basic biographical information, see al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 387–90, 401–7.



Theoretical treatises on the notion of the imamate sought to legitimize the position of the Mamluk sultan and often neglected the Abbasid caliphs entirely. Nevertheless, the writings of Ibn Jamā'ah,<sup>19</sup> Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī,<sup>20</sup> Ibn Taymīyah,<sup>21</sup> al-Qalqashandī,<sup>22</sup> Ibn Khaldūn<sup>23</sup> and Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī,<sup>24</sup> while rarely dwelling at length on the status or position of the Abbasid caliphate in the Mamluk period, were aware of its presence and in some cases provided subtle acknowledgment of its place in the Mamluk hierarchical structure while fully recognizing the authority and legitimacy of the Mamluk sultan that had seized the caliph's authority as *imam*.<sup>25</sup>

The scholastic religious class treated the caliphate with ceremonial deference, though the office holders held no independent power to provide credible religious rulings or adjudicate in legal matters. However, many fifteenth-century caliphs enjoyed close personal relationships with members of the Cairene ulama, with

<sup>19</sup>Despite other concessions to the politics of his times (including the notion that whoever seized power by force held it lawfully) Ibn Jamā'ah maintained Qurayshī (though not explicitly Abbasid) descent as a stipulation to hold the imamate. See Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah, *Tahrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, ed. Hans Kofler as "Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-ad-Dīn Ibn Ġama'ah," *Islamica* 6 (1934): 355–65.

<sup>20</sup>On the theme of gratitude to God, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) offers advice to the reigning caliph of his time: *Mu'īd al-Ni'am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam* (Ṣaydā, 2007), 23–24.

<sup>21</sup>The once authoritative conclusions of Henri Laoust which held that Ibn Taymīyah dismissed the obligation of the caliphate have been reexamined by recent research, which found that Ibn Taymīyah did in fact recognize the obligatory nature of the caliphate as well as the Abbasid caliphate of his day under Mamluk protection. See Mona F. Hassan, "Modern Interpretations and Misinterpretations of a Medieval Scholar: Apprehending the Political Thought of Ibn Taymīyah" in *Ibn Taymīyah and His Times*, ed. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed (Oxford, 2010), 338–43.

<sup>22</sup>Al-Qalqashandī dedicated his treatise, caliphal history, and document collection *Ma'āthir al-Ināfah fī Ma'ālim al-Khilāfah* (Kuwait, 1964) to the reigning caliph al-Mu'taḍid II. The treatise on the caliphate is largely derivative of al-Māwardī's *Aḥkām al-Sultāniyah wa-al-Wilāyāt al-Dīniyah*, reflecting more the situation in Abbasid Baghdad under the later Buyids than Mamluk Cairo in the early fifteenth century. See *Ma'āthir*, 1:12–80.

<sup>23</sup>Ibn Khaldūn mentions that the contemporary caliphate in Cairo is held in the name of an Abbasid descendant from Baghdad: *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn* (Beirut, 2001), 196; idem, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan* (Cairo, 1951), 376, though it plays little role in his broader discussion of caliphate and kingship: *Muqaddimah*, 184–333.

<sup>24</sup>Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī discusses the caliphal office and its expectations among courtiers during the reign of Jaqmaq in the mid-fifteenth century. See *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse (Cairo, 1988), 86, 89–92.

<sup>25</sup>I discuss the views of these authors and others at length in the third and fourth chapters of my dissertation, "The Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo 1261–1517: History and Tradition in the Mamluk Court."



whom they intermarried,<sup>26</sup> whose work they patronized, and with whom they were allowed to socialize more freely than with members of the military class.<sup>27</sup> The ulama themselves could do little in the face of Mamluk authority: “The caliph and the four chief judges, who headed the official administration of the Holy Law, deferred to reason of state and the reality of power by validating actions which they could not oppose and decisions which they could not upset.”<sup>28</sup>

The caliphate’s residual power stemmed from the renowned lineage of the Prophet’s uncle, the tradition of the centuries-old Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad, and its unified Islamic ruling system.<sup>29</sup> The Abbasids of Baghdad far outlived their heyday of political authority when they lost power first to the successive Turkish *amīrs al-umarā’* of their own army, then ultimately to the Buyid amirs and Saljuq sultans. Nevertheless, a caliph had remained an indispensable symbol of unified Islamic leadership, undisturbed until 1258. The mere existence of a caliph represented political harmony and coherence, its absence, therefore, chaos and disorder in the universe.<sup>30</sup> That the institution was supported by history and tradition alone is not without great significance.

Paradoxically, the political and religious authority of the Abbasid caliph was formally recognized by the ruling elites and the ulama, though he was given no means to actually wield it. While it was part of the regime’s political ideology that the Mamluk sultan had been invested to act on behalf of the caliph, sultans

<sup>26</sup>Baybars was evidently uninterested in accruing any religio-political or ideological capital through forging marriage alliances with any of the daughters of al-Ḥākim. Marriages between the Abbasid family and the ulama were much more common than any political marriages with the sultans’ families as was the case in Saljuq times. See George Makdisi, “The Marriage of Tughril Beg,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (1970): 259–75; Jackson, “Primacy of Domestic Politics,” 59; Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale: Qus* (Cairo, 1976), 294.

<sup>27</sup>Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, 2:61; idem, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā’*, 384. Al-Suyūṭī claims that Baybars put the caliph under restraints in Ramaḍān 663. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also had members of his military beaten for cultivating close ties to the caliph al-Mustakfī in the 730/1330s. See Mūsā al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 362; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:416. It was fairly common, however, for low-level amirs to marry into the Abbasid family.

<sup>28</sup>P. M. Holt, “The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1975): 247.

<sup>29</sup>For a discussion of the nature of the community’s loyalty to the caliph in the Buyid period, see Roy P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (2nd ed., London, New York, 2001), 18. Modern scholars largely interpret the caliphate in its later years as the mere symbol of rule by shari‘ah. See H. A. R. Gibb, “Some Considerations on the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate,” in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Princeton, 1982), 141; and Anne Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam: An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford, 1981), 14, 113, 129.

<sup>30</sup>Al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā’*, 373–81.



were careful to keep his authority and his person in check, lest he fall into the clutches of their rivals.<sup>31</sup>

Much of the caliph's perceived religious supremacy in Mamluk society resided in his prayers and in the sanctity of his presence at official events. Jean-Claude Garcin's assessment that the Abbasid caliphs in Cairo were effectively *fnissaient en santons* is an apt description of the way the caliphs served as little more than talismans (or tiny plaster figurines!) of *barakah* at state events.<sup>32</sup> Despite this muted role, forced forward by political inertia, the Abbasid caliphs became such a staple of Mamluk court culture and custom that their absence at an investiture ceremony was inconceivable. Indeed, the lack of a caliphal appearance, which chroniclers seldom fail to mention in their report of events, could render a coronation illegitimate.<sup>33</sup>

The nature of latter-day caliphal authority, particularly in the Mamluk period, was necessarily confined to the realm of religion, due in no small part to the caliph's understood proximity to the Prophet's family.<sup>34</sup> A living resident Abbasid helped transform Cairo into an authentic Islamic capital, following the heritage

<sup>31</sup>Sultan Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sent the caliph al-Ḥākim II to Jerusalem in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 742/May 1342 to keep him away from rivals among his father's amirs. See al-Shujā'i, *Tārīkh*, 217, 224; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:609–10; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:67. The amir Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī used the issue of the caliph's imprisonment to challenge Barqūq (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 1:2:336), and the future sultan Shaykh captured the caliph al-Musta'in and ultimately used him to help oust al-Nāṣir Faraj (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:213–16).

<sup>32</sup>Jean-Claude Garcin, "Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le *Ḥusn al-muḥādarat* de Suyūṭi," *Annales islamologiques* 7 (1967): 64.

<sup>33</sup>As a 778/1377 conspiracy to remove al-Ashraf Sha'bān from power and murder him in 'Aqabah en route to the holy cities unfolded, the caliph al-Mutawakkil, delayed by his return from 'Aqabah (as part of the sultan's entourage), was unable to participate in the investiture ceremony for the new sultan, al-Manṣūr 'Alī. To ensure the authenticity of the succession, Mamluk amirs re-staged the ceremony in the presence of the caliph after his return to Cairo. See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:284, 290; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:148–49; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 1:2:192.

<sup>34</sup>An excellent case study of latter day caliphal religious authority may be found in the reign of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid II billāh (816–45/1414–41). For nearly thirty years the caliph participated in solemn ceremonies at the behest of at least seven Mamluk sultans. While isolated politically, the caliph focused on a quiet life of religion and did little more than what was required of him. More importantly, no opportunities emerged for him to be thrust into the seat of power which allowed him to avoid the imprisonment and exile, respectively, of his father al-Mutawakkil and elder brother al-Musta'in. He remained a religious symbol available to lend authority to public programs such as prayer against the plague and also to officially castigate enemies of the regime. For contemporary biographies of al-Mu'taḍid II, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 4:304–5; idem, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah fī Man Waliya al-Saṭṭanah wa-al-Khilāfah* (Cairo, 1997), 1:258; Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934–36), 3:215; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, 407–9; idem, *Ḥusn*, 2: 90–91.



of Medina, Damascus, and Baghdad, thereby lending crucial religious integrity to Mamluk state functions.<sup>35</sup>

It is these various ceremonial capacities, always underscoring the caliph's religious authority, which concern us here. We can detail several public appointments (whether carefully arranged or spontaneous) that reflect both the caliph's religious authority and acceptance for his elevated position in Mamluk society.

### Abbasid Management of the Shrine of Sayyidah Nafīṣah

The decision by Mamluk authorities to assign the Abbasid caliphs as overseers of the shrine of Sayyidah Nafīṣah (d. 208/824) was an important development that bolstered the family's financial well-being, further enhanced their prestige, and increased their accessibility to Cairenes and visitors to the shrine.<sup>36</sup>

Upgraded in Fatimid times for a descendant of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥasan, the shrine of Sayyidah Nafīṣah (located in the north of Cairo's al-Qarāfah cemetery near the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque) became a sanctuary with Sufi cells and a library. Under heightened popularity during the Mamluk era, the shrine grew to become an important regional attraction that received substantial donations from pilgrims, rulers, and courtiers which required a comptroller (*mustawfī*) to manage its associated endowments.<sup>37</sup>

Following several years of supervision by Mamluk notables, it was most likely the sultan Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who made the caliph al-Ḥākim II (741–53/1341–52) shrine administrator in 742/1341–42.<sup>38</sup> Donations to the shrine combined with revenue from onsite oil and candle sales became a significant source of income unencumbered by the Mamluk government. Each month the caliph or his delegate emptied the large trunk established for donations at the head of the tomb.<sup>39</sup> Nearby funerals for wealthy notables also carried the potential to line the caliphs' pockets if the bereaved wished to make a donation in exchange

<sup>35</sup>On the changed status of Cairo as the new seat of Islam *vis-à-vis* the Abbasid caliphate, see al-Qalqashandī, *Maʿāthir*, 1:1–2; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, 2:94. Indeed with the exile of the last Abbasid to Istanbul, Cairo resumed its status as a province. See Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule, 1517–1798* (London, New York, 1992), 10.

<sup>36</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:785; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:609; Ibn Taghrībirdī *Nujūm*, 10:66.

<sup>37</sup>See Yūsuf Rāḡib, “Al-Sayyidah Nafīsa, sa légende, son culte et son cimetière,” *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977): 38–41.

<sup>38</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:609; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:66. Also see Rāḡib, “Sayyidah Nafīsa,” 41–42; and Ohtoshi Tetsuya, “Cairene Cemeteries as Public Loci in Mamluk Egypt,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 93. There is disunity in the Mamluk sources as to which Abbasid caliph first received control of the shrine. Some sources claim the shrine was assigned to the Abbasids as late as the reign of al-Mutawakkil I in 763/1362 (ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ [al-Malāṭī], *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī [Ṣaydā, 2002], 1:340).

<sup>39</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:785; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, 2:192; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿi*, 5:192.



for an Abbasid or Nafisī blessing.<sup>40</sup> By the time of the long-reigning caliph al-Mutawakkil I (763–79, 779–85, 791–808/1362–77, 1377–83, 1389–1406), the Abbasid household had accumulated substantial wealth.<sup>41</sup> The family had feathered their nest thanks largely to the lucrative administration of the shrine, which upon each new caliph's inauguration was handed down ceremonially along with the family office.<sup>42</sup>

Indeed, Abbasid affiliation with the shrine provided a symbolic connection between two important lines of the Prophet's family: his direct offspring through his daughter Fāṭimah and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the offspring of his uncle al-'Abbās. Through direct association with a popular landmark on Cairo's religious topography, the caliph's public profile increased in prominence and visibility.<sup>43</sup> In theory, this would also have allowed the caliph to tap into the world of folk religion, popular culture, and pious practice in medieval Cairo.<sup>44</sup>

## Involvement in Public Prayers

Under the Mamluks, the caliph's informal religious duties included private prayers for the perpetuation and success of the realm. Although seemingly without immediate corporeal benefit, the caliph's prayers for Mamluk triumph and Muslim prosperity are part of a legacy not so easily dismissed. The theme of the caliph praying for the success of sultan and dynasty is as at least as old as the late Saljuq period. The late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century Persian historian al-Rāvandī

<sup>40</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 7:54; Rāḡib, "Sayyidah Nafisa," 42.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Husn*, 2:84.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:100. Al-Mutawakkil was later deprived of the shrine's assets in 766/1364–65 when it was reassigned for over two decades to the amir Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn Baktimur, until 789/1387, when it returned to the Abbasid family for another one hundred years. Control of the shrine was restored to Musta'ṣim in 789/1387 and remained under Abbasid supervision until a minor interruption in 1497 and then until the Ottoman conquest. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 3:785; Rāḡib, "Al-Sayyidah Nafisa," 42. In addition to the shrine, we also know that the caliphs, by virtue of a special tariff exacted by the Mamluks, received a portion of the profits made by gold merchants.

<sup>43</sup> Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamlūks," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, volume 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 303.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. The Mamluks were apparently interested in winning the hearts and minds of the Cairene masses through controlled interaction with the caliph. Baybars had attempted to revive the role of caliph as head of the *futūwah* chivalric brotherhoods which began in Baghdad with the caliph al-Nāṣir (575–622/1180–1225), though this was neither followed up nor heavily used. Later caliphs similarly participated in public rites at the *mawlid* festivals celebrating the birth of the Prophet, immensely popular among everyday Cairenes. On the caliphate and religious culture in Mamluk Cairo, see Annemarie Schimmel, "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the Later Mamluk Period," *Islamic Studies* 4 (1965): 353–55; Donald P. Little, "Religion under the Mamluks," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 172–73; Berkey, "Mamluk Religious Policy," 11–12.



claimed in his *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* that the *atābek* of sultan Tughril III (571–90/1176–94), irritated by a recent resurgence in the caliph's influence, had remarked that “the *imam* should concern himself with delivering the *khuṭbah* and leading the prayers which serve to protect worldly monarchs and are the best of deeds. He should entrust kingship to the sultans and leave governance of the world to this sultan (Tughril III).”<sup>45</sup> That this theme is picked up again in the Mamluk sultanate is not without significance.

Al-ʿAbbās and his descendants carried a long association with public prayers seeking an end to drought (*ṣalāt al-istisqāʿ*), beginning with the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who asked the Prophet's uncle to pray for rain in hopes that God would answer the prayers of Muḥammad's kinsman.<sup>46</sup> The historical anecdote was not wasted on the Mamluk religious class, who occasionally alluded to the contemporary Abbasid caliph as a descendant of al-ʿAbbās (whom the rains had obeyed) in panegyrics and other literature concerning the caliph's house.<sup>47</sup>

Concern over drought in Rabīʿ I 775/August 1373 drove Mamluk authorities to request the caliph, qadis, and other pious citizens to pray for rain in groups. Some of the ulama brought relics associated with the Prophet and washed them in the well of the Nilometer (*fasqīyat al-miqyās*) in hopes of making the water level increase.<sup>48</sup> This was not the last time the caliph was involved in rain prayers.

When Nile levels dangerously diminished once again in Rajab 854/August 1450, the sultan Jaqmaq requested the caliph al-Mustakfi II and other notables to pray for rain at the tomb of Barqūq. They were joined there by Jews and Christians with their holy books, as well as Muslim children with Qurans tied to their heads. The ceremony included an eloquent *khuṭbah* in which the Shafiʿi qadi begged for rain alongside his three legal counterparts and the caliph.<sup>49</sup>

To combat a harsh drought in Shawwāl 866/October 1462 an advisor of the sultan Khushqadam, Shaykh Amīn al-Dīn Āqsarāy, recommended that the sultan gather all living members of the Abbasid family, provide them with water to rinse their mouths, then order them to spit into an empty vessel. The collected water,

<sup>45</sup> *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl (London, 1921), 334.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:204; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 104–5.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, *Maʿāthir*, 1:1–2. See also panegyrics for the Cairo Abbasids attributed to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, quoted in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 3:215; idem, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalā Duwal al-Islām*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, ʿIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, and Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī (Beirut, 1995), 2:581; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 404–6; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 1:2:823–24. The allusion appears again in a *khuṭbah* from al-Ḥākim I commissioned by al-Ashraf Khalīl in 691. See Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-Altāf al-Khaṭīyah min al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Sulṭānīyah al-Malakīyah al-Ashrafīyah*, ed. Axel Moberg as *Ur ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd ez-Zāhir's Biografi över Sultanen el-Melik al-Ashraf Ḥalīl: Arabisk Tæxt med Översättning, Inledning Ock Anmärkningur Utjiven* (Lund, 1902), 14.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 1:2:124.

<sup>49</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 2:646; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 2:282.



with its “Abbasid *barakah*,” should then be poured into the *miqyās* well. The sultan then gathered Abbasids of all ages at one of the family’s properties on the Nile in Old Cairo to carry out the recommendation.<sup>50</sup> Once the “Abbasid water” was emptied into the well, Mamluk sources allege that the river’s official level miraculously rose by nearly two fingers.<sup>51</sup>

As refuge from the plague that ravaged Cairo in the mid-fourteenth century, the caliph’s prayers again had their place in Mamluk efforts to confront the epidemic. During a fierce outbreak in Ramaḍān 748/December 1347 during the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, the citadel elite were summoned to gather below the caliphal standard at the dome of victory outside Cairo, armed with copies of the Quran to pray for a respite from the disease decimating the city’s population.<sup>52</sup> The standard of the caliph was presented as a relic with holy power to ward off the disease.<sup>53</sup>

Cairo was again roiled by plague during the early fifteenth-century reign of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh.<sup>54</sup> By Rabīʿ II 822/April–May 1419 the Black Death had spread in Cairo, claiming nearly half the fellahin population.<sup>55</sup> The sultan took the threat seriously and once more pursued a religious solution which included the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid II and other prominent members of the religious class. The sultan mandated three days of public fasting, which culminated in a decidedly modest ceremony on the desert plain on 15 Rabīʿ II/11 May and featured special prayers and Quranic recitations from the caliph, scholars, and Sufis dressed in white robes beneath caliphal standards.<sup>56</sup> Flanked on both sides by al-Muʿtaḍid II, the qadis, and other scholars, the sultan solemnly led Friday prayers. Ibn Taghribirdī cited the success of the event when the severity of the plague diminished shortly thereafter; the caliph, his standard, and other Abbasid symbols having been an important part of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh’s spiritual anti-plague strategy.<sup>57</sup>

While considering the sultan’s decision to involve the caliph in public prayers in order to avert disaster, we must not forget that the Abbasid caliph was only one

<sup>50</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:395.

<sup>51</sup>Al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:146–47; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:395.

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:204.

<sup>53</sup>For a brief discussion of the significance of the caliphal standard in the early Mamluk period, see Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 176.

<sup>54</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:488. Shaykh had usurped the sultanate from the caliph al-Mustaʿin, who had briefly been named sultan for several months in 815/1412.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:77–78; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:45.

<sup>56</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:487–88; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ*, 3:198–99; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:77–78; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:46.

<sup>57</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:549–50; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:80; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:46.



wellspring of religious authority among several; and, according to the sources, even he was not used with regularity.<sup>58</sup> Naturally, as a caliphate void of temporal power, the Abbasid caliphate of Cairo lent itself to innovative practices, allowing the sultans to invent new caliphal customs on the fly. The presence of the qadis, or the *sayyid* descendants of the Prophet bearing copies of the Quran on their heads, had similar perceived power to ward off misfortunes. Therefore, much of the evidence for conclusions on the Cairo caliphate is circumstantial.

### Proclamations of Excommunication

The religious authority of the Abbasid caliph could be useful to a sultan wishing to denounce Muslim competitors as enemies of the faith. In 709/1310, Baybars al-Jāshnikīr used the caliph's authority to denounce hereditary kingship in his fight against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, thus attacking the latter's claim to legitimacy as the heir of Qalāwūn. A second deed of investiture for Baybars II, written by the caliph, catalogues the offenses of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who is condemned as a blood-shedder, destroyer of Islamic unity, and enabler of the enemies of the faith.<sup>59</sup>

When a revolt of Syrian amirs briefly unseated Barqūq and drove him from Cairo in 791/1389, the amir Miṭāsh, a chief conspirator, took steps to strengthen his position by re-installing the puppet Qalāwūnid sultan Ḥājji and drawing closer to the caliph.<sup>60</sup> Miṭāsh summoned the caliph, qadis, and ulama on 21 Dhū al-Qa'dah 791/11 November 1389 to draft a fatwa on the legality of declaring war against Barqūq.<sup>61</sup> Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṣāliḥī drafted the document accusing the former sultan of having wrongfully deposed both the caliphs al-Mutawakkil and Ḥājji and for fighting "against the Muslims with the aid of unbelievers."<sup>62</sup> Ten copies of the document were written and cosigned by numerous qadis and notables.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup>For example, during a Cairene plague outbreak in mid-Jumādā I 833/February 1430, al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–42/1422–38) failed to call upon the prayers of the caliph and instead conscripted forty descendants of the prophet (all named Muḥammad), and ordered them to recite Quran and lead prayers at al-Azhar. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 3:436–37; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:343.

<sup>59</sup>See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:1:65–66; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 8:263; Frédéric Bauden, "The Sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Politics of Puppets: Where Did It All Start?" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 55–57. For the initial caliphal investiture deed of Baybars al-Jāshnikīr, see Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1985–92), 8:128–35; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10:68–75.

<sup>60</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:655–56.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 3:668–70. A slightly earlier attempt appears to have failed in producing a fatwa: see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:357–58; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:417.

<sup>62</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:670, 673; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:360; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:417.

<sup>63</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:359; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:417.



Mintāsh then met with amirs and government officials on 25 Dhū al-Qa‘dah/15 November in the presence of al-Mutawakkil and the qadis to get the teenaged Ḥājji declared competent to rule as an adult.<sup>64</sup> The first act of the sultan’s majority was the declaration of war on Barqūq. In the final months of 791/1389, Mintāsh produced fatwas declaring Barqūq an enemy and ordered the caliph and the Maliki chief qadi Ibn Khaldūn, among others, to sign it.<sup>65</sup>

Some years later, when faced with the territorial encroachments of the Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen chieftain Qārā Yūsuf (792–823/1390–1420) in his Aleppo theater, the sultan al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh assembled the caliph and the ulama in Sha‘bān 821/September 1418 to declare Qārā Yūsuf an infidel for his transgressions against Sunni orthodoxy and shari‘ah. A document cataloguing the ruler’s odious infractions was composed and al-Mu‘taḍid II and others signed their approval. The caliph and qadis also lent silent support to an announcement that called for Qārā Yūsuf’s death in Cairo.<sup>66</sup> It was thus that the inviolability of the Abbasid presence and religious authority facilitated the official excommunication of the sultan’s enemies and made the shedding of their blood permissible at a time when the great majority of these opponents were fellow Muslims.<sup>67</sup>

### Accountability, Arbitration, and the “Holy Presence” of the Caliph

Mamluk authorities recognized a unique sanctity embodied in the presence of the Abbasid caliph, frequently augmented by the chief qadis, that enabled him to serve as a living “seal” to agreements and important decisions. The mere presence of the caliph (which Mamluk chroniclers often noted) was thought to authenticate decrees composed by the qadis and pacts concluded between the sultans, their amirs, and their mamluks.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:673; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:360.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:360–61; al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:281; Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i*, 1:2:417. The deposition of the caliph and the execution of a minor descendant of the Prophet were put forth as the major offenses. Ibn Khaldūn expressed particular distaste at being forced to sign the decree by Mintāsh: see *Al-Ta‘rīf*, 330–31.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:1:459–60; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā‘*, 3:171–72; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:68; al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:22; Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i*, 2:39–40. See also Schimmel, “Some Glimpses,” 360–61.

<sup>67</sup> This notion retained importance for the Ottomans who, when faced with rival Muslim marcher lords in Anatolia and the Turkmen supporters of the Safavids, induced their ulama to legally denounce them as infidels who could be legally warred against.

<sup>68</sup> P. M. Holt, “The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate,” in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 44. This idea persisted as late as the reign of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī: see *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī: Ṣafaḥāt min Tārikh Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-‘Ashir Hijrī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ‘Azzām (Cairo, 1941), 100–13.



Having the Abbasid caliph on hand relieved some of the stigma attached to unsavory policies. To fund an expedition against Temür in Jumādā II 789/June 1387, Barqūq summoned the caliph and other leading men of his administration in hopes of receiving approval to seize money from mosques and *waqf* endowments. Members of the religious establishment opposed the sultan, though they were ultimately persuaded to accept that the wealth of certain *waqfs* would be seized since the caliph had lent his tacit blessing.<sup>69</sup>

In cases where an arbitrator was needed to communicate with a rebellious amir or ambitious rival, the caliph, perceived as an impartial messenger whose allegiance was only to God and the Prophet, could be sent to present official messages. After the fraying of the alliance between Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī and Miṭāsh, the two amirs who had temporarily ousted Barqūq in 791/1389, Yalbughā used the caliph to relay his demands to Miṭāsh in hopes of appealing to his loyalty to the caliph and the Qalāwūnid puppet they had used to replace Barqūq.<sup>70</sup>

Two decades later, in the wake of a failed rebellion against Barqūq's heir, Sultan Faraj, then-amir Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī was summoned to the citadel in Rabīʿ I 812/August 1409 to be reprimanded by the sultan's loyal amirs. To add religious emphasis to the upbraiding, the caliph al-Mustaʿīn also went to meet Shaykh at the drawbridge.<sup>71</sup> Although al-Mustaʿīn refrained from making a statement and was there to record the details for the sultan, his presence lent official approval to the formal expressions of displeasure and the demand that Shaykh henceforth would never depart from obedience to the sultan.<sup>72</sup>

The presence of the caliph was seen to have the potential to seal agreements between sultans and their mamluks, as in Rabīʿ II 894/March-April 1489, when the disgruntled mamluks of Qāyṭbāy threatened to revolt over their stipends. Once a settlement had been reached with the help of the religious establishment,

<sup>69</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿi*, 1:2:386. Similar circumstances played out in 872/1468 when the caliph, qadis, and other notables were summoned to lend religious legitimacy to the sultan Qāyṭbāy's attempt to seize funds from merchants to fund an expedition against the Ottoman-backed rebel Shāh Sūwār. See Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madā al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr*, ed. William Popper as *Extracts from Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicle: Entitled Ḥawādith ad-duhūr fī madā 'l-ayyām washshuhūr*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 8 (Berkeley, 1930–42), 635–37; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 33–35; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿi*, 3:14–15; Schimmel, “Kalif und Kadi,” 98; Muḥammad M. Amīn, *Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿiyah fī Miṣr, 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Wathāiqīyah* (Cairo, 1980), 326–27; Lev, “Symbiotic Relations,” 23–24.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh ibn al-Furāt* (Beirut, 1936), 9:120–21; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:2:644; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 1:372; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:335–36; 'Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 1:237–38; al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:277.

<sup>71</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:104; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 13:86.

<sup>72</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 13:86.



Qāyṭbāy summoned the caliph al-Mutawakkil II (884–903/1479–97) from his residence to seal the agreement. With the caliph and qadis lending an air of religious authority, the mamluks pledged a fresh oath of allegiance to Qāyṭbāy.<sup>73</sup> The caliph's presence was meant to provide the accountability that would impel them to stand by the agreed terms.

Finally, as Carl Petry has observed during the Burji period, the absence of a formalized transition process resulted in crisis at the death of each sultan.<sup>74</sup> Barqūq unwittingly set a precedent for future sultans by requesting the caliph al-Mutawakkil I to vouchsafe the succession of his sons after his death. The qadis, amirs, and officials swore an oath to protect the order of succession laid out by the sultan.<sup>75</sup> Barqūq's testament made provisions for delegated amirs to execute his estate while all were formally subject to the sanction and supervision (*imḍā'*) of the Abbasid caliph.<sup>76</sup> Later Circassian sultans continued the practice of having the caliph act as "guarantor" of their dynastic aspirations, even though the caliph had no practical power to enforce such a request.<sup>77</sup> The sultans most likely wished to make their last wishes for succession known among their amirs and to have it sealed through both the caliph's presence at their deathbeds and his willingness to act on behalf of the sultan. Naturally, in all but a few cases, the Abbasid caliph quickly stepped aside and abandoned the sultan's chosen heir whenever the latest Mamluk amir capable of seizing the sultanate was able to do so.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3:262. Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī continued the practice in his sultanate, and was fond of including the Quran of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān in such rituals to supplement the presence of the Abbasid caliph. See *Badā'i'*, 3:454, 4:18. Also see Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (London and Seattle, 1993), 134.

<sup>74</sup>Petry, *Twilight of Majesty*, 18.

<sup>75</sup>Aḥmad ibn Ḥajjī, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥajjī: Ḥawādīth wa-Wafayāt 796–815 H.*, ed. Abū Yahyá 'Abd Allāh al-Kundarī (Beirut, 2003), 1:357–58; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:2:936; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 12:102; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:494–95; al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:22–23; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 1:335; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:524–25.

<sup>76</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 12:104.

<sup>77</sup>Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh made a similar request of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid II which lasted until his infant son Aḥmad was set aside by al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:227, 240–41; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:103, 176; al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:70–71. Subsequent Circassian sultans kept up the charade and their amirs deposed their sons to select a new sultan from among their ranks. Such was the case for several sultans including: Ṭaṭar (*Nujūm*, 14:205–6; *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:100–1), Barsbāy (*Nujūm*, 15:102; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:415–17) and Jaqmaq (*Nujūm*, 15:452–54; *Badā'i'*, 2:301). See also P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 189.

<sup>78</sup>In 841–42/1438, the caliph al-Mu'taḍid II briefly attempted to protect the heir of the sultan Barsbāy against the rising power of Jaqmaq, though he too ultimately had no choice but to support the new sultan. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 15:256; al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:53; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:197.



## Monthly Meetings with the Sultan and Chief Qadis

By the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, caliphs and qadis were expected to make monthly visits to the citadel to congratulate the sultan and renew the image of his proximity to religious notables. This was especially important for auspicious milestones such as moon sightings, festivals, or the sultan's triumphant return to Cairo.<sup>79</sup> The practice seems to date to the reign of Īnāl (857–65/1453–62) with the caliph al-Mustanjid (859–84/1455–79) and continued to the end of the Mamluk sultanate.<sup>80</sup> On most occasions, the caliph arrived at the citadel from his residence and upon his entry into the sultan's sitting room the latter would descend his throne to sit briefly beside the caliph who then departed. The qadis stayed behind to attend to religious business or offer their counsel.<sup>81</sup>

It was an occasion when the sultan could question the qadis, and occasionally the caliph, on ethics or the permissibility of certain actions such as the legality of securing funds from questionable sources.<sup>82</sup> The caliph likewise had a near-private audience with the sultan during which he might seek intervention in private or personal matters beyond his control.<sup>83</sup>

## A “Court of Appeals” in Early Ottoman Cairo

In the aftermath of Ottoman victory over Mamluk forces at Marj Dābiq and al-Raydānīyah in 922–23/1516–17, the last Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil III (914–23/1508–17) received a new lease on power and authority from the Ottoman sultan Selim in occupied Cairo.<sup>84</sup> A description from Ibn Iyās is most intriguing:

<sup>79</sup>On one such occasion to mark Qāyṭbāy's return to Cairo in Jumādā I 891/May 1486, the caliph and the qadis greeted him during a celebration and the city was decorated. See Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty*, 106.

<sup>80</sup>The earliest occurrences appear to have taken place during the reign of al-Mustanjid (859–84/1455–79), although the chief qadis had been attending the meetings for some time. Beginning with al-Mustanjid, Ibn Iyās scarcely fails to begin a month without taking note of the caliph appearing before the sultan.

<sup>81</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 16:218; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, 327.

<sup>82</sup>On most occasions the caliph was dismissed before legal questioning of the qadis began, though on some occasions his opinion was solicited. Schimmel described the monthly meetings as the only official duties of the caliph in the Circassian period (“Kalif und Kadi,” 22).

<sup>83</sup>The most salient example is the caliph al-Mustanjid seeking annulment of his daughter's marriage to the Syrian amir Khushqaldī al-Baysuqī in 876–77/1472. Despite initial obstruction by the chief qadis, the caliph secured the dissolution following a private meeting with Qāyṭbāy; see al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:62; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3:85.

<sup>84</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 5:147–58. In the wake of the battle, al-Mutawakkil III had been used by the Ottoman sultan Selim I to relay official messages to the last Mamluk sultan Ṭūmānbāy and his inner circle of amirs in Cairo.



In these days the caliph al-Mutawakkil enjoyed unlimited power in [Ottoman-occupied] Egypt as the chief executor and disposer of affairs (*ṣāhib al-ḥall wa-al-ʿaqd*). The princes and descendants of the [Mamluk] sultans loitered endlessly in the lobby of [the caliph's] residence ... His caliphal mission continued in Cairo and held clout among the ministers of the Ottoman sultan: [the caliph's] intervention on behalf of the populace was accepted and his colors were displayed on the façades of most Cairene dwellings. His pomp and authority in these days was comparable to the [former] sultan of Egypt. He received money and valuable gifts from the public, the like of which his forefathers and ancestors had never known.<sup>85</sup>

The caliph served as arbitrator in local disputes among Cairenes in search of Ottoman justice for injuries suffered during the reign of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. For the first time in Cairo, the caliph issued tentative rulings on issues brought before him. In one instance he ruled for the families of two administrators executed by Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's government due in part to the scheming of a vindictive qadi.<sup>86</sup> The families demanded bloody vengeance against the qadi, and when the caliph ruled in favor of blood money instead, both families dismissed his ruling and opted instead for a direct referral to the Ottoman sultan in Muḥarram 923/January–February 1517.<sup>87</sup>

Modern researchers, based on the lack of textual evidence, have dismissed the notion that al-Mutawakkil III conferred the caliphate on the Ottoman sultan during a transfer ceremony.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, the Ottomans were quick to appreciate the reverence Egyptians held for the caliphate in the conquered territory. They granted the Commander of the Faithful an important post as liaison between themselves and the Cairenes. Later on, the Ottomans deemed him important enough to bring back to Istanbul.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 5:157–58.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid. For the scandal and its aftermath, which led to the grievances filed against the qadi, see *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:340–48; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmuri (Beirut, 1999), 2:252. On this incident, see Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 149–51; Yossef Rapoport, "Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 1–2. On blood money in this period, see Carl F. Petry, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society* (Chicago, 2012), 207–11.

<sup>88</sup>The earliest versions of this story appeared in Western sources, notably in the works of Georgius Fabricius and Joannes Rosinus. In the late seventeenth century they stated that Selim forced the Abbasid caliph to abdicate, but made no claim that the sultan assumed the office himself. It was only in the twentieth century that scholars such as Wilhelm Barthold, Thomas Arnold, and George Stripling suggested a re-examination.



The Ottoman sultan was eager to use the caliph's prestige to reach understandings with insurgent Mamluk amirs in Cairo. In addition, the caliph acted as an intercessor between Selim and private individuals. That the Ottoman sultan briefly considered al-Mutawakkil III neutral does not rule out the possibility that he may have had other plans for the caliph to carry on in some capacity or other, had the greed of the latter not become a distracting spectacle.<sup>89</sup>

The fact that the Ottomans had decided to include the Abbasid caliph in a *sürgün* deportation to Istanbul says much about their perceptions of such a figure. We are told that Selim wanted to rid Cairo of all possible troublemakers: given the new influence the caliph already enjoyed for a brief period in post-Mamluk Cairo, Selim may well have feared revolt led in the caliph's name.<sup>90</sup> Even so, it seems strange that while Ṭümānbāy was executed as a common criminal, the caliph was treated respectably, honored, and even given a degree of judicial and political responsibility. Might it also have been that like the Mamluks, the Ottomans could appreciate having an Abbasid caliph on hand at a time when universal Islamic legitimacy was still extremely important amidst the absorption of new territory?

In the brief interlude between Mamluk and Ottoman rule in the early sixteenth century, the religious authority of the Abbasid caliphate continued to hold minor importance in the vacuum left by the Mamluks shortly before Egypt formally became an Ottoman province. The Ottomans were swift in realizing its universal importance which potentially underwrote both Mamluk and Ottoman pretensions to power and could be an incoming ruler's door to immediate religious legitimacy in the eyes of the people, who again, were greatly dismayed when the caliph was taken to Istanbul in 923/1517, confirming Cairo's demotion to province after having been an imperial center in its own right for nearly two and a half centuries.<sup>91</sup>

### Abbasid Authority in the Eyes of Foreign Visitors

Though most other Europeans passing through Mamluk territory overlooked the Abbasid caliph, preferring instead to focus on the sultan and his circle, the observations of Emmanuelle Piloti (ca. 1371–1438?), a merchant and commercial entrepreneur from Venetian Crete, provided a unique interpretation of the caliphate's function from a visitor's perspective.

<sup>89</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 5:317–18.

<sup>90</sup>As indeed revolts led on behalf of Abbasid caliphs had threatened Mamluk sultans in the past. See Lutz Wiederhold, "Legal-Religious Elite, Temporal Authority, and the Caliphate in Mamluk Society: Conclusions Drawn from the Examination of a 'Zahiri Revolt' in Damascus in 1386," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999): 203–35.

<sup>91</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 5:183–85.



In his initial descriptions of the Egyptian population, Piloti writes of the inhabitants of Cairo (“Rome of the pagans”), stating that it is from among the ranks of a vastly innumerable Egyptian population that “their caliph and pope is made.”<sup>92</sup> It is clearly a visitor’s misunderstanding that the caliph would be elected from mundane Cairenes rather than the Abbasid family living in confinement, but one wonders about the source of the misconception. Perhaps Piloti’s informants were other Egyptian merchants who saw the caliphs as descendants of a great Arab aristocracy more closely resembling their own culture than that of the “foreign” Mamluk ruling elite. The understanding that the caliph came from Egyptian stock is set against a separate class of inhabitants of Cairo, the “slaves brought from every Christian nation, of whom are made mamluks, amirs and sultans.”<sup>93</sup> He writes of divisions between the three classes of Egyptian Arabs, Bedouins, and Circassian mamluks, likening them to the feuding Guelphs and Ghibellines of northern and central Italy whose loyalties were split between the pope and the Roman emperor.<sup>94</sup>

Two interesting anecdotes, most likely involving the Cairo caliph al-Mustaʿin or his successor al-Muʿtaḍid II, made their way into Piloti’s text. Both items shed light on how the Circassian Mamluks may have presented the Abbasid caliphate to non-Muslim visitors. The first of them mentions the Well of the Virgin in Maṭariyah, a popular destination for Christian pilgrims, significant for its legendary status as the area in which Jesus and Mary sheltered in Egypt. Near the holy site, local Christian gardeners manufactured a green medicinal balm produced from indigenous plants.<sup>95</sup> Bottling the balm for distribution, the gardeners, as a gesture of good faith, sent a generous portion to the court of the Mamluk sultan. Piloti describes a somber and impromptu ceremony that evolved to honor the gift’s arrival, involving the attendance of the patriarch of the Jacobites and the Cairo-dwelling patriarch of Constantinople. To demonstrate his own access to the holy men of his faith, the Mamluk sultan summoned the caliph, the four chief qadis, and other prominent ulama. The balm was placed on a fire and heated to a boil as the caliph and religious scholars sat adjacent to the patriarchs on opposite

<sup>92</sup>Emmanuel Piloti, *L’Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle d’après le traité d’Emmanuel Piloti de Crète (incipit 1420)*, ed. Pierre Herman Dopp (Cairo, 1950), 11.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 28–30. Christians flocked to the site for its significance in the life of Mary and sought the healing powers of the balm. See: *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384*, Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Jerusalem, 1948), 53–54, 106–8, 197–98; Félix Fabri, *Voyage en Égypte de Félix Fabri 1483*, tr. Jacques Masson, Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte 14 (Cairo, 1975), 385–98.



sides of the chamber, both groups quietly praying and chanting (or doing *dhikr*), as the heated balm changed from green to red.<sup>96</sup>

The early fifteenth century was also a time of heightened influence for the Catalan pirates based on the island of Cyprus, leading to troubled relations between the Mamluks and Catalans: acts of piracy followed by reprisals and interrupted trade.<sup>97</sup> Piloti writes that in 1411 during the reign of Faraj, a group of Tunisian merchants brought their cargo aboard a Catalan ship in Alexandria bound for Tunis and were instead brought to Catalonia and sold as slaves.<sup>98</sup> Relatives of the merchants complained to Faraj who, perhaps fearing the loss of lucrative contracts with the Catalans, found himself obliged to accept the brief of the Catalan consul that the Mamluk sultan should not interfere because his own subjects were not involved. According to Piloti, it was not until the reign of Shaykh that more prodding from the Tunisian families (who likely had interests in the merchandise seized by the Catalans as well) caused the Mamluk sultan unexpectedly to summon the Abbasid caliph to rule on the matter.<sup>99</sup> The Tunisians went before the “caliph and pope” to demand justice. Despite the protests of the same Catalan consul, the caliph “ruled” that the Catalans were responsible for 30,000 ducats worth of damages, half to be confiscated in Alexandria and the rest in Damascus. The consul wrote to Damascus advising his countrymen to flee rather than pay. When the sultan learned of his treachery, he had the consul beaten and confined in Alexandria with Catalan merchants ousted from his territories.<sup>100</sup> If the story can be believed, it is interesting that the caliph should be chosen to give the ruling, perhaps to relieve Catalan pressure on the sultan by exploiting the illusion that he was prisoner to the whims of the caliph.

In the case of a Muslim visitor, the Iranian Shafi‘i jurist and historian Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī (d. 928/1521) visited Mamluk territory at least twice during the late fifteenth century on two pilgrimages to the Ḥijāz and wrote admiringly of the Mamluks and the Abbasid caliph under their protection.<sup>101</sup> Ulrich Haarmann argued that Khunjī’s fundamental misrepresentation of the Abbasid caliphate of Cairo as “commander of the Mamluk vanguards” stemmed from nostalgia and idealism fueled by the author’s desire for a champion to stand against

<sup>96</sup>Piloti, *L’Égypte*, 30.

<sup>97</sup>Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 222.

<sup>98</sup>Piloti, *L’Égypte*, 110–11.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 111–12.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., 112; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 223. In addition to problems of chronology (Faraj ruled until 1412, not 1411), Ashtor has raised other questions about the veracity of this account.

<sup>101</sup>Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī-İşfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ‘ālam-ārā-yi amīnī*, ed. John E. Woods; abridged trans. Vladimir Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490, Turkmenica 12*, rev. ed. John E. Woods (London, 1992), 191; idem., *Sulūk al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī Muvahḥhid (Tehran, 1984), 365.



the Shi'ite Safavids in the form of an independent Sunni caliphate protected by the righteous Mamluk sultans.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, Khunji's time in Mamluk Egypt and his training with scholars such as Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī may have exposed him to a local culture that demonstrated some reverence for the position of the caliphal office, especially before foreign visitors. Thus Khunji's remarks may have been the result of his exposure to the court of Qāyṭbāy, which may have branched the sultan's protection of the caliphate as a sign of his just rule.<sup>103</sup>

### The Popular Relationship: Caliphate and Cairenes

Further clues about the caliph's religious authority in Mamluk times emerge from what little can be known about the caliph's relationship with the masses. It is difficult to make definitive statements about any such interaction in the absence of detailed sources on the subject, though Mamluk chroniclers and prosopographers reveal numerous incidents demonstrating the relationship between a collective public mood and the fate of the caliph.<sup>104</sup> Reports are non-specific though reflective of a popular demand for general well-being in matters of religion, particularly in affairs of the caliphate.

<sup>102</sup>Ulrich Haarmann, "Yeomanly Arrogance and Righteous Rule: Faḏl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunji and the Mamluks of Egypt," in *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, ed. Kambiz Eslami (Princeton, 1998), 120.

<sup>103</sup>Qāyṭbāy's alleged respect for the Abbasid caliphate during his reign was a point of discussion for the later courtiers of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. See Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is al-Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah*, published as *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī: Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh Miṣr fī Qarn al-Āshir Hijrī*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām (Cairo, 1941), 111.

<sup>104</sup>Several illustrations of this correlation are available in Mamluk sources: Abū Shāmah described the tremendous euphoria (*surūran 'aẓīman*) of the Syrian population upon the 659/1261 investiture of the caliph al-Mustaṣṣir in Cairo ('Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismā'īl Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābi'*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kawtharī [Beirut, 1974], 213); al-Ṣafadī mentioned the grief and tears shed by the people (*al-nās*) in 737/1337 when the caliph al-Mustakfī and the entire Abbasid clan of one hundred souls were exiled to Qūṣ by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Āṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr*, ed. Māzin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mubārak [Beirut, 1998], 2:420–21). Later Mamluk sources commented on widespread jubilation over the caliph al-Musta'in's investiture as sultan in 815/1412 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 2:509; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, 2:86; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:825) and later the atmosphere of confusion and resentment that plagued local mosques after that caliph's deposition and exile to Alexandria (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 4:303–4). Finally, Ibn Iyās mentioned the great worry and sadness Cairenes felt concerning the fate of the last caliph after the Ottomans exiled him to Istanbul in 923/1517 (*Badā'i'*, 5:183–85). One important instance of public opinion going against the caliph was in 709/1309 when the caliph al-Mustakfī invested the comparatively unpopular Baybars (II) al-Jāshnikir as a candidate to stand against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's incoming third reign (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:146).



We might suggest that Cairenes (both members of the military and the civilian elite) recognized the caliph as a source of Islamic authority, culture, and tradition, thereby interpreting his mere presence in the capital as a perpetuation of order and unbroken continuity going back to the Rightly-Guided caliphs of the seventh century. The Mongol conquest of Baghdad had been a serious upset and awareness of the loss of the caliphate had remained a recent memory for many. If the sultans disturbed the caliphate, they could often expect disquiet from sections of the population including their own inner circle.<sup>105</sup>

Excluding a brief interlude in the late thirteenth century when the Mamluk establishment began to consider the degradation of Abbasid nobility through fraternization with the local population,<sup>106</sup> the caliphs themselves may never have been as accessible to ordinary Cairenes as they were during their maintenance of the Nafisī shrine. Nowhere else could outsiders to the worlds of politics and official religion cross paths with the Abbasid caliph. The caliph himself was said to have held court in the shrine, as he sat inside and looked on as visitors and pilgrims came with donations for the chest and to pay respects to himself and Sayyidah Nafisah.<sup>107</sup>

The caliph, perhaps inadvertently, appeared to oppose members of the orthodox ulama who denounced shrine practices outside of *sharʿī* norms in their writ-

<sup>105</sup> Whether the sultan's intimates were moved by the plight of the caliph or in search of political opportunity is difficult to say. The ability to manipulate uncertainties around the Abbasid caliphate was certainly an avenue available to potential challengers of the incumbent sultan. A minor upset at the court of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad occurred among scholars and notables after the sultan appointed the unpopular Abbasid prince Ibrāhīm to the caliphate at the expense of the previously named successor (al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 1:70; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:2:503; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1:1:474). Early Circassian sultans likewise faced off against ambitious amirs rebelling on the grounds that the sultan had displaced the Abbasid caliph: In 791/1389 the amir Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī raised the caliphal banners against Barqūq for imprisoning the caliph (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ*, 1:365 and 2:344; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:2:595; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:262–63.); al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's former partner Nawrūz al-Ḥāfizī rebelled after Shaykh seized the sultanate at the expense of the caliph al-Mustaʿin, in whose name Nawrūz carried out a rebellion of his own (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:7).

<sup>106</sup> It was not the first time that Mamluk authorities permitted the caliphs to mix with common people outside the citadel walls. However, fearing sedition from rivals, Baybars, Qalāwūn, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad were careful about allowing the caliph to socialize with either the military elite or Cairene civilians (Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn*, 55). Barqūq relaxed restrictions on the caliph al-Mutawakkil as a conciliatory measure after having imprisoned the caliph for six years (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, 2:84). Retired or exiled caliphs were sometimes permitted freedom of movement from their living quarters as they pleased. On retirement conditions for al-Mustaʿin in Alexandria, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 7:63; al-Sakhāwī, *Dawʿ*, 4:20; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 406; and for al-Mustamsik (903–14/1497–1508, 922–23/1516–17) in Cairo, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:252.

<sup>107</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:785.



ings.<sup>108</sup> Instead, he lent his support to the popular religion of the *‘ammah* who cherished and revered figures like Sayyidah Nafisah. There was some compulsory recognition of the arrangement, however, as the sultan ordered the four qadis to commemorate each new caliph’s investiture as overseer of the shrine and publicly read accompanying documents. All that demonstrated the caliph’s relationship between the political and official religious worlds of the citadel as well as a minor foray into the realm of popular piety.<sup>109</sup>

Abbasid association with the shrine may even have strengthened its draw as a place of pilgrimage while inadvertently bestowing some official approval by the heads of the religious establishment left with no choice but to endorse it.

Some religious authority for the Mamluks came partially from the caliphate’s resonance with the people. In spite of the diminished political authority of the office by Mamluk times, the caliph remained a symbol of cosmic order in Islamdom among the Sunni masses, a symbol of power that the ruling elite ignored at its peril.<sup>110</sup>

Notwithstanding the political fragmentation of the Islamic world after the Mongol conquests, Marshall Hodgson describes Islamic society during the two centuries after 1250 as firm in what it expected and expressed in its social and cultural life, despite the instability of its political expressions.<sup>111</sup> Although many institutions and practices were in a state of flux, the cultural significance of the Abbasid caliphate was undisputed in Mamluk times and remained a constant in a world of shifting political variables, particularly on the Mamluk domestic front with its roiling factions. Indeed, Hodgson recognized the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a period of unusual continuity amidst dramatically changing condi-

<sup>108</sup>Rāḡib, “Al-Sayyidah Nafisa,” 38. See also Jonathan P. Berkey, “The Mamluks as Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 166–67. On ulama who supported both popular shrine practices and cemetery visitation (*ziyārah*) in the Mamluk period, see Ohtoshi, “Cairene Cemeteries,” 97–99.

<sup>109</sup>Another instance occurs in the 690/1291 *khutbah* that al-Ashraf Khalil commissioned from the caliph al-Ḥākīm. Auspicious astrological alignments were certainly important to the Mamluks before battle and the caliph’s sermon deliberately touched upon such astral formations that might not have been deemed appropriate subject matter among the conservative ulama. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Alṭāf*, 14.

<sup>110</sup>The theme of the caliphate’s links to the perpetuation of the corporeal world is explored in several caliphal investiture documents from the Mamluk period. See notably the relevant passages in Faḡl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s *‘ahd* for al-Ḥākīm II (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 9:320–31) and the *walī al-‘ahd* document from al-Mutawakkil to his son al-Musta‘īn (*Ṣubḥ*, 9:369–77).

<sup>111</sup>Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago, 1974), 2:371.



tions and historical tendencies.<sup>112</sup> The Islamic cultural and social order counted for a great deal among the ulama and by default the ruling Mamluk class. It was thus that the major sources supporting the viability of Abbasid authority were little more than the cultural forces of history and tradition, that enabled it to survive from its installation by Baybars down through the early months of the Ottoman conquest. The profound resilience of Abbasid prestige therefore had the strength to survive the Mongols' destruction of its seat in Baghdad and endured well beyond the late thirteenth century. As in earlier times, tradition and collective memory strengthened the caliphate's religious authority in its new home in Mamluk Cairo as the Mamluks incorporated the Abbasid caliphate into their own investiture customs, making it something uniquely "Mamluk" as well as "Islamic."

## Conclusion

Support, whether feigned or authentic, for the authority of a universal caliphate legitimized the Mamluk sultanate as a classical Islamic state and recast the sultan as the caliph's deputy. The Abbasid caliph, from atop his theoretical position in the Mamluk hierarchy, allowed all three branches of government administration—military, bureaucratic, and religious—to derive authority from his presence in Cairo.<sup>113</sup> The focus for caliphal authority and its legitimating power was the investiture ceremonies for new sultans in Egypt as well as documents of authority provided to rulers abroad who were potential trading partners for the Mamluks.

Just as the Abbasid caliphs were a continuation of their antecedents in Baghdad, the Mamluk sultans were following the footsteps of their predecessors the Saljuqs and Ayyubids.

The purpose and meaning of the caliphal investiture as political pageantry needs further exploration. Even if most of our knowledge about the caliphs comes from their participation in ceremonies, this does not mean that the caliph was a marginal figure for the Mamluks. The inherent religious authority of the caliphal ideal made the office something that could never be permanently extinguished. Even in moments when sultans went as far as to remove a caliph's name from coinage and Friday *khutbahs*, none of them ever dared abolish the caliphate itself

<sup>112</sup>Ibid, 2:371–85. Jonathan P. Berkey has since reexamined ideas of continuity and cultural stagnation in this period. See Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle, 2001), 93–94; idem, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800* (Cambridge, 2003), 184; idem, "Mamluks as Muslims," 165–68.

<sup>113</sup>For an illustration of the Mamluk hierarchy with the Abbasid caliphate at its summit, see "The Mamluk Chain of Command," in *The Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (London, 1991), 110–11.



and rule solely by their own virtue.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, it looks as though the caliph's mere presence, in the eyes of the ruler that protected him, provided the latter with a power akin to sacred magic.

In any case, the caliphate's position in Mamluk society appeared to satisfy all parties. The caliphs themselves, with few exceptions, did little to seek a greater role than what they had. If ever they forayed into active politics, voluntarily or not, the sultans or ruling magnates ultimately made them regret it. For its part, the religious establishment also tended to withhold support for any increase of the caliph's political power. A few ulama were highly sympathetic to this trend and revered both the person of the caliph and his office, but many others maintained a suspicious indifference, perhaps fretful that the caliphate might threaten their own role as "guardians of Islam." Overall, both the amirs and the religious scholars tended to support the status quo.

The sultans and the ulama were most aware of the inherent religious authority of an office that might be manipulated for their own interests.<sup>115</sup> Investiture documents suggest the concept that government stability was dependent on a caliph's making prayers for the best outcomes (*istikhārah*) and promulgation of the state. The ulama did not consider the caliphs solely as window-dressing and recognized that the caliphate had its place in the government throughout the span of the sultanate. The Mamluks likewise adopted the ulama's understanding and made the caliph a vital part of their succession rituals and ceremonial. For an upstart faction to seek wider authority or crown one of their own as sultan was unthinkable without the tacit blessing of the Abbasid caliph.

Apart from having them at the investiture ceremonies, the regime emphasized the religious role of the caliphs by making them the centerpiece in public rituals seeking relief from drought and plague as well as denouncing the infidelity of official enemies.

<sup>114</sup>This does not mean, however, that the sultans would not have considered it, had it been possible. See Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat*, 194.

<sup>115</sup>Amidst the confusing atmosphere surrounding the death of Qāyṭbāy in Ṣafar 902/October 1496 al-Suyūṭī used his ties to the caliph al-Mutawakkil II to attempt to secure religious authority in Egypt. Al-Suyūṭī famously advanced the idea of a newly-created post of "grand qadi" (*qāḍī kabīr*) and persuaded al-Mutawakkil II to name him to the office with his caliphal sanction, to the irritation of the four qadis, who promptly rejected the move and denounced the caliph's authority (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, 3:339). Al-Suyūṭī's student and biographer 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī includes a portion of the document allegedly composed by al-Mutawakkil II. See *Bahjat al-Ābidīn bi-Tarjamat Ḥāfiẓ al-Āṣr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* (Damascus, 1998), 172–74. On this curious episode, see also D. S. Margoliouth, "The Caliphate Historically Considered," *Moslem World* 11 (1921): 335; Schimmel, "Kalif und Kadi," 31–32; idem, "Some Glimpses," 357; Garcin, "Histoire," 37, 64–65; Elizabeth Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, no. 23 (Cambridge, 1975), 1:91–93; Marlis J. Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 78.



The Abbasid caliph provided a measure of common ground between the religious establishment and the political administration, and received a muted role in both spheres while providing access and relevance in both worlds. The caliphate's authority was not confined exclusively to the official political or religious spheres of Mamluk society, but it also played an important role in folk religious traditions such as the *mawlid* festivals celebrating the birth of the Prophet,<sup>116</sup> the practices at the shrine of Sayyidah Nafīṣah, and funerary rites to mark the deaths of popular sultans—sometimes, perhaps, at the cost of alienating it from more conservative elements among the ulama.

Changing political realities also dictated the function of the Cairo caliphate, given as it was to tumultuous Mamluk factionalism. Establishing a periodization or otherwise chronicling the continuity of the Cairo caliphate as a cohesive institution has thus been a difficult process. Nevertheless, the mysterious pressure which fed the demand for a caliphate and the sultans' inability to dispose entirely of the caliph implies that the existence of a functioning caliphate somewhere in the world remained a point of interest to both Muslim rulers and their subjects.

While indeed, arguably little was left to the caliph in terms of tangible religious or political authority, his presence was felt to a degree on the political scene. The *milieu* demanded that he have significance and the Mamluk establishment perceived it as a reality, though one that could easily be set aside. While much of it was undoubtedly theatre, it seems to have symbolized a good deal more than the legitimization of Mamluk sultans.

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<sup>116</sup> Al-Malāṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:372–73.



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## New Source, New Debate: Re-evaluation of the Mamluk-Timurid Struggle for Religious Supremacy in the Hijaz (Paris, BnF MS ar. 4440)

### Introduction

As the spiritual center of Islam, with the two holy cities, the Hijaz always was a highly-esteemed place for the Muslim community in general and a strategic stronghold for rulers in particular. Indeed, every year, believers from all over the Muslim world gathered in Mecca for the pilgrimage. Mecca thus served as a powerful medium of legitimization and supremacy for rulers seeking the supreme leadership of the Muslim community. In early times, this role was reserved to the caliph only, since he held both spiritual and secular power. However, over time, with Islamic unity disintegrating, Hijazi reality tended toward more complexity. This is particularly striking with the establishment of a dynasty of sharifs in Mecca during the mid-fourth/tenth century. From that date onwards, the Hijaz developed into a nearly independent territory that symbolically recognized the caliphate's authority during the pilgrimage. Mecca hence became, more than ever, the arena in which rulers competed for religious supremacy and this under the aegis of the sharifs, who frequently moved from one allegiance to another by selling their recognition to the highest bidder.<sup>1</sup>

This pattern is well illustrated throughout the period of Mamluk rule (648–922/1250–1517). With the destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad (656/1258), the Hijaz, and especially Mecca, gained in significance for nascent dynasties seeking to legitimate their rule. Rulers would thus expend substantial efforts there to impose themselves as supreme representatives of the Muslim community. This competition is best seen during the pilgrimage, when the sharifs bestowed recognition in front of the community of believers gathered for the occasion. If the Mamluk sultans would eventually win this competition, their position, however, would never stay unchallenged.

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<sup>1</sup>A. J. Wensinck, “Makka,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:148.



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Exchanges between the Mamluks and the Timurids in the aftermath of Timur's death (807/1405) have always been seen through this particular lens of struggle for religious supremacy in the Hijaz based on Shāh Rukh's desire to send the *kiswah* for the Ka'bah. The *kiswah* is the veil the supreme representative of the Muslim community sent every year on the occasion of the pilgrimage to cover the Ka'bah. It constituted, along with the *khuṭbah* and the *maḥmal*, the most powerful symbol of a ruler's ascendancy or claim for ascendancy over the holy cities. For this reason, it was the most contested prerogative among Muslim rulers.

Since Baybars' first dispatch of the sacred veil in 661/1263, Mamluks made clear their claim to send the *kiswah*. This prerogative would even be sanctioned in a treaty signed by the sharif Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū Numayy (r. 652–701/1254–1301) and sultan Qalāwūn in 681/1282.<sup>2</sup> Despite the Mamluks' attempt to keep this prerogative exclusively theirs, however, many Muslim rivals (i.e., Rasulids, Ilkhanids) would send the *kiswah* over time, thus trying to assert their own claim for religious supremacy in the Hijaz. Shāh Rukh's request to sultans Barsbāy and Jaqmaq has therefore been read from this perspective.

Yet this assumption now requires re-evaluation based on the recent revelation of an unpublished source that sheds new light on the event, namely MS ar. 4440 (Paris, BnF).<sup>3</sup> This manuscript is a collection of copies of letters (*munsha'ah*) that was made by an anonymous secretary working at the chancery of Cairo during the second half of the fifteenth century. Of the sixty-two letters it contains, ten concern the exchanges between the Mamluks and the Timurids, among which four deal with the Timurid sending of the *kiswah*: letters XLI (fols. 171b–172b: from Shāh Rukh to Jaqmaq), XLII (fols. 172b–175a: Jaqmaq's response to Shāh Rukh), LXII (fols. 210a–210b: Jaqmaq's response to Muḥammad Jūki), and XLIV

<sup>2</sup>A copy of this treaty is contained in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–14; repr. 1963), 13:318–19; also in Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā bi-Akḥbār Umm al-Qurā*, ed. F. M. Shaltūt (Mecca, 1983–90), 3:114–15.

<sup>3</sup>The manuscript was revealed in 2007 by Frédéric Bauden, "Les Relations diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks circassiens et les autres pouvoirs du *Dār al-Islām*: L'apport du ms. ar. 4440 (BNF, Paris)," *Annales Islamologiques* 41 (2007): 1–29. Though known in the past, it seems to have fallen into oblivion. See G. S. Colin, "Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques entre les musulmans d'Occident et l'Égypte au xve siècle," *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 3, Orient islamique (Cairo, 1935–40), 197–206; Aḥmad Darrāg, "Risālatān bayna sultān Mālwah wa-al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy," *Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 4 (1377/1958), 97–123; Ḥabīb Zayyāt, "Athar Unuf: Nuskhāt Qiṣṣah Waradat ilā al-Abwāb al-Sharīfah al-Sultānīyah al-Malakīyah Īnāl min al-Muslimīn al-Qāṭīnīn Lishbūnah," *Al-Machriq* 35 (1937): 13–22. Darrāg, in his monograph devoted to Barsbāy, also used the Mamluk-Timurid material preserved in the MS ar. 4440; however, his processing of the data is somewhat incomplete. See Darrāg, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbāy 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961).



(fols. 177a–178b: Jaqmaq’s response to ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah).<sup>4</sup> The corpus shows that Shāh Rukh’s request did not, in fact, concern the traditional *kiswah*, the black veil covering the Ka‘bah, but rather the inner one (*ilbās dākhil al-ka‘bah; kiswat dākhil al-ka‘bah*). While most secondary sources seem to ignore this fact, some primary sources (i.e., Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī, Ibn Iyās, and the Meccan historian Ibn Fahd) reported the event with several details confirming the data found in MS ar. 4440.

In the present article, I will use this new source to reopen the debate on the so-called religious struggle between the Mamluks and the Timurids in the first half of the fifteenth century. After presenting the general context surrounding Shāh Rukh’s request and the facts described by both the corpus of letters and the chronicles, I will concentrate my analysis on the study of the meaning and use of the inner *kiswah* within the larger context of religious supremacy as seen by Muslim rulers themselves, especially during the Mamluk period. For each section, I will review the main struggles for religious supremacy that were scattered throughout Mamluk history and present the different actors and their claims as well as Mamluk responses to these challenges. Investigating the details of such claims, I will attempt to determine the meaning of Shāh Rukh’s request and re-evaluate the extent of his Hijazi pretensions.

## The Facts

By the time Shāh Rukh sent his first embassy to Barsbāy to request his sending of the *kiswah* (828/1424), Mamluk sultans had already established strong links with the Hijaz and the sharifs. It seems clear that the Mamluks originally aimed at imposing a true sovereignty over the Hijaz. The first two treaties concluded with the sharif Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū Numayy in 667/1269 (Baybars)<sup>5</sup> and in 681/1282 (Qalāwūn) ordered both the *sikkah* to be minted and the *khuṭbah* to be delivered in the Mamluk sultan’s name. However, the sultans soon realized the difficulty of the task. In fact, due to the “principle of political isolation” that characterizes Mecca and the Hijaz,<sup>6</sup> the sharifs were able to keep themselves from complete submission. The Mamluk sultans, moreover, had to recognize that they

<sup>4</sup>The letters’ numbers follow those assigned by F. Bauden in his article “Les Relations diplomatiques.”

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:93. In exchange, Abū Numayy received a *taqlīd* granting him the amirate. The sharif had previously written the Mamluk sultan to ask him for the grant of the amirate for himself, over his uncle Idrīs.

<sup>6</sup>C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Qatadah’s Policy of Splendid Isolation of the Hijaz,” *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922), 440. Also in John L. Meloy, *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade: Mecca and Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 2010), 12.



needed the sharifs to deal with the complex environment of the region (in particular the factions and tribes). This is directly connected to another feature of the region's politics that also explains the sharifs' acceptance of occasional foreign interventions in their affairs, a feature John L. Meloy describes as the principle of brokerage.<sup>7</sup>

Because of the presence of the holy cities in the Hijaz, the sharifs could not completely break every tie they had with the caliphs or Muslim rulers nor deny them their role as religious representatives of the Muslim community. As already mentioned, they even took advantage of this situation by selling their recognition to the highest bidder among rival rulers. On the other hand, reliance on a nominal authority proved to be of some appeal for the sharifs. Indeed, if Muslim rulers needed the sharifs to maintain stability in the regions, the sharifs needed the recognition of a higher power to acknowledge their supremacy over other Hijazi factions. The principle of brokerage thus acted as a pact of mutual recognition for each party's prerogatives in the region. This dynamic became particularly striking during the period of Mamluk rule. Despite their initial attempts at imposing true sovereignty over the Hijaz, the Mamluk sultans came to tolerate the brokerage principle as long as their interests in the Hijaz were protected.

As for the Mamluk sultans' interests, Meloy has further shown that during the first part of their sultanate (Turkish period), the sultans were essentially concerned with ensuring the safety of the pilgrimage itself. Their domination of the Hijaz was thus only seasonal in nature during this period.<sup>8</sup> So long as their prerogative was respected, the sultans accepted the sharifs' autonomy during the remainder of the year. In return, the sharifs were granted a decree (*marsūm*) that sanctioned their own supremacy over rival factions. The Mamluk sultans' prerogative, however, was sold by the sharifs many times to other pretenders, provoking retaliations from the sultans and a progressive expansion of their control in the region. During the second period of their sultanate (from the 820s/1420s), the sultans actually began interfering with the sharifate's own politics, expanding their control by seizing more and more resources (taxes) while drastically reducing the sharifs' share.<sup>9</sup> They also established a permanent military garrison in Mecca from Barsbāy's reign onward (r. 825–41/1422–38).<sup>10</sup> If this action allowed the sultan to acquire substantial new income, he nevertheless failed to dominate the sharifs, who continued to play with the Mamluks' dearest prerogative: religious supremacy in the holy cities.

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<sup>7</sup>Meloy, *Imperial Power*, 81–112.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 94–102.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 113–39.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 125–31.



Shāh Rukh's first embassy to Barsbāy coincided with the period of the Mamluks' increasing control over the Hijaz. Moreover, the nature of his request was a sensitive issue since it dealt with the sultans' prerogative and thus constituted a threat to their nominal supremacy in Mecca. For this reason, the events related to the twenty years (828–48/1424–44) of diplomatic exchanges between the Timurids and the Mamluks is well documented by contemporary sources. My own comparison of the literary sources and the letters of MS ar. 4440 shows that, of the twenty embassies listed, half actually did concern the Timurid sending of the *kiswah*. I will now recapitulate these exchanges.

Already the first account related to exchanges between Shāh Rukh and Barsbāy (Muḥarram 828/December 1424) concerns the *kiswah* matter, mentioning Shāh Rukh's special request to send the inner *kiswah* (*kiswat al-ka'bah min dākhil al-bayt*).<sup>11</sup> Although Barsbāy's response to this first embassy is not reported, the events of the year 833/1429–30 show he refused the request. In fact, that year alone, Shāh Rukh sent no less than four separate embassies to Cairo, at least one of which clearly dealt with the matter of the *kiswah* (Muḥarram 833/October 1429).<sup>12</sup> Although the authors reporting the event do not mention which *kiswah* was meant, they do inform us that in his letter Shāh Rukh was also asking to repair the springs of Mecca. Along with these two requests, Shāh Rukh also asked Barsbāy whether he could acquire books for the Royal Library.<sup>13</sup> Apparently, Barsbāy not only refused the three queries but also completely neglected the Timurid envoy. Accordingly, when Shāh Rukh sent his third embassy to Cairo (on 23 Ramaḍān 833/15 June 1430),<sup>14</sup> he plainly showed his discontent. His letter was not sealed, and instead of the *basmalah*, it began with *sūrat al-fīl*—a clear reference to the Abyssinians, who tried to seize Mecca during the *jāhiliyah* and were destroyed by God.<sup>15</sup> Shāh Rukh further addressed Barsbāy as *amīr*, thereby indicating his first claim over the Mamluks since Timur's death (807/1405).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1972), 3:342.

<sup>12</sup>On 21 Muḥarram: al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭaṭṭāwī (Cairo, 1989), 2:370–71. On 24 Muḥarram: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 2nd ed., 2007), 4:2:818; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 2006), 14:336; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 3:178.

<sup>13</sup>In his letter Shāh Rukh asks Barsbāy to obtain two books: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

<sup>14</sup>Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān*, 2:376; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:833; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:197; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 3:440.

<sup>15</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:833; Quran 105:1–5.

<sup>16</sup>From the time of Shāh Rukh's accession to the Timurid throne, he had never indicated any claims over the Mamluk sultanate; on the contrary, he maintained good relations with Barsbāy's predecessors, al-Muʿayyad Shaykh and Ṭaṭar. See Malika Dekkiche, "Diplomacy at Its Zenith: A



Five years later (Muḥarram 838/August–September 1434),<sup>17</sup> the Timurid ruler undertook a new effort to provide the inner *kiswah* (*min dākhil al-bayt*).<sup>18</sup> The letter brought by his emissary, the *sayyid* Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alī, may date from Dhū al-Ḥijjah 836/July–August 1433, but its arrival was delayed because of the *sayyid*’s travel on the pilgrimage.<sup>19</sup> Barsbāy received him during the *dār al-‘adl* session in the *īwān* at the Citadel, with the judges and the notables. Apparently, Shāh Rukh had already made the precious veil, valued at 12,000 dinars.<sup>20</sup> In spite of such efforts and intentions (he sent Barsbāy many precious gifts, worth 3000 dinars),<sup>21</sup> Shāh Rukh was once again denied the privilege of sending the inner *kiswah*. After deliberation, the judges justified their decision on the pretext that this prerogative belonged only to the sultans of Egypt.<sup>22</sup>

This new affront aroused enmity in Shāh Rukh. As a result, his last two embassies to Barsbāy had no other aim but to assert his claim over the Mamluk sultanate. First, on 4 Shawwāl 838/5 May 1435,<sup>23</sup> he sent a threatening letter to Barsbāy, revealing his intention to enter the Mamluk lands on his way to Jerusalem and complaining about the sultan’s customs policies in Jeddah as well as the bribes given to the judges.<sup>24</sup> Second, in the following year (late Jumādā II 839/mid-January 1436),<sup>25</sup> he sent Barsbāy a robe and crown and ordered him to mention his name both at the Friday *khuṭbah* and on the coins.<sup>26</sup> Barsbāy’s rage was such that the messenger, Shaykh Ṣafā/Safar Shāh,<sup>27</sup> was beaten and thrown into freezing water. While such a serious deterioration in relations could have led to a significant military confrontation, internal troubles in the Timurid realm, as

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Case Study of Mamluk and Timurid Agreement on the Dispatch of the Kiswah,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society* (forthcoming).

<sup>17</sup>On 24 Muḥarram/30 August: Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:454. On 27 Muḥarram/2 September: Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:927; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:48.

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:49; Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:927.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:49.

<sup>20</sup>Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:454.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:48–49.

<sup>22</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:932.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 4:2:946; *ibid.*, 4:3:1187; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:59.

<sup>24</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:59. Unclear is whether Shāh Rukh refers here to the judges involved in the *dār al-‘adl* session earlier that year.

<sup>25</sup>On 28 Jumādā II/18 January: al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:968. On 29 Jumādā II/19 January: al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:471.

<sup>26</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:969; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:73. Earlier that year (Ṣafar 839/September 1435), Shāh Rukh had also sent robes to the Ottomans, Qaramanids, Dulqadirids, and Aq Qoyunlu. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:957; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:63.

<sup>27</sup>Safar Shāh: al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:471. Shaykh Ṣafā: al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:2:968; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:72.



well as Barsbāy's death soon after, ultimately quelled hostilities. Thus, with Jaqmaq's accession to the throne (r. 842/1438), relations between the Mamluks and the Timurids greatly improved.

The chroniclers' accounts we possess for early exchanges between Jaqmaq and the Timurids (842–45/1438–42) provide a considerable contrast to those of his predecessor. Furthermore, the letters preserved in MS ar. 4440 not only confirm these portrayals but also increase our knowledge of such exchanges substantially. On the one hand, they mention embassies not recorded by historians; on the other hand, they contain information regarding the motive and purpose of the missions unknown from chroniclers. This difference emerges, for example, with the inauguration of contacts between Jaqmaq and Shāh Rukh. MS. ar. 4440 provides the first letter Jaqmaq sent to Shāh Rukh after his accession to the throne: letter V (fols. 44a–45b), written in Ramaḍān 842/February 1439. The tone of the letter as well as the delegation sent to Herat (led by the great *dawādār* of Syria, Jijukbughā) clearly indicate Jaqmaq's wish to reconcile the two realms (*an takūn al-mamlakatānī ka-rūḥaynī fī jasad aw sādāynī fī 'aḍud*).<sup>28</sup> The Timurid historian al-Samarqandī, who reported the Mamluk embassy's arrival at Herat in 843/1439, confirms the good state of relations between the two sovereigns.<sup>29</sup>

It seems Shāh Rukh had similar intentions, for a Timurid embassy apparently reached Cairo at the same time (in Jumādā I 843/October 1439<sup>30</sup> or on 5–6 Jumādā II 843/14 November 1439<sup>31</sup>) to congratulate the new sultan.

The first mention of Shāh Rukh's request to furnish the inner *kiswah* for the Ka'bah appears in the corpus of MS ar. 4440 and dates to Sha'bān 846/December 1442 (letter XLI, fols. 171b–172b).<sup>32</sup> According to the letter's contents, Shāh Rukh had ostensibly expressed his wish—however unsuccessfully—as early as 843/1439.

<sup>28</sup>MS ar. 4440, fol. 44b.

<sup>29</sup>Samarqandī, *Maṭla'ī Sa'dāyn va Majma'ī Baḥrayn*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'i (Tehran, 2004), 2:1:483–87.

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:336–37; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā (Cairo, 2nd ed., 2008), 2:221.

<sup>31</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:3:1175–76; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, 2:529; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 4:132; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:164; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. 'Uthmān 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002), 5:106.

<sup>32</sup>On 14 Sha'bān/18 December, according to MS ar. 4440 (the letter was written on 2 Rabī' I 846/11 July 1442). Chroniclers report the arrival of a Timurid embassy in Sha'bān (without any specification of the day): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr fī Maḍā al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr*, ed. F. M. Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990), 49 (*quṣṣād min 'indi Shāh Rukh*); 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:164–65 (*qāṣid awlād Shāh Rukh*); al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Ashūr (Cairo, 2002–7), 1:118 (*quṣṣād min 'indi awlād Shāh Rukh*); Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:236. On 6 Sha'bān/10 December: al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, 2:584 (*quṣṣād min 'indi awlād Shāh Rukh*); al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:256 (*quṣṣād ibn Shāh Rukh*).



Indeed, as Jijukbughā was leaving Herat that year (18 Rajab/25 December), he was joined by a Timurid envoy, Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Mubārakshāh.<sup>33</sup> This embassy arrived in Cairo on 27 Rabīʿ I 844/August 1440<sup>34</sup> or 26 Rabīʿ II/24 September 1440,<sup>35</sup> but Mubārakshāh had died in Gaza just before (13 Rabīʿ II 844/11 September 1440)<sup>36</sup> and was thus unable to deliver his message. Letter XLI confirms this reconstruction<sup>37</sup> and mentions, in addition, the sending of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Majdī to complete the mission. In this letter, Shāh Rukh reminds the Mamluk sultan of his past wish to supply the inner veil (*ilbās dākhil al-kaʿbah*).

A similar letter sent by Shāh Rukh's son, Muḥammad Jūkī (d. 848/1444), reached Cairo as well, probably in the same period.<sup>38</sup> Although Jūkī's initial letter has not survived, MS ar. 4440 records Jaqmaq's answer, which summarizes its original content (letter LXII, fols. 210a–b). Even more, the corpus preserves Jaqmaq's response to Shāh Rukh's request: letter XLII (fols. 172b–175a). Both letters (LXII and XLII) attest Jaqmaq's agreement concerning the Timurid dispatch of the inner *kiswah*. From his response to Shāh Rukh (letter XLII), we learn that Jaqmaq was answering two letters brought by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Majdī: one regarding the inner *kiswah* request and a second on the subject of Shāh Rukh's desire to distribute money generated by the *awqāf* of his realm to the poor in Mecca.<sup>39</sup>

Whether al-Majdī brought the two letters in 846/1442 or came back to Cairo with the second the following year, in 27 Jumādā II 847/22 October 1443, remains uncertain;<sup>40</sup> nevertheless, Jaqmaq undoubtedly accepted both requests, and in the following year (Shaʿbān 848/November 1444 or Ramaḍān 848/December 1444),<sup>41</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn*, 2:1:483–87.

<sup>34</sup> Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:559–60.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 4:157; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:3:1208; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:198–99; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:342–43; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:122 (he does not mention the day).

<sup>36</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:3:1231; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalā Duwal al-Islām*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, ʿIṣām al-Ḥarastānī, Aḥmad al-Khaṭīmī (Beirut, 1995), 2:570.

<sup>37</sup> MS ar. 4440, fol. 172a.

<sup>38</sup> As shown in note 32 above, Mamluk authors mentioned several Timurid embassies that reached Cairo in Shaʿbān 846/December 1442. Though letter XLI explicitly states that this embassy refers to that of Shāh Rukh, an embassy from Jūkī probably arrived in the Mamluk capital soon thereafter (if not in the same month), which could explain the confusion made by the several authors.

<sup>39</sup> MS ar. 4440, fol. 173b.

<sup>40</sup> A Timurid embassy reached Cairo on this date to discuss the *kiswah* matter, though there is no specification as to whether it was the inner or outer one: al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:600; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:277; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, 64; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 1:164.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 2:244–45 (in Shaʿbān); al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Ḥumān*, 2:627 (on 14 Shaʿbān/26 November); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, 76, and idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:364 (15



the *kiswah* arrived in Cairo with a huge Timurid delegation led by two shaykhs, Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-Shaykh Junayd al-Kāzarūnī and Ibn al-Mawlā al-Abharī.<sup>42</sup> While chroniclers demonstrate great familiarity with the reception given to the delegation and those troubles which the amirs and people of Cairo caused the emissaries,<sup>43</sup> they ignore almost completely the nature of the *kiswah*, neglecting the inner one altogether.

To avoid additional trouble with the amirs and the people, Jaqmaq soon prepared the shaykhs to leave for the pilgrimage, and he sent the inner *kiswah* to Mecca in secret (*fī al-dassi*).<sup>44</sup> In addition, he gave the emissaries a response to Shāh Rukh's grandson, 'Alā' al-Dawlah (letter XLIV in MS ar. 4440, fols. 177a–178b). 'Alā' al-Dawlah had apparently sent a letter earlier that year to inform Jaqmaq of the upcoming arrival of the shaykhs, who were bringing the inner *kiswah*. In his reply, the Mamluk sultan maintains he honored his promise to Shāh Rukh with respect to the inner *kiswah*, and he further describes the emissaries' progress to Mecca with the veil, as well as the instructions he gave to the sharif. Jaqmaq also stresses the unique character of this agreement owing to his respect for the Timurid ruler.

Accordingly, the inner *kiswah* arrived in Mecca with the Egyptian caravan and was hung inside the Ka'bah on the Day of the Sacrifice (*yawm al-naḥr*).<sup>45</sup> Yet Shāh Rukh's inner *kiswah* was not hung alone: it rested alongside that of Barsbāy, which had been hung in 826/1423. Both *kiswahs* stayed there until Ramaḍān 856/September 1452,<sup>46</sup> when sultan Jaqmaq promulgated an edict (*marsūm*) ordering that they be replaced by his own.<sup>47</sup> The Meccan historian Ibn Fahd likewise reports that the Timurid envoys were bringing money from the Timurid *awqāf* to

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Sha'bān/27 November); al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 2:594–95, and idem, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 1:215–17 (14 Ramaḍān/ 25 December); 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:194–95 (Ramaḍān/December).

<sup>42</sup>The whole delegation reportedly totalled one hundred persons, among whom was Timur's widow. According to Ibn Taghribirdī, however (*Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, 76), and al-'Aynī (*Iqd al-ḡumān*, 2:627), she stayed in Damascus to join the Syrian caravan.

<sup>43</sup>The amirs and the people were very upset about Jaqmaq's agreement with Shāh Rukh's sending of the *kiswah*, so that despite Jaqmaq's effort to hide the veil from them, they attacked the Timurid envoys and plundered their residence (the total amount of their loss was 20,000 dinars). When he heard the news, Jaqmaq punished the rebels and made it up to the emissaries by giving them presents for a larger amount than what they actually had lost.

<sup>44</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:245.

<sup>45</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā'*, 4:238–39; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 2:594–95.

<sup>46</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:296; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 2:665.

<sup>47</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 2:665.



be given to the poor of Mecca, thereby confirming the data found in letter XLII. Given the small sum of money, however, only a few people benefited from it.<sup>48</sup>

This episode that finally closes twenty years of negotiations between the Mamluks and the Timurids concerning the dispatch of the inner *kiswah* also seems to mark the end of their contact, at least according to Mamluk historians. After 848/1444, Mamluk sources mention no more Timurid embassies in Cairo. Moreover, Shāh Rukh's death soon afterwards (850/1447) inaugurated a new phase of conflict within the Timurid dynasty so that the several opponents for power were much less concerned with the Hijazi region and its patronage. The notion of the absence of contact between the two rulers, though, requires further correction: MS ar. 4440 contains three additional and otherwise unknown letters later sent by Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (r. 855–73/1451–69) to the Mamluk sultan Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67).<sup>49</sup> These letters all concern the request for protection of Timurid pilgrims on their way to the holy cities.

The description of exchanges between Shāh Rukh and the Mamluks shows several striking examples of Timurid interests in the Hijaz. Indeed, beside the request relating to the inner *kiswah*, Shāh Rukh expressed other queries significant for religious involvement in the holy cities. As early as 833/1429, he had asked Barsbāy for permission to repair the wells of Mecca. In his letter that arrived in Cairo on 6 Shawwāl 838/5 May 1435, he complains about the customs policy and the *mukūs* (illegal taxes) established by the sultan in Jeddah. Finally, his last request to Jaqmaq concerned not only the inner *kiswah* but also the distribution of the money generated by the Timurid *awqāf* to the people of Mecca. We now turn to the meanings and stakes of Shāh Rukh's requests—especially with respect to the inner *kiswah*—as well as an analysis of them within the larger framework of religious supremacy.

## Religious Supremacy

As already mentioned, since the Mamluks could not assert true sovereignty over the Hijaz, their domination there was only seasonal, during the period of the pilgrimage. At that time, Mamluks made numerous efforts to assert their religious supremacy over other Muslim rivals. Beyond its religious nature, the pilgrimage represented the arena in which Muslim rulers competed for recognition as supreme leaders of the community of the believers. On this occasion, rulers generally sent a representative, the *amīr al-ḥajj*, who would not only lead the pilgrims to the holy cities but also ensure that the interests and prerogatives of his ruler would be maintained. In earlier periods, the *amīr al-ḥajj* was the caliph himself,

<sup>48</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 4:238–39.

<sup>49</sup>MS ar. 4440, fols. 167a–169b, 184b–187a, 187b–191a.



but over time, due to constant instability, rulers tended to designate a representative to attend the pilgrimage on their behalf.<sup>50</sup> This was the case during the Mamluk period, when only four sultans (Baybars; al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, three times; al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, and Qāyṭbāy) performed the pilgrimage.<sup>51</sup> For the occasion, the sultan gave the *amīr al-ḥajj* full political and executive powers, which he could exercise as he wished to maintain his ruler's supremacy in Mecca.<sup>52</sup>

Several patterns of religious supremacy in the holy cities emerge as either concrete markers of sovereignty, like the *khuṭbah* or the *sikkah* (both taking place outside the strict period of the pilgrimage), or symbolic efforts aimed at showing the role rulers intended to play in the Hijaz, like sending the *kiswah* and *maḥmal*. All these patterns were claimed early on by the Mamluk sultans, as illustrated by the two aforementioned treaties signed between the sharif Abū Numayy and Baybars (in 667/1269, concerning the *khuṭbah* and *sikkah* in the sultan's name as well as the annual payment of 20,000 dinars) and Qalāwūn (in 681/1282, dealing with not only the *khuṭbah* and *sikkah* but also the Mamluks' monopoly over supplying the *kiswah* in addition to the precedence of the Egyptian flags on Mount ʿArafah). According to the accounts preserved in contemporary sources, the sending of the *kiswah* and *maḥmal* represented the two domains most sought among rulers. I will now look at the details of these two practices alongside that of the *khuṭbah* and then evaluate the stakes of Shāh Rukh's request concerning the inner *kiswah*, further sketching the extent of his Hijazi pretensions more broadly.

## Kiswah

The *kiswah* is the veil that the supreme representative of the Muslim community sent each year during the pilgrimage to cover the Kaʿbah. Inherited from the pre-Islamic period, this practice continues to the present day. Because of its great importance, we are quite well informed about its development throughout Islamic history.<sup>53</sup>

In earlier times, *kiswahs* sent over the years were accumulated on the Kaʿbah, whose roof frequently threatened to collapse, though previous *kiswahs* were still

<sup>50</sup>On the earlier practice, see M. E. McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (London, 2011).

<sup>51</sup>ʿAbd Allāh ʿAnkawī, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca in Mamlūk Times," *Arabian Studies* 1 (1974): 151–52.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 153.

<sup>53</sup>Maurice Gaudet-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Kaʿbah," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 5–21; Richard Mortel, "The Kiswah: Its Origins and Development from Pre-Islamic Times until the End of the Mamluk Period," *Al-Uṣūr/Ages* 3, no. 2 (1988): 30–46; ʿAbd Allāh ʿAnkawī, "Kiswat al-Kaʿbah fi al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī," *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah* 5 (1985): 1–22; Abdelaziz Gouda, "Die Kiswah der Kaʿba in Mekka" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin, 1989).



removed randomly up until at least the third/ninth century.<sup>54</sup> The order of removing the *kiswah* generally came from the ruling caliph, who then left the task itself to the Banū Shaybah. The Banū Shaybah, the guardians of the Kaʿbah since the time of the Prophet, generally sold the old veil as a relic to pilgrims.<sup>55</sup> Over time, the *kiswah* encountered many changes pertaining to the dates of its hanging on the Kaʿbah,<sup>56</sup> its color,<sup>57</sup> and its fabrics.<sup>58</sup> Its role and meaning as the symbol of religious ascendancy, however, never changed: rather, it increased and even climaxed during the Mamluk period.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Baybars' first action with respect to the Hijaz was to send the sacred veil in 661/1263. During the entire Mamluk period, sultans devoted particular attention to the *kiswah*, and a special officer, the *nāzir kiswat al-Kaʿbah*, was even given the task of overseeing its manufacture in the *dār al-kiswah*.<sup>59</sup> While the *kiswah* of the early Turkish period was relatively simple—made of black silk with some white bands of calligraphy—its design and decoration developed considerably during the Circassian period, when the veil was embroidered with precious material (gold) and was constituted of a *ṭirāz* of white

<sup>54</sup>Mortel, "The Kiswah," 35.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 36; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Kaʿbah," 11; Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Clefs et Serrures de la Kaʿba: Notes d'Épigraphie arabe," *Revue des études islamiques* 39 (1971): 29–86.

<sup>56</sup>During the period of Umayyad and early Abbasid rule, several *kiswahs* were sent and hung at different times of the year (end of Ramaḍān, day of ʿĀshurāʾ, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah). It is only during the fourth/tenth century that the *kiswah* became more closely associated with the pilgrimage. See Mortel, "The Kiswah," 32–35.

<sup>57</sup>Nowadays, the *kiswah* is traditionally black, which traces back to the Abbasid period, but this was not always the case: earlier, the *kiswah* was white, and during Abbasid rule, sources even mention other colors (see Mortel, "The Kiswah," 32–34). The *kiswah* was white again under the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim (r. 386–411/996–1021), yellow in 466/1073–74 under the sultan Sebūktigin, and black and green during the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (r. 575–622/1180–1225). See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:277–84; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Kaʿba," 5–21; al-Fāṣī, *Al-Zuhūr al-Muqtaṭafah min Tārīkh Makkah al-Musharrāfah* (Riyadh, 1997), 52; idem, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām bi-Akhhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* (Beirut, 2000), 1:164–73. Regarding the *kiswah*'s size, see ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Araḥ al-Miskī fī al-Tārīkh al-Makkī* (Mecca, 1996), 159.

<sup>58</sup>Since the time of the *rāshidūn* caliphs, the Kaʿbah was customarily provided with a *kiswah* made in Egypt, and this practice seems to have persisted over time. See Mortel, "The Kiswah," 32–34. While the preferred material was Egyptian linen in earlier periods, silk soon became the preferred material (starting from Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, r. 60–64/680–83, or al-Ḥajjāj according to other traditions). See the aforementioned citations.

<sup>59</sup>William Popper, *Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955), 1:101. During the Turkish period, though, the veil was apparently made in the *dār al-ṭirāz* in Alexandria. See Mortel, "The Kiswah," 44.



or yellow silk on the eastern side.<sup>60</sup> Sultan Baybars inaugurated another feature followed by his successors: embroidery of the sultan's insignia.<sup>61</sup> The funds devoted to the preparation of the *kiswah* were provided by *waqf* money;<sup>62</sup> in fact, the sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 743–46/1342–45), bought the village of Baysūs and turned it into a *waqf*.<sup>63</sup> The veil was sent with the Egyptian *maḥmal* and hung on the Kaʿbah during the pilgrimage (on the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah: *yawm al-Naḥr*)<sup>64</sup> so the entire Muslim community could witness the ascendancy of the Mamluks.<sup>65</sup>

The prerogative theoretically given to the Mamluk sultan would be challenged by many foreign rulers over the course of the entire Mamluk period. From the beginning of their rule, the Mamluks faced a major threat in the sending of the *kiswah* from the Rasulid dynasty of Yemen. Indeed, the vacancy left by the Abbasid caliph after the Mongols' conquest had already been filled in Mecca by the Rasulid sultans. From 629/1232, ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī ibn Rasūl had made clear his interest in controlling the city. After ten years of campaigns, he was even able to seize it and control its resources, distributing them as he pleased.<sup>66</sup> Even though Mecca finally went back to its sharif in 652/1255, the Rasulids nevertheless maintained their influence there, inheriting the Abbasids' prerogative for the pilgrimage ceremonial (and the sending of the *kiswah*) as well as their role as protectors of the holy cities.

When Baybars sent his first *kiswah* in 661/1263, the Rasulid sultan al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (r. 647–94/1250–95) already had a strong position in Mecca. Al-Muẓaffar had sent the *kiswah* regularly from 649/1252 onward<sup>67</sup> and in 659/1261, while performing the pilgrimage, he provided the Kaʿbah with both its outer and inner *kiswahs*.<sup>68</sup> Despite Baybars' attempts to hinder Rasulid claims over the holy cities (during his pilgrimage in 667/1269, he sent al-Muẓaffar a letter in which he challenged

<sup>60</sup>Mortel, "The Kiswa," 41. This was the case in 798/1396, 810/1408, 819/1417: See Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:402, 459, 536; and in 844/1441, 855/1452, 864/1460, 865/1461: Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 4:164, 307, 410, 420–21.

<sup>61</sup>Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Kaʿbah," 17.

<sup>62</sup>Al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Araj al-Miskī*, 155.

<sup>63</sup>Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Kaʿbah," 17. Also in al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 1:169–70; 2:287.

<sup>64</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:561. In 820–24: the *kiswah* was hung on the 3rd of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

<sup>65</sup>Al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 1:170–73. Various accounts comment on the replacement of the old *kiswah* by the new one, but all agree the old veil then became the property of the Banū Shaybah.

<sup>66</sup>Eric Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande: État et commerce sous les sultans rasulides du Yémen (626–858/1229–1454)* (Paris, 2010), 456–63.

<sup>67</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:70.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 3:84.



such claims and incited him to fight the Mongols),<sup>69</sup> this ruler always stood as a significant threat to Baybars' assertions. Moreover, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf again sent the veil on two later occasions: 666/1268<sup>70</sup> and 671/1273.<sup>71</sup> Ibn Fahd records that during his reign, his *kiswah* was often hung after the departure of the Egyptian caravan.<sup>72</sup> His successors did not surrender this right either, as shown by the Rasulid dispatch of the *kiswah* in 742/1342 and 751/1351 by al-Malik al-Mujāhid Dāwūd.<sup>73</sup> In 780/1379, the Rasulid sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'īl initiated yet another failed attempt.<sup>74</sup> I have found two final reports of *kiswahs* sent by the Rasulids in the years 820/1418<sup>75</sup> and 833/1430,<sup>76</sup> none of which succeeded.

If the Rasulids represented the Mamluks' major rival for the *kiswah*, other rulers sought to usurp this prerogative as well. In 718/1319, for instance, the Ilkhanid ruler Abū Sa'īd sent the *kiswah* along with precious rings to be hung on the Ka'bah's door.<sup>77</sup> The last major threat to Mamluk privilege occurred in 877/1473, when the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan sent his own *kiswah*.<sup>78</sup> Regardless of the failure of these attempts at providing the Ka'bah with its *kiswah*, these examples show it constituted a strong desideratum for many Muslim rulers. Predictably, then, the Timurid rulers also considered it.

Timur's intentions for the Hijaz when he defeated the Mamluks in Syria may remain unknown, but he certainly had some ambition for the region. After all, he proclaimed himself *quṭb al-islām wa-al-muslimīn*, and most of his campaigns aimed at extending the territory of *dār al-islām*.<sup>79</sup> The year of his death (807/1405), he was ostensibly planning to send emissaries to Mecca to measure the Ka'bah so he could send an appropriate *kiswah* in the following year, along with 10,000 men.<sup>80</sup> According to Meccan sources, a similar rumor reached Mecca that same year:

<sup>69</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 1:2:581–82.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Iṭḥāf al-Warā*, 3:91. That year, he also sent another *kiswah* to cover the Tomb of the Prophet.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:102.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:84.

<sup>73</sup> Both times they were forbidden to hang the *kiswah*, and al-Mujāhid was even sent as a prisoner to Cairo in 751/1351. Ibn Fahd, *Iṭḥāf al-Warā*, 3:221, 245.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:331–32.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:541.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:51.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Iṭḥāf al-Warā*, 3:160–61; Anne Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), 102–3; Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque (XIIIe-XXe siècles)* (Cairo, 1953), 45–48; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 2:1:190.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Iṭḥāf al-Warā*, 4:557–58.

<sup>79</sup> Beatrice Manz, "Tamerlane's Career and Its Uses," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002): 4–6; idem, "Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty," *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1988): 105–22.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 3:3:1166.



an Iraqi caravan led by Timur's son and his troops had been sent from Baghdad. When the sharif Ḥasan arrived to welcome them, however, it seems the caravan only included pilgrims, without any troops.<sup>81</sup> Soon afterwards, Ḥasan sent his first embassy to the Timurids, led by Hibat Allāh Aḥmad ibn 'Umayr, to try to win some financial support. The emissary came back empty-handed.<sup>82</sup>

As for Timur's successor, he evidently planned to send the sacred veil before dispatching his first embassy to Barsbāy in 828/1425. Shāh Rukh had apparently prepared the *kiswah* made of luxurious fabrics already in 822/1419.<sup>83</sup> I myself could find no more details concerning this veil, nor its being sent to Mecca. Be that as it may, even if Shāh Rukh had once intended to provide the Ka'bah with its *kiswah* as early as 828/1425, he seems to have abandoned this project for a different one: the inner *kiswah*.

Unlike the outer *kiswah*, the inner one is quite unknown.<sup>84</sup> Contemporary sources rarely mention it, and when they do, they provide little detail. As for secondary sources, with only a few exceptions, they largely ignore the inner *kiswah*. While the origin of providing the inner *kiswah* remains obscure, it is already attested in the pre-Islamic period.<sup>85</sup> With the emergence of Islam, the practice persisted, though no clear records are extant. In his description of the inside of the Ka'bah, for example, Ibn Jubayr (d. 577–78/1182) mentions silk fabrics of several colors that covered the ceiling and arch, but he does not speak explicitly of the *kiswah* itself.<sup>86</sup> The Abbasid caliphs were presumably providing the inner veil for the Ka'bah, since al-Fāsī writes that after their rule collapsed in Baghdad, the practice was restored by the Rasulid al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf in 659/1261.<sup>87</sup>

The first inner *kiswah* sent by the Mamluk sultans came from al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 761/1359.<sup>88</sup> It was made of black silk with golden embroidery and the part that covered the vault was in red silk.<sup>89</sup> Unlike the outer *kiswah*, which was renewed

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:334–44.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 3:344; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934–36), 10:208 (quoting al-Fāsī); Darrāg, *L'Égypte*, 162, wrongly dated this embassy 817/1414.

<sup>83</sup> According to Ja'farī, "Tārīkh-i Kabīr," 69/311a, cited in John E. Woods, "Shahrukh's caliphate," 7 (unpublished). I am grateful to John Woods for letting me use his paper for this study.

<sup>84</sup> Besides the outer and inner *kiswah*, two other *kiswahs* existed: one for the Tomb of the Prophet in Medina, which was theoretically changed every five years: al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 1:170; and one for the *maqām Ibrāhīm*: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Ka'bah," 7. The *kiswah* for the Tomb of the Prophet was provided in 792/1390 by Khawand Umm Baybars 'Ā'ishah, the sister of the sultan Barqūq: Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:378.

<sup>85</sup> Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Le Voile de la Ka'bah," 7.

<sup>86</sup> Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke: Étude d'histoire religieuse* (Paris, 1923), 52–55.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 1:170.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:280: it arrived in Mecca in a box made of acacia wood.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 1:170.



every year, the inner one did not require continued replacement since its location protected it from damage.<sup>90</sup> When al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429) wrote his work, the *kiswah* sent by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was still hanging inside the Kaʿbah, though not in its entirety.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, infrequent replacement of this veil stems from financial reasons, for unlike the outer *kiswah*, which was financed by the money of the *waqf*, the inner *kiswah* came as a personal gift from the ruler, paid for with his personal funds.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, being inside the Kaʿbah, this *kiswah* was not on public display. Contrary to the custom of opening the Kaʿbah on specific days,<sup>93</sup> the Banū Shaybah only opened it on rare occasions, and even then not without cost to the viewers.<sup>94</sup>

The inner *kiswah* sent by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was replaced in 826/1423<sup>95</sup> by sultan Barsbāy after a storm had destroyed the Kaʿbah's roof the previous year and hence damaged the contents inside significantly.<sup>96</sup> Through his amir ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, the *nāzir al-jaysh*, the sultan also sent the materials necessary for repair of the sanctuary. The *kiswah* sent by Barsbāy was made of red silk and decorated with a golden inscription. As already noted, Shāh Rukh's inner *kiswah* was hung alongside that of Barsbāy in 848/1444, both ultimately replaced by Jaqmaq's in 856/1452. The final replacement of that inner veil dates to 883/1478–79, at the hand of sultan Qāyṭbāy.<sup>97</sup> No foreign ruler apart from Shāh Rukh (and before him al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf) either asked or sought to provide the inner *kiswah* during the period of Mamluk rule.

The description of the outer and inner *kiswahs* outlined above clearly shows major differences regarding the use and practice of both veils. If both relate to

<sup>90</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshāʾ*, 4:276.

<sup>91</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 1:170.

<sup>92</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Araġ al-Miskī*, 155.

<sup>93</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 1:176–79: According to Ibn Jubayr, the Kaʿbah was opened every Monday and Friday, except in the month of Rajab, when it was opened every day. Al-Fāsī confirms its access on Fridays, but it was allegedly cancelled on Mondays during his time (except during the year 801, when it was also opened on Mondays during the months of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, and Dhū al-Qaʿdah). He cites additional days when the Kaʿbah was supposed to be opened: 12 Rabīʿ I, 29 Rajab (for women), on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, and on 26 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (for notables).

<sup>94</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Araġ al-Miskī*, 156–57; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 1:178; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage*, 62. The time the Kaʿbah was opened for free is generally mentioned in the source as being a great event, like in 662/1264, when the Mamluk amir al-Saḍr Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn al-Mawṣilī was even given the keys of the Kaʿbah for free (*bi-ghayr shayʾ yuʾkhadhu minhum*) so that the Egyptians pilgrims could visit the Kaʿbah over the course of three days: al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 1:2:504–5.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Iṭḥāf al-Warāʾ*, 3:596.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:588–89.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:638.



Muslim rulers and further contain undeniable symbolic value, each was considered differently. As for secondary literature, only two sources refer to the Timurid dispatch of the inner *kiswah*: Mortel reports the event without offering any further details or analysis,<sup>98</sup> while Darrāg alludes to it as a concession from both Mamluk and Timurid sovereigns, though he supposes it to be Shāh Rukh's initial request for providing the outer veil.<sup>99</sup> Were this interpretation correct, the inner *kiswah* would certainly convey lesser status than its outer counterpart. As my study has demonstrated, however, Shāh Rukh had hoped to provide the Ka'bah with its inner veil since his first embassy to Barsbāy in 828/1424. Even if concessions did arise (i.e., Jaqmaq's agreement to the request), they indicate no decreased importance attributed to the inner *kiswah*. With regard to the significance of this request from the Mamluk perspective, such an offering was considered a personal gift of devotion to God. Jaqmaq's response to Shāh Rukh's letter highlights this conception: “*wa-annakum ja'altum li-kiswati dākhil al-ka'bah thawban nawaytum bi-hi al-taqarruba ilā allāh ta'ālā.*”<sup>100</sup>

If the religious role of the inner *kiswah* represented a major aspect of the practice, its political role cannot be underestimated. After all, why should Barsbāy so fiercely oppose Shāh Rukh's request if he had not considered it a threat to his religious supremacy in the Hijaz? While the specific data pertaining to the inner *kiswah* does not permit further conclusions at this particular stage of the investigation, I would suggest other spheres converged in these patterns for religious supremacy within the holy cities, which then demand evaluation of Shāh Rukh's pretensions and claims over the Hijaz.

## Maḥmal

Within those patterns of competition developed among Muslim rulers for religious supremacy in the Hijaz, the *maḥmal* bore great importance. Jacques Jomier identified this tradition in his famous study *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de La Mecque (iiie-xxe siècles)*, published in 1953, and others have since extended the analysis of this tradition as well as its stakes in the Mamluk politics of the hajj.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup>Mortel, “The Kiswa,” 46.

<sup>99</sup>Darrāg, *L'Égypte*, 190, 404.

<sup>100</sup>MS ar. 4440, fol. 173b.

<sup>101</sup>John Meloy, “Celebrating the Maḥmal: The Rajab Festival in Fifteenth Century Cairo,” in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East*, ed. J. Pfeiffer and S. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 404–27; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The Maḥmal Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 87–96. Many other studies include reference to the *maḥmal* but within the different topical contexts.



Sultan Baybars putatively inaugurated the Egyptian *maḥmal* tradition by sending the first palanquin in 664/1266,<sup>102</sup> yet this tradition already appears with the Abbasid caliphs, in connection with the pilgrimage.<sup>103</sup> Baybars would have thus re-established this practice in Cairo, which, after all, had become the new seat of the caliphate in 660/1262. More concretely, the *maḥmal* was a richly-decorated palanquin borne by a camel. Though again, origins remain unclear,<sup>104</sup> its significance is quite plain. The *maḥmal* symbolized the role the Mamluks were intending to play in the Hijaz, especially in Mecca during the period of the pilgrimage.

An impressive ceremonial was attached to the *maḥmal* in both its departure from Cairo and its arrival in Mecca. In Cairo, this palanquin was paraded on several occasions following a fixed itinerary, which then gave rise to great festivities—the most famous being the *rajab* festival. This occasion allowed the sultan to present himself to his people as a true Muslim ruler and, above all, a Muslim man. At the same time, the Egyptian people could associate themselves with the *maḥmal*, which thus became a kind of proxy that would perform the pilgrimage on their behalf.<sup>105</sup> Upon its arrival in Mecca, another type of ceremonial was on display, and though different from that in Cairo, it was no less meaningful. The ceremonial was begun outside the holy city itself, where the sharif welcomed the sultan's *maḥmal* somewhere on the city's outskirts. He would kiss the camel's hoof<sup>106</sup> as though it were the sultan's hand, an action of great significance insofar as it conveyed the sharif's recognition of Mamluk supremacy.

A second *maḥmal* was also sent from Damascus to accompany the Syrian caravan. Sources first mention it in the year 692/1293.<sup>107</sup> If this *maḥmal* likewise exhibited Mamluk power, its importance did not match that of the first. Other *maḥmals* from Syria appear occasionally throughout the sources, like that of Aleppo (742/1342, 787/1386, 797/1395),<sup>108</sup> Ṣafad (742/1342),<sup>109</sup> Gaza (841/1438: *rakb*),<sup>110</sup> and Kerak (844/1441, 869/1465, 884/1480).<sup>111</sup>

Closely associated with the Mamluk sultans, whose presence it represented, the *maḥmal* served as a powerful symbol of their pretensions as supreme Muslim

<sup>102</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 1:2:544.

<sup>103</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "The *Maḥmal* Legend," 89.

<sup>104</sup> Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage*, 157–61. Also in Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, 21–26.

<sup>105</sup> Meloy, "Celebrating the *Maḥmal*," 409–10.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:277.

<sup>107</sup> Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, 55.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:221, 349, 396.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:221.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:117–18.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:165, 461, 644. For the year 869/1465, sources diverge as to whether the *maḥmal* came from Kerak or Kufa.



rulers. For this very reason, the Mamluks' greatest rivals adopted the practice as well. In 696/1297, the Yemeni *maḥmal* of the Rasulids was sent to Mecca for the first time,<sup>112</sup> followed by the Iraqi *maḥmal* in 718/1318–19, sent by the Ilkhanid Abū Sa'īd.<sup>113</sup> These two competing palanquins forced the Mamluks to reevaluate their position in Mecca, and an agreement was finally reached: the Egyptian *maḥmal* would be granted pre-eminence over all the other palanquins. It would then be followed by the Syrian one and only afterwards by that of the Iraqis and the Yemenis. Part of this agreement also stipulated that the Iraqi *maḥmal* would carry, along with its own banner, that of the Mamluk sultan.<sup>114</sup>

Sources give prominence to the presence of these rival *maḥmals* at regular intervals: beside the two coming from Yemen and Iraq, they also mention a *maḥmal* coming from Shiraz on four occasions (705/1306, 757–58/1356–57, 785/1384)<sup>115</sup> and from Baṣrah (in 785/1384).<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, the precedence of the Mamluk *maḥmal* was recognized by all:<sup>117</sup> apart from 876/1472,<sup>118</sup> when Uzun Ḥasan sent his *maḥmal* (for the fourth time),<sup>119</sup> no major incidents seem to have arisen.

None of my research has produced any reference to a *maḥmal* sent by the Timurid rulers, though caravans did leave Shiraz on several occasions. In 813/1411, for example, pilgrims arrived from Shiraz, despite the absence of an Iraqi caravan<sup>120</sup>—a situation repeated in 814/1412 and 815/1413.<sup>121</sup> Additionally, in 816/1414, people from Khorasan accompanied the Iraqi *maḥmal* as well.<sup>122</sup> Regardless of

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 3:129; Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 439–41.

<sup>113</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:160–61; Broadbridge, *Kingship*, 102–3; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, 45–48; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 2:1:190.

<sup>114</sup>Broadbridge, *Kingship*, 103; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, 47; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:170–71; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:244.

<sup>115</sup>Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:293; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:143, 270, 272, 342.

<sup>116</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:342.

<sup>117</sup>Mamluk involvement in the hajj will undergo more detailed analysis in Malika Dekkiche and Jo Van Steenbergen, “The Politics of the Hajj: Networks and Meanings from Shaykh to Khushqadam (815–872 A.H.),” a paper presented at the conference: *Everything is on the Move: The “Mamluk Empire” as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks*, University of Bonn/Annemarie-Schimmel-Kolleg, December 6–9, 2012.

<sup>118</sup>John Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 107–8; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 4:542. Ibn Fahd only mentions Uzun Ḥasan's *maḥmal* in the years 875/1471, 876/1472, and 877/1473. Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 4:532, 542, 557–58. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:88, refers to the Iraqi *maḥmal* for the year 877/1473.

<sup>119</sup>He had already sent three *maḥmals* before that date, in 873/1469, 874/1470, and 875/1471. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 107–8. Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:532, references the *maḥmal* of the year 875/1471.

<sup>120</sup>Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:307.

<sup>121</sup>Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 4:491, 500.

<sup>122</sup>Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:309; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 4:510.



these instances, caravans from Timurid lands (Khorasan, Shiraz, Persia) generally joined those from the Iraqi caravan in Baghdad or, less frequently, those of the Syrian one in Damascus, thereby travelling under Mamluk protection.<sup>123</sup> Such was the case in 848/1444, when one group of the Timurid pilgrims—including one of Timur's widows—joined the Syrian caravan<sup>124</sup> while the other group continued on to Cairo to bring the inner *kiswah* to Jaqmaq.

In later periods, when the pilgrim road in Iraq became too dangerous due to the Bedouin attacks and the rise of the Musha'sha' sect, the Timurid ruler would often send his famous notables to Cairo so they could travel under the protection of the sultan's caravan. This arrangement took place, for instance, in 845/1441–42, when Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥāfi al-Ḥanafī<sup>125</sup> arrived in Cairo from Samarqand. The sample of letters from Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, preserved in MS ar. 4440, confirm this practice as well.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, all three requested from the sultan Khushqadam protection for important Timurid figures who desired to perform the pilgrimage.

Despite the lack of information available in Timurid sources, analysis of Mamluk and Meccan sources suggests no threats came from Shāh Rukh in the form of organizing the pilgrims' caravan or sending a Timurid *maḥmal*.<sup>127</sup> Shāh Rukh, if concerned with the safety of his people, made no attempts to challenge Mamluk ascendancy with the *maḥmal* tradition. After all, Mamluk ascendancy had long been recognized in this regard, as evident in previous, failed attempts by the Rasulids and the Ilkhanids as well as, later on, the Aq Qoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan. While the *maḥmal* proves relatively less significant for the study of Shāh Rukh's pretensions in the Hijaz, another practice plainly reveals such efforts: the *khutbah*.

## Khutbah

The *khutbah* is the address or sermon pronounced before or after important prayers, i.e., that of the Friday service or the feasts. The *khutbah* made during the Friday service betrays special importance, since the name of the ruling sovereign would be mentioned, thereby exhibiting the imam's recognition of this ruler over

<sup>123</sup>S. A. al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah: The Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Mecca* (Riyadh, 1980), 60–61.

<sup>124</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Hawādith al-Duhūr*, 76; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, 627.

<sup>125</sup>Belonging to the court of Shāh Rukh's son, Ulugh Beg, he was a figure highly esteemed by Shāh Rukh. Al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:239–40; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 15:350; idem, *Hawādith al-Duhūr*, 35; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 1:62–63.

<sup>126</sup>MS ar. 4440, fols. 167a–169b, 184b–187a, 187b–191a: these letters comprise XXXIX, XLVII, and XLVIII.

<sup>127</sup>Sources only mention rumors of troops accompanying the caravan led by Timur's son in 807/1405—rumors that appear to be false. See above.



every other.<sup>128</sup> Invoking a ruler's name during the Friday service, along with the minting of coins, was considered as a sign of allegiance to that ruler. While assessment of actual coin production bearing Mamluk sultans' names proves difficult through narrative sources,<sup>129</sup> these materials furnish considerable information with regard to the *khuṭbah*.

Meccan sources allude to *khuṭbahs* pronounced in the Egyptian ruler's name already before Baybars' first claim to supremacy. In 637/1240, the *khuṭbah* in Mecca invoked the name of the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 637–47/1240–49).<sup>130</sup> Later, in 652/1255, when the sharif ended the Rasulid hold on Mecca, the name of al-Ashraf Mūsá arose in the Friday sermon, along with his atabeg, the Mamluk Aybak.<sup>131</sup> Although Mamluk sources state Baybars' name was invoked as early as 662/1264,<sup>132</sup> the Meccan sources do not confirm such reports, recounting the *khuṭbah* for Baybars only from the year of his pilgrimage (667/1269).<sup>133</sup>

In his *Shifā' al-Gharām*, al-Fāsī clearly establishes that most rulers of Egypt after Baybars had their names invoked in the *khuṭbah* in Mecca.<sup>134</sup> He goes on to provide a list of those not mentioned, like Baybars' sons (al-Sa'īd Barakah and al-Ādil Salāmish) and, after them, al-Ādil Kitbughā, Lājīn, and al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Āzīz ibn Barqūq.<sup>135</sup> Further, al-Fāsī refers to several cases in which the *khuṭbah* in the Mamluk sultan's name was interrupted for that of another ruler: in 691/1292 the *khuṭbah* in al-Ashraf Khalīl's name was replaced by that of the Rasulid al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf,<sup>136</sup> and in 717/1317–18 the name of the Ilkhanid Abū Sa'īd was invoked instead of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's.<sup>137</sup>

Extant sources indicate the Rasulids remained a constant adversary for most of the Mamluk period, as their names were invoked in the *khuṭbah* or during the *maghrib* prayer at Zamzam on many occasions. Mamluk amirs often had to inter-

<sup>128</sup> A. J. Wensinck, "Khuṭba," *EI2*, 5:76–77.

<sup>129</sup> On the *sikkah*, see John Meloy, "Money and Sovereignty in Mecca: Issues of the Sharifs in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 712–38.

<sup>130</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:286.

<sup>131</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:286–87; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:76.

<sup>132</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 1:2:504–5.

<sup>133</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:287; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:93.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:287–88. This group also includes the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'in (r. 815/1412), whose name was invoked in the *khuṭbah* on 22 Jumādā II 815/29 September 1412: al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:308. Also in Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:497.

<sup>135</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:288.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* Also in Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:122–23. In the following year (692/1293), the *khuṭbah* was made again in al-Ashraf Khalīl's name, as was the *sikkah*: Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:123.

<sup>137</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 2:288, 243; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:158.



vene, which happened in the years 801/1399,<sup>138</sup> 804/1402,<sup>139</sup> 814/1412,<sup>140</sup> 826/1423,<sup>141</sup> and 827/1424.<sup>142</sup> But the Rasulids were not the only rivals. In 770/1369, for example, the Jalāyirid ruler Sultan Uvays had his name mentioned at the Friday *khuṭbah* after he had sent new lamps for the Kaʿbah that year.<sup>143</sup> In 816/1414, moreover, the new rulers of Baghdad, the Qarā Qoyunlu, had their names invoked in the sermon,<sup>144</sup> this being the first time the Iraqi caravan was sent since the end of the Jalāyirid’s rule in Baghdād (813/1411).<sup>145</sup> In 877/1473, Uzun Ḥasan’s name was invoked in the Friday *khuṭbah* in Medina as well, thus provoking the arrest of his *amīr al-ḥajj* during the pilgrimage.<sup>146</sup>

As for the Timurids, while no instances of the *khuṭbah* in Timur or Shāh Rukh’s names occur in the Meccan sources, Shāh Rukh at the very least probably aspired to it. In an unpublished paper, John Woods highlights Shāh Rukh’s claim to be “*al-madhkūr alqābuhu ‘alā manābir al-ḥaramayn*,” an expression found in *Majmū’ah-yi Ḥāfiẓ Abrū* (820/1417).<sup>147</sup> According to Woods’ study, Shāh Rukh not only claimed the *khuṭbah* in the holy cities but also, and above all, the caliphate: “*khallada Allāh taʿālā khilāfatahu wa-sultānahu*,” a phrase found in both narrative and numismatic sources.<sup>148</sup>

Whether or not Shāh Rukh’s name was actually invoked at the Friday *khuṭbah*, the sharif of Mecca, Ḥasan ibn ʿAjlān (r. 797–818/1395–1416; 827–29/1423–26), was definitely turning his attention towards the Timurid ruler during this period. In 817/1414,<sup>149</sup> he sent an embassy to Shāh Rukh led by the *sayyid* ʿAbd al-Kahf/ʿAbd al-Malik Mukannif, brother of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. The letter expressed the sharif’s good feelings toward the Timurid ruler. One might suppose, however, that the sharif was simply trying to seize Shāh Rukh’s attention and finances, which would happen five years later. In 822/1420 and 823/1421, Ḥasan dispatched his relative

<sup>138</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:412.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 3:427.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 3:491. The Rasulid sultan apparently stopped sending the gifts to the preacher in Mecca.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 3:600.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 3:606. The *khuṭbah* that year began to mention the Rasulid sultan’s name once again.

<sup>143</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 2:302.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 2:309.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā*, 3:482. No pilgrims came from Baghdad in 814/1412 or 815/1413: *ibid.*, 3:491, 500. Yet within this timeframe, pilgrims did arrive from Shiraz by way of al-Ḥasā: *ibid.*, 3:491, 500; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, 2:307.

<sup>146</sup> Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 108; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:88.

<sup>147</sup> Woods, “Shahrukh’s Caliphate,” 5, 7–8.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 3–4, 8 (according to the analysis of coins minted between 819/1416 and 825/1422).

<sup>149</sup> Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-ī Saʿdayn*, 2:205; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tavārikh*, ed. Sayyid Kamāl Ḥājī Sayyid Javādī (Tehran, 2001), 3:564–65; Woods, “Shahrukh’s Caliphate,” 7.



Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan to request some funds.<sup>150</sup> While we have no further information about Shāh Rukh's response to these embassies, Ibn Fahd writes that Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan, who had led the 822/1420 mission, returned to Mecca empty-handed.<sup>151</sup> This turn of events is perhaps unsurprising since the Timurid ruler had given up his claim to the caliphate around 821/1418. Shāh Rukh is then referenced as *mujaddid*.<sup>152</sup> At the same time, he also seems to have abandoned his claim to the Meccan *khuṭbah*. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* (829/1425) goes so far as to employ the expression "*mujaddid marāsīm al-sharī'ah al-gharrā*."<sup>153</sup>

According to Woods' study, Shāh Rukh actually demonstrated a strong pre-tension in the Hijaz, as exemplified in his claim to the caliphate from 807/1405 to 820/1418. Whether or not he was recognized as such in Mecca is difficult to determine, however, since Meccan sources offer no corroborative information in this regard, nor do Mamluk sources. Such a claim would presumably not have gone unnoticed. Be that as it may, even if Shāh Rukh's claims were only addressed and restricted to a Timurid audience, it reveals an ambitious program nonetheless.

Yet this claim was eventually abandoned. Woods dates this shift in Shāh Rukh's politics to the period after his four major western campaigns, "when Shahrukh became more engaged with the Mamluks who, after all, had their own 'caliph.'"<sup>154</sup>

## Conclusion

Woods' conclusion bears great significance insofar as it suggests Shāh Rukh recognized the Mamluks' rule as well as their important role within the Muslim community, a fact confirmed by the present article.

Availing myself of a new source, MS ar. 4440, I have hoped to re-evaluate Shāh Rukh's so-called struggle for religious supremacy with the Mamluk sultans in the Hijaz. My analysis of the corpus first showed the nature of Shāh Rukh's request, which has, until now, been either misread or ignored. According to this new corpus, he requested permission from the Mamluk sultans to provide the inner *kiswah* to the Ka'bah, not its outer veil. Literary sources provide further confirmation of this interaction (e.g., Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who reports Shāh Rukh's first embassy to Barsbāy, mentions the inner veil as well). Furthermore, the corpus reveals that Shāh Rukh's request implied the Timurid dynasty more generally since

<sup>150</sup> Ibn Fahd, *Ghāyat al-Marām bi-Akḥbār Saḷṭanat al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Mecca, 1986–88), 2:332.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:332.

<sup>152</sup> Woods, "Shahrukh's Caliphate," 8, 10.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 8.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 8–9.



both his son, Muḥammad Jūkī, and grandson, ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah, were involved in the exchanges with Jaqmaq.

While the full significance of this veil persists in obscurity, comparison with its outer counterpart has uncovered considerable differences in their use and practice. Nevertheless, if the inner *kiswah* pertained more to the religious sphere from a Mamluk perspective, the events chronicled also demonstrate its political importance. After all, the sending of the *kiswahs*, both outer and inner, was part of Mamluk prerogatives in the holy cities.

Since the case of the inner *kiswah* could not be solved entirely, I evaluated the wider context of patterns of religious supremacy in order to assess Shāh Rukh’s pretensions in the Hijaz. Thus, if Shāh Rukh originally had strong ambitions of claiming the caliphate for himself, he ultimately withdrew such claims. As for his involvement in pilgrimage affairs (i.e., the *maḥmal*) or with the sharifs, the extant information proves rather disappointing, since he does not seem to have devoted considerable efforts in these two domains; I could find no reference to a Timurid *maḥmal*. As for Shāh Rukh’s relationship with the sharifs, he apparently refused the sharifs’ game of selling recognition, for the Meccan emissaries came back twice from the Timurid lands empty-handed.

Given these facts, even if Shāh Rukh’s claims to supremacy in the Hijaz remain somewhat elusive, he was undoubtedly looking in the direction of the Hijaz and the holy cities. Beyond his request for providing the inner *kiswah*, he also concerned himself with the water supply in Mecca as well as injustices in illegal taxes (*mukūs*) levied on pilgrims and merchants. As for the extent of his pretensions in the holy cities, I believe this matter now requires to be reopened to debate and reevaluated. Further grounds for such reassessment come, moreover, from Shāh Rukh’s attitude and actions towards other rulers who were actually competing with the Mamluk sultans for religious supremacy in the Hijaz, rulers like the Rasulids, Ilkhanids, or Aq Qoyunlu.

These competitors represented a real threat to the Mamluks’ supremacy, and even succeeded at times in establishing themselves as supreme Muslim rulers in Mecca thanks to the sharifs, with whom they maintained a close relationship. However, they never dealt with the Mamluks personally; in contrast, I would argue that Shāh Rukh actually did recognize Mamluk ascendancy in the Hijaz. After all, he did request permission to provide the veil to Barsbāy or Jaqmaq. Indeed, beyond the importance of his requests within the context of religious supremacy, his request sent to the Mamluks is all the more striking. If a struggle did arise between the Mamluks and Timurids, it demands interpretation within a more general framework, beyond the confines of religious supremacy in the Hijaz. At the time of Shāh Rukh’s embassies to Barsbāy concerning his dispatch of the inner *kiswah*, the two rulers fell into opposition on various matters, espe-



cially Barsbāy's international policies vis-à-vis his neighbors. The Mamluk sultan then supported Shāh Rukh's primary rival, the Qara Qoyunlu Iskandar.<sup>155</sup> The inner *kiswah* affair was thus but one element among many that provoked tensions between these two sovereigns. As I have shown, it is not representative of Shāh Rukh's alleged claims over the Hijaz.

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<sup>155</sup>Ibn Ḥijjah, *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshā'*, ed. R. Veselý (Beirut, 2005), 359–64, 377–79, preserved copies of the letters exchanged between Barsbāy and Iskandar. On Barsbāy's general attitude towards his Eastern neighbors, see Darrāg, *L'Égypte*, 363–402.



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## Intention or Pure Happenstance?

While I was completing my chapter on the works written for the officials of the Egyptian royal chanceries, the judges, and their scribes (which I prepared for the *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*),<sup>1</sup> I came upon a volume of documents and letters entitled *Qahwat al-Inshā'*<sup>2</sup> in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* that have never been surveyed or published. This work originated from the workshop of Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī, better known as Ibn Ḥijjah, a man respected by his contemporaries as a talented poet and a skilled and renowned literary critic, who was often called upon for his opinion of new literary works. In addition to his own literary activities, Ibn Ḥijjah applied his expertise and skill in the use of refined language to his daily occupation as a scribe (*kātib*, *munshi'*) in the correspondence chancery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*) of the Mamluk sultans for twelve years from 1412 till 1424.<sup>3</sup> As he was always esteemed above all as a poet and an expert in artistic style, his *Qahwat al-Inshā'* passed unnoticed by orientalist and historians, hidden under the name of its author in the chapter concerning the Egyptian and Syrian poets and prose-writers between 1250 and 1517.<sup>4</sup>

Brockelmann characterizes *Qahwat al-Inshā'* as a collection of letters and documents written on the sultans' order, and this work appears to be just that at first sight.<sup>5</sup> A more careful perusal, however, shows that it includes both official documents, correspondence, and other prosaic texts written by Ibn Ḥijjah. The textual diversity of this book prevented me from determining its explicit nature

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<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Veselý, "Die arabische inšā'-Literatur," in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie* III, ed. Wolf Dietrich Fischer (Wiesbaden, 1992), 188–208.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Rauschgetränk der Stilkunst oder Qahwat al-inšā' von Taqīuddīn Abū Bakr b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī al-Azrārī*, ed. Rudolf Veselý, Bibliotheca Islamica 36 (Beirut, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> He exercised the office of *munshi'* in his native town of Ḥamāh in the chancery of the local lieutenant between the years 810 and 813 (comp. nos. 117–21: *Das Rauschgetränk*, 428–45).

<sup>4</sup> Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Weimar, 1898–1902), 2:8 ff; idem, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur: Supplementbänden* (Leiden, 1943–49), 2:1 ff. For Ibn Ḥijjah, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2:15–17, S2:8–9.

<sup>5</sup> I gave a presentation about *Qahwat al-Inshā'* as a new historical source at the German Oriental Society's (DMG) 25th Deutsche Orientalistentag held in Munich on 8–13 April 1991; see Veselý, "Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte Ägyptens," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement 10 (1994): 136–43.



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when I started its critical edition.<sup>6</sup> At most I was able to state that it was not only a collection of official documents and letters, but a collection where the prevailing official papers (representing 79% of the whole work) were mixed with texts of another kind. My conclusion that the author intended to present this work to his colleagues in the chancery and their disciples as a collection of material for study is supported by the author's foreword.<sup>7</sup>

At a glance Ibn Ḥijjah's work seems to be confused, even chaotic. It is not visibly structured and the texts are neither differentiated in accordance with their contents, form, or literary type, nor divided into chapters. Only a more familiar acquaintance with the work reveals that its order is in fact well thought-out by the author.

The basis of the work is represented by the most numerous texts, i.e., the official documents edited by the sultan's correspondence chancery—letters of appointment, domestic and foreign correspondence, replies or letters attending to messages from abroad—and some documents released by the judges. This ample material, which includes 121 letters, is not coherent but rather divided into groups mingled with texts of quite different contents and form. These are the so-called *taqārīd* (sg. *taqrīd*, i.e., “praise”),<sup>8</sup> which are a form of reviews written by different persons evaluating new or remarkable literary works. In addition to these two types of text, Ibn Ḥijjah included in his book a third type distinct from the previous two both in its content and form, as it is composed of shorter or longer prosaic treatises divided into two groups. The first group includes Ibn Ḥijjah's commentary (*ta'liq*) on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī's *Ta'liq al-Tamā'im al-Ḥamā'im*<sup>9</sup> and *Majrā al-Sawābiq*,<sup>10</sup> rhetorical descriptions of horses of different colors and species written by his three predecessors in the chancery—Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Fahd (d. 1325), Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah (d. 1366), and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿUmārī (d. 1348)—which he enlarged by his own descriptions.<sup>11</sup> The second group of these

<sup>6</sup> Rudolf Veselý, “Eine Stilkunstschrift oder eine Morgenländischen Urkundensammlung? Das Qahwat al-inšā' des Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥiḡḡa al-Ḥamawī,” in *Threefold Wisdom: Islam, the Arab World, and Africa*, ed. Otakar Hulee and Milos Mendel (Praha, 1993), 237–47.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 245–46.

<sup>8</sup> There are two forms of this word: *taqrīd* and *taqrīz*. The first is “praise,” the second (in colloquial pronunciation) “blame”; see Rudolf Veselý, “Das Taqrīz in der arabischen Literatur,” in *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann*, ed. S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 379–85, esp. 380. Ibn Ḥijjah used the form “*taqrīz*” only.

<sup>9</sup> Brockelmann does not mention any work bearing this title written by al-Ṣafadī or any other author. Probably we are dealing with a lost work.

<sup>10</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2:16.

<sup>11</sup> Note that the title Ibn Ḥijjah used for this collection of descriptions of horses is a pun based on the different meaning of the consonant groups *J-R-Y* and *S-B-Q*. Accordingly we can explain



prosaic texts is represented by extracts written exclusively by Ibn Ḥijjah. The first of them is Ibn Ḥijjah's eyewitness description of the conflagration of Damascus in the year 1389. Known under the title *Yāqūt al-Kalām fī Nār al-Shām*, it was put by the author into a letter addressed to his friend Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Makānis.<sup>12</sup> Several letters, which Ibn Ḥijjah sent to other friends, are followed by some of his *taqārīd* relating to the works of his contemporaries. The whole book is closed with prefaces introducing four of Ibn Ḥijjah's works of poetry: *Tahrīr al-Qīrātī*,<sup>13</sup> *Sharḥ al-Badī'iyah*,<sup>14</sup> *Buyūt al-Asharah*,<sup>15</sup> and *Dīwān Janā' al-Jannatayn*.<sup>16</sup>

The "axis" of the whole work, however, is the set of official documents and letters, thus creating the impression that *Qahwat al-Inshā'* is nothing more than a collection of official papers. But in his preface to this work Ibn Ḥijjah mentions that his reason for writing it was to give "those who have elegant taste and wish to enjoy sipping this dazing drink (i.e., *qahwah*) the real relish of the *qahwah* from Cairo and the fruits from Ḥamāh . . . and to offer it with open hand to the gentle scribes from this store."<sup>17</sup> To achieve this goal, he did not content himself with the lexis of official correspondence, but he enriched his work, focused above all on language skills, with many of his own prosaic texts of different form and content as well as heterogeneous, yet always skillful lingual expression. It means that Ibn Ḥijjah's aim was not to publish a handbook of various formulary documents but rather to provide a rich resource of stylistic and lexical skills demonstrated by texts written by himself or by skilled scribes from the court chanceries of local rulers, and bejeweled with literary subtleties.

The author divided this collection of texts into three parts (*juz'*). The first part consists of twenty-six official documents concluded by the two literary texts—*Ta'liq Tamā'im al-Ḥamā'im* and *Majrā al-Sawābiq*. The second part includes thirty-one official documents and diplomatic letters (nos. 27–34 and 35–57) divided in two groups by several *taqārīd*. In the third and last part of the work, three groups of documents with *taqārīd* rotate regularly. The first series of documents opening

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"*majrā al-sawābiq*" as "racing course for the racing horses" as well as "competition of the predecessors." Also the word "*ta'liq*" in "*ta'liq tamā'im al-ḥamā'im*" is used not only in the meaning of "commentary," but also as "hanging the turtles with talismans."

<sup>12</sup> A poet and court dignitary, and an older contemporary of Ibn Ḥijjah; see *GAL*, 2:15.

<sup>13</sup> A work not mentioned by Brockelmann; see *GAL*, 2:16. For al-Qīrātī, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh (1326–79), see *GAL*, 2:14.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ḥijjah's name for his adaptation of the "Burdah." (Is it the *Taqdīm Abī Bakr* mentioned in *GAL*, 2:16 as Ibn Ḥijjah's commentary on his *Badī'iyah*?)

<sup>15</sup> A collection of *qaṣīdahs*, five of them composed by Ibn Nubātah (1287–1366) and five by Ibn Ḥijjah; see Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2:10.

<sup>16</sup> The last two works are not mentioned by Brockelmann in his *GAL*.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshā'*, 4.



this part are followed by *taqārīd* and then another small group of *taqārīd* is inserted between the next two series of documents. The last series of documents (nos. 113–16) is followed by official papers drawn up by Ibn Ḥijjah when he worked in the provincial chancery in Ḥamāh and also the above-mentioned letters to his friends, *taqārīd*, and prefaces to his literary works.

These three parts (*juzʿ*) vary not only in their contents but also in their extent. The shortest of them is the first part, while the second one is a little bit longer, and the third part is the longest, with its length exceeding both preceding parts.<sup>18</sup>

For understanding Ibn Ḥijjah's preparation and elaboration of *Qahwat al-Inshāʿ* its first part is important. As mentioned above, a first look at this work can—with regard also to the different length of its parts—create an impression that the texts are arranged fortuitously without any premeditated plan. Nevertheless, it seems that Ibn Ḥijjah decided very early to create a special work of the art of epistolography and stylistics that would correspond to contemporary language skills and taste. Perhaps he started with preparations when he worked in the correspondence chancery in Cairo or even during his service in the provincial chancery in Ḥamāh. Such a conjecture is supported by both public and private letters found at the end of the third part, which Ibn Ḥijjah brought in 1413 from Ḥamāh to Cairo, as well as by the mention of the *ḥalāwah* of Cairo and the fruits of Ḥamāh. The fact that “the fruits of Ḥamāh” are mentioned in the preface to the first part, brought to an end in Ramaḍān 817/November 1414,<sup>19</sup> reveals Ibn Ḥijjah's early idea to compose a collection of his properly chosen epistolographic texts, and—as is evident from his supplying other texts of a more literary nature—to provide their users with as rich linguistic material as possible. All official documents in this first part are arranged chronologically from 13 Shawwāl 815/16 January 1412 to 1 Ramaḍān 817/14 November 1414. In the same way—i.e., in chronological succession—all of the following official letters are arranged being formalized mostly by Ibn Ḥijjah until the beginning of Rajab 827/beginning of July 1424.

That means that *Qahwat al-Inshāʿ* came into existence gradually and in accordance with publishing the documents worded by its author. The fact that he complemented the documents issued by the sultan's chancery with letters from the times when he worked in Ḥamāh shows that he could not have completed the collection before terminating his service in the correspondence chancery—which he likely did before his return to his native Ḥamāh, i.e., between the years 827/1424 and 830/1427.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, in the manuscript preserved in Tübingen (sign. Ma 170) the first part occupies twenty-six leaves, the second part is thirty-one leaves and the third is seventy-four leaves.

<sup>19</sup> The copy (Leiden MS Or. 452) was finished in the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 817/12–21 January 1415. The copyist was a pupil (*tilmīdh*) of Ibn Ḥijjah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Kharrāt (appointed by the *tawqīʿ* no. 28 as *kātib as-sirr* in Ṭarābulus; see Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʿ*, 113 ff.).



It is possible to illustrate the regular rotation of the types of texts as well as their dissimilarity in the different parts (*juz'*) of *Qahwat al-Inshā'* by marking every type of text by a symbol. The letter A marks the official documents, B the *taqārīd*, and C the literary texts. The position of these texts in the three parts of *Qahwat al-Inshā'* appears as follows:

In the first part (*juz'*):           A . C

In the second part (*juz'*):       A . B . A

In the third part (*juz'*):           A . B . A . B . A . B . C

From this scheme it is evident that:

- (1) All three parts are opened by official documents (A).
- (2) The first part as well as the third one are concluded by literary texts (C).
- (3) The individual parts always consist of a certain number of elements; the first one is composed of two elements, the second one of three elements and the third one of seven elements. In the second and the third parts texts A and B rotate regularly and form the nucleus of the whole work.
- (4) The nucleus of the work consists of parts two and three bookended by the literary texts (C).

It is hardly credible that this structure came into existence by chance. On the contrary, no doubt can be cast upon the author's intention. The coincidence is disproved by its premeditation and artificiality corresponding after all with the taste of the times when *Qahwat al-Inshā'* came into existence. The author took advantage of the chronological sequence of the official documents (A), which he interrupted—probably also in dependence on chronology<sup>20</sup>—by the *taqārīd* (B). Such an unusual form<sup>21</sup> results not only from Ibn Ḥijjah's efforts to be original, but also to raise interest in his professionally challenging work among its contemporary and future users. The unusually high number of its copies preserved up until now is proof of the author's success.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> In such a case it could be possible to guess the time of the "edition" of the "reviewed" literary works, for instance Ibn Nāhid's *Sīrah Shaykhīyah*—likely in the second half of the year 818, between no. 34 (10 Rajab) and no. 35 (second half of Dhū al-Ḥijjah?); see Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshā'*, 135–49.

<sup>21</sup> It was a *namaṭ gharīb*, a "strange form," some "original way," a term Ibn Ḥijjah used in his *taqrīz* for Ibn Nāhid's form of *Sīrah Shaykhīyah*; see *Qahwat al-Inshā'*, 137; Rudolf Veselý, "Eine verkannte Sultansbiographie, Die Sīra shaykhiya des Ibn Nāhid," in *Zafar Nāme: Memorial Volume of Felix Tauer*, ed. R. V. and Eduard Gombár (Praha, 1996), 271–80.

<sup>22</sup> Brockelmann records seventeen copies of *Qahwat al-Inshā'*; see *GAL*, 2:15–17, S2:8–9. This number may be enlarged by additional copies too, for instance Nuri Osmaniye MS 4308 and Hamburg MS 162.



## Conclusion

Ibn Ḥijjah's *Qahwat al-Inshā'*, a work located on the boundaries between epistolography, diplomatics, artificial prose, and stylistics (*badī'*), is an example to help us pose the question as to whether and how the works of Arab artistic prose created in the so-called late medieval period—often described as the epoch of Arabic literary decay—could be studied. It is known that a work's originality typically did not consist of new themes and ideas, but more often of an unusual elaboration of more or less well-known traditional elements. Ibn Ḥijjah's *Qahwat al-Inshā'* suggests that creating a work by means of the composition of different kinds of texts and styles arranged according to a fixed scheme could be one of the ways leading to originality—*namaṭ gharīb*—as conceived by the society at that time. It is possible that we might find something analogous to Ibn Ḥijjah's composition of *Qahwat al-Inshā'* in other works of contemporary authors. In some works, for instance an anthology,<sup>23</sup> certain themes, forms, and milieus may rotate again and again in accordance with a given kind of literature. Or was this a path that Arabic prose did not pursue further due to the Ottoman conquest of the Arab East? And was Ibn Ḥijjah an author who had no continuator and was his *Qahwat al-Inshā'* only a solitary attempt at a new structure of a literary work? Or was his feat merely a response to a similar work of his era?

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<sup>23</sup> Compare the remarkable study of Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit," in *Die Mamluken*, ed. S. Conermann and A. P. Hatam (Schenefeld, 2003), 71–122.



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## Who Handed over Mamluk Land Registers to the Ottomans? A Study on the Administrators of Land Records in the Late Mamluk Period

Few details are known about the handover of the Mamluk land registers during the transition of rule from the Mamluks to the Ottomans. On the one hand, the empirical studies of Nicolas Michel and ‘Imād Abū Ghāzī have shown that some Ottoman land registers contain valuable Mamluk land records.<sup>1</sup> Such documentary evidence convinces us that the Mamluk land registers were brought to the Ottomans after the conquest in 923/1517. On the other hand, though, little attention has so far been paid to the process of the handover and the actors involved in it. This lack of concern has meant that we have accepted Stanford Shaw’s thesis that a person named ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn al-Jī‘ān discovered the Mamluk registers, despite the fact that he had already died by the time in question.<sup>2</sup> In this situation, Michel’s recent study offers us a great many details about the process of the Ottoman collection of the Mamluk registers. Yet it does not pay full attention to the identification of the person who handed over the Mamluk registers to the Ottomans, even though it points out the contradiction concerning ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn al-Jī‘ān.<sup>3</sup>

The present article aims at a close reconsideration of the handover of the Mamluk land registers to the Ottomans in order to reidentify the person in charge of the handover. This is significant, since by identifying this person we can know who administered the state land records in the Mamluk period and, furthermore, we can clarify how land documents were administered under Mamluk rule. In other words, such a study offers us fundamental knowledge about the bureaucrats who administered the records and the types of relationships that existed among

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<sup>1</sup>Nicolas Michel, “Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya, terres agricoles en mainmorte dans l’Égypte mamelouke et ottoman: Étude sur les Dafātir al-aḥbās ottomans,” *Annales Islamologiques* 30 (1996); ‘Imād Abū Ghāzī, *Ṭaṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirā‘iyah Zaman al-Mamālik al-Ḥarakisah: Dirāsah fī Bay‘ Amlāk Bayt al-Māl* (Cairo, 2000).

<sup>2</sup>For Shaw’s thesis, see Stanford Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517–1798* (Princeton, 1962), 18; idem, “The Land Law of Ottoman Egypt (960/1553): A Contribution to the Study of Landholding in the Early Years of Ottoman Rule in Egypt,” *Der Islam* 38 (1963): 106–8, 126–27.

<sup>3</sup>Nicolas Michel, “Les circassiens avaient brûlé les registres,” *Conquête ottomane de l’Égypte (1517): Arrière-plan, impact, échos* (Leiden, 2013), 225–68. The author suspects who the person was, though the fact remains unclear (ibid., 244, n. 64).



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them. Considering that the Mamluk land system, what we call the “*iqṭāʿ* system,” was the basis of the Mamluk regime,<sup>4</sup> we can assume that the administration of the land records was an essential part of that regime.

Nevertheless, while a few studies on the Mamluk bureaucracy exist, the scholarship has hardly gone beyond the work of Bernadette Martel-Thoumian.<sup>5</sup> This indicates the extent to which we have tended to focus on patronage and networks of the military elite when considering the Mamluk regime, and the comparatively little attention that we have paid to the functions of the civilian bureaucracy.<sup>6</sup> To understand the overall picture of the Mamluk regime, we must produce more studies on the bureaucracy. In addition, studying the handover of the Mamluk land registers allows us to get a step closer to the continuities and changes that occurred between the Mamluks and the Ottomans, in terms of their land records as well as their bureaucracy. Recently a few studies have appeared dealing with the period of the transition of rule.<sup>7</sup> We need to explore the period further, removing the boundaries that lie between the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

## Process of the Handover of the Mamluk Land Registers

The handover of the Mamluk land registers to the Ottomans is evidenced, over and above some mention in the chronicles, by two sources, the “Land Law” and the Ottoman land registers *daftar jayshī* (The Military Register) and *daftar*

<sup>4</sup>Sato defined the Mamluk regime as the ruling system that functioned through the close ties that connected the sultan and military elite, as well as urban society and rural society, by means of the distribution of *iqṭāʿ*s by the sultan, and *iqṭāʿ* management by the military elite who held *iqṭāʿ*s. See Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqṭaʿs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 146.

<sup>5</sup>Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamlūk, 9e/14e siècle* (Damascus, 1991). Carl F. Petry has studied the career patterns of the civilian elite and their networks; see Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981).

<sup>6</sup>Recent studies on the civilian bureaucracy have steadily mitigated this tendency. For example, see Igarashi Daisuke (五十嵐 大介), “Kōki mamulūkuchō no kanryō to jizenjigyō: Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ no jirei o chūshin ni (後期マムルーク朝の官僚と慈善事業—ザイン・アッディーン・アブドゥルバーサイトの事例を中心に—) [Bureaucrats and Their Charitable Works in the Late Mamluk Period with a Focus on the Case of Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ],” *Afuro yūrashia tairiku no toshi to kokka* (アフロ・ユーラシア大陸の都市と国家) [Cities and States of the Afro-Eurasia Continent] (Tokyo, 2014), 489–537; Ōta (Tsukada) Erina (太田(塚田)絵里奈), “Kōki mamulūkuchō yūryoku kanryō no jitsuzō: Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muzhir no kakei to keireki (後期マムルーク朝有力官僚の実像—ザイン・アッディーン・イブン・ムズヒルの家系と経歴) [Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muzhir: The Career and Lineage of an Influential Bureaucrat in the Late Mamluk Period],” *Shigaku* (史学) 83-2/3 (2014), 163–207.

<sup>7</sup>Michel’s works explore the period of the transition of rule. See, for example, Michel, “Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya”; idem, “Disparition et persistance de l’*iqṭāʿ* en Égypte après la conquête ottomane,” *Turcica* 41 (2009).



*aḥbāsī* (The Charity Register). The “Land Law” consists of the norms for judging the legitimacy of vested land rights, i.e., *rizqah* (pl. *rizaq*: estates granted as pensions), *waqf* (pl. *awqāf*: charitable endowments), and *milk* (pl. *amlāk*: private land), and was promulgated under the rule of the governor of Egypt ‘Alī Pasha (r. 956–61/1549–53). The law prescribed that the legitimacy of land rights had to be judged by collating them with the records in the Mamluk land registers. This demonstrates that some Mamluk land registers had been handed over to the Ottomans and were in use under the new rule.<sup>8</sup> In addition, *daftar jayshī* and *daftar aḥbāsī* offer us documentary evidence of this event. They record the legality of land rights judged according to the “Land Law,” consisting of summary records for each village and detailed records for each parcel of land rights. In each record, the right side of the paper shows the Mamluk records reprinted from a Mamluk register, and the left side shows the Ottoman land survey records of 933/1527–28.<sup>9</sup> We know of a few Mamluk land registers handed over to the Ottomans from *daftar jayshī* and *daftar aḥbāsī* because the names of the registers from which the Mamluk land records were reprinted were always clarified by indicating the source, for example, “*bi-daftar* XXX.” This information tells us that the Mamluk records in *daftar jayshī* were almost all based on the Mamluk land register called *daftar al-jarākisah min al-jarīdah al-qadīmah* (The Circassian Register from the Old Register, hereafter referred to as the Circassian Register), and those in *daftar aḥbāsī* were based on the *daftar al-aḥbās zaman al-jarākisah* (The Charity Register of the Circassian Time); in addition, several types of Mamluk land register, such as *daftar al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf* (Register of milks and waqfs) and *daftar al-iqtā‘āt* (Register of *iqtā‘*s) were also utilized when they lacked the necessary information.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Shaw, “The Land Law,” 114–15. Shaw transliterated the text of the law (*ibid.*, 118–26) and translated it into English (*ibid.*, 126–37).

<sup>9</sup>For the compilation process and the contents of *daftar jayshī* and *daftar aḥbāsī*, see Michel, “Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya”; ‘Imād Abū Ghāzī, “Dafātīr al-Rizaq al-Iḥbāsiyyah wa-al-Jayshīyah wa-Ahammiyyathā al-Arshifīyah wa-al-Tārikhiyyah,” *Al-Ruznāme* 2 (2004): 1–33; Kumakura Wakako (熊倉 和歌子), “Mamurū kuchō tochi seidoshi ni okeru shin shiryō: ejiputo kokuritsu monjokan shozō osumanchō tochi daichō (マムルーク朝土地制度史研究における新史料: エジプト国立文書館所蔵オスマン朝土地台帳『軍務台帳』) [A New Source for the Historical Study of the Mamluk Land System: The Ottoman Land Register *Daftar Jayshī* in the Egyptian National Archives],” *Annales of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies* (日本中東学会年報) 25 (2009), 59–81.

<sup>10</sup>For the registers quoted in *daftar aḥbāsī* and *daftar jayshī*, see Michel, “Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya,” 166–76; Kumakura Wakako (熊倉 和歌子), “Kōki mamurū kuchō ni okeru ejiputo tochi monjo gyōsei no shosō: osuman chōki ‘Gunmu daichō’ ni miru mamurū kuchō tochi daichō to sono riyō (後期マムルーク朝におけるエジプト土地文書行政の諸相: オスマン朝期『軍務台帳』に見るマムルーク朝土地台帳とその利用) [Administration of Egyptian Land Documents in the Later Mamluk Period: Land Survey Registers of the Mamluk Dynasty Recorded in the *Daftar Jayshī* from the Early Ottoman Period],” *Ochanomizu Shigaku* (お茶の水史学) 53 (2009), 52–75.



As to the process of the handover of the Mamluk land registers in the early years of Ottoman Egypt, Shaw's thesis concerning the framework of the handover of the Mamluk land registers has been accepted for a long time.<sup>11</sup> Shaw spoke of the discovery of the Mamluk land registers during the early period of Ottoman rule in Egypt in explaining the process of the establishment of Ottoman land policy.<sup>12</sup> We know from his account that there were three stages in the handover of the Mamluk land registers. The first was in 1522, when Ottoman officials discovered that the Mamluk land registers, which were said to have been burned or scattered, had been concealed in their own homes and among less important registers in the treasury by the scribes who had served the previous regime. In 1523, Muṣṭafá Pasha (r. 928–29/1522–23) ordered that the registers be returned and that the treasury be searched for them, though with little success. The second stage was in 1524, when the Ottoman governor Aḥmad Pasha (r. 929–30/1523–24) revolted against Ottoman rule. During the revolt, the scribes from the previous regime who joined him brought out the registers which they had concealed and used them to collect the money he needed to enforce his independent regime, though his attempt was ultimately put down. As a result, the Mamluk registers remained in the possession of the Ottoman treasury and were made use of as the main guide for the ensuing Ottoman cadastral survey of 933/1527–28. The final stage was in 1553, when the "Land Law" was promulgated. Although Shaw made little mention of the background to this in his argument, the text of the law shows that some time before the promulgation, an official named 'Abd al-Qādir of the Jī'ān family, whom Shaw identified in a note as Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jī'ān, was ordered to search out the Mamluk registers, and many of them were subsequently uncovered.<sup>13</sup>

However, this thesis passes over the first steps of the process. As we shall see, certain chronicles indicate that some Mamluk registers were handed over to the Ottomans soon after the conquest. Thus the Ottomans must have had the opportunity to acquire the Mamluk registers immediately after the conquest. And, more importantly, this thesis incorporates the critical contradiction that Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jī'ān, whom Shaw identified as the discoverer of the Mamluk registers, had died in 878/1473, meaning he was no longer alive at the time of the Ottoman conquest. The text of the "Land Law" does

<sup>11</sup>After Shaw, Michel discusses the discovery and handover of the Mamluk land registers with more detailed information obtained from documentary evidence. See Michel, "Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya," 123, 169; Michel, "Les circassiens."

<sup>12</sup>Shaw, "The Land Law," 106–9, 114–15.

<sup>13</sup>Shaw, "The Land Law," 127, n. 4. For Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jī'ān, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961–75), 3:91, and also person no. 21 in fig. 1 below.



not tell us exactly when ‘Abd al-Qādir uncovered the Mamluk registers, but the event certainly occurred under Ottoman rule. Shaw’s interpretation is therefore wrong. Who then was the ‘Abd al-Qādir of the Jī‘ān family?

To answer this question, we need to reconsider the situation in which the Mamluk registers were handed over at the time of the conquest by analyzing the historical sources that include accounts of the submission of the Mamluk registers to the Ottomans when the Ottomans started to rule Egypt. The sources I deal with here are the chronicles of Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524) and Ibn Zunbul (d. ca. 960/1552). The accounts about the situation of the Mamluk registers after the Ottoman conquest in each are as follows:

(a) Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr*, 5:161

On 25 Muḥarram 923/17 February 1517, the *daftardār* granted al-Sharafī Yūnus al-Ustādār a gilt garment of velvet and appointed him as a consultant for tax revenue sources in the villages of Sharqīyah province in order to measure the villages and survey the *iqṭā’*s of the Circassian mamluks there, as well as the *rizaq* and the *waqfs*. Therefore he took lists (*qawā’im*) from the Jī‘ān family and went away to the province.

(b) Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqi‘at al-Sulṭān al-Ghūrī ma‘a Salīm al-‘Uthmānī*, 180<sup>14</sup>

[In 923/1517] the sultan [Selīm I] said to amir Khāyrbak “I want to know the tax revenue sources and the revenues in Egypt.” “Oh king, the only one who knows about that is the qadi Abū Bakr ibn al-Jī‘ān, a member of the Jī‘ān family,” Khāyrbak replied. Then the sultan summoned the qadi. When he arrived, Khāyrbak said to him “The sultan wants you to report the expected annual revenue for Egypt.” The qadi answered, “I will bring you the report tomorrow.” He presented all the registers (*dafātīr*) he brought and left. And he came up the next day, bringing the report in which all the land tax (*kharāj*) at the time of the conquest was written down.

The words that indicate what was handed over to an Ottoman official and the sultan respectively are “lists” (*qawā’im*) and “registers” (*dafātīr*). The “lists” in (a) are what the official received in order to conduct his land survey, and the “registers” in (b) are what Selīm I ordered to be submitted so he could know details of taxes in Egypt. Both must have been Mamluk land records, though we do not know

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqi‘at al-Sulṭān al-Ghūrī ma‘a Salīm al-‘Uthmānī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Āmir (Cairo, 1997).



whether they were copies of the original ones or not. The sources tell us that the documents were uneventfully handed to the new regime when Selīm I was surveying tax revenue sources in Egypt.<sup>15</sup>

However, these records brought to the Ottoman government must have been only part of the whole and so incomplete.<sup>16</sup> This speculation is supported by the fact that the land survey records of Fayyum province in the fiscal year 1517<sup>17</sup> did not refer to any of the Mamluk land records, but only to the testimony submitted to the tax investigating commission.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, on 17 Jumādā I 929/3 April 1523, Muṣṭafā Pasha ordered the Jīʿān family to bring the registers (*defterler*) to the citadel, and then ordered them to compile the *timār* (i.e., *iqṭāʿ*), *waqf*, and *milk* registers.<sup>19</sup> This event clearly shows us that the bulk of the Mamluk registers were yet to be fully managed under the Ottoman government, at least down to the time the order was issued by Muṣṭafā Pasha. In 931/1525, after the revolt

<sup>15</sup>For the land survey, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 5:149, 161–62.

<sup>16</sup>Michel, “Les circassiens,” 248. In fact, the Mamluk registers were not burnt or lost but were managed within the existing organization, which means that the Ottomans did not make positive efforts to involve themselves in management in the early years of the conquest.

<sup>17</sup>The land survey records are bound together with the Ayasofya manuscript of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Nābulusī’s *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm* (Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān al-Nābulusī, “Kitāb Izhār Ṣanʿat al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm fī Tartīb Bilād al-Fayyūm,” Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS. Ayasofya 2960). The whole manuscript consists of 175 folios, with the last three (fols. 172v–175v) devoted to the records. They contain records of twenty-seven villages in Fayyum province that were the financial resources of the *dīwān al-dhakhīrah* (Bureau of the Sultan’s Fisc). For further details about the manuscript, see Kumakura Wakako (熊倉 和歌子), “Nābulusīcho *Faiyūmu no rekishi* ayasofiya shahon ni heiroku sareta osumanchō ejiputo tōchi shonen no chōzei chōsa kiroku (ナーブルスィー著『ファイユームの歴史』アヤソフィア写本に併録されたオスマン朝エジプト統治初年の徴税調査記録) [Tax Survey Records of the First Year of the Ottoman Rule in Egypt, Contained in the Ayasofya Manuscript with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Nābulusī’s *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm*],” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究) 89 (2015): 79–118.

<sup>18</sup>The record of Sīnarū village shows that the tax investigating commission relied on testimony for the lease that the persons in charge of the tax report possessed when they confirmed the tax levied on the village. This demonstrates that the Ottomans did not fully manage the Mamluk land records at the time. The following record is written after the names of the persons in charge of the tax report are registered: “According to the things that they showed in their hands, that is both the testimony of the lease from Jān Bulāṭ Abū Tursayn, who was the *iqṭāʿ* holder of the village, dated 20 Rajab 917/13 October 1511 and his handwritten contract and the receipt with his noble handwritings, the total sum (of *kharāj*): 150,000 dirhams, *diyāfah* (tributary goods): as the price for twenty-five pairs of local geese per year, 1,500 dirhams.” See MS Ayasofya 2960, fol. 174r; Kumakura, “Tax Survey Records of the First Year of the Ottoman Rule in Egypt,” 103. See also its transcription in *ibid.*, iv.

<sup>19</sup>Al-Diyārbakrī, “Tercüme en-nūzheh es-seniyyeh fī zikr el-ḥulefā vel-mülük el-miṣriyyeh,” British Library MS Add. 7846, fols. 288a, 288b. See also Michel, “Disparition et persistance de l’*iqṭāʿ*,” 259; *idem*, “Les circassiens,” 233–34.



of Aḥmad Pasha, the governor Ibrāhīm Pasha (r. 931–32/ 1525–26) promulgated *ḵānūnnāme-i miṣır*, in which standards for judging the legality of land holdings that had been set during the Mamluk period, such as *iqṭā*'s, military *rizaq* (*rizaq jayshī*) and charity *rizaq* (*rizaq aḥbāsī*), were stipulated. The stipulation did not apply the method of collating the land records with the Mamluk land registers to judge the legitimacy of land rights. In addition, the cadastral survey registers of the fiscal year 933/1527–28 were compiled without reference to the Mamluk land records.<sup>20</sup> This indicates that the Ottomans had not completed the collection of the Mamluk land registers by that time, and what they did have was not enough for practical use. It was only when the Mamluk registers could be used practically that it became possible to promulgate the “Land Law.” In short, following the conquests, a portion of the Mamluk land registers had been handed over to the Ottomans in several stages, so that by the time the governor promulgated the “Land Law” the Ottomans had acquired most of them. Who was it then who was involved in the various steps? Who played the major role in the handover of the Mamluk registers? To reveal the protagonist, we must look at the preface to the “Land Law.”

(c) Preface to the “Land Law”<sup>21</sup>

Since the original Mamluk registers (*aṣl Çerâkise defterler*) were dispersed at the time of the conquest, a person named ‘Abd al-Qādir, a member of the Jī‘ān family, who had served as the scribe of military lands (*kâtib-i arâzî-i Ceys*) during the time of the Mamluk sultans and for some time thereafter, was summoned into the presence of the nobles (*şerîfler*), and by means of all sorts of coaxing and importunities and with great persistence, many of the dispersed registers were uncovered and most of the remaining ones were also found hidden in the registers kept in the treasury of Cairo.

This account does not tell us exactly when and by whom ‘Abd al-Qādir was summoned. While Shaw translated *şerîfler* as “governor,” i.e., ‘Alī Pasha, I am not certain whether this is correct. Therefore I have provisionally translated the term directly, considering that it may be possible to interpret this to mean that ‘Abd al-Qādir was summoned before the time of ‘Alī Pasha. Who then was this ‘Abd al-Qādir? As we have seen, it is difficult to support Shaw’s opinion that he was

<sup>20</sup>The land survey of 933/1527–28 was one of the systematic surveys carried out in the early years of Ottoman rule. The records were thereafter positioned as the basic records for Ottoman land administration. For details of the survey and the records, see Muḥammad ‘Afifī, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtisādīyah fī Miṣr fī al-‘Aṣr al-‘Uthmānī* (Cairo, 1991); Michel, “Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya,” 122.

<sup>21</sup>Shaw, “The Land Law,” 118–19, 127. This English translation is based on Shaw’s, with revisions.



Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jī‘ān, as there is no one in the Jī‘ān family who fits. Moreover, the “Land Law” indicates that the ‘Abd al-Qādir of the Jī‘ān family was ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Malakī. This is confusing because his family name was not Jī‘ān but Malakī.<sup>22</sup> Who was this person? How is it that he was identified as a member of the Jī‘ān family?

The key must be the Jī‘ān family, whose members were also involved in the first stage of the process: Account (a) tells us they submitted “the lists” while the person in (b) was a qadi (judge) named Abū Bakr ibn al-Jī‘ān (whose name, however, we cannot find in the chronicles and biographies).<sup>23</sup> We encounter the Jī‘ān family again when Muṣṭafá Pasha ordered them to bring the registers to the citadel in 929/1523. The common feature linking these events is the involvement of members of the Jī‘ān family. These accounts indicate that the family, which features frequently in the Mamluk land registers, was closely connected with the administration of the Mamluk land documents, at least at the time of, and after, the Ottoman conquest.

### The Jī‘ān Family

The Jī‘ān family was one of the notable families of Egypt. They had been converted from Coptic Christianity, and produced many bureaucrats.<sup>24</sup> They emerged into the political spotlight in the reign of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21) and remained important political figures throughout the late Mamluk period. Ibn Iyās writes of them as follows:

The Jī‘ān family has served seventeen sultans so far. They have managed the *dīwān al-jaysh* (military office) and the secretariats of the sultan’s private treasury since the beginning of the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–42/1422–38). They became famous at the beginning of the reign of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh [and have remained so] for approximately one hundred and twenty years. They were not slighted, confined to prison, flogged by the lash, or [had property] confiscated, nor did they have any bitter experience. They were powerful, well treated and were not ignored at any time. They had no such experience until it happened to al-Shihābī Aḥmad ibn al-Jī‘ān. Successive sultans gave them important posts, and this circumstance continued until the reign of al-Ashraf Qānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Shaw, “The Land Law,” 132; Michel, “Les circassiens,” 244, n. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration*, 312–14.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’*, 5:454–55.



In the early Mamluk period, the Jīʿān family seems to have served as bureaucrats for state accounting, though not many details exist concerning this. They appear as “*awlād al-Jīʿān mustawfī al-dawlah*” (chief financier) in 740/1339–40<sup>26</sup> and “*nāzīr al-iṣṭabl*” (supervisor of the sultan’s stable) in 753/1352.<sup>27</sup>

In the late Mamluk period, while there are no detailed accounts about them in the chronicles, al-Sakhāwī’s (d. 902/1497) *Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, a biography of notables in the ninth/fifteenth century, provides relatively rich information about the family, including their members, their professional careers, and their marriages.<sup>28</sup> Martel-Thoumian has collected the information in her study about notable families among the civil officials in the ninth/fifteenth century, which enables us to grasp the overall picture of the Jīʿān family in the late Mamluk period (see Figure 1).<sup>29</sup>

Figure 1 shows some patterns in their careers. First, their sons succeeded to the post of *mustawfī* (bookkeeper) of the *dīwān al-jaysh* (nos. 1, 5, 14, 33, 35, 48, 58). Among them, the eldest sons (nos. 1, 5, 14, 33) had succeeded to the post by the time the third son Muḥammad (no. 35) was installed as *mustawfī*. Second, the younger sons succeeded to the post of *nāzīr al-khizānah* (supervisor of the sultan’s private treasury) and its *kātib* (clerk) (nos. 7, 10, 15, 21, 35, 38, 58, 59).<sup>30</sup> These career patterns are characteristic of the Jīʿān family compared with other notable families in the ninth/fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

There were certain reasons why Muḥammad was installed as *mustawfī* of the *dīwān al-jaysh* even though he was the third son of Yaḥyá ibn al-Jīʿān. First, when former *mustawfī* Abū al-Baqāʿ (no. 33) died suddenly in a surprise attack by mam-luks in 902/1497, the eldest son, ʿUmar (no. 48), the expected successor, had already died, in 894/1489.<sup>32</sup> Second, Abū al-Barakāt (no. 34), a younger brother of Abū al-Baqāʿ, was also already deceased.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the choice must have fallen on Muḥammad.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi*, ed. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 65.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1939–73), 2:881.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–36), 11:241–42.

<sup>29</sup> Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration*, 295–319.

<sup>30</sup> The *nāzīr al-khizānah* shouldered responsibility for the accounts of the treasury. For more details about the post, see Igarashi Daisuke, “The Evolution of the Sultanic Fisc and *al-Dhakhīrah* during the Circassian Mamluk Period,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010): 94–95.

<sup>31</sup> Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration*, 295–319.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 6:135.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 11:3–4; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 3:209.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 3:363. He was appointed both *mustawfī* and *nāʿib kātib al-sirr* (deputy secretary).



This irregular appointment led to a small change in the family's career pattern. Muḥammad served as *mustawfī* until his death in 916/1510, after which his nephew Aḥmad (no. 58) was appointed as both *mustawfī* and *mutakallim fī al-khizānah* (consultant for the sultan's private treasury), while Muḥammad's sons (nos. 60, 61, 63, 64) were appointed as Aḥmad's assistants.<sup>35</sup> The family's eldest sons, who must also have been family heads at the time, had succeeded to the post of *mustawfī*. The authority as head of the family must have passed to the third son Muḥammad, then after Muḥammad's death, to his nephew Aḥmad. Though we cannot know the exact reason for the change in the family succession, the consistent importance of the post of *mustawfī* for the Jī'ān family is clear.

The *mustawfī* of the *dīwān al-jaysh* was actively involved in the administration of the land records and the calculation of tax revenues from *iqṭā's*.<sup>36</sup> In the late Mamluk period, no members from families other than the Jī'ān were appointed as *mustawfī*.<sup>37</sup> This implies that the post of *mustawfī* was a hereditary right of the Jī'ān family, which as a result administered the land records and their revenues. In addition, under their purview were land records concerned not only with the *dīwān al-jaysh* but also with other Egyptian land that was in the name of other *dīwāns*. The fact that Ibn Zunbul stated that "the only one who knows about that is the qadi Abū Bakr ibn al-Jī'ān, a member of the Jī'ān family" shows clearly that the family had administered all the Egyptian land records exclusively.

## Malakī Family

Let us now return to the question of 'Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr, and who was likely to have submitted the Mamluk registers to the Ottomans. Though I could not find the answer in contemporary biographies, I found the key to the solution in *daftar jayshī*, where the following sentence was reprinted from the *Circassian*

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 4:181. He was appointed *mustawfī*, *nā'ib kātib al-sirr*, and *mutakallim fī al-khizānah*.

<sup>36</sup>There is little mention of the *mustawfī's* duties at the *dīwān al-jaysh* in the texts. For example, though Nuwayrī devoted pages to the *kātib's* duties at the *dīwān al-jaysh* in his *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (vols. 1–18: Cairo, 1923–55; vols. 19–31: Cairo, 1975–92), 8:200–13, he did not provide detailed information concerning the *mustawfī's* duties. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 2002–4), 3:705–7, 734; Abraham N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (repr. Philadelphia, 1977), 20–21.

<sup>37</sup>Major notable families that produced bureaucrats appointed to leading posts in the late Mamluk period were Banū al-Hayṣam, Banū Fukhayrah, Banū al-Saffāh, Banū Naṣr Allāh, Banū Abī al-Faraj, Banū al-Kuwayz, Banū al-Bārīzī, Banū Muzhir, and Banū Kātib Jakam. However, they did not produce any *mustawfīs* of the *dīwān al-jaysh*. For these notable families, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration*, 189–294.



*Register*, “The *Circassian Register* written by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Malakī.”<sup>38</sup> This indicates that the *Circassian Register* that contained Mamluk land records was compiled by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Malakī. Who then was this ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Malakī? In the *Badā’i*, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Malakī suddenly appears as the *mustawfī dīwān al-jaysh* in 922/1516, taking the place of the Jī‘ān family, and he subsequently served the Ottomans after the conquest.<sup>39</sup> After that, he was brought to Istanbul with other bureaucrats for around five years from 923/1517 to 928/1522.<sup>40</sup> Although his name and career evidently correspond to the person mentioned in the preface of the “Land Law,” he clearly was a member, not of the Jī‘ān family, but of the Malakī family. Also, considering that the ‘Abd al-Qādir in question was a member of the Malakī family, it is possible that the Abū Bakr in (b) was Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Malakī, who was ‘Abd al-Qādir’s brother and had served as the *mustawfī dīwān al-jaysh* together with his brother.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, they were thought to be members of the Jī‘ān family by the chroniclers and the author of the “Land Law.” As far as Abū Bakr was concerned, Ibn Zunbul even wrote down his name as “Abū Bakr ibn al-Jī‘ān.”

What then was the relationship between the Malakī family and the Jī‘ān family? Why did the sources attribute members of the Malakī family to the Jī‘ān family? The most reasonable answer available from Figure 1 is that these families were united by marital ties (nos. 36, 37, 66). The first was Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyá ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Jamāl ibn al-Sharaf ibn Sa’d al-Dīn ibn bint al-Malakī bearing the *nisbah* “al-Malakī,” who married two women from the Jī‘ān family (nos. 36 and 37). The second was Ibn al-Baṭrak al-Malakī (no. 66), though his wife was not a direct descendant of the Jī‘ān family. The Malakī family, like the Jī‘ān family, had converted from Coptic Christianity to Islam and seemed to have had a close connection with the *dīwān al-jaysh*. According to al-Sakhāwī, al-Sharaf ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Faḍl Allāh (d. 740/1339), known as Nashū, who had served as *mustawfī al-dawlah* and *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (inspector of the sultan’s private treasury) during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (the third r. 809–41/1310–41), was the ancestor of the Malakī family.<sup>42</sup> The father of the above-mentioned Yūsuf, Yaḥyá ibn bint

<sup>38</sup>“Daftar Khāmis Wilāyat al-Gharbiyah Jayshī,” Cairo, Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīyah Register number 3001–000102, fol. 242v.

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 5:187, 230, 398, 457.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 5:5.

<sup>42</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*, 4:251. For Nashū, see al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr wa-A’wān al-Naṣr*, ed. ‘Alī Abū Zayd et al. (Damascus, 1998), 3:200–4; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A’yān al-Mi’ah al-Thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966–68), 3:42–44; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā ba’da al-Wāfi* (Cairo, 1984–2006), 7:390–93; idem, *Al-Dalīl al-Shāfi ‘alā al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1998), 1:434; idem,



al-Malakī (d. 841/1438), had served as *ṣāhib dīwān al-jaysh* (intendant of the army bureau).<sup>43</sup> After he died (when Yūsuf was still young), the post of *ṣāhib dīwān al-jaysh* was inherited by three people together: Yūsuf, his brother Ibrāhīm ibn bint al-Malakī, and their uncle ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn bint al-Malakī (d. 848/1444).<sup>44</sup> Though I could find little out about Ibn al-Baṭrak al-Malakī and his relationship with the people known as “the son(s) of bint al-Malakī,” we can assume that Ibn Baṭrak’s father and the mother of the ibn bint al-Malakīs were both from the Malakī family.<sup>45</sup> *Daftar Jayshī* provides further detailed information about the relationships between the Jī‘ān and Malakī families. A record of a *milk* in Itfīḥ province shows that the *milk* had been purchased by a person who seems to be ‘Abd al-Qādir of the Malakī family. According to the records, the purchaser “‘Abd al-Qādir ibn al-Jamālī Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyá, who was known as Ibn al-Malakī” had purchased the land rights from al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad ibn Qānībāy and his son al-Zaynī ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ in 912/1506–7.<sup>46</sup> His name tells us that this ‘Abd al-Qādir was a son of Yūsuf and a grandson of Yaḥyá, who was known as Ibn al-Malakī. He is certainly the same person mentioned by al-Sakhāwī as Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyá ibn bint al-Malakī and the person who married two women from the Jī‘ān family; that is to say, the father of ‘Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr was from the Malakī family, while their mother was from the Jī‘ān family. Also, they were cousins of al-Shihābī Aḥmad ibn al-Jī‘ān (no. 58).

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*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:323.

<sup>43</sup>For Yūsuf, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*, 10:336–37. And for his father Yaḥyá, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Umr fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu‘īd Khān (Beirut, 1967), 9:30; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*, 10:230.

<sup>44</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*, 4:251.

<sup>45</sup>We can find other Malakīs in the narrative sources. However, I could not find any definite relationships between these Malakīs and our Malakīs. For example, Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nashū al-Malakī (d. 782/1380–81), who had served as *wazīr* and *nāzir al-jaysh* (supervisor of the army bureau), and Karīm al-Dīn Akram ibn Shaykh al-Malakī (d. ?), who had served as *mustawfi dīwān al-jaysh*, bore the same *nisbah*. In addition, Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ruzzāq ibn Abī al-Faraj ibn Niqūlā al-Armanī al-Aslamī, a member of the Abū al-Faraj family, who had served as *wazīr*, *ustādār*, and *kāshif*, had borne the *nisbah* “al-Malakī” before, but the family seems to have been known as the Abū al-Faraj family from the time of Tāj al-Dīn’s son so they would not have been called “al-Malakī.” For Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:407; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’*, 1:2:281. For Karīm al-Dīn Akram, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:879. For the Abū al-Faraj family, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 3:182; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 7:314–18; idem, *Dalīl al-Shāfi’*, 1:420; idem, *Nujūm*, 14:152; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 2:432; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration*, 227–37.

<sup>46</sup>“Daftar Wilāyat al-Qūṣiyah Jayshī,” Cairo, Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīyah Register number 3001–000111, fol. 8r.



These three people were contemporaries, and they had a close connection over and above their marital relationships. As I have mentioned above, the eldest sons of the Jī‘ān family succeeded to the post of *mustawfī dīwān al-jaysh* throughout the late Mamluk period. However, after Aḥmad ibn al-Jī‘ān (no. 58) was appointed the *nā‘ib kātib al-sirr* in the last years of the dynasty, ‘Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr subsequently took Aḥmad’s place as *mustawfī*.<sup>47</sup> Ibn Iyās indicated the position and hierarchical order of the Jī‘ān and Malakī families in his account of a parade held at the time of the military expedition against the Ottomans in 922/1516. He described that marching in procession after the leading figures such as Aḥmad ibn al-Jī‘ān, *nā‘ib kātib al-sirr* and *mustawfī dīwān al-inshā‘* at the time, were “the Jī‘ān family, clerks of the sultan’s private treasury (*awlād al-Jī‘ān kuttāb al-khazā‘in al-sharīfah*),” and “the Malakī family, bookkeepers of the military (*awlād al-Malakī kuttāb istiḥā‘ al-jaysh*).”<sup>48</sup> This procession also demonstrated to the Cairenes the close relationship between the two families in public and recognized their role in the Mamluk regime. Because the two families were related by marriage, both ‘Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr could be of the Jī‘ān family in terms of maternal ties as well as of the Malakī family in terms of paternal ties. They also had close relations in terms of their role as former *mustawfīs* and their successors. We can assume that they cooperated in performing their duties and were on visiting terms with each other.<sup>49</sup> It is therefore quite natural that contemporaries recognized ‘Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr of the Malakī family as members of the Jī‘ān family.

## Conclusion

I have demonstrated in this article that those who were involved in the handover of the Mamluk registers to the Ottomans were two brothers of the Malakī family, ‘Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr, who had occupied the post of *mustawfī dīwān al-jaysh* from the last years of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī’s reign. My examination has shown that members of the Jī‘ān family had successively played a significant role in the administration of land records. The administration of land records had been undertaken exclusively by a specific family, that is, the Jī‘ān-Malakī family, throughout the late Mamluk period. They did not build up their position by marrying into the households of sultans or powerful military elites.<sup>50</sup> Rather, they

<sup>47</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i‘*, 5:5.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 5:40.

<sup>49</sup>Their close relationship can be seen in some events. For example, when ‘Abd al-Qādir and Abū Bakr of the Malakī family were arrested for a delay in payment of their debts to a Greek merchant (*tujjār al-Arwām*), Aḥmad ibn al-Jī‘ān mediated between them; see Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i‘*, 5:180. In another event, both Aḥmad ibn al-Jī‘ān and Abū Bakr al-Malakī were suspected of illegally trading state lands; see *ibid.*, 5:424.

<sup>50</sup>For their marital relations, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration*, 316–18.



gained the firm trust of the sultans for their unsurpassed skills in bookkeeping and accounts, essential for land administration. Perhaps it is more precise to say that they were not so much powerful bureaucrats who made crucial decisions on the center stage of Mamluk politics as people working behind the scenes to offer basic resources and suggestions concerning the state's financial affairs for the military elite and other bureaucrats who were the decision makers. As a result, they came to take hold of confidential matters related to the Mamluks' fundamental resource, that is, land and land revenues.<sup>51</sup> In addition, they exclusively inherited among themselves the position of *mustawfī* of the *dīwān al-jaysh* that played a vital role in Mamluk land administration. This fact also indicates that the family was the central unit in the Mamluk land administration, at least of the *dīwān al-jaysh*.

How then were they treated by the new ruler? When Khāyrbak (r. 923–28/1517–22) entered Cairo in triumph and started to rule Egypt as *malik al-umarā'* in 923/1517, he reappointed Aḥmad ibn al-Jī'ān as *nā'ib kātib al-sirr*, the same position he had occupied before the conquest.<sup>52</sup> The following year, 924/1518, Aḥmad ibn al-Jī'ān was appointed *kātib al-sirr* and reached the highest position possible for a bureaucrat.<sup>53</sup> Though his career under the new regime was not successful, as he was suspected of an illegal land transaction,<sup>54</sup> he held important positions such as *kātib al-sirr* and *daftardār* at the beginning of the Ottoman administration in Egypt.<sup>55</sup> Eventually he was put to death, suspected of conspiracy with Aḥmad Pasha in his revolt.<sup>56</sup> After his death, the Jī'āns seem to have disappeared from the center stage of history. On the other hand, with regard to the Malakī family,

<sup>51</sup>The only source of complete land records from the late Mamluk period, written by Yaḥyá ibn al-Jī'ān, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah*, also implies the family's exclusive role. For more on this unique work, see Kumakura Wakako, "Mamurūkuchō kōki ejiputo no tochi chōsa kiroku no keishō to kōshin—Ibn al-Jī'ān *Ejiputo no muramura no namae ni tsuite no kagayakashiki shihō al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah* no saikentō o tsūjite (マムルーク朝後期エジプトの土地調査記録の継承と更新—イブン・アルジーアーン『エジプトの村々の名前についての輝かしき至宝 al-Tuḥfa al-Sanīya』の再検討を通じて) [The Administration of Egyptian Land Survey Records in the Later Mamluk Period: A Review of *Al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah*]," *The Toyo Gakuho* (東洋学報) [The Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko] 92, no. 1 (2011): 95–120. This article is a codicological work on MS Huntington 2, the original manuscript of *Al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah* preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University. See also Michel, "Les circassiens," 245.

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 5:208–9.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 5:276–77.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 5:424.

<sup>55</sup>Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration*, 312.

<sup>56</sup>Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi-A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Āshirah*, ed. Jibril Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945), 156; Michael Winter, *Society & Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī* (New Jersey, 1982), 26–27, n. 11.



Abū Bakr took up his position as *mustawfī* in 923/1517,<sup>57</sup> while ʿAbd al-Qādir was brought to Istanbul for five years beginning in 923/1517, as mentioned above. After returning to Cairo, ʿAbd al-Qādir must have been ordered to recover the Mamluk registers, and set about doing so. Subsequently they make no more appearance in the historical record.

Our examination of how the administration of the land documents was handed over in the process of the transition of rule from the Mamluks to the Ottomans has revealed that two families, the Jīʿāns and the Malakīs, had a role in the administration of land documents from the late Mamluk period to the beginning of Ottoman rule in Egypt. The Egyptian land records, which had been kept for generations within their families, were transferred to the Ottomans in stages. Finally, they were reprinted in Ottoman land registers such as *daftar jayshī* and *daftar aḥbāsī*, and were referenced officially until at least the seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup> Comparing Mamluk and Ottoman attitudes toward land record management, the series of events described reveals a drastic change during the transition period. While in the Mamluk period, management depended on the households of specific families, the Ottomans tried to manage land records systematically within a government institution. This attitude obviously surfaced from the 1520s, which indicates that the issue should be examined and understood in the context of the centralization which took place during Sulayman’s reign.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿi*, 5:210.

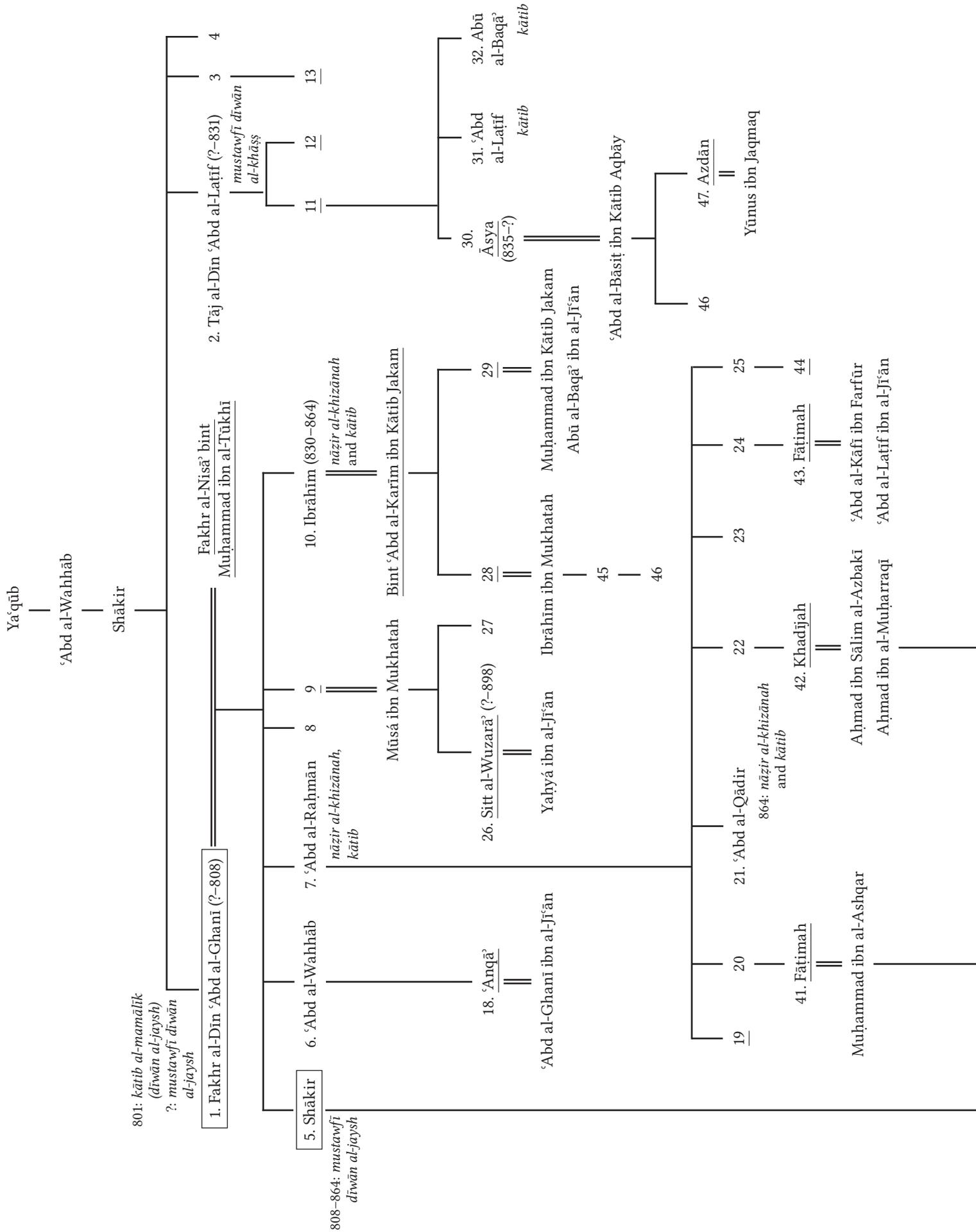
<sup>58</sup>Ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī, *Al-Minaḥ al-Raḥmānīyah fī al-Dawlah al-ʿUthmānīyah wa-Dhayluhu al-Laṭāʾif al-Rabbānīyah ʿalā al-Minaḥ al-Raḥmānīyah*, ed. Laylā Şabbāgh (Damascus, 1995), 315; idem, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Bahīyah fī Tamalluk Āl ʿUthmān al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 2005), 131; ʿAfīfī, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtisādīyah*, 52–54; Michael Winter, “Ottoman Egypt, 1525–1609,” in *The Cambridge History of Egypt 2* (Cambridge, 1998), 125–26.

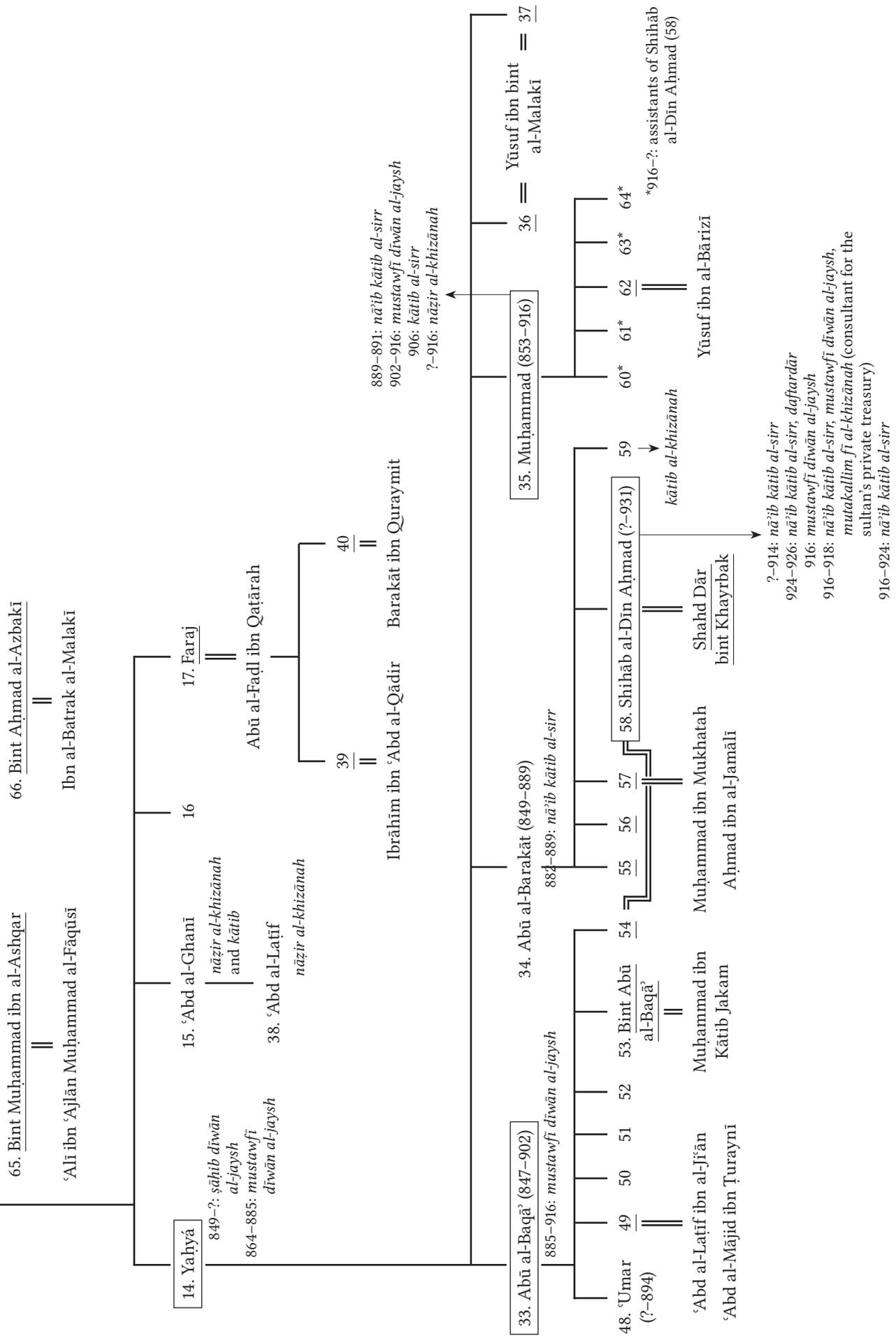
<sup>59</sup>Kumakura Wakako, “16 seiki faiyūmu-ken no mizu, zeī, kiroku kanri: Osumanchō ejiputo tōchi shoki no suiri gyōsei ni miru tōchi taisei to sono tenkai (16世紀ファイユーム県の水・税・記録管理: オスマン朝エジプト統治初期の水利行政に見る統治体制とその展開) [Water, Taxes and Records Management in Fayyum Province in Sixteenth-Century Egypt: the Early Ottoman Rural Government System and Its Development Seen from Water Use Administration], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* (東洋史研究), 73, no. 3 (2014): 471–506. A revised version of this article is forthcoming in English.



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Figure 1. The Jī'ān Family

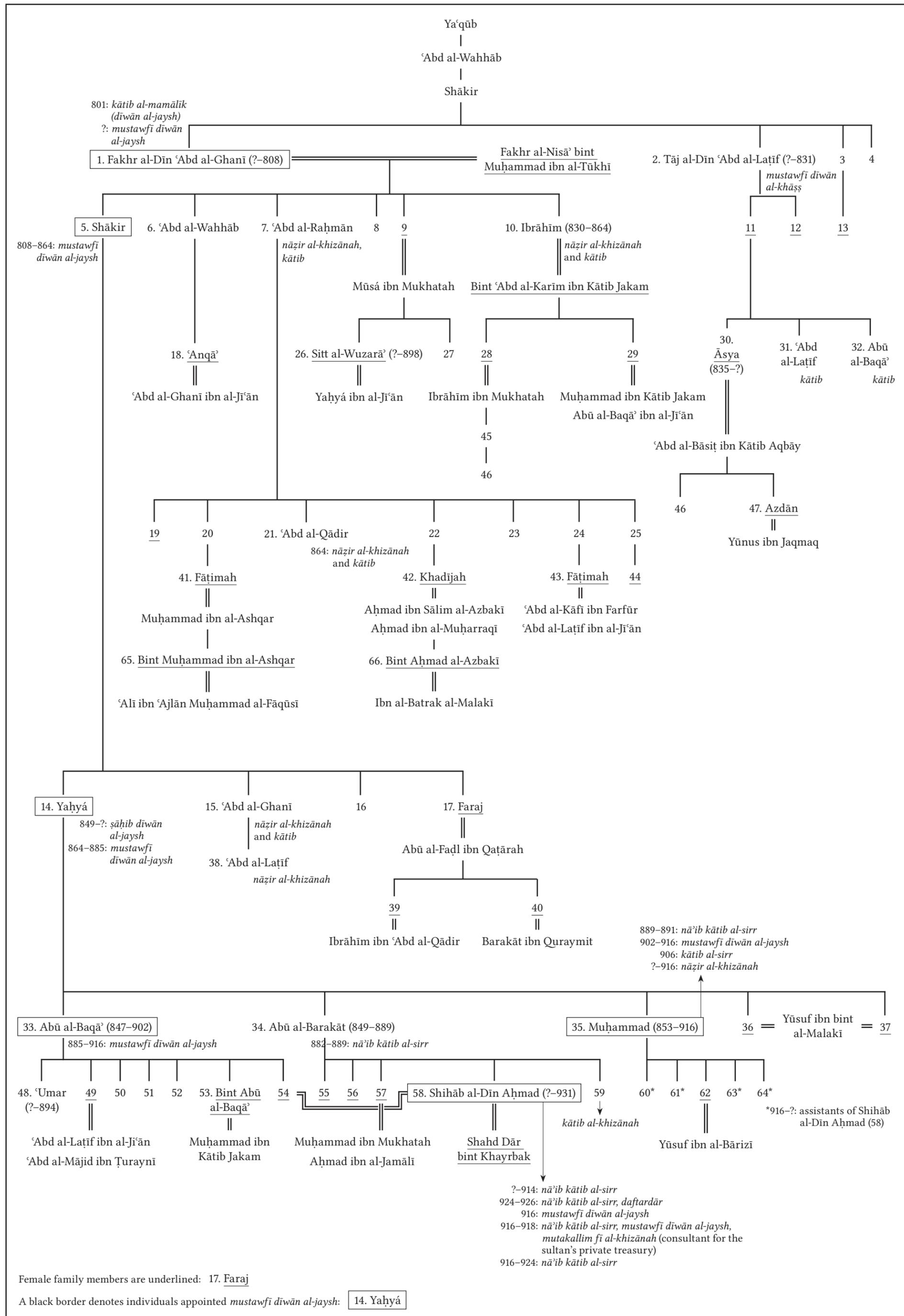




Female family members are underlined: 17. Faraj

A black border denotes individuals appointed *mustawfī dīwān al-jaysh*: 14. Yaḥyá

Figure 1. The Jī‘ān Family



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## Western vs. Eastern Way of War in the Late Medieval Near East: An Unsuitable Paradigm: A Review Essay of David Nicolle's *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*\*

The last half century has seen significant reorientations in military history. For a long time, the study of war was the prerogative of military officers, who were dealing primarily with strategy and tactic. After World War Two, many historians reconciled with the history of war and paid greater attention to the interaction of war with societies, economics, and politics.<sup>1</sup> This “New Military History” allowed the history of war to become again a well-taught academic discipline in universities, mainly in the Anglo-Saxon world.<sup>2</sup> In recent years, this “New Military History” has been criticized by military historians who asserted that its practitioners wrote “a history without men” and excluded what is the essence of war: combat.<sup>3</sup> The study of war knows its “cultural turn,” which is largely characterized by the adoption of an anthropological bias.<sup>4</sup>

These historiographical changes mainly affect researchers who deal with the history of warfare in the twentieth century. In particular, the recent revival of interest in the First World War among historians, as well as among the public, to a large extent resulted in a substantial renewal of its themes. Military occupation, war memories, wartime body, violence of war, extreme violence, and representation of the enemies are now common themes for the historians studying the First World War.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, military historians of the medieval Near East have been

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\* David Nicolle, *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, Travaux et Études de la Mission Archéologique Syro-Française Citadelle de Damas (1999–2006), volume III (Damascus: Presses de l'IFPO, 2011). Pp. 396.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Paret, “The New Military History,” *Parameters* 31 (1991): 11–18; idem, “The History of War and the New Military History,” in *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power*, ed. P. Paret (Princeton, 1992): 209–26; John Whiteclay Chambers, “The New Military History: Myth and Reality,” *The Journal of Military History* 55 (1991): 395–406.

<sup>2</sup> *Military History and the Military Profession*, ed. David A. Charters, M. Milner, and J. B. Wilson (Westport, 1992), 39.

<sup>3</sup> John A. Lynn, “The Embattled Future of Military History,” *Journal of Military History* 61, no. 4 (October 1997): 777–89; Abbès Zouache, “Introduction,” in *La guerre dans le monde arabo-musulman: Perspectives anthropologiques, Annales Islamologiques* 43, ed. A. Zouache (Cairo, 2010), 1–30.

<sup>4</sup> See Patrick Porter, “Good Anthropology, Bad History: The Cultural Turn in Studying War,” *Parameters* 37, no. 2 (2007): 45–58.

<sup>5</sup> Jay M. Winter, “Catastrophe and Culture: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the First World War,” *The Journal of Modern History* 64 (Sept. 1992): 525–32; Antoine Prost and Jay M. Winter, *Penser la Grande Guerre: Un essai d'historiographie* (Paris, 2004), available in English transla-



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quite marginally affected by this reorientation, despite some efforts being made—for example—to decipher the dynamics of violence of war.<sup>6</sup> In many respects, military history of the medieval Islamic Near East is still an “operational history” dealing with strategy and tactics.

So it is not surprising that a few of its specialists have examined the thesis popularized by Victor Davis Hanson that a “Western way of war” must be distinguished from an Eastern one.<sup>7</sup> According to him, the Western way of war—or more properly the Western culture of war—could be purposely characterized by seeking battle to gain a rapid decision to war, emphasis on shock warfare, face to face combat, and a singular lethality, whereas the Eastern one is characterized by deception, a penchant for indirect combat, an avoidance of close-in warfare, and a preference for standoff weaponry and missile oriented tactics.<sup>8</sup> Of course, Hanson’s thesis primitively referred to the mode of fighting employed by the ancient Greeks. But then he identified the elements which enabled him to show the continuity of these opposite ways of war. As for medieval warfare, he opposed the heavy and close-quarter warhorse of the Christian armies to the light cavalry of the Muslims. According to him and like-minded military historians, the “Muslim way of war,” which was essentially an Eastern one, was conducted with the aim of victory in bloodless battle, given the predominance of light cavalry, mounted sorties, and ambushes, and the limited role of infantry.<sup>9</sup>

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tion as *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (New York, 2005). See also Jones Heather, “As the Centenary Approaches: the Regeneration of First World War Historiography,” *Historical Journal* 56 (2013): 857–78.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Strickland, “Slaughter, Slavery or Ransom: The Impact of the Conquest on Conduct in Warfare,” in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Carola Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 41–59; idem, “Killing or Clemency? Ransom, Chivalry and Changing Attitudes to Defeated Opponents in Britain and Northern-France, 7–12th Centuries,” in *Krieg im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans-Henning Kortum (Stuttgart, 2010): 93–121; idem, “The vanquished body: some conclusions and comparisons,” in *El cuerpo derrotado: como trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Iberica, ss. VIII-III)* (Madrid, 2008): 531–70; David Hay, “Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of ‘Massacres’ of the First Crusade,” in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (New York, 2001): 3–10; Abbès Zouache, “Têtes en guerre au Proche-Orient: Mutilations et décapitations (Ve–Vie–XIe–XIIe siècles),” *Annales Islamologiques* 43 (2009): 195–244.

<sup>7</sup> A notable exception is John France, “Close Order and Close Quarter: The Culture of Combat in the West,” *The International History Review* 27, no. 3 (Sept. 2005): 498–517.

<sup>8</sup> Victor David Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (New York, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> Victor David Hanson, *Why the West Won: Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (2nd ed., 2007), 147–48. Hanson refers to John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (London, 1999), 212–13. Yet John France rejected Hanson’s thesis in the article cited above (“Close Order and Close Quarter: The Culture of Combat in the West,” 501).



Several military historians have shown the harmlessness of Hanson's thesis, which relies on overgeneralizations and insufficient contextualization, and is premised upon the idea that there has been a long cultural gap between East and West.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, it is not hard to link Hanson's thesis with the old and widely held notion spread by nineteenth-century Orientalists of the superiority of Western civilization over Eastern civilization. Before and sometimes after World War Two, works of military historians were more or less deeply marked by the certainty of the strategic, tactical, and technical superiority of Western armies over those of their Oriental enemies.<sup>11</sup>

Yet leading military historians like John Keegan defended the idea that Oriental warfare was "different and apart from European warfare." According to him, the medieval cavalry charge practiced in Europe as well as by the Crusaders in Syria was no more than "a continuation in an elaborated form of the code of the phalanx," while their Muslim opponents systematically sought to fight at distance.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore not surprising that Hanson's thesis has been a success among the historians as well as commentators.<sup>13</sup> So the publication of David Nicolle's important book is timely, as he shows how complex the dramaturgy of war was, mainly in the medieval Near East, where from the end of the eleventh century different nations (mainly Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Franks, and Mongols) fought against and with the others and formed a kind of cultural matrix of warfare. The Mamluk armies were a product of this cultural matrix as they combined the different traditions of warfare to fight in a way that seemed to be the most effective to achieve victory.

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<sup>10</sup> For example: John A. Lynn, *Battle: a History of Combat and Culture* (Boulder, CO, 2003); idem, "The Evolution of Army Style in the Modern West, 800–2000," *The International History Review* 18, no. 3 (1996): 505–45; John France, "Close Order and Close Quarter: The Culture of Combat in the West," *passim*; Steven J. Willett, "History from the Clouds: Review of *Carnage and Culture: Landmarks Battles in the Rise of Western Power* by Victor David Hanson," *Arion*, third series, vol. 10, no. 1 (Spring–Summer, 2002): 157–78.

<sup>11</sup> Lynn White, Jr., "The Crusades and the Technological Thrust of the West," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry (London, 1975), 97–112. See Abbès Zouache, *Armées et combats en Syrie de 491/1098 à 569/1174: Analyse comparée des chroniques médiévales latines et arabes* (Damascus, 2008), 42–43; Patrick Porter, "Good Anthropology, Bad History: The Cultural Turn in Studying War," 48; idem, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War through Western Eyes* (New York, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York, 2004), 387 ff.; See Patrick Porter, "Good Anthropology, Bad History: The Cultural Turn in Studying War," 48.

<sup>13</sup> See for example Geoffrey Parker, "Preface," *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare: The Triumph of the West*, ed. Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge, 2008), 7; Jared Jeremy Black, *War: A Short History* (London and New York, 2009), especially 164–65.



## An Exceptional Archeological Discovery

First of all, we should be happy to see this important book published, which was highly anticipated by all the specialists of medieval warfare. Indeed, many Islamic arms and armor (and more generally military material) kept in museums—particularly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>14</sup>—or in private collections (like the Furuṣiyya Art Foundation and the Nasser D. Khalili Collection) can be regularly admired by the public or in splendid (and expensive) exhibition catalogues,<sup>15</sup> but most of the time it is very difficult (and often impossible) to know where they come from and the archeological context in which they were discovered. Military objects of Islamic origin found during excavations in the Near East and whose stratigraphic context is known are quite rare, and even more so those which have been published.<sup>16</sup> As far as I know, the military material published by David Nicolle is unparalleled, except perhaps by the artefacts of the Mamluk period excavated at Qal‘at Raḥbah (Syria) during the seventies by a Syrian-French mission and during the eighties by Syrian archaeologists.<sup>17</sup> Six years ago, I began to catalogue the pieces stored in the Deir ez-Zor Museum (Syria): obviously other pieces had been disseminated in Damascus and in Qatar.<sup>18</sup> Its publication is ur-

<sup>14</sup> See the publications from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, especially *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (since 1905); *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (since 1968); Metropolitan Museum Art Series. Recently: Stuart W. Pyhrr, Donald J. La Rocca, and Morihiko Ogawa, *Arms and Armor: Notable Acquisitions 1991–2002* (New York, 2003). See also the Gallery page at: <http://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/museum-departments/curatorial-departments/arms-and-armor> (last consultation 28 December 2013).

<sup>15</sup> *Weapons of the Islamic World: Swords and Armour: Exhibition held at the Islamic Gallery in King Faisal Foundation Center, Riyadh, 1991* (Riyadh, 1991); David Alexander, *The Arts of War: Arms and Armour of the 7th to 19th Centuries: The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. XXI (London, 1992); *The Art of the Muslim Knight: the Furuṣiyya Art Foundation Collection*, ed. Bashir Mohamed (Paris, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Abbès Zouache, “Les armes,” in *Ṣadr, une forteresse de Saladin au Sināi: Histoire et archéologie*, ed. Jean-Michel Mouton (Paris, 2010), 35–69; Kate Raphael and Yotam Tepper, “The Archeological Evidence from the Mamluk Siege of Arsūf,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 1 (2005): 85–100. Concerning Crusader artefacts, see Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (New York, 2005), 168–77.

<sup>17</sup> The site of Raḥbah-Mayādīn was excavated from 1976 to 1980 by a French-Syrian team supervised by Kassem Toueir (DGAM, Syria) and Thierry Bianquis (head of the French Institute for Arabic Studies in Damascus). Concerning the site, see Marie-Odile Rousset, “Evolution of the Settlement in Mayādīn (Syria),” in *Continuity and Change in Northern Mesopotamia from the Hellenistic to the Early Islamic Period*, ed. K. Barti and S. R. Hauser (Berlin, 1996), 185–94; idem, “La ville de Raḥba-Mayādīn et sa région, IXe-XIVe siècle,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 52 (2000): 243–61.

<sup>18</sup> David Nicolle, “Helmets or Hard-Hats? Some Wood-Lined Headgear from Mamlūk Syria,” in *La guerre dans le Proche-Orient medieval*, vol. II, *Histoire, Archéologie, Anthropologie*, ed. Mathieu Eychenne, Stéphane Pradines, and Abbès Zouache (Cairo, forthcoming).



gent, especially if we consider the current situation in Syria and the danger that the most remarkable pieces may disappear in one way or other.

Fortunately, the Mamluk military material published by David Nicolle cannot meet the same fate. This book inaugurates a series of seven volumes dedicated to the excavations carried out from October 1999 to December 2006 in the Citadel of Damascus by a Syrian-French team directed by Sophie Berthier, Aḥmad Taraqji, and Edmond Al-Ejji. What is published here is a part of the material found during the campaigns of 2001 and 2002: essentially Mamluk material discovered in the area at the eastern end of a building in the southwest of the citadel, plus some objects uncovered in other sectors of the excavation. The discovery of the material in a room located in the southwestern part of the building was a nice surprise for the archaeologists. It comes from an old light-well that had been covered by a new floor, which allowed it to be preserved. Other objects compacted into successive beaten earth floors were found in the same room.<sup>19</sup>

*Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, which is well illustrated, is not only a book in which exceptional archaeological items are described. It is also a brilliant example of how such items can be used to deepen the studies that are made on the military history of the Near East and elsewhere. Of course, one could regret its quite “operational” bias; but Nicolle’s erudition provides the means to broaden the thought and adopt a cultural and anthropological approach to those who wish to do so.

The book is divided into nine chapters which are all preceded by a more or less extensive introduction. The first chapter (pp. 23–40) is a long and useful introduction about the military-historical background and context. Chapters two through five (pp. 41–134) are dedicated to the different forms of armor, for men as well as for horses. Then, an extensive chapter about archery (pp. 135–94), including information about crossbows, arrow shafts, crossbow bolt shafts, arrowheads, and pellet bow or blowpipe clay pellets. As powder horns and bullets have also been found in the Citadel of Damascus, chapter seven (pp. 195–238) deals with firearms, whereas the final chapter is devoted to daggers and other miscellaneous items.

Beyond all the qualities of the text, some flaws can be found. Indeed, the erudition of David Nicolle is so great that he succeeded in going beyond the expected skill of a single author, but this erudition regularly takes precedence over the artefacts, which are too often forgotten. Moreover, the book is not so easy to read: Nicolle first gives (sometimes at length) the state of knowledge about the concerned weapon, referring or not to artefacts, then these artefacts are more precisely described in tables which are scattered throughout the book while illustrations (drawings and photographs) are relegated to the end of the book (pp. 259–360). So the reader must multiply readings from the text to the tables, then

<sup>19</sup> Sophie Berthier, “Foreword,” in Nicolle, *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 18–21.



from the tables to the illustrations, and vice-versa, without being able to use an index, since none can be found in the book.<sup>20</sup> Of course, the essential element of the work is elsewhere: in Nicolle's ability to use artefacts which are not always easy to interpret to make clear the complex military history of the Near East at the end of the Middle Ages. Moreover, Nicolle is in most cases particularly scrupulous and proceeds by small steps, avoiding hasty statements and generalizations.

### Infantry and Firearms in the Late Mamluk Army

In a sense, Nicolle's scrupulous approach is diametrically opposed to that of those who defend the idea of two opposite ways of war. He shows how complex the military machine of the Mamluks was. Indeed, the Mamluks inherited from various military traditions and were strongly influenced by their predecessors in Syria and Egypt. When in the mid-thirteenth century the Mamluk Sultanate was established, it had already been a long time ago that a military regime led by a dominant military class controlled by Turkish elements had been founded. New military institutions appeared under the Zangids, which were developed by the Ayyubids and set to develop in the Mamluk period.<sup>21</sup> The continuity between each of these dynasties can be observed even if, as R. Stephen Humphreys maintained, the specificity of each of them should not be denied.<sup>22</sup> The new rulers relied on composites and ethnically mixed armies in which infantry played a much more important role than is generally believed,<sup>23</sup> especially because of the central role of siege warfare,<sup>24</sup> which is not ignored in the narrative sources or in the

<sup>20</sup> Also, a glossary of technical terms would have been very useful.

<sup>21</sup> Anne-Marie Eddé, "Bilād al-Shām, from the Fatimid conquest to the fall of the Ayyubids (359–658/970–1260)," in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. II, *The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Cambridge, 2010), 191.

<sup>22</sup> R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977): 67–99, and 46 (1977): 147–82. As is well known, David Ayalon favored the idea of the identity of the Ayyubid and the Mamluk military systems. See for example David Ayalon, "From Ayyūbids to Mamlūks," *Revue des études islamiques* 49, no. 1 (1981): 43–57.

<sup>23</sup> But as Reuven Amitai points out, we lack a systematic study of infantry in the Mamluk Sultanate and to a larger extent in the medieval Middle East; see "Foot Soldiers, Militiamen and Volunteers in the Early Mamluk Army," in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honor of D. S. Richards*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 233.

<sup>24</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 25. Military historians of the Middle East have not pursued the study of Mamluk siege warfare. But see David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Medieval Society* (New York, 2013); Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992), 210–55; Paul E. Chevedden, "Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: the Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army," *MSR* 8, no. 1 (2004): 227–77; Kate Raphael, *Muslim Fortresses in the Levant: Between Crusaders and Mongols* (New York, 2011),



*furūsīyah* treatises,<sup>25</sup> many of which were written in Ayyubid or Mamluk times.<sup>26</sup> It seems that infantry was locally recruited, especially in Syria, where the relief and the number of strongholds had required the creation of specialized units in siege warfare. But infantry was also part of the standing armies. At the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, the need for infantry further increased.<sup>27</sup> Infantry units carrying guns probably appeared in the Mamluk army during the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 1468–96), who sent soldiers using *bunduq al-raṣāṣ* (rifles?) against the Ottomans.<sup>28</sup> As Robert Irwin has recently shown, there is abundant evidence in the sources of an early adoption of firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate, and we must reconsider Ayalon's point of view about the inability of the military caste to accept the need to adopt firearms.<sup>29</sup> So it should not be surprising that powder horns and bullets have been found in the Citadel of Damascus. Of course, it is not so easy to interpret these artefacts, especially because the kind of "hand gun" used by one man is not clear at all. This uncertainty explains Nicolle's caution, especially about the bullets. Indeed, it is difficult to state if they were cast at the end of the Mamluk sultanate or under the Ottomans.

In any event, what cannot be argued is that the late Mamluks created new infantry units equipped with firearms, regardless of whether they were motivated by a difficulty to recruit and train a sufficient number of mamluks or their willingness to adapt themselves to changing conditions of warfare. Indeed, their adoption of firearms—not only for siege warfare—may be a result of the Otto-

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especially chapter 2, "Mongolian Siege Warfare and the Defense of Mamluk Fortresses," 52–80; idem, "The Archaeological Evidence from the Mamluk Siege of Arsūf," *MSR* 9, no. 1 (2005): 85–100; Robert Irwin, "Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate Reconsidered," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. M. Winter and A. Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 117–39. For earlier periods, see Zouache, *Armées et combats*, 42–43.

<sup>25</sup> See for example al-Harawī (d. 611/1215), *Al-Tadhkirah al-Harawīyah*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Bulletin d'études orientales* 17 (1962), Cap. XXI, especially 247–48; Urunbughā al-Zaradhkāsh, "Al-Anīq fī-al-Manājiq," Ayasofya Library MS 3469 and ed. Iḥsān Hindī (Aleppo, 1985). This last treatise, written for Manglī Bughā al-Shamsī (d. 836/1432), deals with siege engines.

<sup>26</sup> On the *furūsīyah* treatises, see Shihab al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furūsīyah Literature and Its Antecedents," *MSR* 8, no. 1 (2004): 141–200.

<sup>27</sup> Miura Toru, "Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era Was Ending," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 170, who explains this increase firstly by the weakening of the Mamluk army, which lacked mamluks, and secondly by the fact that the use of gun power was becoming more and more necessary. Unsurprisingly, this article is unknown to David Nicolle, who delivered the volume to IFPO back in 2007.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden, 1972), 3:269. See Albrecht Fuess, "Mamluk Politics," in *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus? Mamluk Studies—State of the Art* (Göttingen, 2013), 110–11.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Irwin, "Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamlūk Sultanate Reconsidered," in *The Mamlūks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Winter and Levanoni, 117–39.



mans' technological and tactical challenge. The Ottomans adopted firearms artillery in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and they established a separate artillery corps in the sultan's army in the early fifteenth century, so before the Europeans acted in the same way.<sup>30</sup> The Ottoman infantry then started to regularly use "hand-held" firearms like matchlock arquebuses, which are called *tüfed* in the Ottoman sources from the reign of Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51) onward.<sup>31</sup>

### Heavy Cavalry, Charge and Close Combat

Like the Ottomans, the Mamluks were neither culturally averse to firearms nor reluctant to give a substantive role to infantrymen in warfare. But the bulk of their armies was always made of mounted warriors—like in any army of the time. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remind ourselves that their cavalry was not as uniform as it tends to be described.<sup>32</sup> In particular, they enrolled nomadic contingents as auxiliaries, who were equipped and fought according to their traditions.

On the battlefield, the major role was played by heavy armored cavalry, a role which is particularly relevant in the context of the artifacts found in the Citadel of Damascus.<sup>33</sup> It is necessary to remember that this was not a novelty introduced by the Mamluks. As Nicolle rightly points out,<sup>34</sup> the history of heavily armored cavalry in the Near East is long and extensive. Before the Mamluks, the Zangids and the Ayyubids had already based their battle tactics on the heavy cavalry that is occasionally described in detail by Arabic and Latin chroniclers. Thus, according to William of Tyre, Shīrkūh's army, which seems to have severely defeated the Frankish army of Amalric of Jerusalem in al-Bābayn (Middle-Egypt) in March 1167, counted twelve thousand Turks from whom nine thousand were strongly armored and wore helmets, while the other three thousand used only bows and arrows.<sup>35</sup> Latin chroniclers are not the only authors who clearly distinguished

<sup>30</sup> Gabor Agoston, "Ottoman Warfare in Europe 1453–1826," in *European Warfare, 1453–1815*, ed. J. Black (London, 1999), 118–44; idem, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2005); idem, "Ottoman Military Organization (up to 1800)," in *The Encyclopedia of War*, ed. Gordon Martel (Malden, MA, 2012). Concerning the Ottomans' technological and tactical skills, see also Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (London, 1989), especially 106–7.

<sup>31</sup> They probably became widely used under Mehmed II.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Keegan, *A History of Warfare*.

<sup>33</sup> Nicolle, *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 27.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 27–28.

<sup>35</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. J. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), 2:898: "Siracunus enim Turcorum habebat duodecim milia, ex quibus novem milia loriceis galeisque tegebantur, reliqua tria milia arcubus tantum et sagittis utebantur." It is obviously impossible to know if these figures are accurate. See also the description of Saladin's army by the same author, *Chronicon*, 2:991: "ex quibus erant octo milia egregiorum, quos ipsi lingua sua Toassin vocant, reliqua vero decem



between Muslim heavy and light cavalry. Many examples can also be found in Arabic sources, where one word or another is used to designate fully equipped heavy cavalry. For example, al-Ṭarsūsī, a contemporary of William of Tyre, described the activity on the battlefield of the *abtāl* and the *shujʿān*, who were probably heavy-mounted warriors to whom different functions were attributed.<sup>36</sup>

On the battlefield, the main intention was not systematically, as Keegan thought, “to stand and receive” the enemy’s charge.<sup>37</sup> Mamluk cavalry was highly trained to face different types of charge and to charge itself, as it is described in the Mamluk military treatises like the *Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Manāṣīb al-Ḥarbīyah* of Najm al-Dīn al-Rammāḥ (d. 695/1296):

The master (*ustādh*) Najm al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ said about the science (*ilm*) of *furūsīyah*, the horsemen (*fursān*) duel and the meeting with the adversaries: “When you meet your opponent then face him by pushing him. Go on him with strength and power, don’t move headlong towards him. Fight him, pursue him, challenge him, force him outwards and inwards [of the *maydān*]. If he stimulates his horse and comes toward you, then don’t throw your spear at him. If he charges you with his spear in the style of the Arabs of the Hijaz, you must counter him by using the *taqwīm*. If he charges with his spear in the style of the Rūm, then you must counter him only by using the *taṣrīḥ*. If you counter these two types of spear at-

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et octo milia erant gregariorum, quos ipsi appellant Caragolam.” It seems that the eight thousand *ṭawāshī* were heavy cavalry warriors who had a full set of arms and armor. According to Hamilton A. R. Gibb, the Caragolam were “ordinary troops,” maybe non-mamluk horsemen or mamluks of inferior ranks. Compare to the description of Saladin’s army by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, 1:139, where the *ṭawāshī* are described as highly paid troops. See Hamilton A. R. Gibb, “The Armies of Saladin,” *Cahiers d’histoire égyptienne* (1951), reprinted in his *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston, 1962), 87; Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 143–44, 148. A Qarāghulāmīyah corps of the Mamluk army is mentioned by Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 261. According to Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1992), 141, they were probably free cavalrymen.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Ṭarsūsī (mid-seventh/twelfth century), *Tabṣirat Arbāb al-Lubāb*, ed. Karen Sader (Beirut, 1998), 225: “wal-takun al-khayyālah wa-al-abṭāl min warāʾihim wuqūfan muzāḥū al-ʿillah, wa-al-ḥumāh wa-al-shujʿān min khalfihim yantazirūn al-ḥamlah.” See Zouache, *Armées et combats*, 399–400; David Nicolle, “Medieval Warfare: the Unfriendly Interface,” *Journal of Military History* 63 (1999): 592–93, who saw the *abtāl* as “defensive cavalry” and the *shujʿān* as “offensive cavalry.”

<sup>37</sup> Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, 294.



tacks, then your adversary will give up: you will have shown him what you are able to do.”<sup>38</sup>

This quote describes one of the several exercises the mamluks were subjected to. They were collectively and individually trained on horse and on foot to become skilled fighters. It is, of course, often pointed out that as they were bought as slaves from the Turkish steppe, they were trained from boyhood primarily to become elite cavalry archers fighting as light skirmishers as well as operating in line formations laying down a heavy barrage of fire. In medieval as well as in contemporary times, Westerners were properly (and rightly) fascinated by their ability to shoot arrows while riding from horseback, during or not during the charge. This is hardly surprising as the main difference between them and the Western *milites* was their archery excellence while riding. But their training was much more complete and they were also trained to be master fencers and lancers. The *furūsiyah* exercises were also made up of polo games, lance and javelin games, wielding the sword, fencing, and wielding the mace.<sup>39</sup> The mace was an essential weapon during close combat, and some military treatises are devoted to this weapon.<sup>40</sup> Some *furūsiyah* manuals showed well-known paintings of horsemen using lance, bow, swords, or maces. For example, illustrated manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-Sū'l wa-al-Umnīyah fī Ta'līm al-Furūsiyah* of Muḥammad al-Aqṣarā'ī al-Ḥanafī (d. 749/1348) contain around twenty miniatures which depict mounted lancers, swordsmen, and archers executing different exercises.<sup>41</sup> Some Mamluk military manuals are also illustrated with practice diagrams which describe cavalry maneuvers. These geometric figures are not so easy to interpret and the text

<sup>38</sup> Najm al-Dīn al-Rammāḥ (d. 695/1296), *Kitāb al-Furūsiyah wa-al-Manāṣīb al-Ḥarbīyah*, ed. Fārūq Aslīm (Abu Dhabi, 2007), 41–42.

<sup>39</sup> On the *furūsiyah* exercises, see Hassanein Rabie, “The Training of the Mamlūk Fāris,” in *War, Society and Technology in the Middle East*, ed. Parry, 153–63; David Ayalon, “Notes on the Furusiya Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate,” *Scripta hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 31–62; Isolde Betty Nettles, “Mamluk Cavalry Practices: Evolution and Influence” (dissertation, University of Arizona, 2001), 134–49.

<sup>40</sup> For example, the “Kitāb Ma'rifat La'b al-Dabbūs fī Awqāt al-Ḥurūb wa-al-Širā' alā-al-Khayl,” Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2830 and BNF MS Ar. 6604; Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 3186; French edition and translation by Agnès Carayon, “La furūsiyah des Mamlūks: Une élite sociale à cheval” (doctoral thesis, Université de Provence, 2012). On the *furūsiyah* treatises dealing with the art of the mace, see also al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsiyah Literature and Its Antecedents,” 175–77.

<sup>41</sup> MS produced in Syria or in Egypt in 1371: London, British Library Add. 18866 (the miniatures can be seen online at <http://imagesonline.bl.uk>, consulted 12 December 2013); Cairo, MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah. See also the “Kitāb al-Makhzūn fī Jāmī' al-Funūn,” Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2824 (Egypt or Syria, 875/1470), and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422958j> (consulted 12 December 2013).



behind them describes troop formations strictly arranged in linear or circular patterns.<sup>42</sup>

Thus according to the *furūsiyah* treatises, the Mamluk *fāris* was individually and/or collectively prepared to use the better tactics and techniques of combat on the battlefield. When their training was over, they had to know how to put in place the tactic that had been decided by the commander, to organize cohesive units, advance or retreat together, and receive a charge and charge themselves; but several problems emerge from these military manuals. First, most of them are still manuscripts and they have not been adequately studied. Second, most of them include substantial quotations from earlier texts, in particular from Abbasid military treatises, and some researchers believe that they do not (or rarely) actually refer to Mamluk times<sup>43</sup>—this argument is in my view exaggerated and reflects an outdated conception of medieval compilation, which is a true labor of writing/re-writing that is always informative for the time of utterance.<sup>44</sup> Third, we do not know the percentage of mamluks usually given the training described in the manuals, without taking into account the fact that these schools did not work as well as they should have for the whole length of the Mamluk Sultanate.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See, in particular, Lājīn ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Dhahabī al-Ṭarābulusī al-Rammāh (d. 738/1337), “Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn fī al-‘Amal bi-al-Mayādīn,” Istanbul, Fātiḥ Mosque Library MS 3512/4, 17 fols., 32 figures. The text is attributed to *al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā Allāh Ta‘ālā Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-ma‘rūf bi-[al]-Ṭarābulusī* (fol. 3r), because even in Mamluk times there was confusion between Lājīn and his son Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Ṭarābulusī al-Rammāh. On this confusion and other manuscripts of the *Tuḥfat*, see al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsiyah Literature and Its Antecedents,” 174, n. 113.

<sup>43</sup> Mainly Shihāb al-Sarraf, “Furūsiyah Literature of the Mamlūk Period,” in *Furūsiyah*, vol. II, *The Horse in the Art of the Near East*, ed. David Alexander (Riyadh, 1996), 118–35; idem, “Adab al-Furūsiyah fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-‘Abbāsī wa-al-Mamlūkī,” in *Furūsiyah*, vol. I, *Funūn al-Furūsiyah fī Tārīkh al-Mashriq wa-al-Maghrib*, ed. Shihab al-Sarraf (Riyadh, 2000), 104–39. Shihab al-Sarraf is more or less followed by Nicolle, *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 39–40.

<sup>44</sup> See Michael Cooperson, “Probability, Plausibility and ‘Spiritual Communication’ in Classical Arabic Biography,” in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip F. Kennedy (Wiesbaden, 2005), 69–84; Abdallah Cheikh-Moussa, Heidi Toelle, and Katia Zakharia, “Pour une re-lecture des textes littéraires arabes: éléments de réflexion,” *Arabica* 46 (1999): 523–40; Abbès Zouache, “Dubays b. Ṣadaqa (m. 529/1135), aventurier de légende: Histoire et fiction dans l’historiographie arabe médiévale (VIe/XIIIe–VIIe/XIIIe siècle),” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 58 (2008–9): 87–130.

<sup>45</sup> *Furūsiyah* training seems to have declined before and during al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha‘bān’s reign (764–78/1362–77), during Barqūq’s reign (792–801/1390–99), and in the times of the historian Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 875/1470). See Ibn Manglī, *Uns al-Malā bi-Waḥsh al-Falā*, trans. François Viré as *De la chasse* (Paris, 1984), 19–20; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah Fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. W. Popper (Berkeley, 1909–29), 6:509; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-I’tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid (London, 2002–5), 3:693; Shihāb al-Sarraf, “L’archerie mamlūke (648–924 A.D./1250–1517 A.H.),” (doctoral thesis, Paris IV La Sorbonne, 1989), 716; Carayon, “La



According to Reuven Amitai, “only the royal mamluks were usually given the first-rate training of the Sultan’s military schools.”<sup>46</sup> So if it can safely be argued that all cavalry warriors were trained, we do not know what this training was made up of. Fourth, *furūsiyah* treatises provide a more or less broad overview of Islamic military thought in the age of the Mamluks, but their authors hardly adopted a practical perspective and used precise examples.

In general, little attention has been paid to the relation between the theory and the practice of war in the Islamic era.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, narrative sources (mainly chronicles) from which we should expect a more accurate view of the practice of war rarely provide explicit information about the actual tactics and fighting methods used in the battles. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to attempt a review of descriptions of Near Eastern battles (which were not so numerous after the collapse of the Mongols in the beginning of the fourteenth century)<sup>48</sup> that can be found in narrative sources.<sup>49</sup> It is enough to say that what appears to be evident within these sources is that Muslim armies used various tactics on the battlefield, including feigned retreat, endless archer’s harassment to break the unity of the enemy’s groups, suddenly opening the ranks when an enemy’s

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*furūsiyah* des Mamelouks,” 221; Abbès Zouache, “Une culture en partage: la *furūsiyah* à l’épreuve du temps,” *Médiévales* 64 (printemps 2013): 72.

<sup>46</sup> Reuven Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 217.

<sup>47</sup> William J. Hamblin, “Saladin and Muslim Military Theory,” in *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), 228–38, where he identifies several parallelisms between al-Harawī’s *Al-Tadhkirah al-Harawīyah* and Saladin’s military policy.

<sup>48</sup> After the collapse of the Turco-Mongol forces at the turn of the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth century, there was no foreign large-scale threat until the Ottoman-Mamluk wars at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century.

<sup>49</sup> As far as I know, there is no equivalent for the late Mamluk period of Amitai’s book cited above, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*. See however Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–1491* (Leiden, 1995). On Mamluk (and Mongol) tactics and methods of fighting, see also Denis Sinor, “The Inner Asian Warriors,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, no. 2 (April–June 1981): 133–44; John Masson Smith, “Ayn Jalut: Mamluk Success or Mongol Failure?” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44, no. 2 (1984): 307–45; idem, “Mongol Society and Military in the Middle East: Antecedents and Adaptations,” in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997): 249–66; idem, “Nomads on Ponies vs Slave on Horses,” review of Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, *JAOS* 118, no. 1 (1998): 54–62; David O. Morgan, “The Mongols in Syria, 1260–1300,” in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 231–34; Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992); Charles J. Halperin, “The Kipchack Connection: The Ilkhans, the Mamluks and Ayn Jalut,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63, no. 2 (2000): 229–45; Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia, 500 B.C. to 1700 A.D.* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); James Waterson, *The Knights of Islam: The Wars of the Mamluks* (London, 2007).



charge was received and then closing up again and surrounding him, and charging in linear or in cohesive units, among others.

The Mamluks as well as their enemies (Crusaders, Franks, or Mongols) divided their troops into separate squadrons (*aṭlāb*, *karādis*) in battle which constituted relatively small tactical cohesive units which can be seen as “primary groups.”<sup>50</sup> They conducted different types of charges, frontal or not.<sup>51</sup> As Christophe Marshall stated, the Muslims “were able to modify their tactics according to the opponents that they were facing. Against the Mongols, for example, they were prepared both to face up to a charge and to use it themselves.”<sup>52</sup> The outcome was determined by the success or failure of the charge during the decisive close *mêlée*. Combat in close quarter was a part of their culture of war, which led them to practice the so-called “Western way of war.” When the time of hand-to-hand combat came, the Mamluks used swords, maces, or clubs with the objective to kill the enemy they were fighting.

As Nicolle points out, the Mamluks’ repeated charge was not the same as the dispersal and harassment of tribal forces.<sup>53</sup> Discipline, endurance, the cohesion of the unit, and the combination of mobility and temporarily static position were fundamental for cavalymen who were looking for a devastating “shock effect.” Thus, it is not surprising to find in Mamluk narrative sources words and expressions such as “*ḥamalū ‘alā ḥamlat rajul wāḥid*,” “*ḥamlah ṣādiqah*.”<sup>54</sup> It is interesting to note that Arabic chroniclers of the twelfth century like Ibn al-Qalānīsī (d. 555/1160) used the same expressions about the famous, admired, and feared Frankish couched-lance cavalry charge,<sup>55</sup> by which the knights sought to generate an irreversible shock at the point of impact.<sup>56</sup> Muslim horsemen had known

<sup>50</sup> About the notion of “primary group” in a military context, see Anthony King, “The Word of Command: Communication and Cohesion in the Military,” *Armed Forces & Society* 32, no. 4 (2006): 493–512; Guy L. Siebold, “The Essence of Military Group Cohesion,” *Armed Forces & Society* 33, no. 2 (2007): 286–95; John F. Guilmartin, Jr., “Light Troops in Classical Armies: An Overview of Roles, Functions and Factors Affecting Combat Effectiveness,” in *The Military and Conflict Between Cultures: Soldiers at the Interface*, ed. James C. Bradford (College Station, TX, 1997), 17–48.

<sup>51</sup> See Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks*, Chapter 10.

<sup>52</sup> Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, 161–62.

<sup>53</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 136, quoting Smith, “Mongol Society and Military in the Middle East: Antecedents and Adaptations,” 256–58.

<sup>54</sup> Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks*, Chapter 10.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1983), 339, 403, 464–65: “*ḥamlah ṣādiqah*,” “*ḥamlah mashhūrah*,” “*ḥamlah ma’rūfah*,” “*ḥamlah wāḥidah*,” etc. See Zouache, *Armées et combats*, 37–39, 871–74.

<sup>56</sup> The couched-lance charge became the principal cavalry fighting method of the Frankish and European knights in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Concerning this fighting method, see Christopher Marshall, “The Use of the Charge in Battles in the Latin East, 1192–1291,” *Historical*



this technique for a long time and probably knew how to put it into practice, but they did not seem to have adopted it on the battlefield.<sup>57</sup>

## Archery Techniques

It must be said that the Mamluks had other powerful weapons at their disposal, most notably the composite recurved bow. Written sources plentifully describe their remarkable technological skills in the field of archery, and assert that they were able to use different archery techniques. So it is particularly interesting to be able to compare this information with archaeological discoveries to evaluate their real features. Written sources provide information about the form and the weight of arrow shafts and arrowheads which can be compared to the numerous arrowheads found in the Citadel of Damascus. These arrowheads allow Nicolle to set up an arrowhead design typology that confirms the extreme diversity of the shapes used by the late Mamluks and will be highly useful for future research on Muslim archery.<sup>58</sup>

Nicolle also sheds light on an equally useful development concerning the crossbow (generally called *qaws al-rijl*). It is now clear that Muslim armies used this weapon more frequently than has previously been assumed.<sup>59</sup> The crossbow was well known in the Islamic Middle East a long time before the Crusaders invaded Syria and created the Latin East states. It seems that it reappeared during the tenth century, but the conditions of this reappearance are unclear. Should this

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*Research* 63, no. 152 (1990): 221–26; Jean Flori, “Encore l’usage de la lance... La technique du combat chevaleresque vers l’an 1100,” in *Croisade et chevalerie, XIe-XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1998), 21–40; John France, “Crusading Warfare and Its Adaptation to Eastern Conditions in the Twelfth Century,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (2000): 49–66; J.-F. Verbruggen, “The Role of the Cavalry in Medieval Warfare,” *Journal of Medieval Military History* 3 (2005): 46–71.

<sup>57</sup> See for example Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I’tibār*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī Bayḍūn (Beirut, 1998), 48, and the types of lance charges and thrusts described by Najm al-Dīn al-Rammāḥ, *Kitāb al-Furūsiyah wa-al-Manāṣib al-Ḥarbīyah*, and by Muḥammad al-Aqsarā’ī al-Ḥanafī (d. 749/1348), *Nihāyat al-Su’l wa-al-Umnīyah fī Ta’allum A’māl al-Furūsiyah*, ed. Khālīd Aḥmad al-Suwaydī (Damascus, 2009); David Nicolle, “The Impact of the European Couched Lance on Muslim Military Tradition,” *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 10 (1980): 6–40; Zouache, *Armées et combats*, 37–39, 871–74.

<sup>58</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 303–5.

<sup>59</sup> For example, see Claude Gaier, “Quand l’arbalète était une nouveauté: Réflexions sur son rôle militaire du Xe au XIIIe siècle,” *Le Moyen Âge* 99 (1993): 201–29; Claude Cahen, “Technique et organisation socio-militaire dans le monde musulman classique,” in *Structures féodales et féodalisme de l’Occident méditerranéen IXe-XIIIe siècle: Bilans et perspectives de recherches* (Paris, 1980), 66. See also K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des Mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus Orientalischen Quellen* (Helsinki, 1941), 113–14; Valérie Serdon, *Armes du diable: Arcs et arbalètes au Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2005).



be interpreted as a survival of earlier Near Eastern knowledge and/or as a sign of a Chinese influence, as the crossbow was used in China for a long time?<sup>60</sup> To my mind, further research is still necessary to answer this question definitely. However, we can agree with Nicolle when he suggests quite convincingly that the crossbow was adopted as a war weapon first of all in the heartlands of the Middle East.<sup>61</sup>

This particularly lethal weapon is sometimes documented by historical sources.<sup>62</sup> It was probably used in naval warfare (at least by the Fatimids), and certainly in siege warfare. A great crossbow called *qaws al-ziyār* with the power of twenty men is described by al-Ṭarsūsī at the end of the twelfth century (though the information seems to pre-date the end of the twelfth century), but he probably refers to an experimental weapon which had two separate bow arms.<sup>63</sup> From an open battle perspective, the information given by historical texts is scarcer before the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, when for example Ibn Iyās refers to crossbowmen in his description of the Mamluk encampment of Raydānīyah, on the eve of the Ottoman invasion in 1515.<sup>64</sup> On the contrary, Ayyubid and Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises are rather explicit. Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī even dedicates a (short) chapter to *al-ramī bi-qaws al-rjīl ‘alā zuhūr al-khayl* (“shooting with a crossbow on horseback”), and some illustrations of late treatises show mounted crossbowmen.<sup>65</sup> But the use of crossbow on horseback on the battlefield seems questionable. Indeed, it seems that the composite bow was more efficient than even the composite crossbow. The maximum range of the composite crossbow was less than that of the composite bow.<sup>66</sup> In any case, the early Mamluk crossbow staves of composite construction

<sup>60</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 138, where Nicolle is very cautious in reporting the various modern interpretations of this reappearance.

<sup>61</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 140.

<sup>62</sup> See for example Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī al-Yūnānī (d. 797/1394), *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-al-Furūsīyah wa-Funūn al-Ḥarbīyah*, dirāsah wa-taḥqīq al-Amīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Abū Sa‘adah bi-ta‘awun ‘Abbās Zouache wa-Amīnah Ḥasan al-Mahdī (Cairo, forthcoming):

وقسي الرجل أنواع، منها الجرخ للإفرنج، واللقشة للمغاربة، والزنبورك للعجم والتُرك، والبندوق للإسلام.

The *jarkh* was a form of stirrup crossbow; the word “*al-bundūq*” refers to the *qaws al-bundūq*, which in fact was the pellet bow discussed below. See also Nicolle, *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 149, nos. 79–80.

<sup>63</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 141.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 149–50.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī al-Yūnānī, *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-al-Furūsīyah wa-Funūn al-Ḥarbīyah*; *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 149, referring to various manuscript illustrations. See also Ibn Akhī Ḥizām (attributed), “*Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmi‘ al-Funūn*,” Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2824, fol. 82r (*al-ramī bi-qaws al-rjīl ‘alā-al-faras*).

<sup>66</sup> Nicolle, *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 144, referring to B. A. Boit, “The Fruits of Adversity: Technical Refinements of the Turkish Composite Bow during the Crusading Era” (M.A. thesis,



found during archaeological excavations in Syria (in the Euphrates valley)<sup>67</sup> as well as the pieces from the Citadel of Damascus<sup>68</sup> confirm that the Near Eastern Muslims were as able as the later medieval Europeans to make sophisticated and powerful crossbows.

Other artifacts discovered in Damascus also show how meticulously military stuff was made. The problem is that not all of these pieces are easy to identify, especially when there is no element of comparison. Thus, we can only guess with Nicolle that the fragmentary quivers or bowcases of decorated leather probably represent “the earliest surviving examples from the heartlands of the medieval Islamic world” (p. 188). Indeed, other relics survive, but they come from the non-Islamic regions of Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Moreover, a large number of small clay pellets have been found in various parts of the Citadel of Damascus. They were probably shot from a hunting weapon which was used to stun birds: a blowpipe (*sabatānah* or *zabṭānah*) or more probably a *qaws al-bunduq*.<sup>69</sup> This last weapon was only used to shoot birds, and the pellet, called *julāhiq* or *bunduq*, was made of hardened clay.<sup>70</sup> *Ramī bi-al-bunduq*, which was already known at the time of the Prophet, became widely popular in Syria from the seventh/thirteenth century, after its promotion by the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 575–622/1180–1225).<sup>71</sup> Enthusiasm was such in the social classes that it boasted a real “sport *futūwah*.”<sup>72</sup> In my view, the bullets discovered in Damascus should be seen as vivid proof of the practice of this activity in the Citadel, maybe by soldiers at the end of the Mamluk period.

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Ohio State University, 1991), 38.

<sup>67</sup> They were probably discovered in Raḥbah. These staves seem to be now in Qatar, as Nicolle said without any further specification (*Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 148). According to him, one of the staves has been subject to a radiocarbon dating test which produced an optimum date of 1215.

<sup>68</sup> However, one can doubt that the carved wooden object briefly described in Table 03a (p. 137; see also drawing 83) is part of a crossbow.

<sup>69</sup> Nicolle hesitates while trying to choose between the two hunting weapons; see pp. 178, 179, 181, and Table 3e, 182–84.

<sup>70</sup> *Qaws al-bunduq* is a hand bow generally called “stone bow” and in French “arbalète à jalets.”

<sup>71</sup> See for example Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, trans. Donald S. Richards as *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī l-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace* (Burlington, 2008), 261 (but correct “crossbow” to “stone-bow”).

<sup>72</sup> Antoine Boudot-Lamotte and François Viré, “Contribution à l’étude de l’archerie musulmane: Notes complémentaires,” *Arabica* 17, no. 1 (1970): 47–68, especially 49.



## Armors: Variety and Technique

But the most impressive artifacts found in the Citadel of Damascus are certainly the fragments of armors. Here again, these artifacts show the huge diversity of Mamluk defensive arms, and the high degree of technique achieved by Near Eastern craftsmen. The Mamluks had to reply to the ever increasing heaviness and effectiveness of offensive weapons and so this they did, following the weaponry tradition of their predecessors, adopting when it was necessary those of their neighbors and enemies and respecting the climatic conditions of the Near East. Moreover, it was essential for them not to restrict their mobility: they needed to be at the same time highly mobile yet rugged enough to charge, to withstand an enemy's charge, and to be adequately protected from bows, crossbows, and fire-arms.

Several options were given to them to achieve these goals. The material discovered in the Citadel of Damascus shows that if the Middle Eastern fighters never adopted the heavier full metal armor that was worn in Europe on ceremonial occasions, defensive weapons also evolved in the heartlands of the Middle East to become heavier and/or more rigid. However, all the soldiers did not wear the same armor. Their equipment depended on their rank and their function during the fights. In fact, various types of armor can be identified in the documentary sources (where the vocabulary is rarely precise) as well as in the archaeological remains. Scale and lamellar armors (often called *jawshan* in Arabic texts) were used and probably spread under different forms in the late Mamluk Sultanate. Mail armor, which is still sometimes wrongly regarded as characteristic of the medieval Western form of armor though it was widely known in the Middle East for a long time, was still used by the late Mamluks, even if it seems to have played a lesser role than in the centuries before.<sup>73</sup> Mail-and-plate cuirass probably spread only from the very end of the Mamluk Sultanate.

In addition, it seems that softer armors, which consisted in padded and fabric-covered garments including some mail elements, never disappeared, even if the information given by textual and archeological sources is not always clear. Indeed, as Nicolle rightly outlines, the textual sources give the impression that soft armor declined at the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, while thickly quilted items from the Citadel of Damascus and from the Euphrates Valley have been preserved.<sup>74</sup> Maybe, as Nicolle argues, padded and fabric-covered shirts remained popular in Mamluk times, but as clothing rather than as a protective weapon.<sup>75</sup> It

<sup>73</sup> But as outlined by Nicolle (see p. 93), a history of mail armor in the medieval Islamic world is still unwritten.

<sup>74</sup> Above, n. 67.

<sup>75</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 102. In addition to the references mentioned by Nicolle, see Abbès Zouache, "L'armement entre Orient et Occident au VIe/XIIe siècle: Casques, masses d'armes



is also quite likely that this clothing was often impressively decorated in order to be worn during parades. The same applies for horse armor of the heavy cavalry. Hardened leather types probably replaced less effective felt or quilted types. The documentary evidence quoted by Nicolle even shows that some horse armors were made with steel. In particular, Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524) often refers to caparisons consisting of steel and colored velvet or to chamfrons in the *Badā'iʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'iʿ al-Duhūr*.<sup>76</sup>

The large fragments of the leather armor found in the Citadel of Damascus (at CD.5) may come from horse armor, as, if Nicolle is right, at the end of the Middle Ages “hardened leather layered construction was gradually relegated to horse armor in the sophisticated and wealthy Islamic Middle East, [while] it is likely to have remained more common in Central Asia.”<sup>77</sup> However, leather armors for men did not disappear, as it is shown by other smaller fragments also found in Damascus. Indeed, these fragments seem to have been made in the same way as earlier items of Mamluk hardened “hooped” cuirasses also discovered in Syria—in the Euphrates valleys—from which some pieces can be dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century. These fragments are particularly impressive because they reveal a form of hardened leather laminated horizontal strip (or “hoop” armor) that was unknown until recently.

### The Scale-Lined *Qarqal*

Also highly impressive are the artifacts identified by Nicolle as fragments of a scale-lined *qarqal*, which was until now only known by documentary evidence. In fact, even the word *qarqal* is problematic. Nicolle has tried to make the word clear but not always in a fully convincing way. It must be said that there is a lack of clear information which would allow us to understand how this term has evolved over time. It may have some Persian origins, even if the explanation given to Nicolle by Professor ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī of the Royal Moroccan Academy is a little bit dubious: “It is of Persian origin, from *qar qalāt* meaning ‘collecting’ or ‘assembly of’ ‘the small pieces of wood used in a game like tip-cat.’ It signifies a form of *dirʿ* (hauberk) in which the warrior dressed for war. It first appeared in the Mamlūk period. It was a novelty or innovation, in the ‘Conversations’ of Ibn Iyās for the year 796 A. H. (1393–4)...”<sup>78</sup> This term did not appear during the Mamluk

et armures,” *Annales Islamologiques* 41 (2007): 277–326. This article was unknown to Nicolle (he delivered the volume to IFPO in 2007).

<sup>76</sup> See the reference to the *Badā'iʿ* quoted by Nicolle, 131–33.

<sup>77</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 111. See Table 02f, 116–21, and photographs 287–93 (the attribution is uncertain).

<sup>78</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 64–65. Nicolle is aware of the difficulty highlighted by this explanation, as he points out that “any association with the game of tip-cat may need to be in-



period. Arabic lexicographers from the Abbasid period—which are not used by Nicolle—refer to a *qarqal* (plural *qarāqil*). They define it as a sleeveless shirt worn by women, saying also that Iraqi women wrongly pronounced it “*qarqar*.”<sup>79</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī (350–429/961–1039), a prominent literary figure of his time, points out that women used to wear their *qarqal* beneath their shirts (*yalbasuhā al-nisā’ taht durū‘ihinna*).<sup>80</sup> However, the same word and its new pluralized form *qarqalāt* took a new meaning, seemingly at the end of the seventh/thirteenth century: *qarqalāt* are listed among beautiful weapons which should be worn by the soldiers of the Mamluk sultan during a review (*ard*) held in Dhū-al-Ḥijjah 692/November 1293.<sup>81</sup>

Both Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325)<sup>82</sup> and Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1335) referred to *qarqalāt* worn by elite soldiers. Thus, *al-qarqalāt al-aṭlas* (i.e., *qarqalāt* whose cover is made of satin) were among the sumptuous weapons worn by Qarā Sunqur’s mamluks and their horses in 712/1312–13.<sup>83</sup> Can this new meaning be linked to the old one? One is first inclined to answer this question negatively, but it is difficult not to pay attention to the fact that latter historians like al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1470) sometimes referred to “a *qarqar* without sleeves” (*qarqar bi-ghayr akmām*).<sup>84</sup> In any case, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418),

verted—with the armour coming before the game. If this was indeed the case we might, rather fancifully, imagine bored Mamlūk soldiers inventing a game which made use of spare or damaged armour scales—the game then acquiring the name of the armour!” Indeed, this explanation remains highly fanciful.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Azharī (d. 370/980), *Tahdhīb al-Lughah*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Awd Mu‘īb (Beirut, 2001), 9:312:

قرقل: أبو عبيد عن الأموي: هو القرقل الذي يُسميه الناس القرقر. وقال أبو تراب: القرقل: قميص من قمص النساء، بلا لبنة، وجمعه قراقل.  
Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beirut, 1414), 11:555:

قرقل: القرقل: ضرب من الثياب، وقيل: هو ثوب بغير كمين. أبو تراب: القرقل قميص من قمص النساء بلا لبنة، وجمعه قراقل، وقال الأزهرى في الثلاثي عن الأموي: هو القرقل باللام لقرقل المرأة، قال: ونساء أهل العراق يقولون قرقر، قال: وهو خطأ وكلام العرب القرقل، باللام، قال: وكذلك قال الفراء وغيره، وقال الأموي في موضع آخر: القرقل الذي تسميه الناس والعامة القرقر.

There is no additional information on the latter in Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī’s (d. 1205) *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, s. v. *Q-R-Q-L*:

قامص للنساء بلا لبنة، قال أبو تراب ونقله الأزهرى عن الأموي، أو ثوب لا كمي له.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Fiḥ al-Lughah wa-Sirr al-‘Arabīyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī (Beirut, 2002), 171.

<sup>81</sup> Al-‘Aynī (d. 855/1451), *‘Iqd al-Ḥumām fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, 251:

فاهتموا بالعدد الجميلة من الخواشن والقرقلات والخوذ والبركستوانات والتراكشي والكاسات وغير ذلك من العدد الفاخرة.

<sup>82</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Berlin, 1998), 293.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Ḥamī‘ al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960), 12:230, 273. A group of important Mamluk officers led by Qarā Sunqur had defected to the Ilkhanate.

<sup>84</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā’ (Beirut, 1997), 5:352; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, n.d.), 12:53. See also al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, ed. Sha‘īb al-Arnā‘ūṭ et al. (2nd ed., Beirut, 1985), 18:192, 18:1, etc.



who precisely described the word *qarqal*, did not evoke its sleeves. According to him, the *qarqal*, which in his time had replaced the *zarad* (mail armor), was made of iron scales or lamellae<sup>85</sup> covered with red and yellow *dibāj* brocade<sup>86</sup>—red and yellow colors giving a luminous and dazzling impression because as we must not forget, weapons should also be used to magnify the warriors.<sup>87</sup>

But some *furūsīyah* manuals make things more difficult. Nicolle points out that al-Aqṣarāʾī's (d. 749/1348?) *Nihāyat al-Suʿl wa-al-Umniyah fī Taʿlīm Aʿmāl al-Furūsīyah*, whose earliest manuscript comes from the mid-fourteenth century, defines the *qarqal* as: “a padded garment worn beneath the *jawshan* as the Franks wear beneath their *jawshans* of iron.... It will protect the wearer from both heat and cold and from the blows of *ʿamūd* and *kāfir-kūb* which soften the flesh and enfeeble the bones. If a *dirʿ* (mail hauberk) is also worn beneath it, then protection and safety are found.”<sup>88</sup> This extract is problematic for several reasons. Al-Aqṣarāʾī (if he is the author of the *Nihāyat al-Suʿl*) does not appear as an expert on body armor—e.g., he even attributes the *jawshān* to the Franks.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, he does not always refer to weapons of the Mamlūk period. Thus the *ʿamūd*, a one-piece iron staff, had probably become obsolete by the end of the tenth century.<sup>90</sup> As far as the *kāfir-kūb* (pl. *kāfir-kubāt*) is concerned, it is a half-Arabic and half-Persian word meaning “infidel-bashers” which defines a form of mace used in Iran and Iraq during the Abbasid period.<sup>91</sup> So it is doubtful that the *qarqal* could have protected from their blows. Finally, al-Aqṣarāʾī's description implies that the *qarqal* was simply a padded garment used during fighting to strengthen the protection

<sup>85</sup> *Min ṣafāʾih al-ḥadīd*: literally “from iron blades” or “from iron lamellae.”

<sup>86</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ*, ed. Ḥ. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987–88), 2:151–52 and 4:11:

وأعلم أنّ لبس العرب في الحرب كان الزرد أما الآن فقد غلب عمل القرقلات من الصفائح المتخذة من الحديد المتواصل بعضها ببعض. / والقرقلات المتخذة من صفائح الحديد المغشاة بالديباج الأحمر والأصفر.

<sup>87</sup> On that point, see Maria Sardi, “Mamluk Textiles,” in *Islamic Art, Architecture and Material Culture: New Perspectives*, ed. Margaret S. Graves (Oxford, 2012), 7–14. See also Leon A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Geneva, 1952). One can also find some information in the ancient work of Ahmed Zeki Pacha, “Notice sur les couleurs nationales de l'Égypte musulmane,” *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 2 (1919): 61–95.

<sup>88</sup> Nicolle's translation in “The Reality of Mamluk Warfare: Weapons, Armour and Tactics,” *Al-Masaq* 7 (1994): 77–110.

<sup>89</sup> Oriental Franks knew and wore *jawshans* (see the evidence quoted by Nicolle in *Late Mamluk Military Equipment*), but it was not their usual body armor.

<sup>90</sup> Then replaced by the *dabbūs*. See Shihab al-Sarraf, “Close Combat Weapons in the Early ʿAbbāsīd Period: Maces, Axes and Sword,” in *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour*, ed. David Nicolle (Woodbridge, 2002), 149–78; Zouache, “L'armement entre Orient et Occident,” 297–302.

<sup>91</sup> M. Chouémi, “Kāfir-kūb,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:411.



of a lamellar or scaled armor (*jawshān*), as well as the *dirʿ* which could be worn beneath it.

Nicolle is aware of this difficulty, and he rightly wonders if the *qarqal* could not have been a “soft armour before evolving into a scale-lined cuirass and eventually losing its padded quality.” He also asserts that around 1368,<sup>92</sup> it was “certainly a formidable form of armour.”<sup>93</sup> This assertion is strengthened by the fragments found in the Citadel of Damascus as well as by some documentary evidence. For example, according to al-ʿAynī, in 699/1299–1300 the *qarqal* was more expensive than the *jawshan* in a period of higher prices: “a *qarqal*, which was worth 100 dirhams, cost 700 dirhams; a horse armor (*al-barkustawān*) which was worth 200 dirhams, cost 1.000 dirhams; a *jawshan*, which was worth 50 dirhams, cost 200 and 300 dirhams; the helmet (*khūdhah*) which was worth 50 dirhams cost 200 and 300 dirhams.”<sup>94</sup> Like other words—such as *jawshan*—the term *qarqal* sometimes also had a generic meaning (for body armor). Moreover, different kinds of *qarqal* were probably used. Thus the *qarqal* is often mentioned in relation to parades, and we find some references to *al-qarqal al-mudhahhabah*, which probably looked luxurious. The *qarqal* also seem to have been adapted to the “fire-war” described in the documentary sources. For example, we can rely on a *furūsiyah* manual sometimes entitled *Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmiʿ al-Funūn*, wrongly attributed to Ibn Abī Khazzām (ninth century) and from which several copies are preserved in beautifully illustrated manuscripts dated back to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>95</sup> It

<sup>92</sup> The emerging argument is that the *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-al-Furūsiyah wa-Funūn al-Ādāb al-Ḥarbīyah* attributed to Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī al-Yūnānī (d. 797/1394), which may have been written around 1368, refers to a special arrowhead which is so effective it could pierce *qarqal*'s laminae (*ṣafīḥat al-qarqal*). Nicolle quotes the English translation of J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen Archery*, 26, but see the forthcoming edition by al-Amin Abouseada et al., fol. 72v.

<sup>93</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 64.

<sup>94</sup> Al-ʿAynī (855/1451), *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*, vol. 4, *Ḥawādith wa-Tarājim*, 699–707/1299–1307, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1992), 70, 82.

<sup>95</sup> “Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmiʿ al-Funūn,” Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2824 (875/1470); “Kitāb al-Makhzūn li-Arbāb al-Funūn,” Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2826 (98/1578–79); “Al-Makhzūn Jāmiʿ al-Funūn,” St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences MS No. C-686 (dating back to the 50s–60s of the ninth/fifteenth century; the CD-ROM publication by Efim Rezvan and Alibker Alikberov, *Asiatic Museum: Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic Collection of Oriental Manuscripts*, CD-ROM Series, Issue no. 7, was not available to me). About the various copies, which are differently entitled, see Alibker Alikberov and Efim Rezvan, “Ibn Abi Khazzam and his *Kitāb al-Makhzūn*: The Mamluk Military Manual,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 1, no. 1 (1995): 21–28. Alikberov and Rezvan wrongly attributed the text to “the 14th century author Ibn Abi Khazzām.” See also al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsiyah Literature and Its Antecedents,” 200.



describes a “special *qarqal*” in the few pages dedicated to the use of fire-weapons by horsemen.<sup>96</sup> According to one copy:

People of Egypt used this trickery and then defeated the Tatars, because their horses did not face fire: [in front of fire], the horse takes his master (*ṣāhib*) and runs away. The way to do it is: to choose a number of horsemen (*fursān*) and garnish their lances (*rimāh*) from both ends with *barūd*.<sup>97</sup> The horseman (*fāris*) will wear a *qarqal* with its front face made of black thick felt (*balās*).<sup>98</sup> It is strewn with balls of linen fiber that have metal wires at their ends which are inserted into the *qarqal* and the helmet. The horse is also draped with thick felt. His hands will be sprinkled with dissolved talc so that he will not be burnt by fire. In front of them will be whatever they choose from foot soldiers equipped with sprinkle maces, explosive charges (*ṣawāriḥ*)<sup>99</sup> and *madāfi*.<sup>100</sup> [The horsemen and the foot soldiers] will take their place in front of the army.<sup>101</sup>

The same ideas—but with other words—can be found in another copy of the *Kitāb al-Makhzūn*:

<sup>96</sup> Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2824, fols. 79r–80r; St. Petersburg, MS No. C-686, fols. 160–61. The St. Petersburg manuscript is used by Joseph Toussaint Reinaud and Ildephonse Favé, “Du feu grégeois, des feux de guerre, et des origines de la poudre à canon chez les Arabes, les Persans et les Chinois,” *Journal Asiatique* 14 (1849): 257–327, reprinted in *Extrait n°16 du Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1850): 1–71. See also Ahmad Yousef al-Hassan Gabarin, “Gunpowder Composition for Rockets and Cannon in Arabic Military Treatises in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Gap in the History of Gunpowder and Cannon,” *International Committee for the History of Technology Journal* 9 (2003): 1–30, reprinted in his *Studies in al-Kimya’: Critical Issues in Latin and Arabic Alchemy and Chemistry* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York, 2009): 257–81.

<sup>97</sup> Originally “saltpeter” then “gunpowder.” See David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Medieval Society* (London, 1956), 21–26, 42; G. S. Colin et al., “Barud,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:1050–61; W. Floor, “Bārūt,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, fasc. 8 (1988): 838–39, published online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/> (consulted 14 December 2013).

<sup>98</sup> Ibn Sidah (d. 458), *Al-Muḥkam wa-al-Muḥiṭ al-A’zam*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Handāwī (Beirut, 2000), 8:512: “*wa-al-balās al-miṣḥ wa-al-jam’ bulus*.”

<sup>99</sup> Or “crackers.” See Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), 1:647.

<sup>100</sup> Something for repelling or thrusting (a tube containing gunpowder), possibly hand held cannons. See manuscript illustrations reproduced in Hassan, “Gunpowder Composition for Rockets and Cannon,” 270; J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Baltimore, 1999), 206.

<sup>101</sup> “*Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmi’ al-Funūn*,” St. Petersburg MS No. C-686, fols. 160v–161r, quoted by Reinaud and Favé (Arabic text and French outdated translation), “Du feu grégeois, des feux de guerre...” (Paris, 1850), 64–65, and by Hassan, “Gunpowder Composition for Rockets and Cannon,” 270.



Wear a *qarqal* that has been covered with thick haired felt (*balās*)—so that his head and the sleeves will be loose-fitting. His head and fingers will have been smeared with the substance I have described to you so that he will not be burnt by the fire. A trouser covered with it will be also fashioned for him—a trouser on the fashion of the trousers with legs, [so that] the fire will not reach the feet. He will [also] smear his body. He will make iron rings (*akhrās*) in the *qarqal*, from his head to his body, as well as in the *birkastuwān* (horse armor)... If ten of these horsemen (*fursān*) charge one hundred horsemen or more, they will run away. As for the horse, it will not approach and will not face it. This is a powerful secret.<sup>102</sup>

### Conclusion: The Near East, a Military Crossroad

The example of the *qarqal* is quite instructive. It shows how medieval warriors tried to meet the technological challenge presented by the heaviness of offensive weapons already evoked. Other developments also worked towards this same goal. Thus arm, leg, and joint protections known in the Near East for a long time but seemingly abandoned between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries reappeared.<sup>103</sup> Nicolle rightly emphasizes the Mongols' influence on these developments as well as on the evolution of military tactics and fighting weapons. But this should not be understood in the strict sense that military changes were necessarily a result of Mongol impetus. The driving force behind them was the increased military activity in the Near East, which was widely assumed from the late eleventh century by new groups coming from the East as well as from the West (e.g., Turks, Kurds, Franks and Mongols), who set up a slow but definitive militarization of societies.

The moving of the population—voluntary or not, in the case of the importation of military slaves—and the increase of military activity favored cultural exchanges between the East and the West. Military experiences and technologies clearly traveled from East to West. Within this framework, the Mongols played a pivotal role as intermediaries of cultural transfer. For example, it is likely that the military machine of the Mongols played a prominent role in gunpowder dissemination from the East to the West throughout the Islamic world (as well as

<sup>102</sup> “Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmi‘ al-Funūn,” Paris, BNF MS Ar. 2824, fols. 79r–80r.

<sup>103</sup> About limb defenses, see also Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1988), 5:206; Zouache, “L’armement entre Orient et Occident,” 305–6, 313–14; Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā al-Aqṣarā’ī, *Nihāyat al-Su‘l*, in Nicolle, “The Reality of Mamlūk Warfare: Weapons, Armour and Tactics,” 77–110.



throughout Western Europe).<sup>104</sup> But the opposite is also true: the Mongols, who were consumers of indigenous technology and so often employed local craftsmen, also transmitted the Mediterranean technology to the East—as far as China. Thus it is well known that the traction trebuchet first traveled from China to the Islamic lands before going back to China with Mongol armies in a new and more efficient form at the end of the thirteenth century, namely the counterweight trebuchet.<sup>105</sup> We should also not minimize the impact of local traditions and experiences of war or the impact of the Europeans on the Eastern way of war. In particular, this happened during the Mamluk period, when European merchants were in force in Egypt and Syria. After all, some metal pieces of the Damascus *qarqal* may have been made in an Italian maritime city.

The adoption by all the nations of medium- or heavy-armored cavalry is also quite interesting for the matter of cultural transfer. The increasing military confrontations between different traditions of war provoked the development of this cavalry even among the nations that were attached to the steppe warfare. It has been suggested that the Mongolian army arrived in the West as light cavalry and was soon strengthened by Persian influence.<sup>106</sup> What seems obvious is that the tradition of heavily-armored cavalry owed its origin to Central Asia, where the Mongols inherited it from a military tradition that had been developed by the Uighurs.<sup>107</sup> This tradition was known in the Islamic Near East for a long time, via Sassanian Iranian and late Romano-Byzantine armies. For example, the Banū Mirdās's (415–73/1024–80) success in northern Syria was due to their heavy cavalry elite trained in mounted swordsmanship which could successfully oppose the Byzantines' heavy cuirassed cavalry.<sup>108</sup> The heaviness decisively spread dur-

<sup>104</sup> Thomas T. Allsen, "The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire," in *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo (Leiden, 2002), 263–91, especially 271–74. However, see Joseph Needham's opinion in *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1986), vol. 5, pt. 7, 94–358. See also Kenneth Chase, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (New York, 2003), 58–61; Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley, 2007), 141–42.

<sup>105</sup> Paul Chevedden, "The Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet: A Study in Cultural Diffusion," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 71–116; Stephen Turnbull and Wayne Reynolds, *Siege Weapons of the Far East (1) AD 612–1300* (Oxford, 2001), 33–37; Allsen, "The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire," 266–68.

<sup>106</sup> A. P. Martineze, "Some Notes on the Il-Xanid Army," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 6 (1986–88): 129–42, quoted by Allsen, "The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire," 263.

<sup>107</sup> *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*, 27–28.

<sup>108</sup> Thierry Bianquis, "Pouvoirs à Alep aux Xe et XIe siècles," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 62 (1991): 49–59; idem, "Peuplement et guerre en Syrie au Ve/XIe siècle, éléments pour l'élaboration d'un wargame," in *Castrum* 3 (Madrid, 1988): 59–66; idem, "Mirdās, Banū or Mirdāsīd," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 7: 118–23.



ing the Crusades period, when Muslim armies were confronted by the Westerners and then by the Mongols. The powerful weapons found in the Citadel of Damascus are the heirs of a long, slow, and definitive process that allowed the Mamluk army to be one of the best military machines of its time. The Mamluks, who were the heirs of their Near Eastern predecessors, had been influenced by the Mongols and by their Western enemies. The Mamluks harmoniously combined different traditions of war. Studying their “way of war,” therefore, strongly confirms that “Western” and “non-Western way of war” are no more than rough and essentialist categories.



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## Book Reviews

*A Scholar in the Shadow: Essays in the Legal and Theological Thought of Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyyah*, edited by Caterina Bori and Livnat Holtzmann (Rome: Instituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2010). Pp. ix +293.

Reviewed by Rodrigo Adem, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

This volume is part of the efforts of a growing academic movement to more accurately access the intellectual legacy of Ibn Taymiyah (d. 728/1328) and his student Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751/1350), two of the most prolific Islamic scholars of the Mamluk period and likewise most influential sources for contemporary Islamic thought. Editors Caterina Bori and Livnat Holtzmann are at the forefront of new research on these two thinkers that aims to anchor our understanding of their scholarly activity within their proper historical context and with the necessary philological depth. The function of this collection of essays is to encourage research and discourse on Ibn al-Qayyim's own particular legacy, as the conflation of his profile with that of his famous teacher has occurred since medieval times. The book has been divided into three thematic sections: "Society and Law," "God and Man," and "Body and Soul," which roughly translate to jurisprudence, theology, and philosophy, though theological and Sufi themes permeate the whole.

In the first of these sections Birgit Krawietz presents a preliminary introduction to Ibn al-Qayyim's *I'lām al-muwaqqi'in*, which, as she demonstrates, has been woefully neglected in academic studies on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). What she presents here suffices to argue not just for Ibn al-Qayyim's distinct profile from his teacher, but also to illustrate his formidable creative presence in his own right within the genre. Though brief, her contribution lays out instructive paths for future research. David Freidenreich's article focuses on Ibn al-Qayyim's better-known book on the jurisprudence of non-Muslim minorities in Muslim lands, the *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah*. Freidenreich takes a novel approach to the well-studied subject by using a case study on dietary restrictions to demonstrate how even a book on jurisprudence can serve as a window into complex theological considerations on Judaism and Christianity. Yehoshua Frenkel's contribution to this section is the most ambitious of the three, as it seeks to reintroduce Ibn al-Qayyim outright as a political theorist of Islamic Utopia. Perhaps such an assessment is in the eye of the beholder. It is hard to ignore, however, that those aspects of Ibn al-Qayyim's thought which Frenkel has adduced as proofs of his conclusion (i.e., the idealization of the earliest Muslims [*al-salaf*], the adoption



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of an austere moral code, and faith in the salvific efficacy of acts) do not distinguish Ibn al-Qayyim meaningfully from large swaths of other Muslim scholars; defining the term “utopian,” it must be added, has its own difficulties.

The second section of the volume commences with another welcome addition to the works of Jon Hoover, whose studies on Ibn Taymīyah’s thought have been groundbreaking. Here Hoover revisits the topic of theodicy that he has studied elsewhere, utilizing Ibn al-Qayyim’s *Shifā’ al-‘alīl* to explain the latter’s theological reasoning for God’s creation of the devil. The article also serves as a useful introduction to the state of Islamic discourse on theodicy and predestination during Ibn al-Qayyim’s time (as well as the titles of relevant contemporary studies for the subject). This is followed by Yasir Qadhi’s contribution, a short summary of Ibn al-Qayyim’s *Al-Ṣawā’iq al-mursalah ‘alā al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu‘aṭṭilah*, a diatribe against the harmful innovations of *kalām* in Islamic thought. Though on the brief side, the article can be utilized as a roadmap for future research, and it also includes a worthwhile discussion of the available published editions of the text. Abdessamad Belhaj’s contribution should be read in tandem with Qadhi’s, since it uses the same source text to focus on one of the text’s main topics—Ibn al-Qayyim’s perspective on the topic of metaphor (*majāz*)—and likewise provides the reader with further sources for investigation. This section of the volume concludes with an article by Ovamir Anjum, entitled “Sufism Without Mysticism?” While the question mark in the article’s title accurately suggests the difficulty involved in satisfactorily defining either one of the “-isms” mentioned, the article does a much better job when explicitly addressing what really is at play here: the popular notion of Ibn Taymīyah’s and Ibn al-Qayyim’s supposed antagonism to Sufism. Anjum skilfully dissects Ibn al-Qayyim’s *Madārij al-sālikīn* to access a text doubtlessly Sufi in pedigree, but nevertheless with a clear theological agenda at stake. The *Madārij* is a commentary on the *Manāzil al-sā’irīn* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1089), a Hanbali Sufi whom Ibn Taymīyah never ceased to praise as *Shaykh al-Islām*, but who nevertheless used immanentist (viz. *ḥulūl*) elements deemed inadmissible from a stricter theological perspective. Ibn al-Qayyim’s task, then, was to salvage what he could of the legitimate Sufism in this text from the accrument of those problematic doctrines that Anjum labels “mysticism.” The feasibility of distinguishing between Sufism and mysticism aside, this should not distract the reader from this splendid presentation of one of the earliest extant examples of Sufi reformism.

The third section deals with topics more philosophical in nature, and therefore offers the reader a glimpse of some of the lesser-known aspects of Ibn al-Qayyim’s thought, given his reputation as a Hanbali literalist. This begins with an article by Irmeli Perho, who situates Ibn al-Qayyim’s understanding of Prophetic medicine (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*) within Ibn Taymīyah’s as of yet underappreciated project



of reconciling revelation and reason, exemplified in the latter's *Dar' ta'arud al-'aql wa-al-naql*. Using case studies extracted from Ibn al-Qayyim's *Zād al-ma'ād*, Perho demonstrates how the former attempted to present Islamic medical teachings as being confirmed by contemporary scientific theories on the natural elements, disease contagion, and psychological wellbeing.

In the following article by Tzvi Langermann, however, the author takes a different perspective, stating that we ought to understand Ibn al-Qayyim's philosophical predilections as an example of the historical process of the accommodation or "naturalization of Hellenistic science" within the Islamic theological context. Using Ibn al-Qayyim's philosophical discussions of the soul as found in the *Kitāb al-Rūh*, Langermann situates the Hanbali scholar's engagement with "science" within a longer history of the accommodation of scientific concepts within *kalām*, highlighting Ibn al-Qayyim's indebtedness to the works of Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. 560/1165) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209). It is an important point to make, and as Langermann acknowledges, it provides a case-study confirming one of Adam Sabra's most interesting theses on the role of science in Islamic society. Nevertheless, Langermann could benefit from acknowledgement of Ibn Taymīyah's particular role as rehabilitator of philosophy in the Hanbali school at that time, since while the then-defunct Baghdad school of Hanbalism had had its own engagement with *kalām* (exemplified in al-Qāḍī Abū Ya'lá [d. 458/1064], Ibn 'Aqīl [d. 513/1119], Ibn al-Jawzī [d. 597/1200], and others), the Damascene school dominated by the school of Ibn Qudāmah (d. 620/1223) seems to have abided by a strict prohibition of that Islamic science. Thus it cannot be taken for granted that Ibn al-Qayyim would have been able to access the scientific discourses of Islam were it not for Ibn Taymīyah's intervention in the Damascene Hanbali milieu. There is no doubt in my mind that Ibn al-Qayyim's generous assessment of Abū al-Barakāt, noted here by Langermann, is a reflection of his master's own indebtedness to that philosopher's work; so too are Ibn al-Qayyim's meticulous readings of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

This brings us to the final contribution of this section and the volume, Geneviève Gobillot's article on Ibn al-Qayyim's *Kitāb al-Rūh*, where she provides a historiography of controversies on the nature of soul in Muslim thought, alongside noteworthy comparisons to their counterparts in Christian theology. Gobillot's most interesting discovery is Ibn al-Qayyim's reliance on the works of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/912) when mapping out the role of metonymy in revelation's description of the human soul; al-Tirmidhī is a thinker otherwise disparaged by Ibn al-Qayyim and his master for his writings on the Seal of the Saints so influential for Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and other speculative Sufis. This article, like the two which precede it, raises important questions about the nature of Ibn al-Qayyim's engagement with Islamic philosophical discourse, and suggests to



researchers the need to view his writings as a rich repository for intellectual discourses spanning centuries in their development.

The essay format necessarily has its limitations, and at times the reader senses the prematurity of the decision to collect papers on a subject which does not even have its own monograph yet. Nevertheless, researchers with interest in the topic are strongly advised to consult this volume for instructive paths of direction as well as its substantial bibliography. In the meantime, we eagerly await the fruits of Holtzmann's and Krawietz's landmark research collaboration on Ibn al-Qayyim which has been funded by the German-Israel Foundation and which should appear in the next few years.



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*Le Bilād al-Shām face aux mondes extérieurs: La perception de l'Autre et la représentation du souverain.* Edited by Denise Aigle (Damascus-Beirut: Presses de l'IFPO, 2012). Pp. 425.

Reviewed by Malika Dekkiche, Ghent University

This proceedings volume comes from a colloquium entitled “Le Bilād al-Shām face aux mondes extérieurs: La perception de l'Autre et la représentation du souverain,” held in Damascus in December 2008, as part of a broader research project “Le Bilād al-Shām face aux mondes extérieurs: Croisés et Mongols: Réactions, adaptations, échanges (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> s.).” It represents a good example of recent scholarly efforts in the field of Ayyubid and Mamluk studies to focus on the region of Bilād al-Shām. The volume is centered on two major themes: the Other and the Sovereign. It examines the different perception of these two actors by the population and society in Bilād al-Shām, this on the background of the Crusades and the Mongol invasions.

The volume begins with a general introduction by the editor and includes twenty articles (fifteen in French, five in Arabic) that follow either a historical or literary approach and question a number of sources from the different parts of Bilād al-Shām during the time under review. The contributions address the general issue of the *memoria* and, within that framework, the ways the sovereign was perceived and the diverse modes of reaction to the Other, as well as the modes of adaptation and exchanges between the Other and the local population. The articles are divided into four major themes.

The first theme, on the making of heroes or the perception of the sovereign, starts with a study of the figure of Saladin by Abbès Zouache. In this article, Zouache analyzes the ways Saladin was erected as a legendary figure by comparing contemporary sources (Latin/old French and Arabic) on the Battle of Montgisard (1177). This comparison shows that medieval European sources first contributed to Saladin's legend, while the Arabic sources did not consider him any different from other heroes until a later period. Anne-Marie Eddé's original contribution on Baybars's representation in narrative and epigraphic sources looks at Baybars's identification with Moses and Alexander the Great through the titles found in three inscriptions in the Bilād al-Shām. Of particular interest is the role attributed to Baybars's companion, the shaykh al-Khaḍir al-Mihrānī, in this process of legitimization. Tahar Mansouri's article on the portrayal of Sultan Qalāwūn according to *Al-Faḍl al-Ma'thūr* of Shāfi' Ibn 'Alī is merely a summary of the information found in this biography of Qalāwūn without further analysis or comparison with other works. Dīma al-Shukr analyzes a corpus of poetry on the Crusades dated from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods that is preserved in nar-



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rative historical sources. She nicely draws up the images of the rulers as displayed through this corpus and compares these images to the perception of the Other (i.e., the Crusaders). Ajfān al-Ṣaghīr's very short article discusses more generally the perception of the Other and the representation of power over time according to a few secondary sources.

The second part of the volume concentrates on Baybars, and especially his *Sīrah*. The four articles included in this part are literary studies of the *Sīrat Baybars*. The first contribution, by George Bohas and Salam Diab-Duranton, presents new material to help understand the diverse processes used to establish the *Sīrah*. The two examples presented show how some texts were integrated into the original framework according to the different public. Based on the Damascene review of the *Sīrah*, Katia Zakharia studies the concept of the “kingly body” as exemplified in the story of the seven wounds of Sultan Baybars. She uses the image of the body as a text itself and presents an original analysis of the tale put in parallel with the Other's threat, be it the Franks, Mongols, or Isma'ilis. Francis Guinle's contribution addresses the topic of true and fake conversions as illustrated in several accounts in the Damascene review of the *Sīrah*. He analyzes the evolution of conversions after Baybars's accession to rule and the spread of Islam in Christian and Mongol lands through the sincere conversion of women marrying Muslims. The study uses strictly the *Sīrah*, without any comparative historical approach. Finally, Georges Dorlian studies the role of the *ʿayyār*, an inseparable character from the hero though very often criticized by society. He shows how the *ʿayyār* in the *Sīrat ʿAlī Zaybaq*, generally an antihero, emancipates and replaces the hero (i.e., the sovereign) and how this evolution somehow constitutes a criticism of the ruler.

The third part of the volume looks at Christian presences in Bilād al-Shām. Aboubakr Chraïbi introduces this part by illustrating the re-appropriation of old tales during the period of the Crusades that were adapted according to the need of the moment. Comparing diverse versions of a Bedouin text transformed over time, Chraïbi demonstrates how the text was rewritten by talented authors. With Mundhir Muḥammad al-Hāyik, we go back to historical analysis of the Other. In his well-documented article, he assesses the diverse groups (Franks, Mongols, Bedouins) and communities (Christian; Isma'ili) of Bilād al-Shām and proposes a comparative study of how these groups were perceived by and interacted with each other. Yūsuf Ghawānmah's contribution studies the efforts displayed by Muslim rulers and Franks during the Ayyubid period to maintain common interest, especially regarding commerce, mobility, and cohabitation, describing a general tolerance from Muslim rulers as illustrated through the treaties. ʿAmmār Muḥammad al-Nahār investigates the role and activities of Christian and Jewish communities in Mamluk society. After describing these communities' participa-



tion in diverse aspects of society, he provides a list of notices of famous Christian and Jewish scholars. This study is mostly based on primary and secondary sources in Arabic and does not use Western scholarship on the topic. Julien Gilet's essay reinvestigates the Battle of Marrī that took place between the Armenians and the Mamluks in 664/1266. While that battle has been dealt with by many scholars in the past, Gilet proposes an original study based on a great variety of sources, not only in Arabic but also in Armenian, Latin, old French, and Syriac. This article sheds new light on the battle and the way it has been kept in *memoria* by both parties. It is particularly welcome given the lack of secondary studies devoted to Anatolia. In her article on Ghāzān Khān's invasions of Syria, Denise Aigle goes back to the polemics about Ghāzān's conversion to Islam through an analysis of two already well-known corpuses: Ibn Taymīyah's fatwas and the correspondence exchanged between the khan and the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. The original aspect of this article is the study of the Qurānic quotations used by the Mamluks to discredit Ghāzān's claims in the light of his alliance with Christians. The last article of this section, by Mireille Issa, analyzes the perception of the Christian communities of Bilād al-Shām as reported by a Western traveller, Bishop Louis de Rochechouart, in the fifteenth century. Particularly interesting is the comparison of this account with an earlier one from the time of Crusades (*Historia orientalis* of J. de Vitry).

The last part of the volume is devoted to the perception of the Mongols in Bilād al-Shām. Thomas Herzog's article combines and puts in parallel fictional (*Sīrat Baybars*) and historical narratives to analyze the formation of a collective memory regarding the Mongols' invasions in Bilād al-Shām and how these were perceived by the population. By doing so, he demonstrates the importance of the *Sīrah* as a "founding memory." Exploring Syriac literature, Ray Mouawad discusses the legend of the "saving king" reported by Ibn al-Qilā'ī (fifteenth century). Through comparison with earlier texts, she is able to associate the emergence of this figure (saving king) with the Mongols, who were perceived by the Christian population as their only escape from Muslim rule. Alaa Talbi focuses on the impact of the Mongols' invasions on the Syrian population, especially the register of "fear," by a typological analysis of the vocabulary used in the narrative sources to express such feeling. Talbi appraises this vocabulary in the light of Pierre Mannoni's sociological study on the same topic. Finally, Marie-Anna Chevalier's well-documented contribution studies the Orders' responses and reactions in the aftermath of the Mongols' invasions, showing the ambiguity of the relations and alliances between the Franks, Mongols, and Orders.

This volume is a coherent contribution to the study of Bilād al-Shām during the time of the Crusades and the Mongol invasions. It deals with an important and very oft-neglected aspect of the time, namely, the Other and its interactions



with the state and local population. If some of the topics presented have been dealt with in the past, the comparative approach (historical and literary) followed in the volume, as well as the wide range of sources used by the contributors, constitutes a major appeal that compensates for some of the weaknesses found in individual articles.



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*Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*. Edited by Mahmoud Haddad, Arnin Heinemann, John L. Meloy, and Souad Slim (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2010). Pp. xii +316.

Reviewed by Malika Dekkiche, Ghent University

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Balamand (Lebanon) in 2005, entitled “Towards a Cultural History of Bilād al-Shām during the Mamluk Era: Prosperity or Decline, Tolerance or Preservation,” which aimed at investigating cultural history during the time of Mamluk rule (1250–1517) in general and the complex relationship between the state and diverse social groups of Syria in particular. Whereas the conference originally focused on Bilād al-Shām, the present volume has been expanded to include Egypt as well. It converges with a new trend within the field of Mamluk studies to devote more attention to Syria, an area long neglected by scholars.

The volume includes eighteen articles in English (eleven), French (one), and Arabic (seven, all gathered in the second part of the volume) and is divided into five major themes. The first, which represents a third of the volume, looks at the interactions of religious communities, especially Christian and Jewish communities but also the Shi‘ah and Druze. Jørgen S. Nielsen’s introductory article discusses the participation of the *dhimmī* community in the Ayyubid and Mamluk state and society. After surveying the common scholarly approach and literature on the topic, Nielsen opens the way for new approaches and questions to be debated, focusing on the active participation of these communities in the state apparatus as a means for the state to maintain control despite frequent persecutions. This approach is followed by the next five contributions. Elias al-Qattar reviews Mamluk campaigns in Lebanon (Kasrawān) at the end of the thirteenth century and the state’s ambiguous attitude toward the Maronite, Shi‘ah, and Druze communities. David Thomas presents a case of correspondence aiming to justify Christianity, sent by Christians of Cyprus to Muslim religious scholars in Damascus—i.e., Ibn Taymīyah (in 1316) and al-Dimashqī (in 1321)—that illustrates the general misunderstanding between the two religious communities. The two contributions of Ahmad Hutait and André Nassar study the place of Christians in the Mamluk administration and society more generally in Cairo and Syria (Damascus and Aleppo), respectively. Finally, Ray Mouawwad analyzes the case of Christian martyrs in Tripoli in light of the too often neglected Syriac, Aramaic, and Karshūnī sources. All the articles presented in this section examine the relation and interaction between religious communities and the state, especially in light of the Mamluk confrontation with the Franks, and to a lesser extent with the Mongols, and how these conflicts influenced the ambiguous position of the



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state towards religious communities, which oscillated between oppression, persecution, and tolerance.

The next three parts of the volume concentrate on several fields of cultural production, beginning with the arts. The articles of Elyas al-Zayyat and Mat Immerzel/Adeline Jeudy investigate the issue of Christian art during the Mamluk period. Whereas al-Zayyat's contribution focuses on Christian art in Syria, Immerzel and Jeudy's contribution expands to include Egypt up to the fourteenth century, showing that Christian art took different forms and met different destinies in the two regions. Regarding Syria, both articles show that the Mamluk period was transitional, but neither catastrophic nor destructive. Immerzel and Jeudy's paper also underlines the problem of dating the Egyptian pieces due to frequent reuse of the objects. In a short article, Doris Behrens-Abouseif analyzes the increasing data found in the chronicles of the late Mamluk period for the craftsmen and artists owing to their progressive ascension to the higher class of society (an expanded version of this article has been published in *BSOAS* 74, no. 3 [2011]: 375–95). Howayda al-Harithy's article on the cultural role of Mamluk epigraphy in Tripoli closes this section.

The second aspect devoted to cultural productions concerns the historical literature. Antoine Doumit's article assesses the innovative aspect of al-Maqrīzī's work with regard to his writing of history. This study, mostly based on al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, lacks a certain comparative approach with other contemporary sources and would have greatly gained from the use of the abundant secondary literature on that author. As for Axel Havemann's contribution, it analyzes the importance of Ibn Iyās's *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* for social history and "history from below," especially that of marginal groups.

The third section on cultural productions looks at the field of sciences during the Mamluk period. Two contributions concern the sciences strictly speaking and stress the time of Mamluk rule as a time of great accomplishment in that field. George Saliba's article on the astronomical sciences shows the great input of Mamluk astronomers in their effort to theorize and universalize those sciences. As for Floréal Sanagustin, he demonstrates how "prophetic" medicine (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*) was codified during that period as a new type of narrative of origins. The last article of the section, by Anis Shaya, investigates coastal fortifications in Lebanon between the Franks and the Mamluks, with a focus on the construction of Tripoli during the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn in 1289. The quality of the pictures and maps provided in the appendices is unfortunately rather poor.

The fifth and final part of the book is dedicated to: "Cultural Contexts of Political Practice and Social Relations." Albrecht Fuess's article investigates the complex relationships between the Turkish Mamluk elite and their Arab subjects and shows the same pattern, demonstrated at the beginning of the volume, of am-



biguous interactions between an “outlaw” state (supported by the ‘*ulamā*’) and an oppressed population (here Arab Muslim). Ahmad Abdelsalam analyzes the evolution of the function of the *muḥtasib* from a religious position to a more administrative duty. This study is based on a previous one by Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Razzāq (*Annales Islamologiques* 13 [1977]: 115–78), which is summarized and expanded here with recent secondary studies. Finally, in a short contribution, Aliya Saidi presents an original study on mental illness among women stemming from polygamous marriage. Her analysis centers on the biographical notices found in al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’*.

The present volume represents a coherent contribution to the field of cultural history during the Mamluk period, and its attention to the region of Bilād al-Shām (especially Lebanon) is particularly welcome. A couple of problems are to be noted, however. First, editorial work, especially on bibliographic standardization, is somewhat lacking. This is also the case for the quality of some of the images provided in the appendices. Second, while a number of articles discuss original and often neglected topics—to name but a few, Thomas, Mouawwad, Immerzel-Jeudy, Abouseif, Saliba—others do not particularly add any new material or conclusions to the field. In this regard, I refer to the part of the volume devoted to “Historical Literature.” Moreover, some of the articles based mostly on primary Arabic sources often lack a critical analysis of them and either omit secondary historiography or use outdated works at times. Despite these problems, the volume remains an important contribution to the field of Mamluk studies, especially for scholars interested in the religious communities and the social and cultural life of Bilād al-Shām.



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Suleiman A. Mourad and James E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period: Ibn 'Asākir of Damascus (1105–1176) and His Age, with an Edition and Translation of Ibn 'Asākir's "The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad"* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). Pp. 222.

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Ibn 'Asākir, traditionniste damascain et proche de Nūr al-Dīn (1146–74), est bien connu des historiens de la Syrie médiévale pour son monumental dictionnaire biographique des personnalités ayant marqué Damas, intitulé *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq* (Histoire de la ville de Damas).<sup>1</sup> Son rôle de propagandiste du jihad à l'époque de Nūr al-Dīn et plusieurs autres aspects de son travail ont également été étudiés par deux spécialistes reconnus de son œuvre, Suleiman A. Mourad et James E. Lindsay. Ces derniers nous offrent aujourd'hui l'édition et la traduction d'un petit traité beaucoup moins connu de cet auteur, rassemblant quarante hadiths ayant trait au jihad. Le genre littéraire des « Quarante hadiths » était très populaire au Moyen Âge car il permettait de retenir facilement les principaux hadiths sur un thème donné. Un tel recueil était destiné à être enseigné dans les milieux religieux mais s'adressait aussi, plus largement, à un public éduqué. Dans le cas du jihad, il pouvait également être lu dans les rangs de l'armée, à la veille d'une bataille, pour galvaniser les combattants.

Cet opuscule d'une quinzaine de folios est parvenu jusqu'à nous dans un unique manuscrit inclus dans un recueil de textes (*majmū'*) conservé par la bibliothèque Asad à Damas (*Majmū' lughah* 40). Son édition et sa traduction en anglais sont ici accompagnées d'un important commentaire organisé en sept chapitres dans lesquels les auteurs analysent successivement: (1) la vie et l'œuvre de l'auteur; (2) la naissance du jihad au début de l'islam; (3) son essor entre la Première et la Deuxième Croisade; (4) le rôle d'Ibn 'Asākir dans l'intensification et la réorientation de l'idéologie sunnite du jihad au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle; (5) les quarante hadiths composant le traité; (6) l'intensification et la réorientation de l'idéologie sunnite du jihad au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les certificats d'audition (*samā'āt*) inscrits à la suite du texte; (7) l'héritage de l'intensification et de la réorientation de l'idéologie sunnite du jihad, du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle au début de l'époque moderne. Deux cartes, un plan de Damas, deux photos de la mosquée des Umayyades, une reproduction de la page de titre (67 r<sup>o</sup>) et une autre des deux folios (79 v<sup>o</sup> et 80 r<sup>o</sup>) comprenant le colophon du texte et les sept premiers certificats d'audition, une bibliographie et des index complètent très utilement l'ouvrage.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 80 vols., éd. 'Umar ibn Gharāmah al-'Amrāwī et 'Alī Shīrī (Beyrouth, 1995–2001).



La synthèse fournie dans les premiers chapitres sur la vie et l'œuvre de l'auteur ainsi que sur la naissance du jihad et son essor au lendemain de la Première Croisade est sans doute très utile, mais les parties les plus originales du commentaire sont celles qui traitent des professeurs qui transmirent des hadiths à Ibn 'Asākir, du rôle de ce dernier comme propagandiste du jihad sous le règne de Nūr al-Dīn, des thèmes abordés dans le traité ainsi que de la réception de l'ouvrage.

En comparant la liste des traditionnistes ayant transmis à Ibn 'Asākir des hadiths sur le jihad, telle qu'elle ressort du traité, à celle des traditionnistes mentionnés dans son *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, recueil dans lequel l'auteur fait la liste des quelque 1621 professeurs dont il a suivi l'enseignement, S. Mourad et J. Lindsay s'interrogent à juste titre sur le fait que les noms des traditionnistes, cités dans le *Mu'jam*, qu'Ibn 'Asākir côtoya à Damas et qui lui transmirent des hadiths sur le jihad, ne sont pas repris dans le traité des 40 hadiths. Des hadiths identiques (ou quasi-identiques) à ceux qui lui furent transmis par ces savants figurent bien dans le traité, mais selon des chaînes de transmission différentes avec comme informateurs directs des savants qu'Ibn 'Asākir aurait rencontrés en Irak ou en Iran. S. Mourad et J. Lindsay en tirent la conclusion qu'Ibn 'Asākir omit volontairement de les citer—de même qu'il omit de citer le traité sur le jihad d'al-Sulamī (m. 1106)—afin de montrer à ses contemporains et surtout à Nūr al-Dīn qui lui avait commandé ce traité qu'il était supérieur à tous les autres traditionnistes de Damas et que son savoir ne devait rien aux savants de cette ville. Le sens aigu qu'il avait de sa supériorité l'aurait conduit à taire le nom de ses devanciers. Cette interprétation, toutefois, uniquement fondée sur les silences de l'auteur et sur des variantes entre ses deux ouvrages, est discutable. Rappelons, d'une part, qu'il n'était pas rare qu'un traditionniste rapportât un même hadith selon différentes chaînes de transmission. D'autre part, si l'on demeure dans le domaine des conjectures, différentes interprétations pourraient aussi bien être proposées pour expliquer les silences de l'auteur: désir de rapporter les hadiths sur le jihad d'après des savants orientaux connus pour leur science et leur autorité dans ce domaine; le traité d'al-Sulamī n'étant pas un recueil de hadiths (même s'il en contient quelques-uns), Ibn 'Asākir n'aurait pas jugé utile de le citer, etc. En tout état de cause, et en l'absence d'indications claires de la part de l'auteur, il nous semble hasardeux et inutile de se livrer à de telles spéculations.

Les thèmes abordés dans le traité d'Ibn 'Asākir sont clairement analysés dans le chapitre 5: importance du jihad, châtiments de ceux qui le négligeraient et récompense pour ceux qui s'y consacraient, enfin conditions requises pour bénéficier des récompenses liées au jihad. Même si ces thèmes ne présentent en eux-mêmes aucune originalité, il est intéressant de constater l'aspect très normatif de la propagande du jihad en cette deuxième moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Plus frappante encore, comme le soulignent les auteurs, est l'absence dans le prologue



d'Ibn 'Asākir de toute référence précise aux ennemis visés par ce jihad: ceux-ci apparaissent désignés par les termes vagues de *amrād* (rebelles), *dhawá al-kufr wa-al-'inād* (les infidèles et les récalcitrants)<sup>2</sup> « qui ont, à cause de leur infidélité, terrorisé le pays et y ont répandu l'oppression et la corruption ». L'infidélité vise incontestablement les Francs présents dans la région. Peut-on en déduire, pour autant, que sont aussi visés les chefs musulmans, sunnites ou chiites, dont les querelles étaient jugées responsables de la faiblesse de la Syrie musulmane? La question reste, à mon sens, posée et rejoint celle qui est abordée dans certains autres chapitres sur la « réorientation » du jihad au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et au-delà (p. 55–58 et p. 104–14). L'idée qui est développée par S. Mourad et J. Lindsay est la suivante: si Ibn 'Asākir désigne les ennemis contre lesquels le jihad doit être proclamé par des termes vagues, c'est à dessein afin de permettre à Nūr al-Dīn de déclarer le jihad aussi bien contre les « infidèles » que contre les autres musulmans (sunnites ou chiites). Autrement dit, le jihad se développa dans les milieux sunnites aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles non seulement en réaction à la présence des Francs dans la région mais aussi en réaction contre le chiisme qui s'était largement développé aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles au Proche-Orient. Cette hypothèse n'est pas sans soulever certaines interrogations. Que les dirigeants et les milieux religieux syriens aient lutté contre le chiisme aux XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles ne fait, bien sûr, aucun doute. Mais peut-on pour autant considérer ce combat comme un jihad au même titre que la lutte contre les « infidèles »? La réponse à cette question n'est pas simple et a beaucoup préoccupé les juristes sunnites médiévaux qui répondent le plus souvent par la négative. S. Mourad et J. Lindsay évacuent un peu trop rapidement le problème en affirmant qu'Ibn 'Asākir aurait justement choisi de composer un recueil de hadiths, et non un traité classique sur le jihad, pour éviter les épineuses questions juridiques. À l'appui de leur thèse, ils citent aussi (p. 107), pour le début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Ibn Taymīyah qui déclara licite le jihad contre les Ismaéliens, les Nusayris et les Druzes. On notera cependant qu'en prenant cette position, Ibn Taymīyah eut soin de préciser que c'est parce que les Ismaéliens, les Nusayris et les Druzes ne sont pas considérés comme des musulmans par les sunnites, que le combat contre eux est permis. Par conséquent, l'idée que le combat du sunnisme contre le chiisme fut considéré comme un jihad, à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, n'est pas réellement convaincante, en tout cas avec les arguments ici avancés.

Dans le chapitre 6, on lira avec beaucoup d'intérêt l'analyse riche en informations des onze certificats d'audition (*samā'āt*) que les auteurs traduisent à tort par « colophons ». D'un point de vue codicologique, en effet, le colophon est la « formule finale dans laquelle le scribe mentionne le lieu ou la date de la copie,

<sup>2</sup> Expression traduite par les auteurs par « the unbelievers and tyrants » mais le terme de *'inād* renvoie davantage à l'idée de résistance ou d'opposition obstinée qu'à la notion de tyrannie.



ou l'un et l'autre », <sup>3</sup> tandis que les certificats d'audition attestent qu'une ou plusieurs personnes ont lu ou entendu lire un texte devant un maître (*musmi*<sup>4</sup>) qui peut être l'auteur lui-même ou un transmetteur du texte. Les certificats d'audition qui figurent tous à la fin du manuscrit (à l'exception du plus tardif d'entre eux qui figure sur la page de titre) nous apprennent que le texte d'Ibn 'Asākir fut d'abord lu à Damas en présence de l'auteur lui-même en 565/1170 et en 569/1174, puis en présence de certains de ses élèves, et ceci jusqu'en 718/1318. Comme le font justement remarquer S. Mourad et J. Lindsay, trois certificats d'audition attestent de la lecture à Damas de ce traité entre le 26 février 1227 et le 16 mars 1227, c'est-à-dire à une époque où la nouvelle des négociations entamées dès 623/1226 entre le sultan d'Égypte al-Kāmil et l'empereur Frédéric II pour la remise de Jérusalem à l'empereur, en échange de son alliance contre al-Mu'azzam de Damas, était parvenue aux oreilles de ce dernier. Trois autres certificats datent des années 626–27/1229–30, soit la période durant laquelle eut effectivement lieu la remise de Jérusalem à Frédéric II au grand dam des habitants de Damas. Ces certificats viennent donc confirmer l'active propagande en faveur du jihad qui se développa alors dans cette ville et dont témoigne aussi l'historien Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī dans son *Mir'āt al-zamān*. Une propagande également destinée à protester contre les visées expansionnistes d'al-Kāmil qui cherchait alors à s'emparer de Damas. On peut être en désaccord, en revanche, sur l'hypothèse selon laquelle al-Mu'azzam aurait lui-même signé un traité avec Frédéric II avant son frère al-Kāmil (p. 97), car le passage de Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī<sup>4</sup> sur lequel se fonde cette supposition est ambigu et peut prêter à diverses interprétations. Une lecture différente du passage en question pourrait être la suivante: « Al-Ashraf se rendit auprès d'al-Kāmil et arriva alors qu'il venait de remettre Jérusalem à l'empereur. Al-Ashraf en fut choqué et fit des reproches à al-Kāmil qui lui dit: "J'ai été contraint d'agir ainsi à cause d'al-Mu'azzam," signifiant par là que c'est al-Mu'azzam qui était responsable de la cession (littéralement: qui donna) à l'empereur des territoires compris entre la Jordanie et la mer avec les domaines s'étendant de la Porte de Jérusalem jusqu'à Jaffa et d'autres encore. » Autrement dit, d'après Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, al-Kāmil aurait fait porter à son frère la responsabilité du traité qu'il venait de signer lui-même avec l'empereur, en raison notamment de ses alliances politiques qui auraient poussé al-Kāmil à négocier avec Frédéric II.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> D. Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits, avec leurs équivalents en anglais, italien, espagnol, édition hypertextuelle* (Paris, 1985) (en ligne avec la traduction d'un grand nombre de termes codicologiques en arabe, sur le site de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes: <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/>).

<sup>4</sup> Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tārikh al-a'yān* (Hyderabad, 1951), 8:654.

<sup>5</sup> Notons que ni H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egipten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 146–60, ni R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids from Damascus,*



L'analyse des quatre premiers certificats d'audition a conduit S. Mourad et J. Lindsay à déduire que le manuscrit parvenu jusqu'à nous est une copie du manuscrit d'origine (sans doute autographe) effectuée par un traditionniste originaire de Séville, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī (m. 636/1239), grand-père du célèbre historien et traditionniste al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Birzālī (m. 739/1339). Que le manuscrit ait été la propriété d'al-Birzālī est en effet confirmé par le certificat d'audition n° 10 (daté de 633/1236). Toutefois une analyse codicologique et surtout paléographique un peu plus argumentée aurait été nécessaire pour confirmer l'hypothèse qu'il en fut également le copiste. Al-Birzālī a rédigé sans aucun doute (car il s'exprime à la première personne) les certificats n° 3 et 4. Il a sans doute aussi recopié de sa main les certificats plus anciens (n° 1 et 2), car l'écriture est la même et son caractère maghrébin est incontestable. En revanche, on ne peut écarter d'un revers de plume, comme le font les auteurs (p. 83, n. 4), les différences qui apparaissent entre l'écriture de la fin du texte (telle qu'on peut la voir sur la reproduction du folio 79<sup>v</sup> qui figure p. 103) et l'écriture des quatre premiers certificats. Ainsi la lettre *fā'* est-elle écrite avec un point au-dessus de la lettre à la manière orientale dans le texte alors qu'elle est écrite avec un point en-dessous de la lettre, à la manière maghrébine, dans les certificats. Comment conclure, dès lors, qu'il s'agit de la même écriture, celle d'al-Qāsim al-Birzālī? À première vue, ces deux écritures apparaissent assez différentes, l'une (celle de la fin du texte) plutôt orientale et l'autre (celle d'al-Birzālī pour les quatre premiers certificats) certainement maghrébine. Il est donc possible qu'al-Birzālī ait fait copier le traité d'Ibn 'Asākir par un copiste avant de retranscrire de sa main les deux premiers certificats. N'ayant pas accès au reste du texte, il nous est difficile de trancher, mais ces différences d'écriture auraient mérité, pour le moins, davantage d'explications.

Les certificats d'audition nous renseignent également sur les auditeurs et les lieux où se déroulaient les séances de lecture. Les listes des auditeurs comprennent d'éminents savants de Damas, signe de l'importance accordée, à cette époque, à l'idéologie du jihad en général et à l'enseignement d'Ibn 'Asākir en particulier. Les lieux où se tenaient les séances pouvaient être privés ou publics: le jardin des neveux d'Ibn 'Asākir dans la Ghouta de Damas ou la maison d'un notable; la Mosquée des Umayyades; les écoles de hadiths fondées par Nūr al-Dīn ou par sa veuve en 1175; ou encore al-Kallāsah fondée par Nūr al-Dīn comme extension de la Mosquée des Umayyades avec laquelle elle communiquait, celle-ci étant devenue trop exigüe. Notons, à ce propos, que le texte arabe mentionne ce lieu sous le simple nom d'« al-Kallāsah à Damas », ce que les auteurs ont traduit par « the Kallāsa School » en indiquant en note qu'il s'agissait d'une école de hadiths construite en

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1193–1260 (New York, 1977), 183–84, 198, n'ont retenu l'interprétation d'une alliance d'al-Mu'azzam avec Frédéric II.



1160 sous le règne de Nūr al-Dīn (p. 92, n. 36, et p. 201). Toutefois, avant d'être une école, al-Kallāsah fut, du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, une salle de prière dans laquelle des cercles d'enseignement (notamment de hadiths) étaient organisés, tout comme dans la Grande Mosquée voisine dont elle formait une extension. Ce n'est qu'au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle que l'appellation de madrasa (collège d'enseignement du droit et des sciences religieuses) lui fut couramment appliquée avant d'être reprise par la plupart des historiens modernes.<sup>6</sup>

D'un point de vue formel, l'édition arabe du texte et sa traduction en anglais sont placées en vis-à-vis, ce qui rend la lecture facile et agréable. La traduction est dans l'ensemble très fidèle au texte. Quelques petites remarques de détail: au bas du folio 67b du texte arabe, une coquille rend une expression incompréhensible qu'il faut sans doute lire: *innahu lanā bi-al-mirṣād* expression que les auteurs ont traduite par « He is all-watching ». Sur ce même folio, la traduction d'al-Malik al-Ādil par « the just king » est exacte mais peut-être aurait-il fallu indiquer en note que c'était aussi le nom de règne de Nūr al-Dīn, car c'est ce qui permet de l'identifier comme commanditaire du traité. L'expression *ṣuḥḥa wa-thubita* (ceci fut authentifié et vérifié) qui figure le plus souvent à la fin des certificats d'audition n'est pas systématiquement traduite (cf. certificat 1 p. 185, certificat 3 p. 189, certificat 8 p. 197, certificat 9 p. 199).

On ne saurait dire assez l'importance qu'il y a à éditer scientifiquement, à traduire et à commenter des sources arabes restées jusqu'ici inconnues ou méconnues. Quelles que soient donc les petites divergences d'interprétation qui pourraient apparaître ici ou là dans l'analyse du jihad et de son évolution aux XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, on ne peut que se réjouir de la publication de cet ouvrage et féliciter chaleureusement les auteurs pour ce travail aussi utile que réussi.

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<sup>6</sup> A.-M. Eddé, « Saladin's Pious Foundations in Damascus: Some New Hypotheses » in *Living Islamic History: Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, éd. Y. Suleiman (Edinburgh, 2009), 62–76.



*Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI: Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2005 and May 2006.* Edited by Urbain Vermeulen and Kristof D'Hulster (Leuven: Peeters, 2010). Pp. xiv +394.

Reviewed by Mathieu Eychenne, CNRS-UMR 8167 Orient & Méditerranée-Islam Médiéval, Paris

Sixième de la série *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, publié en 2010 sous la direction d'U. Vermeulen et K. D'Hulster, le présent volume réunit vingt-quatre articles, en anglais, français et allemand, tirés de communications scientifiques données par leurs auteurs à l'occasion des quatorzième et quinzième colloques internationaux du même nom organisés à l'Université catholique de Louvain, respectivement en 2005 et 2006. Privilégiant le choix fait depuis la première publication de cette série, les éditeurs du présent volume ont regroupé les différentes contributions en fonction des trois périodes chronologiques (fatimide, ayyoubide, et mamelouke), que couvrent ces manifestations scientifiques annuelles. Nous présentons ici, de façon plus ou moins détaillée, les différents articles non en fonction de leur ordre d'apparition dans le cours du recueil mais sur la base de ce qui semble, selon nous, pouvoir les rapprocher.

Plusieurs contributions présentent, et parfois étudient, des documents d'archives ou des manuscrits inédits. C'est le cas des articles de M. Brett, U. Vermeulen, P.-V. Claverie, F. Bauden, K. d'Hulster, et M. Wijntjes, qui contribuent ainsi à montrer toute la diversité des sources permettant d'écrire l'histoire de l'Égypte et de la Syrie entre le X<sup>e</sup> et le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. K. d'Hulster et M. Wijntjes mettent tous deux en évidence la richesse et la variété de la production littéraire au cours de la période mamelouke. En nous présentant, avec une érudition certaine, le *Shāhnāme-yi Türkī*, une traduction en turc ottoman ancien, entièrement versifiée, du grand classique de la littérature persane, le *Shāhnāme* de Firdawsī, K. d'Hulster illustre parfaitement le syncrétisme culturel, fortement imprégné par un substrat turco-persan, qui se développa, encouragé par le pouvoir lui-même, à la cour mamelouke. Terminé en 1511, l'ouvrage est dédié au Sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī, qui contrairement à nombre de ses prédécesseurs, était bien connu pour sa polyglossie<sup>1</sup> et son amour de la littérature. M. Wijntjes, pour sa part, décrit une copie tardive, datant du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, du manuscrit de *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn* de Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī al-Shāfi'ī. Rédigé, en arabe, à Damas dans le contexte de la guerre civile de 791–92/1389–90 qui opposa le Sultan Barqūq à plusieurs émirs mamelouks séditieux,

<sup>1</sup> Il connaissait l'arabe, le persan, le turc, mais également le kurde, l'arménien, le tcherkesse et d'autres langues caucasiennes.



cet ouvrage, composé de dix chapitres, aborde des thèmes aussi variés que la prière, les vêtements, le mariage, la nourriture, le voyage dans un pays étranger, le pèlerinage, la confrontation avec l'ennemi, la salutation, les maladies et les maux, le martyr, la prière aux morts, l'apprentissage du Coran, etc. M. Wijntjes les évoque par le biais d'une sélection de passages, traduits en anglais, et met en avant l'originalité de l'œuvre, véritable « cas de résistance non violente » selon elle, et sa conception par son auteur comme un manuel de survie en ces temps troublés, la conformation aux prescriptions rassemblées dans ce livre étant la meilleure façon de se prémunir contre les épreuves que l'on se voit infliger.

Les deux articles de P.-V. Claverie abordent l'apport de la littérature occidentale médiévale à l'histoire de l'Égypte et de la Syrie médiévales, au-delà des stéréotypes et caricatures produits par ce type d'écrits. Le premier article a pour sujet la bataille décisive et fondatrice de Manṣūrah qui se déroula entre Croisés et Mamelouks en 1250. Il relate notamment le récit inédit, livré dans une chanson, dont le manuscrit est conservé à la British Library, évoquant les faits de guerre des Templiers. L'auteur de la chanson livre ainsi un « témoignage exceptionnel sur l'accueil réservé aux 1500 hommes de Robert d'Artois dans les rues de Mansourah » et « rapporte le sort réservé aux croisés avec un luxe de détails rapportés par l'un des rares survivants de la bataille. » Quant au second article de P.-V. Claverie, il a pour objet un récit de pèlerinage, datant de 1335, rédigé par Jacques de Véronne, un ermite de saint-Augustin. Il montre qu'au-delà de l'hostilité de principe que ce genre de récit véhicule inmanquablement à l'égard de l'islam et au sentiment de supériorité affiché par son auteur tout au long du tableau général qu'il dresse, l'intérêt prononcé qu'il manifeste à l'égard du commerce dans le sultanat mamelouk peut nous fournir d'intéressantes pistes sur la situation économique de cette époque (p. 199–201).

La contribution de F. Bauden est particulièrement intéressante. Son point de départ est un document, daté de 821/1418 et conservé dans les Archives de l'État à Venise. Il s'agit d'un contrat conclu entre un prêtre vénitien et un courrier musulman à propos du transport d'une série de lettres privées du port d'Alexandrie jusqu'à Damas. Comme le rappelle l'auteur, des travaux de J. Sauvaget jusqu'à ceux, derniers en dates, de A. Silverstein, le système officiel de la poste aux chevaux (*barīd*) à l'époque mamelouke a été largement étudié. En revanche, les méthodes de communications entre individus et, plus particulièrement, l'acheminement des nouvelles d'ordre privé au sein de l'espace syro-égyptien, sont demeurés largement ignorés, la faute en grande partie aux lacunes documentaires et au désintérêt des auteurs de l'époque pour cette question. F. Bauden compare ce contrat à un document relativement similaire, étudié par S. Labib en 1962 et perdu depuis cette date. Son étude passe en revue les sobriquets qui caractérisaient certains de ces courriers, la nature des contrats qui les liaient aux commanditaires, les



conditions entourant le service contractualisé, les rémunérations, ou encore les distances parcourues à pieds et le temps qui était imparti pour la livraison des lettres. Dressant les contours d'un acteur, certes invisible mais néanmoins important de la vie sociale—dont le rôle a perduré jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle au Maghreb et au Machreq jusqu'à l'avènement de nouveaux moyens de communications—l'auteur parvient à faire émerger une activité qui, selon lui, constituait une profession à part entière et éclaire ainsi un pan méconnu de la vie quotidienne à l'époque mamelouke.

L'étude du patrimoine architectural syro-égyptien est également présente dans ce volume (S. Laor-Sirak, H. P. Hanisch, M. Piana, L. Richter-Bernburg, A. Petersen, M. Frenkel). Les influences extérieures ayant enrichi le savoir-faire technique au cours de cette période et contribué à la formalisation d'une architecture spécifique sont questionnées. S. Laor-Sirak propose ainsi une nouvelle voie pour expliquer la naissance d'un élément architectural en pierre, les *muqarnas* « méditerranéens » (selon la typologie dressée par E. Herzfeld), emblématique des constructions syriennes, à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'incorporation et la transmission de techniques et savoir-faire par l'intermédiaire de maçons et architectes arméniens ayant eux-mêmes, pendant plusieurs siècles, assimilé et réinterprété des méthodes plus anciennes et contribué à formaliser le passage du stuc ou de la brique—caractéristique des *muqarnas* « iraniens » (toujours selon E. Herzfeld)—à la pierre. Les influences arméniennes sur l'architecture islamique sont également au centre des préoccupations de H. P. Hanisch, mais cette fois dans le domaine de l'architecture militaire, à travers le système de mesure utilisé, la taille de pierre et les caractéristiques structurelles. M. Piana, pour sa part, aborde l'influence croisée sur le patrimoine architectural de la « nouvelle ville » de Tripoli établie à proximité de l'ancienne ville franque de Montpèlerin après sa conquête par les Mamelouks en 1291. À travers l'étude de différents bâtiments et infrastructures de la ville—notamment la citadelle, « site le plus approprié pour étudier la succession architecturale entre Francs et mamelouks »—l'auteur cherche à mettre en évidence l'adoption d'éléments empruntés aux Croisés comme base de leur construction par les Mamelouks.

Qu'il soit *jizr* (un pont de bateaux ou un ponton, bien que le terme serve à décrire également des ponts fixes) ou *qanṭarah* (un pont arqué en brique ou en pierre, héritier du pont romain), le pont n'est pas l'un des éléments de l'architecture islamique les plus étudiés et ce, en dépit de ce qu'il peut nous apprendre sur l'organisation du territoire et les moyens de circulation et de communication mis en œuvre par une société et un pouvoir. Dans la dernière partie de son article, A. Petersen dresse une liste non exhaustive de six ponts situés en Palestine, encore existants ou détruits mais connus dans la documentation (pp. 294–98). Leur implantation à l'intersection des grands fleuves et wadis et des grandes routes



terrestres, en particulier celui de la *via maris* qui conduit de l'Égypte à la Syrie à travers la plaine côtière de la Palestine, met en évidence l'axe principal de circulation de l'État mamelouk dans la région. Ici l'influence extérieure, et en particulier celle des Croisés qui occupaient la majeure partie du territoire avant la reconquête mamelouke, ne peut être mise en évidence, ceux-ci ayant préféré les voies maritimes pour les communications à longue distance. A. Petersen voit dans ce réseau de ponts un moyen mis en œuvre par le pouvoir mamelouk pour étendre et définir le territoire—tous les ponts étudiés par l'auteur relient l'axe de circulation principal entre Damas et le Caire—et une manière consciente, par le choix de leur emplacement, de faire de la Palestine, un pont entre deux centres de pouvoir (pp. 298–99).

Les articles de L. Richter-Bernburg et de M. Frenkel s'intéressent aux usages politiques du territoire par le biais du discours et du savoir littéraire produit par les contemporains sur l'architecture et sur le patrimoine. L. Richter-Bernburg confronte les points de vue esthétiques ou les jugements moraux sur le patrimoine chrétien et islamique de deux voyageurs, 'Alī al-Harawī et Ibn Jubayr, qui sillonnèrent la région à peu près à la même époque, dans le dernier quart du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il montre ainsi que le passé historique ou mythique, à travers les récits de fondation, par exemple, et les traces et témoignages architecturaux, est un des éléments centraux du discours mis en œuvre par les sociétés humaines dans la construction d'une nouvelle identité locale.

M. Frenkel, pour sa part, expose la façon dont les auteurs musulmans, ont, à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, construit un discours cohérent intégrant les différentes couches du passé d'Alep et sa région, sur le plan politique (Grecs, Romains, Byzantins) et sur le plan de la topographie religieuse (paganisme, judaïsme, christianisme), afin de présenter un continuum historique menant à l'islam et aux réalisations de leur époque. Adoptant une conception historique résolument déterministe, selon elle, et un mode de narration téléologique, ces auteurs (Ibn al-Khashshāb, Ibn Shiḥnah, Ibn al-'Adīm, Ibn Shaddād, etc.), loin de chercher à cacher ou à effacer l'histoire pré-islamique de la région, s'efforcèrent au contraire de l'exposer comme un élément indispensable de l'histoire islamique. Les monuments, temples et lieux de culte anciens, associés au paganisme ou aux autres religions monothéistes, furent ainsi loués, réutilisés et réinterprétés par les historiens pour construire la topographie religieuse de la région d'Alep et renforcer son lien avec la Terre Sainte. M. Frenkel interprète ce processus comme un projet collectif de construction d'une nouvelle identité musulmane locale, mené conjointement par le peuple, les notables et les dirigeants politiques à partir d'une stratégie élaborée d'appropriation et d'isolement.

Non sans lien avec la construction des identités locales, J. Drory s'intéresse au cas d'un saint local palestinien de la première moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Ibn Arslān,



enseignant érudit qui, sans renoncer aux savoirs traditionnels, glissa progressivement vers le soufisme. Né à Ramla, il étudia, prêcha, conduisit ses activités en tant que soufi à Jérusalem et fréquenta un *ribat* à Jaffa. Ne s'étant jamais rendu en Égypte ou en Syrie, il fut néanmoins capable de fédérer un groupe actif de disciples, pour la plupart originaires de villes palestiniennes. En permettant l'émergence d'une telle figure—cas unique selon J. Drory—la Palestine, loin d'apparaître marginale et dépendante des énergies spirituelles extérieures, aurait contribué de façon originale au tissu spirituel de la culture islamique médiévale.

Ce sont d'autres aspects des contacts, des échanges et des influences entre l'espace syro-égyptien et le monde extérieur que ceux déjà évoqués précédemment concernant l'architecture que traite l'article de J. Yeshaya en s'interrogeant sur le jugement négatif que portent, aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, les auteurs andalous sur la production poétique en hébreu de leurs homologues orientaux. C'est également le cas des deux articles que propose N. Coureas. Le premier a pour objet les relations commerciales entre le sultanat mamelouk et les Hospitaliers installés sur l'île de Rhodes, au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans une période de grande tension entre Catalans et Mamelouks. L'auteur montre la continuité des échanges et fait émerger une figure importante de ce commerce en la personne d'un marchand, natif d'Andalousie et établi à Alexandrie, très présent dans la documentation d'archive, que les sources latines nomment Sidi Galip Ripolli. À travers lui apparaît un groupe d'individus, de culture mixte, musulmane et latine, intermédiaires tout désignés dans les échanges commerciaux internationaux, capables de naviguer avec aisance entre ces deux mondes et également à même de jouer un rôle prééminent dans d'autres aspects des relations entre Hospitaliers et Mamelouks, comme le rachat des captifs, par exemple. Dans le second article, N. Coureas montre qu'en raison de la grande estime dont jouissait à Chypre, à partir du milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la médecine arabe et les praticiens orientaux, l'exercice de leur fonction fut conditionné et restreint par la loi, au profit des médecins chrétiens pourtant moins réputés. Jusqu'au-delà du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et de la période vénitienne, ces restrictions n'empêchèrent pas la préservation du savoir médical contenu dans les ouvrages de ces médecins orientaux grâce à une politique volontariste de conservation et de transmission.

L'étude de J. Den Heijer et les seconds articles de J. Drory et M. Wijntjes présents dans ce volume se concentrent sur des personnalités politiques. J. Drory dresse un portrait de l'émir Yūnus al-Dawādār et revient sur sa carrière et sur le rôle important qu'il joua au cours du règne du sultan mamelouk Barqūq (1382–99). Ce sultan est précisément l'objet de l'article de M. Wijntjes. L'auteure compare les portraits qu'en firent le savant maghrébin Ibn Khaldūn et le marchand siennois de Damas, Bertrando de Mignanelli, tous deux sur la foi de leur rencontre personnelle avec le sultan, et conclut pour l'un et l'autre à la rédaction d'un miroir des princes, dont



l'objectivité n'était évidemment pas le souci principal. Quant à J. Den Heijer, faisant suite à son étude publiée dans le précédent volume de la série, il revient sur l'émir Nāṣir al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān et recherche les prémices de son virage pro-sunnite dans les événements antérieurs à sa tentative de révolution pro-abbasside, non couronnée de succès, contre le calife fatimide, menée en 462/1070.

Enfin, deux contributions évoquent les pratiques religieuses et sociales. Y. Frenkel retrace en détail le processus du mariage à l'époque mamelouke, de la demande à la signature du contrat, montrant le décalage existant entre la théorie des juristes et les pratiques quotidiennes des individus. Enfin, G. Schallenberg évoque le point de vue d'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, sur les pratiques du *dhikr* (évocation) et du *samā'* (audition).

En dépit de la qualité et de l'aboutissement de certains articles, l'on ne peut que déplorer l'absence de problématique guidant la réalisation de ce recueil et le choix des éditeurs scientifiques de ne produire aucune thématique susceptible d'encadrer—et de donc sélectionner—les différentes contributions qui le composent. La grande densité—vingt-quatre contributions en seulement 400 pages—s'avère quelque peu nuisible à la mise en valeur de la plupart des différentes études, tout comme la répétition des contributions proposées par un même auteur, souvent à la suite l'une de l'autre. Au fil des années, la série *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, publiée chez Peeters, est ainsi bel et bien devenue le marqueur d'une certaine production scientifique<sup>2</sup> dans le champ des études historiques et archéologiques sur l'Égypte et la Syrie médiévale. Mais, par sa nature, ce sixième volume, comme ses prédécesseurs, ne laisse malheureusement d'autre choix au lecteur que de picorer çà et là, au gré de son humeur, les quelques articles susceptibles de l'intéresser.

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<sup>2</sup> Notons en effet que douze des dix-huit contributeurs du présent volume de la série avaient déjà participé au précédent volume, en y publiant un, deux et parfois trois articles.



Issa M. Baidoun with a contribution by Warren C. Schultz, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Israel Museum: The Paul Balog Collection: Egypt Vol. III, The Mamlūks 1248–1517*. Edited by Stefan B. Heidemann and Haim Gitler (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, in association with Edizioni Università di Trieste & Numismatica Bernardi S. R. L. Trieste, 2011). Pp. 205.

Reviewed by Yehoshua Frenkel, University of Haifa

Payments and prices are often mentioned in Arabic and European sources written during the Mamluk period.<sup>1</sup> The well-known medieval savant al-Maqrīzī even wrote two screeds on these issues.<sup>2</sup> Already in the nineteenth century scholars commenced to publish works on Mamluk mineralogy and on coins, on their values, outlines, and history. Several catalogues of Islamic coin collections were published, mostly in Europe, but also in the Levant.

Students of Islamic numismatics and Egypt's history are familiar with the works of Paul Balog, whose life story and academic achievements are concisely presented by Stefan Heidemann and Haim Gitler in the introduction to the book reviewed here. This preliminary vita is followed by a study on the Mamluk mints. Warren Schultz, its author, provides an overview of the three metal Mamluk monetary schemes. He argues that the periodization of political dynasties differs from the changes in the monetary system. According to him the first period ends in the days of Faraj the son of Barqūq (d. 1412). The second period runs from the days of Barsbāy (r. 1422–37) to the Ottoman conquest of the Nile Valley (in 1517).

\*The Mamluk Egyptian mint cities were Cairo and Alexandria. 920 coins from these two mints were part of Balog's collection that ended up in the Israel Museum. Issa Baidoun arranged this treasure chronologically, cataloguing them according to mint, ruler, and metal. In addition to the coin's weight,<sup>3</sup> he provides a condensed description of the front face (obverse) and the back face (reverse). Bibliographical notes complete the report. On a separate page he provides a useful

<sup>1</sup> *The Arabian Nights Reader*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph (Detroit, 2006), 116–19.

<sup>2</sup> Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1441), *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd*. This work was published in several editions and translated: Silvestre de Sacy, trans., *Traité des monnaies musulmanes de Makrizi* (Paris, 1797); L. A. Mayer (Alexandria, 1933); Daniel Eustache, ed. and trans., "Etudes de numismatique et de metrologie musulmanes (Les Perles des Colliers ou traité des monnaies)," *Hespéris Tamuda* 10 (1969): 95–189. For an Ottoman epistle on this topic see Muṣṭafá ibn Ḥanafī ibn Ḥasan al-Dhahabī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi'ī (1280/1863), *Tahrīr al-Dirham wa-al-Mithqāl wa-al-Raṭl wa-al-Mikyāl*, ed. Rāshid 'A. 'A. al-Ghafīlī (Beirut, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of this detail see Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16, no. 3 (1954): 503.



list of the religious inscriptions that were struck on the coins. It would be useful to call readers' attention to the fact that the motto "*arsalahu bi-al-hudá*," which can be read on several coins, is close to verses 9:33 and 61:9 in the *Qurán*.

Bearing in mind that David Ayalon's important study "The System of Payment in Mamluk Military Society" is based exclusively on literary sources,<sup>4</sup> it is helpful to remark that new works in Islamic monetary history concentrate on coins as a source. Certainly, the introductory articles and the detailed description bring the book to its place in the line of the advanced method in numismatic history that treats coins not merely as auxiliary data, but together with inscriptions and other visual artefacts, as a source for the study of sultans' self-images and political goals.

Indeed the importance of Mamluk coinage to the investigation of the sultanate's long history is visibly demonstrated in the catalogue under review.<sup>5</sup> Thus for example Baybars's ideology is clearly reflected on his coins.<sup>6</sup> Similar to it is Khalil ibn Qalāwūn's slogan "*nāṣir al-millah al-muḥammadīyah / muḥyi al-dawlah al-abbāsīyah*." A third case in point is a coin of the famous Shajar al-Durr from Cairo (648/1250) that has the inscription: "*al-mustaʿsimīyah al-ṣāliḥah malikat al-muslimīn wālidat al-malik al-manṣūr Khalīl*," a line that clearly illustrates her propaganda.<sup>7</sup>

Hence, the book is a functional contribution to students of both Mamluk history and Islamic numismatics. As such it is surely an appropriate corollary to Paul Balog's works.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Balog, "History of the *Dirhem* in Egypt from the Fātimid Conquest until the Collapse of the Mamlūk Empire," *Revue numismatique* 6, no. 3 (1961): 111.

<sup>5</sup> A recent book which casts light on their royal titles and agnomens is Shafiq Maḥdī, *Mamālik Miṣr wa-al-Shām: Nuqūduhum, Nuqūshuhum, Maskūkātuhum, Alqābuhum, Salāṭīnuhum, 648–922/1250–1517* (Beirut, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Denise Aigle, "Les inscriptions de Baybars dans le Bilad al-Šam: une expression de la légitimité du pouvoir," *Studia Islamica* 97 (2003): 63–64; Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008): 45.

<sup>7</sup> On her see Amalia Levanoni, "Šagar ad-Durr: A Case of Female Sultanate in Medieval Islam," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, vol. 3 [Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium], ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenberg (Leuven, 2001): 209–18.



ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Shaʿrānī, *The Guidebook for Gullible Jurists and Mendicants to the Conditions for Befriending Emirs*, and *The Abbreviated Guidebook for Gullible Jurists and Mendicants to the Conditions for Befriending Emirs*. Edited and introduced by Adam Sabra (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2013). Pp. 217.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (899–973/1493–1565) was one of the most prolific Arabic writers in early Ottoman Egypt, composing an autobiography and a number of religious works, especially on Sufism and Muslim holy men. Among these works is the *Kitāb Irshād al-Mughaffalīn min al-Fuqahāʾ wa-al-Fuqarāʾ ilā Shurūṭ Ṣuḥbat al-Umarāʾ* and a slightly shorter version of this work entitled *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Irshād al-Mughaffalīn min al-Fuqahāʾ wa-al-Fuqarāʾ ilā Shurūṭ Ṣuḥbat al-Umarāʾ*. As these titles suggest, both works deal with proper relations between religious men and government officials. The first work was composed in 951/1544 and its abridged version around 969/1562, during the Ottoman rule of Egypt, yet al-Shaʿrānī draws much of his material from Sufis and scholars of the late Mamluk period including Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī (d. ca. 877/1472), Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 925/1519) and, especially, his revered illiterate shaykh, ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ al-Burullusī (d. 939/1532).

Throughout the history of Sufism, relations between mystics, mendicants, and government officials have been a vexing issue, with some Sufis completely avoiding officials while others have worked in their service. Al-Shaʿrānī takes a middle position counselling men of religion, and especially Sufi shaykhs, to avoid political patronage whenever possible while still offering spiritual support to officials if that could lead to positive moral and social outcomes. Both the *Irshād* and the *Mukhtaṣar* address the Sufi-official relationship, first in terms of the Sufi, and then in terms of the official. Al-Shaʿrānī repeatedly warns Sufis and other men of religion to shun the things of this world and to lead a scrupulous ascetical life marked by sincerity, piety, and equanimity so that they may give unbiased counsel to officials, which may prove beneficial in this world and the next. As for officials, they should believe unflinchingly in the shaykh and obey him as they would their earthly father. Still, as al-Shaʿrānī frequently notes with examples throughout both works, these ideals are rarely met, as charlatan Sufis and religious professionals befriend officials for food, wealth, and fame, while officials patronize presumed holy people in hopes of securing spiritual support in their worldly struggles for government positions and power. Not surprisingly, such hypocritical relations will only lead to naught or, worse, to divine chastisement perhaps in this world and most certainly in the next. God never answers the prayers of a shaykh who accepts questionable gifts or consumes improper or



forbidden food, such as that offered by government officials, and a shaykh, even if he were himself a great saint, will never be able to aid an official who is sinful and does not believe in him completely.

Moreover, in both the *Irshād* and the *Mukhtaṣar*, as in other of his works, al-Shaʿrānī takes a dim view of his times, living as he believed in the final century before the return of the Mahdi and the eventual Day of Judgment. As such, people are increasingly morally weak and sinful and so ruled by oppressive officials. Yet, he urges men of religion to do what they can to ease the burdens of the common folk in hopes of doing some good. As Sabra sums up:

Al-Shaʿrānī's political theology emphasizes the divine source of political power, and therefore the divine right of the Ottoman sultan to rule. Only God may judge an unjust sultan, and a religious scholar has no right to undermine the political authorities by challenging their legitimacy. Instead, the religious scholars should advise the sultan and his officials to act within the limits set down in the *sharīʿa*, and intercede when possible for the oppressed. The proper role of the Sufi shaykh is as a spiritual advisor and intercessor with God for ordinary Muslims. This sacerdotal function is needed by sultans and officials as well, since as individuals they are subject to the same judgments in the Afterlife as other human beings. (pp. 13–14)

As Sabra also notes, there is much overlap and repetition between the *Irshād* and the *Mukhtaṣar*, and while the latter is entitled an abridgment, it is nearly as long. More significant, however, is the fact that al-Shaʿrānī compiled the *Mukhtaṣar* near the end of his life, and he is not afraid to make explicit references to and criticism of Ottoman officials. He quotes the lament by a chief judge regarding tax-farming, which was bleeding the villages, corvée labor in the countryside, and officials' lack of concern for the general welfare of the people. Among the oppressors were the several Bedouin chiefs among the Banū Baghdād, who had friendships with al-Shaʿrānī. Nevertheless, al-Shaʿrānī could not save them from execution for their crimes, and he cites such stories as warnings to current officials to mend their ways. For a similar pedagogical purpose, in several places in the *Mukhtaṣar* and the *Irshād*, al-Shaʿrānī lists forms of torture that corrupt officials have experienced at the hands of their superiors, including beatings, broken bones, reeds driven under fingernails, and being forced to wear a heated helmet, which could lead to an agonizing death.

These and other accounts in both works render them a valuable source for understanding religious, social, and political relations in late Mamluk and early Ottoman Egypt, and Adam Sabra has contextualized and described both the *Irshād*



and the *Mukhtaṣar* in his detailed introduction. Sabra first discusses al-Shaʿrānī's life within the Egyptian religious and political milieu followed by al-Shaʿrānī's views of politics and government, which were influenced by the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 637/1240). Then Sabra gives a fairly detailed description and analysis of the *Irshād* and then the *Mukhtaṣar*. This is followed by a timeline of al-Shaʿrānī's life and compositions, a brief description of the manuscripts used for his critical editions, and a bibliography. As to the Arabic editions themselves, short vowels are at a bare minimal, confined mostly to a few lines of verse and verses from the *Qurān*, and the *shaddah* appears only in *Qurānic* citations and the word Allāh. Though the absence of the *shaddah* can be mildly frustrating at times, the Arabic text is clear and well-edited, with variants at the bottom of the page. Adam Sabra is to be commended for his critical edition of the *Irshād* and the *Mukhtaṣar*, together with his insightful introduction.



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Carl Petry, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society: Narratives from Cairo and Damascus Under the Mamluks* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2012). Pp. viii +365.

Reviewed by Elias Muhanna, Brown University

The cities of the Mamluk period have long been portrayed in works of Arabic literature (from *The 1,001 Nights* to Gamal El-Ghitani's novel *Zaynī Barakāt*) as dens of iniquity filled with daring thieves, corrupt merchants, brutal policemen, and lecherous slaves. Carl F. Petry's very fine study of criminality in the Mamluk empire sheds significant light on the real murderers, swindlers, rapists, dissidents, and forgers of Cairo and Damascus, and in doing so reveals something important about the forces that held Mamluk urban societies together and threatened to pull them apart. Building on the work of Clifford Bosworth, Ira Lapidus, Jean-Claude Garcin, 'Alā' Ṭāhā Rizq Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, Petry's conceptual framework and guiding questions also draw upon studies of crime in pre-modern European societies, by scholars such as Barbara Hanawalt, Guido Ruggiero, and Edward Muir.

The sources of the present book are drawn from narrative accounts of criminal activity in Mamluk historical chronicles. This choice of sources is based on the absence of criminal registers from Cairo and Damascus prior to the Ottoman conquest. Petry regards the chronicles as abundant "compendia of data" with detailed accounts of crime mostly devoid of the ideological overtones and idealized descriptions found in other types of sources such as *fatāwá* collections (p. 3). The chronicles include works by Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451), Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1469), Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. ca. 900/1495), Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524), Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 934/1527), and Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). Taken together, they yield a corpus of more than a thousand incidents of criminal activity spanning a period of over one hundred fifty years in two large cities. Petry is careful to insist that such a sample set—despite being the "largest of its kind for the medieval period" (p. 4)—still does not permit easy statistical interpretations of, say, the relative frequency of different kinds of criminal activity, simply because of the sample bias of the compilers. Nonetheless, a few conclusions are advanced on occasion with caveats, such as the observation that male-on-male sexual assault is punished far less frequently than male-on-female sexual assault (p. 314) or that fornicators escaped any kind of penalty more often than imbibers (p. 312).

Following an introduction, the book contains seven chapters devoted to different categories of crime, namely public disturbance, theft and brigandage, corruption and fraud, morals and vice, religious dissidence, homicide, and "smart



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crimes” such as conspiracy and espionage. A ninth chapter addresses the subject of managing crime, followed by some summary reflections. Within each chapter, the category under consideration is broken down into further subdivisions; for example, “corruption” includes crimes of *waqf* manipulation, bribery, confiscation of assets, abuse of office, connivance with debtors and prisoners, embezzlement, fraudulent claims, forgery, false witness, forced labor, usury, etc. Petry details each of these felonies with a wealth of examples and copious translations from the sources. We learn of the formidable power of Bedouin bandits who could repel entire Mamluk squadrons (p. 47); the widespread illicit trade in alcohol and other intoxicants (pp. 124–34); the barricading of alleyways at night for fear of thieves (p. 90); a Persian confectioner accused of stuffing pastries with dog meat (p. 111); an instance of possible waterboarding (p. 255); and more. The book is a feast of lawlessness, a fascinating introduction to the gritty, perfidious, ingenious, dastardly, and corrupt characters of the Mamluk underworld.

Petry’s interest, however, lies not just in enumerating different types of crimes but also in exploring the agendas and viewpoints of his sources. Al-Maqrīzī’s copious, detective-like discussions of criminal acts (stemming from his experience as a market inspector) betray an interest in the marginalized sectors of society and the effects of their disenfranchisement upon the civil peace. Paying close attention to discussions of motive and mitigating circumstances in the accounts of the Mamluk historians—while bearing in mind the subjective and conjectural nature of any such evidence—enables Petry to arrive at an understanding of the points of stress in the Mamluk urban social contract.

The attention to narrative style also yields insights into the position of the Mamluk *‘ulamā’* vis-à-vis the political establishment and their willingness to criticize it in oblique ways. While the concept of freedom of speech is obviously anachronistic in this context, Petry argues that the chroniclers found ingenious ways to express their critiques by portraying in lurid detail the crimes that occurred in the cities of the empire. Dwelling at length on such incidents made the authorities look like they were incapable of maintaining order or, even worse, complicit in the most egregious offenses.

The ability of civilians to resist the predations of the Mamluk ruling establishment through the use or threat of violence is one of the most persistent and interesting themes in the book. We are speaking here of religious scholars who wielded judicial authority, but also influential merchants, powerful Bedouin clans, and even low-status residents of the provinces. For example, Petry relates an incident involving members of the Samnāwīyah tribe who rose up against a corrupt governor in Damietta, torturing and killing him and his deputy (pp. 91–92). Such acts of rebellion and mass disturbance were a primary means for civilians “to signal



dissatisfaction with regime policies or to exploit unrest for the purpose of robbery or plunder.” (p. 24)

The penultimate chapter addresses the ruling establishment’s challenges to manage crime, between the poles of principle and expediency (i.e., where the rubber of legal doctrine met the road of lived experience). Here, Petry examines prosecution rates and the punishments associated with different crimes in order to arrive at a sense of the purpose of punishment: was it mostly regarded as a means to deter future offense, or to redress injustices? Certainly, the deterrence power of grisly punishments is undeniable: governors deployed a variety of strategies almost as varied as the crimes themselves—e.g., bisection, crucifixion, torture, mutilation, stuffing corpses with straw and displaying them publicly—to frighten would-be criminals. On the other hand, the sources reveal that the authorities could occasionally be lenient when they stood to profit by looking the other way. As Petry argues, the chronicles depict a regime caught between accountability and culpability, both “genuinely concerned about the ubiquity of crime” and widely complicit in it (p. 323).

If there is a weakness in the book, it is the flip side of one of the book’s main strengths, namely the sheer amount of translated material from the chronicles. This can at times make the work feel like a police log of crime-related clippings. On the other hand, the excerpts will prove most valuable to scholars and students of Mamluk history interested in following Carl Petry’s lead and chasing down the suspects he has paraded before us in this pioneering and lucidly-written study.



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Li Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*. Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, vol. 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Pp. xiii + 240.

Also mentioned here:

*Theatre from Medieval Cairo: The Ibn Dāniyāl Trilogy*. Translated and edited by Safi Mahfouz and Marvin Carlson. (New York: Martin E. Segal Theatre Center, 2013). Pp. xxvi + 197.

Reviewed by Adam Talib, The American University in Cairo

Li Guo's study of the life and works of Ibn Dāniyāl (1248–1310), the most famous classical Arabic dramatist, is a worthy and important contribution to the history of Arabic literature, as well as the social and cultural history of the Mamluk empire. Guo divides his study into three parts: the life and times of Ibn Dāniyāl (Part One), the history, style, and artistry of Arabic shadow plays (Part Two), and an English translation of one of Ibn Dāniyāl's surviving plays, *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*, rendered as *The Phantom* (Part Three). Behind each of these sleek and polished sections lies years of sustained and arduous philological research. Although Part One is focused primarily on Ibn Dāniyāl's biography, Guo brings in a considerable amount of literary evidence from Ibn Dāniyāl's plays and collected poems to enrich what could have been a one-dimensional representation. Part One is itself divided into three "acts." Such an approach will always provoke the methodological allergies of historians and students of literature respectively, but provided that both author and reader have matured past the stage of fetishizing positivism, it can allow for an engaging and illuminating discussion of historical actors who, in contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, are already presented as quasi-literary characters.

In this regard, Part One should be understood as Guo's reconstruction of the historical Ibn Dāniyāl with the acknowledged help of the man's literary works (see, e.g., p. 46: speculations about his family life). Here, too, Guo should be lauded for his frank discussion of misogamy and bisexuality in the work of Ibn Dāniyāl (pp. 148–51) as well as his entertaining use of gay slang in the translations of Ibn Dāniyāl's poetry. Although scholars are accustomed to finding such themes in classical Arabic poetry, it is important that we stop and consider what these may actually mean in the context in which they are presented. Personally, I am not convinced that "bisexuality" is the most appropriate way of describing the sexual attitudes presented in Ibn Dāniyāl's poetry, but it is refreshing to see a serious discussion of a complex, if common, phenomenon that is often disregarded. This literary-biographical approach is, in practice, very common among scholars of



classical Arabic literature but few manage to pull it off with such style and self-awareness. It is not entirely without its missteps, however, as sentiments like “... Mamluk literary patronage was a business arrangement made between the patron and the poet” (p. 43) do not pass muster as either historical biography or literary history. I also find it peculiar that someone with as little patience for the *nasīb* as Guo seems to have (see pp. 37, 42, 71) should have devoted so many years to studying classical Arabic poetry.

Parts Two and Three treat the medieval Islamicate performing arts of the title. Part Two is both a state-of-the-art of Arabic shadow plays as well as a survey of Ibn Dāniyāl’s theatrical production. Indeed were it not for Guo’s detailed explication of the stylistic and generic features of Ibn Dāniyāl’s plays in Part Two, it would be very difficult to follow the translation of *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* in Part Three. The translation of *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* is readable, entertaining, and well annotated. It also gives a good idea of the bawdy tenor of Arabic popular culture in the Mamluk period. Faults in the translation are surely due to the poor status of the text rather than any shortcoming of the translator.

It is astonishing that Guo has been able to synthesize such complex and dense material into a remarkably readable and informative discussion, and in doing so has led the way for further research by Arabists as well as non-Arabist theater historians. It is significant, too, that Guo was able to incorporate new readings from the manuscripts available to him in this study (notably Ayasofya MS 4880-1). In two appendices, which researchers are bound to find essential, Guo details the manuscripts and printed sources of Ibn Dāniyāl’s work. Of course, anyone who reads this book (or indeed this review) should bear it in mind that Ibn Dāniyāl’s language is notoriously difficult. In fact, while reading Guo’s book one is first filled with gratitude to the author followed by deep frustration that a more critical edition of Ibn Dāniyāl’s plays and poems does not yet exist. That frustration has festered for at least two decades by now, however, as even a cursory glance at reviews of the Kahle edition attests. I mention only in passing here that Amr Moneer of South Valley University (Qena, Egypt) is said to be planning a new edition of Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*.

In the hope that a more reliable edition will not be too long in coming, I offer a few emendations here for the benefit of readers and researchers. As befits a long anticipated study such as this one, Guo’s book has already attracted the attention of competent reviewers like Emily Selove and Geert Jan van Gelder (writing in the *Journal of Islamic Studies* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* respectively) so I will avoid being redundant in my comments. Having said that, I must say that while van Gelder is correct in pointing out in his review that Guo’s vocalization of *Ḥabīzā* (pp. 118, 205–6) is clearly incorrect, his suggestions (*jabīzī*: “my dry bread,” *khabīzī*: “my baked bread”) are altogether less likely than



a toddler pronouncing the more common word *ḥabībī* as *ḥabīzī*. In the same passage, Guo fails to recognize the baby-talk [or child-directed language] word *mum/mamma* (“food”). The other incomprehensible word in that line, *b-f-ā*, is perhaps related to another baby-talk word: *buff*, “bread.”<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally, it is the mixing of Persian words (or the perceived mixing of Persian words) that causes difficulty. For example on p. 82, Guo is too trusting of the editor of Ibn Dāniyāl’s poetry collection, M. N. al-Dulaymī, who explains erroneously (*Mukhtār*, p. 144 n. 146) that a Persian character in one of Ibn Dāniyāl’s works is saying, “*yā ānjā*” (nonsense in Persian) when it is clear from the printed text itself that the character is saying, “Come here!” (*biyā [ī]njā*). It is worth noting here that al-Dulaymī’s edition is full of errors, which Guo occasionally replicates in translation. Elsewhere (p. 120), Guo believes that the Arabic *sarqīn* (attested as Arabized Persian in Steingass) is the “Egyptianized” form of the Persian *sarjīn*, which of course does not exist; the Persian word is *sargīn* with *gāf* (a phoneme that does not occur in Standard Arabic). There is a fair bit of Persian in Ibn Dāniyāl’s poetry, of course, just as one finds in the work of other Iraqi poets like Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Ḥajjāj. Guo finds the use of Persian words as technical vocabulary in the game of backgammon remarkable (p. 119), but these, mostly numerical terms, are of course still used in Cairo today. I confess that I am not satisfied with the translation of the verses on p. 119. Unfortunately, the reproduction of the Dār al-Kutub (Cairo) copy of the MS that I have access to is missing the second half of this poem and it is not clear whether Guo is emending his reading of the printed *dīwān* (based on the Dār al-Kutub MS) with another manuscript in his possession. *Yakay* cannot mean “one-one” in either Arabic (*yakān/yakayn*, *yakkān/yakkayn*) or Persian (*yak-yak*); I can think of two more probable interpretations: *aṣbaḥtu yakkan* could mean “I got stuck in the first point on the board” or perhaps “I rolled a one.” The word *shāsishī* is not comprehensible to me; Guo suggests that it is a corruption of *shash-sih* (six-three) while al-Dulaymī reads it as six. Both are possible, but I would have expected *sih-shash* (three-six) in Persian. In either case, I believe the hemistich can be better interpreted as “I got stuck in the first point [on the board] when I was defeated by a six-three [or six].” In the second verse, I would interpret *al-sha’īr* as “the other die” not a Persian adverb with the Arabic definite prefix—*dūwī* thus meaning “a two” not “two-two”; likewise *arsh* is an attested Arabic word.

Occasionally, Guo’s translations exaggerate Ibn Dāniyāl’s ribaldry—as if that were necessary! Is this the academic equivalent of the zeal of the converted? I do not know, but the Persian expression *kāse dāghatar az āsh* comes to mind. The description “whose shadow is the pubic hair at its base” (p. 169) is simply a misren-

<sup>1</sup>See Charles A. Ferguson, “Arabic Baby Talk,” in *Structuralist Studies in Arabic Linguistics: Charles A. Ferguson’s Papers, 1954–1994*, ed. R. Kirk Belknap and Niloofar Haeri (Leiden, 1997), 184.



dering of “from behind, his shadow is [the width] of a single hair,” i.e., the boy is lithe. Also the expression *abghá min al-ibrah* cannot mean “who could also screw like a needle” as Guo would have it (p. 88). In fact, it is a common enough expression, which Geert Jan van Gelder and I were able to find in al-Hamadhānī’s *Al-Maqāmah al-Dīnārīyah* and al-‘Askarī’s *Jamharat al-Amthāl*. Muḥammad ‘Abduh explains the expression thus: “A needle is for poking and pricking so someone who is like a needle is a person who is obnoxious and injurious to people. Perhaps it comes from a young woman who fornicates because some thread remains inside the eye of the needle” (p. 221). Following ‘Abduh’s first gloss, W. J. Prendergast translates the expression as “O more rebellious than a needle!” (p. 166) as does Marina Montanaro “più ribelle di un ago” (2:110). Unfortunately, al-‘Askarī writes that the expression *abghá min ibrah* is one of the new coinages (*amthāl muwalladah*) that he did not include in his collection as he found them ugly (*lam tuthbat fī al-tarjamah li-qubḥ alfāzihā*), but that the meaning is well known (*ma‘rūf*) (1:206). I cannot think of any one characteristic that links the second items in the construction (*abghá min*), which al-‘Askarī lists: needle, hatchet, padlock, and jawbone, but the expression is clearly negative. In the context of Ibn Dāniyāl’s poem, I presume it must be related to the specific sexual desire (*ubnah*) mentioned in the preceding hemistich. Perhaps, then, provisionally the expression could be understood as “a stubborn and intractable desire” to, in this case, be anally penetrated. On the same page (88), the word *mushāshāhu* likely refers to the two soft mud banks of the canal, rather than the Devil’s “body and soul.” In the list of character names (“The Art of Name-Calling,” pp. 123–30), it is strange not to see reference to the work of Jacqueline Sublet (“Nom écrit, nom dit,” *Arabica* 44, no. 4 [1997]: 545–52). In that article, one occasionally finds better renditions of the characters’ names: e.g., Ḥassūn al-Mawzūn: “Chardonneret *l’Equilibriste*” (Gold-finch the acrobat); ‘Usaylah: I find “Petite goutte de miel” (honey-drop) more plausible than Guo’s “Perfumer’s Little Broom”; Abū al-‘Ajab: is better rendered as “Celui qui fait des merveilles” (Miracle-Man) than “Father of the Wonder Boy.” Both Sublet and Guo translate the epithet “al-Sharmāt” (*pace* Sublet: “al-Sarmāt”) as the amulet-maker, which is not incorrect, but I would translate the word as “Ripper” or “Tatter-er.” The name Zaghbar, which Sublet translates as “Chenu” (Hoary) and Guo tentatively renders as “Dusty Shred,” simply means “Fluff.” Guo takes the name of the priest character Marra Qird to mean “Monkey-passing,” whereas I think it more likely a joke on the word *mār* (the honorific title of saints). These minor quibbles aside, Guo’s achievement is significant and indeed I hope it will be transformative.

As an aside, I would like to point readers to a volume of translations that appeared shortly after Guo’s monograph. Safi Mahfouz, chair of the department of English Language and Literature at UNRWA University (Amman), and Mar-



vin Carlson, Sidney E. Cohn Professor of Theatre, Comparative Literature, and Middle East Studies at the CUNY Graduate Center, have together translated all three of Ibn Dāniyāl's extant plays. Theirs is a practical translation—indeed the plays were given a reading in New York on 8 April, 2013—and it is the first complete translation of Ibn Dāniyāl's plays into English. The plays have already been translated into Italian (F. Corrao) and French (R. Khawam). The translators acknowledge their debt to these translators, as well as Li Guo, in the preface to their collection, *Theatre from Medieval Cairo*. I do not believe it is practicable to review these translations closely because, as I have previously mentioned, the Arabic text on which they are based is not satisfactory, but the translations are readable and the translators provide helpful notes and explanations for non-Arabist readers. Teachers of classical Arabic literature or world theater will find these texts useful for teaching and performance, provided that they work in institutions less prudish than my own.

In addition to Guo's exceptional study and the other studies cited therein, readers may like to peruse studies by Marcus Milwright (*Muqarnas* 28 [2011]: 43–68), Muṣṭafá Abū al-ʿAlā' (*Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl al-Mawṣilī: Dirāsah Mawḍūʿīyah wa-Fannīyah* [Alexandria, 2002]), Dror Ze'evi (*Producing Desire*, Chapter 5), and the work of Ra'ed Abdel Raheem (see several issues of *Majallat Jāmi'at al-Najāh lil-Abḥāth: al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah*) and his student Taghreed W. M. Koni (M.A. thesis, al-Najah National University, Palestine, 2013).

Miscellaneous errata: *ballīq* read *bullayq* (p. 118). Ibn al-Hubbārīya read Ibn al-Habbārīya (p. 148). On p. 149, Guo's emendation of the printed text is unnecessary: *buzāl*, the bung-hole of a wine cask, is the preferred reading, but is not an allusion to another sex act. Rather the persona is saying that because he experiences no "lust" (*shabaq*) toward his wife, he has to get drunk to have sex with her.



## List of Recent Publications

- Abā al-Khayl, Sulaymān Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥammūd. *Kitāb ‘Ayn al-Ḥayāh li-Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī: Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā lil-Damīrī*. Edited by Sulaymān Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥammūd Abā al-Khayl. Riyadh: Dār al-‘Aṣimah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2014. Pp. 632.
- ‘Abd Allāh, Labīb Najīb. *Qawā‘id al-Fiqhīyah fī Kitāb Kanz al-Rāghibīn lil-Maḥallī*. Beirut: Dār al-Nafā‘is lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2014. Pp. 303.
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ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		
		َ	a	ُ	u	ِ	i		
		َـ	an	ُـ	un	ِـ	in		
		آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī		
		أ	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)		
		ى	á	َو	aw	ِيّ	ay		
						ِيّ	ayy		

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ‘*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead, use the Unicode characters ‘ (02BF) and ’ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence or a title. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before “sun” letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *li-l-sultān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as terms which are found in English dictionaries, such as Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi’i, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

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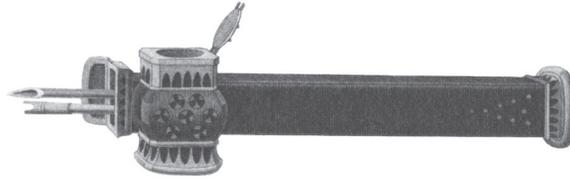
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