MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

XXVI

مجلة
الدراسات المملوكية

2023

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2023

Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC)
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY THE MIDDLE EAST DOCUMENTATION CENTER (MEDOC)
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

E-ISSN 1947-2404 (ISSN for printed volumes: 1086-170X)

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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 Linares[2]

This article is the revised English version of a paper delivered at a conference on treaties organized by the Commission internationale de diplomatique in Leipzig in October 2018. It was written within the framework of *DiplomatiCon*. This project (40007541) has received funding from the F.R.S.-FNRS and FWO under the Belgian Excellence of Science (EOS) program. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Marta Manso for collating the Catalan documents cited in this study with the originals and for providing me with many details relating to the negotiation aspects on the Catalan side.

[1] For 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.

[2] Maximiliano 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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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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 Salicrù i Lluch.[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-

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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–XVIe 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.

[4] Project 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.*

[5] This 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, Ifriquía y Tremecén* (Barcelona, 1951), 290; Antoni Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409): Collecció 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-*

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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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.

[6] ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145.

[7] In 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-aʿshá,* instead of checking the manuscripts. This would have allowed him to notice that there are significant discrepancies between the edition and the manuscripts.

[8] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1913–19, repr. 1963), 14:63–70; al-Saḥmāwī, *Al-Thaghr al-bāsim fī ṣināʿat al-kātib wa-al-kātim al-maʿrūf bi-ism Al-Maqṣid al-rafīʿ al-munshaʾ al-hādī li-dīwān al-inshāʾ lil-Khālidī,* 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 ʿAbd 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 studies[13] and we do not intend

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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.

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

[10] ACA, Cancillería, Registros, no. 252, fols. 38r–39r. The two documents were first published by Antonio de Capmany y de Monpalau, *Memorias historicas 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).

[11] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa-al-ʿuṣūr 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 Almélic 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.

[12] Fortunately, 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).

[13] Amari, "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-ʿAlāqāt bayna salṭanat al-Mamālīk wa-al-mamālik al-isbānīyah fī al-qarnayn al-thāmin wa-al-tāsiʿ al-hijrī/al-rābiʿ wa-al-khāmis ʿashar al-mīlādī: dirāsah wathāʾiqīyah* (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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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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 Khāymī al-Thānī fī ʿām 692h/1292m: dirāsah wathāʾiqīyah taḥlīlīyah," *Majallat Ittiḥād 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-Qalqašandī'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.

[14] We 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-aʿshá,* 14:9.

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

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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]

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[16] See Coulon, "Une phase decisive."

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

[18] In 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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Alṭāf al-khafīyah min al-sīrah al-sharīfah al-sulṭānīyah al-malakīyah al-ashrafīyah,* in *Ur ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd eẓ-Ẓâhir's Biografi över*

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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,

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

[19] On 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.

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

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

[22] Ibid., 265 ("quel dit Solda assa aiuda en prest o en altra manera al dit senyor rey").

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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[23] Ibid., 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").

[24] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir'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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Alṭāf al-khafīyah.*

[25] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf 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.

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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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, 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-Isrāʾīlī. 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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, 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

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[26] Michael 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.

[27] Holt, "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.

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conforming to what had been agreed.[28] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir'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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir'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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir ("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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir concludes by pointing out that both the sultan and his son, the designated successor, took

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

[29] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá,* 14:72.

[30] Holt 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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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]

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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).

[31] Al-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.

[32] Amari, *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.

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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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

[35] Truces 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-Thaghr al-bāsim,* 2:917–38, which reproduces al-Qalqashandī's text without adding anything new.

[36] Al-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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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[37] There 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.

[38] As 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]!" *(aghnānā Allāh taʿālá ʿan al-ḥājah ilayhā).* Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá,* 14:71.

[39] Ibn Manẓūr is best known today for three monumental works that have survived: a dictionary of the Arabic language *(Lisān al-ʿArab),* an abridgement of Ibn ʿAsākir'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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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[40] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá,* 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 yurāʿá 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-niṣf).* 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.

[41] See 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.

[42] Ibn 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-niṣf bi-qalam al-thulth al-kabīr).* These words are reproduced as they stand by al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá,* 8:36.

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

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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

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[44] On this issue, see Bauden, "Mamluk Diplomatics," 49.

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

[46] Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos,* 344: "El ejemplar que posee el Archivo está muy maltrado. 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."

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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. *waṣl*).[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 lines[52] (20

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[47] All 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 Maria Luz Rodríguez Olivares, Teresa Marqués Tenllado, and Maria 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.

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

[49] The 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.

[50] See note 45, above.

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

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

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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]

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

[54] Al-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.

[55] Ibid, 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-raḥmān* while in *al-raḥīm* its form is said to be almond-shaped *(mulawwazah).*

[56] I 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).

[57] See, 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.

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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	Ø	Left	38
	Middle	Ø		
	Bottom	127	Right	3
4	Top	127	Left	220
	Middle	129		
	Bottom	129	Right	230
Fragment 3				
5	Top	Ø	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	Ø		
	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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

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]

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[58] See, for example, the word *al-sāḥilīyah* 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 مصا/لحه).

[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

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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

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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).

[64] See note 8, above, for the references.

[65] In 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 titulature that these two sources neglected to preserve. The titulature 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.

[66] Here 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.

[67] The 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.

[68] 2,745 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.

[69] Al-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.

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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).

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

[71] This 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 “Négocier 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/Négocier 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-muwaqqaʿah.”

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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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir 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

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[72] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá,* 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 ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir 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.

[73] See p. 9.

[74] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām,* 157: "and the dynasts, his sons" *(wa-al-mulūk awlādihi).* 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-

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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 Rabīᶜ 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-Qaᶜdah 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

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ing 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.

[75] The 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 damuntdita 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 tostemps ha estada una amor, una concòrdia, una voluntad. 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.

[77] ACA, 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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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[78] It 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).

[79] In 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.

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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 703/1304[85] 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

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[80] Masiá 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.

[81] Masiá 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.

[82] Masiá 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").

[83] ACA, 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).

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

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

[86] ACA, 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.

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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]

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

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

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

[90] There 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.

[91] In 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***

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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

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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 alcun 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.

[93] It 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.

[94] Dusay 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.

[95] A Mamluk source contemporary with the events informs us that Dusay arrived in Cairo accompanied by Fakhr al-Dīn on 3 Rabīʿ II 705/23 October 1305. See Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, "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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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

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[96] They are Berenguer Sant Vicens and Guillem Lobet.

[97] It 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.

[98] Amari, "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").

[99] Masiá 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.

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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

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[100] This 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.

[101] Thanks 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.

[102] In 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.

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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

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[103] The 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.

[104] The 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 Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, "Disertacion histórica sobre la parte que tuviéron los Españoles en las guerras ultramar ó de las cruzadas, y como influyéron estas expediciones desde el siglo XI hasta el XV en la extension 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, *Col·lecció 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 historicas,* 2:1:92–93 (no. 60); see also Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* 2:69, note 3, and, more recently, José F. Cutillas, "Los ilḫāníes y la Corona de Aragón: La carta de Jaime II a Ġāzān-Ḫān," in *eHumanista/IVITRA* 4 (2013): 303–18.

[105] Lines 85–92 of the treaty.

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

[107] See lines 132–36 of the treaty.

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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]

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[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.

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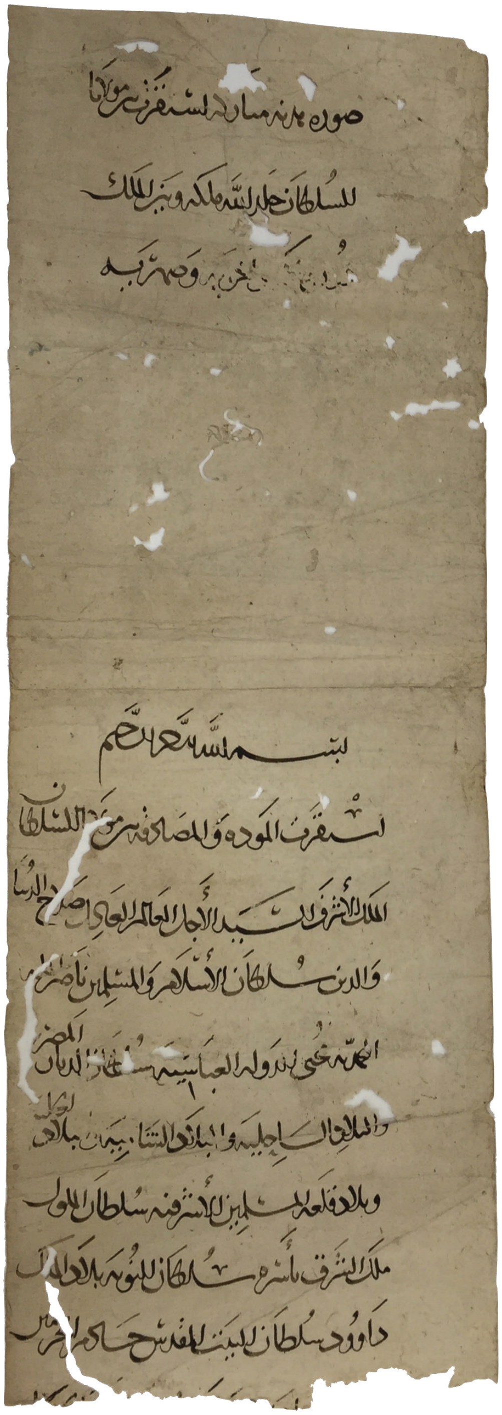
DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)



صورة هدنة مباركة لتستقر بين مولانا

السلطان خلد الله ملكه وبين الملك

[illegible] وأخويه وصهريه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

استقرت المودة والمصادقة بين مولانا السلطان

الملك الأشرف ولد السيد الأجل العالم العادل صلاح الدنيا

والدين سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين ناصر الملة

المحمدية محيي الدولة العباسية سلطان الديار المصرية

والبلاد الساحلية والبلاد الشامية بلاد [illegible]

وبلاد قلعة المسلمين الأشرفية سلطان الملوك

ملك الشرق بأسره سلطان النوبة بلاد الملك

داود سلطان البيت المقدس حاكم الحرمين

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

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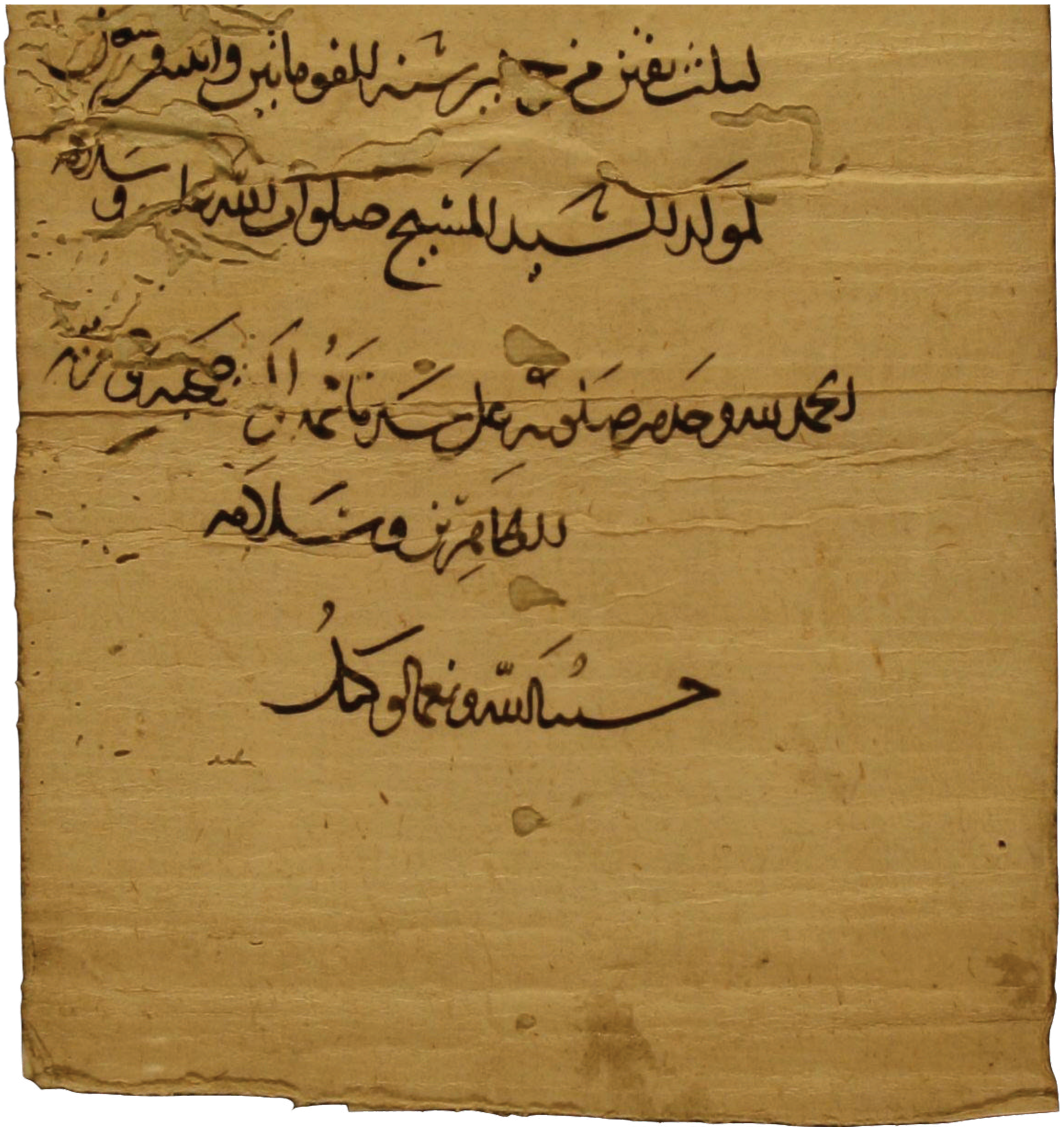

لثلث بقين من [illegible] سنة الف وماتين [illegible]
لمولد السيد المسيح صلوات الله عليه وسلامه
الحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيدنا محمد [illegible] وصحبه
الطاهرين وسلامه
حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

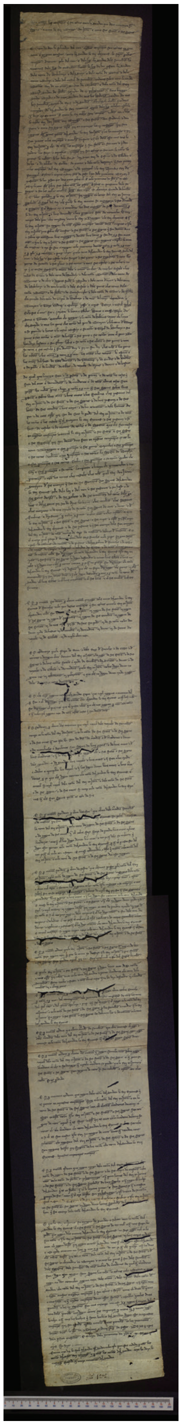

Figure 3. The Catalan translation, ACA, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Serie general, no. 222.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

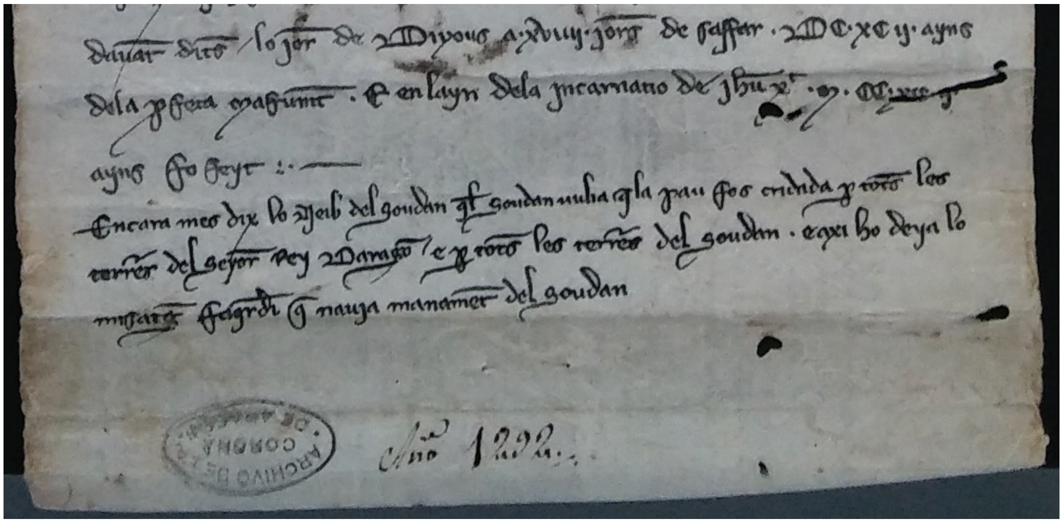

Figure 4. The end of the Catalan translation, ACA, Cartas reales, Jaime II, Serie general, no. 222.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

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 *sīn, 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.

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

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	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
1	**صورة هدنة مبَاركة استّقَرت بين مولَانا**	
2	**السُلطَان خَلد اللَّه ملكه وبَين الملك**	
3	**دُون [جا]كـ[ـم] واَخوَيه وَصهرَّيه**	
4	**بسّم اللَّه الرَّحمن الرَّحيم**	
5	استقَرت المَودة وَالمصَادقة بين **مولَا[نـ]ـا السّلطان**	استقرت المودة والمصادقة بين
6	الملك الأشرَف **السَّيد الأَجل العَالم العَادِل صَلاح الدُنيَا**	الملك الأشرف
7	**وَالدين سُلطَان الأسّلَام وَالمسّلِمين نَاصر الملة**	
8	**المحمّدية مُحيي الدَولة العبَاسّيَة سُلطَان الديار المصرّية**	
9	**والِبلاد السَاحِليَة والبلَاد الشَامِيَة والبلاد الحلبيَة**	
10	**وبلاد قَلعة المسّلِمين الأشرفية سُلطَان الملوك**	
11	**ملك الشَرق بأَسّره سُلطَان النُوبَة بلَاد الملك**	
12	**دَاوُود سُلطَان البَيت المقدسّ خَادم الحرمين**	
13	[...]	
14	[...]	وبين حضرة الملك الجليل المكرم الخطير الباسل الأسد الضرغام المفخم

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	
المبجل دون حاكم الريد أرغون وأخويه دون ولدريك[1] ودون بيدرو[2] وبين	[...]	15
صهريه 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 بكلما[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

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[1] Name is unpointed in both manuscripts. In ed.: ولذريك.

[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: واٮون.

[7] In both manuscripts: وعلنسية.

[8] *Jīm* is unpointed in both manuscripts.

[9] In both manuscripts: أتفونش.

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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
23	[...]	بقين من جنير[11] سنة ألف ومائتين اثنين[12] وتسعين لمولانا السيد المسيح عليه
24	[...]	السلام وذلك بحضور رسل[13] الملك دون حاكم وهما المحتشم الكبير روصو
25	[...]	ديمار موند الحاكم عن الملك دون حاكم في بلنسية ورفيقه المحتشم
26	[...]	العمدة ريمون[14] المان قراري برجلونة الواصلين بكتاب الملك دون حاكم
27	[...]	المختوم بختم الملك المذكور المقتضي معناه أنه حملهما جميعا أحوالهم
28	[...]	ومطلوبهم وسأل أن يقدما[15] فيما يقولانه عنه فكان مضمون مشافهتهما
29	[...]	وسؤالهما تقرير قواعد الصلح والمودة والصداقة والشروط التي يشرطها[16] الملك
30	[...]	الأشرف على الملك دون حاكم وأنه يلتزم بجميع هذه الشروط الآتي ذكرها
31	[...]	ويحلف الملك المذكور عليها هو وأخواه وصهراه المذكورون 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.: يقوما.
[16] So in both manuscripts. In ed.: يشترطها.

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	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
32	[...]	الرسولان المذكوران خطوطهما بجميع الفصول الآتي ذكرها بأمره ومرسومه وأن الملك دون حاكم
33	[...... يلتـ]ـز[مـ]ـون بها وهي	وأخويه وصهريه يلتزمون بها وهي
34	اسّتقرَار المَودة وَالمصَادقة منَ التَاريخ	استقرار المودة والمصادقة من التاريخ
35	المقدَم ذكره على ممَر السّنين وَالأعْوَام	المقدم ذكره على ممر السنين والأعوام
36	وتَعاقب الليَالي والأيَام برًّا وبَحرا سّهلًا ووَعرَا	وتعاقب الليالي والأيام برا وبحرا سهلا ووعرا
37	قُرّبًا وبُعدَا **علَى** أن تكُون بلَاد **مَولانَا** السُلطان	قربا وبعدا وعلى أن تكون[17] بلاد السلطان
38	المَلك الأشرف **صَلاح الدُنيَا وَالدّين** وقلاعه وحصونه	الملك الأشرف وقلاعه وحصونه
39	وثغورّه وممالكه وَمواني بلَاده وَسّوَاحلها وبرُورّهَا	وثغوره وممالكه[18] وموانى بلاده وسواحلها وبرورها
40	وجميع اقاليمها ومُدنها وكلما هُو دَاخل في مملكته	وجميع أقاليمها ومدنها وكلما[19] هو داخل في مملكته
41	وَمحسُوب منهَا ومَنسُوب اليهَا من سَائر الأقَاليم	ومحسوب منها ومنسوب إليها من سائر الأقاليم
42	الرُوميَّة وَالعِرَاقية وَالمشرقية وَالشَاميَة	الرومية والعراقية والمشرقية والشامية
43	والحلبيّة والفُراتية وَاليَمنية وَالحجازية وَالدّيار	والحلبية والفراتية واليمنية والحجازية والديار
44	[المَـ]ـصرّية والغرب وحَد هذ[ه] الـ[ـبـ]ـلَاد والأقاليم	المصرية والغرب وحد هذه البلاد والأقاليم

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[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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
45	[...]	ومواني‍ها وسواحلها من البر الشامي من القسطنطينية والبلاد الرومية الساحلية
46	[...]	وهي من طرابلس الغرب وسواحل برقة والإسكندرية ودمياط والطينة وقطيا
47	[...]	وغزة وعسقلان ويافا وأرسوف[20] وقيسارية وعثليث[21] وحيفا[22] وعكا وصور وصيدا
48	[...]	وبيروت وجبيل[23] والبترون[24] وأنفة طرابلس الشام وأنطرسوس ومرقيا[25] والمرقب
49	[...]	وساحل المرقب بانياس[26] وغيرها وجبلة واللاذقية والسويدية وجميع المواني
50	[...]	والبرور إلى ثغر دمياط وبحيرة تنيس وحدها من البر الغربي من تونس وإقليم
51	[...]	إفريقية وبلادها ومواني‍ها وطرابلس الغرب وثغورها وبلادها ومواني‍ها وبرقة
52	[...]	وثغورها وبلادها ومواني‍ها إلى ثغر الإسكندرية ورشيد وبحيرة تنيس وسواحلها

---

[20] In MS A. 2930/7, fol. 115v: وارسوق.
[21] In MS Marsh 317, fol. 110v: وعثليت.
[22] In both manuscripts, the *yāʾ* is unpointed.
[23] In both manuscripts, the word is unpointed.
[24] In MS Marsh 317, fol. 110v: والبيرون; in MS A. 2930/7, fol. 115v, the *tāʾ* is unpointed. The reading with a *tāʾ* 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.

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	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
53	[...]	وبلادها وموانيها وما تحويه هذه البلاد والممالك المذكورة والتي لم تذكر
54	[...]	والمدائن والثغور والسواحل والمواني والطرقات في البر والبحر والصدور
55	[...]	والورود والمقام والسفر من عساكر وجنود وتركمان وأكراد وعربان ورعايا
56	[...]	وتجار وشواني ومراكب وسفن وأموال ومواش على اختلاف الأديان والأنفار
57	[...]	والأجناس وما تحويه الأيدي من سائر أصناف الأموال والأسلحة والأمتعة
58	[...]	والبضائع والمتاجر قليلا كان او كثيرا قريبا كان أو بعيدا برا كان أو بحرا آمنة
59	[...]	على الأنفس والأرواح والأموال والحريم والأولاد من الملك دون[27] حاكم ومن
60	[...]	أخويه وصهريه المذكورين ومن أولادهم وفرسانهم وخيالتهم ومعاهديهم
61	[...]	وعمائرهم ورجالهم وكل من يتعلق بهم وكذلك كلما[28] سيفتحه الله تعالى
62	[...]	على يد الملك الأشرف وعلى يد أولاده وعساكره وجيوشه من القلاع

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[27] *Dūn* is missing in both manuscripts.

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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	
والحصون والبلاد والأقاليم فإنه يجري عليه هذا الحكم وعلى أن تكون بلاد	[...]	63
الملك دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه وصهريه 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 وأريسويار[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

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[29] *Bilād* is in both manuscripts but missing in the ed.
[30] *Mālaqa* (sic for *Mālṭa,* "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.: وأرسويار.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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[34] In both manuscripts: شواني.

[35] So in both manuscripts. In the ed.: لمحاربته.

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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
93	في بلا[د الملك دون جاكم او بلاد اخويه او بلاد]	في بلاد الملك دون حاكم أو بلاد أخويه أو بلاد
94	صهرّيه او **مُـ[ـعَاهديه يكون كل من فيها من التجار]**	صهريه [...][37]
95	**[وَ]الـ[ـبضايع والمال والمماليك**[38] **وا]لجوَار آمنين عَلى الانـ[ـفُـ]ـس**	[...]
96	**[والاموال والبضايِـ]ـع و[يلتز]م الملك دون جَاكم**	[...]
97	**[واخويه] وصهرّيه** اَن [يخفـ]ـر[وهم و]يَحفظُوا مراكبـ[ـهـ]ـم	[...] أن يخفروهم ويحفظوا مراكبهم
98	[واموالهم] ويسَّاعدوهم علَى عمارة مركبهم ويجهزوهم	وأموالهم ويساعدوهم على عمارة مركبهم[39] ويجهزوهم
99	و[اموالهم] وبضَايعهم الَى بلَاد **مو[لَانا] السُلطان**	وأموالهم وبضائعهم إلى بلاد
100	[الملك الاشـ]ـرف وكذلك [اذا ا]نكسرّت مركب من	الملك الأشرف وكذلك إذا انكسرت مركب من
101	[بلا]د **المَلك** دُون جاكم وَبلاد اخَويه وَصهريه	بلاد دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه وصهريه
102	[ومعـ]ـاهديه في بلَادِ **مولَانا السُّلـ[ـطـ]ـا[ن]** الملـ[ـك ا]لاشرف	ومعاهديه في بلاد الملك الأشرف
103	يكون لَهُم هَذا الحُكم المذكُور أعلاه وَعلى انَه متى	يكون لهم هذا الحكم المذكور أعلاه وعلى أنه متى
104	مَات احَدٌ من تجَار المَسْلِمِين وَمن نصَارى	مات أحد من تجار المسلمين ومن نصارى

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[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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
105	[بـ]ـلَاد **[مـ]ـولانا السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف	بلاد الملك الأشرف
106	اَو [ذ]مة اَهلِ بلَادِه في بلَادِ الملك دون [جاكم]	أو ذمة أهل بلاده في بلاد الملك دون حاكم
107	[وا]خويه وَصهرّيه ومُعَاهد[يـ]ـه لا يُـ[ـعَـ]ـارضوهم في	وبلاد أخويه وصهريه **وأولاده** ومعاهديه لايعارضوهم في
108	اموَالهم ولَا في بضايعهم وَيحمل ما[لـ]ـهم وَمو[جودهم]	أموالهم ولا في بضائعهم ويحمل مالهم وموجودهم
109	الى بلادِ **مولَانا السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف ليفعل فيه	إلى بلاد الملك الأشرف ليفعل فيه
110	ما يختَار وَكذلكَ من يمُوت ببلَادِ **مَولا[نا السـ]ـلطان**	ما يختار وكذلك من يموت في بلاد
111	الملك الاَشْرَف من أهل مَملكة المَلك دُون جَاكَم	الملك الأشرف من أهل مملكة الملك دون حاكم
112	وبلَاد اخويه وَصهرْيه فلَهم هذَا الحكم المذكورّ	وبلاد أخويه وصهريه **ومعاهديهم** فلهم هذا الحكم المذكور
113	اَعلَاه وَعَلى انّه متى عَبر عَلى بلَاد الملك دون جا[كم]	أعلاه وعلى أنه متى عبر على بلاد الملك دون حاكم
114	اَو **على** بلاد اخويه وَصهرّيه رُسل من بلاد **مولانَا**	أو بلاد أخويه أو صهريه **أو معاهديه** رسل من بلاد
115	**السُلطَان** الملك الا[شر]ف قَاصدين جهـ[ـة] من	الملك الأشرف قاصدين جهة من
116	الجهات **البَعيدة او القريبة** صَادرين اَو واردين	الجهات القريبة أو البعيدة صادرين أو واردين
117	او رّماهم الرّيح في بِلَادهم **يكون** الرُسل وغلما[نهم]	أو رماهم الريح في بلادهم يكون[40] الرسل وغلمانهم
118	وَاتباعهم وَمن يصل مَعهم من رُسل الملوك [او غير]هم	وأتباعهم ومن يصل معهم من رسل الملوك أو غيرهم
119	امنين [مَـ]ـحفُوظين في الأ[نـ]ـفسّ والأ[مـ]ـوال ويجهزونهم	آمنين محفوظين في الأنفس والأموال ويجهزهم

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[40] The *yāʾ* is unpointed in both manuscripts. In the ed.: تكون.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
120	الى **مَقصد مَولَانا السُلطَان** [الملك ا]لاشـ[ـر]ف	إلى بلاد الملك الأشرف
121	وعلـ[ـى] **ا[ن] الـ[ـمَلك] دُون جاكم وَاخو[يـ]ـه وَصهرَيه** لا يمكن	[وعلى أنهم **ومعاهديهم** لا يمكن
122	احدٌ منهم الحَرامية ولَا الكُرسَّالِية من **الـ[ـتزود** من]	أحد منهم الحرامية ولا الكرسالية من التردد[41] من
123	**بلَاده** ولَا من حمل مَآءٍ وَمن ظَفر **منـ[ـهم باحد** من الحرامية]	بلادنا ولا من حمل ماء **منها** ومن ظفر بأحد منهم من الحرامية
124	يمسّكه ويفعل **[مـ]ـنه** الوَاجب **ويُسَايِـ[ـر** ما] يجد[ه معهم]	يمسكه ويفعل معه الواجب ويسير ما يجده معهم
125	من الأسّرى المسّلِمين وَ**من** البَضايع وَالحَر[يـ]ـم وَالأولاد	من الأسرى المسلمين والبضائع والحريم والأولاد
126	الى **بلاد مولانَا السُلطَان الملك الاشرف وَكذلكَ**	إلى بلادنا [...][42]
127	**ان حضَر احَد من الحراميَة الى بلَاد مولانا السُلطان**	[...]
128	**الملك الا[شـ]ـرف** وجرّى الحكم فيهِ لبـ[ـلاد ا]**لـ[ـمـ]ـلك دون جاكم**	[...] وجرى الحكم فيه لبلاد**كم**
129	كذلكَ وَعلَى ان الملك دُون جاكم واخَويه وصـ[ـهـ]ـر[يه]	كذلك[43]]وعلى أن الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهريه
130	متَى جرّى من احَد من بلَادهم قَضية تُوجب فَسخ الـ[ـمـ]ـهـ[ـا]دنة	متى جرى من أحد من بلادهم قضية توجب فسخ[44] المهادنة

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[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-Ẓāhir, *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-Thaghr al-bāsim*, 2:935–36; idem, "Al-Thaghr al-bāsim," BnF MS Arabe 4439, fol. 325r.

[44] In both manuscripts: نسخ.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
131	**[يـ]كـ[ـون]** عَلى كلِ من الملك دُون جاكم واخَـ[ـويه وَ]صـ[ـهريه]	كان على كل من الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهريه
132	طلَب مَن يفعل ذَلكَ وَفِعل الواجب [فيـ]ـه وعلى	طلب من يفعل ذلك وفعل الواجب فيه وعلى
133	ان المَلك دُون جاكـ[ـم] وَاخويه وصهرّيه **ان** يـ[ـفسَح] كل منهم	أن الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهريه يفسح كل منهم
134	لأهلِ بلَادِه وَغَيرهم منَ الفرَنج **في** انَّهم يجلبون	لأهل بلاده وغيرهم من الفرنج أنهم يجلبون
135	الى الثغور الأسلاميَّة الحَديد والبيَاض وَالخَـ[ـشـ]ـب	إلى الثغور الإسلامية الحديد والبياض والخشب
136	وغير ذلكَ وعَلى انَّه متى أُسّر احدٌ من المسّلمين	وغير ذلك وعلى أنه متى أسر أحد من المسلمين
137	في البرّ او البحرّ من مَبدا تَاريخ هَذه المهَادنة من	في البر أو البحر من مبدأ تاريخ هذه المهادنة من
138	سَاير البلَاد شَرّقها وغربهَا اَقصاهَا واذّنَاهَا	سائر البلاد شرقها وغربها أقصاها وأدناها
139	ووَصلُوا به الى بلَاد المَلك دُون جاكم وبلَاد اخويه	ووصلوا به إلى بلاد الملك دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه
140	وَصهرّيهِ ليَبيعُوه بها فيَلزم **كلٌ من** الملك دون جاكم	وصهريه ليبيعوه بها فيلزم الملك دون حاكم
141	واخَو[يـ]ـه وصهرّ[يـ]ـه فَك اَسّره وحَمله الى بلَاد	وأخويه وصهريه فك أسره وحمله إلى بلاد
142	**مولانا السُلطَان** المَلك الأشرف وَعلى انه متى	الملك الأشرف وعلى أنه متى
143	كان بين تجار المسّلِمين وَبين تجَار بلاد الـ[ـمـ]ـلك دون جاكم	كان بين تجار المسلمين وبين تجار بلاد الملك دون حاكم
144	واخويه وَصهرّيه مُعامَلة في بَضايعهم وهم	وأخويه وصهريه معاملة في بضائعهم وهم

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
145	في بلَاد **مولانَا السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف كان	في بلاد الملك الأشرف كان
146	اَمرّهم محمولًا عَلى مُوجب الشَرع الشَريف وعلى	أمرهم محمولا على موجب الشرع الشريف وعلى
147	انَّه متى رّكب احَد منَ المسّلِمين في مَراكب بلَاد	أنه متى ركب أحد من المسلمين في مراكب بلاد
148	الملك دون جاكم واخويه وصهرّيه وحَمل بضاعتـ[ـه]	الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهريه وحمل بضاعته
149	معَهُم وعُدمت البضَاعة كان عَلى الملك دون جاكـ[ـم]	معهم وعدمت البضاعة كان على الملك دون حاكم
150	وعلى اخَويه وصهرّيه رّدهَا ان كانَت مَوجُودة او قيمتها	وعلى أخويه وصهريه ردها إن كانت موجودة أو قيمتها
151	ان كانَت مـ[ـفـ]ـقُودة وَعلى انَّه متَى هرّب احَد من [بـ]ـلاد **مولانا**	إن كانت مفقودة وعلى أنه متى هرب أحد من بلاد
152	**السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف الدَاخلة في هَذ[ه] ا[لـ]ـمهاد[نة]	الملك الأشرف الداخلة في هذه المهادنة
153	الى بلاد الملك دُون جَاكم **وبلاد** اخويه وَصهريه	إلى بلاد الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهريه
154	او توَجه ببضَاعةٍ لغيرّه واقَام بتلك البلَاد	أو توجه ببضاعة لغيره وأقام بتلك البلاد
155	كان على الملك دُون جاكم وعلى اخويه وَصهر[يـ]ـه رّ[د] الـ[ـهار]ب	كان على الملك دون حاكم وعلى أخويه وصهريه رد الهارب
156	او المقيم ببضَاعة غيرِّه وَالـ[ـمـ]ـال معَه الى بلَاد **مولانا**	أو المقيم ببضاعة غيره والمال معه إلى بلاد
157	**السُلطَان** الملك الاشرف مَا دَامَ مُسلِمًا وان تنصَرّ	الملك الأشرف ما دام مسلما وإن تنصر
158	**فيَرّد** الـ[ـما]ل الذي معَهُ خَاصَّة وَلمملكـ[ـة] الملك دون جاكم	يرد المال الذي معه خاصة ولمملكة الملك دون حاكم
159	وَاخَويه وصهرّيه فيمن يَهرّب من بلَادهم الى بلادِ **مولا[نا]**	وأخويه وصهريه فيمن يهرب من بلادهم إلى بلاد

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	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
160	**السُلطان** الملك الأشرف هذا الحكم المذكُور اعلَاه	الملك الأشرف هذا الحكم المذكور أعلاه
161	وَعلى انَه اذا وَصل من بلادِ الملك دُون جاكم وبلَاد اخوَيه	وعلى أنه إذا وصل من بلاد الملك دون حاكم وبلاد أخويه
162	وصهريه ومُعَاهِديه من الفرَنج من يقصـ[ـد] ز[يا]رة	وصهريه ومعاهديه من الفرنج من يقصد زيارة
163	القُدسّ الشَريف وَعلى يَده كتاب الملك دُون جاكم	القدس الشريف وعلى يده كتاب الملك دون حاكم
164	**اَو صهرّيه وخَتَمهم** الى نَايب **مولَانا السُّلطان**	وختمه إلى نائب الملك الأشرف
165	بالقدسّ الشَر[يـ]ـف [يـ]ـفسّح لَه في الزيَارة مسـ[ـمُوحًا] با[لحق]	بالقدس الشريف يفسح له في الزيارة مسموحا بالحق
166	ليقضي زيارَته ويعُود الى بلاده امنًا مطمينًا	ليقضي زيارته ويعود إلى بلاده آمنا مطمئنا
167	في نَفسه ومَالِه رجلًا كانَ اَوْ امْراَة بحيث ان	في نفسه وماله رجلا كان أو امرأة بحيث أن
168	الملك دُون جاكم **وَصهرّيه** لَا **يكتبُون** لأحد من **اعدايهم**	الملك دون حاكم لا يكتب لأحد من أعدائه
169	ولَا من اعْدَآ **مولَانا السُّلطَان** المَلك الأشرف في	ولا من أعداء الملك الأشرف في
170	اَمرّ الزيارَّة بشَي وان المَلك دُون جاكَم يحرسّ	أمر الزيارة بشيء وأن[45] الملك دون حاكم يحرس
171	جَميع بلَاد **مولانا السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف هوَ	جميع بلاد الملك الأشرف هو
172	واخواه وَصهراه من كل مضرة وَيجتَهـ[ـد] كل منهم	وأخواه وصهراه من كل مضرة ويجتهد كل منهم
173	في انّ اَحدًا من اعدآء **مولانا السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف	في أن أحدا من أعداء الملك الأشرف

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

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
174	لا يَصل الى بلَاد **مولانا السُلطَان** ولَا ينجدهم على	لا يصل إلى بلاد الملك الأشرف ولا ينجدهم على
175	مَضرّة بلَاد **مولَانا السُلطَان** الملك الأشرف	مضرة بلاد الملك الأشرف
176	ولا رَعاياه وَانه يُسّاعد **مولَانا السُلطَان** الملك الاشرف	ولا رعاياه وأنه يساعد الملك الأشرف
177	في البَر والبَحرّ **بكلمَا** يشْتَهيه ويختَارّه وعَلى اَن	في البر والبحر بكل ما[46] يشتهيه ويختاره وعلى أن
178	الحقُوق الوَاجِبَة علَى من يَصدر وَيرّد ويترّدَد	الحقوق الواجبة على من يصدر ويرد ويتردد
179	من بلَاد الملك دُ[ون جـ]ـاكم وَاخويه وَصهريه الى ثغري الاسكـ[ـند]رية	من بلاد الملك دون حاكم وأخويه وصهريه إلى ثغري الإسكندرية
180	وَدمياط **وَالى** الثغور الأسّلَامية وَالمَمالك **الاسلامية**	ودمياط والثغور الإسلامية والممالك
181	السُلطانية بسَّاير اَصناف البضَايع وَالمتاجر	السلطانية بسائر أصناف البضائع والمتاجر
182	علَى اختِلَافها تَسّتمر على حُكمِ الضَرايب المسّتقرة في	على اختلافها تستمر على حكم الضرائب المستقرة في
183	**الدّوَاوين المعمُورة** الى اَخر وقت ولَا يحدث عَليهم فيها	الديوان المعمور إلى آخر وقت ولا يحدث عليهم فيها
184	حَادث وَكذلك يجرّي الحكم علَى من يتردد من	حادث وكذلك يجري الحكم على من يتردد من
185	البلاد السُلطَانية الى بلَاد الملك دُون جاكم	البلاد السلطانية إلى بلاد الملك دون حاكم
186	وَاخويه وَصهرّيه تَسّتمر هَذه المودة وَالمصادقة	وأخويه وصهريه تستمر هذه المودة والمصادقة
187	على حكمِ هَذه الشُروط المَشرُوحَة اعلَاه **بين** الجـ[ـها]ت	على حكم هذه الشروط[47] المشروحة أعلاه من الجهات

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[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.

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

	Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, no. 145	al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*, 14:63–70
188	على الدَوام وَالأسْتمرَار وَتجري احكامها وقَواعدها	على الدوام والاستمرار وتجري أحكامها وقواعدها
189	على اَجمل الأسْتقرَار فَان المَمالك /بها\ قد صَارَّت	على أجمل الاستقرار فإن الممالك بها قد صارت
190	مملكة وَاحدة وشَيًا وَاحدا لَا تنتقض [بمـ]ـوت	مملكة واحدة وشيئا واحدا لا تنتقض بموت
191	اَحد من **الجهَات** ولَا بعـ[ـز]ل وَالٍ وتَولية غَير[ه] بل	أحد من الجانبين ولا بعزل وال وتولية غيره بل
192	تويد احكامها وتدُوم ايَامها وشهورّها و[اَ]عوامها	تؤيد أحكامها وتدوم أيامها وشهورها وأعوامها
193	وعَلى ذلكَ انتظَمت وَا[سْتَقـ]ـرّت في التَا[ريـ]ـخ المذكور	وعلى ذلك انتظمت واستقرت في التاريخ المذكور
194	اعلَاه وَهو **يَوم الخميسْ تَاسْع عَشر صَفَر سنَة**	أعلاه وهو كذا وكذا
195	**اثنتين وَتسْعين وَسْتماية للهجرْة النـ[ـبـ]ـوية صَلوَات الله**	
196	**على صَاحبهَا وسْلَامه وَ[ا]تيانه ا[لموَافـ]ـق ذَلِكَ**	
197	**لثلث بقين من جـ[ـنـ]ـير سْنَة الف ومايتين وَاثنتين و[تـ]ـسعين**	
198	**لمَولد السَّيد المَسْيح صلوات الله علـ[ـيه] وسَلامه**	
199	**الحمد لله وَحده وصَلَوتُه على سَيدنَا مُحمد واَلـ[ـه] وصَحبه وعـ[ـتـ]ـرته**	والله الموفق بكرمه إن شاء الله تعالى
200	**الطَاهِرّين وسّلَامه**	
201	**حسبُنَا الله ونعم الوكيلُ**	

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DOI: 10.6082/w7nc-wv53. (https://doi.org/10.6082/w7nc-wv53)

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The Captivity and Release of the Armenian King Leo V in Cairo: Diplomatic Gifts and Ransom in Mamluk Diplomacy

This paper is about the captivity and release of the Lusignan king Leo V of Armenia by the Mamluks between the years 1374 and 1382 according to the chronicle of Jean Dardel and Mamluk sources. It documents an important political event in Mamluk history and a diplomatic episode that has not been duly explored.

The Mamluks had conquered their way into history in the age of the Crusades with their victory at Manṣūrah as an elite corps in the army of the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn (r. 1245–49), who captured the French king Louis IX in 1249 and foiled his Crusade on Egypt. With their victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt in 1260 and the final eviction of the Crusaders from Acre in 1291, they earned their legitimacy as the rulers of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. Confrontations with Christian Europe, however, did not end with the fall of Acre, but continued in the form of piracy and raids on Mamluk Mediterranean ports, keeping the sultanate in a state of permanent alarm and continuous retaliation. This was also a period of busy diplomacy with Latin Europe to negotiate truces and treaties, ransom of prisoners, safe passage for pilgrims, security for the churches in the Holy Land, and, most of all, commercial deals, which always remained of paramount importance in this age of commercial revolution, even in times of warfare.[1] The blessing of the sultanate's geographical position, which earned the Mamluks the monopoly over the international spice trade and control over the major holy sites of Islam and Christianity, gave them substantial leverage on the international stage.

Among the issues of diplomacy at the time was the exchange of prisoners and hostages captured in warfare and piracy and the negotiation of their ransom. Royal hostages were spectacular cases involving exorbitant ransoms. However, unlike the cases of French king Louis IX following the battle of Manṣūrah in

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[1] Aḥmad Darrāj, *Al-Mamālīk wa-al-Firanj fī al-qarn al-tāsiʿ al-hijrī al-khāmis ʿashar al-mīlādī* (Cairo, 1961); P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (New York, 1995); Subhi Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 26–41; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Embassies and Ambassadors in Mamluk Cairo," in *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies: Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics,* ed. Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche (Leiden, 2019), 238–59; Pierre Moukarzel, "The European Embassies at the Court of the Mamluk Sultans in Cairo," in ibid., 685–724; Nicholas Coureas, "Envoys between Lusignan Cyprus and Mamluk Egypt, 838–78/1435–73: The Accounts of Pero Tafur, George Boustronios and Ibn Tagrī Birdī," in ibid., 725–40.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

1250[2] and the king of Cyprus Janus of Lusignan following Barsbāy's attack on the island in 1426, both of whom had been captured and released for considerable sums,[3] no ransom was mentioned when the last king of Armenia, Leo V, was captured during the battle of Sīs in 776/1374–75 and brought, together with his entourage, to Cairo. This battle, the *coup de grâce* that terminated the history of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, was launched by the governor of Aleppo, Ashaqtamur al-Mardīnī, during the reign of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 1363–77).[4]

It is astonishing how little coverage the fall of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia has received in Mamluk historiography in comparison to previous Cilician campaigns and in view of the significance of this event, which eliminated a Christian kingdom whose alliances with the Mongols and close ties to Latin Europe and its Crusades had been a constant source of trouble to the Mamluks, provoking repeated retaliation campaigns from the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 1260–77) to that of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān.[5] One would expect this decisive victory against a Lusignan king, achieved only twelve years after the traumatic 1365 sack of Alexandria by Peter I of Lusignan, to have earned more attention. Sultan Barsbāy's attack on Cyprus in 1426 and its subjugation to vassalage, which was considered revenge for Alexandria, was highly celebrated with a detailed description of the humiliated king Janus' parade in the streets of Cairo.

The Mamluk accounts of the conquest and the capture of Leo V with his family and retinue are brief.[6] Al-Maqrīzī writes that the news was announced to

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[2] Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de St Louis,* ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1988), 68; Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Imprisonment and Freedom in the Life of Louis IX," in *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150–1400,* ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch (London, 2011); Mohamad El Merheb, "Louis IX in Medieval Arabic Sources: The Saint, the King and the Sicilian Connection," *al-Masāq* 28, no. 3 (2016): 282–301.

[3] Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Egypte sous le Règne de Barsbāy, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961), 259–60.

[4] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–71), 11:387–89; idem, *Al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-al-mustawfá baʿd al-wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1956–2005), 2:451–54; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīdah fī tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīdah,* ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:426–27; idem, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk,* ed. M. Ziyādah and S. ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1970–73), 3:627.

[5] The earlier period of Armenian-Mamluk conflicts has been amply studied and does not need to be documented here. See for example Angus Donald Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Hetʿum II (1289–1307)* (Boston, 2001).

[6] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:237–38; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr* (Beirut, 1986), 1:97–99; idem, *Al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966), 1:416; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:130; idem, *Manhal,* 2:451; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1994), 3:450; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn al-musammá dīwān al-mubtadaʾ fī tārīkh al-ʿArab wa-al-Barbar wa-man ʿāsharahum min dhawī al-shaʾn al-akbar,* ed. Khalīl Shiḥādah (Beirut, 2001), 5:525; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal,* ed. ʿUmar ʿA. Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002), 1:2:89; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

the sultan by the governor of Damascus, the amir Baydamur,[7] and that the celebrations there lasted three days. The sultan then appointed the amir Yaʿqūb Shāh[8] as governor of Sīs. Ibn Ḥajar is the only author to add the information that credits a certain master craftsman *(muʿallim)* Khalīl al-Ghassānī for contributing to the victory with his expertise in the production of trebuchets. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Khaldūn, and al-Sakhāwī mention that the king and his family were granted an allowance during his stay in Egypt, which lasted eight years. Al-Qalqashandī, who refers briefly to the event, wrongly names the conquering amir Qushtumur al-Manṣūrī.[9] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ comments that Sīs was no longer part of *dār al-ḥarb* but belonged now to *dār al-islām* as a kingdom in its own right *(mamlakah bi-dhātihā, mamlakah mustaqillah bi-nafsihā).* All authors agree that the victory took place following two months of siege.

Although Leo V was of the Lusignan stock of Cyprus and related to Peter I (who, remember, had led the Alexandrian Crusade), the Mamluks may not at first have recognized the Cyprus and Lusignan connection that might have given their victory in Cilicia a greater significance as revenge. The historians describe the king as *takfūr,* which is the term used for Armenian kings.

After Ayas had been raided in 1322 and eventually taken by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1335, Cilicia no longer presented a significant threat to the Mamluk sultanate.[10] The alliance between the Hethumid king Leo IV (d. 1341) and the kingdom of Cyprus ruled by the Frankish Lusignan dynasty could not prevent Mamluk attacks and Turcoman advance. In 1359–60, during the reign al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, the governor of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dīn Baydamur al-Khawārizmī,[11] assaulted Sīs, Adana, Tarsus, and other strongholds and ordered coins minted and the

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Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-kalām fī dhayl ʿalá duwal al-Islām,* ed. Bashshār al-ʿAwaḍ Maʿrūf et al. (Damascus, 2005), 1:206; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr,* ed. M. Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1961–75), 1:2:139; Aḥmad al-Bayrūtī, untitled manuscript, Ashmolean Library, MS Marshall Or 36, dated Ramaḍān 788/1386, fols. 87r–88v, cites poems celebrating the event. I thank Jo van Steenbergen for drawing my attention to the manuscripts cited here.

[7] This was Baydamur al-Khawārizmī, who had assaulted Sīs earlier on. See note 11, below.

[8] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 12:147.

[9] Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1914–28), 4:179; 8:32–33. I thank Takao Ito for drawing my attention to this.

[10] Armenian-Mongol relations are documented in studies on Armenian and Mongol history and studies on the Crusades, all of which necessarily deal with the Mamluk connection. See also Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 2004); Angus Donald Stewart, "The Assassination of King Hetʿum II: The Conversion of the Ilkhans and the Armenians," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15, no. 1 (2005); Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335),* (Leiden, 2011).

[11] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:498–99. Claude Mutafian calls Baydamur "Beg Timour" (*Le Royaume Arménien de Cilicie XIIe–XIVe siècle* [Paris, 1998], 87).

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

khuṭbah performed in the name of the sultan who received the cities' keys.[12] Armenia's access to the sea and to Cyprus was blocked, her only maritime outlet being the port of Kyrikos, which allied itself to Cyprus and eventually came under Genoese control with the regency of Peter I's widow, Queen Eleanor.[13]

When Leo V ascended the throne of Armenia in 1374, his kingdom was only a portion of what it had been, concentrated around the capital, Sīs, whose treasury (according to his biographer, Dardel) was empty. Mamluk forces in alliance with the expanding Turcoman power in the region had taken possession of major Cilician strongholds.[14]

The last two decades of Armenian history, described as a period of agony,[15] are less documented and only briefly mentioned in studies on Armenian history.[16] The only primary source regarding the end of the Cilician kingdom is Leo V's biography as narrated by the French Franciscan friar Jean Dardel.[17] Little is known about Dardel except what he himself revealed in his *Chronique d'Arménie.* He was born in Estampes in France at an unknown date and became a Franciscan friar toward the mid-fourteenth century.[18] Dardel's first encounter with the Armenian king took place during his visit to Cairo in 1377, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai. In this meeting, Leo offered to employ him as his secretary and confessor and eventually entrusted him with a mission to campaign in European courts for his release, which Dardel eventually achieved.[19] Dardel remained in Cairo until 1379. On his return to Europe, Leo

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[12] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:50; Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions this event in his biographical entry on Baydamur but not in his chronicle.

[13] Mutafian, *Royaume,* 88.

[14] See Malika Dekkiche, "Crossing the Line: Mamluk Response to Qaramanid Threat in the Fifteenth Century according to MS ar. (Bnf, Paris)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 80, no. 2 (2017): 253–81.

[15] Mutafian, *Royaume,* 73, 89.

[16] Ibid.; Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom,* 185–93; Jacob Ghazarian, *The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia during the Crusades: The Integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latins 1080–1393* (Oxford, 2000), 160–63, does not refer to Dardel or to the events in Cairo. See also T. S. R. Boase, "The History of the Kingdom," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia,* ed. T. S. R. Boase (Edinburgh, 1978).

[17] Jean Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie,* ed. Charles Schefer and Louis de Mas Latrie, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), 1–109. See https://archive.org/details/RecueilDesHistoriensDesCroisadesDocumentsArmeniensTomeSecond/page/n269/mode/2up for a digitized copy of the work. For the editors' introduction to Dardel and his *Chronique,* see pages v–xxii.

[18] Cristian Bratu, "Dardel, Jean," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle,* http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_00857; G. Golubovich, "Jean Dardel," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1908), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04635a.htm.

[19] Dardel, *Chronique,* Chapter 116, 89–90.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

commissioned him to write the history of Armenia, including his own reign, obviously providing him with much of the documentation. In 1383, Pope Clement VII (of Avignon), in acknowledgement of his achievements in the service of the Armenian king, appointed Dardel Bishop of Tortiboli in the Kingdom of Naples.

Dardel's *Chronique d'Arménie,* which was completed in 1393, did not receive attention until the discovery of the manuscript in the nineteenth century in the Library of Dôle in France. It was published in 1906 with annotations by the historians Louis de Mas-Latrie and Charles Schefer. Whereas Mutafian does not regard Dardel's chronicle as fully reliable on the grounds of its "hagiographic" character[20] and Boase describes him as "prejudiced,"[21] the annotations to the publication made by Mas Latrie and Schefer—the latter a scholar in Islamic studies—largely confirm Dardel's credibility regarding contemporary events and the Mamluk scene.

The *Chronique,* which begins with the conversion of Great Armenia to Christianity, reaches the events related to Leo V's ascendency to the throne in Chapter 51 and ends with Chapter 144, where his journey from Castile to Paris ends.[22] The account of Leo V's reign and the events that led to the fall of Cilicia and his captivity in Cairo is based entirely on Dardel's rendering.

Leo V was the son of John of Poitiers-Lusignan (d. 1343), constable and regent of Armenia under King Leo IV (1320–41). He was the son of Amalric, prince of Tyre, and Isabella of Armenia, and brother of Guy of Lusignan, who became king of Armenia under the name Constantine II for a short period (1342–44) that ended with his assassination.[23] His mother, Soldane (d. after 1343), was John's concubine who Dardel identifies only as the daughter of an unnamed Georgian king. When Leo IV's Hethumid successor Constantine III (1344–62) died without an heir, Pope Urban V suggested his relative Peter I of Lusignan, the king of Cyprus, who is reported to have seriously contemplated it. This was, however, rejected by members of the Armenian ruling establishment, who preferred rather to enthrone the Hethumid Constantine IV (who eventually allied himself with Peter I of Cyprus and offered him the port and fortress of Kyrikos). Following Peter's assassination in 1369, Constantine IV sought an arrangement with the

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[20] Mutafian, *Royaume,* 89.

[21] Boase, "History of the Kingdom," 1–33, and see bibliographical notes, idem, *Cilician Kingdom of Armenia,* 188.

[22] Dardel, *Chronique,* 39–109.

[23] William Henry Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris, 1963), 74–76; Christopher MacEvitt, "The King, the Bishop, and the Dog who Killed Him: Canine Cultural Encounters and Medieval Armenian Identity," in *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters, c. 1100—c. 1750,* ed. Lisa Bailey, Lindsay Diggelman, and Kim M. Phillips (Turnhout, 2009), 46–48.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

Mamluks, but this was rejected by the pro-Latin Cilician factions and led to his assassination in 1373.

Queen Mary/Mariam of Kyrikos, Constantine IV's widow and regent, turned to Pope Gregory XI for support against the Muslim threat. As no reaction followed, she asked the new king of Cyprus, Peter II, to send Leo of Lusignan to ascend the throne of Cilicia. Leo, his mother, and his brother Bohemond had settled in Cyprus after escaping imprisonment by Constantine IV. Leo grew up in Famagusta, which at that time was controlled by the Genoese.[24] He probably did not speak Armenian. According to Dardel, his appointment found no great support in Cyprus, where he was suspected of being involved in the murder of Peter I. He faced the opposition of Peter's widow and the mother of Peter II, Eleanor the Aragonese queen and regent of Cyprus, as well as that of her Genoese allies, who controlled the island and barred him from landing in Kyrikos. Moreover, Leo was forced to renounce any claim to the fiefdom of his wealthy wife, Marguerite of Soisson, and to transfer it to Eleanor.

Mutafian agrees that Leo indeed did not enjoy the full support of his subjects, who were divided between "Latinophiles" and nationalist Hethumids. The former had the last word that led to Leo's invitation to the throne.

Immediately after ascending the throne, Leo made plans to regain Tarsus from the Mamluks.[25] This was opposed by members of the native aristocracy, who preferred to avoid further confrontation with the Mamluks. Moreover, Leo's staunch devotion to the Church of Rome seems to have contributed to the animosity he encountered among the Armenian population and parts of the aristocracy, as emphasized by the Catholic cleric Dardel in his narration. Among Leo's opponents was the catholicos Boghos I, who objected to Leo's coronation in the Roman rite (unlike his Latin predecessors, who had been enthroned according to Armenian tradition).[26] However, Leo and Marguerite were anointed twice: in a Roman ceremony and an Armenian ceremony.

Leo's scheme to reconquer Tarsus was soon betrayed to the Mamluks and their Turcoman allies, who had the support of some Armenian aristocrats that had found refuge in Cairo. Among these was Achot son of Ossin d'Orgruy, brother-in-law of the last Armenian king, Constantine IV and a pretender to the throne, who at Leo's arrival in Sīs left for the Mamluk sultanate, where he converted to Islam while maintaining connections with the old regime in Armenia.[27]

Unlike the brief references to the events in Mamluk sources, which do not mention the Turcoman contribution to the battle of Sīs, Dardel's detailed de-

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[24] Mutafian, *Royaume,* 87–89; Boase, "History of the Kingdom."

[25] Dardel, *Chronique,* 54.

[26] Ibid., 65; Mutafian, *Royaume,* 89–90.

[27] Dardel, *Chronique,* 69.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

scription reveals a substantial Turcoman contribution mainly in the early phase of the siege.[28] He names two Turcoman leaders, Abū Bakr (Boudbaquir) and Dāwūd Pāshā (Daoudbash), who, following direct orders from Sultan Shaʿbān, had already—before the arrival of Ashaqtamur (Mellech l'amirail du Halep)—begun the siege of Sīs and captured the lower city, forcing the king and the population to withdraw into the castle in the upper city. Ashaqtamur, encouraged by what Dardel describes as the Armenian "traitors," advanced to assist the Turcomans. Apart from Dardel's report, the extent of Qaramanid involvement in the Mamluk conquest of Sīs is not known.

Probably echoing his king's frustration, Dardel talks at length of the Armenian intrigues surrounding the events, emphasizing the consistent undermining of the king's initiatives by his subjects who supported a Mamluk-Turcoman victory. Following two months of siege of the fort of Sīs, Leo escaped to the stronghold of Gaban, which was besieged for another nine months before he surrendered, severely injured during the battle but consistently rejecting the Mamluk offer to convert to Islam in exchange for maintaining his throne as a vassal.

Upon his surrender to the governor of Aleppo, Ashaqtamur, the king, with his family and a retinue that included the old queen and widow of the former king, were treated decently and given a solemn reception with robes of honor. Ashaqtamur offered the king a stately tent and sent him two physicians to treat his wounds. This recalls the case of the French King Louis IX, who likewise received medical treatment after his capture at Manṣūrah.

Before it was even requested, the Armenian king handed over his treasury to Ashaqtamur, who asked him to postpone the process and let it instead take place publicly to avoid later accusations of embezzlement.[29] It is interesting to note that accusations of embezzlement in connection with the Cilician booty were indeed later raised against Ashaqtamur by his Mamluk peers. Ibn al-Furāt reports that in the month of Shaʿbān 776/1375 Ashaqtamur was summoned to Cairo regarding the booty of Sīs, following reports from Damascus that had aroused Sultan Shaʿbān's suspicion. Ashaqtamur arrived in Cairo loaded with riches but could not meet in person with the sultan, who was in Alexandria at that time.[30] Al-Maqrīzī mentions this visit but does not refer to the suspicions against the amir.[31] Ibn Taghrībirdī praises Ashaqtamur throughout his biographical entry, briefly noting his greed when it came to money. Ashaqtamur's biographical entries, which are rather brief, describe his career after the vic-

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[28] It is not possible to determine whether these were Ramazanoglus or Qaramanids.

[29] Dardel, *Chronique,* 84.

[30] Ibn al-Furāt, "Al-Muntaqá min tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt, Chester Beatty MS Or 4125, fol. 22v.

[31] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:354.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

tory of Sīs as unsteady and interrupted by exile and prison, for which no reasons are indicated. He was appointed governor of Aleppo three times as well as other governor posts.[32]

On Ashaqtamur's return to Aleppo with his Armenian captives, he ordered a parade of the dismounted king and his male retinue in the square at the foot of the citadel; the ladies did not have to dismount.[33] This parade was less humiliating than the one Janus of Lusignan experienced in Cairo in 1427, when he rode fettered on a mule through the city before prostrating and kissing the floor in front of the sultan at the citadel, at which point he is reported to have collapsed.[34]

Once the ceremony in Aleppo was over, Leo and his retinue received decent lodging and maintenance. Ashaqtamur even made a cordial gesture towards the king by releasing in his honor Armenian individuals who had been in his captivity for some time.

Dardel writes that the Armenian king arrived in Cairo on 9 July 1375, and was given comfortable housing. No celebration or parade of the captive in Cairo is mentioned. On 13 July he was introduced to Sultan Shaʿbān during a customary public audience, where he was asked to take off his headcover and bow three times before the sultan. With thanks, Leo rejected the sultan's offer to convert to Islam in exchange for a title described by Dardel as "*grand seigneur.*" The sultan replied that, as a result of this refusal, Leo would not be allowed to leave the sultan's territory but would be free to dwell wherever he chose in Cairo.[35] From there the matter was taken by the amir and *dawādār* Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 1389) (Descamour Deudar)[36] who consulted the heads of the Armenian community in Cairo about their willingness to receive the king in their community, which they gladly did. The sultan granted the king a daily allowance of 60 dirhams and a residence of his choice.[37] As a comparison, the highest monthly salary paid to a senior teacher (shaykh) at the *khānqāh*-madrasah of Sultan Barqūq, founded in 788/1386, amounted to 300 dirhams.[38] The quarter where the king settled, called al-Kūm, was a former rubbish hill in the neighborhood of

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[32] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 2:451–54.

[33] Dardel, *Chronique,* 84–85.

[34] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:724–25.

[35] Dardel, *Chronique,* 86.

[36] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:395–96.

[37] Dardel, *Chronique,* 86–87.

[38] Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 74.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn inhabited by Frankish captives.[39] The Armenian colony mentioned here consisted of captives taken during the series of Mamluk campaigns in Cilicia since the mid-thirteenth century and their descendants. There was already a much older Armenian community in Cairo whose history goes back to the Fatimid period.[40] Ṭashtamur then asked the other Armenian captives who were with Leo about their wishes. The old queen requested to be sent to Jerusalem. The catholicos was allowed to return to Sīs with some followers. Others preferred to stay in Cairo, and some of them converted to Islam and, accordingly, enjoyed privileges. Dardel blames the catholicos for his betrayal of the king and, moreover, for praying in the name of the sultan in Sīs. The catholicos had probably had no choice in this matter, since these were the rules regarding the *khuṭbah* as symbol of sovereignty.

At some unspecified point between his capture in 1375 and Sultan Shaʿbān's assassination in 1377, Leo sent a message to his cousin Peter II of Lusignan, the king of Cyprus (r. 1359–82), asking him for help securing his release. Peter responded by sending two clerics with a message to that effect to al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. The messengers were halted in Damascus and prevented from reaching the sultan "because they were poor, badly dressed, and empty-handed without any gift,"[41] but the letter they carried was forwarded to the sultan, who sent a reply to Cyprus saying that the Armenian king had no wish to leave Cairo. Dardel comments that, after realizing Leo's exalted lineage in European royalty, Shaʿbān feared his release might incite his European peers to help him return to his throne. To avoid such a threat, the sultan pressured the captive to write a statement saying he had no intention or desire to return to Europe.

Envoys sent by the Byzantine emperor, the Pope, the kings of France and Naples, and members of the Lusignan dynasty all failed to achieve any progress in the case. Dardel attributes the failures to the fact that they came without diplomatic gifts. Only the Byzantine envoy brought a gift, but it was not much appreciated. Some envoys did not even appear in proper attire and were ridiculed by the Egyptians for their shabby appearance. He further comments that the "Sarrazins" were rapacious, greedy, and conceited and would not be motivated to any move without seeing a profit for themselves.[42]

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[39] Julien Loiseau, "Frankish Captives in Mamluk Cairo," *Al-Masāq* 23, no. 1 (2011): 49–50; Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Ruzayq (Beirut, 1936), 9:110.

[40] See Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians: Cultural and Political Interaction in the Near East* (New York, 1997).

[41] Dardel, *Chronique,* 88–89.

[42] Dardel, *Chronique,* 92–93.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

Sultan Shaʿbān was assassinated and succeeded by his sons al-Manṣūr ʿAlī (r. 1377–81) and al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī (r. 1381–82), who ruled under the regency of the head of the army, the *atābak* Barqūq, who soon ascended the throne himself in 1382 as al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–89 and 1390–99).

Dardel reports that the amir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Manjakī (Saffedin Bahadour), who was of Cypriot origin (as also confirmed by Ibn Taghrībirdī citing al-ʿAynī, according to whom he was either Greek or Frankish[43]), sympathized with the Armenian king and tried to help him by persuading the amir Aynabak al-Badrī (Ennebek)[44] to support his release. Before this could happen, however, Aynabak fell into disgrace and was imprisoned.

An attempt by the king of Aragon to secure Leo's release was unsuccessful. The envoy François Saclose arrived in Cairo in 1378 with a letter requesting the release of some merchandise previously confiscated from Aragonese merchants by Mamluk authorities. He also brought with him another request regarding Leo's release, submitted orally to the young sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥajjī and the amir Barqūq (Barcouc). The amir fulfilled the envoy's first request but rejected the second one with the argument that it was merely oral and not accompanied by a gift and was, therefore, neither authenticated nor trustworthy.[45]

At this point Leo assigned to Dardel the mission to campaign for his release in Europe. Dardel departed for Spain in September 1379 and returned in September 1382. While describing his mission in detail, he was keen to make sure, probably on Leo's own recommendation, that requests for his release should be accompanied by adequate gifts to the sultan. King Peter of Aragon, father-in-law of king of Cyprus Peter I of Lusignan, was ready to send a formal and explicit letter requesting the release[46] but did not contribute a gift, whereas King Juan I of Castile willingly donated gems, silver, gold vessels, fine textiles, and four falcons as gifts to the sultan in addition to taking charge of Dardel's travel and maintenance expenses. Dardel reports that the letter carried by the envoys, signed 10 September 1380, was accompanied by a gift of jewels.[47] This is confirmed by the Spanish chronicler Pedro Ayala (1332–1407), who mentions that rubies of the highest quality, falcons, textiles, and artifacts of silver and gold were listed in the very letter sent by Juan I to the sultan, the text of which he includes in

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[43] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:435–36.

[44] Ibid., 222–23.

[45] Dardel, *Chronique,* 94.

[46] Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Procesos de las Antiguas Cortes y Parlamentio de Catalunia, Aragon y Valencia, Coleccio de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon,* vol. 6 (Barcelona, 1850), CXVII, 371, https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_5ezTAAAAMAAJ/page/n373/mode/2up.

[47] Dardel, *Chronique,* 97–101.

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his chronicle.[48] Ayala's chronicle also includes the text of the reply sent by the sultan's deputy—who must be Barqūq—to the Castilian king, submitted by the envoys who eventually accompanied the Armenian king to Castile.

The embassy was received by the new, young sultan al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī in the presence of the regent, amir Barqūq. The latter blamed the Aragonese for not including a gift of their own to accompany their letter, adding a remark in the sense of "not that the sultan was in need of their gems and textiles, but this was a matter of procedure; even an apple would be appreciated as a token of friendship." Barqūq further remarked that the Aragonese knew all too well what was to be done when their own commercial interests were at stake, adding that their king would pay a thousand dirhams to purchase a slave, but when it came to the release of a king, he seemed less concerned.[49]

The envoys were given another appointment to meet the sultan after his officials had examined the gems sent by the king of Castile, which were eventually highly appreciated.[50] On Leo's advice, the gifts were to be divided between Barqūq and the sultan.[51] Soon afterward, on 30 September 1382, Barqūq, in the presence of the sultan, issued the official order to release the king and bestowed robes of honor on him and his retinue.

The Armenian king manumitted his slaves and set out the next day. Barqūq escorted him to the port of Būlāq to board the sultan's own vessel to Alexandria. To add suspense to this story, Dardel reports that some Mamluks seem to have had second thoughts about the release, fearing that once he was back in Europe among his peers the Armenian king could make use of his connections to reclaim his kingdom. They sent their men to Alexandria after him but they arrived after he was already at sea.[52]

Mamluk chronicles do not mention anything about Leo's fate between his arrival in Cairo in 1375 and 1382, when a very brief notice reports his release following a request by an embassy from Castile.[53] The German pilgrim Johann von Bodman, who met Leo in 1381, reported merely that the king showed him, in a church at Fusṭāṭ, an icon of the Virgin Mary that performed miracles.[54]

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[48] Pedro López de Ayala, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III* (Madrid, 1770), 135–36, 168–73.

[49] Dardel, *Chronique,* 101.

[50] Ibid., 102. López de Ayala gives the text of the letters exchanged between Juan I and the Mamluk court in 1770: *Crónicas,*135–36, 168–73.

[51] Dardel, *Chronique,* 94.

[52] Ibid., 102–3.

[53] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:471, 472; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 2:90.

[54] Alfons Semler, ed., *Die Pilgerreise des Johann von Bodman: Nach der Karlsruher Handschrift veröffentlicht* (n.p., n.d., ca. 1915), 132–33, https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

Before his release, Leo's wife and daughter died in Cairo. The Italian pilgrim Frescobaldi, who visited the city in 1384 after the king's departure, saw in the church of "St. Martin Bishop of Alexandria," located between the Coptic quarter at Fusṭāṭ and al-Qāhirah, the sepulchre of the queen of Armenia wrapped in silk.[55] Otherwise, the eight-year residence of the Armenian king and his family does not seem to have been much noticed in the Egyptian capital.

After sailing from Alexandria, Leo began his odyssey in Europe. He was refused entry to Cyprus and landed at Rhodes. From there he went to Venice, then to Avignon to meet the pope, then to Barcelona to meet Peter IV of Aragon, and finally to Madrid to the court of Juan I of Castile, who honored him with the title of Lord (Señor) of Madrid and granted him the towns Villareal and Andujar as well as a yearly allowance. Leo eventually made the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and finally settled in Paris, where he led a luxurious life at the château de Saint-Ouen, a gift to him from Charles VI, the king of France. Leo's attempts to achieve reconciliation between England and France, in the hope that it might help resuscitate a Crusade and bring back his kingdom, failed.

Upon Leo V's death in 1393, the title "king of Armenia" went to his cousin James I, king of Cyprus (r. 1382–98). When his great-granddaughter Queen Charlotte of Cyprus (r. 1458–64) had to fight for her throne against her illegitimate brother James, she asked the Mamluks, who since Barsbāy's conquest of the island in 1426 were suzerains of Cyprus, to interfere in the quarrel. After some reluctance, Sultan Īnāl (r. 1453–61) decided in favor of James and sent troops to support his claim. Charlotte's title eventually went to the house of Savoy, who held it until 1946 as kings of Armenia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem![56]

In the same year as Leo's release, al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar report the arrival in Cairo of an Armenian messenger from the governorate of Sīs with the task of selecting a person among the Armenian community of captives settled in the quarter of al-Kūm[57] in Cairo to be appointed as successor to their *ḥākim* who had recently died. In Mamluk terminology the term *ḥākim* is mostly used for "judge," but in this context it would rather refer to a leader of the community. The choice fell on a man who owned a tavern in the quarter. This request suggests that the Armenians of Sīs had an autonomous administration, like the other religious minorities under Mamluk rule.

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mittgnm/article/download/28801/22490/.

[55] *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi Fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa,* (Rome, 1818), 103, https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_GIfDMM-Ek-gC/page/n124/mode/1up.

[56] Mutafian, *Royaume,* 90–91.

[57] In this quarter, located near the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, between Fusṭāṭ and al-Qāhirah, there was already a community of Christian captives. Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:9.

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DIPLOMACY AND GIFTS

Dardel’s account is remarkable for the information it provides about Mamluk diplomatic practice. On several occasions he emphasizes the significance of gifts in negotiations with the Mamluks. He interprets the failure of earlier envoys to achieve the release of the Armenian king as resulting from their disregard of decorum—especially regarding gifts, which were expected at the Mamluk court. Only when it was properly handled according to protocol, with the presentation of formal and explicit letters of solicitation accompanied by satisfactory gifts, did the mission succeed.

Dardel’s description of Mamluk expectations regarding diplomatic gifts and formalities, explicitly and bluntly expressed, is plausible and is confirmed on other occasions and in several other accounts.[58] The diary of the Florentine envoy Felice Brancacci at the court of Barsbāy is full of complaints about the demands for payments, gifts, and gratuities he had to deal with during his mission.[59] Peter Martyr, the envoy sent in 1501–2 by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile to the court of Sultan al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–6), likewise had to face the outrage of the sultan’s officials when he appeared empty-handed and, moreover, without a retinue, as would be expected. His response was that in his country it was considered an offense to try to give a present to a king.[60] Ibn Iyās reports that an envoy from Ethiopia was blasted by al-Ghawrī’s officials for the shabbiness of the gifts he presented in comparison to previous Ethiopian gifts.[61] Mamluk outrage and reprimands may have been bolder and more outspoken when dealing with Christian powers. There was a pattern in diplomatic gift-giving that discriminated between gifts for Muslims or Christians.[62] This may explain why the chroniclers were less interested in describing the gifts their sultans gave than those they received. The latter were usually displayed at the court to advertise the sultan’s status in the world. The spectacular gifts sent by Sultan Qāytbāy to Lorenzo de Medici in 1487, whose display is described in Italian sources as having rocked Florence, and which were described and commemorated in a famous painting by Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence,

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[58] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2016), 27.

[59] Mahnaz Yousefzadeh, *Florence’s Embassy to the Sultan of Egypt: An English Translation of Felice Brancacci’s Diary* (New York, 2018).

[60] Pedro Martír de Anglería, *Una Embajada de los Reyes Católicos a Egypto segúla Legatio Babylonica’ y el ‘Opus Epistolarum’ de Pedro Martír,* ed. and trans. Luis García y García (Valladolid, 1947), 82; Petrus Martyr Anglerius, *Legatio Babylonica: Die Gesandtschaft nach Babylonien,* ed. and trans. Hans Heinrich Todt (Wiesbaden, 2015), 213.

[61] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:12

[62] Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy,* 24, 50, 106, 134, 140.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

did not receive any mention in Mamluk sources.[63] Lavish gifts sent to Christian rulers or other hostile powers might have been kept quiet in order not to be interpreted as signs of deference towards an enemy, as happened when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had to justify to a disapproving official the expensive gifts he had sent to his former enemy the Ilkhanid Abū Saʿīd.[64]

The lines between tribute, ransom, and gift in Mamluk diplomacy are often blurred.[65] In Mamluk terminology the term *hadīyah* was used for gift as well as for tribute; in practice, gifts had an obligatory function which, when coming from an inferior or subordinate partner, were indeed equivalent to tribute. Whereas Barqūq is reported by Dardel to have told the Castilian envoys that even an apple would be appreciated as a symbol of friendship, Mamluk officials' inspection and evaluation of the Castilian gifts prior to the release of the captive rather suggests that these were viewed as a kind of payment for Leo's release.

Conclusion

Compiled under Leo V's patronage and influence while at the same time being based on his experience as an eyewitness who lived in Cairo for two years and was an active participant in the events surrounding his patron's release, Dardel's account of the events is an interesting document for Mamluk history. His dates conform to those indicated in the Mamluk chronicles, the names of people involved are recognizable, and their roles are confirmed by Mamluk sources. Dardel was well informed about the political situation and intrigues going on at the Mamluk court during the years of Leo's captivity, as he refers to events confirmed by Mamluk sources, such as the role of the amir Aynabak al-Badrī in the conspiracy against the sultan. His mention of the Cypriot origin of the amir al-Sayfī Bahādur is corroborated by Mamluk authors. He also accurately mentions that the sultan held his biweekly public audiences on Mondays and Thursdays. The texts he provides of official letters and messages addressed to Leo V by Ashaqtamur correspond fully with the style of the Mamluk chancery.[66]

It is difficult to say why Leo V was not paraded in Cairo like Janus would later be or to determine why this Mamluk triumph was not loudly celebrated in the sources. The answer to the former question may be that his having been paraded in Aleppo was considered sufficient humiliation. The latter question is more complicated. The adolescent Shaʿbān's early reign was shaken by the Al-

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[63] Christiane Joost-Gaugier, "Lorenzo the Magnificent and the Giraffe as a Symbol of Power," *Artibus et Historiae* 8, no. 16 (1987): 91–99.

[64] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:536–37.

[65] On gifts in Mamluk diplomatic practice, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy.*

[66] Dardel, *Chronique,* Chapter 117, 90–91.

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DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

exandrian Crusade, which prompted the initiative of the mighty amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī to build a formidable new fleet of 100 warships—publicly displayed with great pomp—to target Cyprus for revenge. The fleet, however, never left the Nile; it was used instead against fellow Mamluks allied with the sultan in a struggle that ended with the amir's murder in 1366.[67] The declared revenge for Alexandria was Barsbāy's raid on Cyprus in 1426. The reason that no connection was made between Alexandria and Sīs might be that at the time of Leo's capture the Mamluks were not aware of his Lusignan lineage and his connections with Cyprus, which would also explain why there was no mention of a ransom. Most importantly, unlike Louis IX and Janus, the captive had no kingdom to ransom him and to return to, nor, it seems, an ally interested in his release. The explanation for this may be the complex European-Cypriot-Armenian relations of that time. Dardel blames the failure of earlier attempts to release the king on inadequate procedures on the European side, clumsiness in handling the matter, and Shaʿbān's fear that the king's ties with European courts might lead to attempts to recover his lost kingdom. This view deserves consideration.

In the history of the Mamluk sultanate and its struggle against Crusaders, Dardel's account sheds light on a major event—the final elimination of a Christian kingdom—while also revealing aspects of Mamluk diplomatic practices with Latin Europe.

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[67] Jo Van Steenbergen, "On the Brink of a New Era: Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī and the Yalbughāwīyah," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011): 117–19.

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DOI: 10.6082/g3dr-m175. (https://doi.org/10.6082/g3dr-m175)

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Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria: A New Perspective

The author of the celebrated painting *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* (Fig. 1) is Gentile Bellini, a renowned Venetian artist who twenty-five years earlier had stayed in Istanbul (between 1478 and 1481),[1] where he painted the Ottoman Sultan Muḥammad the Conqueror, or Mehmet II (Fig. 2), but who had probably never travelled to Alexandria.[2] In 1504 Gentile Bellini was commissioned by the Scuola di San Marco to paint *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria,* which is usually dated to 1507 (the year of Gentile's death)[3] but was actually completed after his death by his brother Giovanni.[4] The huge basilica set at the center of the background represents the Alexandrian Basilica,[5] originally built as a shrine to St. Mark after his martyrdom and later enlarged into a church.[6] In actual fact, it closely resembles the Basilica of San Marco in Venice and even the Church of Constantinople in Istanbul (where Gentile had once stayed),[7] both of which were

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[1] Deborah Howard, "Venice as an 'Eastern City,'" in *Venice and the Islamic World: 828–1797,* ed. Stefano Carboni (New York, 2007), 67. After its fall in 1453, Constantinople was renamed Istanbul.

[2] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio,* 3rd ed. (New Haven, 1994), 206.

[3] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York, 1997), 60.

[4] Although completed by Giovanni, radiographs have proven that Gentile had completed the entire background and the masses of figures before his death. See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 203. For that reason, this paper will ascribe *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* to Gentile Bellini. Perhaps that is why most scholars date it to 1504–7. However, Humfrey has considered the possibility of its completion in about 1510 (1504–ca. 1510). See Peter Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 1996), 11.

[5] Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago, 2007), 164. Brown referred to it as the "great imaginary Basilica," modeled on the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 208–9.

[6] Alexander Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology: The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1978), 68. While today a huge cathedral is built in its place, no trace remains of the old monumental Church of St. Mark. See Massimo Capuani, *Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments through Two Millennia* (Collegeville, 2002), 45. However, during the last decades of the ninth/fifteenth century a huge church was still standing when in 1483 Friar Felix of Ulm went to Alexandria and Cairo on his way to the Holy Land and visited the Alexandrian Church, which he referred to as "the Cathedral of St. Mark of the Jacobites." Félix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte 1483,* translated from Latin by Jacques Masson (Cairo, 1975), 2:690.

[7] For more details on that matter, see Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 207.

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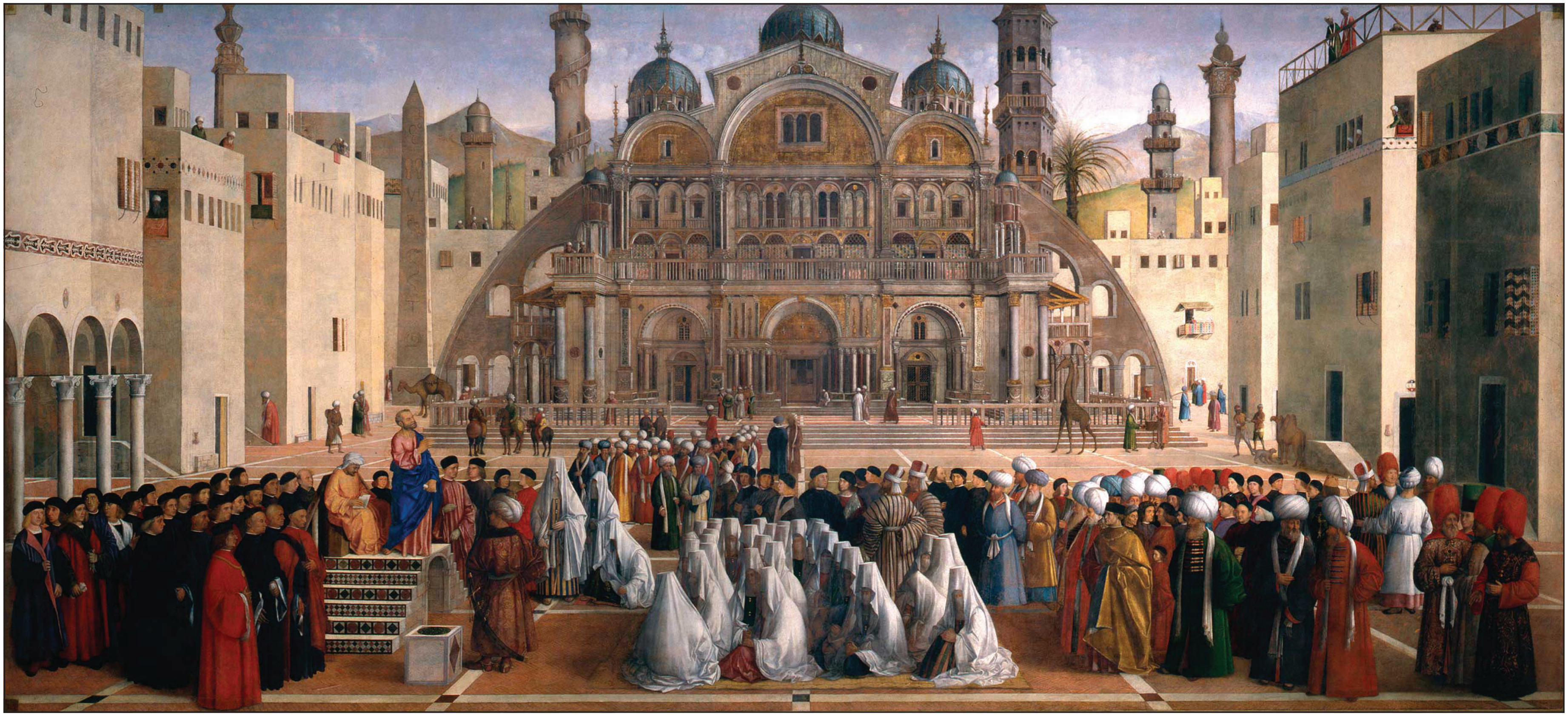

Figure 1. Gentile Bellini, *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria,* ca. 1504–15, oil on canvas, 770 x 347 cm. Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, Italy. https://pinacotecabrera.org/en/collezione-online/opere/saint-mark-preaching-in-a-square-of-alexandria-in-egypt/

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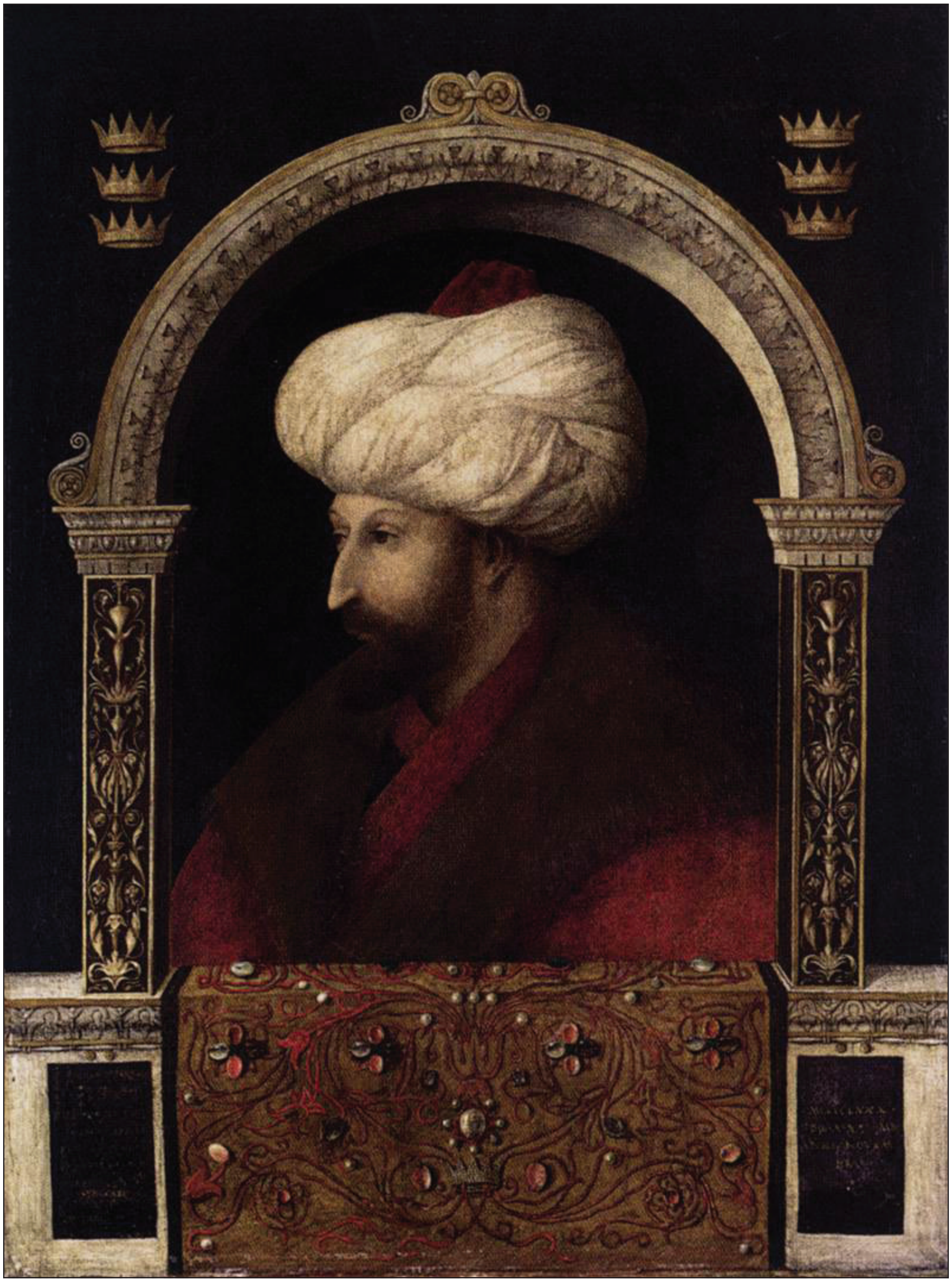

Figure 2. Gentile Bellini, *The Sultan Mehmet II,* 1480, oil on canvas, 69.9x52.1 cm, National Gallery, London, inv. NG3099. https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/bellini/gentile/mehmet2.html

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at his disposal. But what were his other sources for the whole scene? Did he copy what he had seen in Istanbul by depicting Ottoman minarets, architectural details, and costumes in an attempt to convince his viewer of an Alexandrian setting? Were the Venetians at that time able to differentiate between the Mamluk and Ottoman worlds? How much did they know about Alexandria? Examining every detail, it becomes clear that the only detail in this painting from Gentile's stay in Istanbul is the Ottoman standing right beneath St. Mark's platform and wearing a sword (Fig. 1a),[8] whose headgear resembles Gentile's painting of the Ottoman sultan Muḥammad the Conqueror.

In fact, Gentile's *St. Mark Preaching* is among a group of Venetian paintings showing Mamluk settings, costumes, and other details, which art historians have labeled "Mamluk mode."[9] The Mamluks ruled Egypt and Syria from 648 to 923/1250 to 1517[10] but were represented in Venetian painting only near the end of that period and later.[11] The main reason for the late portrayal of the Mamluk world was that this "mode" was part of a bigger Venetian phenomenon that scholars termed the "eyewitness" style, which aimed at narrating the "real"

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[8] There are two other Ottomans standing in the crowd (to the right of the two men in stripes), who however could barely be distinguished by their headgear. Brown did, however, refer to the Ottoman with the sword as the only Ottoman in the painting but said nothing about what he represents or the reason for adding him here. See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 207. Pedani, on the other hand, went a step further and identified the Ottoman as "Alaeddin, son of Osman." See Maria Pia Pedani, "Gentile Bellini and the East," text of a lecture at the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice, 23 June 2016. https://www.academia.edu/26941288/Venetian_Mamluk_mode_and_Gentile_Bellini_pdf, 22.

[9] The Mamluk mode in Venetian narrative paintings implies the integration of groups of Mamluks within their original setting. See Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982), 21–53.

[10] The word *mamlūk* in Arabic literally means slave, but only refers to the slaves who were originally Turks, and not black slaves, commonly called *ʿabd.* Although the Mamluk system was established on the tradition of slave soldiery, the Mamluk status was that of a proud and honorable member of an elite fighting group. Egypt under the Mamluks could boast of numerous artistic and architectural productions that, despite the continuous influx of foreign elements coming from neighboring Muslim centers, are actually local and Egyptian in style. For more details on the Mamluk institution see Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *Al-Jaysh al-Miṣrī fī al-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1998), 1–29; David Ayalon, *Islam and the Abode of War: Military Slaves and Islamic Adversaries* (New York, 1994); idem, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria: 1250–1517* (London, 1977). For a brief and excellent overview of the Mamluks, their arts, architecture, and society, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (Cairo, 2007), 1–100.

[11] However, Mamluk artifacts had been copied in Venetian paintings much earlier. For more details on the display of Mamluk decorative art in Venetian painting, see Nevine Rateb, "The Mamlūk Impact on Venetian Renaissance Painting, 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D. (Ph.D. diss., ʿAyn Shams University, 2015), 61–177.

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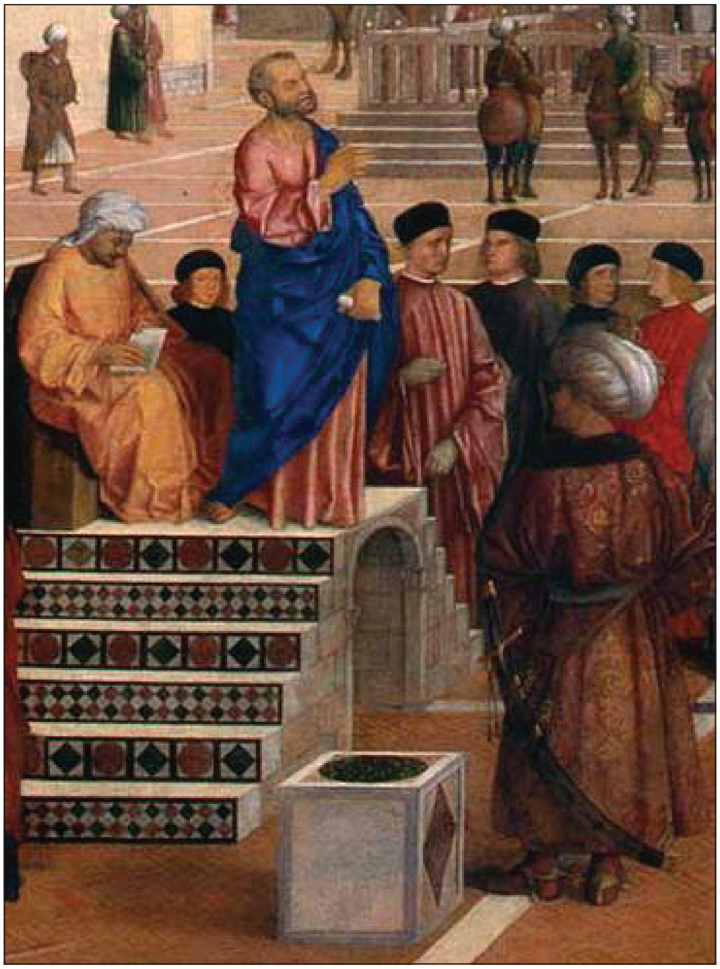

Figure 1a. Detail showing Saint Mark preaching. Anianus sits behind him wearing the small ʿ*imāmah* and an Ottoman stands beneath the platform wearing a sword.

world as if from the brush of an eyewitness,[12] and which occurred between 1470 and 1530.[13] What characterized Venetian narrative eyewitness paintings was their emphasis on the everyday world and not the supernatural or religious

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[12] The "eyewitness" style was presented by Ernst Gombrich as meaning the representation of what an eyewitness could have witnessed at a certain moment. Venetian eyewitness artists were credited with painting whole settings that looked as truthful as possible. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, 2001), 14.

[13] Between 1470 and 1530, Venetian artists aimed at making their narratives look as truthful as possible to bestow upon them documentary authority. Eyewitness painters belonged to a specific generation, namely Carpaccio, Mansueti, and Gentile Bellini, who all sought to paint—and

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events they had originally represented.[14] However, it was not until the middle of the last decade of the fifteenth century that Venetian eyewitness painters suddenly shifted their interest toward the world of Islam and started representing religious narratives, or *istoria,* against a Mamluk background instead of the city of Venice.[15] At that time, the lands of early Christianity (such as Alexandria and Jerusalem), where the events in religious narratives had taken place, were part of Mamluk territory. By setting their narratives in these lands, Venetian eyewitness painters managed to impose truth and credibility onto their religious stories.[16] Only a few years after the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate the age of eyewitness Orientalism ended. While the logical explanation is simply the end of an artistic taste with the death of its painters,[17] the reasons for the termination of the Mamluk phenomenon in Venetian painting could also include the political events of the day.

In *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* Gentile wanted to depict a "real" Alexandria to place his religious narrative painting within an authentic setting.[18] In fact, Gentile's painting is one of the two most impressive eyewitness narrative paintings featuring accurate Mamluk settings and details; the other is the anonymous *Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors in Damascus.*[19] To convince the audience of its topography, Gentile employed contemporary Alexandrian landmarks that were "well known to all" Venetians.[20] He added Mamluk features, albeit not

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often "invent"—a painting that would look as if it came from the "brush of an eyewitness." See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 125, 193–94.

[14] H. Honour, *The Visual Arts: A History* (Englewood Cliffs, 2002), 464. Two famous Venetian paintings reflect such a trait: *Procession in the Piazza San Marco,* by Gentile Bellini, and *Healing of the Possessed Man,* by Carpaccio. The former focuses on the celebration of the feast day of St. Mark rather than the miracle, and the latter portrays the Rialto bustling with life instead of the miracle of the True Cross. See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 142–50; idem, *Art and Life,* 99, 100.

[15] See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 68–69. *Istoria* is a true and proper narrative representation (ibid., 2, 5).

[16] Ibid., 193–218. Brown relates eyewitness accounts that presented accurate and reliable visual data and the taste for creating a painting that looked as truthful as can be so as to grant the narrative documentary authority. Ibid., 125–32.

[17] The deaths of two prominent Venetian eyewitness painters, Carpaccio and Mansueti, ended the eyewitness mode, even though they must have trained a new generation of painters in the eyewitness style in their own workshops. Ibid., 237.

[18] Other Venetian painters from the eyewitness school, such as Cima and Mansuetti, fabricated an Alexandrian setting relying instead on authentic-looking Mamluk figures. Ibid., 197–200.

[19] Now in the Louvre: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010061588

[20] Those were the words of the Venetian traveler Ludovico di Varthema in 1508, who knew so much about Alexandria's sights that he did not bother to describe them. He was keen to leave Alexandria to go to Cairo and see its unfamiliar places. See Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 160. The reason probably lies in the fact that Alexandria was frequently visited by Venetian mer-

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all ones found in Alexandria itself, such as the three-storey minaret to the right of the basilica and the cylindrical one with an outer staircase to its left. The only minaret with an outer staircase found at that time in Mamluk lands was Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn's minaret (modeled after the two famous minarets at Samarra in present-day Iraq)[21] in Cairo.[22] Gentile probably relied on literary sources as well as sketches and prints for these images.

Moreover, he portrayed a number of Ancient Egyptian monuments that still exist today. Venice was not only interested in the Islamic world of the Mamluks and its culture but was equally fascinated by Egypt's ancient civilization. This Western fascination with Egypt started prior to the fifteenth century.[23] "Egyptomania" during the Renaissance was a phenomenon that was not only confined to Egypt's ancient civilization, but included an appeal to its ancient power and wisdom as well.[24] In 1499, only a few years after Gentile was commissioned to paint *St. Mark Preaching,* the *Hypnetomachia Poliphili* was released in Venice. Although originally an antiquarian romance, its importance lies in being the first book on architecture printed with illustrations, and its fundamental im-

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chants even prior to Mamluk rule, as attested by *fondacos* established by the Venetian Republic. Venice had two *fondacos* in Alexandria: a church and a bath. A commercial agreement between Venice and the Mamluks allowed the establishment of another *fondaco* in Alexandria in 1302. See Maria Pia Pedani, "Bahari-Mamluk-Venetian Commercial Agreements," in *The Turks,* ed. Hasan Celal Güzel et al. (Ankara, 2002), 2:301–2. It might be interesting to add that the term *fondaco* in the Venetian dialect is derived from the Arabic word *funduq.* Deborah Howard, "Venice and the Mamluks," in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 80. However, it could have been a Greek derivation that reached Italy in the Middle Ages. André Raymond and Gaston Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire, traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1979), 2.

[21] Gentile's representation of the minaret is not accurate. For more details about Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn's minaret (as well as a detailed description of its architecture and an excellent analysis of al-Maqrīzī's stories about the mosque) see Farīd Shafʿī, *Al-ʿImārah al-ʿArabīyah fī Miṣr al-Islāmīyah: ʿAsr al-wulāh* (Cairo, 2002), 409–11; for a short description see also K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Beirut, 1968), 314–16.

[22] In 1512 the Venetian noble Pagani described the city of Alexandria as being largely in ruins, and although he did mention some of its landmarks, including the Church of St. Mark, he did not add any descriptions. As he was already dead by the time Pagani described Alexandria in ruins, Gentile must have made use of similar reports that were typically brief and lacked topographical relations of its monuments, which could explain how a significant landmark from Cairo was integrated in an Alexandrian setting. See Pagani's description cited by Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 206.

[23] Charles Burnett, "Images of Egypt in the Latin Middle Ages," in *Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions through the Ages,* ed. Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion (London, 2003), 65–99.

[24] Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 279.

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portance lies in the "reinvention of Ancient Egypt" during the Renaissance.[25] It may be useful to add here that Venice's visual awareness of the ancient Egyptian monuments had started at least two centuries earlier as seen in the San Marco mosaics showing the pyramidal Joseph's Granaries.[26] In *St. Mark Preaching* an ancient Egyptian obelisk covered with pseudo-hieroglyphs was placed in front of the wall to the left. In 1483 Felix Fabri described only one obelisk in Alexandria, at a time when Rome alone could boast more than 13 obelisks.[27] Gentile relied on either real Egyptian inscriptions or on faux-Egyptian hieroglyphs[28] (or pseudo-hieroglyphs).[29] Despite scholars' contradictory opinions about the source or sources for the obelisk and its hieroglyphs, Gentile probably relied on the *Hypnetomachia*.[30]

To the right of the great basilica Gentile added another famous Alexandrian landmark known as Pompey's Pillar but more accurately identified as the Column of Diocletian.[31] This great column and the huge obelisk were among the important Alexandrian landmarks well known to all Italian travelers since the middle of the fifteenth century[32] and could not have been drawn, as some scholars still claim, from Gentile's experience in Istanbul, where he stayed for some

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[25] Ibid., 133–34. The import of the long recognized curative drug called mummy, or *mammia,* reflects another aspect of interest and learning in the field of medicine. Mummy was one of the 288 spices listed in Pegolotti's manual between 1310 and 1340, where it means either mummy dust or some kind of natural asphalt. Much earlier, since the days of Ibn Sīnā (980–1037), *mammia* was recognized as a useful drug for more than 17 diseases. See Robert Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York, 2001), 17, 20, 108–12.

[26] Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 153, 155.

[27] Rome was known as "the city of obelisks." See Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt, Skyscrapers of the Past* (Cairo, 1987), 109.

[28] The hieroglyphs in the *Hypnerotomachia* are not necessarily real hieroglyphs, but include any type of communicative imagery inspired by the real Egyptian inscriptions. For more details on the various scholarly opinions see Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 134, 146–50. While some scholars do attempt to read Gentile's hieroglyphs, they have not reached an actual reading and the artist's intended message remains to be unraveled. Ibid., 163.

[29] See Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting in Venice, 15th to 17th Centuries," in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 128.

[30] In spite of the recent agreement among scholars that Gentile's stay in Istanbul had little, if any, effect upon his subsequent works, and despite the divergence between Alexandria and Constantinople, some relate the Alexandrian setting in Gentile's painting to his experience in the Ottoman court, including the minarets and the so-called column of Pompey. See Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 160, 162.

[31] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 208.

[32] Brian Curran, "Ancient Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in Italian Renaissance Art and Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1997), 126.

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time as a guest at the Ottoman court.[33] In fact, Gentile's stay in Istanbul does not seem to have influenced any of his Oriental settings in other paintings but was restricted to some Ottoman figures.[34] The tower to the extreme left probably represents another Alexandrian landmark, the famous lighthouse that once protected the ancient city,[35] though by the time Gentile embarked upon his painting it had already been replaced by Qāytbāy's citadel in 882/1477. Gentile could have used as his model the tower of the cathedral Church of San Pietro di Castello in Venice—which had been newly rebuilt in 1463–74—with its three storeys: rectangular at the bottom, octagonal in the middle, and circular at the top.[36] This tower was a clear reference to Alexandria's lighthouse, and, as a guide for travelers returning to Venice, it served the same purpose.[37] While Gentile did put all of Alexandria's landmarks together in one setting (in addition to the two Islamic monuments from Cairo), the scene was really the artist's creation and meant to fully convince the viewer of an Alexandrian scene.

Howard believes that Venice emulated Alexandria at some times and Jerusalem at others.[38] The story of the two Venetian merchants stealing some of St. Mark's relics from their resting place in Alexandria in 828, where his church and monastery once stood,[39] testifies to the existence of commercial relations between Venice and Egypt as early as the ninth century, after which Venice displaced the Byzantine patron, St. Theodore, with St. Mark. Choosing St. Mark as Venice's patron saint instead of St. Theodore is seen as a sign of the Republic's growing interest in the East and its political and spiritual independence from

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[33] Curran has argued that Gentile could have sketched his minarets while in Istanbul. See Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 160. This is a faulty presumption based on an ignorance of the Ottoman pencil-shaped type of minaret totally unlike any Mamluk example. Arcangeli attributed the obelisk, the hieroglyphs, and the Column of Diocletian to monuments Gentile saw in Istanbul. See Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting," 128. Instead of trying to look for Gentile's source in its own homeland, scholars credited Istanbul with erroneous assumptions.

[34] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 196.

[35] Ibid., 208.

[36] Deborah Howard, "Memories of Egypt in Medieval Venice," in *Islamic Crosspollinations: Interactions in the Medieval Middle East,* ed. Anna Akasoy, James Edward Montgomery, and Peter E. Pormann (Cambridge, 2007), 131.

[37] Ibid., 131–32.

[38] Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven, 2000), 209, 211; idem, "Memories of Egypt," 119–22; Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 237.

[39] See Otto F. A. Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo, 2001), 31. In June 1968 a small particle of the relic of St. Mark was returned by the Pope of Rome to Egypt, but instead of joining the head of the saint in Alexandria, the relic was interred in the new Cathedral of St. Mark in ʿAbbāsīyah in Cairo on June 26, 1968. See ibid., 33–35.

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Byzantium.[40] According to Curran, Gentile's painting brought together past and present, sacred and profane, Venice and Alexandria.[41] Such a collaborative quality was a Venetian tradition clearly reflected in its painted narratives, or *istoria,* and could describe Mamluk Egypt as well. When Venice linked its self-image with Alexandria,[42] Venice and Egypt had a lot in common.[43] Venice was known to the world as a "colossal *sūq,*"[44] and Alexandria was described as "an open market for the two worlds: the Orient and the Occident," where vessels from Africa, Asia, and Europe all anchored at its port.[45] Similarly, a visitor in 1482–83 reported the presence of rich merchants from all over the world in the market city of Alexandria.[46]

In addition to the architecture, the sources of other elements of the setting can be traced. The giraffe in the background, for example, could have been reproduced from a woodcut by Reeuwich,[47] the illustrator of the first illustrated travel book, Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes,* written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[48] Additionally, giraffes were among the exotic animals sent to Italy by Mamluk sultans as diplomatic gifts.[49] Official reports of Venetian representatives at Mamluk courts and accounts of Venetian travelers and merchants

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[40] Brown, *Art and Life,* 10.

[41] Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 164.

[42] See Howard, *Venice and the East,* 209, 211; idem, "Memories of Egypt," 119–22; Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 237.

[43] While comparing the two cities, Howard mentions a horde of similarities between them: their location overlooking the sea, a great river, a canal, international commerce, minting coins, manufactured glass, and so on. Howard, "Memories of Egypt," 121.

[44] Howard, *Venice and the East,* 6.

[45] Fabri was a Dominican Friar. Fabri, *Voyage,* 2:722–23.

[46] The Flemish traveler Joos van Ghistele mentioned Turks, Spaniards, Genoese, Venetians, Italians, Catalans, Tartars, Persians, Arabs, and merchants from all other nations. Joos van Ghistele, *Le Voyage en Égypte de Joos van Ghistele 1482–1483,* trans. Renée Bauwens-Préaux (Cairo, 1976), 112–13.

[47] Ulrich Haarmann, "The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 3.

[48] Raby attributes it to 1483. See Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 69. Mack and Brown date it to 1486. See Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 2002), 163; Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 194. Bernhard von Breydenbach was the bishop of Mainz in Germany, who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and visited Egypt accompanied by the Dutchman Reeuwich, the illustrator of his travel book. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza,* 163.

[49] In 1486 the Mamluk sultan Qāytbāy sent Lorenzo de'Medici a giraffe, among other diplomatic gifts, that caused a great sensation wandering the streets of Florence. Eric Ringmar, "Audience for a Giraffe: European Expansionism and the Quest for the Exotic," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (2006): 380–81.

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were important sources to eyewitness painters.[50] In 1384 Frescobaldi recorded having seen three giraffes and elephants in Cairo.[51] Between 1435 and 1439 Tafur also described the giraffe he saw in Cairo in some detail.[52] Gentile added a palm tree right above the giraffe behind the basilica, and a camel to the extreme left in front of the obelisk, both of which mirror the Mamluks' physical and zoological environment.

Having shown how Gentile set his scene in an Alexandria that was well known to many Venetians, let us now reflect on how he incorporated human figures to serve his narrative, beginning by covering Mamluk costume in some detail and considering Gentile's possible sources. He probably made use of the sketchbooks of his father, Jacopo Bellini (1396–1470), who depicted turbaned figures and was named the "Father of Venetian Orientalism,"[53] as well as the sketchbooks of other artists who had actually traveled to Mamluk lands,[54] but recognition of the Mamluk world in Venetian painting—such as showing groups of Mamluk figures along with architectural settings—had started by the end of the fifteenth century when Venetian artists executed a series of paintings that clearly reflected their fascination with the Mamluk world. In his study of Orientalism in Renaissance Venice, Raby uses the term "Oriental mode" to describe the Oriental fashion in Venice. He further differentiates between the "Mamluk mode" and the "Ottoman mode" according to costume and headgear.[55] Apart from sketchbooks, what were Gentile's other sources? The Mamluk ambassador Taghrī Birdī's visit to Venice in 1506, only one year before Gentile's death, must have been an important source for his Mamluk models.[56] Taghrī Birdī wandered around Venice with some of his retinue in formal military dress for ten

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[50] See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 125–26.

[51] Leonardo di Frescobaldi, "Pilgrimage of Lionardo di Niccolo Frescobaldi to the Holy Land," in Theophilus Bellorini, Eugene Hoade, and Bellarmino Bagatti, trans., *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384,* Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 6 (Jerusalem, 1948), 49.

[52] Pero Tafur, *Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures 1435–1439,* ed. and trans. Malcolm Letts (New York, 1926), 79.

[53] Arcangeli,"'Orientalist' Painting," 123. Jacopo's sketchbooks were known as "the Bible of Venetian Art," a phrase that refers not to a religious role in Jacopo's sketches but to their unique role in the Venetian Renaissance. Colin T. Eisler, *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (New York, 1989), 265.

[54] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 206.

[55] See Raby, *Venice, Dürer.*

[56] Taghrī Birdī the dragoman was the Mamluk ambassador sent by the Mamluk sultan to Venice in 1506. Out of 20 commercial treaties, this was the only one to be negotiated in Venice and not (as was customary then) in Egypt.

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months.[57] On the other hand, Gentile's stay in Istanbul was definitely his source for the armed Ottoman's attire

To give his narrative credibility Gentile depicted masses of authentic-looking turbaned figures wearing Mamluk official costume and headgear. Mamluk costume consisted of three distinctive constituents: the headgear, the *qabāʾ*[58] coat, and the sword.[59] While Venetian eyewitness painters depicted headgear with great accuracy, the long, dignified Mamluk overcoat worn by Mamluk officials was usually a repetition of the same type of attire, either white or colored, sometimes belted but often not, mostly plain[60] and often made of linen or silk.[61] The *salārī* coat[62] was an overcoat that was often represented with short sleeves.[63] An open-front coat with very wide sleeves[64] known as the *mulawaṭah* was another typical Mamluk cloak commonly worn by high Mamluk amirs under Circassian rule.[65] However, by the end of the Mamluk period it was worn by tribal Arabs as well.[66] Most Mamluk figures represented in *St. Mark Preaching* wear this type of coat.

Headgear played a significant role in Venetian Oriental paintings and was important for the identification of the figures represented. Before describing the headgears represented in Gentile's painting it is important to bear in mind that

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[57] For more details on that matter see John Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26, no. 3 (1963): 503, 514–15.

[58] *Qabāʾ* (plural *aqbiyah*) was a kind of robe worn by the "men of the sword" that had different types (for example "Mongolian" or "Islamic"), and which was sometimes worn one on top of another with the upper having shorter sleeves than the one underneath. The sword was tied to an expensive belt wound around the waist on the left. For more details see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ* (Cairo, repr. 2004), 4:39–40.

[59] L. A. Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume: A Survey* (Geneva, 1952), 21.

[60] Venetian artists never represented the expensive belts worn by the Mamluk "men of the sword," usually made of silver or gold, which, when adorned with precious gems, indicated the high military status of their wearers. Nor did they represent the *ṭirāz* bands or the fur trimmings described by the contemporary historian al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:40.

[61] Travelers often described men's attire as being white while distinguishing between silk, linen, or calico. In 1384 Frescobaldi so described the men he saw in the streets of Cairo. Frescobaldi, "Pilgrimage," 48.

[62] *Salārī* coats were attributed to the amir Salār (under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn) until the days of Ibn Iyās. Salār introduced other elements of costume, horse coverings, and war equipment. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo; repr. Beirut, 2010). 1:1:436.

[63] Ibrāhīm Māḍī, *Ziyy umarāʾ al-Mamālīk fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (Cairo, 2009), 284, fig. 26.

[64] ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *Al-Jaysh al-Miṣrī,* 132.

[65] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 24.

[66] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 2:172–73, 186.

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the turbans worn by Mamluk officials or the ruling class were different from those worn by the civilians. Both the common people (Muslims and Christians) and ulama wore an ʿ*imāmah,* or turban, though the ulama's was much bigger and round.[67] The type of headgear most familiar in the West is the smaller version of the ʿ*imāmah* traditionally worn by inhabitants of Mamluk lands (and other Muslim territories not subject to Mamluk rule) and very similar to the contemporary type still seen today worn with the *jallābīyah* in the streets of Egypt. In the lands of Islam, educated non-military civilians all wore a small ʿ*imāmah,* including Christians and Jews.[68] In *St. Mark Preaching* it is worn by the figure seated with an open book on his lap immediately behind St. Mark (Fig. 1a). He represents St. Mark's scribe,[69] identified as Anianas the shoemaker, who had been healed by the saint and was to succeed him as bishop.[70] He is the only figure in Gentile's painting wearing this type of a small turban. Venetian painters generally used this small ʿ*imāmah* to represent any Muslim depicted either independently or in a very small group, in contrast to Mamluk officials, who were always represented *en masse.* Among such representations showing the small ʿ*imāmah* are Giovanni Bellini's *Uffizi Pietà,* Cima da Congeliano's *Christ among the Scholars,* and Giorgione's *Three Philosophers,* all of which reflect Venice's open-minded society and religious tolerance.[71] In Giorgione's painting the turbaned figure is sometimes identified as Ibn Rushd (Averroës, an Andalusian philosopher and defender of Aristotelian philosophy), who stood for the "emblematic, all-purpose Muslim." Venice encouraged Averroan and Aristotelian debate to protect freedom

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[67] The ulama wore a huge, round turban pointed out by Pedani as being worn by the man standing at the front to the right side next to a Mamluk official. See Pedani, "Gentile Bellini and the East," 18–19. In the background a few figures wear the same type of turban but smaller in size.

[68] At various intervals the rulers of Egypt forced the non-Muslim believers (Jews and Christians) to wear turbans of a different color. Under the second reign of the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, in 700/1300, the sultan gave orders that the Jews should wear yellow turbans and the Christians blue. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 1:1:408; Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 49.

[69] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 207.

[70] Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance,* 158.

[71] Giovanni Bellini's drawing referred to as the *Uffizi Pietà* shows a turbaned figure among others surrounding Mary and Christ's dead body. Perhaps Bellini deliberately added this turbaned figure to relate his *Pietà* to the lands of early Christianity. Cima da Congeliano's turbaned figure in his *Christ among the Scholars* represents a Muslim among Christians and Hebrews surrounding Christ, which reflects Venice's free and open-minded society. The assimilation of the three heavenly religions was carried a step further in Giorgione's *Three Philosophers,* showing a Christian, a Muslim, and a Jew respectively. By portraying the three heavenly religions side by side, Venice's religious tolerance is again revealed.

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of thought and expression in the University of Padua (the official university of Venice) at a time when other parts of Europe greatly condemned Averroism.[72]

In Mamluk lands, the ruling class dressed differently from the rest of the population, and that class was not solely made up of the military. The most important category was the military class, known as *arbāb al-suyūf* ("men of the sword"); the second category was civilians who held administrative offices, known as *arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīwānīyah* or *ḥamalat al-aqlām* (literally "men of the pen"); and the third group was the religious class, known as *arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīnīyah,* or *al-mutaʿammimūn* (literally "men of the turban").[73] Each class had its own distinctive type of headgear. Among those who held religious offices were the qadis, or judges. They wore a much bigger turban than that worn by St. Mark's scribe, and one that was different from the typical elongated Mamluk type.[74] A group in the background behind the veiled women wears such turbans in slightly different sizes, indicating their varied status in society: the bigger the turban the greater the status. Moreover, the colored costume they wear was a familiar sight of foreign merchants outside Venice,[75] which could mean that Gentile was representing a group of merchants.

As previously mentioned, representing authentic-looking turbaned Mamluks was, according to the standards of the day, essential to render biblical credibility onto religious narratives set in the Holy Land or Egypt. Here, a wide range of Mamluk headgear is featured, such as the small turban, or *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah,*[76]

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[72] "I hate the whole Arab race," said Petrarch (1304–74), the great Tuscan humanist, who lived in Venice for many years; this was because of the lasting influence of Arab medical teachings upon Venetian physicians of his day. Giorgione's painting reflects the openness of the Venetian society, its intellectual freedom, religious tolerance, and political independence, especially from the papacy. See Michael Barry, "Renaissance Venice and Her 'Moors,'" in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 154–55, 167. For more details on the presentation of Mamluk figures in Venetian paintings and their relevance to the contemporary events of the day see Rateb, "Mamlūk Impact," 178–249.

[73] Ayalon, *Studies,* 57.

[74] Ibn Iyās recalls that in 919/1513 the sultan gave orders that no one should visit him wearing the turban customarily worn by non-military officials (because of his hatred towards the jurisprudents), so Quran reciters put on a *zamṭ* wrapped with a kerchief on visiting him. One day, a qadi visited the sultan wearing the Mamluks' official turban, or *takhfīfah,* which made the sultan laugh and comment that he looked like a Circassian. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 4:374.

[75] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 233.

[76] As opposed to *al-takhfīfah al-kabīrah,* also known as *al-nāʿūrah* (waterwheel), which appeared by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century and was a heavy kind of horned turban; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 4:201; Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 16–17; Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 35. Any *takhfīfah* was a small turban, which when folded around horns became a *takhfīfah kabīrah*. Carl F. Petry, "Robing Ceremonials in Late Mamluk Egypt: Hallowed Traditions, Shifting Protocols," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture,* ed. Stewart Gordon (New York, 2001), 373. However, this

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al-tāqīyah al-jarkasīyah, which was occasionally covered with "bearskin,"[77] the *zamt* hat (Fig. 1b), and the veiled women (Fig. 1c). A turban wound around a red *tāj,* or cap, as worn by the figure with the sword, represents the Ottomans (Fig. 1a).[78] A group of Venetians, recognized by the red toga normally worn by patricians and secretaries, is set to the left. Among them a Venetian—identified as Gentile Bellini—wears a red senatorial toga and a gold chain (presumably the one given to him by Sultan Muḥammad II).[79] Other Venetians are scattered in the middle and to the right, emphasizing Alexandria as a mercantile city bustling with Venetians and Mamluks.

The *takhfīfah,* or *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah,* at first worn by the sultan and his amirs alike, became, by the end of Mamluk rule, a typical Mamluk headdress.[80] Despite its name, it was a tall turban[81] and not small at all. While the habit of winding a high turban began under the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn (r. 689–93/1290–93), it only became widespread under al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 764–78/1363–77),[82] and continued thus until the days of al-Qalqashandī, who died in 821/1418.[83] In Venetian paintings it is represented as either wrapped vertically or distinguished by a single crossed and oblique fold. Gentile placed those wearing the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* with an oblique fold in the front plane to the right (Fig. 1b), thus underscoring their privileged position among the other Mamluk figures.

The Circassian Mamluk military class adopted another type of headgear that resembled a tall cylindrical hat and was known as *al-tāqīyah al-jarkasīyah.*[84] It came in many colors—red, green, and blue—and was worn without winding a

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type of headgear does not appear in the present painting. On the other hand, the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah*'s white color dominates most Venetian eyewitness paintings showing groups of Mamluks, and is usually represented wrapped vertically.

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār* (Bulaq, 1967–68), 2:104; Māḍī, *Ziyy umarāʾ al-Mamālīk,* 135; Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 40.

[78] While Raby believed that Gentile was the right person to provide Venetians with accurate visual knowledge of the Ottomans, he said nothing about the Ottoman in this painting. See Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 21. Brown, however, was able to point out the Ottoman in Gentile's painting, but said nothing about why he was added here or what he represents. See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 207.

[79] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 148, 219, 207, 233.

[80] Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 16, 17.

[81] Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 62.

[82] Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq Aḥmad, *Tārīkh wa-āthār Miṣr al-Islāmīyah fī al-ʿaṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 2007), 126.

[83] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:39–40.

[84] Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 31; Māḍī, *Ziyy umarāʾ al-Mamālīk,* 135.

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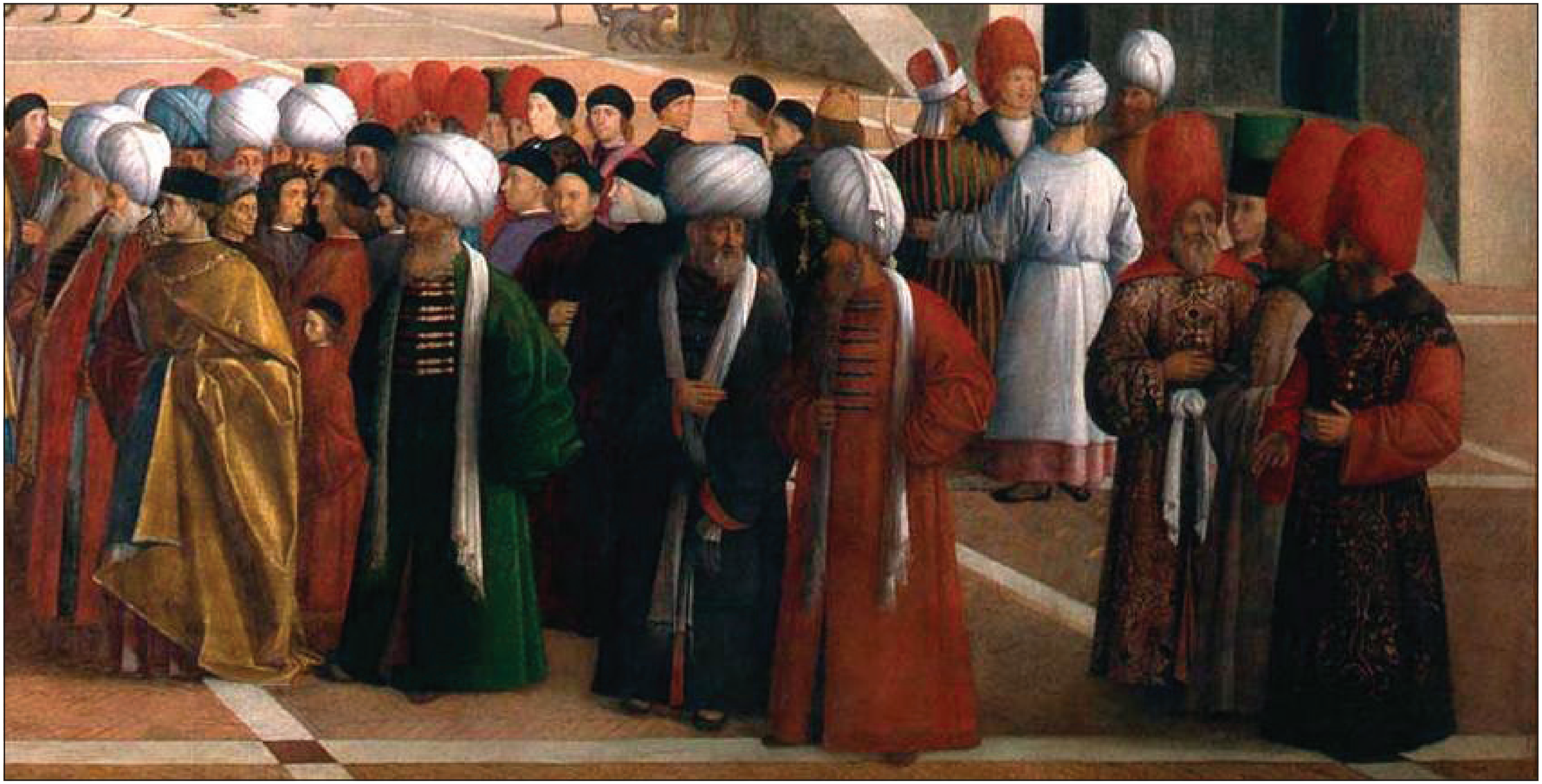

Figure 1b. Detail showing a group of Mamluks wearing different types of headgear. In the middle a figure wearing a huge *ʿimāmah* stands next to another wearing the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* with an oblique fold, also worn by a group of other Mamluks in the front plane. The bear-skin-like *tāqīyah* is worn by the three Mamluk dignitaries standing to the extreme right in the foreground, the two-tone *tāqīyah* is worn by a fourth figure standing behind them, and a wrapped *zamt* is worn by a figure placed further back.

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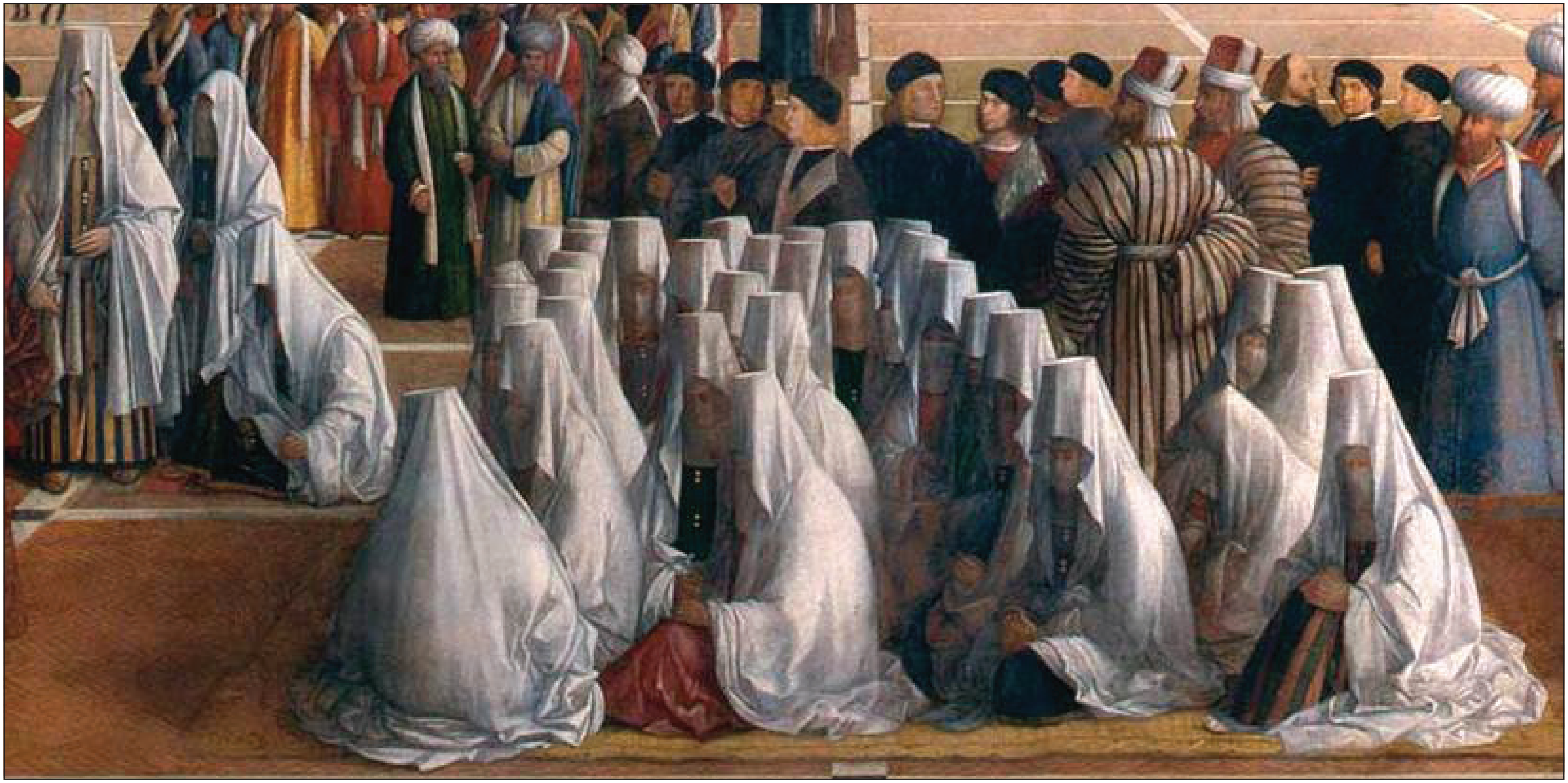

Figure 1c. Detail showing a group of Mamluk women completely covered by their large, white veils placed over tall *ṭarṭūrs*.

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turban around it.[85] Under Faraj Ibn Barqūq (r. 801–8/1399–1405)[86] *al-tāqīyah al-jarkasīyah* became higher, almost 34 centimeters (13.5 inches),[87] and its originally flat top became rounded like a small dome.[88] Between 1481 and 1501 the *tāqīyah* was reported to have been narrower at the bottom than at the top and of two colors, such as the lower portion being green and the upper portion black.[89] It was occasionally covered with "bearskin."[90] The bearskin-like *tāqīyah* is clearly being worn by the three Mamluk dignitaries standing to the extreme right in the foreground, as well as a few others a bit further back. The two-tone *tāqīyah* is worn by a fourth figure standing next to the three *tāqīyah*-hatted dignitaries,[91] which also speaks of their prominent position among the Mamluks (Fig. 1b).

Another typical sort of Mamluk headgear worn by the military class following 1438 was the red *zamt,* sometimes with a white kerchief wrapped around the base and over the top.[92] By the end of Mamluk rule both the red *zamt* and *takhfīfah* had become typical Circassian Mamluk headwear, even after the fall of the sultanate; Ibn Iyās recalled that after taking over Egypt the new Ottoman rulers chopped off the heads of anyone wearing a *zamt* or *takhfīfah.*[93] Although Ibn Iyās did not specify whether only the non-Mamluk officials had their *zamt* hats wrapped with a kerchief around the base, he does mention that this image of a *zamt* was, by the end of Mamluk rule, typical of *Hawwārah* tribal Arabs.[94] Egyptian villagers were also illustrated wearing the *zamt* wrapped with a kerchief.[95] The fact that it was worn by non-Mamluk officials at the time Gentile was painting could explain the figures wearing wrapped *zamt*s and placed a bit fur-

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[85] It might be interesting to add in this context that women too wore this type of headgear in an attempt to look like men so as to attract their men, who preferred men to women at that time, according to Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq Aḥmad (*Al-Marʾah fī Miṣr al-Mamlūkīyah* [Cairo, 1999]), 189.

[86] Aḥmad, *Tārīkh wa-āthār,* 127.

[87] Māḍī, *Ziyy umarāʾ al-Mamālīk,* 135.

[88] Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 31.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Māḍī, *Ziyy umarāʾ al-Mamālīk,* 135; Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 40.

[91] Ibid., 60.

[92] Ibid., 41.

[93] The chronicle of Ibn Iyās is considered a very important source as being a first-hand account written by an Egyptian historian who had witnessed the Ottoman invasion. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 5:150.

[94] Ibn Iyās on more than one occasion mentions the *zamt* worn by non-Mamluks: villagers, boys, slaves, and tribal Arabs from Egypt. Ibid., 2:172–73, 186. On the occasion of his death, Ṭūmānbāy was wearing a *zamt* wound with a kerchief and a *mulawaṭah* coat with big sleeves, "dressed like the tribal Arabs of *Hawwārah.*" Ibid., 5:175.

[95] Pierre Belon's engraving of a *zamt*-hatted archer, illustrated a few decades after the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate, is identified as a portrait of an Arab villager. Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 41.

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ther to the back (almost hidden by the front row of dignified Mamluks). Vecellio engraved an exact copy of Gentile's two standing figures with the wrapped *zamt* and wearing exactly the same striped costume in his *Habiti,* identifying them as Christian Indian merchants in Cairo.[96]

Women in the Mamluk period wore a kind of white veil or wrap, usually made of silk, approximately 3x2 cubits, and commonly known as *izār.*[97] The most cited depiction of typical Muslim women during the Mamluk period is, in fact, *St. Mark Preaching,* which features a group of women sitting together covered in white veils with their faces concealed (Fig. 1c). During the second half of the fifteenth century, the large white veil was often placed over a tall *ṭarṭūr,* or hat, taking the shape of a goblet,[98] as represented here. The term *ṭarṭūr* was listed among women's clothing at the end of the Mamluk period.[99] It might be relevant to add that while Muslim women were completely covered up, female slaves used to uncover their faces.[100] Muslim women during the Mamluk period wore the same white color as men; non-Muslim women were required to wear the same colors as their men: blue for Christians and yellow for Jews.[101] However, except in times of crisis, non-Muslim women did not abide by such measures.[102] On the contrary, they wore veils exactly like Muslim women and could not be differentiated from them in any way.[103]

Apparently the impact of Mamluk women's fashion was not restricted to its appearance in Venetian painting but was copied in the streets of Venice as well, revealing an affinity with Muslim society, and contributing to Venice's desired self-image.[104] A visitor's account from 1494 described Venetian women as well covered, mostly in black, and marriageable girls with their faces covered too.[105] In Gentile's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* (902/1496) two veiled Venetian women stand among the group of women watching the celebration from behind the

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[96] Such identification could simply be due to Gentile's Alexandrian setting, from which Vecellio derived his figure. Ibid., 41.

[97] It had several other names too. For more details, see Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq Aḥmad, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo, 1973), 236; idem, *Al-Marʾah,* 181–82.

[98] Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 71; Aḥmad, *La femme,* 241.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., 243.

[101] Ibid., 237.

[102] Aḥmad, *Al-Marʾah,*183.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Howard, *Venice and the East,* 12.

[105] Casola wonders how they could see in the streets. See ibid., citing *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem,* ed. Mary Margaret Newett (Manchester, 1907), 145.

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carpets displayed over the balustrades.[106] In Venice, the custom of covering unmarried brides extended for at least another century: in 1590 Cesare Vecellio engraved a bride not yet married with her head completely covered, as opposed to a married woman whose hair is falling to her shoulders.[107]

While the three distinctive constituents of Mamluk costume were the headgear, the *qabāʾ* coat,[108] and the sword,[109] none of the Venetian paintings reflecting the Mamluk world show Mamluks wearing swords.[110] Given the Alexandrian setting for the legend of St. Mark, it was necessary to add multiple contemporary figures dressed in Mamluk fashion, but why was the Ottoman standing beneath the saint's platform included? Was the Ottoman added for no reason? In fact, he is the only figure in the painting with a sword and can be identified as an Ottoman by his turban wound around a red *tāj.*[111] In spite of the fact that this painting only shows the saint preaching, the events that follow will include his arrest and martyrdom, which the Venetians to the left stand to witness.[112] Pedani has identified the Ottoman as Alaeddin, son of Osman, based on the white color of his turban,[113] but why was he carrying a sword? Did the sword dangling from his waist have no symbolic meaning or could we safely assume that Gentile's painting contained allusions to contemporary events?[114] A quick look at the political situation should answer such questions.

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[106] See Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 2005), 162.

[107] Ibid., 141–42.

[108] See note 58 above. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:39–40.

[109] Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume,* 21.

[110] The two men arresting the saint in *Arrest of St. Mark* by Mansueti have daggers tied to their belts and are wearing a kind of two-toned *zamt* with a kerchief wound at the base. The rest of their costume does not resemble the typical long, dignified Mamluk overcoats; they are seen wearing short attire with open slits showing up to their knees. This type of outfit could have been what was worn by the tribal Arabs described by Ibn Iyās as a *mulawaṭah* coat with big sleeves, which, along with the *zamt* wound with a kerchief, represented the tribal Arabs of *Hawwārah*. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 5:175.

[111] For more details see Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 21–34.

[112] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 219.

[113] Pedani, "Gentile Bellini and the East," 22.

[114] Humfrey disregards Venetian *Scuole's* interests being other than religious at such an early date. In an interesting article in which he discusses canvases depicting St. Mark at the *Scuola Grande di San Marco,* Humfrey discounts the interpretation of *The Storm at Sea* as a political allegory. He adds that at such an early date Venetian *scuole* decoration did not have any political relevance, but was only concerned with the "expression of communal piety." See Peter Humfrey, *The Bellinesque Life of St. Mark Cycle for the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice in its Original Arrangement* (Berlin, 1985), 225–42.

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In 1453 Constantinople was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. In 1470 Venice lost Negroponte and other territories to the Ottomans, and, despite signing a peace treaty with them in 1479, the Venetians suffered several more losses in the Aegean.[115] This was around the same time as Gentile stayed in Istanbul (1479–81) to paint Muḥammad the Conqueror, or Sultan Mehmet II.[116] Another peace treaty between the Venetian Republic and the Ottomans in 1503 came after the loss of important Venetian fortresses after 1499.[117] From 1494 to 1530 Venice outshined its rivals—Florence, Rome, and Milan, who had surrendered to their enemies[118]—but this was when the Republic lost other important colonies to the aggressive Ottomans.[119] Although Venice's overseas territory had, by the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, reached its maximum, referred to as *stato da mar,*[120] the Republic still feared the Ottoman expansion that bordered its islands and shores.[121] Due to war with the Ottomans,[122] Venice's extensive navigation routes to the Levant were being threatened by losses of territory.[123] By the end of the fifteenth century, the Venetian Republic had begun to realize that the Ottomans, who were becoming ever more powerful, were their most threatening enemy. It was at about the same time that Gentile started *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria*. He was not the only Venetian eyewitness painter to reflect such a view.[124]

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[115] Gino Benzoni, "The Art of Venice and its 'Forma Urbis,'" in *Venice: Art and Architecture,* ed. Giandomenico Romanelli (Cologne, 1997), 19.

[116] Howard, "Venice as an 'Eastern City,'" 67.

[117] See Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting," 132.

[118] J. R. Hale, "Venice and Its Empire," in *Genius of Venice, 1500–1600,* ed. Jane Martineau and Charles Hope (London, 1983), 13.

[119] Brown, *Art and Life,* 13.

[120] Arbel has listed Venice's acquisitions in Table I, such as Cyprus (1473), Veglia (1481), Zakynthos (1482), the Apulian port towns (1495–97), and Cephalonia and Ithaca (1500). See Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *A Companion to Venetian History* (Brill, 2013), 132–36.

[121] Jean-Claude Hocquet, "Venice and the Turks," in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 43–44.

[122] Deborah Howard, "Venice: Society and Culture, 1500–1530," in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting,* ed. David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (New Haven, 2006), 2. For more details on Venice's relations with the Ottomans see Julian Raby, "The Serenissma and the Sublime Porte: Art in the Art of Diplomacy, 1453–1600," in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 90–119.

[123] Hocquet, "Venice and the Turks," 44.

[124] In *The Baptism of the Selenites* by Carpaccio a large Ottoman turban is placed on the staircase; a placement interpreted as a symbol of conversion. See Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting," 133. Given the circumstances of the moment, such an act could also be seen as the hope of victory

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By contrast, the republic's relationship with the Mamluks was one of partnership and equality, as they shared the same trading interests.[125] Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, after the Venetian Republic was granted more commercial privileges by the Mamluk Sultanate, the volume of trade between Venice and the Mamluks had risen considerably.[126] In the first half of the fifteenth century, profits were high and very important for the Venetian economy.[127] Venice's wealth was based on its commercial activity, and its geographical location enabled it to act as entrepôt to the whole world.[128] By the end of the century, trade with the Mamluks constituted almost 45% of Venice's overseas commerce.[129] Venice's growing ties with the Mamluk world were not restricted to commercial cities such as Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, but embraced the Holy Land as well. The Venetian Republic had controlled the pilgrimage sea route to Jerusalem since the beginning of the thirteenth century by legislating conditions and licensing special guides to serve the pilgrims before embarking on Venetian ships to the Holy Land.[130] The moments of commercial tension between these two great states by the end of the fifteenth century were mainly due to the external threats they both faced at that time.[131] While Taghrī

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over the Ottomans, who at that time constituted a great threat and were the Republic's sole Muslim enemy. On the other hand, depicting the large Mamluk *nāʾūrah* turban worn by Mamluk sultans and held here by the kneeling Mamluk figure could be interpreted as a sign of the respect that continued to prevail between the Venetian Republic and the Mamluk Sultanate.

[125] Howard, *Venice and the East,* 218. Throughout the fifteenth century the volume of Venetian trade in Egypt and Syria was increasing. Eliyahu Ashtor, *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages* (London, 1978), 32.

[126] In the years 1415, 1422, and 1442 commercial profits for Venice were very high. See Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), 326, 329.

[127] Despite the fact that the Venetian Republic threatened more than once to suspend trade with the Mamluks between the years 1418 and 1449, not all of them were serious threats; and in spite of its great risk and danger, trade continued between the two states. Eliyahu Ashtor, "Profits from Trade with the Levant in the Fifteenth Century," *BSOAS* 38, no. 2 (1975): 274. The expulsion of the Venetians by the Mamluk sultan in 1435 and the proposal of the Venetian doge in the following year to send an ambassador to Cairo in order to continue trade with the Mamluks (believing that Venice could afford to pay the price fixed by the sultan for the purchase of pepper), is proof that Venice's annual profit from selling Oriental merchandise in the Veneto and the rest of Europe must have been overwhelmingly high. Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Volume of Levantine Trade in the Later Middle Ages, 1370–1498," *The Journal of European Economic History* 4, no. 3 (1975): 593–94.

[128] Brown, *Art and Life,* 19–22.

[129] Howard, "Venice and the Mamluks," 79.

[130] Margaret Wade, *Medieval Travelers* (New York, 1983), 72–73.

[131] The year 1497 saw the reversal of economic powers with the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the gradual shifting of spice trade routes from Jeddah, Damascus, Beirut, Alexan-

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Birdī's emissary was defined as "most hostile...to our nation," and described as being "equally precarious,"[132] Priuli comments, "What an honor it was for Venice to receive an ambassador from so exalted a ruler as the Mamluk Sultan."[133] As soon as the Venetians sensed that the Mamluk sultan al-Ghawrī was willing to negotiate (after having arrested a number of Venetian merchants in Alexandria in 1511) they sent him one of Venice's most distinguished senators and most experienced diplomats, Domenico Trevisani, in 1512.[134] This in itself testifies to the continued diplomatic relations between the republic and the sultanate, but most important, it reveals that whatever the crisis, there was never any political conflict between them. The Mamluks had no colonial aspirations and were never interested in capturing Venetian territory.

Following this line of argument, it would be safe to conclude that the portrayal of contemporary Mamluks and Venetians in *St. Mark Preaching* reflects the peaceful relations between them, and the inclusion of an Ottoman wearing a sword reveals Venice's true enemy.[135] Modeling Christian and Muslim figures in contemporary costumes was interpreted as the hope of the triumph of Chris-

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dria, and Cairo (then under Mamluk rule) to Lisbon, thus depriving the Mamluks of their previous and long-lasting source of wealth and power. Aḥmad Darrāj, *Al-Mamālīk wa-al-Firanj* (Cairo, 1961), 128. This new situation also threatened Venice's leading role in international trade connecting the eastern Mediterranean to the rest of Europe.

[132] Taghrī Birdī's visit was in 912/1506. See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 11. While most sources mention a retinue of 20, Priuli, in his *Diarii,* reports a retinue of 25. See Wansbrough, "Mamluk Ambassador," 503, 514–15. However, this Mamluk diplomatic visit was exceptional, and was the result of the sudden and unexpected death of Alvise Sagundini, the Venetian ambassador in Cairo. See Howard, "Venice as an 'Eastern City,'" 85.

[133] Sanuto was a diarist, while Priuli was a successful banker. See Priuli, *Diarii,* 2:422, in Wansbrough, "Mamluk Ambassador," 515. Al-Ghawrī's ambassador to Venice presented no gifts, but, apparently, sometime before Taghrī Birdī's diplomatic visit to Venice a Venetian embassy was sent to Cairo without any gifts. Priuli, *Diarii,* 2:385, in Wansbrough, "Mamluk Ambassador," 516. There were doubtless severe tensions between the two states in the last decades of Mamluk rule, and al-Ghawrī's act could have been a reaction to such an unusual practice.

[134] Wilhelm von Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge,* translated into Arabic by Aḥmad Riḍá Muḥammad Riḍá as *Tārīkh al-tijārah fī al-sharq al-adná fī al-ʿusūr al-wustá* (Cairo, 1985–94), 4:35.

[135] True, Venice had been tributary to the Mamluks since 1473 with regard to Cyprus, but the Mamluk sultan Barsbāy had conquered the island in 1426 from the French Lusignan dynasty, and not from the Venetians, who took over Cyprus in 1473. Barsbāy's conquest was a reaction to the attacks launched from there and continuous acts of piracy in the Mediterranean. In fact, in 1252 the king of Cyprus came to Syria to help King Louis IX (who had led the Seventh Crusade against Egypt), and again in 1365 Cyprus attacked Alexandria. For more details see Darrāj, *Al-Mamālīk wa-al-Firanj,* 7, 8, 21–22; and Nicholas Coureas, "Latin Cyprus and Its Relations with the Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1517," in *The Crusader World,* ed. Adrian Boas (London, 2015), 391.

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tianity over Islam,[136] yet it also reflects Venice's peaceful and friendly relations with the Mamluks. By pushing the core of the religious narrative to one side (in the foreground to the left), Gentile focused instead on the quiet mercantile city of Alexandria. By separating the only figure with a sword from the rest of the crowd and having him stand all by himself, the artist allowed the viewer to see him fully and clearly. Not only is he identified as an Ottoman by the red cap seen above his wrapped turban, but his very short beard (he is almost beardless) distinguishes him from the rest of the long-bearded Mamluk officials. Abū al-Fatḥ al-Sarājī's lamentation over the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate describes the Ottomans as "beardless" wearing "a *ṭarṭūr* that could be seen by the naked eye."[137] Furthermore, the brocaded coat worn by the Ottoman could be compared to Ottoman fabrics attributed to the fifteenth century.[138] Modern scholars might find it difficult to differentiate between the two distinct worlds of the Mamluks and Ottomans,[139] but Venetians at that time knew the difference. When depicting Ottomans and Mamluks, Gentile was certainly more accurate than any other eyewitness Orientalist painter of his own generation. This figure, with his sword and leftward gaze at the apostle, as if ready to kill him, symbolizes the hostile Ottomans, who had not only taken Venetian territory and constituted a threat to the republic, but had been in conflict with the Mamluks since the rule of Muḥammad the Conqueror.[140] The hostility between the two states lasted until they finally defeated the Mamluks of Egypt in 1517, brutally killed them, and

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[136] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 209. However, one must be cautious when referring to all the characters as "Muslims" as this could lead to a wrong interpretation of the pictorial composition. Carrier thought that the executioner was one of the mass of Muslims represented here, which he interpreted to mean that the Venetians could not hope for the conversion of the Muslims. David Carrier, "A Renaissance Fantasy Image of the Islamic World: Gentile and Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria,*" *Source* 28, no. 1 (2008): 17. It might be relevant to add here that the Ottomans were rarely depicted in large groups, and their world was never part of the Ottoman mode in Venice. Raby mentions only two paintings in which the Ottomans appear *en masse*. See Raby, *Venice, Dürer,* 21.

[137] Al-Qāḍī Abū al-Fatḥ al-Sarājī was a Hanafi judge who died after the Ottomans hanged the last Mamluk Sultan Ṭūmanbāy at Bāb Zuwaylah. While lamenting this calamity and regretting the good old days of the Mamluks, he describes in some detail how the Ottomans pillaged Cairo and killed the Mamluk soldiers. Cited in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 5:197–202.

[138] Sandra Sardjono, "Ottoman or Italian Velvets? A Technical Investigation," in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 193, figs. 1–3.

[139] While scholars often tend to fall in such errors, Hocquet has bluntly admitted such confusion in the West. See Hocquet, "Venice and the Turks," 50.

[140] During the reign of the Mamluk sultan Qāytbāy an Ottoman-Mamluk war actually took place in 1485 and, despite ending in 1491, the conflict continued until the Ottomans finally took over the Mamluk lands. Briefly stated in Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *Aṭlas Tārīkh al-Islām* (Cairo, 1986), 358; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks,* 4.

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seized their possessions.[141] The Ottomans at the time this painting was executed were the common enemy threatening both Venetians and Mamluks.

However, while Gentile's choice of subject and composition were most likely his own, this work was at the same time part of an artistic trend that belonged to his generation of artists.[142] Gentile could have been inspired by Carpaccio's choice of Oriental landscapes in three of his canvases begun before *St. Mark Preaching.*[143] The cultural interest of the guild of silk weavers in the world of Islam was manifested in their earliest surviving cycle showing an Oriental mode.[144] Furthermore, one must not rule out the possibility that the *Scuola Grande di San Marco* had interests other than the confraternity's principal religious aim. The appeal of Gentile's setting to the *Scuola*'s members, among whom were a number of seafaring men, might have been behind his choice of composition.[145] Similar interests seem to have motivated other Venetian confraternities at that time, all of whom were fully aware of the Ottoman hostility against the Venetians.[146] In his *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Fig. 3) Carpaccio personifies the Ottomans as the true enemy by showing figures wearing the Ottoman style of turban wound around a red cap stoning the saint to death.[147] The Mamluk phenomenon in Venetian painting ended a few years after the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate. Distant places that were once recast in the image of Venice, such as Alexandria and Jerusalem, and which had been under Mamluk rule, were now replaced by images of

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[141] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr,* 5:150.

[142] Humfrey believes that Gentile's choice of subjects must have been through his own initiative to the point that led the *Scuola's* choices after the death of both Gentile and Giovanni to try and preserve the "Bellinesque" character of the scheme. Humfrey, *Bellinesque Life,* 234.

[143] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 69, 74.

[144] See ibid., 68–69, 74.

[145] Ibid., 74, n. 127.

[146] The membership of one of Venice's religious confraternities, or *scuole,* to whom the Orientalist paintings were dedicated, was made up of immigrants who had been driven by the Ottoman Turks from their homeland in the Balkans. One of these Venetian *scoule* even financed many Venetian military galleys against the Ottoman Turks. The *Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni* was founded by almost two hundred Dalmation (Schiavoni) immigrants, and was not solely interested in peaceful travel to Mamluk lands, but financed many Venetian military galleys against the Ottoman Turks to more directly confront the Ottoman danger, which was constantly threatening Venice's possessions. For more details see Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 69, 129, and 131.

[147] In Carpaccio's late works, which were contemporary to the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate to the Ottoman Turks, Muslims started being represented as evil and dangerous characters and were personified as Ottomans. Stefano Carboni, "Moments of Vision," in *Venice and the Islamic World,* ed. Carboni, 26.

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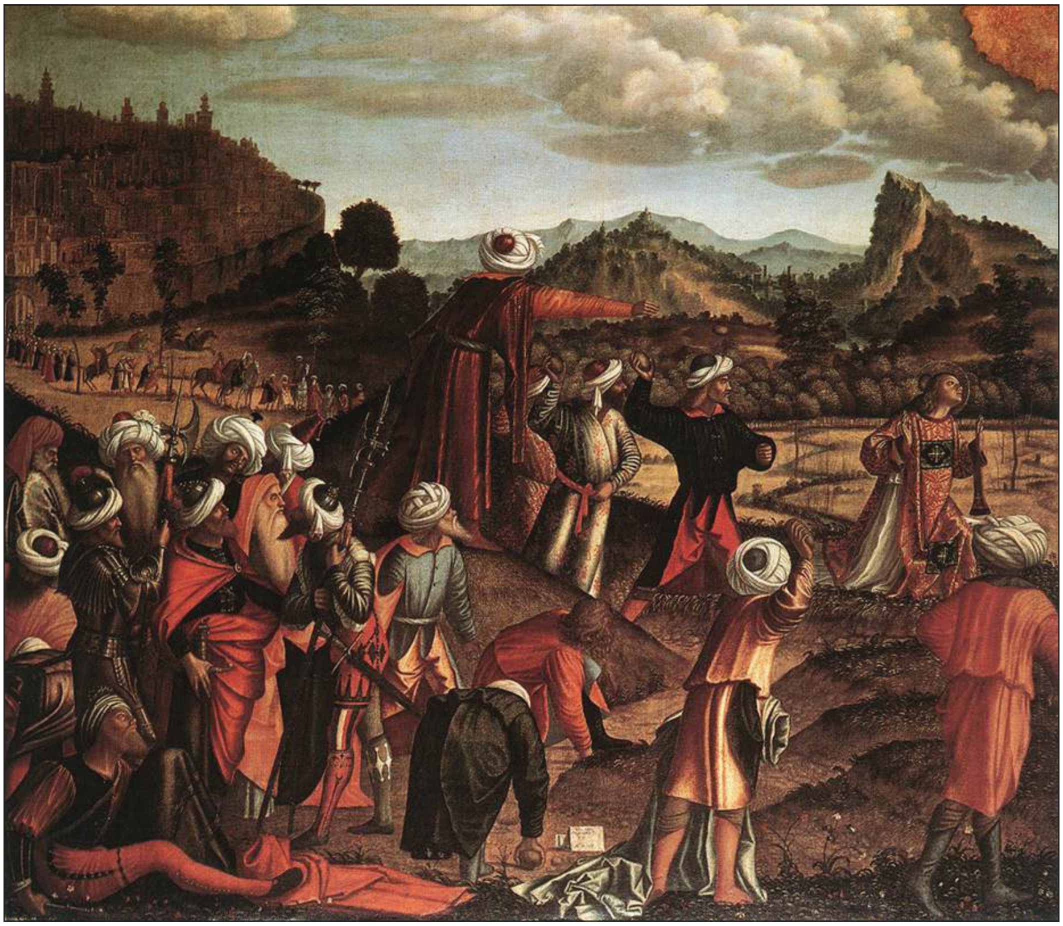

Figure 3. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Stoning of St. Stephen,* 1520, oil on canvas, 1.49x1.70 m, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart (inv. 311, https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/c/carpacci/4stephen/)

Rome.[148] According to Fortini Brown, the fall of the Mamluks, followed by the elimination of the Mamluk pictorial mode, made Venice lose its own identity as an Eastern city.[149]

In an attempt to understand why an Ottoman was added among dozens of male and female Mamluk figures, this study has explored the artistic, political, commercial, and social conditions in Venice that helped transmit the Mamluk world in Gentile's *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria*. Venetian eyewitness painters

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[148] See Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting,* 239.

[149] Ibid., 237. The next generation of artists was no longer concerned with recording an authentic world as if witnessed by the painter; rather, it presented a *fantasia* of a supernatural world, where miracles looked "miraculous" and the real world became unreal. Ibid., 239–40.

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DOI: 10.6082/r8hx-6w23. (https://doi.org/10.6082/r8hx-6w23)

who represented the Mamluks and their world all belonged to one generation: that of the Bellini brothers. Accordingly, it is necessary to interpret Gentile's painting as a political allegory, to refer to other eyewitness paintings, and to consider the Venetian *scuole*'s interests. The present view of the political relevance of elements in Gentile's painting is supported by its composition, in which the artist pushed the religious narrative of St. Mark preaching to one side and set up a peaceful Alexandrian scene showing groups of Mamluks and Venetians interrupted by a single armed figure, clothed as an Ottoman and standing all by himself. It would be correct to assume that Venice's intellectual freedom and religious tolerance were behind the Mamluk phenomenon in Venetian painting, and it would be wrong to underestimate the importance of the diplomatic and commercial ties—devoid of any political or territorial aspirations—between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Venetian Republic. The Mamluk Sultanate was the only Eastern state with which Venice could draw her own image, and after its fall Venice lost her Eastern identity.

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DOI: 10.6082/r8hx-6w23. (https://doi.org/10.6082/r8hx-6w23)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

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Pride in Turkish Heritage? The Attitude of *Awlād al-Nās*-Historians to the Mamluks

Introduction

It is accepted among scholars that the attitude of contemporary historians of the Mamluk period toward the members of the Mamluk military elite, usually termed by them "Turks" *(atrāk),* is, in general, condescending and critical. Local Arab historians tended to depict the Mamluks as brutal foreign warriors, sometimes barbarians, with no deep Islamic or Arabic scholarly interests, who exploited the local population and pursued a defective policy that devastated the land.[1] The contemptuous attitude of Arab authors toward the "Turks"—except for their merits as brave warriors and horsemen—goes back as early as third/ninth century Arab authors like al-Jāḥiẓ.[2]

The condescending attitude is reflected mainly in generally negative stereotypical comments that the local ulama-historians integrate into their historiographical works concerning the Mamluks. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), for instance, remarks that the Mamluks are "more lustful than monkeys, more ravenous than rats, more destructive than wolves."[3] The Syrian historian and Quran exegete Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) refers to "the sinful people *(fasaqah)* among the Turks

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[1] For references to several important studies on this matter, see Christian Mauder, "The Development of Arabo-Islamic Education among Members of the Mamluk Military," in *Knowledge and Education in Classical Islam: Religious Learning between Continuity and Change,* ed. Sebastian Günther (Leiden, 2020), 2:963, n. 2. See also: Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33, no. 1 (1988): 81–114, esp. 83; Eliyahu Ashtor (Strauss), *The History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1944–51), 2:59–60. For the ulama-historians' reservations concerning the Turks' level of understanding of Islamic studies, see: Jonathan Berkey, "Mamluks and the World of Higher Education in Medieval Cairo 1250–1517," in *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam,* ed. Hassan Elbadoudrari (Cairo, 1993), 105–6; idem, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 143.

[2] Ulrich Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the Abbasids to Modern Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 2 (1988): 179–80; idem, "Arabic in Speech," 82, n. 1.

[3] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār fī Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Būlāq, 1854), 2:214; Mauder, "Development," 963. See more on al-Maqrīzī's condescending attitude towards the Mamluks: Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 87–88; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:213–14.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

and other ignoramuses."[4] Another Syrian historian, al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338), praised a Mamluk amir who was especially religious by mentioning his non-typical-Turkish characteristics: "he has never accepted a bribe, drunk wine, or coveted a Mamluk."[5] The Egyptian Islamic scholar and historian Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) makes clear the dichotomous distinction between the erudite *fuqahāʾ* and uncouth *atrāk.*[6] In case a Mamluk had some knowledge in Arabic or Islamic literature, Ibn Ḥajar (as well as other historians) mentions this as a great achievement, often adding the remark "he was a rare exception in his own race."[7] Moreover, the Egyptian hadith scholar al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), who compiled a biographical dictionary dedicated mainly to religious scholars, especially hadith scholars *(Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ),* does not hide his contempt for not only Turkish Mamluks but also for scholars from among the Mamluks' descendants, such as Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470). Al-Sakhāwī labelled Ibn Taghrībirdī, clearly with derogatory intent, as a Turk, excoriated him for his failings as a historian and an Arabist, and remarks in reference to him, "what else can be expected from a Turk?"[8] A similar opinion of Ibn Taghrībirdī is demonstrated by al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900/1495).[9] Other chronicles also put down Ibn Taghrībirdī as both ignorant and a commoner *(ʿāmm)*, who was prejudiced in favor of the Turks or even the Copts.[10] In addition, in general, the biographical entries of Mamluks mentioned by the local historians focus on the Mamluks' military and political careers. The historians note in passing—almost as a side note or appendix—any scholarly activity or interests of Mamluks.[11]

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[4] Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah,* ed. ʿAlī Shīrī (Beirut, 1993), 14:15.

[5] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbāʾihi wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-al-aʿyān min abnāʾihi,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2006), 1:77.

[6] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad S. Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966), 1:6; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 95, 97.

[7] Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 97.

[8] Rihab Ben Othmen, "A Tale of Hybrid Identities: Notes on Ibn Taghrībirdī's Textual and Authorial 'Self-Fashioning,'" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 23 (2020): 170; William Popper, "Sakhāwī's Criticism of Ibn Taghrī Birdī," *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956), 2:378. Popper claims that al-Sakhāwī's criticism of Ibn Taghrībirdī derived from racial motives; see ibid., 377–78. See also: Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 112, 113; Donald P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk Epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 440.

[9] Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 170–71.

[10] Nasser Rabbat, "Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt, c. 950–1800,* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2000), 83.

[11] Christian Mauder, "Education and Learning among Members of the Mamluk Army: Results of a Quantitative Analysis of Mamluk Biographies," in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period*

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

Nevertheless, contemporary historians do not hide the literary or intellectual activities of Mamluks, and usually mention them as among a Mamluk's merits. Thus, some studies point out that a distinct portion of the Mamluks did express some interest in literary, scholarly, or intellectual activities, whether in Islamic and Arabic studies, the sciences, or Turkish language and literature. Prosopographical studies analyzing the biographical data mentioned in Mamluk historiography reveal that the phenomenon of erudite Mamluks was not trivial. Haarmann stressed the existence of dozens of Mamluks who were interested in Islamic studies as well as in literature and other fields.[12] A similar methodology was used by Berkey in order to show that erudite Mamluks were common.[13] A recent quantitative analysis of several hundred biographies of Mamluks in biographical dictionaries shows that about every eighth Mamluk possessed a noteworthy level of learning.[14] Furthermore, several studies based on *non-historiographical evidence* strengthen this notion, pointing at the common phenomenon of private libraries among Mamluk amirs.[15]

Thus, it seems that the general attitude of Muslim historians to the Mamluks is somewhat deceptive. This attitude tends to *diminish* the genuine intellectual interests of "the Turks," though in reality a certain level of erudition and even literary activity were very common among Mamluk soldiers and amirs. This attitude seems to stem from the frustration of the ulama, which escalated during the Mamluk period. It is true that Turks have been portrayed negatively by Muslim authors, especially concerning intellectual aspects, since the third/ninth

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(1250–1517), Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study III, ed. Bethany J. Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz (Göttingen, 2021), 69; Rabbat, "Representing," 68.

[12] Haarmann discusses Mamluks from the seventh/fourteenth century who expressed interest in Arabic or Turkish/Mongol poetry and language, book collection, calligraphy, and Islamic studies; see: Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 81–103.

[13] Berkey, "Mamluks and the World of Higher Education," 103–6, 109–16; idem, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 144–60; idem, "The Mamluks as Muslims," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 163–73; idem, "'Silver Threads among the Coal': A Well-Educated Mamluk of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991): 110–11. See also: Robert Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," *MSR* 7 (2003): 1–6, 27–28.

[14] Mauder, "Education," 62–68, esp. 62, 69, 79; idem, "Development," esp. 968–73, which stresses the erudition of the Mamluks particularly in the Bahri period.

[15] Barbara Flemming and recently Elise Franssen discuss the phenomenon of ninth/fifteenth century manuscripts copied as an exercise by young Mamluks that became part of their masters' libraries; see: Barbara Flemming, "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Miriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 249–60; Elise Franssen, "What Was There in a Mamlūk Amīr's Library? Evidence From a 15th-Century Manuscript," in *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni,* ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat (Leiden, 2017), 311–32. See more on Mamluk amirs' libraries: Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," 1–2; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517)* (Leiden, 2018).

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

century. However, during the Mamluk period a clear distinction emerged between the Mamluk ruling elite and the ulama, since the latter were deprived of any executive positions. This situation, as Nasser Rabbat puts it, brought about "an attitude of uneasy acquiescence laced with jealousy and an affected haughtiness, that found their way into all genres of writing of the time, but especially historical/biographical texts."[16]

Against the depicted dichotomy between the "barbarian" Mamluks and the "civilized" local ulama, I would like to trace the attitude of some of the most erudite scholars among the *awlād al-nās*, i.e., historians who were themselves sons or descendants of Mamluk amirs. The *awlād al-nās*-historians were educated in an Arabo-Islamic environment but still shared Mamluk identity and origin and were knowledgeable in Turkish language and culture. Do these *awlād al-nās*-historians follow the conventions of the "pure" Arab ulama-historians, such as al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī, or al-Sakhāwī? Or, rather, can one identify an attempt to break out of the accepted historiographical paradigms concerning the Turks? In what follows, alongside prominent studies, I will discuss new information, argumentation, methods, and findings that refine and strengthen—but also contradict—the views of some prominent scholars concerning the nature of the Mamluk descendants' historiography.

The attitude of *awlād al-nās* to their Turkish background versus Arabo-Islamic culture has been addressed by several scholars. Haarmann, for instance, asserts that "in order to be fully integrated into the surrounding society, the *awlād al-nās* felt compelled to take sides and to opt for one of the two heterogeneous traditions in which they participated."[17] Nasser Rabbat concluded that the historians among the *awlād al-nās* took the side of the local Arab ulama. According to him, the *awlād al-nās*-historians generally ignore their Turkish or Mamluk background.[18] In this paper I will briefly examine the *awlād al-nās* historiographical attitude to "Turks," by first tracing subjective stereotypical comments about "the Mamluks" or "the Turks" from the pens of *awlād al-nās* authors on the one hand, and local ulama-historians on the other, and, second, comparing biographical information mentioned about erudite Mamluks as reported by the two groups of historians. Due to the limited scope of this article, I will focus on three prominent historians: Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), and ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514). The three historians in question are a representative case study in relation to their approach to the Turks/Mamluks due to the diversity of the periods in which they lived, their genealogical connections with their amir ancestors, and their degrees of prox-

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[16] Rabbat, "Representing," esp. 67. See a similar opinion: Ashtor, *The History,* 2:59–60.

[17] Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 110.

[18] Rabbat, "Representing," 62–63.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

imity to the military elite. Al-Ṣafadī was a fourteenth-century historian and bureaucrat, the son of an apparently low-ranking amir, devoid of any military background. Ibn Taghrībirdī was a fifteenth-century historian and the son of a very senior amir, who had strong ties with the military elite and had knowledge of the martial arts. Al-Malaṭī was a historian from the very end of the Mamluk period, son and grandson of middle-ranking amirs, and more closely related to the ulama class—apparently more so than Ibn Taghrībirdī.

KHALĪL IBN AYBAK AL-ṢAFADĪ (D. 764/1363)

Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, the son of an apparently low-ranking amir, made his living as an important state bureaucrat *(kātib)* in the cities of Safed, Damascus, Cairo, Aleppo, and al-Raḥbah. He was educated in Islamic and Arabic studies, and studied literature and hadith under the most eminent teachers of his time, among them al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, during his stays in the cities mentioned above and elsewhere.[19] Thus, his affiliation with the circle of the local ulama and the literati bureaucrats is clear.

Due to al-Ṣafadī's social and professional background, Haarmann's view—according to which al-Ṣafadī inclined to the local Arab culture, betrayed his Turkish background, and "presents himself as wholly assimilated to the standards of the local *ʿulamāʾ*"[20]—is understandable. Similar to the condescending comments of local Arab ulama, Mamluks who reveal interest in scholarship are termed by al-Ṣafadī as "rare among their race."[21] Indeed, a thorough reading of al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionaries shows that he often cites negative tropes about the Turks. For instance, in the *tarjamah* (biographical entry) of Shams al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the governor of Syria in the late Ayyubid period, al-Ṣafadī praises him mainly as a brave warrior, but adds, copying from al-Dhahabī with no change or "censorship," "but he had a Turkish mind."[22] In the obituary of the erudite Mamluk scholar Sanjar al-Dawādārī (d. 699/1300), al-Ṣafadī comments, again following al-Dhahabī, that "hardly any Turk equaled him in excellence."[23]

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[19] Donald P. Little, "Al-Ṣafadī as Biographer of His Contemporaries," in *Essays on Islamic Civilization Presented to Niyazi Berkes,* ed. Donald P. Little (Leiden, 1976), 206–10.

[20] Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 112.

[21] Ibid., 93–96.

[22] *Illā anna fīhi ʿaql al-turk;* see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* various editors (Beirut, 2008–13), 24:407; see also: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1987–2004), 55:400.

[23] *Wa-qalla man anjaba min al-turk mithluhu;* see: al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 60:410; idem, *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh al-kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hīlah (al-Ṭāʾif, 1998), 1:273; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 15:480; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 2:462; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 97–98.

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Even more surprising are negative stereotypical comments against "Turks" that are not copied from local Arab historians but originate from al-Ṣafadī's own pen. For instance, in order to praise Muḥammad ibn Janaklī, an amir from the *awlād al-nās* and a close friend of al-Ṣafadī, he comments in his *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* that "he preferred to sit with the ulama rather than sitting with the amirs and the Turks."[24] In al-Ṣafadī's multi-volume biographical dictionary *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* on the same individual, he says: "he used to sit with the virtuous *(fuḍalāʾ)* and the pious Sufis *(fuqarāʾ)* and preferred to converse with them rather than sitting with the amirs and the Turks."[25] Thus, like the ulama-historians, al-Ṣafadī creates a clear dichotomy between the cultured ulama and the "barbaric Turks." In other cases, he uses the disparaging term *ghutumī* (inarticulate or dumb) when describing Mamluk amirs.[26]

It should be noted that, like the local Arab historians, al-Ṣafadī does mention some individual Mamluks' intellectual interests. However, he almost never includes Mamluks primarily because of their scholarly merits. The Mamluks who aroused the interest of al-Ṣafadī—like that of other local historians, such as al-Maqrīzī—were noteworthy for their political, military, or economic successes, or even for their cruelty or their bravery.[27]

Along with the condescending attitude to "Turks," al-Ṣafadī's dictionary is loaded with Arabic and Islamic literary references. Following the patterns of medieval historiographical writings, it seems that al-Ṣafadī was also striving to boast about how knowledgeable he was in Arabic and Islamic classical culture. The integration of vast material from the classical Arabic heritage demonstrates his admiration for this culture and his total identification with it. As a more *adab*-inclined work, Arabic poetry—composed by him and others—fills the better part of his biographical dictionaries. Inter alia, he integrates *jāhilī* and Muslim poets in his entries, sometimes juggling puns with virtuosity. Among these poets are ʿAntarah, al-Nābighah, Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, and al-Mutanabbī.[28] In addition, al-Ṣafadī relates biographical material to formative historical events

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[24] *Wa-yuḥayyir mujālasat ahl al-ʿilm ʿalá mujālasat al-umarāʾ wa-al-atrāk* (al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:381).

[25] *Wa-kāna fīhi īthār wa-barr li-ahl al-ʿilm wa-lā yazāl yujālis al-fuḍalāʿ wa-al-fuqarāʿ wa-yuḥayyir muḥādathatahum ʿalá mujālasat al-umarāʾ wa-al-atrāk* (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 2:31).

[26] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:618, 2:563; Rabbat, "Representing," 70.

[27] Mauder ,"Education," 69.

[28] See for instance: al-Nābighah's poetry from the *Muʿallaqāt* (Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:130; idem, *Wāfī,* 17:226–67); ʿAmr ibn al-Iṭnābah (*Aʿyān,* 2:73); al-Ḥaṭīʾah (*Wāfī,* 24:180–81); *Dīwān Majnūn Laylá* (*Aʿyān,* 1:506); Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (*Aʿyān,* 1:55), al-Mutanabbī (*Aʿyān,* 4:150).

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in Islam, prototypical Muslim figures, Arab proverbs, and Quran verses—all mentioned in the right biographical contexts.[29]

Are there any "Turkish" elements mentioned in al-Ṣafadī's works? In his biographical dictionaries, al-Ṣafadī barely refers to the Turkish language. He does mention Turkish dialogues (or alleged dialogues) between amirs, but renders them, according to Nasser Rabbat, in a street vernacular Arabic, in order "to signify the uncouth and uncultivated Mamluks."[30] It might be, however, that al-Ṣafadī intended to boast of his knowledge of Turkish by integrating these dialogues. In this respect, it is noteworthy that in an unpublished *tadhkirah,* al-Ṣafadī discusses the linguistic rules of Turkish.[31]

Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470)

As opposed to al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Taghrībirdī was the son of a high-ranking amir—an *atābak al-ʿasākir,* chief executive of the *dawlah,* who owned numerous mamluks. Moreover, Ibn Taghrībirdī maintained intimate familiarity with Mamluk sultans, military society, and the Mamluk army and possessed martial skills.[32] Ibn Taghrībirdī is thus viewed by modern scholars as a *walad al-nās*-historian who

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[29] For the integration of classical Arab proverbs or prototypical heroes, see for instance: Ibn Taymīyah is said to be more generous than Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī and more courageous than ʿAntarah (*Aʿyān,* 1:236); the primordial prototype Sufi Ibrāhīm ibn Adham is mentioned as the ideal of *zuhd* (asceticism) (*Aʿyān,* 5:143), as well as other Sufi heroes such as Abū Bakr Dulaf ibn Shiblī and Maʿrūf ibn Fayrūz (*Aʿyān,* 3:287). See also: *Aʿyān,* 1:146. For Quran verses, see for instance: *Aʿyān* 1:56, 644, 2:506, 4:65. Interestingly, the chronicles of the Mamluk amir Baybars al-Manṣūrī also follow the contemporary historiographical conventions. Baybars, who probably was assisted by local Arab scribes, includes the same classical Arabo-Islamic motifs common in the works of the local historians. For instance, he makes references to the Quranic family reunion of Joseph and Jacob (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah fī tārīkh al-hijrah,* ed. Donald S. Richards]Beirut and Berlin, 1998[, 385(; Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥmmad's *ḥilm* is compared with that of the early Islamic heroes, the general al-Aḥnaf and the caliph Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (idem, *Kitāb al-tuḥfah al-mulūkīyah fī al-dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān]Cairo, 1987[, 182(. For quotations from al-Mutanabbī, see: ibid.

[30] Rabbat, "Representing," 71–74.

[31] Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 112.

[32] See on Ibn Taghrībirdī's family, life, and relations in court: Hani Hamza, "Aspects of the Economic and Social Life of Ibn Taghrībirdī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 146ff; Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of an-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 87; Popper, "Sakhāwī's Criticism," 378–79.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

was proud of his Mamluk roots. Donald Little even asserts that he "belonged more to the *ahl al-sayf* than to *ahl al-qalam*."[33]

Due to his social background, Ibn Taghrībirdī's works are often perceived in modern scholarship as sympathetic to Mamluk or Turkish heritage. His chronicle *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* is usually considered court literature, "a work by a courtier for courtiers," intended to glorify the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53), with whom Ibn Taghrībirdī enjoyed a close friendship.[34] The uniqueness of this work is illustrated also by its format, which differs from Ayyubid and other Mamluk histories in that it is arranged by reigns of individual rulers rather than a strict annalistic chronology.[35] On the other hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī's biographical dictionary *Al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-al-mustawfá baʿd al-wāfī* aimed to follow in the footsteps of al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*. However, in this work Ibn Taghrībirdī was highly critical of al-Ṣafadī. For instance, he berates him "as a provincial Syrian litterateur who could not keep track of dates or affairs of state in the capital in Egypt."[36]

Can we say that Ibn Taghrībirdī's social background and somewhat innovative historiographical characteristics left their marks on his attitude toward Mamluks or "Turks"? At first glance, the answer seems to be positive. Unlike al-Ṣafadī's, Ibn Taghrībirdī's writings include several Mamluk or "Turkish" elements, which are also mentioned by the few historians who were Mamluks themselves, such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī, al-Shujāʿī, or the anonymous author of the chronicle published by Zetterstéen. Ibn Taghrībirdī gives reports about the world of the Turks and Mongols[37] and frequently alludes to military arts and practices of warfare (while emphasizing his own proficiency in archery, a typically Mamluk art, in which he was apparently trained by a group of his father's Mamluks).[38] Another significant feature is Ibn Taghrībirdī's translation of Turk-

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[33] Little, *Introduction,* 87; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 110.

[34] Little, "Historiography," 439. See a summary of modern research on Ibn Taghrībirdī as a "court historian" in Ben Othmen, "A Tale," esp. 172–74; Little, *Introduction,* 87. Irmeli Perho strengthens Little's view in a recent study, concluding that *Nujūm*'s "primary audience was the Mamluk court and there are elements in his stories that made them suitable for oral presentation, for reading aloud." See: Irmeli Perho, "Ibn Taghrī birdī 's Stories," in *Mamluk Historiography Revisited: Narratological Perspectives,* ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen, 2018), esp. 150.

[35] Little, "Historiography," 439; idem, *Introduction,* 87.

[36] Little, *Introduction,* 108; idem, "Historiography," 442.

[37] Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 188; for Baybars al-Manṣūrī's reports on this topic, see, for instance, Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 101.

[38] Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 111; Little, "Historiography," 439; Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 187–89.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

ish names and terms into Arabic for his readers who knew no Turkish. In this respect, he often criticizes the local Arab historians.[39]

However, one should not overestimate Ibn Taghrībirdī's "pro-Turkish" attitude, at least concerning his general perception and depiction of the Mamluks. On the contrary: Ibn Taghrībirdī followed the literary patterns of the Arab chroniclers concerning *al-atrāk*. In this respect, one should bear in mind that Ibn Taghrībirdī received a good Arabo-Islamic education. As a free-born Muslim, he was not educated in a military school and did not go through the Mamluk training system, but rather was reared by two of his in-laws—a Hanafi judge and a Shafiʿi judge. He was educated in the Islamic sciences, including the study of history under al-Maqrīzī and al-ʿAynī.[40] As a result, similarly to the ulama-historians, Ibn Taghrībirdī integrates Arabic poetry, Quranic verses, and references to hadith in his compilations.[41]

It is much more instructive to discover that even Ibn Taghrībirdī depicts Turkish Mamluks with the typical condescending stereotypes used by the local ulama. Like Ibn Ḥajar and al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Taghrībirdī makes a clear, dichotomous distinction between the barbaric *atrāk* and the erudite and pious *fuqahāʾ* and ulama. A case in point is his depiction of Sayf al-Dīn Lājīn al-Jarkasī (d. 804/1402), of whom he said, "he promised the people that when he became sultan he would abolish the *awqāf* of the mosques, burn the *fiqh* books, punish the *fuqahāʾ*, and appoint only one qadi from the Hanafi rite, *who is one of the Turks not the fuqahāʾ*."[42] In

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[39] Rabbat, "Representing," 62–63; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 112. For Ibn Taghrībirdī's interpretation of Mamluk names, see for instance: Tughrāy (Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al ṣāfī wa-al-mustawfá baʿd al-wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn and Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [Cairo, 1984–2009], 6:380); Baysarī (idem, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. [Cairo, 1929–72], 8:186–87); Dalanjī (ibid., 10:249); Ughuzlū (ibid, 9:281; *Manhal,* 2:462); Kujkūn (*Manhal,* 9:121); al-Jālliq (*Nujūm,* 8:227). See more instances in: Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 185, n. 87; and see more on Ibn Taghrībirdī's interest in Turkish languages as reflected in his works, ibid., 185–87.

[40] Little, "Historiography," 439; Berkey, "Silver Threads," 112.

[41] For Ibn Taghrībirdī's interspersing his writings with hadith quotations and other Islamic narratological elements, see: Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 181–82. For poetry: ibid., 190–91; Sami G. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007), 64. For Ibn Taghrībirdī's poetry quotations from, for instance, al-Mutanabbī, Muḥammad's grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAntarah, and al-Iṣfahānī—all in the appropriate biographical contexts—see: *Nujūm,* 8:86, 69.

[42] *Nujūm,* 13:27. See another instance in the *tarjamah* of Taghrī Birmish discussed below, in which Ibn Taghrībirdī distinguishes between warlike *furūsīyah* exercises *(funūn al-atrāk)* and the intellectual knowledge of the *fuqahāʾ (ʿulūm al-fuqahāʾ)* (*Nujūm*, 15:531). Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions another stereotypical expression in relation to the learned amir: "And in general he was among the most extraordinary of his time among the people of his race." (*Manhal,* 4:71; *Nujūm*, 15:531).

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another instance, Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions "the Turks whose ability to perceive the meaning of an expression is restricted."[43] The same historian depicts amir Baybughā al-Muẓaffarī (d. 833/1430) as brave and awe-inspiring and adds that "he used obscene words, without impudence, as is customary by the Turks."[44] Especially condescending and generalizing is Ibn Taghrībirdī's comment concerning the ignorance and stupidity of the "Turkish jurists" *(fuqahāʾ al-Turk).*[45]

Other condescending comments concern individual Mamluks, such as the scholar Sanjar al-Dawādārī, of whom, copying from al-Dhahabī, he notes, "Hardly any Turk equaled him in excellence."[46] In a *tarjamah* of amir Sudūn al-Ẓāhirī, the historian comments, "although he studied jurisprudence assiduously, he wasted his time in doing so because of his limited understanding and lack of imagination."[47] Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions Sultan Īnāl's inability to write his name properly in Arabic, his mispronunciation of even the *Fātiḥah,* and his neglect of the basic commandments of Islam.[48] Indeed, Ibn Taghrībirdī—compared to Arab historians like al-Maqrīzī, *awlād al-nās*-historians such as al-Ṣafadī, and even Mamluk historians like Baybars al-Manṣūrī—minimizes discussion of intellectual aspects of individual Mamluks and their academic achievements, but rather elaborates and stresses their martial skills and military merits as horsemen and warriors.[49]

We may conclude that despite Ibn Taghrībirdī's family origin and his close relations with the Mamluk elite, he nevertheless shared the cultural values of the local scholars and to a large extent adopted the ulama's perception regarding the Turks or Mamluks. Ibn Taghrībirdī's attitude to the Turks is in harmony with the historiographical character of his writings, which in general follow the literary conventions of the ulama. As shown in a recent study, in the prologues of both *Al-Manhal* and *Al-Nujūm,* Ibn Taghrībirdī reproduces common patterns used by ulama-historians, such as topoi concerning Sunni Islamic piety.[50] Moreover, Ibn Taghrībirdī made references to legal norms and practices, attempting to share the orthodox stance and values of Sunni ulama. A case in point is his fierce condemnation of the appointment of *dhimmī*s to high offices—a common trope in the historiographical writings of ulama-historians.[51]

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[43] *Al-atrāk alladhīna yuqṣar fahmuhum ʿan idrāk al-maʿānī* (*Nujūm,* 14:113).

[44] *Min ghayr safah ʿalá ʿādat jins al-atrāk* (*Nujūm,* 15:161).

[45] Ibid., 14:20–21.

[46] See above, n. 23; *Manhal,* 6:69; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 97–98.

[47] *Nujūm,* 15:479; Berkey, "The World of Higher Education," 105.

[48] Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 112.

[49] Mauder, "Development," 970.

[50] Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 175.

[51] Ibid., 181–84.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

ʿABD AL-BĀSIṬ AL-MALAṬĪ (844–920/1440–1514)

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Malaṭī was the son of a high-ranking officer, himself a son of a Mamluk amir. Born in 844/1440 in Turkish Malatya during the time that his father acted as its governor, he was fluent in the Turkish language.

Thanks to autobiographical notes in his chronicle *Al-Rawḍ al-bāsim fī ḥawādith al-ʿumr wa-al-tarājim,* we can reconstruct the general outline of his life, education, and social milieu. In general, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ travelled the Muslim world for *ṭalab al-ʿilm*. He studied with the famous ulama of the cities he visited, from his youth in Tripoli in Lebanon, and later in Damascus, Cairo, and the Maghrib (Tripoli in Libya, Tunis, Algeria, and Spain). He finally settled in the Shaykhūnīyah *khānqāh* in Cairo. Besides *fiqh, tafsīr, naḥw* (grammar), hadith, and other religious studies, he expressed interest in poetry and medicine. In addition to his chronicles, he compiled two works of *tafsīr.*[52] Among his teachers, we may count al-Sakhāwī, who dedicated a praise-filled entry to his student.[53] Al-Malaṭī's father, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl (813–73/1410–68), wrote a well-known book titled *Zubdat kashf al-Mamālīk* and also obtained an *ijāzah* in hadith from Ibn Ḥajar.[54] Thus, though affiliated with both Mamluk and scholarly circles, al-Malaṭī was much more closely related to the ulama class, and apparently more so than Ibn Taghrībirdī.

Therefore, al-Malaṭī's historiographical writings clearly followed in the footsteps of the ulama-historians. Furthermore, in his introduction to *Al-Rawḍ,* al-Malaṭī states that his historical work aims to function as a "continuation *(dhayl)* to the great and useful famous history books written before: the two great history books by Chief Qadi Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, a history book by Shaykh al-Islām Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿAṣr Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, a history book by al-Taqī al-Maqrīzī, and many other great history books written by many masters."[55] Indeed, al-Malaṭī based himself on all these historians, being influenced especially by Ibn Ḥajar and his own teacher al-Sakhāwī. For instance, he chose to start his book in the

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[52] See al-Malaṭī's broad religious education as reflected in his autobiographical notes, as well as the various fields of his studies, his teachers, students, poetry, and literary works—as surveyed by ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī in his introduction to al-Malaṭī's chronicle: ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Malaṭī, *Al-Rawḍ al-bāsim fī ḥawādith al-ʿumr wa-al-tarājim,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon, 2014), 5–78; Kikuchi Tadayoshi, "An Analysis of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī al-Malaṭī's Description of the Year 848: On the Process of Writing History in the Late Fifteenth Century," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 29–30. See also al-Malaṭī's biographical entry penned by his teacher al-Sakhāwī: Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1935–36), 4:27.

[53] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 4:27; Tadayoshi, "Analysis," 48.

[54] Tadayoshi, "Analysis," 29.

[55] Ibid., 32; According to Massoud, al-Malaṭī also followed in the footsteps of al-Dhahabī; see: Massoud, *The Chronicles,* 67–69.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

year he was born exactly as Ibn Ḥajar (who began his book in 773/1371, the year of his birth) had done.[56] Another prominent feature of his writing—widespread in classical biographical dictionaries—is the mention of the ulama relationships between teacher and student.[57] Adhering to the historiographical characteristics of the local ulama, al-Malaṭī also integrates into his chronicles Quranic verses, hadith, and poetry.[58]

Like al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Malaṭī conveys the ulama's attitude to the Mamluks by means of occasional comments against the "Turks." An instructive example is his comment which stresses the innate "barbaric" nature of the "Turks," according to which "most of those Turks *(al-atrāk)* externalize their chastity, whereas secretly they act in the opposite way."[59] Another instance concerns a case in which the chief *ḥājib* cruelly punished a man who tried to receive legal protection from the Hanafi qadi. Al-Malaṭī comments that "it was among the most indecent events which humiliated the Islamic religious authorities, and which demonstrated the eager desire of the tyrannical Turks *(ṭamʿ al-turk al-ẓalamah)* for judgeship, and that they did with the law as they pleased. May God revenge them."[60]

Al-Malaṭī's bias against the Turks may also be seen in the biographical entries of individual Mamluks. A case in point is Iyās al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī, the governor of Tripoli in 863/1459. Al-Malaṭī depicts this amir entirely according to negative stereotypes of Turks: he is said to have been highly corrupt, acted with extreme violence toward the people and stolen their money, drunk wine, practiced homosexuality, and despised the Islamic religion to the extent of coming to the congregational prayer in the mosque on Friday after drinking wine.[61]

Alongside the accepted patterns of the ulama-historians, al-Malaṭī's chronicles include "Turkish" elements similar to those mentioned in connection with Ibn Taghrībirdī, such as the interpretation of Turkish names. In fact, al-Malaṭī was enthusiastic, almost obsessive, about translating Mamluk names, where he

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[56] Tadayoshi, "Analysis," esp. 33. The practice of beginning a biographical dictionary in the author's birth year was probably a common phenomenon in medieval historiography, since al-Ṣafadī also started his *Aʿyān* in the year he was born, 696/1297, as he mentions in the introduction to his book. See: Little, "Al-Ṣafadī as Biographer," 197.

[57] Tadayoshi, "Analysis," 47.

[58] For al-Malaṭī's integration of Quranic verses, hadith, and poetry, see the indexes in *Al-Rawḍ,* 4:253–62.

[59] *Idh al-ʿiffah min ghālib hāʾulāʾi al-atrāk wa-in ẓaharat fa-al-ghālib fī-al-bāṭin bi-khilāfihā* (al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ,* 2:115).

[60] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon, 2002), 2:157.

[61] This depiction is in al-Malaṭī's unfinished treatise, *Al-Majmaʿ al-mufannan bi-al-muʿjam al-muʿanwan;* see Tadmurī's introduction to *Rawḍ,* 1:13.

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often sharply criticized and corrected Ibn Taghrībirdī's faulty translations.[62] In addition, al-Malaṭī mentions those Mamluks and others who were eloquent in Turkish and wrote poetry in that language. In several cases he proudly notes that he heard some of this poetry. In the same positive manner he mentions Mamluks who excelled in *furūsīyah*. Sometimes, he mentions a Mamluk's knowledge of Turkish alongside his interest in Arabic and *fiqh*.[63]

It is, however, doubtful that the integration of such elements should be perceived as al-Malaṭī's "pride" in his Turkish origin, exactly as it is questionable whether Ibn Taghrībirdī's historiographical writing aimed to be a "bridge" between Arab and Turkish cultures. It seems reasonable to assume that al-Malaṭī, just like Ibn Taghrībirdī,[64] integrates "Turkish" themes to show off his knowledge of Turkish language, literature, and culture mainly to boast of his unique intellectual superiority over most other historians. In this context we should also understand his sharp critique of Ibn Taghrībirdī—especially concerning his ignorance of the correct interpretation of Turkish names or terms.[65] In addition, it should be noted that references to matters such as excellency in *furūsīyah* or literary activity in the Turkish language are by no means unique to al-Malaṭī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, or other *awlād al-nās*-historians. These tropes are also mentioned as positive features of individual Mamluks by local ulama-historians. Al-Sakhāwī, for instance, despite his clearly condescending attitude toward the "Turks," finds "Turkish affairs" suitable to mention. In certain matters he even consulted "knowledgeable experts among the Turks."[66]

EXAMINATION OF A SAMPLE OF BIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES

The evidence for our evaluation of the attitudes of the historians from the *awlād al-nās* toward the Turks is strengthened if we examine a sample of thirteen biographical entries of especially learned Mamluks. Of course, this is a limited sample, and further research based on this method is warranted. In addition, it should be borne in mind that each essay has its own priorities or agenda. Al-Sakhāwī's *Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, for example, is concerned with hadith and its transmitters; Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Nujūm*, as mentioned above, is a composition of court literature while his *Al-Manhal* follows in the footsteps of al-Ṣafadī's *Al-*

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[62] See all interpretations of Turkish names by al-Malaṭī, as they appear in his *Rawḍ*, 4:271–75.

[63] Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl*, 7:124, 158.

[64] See above, n. 39.

[65] For instance, *Rawḍ*, 1:233–34. For other instances of name interpretation, see: *Rawḍ*, 1:234, 238, 307, 320, 347, 350–51, and n. 62 above. For critiques of Ibn Taghrībirdī's historical observations: ibid., 1:235, 257, 327; Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 171.

[66] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:38; Ben Othmen, "A Tale," 170.

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Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt. However, the findings certainly reinforce the impression that it would be a mistake to state that *awlād al-nās* authors mention more erudite Mamluks than the ulama do or that they tend to place more emphasis on the intellectual competence of these Mamluks. To a large extent the opposite is true. It is instructive to reveal that in two cases ulama authors include in their works entries on learned Mamluks that are not mentioned at all in the works of *awlād al-nās* authors. These are the entries of **Sanjar al-Iftikhārī** (d. 741/1340) and **Ghulbek al-Turkī** (d. 741/1341), both of whom are mentioned only by Ibn Ḥajar.[67]

Moreover, in about half of the remaining cases, it is the ulama authors who expand on the intellectual interests of the Mamluks. Al-Sakhāwī elaborates much more on **Yashbak al-faqīh's** (d. 876/1471) erudition than al-Malaṭī does. While al-Malaṭī briefly mentions Yashbak's knowledge of the Quran, the *qirāʾāt* (variant readings of the Quran), and jurisprudence *(fiqh),* in addition to his "love for the ulama" and his good temper, al-Sakhāwī expands on Yashbak's scholarship in *fiqh, qirāʾāt,* and hadith. He names Yashbak's *qirāʾāt* teachers and the material he learned from them and Yashbak's learning of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. In addition, al-Sakhāwī stresses the fact that Yashbak was his (al-Sakhāwī's) student and names the works Yashbak learned from him. Moreover, al-Sakhāwī praises Yashbak's religiosity and humble personality, and, interestingly enough, praises Yashbak's skills in *furūsīyah,* something al-Malaṭī ignores.[68] Another instance is **Tanam al-faqīh** (d. 882/1477–78). While al-Malaṭī mentions only his knowledge in *fiqh,* al-Sakhāwī adds information about Tanam's affiliation with the Hanafi rite, the teachers from whom he learned Arabic syntax, morphology *(ṣarf),* and other sciences, his teaching of many "Turks" and others, and the fact that al-Sakhāwī himself learned from one of Tanam's students.[69] Both al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥajar mention that **Balabān al-Ghulmashī** (d. 709/1309) was a *muḥaddith,* and name two of his teachers in Damascus. However, Ibn Ḥajar, despite the laconic nature of his dictionary, adds more details on al-Ghulmashī's activity, such as that he was also a *muḥaddith* in Cairo and other cities. Ibn Ḥajar also praises al-Ghulmashī for his reverence for the hadith.[70] Al-Dhahabī and his student al-Ṣafadī mention the same details concerning the religious studies of **Aqqūsh al-Iftikhārī** (d. 699/1299–1300). However, al-Dhahabī adds that he himself learned

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[67] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:270, 3:298.

[68] Cf. al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 7:75; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:271–72.

[69] Cf. al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 7:154; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:45.

[70] Cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:46; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:24–25. Al-Maqrīzī dedicated an entry to Balabān as well, though he does not elaborate on his activity as *muḥaddith* as Ibn Ḥajar does: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffá al-kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 2:489.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

an important book concerning the study of the Quran from this amir.[71] As for the high ranking amir **Sanjar al-Jāwulī** (d. 745/1345), Ibn Ḥajar provides the most detailed account of Sanjar's activity as *muḥaddith,* especially his commentary on *Musnad al-Shāfiʿī* and his prominent teacher and students. On the other hand, al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Taghrībirdī mention scant information about Sanjar's Islamic erudition while expanding on his political activities. Al-Malaṭī mentions a few details about Sanjar's Islamic expertise, but in a much shorter entry. However, the last three all stress the fact that Sanjar was a Shafiʿi jurist, a fact that is only hinted at by Ibn Ḥajar.[72]

In three cases, *awlād al-*nās authors mention neither more nor less information than ulama—the information about the scholarship of the Mamluk is "balanced" by both kinds of authors. Both Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Sakhāwī note **Taghrībirdī al-Bakalmushī's** (d. 845/1442) handwriting and significant knowledge in jurisprudence and history. Ibn Taghrībirdī also mentions his knowledge of *furūsīyah.*[73] Al-Malaṭī and Ibn Ḥajar mention his eloquence in Arabic.[74] Al-Maqrīzī, on the one hand, and Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Malaṭī on the other, note that **Sarghitmish al-Nāṣirī** (d. 759/1358) was a scholar of various religious sciences such as the Quran, Arabic language, and Hanafi jurisprudence. However, all three also emphasize his cruel temperament. Interestingly, each of the historians provides a unique detail regarding Sarghitmish's education and religious inclination. Al-Maqrīzī adds his knowledge of grammar, Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions his love for the ulama, and al-Malaṭī remarks on his good handwriting.[75] Ibn Ḥajar dedicates to Sarghitmish a rather long entry that revolves around his career, briefly noting his proficiency in various sciences and his zeal for the Hanafi school.[76] As for amir **Baktūt al-Gharazī al-ʿAzīzī al-Nāṣirī** (d. 699/1299), both al-Dhahabī and al-Ṣafadī indicate from whom he and his children heard hadith. Al-Dhahabī describes him as "from the men of the religion and the holy

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[71] This book is *Kitāb al-iʿtibār fī al-nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh min al-āthār* by Muḥammad ibn Mūsá al-Ḥāzimī. Cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:560; idem, *Wāfī,* 9:325, al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 52:385. Al-Dhahabī mentions Aqqūsh al-Iftikhārī also in his *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh al-kabīr,* 1:183.

[72] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:267–68; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 15:483–84; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:110; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 1:102.

[73] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 4:56; in *Nujūm,* 15:497, Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions his handwriting. Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:27–28. See also Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 149.

[74] Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 5:163; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969), 4:202.

[75] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:405; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:328; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 1:309.

[76] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:306

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

war" *(min ahl al-dīn wa-al-jihād),* while al-Ṣafadī expands a little on his religious devotion.[77]

Only in two distinct cases do we find the *awlād al-nās*-historians elaborating more on the intellectual skills of individual Mamluks. While Ibn Ḥajar indicates the good poetry of **Alṭunbughā al-Jāwūlī** (d. 744/1343) and his love for (religious) studies and the ulama, al-Ṣafadī, followed by Ibn Taghrībirdī, notes, in addition to mentioning Alṭunbughā's good poetry, that he was knowledgeable in jurisprudence according to the Shafiʿi school. In *Nujūm* Ibn Taghrībirdī describes him as an *adīb* and notes that Alṭunbughā was one of the "champions of poetry" among the Turks *(wa-huwa aḥad fuḥul al-shuʿarāʾ min al-atrāk).* Indeed, his "Turkishness" in the context of Arabic poetry is not ignored by the *walad al-nās* author. Imitating the ulama's remarks regarding Turks, Ibn Taghrībirdī notes: "I do not know anyone of his race who reaches his level in composing poetry" *(lā aʿlam aḥad[an] min abnāʾ jinsihi fī rutbatihi fī naẓm al-qarīḍ).* The two authors also mention Alṭunbughā's excellence in *furūsīyah,* as well as in games like chess and backgammon *(shaṭaranj* and *nard).*[78] As for **Ṭaybars ibn ʿAbd Allāh** (d. 749/1349), al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥajar, and Ibn ʿImād mention his scholarly skills in jurisprudence, his excellence in Arabic language and literature, his poetry, and his religious piety. Moreover, they all mention the grammar book that Ṭaybars composed, *Kitāb al-ṭurfah,* in which he summarized Ibn Mālik's *Alfīyah* and Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Muqaddimah.* Al-Ṣafadī, followed by Ibn al-ʿImād, adds that Ṭaybars had knowledge in grammar, lexicography, metrics, and the fundamentals of religion and jurisprudence *(al-aṣlayn),* that he composed a commentary on his *Kitāb al-ṭurfah,* and that he read a lot and prayed a lot at night. Both al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥajar also quote from his poetry. However, al-Ṣafadī adds unique details according to which Ṭaybars was affiliated with the Hanafi school, that he was knowledgeable in the study of religious duties, and that he taught his grammar treatise to a group of scholars.[79]

Last, but not least, the case of the very erudite amir **Taghrī Birmish** *al-faqīh* (d. 852/1448) is particularly interesting. All the historians in question mention that he was a great scholar who specialized in a variety of fields such as hadith, *fiqh, tārīkh* (history), *adab,* and poetry, in addition to his mastery of *furūsīyah.* The most detailed *tarjamah* is provided by Ibn Taghrībirdī—an acquaintance of Taghrī Birmish—in his *Al-Manhal al-ṣāfī.* This historian details first-hand both the political-military career of this amir *and* his extensive scholarship, includ-

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[77] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 52:432; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:717.

[78] Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar,* 1:435–36; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 9:366–67; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:72–73; idem, *Nujūm,* 10:105–6.

[79] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:625; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:330; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab,* ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ (Damascus, 1992), 6:161.

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ing mentions of his many teachers and the works he learned from them. Al-Malaṭī, on the other hand, provides a rather laconic description of his scholarship, not only in comparison with that of Ibn Taghrībirdī but even with that of al-Sakhāwī. Al-Malaṭī, for instance, does not mention Taghrī Birmish's rare talent in composing poetry in the Turkish language, a detail mentioned by al-Sakhāwī (and, of course, by Ibn Taghrībirdī). Based on his revered teacher, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī also notes various details about Taghrī Birmish's scholarship that are not mentioned by Ibn Taghrībirdī, such as the year he studied the canonical hadith collection *Sunan Ibn Mājah* and his teachers in Syria and Aleppo. In addition, he quotes Ibn Ḥajar as referring to Taghrī Birmish as "our companion, the outstanding *muḥaddith*" and as acknowledging that this amir deserved the epithet *"al-ḥāfiẓ."*[80] However, his description of Taghrī Birmish's scholarship (but indeed also of his military-political career) is shorter than that of Ibn Taghrībirdī. Al-Sakhāwī—intentionally or not—notes that this amir "claimed" *(yazᶜam)* that his father was a Muslim, while the other historians report it as a fact mentioned by Taghrī Birmish himself. In addition, he does not mention the amir's familiarity with *mansūb* calligraphy.[81] In this case, then, we see that while the information given by Ibn Taghrībirdī is the most detailed regarding Taghrī Birmish's erudition, another *walad al-nās* historian, al-Malaṭī, skimps on the details in this regard. It is the local historian al-Sakhāwī who provides a richer and more sympathetic biographical entry.

CONCLUSIONS

The examination of the historiographical attitude of three prominent historians from among the *awlād al-nās* concerning the Turks and the Mamluk military elite reveals their clear adoption of the patterns of local Arab historians. The reason for this attitude might be, as suggested by Rabbat, their desire, as "literary newcomers, to identify with their local scholarly masters by adopting their dominant strategies of interpretation" and to adjust their writings to their audience, who were Arabic in speech and culture.[82] By "omitting their Mamluk outlook from their writings," they made it difficult to learn much about their *real* and perhaps complex inclinations regarding their Turkish and Arab identities.

The traditional Arabo-Islamic patterns adopted by *awlād al-nās*-historians include, mostly, condescending and disparaging comments depicting the *atrāk* as

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[80] On these terms in this context, see: Berkey, "Silver Threads," 120–21.

[81] See: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 4:58–65 (and shorter version in his *Nujūm,* 15:530–32); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 5:264; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:33–34; Berkey, "Silver Threads," esp. 116–25.

[82] Rabbat, "Representing," 63.

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uncouth barbarians, tyrannical exploiters of the local population, lacking intellectual abilities or respect for Islam, and lusting after young boys. Alongside that, *awlād al-nās*-historians usually play down the discussion of the intellectual or scholarly activities of individual Mamluks, though they do mention these activities as merits in some cases. In this respect, however, they continue to follow the patterns of Arab authors, who do not ignore the scholarly activities of some individual Mamluks. Moreover, an examination of several representative entries on learned Mamluks reveals that *awlād al-nās*-historians do not mention *more* intellectually inclined individual Mamluks than ulama-historians do, nor do they stress these abilities more than local Arab authors.

The "Turkish" themes discussed by the *awlād al-nās*-historians do not necessarily indicate their pride in their cultural heritage. The case study of Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Malaṭī gives the impression that these themes should be understood in the context of the contemporary inter-historiographical discourse, as part of demonstrating a unique intellectual advantage of *awlād al-nās*-historians over Arab historians.

The above tentative conclusions are valid, however, for these three *awlād al-nās*-historians. Other historians affiliated with this group but more closely connected to military circles, such as Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 713/1313), may convey different attitudes. As we saw, al-Ṣafadī's complete affiliation with the ulama and bureaucrats' circle, in addition to his father's low-ranking amirate, might explain his total ignorance of any Turkish matters in his dictionaries. Thus, despite the clear tendency to adopt the patterns of local historians concerning the Turks, the familial, social, and professional milieux to which the *awlād al-nās*-historian was affiliated still played a factor in the characteristics of his historiographical writing as far as Turkish versus Arab issues are concerned.

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DOI: 10.6082/zhfy-ny30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/zhfy-ny30)

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Prolegomena on Ibn Ajā's Journey to Tabriz: Chronology and Itinerary According to the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak*

Introduction

The scholarly and diplomatic career of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Khalīl al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī (820–81/1417 or 1418–76), known as Ibn Ajā after the sobriquet of his father, is known mainly through his biography as given in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary of notables living in the ninth Islamic century.[1] After studying in Aleppo and Cairo, Ibn Ajā combined his scholarly background and his command of Turkic linguistic registers to establish himself as an intermediary between the military or political elites of the Mamluk realm and its scholarly networks.[2] This positionality is also reflected in his extant works, which correspond to the two works ascribed to him by al-Sakhāwī. The first of these is a versified Turkic translation of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* ascribed to al-Wāqidī,[3] while the second is an account of the military campaign of Ibn Ajā's patron, Yashbak

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The author would like to express his sincere thanks to Esra Müyesseroğlu of the Millî Saraylar İdaresi Başkanlığı in Istanbul, as well as to Muṣṭafá ʿAbd al-Samīʿ Muḥammad Salāmah, the general director of the section of manuscripts, papyri, and coins, and his dedicated staff in the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo, for granting me access to the manuscripts of the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* that form the foundation of the present contribution. I am also indebted to an anonymous reviewer for her perspicacious comments and suggestions that have considerably improved the argument made in the present article, as well as to my esteemed teacher Ulrich Rebstock, Freiburg, for his suggestions regarding the chronological argument presented in this article.

[1] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Beirut, 2003), 10:40–41.

[2] Ibid., 10:41.

[3] This text is extant in Istanbul (part one in the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, formerly Saliha Hatun, MS 00157 Demirbaş, part two in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Karatay 489 = Koğuşlar 883); cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:41. I hope to prepare a detailed study of this work in the future.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

min Mahdī,[4] against the Dulghādirid[5] ruler *shāh* Suwār[6] from 875/1471 to 877/1472.

This text, which will be referred to as the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* in the present article,[7] is preserved in a unique copy held in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul as MS Ahmet III 3057. This codex constitutes a *majmūʿah* that also contains excerpts from Arabic historiographers relating to the history of the Dulghādirid Turkmens collated by a student of Ibn Ḥajar[8] and excerpts relating to the history of Timur from a historiographical work by Ibn Ḥajar.[9] The original manuscript of the text has been consulted through electronic scans and is cited according to the continuous numbering of the folios in Arabic numerals.

However, as this manuscript was, to my knowledge, last used by Aḥmad Zakī *pāshā* in 1909 (see below), I also include references to the numbering of the pages of the original as represented in the photographic copy held as Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh* in the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo, which forms the basis of the two editions of this text.[10] This photographic copy includes the following note on the final page:

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[4] See his biography as given by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:250–52, as well as the comprehensive overview of the sources for his campaign by Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Les dernières Batailles du grand émir Yašbak min Mahdī," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 310–15. Cf. ʿAṭā ʿAlī Muḥammad Rīh, "Riḥlat Ibn Ajā: Maṣdar min maṣādir al-ṣirāʿ al-ʿUthmānī al-Mamlūkī fī al-qarn 9h/15m," in: *Ashghāl al-multaqá al-duwalī al-sādis ḥawla al-kitābah al-tārīkhīyah fī al-ʿālam al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī fī al-ʿaṣr al-wasīṭ: Min al-khabar wa-al-riwāyah ilá al-naṣṣ wa-al-wathīqah* (Tunis, 2010), 285–307.

[5] This article adopts the spelling of this dynastic name current in the Mamluk sources against the alternative spellings suggested particularly in Persian sources. See Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʿUthmānīyīn al-Atrāk: Maʿa riḥlat al-amīr Yashbak min Mahdī al-dawādār* (Damascus, 1986), 23–25.

[6] See his succinct biography including an overview of the campaign as described in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:243–44. This article consistently distinguishes *alqāb* from names (*uzun* Ḥasan); cf. ibid.: *Wa-yusammá fī-mā qīla Muḥammad, wa-yuqālu lahū shāh Suwār.*

[7] See below for the debate concerning the literary genre to which this text should be assigned.

[8] MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fols. 1r–106r. On the final page of the *majmūʿah,* the compilator gives his name as Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Bahādur al-Muʾminī and the year of its compilation as 874/1469–70, or one year prior to the commencement of the campaign described by Ibn Ajā.

[9] MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 180r–226r.

[10] This photographic copy was used by ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt as the basis of his edition; see Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1973), 44–50. As indicated by Dahmān, his edition is based on a photographic copy of Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh* held in Damascus, which was presented to the former Arabic Scientific Academy in Damascus by its member Aḥmad Tīmūr *pāshā;* see Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 9. This Damascene photographic reproduction of

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> I copied this political travelogue *(hādhihī al-riḥlah al-siyāsīyah)* photographically for myself *(li-nafsī)* from the manuscript *(al-kitāb)* number 268, held in the royal library of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul, on 25 Ramaḍān 1327, which is equivalent to 9 October 1909.[11] Aḥmad Zakī, second secretary of the Majlis al-Nuẓẓār of Egypt.[12]

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the Cairene photograph was used as the basis for the independent Russian translation of Z. M. Buniâtova and T. B. Gasanova, *Pohod Èmira Jašbeka* (Baku, 1985); see p. 7. In contrast, the Turkish translation of Mehmet Şeker, *Ibn Ecâ Seyahatnâmesi: Bir Türk Seyyahın Kaleminden* (Istanbul, 2018), depends almost entirely on the edition of Dahmān and does not suggest an independent interpretation of this text. During my stay in Cairo in September 2019, I also consulted the other three copies of this text held in the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah. As indicated by Ṭulaymāt in his introduction to Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 44–45 and 48, Dār al-Kutub MS 2592 *tārīkh* represents a defective mechanical copy of Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*. Dār al-Kutub MS 1071 *tārīkh bi-maktabat* Aḥmad Tīmūr *pāshā* is a handwritten copy of Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh* that includes a colophon by a certain Maḥmūd Ḥamdī, who notes that he wrote on the behest of Aḥmad *bīk* Tīmūr and completed the manuscript on Wednesday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1332/4 November 1914 (cf. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 45–47). Dār al-Kutub MS 11658 Ḥ represents a modern and colophon-less copy on a large-format booklet of lined European paper and is almost certainly also copied from the original of MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057 or its photographic copy as represented in Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh;* cf. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 47. The undated and colophon-less copy MS Bibliothèque Nationale Arabe 6026, originally from the collection of Charles Schefer, must also be derived from the original of MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, as demonstrated by the treatment of lacunae in this manuscript. In this way, the missing toponym indicated by a blank on MS Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 33r, reproduces a blank found in Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fol. 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58. This argument is cogent due to the treatment of the missing toponym that is represented by a blank in Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fol. 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63, which is not indicated by a blank in MS Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 36r, even though it is syntactically required. Compare MS Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 36r, *wa-sirnā bayna jibālin shāhiqatin wa-awdiyatin nāzilatin bi-al-qurbi thumma raḥalnā,* which clearly is a garbled version of the text including the lacuna indicating the missing toponym as given by Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fol. 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63, *wa-sirnā bayna jibālin shāhiqatin wa-awdiyatin nāzilatin wa-nazalnā bi-al-qurbi* [lacuna] *thumma raḥalnā*. I became aware of this manuscript following a reference by Muṣṭafá Jawād, "Tawārīkh Miṣrīyah aghfāl wa-taʿrīf bi-muʾallifīhā," *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī* 2 (1951): 111.

[11] As the day of 25 Ramaḍān 1327 is equivalent to 10 October 1909, Aḥmad Zakī *pāshā* must have taken the photographs between nightfall and midnight of 9 October 1909. Alternatively, one of the dates may be off (see below).

[12] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 139; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 44; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 9. Note that the reading of Ṭulaymāt gives a shortened version of the date. Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author of the present article. The translations consistently strive to be as literal as possible to facilitate engagement with the original Arabic text.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Ibn Ajā begins the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* with an account of the commencement of the campaign,[13] followed by the description of his diplomatic mission to Tabriz in 876/1471.[14] After his return to the camp, the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* resumes the account of the campaign, concluding with the public execution of *shāh* Suwār and his brothers in Cairo.[15] Notwithstanding some emendations by ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt[16] and Stephan Conermann,[17] however, the itinerary and chronology of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz in particular have continued to be obstacles to more profound engagement with this important source.

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[13] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 1–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53–95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 65–105.

[14] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137r–155r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 55–90; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 106–29.

[15] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 155r–179v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 90–139; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123–60; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 129–60.

[16] The emendations suggested by Ṭulaymāt in his edition mainly engage with grammatical forms and individual toponyms. See for instance Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97, where the toponym *raʾs ʿayn al-jullāb* (Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58), is mistakenly identified with Raʾs al-ʿAyn/Serê Kaniyê at the source of the river al-Khābūr. Another example is Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99, where the toponym *jabājūr* (Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 60), is rendered as ḤBAḤWR. In a footnote, Ṭulaymāt notes that he reads the toponym in the manuscript as ḤAḤWR and follows the suggestion of the copy by Aḥmad Tīmūr *pāshā,* Dār al-Kutub MS 1071 *tārīkh bi-maktabat* Aḥmad Tīmūr *pāshā;* cf. his indication that he included some emendations suggested by this copy in the introduction of his edition, Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 47. It would be tempting to speculate that the writer of this manuscript, who signed the colophon (dated Wednesday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1332 [4 November 1914]) as Maḥmūd Ḥamdī, indeed recognized the toponym as Chapājūr/Čaparžur—modern Bingöl (see below)—but this would necessitate a return to Cairo to check Dār al-Kutub MS 1071 *tārīkh bi-maktabat* Aḥmad Tīmūr *pāshā.*

[17] The emendations of Stephan Conermann in his translation of the account of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz are largely represented in his conversion of Ibn Ajā's days of the week into dates CE. Although Conermann sometimes implicitly appears to recognize the incongruity of date and day of the week as given by Ibn Ajā (see below), he does not subtract 1 from the dates but adds 6 (e.g., Stephan Conermann, "Ibn Aǧas [st. 881/1476] 'Taʾrīḫ al-Amīr Yašbak aẓ-Ẓāhirī'—Biographie, Autobiographie, Tagebuch oder Chronik?" in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann [1942–1999],* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam [Hamburg, 2003], 139, where Monday, implicitly 24 Ṣafar 876, is converted to 19 August 1471/2 Rabīʿ I 876). Elsewhere, Conermann retains the incongruent combinations of days of the week and dates given by Ibn Ajā without indicating the contradiction (e.g., page 153, where Ibn Ajā's explicitly given date of Wednesday, 17 Rabīʿ II 876, is rendered "Wednesday, 3 October [1471]," although 17 Rabīʿ II 876 was a Thursday and Ibn Ajā's date must accordingly be emended to 16 Rabīʿ II 876). Cf. the full discussion of the chronology below. Buniâtova and Gasanova, *Pohod,* give dates according to the Common Era without indicating the methodological problems and internal contradictions.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

The present contribution aims to clarify the confusion regarding the precise chronology and itinerary of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz. It will thus be shown that the complexities surrounding the chronology and itinerary justify the separate publication of the following prolegomena to facilitate future research engaging with this text. Accordingly, this contribution is not directly involved in debates concerning the modalities of travel and mobility in the pre-Ottoman Near and Middle East, the political and economic geography of southeastern Anatolia during the second half of the fifteenth century, or the internal organization of *uzun* Ḥasan's court or his forces levied against the Rūzakī rulers of Bitlis. Instead, I hope to facilitate research into these and other questions by resolving the textual difficulties discussed in the present article.

Historical Context

The campaign led by the Mamluk general and statesman Yashbak *min* Mahdī to decisively curb the aspirations of the Dulghādirid ruler *shāh* Suwār from 875 to 877/1471 to 1472 exemplifies the entanglement of the Mamluk realms with the political, economic, and scholarly configurations of post-Ilkhanid greater Iran. Arguably, three main channels of performative engagement between the Mamluk court and other Islamicate courts within the post-Ilkhanid Persophonie[18] can be discerned within this entanglement:

A. Diplomatic exchange of envoys, letters, and gifts.[19]
B. High-profile military campaigns led by influential figures affiliated to the Mamluk and Persianate courts.[20]

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[18] See for this cultural-geographical concept Bert G. Fragner, *Die "Persophonie"* (Berlin, 1999).

[19] Within this channel, a number of recent studies have underlined the interlacement of written letters and the performative reception of envoys. See Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Delicate Art of Aggression: Uzun Hasan's *Fathnama* to Qaytbay of 1469," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 193–214, and Malika Dekkiche, "The Letter and Its Response: The Exchanges between the Qara Qoyunlu and the Mamluk Sultan: MS Arabe 4440 (BnF, Paris)," *Arabica* 63 (2016): 579–626. See also the general study by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2014). A special case within this "channel" is arguably represented by the Mamluk-Persianate exchange surrounding the courtly dispatch of a *maḥmal* (see below) and *kiswah* to the *ḥajj;* see Malika Dekkiche, "New Source, New Debate: Re-evaluation of the Mamluk-Timurid Struggle for Religious Supremacy in the Hijaz (Paris, BnF MS ar. 4440)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15): 247–71, and the chapter engaging with Qara- and Aqquyunlu dispatches of *maḥmal*s in the context of "Turkmen" courtly representation in Georg Leube, *Relational Iconography: Representational Culture at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu Courts (853/1449 CE to 907/1501 CE)* (Leiden, 2023), 174–94.

[20] See for examplary accounts of individual campaigns e.g. Patrick Wing, "Submission, Defiance, and the Rules of Politics on the Mamluk Sultanate's Anatolian Frontier," *Journal of the Roy-*

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C. Propaganda and support in favor of individual pretenders to rulership.[21]

These three (mutually intertwined) channels, which are comparatively well represented in the extant narrative sources, must be understood as embedded in multiple entanglements less visible in the sources, including personal mobility, trade, and a small-scale continuum between warfare, raiding, and taxation, through which the dynamic negotiation of the northern fringes of the Mamluk realms was conducted.

At the same time, the multi-level negotiations with *shāh* Suwār and the Aqquyunlu court of Tabriz described by Ibn Ajā must be understood as conveying messages to an audience within the Mamluk sphere. The northern fringes of the Mamluk sphere of influence formed a focus of intense attention for the Cairene public during the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century. The political and military fortunes of Mamluk relations with Dulghādirid and Aqquyunlu power brokers in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia in particular were invested with memories of the great Mamluk-Timurid conflict during the beginning of the century.[22] This is well represented in the following passage describ-

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al Asiatic Society Series 3, 25, no. 3 (2015): 377–88; Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 31–61; and Martel-Thoumian, "Batailles," 301–42.

[21] See for instance the Mamluk propaganda against the Qaraquyunlu rulers in Baghdad, e.g., Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, Jamāl Muḥammad Muḥriz, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān, et al. (Cairo, 2008), 14:164–65, or the support given to Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, the grandson of the Aqquyunlu ruler *uzun* Ḥasan, during his exile in Cairo as described by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:140, and by Abīwardī Fayḍī, "Chār Takht," MS Uppsala University Library Shelfmark O. St. 168/Tg. 177, fols. 16v–18r; ed. Īraj Afshār, *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* 15 (1347/1968): 28–30. This channel is arguably reflected within the text discussed in the present article in Ibn Ajā's sustained interest in the Dulghādirid general and statesman in Aqquyunlu service, Aṣlān ibn Aṣlān Dulghādir; see Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 147r, 152v, and 153v–154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 74, 85, and 87–88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 110, 199, and 121–22, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 119, 125, and 127–28. Cf. the discussion of Aṣlān ibn Aṣlān Dulghādir by Ṭulaymāt in his introduction to Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 38, as well as the references to him among other Aqquyunlu generals in Abū Bakr-i Ṭihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah,* ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer (Ankara, 1962–64), 485 and 543, and Ḥasan *bīk* Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī (Tehran 1389/2010), 703, 737, and 767 (the latter is also contained in the excerpt of Rūmlū, *Aḥsan,* that is appended by the editors to Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 577). The other references to *Aṣlān-i Dhū al-Qādir* listed in the register of Rūmlū, *Aḥsan,* 1578, represent a confusion of Aṣlān ibn Aṣlān with his father Aṣlān ibn Sulaymān Dulghādir; cf. for the latter the biographical note in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:279.

[22] See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 2008), 3:36, describing the reaction of another setback against *shāh* Suwār: "And the people became more and more worried because of [*shāh*] Suwār, and the soldiers became frightened, as they had been during the times of Timur."

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ing the arrival in Cairo of news of the military campaign of the Mamluk general and statesman Yashbak *min* Mahdī against the Dulghādirid ruler *shāh* Suwār.

> On Thursday, 8 [Muḥarram][876/27 June 1471], Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá[23] ... was given a robe of honor [..., at the court of the sultan] upon his return from ... the great *dawādār* [Yashbak *min* Mahdī], who was traveling through Syria. He was given a great reception and accompanied with candles until he had reached his house.
>
> Regarding further news of Cairo *(al-balad),* the people decorated all the stores, lanes, and houses and made effigies of people resembling [the Dulghādirid ruler] *shāh* Suwār and his brothers. May this be a good omen, if this be the will of God.
>
> In these days, messages arrived [in Cairo] from Aleppo announcing the arrival of ... Yashbak *min* Mahdī in this town on 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 875 [2 June 1471]. ... The stores, streets, and lanes of Cairo were decorated with different kinds of beautiful textiles ... and fires, the likes of which had never been seen. For we know of nobody who reports to have seen anything similar during any age or time, not even during the [festivities surrounding the dispatch of the] *maḥmal* [signaling the Mamluk patronage over the *ḥajj*],[24] the arrival of the envoy of Timur, or during the return of a sultan from a journey.[25]

This intense attention in Cairo to developments in the northern fringes of the Mamluk realms is also reflected in numerous references to bad news arriving from this region, which is invariably described as having been greeted with emotional distress by the ruler and the public.[26] Some months earlier, al-Ṣayrafī even mentions the expulsion of several foreigners who were alleged to have spied on behalf of *shāh* Suwār and others.[27]

Simultaneously, the deployment of military expeditions to these regions by the Mamluk sultan residing in Cairo also offered anoccasion to display his

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[23] See his biography as given by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:169–71, as well as the epitaph in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:69–120.

[24] See for the festivities surrounding the dispatch of a *maḥmal* from Cairo the comprehensive study by Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la Caravane Égyptienne des Pèlerins de la Mecque (xiiie–xxe siècles)* (Cairo, 1953), as well as Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The *Maḥmal* Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 87–96.

[25] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-haṣr bi-anbāʾ al-ʿaṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 2002), 319.

[26] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:53–54 and 56; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 219, 212, 239, and 248.

[27] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 263.

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power and authority to power-brokers outside the capital.[28] This is likely how the extensive performance of trust and closeness between the Mamluk sultan Qāytbāy and Yashbak *min* Mahdī during the latter's departure from Cairo was intended to be understood.[29] The large-scale mobilization of people and capital during such a campaign also offered numerous occasions for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal networks within Arabic-Islamic scholarly traditions.[30]

Against this context, Ibn Ajā's *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* represents a strategically deployed construction and advertisement of "self" by its author. By engaging with the topic, situations, and discourses of a military campaign,[31] as well as his own diplomatic mission,[32] Ibn Ajā showcased his personal talents and specific positionality as a scholar rooted in Arabic-Islamic discourses of learning engaging successfully in political negotiations.[33] The following prolegomena are published in the hope of making this fascinating historiographical work more accessible for further research.

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[28] For the "internal" messaging inherent in the campaign of Sultan Barsbāy against Āmid and its Aqquyunlu overlord *qara* ʿUthmān, see Wing, "Submission," 377–88.

[29] See al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 270–74; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:59–60, as well as Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v–111r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 1–2; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53–55; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 65–66.

[30] See Jo van Steenbergen, Mustafa Banister, Rihab Ben Othmen, Kenneth A. Goudie, Mohamed Maslouh, and Zacharie Mochtari de Pierrepont, "Fifteenth-Century Arabic Historiography: Introducing a New Research Agenda for Authors, Texts, and Contexts," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 23 (2020): 55–61.

[31] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v–138r and 155r–179v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 1–56 and 90–139; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53–95 and 123–60; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 65–105 and 129–60.

[32] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137r–155r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 55–90; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 106–29.

[33] This framing underlining the agency of Ibn Ajā in engaging various genres and discourses explains Conermann's difficulty ("Taʾrīḫ," 156–68) ascertaining a specific genre for this text. A similar problem motivates the question of how this work should be titled (*safrah, riḥlah,* or *tārīkh?* Arguably, others could also be suggested); cf. the discussion by Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 9–11. *Pace* Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 9–11, a title (or at least a brief heading) for this work is contained in MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110r, on the final blank page immediately preceding the text. Here, the text is introduced as *kitābun fī tārīkhi Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī* or *a book on the history of Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī.* This page is not included in the photographic copy held in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* which forms the basis of the editions of Ṭulaymāt and Dahmān.
As indicated above, the present article adopts *tārīkh* as a heuristic term that allows for the integration of multiple discourses and genres.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS I: CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the campaign and Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz as described in the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* is structured around a day-by-day account of events, which regularly (although not always) includes a reference to the day of the week. This cyclical chronology is anchored by means of a few instances in which the author includes full dates by day, month, and year of the *hijrah*. To convert the day of the week given by the text into a "full" date according to the Muslim calendar, the reader must follow the narrative, counting down the days of the week one after another.

As already mentioned in a footnote, however, both systems frequently contradict each other. In the following examples of "full" dates given in the text, I underline the information explicitly given by the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* before indicating whether the day of the week and the date are internally consistent. I mark my own completions of partial forms given in the text with square brackets [...]. In subsequent parts of the article, emendations to dates given in the text are marked with asterisks *...*.

Monday, 10 Shawwāl 875:[34] Departure from Cairo, internally consistent.

Thursday, 1 Muḥarram [87]6:[35] Departure from Aleppo, internally consistent.

Wednesday, 13 Ṣafar [876]:[36] Arrival of a defector from *shāh* Suwār at the camp of Yashbak *min* Mahdī near Antep.[37] As the 13th of Ṣafar in 876 was a Thursday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

This is the last "full" date explicitly indicating both a day of the week and a day of the month until Ibn Ajā's arrival in Tabriz.

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[34] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 1; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 65.

[35] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 123r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 26; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 74; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 87.

[36] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 40; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 83; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 95.

[37] I omit the honorifics from the towns of Antep, Maraş, and Urfa, which were officially renamed *Gaziantep* ("Antep the Fighter"), *Kahramanmaraş* ("Heroic Maraş"), and *Şanlıurfa* ("Glorious Urfa") in the 1980s amid a surge of state-organized Turkish nationalism.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Wednesday, 17 Rabīᶜ II [876]:[38] *Uzun* Ḥasan has some farewell presents brought to Ibn Ajā. As the 17th of Rabīᶜ II in 876 was a Thursday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

Saturday, 20 Rabīᶜ II [876]:[39] Departure from Tabriz. As the 20th of Rabīᶜ II in 876 was a Sunday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

Tuesday, the last [29th] of Rabīᶜ II [876]:[40] Arrival in Ahlat, internally consistent.

Wednesday, the first of Jumādá I [876]:[41] Departure from Ahlat, internally consistent.

Sunday, 12 Jumādá I [876]:[42] Arrival in Urfa, internally consistent.

Saturday, 19 Jumādá I [876]:[43] Arrival in Aleppo. As the 19th of Jumādá I in 876 was a Sunday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

This set of "full" dates including both the day of the week and the day of the month in 876 demonstrates that the incongruence cannot be explained by a systematic displacement, as sequences of internally consistent dates alternate with dates that are internally contradictory. As the same type of an "unsystematic misalignment" characterized by partial incongruities between day of the week and day of the month also occurs in the *Inbāʾ al-haṣr* of al-Ṣayrafī,[44] the problem cannot have been specific to Ibn Ajā.

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[38] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 84; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 118; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 125.

[39] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

[40] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 121; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 127.

[41] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 128.

[42] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 128.

[43] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 113; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 129.

[44] For example, al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 268–69 (Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl 875; the fourth of Shawwāl in 875 was a Tuesday), but ibid., 329 (Friday, 21 Ṣafar 876, which is internally consistent).

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Notwithstanding the exactitude of conversion tables, such as the deservedly famous *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen,*[45] dates given according to the Islamic calendar by a combination of day, month, and year of the *hijrah* are notoriously flexible.[46] For contemporary Western researchers, the first possible source of errors arises from the beginning of the Islamic day at nightfall.[47] This is, however, entirely the result of a poorly considered application of the Western change of date at midnight and irrelevant to the internal contradictions between day of the week and day of the month in Muslim sources.

A more significant potential source of errors results from the way leap years were inserted into the Islamic calendar. The famous Mamluk epistolary encyclopedia of al-Qalqashandī describes this procedure as follows:

> The number of the days [in a lunar year] is 354 days and about a fifth and a sixth [1/5 + 1/6 = 11/30] of a day. This fifth and sixth of a day is combined into a day that occurs every three years, so that this [third] year has 355 days. Nonetheless, something remains after this day has been added [to the third year of a cycle], so this remainder is combined with the fifth and the sixth of a day to form another day that is added to the sixth year. This is continued so that nothing remains, as 11 days are added every 30 years. These years are called the intercalation of the Arabs *(kabāʾis al-ʿarab).*[48]

According to Grohmann, this addition of 11 days every 30 years was conducted by adding a day to every second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-ninth year of a cycle of 30 years.[49] As 875 constituted a leap year as the fifth year of a cycle

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[45] Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen zur muslimischen und iranischen Zeitrechnung mit Tafeln zur Umrechnung Orient-christlicher Ären: Dritte, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage der "Vergleichungs-Tabellen der Mohammedanischen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung", unter Mitarbeit von Joachim Mayr neu bearbeitet von Bertold Spuler* (Wiesbaden, 1961).

[46] Cf. ibid., 7, as well as the detailed discussion of this problem by Heinz Halm, "Der Mann auf dem Esel: Der Aufstand des Abū Yazīd gegen die Fatimiden nach einem Augenzeugenbericht," *Die Welt des Orients* 15 (1984), particularly 146–48 and 150–201, and the general remarks of Bertold Spuler, "Con amore oder: Einige Bemerkungen zur islamischen Zeitrechnung," *Der Islam* 38 (1963): 154–60.

[47] DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, Gebrauchsanweisungen,* 6; cf. Adolf Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie,* Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, Ergänzungsband II, Erster Halbband, I (Leiden, 1966), 10–11.

[48] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 2012), 2:424–25.

[49] Grohmann, *Chronologie,* 13. As far as I can see, none of the sources indicated by Grohmann specify this sequence of leap years. This sequence is also implicitly followed in the *Vergleichungs-Tabellen;* cf.

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of 30 years,[50] the intercalation of days within the lunar year may indeed have contributed to some of the inconsistencies of the dates as given by Ibn Ajā. As his indication that the year 876 began on a Thursday is correct,[51] however, the fact that Dhū al-Ḥijjah at the end of 875 had 30 days cannot explain the internal contradiction between the subsequent dates and days of the week as given in his travelogue.

In contrast, the chronology of Ibn Ajā becomes consistent if one accepts his sequence of days of the week throughout his journey to Tabriz. This necessitates an emendation of the inconsistent dates given according to the day of the month listed above, subtracting 1 from the date as given by the text.[52] According to this hypothesis, Wednesday, 13 Ṣafar 13 [876][53] must be read as *Wednesday, 12 Ṣafar 876*.

This emendation of the day of the month whenever it disagrees with the day of the week follows the general recommendations of the *Vergleichungs-Tabellen.*[54] In the specific case of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz, the correctness of the day of the week against the day of the month is additionally confirmed by the following observations:

A. As stated in Ibn Ajā's own account of the events following the capture of Antep,[55] Ibn Ajā's departure from the army coincided with the general re-mobilization of the troops following the occupation of the town. As indicated by Ibn Ajā, on the preceding day Yashbak *min* Mahdī had announced to his army that they were to depart at dawn on the day of Ibn Ajā's departure. After describing how the army departed after the

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DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, Gebrauchsanweisungen,* 7.

[50] DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen,* 19.

[51] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 26; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 74; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 87.

[52] Hypothetically, one could also consider larger shifts to the day of the month that would result in an agreement of day of the month and day of the week, such as adding 6 (+ any multiple of 7) to the day of the month (or subtracting 1 + any multiple of 7). The resulting chronologies do not, however, fit the timeframe dictated for Ibn Ajā's diplomatic mission by the campaign of Yashbak *min* Mahdī as described by the author and corroborated in other sources.

[53] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 40; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 83; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 95.

[54] DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, Gebrauchsanweisungen,* 7.

[55] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 129v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 39–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 82–95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 94–106.

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morning prayer, Ibn Ajā states that he also approached Yashbak *min* Mahdī after the morning prayer to take his leave.[56]

The last “full” date explicitly given by Ibn Ajā before these events is Wednesday, 13 Ṣafar [876].[57] His subsequent reception as an envoy by *shāh* Suwār is dated [Wednesday], 20 [Ṣafar 876].[58] As indicated above, both dates are inconsistent, as in 876 Wednesday fell on the 12th and 19th of Ṣafar. Therefore, the dates must either be emended to Wednesday, *12 and 19 Ṣafar* 876, or to *Thursday*, 13 and 20 Ṣafar [876]. Accordingly, Ibn Ajā’s departure three days after the second date must either be dated to Saturday, *22 Ṣafar* 876, or to *Sunday*, 23 Ṣafar 876.

If we compare the course of events surrounding his departure as described by Ibn Ajā, the probability is strongly in favor of the former date. Thus, the announcement to mobilize in the morning would have been made to the troops after the Friday sermon, or *khuṭbah,* after the noon prayer on 21 Ṣafar 876 so that the army (and Ibn Ajā) could depart after the morning prayer on the following Saturday.

B. Ibn Ajā states that he departed from Tabriz on Saturday, 20 Rabīʿ II [876].[59] As indicated above, this date is internally inconsistent, as in 876 Saturday fell on the 19th of Rabīʿ II. Accordingly, Ibn Ajā’s departure must either be dated to Saturday, *19 Rabīʿ II 876*, or to *Sunday*, 20 Rabīʿ II 876. As in the other case, the probability is that Ibn Ajā spent Friday in Tabriz and departed on Saturday, possibly after the morning prayer.

During his stay in Tabriz, the correctness of the days of the week as given by Ibn Ajā is independently established for Ibn Ajā’s attendance at two (performative) scholarly sessions *(majlis)* of *uzun* Ḥasan’s court during the night from Thursday to Friday, which according to the Islamic calendar is described by Ibn Ajā as “Friday night” *(laylat [al-]jumʿah).*[60] These scholarly sessions, where *uzun*

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[56] Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 55–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 105–6.

[57] Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 40; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 83; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 95.

[58] Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 132r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 44; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 86; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 98.

[59] Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[60] Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 145r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 70; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 107; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 116. Ibn Ajā indicates that his invitation to the second *majlis* was issued on a Thursday, implicitly the Thursday immediately preceding the night

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Ḥasan hosted scholars and listened to their recital and discussion of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, are also reported to have taken place during the night from Thursday to Friday in contemporary and later sources describing *uzun* Ḥasan's courtly representation.[61] This external confirmation of the correctness of the day of the week as given by Ibn Ajā during his stay in Tabriz makes it even more likely that the day of the week is correct whenever it contradicts the (few) explicitly given dates in his account.

Accordingly, the following reconstruction of the chronology of Ibn Ajā's journey to and return from Tabriz is based on an emendation of the days of the month that retains the days of the week as indicated in the text. This emendation is performed by subtracting 1 from the day of the month whenever it is inconsistent with the day of the week and results in a coherent timetable that will be reconstructed below.

Methodological Remarks II: Itinerary

The following reconstruction of the itinerary of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz proceeds through the identification of the toponyms given in his account and an approximate estimate of the distances traveled on each day. Although almost all toponyms given by Ibn Ajā can be confidently identified in this article, the reconstruction of the distances traveled is devaluated by the dependency of travel times on the condition and orientation of routes. While the orientation of major routes in Ibn Ajā's time may in some cases still be followed by modern roads, the conditions of routes and the infrastructure of travel has changed paradigmatically with the advent of industrialized modernity. Nonetheless, I include the linear distances between Ibn Ajā's stations according to Google Maps[62] as a rough estimate of the distances traveled. In any case, altitude and adverse season are

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from Thursday to Friday (Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 148r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 76; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 112; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 120).

[61] See Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 530 and 558–59, corresponding to Rūmlū, *Aḥsan,* 736, as well as the discussion in John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 106. Recurring assemblies of scholars during the night from Thursday to Friday at the *majlis* of *uzun* Ḥasan are also described in Muḥīy Gulshanī, *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī,* ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara, 1982), 51 and 53.

A continuation of this custom of hosting scholarly debates at the Aqquyunlu court after the death of *uzun* Ḥasan is suggested by an anecdote situated at a *majlis* of Sultan Yaʿqūb (Gulshanī, *Manāqib,* 104–7. The performative recitation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī also constituted a regular part of Mamluk courtly representation; see, e.g., the indications contemporary to Ibn Ajā's account in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:11, 69, 83, 93, and 196, and the brief discussion of a particularly memorable session half a century earlier by Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary across a Millennium* (Oakland, 2018), 80–97.

[62] https://www.google.de/maps

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explicitly mentioned by Ibn Ajā as significantly contributing to the difficulty of his journey.

According to the explicit goal of the present contribution to present some prolegomena facilitating future engagements with Ibn Ajā's travelogue, I do not embark upon a comprehensive reconstruction of the infrastructure and modalities of personal mobility and travel. By contrast, the comprehensive identification of the toponyms in the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* represents one of the main contributions made by the present article and should enable further research engaging with this important topic.

The following sets of sources yielded pertinent information that has been used in the reconstruction of the itinerary:

A. (a) Emic sources produced at the behest of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts: These include a comprehensive evaluation of the geographical registers of the standard editions of the historiographical works produced at the Aqquyunlu court, the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* of Abū Bakr-i Ṭihrānī[63] and the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* of Faẕ l Allāh Rūzbahān Khunjī.[64] It should be noted, however, that the registers of the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* and of ʿAshīq's edition of the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* are incomplete and do not list all occurrences of lemmata in the edited text. To these has been added the (as far as could be ascertained, reliable) geographical index to Ḥasan *bīk* Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh,*[65] large parts of which represent a paraphrasis of the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* in particular. Additional information emic to the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts was supplied by Qaraquyunlu coins on variants of the toponym of Adilcevaz[66] and by *uzun* Ḥasan's inscriptions in Urfa and Diyarbakır on recent Aqquyunlu architectural patronage in both towns.[67]

B. Other pre-industrial travelogues and geographical lexica: These include the famous *Muʿjam al-buldān* of Yāqūt,[68] as well as the Ottoman ac-

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[63] Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 615–29.

[64] Faẕ l Allāh Rūzbahān Khunjī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī,* ed. John E. Woods (London, 1992), 125–38 [general index]; Faẕ l Allāh, *Tārīkh,* ed. Muḥammad Akbar ʿAshīq (Tehran, 1382/2003), 466–74.

[65] Rūmlū, *Aḥsan,* 1772–1808.

[66] The coins in question were published by Sayyid Jamāl Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Sikkah'hā-yi shāhān-i Islāmī-i Īrān II* (Tabriz, 1350/1971), and Stephen Album, "A Hoard of Silver Coins from the Time of Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu," *Numismatic Chronicle* 7, no. 16 (1976): 109–57.

[67] I am currently preparing a critical edition and commentary of the epigraphic corpus of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. The inscriptions can be found in Mahmut Karakaş, *Şanlıurfa ve İlçelerinde Kitabeler* (Konya, 2001), and Basri Konyar, *Diyarbekir Tarihi* (Ankara, 1936).

[68] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut, 2008).

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

counts of Matrakçı[69] and Evliya Çelebi.[70] Comprehensive evaluations of historical topography that were used in the present article also include Krawulsky's *Īrān–Das Reich der Īlḫāne*[71] and Sinclair's *Eastern Trade and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages*[72] for pre-"Turkmen" sources, as well as Taeschner's *Das Anatolische Wegenetz*[73] and Posch's *Der Fall Alḳâs Mîrzâ* for the Ottoman and Persianate sources of the sixteenth century.[74]

C. Contemporary digital tools used in the present article also include the intriguing *Index Anatolicus/Nişanyan Yeradları* coordinated by Sevan Nişanyan[75] and Google Maps.[76]

The combination of these three types of toponymic and topographic information enable the following reconstruction of Ibn Ajā's itinerary from Antep to Tabriz and back to Antep. By contrast, the reconstruction of the intertextual dependencies structuring the corpus of (frequently unpublished) Arabic itineraries copied and composed within the Mamluk realms transcends the scope of the present article. It is to be hoped that the publication of this and similar contributions will encourage source-critical engagement with this important genre of texts.

The Reconstructed Chronology and Itinerary of Ibn Ajā's Diplomatic Mission to Tabriz

To avoid confusion from the disagreement of Islamic and Western delimitations of dates (nightfall vs. midnight, see above), the following reconstruction is

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[69] For Matrakçı, I drew on the reproduction of the images given in the facsimile, Naṣūḥü's Silāḥī Maṭrāḳçī/Naṣūḥ al-Silāḥī Matrakçı, *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫān,* ed. and tr. H. G. Yurdaydın (Ankara, 1976), while including his narrative through the comprehensive evaluation of the itinerary by Walter Posch given below.

[70] Evliya Çelebī, *Siyāḥatnāmah,* ed. Aḥmad Jawdat and Najīb ʿĀṣim (Istanbul, 1314/1896–1938). I only systematically included the itinerary from Erciş to Kazgölü in the present article; see ibid., 5:39–43.

[71] Dorothea Krawulsky, *Īrān–Das Reich der Īlḫāne: Eine topographisch-historische Studie* (Wiesbaden, 1978).

[72] Thomas Sinclair, *Eastern Trade and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages: Pegolotti's Ayas-Tabriz Itinerary and its Commercial Context* (London, 2020).

[73] Franz Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1924–26).

[74] Walter Posch, *Osmanisch-safavidische Beziehungen 1545–1550: Der Fall Alḳâs Mîrzâ* (Vienna, 2013). A comprehensive survey of the itinerary of two Ottoman campaigns to Tabriz is given by ibid., 737–59.

[75] https://nisanyanmap.com

[76] https://www.google.de/maps

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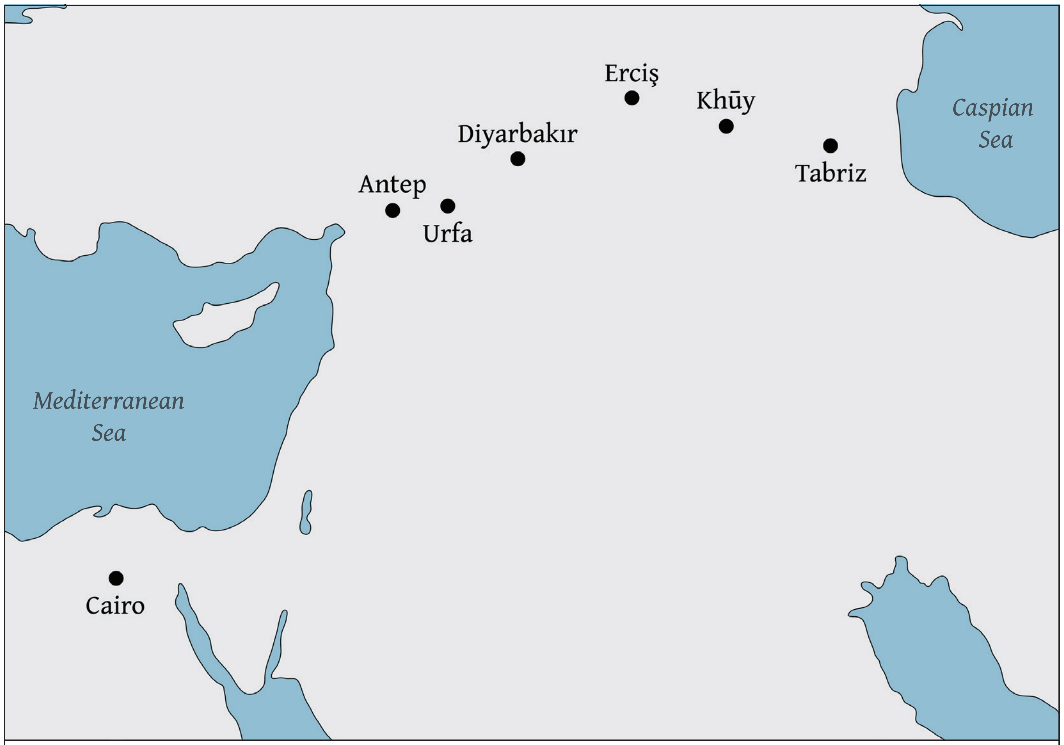

The Geographical Context of Ibn Ajā's Journey to Tabriz.

structured according to Islamic dates, split into "night" and "day." I give a corresponding date CE for the "day" part of each entry.

22 Ṣafar 876 to 1 Rabīʿ I 876: Antep to Diyarbakır

Saturday, *22 Ṣafar 876*:[77] Night in the Mamluk camp near Antep.

Departure after the morning prayer. This date corresponds to 10 August 1471.

Sunday, 23 Ṣafar 876:[78] Night in Awrīl.[79] According to Nişanyan's *Index Anatolicus,* this toponym should be identified with contemporary

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[77] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 55–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 105–6. See above for the necessary emendation of the day of the month as given in Ibn Ajā's account.

[78] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh,* 56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 106.

[79] Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 95, reads AWDYL.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26.

Sekili/Nizip/Gaziantep, about 20 km west of Nizip, known as Orul until 1928.[80] The distance between Antep and Sekili is around 34 km.

Departure in the early hours of 11 August 1471. Arrival in al-Bīra/Birecik before noon. The distance between Sekili and Birecik is about 30 km.

Monday, 24 Ṣafar 876:[81] Night in al-Bīra/Birecik.

Departure from al-Bīra/Birecik in the afternoon of 12 August 1471.[82]

Tuesday, 25 Ṣafar 876:[83] Night in a village named Yuwajiq.[84] This toponym should be identified with contemporary Yuvacık/Birecik/Şanlıurfa, which according to the *Index Anatolicus* was formerly known as Havacık. The latter form likely represents etymological speculation. The distance between Birecik and Yuvacık is about 27 km.

Arrival in al-Ruhā/Urfa at noon on 13 August 1471.[85] The distance between Yuvacık and Urfa is some 60 km.

Wednesday, 26 Ṣafar 876: Night and day in Urfa.

Thursday, 27 Ṣafar 876:[86] Night in Urfa.

Departure at noon on 15 August 1471.[87]

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[80] Cf. the indication of Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 106, of an [Ottoman] *Jughrāfī Lughatī* that AWRUL was an important place in the northern *wilāyah/velâyet* of Aleppo; cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz,* 1:150.

[81] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh,* 56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 106.

[82] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 138v–139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh,* 57–58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 107.

[83] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 107.

[84] Note that the Y is not dotted and could accordingly also be read as B, T, Th, or N. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97, reads BWAJQ; ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 107, suggests Ovacıq (AWWHJQ) as a frequent toponym in Anatolia.

[85] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 107.

[86] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 107.

[87] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 107.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Friday, 28 Ṣafar 876: Night at Raʾs ʿAyn al-Jullāb.[88] This toponym, literally "the source of the Jullāb river," is difficult to identify due to the integration of this river in the huge system of canals and dams of the *Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi* in modern Turkey.[89] It could possibly be identified with the so-called Julāb or Ādhīna Pınarı mentioned in Ottoman itineraries between Urfa and Diyarbakır.[90] On the basis of Ibn Ajā's direction of travel, the course of fertile valleys as visible on the satellite images integrated in Google Maps and departing from the hypothesis that this (former) spring may still constitute part of the toponym, a possible identification may be Karapınar ("black spring")/Hilvan/Şanlıurfa. The distance between Urfa and Karapınar is approximately 34 km.

Resumption of the journey during the day of 16 August 1471.

Saturday, 29 Ṣafar 876: The toponym for the place where Ibn Ajā spent the night is left blank in the manuscript.[91]

Resumption of the journey during the day of 17 August 1471.

Sunday, 1 Rabīʿ I 876: Night at al-Jabal al-Aswad.[92] This toponym should be identified with the mountain range of Karaca Dağ west of Diyarbakır.[93] Note that the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* always refers to this oronym under its Turkic form as *qarāja dāgh* or *qarāja ṭāgh*.[94]

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[88] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108. Note that the J is not dotted and could also be read as Ḥ or Kh. The reading of the hydronym follows Yāqūt, *Muʿjam,* 3/4:65. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97, erroneously identifies this toponym with Raʾs al-ʿAyn/Serê Kaniyê in modern Syria. The toponym is correctly identified as a village near the source of the Jullāb river (misread as al-ḤLAB) by ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108.

[89] See UN-ESCWA and BGR (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia; Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaften und Rohstoffe), *Inventory of Shared Water Resources in Western Asia* (Beirut, 2013), 87–89.

[90] Cf. Posch, *Beziehungen,* 752 and 757 (written Cülâb/Âẕîne Bıñarı).

[91] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58.

[92] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108.

[93] Correctly identified by ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108.

[94] Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 63, 120–22, 191–93, 204, 231, 255, and 265. Cf. Woods, *Aqquyunlu,* 64, for the Karaca Dağ as one of the most important *yaylāq*s or summer pastures during the early history of the Aqquyunlu.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

The distance between Karapınar and the Karaca Dağ is around 80 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

Resumption of the journey during the day of 18 August 1471; arrival in Āmid/Diyarbakır.[95] The distance between the Karaca Dağ and Diyarbakır is about 60 km.

Monday, 2 Rabīᶜ I 876 until Friday, 6 Rabīᶜ I 876: Rest in Diyarbakır.[96]

Ibn Ajā's description of the dilapidation of the great mosque/Ulu Camii and the other Artuqid monuments in Diyarbakır[97] should be somewhat qualified considering extant inscriptions in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan attesting to restorations of the ramparts[98] and a foundation (possibly of a separate structure) at the great mosque between 861 and 874.[99]

6 Rabīᶜ I 876 to 18 Rabīᶜ I 876: Diyarbakır to Erciş

Friday, 6 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night in Diyarbakır.

Departure after prayer in the great mosque/Ulu Camii of Diyarbakır during the day on 23 August 1471.[100] As this was a Friday, this prayer may have been the noon prayer including the Friday sermon, but this is not explicitly indicated by Ibn Ajā. In any case, attendance of a Mamluk envoy at a Friday sermon in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan might have been something of a compromising topic that Ibn Ajā consciously decided not to describe in any further detail.

Saturday, 7 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night at a spring near the village of al-Ḥājj Sulaymān.[101] This toponym should be identified with the contemporary village of Akalan/Eğil/Diyarbakır, which, according to the *Index Anatolicus,* was known in 1915 as Süleymanan, the Kurdish plural

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[95] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108.

[96] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108.

[97] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108–9.

[98] Konyar, *Diyarbakır,* 2:144–45.

[99] Konyar, *Diyarbakır,* 2:145, and *resim* 94. Note Konyar's suggestion that this inscription may originally have been displayed elsewhere inside the great mosque of Diyarbakır.

[100] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 108.

[101] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 109.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

of the name Süleyman/Sulaymān. The distance between Diyarbakır and Akalan is around 40 km.

Daytime resumption of the journey after the morning prayer of 24 August 1471.[102]

Sunday, 8 Rabīʿ I 876: Night at the town of Ḥayn, described as fertile and severely dilapidated.[103] As noted by Conermann, this town is also mentioned by Yāqūt;[104] as noted by Dahmān,[105] it should be identified with the modern town of Hani/Diyarbakır. Interestingly, Ibn Ajā's indication of variant pronunciations of the name of the town and his suggestion that *ʿAyn,* Arabic for "spring," may have been the original name is corroborated by the *Index Anatolicus,* according to which the name represents Zazaki Kurdish *Hêni,* "spring," which in turn is derived from Arabic *ʿayn*. The distance from Akalan to Hani is 40 km.

Departure at noon, corresponding to 25 August 1471; journey through mountains and valleys until almost nightfall.[106]

Monday, 9 Rabīʿ I 876: Ibn Ajā and his companions spent the first part of the night near the houses of some Kurds before resuming their journey at midnight *(niṣf al-layl).*[107]

Continuous journey through mountains and valleys until almost nightfall on 26 August 1471.[108]

Tuesday, 10 Rabīʿ I 876: Night near the small castle *(qalʿah ṣaghīrah)* of Jabājūr,[109] later spelled Ḥabaq Ḥūr during Ibn Ajā's return journey.[110]

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[102] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 109.

[103] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r–139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 58–59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 109.

[104] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam,* 3/4:205; cf. Conermann, "Taʾrīḫ," 140.

[105] Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 109.

[106] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 109.

[107] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 109.

[108] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110.

[109] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110. Note that only the first *jīm* in the word is dotted in the manuscript.

[110] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

This toponym should be identified with the contemporary town of Bingöl, formerly known as Çapakçur, Armenian Čaparǰur.[111] In the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah,* this toponym is written Chapākhjūr[112] and, as noted by Conermann, it is mentioned by Yāqūt as Jabal Jūr.[113] The distance from Hani to Bingöl is about 82 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

Resumption of the journey during the day on 27 August 1471; crossing of the Euphrates River.[114]

Wednesday, 11 Rabīʿ I 876: Night in a valley between trees and mountains.[115]

Continuation of the journey during the day on 28 August 1471, and rest in the evening at a large place inhabited by Kurds who in the words of Ibn Ajā "only resembled humans in shape."[116] According to Ibn Ajā, they gave the name of this place as †MLShKRD†, this toponym also occurs as the valley of †MLShKRD† during his return.[117]

This toponym has been identified with the modern town of Malazgirt/Muş by Dahmān.[118] Buniâtova, Gasanova, and Conermann sug-

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[111] Note that the current name is under the form Mingūl also attested as the name of an opulent *yaylāq* or summer pasture in this region during the time of Ibn Ajā. See Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 96, for a description of this *yaylāq* as a courtly hunting ground of the Qaraquyunlu ruler Iskandar.

[112] Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 230 and 418–19. On page 418, the editors indicate the variants Ḥabājūr and Ḥapājūz as occurring in the manuscripts, which are equivalent to the form of the toponym given by Ibn Ajā.

[113] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam,* 3/4:29; cf. Conermann, "Taʾrīḫ," 140. Although Nişanyan suggests in the *Index Anatolicus* that the Armenian Čaparǰur is derived from the Arabic form of Jabal Jūr, literally *Mount Jūr,* it may be easier to consider the Arabic a morphological reanalysis of an earlier non-Arabic form. Nonetheless, I am not currently aware of an attestation of the toponym preceding the early Islamic conquests and the spread of linguistic influence of Arabic in this region. The toponym is not mentioned in Ananias of Širak's *Geography,* see Robert H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhacʿoycʿ): The Long and the Short Recensions, Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Wiesbaden, 1992).

[114] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110.

[115] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110.

[116] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99–100, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110.

[117] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[118] Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

gested an identification with the town of Walashjird mentioned by Yāqūt.[119] According to the *Index Anatolicus,* Yāqūt's Walashjird should be identified with the contemporary village of Toprakkale/Eleşkirt/Ağrı, while the toponym was transferred to the modern town of Eleşkirt/Ağrı.

Both identifications are untenable for the following reasons:

A. Malazgirt is mentioned by Ibn Ajā four days later (see below), including a reference to a bridge over the Murat river at this locale, which leaves no doubt that this toponym indeed was located in the area of modern Malazgirt.

B. The distance from Bingöl to Toprakkale or Eleşkirt is some 320 km, which Ibn Ajā could not have covered in two days. In addition, Toprakkale and Eleşkirt lie far to the north of the Ibn Ajā's itinerary as it is reconstructed in this article.

I have not been able to find another possible identification of this toponym, which likely covered some part of the valley of the Euphrates River or the valley of one of its tributaries. Accordingly, I retain this toponym *inter cruces.*

Thursday, 12 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night in some houses of the Kurds in the †MLShKRD† area after Ibn Ajā and his companions climbed a high mountain to meet with a certain *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Kurdī.[120]

Continuation of the journey during the day on 29 August 1471.

Friday, 13 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night near a torrential stream without fodder for the horses or provisions for the travelers; extreme cold.[121]

Starting at noon on 30 August 1471, Ibn Ajā became ill *(ḥaṣala lī tashwīsh).*[122] Although this is not explicitly stated in the text, it appears likely that Ibn Ajā and his companions continued their journey on Friday notwithstanding the adverse conditions.

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[119] Yāqūt, *Muᶜjam,* 7/8:462, cf. Buniâtova and Gasanova, *Pohod,* 93, and Conermann, "Taʾrīḫ," 140.

[120] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 110.

[121] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r–140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 60–61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 110.

[122] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 110.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Saturday, 14 Rabīʿ I 876: Ibn Ajā's illness became better around midnight; no toponymic or topographical information is given.[123]

Continuation of the journey at dawn on 31 August 1471. Rest in destitute conditions near al-Mallāḥah al-Bayḍāʾ ("the white salt mine/ salt works.")[124] This toponym should be identified with the modern village (and salt works) of Aktuzla/Malazgirt/Muş.[125] The modern toponym also translates as "the white salt mine/ salt works," and, as shown by the satellite images on Google Maps, the production of salt at this site continues to this day. According to the *Index Anatolicus,* the Kurdish form of this toponym is Kar ("salt mine/works"); in 1916 it was known as Beyaztuz Memlahası, Ottoman for "the salt mine/ mine of white salt." The continued importance of the route from Malazgirt to Hınıs via Aktuzla is attested by Evliya Çelebi, who includes a detailed description of nearby Kazgöl ("Lake of the Geese") in his itinerary from Malazgirt to Hınıs.[126] In contrast to Ibn Ajā, Evliya Çelebi continued his journey from Hınıs in a northerly direction to Pasinler and Hasan Kalesi, instead of continuing to the West to reach Bingöl.

Ibn Ajā's itinerary between Bingöl and Malazgirt likely followed the Göynük river and continued along the course of the modern Erzurum Bingöl Yolu to the town of Karlıova/Bingöl, after which it might have followed the course of the modern Karlıova Varto Yolu to the town of Varto/Muş, then followed the Erzurum Muş Yolu to Hınıs/Erzurum. From there, Ibn Ajā's route appears to have been followed in the opposite directions by Evliya Çelebi. If the identification of Ibn Ajā's "white salt mine" with modern Aktuzla/Malazgirt/Muş is correct, his journey subsequently followed the course of the modern Hınıs Karaçoban Yolu to the town of Karaçoban/Erzurum and the Karaçoban Malazgirt Yolu to Malazgirt.

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[123] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 110.

[124] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 111.

[125] Tantalizingly, Şeker's Turkish translation (*Ibn Ecâ,* 76), which elsewhere strictly follows Dahmān's commentary in its identification of toponyms, renders this toponym as "el-Melâha el-Beydâ'ya [the Turkish suffix -ya gives the dative case, which in this case translates the Arabic preposition *ilá* that indicates the direction of travel] (Ak Tuzla)." Şeker does not, however, give any indication of having identified this toponym with the contemporary village of Aktuzla.

[126] Evliya Çelebi, *Siyāḥatnāmah,* 5:42–43.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

The distance from Bingöl to Aktuzla is about 215 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in five days (four days if one assumes that he and his companions did not travel on Friday).

Sunday, 15 Rabīᶜ I 876: Rest near Aktuzla.

Continuation of the journey during the end of the night; arrival at the ruined bridge of Maladhkirt/Malazgirt at dawn on 1 September 1471.[127] Due to his increasing weakness, Ibn Ajā made his last will and did not continue his journey on this day.[128] The distance from Aktuzla to Malazgirt is about 44 km.

Monday, 16 Rabīᶜ I 876: Departure from Malazgirt during the first third of the night *(al-thulth al-awwal).*[129]

Arrival at the convent *(zāwiyah)* of Bābā Ṭashqūn during the morning of 2 September 1471.[130] This toponym should be identified with the contemporary village of Taşkın/Patnos/Ağrı, mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as Ṭāshqīn.[131] The neighboring village of Sarısu, contemporary Köseler/Patnos/Ağrı (cf. *Index Anatolicus*), is mentioned by Faẕl Allāh in the context of the itinerary of the troops of the Aqquyunlu ruler Yaᶜqūb to Khūy during the civil war following the death of *uzun* Ḥasan.[132]

The fertile area described by Ibn Ajā as surrounding the convent of Bābā Ṭashqūn continues to be visible on contemporary satellite images on Google Earth. The distance from Malazgirt to Taşkın is some 37 km.

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[127] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111.

[128] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111.

[129] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 62; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111. Conermann, "Taʾrīḫ," 141, translates as "the first third of the day"; however, Ṭulaymāt is correct in clarifying the ambiguous wording of the manuscript by adding *min al-layl* or "of the night" between square brackets after *"al-thulth al-awwal";* cf. the immediate continuation with *wa-aṣbaḥnā bi-zāwiyat,* "and in the morning we arrived at the convent."

[130] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 62; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111. Ṭulaymāt's suggestion that the manuscript reads MRAWYH is untenable in light of the scans, even if the dots of the letters *bāʾ* and *yāʾ* are missing.

[131] Evliya Çelebi, *Siyāḥatnāmah,* 5:39.

[132] Faẕl Allāh, *Tārīkh,* ed. Woods, 148; ed. ᶜAshīq, 141. Cf. the itinerary from Erciş via Sarı Su and Malazgirt to Hınıs described in Posch, *Beziehungen,* 483–84.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Rest until late afternoon; resumption of the journey.[133]

Tuesday, 17 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night on Mount Subḥān, the contemporary Süphan Dağı.[134] Ibn Ajā's mention of perennial snow and ice on its summit is corroborated by Nişanyan's suggestion in the *Index Anatolicus* that the toponym may be derived from Kurdish Sipan, meaning "glacier."

Rest during the day of 3 September 1471.[135]

Wednesday,[136] **18 Rabīᶜ I 876:** Night on the Süphan Dağı.[137]

Resumption of the journey on the morning of 4 September 1471. Arrival in the town of Arjīsh, modern Erciş/Van; rest in the *zāwiyah* of the Qaraquyunlu ruler *qara* Yūsuf.[138] This *zāwiyah* has been tentatively located near the remains of an anonymous mausoleum in the village of Çatakdibi/Erciş/Van, formerly known as Zortul.[139] As no foundation inscription at the mausoleum has been preserved, however, this identification remains hypothetical.

The distance from Taşkın to Erciş across the Süphan Dağı is approximately 55 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days of travel.

Thursday, 19 Rabīᶜ I 876, until Sunday, 22 Rabīᶜ I: Rest at the convent of *qara* Yūsuf in Erciş.[140]

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[133] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 62; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111.

[134] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh,* 62; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111.

[135] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r–141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh,* 62–63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101–2; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 111–12.

[136] Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102, wrongly reads *al-aḥad* or Sunday instead of *al-arbaᶜāʾ* or Wednesday. This is untenable both in light of the manuscript and the internal chronology of the journey.

[137] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 112.

[138] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 112.

[139] See Mehmet Top, "Erciş Zortul Kümbeti," *Dünyada Van: Van Valiliği Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi* 7, no. 16 (1999): 23–26.

[140] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 112.

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22 Rabīʿ I 876 to 30 Rabīʿ I 876: Erciş to Tabriz

Sunday, 22 Rabīʿ I 876: Rest at the convent of *qara* Yūsuf in Erciş.[141]

Resumption of the journey during the day (equivalent to 8 September 1471). Ibn Ajā riding to the village of Bābā Ḥaydar in a palanquin *(miḥaffah)* due to his illness.[142] This toponym could tentatively be identified with the village of Haydarbey/Erciş/Van, known according to the *Index Anatolicus* as Haydarbey in 1854, which, however, is located a mere 15 to 20 km outside the historic site of Erciş or the village of Çatakdibi.

Monday, 23 Rabīʿ I876: Night at Haydarbey.[143]

Continuation of the journey in the palanquin in the morning of 9 September 1471; journey to Bandmāhī.[144] This toponym is subsequently glossed by Ibn Ajā as "fish-lock" *(sakr al-samak)*[145] and its literal meaning is correctly discussed by Ṭulaymāt.[146] It should be identified with a site near the estuary of the Bendimahi Çayı into Lake Van.[147] According to an illustration in the work of the famous Ottoman historiographer and illustrator Matrakçı, the village named Bandmāhī was situated on the western bank of the Bendimahi Çayı.[148] The toponym is mentioned by the Aqquyunlu court historiographer Faz̤l Allāh as the site of a courtly session.[149] An identification with the contemporary town of Muradiye/Van, Armenian Bergri, was proposed by

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[141] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[142] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[143] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[144] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[145] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[146] Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120. The vocalization as *sukr al-samak* or intoxication of fishes suggested by Dahmān and followed by Conermann's translation is untenable in light of the Persian meaning of *band,* dam. See Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126, and Conermann, "Taʾrīḫ," 154.

[147] Buniâtova and Gasanova, *Pohod,* 93, mistakenly identify this toponym with the Erçek Gölü east of Lake Van.

[148] Matrakçı, *Beyān,* 25a, cf. Posch, *Beziehungen,* 744.

[149] Faz̤l Allāh, *Tārīkh,* ed. Woods, 121–22; ed. ʿAshīq, 115–16.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Krawulsky.[150] As Muradiye is situated on the eastern bank of the Bendimahi Çayı, this identification contradicts Matrakçı's illustration.

The distance from Haydarbey to the western bank of the Bendimahi Çayı is around 25 km.

Tuesday, 24 Rabīʿ I 876: Night near Bandmāhī.[151]

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 10 September 1471, on horseback between high mountains.[152]

Wednesday, 25 Rabīʿ I 876: The toponym for the place where Ibn Ajā spent the night is left blank in the manuscript.[153]

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 11 September 1471, to and along a fertile valley *(wādī al-sawād).*[154] Rest at the meadow of Sukmān *(marj sukmān).*[155] This toponym should be identified with the Sukmān-ābād and Sukmān-ova of Ṭihrānī,[156] the Suqman-ābād of Faẕl Allāh,[157] the Sukman-ova of Matrakçı,[158] the Sukman-ābād-i Khūy of Bidlīsī's *Sharafnāmah,*[159] and possibly the [g]li Camuzoni of Pegolotti,[160] as all these forms combine a first element of *Sukman/*Sögmen with the Arabic, Persian, or Turkic designation of a meadow *(marj, ābād,* or *ova).* The toponym lives on in the contemporary name of the rural district of Sukman-ābād surrounding Zūrābād/Zôrâve in Iran.[161] The direct route from Bandmāhī to

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[150] Krawulsky, *Īrān,* 420.

[151] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[152] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[153] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[154] Buniâtova and Gasanova (*Pohod,* 93) mistakenly identify this valley with that of a river named Qarasu (Kara-su, Turkic black water) in Azerbaijan.

[155] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 112.

[156] Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 96 and 408, respectively.

[157] Faẕl Allāh, *Tārīkh,* ed. Woods, 148 and 151; ed. ʿAshīq, 141 and 143. Note the indication by the editors that some of the manuscripts have Sukmān-ābād.

[158] Matrakçı, *Beyān,* 26b; cf. Posch, *Beziehungen,* 745.

[159] Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāmah,* ed. Vladimir Véliaminof-Zernof (Tehran, 1377/1998), 1:310.

[160] Sinclair, *Trade,* 273.

[161] Cf. Posch, *Beziehungen,* 91.

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Zūrābād is now closed by the Turkish-Iranian border, which can only be crossed further to the south at Esendere/Sirū, or alternatively much further to the north at Gürbulak/Bāzargān. Based on a rough estimate from the satellite images available on Google Maps, the distance may have been some 100 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

Thursday, 26 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night at the meadow of Sukmān.[162]

Continuation of the journey at the end of the night to 12 September 1471, arrival in Khūy.[163] The distance from Zūrābād to Khūy is approximately 47 km.

Friday, 27 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night in Khūy.[164]

Continuation of the journey on the morning of 13 September 1471; journey to the village of Tāswā.[165] This town should be identified with modern Tasūj, historical Ṭasūj,[166] some 45 km from Khūy.

Saturday, 28 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night in Tasūj.[167]

Rest at Tasūj during the day of 14 September 1471.[168]

Sunday, 29 Rabīᶜ I 876: Night in Tasūj.[169]

Continuation of the journey on 15 September 1471; rest at the village of †SWRANQWLY†[170] (spelled †SWRANQLY† during Ibn Ajā's

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[162] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 112.

[163] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 112.

[164] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v–142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 63–64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 112.

[165] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 113.

[166] See Krawulsky, *Īrān,* 506, and Sinclair, *Trade,* 274. The suggested identification of this toponym with Naxçıvan in contemporary Azerbaijan (Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 113) is impossible on topographical grounds.

[167] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 113.

[168] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 113.

[169] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 113.

[170] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 113.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

return[171]). Dahmān suggests an interpretation of this toponym as "a branch of the river Sarāw or Sūrān" *(farʿun min nahri sarāw aw sūrān).*[172] However, as no river of this name is attested in the area and I do not know of any Arabic, Persian, or Turkic term for river that resembles QWLY, I retain the toponym *inter cruces.*[173]

Monday, 30 Rabīʿ I 876: Night in †SWRANQWLY†.[174]

Continuation of the journey on 16 September 1471. Ibn Ajā and his companions were met near †SWRANQWLY† by *uzun* Ḥasan's *mihmandār,* or official responsible for the well-being of guests, and let into the town of Tabriz,[175] where they spent the next 20 days.[176] The distance from Tasūj to Tabriz is about 100 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

While in Tabriz, Ibn Ajā attended the court of *uzun* Ḥasan from Thursday, 3 Rabīʿ II 876 (equivalent to 19 September 1471) after the midday prayer, into the night of Friday, 4 Rabīʿ II 876.[177] He was granted a private audience with the ruler on Sunday, 6 Rabīʿ II 876 (equivalent to 22 September 1471)[178] before attending another schol-

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[171] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[172] Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 113.

[173] It may be possible to interpret QWLY as a form of Turkic *göl,* lake, + the third person possessive suffix *-ü;* however, no lake named SWRAN appears to exist in this area either. Buniâtova and Gasanova (*Pohod,* 45 and 93) read this toponym in the form of Sauran-Kuli, subsequently emended in a note to Sarvan-Kuli (*Sarwānqulī), which they gloss as "a lake west of Tabrīz." I have not been able to find any other reference to a lake of this name elsewhere. Topographically, an identification with the small town of Ṣūfiyān may be conceivable; however, this would necessitate a major emendation to the *rasm* of the toponym as given in the manuscript.

[174] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 113.

[175] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 113.

[176] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[177] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 143v–147r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 67–74; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 105–10; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 115–19. For Ibn Ajā's performative deployment of scholarly learning at this and the following scholarly courtly session of *uzun* Ḥasan, see Georg Leube, "Erudition at the Intersection of Genres? The Asymmetrical Deployment of Genres in Ibn Ajā's *Taʾrīkh al-amīr Yashbak,*" in *Selected Studies on Genre in Middle Eastern Literatures: From Epics to Novels,* ed. Hülya Çelik and Petr Kučera (Cambridge, 2023), 16993.

[178] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 147r–148r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 74–76; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 110–12; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 119–20.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

arly courtly session from Thursday, 10 Rabīᶜ II 876 (equivalent to 26 September 1471) into the night of Friday, 11 Rabīᶜ II 876.[179]

The next complete date including the day of the week *and* the day of the month occurs when *uzun* Ḥasan's *mihmandār* brings Ibn Ajā some farewell gifts.[180] As demonstrated above, the date of Wednesday, 17 Rabīᶜ II [876] is internally contradictory and should be emended to *Wednesday, 16 Rabīᶜ II 876*, equivalent to 2 October 1471. Subsequently, Ibn Ajā spent Thursday and Friday in Tabriz.[181]

19 Rabīᶜ II 876 to 4 Jumādá II 876: The Return from Tabriz

As the first part of Ibn Ajā's return follows the route of his journey to Tabriz, I begin indicating the distances between Ibn Ajā's stations after his departure from the earlier route at Erciş.

Saturday, *19 Rabīᶜ II 876*: As demonstrated above, the date of Saturday, 20 Rabīᶜ II 876, is internally inconsistent and should be emended. Ibn Ajā spent the night in Tabriz.[182]

Journey to †SWRANQLY† [*sic*] during the day of 5 October 1471.[183]

Sunday, 20 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night at †SWRANQLY†.[184]

Continuation of the journey on the morning of 6 October 1471; rest at Tasūj.[185]

Monday, 21 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night at Tasūj.

Resumption of the journey on the day of 7 October 1471 to Khūy.[186]

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[179] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 148r–150v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 76–81; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 112–16; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 120–23.

[180] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152r–152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 84–85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 118–19; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 125.

[181] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

[182] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

[183] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

[184] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v–153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 85–86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

[185] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

[186] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119–20, and Dahmān, *Al-ᶜIrāk,* 126.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Tuesday, 22 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in Khūy.

Resumption of the journey on 8 October 1471; rest in the steppe *(mafāzah).*[187]

Wednesday, 23 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in the steppe.

Resumption of the journey on 9 October 1471; rest in the valley of darknesses *(wādī al-ẓulamāt).*[188]

Thursday, 24 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in the valley.

Resumption of the journey on 10 October 1471, to the village of Bandmāhī.[189]

Friday, 25 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in Bandmāhī.

Continuation of the journey on 11 October 1471 to Arjīsh/Erciş.[190]

Saturday, 26 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in Erciş followed by a day of rest due to Ibn Ajā's returning illness.[191]

Sunday, 27 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in Erciş.

Continuation of the journey on the day of 13 October 1471, to a village of Christians *(qaryat naṣārá).*[192]

Monday, 28 Rabīᶜ II 876: Night in the village of Christians in continuous snow; Ibn Ajā slept alone in a cowshed *(iṣṭabl al-baqar).*[193]

Continuation of the journey in very bad weather conditions in the morning of 14 October 1471 to the town of HDAALḤWR.[194] This top-

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[187] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[188] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[189] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[190] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[191] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[192] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[193] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

[194] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

onym should be identified with the modern town of Adilcevaz/Bitlis. Contemporary variants of this toponym in the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* include ʿAbd al-Jawāz,[195] ʿĀdiljawāz,[196] and ʿĀdil Jawāz.[197] Coins minted in Adilcevaz by the Qaraquyunlu rulers Aspān and Iskandar give the toponym as ʿĀdil[jawāz][198] and ʿAbdaljawāz.[199] The latter form likely constitutes the original that was misspelled in Ibn Ajā's text.

The distance from Erciş to Adilcevaz is some 66 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in a day and a half.

Departure from Adilcevaz around noon; rest in a village, where Ibn Ajā met a certain *shaykh* Yūsuf.[200]

Tuesday, 29 Rabīʿ II 876: Night in the village.[201] As indicated above, this date is consistent.

Continuation of the journey on the day of 15 October 1471; journey to the town of Akhlāṭ, modern Ahlat/Bitlis, where some troops of the Rūzakī ruler of Bitlis were currently under siege in the (old) castle.[202] The distance from Adilcevaz to the old castle of Ahlat is around 27 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in about a day.

Wednesday, 1 Jumādá I 876: Night in Ahlat.

Resumption of the journey on the day of 16 October 1471, through snow that continued into the night.[203]

Thursday, 2 Jumādá I 876: Night in a forest *(ghābah)* in great cold, where stragglers continued to catch up with Ibn Ajā until the middle of the night.[204]

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[195] Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 73 (in a footnote listing this form as occurring in ms. N).

[196] Ibid., 228.

[197] Ibid., 236, 408, and 462.

[198] See Album, "Hoard," 138–39.

[199] Ibid., 144, and Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Sikkah'hā,* 55.

[200] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r–153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 86–87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120–21; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 126–27.

[201] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 121; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 127.

[202] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 121; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 127.

[203] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[204] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128. The introductory suggestion of Buniâtova and

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 17 October 1471, to Mūsh, modern Muş.[205] The distance from Ahlat to Muş is about 106 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in 2 days.

Friday, 3 Jumādá I 876: Night in Muş.

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 18 October 1471, to a steppe *(mafāzah)* on the banks of the Euphrates River.[206]

Saturday, 4 Jumādá I 876: Night on the bank of the Euphrates River.[207]

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 19 October 1471. Arrival at the valley of †MLShKRD† at noon;[208] journey to a resting place in the steppe *(mafāzah).*[209]

Sunday, 5 Jumādá I 876: Night in the steppe.

Continuation of the journey after the morning prayer of 20 October 1471, to Ḥabaq Ḥūr/Bingöl, where the travelers left the snow.[210] The distance from Muş to Bingöl is some 115 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in three days.

Monday, 6 Jumādá I 876: Night in Bingöl.

Continuation of the journey on the day of 21 October 1471, to the town of Ḥayn/Hani.[211] The distance from Bingöl to Hani is about 83 km, which Ibn Ajā appears to have covered in one day.

Tuesday, 7 Jumādá I 876: Night in Hani.

Gasanova (*Pohod,* 7) that Ibn Ajā had traveled from Ahlat to Muş via Bitlis is contradicted by their translation (ibid., 58). This was most likely a slip of the pen while writing the introduction and not a conscious argument.

[205] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[206] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[207] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[208] Arguably, one should correct the readings by both Ṭulaymāt and Dahmān of *wa-maraynā* as of unclear meaning (Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh,* ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128) to *wa-ʿaddaynā,* "and we crossed (*scilicet* a river or valley)."

[209] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[210] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[211] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Resumption of the journey during the day of 22 October 1471, to a village near Āmid/Diyarbakır.[212]

Wednesday, 8 Jumādá I 876: Night in the village.

Continuation of the journey on 23 October 1471, to Āmid/Diyarbakır.[213] The direct distance from Hani to Diyarbakır is some 69 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

Thursday, 9 Jumādá I 876: Night in Diyarbakır.

Departure in the afternoon of 24 October 1471.[214]

Sunday, 12 Jumādá I 876: Arrival in al-Ruhā/Urfa at noon of 27 October 1471.[215] The distance from Diyarbakır to Urfa is some 178 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in three and a half days.

Rest in Urfa until the morning of Tuesday, 14 Jumādá I 876,[216] equivalent to 29 October 1471. Continuation of the journey to the town of al-Bīra/Birecik, where Ibn Ajā and his companions were lodged at the castle *(al-qalʿah).*

Saturday, *18 Jumādá I 876*: Arrival in Ḥalab/Aleppo in the morning of 2 November 1471.[217] The distance from Urfa to Aleppo via Birecik is approximately 260 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in four and a half days.

Thursday, *30 Jumādá I 876*: Departure from Aleppo during the day of 14 November 1471.[218]

Monday, *4 Jumādá II 876*: Return to the camp of the Mamluk army.[219]

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[212] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[213] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[214] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[215] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[216] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 128.

[217] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 129.

[218] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 129.

[219] Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh,* 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk,* 129.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

Conclusion

As has been shown in the preceding section, Ibn Ajā's *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak,* if properly emended, contains a coherent, day-by-day account of his itinerary from Antep to Tabriz and back to Diyarbakır. By contrast, the return from Diyarbakır to the army is treated summarily, with Ibn Ajā merely indicating the dates of his arrival and departure at Urfa and Aleppo.

In comparison with the itinerary from Aleppo to Tabriz followed by the Flemish traveler Joos van Ghistele some ten years later,[220] it is striking that Ibn Ajā bypassed Lake Van to the north, crossing the difficult terrain between Diyarbakır, the upper Euphrates River, and Lake Van. By contrast, van Ghistele followed the easier route via Hasankeyf, Siirt, and Hizan, reaching the southern shore of Lake Van near Gevaş/Vastan and continuing via Van and Khūy.[221] The motivation for Ibn Ajā's journey along the difficult route to the north of Lake Van likely lay in the ongoing military campaign of Aqquyunlu forces against the Rūzakī rulers of Bitlis, part of which is mentioned in Ibn Ajā's reference to the siege of Ahlat.[222] Placed in this context, Ibn Ajā's description of the very physical hardships of his journey should be taken as representative of the general upheaval caused by what Woods has fittingly called "one of the most serious misjudgements of the great Aqquyunlu leader."[223]

Apart from the historical importance of Ibn Ajā's diplomatic mission to Tabriz and the value of his travelogue as a source on *uzun* Ḥasan's court and his campaigns against the Rūzakī rulers of Bitlis, I believe the clarification of the chronology and itinerary of his journey undertaken in this article facilitates future engagement with this fascinating source on the following two levels:

A. Its reliable identification of toponyms and the time it took to travel from one to the next make Ibn Ajā's travelogue accessible as an important and exceptionally detailed source on mobility and transportation in eastern Anatolia during the second half of the fifteenth century.

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[220] See Joos van Ghistele, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele,* ed. Ambrosius Zeebout and R. J. G. A. A. Caspar (Hilversum, 1998).

[221] Ibid., 328–33. The critical assessment of this part of van Ghistele's travelogue by G. R. Crone, "Joos van Ghistele and his Travels in the Levant," *The Geographical Journal* 83, no. 5 (1934): 412–15, is based upon numerous false identifications of the toponyms mentioned by van Ghistele and cannot be upheld. See Leube, *Relational Iconography,* 115.

[222] See Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah,* 542–44; Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāmah,* 1:387–90; and the fascinating Armenian colophon translated by Avedis K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480* (Cambridge MA, 1969), 303–7, as well as the comprehensive discussion by Woods, *Aqquyunlu,* 110–12.

[223] Ibid., 112.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)

B. By grounding the discussion of the toponyms given by Ibn Ajā within the most important contemporary sources, as well as some earlier and later itineraries and geographical works, this article contributes to future research engaging with the interplay of persistence and change in the cultural geography of the lands bordering the Mamluk realms to the north.

I sincerely hope that the publication of a reliable reconstruction of Ibn Ajā's itinerary and chronology will encourage further scholarly engagement with his fascinating travelogue.

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DOI: 10.6082/3f7x-0k28. (https://doi.org/10.6082/3f7x-0k28)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

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Contagion, Causality, and Circumspection in a Late-Mamluk Digest of Natural Philosophy

Introduction

In this article I introduce the hitherto unstudied Shafiʿi mystic ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ayyūb al-Qādirī, who was born in Damascus around 1380 and died in Cairo around 1464. The details of Ibn Ayyūb's biography and written works offer insight into the professional ideals and intellectual commitments of the Islamic learned elite, or ulama, in late Mamluk Egypt. Like many aspiring members of this elite, Ibn Ayyūb was born to a respectable scholarly family, impressed early peers and educators with his intelligence, and traveled to Cairo as a young adult to pursue a career in law. Biographical sources indicate that Ibn Ayyūb ultimately failed to launch this legal career and instead became an attendant at a mystics' lodge in Cairo. Nevertheless, these same sources record how highly Ibn Ayyūb's professional and pietistic reputation rated with the ulama of the city. Colleagues cited his acumen, scrupulousness, and engagement with their intellectual pursuits as especially worthy scholarly attributes. They also spoke approvingly of his charismatic powers, including an ability to enthrall colleagues with his presence, convert non-Muslims to Islam through simple conversation, and foresee events like the Timurid invasion of Syria. Despite the frustration of Ibn Ayyūb's legal aspirations, such favorable accounts of his erudition, scruples, and preternatural abilities provide important context for how the learned elite of the late-Mamluk era articulated the criteria for scholarly excellence. These criteria notably went beyond the achievement of institutional standing to encompass broadly valued interpersonal and less tangible attributes like disciplinary mastery, intellectual probity, and charisma.

While some of Ibn Ayyūb's writings have not survived, contemporary and later biographies credit him with extant treatises on medicine, etiquette, and natural philosophy. To my knowledge, these treatises remain in unstudied Arabic manuscript. They therefore merit attention for what they promise to reveal about the intellectual and ethical debates surrounding these discourses in the era, especially as these came to bear on notions of scholarly excellence. To this end, I will give an analysis of the opening folios of Ibn Ayyūb's most important treatise on natural philosophy, a digest titled "Sadd al-dhirāʾiʿ min al-qawl bi-taʾthīr al-ṭibāʾiʿ," or "Blocking the Means of Harm Caused by Teaching the Causal Efficacy of Natures." The work survives in a single manuscript held by the

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

Chester Beatty (CBL MS Ar 5162). Ibn Ayyūb frames this brief and often elliptical treatise as an objection to the public espousal of natural causal efficacy. This position argues that entities such as celestial bodies, miasmas, and humors are necessarily caused by their own elemental natures, and exert influence over other such entities through these natures without the need for divine mediation. From the interactions of these natures arise phenomena like contagious disease, the healing properties of medicine, and the reliability of astrological prognostication, which each appear to operate according to predictable patterns of cause and effect. This view hangs in tension with Ashʿarī teachings on divine agency, which hold that these apparent causal relationships are merely the result of God's habitual creative activity, and are subject to change according to his will. An Ashʿarī himself, Ibn Ayyūb reserves his harshest criticism in "Blocking the Means" for those who consider natural causal efficacy to be logically demonstrable. He urges readers to hew instead to the more defensible position that such natures only possess causal efficacy insofar as it is delegated to them by God. By his lights, the advantages of this position include both a lack of demonstrative pretension and better alignment with the shariʿah's outward teaching *(ẓāhir al-sharīʿah)* that God's habitual actions alone determine sequences of events that humans perceive as cause and effect. "Blocking the Means" is, as Ibn Ayyūb puts it, a didactic exercise *(tamrīn)* meant to acquaint students with this controversial subject and preempt any harm to the Islamic community caused by misunderstanding its logical bases. He references this intention in the title of the treatise by invoking *sadd al-dhirāʾiʿ,* a legal ruling by which a licit activity may be restricted if it reliably precipitates an illicit activity.[1]

I contend that this reference, along with Ibn Ayyūb's stated purpose to preserve merely the outward teaching of the shariʿah, suggests his ambivalence about categorically dismissing the position that natures may possess a greater degree of causal efficacy than can be logically demonstrated. For Ibn Ayyūb, it is out of an abundance of epistemological caution that the ulama should avoid publicly espousing natural causal efficacy, since it may threaten the religious integrity of the Islamic community by undermining belief in God's causal agency. Even so, he insists that physicians should remain free to act as though natural causal efficacy were real in order to practice their medicine most effectively in that community. Both this ambivalence and plea for epistemological circumspection are evident in Ibn Ayyūb's treatment of the phenomena explored in the

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[1] Mawil Y. Izzi Dien, "Sadd Al-D̲h̲arāʾiʿ," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6414; Justin K. Stearns, *Infectious Ideas: Contagion in Premodern Islamic and Christian Thought in the Western Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2011), esp. 110–15; Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Cambridge, 2003), 310–20, as cited by Stearns above, where the legal principle's varying applications and subtypes are defined.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

opening folios of "Blocking the Means"—contagion, the utility of medicine, and the accuracy of astrological prediction—whose apparently natural chains of cause and effect raise important questions about the determinative principles of reality.

Moreover, I argue that the distinction Ibn Ayyūb draws between preventing fallacious reasoning from corrupting scholarly discourse on the one hand and categorically rejecting the possibility of natural causal efficacy on the other reveals much about the worldview of his fellow ulama. By the late-Mamluk era, these urban professionals had come to understand themselves as an elect class of Muslims who alone could safely evaluate compelling philosophical propositions that seemed to challenge theological beliefs. Among the most noted examples of this prerogative at play in wider Islamic intellectual history is Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) critique of Ibn Sīnā's (d. 1037) philosophical system. In his *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* and other treatises, al-Ghazālī questioned the ability of Avicennan Peripatetics to substantiate positions he found to be incompatible with Ashʿarī monotheism, and required all challenges to the outward teaching of the shariʿah to meet the highest standards of demonstration. The degree to which al-Ghazālī rejected natural causal efficacy on these grounds remains an area of some debate today.[2] Certainly, then, Ibn Ayyūb's own efforts to navigate this topic in the fifteenth century gives evidence that the ulama remained interested in the proposition through the later medieval period. Further still, I argue that Ibn Ayyūb wrote "Blocking the Means" not simply to appraise a compelling claim about the world he believed presented tension for his theological beliefs, but that he also did so to restate the standards of inquiry that defined the pursuits of the scholarly class to which he belonged, and to exhibit to his colleagues his own rigorous adherence to those standards. Against the backdrop of Ibn Ayyūb's reputation for charisma, sincerity, and scrupulousness, the following analysis of "Blocking the Means" offers insight into the character of natural philosophical debates in late Mamluk Cairo, as well as the care their participants took to project their ideals of scholarly excellence in an era of intense professional competition. This twofold interest presents a fruitful challenge to Ibn Ayyūb in the opening folios of "Blocking the Means," through which he labors to speak coherently and appropriately about etiology, therapeutics, and prognostics—fields of knowledge he believes the properly initiated scholar may use to access divine truths hidden in the natural order of the world.

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[2] Luis Xavier López-Farjeat, "Causality in Islamic Philosophy," in *The Routledge Companion to Islamic Philosophy,* ed. Luis Xavier López-Farjeat and Richard C. Taylor (London, 2015), from 137; Frank Griffel, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy in Islam* (New York, 2021), 228.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

Medicine and Natural Philosophy in the Mamluk Era

ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ayyūb al-Qādirī came of age in an era of political tumult and intellectual florescence. By the time of his birth the Mamluk Sultanate had ruled Egypt and the Levant for the better part of two centuries. By the end of his young adulthood it would have successfully repelled Crusader, Mongol, and Timurid incursions into its territory and survived a succession of internal political revolts, food shortages, and epidemics. Amid these upheavals the Mamluks sought legitimation of their rule from the ulama, the class of learned elites who administered the legal, religious, and educational institutions which the sultanate had charitably endowed from the mid-thirteenth century onward. Ulama circulated throughout the urban centers of the sultanate to vie for appointment to these institutions, where prominent academic families carefully guarded access to the offices and practices of learning that underwrote their high sociocultural status. Friction between the ulama's desire to accede to positions at these institutions and their oft-stated commitment to the cultivation of knowledge for its own sake led to their developing an expansive literary idiom to discuss the means of advancing professionally without sacrificing their religious and intellectual integrity. The ulama developed this idiom most explicitly in treatises of professional etiquette, or *ādāb,* where they argued that a respectable scholarly career could only be achieved through years of study, lifelong deference to teachers, and a pious aversion to wealth and self-promotion. Within such texts of professional formation, and indeed across their broader ethical deliberations, the ulama advised one another to remain vigilant against the decline of their moral judgement by limiting contact with political elites and exercising extreme caution when handling knowledge gained from sources other than their trusted mentors. As offices like the jurisconsult, preacher, and instructor attained greater definition and stature under Mamluk patronage, the ulama increasingly cited scholarly attributes derived from these larger ethical considerations—like disciplinary mastery, intellectual probity, and ascetic living—as the most important markers of repute within their own circles.[3]

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[3] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 2002), 1–26; Erina Ota-Tsukada, "Formation of the Ideal Bureaucrat Image and Patronage in the Late Mamlūk Period: Zayn Al-Dīn Ibn Muzhir and ʿUlamāʾ," *Al-Madaniyya* 1 (2021): 41–61; Roy Mottahedeh. "The Transmission of Learning: The Role of the Islamic Northeast," in *Madrasa: la transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman,* ed. Nicole Grandin and Marc Gaborieau (Paris, 1997), 63–72; Amalia Levanoni, "A Supplementary Source for the Study of Mamluk Social History: The Taqārīẓ," *Arabica* 60, nos. 1–2 (2013): 146–77; Nahyan Fancy, *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt: Ibn al-Nafis, Pulmonary Transit, and Bodily Resurrection* (London, 2013), 16–35; Ira M. Lapidus, "Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: The Classical Muslim Conception of *Adab* and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam,* ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, 1984), 38–61.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

The material conditions that bound the professional aspirations of the ulama together with the political interests of their Mamluk patrons received great attention in the second half of the twentieth century. Influential historians of this topic include Ira M. Lapidus, Carl F. Petry, Michael Chamberlain, and Jonathan P. Berkey, who focused less on the content of the ulama's intellectual activities in the era and more on their stratification as elites at prestigious institutions of learning. Historians have more recently begun to investigate the intellectual production of the late medieval ulama itself. This has especially concerned the relationship of the legal, ascetic, and traditionalist discourses that flourished under Mamluk patronage with developments in astronomy, anatomy, and medicine—fields long thought to have been subjected to the ulama's increasing dogmatism in the later medieval period.[4] Nahyan Fancy has persuasively shown that ulama of the Mamluk era in fact congregated at endowed institutions of learning in order to evaluate competing claims made by both the religious and rational sciences, debating the rigor but not the fundamental legitimacy of discourses like medicine and natural philosophy. Preeminent biographers of the era such as Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 1348), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363), and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1370) not only refrained from censuring jurists, traditionalists, and theologians for their significant investment in these rational sciences, but, more remarkably, commended their efforts to systematize these discourses in the post-Avicennan era.[5]

It was in this vibrant intellectual milieu that Ibn Ayyūb was formed as a scholar, and in which his treatise on the relevance of natural philosophy, astrology, and disease transmission to the intellectual standards of the Mamluk-era ulama should be understood. By the time of his writing debates about whether diseases were truly communicable in themselves or else a phenomenon of divine activity in the world were longstanding in Islamic intellectual societies. The Hippocratic-Galenic medical system advanced by Islamic physicians since the early medieval era held that all things were comprised of the four elements and their corresponding qualities: fire/hot, earth/cold, air/dry, and water/wet.

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[4] See the note above, as well as Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984); Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2014); Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 2014); idem, "'Silver Threads among the Coal': A Well-Educated Mamluk of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991): 109–25; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice;* M .A. J. Beg, "Al- K̲ h̲ āṣṣa Wa 'l-ʿĀmma," *EI2*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4228. See also Oliver Leaman, "Continuity in Islamic Political Philosophy: The Role of Myth," *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 14, no. 2 (1987): 147–55; Joan E. Gilbert, "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the ʿUlamāʾ in Medieval Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 105–34.

[5] Fancy, *Science and Religion,* 16–27.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

These elements and qualities further inhered in the four humors—yellow bile, black bile, blood, and phlegm—which existed in varying proportions within human bodies. These proportions determined each individual's physical characteristics as well as their cognitive skills and personality traits. Physicians believed that keeping a body's proportion of humors in its idiosyncratic balance constituted its health; illnesses arose when this balance was upset by poor diet, emotional turbulence, miasma, and other external influences, or else by the putrefaction of one or more humors within the body. When such an illness inevitably struck, the physician's task was first to identify their patient's original balance of humors and then to prescribe diets, drugs, or other regimens to restore it to this state.[6]

A watershed moment in the trajectory of this medical system came in the eleventh century, when Ibn Sīnā decisively correlated its claims with Aristotelian and Neoplatonic cosmology. Like other Peripatetics before him, Ibn Sīnā argued that the cosmos was created by the emanation of a necessarily existing, uncaused God. The self-contemplation of this God produced subsidiary intellects that eventually brought physical reality into being through emanations of their own. In so doing, these intellects imparted the concentric spheres of the cosmos with stable elemental natures, or *ṭibāʾiʿ* (sing. *ṭabīʿah*), "a certain principle and cause on account of which the thing in which it is primarily is essentially, not accidentally, moved and at rest."[7] In other words, these natures were what essentially caused celestial bodies like the sun, moon, planets, and stars to move around the earth in unchanging rotations. These rotations exerted predictable influences over elemental substances on the earth; thence came the invariable qualities of the seasons and climes, as well as the humoral composition of humans, plants, and animals. The interaction of the humoral natures inhering in these beings accounted for the processes of growth and decay typical of their earthly existence, including falling sick and being healed. From the most extended point of view, the knowable and predictable interactions of all such natures formed the basis for patterns of cause and effect that rational beings like humans can observe in daily life—e.g., cloth reliably ignites when it comes into contact with fire because it is in the natures of cloth and fire to cause ignition when the two are brought together, just as certain humoral imbalanc-

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[6] See the introductory summary in Ibn Riḍwān, *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Ridwan's Treatise "On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt,"* ed. Adil S. Gamal, trans. Michael W. Dols (Berkeley, 1984), 1–41.

[7] As cited in Jon McGinnis, "The Establishment of the Principles of Natural Philosophy," in *Routledge Companion to Islamic Philosophy,* ed. López-Farjeat and Taylor, 120; see also idem, "Natural Knowledge in the Arabic Middle Ages," in *Wrestling with Nature From Omens to Science,* ed. Peter Harrison et al. (Chicago, 2011), 59–82.

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es cause certain illnesses to develop and certain drugs cause their resolution. Crucially, proponents of Ibn Sīnā's system claimed that the apparent causal autonomy of natures across these events was consistent with Islamic monotheism. This was because such entities were the result of a necessary, uncaused God's first emanation, whose concomitants—like natures themselves—could not exist in his absence. Foundational Ashʿarī theologians like al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) and al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) were nonetheless troubled by the population of the cosmos with subsidiary intellects that were seemingly unconstrained by God's creative agency. They favored theories of causality based on the efficacy of God's will alone, which they believed to determine the course of all events down to the individual atoms of the substances involved, without the mediation of natures. Further developing these theories, al-Ghazālī influentially argued that observed patterns of cause and effect were merely God's creative habit *(ʿādah)* and therefore could not be naturally or necessarily entailed. As the only true *fāʿil,* or Agent, determining the events of reality, God could freely alter his habit *(kharq al-ʿādah)* at any moment in order to prevent causes from having their conventional effects, such that cloth placed in fire might fail to ignite if he so willed, and diseases might fail to be healed by medicines that typically do so.[8]

It remains a matter of debate as to whether al-Ghazālī rejected the existence of natures outright, or simply sought to reduce them to secondary causes channeling God's will. In any event, ulama of the later medieval period remained interested in this debate as it related to the cure and transmission of disease—and especially whether medicines resolved illnesses independently of God's will by the interaction of their natures with morbid humors, and whether morbid humors could spread from person to person by the similar interaction of their natures with healthy bodies. This debate is thought to have received renewed attention in the Mamluk era, which witnessed several epidemics including the devastating bubonic plague of the fourteenth century. In the latter case, doubt about the validity of medicine and the natural principles underlying it pur-

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[8] Steven C. Judd, "The Early Qadariyya," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology,* ed. Sabine Schmidtke (Oxford, 2016), 44–54; Taneli Kukkonen, "Possible Worlds in the *Tahafut Al-Falasifa:* Al-Ghazali on Creation and Contingency," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 38, no. 4 (2000): 479–502; Omar Edward Moad, "Al-Ghazali's Occasionalism and the Natures of Creatures," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 58, no. 2 (2005): 95–101; Hans Daiber, "God versus Causality: Al-Ghazālī's Solution and Its Historical Background," in *Islam and Rationality,* vol. 1, ed. Georges Tamer (Leiden, 2015), 1–22; Jamil Ragep, "Freeing Astronomy from Philosophy: An Aspect of Islamic Influence on Science: Science in Theistic Contexts: Cognitive Dimensions," *Osiris* 16 (2001): 49–71.

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portedly grew in the wake of what many considered to be an incurable disease brought on by divine judgement.[9]

Historians working in the twentieth century generally contended that such doubt grew predominant among Hanbali ulama—who objected to natural philosophy on traditionalist grounds—and was increasingly shared by scholars outside of their legal school in the Mamluk era. Prophetic traditions cited in support of their position included Muḥammad's avowal that "there is no contagion *[ʿadwá],* no augury *[ṭīrah/ṭiyarah],* no bird portending death *[hāmah],* no serpentine jaundice *[ṣafar],*" and, when questioned about the observed spread of mange among camels, his challenge: "Who [but God] caused the first camel to grow sick?"[10] Ignác Goldziher influentially theorized that arguments against contagion based in these traditions became so compelling by the later medieval period as to have caused Muslims of all stripes to divest from medical and natural philosophical discourses in favor of the law and religious sciences. The influential plague treatise written in the last century of the Mamluk era by the Shafiʿi traditionalist Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449)—who rejected the disease's transmissibility even on the basis of God's *ʿādah,* and argued instead that God deputized the jinn to infect bodies with the illness—has been cited to substantiate this claim. Similarly, historians have pointed to the bloom of the Prophetic-medical genre as evidence that Hippocratic-Galenic medicine was largely subjugated to the ulama's religious commitments by the Mamluk era. More recent studies have called the scope of these conclusions into question, pointing to the considerable nuance that Hanbali jurists and ulama in general brought to debates about medicine and contagion. Ibn Ḥajar, for example, may have attributed the plague to the divinely-sanctioned actions of the jinn, but he also stated that humoral explanations for the epidemic had merit. This was so, he argued, because the explanatory power of medicine was confined to earthly phenomena like the diagnosis and treatment of disease. It was the wrong science to use for

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[9] Lawrence I. Conrad, "A Ninth-Century Muslim Scholar's Discussion of Contagion," in *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies,* ed. Dagmar Wujastyk and Lawrence I. Conrad (New York, 2000), 163–77; idem, "Epidemic Disease in Formal and Popular Thought in Early Islamic Society," in *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence,* ed. Terence Ranger and Paul Slack (New York, 1992), 77–99; Josef van Ess, *Der Fehltritt des Gelehrten: die "Pest von Emmaus" und ihre theologischen Nachspiele* (Heidelberg, 2001), esp. as cited by Stearns, *Infectious Ideas,* 15, 26. This purported effect of the plague was recently summarized by Nükhet Varlik (*Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600* [Cambridge, 2015], 211, as follows: "The Black Death was like nothing else; its speed of propagation and the high mortality it caused were not comparable to anything known in the recent past. Plague was seen as a celestial disaster, a catastrophe, and a cataclysmic event. For most, it was a sign of the impending apocalypse, the end times themselves."

[10] See these traditions as cited by Stearns, *Infectious Ideas,* 16, n. 13 and 25, n. 85.

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discerning the ultimate cause of plague, however, which fell instead within the purview of theology. Similarly, Irmeli Perho documented how the earlier Hanbali jurisprudent Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201) argued that the contagion *(ʿadwá)* mentioned by the prophetic traditions above referred to an Arabian superstition unrelated to the humoral transmission of disease. For him, the latter was "an observable aetiological fact." Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), the later Hanbali polemicist long characterized as hostile to intellectual pursuits beyond the religious sciences, also acknowledged the existence of natures, stating in his *fatāwá* that medicine, natural philosophy, and astronomy were useful discourses inherited from non-Islamic societies and subsequently perfected by Muslims. His student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350) further argued that, notwithstanding the need to affirm God's causal independence in theological contexts, ulama must concede that certain diseases are apparently contagious and curable through medical treatment. To his mind, theologians who equated belief in contagion with disbelief in God's agency, as well as the natural philosophers and physicians who made no room for this agency in their own arguments, were equally at fault for misrepresenting the strength of their claims.[11]

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[11] See the important summary in Guy Attewell, "Islamic Medicines: Perspectives on the Greek Legacy in the History of Islamic Medical Traditions in West Asia," in *Medicine Across Cultures: History and Practice of Medicine in Non-Western Cultures* (New York, 2003), 325–50, and, notably, Paulina B. Lewicka, "Diet as Culture: On the Medical Context of Food Consumption in the Medieval Middle East," *History Compass* 12, no. 7 (2014): 607–17, especially 612: "One of the most important features of the post-12th-century period was an increasing radicalization of Islam as well as its growing domination of the culture of Dār al-Islām. One of the results of this long-term and complicated process was that medicine, once free of theology and religion, gained a religious attribute and lost its universal character, while much of the knowledge relating to the Greek medico-philosophical doctrine fell into oblivion, either oversimplified and confused, or combined with the Muḥammadan dietary tradition as featured in the so-called medicine of the Prophet." Cf. Irmeli Perho, "Ibn Qayyim Al-Ǧawziyyah's Contribution to the Prophet's Medicine," *Oriente Moderno* 90, no. 1 (2010): 189–210, for its treatment of these Hanbali ulama as well as its own summary of historians who have refuted such claims, including those influentially offered in such classic works as Ignác Goldziher, *Stellung der Alten Islamischen Orthodoxie zu den Antiken Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1916), Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), and, to a substantially lesser extent, Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London, 1998). For the same, see also Irmeli Perho, *The Prophet's Medicine: A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars* (Helsinki, 1995), especially 65–83 and 91–99. Ibn Ḥajar's plague treatise has been recently translated into English by Joel Blecher and Mairaj Syed, who render the passage referenced above as follows: "The plague is a distinct type of pestilence because of its cause, the equivalent of which does not exist in any of the other pestilences. It is caused by 'the pricks of the jinn.' In my view, this fact does not conflict with the opinion of the physicians, discussed previously, that the plague results from poisonous matter or a stirring up of blood or the flowing of it to a body part, and so on. This is because there is nothing that prevents these from being ultimately generated by a hidden act of a jinn's piercing. This piercing can generate poison-

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Within the realm of late-medieval medicine itself, Fancy has shown that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's (d. 1270) biographical dictionary of physicians, the *ʿŪyun al-anbāʾ,* indicates consistent scholarly investment in medicine throughout the Mamluk period. Luminaries like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210), Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288), Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1311) and, much later, Ibn al-Mubārak al-Qazwīnī (d. 1521) amply discussed Avicennan potentiality, actuality, and motion as they came to bear on topics of medical interest like human physiology, the circulation of blood, and the faculties of the soul. Per Sonja Brentjes and Ahmed Ragab, Mamluk ulama engaged in these sophisticated debates as part of an ongoing effort to integrate the compelling disciplines of medicine, logic, and natural philosophy with traditionalist, theological, ethical, and legal discourses.[12] In much the same vein, Justin K. Stearns documented the diversity of opinions concerning contagion and causality well beyond the domains and centuries of the Mamluk Sultanate. Rather than single-mindedly reject contagion on theological grounds, ulama from the Levant to Andalusia harbored complex attitudes about the topic based in their varying intellectual commitments, sociocultural roles, and historical circumstances. They included jurists expressing legal and ritual obligations concerning the spread of disease in the absence of centralized state apparatuses, physicians applying ancient medical theories to their own clinical observations, theologians contesting natural philosophical terms with a view toward protecting the faith of ordinary believers, and moralists emphasizing faith in divine providence and the importance of caring for the sick during epidemics.[13]

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ous matter, or cause the blood to stir up or flow toward a body part. Physicians cannot object to this claim...because the pricks of the jinn cannot be grasped by reason or sensory experience; rather, we can only attain knowledge of it from the report of the Law Giver. Physicians may only speak of what results from that piercing to the degree permitted by the principles of their science." Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Merits of the Plague,* ed. and trans. Joel Blecher and Mairaj Syed (London, 2023), 22–23. For more context, see the introduction, ix–xxxv.

[12] For the impact of Ibn Sīnā on later medieval medical thinkers in this respect, see Nahyan Fancy, "Post-Avicennan Physics in the Medical Commentaries of the Mamluk Period," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 6, nos. 1–2 (2018): 55–81; at 65 Fancy states that the above-named individuals' "commentaries thus demonstrate that erudite universal scholars skilled in medicine and philosophy continued to exist throughout the Mamluk period." See also Fancy, *Science and Religion,* 16–21; at 19 Fancy cites Sonja Brentjes, "On the Location of the Ancient or 'Rational' Sciences in Muslim Educational Landscapes (AH 500–1100)," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 4, no. 1 (2002): 47–71, but these conclusions were more recently and compellingly offered in idem, *Teaching and Learning the Sciences in Islamicate Societies (800–1700)* (Turnhout, 2018). On how medical and pietistic discourses became intertwined in the Mamluk era, see Ahmed Ragab, *Piety and Patienthood in Medieval Islam* (New York, 2018), esp. 171–212.

[13] Stearns, *Infectious Ideas,* esp. 13–36, 67–90, and 106–59; per 67–90, it should be noted that some early Mashriqi traditionalists, as well as fourteenth-century Maghrebi authors, were willing

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Interventions of the sort brought by Perho, Fancy, Brentjes, Ragab, and Stearns have been a welcome departure from scholarship that has often reduced the late medieval ulama's engagement with this topic to a "reconciliation," "middle position," "compromise," or, at best, "constructive engagement"[14] between religious disciplines and natural philosophy in an era viewed as inherently hostile to the latter. This now-discarded view has distracted from the ulama's consistent engagement with medical and natural philosophical debates related to contagion and causality in this highly synthetic, interdisciplinary era. This engagement, I argue, proceeded from the ulama's sincere belief in their responsibility to seek a means of reasoning coherently and conscientiously across discourses of consequence to the Islamic community. Despite their erstwhile characterization as staid legalists and theologians, ulama of the Mamluk era valued a highly eclectic intellectual diet and did not view disciplines like medicine and natural philosophy as alien, sealed spheres of knowledge with little to offer law or theology. These were understood to be valid branches of scholarly knowledge whose arguments required evaluation according to the standards governing all areas of the ulama's inquiry. While they were often rated as derivative fields whose truth claims fell short of those provided by logic and other rational sciences, medicine and natural philosophy generated vibrant debate among the ulama, who addressed the relevance of these discourses to their scholarly endeavors and identity throughout their careers.[15] This was equally true of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ayyūb al-Qādirī, to whose biography and written corpus we now turn.

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to accept the communicability of diseases like plague and leprosy. More on this below, but see also idem, "The Legal Status of Science in the Muslim World in the Early Modern Period: An Initial Consideration of Fatwās from Three Maghribī Sources," in *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition,* ed. Asad Q. Ahmed et al. (Leiden, 2011), 265–90. On legal considerations related to the communicability and mortality of leprosy in particular, see Michael W. Dols, "The Leper in Medieval Islamic Society," *Speculum* 58, no. 4 (1983): 891–916.

[14] Ragep, "Freeing Astronomy," 53–57, 64; Frank Griffel, "Al-Ghazālī at His Most Rationalist: The Universal Rule for Allegorically Interpreting Revelation *(al-Qānūn al-Kullī fī t-Taʾwīl),*" in *Islam and Rationality,* ed. Tamer, 89–120; Liana Saif, "The Arabic Theory of Astral Influences in Early Modern Medicine," *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 5 (2011): 609–26. In Ibn Riḍwān, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 40, Michael Dols states plainly that "a fundamental conflict between science and theology" characterized medieval Islamic medicine, a sentiment shared by Franz Rosenthal. For the related claim that advancements in medicine ceased following the career of Ibn Sīnā, see Dimitri Gutas, "Medical Theory and Scientific Method in the Age of Avicenna," in *Before and after Avicenna: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group* (Leiden, 2003), 160–62.

[15] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 86; Fancy, *Science and Religion,* esp. 1–13, where there is a helpful review of the literature advancing older characterizations of this era and a critique of the term "natural philosophy." See also 13–68 for Ibn al-Nafīs's life and an important argument for contextualist approaches to the history of Islamic medicine. See also Miquel Forcada, "Ibn Bājja and the Classification of the Sciences in Al-Andalus," *Arabic Sciences and Phi-*

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

The Life and Reputation of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ayyūb al-Qādirī

ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ayyūb al-Qādirī's life and scholarly activities are described by obituary notices in three important biographical dictionaries of the late-Mamluk period: Ibn Taghrībirdī's (d. 1470) emendation of his *Nujūm al-ẓāhirah,* Ibn ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī's (d. 1480) *ʿUnwān al-zamān,* and Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī's (d. 1497) *Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ.*[16] These texts offer insight into the sociocultural formation of the ulama in this era, featuring descriptions of the intellectual endeavors and interpersonal skills they cultivated in order to enhance their standing among peers and patrons. Often written on behalf of deceased teachers by their students, these dictionaries are not repositories of pure fact about the lives of the ulama they eulogize. Rather, younger generations of scholars wrote these accounts of their forebears in service of creating what has been aptly called the ulama's "useful past"—that is, a past "intended to secure their futures" by advancing an ideal vision of scholarly society, through whose description junior ulama learned about the lifestyles and personal dispositions needed to advance through the ranks. In this respect, the genre had, by the Mamluk era, become a pivotal arena in which the ulama defended both their sociocultural status and their intellectual principles. They did so in large part by lionizing scholarly figures they believed to best represent the values of their class and excluding mention of those who did not. Ibn Ayyūb's enthusiastic inclusion in three of these sources is therefore a good indication that his life and writings were thought to embody the professional and pietistic values prized by his contemporaries.[17]

Likely due to its inclusion in an emendation to his larger work, Ibn Taghrībīrdī's entry for Ibn Ayyūb is brief and contains no mention of his literary output. Born and raised in Damascus, Ibn Ayyūb, like many ambitious men of his generation, left for Cairo as a young adult. Ibn Taghrībīrdī notes nothing of his activities

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losophy 16, no. 2 (2006): 287–307, as well as the older contribution by Wolfheart Heinrichs, "The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam," in *Centres of Learning,* ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (Leiden, 1995), 119–39; Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning,* esp. 77–146.

[16] It should be noted that references to Ibn Ayyūb are absent from other major biographical sources of the period consulted for this article, including al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1939); Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-anbāʾ al-ʿumr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1998); Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār al-ʿaṣr li-asrār ahl al-ʿaṣr,* ed. Muḥammad Sālim ibn Shadīd ʿAwfī (Giza, 1992); Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah fī tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1967); idem, *Naẓm al-ʿiqyān fī aʿyān al-aʿyān,* ed. Philip Hatty (Beirut, 2010).

[17] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 19; see also Fancy, *Science and Religion,* 18–21, and Doris Behrens-Abouseif "The Image of the Physician in Arab Biographies of the Post-Classical Age." *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 331–43.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

there apart from his employment as an attendant at the well-known mystics' lodge, Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ. Ibn Ayyūb is nevertheless described as possessing characteristics his colleagues highly esteemed, such as frugality, eloquence, amiability, piety, and good grooming. He died on the evening of 6 January 1464, and a service was held in the prayer hall of the Bāb al-Naṣr before his body was interred in an unnamed mystics' cemetery. "None had anything to fear from him, by word or deed," Ibn Taghrībirdī concludes in his entry. "May God forgive his sins."[18]

Al-Biqāʿī's obituary for Ibn Ayyūb is more substantial. It places his birthdate between 1374 and 1378 and gives his full patronymic as Abū Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Badr ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿUthmān; the *nasab* Ibn Ayyūb––son of Job—was first used by his grandfather Yūsuf in reference to the "many trials" he suffered in life. Ibn Ayyūb was better known by this name than his grandfather was, and also went by the *nisbah*s al-Makhzūmī and al-Dimashqī. Other titles al-Biqāʿī lists here indicate Ibn Ayyūb's scholarly notability, including the honorifics Jamāl al-Dīn and al-Imām al-ʿĀlim al-Rabbānī, the latter of which may have been first associated with his father. "All agree upon his sainthood," al-Biqāʿī declares, noting with special approval that the revered Shafiʿi jurist-traditionalist ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 1446), "whose habit was to disparage people more often than not, described him as being on the path of Muslim forebears in his knowledge, deeds, and speech, saying he had never seen his like before." Al-Maqdisī is al-Biqāʿī's main source of information for Ibn Ayyūb's life and personality. He describes the man as reverent, erudite, abstemious, and slow to anger; he recounts that Ibn Ayyūb maintained his composure even when his driver stole one thousand silver dirhams from him during the hajj. Ibn Ayyūb's peers also considered him mystically adept *(ṣāḥib al-kashf),* but, like many ulama active in fifteenth-century Cairo, he publicly disapproved of al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1234), and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240). When asked about the latter, Ibn Ayyūb exclaimed that he had managed to innovate "such a manner of unbelief as to tear asunder the consensus of all religious commu-

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[18] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Kitāb al-nujūm al-ẓāhirah,* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyāl (Cairo, 1972), 16:330. Originally a Fatimid palace, Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ became the city's primary state-sponsored *khānqāh* under Saladin, housing up to three hundred mystics and serving as an important pietistic center for Cairo. Ibn Ayyūb's *nisbah* "al-Qādirī" likely reflects his and/or his father's membership in the Qādirīyah order; it is not improbable that the order had a presence at Saʿīd Al-Suʿadāʾ; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār,* ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut, 1997), 4:282; Sylvie Denoix, "Saʿīd Al-Suʿadāʾ," *EI2,* http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6492; Nathan Hofer, *Popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1325* (Edinburgh, 2015), 35ff.

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nities," apparently referencing the teaching of unitary existence *(waḥdat al-wujūd).*[19]

Al-Biqāʿī's entry further indicates Ibn Ayyūb's piety and charm. He was an especially charismatic man, "magnetically attracting hearts to himself, in that he could hold the gaze of anyone who caught sight of him, and anyone who sat by him would find themselves clinging to him." This charisma helped him convert seventeen Christians and one Jew to Islam through simple conversation. Ibn Ayyūb could also foretell events of great significance. He claimed to receive visions presaging the Timurid invasion of Syria while looking upon the Kaʿbah one pilgrimage, and discussed whether Damascenes should attempt to escape the onslaught with Ibrāhīm ibn Mufliḥ (d. 1479)—a debate reminiscent of those pertaining to flight from areas of epidemic disease. It is heavily implied that Ibn Ayyūb's vision played a role in Timur's death before his siege of Damascus succeeded.[20] More interestingly still, the ability to foresee events appears to have been a family trait. Before the onset of Ibn Ayyūb's father's fatal illness, he was praying in a cemetery with some associates. At the conclusion of prayer, Ibn Ayyūb's father gestured toward the earth and stated that he would shortly be buried there. Exactly seven days after this prediction, he grew weak in his legs and died in the presence of his family. The incumbent *qāḍī al-quḍāh* attended his funeral and reminded the many mourners there about what had transpired in the cemetery. The grief of the attendees was apparently so intense that they marched his body through the streets in complete silence; al-Biqāʿī reports that their breathing could scarcely be heard during the procession, let alone the sound of any irreverent voices.[21]

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[19] Al-Biqāʿī, *ʿInwān al-zamān bi-tarājim al-shuyūkh wa-al-aqrān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 2001), 3:140–41; the critical apparatus indicates that a portion of al-Biqāʿī's entry for Ibn Ayyūb is drawn from an alternative manuscript source, with reference to information apparently gleaned from Ibn Taghrībirdī. For more information on the controversy regarding Ibn al-ʿArabī et al., see Walid Saleh, "Al-Biqāʿī," *EI3,* http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23717; for al-Maqdisī's biography, see al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm,* 129. More on Ibn Ayyūb's honorifics below.

[20] Al-Biqāʿī, *ʿInwān,* 142–44. For a biography of Ibn Mufliḥ, see Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1992), 1:152, as cited in n. 4 in al-Biqāʿī, *ʿInwān,* 144, where this anecdote is found. On the relevance of visions and strange tales to the study of biographical dictionaries, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 22–23; Kristina Richardson, "Drug Overdose, Disability and Male Friendship in Fifteenth-Century Mamluk Cairo," *Postmedieval* 3, no. 2 (2012): 168–81.

[21] Al-Biqāʿī, *ʿInwān,* 145–46. Due to some ellipses in the text, the story of Ibn Ayyūb's father presaging his own death could be read as relating to Ibn Ayyūb himself. There does seem to be some confusion between the two men in al-Biqāʿī's account, as in the lineage given by al–Sakhāwī in the note immediately below. However, al-Biqāʿī specifies that the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* mentioned here is ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Baqāʾ, a Damascene Shafiʿi born in 1356 and appointed to this office in

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Al-Biqāʿī's entry for Ibn Ayyūb focuses on his positive pietistic and intellectual characteristics as well as his family pedigree, but contains no information about his literary output. For this we must turn to the yet more detailed entry in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍawʾ*. Al-Sakhāwī was a personal friend to Ibn Ayyūb, and provides his complete family lineage. He also more firmly places Ibn Ayyūb's birth in Damascus in 1380. Upon concluding his elementary studies there, he traveled to Cairo to mingle with bureaucrats like the army chief *(nāẓir al-jaysh)* Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ (d. 1450). Soon thereafter he entered the service of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ. Al-Sakhāwī thought very highly of his friend, and mentions that he enjoyed the admiration of their colleagues in Cairo as well. These included the noted jurist, theologian, and natural philosopher Ibn al-Humām (d. 1457). According to Ibn al-Humām, Ibn Ayyūb was "well-dressed and finely spoken," as well as "brilliantly venerable, unaffected, intensely imaginative, and self-possessed," embodying a "jovial presence of uncommonly sharp and charming wit." He held lectures and taught prophetic tradition at Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ, having learned *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from the era's much sought-after traditionalist Ibn Ṣiddīq al-Ṣūfī (d. 1404). Ibn Ayyūb taught part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Sakhāwī, who states that the two corresponded about the text: "I studied some of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with him, and he asked me about some of its traditions. So I wrote him a reply that very much met his approval. He went far out of his way to show his gratitude, for that was his assiduous nature, without a hint of affectation." Ibn Ayyūb died in 1463 at the approximate age of eighty-four. So abrupt was his illness that al-Sakhāwī only learned about it two days prior to his passing. A large congregation prayed over his body before it was buried at the cemetery of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ. "People spoke of him in the best, most laudatory of terms," al-Sakhāwī states. "What a truly excellent man he was, God bless him!"[22]

1395—evidence, along with an early date of death, that this story pertains to his father. On Ibn Abī al-Baqāʾ, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 1:486.

[22] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 5:36–37, where Ibn Ayyūb's full name is given as "ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Badr ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿUthmān al-Jamāl ibn al-Imām al-Rabbānī—upon whose sainthood all agree—al-Nūr Abī al-Ḥasan," which seemingly attributes these honorifics as well as sainthood to his father, in contrast with al-Biqāʿī above. Al-Sakhāwī notes that early in his career Ibn Ayyūb preferred the *nisbah* al-Dimashqī, and only added al-Shāfiʿī, al-Qādirī, and al-Qāhirī to his name after his relocation to Egypt. Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl was an influential bureaucrat of Damascene origin who moved to Cairo in 1412 with the then-amir al-Muʾayyad Abū al-Naṣr Shaykh (r. 1412–21), becoming a fixture at court; see al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm,* 122; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 4:24–27; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Kitāb al-nujūm,* 15:202, 16:15; Daisuke Igarashi, "Charity and Endowments of the Civilian Elite: The Case of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ," in *Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517),* ed. Stephan Conermann and Tōru Miura (Göttingen, 2021), 57–84. Ibn al-Humām was also the shaykh of the Shaykhūnīyah Khānqāh in Cairo; see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 8:127–32; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah,* 1:270. The name of Ibn Ayyūb's teacher is given only as Ibn Ṣiddīq here, but is most likely

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As for Ibn Ayyūb's literary works, al-Sakhāwī reports that he once began to write a "good tract" on the introduction to ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Qazwīnī's (d. 1268) *Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr,* a work on practical Shafiʿi law. This was likely an effort to attract scholarly patronage and acclaim. However, once ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 1437), the redoubtable student of al-Taftazānī (d. 1390), looked over the project, he instructed Ibn Ayyūb to abandon it. Al-Sakhāwī says nothing more of Ibn Ayyūb's legal activities, though he does state that he and his father (or merely the latter) went beyond spoken censure of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-ʿArabī to author treatises against their teachings. These do not survive, but al-Sakhāwī credits Ibn Ayyūb with a medical treatise that does, entitled *Dawāʾ al-nafs min al-naks,* or "Medicating Oneself against Relapse." He claims to have examined this work personally, and mentions that upon its completion in 1432 Ibn al-Humām and Ibn Yūnis al-Mawṣilī wrote encomia *(taqārīẓ)* for it. This was a common means of promoting a colleague's work in the era, and another indication of Ibn Ayyūb's popularity with his peers.[23]

Al-Sakhāwī provides no further information about this text, but its inclusion in Kâtip Çelebi's *Kitāb kashf al-ẓunūn* and Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī Bābānī's *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* and *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn* evinces its long circulation. One such surviving codex is held by the Chester Beatty, and contains both a copy of "Medicating Oneself" as well as the only known recension of "Blocking the Means."[24] Coming first in the codex, "Blocking the Means" is written in a clear scholarly hand and comprises 68 folios. Its undated title page ascribes it to Ibn Ayyūb by the honorific al-Faqīr ilá Allāh Taʿālá al-Shaykh, followed by the more familiar ʿAbd Allāh

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Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣiddīq al-Muʾadhdhin al-Dimashqī. In his obituary for this man, al-Sakhāwī states that he was simply known as Ibn Ṣiddīq; see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 1:147–48.

[23] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 5:36–37. Not much is known about al-Mawṣilī; see his entry in ibid., 2:190. See also Levanoni, "Supplementary Source," and, again, Fancy, *Science and Religion,* 21–27, for similarities between Ibn Ayyūb's self-promotion and Ibn al-Nafīs's much more successful trajectory.

[24] "Medicating Oneself" is one among the texts attributed to Ibn Ayyūb in Kâtip Çelebi, *Kitāb kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn,* ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā (Istanbul, 1941), 761, 1094; it initially appears under the name "Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ayyūb," though the correction "Jamāl al-Dīn" is supplied thereafter. The text is also listed in Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī Bābānī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn fī al-dhayl ʿalá kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn,* ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā (Istanbul, 1945), 2:72; and in idem, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn: asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn,* ed. Kilisli Rifat Bilge and Ibnülemin Mahmut Kemal Inal (Istanbul, 1951), 1:469. Among works on medicine, bloodletting, and ethics, this text was likely Ibn Ayyūb's most popular, surviving in at least three manuscript copies. These three are held by Paris's Bibliothèque nationale, Dublin's Chester Beatty, and Patna's Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library—each confirmed by this author and subject to his future study, along with the others. See also Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1901–2), S2:1027.

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ibn ʿAlī ibn Ayyūb al-Shāfiʿī al-Qādirī al-Makhzūmī al-Dimashqī.[25] The text itself exhibits the technically dense, epitomizing, and allusive hallmarks of the late-medieval scholarly idiom. Described by Ibn Ayyūb as an exercise in important topics related to natural philosophy, “Blocking the Means” is not a sustained or original treatment of the arguments for or against natural causal efficacy. An analysis of its opening sections will rather show that Ibn Ayyūb’s aims for the text are didactic and homiletic, designed to project his fastidiousness and disciplinary mastery by offering an even-handed account of the discourse’s demonstrative limits.

Contagion and Causality in “Blocking the Means”

In the incipit of “Blocking the Means,” Ibn Ayyūb invokes God by using divine titles that assert the contingency of natures and defend his creative role in the cosmos. In rhyming couplets Ibn Ayyūb describes God as “the First *[awwal]* before natures came into being, and the Last after their passing away; He who is Apparent *[ẓāhir]* in the wise harmony of purpose imparted to their framing, and He who is Hidden *[bāṭin]* in the similitude of their proximate causes *[tashbīh al-asbāb]*—for in the darkness the Arranger of the stars *[rākiz lil-nujūm]* does not look to their light for guidance.” The Prophet is described in turn as “the one dispatched with tidings about God’s intervention in the habitual course of events *[kharq al-ʿawāʾid],* the one who disclosed reasons *[ʿilal]* for doubt and disconcertment about them, the master of sages and messengers.”[26] The Prophet is thus cast as the originator of appropriate natural philosophical discourse, as well as the first critic of its epistemological liberties. Ibn Ayyūb explains his own intentions in composing “Blocking the Means” in similar terms: “This treatise comprises the removal of suspicion and doubt about, and an explanation of, direct causes *[ʿillah]* for the effects of natures. I have entitled it “Blocking the

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[25] CBL MS Ar 5162, fol. 1r. Though the ink has flaked off and a positive identification is difficult, this manuscript appears to have belonged to a certain “al-Faqīr ilá Allāh Ṣāliḥ ibn [Muḥammad] al-Fullānī.” This is almost certainly the traditionalist Ibn Muḥammad al-Fullānī who died in 1803, per Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām: qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-al-mustaʿribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn* (Beirut, 1980), 3:195. Here al-Ziriklī provides an image of another manuscript bearing al-Fullānī’s name, written in a hand matching the one found on the title page of “Blocking the Means.”

[26] CBL MS Ar 5162, fol. 1v. Ibn Ayyūb’s use of *awwal* harkens to al-Ghazālī’s description of God in the Aristotelian sense of *prime mover.* The alternative though unusual reading of *rākiz* as *rākin* would carry the similar meaning of an inaccessible yet essential causal agent. Moreover, Ibn Ayyūb’s use of the term *ʿilal* is a likely play on its meaning “natural causes,” while *ḥukamāʾ* for “sages” connotes both philosophers and physicians; Lenn E. Goodman, “Did Al-Ghazâlî Deny Causality?” *Studia Islamica* 47 (1978): 94.

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Means of Harm Caused by Teaching the Causal Efficacy of Natures" and devised it as an exercise for the student of this discipline—although investigating the true details of the matter is disallowed *[ʿalá anna al-wuqūf ʿalá al-ḥaqāʾiq mumtaniʿ]* except through reference to God's intervention in the habitual course of events. On this score, I shall mention the means by which this phenomenon was made clear to me after having become acquainted with it, repudiating those of its aspects that contravene the outward teaching of the shariʿah."[27]This wording invites consideration. Ibn Ayyūb phrases his intentions as instructive: the text is an exercise for students in matters related to natural causal efficacy, but the subject must be carefully broached because teaching this topic without affirming God's agency over patterns of cause and effect is *mumtaniʿ,* or disallowed. The term refers to an inappropriate or interdicted course of action. Its usage here is reminiscent of commentaries on a passage from Ibn Sīnā's widely-circulated *Risālah al-aḍḥawīyah* on the need to espouse only outward interpretations of scripture in public settings. Ulama must do so in order to prevent believers who are unable to reason properly from slipping into unbelief. Using God's unicity *(tawḥīd)* as an example, Ibn Sīnā explains that outward legal and religious teachings *(sharʿ wa-millah)* about this doctrine were revealed to the prophets through allegory *(tashbīh)* "for use in public address to the masses at large. It is for this reason obviously disallowed *[mumtaniʿ]* to expound to them the true details *[taḥqīq]* upon which sound belief in God's unicity depends," such as his lacking quantity and extension in space. Doing so risks causing common believers to misconstrue him as non-existent. Ibn Sīnā's argument was highly generative, attracting the attention of al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and Ibn Taymīyah. Their objections and adjustments to his argument aside, the question as to whether the ulama should publicly espouse philosophical concepts of potential harm to the Islamic community remained an active conversation well into and beyond the Mamluk era. As the self-proclaimed heirs to the prophets––and, increasingly, as a class of political functionaries and sociocultural elites—the ulama repeatedly discussed their responsibility to ensure the religious cohesion of the Islamic community with solemnity. This purpose is evident in Ibn Ayyūb's careful presentation of his treatise's content at its outset, which he fears may lead the uninitiated to confuse the apparent causal efficacy of natures for evidence against the existence of God.[28]

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[27] CBL MS Ar 5162, fol. 1r.

[28] The passage from Ibn Sīnā is notably quoted in Ibn Taymīyah, *Kitāb darʾ taʿāruḍ al-ʿaql wa-al-naql,* ed. Muḥammad Rashād Salīm (Riyadh, 1991), 5:11; cf. Yahya J. Michot, "A Mamlūk Theologian's Commentary on Avicenna's 'Risāla Aḍḥawiyya': Being a Translation of a Part of the 'Darʾ Al-Taʿāruḍ' of Ibn Taymiyya, With Introduction, Annotation, and Appendices: Part I," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14, no. 2 (2003), beginning at 173; idem, "Philosophical Exegesis in Context:

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Following this incipit, Ibn Ayyūb states that he has divided "Blocking the Means" into fourteen subsections on important aspects of natural philosophy.[29] The first of these is "on contagion *[ʿadwá],* its proximate causes *[asbābihā],* its division into the two species *[nawʿayn]* of harmful and salutary, the feeble reasoning of natural philosophers *[ḍaʿf ʿulamāʾ al-ṭabīʿah],* which of their teachings may be duly relied upon, and the features constituting the human body." Ibn Ayyūb's stance on contagion in this subsection amounts to localized miasma theory, where humoral vapors arising from sickened bodies spread disease. It does not immediately engage with the causal implications of this position. Ibn Ayyūb explains that this harmful species of contagion occurs "in some diseases and not in others, because in some diseases there is material on the exterior of the body, or whose area of effect is on the exterior, which dissolves as a vapor and is transferred when it is inhaled by another person. If this occurs over a long period of time, or if there is some amenable substance in the body of the other person, their humors will corrupt."[30] Such transmission occurs only in diseases affecting parts of the body between which there is a certain affinity facilitating the admission and integration of vapor. This includes transmission between extremities, porous organs, areas of discharge and vulnerability, and in all instances where the vapor in question is hot, pungent, and viscid in humoral composition.[31] Ibn Ayyūb lists the diseases that are transmitted under these conditions as conjunctivitis *(ramad),* tuberculosis *(sill),* epidemic illness *(wabāʾ),* gangrenous leprosy *(judhām),* prurigo *(jarab),* smallpox *(judarī),* measles

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Some Views by Ibn Taymiyya," *Muslim World* 109, no. 4 (2019): 582–94; Carl Sharif El-Tobgui, *Ibn Taymiyya on Reason and Revelation: A Study of* Darʾ Taʿāruḍ al-ʿaql Wa-al-Naql (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 121–31, esp. 126, n. 195; cf. Ragab, *Piety and Patienthood,* 207. On the lukewarm reception of this text by Maimonides (d. 1204), see Griffel, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy,* 223–24. See also Robert Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context* (Ithaca, 2018), 213–16, 219, and 242 for the concept of *mumtaniʿ* in logic; Shalahudin Kafrawi and Sunan Gunung Djati, "The Notion of Necessary Being in Fakhr Al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Philosophical Theology," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 15, no. 1 (2004): 125–33; Jonathan P. Berkey, "'There Are ʿUlamāʾ, and Then There Are ʿUlamāʾ': Minor Religious Institutions and Minor Religious Functionaries in Medieval Cairo," in *Histories of the Middle East: Studies in Middle Eastern Society, Economy and Law,* ed. Roxani Eleni Margarit et al. (Leiden, 2010), 9–22.

[29] Titles for sections on subjects other than contagion are given at CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 1v–2v, and will be subject to future study by this author. They include medical topics such as illnesses caused by food, drink, seasons, climate, wind, and the movement of stars; tremors and leprosy; sexual arousal, satisfaction, potency, and impotency; perspiration, changes to the voice, wine drinking, the graying of hair, sneezing, intense emotions, the effect of climes on bodily characteristics, walking for exercise, massage, eunuchs, and miscellany.

[30] Ibid., fols. 2v–3r.

[31] Ibid., fol. 3r; cf. Peter E. Pormann, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's Pragmateia* (Leiden, 2004), 283.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

(ḥuṣaybah), and generalized leprosy *(baraṣ).* He provides more specific details about how some of these illnesses are individually communicated, mentioning in the process additional contagious diseases not listed here. For example, the transmission of leprosy is rare when all or most of the aforementioned conditions are unmet, which makes it like dropsy *(istisqāʾ)* and madness *(junūn).* Conjunctivitis is the most readily infectious because the eyes are porous and superficially located on the body, allowing hot, pungent, and viscid discharge to transmit easily. This humoral profile likewise characterizes the breath of those with tuberculosis, which leaves consumptive airways with a warm and suppurative composition. This breath forms a vapor that easily permeates the extremities, pores, and vulnerable areas of nearby bodies. Epidemic illnesses are similarly transmitted via the putridity of a sick person's breath, which is inhaled and incorporated by others. Summarizing these processes through a reference to Avicennan physics, Ibn Ayyūb observes that the sick can infect the healthy through simple proximity because illness is a correlate of a diseased body's motion *(ḥarakah),* which is what produces infectious discharges. This is unlike the body in a state of health, which is a correlate of its repose *(sukūn).* In this state, discharges are not produced. In other words, health is not communicable to the sick like disease is communicable to the healthy—which is why housing convalescent patients with healthy people is never a sound therapy.[32]

Concluding this initial discussion, Ibn Ayyūb addresses the reader in an extended passage on the epistemological limitations of such medical reasoning. Most importantly, he wishes to avoid giving his audience the impression that he is arguing for the causal efficacy of natures by simply observing that the diseases above are communicable:

> You should know that the physician's argument for direct causes *[ʿillah]* is as deficient as that of the grammarian, because the weak correspondence between the cause and its effect in their claims is obvious both rationally and religiously *[ẓāhir ʿaqlan wa-sharʿan].* For miasma may encompass a great many people, but only a few of them die. And the Prophet did say, "There exists neither augury nor contagion," and, "Who [but God] infected the first [camel]?" The most extreme view to argue is that the agent *[fāʿil]* is the natures themselves, and then shift [this agency] from natures to celestial bodies. While indeed the qualities of hot and cold are effected and occasioned by the sun and moon *[munfaʿilah ʿan al-*

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[32] CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 3r–4r; see Fancy, *Post-Avicennan Physics,* 58; per n. 16, *ḥarakah* "is used to signify any kind of change in quantity, quality, place, or position (i.e., the Aristotelian *kinēsis*)." This usage is widespread in medieval medical and natural philosophical literature.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

> *shams wa-al-qamr wa-bi-sababihimā],* the adherents of revealed religions have agreed that attributing causal efficacy to such proximate causes constitutes disbelief in God, inevitably overstating the identification of these causes with what is truly causing a thing to occur. For the same reason, astrological predictions cannot be said to operate via demonstrative certainty *[burhānīyah qaṭʿīyah],* but rather rely upon intuition and conjecture *[ḥads wa-takhmīn],* since there is no rational way of establishing the indicative *[madlūl],* causal *[maʿlūl],* or conditional *[mashrūṭ]* relationship between the relative movement of a star toward a domain of the sky and the existence of good fortune for some on earth and not others, or vice versa. So hold instead to citing God's habit in the face of their allegations.[33]

Ibn Ayyūb's style here is elliptical, moving from point to point without offering full explanations for them. Citing two prophetic traditions typically used to critique contagion, he stops short of presenting a formal theological or religious argument against the concept. He simply claims that such an argument is a matter of consensus among believers, and should be as evident to the reader as its rational counterpart. As for the latter, Ibn Ayyūb states that individuals may be unaccountably spared from epidemics supposedly caused by rampant miasma—an objection famously raised by his contemporary Ibn Ḥajar. Ibn Ayyūb also begins the passage itself by comparing the demonstrative status of physicians' etiological arguments with those made by grammarians. The reader is expected to surmise his meaning: asserting the efficacy of contagion is akin to overstating the strength of induction in grammar, whereby a language's rules are abstracted from observed usages peculiar to certain times, places, and peoples, and hence lack a universal basis in reason. Etiological claims, Ibn Ayyūb seems to argue here, similarly rely on empirical observations that are dependent on circumstance rather than demonstrative proof. Such circumspection is equally reflected in Ibn Ayyūb's comments on astrology and medicine's lack of indicative, causal, or conditional support—key elements of legal, dialectic, and inferential reasoning extensively debated by al-Juwaynī, al-Ghazālī, al-Rāzī, al-Nafasī (d. 1288), al-Samarqandī (d. 1322), and Ibn Taymīyah in the years preceding his writing.[34]

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[33] CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 4r–4v. It is possible that by *ḥads* Ibn Ayyūb means the Avicennan concept of intuition as such. This refers to the ability to discover the middle term of a syllogism without using formal logic; see Peter Adamson and Michael-Sebastian Noble, "Intuition in the Avicennan Tradition," *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* (2022): 1–18.

[34] See Jon McGinnis, "Scientific Methodologies in Medieval Islam," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 41, no. 3 (2003), and note 39 below, as well as Thérèse-Anne Druart, "Logic and Language,"

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DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Moving from this brief allusion to inductive and inferential reasoning, Ibn Ayyūb dedicates greater attention to the poor epistemological profile shared by medicine and astrology. His disparaging comments were often voiced by Peripatetics who wished to affirm the weak predictive power of medicine as well as elevate what they believed to be the more precise and prestigious science of astronomy over the popular, often courtly pursuit of astrology. The unfavorable comparison between the two became all the more relevant in the Mamluk era, where inquiry across such disciplines reached a zenith, astronomers enjoyed employment at prestigious institutions of learning, and inspectors subjected marketplace astrologers to ever more withering oversight. This context clearly informs Ibn Ayyūb's denigration of astrology as a non-demonstrative science operating only on the logic of intuition and conjecture, above. Referring to physicians and astrologers as a single group—while seemingly making room for medicine's greater probative strength—Ibn Ayyūb goes on to state:

> Most of their predictions based in "customary events" *[aḥkāmihim al-ʿādīyah]* lack correlation with phenomena in the real world. This is because "customary events" pertain to things like burning amidst fire, satiation amidst eating, quenching thirst amidst drinking, and healing amidst medical treatment—i.e., events which sensible people deem reliable due to how frequently they are reproduced under these conditions in customary observation *[li-kathrat takrārihi al-mashrūṭah fī al-aḥkām al-ʿādīyah].* Yet the lifespans of astronomers like Ptolemy et al. are shorter than the recurrence of the celestial spheres' revolutions; this is especially relevant to information they convey about great planetary conjunctions in the remote past. If their claims were true, people of the same ascendant star would be much like each other, just as clothing tossed into fire reliably burns. But this is not the case about such people: among them are the miserable and the happy, the long-lived and the short-lived. It is as the Almighty said: "They are fed by the same water, though we sweeten the taste of some

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in *Routledge Companion to Islamic Philosophy,* ed. López-Farjeat and Taylor, 69–81; Kees Versteegh, "The Term ʿilla and the Notion of Causality in Arabic Linguistics," in *Orientalistische Studien zu Sprache und Literatur: Festgabe zum 65 Geburtstag von Werner Diem,* ed. Werner Diem and Ulrich Marzolph (Wiesbaden, 2011), 87–97; Abdurrahman Ali Mihirig, "Analogical Arguments in the *Kalām* Tradition: Abū l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī and Beyond," *Methodos: Savoirs et Textes* 22 (2022), https://doi.org/10.4000/methodos.9004; Walter Edward Young, "Concomitance to Causation: Arguing Dawarān in the Proto-Ādāb al-Baḥth," in *Philosophy and Jurisprudence in the Islamic World,* ed. Peter Adamson (Berlin, 2019), 205–82; Wael B. Hallaq, trans., *Ibn Taymiyya Against the Greek Logicians* (Oxford, 1993); Stearns, *Infectious Ideas,* esp. 72 and from 85.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

> and not the others [*Raʿd* 4].” The converse of this is when a great many people perish in a single shipwreck despite their different horoscopes. For the stars are ordered, ruled, dominated, and constrained, having restricted patterns of ascent and descent from which they cannot deviate...So the truth of the matter depends on the freely willing and destining Agent.[35]

Alongside a single Quranic excerpt Ibn Ayyūb draws on longstanding empirical criticisms of astrology to dismiss the status of its claims. These include the shipwreck challenge to the accuracy of horoscopes, which was offered as early as antiquity, and a litany of “customary events” drawn from a famous passage of al-Ghazālī’s *Tahāfut*. Moreover, both al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd argued that the lifespans of astronomers were far too short to provide compelling empirical evidence for their predictions. More interestingly still, Ibn Ayyūb’s demurring position on the relationship of commonly reproducible events like burning amidst fire with the reliability of celestial prognostication resembles discussions of this subject by contemporaries further afield in the Islamic west. These include Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), who discouraged speculation about long chains of celestial causes which he believed to be beyond human comprehension, and Ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1490), who criticized medical reasoning as inductive yet allowed for the apparent congruence of its habitual causes and effects. Be this as it may, Ibn Ayyūb says nothing more of medicine and astrology in this subsection. But he does provide a caveat before proceeding. He states that the comments he has just offered against natural causal efficacy do not pertain to any non-technical expressions *(alfāẓ muṭlaqah)* his readers might find in subsequent passages of “Blocking the Means.” These especially include metaphorical predications *(majāz isnādī),* which Ibn Ayyūb admits might signify his belief in natural causal efficacy. He reassures readers that while the wording of such artful statements as “spring causes buds to bloom” may suggest a direct causal relationship between, in this instance, the season and the flowering of plants, they “do not speak to doctrinal belief *[iʿtiqād],* and thus I am innocent.” This caveat is notably voiced in advance of the prognostic and etiological content provided in subsequent sections of “Blocking the Means,” where toleration of causative language is necessary to avoid burdening the text with similar qualifications.[36]

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[35] CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 4v–5r.

[36] Ibid., and Yahya J. Michot, “Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translation of Three Fatwas,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2000): 147–208; Griffel, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy,* esp. 258; Roger Beck, *A Brief History of Ancient Astrology* (Oxford, 2007), esp. 101–18; McGinnis, “Scientific Methodologies,” 307–27. On these aspects of Ibn Khaldūn and al-Sanūsī’s thought, see Stearns, *Infectious Ideas,* 121–30. For these linguistic terms, see Avigail Noy, “The Legacy of ʿAbd Al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī in the Arabic East before al-Qazwīnī’s Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ,”

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Ibn Ayyūb follows this discussion of medicine and astrology, as well as his linguistic caveat, with a more forceful, conspicuously Ashʿarī objection to natural causal efficacy:

> All of the foregoing proceeds from arguing that natures are causally efficacious *[faʿīlah],* in the sense of their being an effect *[mafʿūlah]* synonymous with every existing thing in the elemental world—i.e., entities in the sublunar sphere which are naturally constituted *[maṭbūʿ]* of the qualities hot, cold, moist, and dry. This is not so; in the discourse of the ancients, natures were put forth as recipients *[munfaʿil]* of the divine power *[quwwah illāhīyah]* through which every entity in the world both high and low was sustained: the celestial spheres, angels, stars, inanimate objects, plants, non-speaking animals, and humans. Irrespective of the varying conditions for the welfare of each entity, natures were how that power actualized their proper constitutions as predisposed in potentiality. The ancients were heedless of the rotten core to such superficial wisdom: "If your Lord had willed, he could have made humankind into a single nation [*Hūd* 118]." Their explanatory pretensions fall short of elevating the occasions for a cause to the status of what actually causes them, and their teachings on potentiality are unsound. For "God is determinative over every thing [*Baqarah* 106]," and the Exalted reminded us that it is he who decides when to intervene in the customary course of events, saying, "If God had willed it, he could have rightly guided them. So be not among the ignorant [*Anʿām* 35]."[37]

Ibn Ayyūb's impatience for the overlapping lexicons of natural philosophy and astrology is strongly evident here. His language again takes on an elliptical and didactic quality, quickly summarizing natural philosophical claims, defining their terms, and supplying Quranic citations to dispute them. His comments include a brief reference to the Peripatetic concept *quwan,* or essential powers latent in substances from which their effects flow—powers which are, in this sense, synonymous with natures. Their description here as a "divine power" further calls to mind Ibn Rushd's distinctive use of this term in accounting for how God and celestial intellects exert influence over entities in the sublunar sphere, itself a calque of Alexander of Aphrodisias's (fl. 200) original phrase for

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Journal of Abbasid Studies 5, nos. 1–2 (2018): 11–57, and, for greater context, idem, "The Emergence of ʿIlm Al-Bayān: Classical Arabic Literary Theory in the Arabic East in the 7th/13th Century" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2016), 220.

[37] CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 5r–5v.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

the same concept. Ibn Ayyūb's citation of *Hūd* in relation to it suggests an objection to reducing divine acts of creation to a dormant power that inheres in all beings, however diverse, serving only to actualize their predisposed constitutions when needed. His dismissive invocation of terms like *faʿīlah, mafʿūlah,* and *munfaʿil* is likewise evocative of statements made by the earlier figures al-Rāzī, Ibn Ghalyān al-Balkhī (d. ca. 1194), and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 1233) about the perceived invasion of scholarly discourse by the hollow, performative use of this vocabulary in the later medieval era. Ibn Ayyūb therefore seems fairly well-acquainted with the commentary traditions surrounding these longstanding natural philosophical debates. It should be noted that while his objections are somewhat polemically presented here, they center less on the validity of natural philosophy as an intellectual pursuit and more on how easily its arguments can tend toward logically indefensible claims that clash with God's causal agency.[38]

At the outset of "Blocking the Means," Ibn Ayyūb described this section as treating the two species of contagion, "the feeble reasoning of natural philosophers," and "which of their teachings can be duly relied upon." It is only in providing commentary on the latter that Ibn Ayyūb explicitly mentions the figure looming large over his treatise: al-Ghazālī. Calling him by his customary honorific *Ḥujjat al-Islām,* Ibn Ayyūb states that al-Ghazālī was asked about the foregoing criticism of natural philosophical discourse and agreed with it. Nevertheless, there are circumstances which al-Ghazālī believed made it reasonable to act as though natural causal efficacy were real: "There is no harm in the physician's correlative claims where trivial matters are concerned *[fīmā lā khaṭar fīhi].* Whatever a jurist might say, no rational proof can be furnished to prevent you from seeking the benefit alleged about a medicine's intrinsic properties—for it is irrational to delay *[tark]* seeking oxymel's suppression of yellow bile until such a proof is furnished." It is difficult to resist reading Ibn Ayyūb's disparaging use of the term *tark* here as a criticism of *tark al-tadāwī,* the controversial pietistic practice of foregoing medical treatment when sick in order to exercise *tawakkul,* or total reliance on God. In further evidence of medicine's provisional legitimacy despite the objections of pious ulama, Ibn Ayyūb observes that physicians throughout history have applied their medical treatments to patients and

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[38] Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford, 2009), esp. from 208; idem, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy,* 286; Ayman Shihadeh, "From Al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15, no. 1 (2005): 141–79; Gad Freudenthal, "The Astrologization of the Aristotelian Cosmos: Celestial Influences on the Sublunar World in Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Averroes," in *New Perspectives on Aristotle's De Caelo,* ed. Alan C. Bowen and Christian Wildberg (Leiden, 2010), 239–81; Bethany Somma, "The Causal Efficacy of Nature in the Neoplatonica Arabica," in *Reading Proclus and the Book of Causes,* vol. 3, *On Causes and the Noetic Triad* (Leiden, 2022), 281–302; cf. Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn al-Qayyim's use of the term *qūwah* in Perho, *Prophet's Medicine,* 70–74.

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have witnessed neither ill effects nor punishment from God as they did so. The reader is again left to infer the whole of Ibn Ayyūb's meaning: that God would have surely brought about negative consequences for practitioners of medicine if their pursuits were forbidden on the basis of advancing belief in natural causal efficacy.[39]

The remainder of this section on contagion supports this interpretation, and demonstrates the distinction Ibn Ayyūb draws between criticizing the explanatory pretensions of natural philosophy and discarding the discourse altogether. "Humans are of the earth," Ibn Ayyūb begins in increasingly poetic language, and the earth's "master increases its yield when he undertakes to cultivate it, to temper its waters, and reduce its surplus yield." This stewardship is accomplished by studying natural philosophical discourses inclusive of medicine, by which the ulama come to know the substances that comprise human beings, animals, plants, and medicines, as well as appreciate the larger physical reality in which these diverse entities are created and sustained. In Ibn Ayyūb's estimation, this undertaking is tantamount to the pursuit of human perfection, both of the body and its intellecting soul:

> As for the body, its perfection is attaining the health that comprises its most favorable states. As for the soul, its perfection is consummating its theoretical and practical powers, which illness and pain impede. Thus he who uses this knowledge to build upon the human essence is able to perceive what ails each body part and what treatment must be applied to resolve these illnesses, as well as the wonders and marvels that await in understanding and

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[39] CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 5v–6r. See again McGinnis, "Scientific Methodologies," esp. from 317, which probes Ibn Sīnā's argument that repeatedly observing certain causes' bearing certain effects *(tajribah)* may provide conditionally *(bi-sharṭ)* necessary knowledge that a causal relationship exists between them. McGinnis contends that in so arguing Ibn Sīnā went beyond his philosophical predecessors, who, like Ibn Ayyūb himself, deemed such knowledge to be too unreliable for application outside of epistemically trivial matters like medical treatment. Though in this instance Ibn Sīnā illustrated his position with reference to scammony's observed effect on bilious humors, oxymel's similar suppression of yellow bile is invoked by al-Sanūsī in his discussion of causal relationships in medicine; see Stearns, *Infectious Ideas,* 126–27. On *tark al-tadāwī,* see Perho, *Prophet's Medicine,* 66–67; it should be noted that the copyist for CBL MS Ar 5162 marginally corrected the omission of the word *tark,* implying the existence of another, unknown manuscript. Ibn Ayyūb also relates the following proverbs in support of medicine's legitimacy here: "I have only seen good come of this the many times I have tried it," and "If the wretched knew that God does not punish the first commission of a sin, they would refrain from sinning." There may be additional juridical implications to these statements; see, for example, ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-āthār fī sharḥ al-mujallá bi-al-ikhtiṣār,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bandārī (Beirut, 2003), 12:64, topic 2186, no. 2.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

> utilizing those parts. This enterprise is further clarified by his coming to understand the underlying realities of existing things in their transitory and abiding aspects, including those things in the heavens, the earth, and what lies between. This is because the human essence is a vessel for the world's abstract truths, a sculpting clay for its forms, a tablet for its markings, and a gathering place for its realities. It is indeed as though humankind brings together both lifeless and growing things, both prey and predator, both demon and angel—because it is a microcosm of the world.

This is far from a condemnation of natural philosophical inquiry. In addition to promoting a comprehensive understanding of the material cosmos of which humanity is both part and personification, Ibn Ayyūb goes on to state that studying the fields constitutive of natural philosophy guides believers to truths that are otherwise only found in scripture. The prime example of this phenomenon is the natural philosopher's eventual ability "to unveil the secret of death's necessity"; i.e., "the second genesis" of bodily resurrection. Arguing at length that this hidden reality places human beings at the pinnacle of God's creation, Ibn Ayyūb leaves it characteristically unsaid that the resurrection was chief among the religious teachings denied by Avicennan Peripatetics—a fact which al-Ghazālī famously claimed placed them beyond the pale of Islam. Despite its allusive delivery here, this statement is perhaps Ibn Ayyūb's most direct affirmation of natural philosophy's importance to the ulama's intellectual and pietistic mission. Although perilous for its ability to lead Muslims into false belief about God's causal agency, when properly explained by a trusted, circumspect teacher the tenets of natural philosophy may just as easily guide them to evidence for doctrinal beliefs concealed in the structure of reality itself. Then, in a sudden, prosaic contrast to this poetic summation, Ibn Ayyūb concludes the section by enumerating the salutary species of contagion mentioned in its foreword: urination, yawning, and the involuntary contraction of muscles. These reflexes of the body expel excess moisture, we are told, and can be triggered when it receives sensory input reminiscent of this excretion, such as the sight, sound, or scent of flowing water and blazing fire.[40]

CONCLUSION

Evident in this passage, but also shot through the opening folios of "Blocking the Means," is Ibn Ayyūb's ambivalence as to the final status of natural

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[40] CBL MS Ar 5162, fols. 6r–7r. The Quranic citations given in support of these statements here are *Sajdah* 7 and *Tīn* 4–5, 9.

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DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

philosophical claims. This ambivalence is reflected in the legal principle he invokes in the title of his treatise: *sadd al-dhirāʾiʿ*, whereby a licit activity may be interdicted if it often results in illicit activity. Itself subject to disagreement among legal thinkers, this principle appeared across medieval plague treatises and traditionalist discourses as a strategy to maintain the integrity of the Islamic community when exigent factors like outbreaks of epidemic illness and the disruptions accompanying them made determining ethical courses of action difficult. Perhaps just as exigently and no less abstractly for Ibn Ayyūb, permitting novices to engage in natural philosophical inquiry without first teaching them its logical limitations posed an unacceptable risk to scholarly discourse in the later medieval era. Yet at multiple points in "Blocking the Means" our author suggests that tolerating some degree of causal language in natural philosophy promises benefits for the properly initiated scholar. Not least among these are the cure of disease, the perfection of the human body and soul, and the ability to access divine truths in sources other than revealed scripture. The circumspection with which Ibn Ayyūb makes the case for these benefits stands not in contrast with but in complement to his comments on the speciousness of natural causal efficacy—speaking less to the staid theological or legal reasoning of the Mamluk ulama, and more to the logical rigor that they prized. Alongside Ibn Ayyūb's reputation for probity, sincerity, and charisma, "Blocking the Means" gives evidence that ulama of this era approached their scholarly endeavors with the intellectual and interpersonal ideals that underwrote their professional identities firmly in mind. Future study of its subsequent sections on natural philosophical topics of interest to this learned elite will provide further, richer context for understanding those ideals at work in the sociocultural milieux of the Mamluk era.

Acknowledgements

I completed the Arabic manuscript research for this article in 2017–18 as a fellow at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris through an exchange program with Harvard University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. My thanks are therefore due to Margot Gill, Rebecca Bauer Lock, Sandrine Lacorne, Caroline Gueny-Mentre, and Daniele Le Galloudec. Special gratitude is also owed to Philip Roe, Jenny Greiner, and the photographic services of the Chester Beatty, Dublin, who graciously provided me with access to the manuscript studied in the foregoing. I presented preliminary versions of this article's several sections at the McGill-CREOR Graduate Student Conference in 2019 and the Middle East Studies Association meeting in 2021. I am grateful to Victoria Addona, Khaled El-Rouay-

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

heb, Farah El-Sharif, Nuri Friedlander, Aslıhan Gürbüzel, Justine K. Landau, Avigail Noy, Ahmed Ragab, Justin K. Stearns, and Meredyth Lynn Winter for their help as this article came to fruition. Unless otherwise noted, all translations and transliterations remain my own—as do any errors.

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DOI: 10.6082/fcwx-vr39. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fcwx-vr39)

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The Enigma of the *Baḥrīyah* and the Political Legacy of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (1240–49)

Introduction

Elsewhere, based mostly on volume six of Ibn Wāṣil's (1208–98) history of the Ayyubids, I have discussed the transition from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks.[1] Ibn Wāṣil's chronicle is a huge text, with many autobiographical references. Although his focus is on political history and military campaigns, battles are not described and other relevant military details are seldom mentioned. In this article I offer a more thorough reading of the text with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century historiography at the fore of the discussion. Moreover, although aware of Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd's (1205–73) text, I regrettably made spare use of it in my earlier article and also overlooked the annotated French translation.[2] Ibn al-ʿAmīd was a scion of a Christian family originally from Takrit in Iraq that flourished in Egypt during the Fatimid-Ayyubid period. He, like his father, had served in the Office of the Army.[3] Additionally, I will refer to Ibn Khallikān's (1211–82) text to argue that, in political terms, the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries constituted an unbroken continuum. Finally, some of my earlier observations on Ibn Wāṣil's text and the decade from 1250 to 1260 are modified.

Although the world of Ayyubid politics frames my discussion, I do not seek to redefine it. "Ayyubid confederation," the term coined by R. Stephen Humphreys, is quite satisfactory, and his discussion of its origin explains its structure and

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Acknowledgment: I am most grateful to Koby Yosef and Amir Mazor for their references to sources and studies, suggestions, and comments on the two drafts of this paper. Thanks are also due to the anonymous reader on behalf of *MSR* for his/her corrections and useful proposals.

[1] See "The Transition from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks: Ibn Wāṣil's Account," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. VIII, ed. U. Vermeulen, K. D'Hulster, and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2016), 244–70.

[2] Ibn al-ʿAmīd's text was published in 1957: Claude Cahen, ed., "La 'chronique des ayyoubides' d'al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd," *Bulletin d'etudes orientales* 15 (1955–57): 109–84. It has also been translated: Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Micheau, trans., *Chronique des ayyoubides (602–658/1205–6–1259–60)* (Paris, 1994).

[3] For the family's fortunes in Egypt during the Fatimid-Ayyubid period, see Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī kitāb wafayāt al-aʿyān,* ed. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), no. 167 (text and trans.); al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffá al-kabīr,* ed. Mohammed Yalaoui (Beirut, 1991), 3:16–18; Samuel Moawad, "Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd (the elder)," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History,* vol. 4 (1200–1350), ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallet (Leiden, 2012), 566–70.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

how it functioned.[4] I also adopt Nasser O. Rabbat's sober view regarding al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's troubled personality (born 603/1206–7, ruled Egypt between 1240 and 1249), his propensity to shed blood, and his destructive politics, which undermined "the last vestiges of the system of collective sovereignty."[5]

Scholarly discussion of the *baḥrīyah* is dominated by David Ayalon's 1951 article, and the subsequent publications by Amalia Levanoni. One must bear in mind, however, that neither Ibn Wāṣil's text nor al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd's text were available to Ayalon in 1951, and today there is also a better and fuller edition of Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary. The *baḥrī* regiment established by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb is at the focus of my discussion and my question is how this small corps that lacked cohesion and eventually dispersed came to be considered a key element in the transition from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks.[6]

The Beginnings of the *Baḥrīyah*

The first significant reference to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb is from 618/1221, and appears in the context of the agreement that secured the withdrawal of the armies of the Fifth Crusade from Egypt. The agreement included the exchange of hostages, and the fifteen-year-old al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and his boon companions were offered as hostages. The effect of this short episode on the life of the young prince remains obscure, but in 627/1230 relations between al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and his father,

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[4] See R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, 1977), chapters 1–2; idem, "Legitimacy and Political Instability in Islam in the Age of the Crusades," in *The Jihad and its Times: Dedicated to Andrew Stefan Ehrenkreutz,* ed. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel and Ronald A. Messier (Ann Arbor, 1991), 5–15, examining theories of political legitimacy versus political practices.

[5] See Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 85. While Rabbat draws attention to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's execution of his brother (al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn), "a vile act unprecedented in Ayyubid history," Ibn al-ʿAmīd singles out al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's indifference to the fate of his son (al-Mughīth ʿUmar) who died in prison in Damascus. See Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 159; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 85. Al-Dhahabī, (*Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashahīr wa-al-aʿlām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī [Beirut, 1989–], vol. 47 [covering the years 641–50], 133) emphasizes al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's agony over the death of the son. Elsewhere, he explains that the events that led to al-Mughīth ʿUmar's death also involved machinations on the part of the vizier (see ibid., 5). For al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's vindictiveness, see ibid., 40–41. It should be noted that al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn's execution was a premeditated act that took place after long years of imprisonment.

[6] Note on conventions: I use the terms *mamlūk* pl. *mamālīk/mamlūk*s to denote military slaves. The adjective Mamluk (with capital "M," and with no transliteration) is used when referring to the state or society of the Mamluk period. See D. S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 40. I use CE dates when dating is firmly established and CE/Hijri dates when referring to information derived from sources.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

al-Malik al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, became strained because of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's actions during his father's absence from Egypt. Consequently, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's designation as heir apparent was revoked and he was exiled to the East—meaning to the territories east of the Euphrates—but was given no independent rule. In 630/1233, however, following al-Malik al-Kāmil's successful campaign along the Upper Tigris, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was granted rulership of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. During 634/1237 and 635/1238, he vastly increased the territories under his rule and asserted his position within the politically and geographically diverse and shifting Ayyubid confederacy.[7]

In 1238, after the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb took control of Damascus and sought to expand his territories in Syria. He also began making preparations to oust his younger brother, al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, who ruled Egypt (1238–40). Al-ʿĀdil's position was weakened following the desertion of leading amirs, who joined al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.[8] However, during the latter's absence from Damascus he lost the town to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (the son of Sultan al-ʿĀdil of Egypt, 1200–18), the ruler of Baalbek, and the force (5,000–6,000 strong) al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had assembled for the Syrian—and possibly also the Egyptian—campaign crumbled. He was also deserted by some of his inner circle, such as eunuchs, household slaves *(ghilmān),* military slaves *(mamālīk),* and administrators. He ended up imprisoned in Karak, accompanied by his slave girl Shajar al-Durr and Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, the future sultan (1260–77).[9] After seven months of imprisonment, following a coup against al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn in Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was invited to take the reins of power. During his nine-year rule in Egypt he created the *Baḥrīyah* corps and initiated an extensive building project on Rawḍah island (Jazīrah), opposite Fusṭāṭ.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb died on 15 Shaʿbān 647/23 November 1249 in al-Manṣūrah, fighting the armies of the Seventh Crusade. His death was kept secret by those of his inner circle, which included Shajar al-Durr (his widow) and the eunuch *(ṭawāshī)* Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥsin, who had unrestrained access to the sultan and was also in charge of his *mamālīk* of the *jamdārīyah* (masters of the robes) and *baḥrīyah*. They followed the hereditary principle and recognized al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's son Tūrān Shāh, who was exiled in Ḥiṣn Kayfā and had to be summoned, as his successor. Their adherence to the hereditary principle should come as no sur-

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[7] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* vol. 4, ed. Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Rabīʿ and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 98, 99; Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 139, 140, 142, 144, 148–49.

[8] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 146–47.

[9] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* vol. 5, ed. Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Rabīʿ and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1977), 233–34; Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 147; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 248–61.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

prise, since it was a driving force in medieval life. Dynasties of qadis, jurists, administrators, physicians, and merchants dominated the socio-religious and economic life of the period, and political realities were merely a reflection of wider trends. As a temporary arrangement, they entrusted Yūsuf Fakhr al-Dīn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh with the command *(atābakīyah)* of the army and running the state *(tadbīr al-mamlakah).* His main responsibility was to issue official documents *(manāshīr)* confirming grants of *iqṭāᶜ.*[10] Tūrān Shāh arrived in al-Manṣūrah on 6 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah 647/10 February 1250, but he failed to consolidate his position as sultan and, on 29 Muḥarram 648/3 May 1250, was assassinated by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *mamlūk*s.

Following the assassination of Tūrān Shāh, power was handed to Shajar al-Durr and command of the army was given to the amir ᶜIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī. For a brief three months the Friday sermons began with the proclamation of the caliph's name followed by a reference to Shajar al-Durr: "O God, protect the Lady Ṣāliḥīyah, the Queen of the Muslims, the Guardian of the World and the Religion, the Lady of the Honorable Veil and Splendid Curtain, the Mother of the Deceased Khalīl."[11] Eventually, she was forced to marry Aybak (19 Rabīᶜ II 648/21 July 1250), who assumed the royal title al-Muᶜizz. Seemingly, the Ayyubid suzerainty continued since the declared nominal ruler was a six-year old boy, al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of the deceased al-Malik al-Masᶜūd, eldest son of al-Malik al-Kāmil. For some time both names appeared on official documents but the boy was eventually imprisoned and removed from political life.

The year 1257 proved to be fatal for both Shajar al-Durr and Aybak. Suspicious of Aybak's intention to marry into the ruling family of Mosul, she conspired against him and had him killed. Shajar al-Durr paid with her own life for the killing of her husband. These events paved the way for Quṭuz, Aybak's *mamlūk,* to seize power. In 1260, he led a diverse Muslim force to victory over the Mongols

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[10] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* vol. 6, ed. ᶜUmar ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 101; Ibn al-ᶜAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 159; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 86. The standard translation of the term *ṭawāshī* is eunuch (see notes 51 and 87). For the *jamdārīyah,* see note 35. Fakhr al-Dīn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh was a member of the well-known Ḥamawīyah family. See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 47:372–74.

[11] Lev, "Transition," 248–49. Very little about Shajar al-Durr's actions can be found in the sources. Al-Dhahabī, for example, writes that she distributed robes of honor and money among the amirs. She also married off *mamālīk* and *baḥrīyah* to slave girls in the Citadel of Cairo and provided generously for them. He omits the question of whether manumission from slavery also took place on those occasions. See *Tārīkh,* 47:57. Shajar al-Durr has attracted considerable scholarly attention. See, for example, D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Tree of Pearls: The Extraordinary Architectural Patronage of the 13th-Century Egyptian Slave-Queen Shajar al-Durr* (New York, 2020), with ample references to sources and studies.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

at ʿAyn Jālūt but then fell victim to a conspiracy by Baybars. The next two subsections deal with Ayyubid military slavery and the creation of the *baḥrīyah.*

Ayyubid Military Slavery

Ibn al-ʿAmīd's history of the Ayyubids is a plain text and, with one exception, devoid of any autobiographical references. Ibn al-ʿAmīd reports that in 627/1230, when Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil had been in Syria, he (the sultan) was informed that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, while acting as heir apparent and his deputy in Egypt, had bought 1,000 *mamlūk*s.[12] Who it was who insinuated that the act signified al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's intention to take control of the country remains vague. In fact, while absent from Egypt, al-Malik al-Kāmil divided the responsibilities of running the country between his son and the amir Fakhr al-Dīn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, who was entrusted with financial and administrative authority.[13]

According to Ibn Wāṣil, the letter was written by al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn's mother, complaining that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had bought many Turkish *mamlūk*s and taken vast sums of money from merchants and the treasury. She had perceived these actions as an attempt to seize the country and as a threat to herself and her son.[14] Upon his return, al-Malik al-Kāmil arrested several of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's men and tried to recover the money that had been spent. As in other medieval Muslim ruling families, in the Ayyubid family there were both siblings with two parents in common *(shaqīq, shaqīqah)* and half-siblings with only a father in common. The family squabble was exacerbated by the sultan's response. In 632/1235, when al-Malik al-Kāmil left Egypt for a campaign in Syria, he made al-ʿĀdil heir apparent and conferred upon him the title Sayf al-Dīn.

The history written by Shihāb al-Dīn Qirṭāy al-ʿIzzī al-Khāzindārī (d. 708/1308–9) offers another perspective on these events, but this work must be approached cautiously. Al-Khāzindārī's text is a mixture of belles-lettres *(adab)* and history. The author introduces dialogues between the protagonists and locates the events in artificial invented contexts that, supposedly, explain the actions of the main players on the political scene. Al-Khāzindārī begins the account of the years 626–27/1228–30 by explaining al-Malik al-Kāmil's family situation: he had three sons, of whom the eldest, al-Malik al-Masʿūd, was sent to conquer Yemen. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, the two younger sons, were with their father in Cairo. Before al-Malik al-Kāmil's Syrian campaign, he held a kind of father-son conversation with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, entrusting him with authority and ordering him to follow his instructions. The gist of the account

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[12] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 139; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 44.

[13] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 137; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 204–8.

[14] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 4:277–78.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

consists of al-Malik al-Kāmil's directions concerning al-ʿĀdil and his mother, who is described as a foreigner, "not one of us."[15]

Al-Khāzindārī contends that during al-Malik al-Kāmil's absence from Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb mistreated al-ʿĀdil and his mother and he reports that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb purchased 400 *mamlūk*s, whom he called *baḥrīyah,* and granted them vast *iqṭāʿ*s yielding incomes between twenty to thirty thousand (dinars/dirhams?). Al-Malik al-Kāmil was informed about al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's actions through a letter sent by al-ʿĀdil's mother. The main difference between al-Khāzindārī's account and the letter lies in the reference to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *mamlūk* build-up, and concerns the number quoted in the letter: 500 *mamlūk*s. It seems that this disparity was a deliberate literary device on the part of al-Khāzindārī: al-ʿĀdil's mother had faithfully described al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's actions but had exaggerated slightly, while his account quotes the correct number: 400 *mamlūk*s, not 500. If we follow the drift of al-Khāzindārī's account, al-Malik al-Kāmil's harsh response was driven by the misdeeds of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who had disobeyed his father's instructions to keep the peace in the family.[16]

It is easier to dismantle the literary framework created by al-Khāzindārī than to understand his account of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's actions, which defy everything we supposedly know about military slavery. Our knowledge of the institution assumes that young *mamlūk*s were purchased in order to be trained as soldiers. Giving them *iqṭāʿ*s at that stage is simply improbable. Whatever shortcomings al-Khāzindārī's account might have, it is nonetheless useful for understanding Ibn Wāṣil's account. It seems that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb definitely did two things: he bought *mamlūk*s and he distributed *iqṭāʿ*s among the amirs. His immediate goal was to create a body of loyal amirs and, in the future, of loyal *mamlūk*s. Al-Malik al-Kāmil's efforts to recover some of the money spent by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb involved rescinding the *iqṭāʿ*s and imprisoning the amirs.

In the broader context of Ayyubid history al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's actions made perfect sense; he did what other sultans had done: cultivated amirs and fostered *mamlūk*s. References to *mamlūk*s are abundant and, in some cases the military meaning of the institution can be safely assumed. Ibn Wāṣil, for example, while writing about al-Malik al-Masʿūd's conquest of Yemen, also mentions the ruler of the Holy Cities, whom he describes as a powerful and awe-inspiring potentate, who had many Turkish *mamlūk*s, and whom the Bedouins dreaded.[17] The term can, however, stand for both military and household slaves, and some of

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[15] Al-Khāzindārī, *Tārīkh majmūʿ al-nawādir,* ed. Hurst Hein and Muḥammad Ḥujayrī (Beirut, 2005), 3.

[16] Ibid., 3, 4, 5, 14; David Ayalon, "Le régiment Bahriya dans l'armée mamelouke," *Revue des études islamiques* 19 (1951): 133–34, based on fifteenth-century Mamluk historiography.

[17] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 4:121, 124.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

the references to *mamlūk*s are ambiguous. Al-Ṣafadī (1297–1363), for example, provides a short biographical note on the son of the caliph al-Nāṣir (1180–1225), who died on 20 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 612/11 March 1216. He was clearly being groomed as the successor, and his father had bought him Turkish *mamlūk*s and allowed him to ride with a large train of attendants composed of eunuchs. Al-Ṣafadī also wrote a biographical note on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, the *kātib al-sirr* of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, whose train of attendants included sixteen Turkish *mamlūk*s for whom he had paid some extraordinary sum. His acculturation into the Turkish milieu of the rulers whom he served also included his predilection to speak Turkish. In both accounts, the references to Turkish *mamlūk*s seem to indicate domestic slaves.[18]

Other references to *mamlūk*s indicate military slavery, and the sources offer illuminating insights into the institution during the period. Highly relevant examples of this come from al-Malik al-Kāmil's reign. In 617/1220, after the fall of Damietta, at the time that the sultan was fighting the armies of the Fifth Crusade, a group of amirs conspired against him. Because of the wartime circumstances, al-Malik al-Kāmil chose to appease the amirs through gifts of money and increased their *iqṭāʿ*s. A year later, after the retreat of the Franks, he took decisive measures against the conspirators: he exiled them from Egypt and redistributed their *iqṭāʿ*s among his *mamlūk*s.[19] When al-Malik al-Kāmil began buying *mamlūk*s is unknown, but he was born in 1180 and from 1200 to 1228 he *de facto* ruled Egypt, as sultan until his death in 1238. By 1221, he had been in power for two decades and his *mamlūk*s could by then have reached maturity and been promoted to the ranks of amirs. How many *mamlūk*s he might have had is unknown, but during 1200–2 Egypt suffered a calamitous drought, from which recovery was slow during the first decades of the thirteenth century. Although Ibn Wāṣil portrays al-Malik al-Kāmil as a ruler who had personally supervised Egypt's irrigation infrastructure and taken care of the country's prosperity, the costs of the *mamlūk* system were high.[20]

Other references pertaining to Ayyubid military slavery are also relevant for the current discussion. In 624/1227, for example, a conflict erupted between

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[18] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* vol. 20, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 2008), 353, 390. Earlier accounts of the caliph's son omit the references to his *mamlūk*s. See, for example, Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-al-sābiʿ,* ed. Muḥammad Zāhid ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (Beirut, 1974), 91.

[19] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 133, 134; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1968–71), 5:80. For the Fifth Crusade and al-Malik al-Kāmil's dilemma, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 162–70.

[20] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 5:157. For the 1200–2 crisis, see Yaacov Lev, "Saladin's Economic Policies and the Economy of Ayyubid Egypt," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. V, ed. U. Vermeulen and K. D'Hulster (Leuven, 2007), 343–47.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

al-Malik al-Kāmil and his brother al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsá, the ruler of Damascus. Al-Malik al-Kāmil became suspicious that his father's *mamlūk*s would side with al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam. He arrested and expropriated the possessions of two leading conspirators and ten amirs of *al-baḥrīyah al-ʿādilīyah,* referring to a *mamlūk* corps created by his father Sultan al-ʿĀdil. The arrested amirs were Fakhr al-Dīn Alṭunbā al-Ḥubayshī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Fayyūmī, who had served as amir *jāndār* and probably was also an *iqṭāʿ* holder in the Fayyūm.[21]

The reference to the *baḥrīyah,* which pre-dates al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's reign, is interesting, and a possible explanation is suggested by al-Dhahabī (1274–1348), who offers a paraphrased summary of Ibn Wāṣil's obituary note on al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. Al-Dhahabī states that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb bought a great number of Turks and made them the majority in his army, preferring them over the Kurds. He made them amirs and the mainstay of his regime, naming them *baḥrīyah*. Al-Dhahabī offers his own explanation of the term: "I say, because the merchants brought them over the sea from the Kipchak."[22] According to al-Dhahabī, in the Egyptian context *baḥrīyah* was a generic term, indicating a *mamlūk* corps, not necessarily connected to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and his military build-up.

Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam died in 624/1227, and al-Malik al-Kāmil launched a campaign to seize Damascus. Upon his approach to the city he was greeted by another brother, the ruler of Baniyas, as well as by the amir ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Muʿaẓẓamī and many of the latter's comrades-in-arms (*khushdāsh*s), i.e., the *mamlūk*s of the *muʿaẓẓamīyah*. The most interesting part of Ibn al-ʿAmīd's account is the description of how al-Malik al-Kāmil financed the incorporation of the new group. First, he paid them twenty thousand dinars from the treasury. In social terms, the sultan did not engage directly or personally with the individual members of the group, but used ʿIzz al-Dīn as an intermediary. Through the latter he also allocated them twenty thousand *irdabb*s of grain from the Qūṣ region in Upper Egypt. In addition ʿIzz al-Dīn was given the properties expropriated from the family of the deceased vizier Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr, and he divided the grain and properties among his comrades-in-arms according to their rank/

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[21] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 137; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 39. The term *jāndār* is widely attested to during the Ayyubid period and its origin goes back to the Seljuks of Rum. The *jāndārīyah* served as the ruler's bodyguard but their function during the Ayyubid period is more elusive. See Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260),* (Stuttgart, 1999), 248–49.

[22] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ,* ed. Muḥammad Ayman (Cairo, 2006), 16:389 (accessed through al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah al-Ḥadīthah). I owe this reference to the kindness of Koby Yosef. The term *baḥrīyah* persisted during the second half of the thirteenth century. See Ayalon, "Le régiment Bahriya," 137, 139–40; Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan* (Stuttgart, 1998), 104, 105, 267, and see index under *baḥrī/baḥriyya.*

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

standing *(qadr).*[23] Quite clearly, military slavery was also common among the Ayyubids of Syria and the supply of slaves was provided through both land and sea routes.

The *ashrafīyah,* the *mamlūk* corps of al-Ashraf Mūsá (son of sultan al-ʿĀdil and brother of al-Malik al-Kāmil and al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsá) played a key role in the events that took place during the 630s/1230s. In 635/1237, following the death of al-Ashraf Mūsá in Damascus, the *ashrafīyah* fled to Egypt.[24] In 637/1240, they conspired against al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's brother al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, who became aware that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had been freed from his imprisonment in Karak and was making military preparations to fight him, moving to a camp outside Cairo. The conspiracy involved ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Asmar of the *ashrafīyah* and three eunuch commanders of the *ḥalqah:* Masrūr, Kāfūr al-Fāʾizī, and Jawhar al-Nūbī. Several Kurdish amirs tried to assist al-ʿĀdil but were defeated by the conspirators, who invited al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to Egypt (23 Shawwāl 637/17 May 1240).

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, however, distrusted the conspirators. Immediately after his arrival in Egypt he avoided public appearances and remained in the Citadel of Cairo, but later he arrested a number of people whom he had suspected of conspiracy, including the commander of the *ashrafīyah,* ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Asmar, the eunuch Jawhar al-Nūbī, Shams al-Khawāṣ, and others who had been amirs of his father. They were all imprisoned in Ṣadr or in the Citadel of Cairo.[25] The *ashrafīyah* were systematically persecuted and their *iqṭāʿ*s redistributed among al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's own *mamlūk*s. By 639/1241, the reshaping of the amir class had been achieved and most of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's amirs now came from his own *mamlūk* corps.[26] The accounts of Ibn al-ʿAmīd and Ibn Wāṣil suggest that already during the first two years of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's rule in Egypt he had *mamlūk*s mature and experienced enough to be promoted to the rank of amir. We can also infer from this that they were given command over dozens, if not hundreds, of troops.

In the light of Ibn al-ʿAmīd's employment in the Office of the Army, his accounts and terminology concerning military history should be considered highly authoritative. Nevertheless, the question must be asked as to who these *mamlūk*s

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[23] The vizier died in 622/1225, and his sons were arrested shortly afterwards. Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 135, 138; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 184, 195–201; Gary Leiser, "The Life and Times of the Ayyubid Vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. Shukr," *Der Islam* 97 (2020): 112.

[24] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 5:199.

[25] The Ṣadr fortress in Sinai, south of Suez, was built by Saladin and rebuilt by al-Malik al-Kāmil. For a comprehensive description of the site and its archeology, see Jean-Michel Mouton et al. *Sadr, une forteresse du Saladin au Sinaï* (Paris, 2010).

[26] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 5:272–73, 276, 277, 300; Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 147, 151, 152.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

were and how al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had acquired them. In light of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's personal vicissitudes during 627–37/1230–40 and the history of Egypt during that decade, it seems very unlikely that these were the 400 or 500 *mamlūk*s acquired in 627/1230. Al-Dhahabī's account of how al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was deserted in 1240 sheds some light on the question. Most of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *mamlūk*s abandoned him, but the few who stayed were able to ward off a Bedouin threat. However, all-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's majordomo, the *ustādhdār* Wazīn al-Dīn Amīr Jāndār had 70 *mamlūk*s of his own; what happened to them remains vague.[27] Evidently, during his period of exile and independent rule in the East, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb commanded sufficient financial and organizational resources to purchase *mamlūk*s, and other high-ranking individuals of his circle did the same. In light of the fickleness of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *mamlūk*s in 1240, one would have expected him to be disillusioned with the *mamlūk* institution; why he continued to adhere to it is another question that must be asked and somehow answered.[28]

CREATION OF THE *BAḤRĪYAH*

In Mamluk historiography, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's establishment of the *baḥrīyah* is associated with the extensive building activity on Rawḍah island. Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 1335), for example, makes a number of probable and improbable assertions regarding al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's military policies. He states that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's purchase of Turkish *mamlūk*s was unprecedented, apparently meaning unprecedented among Ayyubid rulers. Although this claim remains unverified, he was probably right. However, the claim that they constituted the majority of the army is simply untenable. He also offers the explanation that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's preference for *mamlūk*s was due to the treachery of the Kurds, the Khwārazmians, and other military elements. In addition, he explains how the policy was implemented: when a *mamlūk* died, his *iqṭāʿ* was transferred to his son or—in the absence of a son—to a comrade-in-arms. Ibn al-Dawādārī also asserts that buying Turkish *mamlūk*s became an established custom *(sunnah)* among the kings after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, meaning the Mamluk sultans.[29]

The *baḥrīyah* is at the center of al-Maqrīzī's (1364–1442) narrative. He states that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb established the corps in Egypt and repeats the claims that

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[27] See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 47:343. For the term *ustādhdār* and its Fatimid precedents, see Anne-Marie Eddé, "Quelques institutions militaires ayyoubides," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 170–72.

[28] The supposed loyalty of military slaves to their masters is re-examined by D. G. Tor, "Mamluk Loyalty: Evidence from the Seljuk Period," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 65 (2011): 767–97.

[29] See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar,* vol. 7, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 370–71.

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the act was motivated by the treachery of the Kurds and that *baḥrīyah* constituted the majority of the army. Al-Maqrīzī draws a wider picture of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's military policies, and he mentions al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's persecution of his father's and brother's amirs, whom he imprisoned and divested of their *iqṭāʿ*s. He does not repeat the improbable claim that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *mamlūk*s were given *iqṭāʿ*s, but does write that they were promoted to the rank of amir, implying that those amirs were the recipients of the *iqṭāʿ*s taken from the deposed amirs of his predecessors. He states categorically, however, that the name *baḥrīyah* is derived from the corps being installed on Rawḍah island, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb took up residency there.[30]

The association between the construction on Rawḍah and the *baḥrīyah* is mentioned by neither Ibn al-ʿAmīd nor Ibn Wāṣil. Whereas Ibn al-ʿAmīd's reference to building on Rawḍah is laconic, Ibn Wāṣil's description is detailed and extensive. The building commenced in 638/1240, but no link to the *baḥrīyah* is made. A *maydān* (large open ground) for playing polo *(ṣawālijah)* was also built since the sultan was an enthusiastic player of the game.[31] Ibn Wāṣil also credits the sultan with the building of the town of al-Ṣāliḥīyah (northeast of Cairo and Bilbays on the edge of the desert and the route to Syria), which included a mosque and markets and such urban institutions as a qadi and *wālī* (meaning either governor or chief of police).[32] Although the creation of the *baḥrīyah* is ascribed to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the corps is barely mentioned during his reign but is frequently referred to after his death and the Battle of al-Manṣūrah.

Fakhr al-Dīn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, the commander of the army immediately after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's death, was killed on 5 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 647/9 February 1250 when fighting the French who had attacked al-Manṣūrah. A force of 1,400 cavalry commanded by the brother of the king of France reached the town but upon dispersing in the markets and streets, it was annihilated.[33] It can be argued that, writing in Syria, Ibn al-ʿAmīd's knowledge of the events was insufficient and he left the crucial question of who had turned the tide of the battle in the Mus-

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[30] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1957), 1:2:339–400. For al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's building on the Rawḍah, see Neil D. MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo: A Topographical Study* (Cairo, 1992), 72–78, including a translation of al-Maqrīzī's account in the *Khiṭaṭ;* Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 84–96.

[31] Polo was an ancient game with roots in the Sassanian period. It attracted the attention of eighth- and ninth-century luminaries like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who translated treatises on polo from the Persian; and Jāḥiẓ, who wrote on the subject. See Franz Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam* (Leiden, 1975), 55–56; Shihab al-Sarraf, "Mamluk *Furūsīyah* Literature and Its Antecedents," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 145.

[32] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 159, *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 85; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 5:278; 6:84–85.

[33] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 159, *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 86.

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lims' favor unanswered. However, what he describes is a quite typical medieval battle: the side that was winning initially was caught off guard while looting and was consequently defeated. Ibn Wāṣil, however, was in Cairo and in close contact with Tūrān Shāh, attending his sessions in al-Manṣūrah. In his version of the events, the Turkish *mamlūk*s of the deceased sultan, the *jamdārīyah* and *baḥrīyah,* saved the day at the Battle of al-Manṣūrah. He extols their military skills and their ferocious attack on the French, who were defeated by the swords and maces of the Turks.[34] Elsewhere I have accepted Ibn Wāṣil's version rather uncritically, but I must now revise this approach for two reasons: it is uncorroborated and, more significantly, it constitutes a motif in a literary artifice created by Ibn Wāṣil about the true legacy of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and the transition from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks.

It could nevertheless be argued that corroboration is unnecessary since Ibn Wāṣil is a well-informed source. His account, however, strangely conflates *jamdārīyah* and *baḥrīyah* and Anne-Marie Eddé has already pondered about relations between the two. The question must thus be asked: were the *jamdārīyah*—maîtres de la garde-robe/masters of the robes—a fighting unit at all?[35] The impression is that they were pages rather than soldiers. One might also ask whether an Ayyubid or Mamluk sultan would really have wanted to have armed *jamdār*s responsible for his wardrobe with easy access to him.

The main reason for re-examining Ibn Wāṣil's contention that the *baḥrīyah* altered the tide of the Battle of al-Manṣūrah derives from his manipulation of these events. This contention was instrumental for the creation of a literary artifice that sought to explain al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's true political legacy. It consisted of three elements: Tūrān Shāh's unfitness to rule, two other closely interlinked issues with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's true legacy, and the role of the *mamlūk*s/Turks as defenders/saviors of Islam.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's Political Legacy

For Ibn Wāṣil, while the hereditary principle constituted a political term of reference, some rulers were simply unfit to rule and their removal was therefore justified. During his stay in al-Manṣūrah, Tūrān Shāh publicly declared his desire to replace the people who had been the cornerstones of his father's regime and made no effort to work with them. Ibn Wāṣil implies that this conduct was unacceptable and Tūrān Shāh's assassination was thus justified. It should be pointed

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[34] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:112; Anne-Marie Eddé, "Saint Louis et la Septième Croisade vue par les auteurs arabes," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales (XIIIe–XVe s.)* 1 (1996): 73, quoting late Mamluk sources.

[35] For French and English translations of the term, see Eddé, "Quelques institutions militaires," 173; Amir Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment* (Bonn, 2015), 35.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

out that Tūrān Shāh's allegedly foolish conduct in al-Manṣūrah stood in contrast to his politically wise actions in Damascus on his way to Egypt. He arrived in Damascus at the end of Ramaḍān 647/early January 1250 and, in the words of Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "took over the city and its resources *(amwāl wa-khayrāt)*."[36] In other words, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's death was known in Damascus and Tūrān Shāh was recognized as the legitimate heir. He celebrated the feast of the end of Ramaḍān in Damascus and bestowed robes of honor on "the Syrian amirs" and rewarded them. He confirmed the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Yaghmūr as viceroy *(nāʾib al-salṭanah)* and set free the people imprisoned by his father.[37]

Ibn Wāṣil was not a crude falsifier of history; his touches are light and sophisticated. His account of Tūrān Shāh in Damascus adheres to the facts. He was acknowledged as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's legitimate heir and welcomed by the viceroy and amirs. The rulers of Hama and Aleppo sent emissaries and recognized his rule. Ibn Wāṣil depicts Tūrān Shāh as buying support through vast gifts of money among the amirs and troops and making promises to civilian administrators about future appointments. Reports of his actions in Damascus are juxtaposed with reports of the fighting against the French, creating a contrast between the amirs on the front line and the heir who was in no hurry to join the fighting. The reader is carefully led to recognize Tūrān Shāh's limitations, of which his father had been fully aware. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had intended to transfer the suzerainty over the territories he ruled to the Abbasid caliph, not to his son.[38]

When writing about al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, Ibn Wāṣil faced the tremendous challenge of presenting positively a ruler who was devoid of achievements and did not consider his own son to be a worthy heir.[39] Ibn Wāṣil's biography of the sultan (nine pages long) presents a soft version of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's character and policies, revealing that the sultan was a recluse who felt at ease only among his boon companions. Although he did not keep the company of the ulama, the sultan had an inclination for learning and provided generously for the pious. An unusual feature of the text is the long list of learned people *(ahl al-ʿilm)* who immigrated to Egypt during his rule. The sultan's passion for building is also mentioned.

These are, however, secondary themes in the narrative, which from the beginning is devoted to the purchase of Turkish *mamālīk* and the military significance of this policy. Three names (the future sultans al-Turkumānī, Baybars, and Qalāwūn) are singled out and one military corps (the *baḥrīyah*) is explicitly

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[36] See Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 159; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 86.

[37] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 160–61; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 86–87.

[38] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:109–11.

[39] For a more positive assessment of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's rule, see Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluk Ascent to Power in Egypt," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 121–44.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

mentioned. It was the Turks, *mamlūk*s, and *baḥrīyah* who defeated the French and Mongols, implying that these were al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's true heirs.[40] As strange as the text might seem to us, it reflects the mindset of the people of the age, who thought and wrote about society in terms of confessional, ethnic, and gender categories. They perceived society in terms of a vertically structured model with each group having a role to play and the elite having responsibility for the hierarchal order and proper functioning of society. People in the medieval Middle East perceived different ethnic groups as each possessing particular characteristics and being suitable for certain tasks and, within this vision of society Turks were considered as belligerent and warriors.[41] The three sultans mentioned by Ibn Wāṣil came from the ranks of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *mamlūk*s. They were his true heirs and continued his legacy of fostering *mamlūk*s and Turks.

Ibn Wāṣil conceptualizes the actions of the main actors in the political arena during the 1250–60 decade. The theoretical framework he created for the transition of rule from al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to the *mamlūk*s mirrored the events and comprised his personal input. For the actions of the protagonists we must return briefly to the events of 648/1250–51 in Egypt, which reflected a country in turmoil. In that year an attempt on Aybak's life was foiled, several amirs were arrested, and new oaths of loyalty were sworn. Other amirs fled to Karak, ruled by the *ṭawāshī* Badr al-Dīn al-Ṣawābī in the name of a minor Ayyubid prince, al-Malik al-Mughīth, the son of al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn. The most significant event that took place in that year was the invasion of Egypt by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Damascus and the strange Battle of Kurāʿ on the route between Egypt and Syria (also known as the Battle of al-Ṣāliḥīyah).[42]

The assassination of Tūrān Shāh had an impact on the political scene in Damascus. Ibn al-ʿAmīd explains that the Kurdish amirs of the Qaymar tribe

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[40] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:82–91. The notion that sovereignty is achieved through war is illustrated through Ibn al-Dawādārī's account of the negotiations between al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf and Aybak in 650/1252–53. Cairo rejected the demand to recognize al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's sovereignty and the refusal was formulated in the following way: "And the *baḥrīyah* said: with our swords we had wrested Egypt and Syria from the hands of the Franks. There won't be peace between us *(ṣulḥ)* unless we get (the territories) from Gaza to ʿAqaba." See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar,* vol. 8, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), 22. For a mid-thirteenth-century perception of Mamluk rule as a "necessary evil," see Remke Kruk, "History and Apocalypse: Ibn Nafīs' Justification of Mamluk Rule," *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 332–33.

[41] Baybars al-Manṣūrī (1247–1325), for example, attributes the victory at the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt to Quṭuz and the courageous Turks who fought on his side. They were God's instrument in the victory of Islam. He also describes Sultan Baybars' exploits while pursuing the fleeing Mongols. See *Zubdat al-fikrah fī tārīkh al-hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 51.

[42] For the events in Karak in 1250, see Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 161; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 89, and for the site of the battle, see 91, n. 6.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

were afraid of a possible collaboration between the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Yaghmūr, *nāʾib al-salṭanah* (the viceroy on behalf of Tūrān Shāh) and *al-umarāʾ al-mamālīk al-ṣāliḥīyah* (i.e., the amirs who were former *mamlūk*s of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb); and, therefore, they invited al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo to take control of the town. This led to the arrest of *al-umarāʾ al-mamālīk al-ṣāliḥīyah* and the redistribution of their *iqṭāʿ*s among the Qaymarī amirs.[43]

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, in collaboration with the Qaymarī amirs, set out to conquer Egypt and encountered the Egyptian army led by Aybak. The confrontation was marked by a strange battle in which one wing of the Egyptian army was defeated and fled to Cairo but, at the same time, the *ʿazīzīyah,* who had fought on the side of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (they were the former *mamālīk* of his father al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad), deserted him and directed Aybak to launch an attack on his position, which ended in al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's ignominious flight to Damascus. The victors returned to Cairo with many high-ranking prisoners and spoils. When they passed the captive al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl near the tomb *(turbah)* of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, they shouted: "Ho! Master, are your eyes seeing your enemy?" He was imprisoned together with his sons for several days, then separated and secretly killed and buried.[44] The living were fighting the wars of the deceased sultan. They were his heirs, forging a spiritual transfer of rule from him to them.

The precise meaning of the reference to the *turbah* of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb remains enigmatic, but monuments were used to disseminate the notion of the transfer of rule from al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to the *mamlūks.*[45] The first monument to be considered is al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's madrasah (law college) built between 1242 and 1244 in Fatimid Cairo (Bayn al-Qaṣrayn), on the ruins of a section of the Eastern Fatimid Palace. This was an innovative institution in both its function and architecture. It was the first law college that served for the teaching of the four Sunni schools of law and, during Aybak's rule, royal justice was dispensed there. Aybak's *nāʾib al-salṭanah* established at the madrasah officials *(nuwwāb)* of Dār al-ʿAdl (the Hall

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[43] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 161–62; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 90–91.

[44] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 47:58–60. By referring to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's enemy they referenced the 1240 events in Damascus, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb lost the town to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl. For the battle, see Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 162–63; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 91–93; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 309–21; Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep,* 150–53. Al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad of Aleppo (1216–36) was a grandson of Saladin (his father was al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī).

[45] Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's temporary burial place was in the Rawḍah Citadel. Al-Maqrīzī states that following Shajar al-Durr's marriage to Aybak, the couple and the nominal ruler, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsá, together with the *baḥrī mamlūk*s, *jamdārīyah,* and amirs, moved from Rawḍah to the Citadel of Cairo. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār* (repr. Beirut, n. d.), 2:374.

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of Justice) to examine complaints about the misconduct of state officials *(nāẓir fī al-maẓālim).* In 1250, at the northern end of the building, Shajar al-Durr constructed a domed mausoleum *(qubbat al-Ṣāliḥ)* as the final resting place for the deceased sultan. The building, in its two components—madrasah and *qubbah*—became a template of Mamluk funerary architecture: law college and tomb. Shajar al-Durr also established readers of the Quran at the mausoleum, and al-Maqrīzī remarks that the family that had been the beneficiary of her endowment continued to hold the post in his day.[46] The inscription on the *qubbah* emphasized two motifs: al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's military role as warrior of the holy war and defender of Islam; and his being an heir in a long line of the Ayyubid family. During Aybak's rule the madrasah also served as a focal point for the ceremony of investiture of officers with the rank of *amīr,* who would march from the Citadel of Cairo to the madrasah and later attend a banquet at the mausoleum.[47]

As innovative as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's madrasah was, the choice of the site followed a precedent set by his father, who, in 662/1225, had ordered the construction of Dār al-Ḥadīth at Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. The scholars of hadith were the primary beneficiaries of the endowment established by the sultan, followed by the Shafiʿi jurists. A tenement block *(rabʿ)* built by al-Malik al-Kāmil was endowed for the institution, which was built on the ruins of the Western Fatimid Palace.[48] The redevelopment of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn continued in the Mamluk period with two notable additions: the madrasah of Baybars (the Ẓāhirīyah) and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's complex. The Ẓāhirīyah, built between 660/1262 and 662/1264 (destroyed in 1874), was adjacent to the madrasah of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. It was a multifunctional institution endowed for the Shafiʿi and Hanafi jurists as well as scholars of hadith and reciters of the Quran. In addition, it had a library and a Quranic school for orphaned boys. The madrasah's endowment consisted of a *rabʿ* built outside the walls of the Fatimid city.[49]

The direct influence of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's madrasah is discernable in al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's complex, built opposite al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's madrasah-tomb. As in the case of Baybars' mosque in Cairo, the foundation inscription of the complex proudly bore the Ṣāliḥi affiliation (*nisbah*, a descriptive surname, indicating

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[46] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:375. For a partial English translation, see MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo,* 123–24. For the building's innovative architecture, see Lorenz Korn, "The Façade of as-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *Madrasa* and the Style of Ayyubid Architecture in Cairo," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. III, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 107–15.

[47] Jo van Steenbergen, "Ritual, Politics, and the City in Mamluk Cairo: The Bayna l-Qaṣrayn as a Dynamic 'Lieu de Mémoire,'" in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean,* ed. Alexander Beihammer et al. (Leiden, 2013), 232–33.

[48] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:375. For a partial English translation, see MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo,* 121.

[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:378–79.

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origin, occupation, etc.).[50] The madrasah, which was part of the complex, was endowed for the four Sunni schools of law. Other functions typical of such law college-tomb foundations also featured in the complex. The teaching of hadith was carried out at the mausoleum and the new post of a professor of *tafsīr* (exegesis) was added. The mausoleum became a burial chamber for other Qalawunid sultans and a guard corps of eunuchs was installed at the place. An unusual feature of the complex was the inclusion of a hospital, built on the site of the palace of the Fatimid princess Sitt al-Mulk (970–1023).[51] The creation of the complex and the establishment of hereditary rule within the Qalawunid line divested al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's madrasah of its ceremonial role in Mamluk military life. The ceremonies marking the promotion of *mamlūk*s to the rank of amir moved to al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's madrasah.

The concept of a spiritual political inheritance from the defunct al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's line to his *mamlūk*s and the three future sultans, as propagated by Ibn Wāṣil, was entirely in line with the mood of the time, which is captured eloquently by Tehnyat Majeed:

> In medieval Cairo, living with the dead was a fact of life. Likewise, it could be said that Cairo was a dedicated necropolis where the living and the dead were in perpetual communion, continually negotiating mercy and salvation. An exchange of this nature was predicated on two sets of belief: first, that certain pious individuals after the death had a great power of blessing or *baraka* which the living could obtain through remembrance, prayers, and by visiting their graves; and second, that the prayers of the living influenced the afterlife of the dead, to the extent that when performed with utmost sincerity, prayers could wash away the sins of the dead.[52]

The perpetual communion between the living and the dead had many manifestations in both daily life and the funerary architecture. It was maintained, for example, through the establishment of reciters of the Quran in the ma-

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[50] Van Steenbergen, "Ritual, Politics, and the City in Mamluk Cairo," 254. For the foundation inscription of Baybars' mosque, see Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī in Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 23.

[51] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:380, 406. The translation of the term *ṭawāshī* as eunuch is, apparently, informed by this passage (380). Al-Maqrīzī explains that it is a Turkish word/term and applies it to the eunuch corps at the *qubbah*.

[52] See Tehnyat Majeed, "The *Chār Muḥammad* Inscription, Shafāʿa, and the Mamluk Qubbat al-Manṣūriyya," in *Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam,* ed. Sebastian Günther and Todd Lawson (Leiden, 2017), 2:1010.

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drasah-tomb complexes. In the case of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's complex, recitations of the Quran, orientated toward the street, took place continuously.[53] The same goal could be achieved through the *duʿāʾ* prayers (non-ritual individual prayer, in which the person performing the prayer beseeches God for himself and for others). The Quranic school for orphaned boys that was attached to the Ẓāhirīyah was a charitable institution par excellence, but charitable provisions and the quest for spiritual reward went hand in hand. In sultanic complexes of the late Mamluk period, the endowment deeds required boys at the Quranic schools to perform *duʿāʾ* prayers for the sultan and for Muslims on a regular basis. Ibn Wāṣil was a man of his age who wrote for his contemporaries. For him and for them the notion of spiritual transfer and the legitimizing power of such transfer was not a far-fetched idea.

Ibn Wāṣil's construct regarding the transfer of rule from al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to his *mamlūk*s also emphasizes a shift from the Kurds to the Turks. Ayalon has pointed out that, beginning with Ibn al-ʿAmīd, this perception pervades Mamluk historiography.[54] The notion was embodied in the expression *dawlat al-atrāk,* which, according to Koby Yosef, should be understood as referring to "the rule of the ones who speak Turkish/the rule of the Turkified." In the pre-Circassian period: "...the defining characteristic of the ruling elite was not slave origin but rather ethnic origin and language."[55] Whether the Kurds played a significant military role in the Mamluk sultanate is beyond the scope of the present paper, but indeed they played a central role in the Ayyubid period and were present militarily in eleventh-century Egypt.[56]

The claim regarding the "treachery of the Kurds" served as justification for the shift toward the *mamlūk*s. The claim appears to have little substance, particularly as throughout the Ayyubid-Mamluk period tribal groups such as Kurds, Khwārazmians, Turcomans, and others *(wāfidīyah)* were opportunistic, serving various masters. In many cases, this was a survival technique in the face of circumstances that were beyond their control. The same was true for those individuals who moved across the political and socio-ethnic religious divide between the Mamluks and Mongols.

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[53] Van Steenbergen, "Ritual, Politics, and the City in Mamluk Cairo," 234.

[54] David Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks: Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Tārīḫ* 1 (1990): 3–53; for exceptions, see 18–22.

[55] Koby Yosef, "*Dawlat al-atrāk* or *dawlat al-mamālīk?* Ethnic Origin or Slave Origin as the Defining Characteristic of the Ruling Élite in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39 (2012): 391.

[56] For an extensive and nuanced discussion, see Anne-Marie Eddé, "Kurdes et Turcs dans l'armée ayyoubide de Syrie du Nord," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 225–36.

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However, the notion that ethnicity played a major role in the political and military life of the period cannot be dismissed easily and the events of the Battle of Kurāʿ require an examination. On the one hand, neither Kurds nor Turks are referred to in Ibn al-ʿAmīd's description of the battle—only the names of individual people and the *ʿazīzīyah* corps are mentioned. On the other hand, as has been noted by Humphreys, *jinsīyah* (ethnicity, ethnic solidarity) appears as an explanatory motif in Ibn Wāṣil's narrative. He explains that most of the *ʿazīzīyah* were Turks and, because of *jinsīyah,* they were inclined towards "the Turks in Egypt." At a certain stage of that confused battle they, and apparently the *nāṣirīyah* too, joined Aybak, but Ibn Wāṣil is quite cryptic about their exact role in the events.[57] It is difficult to offer a satisfactory commentary on Ibn Wāṣil's narrative since one is left with a lingering question: Why is it that what was so obvious to him—the *jinsīyah* of the *ʿazīzīyah*—had remained obscure to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf?

Ibn Wāṣil's text is cohesive and his account of the events in Damascus and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's invasion of Egypt can be read as an ethnic struggle between Kurds and Turks. In this account, while avoiding the term *jinsīyah,* Ibn Wāṣil emphasizes the role of the Qaymarīyah Kurds in inviting al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf to Damascus. He also identifies the amir Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Yaghmūr as belonging to them. The Qaymarī takeover of Damascus led to the imprisonment of the "Egyptian amirs, the military slaves of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb." In response to the events in Damascus, the Qaymarī amirs in Cairo were arrested.[58] Whether Ibn Wāṣil was an astute commentator of the events and he correctly indicated the ethnic element or he merely epitomized the prevailing thinking in categories that typified people of his age remains an unsettled question. It is quite possible that we shall never understand the full complexity of the events, which were reduced to an ethnic conflict of Kurds versus Turks.

THE DISPERSAL OF THE *BAḤRĪYAH*

While Ibn Wāṣil considered *jinsīyah* to be the driving force behind the actions of the *ʿazīzīyah,* modern scholarship perceives factions and factionalism as the driving force in Mamluk politics. This approach has been posited by Robert Irwin, who equates *khushdāshīyah* with the faction identity of the "*-īyah*" corps.[59]

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[57] Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 317; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:156, 158, 160, 161. For the *jinsīyah* explanation, in a different context, see Tor, "Mamluk Loyalty," 778.

[58] See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:136, 137, 138. For the geographic origin of the Qaymarī Kurds and their support of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, see Eddé, "Kurdes et Turcs," 227–28.

[59] Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 88–89. Irwin quotes Ayalon, who perceived *khushdāshīyah* as a binding social force among the *mamlūk*s during the period of their military training and after their graduation from the military schools. See David Ayalon, *L'esclavage du mamelouk* (Jerusalem, 1951), 29–31, 34–37, esp.

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However, he is cautious in his assessment of the validity of this explanatory model, writing that: "Though an awareness of the role of the *khushdāshiyya* is an aid in charting political developments in the Mamluk period, it did not constrain those developments. It was invoked more often in the breach than the observance."[60]

If we understand the term faction as meaning a small organized dissentient self-seeking group within a larger one, we must admit how little we know about the "*-īyah*" corps of the 1250–60 decade. We know nothing about their military specialization, or their numeric strength and composition. They were certainly slaves, but this is actually more an educated deduction than a well-documented fact. I would argue that the sources depict them as small fragmented groups of soldiers of fortune or, to put it more bluntly, as rootless desperados. This would seem to reflect the devastating effect that military slavery had on their lives.

These gaps in our knowledge are illustrated by the events of 651/1253–54. The *ʿazīzīyah* and *nāṣirīyah* received *iqṭāʿ*s in Egypt, and we can only wonder about Aybak's motives. The *baḥrīyah* and *jamdārīyah* perceived his favoritism of the new arrivals as a threat and lent their support to Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy al-Jamdār. Ibn Wāṣil singles out four amirs, including Baybars, as supporting Aqṭāy. The problem that Aybak faced can be described as a struggle for the control of Egypt's resources. The *baḥrīyah-jamdārīyah,* represented or commanded by Aqṭāy, were unrestrained in their demands for money and *iqṭāʿ*s and Aqṭāy took control of Alexandria.[61] This was apparently not just a struggle over resources, and one of Aqṭāy's actions must have greatly concerned Aybak: Aqṭāy's marriage into the Ayyubid ruling family of Hama. Ibn al-Dawādārī writes that people were amazed by the marriage because Aqṭāy was a *mamlūk.* The stigma of slavery is rarely alluded to in the sources. Yosef has pointed out that military slavery was considered just as degrading as any other form of slavery, and Mamluk sultans

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29–30, 34. For a fresh discussion of the *khushdāshīyah* bond and its historical development, see Koby Yosef, "*Ikhwa, Muwākhūn* and *Khushdāshiyya* in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013): 335–63. The term *iyya* groups/corps was coined by Ayalon, who also provided a list of these groups throughout the Ayyubid-Mamluk period. See David Ayalon, "From Ayyubids to Mamluks," *Revue des études islamiques* 49 (1981): 47.

[60] Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 90.

[61] Al-Dhahabī, on the authority of al-Jazarī (1260–1338), provides some information about Aqṭāy's servile past. He was apparently bought as a young lad in Damascus by Zakī Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, who brought him up and then sold him for 1,000 dinars. When Aqṭāy became the *iqṭāʿ* holder of Alexandria, he secured the release of his former slave master from imprisonment in Hama and brought him to Alexandria. Al-Dhahabī also notes his violent and tyrannical conduct while serving (twice) in Upper Egypt. See *Tārīkh,* 48 (covering the years 651–60), 119. For Aqṭāy acting "like a pretender to the throne," see Amalia Levanoni, "The Consolidation of Aybak's Rule: An Example of Factionalism in the Mamluk State," *Der Islam* 71 (1994): 247–48.

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of servile origin made efforts to associate themselves with established dynasties, as Aybak himself did.[62]

The marriage must have been perceived as a direct challenge to Aybak's authority and on 10 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 651/1 January 1254, in collaboration with the *ʿazīzīyah,* he instigated Aqṭāy's assassination. Most of the *baḥrīyah* fled to Damascus and those who failed to flee were persecuted by the *ʿazīzīyah;* some were imprisoned and others killed and lost their possessions. The flight of elements of the *baḥrīyah* brings into question the validity of both the *jinsīyah* and the faction explanations: al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf welcomed the *baḥrīyah,* composed supposedly like the *ʿazīzīyah* of Turks, and reconfirmed the *iqṭāʿ*s they held in Palestine. Their arrival in Damascus followed a negotiated settlement with its ruler. After fleeing Cairo they stopped in Gaza and wrote to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf.[63] The hasty flight of groups of *baḥrīyah* reflects more an individualistic behavior than a cohesive factional response. The collaboration between Aybak and the *ʿazīzīyah* did not last long. In 653/1255 they corresponded with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf and conspired against Aybak, but failed.[64]

The year 655/1257 saw the deaths of both Aybak (25 Rabīʿ I 655/12 April 1257) and Shajar al-Durr. Ibn Wāṣil depicts Shajar al-Durr as a political player with no real power base. She lived in the Citadel of Cairo and her collaborators in the assassination of Aybak were a small group of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's eunuchs who, apparently, had long been in her service. After the killing, however, she failed

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[62] Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 8:25; Koby Yosef, "The Term *mamlūk* and Slave Status during the Mamluk Sultanate," *Al-Qantara* 34 (2013): 9–21. Al-Ṣafadī (*Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* vol. 9, ed. Josef Van Ess [Wiesbaden, 1974], 317–18) claims that Shajar al-Durr was also alarmed by the proposed marriage and the plot against Aqtāy was hatched by both Shajar al-Durr and her husband. How shameful the stain of slavery must have been is revealed by another short biographical note (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* vol. 14, ed. Sven Dedering [Stuttgart, 1982], 340) on the amir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kushtughdī al-Ẓāhirī. Though described as one of the senior amirs in Egypt, it became apparent shortly before his death that he had never been manumitted from slavery, so the sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn bought him and set him free. The act must have been symbolic, for his master, sultan Baybars, was dead, and the act conveyed an homage to the amir. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kushtughdī died in the Citadel of Cairo at an advanced age and the sultan attended his funeral.

[63] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 164; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 96–97; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:175–76, 177, 178, describing how the plot was hatched and carried out.

[64] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:181–82. One of the key *ʿazīzī* amirs, Jamāl al-Dīn Aydughdī, played a passive role in the events, and his imprisonment in the Citadel of Cairo is described as phony. Al-Khāzindārī depicts the *baḥrīyah* as an internally divided lawless and destructive element. He also lists the names of the *baḥrī*s who found employment with the Seljukid sultan of Rum, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. His systematic negative depiction of the *baḥrīyah* makes one suspicious that the text has some hidden political meaning. If indeed there is a sub-text here, its wider context eludes me. See *Tārīkh majmūʿ al-nawādir,* 69–73, 74–76, 91.

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to find anyone to support her. The scheme simply had no political feasibility and one is inclined to endorse Ibn Wāṣil's observation that jealousy obscured her judgment.[65] Ibn al-ʿAmīd's short obituary note on Aybak contrasts his qualities as a military man and a capable administrator with his intentional violence aimed at terrorizing the population and facilitating the collection of a new type of taxes. He was loyally served by his vizier, the qadi al-Asʿad Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Hibat Allāh, who employed a deputy (Zayn al-Dīn ibn Zubayr) whose main assets were his fidelity and ability to speak Turkish with the amirs.[66]

In the confusion after Aybak's killing, the adherence to the hereditary principle offered some hope for stability. Aybak's son ʿAlī (entitled al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn) became the nominal ruler and a new *atābak* and a new vizier were also appointed. These appointments were supported by the amirs and the army, but the seeming calm was then shattered by Aybak's *mamlūk*s, who arrested the *atābak*. The arrest triggered the flight of some of the *umarāʾ al-ṣāliḥīyah* (the amirs of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, meaning those who had been appointed by him) to Syria. The group was fragmented and the new *atābak* was one of the *umarāʾ al-ṣāliḥīyah*.[67] The political scene was volatile and divided between what is described as the amirs and army and Aybak's *mamlūk*s. The references to the army are vague and its composition and strength remain unknown. Two amirs challenged Aybak's *mamlūk*s stationed at the Citadel of Cairo—Bahāʾ al-Dīn Bughdī, the commander of the army, and Badr al-Dīn Bulghām al-Ashrafī—but both were defeated and the houses of the *ashrafī* amirs in Cairo were looted.[68]

On 28 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 657/16 November 1259, Quṭuz arrested al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn, his mother, and the amirs who had supported his nominal rule, and seized the reins of power. He received an oath of allegiance from the army and retained Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy al-Mustaʿrib as the commander-in-chief.[69]

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[65] See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:194–201, passim, esp. 201. How little we know about her is revealed by a long undated fragment of a letter sent by her to Quṭuz, who became sultan after her death, and is titled "Amīr of the Army of God." The identification of the sender as Shajar al-Durr is quite certain, and the letter strikes the reader by its tone of familiarity between the two. It also reveals economic relations between the two that remain quite enigmatic. See Yūsuf Rāġib, "Une lettre de Šağar al-Durr au future sultan Quṭuz," *Annales Islamologiques* 48 (2014): 135–65, esp. lines 11–35 (text and trans.).

[66] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 165–66; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 100–1.

[67] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:199.

[68] Ibid., 6:203. *Ashraf* was the title of Mūsá ibn Yūsuf, the nominal ruler between 1250 and 1254, for whom Aybak served as *atābak*. It is more probable, however, that the term refers to the remnants of the *mamlūk* corps of Ashraf Mūsá; see Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 5:199.

[69] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 168, 169–70; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 105, 107–8.

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The flight of the *baḥrīyah* to Damascus brought no real advantage to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. In 655/1257 they were suspected of plotting against him and, consequently, fled once more, this time to Gaza, and contacted al-Mughīth ʿUmar, ruler of Karak. Fighting erupted between al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's forces camped in Nablus and the *baḥrīyah,* who rampaged through Palestine and eventually found refuge in Karak.[70] In mid-Dhū al-Qaʿdah 655/late November 1257, an attempt by al-Mughīth ʿUmar to invade Egypt failed, but some of the *baḥrī* soldiers returned to Egypt. The second round of fighting between Cairo and Karak took place in 656/1258 and saw the rise of Baybars as the leader of the *baḥrīyah,* allied with al-Mughīth ʿUmar, and the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols. As in 655/1257, the forces of Karak were defeated in a battle fought near ʿAbbāsah and the *baḥrī* commanders captured in the fighting were executed in Cairo.[71]

In 657/1259, driven by an apparent desire for vengeance, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf made a bold move and sent an army to Karak, demanding the surrender of the *baḥrīyah*. His demand was granted but Baybars and some of the *baḥrī* troops had in the meantime fled Karak and secured a welcoming reception in Damascus: Baybars was given an *iqṭāʿ* and the command of 120 cavalry troops.[72] Damascus made preparations to face the Mongols and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf set up camp in Barzah, south of Damascus. His army is described as a conglomeration of diverse elements: Bedouin, Persian, Turcoman, Turk, volunteers for the holy war, and segments of the *baḥrīyah, ʿazīzīyah,* and *nāṣirīyah*. The sultan was aware of the internal divisions that plagued his force, but the most disruptive element proved to be the *nāṣirīyah*. Afraid of an attempt on his life by the *nāṣirīyah,* al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf fled to the Citadel of Damascus. His flight brought about the disintegration of the army in Barzah. Baybars and his *baḥrī* troops fled to Gaza and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's full brother *(shaqīq*; their mother was a Turkish *umm walad),* al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, left the camp.

Damascus was in turmoil and people were abandoning the town: Kurdish amirs of the Qaymarīyah sent their families, accompanied by troops, to Egypt, while Christian families went to Tyre. In mid-Ṣafar 658/early February 1260, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf allowed Ibn al-ʿAmīd and other Christian scribes to join their families in Tyre. The fate of the high-ranking families that had fled to

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[70] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:202, 204–5.

[71] Ibid., 6:205–6, 212. Baybars al-Manṣūrī describes the flight of the defeated *baḥrīyah* in 656/1258 to the Jordan Valley (Ghaw), where they met the Kurds of the Shahrazūrīyah and Baybars married into a Kurdish family. The alliance between the *baḥrīyah* and the Shahrazūrīyah dissolved quickly, however, and the Kurds went to Egypt and the *baḥrīyah* to Karak. On their way to Egypt, in Gaza, the Shahrazūrīyah fought Turcomans over access to water. See *Zubdat al-fikrah,* 34.

[72] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:259–60.

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Egypt, including al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's wife and *ghilmān,* was grim: Quṭuz seized their wealth.[73]

Why Quṭuz welcomed Baybars and his detachment of *baḥrī* troops of unknown strength in Egypt and granted them the Qalyub as *iqṭāʿ* remains unfathomable. Although nothing in the sources alludes to their military value or significance, Quṭuz must have seen them as an asset.[74] On 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, Quṭuz led a diverse Egyptian army in a battle against the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt. Ibn al-ʿAmīd provides no information about the battle itself but claims that Quṭuz personally led the charge against the Mongols. He is more informative about the events in Damascus after the battle and the way in which Quṭuz took control of the city and of Syria. He redistributed the *iqṭāʿ*s of the Qaymarī amirs to amirs of the *ṣāliḥīyah* and *muʿizzīyah,* and executed a Kurdish amir who had betrayed al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf to the Mongols. Ibn al-ʿAmīd reports without comments on the killing of Quṭuz (15 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 658/22 October 1260) and the coronation of Baybars on the same day.

Personal animosity would appear to have been the underlying cause of Quṭuz's violent end; he had been one of the slayers of Aqṭay. Al-Dhahabī claims that Quṭuz had promised Aleppo to Baybars but failed to keep his word.[75] The reliability of this version seems doubtful, however, as Quṭuz must have been aware of the danger of violating such a promise. Nevertheless, perhaps the conspirators had been disappointed by the way that *iqṭāʿ*s were distributed in the aftermath of ʿAyn Jālūt. Quṭuz's contribution to defeating the Mongols is fully acknowledged by al-Dhahabī, who also mentions Quṭuz's claim to a Muslim pedigree that, allegedly, went back to the royal family of the Khwārazm Shāh. Evidently, al-Dhahabī did not endorse the claim. His obituary of Quṭuz is dedicated to Quṭuz ibn ʿAbd Allāh, indicating his non-Muslim descent. Al-Dhahabī's appraisal of Quṭuz is, however, entirely positive, and he states that God will reward him in Paradise.[76]

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[73] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, "Chronique," ed. Cahen, 172, 174; *Chronique,* trans. Eddé and Micheau, 113–14.

[74] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:263, 267.

[75] Ibid., 6:178. For the resentment held by the *baḥrīyah* against Quṭuz, see Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah,* 53. For the way Quṭuz handled (or mishandled) the appointment of governor of Aleppo, see Douglas Patton, *Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ: Atabeg of Mosul, 1211–1259* (Seattle, 1991), 72–73.

[76] It seems that al-Dhahabī's enumeration of Quṭuz's positive traits and his role in the victory over the Mongols, which appears at the beginning of the account, are his own independent remarks. Other sections of the text are based on al-Jazarī's *Tārīkh* (1260–1338) and on al-Yūnīnī (1242–1326). See *Tārīkh,* 48:352–55. Al-Ṣafadī's account of Quṭuz echoes al-Dhahabī's in its structure and sources, including the latter's independent statement regarding Quṭuz. See *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 14:251–53. He also writes that Quṭuz's household slaves *(ghilmān)* buried him and his grave became a pilgrimage site. People pitied him and cursed his slayer. Consequently, the grave was obliterated on Baybars' order and Quṭuz's burial place became forgotten. Al-Ṣafadī,

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AYYUBID-MAMLUK POLITICS: THE VIEWS OF IBN KHALLIKĀN AND AL-ṢAFADĪ

Although Ibn Khallikān is better known as the author of a biographical dictionary of the luminaries of medieval Islam, he also had a career as a qadi in Egypt and, in 1261, was appointed supreme qadi of Syria. He was familiar with Mamluk politics and his comments (and omissions) can serve as a guide to this world. The later part of Ibn Khallikān's biography of al-Malik al-Kāmil in the biographical dictionary is actually devoted to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's reign and the events that took place after his death. It also states that al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars is mentioned in the biography of the qadi al-Majlī, the author of *Kitāb al-dhakhāʾir.*[77] The biography of the qadi is a short text, explaining that his origin was from Arsūf in Palestine but he had lived in Egypt and gained fame as a leading Shafiʿi jurist. Ibn Khallikān provides a positive appraisal of his book and specifies the dates of his term in office as qadi. The location of Arsūf is explained, and its conquest by Baybars, always referred to by his royal titles, is mentioned. The text then moves on to explain that the earlier-mentioned al-Malik al-Ẓāhir had been a *mamlūk* of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and was crowned sultan after the killing of Quṭuz; a brief description of the circumstances follows. Ibn Khallikān states that he was in Cairo when Baybars entered the town, so one might have expected a more insightful discussion of the events on the part of the author. Ibn Khallikān's text is plain and explicit; no commentary is offered. Baybars is praised for his personal valor and military achievements. Baybars' death in Damascus is mentioned and Ibn Khallikān reports that it was kept secret by the sultan's manumitted *mamlūk* the amir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk, the *khāzindār,* who managed the situation well and arrived in Cairo, where he handed over power to Baybars' son and the kingdom was preserved.[78]

Like Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn Khallikān provides important testimony that the dynastic principle was the main political term of reference during the thirteenth century.[79] In line with Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn Khallikān's narrative also illustrates the limits of the dynastic principle or, to put it differently, what was needed to maintain a dynastic ruler in power. In 1279, during a visit to Damascus, the amirs turned against Baybars' son Barakah Khān. In a short sober account, Ibn Khallikān narrates the latter's removal from power and his transfer to Karak and death in the

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Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt, vol. 24, ed. Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and Muṣṭafá al-Hiyārī (Stuttgart, 1993), 253.

[77] See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān,* 5:87.

[78] See ibid., 4:154–56.

[79] For a different view, see Albrecht Fuess, "Mamluk Politics," In *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies: State of the Art,* ed. Stephan Conermann (Bonn, 2013), 99–102.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

same year. The dynastic principle alone was not powerful enough to keep a ruler in his position: he also needed to create the conditions to stay in power.[80]

Iḥsān ʿAbbās's edition of Ibn Khallikān's text also includes late additions (a kind of update) to the text. One of these deals with al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's son al-Malik al-Ashraf, who succeeded him in 1290. In political terms and military achievements, al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 1279–90) had been no less successful than Baybars, but al-Malik al-Ashraf held power for only three years. In 1293 he was assassinated by a group of amirs. The anonymous addition to Ibn Khallikān's text offers an evaluation of al-Malik al-Ashraf's personal deficiencies: he promoted no one, respected no one, and showed no loyalty to those who served him and were close to him.[81] The inescapable conclusion is that these were not the qualities expected of a sultan; he created his own undoing. The text and subtext of this account bear a resemblance to Ibn Wāṣil's description of the assassination of Tūrān Shāh.

In contrast to Ibn Khallikān, who as qadi was also involved in Mamluk politics, Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (1296–1363) was a man of letters, the author of biographical dictionaries. Because of the uneven quality of the biographies in the huge *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* it is not the first choice of text when searching for materials on the subject under discussion. Nonetheless, some scattered remarks about al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's political legacy are consistent and interesting. In contrast to Ibn Wāṣil's abstract idea of a spiritual political legacy, al-Ṣafadī introduced something more concrete but well understood by his contemporaries: the idea of a household not just as a social organism but also as a political concept. In al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's biography, his life, rule of terror, death, and succession are cast in a single narrative, and Shajar al-Durr's short reign is also mentioned. Al-Ṣafadī remarks that Friday sermons were proclaimed in her name and immediately states that: "The rule *(mulk)* had been preserved after him among his Turkish *mawālī* until this day."[82]

The same idea of a household as a hereditary unit also appears in the biography of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, which is a short and disappointing text but does include the sultan's letter of nomination *(taqlīd).* The sultan was succeeded by

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[80] For a more detailed discussion of Baybars' succession, see Angus Stewart, "Between Baybars and Qalāwūn: Under-Age Rulers and Succession in the Early Mamlūk Sultanate," *Al-Masāq* 19 (2007): 49–53, with ample references to sources and studies.

[81] See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 5:88; Stewart, "Between Baybars and Qalāwūn," 53. For fourteenth-century Qalawunid politics and succession problems, see Jo van Steenbergen, "'Is Anyone My Guardian...?' Mamluk Under-Age Rule and Later Qalāwūnids," *Al-Masāq* 19 (2007): 55–65, esp. 61, 62, referring to the "Qalawunid reflex" as reflecting a dynastic principle.

[82] See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* vol. 10, ed. ʿAlī ʿAmārah and Jacqueline Sublet (Wiesbaden, 1980), 57.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

his son, who acted properly and distributed generous charities upon the death of his father. The deceased sultan is described as a mighty monarch who did not shed blood but accumulated riches. Al-Ṣafadī ends the account by stating: "God has preserved the rule *(mulk)* in his house *(bayt)* among his sons, his *mamālīk,* and grandsons."[83]

In political terms, there is no sense of rupture between the Zangid-Ayyubid period and the fourteenth-century Mamluk period. I would argue indeed for a political continuum between the rule of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (1122–46) and al-Nāṣir Faraj (1405–12). This becomes clearer when the two ends of the continuum are examined. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Zangī's son and heir was al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn, the Warrior of the Holy War *(al-mujāhid al-murābiṭ),* the sultan of Syria (1146–74), who claimed to uphold justice and religion and to wage war on the Franks. In Syria the Zangids were supplanted by the Ayyubids, while Saladin also put an end to the rule of the Fatimids. The fall of the Fatimids (1171) marked the end of one of the two regimes that claimed divine sanction for their rule. The Fatimids, who contended that they were a prophetic dynasty that dispensed justice, were replaced by a sultan called Yūsuf and who claimed to be Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn wa-al-Dunyā (1171–93) but had no publicly declared pretensions to divine legitimacy.[84] However, similar to other upstart rulers of his age and those of the Mamluk period, he sought Abbasid legitimization and confirmation for his territorial gains.[85]

The fall of the Fatimids marked a total military reorganization of how armies were recruited, maintained, and fought, including the disappearance of a vast court establishment.[86] None of the military and court terms typical of the Ayyubid-Mamluk period—*ṭawāshī, ḥalqah, mafāridah, ṭulb* (pl. *aṭlāb*), *jāndār, jamdār, atābak, ustādhdār,* and *nāʾib al-salṭanah*—can be traced back to the Fatimid peri-

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[83] See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* 24:267.

[84] Yaacov Lev, "The Uniqueness of the Fatimid State," *Der Islam* 96 (2019): 345–73. While the Fatimids built mosques and mausoleums and invented religious festivals such as the Birthday of the Prophet, the Zangid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk rulers, as well as the top military and civilian echelons, including women, built law colleges, Quranic schools for orphans, lodges for mystics, *ribāṭ*s, *dār al-ḥadīth*s, and occasionally hospitals.

[85] For the significance of the name Yūsuf in creating the Saladin legend, see Hannes Möhring, "Zwishen Joseph-Legende und Mahdī-Erwartung," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 186–217.

[86] For Saladin's replacement of the Fatimid army's large component of black infantry with a much smaller, all-cavalry force, see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 143–44, 148–50.

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od.[87] A whole new monoculture appeared.[88] The principal of collective familial hereditary rule had prevailed throughout the Zangid, Ayyubid, and Qalawunid period, but collapsed after the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj, which marks the extreme end of the continuum.

Suggesting a political continuum is one thing and offering a characterization of the system is something else. The assassination of Tūrān Shāh was a turning point and the event requires an explanation. On the one hand, his hereditary right to rule led the people of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's inner circle to summon him to Egypt. On the other hand, it was they who killed him. I find the notion of "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State" a useful paradigm by which to explain the tension between the hereditary principle and the power of the amirs.[89] Their power was achieved through grants of *iqṭāᶜ* ceded by the sultan in expectation of military service and personal/political loyalty. From the amirs' point of view *iqṭāᶜ* grants were indispensable for establishing a household, and held the key to bequeathing wealth to the second generation. Surplus income generated by the *iqṭāᶜ* could be channeled into a variety of investments, including the urban economy through the construction of commercial buildings (*funduq*s, *dār al-wakālah*s, *khān*s, *and rab*ᶜs) and ownership of sugar factories

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[87] Two terms mentioned here need a brief discussion. In the context of the all-cavalry force created by Saladin in Egypt after 1171, the term *ṭawāshī* meant a heavily armed cavalry trooper. Such a type of warrior is also mentioned in the Latin sources. However, the most frequent appearance of the term is in connection with specific people, as *ṭawāshī* So-and-So. The standard translation is eunuch, but whether this is always justified remains unclear. The term *ḥalqah* has attracted considerable attention and numerous publications, which cannot be fully discussed and listed here. See, for example, Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep,* 238; Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, 156. For al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's and Baybars' reigns, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 47:32; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb,* 6:61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 132, 383. For the shift to non-*mamlūk* manpower in the *ḥalqah* of the Mamluk period, see Mazor, *The Rise and Fall*, 22–23, 101–2. The term *mafāridah* (plural of *mufrad*) was part of the court-military monoculture of the Seljuks of Rum. See Alessio Bombaci, "The Army of the Saljuks of Rum," *Annali Istituto Orientali di Napoli* 38 (1978): 349–50.

[88] The terminological shift is illustrated by the change from *zimām al-qaṣr*—the Fatimid term for a major-domo—to the Zangid and Ayyubid-Mamluk term, *ustādhdār.*

[89] Jo van Steenbergen, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State: Household Politics and the Case of the Qalāwūnid Bayt (1279–1382)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56 (2013): 189–217. The construct of "the Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate" is also a powerful tool for re-examining the history of the Mamluk sultanate. However, where the fifteenth century is concerned, the particular circumstances of that period—the demographic consequences of the Black Death, accelerated waqfization of agricultural lands, the introduction of gunpowder weaponry, and the growing European threat in the Red Sea—must be taken into account. For the "Mamlukization" concept, see Jo van Steenbergen, Patrick Wing, and Kristof D'Hulster, "The Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate? State Formation and the History of Fifteenth Century Egypt and Syria," Parts I and II, *History Compass* 14 (2016): 549–59, 560–69.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

(maṭabikh); while turning *iqṭāᶜ* lands and urban properties into *waqf*s ensured the economic future of the second generation. In pre-modern agricultural societies investment in the urban economy alone could not sustain a viable household and, therefore, the amirs needed increasingly extensive *iqṭāᶜ*s. Consequently, self-interest came to dominate their actions in the political arena. It should also be remembered that the "Mamluk Military Patronage State," its Ayyubid predecessors, and other medieval regimes also applied economic violence to their subjects and administrators in the form of oppressive taxation and the confiscation of property and goods. The demarcation line between patronage and brute force was thin.

In the late Ayyubid and thirteenth-century Mamluk states, *mamlūk*s of the sultan pervaded the amir echelon.[90] The role of the *mamlūk* system in the political and military life of the period requires re-examination. Militarily, during the Zangid-Ayyubid period, the *mamlūk* system was insignificant. Zangid and Ayyubid armies were composed of freeborn people and the *mamlūk* troops, numerically, were too small to have an impact on the battlefield.[91] There is no evidence, other than Ibn Wāṣil's unsubstantiated claim regarding the Battle of al-Manṣūrah, that they were crack troops capable of altering the tide of a battle. The significance of the system was political, and the sultan's *mamlūk* corps served as recruiting grounds for filling the ranks of the amir class. As disillusioned as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb might have been with his *mamlūk*s, who had deserted him after the loss of Damascus, his political future as sultan in Egypt was related to his possessing a pool of *mamlūk*s for inclusion in the amir class. The main significance of the enigmatic *baḥrīyah* was not as a military corps but as the breeding ground of amirs who became future Mamluk sultans.

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[90] It is explicitly stated that al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb made his Turkish *mamālīk* amirs, and the same is said about Aybak. In 650/1252–53 he made his senior *mamālīk* amirs and appointed Quṭuz *nāʾib al-salṭanah*. See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt,* 10:56; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah,* 7.

[91] Here as elsewhere (*Saladin in Egypt,* 153–58), I concur with the arguments posited by Humphreys ("The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," *Studia Islamica* 45 [1977]: 68, 89) regarding the composition of the Ayyubid armies. In a number of publications Ayalon argued that *mamlūk*s and Turks played a dominant role in military and political life during the Seljukid and Ayyubid periods. See "From Ayyubids to Mamluks," 46–50; "The Mamlūks of the Seljuks: Islam's Military Might at the Crossroads," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6 (1996): 305–33; "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 196–225, esp. 205–25; "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon, Part Two" *Der Islam* 54 (1977): 1–32. The role of the *mamlūk* component in the ninth–tenth-century Samanid, Ghaznavid, and Abbasid armies has been questioned by D. G. Tor, who reached the conclusion that freeborn people constituted the majority in these armies. She has also noted the unreliability of the *mamlūk* corps. See "The Mamluks in the Military of the Pre-Seljuq Persianate Dynasties," *Iran* 46 (2008): 213–25.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

Within the broader area of medieval Islamic studies, Arabic papyrology and Mamluk studies are the most dynamic fields, highlighted by the publication of new sources and paradigm shifts. There is a need to adopt a diachronic approach to Mamluk history and the history of military slavery, which should be studied from within the broader framework of medieval socio-military history.[92] The synchronic approach to military slavery has established the subject as a major field of research. However, like any other institution, it was not a uniform system but had a history and differing manifestations of varying historical significance.

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[92] Ulrich Haarmann has used European testimonies regarding fifteenth-century Mamluk politics for a diachronic discussion of how the exclusion of the hereditary principle evolved. See "The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers," *MSR* 4 (2000): 1–24, esp. 5, 15, 22, 23.

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DOI: 10.6082/fzas-tz30. (https://doi.org/10.6082/fzas-tz30)

Book Reviews

The Nusayri-Alawi Religion in the Mamluk Sultanate: A Book Report

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Readers of Mamluk chronicles and juridical treatises are familiar with anti-Alawi accounts and measures that several sultans and viceroys took against them.[1] M. Bar-Asher and A. Kofsky, who published an important inquiry into the history, belief system, and rituals of the Nusayri-Alawi religion,[2] recently appended to it a translated anthology. The present short notice lists the Mamluk-era Nusayri liturgical texts that this excellent Hebrew research analyzes and presents.

The first text, "Kitāb fīhi munāẓarah," was presumably composed during the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. In it, the shaykh Yūsuf ibn al-ʿAjūz al-Nashshābī al-Ḥalabī debates the fundamentals of the Nusayri belief concerning the unity *(tawḥīd)* of God.[3]

An anonymous Nusayri preacher wrote two combined epistles, between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that deal with master-novice relations and provide guiding instructions regarding mentorship and initiation. The first is entitled "Bāb fī maʿrifat al-taʿlīq" (Chapter on the rules of association). The second is named "Bāb fīmā yajibu fī maʿrifat al-samāʿ" (Chapter on the duties of obeying the master's instructions)".[4]

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[1] Edward E. Salisbury, "Translation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 2 (1851): 288–99; M. S. Guyard, "Le Fetwa d'Ibn Taymiyyah sur les Nosairis," *Journal Asiatique* (6e Serie) 18 (1871): 158–98; Urbain Vermeulen, "Some Remarks on a Prescript of an-Nasir Muhammad B. Qalaʾun on the Abolition of Taxes and the Nusayris (Mamlaka of Tripoli, 717/1317) ," *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 1 (1970): 195–201; Yaron Friedman, "Ibn Taymiyya's Fatawa against the Nusayri-Alawi Sect," *Der Islam* 82 (2005): 349–63; Yvette Talhamy, "The Fatwas and the Nusayri/Alawis of Syria," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (2010): 175–81.

[2] Meir M. Bar Asher and A. Kofsky, *The Nusayri-Alawi Religion: An Enquiry into its Theology and Liturgy* (Leiden, 2002).

[3] Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 1450, fols. 67b–155a.

[4] Ibid., fols. 158a–167a.

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DOI: 10.6082/qsra-jt81. (https://doi.org/10.6082/qsra-jt81)

Carl F. Petry. *The Mamluk Sultanate: A History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022). Pp. xix, 358.

Reviewed by Mustafa Banister, Utah State University

After more than half a century, Mamluk Studies has developed a vast bibliography of studies emanating from a thriving scholarly community. Earlier efforts—even ten years ago—to compile the state of the art of the field were much easier to do. Carl Petry's concise though nuanced new book, *The Mamluk Sultanate: A History,* stands as the most recent attempt, successfully integrating the last two decades (up to 2021) of contributions. The book draws strength from the author's keen awareness of important scholarly currents in the field as well as the limitations of the available source material.

Petry's project is guided by a number of goals: to examine the traits Ibn Khaldūn attributed to the so-called "Dawlat al-Atrāk" (redubbed the "Mamluk Sultanate" by modern scholarship) in the context of the regime to demonstrate evolution in statecraft, structures, and institutions; to take stock of recent humanities and social science scholarship that has reshaped modern understandings of late medieval Syro-Egyptian history; and to highlight the experimental nature of state-building in the period.

The author presents the survey in seven chapters, each one successively adding a unique layer that provides a multidimensional image of the Sultanate overall. The first chapter is a synopsis of political history through the construction of a chronological narrative of the Sultanate from its cultural and political origins in the thirteenth century down to the Ottoman conquest of the early sixteenth. Coverage here prepares the contextual backdrop for the remainder of the book, and includes eras well-known to specialists such as the "tumultuous decade" (1249–60), the "halcyon era" of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (1310–41), and the Qalawunid princeling era (1341–82). As Petry discusses the reigns of later fifteenth-century sultans such as Shaykh, Barsbāy, and Qāytbāy, he revisits the contexts of their ascensions by reintroducing history the reader has just become acquainted with. This provides a great deal of connectivity within the narrative, supplemented by the author's frequent references to other pertinent passages throughout the book.

The second chapter continues the pursuit of the Sultanate's post-Mongol heritage and identity by examining processes of training, hierarchies, and the ethos of competition that influenced the military ranks. The chapter is particularly useful for its ruminations on the lived experience and "mindsets" of young slave cadets in Cairo (pp. 60–3) that later cultivated loyalties to each other and competed for power through coups and conspiracies (pp. 76–78). In chapter three,

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DOI: 10.6082/drc6-by20. (https://doi.org/10.6082/drc6-by20)

Petry argues that the Sultanate, in its interactions with other contemporary polities, above all, valued preserving the status quo. From a global perspective, chapter three examines statecraft and the challenges posed to the regime by Greater Iran (from the Ilkhanids to the Safavids), as well as changing relations with the Ottomans. The chapter also discusses financial and trade relations with Genoa and Venice and struggles with the Portuguese, and concludes with a valuable discussion of interactions within the African continent: Takrur in the west, Abyssinia in the east, and the contemporary polities of the Maghrib.

Chapter four offers a closer look at various vocations available to educated elites in the Sultanate. Officeholders were necessarily functional in several professional callings in the bureaucracy, the civil judiciary, and the world of religious education. Like the second chapter's look into the mindset of slave recruits, the fourth chapter presents readers with a practical look at the perils, nepotism, corruption, and fierce competition facing civilian functionaries who sought promotion in the world of sultans and amirs.

The fifth chapter turns the focus on changes in political economy, a broad field of analysis that has long been an interest of the author. In it, Petry explores evidence of interregional evolution from the perspective of agricultural practices and animal husbandry in Egypt and Syria, as well as methods of land granting and revenue collection in the form of *iqṭāʿ* distribution and the various cadastral surveys undertaken by the regime and its predecessors (pp. 161–64). The chapter discusses financial problems, the conversion of properties into inalienable *waqf*s, revenue collection through confiscation and extraction (pp. 187–89), and the fluctuation of stipends, prices, taxes, and salaries.

The penultimate chapter, six, provides a useful survey of the Sultanate's cultural legacy, taking stock of popular genres of poetry and prose, the role played by elite patronage, and the rapid development of historical writing in the period. The chapter considers the influence of earlier poet-litterateurs, such as al-Ḥarīrī and al-Mutanabbī, on works of the period. The bulk of the chapter, however, is devoted to the booming business of historiography throughout the Cairo Sultanate. Before discussing choice examples among the hundreds of historical works created between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, Petry examines the most influential earlier models for history writing: al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī.

Petry devotes the final chapter to new and innovative lines of inquiry pursued by modern scholars. While critical of what can be added to the big picture from isolated sources that produce speculative findings, the author nevertheless praises the ingenuity and creativity of social scientists, archaeologists, and anthropologists in answering difficult questions about the Sultanate's rural history. Petry also considers rarely discussed issues regarding women, drawing on

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DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

his own research on crime to discuss gender in narrative construction (pp. 257–58). The chapter moves on to the status of non-Muslim minorities, particularly subjugated and scapegoated Jews and Christians in the Sultanate, and closes with a section on the diverse practices of Sufism in the period with examples of the popular orders and noteworthy practitioners.

In the book's outgoing "Reflections," Petry returns to the question of ongoing change in light of Ibn Khaldūn's "traits" of the Mamluks. Concluding that many sultans were sincere in their commitment to upholding the brand of Islam favored by the mainstream Sunni ulama, the author notes that historians, both medieval and modern, praised the stability that came through the endurance, adaptation, and perseverance of the regime.

One of the more enjoyable prose-writers in premodern Islamicate historiography, Petry writes with a highly efficient style, both precise and not given to wasting words. Among the many enjoyable illustrative elements of the book, alongside its maps, photographs, and excerpts in translation, was the author's decision to bring back one of the former "stars" of his earlier books, the amir Yashbak min Mahdī (d. 885/1480), who plays a helpful role that adds color to some of the patterns and processes outlined in the book. Yashbak serves diversely as exemplar of an amir's swift rise to prominence alongside complicated loyalties (p. 45), as a model of the "mindset" needed to navigate complex political machinations (pp. 77–78), of an amir's bid for independent authority (p. 91), as a restorer of the sultan's order (pp. 98–99, 105), as an intermediary between the Sultanate and tribal leaders (p. 167), and as a skilled "agent of procurement" adept at refilling the sultan's treasury (pp. 188, 194).

Petry's summations and analyses, while scholastically sound, are also socially conscious, approaching material and asking questions in tandem with the concerns that play on the minds of many modern students and researchers. Issues such as race, gender, minority status, and the troubling legacy of slavery—all of which evoke passionate debate and mixed reactions among people—are thoughtfully discussed, ever reflecting the "experimental" nature of the Sultanate itself and how it affected the broader culture and institutions of early modern northeast Africa and southwest Asia.

Due to the complexity of the Syro-Egyptian Sultanate and the immensity of modern scholarship, it is difficult for any such presentation to be truly comprehensive. The *Mamluk Sultanate* nevertheless stands as a useful snapshot of where the field is in 2022, and where it could (or should) be heading next. Any author embarking on such a project must make difficult choices about what to include and highlight, but when it comes to weighing where to assign importance few are better suited to the task than Petry. Indeed, as Frédéric Bauden affectionately observed at last year's honorary symposium celebrating Petry's many years as

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DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

a professor and scholar of Middle Eastern history at Northwestern University, "[Carl's career has] lasted longer than the reign of any of the Mamluk sultans, including the record-breaker al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who managed to rule for 42 years."[1] The statement, like the book itself, reflects Petry's lasting legacy on the field he helped build as one of the "sultans" of the second wave of Mamluk Studies. While one hopes we have much more yet to read from the pen of Carl Petry, this latest round-up of the "Mamluk Sultanate" stands as a confident coda, retrospectively illuminating an industrious career of valuable contributions to what we now know about the Sultanate.

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[1] Evanston, Illinois, 20 May 2022.

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DOI: 10.6082/drc6-by20. (https://doi.org/10.6082/drc6-by20)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26.

Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary across a Millennium* (Oakland: California University Press, 2018). Pp. 272.

Reviewed by Christian Mauder, University of Bergen

The field of hadith studies in European languages has long been dominated by efforts to determine whether and how the extensive material about the deeds and sayings attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad preserved by Islamic sources can be used to learn about the early history of Islam. This strong focus on the source value of hadiths for the study of early Islamic history has all but completely sidelined other important questions about this material, such as how Muslims across the centuries have approached it, studied it, and made sense of it in their religious and intellectual lives. This situation is slowly changing thanks to the work of scholars such as Jonathan A. C. Brown, Garrett Davidson, and others. We have now begun to understand the importance of the hadith corpus for Muslims who lived centuries after the Prophet. Joel Blecher's *Said the Prophet of God* is a highly welcome and truly groundbreaking contribution to this ongoing trend, as it puts hadith commentary—a previously almost completely unstudied practice and genre of Islamic intellectual and religious history—on the scholarly agenda.

Blecher's main goal in his book is to illuminate how Muslims have interpreted and reinterpreted the meaning of hadiths across time, space, and media. In particular, he zooms in on the history of interpretation of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* as the most authoritative Sunni hadith collection and traces continuities and ruptures in the tradition of commentary on this work, whereby "commentary" denotes both a specific social practice and a genre of scholarly literature. He "argues that the meanings of hadith were shaped as much by commentators' political, cultural, and regional contexts as by the fine-grained interpretative debates that developed over long periods of time" (p. 3). Combining methods from social history, intellectual history, and social theory, Blecher seeks to map not only a central area of Islamic intellectual activity but also "to synthesize new avenues for scholars of history, anthropology, religion, and law who study cultures of reading and textual interpretation" (p. 4).

The subtitle of the book, *Hadith Commentary across a Millennium,* gives an adequate impression of the breadth of its content. The book begins with an introduction, including an account of the author's observation of a live commentary session in 21st-century Damascus as well as a general overview of the history of hadith commentary and the significance of its study (pp. 1–18). It continues with a first part on "Andalusia in the Last Days of the Umayyads," comprising two chapters that deal with live hadith commentary and commentary litera-

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DOI: 10.6082/pv4h-ea03. (https://doi.org/10.6082/pv4h-ea03)

ture on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in al-Andalus during the tenth and eleventh centuries (pp. 19–46). This is followed by a second, longer part on "Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks" in six chapters (pp. 47–139, discussed in more detail below) and a third part in two chapters about "Early Modern India and Beyond," which studies the multilingual commentary tradition on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the Arabian Peninsula and South Asia from the fifteenth to the twenty-first century (pp. 141–83). The book closes with an epilogue focusing on, among other things, hadith commentary among supporters of ISIS (pp. 184–96) and a back matter section containing acknowledgments, notes, works cited, an index of names and titles, and a subject index (pp. 197–272).

The second part, which is of primary interest to scholars of the Mamluk period, begins in the third chapter with a thorough analysis of the intellectual, social, and political context in which Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449) wrote his monumental *Fatḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Blecher focuses here in particular on the interconnections between the written commentary and Ibn Ḥajar's teaching activities, his patronage relations with members of the political elite, and his professional rivalries. The fourth chapter offers a detailed study of the textual history of *Fatḥ al-bārī* and its revisions against the background of the academic rivalries Ibn Ḥajar was involved in. This chapter builds on a truly remarkable basis of manuscript evidence and provides deep insights into Ibn Ḥajar's working techniques while editing and revising his text. The fifth chapter examines how highly competitive and politically charged live commentary sessions in the presence of the Mamluk ruler and academic rivals at the Cairo Citadel played a central role in the world of Mamluk scholarly patronage and left their imprint on both the content of *Fatḥ al-bārī* and its author's career. The sixth chapter examines intersections between hadith commentary, *isnād* scrutiny, and jurisprudence, with a focus on the position of the Shafiʿi school within the Mamluk multi-*madhhab* system. The seventh chapter discusses at considerable length commentarial practices and texts related to the chapter headings in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and shows how thorough engagement with these sometimes rather enigmatic headings could serve as a marker of commentarial excellence and theological commitment. The part on hadith commentary in the Mamluk period closes in the short eighth chapter with an analysis of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (d. 1505) concise commentarial work on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* known as *al-Tawshīḥ*. Here, Blecher demonstrates that, in addition to encyclopedic and monumental commentaries such as *Fatḥ al-bārī,* Mamluk scholars also produced wieldier works that later enjoyed considerable popularity.

Blecher's book delivers what its title promises: a history of hadith commentary over more than 1000 years, focusing on three key areas of the Islamicate world. Clearly structured and in conversation with neighboring disciplines such

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DOI: 10.6082/pv4h-ea03. (https://doi.org/10.6082/pv4h-ea03)

as literary studies and philosophy, Blecher's analysis of the practice and genre of hadith commentary offers both discussions of fascinating historical case studies and engaging theoretical reflections about what it means to comment on a canonized text.

The richness of Blecher's study and the breadth of his work notwithstanding, some specialist readers might have wished for more thorough presentations of the historical and philological details connected to several questions the book touches upon, such as how exactly one could use hadiths to argue that Muḥammad was not illiterate (Chap. 1), exactly what different types of additions Ibn Ḥajar made when he revised his *Fatḥ al-bārī* (Chap. 4), in what specific way Deobandi commentaries were different from others (Chap. 9), or the exact importance of hadiths in debates about the definition of faith (Chap. 10). That these topics are not explored in further depth is clearly not because of a lack of erudition and expertise on the author's part, but rather seems to have to do with the length limits university presses in the Anglo-Saxon world dictate to their authors. In the case of *Said the Prophet of God,* this has resulted in a book that is short and accessible enough to make it onto the reading lists of upper-undergraduate and graduate courses. I would hope the author examines some of the more specialized topics elsewhere.

The limited level of philological and historical detail of some of the discussions aside, from the perspective of scholarship on the Mamluk period one could hardly have wished for a more accessible yet pioneering work on the practice and genre of hadith commentary. This type of engagement with reports about the deeds and sayings attributed to the Prophet played a key role in Mamluk religious and intellectual history, but before the publication of Blecher's important monograph, we knew painfully little about it. Groundbreaking and well-written, *Said the Prophet of God* will be essential reading for anyone interested in Mamluk religious and intellectual history for decades to come.

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DOI: 10.6082/pv4h-ea03. (https://doi.org/10.6082/pv4h-ea03)

Christian Mauder, *In the Sultan's Salon: Learning, Religion, and Rulership at the Mamlūk Court of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–1516)* (Leiden: Brill, 2021). 2 vols.

Kristof D'hulster, *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves: Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamlūk Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Unipress/Bonn University Press, 2021). Pp. 396.

Reviewed by Yehoshua Frenkel, University of Haifa

The institutional history of the Mamluk state—to use Max Weber's terminology—is illuminated by both chronicles and juridical sources. The state was governed by a military aristocracy *(herrschaftsverband)*[1] and headed by the sultan, who invested considerable efforts in shoring up his legitimacy. As part of his attempt to polish his image, the sultan attempted to present scholarly credentials. This wish can explain, partially at least, the inauguration of the royal library *(khizānah),*[2] and indeed several sultans collected manuscripts and deposited them on the shelves of their libraries *(bi-rasm al-khizānah).*[3] References to book markets elucidate that the acquisition of books was not limited to just the governing elite.[4]

Book production and collection, reading, and audience are the topics of the two studies reviewed here. Both books are fine examples of the remarkable development in Mamluk studies over the last decades, and particularly the shift from political and institutional research to cultural analysis. This shift brings the study of Mamluk history closer to the study of European medieval history.

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[1] Richard Swedberg and Ola Agevall, eds., *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* (Stanford, 2016), 238.

[2] Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bashsharī al-Muqaddasī (completed his book 375–78/985–88), *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 10; cf. "*ʿamalahu li-khizānat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad fī ayyām dawlatihi al-mujaddadah.*" Jerusalem National Library of Israel MS Arab 458.

[3] Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazarī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (751–833/1350–1429), "Al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn" (NLI MS Arab Yahuda 298: *"bi-rasm al-khizānah al-sharīfah al-sulṭānīyah al-malikīyah al-Ẓāhir Abī Saʿīd Jaqmaq").* Cf. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī al-Dhahabī al-Shāfiʿī (673–748/1274–1348), *Al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar,* ed. Abū Hājar Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut, 1985), introduction, page s.

[4] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn ibn al-Wazīr al-Malaṭī al-Ẓāhirī (844–930/1440–1514), *Al-Majmaʿ al-mufannan bi-al-muʿjam al-muʿanwan,* ed. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kandarī (Beirut, 2011), 41–42.

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DOI: 10.6082/ae64-3j16. (https://doi.org/10.6082/ae64-3j16)

The first three chapters of Christian Mauder's project serve as a detailed introduction to his book's major theme. Based on three unique works written for the penultimate Mamluk sultan, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, and read at his court, Mauder offers an in-depth study of a late middle-period court. He opens his study with a theoretical question: what is an Islamic court? Using extensive comparative studies, combined with a painstaking investigation of primary sources, he gives a clear definition that combines observations on the social structure and spatial aspects of the court and performances held at the castle on the hill. The sultan's court was a complex institution where the public sphere was not a separate realm kept apart from the exclusive indoor sphere, but rather a holistic, unified space, both public and private.[5]

The Mamluk elite, civilian as well as military, communicated in three languages: Arabic, Turkic, and Persian.[6] Texts in these languages provide the major narrative and documentary sources for this society's history. Ibn Iyās, whose bias against Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī is well-known, blames the sultan for an inclination towards the ʿAjam[7] and spreads rumors of his heterodox world view *(madhhab al-Nāsimīyah).*[8]

Gatherings at the sultan's court *(majālis/dīwān)*[9] served several functions. In addition to their role in establishing the image of the sultan as the "wise and just king," they provided a venue to debate various issues and to offer responses to challenges faced by the court. Chapter four describes this royal environment in minute detail. Mauder reconstructs the events and topics

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[5] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* trans. Thomas Burger (Boston, 1991), 7.

[6] Christian Mauder, "'And They Read in That Night Books of History': Consuming, Discussing, and Producing Texts about the Past in al-Ghawrī's *Majālis* as Social Practices," in *New Readings in Arabic Historiography from Late Medieval Egypt and Syria: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the Fifth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies,* ed. Jo van Steenbergen and Maya Termonia (Leiden, 2021), 401–28.

[7] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī (852–930/1448–1524), *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr* [Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas (The Amazing Flowers about the Events of the Times)], ed. M. Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1429/2008), 5:88.

[8] Kathleen R. F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimî, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi With Annotated Translations of the Turkic and Persian Quatrains from the Hekimoglu Ali Pasa MS* (The Hague, 1972), 26–29, 38–41.

[9] ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Shāfiʿī al-ʿĀṣīmī (al-ʿIṣāmī) al-Makkī (1049–1111/1639–99), *Samṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī fī anbāʾ al-awāʾil wa-al-tawālī,* ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ (Beirut, 1419/1998), 4:62.

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DOI: 10.6082/ae64-3j16. (https://doi.org/10.6082/ae64-3j16)

that were discussed at these gatherings, providing well-articulated insights on the royal "salons."[10]

Dwelling upon the religious life in the citadel, Mauder defines "religion" as a cultural system. I prefer Talal Asad's argument "that 'religion' is a modern concept, not because it is reified but because it has been linked to its Siamese twin 'secularism.'"[11] Mauder's definition is followed by a detailed narrative on the function of religion and on Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's participation in events and ritual.

The last chapter in this rich book deals with court politics. Mauder casts light on the sultan's regime and his legitimation in an extremely challenging decade. As in previous chapters, Mauder also ranges widely over different theoretical studies, read together with primary sources and a vast assortment of Mamluk studies. The result is in-depth research.

The second book in this review is Kristof D'hulster's detailed and fresh investigation of books marked by Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's "ex-libris" *(bi-rasm al-khizānah al-sharīfah).* Comparing D'hulster's achievement with earlier works on the "Arab book"[12] only serves to illuminate the considerable development in the field of cultural and material history of the middle Islamic courts. Rather than an examination of general or isolated episodes, research in recent years has shifted to include a detailed inspection of registers, titles, transmitters, and owners.

Chapter two, "A Library Browsed," is the backbone of D'hulster's study. It provides a close inspection of 135 titles that bear the bookplate *"bi-rasm al-khizānah al-sharīfah,"* presumably indicating that most of them were stocked at a royal library. The manuscripts owned by the sultan range from Qurans to poetry, covering a vast array of genres.

This rich bibliographical study is followed by a chapter that delves into the notion of the book and book production during late Mamluk history. Since most of the manuscripts are without a colophon, accurately categorizing these subjects is not an easy task. Fortunately, some manuscripts carry marks—such as the name of the copyist/writer—enabling us to date the manuscript and its ownership history. *Waqf* notations are one example of such a gloss. It is well established that al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī continued an old

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[10] *Majālis* and *masāmir,* in Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, *Al-Adab al-Miṣrī fī ẓill al-ḥukm al-ʿuthmānī: 922–1220 H. =1517–1805 M.* (Cairo, 1965), 147.

[11] Talal Asad, "Reading a Modern Classic: W. C. Smith's 'The Meaning and End of Religion,'" *History of Religions* 40, no. 3 (2001): 221; and see Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven, 2013).

[12] For example, Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book* (Princeton, 1984); Beatrice Gruendler, *The Rise of the Arabic Book* (Boston, 2020).

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DOI: 10.6082/ae64-3j16. (https://doi.org/10.6082/ae64-3j16)

tradition. Indeed, evidence regarding the collection and depositing of books in a special library is rife and easily traced.[13] These findings, D'hulster affirms, contribute to a novel approach toward the Mamluk military aristocracy, since learned army officers were recorded among the "men of the sword" *(sayfīyah).*[14] The old view of this echelon as newcomers and barbarians should therefore be revised.

Chapter four raises questions regarding the content of the books that were produced or owned by Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. What is unique in the list of titles—and the extent to which it reflects the sultan's intellectual profile—invites further examination. D'hulster highlights the multi-lingual richness of the royal library, which included, in addition to Arabic manuscripts, Turkic and Persian supplications, poetry, and epic writing *(shāhnāmah).* The titles he mentions support his working hypothesis regarding the complex ethnic and linguistic mosaic that constituted Mamluk urban society. In this milieu, supplication in Persian and Turkic would appear to be a common phenomenon.[15]

Following the decisive Ottoman victory over the Mamluk army and the conquest of Cairo by Salim the First (1517), sultanic books were targeted as *spolia* and carried away. Chapter five thus addresses the great majority of royal manuscripts that ended up in Istanbul.[16] An Ottoman *defter* (923/1517) lists the books that were found by the victorious sultan in Aleppo's citadel. It provides what can be termed "a catalogue of a royal Mamluk library." This is discussed further in an appendix, followed by an edition of the document.

The studies surveyed here provide us with rich and detailed information about the intellectual activity and royal culture in the waning years of the Mamluk sultanate. Mauder's and D'hulster's books provide their readers with fresh insights on a Mamluk sultan and his court. Both scholars investigate a vast and multi-lingual corpus of narrative and material sources. They produce a sound base for further studies of intellectual activity in what had previously been considered a military reign of manumitted slave-soldiers; hence

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[13] "Kitāb ṣidq al-ikhlāṣ fī tafsīr sūrat al-ikhlāṣ (Jerusalem, NLI MS Arab Yahuda 297: *"bi-rasm al-maqām al-sharīf al-sulṭānī al-malikī al-ashrafī Abī al-Naṣr Qāytbāy, khalada Allāhu mulkahu wa-sulṭānatahu. Waqf al-malik al-ashraf Abī al-Naṣr Qāytbāy, ʿazz naṣrahu*"); Efraim Wust, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel* (Leiden, 2016), 1:452–53.

[14] Christian Mauder, *Geleherte Krieger: Die Mamluken als Träger arabischesprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen* (Hildesheim, 2012).

[15] Abū Yaḥyá ibn Muḥammad Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiʿī, *Talkhīs al-azhiyah fī aḥkām al-adʿiyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Kamālī (Beirut, 1426/2005), 74.

[16] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Nasahnī, *ʿUqūd al-jumān fī sharḥ ʿaqīdat al-sulṭān,* ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Ḥājj Ḥāmid and Ibrāhīm Shaʿbān (Istanbul, 2019).

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DOI: 10.6082/ae64-3j16. (https://doi.org/10.6082/ae64-3j16)

they provide a highly welcome addition to the developing field of book production and consumption in the late middle period Islamic world. In books of this scope and complexity, occasional factual errors or mistakes are inevitable; we will dispense here with their enumeration.

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DOI: 10.6082/ae64-3j16. (https://doi.org/10.6082/ae64-3j16)
DOI of Vol. XXVI: 10.6082/msr26. See https://doi.org/10.6082/msr2023 to download the full volume or individual articles.

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ʿAdawī, Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf. *al-Muṭlaq wa-al-muqayyid ʿinda al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī fī kitābihi Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Edited by Aḥmad al-Fīlālī. Amman: Dār al-Nūr al-Mubīn lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2021. Pp. 179.

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ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ـُو	ū	ـِي	ī
ـَا	ā	ـُوّ	ūw	ـِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	ـَو	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for *ʿayn* and *hamzah*. Instead, use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence or a title. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before "sun" letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as terms which are found in English dictionaries, such as Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

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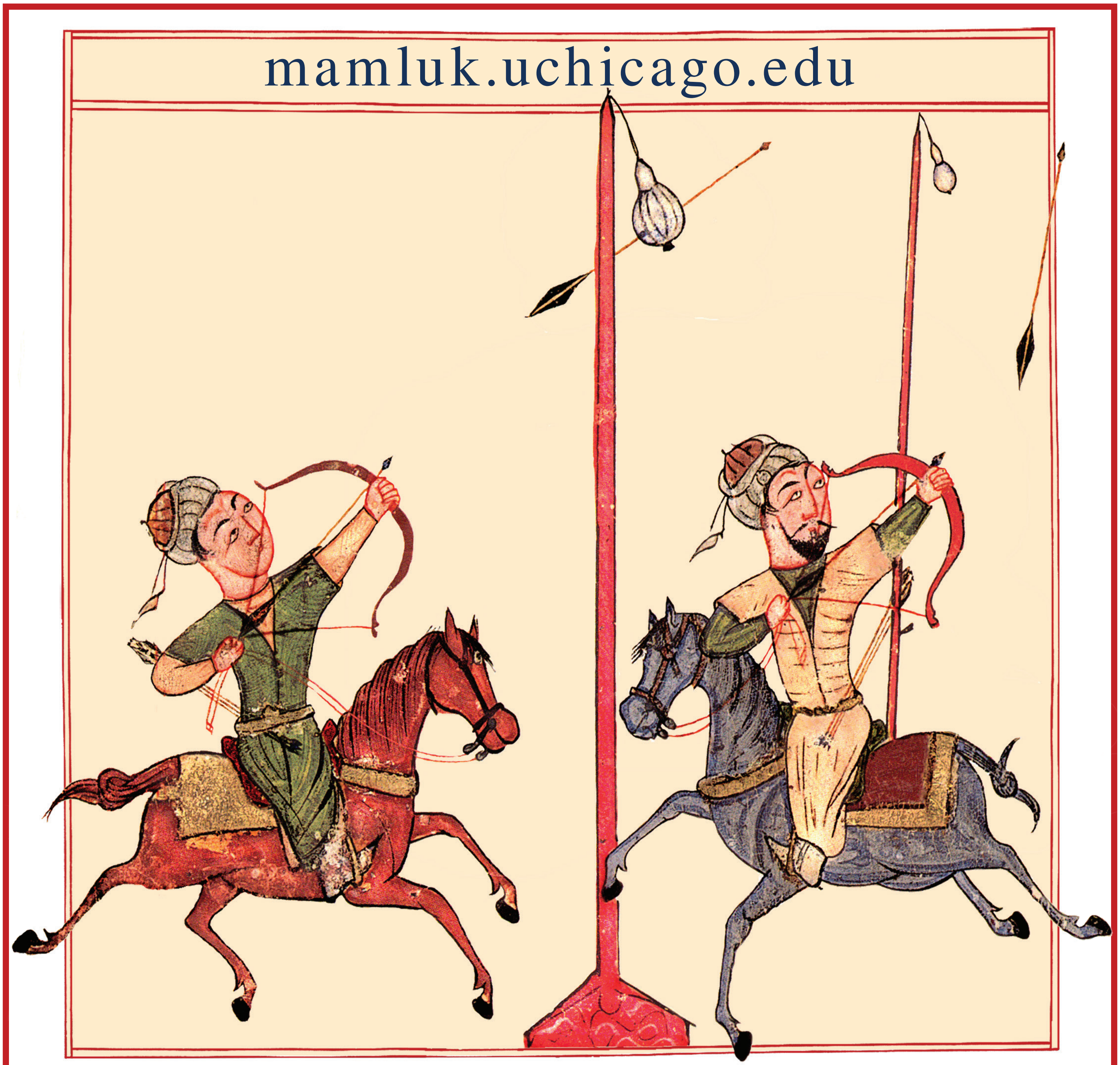
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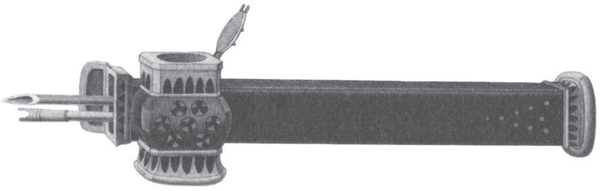

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