

EARLY MAMLUK DIPLOMACY  
(1260-1290)

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MAMLUK DIPLOMACY  
(1260-1290)

*Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn  
with Christian Rulers*

BY

P.M. HOLT



E.J. BRILL  
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## PREFACE

The almost complete loss of the archives of the historic Islamic states of the Middle East (the Ottoman Empire excepted) has imposed on historians of the region dependence on literary sources, particularly chronicles and biographies, as the principal kind of historical evidence available. Nevertheless, and particularly in the last thirty or forty years, increasing attempts have been made to exploit the scattered and fragmentary documentary materials that are extant. A new and important field of research has been provided by the *qādis'* registers, which illuminate in detail Muslim urban society in the pre-modern period. The archives of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai have been used, for example by S.M. Stern and Hans Ernst, and demonstrate how much the holdings of a remote Christian community can contribute to the understanding of Fatimid and Mamluk administration. John Wansbrough's articles on Arabic documents in the archives of former Italian city-states throw light on the commercial and diplomatic relations between the Christian and Muslim powers around the Mediterranean. In these cases, the individual documents possess further contextual significance as forming part of an archival *fonds*. This is not true of another category of documents, those which have been transmitted in literary sources, notably royal biographies and chancery manuals. They are isolated specimens, presented (with some editing by the medieval authors) to glorify the deeds of a ruler (and incidentally the literary skill of his clerk), or to serve as a model for the instruction of chancery officials.

The eleven treaties which in translation form the body of the present volume, are of this kind. They have notwithstanding an intrinsic value. Their historical context is provided by the data on their negotiation (and sometimes their abrogation) offered by the Arabic chroniclers and the writers of royal biographies. They reveal some of the realities of the contacts between the medieval Muslim and Christian communities, particularly on that Syro-Palestinian border where the powerful realm of the early Mamluk sultans confronted the diminished Crusader states in the last decades of their existence. They show in detail how, even in this prolonged crisis, life went on with provision for merchants to go about their business by land and sea, and for local

authorities to collaborate in the policing of the frontier. The treaties exemplify the sophisticated efficiency of the sultan's chancery—that was to be expected—but they also indicate a diplomatic procedure with respect for legality and precedent, sometimes, admittedly, practised with a degree of finesse.

My thanks are due to all who have helped in the preparation and production of this book, and especially to Miss Julian Chrysostomides of Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London, and Dr. Kate Fleet of the Skilliter Centre for Ottoman Studies, Newnham College, Cambridge, for their assistance in connection with the Byzantine and Genoese treaties. For any mistranslations or other errors here and elsewhere, I am, of course, solely responsible. My particular thanks are due to Prof. Dr. Ulrich Haarmann, who suggested the publication of this book in his series 'Islamic History and Civilization'.

Parts of the book have already appeared in the following articles: 'Mamluk-Frankish diplomatic relations in the reign of Baybars (658–76/1260–77)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XXXII, 1988, 180–95; 'Mamluk-Frankish diplomatic relations in the reign of Qalāwūn (678–89/1279–90)', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1989, 278–89; 'Baybars's treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269', in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and settlement*, University College Cardiff Press, 1985, 242–5; 'The Mamluk sultanate and Aragon: the treaties of 689/1290 and 692/1293', *Tārīḥ*, 2, 1992, 105–18; 'Qalāwūn's treaty with Genoa in 1290' *Der Islam*, 57/1, 1980, 101–8. I am grateful to the publishers of the above to reprint here.

Kirtlington  
November 1994

P.M. Holt

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### (i) *Sources*

As the state archives of the Mamluk sultanate have not survived, we are forced to draw our knowledge of its diplomatic instruments from isolated pieces in the records of European powers that had dealings with the sultans, e.g. Venice, Genoa and Aragon, or from examples preserved in Arabic literary sources. The documents here translated are found in such sources, which were written or compiled between the seventh/thirteenth and the ninth/fifteenth centuries by four Arabic authors.

The first of these was Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (620–92/1223–93), the head of the royal chancery under al-Zāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.<sup>1</sup> He was also the court biographer of both these sultans. The second and only extant volume of his life of Qalāwūn, *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa’l-‘uṣūr fī sirat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*,<sup>2</sup> contains the text of six treaties: Nos. 5–11. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s predilection for citing these and other state papers may indicate that they were of his own composition. His contemporary, Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), belonged to a very different social group.<sup>3</sup> A Mamluk of Qalāwūn, as his name indicates, he rose to high office in the sultanate, but was ultimately disgraced. Assisted by his Christian secretary, he produced a voluminous chronicle entitled *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta’rikh al-Hijra*, which remains unpublished. The text of document No. 4 has however been excerpted and printed as an appendix to Ziyāda’s edition of al-Maqrīzī’s chronicle, *Kitāb al-sulūk*.<sup>4</sup> A later chronicler was Ibn al-Furāt (735–807/1334–1405), whose partly published universal chronicle, *Ta’rikh al-duwal wa’l-mulūk*,<sup>5</sup> provides the text of documents Nos. 4, 6 and 9. The fourth source is the vast chancery

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IBN ‘ABD AL-ZĀHIR (J. Pedersen), *EI2*, III, 679–80.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BAYBARS AL-MANṢŪRĪ (E. Ashtor), *EI2*, I, 1127–8.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-ma’rifat duwal al-mulūk*, I/3 (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda), 2nd. edn., Cairo 1970, 974–77.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh al-duwal wa’l-mulūk*, VII (ed. Qustanṭīn Zurayq), Beirut 1942, 206, 229–31, 262–72. The first two documents are also reproduced from this source as appendices to *Tashrif*, 204–11.

encyclopaedia, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šinā'at al-inshā*, completed in 814/1412 by al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418), which gives the text of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7a and 9.<sup>6</sup> Although *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* is the latest in date of these sources, it was partly compiled from earlier works, and al-Qalqashandī informs us that the first five of these documents were copied from an autograph manual (now lost) entitled *Tadhkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb* by Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram, a clerk in Qalāwūn's chancery. The sixth piece is also from an earlier source, the chancery manual, *al-Ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umārī (700–49/1301–49).<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of documents appearing in two or more sources indicates that they are probably all to a greater or lesser extent edited versions. This can be shown, for instance, in regard to the truce of 682/1283 between Qalāwūn and Acre. The earliest of the three extant texts is probably that given by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir in *Tashrīf* at pp. 3–42. Ibn al-Mukarram's version, given by al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 51–63, is however considerably longer, and it is followed by Ibn al-Furāt with minor variations. The portions omitted by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir include not only lists of place-names, now important for the historical geography of the period, but also clauses of administrative and political significance. Ibn al-Mukarram's text as given in *Ṣubḥ* shows some condensations and corruptions which are clarified in the other versions.

There are also three works, contemporary with the reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn, which, while they do not reproduce the actual texts of any of these treaties, throw light on the circumstances of their negotiation, and are thus the principal sources for the diplomatic history of the period. The first of these is Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's court biography of Baybars, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*.<sup>8</sup> Instalments of this were read by the author to the sultan, who, for his part supplied information to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir; it is thus in effect a ghosted autobiography. After Baybars and Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir were both dead, the latter's maternal nephew, Shāfi' b. 'Alī al-'Asqalānī, produced a work entitled *Husn al-manāqib al-sirriyya al-muntaza'a min al-sira al-Zāhiriyya*,<sup>9</sup> ostensibly an abridgement of *al-Rawḍ*, but actually a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. AL-ḲALKASHANDĪ (C.E. Bosworth), *EI2*, IV, 509–11.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-'UMARĪ (K.S. Salibi), *EI2*, III, 758–9.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976.

critical revision, written in deference to the Qalawunid dynasty, which had ousted the House of Baybars. It includes a number of anecdotes, in themselves somewhat irrelevant to the life of Baybars, relating to the sultanate of Qalāwūn, and these mostly reproduce with some variations material from Shāfi' b. 'Alī's other biographical work, which commemorates the career of Qalāwūn. This is extant in a unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library entitled *al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr min sirat al-sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*.<sup>10</sup> From internal evidence, this is an assemblage of biographical pieces, written at different times, rather than a single work conceived as a whole. Thus it is hardly an official biography, although at least one part, that dealing with the Mamluk defeat of the Mongols at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281, was written for the royal library. The work is essentially courtly in tone, a sustained panegyric of the great sultan.

(ii) *Truces in Islamic law and diplomatic practice*

Of the eleven treaties here translated, nine are explicitly designated in their texts as truces (Arabic sing. *huḍna*) concluded with the Mamluk sultanate. Of the other two, No. 9 between Qalāwūn and Michael VIII Palaeologus, is classified by al-Qalqashandī as a truce, although he finds its form anomalous; while No. 10 between Qalāwūn and Alfonso III of Aragon is virtually identical with the slightly later treaty between al-Ashraf Khalil and James II of Aragon, which is designated a truce by al-Qalqashandī.

It is therefore appropriate to begin with a rapid survey of al-Qalqashandī's treatment of the truce in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, a work which in its published form comprises fourteen volumes, mostly of over 400 pages each. Truces are dealt with in the Fourth Chapter of the Ninth Treatise concerning conditions of peace. It is headed, "Concerning truces concluded between the rulers of Islam and the rulers of Unbelief."<sup>11</sup> Since in classical Islamic law a state of perpetual hostility was deemed to exist between the Muslim community (*Dār al-Islām*) and the rest of mankind (*Dār al-ḥarb*), no permanent settlement could be concluded between a Muslim and an infidel ruler; at best there

<sup>10</sup> Bodleian MS. Marsh 424. Cf. P.M. Holt, 'A chancery clerk in medieval Egypt', *EHR*, CI, 400, 1986, 671–9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 2–78.

could be a truce of limited duration. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with terminology, the precedents for such truces, and the principles to be observed in drafting them. The second part provides a formal classification of truces, illustrated by actual examples.

In the first part of the chapter al-Qalqashandī expresses an interesting point of view when he asserts at the outset that a truce is inferior in status to a pact with non-Muslim tributaries (*dhimmīs*), i.e. in practice Christians and Jews living under Muslim rule and paying tribute (*jizya*), “because in the tribute is an indication of the weakness of the party with whom the contract is made, while in the truce is an indication of his strength.” He also comments that although the word for truce correctly implies a unilateral act, in reality two parties are involved. To establish the legality of truces with infidels he cites first two Qur’anic texts, and next invokes the *locus classicus*, the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiya negotiated between the Prophet and the pagan Quraysh of Mecca in 6/628. The pact was stipulated to last for ten years, but in fact was terminated by the events leading to the Prophet’s victorious entry into Mecca in 8/630. A precedent was thus also provided for the legal duration of a truce, but the jurists differed as to its interpretation. The two extreme views of the Shāfi‘ī law-school (which was predominant in the Mamluk sultanate) were, as cited by al-Qalqashandī, that the truce should not exceed four months if the Muslims were strong and secure, or ten years if they were in weakness and fear—a period which could be further extended by further instalments of ten years. It is ironical to observe that according to this criterion the Mamluk sultans were weak and fearful in their truces with the Frankish states! The limited duration of a truce is seen by al-Qalqashandī as one of its special characteristics.

There were three other characteristics. First, the status of the Muslim contracting party varied with the status of the other party. A truce for a region such as Anatolia or India could only be concluded by the supreme *imām*, i.e. the caliph or his deputy holding plenary power. This for practical purposes meant the Mamluk sultan as the nominal deputy of the puppet ‘Abbasid caliph in Cairo. Secondly, the truce must be advantageous to the Muslims; and thirdly, it must include no conditions repugnant to Islam. Other characteristics, according to al-Qalqashandī, are common to truces made with individuals, and compacts of peace between Muslim rulers. These he lists, and several of them occur in the Mamluk truces with the Frankish states; e.g. that



the party with whom the truce is made will be the friend of the other party's friend, and enemy of his enemy; and that neither party will act to the other's detriment. Each will restrain any incomers to his people or territory from committing hostile acts against the other party, will not permit such acts by his own officers, and will not encroach in person or with an army on the other's territory. Each will grant freedom of passage by land and sea to merchants and travellers who are subjects of the other party, together with their chattels. Provision is also made for the return under safeconduct of subjects of either party who are caught in the other's territory when the truce expires.

Al-Qalqashandi next considers the drafting of truces. Here, while discussing matters of form, he throws some light on the process of negotiation. He distinguishes three categories of truces: those made between two rulers directly, those made by representatives of the two rulers, and those made by one ruler and the representative of the other. In the two latter cases the representative (in effect, the ambassador) must have verifiable credentials from his master, granting him plenary powers. The credentials must be inscribed with the ruler's title, and sealed with his seal. When the negotiations are concluded between two ambassadors, the drafting clerk is to record that the ambassador of the party with whom the truce is concluded acted "freely and voluntarily, without compulsion or duress, constraint or main force; but rather for the benefit he saw in it for his master and himself; and that the instrument of the truce was read to him, and explained to him clause by clause, and translated for him by a reliable person, if he [did] not understand Arabic." The truce was finally ratified by the oaths of the two rulers or their representatives, and attested by witnesses for both parties. The usual witnesses, al-Qalqashandi says, were *ahl al-dawla*, the officials (or perhaps the great officers of state) of each ruler. A possible legal objection is anticipated at this point. Although the witnesses may be infidels, their testimony is valid because "the Prophet used as witnesses to his truce men who were Muslims and men who were polytheists." An ambassador sometimes asked for an authorized copy of a truce so concluded, or one might be provided for his master to sign and have attested, but usually the ambassadors were competent to despatch the business.

The second part of the chapter provides a formal, and hence perhaps a somewhat artificial classification of the instruments by which truces were concluded. It deals first with instruments drafted and filed in the Muslim chancery. The opening formula is used as the criterion; for

example, a unilateral truce imposed on the other party begins with the formula, "These are the terms on which A granted a truce to B" (*Hādhā mā hādana 'alayhi*). A specimen of such a truce is given, which al-Qalqashandī believes was conceded by a Mamluk sultan to a king of Lesser Armenia (No. 7 Appendix). Truces bilaterally negotiated usually have the opening formula, "Truce is established between A and B (*Istaqarrat al-hudna bayna fulān wa-fulān*). This opening is characteristic of most of the truces here translated. The variant formula in the truces with Aragon (e.g. No. 10), "Amity is established" (*Istaqarrat al-mawadda*), is equally evidence of bilateral negotiation, resulting here in a treaty of alliance rather than a truce—a distinction which would be impermissible to a Muslim jurist.

Finally al-Qalqashandī deals with a truce the written record of which seems to him wholly anomalous. It is in fact an *instrumentum reciprocum*, i.e. a pair of sworn undertakings exchanged between Michael VIII Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor who initiated the negotiations, and Qalāwūn. Al-Qalqashandī particularly remarks on the inclusion of the oath in the body of the text, instead of its forming a separate act of ratification, as was the usual procedure.

### (iii) *Procedure in the negotiation of truces*

The following account applies to the negotiation of truces which open with the formula, "Truce/Amity is established", i.e. those with the Crusader states, Lesser Armenia and Aragon (Nos. 1–8, 10).

When a truce was to be negotiated, the initiative was invariably taken in this period by the Christian party, whose embassy waited on the sultan in Cairo or elsewhere. The procedure for the reception of an embassy in the capital is thus described by al-Qalqashandī:

It has been the custom that when the ambassador of any king arrives at the border of his [i.e. the sultan's] kingdom, the governor of that region writes to the sultan to inform him of his arrival, and to ask permission to send him on. The sultan's orders for his coming are promulgated, and he comes. When his coming is known, if the king who sent him is of high standing (e.g. one of the khans among the eastern kings), some of the great amirs, such as the vicegerent, the great chamberlain and their like, go out to meet him; and he is lodged in the sultan's palaces at the polo-ground, which is the most eminent of the ambassadors' lodgings. If he is of lower status, he is met by the

master of ceremonies; the *dawādār* seeks permission for his entry, and lodges him in the guest-house, or in some place according to his rank. Then he waits for a day when the court is held. The sultan takes his seat in the audience-hall. The notables of the kingdom are present, the military and secretarial office-holders, whose business it is to be present. The ambassador is present with the letter which he has brought. He kisses the ground. The *dawādār* takes the letter from him, and passes it over the ambassador's face. He then gives it to the sultan, who opens it, and gives it to the secretary. He reads it to the sultan, who gives his command concerning it.<sup>12</sup>

On arrival, an ambassador might find that he had no easy or pleasant task. Usually, however, agreement was reached at last, and al-Qalqashandī describes the drafting of a truce, after giving his professional opinion of the truces made with the Crusader states:

None of them is well arranged, clearly expressed with splendid rhetoric, or phrases its terms eloquently. . . . They are vulgarly expressed, not clearly arranged. The like would not be produced by any clerk with the least experience in the craft of phraseology. It is amazing that this should be produced in the time of al-Zāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, who were amongst the greatest of kings; and in those days the chancery was under Banū 'Abd al-Zāhir, who were an eloquent family, and the chief masters of rhetoric.

Perhaps that happened only because in those days the Franks were neighbours to the Muslims; and agreement and mutual consent would be reached between the two parties clause by clause. So a clerk from each of the two parties, the Muslims and the Franks, would write it in vulgar, foul words for reasons of speed, until they concluded in agreement and mutual consent down to the last clauses of the truce. Then the clerk of the Muslim king would write it on the model of what ran in the draft, to match what the clerk of the Franks had written with him. If the sultan's clerk deviated in it as to the arrangement, the improvement of the words, and the eloquence of the composition, it would be rendered defective by departure from what the clerk of the Franks had previously agreed to. So then they would disown it, thinking it was not what had been agreed, owing to their lack of Arabic. So the clerk had to keep to what the two clerks had agreed to in the draft. In short, I have cited the said texts in spite of their stupid wording and lack of orderly arrangement because they include the articles on which agreement was reached in times past. So the clerk may draw on them

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<sup>12</sup> *Subḥ*, IV, 58–9.

for the terms of truces with which he is perhaps unacquainted—God Most High keep us from needing them!

Notice that it was customary, when writing a truce, to write as an annex an oath sworn by the sultan or his delegate in the contracting of the truce, to fulfil its articles and conditions; and an oath sworn by the plenipotentiary of the infidel king in the contracting of the truce, having permission to contract it on his behalf by a letter issued by him. Or the copy would be despatched to the infidel king for him to swear upon, and sign to that effect; and it would be returned to the sultan's court.<sup>13</sup>

It is clear from al-Qalqashandī's remarks that these instruments were alien to Muslim chancery practice. They stand in a different tradition. While they bear some resemblance to the commercial treaties between Muslim and Christian powers of the period (with which, in fact, they share some provisions, e.g. relating to the privileges of merchants), the commercial treaty was in form a unilateral grant by the ruler, whereas the truce was (again in form) a bilateral contract. The historical precedent of these Mamluk truces may be found in those made during the reign of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem (1100–18), when the power of the Crusaders was still expanding. Although the text of these instruments is lost, same idea of their contents is given by the contemporary Damascene chronicler, Ibn al-Qalānīsī,<sup>14</sup> and they show features which reappear in the later truces. Three of them, negotiated between Baldwin I and the *Atabeg* Tughtigin, the ruler of Damascus, are significant in this connection. By the first, made in 502/1108–9, a condominium was established over territory on the east of the Jordan valley. One-third (presumably of the produce) was to go to "the Turks", i.e. the authorities in Damascus, two-thirds to the Franks and the peasants.<sup>15</sup> Baldwin's share was increased by a further truce in late Dhu'l-Hijja 504/early July 1111.<sup>16</sup> Both these agreements were recorded in writing, and when a third truce was made in 507/1113–14, to restore cultivation in the war-ravaged districts and security on the roads, it was followed by an exchange of oaths between the two rulers.<sup>17</sup> When Baldwin I died in 511/1118, his successor, Baldwin

<sup>13</sup> *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 70–1.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ (Cl. Cahen), *EI2*, III, 815.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhayl ta'rikh Dimashq* (ed. H.F. Amedroz), Beirut 1908, 164; tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1967, 92.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhayl*, 174; *Damascus Chronicle*, 113.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhayl*, 190; *Damascus Chronicle*, 147.

II, presumably fearing that the truce would lapse, sent an embassy to Damascus. Tughtigin, however, demanded the ending of the condominium as a condition for the renewal of the truce—terms which the king of Jerusalem rejected.<sup>18</sup>

The truces of the early Mamluk sultans, bilateral in form but unequal treaties in substance, follow a common pattern. The names and titles of the contracting parties are given, the sultan's son sometimes being associated with him as joint ruler. The duration and date of the commencement of the truce follow. The basic ten-year period is sometimes elaborated into "ten whole years, ten months, ten days and ten hours" or some variant thereof. This was apparently a crude attempt to reconcile the Muslim lunar years with the Christian solar years; al-Qalqashandī quotes an earlier source as follows:

It is customary for them [i.e. the Franks] to reckon it as a period of solar years; so he sets down the reckoning in lunar years, noting years, months, days and hours to complete the solar years of the truce.<sup>19</sup>

The date is almost invariably specified according to the *Hijrī* and Seleucid eras. The use of the latter, inaccurately designated in the texts as the era of Alexander, suggests that the clerks employed by the Franks were Orthodox Christians or local Jews. The territories of the parties to the truce are then detailed, followed by the provisions which form the body of the instrument. Apart from the terms specific to each truce, two types of provisions are of frequent occurrence in one form or other. The first group is concerned with mercantile regulations. The security of merchants and their property is expressly guaranteed, and there are arrangements for their travelling under escort in the truces with the Hospitallers in 669/1271 (No. 3), and with Lesser Armenia in 684/1285 (No. 7). The imposition of any new dues is explicitly forbidden in several truces. Provision is made for the safeguarding and final disposition of the property of deceased merchants in the truce with Acre in 682/1283 (No. 6), Lesser Armenia, and Tyre in 684/1285 (No. 8). The disposition of merchandise resulting from wreckage is provided for in the truces with the Hospitallers (No. 3), the Templars in 681/1282, Acre, Lesser Armenia, and Tyre.

A second group of provisions is concerned essentially with the security and policing of the borders by specifying the action to be

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh* (ed. C.J. Tornberg), repr. Beirut 1965–66, X, 543.

<sup>19</sup> *Subh*, XIV, 4. The source is *al-Ta'rif* of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umārī.

taken in the event of homicide or robbery in frontier areas. It is possible that these clauses apply as much to frontier-raids as to individual crimes. With regard to homicide, a scale of compensation is laid down. In the words of Baybars's truce with the Hospitallers in 665/1267 (No. 1), "the compensation for a knight is a knight, for a foot-soldier a foot-soldier, for a turcopole a turcopole, for a merchant a merchant, for a peasant a peasant"; i.e. the release of a prisoner of equal status to the victim. A similar tariff is found in the truces with Beirut in 667/1269 (No. 2), Acre (No. 6) and Lesser Armenia (No. 7). The truce with Tyre (No. 8), however, substitutes a financial compensation for homicide, thus approximating to the wergild of medieval Europe and the *diya* of Islamic law.<sup>20</sup> The villages of the locality where the crime occurred were held responsible for the payment.

The procedure to be followed in dealing with these border-crimes is indicated in several of the truces, most clearly in that with Acre (No. 6). If stolen goods were not restored, or compensation paid, the local headman (*ra'is*, *wālī*) and three persons of his locality, chosen by the injured party, were placed on oath as to the occurrence. If he refused to swear, the value of the stolen goods was established by the oath of three persons of the injured party, chosen by their opponents. If the *wālī* still remained refractory, and had produced neither the goods nor the compensation, the injured party might petition both the Frankish and the Muslim authorities. If the *wālī* had not acted after 40 days of grace, he became liable to the death-penalty and the confiscation of his property. The references in other truces indicate a similar procedure, but a period of grace (usually 40 days) was normally granted at the outset for the discovery of the stolen goods, or the production of the killer in the case of a homicide.

Another problem of border-policing arose from the ease with which fugitives could slip over from one jurisdiction to another, thus causing a loss of man-power, whether as warriors or peasants, to their original homeland and ruler. Regulations to control this migration of fugitives are found in a number of the truces. The basic rule was that a fugitive was to be returned to his original jurisdiction with everything he had brought with him. There are, however, some variations on this. In the truce with the Hospitallers in 665/1267 (No. 1), what a fugitive brought with him was not returned, and he himself had the option of remaining or returning. A slave who accepted conversion was not to be returned,

<sup>20</sup> *Diya*: cf. *sub voce* (E. Tyan), *EI2*, II, 340–3.

but his price was to be remitted. The truce with Lesser Armenia (No. 7) dealt rather differently with the case of conversion. A fugitive from the sultan's realm had to be returned under escort, even if he had become a Christian; whereas if a fugitive from Lesser Armenia was converted to Islam, only the chattels found with him were to be returned. Finally, the truce with Acre (No. 6) made detailed provisions for the return of peasants to their original domiciles, irrespective of their religions.

A further provision for security can be found in the reference in three of the truces to the continuing prohibition of "the prohibited articles" (*al-mamnū'āt*). The truce with Lesser Armenia specifies these as "weapons, military equipment, and so forth."

The concluding portion of the truces, found only in full in some of these texts, consisted of an assurance that the truce would run for its full term, a reference to the sultan's signature as confirming the truce, a closing formula, and the date of completion. The truce with Beirut (No. 2) granted merchants 40 days of grace in which to return home on the lapse of the truce.

(iv) *Mamluk-Frankish diplomatic relations: 658–89/1260–90*

a. *The Crusader states and Lesser Armenia*

In 658/1260 Baybars usurped the throne from his predecessor, Qutuz, and, as a change of rulers always threatened the validity of truces, the authorities in the Latin kingdom were anxious to secure their position, particularly as in 659/1261 the new sultan brought his field-army into Syria with unknown intentions. There ensued in the following years a series of campaigns which exhausted the Frankish defenders, and resulted in the Muslim reconquest of important strongholds and cities. Four of these almost annual campaigns were of major importance. In 663/1265 the coastal towns of Caesarea, Haifa and Arsūf were taken and demolished. The principal objective in 664/1266 was the capture of Şafad, which dominated the internal routes near the Sea of Galilee. This former Templar stronghold was then restored, and garrisoned with Mamluk troops. The third major campaign (666/1268) resulted in the loss to the Latin kingdom of Jaffa, which was demolished, and of Shaqīf Arnūn (Beaufort, Belfort) a fortress which dominated routes in the region of the lower Litānī. Like Şafad an

internal stronghold, it also was restored. Baybars's greatest triumph in this campaign, however, lay in the north with the capture of Antioch, which left its ruler, Bohemond VI, restricted to his other lordship, the county of Tripoli. It was here that the operations of Baybars's last major campaign in Syria were mainly directed. In 669/1271 he raided up to the city of Tripoli, and took three important strongholds: Şāfithā (Chastel Blanc of the Templars) and the two Hospitaller castles of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) and Ḥiṣn 'Akkār (Gibelacar), as well as al-Qurayn (Montfort, Starkenburg), the stronghold of the Teutonic Knights in the Latin kingdom.

These and other operations should not conceal the fact that the Crusader states were not Baybars's sole, or even principal, military preoccupation. In the first years of his reign there remained a residue of Ayyubid power in the three principalities of Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ and al-Karak. The lord of Ḥamāh, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, was politically quiescent; he had enunciated his policy at the start of Baybars's reign with the words, "I am with the ruler of Egypt, whoever he may be."<sup>21</sup> Al-Ashraf Mūsā, the lord of Ḥimṣ, died late in 661/1263 leaving no heir, whereupon his principality became a province of the sultanate. Al-Mughith 'Umar, the ruler of al-Karak, like Reynald of Châtillon before him, held a castle of immense strategic importance. His personal relations with Baybars were uneasy. Tricked into coming down from his fortress to meet the sultan in 661/1263, he was arrested, accused of treasonous correspondence with the Mongols, and sent off to Cairo, never to return.

It was the Mongols who were the abiding danger from Baybars's point of view. Although the Crusader states still held some strong defensive positions, they had long since lost the capacity for effective independent offensive operations. There was, however, the possibility that they might join forces with a Mongol invasion, as Bohemond VI had rallied to Hülegü in 658/1260. In addition, they offered potential bases for Crusaders from Europe, who might also be in alliance with the Mongols—a danger which threatened when the Lord Edward brought his English Crusaders to Acre in 669/1271.

Baybars's diplomatic dealings with the Franks must be considered against this background. It must also be remembered that in the Latin kingdom the authority of the crown was so diminished and fragmented

<sup>21</sup> 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il Abu'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Istanbul 1286/1869–70, repr. Cairo 1325/1907, III, 208.



that the great feudatories and the military orders were conducting their own external policies to serve their own interests—a development which must have been highly satisfactory to the Mamluk sultan! When Baybars brought his army to Syria in the autumn of 659/1261, he received not only the Frankish leaders, including representatives of the military orders, but also envoys sent by the count of Jaffa, John of Ibelin, and his namesake and kinsman, the lord of Beirut. Truces were made, apparently without difficulty, with the two Ibelins on the basis of the *status quo* existing in the time of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus. It has been suggested that “It looks as though Baibars was entering into some sort of semi-feudal relationship with the Ibelin Lords of Jaffa and Beirut”,<sup>22</sup> and the sultan’s later dealings give further colour to this supposition, as will appear.

The main Frankish embassy, by contrast, did not have an easy passage. Baybars treated the envoys with a high hand, and sent raiders into their territory, but he ultimately agreed to a truce, again on the *status quo* in the time of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, wishing to stimulate the flow of imports through the Frankish ports, and to bring down prices. These negotiations did not, however, result in a final settlement, as appeared when the sultan sent his ambassadors to obtain the Frankish oaths of ratification. An agreement for the exchange of prisoners was not carried out, and there was further dispute over a Frankish territorial claim. Matters came to a head in 661/1263. After Baybars had entrapped al-Mughīth ‘Umar, and ended the threat from al-Karak, he called the envoys of the military orders to account. The grievances which he alleged were that they had not sworn the oath as prescribed in ratifying the truce, that they had evaded the release of Muslim prisoners, that they had failed to compensate some merchants for property that had been seized, and that they were responsible for the interception of his ambassadors on their way to Anatolia. He demanded the retrocession of Shaqīf Arnūn and Ṣafad, which had been ceded to them by the Ayyubid al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl in 638/1240. The episode concluded, according to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, with the ostensible submission of the Franks to the sultan’s demands, although, as already mentioned, Shaqīf Arnūn and Ṣafad were in the end taken by force of arms some years later.

The conclusion of a truce did not in any case ensure that order and security would prevail throughout the territories to which it nominally

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<sup>22</sup> *Ayyubids*, II, 193.

applied. Three incidents about this time throw some light on conditions in the border areas. Shortly after the confrontation mentioned above, Baybars endeavoured to repress rural disorder by imposing a tax under the pretext of providing blood-money and compensation for robbery. Among the offenders were spies acting for the Franks, and the sultan's treasury obtained a considerable revenue from the coastal districts and the Nablus highlands. Then in Şafar 662/Dec. 1263–Jan. 1264 “the Franks” (not further specified in the source) obtained permission from the sultan's representatives to cultivate some land under a truce until harvest-time. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir piously and ominously suggests that the Frankish heads would be reaped by the swords of Islam before the harvest! Later in the same year Baybars heard of a Frankish raid on Islamic territory, and he ordered his representatives to seek restitution of the booty. The Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Qaymarī,<sup>23</sup> the governor of the conquered coast lands, wrote threateningly to the Franks about their breach of the truce. A functionary of Caesarea, the *wazīr*, as Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir styles him, was sent to negotiate, and al-Qaymarī held him as a hostage until the country-folk and cattle taken in the raid had been released.

Baybars's growing power in Syria was reflected in negotiations undertaken independently by the Hospitallers. At some time in 664/1265–66 they sent an envoy to negotiate the continuation of the existing truce in regard to their estates in the vicinity of Ḥimṣ and the Ismā‘īlī territories, i.e. the highlands held by the Assassins. For his part the sultan demanded that the Hospitallers renounce their claim to dues paid to them by Ḥamāh, the district of Abū Qubays (Bokebeis) west of the Orontes, and the Ismā‘īlī territories themselves. His terms were accepted, and a truce was drafted with the significant provision that the sultan might abrogate it unilaterally after giving due notice, the length of which is not stated by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir. The actual conclusion of the truce did not take place for some time. The Hospitallers seem ultimately to have been stung into action when Baybars, raiding up to the gates of Acre in Sha‘bān 665/May 1267, sent a detachment of his troops to demolish the Hospitallers' mill at Kurdāna (Recordane), and to burn the orchard there. Within a few days an embassy reached

<sup>23</sup> As his name shows, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Aziz al-Qaymarī was of Kurdish, not Mamluk, origin. In 648/1250 he was instrumental in making the Ayyubid, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo, the ruler of Damascus also. He had the unusually large military household of 250 horsemen, and was appointed by Baybars to this critically important post on the frontier of the Latin kingdom. He died in 665/1266.

the sultan, and the truce was concluded to run from 4 Ramaḍān 665/29 May 1267 (No. 1).

During the interval between the original negotiations and the conclusion of this truce, there were other dealings between the sultan and the Frankish authorities. An embassy from Acre reached Baybars while he was organizing the restoration of Ṣafad in Rajab 665/April 1267. "They discussed the matter of their territory with the sultan," says Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir,<sup>24</sup> and Baybars was clearly in a position to dictate terms. Sidon was to become a condominium like the Ḥimṣ territories in the truce with the Hospitallers then pending, and Shaqīf Arnūn, still a thorn in the Muslims' side, was to be demolished.

Already while the siege of Ṣafad was still in progress (i.e. in June or July 1266), Baybars had received an envoy from the lord of Tyre, Philip of Montfort, a kinsman of the Ibelins on his mother's side. He met with a chilly reception. Philip was accused of harbouring the sultan's enemies against the terms of his oath, of taking part in a raid on Bāniyās, and of killing one of Baybars's servants. Another of the sultan's grievances was that he had been left unsupported in operations against Acre, which the Mamluks were to have attacked by land with Philip, assisted by the Genoese at sea. The ambassador retired discomfited, but another Tyrian embassy in the next year was more successful. It arrived in Ramaḍān 665/May–June 1267, when Baybars was restoring Ṣafad. The sultan's victory there had perhaps dispersed his memories of Philip's unsatisfactory behaviour; at any rate the only grievance he now voiced was the killing of his servant, al-Sābiq Shāhīn. The payment of 15,000 Tyrian dinars to Shāhīn's family was the price of a renewal of the truce for Tyre for ten years.

An unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a truce was made by Guy of Ibelin, who became the count of Jaffa on the death of his father, John, in 1266. Baybars, then engaged in the restoration of Ṣafad, peremptorily refused to renew the truce made with John in 659/1261, which presumably did not contain a clause like that in the truce with the Hospitallers stating that it would not lapse on the death of either party. Baybars's determination to end the possibility of the use of the coastal towns as bases by Crusaders from overseas had been shown by his operations against Caesarea, Haifa and Arsūf in the previous year. Jaffa was the next for liquidation, and a *casus belli* was found in a report that its people were supplying Acre with provisions,

<sup>24</sup> *Rawḍ*, 281 = *Ayyubids*, I, 129; II, 102.

were employing Muslim barmaids in a tavern, and had infringed the lapsed truce in other ways. The city was surrendered in Jumādā II 666/March 1268.

To secure control of Beirut the sultan adopted a different means. Its lord, the other John of Ibelin, with whom Baybars had made a truce in 659/1261, died three years later, and the lordship passed to his daughter, Isabel. After a difficult start, negotiations continued until a truce was at last concluded in Ramaḍān 667/May 1269 (No. 2). It was remarkable for the mildness of its terms. In effect, Baybars assumed a kind of feudal suzerainty over the Lady of Beirut and her possessions, so that when she was left a widow in 1273, and her Latin overlord, King Hugh I of Jerusalem, removed her to his other kingdom of Cyprus, the sultan intervened vigorously and effectively. Isabel was duly sent back to Beirut, where in time her sister succeeded her in the lordship. Unlike most of the other coastal towns, Beirut remained a Frankish possession until after the fall of Acre in 690/1291.

The year 666/1268, which witnessed the fall of Jaffa, Shaqīf Arnūn and Antioch, saw also two major episodes in Baybars's diplomacy. The first was the negotiation of a truce by King Heṭoum of Lesser Armenia, whose country had been invaded, and his son, Leon, captured by the Mamluks in 664/1266. The negotiations, which Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir describes, were difficult. Baybars demanded not only the cession of fortresses and territory, but also the release of Sunqur al-Ashqar, a leading amir and one of Baybars's former comrades, who had been captured by the Mongols at Aleppo in 658/1260. This was secured through Heṭoum's mediation. A truce was drafted in the newly captured city of Antioch (a significant choice in view of its closeness to Heṭoum's frontiers), and it was sent to the king for his oath of ratification.

The second important negotiation in this year was with Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus and (since 1264) *bailli* of the Latin kingdom, of which he was to become King Hugh I in 1269. It was, however, as *bailli* that he sent an embassy to the sultan in Damascus. A truce was drafted by which Frankish territory was lost to Baybars. The hill-country of Sidon was ceded to the sultan, while parts of the territory of Haifa, Carmel, 'Athlith and al-Qurayn became condominiumia. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir was sent with a senior amir to obtain the *bailli*'s oath of ratification. They were received in Acre on 24 Shawwāl 667/7 July 1268. Following the sultan's instructions they insisted on full ceremonial honours. Seats facing the *bailli* were provided for them, and they

refused to give the document into any hand but his. In the event the settlement apparently failed at this final stage as Hugh took exception to certain clauses, alleging (according to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir) his dread of the formidable Charles of Anjou—later to be his rival for the crown of Jerusalem. Probably no truce was agreed until the year of the Lord Edward’s unsuccessful crusade, when one was negotiated to run for ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours from 21 Ramaḍān 670/21 April 1272.

Baybars’s Syrian campaign of 669/1271 had a number of diplomatic consequences. There was a second truce with the Hospitallers, concluded on 1 Ramaḍān 669/13 April 1271, which marks the growing pressure of the Mamluk sultanate on their territories. The fortress of Balda and all territory taken during the reign of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf reverted to the sultan. The territories of al-Marqab (Margat) apart from the stronghold itself became condominiumia, and a long series of provisions defined (and thereby limited) the Hospitallers’ rights. It could only be a matter of time before al-Marqab itself fell, and in fact it was taken by Qalāwūn in Rabi‘ I 684/May 1285. Its capture was described by Abu’l-Fidā’, the Ayyubid prince and chronicler, an eye-witness of this, his first military operation.<sup>25</sup>

After Baybars’s capture of Ṣāfīthā, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār, the authorities in Tyre (where Philip of Montfort had died in 1270) bought peace by ceding five villages, and converting the rest of the territory apart from ten villages into condominiumia. The truce on these terms was duly ratified by oath. In Shawwāl 669/May 1271 Baybars made preparations to attack Tripoli. His plans were, however, frustrated by the news of the Lord Edward’s arrival at Acre, and a ten-year truce with Bohemond VI was hastily arranged. Before the ten years were over, Bohemond died on 9 Ramaḍān 673/8 March 1275, and Baybars seized the opportunity of the accession of Bohemond VII, a minor, to press more stringent demands concerning two places, Latakia and ‘Arqā. The port-town of Latakia had originally belonged to Antioch, of which Bohemond was the titular prince. It had been lost to Saladin in 1188, but was restored to Bohemond VI by Hülegü during the brief Mongol occupation of Syria. It still remained in Bohemond’s possession after Antioch fell to Baybars in 666/1268. By 1275 it had apparently become a condominium, presumably under the

<sup>25</sup> Abu’l-Fidā’, *Mukhtaṣar*, IV, 21; tr. P.M. Holt, *The memoirs of a Syrian prince*, Wiesbaden 1983, 12.

truce of 669/1271, and Baybars now sought the relinquishment of Bohemond's rights in the town. When the Franks strengthened the citadel, and King Hugh intervened in the dispute, the sultan dropped his claims.<sup>26</sup>

The town of 'Arqā (Arcas) situated in a fertile and well-watered region, and strategically placed on the route from Tripoli to Ḥimṣ, was a matter of more immediate concern—to such an extent that Baybars had already sent an occupying force to levy taxes on its produce. Again King Hugh intervened to get negotiations under way, and the sultan sent the Amir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān as his envoy. An agreement was finally concluded on 8 Muḥarram 674/4 July 1275, by which Tripoli was to pay an indemnity of 20,000 Tyrian dinars and to release twenty Muslim prisoners every year. Balabān, who was commissioned to receive the cash and the prisoners, found it impossible to obtain the fulfilment of the agreement. At last he returned to Baybars, and 'Arqā evidently remained under Mamluk occupation.

During the last two years of Baybars's reign pressure on the Crusader states eased. He was now looking further afield, to Anatolia, where he hoped to overthrow the protectorate exerted over the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm by the Mongols of the Ilkhanate. This was his last campaign, and his most transitory achievement. After his enthronement as sultan of Rūm in Kayseri, he returned to die in Damascus on 27 Muḥarram 676/30 June 1277. His military and diplomatic contest with the Crusader states was inherited, and pursued almost to its final victorious conclusion by his former comrade, Qalāwūn, the usurper of his throne.

The state of armed peace which had subsisted between the two parties at the end of Baybars's reign continued, however, for some time under his successors. There were two principal reasons for this: the internal instability of the Mamluk sultanate, and the external threat presented by the Mongol Ilkhanate. With regard to the first problem, Baybars himself had taken steps to secure the succession of his son, Baraka Khān, whom he appointed joint-sultan in 662/1264 at the age of four. But Baybars's death resuscitated a recurrent political hazard of the sultanate. This arose from the inherent rivalry between the

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<sup>26</sup> Runciman, *Crusades*, III, 343–44 = 'The Crusader states 1243–1291', in Setton, *Crusades*, II, 585, conflates the negotiations over Latakia with those over 'Arqā. Rawḍ, 446–7, indicates that these were separate negotiations, and that the payment of an indemnity was connected with 'Arqā, not Latakia.

Mamluk military household of the new ruler and the veteran amirs, whose positions and revenues were endangered by these competitors. When Baybars died, his former comrades were still numerous, wealthy and powerful. This group, the *Ṣālihiyya*, feared the advancement of both Baybars's own Mamluks, the *Ẓāhiriyya*, and those of Baraka Khān. In the event Qalāwūn, now the leading member of the *Ṣālihiyya*, outmanoeuvred Baraka Khān, who was deposed, and sent to the remote Syrian lordship of al-Karak. His seven-year-old brother, Salāmish, was installed as a puppet-sultan with Qalāwūn as his regent, until the latter felt strong enough to usurp the throne in 678/1279.

This, however, was by no means the end of the problem. Baraka Khān and his brothers, Salāmish and Khaḍir, in their autonomous lordship on the flank of Qalāwūn's realm had some claim on the loyalty of Baybars's veterans, and remained a threat. An even more serious danger was constituted by Sunqur al-Ashqar al-Ṣāliḥī, the former prisoner of the Mongols, who seized the opportunity of Qalāwūn's usurpation to proclaim himself sultan in Damascus. Not until 685/1286 was Qalāwūn able to regain al-Karak, and Sunqur was still more difficult to control. Expelled from Damascus in 679/1280, he established himself in the almost impregnable castle of Ṣahyūn (the Saone of its previous Frankish lords), whence he exercised lordship over the northern Syrian fortresses conceded to him by Qalāwūn in 680/1281. There he held out until 686/1287, when he surrendered to an expedition, and returned to Egypt.

The presence in northern Syria of Sunqur, an autonomous vassal of dubious loyalty, was particularly dangerous in view of the threat from the Mongols of the Ilkhanate, who might find in him an ally. Fortunately for Qalāwūn this danger remained unrealized. In Jumādā II 679/October 1280 the Mongols raided as far as Aleppo, but Sunqur did not collaborate with them. When they mounted a more serious invasion of Syria in the following year, Qalāwūn was joined by Sunqur, who had made his peace with the sultan a few months previously. The Mongols were defeated by the Mamluk forces at the battle of Ḥimṣ in Rajab 680/October 1281, and gave Qalāwūn no further trouble for the rest of his reign. Aḥmad Tegüder, the first Muslim *ilkhān*, tried during his short reign from 681/1282 to 683/1284 to establish friendly relations with Qalāwūn, but his overtures were haughtily rebuffed.

This was the background to the sultan's diplomatic and military dealings with the Crusader states. His extant truces with them were all negotiated between 680/1281 and 684/1285. The earliest was a

truce concluded with the Hospitallers on 12 Muḥarram 680/3 May 1281, of which the preamble is the sole portion now extant. It is perhaps significant that the only place specifically mentioned as being included in the truce is al-Marqab, which was finally taken by Qalāwūn four years later. With regard to the negotiation of this truce, the sources only tell us that it was granted to a deputation which came to the sultan at al-Rawḥā in the Palestinian coastlands, and that the chamberlain, Fakhr al-Dīn Ayāz al-Muqri, was sent to obtain the Hospitallers' ratification.

A few months later, when the sultan was at Damascus, a truce was concluded with Bohemond VII of Tripoli (No. 4). The antecedent negotiations had been complicated. As mentioned above, a ten-years truce had been made by Baybars with Bohemond VI in 669/1271. By 680/1281 this truce had run its course, and his son, Bohemond VII, sent to Qalāwūn to obtain a renewal of the agreement. 'Arqā was the principal subject of dispute, and a settlement favourable to the sultan was made.

In the following year, on 5 Muḥarram 681/15 April 1282, Qalāwūn concluded a truce with William of Beaujeu, the Master of the Templars (No. 5). This referred to Anṭarṭūs (Tortosa), and it renewed a truce made by Baybars with the commander of Anṭarṭūs at the same time as the truce with the Hospitallers in 669/1271 (No. 3).

The most important Frankish truce of the reign was concluded in 682/1283 with the authorities in the Latin kingdom (No. 6). At the time the crown was in dispute between two claimants, both of whom were absentees—King Hugh III of Cyprus, alias Hugh I of Jerusalem, and Charles of Anjou. The ten-year truce made with Baybars in 670/1272 had expired, and according to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir the Franks made repeated requests for its renewal. The sultan in council with his amirs agreed to negotiate because of the commercial importance of Acre to the sultanate, and the advantage of peaceful relations. The truce was modelled on that which had been made with Baybars. After it was concluded on 5 Rabi' I 682/3 June 1283, a deputation consisting as usual of a Mamluk amir (once again Ayāz al-Muqri) and a bureaucrat went to Acre to obtain its ratification.

In view of the close political, historical and social relations between the Christian kingdom of Lesser Armenia and the Crusader states, especially Antioch-Tripoli, a consideration of the truce between Qalāwūn and King Leon III (Baybars's former prisoner) is not irrelevant here (No. 7). Another truce, both anonymous and undated, is



given by al-Qalqashandī (No. 7 Appendix). Lesser Armenia presented a strategic problem to Qalāwūn. Although the conquest of Antioch by Baybars had isolated it geographically from Crusader territory to the south, it remained a stubborn bastion of Christian power in its mountain fortresses, and a traditional ally of the Mongols, with whom it had joined forces during the invasion of Syria in 680/1281. King Leon's first attempts to open negotiations were fruitless; his ambassadors were imprisoned by Qalāwūn. However, while the sultan was in Syria, besieging the Hospitaller castle of al-Marqab, the Master of the Templars interceded with Qalāwūn, and brought about a resumption of diplomatic relations.

At about the same time two minor truces were concluded. These were with the ladies ruling in Beirut and Tyre respectively: Eschiva of Ibelin and Margaret, who was the daughter of Henry of Antioch and granddaughter of Bohemond IV. The two were linked in the web of marriage-alliances which bound together the great feudal families of the Latin kingdom. Margaret had been married to John of Montfort, who died in 1283; Eschiva to his brother, Humphrey, who had briefly succeeded John before he himself died in 1284. The time was obviously ripe for Qalāwūn to make terms with the two widows. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the truce with Eschiva was mainly concerned with the compensation she was required to pay for a ship: a sum of 90,000 dirhams, one-third cash down, the rest in three months' time. No explanation is given, but one may note that during the reign of Baybars trouble had arisen over the capture of a ship belonging to the *Atābak* Aqṭāy al-Musta'rib (cf. introduction to No. 2). Perhaps similar action by corsairs was the occasion for this second truce with Beirut. The text of the truce with the Lady Margaret of Tyre has been preserved (No. 8).

When these last truces were concluded, Qalāwūn had already moved towards a more aggressive policy. With the Mongols quiescent, his over-mighty subjects, Khaḍir and Sunqur al-Ashqar, could be dealt with piecemeal. As already mentioned, they were reduced to impotence in 685/1286 and 686/1287 respectively. The sultan's first campaign against the Franks resulted in the capture of al-Marqab, which surrendered on 19 Rabi' I 685/24 May 1285. The garrison-troops, granted their lives, were evacuated under escort. Qalāwūn went on to obtain the surrender of the maritime stronghold of Maraḳiyya (Maraclea). Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir frankly acknowledges the problem that faced the sultan. The island castle could not be besieged in the usual

way, and the sultan lacked warships to impose a blockade. In these circumstances Qalāwūn had recourse to diplomatic pressure on Bohemond VII, who bought out the lord of Marāqiyya, and collaborated with the Mamluks in the demolition of the castle. Al-Marqab, lying as it did inland, was by contrast restored, and given a Muslim garrison.

In October 1287 Bohemond VII died leaving no male heir, and a period of instability ensued in Tripoli, from which Qalāwūn was not slow to profit. Opponents of the lawful heir, Bohemond's sister, Lucy, set up a republican commune under Bartholomew Embriaco, the lord of Jubayl (Gibelet), whose family was of Genoese origin. The commune placed itself under the protection of Genoa, which sent out its admiral, Benedict (Benito, Benedetto) Zaccaria, with a fleet of five galleys. It soon became clear, however, that the protectorate might become a veiled annexation, and a diplomatic revolution ensued. Lucy reached an agreement with Zaccaria, while Bartholomew Embriaco, who now had ambitions to become the count of Tripoli, got in touch with Qalāwūn, promising a condominium with the sultan if he achieved his aims. He failed, however, to keep his bargain, and this, according to an Arabic source, was the direct cause of Qalāwūn's campaign against Tripoli. But there was another dimension to the affair. The Venetians, who had ousted their Genoese rivals from Acre after the war of St. Sabas in 1258, were alarmed at the possibility of Tripoli passing under Genoese control. It may have been Venetian envoys who arrived in Cairo to warn the sultan of potential danger to Egyptian trade, i.e. if the Genoese developed Tripoli to the detriment of Alexandria, where the Venetians had the commercial monopoly. In any case Qalāwūn intervened to secure his own interests in this tangle of local and international politics, and Tripoli fell to him after a month's siege on 4 Rabi' II 688/27 April 1289.<sup>27</sup>

There remained Acre and the residue of the Latin kingdom, strung out along the Palestinian coast, and to this Qalāwūn now turned his attention. The incident which formed the pretext for a campaign against Acre was the killing of some Muslims by Christians in the city. Who the slayers and the slain were was variously reported. In any event the incident in Acre provided an appropriate *casus belli*. As Shāfi' b. 'Alī tells us, Qalāwūn "made immediate preparations. He brought

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Robert Irwin, 'The Mamluk conquest of the county of Tripoli', in Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and settlement*, 246–9.

out his pavilion, and mobilized his army for the expedition. He was surprised by death at Masjid al-Tibin.”<sup>28</sup> So on the outskirts of Cairo Qalāwūn died on 6 Dhu’l-Qa‘da 689/10 October 1290. A few months later Acre fell to his son and successor, al-Ashraf Khalil, and the fate of the Latin kingdom was sealed.

b. *Christian powers overseas*

In addition to the truces concluded with their neighbours in the Crusader states and Lesser Armenia, Baybars and Qalāwūn maintained diplomatic relations with a wider circle of Christian powers. These are illustrated by three extant treaties (again technically truces) made by Qalāwūn with Michael VIII Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor, in 680/1281; with King Alfonso III of Aragon in 689/1290; and with the republic of Genoa in the same year.

Qalāwūn’s treaty with Michael VIII (No. 9) came at the end of a period of diplomatic relations which had begun in 660/1261, when both the emperor and Baybars had newly come to power. Michael, who had ruled in Nicaea since 1258, regained Constantinople from the Latins in 1261; and his chief preoccupation was to safeguard the restored Byzantine Empire from the hostile powers which threatened it on the east and the west.<sup>29</sup> Baybars, installed as sultan after the murder of his predecessor, Quṭuz, had at first only a precarious hold on power. His election to the sultanate had been managed by an influential amir, Aqṭāy al-Musta‘rib; the Mongols, so recently expelled from Syria, were poised to return; and he was anxious to secure freedom of passage through the Straits from the Black Sea for the ships which brought in young Mamluks, essential to his military establishment. This aim was gained by a treaty, concluded probably in 660/1261–2, which served Michael’s interests also by providing him with a friendly power on his south-eastern flank. Michael’s neighbours and potential enemies in the east were, however, the two mutually hostile Mongol states of the Golden Horde in the Crimea and southern Russia, and the Ilkhanate, which, although centered in Persia had established

<sup>28</sup> *Husn*, 140.

<sup>29</sup> On the reign and policy of Michael VIII, see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state* (tr. Joan Hussey), 2nd. edn., Oxford 1968, 450–65; A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine empire*, Madison 1958, II, 591–603. On the relations between Michael VIII and Baybars, see Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt* (tr. P.M. Holt), London 1992, 120–33, 162–3, 194–5, 200.

a protectorate over the decadent Seljuk sultanate of Rûm in Anatolia.

With Berke, the first Muslim khan of the Golden Horde, Baybars established friendly relations about this time, exchanging embassies which passed through Constantinople. Michael VIII, menaced by the Mongols in Rûm, dared not commit himself to an alliance with Berke, the friend of his friend Baybars, but strove in the following years to maintain a diplomatic balance between the two Mongol rulers. In this he was not always successful, and failure had repercussions on his relations with Baybars. These were at their lowest point in 661–2/1263–4, when Michael detained an embassy on its way from Baybars to Berke, a force from the Golden Horde invaded Byzantine territory (the connection between these two events is disputed), and the sultan convoked an assembly of Christian prelates who solemnly excommunicated the emperor. But from this point the situation improved. One of the detained envoys negotiated with the invaders, and secured their withdrawal, and in due course the embassy proceeded on its way. Early in 667/September 1268 Baybars received an ambassador from Michael, who sought to be associated with the sultan in any treaty with the khan of the Golden Horde and the *ilkhân*. This was his last attempt to maintain a balancing policy. Baybars would not contemplate the idea of peace with the *ilkhân*, but the agreement then reached with the emperor seems to have remained as the basis of relations for over a decade.

When Qalâwûn usurped the throne, he was also in a precarious position, as we have seen. Moreover both he and Michael VIII were facing a common enemy in Charles of Anjou, the ruthless and ambitious brother of Louis IX of France. Charles had already acquired the kingdom of Sicily by defeating Manfred, the bastard son of the Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. He now looked eastwards, and in May 1267 made a pact with Baldwin II, the ousted Latin emperor of Constantinople, for the conquest and partition of the Byzantine territories—a development which may have been a factor in Michael's approach to Baybars in the following year. Charles went on to establish a foothold in the Balkans. Finally in 1277 he purchased a disputed claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and sent his *bailli*, Roger of San Severino, with a body of troops to enforce his rights. The Mamluk sultan and the Byzantine emperor were now both directly threatened. In July 1281 Charles concluded an alliance with the titular Latin emperor and the republic of Venice for the restoration of the Latin empire.

It was this growing crisis which prompted the negotiations between Michael VIII and Qalāwūn in 680/1281. Significantly the earlier of the pair of documents which constitute the treaty is the sworn statement of Michael, made on 8 May, which, in addition to clauses granting freedom of passage (such as were the staple of the earlier treaty with Baybars), makes the offer of naval assistance against “the common enemy”. In contrast, Qalāwūn’s sworn statement of 14 December 1281, seven months later, says nothing whatever about naval assistance or a common enemy. In the meantime Qalāwūn had been reconciled with Sunqur al-Ashqar, and the Mongols had been defeated at Hims. Roger of San Severino had failed to unite the Latin kingdom in the name of Charles of Anjou, while Qalāwūn divided his Frankish opponents by negotiating treaties with the Hospitallers and Bohemond VII, as we have seen. His need for naval assistance had therefore disappeared. The danger to Michael equally vanished in the following year, when the Sicilian Vespers destroyed for ever Charles of Anjou’s power-base in the western Mediterranean.<sup>30</sup>

The situation which developed in the years following the Sicilian Vespers forms the historical and diplomatic context of the treaty of 689/1290 between Qalāwūn and King Alfonso III of Aragon. Previously there had not been particularly close relations between the two monarchies. Catalan merchants had indeed been dealing with Alexandria from the start of the thirteenth century, and a Catalan consulate had been set up there in 1264, but this was only part of a great expansion of Catalanian trade throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>31</sup> Moreover trade with Muslims was severely limited (at least in theory) by repeated papal prohibitions, and among the forbidden exports were arms, metals, ships, shipbuilding materials and foodstuffs, especially cereals. The frequent repetition of these economic sanctions, however, suggests that they were regularly disregarded in practice.<sup>32</sup> Political relations between earlier kings of Aragon and Muslim powers had not been particularly cordial. Alfonso III’s grandfather, James I the Conqueror, had annexed the Muslim island of Majorca, and had gone

<sup>30</sup> On these developments, see particularly M. Canard, ‘Un traité entre Byzance et l’Egypte au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les sultans mamlûks Baibars et Qalā’ūn’, *Mélanges Gauthier-Demombynes*, Cairo 1937, 197–224. On the Sicilian Vespers and subsequent developments, see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, Cambridge 1958.

<sup>31</sup> Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1966, 31, 129.

<sup>32</sup> Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane*, 85; cf. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 386–7.

on to conquer Valencia, thus adding a sizeable block of Muslim-inhabited territory to his realm. He did, however, send three embassies to Baybars. One of these brought to Cairo Muslims who had been taken at sea by Catalan corsairs, and concerning whom Baybars had written to the king. The sultan's response to their liberation was to demand the return of their goods also!<sup>33</sup> Diplomatic relations were always precarious, and in 1267 James I received an embassy from the *Īlkhān* Abaqa. He resolved upon a crusading expedition to Syria. Two years later he set out, only to be frustrated by a storm off the French coast. In the end two of his bastard sons sailed to Acre for an ineffective campaign.<sup>34</sup> There was thus little in recent Aragonese history to suggest that in the last decade of the thirteenth century it would seek an alliance with the Mamluk sultan.

By 689/1290 the situation had changed. The train of events linking Aragon and the Mamluk sultanate had been set in motion in 1262, when King Manfred of Sicily's daughter and heiress, Constance, married Peter, the son and in 1276 the successor of King James the Conqueror. When the Sicilian Vespers shattered the regime of Charles of Anjou, King Peter III claimed the kingdom of Sicily in right of his wife. He and his son, Alfonso III, thus succeeded to the Hohenstaufen inheritance in the Mediterranean—an inheritance, not only of territory, but also of a tradition derived from Frederick II of cordial relations with the Muslim rulers of Egypt. It is significant that, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, the Aragonese ambassadors sought a peace-treaty "according to the precedent of the emperor with al-Malik al-Kāmil."<sup>35</sup> This refers to the notorious treaty of 626/1229 by which the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil retroceded Jerusalem (except for the Muslim holy places) to Frederick II—a statesmanlike compromise which totally failed to satisfy public opinion on either side. Furthermore in 647/1250 Frederick sent one of his officials to warn al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the Ayyubid sultan, of the impending invasion of Egypt by Louis IX and his Crusaders.<sup>36</sup> A few years later, in 659/1261, Ibn Wāṣil, the chronicler of the Ayyubids, went to Manfred as Baybars's ambassador, and met him in Apulia, near Lucera, where Frederick

<sup>33</sup> *Rawḍ*, 337; Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 164, 195.

<sup>34</sup> Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 199–201.

<sup>35</sup> *Tashrif*, 156.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, IV (ed. Ḥasanayn Rabī'), Cairo 1972, 247.

had established a colony of Muslims from Sicily.<sup>37</sup>

The Aragonese assumption of the Hohenstaufen claim to the kingdom of Sicily brought about an acute diplomatic crisis, in which Peter III found himself in opposition to both the French royal house and the papacy. In the eyes of both he was a usurper, and the coincidence that in 1282 there was a French pope, Martin IV, gave a further turn to the screw. In November of that year the pope excommunicated Peter, and subsequently offered the throne of Aragon to Charles of Valois, a son of King Philip III of France. The offer was accepted in 1284, and in the following year King Philip led a crusading army over the Pyrenees. The enterprise failed; the French retreated, and their king died in October 1285. Peter III also died in the following month. His eldest son succeeded him in Aragon as King Alfonso III, whose younger brother, James, became king of Sicily. The situation was complicated by the existence of two *de jure* (from the papal point of view) but landless monarchs. Charles of Anjou had also died in 1285, leaving his son, Charles of Salerno, as pretender to the kingdom of Sicily. His namesake, Charles of Valois, the papalist pretender to Aragon, was at the court of his brother, King Philip IV of France. Repeated attempts at a settlement failed until one was at last effected in February 1291, four months before the sudden death of Alfonso III.

The treaty between Aragon and Qalāwūn (No. 10) falls into this period of diplomatic deadlock. Failing to reach agreement with the pope, Alfonso III (like Frederick II sixty years before) turned for an ally to the Muslim great power in the eastern Mediterranean. A secondary factor may have been Alfonso's conquest of Minorca in 1287, which was followed by the enslavement of many of its Muslim inhabitants. It would have been uncomfortable for Alfonso to find himself at one and the same time the object of a crusade proclaimed by the pope, and a *jihād* organized by the Mamluk sultan. Peace was cheap at the price of seventy Muslim captives, who were perhaps the victims of Catalan corsairs or of the conquest of Minorca.

What in reality did the two parties gain from their unconventional and technically unlawful agreement? Probably not very much. The armed alliance it provided against the Christian powers of Europe was never invoked by Qalāwūn. Perhaps the most important provision from

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<sup>37</sup> Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufaṣṣij*, IV, 248–51. For a translation of his account, as transmitted by Abu'l-Fidā', see Holt, *The memoirs of a Syrian prince*, 31–2.

the Mamluks' point of view was the brief clause which ran:

The king of Aragon shall permit the people of his territory and other Franks to bring to the Islamic frontier-towns [i.e. ports] iron, linen, timber etc.

This was a defiant response to papal economic sanctions, and may have been the reason why in 1291 Pope Nicholas IV explicitly forbade the supply of arms, horses, timber, foodstuffs and so forth to the sultan's dominions.<sup>38</sup> But the pope fulminated in vain. In 694/1295 there was a low Nile, followed as usual by pestilence and famine in Egypt. Baybars al-Manṣūrī describes the situation and the means of its relief:

Lacking food, the people devoured the corpses. The districts were void of inhabitants. The dead were more than the living people and the beasts. God was good to the townsfolk of Alexandria. He sent them cargoes of grain from the Frankish lands. A great amount of it came from there; most of it from the island of Sicily, so that what was imported thence came to above 200,000 *ardabbs*.<sup>39</sup>

To Aragon also the political and military provisions of the treaty meant little in reality. The sultan could play no part in "the business of Sicily", which after apparently being settled in 1291, emerged as a problem on Alfonso III's death. To the Crown of Aragon also the little clause on trade was the most valuable part of the treaty, which was chiefly important as opening several decades of friendly relations between the two leading commercial powers of the eastern and western Mediterranean.

The treaty of 689/1290 between Qalāwūn and Genoa ended an unusual break in the good relations between the Mamluk sultanate and the Italian republic. As the masters of the trade of the Crimea and the Black Sea, the Genoese played an indispensable part in the transport of young Mamluks from the territories of the Golden Horde to Egypt—a trade-route which, as we have seen, was secured by negotiations with the Byzantine Empire, the ally of Genoa. There is evidence of friendly relations in Baybars's reign. A Genoese official, probably a consul, was in Cairo in 661/1263; and in 663/1265 a Genoese embassy arrived. Baybars's attack on Acre in 661/1263 seems to have been

<sup>38</sup> Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 25.

<sup>39</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuhfa*, 145. An *ardabb* equalled about 180 litres.

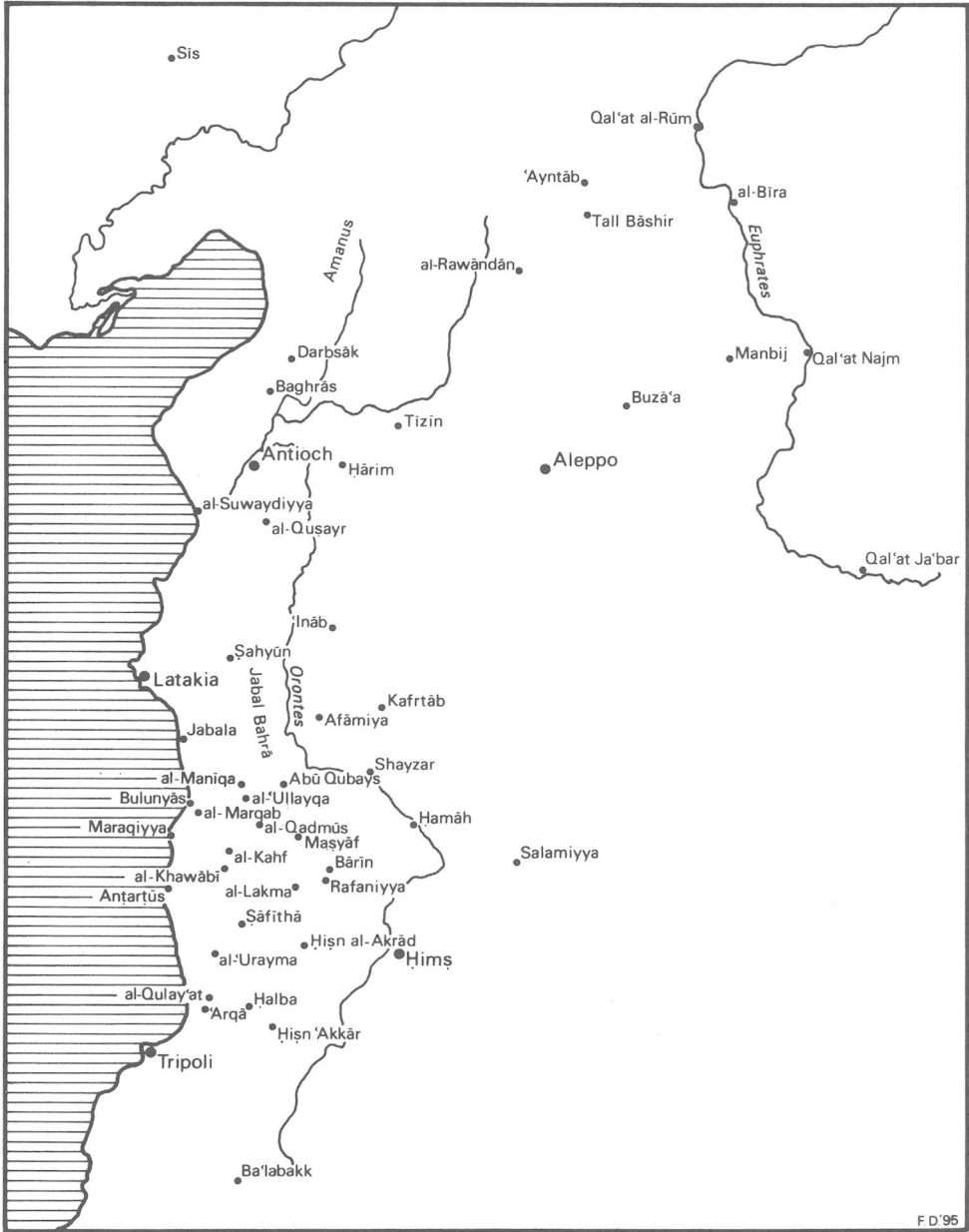


preceded, as mentioned above, by an understanding over joint operations with the Genoese.<sup>40</sup>

The cause of the breach of relations came as a sequel to the ill-starred expedition of Benedict Zaccaria to Tripoli in 1288. Finding his occupation gone with Qalāwūn's capture of Tripoli in the following year, Zaccaria proceeded to cause mischief in the eastern Mediterranean. The Mamluk sultanate lacked an effective naval force to check him, and matters came to a crisis when he captured a Muslim merchant vessel out of Alexandria. Thereupon those Genoese who could fled from Alexandria; the sultan arrested the remainder, and closed the port to Genoa. The republic hastened to disavow Zaccaria, and also another Genoese who had been causing trouble in the Delta. They sent an embassy to take home the captured merchants and their property. After a suitable delay, Qalāwūn deigned to negotiate with the Genoese ambassador, Albert Spinola, and a treaty was concluded (No. 11).

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<sup>40</sup> Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 125, 148, 163.



Western Fertile Crescent — Northern Region.



Western Fertil Crescent — Southern Region.

## 1. THE TREATY OF AL-ZĀHIR BAYBARS WITH THE HOSPITALLERS: 665/1267

The negotiations which culminated in the truce of 665/1267 between Baybars and the Hospitallers had taken place in the previous year, possibly (to judge from the position of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s undated account) around Ramaḍān 664/June–July 1266. There can be little doubt that the Hospitallers’ initiative in seeking a truce was stimulated by Baybars’s campaign in that year against the great Templar stronghold of Ṣafad, which surrendered on 18 Shawwāl/23 July.<sup>1</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir describes the negotiations thus:

And in this year the ambassador of the Hospitallers came, and asked for peace over their territory from the direction of Ḥimṣ and the Preaching. The sultan said, “I shall respond to this only on condition of the abolition of your tallages on the realm of Ḥamāh, which are 4,000 dinars; your tallage on the territory of Abū Qubays, which is 800 dinars; and your tallage on the territory of the Preaching, which is 1,200 dinars and 100,000 *mudd*, halved between wheat and barley.” They agreed to their abolition. The truce was written accordingly, and there was stipulated in it that the sultan might abrogate it at will with previous notification.<sup>2</sup>

Whenever exactly these negotiations took place, the ratification of the treaty was deferred until Ramaḍān 665/May 1267. Again the Hospitallers took the initiative by sending ambassadors to receive the sultan’s sworn attestation, and again their action was in response to Baybars’s campaigning. On 21 Sha‘bān/17 May he began scorched operations around Acre, followed by the demolition of a fortified mill belonging to the Hospitallers at Kurdāna, the Recordane of the Franks.<sup>3</sup> The event is referred to in the text of the truce, as well as in Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s account of the settlement:

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<sup>1</sup> Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 166–71.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawḍ*, 266 = *Ayyubids*, I, 124–5; II, 98. Khuwayṭir rightly corrects “100 *mudd*” to “100,000 *mudd*”, following *Manāqib*, 114. The contemporary Egyptian *mudd* equalled 7.35 litres (Popper, *Systematic notes (contd.)*, 38). “The [Blessed] Preaching”, *al-da‘wā* [*al-mubāraka*], i.e. the Ismā‘īliyya (Assassins) of Syria. I have used “tallage” to translate the semantically equivalent *qaṭī’a* (from *qaṭa’a*, to cut).

<sup>3</sup> Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 177–8.

The peace with the Hospitallers over Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and al-Marqab

We have spoken about their request for this, and the matter was settled on condition that abrogation rested with the sultan. When their ambassadors came this time, they requested that the sultan should take the oath to them. They acceded to the demolition of the mill as we have explained it. So the truce was settled for ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours. The tallages on the territory of the Preaching and Ḥamāh were abolished. The tallages on Ḥamāh and the Preaching have been mentioned, also Shayzar and Afāmiya. The annual tallage on Abū Qubays was 600 Egyptian dinars, with 500 Tyrian dinars on 'Ināb—the tax known as the *mufādana*, which is on each *faddān* two *makkūks* of grain and six dirhams. The Amir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī the chamberlain, and the *Qāḍī* Shams al-Dīn Ibn Quraysh, the clerk of the August Roll, were sent to take the oath of the Master of the Hospital; and they took his oath.<sup>4</sup>

These negotiations were thus initiated by the castellans of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) and al-Marqab (Margat), fortresses confronting the region dominated by the Ismā'īlis. Hitherto the Ismā'īlis had paid tribute to the Hospitallers, as had Ḥamāh, the last Syrian Ayyubid principality, and Ḥimṣ, which had an Ayyubid lord until 662/1263.

The text of the treaty is found in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 31–9. According to al-Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 70) it was written by Mūḥammad b. al-Mukarram at Ṣāfad. I have regrouped the clauses, which are disordered in the Arabic text. See also U. Vermeulen, 'Le traité d'armistice entre le sultan Baybars et les Hospitaliers de Ḥiṣn al-Akrād et al-Marqab (4 Ramadan 665 A.H./29 Mai 1267)', *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica*, 19, 1988, 189–95.

### *Text of the treaty*

- [1] The blessed and auspicious truce is established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī al-

<sup>4</sup> *Rawd*, 283 = *Ayyubids*, I, 131; II, 104. "With 500 Tyrian dinars on 'Ināb" follows the reading in Khuwaytīr's original transcription of the text in his thesis (London Ph.D. 1960), which is supported by the text of Ibn al-Furāt. Weights and measures varied according to time and place, but in the present context the *faddān* was rather over .5 hectare (Popper, *Systematic notes (contd.)*, 37), and the *makkūk* was about 40 kg. of wheat (E. Ashtor, *EI2*, VI, 118),

Najmī and the gallant Master N.,<sup>5</sup> Master of the Order of the Hospital such-and-such in Acre and the Coastlands, and N., castellan of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and N., castellan of Ḥiṣn al-Marqab, and all the Brethren Hospitallers, for the period of ten consecutive years, ten months, ten days and ten hours beginning on Monday, 4 Ramaḍān A.H. 665 corresponding to 30 [Ayyār]<sup>6</sup> 1579 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek:

- [2] Provided that the blessed agreement shall apply to, and this auspicious truce be established for, all the provinces of Ḥimṣ, Shayzar and Ḥamāh, and the territories of the Blessed Preaching, with all the boundaries of these realms as recognized and their territories as described, their villages and estates, plain and mountain, habitation and waste, cultivation and fallow, roads, waters, castles and fortresses as detailed in each realm, and set forth in this blessed truce for the appointed period until its end.

[*Ḥimṣ and the Condominia*]

- [3] Provided also that the settlement for the divinely guarded province of Ḥimṣ be that all the places, villages and lands from the River Orontes going westwards to the recognized boundaries on the west shall be condominium,<sup>7</sup> both habitation and waste, with their summer crops and winter crops, the herd-tax<sup>8</sup> and all sources of profit. It is confirmed that the half thereof shall go to the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Baybars, and half to the Order of the Hospital.
- [4] Provided also that both parties shall strive and be zealous for the prosperity of the said condominium with their utmost endeavours. Any peasants entering with their beasts, or Turcomans, Arabs, Kurds or others, or the proprietors, shall be liable to herd-tax at the current rate; half shall go to the Sultan, half to the Order of the Hospital.
- [5] Provided also that al-Malik al-Zāhir shall protect the said condominium from all his soldiery and followers, and from all under his jurisdiction and obedience, and from all Muslims entirely who enter his obedience. Likewise the Master of the Order of the Hospital and his

<sup>5</sup> The names of the Frankish parties to the truce are not given in the Arabic text, which substitutes *fulān* i.e. "so-and-so". The Master of the Order of the Hospital at this time was Hugh Revel.

<sup>6</sup> Ayyār (i.e. May), blank in the Arabic text. The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 29/30 May 1267.

<sup>7</sup> Condominium (*munāṣafa*); primarily a sharing of revenue, and hence implying a shared sovereignty.

<sup>8</sup> Herd-tax (*ʿidād*, *ʿadād*); cf. Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, I/1, 189, n. 69.

companions shall protect the territories of our lord the Sultan as covered by this truce.

- [6] Provided also that everyone who crosses the River Orontes westwards to pasture his beasts, whether he resides or does not reside, shall be liable to the herd-tax like the local proprietors and his [*sic*] beasts, and anyone leaving the city of Ḥimṣ and returning thither. Anyone of them who goes westwards and dies is liable to the tax.
- [7] Provided also that jurisdiction over the peasants of the condominia as regards confinement, liberation and taxation shall appertain to the representative of our lord the Sultan with the agreement of the representative of the Order of the Hospital; provided that he shall judge therein according to the Holy Law of Islam in the case of a Muslim, and in the case of a Christian he shall judge according to the regime of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. The peasants dwelling in all the condominia shall be exempt from corvées of either party.
- [8] Provided also that al-Malik al-Zāhir shall not take from Turcomans, Arabs, Kurds or others in the condominia any herd-tax or due of the condominia unless the half of it goes to al-Malik al-Zāhir, and the other half to the Order of the Hospital.
- [9] Provided also that al-Malik al-Zāhir shall not take steps to prevent any of the peasants recognized as dwelling in the condominia from returning and dwelling there, if they choose to return. Likewise the Order of the Hospital shall not prevent any of the peasants recognized as dwelling in the condominia from returning and dwelling there, if they choose to return.
- [10] Provided also that al-Malik al-Zāhir shall not prevent any of the nomad Arabs, Turcomans and others who pay the herd-tax from entering the condominia; unless if he is at war with any of the Franks covered by this truce, he may prevent that. The livestock<sup>9</sup> of al-Malik al-Zāhir and the livestock of his soldiery, and their servants, and the people of his territory shall pasture in the condominia in complete safety from the Franks and the Christians. Likewise the livestock of the Order of the Hospital and the livestock of their soldiery, their servants, and the people of their territory shall pasture in the condominia in complete safety from the Muslims. When livestock leave the pastures and are delivered to their owners, no due or herd-tax shall be taken in respect of them, nor shall they be hindered by either party.
- [11] Provided also that whatever may be levied from the Greek fishery,

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<sup>9</sup> Livestock; reading *jushārāt* for *khushārāt*.

half of it shall go to al-Malik al-Zāhir and half to the Order of the Hospital. Likewise for the fisheries on the west bank of the Orontes, half of it shall go to al-Malik al-Zāhir and half to the Order of the Hospital. The Order of the Hospital shall receive annually 50 Tyrian dinars in lieu of straw; the whole of the straw shall go to al-Malik al-Zāhir, to be disposed of by his representatives as they choose. Al-Laynūfar shall be a condominium: half of it to al-Malik al-Zāhir and half to the Order of the Hospital. And it is confirmed that the new mill,<sup>10</sup> recognized as having been set up by the Order of the Hospital, in which the fighting occurred, and the orchard there, also recognized as having been set up by the Order of the Hospital, shall be a condominium. They shall be under the jurisdiction of a representative on behalf of the Sultan's representatives, and a representative on behalf of the Order of the Hospital. They shall have jurisdiction over both, administering them and taking their revenue. And it is confirmed that whatever new mills, buildings and so forth are constructed by the Order of the Hospital on the water which turns the mill and irrigates the orchard, shall be a condominium of al-Malik al-Zāhir and the Order of the Hospital.

[12] It is confirmed that all the common goods<sup>11</sup> of both parties shall be released from the private property in the province of Ḥimṣ so that the destitute may obtain subsistence from them. The representatives of al-Malik al-Zāhir shall protect them [*sc.* the destitute] from harm by the Muslims from his said territory, and the representatives of the Order of the Hospital shall keep, guard and protect them from the Christians and Franks of all the territory covered by this truce. None of the Muslims of the territory covered by [this] truce shall harm or raid [the territory of the Hospitallers]; none of the Franks of the territory covered by this truce with its boundaries as currently held by the representatives of the Hospital and in their possession shall harm or raid the territory of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

[13] Provided also that when anyone liable to herd-tax enters the condominia and withholds it, if the tax-collector<sup>12</sup> of either party is present, either the tax-collector of the office of al-Malik al-Zāhir or the tax-collector of the Order of the Hospital, then the representative for the herd-tax

<sup>10</sup> The new mill; i.e. the mill of Kurdāna (Recordane).

<sup>11</sup> The common goods (*al-mubahāt*) are defined in a Tradition of the Prophet: "The Muslims are partners in three things, in water, fire, and fresh herbage." Cf. al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Ch. XVI.

<sup>12</sup> Tax-collector; in these two places reading 'addād for 'idād.



of either party being present shall take from that person withholding the herd-tax or leaving the condominia a pledge for the amount of the herd-tax for which he is liable, in the presence of one of the headmen of the condominia. The pledge shall be left on deposit with the headman until the representative of the other party is present, and the due share of the herd-tax shall be remitted to each party. If anyone liable to herd-tax leaves, and the representative there present fails to take his pledge, then if he enters the territory of al-Malik al-Zāhir, the representatives shall be obliged to remit to the Order of the Hospital their due share of the herd-tax for which the person leaving was liable. Likewise if the said person on leaving enters [the territory of] the Order of the Hospital, it is their obligation to remit to the representatives of al-Malik al-Zāhir their due share of the herd-tax for which the person leaving is liable. This procedure shall also be followed in the realm of Ḥamāh and in the territory of the Blessed Preaching.<sup>13</sup>

- [14] Provided that no herd-tax shall be levied on the private property of either party, the Islamic party and the Frankish Hospitaller party, in the condominia, whether riding animals, sheep, cattle, camels and so forth, according to the established custom therein.
- [15] Provided also that no-one residing in the condominia, whether peasant, Arab, Turcoman or otherwise, shall enter any of the territories of the Franks and the Christians to raid or cause harm with the knowledge of al-Malik al-Zāhir; [and no-one shall enter] the territory of the Muslims and the territory of his allies to raid or cause harm with the knowledge, approval or permission of the Order of the Hospital.
- [16] Provided also that the representatives of al-Malik al-Zāhir and those in treaty-relations with him shall let no Turcoman, nomad Arab or Kurd enter the condominia without the agreement and approval of the Order of the Hospital, unless they personally sponsor these said groups, and have knowledge of the situation, so that no harm, wrong or disorder may appear from them in the condominia or the territory of the Christians. The representatives of our lord the Sultan may leave them alone on condition that the Order of the Hospital has knowledge of them on the morrow of their settlement in a place, if the place is near. If any disorder appears from them, the representatives are answerable to the Order of the Hospital.
- [17] Provided also that the truce with its boundaries shall be authoritative concerning them as concerning the condominia. The boundaries in all

<sup>13</sup> The Blessed Preaching; reading *al-mubāraka* for *al-maḥrūsa*.

this territory shall be as evidenced by the copies of the truce, and as has been established until the end of the period.

- [18] Provided also that matters concerning the realm of Ḥimṣ shall be left as they were established in the days of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, as confirmed by the Amir ‘Alam al-Dīn Sanjar.<sup>14</sup>

[Shayzar]

- [19] As regards the settlement for the divinely guarded province of Shayzar; it is Shayzar, Abū Qubays and its districts, Kafrtāb and its districts, half of the angle of Bakās,<sup>15</sup> which is recognized as under the protection of the Order of the Hospital, and its districts, all the districts of the realm of Shayzar;<sup>16</sup> the said lands with their known boundaries, their villages as established, plain, mountain, habitation and waste. [Ḥamāh]

- [20] The settlement for the realm of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Abi'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd b. al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb.<sup>17</sup> It is Ḥamāh the divinely guarded with its castles and towns; al-Ma‘arra with its villages, plain, mountain, rivers, springs,<sup>18</sup> fruits, habitation and waste; the territory of Rafaniyya,<sup>19</sup> and the territory of Bārīn with its boundaries, borders, habitation, waste, and everybody and everything therein.

- [21] Provided that al-Malik al-Manṣūr shall not allow the Turcomans or the Arabs to settle in the territory of Rafaniyya or Bārīn except for 30 households transporting grain to the castle of Bārīn. If they wish an increase, it shall be referred to the Brethren Hospitallers, and agreed with them.

- [22] Provided also that if any of his [*sc.* al-Manṣūr Muḥammad’s] companions makes a wrongful attack, or if any of the Franks makes a wrongful attack upon his territory, there shall be fifteen days of grace. If the booty be discovered, it shall be returned. Otherwise the accused

<sup>14</sup> Al-Ashraf Mūsā was the last Ayyubid ruler of Ḥimṣ, on whose death (662/1263) without an heir the realm (*mamlaka*) escheated to the Mamluk sultanate. ‘Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Bashqirdī (d. 686/1287) was Baybars’s second governor in Ḥimṣ: Ibn Shaddād, *Ta’rikh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 240.

<sup>15</sup> The Arabic text gives geographically impossible place-names, which are here corrected: Kafrtāb for ‘Ayntāb, Bakās for Baghrās.

<sup>16</sup> The realm of Shayzar: *al-mamlaka al-Kisriwiyya*, using the Frankish name for Shayzar, i.e. Caesara, Caesarea Magne; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 200, n. 4; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, 140. For the use of Frankish forms of names in Arabic, see also Dussaud, *Topographie*, 34.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad II; Ayyubid ruler of Ḥamāh 642–83/1244–84.

<sup>18</sup> Springs; reading *manābi‘* for *manāfi‘*.

<sup>19</sup> Rafaniyya; amending Ruqayba in text.

party shall be put on oath that he knew nothing and perceived nothing, and so *vice versa*.

[*Ismāʿilī territory*]

[23] The settlement for the realm of their lordships Najm al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn, and of the Amir Šārim al-Dīn, being the two representatives of the Blessed Preaching, and the son of his lordship Raḍī al-Dīn.<sup>20</sup> It is Mašyāf,<sup>21</sup> al-Ruṣāfa, all the castles of the Preaching, its fortresses, plain, highland, habitation, waste, towns, territory, estates, roads, waters and springs; all the territory of the Ismāʿiliyya in the mountains of Bahrā and al-Lukkām; everything included in the boundaries and borders of the Preaching.

[24] All shall be safe from the embankment which is at Shayzar to the end of the lands of the fortresses of the Preaching and its territory. The protection-due<sup>22</sup> of the village known as ʿArṭamār [?] shall be on the pattern of the Ismāʿiliyya. If their lordships know that any of the Ismāʿiliyya has crossed to the Order of the Hospital to commit damage, they shall inform the Order of the Hospital before damage ensues. If they do not give information, they shall be put on oath that they had no knowledge of it. If they do not take the oath, they shall make compensation for the ensuing damage.

[25] It is confirmed that the peasants of the Order of the Hospital shall go and come, sell and buy in security; no one shall attack them. Likewise no one shall attack the peasants of the territory of the Ismāʿiliyya; they shall be safe and secure in all the territory of the Hospitallers. If anyone of either party makes an attack in a market or on a road, by night or day, there shall be fifteen days of grace. If the complaint is fully redressed, there shall be only goodwill between them. A person who is placed on oath shall swear. He who has not done so shall be sworn, otherwise he shall redress the damage. The estate which ʿAbd al-Masiḥ, the headman<sup>23</sup> of al-Marqab of the Hospitallers, mortgaged, which is al-Mushayriqa, shall be safe if a

<sup>20</sup> Najm al-Dīn Ḥasan b. al-Shaʿrānī was the chief of the Ismāʿilis. Šārim al-Dīn Mubārak b. Raḍī al-Dīn Abīʿl-Maʿālī, his son-in-law, was the lord of al-ʿUllayqa. Cf. Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, 122.

<sup>21</sup> Mašyāf; cf. MAŠYĀD (E. Honigman—N. Elisséeff), *EI2*, VI, 789–92.

<sup>22</sup> Protection-due; *ḥimāya*. Cf. Cl. Cahen, 'Notes pour l'histoire de la *Ḥimāya*', *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1956, I, 287–303; now in Claude Cahen, *Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale*, Damascus 1977, 271–85.

<sup>23</sup> Headman; *raʿīs*. Cf. Prawer, *Latin kingdom*, 367–8; *idem*, *Crusader institutions*, Oxford 1980, 207–8, where it is stated that the Oriental Christian, ʿAbd al-Masiḥ, "possessed three-quarters of a village."

settlement is made for it to the end of the period on the writing of this blessed truce between the lords [Hospitallers] and their lordships, and he shall bear the responsibility for the dues.

- [26] There is cancelled what the territory of the Blessed Preaching owed of everything due to the Order of the Hospital on account of the protection of Maşyāf and al-Ruṣāfa; this being annually 1,200 Tyrian dinars, 50 *mudd* of wheat and 50 *mudd* of barley. No tallage shall remain on the whole of the territory of the Preaching. The Order of the Hospital shall not venture to demand anything of that, whether old or new, partially outstanding, past, present or future.

[*General provisions and conclusion*]

- [27] Provided also that merchants, travellers and wayfarers<sup>24</sup> from all these said places shall be safe from both parties, the Islamic party and the Frankish Christian party, in the territory to which this truce applies, in respect of their persons, chattels, beasts and whatsoever pertains to them. The Sultan and his representatives shall protect them, and they shall jointly guarantee from all the Muslims the territory covered by this blessed truce to which the peace applies and in the condominium. The Order of the Hospital shall protect them from all the Frankish Christians in their territory to which the peace applies and in the condominium.

- [28] Provided also that the merchants and travellers as all the wayfarers may make their way by any road they choose of the roads comprised in the confines of the territory covered by this blessed truce and belonging to al-Malik al-Zāhir, the territory of those in treaty-relations with him and the condominium, the domain of the Order of the Hospital and the condominium. The inhabitants and the wayfarers of both parties shall be safe and secure in respect of their persons and chattels. Each party shall protect the other party.

- [29] Provided also that the discharge of the headmen shall be by agreement of both parties, the Islamic party and the Frankish Hospitaller party. When a claim is made against the other party, there shall be a stay of judgment of 40 days for investigation. If it comes to light, it shall be returned to its owner. If it does not come to light, three persons chosen by the claimant shall swear as to what they know about that claim. If it comes to light after the oath, it shall be returned to its owner; and if he has received compensation for it, the compensation shall be returned.

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<sup>24</sup> Wayfarers; *mutaraddidin* from *taraddud*, frequent coming and going.

- [30] Provided that they have made strenuous and energetic investigation concerning what was taken, and it has been proven and returned to its owner, then if they have taken an oath, they shall be quit of the claim. If it comes to light after the oath, it shall be returned to its owner. If the accused refuses the oath, the accuser shall swear, and shall be entitled to compensation for what is missing, everything according to its kind. The same procedure shall be followed in the case of homicide: the compensation for a knight is a knight, the compensation for a foot-soldier a foot-soldier, the compensation for a turcopole a turcopole, the compensation for a merchant a merchant, and the compensation for a peasant a peasant. If the said 40 days for the investigation of the claim expire, and the accused has not taken the oath to the accuser, he shall be obliged to make compensation until he makes rebuttal. If he rebuts the oath of the accuser, and ten days elapse without the author of the claim having sworn, his claim and its judgment are void. If he swears, he shall take the compensation.
- [31] If anyone flees from either of the parties to the other, having with him the chattels of another, everything he has with him shall be returned, and the fugitive shall have the option of remaining or returning. If a slave flees, and abandons his religion, his price shall be returned; if he keeps his religion, he shall be returned.
- [32] Provided also that claims preceding this truce shall proceed on condition of a full communication of the matter as between al-Malik al-Zāhir, those in treaty-relations with him, and the Order of the Hospital.
- [33] Provided also that this truce shall be firm and established; it shall not be abrogated by the death of either party, nor by the death of a king or a master until the end of the said period, viz. ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours beginning on this day.
- [34] This is what is agreed to the satisfaction of both parties. Signed by the august pen of the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir in authorization of its requirements and confirmation of what is set out above. Written on such-and-such a date.

## 2. THE TREATY OF AL-ZĀHIR BAYBARS WITH THE LADY ISABEL OF BEIRUT: 667/1269

Beirut, which was lost to Saladin in 583/1187, was regained for the Latin kingdom ten years later, and was given as a fief to John of Ibelin. Isabel, his great-granddaughter, succeeded to the fief on the death of her father (a second John of Ibelin) in 1264. He had concluded a treaty in 659/1261 with Baybars on the basis of the *status quo* in the days of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyubid ruler of Damascus (648–58/1250–60).<sup>1</sup> Isabel had been married as a child to King Hugh II of Cyprus,<sup>2</sup> who died in December 1267, and she was in due course to have three more husbands.

Beirut with its dependent territories, which extended in the words of the treaty “from the boundary of Jubayl [Gibelet] to the boundary of Sidon”, was a lordship of some commercial, strategic and political importance. The aggressive attitude displayed by Baybars towards the Crusader states (in contrast with the general acceptance of co-existence by the later Ayyubids) placed its future in jeopardy. The course of the Lady Isabel’s relations with the sultan can be traced from six passages in Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*. The opening was ominous. An envoy sent to Baybars while he was engaged in operations against Ṣafad (i.e. before 15 Shawwāl 664/20 July 1266) was told pointedly that the lord of Beirut with whom Baybars had an agreement was dead, and the sultan complained of the seizure of a ship belonging to the *Atābak* Aqṭāy al-Musta‘rib, the Mamluk elder statesman to whom Baybars owed his throne. The circumstances in which the ship was taken are not entirely clear: at this point Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir speaks of an attack by corsairs out of Beirut, while a later and fuller passage refers to a ship belonging to the *atābak*

in which a number of merchants were going to the island of Cyprus. It needed repair, so the brother of the Lady of Beirut gave them a safeconduct; then he betrayed them, and seized them.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Rawḍ*, 118 = *Ayyubids*, I, 53; II, 44.

<sup>2</sup> The marriage was reported by the Buhturid lords of the frontier-region of the Gharb to the Mamluk governor of Damascus, Āqush al-Najibi: Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, *Tārīḥ Bayrūt* (edd. Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi), Beirut 1969, 53, 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Rawḍ*, 256, 283–4 = *Ayyubids*, I, 115, 132; II, 90, 104–5.

It is uncertain who is meant by “the brother of the Lady of Beirut”. Since the incident occurred before the death of the boy-king of Cyprus, Isabel’s first husband, it may signify Hugh of Antioch, his regent and eventual successor,<sup>4</sup> and hence the ship and its company may have been seized in Cyprus.

However this may be, Isabel’s embassy obtained no immediate satisfaction, but entered into an undertaking for the release of the captured merchants, the restitution of their chattels, and the payment of an indemnity for the ship. In Sha‘bān or Ramaḍān 665/May 1267, when Baybars was next in Syria, the prisoners and their goods were duly brought to him, and good relations with Beirut were restored.<sup>5</sup> Still more Muslim captives “who had been taken at sea years before” (in Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s words) were brought to Baybars in 666/1268,<sup>6</sup> and yet others in 667/1269.<sup>7</sup> The redemption of this last contingent is linked by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir with the formal conclusion of a treaty between Baybars and the Lady Isabel on 6 Ramaḍān 667/9 May 1269. The gap of two years between the apparent fulfilment of the envoy’s original undertaking and the making of the treaty perhaps reflects Baybars’s growing power in Syria (Jaffa, Shaqīf Arnūn [Belfort], and above all Antioch, fell in the campaign of 666/1268), perhaps also his disposition to delay a settlement until he had redeemed every Muslim captive in Beirut.

Although in form a truce, this instrument was in fact an agreement to maintain normal political and diplomatic relations. The Lady Isabel was in no way penalized for the taking of the *atābak*’s ship; she suffered no loss of territory, nor were her lands reduced to the intermediate status of condominium (*munāṣafāt*). In this respect the document is in marked contrast to the other extant truces of Baybars’s reign, those with the Hospitallers in 665/1267 and 669/1271 (see Nos. 1 and 3). Nevertheless Baybars regarded the treaty as giving him a kind of protectorate over Beirut. In 1273 the Lady Isabel’s second husband, Hamo l’Estrange (“the Stranger”), died while abroad. King Hugh III of Cyprus, the former regent, and since 1269 also king of Jerusalem, thereupon removed her to his island-kingdom in order to provide for her remarriage. This provoked an immediate reaction from

<sup>4</sup> As King Hugh III of Cyprus.

<sup>5</sup> *Rawḍ*, 282 = *Ayyubids*, I, 130; II, 103.

<sup>6</sup> *Rawḍ*, 299 = *Ayyubids*, I, 142; II, 113.

<sup>7</sup> *Rawḍ*, 358 = *Ayyubids*, I, 171; II, 135.

Baybars, who wrote to Acre, saying (according to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir):

There is a truce between myself and this Lady. Her husband travelled only after committing her to my Majesty; and it was her custom, if she travelled, to commit her land to me. On this occasion she has sent me no ambassador. She must be produced, and my ambassador must go and have sight of her; otherwise I have the best right to her country.<sup>8</sup>

Faced with this demand, as well as internal opposition in the Latin kingdom, Hugh attempted to argue that Beirut fell within the scope of his truce with the sultan, which had been concluded in Ramaḍān 670/ April 1272, but in the end he yielded to Baybars. Isabel returned to Beirut, where she died about 1282. The fief passed to her sister, Eschiva, who held it until the city capitulated to al-Ashraf Khalil’s general, Sanjar al-Shujā’ī, after the fall of Acre in 690/1291.

The text of the treaty is found in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 40–2.

### *Text of the treaty*

- [1] The blessed truce is established between the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars and the exalted, virtuous and glorious Lady N.,<sup>9</sup> the daughter of N., the Lady of Beirut and of all its mountains and lowlands, for the period of ten successive years beginning on Thursday, 6 Ramaḍān 667 corresponding to 9 Ayyār 1580 of the Greek era:<sup>10</sup>
- [2] Upon Beirut and the districts adjoined thereto, which they were accustomed to administer in the days of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, the days of his son al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isā, and the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-‘Aziz;<sup>11</sup> the status established in their time [shall continue] until the end of the days of al-Zāhir [Baybars] in accordance with the truce of al-Zāhir;
- [3] Namely the city of Beirut and the places adjoined thereto from the boundary of Jubayl to the boundary of Sidon; i.e. the following localities:

<sup>8</sup> *Rawḍ*, 447 = *Ayyubids*, I, 209; II, 164.

<sup>9</sup> The names of the Lady of Beirut and her father are not given in the Arabic text, which substitutes *fulāna ibnat fulān*, So-and-so, the daughter of So-and-so. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir gives the Lady’s name (Isabel) as *Zabīn* (*Rawḍ*, 358).

<sup>10</sup> The Greek era; *Yunāniyya*. The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 9 May 1269.

<sup>11</sup> The reference is to the first two and the last Ayyubid rulers of Damascus: al-‘Ādil (Saladin’s brother) 592–615/1196–1218; al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isā 615–24/1218–27; al-Nāṣir Yūsuf 648–58/1250–60.



Jūniyya with its boundaries,  
 al-‘Adhb with its boundaries,  
 al-‘Uṣfūriyya with its boundaries,  
 al-Rāwūq with its boundaries,  
 Sinn al-Fil with its boundaries,  
 al-Raḥ and al-Shuwayf with their boundaries,  
 Anṭalyās with its boundaries,  
 al-Ḥadida with its boundaries,  
 Ḥusūs with its boundaries,  
 al-Bashariyya with its boundaries,  
 al-Dakwāna and Burj Qarājār with their boundaries,  
 Qurayna with its boundaries,  
 al-Naṣrāniyya with its boundaries,  
 Jaldā with its boundaries,  
 al-Nā‘ima with its boundaries,

Ra’s al-Fiqh and the lowland known as the city of Beirut;  
 and all in these places, being civilians,<sup>12</sup> merchants and every other  
 kind of people, those going from them and those coming to them of  
 all nations of people, and the wayfarers to the lands of the Sultan:

[4] These being Ḥumayra and its districts, castles, territory and every-  
 thing pertaining thereto;

the province of Antioch, its castles and territory;  
 Jabala and Latakia and their castles and territory;  
 Ḥimṣ the divinely guarded, its castles and territory and what pertains  
 thereto;

the province of Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār<sup>13</sup> and its dependencies;  
 the realm of Ḥamāh, its castles and territory and what pertains  
 thereto;

the province of al-Raḥba and what pertains thereto of its castles  
 and territory;

the province of Ba‘labakk and what pertains thereto of its castles  
 and territory;

the province of Damascus and what pertains thereto of its castles,  
 territory, civilians and realms;

the province of al-Shaqif and what pertains thereto of its castles,  
 territory and civilians;

<sup>12</sup> Civilians; *ra‘āyā*, i.e. civilian subjects as distinct from the military elite.

<sup>13</sup> Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār; emendation of Ḥiṣn ‘Akkā in text. Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār (Gibelacar of the Hospitallers) was not, however, taken by Baybars until 669/1271; cf. *Rawḍ*, 379–81 = *Ayyubids*, I, 187–88; II, 148–9.

the province of Jerusalem and what pertains thereto;  
 the province of Aleppo and what pertains thereto;  
 the province of al-Karak and al-Shawbak and what pertains thereto  
 of castles, territory and civilians;  
 the province of Nablus;  
 the province of Şarkhad;  
 all the province of Egypt with its frontier-towns,<sup>14</sup> fortresses, realms,  
 territory, coasts, mainland, sea, civilians and what pertains thereto;  
 those dwelling in all these realms as mentioned, and in all the realms  
 and territory of the Sultan which are not mentioned, and what God  
 Most High shall conquer by his hand and the hands of his represen-  
 tatives and servants, shall be covered by this blessed truce and in-  
 corporated in the totality of its provisions.

- [5] All those coming from and going to these lands shall be safe and  
 secure in respect of themselves, their chattels and their goods from  
 the Lady N., her servants and those under her jurisdiction and obe-  
 dience, by land and sea, night and day, and from her ships and galleys.
- [6] Likewise the subject of the Lady N. and her servants shall be safe  
 in respect of themselves, their chattels and their goods from the Sultan,  
 all his representatives and servants, and those under his jurisdiction  
 and obedience, by land and sea, night and day, in Jabala, Latakia and  
 all the territory of the Sultan, and from his ships and galleys.
- [7] Provided that no new and unaccustomed duty shall be levied on any  
 of the merchants who come and go, but they shall proceed according  
 to the regular customs dues and the rules established by both parties.
- [8] If a chattel of anyone from either side is missing, or if anything is  
 taken, and this is proved true against the other party, it shall be restored  
 if it is found, or its value if it is lost. If the matter is concealed, the  
 period for discovery shall be 40 days; then if it is found, it shall be  
 restored. If it is not found, the *wālī* of that *wilāya*<sup>15</sup> shall put the  
 accused on oath, and shall put on oath three persons chosen by the  
 accuser, and his party shall be quit of that claim. If the accused refuses  
 the oath, the *wālī* shall put the accuser on oath, and he shall take  
 what he alleges.
- [9] If anyone from either side is killed by accident or design, equivalent

<sup>14</sup> Frontier-towns; *thughūr* (sing. *thaghr*), here and elsewhere signifying ports, perhaps those at which customs-dues were levied, as distinct from mere harbours (*mawānī*).

<sup>15</sup> *Wālī*; in Mamluk Syria, an officer responsible for the policing of a district; probably equivalent to *ra'īs* (headman).

compensation to his party is obligatory on the killer: a knight for a knight, a turcopole for a turcopole, a foot-soldier for a foot-soldier, a peasant for a peasant.

- [10] If anyone from either side flees to the other side with another's chattels, he and the chattels shall be returned from whichever party, no excuse being accepted.
- [11] Provided that if a Frankish merchant goes out from Beirut to the Sultan's territory, he shall be covered by this truce; and if he returns to another place, he shall not be covered by this truce.
- [12] Provided that the Lady N. shall not enable any of the Franks whomsoever to proceed against the Sultan's territory from the direction of Beirut and its territory. She shall restrain from that, and repulse everyone seeking to gain access with evil intent. The territory of both parties shall be protected from criminals and disturbers of the peace.
- [13] Thereby this truce is concluded with the Sultan. It is confirmed that this truce shall be implemented, its terms shall be binding, and it shall be fulfilled by both parties until the end of its period. The passage of time shall not abrogate it, nor shall any time or season change its terms. It shall not be abrogated by the death of one of the two sides. On the lapse of the truce, the merchants shall be safe from both parties for the period of 40 days; none of them shall be prevented from returning to his domicile.
- [14] The August Signature comprehends this blessed truce as authentication thereof. May God grant success. On such-and-such a date.

### 3. THE TREATY OF AL-ZĀHIR BAYBARS WITH THE HOSPITALLERS: 669/1271

This treaty is evidence of the declining power of the Hospitallers in northern Syria. It was the direct and swift consequence of Baybars's capture after siege of the Hospitaller stronghold of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) on 25 Sha'bān 669/8 April 1271.<sup>1</sup> Proposals for a truce came from the Templars of Anṭarṭūs (Tortosa) and the Hospitallers of al-Marqab (Margat). The outcome of the negotiations is thus described by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir:

The peace with Anṭarṭūs and al-Marqab

Then the sultan replied to the commander of Anṭarṭūs and the Master of the Hospitallers concerning the peace-treaty of Anṭarṭūs in particular (excluding Ṣāfiṭhā and its territory) and al-Marqab. He reclaimed from them Balda and its districts, and what they had taken in the days of al-Nāṣir. And it was stipulated that they should abandon all the condominia and dues on Islamic territory. Further that the territory of al-Marqab and its sources of revenue should be jointly shared between the Sultan and the Hospitallers; and further that there should be no new building in al-Marqab. The Sultan took an oath to them, and the ambassadors went to take the oath of the Master.<sup>2</sup>

A brief notice of the episode is given by the contemporary Syrian chronicler, al-Yūnini (640–726/1242–1326):

When Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was captured, the lord of Anṭarṭūs (which belonged to the Templars) wrote to al-Malik al-Zāhir to request the making of a truce, and he sent him its keys. He made peace with him on the basis of half the grain-crop of his territory, and he installed a resident there. Ambassadors of the Hospitallers arrived from al-Marqab, and he made peace with them on the basis of sharing also. That was on Monday, 1 Ramaḍān [669/13 April 1271], and the truce was established for ten years, ten months and ten days.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 204–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawd*, 378–9 = *Ayyubids*, I, 186; II, 146–7, 239 n. 4, where the commander of Anṭarṭūs is identified as possibly Peter of Sevrey, and the Master of the Hospitallers as Hugh Revel. "Al-Nāṣir" is al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus (to 658/1260).

<sup>3</sup> Al-Yūnini, *Dhayl*, II, 669–70.

The text of the treaty is found in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 42–51. See also U. Vermeulen, ‘Le traité d’armistice relatif à al-Marqab conclu entre Baybars et les Hospitaliers (1 Ramadan 669/13 Avril 1271)’, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 22, 1991, 185–93 .

*Text of the treaty*

- [1] The blessed truce is established between the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful, and his son al-Malik al-Saʿīd Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Baraka Khāqān, the Friend of the Commander of the Faithful, and the Master Brother Hugh Revel,<sup>4</sup> Master<sup>5</sup> of all the Order of the Hospital of St. John in the Coastlands, and all the Brethren Hospitallers, for the period of ten whole, continuous and consecutive years beginning with the opening of Ramaḍān A.H. 669, corresponding to 13 Nisān<sup>6</sup> 1582 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek:
- [2] Provided that the castle of Balda<sup>7</sup> in its entirety with its suburb and districts, whatever belongs to it and is reckoned as of it, with its boundaries as recognized of old time, whatever is at present established as its, and what pertains thereto of localities, fisheries, salt-pans, orchards, presses, mills and islands; its plain and mountain, habitation and waste, rivers flowing there and springs issuing there, buildings erected there, land newly cleared there, and so forth; all that is populated on the soil of the condominia, on their lands and rivers; and what is within the boundaries thereof from the river of Balda<sup>8</sup> northwards; and whatever of these localities from the recognized and established boundaries is established as having belonged to Balda to the end of the days of al-Nāṣir; and the fortress of Barghīn, and its appurtenances of territory, estates and condominia:

All Balda and these localities shall be the property of al-Malik al-

<sup>4</sup> The name appears in the text in a very corrupt form.

<sup>5</sup> Master; in three places (Clauses 10, 15, 17) the text has the non-Arabic *al-māstar*, a transliteration of the Frankish title; but here and elsewhere a copyist has substituted the familiar *al-mubāshir*, a current term for an official in the bureaucracy.

<sup>6</sup> 13 Nisān; corrected from 18 Nisān in the text by collation with the *Hijrī* date. This corresponds to 13 April 1271.

<sup>7</sup> Balda; emendation of the impossible Ludd (i.e. Lydda!) The same emendation in Clause 3.

<sup>8</sup> Balda; emendation of Badra. “The river of Balda” is Nahr al-Sinn; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 132–4.

Ẓāhir until the end of the prolongation [of the truce]. The Order of the Hospital and al-Marqab shall have no right or claim therein on any pretext or for any reason until the lapse of this truce and any subsequent prolongation; nor shall any of the Franks have any connection or claim therein on any pretext or for any reason:

And likewise what was condominium for the Order of the Hospital, such as the castle of al-ʿUllayqa in its territory, shall pass entirely to the Treasury Office and the August Fisc; neither al-Marqab nor the Order of the Hospital shall have any part in it:

And likewise all the villages in all the territory of the Blessed Preaching and its castles, there shall be no condominium therein with the Order of the Hospital or al-Marqab; no tax, due, condition or claim throughout all the territory of the Preaching—Maṣyāf the divinely guarded, al-Kahf, al-Manīqa, al-Qadmūs, al-Khawābī, al-Ruṣāfa and al-ʿUllayqa. All condominium in these castles and their territory shall be the property of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir; the Order of the Hospital and the Franks shall have no voice or claim therein.

- [3] Provided that the territory of al-Marqab and its boundaries from the river of Balda southwards and westwards to the recognized boundaries of the territory of Maraḡiyya,<sup>9</sup> all of which were included in the august conquest, and were thereby established in the Blessed and August Fisc, and the boundary of the houses opposite the wall of the suburb, shall all be established as condominium between the Sultan and the Order of the Hospital in equal halves. Whatever is in all this territory; orchards, mills, buildings, fisheries, salt-pans, various springs, summer and winter crops, leguminous plants, dues levied, cultivated lands belonging to the people of the suburb, and the threshing-floors, shall be a condominium between the Sultan and the Order of the Hospital of St. John in equal halves:

Whatever is within the suburb and within al-Marqab is released from al-Malik al-Ẓāhir to the Master Brother Hugh Revel, Master of the Order of the Hospital of St. John, his knights, men, porters, foot-soldiers and civilians, on condition of their residing and living within the walls. From the wall of the suburb opposite the wall shall be condominium with its road-dues, rents, pastures for beasts bearing wool or hair, all the corvées and all land, whether cultivated or uncultivated; whatever due or herd-tax is taken from it shall be shared equally.

<sup>9</sup> Maraḡiyya (i.e. Maraclea); emendation of Marqaba.

All the recognized harbours and anchorages of the fortress of al-Marqab from the harbour of Balda to the harbour of al-Qanṭara adjoining the boundaries of Maraḳiyya, and all their revenues arising from dues levied on those leaving and entering and merchants, and whatever is settled as their amount as evidenced by the accounts, shall be condominium. Dues shall be taken in equal shares from goods of whatever kind entering therein according to the current usage, without change in the rule from the time when the Order of the Hospital took al-Marqab<sup>10</sup> until the date of this blessed truce; equal shares according to current usage. The merchants shall indeed proceed in regard to dues according to their usage in respect of the goods which they bring and the transaction, whosoever they are:

This shall apply to everything for the wayfarers and the residents in the castle and the suburb, whether commoners or not, knights or not, of whatever nation; except what arrives for the Brethren and their servants, known as the Brethren Hospitallers, being grain, provisions, clothing and horses designated particularly as their mounts. These shall not be subject to any duty, on condition that the merchants shall have no part therein. Otherwise duty shall be levied upon everything in equal shares as We have set forth.

- [4] Provided also that none of the Brethren, the knights, the ministers,<sup>11</sup> the clerks, the representatives<sup>12</sup> or the employees shall protect anything in the name of the Order of the Hospital to exempt it from duty, and prevent its being claimed, even were he the Brother closest to the Master or the Master's son. Should anyone appear in breach of this condition, all his property shall be seized in compensation to the two parties, the Royal Treasury Office and the Order of the Hospital, whether he be coming from the sea or going down to the sea, leaving or entering, and likewise leaving or entering by land, after due litigation and proof.
- [5] Provided also that the representatives of the Master of the Order of the Hospital, his officials,<sup>13</sup> clerks, employees and servants, shall be safe and secure in respect of themselves, their chattels and all pertaining

<sup>10</sup> The Hospitallers acquired al-Marqab (Margat) from its Frankish lord in 1186; cf. Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, Index, s.v. Margat.

<sup>11</sup> Ministers; *wuzarāʾ*. The significance of this term is not clear.

<sup>12</sup> Representatives; *nuwwāb*. A term with a very wide range of meanings, including that of "castellan"; cf. Clause 18.

<sup>13</sup> Officials; *wulāt* (sing. *wālī*). The significance of this term is not clear. It appears to be a synonym of *raʾīs*, "headman". See No. 2, n. 15.

to them. Likewise Our servants, officials, representatives, employees, clerks and the civilians of Our territory, shall be safe and secure in respect of themselves and their chattels, being in agreement upon the welfare of the territory and the taking of the dues, all the sharing of crops, the roads, orchards and mills, the dues assigned upon ploughland of every kind; likewise the headmen,<sup>14</sup> the various levies in cash and grain, and the current usage in the management of ploughland with everything connected therewith.

- [6] Provided also that the representatives of the Sultan and the representatives of the Order shall wholly agree upon all the tax-farms. None of them shall act unilaterally in anything, but only by agreement and record in the registers of the Treasury Office and the office of the Order of the Hospital. Nothing shall be discharged or detained except by agreement of the two parties, and neither shall act unilaterally.
- [7] Provided also that any Muslim who commits a wrong shall be liable to punishment according to the Holy Law; Our representative shall apply it if hanging or mutilation is mandatory, and he shall be punished according to the Holy Law by hanging, mutilation or blinding; provided that this shall be done only in the presence of a representative from the Order of the Hospital, present as an eyewitness, who shall be cognizant of the offence, and confirm it. If his offence merits a fine or indemnity in dirhams, gold, cattle or anything else of any kind, whatever is claimed shall be equally shared between the Treasury Office, the Order of the Hospital and the lord of al-Marqab.
- [8] Provided also that when a ship is wrecked, and merchandise appears ashore at the harbours, and its owner seeks to remove it to a locality of his choice by land and sea, and is not liable to prosecution, duty shall be taken from him. If he sells, duty shall be taken; and if he transports [the merchandise], duty shall be taken. The duty shall go to the two parties, and it shall be the recognized duty in current usage.<sup>15</sup>

If there is in it cloth and goods of various kinds, and the owner is a Muslim, he shall take his merchandise without interference from either party after the payment of duty to the Treasury Office and the Order of the Hospital.

If the owner of the merchandise is unknown, and it used to belong to a Muslim, it shall revert to the Royal Treasury, nothing in it pertaining to the Order of the Hospital.

<sup>14</sup> Headmen; *rāsa* (for *ru'asā'*).

<sup>15</sup> The two portions of this clause with the break at this point are reversed in the text.



If the owner of the merchandise is a Christian of any sect of the Christians, his merchandise shall be taken without any interference from Our side after the payment of duty.

If the owner of the merchandise is unknown, and it used to belong to a Christian, it shall remain at the disposal of the Order of the Hospital; save that for anyone from the territory of the Sultan's realm, whatever his religion, if he be a Christian or a *dhimmī*, whatever his kind of religion, the Order of the Hospital shall not interfere, but the whole of it, of whatever kinds of merchandise, shall be transported to the Treasury Office.

- [9] Provided also that travelling merchants and wayfarers with merchandise from the territories of the Muslims and Christians shall proceed on leaving the harbours specified above under the escort of the two parties without any fee. Nothing shall be accepted on account of the escort as regards themselves until it has brought them out and produced them safe and secure at the land-boundaries of al-Marqab.

When merchants arrive from the Sultan's realm at the territory and harbours of al-Marqab, both parties are to organize the escort with the headmen being responsible for guarding the routes both on leaving and arriving, so that they may come to the territory of al-Marqab and the harbours of al-Marqab specified above safe and sound in respect of themselves and their chattels, under escort of both parties as We have set forth.

- [10] Provided also that the servants of the Master of the Order of the Hospital, and the Brethren, knights and civilians resident in the castle of al-Marqab and the suburb shall be safe and secure in respect of themselves, their chattels, and whoever resorts and appertains to them, in their departure and arrival by land to Our territory currently in Our realm, from Us and Our representatives in the realm and territory currently under Our jurisdiction, from Our son al-Malik al-Sa'id, and from Our amirs and divinely aided soldiery.

If homicide or theft is committed within the bounds of the condominium in the territory of al-Marqab, an investigation concerning this shall take place for 20 days. If the culprit is found, the culprit shall be taken red-handed.

If the culprit does not appear in the space of 20 days, the headmen of the locality of the highway robbery, theft or homicide (if there was theft or homicide) shall detain in lieu of the killer or the thief the nearest neighbour of the highwayman or killer.

If the culprit absconds, and is not produced after 20 days, the people

of the representatives of the two sides shall mulct the closest neighbour to that place in 1,000 Tyrian dinars, half to the Royal Office and half to the head of the Hospital. The officials shall not be remiss in making search; the search shall be made in concert; there shall be no favour to one before another. None of them shall show favour in the taking of a peasant in this or otherwise in the interest of the prosperity of the territory, the levy of dues, the sharing of crops, and the search for the disturbers of the peace by night and day.

If any of the Muslims of any nation flees, whether a *mamlūk* or not, a freedman or not, whoever of the Muslims he may be, of whatever degree, a servant or not; he shall be sent back with everything found with him; whether it be little or much, it shall be sent back. Even if the fugitive enters the church and sits in it, he shall be taken by his hand, brought out, and delivered to Our representatives with all he has with him, whether horses, cloth, money, gold and whatever people deal in. He shall be delivered to Our representatives with what is with him, as We have set forth.

Likewise if any of the Franks or the Christians from their side flee to Our August Gates, or come to Our representatives, he shall be taken and delivered with what he has with him, whether horses, cloths, equipment and everything that has come in, be it little or much. Our representatives shall take him, and deliver him with what is with him to the representative of the Master residing at al-Marqab, and they shall obtain certificates of that on delivering him with what came with him.

[11] Provided also that they shall have no communication with the castle of al-ʿUllayqa nor the civilians who are in it, nor with the representatives of Ibn al-Raḡī<sup>16</sup> who are resident in it, by letter, word of mouth, message or speech. None from their side is to go to them, and none is to be enabled to come to them, and to reach their side from the said castle. Provisions, merchandise or imported goods of any kind shall not be sent to them, nor shall there be dealings between them. If anyone comes to them from the castle of al-ʿUllayqa, they [*sic*]

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<sup>16</sup> Al-Raḡī; emendation of al-Raḡīnī. Ibn al-Raḡī; i.e. Šārim al-Dīn b. Raḡī al-Dīn Abī'l-Maʿālī, the son of the former Ismāʿīlī lord of al-ʿUllayqa, was appointed governor of the Ismāʿīlī territory by Baybars in 668/1270, but his insubordination led to his capture later in the same year. Although he had been taken to imprisonment in Cairo before the conclusion of this truce, Baybars evidently feared the collusion of his partisans with the Hospitallers. Cf. No. 1, n. 20.

shall be taken and delivered to Our representatives, and they shall obtain certificates of that.

- [12] Provided also that they shall not renew the structure of a castle, or a structure within the castle, either in the wall or its towers. Nor shall they undertake the repair of any part of it without its having been inspected by Our representatives; or if they regard repair as necessary, they may repair it after Our representatives have inspected it from this date. They shall not renew a structure in its suburb, its walls or its towers. They shall not newly excavate a trench, or newly construct a trench. They shall not renew the building-work of a trench, or the cutting of a hill, or the fortification of a structure, or fortification by the cutting of a hill in connection with defensive or offensive action. We have granted them permission only to build on the remains of houses which were burnt on the entry of the troops accompanying al-Malik al-Saʿīd, and We have granted them permission to construct within the suburb on the remains of the previous foundations.
- [13] Provided also that Ṣahyūn and its districts, Burzayh<sup>17</sup> and its districts, al-Qulayʿa and its districts, and ʾĪdhūn<sup>18</sup> and its districts, currently under the oversight of the Amir Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān,<sup>19</sup> the lord of Ṣahyūn; the status of these territories, being his domain, shall be according to the status of Our territories in the truce, inasmuch as his said territories are currently in Our August Realms.
- [14] Provided also that the Order of the Hospital shall not enable any foreign invader<sup>20</sup> to enter Our territories by land or sea so that harm or damage may befall the state, Our territories, Our fortresses and Our civilian subjects, unless it be by *force majeure* in the company of a crowned king.
- [15] Provided also that the tower included in the condominium, namely the tower of Muʿāwiya, which is in the portion belonging to the present halving of al-Marqab; that which is our property shall be demolished, i.e. the half of the tower mentioned above. The Order of the Hospital shall have no share on either bank in the bridge known as the Bridge of Balda; it shall pass entirely to the Treasury Office to the exclusion

<sup>17</sup> Burzayh; word unpointed in the text.

<sup>18</sup> ʾĪdhūn; emendation of ʿAydūb.

<sup>19</sup> Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān; the Muslim lord of Ṣahyūn (Saone), who succeeded his father in the lordship in 659/1261, and died in 672/1273–4. Cf. Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī*, no. 141; Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, IV, 85, no. 1552; XIX, 514, no. 527; Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 197–8.

<sup>20</sup> A foreign invader; *rijl ghariba*, literally “a strange foot”. cf. No. 6, n. 3 etc.

of the Order of the Hospital. The house newly constructed in the castle of al-Marqab by the order of the Master, who was unable to complete the construction of the roofing of the vault with masonry and limewash, shall not have its construction completed, and it shall remain as it is. It is in the outer ward of the castle, a little towards the eastern bank as mentioned above.

[16] Provided also that the representatives of the Hospital in al-Marqab shall conceal nothing of the shared crops of the territory, and nothing of its dues which the Order of the Hospital levy according to current usage. They shall conceal nothing of them. Everything which was claimed from the territory in the possession of the Hospital before this truce, they shall disclose to Our representatives, concealing nothing small or great.

[17] Provided also that the Sultan shall order his representatives to keep the condominia of al-Marqab included in this truce from disturbers of the peace, robbers and thieves being under his jurisdiction and obedience. Likewise the Master Brother Hugh Revel shall be bound thereto on the other part.

[18] Provided also that the blessed truce shall not be changed in any matter on Our part or on the part of Our son al-Malik al-Saʿid until the lapse and expiry of its period as fixed above. Nor shall it be changed with the change of the Master of the Order of the Hospital ruling over al-Marqab or otherwise.<sup>21</sup>

If the castellans of al-Marqab change, and a new castellan comes he shall proceed according to the contents of this truce, and not depart from this text.

[19] This truce shall be concluded with its said conditions, established on the terms as set down, for the appointed period, viz. ten years and ten complete months beginning with the opening of Ramaḍān 669 until its end, consecutively and continuously. It shall not be abrogated by the death of one of the parties, nor by the removal of an official and the appointment of another in his place, nor by the descent<sup>22</sup> of a foreign invader, nor the presence of *force majeure*, but both parties are bound to keep it until its end; whoever succeeds another shall keep it until its end with the conditions laid down in it from first to last.

Should abrogation occur for any reason (which God forbid), the

<sup>21</sup> There is a corrupt interpolation at this point, apparently concerning procedure in cases of debt.

<sup>22</sup> Descent; reading *nuzūl* for *zawāl*.

merchants and travellers shall be safe from both parties until they return with their chattels, and they shall not be prevented by either party from travelling to their places; they shall have 40 days of grace.

[20] The autograph above is its authorization.

If God Most High will.

On such-and-such a date.

#### 4. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŠŪR QALĀWŪN WITH BOHEMOND VII OF TRIPOLI; 680/1281

This treaty followed on earlier truces between Baybars and this ruler and also his father, Bohemond VI (1252–75). A campaign led by Baybars against Bohemond VI was broken off when the sultan received news of the arrival at Acre of the Lord Edward and his English Crusaders in Ramaḍān 669/May 1271, and a truce was hastily concluded.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the accession of Bohemond VII, a minor, a new truce was negotiated in Muḥarram 674/July 1275<sup>2</sup> by the Amir Balabān al-Rūmī<sup>3</sup> as Baybars's plenipotentiary. It was this truce which Bohemond VII sought to renew with Qalāwūn in 680/1281.

For a first-hand account of the negotiation of this treaty we are indebted to Shāfi' b. 'Alī al-'Asqalānī, who played an important part in the proceedings, as he does not hesitate to tell us. He was about thirty years old at the time. He offers us two versions of the episode in *Husn al-manāqib* and *al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr* respectively.

The version in *Husn al-manāqib* is as follows:

Tripoli continued in truce with al-Malik al-Zāhir. He died while the truce was still in force. It lapsed in the reign of our lord the late Sultan al-Malik al-Manšūr Qalāwūn, so its ambassadors came to him when he was in Damascus. They were the *Wazīr* Ghurāb<sup>4</sup> with his barbarian followers and others.

At that time I was a chancery clerk in attendance. They came, and I came to second Master Faṭḥ al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir,<sup>5</sup> my kinsman,

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<sup>1</sup> *Rawḍ*, 383–4 = *Ayyubids*, I, 190–1; II, 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ayyubids*, I, 120; II, 165. The folios of *Rawḍ* which would include the corresponding passage are missing.

<sup>3</sup> Balabān al-Rūmī as *dawādār* (literally, “bearer of the inkwell”) was the channel of communication between the sultan and his chancery. His incompetence in arithmetic impressed Baybars with the need for a royal secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) drawn from the chancery staff, but this appointment was first made by Qalāwūn; cf. Note (5) below.

<sup>4</sup> What office at the court of Tripoli is signified by the Arabic term *wazīr*, usually meaning “minister”, is not clear. The ambassador's name, Ghurāb, i.e. “Raven”, may be a translation of a Frankish name or a reference to his armorial bearings.

<sup>5</sup> Faṭḥ al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir was the son of the chronicler Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, and thus Shāfi's cousin. He (and not his father, as sometimes stated) was the first head of the royal chancery to be appointed the sultan's secretary. His appointment was made in Ramaḍān 678/Dec. 1279–Jan. 1280. Cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, VII, 293.

the head of chancery. The sultan enquired in Turkish the object of their coming. This was translated into Arabic on his behalf, and the *Wazīr Ghurāb* said, "The object in coming is to ask our lord the sultan to apply to his Majesty's friend the truce as applied by his brother, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir." The sultan said in Turkish, "Until now I have not captured any stronghold, and I would not set out except with the intention of capturing this stronghold!"

Thereupon they humbly besought and asked for the mediation of the powerful amirs there present for it to be granted for a fixed period. He acceded, and the ambassadors produced the truce of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, which they had to hand, wishing to proceed according to the contents of the truce. Master Faṭḥ al-Dīn demurred, saying, "We shall grant you your request in accordance with it except for 'Arqā,<sup>6</sup> even though it is included in the truce."

As regards 'Arqā, Baybars's truce had stipulated when the truce was made that a good deal of wealth and a number of Muslim prisoners should be produced.<sup>7</sup> At that time the late Amir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī, the *dawādār*, went with them for the oath of attestation, and for the taking delivery of the wealth and the prisoners. He remained for several months, while they procrastinated and anticipated difficulties in their usual way. The Amir Sayf al-Dīn was moved from pillar to post, and fled away. So al-Malik al-Ẓāhir occupied 'Arqā, which is the most splendid of their towns, and the substance of their old and new possessions.

The ambassador replied thus to Master Faṭḥ al-Dīn about this clause, "The Amir Sayf al-Dīn did not stay long enough for the gathering of the prisoners from the furthest Frankish territories." So he said to him, "Why did you not send them afterwards?" The *Wazīr Ghurāb* said, "We can now produce the wealth and the captives. Let the truce with you continue until I send them, but put to our account what you have seized from 'Arqā during this period, and we will send you any surplus." Master Faṭḥ al-Dīn was disturbed at this speech for it would leave us debtors. He hinted this to the sultan, who upbraided the ambassadors, drew his sword on them, and drove them out. As they got up, a word escaped me, "Truly this is a session for equitable action, for striking a mean, for making a truce, and giving an answer."

<sup>6</sup> 'Arqā, a fortress-city on the Nahr al-Kabīr, lying in a fertile region; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 80–9. The fortress was destroyed by Baybars's troops, c. Sha'bān 664/June 1266.

<sup>7</sup> According to Ibn al-Furāt, 20,000 Tyrian dinars and 20 prisoners; *Ayyubids*, I, 210; II, 165. Although this was to be a yearly tribute (cf. *Ayyubids*, II, 247; Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, I/ii, 619), this is far from the "thousands of Muslim prisoners" alleged in *Faḍl*—in any case an improbably large number.

Only the Amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ṭaybars al-Wazīr<sup>8</sup> heard me. He was the chief of the council, its most eminent and sensible member. He called me, and I held back. He proceeded to ask me what I had said, and I made an incoherent reply. He spoke to the sultan about it, and he ordered the ambassadors to return. They returned, and he called on me, saying, “Nāṣir al-Dīn, answer this ambassador.” So I obeyed, saying, “*Wazīr*, you have asked for an account to be made of the wealth taken from ‘Arqā.” He said, “Yes.” I said, “You know that the truce was upon a condition, namely concerning wealth and prisoners, which you did not fulfill. This circumstance necessarily invalidated the truce as a whole. So al-Malik al-Zāhir took possession of it as an act of war, not so that he might settle an account with you for what he extracted from it. So the seeds in its soil were nothing but part of the wealth of al-Malik al-Zāhir, and of his workers and his representatives, and the soil was his by conquest because of the breach of the condition.”

The unbeliever was dumbfounded, and went bond for the whole of the wealth and the prisoners. The sultan was amazed at the silencing of this ambassador. He thanked me, and I kissed the earth. He commanded me to go with the Amir Ṣayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī, the *dawādār*, to take the prince’s oath of attestation. Again I kissed the earth. I was kept from going in order to help my kinsman in his functions, there being no alternative to me.<sup>9</sup>

Shāfi‘ b. ‘Alī’s other version of this episode is as follows:

When the prince’s ambassadors came before our lord the sultan, and Master Faṭḥ al-Dīn, the head of the chancery, came, and I with him, the sultan began by asking the ambassadors in Turkish for what they had come. The *Wazīr* Ghurāb arose. He was argumentative, sly and cunning. His answer to the sultan’s question was to the effect that Bohemond, the friend of his monarchy and the constant adherent of his Majesty, asked his Majesty to continue the friendly relations which had existed between himself and al-Malik al-Zāhir, and to follow the precedent of his truce. Our lord the sultan’s reply was, “Where is the wealth which you have brought? What territory will you give me?”

Ghurāb handled the situation so well that indeed our lord the sultan’s nature responded favourably to his affability and agreeable expressions. He continued in this humble manner giving pleasure and delight, and he effected a concord of hearts. Truly he was the raven of union, not the raven of separation.<sup>10</sup> He bade him sit, and he produced the truce

<sup>8</sup> Ṭaybars al-Wazīr (d. 689/1290), a Mamluk of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and son-in-law of Baybars. Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, XVI, 508–9 (no. 555).

<sup>9</sup> *Husn*, 132–4.

<sup>10</sup> “The raven of separation” (*ghurāb al-bayn*) is a cliché from Arabic poetry.



of al-Malik al-Zāhir, authenticated with his signature, and we brought our copy from the archives. They testified to what al-Malik al-Zāhir had generously conceded, and what he had withheld. A comparison was made letter by letter, which revealed their agreement; when it was said “Compare”, then it was correct. But when we came to the city of ‘Arqā, one of their best and most useful territories, Master Faḥ al-Dīn, the head of chancery, said to him, “Surely, *wazīr*, the terms of this truce do not apply to this place ‘Arqā.”

*The reason for that*

Al-Malik al-Zāhir had granted them a truce on condition that they produced thousands of gold pieces and thousands of Muslim prisoners. The Amir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī, the *dawādār*, went to receive the gold and take delivery of the prisoners. He stayed with them for six months, and they deceived and double-crossed him, and put him off by anticipating difficulties as is their custom—may God Most High damn them! So the Amir Sayf al-Dīn was moved from pillar to post until he came to al-Malik al-Zāhir, and al-Malik al-Zāhir occupied ‘Arqā from the beginning of the truce until he died.

When the *Wazīr* Ghurāb was told that ‘Arqā was not covered by the truce, he grasped the situation, and started to argue about it—that the delay was only to collect the money, and to bring the prisoners from the country. The head of chancery said to him, “You might have sent them in the second year, or the third, or the fourth.” When he found no way out of the business, and no scope for his cunning, he agreed that they would bring the money and the prisoners. He said, “We want your decree that we may take into account what al-Malik al-Zāhir received from ‘Arqā in the ten-year period”—knowing that the difference would be to their credit, not their debit. The head of chancery was disturbed. Our lord the sultan asked about the matter. Then he drew his sabre<sup>11</sup> on him, and was about to have his head.

I said (and the most senior magnate of the council, the Amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī heard me), “We are in a session for mutual judgment, mutual equity and mutual clarification, not a session for making difficulties. There is an answer to what he has said.” So he said to me, “And what is the answer?” I said, “If our lord the sultan commands, I will answer him, and argue with him.” So he commanded me, and I said to him, “Ghurāb! Al-Malik al-Zāhir occupied ‘Arqā only as an act of war against you, not as an act of kindness by taking instalments. The oxen in this settlement, the seeds and the peasants belong to him,

<sup>11</sup> Sabre: *nimshāh* (*nimjah*) from Persian, *nimchah*. The term is glossed by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 171, “un petit sabre recourbé”. It was an emblem of the sultan’s sovereignty.

not to you, through his representatives, not your representatives. Its soil became his possession by the sword, as indeed did everything, since the truce lapsed through your breach of the condition. However, he spared you by taking only part." I confronted his worthless argument with a sound one, although the confrontation of one worthless argument with another might have been expected. I swept down on him like a torrent, and the unbeliever was dumbfounded. He agreed without dissimulation, and the truce was established on this condition.

Our lord the sultan ordered the Amir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī, the *dawādār*, to go and take the prince's oath of attestation and receive the money, and I was to go with him. I withdrew for two reasons; one, following the order of my kinsman, the head of chancery, that I should not leave him; the other, consideration of the outcome and consequence.<sup>12</sup>

The text is from Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, as reproduced by M.M. Ziada in *Sulūk*, I/iii, 975–77 (App. 6). A second and somewhat abridged text of this treaty, transmitted by Ibn al-Furāt, has been printed by Murād Kāmil in *Tashrif*, pp. 82–3 of the preliminary part and also pp. 210–11 of the main part.

### *Text of the treaty*

- [1] Truce is confirmed between the *de facto* ruler<sup>13</sup> of Tripoli, Bohemond the son of Bohemond, for the period of ten complete, continuous and consecutive years, one following another, beginning on Saturday, 17 Rabīʿ I 680, corresponding to 5 Tammūz 1592 of Alexander, and ending on 17 Rabīʿ I, A.H. 690.<sup>14</sup>
- [2] That is, upon the territory of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and the territory of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (God grant them abundant aid); near and far, plain and hill, lowland and highland, both old and newly acquired; whatever is adjacent to and marching with Tripoli of all the province of Baʿlabakk, its hills, its roadside and hill villages, the hills of al-Ḍanniyyīn and al-Qaṣābīn,<sup>15</sup> with every part thereof and their dues.

<sup>12</sup> *Faḍl*, ff. 107b–109a.

<sup>13</sup> *De facto* ruler; *mutamallik* from *tamallaka*, to take possession.

<sup>14</sup> 17 Rabīʿ I is in the text 27 Rabīʿ I, which would entail a discrepancy with the Christian date: 5 Tammūz 1592 corresponds to 5 July 1281. The termination date corresponds to 20 March 1291.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Qaṣābīn: so in Ibn al-Furāt. Baybars al-Manṣūrī reads “al-Aḍābīn”.

And upon the recent conquests:<sup>16</sup> viz. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and its territory, Iflīs and its territory, al-Qulay‘āt and its territory, Šāfithā and its territory, Mi‘ār and its territory, Aṭlī‘ā and its territory, Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār and its territory; Maraḳiyya, its town, territory and condominium, which are the territory of al-Lakma, and all the territory of these places which we have mentioned; the condominium of al-Marqab, which are included in the settlement with the Order of the Hospital; Balda, its town and territory and whatever fortresses and villages are reckoned and known to be its; the Territory of the Lady, Balāṭunus and its territory, Qurfayṣ and its territory, Jabala, the territory of Latakia, Antioch and its territory, al-Suwaydiyya and its harbour, the fortress of Baghrās and its territory, the fortress of Dayr Kūsh and its territory, Shaqīf Talmis and its territory, Kafr Dubbīn and its territory, al-Darbsāk and its territory, the frontier-towns of al-Shughr and Bakās and their territory, al-Quṣayr and its territory, Ṣahyūn and its territory, Burzayh and its districts, al-Qulay‘a and its districts, ‘Īdhūn and its districts, Maṣyāf and its territory, the fortresses of the Preaching and the territory and the castles they include: viz. al-Qadmūs, al-Kahf, al-Manīqa, al-Khawābī, al-Ruṣāfa, al-Qulay‘a and al-‘Ullayqa; the province of Aleppo and its fortresses, towns and territory; Shayzar, Abū Qubays and its territory; the realm of Ḥamāh and its territory; the province of Ḥims and its territory;

<sup>16</sup> “The recent conquests” (*al-futūḥāt al-mustajidda*) presumably means territories acquired by the Mamluk sultans as opposed to the earlier acquisitions of the Ayyubids. So far as they can be identified, they fall into the following categories:

1. Conquests made during Baybars’s campaign of 666/1268: Antioch, al-Suwaydiyya, Baghrās, Dayr Kūsh, Shaqīf Talmis, Kafr Dubbīn (in text, Danīn), al-Darbsāk, al-Shughr, Bakās. Cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 156–64.
2. The Ismā‘īlī castles annexed by Baybars between 668/1270 and 671/1273: Maṣyāf, al-Qadmūs, al-Kahf, al-Manīqa, al-Khawābī, al-Ruṣāfa, al-Qulay‘a, al-‘Ullayqa. Cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 139–44.
3. Conquests made during Baybars’s campaign of 669/1271: Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Šāfithā, Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār, Balda, Qurfayṣ.
4. Miscellaneous: Jabala had been held by the Muslims since 628/1231. Al-Qulay‘āt (near ‘Arqā) was taken in 664/1266. Balāṭunus was ceded by ‘Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān, its Muslim lord, in 667/1269. The Lady Isabel of Beirut was in treaty relations with Baybars, and effectively under his protection, from 667/1269; cf. No. 2. Ṣahyūn and Burzayh were ceded by their Muslim lord, the son of Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān (the brother of the former lord of Balāṭunus; cf. No. 3, n. 19) in 672/1273. Al-Quṣayr (near Antioch) was taken in 674/1275. Al-Marqab and Maraḳiyya (and probably Jabala) were not taken by Qalāwūn until 684/1285, Latakia not until 686/1287, but they are shown in the truce as being at least partially condominium.

Everything in the possession of our lord the Sultan, whether provinces, fortresses, territory, castles, frontier-towns, towers, harbours, coasts, mainland, rivers, orchards, fisheries, salt-pans, plain, hill, cultivation and waste; all the cities of Egypt, Syria, the Coast and the Hījāz, west and east; and whatsoever realms and fortresses God shall conquer by his hand, the hand of his son, and the hand of their armies and soldiery;

- [3] And upon the territory of the Prince: viz. Tripoli and what is included therein and is reckoned thereof; Anafa and its territory, Jubayl and its territory, the town of al-Batrūn and its districts, Ṣanam Jubayl and its districts, ‘Arqā and its territory as specified in the truce, numbering 51 localities; what is in the possession of the Knights and the Churches, numbering 21 settlements; what is in the possession of the knight Roger de la Valée to the south of Tripoli shall be a condominium.
- [4] Provided that the city of Latakia and what is newly constructed therein shall be established as the Prince’s domain; and the representatives of both parties in the city and harbour of Latakia shall be established for the levy of the dues, taxes, produce and so forth as shared revenue; and their residence in the city of Latakia shall be established according to the tenor of the truce of al-Zāhir; and likewise concerning the civilians of the city of Latakia and its territory according to the contents of the truce of al-Zāhir.
- [5] Provided also that on the bridge of Artūsiyya<sup>17</sup> there shall be sixteen men of the Sultan’s servants to keep the dues and produce: viz. the *mushidd*<sup>18</sup> and his servant, the witness and his servant, the clerk and his servant, and ten foot-soldiers in attendance on the *mushidd*. They shall have houses on the bridge in which to dwell as is customary. They are not to occasion damage to the civilian subjects of the Prince. They are to prohibit the prohibited articles as is due.<sup>19</sup> They are not to prohibit what is from ‘Arqā and its territory, and what of its produce and lands crosses over, being the produce of it and its territory according to the truce, whether summer or winter crops. The *mushidd* is not to obstruct them in anything else pertaining to ‘Arqā and its territory. Otherwise dues shall be taken on everything crossing over from the territory of our lord the Sultan. No produce shall enter Tripoli under

<sup>17</sup> Artūsiyya or Artūsiyya, by the Nahr al-Barid, was on the route between Tripoli and ‘Arqā.

<sup>18</sup> *Mushidd*: a Mamluk supervisor set over a bureaucratic official or department.

<sup>19</sup> For “the prohibited articles”, see Introduction, p. 11.

protection of the name of the Prince or his companions without dues being taken.

- [6] Provided also that the Prince shall not construct any new building for defensive or offensive purposes either outside the town or in the territory falling within the truce. Likewise our lord the Sultan shall not build any new fortress, constructing it from the foundations, adjacent to the territory to which the truce applies.
- [7] Provided also that the galleys of each party shall be safe from the other.
- [8] This shall not be abrogated by the death or change of either party, nor by an invasion by the Franks or the Mongols; but this truce shall remain.

If an invader should come, he may use dissimulation with them on behalf of his territories and himself; he may not enter into counsel which may lead to the commission of evil or wrong. He may not have friendly relations with any enemy of our lord the Sultan, nor enter into agreement thereon by sign, writing, embassy, written or verbal message.

## 5. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN WITH THE TEMPLARS: 681/1282

This treaty, which is limited to the Templar port and stronghold of Anṭarṭūs (Tortosa), was apparently a renewal of the lost truce negotiated by the commander of Anṭarṭūs as a consequence of Baybars's capture of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād on 25 Sha'bān 669/8 April 1271 (see Introduction to No. 3). Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir gives the text of the treaty without any remarks on its negotiation, which perhaps implies the routine renewal of a truce which had lapsed. The companion truce made with al-Marqab in 669/1271 was for ten *Hijrī* years, ten months and ten days.

The text, transcribed from the MS. of *Tashrif* by Quatremère, appears in *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 117–8 (French translation, pp. 221–3). In Murād Kāmil's edition of *Tashrif*, the text of the treaty is on pp. 20–22.

### *Text of the treaty*

- [1] Truce is established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr and his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn 'Alī, and the Master Brother William of Beaujeu,<sup>1</sup> Master of the Order of the Templars in Acre and the Coastlands, and all the Brethren, the Templars in Anṭarṭūs, for the space of ten whole, continuous and consecutive years and ten months beginning on Wednesday, 5 Muḥarram A.H. 681,<sup>2</sup> corresponding to 15 Nisān 1593 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek:
- [2] Upon the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr and the territory of his son, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, and everything within their realm: Egypt and its districts, ports and harbours; the territory of Damascus and its ports, fortresses, castles, coasts and harbours; the province of Ḥimṣ, its territory and districts; the castles of the Preaching and their territory and districts; the province of Şahyūn, Balāṭunus, Jabala, Latakia, and what pertains thereto; the

<sup>1</sup> William of Beaujeu (Guillaume de Beaujeu, in the text *Kilyām dī Bājūk*), Master of the Templars (1273–91), was a cousin and friend of Charles of Anjou. He was mortally wounded at the fall of Acre (18 May 1291).

<sup>2</sup> The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 15 April 1282.

realm of Ḥamāh, its territory and districts; the province of Aleppo, its territory and districts; the Euphrates [province], its territory and districts; the coastal conquests; the territory of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and its territory and districts, what was included in it, pertaining to it, and reckoned as part of it at the time of the establishment of this truce, being territory, villages, arable, pasture, lands, towers, mills and so forth; the realm of Ṣāfithā, its territory, districts, villages and walls, as well as the villages and territory which are confirmed and added to it until the end of the period; Mi'ār and its districts; al-'Urayma and its districts, and what is confirmed and pertaining to it; Ḥalba and its districts; 'Arqā and its districts; Ṭayyibū and its districts; the castle of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and its districts and territory; al-Qulay'āt and its districts and territory; the whole of Maraḡiyya and its territory; the agreed condominium of the territory of al-Marqab; everything included in the truce established with them in the time of al-Malik al-Manṣūr; everything in these territories, near and far, contiguous, neighbouring and otherwise, cultivation and waste, plain and upland, land and sea, harbours and coasts, mills, towers, orchards, rivers, waters, woods and wells therein; and everything which God shall conquer by the hand of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and the hand of his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, and the hand of the commanders of his armies and soldiery, being fortresses, towns, castles, villages, and the intervening plain, hill, cultivation, waste, rivers, orchards, harbours, coasts and mainland:

- [3] And upon Anṭartūs presently in the possession of the Order of the Templars, and its territory as established to the end of the period of the establishment of this blessed truce, and the additions to its territory from the territory of al-'Urayma and Mi'ār according to the truce of al-Zāhir, the provisions of which are carried forward, being 37 localities as specified in the truce.
- [4] As regards all that the territories of our lord the Sultan contain in their entirety: from the part of the Master Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Order of the Templars, and from the part of all the Brethren in Anṭartūs, all the cavalry, turcoples, knights and all the Frankish nations; no-one from Anṭartūs, its territory, harbour and coasts shall encroach upon the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and the territory of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, their castles, fortresses, territory and lands, whether specified in this truce or unspecified.
- [5] Anṭartūs and its territory as specified in the truce, and those resident

therein, Brethren, knights, civilian subjects and others, whether residents or in transit, shall be safe and secure from our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, his son, their soldiery and those under their jurisdiction. No-one shall encroach upon Anṭarṭūs, its territory and its civilian subjects to commit wrong or to raid until the expiry of the truce.

[6] Provided also that the prohibited articles shall continue according to the prohibition regulation.<sup>3</sup>

[7] Provided also that if a ship of the territory of our lord the Sultan, or of those in transit thither, or otherwise of territories, nations and peoples generally, should be wrecked or stranded in the harbour of Anṭarṭūs, or on its coasts and mainland as included in this truce, all within it shall be safe in respect of their persons, chattels, merchandise, wares and baggage.<sup>4</sup>

If the owner of what is wrecked or damaged is found, his ship and chattels shall be delivered to him. If he is lost through death or drowning, his property shall be kept, and delivered to the representatives of our lord the Sultan.

This provision shall apply to ships of Anṭarṭūs, when wrecked in the territory of our lord the Sultan.

[8] Provided also that no new castle, tower or fortress shall be constructed in the territory of Anṭarṭūs as specified in this truce; nor shall any trench be dug, nor anything else by which it may be fortified.

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<sup>3</sup> For "the prohibited articles", see Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Baggage: reading *riḥāl* for *rijāl*, "men". Quatremère, retaining *rijāl*, translates "les gens de leur suite".



## 6. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN WITH THE LATIN KINGDOM: 682/1283

Unlike King Heṭoum I of Lesser Armenia and his son-in-law, Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli, who were willing allies of the Mongols during the invasion of Syria in 658/1260, the authorities in Acre maintained a cautious neutrality during the crisis, and did not attempt to hinder the advance of Qutuz's field-army. After the defeat of the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt, which was quickly followed by Baybars's usurpation of the throne, the Franks of the Latin kingdom sought to establish relations with the Mamluk sultanate, which had now superseded the Ayyubids as the dominant power in Muslim Syria.

So when Baybars led his forces into Syria in 659/1261, he received a deputation from the authorities in the Latin kingdom, and agreement was reached that there should be a truce based on the terms made with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyubid ruler of Damascus and Aleppo. Arrangements were made for an exchange of prisoners, but, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the Franks defaulted on their obligations, and raised demands for an exchange of territory.<sup>1</sup> It seems that in the end they broke off negotiations. There were border raids on both sides. When ambassadors from the Latin kingdom next waited on Baybars in 661/1263, they were anxious to maintain the truce in being, while the sultan for his part reproached them for breaches of faith. He followed up his recriminations with an attack (described by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir as a reconnaissance) on the city of Acre itself.<sup>2</sup>

The next negotiations about a truce did not take place until 666/1268. Meanwhile, since 1264, the Latin kingdom had acquired a vigorous *bailli* in Hugh of Antioch, who became king of Cyprus in 1267. He was soon to become king of Jerusalem also, after the titular king, Conradin of Hohenstaufen, was put to death by Charles of Anjou in October 1268. Earlier in that year (4 Ramaḍān 666/19 May 1268), Baybars had achieved a major success by capturing the city of Antioch, and on his return to Damascus the sultan received an embassy from Hugh. Its outcome is thus described by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir:

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<sup>1</sup> *Rawd*, 118–19 = *Ayyubids*, I, 52–3; II, 43–44.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawd*, 151–2, 158–60 = *Ayyubids*, I, 64–5, 69–72; II, 53, 57–9.

Agreement was reached between the sultan and this king over a trifling matter, i.e. the city of Acre and its lands, consisting of 31 estates. It was settled that the Franks should have Haifa with its three estates, and the rest of its lands should be in condominium; and the land of Carmel should be in condominium. 'Athlith should have five villages, and the rest in condominium. Al-Qurayn should have ten villages, the rest going to the sultan. Of the lands of Sidon, the low country should go to the Franks, and the highlands to the sultan. A peace treaty was agreed for the kingdom of Cyprus.

This is what was established for all the lands; and the truce was to be for ten years. It was not to be abrogated by a foreign invader,<sup>3</sup> nor by a king coming from overseas. It was stipulated that the hostages of the territory should be released.

Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir goes on to describe how he was sent to obtain the ratification of the treaty:

I went as an ambassador together with the Amir Kamāl al-Dīn b. Shīth to take the king's oath. The sultan sent with us the gift of twenty of the prisoners of Antioch, priests and monks. We entered Acre on 24 Shawwāl [7 July 1268], and were received by a numerous gathering. The sultan had instructed us not to demean ourselves before [Hugh] in sitting or speech. When we entered to him, we saw him sitting enthroned together with the Masters [of the Orders], and we would not take our seats until a throne was placed for us opposite him. The *wazīr* put out his hand to take the letter, but we would not hand it over until the king put out his hand and took it.<sup>4</sup> He hesitated over some things; among them that he wanted a separate peace treaty for the kingdom of Cyprus, that the peace should continue as long as no foreign invader or overseas king arrived, and that the Ismā'īlis should not be mentioned in the truce. He sought to evade discussion of the hostages and some other clauses. The sultan's ambassador returned without his having taken the oath. Matters remained at a stand. Whenever this king in Acre spoke, he would say, "I am afraid of King Charles, the brother of the king of France, and I cannot conclude a peace treaty for fear of him."<sup>5</sup>

Shāfi' b. 'Alī gives a somewhat more lively account of this embassy, ostensibly in his uncle's own words, which contrast with the more formal report in the court biography:

<sup>3</sup> A foreign invader: *rijl ghariba*, cf. No. 3, n. 20. The reading *riḥal ghariba* and translation "foreign voyages" in *Ayyubids* (n. 5 below) should be disregarded.

<sup>4</sup> This act was perhaps in deliberate reminiscence of the confrontation between the ambassadors of King Amalric and the Caliph al-'Āḍid in 1167; cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A history of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, 180–1 (from William of Tyre).

<sup>5</sup> *Rawḍ*, 331–3 = *Ayyubids*, I, 164–5; II, 129–30.

When this king summoned us, we found him on an elevated throne; he wished to be above with us below. Islam made that impossible for us, so we were raised up to him, and began the discussion with him. He proceeded to make mistakes, bringing one subject into another, so I spoke out harshly. He looked angrily at me, and said to the interpreter, "Tell him to look who is behind him!" I looked, and lo! he had his troops in their ranks drawn up in companies. He said to him, "Tell him to look at this multitude!" So I looked, and bowed my head in silence. He said to the interpreter, "Say to him, 'What do you say about what you see?'" I said to him, "Have I a safeconduct?" He said to him, "Yes." I said, "Let the king know that in Khizānat al-bunūd, which is a prison in the sultan's realm in Cairo, there are Frankish prisoners more in number than these." He was enraged, made the sign of the Cross on his face, and said, "By my faith, I will hear no message from them today!" So we departed. Then he summoned us, and we administered the oath to him. The truce was established until the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of Shāfi's positive statement, it is not clear whether the treaty of 666/1268 was ever actually ratified by the Franks. He may here be anticipating the result of negotiations in 670/1272, which he does not mention. These later negotiations are described by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir:

The Frankish ambassador came, chanced on the sultan at al-Sawāda, and returned in his company to al-'Awjā. He [Baybars] gave them an additional eight estates apart from the twelve estates which he had given them additionally, outside what was in the truce. He sent them off from al-'Awjā, and they returned accompanied by a knight from the king of Acre.

The sultan then made his way to the mail-station of al-Rawḥā, and there was an exchange of ambassadors. The Franks aimed to have Shafar'am, Kābūl and Iskandarūna.<sup>7</sup> He granted them Shafar'am in its entirety, half of Iskandarūna and a half-estate in its district, and the return of the peasants of the villages which were assigned to them in the truce. The chief men of the knights and the Brethren [of the Orders] came. The sultan took his oath on the truce to King Hugh of Lusignan, king of Acre and Cyprus, and he swore a separate oath to the Masters of the Orders. The sultan's ambassadors went to obtain the king's oath; they were the Amir Fakhr al-Dīn Ayāz al-Muqri<sup>8</sup> and Master Faṭḥ al-

<sup>6</sup> *Husn*, 138.

<sup>7</sup> The Frankish names of these places were Le Saffran, Cabor and Scandelion respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Ayāz al-Muqri, originally a Mamluk of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb, was much trusted by Baybars, who sent him on several embassies. He was one of his chamberlains, and became principal

Dīn b. al-Qaysarānī, the clerk of the August Roll.<sup>9</sup> That was on 21 Ramaḍān [21 April 1272], which was the beginning of the duration of the truce, its duration being ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours. . . . The ambassadors returned after obtaining the Frankish oaths.<sup>10</sup>

This was undoubtedly the truce, the renewal of which was sought in 682/1283. The intervening period had seen considerable political changes in the Latin kingdom. Since 1277 King Hugh had been challenged by the formidable Charles of Anjou, whom, as we have seen, he had feared even in 1268. Charles had meanwhile purchased the claim of Maria of Antioch, a pretender to the throne of Jerusalem, and sent Roger of San Severino, one of his adherents, to Acre as his *bailli*. Hugh had withdrawn to Cyprus. However, the destruction of Charles's position in the western Mediterranean by the Sicilian Vespers (1282) led to the recall of Roger, who appointed his own seneschal, Odo Poilechien, as his deputy.<sup>11</sup> It was therefore with Odo and the Masters of the Orders that Qalāwūn concluded the new treaty.

We have two accounts of the negotiations, again by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and Shāfi' b. 'Alī respectively. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's narrative is as follows:

In this year [682] our lord the sultan responded to the request of the people of Acre, when their ambassadors had repeatedly attended on him in Syria and Egypt for a truce. He forbade them to come by land; they were to come only by sea, if they wanted to come. So they came by sea; and the end of it was that they submitted to his jurisdiction after they were out of time on the lapse of the truce with al-Zāhir [Baybars].

In Ṣafar of this year [April 1283] their ambassadors and magnates came, and concluded the truce. Our lord the Sultan swore to it the presence of the Frankish ambassadors. They were two Brethren of the Temple, two Brethren of the Hospital, and two knights from the royal government, William *wālī al-wulāt* and the *wazīr* Fahd.

When our lord the Sultan had sworn to this truce, the Amir Fakhr al-Dīn the Chamberlain and the judge Badr al-Dīn b. Razīn went to take the oath of the Franks. So they swore, and it was established.<sup>12</sup>

This account has some points of interest. The Frankish ambassadors

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chamberlain to Qalāwūn. He died in 687/1288. Cf. al-Safadī, *Wāfi*, IX, 458 (No. 4413); Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tāli*, No. 21.

<sup>9</sup> The clerks of the Roll (*kuttāb al-darj*) were senior clerks, who engrossed the sultan's decisions as minuted in court by the Clerks of the Bench (*kuttāb al-dast*).

<sup>10</sup> *Rawd*, 398 = *Ayyubids*, I, 199–200; II, 157–8.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Runciman, *Crusades*, III, 329, 345–6, 392–4.

<sup>12</sup> *Tashrif*, 34,43.

are instructed to travel by sea; Qalāwūn did not intend to give them the opportunity for espionage as they approached the heartlands of his realm. The negotiations lasted from their arrival in April until the conclusion of the treaty on 3 June, as indicated in its text. The two named envoys remain unidentified, and it is not clear what offices are intended by their titles. It is possible that Fahd (meaning “cheetah”) was not a personal name but indicated the *wazīr*’s armorial bearings.

Shāfi‘ b. ‘Alī’s more rhetorical account adds little of substance beyond a muddled list of the names of the Frankish leaders in Acre, and the important detail that the sultan discussed the proposed truce with the amirs of his council, and pointed out the economic advantages of relations with the Latin kingdom:

He said, “For Acre is a caravanserai to which our merchants resort, a place from which comes a wider range of choice for us.”<sup>13</sup>

It was this truce which Qalāwūn abrogated in 689/1290, on hearing of an incident in Acre involving the death of some Muslims. After his death the city was taken, and the Latin kingdom brought to an end by his son and successor, al-Ashraf Khalil, in 690/1291.

The text of the treaty has been published in three sources. The earliest is the contemporary *Tashrīf* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir at pp. 34–43. A second version is given by Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) in his *Ta’rikh al-duwal wa’l-mulūk*, VII, 262–70. The third and fullest text is that transmitted by al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 51–63. Ibn al-Furāt also gives the oath, of ratification (pp. 270–2), as does al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 311–14. Of these, Ibn al-Furāt’s is the better text. Quatremère gives the Arabic text from *Tashrīf*, and a French translation in *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 179–85 and 224–35 respectively. An English translation of an Italian translation appears in Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab historians of the Crusades*, London 1969, 326–31.

The following translation is of the version in *Ṣubḥ*, collated with the other two texts.

### *Text of the treaty*

- [1] Truce is established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Malikī al-Ṣāliḥī and his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī (may God make their power eternal);

<sup>13</sup> *Faḍl*, f. 117b.

And the authorities in the kingdom of Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and their territory upon which this truce is concluded: to wit, the Seneschal Odo, *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre, the Master Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Order of the Templars, Master Nicholas Lorgne, Master of the Order of the Hospitallers, the Marshal Brother Conrad, Deputy Master of the Teutonic Order;<sup>14</sup>

For the period of ten whole years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, beginning on Thursday, 5 Rabi' I, A.H. 682, corresponding to 3 Ḥazirān 1594 from the conquest of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek;<sup>15</sup>

[2] Upon all the territory of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn 'Alī, which is in their realm and under their jurisdiction and obedience, and what is in their possession this day, being all the regions, provinces, strongholds, fortresses, districts, towns, villages, cultivated fields and lands: to wit,<sup>16</sup>

- [a] The province of Egypt (may God Most High guard it), its ports, strongholds and Islamic fortresses;  
the port of divinely-guarded Damietta;  
the port of divinely-guarded Alexandria;  
Nastarawa;  
Santariyya and the harbours, coasts and mainlands pertaining thereto;  
the port of Fuwwa;  
the port of Rosetta;
- [b] The Ḥijāzī territory;
- [c] The divinely-guarded port of Gaza and its accompanying harbours and territory;

<sup>14</sup> The Frankish names are given reasonably clearly in *Tashrif* and Ibn al-Furāt. The text in *Ṣubḥ* is here very corrupt.

<sup>15</sup> The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 3 June 1283.

<sup>16</sup> The list of Qalāwūn's possessions as given here comprises:

[a] Egypt with its principal ports (*thughūr*; cf. No. 2, n. 14).

[b] The Ḥijāz, over which the Mamluk sultans exercised suzerainty.

[c]–[j] Territories and strongholds conquered in the past from the Latin kingdom. These territories and the rest of the kingdom, conquered in 690/1291, ultimately formed part of the province of Damascus [k], as did the former Ayyubid principality of Himṣ [l].

[m] The province of Ḥamāh, under which are listed territories and strongholds taken from the county of Tripoli.

[n] The province of Aleppo, under which are listed the territories of the principality of Antioch.

- [d] The province of al-Karak and al-Shawbak and its districts;  
al-Salt and its districts;  
Buṣrā and its districts;
- [e] The province of the territory of al-Khalil (the blessings of God  
be upon him and peace) [Hebron];
- [f] The province of Jerusalem the August and its districts;  
Jordan and Bethlehem, its districts and territory, all included in  
it and ascribed to it;  
Bayt Jibrīl;
- [g] The province of Nablus and its districts;
- [h] The province of al-Aṭrūn and its districts;  
Ascalon, its districts, harbours and coastlands;
- [i] The province of Jaffa and al-Ramla and its harbour;  
Caesarea, its harbour, coastlands and districts;  
Arsūf and its districts;  
the stronghold of Qāqūn, its districts and territory;  
Lydda and its districts;  
the districts of al-ʿAwjā and their accompanying salt-pans;  
the Fortunate Conquests, their districts and cultivated fields;  
Baysān, its districts and territory;  
al-Ṭūr and its districts;  
al-Lajjūn and its districts;  
Jinīn and its districts;  
ʿAyn Jālūt and its districts;  
al-Qaymūn and its districts, and what appertains to it;  
Tiberias, its lake, districts and what accompanies it;
- [j] The province of Ṣafad and what appertains to it;  
Tibnīn, Hūnīn and their accompanying territory and districts;  
the divinely-guarded Shaqīf, known as Shaqīf Arnūn, its accom-  
panying territory and districts, and what appertains to it;  
the territory of al-Qarn and what accompanies it, apart from what  
is specified in this blessed truce:

half of the town of Iskandarūna;  
half of the estate of Mārun [?]  
with its ploughland, vineyards,  
orchards and dues;  
other dues of the said Iskan-  
darūna shall with all its bound-  
aries and territory belong to the  
Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and

to his son as to one half, and  
the other half to the kingdom  
of Acre;

al-Biqā' al-ʿAzīzī and its districts;  
Mashgharā and its districts;  
Shaqīf Tīrūn and its districts;  
the caverns as a whole, Zalāyā and elsewhere;  
Bāniyās and its districts;  
the stronghold of al-Ṣubayba and its districts, and its accompa-  
nying lakes and districts;  
Kawkab, its districts and what accompanies it;  
the stronghold of ʿAjlūn and its districts;

[k] Damascus and the Damascene province (may God Most High guard it), and its strongholds, territory, provinces and districts;  
the divinely-guarded stronghold of Baʿlabakk, what accompanies it, and its districts;

[l] The province of Ḥimṣ and its districts and boundaries;

[m] The divinely-guarded province of Ḥamāh, its town, citadel, ter-  
ritory and boundaries;

Balāṭūnus and its districts;

Ṣahyūn and its districts;

Burzayh and its districts;

the Conquests of the divinely-guarded Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and its districts;

Ṣafithā and its districts;

Mīʿār and its districts;

al-ʿUrayma and its districts;

Qadfiyā and its districts;

Maraqīyya and its districts;

Ḥalbā and its districts;

al-Qulayʿa and its districts;

Ḥiṣn ʿAkkār and its districts and territory;

the castle of Shayzar and its districts;

Afāmiyya and its districts;

Jabala and its districts;

Abū Qubays and its districts;

[n] The province of Aleppo and the strongholds, towns, territory and  
fortresses annexed thereto;

Antioch, its districts and what is included in the blessed Con-  
quests;



Baghrās and its districts;  
 al-Darbsāk and its districts;  
 al-Rāwandān and its districts;  
 ‘Ayntāb and its districts;  
 Ḥārim and its districts;  
 Tizīn and its districts;  
 Shih al-Ḥadīd and its districts;  
 Qal‘at Najm and its districts;  
 Shaqīf Darkūsh and its districts;  
 al-Shughr and its districts;  
 Bakās and its districts;  
 al-Suwaydā’ and its districts;  
 al-Bāb and Buzā‘ā and their districts;  
 al-Bīra and its districts;  
 al-Raḥba and its districts;  
 Salamiyya and its districts;  
 Shumaymis and its districts;  
 Tadmur and its districts, and what appertains to it;  
 and everything of the territory appertaining to our lord the Sultan  
 and to his son, whether specified or unspecified in this blessed truce;

[3] And upon all the soldiers and all the civilians of the whole of the people in their entirety, of their various kinds and different groups, nations and religions; the residents therein, and the wayfarers passing to and fro from all the lands of the Muslims; and upon all the merchants, travellers and wayfarers passing to and fro by land and sea, plain and mountain, by night and day;

They shall be safe and secure both in going out and coming in, in respect of themselves, their chattels, their children, their women-folk, their goods, their servants, their followers, their cattle, their beasts of burden, all belonging to them, and everything in their possession of whatever kind;

From the authorities in the kingdom of Acre: to wit, the *Bailli* of the kingdom there, the Master Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Order of the Templars, Master Brother Nicholas Lorgne, Master of the Order of Hospitallers, Brother Conrad, Deputy Master of the Teutonic Order, and from all the Franks, the Brethren and the knights who are under their obedience and included in their coastal kingdom; and from all the various Franks who have made their homes in Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce; and from all arriving there by land and sea, of whatever nations and groups.

- [4] The territory of the Sultan and his son, their fortresses, castles, territory, estates, soldiery, armies, Arabs, Turcomans, Kurds and civilians of whatever nations and groups; the cattle, chattels, produce and other things in their possession, shall suffer no treachery or evil. They shall not fear from any of them a wrongful act, raid, interference or harm. And likewise whatever territory, fortresses, castles, allods, districts and provinces by land and sea, plain and mountain, our lord the Sultan and his son shall conquer and annex by their own hands and the hand of their representatives and soldiery.
- [5] Likewise all the coastal territory of the Franks upon which this truce is now established: to wit,<sup>17</sup>
- [a] the city of Acre, its orchards, lands, mills, its property of vineyards, dues belonging to it in the vicinity, and settlements<sup>18</sup> as confirmed to it in this truce: to wit,  
 al-Baṣa and its cultivable land,  
 Majdal Ḥamṣīn, Ra's 'Abduh, al-Manawāth and their cultivable land,  
 al-Kabīra and its cultivable land,  
 Half of Waqiyya,  
 Ja'thūn,  
 Kafr Baradā and its cultivable land,  
 Kawkab,  
 'Amqā and its cultivable land,  
 al-Mūnya,  
 Kafr Yāsīf and its cultivable lands,  
 Būsinān,  
 Makr Ḥarsīn and its cultivable land,  
 al-Judayada,  
 al-'Ayadiyya;  
 al-'Aytāwiyya,  
 Barqūqa,  
 al-Ḥārithiyya,  
 Thamrā,  
 al-Ṭira,  
 al-Zib,

<sup>17</sup> For the identification and correct form of place-names in this section, see the very important article by Dan Barag, 'A new source concerning the ultimate borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem'. *Israel Exploration Journal*, 29, 1979, 197–217.

<sup>18</sup> Settlements: here and below *bilād*; elsewhere translated "territory".

al-Yānuḥiyya and its cultivable land,  
 al-Faraj and its cultivable land,  
 al-Mazra‘a,  
 al-Samiriyya al-Bayḍā’,  
 Da‘ūq and the mill,  
 Kurdāna and the mill,  
 Jadrūl,  
 Tall al-Nahl,  
 al-Fār;  
 al-Rukh,  
 al-Majdal,  
 Tall Kīsān,  
 al-Dāmūn;  
 Sāsā al-Siyāsiyya,  
 al-Shubayka,  
 al-Mushayrifa,  
 al-Qaṭrāniyya,  
 al-Munayīr,  
 Iklīl,  
 Hariyā Sayf al-Gharbiyya,  
 Hūsha,  
 al-Zirā‘a al-Jadida al-Shamāliyya,<sup>19</sup>  
 al-Raḥāḥiyya,  
 Quṣṭa,  
 Kafr Nabīd;  
 al-Duwayrāt,  
 Māṣūb,  
 Mīmās,  
 al-‘Abbāsiyya,  
 Shifāya,  
 ‘Ayn al-Malik,  
 al-Mansūra,  
 al-Ruṣayfa,  
 Ḥabāṭā,  
 Sartā,  
 Kafr Ātā,

<sup>19</sup> The new northern cultivation: perhaps a description rather than a place-name—*al-zirā‘a al-jadida al-shamāliyya*, rendered by Barag, “the cultivated area of Judeidah al-Shamāliyah” (pp. 202, 206).

Arḍ al-Zirā'a,<sup>20</sup>  
 Ruways,  
 Ṣaghad 'Adī,  
 Shafa 'Amr.

These settlements as mentioned shall be the property of the Franks.

- [b] Haifa and all its vineyards and orchards, the castle which is the enclosure, and Kafr Tūthā, [and the settlements as confirmed in its possession in this truce]:<sup>21</sup> to wit,

al-Kanīsa,  
 al-Ṭīra,  
 al-Sa'ba,  
 al-Sa'āda,  
 al-Ma'r,  
 al-Yājūr,  
 Sūmarā.

Haifa and these settlements as mentioned with their boundaries and lands shall be the property of the Franks.

- [c] Likewise Qiryat Mārīnā as known there, and its vineyards and plantations shall be the property of the Franks.  
 [d] Likewise Dayr al-Siyāḥ and Dayr Mār Ilyās with their lands as known, their vineyards and orchards, shall be the property of the Franks.  
 [e] Provided that the Sultan shall have of the settlements of Carmel [as property 'Isfiyā and al-Manṣūra; the rest of the settlements of Carmel]:<sup>22</sup> to wit,

al-Dāliya,  
 al-Dūbla,  
 Ḍarībat al-Rīḥ,  
 al-Karak,  
 Ma'liyā,  
 al-Dāmūn,  
 Lūbiya,  
 Basūr,  
 Khirbat Yūnus,

<sup>20</sup> The cultivation land: again perhaps a description, *arḍ al-zirā'a*. Barag does not translate this phrase, but says that "it is an enigma" (pp. 202, 207).

<sup>21</sup> The portion in square brackets translates a conjectural insertion into the text by Barag (p. 201, n. 14; p. 208).

<sup>22</sup> The portion in square brackets is based upon a conjectural reconstruction of the text by Barag (p. 209).

Khirbat Khamīs,  
Rūshmiyā,  
Duwāba,

shall be the property of the Franks among the other settlements mentioned. Except for this, all the mountain settlements in their entirety shall belong to the Sultan and his son.

- [6] All this territory of Acre and the coastlands as specified in this blessed truce shall be safe from the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, and safe from their soldiers, their troops and their servants. This territory as set forth above being covered by this blessed truce, whether property or condominium, shall be secure, it and its civilians, all nations of people in it, the residents therein and the wayfarers thereto, of whatever nations and religions, the wayfarers thereto from all the lands of the Franks, the merchants, the travellers and the wayfarers passing to and fro by land and sea, night and day, plain and mountain. They shall be safe in respect of themselves, their chattels, their children, their ships and their beasts of burden, all belonging to them and everything in their possession of whatever kind, from the Sultan, his son, and all under their obedience.
- [7] They and the said territory upon which this truce is concluded shall suffer no evil, damage or raid; nor shall either of the two parties, the Islamic and Frankish, suffer damage or harm from the other. What has been confirmed to be held in domain by the Franks as laid down above shall be theirs, and what has been confirmed to be held in domain by the Sultan and his son shall be theirs. The condominiums shall be as set forth. The Franks shall have no territory or condominiums save what is set forth and specified in this truce.
- [8] Provided that the Franks shall not restore any wall, castle, tower or fortress, whether old or recent, outside the walls of the three places, Acre, 'Athlith and Sidon.
- [9] Provided that if anyone, whoever he may be, flees from the territory of the Sultan and his son to Acre and the coastlands as specified in this truce, and seeks to enter the Christian religion, and becomes a Christian voluntarily, all he brought with him shall be returned, and he shall be left naked. If he does not seek to enter the Christian religion, and does not become a Christian, he shall be returned to their Court with all he brought with him on the mediation of a trustworthy person, and after being granted a safeconduct.

Likewise if anyone comes from Acre and the coastlands covered

by this truce, and seeks to enter the religion of Islam, and becomes a Muslim voluntarily, all with him shall be returned, and he shall be left naked. If he does not seek to enter the religion of Islam, and does not become a Muslim, he shall be returned to the authorities in Acre, the *Bailli* of the kingdom and the Masters with all he brought with him, on mediation and after being granted a safeconduct.

[10] Provided also that the prohibited articles,<sup>23</sup> the prohibition of which was previously recognized, shall be confirmed as prohibited by the two parties.

If there is found with a merchant of the territory of the Sultan and his son, whether a Muslim or of whatever religion or nation, he being in Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce, any prohibited article, such as a set of weapons etc., it shall be returned to the owner from whom he bought it, and its price shall be returned to him. He shall be sent back without forfeiture of his chattels or harm for that reason either to his person or his chattels.

Likewise if a merchant of the Franks, of whatever nationality or religion, proceeds from Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce to the Islamic territory covered by this truce, and any prohibited article is found with him, such as a set of weapons etc., it shall be returned to the owner from whom he bought it, and its price shall be returned to him, and he shall be sent back without forfeiture of his chattels or harm.

The Sultan and his son shall have jurisdiction over any of their subjects, of whatever religions and nations, who leave their territory with any prohibited articles.

Likewise the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters shall have jurisdiction over their subjects who leave their territory as covered by this truce with prohibited articles.

[11] When booty is taken from either side, or someone from either side is slain in any way (which God forbid), the booty itself shall be restored if it is found, or its value if it is lost. Compensation for the slain person shall be made with his peer from his nation: a knight for a knight, a turcopole for a turcopole, a merchant, a foot-soldier for a foot-soldier, a peasant for a peasant.

If the matter of the homicide or the booty is concealed, there shall be 40 days of grace for investigation. If the booty comes to light, or the matter of the homicide is determined, the booty itself shall

<sup>23</sup> The prohibited articles: *al-mamnū'āt*, see Introduction, p. 11.

be restored, and compensation shall be made for the slain person by his peer.

If it should not come to light, the *wālī* of the accused locality shall be placed on oath together with three persons of that *wilāya*, chosen by the accuser.

If the *wālī* refuses the oath, three persons from the accusing side, chosen by the other side, shall be placed on oath, and he shall take its value.

If the *wālī* does not act justly, and does not restore the chattel, the accuser shall petition the authorities on both sides. After the petition there shall be 40 days of grace, and the *wālīs* on both sides are required to comply with the condition.

When they conceal a homicide or booty, or are able to take a due, and fail to do so, each in his *wilāya*, it shall be incumbent on whichever of the rulers on both sides who appoints him to execute summary justice upon him by the taking of his life and chattels and gibbeting. There shall be complete disavowal of him who should be disavowed if he acts thus in his *wilāya* and his land.

[12] If anyone absconds with chattels and confesses part, and denies part of what is accused against him, he shall be required to swear that he took nothing but what he restored. If the accuser is not satisfied with the oath of the absconder, the *wālī* of that *wilāya* shall swear that he was not aware that anything arrived with him save what he restored. If he denies that anything whatsoever arrived with him, the absconder shall be put on oath that nothing belonging to the accuser arrived with him, and the *wālī* of those districts shall swear that nothing arrived with him.

[13] Provided also that if a ship of the merchants of the Sultan and his son, to which this truce applies, or of their subjects, whether Muslims or otherwise, of whatever nations and religions, be wrecked in the harbour of Acre, its coasts or the coastlands to which this truce applies; everyone in it shall be safe in respect of themselves, their chattels, their followers and their stock-in-trade. If the owners of these wrecked ships are found, their ships and chattels shall be delivered to them. If they are missing through death, drowning or absence, their possessions shall be kept, and delivered to the representatives of the Sultan and his son.

Likewise for the ships belonging to the Franks, and sailing from these coastlands to which this truce applies, the same procedure shall be followed in the territory of the Sultan and his son. Their possessions

shall be kept in the absence of their owner until they are delivered to the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre or the Master.

- [14] If any of the merchants of whatever nation and religion in transit from the territory of the Sultan and his son die in Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and the coastlands covered by this truce, his chattels shall be kept until they are delivered to their representatives.

Likewise the merchants of whatever nation and religion in transit from Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and the coastlands covered by this truce; if anyone should die in the Islamic territory covered by this truce, his chattels shall be kept until they are delivered to the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters.

- [15] Provided also that if the galleys of the Sultan and his son are commissioned and set sail, they shall not cause harm to the coastlands to which this truce applies.

If the said galleys are bound for a place other than these, and the lord of that place is an ally of the authorities in the kingdom of Acre, they are not to enter the territory to which this truce applies, nor to be provisioned thence.

If the lord of the place to which the divinely commissioned galleys are bound is not an ally of the authorities in the kingdom of Acre and the territory covered by the truce, they may enter the territory, and be provisioned thence.

If any of those galleys suffer wreck (which God forbid) in one of the harbours of the territory to which this truce applies or its coasts, while bound for an ally of the kingdom of Acre and the Masters of its Orders, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters of the Orders are required to guard it, to enable the crew to have provisions, repair the wreck, and return the vessel to Islamic territory. He [*sic*] shall stop the movement of such of them as are wrecked (God is our refuge) or are cast up by the sea. This is if they are bound for an ally of the kingdom of Acre and its Masters.

If they are not bound for an ally, they are to be provisioned and the crew equipped from the territory to which this truce applies, and they are to proceed to the territory as ordered.

This clause shall apply to both parties.

- [16] Provided also that if one of the Frankish maritime kings or others should move by sea with the intention of bringing harm to our lord the Sultan and his son in their territory to which this truce applies, the *Bailli* of the kingdom and the Masters in Acre are required to inform our lord the Sultan and his son of their movement two months



before their arrival in the Islamic territory covered by this truce. If they arrive after the lapse of two months, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters shall be exempt from responsibility under oath under this clause.

If the Mongols or another enemy move by land, whichever of the two parties has first information shall inform the other of the advance information he has about them.

- [17] Provided also that if the Mongols or another enemy proceed by land to Syrian territory (which God forbid), and the Islamic soldiers flee before the enemy, and the enemy draw near to the coastlands covered by this truce with the intention of harming them, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there may protect themselves, their subjects and their territory as best they can.

If there should be a flight (which God forbid) from Islamic territory to the coastlands covered by this truce, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there are required to guard and defend them, and to obstruct those who seek to harm them; and they shall be safe and secure in what they have with them.

- [18] Provided also that the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there shall give orders throughout the coastlands to which this truce applies that pirates shall not be enabled to obtain provisions or take on water from them. If they sell goods among them, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters shall detain them [the goods] until the appearance of the owner and they are delivered to him.

This shall likewise be applied by our lord the Sultan and his son, and both parties shall apply this concerning the pirates.

- [19] Provided also in regard to the sureties in Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce, that for any of them owing a sum of money or produce, the *wālī* of the place whence the surety comes shall swear, and the fiscal officer and the clerk shall swear when this person is taken as surety, that his debt is such-and-such in dirhams, produce, cattle etc. If the *wālī*, the fiscal official and the clerk take an oath thereon before the representative of the Sultan and his son, the family of the surety shall pay his debt to the Franks on his behalf, and they shall release him.

As for the sureties taken as allegedly contemplating flight, and out of fear lest they flee to Islamic territory, and the *wālīs* and fiscal officials refuse to take an oath on them, they shall be released.

- [20] Provided also that no new and extraordinary due shall be introduced by either party on travelling merchants when leaving and entering.

They shall proceed with their customary dues as continuing in force to the end, and the dues shall be taken from them according to continuing custom; they shall not be liable to any new fee or extraordinary due. In every place recognized for the levying of dues, they shall be levied there without increase by either party in the event either of their travelling or their staying.

Merchants, travellers and wayfarers shall be safe and secure, having escorts from both parties, whether they are travelling or staying, leaving or entering, together with such articles and goods accompanying them as are not prohibited.

[21] Provided also that proclamation be made in the Islamic territory and the Frankish territory covered by this truce that anyone who was a peasant in the territory of the Muslims, whether a Muslim or a Christian, shall return to the territory of the Muslims. Likewise anyone who was a peasant in the territory of the Franks, whether a Muslim or a Christian, shall return to the territory of the Franks, being recognized by both parties as domiciled there. Whoever does not return after the proclamation shall be expelled by either party. The peasants of the territory of the Muslims shall not be enabled to stay in the territory of the Franks to which this truce applies, nor the peasants of the territory of the Franks to stay in the territory of the Muslims to which this truce applies. The return of a peasant from one party to the other party shall be under a safeconduct.

[22] Provided also that the church at Nazareth and four of the nearest houses shall be for the visiting by pilgrims and others of the religion of the Cross, great and small, of whatever nations and groups, from Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce. The priests shall hold divine service in the church, and the said houses shall be reserved for pilgrims to the church at Nazareth. They shall be safe and secure in their coming and presence to the frontiers of the territory included in this truce.

If the masonry of the said church be dilapidated, it shall be cast out; one of its stones shall not be put on another for the purpose of building it.

There shall be no interference with the priests and monks on the pretext of an illicit gift because of the pilgrims of the religion of the Cross.

[23] The Sultan and his son are required to give protection to this specified territory to which this truce applies, from themselves, their soldiery and their troops; from all criminals, robbers and breakers of the peace

among those under their jurisdiction and obedience.

The *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there are required to give protection to this specified Islamic territory to which the truce applies, from themselves, their soldiery and their troops; from all criminals, robbers and breakers of the peace among those under their jurisdiction and obedience in their coastal kingdom included in this truce.

[24] The *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters of the Orders there, the authorities in Acre and the coastlands included in this truce, are required to fulfil all the conditions contained in this truce, condition by condition, clause by clause; to act according to its terms, and to abide by its conditions until the expiry of its term. Each of them shall fulfil what he has sworn with binding oaths that he would fulfil everything in this truce as they swore to it.

[25] This blessed truce shall continue between the Sultan, his son, their children and their children's children, and the authorities in the kingdom of Acre, Sidon and 'Athlith: to wit, the Seneschal Odo, the said Masters N. and N. to its end. It shall not be changed by the deaths of the rulers of either party, nor by the change of a Master and the appointment of another, but it shall continue as it is, until its end and its expiry with its conditions as defined and its principles as confirmed, whole and complete.

When this blessed truce expires or is abrogated (which God forbid), both parties shall allow 40 days of grace. Proclamation shall be made for everyone to return home after the announcement, so that people may return home safe and secure; and they shall not be prevented from travelling by either party.

It shall not be annulled by the removal from office of either party. Its provisions shall be maintained consecutively and continually through years, months and days until its expiry. The one removed from office and the one appointed shall be required to keep it, and to act according to its conditions to its end as specified. This truce shall continue with its conditions, clauses, branches and roots, and it shall be given its most favourable application until its end.

On all this there is assent, concurrence and agreement. Both parties have taken their oath upon it.

God grants success.

*Appendix 1: The Frankish territory as specified in Tashrīf*

Likewise all the territory of the Franks upon which this truce is now established, of the coastal territory: to wit,

the city of Acre and its orchards, lands, mills, its property in vineyards, dues belonging to it in the vicinity, and the settlements as confirmed to it in this truce; the number and the cultivable lands therein being 73 localities, the property of the Franks;

Likewise Haifa, the vineyards and the orchards, the number in Haifa being seven localities;

Likewise Mārsā [Mārinā] with its land as known there shall belong to the Franks;

Likewise Dayr al-Siyāj [Siyāḥ] and Dayr Mār Liyās [Ilyās] shall belong to the Franks;

To our lord the Sultan shall belong as property ‘Afā [‘Isfiyā] and al-Manṣūra; and the rest of the settlements of Carmel being 13 settlements in all shall belong to the Franks;

‘Athlith, the citadel, the town, the orchards which are felled, the vineyards, its cultivation, its lands belonging to it; and the settlements belonging to it are 16 localities;

the property of our lord the Sultan shall be as stated: to wit, the village of al-Harāmīs in its entirety, its dues and cultivable land; the remainder of the settlements of ‘Athlith shall be condominium; apart from what belongs to the August Fisc and from what is the property of ‘Athlith, it shall be condominium, being eight localities;

The cultivation of the Hospitallers in the district of Caesarea shall be the property of the Franks with what is in it;

Half of the town of Iskandarūna and half of the village of Mārūn with what is in it shall belong to the Franks; what is apart from that shall be the property of our lord the Sultan; whatever dues and produce may be in Iskandarūna and the village of Mārūn shall be shared in halves;

Sidon, the citadel, the town, the vineyards, its suburbs and all pertaining to it shall be the property of the Franks; there shall belong to it as settlements in property 15 localities;

In the lowlands, whatever rivers, waters, springs, orchards, mills, waste, running waters, and sugar plantations, wherein by ancient custom their lands are watered, shall be their property;

Apart from this, the whole of the mountain settlements shall belong to our lord the Sultan and his son in their entirety.

*Tashrīf*, 40–1.

## *Appendix 2: The oaths of ratification*

### *1. The Oath of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn*

By God, by God, by God;  
By God, by God, by God;  
By God, by God, by God;

By God the Inaccessible, He Who seeks out and overcomes, Who afflicts and favours, Who overtakes and destroys, Who knows what is manifest and what is hidden, Who knows what is secret and what is open, the Merciful, the Campassionate;

By the truth of the Qurʾān, and Him Who revealed it, and him to whom it was revealed, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (the blessing of God be upon him and peace); by what is said in it, chapter by chapter, verse by verse;

By the truth of the month of Ramaḍān;

I shall keep this blessed truce which has been established between myself and the kingdom of Acre and the Masters therein, upon Acre, ʿAthlith, Sidon and their territories which are comprised in this truce, whereof the duration from first to last is ten complete years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, beginning on Thursday, 5 Rabiʿ I, A.H. 682;

I shall keep it, and be bound by all its conditions as stated therein, and I shall cause matters to proceed according to its provisions until the expiry of its period;

I shall not put my own interpretation upon it or upon any part of it;

I shall not obtain a legal opinion about it with a view to its abrogation so long as the authorities in the city of Acre, Sidon and ʿAthlith (to wit, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre, the Master of the Order of the Temple, the Master of the Order of the Hospital, the present Deputy Master of the Teutonic Order, who now are, and their successors in the bailiwick of the kingdom or as Master of an Order in this said kingdom) shall keep the oath which they shall swear to me and to my son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, and to my children to establish this truce as now written, acting by it and its conditions as stated therein until

the expiry of its period, and being bound by its provisions.

If I break this oath, I shall be bound to make thirty Pilgrimages to the Holy House of God in Mecca the Ennobled, barefoot and bareheaded, and I am bound to fast the whole time except the forbidden days. (He cites the rest of the oath to its end; then says:)

And God is the Trustee for what We say.

## 2. *The Oath of the Franks*

By God, by God, by God;

By God, by God, by God;

By God, by God, by God;

By the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ;

By the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross;

By the truth of the three Persons of one Substance called the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God;

By the truth of the venerated Divinity which was made man;

By the truth of the pure Gospel and its contents;

By the truth of the four Gospels brought by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John;

By the truth of their prayers and benedictions;

By the truth of the Twelve Disciples and the Seventy-two and the Three Hundred and Eighteen gathered for the Synod;

By the truth of the Voice which came down from heaven upon the River Jordan, and drove it back;

By the truth of God, the Revealer of the Gospel to Jesus the son of Mary, the Spirit of God and His Word;

By the truth of the Lady Mary, the Mother of the Light, Saint Mary, John the Baptist, Saint Thomas and Saint Matthew;<sup>24</sup>

By the truth of the Great Fast;

By the truth of my religion and that which I worship, what I believe as a Christian, and what I have received from the fathers and priests in baptism;

From this time and from this hour I intend sincerely and conscientiously to keep to the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and to his son,

<sup>24</sup> The last two names are corrupt in the text as given by Ibn al-Furāt and *Ṣubḥ: mrtmān wa-mrtmānī*, but may be corrected from the oath of Leon III (see No. 7) as *Mār Tūmā wa-Mār Mattā*, and are here translated accordingly.

al-Malik al-Şālih, and to their children, all that is contained in this blessed truce, on which peace has been concluded for the kingdom of Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and their territory as included in this truce and named therein, its duration being ten complete years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, beginning on Thursday, 3 Ḥazirān 1594 of the era of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek;

I shall act according to all its conditions, condition by condition, and I shall be bound to keep every clause in this said truce until the expiry of its period.

By God, by God, by the truth of Christ, the truth of the Cross and the truth of my religion, I shall not inflict damage or wrong on the territory of the Sultan and his son, nor on any of the people whom it contains, or will contain, nor on the wayfarers from it to the territory included in this truce, either their persons or their chattels.

By God, by the truth of my religion and that which I worship; in regard to the covenant, truce, concord, friendship and the safeguarding of the Islamic civilians and the wayfarers coming and going to and from the Sultan's territory, I shall follow the path of friendly contracting parties, who are bound to abstain from damage or enmity to persons and chattels;

I am bound to keep all the conditions of this truce until its expiry so long as al-Malik al-Manşūr keeps the oath which he swore upon the truce;

I shall not abrogate this oath or any part of it, or make any exception in it or any part of it, seeking its abrogation.

If I violate it or abrogate it, I shall have abjured my religion, my belief and that which I worship; I shall be disobedient to the Church; I shall be obliged to make thirty pilgrimages to Jerusalem, barefoot and bareheaded; I shall be obliged to release a thousand Muslim prisoners from captivity with the Franks, and to set them free; and I shall have abjured the Divinity which was made man.

This is the oath of me N. The intention in it is entirely the intention of al-Malik al-Manşūr and the intention of his son, al-Malik al-Şālih, and the intention of him who administered my oath to them upon the Holy Gospel; I have no other intention.

God and Christ are the Trustees for what We say.

## 7. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN WITH KING LEON III OF LESSER ARMENIA: 684/1285

The kingdom of Lesser Armenia owed its origin to the migration of Armenians during the tenth and eleventh centuries into Cilicia, a region in name and sometimes in fact part of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>1</sup> Two leading families, the Roupenids and the Heṭoumids, were rivals for supremacy in the region. From the arrival of the First Crusade onwards the Armenians as a Christian people in jeopardy from the neighbouring powers had close and usually friendly relations with the Frankish leaders, and intermarriage between the two groups was of frequent occurrence. The ascendancy of the Roupenids culminated in the last ruler of the line, Leon II (1187–1219), who was crowned king in 1198 with a crown sent by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI. With the marriage of his daughter and heiress to the head of the Heṭoumid family, the old rivalry came to an end, and the kingdom passed in due course to Heṭoum I.

During Heṭoum's long reign from 1226 to 1269 the Mamluk sultanate came into existence, and the Mongols extended their empire westwards into Iran and Iraq. To the Christians of Lesser Armenia and the Frankish states, the Mongols seemed potentially powerful allies against their Muslim neighbours. Heṭoum had sought their protection as early as 1247, and in 1253 he travelled in person to the court of the Great Khan Möngke at Karakorum. When the Mongols swept into Syria in 658/1260, they were aided by Heṭoum and his son-in-law, Bohemond VI of Antioch and Tripoli. But the Mongol advance was halted and turned by the Mamluks at 'Ayn Jālūt, and Ayyubid Syria was absorbed into the realm of Baybars. Thus a new and dangerous neighbour extended to the southern marches of Lesser Armenia.

Baybars organized two campaigns into Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> The first, provoked by two unsuccessful Armenian incursions into northern Syria, took place in 664/1266, the expeditionary force being commanded by

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<sup>1</sup> For a short account of the history of Lesser Armenia, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The kingdom of Lesser Armenia", in Setton, *Crusades*, II, 630–59.

<sup>2</sup> See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 150–1, 173–5, 192–3, 232–4.



al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, the Ayyubid lord of Ḥamāh. The Mamluk army reached and destroyed Sis, the Armenian capital, and during the campaign Heṭoum's son and heir, Leon, was made prisoner. After prolonged negotiations a peace treaty was ratified in Ramaḍān 666/May 1268, and Leon was released. In the following year his father abdicated, and he succeeded him as King Leon III (1269–89). Baybars's second campaign against Lesser Armenia took place in 673/1275. The sultan's pretext was that the tribute stipulated in the treaty of 1268 had not been delivered, and that Muslim trading-caravans had been attacked. Sis was again taken and pillaged, and the countryside devastated. The object of the campaign was not, however, gratuitous destruction. By weakening the kingdom in this manner, Baybars prepared the way for a more important military venture—his Anatolian campaign of 675/1277.

Meanwhile friendly relations continued between Lesser Armenia and the Mongols of the Ilkhanate. Leon's liberation from captivity in 666/1268 had been made possible because Heṭoum had personally interceded with the *Īlkhān* Abaqa for the release of an important Mamluk amir, Sunqur al-Ashqar, who had been held prisoner for eight years. In 680/1281, early in Qalāwūn's reign, the Mongols again invaded Syria with Armenian co-operation. But the invasion was defeated at Ḥimṣ, and once again the Armenians found that their hopes of their ally were disappointed. It was not until 684/1285 that they succeeded in making peace with Qalāwūn. It is a possibility that the accession in 683/1284 of the *Īlkhān* Arghūn, who favoured Christians, was a factor influencing the sultan.

The course of events which led to the conclusion of the treaty of 684/1285 is thus described by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir:<sup>3</sup>

When our lord the sultan was besieging the castle of al-Marqab,<sup>4</sup> the commander of the Templars in Lesser Armenia came with a verbal message from the lord of Sis. He brought with him a written communication from the king, and a written communication from the master of the Templars,<sup>5</sup> which contained an enquiry about the lord of Sis, a request on his behalf for forgiveness and the acceptance of his excuse. The reason for the master's request that his [Leon's] ambassador should appear at the sultan's court was that, whenever the lord of Sis's

<sup>3</sup> *Tashrif*, 92–3, 102–3.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Marqab (Margat) was a castle of the Hospitallers. It fell to Qalāwūn in May 1285.

<sup>5</sup> William of Beaujeu, Master of the Templars (1273–91).

ambassadors appeared, they were arrested and detained, and no reply was sent to him. So he astutely sought the help of the Master of the Templars, and consequently the commander appeared to act as a mediator and set matters right. As a service was due to the Templars from our lord the sultan, it was deemed necessary to give an answer to his enquiry, and to show respect to him by accepting his intercession.

Our lord the sultan summoned the commander, and he brought the gift. It was a great gift of silverware, textiles and other things. He [Leon] asked that his annual tribute should be settled. Bahasnā continued to be demanded of him; he haggled, and made many excuses. It was settled that he should pay annually a tribute of one million dirhams in cash and kind; in detail, silver bullion, 500,000 dirhams [weight] equivalent to 700,000 dirhams by account;<sup>6</sup> good horses and good mules, 50 head; iron plates with their nails, 10,000 plates to be transported wherever it shall be ordered; the completion of the sum being gifts, textiles and other things. It was settled that all the merchants detained by him should be released with their chattels and goods; that for each of them who had died, a similar prisoner should be released in his stead; that the chattels of the dead should be forwarded; and that every Muslim imprisoned in his land should be released. Our lord the sultan swore to it on Thursday, 2 Rabi' II [684/7 June 1285]. The Amir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī proceeded to obtain the oath of the lord of Sis, to bring a year's tribute in advance, and to bring the merchants and other prisoners.

The truce of Sis was arranged in this form as set down, and matters were established favourably. The treasuries profited from this great sum which was to be brought in annually. If Sis had been conquered and colonized, there would not have been such a surplus over expenses.

The chamberlain, the Amir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muqrī, proceeded with the ambassadors to the lord of Sis, bearing the truce. He returned with the wealth settled as explained above. Their ambassador, Bahram, one of their magnates, came as did the commander who had been the mediator in this truce. When they appeared before our lord the sultan, he released all the ambassadors who had been detained in Damascus and their servants. He ordered the release of his ambassadors who were in Egypt. A few prisoners and chattels were kept back to be sent to whoever should claim them. The truce included the release of all prisoners, and a number of the companions of Ibn Qaramān and others were kept back.

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<sup>6</sup> The text is *fiḍḍat ḥajar 500,000 dirham 'anhā bi-hisāb 700,000 dirham*; i.e. the proportion of silver in the coined dirham was 5/7. This agrees closely with the Zāhiri dirham, first coined by al-Zāhir Baybars in 658/1260, which was an alloy of 70% silver and 30% copper. See H. Rabie. *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341*, London 1972, 185–6; cf. n. 10 below.

[Leon] alleged in regard to the Qaramānis and Rūmis<sup>7</sup> that they had been prisoners of his, that they were his enemies, and that there were hostilities between them. If they would release his prisoners, he would release their prisoners. In regard to the Rūmis he alleged that they were in infidel obedience. Our lord the sultan said, "The affairs of all Muslims are my concern. They have no sultan but me to liberate them, and to fight their enemies. It must be thus for these Qaramānī prisoners, for they are in my obedience, and can seek help only by raising my flag." The ambassadors undertook to send them back, and they escorted those who came with him.

The text of this treaty is given by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir in *Tashrīf*, at pp. 93–102. It was earlier published by Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 166–71, with a French translation at pp. 201–12. It appears to consist of three parts, which are not, however, distinguished by rubrics or otherwise in the text. The first part is a lengthy oath of ratification, sworn to the appended truce, which forms the second part of the instrument. In the third part, Leon adds (again in the first person) some further provisions, and concludes with a second and briefer oath of ratification. This part may represent some additional safeguards, negotiated in Sis by the Mamluk ambassadors. In no other treaties except Nos. 9 and 11 is the oath of ratification presented as an integral part of the instrument. The model treaty given by al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 17–20, does not include an oath of ratification. It is presented as a unilateral truce, whereas the treaty with Leon III is explicitly bilateral in form, closely resembling the treaties with the Crusader states.

### *Text of the treaty*

- [I] In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: I say—and  
 I am Leon, the son of Heṭoum, the son of Constantine—  
 By God, by God, by God;  
 By God, by God, by God;  
 By God, by God, by God;  
 By the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ;

<sup>7</sup> Qaramānis, i.e. Turcomans from the dynastic principality of Qaramān (Turkish, Karaman), so named from its eponymous founder in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. Its territory lay to the west of Cilicia. See F. Sümer, *ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARI*, in *EI*2, IV, 619–25. Rūmis, i.e. Anatolians.

By the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross;

By the truth of the Gospel, by the truth of the Gospel, by the truth of the Gospel;

By the truth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost;

By the truth of the most mighty Cross, which carried the most august Humanity;

By the truth of the three Persons of one Substance;

By the truth of the four Gospels brought by Matthew, Luke, Mark and John;

By the truth of their prayers and benedictions;

By the truth of the Twelve Disciples and the Seventy-two and the Three Hundred and Eighteen who assembled concerning the Church;

By the truth of the Voice which came down from heaven upon Jordan, and drove it back;

By the truth of God, who sent down the Gospel unto Jesus the son of Mary, the Holy Ghost and His Word;

By the truth of the blessed Mother of the Light, the Lady Mary, John the Baptist, Saint Thomas and Saint Matthew;

By the truth of the Great Fast;

By the truth of my Christian faith and belief, and the baptism I have received from the priests and the fathers;

By the truth of every father offering the Eucharist;

From this time and this hour I intend sincerely and conscientiously to obey and fulfil to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the lord of kings and sultans, the sultan of Egypt and the territories of Damascus, Aleppo and the Euphrates, the citadels and territory of Anatolia and the territory of the East, the king of the earth, Abu'l-Faḥ Qalāwūn al-Şāliḥī, the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful; and to his son, the lord Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the Friend of the Commander of the Faithful; and to his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf Şalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khalīl, the Helper of the Commander of the Faithful;

All this truce as set forth after this oath, its duration being ten whole, continuous and consecutive years and ten hours, beginning on the blessed Thursday, 1 Rabi' II 684<sup>8</sup> of the *Hijra* of the Prophet (the blessing of God and His peace be on him), corresponding to 7

<sup>8</sup> The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 6–7 June 1285.

Ḥazirān 1596 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek.

I shall keep it to the end of its duration, and act according to its conditions, condition by condition, and I shall be bound to fulfil it and its contents. I shall not contravene it by word, act, sign or gesture. I shall not misinterpret this my oath or the said truce. I shall not seek a legal fiction to abrogate it or to abrogate any part of it. I shall not seek a legal decision concerning it or anything in it or in any condition of the said truce.

If I abrogate it or abrogate anything in it, or seek a legal opinion concerning it, or make any exception in it or in anything in it; then all that I possess, whether live or dead stock, I shall bestow upon the poor and indigent Christians. I shall be bound to go thirty times to Jerusalem on foot, barefoot and bareheaded, and to fast perpetually, if I contravene the conditions of this truce or anything of it from the beginning to the end of this period as specified in this oath,  
To wit:

[III] [1] This blessed truce is established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the most majestic lord, wise, just, victorious, Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful; and his son and heir, the lord Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Ala' al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the Friend of the Commander of the Faithful; and his son, the Lord al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khalil, the Helper of the Commander of the Faithful (may God make their power eternal); and his Majesty King Leon, the son of King Heṭoum, the son of Constantine, king of the Armenians; for the period of ten whole, continuous and consecutive years, ten months, ten days and ten hours beginning on Thursday, 1 Rabi' I 684, corresponding to 7 Ḥazirān 1596 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek;

[2] Upon the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, his citadels, fortresses, provinces, cities and regions; and the subjects of his territory, whether soldiery, troops, armies, mobilized forces, Turcomans, Kurds, Arabs, Muslims, Christians and all communities of people of whatever faith or group, and upon whatever they possess, whether chattels or beasts, live or dead stock, travelling by night or roaming freely, moving or staying, land and sea, harbours and coasts, plain and mountain, cultivation and waste, to wit:

the province of Egypt, its ports, territory, harbours, coasts and mainland;  
the Coastal Province, its coasts, harbours and mainland;  
the province of al-Karak;

the province of al-Shawbak;  
the province of al-Salt and al-Balqā';  
the province of 'Ajlūn;  
the province of Şarkhad;  
the province of al-Şubayba;  
the province of Şafad and al-Shaqīf;  
the province of Damascus;  
the province of Ba'labakk and all the Syrian provinces and the Islamic  
citadels;  
the province of Hımş;  
the province of al-Raḥba;  
the conquered fortresses, Hişn 'Akkār and its conquered lands,  
Hişn al-Akrād and its conquered lands,  
Hişn al-Marqab and its conquered lands  
and harbours, Bulunyās and what this  
conquest comprises, Balda, Jabala, Latakia  
and the Territory of the Lady  
the province of Balāṭunus and its territory;  
the province of Şahyūn and its territory;  
the province of Shayzar;  
the province of Ḥamāh;  
the province of Aleppo;  
the province of Baghrās;  
the province of al-Darbsāk;  
the province of 'Ayntāb, Burj al-Ruṣāş, al-Rāwandān, Tall Bāshir,  
Manbij, Qal'at Ja'bar;  
the province of al-Bira;  
the province of Gargar;  
the province of al-Kakhtā, Qaṭīnā, Bābilū;  
up to the boundaries of the territory of the Sultan with the kingdoms  
of the East and Anatolia;  
and all that is established in the possession of the representatives of  
our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr to the date of this truce, being  
territory, conquests, boundaries, lands and citadels;  
and whatsoever God Most High shall conquer at the hand of our lord  
the Sultan and the hand of his soldiery, armies and expeditions, whether  
territory, regions, frontier towns, villages, estates, summer quarters,  
winter quarters, east or west, far or near;  
and upon the territory of the Sultan, whether stated or not stated, and  
whomever or whatever is therein;

[3] And upon the territory of King Leon, the son of King Heṭoum, which are established in his possession at the time of the establishment of this truce, this being his recognized territory.

[4] The territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, whether specified or unspecified, and the territory of King Leon as established in his possession, shall be safe and secure on the basis of the peace and the truce; they and those within them, his subjects, commanders and troops; whatever pertains to him and is attributed to him; whatever his territory contains of chattels, beasts, villages, cultivable lands and estates; being safeguarded from both parties by night and day, in coming and going, morning and evening; protected as to the roads; defended as to the extremities and parts by land and sea from harmful encroachers, those who make a game of aggression, thieves and robbers and disturbers of the peace. Neither party shall interfere with the other in any circumstances which may infringe the conditions of this truce, nor shall the regime of peace which has been duly established and become common knowledge be abrogated thereby.

[5] Merchants of both parties shall pass to and fro with their chattels and wares, coming and going. Let them be escorted to the boundaries of the territory; let them not be prevented from passing to and fro; let them not be harmed for any reason.

[6] Provided that King Leon, the son of King Heṭoum shall render to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and to his son and heir, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣaliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, and to his son the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf annually henceforward from the date of this truce and to the lapse of its duration, the tallage<sup>9</sup> established for himself, his subjects and his territory as follows, the cash being payable yearly in advance, to wit:

of silver bullion, *tahegans* of the  
kingdom, 500,000 dirhams by weight, the half being 250,000 dirhams;<sup>10</sup>  
of good horses and good mules,  
50 head; in detail, 25 head good horses of mixed breed,<sup>11</sup> 25 good mules;  
of good iron plates,<sup>12</sup> 10,000 plates

<sup>9</sup> Tallage: *qatī'a*.

<sup>10</sup> The text is *min al-fidḍa al-ḥajar al-talaḡham al-takfūriyya 500,000 wazn<sup>an</sup> niṣṣḥā 250,000 dirham*. This somewhat difficult passage complements Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's summary; see n. 6 above. *Takfūr* is the title given to the Armenian ruler in Arabic sources. *Talaḡham*, i.e. *tahegan*, the unit of Armenian currency.

<sup>11</sup> Horses of mixed breeds: *akādish* (sing. *ikdish*).

<sup>12</sup> Iron plates: *taṭābīq* (sing. *taṭbīqa*); defined by Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i,

with their nails, to be transported to any place that shall be decreed in the Sultan's territory.

Let the transport thereof be established annually from his kingdom; and let the first year be in advance; and let the transport of this specified amount continue annually until the lapse of this blessed truce.

[7] Provided also that King Leon shall be bound to release all Muslim merchants in his custody, whatever their community or nationality, with their chattels, goods, slaves, slave-girls, horses and mules; and to release all Muslims held prisoner in custody in his castles and his territory of every nation of people, whatever their nationality and group; and to despatch them all to the Exalted Gates, not detaining any, and despatching them all to the Exalted Gates.

As regards any Muslim merchant who has died while in the custody of King Leon, King Leon shall be bound to render up the chattels of the merchants who have died in his custody to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and their slaves, their slave-girls and their goods, concealing nothing. He shall make compensation for a merchant who has died by a captive like him. He shall discharge the value of whatever of his goods, chattels and slaves has been squandered to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr (may God make his kingdom eternal), and he shall despatch it to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr without pleading any excuse.

[8] Provided also that our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr shall release to King Leon any of his ambassadors who were detained, and their servants and retinue held in custody in Egypt and Syria. Should there be any Armenian merchant in custody, he shall also be released with his chattels as found.

[9] Provided also that no new imposition or oppressive innovation shall be laid upon the merchants of both parties as they pass to and fro. No increased escort-duty shall be levied from them in any part; a just and equitable procedure shall be followed with them.

[10] Provided also that any merchant, civilian, refugee or any other person whatsoever who enters the land of the Armenians from Anatolia, the lands of the East and the West, al-ʿIrāq, Baghdad, Persia and all other lands, being on his way to the Sultan's territory, shall pass freely to the Sultan's territory, and shall not be detained or hindered. He

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202, n. 1, as "une plaque de fer ou de cuivre, garnie d'un clou, que l'on appliquait sur les harnais des chevaux, ou que l'on employait pour ferrer ces animaux." On the importance of Lesser Armenia to the Mamluks as a source of horses and iron, see S.Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)*, Wiesbaden 1965, 66–7.



shall not say<sup>13</sup> that these are subjects of the Mongols or their sons or connected with them.

[11] Provided also that when a Muslim merchant dies in the territory of King Leon, his chattels shall be kept, and delivered to the representatives of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr for them to dispose of according to the Holy Law; and likewise for King Leon in regard to the Armenian merchants of his territory who die in the Sultan's territory.

[12] Provided also that when a ship of either party is wrecked in the other part, its content shall be kept under guard, and delivered to the representatives of the part from which the deceased merchant came. If that merchant was a subject of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr or one of his servants, then it shall be delivered to the representatives of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr. If he was a subject of King Leon, then it shall be delivered to his representatives for them to dispose of according to justice and equity.

[13] Provided also that when anyone flees from the territory of our lord the Sultan, whoever he may be, a commander or one under command, a slave or a freeman, of any community, nationality or faith, and enters the land of the Armenians, King Leon and his representatives shall be bound to take him, and produce him under guard to the Royal Gates with all who fled with him and whatever is found with him, whether companions, servants, horses, mules, textiles, chattels and so forth.

If the fugitive becomes a Christian and abandons his faith, King Leon is bound to send him back to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr without pleading any excuse or stating a case on his behalf.

If any of the subjects, servants or troops of King Leon flees and persists in his faith, the representatives of the Sultan are bound to send him back. If he enters the faith of Islam, the chattels found with him shall be sent back.

[14] Provided also that the prohibited articles,<sup>14</sup> being weapons, military equipment and so forth, from the territory of the Sultan<sup>15</sup> shall continue to be prohibited as is customary.

[15] Provided also that King Leon shall not forbid anyone, whether

<sup>13</sup> So following Quatremère's reading of the text and his translation: *wa-lā yaqūl*, "et ne dira pas".

<sup>14</sup> Prohibited articles: *al-mamnū'āt*.

<sup>15</sup> Quatremère's translation ("dont l'entrée était défendue dans les Etats du sultan") is misleading.

a merchant or not, who imports slaves, slave-girls, horses, mules and all kinds of goods, to bring them to the Sultan's territory; nor shall he detain them, nor permit anyone to detain them. He shall open the way for them to import the slaves, slave-girls, horses, mules and other kinds of goods, all nationalities of slaves and nationalities of slave-girls of their various kinds, and not detain any of them.

[16] Provided also that when booty is taken or anyone of either party is killed, the killer shall be surrendered for retaliation;<sup>16</sup> and the booty itself shall be returned if it is found, or its value if it is lost. Compensation shall be made for a slain person, after the return of his chattels, by a captive like him: a knight for a knight, a turcopole for a turcopole, a merchant for a merchant, a foot-soldier for a foot-soldier, and a peasant for a peasant.

If the matter of the homicide or the booty is concealed, there shall be 40 days of grace for its investigation. If the matter is not disclosed, the *wālī* of that party and three persons chosen by the other party shall be put on oath. If the matter of the booty or the homicide is disclosed after the oath the search for the truth shall proceed.

[17] Provided also that Qal'at al-Rūm<sup>17</sup> and the caliph of the Armenians, the *Catholicos* who resides there, his monks, those connected with him in this part and in what belongs to it, being civilians and peasants, shall be included in this truce as it was established for them in the truce of al-Zāhir.

[18] Provided that King Leon shall not rebuild any castle or fortification.

[19] Provided that King Leon shall send back to the territory of the Sultan any peasants from Anatolia and the territory of the Sultan who are in his territory, and he shall release any of their monks whom he has in custody. Any of the peasants from the land of the Armenians in the Sultan's territory shall be sent back.

[20] This truce with its stipulations and principles as set down shall be established until the lapse of its duration. It shall not be abrogated by the death of one of the rulers of the two parts, nor by the removal of a governor or a *wālī* and the appointment of another, nor by the entry of a foreign invader,<sup>18</sup> nor by duress from the Mongols or any

<sup>16</sup> For retaliation: *li-yuqtaṣṣ*. On *qīṣās*, legal retaliation for killing and wounding, see J. Schacht, *QIṢĀS*, *EI2*, V, 277–80.

<sup>17</sup> Qal'at al-Rūm (Hromgla), the see of the Armenian patriarch (*catholicos*) was a fortress-city on the right bank of the Euphrates, in the borderland between Mamluk territory and the Ilkhanate.

<sup>18</sup> Foreign invader: *rijl gharība*; cf. No. 3, n. 20 above.

other, but the provisions of this truce shall continue as they are.

[III] I am bound to fulfil it in all its conditions, and not to depart from any of the provisions of this truce.

I shall not give intelligence about the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, nor about his soldiery, nor about his subjects to anyone intending to raid, damage or injure them. Nor shall I take part in counsel leading to the commission of an evil or reprehensible act. Nor shall I show goodwill to any of the enemies of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, nor help him, nor assist him, nor communicate with him by sign, writing, embassy, letter or oral message, but I shall defend myself and my territory. I shall make every effort to guard the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and to prevent the passage to it from my territory of anyone with harmful or hostile intent.

Should abrogation by either party occur (which God forbid) the merchants, travellers and wayfarers shall be safe and secure in respect of themselves their chattels, their goods, their slaves, their slave-girls, their horses and their mules. There shall be 40 days of grace so that everyone may return to his place of safety and his homeland with his goods and chattels without hindrance for the duration of this blessed truce, beginning at the commencement of Rabi‘ II 684 of the *Hijra* of the Prophet Muḥammad (the blessings of God be upon him and peace) corresponding to 7 Ḥazirān 1595 [*sic*] of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek.

By God, by the truth of my religion and what I worship and believe, I am bound by all this truce. This is my oath, and I am Leon, son of Heṭoum. The intention therein is the intention of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī and the intention of his two sons, the lord Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Alā’ al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn and the lord Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn, and the intention of him who has sworn me on their behalf. I have no other intention than theirs, and no other purpose than theirs. I call upon God to be my witness thereto, and God is the trustee of what I say, and Christ is my witness thereto.

*Appendix: Model treaty with a king of Lesser Armenia*

[Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 17–20 gives this as an example of a unilateral truce imposed by a powerful sultan on a weak king, requiring

the payment of annual tribute, the cession of fortresses etc. He took the text from *al-maqarr al-Shihābī*, i.e. Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1349), and believed from internal evidence that it was imposed upon the king of Lesser Armenia.]

This is the treaty graciously concluded by our lord the Sultan N. (may God make his power eternal and ennoble his time by him) with King N. He granted the truce when his ambassadors came repeatedly to him, and his letters arrived constantly, hoping that he would grant him a respite and asking that he would cease to attack him when he would not forgive him.

So he thought (and may God direct his thoughts) that peace is better and God's dealing more profitable, and he granted a truce to this King N. for himself, his family, his son and his descendants; for all his territory, whether inherited or newly acquired; for his possessions of freehold and chattels, districts and provinces, troops and soldiers, gathered and assembled; the subjects of his rule, whether native or foreign, travelling by day or night; the period of the truce commencing with the present hour and what follows it for so many years, months and hours.

During it this King N. shall transfer to the treasury of the Muslims and into the possession of Sultan N. the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful, such-and-such during this period; this king shall discharge it from his wealth and from what is pledged of his revenue in poll-tax<sup>19</sup> on the inhabitants of his territory and land-tax<sup>20</sup> on his provinces in such-and-such instalments without needing the burden of a demand and without its being taken by force;

Provided that our lord the Sultan shall desist from inflicting suffering on him, and from parading his cavalry before him by day and night. He shall rally from his territory the parties of his soldiers, troops and followers, and grant him security, whether they go slowly or quickly. He shall withdraw from the territory of this king which marches with his territory and checks the outflow of his reinforcements. He shall ward off from it and from the rest of the robbers in his realm, who are so-and-so. He shall desist from raiding, and forbid injuries. He shall turn back migrants who are subjects of this king, unless they enter the religion of Islam, pronounce the two testimonies and avow the two customary formulae.

<sup>19</sup> Poll-tax: *jizya*.

<sup>20</sup> Land-tax: *kharāj*.

The traders of this king, and the merchants passing between his territory and Islamic territory, shall be safeguarded from hindrances to their activities, and no harm shall befall them or their chattels. If criminals take anything of their chattels, or kill any of them, he has commanded that they shall receive justice as regards that criminal, and that what is their due shall be taken from that criminal.

Provided that he [the king] do likewise for those entering his country from Islamic territory; and that neither he himself nor anyone of all the inhabitants of his territory shall be free to grant asylum to a Muslim convert to Christianity, nor shall allow such, whether unawares or acting deliberately.

Whenever the letters of our lord the Sultan N. or the letters of his governors, or of anyone connected with him, shall reach him, he shall hasten to comply with them, and to act accordingly at once without postponement, delay, disregard or neglect.

He shall not spy upon Islamic territory for the unbelievers, whether they are located near him or at a distance. He shall not be in agreement with the enemies of our lord the Sultan N., and primarily the Mongols, against him. He shall be bound to do what is necessary to keep the peace, and to act in such a way as to silence the spears and the tongues which resemble them. He shall report intelligence of the enemy, even if they are of his own sect, send information of their evil purposes, and make known anything of importance in what they are about.

Peace is accomplished until the end of the specified time by this truce, if he keeps its conditions, fulfills its requirements, and observes its binding limits; if he strives to fulfil it, lays the foundation of his loyalty upon it, and holds back from disturbing the resting-place of his felicity. It is he who has asked for this truce to be confirmed, and our lord the Sultan has answered him with these written conditions. He has witnesses present in both realms, and this recorded truce covers him.

Success is with God.

## 8. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN WITH THE LADY MARGARET OF TYRE: 684/1285

Tyre was originally part of the crown domain of Jerusalem. In 1243, however, during the nominal regency of the Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, it was allotted to a local magnate, Philip of Montfort,<sup>1</sup> the lord of Toron (Tibnin), and the grant was subsequently confirmed by King Henry I of Cyprus as regent of the Latin kingdom. Isabel, a sister of King Henry, had in 1232 married his namesake, Henry of Antioch, the brother of Bohemond V of Antioch-Tripoli, and among their children was a daughter, Margaret, the future Lady of Tyre. In 1269 Margaret was married to Philip of Montfort's eldest son, John, who became lord of Tyre on his father's death in 1270, and himself died in 1283. Early in the following year his widow succeeded to the lordship of Tyre, and made this treaty with Qalāwūn in 1285.

Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, who gives the text of the treaty in *Tashrif*,<sup>2</sup> provides no particulars about its negotiation—an indication, perhaps, that it was a matter of little importance. In *al-Rawḍ*, however, he gives some information about the relations between Baybars and Philip of Montfort which formed the antecedents to the treaty of 684/1285 between their successors.

The first references occur in the annal for 664/1265. In Sha'bān 664/May–June 1266, while on his way to besiege Ṣafad, Baybars sent a detachment of troops to raid the vicinity of Tyre. Camels, cattle and sheep were seized, and the prisoners included a high officer of the king of Lesser Armenia and the *wazīr* of Tyre.<sup>3</sup> When Baybars was besieging Ṣafad, an embassy arrived from Tyre, as described by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir in his account of the siege (8 Ramaḍān–18 Shawwāl/13 June–23 July):

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<sup>1</sup> On this episode, see Runciman, *Crusades*, III, 220–3. Philip belonged to a branch of the great Anglo-Norman family of Montfort. He was a nephew of Simon IV of Montfort, earl of Leicester, a leader in the Albigensian Crusade, and a cousin of the latter's son, the Simon of Montfort (also earl of Leicester) who headed the baronial revolt against King Henry III of England and died in the battle of Evesham (1265).

<sup>2</sup> *Tashrif*, 103–10; cf. Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 172–6; 212–21 (French trans.).

<sup>3</sup> *Rawḍ*, 253 = *Ayyubids*, I, 110–11; II, 86–7.

Amongst them [the events] was the arrival of the ambassador of the *de facto* ruler of Tyre, and his rebuff by the sultan. For the sultan had sent to him, saying, "If you want my protection, then throw out my Frankish enemies, for one of the terms of our sworn agreement is that my enemy should be your enemy." Another reason was that they had helped the Franks to raid Bāniyās, and had killed a civilian. These reasons entailed the invalidation of the contract. "And your ambassador came to me to confirm the terms of the Genoese; that they would come in great galleys and attack Acre from the sea, and I and my forces from the land; and that the *de facto* ruler of Tyre with the Genoese would fall on the people of Acre by sea. I came, and not one of them came. So let your master know that the contract was broken on his side." Thereupon the ambassador was dismissed.<sup>4</sup>

This passage indicates that there had been a truce between Baybars and Philip of Montfort at some date before 664/1266. Of the alleged causes for its invalidation, the Frankish raid on Bāniyās cannot be identified. Bāniyās, however, as a frontier stronghold, was itself a base for Muslim raiders (as the Franks complained in 661/1262–3),<sup>5</sup> and their activities no doubt provoked reprisals. The alleged unfulfilled agreement with Philip of Montfort for a combined operation against Acre has been questioned by modern historians. It is connected with Baybars's attack on the outskirts of Acre in Jumādā II 661/April 1263.<sup>6</sup>

Another embassy came from Tyre in the following year again seeking a truce with Baybars. Its request was probably all the more urgent because the sultan had taken Philip of Montfort's lordship of Toron in Shawwāl 664/July–August 1266. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir gives the following account of this embassy:

In Ramaḍān [665/May–June 1267] the ambassadors of Tyre arrived, and asked for the continuation of the truce. The sultan said, "I have only acted as I have because you killed al-Sābiq Shāhin, my servant and his brothers. His sons are present. If you will pay his blood-money, the truce shall continue." He produced the sons of al-Sābiq Shāhin, and the blood-money was fixed at 15,000 Tyrian dinars. The ambassadors produced half the sum, i.e. 7,500 Tyrian dinars, and a number of Maghribi prisoners. They asked that the rest should be deferred, and the sultan said, "I have taken Tibnīn and Hūnīn and their lands with my sword.

<sup>4</sup> *Rawḍ*, 255 = *Ayyubids*, I, 114; II, 89–90. *De facto* ruler: *mutamallik* from *tamallaka*, to take possession of something by force.

<sup>5</sup> *Rawḍ*, 152 = *Ayyubids*, I, 64; II, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Ayyubids*, II, 213, n. 2 to p. 90; Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 148.

They have passed to Islam, and are firmly Muslim.” They were granted a peace-treaty, and a truce for ten years was drafted for Tyre and its lands, which are 99 villages.<sup>7</sup>

Al-Sābiq Shāhīn remains unidentified, unless he was perhaps the subject killed in the Frankish raid on Bāniyas, mentioned earlier. The 99 villages comprised in the territory of Tyre had become 93 villages in the treaty of 684/1285. Of the two strongholds threateningly mentioned by the sultan, Tibnīn is (as above) Toron, and Hūnīn is the Hospitaller fortress of Chastel Neuf.

This, however, was not the end of the matter. Two years later, in his annal for 667/1268–9, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir writes, apparently with reference to this draft treaty:

A truce had been drafted between the sultan and the lord of Tyre. When the ambassadors came to him, he swore the oath of attestation to part of it, and withdrew some clauses to which he did not swear.<sup>8</sup>

The “he” who ratified only part of the truce must be the lord of Tyre, i.e. Philip of Montfort, since the usual practice was for to be drafted in the royal chancery, attested by the sultan, and then to be taken to the other party for attestation. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir inserts this piece of information at this point in his annal to introduce (and justify) Baybars’s raid upon Tyre in Ramaḍān 667/May 1269, an account of which immediately follows.

No truce was in fact concluded during Philip of Montfort’s lifetime. On 17 August 1270 he was assassinated by an Ismā’īlī hired by Baybars,<sup>9</sup> and his son, John, duly succeeded him as lord of Tyre. In the following campaigning season Baybars was in Syria, attacking first some of the strongholds in the vicinity of Tripoli. The Templars lost, Šāfīthā (Chastel Blanc) in February 1271, the Hospitallers Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) on 24 Sha‘bān 669/7 April 1271 and Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār (Gibelacar) on 29 Ramaḍān/11 May. Then Baybars moved south to the hinterland of Tyre, and on 2 Dhu’l-Qa‘da/11 June al-Qurayn (Montfort or Starkenburg of the Teutonic Knights) fell to the Mamluk forces. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir tells of John of Montfort’s response to these calamities:

<sup>7</sup> *Rawḍ*, 282 = *Ayyubids*, I, 130–31; II, 103.

<sup>8</sup> *Rawḍ*, 347 = *Ayyubids*, I, 168; II, 133.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. clause [17] of this treaty.



When the lord of Tyre heard of [Baybars's] close proximity, he sought to conciliate him. His ambassadors came, and agreement was reached on the terms that they should have ten of the villages of Tyre as domain, and the sultan should have five villages of his choice as domain, the rest being condominium. The sultan took an oath thereon to them, and he despatched the ambassadors, who took the oath of the lord of Tyre.<sup>10</sup>

The terms here outlined by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir appear to be the same as those of the truce concluded some fifteen years later between John of Montfort's widow and Baybars's successor in the sultanate.

### *Text of the treaty*

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

[1] This blessed truce is established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful, and his son and heir, the lord Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn 'Alī, the Friend of the Commander of the Faithful, and his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl (may God give them eternal power and everlasting dominion);

And the exalted Lady, Dame Margaret, the daughter of Sir Henry, the son of Prince Bohemond, the Lady of Tyre at the time of the establishment of this truce, and her representative in the lordship of Tyre, to wit the exalted Count, Sir Raymond the Viscount;<sup>11</sup>

For the period of ten complete, continuous and consecutive years, beginning on Thursday, 14 Jumādā I, A.H. 684,<sup>12</sup> corresponding to 18 Tammūz 1596 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek, and ending on 14 Jumādā I, A.H. 694,<sup>13</sup> corresponding to 10 Tammūz 1605 of Alexander, one following another in accordance with what was established to the end of the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir (may God have mercy upon him) in consecutive hours, days, months and years until its end;

<sup>10</sup> *Rawḍ*, 389 = *Ayyubids*, I, 196; II, 154.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Raymond the Viscount: *Sir Rimūn Yaskand* (? *Baskand*); unidentified. Cf. Jean Richard, "Un partage de seigneurie entre Francs et Mamelouks", *Syria*, 30, 73, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 18 July 1285.

<sup>13</sup> The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 1 April 1295. This is widely different from the 10 Tammūz (July) of the Seleucid era, and still more from the 18 Tammūz in the final clause of the truce. There must in any case be a scribal error in one of these Seleucid dates.

- [2] Upon all the Islamic territory included in the provinces of the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Şāliḥī, the Partner of the Commander of the Faithful; his territory, strongholds, cities and fortresses;
- [a] what is comprised in the province of Egypt, and the ports, coastlands, strongholds and cities in it;
  - [b] the province of Damascus, and the ports, strongholds, fortresses and cities it comprises;
  - [c] the coastal ports, and the fortresses, mainland, harbours and territory they comprise;
  - [d] the territory of Ba'labakk, Ḥimş and Ḥamāh;
  - [e] the August Conquests of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and Ḥiṣn 'Akkār, what is annexed to them and included in their entirety, being ports, territory of his allies, fortresses, mainland and coastland;
  - [f] the province of Aleppo and the Conquests of Antioch;
  - [g] the marches of Tyre by the province of Şafad, al-Shaqif and elsewhere, being strongholds, fortresses and territory;

Upon everything included in the realm of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, being provinces, fortresses, strongholds, ports, cities, villages, coastlands, harbours and mainland, near and far, plain and hill, cultivation and waste, lowland and highland, east and west, Yemen and Ḥijāz, Syria and Egypt; and whatever it comprises, being villages, cultivable lands, rivers, mills, towers and orchards;

And upon everyone contained or to be contained within these provinces, being soldiery, troops, civilians, Arabs, Turcomans, Kurds, peasants and all nations of people whatsoever, whatever their nations, the variety of their forms and their forms;

And upon their chattels and flocks variously with wool and hair, and their chattels of whatever kind;

These said provinces, what they include, and all the people therein, whether residents, inhabitants or wayfarers coming, going or staying, merchants and travellers, shall be safe and secure in respect of their persons, chattels and cattle in their going out and coming in, their journeying and abiding.

- [3] And upon the territory and places possessed by his allies, and the fortresses, territory and strongholds which God shall conquer by the hand of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, the hand of his sons, and the hand of their soldiery, troops and armies; to these, and to

everyone and everything therein, the tenor of this blessed truce shall apply until the end of its period.

- [4] And upon the territory of the Lady, Dame Margaret, the daughter of Sir Henry, the son of Prince Bohemond, which are specified as being hers in property and condominium: to wit, the city of Tyre, and what its walls and outskirts enclose as property; the lands therein where vegetables and sugar-cane are cultivated, and the presses which are uninhabited:<sup>14</sup> viz. al-Ma'shūqa<sup>15</sup> and Rashmūn, being olive-groves in the outskirts which are uninhabited, the orchard of al-'Awjā which is uninhabited, the vegetable gardens<sup>16</sup> and mills which are around the city of Tyre.

These said outskirts with their sugar-cane plantations, vegetable cultivations and presses, which are included in its outskirts, shall be property of Tyre, on condition that Rashmūn, al-Ma'shūqa and the orchard of al-'Awjā, lands of the outskirts of Tyre, be uninhabited and without villages.

- [5] Provided also that the five estates of Tyre which are most abundant and productive of revenue in specie and produce shall be property of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his sons, the Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ and al-Malik al-Ashraf (may God grant them victory), they having been established in the August Fisc of the sultan from the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir: to wit,

Qānā and its cultivable land;  
the village of Aṣrifiyā<sup>17</sup> and its cultivable land;  
Maḥrūna<sup>18</sup> as a whole;  
al-Majādil<sup>19</sup> as a whole;  
and Kafr Dūnin<sup>20</sup> as a whole;

in accordance with their established condition to the end of the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

All these five villages with their lands, boundaries and dues, everything within them and pertaining to them, shall be property of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr without any partnership therein.

<sup>14</sup> Uninhabited: *lā dimna lahā*. *Dimna* means originally "the remains of a former dwelling"; cf. Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 215, n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> al-Ma'shūqa; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 33.

<sup>16</sup> Vegetable gardens: *ḥakūrāt*, a Syrian dialect term.

<sup>17</sup> Aṣrifiyā: cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 33, n. 2; Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 216, n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Maḥrūna; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 33–4.

<sup>19</sup> al-Majādil; cf. Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 216, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Kafr Dūnin; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, 34.

- [6] The Lady Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, shall have ten of the estates of Tyre from the villages of the pasture-land of Tyre as property, as it was established in the truce of al-Malik al-Zāhir that these ten estates should be property of the lordship of Tyre as specified by name therein: to wit,<sup>21</sup> ‘Ayn Abī ‘Abdallāh;

al-Qāsimiyya;  
Siddayn;  
Maḥlab;  
al-Marfūq;  
al-Jarūdiyya;  
al-Ḥamadiyya;  
Madfana;  
Ra’s al-‘Ayn;  
Burj al-Isbitār.

These said ten estates with their dues, boundaries, lands and everything within them shall be property of the Lady of Tyre, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre.

- [7] Provided that the entire remainder of the territory of Tyre with the cultivable lands therein [shall be condominium]; their number with the cultivable lands therein being 78 estates and cultivable lands: to wit,<sup>22</sup>

|                       |                                    |                                   |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| al-Ṭālibiyya          | Darina                             | al-Zahriyya                       |
| al-Fatūniyya          | al-‘Athiyya                        | Wādī al-Ḥujjāj                    |
| al-‘Izziyya           | al-Baḥtiyya[?]                     | al-Mālikiyya                      |
| Dayr ‘Amrān           | al-Sha‘atiyya                      | al-Kanisa [?]                     |
| Batolie <sup>23</sup> | al-Ḥaniyya                         | Dayr Qānūn                        |
| ‘Ayn Ib‘al            | al-Ziyādāt                         | Ḥanawa                            |
| Ya‘tar                | Banī Dafna‘                        | Ḥāris                             |
| ‘Ayā                  | Ṣiddiqīn                           | Ras Kanānīn                       |
| Ruqliyya              | ‘Aytīt with its<br>cultivable land | the salt-pans of<br>al-Saḥnūniyya |
| al-Farāqiyya          | Ṭarabiyya                          | Dayr                              |
| al-Ma‘liyya           | al-Ḥumayra                         | Zubqīn                            |
| Yānūḥ                 | Faq‘iyya                           | al-Bāzūriyya                      |
| Kafr Dib‘al           | Juwayyā and its<br>fertile land    | Majdal Sharqiyya                  |

<sup>21</sup> For the names of these villages as given here, see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 33. See further Richard, “Un partage” (as n. 11 above), Syria, 30, 72–82.

<sup>22</sup> For the names of these villages and estates as given here, see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 34–7. The text is very corrupt.

<sup>23</sup> Batolie: Bayt Ḥūla. The text gives the name in its Frankish form.

|                 |                         |                |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Bayt Rūḥ        | Ṭayrzinba               | Faynūn         |
| Qazḥiyya        | Andrecife <sup>24</sup> | Mārūn          |
| (al-Tuffaḥiyya) |                         |                |
| Ṭayr Samḥat     | Kafr Nāy                | Niḥa           |
| Bafaliyya       | Maʿarka                 | Ṭaflibiyya     |
| Shuḥūr          | Alman                   | al-Qarzūn      |
| Dayr Dughayya   | Abrūkhiyya              | Bayrish        |
| al-Ṣawāfi       | Hallūsiyya              | Maʿrūb         |
| Baʿlith         | Dayr Qānūn              | Ṭayr Dubba     |
| Badyās          | al-Nuʿmāniyya           | Badūth         |
| al-Ḥamrāniyya   | Ṭūrā                    | al-Sharafiyyāt |
| Bard Nabil      | al-Jadida               | al-ʿAbbāsiyya  |
| al-Junaythiyya  | Ashḥūr al-Qānā          | Shadīna        |
| al-Shamaliyya   |                         |                |
| al-Faḥila       | al-Miṣriyya             |                |

This excludes al-Maʿshūqa, Rashmūn and the orchard of al-ʿAwjā, which we have mentioned. They are not villages, for al-Maʿshūqa is the name of the press, the orchard of al-ʿAwjā is not a village, and Rashmūn is not a village. Were they villages, they would be among the condominia; as they are not villages, they are among the outskirts which are her property.

The boundaries of this territory as a whole are on the south, Madfana, the village of Dayr ʿAmrān, the tower of Wādī al-Ḥujjāj, al-ʿIzziyya, Zubqīn and Yārin; on the east, ʿAyātā, Sulṭāniyya, Majdal Sharqiyya, al-Saḥnūniyya (forming part of the condominium), Qānā, Maḥrūna, al-Majādil, Kafr Dūnin (forming part of the August Fisc); on the north, Aṣrifiyā (forming part of the August Fisc) and the River al-Qāsimiyya; On the west, the sea.

All these villages mentioned in this truce with their cultivable lands, dues, lands, mills, rivers, orchards, uninhabited localities and the revenue of their crops in specie and produce, shall be condominia between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre. All the revenue shall be divided, whether specie or produce, dues, tithes, herd-tax, groundrents, rents, tax-farms, land-taxes, fines, inheritances<sup>25</sup> and so forth of all dues, whether little

<sup>24</sup> Andrecife: Dayr Kifā. The text gives the name in its Frankish form.

<sup>25</sup> This list of sources of revenue is translated by Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 218: “droits, dîmes, impôts, locations, salaires, fermes, tributs, amendes, droits d’héritages.”

or much, in two halves equally between the two parties. The *status quo* in all matters shall be established as it was to the end of the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

Provided that the fiscal official<sup>26</sup> of these said estates and condominia, and the tax-collector<sup>27</sup> for their chattels and corn shall be the representatives of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr (great be his victory) in agreement with the representatives of the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, so that neither party shall act by itself by levying a single dirham or otherwise.

Provided also that the person on the land of al-Zahriyya shall continue in the place to which he was accustomed in the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

- [8] Provided also that this territory which is the property of the Lady of Tyre shall be safe and secure, itself and those within it, whether soldiery, knights, foot-soldiers, civilians or merchants, in respect of themselves, their chattels, their children and their cattle in their going out and coming in, their journeying and abiding until the end of this truce.
- [9] Provided also that the merchants, travellers and wayfarers of either party may go to and fro, buy, sell, enter and leave safely and securely in respect of themselves and their chattels.
- [10] Provided that no new and extraordinary due shall be levied upon them by either party, and that the conditions regarding the sale of prohibited goods<sup>28</sup> shall be maintained.
- [11] Provided also that ships of either party in passage on the sea shall be safe from the other party, secure at sea and in anchorage, entering and leaving. Every community of the two parties is bound to abstain from damage to the other party.
- [12] Provided also that when a ship of either party is wrecked; if it belongs to a Muslim, it shall be delivered to him, if he is found, and to the representatives of our lord the Sultan, if he is lost.

If it belongs to a Christian from the territory of our lord the Sultan (great be his victory), the procedure shall be as in the case of a Muslim.

If he is of the people of Tyre, from the subjects of the Lady, the Lady of Tyre, the chattels shall be delivered to him, if he is found, and to her office, if he is lost.

If anyone of either party should die without an heir in the other

<sup>26</sup> Fiscal official: *mubāshir*.

<sup>27</sup> Tax-collector: *mustakhrij*.

<sup>28</sup> Prohibited goods: *al-mamnū'āt*. Cf. Introduction, p. 11.

party, this procedure shall be followed by both parties, and his chattels shall not be concealed.

- [13] Provided also that when anyone of either party is killed, and the killer is found; if he is a Muslim, the representatives of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr (God grant him victory) shall judge him in accordance with the penal regulations<sup>29</sup> of the august and pure sultanate. If he is a Christian of the people of Tyre, the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, shall judge him. Each party in the presence of a representative of the other party shall proceed to judgment in accordance with the laws of the two parties. That shall be the law in regard to all who commit aggression, abominable crimes or murder. The representatives of our lord the Sultan shall be responsible for the punishment of a Muslim, and the representatives of the Lady, the Lady of Tyre, shall be responsible for the punishment of a Christian.

If the matter of the slain person is concealed, the wergild<sup>30</sup> for a knight of either party shall be 1,100 Tyrian dirhams, for a turcopole 200 dirhams, for a peasant 100 dinars [*sic*];<sup>31</sup> the wergild for a merchant shall be according to his nation, origin and standing. It shall be taken from the people of the villages in which that person was killed as a fine and a punishment together. This shall be the procedure followed by both parties. If the slain person is in the condominium, the revenue from the fine shall be shared equally.

- [14] Provided also when booty is taken, it shall itself be restored, if it is found, or its value, if it is lost.

If the matter of the slain person or the booty is concealed, there shall be 40 days of grace for the investigation of the matter. If no information about it comes to light, the *wālī* of that party and three persons chosen by the other party shall be put on oath. If they refuse the oath, the aforesaid fine and the value of the booty are obligatory.

- [15] Provided also that when anyone of either party flees, he shall be returned with what he has with him. When a *mamlūk* of whatever nation flees, he shall be returned with all he has with him, whether man or woman, slave<sup>32</sup> or free. This shall be the procedure followed by both parties.

<sup>29</sup> Penal regulations: *siyāsa*, i.e. usages outside the Shari'ā which effectively constituted a body of criminal law.

<sup>30</sup> Wergild: *diya*. Cf. E. Tyan, *sub voce*, *El2*, II, 340–3.

<sup>31</sup> 100 dinars; presumably a scribal error for 100 dirhams. At this period the rate of exchange was generally about 20 dirhams to the dinar; cf. Popper, *Systematic notes*, II, 42.

<sup>32</sup> Slave: *abd* as distinct from *mamlūk* (i.e. a military slave) at the beginning of the

[16] Provided also that the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, shall not seek to renew the construction of a citadel, nor the renewal of a wall, nor the excavation of a trench, nor any fortification for defence or offence.

[17] Provided also that our lord the Sultan shall not permit any of his soldiery, or his troops, or of the people of his territory to penetrate the territory of Tyre as specified in this truce for harm, injury, theft, aggression or treachery by land and sea.

None of the soldiery, troops and allies of our lord the Sultan shall make an attempt against the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, in her person, her knights or her companions, except the Ismā'īlis who are under the jurisdiction of our lord the Sultan. Our lord the Sultan may despatch whom of them he wishes to the Lady of Tyre with evil and injury when he wishes.<sup>33</sup>

[18] Provided also that the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, shall on her part be bound to guard the territory of our lord the Sultan from criminals, disturbers of the peace, foreign invader<sup>34</sup> and all Franks penetrating the territory of our lord the Sultan from her territory for harm, raiding disturbance of the peace or aggression.

[19] Provided also that the Lady, Dame Margaret, the Lady of Tyre, shall not enter into collusion with any Frank whatsoever in a matter involving harm to the territory of our lord the Sultan, or injury to his provinces or his subjects and everyone and everything therein. She shall not assist anyone in this by sign, writing, advice or embassy until the time of the expiry of this truce. Our lord the Sultan makes a like undertaking to her.

[20] Provided also that when the truce expires, or (which God forbid) is abrogated by one of the parties, there shall be 40 days of grace for the merchants, travellers and wayfarers, so that everyone may return with his property in safety and security to his place of safety and his homeland under escort from both parties.

[21] This truce is established with its terms as written and its principles as affirmed. Its provisions shall not be annulled, nor its rules relaxed, by the death of one of the two parties, nor by the deposition of a ruler and the appointment of another, nor by a foreign invader, nor

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sentence. As a member of the military elite, a Mamluk might well have his own servile attendants.

<sup>33</sup> A blatant threat. It will be remembered that the Lady Margaret's husband had been assassinated by an Ismā'īli sent by Baybars.

<sup>34</sup> Foreign invader(s): *rijl ghariba*.



by *force majeure*;<sup>35</sup> but its period shall continue and its reckoning be fulfilled: to wit, ten complete, consecutive years beginning on 14 Jumādā I, A.H. 684, corresponding to 18 Tammūz 1596, and ending on 14 Jumādā I 694, corresponding to 18 Tammūz [*sic*] 1605 of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek. Both parties are bound to keep it until its end, and any successor shall keep it until its end.

The August Sign-manual above is the required authentication.

If God Most High will.

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<sup>35</sup> *Force majeure*: *yad ghālība*.

## 9. THE TREATY BETWEEN AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN AND MICHAEL VIII PALAEOLOGUS: 680/1281

Relations with the restored Byzantine Empire began early in the reigns of Michael VIII Palaeologus and Baybars. Michael regained Constantinople in July 1261; Baybars had already become sultan in October 1260. In the following year (A.H. 660 beginning on 26 November 1261) Michael wrote to Baybars. In Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s words:

The letter of al-Ashkarī arrived; and he swore that whenever the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir needed help, he would render all the assistance in his power.<sup>1</sup>

Another important communication arrived from Michael in the same year. Its purpose and outcome are thus described by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir:

There arrived the Amir Fāris al-Dīn Āqūsh al-Mas‘ūdī, who had gone as ambassador to al-Ashkarī. Al-Ashkarī had sent to request from the sultan a patriarch for the Melkite Christians. He designated al-Rashīd al-Kaḥḥāl, and sent him with the Amir Fāris al-Dīn. He honoured him and the bishops who accompanied him, and gave him gifts. When the patriarch arrived back, he brought a vast present including silverware, textiles, gold and the wealth he had received. The sultan returned it to him.

The conquest of Constantinople coincided with their arrival at al-Ashkarī’s court. One day he rode out to show Fāris al-Dīn around the city and its edifices. Then they passed by a place, and he said, “A mosque—and I have caused it to be preserved so that it may gain the sultan divine recompense.” The sultan rejoiced on hearing this report, and wondered that God (praised and exalted be he) should have brought about this goodly act in his days, and caused the token of Islam to be set up in the land of unbelief through fear of him. He immediately ordered the preparation of Baghdadi mats, gilded candlesticks, striped hangings, censers, prayer-carpet, musk, rosewater, ambergris and aloes-wood.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Rawḍ*, 88. Al-Ashkarī (from Lascarīs, the name of the imperial family of Nicaea, the immediate predecessors of Michael VIII Palaeologus) was used by the Egyptian chancery as a dynastic title for the Byzantine emperors of this period.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawḍ*, 129.

Relations between the two rulers, however, did not always remain harmonious. Michael was at the centre of three potentially mutually hostile powers: Baybars and the two rival Mongol rulers; Berke, the khan of the Golden Horde, his ally, and Hülegü, the pagan *ilkhān* of Iran and Iraq. Michael opened negotiations with Hülegü, thereby arousing the anger of both Berke and Baybars. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir describes the sultan’s reaction:

In this month [Ramaḍān 662/June–July 1264] the sultan heard that al-Malik al-Ashkari had detained the ambassadors whom he had sent to al-Malik Berke accompanied by al-Malik Berke’s ambassadors. The sultan sent for copies of the oaths, and took out the oath of the Emperor, Lord Michael, which was in Greek.<sup>3</sup> The patriarch and the bishops were summoned, and he discussed with them the case of someone who had sworn thus and thus, and then broke his oath. They said that such and such acts would render him an unbeliever and excommunicate. He took their signed statements to that effect, while they were unaware of what he wanted of them. Then he brought out to them the copies of al-Ashkari’s oaths, and said, “He has violated his oath by the detention of my ambassadors, and he has gone over to Hülegü. Then he sent for the Greek philosopher who had deciphered the coin, and for a bishop and a priest. He despatched them to al-Ashkari with an abusive message, saying, “If the reason for your detention of my ambassadors was to damage your relations with al-Malik Berke, and as his troops have caused damage in your land, I will set matters right between you.” The sultan wrote a letter to al-Malik Berke about this, and forwarded it to the Amir Fāris al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Mas‘ūdī, who had been sent with the gift to al-Malik Berke, ordering him to act as a mediator for peace. The company set out, and thereupon he released them all.<sup>4</sup>

This is an interesting passage in that it indicates that there was already in existence an agreement between Baybars and Michael VIII formulated in sworn statements, i.e. an instrument analogous to that negotiated between Qalāwūn and Michael in 680/1281.

Although it is not possible to construct a connected account of the relations between the two rulers, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir suggests that there was a further period of alienation in 664/1266, when Berke died, and was succeeded by his pagan son, Möngke Temür. This situation

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor: *al-malik*. Lord: *kur*. Miss Julian Chrystomides of the Royal Holloway and Bedford New College has kindly informed me that *kur* was a Byzantine title meaning “lord” or “sire”. In Greek: *bi'l-Rūmiyya*.

<sup>4</sup> *Rawd*, 202–3.

apparently lasted until 667/1268–9, when as Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir records:

Among those who assembled in Egypt was the ambassador of al-Ashkarī. The letter he brought contained his reversion from his earlier policy of alienation and sabre-rattling which he had followed previously, and which had produced a yet more vigorous response. He declared that he had despatched the sultan’s ambassadors after making a sworn undertaking to the sultan. He had delayed the ambassador [*sic*] only because of the death of al-Malik Berke and the accession of his son to the throne; and he asked the sultan to continue peaceful relations.<sup>5</sup>

Here again a sworn undertaking by Michael VIII appears to have formed the basis of a peace-agreement. When we move to the reign of Qalāwūn, there is unfortunately no reference to the treaty of 680/1281 in the extant part of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s biography, *Tashrif al-ayyām*, although Ibn al-Furāt probably refers briefly to the departure of its negotiators in Rabī‘ I 679/July 1280 as follows:

And in it the Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Muḥṣini al-Jazarī and the Patriarch Anbāsiyūs [Anbā Yūnus] set out as ambassadors to al-Malik al-Ashkarī.<sup>6</sup>

There is an account of some later developments following the death of Michael VIII in 1282. It is given in the annal for 682/1283–4:

The death of al-Ashkarī Mikhā’il and the succession of his son.

When the ambassadors of our lord the sultan to al-Ashkarī (they [*sic*] being Najm al-Dīn al-Shuwayḥī as previously mentioned) set out, they found that al-Ashkarī had died, and his son, Comnenus Ducas Angelus Palaeologus, whose name is Andronicus, had succeeded him, and sat in his father’s place. He had been crowned, and sat upon the throne.

On the appearance of the ambassadors of our lord the sultan, who had been sent with a copy of the oaths to his [Andronicus’s] father, he offered obedience, took the copy of the oaths, and took his oath to our lord the sultan thereon. The ambassadors came with his profession of obedience and offer of service. Thereupon our lord the sultan responded to him, and took the oath to him on 14 Jumādā II [682/9 September 1283].<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Rawḍ*, 334.

<sup>6</sup> Text as given in *Tashrif*, Introduction, 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Tashrif*, 54. There is an obvious corruption in the text, and I have read *ilā wālidihī* for *ilā waladihi* in translating “to his father”. For the string of dynastic names here and in the treaty, cf. A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison 1958, II, 583: “[The Palaeologi] became related in the course of time, to the imperial families of the Comneni, Ducae, and Angeli; on the strength of this relationship, the first Palaeologi, Michael VIII always, Andronicus II for the most part, . . . signed four family names . . .”

There is a further notice on 2 Muḥarram 683/21 March 1284, which refers to “the sending of the Amir Nāṣir al-Din b. al-Muḥsinī al-Jazarī as an ambassador to al-Malik al-Ashkarī bearing the august correspondence accompanied by a gift of excellent steeds and so forth.”<sup>8</sup>

It is clear from these references that the exchange of sworn undertakings which taken together formed the treaty of 680/1281 was only one in a series of such agreements in the early period of the Mamluk sultanate and the restored Byzantine Empire. The form of the instrument seems unusual; it is in fact an example of the *instrumentum reciprocum*, which was a common form in the Byzantine chancery but unknown to Egyptian practice.<sup>9</sup> This anomaly was noted by al-Qalqashandī in his introduction to the treaty:

Know that as regards most truces between the rulers of Egypt and infidel rulers, a copy is kept in the chancery, and a copy is sent to the ruler under truce.

This copy of a truce originated from al-Ashkarī, the lord of Constantinople, in the month of Ramaḍān 680, dated by a date agreeing with late Muḥarram in the said year, and it was translated into Arabic.<sup>10</sup>

He prefixes the second sworn undertaking with these words:

This the copy of an agreement written from the sultan’s court on behalf of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in the manner of the preceding truce originating from the lord of Constantinople, opening with an oath in agreement therewith.<sup>11</sup>

Al-Qalqashandī again draws attention to the unusual form of the instrument in a final note:

Although both this copy and the copy originating from the lord of Constantinople, which preceded it, are formulated with the wording of an oath internally, they are nevertheless most similar to a treaty of peace, the oath being an integral part thereof. I have therefore introduced it among the treaties without oaths.

Clearly al-Qalqashandī’s problem here was one of classification, since

<sup>8</sup> *Tashrif*, 55. The name of the amir is corrupted in the text, and the correct form as here appears in a footnote.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. John Wansbrough, ‘A Mamluk ambassador to Venice in 913/1507’, *BSOAS*, XXVI/3, 1963, at p. 521 and n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 72.

<sup>11</sup> *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 75.

normally the oath was an act of attestation, its terms forming a separate document from the truce proper.<sup>12</sup>

Two versions of the Arabic text of these two documents have been published. The first, from *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk* of Ibn al-Furāt, is given as an appendix to *Tashrif*, 204–9, and is probably the sounder text, although there are two lacunae in the first document. The other version is given by al-Qalqashandī, *Subh*, XIV, 72–8 from the chancery handbook of Ibn al-Mukarram (see above, p. 2). Studies of the treaty have been made by M. Canard, 'Le traité de 1281 entre Michel Paléologue et le sultan Qalā'ûn', *Byzantion*, X, 1935, 669–80, which includes a French translation; *idem*, 'Un traité entre Byzance et l'Égypte au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les sultans mamlûks Baibars et Qalā'ûn', *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1937, 197–224; F. Dölger, 'Der Vertrag des Sultans Qalā'ûn von Ägypten mit dem Kaiser Michael VIII Palaiologos (1281)', *Serta Monacensia*, Leiden 1952, 60–79, which includes a reconstruction of the Greek text from Canard's French translation of the Arabic.

### *Text of the treaty*

[A: Sworn undertaking by Michael VIII Palaeologus]<sup>13</sup>

- [1] Inasmuch as the great, noble, high, powerful ethnarch,<sup>14</sup> Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn, the lord of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, has desired that there should be affection between himself and Us,<sup>15</sup> We are also agreeable thereto, and choose that there should be affection between Us and his Majesty.<sup>16</sup>
- [2] Therefore it is necessary that an oath and an agreement should be the means thereto, so that affection in this manner should endure

<sup>12</sup> *Subh*, XIV, 78.

<sup>13</sup> The Arabic text is a translation, supposedly made in the Egyptian chancery, of the lost Greek original (Canard, 'Le traité de 1281', 670–1).

<sup>14</sup> Ethnarch: *al-kabīr al-jīns*. The literal translation would be "the great one of the nation". Miss Chrysostomides, who has kindly provided me with a survey of the Byzantine usage of this term, suggests that it "is used here in the general sense of 'chief of nations', rather than in the specific meaning it acquired in the Byzantine state hierarchy", i.e. a commander of foreign mercenaries. Canard renders the phrase by "illustre".

<sup>15</sup> Here and elsewhere the emperor is styled in Arabic *mamlakati*, which Canard ('Le traité de 1281', 671, n. 1) sees as the rendering of the Greek *hē basileia mou*, and translates "Mon Impériale Majesté".

<sup>16</sup> His Majesty: 'izz *sulṭānihi*. Canard (as above) translates "Sa Puissante Souveraineté".

firmly and without disturbance between Us and his Majesty.

- [3] So on this day, viz. Thursday, 8 Ayyār of the indiction<sup>17</sup> in the year 6789 of Adam,<sup>18</sup> being the last part of Muḥarram 680, We swear by the holy Gospels of God and the honoured and life-giving Crucifix that We shall maintain sincere affection and perfect and pure friendship towards the great, noble, high, powerful ethnarch, Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn, the lord of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, and towards his sons and the heirs of his Majesty's realm.
- [4] We shall never undertake hostilities against his Majesty, nor against his territory, his fortresses or his soldiers; nor shall we ever move anyone to undertake hostilities against him. Inasmuch as the great, noble, high, powerful ethnarch, Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn, the lord of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, will likewise maintain sincere affection and perfect and pure friendship towards Us and Our son, the beloved Comnenus Angelus Ducas Palaeologus, the Emperor Andronicus,<sup>19</sup> and Our heirs; and his Majesty will never undertake hostilities against Us, Our territory, Our fortresses or Our soldiers; nor also will he move another to hostilities against Us.
- [5] Also the ambassadors despatched from his Majesty shall be free to cross Our territory without let or hindrance, and to proceed to where they are despatched from his Majesty, and likewise to return to his Majesty.
- [6] No injustice or oppression shall befall the merchants coming from his Majesty's territory to Our territory, but they shall be legally permitted to practise their trade. And even as merchants from the people of Our territory who intend to go to his Majesty's territory shall pay the due charge on their wares, so likewise shall the merchants coming from his Majesty's territory to Our territory pay the due charge on their wares.
- [7] If merchants come from the territory of Sūdāq,<sup>20</sup> and wish to travel to his Majesty's territory, they shall not be hindered in Our territory, but their transit and return shall be without let or hindrance after they have paid the due charge on their wares in Our territory. Likewise if merchants from the people of his Majesty's territory appear, and

<sup>17</sup> So following Ibn al-Furāt and the correction to the published text of al-Qalqashandī made by Canard, 'Un traité entre Byzance', 199, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Era of Constantinople; i.e. 8 May 1281. There is a discrepancy between the Christian date and the *Hijrī* date, which corresponds to 12–21 May 1281.

<sup>19</sup> The Arabic is corrupt in both versions. Ibn al-Furāt reads LBR ANDRŪNĪQŪS; al-Qalqashandī reads ALMALIK 'IRLŪNK. I have taken *al-malik* as being equivalent to "the Emperor", Andronicus being co-emperor with his father.

<sup>20</sup> Sūdāq was at that time an important port and trading-centre in the Crimea.

wish to cross to the territory of Sūdāq, they shall cross from Our territory without let or hindrance, and likewise if they return; all this after paying the due charge. If these merchants from the people of his Majesty's territory and from the people of Sūdāq are accompanied by slaves<sup>21</sup> and slave-girls, they may pass with them to his Majesty's territory without let or hindrance, unless they [the slaves] are Christians, for our law and religious code do not allow us this in the case of Christians.

- [8] If there should be in his Majesty's territory Christian slaves, being Greeks or of other Christian nations and adhering to the religion of the Christians, and should a group of them be emancipated, let it be freely and legally permitted by his Majesty to those holding certificates of emancipation<sup>22</sup> \* to travel by sea to Our territory. Likewise if anyone of the people of his Majesty's territory should wish<sup>23</sup> \* to sell a Christian slave of this category to one of Our ambassadors or to the merchants and people of Our territory, let there be no obstacle to this, but let them purchase the said person, and pass with him by sea to Our territory without hindrance.
- [9] Also if this great and noble sultan wishes to send to Our territory wares as merchandise, and We wish to send to his Majesty's territory wares as merchandise, let it be thus, viz. if his Majesty wishes the wares of his merchandise in Our territory to be exempt from the payment of all charges, then also let the wares of Our merchandise be similarly exempt from all charges in his Majesty's territory; and if he wishes Our merchandise to pay the due charges in his territory, then also let his Majesty's merchandise similarly pay the due charges in Our territory.
- [10] Also his Majesty shall freely allow Us to send people from Our territory to his Majesty's territory to purchase good horses for Us, and convey them to Our territory. Likewise if his Majesty wishes anything of the choice products of Our territory, We shall also freely allow his Majesty to send his people to buy it, and convey it to his Majesty.
- [11] When there are corsairs<sup>24</sup> from foreign lands at sea, it may sometimes happen that they cause loss in Our territory, and these corsairs may likewise come upon people from his Majesty's territory, and cause

<sup>21</sup> Slaves: *mamālik*, i.e. male military slaves, Mamluks.

<sup>22</sup> Certificates of emancipation: *'atā'iq*, sing. *'itāqa*. Cf. David Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951, 17 (repr. in *The Mamluk military society*, London 1979).

<sup>23</sup> The passages between asterisks here and below are lacking in Ibn al-Furāt.

<sup>24</sup> Corsairs: *kursāliyya*.



them loss. It may happen that these corsairs do this at the boundaries of Our territory. Because of this it may happen that if people from Our territory come to his Majesty's territory with merchandise, they may be taken by the people of his Majesty's territory, and mulcted. Therefore let a decree go forth from his Majesty to all his territory that none of the people of Our territory shall be mulcted or taken for this reason. If it happens that someone from his Majesty's territory says that he was mulcted or oppressed by someone from the people of Our territory, \* let him inform Us thereof. If the person who imposed the mulct is from the people of Our territory, We shall order that this forfeit be returned to his Majesty's territory. Likewise if someone from the people of Our territory says \* that he was oppressed or mulcted by someone from his Majesty's territory, let his Majesty order that the mulct be returned to Our territory.

[12] Also affection has determined that We should proceed in this manner, and that there should be sincere friendship between Us and his Majesty, even to his sending to speak to Us about Our help and assistance at sea to the detriment of the common enemy. So We commit this matter to his Majesty's discretion to arrange in the copy of the oath with the rest of the clauses specified in it, how and in what manner we shall give help and assistance at sea. If he does not wish Our assistance and help, We consent that his Majesty omit this clause from his copy of the oath.

[13] We shall then keep this oath firmly and unchangeably, if he, the great sultan, will swear a similar oath to me that he will maintain firm and unchangeable affection towards us. And farewell.

[B: Sworn undertaking by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn]

[1] I say, and I am N:<sup>25</sup> Inasmuch as his Majesty the Emperor,<sup>26</sup> Lord<sup>27</sup> Michael Ducas Angelus Comnenus Palaeologus, the governor of the realm of the Greeks and Constantinople the Great, the greatest of the kings of Christendom (may God preserve him), desires that between his Imperial Majesty<sup>28</sup> and Ourselves<sup>29</sup> there should be affection,

<sup>25</sup> N: *fulān*, i.e. "so-and-so".

<sup>26</sup> His Majesty the Emperor: *ḥaḍrat al-malik al-jalīl*.

<sup>27</sup> Lord: *kur*; cf. n. 3 above.

<sup>28</sup> His Imperial Majesty: *mamlakatuhu*; cf. n. 15 above.

<sup>29</sup> Ourselves: *'izz sultānī*; cf. n. 16 above.

friendship and love which will not change with the days or cease with the years;

- [2] And he has confirmed that with an oath sworn on Thursday, 8 Ayyār of the year 6789 of Adam (God's blessing on him) in the presence of Our ambassador, the Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Jazarī, and the supreme Patriarch Anbā Yūnus, Patriarch of Alexandria;<sup>30</sup>
- [3] And his two ambassadors N. and N. have come to Us with the copy of the oath, requesting that an oath and an agreement from Us also may be a means to this matter, so that affection may continue between his Imperial Majesty and Us, and be firm perpetually and continually.
- [4] From this day, viz. Monday, the beginning of Ramaḍān in the year 680<sup>31</sup> from the *Hijra* of the Prophet Muḥammad (on whom be the best of blessings and peace) We swear by God Almighty, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Who knows the unseen and the seen, the secret and the open, and what the hearts conceal; and by the Holy Qur'ān, by Him Who sent it down, and by him to whom it was sent down, the noble Prophet Muḥammad (the blessing of God be upon him and peace); to continue Friendship and to establish pure love towards the Emperor, Lord Michael, the governor of the realm of the Greeks and Constantinople the Great; and towards the son of his Imperial Majesty, the beloved Comnenus Angelus Ducas Palaeologus, the Emperor Andronicus;<sup>32</sup> and towards the heirs of his Imperial Majesty's realm.
- [5] We shall never undertake hostilities against his Imperial Majesty, nor against his territory, his fortresses or his soldiers, by land or sea; nor shall We move another to hostilities against him. Inasmuch as the Emperor, Lord Michael, will maintain the like towards Us, Our realm, Our territory, Our fortresses and Our soldiers; and towards Our son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī,<sup>33</sup> and the heirs of My realm, My sons: he will continue in this friendship and pure affection, and his

<sup>30</sup> The despatch of this embassy to Michael VIII just before 3 Rabi' II 679/2 August 1280 is mentioned by al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, I/iii, 680, where the names of the ambassadors are given as Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Muḥsinī al-Jazarī and the Patriarch Anbāsiyūs. This form of the Patriarch's name appears also in both texts of this document, but is amended by Canard to Anbā Yūnus, whom he identifies as Anbā Yūnus b. Walī al-Dawla, Patriarch of Alexandria for the second time from 669/1270–1 to 692/1292–3 ('Un traité entre Byzance', 200, n. 1). The personal name of Nāṣir al-Dīn is given later (p. 704) by al-Maqrizī as Muḥammad.

<sup>31</sup> The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 14 December 1281.

<sup>32</sup> The Emperor Andronicus: *al-malik al-Andrūniqūs*.

<sup>33</sup> Qalāwūn's designated heir and joint-sultan. He predeceased his father on 4 Sha'bān 687/3 September 1288.

Imperial Majesty will never undertake hostilities against Us, nor against Our territory, Our fortresses, Our soldiers and Our realm; nor will he move another to hostilities against Our realm by land or sea; nor assist any of Our adversaries nor My enemies of whatever religion or nation; nor agree with him thereon; nor permit them to cross to Our realm to do any harm therein, using every effort and all his strength.

- [6] The ambassadors sent from Our realm to the land of Berke<sup>34</sup> and his sons, their territory and those parts, the sea of Sūdāq and its mainland, shall be absolutely safe and secure. They shall pass through the territory of the realm of the Emperor, Lord Michael, from end to end without let or hindrance. They shall be sent by land and by sea to Our realm according to the exigency of the time. \* They shall proceed to where We shall despatch them in that territory, and likewise return to Our realm, \*<sup>35</sup> safely, securely and without impediment, together with any ambassadors of those parts or elsewhere who may come with them, and all the slaves, slave-girls and others accompanying them.
- [7] No injustice or oppression shall befall the merchants coming from the realm of the Emperor, Lord Michael, to Our territory. They shall pass to and fro safely and securely, and practise their trade. They shall be cared for in going and coming, residing and travelling. Inasmuch as the merchants of Our territory shall likewise be cared for in the territory of the Emperor, Lord Michael, and find no injustice or oppression from anyone in the territory of the realm of the Emperor, Lord Michael. Whoever of either party is liable to a due charge as established shall pay it without being wronged or oppressed.
- [8] Any merchants coming from Sūdāq or elsewhere with slaves and slave-girls shall be enabled by the Emperor, Lord Michael, to proceed with them to Our realm without hindrance.
- [9] If corsairs should venture to capture one of the Muslim merchants at sea, the corsairs being deemed subjects of the realm of the Emperor, Lord Michael, We shall send to require them of him. None of the governors of Our realm shall meddle with this nation because of them, unless it is ascertained that they are the captors, or the very chattels are manifestly with them, according to the tenor of the copy of the oath of the Emperor, Lord Michael. Likewise for the realm of the Emperor, Lord Michael, from Our territory.
- [10] Provided that the ambassadors passing to and fro from both parties,

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<sup>34</sup> I.e. the territory of the Golden Horde.

<sup>35</sup> The passage between asterisks is lacking in Qalqashandi.

from Our realm and from the realm of the Emperor, Lord Michael, shall be safe and secure in their travelling and residing by land and sea.

The subjects of Our territory and the subjects of the territory of the Emperor, Lord Michael, on both sides, Muslims and others, shall be safe and secure, going and coming, respected and cared for.

[11] This oath shall not cease to be kept and observed, continuing in force, and established perpetually and continually.

## 10. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN WITH KING ALFONSO III OF ARAGON: 689/1290

The reign of Baybars (1260–77) closely coincided with the last years of King James I of Aragon, known as “the Conqueror” (1213–76).<sup>1</sup> As long ago as 1229, James had taken the Muslim island of Majorca, and by the middle of the next decade he had taken Ibiza and made Minorca tributary. On the Spanish mainland he captured the city of Valencia from its last Muslim ruler in 1238, and he rounded out his conquest of its territory in the following years. Catalan corsairs were a hazard to be reckoned with throughout the Mediterranean, and this problem brought James into diplomatic, if unfriendly, relations with Baybars. At some time in the year 667/1268–9, as Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir records:

There arrived also the envoys of the Barcelonan king with his letter, in reply to a letter which the sultan wrote to him concerning the merchants whom the Catalans had taken at sea. He sent the captured merchants in the company of his envoys; so he [Baybars] wrote in reply demanding their chattels also.<sup>2</sup>

This inauspicious exchange took place at a time when James was meditating a crusade to the Holy Land. He had received an ambassador from the *Ilkhān* Abaqa in 1267 and, like some other Western rulers of the period, he was tempted by the mirage of joint operations with the Mongols against the Muslims of the Near East. Encouraged by promises of aid from both Abaqa and the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII, he set sail from Barcelona in September 1269. A storm scattered his fleet, and he sought shelter in Aigues Mortes. Under two of his illegitimate sons, a diminished force made its way to Acre, whence it made a brief and wholly unsuccessful campaign against Baybars’s troops, of which Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir gives an account.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime there had appeared in the western Mediterranean a formidable figure, who was to play a part in the history of both

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<sup>1</sup> On this period of Aragonese history, see T.N. Bisson, *The medieval Crown of Aragon*, Oxford 1986, Chs. III and IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawḍ*, 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Rawḍ*, 362–4; cf. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 199–201.

the Crown of Aragon and the Mamluk sultanate. This was Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis IX of France. In the latest phase of the feud between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen, the family of the Emperor Frederick II, Charles was invested with the kingdom of Sicily as a papal fief in June 1265.<sup>4</sup> First, however, he had to conquer his kingdom from its actual ruler, Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick II. In February 1266 he defeated and killed Manfred near Benevento in the mainland portion of the kingdom; and in August 1268 he defeated at Tagliacozzo the last male heir of the Hohenstaufen, Frederick's grandson, Conradin, the titular king of Jerusalem, whom he later executed. Thereafter for nearly fourteen years Charles was the unchallenged king of Sicily. Nor were his ambitions limited to the western Mediterranean. In 1277 he purchased the disputed claim of Maria of Antioch to the Latin kingdom, and sent Roger of San Severino to Acre as his *bailli*.<sup>5</sup>

During the struggle between Charles and Conradin, Baybars received ambassadors from both rivals, and a papal representative, travelling incognito, accompanied Charles's embassy. Charles, already assuming the role of a protector of Outremer, commended the Franks of the coastlands to Baybars, asking him to stay his sword from them—a request which the sultan graciously accepted. Charles declared:

I crave that the amity which the Emperor [Frederick II] had with the rulers of Egypt, such as al-Malik al-Kāmil and his son, al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, may exist between himself [*sic*] and the sultan.<sup>6</sup>

Baybars concurred in this hopeful sentiment—a reminiscence of the good old days of the Hohenstaufen and the Ayyubids expressed by their usurpers! Another embassy from Charles reached Baybars in Muḥarram 670/August–September 1271, once again pleading on behalf of the people of Acre.

The next decade saw a significant change in the balance of power in the western Mediterranean. The Sicilian Vespers, the murderous revolt of the islanders against the French in March 1282, shattered Charles's power. Peter III of Aragon (1276–85), the son and successor of James I, was married to Manfred's daughter, Constance, the heiress

<sup>4</sup> On this period of Sicilian history, see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, Cambridge 1958.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Runciman, *Crusades*, III, 345–6.

<sup>6</sup> *Rawd*, 336. On the relations of Frederick II with al-Kāmil, see P.M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, London 1986, 64–5.

to Hohenstaufen Sicily. By the end of August 1282, Peter had landed on the island to vindicate his wife's claim. When Charles died on 7 January 1285, he had lost his kingdom. Peter died on 11 November of the same year. His lands were partitioned. His elder son, Alfonso, succeeded to the throne of Aragon, while his younger son, James, became king of Sicily.

This is the situation to which Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir alludes in his account of the embassy from King Alfonso III, which negotiated the treaty of 689/1290:

In this year there arrived the ambassadors of the Barcelonan, who is called *Dhūfunsh*.<sup>7</sup> It was he who took the kingdom of King Charles and the kingdom of the Emperor.<sup>8</sup> They humbly requested peace of the mercy of our lord the sultan, following the precedent of the Emperor with al-Malik al-Kāmil. He despatched among all the gifts to the sultan's court seventy Muslim captives, who had long been in their land. They used every possible means to propitiate our lord the sultan. They undertook to be the enemies of our lord the sultan's enemies, and the friends of his friends. They remained for some days until the draft of a truce was written. His ambassadors wrote with their own hands the draft in Arabic and Frankish to take with them to their master. They signed the Arabic draft and corrected [?] it, so that they might proceed to their master and his brother, the lord of Sicily, and return in company with the ambassadors of our lord the sultan. Our lord the sultan swore to what was decided, as did our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf.<sup>9</sup>

The text of the treaty is given by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir in *Tashrif*, 156–64. It is virtually identical *mutatis mutandis* with the treaty concluded in 692/1293 by the successors of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and Alfonso III, i.e. al-Ashraf Khalil and James II. The later treaty is given in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 63–70, and also (with a Spanish translation) in M.A. Alarcón y Santón and A.G. de Linares, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid and Granada 1940, 335–44, which is, however, mostly taken from the text in *Ṣubḥ*. The text of the latter treaty serves to clarify doubtful readings in that of 689/1290. See further P.M. Holt, 'The Mamluk Sultanate and Aragon: the treaties of 689/1290 and 692/1293', *Tārīḥ*, 2, 1992, 105–18.

<sup>7</sup> *Dhūfunsh* clearly represents Alfonso. The Egyptian chancery regarded the variants Aḍfūnsh, Alfūnsh as the dynastic titles of the kings of Castile and (sometimes) of Aragon; cf. P.M. Holt, "Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's letter to a Spanish ruler in 699/1200", *Al-Masāq*, 3, 1990, 23–9.

<sup>8</sup> By "the Emperor", Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir means Manfred.

<sup>9</sup> *Tashrif*, 156.

*Text of the treaty*

[1] Amity, concord and friendship are established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the most exalted lord, the learned, the just, Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the sultan of the Egyptian lands and the Damascene territory and Aleppo, the sultan of the kings, the king of all the East, the sultan of the Nubians (the territory of King David),<sup>10</sup> the sultan of the Holy House,<sup>11</sup> the sultan of the High and August House in Mecca (may God exalt it), the sultan of the Yemen and the Ḥijāz, the sultan of all the Arabs, the sultan of all Islam, the lord of the kings and the sultans, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi;

And his son and heir, the Lord al-Malik al-Ashraf, the most exalted lord, the learned, the just, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khalil, and the kings, his sons;

And his Majesty, the honoured, eminent, fearless lion, the respected, revered Lord Alfonso, king of Aragon;<sup>12</sup>

And his brother, his Majesty, the honoured, eminent, leonine lion,<sup>13</sup> the king, Lord James, the lord of Sicily;

And their brothers, Lord Frederick and Lord Peter;

From the blessed Thursday, 13 Rabī' II, A.H. 689, corresponding to seven days remaining of April, A.D. 1289 [*sic*];<sup>14</sup>

In the presence of the ambassadors of the king of Aragon, viz. the chief ambassador Estebán Nogra, and Raimundo Alemany,<sup>15</sup> citizens of Barcelona, the physician David ben Ḥasdāy the Israelite, the minister of his Majesty the king of Aragon; and his clerks with his letter, sealed with the seal of the said king:

Its tenor being that they should be given credence in all they say and report concerning the bases of peace, amity and friendship; and in what they undertake concerning the conditions imposed by our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr on the king of Aragon; and that he

<sup>10</sup> At the time of the conclusion of this treaty, a Mamluk expeditionary force was operating in Nubia, and installing a vassal ruler. King David, the ruler in the time of Baybars, had been defeated by an expedition in 674/1276, and was subsequently sent prisoner to Cairo.

<sup>11</sup> The Holy House, i.e. Jerusalem.

<sup>12</sup> The title is arabicized as Dūn Alfūnsh al-Rīdarāghūn.

<sup>13</sup> Arabic, *al-asad al-dirghām*, two synonyms for "lion".

<sup>14</sup> The error of dating (1289 for 1290) seems inexplicable. The Muslim year 689 began on 14 January 1290, so no part of it fell in A.D. 1289.

<sup>15</sup> Arabic, *Ibn Lunjayr Stafanus*, *Rimūn Almalman*. These two men are mentioned in Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane*, 42, 57, 188 n. 4, and 226 n. 1 respectively.



will be bound by all the conditions hereunder specified, and the said king and his brothers will take their oath upon them:

By his command and decree the said ambassadors have subscribed their signatures to all the clauses hereunder specified; and the king and his brothers will be bound thereby: to wit,

- [2] Amity and friendship are established from the above date throughout the coming years and the succession of nights and days, by land and sea, lowland and highland, near and far:
- [3] Provided that the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and of his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf, and of the kings his sons; their citadels, ports, provinces, harbours, territory with its coastlands, its mainland, its regions, its towns, and everything within their realm as reckoned a part thereof and annexed thereto of all the regions pertaining to Anatolia, al-ʿIrāq, the East, Damascus, Aleppo, the Euphrates, the Yemen, the Ḥijāz, Egypt and the West;

The boundary of these regions and territory, their harbours and coastlands: on the eastern and Damascene mainland, from Constantinople and the territory of Anatolia, the coastal territory,<sup>16</sup> Latakia, Tripoli of Syria, and all the harbours and mainland to the port of Damietta and the lake of Tinnīs; their boundary on the western mainland, from Tunis and the region of Ifrīqiya with its territory and harbours, Tripoli of the West with its ports, territory and harbours, to the port of Alexandria and Rosetta, the lake of Banī Labīs with its coastlands, territory and harbours;

Whatever the specified territory and the unspecified provinces contain; the cities, ports, coastlands, harbours, routes by land and sea; departure and arrival, residence and travel of soldiery and troops, Turcomans, Kurds and Arabs, civilians and merchants, galleys, vessels, ships, chattels and beasts;<sup>17</sup> of whatever faiths, persons and nationalities; whatever is possessed of all kinds, chattels, arms, military equipment, property, wares and merchandise; little or much, near or far, by land or sea;

Shall be safe in respect of persons, people, chattels, women and children, from the king of Aragon and his brothers mentioned above, from their sons, knights, horsemen, allies, fleets and men, and from everyone belonging to them.

<sup>16</sup> In the treaty of 692/1293, "the coastal Anatolian territory".

<sup>17</sup> Beasts: *mawāshin*. Here the treaty of 692/1293 supplies the defective text of 689/1290, inappropriately restored by the editor as *mawānī*, "harbours".

This regulation shall likewise apply to everything that God shall conquer by the hand of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and by the hand of his sons, soldiery and armies, whether citadels, fortresses, territory or regions.

- [4] Provided also that the territory of the king of Aragon, and the territory of his brothers and sons;

His aforesaid provinces being the territory of Aragon with its ports and districts, Majorca with its districts and territory, Valencia with its districts and territory, the region of Barcelona with its districts and territory, Sicily with its island, territory and districts, the mainland of Apulia<sup>18</sup> with its territory and districts, the island of Malta, Pantelleria<sup>19</sup> with its territory and districts, Minorca and Ibiza<sup>20</sup> and their territory, Rousillon<sup>21</sup> and its districts, and whatever the king of Aragon shall conquer of the territory of his enemies, the Franks, in these regions;

Shall be safe from our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his sons, his soldiery and armies, his galleys and fleets. They and those in then, whether knights, horsemen, civilians or townspeople, shall be safe and secure in respect of persons and chattels, women and children, by land and sea, departing and arriving.

- [5] Provided also that the king of Aragon and his brothers shall be the friends of him who is friendly to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and the kings his sons, and the enemies of all who are hostile to him, whether Frankish kings or otherwise.

If the pope of Rome, or one of the rulers of the Franks, crowned or uncrowned, great or small, or of the Genoese, or of the Venetians, or of any nation, whether Franks, Greeks, or the Orders, the Orders of the Brethren the Templars and the Hospitallers, or all the nations of the Christians, should seek to harm our lord the Sultan by warfare or wrongful act, the king of Aragon and his brothers shall prevent and repulse them, shall commission their galleys and vessels, proceed against their territory, and distract them personally from seeking harm to the territory of our lord the Sultan, his harbours, coastlands and ports, whether specified or unspecified. They shall fight them by

<sup>18</sup> The mainland of Apulia: *barr Būliya* (692/1293); incorrectly pointed in 689/1290 as *barr Nūliya*.

<sup>19</sup> Pantelleria: *Qawṣara*.

<sup>20</sup> Both Arabic texts are corrupt. The correct reading should presumably be *Minūrqa wa-Yābisa*, as translated.

<sup>21</sup> Rousillon: *ARBSWYĀT* (689/1290); *ARSWYĀR* (?) (692/1293).

land and sea with their galleys, fleets, knights, horsemen and foot-soldiers.

- [6] Provided also that if one of the Franks of Acre, Tyre, the Coastlands or elsewhere, being in truce with our lord the Sultan,<sup>22a</sup> break the conditions of the truce established between himself and them, thereby necessarily annulling the truce, the king of Aragon and his brothers, horsemen, knights and the people<sup>22b</sup> of his territory shall not assist them with horses, horsemen, weapons, treasure, aid, supplies, vessels, galleys or otherwise.
- [7] Provided also that if the pope of Rome, the kings of the Franks, Greeks, Mongols or others request of the king of Aragon, or of his brothers, or his territory, reinforcements or assistance in horsemen, footsoldiers, treasure, vessels, galleys or arms, he will in no wise agree with them in any part thereof, either secretly or openly. He will not help any of them, or agree with him therein. If he becomes aware that one of them is proceeding to the territory of our lord the Sultan for warfare or a wrongful act, he shall send to acquaint our lord the Sultan with intelligence of them, and of the direction from which the act is agreed upon, in the shortest possible time before they move from their territory; and he shall conceal nothing of this.
- [8] Provided also that if a Muslim vessel be wrecked in the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers and allies, all she contains, whether merchants, sailors, chattels, slaves<sup>23</sup> or slave-girls, shall be safe in respect of their persons, chattels and wares. The king of Aragon is bound to protect them, to protect their vessels and chattels, to assist them to refit their vessel, and to expedite them, their chattels and their wares to the territory of our lord the Sultan.

Likewise the above regulation shall apply if a vessel from the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers be wrecked in the territory of our lord the Sultan.

- [9] Provided also that if any of the Muslim merchants, the Christians of the territory of our lord the Sultan, or the *dhimmīs* of his territory, die in the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers, his sons or his allies, they shall not obstruct them in regard to their chattels or their wares. Their goods and chattels shall be conveyed to the territory of our lord the Sultan to deal with as he will.

Likewise the above regulation shall apply to any of the subjects

<sup>22a,b</sup> So following 692/1293 in preference to 689/1290, which is corrupt.

<sup>23</sup> Slaves: *al-mamālik*, i.e. male military slaves, Mamluks.

of the king of Aragon, his brothers and his allies, who dies in the territory of our lord the Sultan.

- [10] Provided also that if ambassadors from the territory of our lord the Sultan cross the territory of the king of Aragon on their way to a distant or near place, whether coming or going, or if the wind should cast them upon his territory; the ambassadors, their servants, their retinue and what others are with them, shall be safe and protected in respect of their persons and chattels, and he shall expedite them to the territory of our lord the Sultan.
- [11] Provided also that the king of Aragon shall not enable pirates<sup>24</sup> or corsairs<sup>25</sup> to obtain provisions or take on water from his territory. He shall take any pirate who falls into his power, and deal duly with him. He shall send to the territory of our lord the Sultan any Muslim captives he finds with him, any wares, women and children.

Likewise if any pirate comes to the territory of our lord the Sultan, the regulation shall apply to him.

- [12] [Provided also that]<sup>26</sup> if anyone from his territory commits an act which would necessarily annul this truce, it shall be incumbent on the king of Aragon to seek out the culprit, and deal duly with him.
- [13] Provided also that the king of Aragon shall permit the people of his territory and other Franks to bring to the Muslim ports iron, linen, timber etc.
- [14] Provided that if any Muslim from any territory, east and west, far and near, be made captive on land or sea from the commencement of this truce, and they bring him for sale to the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers or allies, the king of Aragon is bound to release them [*sic*], and convey them to the territory of our lord the Sultan.
- [15] Provided also that if there is dealing in wares between Muslim merchants and merchants of the territory of the king of Aragon, their business shall be under the jurisdiction of the Holy Law when they are in the territory of our lord the Sultan.
- [16] Provided also that if a Muslim travels in the vessels of the king of Aragon, and carries his wares with them [*sic*], and the wares are missing; it shall be incumbent on the king of Aragon to restore them, if they are found, or their value, if they are lost.

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<sup>24</sup> Pirates: *al-ḥaramiyya*.

<sup>25</sup> Corsairs: *al-kursāliyya*.

<sup>26</sup> Emendation by analogy with 692/1293.

[17] Provided also that if anyone flees from the territory of our lord the Sultan as covered by this truce, to the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers; or goes with wares belonging to another and takes up residence in this territory; it shall be incumbent upon the king of Aragon to return the fugitive and the chattels with him to the territory of our lord the Sultan, so long as the said person is a Muslim. If he is converted to Christianity, he shall return the personal chattels which are with him.

The above regulation shall apply to the kingdom of the king of Aragon and the kingdom of his brother, as regards anyone who flees from their territory to the territory of our lord the Sultan.

[18] Provided also that if anyone arrives from the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers and their Frankish allies, seeking to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, having a letter<sup>27</sup> of the king of Aragon with his seal to the governor of our lord the Sultan in Jerusalem, it shall be permitted to him to make the pilgrimage of right, so that he may accomplish his pilgrimage, and return home safe and secure in respect of himself and his chattels, whether [the pilgrim be] a man or a woman; inasmuch as the king of Aragon will not issue any letter concerning the pilgrimage to one of his enemies or of the enemies of our lord the Sultan.

[19] [Provided also that]<sup>28a</sup> the king of Aragon will guard all the territory of our lord the Sultan from all harm, and will endeavour that no enemy of our lord the Sultan shall reach the territory of our lord the Sultan. Nor will he help them to harm the territory of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, nor the territory of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, nor their subjects. He will assist our lord the Sultan and his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf, by land and sea in every way they desire and choose.

[20] Provided also that the dues on those departing, arriving and returning from the territory of the king of Aragon to the ports of Alexandria and Damietta, to the Islamic ports and the sultan's provinces, with all kinds of wares and various merchandise, shall continue according to the taxes established in the treasury departments until the termination [of the truce].<sup>28b</sup> No new levy shall be imposed upon them in them.

This regulation shall likewise apply to those returning from the Sultan's territory to the territory of the king of Aragon.

<sup>27</sup> Letter: *kitāb*.

<sup>28a,b</sup> Added from 682/1293.

- [21] This amity and friendship shall continue perpetually and continuously between the two parties according to the conditions set out above. Its regulations and principles shall remain firmly established, for by it the two kingdoms have become one entity and one kingdom. It shall not be abrogated by the death of one of the two parties, nor by the removal of a governor and the appointment of another; but its regulations shall be confirmed; its days, months and years shall continue.
- [22] It has accordingly been drafted and established on the above date, viz. Tuesday, 13 Rabi' II, A.H. 689, corresponding to seven days remaining of April, A.H. 1289.

[God of His generosity grants success.

If God Most High will.]<sup>28c</sup>

The text of the oath sworn by our lord the Sultan to the king of Aragon and his brothers:

I say, and I am Qalāwūn b. 'Abdallāhi al-Ṣālihi,

By God, by God, by God;

By the truth of the Faith of Islam;

By the truth of the Great Qur'ān in which the Muslims believe;

I shall not change this peace and friendship which has been established between Myself and the king of Aragon, nor shall I depart from it so long as the king of Aragon remains faithful to the oath which My ambassadors shall administer to him, he and his brothers,<sup>29a</sup> on behalf of Myself, My sons and all the people of My territory.

God is the Trustee of what I say.

The text of the oath sworn by our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf in the presence of his father (God grant them both victory):

I say, and I am Khalil b. Qalāwūn,

By God, by God, by God;

By the truth of the Faith of Islam;

By the truth of the Qur'ān in which the Muslims believe;

I shall not change this peace and friendship which has been established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the sultan of the East and the West, the lord of the kings and the sultans, my father (God grant him victory) and myself, and the king of Aragon, nor shall

<sup>28c</sup> Added from 682/1293.

<sup>29a</sup> The syntax is clumsy; "he and his brothers" is in apposition to "the king of Aragon", not to "him".

I depart from it, nor allow anyone to change it so long as the king of Aragon remains faithful to the oath which the ambassadors of our lord the Sultan (God grant him victory) shall administer to him, he and his brothers,<sup>29b</sup> on behalf of himself and his brothers.

The text of the oath sworn by the king of Aragon:

I say, and I am Alfonso,  
By God, by God, by God;  
By the truth of Christ;  
By the truth of the Cross  
By the truth of the Lady Mary, the Mother of the Light;  
By the truth of the four Gospels transmitted by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John;  
By the truth of the Voice which came down upon the River Jordan and drove it back;

By the truth of my Faith and the object of my worship and belief;

From this time and this hour, while God shall give me life, I shall be sincere in intention, pure in heart, alike without and within, in friendship to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the sultan of Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Anatolia,<sup>30</sup> al-ʿIrāq, the East and the West, the sultan of all Islam, the lord of the kings and the sultans, Abu'l-Fath Qalāwūn al-Šāliḥī; and in friendship to his son and designated heir, the lord Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khalīl, and the kings his sons, and in amity and continuing love towards them. My kingdom and their kingdom shall be one entity in defence, friendship and amity, even one kingdom.

By the truth of Christ and the Cross and the truth of the Gospel, I am the friend of the friends of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and the friend of his sons, the opponent of their opponents, a combatant against any of the Franks or the Christian nations who proceeds against their territory. I shall fight them, and distract them personally from seeking to make war on or do harm to the territory of our lord the Sultan.

In all this I shall proceed according to the conditions of the truce and friendly agreement dated Tuesday, 13 Rabīʿ II, A.H. 689,

<sup>29b</sup> The syntax is clumsy; "he and his brothers" is in apposition to "the king of Aragon", not to "him".

<sup>30</sup> Anatolia: *al-Rūm*; an allusion to Baybars's transient rule over the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm.

corresponding to seven days remaining of April,<sup>31</sup> which was drafted between Our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr, his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf, and the kings his sons; and Myself and My three brothers, viz. King James, the lord of Sicily, Frederick and Lord Peter, in the presence of My said ambassadors as named in the said truce. I commanded My ambassadors to be bound on behalf of Myself and My brothers by all the regulations and conditions therein while nights and days, months and years continue in accordance with My letter to our lord the Sultan and My seal thereto upon it. I shall not infringe any of its terms. I and My brothers, My sons and My kingdom shall continue to observe it while days and nights endure, in regard to the realm of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr and the realm of his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf and his sons, without change or alteration.

By God Almighty, I shall protect all the subjects of the territory of the Muslims in My territory; I shall be their guardian, and act towards them according to the conditions of the said truce.

If I break any of its conditions, may I be excommunicated from My Faith as denying My belief and the belief of the people of My religious community. The oath is My oath. The intention therein is the intention of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr and the intention of his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf, and the intention of his sons, the kings, and the intention of those who took the oath to them thereon.

God is the Trustee of what I say.

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<sup>31</sup> In view of the dating problem, it is perhaps significant that the Year of Grace is not specified.



## 11. THE TREATY OF AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN WITH GENOA: 689/1290

The circumstances in which Qalāwūn's treaty with Genoa was negotiated had their origin in the last troubled months of the county of Tripoli.<sup>1</sup> Bohemond VII, the last count, died in 1287, leaving as his heir his sister, Lucy, who was living in Italy. An opposing faction in Tripoli established a sovereign commune, and placed at its head one Bartholomew Embriaco. Between Bartholomew and the former ruling dynasty there lay a bitter personal feud. His family, of Genoese origin, had been lords of Jubayl (the Frankish Gibelet) on the Lebanese coast since the town was given in fief to Hugh Embriaco, the Genoese admiral, when Tripoli was captured by the Crusaders in 502/1109. Although the family was later linked by marriage with the rulers of Tripoli, their overlords, the second half of the thirteenth century saw them in revolt against Bohemond VI and later Bohemond VII. Both the father and the brother of Bartholomew lost their lives in consequence of these risings.

When the Countess Lucy arrived to claim her inheritance in 1288, the commune of Tripoli placed itself under the protection of Genoa, and the republic duly sent its admiral, Benedict Zaccaria, to make a settlement with the commune. His arrival was, however, followed by further rifts in local politics, with Embriaco, the commune, Lucy and Zaccaria each seeking to gain advantage. On the sidelines were the Venetians, anxious that the Genoese should not acquire an overwhelming share of the trade of the region. When Lucy at last came to terms with both the commune and Zaccaria, someone, perhaps Embriaco, perhaps the Venetians, urged Qalāwūn to intervene. He responded promptly, and on 4 Rabi' II 688/26 April 1289 Tripoli fell to the sultan. Embriaco died in the fighting. Zaccaria had taken flight with his galleys on the eve of the final assault, and went on to harry shipping as a corsair on the high seas.

It is at this point that Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir takes up the story:

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<sup>1</sup> On the final phase of Frankish rule in Tripoli, see Runciman, *Crusades*, III, 403–7 = Setton, *Crusades*, II, 591–3; Prawer, *Royaume latin*, II, 532–7.

A Genoese named Benedict Zaccaria and Bartholomew of Gibelet took possession of Tripoli. As for Bartholomew of Gibelet, God executed His sentence upon him, and he died the death of Pharaoh. As for Benedict Zaccaria, he went out from ruling and domination in Tripoli to piracy on the sea. He became a corsair, and encountered a vessel out of Alexandria carrying merchants. He took them after much fighting and bloodshed of both crew and merchants, and took their chattels. The Genoese in Alexandria feared that his evil would rebound upon them, so they went aboard a ship and fled.

When our lord the sultan heard of this, he arrested those Genoese who remained in the ports, although he did not interfere with any of their chattels. He closed the routes to the Genoese nation,<sup>2</sup> while the people of Acre, all the Franks, and even the Byzantine emperor dissociated themselves from them. Benedict found his position impossible, so he went to Genoa. They censured him, and took the merchants and chattels from him. They sent envoys to our lord the sultan dissociating themselves from that action, and distancing themselves from the like. They said, "This person and BLNKĪR, the son of BNŞĀL the Genoese, who attacked the neighbourhood of al-Ṭīna<sup>3</sup> some time ago, have left us, and become corsairs. They dare not come back to us. We have returned the merchants, the chattels and everything that was taken from the vessel, fearing our lord the sultan, and seeking to propitiate him." The envoys swore upon the Gospels at the sultan's court in the presence of the bishops and the monks that they had concealed nothing of the chattels and none of the merchants. They asked for the settlement of a truce forthwith. Our lord the sultan hesitated long, and castigated them severely, while they implored and besought him. In the end, for the sake of the prosperity of the ports, and because of the wealth brought in by this nation, and the large sums accruing to the customs from them, a truce was drafted for them.<sup>4</sup>

The results of the negotiations were embodied in two documents, which have survived in two separate sources. There is, first, an Arabic text given by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (*Tashrif*, 166–9). This consists of five parts, viz. (a) the sworn undertaking of the Genoese envoy, Albert Spinola, dated 13 May 1290; this constituted the truce proper: (b) the

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic text reads *jaysh*, "army". Silvestre de Sacy suggested the emendation (by alteration of the pointing) to *jins*, "nation".

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ṭīna lay in the eastern fringe of the Delta, north-east of al-Şālihiyya. I am unable to identify BLNKĪR and BNŞĀL. BLNKĪR also occurs in the name of the person who made the interlinear version of the treaty in Frankish, which Amari reads as "Pellegrino" (Karabecek, "Arabische Beiträge", 48).

<sup>4</sup> *Tashrif*, 165.

certification Spinola's oath by Peter, the Melkite bishop of Cairo (c) the signatures of the Egyptian and Genoese witnesses to the oath-taking: (d) the sworn statement of the members of the Genoese delegation regarding the settlement of the case of the vessel taken by Zaccaria: (e) the general certification of the document by Bishop Peter, dated 19 Ayyār 6798, i.e. 19 May 1290.

Secondly, there is a Latin document in the Genoese archives (ASG Liber Iurium Duplicatum, Codici Membranacii, Codice C, ff. 235r–236v), which was published by Silvestre de Sacy in *Notices et extraits*, XI, 1827, 33–46, together with the Arabic text described above. This document describes itself as “the peace and agreement between the commune of Genoa and the sultan of Babylonia”, i.e. Egypt (*Pax et Conventio inter Commune Januae et Soldanum Babiloniae*), it is not a counterpart of the Arabic text but a second sworn undertaking, executed on the sultan's behalf by his vicegerent, the Amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy<sup>5</sup> (*dominus mirus Osemedinus*), and dated, like Spinola's undertaking, 13 May 1290. The phraseology of the sultan's titulature and of Ṭurunṭāy's oath, as well as the occurrence of Latinized Arabic words, suggest that this document is a literal translation of an Arabic original. The body of the document consists of 36 clauses, and there is appended a summary in four clauses of Spinola's undertaking.

The clauses of the sultan's undertaking, which detail the personal and commercial privileges of the Genoese in Alexandria, are not systematically arranged, but may be grouped in three categories. The first of these concerned the personal rights and immunities of the Genoese. Their security, and that of their possessions, were assured by sea and land throughout the sultan's dominions. They were given freedom to come, go and remain at will; and were not to be detained on any pretext, even when the sultan was on campaign in Syria or elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> No Genoese might be held as a hostage for the crime or debt of another, unless he had been given as surety by the delinquent. If any Genoese robbed or injured the sultan's subjects, the sultan would inform the commune of Genoa in writing. The Genoese held

<sup>5</sup> Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī was a favourite Mamluk of Qalāwūn, who appointed him as his vicegerent. On the accession of al-Ashraf Khalil in 689/1290 he was arrested and tortured to death, and the sultan confiscated his enormous wealth; cf. Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, XVI, 429–30 (no. 466).

<sup>6</sup> *Pro proposito itu in Syria vel in alia parte*. This almost certainly refers to Qalāwūn's intended campaign against Acre, which he was beginning when he died in Dhu'l-Qa'da 689/Nov. 1290.

by custom the church of St. Mary in Alexandria, but might not rebuild it, should it be destroyed.<sup>7</sup> Genoese ships or merchants putting into the sultan's ports after the outbreak of war were to be safe and secure. The Genoese might enter and leave Alexandria by the accustomed gates without the imposition of any new toll. Should any Genoese die in Alexandria or elsewhere in the sultan's dominions, his will was to be executed. If he died intestate, his chattels and wares were to be deposited with the Genoese consul, or, if there were none, with the Genoese of that place. If there were no Genoese, they were to be safeguarded by the lord of the land (*dominus terrae*) until they were required by letter or envoys of the commune of Genoa.

Secondly, the clauses concerning the trading concessions granted by the sultan assured the Genoese bringing merchandise, gold or silver to Alexandria or elsewhere that they might sell as they wished without any coercion. If they did not wish to sell, they might take away their goods without the payment of any duty. Gold or silver sold to a Muslim (*Sarracenus*) was to be paid for at once, not after a fixed term.<sup>8</sup> The Genoese might import cheese and other victuals for their own use in their factory (*fundicus*, i.e. *funduq*) without payment of duty. They might load and unload their ships at will, using their own lighters. Their ships might obtain provisions in the sultan's ports without being liable to detention or the payment of duty, except on buying and selling. A clause safeguarded the Genoese against being compelled to purchase goods from the custom-house, port or arsenal<sup>9</sup> (*de dugana nec de duchella nec de asona*), or from any amir.<sup>10</sup> No second duty was payable on goods obtained and resold in Alexandria. The import duties on gold, silver and coined money are specified, as also the weighing-due, which was payable only after the sale of the goods. Silken and woollen cloths paid a duty of 10%, while squirrel, ermine, beaver and otter pelts, as well as precious stones, were imported duty-free. A general clause secured the Genoese from the payment of any duty, other than those specified, on their imports and exports.

Thirdly, a number of clauses throw light on the Genoese colony

<sup>7</sup> The interdiction on rebuilding complied with the Shari'a.

<sup>8</sup> The intention may have been to prevent the payment of concealed interest.

<sup>9</sup> On the significance of "arsenal" (*asona*, from Arabic *al-ṣinā'a*), see Claude Cahen, "Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le *Minhāj d'al-Makhzūmī*", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, VII/3, 1964, 217–314 (now reprinted in *Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden 1977, same pagination) at p. 243 and note.

<sup>10</sup> Forced purchase was a fiscal device frequently resorted to at this period.

at Alexandria, and on the personnel and procedures of the customs administration. All the Genoese were under the jurisdiction of the consul. Any "Saracen" or Christian with a case against a Genoese came before him. If, however, a Genoese had a case against a "Saracen", it was heard in the custom-house by the finance officer (*milus*),<sup>11</sup> who was required to coerce any Genoese who tried to withdraw himself from the consul's jurisdiction. Should an injury be done to a Genoese in the sultan's dominions, the consul had the right of access to the sultan, either in person or by messenger. The finance officer was to supply a messenger at the consul's request, and the consul or the messenger would travel at the court's expense. A commissioner (*mil*)<sup>12</sup> from the customs administration was to be present at the unloading and loading of cargoes. The Genoese had a scribe in the custom-house to record their transactions, who, if he was willing, might go surety for a merchant or ship wishing to leave Alexandria before settlement with the customs authorities.

The customs administration, with which the Genoese at Alexandria came into contact, is styled in the Latin text *dugana*, i.e. *diwān*. Several kinds of officials are referred to. *Inquisitores duganae* were responsible for the safeguarding of the merchandise and chattels both outside and inside the custom-house, where good and sufficient store-rooms were to be provided, under guards set by the administration, the keys being held by the merchants.<sup>13</sup> *Censarii duganae*, the taxing officials, are probably the Arabic *jubāt* (sing. *jābī*).<sup>14</sup> *Torcimanus duganae*, *torcimanus duchellae*, the interpreter (*turjumān*) of the custom-house or the port, is linked in the Latin text with the *censarii* and with another group, the official witnesses (*testes*).<sup>15</sup> The sale and purchase of merchandise by the Genoese was validated by the presence of the witnesses or an official interpreter. Where such an interpreter had acted as the intermediary in a transaction, no Genoese was to be obstructed in removing his purchase. The custom-house was held responsible for a sale made with the official witnesses or taxing officers, but if this procedure was not followed, and the purchaser repudiated

<sup>11</sup> *Milus* probably represents the Arabic 'āmil (cf. Cahen, "Douanes", 271), not *amīr* as suggested by Silvestre de Sacy. *Amīr* is represented in another clause by *amiratus*.

<sup>12</sup> *Mil* is probably distinct from *milus*, and represents the Arabic *amīn*, pl. *umanā'*, which Cahen, "Douanes", 283, renders "les hommes de confiance".

<sup>13</sup> Another group of officials, *inquisitores navium*, may be distinct from *inquisitores duganae*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Cahen, "Douanes", 283.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cahen, "Douanes", 298.

the debt, the case was to be brought before the Muslim judge (*archadi*, i.e. *al-qāḍī*). Duty might be paid in the Genoese factory, if the official witnesses were present. If a Genoese wished to leave before settlement with the authorities, and was himself owed money by a “Saracen”, the customs could distrain on the debtor. Abusive demands were forbidden. A long clause deals with goods sold by auction in the custom-house duty on which was payable on the completion of the transaction.<sup>16</sup>

The oath of ratification sworn by Ḥusām al-Dīn resembles those sworn to other treaties of the period. It confirms the duration of the treaty for the lives of both parties: Qalāwūn and his son, al-Ashraf Khalīl (*Melech Laserat Calil*) on the one side, and the two *capitani* of Genoa, Hubert Spinola and Conrad Doria, on the other. The treaty is dated by the Year of Grace (1290)—an unusual feature, since such instruments were normally dated by both the *Hijrī* and Seleucid eras. This may perhaps have been a change made by the clerk who entered the text in the register of the Archives.

The Arabic and Latin documents taken together seem to provide an example of al-Qalqashandī's second category of truces, i.e. those concluded by the representatives of two sovereigns—in this case, the sultan's vicegerent and the envoy of the Genoese republic. One procedural element, the attestation by witnesses, has survived uniquely in the Arabic text. There are two unusual features. First, although Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir describes the treaty as a truce (*hudna*), it lacks the regular ten-year period of limitation, but is valid for a term of lives. This is perhaps a unique feature. Secondly, the commercial privileges granted (or renewed) by the sultan form part of a bilateral exchange, not as a unilateral decree of the sultan, as is the normal form. An old but still useful commentary on the treaty was provided by Joseph Karabecek, 'Arabische Beiträge zur genuesischen Geschichte', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, I/i, 1887, 35–56, which is of great assistance in clarifying the Genoese and Coptic names; the former are particularly corrupt in the Arabic text.

### *Text of the treaty*

[Sworn undertaking of Albert Spinola on behalf of the Republic of Genoa with related documents]

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Cahen, “Douanes”, 240–1.

[a] Copy of the truce of our lord the Sultan with the Genoese concluded in the presence of the bishops and monks

[1] I say, and I am Albert Spinola, the envoy of the *Podestà* Bertrand de Carcan, and the *Capitani* Hubert Spinola and Conrad Doria, and the elders and councillors of the Commune of Genoa, I swear by God, by God, by God Almighty, One God;<sup>17</sup>

By the truth of Christ;

By the truth of the Holy Cross;

By the truth of the Holy Gospel;

By the truth of the Lady Mary;

By the truth of the four Gospels [transmitted by] Luke, Matthew, Mark and John, and their prayers and benedictions;

By the truth of the voice which came down from heaven upon the River Jordan, and drove it back;

By the truth of the Fathers of the Baptism;

By the truth of the Holy Gospel;

By the truth of my faith and Him Whom I worship;

That I am bound to our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the most exalted lord, the learned, the just, Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, sultan of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, sultan of the Yemen and the Ḥijāz, sultan of the House of Mecca, the High House (God Most High give it might), sultan of Jerusalem, the Holy Land, the Coastlands, the conquests of the Muslims and his own conquests, sultan from Tripoli of the Coast to Tripoli of the West, sultan of the East and the West, sultan of the kings, king of all the Arabs and the Persians, the sultan of all Islam, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi;

And to his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khalil (may God protect them and grant them victory);

By the decree of the said *podestà*, *capitani* and elders of the Commune of Genoa, and all the Genoese;

[2] That they will protect, respect and honour all the Muslims of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, who come to the territory of our lord the Sultan, and who go out from the territory of our lord the Sultan, from all territories and regions, from the territory of the Franks, the Greeks and the Muslims; whether ambassadors, merchants or others; whether in safety or wrecked in ships, vessels, warships, galleys or other vessels; wares and persons, their chattels, slaves<sup>18</sup> and slave-girls in their vessels;

<sup>17</sup> "One God" is placed in the original after "Holy Gospel".

<sup>18</sup> Slaves: *mamālik*, i.e. male slaves, Mamluks.

by land and sea, and in all places of the Commune of Genoa, and whatever territory they shall conquer and have jurisdiction over from the date of this truce, while nights and days, months and years continue;

[3] And that all Genoese will honour, respect and protect all Muslims who come to the territory of our lord the Sultan, and who go out and travel from it by land and sea; they will not interfere with them, nor enable any interference with them by wrongful acts, harm or hostility, either to their persons or their chattels, either in coming or going. They shall be safe and secure in respect of their persons and chattels and seafaring<sup>19</sup> from all the Genoese, and from those under the jurisdiction of the Commune of Genoa as stated above.

[4] And that they will protect all Muslim merchants and others who travel in Genoese and other vessels, going and coming, in all places belonging to the Commune of Genoa and others, the territory of the Franks, the territory of the Greeks and the territory of the Muslims. Every Muslim travelling with them and with others shall be protected, safe and secure; no-one shall ill-treat or wrong them during their journey, their abiding or their residence.

If a Muslim should travel in a vessel other than a Genoese vessel, belonging to the enemies of the Genoese or others, there shall be no interference with any Muslim.

If they [*sc.* the Genoese] take their enemy, the Muslims shall be protected and safe in respect of themselves, their slaves and their slave-girls, in going and coming. The Genoese shall not detain them on any pretext; nor shall they take a Muslim as a hostage, or pursue him for debt or bloodshed, unless he is a guarantor or surety.

[5] These clauses, this peace and these conditions are established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son, al-Malik al-Ashraf, and the said *podestà*, *capitani*, elders and councillors of the Commune of Genoa. Albert Spinola, the said envoy has sworn thereto in the presence of Boniface Zurla, Daniel Tancredi, Franceschino Rubes,

<sup>19</sup> E. Clermont-Ganneau, "Explication d'un passage du traité entre le sultan Qelaoun et les Génois", *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, 1888, 219–20, commenting on Karabeczek's article, proposed the emendation of *arwāḥihim*, "their souls" to *rawāḥihim*, "their going", with the addition of *majī'ihim*, "their coming". While accepting the emendation, I do not think that the proposed addition is necessary. *Arwāḥ* for *rawāḥ* is also found in the treaty of Qalāwūn with Aragon (No. 10) and the closely similar treaty of Khalil with Aragon in 692/1293. *Rawāḥ* may here represent the Latin *nauigium*, *nauium*, as found in the treaty of al-Mu'izz Aybak with Venice in 1254: *salui et securi in suis personis et suo hauere et eorum nauilio/ salui et securi in personis et hauere et toto suo nauigio*: Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, 484.



Rainer Boccanegra, the Consul Raffo and Teologo Faliero.

Written on 13 May, A.D. 1290.

An interlinear version in Frankish was written, line for line and word for word.

The envoy signed in Frankish at the head of this truce.

The writer in Frankish between the lines is known as Giudice the Genoese Pilgrim, the clerk of the envoy and Commune of Genoa.

[b] Copy of the signed testimony of the bishop who administered the oath to the envoy

The said envoy, Albert Spinola, and the consuls and Genoese merchants accompanying him have sworn according to the copy of this oath and the peace and clauses set forth therein on 14 Ayyār in the year 6798<sup>20</sup> in my presence, and I am the miserable Peter, bishop of Old Cairo. The pure Gospel was between my hands and the hand of the envoy, who was standing and bareheaded.

Written by my own hand in testimony that they have sworn the great oath on the Gospel and the Cross in the presence of the priests and monks who have subscribed their names.

[c] Copy of the signed testimonies of those present at this oath-taking I was present as witness (signed by the priest who was present, Father Arsenius).

Item: I was present as witness: Arsenius, abbot of the monastery of al-Quṣayr.

Item: I was present as witness: Menas the deacon.

Item: I was present as witness: Michael the monk of the monastery of Mount Sinai.

Thereafter the signatures of a group in Frankish: Boniface, the Genoese consul; Angelino, the captain of the ship, the merchant; Daniel Capello, the merchant; Raffo, the consul; the noble Rainer Boccanegra.

These said clauses were written on Sunday, 2 Jumādā I 689<sup>21</sup>—may God approve their conclusion.

Their contents as rendered from the Frankish script into Arabic were read by Shams al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh al-Mansūrī. The interpreter Sābiq al-Dīn and the interpreter ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Kabakī translated

<sup>20</sup> The date is in the Era of Constantinople = 14 May, A.D. 1290.

<sup>21</sup> As the Muslim day begins at sunset, the date overlaps 13 and 14 May 1290.

for him in order to verify the Arabic rendering, and to certify its correctness on the said date.

[d] Copy of the oath sworn by the envoys and signed by them in the presence of the bishop

By God, by God, by God;

By the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ;

By the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross;

By the truth of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost;

By the truth of the Lady Mary, the Mother of the Light;

By the truth of the four Gospels transmitted by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John;

By the truth of the Disciples and the Apostles;

By the truth of the Voice which came down from heaven upon the River Jordan, and drove it back;

By the truth of my Faith, Him Whom I worship, and my belief in the Christian Faith;

By the truth of the Divinity, the Humanity and the Trinity;

By the truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, the worshipped Lord;

I have concealed nothing of what was found belonging to these Muslim merchants, neither their chattels nor their wares; and I am not aware that any of them remains in captivity, or that anything belonging to them which I have concealed or disposed of remains with any of the Genoese.

And by God and the truth of Christ, I have not brought with me or my company a sum to compensate them for their loss, either from the Commune or from the Genoese who took it; except what I have brought as the value of the sugar, linen and pepper, and the value of the vessel, being 1,600 dinars.<sup>22</sup> I have brought nothing in excess of that. This sum which I have brought is what the combination of sugar, pepper, the vessel and its gear were sold for without excess or diminution.

If after this oath anything contrary to it shall appear, and it shall appear that we have concealed any of these Muslims, or anything of the chattels of these merchants, or have hidden it, or left it behind and not brought it, or have brought with us a sum to compensate them for their loss; and if testimony thereto is brought against us by one

<sup>22</sup> Or perhaps *denari*, the silver pennies of the Genoese.

of our nation, or by someone not of our nation whose word is acceptable, we shall be liable to an indemnity to its apparent value.

By God and the truth of Christ, I have concealed nothing thereof. If I have concealed anything thereof, either their chattels or their wares, or if I know who has concealed it, let me be excommunicated from my Faith, denying the Lord Christ and His Divinity. This only I know.

[e] Copy of the testimony in regard to them.

I testify, and I am Peter, the Melkite bishop of Old Cairo, to all set out above in this document respecting the envoy of Genoa, namely Albert Spinola, the envoy of Genoa.

Signed by me on the morning of Thursday, 19 Ayyār, in the year 6798.

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