

# Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies

*Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*

*Edited by*

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# Mamluk Diplomats: the Present State of Research

*Frédéric Bauden*

## 1 Introduction

Diplomatics, one of the ancillary disciplines of history, aims at “studying the textual tradition, the form and the issuing process (or genesis) of written documents.”<sup>1</sup> Its goals are to critically analyze documents, establish their authenticity and identify the common and peculiar elements in their texts, and to date and edit them.<sup>2</sup> Historically, its main, if not sole, object was the study of original documents issued by (religious or secular) state chanceries in medieval Europe. In the twentieth century, diplomatics started to focus on administrative and private documents, including copies; more recently its temporal and geographic scopes have widened to the extent that they now include non-European diplomatic traditions, like the Islamic or the Japanese traditions.<sup>3</sup> While this openness certainly contributes to the renewal of diplomatics, it also means that the discipline has witnessed several developments that helped to broaden its horizon. Moreover, just as the field of diplomatic studies, i.e., those studies that concentrate on diplomacy, resumed over the last decades, leading to a reformulation of the field as ‘new diplomatic history,’<sup>4</sup> several ‘turns’ (archival,<sup>5</sup> performative<sup>6</sup>) and technological tools have impacted diplomatics in a similar way, making it even more appealing to new scholars, in spite of its deep roots in positivism.<sup>7</sup>

Over the past two centuries, diplomatics in the field of Islamic studies has seldom been addressed. It has been repeatedly argued that this disinterest was

1 Cárceles Ortí, *Vocabulaire* 21.

2 Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* 16.

3 As noted in the preface to this volume, the *Commission Internationale de Diplomatique* has recently widened its scope by including specialists of the non-European diplomatic traditions.

4 See Dekkiche’s state of the research in this volume.

5 On the archival turn, see *Archival knowledge cultures*; *Archival transformations*; Blair, Introduction; Delsalle, *A history*; de Vivo et al., *Archival transformations*; Friedrich, *Die Geburt*; Gilliland, Afterword; Head, *Spaces*.

6 On the performative turn, see Moeglin, « Performative Turn ».

7 On these latest developments, see Guyotjeannin, *The expansion*.

mainly due to the paucity of Islamic documentary sources before the Ottoman period, more specifically before the beginning of the eleventh/sixteenth century. However, as the last century has witnessed the identification and discovery of thousands of documents mainly written on papyrus, parchment, and paper covering larger chronological and geographical limits, the notion of a relative scarcity of documents must be moderated. As a consequence, the discipline witnessed a renewed attraction in the 1960s and 1970s; some of the most active scholars in this respect include Samuel Miklos Stern (d. 1969), Lajos Fekete (d. 1969), Adolf Grohmann (d. 1977), Claude Cahen (d. 1991), Hans Robert Roemer (d. 1997), John Wansbrough (d. 2002), Victor Louis Ménéage (d. 2015), Heribert Busse, Valery Stojanow, and Rudolf Veselý. These scholars seeded hopes that the works of pioneers like Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (d. 1838) and Michele Amari (d. 1889) would not remain in vain, nor would they go unchallenged. These scholars not only contributed to an increase in the body of documents published, they also approached questions linked to diplomatics as a discipline, by drawing inspiration from the achievements of medieval European diplomatists.<sup>8</sup> Unsurprisingly, the period witnessed the publication of several articles and books in which these scholars tackled diplomatic issues for a given period or dynasty, particularly that of the Ayyubid,<sup>9</sup> Ottoman,<sup>10</sup> Timurid,<sup>11</sup> Aq Qoyunlu,<sup>12</sup> and Safavid documents.<sup>13</sup> Some more general conclusions about diplomatics could also be drawn.<sup>14</sup> The generation of scholars that followed in the 1990s, mostly represented by Yūsuf Rāghib and Werner Diem, continued the efforts of their predecessors, but focused their attention on unpublished documents, rather than improving the conclusions reached on diplomatic issues. In a way, they addressed the main problem posed by diplomatics; namely, that the discipline needs documents. More editions are thus required before a handbook of Arabic diplomatics can be written with

8 The common meaning of the word, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is “one engaged in official diplomacy.” It is used here to refer to those researching the field of diplomatics (French *diplomate*).

9 Hein, *Beiträge*.

10 Reyhman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*; Fekete, *Einführung*; Horniker, Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics.

11 Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*.

12 Keçik, *Briefe und Urkunden*; Busse, *Untersuchungen*.

13 Busse, *Persische Diplomatie*; Busse, *Untersuchungen*; Mitchell, Safavid imperial *tarassul*.

14 See the articles on *Daftar*, *Diplomatics*, *Dīwān*, *Imtiyāzāt*, and *Inshāʾ* in *ET<sup>2</sup>* as well as Cahen’s thoughts on the place of diplomatics in Islam in Cahen, *Notes*. See also the still useful bibliographic guide of Roncaglia, *Essai bibliographique*.

confidence. The work of these scholars to publish previously unpublished (or unknown) documents has also included several—mostly Mamluk—chancery manuals and formularies, which, despite their prescriptive/normative inclination, constitute valuable tools to shed light on features observed in these documents. Consequently, it is no surprise that several publications have appeared since 2000, mostly dedicated to Arabic documents,<sup>15</sup> and, in some cases also dealing with diplomatics and diplomacy.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, the documents of the Mamluk period that are tied to diplomatic relations between the sultanate and other Muslim and non-Muslim powers have been of less interest to modern scholars for the simple reason that most of these documents were published between the mid-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth century. Rather than questioning their predecessors' work, modern scholars have generally taken for granted the accuracy of the edited texts and the proposed identification of the categories to which these documents belong. This indiscriminate confidence has generated misunderstandings that have had consequences on studies dedicated to both diplomatics and diplomacy. To face these misunderstandings and correct their consequences, diplomatists must, in most cases, start from the beginning. This implies going back to the sources, i.e., the documents themselves, checking the readings and the translations, and reinterpreting their nature and their symbolic value. This process began a few years ago and will certainly yield groundbreaking results.

While the quantity of data available has increased, and in turn our knowledge of the chancery rules applied by the secretaries has benefited, it is also true that several *idées reçues* are difficult to counter. Scholars continue to believe misconceptions based on a Eurocentric point of view or interpretation. Words like peace treaties, capitulations, and privileges are still used to describe documents or parts of documents that were never intended to mean that for the Mamluk chancery. In such cases, reference should be made to the technical terms describing these documents in the Mamluk diplomatic tradition. In this

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15 Martínez de Castilla, *Documentos*; Regourd, *Documents et histoire*; and, since 2002, the various volumes of proceedings of the Conference of the International Society for Arabic Papyrology. These publications were preceded by Stern, *Documents* (1965), who set the ground for similar initiatives in the future. For the Mamluk period, see the state of the arts of Bauden, Mamluk era documentary studies; Reinfandt, Mamlük documentary studies.

16 Aigle and Bernardini, *Correspondances diplomatiques*; Aigle and Buresi, *Les Relations diplomatiques*; Aigle and Péquignot, *La Correspondance; L'Autorité de l'écrit*; Beihammer, *Diplomatics*; Favereau, *Les Conventions*.



volume, several contributions engage with these diplomatic issues in a variety of ways,<sup>17</sup> leading to what diplomatics can achieve, even in reassessing the work of the past.

This state of research, a necessary update, aims at presenting an outline of the results garnered during almost two centuries of research, and focuses exclusively on documents related to diplomatic exchanges with the Mamluk sultanate. It provides a detailed survey of the literature available on the documents preserved in archival repositories in Europe and Turkey; this should be read together with a census of these documents found in the appendix. At the same time, we emphasize the accomplishments made and the flaws identified in the works of the past. Notwithstanding, Mamluk diplomatics cannot be addressed on the sole basis of the preserved documents, not only because their number is relatively limited (thirty originals and one hundred translations), but also because their variety does not reflect the whole range of categories that were produced by the state chancery. Consequently, diplomatists have no choice but to consider other types of texts that may enhance their knowledge of the rules applied by the secretaries and broaden the corpus of documents. In a subsequent section, I have detailed in chronological order the prescriptive and normative texts, which include the chancery manuals and the formularies. I then list the descriptive works, i.e., collections of letters, which may be regarded in various respects as registers of documents. In both cases, I stress that while a large part of these texts has been published and studied, the value of others that remain in manuscript form still await assessment. On the basis of these sources, in the next section I delineate the main elements pertaining to Mamluk diplomatics, based on what can be derived from the examination of the documents identified in archival repositories and in textual sources. In so doing, my aim is not so much to detail all the rules that can be derived from the diplomatic study of these documents as it is to indicate the steps that still need to be taken in order to reach a satisfactory level of knowledge that could lead to the publication of a manual of Mamluk diplomatics.

## 2 Archives? Did You Say Archives?

To say that diplomatics would not exist without documents is a truism whose merit is to remind us that we need more than documents; archives are needed

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<sup>17</sup> See the contributions of Bauden, Boloix Gallardo, Chapoutot-Remadi, Dekkiche, Dewière, D'hulster, Frantz-Murphy, Reinfandt, and Rizzo.

because diplomatists must rely on a significant number of written witnesses that also highlight the processes linked to their preservation. Archival processes are instrumental because, beyond providing answers to questions related to the practicalities of the preservation of documents, they also shed light on the reasons behind their preservation.<sup>18</sup> Given these premises, one might argue that, in the absence of archives in Islam before the dawn of the tenth/sixteenth century, diplomatic studies are an impossibility in this field before that period. Such a position is too extreme, because, in terms of diplomatic relations, documents issued by the various Muslim chanceries are available in the archives of the recipients—almost exclusively European repositories. On the Muslim side, copies of letters received and the replies penned by the chanceries are also accessible in various kinds of sources. Several prescriptive works—chancery manuals and formularies—redacted by those who were active at the state chancery have also reached us. Notwithstanding the existence of these witnesses, it is clear that the task of diplomatists working in the Islamic realm is, if not impossible, more complicated than that of their colleagues working on the European side, mainly because of what has been termed ‘the silence of the archives.’<sup>19</sup>

The lack of archives before the Ottoman imperial age has puzzled scholars for decades. The debate has raged among historians of Islam who have tried, in many ways, to provide answers, putting forward various arguments that could explain the disappearance, rather than the lack, of archives in pre-modern Islam.<sup>20</sup> With very few exceptions, historians have accepted the idea that, on the basis of the data given by the textual sources (prescriptive and narrative) and the documents themselves, archives did exist.<sup>21</sup> The disappearance, whatever the processes lying behind it—loss, destruction, disposal—, is a

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18 In recent years, remarkably, the debate has shifted to the latter aspect. This distinct interest in archival practices has been coined the ‘archival turn’. On this, see, in particular, Delsalle, *A history*; Friedrich, *Die Geburt*; Head, *Spaces*; and the following special issues in journals: *Archival knowledge*; *Archival transformations*.

19 Loiseau, *Le Silence des archives*.

20 As Picard, *De l’usage de l’écrit* 128, states, it is the destruction of the archives, not their absence that is problematic. For a review of the debate and the answers, see Bauden, *Du destin des archives*. See also, since then, Bausi et al., *Manuscripts and archives*; El-Leithy, *Living documents*; Friedrich, *Epilogue*; Hirschler, *From archive*; Martinez-Gros, *Mise en écriture*; Müller, *Der Kadi*; Müller, *The Haram al-Šarif collection*; Paul, *Archival practices*; Van Berkel, *Archives*.

21 In addition to the references quoted in the previous note, see Rodinson, *La Continuité*; Bravmann, *The state archives*; Posner, *Archives*; Posner, *Twelfth century “job descriptions”* (where he describes the archival processes at the Fatimid chancery on the basis of a contemporary chancery manual).

challenging issue and thus far, no definite answer has been proposed. However, in this respect, the position of historians of Islam seems to have been mainly predicated on a Eurocentrist—and at times anachronistic—view. Given that archival repositories exist on the European continent, some holding documents that date back to the eighth and ninth centuries, it is generally assumed that the same practices were applied everywhere at the same time. European diplomatists and historians explain the survival of large quantities of documents by an ‘archival mindset’ that prevailed in many European states from the end of the eleventh century onward. The main reasons outlined for this survival in the Middle Ages are the great significance given to written law, which went hand in hand with a larger preservation of deeds and an increase in the production of documents due to notarial activities. Additionally, the emerging powers of medieval Europe began to rely more on documents to govern while, at the same time, the spread of the use of paper favored the growth of written evidence of all kinds. These factors were concomitant with the time the documents were issued. Other factors related to the later exploitation of the documents, when these started to be used for political and ideological purposes, leading to the reorganization of the archives in the modern period. The study of documents in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for political reasons contributed to create a centripetal movement in which more documents were collected from various sources (religious and private archives, among others) and integrated with what had become national archives. The development of archives in Europe thus took place on a par with the notion of the nation-state.<sup>22</sup>

Historians of European archives also stress that the situation that prevailed across Europe was far from uniform.<sup>23</sup> The discontinuous character of dynasties and the destructions and *damnationes memoriae*, all reasons that hinder the construction and preservation of archives, also existed in Europe.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the issue of lost memory<sup>25</sup> was not peculiar to Islam. The survey of documents linked to the diplomatic exchanges between the Mamluk sultanate and other powers that have been preserved in archives shows that the European counterparts of the Mamluks did not necessarily pay particular attention to the

22 For Aragon, see McCrank, *Documenting Reconquest*; Péquignot, ‘No hay nada.’ For Italy, see Dover, *Deciphering the diplomatic archives*. See also Péquignot, *Le Cadre des échanges*, in Moeglin and Péquignot, *Diplomatie*; Bougard, *Mise en écriture* 18.

23 Bougard, *Mise en écriture* 17.

24 See Péquignot, *Le Cadre des échanges*, in Moeglin and Péquignot, *Diplomatie* 128 and 141. For the contemporary period, see Filippov and Sabaté, *Identity and loss*, especially on the destruction of archives and libraries in Sarajevo at the end of the twentieth century.

25 See *La Mémoire perdue* for the loss of the archives of ancient Rome.

preservation of the original documents they received. For instance, the archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona hold the greatest number of original Mamluk documents starting from the end of the seventh/thirteenth century; nevertheless, it is clear that archival practices were not uniform over the centuries. Catalan documents addressed to Mamluk authorities (the last one dated 1508) demonstrate that while relations with the Mamluk sultanate lasted until its downfall in 1517, the latest Mamluk document preserved in Barcelona dates from 833/1430 and the latest (in translation) dates from 842/1439. This decline in preservation not only shows that archival practices were applied unevenly; it also helps us to envision the number of documents that were lost.

Original letters have rarely survived in the European archives,<sup>26</sup> and when they did, it is because they were related to specific cases or for political or ideological reasons.<sup>27</sup> Our knowledge of the correspondence between the Mamluk sultans and the European powers is much better because of the copies of the translations that were recorded in the European registers. The Venetian archives, which are well-known for the richness of their collections, is a case in point: while they have only one original Mamluk letter from the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, its registers contain seventy-four translations of Mamluk documents covering the whole period of Mamluk rule. This translation and registration activity certainly helps to explain why the archivists disposed of the original Mamluk documents. The language barrier—documents in a language and a handwriting that could only be interpreted by a very few people—also played a role in this respect.

In the Islamic world in general, and during the Mamluk period in particular, other strategies were at play.<sup>28</sup> Recently, several scholars have proposed various keys by which to interpret and apprehend the question of the disappearance of archives. I also emphasized that the number of documents that has survived indicates that the Mamluks were also fond of red tape.<sup>29</sup> Tamer El-Leithy has proposed that we consider the concept of archives from a different perspective.<sup>30</sup> More recently, Konrad Hirschler has stressed that scholars should rather focus their attention on the provincial chanceries, which were no less active

26 Péquignot, *Le Cadre des échanges*, in Moeglin and Péquignot, *Diplomatie* 139. His comment applies to diplomatic letters in European archives in general, whatever their origin.

27 For instance, letters received from eastern rulers were kept and/or registered by the papacy as evidence of its universal relevance. See Tanase, *Les Mongols*.

28 See Hirschler, *From archive*.

29 Bauden, *Mamluk era documentary studies*; Bauden, *Du destin des archives*.

30 El-Leithy, *Living documents*. See also Vallet, *Des "sultans-secrétaires?"*, for the Rasulid dynasty.

than the state chancery in Cairo.<sup>31</sup> In another contribution, I address the question of the fate of the archives of the *dīwān al-inshā'*, i.e., the state chancery where foreign letters were archived in bundles according to the month during which they were received.<sup>32</sup> According to al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), who worked for the state chancery in Cairo starting from 791/1389,<sup>33</sup> this archival system had already been downgraded, at least in comparison to earlier periods, when the contents of letters were recorded in registers in addition to the archiving of the originals.<sup>34</sup> The use of registers for diplomatic letters seems to have been reinstated at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, when, under the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21), Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārīzī, the chief secretary between 815/1413 and 823/1420, restored the practice of copying the contents of the most significant of the incoming and outgoing letters in a register in his own hand.<sup>35</sup> The reestablishment of an old practice such as this may also explain the presence of several collections of letters, which may have functioned as registers, for that very century.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, it might give us a clue about the disappearance of the original letters. One letter from the Qara Qoyunlu ruler and another from the Rasulid sultan that reached Cairo during

31 Hirschler, *From archive*. See also the recent contributions to the debate by Paul, *Archival practices*, and Friedrich, *Epilogue*.

32 Bauden, *Du destin des archives* 34–5.

33 On him, see below.

34 Al-Qalqashandī explains this practice of the past in detail, with more than a hint of nostalgia for what he considered a good practice that should not have been discontinued. His argument is fair enough; we can see this same nostalgia and desire for tradition at play in the recent—unsuccessful—attempt to abolish a thousand-year-old practice of recording laws on goat and calf skin in England. See <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/15/lords-overruled-recording-laws-vellum-goat-calf-skin> (consulted on 18 July 2017).

With regard to the registers, we know that long-standing chancery practices were still in use at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī, who worked for some years at the chancery during that period, borrowed a sign that was used in registers to indicate that the original document had been issued. This sign has been attested in a fragment of a chancery register from the Fatimid period. See Bauden, *Maqriziana* 111. The same sign has been identified in holographs of another scholar, one of al-Maqrīzī's friends and colleagues, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449).

35 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ* 52 (wa-qad akhadha l-maqrar al-ashraf al-Nāṣirī ṣāhib dīwān al-inshā' fi l-dawla al-mu'ayyadiyya Shaykh fi ḍabṭ muhimm al-mukātabāt al-ṣādira wa-l-wārīda bi-daftar bi-khaṭṭihi). This sentence is absent in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (i, 139), an indication that it was added between 814/1412, the date of the completion of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, and 821/1418, when he finished *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*. See also Björkman, *Beiträge* 39. This example tallies with the idea that archives are more the result of initiatives taken by individuals, clerks, and those active at the chancery, than by governments. See Martínez-Gros, *Mise en écriture* 23; Morelle, *Usages* 121.

36 On these, see below.

Ibn al-Bārīzī's period found their way into the holographs of the Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) who reused them as scrap paper.<sup>37</sup> In the case of the Rasulid letter, Ibn Ḥijja (d. 837/1434), who was in charge of the redaction of deeds and letters (*munshī'*), recorded its text, and the answer he drafted at Ibn al-Bārīzī's request, in his personal collection of documents (*Qahwat al-inshā'*).<sup>38</sup> Both original letters were thus discarded because they were lent or given to al-Maqrīzī by Ibn Ḥijja or Ibn al-Bārīzī who had already recorded a copy of them.<sup>39</sup> The language barrier may also provide another hint about the reason for the disposal of diplomatic letters in the Mamluk period.<sup>40</sup> When al-Qalqashandī describes letters received from Christian rulers in his *magnum opus*, he quotes only three examples that arrived at the chancery in 814/1411–2, i.e., the year he completed his manual, as if he could not access older letters.<sup>41</sup>

Other, definitely more tragic, events may have impacted the archives. One momentous example was reported by al-Maqrīzī, who also worked at the state chancery in his early career. Thanks to his testimony, we know that around 791–2/1389–90, at a time of great political turmoil for the sultanate, the documents stored in a room of the state chancery were looted and sold by weight. In order to stress that these were documents and not just blank paper, he specifies that their contents were lost.<sup>42</sup> In addition to what this report tells us about the situation that led to the disappearance of one section of the state archives (the one that held the diplomatic letters, among others), this episode enlightens us about the fate of these documents. Al-Maqrīzī does not detail the categories of documents that were stolen (original letters and/or registers). Whatever the case may be, they were clearly still valuable because they could be reused. The

37 The Qara Qoyunlu letter is the topic of my article in this volume. For the reconstruction of the Rasulid letter, see Bauden, Yemeni-Egyptian diplomatic exchanges.

38 On him and his work, see below.

39 Al-Maqrīzī's interest in these letters might have arisen while he was writing his chronicle on the Mamluks, *al-Sulūk*, but nothing is certain. He does provide some information about the embassies, as well as news that both letters conveyed, but he refrains from giving the full text of the letters or even mentioning that he had read them.

40 This was suggested by Lammens, *Correspondances diplomatiques* 368, though in polemical terms.

41 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* viii, 121–5.

42 See Bauden, *The recovery* 74. Al-Qalqashandī had started to work at the state chancery around the time this episode took place. With very few exceptions, he found the documents he quotes in his *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* as copies in other sources. For instance, when he mentions the truces concluded with the crusader states, he does so via (Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram) Ibn Manẓūr's *Tadhkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* xiv, 70 ff. and Björkman, *Beiträge* 77, on this source. On al-Qalqashandī's sources in general, see Veselý, *Zu den Quellen*.

original letters, if issued by the eastern chanceries, were in the shape of rolls with large interlinear spaces on the recto and no text on the verso.<sup>43</sup> These rolls thus offered wide blank spaces. These could be cut into several pieces to combine into quires that could be reused as scrap paper by scholars like al-Maqrīzī.<sup>44</sup> The reuse of chancery and private documents has since attracted the attention of other researchers;<sup>45</sup> we know that the practice was not specific to the Mamluk period<sup>46</sup> or even the Islamic world.<sup>47</sup> With regard to the registers, the usefulness of reusing them is less obvious. On the basis of a unique sample of a fragment of a register from the Fatimid period,<sup>48</sup> we can confirm that little space was left blank on the sheets in the registers, thus, reusing them the way the scrolls were reused does not seem possible. However, I have recently established that recycled paper was produced in the Mamluk sultanate.<sup>49</sup> In such a case, even registers full of ink could have been given new life.<sup>50</sup>

### 3 Documents in Archival Repositories

In what follows, I review the present state of research on documents related to diplomacy (as defined above), including those that are preserved in archives (originals<sup>51</sup> and/or translations in the case of documents issued by the Mamluk chancery; and copies in registers for those issued by the other chanceries).<sup>52</sup>

43 See below.

44 In Bauden, *The recovery* 75, I tentatively connected the reused documents found in his notebook with the event he reported regarding the looting. I revised this interpretation in Bauden, *Du destin* 38. It is also worth mentioning that I have now found evidence of chancery documents being reused by another scholar, Ibn Ḥajar, a contemporary of al-Maqrīzī.

45 See Hirschler, *Document reuse*.

46 For a Persian document dated 892/1487 that was glued on the pastedown of a Persian manuscript datable to the tenth/sixteenth century, see Afshar, *Catalogue* 276–7 and figs. 10–1 (*Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismāʿīl*, MS Or. Hs. 542, Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv).

47 An example of a Fatimid document is attested in the Genoese archives for the twelfth century. See the references in Bauden, *Du destin* 41.

48 Khan, *A copy of a decree*.

49 The paper produced was unusable for writing because of its color (it was probably grey from the ink). Its use was thus limited to wrapping. See Bauden, *A note*.

50 For other uses of documents, see Bauden, *Du destin* 43–4.

51 In diplomatic terms, the original document refers to the initial deed established, which expresses the final form and the will of the author of the deed; it is thus deemed authentic. The perfect deed either bears validation marks or was issued in such an authentic condition that it is evidently authentic. See Cárceles Ortí, *Vocabulaire* 30 (no. 42).

52 In fact, we do not review copies of documents found in the sources. Though a comprehen-

With the exception of the Ottomans, the vast majority of these documents are in European repositories, because this archival material mainly relates to European powers. This prevalence does pose some problems in terms of diplomatics for the Mamluk side, as the guidelines applied by the Mamluk chancery for non-Muslim rulers largely differed from those it followed for Muslim rulers, as we will see. I review these documents according to the classification adopted in the survey found at the end of this state of research: the various powers are organized in descending order, by the number of original Mamluk documents held. This classification is justified by the fact that originals generally have a greater value in the eyes of the diplomatist.

### 3.1 *Aragon*

The Archives of the Crown of Aragon (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, ACA) in Barcelona is renowned for the quantity, the quality, and the variety of documents it has preserved from the time of the High Middle Ages. This prominence is undisputed, in terms of the documents that emanated from Muslim chanceries. Regarding the Mamluk sultanate, the ACA holds the largest number of original Mamluk documents (eleven),<sup>53</sup> and in terms of quality and variety, the collection is far superior to the other archives in Europe. The collection is particularly notable for what appears to be the oldest original truce (*hudna*) concluded between a Christian ruler, James II (r. 1285–1327), and a Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 689–93/1290–3). Dated 19 Šafar 692/29 January 1293, shortly after the sultan had conquered the last Frankish stronghold in Syria, the truce is remarkable for several reasons. It not only reproduces, almost identically, a former truce agreed upon by the predecessors of both rulers, al-Manšūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) and Alphonso III (r. 1285–91), three years earlier,<sup>54</sup> but its text has been fully transcribed by al-Qalqashandī

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sive survey of such copies would certainly be useful, it is well beyond the goals set for this state of research in terms of diplomatics. It would also require much more space than is feasible in the framework of this volume. Finally, most of these copies have already been reviewed by Malika Dekkiche in her state of research on diplomacy that follows the current state of research on diplomatics; the references she quotes there often mention these copies preserved in the sources.

53 With very few exceptions, all these documents have been described and digitized on the portal of the Spanish archives ([pares.mcu.es](http://pares.mcu.es)): under “Archivo de la Corona de Aragón,” then “Diversos y colecciones,” and “Cartas árabes.” This includes all the Arabic documents (a total of 211) exchanged by various Muslim dynasties with the Crown of Aragon, but not the fragments that recently resurfaced (see n. 58 below).

54 The original of this truce is lost, but its text is known thanks to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/



in his *opus magnum*.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the translation prepared by the Aragonese chancery and a copy of the letter addressed by James II to his Muslim counterpart asking for the negotiation have been kept.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the original document of the truce is poorly preserved: the text starts in what appears to be the middle of the document, the upper part of the roll is missing, and bookworms have damaged several parts of the text, particularly on the left side where the lines end. These lacunae led the editors of most of the Arabic documents preserved at the ACA to prefer the copy registered by al-Qalqashandī over the original.<sup>57</sup> Since this publication, two fragments of this document, corresponding to the initial part and one section of the first half, have resurfaced in the ACA.<sup>58</sup>

Most of the remaining original Mamluk documents are no less significant in terms of diplomacy, as they represent an exceptional dossier of letters addressed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–4/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41) to two Aragonese kings, James II and Alphonso IV (r. 1327–36) respectively. The diplomatic correspondence, as attested by the original Mamluk letters (see fig. 1.3), which covers a period of thirty years, is the oldest preserved for the Mamluk period; it allows us to study and analyze original documents that are unique in many respects. Three lists of gifts, two appended to the end of the letters and one kept separately, also offer a rare opportunity to tackle this category of documents that is not described in the chancery manuals or in the sources.<sup>59</sup> In addition to these original Arabic documents, the ACA collection also holds nine translations, some of which are linked to

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1293), a contemporary witness who was the secretary of state and the head of the Mamluk chancery for several years. The copy was transcribed in his biography of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, *Tashrīf al-ayyām* 156–64. A French translation was published by Silvestre de Sacy, *Extrait*. The Arabic text was first published in Amari, *Biblioteca* 342–52, and translated into Italian by the same, in *La guerra* 588–97 (no. XXXI). It was then translated into English by Holt, *Early Mamluk diplomacy* 132–40. See also Holt, *The Mamluk sultanate*.

55 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 63–70.

56 Respectively ACA, Cancillería, *Cartas reales*, Jaime II, no. 222 and ACA, Cancillería, Registro 252, fols. 38a–39b.

57 Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 335–8 (no. 145). Al-Qalqashandī's version was edited and translated into Italian by Amari, *Trattato stipolato*.

58 These fragments have not been digitized and are thus absent from the portal referred to above. This document, and the others linked to it mentioned above, are the topic of a paper to be read by the present writer and Marta Rubio Manso at the Fifteenth International Congress of Diplomats (*Sources for the History of "International" Relations between Political Centres in Europe and the Mediterranean (ca. 800–1600): Letters—Charters—Treaties*), Leipzig, 4–6 October 2018.

59 See nos. 2, 5–6 in the Survey under Aragon and Bauden, *Lists of gifts*.

the former, and no fewer than seventy-one copies of documents issued by the Aragonese chancery (mostly letters and, in smaller numbers, instructions delivered to ambassadors). Despite the incredible quality of these documents, the study of the whole corpus shows that particularly in the fifteenth century, archivists were far from consistent in the attention they paid to original Mamluk documents. As stressed in the previous section, this decrease in the rate of preservation of documents from the Mamluk side shows once more that archival practices in European repositories were far from uniform.

As one might expect, such an extraordinary corpus has long drawn the attention of scholars. The Aragonese documents were first published in the eighteenth century, in the framework of the movement that saw the emergence of the exploitation of archival material for historical purposes,<sup>60</sup> with the contribution of Antoni de Capmany de Montpalau i de Surís (1742–1813),<sup>61</sup> then followed, in the nineteenth century, by Pròsper de Bofarull i Mascaré (1777–1859), who was the general archivist of the ACA.<sup>62</sup> The vast majority of these documents were published by several scholars in the twentieth century.<sup>63</sup> As for the original Mamluk documents, their existence was only revealed in 1903 by Julián Ribera (1858–1934) though his ‘discovery’ dated back to 1888.<sup>64</sup> Ribera was responsible for the preparation of a survey of all the Arabic documents held at the ACA; this survey has remained an essential tool for archivists and all the scholars who visit the institution. Nevertheless, Ribera’s publication remained largely unknown outside Spain. It is thanks to a small publication (1938) made by Aziz Suryal Atiya (1898–1988), whose interest in these texts emerged during his preparatory work for his book *The Crusades in the Later Middle Ages* (1938),

60 See Péquignot, *La Publication*. The Arabic documents are still greatly valued by the authorities of the ACA, who are fully aware of their significance for the history of diplomatic relations between the Crown of Aragon in general, and Catalonia in modern terms, and various Islamic dynasties in the Middle Ages. Evidence of this burst of interest can be appreciated from the digitization of all the documents in question as well as the display of the most noteworthy during the 2009 exhibition *El Perfume de la amistad: Correspondencia diplomática árabe en archivos españoles (siglos XIII–XVII)*, organized at the ACA. See the exhibition catalogue *El Perfume de la amistad*.

61 de Capmany y de Monpalau, *Antiguos tratados*; de Capmany y de Monpalau, *Memorias*.

62 de Bofarull y Mascaré, *Colección*.

63 Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*; Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón*; López de Meneses, *Flori-legio*; López de Meneses, *Los consulados*; López de Meneses, *Correspondencia*; López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonioso*.

64 Ribera, *Manuscritos árabigos*. Much later, González Maurazos, *La documentación diplomática*, presented an incomplete survey of some of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s letters and related Catalan documents.

that the existence of the Mamluk corpus was finally unveiled to the scientific community.<sup>65</sup> This Coptic scholar focused his attention on the corpus of letters addressed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; he made a list of these letters and provided a partial edition and a translation. While it is clear that his intention was to devote more attention to this corpus, the outbreak of World War II prevented him from doing so.

At about the same time, two major contributions appeared that derailed his future plans. In 1939, Reginaldo Ruiz Orsatti published an edition and Spanish translation of the draft of a treaty negotiated between al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) and Alphonso V (r. 1416–58) in 833/1430.<sup>66</sup> A year later, two Spanish scholars, Maximiliano Agustín Alarcón y Santón (1880–1932) and Ramón García de Linares reaped the fruits of a long project first launched by Ribera at the dawn of the century (and, it would seem, completely ignored by Atiya). Delayed by the Civil War that raged in Spain, the project, which aimed to edit and translate all the Arabic documents held at the ACA, was finally published.<sup>67</sup> The Mamluk documents included in the book were not complete. In addition to a list of gifts that was strangely left out,<sup>68</sup> the two scholars neglected to consider a document that was labeled the “Accursed Riddle” (*el damero maldito*).<sup>69</sup> The reason for this description is clear from the state of the document, which corresponds to the decree issued by al-Ashraf Barsbāy for Catalan merchants, the draft of which (mentioned above) had already been published by Ruiz Orsatti. Now, the document looks like a collection of 111 fragments of the same size—with no loss of text—, meaning that the original roll was cut into pieces for unknown reasons.<sup>70</sup> It is indeed a riddle, as the fragments were not numbered immediately after it was reduced to such a state. The challenge for any editor is, of course, to reconstruct the original text and put the fragments in the correct order, which is, despite the comparative material available (the draft and

65 Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon*. He had announced his ‘discovery’ a year before: Atiya, Mamlūk Correspondence.

66 See no. 10 in the Survey under Aragon. Another edition, with some improvements, was later proposed by Makkī, Mu‘āhada.

67 Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, *Los Documentos*. Most of the documents were then reproduced in al-Ḥājji, *al-Alāqāt*, with no improvement. See also al-Nashshār, *Alāqāt*.

68 See no. 5 in the Survey under Aragon. Meanwhile, its text was published and translated by Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon*, with several mistakes.

69 See no. 11 in the Survey under Aragon.

70 Perhaps this was done to enable it to be placed on a shelf more easily than a roll? Or because some archivist planned to reuse the sheets as scrap paper?

similar documents), no easy task. This hurdle was finally taken by Mercè Viladrich who proposed to reconstruct it with an edition and translation of the text.<sup>71</sup>

All in all, the Aragonese corpus can rightly be considered one of the richest, with its twenty documents from the Mamluk side (eleven in Arabic and nine in translation). With the exception of the 692/1293 truce, all of these documents have been edited and translated, in some cases, more than once, leaving the impression that nothing remains to be done. Still, a close look at the available editions reveals that the editors wrongly deciphered some words, and rarely paid attention to the physical details of the documents that they were transcribing. With regard to diplomatics, a wide gamut of elements were overlooked or barely described, like the writing material, the layout, the measures, and the handwriting, to mention but a few. Such elements, significant for the accurate and comprehensive interpretation of the documents, cannot be supplied by later editors, as most of the documents were not reproduced in these publications.<sup>72</sup> Given this, a new edition that meets all the requirements of diplomatics is fully justified.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.2 *Florence*

In 1422, Florence embarked on an ambitious project to strengthen its system of trade relations and boost its commerce in the Mediterranean, and more importantly, with the Mamluk sultanate. The Medici sought to achieve this goal through improved diplomatic relations between the two powers. Though ultimately the commercial project was not as successful as expected, it contributed to regular, albeit infrequent, diplomatic exchanges. The State Archives of Florence (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, ASF) and the Laurentian Library (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, BML) still preserve a collection of the tangible evidence of the diplomatic missions carried out by Florentine and Mamluk envoys. Thanks to these and other sources, it has been possible to establish that,

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71 Viladrich, *Jaque al-Sultán*; Viladrich, *Solving*. The reconstruction and the edition need to be improved.

72 Ruiz Orsatti, *Tratado*, was the only one to provide a reproduction of the edited document, though it is of poor quality and its reduced size prohibits any improvement of the edition or analysis of its diplomatic characteristics.

73 The project *The Diplomatic Exchanges between Islamic Mediterranean Powers and Christian European Cities in the Middle Ages: New Methods for the Analysis of Documents* was launched by Roser Salicrú i Lluch (CSIC, Barcelona) with the specific aim of editing, translating, and interpreting all the Arabic and Catalan documents linked to those that are held at the ACA. The Mamluk constituent is my responsibility.

in less than a century, between 1422 and 1510, the Florentines sent ten missions to Cairo while the Mamluks dispatched only three envoys.<sup>74</sup>

At present, nineteen Mamluk documents (ten originals and nine translations) and nine copies of documents issued by the Florentine authorities are still held in the ASF and the BML.<sup>75</sup> The preservation of ten original Mamluk documents makes Florence the second most significant repository in terms of quantity. But the Florentine collections are also notable for another characteristic. Most of the Mamluk documents consist of letters and decrees, some of which were addressed to Florence and the remainder to Mamluk authorities. The presence of the latter in the Florentine repositories reveals that Florence specifically asked for copies of the documents that the Mamluk chancery issued and dispatched to their representatives<sup>76</sup> (usually the governors, predominantly those in Alexandria and Damascus) for decisions taken in favor of Florentine merchants, decisions that these representatives were ordered to implement. This phenomenon was not peculiar to Florence and seems to have been practiced by the Venetians at the onset of the fourteenth century at the earliest.

The documents found at the ASF drew the attention of scholars as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Michele Amari (1806–89), a Sicilian political émigré who spent several years in France where he studied Arabic, was the first to pore over the documents linked to Islam at the ASF. In the context of exploiting archival material to further political interests (in this case, the unification of Italy, the first capital of which was Florence), in 1863 Amari published a thick volume of about one hundred documents, including all the Arabic (originals and translations) as well as the Italian documents that he could identify in the archives.<sup>77</sup> Four years later, Amari published a supplement of thirty-four documents, including translations from the Arabic and documents issued by the Pisan and Florentine authorities.<sup>78</sup> These two books quickly became references for historians of trade and diplomacy between Europe and the Muslim

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74 See Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* i, 78.

75 To these, a copy of a letter in an eighteenth-century source must be added. See no. 29 in the Survey under Florence.

76 Although they were addressed to a specific (internal) authority, these were in fact multiple exemplars of the same document and as such were all original because they could not be differentiated from one another (they were in the same shape, had same kind of handwriting, and the same validation marks). Thus, it is incorrect to use the term “copy” here, though it allows us to distinguish between them.

77 The volume also includes documents related to Pisa, which came under the control of Florence from 1421, at which point its archives were incorporated.

78 Amari, *I diplomi ... Appendice*.

world,<sup>79</sup> despite the quality of Amari's work. Unfortunately, no one took care to verify the accuracy of his editions by comparing them with the documents. The lack of reproductions in Amari's book certainly contributed to the historians' impression that they could content themselves with his work.

Though it seemed that Amari had published all the material available, other documents from the Mamluk period had yet to be unveiled, perhaps because they were in another repository. It was only in the 1960s that the American scholar John Wansbrough (1928–2002), whose interest in the history of diplomatic and commercial relations between Venice and the Mamluk sultanate resulted in his PhD dissertation, became aware of the existence of two unpublished Mamluk documents kept at the Laurentian Library, where they had been transferred from the Biblioteca Imperiale Palatina in 1771.<sup>80</sup> Wansbrough published these two documents separately and identified them as commercial treaties.<sup>81</sup> Though he had access to more sources than Amari—particularly related to diplomatic rules like al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* which had been published in the meantime—, his work remained far from perfect. In fact, his interpretation of these documents as commercial treaties was recently refuted.<sup>82</sup>

In the context of his PhD dissertation (defended in 2017) devoted to the diplomatic relations between Florence and the Mamluk sultanate, Alessandro Rizzo reviewed the whole corpus from the beginning, and offers, among other things, an edition that is respectful of the documents and pays attention to external and internal details.<sup>83</sup> He has not only corrected the mistakes of Amari and Wansbrough in the decipherment of some words, but also more correctly interpreted the true nature of the documents. In the present volume, he offers a stunning demonstration of his work on one of the documents published by Wansbrough and two others by Amari. He is able to demonstrate that, contrary to Amari's interpretation, two of the documents are dated 902/1497 and not 901/1496. Moreover, he corrects Wansbrough's interpretation that one of the documents from the BML is a treaty; he shows that in fact, it is a letter addressed

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79 Louis de Mas Latrie's *Traité*s, largely based on Amari's translations, revealed the existence of the documents to a wider audience.

80 Wansbrough, Venice and Florence 485. Bernard Lewis informed him of their existence there.

81 Wansbrough, Venice and Florence; Wansbrough, A Mamluk commercial treaty.

82 See Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion*.

83 Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion*. He is currently preparing the corpus for publication; it will appear separately from his historical study of the diplomatic relations between Florence and the Mamluk sultanate.

to the governor of Damascus.<sup>84</sup> These two examples confirm that the work of our predecessors should not be taken for granted and that these documents must be analyzed in light of the developments witnessed over the past decades by scholars of the 'New Diplomatics.'

### 3.3 *Venice*

The contacts of the Republic of Venice—the *Serenissima* as it is usually called—with Egypt are attested by documents from the twelfth century on. Some eighty documents covering the whole period of Mamluk rule are evidence of the intensity of their trade relations with the Mamluk sultanate. Nevertheless, only two of these documents, dating from the end of the Mamluk period, are in Arabic; the remainder are translations.<sup>85</sup> Thus, although the collections of the State Archives (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, ASVe) are among the most remarkable in terms of the quantity of documents preserved, from the point of view of diplomatics, for the Mamluk side it is disappointing that most of these documents are in fact translations of original documents that have been discarded in one way or another. Most of these translations concern letters and decrees; the latter category is often addressed to the authorities of the sultanate in relation to Venetian merchants.

While the two original Mamluk documents have only recently attracted the attention of scholars,<sup>86</sup> the translations, on the other hand, raised the interest of historians as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Two of these were published by the Byzantinist Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich Tafel (1787–1860), whose work was continued by Georg Martin Thomas (1817–87) with the help of Riccardo Predelli (1840–1909); Thomas and Predelli added several other documents related to diplomatic relations between Venice and the Mamluks.<sup>87</sup> Amari also edited copies of translations of several documents obtained by the Venetians. These copies had been prepared at the request of the Florentine authorities who deemed it necessary to have full knowledge of the benefits

84 In 2016, the upper part of the two documents (one preserved at the ASF and the other at the BML) containing the address (*'unwān*) were discovered in the BML. These corroborate Rizzo's interpretation of the nature of these documents.

85 There exists a third original Arabic document (now held at the Oriental Institute in Chicago), which is the subject of Gladys Frantz-Murphy's contribution to this volume. See no. 3 in the Survey under Venice. For the Mamluk documents at the ASVe in general, see Bauden, *The Mamluk documents*.

86 See nos. 1 and 2 in the Survey under Venice.

87 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*; Thomas and Predelli, *Diplomatarium*. Several of these documents were then translated into French by de Mas Latrie, *Traité*s.

the *Serenissima* had secured for its merchants in the Mamluk territories.<sup>88</sup> In 1953, the Egyptian scholar Tawfīq Iskandar defended his PhD dissertation on the commercial and political relations between Venice and the Mamluk sultanate.<sup>89</sup> He planned to publish several of the documents he had studied, but only the first volume was published.<sup>90</sup> This document relates to Pietro Diedo's 1490 embassy to Cairo, the aim of which was to secure the smooth transition of Cyprus to Venetian control after the abdication of its last ruler, Catherine Cornaro. From 1427, Cyprus paid an annual tribute to the Mamluk sultanate, which considered the island a vassal state. This meant that Venice had to seek the sultan's approval before taking full control of this outpost that was critical for its trade in the eastern Mediterranean. The series of documents linked to the negotiation led by the Venetian ambassador was preserved at the ASVe and finally published by Franco Rossi in 1988.<sup>91</sup> Two additional documents related to this affair can only be found in Louis de Mas Latrie's book on the history of Cyprus.<sup>92</sup>

In 1961, John Wansbrough submitted a PhD dissertation dealing with the history of commercial relations between Egypt and Venice (1442–1512);<sup>93</sup> in subsequent years he published a number of articles of edited Arabic documents linked to this subject, but those that his dissertation contains remained largely unpublished.<sup>94</sup> Most of these documents were later edited by Maria Pia Pedani, who devoted an article to the last agreements between the Venetian authorities and the Mamluks.<sup>95</sup> To our knowledge, the most recent addition of this corpus was made by Benjamin Arbel, who discovered a copy of a letter addressed by the executive secretary of the sultan to the Venetian doge in 877/1473.<sup>96</sup> This is further proof that although the collections of the ASVe have been examined in detail for more than one and a half centuries, they still hold delightful surprises. In addition to the unknown items that we must continue to

88 Amari, *I diplomati*. See nos. 28–35 in the Survey under Venice.

89 Iskandar, *Les Relations commerciales*. No copy of this dissertation is known to have been preserved.

90 Iskandar, *Documents inédits*. See no. 47 in the Survey under Venice.

91 Rossi, *Ambasciata*. See nos. 42–50, 79 in the Survey under Venice.

92 de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*. See nos. 51–2 in the Survey under Venice.

93 Wansbrough, *Documents*.

94 See nos. 40, 59–60, 68, 70–3 in the Survey under Venice. No. 63 was later published by Wansbrough, see A Mamluk ambassador.

95 Pedani, *Gli ultimi accordi*. With the exception of nos. 71–3 (and no. 63 already published by Wansbrough), all the documents mentioned in the previous note are included in Pedani's edition.

96 Arbel, *Levantine power struggles*. See no. 41 in the Survey under Venice.



search for, other documents also remain unpublished so far. These include two translations from 821/1418: one made in the Venetian consulate in Alexandria of a decree addressed by the Cairene chancery to the governor of Alexandria and the second, a safe-conduct issued for the Venetians.<sup>97</sup> Another document, this one issued by the Mamluk chancery and thus a unique original piece held by ASVe, is in process of publication. It deals with the tribute that Venice agreed to continue to pay to the Mamluk authorities in exchange for its takeover of Cyprus.<sup>98</sup>

In this volume, Gladys Frantz-Murphy tackles one of the latest additions to the corpus of Mamluk documents on Venice. The document is now preserved in the Oriental Institute in Chicago. Its previous owner, Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939), had been the director of the Khedival Library in Cairo and managed to acquire a collection of manuscripts and documents that he sold to the Oriental Institute in 1929. Moritz published the document in 1915 and identified it as the first *firmān* issued by the Ottomans for the Venetians at the time of the conquest of Egypt.<sup>99</sup> This attribution was indiscriminately accepted until Frantz-Murphy re-examined the text in a new light and concluded that the document was actually a draft of a text likely prepared by the Venetians to be issued by the last Mamluk sultan who had already fled Cairo.<sup>100</sup>

In addition to the copies preserved in various registers at the ASVe, another Venetian source provides a few more documents that need to be addressed here: Marino Sanuto's (1466–1536) diaries. Sanuto played a major political role in the administration of the Venetian Republic, as he served in its senate from 1498 to 1516. During these and subsequent years, he kept a diary that truly constitutes a universal history of the close ties between the *Serenissima* and the various powers in Europe and beyond, along with the news that reached Venice steadily, day by day. Moreover, his diary covers the last years and the downfall of Mamluk rule and constitutes a unique witness of the exchanges that took place during this period between Venice and the sultanate; it includes numerous copies of official documents, among them translations of Mamluk letters and decrees that were not recorded in the Venetian archives. This mine of information only became available at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>101</sup> A later

97 See nos. 24–5 in the Survey under Venice.

98 See no. 2 in the Survey under Venice.

99 Moritz, *Ein Firman*. The document was then translated by Hartmann, *Das Privileg*. See no. 3 in the Survey under Venice.

100 See her contribution in this volume.

101 Sanuto, *Diarii* was published in fifty-eight volumes between 1879 and 1903. It contains sev-

Venetian historian, Carlo Antonio Marin (1745–1815) also transmitted the text of a decree on the basis of the copy registered in the ASVe.<sup>102</sup>

### 3.4 *Ragusa*

The Republic of Ragusa (now Dubrovnik) engaged in diplomatic relations with the Mamluk sultanate shortly before its end, although Dalmatian merchants had been active in its territories for centuries.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, the Dubrovnik State Archives (Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku, DAD) does not hold a huge number of Mamluk documents related to diplomatic contacts. Only three have been identified and they confirm that the Ragusan Republic only entered into negotiations over trade in the tenth/sixteenth century. Along with a letter addressed by the governor of Alexandria to the ruler of Ragusa in 916/1510, the DAD also contains a letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16) and a decree by the same, dated 921/1515. In addition to the confirmation of various clauses aimed at protecting the Dalmatian merchants, both the letter and the decree are related to the request from Ragusa to be allowed to establish a consulate in Alexandria. At that precarious period for the Mamluks, the sultan, eager to encourage trade, granted the consulate without complications. The three documents are known thanks to the edition and the Croatian translation provided by a local scholar, Besim Korkut.<sup>104</sup> His work, which includes facsimiles of the documents, was recently translated into Arabic to reach a wider audience.<sup>105</sup> The value of the collections of the DAD await evaluation to establish whether or not translations of Mamluk documents and copies of Ragusan documents sent to Cairo are still available in the registers.

### 3.5 *Ottomans*

As noted in the following section, contacts between the Ottomans and the Mamluks, which we know began in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century<sup>106</sup> and intensified during the ninth/fifteenth century until the Ottomans vanquished the Mamluks, are documented in several collections of documents. Thus, given

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enteen documents of interest for our purpose. See nos. 53–8, 61–2, 64–6, 69, 74–7, and 80 in the Survey under Venice.

102 Marin, *Storia*. The text of the document was translated into French by Reinaud, *Traités*. The copy of the document preserved in the ASVe was finally edited by Wansbrough, *Documents*. See no. 67 in the Survey under Venice.

103 As witnessed by the private documents published in Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant*.

104 Korkut, *Arapski dokumenti*.

105 Qurqūṭ, *al-Wathāʾiq al-ʿarabiyya*.

106 On this early period, see Björkman, *Die frühesten türkisch-ägyptischen Beziehungen*.

that the Ottoman archives are praised for their abundance and considered comparable to their European counterparts, researchers would expect to find if not hundreds, at least dozens of documents related to the diplomatic exchanges between the two powers. While there is no doubt that further research in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul would yield additional items, thus far we know of only four documents, all of which are from the end of Mamluk rule (early tenth/sixteenth century). These are two original letters, one issued by the governor of Aleppo and the other by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī,<sup>107</sup> one translated letter of the same was registered in the Ottoman archives and, finally, a copy of a letter addressed by Mehmed (r. 848–50/1444–6, 855–86/1451–81) to al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96). The material preserved in the Ottoman archives, despite its paucity, is nonetheless of interest because it shows that, at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, the Mamluk chancery was able to issue letters in Ottoman Turkish.<sup>108</sup>

### 3.6 *France*

From the seventh/thirteenth century, a significant presence of merchants from various ports of Provence and Languedoc, particularly from Marseilles, is documented in Alexandria. Though Provence was not integrated into the kingdom of France before 1481, Marseilles became so congested by French merchants heading south to the Mediterranean that the consul of Marseilles started to represent them in Alexandria. It was only in 1447 that Charles VII (r. 1422–61) dispatched an emissary to Cairo with the expectation that al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53) would grant the French merchants the same commercial advantages the Venetians enjoyed in the Mamluk territories. This was the beginning of more frequent contacts between the two powers that extended until the end of Mamluk rule.<sup>109</sup>

Despite these contacts, no original Mamluk documents have been preserved in the French Archives.<sup>110</sup> The only document that we can refer to in this context is in fact an Ottoman decree issued in 935/1528 by Sulaymān the Magnificent (r. 926–74/1520–66) in favor of the Catalan and French merchants trading in Egypt. This decree mostly reproduces the contents of a previous decree

107 Published by Edhem, *Mısır Fethi*; Kerslake, *The correspondence*. See also Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* 330 n. 33.

108 Provided that this is the original letter and not an Ottoman copy; the letter was published in Edhem, *Mısır Fethi*.

109 For a brief overview of these contacts, see Tuchscherer and Pedani, *Alexandrie ottomane* 15–21.

110 The outdated study of Charrière, *Négociations*, starts with the reign of Francis I (r. 1515–47), and only refers to Ottoman documents.

issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī in 913/1507 with the same purpose. In 2011 this document was identified in the holdings of the Departmental Archives of the Yonne (Auxerre) and subsequently published.<sup>111</sup>

In addition to this exception, we have translations of some Mamluk letters and letters addressed by the French king to the Mamluk sultan (transcribed in registers and sources) that cover the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century. Charles VII's embassy was received positively in Cairo in 1447 and his emissary brought back a letter from Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53) that was translated. The only trace left of this letter can be found in a contemporary source, Mathieu d'Escouchy's (ca. 1420–83) *Chronicle* covering the years from 1444 to 1467. An excerpt from the French translation of another letter addressed by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) in 916/1510 was also located in another contemporary source, Jean Le Maire de Belges' (1473–1524) political pamphlet against the pope entitled *Le Traictié*.<sup>112</sup> In addition to these two letters on the Mamluk side, three letters<sup>113</sup> sent by French kings have been preserved in registers and are now available at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MSS Français 2893 and 5909<sup>114</sup>). These have barely been studied.<sup>115</sup>

### 3.7 *Cyprus*

Under the house of Lusignan, the relations between Cyprus and the Mamluk sultanate may be characterized as mainly confrontational. As the last outpost of Frankish rule in the eastern Mediterranean, the island remained a point of departure for military expeditions and pirate raids led against Mamluk harbors on the Syrian and Egyptian coasts. With the Mamluk conquest of the island in 1427, the Lusignan kings recognized the sultan's authority and agreed to pay an annual tribute. This new status impacted the way the Mamluk chancery addressed the Cypriot king, who had become a vassal of the sultan. Notwithstanding these exchanges, which the sources sometimes relate in great detail, no original document for the Mamluk side has been preserved. The translation of two letters addressed by the sultan to the ruler of Cyprus have nonetheless been recorded in local sources and were published by Louis de Mas Latrie in his history of the island under the Lusignan.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, a copy of instructions

111 Tuchscherer and Pedani, *Alexandrie ottomane 1*. See no. 1 in the Survey under France.

112 See no. 3 in the Survey under France.

113 See nos. 4–6 in the Survey under France.

114 Another copy of this collection of documents is held in Troyes. See Macler, *Une lettre royale*.

115 Alessandro Rizzo is currently working on the documents mentioned in this section.

116 See nos. 1–2 in the Survey under Cyprus. The first letter was identified in George Bous-

delivered by the king to the ambassadors who had to negotiate a truce on his behalf with the sultan are registered in the Venetian Archives and were also published by de Mas Latrie. Additional documents related to Cyprus after it came under Venetian rule have been reviewed above.

### 3.8 *Hospitallers of Rhodes*

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which first settled in Rhodes after the fall of Acre in 1291, was forced to leave the island after the Ottomans occupied it in 1522. This led to the installation of the Order in Malta, where its archives have been integrated into the collections of the National Library. It is there that de Mas Latrie found a letter related to Cyprus; it is dated 1448 and addressed by the Grand Master to Jaqmaq.<sup>117</sup> Another document containing a proposal for a treaty was sent to al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–8/1399–1405, 808–15/1405–12) in 1403; this document was located by Sebastiano Paoli (1684–1751) and published in a collection of documents on the Order.<sup>118</sup>

### 3.9 *Genoa*

Like the Venetians and the Pisans, the Genoan merchants were among the first of those on the Italian peninsula to engage in commercial relations with Egypt. Thus, we would expect to find documents related to their diplomatic contacts with the Mamluk sultanate. Yet, the State Archives of Genoa (Archivio di Stato di Genova, ASG) holds only one document in translation. It is a truce concluded in 1290 by the authorities of Genoa with al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90). The Arabic version was preserved in a contemporary source<sup>119</sup> and can be checked against its translation. This text of this truce drew the attention of scholars as early as Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), who published both versions of the text in 1827. This publication was followed by other translations in Italian and English and a new edition of the Arabic and Latin versions.<sup>120</sup>

### 3.10 *Naples*

The destruction of a major part of the collections of the State Archives of Naples (Archivio di Stato di Napoli, ASN) during the World War II, which saw

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tronios' chronicle (on which see Coureas's article in this volume) and the second in an anonymous chronicle held in the BnF (Paris).

117 See no. 2 in the Survey under Hospitallers of Rhodes.

118 See no. 1 in the Survey under Hospitallers of Rhodes.

119 Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's *Tashrif al-ayyām*.

120 See no. 1 in the Survey under Genoa.

the complete annihilation of the Anjou and Aragonese chancery registers that covered the years from 1265 to 1505, leaves no hope of discovering documents on the limited relations between Naples and the sultanate. Yet, in another repository, namely the Archives of the Custody of the Holy Land in Jerusalem, a rare document bearing witness to the exchanges between Queen Joanna I (r. 1344–82) and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 764–78/1363–77) was preserved. This document was published by Girolamo Golubovich (1865–1941) in his history of the institution, which he based on documents preserved in the archives of the Custody.<sup>121</sup>

### 3.11 *Pisa*

Like Venice and Genoa, Pisa was eager to secure agreements with the Mamluk sultanate with provisions like those that had been granted to them by the predecessors of the Mamluks, the Ayyubids. Mohamed Ouerfelli devoted a study to the treaties concluded by Pisa with Egypt.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, for the Mamluk period, the State Archives of Pisa (Archivio di Stato di Pisa, ASPi) hold only a copy of credentials given to the Pisan ambassador sent to al-Zāhir Barqūq in 1385. This document was published by Michele Amari in his pioneering work on the archival material related to diplomatic relations with Muslim powers.<sup>123</sup>

### 3.12 *Savoy*

Charles I, duke of Savoy (r. 1482–90), was the titular king of Cyprus, because Queen Charlotte of Cyprus (r. 1458–63) was married to Charles's paternal uncle, Louis. Charlotte, however, was exiled by her illegitimate half-brother James II (r. 1463–73), who was recognized as king by the Mamluks. In 1485, Charlotte surrendered her right to the crown to Charles. Aware that his claim to the kingdom of Cyprus could not succeed without the approval of the Mamluks, who regarded the island as a vassal state, Charles entered into negotiations with Cairo. A unique witness of this first contact has been preserved in the State Archives of Turin (Archivio di Stato di Torino, ASTo): it consists of a copy of Charles I's letter to al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy, dispatched to Cairo in 1488.<sup>124</sup>

121 The original document on parchment is in Jerusalem, and a copy is kept in Rome. See no. 1 in the Survey under Naples.

122 Ouerfelli, *Les Traités*.

123 See no. 1 in the Survey under Pisa.

124 The document is unpublished. See no. 1 in the Survey under Savoy.

This assessment of documents held, for the most part, in archival repositories shows that the corpus is imbalanced, at least when compared to the quantity of material available to the European diplomatic tradition. With just thirty original Mamluk documents, most of which are preserved in Barcelona and Florence, scholars who wish to focus on diplomatic elements are left with a comparatively small number of documents. In terms of the variety of the categories of documents, while their typology is greater than expected (letters, decrees, safe-conducts, lists of gifts), other categories (like truces) remain either poorly represented, or are completely missing (like the instructions delivered to Mamluk envoys). Of course, the number of translated Mamluk documents is far greater (one hundred) and these offer an opportunity to enlarge the corpus, although, in terms of diplomatics, translations invalidate several layers of interpretative elements (e.g., layout, marks of validation). As for documents issued by the other chanceries, mostly copies in registers as we would expect, the number is rather disappointing (ninety-five), though further research in the archives could yield copies so far unidentified. Finally, the bulk of all these documents that are preserved in European archives concern non-Muslim powers, a factor that further distorts our knowledge of Mamluk diplomatic practices, for the simple reason that the Mamluk chancery applied a different set of rules when issuing documents addressed to non-Muslim rulers. If our appreciation of these rules is rather satisfying for this category of rulers, our knowledge is limited to the most commonly represented category, that is, letters.

#### 4 Chancery Manuals, Formularies, and Collections of Letters

Original documents represent the majority of diplomatics. The paucity of original documents for Islam in general, and for the Mamluk period in particular, has induced scholars to consider normative and narrative sources that are sometimes regarded (typically by historians) as equivalent to original documents. We must recognize that studies based on chancery manuals and formularies can lead to stimulating results, if we bear in mind that their function was mainly prescriptive and normative and usually both, rather than descriptive. Copies of letters quoted in such sources may be presented as examples from which the historical elements that would permit our identification of the recipient and/or the issuer have been replaced—most of the time with the all-purpose name *fulān* (so-and-so). By contrast, collections of letters that offer models of epistolography normally retain most of the historical information contained in the texts they reproduce. In some cases, copies can even

be regarded as *copies figurées*, i.e., copies in which the transcriber tries to faithfully reproduce some elements of the original.<sup>125</sup> For instance, such elements may correspond to the motto or the signature of the ruler (*‘alāma*): its shape and its position on the document can be rendered in a way that implies that the author saw the original. In other cases, the transcriber may indicate the color of the ink in specific parts of the text, the format of paper, or the presence of an impression left by a seal.<sup>126</sup> Consequently, these works cannot be ignored by the diplomatist who wishes to collect data on diplomatic rules with the aim of comparing them to original documents. At the same time, both diplomatists and historians should be aware that the data offered by these categories of sources, particularly the narrative sources, can be problematic—in some cases they may even be false<sup>127</sup>—and the copies of the documents they transmitted must be rigorously critiqued with the tools available.<sup>128</sup>

125 For the *copie figurée*, see Cárcel Ortí, *Vocabulaire* 33 (no. 56).

126 See Bauden, *Les Relations diplomatiques* 6 and 9–10.

127 For instance, Ottomanists maintain that the letters quoted by Ferīdūn Bey in his collection were fabricated for the early Ottoman rulers up to Murād II (r. 824–41/1421–44). See Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* 33. On the reliability of copies of documents in narrative sources, see Brinner, *Some Ayyūbid and Mamlūk documents*.

128 For the reasons invoked above, copies of documents found in narrative sources are not detailed in what follows: in diplomatic terms, such witnesses can rarely be taken into account, although in some cases, these sources were authored by those who directed the chancery. It appears that in such cases the copies quoted may have been drafts of documents that were never issued. Among the Mamlūk historians who were keen to quote copies of documents we can mention Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1293), Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), Shāfi‘ b. ‘Alī (d. 730/1330), al-Nuwayrī (733/1333), Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1336), Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), and al-Aynī (d. 855/1451). A majority of these documents dealing with the crusader states have been studied by various scholars, the most important of whom are Silvestre de Sacy, *Lettre*; Langlois, *Le Trésor*; Gabrieli, *Trattato*; Holt, *Early Mamluk diplomacy*; Holt, *The treaties*; Holt, *Treaties*; Amitai-Preiss, *An exchange of letters*; and Troadec, *Une lettre*. Narrative sources composed by historians from other regions of the Islamic world should also be taken into account, like the Moroccan al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), who settled in Cairo at the end of his life. For a document related to the Merinids and the Mamluks found in his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, see Canard, *Les Relations*. We must also take into consideration sources composed by Christian powers, like the Byzantines. For a Greek translation of a letter addressed by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 748–52/1347–51; 755–62/1354–61) to the Byzantine emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) in 1349 and recorded in the latter’s *History*, see Canard, *Une lettre*.



#### 4.1 *Chancery Manuals and Formularies*

Like the *ars dictaminis* and its corollary, the *ars dictandi*, of medieval Europe,<sup>129</sup> *inshā'*, the art of writing, in particular writing diplomatic letters—hence the name of the Mamluk chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'*)—was subject to a theoretical framework of guidelines for the art of epistolography.<sup>130</sup> Mostly prescriptive and normative, the vademecums composed by the main actors, i.e., the secretaries, were relatively popular among their peers, but did not draw much interest beyond the chancery clerks. While some of these manuals have been preserved, the number of copies that have reached us is rather limited in comparison with other categories of books.<sup>131</sup> The authors conceived their works as handbooks that generally detailed the precepts for chancery scribes and provided various models of letters. For this reason, they usually referred to their works as *dustūr* (or *dastūr*), a word of Persian origin that was used to define the register in the Abbasid period.<sup>132</sup> Given the information overload and the subsequent development of Mamluk encyclopedias,<sup>133</sup> some authors tried to address the issue of knowledge by embracing the genre and composing works to offer users and readers all the necessary elements that secretaries required.

With its fourteen volumes in print, al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* is a case in point. Nevertheless, the result of its publication was counterproductive for modern scholars: given its size and comprehensiveness, it was considered an indispensable, if not unique, source for the study of documents produced in Egypt and Syria from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period; thus, for a long period,

129 The *ars dictandi* refers to general, mostly theoretical treaties on the rules of composition for diplomatic letters. See Camarigo, *Ars dictaminis*; Grévin, *Rhétorique* 130–2.

130 In general, see Roemer, *Inshā'*; for the Mamluk period, see al-Musawī, Pre-modern belletristic prose. For a review of the genre and the works that are available, see Veselý, *Zur arabischen Kanzleiliteratur*; Veselý, *Die inshā'-Literatur*.

131 Some scholars have even questioned whether these manuals were popular among secretaries (see Van Berkel, al-Qalqashandī 338). We can establish that al-Qalqashandī's huge work, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, was copied twice by his son, in both cases for those in charge of the state chancery. See Bauden, Like father 195, n. 70. The size of the work, though, seems to have thwarted the author's efforts, as he was invited to produce a summary (*Daw' al-Ṣubḥ al-musfir*), also at the request of the head of the state chancery. See Bauden, Maqriziana XIII 214.

132 See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* xi, 292–3. Ibn Faḍl Allāh describes his *al-Ta'rif* as such (*al-Ta'rif* 4: aḍa' lahu dustūr) and Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh does the same for his *al-Tathqīf* (*al-Tathqīf* 87: al-qism al-thānī min al-dustūr al-mubārak). See also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* ix, 320, where he refers to Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh's text as a *dustūr*. He also mentions other examples for the two Ibn Faḍl Allāh brothers, Aḥmad and 'Alī. See Björkman, *Beiträge* 75.

133 On the development of encyclopedias in the Mamluk period, see Muhanna, Why was the fourteenth century; Van Berkel, Opening up a world of knowledge.

other manuals were thought to be unnecessary. This long-standing impression was only overcome forty years ago with a movement to publish the major works of the Mamluk period, a movement launched and led, for the most part, by Rudolf Veselý. The chancery manuals and formularies composed during the Mamluk period, which have been published or still await publication, are reviewed in the following pages, according to chronological order, as the context of their writing must be kept in mind for any documentary analysis to be meaningful. Rules, and the subsequent models, were valid at the time these authors were active. Thus, their works should only be considered relevant for their period of activity.

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) belonged to a family whose members were at the forefront of secretaryship throughout the eighth/fourteenth century. Of Syrian origin, he became the deputy of his father, Yaḥyā (d. 738/1337), when the latter was called to Cairo to head the state chancery in 729/1329. He served in this capacity until his father's death, at which time he fell from favor and returned to Damascus where he died. He dedicated his idle time to the composition of his major works, including *al-Taʿrīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, the redaction of which can be dated between 744/1343 and 746/1345. Presented as a handbook, its aim was to gather the guidelines that were to be applied for the redaction of various categories of documents issued by the chancery, and offer samples of the recurrent elements (address, *invocatio*, etc.). First published in Cairo in 1896, it took one century before the first critical edition was eventually published by the Jordanian scholar Samīr al-Durūbī.<sup>134</sup> Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī also wrote two small treatises that he dedicated to the category of administrative correspondence, a subject he did not address in *al-Taʿrīf*.<sup>135</sup> Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's brother, ʿAlī, who succeeded

134 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf*. See also his study published at the same time: al-Droubi, *A critical edition*.

135 Rudolf Veselý published both of them: Veselý, *Zwei Opera Cancellaria Minora*. Veselý edited two copies of the first treatise, entitled *ʿUrf al-taʿrīf*, from MS Arabic 3849 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) and MS Arabe 926, fols. 94–108 (Paris, BnF). *ʿUrf al-taʿrīf* was more recently edited by al-Durūbī: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *ʿUrf al-taʿrīf*. Veselý also found the second treatise in the Paris MS (fols. 108–14), but it was in a truncated form and had no title. It appears that the full text can be found in an early copy dated 827/1424 preserved in Leipzig (MS Vollers 493, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek), where it is entitled *al-Nubdha al-kāfiya fi maʿrifat awḍāʾ al-kitāba* (a later owner added the word *wa-l-qiyāfa* at the end of the title). This fuller version, based on the Leipzig copy, was published recently: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Nubdha al-kāfiya*. Another text attributed to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Tarassul fi qawāʾid al-mukātabāt* (MS 2479, fols. 42–58, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi), awaits investigation to establish whether it is an original text or just another copy of one of the texts mentioned above.

his father as head of the state chancery, also penned a handbook (*dustūr*) that is only known thanks to al-Qalqashandī's quotations from it.<sup>136</sup>

One generation later, Taqī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Taymī, better known as Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh (d. 786/1384), enlarged the corpus of handbooks on secretaryship. Like his predecessor, Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh was of Syrian origin, but born in Cairo. He was the son of a superintendent of the army bureau (*nāzīr al-jaysh*), a chancery department. He started his career as secretary at the state chancery in 748/1347–8, a position that he held for thirty years, until his father's death (d. 778/1377). That year, he inherited his father's position, which he filled until his tragic death.<sup>137</sup> He redacted his handbook, entitled *Tathqīf al-ta'rif bi-l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, after he left his position as secretary (i.e., after 778/1377) and presented it as a contribution to his son's career at the chancery. In contrast to what the title might suggest, his handbook was not conceived as a supplement to *al-Ta'rif*, but as an original work in its own right, one that covered the evolution of diplomatic protocol for documents from the beginning of eighth/fourteenth century to the moment he was writing. The author often refers to the situation that prevailed in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's time and his own, though he emphasizes the changes that the chancery underwent in the meantime. The handbook remained almost unnoticed until Rudolf Veselý published a critical edition based on five manuscripts.<sup>138</sup>

It took another generation before the next contributor to our knowledge of chancery practices wrote his manual. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418)<sup>139</sup> was born in a small village of the Delta, from which his family name is derived. He moved to Alexandria, where he was educated and obtained his first job in the service of the governor, and later settled in Cairo. In the capital, his expertise secured his place in the state chancery, where, in 791/1389, he started a career as a lower-level secretary (*kātib al-darj*). Later, he left his

136 Björkman, *Beiträge* 75.

137 He overstepped his duty; the sultan then hit him with his pencease and ordered that he be bastinadoed. He died of his wounds a few days later. See Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf al-ta'rif* x.

138 Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf al-ta'rif*. It is worth mentioning that ms Arabe 4437 (BnF, Paris), catalogued by de Slane, *Catalogue* 707 as *Ijābat al-sā'il ilā ma'rifat al-rasā'il* (and followed by Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Sup. ii, 55), is another copy of Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh's *Tathqīf al-ta'rif*. The first folio belongs to another text correctly entitled *Ijābat al-sā'il* and apparently deals with the *ikhwāniyyāt*, but from fol. 2a onwards, the text is that of *Tathqīf al-ta'rif*.

139 On him, see Van Berkel, al-Qalqashandī; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Abū l-'Abbās al-Qalqashandī*. The name of al-Qalqashandī's father appears in modern reference works as 'Alī, based on the information provided in the biography al-Sakhāwī (902/1497) dedicated to al-Qalqashandī. It has recently been established that this historian was wrong. See Bauden, *Maqriziana* XIII 213–4.

position to work as a deputy judge in an office of professional notaries.<sup>140</sup> His second major work, and *magnum opus*, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī kitābat al-inshā'*, was composed after he had left the chancery; he mentioned that he completed its redaction in 814/1412, six years before his demise.<sup>141</sup> Considered a manual, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* was in fact conceived as an encyclopedia covering all the fields about which the perfect secretary should be aware and have knowledge: history, geography, rhetoric, calligraphy, etc. The author also wrote his prescriptive manual in the long tradition of document production that included using documents dating from the Prophet's period. Thus, we should not be surprised that the printed work is fourteen volumes and approximately 6,500 pages. The value of the work was appreciated during al-Qalqashandī's last years, and for the following decades, by the main figures at the chancery.<sup>142</sup> The book also drew the attention of modern scholars, even before it was published.<sup>143</sup> It was only between 1913 and 1919 that the whole work was edited under the direction of an Egyptian scholar, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibrāhīm, and based on all the copies identified at that time.<sup>144</sup> Despite some flaws, which are inevitable for such a huge work, the edition is regarded as of high quality; it even notes details reproduced by the copyist, like the place of the sultan's motto or signature, or the shape of the letters in the section on calligraphy.<sup>145</sup>

The text is also famous for its multilayered structure, with chapters, sub-chapters, sections, subsections, and so on, which makes consulting it almost

140 See Bauden, Maqriziana XIII 212, where these details are provided from the biography of a contemporary and companion (al-Maqrīzī).

141 For the chronology of his works, see Bauden, Maqriziana XIII 216.

142 The work was copied twice by his son, in both cases it was commissioned by someone who directed the state chancery, as noted in n. 131 above.

143 To my knowledge, the first scholar to become interested in the work was the Belgian Henri Lammens (1862–1937). He published two articles, in which he translated the sections devoted to Mamluk correspondence with Christian rulers: Lammens, Relations officielles; Lammens, Correspondances diplomatiques.

144 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. A reprint appeared in 1963 in Cairo and has since been reproduced several times with only the date changed. One handwritten volume has remained unnoticed since then: MS 1897, Algiers, Bibliothèque nationale. See Fagnan, *Catalogue* 543. On the title page, the copyist has entitled the work *al-Durr al-manẓūm* but it tallies exactly with the first volumes of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. Fagnan dates it to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, i.e., almost contemporaneous with the author's death. Unfortunately, the text is lacunar and has been so badly damaged by bookworms that it is very fragile and difficult to manipulate.

145 These elements were not typeset, but clearly reproduced as images taken from the manuscripts.

an ordeal.<sup>146</sup> Shortly after the *editio princeps*, a descriptive study of the text, detailing its contents, was published, rendering it more intelligible and also contributing to its wider use by scholars.<sup>147</sup> Since then, al-Qalqashandī's manual has become a central resource for any researcher dealing with diplomatics. Several sections were translated during the last century<sup>148</sup> and non-Arabists, particularly those interested in diplomatic relations, have called for a full translation of the work.<sup>149</sup>

After the completion of his manual, al-Qalqashandī recycled parts of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* in another book that also focus on secretaryship, but differ from the point of view of the issuer's status. At the same time, these recycled parts introduce some new elements not found in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. The work deals with documents issued for or addressed to the caliph. Entitled *Ma'āthir al-ināfa fī ma'ālim al-khilāfa*, al-Qalqashandī completed the book around 819/1417. It was published by 'Abd al-Sattār Farrāj in 1964.<sup>150</sup> Even though it is more limited in scope than *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, *Ma'āthir al-ināfa* remains a useful source on correspondence. About one year later (821/1418), al-Qalqashandī completed a two-volume abridgment of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* entitled *Ḍaw' al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-janā l-dawḥ al-muthmir*; only the first volume is still available. In the preface, he explains that the book is a response to a request made by the then head of the chancery who wanted a shorter version of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, one that would be easier to consult. The first volume that has been preserved appeared in print in 1906, before his *opus magnum*.<sup>151</sup> Despite the length of time it has been avail-

146 On the structure, see Van Berkel, The attitude. The publication of detailed indices now facilitates the consultation: al-Baqī, *Fahāris*.

147 Björkman, *Beiträge*. See also 'Abd al-Karīm (ed.), *Abū l-'Abbās al-Qalqashandī*.

148 The following references are limited to those that offer a translation of documents linked to diplomatic relations between the Mamluks and other powers: Canard, *Le Traité*; Canard, *Un traité*; Dölger, *Der Vertrag*; Gabrieli, *Trattato*; Holt, *Early Mamluk diplomacy*; Vermeulen, *Le Traité d'armistice entre le sultan Baybars et les Hospitaliers*; Vermeulen, *Le Traité d'armistice*; Vermeulen, *Timur Lang*.

149 Recently, this invitation has been answered, at least in part. See al-Qalqashandī, *Selections*. This translation only considers some of the initial chapters, unfortunately those that do not relate to the drafting of documents. As early as 1993, Maria Pia Pedani translated the section dealing with truces. See Pedani, *La dimora della pace*.

150 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ma'āthir al-ināfa*. The discovery of a second manuscript (a presentation copy, probably a holograph, i.e., entirely in the author's handwriting) was announced by Kafesoğlu, *Kalkaşandī'nin bilinmeyen bir eseri*.

151 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, edition based on MS A2603 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi). Another copy was recently identified and appears to be a presentation copy, probably a holograph: MS 'Ayn 1122, Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Millī-i Jumhūrī-i Islāmī-i İrān. See Bauden, *Maqriziana* XIII 214 and 216.

able, its importance in the field of diplomacy has yet to be assessed, though it has been established that the work contains some original elements.<sup>152</sup>

The next author of a manual on secretaryship is something of a mystery. For a long time, his work was incorrectly attributed to someone else and given a false title. It was referred to as *al-Maqṣid al-rafiʿ al-munshaʿ al-hādī ilā šināʿat al-inshāʿ*, which is the title on the first page of the *unicum* (unique copy) (MS Arabe 4439, Paris, BnF); but in fact that title had been added by a western hand. It was attributed to a certain al-Khālīdī—the name of one of its owners—; the work was also frequently referred to as *Dīwān al-inshāʿ*. The correct identification of the author, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Saḥmāwī (d. 868/1463), and the true title of his work, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim fī šināʿat al-kātib wa-l-kātim*,<sup>153</sup> was made by an Egyptian student, Ashraf Muḥammad Anas Mursī, who prepared a critical edition of the text as part of his dissertation, which was published in 2009.<sup>154</sup> Thanks to this accurate attribution, it has been possible to establish that al-Saḥmāwī enjoyed a long career in the service of the chancery—he worked some fifty years as a secretary for the state chancery and for several amirs—and thus he was knowledgeable in the art of secretaryship. According to the Ottoman bibliographer Kātib Çelebī (d. 1068/1657), al-Saḥmāwī completed his work in Shaʿbān 846/December 1442–January 1443.<sup>155</sup> For the redaction of *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*, al-Saḥmāwī clearly relied on the work of his predecessors, particularly al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* whose encyclopedic scope he adopted, though in a more concise manner. The contents of al-Saḥmāwī's work would thus appear limited, if it were not for the updates that he offers on certain issues, like the paper utilized and the political context. With the edition published in 2009, the text, previously consulted by few scholars, became available to everyone interested in Mamluk diplomacy, though the editorial work is not devoid of imperfections. Shortly after al-Saḥmāwī completed his book, he followed al-Qalqashandī's example and prepared a summary (probably for the same reason, accessibility), which he entitled *al-Urf al-nāsim min al-Thaḡhr al-*

152 See above, n. 35.

153 This information was confirmed by Kātib Çelebī, *Kashf al-zunūn* i, col. 521 (the author's *nisba* is incorrectly given as al-Sakhāwī). Nājī, Nuṣūṣ 249, followed by Karabulut, *Dünya* iv, 2654 (no. 7160/1), refers to a holograph copy of *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim* in Tunis (Bibliothèque nationale, MS 4582 adab, formerly belonging to al-Aḥmadiyya Library) dated 842/1438–9. The manuscript in question contains an anonymous poetic *dīwān* from Egypt. I thank Mounira Chapoutot for checking this manuscript for me.

154 Al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*. Another edition of the same text was prepared by Khalil Shaḥāda in the framework of a PhD dissertation presented in 1988 at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut. However, Shaḥāda failed to identify the author and the correct title.

155 See Kātib Çelebī, *Kashf al-zunūn* i, col. 521.

*bāsim*, of which a lacunar copy is available.<sup>156</sup> It still remains to be seen if some parts of al-Saḥmāwī's abridgment are as valuable as al-Qalqashandī's *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubh* proved to be.

The next author to contribute to our knowledge of Mamluk diplomatics is none other than al-Qalqashandī's son, Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 876/1471), better known as Ibn Abī Ghudda. He occupied several functions in the judicial system, including the office of secretary for various amirs. At the end of his life, he devoted a treatise to the composition of letters, with a particular focus on correspondence exchanged by state officials (*ikhwāniyyāt*);<sup>157</sup> he entitled this *Qalā'id al-jumān fi muṣṭalaḥ mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*. The text has been preserved in a *unicum* (MS OR. 3625, London, BL) and a recent assessment<sup>158</sup> has shown that, despite his heavy reliance on the works of his predecessors, the text includes some original elements. In a section dedicated to the correspondence issued in the name of the sultan and addressed to foreign rulers (fols. 13b–47b), Ibn Abī Ghudda focused his attention on the correspondence itself and the rules for issuing letters: specifically, the format of the paper, the formulas to be used (address, epithets, invocation), and their place on the document (number of sheets in the roll and the place where a given formula must be penned). Ibn Abī Ghudda also shows his preference for the external elements of letters, like the shape of the document, while his predecessors concentrated on the internal elements that constituted the letters themselves.

The analysis of the treatise composed by al-Qalqashandī's son proves that it is necessary to appraise similar, still unpublished texts, if we wish to expand our knowledge of Mamluk diplomatics, particularly for the later periods, for which time we have few chancery manuals. The following three works might contribute to this effort. The first one, *al-Tibyān fi iṣṭilāḥ ahl al-zamān*, was written by a certain al-Ḥalabī who is characterized, on the title page of the *unicum*, as a secretary at the chancery in Cairo.<sup>159</sup> The dates mentioned for some of the documents he quotes help us place his activity in the 770s–80s/1370s–80s.

156 MS 13158 zāy (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub). This holograph copy is acephalous and contains 107 fols. Al-Saḥmāwī also authored a poem (*urjūza*) on calligraphy: *Biḍā'at al-mujawwad fi l-khaṭṭ wa-uṣūlihi*. See al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* i, col. 185 (the author's *nisba* is incorrectly given as al-Sakhāwī). See the *editio princeps* in Ḥabīb Efendi, *Hatt ve-hattâtîn* 278–85; new edition in Nāji, Nuṣūṣ 249–58 (where the author's *nisba* is given erroneously as al-Sinjāri).

157 On these, see Bauden, *Ikhwāniyyāt* letters.

158 See Bauden, Like father.

159 MS Mf72, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. His name is given as Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī. He was in fact one of the clerks who recorded answers to petitions presented to the sultan and prepared the minutes (*aḥad al-muwaqqi'in bi-l-dast al-sharif*).

The book opens with a rather long and detailed section on correspondence addressed to foreign rulers.<sup>160</sup> The second work, *Muzīl al-ḥaṣr fī mukātabāt ahl al-‘aṣr*, is a handbook composed by an unknown author—his name does not appear on the title page or in the introduction. We can establish that he was active at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, because he specifies in the preface that he composed his work for Ya‘qūb b. al-Mutawakkil I, i.e., one of the Abbasid caliph’s sons. Preserved in two copies, it relates to the correspondence issued by the chancery and addressed to each of the three levels (i.e., the caliph, sultans, and the administration).<sup>161</sup> The third book, *al-Murūj al-zakiyya fī tawshiyat al-durūj al-khiṭābiyya*, was composed by an unidentified author, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, whose death took place in or around 859/1455.<sup>162</sup> Thus far, three copies have been identified in three libraries: El Escorial,<sup>163</sup> Tunis,<sup>164</sup> and Riyadh.<sup>165</sup> While it is mainly concerned with *ikhwāniyyāt* letters, the text addresses some issues linked to correspondence with non-Muslim (mainly Christian) rulers.<sup>166</sup>

In addition to the works of Mamluk secretaries, we must not overlook the works of their counterparts in the eastern and western Muslim world. The treatise composed by Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī (d. 699/1300), *al-Burd al-muwashshā fī ṣinā‘at al-inshā’*, is an engaging case.<sup>167</sup> Al-Mawṣilī was the son of a secretary working at the Mamluk chancery. Around 660/1260, he relocated to Yemen, where he became the head of the Rasulid chancery until his death. His treatise was conceived as a vademecum intended for clerks active in the same field. Though he did not record full copies of letters, the guidelines and formulas he describes help us understand the rules applied by the Rasulid side when addressing foreign rulers, though we must bear in mind that al-Mawṣilī received his education in Mamluk Egypt.

160 MS Mf72, Berlin, fols. 1b–8a.

161 MS Árabe 566 (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial); MS Petermann 299 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).

162 His full name was ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Zakī l-‘Izzī/al-Ghazzī al-Ḥanafī. The author’s name is incorrectly given as Ibn Ḥatlab (?) by al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* ii, col. 470; *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn* i, col. 468; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn* ii, 284 (no. 8282) and 285 (no. 8292).

163 MS Árabe 557, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial (dated 897/1492). See Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Sup. ii, 915 (no. 7).

164 MS 4766, Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya, fols. 220–78 (dated 1215/1800–1). See Manṣūr, *Fihris* 108. My thanks to Marlis Saleh for checking this reference for me.

165 MS 471, Riyadh, Maktabat Jāmi‘at al-Malik Sa‘ūd (tenth/sixteenth century).

166 See MS Árabe 557 (El Escorial), fols. 61b–62a (*ahl dār al-ḥarb*).

167 See al-Mawṣilī, *al-Burd al-muwashshā*. For a presentation of the work and its author, see Vallet, Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī.



#### 4.2 *Collections of Letters*

In addition to the chancery manuals, another category of texts which were purely descriptive also contributed to the preservation of copies of documents; these were collections of sample letters composed by secretaries active at the chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʿ*)—either the state chancery of Cairo, or a local one, like that in Damascus, Aleppo, or Hama. These secretaries gathered their production, of which they were particularly proud, and which they regarded as their letters, in their own right. These miscellanies were such a part of their literary output that they were regarded as personal works. By contrast, other secretaries copied the letters that reached the chancery and the responses that were redacted anonymously. Most of the time these collections covered a longer period, that is, the activity of several secretaries who, in some cases, are named. Whatever category these collections belonged in, their aim was to offer exemplary stylistic characteristics, like the *summa dictandi* of medieval Europe.<sup>168</sup> They inspired—but also elicited the admiration of—contemporaries and future secretaries. As noted, in some ways, this recording activity replaced the registering of incoming and outgoing letters at the chancery and contributed to the preservation of copies that would have been lost otherwise. While these texts were not exclusively composed of samples of correspondence exchanged with other rulers, they are as instrumental as the chancery manuals for the study of various aspects related to diplomacy.<sup>169</sup> These types of collections are usually known as *munshaʿāt* (i.e., collections of *inshāʿ*), though this term is not attested in the Arabic sources.<sup>170</sup> Mamluk secretaries were also inclined to register the documents they composed—and those which prompted them to write responses—in their commonplace books.<sup>171</sup> These texts present yet

168 Camarigo, *Ars dictaminis*; Grévin, *Rhétorique* 130–2.

169 They usually also include deeds of nomination, letters between various levels of the administration (*ikhwāniyyāt* letters), marriage contracts, etc.

170 Modern researchers seem to have borrowed the term from the Persian literary tradition—from which it later passed into Ottoman usage—, where it is attested in the titles of such collections.

171 Known as *tadhkira* (something that helps memory), these were usually chronologically arranged multi-volume works; the author would regularly record his production and the results of his readings and start a new volume when the preceding one was filled. For instance, al-Qalqashandī quotes the forty-sixth volume of Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *tadhkira*, in which he found a copy of a document (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* vii, 229). Another well-known example of this kind of work relates to another secretary, al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), whose *takhkira* covered forty-nine volumes (several copies have been preserved; Élise Franssen is currently working on it). Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 70, also refers to Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) *Tadhkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb*, which, in spite of the title, must have been a collection of documents he composed and thus not a *tadhkira* in its own right.

another opportunity to identify letters related to diplomatic exchanges, either from the Mamluk side or from their correspondents (like the Timurids or the Ottomans, to mention only the most important), who utilized other epistolary traditions. For the Mamluk period and the Mamluk point of view, the vast majority of the epistolary collections to which al-Qalqashandī refers in his *opus magnum*, i.e., those covering the seventh–eighth/thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, are now considered lost.<sup>172</sup> For the ninth/fifteenth century, we can cite several examples here.

In the category of personal collections containing diplomatic correspondence, Ibn Ḥijja's (d. 837/1434)<sup>173</sup> *Qahwat al-inshā'* is unique in terms of quality, but also in the sense that it is the only personal collection of its kind that has reached us from the Mamluk period. The author, born in Syria, was well-known for his literary prose and poetry, and for his acquaintance with the secretary of the governor of Hama. When the governor, Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī, became sultan (r. 815–24/1412–21), he brought with him his secretary, whom he placed at the head of the chancery in Cairo. Ibn Ḥijja's acquaintance with him proved beneficial, as he was immediately designated as *munshi'* of the state chancery; this meant that he penned documents (deeds and letters) upon request. Ibn Ḥijja remained in office for the duration of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign and that of some of his successors, until his dismissal around 827/1424. His *Qahwat al-inshā'*, in which he gathered the deeds that he composed as well as the incoming letters and the responses he penned, covers his activity at the chancery in chronological order: the first document is dated 815/1413 and the last one is from 827/1424. Its author was a unique witness of the diplomatic exchanges during this period, not only because he was a theorist of rhetoric, which he put to good use in the documents he wrote, but also because he provided details of elements related to diplomatics (the format of paper, the color of the ink, the presence of a motto or the impression of a seal). His work thus offers a rare glimpse into a period during which al-Qalqashandī had already written his major work. Rudolf Veselý was the first to scrutinize Ibn Ḥijja's work.<sup>174</sup> In 2005, he published a critical edition of the *Qahwat al-inshā'*, leaving little space for criticism.<sup>175</sup> This collection contains no fewer than forty diplomatic letters, usually incoming correspondence with replies composed by Ibn

172 This is, for instance, the case for Ibn Manzūr's *Tadhkirat al-labīb*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā* xiv, 70; Björkman, *Beiträge* 77.

173 For his biography and production, see Stewart, Ibn Ḥijjah.

174 Veselý, *Eine neue Quelle*; Veselý, *Eine Stilkunstschrift*; Veselý, *Ein Kapitel*.

175 Ibn Ḥijja, *Das Rauschgetränk*. For his edition, Veselý did not take into consideration the manuscript held in Algiers (Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1898); this is the oldest complete

Hijja. These are in numerical order as follows: Ayyubids of Ḥisn Kayfā (seven incoming and six outgoing letters), Qara Qoyunlu (five incoming and five outgoing letters), Rasulids (two incoming and three outgoing letters), Ottomans (one incoming and two outgoing letters), Qaramanids (one incoming and two outgoing letters), khans of the Golden Horde (two outgoing letters), Timurids (one incoming and one outgoing letter), Hafside (one outgoing letter), and Aq Qoyunlu (one outgoing). This sample of forty letters, all by one author, shows the frequency of the exchanges between these dynasties and the Mamluk sultanate during a short period of time (twelve years) and highlights the quantity of material that must have existed for the Mamluk period but which is now lost. Its contents have scarcely been studied, either in historical or diplomatic terms.<sup>176</sup>

MS Arabe 4440 (BnF, Paris) belongs to the anonymous category of collections of models; it has been known for more than a century, though scholars only started to investigate it in the 1960s. In an article in 2007, I studied the contents of this composite text, and provided a full list of the letters it preserves.<sup>177</sup> This collection is divided into four parts, and it is in the last one that the compiler, who probably worked at the chancery in Cairo up to the beginning of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy's reign, collected a series of sixty-two letters, mostly dated between 837/1433 and 873/1468. The compiler provides physical details of certain elements of these letters (the format of the paper, the presence of seal impressions, the color of the ink, the presence of the sender's motto), all of which are further evidence that he had access to the original documents and

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dated copy available (dated, on fol. 255b, 30 Jumādā 1 840/10 December 1436, three years after Ibn Hijja's death). See Fagnan, *Catalogue* 543–4.

The *Shams al-maghrib fi l-murqīṣ wa-l-muṭrib* attributed to Ibn al-Damāminī (d. 828/1425) and catalogued as such by Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss* viii, 579–80, no. 8643 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Sprenger 1223) is just another partial copy of Ibn Hijja's *Qahwat al-inshā'*. The manuscript is lacunar at the beginning and the end. Although the copy begins with three commendations (*taqrīz*) not found in *Qahwat al-inshā'*, all the documents are given in the same order with some lacunae in between. In the list that follows, the no. of the document in Vesely's edition is between parentheses: fols. 2b (58), 6a (59), 7a (61), 8b (62), 9a (63), 9b (64), 10a (66), 10b (67), 12a (67a), 13a (68), 14a (69), 14b (70), 16b (71), 17a (72), 18a (73), 19b (74), 20b (75), 21a (76), 22b (77), 24a (78), 25b (79), 26a (80), 27a (81), 29a (82), 30a (83), 31a (84), 31b (86), 32b (87), 34a (88), 35b (89), 37a (90), 38a (90a), 39a (91), 42b (92), 43a (93), 44a (94), 46a (95), 48a (96), 48b (97–8), 49b (99), 50b (100), 53b (101), 54b (102–3), 55a (104–5), 55b (106), 57a (107), 58a (108), 59b (111), 60b (112), 61b (112a), 62b (112b), 63b (113), 64a (114), 66a (115), 68a (116), 70b (117), 72a (121b), 76b (121a), 81b (121j).

176 Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* has studied Ottoman letters. The *Qahwat al-inshā'* is also the focus of my article on the reconstruction of a Qara Qoyunlu letter in this volume.

177 Bauden, *Les Relations*.

accurately took note of these details upon their arrival or issuance. He may in fact have been the secretary who penned the correspondence (*munshi*'), and, like Ibn Hija, wanted to keep a record of his production. The letters cover a wide range of rulers, and thus bear witness to the animated exchanges that occurred in the period considered; these exchanges took place with the following: Ottomans (three incoming and ten outgoing letters),<sup>178</sup> Timurids (four incoming and six outgoing), Qara Qoyunlu (two incoming and three outgoing letters), Hafids (two incoming and three outgoing letters), Qaramanids (three outgoing letters), Ayyubids of Hısn Kayfā (two incoming and one outgoing letter), Rasulids (three outgoing letters), Nasrids (two incoming letters), khans of the Golden Horde (two outgoing letters), Muza'ffar Shāhids of Malwa (one incoming and one outgoing letter), Aq Qoyunlu (one outgoing letter), Takrūr (one outgoing letter), khans of the Crimea (one incoming letter),<sup>179</sup> the Muslims of Lisbon (one incoming letter), and the Cypriots (one outgoing letter).

Some of the letters have been studied. In 1940, George Colin was the first to publish a group of five letters related to the West (the two Hafid and the two Nasrid letters, as well as the letter by the Muslims of Lisbon, all of which were addressed to the Mamluk sultan).<sup>180</sup> In 1958, Aḥmad Darrāj edited a letter sent by the sultan of Malwa and the response issued by al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy.<sup>181</sup> For half a century, this manuscript was largely neglected until it stimulated my interest and I devoted an article to it in 2007. Some significant parts of it then became the subject of Malika Dekkiche's dissertation, which focuses on the diplomatic relations between the Mamluk sultanate, on one side, and the Timurids, Qaramanids, and Qara Qoyunlu on the other. In the context of her work, she edited all the letters linked to these dynasties.<sup>182</sup> Since then, she has published several studies and editions of these letters.<sup>183</sup> Despite these publications, the full corpus of letters certainly deserve to be published in its entirety.

178 Contrary to the header of letter no. vi, this letter was not addressed by Murād II to al-Ashraf Barsbāy, but vice versa, as noted by Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* 315, n. 46.

179 Letter XLV was incorrectly attributed to the Qaramanids in Bauden, *Les Relations*.

180 Colin, Contribution. In the meantime, the letter of the Muslims of Lisbon was edited by Zayyāt, Athar unuf. Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros's article in the present volume focuses on this letter.

181 Darrāj, *Risālatān*. John Meloy thoroughly studies both letters in the present volume.

182 Dekkiche, *Le Caïre*.

183 Dekkiche, Correspondence; Dekkiche, New source; Dekkiche, The letter (Qara Qoyunlu letters edited); Dekkiche, Crossing the line (Qaramanid letters edited). In addition to the articles of Lopes de Barros and Meloy in the present volume, Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, Rémi Dewièrè, and Éric Vallet deal with some of the letters in the manuscript, at least in part.

The recent identification of another copy of the same text in Algiers will certainly contribute to the resolution of some of the problems that arose from the Paris copy.<sup>184</sup>

Other collections of models have yet to be assessed, so we do not yet know if or how they might prove useful to Mamluk diplomatics. MS 663 (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek) is an interesting case. This manuscript consists of a miscellanea of documents that were composed by secretaries, including, in some cases, those by the unknown compiler (*muṣaṭṭir*).<sup>185</sup> The most recent documents are dated or datable to the 870s/1465–75, making this collection a perfect contemporary of MS Arabe 4440. One response addressed to the Qaramanid amir in 871/1467 (fols. 31b–32b) offers details about the format of the paper used and the gifts for the amir that were dispatched with the Qaramanid envoy who was returning home.

The practice of collecting models of documents was also widespread in the Persian and Ottoman epistolary traditions, where these were known as *munsha'āt*/*münşe'āt*. As in the Mamluk tradition, these were collections of the epistolary production of some of the most prominent actors working for the chancery. In some cases, they brought together some of the most significant letters that were exchanged with other rulers over a given period of time.<sup>186</sup> These collections thus prove instrumental in broadening the corpus of letters exchanged with the Mamluks. While on the Persian side, the harvest has proved unproductive thus far,<sup>187</sup> the situation is more encouraging for the Ottomans. In this context, the main source is represented by Ferīdūn Beg (d. 991/1583),

184 MS 1899, Algiers, Bibliothèque nationale. The manuscript was described by Fagnan, *Catalogue* 544 as an anonymous collection of letters, mainly from rulers. He also thought that the compiler was an Egyptian who probably worked at the chancery. In comparison with the Paris manuscript, the copy in Algiers is lacunar and in great disorder. It only contains the following letters (references are to the numbers in Bauden, *Les Relations* and the corresponding page numbers in the Algiers manuscript): letter XXI = 78–81, letter XII = 84–7, letter XXIII = 83, letter XXXV = 4–7, letter XXXVII = 1–3, letter XXXIX = 66–7, letter XLIII = 96–100, letter XLV = 101–2, letter XLVII = 88–95, letter XLVIII = 70–7, letter L = 104–6. Interestingly, this manuscript belonged to the well-known scholar al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) who settled in Egypt. The manuscript thus passed from Egypt to Algeria at a rather late date.

185 Vollers, *Katalog* 209–11, describes the contents of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the title and the name of the compiler on the title page were erased. A later owner substituted the erased title for a questionable title: *al-Durar al-manthūrāt*.

186 For an overview of collections of epistolary models in Persian and Ottoman, see, respectively, Storey, *Persian literature*; Uzun, *Münşeāt*.

187 For the Timurid period, Navā'ī has reviewed most of the Persian and Ottoman *munsha'āt* in print or still unpublished. See Navā'ī, *Asnād*. The author only lists two *fathnāmas* sent to the Mamluks to announce the news of a conquest; these *fathnāmas* were found in a collection of letters dating from the Safavid period: one by the Timurid Shāh Rukh

who worked at the Ottoman chancery from 981/1573 to 984/1576, then from 989/1581 to his death. In his capacity as *niṣāncı* (seal holder), his tasks included supervising the *dīvān*'s archives. His functions meant he had permanent access to a vast repository of documents. This led him to copy some of the most significant documents related to the diplomatic relations between the Ottoman sultans and several of their counterparts, as early as the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.<sup>188</sup> His work, entitled *Münşe'at-i selāṭin* [Official letters of the sultans], has been available in an uncritical edition since the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>189</sup> Celia J. Kerslake has studied the letters addressed by Selīm I to Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī.<sup>190</sup> More recently, Cihan Yüksel Muslu has analyzed all the letters received from and sent to the Mamluk sultans in her book on Ottoman-Mamluk diplomatic relations.<sup>191</sup> Other collections remain in manuscript form, but certainly merit investigation.<sup>192</sup> Among these, MS Arabe 4434 (BnF, Paris)<sup>193</sup> contains several copies of Ottoman-Mamluk letters, some of which were mentioned by Yüksel Muslu, though these remain unpublished.<sup>194</sup>

In addition to the Ottomans, there may yet be some unexpected discoveries to be made, as the following example demonstrates. An anonymous collection entitled *Zuhrat al-nāzirīn wa-nuzhat al-nādhirīn*, drew Rudolf Veselý's atten-

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(r. 807–50/1405–47) and the other by Aq Qoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan (r. 861–82/1457–78). See Navā'ī, *Asnād* 208–14, 561–70. Melvin-Koushki, *The delicate art, is a study of Uzun Ḥasan's fathnāma*.

- 188 The first dated document in his work is from 793/1391; we must bear in mind that the correspondence for the early Ottoman reigns, those up to Murād II, as noted, is problematic. See above n. 127.
- 189 Feridün Beg, *Mecmū'a-yi münşe'at-i selāṭin*. As noted by some scholars, there are discrepancies between the first edition in 1264–5/1848–9 and the one that followed in 1274–5/1857–9: some letters are missing in the former. See Kerslake, *The correspondence* 220, n. 8.
- 190 Kerslake, *The correspondence*. She also refers to one additional letter identified in a composite manuscript. See *ibid.*, 220, n. 7.
- 191 Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans*.
- 192 See Kerslake, *The correspondence* 221, n. 10.
- 193 According to de Slane, *Catalogue* 707, the manuscript is dated 877/1473. In fact, he refers to the date that appears on fol. 170b, though this date corresponds to the date of the last document reproduced and not the manuscript itself. In truth, this manuscript is a composite: it contains two parts, written by two hands, each bearing different ownership marks. The first part (fols. 1–171) is undated and mainly consists of two collections of letters, the first related to the Khwarizmshahs and the second to the Ottomans, the last being from 877/1473; the second part (fols. 172–222) is composed of a collection of epistolary models in Persian that ends with a collation note dated 843/1440.
- 194 BnF, MS Arabe 4434, fols. 130b–133b, 133b–138b, 139a–141\*a. The following letters are not mentioned in her study: fols. 165b–168a (Ottoman letter and response), 168b–169b (Ottoman letter and response).

tion.<sup>195</sup> Preserved in a *unicum* in Leiden (MS Or. 1052), among other documents, the text contains thirty-one letters exchanged between the Qaramanids and the Mamluks. According to Veselý, the compiler recorded letters that were in the archives in Konya, though it is more likely that he worked at the chancery and made copies of the letters that reached it, along with those drafted in reply to them. These letters represent another significant example of the correspondence between the Mamluks and the Qaramanids, which the former mainly regarded as vassals and buffers against the Ottoman expansion. Despite the flaws in the copies—dates are rarely mentioned, hindering a chronological reconstruction of the collection, except on the basis of internal references; and the initial parts of the letters (*invocatio* and *intitulatio*) were not considered—, this collection certainly deserves a thorough study and edition.

## 5 Mamluk Diplomatics

The two preceding sections confirm that original Mamluk documents have been preserved in limited numbers, but with some variety, and that copies are available in chancery manuals, formularies, and collections of letters with the same characteristics. It is thus fair to wonder why we do not have a manual of Mamluk diplomatics, given that scholars have focused on the diplomatics related to other dynasties.<sup>196</sup> There are several reasons that may explain this. First, the original Mamluk documents that have been available in editions and translations were mostly published between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth century. During this period, reproductions of documents were seldom added to the editions because of the financial costs of such an enterprise. Most editors were interested in seeing the documents published because of their historical significance. They did not pay much attention to the physical details of the documents themselves or to some parts of the text; indeed, they may have considered these aspects meaningless. For instance, if measurements were given, they were for the size of the whole document, but not the size of its constituent parts, i.e., each sheet of paper in the roll. Moreover,

195 In Veselý, *Ein Briefwechsel*, the title is erroneously given as *Zumrat al-nāzirīn wa-nuzhat al-nādirīn*. The way the first word of the title is written on the first page may be misleading; the correct form is given by Kätib Çelebî, *Kashf al-zunūn* ii, 962, who probably based his description on this very manuscript.

196 For a general introduction, see al-Khūlī, *Mudākhālāt*. For works dealing with the diplomatics of a specific dynasty, mostly (properly) based on original documents, see Rey-chman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook* (Ottomans); Roemer, *Staatsschreiben* (Timurids); Keçik, *Briefe und Urkunden* (Aq Qoyunlu).

interest in the diplomatic rules given by chancery manuals only developed after the publication of al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*.<sup>197</sup> Scholars only began to produce editions of texts with full diplomatic commentaries and physical descriptions from the 1950s.<sup>198</sup> Since then, diplomatists have scarcely considered consulting the original documents, rather they have trusted in the works of their predecessors—despite the faults just outlined. A new generation of scholars has now taken the next step, which is to go back to the original documents in order to (respectfully) check the work of the pioneers and fill in the blanks they left in their analyses.<sup>199</sup> Thus, the time seems ripe to outline the results of this new scholarship, i.e., what has been done and what still needs to be accomplished—where are we. In fact, the general sketch that follows cannot be regarded as a manual of Mamluk diplomatics for documents linked to diplomatic exchanges; rather, it is intended to serve as a contribution to the issue. In so doing, we follow the two major steps heeded by the diplomatists in their analysis of documents, i.e., we examine the form of the document (external and internal characteristics), and its genesis or drafting. This is preceded by the various types of documents that should be taken into consideration for the Mamluk period and ends with a brief section on the tradition of the documents, i.e., what happened to them after their issuance.

### 5.1 *A Brief Typology of Documents*

The documents related to diplomatic exchanges in medieval Europe that can be found in archival repositories increased in number along with the widespread use of paper and the recognition by various powers of the importance of writing and the preservation of this written activity in archives. Historians of diplomacy can thus study the whole gamut of these written remains. Some are clearly related to diplomatic activity, while others are related more

197 This is the case for the majority of the original documents that are preserved in Barcelona, Florence, and Venice, as we saw above.

198 For the Mamluk period, John Wansbrough was the first to apply diplomatic analysis to the documents he studied; this is true, even though his publications (see the bibliography) are not exempt from fundamental flaws, particularly in relation to incomplete physical descriptions and the identification of the category to which the documents belonged. For the appraisal of Wansbrough's work, see Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion*.

199 The documents in Florence, previously published by Amari and Wansbrough, have recently been analyzed in this way. See Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion*. The same process has been launched for the documents held in Barcelona under the direction of Roser Salicrú i Lluch in the framework of a collaborative project involving F. Bauden and A. Rizzo for the Mamluk documents, M. Ouerfelli for the Hafsid materials, Ana Labarta for the Nasrid documents, and Mercè Viladrich for the Merinid ones.



to what took place behind the diplomatic scenes. These documents include diplomatic letters, treaties, lists of gifts, safe-conducts, procurations (i.e., the powers of attorney granted to ambassadors to negotiate in the name of his ruler), letters of credence, instructions, orders of payment related to envoys, reports of ambassadors, accounts of travel expenses, and ambassadors' correspondences.<sup>200</sup> Unfortunately, the existence of the full range of these sorts of documents cannot be confirmed for the Mamluk period. Our lack of knowledge is due to the paucity of evidence (originals or copies) and the lack of accounts in the specialized literature (chancery manuals and formularies) and narrative sources. However, the deficit of evidence cannot be used as an argument that these sorts of documents did not exist in the Mamluk diplomatic tradition.<sup>201</sup>

The categories of documents that relate to diplomatic exchanges in the Mamluk period include the following:<sup>202</sup> truces (*hudna*, pl. *hudan*), oaths (*yamān*, pl. *aymān*), letters (*mukātaba*, pl. *mukātabāt*),<sup>203</sup> safe-conducts (*amān*, pl. *amānāt*), passes for foreign envoys (*yarligh*, pl. *yarāligh*), instructions to emissaries (*tadhkira*, pl. *tadhākīr*), and finally, lists (*qā'ima*, pl. *qawā'im*) of gifts. The chancery manuals and formularies describe most of these categories, detail the rules for their redaction, and give some examples. Unfortunately, we do not have original preserved documents in all of these categories, thus, we have no way to compare them with the prescriptive works. We know of another kind of document, but only because original examples are available in European archival repositories; these are lists of gifts and are not described in the chancery manuals. Our knowledge of them, from a diplomatic point of view, relies entirely on the items preserved in the European archives.<sup>204</sup>

200 Péquignot, *Les diplomaties occidentales* 48.

201 For instance, the argument of absence was used with regard to a specific kind of private document, the contract for fluvial and maritime transportation; its absence in the preserved documents led to the conclusion that such contracts, though described in formularies, were not in fact issued. This conclusion was disproven when an example of such a contract was identified and published. See Bauden, *Le Transport de marchandises*.

202 For a taxonomy of documents issued by the chancery in general, see Björkman, *Diplomatic* 302–4, largely inspired by Björkman, *Beiträge* which, in turn, is entirely based on al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*.

203 Sometimes also referred to by the more general term *kitāb* or *mithāl*, the latter also meaning, according to the context, "order."

204 Gifts in the Mamluk diplomatic tradition have recently drawn the attention of scholars. See, in particular, Muhanna, *The sultan's new clothes*; Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising diplomacy*. However, the lists of gifts, which were appended to diplomatic letters issued by the Mamluk chancery, have not been considered sufficiently. On these, see Bauden, *Lists of gifts*.

By contrast, some categories fell into disuse because their function was, at least occasionally, transferred to other types of documents. In the wake of Frankish rule in Syria and as relations between the European states and the Mamluk sultanate evolved from one of conflict to one characterized by economic exchanges, the chancery had less need for truces and their correlative form of confirmation, i.e., oaths.<sup>205</sup> In order to apply the negotiated trade agreements, so merchants could enjoy commercial benefits, the chancery started, from the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century, to use another kind of document: the administrative decree (*marṣūm*, pl. *marāsīm*).<sup>206</sup> These were certainly not reciprocal like truces, but unilateral, administrative decrees that belonged to the category of documents issued by the chancery for a specific purpose: they transmitted orders to representatives of the sultanate who were responsible for their implementation. Although these documents were meant for internal use, the European states increasingly requested copies of the decrees for their own records, a practice that explains their presence (as originals or in translation) in the archives of these European states.<sup>207</sup> In the same way, the use of the safe-conduct witnessed a similar evolution. While a document of safe-conduct was initially a specific document issued according to a set of rules described in the chancery manuals, over time, this category of document was abandoned, though its juridical function—to grant safe-conduct to a specific person or community—was included in other categories of documents. These documents included letters addressed to European states and administrative decrees issued in favor of their subjects residing in the territories of the sultanate.<sup>208</sup>

205 See Köhler, *Alliances*.

206 On administrative decrees in the Mamluk period, particularly responses to petitions, see Stern, *Petitions*. For those linked to European states, see Wansbrough, *A Mamlūk commercial treaty*.

207 Together with the subcategory of the *murabbaʿ* (square decree), which refers to the form of the document (i.e., a full sheet of paper, thus a rectangle (*murabbaʿ*) folded in two). Called *maraba* in Italian translations, these were minor decrees that were differentiated by the Venetians, who referred to the *marāsīm* as *commandamento longo*. See Rossi, *Ambasciata* 127. On the *murabbaʿ* decree, see Richards, *A Mamlūk emir's 'square' decree*, and, for recent research, Hirschler, *From archive to archival practices*, 14–5. The European states used the same practice (i.e., of requesting copies of administrative documents issued by the Mamluk chancery for internal use) with regard to letters addressed by the sultan to the governors, in which the sultan announced the accompanying decrees. See Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* i, 207.

208 See Frantz-Murphy, *Identity and security*; Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* 226–30. This is not peculiar to Mamluk diplomatics. In the European documentary tradition, letters also

This situation led to some confusion in the way a document issued by the Mamluk chancery was interpreted and identified. Decrees, for instance, were understood by European recipients in light of terms that prevailed in their documentary tradition, terms like treaties,<sup>209</sup> capitulations,<sup>210</sup> and privileges. Modern historians based themselves, in some cases, on the interpretation of documents by the local chanceries, who adopted the same descriptive terms, which further clouded the issue.<sup>211</sup> In general, it is advisable to refer to these documents by the technical terms used by the Mamluk chanceries.<sup>212</sup>

Another element that needs to be taken into account concerns the issuing authority. It is generally assumed that documents related to diplomatic exchanges were all issued by the state chancery in Cairo. By the same token, it is taken for granted that foreign chanceries were only in contact with the Mamluk state chancery. Both assumptions are contradicted by documents and reports. In fact, intercommunication was predominantly established between the respective state chanceries, but lower-level figures occasionally also liaised with foreign powers.<sup>213</sup> This alternative communication impacted the emanation of the documents, especially on the Mamluk side, where correspondence was highly codified.<sup>214</sup>

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transmitted orders, which led to their preservation in the archives. See Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* 104–5.

209 Like the treaties, the decrees included clauses (*shart*, pl. *shurūt*). This is one reason they were interpreted as treaties by their European recipients.

210 Hartmann, *Die Islamisch-Fränkischen Staatsverträge*; Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics*, chap. 2.

211 The term ‘commercial decree’ was used to define decrees issued in relation to benefits secured for the merchant community of a European state in the Mamluk sultanate; however, in the Mamluk chancery, these were not differentiated from administrative decrees.

212 As early as 1996, Maria Pia Pedani stressed that defining Mamluk documents with terms specific to the medieval European diplomatic tradition or their interpretation by the local chancery which received them should be abandoned in favor of using terms specific to Mamluk diplomatics. See Pedani, *La dimora* 20.

213 For a case in which the executive secretary, who was in Syria, contacted the Venetian authorities, see Arbel, *Levantine power struggles*. For documents addressed by the Mamluk state chancery to the authorities of the city of Barcelona, see nos. 19–20 in the Survey, under Aragon. For letters addressed by the King of Aragon to various authorities on the Egyptian side, mostly governors of Alexandria and Damascus, see nos. 49, 66, 68, 72, 79, 83–4 in the same Survey.

214 See Bauden, *Ikhwāniyyāt* letters.

## 5.2 *Form*

In diplomatic terms, diplomatists consider the examination of a deed one of the two steps necessary for an analysis and correct interpretation. To begin, diplomatists examine the external and internal features of a document. The external features are essentially the support, the format, the layout, and the script. These must be scrutinized on the document itself, not from a reproduction. With regard to internal features, these define the elements that pertain to the text itself: the structure of the text, the means used to validate a document (seal, signature, etc.), the language, and the style. These elements do not require access to the original document, but to a good reproduction at least.<sup>215</sup>

This brief outline of important features to note calls for a couple of remarks that are specific to Mamluk diplomatics. First, access to the original documents is not always granted by the repositories because these are old items that can be manipulated only in tightly controlled circumstances. While in theory this concern is fully justified, researchers should stress that it is almost impossible to study the external characteristics of a document without access to the original. Just as a codicological description of a manuscript can prove crucial to accurately dating the manuscript, a diplomatic description of a document is equally instrumental for its correct interpretation. While it is true that consulting Mamluk chancery documents can be challenging in practical terms (see fig. 1.3), it should not be an obstacle. Second, if researchers give up trying to access originals, our knowledge of Mamluk diplomatics will not continue to evolve. For more than a century, diplomatists and historians have been content to work on the basis of reproductions, and have missed and/or misinterpreted essential parts of the documents they were studying. This situation is no longer tenable and every effort to improve our understanding of Mamluk diplomatics should be encouraged.

### 5.2.1 External Features

For the issuance of documents, the Mamluk state chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'*) mainly used two kinds of format: (1) the roll (*darj*, pl. *durūj*), longer than it was wide, is composed of one (or several) sheets (*waṣl*, pl. *aṣṣāl*) pasted one below the other, for a given format of paper (*qaṭ'*, pl. *aqṭā'*); and (2) the single sheet of paper, usually folded in two. The roll was the most widely used format for various categories of documents, including official correspondence with foreign rulers. The use of the single sheet folded in two was limited to very

<sup>215</sup> See Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* 63.

specific types of documents, like instructions to envoys (*tadhkira*).<sup>216</sup> Given that diplomatic letters are the most commonly represented category in the originals that have been preserved, in the following lines, I address these exclusively.<sup>217</sup>

Paper was the only writing material used by the Mamluk chancery. Our knowledge of the production of paper in Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk period has improved since the publication of Geneviève Humbert's study, which is based on those manuscripts she was able to date and locate.<sup>218</sup> Nevertheless, for a long time it was assumed that the paper supply for the Mamluk chancery was specific, i.e. that the paper intended for use for chancery documents was specially produced to meet its requirements. The production would thus have been separate from paper made for other purposes, like books. This assumption was largely based on the misunderstanding of an obscure passage in al-Saḥmāwī's *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*.<sup>219</sup> By reconsidering the data found in al-Qalqashandī's and al-Saḥmāwī's manuals, and by examining some contemporary manuscripts—particularly the monumental Qurans commissioned by Mamluk sultans—, I have been able to demonstrate that the paper used by the chancery was not produced by a specific mill and that it was no different than that made for books.<sup>220</sup> An examination of documents preserved in the European archives has also provided another meaningful detail: the Mamluk chancery used locally produced paper until the end of the sultanate, even though European watermarked paper was already available in Egyptian and Syrian markets.<sup>221</sup> This practice seems to confirm that chancery secretaries

216 See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* xiii, 79 ff. for a description of this category of document, including its shape.

217 We should emphasize that secretaries traditionally divided correspondence according to the rank of the issuer/addressee, giving precedence to the caliph, then the sultan, and finally to the appointees—military and civil—and referring to the correspondence of each of these ranks with the following respective technical terms: *khalīfatīyya* (letters to or from the caliph), *sultānīyya* (letters to or from the sultan), and *ikhwānīyya* (letters exchanged by appointees). For more detail, see Bauden, *Ikhwānīyyāt* letters. Theoretically, the caliph was the representative of religious authority. See Holt, Some observations. For an excellent overview of the evolution of the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo, see Banister, *The Abbasid caliphate*. Medieval diplomatics applies the same kind of distinction between documents according to the nature of the issuing authority, i.e., secular or religious, and their respective rank (regal, princely/seigneurial/communal, pontifical, episcopal, private). See Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* 104.

218 Humbert, *Papiers non filigranés*; Humbert, *Un papier*.

219 Humbert, *Le manuscrit arabe*.

220 Bauden, *Paper formats*.

221 See Bauden, *L'Achat d'esclaves* 272, n. 15.

were not interested in issuing documents on European paper, whether for political<sup>222</sup> or economic reasons,<sup>223</sup> or both.

It is well known that rolls were used for letters. The origin of this format goes back to antiquity and was adopted by Muslims when they conquered Egypt.<sup>224</sup> From there, it spread to other regions of the Islamic world in the East and the West.<sup>225</sup> In her contribution to this volume (“Diplomatics or Another Way to See the World”), Malika Dekkiche presents a brilliant synthesis of the rules applied by the secretaries for the diplomatic correspondence addressed to Muslim rulers.<sup>226</sup> Based on her analysis of various chancery manuals of the Mamluk period, she explains in clear terms how the status of the addressee, as recognized by the Mamluk chancery, determined a set of rules that impacted the external and internal features of letters. As explained, rolls were composed of several sheets pasted one below the other. The width of the roll was thus determined by the sheets. The different widths (full sheet, two-third, half, one-third, quarter, ordinary) are known thanks to al-Qalqashandī and al-Saḥmāwī who referred to a standard (the cubit used to measure fabrics: *dhirā’ al-qumāsh*). Until very recently, scholars relied not only on an incorrect calculation of this standard (48.886 cm vs. 58.187 cm),<sup>227</sup> but also on an erroneous interpretation of the formats. In her study of the formats described by al-Qalqashandī and al-Saḥmāwī, Humbert concluded that each format of a sheet detailed by the two Mamluk authors determined, as we saw, by its width, was specifically produced for the chancery.<sup>228</sup> In fact, only a very limited number of formats of sheets (the largest ones) were made for the chancery. Each time a fraction of the full format is mentioned for the width of a roll, it just means that the full sheet was cut into the size requested.<sup>229</sup> This example demonstrates how critical it is to undertake a physical examination of the origi-

222 Diplomatic letters are, of course, expressions of power.

223 For example, to support local paper mills.

224 The oldest Muslim diplomatic letter that has reached us is a roll from Egypt. Dated 18 Rajab 141/24 November 758, it was addressed by the governor of Egypt, Mūsā b. Ka’b, to the king of the Nubians. Made of sheets of papyrus, each measuring 22–23 × 53.5 cm, its total length is 2,645 m. The letter is now displayed at the Museum of Nubia in Aswan. See Hinds and Sakkout, *A letter*; Plumley, *An eighth century Arabic letter*.

225 The roll format was still used by the Almohad chancery. See Buresi, *Les Plaintes*.

226 See also the second volume of Dekkiche, *Le Caire*. The same work should now be carried out for non-Muslim rulers.

227 Consequently, all the measures given for the different sizes used by the Mamluk chancery are incorrect. See Bauden, *Paper formats*.

228 Humbert, *Le manuscrit arabe*.

229 See Bauden, *Paper formats*.

nals.<sup>230</sup> The layout of the text was another feature impacted by the rules summarized by Dekkiche. The text started after a number of blank sheets—a space called *turra*<sup>231</sup>—which was determined by the rank of the addressee. The rank of the addressees also determined the interlinear space and the width of the right margin.<sup>232</sup>

Different styles of scripts were used in the chancery, which was a sort of laboratory in which calligraphers developed new styles.<sup>233</sup> In recent years, various studies were devoted to calligraphic styles; these have contributed to our better understanding of their use at the Mamluk chancery.<sup>234</sup> Other sources have also been discovered: albums displaying examples of the different styles were composed by calligraphers who also worked for the state chancery.<sup>235</sup> However, the scripts featured in Mamluk documents have largely been neglected and certainly deserve investigation. The correct identification of styles, according to the details provided by al-Qalqashandī and the authors of the albums just mentioned, is particularly important. Such studies should also focus on the presence or the absence of orthoepic signs and decorative elements frequently used by calligraphers in other contexts.

### 5.2.2 Internal Features

The internal features considered by diplomatists relate to the elements of diplomatic discourse (roughly the structure of the contents of the document) and the stylistic and linguistic characteristics of its tenor.

The structure of letters in premodern Islam roughly tallies with the one defined for documents in medieval European diplomatics. The traditional division into three parts (protocol, text, eschatocol), with their internal constituents, are all described by the Mamluk chancery manuals with their own technical terms (*fawātih*, *matn*, *khawātim*). Diplomatists working on Islamic

230 This examination was carried out for the documents held in Florence (see Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion*), Barcelona (forthcoming), and Venice.

231 See Gazagnadou, *Remarques*; Nielsen, *A note*.

232 All these features are key to reconstructing the reused documents, as fig. 12.3 in my contribution to this volume shows.

233 The status of the recipient also affected the choice of the reed pen, hence of the calligraphic style.

234 See Blair, *Islamic calligraphy*; Gacek, *Arabic scripts*; Atanasiu, *De la fréquence des lettres*; Atanasiu, *Le Phénomène calligraphique*.

235 See al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmiʿ maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb*; Ibn al-Ṣāʿigh, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*; al-Saḥmāwī, *Biḍāʿat al-mujawwad*; al-Zaftāwī, *Minhāj al-iṣāba*. On Ibn al-Ṣāʿigh's treatise, see Jahdani, *À propos d'un traité mamelouk*. More recently, Juvin has studied the link between epigraphy and calligraphy at the end of the Mamluk period. See Juvin, *Recherches*.

chancery documents have tended to use the terms of medieval European diplomacy, though there is no real need to do so, as Dekkiche stresses in her contribution to this volume. It is difficult to change habits.

The various parts of the diplomatic discourse were also affected by the status of the recipient: these parts include the opening formulas, the honorific titles, the *taslīm* (*salutatio*), and finally, the sultan's signature (*'alāma*). With regard to diplomatic letters, all these elements have been studied in detail for the Mamluk period.<sup>236</sup> The honorific titles have also received great attention, particularly from specialists of epigraphy.<sup>237</sup>

Language and style are the most challenging issues for diplomatists working on Mamluk letters because thus far, little work has been carried out on these aspects. Of course, the composition of a letter depended on the status of the addressee, like all the external and other internal elements. Nevertheless, there was another element that secretaries had to take into account: whether he was writing an inceptive letter (*ibtidā'*) or a response. As Gully states, "letters of response were more demanding and more challenging intellectually than the original letters," because "the initiator of the communication (Ar. *al-mubtadī'*) is the arbiter in his letter," while "the respondent is not free to use displacement, rather he is merely the one who follows the [communicative] objective of the initiator, building on his foundation."<sup>238</sup> The *munshī'*, the clerk who drafted the letter, had to display his literary ability by deploying rhetorical devices and textual inspiration from the Arabic literature at his disposal, including Quranic verses, quoted verbatim or loosely (*iqtibās*); traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*); poetry; and proverbs.<sup>239</sup> His style derived from the *inshā'*, the art of writing letters tailored by generations of belletrists from the early Abbasid period: this art entailed a rhythmic and rhymed prose characterized by hyperbole.<sup>240</sup> Language and style were of course a question of prestige. For this reason, when a

236 See the second volume of Dekkiche, *Le Caire*, and her contribution to this volume. On the structure, see also Potthast, Mamlūk diplomatic letters.

237 Max van Berchem was the first to compare honorifics in inscriptions from the Mamluk period with those in the chancery manuals. See, for instance, van Berchem, *Matériaux*. For honorific titles in general, see al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb*. For an example of a study of the honorific titles linked to diplomacy, in this case regarding the Byzantine emperor, see Korobeinikov, Diplomatic correspondence.

238 Gully, *The culture* 155. See also my article in this volume.

239 For examples, see Dekkiche, The letter and its response.

240 In general, see al-Musawi, Pre-modern belletristic prose. On the prose of secretaries specifically, see Gully, *The culture of letter-writing*. An interesting parallel was recently drawn between the European tradition of diplomatic letter-writing from the eleventh century onward and the development of the *ars dictaminis*. See Grévin, Documents diplomatiques; Grévin, *Entre inšā' et dictamen*; Grévin, *La Trame et la chaîne*.



letter exposed the negligence of its writer—intentionally or not—, the answer had to match it, though without reproducing the same colloquialisms or stylistic infelicities.<sup>241</sup> The question was, who was able to decipher these rhetorical devices? The sultans? As already stressed by Vallet, the Mamluk sultans, in contrast to their Rasulid counterparts, had not all mastered Arabic.<sup>242</sup> The subtleties of Arabic rhetoric, even without considering the textual references, were well beyond them. Clearly, it was the secretaries who were the true interpreters, who valued the artistry of letter-writing and also decoded the other, symbolic, meanings of the letters.<sup>243</sup>

The choice of the language for the issuance of letters on the Mamluk side may seem obvious: Arabic was universally understood in the Muslim world and even beyond, for instance, in Europe, where local translators were available. The secretaries were also the guarantors of the language. However, the situation that prevailed varied according to the period considered.<sup>244</sup> Yet, the correspondents of the Mamluk sultans were certainly not bound by this rule. The chancery was thus likely to receive missives in Latin, Persian, Turkish, Mongol, or even more exotic languages, and these letters needed to be translated.<sup>245</sup> But over time, it seems that Arabic lost some of its preeminence as, by the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, pieces of correspondence addressed by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to Selim I were composed in Ottoman Turkish.<sup>246</sup>

241 See Amitai's contribution to this volume.

242 Vallet, Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī 133.

243 See Reinfandt's article in this volume. For another category of documents (truces), al-Qalqashandī stressed that some examples of truces with the crusader states were poorly written, in terms of linguistic quality; this, he wrote, is due to the fact that these documents were prepared by common agreement between the negotiators representing the two parties. Al-Qalqashandī attributed the poor quality of the language in such documents to the negotiators on the crusader side, who used a 'foul' form of Arabic language. He also noted that it was impossible to revise these truces after the issuance of the documents because it would have changed the working of the agreement. See Holt, *Early Mamluk diplomacy* 7–8.

244 In some cases, it seems that the same letter might have been sent in two languages (Arabic and Turkish). See Favereau's contribution to this volume. According to al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 294, letters were addressed in Mongol to the khans of Khwarizm and Qibchaq in the eighth/fourteenth century.

245 For an example of a letter received from Ceylon which could not be translated, see Bauden, *Les Relations diplomatiques* 11.

246 See Kerslake, *The correspondence*. The elevation of Persian to the level of *lingua franca* in the Mongol Empire also had an impact. See Spooner and Hanaway, *Literacy*; Morgan, *Persian as a lingua franca*; Hanaway, *Secretaries*; Mitchell, *Safavid imperial tarassul*; Mitchell, *The practice of politics*. Though the Timurids corresponded with the Ottomans in Persian, they did not seem to do the same with the Mamluks, with whom they opted for Arabic in all cases.

There were two means of validation for diplomatic letters: the signature (*ʿalāma*) and the seal impression (*tamgha*). The most widely used was the first, which was also determined by the status of the addressee,<sup>247</sup> and could be penned by the sultan or someone else whose role it was, again according to the status of the addressee, as shown by Dekkiche in her contribution to this volume. In the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Saḥmāwī reported an evolution that had long been overlooked by diplomatists: the sultan wrote several samples of his different signatures, that varied according to status, in advance of the writing of a given piece of correspondence. The sheets containing these signatures were kept at the chancery and inserted in the rolls, at the right place, when these were prepared for a given recipient. In this volume, Alessandro Rizzo provides evidence of this practice for the first time.

The other means of validation for letters, seals, had a different function. They were applied to the joints of the sheets of the roll to certify that no part of the letter had been replaced. The use of seals by the Mamluk chancery seems to derive from Mongol practice, which in turn was influenced by Chinese chancery rules.<sup>248</sup> The seals, round or square, were engraved with the titles and name of the reigning sultan and applied using red or gold ink, depending on the status of the addressee. Their usage is not attested in original documents before the end of Mamluk rule, though references in Mamluk sources indicate that they were used as early as the mid-seventh/mid-thirteenth century.<sup>249</sup>

Diplomatic letters were complex but essential tools to establish communication with foreign rulers. They were, as Reinfandt states in this volume, an assertion of sovereignty and an emblem of power. Their external and internal features represented a sort of metalanguage that had to be decoded in order to fully grasp their meaning. Thanks to Dekkiche's diachronic analysis in her contribution to this volume, it is possible to better understand this issue. Her analysis also details how the status of a correspondent could change over time. Provided that a large corpus of letters is available from both sides, this diachronic approach, when applied to a specific dynasty, can lead to interesting results that demonstrate the tension generated by the recognition of status by one of the two recipients.<sup>250</sup> Mamluk letters addressed to foreign rulers

247 On the *ʿalāma* in general, see Veselý, *Die richterlichen Beglaubigungsmittel*.

248 Aigle, *Rédaction* 15.

249 See al-Ḥalabī, *al-Tibyān*, fol. 7b (square seal, *tamgha*, of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad applied to the joints of a letter dated 723/1323 and addressed to the Rasulid sultan). See also Bauden, *Les Relations diplomatiques* 9.

250 See Yüksel Muslu, *Attempting to understand*; Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans*, as well as

(though not exclusively) had a semiotic value that was widely understood in the Muslim world and beyond. This value has drawn the attention of historians since it was first formulated by John Wansbrough in his *Lingua franca*.<sup>251</sup> Additional studies certainly need to be carried out on this aspect of Mamluk letters. Dekkiche's analysis should also be applied to additional sources, in order to refine the framework for interpreting the semiotic value of Mamluk letters.<sup>252</sup> Her interpretation should be extended to non-Muslim rulers, for which we have original examples that can provide significant clues on the way the Mamluk chancery designated the ranks of non-Muslim rulers and how status evolved over time.<sup>253</sup>

### 5.3 *Genesis*

The circumstances and the context in which a document was issued can shed light on the document itself and enable us to better understand it. Medieval European diplomatics has addressed these circumstances for more than a century now, focusing on the actors (mainly the chanceries) and the drafting process.<sup>254</sup> By contrast, on the Mamluk side, these issues have barely been tackled.

The main actors involved in the diplomatic exchanges were those who worked at the state chancery: the chief secretary who was responsible for reading and decoding the incoming letters, the composition secretary who was charged with drafting inceptive letters and responses, the copyists who prepared the roll that would be delivered to the incoming ambassador or the outgoing Mamluk envoy, and the clerks who registered the document. Despite the richness of the Mamluk narrative and prescriptive sources and the availability of detailed reports and testimonies by European negotiators on the process they went through when interacting with the Mamluk side, there is, as yet,

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D'hulster's contribution to this volume. For the Mongols, see Broadbridge, *Kingship and ideology*.

251 Dekkiche, Reinfandt, and D'hulster engage with this debate in their respective contributions to this volume. See also Niederkorn et al., *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell*. For Europe, see Le Jan, *Les Relations diplomatiques* 29.

252 For instance, it seems that the rank of the envoys who were designated to bring these letters to foreign rulers could also have an impact on the format. See Ibn H̄ijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 125.

253 Initiating diplomatic relations with the Mamluk sultanate was also challenging for non-Muslim rulers whose chanceries were not always aware of how to address, approach, and deal with the sultan and his chancery. For two examples regarding Savoy and Florence, see Lazzarini, *Écrire à l'autre*; and Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* respectively. The contrary was, of course, also true.

254 Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* 223.

no comprehensive study of the Mamluk chancery.<sup>255</sup> The category of secretaries has drawn the attention of modern scholars in relation to a variety of issues, such as, who was in charge of the chancery,<sup>256</sup> what was their social background, who were they related to,<sup>257</sup> and what sort of education did they have.<sup>258</sup> But we still lack a study that considers their activities at the chancery. Questions regarding their roles in receiving incoming letters, in deciphering and decoding them, in composing inceptive letters and responses have scarcely been dealt with, and the practicalities of their work has also not been analyzed.<sup>259</sup> For example, what were the working conditions of the composition secretary?<sup>260</sup> Such topics should be at the center of future investigations, in order to improve our appreciation of the activities of those responsible for the issuance of diplomatic letters.

The drafting process, from the initial request to the final registration, is another aspect for which we lack information with regard to the Mamluks. The lack of archives related to the various stages of the drafting of a document (request, composition, control and correction, engrossment,<sup>261</sup> and finally registration) hinders any attempt to reconstruct the process at play. Fortunately, the narrative and prescriptive sources detail some of these stages.<sup>262</sup> A thorough survey of the literature would definitely help to fill some gaps.<sup>263</sup>

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- 255 The following reference is too concise to fulfill this need: Imamuddin, *Dīwān* [sic] *al-inshā*.
- 256 See Wiet, *Les Secrétaires*, from the late eighth/fourteenth century until the dawn of the sultanate. The list can be supplemented for the earlier period with the appendices published at the end of al-Mawṣilī, *al-Burd al-muwashshā* 205–307. The editor separated the heads of the chancery from the secretaries in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (Egypt and Syria).
- 257 See Martel-Thoumian, *Les Cívils*; Eychenne, *Liens personnels*; Gully, *The culture of letter-writing*, chap. 4.
- 258 Escovitz, *Vocational patterns*; Gully, *The culture of letter-writing*, chap. 5; Van Berkel, *A well-mannered man of letters*; Van Berkel, *Ibn Khaldūn, a critical historian at work*; Wiet, *Les Classiques*. See also, more broadly and on the basis of al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, Björkman, *Beiträge*.
- 259 See fig. 1.1 for a rare representation of a chancery secretary at work; it faithfully renders his activity and his tools: the pen case, the reed pen and the roll, and the draft. For the pen cases, see Kalus's contribution to this volume. For a depiction of the executive secretary (*dawādār*, i.e., holder of the pen case), see fig. 1.4.
- 260 For a rare example in which the composition secretary, Ibn Hījja, explains how he was asked to draft a new letter for the khan of the Golden Horde at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, see Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 125.
- 261 Engrossment refers to the final version of a legal document, especially a deed or statute.
- 262 For a brief and general presentation of these aspects, see Aigle, *Rédaction*. For a specific example, we can quote Ibn Hījja, who boasted that he had to compose a letter for the khan of the Golden Horde in one night. Although he was known for "his colossal ego" (Stewart, *Ibn Hījja* 142), there must be some element of truth in his testimony.
- 263 Objects should also be investigated. See fig. 1.2 for a Mamluk case (*ja'ba*) used as a

Another very promising research prospect would focus on the interrelationship or the archival bond that ties documents together.<sup>264</sup> A request made by the representative of a European power, if granted by the sultan, usually initiated a web of documents intended for the foreign ruler and the local administration.<sup>265</sup>

#### 5.4 *Tradition*

From the time of its issuance, an original document could generate various kinds of other documents upstream and downstream. These other witnesses—drafts, copies, translations, editions, commentaries, notes, etc.—are known as the handwritten and printed tradition of a document.<sup>266</sup> In diplomatic terms, these documents should be even more thoroughly analyzed, particularly if the original has been lost. The handwritten tradition must be considered from the point of view of the issuer and the recipient.

For the Mamluk chancery, as we have already emphasized, the registers for the archiving of incoming and outgoing letters, if and when they existed, have been completely lost and are only known to have existed thanks to the description given by al-Qalqashandī.<sup>267</sup> In the absence of material witnesses—not only registers but also original documents bearing registration marks—the study of the tradition of documents on the Mamluk side is almost impossible. By contrast, the process of translation can be analyzed on the basis of the information found in chancery manuals and narrative sources. For instance, al-Qalqashandī details how letters received in a foreign language like Greek or

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container for the delivery of a diplomatic letter. This category of object is not described in the chancery manuals but is attested in narrative sources. See Reinfandt's contribution to this volume for a reference to the object that contained a letter addressed by the Nasrid ruler to the Mamluk sultan.

264 Various categories of documents issued by the Mamluk chancery could be linked to a single document received from a European power (usually a letter). This is defined as the interrelationship of documents, or web.

265 For instance, in 1422, the Venetian embassy led by Bernardo Loredan and Lorenzo Capello generated some twenty documents: one general decree, one letter to the doge, three decrees addressed to the authorities of Alexandria, ten decrees issued for various authorities in Syria, one decree for the governor of Damietta, and four decrees related to the ambassadors' request to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. See Thomas and Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 320–31. The significance of the question of the interrelationship of documents was assessed by Wansbrough, *A Mamlūk commercial treaty*. Rizzo has studied this specifically for Florence, *Le Lys et le Lion*.

266 Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* 271. In what follows, we have left aside the printed tradition for reasons of space.

267 See above.

Latin were translated at the chancery by a clerk whose role was specifically to interpret these languages, sometimes with the help of a member of the Christian community, like an archbishop. The translated text was then transcribed on a sheet of paper pasted onto the original letter.<sup>268</sup> Such descriptions are too rare to allow a reconstruction of the full process over the duration of the sultanate. So, while the role of interpreters and translators at the chancery has been studied by al-Durūbī, our knowledge of their activities, which relies solely on sources and not on documents, remains fragmentary.<sup>269</sup> We also know that letters issued by the chancery were sometimes translated into the language of the recipient and sent together with the Arabic version. However, there is no indication that this was done for non-Muslim rulers.<sup>270</sup>

If it were not for the European archives, the tradition of Mamluk documents after they were received by their recipients would also be difficult to investigate, though we must be circumspect with our enthusiasm here too. In contrast to documents issued by western Islamic chanceries, where the format allowed interlinear translation and was more easily preserved because they were in a single sheet, Mamluk documents never featured the translation prepared by the European counterpart, either between the lines or on the verso. The translations that have been preserved are usually found in registers, but can rarely be compared with the original in Arabic. Studies on the accuracy of translations carried out from the European side are available for a very limited number of cases,<sup>271</sup> and more research needs to be done on this topic in order to contend with some idées reçues promoted by nineteenth-century scholars who suspected that inaccuracy was intentional on the European side.<sup>272</sup> As Wansbrough noted, the discrepancies should be addressed according to the circumstances in which the translations were carried out. When dealing with this issue, we must keep in mind questions such as, “Who commissioned the translation?”, “Why was it commissioned?”, and “Who undertook the translation?”<sup>273</sup>

268 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* viii, 123.

269 al-Durūbī, *Harakat*; al-Durūbī, *Aṣnāf al-tarājima*; al-Durūbī, *Muqaddima*.

270 See Wansbrough, *Documents* 20.

271 For the Almohads, the recent work of Buresi is worth mentioning here for its method of analysis: Buresi et al., *Les Usages linguistiques*; Buresi, *Traduttore, traditore*. For translations of Mamluk documents addressed to the Crown of Aragon, see Potthast, *Translations*.

272 See Amari, *I diplomati* v.

273 See Wansbrough, *Documents* 19.

## 6 Mamluk Diplomats, Dead or Alive?

In a 2006 article provocatively entitled “Byzantinische Diplomatie: Dead or Alive?” Alexander Beihammer tried to establish that Byzantine diplomacy, despite the results yielded over more than a century, still had a bright future, especially in light of the various ‘turns’ medieval studies witnessed during the past decades. Diplomacy is among the ancillary sciences, all of which have witnessed a revival of sorts; thus, it may still bring innovative solutions to the analysis of documents, not only by taking advantage of technical innovations now at scholars’ disposal, but also by drawing inspiration from the new perspective used by several scholars in the field of historical studies. In general, and despite the differences that characterize the Byzantine and the Mamluk diplomatic traditions, we can draw similar conclusions for Mamluk diplomacy.

Over the century stretching from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the majority of the documents preserved in archival repositories linked to the diplomatic relations have been identified, catalogued, edited, translated, analyzed, and studied. If there are still a few documents that remain unpublished, the work can be considered, for the most part, complete. Thanks to these publications, historians have gained access to these documents and can use them for the studies they carry out on trade, politics, and diplomacy. The situation thus seems ideal, but is it really? The review of the corpus shows that a majority of the Mamluk documents were published during the embryonic stages of our knowledge and interest in diplomatic issues. During the 1960s, the works of John Wansbrough, who was part of a movement of scholars who were increasingly concerned with such issues and paid more attention to the descriptive and analytic approaches, set new standards. Following in his footsteps, other generations of researchers have made giant strides to improve methods of analyzing documents and adopting those developed in related fields of diplomacy. Nevertheless, the general trend has been to consider the work done by the founding fathers, like Michele Amari, as beyond question. This lack of criticism has meant that the work of generations of historians accepted, at face value, the readings of the editors of documents, without returning to the sources. Fortunately, a few years ago, a new movement was initiated; it aims to revise the work of the predecessors by poring over the originals. It has already yielded unexpected results.<sup>274</sup> The reappraisal of the documentation from two of the richest archival repositories (Florence

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<sup>274</sup> See Bauden, *Due trattati*.

and Barcelona) is well underway and will soon appear in print, thus offering new editions accompanied by a true diplomatic commentary based on all the sources available, together with reproductions of the full corpus.<sup>275</sup> The latter element is particularly significant, as it is the only way to render the semiotic value of the documents; this aspect is also instrumental for anyone interested in grasping their performative role. The detailed description of all the physical features of the documents will contribute to enhance our knowledge of Mamluk diplomatics. By analyzing these attributes, we can focus on issues like the sizes of paper, a subject that has been studied over the last two decades, but one that definitely still merits further investigation.

We must also spare no effort in reassessing the documents held in other repositories. The survey at the end of this state of research should serve as a starting point for a census of all the documents related to diplomatic exchanges with the Mamluks and preserved in archives, though it should not be seen as definitive. As I have noted, the inspection of the archives can still bring delightful surprises: the identification of thus far unknown fragments of documents surfacing, as in the cases of Barcelona and Florence, are evidence of this. The perusal of registers could also yield additional translations and copies of documents addressed to the Mamluk sultanate. The publication of those categories of documents (translations and copies) in conjunction with the original documents, if any, to which they are linked should also be encouraged. This all-inclusive approach is not only necessary for our understanding of the whole corpus, like the interrelationship or the bond of documents, but it also provides other opportunities to delve deeper into the matter of the translation process and the issues it raises.

In addition to the archival documents, we must also focus our attention on the prescriptive and descriptive sources, the chancery manuals/formularies and the collections of models respectively. While diplomatists have enjoyed access to critical editions of the most instrumental chancery manuals and formularies, this enviable situation has led to a sort of disinterest in unpublished texts pertaining to this category. Some of these texts certainly deserve to be published, studied, and compared with those that have been accessible for decades. A publication program for these sources should be set up in the future. The same is true for the collections of letters. Despite the recent interest focused on MS Arabe 4440, the collection remains largely unpublished. An unknown copy of the same text identified in Algiers should facilitate its edition. The other collections, those produced by Mamluk secretaries or by

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275 For Florence, see Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion*, vols. 2 and 3, as well as his forthcoming publication of both volumes. The project for Barcelona is well underway.



secretaries active in the chanceries of rulers addressed by the Mamluks, are also deserving of attention. Given the value of these copies preserved in the collections of letters, the census discussed here must include them, in addition to those found in the chancery manuals and the formularies because they provide details of the physical features (the format of the roll, the presence and location of signature, the color of the ink, etc.) significant for diplomatics. Our understanding of the rules applied by the Mamluk chancery for the issuance of diplomatic letters can only be improved when additional sources—originals and translations, as well as the copies in prescriptive and descriptive sources—covering the duration of the Mamluk sultanate are taken into consideration. The relative material provided by the other chancery traditions should not be neglected because our interpretation of the semiotic value of the letters with their common—Wansbrough's *lingua franca*—or unique symbols, can only be achieved through a comparative approach.

Should the copies that contemporary or later historians transmitted in their chronicles be included in such a census? In the strictest terms of diplomatics, these copies are more problematic because, first, their authenticity is hard to assess, and second, it is difficult to verify the soundness of the text quoted. Nevertheless, with these caveats in mind, these copies could still be listed in the census, provided their origin is clearly indicated. In such cases, the numerous chronicles that have survived for the Mamluk period, those edited or still unpublished, as well as those composed in other regions of the Islamic world, would enrich the collection of documents in significant numbers, which could then be critically assessed on the basis of the various preserved versions of a single text. Yet, the narrative sources are also instrumental to our understanding of the functioning of the chancery, as these complement the data supplied by the chancery manuals. A study of the practices of those working for the chancery cannot be written from the unique point of view given by the chancery manuals.

The tools that have been developed and made available to various fields in the humanities must not be overlooked. Tools for textual analysis, for instance, should be used to collect data in the documents for a wide gamut of analyses: rhetorical devices, quotations (Quran, traditions of the Prophet, poetry, prose), and the order and proximity of epithets are just a few of the issues that could be dealt with in such a framework. The same methods could be carried out on the translations in order to understand if specific patterns can be identified for the same target language and beyond. In the same vein, the digital reproductions, which are easier to produce nowadays, can stimulate debate on the semiotics of documents, an element that could scarcely be considered just a few years ago.

In order to use such tools though, we must rethink the way documents are published. We certainly cannot replace the printed form, which has been privileged so far for the editing of documents, but we can supplement it with digital editions. Ideally, the text of the documents should be available in a way that renders the physical appearance of the text (the size of the characters, layout, position of parts of the text) with hyperlinks to the digital images. The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) and Extensive Markup Language (XML) are both tools that would help to represent these features in an ideal way. The above-mentioned census for the Mamluk period could thus be extended into a database that would consider all the possible forms of a document (originals, copies, translations), without being limited to one language.<sup>276</sup>

This broad outline shows what still needs to be accomplished before we are able to publish a manual of Mamluk diplomatics, even one limited to documents on diplomatic relations. If it is prepared on the basis of the present state of research, such a manual would only be a sketch of rules largely derived from the published prescriptive sources. This would mean neglecting the fact that diplomatics is defined by the documents themselves rather than by manuals written by secretaries. Of course both are intimately connected, but should not be considered exclusively and independently from each other. The research program drawn up in these pages will certainly contribute to reach that goal.

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276 There are some restrictions to such existing databases. Asnad (<http://www.asnad.org/en/>) is a digital Persian archive and presents itself as an image database of historical Persian documents from Iran and Central Asia up to the twentieth century. It covers both public and private documents exclusively composed in Persian. The Arabic Papyrological Database (APD) (<http://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de:8080/apd/project.jsp>), which is not an image database, was created to collect the text and the metadata of documents written on papyrus, parchment, and paper exclusively in Arabic. The chronological range stretches from the beginning of Islam until the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in the early sixteenth century. The argument for the upper chronological limit is that archives have been preserved for the Ottoman dynasty. However, the project does not take into consideration all the categories of Arabic documents, like *waqf* documents, which are excluded because they are “especially numerous in Egypt for the Mamluk period onwards and often fall between the documentary and literary [sic] genre” ([http://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isap/isap\\_checklist/index.html](http://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isap/isap_checklist/index.html); consulted in March 2017). The issue of quantity thus seems to be prevalent here. And, only originals are taken into account. As for the literary genre, it goes without saying that diplomatic letters, as seen in the previous pages, can certainly be described as perfect examples of the literary production of secretaries who defined themselves as belletrists and were proud of their output. But according to the criteria set for the APD, they would be excluded from the database.



FIGURE 1.1 A secretary writing a letter

COURTESY EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS OR. 20, FOL. 139B



FIGURE 1.2  
Case for document (Egypt or Syria, ninth/fifteenth c.)  
COURTESY OF MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, PARIS, NO. AD 5598

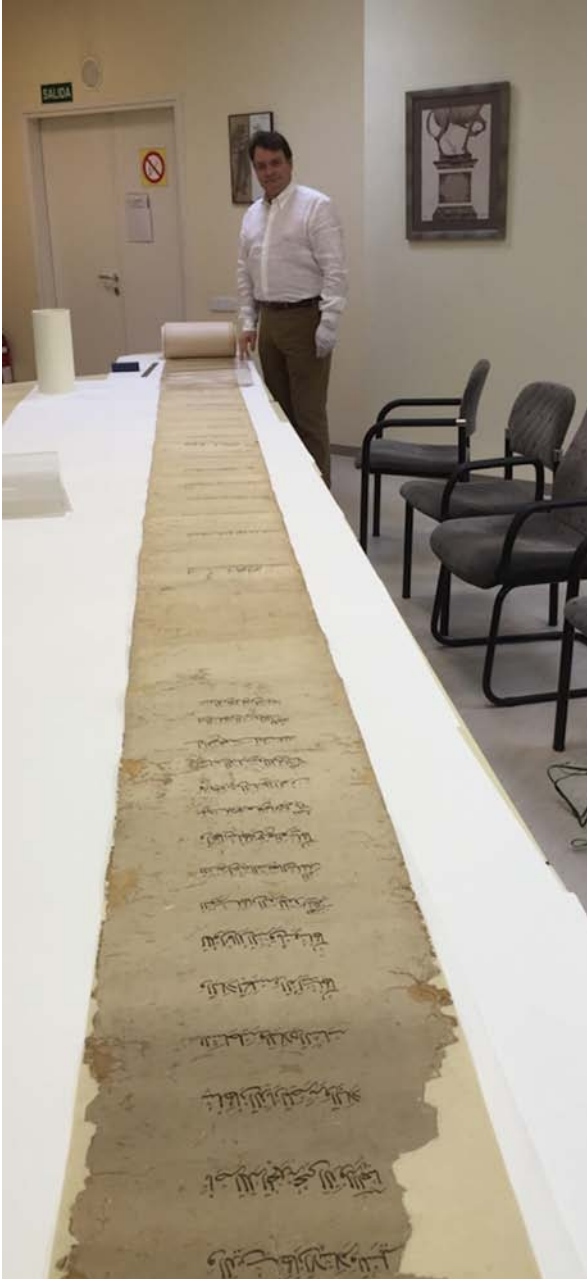


FIGURE 1.3 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's 705/1306 letter to the king of Aragon, James II  
COURTESY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA, CARTAS ÁRABES, DOC. 148



FIGURE 1.4 The executive secretary (*dawādār*) standing to the left of the sultan and holding the pen case (*dawāt*) (basin known as St. Louis Baptistry, Syria, first half of eighth/fourteenth c.)

COURTESY MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, PARIS, NO. LP 16

## 7 Appendix: Survey of Documents (Originals and/or Copies) Related to the Diplomatic Relations by and with the Mamluk Sultanate and Preserved in Archival Repositories

This survey, the first of its kind for the Mamluk period,<sup>277</sup> lists documents related to diplomacy (truces, treaties, letters, lists of gifts, decrees, safe-conducts, petitions, instructions to envoys, etc.) that were issued by the respective chanceries. The documents are organized according to the powers with whom the Mamluk sultanate had diplomatic exchanges and for which documents have been preserved in archival repositories, in order of the decreasing number of original Mamluk documents still held. Clearly, with the exception of the Ottomans, this means that this survey is largely concerned with European powers. We can also state with little doubt that it is far from exhaustive. On one hand, as we have seen, previously unknown documents may still be discovered in the European archives and libraries. On the other hand, copies of documents in chancery manuals, collections of letters, anthologies, and historical works may be added for the powers listed here, as well as for several others for which no archives have survived. A project that aims at gathering all the documents, preserved in archives or in sources, related to diplomacy for the Mamluk sultanate would certainly be a major addition to the study of diplomatics and diplomacy.

For each power, the documents are chronologically arranged into sub-categories (original documents, then translations for the Mamluk side, copies for the foreign side). For each document, we provide references for the edition or, if unpublished, we cite its shelf number in the archives.

### 7.1 *Aragon*

#### 7.1.1 Mamluk Documents

##### 7.1.1.1 *Original Documents*

1. Truce concluded between al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 689–93/1290–3) and James II (r. 1285–1327) dated 19 Şafar 692/29 January 1293: Amari, *Trattato stipolato; Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, Los Documentos* 335–8 (no. 145).<sup>278</sup>

<sup>277</sup> If one excepts Roemer, *Arabische Herrscherurkunden* 337–41, but Roemer only listed Arabic original documents and he also took into account documents issued for Christian communities who were under Mamluk authority (Jerusalem, Sinai). The following reference is mentioned here for the sake of completeness, but it does little to address the issue: Darrāj, *Les Documents arabes*.

<sup>278</sup> Both references reproduce the copy of the truce given by al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 63–70, not the original document mentioned here.

2. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–4/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41) to James II dated 5 Rajab 699/28 March 1300: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 17–9 (excerpts only); Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 344–6 (no. 146); Holt, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's letter; Bauden, Lists of gifts (doc. 1: list of gifts only).
3. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated 13 Shawwāl 703/14 February 1304: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 22–4 (excerpts only); Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 350–1 (no. 147).
4. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated 1 Sha'bān 705/16 February 1306: Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 355–6 (no. 148).
5. List of gifts sent by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated the first ten days of Sha'bān 705/16–25 February 1306: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 29–32; Bauden, Lists of gifts (doc. 2).
6. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated 10 Dhū l-Ḥijja 714/17 March 1315: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 36–41; Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 360–2 (no. 149); Bauden, Lists of gifts (doc. 3: list of gifts only).
7. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated 15 Ṣafar 723/23 February 1323: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 47–52; Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 365–6 (no. 150).
8. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Alphonso IV (r. 1327–36) dated 15 Jumādā I 728/29 March 1328: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 57–60; Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 368–9 (no. 151).
9. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Alphonso IV dated 1 Jumādā I 730/20 February 1330: Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 62–4 (excerpts only); Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 370 (no. 152).
10. Draft of treaty between al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) and Alphonso V (r. 1416–58) dated 7 Ramaḍān 833/30 May 1430 (linked to no. 11): Ruiz Orsatti, *Tratado*; Alarcón y Santón/García de Linares, *Los Documentos* 372–7 (no. 153); Makkī, *Mu'āhada* 54–9.
11. Decree issued by al-Ashraf Barsbāy regarding the Catalan merchants dated 3 Dhū l-Qa'da 833/24 July 1430 (linked to no. 10): Viladrich, *Jaque al Sultán*; Viladrich, *Solving* (partial edition).

#### 7.1.1.2 *Translations*

12. Truce concluded between al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 689–93/1290–3) and James II (r. 1285–1327) dated 19 Ṣafar 692/29 January 1293 (see no. 1): Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 266–70 (no. 3).
13. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated 14 Ṣafar 719/6 April 1319: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 314–5 (no. 42).



14. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to James II dated 31 March 1322: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 329–30 (no. 54).
15. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Alphonso IV dated 15 Jumādā I 728/29 March 1328 (see no. 8): unpublished (preserved with the original, under shelf mark no. 151).
16. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Alphonso IV dated 1 Jumādā I 730/20 February 1330 (see no. 9): unpublished (preserved with the original, under shelf mark no. 152).
17. Letter of al-Ashraf Sha'bān (r. 764–78/1363–77) to Peter IV (r. 1336–87) dated 16 Rajab 775/1 January 1374:<sup>279</sup> López de Meneses, Pedro IV 317–8; López de Meneses, Pedro el Ceremonioso 356–7 (no. XXVIII).
18. Letter of the *atābak* Barqūq to Peter IV dated 21 Rajab 784/30 September 1382: López de Ayala, *Crónica* 81–3.
19. Letter of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21) addressed to the city of Barcelona datable to 816–7/1414: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 419 (no. 283).
20. Letter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53) to the city of Barcelona dated 29 Shawwāl 842 (?)/14 April 1439: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 463 (no. 316).<sup>280</sup>

#### 7.1.2 Aragonese Documents

21. Letter of James II to al-Ashraf Khalīl dated 10 August 1292: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 78–80 (no. 53); Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 264–6 (no. 2).
22. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 1 June 1303: Golubovich, *Biblioteca* iii, 75–6; Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 20–1; Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 290 (no. 25).
23. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 1 September 1305: Golubovich, *Biblioteca* iii, 77–9; Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 26–7; Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 292–3 (no. 28).
24. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 18 November 1307: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 300–1 (no. 33).

<sup>279</sup> In the translation, the month is given as *maçat*. This letter is an answer to the embassy sent by Peter IV in October 1373 (see no. 41), therefore the month is tentatively read Rajab, which is the closest term to the form given in the Catalan version.

<sup>280</sup> This author reads the year as 840, though Jaqmaq, the sultan who issued the letter, began his rule on 19 Rabī' I 842/9 September 1438. It is tentatively dated 842, as in el-Nashar, *La Lettre*. In his study of the letter, el-Nashar incorrectly states that it is in Arabic.

25. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 10 June 1309: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 302–3 (no. 35).
26. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 8 September 1314: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 132–3 (no. 90); Finke, *Acta aragonensia* ii, 751–2 (no. 467: excerpts only); Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 304–7 (no. 37).
27. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 27 August 1318: Finke, *Acta aragonensia* ii, 752 (no. 467: excerpts only); Golubovich, *Biblioteca* iii, 187 (summary only); Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 311–3 (no. 41).
28. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 23 December 1320: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 315–6 (no. 43).
29. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 11 September 1322: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 161 (no. 109); Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* ii, 755–6 (no. 470); Golubovich, *Biblioteca* iii, 233–4; Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 45 (excerpts only); Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 322–5 (no. 51).
30. Instructions delivered to the ambassadors sent to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad datable to September 1322: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 324–5 (no. 51).
31. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 3 July 1327: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 332 (no. 57).
32. Letter of James II to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 20 August 1327: Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* ii, 758–9 (no. 472); Golubovich, *Biblioteca* iii, 312–4; Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon* 53–5 (excerpts only); Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 334 (no. 59).
33. Letter of Alphonso IV to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 1 July 1329: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 336–7 (no. 61).
34. Instructions delivered to the ambassadors sent to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad datable to June–July 1329: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 337–8 (no. 61).
35. Letter of Alphonso IV to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 15 August 1329: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 341 (no. 65).
36. Instructions delivered to the ambassadors sent to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 15 August 1329: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 341–2 (no. 65).
37. Letter of Alphonso IV to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 31 August 1329: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 342 (no. 66).
38. Letter of Alphonso IV to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 15 September 1333: Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón* 346–7 (no. 71).
39. Letter of Peter IV to al-Kāmil Shaʿbān (r. 746–7/1345–6) dated 1 Decem-

- ber 1345: López de Meneses, *Florilegio* 183–5 (no. XIV); López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonioso* 336–7 (no. V).
- 40–1. Two letters of Peter IV to al-Kāmil Sha‘bān dated 15 September 1346: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 294–5, 296; López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonioso* 337–8 (no. VI).
42. Letter of Peter IV to al-Şāliḥ Şāliḥ (r. 752–5/1351–4) dated 4 April 1353:<sup>281</sup> López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 297; López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonioso* 339–40 (no. IX).
43. Letter of Peter IV to al-Şāliḥ Şāliḥ dated 13 June 1354: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 298–9.
44. Instructions delivered to the ambassador sent to al-Nāşir Ḥasan (r. 748–52/1347–51; 755–62/1354–61) datable to September 1356: Vincke, *Die Gesandtschaften* 120 (n. 23); Vincke, *Pedro el Ceremonioso* 18 (excerpts only).
45. Letter of Peter IV to al-Nāşir Ḥasan dated 17 September 1356: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 300–1; López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonioso* 345 (no. XVI).
46. Letter of Peter IV to al-Nāşir Ḥasan dated 23 January 1361: Vincke, *Pedro IV* 4–5.
47. Letter of Peter IV to (r. 762–4/1361–3) dated 12 October 1361: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 302.
48. Letter of Peter IV to al-Manşūr Muḥammad dated 26 December 1362: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 303–4; López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 138–40 (no. IV); Golubovich, *Biblioteca* IV, 410–1.
49. Letter of Peter IV to the governor of Alexandria dated 11 September 1364: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 305.
50. Letter of Peter IV to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān dated 28 March 1366: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 306.
- 51–2. Two letters of Peter IV to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān dated 20 June 1366: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 307–9, 310–1.
53. Instructions delivered to the ambassadors sent to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān datable to June 1366: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 141–3 (no. VI); López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonioso* 321 (excerpt only).
54. Letter of Peter IV to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān dated 4 December 1368: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 312.
55. Letter of Peter IV to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān dated 3 October 1370: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 313–5.

281 The letter is addressed to al-Nāşir Ḥasan, though he had been replaced by one of his brothers for the previous two years.

56. Letter of Peter IV to a high amir of al-Ashraf Sha'bān dated 8 October 1373: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 316; López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonosio* 352 (no. XXV).
57. Instructions delivered to the ambassador sent to al-Ashraf Sha'bān dated 9 October 1373: López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonosio* 353–5 (no. XXVI).
58. Letter of Peter IV to al-Ashraf Sha'bān dated 10 October 1373: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 316–7; López de Meneses, *Pedro el Ceremonosio* 355–6 (no. XXVII).
59. Letter of Peter IV to al-Manṣūr 'Alī (r. 778–83/1377–82) dated 24 November 1377: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 320–1.
60. Instructions delivered to the ambassador sent to al-Manṣūr 'Alī dated June 1379: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 147–9 (no. X).
- 61–2. Two letters of Peter IV to al-Manṣūr 'Alī dated 17 June 1379: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 149–50 (no. XI: the first letter only); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 322–3.
63. Letter of Peter IV to al-Manṣūr 'Alī dated 1 June 1380: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 324.
64. Letter of Peter IV to the *atābak* Barqūq dated 1 June 1380: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 324–5.
65. Letter of Peter IV to al-Manṣūr 'Alī dated 3 September 1380: de Bofarull y Mascaré, *Colección* vi, 370–2 (no. CXVII); de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 759–60.
66. Letter of Peter IV to the governor of Alexandria dated 3 October 1380: de Bofarull y Mascaré, *Colección* vi, 372–4 (no. CXVIII).
67. Letter of Peter IV to al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī (r. 783–4/1381–2) dated 3 May 1382: Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari* 561 (no. DIX).
68. Letter of Peter IV to the governor of Alexandria dated 3 May 1382: Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari* 562 (no. DX).
69. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89; 792–801/1390–9) datable to June 1383: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 328.
70. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 1 June 1384: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 152 (no. XIV); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 329.
71. Letter of Peter IV to the caliph and the supreme judges of Cairo dated 1 June 1384: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 153 (no. XV); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 329–30.<sup>282</sup>

<sup>282</sup> A similar letter was addressed to the supreme judges of Alexandria, but it was not copied into the registers. López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 329–30.

72. Letter of Peter IV to the governor of Alexandria dated 21 June 1384: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 154 (no. XVII); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 330.
73. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 13 October 1384: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 155 (no. XVIII); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 331–2.
74. Letter of Peter IV to the supreme judge of Cairo dated 13 October 1384: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 156 (no. XIX); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 332.<sup>283</sup>
75. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 30 June 1385: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 333.
76. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 20 November 1385: López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 334.
77. Letter of Peter IV to the Mālikī judge in Cairo dated 20 November 1385: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 159 (no. XXIII); López de Meneses *Correspondencia* 334–5.
78. Letter of Peter IV to the chamberlain in Cairo dated 20 November 1385: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 159 (no. XXIV); López de Meneses *Correspondencia* 335.
79. Letter of Peter IV to the governor of Damascus dated 20 November 1385: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 158 (no. XXII).
80. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 6 January 1386: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 160–1 (no. XXV); López de Meneses, *Correspondencia* 336–7.
81. Letter of Peter IV to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 11 May 1386: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 165 (no. XXX).
82. Instructions delivered to the ambassador sent to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated May 1386: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 166–8 (no. XXXII).
83. Letter of John I (r. 1387–97) to the governor, the chamberlain, and various other officials in Damascus and Beirut dated 2 October 1392: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 171–2 (no. XXXVI).
84. Letter of Martin I (r. 1396–1410) to the governor of Damascus or his lieutenant dated 14 June 1397: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 175–6 (no. XXXVIII).
85. Letter of Martin I to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 18 September 1398: López de Meneses, *Los consulados* 176–7 (no. XXXIX).

<sup>283</sup> Three similar letters were sent to the governor of Alexandria, the chamberlain, and the secretary of the chancery. It was not copied into the registers. *Ibid.*

86. Letter of Martin I to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 17 September 1399: Golubovich, *Biblioteca* v, 329; López de Meneses, Pedro el Ceremonioso 327 (excerpt only).
87. Letter addressed to the authorities of Alexandria dated 7 October 1459: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 559 (no. 382).
88. Letter addressed to al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61) dated 24 July 1460: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 568 (no. 385).
89. Letter addressed to al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) dated 10 May 1486: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 597 (no. 409).
90. Letter of credentials for the Catalan consul addressed to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyrbāy (r. 901–4/1496–8) dated 15 October 1498: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 623 (no. 427).
91. Letter of credentials for the Catalan consul addressed to al-Ashraf Qān-ṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16) and dated 2 June 1508: de Capmany y Palau, *Memorias* ii, 633 (no. 436).

## 7.2 *Florence*

### 7.2.1 Mamluk Documents

#### 7.2.1.1 *Original Documents*

1. Letter of al-Ashraf Barsbāy to the Florentine authorities dated 5 Shawwāl 825/22 September 1422: Amari, *I diplomati* 165–8 (no. XXXVII of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 19–39.
2. Decree issued by al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy and addressed to the authorities of the sultanate dated 6 Dhū l-Ḥijja 894/31 October 1489:<sup>284</sup> Wansbrough, A Mamlūk commercial treaty 52–70; Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 51–95.
3. Letter of al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy to Lorenzo de' Medici (r. 1469–92) dated 24 Dhū l-Ḥijja 894/18 November 1489: Amari, *I diplomati* 181–3 (no. XXXIX of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 41–50.
4. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyrbāy to the governor of Damascus dated 25 Jumādā I 902/29 January 1497: Wansbrough, Venice and Florence 497–523; Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 97–153.
5. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyrbāy to the governor of Alexandria dated 7 Jumādā II 902/10 February 1497: Amari, *I diplomati* 184–209 (no. XL of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 155–208.

<sup>284</sup> There is an eighteenth-century Arabic copy of this document together with an Italian translation (different than doc. no. 16) in MS 50 (Florence, National Library, Fondo del Furia, fols. 1a–18a). See Wansbrough, A Mamlūk commercial treaty 50 (no. H).

6. Letter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy to the authorities of Florence dated 10 Jumādā II 902/13 February 1497: Amari, *I diplomii* 210–3 (no. XLI of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 209–18.
7. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the authorities of the sultanate dated 18 Dhū l-Qaʿda 911/12 April 1506: Amari, *I diplomii* 214–7 (no. XLII of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 219–29.
8. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the authorities of Florence dated 12 Jumādā II 913/19 October 1507: Amari, *I diplomii* 218–20 (no. XLIII of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 231–39.
9. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the authorities of Alexandria dated 14 Rabīʿ I 916/21 June 1510: Amari, *I diplomii* 226–9 (no. XLV of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 241–50.
10. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to the authorities of Florence dated 14 Rabīʿ I 916/21 June 1510: Amari, *I diplomii* 221–5 (no. XLIV of the *prima serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 251–63.

#### 7.2.1.2 *Translations*

11. Letter of al-Ashraf Barsbāy to the authorities of Florence dated 5 Shawwāl 825/22 September 1422 (see no. 1): Amari, *I diplomii* 336–7 (no. XXXVIII of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 275–6.
12. Decree issued by al-Ashraf Barsbāy to the authorities of Florence dated 5 Shawwāl 825/22 September 1422: Amari, *I diplomii* 338–40 (no. XXXIX of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 277–9.
13. Decree issued by al-Ashraf Barsbāy and addressed to the authorities of Alexandria dated 8 Shawwāl 825/25 September 1422: Amari, *I diplomii* 341–3 (no. XL of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 281–4.
14. Letter of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy to Lorenzo de' Medici dated 16 Dhū l-Qaʿda 889/5 December 1484: Amari, *I diplomii: Appendice* 46 (no. XXXI of the *seconda serie*).
15. Draft of a decree to be issued by Qāyṭbāy to the authorities of Florence datable to 893/1488:<sup>285</sup> Amari, *I diplomii* 363–71 (no. XLV of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 299–307.
16. Decree of Qāyṭbāy addressed to the authorities of Alexandria dated 6 Muḥarram 894/14 December 1488: Amari, *I diplomii* 382–6 (no. XLVIII of the *seconda serie*).

<sup>285</sup> There is an authenticated copy of this document in MS 49 (Florence, National Library, Fondo del Furia). See Wansbrough, A Mamlūk commercial treaty 50 (no. D).

17. Decree with safe-conduct issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Florentines dated Rajab–Sha‘bān 914/November 1508: Amari, *I diplomati* 388 (no. L of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 321–2.
18. Decree of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the authorities of Alexandria dated 14 Rabī‘ I 916/21 June 1510: Amari, *I diplomati* 389–90 (no. LI of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 323–4.
19. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to the authorities of Alexandria dated 14 Rabī‘ I 916/21 June 1510: Amari, *I diplomati* 391–2 (no. LII of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 325–6.

#### 7.2.2 Florentine Documents

20. Instructions given to the two ambassadors, Felice Brancacci and Carlo Federighi, designated by the Florentine authorities dated 14 June 1422: Amari, *I diplomati* 331–5 (no. XXXVII of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 269–73.
21. Letter of the Florentine authorities to al-Ashraf Barsbāy dated 15 January 1435: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 15–16 (no. v); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 289–90.
22. Letter of the Florentine authorities to al-Zāhir Jaqmaq dated 11 May 1445: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 17–8 (no. vi); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 291–2.
23. Letter of the Florentine authorities to the authorities of Alexandria dated 11 May 1445: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 18 (no. vi).
24. Letter of the Florentine authorities to al-Zāhir Khushqadam dated 14 August 1465: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 38–9 (no. XXII); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 293–4.
25. Letter of the Florentine authorities to the governor of Alexandria dated 14 August 1465: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 39–40 (no. XXII).
26. Letter of the Florentine authorities to Qāyṭbāy dated 28 February 1476: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 43 (no. XXVIII); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 295.
27. Letter of the Florentine authorities to the governor of Alexandria dated 28 February 1476: Amari, *I diplomati: Appendice* 43–4 (no. XXVIII).
28. Emendations proposed by Florentine merchants to doc. no. 15 dated 27 November 1487: Amari, *I diplomati* 361–2 (no. XLIV of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 297–8.
29. Letter of Lorenzo de’ Medici addressed to al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy dated 10 June 1488: Bandini, *Collectio* 12–13.
30. Instructions given to the ambassador Luigi della Stufa dated 15 Novem-



ber 1488: Amari, *I diplommi* 372–3 (no. XLVI of the *seconda serie*); Meli, Firenze 260–1 (no. 2); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 309–10.

31. Petition made by the Florentine ambassador Luigi della Stufa to al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy datable to 1488: Amari, *I diplommi* 374–81 (no. XLVII of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 311–8.
32. Letter of the Florentine authorities to Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī dated 13 April 1507: Amari, *I diplommi* 387 (no. XLIX of the *seconda serie*); Rizzo, *Le Lys et le Lion* ii, 319.

### 7.3 Venice

#### 7.3.1 Mamluk Documents

##### 7.3.1.1 Original Documents

1. Letter of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy to the doge dated 10 Shaʿbān 877/10 January 1473: Labib, Ein Brief; Wansbrough, A Mamluk letter; Hours, *Fraude commerciale*.
2. Request made to Venice for payment of the Cyprus tribute with receipt of the amount dated, respectively, 6 Dhū l-Ḥijja 895/21 October 1490 and 22 Dhū l-Qaʿda 895/7 October 1490 (Documenti Algeri, Egitto, Marocco, busta unica: Egitto, no. 2a): unpublished.<sup>286</sup>
3. Draft of a decree to be issued by Ṭūmān Bāy (r. 922–3/1516–7) regarding the Venetian merchants dated 22 Muḥarram 923/14 February 1517 (Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago), no. 13789): Moritz, Ein Firman; Hartmann, *Das Privileg*.<sup>287</sup>

##### 7.3.1.2 Translations

4. Decree issued by al-Muʿizz Aybak (r. 648–55/1250–7) regarding the Venetian merchants dated 13 Dhū l-Qaʿda 652/13 November 1254:<sup>288</sup> Tafel/Thomas, *Urkunden* ii, 483–9 (no. CCCXXV); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 77–80 (no. IV).
5. Letter of [al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b.] al-Muʿizz Aybak to the doge dated 8 Dhū l-Qaʿda 656/5 December 1258:<sup>289</sup> Tafel/Thomas, *Urkunden* ii, 490–1 (nos. CCCXXVI–CCCXXVII).

<sup>286</sup> To be published by F. Bauden.

<sup>287</sup> See also Frantz-Murphy's article in this volume.

<sup>288</sup> The date indicated according to the Muslim era (the translation gives a corrupted form for the month "Gsuc" which must correspond to Dhū l-Qaʿda, not Shawwāl as suggested by Tafel and Thomas) fell on 25 December 1254. For another interpretation of Gsuc, see Mourkarzel's article in this volume, p. 705.

<sup>289</sup> The year is not indicated for the Muslim date. The date given according to the Common Era fell on 6 November 1258. Al-Muʿizz Aybak died in 655/1257 and his son was on the throne at the time this document was allegedly issued.

6. Safe-conduct issued by al-Manşūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) for the Venetian merchants dated 29 Shawwāl 687/26 November 1288: de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 81–82 (no. vi).
7. Safe-conduct issued by al-Nāşir Muḥammad for the Venetian merchants dated 6 Dhū l-Ḥijja 701/2 August 1302: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 5 (no. 4); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 82 (no. vii/i).
8. Decree issued by al-Nāşir Muḥammad regarding the Venetian merchants dated 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja 701/5 August 1302: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 5–9 (no. 4); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 83–5 (no. vii/ii).
9. Letter of al-Nāşir Muḥammad addressed to the governor of Alexandria dated 11 Dhū l-Ḥijja 701/7 August 1302: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 9–10 (no. 5); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 86–7 (no. viii/i).
10. Decree issued by al-Nāşir Muḥammad and addressed to the Alexandrian authorities dated 11 Dhū l-Ḥijja 701/7 August 1302: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 10–11 (no. 5); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 87 (no. viii/ii).
11. Letter of the governor of Alexandria to the doge dated 22 Dhū l-Ḥijja 701/18 August 1302: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 11–2 (no. 6); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 87–8 (no. viii/iii).
12. Letter of the governor of Alexandria addressed to the doge datable to 703–4/1304: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 25 (no. 13).
13. Letter of the governor of Şafad addressed to the doge dated Şafar 704/September 1304: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 30–1 (no. 17).
14. Letter addressed by al-Şāliḥ Ismāʿil (r. 743–6/1342–5) to the doge datable to Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 744/February 1344: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 290–2 (no. 153).
15. Decree issued by al-Şāliḥ Ismāʿil regarding the Venetian merchants datable to 744/1344: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 292–6 (no. 154).
16. Letter addressed by al-Şāliḥ Ismāʿil to the doge dated 6 Rabīʿ II 746/6 August 1345: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* i, 296–7 (no. 155).
17. Decree issued by al-Nāşir Ḥasan regarding the Venetian merchants datable to 756/1355: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 19–23 (no. 12); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 88–92 (no. ix/i).
18. Letter of the supreme judge of Cairo to the governor and the judge of Alexandria dated 5 Dhū l-Qaʿda 756/11 November 1355: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 24 (no. 13); de Mas Latrie, *Traités* iii, 92 (no. ix/ii).
19. Decree issued by al-Manşūr Muḥammad (r. 762–4/1361–3) regarding

- the Venetian merchants dated 1 Šafar 763/30 November 1361: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 80 (no. 47); de Mas Latrie, *Traité*s iii, 93 (no. x).
20. Letter of al-Ashraf Sha'bān (r. 764–78/1363–77) to the doge, Marco Cornaro, datable to 767–8/1366: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 113–5 (no. 68).
  21. Decree issued by al-Ashraf Sha'bān regarding the Venetian merchants datable to 776–7/1375: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 168–71 (no. 100); de Mas Latrie, *Traité*s iii, 93–4 (no. xi).
  22. Letter of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh to the doge, Tommaso Mocenigo (r. 1414–23), dated 12 Rajab 818/15 November 1415: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 306–8 (no. 167).
  23. Decree issued by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh regarding the Venetian merchants and addressed to the authorities of the sultanate dated 12 Rajab 818/15 November 1415: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 309–15 (no. 168).
  24. Decree addressed to the governor of Alexandria dated 2 Rabī' 1 821/9 April 1418 (Procuratori di San Marco, Misti, busta 180, fasc. IX, no. 1, recto): unpublished.
  25. Safe-conduct issued for the Venetians dated 2 Rabī' 1 821/9 April 1418 (Procuratori di San Marco, Misti, busta 180, fasc. IX, no. 1, verso): unpublished.
  26. Decree issued by al-Ashraf Barsbāy regarding the Venetian merchants and addressed to the authorities of the sultanate dated 1 Jumādā 1 825/23 April 1422: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 320–7 (no. 174).
  27. Letter of al-Ashraf Barsbāy to the doge, Tommaso Mocenigo, dated 8 Jumādā 1 825/30 April 1422: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 328–31 (no. 175).
  28. Decree issued by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq regarding the Venetian merchants and addressed to the authorities of the sultanate dated 27 Jumādā 1 846/1 October 1442:<sup>290</sup> Amari, *I diplomati* 347–53 (no. XLII); Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 353–8. (nos. 189–90); Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. 1; Wansbrough, Venice and Florence 487–97.
  29. Decree issued by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and addressed to the governor of Damietta dated 27 Jumādā 1 846/1 October 1442: Amari, *I diplomati* 353–4; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 359–60 (no. 191).

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290 The date indicated in the document (29) is the result of a misinterpretation of the unit. The other documents related to this one (see nos. 29–31) give 27 Jumādā 1 which, in any case, fell on 3 October 1442.

30. Decree issued by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and addressed to the governor of Beirut (?) dated 27 Jumādā I 846/1 October 1442: Amari, *I diplomati* 354 (summary only); Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 360 (no. 192) (summary only).
31. Decree issued by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and addressed to the prefect of Cairo dated 27 Jumādā I 846/1 October 1442: Amari, *I diplomati* 354–5; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 360–1 (no. 193).
32. Decree issued by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and addressed to the governor of Alexandria dated 27 Jumādā I 846/2 October 1442: Amari, *I diplomati* 355–6; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 361–2 (no. 194).
33. Letter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq to the doge, Francesco Foscari (r. 1423–57), dated 5 Jumādā II 846/25 October 1442:<sup>291</sup> Amari, *I diplomati* 357–9; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 362–4 (no. 195).
34. Letter of ‘Uthmān, son of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq to the doge, Francesco Foscari, dated 25 Jumādā II 846/29 October 1442:<sup>292</sup> Amari, *I diplomati* 359; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 364–5 (no. 196).
35. Decree issued by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and addressed to the governor of Alexandria dated 24 Jumādā II 846/30 October 1442: Amari, *I diplomati* 356–7; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 365–6 (no. 197).
36. Letter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq to the doge, Francesco Foscari, dated 26 Rabī‘ I 853/21 May 1449:<sup>293</sup> Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 373–6 (no. 197).
37. Letter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq to the governor of Amman datable to Rabī‘ I 853/May 1449: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 374–5 (no. 197).
38. Decree of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq addressed to the governor of Beirut datable to Rabī‘ I 853/May 1449: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 375–7 (no. 197).
39. Decree of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq addressed to the governor of Tripoli datable to Rabī‘ I 853/May 1449: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 377–8 (no. 197).
40. Letter of al-Mu‘ayyad Aḥmad (r. 865/1461) to the doge dated 5 Ramaḍān 865/13 June 1461: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. 11; Pedani, *Gli ultimi accordi* 56–7 (no. 1).
41. Letter addressed by the executive secretary (*dawādār*) to the Venetian authorities dated 877/1473: Arbel, *Levantine power struggles*.

<sup>291</sup> The date indicated corresponded to 11 October 1442.

<sup>292</sup> The date indicated corresponded to 31 October 1442.

<sup>293</sup> The date indicated corresponded to 19 May 1449.

42. Decree of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy addressed to the governor of Damascus dated 17 Ṣafar 895/9 January 1490:<sup>294</sup> Rossi, *Ambasciata* 127 (no. 51).
43. Decree of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy addressed to the governor of Damascus and the inspector of the privy dated 26 Ṣafar 895/19 January 1490: Rossi, *Ambasciata* 140–1 (no. 64).
44. *Murabbaʿ* decree issued by al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy regarding the Venetian merchants dated 27 Ṣafar 895/20 January 1490: Wanbrough, *Documents*, no. 111; Rossi, *Ambasciata* 232–3 (no. 144).
45. Decree of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy addressed to the governor of Alexandria dated 6 Rabī I 895/28 January 1490: Rossi, *Ambasciata* 145–6 (no. 69).
46. Treaty between the Republic of Venice and the Mamluk sultanate to transfer Cyprus under Venetian rule dated 7 Rabī II 895/28 February 1490: Rossi, *Ambasciata* 226–7 (no. 139).
47. Contract between al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and the Venetian ambassador for the transition of the island of Cyprus to Venetian authority, dated 17 Rabī II 895/9 March 1490: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 478–81; facsimile and edition in Iskandar, *Documents inédits*, no. 111; Arabic translation in Iskandar, *Taʾriḫ Miṣr*, no. 111; Rossi, *Ambasciata* 227–9.
48. Decree of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy addressed to the governor of Damascus datable to Rabī II 895/March 1490 (summary only): Rossi, *Ambasciata* 234–5 (no. 146).
49. Decree of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy addressed to the governor of Alexandria datable to Rabī II 895/March 1490 (summary only): Rossi, *Ambasciata* 235–6 (no. 146).
50. Decree of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy addressed to the governor of Aleppo datable to Rabī II 895/March 1490 (summary only): Rossi, *Ambasciata* 236 (no. 146).
51. Receipt for the payment of an installment of the Cyprus tribute by the Venetian Republic to the Mamluk sultanate dated 18 Rabī II 895/11 March 1490: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 481.
52. Letter of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy to the doge, Agostino Barbarigo, datable to Rabī II 895/March 1490: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 481–3.
53. Letter of the governor of Alexandria addressed to the doge and dated 23 Jumādā I 900/19 February 1495: Sanuto, *Diarii* i, cols. 133–5.
- 54–5. Two letters of al-Zāhir Qānṣawh I addressed to the Venetian representatives in Cyprus and dated 26 Rabī I 904/12 November 1498: Sanuto, *Diarii* ii, cols. 614, 614–616.

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294 The date indicated corresponded to 10 January 1490.

56. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge (reached Venice in December 1501): Sanuto, *Diarii* iv, cols. 187–8 (*unwān* (*inscriptio* and *intitulatio*) only).
57. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge and dated 4 Ṣafar 909/29 July 1503: Sanuto, *Diarii* v, cols. 887–8.
58. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge and dated 4 Ṣafar 909/29 July 1503: Sanuto, *Diarii* v, cols. 887–8 (summary translated in Alexandria) and 888–90 (full text).
59. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to the doge dated 27 Shaʿbān 909/14 February 1504: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. IV/i; Pedani, *Gli ultimi accordi* 57–9 (no. 11).
60. *Murabbaʿ* decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Venetian merchants datable to 27 Shaʿbān 909/14 February 1504: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. IV/ii; Pedani, *Gli ultimi accordi* 59–60 (no. 111).
61. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge and dated 8 Shawwāl 911/4 March 1506: Sanuto, *Diarii* vii, cols. 203–7 and 207–10.
62. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge and dated 16 Shawwāl 912/1 March 1507: Sanuto, *Diarii* vii, cols. 215–20.
63. Treaty concluded between Venice and the Mamluk ambassador Taghrī Birdī dated 18 Muḥarram 913/31 May 1507: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. v; Wansbrough, *A Mamluk ambassador*.
64. Decree of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Venetian merchants issued in Rajab 913/November 1507: Sanuto, *Diarii* vii, cols. 596–7.
65. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge and dated 25 Muḥarram 916/4 May 1510: Sanuto, *Diarii* xi, cols. 115–7.
66. Letter of the governor of Alexandria to the doge received in August 1510: Sanuto, *Diarii* xi, col. 106.
67. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Venetian merchants dated 20 Rabīʿ I 918/5 June 1512: Marin, *Storia* vii, 288–321; Reinaud, *Traité*s (French trans. only); Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. VI/i.
68. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Venetian merchants dated Rabīʿ II–Jumādā I 918/July 1512: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. VI/ii; Pedani, *Gli ultimi accordi* 60–2 (no. 1V).
69. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge dated 16 Jumādā I 918/30 July 1512: Sanuto, *Diarii* xv, cols. 264–6.
70. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the governor of Alexandria dated Rabīʿ II–Jumādā I 918/July 1512: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. VI/iii; Pedani, *Gli ultimi accordi* 62–4 (no. V).
71. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the governor

- of Damascus datable to Rabīʿ 11–Jumādā 1 918/July 1512: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. VI/iv.
72. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the governor of Tripoli datable to Rabīʿ 11–Jumādā 1 918/July 1512: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. VI/v.
73. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī and addressed to the governor of Aleppo datable to Rabīʿ 11–Jumādā 1 918/July 1512: Wansbrough, *Documents*, no. VI/vi.
74. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge dated 28 Rabīʿ 11 920/22 June 1514: Sanuto, *Diarii* xix, cols. 42–5.
75. Decree of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Venetian merchants in Alexandria dated 17 Dhū l-Qaʿda 920/3 January 1515: Sanuto, *Diarii* xx, cols. 171–3
76. Decree of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Venetian merchants in Damietta datable to 17 Dhū l-Qaʿda 920/3 January 1515: Sanuto, *Diarii* xx, cols. 173–4.
77. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the doge dated 18 Muḥarram 921/4 March 1515: Sanuto, *Diarii* xx, cols. 357–60.

#### 7.3.2 Venetian Documents

78. Instructions delivered by the doge, Tommaso Mocenigo, to the two ambassadors Bernardo Loredan and Lorenzo Capello dated 23 December 1421: Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 332–40 (no. 176).
79. Instructions delivered by the doge, Agostin Bargarigo (r. 1486–1501), to his ambassador Pietro Diedo dated 10 September 1489: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 472–8; Rossi, *Ambasciata* 259–4 (no. xv).
80. Letter of the doge, Leonardo Loredano (r. 1501–21), to Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī dated 26 October 1506: Sanuto, *Diarii* vii, cols. 211–14.

#### 7.4 Ragusa

##### 7.4.1 Mamluk Documents

##### 7.4.1.1 Original Documents

1. Letter of the governor of Alexandria addressed to the ruler of Ragusa dated 18 Rabīʿ 1 916/25 June 1510: Korkut, *Arapski dokumenti* 12–21 (no. 1).
2. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī addressed to the ruler of Ragusa dated 1 Shawwāl 921/8 November 1515: Korkut, *Arapski dokumenti* 22–37 (no. 2).
3. Decree issued by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī for the establishment of a Ragu-

san consulate in Alexandria dated 18 Shawwāl 921/25 November 1515: Korkut, *Arapski dokumenti* 38–53 (no. 3).

## 7.5 *Ottomans*

### 7.5.1 Mamluk Documents

#### 7.5.1.1 *Original Document*

1. Letter of Khā'ir Bāy, governor of Aleppo, addressed to Bāyazīd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512) dated 7 Rabī' I 917/4 June 1511 (Başbakanlık Arşivi, İbnü'l-emin Hariciye 1, T.E. 5483): unpublished.<sup>295</sup>
2. Letter of Qānşawh al-Ghawrī addressed to Selīm I (r. 918–26/1512–20) dated 29 Şafar 922/3 April 1516: Edhem, *Mısır Fethi* 30–1.

#### 7.5.1.2 *Translation*

3. Letter of Qānşawh al-Ghawrī addressed to Bāyazīd II, undated but linked to an embassy that took place in Rabī' II 916/July 1510 (Başbakanlık Arşivi, İbnü'l-emin Hariciye 1, T.E. 5464): unpublished.<sup>296</sup>

#### 7.5.1.3 *Ottoman Document*

4. Letter of Meḥmed II (r. 848–50/1444–6, 855–86/1451–81) addressed to al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy dated Dhū l-Ḥijja 881/March–April 1477 (Başbakanlık Arşivi, İbnü'l-emin Hariciye 1, T.E. 5848): unpublished.<sup>297</sup>

## 7.6 *France*

### 7.6.1 Mamluk Document

#### 7.6.1.1 *Original*

1. Decree issued by Qānşawh al-Ghawrī regarding the Catalan and French merchants dated 1 Rabī' II 913/10 August 1507: we do not have a preserved copy, but it was largely reproduced in the decree issued by Sulaymān II (r. 926–74/1520–66) regarding the same merchants dated 6 Muḥarram 935/20 September 1528.<sup>298</sup>

#### 7.6.1.2 *Translations*

2. Letter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq to Charles VII (r. 1422–61) datable to 850–1/1447: d'Escouchy, *Chronique* i, 121–4.

295 Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* 273.

296 Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* 271.

297 Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans* 247.

298 Published, with French translation, by M. Tuchscherer in Tuchscherer and Pedani, *Alexandrie ottomane* 1 32–41.



3. Letter of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) dated 14 Sha'bān 916/16 November 1510: Le Maire de Belges, *Le Traictié* (an unpaginated excerpt at the end of the book).<sup>299</sup>

#### 7.6.2 French Documents

4. Letter of Charles VII to al-Zāhir Jaqmaq dated 20 August 1451: Anonymous, *Recueil d'actes*, fol. 194.
5. Undated letter of Charles VII to al-Zāhir Jaqmaq: Anonymous, *Recueil d'actes*, fols. 252a–b.
6. Letter of Louis XI (r. 1461–83) to al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy datable to the end of 1481: Anonymous, *Recueil de lettres*, fols. 112a–b; Vaesen, *Lettres* 136–8.

### 7.7 Cyprus

#### 7.7.1 Mamluk Documents

##### 7.7.1.1 Translations

1. Letter of al-Ashraf Īnāl to John II (r. 1432–58) datable shortly after Rabī' I 857/March 1453: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 73–5.<sup>300</sup>
2. Letter of Qāyrbāy to Catherine Cornaro (r. 1474–89) dated 10 Muḥarram 881/5 May 1476: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 405–6.

#### 7.7.2 Cypriot Document

3. Instructions given by Peter I (r. 1359–69) to the Venetian and Genoan ambassadors to negotiate a truce with the sultan on his behalf dated 19 May 1368: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* ii, 302–8; Thomas/Predelli, *Diplomatarium* ii, 132–9 (no. 81).

### 7.8 Hospitallers of Rhodes

#### 7.8.1 Documents Issued by the Hospitallers

1. Proposal from the grand master to al-Nāṣir Faraj for a treaty, dated 4 November 1403: Paoli, *Codice diplomatico* 108–10 (no. LXXXVI).

<sup>299</sup> See also the copy in Rey, *La Protection* 111, n. 2. This appears to be a truncated copy. For a much longer version of the same letter translated in Venetian, see Sanuto, *Diarii* xii, cols. 624–30.

<sup>300</sup> Wrongly dated to 1 Muḥarram 861/29 November 1456 by de Mas Latrie. For the correct date, see below 729–30.

2. Letter from the grand master to al-Zāhir Jaqmaq dated 20 November 1448: de Mas Latrie, *Histoire* iii, 55–6.

### 7.9 *Genoa*

#### 7.9.1 Mamluk Document

##### 7.9.1.1 *Translation*

1. Truce between Qalāwūn and Genoa dated 13 May 1290: de Sacy, *Pièces diplomatiques* 33–52 (edition of the Arabic text in Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām* and of the Latin translation of a second version that de Sacy found in the Genoese archives, that includes the viceregent’s oath on the sultan’s behalf); Amari, *Nuovi ricordi* 606–14 (Italian translation); Belgrano, *Trattato* (edition of the Latin translation); Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy* 146–51 (English translation of the Arabic text).

### 7.10 *Naples*

#### 7.10.1 Neapolitan Document

1. Letter of Joanna I (r. 1344–82) to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān dated 22 May 1363: Golubovich, *Biblioteca* iv, 50–1.

### 7.11 *Pisa*

#### 7.11.1 Pisan Document

1. Letter of credentials for the ambassador who was sent to al-Zāhir Barqūq dated 5 August 1385: Amari, *I diplomati* 315–6 (no. XXXIII).

### 7.12 *Savoy*

#### 7.12.1 Savoyard Document

1. Letter sent by Charles I (r. 1482–90) to al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy dated 18 August 1488 (draft: ASTo, Regno di Cipro, 1 d’addizione, letter no. 14 (18 August 1488)).<sup>301</sup>

<sup>301</sup> Mentioned in Lazzarini, *Écrire à l’autre* 177.

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