Jihād in the Medieval Mediterranean Sea: Naval War and Religious Endowment under the Mamluks

Yehoshua Frenkel

Abū l-Fidā al-Ḥamawī (672/1273-732/1331) witnessed the final stage of the Islamic conquest of the Frankish territories along the Syrian coasts. The well-known Syrian prince and warrior participated in violent events, and was a witness to the capture of Acre (690/1291) by the Mamluk armies.[1] In his "Concise History of Humanity" he incorporated the following synopsis:

> "By these conquests (*futūḥāt*) all the [Syrian] coastlands (*al-bilād al-sāḥiliyya*) were brought back to Islam – an event too great to be hoped for or wished. Syria and the coastlands were purged of the Franks after they had been on the brink of taking Egypt and taking possession of Damascus and other places in Syria".[2]

The control of the former Frankish strongholds along the Syrian seashore served as a source of prestige. Al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Qalāwūn (689/1290-693/1293), the sultan who commanded the Mamluk armies in the last phase of the fighting against the Crusaders, boasted himself to be the vanquisher of the Frankish enemy. He designated himself as: "the destroyer (*hādim*) of Acre and the coastal provinces (*al-bilād al-sāḥiliyya*)".[3]

Long decades after the conquest of Acre, when the victory was a remote event, Mamluk sultans still plumed themselves with their predecessors' accomplishments. They posted monumental inscriptions that reflect the importance assigned by them to this achievement. A round Mamluk medallion bears the inscription: "Glory to our master, the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the possessor of the Egyptian territories, the Syrian provinces and the littoral fortresses".[4]

Yet, the Mamluk victories in the battlefields and the withdrawal of the Latin Kingdom from Palestine did not end the violent conflicts between the sultans of Egypt and Syria and the naval forces of several European nations. The ongoing ex-

---

1 Little, Donald P. 1986, "The Fall of ʿAkkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version", in: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Moshe Sharon, ed., Jerusalem, 159-181.

2 Abū l-Fidāʾ, ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (672/1273-732/1331), *Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Cairo 1325/1907, vol. 4, 25 (690/1290); Holt, Peter Malcolm, trans. 1983, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'l-Fidā', sultan of Ḥamāh (672-732/1273-1331)*, Wiesbaden, 17.

3 *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe (RCEA)*, Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet, eds., vol. 12-17, Cairo 1943-82, 13, 107 (4957, 691/1292 Aleppo); 14, 88 (5339, 714/1315 Gaza, Sanjar b. al-Jāwalī); Hillenbrand, Carole 1999, *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh, 231.

4 *RCEA* 15, 165 (5860, 741/1340-41 Egypt).

changes of blows impelled the Mamluks to develop a maritime strategy that gave priority to defensive measures. Naval operations against the enemies' coasts and fleets were random and sporadic.[5] Security considerations along Syria's coasts undoubtedly had some bearing also on the history of villages and towns in these districts.[6]

Endeavoring to ponder the links between finance, war and ideology in Bilād al-Shām in the years of the Mamluk sultanate (1250-1517), the present chapter will concentrate on three related issues: the conspicuousness of *jihād*, the part played by pious endowments (*waqf*) in funding war and defense, and the role of Islamic relief institutions in ransoming Muslim prisoners.

Mamluk Administration of the Syrian Coastline

The re-conquest of the Crusaders' territories shaped the administrative institutions in the Syrian provinces of the Mamluk sultanate.[7] To control the territories taken from the Franks, an exclusive office was set up, that of "the viceroy of the conquered lands and the coastal districts".[8] It seems most likely that the Mamluk governor (*nā'ib*) of the coastal regions was stationed in Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers), at least in the decades immediately following the conquest (in 669/1271). After the capture of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus in 688/1289) his seat was moved to this city.[9] Monumental inscriptions from the early Mamluk sultanate illuminate the prestige attributed to this office.

An inscription proclaims that a mosque in Akkār was renovated by "the general governor of the noble provinces that recently were seized [from the Franks] (*kāfil al-mamālik al-sharīfa bi-l-futūḥāt al-saʿīda*)".[10] Another inscription from Lebanon reads: "Glory to our master, the august sultan who raised the word of belief and subjected the worshipers of the cross, the conqueror of the littoral strongholds (*fātiḥ al-thughūr al-sāḥiliyya*)".[11]

---

5 Fuess, Albrecht 2001a, *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250-1517)*, Leiden / Boston / Köln; idem 2001b, "Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5, 45-71; Terdiman, Moshe 2007, *The Mamluk maritime policy in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Red Sea*, unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Haifa.

6 Hillenbrand 1999, 244ff., 570.

7 Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M. 1923, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks d'après des Auteurs Arabes: description géographique, économique et administrative*, Paris.

8 Frenkel, Yehoshua 1997, "The impact of the Crusades on the rural society and religious endowments: The case of Medieval Syria", in: *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7-15th centuries*, Yaacov Lev, ed., Leiden, 242; Tsugitaka, Sato 1997, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun*, Leiden 1997, 80.

9 Guo, Li 1998, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān*, 2 vols., Leiden, vol. 2, 129, 199.

10 *RCEA* 13, 58f. (4886, 686/1287 Akkār).

11 *RCEA* 13, 100 (4947, 690/1291 Baalbek).

In the great mosque of Tripoli a wooden plank states that its construction was supervised by Aybak the treasurer of al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Qalāwūn, who served as the lieutenant general of the newly conquered districts.[12] Another inscription refers to "the lieutenant general of the magnificent sultanate in the maritime and mountainous provinces".[13] An inscription in Cairo mentions the "master of the littoral citadels".[14]

The elevated titles of the Mamluk governors curtain the grim reality in the coastal districts. Following the victory in Ḥiṭṭīn almost the entire Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of Saladin. The Franks hung on grimly in three coastal towns: Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre. This enabled the landing of the Third Crusade (1191). Richard Coeur de Lion advanced, threatening to regain Jerusalem. The lesson that the Muslim leadership in Syria and Egypt gleaned from the successful progress of the Frankish forces was that the demolition of ports and the knocking down of fortifications are the best defensive tools.[15]

The Mamluk sultans analyzed the history of the Third Crusade and the events of St. Louis' invasion of the Nile delta (1250) and concluded that they would follow the Ayyubid policy of demolition,[16] although not of total flattening, of Syria's coastal cities and fortifications.[17] It is evident that the measures they carried out did not result in a complete desolation of the Syrian coast.[18] Hand in hand with the administrative measures, Mamluk sultans invested in the defenses of the coastline. In strategic locations overlooking the Mediterranean waters,

---

12 *RCEA* 13, 122 (4975, 693/1294 Tripoli, grand mosque); cf. 13, 186 (5065, 698/1298 Tripoli, tomb lapidary of Aybak); 13, 249 (5170 Jabala, mausoleum of Ibrāhīm b. Adham; 16, 105 (6157, 751/1350 Jabala, mausoleum of Ibrāhīm b. Adham).

13 *RCEA* 16, 104 (6155, 750/1350 Jerusalem, al-Aqṣā Mosque).

14 *RCEA* 17, 126 (770 005, 770/1368 Cairo).

15 Richards, Donald S., trans. 2007, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rīkh*, part 2: *The years 541-589/1146-1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, Aldershot, 391f.; Anonymous 2006, "The History of Jerusalem and Hebron", in: *Abʿād fī adab faḍā'il al-arḍ al-muqaddasa*, Ghālib Ibrāhīm ʿAnābisa, ed., Beit Berl, 171f.

16 Ayalon, David 1967, "The Mamluks and Naval Power: A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1,8, 1-12; idem 1968, "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2,14, 311-329.

17 When later Syrian generations looked for explanations for the ruins along the shorelines, the common answer was that the demolition resulted from a strategic decision taken by sultan Saladin. This popular vision can even be seen in an Ottoman period epistle on the merits of Jerusalem and Hebron, ʿAnābisa, Ghālib Ibrāhīm 2006, *Abʿād fī adab faḍā'il al-arḍ al-muqaddasa: Dirāsa fī baʿd al-maṣādir mundhu nihāyat al-fatra al-mamlūkiyya wa-ḥattā l-fatra al-ʿuthmāniyya, ḥawla marākiz dīniyya muntakhaba fī l-Shām*, Beit Berl, 171-175.

18 *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP)*, Sharon Moshe, ed., vol. 1-4, addendum, Leiden 1997-2009, 1, 33 (840/1436-37 Acre, an inscription by Barsbāy). Cf. the poetic description by a certain Muḥyī al-Dīn who visited Caesarea in Palestine in 640 a.h., al-Khalīlī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tārīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, Nūfān Rajā al-Ḥammūd Sawāʾiyya and Muḥammad ʿAdnān Bakhīt, eds., London 2004, 162.

towns were pontificated by sultans and *amīr*s,[19] who also built settlements[20] and shrines.[21] Some of these projects were financed not only by the state's budget (*bayt al-māl*), but also by religious endowments.[22]

The Mamluk sultan as a super-warrior

The Mamluk sultans who invested in coastline fortifications used the walls and gates of these constructions to project the image of the protectors of the believers. In order to achieve this, the inscribers employed early Islamic vocabulary as well as new titles. The association of *thaghr* and *ribāṭ* with coastal fortification and maritime operations is familiar to students of early Islamic Mediterranean history: the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid caliphs enhanced their political position by accomplishing the construction of naval fleets and guarding forts.[23] This policy was also executed by the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans and governors, who faced the dangers of Frankish naval raids.[24]

The Ayyubid sultans employed in their insignia titles that projected images of warriors for the cause of Islam. Among other titles they used the designation *murābiṭ*. An inscription on a brass vase produced for the royal buttery (*sharābkhāna*) of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Yūsuf reads: "glory to our sultan, the august king, the victorious, the savant, the just, the assistant of Allah, the triumphant (*muẓaffir*), the conqueror (*manṣūr*), the defender (*mujāhid*) of faith (i.e. of Islam),[25] the combatant at the frontier (*murābiṭ*), the reformer of earthly and religious conducts, the pillar of Islam and of the Muslims".[26]

19 Salam-Liebich, Hayat 1983, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli*, Harvard (Mass).

20 *CIAP* 1, 185 (700/1300 Majd al-ʿAsqalan).

21 Taragan, Hana 2004, "The Tomb of Sayyidnā ʿAlī in Arṣūf: the Story of a Holy Place", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* series 3,14,2, 83-102.

22 Kofler, Hans, ed. 1934, "Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-ad-Dīn ibn Ǧamāʿah", *Islamica* 6, 349-414, at 363.

23 Elad, Amikam 1982, "The Coastal Cities of Palestine During the Early Middle Ages", *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2, 146-167; Khalilieh, Hassan Salih 1999, "The Ribât System and Its Role in Coastal Navigation", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42,2, 212-225.

24 The use of pre-Crusade sources by Mamluk authors ensured the continuation of this historical narrative. Thus the Mamluk historian Ibn Shaddād for example often uses the chronicles of al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭarsūsī and other writings for the Abbasid period to reconstruct his version of the history of the Syrian territories.

25 Tapestry with gold threads, "[Glory to our master] the sultan the great al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣālāḥ […] defender of the community", Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15626, in: Mackie, Louise W. 1984, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations", *Muqarnas* 2: *The Art of the Mamluks*, 127-146, at 132.

26 *RCEA* 12, 49f. (4468, 4469, 658/1260 Syria); cf. 89f. (4532, 662/1264 inscription of al-Malik al-Mughīth).

The Mamluk sultans continued the Ayyubid policy, and toiled hard to project the image of fighters (*mujāhid*) for the cause of Islam.[27] They maintained that conducting *jihād*; i.e. military operations against the Franks, was their fundamental mission.[28] This is well visible in their honorific titles. An inscription provided at the occasion of the reconstruction of the citadel in Damascus opens with the declaration: "our master al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [i.e. Baybars] ordered the renovation of this site and its reconstruction". The next sentences carry the sultan's additional titles: "the warden of the marches (*muthāghir*) and the vanquisher (*ghāzī*)".[29]

The Mamluk sultans used, since the days of Baybars, an array of royal titles that indicated their self-proclaimed image as victorious warriors (*al-manṣūr*).[30] The sultans proclaimed themselves as the suppressors of the infidels (*qāmiᶜ al-kafara*)[31] and of the polytheists (*mushrikīn*),[32] and boasted themselves as: "the king who fought to replace the Evangel with the Qurʾān".[33] An inscription placed by Baybars on the walls of the White Mosque in Ramla announces: "he had advanced leading his army from Egypt with the intention to declare a *jihād*, aiming to attack the polytheists and the wrong doers (*ahl al-ᶜināد*). He besieged the port town of Jaffa (666/1268) and conquered it."[34]

The minaret of the White Mosque in Ramla carries an additional plaque (718/1318). It praises the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad: "the defender of faith (i.e. Islam; *mujāhid*), the combatant at the frontier (*murābiṭ*) and the warden of the marches (*muthāghir*), the eradicator of the infidels and of the polytheists (*qātil al-kafara wa-l-mushrikīn*)".[35] The Mamluk elite also aspired to radiate the message that they were the commanders of maritime operations. Sultanic em-

---

27 By executing this policy they cultivated popular support as can be deduced from the verses by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī (d. ca. 696/1294), who saw in a dream that Acre would be conquered, Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (852/1448-930/1524), *Badāʾiᶜ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiᶜ al-duhūr [Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas]*, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, ed., vol. 1,1, Wiesbaden 1975, 369.

28 This hypothesis can be deduced from inscriptions on metal works and walls, Mayer, L. A. 1933, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey*, Oxford, 48, 49, 66, 85.

29 *RCEA* 12, 57f. (4476, 4477 Damascus, Citadel); 14, 42 (5264, 710/1310-11 Egypt, al-sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, "the killer of the infidels").

30 Aigle, Denise 2003, "Les inscriptions de Baybars dans le Bilād al-Šām. Une expression de la légitimité du pouvoir", *Studia Islamica* 97, 57-85, at 62f., 81; Compare with *RCEA* 12, 65 (4488 an inscription from Dibsho, Syria).

31 *RCEA* 13, 234 (5147, 702/1302 Hebron); Shawkat, Shibli 1984, *Mamluk Inscriptions from Hebron*, Hebrew University MA thesis, Jerusalem, 49.

32 *RCEA* 12, 50 (4469, 658/1260 Syria), 105 (4557 Homs, tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd).

33 *RCEA* 12, 125f. (4589, 666/1268 Ṣafad, Baybars).

34 *RCEA* 12, 124 (4588, 666/1268 Ramla).

35 *RCEA* 14, 128f. (5401 Homs, tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd); cf. 144f. (5423, 720/1320 a lapidary inscription from Granada), 14, 242f. (5558, 728/1328, Egypt, a round bronze table), 15, 143 (5832 Egypt), 149 (5839), 161 (5855), 228 (5960); Reinfandt, Lucian 2003, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl*, Berlin,137 (l. 5), 155 (l. 4).

blems, inscriptions[36] and official documents[37] contain the royal title "the king of the two seas" (*malik al-baḥrayn*). In addition to these titles, Mamluk sultans presented themselves also as the "contemporary Alexander".[38]

The Faḍāʾil al-Jihād *and* Faḍāʾil al-Shām *genres*

The ongoing struggle between the Islamic armies and the Franks certainly affected various aspects of Mamluk society, including the political discourse among the governing echelons of the sultanate. Army officers, state officials, religious scholars and even private civilians participated in the *jihād*.[39] Soldiers boasted their ego by partaking in fighting. Civilians donated property and cash money to finance the war against the Franks and contributed to the *jihād* literature.

The Mamluk rulers' official *jihād* policy was supported by the Islamic religious establishment. The continuing Frankish pressure on the Syrian and Egyptian shores persuaded scholars and jurists to compile *ḥadīth* collections that were designed as a tool to encourage the Muslim warriors.[40] They highlighted the religious values of fighting in the cause of Allah and even extolled being killed during this mission. By accumulating early Islamic traditions on fighting in the cause of Allah and on the virtue of sticking to locations that were threatened by the enemies of the faith, Mamluk authors aimed to strengthen the spirits of their fellow Muslim civilians and soldiers.[41] Due to these efforts two well-developed

---

36 Mayer 1933, 107; *RCEA* 12, 104ff. (4556, 4557, 664/1266 Homs, Baybars, mausoleum of Sayf al- Islām Khālid b. al-Walīd), 128ff. (4593, 666/1257 Homs, Baybars, mausoleum of Khālid b. al-Walīd), 141ff. (4612, 668/1270 Nabī Mūsā, Baybars); 13, 9f. (4815, 681/1282 Baalbek, Qalaʾūn), 15ff. (4823, 4824, 682/1283 Baalbek, Qalaʾūn), 105f. (4956, 691/1292 Homs, Qalaʾūn); 15, 218 (5945, 742/1342 Egypt, al-Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar), 250 (5995, 746/1345 Egypt, Sulṭān al-baḥrayn Ismāʾīl).

37 Reinfandt 2003, 152 (863/1458 *waqfiyya*).

38 Cf. Aigle 2003, 73-77.

39 Ibn Yaḥyā, Ṣāliḥ, *Tārīkh Bayrūt wa-huwa akhbār al-salaf min dhurriyyāt Buḥtur b. ʿAlī amīr al-gharb bi-Bayrūt*, Kamāl Ṣalībi and Francis Hours, eds., Beirut 1969; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad (773/1372-852/1449), *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, Ḥasan Ḥabashī, ed., Cairo, 1419/1998, vol. 4, 209-216, 226; Moukarzel, Pierre 2007, "Les expéditions militaires contre Chypre (1424-1426) d'après Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā: Quelques remarques sur la marine mamelouke", *al-Masāq* 19,2, 177-198; Bosworth, Clifford Edmund 1996, "Arab Attacks on Rhodes in the Pre-Ottoman Period", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6,2, 157-164, at 163.

40 Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad (661/1263-728/1328), *Qāʿida fī l-ingḥimās fī l-ʿadw wa-hal yubāḥ*, Abū Muḥammad Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, ed., Riyad 2002, 65 quotes the saying: "either victory and triumph or martyrdom and paradise" (*immā al-naṣr wa-l-ẓafar wa-immā al-shahāda wa-l-janna*).

41 Al-Sulamī, al-ʿIzz b. ʿAbd al-Salām (578/1182-660/1262), *Targhīb ahl al-Islām fī suknā al-Shām*, Iyād Khalīd al-Ṭabbāʿ, ed., Damascus / Beirut 1413/1992; Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Masʾala fī l-murābata bi-l-thughūr afḍal am al-mujāwara bi-Makka*, Abū Muḥammad Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, ed., Riyad 2002, 54 argues that *jihād* is a collective action (*farḍ ʿalā l-kifāya*) and not an individual duty. Yet, in line with his philosophy, serv-

literary genres proliferated in the Mamluk realm: the virtues of *jihād* (*faḍā'il al-jihād*) and the merits of Syria (*faḍā'il al-shām*).[42]

A case in point is a short booklet by the well-known jurist Ibn Jamāʿa al-Ḥamawī. His exposition includes thirty concise chapters. Two of them, the one on the involvement of women in *jihād* and the other on seafaring for the cause of God, have a common subject matter. Both highlight the role of naval operations and fighting. The author narrates the renowned story of Umm Ḥaram, who is said to have participated in the Umayyad landing on the shores of Cyprus, where her tomb can be seen to this very day.[43] He depicts her as the model of a fighting woman.[44]

Another example of this literary genre is a thin epistle by the famous Damascene jurist and historian Ibn Kathīr (701/1301-774/1373).[45] He dedicated his tractate to Sayf al-Dīn Manjak al-Yūsufī (d. 776/1375),[46] who among his various positions served as the armor-bearer (*silāḥdar*) and the governor (*kafīl*) of Damascus.[47] The author presents the current conditions along the sultanate's shorelines. He outlines destructive events that have befallen the Muslims. Among them the Christian raid on Alexandria (767/1366) and its pillage, the killing and enslaving of

---

ing on the front lines is considered to be more meritorious than dwelling in the Arabian holy cities, ibid. 17.

42 The composition of tracts about the merits of *jihād* and Syria certainly can be traced in the pre-Crusades era, al-Ṭarsūsī, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh (d.1011/1602-3), "Siyar al-thughūr", in: *Shadharāt min kutub mafqūda fī l-tārīkh*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ed., Beirut 1988, 437-459; idem, *Baqāyā Kitāb Siyar al-thughūr min khilāl makhṭūṭat Bughyat al-ṭalab li-Ibn al-ʿAdīm*; Shākir Muṣṭafā, ed., Damascus 1998; Bosworth, Clifford Edmund 1993, "Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī's Siyar al-thughūr and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)", *Graeco-Arabica* 5; repr. in: idem 1996,*The Arabs, Byzantium and Iran: Studies in Early Islamic History and Culture*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series 529), Aldershot / Brookfield, XV; al-Qarrāb, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (352/963-429/1038), *Faḍā'il al-ramī fī sabīl Allāh taʿālā*, Mashhūr Ḥasan Maḥmūd Salmān, ed., al-Zarqāʾ 1989, was transmitted in Mamluk Aleppo. Another example is the collection of forty traditions by al-Muqriʾ, Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad (517/1124-618/1221), *Kitab al-arbaʿīn fī l-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn*, Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh Badr and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn ʿIrāqī, eds., Beirut 1992. It was transmitted at the *Madrasat Nūr al-Dīn* in Damascus in the nineties of the 6th/12th century (certificate of edition, 91f.).

43 Cook, David 2005, "Women Fighting in Jihad?", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28,5, 375-384, at 375f.

44 Ibn Jamāʿa, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (639/1241-733/1333), *Mustanad al-ajnād fī ālāt al-jihād wa-mukhtaṣar fī faḍl al-jihād*, Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqshbandī, ed., Baghdad 1983, 45-48, 93.

45 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ*, vol. 1, 39f.

46 Ibn Kathīr, Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar (701/1301-774/1373), *Kitāb al-ijtihād fī ṭalab al-jihād*, Cairo 1993, 26, 33.

47 Mayer 1933, 153ff.; *RCEA* 16, 35 (6048, 748/1347 Cairo, palais de Manjak). This publication offers a better decoding of Manjak designations than the reading by the editor of Ibn Kathīr's tractate; cf. Sauvaget, Jean 1932, "Décrets Mamelouks de Syrie (Premier Article)", *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 2, 1-52, at 4 (769/1368 Damascus,); *RCEA* 17, 110f. (769 003, 769/1368 Damascus, abolition of taxes); Guérin, Alexandrine 2001-02, "Un corpus des inscriptions arabes de la Syrie méridionale", *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 53-54, 229-278, at 239 (Busra).

Muslims. Then the attack on Tripoli where the local population and garrison were betrayed (*baʿḍ munāfiqīhā yukhādiʿu al-muslimīn*) and the Christians wreaked havoc in the city. Only the advance of a Turkmen party drove back the Franks.[48]

A couple of years after this chain of raids, the Franks' fleet attacked Āyās (Lajazzo; Yumurtalik) in Southern Turkey (769/1367). On this occasion the Mamluk army, headed by Manjak and by Sayf al-Dīn Mankalī Bughā al-Shamsī (d. 774/1372),[49] the viceroy of Aleppo (763/1363-768/1366) succeeded in defeating the enemy.[50] It was narrated that the king of Cyprus was among the wounded Christians.

That the Mamluk establishment regarded the victory over the intruders as a major achievement can be deduced from the construction inscription in the Mankalī-Bughā mosque (*jāmiʿ*) in Aleppo. It reads: "this flourishing mosque was built by Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Mankalī Bughā al-Ashrafī following the defeat he inflicted on the Franks at Āyās on the first day of Ṣafar 769 (27 September 1367). At that time he served as the marshal (*atabeg*) of the Egyptian armies".[51]

War has political and moral dimensions. Arguing that the struggles of the day were a continuation of the historical efforts to spread the call of Islam in Bilād al-Shām, Ibn Kathīr encouraged the Mamluk state to staff the coastal fortifications with combatants. The Damascene historian employs a simple literary device. By readapting historical stories he endeavors to convince his audience to enlist in the armies of *jihād*.

Indeed, he narrates, Syria was in the past inhabited by Christians from various denominations, but then the Prophet converted Arabia and advanced as far as the Byzantine territory. Following Muhammad's death the armies of Islam accomplished the mission. The Franks were able to take advantage of the weakening of the Islamic state and conquered the Holy Land in about the year 500/1106-07. But Saladin and his successors were able to drive them out. However, nowadays, the king of Cyprus is venturing to capture the Syrian coast. Hence, Ibn al-Kathīr claims, the Muslims should be on guard. Yet, he ensures them, quoting apocalyptic traditions, Islam will not lose Jerusalem again.[52]

Ibn Naḥḥās al-Dumyāṭī (d. 814/1411) composed a bulky volume on the merits of *jihād* and the law of war.[53] The fighting along the Syrian coastlines is a link

48 Ibn Kathīr, *Ijtihād*.

49 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, vol. 1, 54. In Aleppo he donated an astrolabe to a library (li-l-*khizāna*), Reich, Sigismund and Gaston Wiet 1939, "Un astrolabe syrien du XIVe siècle", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 38, 195-202, 196-99; *RCEA* 17, 87 (767 003, 767/1366 Aleppo), 112f. (769 005, 769/1367 Aleppo citadel).

50 Laoust, Henri 1955, "Ibn Kathir historien", *Arabica* 2, 42-88, at 62.

51 *RCEA* 17, 113f. (769 006, 769/1367 Aleppo), 115 (769 007).

52 Ibn Kathīr, *Ijtihād*, 32-40.

53 Peters, Rudolph 2005, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam: a reader*, updated and expanded ed., Princeton, 104, 196; Cook, David and Olivia Allison 2007, *Understanding and Addressing Suicide Attacks: The Faith and Politics of Martyrdom Operations*, Westport (Conn.), 11, 150.

in the chain of wars that shaped the history of Islam since the campaigns of the Prophet. Some chapters summarize the traditions that eulogize the Muslim fighters who inhabit Bilād al-Shām's port towns and fortification. The author claims that *ribāṭ* means to reside in a coastal fort in preparation for the enemy's landing. A particular chapter deals with the merits of maritime fighting. He describes the seasick mariner as a martyr lying in his blood (*al-mā'id fī l-baḥr ka-l-shahīd al-mutashaḥḥiṭ fī dammihi*).[54] Hence Ibn al-Naḥḥās encourages his readers to donate alms-money that will finance the *jihād*.[55]

Towards the end of the Mamluk sultanate, the well-known scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505) compiled a collection of forty traditions on the virtue of *jihād*.[56] Yet, though living in the Mamluk realm, he dedicated the work "to our Great Master, the Enormous Sultan" Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, i.e. the Ottoman *ikinci* Mehmet, explaining that it is a gift (*hadīya*), a sample extracted from a work that comprises ten thousand traditions on the merits of the holy war.[57] Probably the dedication expressed al-Suyūṭī's gratitude to the sultan who became known as Muḥammad al-Fātiḥ (1432-1481) the conqueror of Constantinople (1453). One of the traditions that are very popular in these *ḥadīth* collections says that participation in the holy war, including migration to the frontier zones or the dwelling in garrison towns, is a rewarded deed. Muslims occasionally transmitted the *ḥadīth* "residing in a fortification for 24 hours is better than a month's fasting".[58]

Closely related to the conflict between the sultanate and the Franks is another literary genre, that of traditions on the virtue (*faḍā'il*) of Bilād al-Shām.[59] As in the genre of "the merits of holy war" also in collections on "the merits of Syria and the Holy Land", the Mamluk period authors continued earlier practices.[60] Yet from a diachronic examination, it is clear that the *faḍā'il* writing was not an

---

54 Ibn Naḥḥās, Abū Zakariyyā Aḥmad (d. 814/1411), *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq wa-mutlhīr al-gharām ilā dār al-salām, fī: faḍā'il al-jihād*, Idrīs Muḥammad ʿAlī and Muḥammad Khālid Isṭanbūlī, eds., Beirut 1990, 248.

55 Cf. ibid. 244-265, 296f., 366-393, 408-411, 550ff., 908-950. Among his sources he mentions late medieval authors: Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341-2; 385); Ibn Taymiyya (386) and others.

56 Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (849/1445-911/1505), *Arbaʿūna ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād*, Marzūq ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, ed., Cairo 1988.

57 Ibid. 50.

58 Muslim, *Ṣaḥiḥ*, quoted by Ibn Kathīr, *Ijtihād*, 29; Ibn Taymiyya, *Mas'ala,* 58; al-Suyūṭī, *Arbaʿūna,* 86 (no. 31).

59 Anabsi, Ghalib 2008, "Popular Beliefs as Reflected in 'Merits of Palestine and Syria' (Faḍā'il al-Shām) Literature: Pilgrimage Ceremonies and Customs in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19,1, 59-70.

60 This genre reflects a virtual vision of the territory and its inhabitants. See the sermon delivered by Saladin after his victorious entry to Jerusalem, Ibn Wāṣil, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Sayyāl, ed., vol. 1-5, Cairo, 1954, vol. 2, 218-22.

archaic recycling of old materials.[61] The classification of the Syrian lands changed in line with political and military developments. This is clearly visible in Mamluk period writings about Syria.[62]

The number of epistles on the merits of Bilād al-Shām that were composed in Mamluk Syria is considerable. To make my point it is sufficient here to dwell only upon a handful of illustrative writings. One example is a short epistle concerning the "true" location of Moses' tomb (*qabr al-kalīm*),[63] which was composed by Ibn al-Firkāḥ (d. 729/1329),[64] a fairly well-known scholar from Jerusalem.[65] A second epistle is a short tract named *Istiqbāl al-qiblatayn*, which was composed by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrahīm b. Jamāʿa (725/1325-790/1388).[66] The text mirrors the Syrian-Palestinian tradition of writing about disputed sacred locations. The author refutes the suggestion that no prophet had prayed facing towards Jerusalem. He relies on al-Zuhrī's transmission but rectifies the content: "on the night of the miraculous journey to Jerusalem all the prophets have assembled behind Muḥammad and he led them in prayer. This happened prior to his flight and before the direction of prayer (*qibla*) became oriented towards the Kaʿba in Mecca".

The Damascene scholar Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī asserts in his introduction to a compilation about the merits of Syria that: "In this book I collected [traditions] on the faith and true religion that reside in Syria. It protects al-Shām and safeguards it. I composed this volume as a tool to encourage the believers and hearten them to face the disturbing events that shook Bilād al-Shām in the years 791-792 [1389-90]".[67]

---

61 As such it displays primordial patriotism (*ḥubb al-waṭan min al-imān*). Ibn Shaddād, ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad (613/1217-684/1285), *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa-l-Jazīra*, Yaḥyā Zakariyyā ʿAbbāra, ed., Damascus 1991, 11f.

62 ʿAnābisa, Ghālib Ibrāhīm, ed. 2007, *Min adab faḍāʾil al-Shām. Nuṣūs mukhtāra min makhtūtāt mamlūkiyya wa-ʿuṯmāniyya [from the 'Merits of al-Shām Literature'. Selected texts from manuscripts of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods]*, Beit Berl.

63 On it Sadan, Joseph 1981, "Le Tombeau de Möise a Jéricho et à Damas. Une compétition entre deux lieux saints principalement á l'epoque ottomane", *Revue des Études Islamiques* 49,1, 59-99; Elʿad, Amikam 1988, "Some Aspects of the Islamic Traditions Regarding the Site of the Grave of Moses", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 11, 1-15.

64 The National and University Library (Hebrew University Jerusalem), ms Arab 809.

65 Matthews, Charles D. 1932, "The Wailing Wall and al-Buraq", *The Muslim World* 22,4, 331-339. Ibn al-Firkāḥ, Burhān al-Dīn, "Kitāb bāʿith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-maḥrūs", Charles D. Matthews, ed., *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15,1-2 (1935), 51-87; see also Ibn al-Firkāḥ, Burhān al-Dīn, "Kitāb bāʿith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-maḥrūs", Madīḥa al-Sharqāwī, ed., in: *Arbaʿatu rasāʾil fī faḍāʾil al-masjid al-Aqṣā*, Muḥammad Zaynahum, ed., Cairo 1420/2000, 53-109.

66 Ibn Jamāʿa al-Maqdisī, Burhān al-Dīn, *Istiqbāl al-qiblatayn*, Jewish National and University Library, ms Arab, Yahudah 318; King Saud University ms 4812.

67 Ibn Rajab,ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (706/1306-795/1393), "Faḍāʾil al-Shām", in: *Faḍāʾil al-Shām*, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀdil b. Saʿd, ed., Beirut 2001, 153-281, at 159.

Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī employs the opposite approach. In a chapter on the coastal town of Ascalon (Ashkelon; ʿAsqalān)[68] he selects and quotes several earlier sources, using them not merely to narrate the story of the place but also to promote its qualities.[69] He concludes this chapter by stating: "the transmission of these traditions resulted from the location of the place. It was a salient garrison town and a border fortification that the enemy had attacked endlessly. A great number of Muslims lost their lives defending the site; however since at present times the enemy is not attacking, it is superior to serve as guardians of other places".[70]

The message projected by these texts induced the Muslim civil population in Syria to devote time and private money for the sake of safeguarding coastal settlements. The religious establishment used the texts to sanction the collection of dues and the endowment of property to finance the *jihād*. The political weight of fighting in the name of Islam can be easily construed from the language and the symbols that the ruling elite manipulated. These and similar *faḍā'il* writings most probably shaped the Muslim public opinion within the boundaries of the sultanate.

Thus for example narrating the merits of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mizzī (d. in Damascus 788/1386) a contemporary chronicler says: "he devoted considerable attention to horse maneuvers and weapons and liked very much those who shared this hobby with him. He often returned to Sidon and Beirut (in the Lebanon) to participate in the defense (*ribāṭ*) of these cities. In one case he had experienced a severe crush (*nawba*) [inflicted upon the Muslims by the Franks] and built a fortified tower (*burj*) on the coastline."[71]

---

68 Le Strange, Guy, trans. 1965 [1890], *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650-1500, translated from the works of the mediaeval Arab geographers*, Beirut, 400-403; Anabseh, Ghaleb 2006, "The Sanctity of the City of ʿAsqalan in the 'Merits Literature' of Palestine: An Examination of Mamluk and Ottoman Sources", *Holy Land Studies* 5,2, 187-198.

69 Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī, Shihāb al-Dīn (714/1314-765/1363), *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-Quds wa-l-Shām*, Aḥmad Khuṭaymī, ed., Beirut 1415/1994; Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibbat Allah (d. 571/1176), *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī, ed., Beirut 1995-98.

70 Al-Suyūṭī, Shams al-Dīn (816/1413-880/1475), *Itḥāf al-akhiṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad, ed., Cairo 1982-84, vol. 2, 170; yet in his short epistle on the merits of Syria al-Suyūṭī does not restate this position, al-Suyūṭī, Shams al-Dīn, "Faḍā'il al-Shām", in: *Faḍā'il al-Shām*, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀdil b. Saʿd, ed., Beirut 2001, 350f.; I would like to thank Dr. O. Livne for this footnote.

71 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, vol. 1, 329.

Financing the Jihād

Mamluk sultans were aware that war is a pricey enterprise. No wonder then that military expenditures were their main concern.[72] The payment to the professional army (*al-ajnād al-murtaziqa*) was the top priority of the sultanate's treasury (*bayt al-māl al-ʿāmma*).[73] Administrative and legal writings, particularly in the chapters dealing with taxation and land-tenure, clearly reflect this awareness. They define the arable fields as the property of the community (*waqf muʾabbad ʿalā maṣāliḥ al-muslimīn*).[74] Theoretically the treasury granted farming estates to the army commanders (*iqṭāʿ*) for a definite period of time.[75]

The financial aspects of the *jihād* were not administered only by the army commander charged with Syria's coastal districts. The "supervisor of the [Muslim] captives and the [maintenance of the] walls (*naẓẓār al-asrā wa-naẓẓār al-aswār*)" was one of the administrative officers (*al-waẓāʾif al-dīwāniyya*) in Damascus. The nomination patent to this office introduces the ideology of the Mamluk regime. The text represents the Prophet and the Companions as a model "who by their restless efforts have guarded the community of Islam. They built unreachable walls, discouraged the enemies and rescued the captives".[76]

Yet the *jihād* was also financed by special taxes, especially in emergency cases. The first collection of this kind coincided actually with the emergence of the Mamluk sultanate. As the Mongol armies were conquering Syria, the new sultan Qutuz taxed the population of Cairo.[77] Another example is the effort by Baybars to confiscate farming lands in the vicinity of Damascus.[78] With the passing of

---

[72] It included the construction of fortifications and weapons in addition to other projects such as shipyards and of ship building, ibid., vol. 1, 302, 313.

[73] Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad (661/1263-728/1328), *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya fī ṣalāḥ al-rāʿī wa-l-raʿiyya*, Beirut 1409/1998, 54; Laoust, H. 1948, *Le Traité de droit public d'Ibn Taymīya*, Beirut, 47.

[74] For an early (Fatimid) illustration of this method, see the inscription from southern Palestine that was published in *CIAP* 3, 15f.

[75] Al-Anṣārī, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad (d. 926/1520), *al-Iʿlām wa-l-ihtimām bi-jamʿ fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Abī Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sīrwān, ed., Beirut 1984, 89; Ibn Jamāʿa al-Ḥamawī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 125, 128ff.; al-ʿUmarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Faḍl Allāh (700/1301-750/1349), *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār, Dawlat al-mamālik al-ūlā [description of Syria and Egypt]*, Dorothea Krawulsky, ed., Beirut 1986, 94; Tsugitaka Sato 1997, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun*, Leiden / New York / Köln.

[76] Al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (658/1259-739/1338), "Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbāʾihi wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-l-aʿyān min abnāʾihi", in: *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, 2nd ed., Ulrich Haarmann, ed., Freiburg i.Br. 1970, 106; al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (756/1355-821/1418), *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, repr., Cairo 1963, vol. 12, 393 (the nomination letter of Ibn al-Qalānisī).

[77] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, vol. 1, 305f. (the verses by Ibn ʿAnīn are particularly noteworthy).

[78] Sublet, Jacqueline 1976, "Le Séquestre sur les jardins de la Ghouta (Damas 666/1267)", *Studia Islamica* 43, 81-86.

time, the ongoing financing crisis went from bad to worse. The revenues collected by the sultanate had shrunk. Facing this harsh economic reality, sultans did not hesitate to seize the coffers of the religious endowments, a policy that was not sanctioned by all jurists.[79]

Mamluk sources mention several confiscations of *waqf* money in order to finance military operations.[80] When Barqūq learned about the advance of Tīmūr Lank (Tamerlane) towards Anatolia, he summoned the Mamluk elite and discussed with them possible steps that should be taken. Troubled by the weakness of the Egyptian army, the sultan looked for financial resources.[81] In another case *waqf* money was levied to fund war in Anatolia (872/1468).[82]

The Waqf

The steady re-conquest of the Crusaders' districts by the Mamluk armies provided the sultanate with domains in the coastal districts of Syria.[83] Frankish estates and villages were endowed to support public Muslim institutions (*awqāf*). Baybars for example, did not hesitate to finance the shrine of Abū ʿUbayda, by endowing a village in central Syria although the farming land was held jointly (*condominia*; *min munāṣafat Ḥimṣ*) with the Latins.[84] A fragment of a court document from the second half of the 8th/14th century is a clear indicator of this development and illuminates the use of pious foundations to this purpose.[85] The original record was presumably copied during legal procedures that took place in Jerusalem and revolved around a religious endowment established by the Mamluk sultan Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fatḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī (first reign 693/1294; second

79 Al-Balāṭunsī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad (851/1447-936/1530), *Taḥrīr al-maqāl fī-mā yaḥillu wa-yaḥrumu min bayt al-māl*, Fatḥ Allāh Muḥammad Ghāzī al-Ṣabbāgh, ed., Manṣurah 1989, 102ff. (quoting Abū Shāma on the virtue of Nūr al-Dīn).

80 Ibn Kathīr, Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, ed., Cairo 1998, vol. 18, 111 (711/1311-12).

81 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, William Popper, ed., vol. 5, Berkeley 1936, 384 (788/1387).

82 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, vol. 3, 14; Wiet, Gaston, trans. 1945, *Histoire des mamlouks circassiens: Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fi waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr par Ibn Iyās*, Cairo, 14.

83 Oppenheim, Max, ed. 1909, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien, und Kleinasien, gesammelt im Jahre 1899*, part 1: *Arabische Inschriften*, Leipzig 1909, 5f. (inscription 3, 666/1267 Homs, Baybars).

84 *RCEA* 12, 208ff. (4714, Mazār Abū ʿUbayda, Baybars). This territory is specified in the treaty signed between Baybars and the Hospitallers Knights; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vol. 14, 34; Holt, Peter Malcolm 1995a, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian rulers*, Leiden, 34.

85 The document was found in the collections of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem, Little, Donald P. 1984, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Beirut / Wiesbaden, 374 (Ḥaram doc. 306).

reign 698/1299-708/1309; third reign 709/1309-741/1340).[86] The record shed light on the close contact between war and property.[87] Despite being incomplete, it illuminates the legal maneuvers that the founder of the endowment accomplished, as well as the transfer to an Islamic religious endowment of property owned by Christian orders during the Crusader period.[88]

Iqṭāʿ- farms were another source of *awqāf*. Sultans, governors and officers grabbed hold of "state properties". They converted these fields, which were not the private property (*mulk*) of the founder, into religious endowments,[89] an act that was not in line with the prescriptions of Islamic Law.[90] The rapid growth of the *awqāf* affected the army administration (*dīwān al-jaysh*) that suffered from heavy loss of *iqṭāʿ*-fields. The economic dependence of the Mamluk society and government on the *waqf* broadened with the growth in size and wealth of the religious endowments. This development widened the range of activity of the religious endowments.[91]

It is well known that pious foundations played an important role during the Mamluk period. Among other activities they also played a significant role in supporting Muslim communities in those districts snatched from the Latins.[92] The

---

86 Holt, Peter Malcolm 1995b, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684/1285-741/1341): his Ancestry, Kindred, and Affinity" in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 73), Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet, eds., Leuven, 313-324; Levanoni, Amalia 1995, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)*, Leiden / New York / Köln.

87 Frenkel, Yehoshua 1997, "The Impact of the Crusades on the Rural Society and Religious Endowments: The Case of Medieval Syria (Bilad al-Sham)", in: *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th centuries*, Yaakov Lev, ed., Leiden / New York / Köln, 237-248.

88 The continuation of the Crusaders' administrative practices by the Mamluks is evident from their use of Latin technical terms. Thus for example the Latin *vassal* was transcribed into Arabic *faṣal*, Cahen, Claude 1975, "Aperçu sur les impôts du sol en Syrie au moyen âge", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18,3, 233-244, at 238; *CIAP* 3, 190, 195-200.

89 *CIAP* 3, 53 (the endowment of villages by Sanjar al-Dawadārī). Abū Shāma, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī ʾakhbār al-dawlatayn al-nūriyya wa-l-ṣalāḥiyya*, Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, ed., Cairo 1956-62, vol. 1, 41; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, *Al-kawākib al-durriyya fī l-sīra al-nūriyya*, ed. Maḥmūd Zayid, Beirut 1971, 47.

90 The so-called *waqf irṣād*. Cuno, Kenneth M. 1999, "Ideology and Juridical Discourse in Ottoman Egypt: The Uses of the Concept of Irsad", *Islamic Law and Society* 6, 136-163. On later periods see Deguilhem, Randi 2008. "The Waqf in the City", in: *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 1, Salma Khadra Jayyusi et al., eds., Leiden, 923-950, at 940; Ener, Mine 2003, *Managing Egypt's poor and the politics of benevolence, 1800-1952*, Princeton, 8.

91 The growth of *awqāf* had a clear impact on the Mamluk economy and administration. Farming lands that financed the military elite were moved from the military department to the endowments departments. Thus for example some villages that Baybars granted to his officers are named in the *waqf* record of the sultan al-Ashraf Inal; Irwin, Robert 1977, "Iqṭāʿ and the end of the Crusader states", in: *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, P. M. Holt, ed., Warminster (Engl.), 62-77; Reinfandt 2003, 156.

92 Ḥaram document no. 306 reflects the use by sultans of farming lands that their armies have taken from the Latins. Yet because of the deficient conditions of the document we

awqāf contributed to the general welfare of the believers by paying for social activities and other enterprises of the Islamic community.[93] They financed the building of mosques,[94] tombs,[95] and shrines. Some of the capital was used to decorate towns and to construct fortifications and ramparts[96] along the Syrian shores. For example a plaque in the Nabī Yūnus mosque reads that it was built by Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn the governor of Balāṭunus in 708/1308.[97] Another case in point can be seen in the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm b. Adham in Jabala (Lebanon).[98]

The construction of fortifications by Mamluk rulers along the Mediterranean coast and the staffing of the seashores with warriors did not result merely from a romantic view or nostalgia for earlier glorious ages of Islam; it had a concrete function. The Mamluk ventured to rebuff naval raids on the beaches,[99] and warriors were needed to man the fortifications that guarded the sultanate's shoreline (*aḥad ajnād al-thaghr al-maḥrūs*).[100] To encourage loyal Muslims to come to the port towns, their accommodation was paid by religious endowments.

An inscription on the walls of a mosque (Masjid al-Ṭaylān) in Tripoli (Lebanon) states: "The surplus money left in the coffers of this endowment after the salary payment to the functionaries and other disbursements, will be spent on the Ṣūfīs and on the poor, both those who are currently dwelling in Tripoli and those who would arrive".[101] In the list of Barqūq's favorable deeds, the chronicles mention his restoration of the armories in the front city of Alexandria and the construction of a Ṣūfī lodge (*zāwiya*) named al-Barzakh at Dumyaṭ (Damietta).[102]

In the medieval Islamic world and in neighboring civilizations, men and women were regarded as a commodity. The ransom of Muslim prisoners (*fakk al-asīr*) was seen by jurists, rulers and the general public as a valuable accomplishment.[103] They considered this deed as a fulfillment of a general statement in the

---

cannot narrate fully the history of this particular institution, nor identify its beneficiaries. This lacuna remains open for further enquiry. Cf. the list on villages in Reinfandt 2003, 138-141.

93 The founding of a pious endowment to finance war is well documented in pre-Mamluk documentation, Lev, Yaacov 2005, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam*, Gainesville, 68f.

94 *RCEA* 14, 266 (5587, 730/1329 Gaza).

95 *RCEA* 13, 186 (5065, 698/1298 Tripoli); 16, 215f. (6324, 760/1359 Tripoli).

96 *RCEA* 13, 204 (5099, 700/1300 Majdal al-ʿAskalān).

97 *RCEA* 14, 21 (5234).

98 *RCEA* 15, 232 (5964, 743/1342 Jabala, Lebanon).

99 Cf. al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad (766/1364-845/1441), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAshūr, ed., Cairo 1970, vol. 3, 489, 499 (785/1383), 515 (786/1384).

100 *RCEA* 13, 145 (5008, 695/1296 Egypt, lapidary).

101 *RCEA* 15, 60ff. (5690, 5691).

102 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, vol. 5, 421 (791/1389).

103 Littmann, Enno 1949, *Syria: publications of the Princeton University archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, div. 4: *Semitic inscriptions*, sect. D: *Arabic inscriptions*, Leiden, 28 (line 5; 542-544/1147-50 Bosra).

Qurʾān: "the alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of Allah (*fī sabīli-llāh*), and for the wayfarers; a duty imposed by Allah".[104] Mamluk period chronicles contain numerous references to the activity of the *dīwān al-asrā* in releasing Muslim prisoners captured by Christian mariners.[105]

The prospect of gaining ransom money encouraged Europeans to amass Muslim captives and deliver them to Mamluk representatives.[106] Contemporary sources describe the arrival of Frankish merchants with Muslim prisoners to the Mamluk sultanate. Late Mamluk period chronicles mention Christian naval operations against Muslim targets and report on the arrival of ransomed prisoners back to the Abode of Islam. Money was collected (*istikhrāj*) in mosques and neighborhoods to pay for the release of Muslims captured by the Christian foe. The money was not amassed only to redeem Syrian or other Eastern Muslims but even to pay for "Western" (Maghribis, i.e. Spanish and North African) Muslims.[107]

The ransom of Muslim prisoners captured by Christian mariners could not be accomplished without funds. And indeed the budget of the *dīwān al-asrā* was provided, at least partially, by funds from another administrative branch, that of the endowments department (*dīwān al-waqf*).[108] Hence it is not surprising to find that Muslims bequeathed resources to free captives. A dedicatory inscription in Bosra (southern Syria) reads: "This bakery and mill were constructed and made into a pious foundation for the sake of Allah. The income from these workshops is endowed for the sake of ransoming Muslim captives from the infidels' prisons. It will pay the release for Muslims who have no families or means to free themselves".[109] The Muslim captives' foundation (*waqf al-asrā*) in Damascus owned yielding property. Merchants hired shops from it and in this way contributed to a charity institution that paid European merchants who traded in Muslim prisoners.[110]

---

104 Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Tawba 9:60 (trans. by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall 1954, *al-Qurʾān al-karīm: The meaning of the Holy Qurʾān*, New York 1954). The founders of *awqāf* could interpret the words *fī sabīli-llāh* as commanding *jihād*, cf. Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Baqara 2:195: *waʾanfiqū fī sabīli-llāh* ("spend your wealth for the cause of Allah").

105 Ibn Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, 29; Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad b. Ibrahim,*Tārīkh ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbāʾihi wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa l-aʿyān min abnāʾihi, al-maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī*, ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, ed., Beirut 1419/1998, vol. 2, 151.

106 Al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, ed., Beirut 1991, vol. 2, 611; al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Cairo 1998, vol. 33, 184. (727/1327 quoting Tārīkh al-Birzālī).

107 Ibn Ṭawq, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad (834/1430-915/1509), *al-Taʿlīq: mudhakkarāt kutibat bi-Dimashq fī awākhir al-ʿahd al-mamlūkī*, Jaʿfar al-Muhājir, ed., vol. 1: *885-908/1480-1502*, Damascus 2000, 83f., cf. also ibid., vol. 1, 181.

108 Al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vol. 12, 390f.

109 *CIAP* add., 47f. (circa 544/1149).

110 Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, vol. 1, 127, 128 (887/1482); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 155 (*waqf*), 192 (a synopsis of a legal decision).

A relatively lengthy account from Damascus illuminates the modus operandi of the *dīwān al-asrā*. Riding a racing camel, an official emissary (*hajjān*)[111] arrived from Cairo bringing with him a Christian from the island of Rhodes named Nicola. The Damascenes were told that this Nicola had released 23 Muslim prisoners. The local judge was ordered to collect 960 golden coins; this was the price of wheat that Nicola had bought from the sultan. The extra payment of 326 coins would be paid by the *waqf* established by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī.[112] A detailed account is provided by Ibn al-Ṭawq (887/1482-83). He names Salmūn (Solomon), a delegate Christian from Cyprus, who turned up with a group of Muslim prisoners. 220 golden Ashrafi dinars were collected to ransom the eight Muslims brought by Salmūn.[113]

An account by al-Maqrīzī sheds light on this ransoming operation. He reports on the return of the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Julbān from the land of the Franks carrying with him a band of prisoners (664/1264). His rescue mission was paid by the funds that the governor of Damascus provided him. Among the prisoners liberated by Julbān were children and women. They were brought to Damascus and the local judge undertook to marry the women to suitable husbands.[114] Another example of the activity of *waqf al-asrā* is a legal question concerning two religious endowments that were established to finance the ransom of Muslims. It was addressed from the Syrian town of Ḥamah to the well-known jurist al-Subkī. The enquirer wanted to know if money in endowment coffers could be used for other purposes, such as construction.[115]

It should be mentioned that this type of public endowments were not a unique phenomenon in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām.[116] Evidence of the operation of prisoners' endowments (*waqf al-asrā*) can be found in pre-Mamluk chronicles,[117] as well as in other lands. Thus for example a testimony from Spain says: "the surplus of the incomes will be spent on the release of the poor Muslim prisoners, a sum of ten silver coins will be allocated to each of them".[118]

Conclusion

Effective propaganda spread the seeds of commitment to the cause of Islam among Muslim civilians and soldiers throughout the long confrontation between

111 Milwright, Marcus 2008, *The fortress of the raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic period (1100 - 1650)*, Leiden, 91.
112 Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, vol. 1, 83f.
113 Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, vol. 1, 204, 213.
114 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 1, 544.
115 Al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn (683/1284-756/1355), *Fatāwā al-Subkī*, Beirut [1975], vol. 2, 105.
116 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 4, 665 (827/1424).
117 Hillenbrand 1999, 553f., Lev 2005, 138f.
118 De Lucena, Luis Seco, ed. and trans. 1961, *Documentos Arábigo-Granadinos*, Madrid, 14 (doc. #7c, dated 29 Rabīʿ I 834/15 December 1430).

Islam and the Franks. The spirit of *jihād* encouraged them to endow property that financed the building of fortifications and religious institutions as well as the redemption of Muslim prisoners.

The Mamluk sultans adopted a functionalist approach towards the religious endowments. The *awqāf* served them as a tool to take hold of arable lands, to construct defenses along the sultanate's shores and to build holy shrines, as well as to finance religious functionaries and family members. In times of crisis they used the *awqāf* coffers to pay for military operations that their treasury could not afford.

Bibliography

Abū l-Fidāʾ, ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Cairo 1325/1907.

Abū Shāma, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-nūriyya wa-l-ṣalāḥiyya*, Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, ed., Cairo 1956-62.

Aigle, Denise 2003, "Les inscriptions de Baybars dans le Bilād al-Šām. Une expression de la légitimité du pouvoir", *Studia Islamica* 97, 57-85.

Anabseh, Ghaleb 2006, "The Sanctity of the City of ʿAsqalan in the 'Merits Literature' of Palestine: An Examination of Mamluk and Ottoman Sources", *Holy Land Studies* 5,2, 187-198.

ʿAnābisa, Ghālib Ibrāhīm 2006, *Abʿād fī adab faḍāʾil al-arḍ al-muqaddasa: Dirāsa fī baʿd al-maṣādir mundhu nihāyat al-fatra al-mamlūkiyya wa-ḥattā l-fatra al-ʿuthmāniyya, ḥawla marākiz dīniyya muntakhaba fī l-Shām*, Beit Berl.

ʿAnābisa, Ghālib Ibrāhīm, ed. 2007, *Min adab faḍāʾil al-Shām. Nuṣūs mukhtāra min makhtūtāt mamlūkiyya wa-ʿuṭmāniyya [from the 'Merits of al-Shām Literature'. Selected Texts from manuscripts of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods]*, Beit Berl.

Anabsi, Ghalib 2008, "Popular Beliefs as Reflected in 'Merits of Palestine and Syria' (Faḍāʾil al-Shām) Literature: Pilgrimage Ceremonies and Customs in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19,1, 59-70.

Anonymous 2006, "The History of Jerusalem and Hebron", in: *Abʿād fī adab faḍāʾil al-arḍ al-muqaddasa*, Ghālib Ibrāhīm ʿAnābisa, ed., Beit Berl, 171-172.

al-Anṣārī, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad, *al-Iʿlām wa-l-ihtimām bi-jamʿi fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Abī Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sīrwān, ed., Beirut 1984.

Ayalon, David 1967, "The Mamluks and Naval Power: A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1,8, 1-12.

Ayalon, David 1968, "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2,14, 311-329.

al-Balāṭunsī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Taḥrīr al-maqāl fī-mā yaḥillu wa-yaḥrumu min bayt al-māl*, Fatḥ Allāh Muḥammad Ghāzī al-Ṣabbāgh, ed., Manṣurah 1989.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund 1993, "Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī's Siyar al-thughūr and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)", *Graeco-Arabica* 5; repr. in: idem 1996,*The Arabs, Byzantium and Iran: Studies in Early Islamic History and Culture*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series 529), Aldershot / Brookfield.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund 1996, "Arab Attacks on Rhodes in the Pre-Ottoman Period", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6,2, 157-164.

Cahen, Claude 1975, "Aperçu sur les impôts du sol en Syrie au moyen âge", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18,3, 233-244.

Cook, David 2005, "Women Fighting in Jihad?", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28,5, 375-384.

Cook, David and Olivia Allison 2007, *Understanding and Addressing Suicide Attacks: The Faith and Politics of Martyrdom Operations*, Westport (Conn.).

Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP), Sharon Moshe, ed., vol. 1-4, addendum, Leiden 1997-2009.

Cuno, Kenneth M. 1999, "Ideology and Juridical Discourse in Ottoman Egypt: The Uses of the Concept of Irsad", *Islamic Law and Society* 6, 136-163.

Deguilhem, Randi 2008. "The Waqf in the City", in: *The city in the Islamic world*, vol. 1, Salma Khadra Jayyusi et al., eds., Leiden, 923-950.

Elad, Amikam 1982, "The Coastal Cities of Palestine During the Early Middle Ages", *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2, 146-167.

Elʿad, Amikam1988, "Some Aspects of the Islamic Traditions Regarding the Site of the Grave of Moses", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 11, 1-15.

Ener, Mine 2003, *Managing Egypt's poor and the politics of benevolence, 1800-1952*, Princeton.

Frenkel, Yehoshua 1997, "The Impact of the Crusades on the Rural Society and Religious Endowments: The Case of Medieval Syria (Bilad al-Sham)", in: *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th centuries*, Yaakov Lev, ed., Leiden / New York / Köln, 237-248.

Fuess, Albrecht 2001a, *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250-1517)*, Leiden / Boston / Köln.

Fuess, Albrecht 2001b, "Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5, 45-71.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M. 1923, *La Syrie a l'Époque des Mamelouks d'après des Auteurs Arabes: description géographique, économique et administrative*, Paris.

Guérin, Alexandrine 2001-02, "Un corpus des inscriptions arabes de la Syrie méridionale", *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 53-54, 229-278.

Guo, Li 1998, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān*, 2 vols., Leiden.

Hillenbrand, Carole 1999, *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh.

Holt, Peter Malcolm, trans. 1983, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'l-Fidāʾ, sultan of Ḥamāh (672-732/1273-1331)*, Wiesbaden.

Holt, Peter Malcolm 1995a, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian rulers*, Leiden.

Holt, Peter Malcolm 1995b, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684-741/1285-1341): his Ancestry, Kindred, and Affinity", in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 73), Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet, eds., Leuven, 313-324.

Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibbat Allah, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī, ed., Beirut 1995-98.

Ibn al-Firkāḥ, Burhān al-Dīn, "Kitāb bāʿith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-maḥrūs", Charles D. Matthews, ed., *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15,1-2 (1935), 51-87.

Ibn al-Firkāḥ, Burhān al-Dīn, "Kitāb bāʿith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-maḥrūs", Madihat al-Sharqawī, ed., in: *Arbaʿatu rasāʾil fī faḍāʾil al-masjid al-Aqṣā*, Muḥammad Zaynahum, ed., Cairo 1420/2000.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, Ḥasan Ḥabashī, ed., Cairo, 1419/1998.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr [Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas]*, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, ed., vol. 1,1, Wiesbaden 1975; vol. 3, Istanbul 1936.

Ibn Jamāʿa, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Mustanad al-ajnād fī ālāt al-jihād wa-mukhtaṣar fī faḍl al-jihād*, Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqshbandī, ed., Baghdad 1983.

Ibn Jamāʿa al-Maqdisī, Burhān al-Dīn, *Istiqbāl al-qiblataṯn*, Jewish National and University Library, ms Arab, Yahudah 318.

Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad b. Ibrahim,*Tārīkh ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbāʾihi wawafayāt al-akābir wa-l-aʿyān min abnāʾihi, al-maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī*, ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, ed., Beirut 1419/1998.

Ibn Kathīr, Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-ijtihād fī ṭalab al-jihād*, Cairo 1993.

Ibn Kathīr, Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, ed., Cairo 1998.

Ibn Naḥḥās, Abū Zakariyyā Aḥmad, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq wamuthīr al-gharām ilā dār al-salām, fī l-jihād wa-faḍāʾilihi*, Idrīs Muḥammad ʿAlī and Muḥammad Khālid Isṭanbūlī, eds., Beirut 1990.

Ibn Qādī Shuhba, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī l-sīra al-nūriyya*, ed. Maḥmūd Zāyid, Beirut 1971.

Ibn Rajab,ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, "Faḍāʾil al-Shām", in: *Faḍāʾil al-Shām*, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀdil b. Saʿd, ed., Beirut 2001, 153-281.

Ibn Shaddād, ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa-l-Jazīra*, Yaḥyā Zakariyyā ʿAbbāra, ed., Damascus 1991.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, vol. 5, William Popper, ed., Berkeley 1936.

Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-Quds wa-l-Shām*, Aḥmad Khuṭaymī, ed., Beirut 1415/1994.

Ibn Ṭawq, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Taʿlīq: mudhakkarāt kutibat bi-Dimashq fī awākhir al-ʿahd al-mamlūkī*, Jaʿfar al-Muhājir, ed., vol. 1: *885-908/1480-1502*, Damascus 2000.

Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya fī ṣalāḥ al-rāʿī wa-l-raʿiyya*, Beirut 1409/1998.

Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Masʾala fī l-murābata bi-l-thughūr afḍal am al-mujāwara bi-Makka*, Abū Muḥammad Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, ed., Riyad 2002.

Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Qāʿida fī l-inghimās fī al-ʿadw wa-hal yubāḥ*, Abū Muḥammad Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, ed., Riyad 2002.

Ibn Wāṣil, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Sayyāl, ed., vol. 1-5, Cairo 1954.

Ibn Yaḥyā, Ṣāliḥ, *Tārīkh Bayrūt wa-huwa akhbār al-salaf min dhurriyyāt Buḥtur b. ʿAlī amīr al-gharb bi Bayrūt*, Kamāl Ṣalībi and Francis Hours, eds., Beirut 1969.

Irwin, Robert 1977, "Iqṭāʿ and the end of the Crusader states" in: *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, P. M. Holt, ed., Warminster (Engl.), 62-77.

al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, "Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-ʾanbāʾihi wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-l-aʿyān min abnāʾihi", in: *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, 2nd ed., Ulrich Haarmann, ed., Freiburg i.Br. 1970.

al-Khalīlī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tārīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, Nūfān Rajā al-Ḥammūd Sawāriyya and Muḥammad ʿAdnān Bakhīt, eds., London 2004.

Khalilieh, Hassan Salih 1999, "The Ribât System and Its Role in Coastal Navigation", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42,2, 212-225.

Kofler, Hans, ed. 1934, "Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-ad-Dīn ibn Ǧamāʿah", *Islamica* 6, 349-414.

Laoust, Henri 1948, *Le Traité de droit public d'Ibn Taymīya*, Beirut.

Laoust, Henri 1955, "Ibn Kathir historien", *Arabica* 2, 42-88.

Lev, Yaacov 2005, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam*, Gainesville.

Levanoni, Amalia 1995, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)*, Leiden / New York / Köln.

Little, Donald P. 1984, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Beirut / Wiesbaden.

Little, Donald P. 1986, "The Fall of ʿAkkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version", in: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Moshe Sharon, ed., Jerusalem, 159-181.

Littmann, Enno 1949, *Syria: publications of the Princeton University archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, div. 4: *Semitic inscriptions*, sect. D: *Arabic inscriptions*, Leiden.

de Lucena, Luis Seco, ed. and trans. 1961, *Documentos Arábigo-Granadinos*, Madrid.

Mackie, Louise W. 1984, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations", *Muqarnas* 2: *The Art of the Mamluks*, 127-146.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAshūr, ed., Cairo 1970.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, ed., Beirut 1991.

Matthews Charles D. 1932, "The Wailing Wall and al-Buraq", *The Muslim World* 22,4 331-339.

Mayer, L. A. 1933, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey*, Oxford.

Milwright, Marcus 2008, *The fortress of the raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic period (1100-1650)*, Leiden.

Moukarzel, Pierre 2007, "Les expéditions militaires contre Chypre (1424-1426) d'après Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā: Quelques remarques sur la marine mamelouke", *al-Masāq* 19,2, 177-198.

al-Muqriʾ, Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad, *Kitab al-arbaʿīn fī l-jihād wa-l-mujāhidīn*, Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh Badr and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn ʿIrāqī, eds., Beirut 1992.

al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vol. 33, Cairo 1998.

Oppenheim, Max, ed. 1909, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien, und Kleinasien, gesammelt im Jahre 1899*, part 1: *Arabische Inschriften*, Leipzig 1909.

Peters, Rudolph 2005, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam: a reader*, updated and expanded ed., Princeton.

Pickthall, Mohammed Marmaduke, trans. 1954, *al-Qurʾān al-karīm: The meaning of the Holy Qurʾān*, New York.

al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, repr., Cairo 1963.

al-Qarrāb, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, *Faḍāʾil al-ramī fī sabīl Allāh taʿālā*, Mashhūr Ḥasan Maḥmūd Salmān, ed., al-Zarqāʾ 1989.

Reich, Sigismund and Gaston Wiet 1939, "Un astrolabe syrien du XIVe siècle", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 38, Cairo, 195-202.

Reinfandt, Lucian 2003, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl*, Berlin.

Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe (RCEA), Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet, eds., vol. 12 (1943), 13 (1944), 14 (1954), 15 (1956), 16 (1964), 17 (1982), Cairo.

Richards, Donald S., trans. 2007, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī 'l-taʾrīkh*, part 2: *The years 541-589/1146-1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, Aldershot.

Sadan, Joseph 1981, "Le Tombeau de Möise a Jéricho et à Damas. Une compétition entre deux lieux saints principalement á l'epoque ottomane", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 49,1, 59-99.

Salam-Liebich, Hayat 1983, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli*, Harvard (Mass).

Sauvaget, Jean 1932, "Décrets Mamelouks de Syrie (Premier Article)", *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 2, 1-52.

Shawkat, Shibli 1984, *Mamluk Inscriptions from Hebron*, Hebrew University MA thesis, Jerusalem.

Le Strange, Guy, trans. 1965 [1890], *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650-1500, translated from the works of the mediaeval Arab geographers*, Beirut.

al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn, *Fatāwā al-Subkī*, Beirut [1975].

Sublet, Jacqueline 1976, "Le Séquestre sur les jardins de la Ghouta (Damas 666/1267)", *Studia Islamica* 43, 81-86.

Al-Sulamī, al-ʿIzz b. ʿAbd al-Salām, *Targhīb ahl al-Islām fī suknā al-Shām*, Iyād Khalīd al-Ṭabbāʿ, ed., Damascus / Beirut 1413/1992.

al-Suyūṭī, Shams al-Dīn, *Itḥāf al-akhiṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad, ed., Cairo 1982-84.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Arbaʿūna ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād*, Marzūq ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, ed., Cairo 1988.

Taragan, Hana 2004, "The Tomb of Sayyidnā ʿAlī in Arsūf: the Story of a Holy Place", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* series 3,14,2, 83-102.

al-Ṭarsūsī, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, "Sīr al-thughūr", in: *Shadharāt min kutub mafqūda fī l-tārīkh*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ed., Beirut 1988, 437-459.

al-Ṭarsūsī, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Baqāyā Kitāb Siyar al-thughūr min khilāl makhṭūṭat Bughyat al-ṭalab li-Ibn al-ʿAdīm*; Shākir Muṣṭafā, ed., Damascus 1998.

Terdiman, Moshe 2007, *The Mamluk maritime policy in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Red Sea*, unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Haifa.

Tsugitaka Sato 1997, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun*, Leiden / New York / Köln.

al-ʿUmarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār, Dawlat al-mamālik al-ūlā [description of Syria and Egypt]*, Dorothea Krawulsky, ed., Beirut 1986.

Wiet, Gaston, trans. 1945, *Histoire des mamlouks circassiens: Badā'iʿ al-zuhūr fī waqā'iʿ al-duhūr par Ibn Iyās*, Cairo.