

PART V

THE LAST OF THE MEDIEVAL
MOSLEM STATES

CHAPTER XLIII

A SHĪ'ITE CALIPHATE IN EGYPT: THE FĀTIMIDS

THE Fātimid caliphate, the only major Shī'ite one in Islam,¹ established itself in Tunisia in 909 as a deliberate challenge to the religious headship of the Islamic world represented by the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād. The founder was Sa'īd ibn-Ḥusayn, probably a descendant of the second founder of the Ismā'ilite sect,² the Persian 'Abdullāh ibn-Maymūn. The spectacular rise of ibn-Maymūn's successor Sa'īd was the culmination of deep-laid, skilfully organized Ismā'ilite propaganda paralleled only by the earlier movement which led to the break-up of the Umayyad caliphate. No small measure of this success was due to the personal efforts of the chief *dā'i* (propagandist), abu-'Abdullāh al-Ḥusayn al-Shī'i, a native of Ṣan'ā' in al-Yaman, who toward the close of the ninth century proclaimed himself precursor of the Mahdī and sowed seeds of sedition among the Berbers of North Africa, especially the Kitāmah (Kutāmah) tribe. His acquaintance with members of this tribe was made in the season of the pilgrimage at Makkah.³ Ifriqiyah was then under Aghlabid rule.

Al-Shī'i's conspicuous success in this distant region gave Sa'īd the signal to leave his Ismā'ilite headquarters at Salamyah and make his way disguised as a merchant into north-western Africa. Thrown into a dungeon in Sijilmāsah by order of the Aghlabid Ziyādat-Allāh (903-9), Sa'īd was rescued by al-Shī'i,⁴ who in 909 destroyed the century-old Aghlabid dynasty and drove its last scion Ziyādat-Allāh out of the country. The Aghlabids were the last stronghold of Sunnite Islam in that part of

¹ For earlier independent 'Alid principalities review the Idrisids and Ḥammūds. The Sharifs of Morocco, whose assumption of sovereignty dates from 1544, trace their lineage through al-Ḥasan to 'Alī and Fūṣṣmah, but are almost orthodox.

² The original founder was the Imām Ismā'il († 760); above, p. 442.

³ Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. i, p. 118.

⁴ Some wrongly suspect that the real prisoner was slain before the surrender of Sijilmāsah to al-Shī'i.

Africa. Sa'īd was proclaimed ruler under the title of the Imām¹ 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdī and accepted as a descendant of Fāṭimah through al-Ḥusayn and Ismā'īl. The dynasty he established is often referred to as al-'Ubaydiyyah, especially by those who do not believe in his alleged descent.

Moslem historians are divided into two camps on the question of the legitimacy of his Fāṭimid origin. At least eight varying pedigrees were provided for him by his supporters and enemies, some of the latter going so far as to charge that he was the son of a Jew. Notable among the supporters of his legitimacy are ibn-al-Athīr,² ibn-Khaldūn³ and al-Maqrīzi.⁴ Among those who suspect or deny the genealogy and regard Sa'īd as an impostor are ibn-Khalīkān,⁵ ibn-'Idhāri,⁶ al-Suyūṭī⁷ and ibn-Taghri-Birdī.⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that no dispute as to the genuineness of the Fāṭimid descent arose until the year 1011, when the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qādir issued in Baghdād a curious manifesto, signed by several Sunni and Shī'ite notables, declaring that his Egyptian rival al-Ḥākīm was descended not from Fāṭimah but from Dayṣān the heretic.⁹

'Ubaydullāh (909-34) established himself first in the Aghlabid residence Raqqādah, a suburb of al-Qayrawān. He proved himself a most capable ruler. Two years after assuming supreme authority he killed his missionary-commander al-Shī'i and soon afterward extended his rule over the whole African territory from the Morocco of the Idrisids to the confines of Egypt. In 914 he seized Alexandria; two years later he devastated the Delta. To Sicily he sent a new governor from the Kitāmah tribe and with the rebel ibn-Ḥafṣūn in Spain he established friendly relations. Malta, Sardinia,¹⁰ Corsica, the Balearic and other islands felt the power of the fleet which he had inherited from the Aghlabids. About 920 he took up his residence in the new capital al-Mahdiyyah,¹¹ which he founded on the Tunisian coast sixteen miles south-east of al-Qayrawān and named after himself.

¹ As Shī'ites, the Fāṭimids preferred the title imām to caliph.

² Vol. viii, pp. 17-20, abridged by abu-al-Ḥudā', vol. ii, pp. 67-8.

³ Vol. iv, p. 31.

⁴ *Khiṣṣat* (Būlāq, 1270), vol. i, pp. 348-9.

⁵ Vol. i, p. 487.

⁶ Vol. i, pp. 150, 157-8.

⁷ *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1305), p. 214. ⁸ Ed. Popper, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 112.

⁹ Text of manifesto preserved in abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, p. 150.

¹⁰ Finally subjugated in 1003 from Spain.

¹¹ Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 694-6; Mns'ūdī, *Tarīkh*, p. 334; ibn-Hammād, *Akhhār Mamlūk banī-'Ubayd*, ed. M. Vonderheyden (Algers, 1927), pp. 9-10

'Ubaydullāh's successors pursued his policy of aggression and expansion. His son¹ abu-al-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Qā'im (934-946) sent a fleet which in 934 or 935 harried the southern coast of France, took Genoa and coasted along Calabria, carrying off slaves and other booty. All these expeditions, however, led to no permanent conquest. Under al-Qā'im's grandson abu-Tamīm Ma'add al-Mu'izz (952-75) the fleet raided the coasts of Spain, whose caliph was none other than the mighty al-Nāṣir. Three years later (958) the Fāṭimid army advanced westward as far as the Atlantic, whence the commander sent to his caliph live fish in jars. In 969 Egypt was wrested from its Ikhshīdīd rulers. Its fleet was strengthened by new units built at Maqs, the predecessor of Būlāq as the port of Cairo.

The hero of these last exploits was Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī (the Sicilian), also called al-Rūmī (the Greek), originally a Christian born in Byzantine territory, probably Sicily, whence he was brought as a slave to al-Qayrawān.² Immediately after his victorious entry into the capital al-Fuṣṭāṭ in 969, Jawhar began to lay out a new quarter which he named al-Qāhirah.³ This city, modern Cairo, became the capital of the Fāṭimids in 973. After founding the new capital, today the most populous city of Africa, Jawhar in 972 built the great mosque al-Azhar,⁴ which was soon afterward made an academy by the Caliph al-'Azīz.

Jawhar thus became the second founder, after al-Shī'i, of the Fāṭimid empire, which now included all North Africa. Western Arabia was inherited from the Ikhshīdīds, who had been entrusted by the 'Abbāsīds with the guardianship of the Holy City. As soon as Jawhar was established on Egyptian soil he dispatched to neighbouring Syria a lieutenant who in 969 reached and temporarily occupied Damascus.⁵ His principal opponents were the Qarmatians, who were at this time all-powerful in many sections of Syria.

During the peaceful reign of abu-Manṣūr Nizār al-'Azīz (975-96), the fifth of the dynasty and the first to commence his

¹ His ward, an 'Ahd, according to an Ismā'īlīte source; Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 51-2.

² Ibn-Khalīkān, vol. 1, pp. 209-13; Maqrīzī, vol. 1, pp. 352, 377 *seq.*

³ "The triumphant", so called after the planet *Qāhūr al-Falak* (the triumphant of heaven, Mars), which was in the ascendant; corrupted by Venetians into Cairo.

⁴ "The bright (or fair) one", after al-Zahrā', a title of Fāṭimah

⁵ Ibn-Khalīdūn, vol. iv, p. 48; Maqrīzī, vol. 1, p. 378.

reign in Egypt, the Fāṭimid empire reached its zenith. The name of this caliph was cited in the Friday prayers from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and in al-Yaman, Makkah, Damascus, and once even in al-Mawsil. At least nominally his rule covered that vast area. Under him the Egyptian caliphate not only became the most formidable rival of that of Baghdād but even eclipsed it and appropriated for itself the position of the only great Moslem state in the eastern Mediterranean. Al-'Azīz went so far as to erect a two-million-dīnar palace in Cairo to house his 'Abbāsīd rivals, whom he hoped to seize after the capture of Baghdād. Like his predecessors he cast covetous eyes on distant Spain, but the proud Cordovan caliph on receiving a sharp note from the Fāṭimid sovereign is said to have sent back the following retort: "Thou ridiculest us because thou hast heard of us. If we had ever heard of thee, we would reply."¹

Of the Fāṭimid caliphs al-'Azīz was probably the wisest and most beneficent. He lived in luxury, built in Cairo and its environs several new mosques, palaces, bridges and canals and extended to the Christians under him a measure of toleration never enjoyed before. In this attitude he was undoubtedly influenced by his Christian vizir 'Īsa ibn-Nastūr and his Russian wife, the mother of his son and heir al-Ḥākīm and sister of the two Melkite patriarchs of Alexandria and of Jerusalem.

The decline of the Fāṭimid power began soon after the beneficent reign of al-'Azīz, the first of his house to adopt, following the 'Abbāsīd precedent, the fateful policy of importing Turkish as well as negro mercenary troops. The insubordination and constant quarrelling of these troops among themselves and with the Berber bodyguard became one of the chief causes of the final collapse of the kingdom. It was Circassian and Turkish soldiers and slaves who later usurped the supreme authority and established independent dynasties.

Al-'Azīz' successor, abu-'Alī Mansūr al-Ḥākīm (996-1021), was only eleven when he came to the throne. His reign was marked with monstrous atrocities. He killed several of his vizirs, demolished a number of Christian churches including that of the Holy Sepulchre (1009), forced Christians and Jews to wear black robes, ride only on donkeys and display when in baths a cross dangling from their necks, if Christians, and a sort of

¹ Ibn-Taghri-Birdī, ed. Popper, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 2.

yoke with bells, if Jews.¹ Al-Ḥākim was the third caliph in Islam, after al-Mutawakkil and 'Umar II, to impose such stringent measures on non-Moslems.² Otherwise the Fāṭimid régime was remarkably favourable for dhimmis. The edict for the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre was signed by his Christian secretary ibn-'Abdūn and the act was one of the contributory causes of the Crusades. Finally this enigmatic, blue-eyed caliph, following the extreme development of Ismā'ilite doctrine, declared himself the incarnation of the Deity and was so accepted by a newly organized sect, called Druzes, after its first great missionary, a Turk named al-Darazi († 1019).³ On February 13, 1021, al-Ḥākim was killed on the Muqaṭṭam, probably through a conspiracy headed by his sister Sitt al-Mulūk, whom the caliph had charged with unchastity.

After al-Ḥākim immature youths were made caliphs with the De real power in the hands of vizirs, who later even assumed the royal title *malik*. Al-Ḥākim's son and successor al-Zāhir (1021-1035) was sixteen when he came to the throne. It was this caliph who received permission from Constantine VIII to have his name mentioned in the mosques of the emperor's domain and to have the mosque at Constantinople restored in return for the caliph's permission to have the Church of the Holy Sepulchre rebuilt.⁴ Al-Zāhir's successor was his eleven-year-old son, Ma'add al-Mustansir (1035-94), whose reign of almost sixty years is the longest in Moslem annals.⁵ In the early part of his reign his mother, a Sudanese slave once purchased from a Jew, enjoyed with her vendor most of the power. By this time the Fāṭimid dominions had shrunk to little more than Egypt itself. After 1043 the Fāṭimid possession in Syria, always loosely bound to Egypt, began rapidly to disintegrate. Palestine was often in open revolt. A mighty power advancing from the east, that of the Saljūq Turkomans, was now overshadowing Western Asia. In the meantime the Fāṭimid African provinces were severing their tributary connection and passing into open independence or reverting to their old allegiance to the 'Abbāsids. The troublesome Arab

¹ Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 5; ibn-Ḥammād, p. 54; cf. Yahya ibn-Sa'id, ed. Cheikh et al., p. 187.

² For the Shāh'ite restrictions see Ibhshīhī, *Mustatraf*, vol. i, p. 100.

³ For more on this sect consult Hitti, *Origins of Druze People*.

⁴ Maqrīzī, vol. i, p. 355. Cf. Yahya ibn-Sa'id, pp. 270-71; above, p. 204.

⁵ Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 550; see above, p. 481, n. 2.

tribes of the banu-Hilāl and Sulaym, originally of Najd and now of Upper Egypt, were instigated in 1052 to move westward where for years they ravaged Tripoli and Tunisia.¹ Sicily, which for a time acknowledged after the Aghlabid the Fāṭimid sovereignty, was by 1071 mostly subdued by the Normans, who subsequently even overran parts of the African mainland. Arabia alone kept in part faithful to the Shī'ite cause. On the dark horizon the only ray of light was the temporary success at Baghdād of the Turkish general and usurper al-Basāsiri² († 1060), through whose domination the Egyptian caliph's name was cited in the Baghdād mosques for forty successive Fridays. Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah followed the example of Baghdād. The turban of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qā'im, who even renounced all his rights to the caliphate in favour of his Fāṭimid rival, the Prophet's mantle and a beautiful window from his palace were brought to Cairo as trophies. The turban and mantle together with the document of renunciation were returned to Baghdād about a century later by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, but the window was used in one palace after another until the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr added it to the tomb in which he was buried in 1309.

Fall

At home trouble was continually brewing between Turkish, Berber and Sudanese battalions, and state authority was paralysed. Seven years' famine exhausted the economic resources of the country. In 1073 the vacillating caliph summoned the Armenian Badr al-Jamāli, a former slave, from his military governorship of Akka to act as vizir and commander in chief.³ The new Amīr al-Juyūsh took command with such vigour that he brought order out of apparent chaos and gave the Fāṭimid régime a new lease of life. But the revival was of short duration. Neither Badr's efforts nor those of his son and successor, al-Malik al-Afḍal,⁴ who wielded the supreme authority after his father's death in 1094, could check the tide of decline. The remaining years of Fāṭimid rule⁵ were marked by continuous struggle between vizirs backed by factions in the army. On the death of al-Mustanṣir, al-Malik al-Afḍal placed on the throne the caliph's

¹ The migratory movements and military exploits of banu-Hilāl provide the historical background of the celebrated epic *Sīrat banī-Hilāl*.

² Ibn-Khalikān, vol. i, pp. 107-8.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 64; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 60, 160.

⁴ Abu-al-Qāsim Shāhinshāh; ibn-Khalikān, vol. i, pp. 396-7.

⁵ For list of Fāṭimid caliphs see genealogical tree on following page.

youngest son under the name al-Musta'li with the expectation of holding him under his influence. After al-Musta'li, his son, a child of five years, was declared caliph by al-Afdal, who gave him the honorific title al-Āmir (1101-30). When al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130-1149) died his power hardly extended beyond the caliphal palace. His son and successor al-Zāfir (1149-54) was then a gay youth and the power was usurped by the Kurdish vizir ibn-al-Sallār, styled al-Malik al-'Ādil. The memoirs of Usāmah,¹ who spent the years between 1144 and 1154 in the Fāṭimid court,

Table of Fāṭimid caliphs:

1. Al-Mahdī (909-34)	
2. Al-Qā'im (934-46)	
3. Al-Manṣūr (946-52)	
4. Al-Mu'izz (952-75)	
5. Al-'Azīz (975-96)	
6. Al-Ḥākīm (996-1021)	
7. Al-Zāhir (1021-35)	
8. Al-Mustanṣir (1035-94)	
9. Al-Musta'li (1094-1101)	(Muḥammad)
10. Al-Āmir (1101-30)	11. Al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130-49)
(Yūsuf)	12. Al-Zāfir (1149-54)
14. Al-'Āḍid (1160-71)	13. Al-Fā'iz (1154-60)

show that in no court were intrigues, feuds and jealousies more rife. The assassination of ibn-al-Sallār (1153) by his wife's grandson Nasr ibn-'Abbās, who was later encouraged by the caliph to make an attempt on the life of his father, 'Abbās, ibn-al-Sallār's successor in the vizirate, and finally the secret murder of al-Zāfir himself by the young conspirator, form one of the darkest chapters in the history of Egypt. The second day after the caliph had vanished 'Abbās declared the four-year-old son of al-Zāfir, al-Fā'iz, caliph (1154-60). The boy caliph died aged eleven and was succeeded by his nine-year-old cousin al-'Āḍid,

¹ Ed. Hitti, pp. 6-33 = *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 30-59

the fourteenth and last in a line which had lasted for over two and a half centuries. The precarious existence of the people, depending as they did for their sustenance on the overflow of the Nile, was in the meantime being rendered more miserable by repeated famines and plagues. The result was heavier taxes and more general extortion to supply the insatiable greed of the caliphs and their soldiery. Matters were complicated by the advent of the Crusaders and the repeated attacks of Amalric, king of Jerusalem, who in 1167 stood at the very gates of Cairo. These conditions were brought to an end by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, who in 1171 dethroned the last Fāṭimid caliph.

CHAPTER XLIV

LIFE IN FĀTIMID EGYPT

EGYPT was the only land of the once far-flung Fātimid domain where the successors of 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdi impressed the stamp of their cultural characteristics. The precarious relationship that held the several provinces of north-western Africa and Western Asia to Cairo militated against the possibility of leaving in those regions peculiarly Fātimid traces. In the cultural history of Egypt the Fātimid together with the preceding Ikhshīdīd and Ṭulūnid periods may be described as the Arabo-Persian era as distinct from the Perso-Turkish, which covered the Ayyūbīd and Mamlūk periods. The pre-Ṭulūnid period may be described as purely Arabic. The Ayyūbīd dynasty, which supplanted the Fātimid, introduced to Africa the spirit and culture of the great Saljūq empire, noticeable in its art and industry and its political and intellectual movements. Under the Fātimids, however, it is the influence of Persian culture that is paramount. But the backbone of the populace throughout medieval and modern history was composed of Arabicized Copts. This populace remained under the ultra-Shi'ite régime Sunnite at core, as can be inferred from the facility with which Ṣalāh-al-Dīn restored official orthodoxy.

Politically the Fātimid period marks a new epoch in the history of the land, which for the first time since Pharaonic days had a completely sovereign power full of vitality and founded on a religious basis. The two preceding dynasties had neither national nor religious footing in the country. Their rise and existence they owed to the military ability of their soldier-founders and to the dilapidated condition of the 'Abbāsīd state.

Though the golden age in the history of Fātimid Egypt began with al-Mu'izz and culminated with al-'Azīz, yet Egypt in the time of al-Mustanşir was still the leading country of Islam. The Persian Ismā'īli missionary Nāşir-i-Khusraw,¹ who visited the

¹ *Sefer Nāmāh*, ed. Schefer, pp. 36-56, tr. pp. 110-62.

country in 1046-49, shortly before the economic and political crash, has left us a description in glowing colours. The caliphal palace housed 30,000 persons, of whom 12,000 were servants and 1000 horse and foot guards. The young caliph, whom Nāṣir saw at a festival riding on a mule, was pleasant looking, clean shaven and dressed simply in a white *qūstān* and turban. An attendant carried over the caliph's head a parasol enriched with precious stones. The seven galleys drawn up on the bank of the Nile measured 150 cubits over-all by 60 in beam. The caliph owned in the capital 20,000 houses, mostly of brick, rising to a height of five or six stories, and an equal number of shops, which were let at two to ten dinars a month. The main streets were roofed and lighted by lamps. The shopkeepers sold at fixed prices, and if one cheated he was paraded on a camel through the streets ringing a bell and confessing his fault. Even the shops of jewellers and money-changers were left unlocked. The old al-Fuṣṭāt had seven great mosques; Cairo had eight.¹ The whole country enjoyed a degree of seeming tranquillity and prosperity that made Nāṣir enthusiastically declare: "I could neither limit nor estimate its wealth and nowhere have I seen such prosperity as I saw there".²

Of all the Egyptian caliphs al-Mustansir was the richest. He inherited millions from his predecessors and lived a life of luxury and ease. He is said to have erected in his palace a Ka'bah-like pavilion where he used to drink to the accompaniment of stringed music and beautiful singers. Here he declared: "This is indeed more pleasant than staring at a Black Stone, listening to the muezzin's drone and drinking impure water". An inventory of his treasures by al-Maqrīzī³ includes precious stones, crystal vases, inlaid gold plates, ivory and ebony ink-stands, amber cups, phials of musk, steel mirrors, parasols with gold and silver sticks, chess-boards with gold and silver pawns, jewelled daggers and swords and embroidered fabrics manufactured at Dabīq and Damascus. Exquisite and priceless works of art were dissipated among the Turkish troops. Yet in 1070 this caliph found it necessary to send his daughters and their mother to Baghdād to escape starvation.

¹ Cf. Maqrīzī, vol. ii, p. 264; Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 901.

² P. 53 (text), p. 155 tr.

³ Vol. i, pp. 414 *seq.* Cf. Ibn-Taghri-Birdī, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 181-2.

In its general organization the Fātimid state followed the 'Abbāsīd, or rather the older Persian prototype. The Egyptian al-Qalqashandī¹ († 1418) has given us in his manual intended for the use of candidates for governmental posts a sketch of the military and administrative systems under the Fātimids. The army consisted of three principal ranks: (1) amīrs, who included the highest officers and the sword-bearing escorts of the caliph; (2) officers of the guard, consisting of masters (sing. *ustādḥ*) and eunuchs; and (3) the different regiments carrying such names as Ḥāfīziyah, Juyūshiyah, Sūdāniyah, after some caliph, vizir or nationality. The vizirs were of several classes, of which the highest were "men of the sword", who supervised the army and war-office, and "lords of the door", high chamberlains, whose privilege it was to present foreign envoys. The "men of the pen" included the qādī, who was also director of the mint; the inspector of markets (*muḥtasib*), who supervised weights and measures; and the state treasurer, who presided over the *bayt al-māl*. In the lowest rank of the "men of the pen" stood the great body of civil servants, comprising clerks and secretaries in the various departments. The internal administration of the empire is said to have been the creation of al-Mu'izz' and al-'Azīz' vizir Ya'qūb ibn-Killīs († 991), a Baghdād Jew who, accepting Islam, began his political career at Kāfūr's court and whose expert administration laid the basis of the economic prosperity of the Nile valley under the early Fātimids.²

Ibn-Killīs was the first outstanding patron of learning in Fātimid Egypt. He established an academy and spent on it a thousand dinars per month. In his time flourished the physician Muhammad al-Tamīmi, who was born in Jerusalem and moved to Egypt about 970. Before him, under the Ikhshīdids, flourished the historian Muhammad ibn-Yūsuf al-Kindī,³ who died at al-Fuṣṭāṭ in 961. Another historian who died later (1062) in al-Fuṣṭāṭ was ibn-Salāmah al-Qudā'i.⁴

Though some of the early Fātimid caliphs were men of culture, their period was one unproductive of scientists and writers of special merit. Like other caliphs in Baghdād and Cordova,

¹ *Siḥḥ*, vol. III, pp. 480 seq.

² Ibn-al-Sayrafī, *al-Jihārāh wa Man Nāla al-Wizārah*, ed. 'Abdullāh Mukhlis (Cairo, 1924), pp. 94 seq.

³ Author of *Kitāb al-Wuṭān wa Kitāb al-Qudān*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden, 1908-12)

⁴ Author of *Uṣur al-Ma'arif wa Funūn Akhbār al-Khaldīf* (unpublished).

al-'Azīz was himself a poet and a lover of learning. It was he who made the Azhar Mosque an academy. But most of the learned men at this time not only in law but in history and poetry were members of the *faqīh* class, which included the judges. The heretical character of the dynasty, whose court did not attract orthodox scientists and littérateurs, together with the insecurity of life throughout the latter part of the period, explains the dearth of intellectual activity.

Hall of
Science

One of the most remarkable foundations of the Fāṭimids was the Dār al-Ḥikmah or Dār al-'Ilm (hall of wisdom or of science), established by al-Ḥākim in 1005 for the teaching and propagation of the extreme Shi'ite doctrine. In conjunction with it al-Ḥākim instituted a fund whose income of 257 dinars was to be spent for copying manuscripts, repairing books and general maintenance.¹ The hall was connected with the royal palace and contained a library and rooms for meetings. Its curriculum comprised, in addition to the specifically Islamic subjects, astronomy and medicine. Though closed in 1119 by al-Malik al-Afdal because of its heretical teaching, the academy survived until the advent of the Ayyūbids.

Astronomy
and optics

Al-Ḥākim was personally interested in astrological calculations; he built on al-Muqaṭṭam an observatory to which he often rode before dawn on his grey ass. An informant of the contemporary historian ibn-Ḥammād² saw the astrolabe-like copper instrument erected by al-Ḥākim on two towers and measured one of its signs of the zodiac, which was three spans in length.

Al-Ḥākim's court was illumined by 'Alī ibn-Yūnus³ († 1009), the greatest astronomer Egypt has ever produced, and abu-'Alī al-Ḥasan (L. Alhazen) ibn-al-Haytham, the principal Moslem physicist and student of optics. The astronomical tables (*ṣif*) of ibn-Yūnus, bearing the name of his patron, correct the tables current at his time by original observations made with the armillary sphere and the azimuth circle. Ibn-al-Haytham († ca. 1039), who was born in al-Baṣrah about 965, tried to regulate for al-Ḥākim the annual overflow of the Nile, and when he failed he simulated madness and hid himself from the caliph's wrath until the latter's death. No less than a hundred works on mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and medicine are ascribed

¹ Maqrizi, vol. i, p. 459.

² P. 50.

³ Qifti, pp. 230-31; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 6.

to him.¹ The chief work for which he is noted is that on optics, *Kitāb al-Manāşir*, of which the original is lost but which was translated in the time of Gerard of Cremona or before and was published in Latin in 1572. It was influential in the development of optics in the Middle Ages. Almost all medieval writers on this subject base their works on Alhazen's *Opticæ thesaurus*; Roger Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci and Johann Kepler show traces of its influence. In his work ibn-al-Haytham opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision and presents experiments for testing the angles of incidence and reflection. In certain experiments he approaches the theoretical discovery of magnifying lenses which was actually made in Italy three centuries later.

Another important work composed in Egypt in the days of al-Ḥākim is *al-Muntakhab fi 'Ilāj al-'Ayn*² (select material on the treatment of the eye) by 'Ammār ibn-'Alī al-Mawşīlī. In this the author shows more originality than his contemporary ibn-'Īsā in his *Tadhkirah*, which, however, on account of its completeness became the standard work on ophthalmology. 'Ammār describes a radical operation for soft cataract by suction through a hollow tube of his own invention.

In the days of al-Mustaşir the debacle which resulted in the dissipation of his treasures brought about an even greater loss in the dispersion of the royal library started by al-'Azīz and said to have contained at the time 200,000 books. It treasured 2400 illuminated Korans. Among its rarities were manuscripts in the hand of ibn-Muqlah and other master calligraphers; al-'Azīz had deposited in it an autograph copy of al-Ṭabarī's history. In the loot of 1068 a reporter witnessed twenty-five camels carrying away books. Valuable manuscripts were used for lighting the fires in the homes of Turkish officers and exquisite bindings served to mend the shoes of their slaves. Al-Mustaşir's successors built up new collections. When a century later Şalāh-al-Dīn made his triumphal entry into the royal palace its library still housed over a hundred thousand volumes, some of which together with other treasures were distributed among his men.³

¹ Ibn-ali-Uşaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 91 seq.; al-Qisī, pp. 167-8; Muşţafa Naẓif, *ibn-al-Haytham: Duḥūthuhu wa-Kuḥūfuhu al-Bararīyah* (Cairo, 1942), pp. ix-xiv.

² Partly preserved in MS. form at the Escurial. Casiri, vol. i, p. 317; tr. J. Hirschberg *et al.*, *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, vol. ii (Leipzig 1905).

³ Maqrīzī, vol. i, pp. 408-9; abu-Shāmah, vol. i, p. 268.

Though unfavourable to the cultivation of science and literature, the Fāṭimid era was characterized by works of art and architecture of first importance. The prosperity which the country enjoyed under the first two caliphs in Cairo and later under the two vizirs of Armenian origin, a prosperity worthy of the Pharaonic or Alexandrian age, was reflected in the sphere of art.

The oldest surviving structure is the Azhar Mosque, built by Jawhar in 972. Though it was later restored, its older part, which is the central, has preserved the original form. This part is built of brick after the fashion of the ibn-Ṭūlūn Mosque, has pointed arches and in general betrays Iranian influence. Its minaret is of the heavy square type. The next oldest mosque is that of al-Ḥākim, begun by his father in 990 and completed about 1012. It follows the same plan as al-Azhar and has a cupola of brick-work supported upon an octagonal drum above the prayer niche. Stone was used in al-Ḥākim's Mosque, now in ruins, but since the minaret was not square the craftsmen were probably from northern al-'Irāq, rather than Syria. The triumph of stone over brick as a structural material was not effected until the late Fāṭimid age and is illustrated in the façade of the al-Aqmar Mosque, built in 1125. This façade may have been due to some Armenian Christian architect. In al-Aqmar we recognize the first appearance of the later general Islamic feature, the corbelled ("stalactite") niche (*muqarnas*). This pillared mosque and that of al-Ṣāliḥ ibn-Ruzzīk (*ca.* 1160) display the bold designs and austere Kufic inscriptions for which Fāṭimid art is renowned. Such novel features gradually introduced by Fāṭimid architects as the stalactite pendentives and the deep niches in the façade were to undergo further development under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. Likewise the treatment of inscriptions on stone or wooden panels foreshadows the glories of the later art. The practice of associating a tomb, usually of the founder, with a mosque began in 1085 with Badr al-Jamālī, whose tomb-mosque on the Muqattam set the first example.

Of the great gates that testify to the grandeur of Fāṭimid buildings three are extant: Bāb Zawīlah, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ.¹ These massive gates of Cairo, built by Edessene architects on a Byzantine plan, are among the most enduring relics of Fāṭimid Egypt.

¹ See MAURIZI, vol. i, pp. 380 *seq.*

Among the treasures of the Arab Museum at Cairo are several panels of carved wood dating from the Fāṭimid period and showing living creatures such as deer attacked by monsters, hares seized by eagles and pairs of confronted birds. These motifs suggest borrowing from Sāsānid models. The same affinity is noticeable in Fāṭimid bronzes, most of which were mirrors, ewers or censers. The best-known bronze is the griffin, forty inches high, now in Pisa. The same is true of textiles, samples of which found their way into the West at the time of the Crusades.¹ Weaving was a national art of Coptic Egypt but even then was influenced by Iranian, particularly Sāsānid, models. In Fāṭimid fabrics we find animals in conventionalized and heraldic poses. Among Egyptian cities Dabīq, Dimyāṭ and Tinnīs were noted for their medieval textiles, known after these places as dabīqī, dimyāṭī and tinnīsī. The cloth known in Chaucer's time as fustian came from al-Fustāt, as the word indicates.

The ceramic art of the Fāṭimids, like their other arts, follows Iranian patterns. Here as in textiles animal motifs are broadly treated. In his inventory of Fāṭimid treasures al-Maqrīzī² lists several specimens of ceramic and metallic arts, including Chinese glazed earthenware. This is one of the first recorded appearances of Chinese ware in the Arab East.³ Nāṣir-i-Khusraw⁴ asserts that the Egyptians made earthenware "so fine and diaphanous that one can see one's hand through it".

The earliest-known Islamic bookbindings come from Egypt and may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century. Their decoration and technique have affinity with those of earlier Coptic bindings, from which they were evidently derived. After the development of this Egyptian school tooling and stamping became the most common techniques of Moslem craftsmen working in leather.

¹ See below, p. 668.

² See above, p. 626.

³ Cf. Krenkow in *Majallat al-Majma'*, vol. xlii (1935), pp. 386-8, where al-Birūnī mentions Chinese pottery; *Sikrīyat al-Tawārīkh*, pp. 35-6; al-Dimashqī, *Nuḥbat al-Dahr fi 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-al-Bahr*, ed. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 43, where possibly a reference to porcelain is made. F. Sarre in *Die Keramik von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), p. 61, records the discovery of ninth-century porcelain at Samarra.

⁴ Ed. Schefér, p. 52, rr. p. 151.



From Arnold and Guillaume, "The Legacy of Islam", by courtesy of the Clarendon Press
FĀTIMID CARVED ROCK-CRYSTAL EWER BEARING THE
NAME OF THE CALIPH AL-'AZĪZ, 10TH CENTURY
Now in the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice

CHAPTER XLV

MILITARY CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE CRUSADES

WHEN at the close of the eleventh century the motley hordes of Christendom made their way into Syria to wrest it from Moslem hands, the country presented the spectacle of division and impotence. It was split up among several local Arab chieftains, while in the north the Saljūq Turks were all-powerful and in the south the schismatic Fātimids of Egypt held sway. The population was far from being uniform in composition or even in language. The Druzes in southern Lebanon, the Nuṣayriyah in their northern mountains and their neighbours the Ismā'ilites, later Assassins, formed three schismatic communities distinct from orthodox Islam. Among the Christian bodies the Maronites of northern Lebanon, who still used Syriac to a considerable extent, constituted the largest minority.

With the advent of the nomadic Saljūqs from Central Asia earlier in the eleventh century, their swarming over the western states of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, the establishment of their authority successively in Khurāsān, Persia, al-'Irāq, Armenia and Asia Minor, and their founding (1055) of a sultanate in Baghdād to which the caliphate was subordinate, we have dealt in a foregoing chapter (XXXII). The Saljūqs of Syria, like those of al-Rūm (Asia Minor), formed one of the chief subdivisions of the family, but were not united under one head. Almost every Syrian town of any consequence had at this time its own Saljūq or Arab ruler. Tripoli after 1089 was independent under the Shī'ite banu-'Ammār.¹ Shayzar after 1081 was held by the banu-Munqidh. The Byzantines were time and again capturing and losing towns along the coast and on the northern frontier.

The first Saljūq bands appeared in Syria shortly before 1070. In this year Sultan Alp Arslān made the Arab prince of Aleppo

¹ Consult G. Wiet in *Mémoires Henri Basset* (Paris, 1928), vol. ii, pp. 279-84.

his vassal and Alp's general Atsiz entered Jerusalem and wrested Palestine from Fātimid hands. As Sunnite Moslems the Saljūqs considered it their duty to extirpate the Egyptian heresy. Five years later Atsiz acquired Damascus from the same masters. By 1098, however, Jerusalem had reverted to the Fātimids, whose strong fleet had recaptured (1089) all the coast towns, including 'Asqalān (Ascalon), 'Akka (Acre), Tyre (Ṣūr), as far north as Jubayl (Byblos). Alp's son Tutush was the real founder of the Syrian dynasty of Saljūqs. In the spring of 1094 this sultan had established his authority over Aleppo (Halab), al-Ruhā' (Edessa) and al-Mawṣil, in addition to his Khurāsān possessions. But when in the following year he fell in battle, his hard-won Syrian possessions again disintegrated as a result of the rivalry between his two sons Ridwān and Duqāq and the jealousies of his self-seeking generals. Ridwān made Aleppo his capital, where he ruled from 1095 to 1113, and Duqāq (1095-1104) chose Damascus.² Hostilities between the two brothers, which began in 1096, formed the central event of their reigns.

Viewed in their rightful setting the Crusades appear as the medieval chapter in the long story of interaction between East and West, of which the Trojan and Persian wars of antiquity form the prelude and the imperialistic expansion of modern Western Europe the latest chapter. The geographical fact of difference between East and West acquires its only significance from the competing religious, racial and linguistic differences. More specifically the Crusades represent the reaction of Christian Europe against Moslem Asia, which had been on the offensive since 632 not only in Syria and Asia Minor but in Spain and Sicily also. Among other antecedents we may refer to the migratory and military tendencies of the Teutonic tribes, who had changed the map of Europe since their entrance into the light of history; the destruction in 1009 by al-Hākīm of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the object of pilgrimage for thousands of Europeans and whose keys had been sent (800) to

² Saljūqs of Syria, 1094-1117:

1. Tutush ibn-Alp Arslān (1094-5)

2. Ridwān (1095-1113)

Duqāq (at Damascus, 1095-1104)

3. Alp Arslān al-Akhras (1113-14)

4. Sultān Shāh (1114-17)

Charlemagne by way of a blessing from the patriarch of Jerusalem,¹ and the hardships to which pilgrims through Moslem Asia Minor were subjected. An immediate cause of the Crusades, however, was the repeated appeal made in 1095 to Pope Urban II by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose Asiatic possessions had been overrun by the Saljūqs as far as the shores of Marmora. These Moslems threatened Constantinople itself. The pope possibly viewed the appeal as affording an opportunity for reuniting the Greek Church and Rome, the final schism between the two having been effected between 1009 and 1054.

When on November 26, 1095, Pope Urban delivered his speech at Clermont in south-eastern France urging the faithful to "enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre, wrest it from the wicked race and subject it" to themselves, probably the most effective speech in all history was made. The rallying cry *Deus vult* (God wills [it]) ran through the land and seized high and low with its psychical contagion. By the spring of 1097 a hundred and fifty thousand men, mostly Franks and Normans and partly rabble, had answered the call and met at Constantinople. The first of the Crusades, so called from the cross borne as a badge, was thus launched.

Not all, of course, who took the cross were actuated by spiritual motives. Several of the leaders, including Bohemond, were intent upon acquiring principalities for themselves. The merchants of Pisa, Venice and Genoa had commercial interests. The romantic, the restless and the adventurous, in addition to the devout, found a new rallying-point and many criminals sought penance thereby. To the great masses in France, Lorraine, Italy and Sicily, with their depressed economic and social conditions, taking the cross was a relief rather than a sacrifice.

The customary classification into a definite number of Crusades, seven to nine, is by no means satisfactory. The stream was more or less continuous and the line of demarcation between Crusades not sharply drawn. A more logical division would be into first a period of conquest extending to 1144, when the Atābeg Zangi of al-Mawşil recovered al-Ruhā²; second, a period of Moslem reaction inaugurated by Zangi and culminating in the brilliant victories of Salāh-al-Dīn (Saladin); and third,

¹ Consult Einar Joranson in *American Historical Review*, vol. XXXI (1927), pp. 241-61, A. Kleinclausz in *Syria*, vol. VII (1926), pp. 211-33. Cf. above, p. 298.

a period of civil and petty wars in which the Syro-Egyptian Ayyūbids and Egyptian Mamlūks figured, ending in 1291, when the Crusaders lost their last foothold on the Syrian mainland.¹ The period of conquest falls in its entirety before the so-called second Crusade (1147-9) and the third period coincides roughly with the thirteenth century. One of the Crusades of this last period was directed against Constantinople (1202-4), two against Egypt (1218-21) accomplishing nothing, and one even to Tunisia (1270).

The route of the first Crusaders from their rendezvous at Constantinople lay across Asia Minor. This was now the domain of the young Qilij Arslān, Saljūq sultan of Qūniyah (1092-1107). It was in meeting his warriors that Christians measured swords for the first time with Moslems. After a siege of about a month Nicæa, capital of Qilij's father Sulaymān ibn-Qutlumish, founder of the Saljūq dynasty of al-Rūm, was captured (June 1097). Other than that the only pitched battle the Crusaders fought was that of Dorylæum (Eski-Shahr). Here on July 1st they defeated the forces of Qilij. This victorious march restored to Alexius, who had exacted from Raymond of Toulouse and other Crusading leaders an oath of feudal allegiance, the western half of the peninsula and helped to delay the Turkish invasion of Europe for two centuries and a half.

After crossing the Taurus Mountains and before turning fully southward a detachment of the Crusading army under Baldwin, whose father was count of Boulogne, made a detour into the eastern region occupied by Christian Armenians, where al-Ruhā' was captured early in 1098.² Here on Christian territory the first Latin settlement was made and the first Latin state founded. Baldwin became its prince. Other detachments under the Norman Tancred of Southern Italy had turned in the opposite direction to Cilicia, whose population was likewise Armenian with an admixture of Greeks. Here he occupied Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul.

¹ See W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 17.

² *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), p. 197, n. 11, p. 208, n. 62; Fulcher, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 192, n. 10. Cf. ibn al-Qalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 134; tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), p. 42.

³ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, ed. E. Dulac (Paris, 1855), p. 218.

Antioch
reduced

In the meantime the main body had reached Antioch.¹ The city was under a Saljūq amīr named Yāghī-Siyān² appointed by the third Great Saljūq Malīkshāh. After a long and arduous siege (October 21, 1097–June 3, 1098) the metropolis of northern Syria fell to the hands of Bohemond through treachery on the part of an Armenian commanding one of the towers. Bohemond was a kinsman of Tancred and the shrewdest of the leaders. The one serious attempt to relieve the city before its fall came from Ridwān of Aleppo.

No sooner had the besiegers entered the city than they were themselves besieged by Karbūqa,³ amīr of al-Mawṣil, who had rushed from his capital with reinforcements. Enthused by the discovery of the "holy lance", which had pierced the Saviour's side as He hung upon the cross and had lain buried in a church in Antioch, the Christians by a bold sally raised the siege (June 28), almost annihilating Karbūqa's army. The city was left in charge of Bohemond and became the capital of the second principality acquired. For about a century and three-quarters Antioch remained in Christian hands.

Dissatisfied, Raymond of Toulouse, the wealthiest leader of the Franks, whose men had made the sensational discovery in Antioch, pushed southward. After occupying Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, famous as the birthplace of abu-al-'Alā', his men left the town (January 13, 1099) after destroying "over 100,000" of its population and committing it to the flames.⁴ Count Raymond then occupied Hīṣn al-Akrād,⁵ commanding the strategic pass between the plains of the Orontes (al-'Āṣī) and the Mediterranean, besieged 'Arqah⁶ on the western slope of northern Lebanon and occupied Anṭarṭūs⁷ on the coast without resistance. The

¹ Ar. Anṭākiyah, from Gr. Antiochia after Antiochus, father of its founder Seleucus I (300 B.C.). As the place where the disciples were first called Christians (Acts 11 : 26), this city was of special significance.

² "Yāghī-Siyān" in *ibn-al-Athīr*, vol. x, p. 187; *abu-al-Fidā'*, vol. ii, p. 220; *ibn-Khaldūn*, vol. v, p. 20.

³ Cf. *ibn-al-Athīr*, vol. x, p. 188; *abu-al-Fidā'*, vol. ii, p. 221. A Turkish adventurer who in 1096 had wrested al-Mawṣil from the Arab banu-'Uqayl and merged it with the Saljūq empire.

⁴ *Ibn-al-Athīr*, vol. x, p. 190, copied by *abu-al-Fidā'*, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Gesta Francorum*, p. 387; *Kamāl-al-Dīn*, "Muntakhabāt min Ta'riḫ Ḥalab", in *Recueil: orientaux*, vol. iii, pp. 586-7.

⁵ Literally "castle of the Kurds", today Qa'at al-Hīṣn; Crac des Chevaliers of the Franks. This "Crac" was originally "Crat", a corruption of "Akrād".

⁶ Birthplace of Alexander Severus (222-35), of the Syrian dynasty of Roman emperors.

⁷ Tortosa of the Latin chronicles, present-day Tartūs

Maronite Christians of Lebanon provided him with guides and a limited number of recruits. All these possessions, however, Raymond relinquished and at the urgent appeal of Godfrey of Bouillon, count of Lorraine and Baldwin's brother, joined the army in its march on Jerusalem, the main goal.

On the way southward al-Ramlah was found deserted and became the first Latin possession in Palestine.¹ On June 7, 1099, some forty thousand Crusaders, of whom about twenty thousand were effective troops,² stood before the gates of Jerusalem. The Egyptian garrison may be estimated roundly at about one thousand. Hoping the walls would fall as those of Jericho had done, the Crusaders first marched barefoot around the city, blowing their horns. A month's siege proved more effective. On July 15 the besiegers stormed the city and perpetrated an indiscriminate massacre involving all ages and both sexes. "Heaps of heads and hands and feet were to be seen throughout the streets and squares of the city."³ Another important victory over the Egyptians near 'Asqalān about a month later rendered the position of the Latins in Jerusalem more secure. But 'Asqalān remained the base of the Egyptian fleet and the headquarters of a garrison which under the Egyptian vizir al-Malik al-Afdal continued to harass the enemy.⁴ A third Latin state, the most important of all, was thus established. Raymond, rather than a clerical, was reportedly offered the kingship but declined because he was unwilling to wear a crown of gold where the Saviour had worn a crown of thorns.⁵ Godfrey,⁶ an honest leader and hard fighter, was chosen with the title "baron and defender of the Holy Sepulchre". Many of the Crusaders and pilgrims, considering their vows now fulfilled, sailed back home.

Godfrey's immediate task was to reduce the coast towns, without which the occupation of the interior would have been pre-

¹ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 136.

² Cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte", *Archives de l'Orient latin*, vol. ii (Paris, 1884), pt. 2, p. 429; Raimundus de Agiles, "Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem", in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clv, p. 657.

³ Agiles, p. 659. Over 70,000 were slaughtered at the Aqsa Mosque according to Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 194; 65,000 according to Matthew of Edessa, p. 226.

⁴ Ibn-Muyassar, *Akhbār Afīr*, ed. Henri Massé (Cairo, 1919), pp. 39 seq.

⁵ Agiles, p. 654.

⁶ "Kundufri" in Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138; "Kunduhri" in Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, ed. Popp r, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 304.

carious and communication with the homeland difficult. The problem was solved with the co-operation of the Italian ships transporting pilgrims, whose commanders saw in the possession of such towns new markets and free ports for their merchandise. In the early part of the next year (1100) the Pisans received special rights in Jaffa (Yāfa). Shortly after, Arsūf, Cæsarea (Qaysāriyah) and 'Akka offered tribute in return for a short period of truce.¹ The Venetian fleet, which in the summer of the year of Godfrey's death was operating against 'Akka, captured Hayfa (Haifa) within a month after his death.² Hayfa's garrison and inhabitants were invited to gather round a cross, as a place of safety, and then mercilessly butchered. The Egyptian fleet, the only Moslem one which could come to the defence of these ports, was ineffective if not inactive throughout.

In the meantime Tancred³ was penetrating inland to the district around the Jordan. Here Baysān, situated on the route of the armies between the Mediterranean coast and Damascus, formed one of the early acquisitions. Nābulus voluntarily submitted. Tancred took up his residence in Tiberias as Godfrey's vassal. In the following March (1101), however, he relinquished his fief in favour of Antioch, the principality of his uncle Bohemond, who had been taken captive by Gumishtigīn⁴ while on an expedition near Mar'ash. In 1103 Bohemond was released on the payment of a ransom.

On the death of Godfrey⁵ his men summoned his brother Baldwin⁶ to be his successor. Baldwin came from al-Ruhā' and on Christmas Day 1100 was crowned king at Bethlehem, rather than in Jerusalem, in deference to the clerical party, which aspired to hold Jerusalem as a church domain.

The Latins had in Baldwin a capable, energetic and aggressive leader. During his reign (1100-18) the kingdom extended from al-'Aqabah at the head of the Red Sea to Beirūt. His cousin and successor Baldwin II⁷ (1118-31) added a few towns,

¹ Albert of Aix, "Historia Hierosolymitanæ expeditionis". Migne, vol. clxvi, p. 575.

² Consult ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 101.

³ "Tankarī" in ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138; "Dankarī" in Usāmah, ed. Hitti, p. 65.

⁴ Founder in Siwās of the Turkoman dynasty of the Dānishmands, which was later absorbed in its greater Saljūq neighbour.

⁵ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138 = Gibb, p. 51.

⁶ "Baghdawīn" in ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138, ibn-Taghri-Birdī, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 343; cf. p. 327 ("Bardawil").

⁷ For a genealogy of the royal house of Jerusalem consult René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, vol. 1 (Paris 1934), p. 686.

chiefly on the Mediterranean. In breadth the kingdom did not reach beyond the Jordan. Beirūt and Sidon were conquered in 1110. The only source from which such cities to the north could hope for aid was Damascus, now under the Atābeg Ṭughtigīn, formerly a slave of the Saljūq Sultan Tutush and the regent over his young son Duqāq.¹ But Ṭughtigīn was for several years in treaty relations with Baldwin. After a short period of truce, Arsūf and Cæsarea capitulated in 1101 to a Genoese fleet, which received one-third of the spoils and had special quarters assigned to it; but Tyre, secure on its peninsula, remained in Moslem possession until 1124 and 'Asqalān until 1153. In the region south of the Dead Sea Baldwin, in 1115, built a formidable fortress, al-Shawbak,² commanding the desert road from Damascus to al-Ḥijāz and Egypt.

In Syria the city of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus, from Gr. Tripolis) was at this time the most frequented port. Count Raymond³ had his eye on it ever since he had wound his long way southward from Antioch to Jerusalem. After the establishment of the kingdom he returned and began its siege (1101). In order to isolate the town he built two years later a castle⁴ on an adjacent hill on the ravine of the abu-'Ali (Qādisha) River. The hill was named Mons Pelegrinus (pilgrims' hill) and soon became a centre round which grew a Latin quarter. The siege dragged slowly on in spite of reinforcements from the neighbouring Christians and mountaineers.⁵ At intervals adjacent towns were reduced by Raymond. With the co-operation of a Genoese fleet of forty galleys he captured Jubayl in 1104, which henceforth marked the southern limit of the county of Tripoli. Raymond died in 1105 in his castle without having attained his goal; beleaguered Tripoli did not fall till July 12, 1109.

Thus was now founded, in addition to the county of al-Ruhā⁶ and the principality of Antioch (which included Cilicia)—both

¹ Following the example of many other atābegs, he usurped the power in 1103 and became the founder of the Būrid dynasty, which lasted till 1154.

² Called by the Latins Mons Regalis (Mont Royal, Montréal). According to early chronicles Crac de Montréal refers to its sister to the north-east, Crac des Moabites (al Karak; Ar. *karak* is from Aram. *karhka*, town, whence Karh, name of a quarter in Baghdād).

³ Because he was called Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the Arabs referred to him as Ṣanjil or abu-Ṣanjil.

⁴ Repaired later by the Turks, this Qal'at Ṭarābulus has been used until recently as a prison.

⁵ Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 186.



held as fiefs of Jerusalem¹—the county of Tripoli, also under the kingdom of Jerusalem. Al-Ruhā' and Jerusalem were Burgundian princedoms, Antioch was Norman and Tripoli Provençal. These four were the only Latin states ever established on Moslem soil. Their control was confined to the northern part of Syria and to the narrow littoral, a small Christian territory set against a vast and dark background of Islam. Not a town was more than a day's march from the enemy. Even in their states the Latin population was but thinly scattered. Such inland cities as Aleppo, Hamāh, Hımş, Ba'labakk and Damascus were never conquered, though at times they paid tribute. In the year beginning September 1156, Damascus, under Nūr-al-Dīn, paid 8000 dinars.²

With the dynastic successions in these Latin states, their squabbles and petty rivalries, we are not concerned. They form a chapter of European rather than of Arab history. But the friendly and peaceful relations developed between the men from the West and the natives should not escape our attention.

It should be remembered in the first place that the Christians came to the Holy Land with the notion that they were far superior to its people, whom they considered idolaters, worshipping Muhammad as a God. At first contact they were disillusioned. As for the impression they left on the Moslems, Usāmah³ gave expression to it when he saw in them "animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else". The forced association between the two peoples in times of peace—which, it should be noted, were of much longer duration than times of war—wrought a radical change in the feelings of both towards each other. Amicable and neighbourly relations were established. The Franks employed trusted native workmen and farmers. The feudal system they introduced was gradually adapted to the local tenure of the land. They had carried with them horses, hawks and dogs, and soon agreements were entered into so that hunting parties might be free from danger of attack. Safe-conducts for travellers and traders were often exchanged and usually honoured by both sides. The Franks discarded their European dress in favour of the more comfortable and more suitable native clothing. They acquired new tastes in food,

¹ I.e. allied states which recognized the primacy of Jerusalem; John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 187.

² Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 336. ³ Ed. Hitti, p. 132 = *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 161.

especially those varieties involving the generous use of sugar and spices. They preferred Oriental houses, with their spacious open courts and running water. Some intermarried with natives and the half-caste progeny of native mothers were designated as *poulains*.¹ They even in certain instances venerated shrines held equally sacred by Moslems and Jews. In their intermittent quarrels among themselves the Latins often welcomed assistance from the "infidels", and the Moslems often sought alliances with Latins against fellow Moslems.

The rise of 'Imād-al-Dīn (the pillar of faith) Zangī, the blue-eyed atābeg of al-Mawsil (1127-46), marks the turning of the tide in favour of Islam. Zangī was the forerunner of a series of counter-Crusading heroes which culminated in Ṣalāh-al-Dīn and extended to the Mamlūks of the latter half of the following century. Son of a Turkish slave of Malikshāh, Zangī carved for himself a principality including Aleppo, Harrān and al-Mawsil, where he founded the Zangid dynasty (1127-1262), easily the greatest among the many established by the atābegs. His were the first hammer-strokes under which the Crusading states were destined to crumble away. The first blow fell on al-Ruhā'. Because of its proximity to Baghdād and its control of the main routes between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean this city for half a century had been the outer rampart of all Latin states in Syria. After a siege of four weeks Zangī captured it (1144) from Joscelin II.² This first of the Crusader states to rise and first to fall was strongly fortified but poorly defended. Its capture meant the removal of the wedge thrust between Moslem Syria and al-'Irāq. In Europe it was a signal for what is usually termed the second Crusade (1147-9), led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France. With an army made up of French and German knights, of Templars³ and Hospitallers⁴ and of troops provided by Jerusalem, Damascus was laid under a futile siege of four days.⁵ Nowhere was anything accomplished by this Crusade.

As champion of the Islamic cause Zangī was succeeded in his

¹ "Kids", "young ones", Launzeid *Pullani*: Cf *Ar fulān*, Mr. So-and-so.

² Ibn-al-Athīr, "Ta'rikh al-Dawlah al-Atābakīyah", in *Recueil orientaux*, vol. II, pt 2, pp. 118 *seq*

³ *Ar. Dāwīyah*, corruption of a Syriac word for "poor", the original name of the order in Latin being *Pauperes Communitones Christi* (Poor Knights of Christ).

⁴ Or Knights of St. John, *Ar. Isbatāriyah* (*Asbitāriyah*)

⁵ The clearest account is in the work of Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 298-9, who was himself at Damascus and held a high post in the city's government.

Syrian possessions by his son Nūr-al-Dīn (light of the faith) Maḥmūd, who chose Aleppo for his capital. More capable than his father, Nūr was the second to face the Franks on more than equal terms. In 1154 he wrested Damascus, without striking a blow, from a successor of Ṭughtigīn, thereby removing the last barrier between Zangid territory and Jerusalem. Gradually he completed the conquest of the county of al-Ruhā', whose count, Joscelin II, in 1151 had been carried off a prisoner in chains.¹ Nūr also reduced parts of the principality of Antioch, whose young ruler Bohemond III he captured in 1164 together with his ally Raymond III of Tripoli. Both prisoners were later released on payment of ransom, the former after one year of captivity and the latter after nine.

In Palestine, however, the cause of Islam was not so triumphant. Here its bulwark 'Asqalān, which for half a century had resisted the Franks, had fallen (1153) into the hands of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, thus opening the way for the Christians to Egypt.

Nūr-al-Dīn had an able lieutenant in one Shīrkūh, who, under orders from his chief and taking advantage of the decrepitude of the Fāṭimid state, managed after several military and diplomatic victories in Egypt to receive in 1169 the vizirate under al-'Āḍid (1160-71), the last of the Fāṭimid caliphs.² His predecessor in this high office, Shāwar, had sought and secured against Shīrkūh the aid of Amalric I, brother and successor of Baldwin III. Shortly after his investiture Shīrkūh died and was succeeded by his brother's son, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (rectitude of the faith, Saladin) ibn-Ayyūb.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir al-Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf was born in Takrīt on the Tigris in 1138 of Kurdish parentage. In the following year his father Ayyūb (Job) was appointed commander of Ba'labakk by the Atābeg Zangi. Of the youth and early education in Syria of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn little is known. Evidently his early interests centred on theological discussion. He did not come into the public eye until 1164, when "in spite of his reluctance"³ he accompanied his uncle on his first campaign to Egypt. His star then began to rise. The two burning ambitions of his life now

¹ Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 361; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, p. 101. Cf. Kamāl-al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Lahab min Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, tr. E. Blochet (Paris, 1900), p. 25.

² Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 405-7. Cf. Yāqūt, vol. ii, pp. 246-7.

³ Abu-Shāmah, vol. i, p. 155; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 47.

came to be the substitution of Sunnite for Shī'ite Islam in Egypt and the pressing of the holy war against the Franks. Vizir in 1169, he omitted in 1171 the mention of the name of the Fātimid caliph in the Friday prayer, substituting that of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mustadī'. The momentous change was effected with so little disturbance that not even "two goats locked horns".¹

For the realization of his other and greater ambition sovereignty over Moslem Syria was a necessary prelude. Here his suzerain Nūr-al-Dīn ruled, and the relations between the two soon became strained. On the death of Nūr in 1174 Ṣalāh declared his independence in Egypt and, after a few engagements culminating in the battle of Qurūn (horns of) Ḥamāh, he wrested Syria from the eleven-year-old Ismā'il, son and successor of Nūr. In the meantime Ṣalāh's elder brother Tūrān-Shāh had succeeded in taking possession of al-Yaman. Al-Ḥijāz with its holy cities ordinarily went with Egypt. In May 1175, Ṣalāh-al-Dīn at his own request was granted by the 'Abbāsīd caliph a diploma of investiture over Egypt, al-Maghrib, Nubia, western Arabia, Palestine and central Syria. The caliph thereby gave away what was in reality not his to give, but what was flattering to him not to refuse. Henceforth Ṣalāh considered himself the sole sultan, as his kinsman-historian abu-al-Fidā'² expresses it. Ten years later he reduced high Mesopotamia and made its various princes his vassals. Nūr-al-Dīn's dream of first enveloping the Franks and then crushing them between the two millstones of Moslem Syria-Mesopotamia and Egypt was being realized in the career of his more illustrious successor.

In the course of these engagements in northern Syria two attempts were made on the life of Ṣalāh-al-Dīn by the Assassins at the instigation of his Moslem enemies. Before this a similar attempt was made on Nūr-al-Dīn and a successful one on the Fātimid al-Āmir (1130). Among the Christians the most distinguished victims of this redoubtable order, which was unusually active in Syria at this time, were Raymond II of Tripoli (*ca.* 1152) and the newly elected king of Jerusalem, Conrad of Montferrat (1192).³ In 1176 Ṣalāh-al-Dīn laid siege to Maṣyād, headquarters of Rāshid-al-Dīn Sinān, the Old Man of the Mountain, but raised it on receiving a promise of immunity against future attacks.

¹ Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 53.

² Vol. iii, p. 60.

³ Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xii p. 51.

Sinān had made himself independent of Persia. He controlled an efficient secret service and a pigeon-post enabling him to obtain information by what seemed supernatural means. His *fidā'is* (self-sacrificing ones) excelled in the manufacture and use of poisoned knives.¹ It is related that when Henry of Champagne, titular king of Jerusalem, visited him in 1194, the grand master, wanting to impress his guest with the blind obedience he exacted from his henchmen, made a sign to two on top of the castle tower and they immediately leaped off and were dashed to pieces.²

With the Assassin threat removed Ṣalāḥ was free to devote his energies to attacks on the Franks. Victory followed victory. On July 1, 1187, he captured Tiberias after a six days' siege. The battle of Ḥittīn (Ḥaṭṭīn) followed (July 3-4). It began on Friday, the day of prayer and a favourite one with Ṣalāḥ for fighting. This was a sad day for the Frankish army. Numbering about twenty thousand and all but dying of thirst and heat, it fell almost in its entirety into the enemy's hands. The list of distinguished captives was headed by Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. The chivalrous sultan gave the crestfallen monarch a friendly reception; but his companion Reginald of Châtillon, the disturber of peace, merited a different treatment. Reginald was perhaps the most adventurous and least scrupulous of all the Latin leaders and the most facile in the use of Arabic. Entrusted with the command of al-Karak he more than once had pounced upon peaceful caravans and plundered them as they passed beneath the walls of his castle—and that in violation of treaty relations. He even fitted out a fleet at Aylah and harassed the coasts of the sacred territory of al-Ḥijāz, preying upon its pilgrims. Ṣalāḥ had sworn to slay with his own hand the breaker of truce. And now the time came for the fulfilment of his oath. Taking advantage of a recognized tradition connected with Arab hospitality Reginald secured a drink of water from his captor's tent. But the drink was not offered by Ṣalāḥ and therefore established no guest and host relationship between captive and captor.³ Reginald paid for his treachery with

¹ Ibn-Battūṭah, vol. i, pp. 166-7.

² Marinus Sanuto, "Liber secretorum" in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanau, 1611), vol. ii, p. 201.

³ See above, p. 25.

his life. All the Templars and Hospitaliers were also publicly executed.¹

The victory of Ḥiṭṭīn sealed the fate of the Frankish cause. After a week's siege Jerusalem, which had lost its garrison at Ḥiṭṭīn, capitulated (October 2, 1187). In the Aqṣa Mosque the muezzin's call replaced the Christian gong, and the golden cross which surmounted the Dome of the Rock was torn down by Ṣalāh's men.

The capture of the capital of the Latin kingdom gave Ṣalāh-al-Dīn most of the towns of Frankish Syria-Palestine. In a series of brilliantly executed campaigns most of the remaining strongholds were seized. None could offer resistance, for they had all been denuded of their best defenders on the day of Ḥiṭṭīn. Animated with the spirit of holy war which the Crusaders seem now to have lost, the great champion of Islam pushed his conquests north to al-Lādhiqiyah (Laodicea, Latakia), Jabalah and Ṣihyawn, and south to al-Karak and al-Shawbak. All these, as well as Shaqīf Arnūn,² Kawkab,³ Ṣafad and other thorns in the Moslem side, fell before the close of 1189. The Franks came very near being swept out of the land. Only Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, besides certain smaller towns and castles, remained in their possession.

The fall of the holy city aroused Europe. Hostilities among its rulers were buried. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, Richard I Cœur de Lion, king of England, and Philip Augustus, king of France, took the cross. These three were the most powerful sovereigns of Western Europe, and with them the "third Crusade" (1189-92) began. In point of numbers it was one of the largest. For legend and romance, both Oriental and Occidental, this Crusade, with Ṣalāh-al-Dīn and Cœur de Lion as its chief figures, has provided the favourite theme.

Frederick, who was the first to start, took the land route and was drowned while crossing a Cilician river. Most of his followers returned home. En route Richard stopped to capture Cyprus,

¹ Abu-Shāmah, vol. ii, pp 75 *seq.*, who gives an eye-witness's report, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, pp 352-5, Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier, *Chronique*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 172-4.

² On the Leontes (al-Lijān), the Belfort of Latin chronicles. Its owner had been known as Reginald of Sidon. For etymology see Hitti, *History of Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine* (London, 1950), 602, n. 5.

³ A newly built Crusading castle north of Baysān by the Jordan. Its full name was Kawkab al-Hawā' (the star of the sky), Belvoir in Latin sources.



Photo: Doughty

QAL'AT AL-SHAQÍF (BELFORT)

Standing on a precipitous rock 1500 feet above the Lijani and commanding the mountain pass from Sidon to Damascus

destined to become the last refuge of the Crusaders driven from the mainland.

In the meantime the Latins in the Holy Land had decided on 'Akka as providing the key for the restoration of their lost domain. Against it they marched virtually all their forces, augmented by the remnant of Frederick's army and the contingents of the king of France. King Guy, who had been released by Şalāḥ-al-Dīn on pledging his honour never again to bear arms against him, led the attack. Şalāḥ arrived the next day to rescue the city and pitched his camp facing the enemy. The struggle was waged by land and sea. The arrival of Richard was hailed with great rejoicing and bonfires. During the progress of the siege many picturesque incidents took place and were recorded by the contemporary Arabic and Latin chroniclers. A Damascene who compounded explosives and burned three of the besiegers' towers refused the reward offered him by Şalāḥ in favour of Allah's reward.¹ A flint stone which formed part of three ship-loads taken from Sicily by Richard for use in his mangonels and was said to have destroyed thirteen 'Akkans, was saved and shown to Şalāḥ as a curiosity. Şalāḥ and Richard even exchanged presents, but never met. Carrier-pigeons and swimmers were used for communication between Şalāḥ and the beleaguered garrison, which was entirely cut off from the sea. One such swimmer was drowned while attempting to make the passage, and as his body was washed ashore and the 'Akkans obtained the money and letters he carried, Şalāḥ's biographer² was prompted to remark, "Never before have we heard of a man receiving a trust in his lifetime and delivering it after his death". Richard offered a handsome reward for every stone dislodged from the walls of the city, and the combatants, as well as the women, performed deeds of great valour. The siege, considered one of the major military operations of medieval times, dragged on for two years (August 27, 1189-July 12, 1191). The Franks had the advantage of a fleet and up-to-date siege artillery; the Moslems had the advantage of single command. Şalāḥ sought but received no aid from the caliph. Finally the garrison surrendered.

¹ Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 321.

² Bahā' al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād, *Strat Şalāḥ-al-Dīn' Al-Nawā'id al-Sullāniyah wa-al-Mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyah* (Cairo, 1317), p. 120. Cf. tr. as "Saladin"; Or, *what Befell Sultan Yusuf* London, 1897), p. 206.

Two of the conditions of surrender were the release of the garrison on the payment of 200,000 gold pieces and the restoration of the holy cross.¹ When at the end of a month the money was not paid Richard ordered the twenty-seven hundred captives to be slaughtered²—an act that stands in conspicuous contrast with Ṣalāḥ's treatment of his prisoners at the capture of Jerusalem. He too had then stipulated for a ransom and several thousand of the poor could not redeem themselves. At the request of his brother, Ṣalāḥ set free a thousand of these poor captives; at the request of the patriarch another batch was released. Then considering that his brother and the patriarch had made their alms and that his own turn had come, Ṣalāḥ freed many of the remaining captives, including numerous women and children, without ransom.

'Akka now takes the place of Jerusalem³ in leadership and henceforth negotiations for peace between the two combatant parties go on almost without interruption. Richard, who was full of romantic ideas, proposed that his sister should marry Ṣalāḥ's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, and that the two should receive Jerusalem as a wedding present, thus ending the strife between Christians and Moslems.⁴ On Palm Sunday (May 29, 1192) he knighted with full ceremony al-'Ādil's son, al-Malik al-Kāmil. Peace was finally concluded on November 2, 1192, on the general principle that the coast belonged to the Latins, the interior to the Moslems and that pilgrims to the holy city should not be molested. Ṣalāḥ had only a few months to live and enjoy the fruits of peace. On February 19 of the following year he was taken ill with fever in Damascus and died twelve days later at the age of fifty-five. His tomb close by the Umayyad Mosque is still one of the attractions of the Syrian capital.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was more than a mere warrior and champion of Sunnite Islam. He patronized scholars, encouraged theological studies, built dykes, dug canals and founded schools and mosques. Among his surviving architectural monuments is the

¹ Abu-Shāmah, vol. ii, p. 188; 'Imād-al-Dīn (al-Iṣṣahānī), *al-Fatḥ al-Qusṣī fī al-Fatḥ al-Qudsī*, ed. C. de Landberg (Leyden, 1888), p. 357; ibn-al-'Ibrī, pp. 386-7; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, pp. 83-4.

² Benedict of Peterborough, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867), vol. ii, p. 189; ibn-Shaddād, pp. 164-5.

³ Ibn-al-'Ibrī, p. 413, speaks of the "king of 'Akka".

⁴ Cf. abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 84.

Citadel of Cairo,¹ which he began together with the walls of the city in 1183 and for which he utilized stones from the smaller pyramids. His cabinet included two learned vizirs, al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil² and 'Imād-al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahāni,³ noted for the style and grace of their correspondence. His last private secretary was Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād,⁴ who became his biographer. On overthrowing the Fātimid caliphate, Ṣalāh distributed its accumulated treasures, one of which was an historical seventeen-dirham sapphire as weighed by ibn-al-Athīr⁵ in person, among his retainers and troops, keeping nothing for himself. Nor did he touch Nūr-al-Dīn's estate; he left it to the deceased ruler's heir. He himself left on his death forty-seven dirhams and a gold piece.⁶ Among the Arabs his name, with Hārūn's and Baybars', heads the list of popular favourites to the present day. In Europe he touched the fancy of English minstrels as well as modern novelists⁷ and is still considered a paragon of chivalry.

The sultanate built by Ṣalāh-al-Dīn from the Tigris to the Nile was divided among his various heirs, none of whom inherited his genius. At first his son al-Malik al-Afḍal (the superior king) succeeded to his father's crown at Damascus, al-'Azīz (the mighty) at Cairo, al-Zāhir (the victorious) at Aleppo, and Ṣalāh's younger brother and confidant al-'Ādil at al-Karak and al-Shawbak. But between 1196 and 1199 al-'Ādil, taking advantage of the discord among his nephews, acquired for himself sovereignty over Egypt and most of Syria. In 1200 he appointed one of his sons governor of Mesopotamia. Al-'Ādil, the Saphadin⁸ of Latin chronicles, was the chief agent in the peace negotiations of 1192 and maintained throughout his rule friendly relations with the Crusaders. Small collisions were not lacking, but his general policy was one of peace and the furtherance of commerce with the Frankish colonies. He allowed the Venetians

¹ Qal'at al-Jabal. His inscription can still be read over the old gate.

² Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 509 *seq.*, Subki, *Tabaqāt*, vol. iv, pp. 253-4.

³ Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 495 *seq.*; Suyūṭi, *Musn*, vol. i, p. 270. His *al-Fatā* was drawn upon in the composition of this chapter.

⁴ Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 428 *seq.* His *Sira* has been extensively used in this chapter.

⁵ Vol. xi, p. 242.

⁶ Abu al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 91.

⁷ E.g. Walter Scott in his *Talisman*, Lessing in *Nathan der Weise*. Owing to Ṣalāh-al-Dīn's fame a legend grew up to explain the greatness of Thomas Becket on the ground of his descent from a Saracen mother.

⁸ From his honorific title Sayf-al-Dīn (the sword of religion) Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 446.

to establish special markets with inns¹ at Alexandria and the Pisans to establish consuls there. His name is still borne in Damascus by al-'Ādilīyah school, which he partly built.²

After al-'Ādil's death in 1218 several Ayyūbid branches, all sprung from him, reigned in Egypt, Damascus and Mesopotamia. Other branches, descended from other members of the Ayyūbid family, controlled Ḥims, Ḥamāh and al-Yaman. The Egyptian Ayyūbids were the chief branch and frequently contested with their Damascene kinsmen the sovereignty over Syria. The north Syrian branches were swept away in 1260 by the Tartar avalanche of Hūlāgu, with the exception of the insignificant Ḥamāh branch which continued under the Mamlūks and numbered in its line the historian-king abu-al-Fidā' († 1332), a descendant of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's brother.

In the course of these dynastic turmoils not only did Islam lose its power of aggression, but one after another of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's conquests, e.g. Beirūt, Safad, Tiberias, 'Asqalān and even Jerusalem (1229), reverted to Frankish hands. But the Franks were in no position to take full advantage of the situation. They were themselves in as bad a plight, if not worse. Their colonies depended for their maintenance upon new recruits from Europe which were not forthcoming. Among themselves quarrels between Genoese and Venetians, jealousies between Templars and Hospitallers, personal squabbles among leaders and contests for the empty title of king of Jerusalem—these were the order of the day. In their disputes, as we learned above, one side would often secure aid from Moslems against the other.

The first serious engagements since Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's death between Franks and natives took place on Egyptian soil under al-Kāmil (1218-38). Al-Kāmil, the Egyptian successor of his father al-'Ādil, was now the leading Ayyūbid figure and nominally received the homage of Syria. His first task was to clear his land of the Crusaders who shortly before his father's death had landed near Dimyāṭ (Damietta) and in the following year had occupied that town. This invasion of Egypt was prompted by the fresh realization by the maritime republics of Italy that the centre of

¹ Ar. *funduq*, from Gr. *pondakeion*; Ar. *bunduq* (hazelnut), from Gr. *pontikos* (adjective, from Pontos); *Bunduqīyah*, Ar. name of Venice (abu-al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris, 1840, p. 210), from Veneticum.

² The names of ibn-Khallikān, al-Subkī and others are associated with this school, whose building now houses the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Islamic power had shifted from Syria to Egypt and that only by the conquest of the latter could their ships reach the Red Sea and participate in the opulent commerce of the Indian Ocean. After almost two years of conflict (November 1219–August 1221) al-Kāmil forced the Franks to abandon Dimyāt and granted them a free passage.¹

Like his father, al-Kāmil took a lively interest in irrigation and agriculture and signed several commercial treaties with European countries. He was so favourably disposed toward his Christian subjects that the Coptic church still recognizes him as the most beneficent sovereign it ever had. The year after his accession St. Francis of Assisi visited his court and discussed religion with him. His interest in learning may be illustrated by a personal call he once made to a Cairene subject, 'Umar ibn-al-Fārid (1181–1235), the greatest Sufi poet the Arabs produced, who is said to have refused to receive his royal guest. Formerly a friend of Richard, al-Kāmil now entered into friendly relations with Frederick II, who in 1227 set out on a Crusade. In 1229 an infamous treaty was concluded yielding to Frederick Jerusalem, along with a corridor connecting it with 'Akka, and guaranteeing al-Kāmil Frederick's aid against his enemies, most of whom were Ayyūbids.² This was the most singular treaty between a Christian and a Moslem power before Ottoman days. Jerusalem remained in Frankish hands until 1244 when, at the invitation of al-Kāmil's second successor al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb (1240–49), a contingent of Khwārizm Turks, previously dislodged from their Central Asian abode by Chingīz Khān, restored the city to Islam.³

As he lay on his deathbed al-Ṣāliḥ received the news that Dimyāt was again threatened, this time by Louis IX, king of France, and his chevaliers of the "sixth Crusade". The town surrendered (June 6, 1249) without resistance; but as the French army marched on Cairo in a region intersected by canals, while the Nile was at its height, pestilence spread in its ranks, its line of communication was cut off and it was entirely destroyed (April 1250). King Louis, with most of his nobles, was taken prisoner.⁴

¹ Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, pp. 135–7, ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, pp. 340–50, ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 451, ibn-Ijās, *Badd'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Būlāq, 1311), vol. i, pp. 79–80.

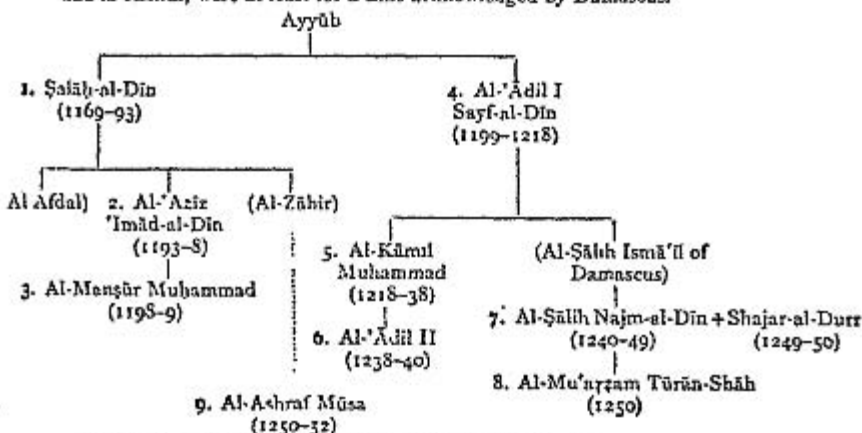
² Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 148, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xii, p. 315. ³ See above, p. 482.

⁴ Maqrīzī, vol. ii, pp. 236–7; Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 169 seq.

In the meantime al-Şāliḥ had passed away (November 1249). His daring and energetic widow Shajar-al-Durr (the tree of pearls) kept the news secret for three months until his son and successor Tūrān-Shāh had returned from Mesopotamia.¹ Tūrān failed to make himself agreeable to the slaves (*mamlūks*) of his father and with the connivance of his stepmother was murdered in 1250. Shajar proclaimed herself queen of the Moslems² and a six-year-old scion of the Damascene Ayyūbids, al-Ashraf Mūsa, was accorded the nominal dignity of joint sovereignty; but the titular ruler was the Mamlūk Aybak, founder of the Mamlūk dynasty. After a month of captivity Louis and his men were released on the payment of a ransom and the restoration of Dimyāt.³ His work in Syria, where he remained from 1250 to 1254, consisted in the fortifying of such ports as 'Akka, Ḥayfa, Cæsarea and Sidon. In 1270 he led another futile Crusade, now to Tunisia, where he died. Of all the Crusading leaders his, by far, was the purest and noblest character. His "whole life was a prayer, his noble aim was to do God's will".

Among the Mamlūks it was the fourth, al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (1260-77), who inaugurated the series of sultans who dealt the final blows to the Crusaders' cause. Baybars had distinguished himself as a general under his predecessor Quṭuz when at 'Ayn Jālūt he inflicted (September 3, 1260) a crushing

¹ A tree of the Egyptian Ayyūbids, all of whom, excepting al-'Aziz, al-Manşūr and al-Ashraf, were at least for a time acknowledged by Damascus:



² Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 190; Suyūṫī, *Ḥuṣn*, vol. ii, p. 39.

³ Joinville, pp. 201 seq.

defeat on the Tartars. The Mongolian leader was Kitbugha, a Nestorian, whose advance guard had penetrated Palestine down to Ghazzah.¹ This victory is memorable for the history of civilization; if the Mongols had taken Cairo they would have probably destroyed its treasures and manuscripts. Besides averting the danger threatening Syria and Egypt it paved the way for the reunion of the two neighbouring countries, a reunion which lasted under the Mamlūk sceptre until the Ottoman conquest two centuries and a half later.

Baybars' ambition was to be a second *Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn* in the holy war against Crusader towns. Especially provoked was he when he found those towns making common cause with the *Hūlāgūid* *Īl-Khāns* of Persia, now favourably disposed toward the Christian religion. From 1263 to 1271 he conducted almost annual raids against them. One after another of the Latin establishments yielded with little or no resistance. The two military orders which now occupied the leading fortresses of Frankish Syria and formed its bulwark were the ones who received his most devastating blows. But throughout the opposition was so weak that hardly a single battle of importance was fought in the open field.

In 1263 Baybars took al-Karak from an *Ayyūbid* and demolished the venerated church of Nazareth (al-Nāṣirah). In 1265 he seized Cæsarea, and after a forty-day siege received the surrender of Arsūf from the Hospitallers. On July 23, 1266, the Templar garrison of Ṣafad capitulated on condition that the lives of its two thousand knights be spared. Without delay and in spite of the amnesty granted, the sultan ordered them all executed on a neighbouring hill.² The story of the victory of "the Alexander of his age and the pillar of faith" is still engraved on the walls of Ṣafad; and the bridge he built over the Jordan stands to the present day bearing his inscription, with the figure of a lion on either side. In 1268 Jaffa was captured without resistance; Shaqīf Arnūn capitulated after a short siege; and what is more important Antioch, which had maintained amicable relations with the Tartars, surrendered (May 21). Antioch's garrison with others to the number of 16,000 were slaughtered and some 100,000 are said to have been led to captivity, some to be sold in the markets of Egypt. When the plunder was divided, money

¹ Maqrīzī, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), pp. 98, 104.

² *Ibid.* (pt. 2), pp. 29-30, *abu-al-Fidā'*, vol. iv, p. 3.

was measured out in cups; an infant fetched twelve dirhams and a young girl five. The city with its citadel and world-renowned churches was given to the flames—a blow from which it has never recovered.¹ On the fall of Antioch a number of minor Latin strongholds in the vicinity were abandoned. In 1271 the formidable Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, the principal retreat of the Hospitallers and probably the most beautiful military monument of the Middle Ages, surrendered after a siege lasting from March 24 to April 8. The adjacent castles of Maṣyād, al-Qadmūs, al-Kahf and al-Khawābi, which belonged to the Assassins who were in alliance with the Hospitallers and often paid tribute to them, were all reduced. The last nest of an order which for years had hatched horror and intrigue was thereby for ever destroyed. Both the Templars of Antartūs and the Hospitallers of al-Marqab now hastened to make peace.

Baybars had a worthy successor in Qalāwūn (1279-90), who was almost as energetic and redoubtable an anti-Crusader. Baybars' truce with the Templars of Antartūs was renewed (April 15, 1282) for another term of ten years and ten months. A similar treaty was signed (July 18, 1285) with the princess of Tyre who controlled Beirut.² On the battlefield he established his right to the honorific title he bore, al-Malik al-Mansūr (the victorious king). Al-Marqab,³ which still looks like a dreadnought crowning a hill near Tartūs and overlooking the sea, yielded after a siege of thirty-eight days, ending May 25, 1285. The besiegers' arrowheads can still be seen imbedded in its outer walls. Abu-al-Fidā',⁴ who was then twelve years old, had his first experience in warfare on this occasion. The citadel's Knights of St. John were conducted under escort to Tripoli. Tripoli, another of the early conquests of the Crusaders and now the largest town in their possession, succumbed in April 1289; the city and its citadel were almost entirely ruined. Abu-al-Fidā'⁵ himself was oppressed by the smell of the corpses lying thick on the island outside the port. After Tripoli the stronghold of al-Batrūn to the south was captured. Qalāwūn commemorated his

¹ Ibn-al-'Ibrī, p. 500; Maqrīzī, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt 2), pp. 52-4; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, pp. 4-5.

² Maqrīzī has preserved the texts of both treaties, ed. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt 3), pp. 172-6, 177-8, tr. pp. 22-31, 212-21.

³ "The watch tower", Castrum Mergathum, Margat.

⁴ Vol. iv, p. 22.

⁵ Vol. iv, p. 24.

victories with inscriptions which, like those of Baybars, can still be read on the walls of the citadels he reduced.

'Akka was now the only place of military importance left. In the midst of his preparations against it Qalāwūn died and was succeeded by his son al-Ashraf (1290-93), who commenced where his father had left off. After an investment of over a month, in which ninety-two catapults were used against its ramparts, this last bulwark of the Latin Orient was stormed (May 1291). The help received from Cyprus by sea did not save the day. Its Templar defenders, to whom a safe-conduct had been promised, were massacred. The city was plundered, its fortifications were dismantled and houses set on fire.¹

The fall of 'Akka sealed the fate of the half-dozen towns still retained along the coast, and none resisted the victorious enemy. Tyre was abandoned on May 18, Sidon on July 14. Beirut capitulated on July 21. Antartūs was occupied on August 3 and the deserted Templar castle of 'Athlith (Castrum Peregrinorum, Château Pèlerin) was destroyed about the middle of that month.² One of the most dramatic chapters in the history of Syria was closed.³

¹ Abu al-Fidū' (who took part in the siege), vol. iv, pp 25-6; Maqrīzī, tr. Quatremère, vol. II (pt 3), pp 125-9, *Archives*, vol. II, pt. 2, p 460, *Les gestes des Chiprois*, ed G. Ruynaud (Geneva, 1887), p 256

² See Sanuto in Bongars, vol. II, pp 231 seq.

³ Later Crusades were directed against Rhodes, Smyrna, Alexandria and Turkey in Europe, culminating in the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396. See A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938).



From Henri Lamm: *Monnaies et legendes arabes frappées en Syrie par les Croisés*

A FRANKISH DINAR STRUCK AT 'AKKA IN 1251

Bearing Arabic inscription

CHAPTER XLVI

CULTURAL CONTACTS

BECAUSE of the richness of the Crusades in picturesque and romantic incidents, their historical importance has been somewhat exaggerated. For the Occident they meant much more than for the Orient. Their civilizing influence was artistic, industrial and commercial rather than scientific and literary. In Syria they left in their wake havoc and ruin intensified by the Mamlūk destruction of most of those maritime towns formerly occupied by the Franks. Throughout the Near East they bequeathed a legacy of ill will between Moslems and Christians that has not yet been forgotten.

Notwithstanding its civil and holy wars Syria enjoyed under the *Nūrīds* and *Ayyūbīds*—more particularly under *Nūr-al-Dīn*^c and *Ṣalāh-al-Dīn*—the most brilliant period in its Moslem history, with the exception of the Umayyad age. Its capital, Damascus, still bears evidences of the architectural and educational activities of members of these two houses. Not only did *Nūr* renovate the walls of the city with their towers and gates and erect government buildings which remained in use until recent times, but he established in Damascus the earliest school devoted to the science of tradition,¹ the celebrated hospital bearing his name² and the first of those *madrasahs* (academies) which after his time began to flourish in the land. The *Nūrī* hospital, the second in Damascus after that of *al-Walīd*, functioned later as a school of medicine.³ The *madrasahs* were in reality collegiate mosques or school-mosques, but they boarded students and followed the type evolved by the *Nizāmīyah*. Such collegiate mosques, all of the *Shāfi'i* rite, were founded by *Nūr* in Aleppo, *Ḥims*, *Ḥamāh* and *Ba'labakk*. His inscriptions on these buildings and on other monuments of his are of special

¹ In this *Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīyah*, the contemporary *ibn-'Asākir* (vol. i, p. 222) lectured.

² *Al-Ma'rīstān al-Nūrī*. *Ibn-Jubayr*, p. 283; *ibn-Khallikān*, vol. ii, p. 521.

³ Cf. *ibn-'abī-Uṣaybi'ah*, vol. ii, p. 192. The building is still standing.

interest for Arabic paleography, since it was about this time that the angular Kufic, in which until then inscriptions were exclusively cut, was replaced by the rounded *naskhī*. An inscription of his on a western tower of the Citadel of Aleppo is still legible. The existing fortifications of this citadel, which is mentioned in Assyrian and Hittite records and is considered a masterpiece of ancient military architecture, owe their restoration to this Syrian sultan. Nūr's tomb in his Damascus academy, al-Nūrīyah, is held in reverence even today. Through this *madrasah* the connection between mausoleum and mosque was established in Syria.¹



By courtesy of K. A. C. Creswell

THE ANCIENT CITADEL OF ALEPPO

Restored by Nūr-al-Dīn († 1174)

During the Mamlūk period, which in art was a continuation of the Ayyūbid, it became the regular practice for the founder of a collegiate mosque to be buried under a dome (*qubbah*) in the building.

Şalāh-al-Dīn displayed even more munificent architectural and educational activity than his predecessor. His policy was to combat Shi'ite heresy and pro-Fātimid tendencies by means of education. Next to Niẓām-al-Mulk he is reputed to have been the greatest builder of academies in Islam. Under him Damascus became a city of schools. Ibn-Jubayr,² who visited it in 1184, refers to its twenty *madrasahs*, two free hospitals and numerous dervish "monasteries". Şalāh introduced these "monasteries"³ into Egypt.

¹ Cf. above, p. 630.

² Pp. 283-4; above, pp. 408, 412.

³ Ar. *khānaqāh*, from Pers. *khānagāh*. Suyūṭī, *Hurr*, vol. ii, p. 158.

"The classical Arab art of the East is represented by the buildings of Damascus and Aleppo dating from the thirteenth century, under the Ayyūbids and their earliest Mameluke successors."¹ The Ayyūbid school of Syrian architecture was continued in Egypt under the Mamlūks and produced some of the most exquisite monuments which Arab art can boast. Its characteristics are strength and solidity. On its durable material of fine stone even the simplest decorative motif assumes infinite grace. But like the Andalusian school it depended for its elegance and beauty upon excessive decoration.

It was Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn who introduced the *madrasah* type of school into Jerusalem and Egypt.² During his reign al-Ḥijāz also saw its first institution of this type. Notable among his Egyptian academies was the one at Cairo bearing his name, al-Ṣalāḥīyah.³ Ibn-Jubayr⁴ found several *madrasahs* in Alexandria. None of these Egyptian institutions have survived, but their architectural influence is manifest. It produced in later years the finest Arab monuments of Egypt, among which the most splendid example is the collegiate mosque of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo. Its general plan consists of a square central court (*ṣaḥn*) open to the sky, flanked by four walls with four halls or porticos (sing. *kūwān*) forming the arms of a cross. Each of these four halls was reserved for instruction in one of the orthodox rites.

Besides schools Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn maintained in Cairo two hospitals.⁵ The edifices were probably planned after the Nūrid hospital in Damascus. Before his time ibn-Ṭūlūn and Kāfūr al-Ikshīdī had established in Egypt similar free public institutions. Hospital architecture followed also the mosque plan, but has left no traces. Only in military architecture do we have survivals, the Citadel of Cairo being the principal example. This citadel shows that Ṣalāḥ owed a part of his knowledge of fortification to the Norman castles that had by this time sprung up in Palestine. He probably used Christian prisoners in its construction. It was in this citadel that he made his residence, while in Cairo, surrounded by a galaxy of talent which included, besides his

¹ René Grousset, *The Civilizations of the East*, vol. i, *The Near and Middle East*, tr. Catherine A. Phillips (New York, 1931), p. 235; M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, vol. i (Cairo, 1922), pp. 87 seq.

² Ibn-Khalkān, vol. iii, p. 521.

³ Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 157-8.

⁴ Pp. 41-2.

⁵ Ibn-Jubayr, pp. 51-2.

brilliant vizirs,¹ such men as his distinguished Jewish physician *ibn-Maymūn* and the versatile, prolific 'Irāqī scholar 'Abd-al-Latīf al-Baghdādī (1162-1231), whose short description of Egypt² stands out among the important topographical works of the Middle Ages.

Despite this manifestation of intellectual and educational activity Islamic culture in the epoch of the Crusades was already decadent in the East. For some time prior to that epoch it had ceased to be a creative force. In philosophy, medicine, music and other disciplines, almost all its great lights had vanished. This partly explains why Syria, which was throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a particular focus of relations between Islam and Western Christianity, proved as a vehicle of Arabic influence very much less important than either Spain, Sicily, North Africa or even the Byzantine empire. Although in Syria Islam acted upon European Christianity by direct impact upon the Crusaders, by the repercussion of that impact upon the West and by a process of infiltration along the routes of commerce, yet the spiritual and intellectual impress it left is barely noticeable. On the other hand, we should recall that the Franks in Syria, besides possessing a lower level of culture than their antagonists, were largely foreign legions quartered in castles and barracks and in close contact with the native tillers of the soil and artisans rather than with the intelligentsia. Then there were the nationalistic and religious prejudices and animosities which thwarted the play of interactive forces. In science and art the Franks had very little to teach the natives. The comparative standing of medical lore in the two camps may be illustrated by the anecdotes cleverly told by Usāmah,³ who also pokes fun at the Franks' judicial procedure with its trial by duel and by water.

Concrete instances of scientific and philosophic transmission are not entirely lacking. Adelard of Bath, whose translations of Arabic works on astronomy and geometry have already been mentioned, visited Antioch and Tarsus early in the twelfth century. About a century later the first European algebraist, Leonardo Fibonacci, who dedicated a treatise on square num-

¹ See above, p. 652.

² *Al-Itārah w al-'Itibār fi al-Umūr al-Mushāhadah w al-Hawādith al-Ma'dyanah bi-Ard Asīr*, ed. D. J. White (Tübingen, 1789); tr. into Latin, German and French. *Ibn-nbi-Uṣaybi'ah*, vol. ii, p. 207; *Kutubi*, vol. ii, p. 10.

³ Pp 131 seq. = *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 162 seq.

bers to Frederick II, visited Egypt and Syria. Frederick himself entertained the ambition of reconciling Islam and Christianity and patronized several translators from Arabic. A Pisan, Stephen of Antioch, translated the important medical work of al-Majūsi at Antioch in 1127. This was the only known Arabic work the Franks carried back with them; but since in the twelfth century we find a number of hospices and hospitals, chiefly lazarettos for leprosy, springing up all over Europe, we may assume that the idea of systematic hospitalization received a stimulus from the Moslem Orient. This Orient was also responsible for the reintroduction into Europe of public baths, an institution which the Romans patronized but the Christians discouraged. It was again in Antioch that Philip of Tripoli found about 1247 a manuscript of the Arabic *Sirr al-Asrār* purporting to have been composed by Aristotle for the guidance of his great pupil, Alexander. Translated by Philip into Latin as *Secretum secretorum*, this pseudo-Aristotelian work, containing the essence of practical wisdom and occult science, became one of the most popular books of the later Middle Ages.

In literature the influence was more pervasive. The legends of the Holy Grail have elements of undoubted Syrian origin. The Crusaders must have heard stories from the *Kalilah* and the *Arabian Nights* and carried them back with them. Chaucer's *Squieres Tale* is an *Arabian Nights* story. From oral sources Boccaccio derived the Oriental tales incorporated in his *Decameron*. To the Crusaders we may also ascribe European missionary interest in Arabic and other Islamic languages. Men like Raymond Lull († 1315) were convinced by the failure of the Crusades of the futility of the military method in dealing with the "infidel". Lull, a Catalan, was the first European to promote Oriental studies as an instrument of a pacific Crusade in which persuasion should replace violence. In 1276 he founded at Miramar a college of friars for the study of Arabic; it was probably through his influence that in 1311 the Council of Vienne resolved to create chairs of Arabic and Tartar at the Universities of Paris, Louvain and Salamanca.

In the realm of warfare the influences, as is to be expected, are more noticeable. The use of the crossbow, the wearing of heavy mail by knight and horse and the use of cotton pads under the armour are of Crusading origin. In Syria the Franks adopted the

tabor¹ and the naker² for their military bands, which hitherto had been served only by trumpets and horns. They learned from the natives how to train carrier-pigeons³ to convey military information and borrowed from them the practice of celebrating victory by illuminations and the knightly sport of the tournament (*jarīd*). In fact several features of the chivalry institution developed on the plains of Syria. The growing use of armorial bearings and heraldic devices was due to contact with Moslem knights. The two-headed eagle,⁴ the fleur-de-lis⁵ and the two keys may be cited as elements of Moslem heraldry of this period. Šalāh-al-Dīn probably had the eagle as his crest. Most Mamlūks bore names of animals, the corresponding images of which they blazoned on their shields. Mamlūk rulers had different corps, which gave rise to the practice of distinguishing by heraldic designs on shields, banners, badges and coats of arms. Baybars' crest was a lion, like that of ibn-Ṭūlūn before him, and Sultan Barqūq's († 1398) was the falcon. In Europe coats of arms appear in a rudimentary form at the end of the eleventh century; the beginning of English heraldry dates from the early part of the twelfth. Among modern Moslems the star and crescent and the lion and sun form the sole remnant of heraldry. "Azure" (Ar. *lāsaward*) and other terms used in heraldry testify to this connection between the European and Moslem institutions.

Gun-
powder

The Crusades also fostered the improvement of siege tactics, including the art of sapping and mining, the employment of mangonels and battering-rams and the application of various combustibles and explosives. Gunpowder was evidently invented in China, where it was used mainly as an incendiary. About 1240 it was introduced by the Mongols into Europe. There the application of its explosive force to the propulsion of missiles, i.e. the invention of fire-arms, was accomplished about a century later. No historian of the Crusades makes an allusion to it. The first European recipe for gunpowder we find appended to a

¹ Fr. *tambour*, from Ar. *ṣunbūr*, from Pers. *ṣun-būr*, a kind of lute.

² Fr. *noctaire*, fr. Ar. *naqqārak*, a kettledrum.

³ Consult Šalīh ibn-Yahya, *Ta'rikh Bayrūt*, ed. L. Cheikho (Beirut, 1898), pp. 60-61; al-Zāhiri, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), pp. 116-17. Cf. Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 186.

⁴ Zangī's coins of Sinjār show this symbol of Sumerian antiquity. Above, p. 479.

⁵ L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 23-4. This, one of the most widely spread elements of decorative art, was known in Assyria. It still figures on the Canadian coat of arms for France.

work written about 1300 by a certain Marc the Greek; Bacon's recipe is apocryphal. Shortly before 1300 Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ (the lancer) Najm-al-Dīn al-Aḥḍab, probably a Syrian, composed a treatise entitled *al-Furūsiyah w-al-Manāsib al-Ḥarbiyah*¹ (horsemanship and military exercises), which mentions saltpetre, a component of powder, and contains pyrotechnic recipes to which those ascribed to Marc bear close resemblance. One of the earliest references to the use of gunpowder is in al-'Umari († 1348).²

The Crusaders took with them from Italy and Normandy a substantial knowledge of military masonry which was partly³ passed on to the Arabs, as the architecture of the Citadel of Cairo indicates. Castles and churches were their main structures. Most of the castles, including Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, al-Marqab and al-Shaqīf (Belfort), are extant. In Jerusalem parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, "Solomon's Stables" near the Aqṣa Mosque and several of the vaulted bazaars are their work. The Church of the Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock were deliberately imitated by several churches of the round "temple" type, of which four are found in England and others in France, Spain and Germany. In Beirut the so-called 'Umari Mosque was built as the Church of St. John by Baldwin I in 1110. The Crusading arch is generally of the pointed form and the vaulting simple, usually groined. The most beautiful relic of Frankish art in Cairo is a doorway taken from the Christian church of 'Akka in 1291 and incorporated in the Mosque of al-Nāṣir.⁴

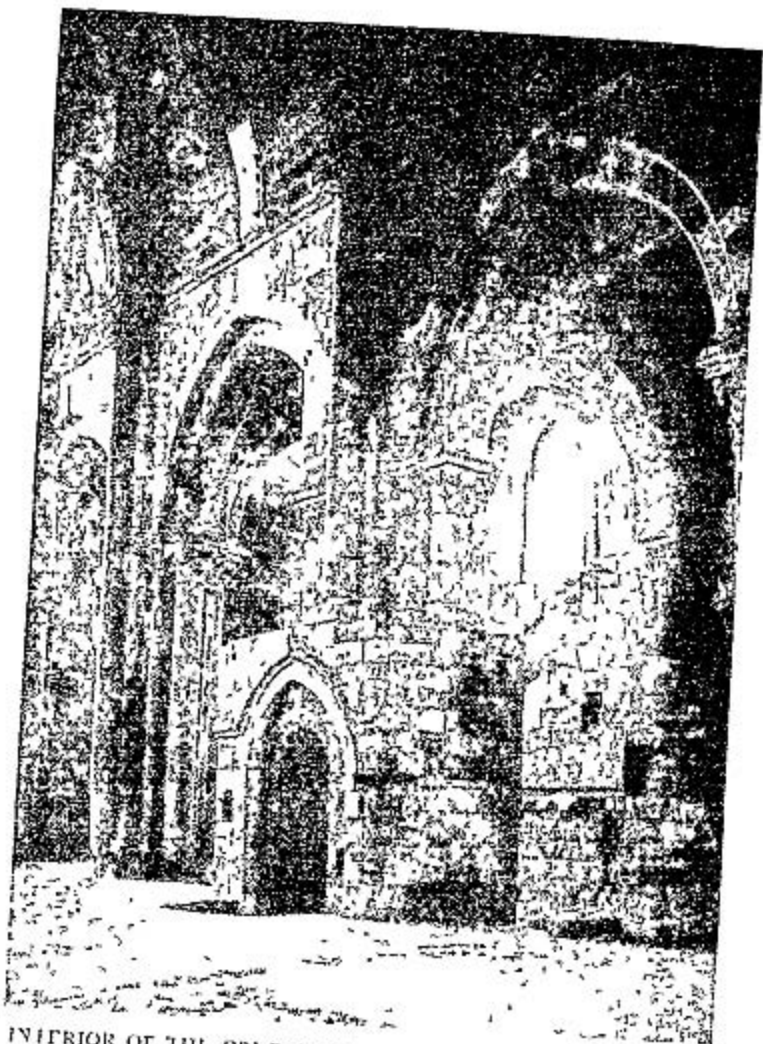
In the realm of agriculture, industry and commerce the Crusades produced much greater results than in the realm of intellect. They explain the popularization in the regions of the Western Mediterranean of such new plants and crops as sesame and carob, millet and rice,⁵ lemons and melons, apricots and shallots. "Carob" is Arabic *kharrūb* (originally Assyrian); "lemon" is Arabic *laymūn*, of Indic or Malay origin; and both "shallot" and "scallion", meaning originally the onion of Ascalon, preserve the name of the Palestinian town. For many years apricots were called the plums of Damascus. Also there were other trees and products which were simultaneously diffused

¹ Extracts in Ar. and Fr. tr. by Reinaud and Favé, *Journal asiatique*, ser. 4, vol. xiv (1849), pp. 257-327. See also vol. xii, pp. 193 seq.

² *Ta'rif* (Cairo, 1312), p. 208.

³ See below, p. 681.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 528. "Sesame", *Ar. sesamum*, is derived from Assyrian through Gr.



INTERIOR OF THE CRUSADING CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME AT
ANTARIÛS (TORIOSA, MODERN FARJÛS)

Photo taken 1929

through Moslem Spain and Sicily, and in certain instances it is not possible to tell whether the bridge was Syria or one of these two other countries.

While in the Orient, the Franks acquired new tastes, especially in perfumes, spices, sweetmeats and other tropical products of Arabia and India with which the marts of Syria were well stocked. These tastes later supported the commerce of Italian and Mediterranean cities. Incense and other fragrant gums of Arabia, the damask rose (*Rosa damascena*) and sweet scents in which Damascus specialized and numerous fragrant volatile oils and attars¹ of Persia became favourites. Alum and aloes figured among the new drugs with which they became acquainted. At the capture of Cæsarea in 1101 the Genoese, we are told, received as their portion of the booty more than sixteen thousand pounds of pepper. Cloves and other aromatic spices together with pepper and similar condiments came into use in the Occident in the twelfth century, and from that time on no banquet was complete without spiced dishes. Ginger (Ar. and Pers. *sanjabil*, of Skr. origin) was added to the Crusaders' menu in Egypt. More important than all others is sugar (Ar. *sukkar*, ultimately Skr.). Europeans had hitherto used honey for sweetening their foods. On the maritime plain of Syria, where children can still be seen sucking sugar-cane, the Franks became acquainted with this plant which has since played such an important rôle in our domestic economy and medical prescriptions. William of Tyre² (†. *ca.* 1190), who knew Arabic and wrote the most elaborate medieval account of the Crusades (from 1095 to 1184), has left us interesting observations on the sugar plantations of his native town. Sugar was the first luxury introduced into the West and nothing else so delighted the Western palate. With it went soft drinks, waters tinctured by distillation with roses, violets or other flowers, and all varieties of candy and sweetmeats.

Windmills appear first in Normandy in 1180 and betray a Crusading origin.³ Water-wheels (sing. *noria*, from Ar. *nā'ūrāli*)⁴ existed in Europe before this period but the Crusaders took back with them an improved type. This Syrian type may still be seen in Germany near Bayreuth.⁴ In Syria it goes back to Roman

¹ See above, p. 351.

² "Historia rerum", in *Recueil accidentaux*, vol. i, p. 559, Jacques de Vitry,

"Historia Hierosolimitana", in *Bongars*, vol. i, p. 1075. ³ Cf. above, p. 385.

⁴ M. Sobernheim, art. "Hamā", *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

days, but was presumably improved upon by such native engineers as Qaysar ibn-Musāfir Ta'āsif († 1251),¹ an Egyptian, who was in the service of the ruler of Ḥamāh and produced the earliest but one of the Arabic celestial globes extant.² As early as the days of Yāqūt³ († 1229) and abu-al-Fidā'⁴ († 1331), Ḥamāh was noted for its water-wheels. These wheels, whose perpetual wailing has lulled to sleep countless generations of Ḥamārites, are still one of the glories of that ancient town.

Not all of the new tastes developed were gastronomic. Especially in the matter of fashions, clothing and home furnishing were new desires and demands created. The custom of wearing beards was then spread. Returning Crusaders introduced into their homes the rugs, carpets and tapestries of which Western and Central Asia had for long made a specialty. Fabrics such as muslin, baldachin, damask,⁵ saracenet or Saracen stuff, atlas (from Ar. *atlas*), velvet, silk and satin,⁶ came to be more appreciated. Jewels manufactured by Damascene and Cairene Jews, toilet articles and powders became much sought after. Mirrors of glass coated with a metallic film replaced those of polished steel. Camlets (sing. *khamlah*), camel's-hair and fine furs acquired wider vogue. The rosary became familiar.⁷ European pilgrims sent home Arab reliquaries for the keeping of Christian relics.⁸ With fine clothes and metallic wares went lacquers and dyestuffs, such as indigo, and new colours, such as lilac (fr. Ar. *laylak*, originally Pers.), carmine and crimson (both fr. Ar. *qirmizi*, originally Skr.). Gradually centres appeared in Europe for manufacturing wares, rugs and cloths in imitation of the Oriental products, as at Arras, whose fabrics became highly prized. Stained-glass windows became popular in churches.⁹ Benjamin of Tudela,¹⁰ who visited Antioch under the Franks, speaks of its manufacture of glass. Oriental works of art in glass, pottery, gold, silver and enamel served as models for European products.

Trade

The creation of a new European market for Oriental agricul-

¹ See Ibn-Khalikān, tr. de Slane, vol. iii, pp. 471-3. Ibn-Battūtah, vol. iv, p. 255, refers to water wheels in Canton, China.

² Now in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.

³ Vol. II, p. 331.

⁴ *Taqwīm*, p. 263.

⁵ See above, pp. 346, 592.

⁶ From Ar. *zaytūm*, a corruption of Ts'ien-t'ang (modern Hang chow), a city in south-east China from which this silk originally came.

⁷ See above p. 438.

⁸ See above, p. 631.

⁹ See above, p. 346.

¹⁰ Tr. Asher, p. 58.

tural products and industrial commodities, together with the necessity of transporting pilgrims and Crusaders, stimulated maritime activity and international trade to an extent unknown since Roman days. Marseille began to rival the Italian city republics as a shipping centre and share in the accruing wealth. The financial needs of the new situation necessitated a larger supply and a more rapid circulation of money. A system of credit notes was thereupon devised. Firms of bankers arose in Genoa and Pisa with branch offices in the Levant. The Templars began to use letters of credit,¹ receive money on deposit and lend at interest. Perhaps the earliest gold coin struck by Latins was the *Byzantinius Saracenatus* minted by Venetians in the Holy Land and bearing Arabic inscriptions. The consular office, primarily commercial rather than diplomatic, now made its appearance. The first consuls in history were Genoese accredited to Akka in 1180. They were followed by those sent to Egypt.²

An important invention connected with this maritime activity of the Crusades is the compass. The Chinese were probably the first to discover the directive property of the magnetic needle, but the Moslems, who very early carried on lively trade between the Persian Gulf and Far Eastern waters,³ were the first to make practical use of that discovery by applying the needle to navigation. This application must have taken place in the eleventh century if not earlier, but for commercial reasons was kept secret. In Europe, Italian sailors were the first to use the compass. The actual use naturally antedates the literary references, of which the first to occur in a Moslem work is in a Persian collection of anecdotes, *Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt wa-Lawāmi' al-Riwāyāt*,⁴ written by Muḥammad al-'Awfi about 1230. One story tells how the author as a sailor found his way by means of a fish rubbed with a magnet. The first literary mention in Latin sources belongs to the late twelfth century, thus antedating the Persian reference.

The number of Franks assimilated by the native Syrians and Palestinianians is hard to estimate.⁵ Among the modern population

¹ Eng. "check" was borrowed from Ar. *ṣakk* in India in the 18th century.

² See above, pp. 652-3

³ See above, p. 343

⁴ See Muḥammad Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt* (London, 1929), p. 251. Cf. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau-Ju-Kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 28-9. Cf. S. S. Nadav in *Islamic Culture*, vol. xvi (1942), p. 404.

⁵ See above, pp. 643-4.

of such towns as Ihdin in northern Lebanon, Bethlehem and al-'Arish, the sight of men and women with blue eyes and fair hair is quite common. Certain families, mainly Christian Lebanese, such as the Karam, the Faranjīyah (Frankish) and the Ṣalībī (Crusading), have preserved traditions of descent from Frankish ancestry. Among other family names Ṣawāya is said to be derived from Savoie, Duwayhi from de Douai and Bardawil is undoubtedly Baldwin.² The last name also figures in the topography of Palestine and northern Sinai. One Palestinian village, Sinjil, perpetuates the name of Saint-Gilles, and another, al-Raynah, that of Renaud. On the other hand the Druze claim to some connection with a count de Dreux is due to a popular etymology that has no basis in fact.³

² See above, p. 640, n. 6.

³ Hitti, *Druze People*, p. 15.



British Museum

DINAR OF THE MAMLŪK BAYBARS

Struck 667 (1268/9), showing the lion below his name

CHAPTER XLVII

THE MAMLŪKS, LAST MEDIEVAL DYNASTY OF ARAB WORLD

IN other than Moslem annals the rise and prosperity of such a dynasty as the Mamlūk is hardly conceivable. Even in these annals it is most remarkable, almost unique. The Mamlūks were, as the name indicates,¹ a dynasty of slaves, slaves of varied races and nationalities forming a military oligarchy in an alien land. These slave sultans cleared their Syrian-Egyptian domain of the remnant of the Crusaders. They checked for ever the advance of the redoubtable Mongol hordes of Hūlāgu and of Tīmūr, who might otherwise have changed the entire course of history and culture in Western Asia and Egypt. Because of this check Egypt was spared the devastation that befell Syria and al-'Irāq and enjoyed a continuity in culture and political institutions which no other Moslem land outside Arabia enjoyed. For about two and three-quarter centuries (1250-1517) the Mamlūks dominated one of the most turbulent areas of the world, keeping themselves all the while racially distinct. Though on the whole uncultured and bloodthirsty, their keen appreciation of art and architecture would have been a credit to any civilized dynasty and makes Cairo even now one of the beauty spots of the Moslem world. And finally, when they were overthrown in 1517 by the Ottoman Salīm, the last of the local dynasties that had developed on the ruins of the Arab caliphate expired, clearing the way for the establishment of a new and non-Arab caliphate, that of the Ottoman Turks.

The foundation of Mamlūk power was laid by Shajar-al-Durr, widow of the Ayyūbid al-Šāliḥ († 1249) and originally a Turkish or Armenian slave. Formerly a bondmaid and member of the harem of the Caliph al-Musta'šim, Shajar entered the service of al-Šāliḥ, by whom she was freed after she had borne him a son. On her assumption of sovereign power her former caliph-master addressed a scathing note to the amīrs of Egypt saying: "If ye have no man to rule you, let us know and we will send you one."²

¹ See above, p. 235, n. 1.

² Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn*, vol. ii, p. 39. See above, p. 655.

For eighty days the sultānah, the only Moslem woman to rule a country in North Africa and Western Asia, continued to function as sole sovereign in the area which had once produced Cleopatra and Zenobia. She struck coins in her own name¹ and had herself mentioned in the Friday prayer. And when the amīrs chose her associate and commander-in-chief (*atābeg al-ʿaskar*), ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aybak,² for sultan, she married him. In the first years of his reign Aybak was busy crushing the legitimist Ayyūbid party of Syria, deposing the child joint-king al-Ashraf and doing away with his own general who had distinguished himself against Louis IX. In the meantime the queen was not only sharing her consort's power but keeping him in subordination. Finally, on hearing that he was contemplating another marriage, she had him murdered while taking his bath, after a ball game, in the royal palace in the Citadel of Cairo. Immediately after she was herself battered to death with wooden shoes by the slave women of Aybak's first wife and her body was cast from a tower.³

Bahri and
Burji
Mamlūks

Aybak (1250-57) was the first of the Mamlūk sultans. The series is somewhat arbitrarily divided into two dynasties: Bahri (1250-1390) and Burji (1382-1517). The Bahri Mamlūks had their origin in the purchased bodyguard of the Ayyūbid al-Šāliḥ,⁴ who settled his slaves in barracks on the isle of al-Rawḍah in the Nile.⁵ The Bahris were chiefly Turks and Mongols.⁶ In their policy of securing the services of foreign slaves as a bodyguard the Ayyūbids followed the precedent established by the caliphs of Baghdād, with the same eventual results.⁷ The bondmen of yesterday became the army commanders of today and the sultans of tomorrow.

The Burjis represent a later importation. Their origin was likewise a bodyguard, but it was founded by the Bahri Mamlūk Qalāwūn (1279-90). They were mostly Circassian slaves who were quartered in the towers (Ar. sing. *burj*) of the citadel. In all there were twenty-four Bahri Mamlūks,⁸ excluding Shajar-

¹ With the exception of certain coins struck in India and Fāris, hers are the only ones bearing a Moslem woman's name.

² He was a Turk, as the name (*ay* moon + *beg* prince) indicates. Maqrīzī, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), p. 1.

³ *Ibid.* p. 72; *Khīṭat*, vol. ii, p. 237; *abu-al-Fidā'*, vol. iii, p. 201.

⁴ *Abu-al-Fidā'*, vol. iii, p. 188; *ibn-Khaldūn*, vol. v, p. 373.

⁵ Colloquially referred to as *Bahri*, see.

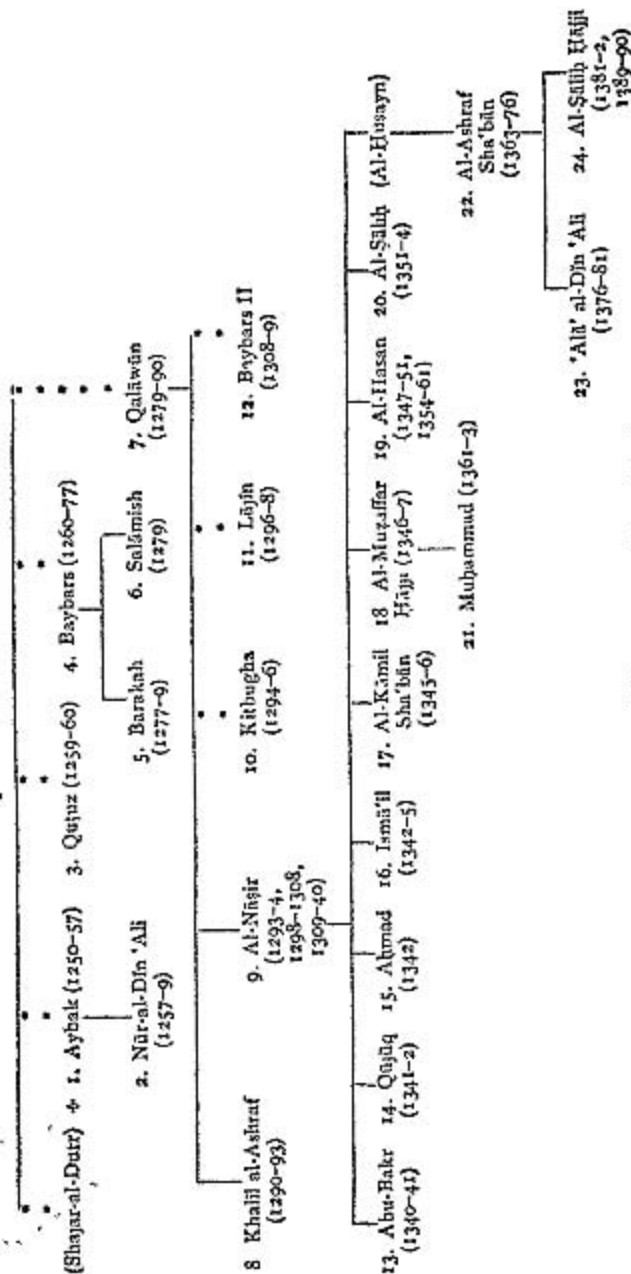
⁶ *Ibn-Khaldūn*, vol. v, p. 369, and *Suyūṭī*, *Ḥisn*, vol. ii, p. 80, designate them as the "Turkish *ḍj* 11353".

⁷ See above, p. 466.

⁸ For table of Bahri Mamlūks see p. 673.

THE BAHRİ MAMLUKS

(Al-Şāhīh Ayyūb)



Note.—Starred lines indicate a master and slave relationship.

al-Durr, and twenty-three Burjis. The Burjis recognized no principle of hereditary succession and followed no policy of nepotism. Their throne belonged to him who could capture it or induce the amirs to elect him to it. In several Bahri and Burji instances slaves rather than sons of the sultan succeeded him. A large number of the sultans met violent deaths while still young. The average reign of the Mamlūk sultans was less than six years.

Ayyūbids
and
Tatars
repelled

The first task confronting the new dynasty was to consolidate the kingdom and guard its frontiers. Aybak spent most of his time on the battlefield in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Al-Muzaffar Sayf-al-Dīn Qutuz (1259-60), while acting as regent (*nā'ib al-saltanah*) and before deposing his young protégé, al-Mansūr 'Alī, Aybak's son, and usurping the throne, repelled an attack from the Ayyūbid sultan of al-Karak. The Syrian Ayyūbids considered themselves the legitimate successors of their Egyptian kinsmen. No sooner had the Ayyūbid invasion of Egypt been repulsed than the Tartar army of Hūlāgu, led by Kitbugha, became a danger. Hūlāgu's envoys¹ to Qutuz were executed by the latter and the issue was settled at 'Ayn Jālūt (1260). In this battle Baybars led the vanguard and distinguished himself as a general, but Qutuz took command in person towards the end. The Tartar army was routed, leaving Kitbugha and other leaders dead on the field. Egypt was spared the horrible desolation visited upon its neighbour, which was now occupied by the Mamlūk army. Baybars expected to receive Aleppo as a fief in recognition of his military service, but the sultan disappointed him. On the way homeward through Syria, while hunting with Qutuz, a fellow-conspirator addressed the sultan and kissed his hand while Baybars stabbed him in the neck with a sword (October 24, 1260).² The murdered sultan was succeeded by the murderer. Qutuz claimed to have been a grand-nephew of a Khwārizm Shāh³ and is said to have been captured by the Tartars and sold in Damascus, where he was purchased by Aybak.

Baybars

Al-Malik al-Zāhir (victorious) Rukn-al-Dīn (pillar of the faith)

¹ The letter they carried is preserved in Maqrizi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), pp. 101-2.

² Abu al-Fidā, vol. iii, p. 216, Ibn Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 380. Cf. Maqrizi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), p. 113.

³ Suyūti, *Husn*, vol. ii, p. 40. See above, p. 482.

Baybars al-Bunduqdārī¹ (1260-77), the most distinguished of Mamlūk sultans, was originally a Turkoman slave. When young he was sold into Damascus for eight hundred dirhams, but was returned on account of a defect in one of his blue eyes. His last name, meaning belonging to the arbalester (*bunduqdār*), he acquired from the master who owned him in Ḥamāh before he was purchased by the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ.² Al-Ṣāliḥ first appointed him commander of a section of his bodyguard, from which position he worked his way into the highest in the land. Tall, dusky in complexion, commanding in voice, brave and energetic, he possessed the qualities of leadership among men.

Baybars was the first great Mamlūk, the real founder of Mamlūk power. His first laurels he won against the Mongols on the field of 'Ayn Jālūt; but his title to fame rests mainly on his numerous campaigns against the Crusaders.³ It was these campaigns which broke the backbone of Frankish opposition and made possible the final victories won by his successors Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. In connection with one of his last expeditions into northern Syria he crushed for ever the power of the Assassins. In the meantime his generals had extended his dominion westward over the Berbers and southward over Nubia,⁴ which was now permanently conquered by an Egyptian sultan.

Baybars was more than a military leader. Not only did he organize the army, rebuild the navy and strengthen the fortresses of Syria, but he dug canals, improved harbours and connected Cairo and Damascus by a swift postal service requiring only four days. Relays of horses stood in readiness at each post station. The sultan could play polo in both capitals almost within the same week. Besides the ordinary mail the Mamlūks perfected the pigeon post, whose carriers even under the Fāṭimids had their pedigrees kept in special registers.⁵ Baybars fostered public works, beautified mosques and established religious and charitable endowments. Of his architectural monuments⁶ both the great mosque (1269) and the school bearing his name have survived. The mosque was turned into a fort by Napoleon and later into a rationing depôt by the British army of occupation. The present Zāhiriyyah library in Damascus is the structure

¹ "Bendocquedar" of Marco Polo, tr. Yule, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 22.

² Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, p. 11; Kutubi, vol. i, p. 109.

³ See above, pp. 655 seq.

⁴ Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 400.

⁵ See above, pp. 323, 664.

⁶ Consult Kutubi, vol. i, pp. 113-15.

under the dome of which he was buried. He was the first sultan in Egypt to appoint four *qādis*, representing the four orthodox rites, and organize the Egyptian *mahmil* on a systematic and permanent basis. His religious orthodoxy and zeal, together with the glory he brought to Islam in the holy war, combined to make his name a rival to that of Hārūn. In legendary history it looms even higher than Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's. His romance and that of 'Antar remain to the present day more popular in the Arab Orient than the *Arabian Nights*.

A feature of Baybars' reign was the many alliances he struck with Mongol and European powers. Soon after he became sultan he allied himself with the chief khān of the Golden Horde¹ or Mongols of Qipchāq (Baybars' birthplace) in the valley of the Volga. Common opposition to the Īl-Khāns of Persia dictated the policy. The Egyptian envoys went through Constantinople, where Michael Palæologus, foe of Latin Christianity, authorized the restoration of the ancient mosque² destroyed by the Crusaders during their occupation of that city. Baybars sent, at the emperor's request, a Melkite patriarch to Constantinople for those of that persuasion in its realm. He signed commercial treaties with Charles of Anjou (1264), king of Sicily and brother of Louis IX, as well as with James of Aragon and Alfonso of Seville.

A most spectacular event of Baybars' reign was his inauguration of a new series of 'Abbāsīd caliphs who carried the name but none of the authority of the office. The sultan's object was to confer legitimacy upon his crown, give his court an air of primacy in Moslem eyes and check the 'Alid intrigues which, ever since Fāṭimid days, were especially rife in Egypt. To this end he invited from Damascus in June 1261, an uncle of the last 'Abbāsīd caliph and son of the Caliph al-Zāhir who had escaped the Baghdād massacre, and installed him with great pomp and ceremony as the Caliph al-Mustanṣir.³ The would-be pensioner-caliph was first escorted from Syria in state, with even Jews and Christians carrying aloft the Torah and the Gospel, and the soundness of his genealogy was passed upon by a council of jurists. The sultan in turn received from his puppet caliph a

¹ Eastern Mongols, wrongly identified with the Kalmucks, western Mongols; see above, p. 483, n. 4.

² See above, p. 621.

³ Maqrīzī, tr. Quatremère, vol. 1 (pt. 1), pp. 146-68; Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, pp. 352-3; Abu al-Fidā', vol. 10, p. 222; Ibn-Iyās, vol. 1, pp. 100-101.

diploma of investiture giving him authority over Egypt, Syria, Diyār Bakr, al-Ḥijāz, al-Yaman and the land of the Euphrates. Three months later Baybars rashly set out from Cairo to re-establish his caliph in Baghdād, but after reaching Damascus abandoned him to his fate. Al-Mustanşir was attacked in the desert by the Mongol governor of Baghdād and was never heard from again.

One year later another scion of the 'Abbāsīd house made his way to Cairo and was installed by Baybars as al-Ḥākīm. One descendant of al-Ḥākīm after another, for two and a half centuries, held the pseudo-caliphate, whose incumbents were satisfied with having their names inscribed on the coinage and mentioned in the Friday prayers in Egypt and Syria. With one exception none of them had his name cited in the Makkah prayers. Their most important duties consisted in administering the religious endowments (*waqf*) and officiating at the ceremony of installing the new sultan. Certain Moslem rulers, including some from India and the Ottoman Bāyazīd I (1394), secured from them diplomas of investiture, which in reality had no significance. In 1412, on the death of the Burjī al-Nāşir, the Caliph al-'Ādil al-Musta'in declared himself sultan and ruled for a few days, only to be deposed by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412-21).¹ Certain caliphs were dismissed from office on grounds of disloyalty to the Bahri 'Alī (1376-81) and to the Burjis Barqūq (1382-98) and Ināl (1453-60). When in 1517 the Ottoman Sultan Salīm wrested Egypt from the Mamlūks he carried away with him to Constantinople the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the last of the line.²

After Baybars the outstanding Mamlūk figure was al-Malik al-Manşūr Sayf-al-Dīn Qalāwūn (1279-90). Originally, like Baybars, a Turkoman slave from Qīpchāq, the youthful Qalāwūn was carried to Egypt, and likewise sold to al-Şāliḥ, as his surname al-Şāliḥi indicates. His other surname al-Alfī (thousander) suggests the heavy price paid for him, a thousand dinars,³ and shows that the Mamlūk sultans were not ashamed of their lowly origin. Qalāwūn secured the throne by deposing his ward Salāmish (1279), Baybars' seven-year-old son, who had succeeded his nineteen-year-old brother, the pleasure-loving Barakah (1277-9).

¹ Ibn-Taghri-Birdī, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 267-8, 303-21; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 68-71; Ibn-Iyās, vol. i, pp. 357-9.

² See above, p. 459, below, p. 705.

³ Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 80, Maqrizi, tr. Quatremere, vol. ii (pt. 3), p. 1.

Qalāwūn was the only Mamlūk in whose line the succession continued to the fourth generation. The last Bahri, al-Sālih Hājji, was his great-grandson.

No sooner had Qalāwūn established himself in power than the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia began to threaten his Syrian domain. Among these Abāqa (1265-81), who was Hūlāgu's son and successor, and Abāqa's son Arghūn (1284-91), had Christian leanings and entered into negotiations with the pope and other European courts urging a fresh Crusade with a view to driving the Egyptians out of Syria. The scheme did not materialize. Abāqa's army, though superior in number and reinforced by Armenians, Franks and Georgians, was decisively defeated in 1280 at Hims.¹ Shortly after this the Mongols adopted Islam. The sultan strengthened the existing amicable relations with the Golden Horde, the Byzantine emperor, the republic of Genoa and the kings of France, Castile and Sicily. Even the ruler of Ceylon dispatched to his court an embassy with a letter which no one in Cairo could read. Little Armenia was ravaged for the help its people had given to the Mongols and the Crusaders' castles were reduced.² Tripoli, which was levelled to the ground, was rebuilt a few years later, not on its former site, but several miles from the sea where it now stands on the banks of the abu-'Alī (Qādīsha). Toward the end of his reign Qalāwūn issued orders excluding his Christian subjects from all government offices.

Qalāwūn won distinction in other fields. He renovated on a grand scale the citadels of Aleppo, Ba'labakk and Damascus. In Cairo he erected a hospital, connected with a school-mosque, and a mausoleum³ (tomb-"chapel"), which exhibits to the present day its remarkable arabesque tracery and fine marble mosaic. But his hospital (al-Māristān al-Mansūri), whose remains are among the earliest relics of a Moslem hospital extant, is the most famous of his buildings. The sultan is said to have received the inspiration while lying ill with colic in the Nūrī Hospital at Damascus, where he made a vow to establish a similar institution in Cairo in the event of his recovery. The structure, including not only the hospital proper with annexes but also a school and a mosque, was completed in 1284. It comprised special wards for segregat-

¹ Abu al-Fida', vol. iv, pp. 15-16; Maqrizi, tr. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 3), pp. 36-40.

² See above, p. 657.

³ Ar. *qubbah*, Ibn Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 403.

ing various diseases, such as fevers, ophthalmia and dysentery, and was provided with laboratories, a dispensary, baths, kitchens and store-rooms. The chief of its medical staff gave instruction in a properly equipped lecture-room. It had an endowment yielding about a million dirhams annually, employed male and female attendants and was open to the sick of both sexes.¹ So closely associated with the curing of infirmities did this sultan thus become that his robe preserved in his mausoleum has since his time been touched by thousands of dumb children, barren wives and diseased people who believed in its healing virtues.

The only exploit of Qalāwūn's son and successor al-Malik al-Ashraf (the most noble) Khalil (1290-93) was the conquest of 'Akka in May 1291.² Its capture precipitated the fall of the few remaining ports in the possession of the Franks. "A mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE."³ In 1302 the Templars who had established a last foothold in the islet of Arwād (Aradus), off the north Syrian coast, were expelled with great slaughter by al-Ashraf's younger brother and successor al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

Al-Nāṣir shares with al-Mutamassik the unique distinction of having ruled thrice: 1293-4, 1298-1308 and 1309-40.⁴ He came first to the throne at the age of nine, and his reign is the longest among the Mamlūks and one of the longest in Moslem annals.⁵ During his rule the last serious invasions of the Mongols took place under the seventh Il-Khān Ghāzān Maḥmūd, in whose reign Islam was finally recognized as the state religion of the Il-Khānate.⁶ The Egyptian army, in size about a third of that of the Mongols, was routed (December 23, 1299) east of Ḥimṣ by the invading army, said to have numbered a hundred thousand,⁷ reinforced by Armenians and Georgians. The Mongols continued their victorious march and early in 1300 occupied Damascus, which they spared from pillage, but the rest of northern Syria had another sad experience of plunder and rapine. In March of that year they evacuated the Syrian capital without reducing its citadel and the Egyptians reoccupied all the land. Three years later Ghāzān's fresh expedition was checked at

¹ Maqrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, pp. 406-7.

² Gibbon, *Decline*, ed. Bury, vol. vi, p. 365.

³ Cf. above, pp. 481, n. 2, 520, n. 2.

⁴ Maqrizi, tr. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 4), p. 146.

⁵ See above, p. 658.

⁶ See above, p. 553.

⁷ See above, p. 488.

Marj al-Şuffar, south of Damascus.¹ For the fourth time the Mamlūks had beaten the most dangerous enemy Egypt had to contend with since the Moslem conquest. No successor of Ghāzān dared risk another encounter.

Soon after the Mongol evacuation of Damascus al-Nāşir brought the Druzes of the Lebanon, whose 12,000 bowmen had harassed his army in its retreat a few months before, to a severe reckoning. Other schismatic sects including 'Alids in Kisrawān were also chastised.² The Maronites of northern Lebanon were almost crushed. In 1302 and subsequent years he repeatedly devastated the unhappy land of the Armenians.³ On his Christian and Jewish subjects he re-enforced the outworn restrictions of 'Umar II and al-Mutawakkil.

Al-Nāşir's long reign is better known for his achievements in the realm of peace rather than war. The sultan himself was short in stature and lame in one foot, but he had a taste for the beautiful and never wearied of luxurious living and lavishing extravagant adornment on his surroundings. On his return to his residence in the citadel from a trip abroad his retinue spread before his mare rugs and costly fabrics for a distance of some four thousand cubits. While on a holy pilgrimage his table was supplied throughout the Arabian desert with fresh vegetables from a travelling garden carried on forty camels.⁴ At his son's nuptial feast 18,000 sugar loaves were consumed, 20,000 beasts were slain and 3000 candles shed their light on the royal palace. His far-famed al-Qaşr al-Ablaq⁵ (the palace of varied colours) was built after a model at Damascus. A sportsman, hunter and lover of horses, he kept a proper stud book and did not hesitate to pay 30,000 dinars for a horse he fancied.⁶

Nor was al-Nāşir's extravagance limited to the gratification of his personal tastes. His numerous and beautiful public works, for some of which forced labour was used, mark his reign as the

¹ Abu al-Fidā' (vol. iv, p. 50), a personal friend of al-Nāşir and later restored by him to his ancestors' principedom, saw the invading army pass by his native town Hamāh.

² Ibn-Yahya, pp. 136-7.

³ Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, pp. 48, 53-4, 90-91; Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, pp. 419-20, 429-30.

⁴ Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, p. 89.

⁵ Maqrizī, *Fihrist*, vol. II, pp. 209-10. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 258.

⁶ A unique MS on the horse dedicated to him in gold letters by his secretary al-Jūsaynī is described in Hitti, Faris and 'Abd-al-Mahā, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, no. 1066.

climax of Mamlūk culture. He dug a canal, on which a hundred thousand men toiled, connecting Alexandria with the Nile, built (1311) an aqueduct from that river to the Citadel of Cairo, founded throughout his kingdom about thirty mosques, besides a number of dervish "monasteries", public drinking-fountains (sing. *sabīl*), baths and schools. Makkah was especially favoured by his munificence. His own mosque in the citadel he adorned (1318) with materials from the ruined cathedral of 'Akka. His school, completed in 1304 and named al-Nāṣirīyah after him, is still standing in Cairo. His mosque and school exemplify the finest achievement in Moslem architecture. Minor arts under him were also cultivated to a higher degree of excellence than ever before, as evidenced by the specimens of bronze and brass work, enamelled glass lamps and illuminated Korans preserved in the Arab Museum and National Library of Cairo.

The heavy expenditure in al-Nāṣir's long reign burdened the people with exorbitant taxes and contributed to the downfall of the dynasty. The sultan took certain economic measures to alleviate the widespread misery. He encouraged trade with Europe and with the East, ordered a new survey of the land, repealed taxes on salt, chickens, sugar-cane, boats, slaves and horses, suppressed wine-drinking and had bakers who charged excessive prices flogged. The effect, however, was only temporary, palliative. After him, civil wars, famine and plague added their share to the wretchedness of the people. The same "black death" which in 1348-9 devastated Europe lingered in Egypt for about seven years and carried away more of its people than any other plague. The total mortality in the capital, according to the exaggerated estimate of ibn-Iyās,¹ reached 900,000. The sultan and all who could fled. Ghazzah is said to have lost 22,000 inhabitants in one month, while the daily average in Aleppo was five hundred.

The twelve descendants of al-Nāṣir who followed him in rapid succession during forty-two years (1340-82) were mere figure-heads; their amīrs ruled, deposing or murdering the sultan at pleasure. None of these sultans distinguished himself in any field of endeavour, and the only notable monument is the Mosque of Sultan al-Ḥasan, son of al-Nāṣir, completed in 1362 and considered the most beautiful of those built on a cruciform plan.

¹ Vol. i, p. 191.

The last Bahri ruler, al-Nāṣir's great-grandson al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī ibn-Sha'bān (1381-2, 1389-90) was a child whose reign of two years was first interrupted and later terminated by the Circassian Barqūq, who became the founder of a new line, the Burji dynasty.¹ Barqūq began his career as a slave of the sons of al-Ashraf Sha'bān.² Before Barqūq another Circassian, Baybars II (1308-9), a slave of Qalāwūn, was one of the three sultans who interrupted al-Nāṣir's reign, thus presaging the advent of the new régime.

¹ Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 472; ibn-Taghri-Birdī, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 1.

² Consult table above, p. 673.

CHAPTER XLVIII

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITY

MAMLŪK Egypt began its history under proud and triumphant rulers who had cleared Syria of the last vestiges of Frankish dominion and had successfully stood between the Mongols and world power. By the end of the period, however, with its military oligarchy, factions among the dominant caste, debased coinage, high taxation, insecurity of life and property, occasional plague and famine and frequent revolts, both Egypt and its dependency Syria were all but ruined. Especially in the valley of the Nile persistence of outworn ancient superstition and magic, coupled with the triumph of reactionary orthodoxy, hindered scientific advance. Under these conditions no intellectual activity of high order could be expected. In fact the whole Arab world had by the beginning of the thirteenth century lost the intellectual hegemony it had maintained since the eighth.¹ Mental fatigue induced by generations of effort and moral lassitude consequent upon the accumulation of wealth and power were evident everywhere.

In science there were only two branches wherein the Arabs after the middle of the thirteenth century maintained their leadership: astronomy-mathematics, including trigonometry, and medicine, particularly ophthalmology. But in the first discipline the contribution was made mainly by Arabic-writing Persian scholars whose centre of activity was the ʿIl-Khānid observatory and library of Marāghah headed by the illustrious Naṣīr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201-74). It is interesting to find the Syrian Jacobite Catholicos abu-al-Faraj ibn-al-'Ibri² (Barhebræus, 1226-86), known as an historian and as the last classical author in Syriac literature, lecturing there on Euclid in 1268 and on Ptolemy in 1272-3.

¹ See Sartou, *Introduction*, vol. ii, especially the introductory chapter. This general decline of Islamic culture marks the end of the Middle Ages, see above, p. 142.

² His *Ta'rikh Mulkatayr al-Duwal* was edited by Anṣūn Ṣālibānī (Beirut, 1890).



The Syro-Egyptian kingdom led in medical science. The elaborate hospital built by Qalāwūn may be taken as an index of Egyptian interest in medicine. Its dean abu-al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-al-Nāṣif, who studied in Damascus where he later died (1288-9), contributed in his *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn* a clear conception of the pulmonary circulation of the blood, two and a half centuries before the Spanish Servetus, credited with this discovery.¹ To Qalāwūn's son al-Nāṣir one of the few important Arabic treatises on veterinary medicine known was dedicated under the title *Kāmil al-Ṣinā'atayn: al-Bayṭarah wa-al-Zarṭaqah*² by his master of the stable, abu-Bakr ibn-al-Mundhir al-Bayṭār († 1340). The Arabic term for veterinary surgeon, *bayṭār*, from Greek *hippiatros*, suggests that although the Arabs since Bedouin days possessed an extensive empirical knowledge of diseases of camels and horses, yet their more systematic knowledge and improved technique must have come from Byzantine sources. Many of the Mamlūks, like Qalāwūn and Barqūq, kept magnificent studs. Several works containing Islamic traditions on horses date from this period, including the *Faḍl al-Khayl* (the excellence of the horse), by 'Abd-al-Mu'min al-Dimyāti († 1306), a lecturer at the Manṣūriyah academy of Qalāwūn.

Egyptian medicine since Ayyūbid days was dominated by Jewish physicians carrying on the glorious tradition of ibn-Maymūn. But among neither Moslem nor Jewish physicians do we find creative activity. The Judeo-Egyptian pharmacist al-Kūhīn (the priest) al-'Aṭṭār (the druggist) composed in Cairo about 1260 an Arabic treatise on pharmacy, *Minḥāj al-Dukkān wa-Dustūr al-A'yān* (a manual of officinal drugs and a canon for notables), which has not yet outlived its usefulness in the Moslem East.

The period was especially fertile in works half gynecological, half erotic, of the type we now designate "sex books". Arabic literature, in all ages primarily a male literature, abounds in anecdotes, jokes and remarks which to us today sound obscene. Among the leaders in this field was the Egyptian lapidary al-Tifāshī, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century.

¹ Abdul-Karīm Chéhadé, *Ibn an-Nāṣif et la découverte de la circulation pulmonaire* (Damascus, 1955).

² Or *al-Nāṣiriyya*; tr. M. Perron, *Le Nāṣiri: la perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852-60).

We also notice at this time special interest in what al-Rāzi was the first to term *ṭibb rūḥānī* (*ilāj nafsānī*, spiritual cure), corresponding to our psycho-therapy. An Egyptian pioneer of this school was a Jewish physician of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, Hibatullāh ibn-Jumay' (Jamī'), whose principal work bore the title *al-Irshād li-Masālih al-Anfās w-al-Ajsād* (instructions in the interest of souls and bodies). Ibn-Jumay', noticing a passing funeral, discovered that the "dead" man was still alive from the fact that his feet were standing straight rather than lying flat.¹

Diseases of
the eye

Ophthalmology, one of the disciplines early developed by the Arabs,² was practised on a more scientific basis in Syria and Egypt throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than anywhere else in the world. In the twelfth century the most significant Arabic work on the subject was written by abu-Fadā'il ibn-al-Nāqid († 1188-9),³ a Judæo-Egyptian oculist of Cairo, under the title *Mujarrabāt* (tested remedies). But Syria after that took the lead. Here were composed the only two scholarly works of the period: *al-Kāfi fi al-Kuhl* (the sufficient work on collyrium) by Khalīfah ibn-abi-al-Mahāsīn of Aleppo, who flourished about 1256, and *Nūr al-'Uyūn wa-Jāmi' al-Funūn*⁴ (the light of eyes and compendium of arts) by Salāḥ-al-Dīn ibn-Yūsuf, who practised in Ḥamāh about 1296. Khalīfah was so confident of his skill as a surgeon that he did not hesitate to remove a cataract for a one-eyed man. It is noteworthy that the Syrian scholars of the Mamlūk period flourished in inland cities, the coast having been devastated by the Crusades and later by Qalāwūn and his successors, who feared the return of the Franks.

Medical
history

The most distinguished historian of medicine the Arab world produced, Muwaffaq-al-Dīn abu-al-'Abbās Ahmad ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah (1203-70), flourished at Damascus in the early Mamlūk period. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah was himself a physician and son of a Damascene oculist. He studied medicine in his birth-place and Cairo, botanized with the celebrated ibn-al-Bayṭār and corresponded with the scientist-physician 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. His masterpiece was his *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*⁵ (sources of information on the classes of physicians),

¹ Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 113.

² See above, pp. 363-4

³ Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 115-16

⁴ Ḥāṣi Khalīfah, vol. vi, p. 393.

⁵ First edited by "Imru'-'al-Qays ibn-al-Ṭahhān" [August Müller], 2 vols. (Cairo, 1882), then republished with additional pages, corrections and index by August Müller, 2 vols. (Königsberg, 1884).

an elaborate collection of some four hundred biographies of Arab and Greek medical men. Since most of these physicians were at the same time philosophers, astronomers, physicists and mathematicians, the work is an invaluable source for the history of Arab science in general. It is almost unique in Arabic literature, the nearest approach to it being al-Qifṭī's *Iḥbār al-'Ulamā' bi-Aḥbār al-Ḥukamā'* (acquainting the learned with the story of the philosophers and physicians), which has survived only in a compendium.¹ Ali ibn-Yūsuf al-Qifṭī, as the surname indicates, was born in Upper Egypt (1172), but spent a large part of his life in Aleppo, where he acted as vizir to its Ayyūbid rulers until his death in 1248.

In the social sciences the main contribution under the Mamlūks was in biography. The foremost biographer Islam produced flourished in Damascus at this time. Shams-al-Dīn (sun of the faith) Ahmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Khallikān, a descendant of Yahya ibn-Khālid al-Barmaki, was born in Irbil (Arbela) in 1211. He was educated at Aleppo and Damascus and in 1261 was appointed chief qādī of Syria with his headquarters at Damascus. This position he held, with a seven years' interval, until shortly before his death in 1282. His *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*² (obituaries of the eminent men and histories of the leading contemporaries) is an accurate and elegant collection of 865 biographies of the most distinguished Moslems in history, the first dictionary of national biography in Arabic. The author took pains to establish the correct spelling of names, fix dates, trace genealogies, verify facts, indicate the main personal traits, sketch the significant events and illustrate by the use of poems and anecdotes. The result is adjudged by some "the best general biography ever written".³

Not only in biography but in the general field of history the Mamlūk age was moderately rich. Among those often cited in the foregoing pages abu-al-Fidā', ibn-Taghri-Birdī, al-Suyūṭī and al-Maqrīzī were Mamlūk historians. As for the illustrious ibn-Khaldūn († 1406), who held a professorship and judgeship under Sultan Barqūq and headed a delegation under Sultan

¹ Ed. Julius Lippert (Leipzig, 1903).

² Several editions. The one used here is in 3 vols. (Cairo, 1299), tr. de Sionne, 4 vols. (Paris, 1843-71).

³ Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 452.

Faraj to negotiate peace with Tīmūr at Damascus, his antecedents and literary activity connect him with Spain and al-Maghrib. The historian-geographer abu-al-Fidā' (1273-1332), a descendant of a brother of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and governor of Ḥamāh under Sultan al-Nāṣir, epitomized for us in his *Mukhtaṣar Ta'riḫ al-Bashar*¹ (epitome of the history of mankind) the voluminous history of ibn-al-Athīr and continued the narrative to his own time. Abu-al-Maḥāsin ibn-Taghri-Birdi (1411-69) had as his father a high official in the Mamlūk court and as mother a Turkish slave of Barqūq. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi² himself had close connections with several of the sultans. His major work is *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr w-al-Qāhirah*³ (the brilliant stars regarding the kings of Egypt and Cairo), a history of Egypt from the Arab conquest till 1453. Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī⁴ (1445-1505), like ibn-al-Jawzi, ibn-Ḥazm and al-Ṭabari, was one of the most prolific authors of Islam, but his works show no originality. He is unquestionably the outstanding literary figure of the fifteenth century. His pen traversed the whole field of Arab learning: Koran, tradition, law, philosophy, history, philology, rhetoric, etc.⁵ Titles of about five hundred and sixty works of his have come down to us. One of these discusses whether the Prophet wore trousers, whether his turban had a point and whether his parents were in heaven or in hell. He was a fine calligrapher and very likely claimed authorship of some manuscripts which he merely copied. His best-known works are *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*,⁶ on koranic exegesis; *al-Muḥṣir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah*,⁷ a treatise on philology; and *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr w-al-Qāhirah*,⁸ a history of Egypt.

The most eminent of Mamlūk historians was beyond doubt Taqī-al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzi (1364-1442). Born in Cairo of

¹ The edition used here is in 4 vols. (Constantinople, 1286). His geography is *Taqwīm al-Bulḍān*, ed. J. T. Reinaud and de Slane (Paris, 1840); tr. Reinsud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1848).

² Vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 430, l. 6; p. 552, l. 22; p. 743, l. 19.

³ Ed. F. G. Juynboll and Matthes, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1855-61), ed. William Popper, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1909-29).

⁴ Born in Asyūt (Assiut), Upper Egypt.

⁵ Cf. list in his *Naḡm al-'Iyān fī A'yān al-A'yān*, ed. Hitti (New York, 1927), pp. kh, d.

⁶ Several Cairo editions, none critical.

⁷ The edition used here is in 2 vols. (Cairo, 1325).

⁸ The edition used here is in 2 vols. (Cairo, 1321).

Ba'labakkan ancestry, al-Maqrīzi held several high offices as deputy qādi and as teacher in his native town and in Damascus. His title to fame rests on his *al-Mawā'iz w-al-ʿtibār fi Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ w-al-Āthār*¹ (sermons and learning by example on an account of the new settlements and remains) devoted to Egyptian topography, history and antiquities. His contemporary al-Sakhāwī's² charge of wholesale plagiarism in the production of this work is well founded; but the fault was common in those days.

Two Egyptian encyclopædists often quoted in these pages are Ahmad al-Nuwayri († 1332), author of *Nihāyat al-Arab fi Funūn al-Adab*,³ and Ahmad al-Qalqashandī († 1418), whose *Ṣubḥ al-A'sha*,⁴ intended as a manual for those who hold secretarial offices in the government, is replete with historical and geographical facts mainly on Egypt and Syria. The remaining authors of this period busied themselves with Islamic studies and linguistics. An exceptional work of major importance is a compendium of theoretical and practical navigation by Ahmad ibn-Mājid⁵ of Najdī ancestry, who, it is claimed, in 1498 piloted Vasco da Gama from Africa to India.

In theology reference should be made to the puritan, conservative Taqī-al-Dīn Ahmad ibn-Taymiyah⁶ (1263-1328), who was born in Ḥarrān and flourished in Damascus. He bowed to no authority other than the Koran, tradition and the practice of the community and lifted his voice high against innovation, saint-worship, vows and pilgrimage to shrines. A follower of ibn-Ḥanbal, his principles were later adopted by the Wahhābis of Najd. Eminent in tradition was ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī⁷ (1372-1449), chief qādi of Cairo, who knew the Koran by heart when only nine years old. In poetry perhaps the only name worthy of citation is that of Sharaf-al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī⁸ (1213-ca. 1296), of Berber extraction, who composed the famous ode entitled *al-Burdah* (the Prophet's mantle) in memory of his miraculous cure from a paralytic stroke by a vision of the Prophet

¹ The edition used here is in 2 vols. (Bulāq, 1270).

² *Al-Tārīkh al-Masbūṭ fi Dhayr al-Sulūk* (Bulāq, 1896), p. 22.

³ 9 vols. (Cairo, 1923-33), incomplete.

⁴ 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913-22).

⁵ *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fi Ḥijāb al-Baḥr w-al-Qawā'id*, ed. G. Ferrand (Paris, 1921-3).

⁶ Of the 500 works ascribed to him some sixty four survive. Consult Kutubī,

vol. 1, pp. 48-9.

⁷ His *al-Iṣṣāḥ fi Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥābah*, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1323-7), was cited above.

⁸ Born in Al-Būṣīr.

casting his mantle over him. No other Arabic ode has attained the popularity of *al-Burdah*. Over ninety commentaries on it have been composed in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Berber and it has been translated into Persian, Turkish, German, French, English¹ and Italian. Its verses are still recited as charms and the Druzes repeat them to the present day at burials.

Story-
telling

We should here recall that the two romances (sing. *sīrah*) of 'Antar and Baybars, that have not ceased to entertain large audiences in the cafés of the Moslem Orient, took their present form during the Mamlūk period. Likewise the less popular *Alf Laylah*, which through its translations has assumed a place among the immortal pieces of international literature, did not take its final form until this time. Ardent votaries of sports, tournaments, archery, athletics, the chase and horsemanship, the Mamlūks, especially those of the Crusading period, provided the ideal type of hero whose exploits legend never tired of embroidering. The *fāris* who figures in the *Nights* portrays the Mamlūk knight as he flourished in this, rather than in the earlier 'Abbāsīd period. Likewise the folk-manners and customs are drawn from the society which the narrator saw around him in the Cairo of the Mamlūks.

Shadow
play

In the late thirteenth century a highly developed specimen of shadow-play literature makes its appearance under the title *Tayf al-Khayāl fī Ma'rifat Khayāl al-Zill*² (phantoms of the imagination on the knowledge of shadow play) by Muḥammad ibn-Dāniyāl al-Khuzā'i al-Mawṣili († ca. 1310). The author was a Moslem physician, possibly of Jewish or Christian origin, who flourished under Baybars, and his production is the only extant specimen of dramatic poetry from mediæval Islam. Shadow plays were invented probably in the Far East. The Moslems got them from India or Persia. At the end of the ninth century Arab story-tellers began to introduce national types into their tales and strive for comic effect. By the twelfth century they had developed puppet plays. In Spain a reference to *khayāl al-zill* was made in a figure of speech by ibn-Ḥazm in the eleventh century.³ From Western Asia and Egypt⁴ these plays

¹ J. W. Redhouse. "The 'Burdah'", in W. A. Clouston, *Arabian Poetry for English Readers* (Glasgow, 1881), pp. 319-41.

² Ed. in part by Georg Jacob, 3 vols. (Erlangen, 1910-12). See Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 237.

³ *Al-Akhlāq w-al-Sīrah*, ed. Maḥmaṣāni (Cairo), p. 28

⁴ See ibn ʿIyās, vol. ii, p. 33.

passed to Constantinople, where the principal character was styled *Qaragöz* (black-eyed), and thence to the rest of eastern Europe. Some of the material of the Turkish puppet theatre shows evidence of having been borrowed from the *Nights*. The Turkish *Qaragöz* may have influenced the type of modern actors represented by Charlie Chaplin.

The most pleasant surprise of the Mamlūk period, dominated by a régime of blood and iron, is the extraordinary architectural and artistic productiveness of a scale and quality that find no parallel in Egyptian history since Ptolemaic and Pharaonic days. In such mosques, schools and mausoleums erected by *Qalāwūn*, *al-Nāṣir* and *al-Ḥasan*, Moslem architecture reached its most florid expression. In the *Burjī* period the monuments of *Barqūq*, *Qā'it-bāy* and *al-Ghawri* are equally remarkable. Since then no edifice of any importance has made its appearance in Arab lands.

The Mamlūk school of architecture, whose origins go back to *Nūrid* and *Ayyūbid* models,¹ received fresh Syro-Mesopotamian influences when in the thirteenth century Egypt became a haven of refuge for Moslem artists and artisans who fled from *al-Mawṣil*, *Baghdād* and *Damascus* before the Mongol invasions. With the ending of the Crusades the obstruction to uninterrupted access to the stone-building territory to the north was removed and brick was abandoned in minaret construction in favour of stone. The cruciform plan of school-mosque structure was developed to its perfection. Domes were constructed that defy rivalry for lightness, beauty of outline and richness of decoration. Striped masonry and decoration (*ablaq*),² obtained by using stones of different colours in alternate courses, of Roman or Byzantine origin, became a feature. The period was also noteworthy for the development of the stalactite pendentive as well as for the two other familiar features of Moslem decoration: geometrical arabesques and Kufic lettering. Throughout all the Moslem ages animal forms were less freely used in Egypt and Syria than in Spain and Persia. Happily the finest examples of Mamlūk structures have survived and still form one of the main attractions for tourists and students alike.

Almost all branches of applied art maintained intimate connection with building, especially of the religious type. Extant

¹ See above, pp. 660.

² Cf. above, p. 680.

specimens of ornate bronze mosque doors, bronze chandeliers in delicate arabesque designs, gold gem-studded Koran-cases, exquisite mosaics in niches and intricate woodwork in pulpits and lecterns testify to their flourishing state.¹ Most of the massive mosque doors are faced with Damascene metal-work. Mosque lamps and coloured windows were made of the finest stained glass with floral designs and Arabic inscriptions. The inner walls of mosques were embellished with the finest decorative glazed tiles. In the minarets of the Mosque of al-Nāṣir in the citadel (1318) are found the earliest Mamlūk examples of faïence architecturally employed. Under the Burjis inlay became especially popular as the doors and pulpits of the Qā'it-bāy's Mosque indicate. In mosaics, ivory carving and enamelling the Copts had been proficient since pre-Islamic times.

Illustration

Among these minor arts none is more individual and characteristic than the illumination of manuscripts, reserved almost exclusively to the "word of Allah". So infinite were the pains taken and such was the skill necessary for the arrangement of colours and the elaboration of decorative elements, that even the best of Korans do not ordinarily have more than two or three pages fully illuminated. Here again the finest collection of illuminated Korans belonged to the Mamlūk sultans and has been recovered by the National Library at Cairo from the various city mosques.

Luxurious living

The delicate refinements of art were not lavished on sacred objects only. Various articles of luxury—cups, bowls, trays, incense burners, testifying to the fidelity of the picture of high life depicted by contemporary chroniclers—have come down to us. Royal princesses bedecked themselves with anklets, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and amulets not unlike those still used by modern Egyptians. Mamlūk banquets were followed by entertainments featuring the dancers, jugglers and shadow plays. The court officers included such high personages as master of the household (*ustādār*), armour bearer (*amīr silāḥ*), master of horse (*amīr ākhūr*) and cupbearer (*sāqi khāṣṣ*).² Barqūq established between Damascus and Cairo stations to facilitate the transport of ice to Egypt by camel.³ Of the Burji Mamlūks Jaqmaq (1438–

¹ For illustration consult Gaston Wiet, *Catalogue général du musée arabe du Caire; lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé* (Cairo, 1929).

² *Subḥ*, vol. iv, pp. 18 seq.; Maqrīṣī, *Khifāṭ*, vol. ii, p. 222; Zāhiri, pp. 114 seq.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks* (Paris, 1923), pp. L, 119.

³ Zāhiri, pp. 117-18; 'Umari, pp. 184 seq.

1453) expended 3,000,000 dinars in three years on slaves and bounties.¹

With the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt almost all Mamlūk industrial arts began to decay. A number of architects, craftsmen and carpenters were sent by Sultan Salīm to Constantinople. In one branch only, glazed tile, craftsmanship after the Turkish conquest surpassed anything that had been produced before, as the collection of Damascus tiles in the South Kensington Museum proves. The inlaid trays, bowls, candlesticks, flower-pots and other varieties of brass-work manufactured today in Damascus follow mostly Mamlūk patterns.

¹ Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vii, p. 246.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE END OF MAMLŪK RULE

UNLIKE the Turkish Bahris, the Burji Mamlūks were all Circassian with the exception of two: Khushqadam (1461-7) and Timurbugha (1467), who were Greek.¹ The Burjis rejected even more emphatically than the Bahris the principle of hereditary succession; the sultan was only *primus inter pares* with the real power in the hands of a military oligarchy. Of the twenty-three Burji sultans, whose reigns covered 134 years (1382-1517), nine ruled an aggregate of 124 years. These nine are Barqūq, Faraj, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, Barsbāy, Jaqmaq, Ināl, Khushqadam, Qā'it-bāy and Qānṣawh al-Ghawri.² The remaining fourteen were almost all of no consequence, and in one year, 1421, three different sultans were installed. Qā'it-bāy's rule (1468-95) was not only the longest but in some respects the most important and successful.³

¹ Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vii, pp. 685, 842, 847.

² His name is thus spelled in a Koran written for him (Moritz, *Palaeography*, vol. i, pl. 83); the usual form is Qānṣūh al-Ghūr.

³ List of Burji Mamlūks:

1. Al-Zāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Barqūq	1382
(interrupted by the Bahri Hājī, 1389-90)	
2. Al-Nāṣir Nāṣir-al-Dīn Faraj	1398
3. Al-Manṣūr 'Izz-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-'Azīz	1405
Al-Nāṣir Faraj (again)	1406
4. The Caliph al-'Adīl al-Musta'īn	1412
5. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	1412
6. Al-Muḥaffar Ahmad	1421
7. Al-Zāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Ṭaṭar	1421
8. Al-Sālīh Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad	1421
9. Al-Ashraf Sayf-al-Dīn Barsbāy	1422
10. Al-'Azīz Jamāl-al-Dīn Yūsuf	1438
11. Al-Zāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Jaqmaq	1438
12. Al-Manṣūr Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Uthmān	1453
13. Al-Ashraf Sayf-al-Dīn Ināl	1453
14. Al-Mu'ayyad Shihāb-al-Dīn Ahmad	1460
15. Al-Zāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Khushqadam	1461
16. Al-Zāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Yaḥyā	1467
17. Al-Zāhir Timurbugha	1467

[Continued at foot of next page]

The new régime continued the intrigue, assassination and rapine of its predecessor. In fact it is one of the darkest in Syro-Egyptian annals. Several of the sultans were treacherous and bloodthirsty, some were inefficient or even degenerate, most of them were uncultured. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412-21), a drunkard who had been bought by Barqūq from a Circassian dealer, committed some of the worst excesses.¹ Barqūq was the only one of the lot who had a Moslem father.² Barsbāy (1422-38), originally enrolled among the slaves of Barqūq, was not familiar with Arabic. He had his two physicians beheaded because they could give him no relief from a fatal malady. Īnāl (1453-60), another slave of Barqūq, could neither read nor write. His contemporary ibn-Taghri-Birdi³ did not suppose that Īnāl could recite the first sūrah of the Koran without a mistake. His name on the official documents he traced over the writing of a secretary. Nor was he above suspicion in the matter of pæderasty, with which Baybars among other Mamlūks was charged. The *ghilmān* institution of 'Abbāsid notoriety⁴ was again flourishing under the Mamlūks. His third successor Yalbāy (1467) was not only illiterate but insane.⁵ Qā'it-bāy (1468-95), who was purchased by Barsbāy for fifty dinars and manumitted by Jaqmaq, had the alchemist 'Alī ibn-al-Marshūshi blinded and deprived of his tongue for his failure to turn dross into gold. He levied a burdensome tax on the sale of corn which greatly added to the misery of the masses.

Not only the sultans but the whole oligarchy were more or less corrupt. The numerous Mamlūk amīrs and slaves organized themselves into various factions originating in the bodyguards of Barqūq, Faraj, Shaykh and Barsbāy and were usually at enmity with one another. Each faction was animated solely by the desire of grasping all possible wealth and influence.

The evil economic situation of the kingdom was aggravated by the selfish policy of the sultans. Barsbāy forbade the importa-

18. Al-Ashraf Sayf-al-Dīn Qā'it-bāy	.	.	.	1468
19. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	.	.	.	1495
20. Al-Zāhir Qānṣawh	.	.	.	1498
21. Al-Ashraf Jān-balāṭ	.	.	.	1499
22. Al-Ashraf Qānṣawh al-Ghawri	.	.	.	1500
23. Al-Ashraf Tūmān-bāy	.	.	.	1516-17

¹ Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pp. 322 seq.

² Vol. vii, p. 559.

³ Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vii, pp. 831, 840, 841.

⁴ Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 88.

⁵ See above, pp. 341, 485.

tion of spices from India, including the much desired pepper, and before the price rose he cornered the existing supply and sold it to his subjects at a great profit. He also monopolized the manufacture of sugar and went so far as to prohibit the planting of sugar-cane for a period in order to realize excessive profits for himself. In his reign another of the periodic plagues visited Egypt and neighbouring countries, and sugar was in special demand as a remedy against the disease. Though not quite as devastating as the "black death", this epidemic is said to have carried away in the capital alone 300,000 victims within three months. Considering the visitation a punishment for the sins of his people, the sultan prohibited females from going outdoors¹ and sought to make atonement by fresh exactions from Christians and Jews. He also deprived non-Moslems of their offices in the government and enforced on them the dress regulations. The same policy against Christians and Jews was pursued by several of his predecessors and by Jaqmaq and Khushqadam.² Many of Ināl's predecessors struck debased silver money and frequently changed the mint value of the precious metals

Exactions were not limited to non-Moslems. In the absence of a regulated system of taxation, the only way these sultans could raise enough money for their campaigns, extravagant courts and monumental buildings was by extortion from their subjects and from government officials who had enriched themselves at the expense of the public. Marauding Bedouins in the Delta and the desert to the east repeatedly fell on the settled *fallāhīn* of the narrow agricultural valley and ravaged the land. Locusts, like epidemics, made their periodic visitation. Famine became almost chronic in the land and was intensified in the years of plague and drought caused by low water in the Nile. In the reigns of Faraj and Shaykh starvation was especially widespread. It is estimated that in the course of the Mamlūk period the population of Syria and Egypt was reduced by two-thirds.³

Towards the end of the period certain international factors began to contribute to the poverty and misery of the land. In 1498 the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama found his way round the Cape of Good Hope. This was an event of vital importance in the history of the Syro-Egyptian kingdom. Not only did

Indian
trade lost

¹ Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, p. 760.

² *Ibid.* vol. vii, pp. 186, 721-2.

³ Cf. Ibn Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 273.

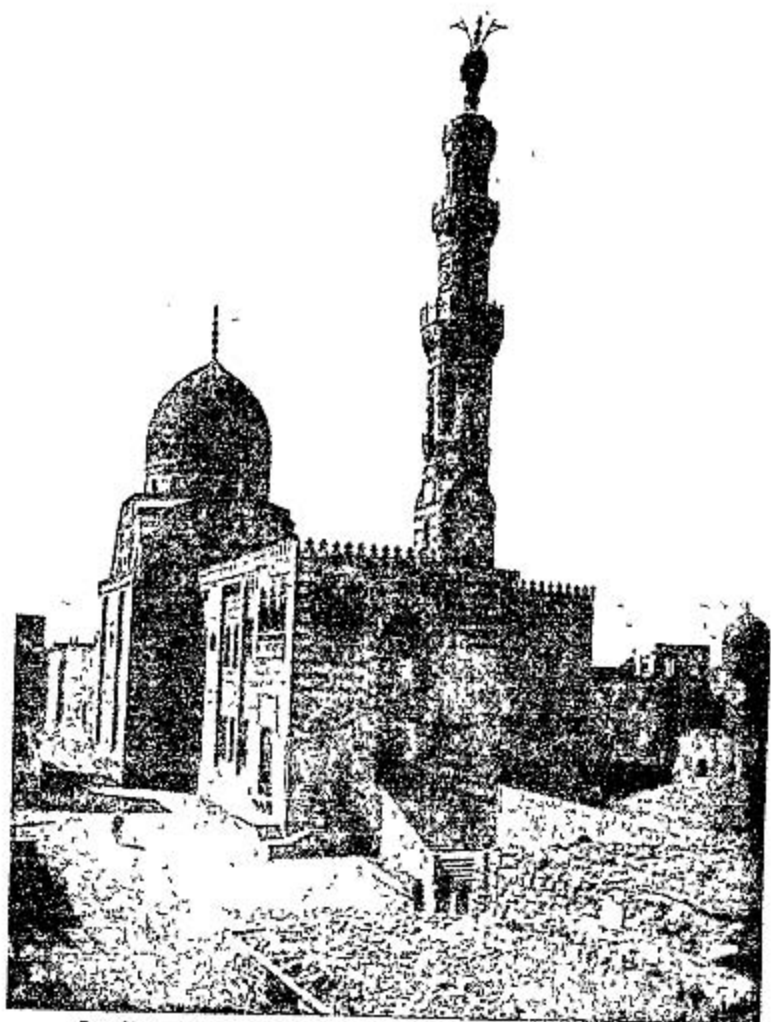
attacks from Portuguese and other European fleets become frequent on Moslem ships in the Red Sea and Indian waters but gradually most of the traffic in spices and other tropical products of India and Arabia was diverted from Syrian and Egyptian ports. Thereby one of the main sources of national income was for ever destroyed. The fleet of al-Ghawri had several engagements with Portuguese ships along the coast of Arabia. His threat to the pope, that unless the Portuguese were checked he would destroy the Christian holy places, was of no avail. In 1500 the Portuguese established themselves in Calicut on the west coast of India, and thirteen years later their general, Alfonso d'Albuquerque (from Ar. *abu-al-qurq* [?], sandal maker), bombarded 'Adan (Aden).

The only redeeming feature in this entire period was the erection—as if to atone for the shortcomings of the rulers—of buildings which have stood out to the present day as impressive examples of Moslem architecture. Such were the Mosque and Mausoleum of Barqūq, the Mosque of Qā'it-bāy and the Mosque of al-Ghawri. The memorial Mosque of Qā'it-bāy consists of a mosque proper, a tomb, a fountain and a school. Besides its symphony in two colours, red and white, the dome is decorated with a charming network of conventionalized foliage and rosettes. This and other Mamlūk buildings maintain the traditions of vigour and virile elegance established by the Ayyūbid school of Syria.

The Burjis also continued the earlier practice of applying elaborate arabesque ornament to the minor arts. In these industries, as in architecture, Qā'it-bāy's reign was the richest since the days of al-Nāṣir ibn-Qalāwūn.

In their foreign relations the Burjis were even less happy than in their domestic affairs. Before the close of the reign of their first sultan the spectre of a new Mongolian invader, Tīmūr, a worthy successor of Hūlāgu and Chingīz, began to loom on the northern horizon. Syria itself was convulsed throughout the whole period by revolts headed by its local governors, some of whom were instigated by the Mongols. Besides Tīmūr another and what proved a more deadly enemy began now to threaten the kingdom, the Ottomans of Anatolia.

The only bright spot in this dark period was the conquest of Cyprus in 1424-1426 by Barsbāy. The object of the Egyptian



From Martin S. Briggs, 'Muslim Architecture in Egypt and Palestine' (Clarendon Press)

THE MADRASAH OF QĀ'IT-BĀY, CAIRO (EXTERIOR)

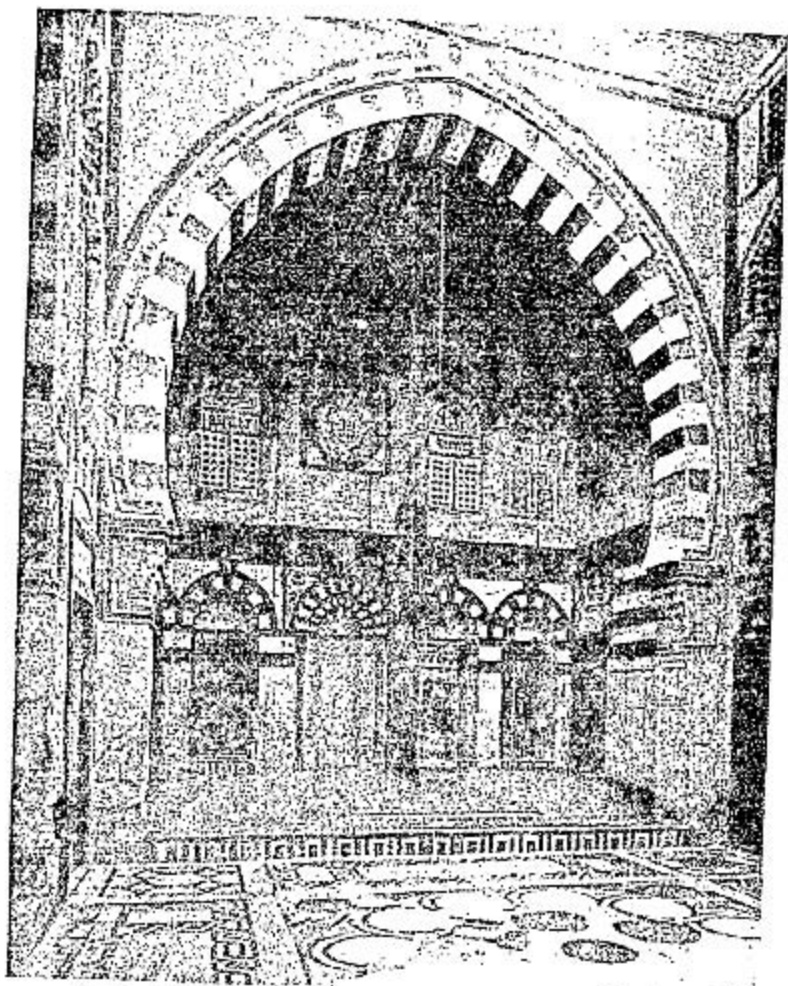
expedition to this Mediterranean island was to deprive the corsairs, who had repeatedly ravaged Syrian ports, of a base. The island had been in the hands of Franks, first the Templars and then the house of Lusignan, ever since Richard I occupied it in 1191. It was a powerful ally of the Crusaders and later a permanent menace to the Mamlūk kingdom. In 1270 Baybars made the first attempt to retaliate for the frequent raids by Cypriotes, but his fleet was wrecked off Limassol. Now Barsbāy's formidable forces, after seizing Limassol, advanced to Larnaca and, having defeated the Lusignan army, took King Janus prisoner. Heavily fettered, the king and over a thousand captives were paraded through the streets of Cairo and then brought before the sultan. After kissing the ground¹ at the sultan's feet the king fainted and was borne into the citadel. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi,² who later had an interview with the exiled king, gives us an eye-witness's account. Later, through the intervention of the Venetian consul, Janus was returned to his throne on the payment of a ransom of 200,000 dinars and the pledge of a yearly tribute of 20,000. Barsbāy also concluded a treaty of peace with Rhodes, whose Knights of St. John had often collaborated with the Cypriotes in their attacks on the Egyptian coast. Cyprus was the sole acquisition throughout the Burji age, but did not begin to compensate for the many losses suffered.

Timūr Lang, commonly corrupted into Tamerlane, was born in 1336 in Transoxiana. One of his ancestors was vizir to Chingīz' son, but the family claimed descent from Chingīz himself. His satirical biographer ibn-'Arab-Shāh,³ however, cites the claim that Timūr was the son of a shoemaker and lived at first by brigandage, and that the epithet Lang (lame) he received as a result of a wound inflicted on him while stealing sheep. In 1380 Timūr at the head of his Tartar hordes initiated a long series of campaigns which gained for him Afghanistan, Persia, Fāris and Kūrdistān. In 1393 he captured Baghdād and in that and the following year overran Mesopotamia. In Takrīt, the birthplace of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, he erected a pyramid with the skulls of his

¹ The custom of kissing the ground before the sultan, established by the Fātimid al Mu'izz, was first abolished by Barsbāy, who substituted for it the kissing of the sultan's hand. Later, however, the old practice was revived with some modification; Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 558-9.

² Vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 612-18, 620.

³ *Ajd'ib al-Muqadūr fi Akhbār Teyrār* (Cairo, 1285), p. 6.



From Martin S. Brigg, "Mubammedan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine" (Clarendon Press)

THE MADRASAH OF QĀṬṬ-BĀY, CAIRO (INTERIOR)

victims. In 1395 he invaded the Qipchāq territory and occupied Moscow for over a year. Three years later he ravaged northern India and massacred 80,000 of the inhabitants of Delhi. It was the envoys of Tīmūr whom Barqūq towards the close of his reign ventured to execute, although they came on a friendly mission.

Like a cyclone Tīmūr swept over northern Syria in 1400. For three days Aleppo was given over to plunder. The heads of over twenty thousand of its Moslem inhabitants were built into mounds ten cubits high by twenty in circumference, with all the faces on the outside.¹ The city's priceless schools and mosques of the Nūrid and Ayyūbid ages were destroyed, never to be rebuilt. Hamāh, Hims and Ba'labakk fell in turn. The advance force of the Egyptian army under Sultan Faraj were routed and Damascus captured (February, 1401). While the city was sacked the fire broke out. The invader—a nominal Moslem with Shi'ite proclivities—extorted a religious opinion from its ulema approving his conduct. Of the Umayyad Mosque nothing was left but the walls.² Of the Damascene scholars, skilled labourers and artisans the ablest were carried away by Tīmūr to his capital, Samarqand, there to implant Islamic sciences and to introduce certain industrial arts which have since been lost to the Syrian capital. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi,³ whose father was chief armour bearer of Faraj, has left us a graphic description of this campaign. Ibn-Khaldūn accompanied Faraj from Cairo and headed the Damascene mission which negotiated peace with Tīmūr. From Damascus the wild conqueror rushed back to Baghdād to avenge the deaths of certain of his officers and dotted the city with a hundred and twenty towers built of the heads of the dead.

During the next two years Tīmūr invaded Asia Minor, crushed the Ottoman army at Ankara (July 21, 1402) and took Sultan Bāyazīd I prisoner. He captured the former capital Brusa and Smyrna. The distinguished captive was kept in chains during the night and made to travel in a litter surrounded by a grille (*qafas*) carried on two horses. The word *qafas*, supported by a misunderstood passage in ibn-'Arab-Shāh,⁴ gave rise to the legend that Bāyazīd was shut up in an iron cage. Tīmūr's death

¹ Ibn Taghri Birdi, vol vi, pt 2, p 52

² *Ibid.*, p 68

³ Vol vi, pt. 2, p 5, l 14, pp. 50 seq. Cf Mirkhwānd, *Ta'rikh Rawdat al Šafa'* (Teheran, 1270), Bl. VI.

⁴ P. 136

in 1404, in the course of a campaign against China, came as a relief to the Egyptian Mamlūks. His tomb can still be seen in Samarqand.

Timūrids

His son and successor, Shāh-Rukh (1404-47), held an angry correspondence with Barsbāy demanding the right, in fulfilment of a vow, of furnishing the Ka'bah with its precious curtain—a privilege maintained by the Mamlūks as the leading sovereigns of Islam. After holding a consultation with his qādīs of the four rites, Barsbāy deftly replied that Shāh would be absolved of his vow if he would spend the money on the poor of Makkah.¹ Shāh sent another envoy with a courtly robe, commanding that the Mamlūk sultan should receive investiture in it as his vassal, but Barsbāy tore up the robe and had the envoy flogged and ignominiously ducked head downward in a pool. It was a cold day in winter and the scene was witnessed by ibn-Taghri-Birdī.² After Shāh the Timūrids exhausted themselves in internal struggles which encouraged the rise of the Şafawids and the reconstitution of the Ottoman empire.

Ottoman
Turks

Reference has been made³ to the ultimate origin of the Ottoman Turks in Mongolia, their admixture with Iranian tribes in Central Asia and their advent into Asia Minor, where they gradually superseded and absorbed their Saljūq cousins, and in the first years of the fourteenth century established a kingdom destined to supersede the Byzantine empire as well as the Arab caliphate. Bāyazīd I (1389-1402) was the great-grandson of 'Uthmān (1299-1326), the eponymous founder of the dynasty. Under him the Asiatic part of the kingdom, extending from the northern frontier of Syria to the Danube, was almost all lost. In the following ten years, however, it was largely recovered from Europe as a base by Bāyazīd's son Muhammad I (1402-21). The Ottoman problem began to confront seriously the Egyptian sultans at the time of Muhammad I's great-grandson, Bāyazīd II (1481-1512), a contemporary of Qā'it-bāy. Rivalry between the two powers found its first expression in repeated conflicts among their vassals on the borders of Asia Minor and Syria. Qā'it-bāy invited fresh trouble in 1481 by harbouring the fugitive Jem, brother of Bāyazīd II and pretender to the throne; and when Jem later was taken to Rome the Mamlūk sultan negotiated with

¹ Ibn Taghri-Birdī, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 722, 723.

² Vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 743.

³ Pp. 475, 476, 489.

the pope with a view to his return to Egypt. But the immediate cause of the final breach was the secret promise of support made by Qānṣawh al-Ghawri to the arch-enemy of the Turks, the Persian Shāh Ismā'il (1502-24).

Ismā'il was the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty (1502-1736), the most glorious of the native dynasties of Moslem Persia. Its name is derived from the pious Shaykh Ṣafi-al-Dīn (the pure one of the faith), from whom Ismā'il was sixth in descent. The family traced its origin to the seventh imām, Mūsa al-Kāẓim, and became ardent in its Shi'ism. Its founder on his accession declared Shi'ism, more particularly the doctrine of the Twelvers, the state religion of Persia, which has ever since remained true to this faith. His collision with the Sunnite Ottoman Salīm I (1512-20), son of Bāyazīd II, took place in August, 1514, at Chāldīrān, north of Lake Urmiyah, where his cavalry gave way before the Janissaries'¹ superior artillery. The Turks then occupied Ismā'il's capital Tibrīz, Mesopotamia and part of Armenia (1515).

In the spring of the following year Qānṣawh proceeded to Aleppo under the pretext of acting as intermediary between the two contestants, but in reality to aid his Persian ally. In order to give his mission a peaceful appearance, he brought in his train his puppet Caliph al-Mutawakkil and the chief qādis of his realm. But Salīm would not be deceived; he was kept informed of the intentions of the Mamlūk sultan through a system of spies. When Qānṣawh's envoy arrived at Salīm's camp his beard was shaved—a grave insult—and he was sent back on a mule with a declaration of war. His attendants were put to death. There was no way of averting the impending catastrophe. Though about seventy-five years old, Qānṣawh, once a slave of Qā'it-bāy, was still vigorous. Throughout his reign he had proved himself a man of no mean ability. But he could not depend upon the loyalty of his north Syrian governors, or upon the co-operation of several of his Egyptian amīrs.

The two armies met on August 24, 1516, at Marj Dābiq, a day's journey north of Aleppo. Qānṣawh entrusted the command of the left wing to Khā'ir Bey, the treacherous governor of Aleppo, who at the first charge deserted with his troops. Soon afterward the aged Mamlūk fell from his horse, stricken with

¹ Tur. *jeni-cheri*, new troops, a name given to the regular infantry recruited mainly from young captured Christians, and largely responsible for the Ottoman conquests.

apoplexy.¹ The Ottoman victory was complete. The Turkish army was better equipped with the new arms—artillery, muskets and other long-range weapons—which the Mamlūk army, committed to cavalry and comprising Bedouin and Negro contingents, disdained. The Turks had for some time been using powder, but the Syro-Egyptians clung to the antiquated theory that personal valour is the decisive factor in combat. Salīm entered Aleppo in triumph and was welcomed as a deliverer from Mamlūk excesses. The caliph he treated kindly. In the citadel of the city he found immense treasures, estimated in millions of dinars, which the sultan and princes had deposited there. In mid-October he advanced upon Damascus, whose leading men went over to him or fled to Egypt. Syria passed into Ottoman hands, in which it continued for the next four centuries.

Egypt
conquered

From Syria the Ottoman conqueror swept south into Egypt. Here Ṭūmān-bāy, a slave of Qānṣawh, had become sultan. The two armies met on January 22, 1517, outside Cairo, where Ṭūmān at first battled valiantly. But the corrupt state of his army, the jealousies among his amīrs, the lack of funds and adequate firearms and the superiority of the Ottoman artillery were sure to tell as the struggle dragged on. Salīm, supported by Bedouin contingents, finally entered and plundered the city, slaughtering all the Mamlūks who fell into his hands. His guns on the right bank of the Nile were brought into action against the remnant of the army. Ṭūmān-bāy fled to a Bedouin chief, but was later betrayed and, strange as it may seem, hanged (April 14) at one of Cairo's main gates.² The Mamlūk sultanate was for ever crushed. Cairo, the centre of Eastern Islam since Salāḥ-al-Dīn's time, passed away as an imperial city and became a provincial town. Makkah and al-Madīnah automatically became a part of the Ottoman empire. The Egyptian preachers who led the Friday public services invoked Allah's blessing on Salīm in the following words:

O Lord! uphold the sultan, son of the sultan, ruler over both lands and the two seas, conqueror of both hosts, monarch of the two 'Irāqs, minister of the two Holy Cities, the victorious king Salīm Shāh. Grant him, O Lord, Thy precious aid; enable him to win glorious victories, O Ruler of this world and the next, Lord of the universe.³

¹ Ibn-Ḥaym, ed. Paul Kahle *et al.*, vol. v (Istanbul, 1932), pp. 67-9.

² *Ibid.* pp. 138 *seq.*, 145 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 145.

After lingering until the autumn in the valley of the Nile, where he visited the pyramids, Alexandria and other places of interest, the great conqueror returned to Constantinople, the Ottoman capital since 1453, carrying with him the caliph. Charged later with misappropriating trust funds, al-Mutawakkil was held prisoner until allowed to retire to Cairo by Salīm's son and successor, Sulaymān the Magnificent. There he died in 1543. His death closed the last chapter in the history of the mock 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Whether, as is alleged without sufficient warrant, he made a transfer of his office to the Ottoman sultan or not,¹ the fact remains that the Turkish ruler in Constantinople gradually absorbed the caliphal privileges and ultimately the title itself. Although some of Salīm's successors styled themselves caliphs and were so addressed, their use of the title was complimentary and unrecognized outside their own territories. The first known diplomatic document which applies the term caliph to the Ottoman sultan and recognizes his religious authority over Moslems outside of Turkey is the Russo-Turkish treaty of Kūchūk Kaynarjī, signed in 1774.

The sultan-caliph of Constantinople became the most powerful potentate in Islam, an heir not only to the caliphs of Baghdād but also to the emperors of Byzantium.² With the destruction of Mamlūk power and the establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus the focus of Islamic power shifted westward. In fact, by this time the centre of world civilization had moved to the West. The discovery of America and of the Cape of Good Hope transferred the world's trade to new routes, and the entire realm of the eastern Mediterranean began to sink into the background. Herewith the history of the Arab caliphate and the Moslem dynasties that arose in medieval times on the ruins of the Arab empire comes to an end, and the modern history of the Ottoman caliphate-empire begins.

¹ See above, pp. 489, 677

² On the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate see above, pp. 139, 184.