

FRÉDÉRIC BAUDEN

UNIVERSITY OF LIÈGE

Diplomatics in the Service of Diplomacy: Was the 692/1293 Truce Negotiated by the Kingdom of Aragon with the Mamluk Sultanate Ever Ratified?

INTRODUCTION

As is well known, the state archives of the Muslim powers have almost all disappeared for the period before the sixteenth century, so it is only thanks to European archives that we are today able to shed a very unbalanced light on diplomatic relations between Muslim powers and European Christian states. It should also be pointed out that not all European archives are on an equal footing when it comes to preserving documents issued by Muslim powers.¹ Among European archives, the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; henceforth ACA) can pride itself on being in first place in terms of the number of original Arabic documents preserved. With about 170 Arabic documents related to diplomacy, Barcelona provides an opportunity to study the relations established between the Crown of Aragon and several Muslim powers that ruled, respectively, the south of the Iberian Peninsula, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt-Syria. These documents are now accessible to a wide audience thanks to their publication by Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares²

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¹For an assessment of the preserved documents concerning relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and various European states, see Frédéric Bauden, “Mamluk Diplomatics: the Present State of Research,” in *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies: Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*, ed. Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche (Leiden, 2019), 66–85.

²Maximiliano A. Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, *Los Documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1940). However, the two authors neglected to edit and translate a Mamluk list of gifts preserved under no. 163, an oversight that is all the more inexplicable given that this document had previously been edited and translated, unsatisfactorily, by Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between 1300 and 1330 A.D.* (Leipzig, 1938), 29–32. It has since been studied again by Mercè Viladrich, “Noves dades sobre les relacions entre el soldà del Caire al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn i el rei Jaume II,” *Revista de Historia Medieval: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 11 (1996): 501–7.



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and the more recent online reproduction of most of them on the PARES (Portal de Archivos Españoles) website.³ While the many qualities of the work published by the two Spanish scholars in 1940 are undeniable, it is nonetheless characterized by a number of shortcomings: summary descriptions of the physical characteristics of the documents, reading errors, and lack of reproductions, not to mention gaps (some documents were not edited). These shortcomings, put into the context of the time, are perfectly understandable, since Arabic documents were not studied in the same way as they are today, with greater attention being paid to the medium and external characters. It has, therefore, become necessary to reassess this work in the light of the latest advances in Arabic diplomatics as part of a multidisciplinary project of international scope launched by Roser Salicrú i Llach.⁴ The aim of this project is to reconsider the entire dossier, i.e., the Arabic documents as well as those linked to them on the Aragonese side (letters of credence, instructions, diplomatic letters, translations, etc.), in order to offer a new edition with an annotated translation as well as an exhaustive study.

As part of this project, the Egyptian dossier (i.e., the documents issued by the chancellery of the Mamluk Sultanate) has been placed under my responsibility. Again, the ACA stands out for the richness of its corpus compared with other European archival collections, taking first place ahead of Florence and Venice for the number of original Mamluk documents preserved. The collection includes 11 original documents in Arabic, 9 in translation, and 72 in Aragonese (mainly letters addressed to Mamluk sultans, letters of credence, and instructions given to ambassadors).⁵ The exceptional nature of this corpus is reinforced by the na-

It should be noted that the three Mamluk lists of gifts preserved in the ACA have since been the subject of a new edition with translation: Frédéric Bauden, "Lists of Gifts in the Mamluk Diplomatic Tradition," in *Culture matérielle et relations diplomatiques entre l'Occident latin, Byzance et l'Orient islamique (XIe–XVIIe siècle)*, ed. Frédéric Bauden (Leiden, 2021), 329–405.

³<https://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es/inicio.html>. Some documents or parts of documents are however missing in some cases.

⁴Project i-Link0977 funded by CSIC: *The Diplomatic Exchanges between Islamic Mediterranean Powers and Christian European Cities in the Middle Ages: New Methods for the Analysis of Documents*.

⁵This is the breakdown given by Bauden, "Diplomatics," 66–73. Some documents need to be added to this list: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 236, fol. 1r; no. 1285, fol. 191r; no. 1389, fols. 85v–86r, 86r, 104v–105r, 150v–151v, 151v. These are mentioned in Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, "Catalogue chronologique et analytique du registre 1389 de la chancellerie de la Couronne d'Aragon, intitulé 'Guerre sarracenorum 1367–1386' (1360–1386)," *Miscelánea de Textos Medievales* 2 (1974): 104–5, 117, 140; Ángeles Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón y los estados del Norte de África: Política de Jaime II y Alfonso IV en Egipto, Ifricuía y Tremecén* (Barcelona, 1951), 290; Antoni Rubió y Llach, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409): Col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels Ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria* (Barcelona, 1947), 610. I would like to thank Alessandro Rizzo for providing me with some of this additional information. Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienische, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kul-*



ture of the majority of the Mamluk documents (mainly letters of impressive size) and the period to which they belong (mostly late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century). This corpus also contains a treaty issued by the Mamluk chancery, which is remarkable for several reasons:⁶ it is the oldest original Mamluk chancery document preserved not just in Barcelona but in all the archives of Europe; it is the only copy we have of a treaty concluded between the Mamluk Sultanate and another power (Muslim or not); it has never been edited or reproduced in full;⁷ its text was copied in two chancery manuals written by secretaries active in the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries.⁸ In addition, this

turgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327) (Berlin, 1908), 3:514, cites a document from 1294 with incorrect references (ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252): it is to be found in ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 99, fol. 226r. We should also add that Nikolas Jaspert, “Interreligiöse Diplomatie im Mittelmeerraum: Die Krone Aragón und die islamische Welt im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert,” in *Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie: Zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. Bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Claudia Zey (Zürich, 2008), 151–89, gave an overview of diplomatic relations between the Crown of Aragon and other Muslim powers.

⁶ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145.

⁷In their work, Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*, 344, cite the poor state of conservation of the original as well as its fragmentary state to justify their choice to publish the copy preserved in al-Qalqashandī (see following note), limiting themselves to indicating where the original document diverges from it. As for its reproduction, with the exception of the digital version of the third fragment available only on the PARES site mentioned in note 4, there is only a partial reproduction of this same fragment in *El perfume de la amistad: Correspondencia diplomática árabe en archivos españoles (siglos XIII–XVII)* (Madrid, 2009), 104 (the catalogue entry does not mention the other two fragments). Since the paper on which this article is based was presented in Leipzig in 2018, Daniel Potthast has published an edition of the longest fragment available on the PARES site: Daniel Potthast, “How Documents Were Quoted in *Inshāʾ* Literature: P. Aragon 145 and Its Quotation by al-Qalqashandī,” in *From Qom to Barcelona: Aramaic, South Arabian, Coptic, Arabic and Judeo-Arabic Documents*, ed. Andreas Kaplony and D. Potthast (Leiden, 2021), 185–216. This edition treats only the third fragment, the only one available on the PARES site. The author made no effort to examine the original in Barcelona, in which case he would have noticed that there exist three fragments. This edition is thus fragmentary. It also contains several mistakes. It should be stressed that any serious attempt to edit a document should never be based exclusively on reproductions without knowing if the full document is reproduced. In this article, the author also makes some comparisons with the version given by al-Qalqashandī, apparently not knowing that al-Saḥmāwī (see following note) also provides a copy of it. In this case, he solely relied on the available edition of the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, instead of checking the manuscripts. This would have allowed him to notice that there are significant discrepancies between the edition and the manuscripts.

⁸Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1913–19, repr. 1963), 14:63–70; al-Saḥmāwī, *Al-Ṭaḡhr al-bāsim fī ṣināʿat al-kātib wa-al-kātim al-maʿrūf bi-ism Al-Maqṣid al-rafiʿ al-munshaʿ al-hādī li-dīwān al-inshāʾ lil-Khālīdī*, ed. Ashraf Muḥammad Anas Mursī (Cairo, 2009), 2:931–37. The copy preserved by al-Qalqashandī was first edited and translated by Michele Amari, “Trattato stipolato da Giacomo II di Aragona col Sul-



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document can be studied in a wider context, since its Catalan translation has been preserved,⁹ as has the copy of the credentials and instructions given to the Aragonese ambassadors.¹⁰ Finally, the copy of the treaty concluded between Alfonso III (r. 1285–91) and Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) in 689/1290, almost identical in every respect to that of 692/1293, is preserved in a chronicle written by Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, a historian contemporary with the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn.¹¹

All these witnesses make it possible to study the treaty concluded between the Aragonese sovereign and the Mamluk sultan in some detail.¹² These have already been the subject of numerous historical studies¹³ and we do not intend

tano d’Egitto il 29 gennaio 1293,” *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 3, 11 (1883): 423–44. The translation was reproduced in idem, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula: Appendice* (Turin, 1889), 66–78.

⁹ACA, Cancillería, Cartas reales, Jaime II, no. 222. The document was edited by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 266–70, no. 3.

¹⁰ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252, fols. 38r–39r. The two documents were first published by Antonio de Capmany y de Monpalau, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona: Reedición anotada*, ed. Emili Giralt y Raventós and Carme Batlle y Gallart (Barcelona, 1961), 2:1:78–80 (no. 53); idem, *Antiguos tratados de paces y alianzas entre algunos reyes de Aragón y diferentes príncipes infieles de Asia y Africa desde el siglo XIII hasta el XV* (Madrid, 1786), 26–31; then again by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 264–66 (no. 2).

¹¹Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrif al-ayyām wa-al-‘uṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 156–64. The text of the treaty was translated for the first time by Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, “Extrait de la vie du sultan Almécic Almansour Kélaoun; manuscrit arabe du fonds de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, n° 118bis; pour servir de suite à la notice des Manuscrits laissés par dom Berthereau,” *Le Magasin encyclopédique* 2 (1801): 145–61, from which it was reproduced by Joseph Toussaint Reinaud, *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux guerres des croisades* (Paris, 1829), 564–66. It was later translated into Italian by Michele Amari, *La guerra del vespro siciliano* (Florence, 1851; 4th revised ed.), 332–47; then in English by P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), 132–40.

¹²Fortunately, it was precisely during the reign of James II that the conservation of documents produced and used during the negotiation process was put in place. See Stéphane Péquignot, *Au nom du roi: pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d’Aragon (1291–1327)* (Madrid, 2009), 48–52. On the proliferation of administrative and commercial documents in medieval Europe, see Paul Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe: The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution, 1250–1350* (Turnhout, 2019).

¹³Amari, “Trattato stipolato;” Damien Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d’Orient au Moyen Âge: Un siècle de relations avec l’Égypte et la Syrie-Palestine (ca. 1330–ca. 1430)* (Madrid, 2004); idem, “Une phase décisive d’intenses tractations diplomatiques entre sultanat mamlûk et puissances occidentales (couronne d’Aragon, républiques de Gênes et de Venise), 687/1288–692/1293,” in *Crusading and Trading between East and West: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, ed. Sophia Menache, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Michel Balard (London, 2019), 113–26; Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī, *Al-‘Alāqāt bayna salṭanat al-Mamālīk wa-al-mamālīk al-isbāniyah fī al-qarnayn al-thāmin wa-al-tāsi‘ al-hijrī/al-rābi‘ wa-al-khāmis ‘ashar al-milādī: dirāsah wathā‘iqīyah* (Kuwayt, 1980); P. M. Holt, “The Mamluk Sultanate and Aragon: The Treaties of 689/1290 and 692/1293,” *Tārīkh* 2 (1992): 105–18; Nikolas Jaspert, “The Crown of Aragon and the Mamluk Sultanate: Entanglements of Mediterranean



to repeat what has already been said, except to contextualize our study.¹⁴ It will focus on aspects that have been neglected by researchers to date and that are of primary interest to diplomacy. The aim of our study is to analyze the Arabic document in diplomatic terms, both for its external and internal characters, taking into consideration the recommendations provided by the Mamluk chancery manuals. In order to carry out this analysis, it was essential to have a diplomatic edition of the document in question, which, as we have pointed out, was never fully published. This edition, found in the appendix at the end of this article, also includes the version of the treaty preserved by al-Qalqashandī.¹⁵ We will then consider other documents preserved at the ACA relating to the embassy that led to the negotiation of the treaty and to successive embassies in order to better understand whether it was ultimately ratified on the Aragonese side and whether the copy of the Arabic treaty and the Catalan translation of it preserved at the ACA were contemporaneous with or subsequent to the negotiation, thus offering a new reading. Before addressing these questions, let us first recall the context that led the Crown of Aragon to wish to negotiate a treaty with the Mamluk Sultanate.

CONTEXT

On 13 Rabīʿ II 689/25 April 1290, Alfonso III's (r. 1285–91) ambassadors signed a negotiated truce with the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn, the duration of which was

Politics and Piety,” in *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stefan Conermann (Göttingen, 2019), 307–44; Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*; Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Mazāwidah, “Al-Hudnah al-muwaqqaʿah bayna al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf wa-al-Malik Khāyīmī al-Thānī fī ʿām 692h/1292m: dirāsah wathāʾiqīyah taḥlīliyah,” *Majallat Ittihād al-Jāmiʿāt al-ʿArabīyah lil-Ādāb* 13, no. 2 (2016): 607–40 (we owe this last reference to Bogdan Smarandache, whom we thank); Bogdan Smarandache, “1293: An Aragonese-Mamlūk Agreement from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*,” *Transmediterranean History* 4, no. 2 (2022): 1–8. It should be noted that Holt largely ignored Catalan studies, particularly the work of Masiá de Ros.

¹⁴We will not go any further here into the question of the nature of the treaty, which has been presented by many scholars as a treaty of military alliance. Suffice it to say that the notion of a treaty of alliance is foreign to Mamluk diplomacy, not to say Muslim diplomacy, and that the clauses that have led some to see it as a military alliance are an integral part of truces negotiated between a Muslim power and a non-Muslim power, as stated by al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, 14:9.

¹⁵The printed version was collated with two manuscripts: Bodleian Library MS Marsh 317 and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi MS A. 2930/7.



not specified. Alfonso's brothers James (at the time King of Sicily and future King James II, r. 1291–1327), Frederic (future King of Sicily as Frederic II, r. 1295–1337), and Peter were included in the treaty, which specified that the death of either contracting party would not affect its validity. In the event of Alfonso's death, one of his brothers would have assumed the throne and become guarantor of the treaty, while on the Mamluk side, the sultan had also prepared for any eventuality by naming the son he had already designated as his successor at the time, Khalīl, and his other sons without naming them. The reasons that led Alfonso III to negotiate a treaty that, in addition to clauses designed to protect trade, included clauses on non-assistance to the sultan's enemies, including the Christian powers, are to be found in the situation of diplomatic isolation in which he had found himself on the European scene since the episode of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. That year, Peter II (r. 1276–85), son and successor of James I and husband of Constance of Hohenstaufen, took advantage of the revolt in Sicily against the King of France to take possession of the island, despite the opposition of the Angevins and Pope Martin IV, who excommunicated him. On his death, his son Alfonso III ignored the papal ban on trade with the Islamic powers of the Mediterranean. On the Mamluk side, Qalāwūn wished to strengthen his power by promoting trade not only between the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, but also between the two sides of the Mediterranean, notably by contracting truces with several Italian trading powers.¹⁶ His concern was also to repel any threat of conquest from the east, personified by the Ilkhanid army.¹⁷

The treaty negotiated in 689/1290 was not ratified on the Aragonese side, as we shall see. After the death of Alfonso III, his brother James succeeded him at the head of the Crown of Aragon. Meanwhile, Qalāwūn also died and his son and designated successor, Khalīl, took command of the sultanate. Continuing his father's military efforts to consolidate his hold on Syria, he brought down the last remaining Latin stronghold. In fact, in the same year that he acceded to the throne, the Latins lost St. John of Acre, bringing an end to the last Frankish lordship in the Holy Land. At the same time, al-Ashraf Khalīl continued the policy pursued by his father toward the European merchant communities, guaranteeing them secure access to his territories.¹⁸

¹⁶See Coulon, "Une phase decisive."

¹⁷See Jaspert, "The Crown of Aragon," 315.

¹⁸In 690/1291, after settling a dispute with the Venetians relating to the latter's capture of several of his subjects, al-Ashraf Khalīl renewed the general safe-conduct for the benefit of European merchant communities, including the Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, and Catalans, as his father had already done in 687/1288. See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Altāf al-khafīyah min al-sīrah al-sharīfah al-sulṭānīyah al-malakīyah al-ashrafīyah*, in *Ur 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd ez-Zāhir's Biografi över*



Given his difficult situation in the Mediterranean, James II realized that he had to pool all his forces to achieve a common goal, and he established new friendly relations with Castile and Portugal through matrimonial alliances that guaranteed peace on the peninsula and, in the case of Castile, led to the signing of the Treaty of Monteagudo on 29 November 1291, which defined, among other agreements, the areas of influence and intervention of Aragon and Castile. Consequently, concluding a truce with the Mamluk Sultanate could only strengthen his prestige and power over his European enemies and create favorable conditions for future agreements with France and the Papacy, taking into account the economic consequences of respecting papal bans on trade relations with the Sultanate. Notwithstanding James II's diplomatic isolation, the embassy he decided to send to Cairo was an even greater affront to the Pope, who had issued a new ban on trade with Muslims after the fall of St. John of Acre. On the Mamluk side, while the threat of a new crusade was not unlikely, it seemed unrealistic after the destruction of the main strongholds on the Syrian coast. All that remained was the fear of a Mongol conquest, which was bound to materialize in the years to come.¹⁹

On 10 August 1292, letters of credence and instructions were drawn up by the Aragonese chancellery.²⁰ The embassy, made up of at least four members, including Ramón Alemany, who had already taken part in the embassy sent by Alfonso III three years earlier, traveled to Cairo with instructions to seek to renew the truce negotiated by James II's predecessor. The two ambassadors heading the mission were promised a reward of 6,000 Barcelona sous if they obtained from the sultan the conditions set by the king, and only half that sum if they did not.²¹ James II was particularly keen to extract a promise of aid (financial or otherwise) from the sultan.²² With the exception of this request, the main function of the rest of the instructions was to present James II as an ally worth having, while emphasizing his war victories and numerous alliances as well as his preeminence among the other Christian monarchs, all with a clear persuasive aim. To strengthen the links between the two powers, he presented himself, as his brother had done before him, as the natural heir of the Hohenstaufens,

Sultanen el-Melik el-Ašraf Ḥalīl: Arabisk Tæxt med Översättning, Inledning ock Anmärkningar utjiven, ed. Axel Moberg (Lund, 1902), 44–45 of the Arabic text.

¹⁹On this issue in relation to the Treaty of 689/1290, 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), 155.

²⁰These are kept in the ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252, fol. 38r–39r. See note 11 for editions.

²¹Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 75.

²²*Ibid.*, 265 (“quel dit Solda assa ajuda en prest o en altra manera al dit senyor rey”).



who had maintained privileged relations with the predecessors of the Mamluk sultans, the Ayyubids.²³

THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

The circumstances in which the negotiations took place are not known to us. No written report of the Aragonese ambassadors' mission has so far been identified in the archives of the Crown of Aragon. Unfortunately, no Mamluk source mentions this embassy.²⁴ We do, however, have testimony from the Mamluk side for the previous embassy, which had led to the drafting of a similar truce between Alfonso III and Qalāwūn in 689/1290. The sultan's chronicler, who was also his secretary, provides details:

In this year, the envoys of the Barcelonan, named Alfonso, arrived. It was he who had seized the kingdom of King Charles, the brother of the King of France, and the kingdom of the Emperor. They humbly requested, from the mercy of our lord the sultan, the peace (*al-ṣulḥ*), following the precedent of the Emperor with al-Malik al-Kāmil. Among his gifts that were brought to the sultan's gates were seventy Muslim captives who had long been in his territories. They used every possible means to win the sultan's goodwill. They pledged to be the enemies of the enemies of our lord the sultan and the friends of his friends. They [the envoys] stayed for several days until a copy of the truce (*hudnah*)—which copy his envoys had written in Arabic and Frankish with their own hands—was drawn up. They took [this copy] to their sovereign. They wrote their signatures on the Arabic copy and took care of it so that they could go to their sovereign and his brother, the monarch of Sicily, and return accompanying the envoys of our lord the sultan. Our lord the sultan took an oath on what had been decided, as did our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf.²⁵

This account provides us with invaluable details of certain phases of the negotiations, which include references to the past (the treaty signed between

²³Ibid., 264 (“car tots temps la casa de Babilonia e dell’Imperi la qual casa del Imperi lo dit senyor rey en Jacme tenia e te son estades en una amor, una voluntat e una concordia”).

²⁴Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s four-volume chronicle of the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl has come down to us only in a fragmentary state, with only the third volume covering the year 690/1291 surviving. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Alṭāf al-khaṭīyah*.

²⁵Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrif al-ayyām*, 156. This passage has been translated with some differences by Silvestre de Sacy, “Extrait,” 145–46; Amari, *La guerra*, 2:332–35; Holt, “The Mamluk Sultanate,” 106; idem, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 131.



Frederic II and the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil in 1229, which provided for the retrocession of Jerusalem),²⁶ signs of goodwill (gifts including Muslim captives), and compromises that the Aragonese were prepared to accept (being the enemy of the sultan's enemies, including Christian powers, particularly the Crusader strongholds). However, it is the part concerning the drafting of the treaty that is of particular interest to us. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, who, as we know, was active in the chancellery at the same time, it was the Aragonese emissaries who prepared a bilingual draft of it. The emissaries were accompanied by a certain *ḥakīm* Dāwūd ibn Ḥasdāy (David ben Hasdai) al-Isrā'īlī. By the last part of this person's name, the Mamluk chronicler was indicating that he was Jewish. In addition, he was a physician (*al-ḥakīm*) and, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the minister (*wazīr*) of the king of Aragon. This Jewish representative was probably intended to act as an interpreter of Arabic.²⁷ His role must have been decisive in writing the draft in that language as well as in negotiating the final version. As al-Qalqashandī explains to justify the poor literary quality of the truces negotiated with Christian rulers, examples of which he gives in his oeuvre, the draft was drawn up by mutual agreement in Arabic between the two parties, clause by clause on the basis of the proposals of the respective secretaries. When the final copy of the treaty was drawn up by a secretary of the Cairo chancellery, he was careful not to embellish the style of the text in front of him in order to avoid any ambiguity as to the content that had won the agreement of the Frankish secretary, a situation that could have led the latter to reject the treaty as not

²⁶Michael A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. P. M. Holt, ed. Konrad Hirschler (Leiden, 2013), 272.

²⁷Holt, "The Mamluk Sultanate," 108, admits that he was unable to identify him. However, as early as 1978, David Romano, "Judios escribanos y trujamanes de arabe en la Corona de Aragon (reinados de Jaime I a Jaime II)," *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 86–90, gave details of this character: in Catalan sources, he is named Bondavid, son of Astruc Bonsenyor. Appointed secretary for Arabic in 1284 by the future Alfonso III, Bondavid retained this position after his accession to the throne, perhaps becoming royal writer, until early 1290, when he was replaced in this role by another Jew. As secretary, he was responsible for writing and reading letters in Arabic. His role in the embassy to Cairo in 1290 is confirmed by a document dated October 1289 ("Cum nos mittamus Bondavinum, alfaquimum nostrum, ad soltanum Alexandrie, cum aliis nunciis nostris quod ad ipsum soltanum mittimus," *ibid.*, 88, note 88). See also Yom-Tov Assis, "Diplomàtics jueus de la Corona catalanoaragonesa en terres musulmanes (1213–1327)," *Tamid* 1 (1997): 8. For the role of Jews as interpreters and diplomats at the court of Aragon, see Nikolas Jaspert, "Mendicants, Jews and Muslims at Court in the Crown of Aragon: Social Practice and Inter-Religious Communication," in *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Marc von der Höh, Nikolas Jaspert, and Jenny Rahel Oesterle (Paderborn, 2013), 125–33.



conforming to what had been agreed.²⁸ Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s text confirms that this was indeed the case: his words (“They [the envoys] stayed for several days until a copy of the truce [*hudnah*] . . . was drawn up”) indicate that it took several days of discussion to reach an agreement. The following sentence (“which copy his envoys had written in Arabic and Frankish with their own hands. . . . They took [this copy] to their sovereign”) implies that the King of Aragon’s emissaries drew up a bilingual draft that corresponded to the results of the negotiations between the two parties. It was on the basis of this draft, which represented the version agreed by both parties, that the final document was drawn up. As al-Qalqashandī points out, two copies of the truce in Arabic were drawn up: the first was intended for the chancellery in Cairo, where it was to be archived; the second was addressed to the other party.²⁹ Although elliptical, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s formulation (“They took [this copy] to their sovereign”) can only refer to the second copy in Arabic that they were to take to their sovereign.

The first copy, destined for the archives in Cairo, was to be signed by representatives of the King of Aragon on his behalf, as confirmed by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (“They wrote their signatures on the Arabic copy”). The rest of the text is more elliptical: “took care of it” cannot refer to this signed copy, which was intended to remain in Cairo, but must refer to the second copy they were responsible for bringing to Alfonso III, as confirmed by the end of the sentence: “so that they could go to their sovereign and his brother, the monarch of Sicily, and return accompanying the envoys of our lord the sultan.”³⁰ Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir concludes by pointing out that both the sultan and his son, the designated successor, took

²⁸Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shá*, 14:70–71. For the translation of this passage, see Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 7–8.

²⁹Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shá*, 14:72.

³⁰Holt translated the expression *wa-tadarrakūhā*, here interpreted “they took care of it,” as “corrected it” (“The Mamluk Sultanate,” 106); idem, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 131 (where he adds a question mark afterward to indicate that it is an approximate translation). Silvestre de Sacy, “Extrait,” 146, translated it as “et on le leur laissa,” while Amari, *La guerra*, 2:335, opts for “questo esemplare tolsero adesso gli ambasciatori di re Alfonso,” i.e., “to take.” The use of the verb in this context is in fact problematic: the few dictionaries that mention it give a meaning that has nothing to do with our context (Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* [Wiesbaden, 1974], 322, only mentions it for a sentence with the sun in the sense of “to decline, to set”; Renato Traini, *Dizionario arabo-italiano* [Rome, 2004], 1:351, refers to the same meaning “to decline, to set” for the sun, but adds “to dedicate, to take on” with the preposition *bi-*, which is absent in our document). On the other hand, there is no doubt about the reading provided by the manuscript: this one, a *unicum*, does indeed bear *tadarrakūhā* with a redoublement mark for the letter *r*. This is not a *hapax legomenon*, since it appears again in our document (line 18: *wa-yatadarrak amrahumā*). The meaning of “to obtain,” “to reach” is confirmed for certain well-attested forms of the verb (the third, fourth, and sixth). For our part, we propose the translation “to take care of” given by Wehr for the sixth form used transitively (“to handle something carefully, to be



oaths. These two oaths are provided following the copy of the treaty and are followed by the one to be taken by the King of Aragon. The fact that the Catalan envoys were going not only to Alfonso III but also to his brother, the *Infante* James, King of Sicily at the time and future successor at the head of Aragon, meant that both of them had to give some form of validation to the truce reached in Cairo by taking an oath in the presence of witnesses attesting to this act. Al-Qalqashandī specifies that, although the Cairo chancellery could be satisfied with the signatures of the emissaries (and their oaths), sometimes a copy of the truce was sent to the non-Muslim sovereign who was represented by his emissaries so that he could sign it in the presence of witnesses.³¹ The result of the negotiation of such an important treaty could not be validated without the approval of the sovereigns concerned, i.e., the King of Aragon and his brother. The signed copy therefore had to be taken back to Cairo before the Aragonese envoys left with the sultan's envoys for the court in Barcelona as part of an official embassy to verify the application of the truce and seal the privileged relationship between the two powers through the exchange of gifts.³²

It is likely that this form of negotiation was repeated in more or less the same terms three years later. Although this is purely speculative, the speculation is bolstered by the fact that the treaty did not vary in content, with the exception of the parties represented who had both taken part in the oath that was to validate the truce of 689/1290: the new King of Aragon James II and the new Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl.³³

careful with something”), a meaning confirmed by the Catalan translation of our document: “e qui deu pendre lur feyt” for *wa-yataddarak amrahumā* (see Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 266).

³¹Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:15; *ibid.*, 71. “Notice that it was customary, when writing a truce, to write as an annex an oath sworn by the sultan or his delegate in the contracting of the truce, to fulfil its articles and conditions; and an oath sworn by the plenipotentiary of the infidel king in the contracting of the truce, having permission to contract it on his behalf by a letter issued by him. Or the copy would be despatched to the infidel king for him to swear upon, and sign to that effect; and it would be returned to the sultan’s court” (transl. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 8). In the case of the truce negotiated by Genoa the same year, the witnesses were local Orthodox Christians. See Silvestre de Sacy, “Pièces diplomatiques tirées des archives de la République de Gênes,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi, et autres bibliothèques* 11 (1827): 39–41, 50–52; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 149–51.

³²Amari, *La Guerra*, 2:333, note 2, felt that this interpretation, as implied by the literal translation of the text, did not hold water as it was, in his view, illogical. He was apparently unaware of al-Qalqashandī’s text about sending a copy cited in the previous note.

³³This also explains why this embassy apparently no longer had any Jewish members who understood Arabic, as was the case with the previous one.



DRAWING UP THE TREATY

The truces concluded between the Mamluk Sultanate and non-Muslim states can be studied thanks to the copies that have been preserved in a number of sources (chancellery manuals, collections of models, chronicles, and annals). As Peter M. Holt has shown, these copies give us an insight into their content and structure,³⁴ but to date there has been no study of the external characteristics of this type of instrument. Although the truce signed in 692/1293 between the King of Aragon and the Mamluk Sultan is the only known “original,” it has never been studied from this point of view, which is remarkable given that it has been known at least since the publication of Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, over eighty years ago.

Of all the authors of chancery manuals from the Mamluk period,³⁵ al-Qalqashandī is the only one to specify that, as far as he knows, none of his predecessors set out what the external characters of this type of document should be.³⁶ This lack of details reinforces the idea that this type of instrument had, at the very least, become a rarity in the Egyptian chancery at the time in question. The contacts that the various powers that ruled over the geographical area that encompassed Egypt and the entire Near East could maintain with a non-Muslim power were relatively limited. It was the arrival of the Crusader armies that created a completely different situation, as it meant that truces had to be concluded in the region. It is therefore not surprising that such truces are documented from the Ayyubid period onwards, particularly in the early twelfth century. The reason al-Qalqashandī—who was active in the Cairo chancellery during the last decade of the fourteenth century and the first of the fifteenth century (he completed his oeuvre in 814/1412)—was at pains to provide any detail on this type of instrument was, quite simply, its disappearance from the list of documents still used by the Mamluk chancellery in his time. In the meantime, the truce had in fact lost all reason to exist and had been replaced by another purely administrative, unilateral (and normally for internal

³⁴Most of the treaties have been studied by Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*.

³⁵Truces are dealt with by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, ed. Samīr al-Durūbī (Karak, 1992), 1:238–43; Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Kitāb Tathqīf al-taʿrīf bi-al-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, ed. Rudolf Veselý (Cairo, 1987), 180–84, who reproduces Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī’s text without adding anything; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:2–78; al-Saḥmāwī, *Al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*, 2:917–38, which reproduces al-Qalqashandī’s text without adding anything new.

³⁶Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:11: “I have not found anyone who had set out the format of paper [to be used] for truces even though their issue had been frequent before between the rulers of Egypt and the Frankish rulers” (*wa-lam ara man taʿarraḍa fī al-hudnah li-miqdār qaṭʿ al-waraq wa-in kathurat kitābatuhā fī al-zaman al-mutaqaddim bayna mulūk al-diyār al-miṣrīyah wa-bayna mulūk al-Ifranj*). This remark, though limited to the paper format, implies much more than it at first seems to say, since the format determines a whole series of other factors for the drafting of documents in Mamluk diplomatics.



use) instrument—the decree—often defined by Western historians as commercial decree because it related to trade with the Christian states of Europe, even though the notion of a commercial decree was completely foreign to the vocabulary of the Mamluk chancellery.³⁷ If al-Qalqashandī nevertheless devoted a section to the truce as an instrument, it was for the sake of completeness: his manual was intended to be practical but at the same time encyclopedic and historical. If an instrument had existed (and was attested by copies that were still accessible), it had to be described. The place he reserved for it, however—truces are dealt with at the beginning of the last volume, which is mainly devoted to categories of documents that no longer have much to do with chancery—confirms that this category of documents had become obsolete by his time.³⁸

Al-Qalqashandī only possessed information about the truce with non-Muslim powers through a first-hand source that is considered lost: the *Tadhkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb* by Muḥammad ibn Mukarram, better known as Ibn Manẓūr. Ibn Manẓūr was active in the Mamluk chancellery throughout the third quarter of the seventh/thirteenth century (he died in 711/1311).³⁹ Al-Qalqashandī reveals that it was in this work that he found the texts of the five Mamluk-period truces mostly concluded with the Frankish lordships, with the exception of the last one, which is precisely the one we are concerned with here. The text of the first truce was written by Ibn Manẓūr and it is not unlikely that the others were also in his hand. In transcribing them in his *Tadhkirat al-labīb*, Ibn Manẓūr wanted to keep a copy for himself. Unfortunately, he did not provide any information about the external characteristics of this instrument and no other author active in the Mamluk chancellery provided such details. Faced with this lack of details, al-Qalqashandī was forced to admit his ignorance. He did, however, put forward the hypothesis that the format of the scroll (i.e., its width) must have been the

³⁷There was a progressive shift from the truce to the decree after the fall of the last Crusader stronghold in 1291. On this issue, see Alessandro Rizzo, “Travelling and Trading through Mamluk Territory: Chancery Documents Guaranteeing Mobility to Christian Merchants,” in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517): Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study III*, ed. Bethany J. Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz (Göttingen, 2021), 487–510; Frédéric Bauden, “Negotiating for Peace and Trade with the Mamluks: from Truce to Decree,” in *Reframing Treaties: Peacemaking and the Political Grammar of Agreements in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Isabella Lazzarini, Luciano Piffanelli, and Diego Pirillo (Oxford, 2024), forthcoming.

³⁸As proof of this, he concludes the section in which he provides copies of five truces between Muslims and non-Muslims with the words: “May God Most High dispense us from resorting to them [again]!” (*aghnanā Allāh ta‘ālā ‘an al-ḥājah ilayhā*). Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 14:71.

³⁹Ibn Manẓūr is best known today for three monumental works that have survived: a dictionary of the Arabic language (*Lisān al-‘Arab*), an abridgement of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, as well as another of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī’s *Kitāb al-aghānī*. On him, see J. W. Fück, “Ibn Manẓūr,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:864.



same for truces as it was for letters: the format must have been commensurate with the status that the chancellery reserved for the sovereign in its correspondence with him.⁴⁰ The Mamluk chancellery respected a scale of values that reflected the status accorded by the Mamluk power to the various sovereigns with whom it was in contact. This scale had an impact on the external characters of the letter (width of the scroll, right-hand margin, number of blank leaves at the beginning of the scroll, size of the line spacing, size of the calamus).⁴¹ However, relations with non-Muslim powers, particularly in Europe, were more sporadic. As a result, the Mamluk chancellery may have found it more difficult to know what status to attribute to a sovereign, so the authors of the manuals are more evasive on this question. We only find an indication of the scroll format for correspondence exchanged with the king of Aragon in Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh's manual, according to which the half format was to be used.⁴²

Studies carried out on scroll formats for the Mamluk period are relatively rare and have been based, until now, on an erroneous piece of data. The format (i.e., width) of the scroll is always given in the chancery manuals of the period according to a well-defined measure: the cubit of cloth (*dhirāʿ al-qumāsh*) used in Cairo. The value of this cubit, calculated by a researcher at the end of the nineteenth century as being equivalent to 488.86 mm,⁴³ is the basis of all the calculations that have been made for the different sizes of scrolls to date. It appears that this calculation was incorrect and that the value of the cubit of cloth

⁴⁰Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, 14:11: “In this case, the format of the paper on which one writes to the sovereign with whom the truce is concluded must be respected: either the ordinary format, or the one-third format, or the one-half format” (*wa-alladhī yanbaghī an yurāʿā fī dhālika miqdār qaṭʿ al-waraq alladhī yukātab fīhi al-malik alladhī taqaʿ al-hudnah maʿahu: min qaṭʿ al-ʿādah aw al-thulth aw al-nisf*). It would seem to follow from this description that the largest format employed for exchanging missives with non-Muslim rulers was the half format. However, in another place (*ibid.*, 8:38), al-Qalqashandī states that letters addressed to the king of France are written on a format equivalent to that reserved for the king of Aragon or larger, suggesting that the chancellery could go so far as to employ the two-thirds format with a non-Muslim sovereign.

⁴¹See Malika Dekkiche, “Diplomatics, or Another Way to See the World,” in *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies: Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*, ed. Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche (Leiden, 2019), 185–213, though it only deals with the rules in question for epistolary exchanges with Muslim sovereigns. A study of the formats and the resulting rules for letters exchanged with non-Muslim sovereigns is still lacking.

⁴²Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf al-Taʿrīf*, 29: “The rule is that one should write to him on a half-size format with the calamus of the great *thulth*” (*wa-rasm al-mukātabah ilayhi fī qaṭʿ al-nisf bi-qalam al-thulth al-kabīr*). These words are reproduced as they stand by al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, 8:36.

⁴³Joseph Karabacek, *Das arabische Papier: Eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Vienna, 1887), 68.



was in fact 581.87 mm.⁴⁴ With the exception of the so-called full format—a scroll made of full sheets (i.e., a roll approximately 580 mm wide)—all the formats given are in fact fractions of the latter (two-thirds, half, one-third, one-quarter, ordinary). It must therefore be understood that these formats were made from a complete sheet cut to the required format. In the case of the kings of Aragon, Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh states that in his time the format used was that of the half, or about 290 mm wide. Although speaking for his time (he was mainly active in the chancellery in the third quarter of the fourteenth century), Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh provides information that is corroborated by a letter sent by the Mamluk sultan to the king of Aragon in 699/1300, just a few years after our truce.⁴⁵ The width of this varies between 265 and 287 mm, which corresponds to the half-size format indicated by Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh.

If we follow the hypothesis formulated by al-Qalqashandī, the format of the truce should have matched the format of the letters addressed to the king of Aragon—i.e., the half format (approximately 290 mm)—but the actual document measures between 127 and 131 mm wide, making it equivalent to the quarter format. If al-Qalqashandī's hypothesis is valid, this difference raises questions. We shall see in the next section that this difference constitutes an additional argument for the dating and nature of the document.

THE TREATY

The document containing the treaty is kept at the ACA in Barcelona. It is classified among the Arabic documents (*Cartas árabes*) under number 145. It has come down to us in the form of three fragments that do not cover the whole of the original document: there is a gap of around thirty lines between the first (see fig. 1) and second fragments and another of around fifty lines between the second and third. The state of preservation, as already noted by Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, is far from optimal: numerous holes, caused by paperworms, hamper the deciphering of certain words, particularly in the left-hand part.⁴⁶ These holes are mainly at the ends of lines, where whole pieces of paper are sometimes missing. In addition, some words have been erased by contact with water, as can be seen from the damp stains in various places, particularly in the top right-hand corner

⁴⁴On this issue, see Bauden, "Mamluk Diplomats," 49.

⁴⁵It was mistakenly addressed to the King of Castile but was in fact sent to the King of Aragon. See ACA, Cancillería, Cartas árabes, no. 146; Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*, 344–49 (no. 146).

⁴⁶Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*, 344: "El ejemplar que posee el Archivo está muy maltratado. Faltan grandes fragmentos y en la parte que se conserva aparecen borradas en todo o en parte gran número de palabras, en términos que sólo en algunos pasajes es posible leer unas cuantas de ellas seguidas."



of the third fragment. This same fragment, the longest, has undergone a summary restoration (it has been glued to sheets of paper that serve as reinforcement), while the first two fragments have fortunately remained as they were,⁴⁷ which makes it possible to study the paper and its structure.

External Characteristics

The document originally took the form of a scroll (Ar. *darj*), the classic format for most documents issued by the Mamluk chancery, which consisted of several sheets of paper glued together end to end (Ar. *waşl*).⁴⁸ Its length, and therefore the number of sheets it consisted of, depended not only on the length of the text to be transcribed on it but also on a series of rules relating to, among other things, the size of the calamus (which determined the size of the characters), the width of the right-hand margin, and the size of the line spacing. The text was written exclusively on the inside of the scroll—referred to here as the *recto*—which then had to be rolled up: the text thus became invisible if it was sealed. The outside of the roll—the *reverse*—remained blank, except for the top part that could, depending on the type of document being issued, receive the address. This was not the case with our treaty, which therefore has a completely blank reverse side. In its current fragmentary state, the roll has a total length of 2,745 mm on the left-hand side and 2,773 mm on the right-hand side (see Table 1).⁴⁹ The width of the leaves varies between 127 and 131 mm, with an average of 128.7 mm. The length of the leaves that make up the roll and that are still whole varies between 315 and 318 mm on the right-hand side and 311 and 321 mm on the left-hand side. These slight variations between the two sides can be explained by the method used to produce the sheets that made up a scroll.⁵⁰ The sheets are glued together over a surface area of no more than 4 mm.⁵¹ The paper is a typical oriental paper (without watermark) with thick laid lines⁵² (20

⁴⁷All of the ACA's Arabic documents underwent further restoration during the organization of an exhibition devoted to them in 2009 in the former headquarters of the ACA, the Palacio de los Virreyes. Japan paper was used to fill in the gaps left by the previous restoration. See María Luz Rodríguez Olivares, Teresa Marqués Tenllado, and María Carme Sistach Anguera, "Las cartas árabes del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón se visten de gala," in *El perfume de la amistad*, 39–50.

⁴⁸For these questions, see Bauden, "Mamluk Diplomatics," 47–50 and, more specifically for letters exchanged with other Muslim rulers, Dekkiche, "Diplomatics."

⁴⁹The difference to be noticed in the measures between the two sides can be explained by the size of the fragments that remain on either the left or the right.

⁵⁰See note 45, above.

⁵¹This glued surface is called *kollesis* (pl. *kolleseis*), a term inherited from papyrology to designate the joint between two sheets of papyrus in a scroll.

⁵²The laid lines are the narrowly spaced lines at right angles to the chain lines that are the wide-spaced lines.



laid lines occupy a space of 36 mm). The chain lines, which are barely visible, are perpendicular to the text and grouped in pairs. They are spaced 9 mm apart within the group and 40 mm apart between groups. These characteristics are also found in papers used for the production of manuscripts located or locatable in Egypt between the beginning of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, where the chain lines are also often barely visible and closely spaced (from 6 to 13 mm on average with an average of 41 to 49 mm between groups) and the laid lines are thick, 20 of them occupying 30 to 41 mm.⁵³

The text appears to be written in the style of calligraphy referred to as *tawqīʿ*. It can be compared with the examples given by al-Qalqashandī in the third volume of his oeuvre.⁵⁴ Comparison of the layout of the invocation at the head of the protocol (the *basmalah*; see fig. 1) with that provided by al-Qalqashandī reinforces this identification.⁵⁵ The *alif*, which is 5 mm high on average, is often linked to the letter that follows, either from below or from above, depending on the nature of the latter. Orthoepic signs (short vowels, absence of a vowel, doubling of a consonant), diacritical points, and the *hamzah*, although not noted consistently, are nonetheless frequent. The vowel *i* (*kasrah*) can sometimes take the form of a vertical line placed below the letter. Although vowels are often indicated, they are almost never at the end of words, where only the indefiniteness mark (*tanwīn*) appears, rarely, for the three Arabic case inflections.⁵⁶ The scribe also uses additional signs (*matres lectionis*) to specify the phonological value of a letter, even if the majority of diacritical points appear in the document. This is the case for the *sīn*, the *rāʾ*, and the *dāl*, which are often surmounted by a lunula or a sign in the shape of a small v,⁵⁷

⁵³Geneviève Humbert, “Papiers non filigranés utilisés au Proche-Orient jusqu’en 1450: Essai de typologie,” *Journal asiatique* 286 (1998): 20–21.

⁵⁴Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 3:104–18. It should be noted that to date there is no study of the scripts appearing in the documents issued by the Mamluk chancery.

⁵⁵Ibid, 141. Al-Qalqashandī describes three possible tracings for the *tawqīʿ* style: this is the second style where the letter *rāʾ* takes an inverted form (*maqlūbah*) in *al-rahmān* while in *al-rahīm* its form is said to be almond-shaped (*mulawwazah*).

⁵⁶I found only four cases for *tanwīn un* (see lines 104, 122, 136, 140), eleven cases for *tanwīn an* (see lines 36 [2 times], 37, 146, 157, 165, 166 [2 times], 167, 173, 190), and two cases for *tanwīn in* (see lines 123, 154).

⁵⁷See, for example, lines 4 and 5 respectively. Unfortunately, the small v form cannot be represented in the edition for typographical reasons: although it is present in the Unicode alphabet, it cannot be used in conjunction with a vowel, which is often the case in our document. We have therefore systematically represented it as a lunula (◌), without distinguishing it from the first form.



Sheet no.	Width (mm)		Height (mm)	
Fragment 1				
1	Top	130	Left	185
	Middle	129		
	Bottom	129	Right	180
2	Top	128	Left	189
	Middle	130		
	Bottom	131	Right	189
Fragment 2				
3	Top	∅	Left	38
	Middle	∅		
	Bottom	127	Right	3
4	Top	127	Left	220
	Middle	129		
	Bottom	129	Right	230
Fragment 3				
5	Top	∅	Left	133
	Middle	129		
	Bottom	128	Right	185
6	Top	128	Left	315
	Middle	128		
	Bottom	128	Right	317
7	Top	129	Left	321
	Middle	129		
	Bottom	129	Right	315
8	Top	130	Left	317
	Middle	130		
	Bottom	129	Right	318
9	Top	129	Left	316
	Middle	129		
	Bottom	128	Right	316
10	Top	128	Left	311
	Middle	128		
	Bottom	129	Right	316
11	Top	130	Left	315
	Middle	128		
	Bottom	128	Right	313
12	Top	128	Left	85
	Middle	∅		
	Bottom	128	Right	91

Table 1. Measurements of the scroll containing the Arabic text. Measurements of height were taken at the left-hand and right-hand parts of each sheet. Measurements of width were taken at the top, middle, and bottom of each sheet.



and for the *ḥāʾ*, the value of which is specified by the same letter written in isolation in a smaller form below it.⁵⁸

The text is arranged in parallel lines that show a slight curve towards the end caused by the tendency to end the last word, in whole or in part, above the line. This system means that the scribe does not have to cut the word off at the end of the line, which is not normally allowed in Arabic.⁵⁹ The lines do not begin close to the right edge of the scroll: the scribe is required to leave a blank margin, the width of which should be about a third or a quarter of that of the scroll, a measurement that is left to the scribe's discretion.⁶⁰ In the case of our document, this margin is 28 mm on average—about a quarter of the width of the scroll. In three cases, however, the text is placed almost in the center of the sheet: this is the case for the opening formula indicating the nature of the document (lines 1–3), the invocation (*basmalah*, line 4), and the final wish (*ḥasbalah*; see fig. 2).⁶¹ The line spacing is approximately 23 mm. In accordance with the rule, the invocation is placed just below the joint between two leaves. The part of the scroll preceding the invocation is what the secretaries called the *ṭurrah*.⁶² It may consist of one or more leaves left blank in most cases. In this case, the *ṭurrah* consists of a single sheet that in its current state is no longer intact: the upper part has been cut out, presumably for reuse since it was blank (see fig. 1). The presence of the introductory formula on the leaf preceding the invocation confirms that the *ṭurrah* in this case consisted of just one leaf.⁶³

⁵⁸ See, for example, the word *al-sāḥīliyah* in line 9. This is not represented in the edition because it is not yet available in the Unicode alphabet.

⁵⁹ Some cases are documented in both manuscripts and documents, but this remains rare. In the case of documents, this occurs in those written by people with little education and in private contexts (letters, for example). For a Mamluk-era document (a petition written by a prisoner), see Petra M. Sijpesteijn, “Financial Troubles: A Mamluk Petition,” in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*, ed. Arnold Franklin, Roxani Eleni-Margariti, Marina Rustow, and Uriel Simonsohn (Leiden, 2014), 354, end of line 6 and beginning of line 7, where the word could not be deciphered by the editor precisely because of its break (it should read: *وضاعت مصالجه*).

⁶⁰ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 6:195 (one quarter) and 314 (one third). These rules are laid down by al-Qalqashandī for letters but they remain valid for other categories of documents, as can be seen with the truce studied here.

⁶¹ The space on the right is 34 mm and on the left 22 mm for the opening formula, 38 mm on the right and 24 on the left for the invocation, and 42 on the right and 30 on the left for the final wish.

⁶² See Jørgen S. Nielsen, “A Note on the Origin of the *Ṭurra* in Early Mamlūk Chancery Practice,” *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 288–92.

⁶³ As we have seen, the introductory formula is almost centered in width, but it was also centered in height: the actual length of this sheet is 185 mm on the left and 180 mm on the right, with a blank space of 112 mm separating the last line from the joint. Before the top section was



The original length of the scroll can be easily estimated on the basis of the missing portion of text that is known from the copies given by al-Qalqashandī and al-Saḥmāwī.⁶⁴ The gaps in the original document correspond to 774 words.⁶⁵ Since each line of the document has an average of 7 words, this means that the document originally had around 110.5 more lines. In addition, as each sheet has an average of 16 lines,⁶⁶ around 6.9 sheets are missing today.⁶⁷ Since the average length of a sheet is 316 mm, the missing part was around 2,183 mm long. The total length of the scroll was, therefore, close to five meters.⁶⁸

Internal characteristics

The structure of the document corresponds to what al-Qalqashandī says about it on the basis of the examples that were available to him. The truce is divided into several parts. The first, in the form of a preamble (lines 13), establishes the nature of the document by means of an introductory formula that states it is a reproduction (*ṣūrah*) of a truce (*hudnah*;⁶⁹ see fig. 1) concluded between the two rulers who are named. The initial protocol is limited to the traditional invocation (*basmalah*) (line 4). This is followed by the presentation (lines 5–33), which

cut off, the sheet measured approximately 317 mm. The part that has been cut off was therefore approximately 137 mm plus 25 mm (measurement of the space remaining above the first line).

⁶⁴See note 8, above, for the references.

⁶⁵In fact, the lacunar parts that can be completed thanks to the copies provided by al-Qalqashandī and al-Saḥmāwī (747 words), to which must be added the part of the Mamluk sultan's titlature that these two sources neglected to preserve. The titlature can be reconstructed thanks to the Catalan translation of the treaty and the 689/1290 version of the treaty, and around 27 words can thus be restored.

⁶⁶Here is the count for the complete sheets: sheet 6 = 16 lines; sheet 7 = 16 lines; sheet 8 = 15 lines; sheet 9 = 17 lines; sheet 10 = 17 lines; sheet 11 = 15 lines.

⁶⁷The number cannot be round, as the leaves of the first two fragments and the beginning of the third are no longer preserved in their entirety.

⁶⁸2,745 mm for the preserved part and 2,183 mm for the missing part, giving a total of 4,928 mm. It is possible to be more precise by taking into account the missing fragmentary sheets: these have lost 127 mm (sheet 2), 278 mm (sheet 3), 86 mm (sheet 4), and 131 mm (sheet 5) respectively, making a total of 622 mm, which must be subtracted from the estimated total (2,183 mm), i.e., 1,561 mm divided by the average length of a sheet (316 mm), giving 4.94 leaves. Since these could only have been complete sheets, this means that, in addition to the pieces of fragmentary sheets, five sheets are missing, i.e., 1,580 mm. The total then gives: 2,745 mm (total length to the left of the three fragments) + 622 mm (missing pieces from the fragmentary sheets) + 1,580 mm (five missing sheets) + 185 mm (missing part of the *ṭurrah* or first sheet) = 5,078 mm. The difference between the two methods of calculation, which is only 150 mm, confirms the original estimate of the total length of the scroll.

⁶⁹Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:84, makes it clear that a truce negotiated with a non-Muslim ruler is termed a *hudnah* and not a *ṣulḥ*, a term reserved for a truce concluded between Muslims.



attests to the establishment of a truce between the two powers, who are designated by their respective representatives. Precedence is given to the sultan, whose full title is provided (lines 5–13).⁷⁰ He is followed by the King of Aragon, his brothers Frederic and Peter, and his brothers-in-law Sancho, King of Castile, and Denis, King of Portugal (lines 14–21). The statement also contains the date (lines 21–23) from which the truce will apply (i.e., the date of issue of the document), which is given according to the systems in force in the respective territories: the Muslim era and the Christian era (in the second case, based on the Annunciation in the Florentine style, where the year begins on 25 March).⁷¹ It ends with a mention of the two Aragonese ambassadors, who are named and described as carrying a sealed letter from their sovereign (lines 24–27). Its content and that of their oral message are then briefly summarized (lines 27–30). Finally, it is stated that the King of Aragon and his brothers and brothers-in-law will take an oath and that the ambassadors have signed all the clauses that follow, which are binding on their sovereign and his co-signatories (lines 31–33). The longest part, the operative part (lines 33–193), begins with chronological (from the date of the document for an indefinite period) and geographical (with a detailed description of the respective current and future territories) delimitations of when and where the truce will apply. The various clauses that will apply and that relate to a general guarantee of reciprocal security follow. These fall into three categories: (1) all those relating to a defensive alliance (defense against enemies, non-assistance of enemies); (2) all those relating to matters connected with the special relationship between the two powers (protection of envoys, reciprocal action against pirates and privateers, repatriation of captives and fugitives and their property); (3) miscellaneous matters connected with trade. The text ends with a section specifying the duration of the truce, which is not fixed in time and will not be interrupted by the death or dismissal of either party (lines 186–92). The final protocol consists of the dating of the deed, which is identical in every respect to that given in the presentation (lines 193–96). This is followed by the various religious formulas closing the eschatocol (*ḥamdalah*, *taṣliyah*, and *ḥasbalah*) (lines 199–201).

⁷⁰As indicated in note 64, above, it is fragmentary today but can be reconstructed.

⁷¹This means after Christmas, contrary to the Pisan style, which has it begin before Christmas. The document therefore bears the date 1292, which has misled many historians, as Damien Coulon rightly points out in his “Négociier avec les sultans de la Méditerranée orientale à la fin du Moyen Âge: un domaine privilégié pour les hommes d’affaires?” in *Negociar en la edad media/Négociier au Moyen Âge: Actas del Coloquio celebrado en Barcelona los días 14, 15 y 16 de octubre de 2004/Actes du colloque tenu à Barcelone du 14 au 16 octobre 2004*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, Jean-Michel Moeglin, Stéphane Péquignot, and Manuel Sánchez Martínez (Barcelona, 2005), 507, note 3. Despite everything, this error is still made. See in particular Jaspert, “The Crown of Aragon,” 315; al-Mazāwidah, “Al-Hudnah al-muwaqqa‘ah.”



The redactional characters of this category of documents have been summarized in a few words by al-Qalqashandī. Following the five truces concluded by Baybars, Qalāwūn, and Khalīl with non-Muslim rulers, copies of which he gives, he insists that none of them—with the exception of the last, which is precisely the one that corresponds to our document—is either well-ordered or clearly and eloquently expressed in rhetorical terms. He adds, moreover, that no secretary with a modicum of practice in the art of writing could have drafted them, a state of affairs all the more surprising, in his view, when one considers that the chancellery at the time was in the hands of several members of the Banū ‘Abd al-Zāhir family.⁷² The reasons he gives for the poverty of expression in these documents have already been mentioned above.⁷³ While, in his view, the truce concluded between James II and al-Ashraf Khalīl stood out from the crowd in terms of the quality of its composition, the fact remains that it is completely devoid of the rhetorical devices to which the secretaries of the Cairo chancery resorted when drafting diplomatic letters issued to foreign sovereigns, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.

The forms of validation were manifold: in addition to the signatures of the emissaries on the Arabic document destined to remain in Cairo, there were the oral oaths of both parties, as well as the signature of the King of Aragon on the copy that was to be brought back to Cairo. The presence of the latter in the ACA raises questions: was this truce indeed ratified by James II, and, if so, why is it still in Barcelona? To answer these questions, we need to consider the Catalan translation of this truce in conjunction with other documents.

RATIFICATION AND VALIDITY OF THE TREATY

First of all, it should be pointed out that when James II sent an embassy to al-Ashraf Khalīl at the end of the summer of 1292, his aim was precisely to relaunch negotiations that had failed under his brother Alfonso III in 689/1290, since the truce that had been negotiated between the latter and Qalāwūn, which included his designated successor, the future al-Ashraf Khalīl, as well as his other sons,⁷⁴ had not

⁷²Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shá*, 14:70; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 7 (where this passage is translated). One of the members of this family is, in fact, the author of the biography of Qalāwūn in which the copy of the truce concluded with Alfonso III in 689/1290 appears. Several members descended from the Banū ‘Abd al-Zāhir family held high positions in the Mamluk chancellery from the beginning of the Mamluk sultanate until the second decade of the eighth/fourteenth century, and their reputation as prose writers and document editors extended beyond their time.

⁷³See p. 9.

⁷⁴See Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrif al-ayyām*, 157: “and the dynasts, his sons” (*wa-al-mulūk awlādihī*). When he died, Qalāwūn had, in addition to Khalīl, two other sons: the future al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who would succeed his brother al-Ashraf Khalīl, and Aḥmad, who was to die dur-



been validated in the end. Alfonso III died on 18 June 1291, shortly after signing the Treaty of Tarascon (19 February 1291), the sole purpose of which was to begin settling the differences between himself, the Papacy, and the House of Anjou. As the treaty with Qalāwūn had been concluded on 13 Rabīʿ II 689/25 April 1290, this left too little time to allow the ambassadors to return to Barcelona and then to take the signed truce back to Cairo, where, in the meantime, Qalāwūn had died on 6 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 689/10 November 1290. Qalāwūn's death could not normally affect the validity of the truce, as the truce was concluded for an indefinite period and specified that the death or dismissal of one of the parties would not have any consequences. If James II wished to negotiate a new truce after his accession, the reason must surely be found in the failure to return the ratified truce of 689/1290.⁷⁵ It was to this state of affairs that James II alluded in the instructions dated 10 August 1292 that were given to his ambassadors who were sent to al-Ashraf Khalīl to negotiate a similar truce.⁷⁶ The text of this truce, almost identical in every respect to the one negotiated by Alfonso III's ambassadors two years earlier, was translated into Catalan. This translation is now preserved among the royal letters of James II.⁷⁷

It comes in the form of a roll approximately 1,662 mm long, made up of four sheets glued end-to-end with an overlap of no more than 6 mm (see fig. 3). The roll dates to the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl's reign, so between 1291 and 1293. See Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 158. Note that there must have been at least one other son alive in 1290, since the document refers to "sons," plural. As Arabic uses the dual number, this was required if only two sons aside from Khalīl were alive.

⁷⁵The fact that the Arabic copy of the truce of 689/1290 has not been preserved is not a sign that it was indeed sent back. Like the letters exchanged between Alfonso III and Qalāwūn, it may have been lost in Barcelona for a variety of reasons.

⁷⁶*Lo segon capítol és que com lo molt alt senyor rey n'Amfós, per voluntat de Déu sia pasat d'esta vida, e lo damunt dit senyor rey en Jacme, sia ara rey d'Aragó e de Sicília e de Maylorches e de València e comte de Barchelona, e ara entesa e sabuda la dita missatgeria, jassia que no agués entesa la missatgeria damunt dita o no fos estada feta, volent ésser ab lo soldà axí com los seus antecessors han estats ab los seus, vol e li plau que amor, pau e concòrdia e bona voluntat sia entre els, e ferma e durable, axí en mils com antigament a estat entre la casa del Imperí, la qual lo dit senyor rey en Jacme té, e la casa de Babilònia, qui tostemp ha estada una amor, una concòrdia, una voluntat. E per aquesta rahó tramet sos missatges al soldà, perçò que la dita pau, amor e concòrdia tracten entre'l noble soldà e lo dit senyor rey en Jacme (emphasis is ours). ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252, fol. 38r–39r; Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 264–65. The version given above, which differs slightly from Masiá de Ros' edition, is the result of Marta Manso's collation of the original document. Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 75, summarizes the passage in question as follows: "Como Alfonso ha fallecido, y su sucesor no sabe si la embajada quedó en proyecto o bien llegó a realizarse, en el caso de que haya concurrido la primera de dichas circunstancias, la repite." It should be remembered that James II was supposed to be aware of this, as he was one of the co-signatories of the treaty.*

⁷⁷ACA, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Serie general, no. 222; edited by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 266–70, no. 3. I would like to thank Marta Manso and Alessandro Rizzo for the following information on the original.



Sheet no.	Width (mm)		Height (mm)	
1	Top	150	Left	430
	Bottom	149	Right	440
2	Top	146	Left	433
	Bottom	147	Right	433
Sheet no.	Width (mm)		Height (mm)	
3	Top	148	Left	411
	Bottom	146	Right	413
4	Top	146	Left	415
	Bottom	146	Right	415

Table 2. Measurements of the scroll containing the translation. Measurements of height were taken at the left-hand and right-hand parts of each sheet. Measurements of width were taken at the top, middle, and bottom of each sheet.

sheets measure between 411 and 444 mm in length and between 146 and 150 mm in width (see Table 2). Lines are spaced 6 mm apart. Paragraph spacing varies from 11 to 18 mm. The left and right margins are almost identical, averaging 11 and 12 mm respectively. In rare cases, the right margin is reduced to 2 mm. Analysis of the paper reveals that it is similar to that used for the Arabic version: it is not watermarked and the chain lines are grouped in pairs and spaced 7–8 mm apart, while twenty laid lines take up 36 mm. The document has been damaged by paperworms, particularly on the third and fourth sheets, but this does not seriously hinder the reading of the text. The format of the scroll is undeniably unusual, which gives us an indication that the translation was made in Egypt on local paper supplied by the Cairo chancellery.

The translation remains faithful to the original treaty, in both form and content, with no notable differences. The same clauses appear, with no significant omissions or variations regarding the conditions for signing the treaty,⁷⁸ with the exception of the enumeration of the territorial possessions of the beneficiaries.⁷⁹ However, the translation provides more information about the drafting process and its subsequent public proclamation, elements that do not appear in the Arabic original. For example, in addition to the two envoys of James II named in the credentials and in the Arabic version of the treaty (Romeu de Marimon and Ramón

⁷⁸It should be pointed out that the gaps that appear in the copy provided by al-Qalqashandī can be filled in thanks to the translation, where the passages in question are present: these are clause V and the second part of clause VII (the clause numbers refer to the numbering added by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 268–70).

⁷⁹In the case of James II, for example, the Arabic text mentions territories that do not appear in the Catalan translation, such as Roussillon. Similarly, the Catalan version mentions Lampedusa and Linosa, names that are omitted from the Arabic version.



Alemany),⁸⁰ the Catalan version mentions two other people: Berenguer Sant Vicens, presented as a knight, and Guillem Lobet, described as the king's representative.⁸¹ According to the translation, these men were also part of the embassy, although the credentials only mention the first two.⁸² Finally, the text closes with a short paragraph that also has no equivalent in the Arabic text.

This paragraph concerns the public notice that was to be given of the truce:

The sultan's vice-regent further told me that the sultan wanted peace to be shouted in all the territories of our lord, the King of Aragon, and in all the sultan's territories. The ambassador Fakhr al-Dīn further said that he had received orders to do so from the sultan.⁸³

This final paragraph, written in the same hand but using slightly darker ink than the rest of the text (see fig. 4), is not without its problems. The sultan's ambassador referred to here is well known from documentary sources and chronicles of the period. His name was Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān al-Nāṣirī (date of death unknown) and he was majordomo (*ustādār*) to a high-ranking amir (ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Afram, d. 695/1296). He first appears in the sources for the year 699/1300, when he was sent on an embassy to Barcelona.⁸⁴ He would go there twice more in this capacity: in 703/1304⁸⁵ and in 705/1306.⁸⁶ There is, however, no mention of him on any embassy to the King of Aragon before 699/1300, so the question remains as to

⁸⁰Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 264, no. 2 and lines 24–26 of the Arabic text. On these two ambassadors, see Péquignot, *Au Nom du roi*, respectively 97 and 6–7 in Appendix I.

⁸¹Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 266, no. 3 (“parledor per lo rey en Jacme”). He later appears in a document dated 5 April 1334 authorizing various merchants to travel to Alexandria for commercial reasons (ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 487, fol. 269v, edited by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 347–49, no. 72). On these two ambassadors, see Péquignot, *Au Nom du roi*, respectively 148 and 90–91 in Appendix I.

⁸²Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 267 (“qui vengueren ab letres del rey en Jacme segelades ab segel del rey, als quals lo rey comana sa misatgeria e ses demandes”).

⁸³ACA, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Serie general, no. 222: “Encara més dix lo neib del soudan que'l soudan vulia que la pau fos cridada per totes les terres del senyor rey d'Aragó e per totes les terres del soudan, e axí ho deya lo misatge faquerdi que n'avia manament del soudan” (edited by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 270; the text quoted here was collated with the original by Marta Manso).

⁸⁴ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 146; Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*, 344–49 (no. 146).

⁸⁵ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 147; Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*, 350–54 (no. 147).

⁸⁶ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 148; Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*, 355–59 (no. 148). On the latter date, he did not manage to reach Barcelona, being landed off Alexandria by the Aragonese ambassador, as we shall see.



why and how his name appears at the end of the Catalan version of the 692/1293 treaty and why he had to ensure that it was publicly proclaimed.

Although Masiá de Ros considered the document containing the Catalan version to be contemporary with the drafting of the treaty, i.e., dated 1293,⁸⁷ there is every reason to believe that it is rather a more recent copy of the Catalan version. The proof lies in a letter written by Eymerich Dusay, James II's ambassador to Cairo in 1303 and 1305. Although this letter is undated, Masiá de Ros has suggested that its contents place it in 1306.⁸⁸ In this long letter to James II, Dusay explained the circumstances that had prompted him to land the Mamluk ambassador Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān, who was supposed to accompany him to Barcelona on his third mission, off the coast of Alexandria. Dusay wrote this letter from Sicily, where he had taken refuge with Frederic II, the brother of James II.⁸⁹ Among the reasons given for his behavior toward the Mamluk ambassador, Dusay mentioned the release of prisoners he had obtained during negotiations on his arrival in Cairo, a release that was followed by a new imprisonment shortly before the embassy left for Barcelona. Back in Cairo, Dusay obtained an audience with the sultan in the presence of Fakhr al-Dīn. It was on this occasion that the sultan and his vice-regent pointed out to the Aragonese envoy that the truce negotiated in 692/1293 would have to be publicly proclaimed in the King of Aragon's territories before the sultan would honor his promise to release the captives claimed by James II.⁹⁰ Although Dusay says nothing about this, it is clear that the Mamluk ambassador was responsible for ensuring that this proclamation was made as required by the sultan.⁹¹ Dusay then recalled some of the clauses negotiated and added that he was sending the king a translation of the truce, together with a copy of the Arabic version and a letter from the sultan.⁹²

⁸⁷Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 79, note 8 (“Es ésta una traducción coetánea del original árabe”).

⁸⁸ACA, Cancillería, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Caixa 87, no. 479, edited by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 296–99, no. 31.

⁸⁹James II granted Dusay a pardon on 5 January 1309. See Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 301–2, no. 34.

⁹⁰There is no doubt that the treaty to which Dusay refers in his letter is that of 692/1293. As we shall see in the passage quoted in note 91, below, he details some of the clauses it contained as well as the names of two of the ambassadors who appear in the translation of the treaty.

⁹¹In a letter dated 30 June 1306, the baile of Barcelona informed James II that one of the conditions imposed by the sultan was that eight or ten of the king's wealthy men had to swear an oath (“demanava lo solda que si el rey d'Arago volia ab ell aver pau e amor que ell ne era molt pagat ab aytal condicio que VIII o X dels mellors richs homes del rey d'Arago feessen sagrament ab lo senyor rey al solda”). See Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 295 (no. 30) and 105.

⁹²*E fas-vos asaber, senyer, que per donar escuza e alongament als feits respòs mi lo soudan el seu neib que els trametrien lur misatge al senyor rey, aquel mateix d'entany qui ab lo senyor rey fees para ferma*



Dusay's letter sheds new light on the translation of the truce preserved in Barcelona.⁹³ The last paragraph is a clear reference to the demand made by the Cairo authorities in 1305.⁹⁴ It also helps us to understand the role that the Mamluk ambassador was to play, i.e., to ensure that this demand was met. Thanks to this paragraph, which, it should be remembered, is in the same hand as the rest of the document and therefore probably in the hand of Dusay, who speaks in the first person, the document can be dated to the beginning of 1306.⁹⁵ This copy of the translation ("translat en crestianec") was made in Cairo, as evidenced by the format of the document (a roll of Egyptian paper): this roll was made available to Dusay by the Cairo chancellery so that he could copy the Catalan translation onto it. This copy was not, however, the result of a new translation made on the basis of the Arabic copy, since the latter did not mention two of the members of the embassy who did

en per tots temps jurada e cridada per totes les terres del senyor rey e per les sues e con lo senyor rey aquest açò feit que el li daria tots los catius que foçen de la terra del senyor rey. Aquesta resposta feu a mi lo soudan e lo neib, puis lo misatge faquerdi nostram la pau tota que els demanaven, en la qual pau, senyor, se conté que fos en per tots temps jurada e fermada; e que lo rey la fees per el e per lo rey Carles e per lo rey Frederich; e que lo senyor agués per enemics tots sos enemics; encara que si'l Papa de Roma o algun dels reys crestians feya pasatge en contra los soudan, que'l rey degués armar galeres e que'ls ne fees tornar; e que encontinent que pasatge se degués fer que'l senyor rey li o fees asaber e que no'ls degués donar ajuda en palès ni en amagat; encara, senyer, que tot crestià, fos català o altre, qui en la terra del soudan volgués portar lennya ni ferre, que'l senyor no li o degués vedar; encara, senyer, moltes d'altres cozes que al senyor rey no paregan faedores de fer, però senyor jo li tramet lo translat en crestianec de la pau que els demanaven; e aytal dien els que la avien feita, en Berenguer Sent Vicens, en Ramon Alamany, con fores misatges al Cayre; la pau, senyer, que és en sarrahinesch e encara la carta que'l soudan tramet al senyor rey, ab alcunes altres coses qui són asats poques, li tramet per los dits frares (emphasis is ours). ACA, Cancillería, Cartas reales, Jaume II, Caixa 87, no. 479, edited by Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 297. The version quoted here was collated with the original by Marta Manso.

⁹³It should be noted that Masiá de Ros had not made the connection between the paragraph added at the end of the translation and the events reported by Dusay in his letter, which is why she considered the translation to be contemporaneous with the negotiation of the treaty.

⁹⁴Dusay did not fail to point out to James II that the application of several of the clauses of the Treaty of 692/1293 had become inconceivable in the new context following the signing of the Treaty of Anagni in 1295 and compliance with papal prohibitions: "encara, senyer, moltes d'altres cozes que al senyor rey no paregan faedores de fer." For this passage, see the quotation in note 91, above.

⁹⁵A Mamluk source contemporary with the events informs us that Dusay arrived in Cairo accompanied by Fakhr al-Dīn on 3 Rabī' II 705/23 October 1305. See Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, "Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir," Paris, BnF MS Arabe 1705, fols. 61r–62r. If we take into account the time needed to negotiate the release of the prisoners, the departure for Alexandria, followed by the return to Cairo after the incident relating to one of the prisoners mentioned by Dusay, it is more than likely that the copy of the translation could not be completed until early 1306. James II was not informed of the events until early June 1306 at the earliest. See Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 294, no. 29.



appear in the translation,⁹⁶ proof that the copy of the translation was made on the basis of a copy of the latter that had been kept in the archives in Cairo.⁹⁷

Dusay's text allows us to go further in the analysis. Referring to the treaty, he adds that it is in Arabic ("en sarrahinesch") and that he sent it to James II, at the same time as the letter addressed to him by the sultan, through the intermediary of several clerics ("li tramet per los dits frares"). This Arabic copy of the treaty, sent at the same time as the Catalan version, raises a question: is it possible that this is the copy that is now kept in the ACA? If so, we would not be dealing with the copy sent to the King of Aragon in 692/1293 but with a copy produced by the Mamluk chancellery in early 1306. This interpretation is corroborated by two elements: the presence of the word "reproduction" (*ṣūrah*) at the beginning of the document; and the fact that it is a quarter-format scroll, as opposed to the half format that would normally be appropriate for the king of Aragon according to his status, as al-Qalqashandī assumed and as the letters addressed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II preserved at the ACA confirm. As this was a reproduction, the Mamluk chancellery clearly no longer felt bound by the rule of status.

The demand made by the Cairo court also sheds light on the validity of the truce. If it had been ratified on the Aragonese side in 692/1293, the sultan could not have indulged in this form of blackmail by demanding that it be publicly proclaimed in all the territories of the King of Aragon twelve years later. These documents also prove that the Cairo archives were well kept, since the secretaries were able to unearth documents written in both Arabic and Catalan several years apart.

It is true that some historians have questioned whether the 692/1293 truce was ratified. As early as 1883, Amari expressed scepticism about the possibility of ratification on the Aragonese side.⁹⁸ For Masiá de Ros, the difficulty of implementing certain clauses made it impossible to apply the treaty in practice and its legal value remained unknown.⁹⁹ The elements detailed above, read in a new light with the

⁹⁶They are Berenguer Sant Vicens and Guillem Lobet.

⁹⁷It should be noted that, when copying, some elements were added later, between the lines and in brown ink. These are the word "profit" (above line 5), the words "ço és, a-saber, III dies ramanent de jener" (above line 25), and the words "del rey en Jacme e són l'onrrat en Rumer de Marimon, notari del Rey don Jacme en Valensia" (above line 27). These later additions indicate that a collation with the Arabic text was carried out either in Cairo or Barcelona. The parts where the names Berenguer Sant Vicens and Guillem Lobet appear are also underlined in the same brown ink, as if to indicate that these names do not appear in the original Arabic.

⁹⁸Amari, "Trattato," 426 ("Debbo qui avvertire che il trattato di Giacomo con l'Egitto non ha carattere d'autenticità, e che non sappiamo se sia stato ratificato a corte di Aragona").

⁹⁹Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 78 ("With regard to the practical application that the agreement we are commenting on may have, it is to be expected that it would have little or perhaps none at all. We know of no provisions designed to give it publicity and legal status"). In particular, she also mentions clauses relating to shipwrecks, captives, and privateers.



documents preserved, make it possible to understand that this treaty was probably not ratified on the Aragonese side.¹⁰⁰ There were many reasons for this. First and foremost, it is worth remembering that the embassy did not arrive in Barcelona until the following year (1294).¹⁰¹ In the meantime, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl had been assassinated on 12 Muḥarram 693/14 December 1293, which placed James II in the uncomfortable position that had been his brother's three years earlier when Qalāwūn died during the embassy's return journey to Barcelona. Although the treaty of 692/1293, like that of 689/1290, specified that it remained valid whatever happened to the co-signatories, the Aragonese side found itself in the awkward position of having to ratify a document after the death of the main representative of the Egyptian side.¹⁰² Power in Cairo fell to another son of Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who, aged just eight, was under the tutelage of the vice-regent Kitbughā. The latter soon dethroned him and usurped power a year later. His

¹⁰⁰This also helps to explain why the translation sent by Dusay in 1306 was kept in the collection of royal letters and why there is no copy of either the treaty or its translation in the registers.

¹⁰¹Thanks to a notarial document dated 1 May 1294 in Barcelona, we know that the ship in which the Aragonese ambassadors were traveling was captured near Crete and that they were disembarked before being placed on a Venetian boat, which enabled them to reach Barcelona. See Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 78–79 and 80, note 9.

¹⁰²In a letter dated 19 June 1294, James II sent his Mamluk counterpart a request for the release of several Catalans belonging to the Knights Templar and Hospitaller, as well as the notary of the King of Cyprus. The ambassador was once again Ramón Alemany, who would have been sent back to Cairo shortly after his arrival in Barcelona. ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 99, fols. 225v–226r; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 3:514 (who gives an incorrect reference for the number of the register [no. 252] and fails to provide the folio number); Pierre-Vincent Claverie, “La Contribution des Templiers de Catalogne à la défense de la Syrie franque (1290–1310),” in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III: Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 9th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo Van Steenbergen, (Louvain, 2001), 178. This new embassy should not necessarily be seen as confirmation of the ratification of the truce on the Aragonese side. In the meantime, news of al-Ashraf Khalīl's death must have reached Barcelona, which justified taking new measures vis-à-vis the new holder of power in Cairo, in particular by demanding the release of Catalan prisoners, a provision that did not appear in the treaty of 692/1293 (only one clause concerned Muslim prisoners; see lines 136–42). It is not certain that Alemany actually went to Cairo, since James II appointed him Master of Justice in Sicily on 30 July of the same year. See Juan Manuel del Estal, *Itinerario de Jaime II de Aragón (1291–1327)* (Zaragoza, 2009), 100. Note that Claverie, “La Contribution,” 178–79, mentions another Aragonese embassy led by Romeu de Marimón to Cairo on 11 August 1295, relying on Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 1:86, but the latter was mistaken in his reading of the date of the document referring in fact to the 1292 embassy which was to negotiate the new treaty between James II and al-Ashraf Khalīl.



reign was brief, however, lasting just under two years. This instability was bound to dampen any desire on the Aragonese side to conclude a new truce.¹⁰³

The situation on the Aragonese side also rapidly evolved in the opposite direction from what it had been previously. Just a few months after the negotiations that had led to the conclusion of the truce, James II sent an embassy to the Ilkhan Gaykhātū (r. 1291–95) with the mission, in addition to encouraging trade and the movement of pilgrims, of proposing an alliance for the recovery of the Holy Land.¹⁰⁴ By acting in this way, the Aragonese sovereign was violating one of the clauses of the treaty that his ambassadors had just negotiated on his behalf with his Mamluk counterpart: the one by which he had undertaken not to make a pact with the enemy by lending it a helping hand by any means whatsoever, and, in the case in point, with the Mongols (*al-Tatār*).¹⁰⁵ On 10 June 1294, James II notified the *Infante* Frederic of Sicily of the papal ban on sending ships to Alexandria for commercial purposes,¹⁰⁶ contravening yet another clause binding him to the Mamluk sultan.¹⁰⁷ The evolution of James II's political position in Europe in the months following the Aragonese embassy's stay in Cairo helps us to understand these decisions that ran counter to the treaty. In the meantime, the Aragonese sovereign had entered into talks with the Pope to settle the Sicilian dispute that had pitted the Court of Aragon against the pontiff for around ten years. The outcome of these talks led to the signing of the Treaty of Anagni on 20 June 1295. With his excommunication finally lifted, James II undertook to respect the papal bans on trade with the Mamluks. The loss of Sicily also had consequences for the Mediterranean imperialism to

¹⁰³The sources do not mention any new contact before the year 1300. See Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon*, 17–19; Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 101.

¹⁰⁴The ambassadors were also to visit the kings of Cyprus and Armenia to offer them an alliance. See ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252, fols. 75r–76r (letters of credence dated 10 November 1293); edited by Martín Fernández de Navarrete, “Disertación histórica sobre la parte que tuvieron los Españoles en las guerras ultramar ó de las cruzadas, y como influyeron estas expediciones desde el siglo XI hasta el XV en la extensión del comercio marítimo y en los progresos del arte de navegar,” *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* 5 (1817): 175–78, no. 17; revised edition by Mateu Rodrigo Lizondo and Jaume Riera i Sans, *Collecció documental de la Cancelleria de la Corona d'Aragó: Textos en llengua catalana (1291–1420)* (Valencia, 2013), 1:100–2 (no. 12); see also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge* (Leipzig, 1886), 2:15, note 4. In 1300, after the campaign led by the Ilkhan Ghāzān, James II sent an embassy to congratulate him on “his conquest of the Holy Land” and propose a new alliance. See ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252, fol. 221r (letter dated 18 May 1300); edited by De Capmany y de Monpalau, *Memorias históricas*, 2:1:92–93 (no. 60); see also Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, 2:69, note 3, and, more recently, José F. Cutillas, “Los ilhānīes y la Corona de Aragón: La carta de Jaime II a Ġāzān-Ĥān,” in *eHumanista/IVITRA* 4 (2013): 303–18.

¹⁰⁵Lines 85–92 of the treaty.

¹⁰⁶ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 99, fol. 207r. See Del Estal, *Itinerario*, 98.

¹⁰⁷See lines 132–36 of the treaty.



which James II had hitherto aspired, including a change in the center of gravity.¹⁰⁸ Over the next three decades, James II spared no effort in defending Christian communities in Mamluk territories and obtaining the release of prisoners. At no time did he invoke the truce negotiated at the beginning of his reign.

CONCLUSION

The archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, renowned for the wealth of their holdings, have not lost their reputation for the Mamluk Sultanate. The file on the truce of 692/1293 is quite unique in that it contains documents from both the Aragonese side (letters of credence, instructions, translation of the truce) and the Mamluk side, with the Arabic copy of the truce. Contemporary Mamluk sources also provide a wealth of information that helps us to better understand the circumstances in which the negotiations took place. Thanks to the material examination of these documents and the study of contemporary sources, we are able to formulate several new leads. First, the truce between Alfonso III and Qalāwūn was clearly never ratified on the Aragonese side. Second, the truce between James II and al-Ashraf Khalīl was probably no more successful. An examination of the documents shows, in fact, that the Catalan translation of the treaty is not contemporary with the negotiations but must date from the beginning of 1306 and that the demand made by the Mamluk court that same year to see this truce publicly confirmed in the king's territories, with the taking of an oath, could only have been expressed if these forms of validation had not been received from the Mamluk side when the truce was negotiated. In the same vein, consideration of the external characters of the copy in Arabic in parallel with the facts reported by the Catalan ambassador in 1306 allows us to put forward the hypothesis that this copy is no more contemporary than the translation and that it was in fact issued for the same purpose in 1306. This hypothesis is reinforced by the presence of the word *ṣūrah* (reproduction) at the top of the document and by the width of the scroll, which is not appropriate for the status reserved for the King of Aragon by the Mamluk chancellery. We hope we have demonstrated how essential it is, from the points of view of both Mamluk and Aragonese diplomacy, to re-examine these documents in the light of the developments that have marked the discipline called diplomatics in recent decades.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, de la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1331)* (Paris, 1965), 308.

¹⁰⁹ In the frame of the Project i-Link0977 funded by CSIC (see note 4, above), all the Mamluk and Catalan documents related to diplomatic contacts between the two powers are edited, translated, and studied in a forthcoming volume.



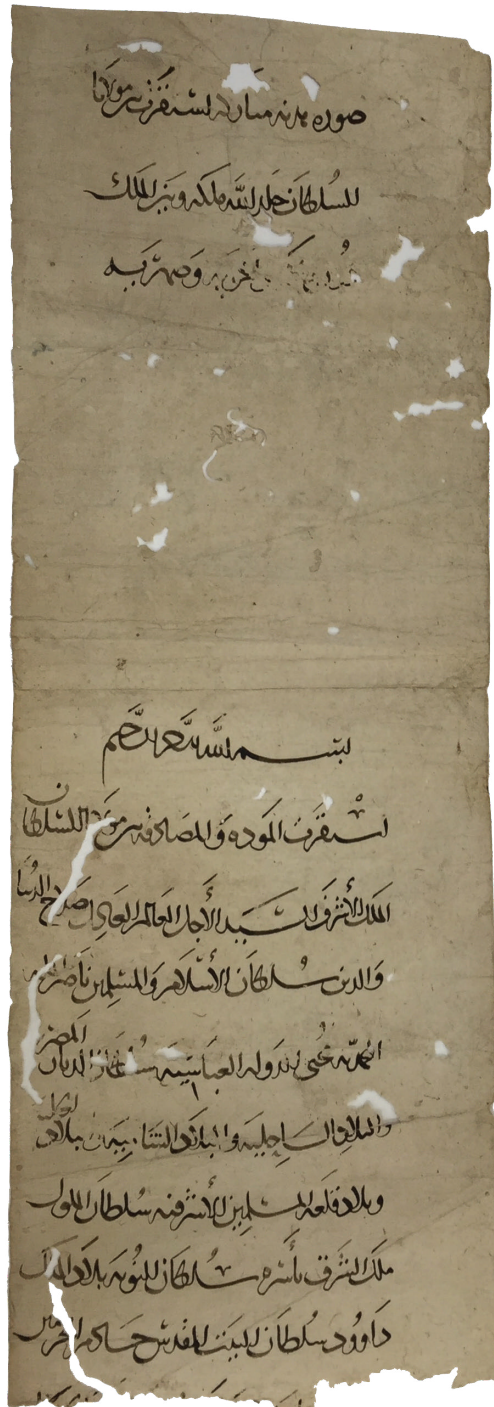


Figure 1. Beginning of the Arabic document (first fragment), ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145.



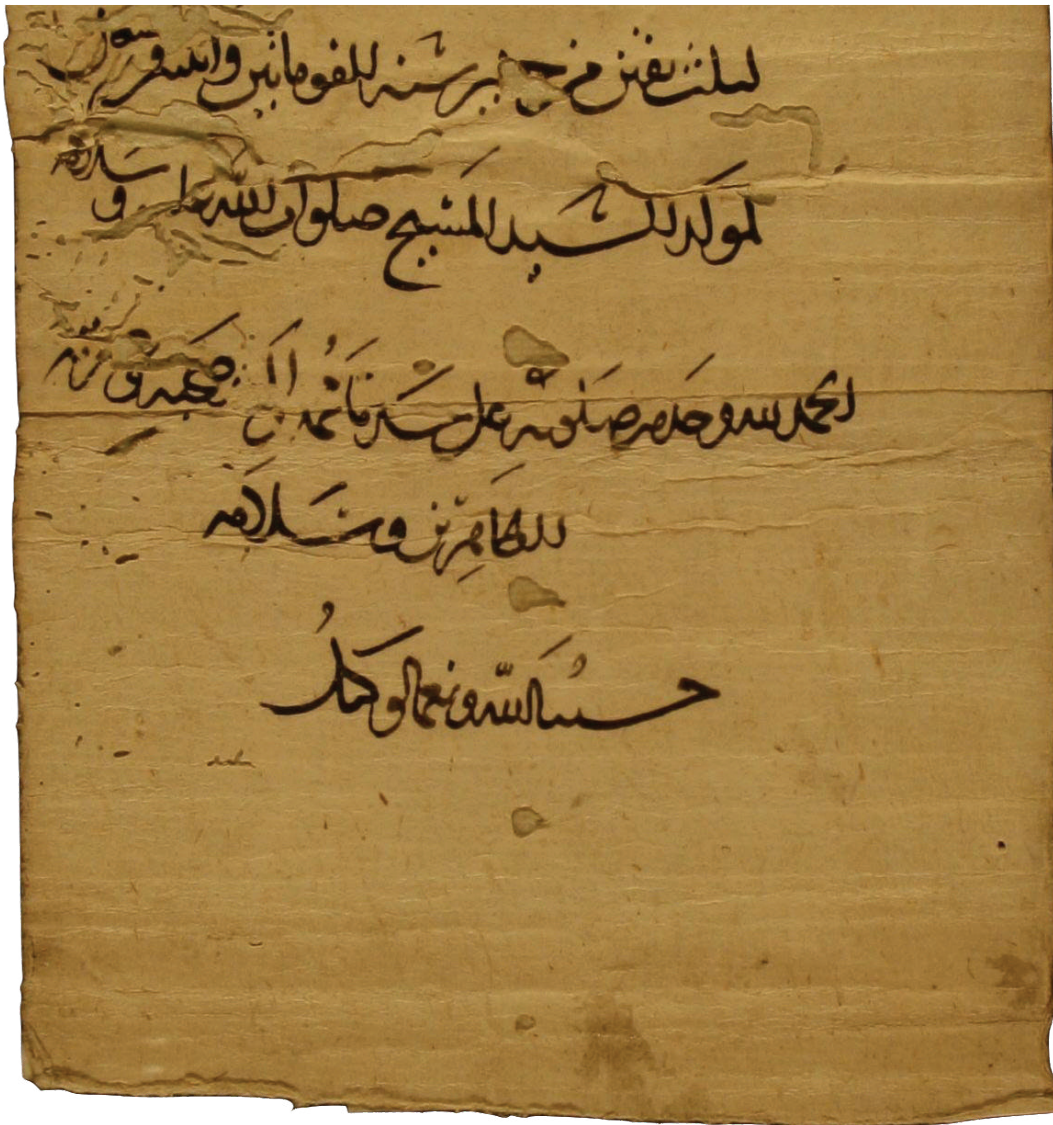


Figure 2. End of the Arabic document (third fragment), ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145.



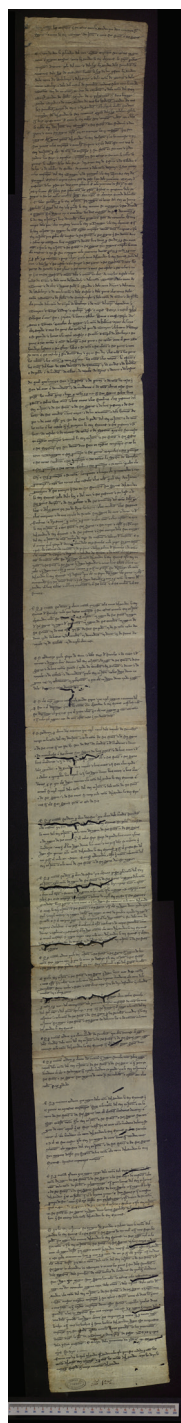


Figure 3. The Catalan translation, ACA, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Serie general, no. 222.



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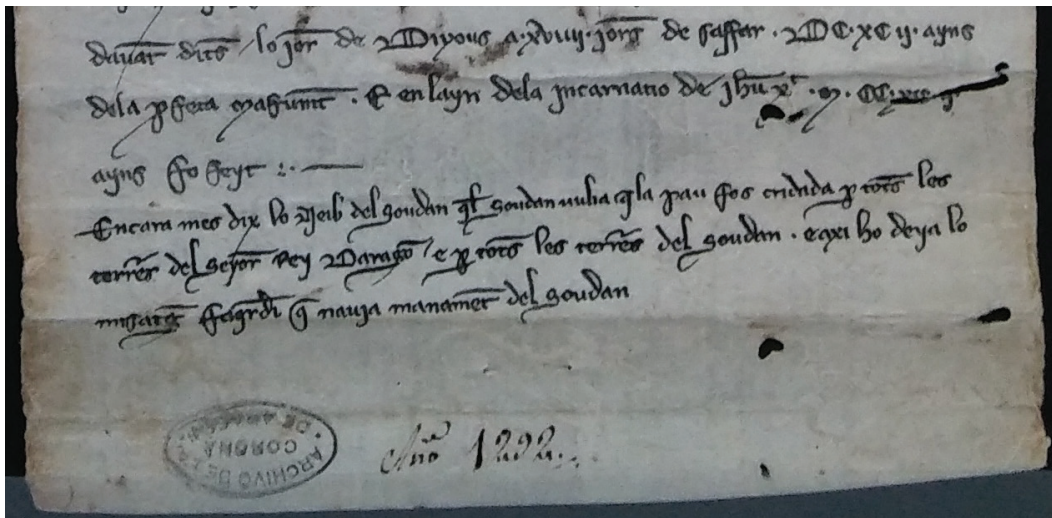


Figure 4. The end of the Catalan translation, ACA, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Serie general, no. 222.



APPENDIX 1

The edition of the document is as diplomatic as possible. The text is reproduced as it appears in the document, divided into lines. The orthoepic signs (short vowels, *tanwīn*, consonant doubling mark, absence of vowels), the *hamzah*, and the *matres lectionis* (for the letters *sin*, *rāʾ*, and *dāl*) are reproduced as they appear except for the *mater lectionis* for the letter *ḥāʾ* (a small letter *ḥāʾ* placed below the consonant), which, for typographical reasons, cannot be rendered in the edition. Words, parts of words, or letters that are no longer visible on the document due to holes left by paperworms or erasure, but which can be restored on the basis of the copy provided by al-Qalqashandī, are placed in brackets ([]). Any letter of which a part is still visible, however small, is shown without brackets. A word that the copyist forgot to write on line 189 was subsequently added above the line by the copyist. It is enclosed in slashes (\ /).

Diacritical dots are restored whenever they are missing.¹¹⁰ The name of the King of Aragon, *Jākam* (the Arabic rendering of *Jacme* in Catalan), is invariably written without the diacritical dot in al-Qalqashandī's and al-Saḥmāwī's texts (this has also been verified on the manuscripts). In the case of the document, the dot appears on only two occasions (lines 101 and 153) but confirms that this is the correct reading. The dot has thus been systematically restored in all occurrences of the king's name.

The version given by al-Qalqashandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá* and available in the standard edition (1913–19; repr. 1963) has been collated with two manuscripts containing the relevant section where he quotes the truce: Bodleian Library MS Marsh 317, fols. 110r–112r, and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi MS A. 2930/7, fols. 115r–117r. One gap (lines 121–29) could be filled, in square brackets, thanks to the copy of the same text that was reproduced by al-Saḥmāwī a few decades after al-Qalqashandī on the basis of what is found in the latter's work, proof that certain gaps are attributable not to al-Qalqashandī but to the copyist of his text. It is clear that these gaps are the result of eye-skips. The differences noted between the text provided by the document and the copy found in al-Qalqashandī's work are indicated in bold, whether they be gaps, additions, deletions, or divergent readings.

¹¹⁰Their absence will be indicated in the forthcoming volume where all the documents are edited, translated, and studied.



	صورة هدنة مَبَارَكَة استَقَرَّت بَيْن مَوْلَانَا	1
	السُّلْطَان خَلَدَ اللهُ مَلِكُهُ وَبَيْنَ الْمَلِكِ	2
	دُون [جاء] كـ [م] وَأَخُوِيهِ وَصَهْرِيهِ	3
	بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	4
استقرت المودة والمصادقة بين	استقرت المودة والمصادقة بين مولا [ت] السلطان	5
الملك الأشرف	الملك الأشرف السيد الأجل العالم العادل صلاح الدنيا	6
	والدين سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين ناصر الملة	7
	المحمدية محيي الدولة العباسية سلطان الديار المصرية	8
	والبلاد الساجلية والبلاد الشامية والبلاد الحلبية	9
	وبلاذ قلعة المسلمين الأشرفية سلطان الملوك	10
	ملك الشرق بأسره سلطان النوبة بلاد الملك	11
	داؤود سلطان البيت المقدس خادم الحرمين	12
	[...]	13
وبين حضرة الملك الجليل المكرم الخطير الباسل الأسد	[...]	14
الضرغام المفخم		



المبجل دون حاكم الريد أرغون وأخويه دون ولدريك ¹ ودون بيدرو ² وبين	[...]	15
صهرية اللذين طلب الرسولان الواصلان إلى الأبواب الشريفة عن مرسلهما	[...]	16
الملك دون حاكم أن يكونا داخلين في الهدنة والمصادقة وأن يلزم ³	[...]	17
الملك دون حاكم عنهما بكلمة ⁴ التزم به عن نفسه ويتدرك أمرهما وهما	[...]	18
الملك الجليل المكرم الخطير الباسل الأسد الضرغام دون شانجه ملك قشتالة ⁵	[...]	19
وطليطلة وليون ⁶ وبلنسية ⁷ وأشبيلية وقرطبة ومرسية وجيان ⁸ والغرب الكفيل	[...]	20
بمملكة أرغون وبرتقال والملك الجليل دون أنفونش ⁹ ملك برتقال من تاريخ	[...]	21
يوم الخميس تاسع عشر صفر سنة اثنين ¹⁰ وتسعين وستمائة الموافق لثلاث	[...]	22

¹ Name is unpointed in both manuscripts. In ed.: ولدريك.

² Name is unpointed in both manuscripts. In MS Marsh 317, fol. 110v, the *rāʾ* is written above the word.

³ So in both manuscripts. In ed.: يلتزم.

⁴ In ed.: بكل ما.

⁵ *Shīn* is unpointed in MS Marsh 317.

⁶ MS A. 2930/7, fol. 115r: وانون.

⁷ In both manuscripts: وعلنسية.

⁸ *Jīm* is unpointed in both manuscripts.

⁹ In both manuscripts: أنفونش.

¹⁰ So in both manuscripts. In ed.: اثنتين.



- بقين من جنير¹¹ سنة ألف ومائتين اثنتين¹² وتسعين لمولانا [...] 23
السيد المسيح عليه
- السلام وذلك بحضور رسل¹³ الملك دون حاكم وهما المحتشم [...] 24
الكبير روصو
- ديمار موند الحاكم عن الملك دون حاكم في بلنسية ورفيقه [...] 25
المحتشم
- العمدة ريمون¹⁴ المان قراري برجلونة الواصلين بكتاب الملك [...] 26
دون حاكم
- المختوم بختم الملك المذكور المقتضي معناه أنه حملهما جميعا [...] 27
أحوالهم
- ومطلوبهم وسأل أن يقدم¹⁵ فيما يقولانه عنه فكان مضمون [...] 28
مشافهتهما
- وسؤالهما تقرير قواعد الصلح والمودة والصدقة والشروط [...] 29
التي يشترطها¹⁶ الملك
- الأشرف على الملك دون حاكم وأنه يلتزم بجميع هذه الشروط [...] 30
الآتي ذكرها
- ويحلف الملك المذكور عليها هو وأخواه وصهراة المذكورون [...] 31
ووضع

¹¹ *Jīm* is unpointed in both manuscripts.

¹² So in both manuscripts. In ed.: واثنتين.

¹³ So in both manuscripts. In ed.: رسولي.

¹⁴ So in both manuscripts. In ed.: ديمون.

¹⁵ So in both manuscripts. In ed.: يقوم.

¹⁶ So in both manuscripts. In ed.: يشترطها.



الرسولان المذكوران خطوطهما بجميع الفصول الآتي ذكرها	[...]	32
بأمره ومرسومه وأن الملك دون حاكم		
وأخويه وصهرية يلتزمون بها وهي	[م]ون بها وهي	33
استقرار المودة والمصادقة من التاريخ	استقرار المودة والمصادقة من التاريخ	34
المقدم ذكره على ممر السنين والأعوام	المقدم ذكره على ممر السنين والأعوام	35
وتعاقب الليالي والأيام برا وبحرا سهلا ووعرا	وتعاقب الليالي والأيام برا وبحرا سهلا ووعرا	36
قربا وبعدا وعلى أن تكون ¹⁷ بلاد السلطان	قربا وبعدا على أن تكون بلاد مولانا السلطان	37
الملك الأشرف وقلاعه وحصونه	الملك الأشرف صلاح الدنيا والدين وقلاعه وحصونه	38
وثغوره وممالكه ¹⁸ ومواني بلاده وسواحلها وبرورها	وثغوره وممالكه ومواني بلاده وسواحلها وبرورها	39
وجميع أقاليمها ومدنها وكلما ¹⁹ هو داخل في مملكته	وجميع اقاليمها ومدنها وكلما هو داخل في مملكته	40
ومحسوب منها ومنسوب إليها من سائر الأقاليم	ومحسوب منها ومنسوب إليها من سائر الأقاليم	41
الرومية والعراقية والمشرقية والشامية	الرومية والعراقية والمشرقية والشامية	42
والحلبية والفراتية واليمنية والحجازية والديار	والحلبية والفراتية واليمنية والحجازية والديار	43
المصرية والغرب وحد هذه البلاد والأقاليم	[الم]صرية والغرب وحد هذه [ه] [ب]بلاد والأقاليم	44

¹⁷ In MS Marsh 317: يكون. In MS A. 2930/7, the first letter is unpointed.

¹⁸ In both manuscripts: ومماليكه.

¹⁹ In both manuscripts: وكل ما.



وموانئها وسواحلها من البر الشامى من القسطنطينية والبلاد الرومية الساحلية	[...]	45
وهى من طرابلس الغرب وسواحل برقة والإسكندرية ودمياط والطينة وقطيا	[...]	46
وغزة وعسقلان ويافا وأرسوف ²⁰ وقيسارية وعتليت ²¹ وحيفا ²² وعكا وصور وصيدا	[...]	47
وبيروت وجبيل ²³ والبترون ²⁴ وأنفة طرابلس الشام وأنطرسوس ومرقيا ²⁵ والمرقب	[...]	48
وساحل المرقب بانياس ²⁶ وغيرها وجبله واللاذقية والسويدية وجميع الموانى	[...]	49
والبرور إلى ثغر دمياط وبحيرة تنيس وحدها من البر الغربى من تونس وإقليم	[...]	50
إفريقية وبلادها وموانئها وطرابلس الغرب وثغورها وبلادها وموانئها وبرقة	[...]	51
وثغورها وبلادها وموانئها إلى ثغر الإسكندرية ورشيد وبحيرة تنيس وسواحلها	[...]	52

²⁰ In MS A. 2930/7, fol. 115v: وارسوق.

²¹ In MS Marsh 317, fol. 110v: وعتليت.

²² In both manuscripts, the *yā* is unpointed.

²³ In both manuscripts, the word is unpointed.

²⁴ In MS Marsh 317, fol. 110v: وبالبيرون; in MS A. 2930/7, fol. 115v, the *tā* is unpointed. The reading with a *tā* is the correct one as it refers to Botron.

²⁵ So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: ومرقية.

²⁶ In MS A. 2030/7, fol. 115v: بليناس.



وبلادها وموانئها وما تحويه هذه البلاد والممالك المذكورة والتي لم تذكر	[...]	53
والمدائن والثغور والسواحل والمواني والطرق في البر والبحر والصدور	[...]	54
والورود والمقام والسفر من عساكر وجنود وتركمان وأكراد وعربان ورعايا	[...]	55
وتجار وشواني ومراكب وسفن وأموال ومواش على اختلاف الأديان والأنفار	[...]	56
والأجناس وما تحويه الأيدي من سائر أصناف الأموال والأسلحة والأمتعة	[...]	57
والبضائع والمتاجر قليلا كان او كثيرا قريبا كان أو بعيدا برا كان أو بحرا آمنة	[...]	58
على الأنفس والأرواح والأموال والحريم والأولاد من الملك دون ²⁷ حاكم ومن	[...]	59
أخويه وصهرية المذكورين ومن أولادهم وفرسانهم وخيالتهم ومعاهديهم	[...]	60
وعمائرتهم ورجالهم وكل من يتعلق بهم وكذلك كلما ²⁸ سيفتحه الله تعالى	[...]	61
على يد الملك الأشرف وعلى يد أولاده وعساكره وجيوشه من القتال	[...]	62

²⁷ *Dūn* is missing in both manuscripts.

²⁸ So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: كل ما.



والحصون والبلاد والأقاليم فإنه يجري عليه هذا الحكم وعلى أن تكون بلاد	[...]	63
الملك دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه وصهرية وممالكه المذكورة في هذه الهدنة	[...]	64
وهي بلاد ²⁹ أرغون وأعمالها وبلادها صقلية وجزيرتها وبلادها وأعمالها بر بولية	[...]	65
وأعمالها وبلادها جزيرة مالقة ³⁰ وقوصرة وبلادها وأعمالها ميورقة ³¹ ويابسة ³²	[...]	66
وبلادها وأريسيوار ³³ وأعمالها وما سيفتحه الملك دون حاكم من بلاد أعدائه	[...]	67
الفرنج المجاورين له بتلك الأقاليم آمنين من الملك الأشرف وأولاده وعساكره	[...]	68
وجيوشه وشوانيه وعمائره هي ومن فيها من فرسان وخيالة ورعايا وأهل بلاده	[...]	69
آمنين مطمئنين على الأنفس والأموال والحريم والأولاد في البر والبحر	[...]	70
والصدور والورود وعلى أن الملك دون حاكم هو وأخواه وصهراه أصدقاء من	[...]	71

²⁹ *Bilād* is in both manuscripts but missing in the ed.

³⁰ *Mālaqa* (sic for *Mālta*, “Malta”).

³¹ The ed. has: وميورقة.

³² The word is unpointed in both manuscripts.

³³ So in both manuscripts but the word is unpointed. In the ed.: وأريسيوار.



يصادق الملك الأشرف وأولاده وأعداء من يعاديهم من سائر الملوك الفرنجية	[...]	72
وغير الملوك الفرنجية وإن قصد الباب برومية أو ملك من ملوك الفرنج متوجا	[...]	73
كان أو غير متوج كبيرا كان أو صغيرا أو من الجنوبية أو من البنادقة أو من	[...]	74
سائر الأجناس على اختلاف الفرنج والروم والبيوت بيت الإخوة الديوية	[...]	75
والاستبارية والروم وسائر أجناس النصارى مضرة بلاد الملك الأشرف بمحاربة	[...]	76
أو أذية يمنعهم الملك دون حاكم هو وأخواه وصهراه ويردونهم ويعمرون	[...]	77
شوانيهم ومراكبهم ويقصدون بلادهم ويشغلونهم بنفوسهم عن قصد بلاد	[...]	78
الملك الأشرف وموانيه وسواحله وثغوره المذكورة وغير المذكورة ويقاثلونهم	[...]	79
في البر والبحر بشوانيهم وعمائرهم وفرسانهم وخيالتهم ورجالتهم وعلى أنه	[...]	80
متى خرج أحد من معاهدي الملك الأشرف من الفرنج عن شروط الهدنة	[...]	81
المستقرة بينه وبينهم ووقع ما يوجب فسخ الهدنة لا يعينهم الملك دون حاكم	[...]	82



ولا أحد من أخويه ولا صهريه ولا خيالتهم ولا فرسانهم ولا أهل بلادهم	[...]	83
بخيل ولا خيالة ولا سلاح ولا رجالة ولا مال ولا نجدة ولا ميرة ولا مراكب	[...]	84
ولا شوان ³⁴ ولا غير ذلك وعلى أنه متى طلب الباب برومية وملوك الفرنج والروم	[...]	85
والتتار وغيرهم من الملك دون حاكم أو من أخويه أو من صهريه أو من	[...]	86
بلادهم إنجازا أو معاونة بخيالة أو رجالة أو مال أو مراكب أو شوان أو سلاح	[...]	87
لا يوافقهم على شيء من ذلك لا في سر ولا جهر ولا يعين أحدا منهم	[...]	88
ولا يوافقهم على ذلك ومتى اطلعوا على أن أحدا منهم يقصد بلاد الملك	[...]	89
الأشرف لمحاربة ³⁵ أو لمضرته يسير ³⁶ يعرف الملك الأشرف بخبرهم وبالجهة	[...]	90
التي اتفقوا على قصدها في أقرب وقت قبل حوطتهم من بلادهم ولا يخفيه	[...]	91
شيئا من ذلك وعلى أنه متى انكسر مركب من المراكب الإسلامية	[...]	92

³⁴ In both manuscripts: شواني.

³⁵ So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: لمحاربتة.

³⁶ So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: بشيء.



في بلاد الملك دون حاكم أو بلاد أخويه أو بلاد	93	في بلاد الملك دون جاكم او بلاد اخويه او بلاد]
صهرية [...] ³⁷	94	صهرية او مُـ[عاهديه يكون كل من فيها من التجار]
[...]	95	[و]ال[بضايح والمال والممالك] ³⁸ و[الجوار آمين على الانـ[ف]س
[...]	96	[والاموال والبضايح]ع و[يلتزم]م الملك دون جاكم
أن يخفروهم ويحفظوا مراكبهم	97	[واخويه] وصهرية أن [يخفـ]ر[وهم و]يحفظوا مراكبـ[هـ]م
وأموالهم ويساعدوهم على عمارة مركبهم ³⁹ ويجهزوهم	98	[واموالهم] ويساعدوهم على عمارة مركبهم ويجهزوهم
وأموالهم وبضائعهم إلى بلاد	99	[واموالهم] وبضائعهم إلى بلاد مو[لانا] السلطان
الملك الأشرف وكذلك إذا انكسرت مركب من	100	[الملك الاشـ]رف وكذلك [اذا]انكسرت مركب من
بلاد دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه وصهرية	101	[بلاد]د المَلِكْ دُون جَاكَم وَبِلَادِ أَخْوِيهِ وَصَهْرِيهِ
ومعاهديه في بلاد الملك الأشرف	102	[ومعـ]اهديه في بلادِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ [ن] الملـك [لاشرف]
يكون لهم هذا الحكم المذكور أعلاه وعلى أنه متى	103	يكون لهُم هَذَا الْحُكْمُ الْمَذْكُورُ أَعْلَاهُ وَعَلَى أَنَّهُ مَتَى
مات أحد من تجار المسلمين ومن نصارى	104	مَاتَ أَحَدٌ مِنْ تِجَارِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَمَنْ نَصَارَى

³⁷ The lacuna results from an eye-skip (*wa-ṣihrayhi*, respectively at lines 94 and 97).

³⁸ These three words are restored here on the basis of the Catalan translation: “de mercaderies o daver o de mameluchs.” See Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*, 268.

³⁹ In MS Marsh 317, fol. 111v and ed.: مراكبهم.



al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, 14:63–70

Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145

- 105 [ب]بلاد [م]-ولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف
بلاد الملك الأشرف
- 106 أو [ذ]مة أهل بلاد في بلاد الملك دون [جاكم]
أو ذمة أهل بلاده في بلاد الملك دون حاكم
- 107 [وا]خويه وصهريه ومعاهد[ي]ه لا يُ[ع]-ارضوهم في
وبلاد أخويه وصهريه وأولاده ومعاهديه لا يعارضوهم في
- 108 اموالهم ولا في بضائعهم ويحمل ما[ل]-هم ومو[جودهم]
أموالهم ولا في بضائعهم ويحمل مالهم وموجودهم
- 109 الى بلاد مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف ليفعل فيه
إلى بلاد الملك الأشرف ليفعل فيه
- 110 ما يختار وكذلك من يموت ببلاد مولانا السلطان
ما يختار وكذلك من يموت في بلاد
- 111 الملك الأشرف من أهل مملكة الملك دون جاكم
الملك الأشرف من أهل مملكة الملك دون حاكم
- 112 وبلاد أخويه وصهريه فلهم هذا الحكم المذكور
وبلاد أخويه وصهريه ومعاهديهم فلهم هذا الحكم المذكور
- 113 أعلاه وعلى أنه متى عبر على بلاد الملك دون جا[كم]
أعلاه وعلى أنه متى عبر على بلاد الملك دون حاكم
- 114 أو على بلاد أخويه وصهريه رُسل من بلاد مولانا
أو بلاد أخويه أو صهريه أو معاهديه رسل من بلاد
- 115 السلطان الملك الا[شر]ف قاصدين جه[ة] من
الملك الأشرف قاصدين جهة من
- 116 الجهات البعيدة او القريبة صادرين أو واردين
الجهات القريبة أو البعيدة صادرين أو واردين
- 117 او رماهم الرّيح في بلادهم يكون الرّسل وغلما[نهم]
أو رماهم الرّيح في بلادهم يكون الرّسل وغلماهم
- 118 واتباعهم ومن يصل معهم من رُسل الملوك [او غير]هم
وأتباعهم ومن يصل معهم من رسل الملوك أو غيرهم
- 119 امنين [م]-حفوظين في الأ[ن]-فس والأ[م]-وال ويجهزونهم
أمينين محفوظين في الأنفس والأموال ويجهزهم

⁴⁰ The *yā* is unpointed in both manuscripts. In the ed.: تكون.



- 120 إلى مَقْصِد مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ [الملك] [لاشـ] [رف] إلى بلاد الملك الأشرف
- 121 وعلـ [ى] [ان] [الـمَلِك] دُون جَاكِم وَأَخُو [يـ] هـ وَصَهْرِيَه [وعلـى أنهم ومعاهديهم لا يمكن لا يمكن
- 122 أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمُ الْحَرَامِيَّةُ وَلَا الْكُرْسَالِيَّةُ مِنَ [تـزود من] أحد منهم الحرامية ولا الكرسالية من التردد⁴¹ من
- 123 بِلَادِهِ وَلَا مِنْ حَمَلِ مَاءٍ وَمَنْ ظَفَرَ مِنْ [هم باحد من بلادنا ولا من حمل ماء منها ومن ظفر بأحد منهم من الحرامية]
- 124 يَمْسُكُهُ وَيَفْعَلُ [مـ] نَه الْوَاجِبُ وَيُسَايِ [ر ما] يَجِد [ه معهم] يمسكه ويفعل [مـ] نه الواجب ويساي [ر ما] يجد [ه معهم]
- 125 مِنَ الْأَسْرَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَمَنْ الْبَضَائِعِ وَالْحَر [يـ] م وَالْأَوْلَادِ مِنَ الْأَسْرَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْبَضَائِعِ وَالْحَرِيمِ وَالْأَوْلَادِ
- 126 إلى بلاد مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف وكذلك إلى بلادنا [...] ⁴²
- 127 ان حَضَرَ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْحَرَامِيَّةِ إِلَى بِلَادِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ [...] ان حضر أحد من الحرامية الى بلاد مولانا السلطان
- 128 الْمَلِكِ [الـ] [شـ] [رف] وَجَزَى الْحَكْمَ فِيهِ لِب [لـ] [مـ] [لك] [...] وَجَزَى الْحَكْمَ فِيهِ لِبِلَادِكُمْ [...] الملك الاشرف وجزى الحكم فيه لببلادكم
- 129 كَذَلِكَ وَعَلَى ان الْمَلِكِ دُون جَاكِم وَأَخُو يه وَص [هـ] [ر يه] كَذَلِكَ ⁴³ وَعَلَى أَنْ الْمَلِكِ دُون حَاكِم وَأَخُو يه وَصَهْرِيَه
- 130 مَتَى جَزَى مِنْ أَحَدٍ مِنْ بِلَادِهِمْ قَضِيَّةٌ تُوجِبُ فَسْخ [...] مَتَى جَزَى مِنْ أَحَدٍ مِنْ بِلَادِهِمْ قَضِيَّةٌ تُوجِبُ فَسْخ ⁴⁴ الْمَهَادَنَةِ [...] الـ [مـ] هـ [لـ] دنة

⁴¹ *Al-taraddud* (“return”): sic for *al-tazawwud* (“supply, provision [of water, food]”), a reading corroborated by the Catalan translation (ACA, Cancillería, Cartas reales, Jaime II, no. 222: “de pendre vianda ni aiga de sa terra”) and the copy of the 689/1290 truce as given by Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām*, 161.

⁴² This lacuna results from an eye-skip (*bilād mawlānā al-sulṭān al-malik al-ashraf*, respectively on lines 126 and 127–28).

⁴³ The lacuna between lines 121–29 can be filled thanks to the copy of the text in al-Saḥmāwī, *Al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*, 2:935–36; idem, “Al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim,” BnF MS Arabe 4439, fol. 325r.

⁴⁴ In both manuscripts: نسخ.



- 131 [بـ]كـ[ون] على كل من الملك دُون جاكم واخـ[ويه] كان على كل من الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهرية
و[صـ]هريه
- 132 طلب من يفعل ذلك وفعل الواجب [في]ه وعلى طلب من يفعل ذلك وفعل الواجب [في]ه وعلى
- 133 ان الملك دُون جاكـ[م] وأخويه وصهرية ان [يـ]فسح كل أن الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهرية يفسح كل منهم
منهم
- 134 لأهل بلادهم وغيرهم من الفرنج في أنهم يجلبون لأهل بلادهم وغيرهم من الفرنج أنهم يجلبون
- 135 إلى الثغور الإسلامية الحديد والبياض والخـ[ش]ب إلى الثغور الإسلامية الحديد والبياض والخشب
- 136 وغير ذلك وعلى أنه متى أسر أحد من المسلمين وغير ذلك وعلى أنه متى أسر أحد من المسلمين
- 137 في البر أو البحر من مبدأ تاريخ هذه المهادنة من في البر أو البحر من مبدأ تاريخ هذه المهادنة من
- 138 سائر البلاد شرقها وغربها أقصاها وأدناها سائر البلاد شرقها وغربها أقصاها وأدناها
- 139 ووصلوا به إلى بلاد الملك دُون جاكم وبلاد أخويه ووصلوا به إلى بلاد الملك دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه
- 140 وصهرية ليبيعوه بها فيلزم كل من الملك دون جاكم وصهرية ليبيعوه بها فيلزم كل من الملك دون حاكم
- 141 واخـ[وي]ه وصهرـ[ي]ه فك أسرهم وحمله إلى بلاد واخوي وصهرية فك أسرهم وحمله إلى بلاد
- 142 مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف وعلى انه متى مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف وعلى انه متى
- 143 كان بين تجار المسلمين وبين تجار بلاد الـ[م]لك دون كان بين تجار المسلمين وبين تجار بلاد الملك دون حاكم
- 144 واخويه وصهرية مُعاملة في بضائعهم وهم واخويه وصهرية مُعاملة في بضائعهم وهم



- 145 في بلاد مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف كان
 146 أمرهم محمولاً على موجب الشرع الشريف وعلى
 147 أنه متى زكب أحد من المسلمين في مراكب بلاد
 148 الملك دون جاكم واخويه وصهريه وحمل بضاعته[ه]
 149 معهم وعُدمت البضاعة كان على الملك دون جاك[م]
 150 وعلى أخويه وصهريه ردها ان كانت موجودة او قيمتها
 151 ان كانت م[ف]قودة وعلى أنه متى هرب أحد من [ب]بلاد
 مولانا
 152 السلطان الملك الأشرف الداخلة في هذه[ه] [ل]مهاده[نة]
 153 الى بلاد الملك دون جاكم وبلاد اخويه وصهريه
 154 او توجه ببضاعة لغيره واقام بتلك البلاد
 155 كان على الملك دون جاكم وعلى اخويه وصهريه رد الهارب
 ال[هار]ب
 156 او المقيم ببضاعة غيره وال[م]ال معه الى بلاد مولانا
 157 السلطان الملك الاشرف ما دام مسلماً وان تنصر
 158 فيرد ال[م]ال الذي معه خاصة ولملك[ة] الملك دون جاكم
 159 وأخويه وصهريه فيمن يهرب من بلادهم الى بلاد



- 160 **السُّلْطَانُ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ هَذَا الْحَكْمَ الْمَذْكُورَ أَعْلَاهُ** الملك الأشرف هذا الحكم المذكور أعلاه
- 161 وَعَلَى أَنَّهُ إِذَا وَصَلَ مِنْ بِلَادِ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ وَبِلَادِ أَخُوَيْهِ وَعَلَى أَنَّهُ إِذَا وَصَلَ مِنْ بِلَادِ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ وَبِلَادِ أَخُوَيْهِ
- 162 وَصَهْرِيهِ وَمُعَاهِدِيهِ مِنَ الْفَرَنْجِ مِنْ يَقْصِدُ [د] ز [يَا] رَةَ وَصَهْرِيهِ وَمُعَاهِدِيهِ مِنَ الْفَرَنْجِ مِنْ يَقْصِدُ [د] ز [يَا] رَةَ
- 163 الْقُدْسَ الشَّرِيفَ وَعَلَى يَدِهِ كِتَابَ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ الْقُدْسَ الشَّرِيفَ وَعَلَى يَدِهِ كِتَابَ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ
- 164 أَوْ صَهْرِيهِ وَخَتَمَهُ إِلَى نَائِبِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ أَوْ صَهْرِيهِ وَخَتَمَهُ إِلَى نَائِبِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ
- 165 بِالْقُدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ [ب] ف [ي] فَسَحَ لَهُ فِي الزِّيَارَةِ مَسْ [مُوحًا] بِالْقُدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ يَفْسَحُ لَهُ فِي الزِّيَارَةِ مَسْمُوحًا بِالْحَقِّ
- 166 لِيَقْضِيَ زِيَارَتَهُ وَيَعُودَ إِلَى بِلَادِهِ أَمَّا مَطْمِينًا لِيَقْضِيَ زِيَارَتَهُ وَيَعُودَ إِلَى بِلَادِهِ أَمَّا مَطْمِينًا
- 167 فِي نَفْسِهِ وَمَالِهِ رَجُلًا كَانَ أَوْ امْرَأَةً بَحِيثَ إِنْ فِي نَفْسِهِ وَمَالِهِ رَجُلًا كَانَ أَوْ امْرَأَةً بَحِيثَ إِنْ
- 168 الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ وَصَهْرِيهِ لَا يَكْتَبُونَ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْ أَعْدَائِهِمُ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ وَصَهْرِيهِ لَا يَكْتَبُونَ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْ أَعْدَائِهِمُ
- 169 وَلَا مِنْ أَعْدَاءِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ فِي وَلَا مِنْ أَعْدَاءِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ فِي
- 170 أَمْرَ الزِّيَارَةِ بِشَيْءٍ وَإِنْ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ يَحْرَسُ أَمْرَ الزِّيَارَةِ بِشَيْءٍ وَإِنْ الْمَلِكِ دُونَ حَاكِمِ يَحْرَسُ
- 171 جَمِيعَ بِلَادِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ هُوَ جَمِيعَ بِلَادِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ هُوَ
- 172 وَأَخُوَاهُ وَصَهْرَاهُ مِنْ كُلِّ مَضْرَةٍ وَيَجْتَهِدُ [د] كُلِّ مِنْهُمُ وَأَخُوَاهُ وَصَهْرَاهُ مِنْ كُلِّ مَضْرَةٍ وَيَجْتَهِدُ [د] كُلِّ مِنْهُمُ
- 173 فِي إِنْ أَحَدًا مِنْ أَعْدَاءِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ فِي إِنْ أَحَدًا مِنْ أَعْدَاءِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ

⁴⁵ So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: وعلى أن.



al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70

Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145

لا يصل إلى بلاد الملك الأشرف ولا ينجدهم على	174 لا يَصِل إلى بلاد مولانا السلطان ولا ينجدهم على
مضرة بلاد الملك الأشرف	175 مَضْرَة بلاد مولانا السلطان الملك الأشرف
ولا رعاياه وأنه يساعد الملك الأشرف	176 ولا رَعَايَاه وَأنه يُسَاعِد الملك الأشرف
في البر والبحر بكل ما ⁴⁶ يشتهي ويختاره وعلى أن	177 في البرِّ والبَحْرِ بِكلِّ ما يَشْتَهِيه وَيخْتَارُه وَعَلَى أن
الحقوق الواجبة على من يصدر ويرد ويتردد	178 الحُقُوق الوَاجِبَة عَلَى من يَصْدُر وَيَرْد وَيتردّد
من بلاد الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهره إلى ثغري	179 من بلاد الملك دُونَ [ج] حاكم وَأخويه وَصهره إلى ثغري
الإسكندرية	الإسكندرية [ند]
ودمياط والثغور الإسلامية والممالك	180 ودمياط وَآلى الثغور الإسلاميّة وَالمَمَالِك الإسلاميّة
السلطانية بسائر أصناف البضائع والمتاجر	181 السُلْطَانِيّة بِسَائِر أصناف البضائع وَالمَتَاجِر
على اختلافها تستمر على حكم الضرائب المستقرة في	182 عَلَى اختلافها تَسْتَمِر عَلَى حُكْم الضَّرَائِب المستقرة في
الديوان المعمور إلى آخر وقت ولا يحدث عليهم فيها	183 الدِّوَان المَعْمُورَة إلى آخر وقت وَلَا يحدث عَلَيْهِم فيها
حادث وكذلك يجري الحكم على من يتردد من	184 حَادِث وَكذلك يَجْرِي الحُكْم عَلَى من يتردد من
البلاد السلطانية إلى بلاد الملك دون حاكم	185 البلاد السُلْطَانِيّة إلى بلاد الملك دُونَ حاكم
وأخويه وصهره تستمر هذه المودة والمصادقة	186 وَأخويه وَصهره تَسْتَمِر هَذِهِ المودَة وَالمَصَادِقَة
على حكم هذه الشروط ⁴⁷ المشروحة أعلاه من الجهات	187 عَلَى حُكْم هَذِهِ الشُّرُوط المَشْرُوحَة أعلاه بَيْن [ج]ها

⁴⁶ So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: بكلما.

⁴⁷ In MS Marsh 317, fol. 112r, the word was corrected by the copyist above الشرايط.



al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70

Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145

- 188 على الدوام وَالْأَسْتَمْرَارَ وَتَجْرِي أَحْكَامُهَا وَقَوَاعِدُهَا
- 189 على أَجْمَلِ الْأَسْتَقْرَارِ فَإِنَّ الْمَمَالِكَ /بِهَا/ قَدْ صَارَتْ
- 190 مَمْلُوكَةً وَاحِدَةً وَشَيْئًا وَاحِدًا لَا تَنْتَقِضُ بِمَوْتِ
- 191 أَحَدٍ مِنَ الْجِهَاتِ وَلَا بَعْدَ [ز] وَالِ وَتَوَلِيَةِ غَيْرِ [ه] بَلْ
- 192 تُؤَيَّدُ أَحْكَامُهَا وَتُدَوِّمُ أَيَّامُهَا وَشُهُورُهَا وَ[أ] عَوَامُهَا
- 193 وَعَلَى ذَلِكَ انْتَضَمَتْ وَ[سْتَقَف] رُزَّتْ فِي التَّأْرِخِ الْمَذْكُورِ
- 194 أَعْلَاهُ وَهُوَ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ تَاسِعَ عَشَرَ صَفَرَ سَنَةِ
- 195 اثْنَتَيْنِ وَتَسْعِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةَ لِلْهَجْرَةِ النَّبِـ[ب]ـوِيَّةِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ
- 196 عَلَى صَاحِبَيْهَا وَسَلَامُهُ وَ[أ] تَيَانُهُ [الموافق] قِ ذَلِكَ
- 197 لثَلَاثِ بَقِيْنَ مِنْ جـ[ند]ـيرِ سَنَةِ الْفِ وَمَايْتَيْنِ وَاثْنَتَيْنِ
- و[ت]ـسْعِينَ
- 198 لِمَوْلِدِ السَّيِّدِ الْمَسِيحِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَامُهُ
- 199 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ وَصَلَوَاتُهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ [هـ] وَصَحْبِهِ
- وَعـ[ت]ـرَتِهِ
- 200 الطَّاهِرِينَ وَسَلَامُهُ
- 201 حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ

