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0521522900 - Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281

Reuven Amitai-Preiss

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For some sixty years, commencing in 1260, the Mamluk state in Egypt and Syria was at war with the Īlkhānid Mongols based in Persia. This is the first comprehensive study of the political and military aspects of the early years of the war, the twenty-one-year period commencing with the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt in Palestine in 1260 and ending in 1281 at the battle of Homs in northern Syria. Between these major confrontations, which resulted from Mongol invasions into Syria, the Mamluk–Īlkhānid struggle was continued in the manner of a ‘cold war’ with both sides involved in border skirmishes, diplomatic maneuvers, psychological warfare, ideological posturing, espionage and other forms of subterfuge. Here, as in the major battles, the Mamluks usually maintained the upper hand, establishing themselves as the major Muslim power at the time. Using primarily contemporary Arabic and Persian sources, Reuven Amitai-Preiss sheds new light on the confrontation, examining the war within the context of Īlkhānid/Mamluk relations with the Byzantine Empire, the Latin West and the crusading states, as well as with other Mongol states.

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PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

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First published 1995

Reprinted 1996

First paperback edition 2004

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven, 1955-

Mongols and Mamluks: the Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281 / Reuven Amitai-Preiss.

p. cm. – (Cambridge Studies in Islamic civilization)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 46226 6 hardback

1. Islamic Empire – History – 1258–1516. I. Title. II. Series.

DS38.7.A46 1995

909'.097671-dc20 94-21441 CIP

ISBN 0 521 46226 6 hardback

ISBN 0 521 52290 0 paperback

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0521522900 - Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281

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To my Mother and Father

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Preface

This present study had its genesis as a Ph.D. dissertation, which was submitted to the Senate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in February 1990. I wish to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to my supervisors, Professor David Ayalon and Dr. Peter Jackson, for having given unstintingly of their time and knowledge over a period of many years, even after my formal status as a student was ended. I would also like to thank the following: Dr. D.O. Morgan, for his sound advice and helping hand; Professor M. Sharon, for his encouragement and counsel over the years; Mr. A.H. Morton, who first introduced me to the Īlkhānid sources; Mr. R. Irwin, who contributed both helpful criticism and countenance, perhaps more than he is willing to admit; Professor U. Haarmann, who supplied me with an important microfilm at very short notice; Professor A. Khazanov, who read a very early version of chapter 1; Professor R.P. Lindner, for reading a draft of chapter 10. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Professor E. Kohlberg for his advice regarding publishing this work. In addition, my thanks are due to Dr. Ellenblum for his translations from Latin, Professor M. Erdal for his help in transliterating Turkish and Mongolian names and terms, and Mr. D. Dector for assistance with Russian material. I am also grateful to Ms. Tamar Sofer and Ms. Noa Nachum of the Cartographic Laboratory of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for the maps which they produced for this volume, as well as to Ms. Sally Ayrton and Ms. Roza el-Eini for their careful reading of this study and their judicious comments. My wife Nitzan deserves special thanks for her continuous encouragement and support, along with her careful and critical reading of my text. The oft-repeated but ever-valid warning applies here: I alone am responsible for any mistakes or shortcomings contained in this study.

I am grateful to the staffs of the following institutions for assisting my research: the Jewish National and University Library (Jerusalem); Hebrew University Map Library; Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London); Institute of Historical Research (London); Dept. of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, the British Library; Bodleian Library (Oxford); Chester Beatty Library (Dublin); Topkapı Sarayı, Süleymaniye and

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Köprülüzade Libraries (Istanbul); the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris); the Vatican Library; Princeton University Library; and the University of Pennsylvania Library (Philadelphia). Much of the revision of this work was done during the 1990–1 year as a visiting research fellow at the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. I would like to thank the staff of the Department and its then chairman, Professor A. Udovitch, as well as Professor M.A. Cook, for helping to make my stay there so profitable. I would also like to express my gratitude to the following bodies which assisted in the financing of the research and writing of this study: the Institute of Asian and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Central Research Fund, Hebrew University; Golda Meir Fund (Jerusalem); Council for Higher Education in Israel.

I am grateful to the following for permission to reproduce photographs: Professor M. Sharon, editor of *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Jerusalem); Ms. Habie Schwarz (London); Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (Paris); Dr. T.A. Sinclair (London and Nicosia). I would also like to acknowledge the permission of Dr. D.O. Morgan to reproduce genealogical tables from his *The Mongols* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986). I cite in this book sections from two of my articles, and express my gratitude to the publishers for permission to do so: *al-Masāq: Studio Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* (vol. 3 [1990]), and *Tārīḥ* (vol. 2 [1992]). Finally, it is a special pleasure to thank the staff at Cambridge University Press, particularly the series editor, Marigold Acland, and the sub-editor, Margaret Sharman, for their diligent and professional work, as well as their patience and good grace.

In conclusion, I would like to evoke the memory of the late Burton Barsky, my English teacher at Central High School in Philadelphia. The resemblance that this text has to standard written English is due largely to his stern teachings, for which I am ever grateful.

Abbreviations

<i>AAS</i>	<i>Asian and African Studies</i>
<i>AEMA</i>	<i>Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi</i>
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'orient latin</i>
<i>BEO</i>	<i>Bulletin d'études orientales</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
<i>CHIr</i> , 5	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i> . Vol. 5: Ed. J.A. Boyle. <i>The Saljuq and Mongol Periods</i> . Cambridge, 1968.
Dozy	R. Dozy. <i>Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes</i> . Leiden, 1881. 2 vols.
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EI</i> ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 1st edition. Leiden and London, 1913–36.
<i>EI</i> ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition. Leiden and London, 1960–.
<i>EIr</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> . London, Boston and Henley, 1985–.
<i>Faql</i>	Shāfi' b. 'Alī. <i>Al-Faql al-ma'thūr min sirat al-sultān al-malik al-manšūr</i> . MS. Bodleian Marsh 424.
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> .
<i>Ḥusn</i>	Shāfi' b. 'Alī. <i>Ḥusn al-manāqib al-sirriyya al-muntaza'a min al-sira al-zāhiriyya</i> . Ed. 'A-'A. al-Khuwayṭir. Riyadh, n.d.
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
Lane	E.W. Lane. <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> . Rpt. Cambridge, 1984. 2 vols.
<i>MHR</i>	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
<i>Rawḍ</i>	Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. <i>Al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-malik al-zāhir</i> . Ed. 'A-'A al-Khuwayṭir. Riyadh, 1396/1976.
<i>RCEA</i>	<i>Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe</i> . Ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet. Cairo, 1931–. 17 vols. to date.

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- REI* *Revue des études islamiques*
- RHC, Ar* *Recueil des historiens des croisades, documents arméniens*. Paris, 1869–1906.
- RHC, Occ* *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*. Paris, 1844–95.
- RHC, Or* *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens orientaux*. Paris, 1872–1906.
- ROL* *Revue de l'orient latin*
- SI* *Studia Islamica*
- Tashrīf* Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir. *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa'l-ʿuṣūr fī sirat al-malik al-manṣūr*. Ed. M. Kāmil. Cairo, 1961.
- TMEN* G. Doerfer. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden, 1963–75. 4 vols.
- Tuhfa* Baybars al-Manṣūrī. *Kitāb al-tuhfa al-mulūkiyya fī dawla al-turkiyya*. Ed. 'A-R. Ḥamdān. Cairo, 1987.
- Zubda* Baybars al-Manṣūrī. *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rikh al-hijra*. MS. British Library Add. 23325

Notes on dates and transliteration

1 Dates are generally given according to the *hijrī* calendar, followed by the Western (i.e., AD) equivalent. When *hijrī* dates are given alone, as in the notes, they are prefixed by AH. Western dates are sometimes found on their own, particularly when discussing events in Europe or among the Franks of Outremer.

2 Arabic words, titles and names have been transliterated according to the system used in the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Words and names of Persian origin have usually been transliterated as if they were Arabic (e.g., ‘Alizādah, not ‘Alizāde; Juwaynī, not Juvaynī); the same applies to the titles of Persian books. One exception to this rule is the title *pervāne*, which is preferable to its rendering in Arabic sources, *barwānāh*. Common words of Arabic origin, such as mamluk, amir and sultan, are written without diacritical points. “Mamluk” and “Mamluks” with capital letters specifically refer to the Sultanate established in Egypt in AD 1250, while “mamluks” without a capital letter refers to military slaves in a general sense.

3 Place names are generally given in their Arabic forms. Frankish, Armenian or Modern Turkish variants are also given in parenthesis, at least for the first time the location is named. Well-known place names are given in their accepted English forms: e.g., Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Homs, Aleppo, Mosul.

4 Names and terms of Mongolian origin are generally rendered in the Middle Mongolian form, while Turkish words and names (including those of mamluks) are transcribed in a manner which will hopefully approximate their pronunciation in the Mamluk Sultanate. Instead of *č* in Mongolian and *ç* in Turkish, I have used the diagraph *ch*; in lieu of *γ* used by linguists for both languages, I have adopted *gh*; *j* has replaced the *ǰ* of Mongolian and the *c* of modern Turkish; *š* in Mongolian and *ş* in Turkish have been replaced by *sh*. Turkish and Mongolian names are not given with the long vowels found in their Arabic and Persian transcriptions, e.g., Qalawun, not Qalāwūn. Purists might find fault with my usage of *ilkhān* instead of *il Khan* or even *el Khan*, as well as *bahādur* instead of *baghatūr*, but since these terms were thoroughly Arabized, I have permitted myself to adopt the form favored by historians of medieval Islam.