

Crusade Texts in Translation

BAYBARS' SUCCESSORS

IBN AL-FURĀT ON QALĀWŪN AND AL-ASHRAF

Translated by David Cook



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Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405) is an understudied Mamluk historian, whose materials for the period of the later Crusades is unique. While sections of his history for the period prior to 1277 have been translated, later sections have not. His text provides both an overview and a critique of earlier historians, and supplies us with a large number of unique documents, treaties, and intimate discussions that are not to be found elsewhere. This translation provides a continuous narrative from 1277 until the assassination of al-Malik al-Ashraf in 1293, with selections from Ibn al-Furat's later entries concerning the Crusades until 1365.

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CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

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The crusading movement, which originated in the 11th century and lasted beyond the 16th, bequeathed to its future historians a legacy of sources that are unrivalled in their range and variety. These sources document in fascinating detail the motivations and viewpoints, military efforts, and spiritual lives, of the participants in the crusades. They also narrate the internal histories of the states and societies that crusaders established or supported in the many regions where they fought. Some of these sources have been translated in the past but the vast majority have been available only in their original language. The goal of this series is to provide a wide-ranging corpus of texts, most of them translated for the first time, which will illuminate the history of the crusades and the crusader-states from every angle, including that of their principal adversaries, the Muslim powers of the Middle East.

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Ibn al-Furāt on Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf

Translated by David Cook

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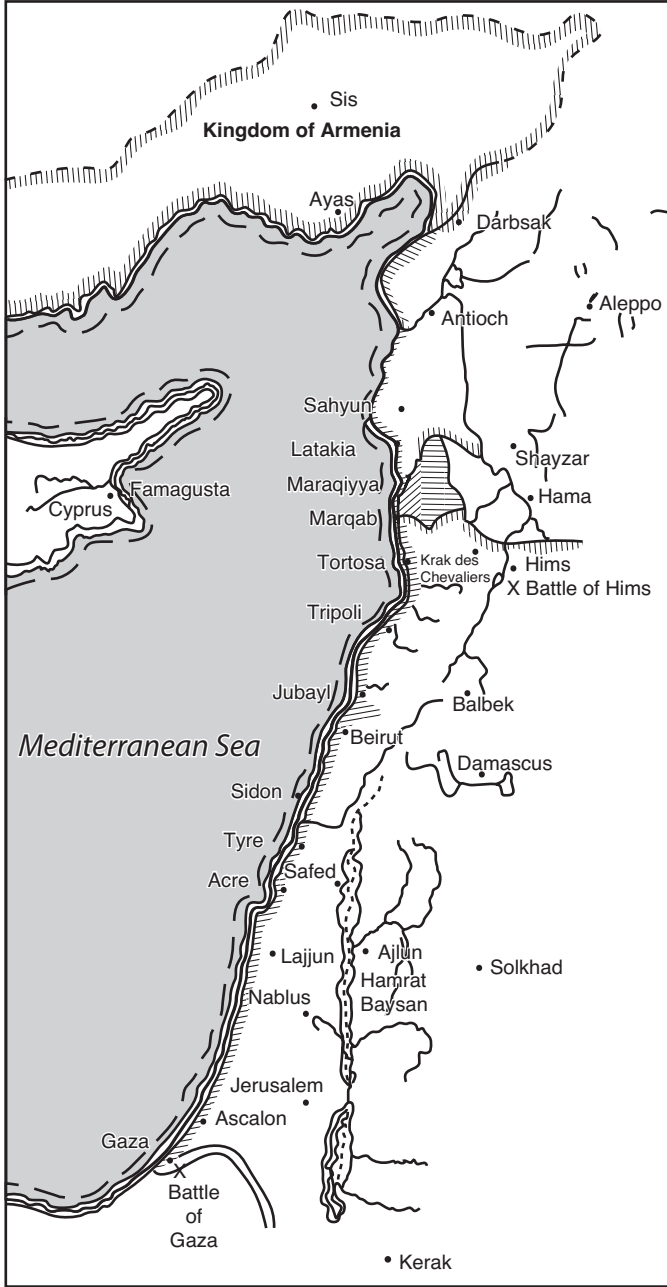
My mother, Elaine Cook, read over parts of the manuscript prior to her death on January 20, 2018, and I would like to dedicate this work to her memory. She very much loved to read about the interconnections of the medieval European and Islamic worlds. May her memory be blessed.

MAPS



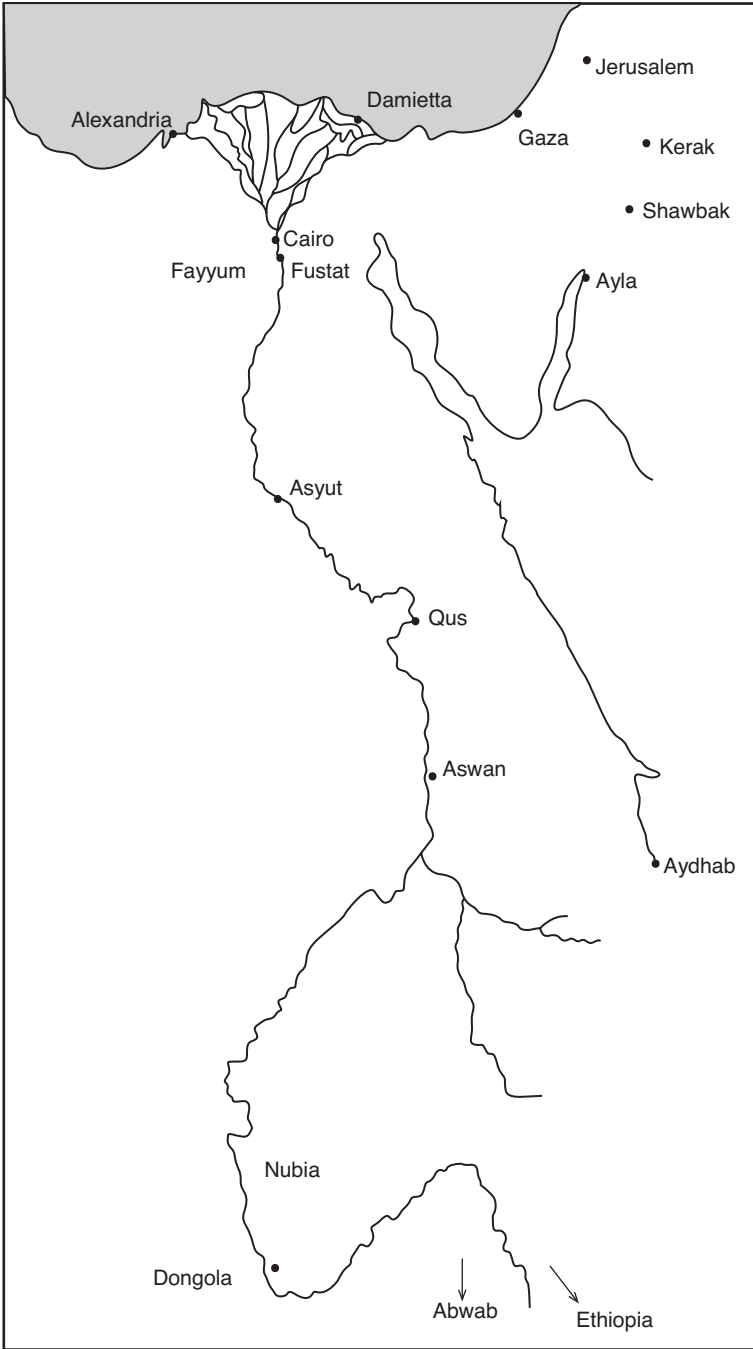
Map 1 The Mediterranean World during the time of Qalawun

MAPS



Map 2 The crusader states in the late thirteenth century

MAPS



Map 3 Egypt under Qalāwūn



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INTRODUCTION

Muḥammad b. `Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt (d. 808/1405) was one of the greatest of the Mamluk historians, but unfortunately, aside from the translation of his earlier work (till the end of Baybars' life in 676/1277),¹ he has not received the attention he so richly deserves. Biographical material about Ibn al-Furāt is sparse, but he was a secretary and a member of the Ḥanafī rite (favored by the Turkish dynasty).

Ibn al-Furāt did not even complete his major claim to fame, his *Tā'rīkh al-duwwal wa-l-mulūk*, which was intended to be a world-history. In actuality, it commences approximately with the advent of the Crusades (although some earlier sections are extant), and continues on through the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir (d. 742/1341). Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalānī states that Ibn al-Furāt completed 20 volumes of his world-history, but as he worked backwards he did not fully complete it.²

As this volume is a companion to *Chronicles of Qalāwūn and his son al-Ashraf Khalīl*, the general introduction to later Crusader period appearing there has not been reproduced here. Instead, this volume will focus upon later Mamluk historians covering the period of Baybars' successors: his two sons' reigns (1277–9), those of Qalāwūn (1279–90) and his second son, al-Malik al-Ashraf (1290–3).

These two rulers, Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, were part of a succession of Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria (with some territories beyond) that had its roots in the failure of the Kurdish Ayyūbid dynasty in 1249–50.³ While

¹ By M.C. Lyons and U. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamluks and Crusaders: Selections from the Tā'rīkh al-duwwal wa-l-mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1971), i, preface. For (limited) biographical information, see "Ibn al-Furāt" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*² (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2000) (=EP²) (Claude Cahen) (who merely gives the status of the manuscript without any biographical details); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi` li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi`* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), viii, p. 51.

² Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr fi anbā' al-`umar* (ed. Muḥammad Mu`īd Khān, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, n.d. [reprint: Hyderabad ed.]), v, pp. 267–8.

³ See R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1977), chap. 8.

there had been several strong Mamluk rulers prior to Qalāwūn who had tried to pass their ruling position on to their children—most notably the hugely successful Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (ruled 1260–77)—the former was the first to successfully found a dynasty.

Qalāwūn's success, however, was not apparent during his lifetime or even for some years after his death.⁴ In general, Qalāwūn's policy was one of consolidation. Baybars, his predecessor, had conquered large swaths of territory, but the fractious nature of Mamluk succession, and the weak character of his sons who briefly succeeded him, frittered many of these conquests away. It was not until almost to the end of Qalāwūn's ten-year rule that he was finally able to rule both Egypt and Syria completely.

As Qalāwūn died suddenly in November 1290, his middle son al-Ashraf succeeded him without too much opposition. Qalāwūn had died at the height of his prestige, and while setting out to conquer the last of the Crusader cities, Acre. This latter task fell to al-Ashraf, who completed the conquest and expulsion of the Crusaders from the Syrian Levant through the summer of 1291.

Al-Ashraf, however, was nowhere near as politic as his father had been, nor had he his father's extensive military experience. Moreover, al-Ashraf tended to be a hands-off administrator, a fact of which his deputy Baydarā took advantage. Although al-Ashraf managed to conquer northwards into Anatolia, and may have been on the cusp of further conquests,⁵ he alienated many of the senior emirs, who disliked his impetuosity. He was assassinated in December 1293, after a reign of only three years.

Eventually Qalāwūn's family became a dynasty through the succession of his third son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir.⁶ Since the latter reigned through the first half of the fourteenth century—and Qalāwūn's further descendants continued to reign until 784/1382—the history of Qalāwūn was largely written while the family was in control. For this reason, it is useful to consider a historian such as Ibn al-Furāt who compiled his work after the family had lost its power, and was thus able to be more objective about their ancestor.

Sources

Ibn al-Furāt is interesting because he is something of an outlier with regard to the overall Mamluk historiographical tradition concerning the period of

⁴ On Qalāwūn, see *EP*, s.v. “Qalāwūn” (Hassanein Rabie); and especially Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria 678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998).

⁵ See my “Al-Ashraf Khalīl: The Uses of the Islamic-Byzantine Border in Rulership,” forthcoming.

⁶ See Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–41)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. Other than al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), whose seminal work on the art of being a Mamluk secretary contains dozens of reproduced documents, it is difficult to think of a Mamluk historian who has preserved as many documents as did Ibn al-Furāt.

Some of his sources for the period under consideration are named, the major one of whom is Ibn al-Mukarram (d. 711/1311),⁷ *Dhakhīrat al-kātib* (*The Secretary's Treasure*), from which a large number of anecdotes and some documents are cited. As this work has not survived, Ibn al-Furāt's citation of it is felicitous. In general, Ibn al-Mukarram is cited anecdotally to either supplement or clarify the principal textual flow. Other named sources include `Imad al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī (d. 597/1201), Baybars al-Manṣūrī's (d. 725/1325) major work *Zubdat al-fikra* (trans. text 4a, in *Chronicles*), with the later historians Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), and al-Jazarī (d. 738/1337-8).

There are a total of 31 documents in Ibn al-Furāt's history selection for this period, of which the vast majority date from the Qalāwūn's reign (28), while only three originate from al-Ashraf's reign. Of the documents cited by Ibn al-Furāt, most originate with either the Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir family or Ibn al-Mukarram. However, there is no evidence that Ibn al-Furāt utilized either of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's panegyrics on Qalāwūn or al-Ashraf as sources for his history on this period.

A great number of personal anecdotes are strewn throughout Ibn al-Furāt's history. Some of these are from his own teacher Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Biṣṭāmī,⁸ while others are not identified.

It is also interesting that Ibn al-Furāt does not appear himself to have been utilized by historians. Virtually none of his documents are reproduced by al-Qalqashandī, for example, nor is he cited extensively in al-Maqrīzī. We can thus speak of him as almost being an independent historian: citing from unique sources, and remaining himself largely uncited by later writers.

General content and characteristics

For the most part Ibn al-Furāt tries to give a seamless narrative that is focused heavily upon the sultan and the prominent emirs for this period. His narrative is heavily loaded with names and titles, and the material is presented in a roughly chronological form, except when there are multiple events happening at the same time.

Just as the number of documents cited in the text, the number of names in the text is impressive: a total of 320 emirs are named (although some of them may overlap), and 98 religious and bureaucratic officials are named. This

⁷ Who also authored the major classical Arabic dictionary, the *Lisān al-`arab*.

⁸ `Umar b. `Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Biṣṭāmī, d. 771/ 1369, see Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalānī, *Raf` al-iṣr `an quḍāt Miṣr* (ed. `Alī Muḥammad `Umar, Cairo: Khānjī, 1998), p. 292 (no. 156).

prodigious quantity of names far outstrips all of the other sources for this period, and gives us perhaps an approximation of what the Mamluk military, administrative, and religious aristocracy looked like. Of course, we should always assume that at least substantial numbers, maybe as many as half, of all the members of the elite are not named anywhere.

However, there are a number of questions concerning his history and its presentation. Although Ibn al-Furāt is a narrative history, the content of his narrative varies quite significantly. His treatment of Qalāwūn's first years is much more detailed than that of the last years, with a number of documents and treaties supplied for the former period. This plethora of documents is such that certain years, such as 684/1285, are almost nothing but a series of documents, all investitures.

One could theorize that the reason for this avalanche of documents is that Ibn al-Furāt admired Qalāwūn's administration, and sought to highlight its documents for their didactic value. One should note that, for example, the entire sequence of correspondence between Qalāwūn and the Mongol ruler Aḥmad/Tegüder is summarized without the letters being reproduced, possibly because these letters were irrelevant for Ibn al-Furāt's time.

The historical narrative for the year 686/1285 is odd. It consists of a short overview, including the capture of Marqab fortress from the Hospitallers, and then digresses into a series of six documents. Since through comparison with other historical accounts, it is possible to judge Ibn al-Furāt and assess the numerous events he chose to overlook for this year, this presentation raises questions about his priorities.

The capture of Marqab is given little prominence, which proves that Ibn al-Furāt was not using Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's account of Qalāwūn. Most probably the absence of detail was because by Ibn al-Furāt's time the coastland of Syria was not of great import. But the question of why the six documents—all of them investitures: two of the Head of the Jews, one for the Head of Medicine, one for the Maṣṣūrī Hospital, one of the Maṣṣūrī College, and one of a Sufi *khanqāh* (hospice)—is a mystery. Perhaps the investitures are viewed as didactic or as examples of particularly well-written documents, but their prominence is still odd.

One aspect of Ibn al-Furāt's historical interest is his mention of the Nile inundation. This feature is quite common among Egyptian historians, both from before and after the Mamluk period. However, Ibn al-Furāt unexpectedly for the year 679/1280 gives us extensive details, on almost a daily basis, for the rise of the Nile. There does not seem to be any obvious reason for this attention to detail, reflecting from his perspective, events that occurred some 100 years in the past. The rise of the Nile does not seem to have been that significant for the attention given to it. Nor is the source for this level of detail supplied.

From the year 686/1285 there is a fairly sharp decrease in the documents Ibn al-Furāt adduces: Two letters are reproduced, and the document proclaiming

Egypt to be open to Red Sea trade (from 687/1288). Only three documents from al-Ashraf's reign are adduced.

Thus, while Ibn al-Furāt's material is extremely valuable and some of it is unique, it is surprisingly uneven for the period of Baybars' successors. Probably the inclusion of so many documents was directed at developments during his own lifetime, perhaps mismanagement at the various Manṣūrī establishments. The documents dealing with the Headship of the Jews could perhaps be seen as models for relations with religious minorities. It should be noted, however, that in all of Ibn al-Furāt's narrative there is virtually no mention of the Mamluks' relations with the largest non-Muslim minorities, the Coptic Christians (except for Ibn al-Furāt's usage of Coptic months for dating the Nile inundation).

Ibn al-Furāt and the Mamluks

Treatment of Baybars' feckless sons by Ibn al-Furāt is quite critical but abbreviated,⁹ and he leaves the reader with the impression that they are unworthy of their great father. Virtually no events from the outside world, with the exception of the murder of the *pervane* (Mongol viceroy in Anatolia) in 676/1278, are noted for this two-year period.

Ibn al-Furāt's attitude towards Qalāwūn is neutral. He does not praise him excessively, and presents him—and his opponents such as Sunqur *al-ashqar*—with the titles and dignities accorded to them for the period under consideration. For example, Sunqur is referred to as al-Malik al-Kāmil, the title he took, until his defeat at Damascus in 1280, whereupon he goes back to being called Sunqur *al-ashqar*. Qalāwūn likewise during the early part of his reign is referred to as the ruler of Egypt, but then gradually receives grander titles. However, when one can compare the documents from Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir to those in Ibn al-Furāt it is interesting to note that the obsequiousness (such as "our master" preceding "the Sultan") usually disappears in the latter's version. The sole exception to this appears to be the circular written by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir after the Battle of Ḥimṣ cited by Ibn al-Furāt.

As Ibn al-Furāt lived well past the fall of the Qalāwūn dynasty (in 784/1382), it is doubtful that he felt a strong need to present the dynasty in the most favorable light. This may be the reason why he feels free to cite a number of salacious details about the relations between Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf, as well as occasionally question the motivations behind various actions of their's, and sometimes offers interpretations of various events that are unfavorable to Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf.

Although there is a great deal of material about the religious elite in Ibn al-Furāt's text, there is little that is specifically religious about it. There are

⁹ Compared to al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (eds. Najīb Muṣṭafā Fawwāz and Hikmat Fawwāz, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 2004), xxx, pp. 236–56.

few Qur'ānic citations, allusions, and few ritual curses of the other (such as Crusaders, although the Mongols are usually cursed), whoever they might be. Unlike either Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir or Baybars, Ibn al-Furāt is not given to excessive citation of poetry in his narrative (although more appears in the obituaries, which are not translated in this selection). Stylistically, Ibn al-Furāt is annalistic, but offers the reader “bridges” for long-term developments by stating that a given topic either is continued later or picks up on earlier developments.

Ibn al-Furāt on the Mongols and Crusaders

Ibn al-Furāt is primarily interested in the intricacies of Mamluk governance rather than outside affairs. He gives us little of the details appearing in earlier histories about the Mongols, the Crusaders or European kingdoms, especially those located at a distance. The one exception to this rule is the lengthy digression that Ibn al-Furāt gives about the capture of Tripoli. This digression goes into the history of the city back to the Umayyad period, but focuses upon its capture by Raymond of St. Gilles and his successors.

This digression is a bit odd, and does not appear in any of the other texts covering Qalāwūn, nor is there an analogue to this historical digression for any of the other captured Crusader cities. Perhaps this digression was to emphasize the challenge of taking Tripoli. If this is the case, it stands in marked contrast to the indifference with which Ibn al-Furāt covers Marqab—according to its conquest but a paragraph.

Of the treaties detailed by Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, Ibn al-Furāt cites the Treaty of Acre (for 682/1283), and the uncited treaty with the Byzantine Empire (680/1281).¹⁰ The treaties with the Armenians, the Genoese and the Aragonese, or the correspondence with the Ethiopian emperor—all of which appear in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir—are notable for their absence. Nor is there any mention of al-Ashraf's one attested treaty, that with Jaime II of Aragon (in either Jan. 1292, or Jan. 1293).

However, even the Treaty of Acre appears in an abridged form, without the place names that appear in the Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir version. It seems possible that the purpose for its inclusion was to demonstrate a type of treaty with the Franks/Crusaders, who were still present in Cyprus. The Armenians had vanished, and the Genoans and Aragonese were no longer, by Ibn al-Furāt's time, important factors in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. However, this interpretation does not clarify why Ibn al-Furāt nowhere mentions the Venetians or the Ethiopians, who were still very much factors for the Mamluks of the later eighth/fourteenth century.

¹⁰ It is possible that the Byzantine treaty appeared originally in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir's text, but was featured in the first section, which is lost.

INTRODUCTION

Irrelevance could also explain the suppression of the correspondence between Qalāwūn and the Mongol Sultan Aḥmad/Tegüder, which appears in other chronicles, but is summarized by Ibn al-Furāt. However, if irrelevance is the key, then why the detailed treaty with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus? Surely by Ibn al-Furāt's period in the later fourteenth early fifteenth century the Byzantines were also not a major factor.

The one constant appears to have been the need for trade, whether with the Venetians, the Byzantines or the Indian Ocean states. Ibn al-Furāt in this matter does not disappoint, as he reproduces a unique safe conduct issued for commerce in the Indian Ocean, indicating the importance the Mamluks placed upon this trade. This safe conduct openly invites merchants to come to Egypt, both to trade and to settle, and offers them security. Probably Ibn al-Furāt's awareness of the grim economic realities of his time wanted to highlight such an open-door attitude.

Ibn al-Furāt is probably best seen as the last semi-independent historian for the later Crusader period. His narrative is almost independent of the other Mamluk historians, and is a very readable mixture of prose, documents, anecdotes and some poetry.

Texts and editions

Ibn al-Furāt, was edited by Constantine Zurayk of the American University of Beirut during the 1930s. The edition is a good one for its time, although it lacks a comparative apparatus that would be beneficial for the scholarly reader. The language is standard Arabic. In the text obituaries have been not been translated. All other materials are fully translated.

Arabic transliteration follows standard guidelines, while Mamluk and Turkish names are following either Northrup or Mazor. Common-place names are reproduced in their accepted English forms (e.g., Jerusalem, Cairo, etc.), while other names are given in their transliterated form. To facilitate comprehension I have sometimes translated the genealogies of major figures when there was interesting or useful information to be had from translation, while at other times I have left the names as is.

TEXT

Baybars al-Bunduqdārī died July 1, 1277 in Damascus. His reign had been successful, as he had expanded the Mamluk empire considerably, but his death led to a period of instability, especially in Mamluk Syria.

**Mention of the sultanate of al-Malik al-Sa`īd, son of
al-Malik al-Zāhir [=Baybars], and his ruling independently
in the Egyptian homelands, while he was the fifth of the
Turkish kings in the Egyptian homelands**

When the decree of death befell al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Šāliḥī his son, al-Malik al-Sa`īd Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Berke Khān, was in the Hill Citadel in protected Cairo. The emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-khāzindār*, the mamluk of his father, and his deputy sultan, the one who took care of his affairs, and administered his realm, was in full agreement with the emirs and the senior officials who were with him about concealing the death of al-Malik al-Zāhir. So they bore him to the [Damascus] Citadel, washed him, embalmed him, and then suspended him in his coffin, just as we previously explained.

Then the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār* wrote a letter as to what had occurred, and sent it accompanied by the emir Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī *al-jūkandār* to al-Malik al-Sa`īd in the Egyptian homelands. When this informative letter reached al-Malik al-Sa`īd and he understood what was in it, he demonstrated happiness, and bestowed a robe upon the one who brought the informative letter, but concealed the death of al-Malik al-Zāhir.

He made out that the informative letter was tidings of the Sultan's return to the Egyptian homelands, so when it was the next day, which was Saturday, the emirs rode as was their wont, to the Horse Market, while they were demonstrating grief. This was what was happening in protected Cairo.

As for what [93] was happening with the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār*, he departed from Damascus, him and the senior emirs, the troops and the armies. Among them was a litter being borne, with a number of mamluks in its procession. They made out that the Sultan al-Zāhir was inside of it, but he was weak. All of that was to guard the aura [of the Sultan].

It continued like this until they arrived at the Egyptian homelands, and their arrival was in Şafar [July 1277] of this year. The emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-khāzindār* entered the Hill Citadel under the Zāhirīd banners, while al-Malik al-Sa`īd sat in the hall of the Hill Citadel. The emir Badr al-Dīn handed over to him the treasures and the armies, and gave the investitures to him. The former waited before the latter, and continued to give him good counsel and to obey him just as he had his father (Baybars). The armies swore to him (al-Sa`īd), and the officials finished off what they had been doing.

It was said that when al-Malik al-Sa`īd sat in the hall, the rumor of his father al-Malik al-Zāhir's death spread, and the chamberlains cried out "O emirs! Have mercy on the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir! And pray for your Sultan al-Malik al-Sa`īd!" The uproar grew louder and the weeping, while all of them went forward and kissed the ground before al-Malik al-Sa`īd, as was usual.

They renewed their oaths to him, and the rest of the army, judges, instructors and the rest of the people swore. The emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār* was the one who swore the people, and the judges with him.

When the rule was securely in the hands of al-Malik al-Sa`īd, he continued the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-khāzindār* as the deputy, while the chief Bahā' al-Dīn `Alī b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Ḥannā, was minister. Then he bestowed robes upon them, and upon the emirs, the commanders, the judges and correspondence secretaries.

The preachers in all the mosques in the Egyptian homelands delivered sermons on behalf of al-Malik al-Sa`īd on Friday 27 Şafar [July 30, 1277] of this year, and al-Malik al-Sa`īd prayed the prayer of the absent person¹ for his father. The post-couriers departed to Damascus with the news of al-Malik al-Zāhir's death, and their arrival in Damascus was on Saturday 12 Rabī' al-Awwal [August 13, 1277] of this year.

After that two emirs headed with the post to swear the emirs, army, and people in Damascus just they had sworn those in the Hill Citadel. So they were sworn, and God knows best.

Mention some of the reports about the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār*

The emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-khāzindār* son of `Abdallāh, known popularly as *al-khāzindār*, was a mamluk of Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir, his deputy sultan, and the administrator of his realm.

He was a great emir, awe-inspiring, righteous, modest, pure of tongue, never speaking unless it was good, disliking evil people, and keeping them distant from his door, and loving good people, keeping them close, and giving

¹ Part of the standard prayer for the dead, e.g., al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983), ii, p. 144 (no. 1029) (*bāb al-janā'iz*, 37).

charity. He had large *iqṭā`* fiefs in the Egyptian homelands and the Syrian lands, and he owned Qal`at al-Ṣubayba,² Bāniyās, and al-Shuḡhr.

When al-Malik al-Zāhir died the emir Badr al-Dīn managed affairs deftly, and did in Syria what we have previously explained, until when he arrived in the Egyptian homelands, [94] giving command over to al-Malik al-Sa`īd.

Historians have differed as to the reason for his death. Some of them have said that when the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk arrived in Egypt, he became sick shortly after his arrival, and his sickness did not last long, but he died almost immediately. It is said that he was assassinated out of envy for his position. It is said that the chief Bahā` al-Dīn Ibn Ḥannā whispered to the Sultan al-Malik al-Sa`īd that the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-khāzindār* desired the rule for himself, so he was believed because of his status, and because of the army's loyalty to him.

So when he passed him giving the peace greeting as usual, and sat behind a curtain, bringing out to him a *hunāb* (drink)³ in which there was sugar and poisoned lemon, so he took the *hunāb* and drank from it, departed, lasted two days, and then died.

It is said that he drank two draughts from it, and because of their constant harassing of him because of drink, he imagine things (*takhayyala*), and threw the *hunāb* from his hand, headed towards his house, then became unwell throughout his body, the sickness became worse, and he got colic (*qūlanj*).

His doctor was `Imād al-Dīn al-Nāblusī; it is said that 3000 dinars came to him. But it is also said that this was by way of favors, on the condition that he stay quiet, and not say anything. It is said that he took the gold, and goofed off until Badr al-Dīn had died after a few days.

He died in the Hill Citadel on 6 Rabī` al-Awwal [August 7, 1277] of this year, and so there was only the space of a month and nine days between him and his master [Baybars]. The judge Muḡyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, author of *Life of al-Malik al-Zāhir*, and the judge Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāfi` b. `Alī, grandson of Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir, say the following approximately:

The first part of the bad administration was that the mamluks of al-Malik al-Sa`īd caused him to imagine wrongly about the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār*, his father's deputy, and this suspicion spread to al-Malik al-Sa`īd's mother as well. It is said that al-Malik al-Sa`īd and his mother

² Now Nimrod's Castle, above Baniyas.

³ Unidentified: al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḡ al-a`shā fī ṣinā`at al-inshā`* (ed. Muḡammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 2012), iv, p. 63 "It was usual that every emir, senior or junior, had a color specific to him, between *hunāb*, to inky, to linen color, to French (*faransāsa*) ..." However, al-Nuwayrī, xxx, p. 237 says "a *hunāb* with a drink in it was brought out for him," which sounds more like a cup. Perhaps one could posit a composite word such as Arabic *inā`* + Farsi *āb*, meaning "water-container," but why it would add a *ha`* is a mystery.

gave Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār* to drink, so then he died, may God have mercy upon him, after his arrival in the Egyptian homelands by a period of days.

There were less than two months between him and his master, and God knows best which of these it was. He had a remarkable funeral procession, and was buried in his mausoleum in al-Qarāfa al-Ṣuġhrā (the Lesser). His death split hearts and caused eyes to weep. The people were grieved and saddened to lose him, and the mourning over him lasted three days and three nights.

When he died, the position of al-Malik al-Sa`īd became unsteady, and signs of collapse in the Zāhirī dynasty began to appear,⁴ just as we will mention if God wishes.

Mention of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak being appointed as deputy sultan in the Egyptian homelands

When the emir Badr al-Dīn Bīlīk *al-khāzindār* died just as we previously explained, al-Malik al-Sa`īd appointed the emir Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak in his place as deputy sultan in the Egyptian homelands, in spite of his being a youth. Then al-Malik al-Sa`īd rode [95] leading the (army) groups, just as his father did, on Wednesday 16 Rabī` al-Awwal [August 17, 1277].

He was among the emirs, the commanders, and the notables, while there were robes upon them, going to under the Red Mountain (*al-jabal al-aḥmar*), which was the first of his ridings after the arrival of the army, and their swearing, but he did not transverse the city. This was a day to remember, and the people were very happy to see him. His age at that time was 19 years.

It was said that al-Malik al-Sa`īd [appointed]⁵ the emir Shams al-Dīn Aqsunqur al-Fāriqānī al-Zāhirī, majordomo, to be the deputy sultan after the death of the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār*. He was resolute, so when the talk established him as the deputy, he bound groups to himself who al-Malik al-Zāhir had compelled to swear an oath of personal allegiance.

Among these was Shams al-Dīn Aqūsh, Quṭlījā al-Rūmī, Sayf al-Dīn Qilīj al-Baghdādī, Sayf al-Dīn Bījū⁶ al-Baghdādī, `Izz al-Dīn Mughān *amīr shikār* (in charge of bird-hunting), Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur *al-silahdār* and their like.

Then the Khāṣakiyya and the mamluks of the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār*, because of their dislike of the emir Shams al-Dīn al-Fāriqānī, conspired to

⁴ Although it is not marked this is Ibn al-Furāt's opinion, not that of the Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir family.

⁵ Added from the margins.

⁶ Vocalized as Bījaq in al-`Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī tāʾrīkh ahl al-zamān* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo: al-Ha`ya al-Miṣriyya, 1988), ii, p. 186.

detain him, and they made this look good to al-Malik al-Sa`īd. They sought aid from the emir Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak *al-sāqī* (cup-bearer) against him, as al-Malik al-Sa`īd had promoted him and magnified him, because he would be with him in the office, so they detained the emir Shams al-Dīn al-Fāriqānī while he was sitting at the Summit Gate (*bāb al-qulla*), and dragged him inside {the Citadel}.

They went overboard in beating him, harming him, and plucked out his beard. He was imprisoned in the Citadel, but did not last more than a few days. He then died and was given to his retainers so that they would bury him.

Al-Malik al-Sa`īd appointed Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Alfī al-Muẓaffarī as deputy sultan. He had a close companion (*khushdāsh*) named `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥamawī, who was known as Abū Khurs, and he appointed him to the Safedan districts, which he augmented from the Sultan's private lands (*al-khāṣṣ al-sultānī*) over his *iqṭā`* fief.

The Khāṣakiyya, however, were not happy with him because he was not from the Zāhiriyya [regiment] so they whispered to al-Malik al-Sa`īd against him, claiming that he intended to establish the Muẓaffariyya [regiment]. He did not feel safe from his machinations, so he removed him shortly thereafter.

The emir Sayf al-Dīn Kūndak *al-sāqī* was appointed to be the deputy sultan, so the emir Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Alfī tended to his side. At that time there was a personality from the Khāṣakiyya sultanic mamluks called Lājīn al-Zaynī who came to dominate al-Malik al-Sa`īd in the rest of his circumstances, so most of the Khāṣakiyya joined together with him, and he took their [96] *iqṭā`* fiefs, contracting to them the revenues (*ṣilāt*). Every time an *iqṭā`* fief came free at the Army Chancellery, he would seize it for the one chosen, and have the deputy contend for it.

Hearts became angered between the two of them, and scorpions of evil crawled among them, as each of them planned mischief against his fellow. The emir Kūndak attached to himself a group, and the senior emirs began to support him so there developed a faction loyal to him. This division was cause for corruption and destruction.

Mention of the changing opinions of the emirs against al-Malik al-Sa`īd, and their opposition to him

On 17 Ṣafar [July 20, 1277] of this year al-Malik al-Sa`īd detained the emir Jūdī al-Qaymarī al-Kurdī, and the organization of al-Malik al-Sa`īd did not continue more than a few days after his appointment. Then al-Shabība (the youth) carried out its deeds, and whims, tended towards him, while opinions changed towards him.⁷

⁷ According to al-`Aynī, *ʿIqd*, ii, p. 191 Alfonso X (of Castile) sent gifts to Baybars, which were delivered to al-Malik al-Sa`īd; perhaps this is the same embassy that is mentioned in Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir as being received by Qalāwūn.

He was left alone with the fresh-faced mamluks, and dispersed wealth upon them, mandating that their junior mamluks be promoted, favoring them, listening to their opinions. His age was nearly 20, but he was tending towards his cronies and those of his age, so they made it seem good to him to exile the senior emirs.

This, while among them were the Ṣāliḥiyya Najmiyya emirs, who were the close coterie (*khushdāshiyya*) of his father, who had correct opinions, and penetrating resolution. Among them were the likes of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Alfī, the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar*, the emir `Alam al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, the emir Badr al-Dīn Baysarā, and others among the emirs of 1000.

Because of their being embedded [in his supporters] he [Qalawun] could not achieve stability nor know who they were. A king could not do without their advice, as they were indispensable. They were those who had not particularly liked his father al-Malik Zāhir's rule over them, as they had been muttering, "He is king over us, while we have a better right to the rule than he!" Therefore, he began to play with their fates, causing them trials, striking close to home. He detained some of them, and then freed them the same day, and thus hatred was sown in their hearts.

On Friday 25 Rabī' al-Awwal [August 26, 1277] of this year al-Malik al-Sa`īd detained the emir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur *al-ashqar* and the emir Badr al-Dīn Baysarā al-Shamsī also, and imprisoned the both of them in the Hill Citadel for 20 days. The two of them were the two right arms of his father, so when he detained the both of them, his maternal uncle the emir Badr al-Dīn [Ibn] Berke Khān entered the presence of al-Malik al-Sa`īd's mother, and said to her

Your son has screwed up the administration, and detained the likes of these senior emirs. It would be best (*al-maṣlaḥa*) if you return him to the straight path, because if not, his administration will fall apart, and his days will be short.

When the words of his maternal uncle reached al-Malik al-Sa`īd, he made haste to detain him as well, and imprison him, so his mother rose up against him, upbraided him, and continued to nag him until he released the aforementioned emirs, bestowed [97] robes upon them, and returned them to their previous positions.

But enmity had taken hold of their hearts, and the rest of the emirs began to worry privately about how he had treated the emir Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār* previously, and their imaginations went wild because they were aware of the service that Badr al-Dīn *al-khāzindār* had rendered to al-Malik al-Sa`īd. He had watched over the treasuries, and the armies, and been true in his obedience until the time when he had handed over to him. He swore to him, while the armies swore, but this did not save him, while he [al-Sa`īd] did what he did with those senior emirs.

Therefore, they gathered together, and took counsel between themselves. Some of them said, “We will depart for Syria, and leave this land for him,” while others said “We will ascend to the Citadel and discuss this with him.” They gathered at night, which was Thursday night, and ascended the next morning to the Citadel leading their mamluks, retainers, troops, and followers, and those emirs and armies that had joined with them.

The hall was filled with them, as well as the castle’s open space, and they sent to him saying, “You have corrupted the minds, harming the senior emirs, so either you back down from that, or you will have an issue with us.” He was easy with them, justifying himself to them, sending them honorary gifts, but they refused to be bought off.

Then a peace was established, and he swore to them that he intended no evil towards them. The emir Badr al-Dīn al-Aydimurī took his oath, whereupon the emirs were satisfied with that, and departed, so the matter stayed as it was.

Mention of the building of a college and a mausoleum in protected Damascus for al-Malik al-Zāhir’s burial

During this year al-Malik al-Sa`īd wrote to the deputy sultan in protected Damascus to bury his father al-Malik al-Zāhir inside the walls of Damascus. So the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur, the deputy of Damascus, purchased al-`Aqīqī House, inside the Gate of Release (*bāb al-faraj*) towards Damascus, opposite al-`Ādiliyya College, for 60,000 dirhams, without its outer decorations.

He built a college for the Shāfi`ites and the Ḥanafites, constructing a cupola there. Under it, he placed a tombstone. Construction began on Wednesday 5 Jumādā al-Awwal [October 4, 1277] while it was completed during Jumādā al-Ākhira [November 1277] of this year.

When the construction of the cupola was completed, al-Malik al-Sa`īd sent the emir `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar known as Abū Khurṣ and *al-ṭawāshī* Ṣafī al-Dīn Jawhar al-Hindī {the left-handed, to bury his father}.⁸ The both of them arrived in Damascus on 3 Rajab [November 30, 1277] of this year. When it was Friday night 5 Rajab [December 2, 1277] of this year, which was the Night of Desires⁹ in Damascus, they bore al-Malik al-Zāhir from the Citadel at night on men’s necks, bringing him down into Damascus, while [98] they prayed over him in the Damascus Friday Mosque courtyard.

Then they brought him down into his grave, in the cupola, which had been prepared for burying him at midnight in the presence of the deputy of

⁸ From the margins.

⁹ *Laylat al-raghā`ib*, see Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Idāh wa-l-bayān li-mā jā` fi laylatay al-raghā`ib wa-l-nisf min Sha`bān* (Damascus: Dār al-Hudā, 2010), p. 57f.

Damascus the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur. The Chief Judge `Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣā`igh entombed him, while the Qur`ān readers were assigned from the following day.

The judge Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Zāhir and his grandson the judge Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāfi` both said the following approximately:

The martyr continued to be in the Damascus Citadel until his al-Malik al-Sa`īd had purchased al-`Aqīqī House, and built a mausoleum for him in it, spending abundantly upon it.

*He cried out: This is his tombstone, between my eyes, so visit from every deep ravine,
How not, when from my bitter (`aqīq) tears they buried him from it in al-`Aqīq House!*

He was borne to his mausoleum on the Night of Desires during Rajab in the aforementioned year, and the emir `Izz al-Dīn, deputy sultan in Syria/Damascus and `Izz al-Dīn *al-dawādār*, and Ṣafī al-Dīn Jawhar al-Hindī were in charge of it.

*They took him out upon the necks, with the light from his face guiding them as they went,
They were happy with him at night to conceal his grave, but the night and the moons do not conceal him,
They hasten voices and glances towards the earth and his graves by his being borne,
However, he is a support (rukn) they have placed upon it in order to stabilize this abode.*

The judge `Izz al-Dīn al-Shāfi`ī entombed him:

*He finished while he had hands by which this world was made right from the ills of time,
Therefore, he went while angels crowded around his mausoleum in lines,
Just like his clamor, since containers of musk with seals broken are within him.¹⁰*

This renewed the sorrow for him, so it was as if the world was distressed by their disdainful compassion. This was while they fulfilled the due of commemoration, as it was the time for everyone to fulfill their dues.¹¹

¹⁰ Musk is a sign of being a martyr in Islam.

¹¹ Rhymed in Arabic.

{On 16 Dhū al-Qa`da [April 10, 1278] of this year `Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, trustee of al-Malik al-Sa`īd, established the college charitable endowment with his permission and at his direction, which he developed in Damascus. He endowed all of the village of al-Ṣarmān, from the farmlands of Bāniyās, and two portions of Bayt Rāma in the Jordan Valley, its cultivated lands, and other [lands].}¹²

Om Wednesday 18 Dhū al-Qa`da [April 12, 1278] of this year al-Malik al-Sa`īd removed the Chief Judge [99] Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn `Ayn al-Dawla al-Iskandarī from the Cairene judiciary, and that of Upper Egypt. He added that to the Chief Judge Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Razīn, and thus amalgamated the judiciary of Cairo, Old Cairo, and Upper and Lower Egypt for him.

Some of the historians said that al-Malik al-Sa`īd appointed Chief Judge Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān to the Damascus judiciary in place of the Chief Judge `Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣā`igh al-Shāfi`ī, and that Chief Judge Ibn Khallikān traveled from Cairo on 27 Dhū al-Ḥijja [May 21, 1278] of this year heading for Syria.

In it the Nile was plentiful over the lands of the Egyptian homelands, so prices went down until wheat was sold at five dirhams for an *ardabb* [=198 lit.], while barley was at three dirhams, and the rest of the grains at two dirhams, and God knows best.

Mention of the killing of the *pervane*, the administrator of [Seljuq] Rūm's army

When Abagha, the king of the Tatars, arrived at the Horde, he took counsel with his emirs with regard to the *pervane*.¹³ A group counseled to kill him, while a group counseled to leave him alive and to return him to the lands to watch over them, to repair their disorder, and to levy their taxes.

He preferred to let him live, so let him go from supervision so that he could return to his lands. However, the Mongols' emirs' wives, such as the wives of Tūqū and Tidāwan and others, who had been killed in the battle,¹⁴ heard that Abagha had issued the written order to let the *pervane* go. Therefore, they congregated all at the time of later afternoon, and rose weeping, crying and mourning.

Abagha heard their clamor, so he said, "What is that?" It was said to him "The ladies (*khawātīn*) heard that the Khan will let the *pervane* go free, and that he is ready to go back to his lands, so they are crying and yowling."

¹² Added from the margins.

¹³ Mu`īn al-Dīn Sulaymān *pervane*, founder of a line of viziers that effectively ruled the Seljuq Rūm state.

¹⁴ Referring to the *pervane*'s double allegiance during Baybars' invasion of Anatolia in 1277, when many Mongols were killed.

It is said that the ladies gathered and stood before Abagha, and cried, screamed, ripping their garments before him, and saying “This one helped kill our men! It is necessary to kill him!” He put them off for days while they were urging him every day to kill him.

When he was tired of putting them off, he ordered one of the emirs who was deployed in the lands of Sīs, whose name was Kūkjī Bahādur, to take with him 200 horsemen and to take the *pervane* to a place he specified, and then kill him there. So Kūkjī summoned the *pervane*, saying to him “Abagha wants for you to ride, and has issued an order to you that you and your followers ride with him.”

So he (Kūkjī) rode, together with 32 people—but it is said 30 people—from his mamluks and retainers. He headed out with him (the *pervane*), so he took him towards the wasteland, whereupon the *pervane* knew that there was no good that was going to come of this. The Tatars then surrounded him and his followers, while his followers shielded [him]. He asked whether they could not let him off [100] until he had ritually washed himself, and prayed, so they did.

When he finished with his prayer, they killed him, and those with him, while Abagha was camped in a place of al-Aṭā`. When the *pervane*'s mamluks heard of his killing, `Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Barwānī and Badr al-Dīn Baktūt *amīr ākhūr* Bakbār assembled his coterie (*khushdāshiyya*) in their camp. They conspired, strung their bows, breaking out their arrows in front of them, saying, “We will only die as fighters!”

Those who had been deputized to kill them had to consult with Abagha, so when they consulted him about this, he thought well of them for this, and said “These are useful mamluks, so leave them alone, allow them to go free, and give them permission to return to their lands,” so they returned.

The killing of the *pervane* was at the end of Şafar [August 2, 1277] of the year [6]76, and God knows best. [101]

[*Obituaries*]

Mention of events of 677 [1278–9]

On 6 Muḥarram [May 30, 1278] of this year the Chief Judge `Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Şā`igh ceased rendering judgment because of the appointment of Chief Judge Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān.

On 23 Muḥarram [June 16, 1278] the emir `Izz al-Dīn Aydimur, deputy sultan in Damascus, went out. All of the procession and the emirs went out with him to greet and the people of the town departed also to meet the Chief Judge Shams al-Dīn Ibn Khallikān. The townspeople also were going out to meet him, so then some of them arrived in Gaza.

It is said that some of them went to the first part of the sands, to Qaṭīyā, and he then entered Damascus. His day of entrance was a day to remember. People were very happy with his appointment, and his return to Damascus. He sat at al-`Ādiliyya [College] and rendered judgment. His investiture was

read on 24 Muḥarram [June 17, 1278] and the Qur'ān readers recited. Every single one of the literati (*udabā'*) praised him with the best epic poems. His removal had been for seven years.

Sa'd al-Dīn al-Fāriqī declaimed:

*Syria tasted seven years of barrenness; the morning of his emigration [was]
a good end,
When I visited him in the land of Egypt, I extended from your two hands
a Nile!*

The shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Muṣ'ab declaimed:

*I thought Syria's inhabitants to be united; every single one was satisfied,
Good had been had after evil, so the time was open-fisted without being
closed,
They replaced grief with joy, from half of eternity in debt,
A judge coming and a judge going pleased them after lengthy gloom,
So all are thankful and complaining about the future and the past. [115]*

When it had been a year since the death of al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, there was a commemoration for him between al-Qarāfatayn in a place called al-Andalus. Repasts were made for the Qur'ān reciters, and the jurists, and they were distributed among the small mosques. Tents were pitched, and the people were present according to their classes. A number of final poems were recited, so the judge Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the author of *al-Malik al-Zāhir's Life*, arranged on this:

*O people! Listen to a word garbed in truth,
Commemoration of the Sultan will never be forgotten in neither west nor east,
Was not his funeral commemoration made in al-Andalus?*

After this a number of eulogies were made for him in the Imam al-Shāfi'ī College, may God be pleased with him, and the Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the Zāhirī Mosque at al-Ḥusayniyya, the Zāhirī College, the Ṣāliḥiyya Najmiyya College, the Kāmiliyya School for *ḥadīth* [which is] *bayn al-qaṣrayn* inside protected Cairo, the Ṣalāḥiyya hospice (*khānqāh*) at the open area of the Festival Gate, and the Ḥākimiyya Mosque inside protected Cairo.

The *takārara* (repeaters) and the poor (Sufis) made a table (*khawān*), at which a number of the righteous attended. Concerning that it is said:

*So, thanks! You have received (meal) times of piety, as good and piety have
been combined,
Favors are common in it, edibles follow it; every dweller is full, then again
full,*