

ADH-DHAHABĪ'S RECORD OF THE DESTRUCTION OF DAMASCUS BY THE MONGOLS IN 699—700/1299—1301

I. Introduction

Never did Islām experience such a time of terror as in the second half of the 13th century A. D. when after a subsistence of five centuries the 'Abbāsīd caliphate was destroyed by the Mongols. Already the conquests of Jengis Khān had intimidated the Muslims, and their religious quarrels as well as the decadence of the political and military power of the last 'Abbāsīds actually enticed the Mongols to an easy invasion of the whole Near East. Within a few years the 'Abbāsīd caliphate was put an end to: in 1257 the Assassins were subdued, in the following year Baghdād was captured and harried¹), then, in 1259, practically the whole of Syria, including Damascus and Halab, was occupied. There, however, the Mongolian army was so far from its base of operation that in 1260 the Mamlūks of Egypt succeeded in vanquishing at 'Ayn Jālūt the army of Ketbogha, general of Hūlāghū Khān, and thus prevented the Mongols from invading Africa.

After this victory Syria became a province, nay, the favourite province, of the Mamlūks of Egypt: as a matter of fact, she owed much of her prosperity to the Mamlūk Sultān az-Zāhir Baybars (died in 676/1277-8). During his reign Damascus became the second city of the Mamlūk empire, and her governors were appointed from among prominent Mamlūks, which gave rise to a sort of rivalry between the Sultān of Egypt and his dignitaries residing at Damascus. To intensify the influence of the former the commander of the citadel of Damascus was appointed by

¹) For this event see my paper *A qaṣīda on the Destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols*, BSOS, London. 1933, pp. 40—48.

the Sultān himself and independently from his Syrian governor. This state of affairs frequently resulted in collisions between the two dignitaries in Damascus, for the governors aimed at what may be termed a practical independence from Cairo, whereas the commanders of the citadel representing the power and interest of the Mamlūk sultāns, endeavoured to suppress all the contrary tendencies, as e. g. the revolt of the governor Sunqur al-Ashqar in 678/1279-80.

It was due to such a revolt that the Mongols could take and destroy Damascus for the second time. After the assassination of the Mamlūk Sultān al-Ashraf Khalīl the Sultān Kethogha was invested in the citadel of Damascus by the troops faithful to the governor and forced to abdicate in 696/1297—98. It was a fugitive *nā'ib* of Damascus, Qypchāq, who induced the Mongol Khān Qāzān — or Ghāzān — to invade Syria²). In fact, he had some wrongs to avenge on Syria³): the attacks made by the Mamlūks on Cilicia, their capture of Qal'at ar-Rūm, and the welcome they gave to the fugitive Uyrads and to Sulamish. His ambition was only increased by the advice of the Egyptian fugitives, by the distressed state of affairs in Egypt where the usual anarchy incident to a government of a military aristocracy prevailed, and, last not least, by the zeal of a recent convert of Islām. Waṣṣāf tells us⁴) that when he embraced Islām, which happened on 4 Sha'bān 694/19 June 1295⁵), he sent word to the Egyptians as follows: "If my good fathers were the enemies of your country, it was because of the indifference of faith. Do not entertain for the future any fear that you will be attacked by our victorious troops! May the merchants of both countries freely traverse each! Contrary to what has been hitherto, consider peace with us as the principle of your eternal prosperity! Be assured that all countries now owe us obedience, and particularly Egypt, where the throne has

²) See M. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2nd ed., La Haye et Amsterdam 1837—52, vol. IV, pp. 206—8; Waṣṣāf, *Ilkhāns*, II, 84—5; Abulfidā, V, 161.

³) See Sir Henry Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876, vol. III, pp. 434—5.

⁴) See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 227, note.

⁵) According to d'Ohsson, vol. IV, 132—3.

passed from kings to slaves, and where there is no longer any difference between masters and servants!"

The last sentence of this message contains, in fact, the main justification of Qāzān's attack on Syria. To put down the turbulent Mamlūk dynasty might well be deemed worthy of a Muslim prince. All the *imāms* and *'ulamās* whom Qāzān called together, declared in their *fatwās* that it was the duty of such a prince to repress violence exercised against the faithful by truculent oppressors.

Qāzān meditated an invasion of Syria in Muḥarram 698/9 October to 7 November 1298, and the *nā'ib* of Damascus and other *amīrs* made preparations to resist, but, according to an-Nuwayrī⁶), the Mongol troops which were collected for the purpose of the invasion, were struck by lightning, many of them being killed and others dispersed. In the following year, however, a still greater army was ready for the invasion⁷), and in the autumn of 1299 Qāzān found the time appropriate for the war.

The second Mongol campaign in Syria is known to us from a number of Arabic, Persian, and Armenian authorities to which references are made in our notes. It is on their narratives that the records of C. Mouradja d'Ohsson and Sir Henry Howorth⁸) are founded. There is, however, a very important and hitherto unknown authority on this subject, the famous Damascene scholar Shamsaddīn abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qā'imāz ibn 'Abdallāh adh-Dhahabī (from 673/1274 to 748/1348). He was a witness of the Mongol campaign in his own city, and all that he had experienced he described in a very detailed report which is at the end of his voluminous and hitherto unedited principal work, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*⁹). He also gave a brief and succinct record of the

⁶) See al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 83, and also in Howorth, vol. III, p. 429.

⁷) For the preparations of both sides for the war see *Ilkhāns*, II, 85—9; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 227—30; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 435—7.

⁸) See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, from p. 212 onwards; Howorth, vol. III, from p. 431 onwards.

⁹) See my paper *The Ta'rīkh al-islām of adh-Dhahabī*, *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 815—55.

campaign in his compendious work, the *Kitāb duwal al-islām*.¹⁰⁾

Adh Dhahabī's narrative in his *Ta'rikh al-islām* begins with the battle in the Wādī al-Khazandār — or-Khaznadār — on 27 Rabī' al-awwal 699/22 December 1299 in which Qāzān's army of about 100,000 men beat the three times as small army of the Mamlūk king 'Abdalmalik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'un. The defeat called forth great excitement at Damascus: many of her inhabitants fled to Egypt, while the *nā'ib* Arjawāsh with a body of defenders intrenched himself in the citadel. At the beginning of Rabī' ath-thānī/the end of December 1299 Qāzān seized the city and proclaimed in his *farmān* that the Mongols invaded Syria in order to put an end to the Mamlūk governors' misrule over their subjects: that is why he forbade his soldiers to commit any atrocities against the population.

Forsaken by the governor and higher officials, the inhabitants of Damascus behaved rather friendly towards the Mongols: Qāzān was even invested with kingly power by the *nā'ib* of the city. The situation, however, aggravated on 10 Rabī' ath-thānī/4 January 1300 when the about 10,000 man strong army of Qypchāq and Bektemir began to sack and kill the inhabitants in the surroundings of the city. The commander of the citadel, Arjawāsh, was summoned to surrender: he, however, repeatedly declined to do so. In vain did the *shaykh* Ibn Taymiyya endeavour to protest with Qāzān against the Mongol atrocities: they plundered the whole district of as-Ṣālihiyya whose inhabitants took refuge in the convent of al-Muqādisa, where they, as well as the inhabitants of the villages of al-Mazza and Dārayyā, were plundered and taken prisoners by the Mongols. After the unavailing protest of the *shaykh* Ibn Taymiyya with Qāzān against these brutalities the Mongol occupation of the city was unavoidable: great requisitions *in natura* and the large sum of 3,600,000 *dirhams* were laid upon the inhabitants. At the same time the Mongols prepared to take by assault the citadel where Arjawāsh valorously defended himself. The siege lasted for ten days and was frustrated on 12 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/4 February, but

¹⁰⁾ See the edition of Hyderabad 1337/1919, vol. II, pp. 157—60.

the Mongols destroyed many fine monuments as well as the district of al-'Adiliyya. After their failure the Mongols marched off from Damascus, the administration of which was taken over by Arjawāsh. When on 17 Rajab/9 April the *khutba* was said at the cathedral mosque for the sultān of Egypt again, the hundred days long terror ended and there were general rejoicings. One month later the Egyptian army marched into the city and Mamlūks were appointed to all the offices.

The cause of Qāzān's retreat from Syria is not mentioned by adh-Dhahabī. According to the testimony of Haythūn¹¹⁾ this was caused by the invasion of his eastern borders by the Jagatai Mongols. Qāzān's own historians attribute his hurried withdrawal to the approaching heats of summer, which is rather ridiculous as it was only February at that time¹²⁾. All the more detailed is adh-Dhahabī's description of the terrible devastations of the Mongo's. These horrors impressed upon the memories of the Muslims so deeply that even one and a half century later Kamāladdīn ibn Kamāladdīn ibn Qādī Shuhba said as follows: "The vicissitudes of fortune have let loose seven scourges upon us, and no one can protect us from their assaults: famine, Qāzān, war, pillage, perfidy, apathy, and a continual grief"¹³⁾.

In the following year 700/1300-1 Qāzān reiterated his attack on Syria. The army of the Mamlūks proved entirely inefficient this time also and returned to Egypt, so that in Rabī' ath-thānī/14 December to 11 January the Mongols could easily cross over the Euphrates and invest the city. At this news a general panic broke out at Damascus: whoever could fled to Egypt or the surrounding fortresses, while into the citadel only such were admitted as were willing to fight. People were relieved on hearing that on 17 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/28 January a Mongol troop near Ḥalab was defeated by the Syrian post of Ḥamāt. The *shaykh* Ibn Taymiyya resumed his diplomatic activities: he went to Egypt to ask for help, but before the Mamlūks could

¹¹⁾ See his chronicle, chapter XLIII; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 256.

¹²⁾ See Howorth, vol. III, p. 446.

¹³⁾ See al-Maqrizī, II (part II), pp. 160—1.

send relief the Mongols had already quitted Syria. When the Mamlūks returned to Damascus again, they divested of their offices the non-Muslims protected by the Mongols, and imposed restrictions upon them.

The cause of Qāzān's retreat is not given by adh-Dhahabī. Rashīdaddīn diplomatically covers it by the excuse that Qāzān did not wish to shed the blood of true believers, but it is more probable that he was greatly troubled to hear of the death of Satilmish, the son of Burdighi and a relative of Altaju Aka.¹⁴⁾

The Mongols' second campaign on Syria is known to us from the *Khitaṭ* of al-Maqrizī¹⁵⁾ and other sources too. It is, however, related by adh-Dhahabī with the vivacity of an eye-witness and the care of a citizen anxious of the destiny of his own city. All that he relates was his personal experience, which accounts for the fact that he does not quote any authority with the exception of a certain Daw ibn Ṣabāḥ az-Zubaydī who witnessed the battle of Himṣ¹⁶⁾. The lack of references is striking with an author like adh-Dhahabī whose strong side is the careful quotation of his literary sources. As a matter of course, he put down his narrative shortly after the campaign when he could not yet have any written records at hand. But his record is all the more interesting and important. It clearly appears from it that but for the rivalry between the Mamlūk sultāns of Egypt and their governors at Damascus the Mongols would have never ventured upon such an attack on the most important city of Islām after the fall of Baghdād. Nor were they ignorant of the disorganisation and inefficiency of the Mamlūk army;¹⁷⁾ in fact, the failure of their attempt in taking Damascus was due solely to the heroic defence of the citadel by its commander, Arjawāsh. It is also

¹⁴⁾ See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 256; Howorth, vol. III, p. 456.

¹⁵⁾ See Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamloucks*, Paris 1837—41, vol. II (part II), from p. 147 onwards.

¹⁶⁾ See the MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fol. 124, l. 13.

¹⁷⁾ It is characteristic in this connection that when on 5 January 1300 Qāzān encamped at Marj Rākit, the notabilities of Damascus called on him to do him homage. Qāzān, never weary to express his contempt for the parvenu ruler of Egypt, asked his visitors who he himself was. After hearing them

evident from adh-Dhahabī's narrative that although the Mongols favoured the non-Muslims, they were not hostile to the Muslims for all that. They proclaimed their king to be a Muslim, and there can be no doubt whatever that but for their atrocities they would have easily gained possession of Syria, the more so as the Christian West followed their venture with sympathy¹⁸). Qāzān sent envoys to Edward I, King of England, and other European sovereigns, summoning them to join in his venture on the Mamlūks. Many people in Western Europe expected from such an alliance the liberation of the Holy Land from Islām and its passing over to Christianity again¹⁹).

Incomplete as adh-Dhahabī's narrative is of the Mongol invasion of Syria, it is very important for us, being a reliable diary of the reign of terror Damascus lived through in consequence of Qāzān's campaign. In very lively tones it describes the apprehensions of the population from the approaching Mongol army, their hurried flight, the exertions of the leading men to save their city from destruction, and the heroic defence of the citadel by Arjawāsh. We learn from adh-Dhahabī the names of the persons who filled the chief posts in the city at that time. He regularly records also the prices of victuals and commodities during the siege.

Thus adh-Dhahabī's record as an eye-witness's account is a valuable contribution to the history of the Mongol invasion of the caliphate and, at the same time, a true descrip-

enumerate his descendance he asked them who was the father of Nāsir, the Egyptian sultān. On their reply that he was Qalā'ūn the son of Alifī, a slave bought for 1,000 ducats and with parents unknown, he answered them: "Your living ones are good for nothing, but your dead (i. e. the famous and holy men buried at Damascus) are worthy indeed, and for their sakes I granted you pardon." See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, 249—50; al-Maqrizī, II (part II), p. 155; Howorth, vol. III, p. 443.

¹⁸) How much so, it appears from the Chronicle of Cyprus by Florio Bustron where we read that on the demand of Qāzān the King of Cyprus actually helped him against Egypt, first with two galleys and two frigates, later with a fleet of fifteen frigates. See Howorth, vol. III, pp. 769—70. — Qāzān's conquest of Syria also brought him a letter of congratulation from James II, King of Aragon. See Howorth, vol. III, p. 488.

¹⁹) See Howorth, vol. III, pp. 488—9.

tion of the conditions of Damascus at the end of the 7th century A. H. The fact that adh-Dhahabī's narrative, as a whole, corroborates and, in details, supplements our information of this period, testifies to his trustworthiness in selecting and using his references. For this reason his record can justly be considered as an important addition to the history of that mournful period of Muslim past.²⁰⁾

II. The Translation of adh-Dhahabī's Record

(From the MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540,
fols 123—34).²¹⁾

1. A. H. 699/28th September 1299 to 15th September 1300.

On 8 Rabī' al-awwal/3 December the Sultān al-Malik an-Nāṣir²²⁾ marched into Damascus and the city was decorated (on this occasion). He had stayed in front of Ghaza²³⁾ for a long time, and there came into Damascus refugees from Halab, Ḥamāt, and those districts, who endured cold weather and mire. The situation became difficult and the confusion great. The Sultān, after staying nine days at the citadel, went out to meet the enemy. The Tatars under King Qāzān crossed over the Euphrates with 60,000 men and even more: so that they

²⁰⁾ That as such it was ever appreciated in the Orient, is evident from an interesting reference of Pétis de la Croix in his *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan*, Paris 1710, to the Persian translation of an extract from the *Ta'rikh al-islām*, treating of the history of the Mongol kings. See my paper in *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 829—30.

²¹⁾ See the *British Museum Supplement Catalogue*, No. 486. This MS. was rather carelessly copied by a later hand. With the help of other pertinent sources I have tried to correct many corrupted names and passages.

²²⁾ Brother of al-Malik al-Ashraf who was assassinated on 13 December 1293. He ascended the throne twice: first in 1293 at the age of 9, when he was deposed by Ketbogha and this latter succeeded by his vice-roy, the Amīr Mansūr Lāshin; and secondly in 1299 at the age of 14, when he was made king by the Mamlūks. (See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 212—24, and Howorth, vol. III, pp. 429—33.)

²³⁾ Laying siege to it.

were said to be 100,000, which was not correct.²⁴⁾ Many prayers were said and people recited the *qunūt*-prayers in the divine service, and at the mosque recitals of the Qur'ān were held. The Muslim armies forgathered at Hims while people presented themselves at Damascus to recite al-Bukhārī.²⁵⁾ The Shayk of the Dār al-ḥadīth took a special copy of it and, accompanied by the qādīs, carried it on his head to the mosque where they placed it under the (cupola of) an-Naṣr²⁶⁾. On 24 Rabi' al-awwal/19 December they made the procession round it, praying and imploring; the school-teachers (also) took the children and made processions with them in the mosques, invoking and imploring Him who be blessed and sublime! The Jews and the Christians did the same, carrying their Thorahs and Gospels with them.

As for the army, they were drawn up in battle-array and remained equipped on their horses on Tuesday, but nobody came up to them²⁷⁾. It was reported to them that the Tatars were near Salamiyya and wanted to withdraw: this was, however, an ignominious stratagem. The Sultān rode out on Wednesday at day-break, and they marched off from Hims to the Wādī al-khazandār.²⁸⁾ The sun was shining already when the battle took place at 5 o'clock in the morning on Wednesday, the 27th of the month/22

²⁴⁾ According to Rashīdaddīn, this happened on 16 October 1299, and according to Waṣṣāf, *Ilkhāns*, II, 85—86, on 22 November.

²⁵⁾ Customary in times of hardships.

²⁶⁾ The Qubbat an naṣr, now very dilapidated, is on the summit of the Jabal Qāsyūn. See Th. Wiegand, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 5: K. Wulzinger & C. Watzinger, *Damaskus die islamische Stadt*, Leipzig 1924, p. 139.

²⁷⁾ See al-Maqrizī, II (part II), pp. 141—44.

²⁸⁾ Or al-khaznadār or al-khazindār, i. e. "the Valley of Treasures", called also Mujma' al-murūj, i. e. "Union of Meadows". It was situated at a distance of a half-day's march from Hims, between the Mausoleum of Khālīd ibn Walīd at the foot of the so-called "Victory Hill" and a river called Āb Bariḥ by the Persians and Narin su by the Mongols. See Abulfidā, V, p. 165.

December,²⁹⁾ in the Wādī al-khazandār north-east of Ḥimṣ, at a distance of about 2 or 3 farsakhs from Ḥimṣ. The combat raged violently: there was continual fighting with lances and duelling, and the massacre of the Tatars became vehement. The marks of victory appeared already, and the Muslims stood firm until the afternoon, as also the Sultān and the body-guard held their own completely. However, the right wing of the Muslims was broken through, and there happened something with them that they had never experienced before, for the army was not complete at that time: they were 20,000 and odd whereas the enemy was three times as strong³⁰⁾. They began to flee, — the matter was predestined for "we belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return!"³¹⁾. The officers taking the Sultān with them, returned, and were at their wits' end, and trying to cover their retreat, passed Ḥimṣ, and proceeded on the way to Ba'labakk to the road leading to al-Biqā'. People from the army passed Damascus, overburdened with shame and pain. As for us, on Thursday at noon there dropped a note carried by a messenger-pigeon to the effect that the overseer³²⁾ Aqjabā and a number of wounded men had arrived at Qāra, that the battle-array had still held together and that nobody knew what would happen after their departure. For Arjawāsh, the commander of the citadel³³⁾, concealed that, so that it was not until evening that the rumour of the breaking through

²⁹⁾ According to al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 147—49, the battle lasted from 9 o'clock in the morning till 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

³⁰⁾ For the composition of the armies and the description of the battle see al-Maqrīzī, loc. cit.; Wassāf, II, 91—93; Haythūn, pp. 62—63; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 233—37; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 437—39; Weil, vol. IV, pp. 228—29; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pp. 630—31.

³¹⁾ *Qur'ān* 2:151, much used for expressing the highest degree of horror.

³²⁾ *Al-mushidd* means 'overseer' or 'architect': here it is either the name of a functionary or Aqjabā's family-name derived from it.

³³⁾ According to al-Maqrīzī, II, 155, his name was 'Alamad-dīn Sinjār Arjawāsh.

of the right wing was circulating. Later it was even said that the whole army was crushed, and we spent a night God knows what sort it was. The minds were comforted by the praying, and on the following day the festive drums were beating for calming (the minds): then their deception became evident³⁴). Thereupon Arjawāsh ordered the moats of the city to be inundated with water: then on Friday in the afternoon the festive drums were beating (again): people, however, cared nothing for it, but remained upset in disorder and confusion. At that time there came men from the army and officers whose horses were stopped and whose equipments were lost: they tore their clothes and threw off their shields. A great number of men in the battle array fell as witnesses of the faith, and people began to flee to Egypt. People spent the night of Saturday in great confusion, and they were near the difficult situation (i. e.: anxiety). It was reported that five thousand were killed of the Tatars, (according to others even) ten thousand, whereas in (our) army only about two hundred men were killed³⁵).

Dau ibn Šabāh az-Zubaydī related to me as follows: "Never did I see the courtiers more useful than (they were) when I saw them at the gate of Hims at sunset making a sudden onslaught on the Tatars and slaughtering among the Tatars, then returning to the Sultān". And somebody else said: "Allāh struck them with flight, and they took to flight after sunset with their backs turned (towards us). There remained the equipments and implements jumbled up (on the ground); they filled that ground as well as the lances, weapons, and spears."³⁶)

As for us, people began to talk about the affair of the Tatars and relate a great deal about them: (thus) that their king was a Muslim, that their army spared the lives of the deserters and did not kill anybody, but if they found anybody they only took his horse and weapon

³⁴) I. e.: it soon appeared that there was no reason whatever for rejoicings.

³⁵) According to an-Nuwayrī, the Mamlūks lost 1,000 men and the Mongols 14,000 men: see Howorth, vol. III, p. 439, and al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 149—50 who also estimates the losses of the Mongols at 14,000 men; he also enumerates the Damascene notabilites who fell in the battle.

³⁶) So also in Wassāf, loc. cit.

from him and let him go. Suchlike tales³⁷⁾ increased (i. e. circulated) so much that a man of high rank said: "Hush! they are better than our soldiers." Yet people did not notice that.

On Saturday³⁸⁾ at noon there was much rumour and disquieting alarm in the city: the men rushed out and the women tore their clothes asunder. It was said: "The Tatars have entered!" At the Bāb al-Faraj³⁹⁾ people thronged together so that about ten of them died: among them was an-Najm al-Baghdādī who recited the stories of the Prophet's campaigns under the cupola of 'Ā'isha.⁴⁰⁾ Then in a moment (he) became silent without any good reason. The notabilities of the city gathered and deliberated on the affair: they were Fakhraddīn ibn ash-Shīrajī, nāẓir of the city, 'Izzadīn ibn ad-Qalānisī, Wajīhaddīn ibn al-Minjā, 'Izzaddīn ibn az-Zakī, and the sharīf Zaynaddīn ibn 'Adnān. And with the fugitives there left that night the qādī of the city Imāmaddīn, the Mālikite qādī, the muḥtasib, and the wālī Ibn an-Naḥḥās. The roads were filled with people from al-Ghauta and al-Ḥawāḍir, and the people (i. e.: the convicts) of the prison of the Bāb aṣ-ṣaghīr⁴¹⁾ set the prison on fire and left it all: they were above two hundred⁴²⁾, and broke through the Bāb al-jābiya⁴³⁾ and went out by it. On Sunday, 2 Rabī' ath-thānī/27 December people started to put out (the fire) and restore (the gate); among them there was such a one who fled to Egypt with his children, and also such a one who relied on the righteousness of the Tatars and (said) that at that time the lieutenants of Hūlāghū, who together with their king were yet infidels, treated them fairly well: how much more so now that they have embraced Islām!⁴⁴⁾

³⁷⁾ See also in Howorth, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 440—41.

³⁸⁾ I. e. on 1 Rabī' ath-thānī/26 December.

³⁹⁾ For the gates of Damascus see H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, JA, IXe série, pp. 372—76 and p. 409, note 23, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 182—87. For the Bāb al-faraj see pp. 184—85.

⁴⁰⁾ It was the Eastern cupola of the mosque, built in 160/776—7. See *ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴¹⁾ See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 183.

⁴²⁾ According to Howorth, vol. III, p. 441, they were 150.

⁴³⁾ See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 185.

⁴⁴⁾ This is the sense of a defective phrase in the text.

Then the notabilites assembled in the Masjid 'Alī⁴⁵⁾ and conferred on their going to the king and asking safety of him. There were present Ibn Jamā'a, al-Fāriqī, Ibn Taymiyya, Wajihaddīn ibn al-Minjā, the qādī Najmaddīn ibn Ṣaṣārī, 'Izzaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, the ṣāhib Ibn ash-Shirajī, Sharafaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, Amīnaddīn ibn abī Shuqayr, 'Izzaddīn ibn az-Zakī, Najmaddīn ibn abī Tayyib, Shihābaddīn al-Hanafī, and others. They, about two hundred persons, went out with presents of food on Monday at noon. It was proclaimed in the city on behalf of Arjawāsh: "Nothing should be sold from the equipments of the army since your Sultān remains (here)!" Nevertheless, horses and equipments were sold at lowest prices. The country remained without a wālī and without a qādī. As for the Shāfi'ite qādī, he fled as well as the Mālikite (qādī); as for the Hanafite qādī, he was present at the battle-array, and joined it and disappeared. As for the Hanbalite (qādī), he stayed with the inhabitants of as-Ṣālihiyya⁴⁶⁾ and they hoped for a good outcome. As for the muhtasib of the city and his clerk, they fled both. The price of bread rose, and evil and tumult increased, and we remained so till Thursday night. The prices of flour and bread advanced for want of mills and firewood which (latter) was insufficient for the ovens.

The sharīf al-Qumayy⁴⁷⁾ hastened to the Tatars and returned on Thursday. There were four Tatars with him, one of them wore a Muslim robe with a cap (calotte) with (turban-cloth) of muslin... They entered and passed by ornately-clad people.⁴⁸⁾

When the morning of Friday dawned, no gate was opened in the city. Later the lock of the Bāb Tūmā⁴⁹⁾ was broken — it was done by the nā'ib of the wālī ash-Shajjā' Himām and Ibn Tā'ūn, — and the Sultān was not mentioned in the sermon. After prayer there arrived a number of Tatars at the outside of the city, among them

⁴⁵⁾ See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 156.

⁴⁶⁾ Western suburb of Damascus, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁷⁾ Or al-Qamī.

⁴⁸⁾ Here follows a corrupted phrase in the text.

⁴⁹⁾ I. e. Thomas Gate, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 184.

King Ismā'īl, the relative of Qāzān, and descended by a garden on the outside, which is at at-Ṭarn. He brought with him the decree of the king in which safety was promised. It was proclaimed in the city: "Open your booths, and reassure yourselves, and pray for King Maḥmūd Qāzān!⁵⁰⁾" There arrived the notabilities of the city and related that they met Qāzān at an-Nabl: he stopped for them and ate of what they offered him. He who addressed him was the ṣāhib Ibn ash-Shīrajī, and he who prayed for the king was the khaṭīb Ibn Jamā'a, and they said to them (i. e.: to the Damascenes): "We have sent you safety in advance before you came (here)." They said that the king would take up his quarters at al-Marj⁵¹⁾ and that only one gate would be opened.

On Saturday in the afternoon⁵²⁾ there repaired to the preacher's *maqṣūra*⁵³⁾ Ismā'īl with the amīr Muḥammad and a body of Tatars who were in ordinary with both of them, and they both sat down there. There appeared the khaṭīb, Ibn al-Qalānisi, Ibn ash-Shīrajī, Ibn al-Minjā, Ibn Ṣaṣarī and many others, and people assembled to give a hearing to the *farmān* which was read aloud by a man from among the helpmates of the Tatars and transmitted (to the listeners) by the mu'adhdhin reciting with a loud voice. It was worded as follows: . . .⁵⁴⁾

When he had done reading, gold and silver were cast on him in the *maqṣūra*, and the sharīf Zaynaddīn who was befriended with them cast about ten dinars on him, despite of the penury. People were alarmed, (but after) they had prayed for the king their excitement became allayed a little. King Ismā'īl was made nā'ib of the city⁵⁵⁾: he

⁵⁰⁾ The prayer for him would have involved his acknowledgment.

⁵¹⁾ Or al-Marja, a plain south of the river Barada. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 103.

⁵²⁾ I. e. on 8 Rabī' ath-thānī/2 January.

⁵³⁾ An enclosed place in the mosques for princes and other notabilities.

⁵⁴⁾ See an-Nuwayrī in Quantremère's *Noten zu Makrizi*, II (part II), pp. 151—54. I omit the translation of this *farmān* that is known to us from other sources also; see the English translation of it in Howorth, vol. III, pp. 441—43. and the French translation of it in d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 245—49.

⁵⁵⁾ See also in d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 249.

put up at al-Qaymariyya⁵⁶), was clever and peaceable (or also: a good Muslim), and, generally speaking, was not too bad.

Then on Sunday they (i. e.: the Tatars) required goods and horses from the people. On 10 Rabi' ath-thānī/4 January the army approached al-Ghauta⁵⁷); confusion and disaster began, and a number of the inhabitants of the country (were) killed (by them), and those who remained over on the estates were plundered. Qyqchāq and Bektemir⁵⁸) and their retinue arrived and took their quarters on the Maydān⁵⁹). They conferred with the mutawallī of the citadel, 'Alamaddīn Arjawāsh al-Manṣūrī, and prevailed on him advising him to surrender the citadel, but he did not accept (this advice) and was firm, and this was good⁶⁰). Then the notabilities of the city were ordered to repair to him on the following morning. They assembled with him and begged (him to yield to the 'Tatars) and said: "There is saving of the blood of the Muslims in this (i. e.: in the surrender)." He, however, did not yield to them but fortified the citadel, arranged all its affairs, and concealed them. A number of the population of the country came up into it.

On 12 the month/6 January the Sultān marched into Cairo, and his army accompanied him. On the same day Qypchāq entered the city and stayed at al-'Azīziyya⁶¹),

⁵⁶) Certainly the alms-house al-Qaymariyya is meant here, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 13.

⁵⁷) According to Howorth, vol. III, p. 443, and d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 250, Qāzān pitched tents at the Marj Rākit, in the eastern part of al-Ghauta, frequently styled "a second paradise" by the Orientals for its magnificent trees, gardens, vineyards, waters, etc.

⁵⁸) According to d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 250, also al-Begui and A'zaz.

⁵⁹) This was the Maydān al-khāssa, with which Qāzān was so delighted that he ordered it to be preserved from damages and seven of its gates to be shut, and on the 8th of the month/2 January he commanded a guard to be mounted at the Bāb Baghdād. See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 249—50; al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 155.

⁶⁰) See also d'Ohsson, *loc. cit.*, and al-Maqrīzī, *loc. cit.*

and ordered the notabilities to remonstate with Arjawāsh. They talked with him but he did not yield to them and (even) offended them. They all stopped at the gate of the citadel and asked him for a messenger; however, on his refusing (to comply with their demand), they sent some one to talk with him. He spoke harshly to him and said: "You hypocrites! You have met the Tatars and have delivered the city up to them and emboldened them!" Besides that, here is the letter of the lord of Egypt (saying that) they gathered on Ghaza and defeated the troop that pursued them. and the leader Būlāy had stimulated behind the soldiers who were about 10.000, and arrived at Ghaza, devastating the country, taking prisoners, and plundering.

On Thursday, the 13th of the month/7 January people talked about Qāzān's saying his prayer in the city on Friday: people became alarmed and blocked the roads and blocked up the doors with clay and stones. The Tatars (began to) frequent the houses of the inhabitants, searching for horses and taking them away, and doing (much) damage. Qypchāq spent his night at 'Izzaddīn ibn al-Qalānisi's. In the city the khatīb speaking on Friday said the prayer for the Sultān Muzaffaraddīn Maḥmūd Qāzān,⁶²⁾ who was presented in the cupola, which (happened) in the presence of a great many Mongols. Then after prayer Qypchāq and Ismā'il mounted the pulpit, while the mu'adhdhin 'Abdalghanī shouted out and enumerated the surnames of Qāzān. Then it was promulgated to the people that Qypchāq was invested with the office of the nā'ib of Damascus and the appointment of the qāḍis and nā'ibs would be due to him⁶³⁾. (These decrees) were transmitted by the mu'adhdhin 'Abdalghanī to the multitude, and gold and (silver) coins were scattered among the inhabitants. Rejoicings were manifested at the

⁶¹⁾ This was the Madrasat 'Azīziyya, founded by Malik al-'Azīz, where the Sultān Saladdin was buried; see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 63 and 65.

⁶²⁾ Which involved his acknowledgment as legal overlord: see d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 251—52.

⁶³⁾ See these decrees in more detail in al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 156—59 in Quatramère s'*Noten*; in the Notes to *Ilkhāns*, vol. II, p. 94; and in Howorth, vol. III, p. 444.

investiture of Qypchāq. Qypchāq took very much pains with the Tatars ⁶⁴), but he was clever, artful, self-willed and experienced, who knew their policy (too well).

There came down the shaykh ash-shuyūkh of Qāzān, whose name was Nizāmaddīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī ash-Shaybānī, to the Madrasat al-‘Adiliyya ⁶⁵). He was angry with the leaders because they did not pay their respects to him, and claimed to arrange their affair and deliberate with them on what would be done in the matter of the citadel, and he demeaned himself as if Qypchāq and people like him were under his orders.

As to the inhabitants of aṣ-Ṣālihiyya ⁶⁶), they became confused, and there came a superior ⁶⁷) to them whom a *shihna* ⁶⁸) had appointed: he ‘ate them and milked them’ (i. e.: extorted money from them). The qādī married a young girl to him but he could not avert (the extortions) from them. The Tatars (thereupon) began to plunder aṣ-Ṣālihiyya and do harm and destruction there, and their disaster aggravated and their harm increased each day they remained there. From there they took a great deal of wheat, grains, clothing-materials, and supplies; they took out the windows, and broke and scorched (what they could find), and took the carpets of the mosques with them. The inhabitants fled to the Dayr

⁶⁴) Because Qāzān’s generals desired to plunder the city under the pretext that the citadel had not surrendered to them. See Weil, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 233, Note, and d’Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 252—53.

⁶⁵) The great Madrasat al-‘Adiliyya is north-west of the cathedral mosque, east of the convent of the Shihābiyya dervishes, and opposite the gate of az-Zāhiriyya. It was constructed by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam who in 619/1222—23 ordered his father to be interred in it. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 3, pp. 423—24, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 61.

⁶⁶) At the foot of the Mount Qāsyūn, one hour from Damascus, and famous for the gardens and country-seats of its surroundings. See d’Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 253, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 34 and 36.

⁶⁷) Certainly Būlāy who is mentioned above.

⁶⁸) An official title, see Dozy. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s. v.

al-Muqādisa⁶⁹) and gathered in it. The Tatars surrounded it on the 18th of the month/12 January, entered it and harried what was there, and captured the women and children. The shaykh al-mashāyikh an-Nizām went out to them in company of Tatars with what they amassed. A troop repaired to (the village of) Dārayyā, the inhabitants of which took shelter in the mosque,⁷⁰) and surrounding and entering it, sacked, killed, and dispersed the inhabitants of Dārayyā. They continued to loot the mountainous districts and capture their inhabitants by and by, whilst one troop went away and another troop came up. They took possession of rolls of stuffs and household utensils, and punished and tortured (people). The last that they attacked was the convent which they considered as allowed and in which they left nothing but the old women in cold, hunger, and nakedness. The men entered naked and barefooted in worn-out clothes, as if they had been beggars, nay, even weaker than beggars, for these are not in such painful punishments, hunger, severe cold, sleeplessness, and loss of children and wives. "Verily, we belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return!"⁷¹)

A troop went to al-Mazza⁷²). Most of its inhabitants were deceived and remained (at home); they overcame them with intimidation, plunder, and annihilation. In those days the shaykh Taqiaddīn ibn Taymiyya went to see such persons as he hoped could be useful; the shaykh al-mashāyikh, the mu'allim Sulaymān, and Qypchāq; then, accompanied by a party, on the 20th of the month/14 January he went to Qāzān who stayed at Tall Rāhiṭ.⁷³) He was admitted to him, but was not permitted to tell Qāzān what the Tatars had committed, for they dreaded that he would fly into a passion and kill people from among the Mongols⁷⁴). (At last) he was granted to say a prayer in

⁶⁹) One of the many convents in as-Ṣālihiyya.

⁷⁰) This mosque was erected by Nūraddīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 7, pp. 240—41.

⁷¹) Cf. note. 31.

⁷²) Village in which the people of rank resided and all sorts of fine fruit was grown. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 7, pp. 442—43, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 28 and 34.

⁷³) Thus also in d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 254.

⁷⁴) Which would have challenged the Mongol chieftains to treat the inhabitants of Damascus ruthlessly.

haste. The wazīr Sa'daddīn and the councillor of government ar-Rashīd al-Yahūdī advised him not to complain about the Tatars (but say as follows): "We are engaged in improving the conditions, but it is absolutely necessary to satisfy the Mongols because a great many of them have got nothing as yet." The shaykh returned to the city; then, on the following morning of the 22nd (of the month)/16 January, it came to be generally known that it was unavoidable that the Mongols would enter the city and harry it, and so it happened. The shaykh al-mashāyikh scraped together a baggage from al-'Adiliyya and went out to the Mongol camp; he advised those whom he knew to leave the city. Then the notabilities came to him in a hurry, and offered riches to ransom the city, and implored him to intercede in their favour. He was a covetous shaykh who had perhaps done so to deceive (them), but others maintained that Qāzān would be favourably inclined towards the Muslims. Then, in the course of the night, a decree was issued by him with the words: "Whoever appeals to me for the sake of Damascus shall die!" As for the people, they spent that night alarmed and were seized with violent tribulations and excessive cold. A multitude gathered at the shaykh al-mashāyikh's and induced him to beware of him (i. e.: Qāzān); however, he was stubborn: he did not relieve their sorrows and had pity on no Muslim. Then Allāh was benevolent and frustrated that (i. e.: his intention). It was, however, doubled what was imposed upon the people, and the riches were damaged. People did penance on (receiving) the indication of many riches (which were to be delivered up to the Mongols). At that time 10,000 horses and all the asses that remained over were imposed upon the people: there was much scuffle, hanging, and exaction. There were imposed 100,000 dirhams upon the Sūq of the Wool-Carders⁷⁵), 100,000 (dirhams) upon the lance-makers, 60,000 (dirhams) upon the people of the Sūq 'Alī⁷⁶) and 70,000 (dirhams) upon each of the notabilities like Ibn al-Minjā and Ibn al-Qalānisi, (but) it reached (even) 100,000 (dirhams in some cases). Upon

⁷⁵) Later called Sūq al-kumaila: see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 78.

⁷⁶) Completely: Sūq 'Alī pāshā; see *ibid.*, p. 52.

(people of) the second category 30,000 (dirhams) were imposed, and so on⁷⁷). They forced al-Mughīth into the jāmi‘, into the Mosque al-Jadīd,⁷⁸ the notabilities were treated harshly, a number of leading persons were beaten; there was much plunder, and (even those) were destitute who supported (them). The news of this spread on Friday, 28th of the month 22 January, and there was much unrest on top of the houses, and people wailed from their roofs. The shaykh Shamsaddīn ibn Ghānam was carried sick to the mosque and was demanded 100,000 (dirhams). Those who slept and those who reviled (the Mongols) were molested. He who made the demand publicly known was ‘Alāaddīn, the instructor (or: steward, *ustādh*) of the house of Qypchāq; he who fixed (the sums imposed) upon the people was aṣ-Ṣafī as-Sinjārī: he arrived with the Tatars, and instructed and fed (literally: gave milk to) the children of al-Ḥarūrī. The (number of) accidents which became public increased, and villains appeared who caused much anger and made false accusations. The utensils and the houses of the amīrs were sacked. The shaykh Wajihaddīn ibn al-Minjā related that all that was carried to the treasury of Qāzān amounted to 3,600,000 (dirhams), except what was due to him by order and from bribery and what he extorted from the notabilities for other persons, so that the shaykh ash-shuyūkh got about 600,000 dirhams⁷⁹).

The distress increased and many people perished and became impoverished during the exactions up to this date: among them was Ruknaddīn. Taxes were imposed upon the heads of some people and their outfits. Then on the 29th/23 January it was made public in the city that the exactions were remitted, and the notabilities returned to their homes. By the end of the month Qypchāq resided at the Dār as-sa‘āda, and used to go there from the district of the foreigners⁸⁰). He was flung with (stones of)

⁷⁷) See also Howorth, vol. III, pp. 444—45, and al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 160—61.

⁷⁸) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 48.

⁷⁹) Thus also in al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 160—62, and Howorth, vol. III, p. 445.

⁸⁰) Adh-Dhahabī probably means the district of the Christians: it was the Eastern part of Damascus; see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 38.

the catapult and fire from the citadel, and it (i. e.: the Dār as-sa'āda) was set ablaze. At that time the investment of the citadel of Damascus⁸¹⁾ was begun from both the inside and the outside of the city. The Mongols were ordered to enter (the city) for the investment. They took the Bāb al-Barīd⁸²⁾ as far as az-Zāhiriyya⁸³⁾ and the parts around al-Khātūniyya⁸⁴⁾ as well as the district of al-Balāṭa⁸⁵⁾, and remained there. In those days the catapults for the Tatars were set up at the mosque of Damascus: for them (i. e. the catapults) precious sorts of timber were felled from al-Chauṭa, and the large trunks of trees were carried into the mosque. The Turks spent the night watching over them, and the shops at the Bāb al-Barīd⁸⁶⁾ were broken in and sacked. All the people of those districts who were on the roofs surrendered during the night, lacking their belongings and provisions, and being befallen by and enduring hardships, (so that) nobody remained in that district from its inhabitants. At that time the Dār as-Sukkar⁸⁷⁾ was sacked and destroyed by the mob.

As for the (Mamlūk) armies they entered Cairo, and the Sultān happened to be among them. They began to buy horses and equipments, (consequently) the prices of these things rose, so that the breast-plate which

⁸¹⁾ For a detailed description of the citadel see *ibid.*, pp. 166—82.

⁸²⁾ The west gate of the cathedral mosque. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 66.

⁸³⁾ I. e. the Madrasat az-Zāhiriyya "extra muros" on the outside of the Bāb an-Naṣr, east of the Hanafite Khātūniyya "intra muros" and west of the convent of the Hishāmiyya dervishes, between the rivers Bānyās and Qanawāt on the southern Sharaf: it was erected by al-Malik az-Zāhir ibn 'Abdalmalik an-Nāṣir Salāḥaddin. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 3, pp. 418—20, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 59—61.

⁸⁴⁾ This is the Madrasat al-Khātūniyya "extra muros" on the southern Sharaf, erected by the Princess Zumurrud Khātūn, wife of Tājalmulūk at-Taurī (died in 557/1161—2). See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 4, p. 526.

⁸⁵⁾ See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 70.

⁸⁶⁾ There were fruit- and other food-shops there. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 7, p. 372.

⁸⁷⁾ Correctly. Dār al-Ḥadīth as-Sakariyya, of which also adh-Dhahabī was prior. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 3, p. 276.

(usually) cost 10 dirhams (was sold) at 100 dirhams or so. There was vast expenditure, like which was never seen, especially among the Damascenes; it probably exceeded 1,000,000 dinārs. The shortcomings of the army were redressed by every possible means⁸⁸): Salār took pains about that and endeavoured (to do so) as much as he could. They sent away messengers to bring them news from Damascus: they provided them with plenty of money. The people remained in their houses and feared that the Tatars would force upon them the filling of the moat of the citadel and other (works). On 2 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/25 January there remained at the Dayr al-Muqādisa a few objects and a few women and men, (among them also) the Ḥanbalite qādī. A troop of Tatars came up to it and ransacked it, plundering and taking prisoners. They took prisoner the Ḥanbalite qādī whom they took away bareheaded, and put a rope round his neck. Upon this the people of the Dayr (al-Muqādisa) took to flight and entered the city depressed and denuded, (so that) whosoever saw them wept more than they themselves did. Then the qādī Taqīaddīn entered the city: his daughters and many of his relatives had already been taken prisoners; he saw the horrors, and perhaps that is why Allāh endowed him with mercy. The defenders of the citadel, seeing that the Tatars invested them, cast firebrands into the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya⁸⁹) and its surroundings, and into al-'Ādiliyya⁹⁰), the Dār al-Malik al-Kāmil, the Dār Maktab al-'Alā⁹¹) and the greatest part of the surroundings of the citadel, whereas ad-Dammāghiyya,

⁸⁸) See also al-Maqrizī, II (part II), pp. 165---67; d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 260---62; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 448---49.

⁸⁹) At the Eastern gate of the citadel, west of the Uṣrūniyya and north of the Ḥanafite Qaymāziyya, finished by al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffaraddīn Mūsā, son of al-'Ādil (died in 625/1227---8), and opened in Sha'bān 630/13 May to 10 June 1233. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 61, and Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁹⁰) It is the Madrasat al-'Ādiliyya; see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 61.

⁹¹) Probably connected with the mosque al-'Alā, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 81.

al-‘Ammādiyya, and al-Qaymāziyya⁹²) remained safe. The mosque was full of strangers, inhabitants, and peasants who were under the citadel. It was said that about 4,000 people were taken prisoners from aṣ-Ṣālihiyya, and many from the other districts, and from Jerusalem to Nablus and al-Biqā‘, whose number only Allāh knows. It was said that in aṣ-Ṣālihiyya about 400 men were killed, and an indescribable and numberless (quantity of) things like doors, pieces of marble, windows, and other things, were carried away from the other places both inside and outside that were round the citadel: they were offered for sale at low prices. The rest of the population of the city wore scant clothes and old head-gears for fear of being plundered and of the recurrence of violent exactions and punishments. A great sum of about 100,000 (dirhams) were required from the madrasas, the inspectors and ‘āmilis were dealt harshly, and the prices rose⁹³).

On Friday a farmān was read aloud at the jāmī‘ ordaining to spare the mosque and preserve the waqf-estates. It also gave directions to the end that what was taken from the armouries should be employed in the way of Allāh and for the ḥajj, and that coins should be minted of pure silver.

On 12 Jumādā ‘l-Ūlā/4 February Qāzān left al-Ghauṭa for home; his nā‘ib Kutlugh Shāh with a troop remained back at the palace. On 13 Jumādā ‘l-Ūlā/5 February the inhabitants of al-‘Ādiliyya were ordered to evacuate it because they intended investing the citadel. They went out in trouble and misery, leaving (behind them) most of their belongings and provisions which were destroyed.

On 18 Jumādā ‘l-Ūlā/10 February a number of Mongols entered the city and invested the citadel which they pierced through from its West (-side). The inhabitants of az-Zāhiriyya⁹⁴) remained there, full of misfortune and for fear of the camel-troops of the Tatars, and that they, fallen short of water, would perish; they feared lest the Tatars

⁹² See note 89.

⁹³) See also in al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), p. 163.

⁹⁴) This is the Madrasat Malik az-Zāhir Baybars, see Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 59—61.

should deal with them in the same manner as they did with (the inhabitants of) al-‘Ādiliyya. They cast fire on the houses and its inhabitants who fled from the roofs with very much grief. The Tatars, Georgians, and Armenians set fire to the Jāmi’ al-‘Uqayba ⁹⁵), the mountain-hospital ⁹⁶), ad-Dahsha ⁹⁷), the Madrasat aṣ-Ṣāhibiyya ⁹⁸), the Ribāt an-Nāsirī ⁹⁹), and other places of prominent beauty and many (inhabitants). They burnt down al-‘Ādiliyya on the night of 21 Jumādā ‘l-Ūlā/13 February, on which occasion fled also those who belonged to az-Zāhiriyya ¹⁰⁰).

On Friday, the 19th of the month/11 February there was promulgated the installation of Qyqchāq in the office of nā’ib, and the investiture of Nāsiraddīn Yaḥyā ibn Jalāladdīn ibn Ṣāhib Khuttan with the *mishadd* ¹⁰¹).

In the (same) year we shall return to our country after we have left 60,000 (men) from our army at Damascus; we shall return to Egypt in autumn.

On the 22nd of it/14 February the investment of the citadel was discomfited to the Tatars, and people wandered (back) into these districts. There remained over uninhabited stretches after the fire and devastation, and the gates and wooden utensils vanished.

On the 23rd/15 February the work of the catapult which was brought down from the precipice of the citadel failed. They spread terror and did destruction to it, and seizing the sharīf al-Qumayy, took him prisoner and brought him to the citadel. The two nā’ibs Kutlugh Shāh

⁹⁵) On the slope of the Qāsyūn, achieved by Muzaffaraddīn Kūkuburī Zaynaddīn Kūchik, lord of Arbil. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 7, pp. 241—43, and Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 48.

⁹⁶) It was built by the amīr Sayfaddīn abul-Hasan al-Qaymarī in 646/1248—9 and 655/1257. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 124—7.

⁹⁷) Probably miswritten from al-Baqsa; see *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁸) On the slope of the Qāsyūn, erected by Rabī’a Khātūn bint Najmaddīn Ayyūb, sister of Ṣalāḥaddīn (died in 643/1245—6), see Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 4, pp. 468—70.

⁹⁹) Also on the Qāsyūn; see Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 5, p. 379 as “le rébat d’et-Tekrity”.

¹⁰⁰) See also al-Maqrīzī, II (part II), pp. 163—4.

¹⁰¹) Originally it means ‘corset, stays’: here ‘a kind of dress of state’.

and the lord of Sīs drove up to the city, whence the Tatars went away in great haste and struck their tents from their sites. People felt relief, and we went through the Bāb al Barīd, and lo, it was nicer than an inn as to its lodging: its shops carried on trade, on its soil there were baskets heaped up to about the height of the upper part of the arm. When we arrived at the Bāb an-Naṣr¹⁰²) the festive drums were on that day beating in the citadel as a proof that it remained safe, for which the praise is due to Allāh (alone)! On that day aṣ-Ṣafī as-Sinjārī and the amīr Yaḥyā went out of the city, in which it was proclaimed: "Go out to-morrow to meet your sultān Qypchāq! Allāh has already diverted the enemy from you!" The amīr Sayfaddīn, Qypchāq, the silāhdār Bektemir, al-Bakī, and a troop from the army returned: they arrived to him from the city, appeared before him, and the turbans from the tomb of the late al-Malik az-Zāhir Rank al-Malik as-Sa'īd¹⁰³) were taken to him and were put upon his head by a lance, (whilst) swords were drawn before him. He put up at the palace, and people went out to al-Ghauta and to the mountain, lamenting for their houses on the one hand, and rejoicing at their safety on the other hand.

Ibn Taymiyya related to us how he and the qāḍī Taqīaddīn al-Hanbalī and another person went up to Kutlugh Shāh to the palace, how they spent the night at al-Munaybi¹⁰⁴), and, jeopardising their lives, appeared before Kutlugh Shāh. He (Ibn Taymiyya) saw him grown old, lank-haired, pale, large-faced, enraged, and malign: he descended from the generation of Jengiz Khān. He saw that the lord of Sīs was in his service, and told us (how) he was together with Qāzān of whom he asked peace: (how) he was together with the two wazīrs Sa'daddīn and Rashīdaddaula at-Ṭabīb, the Jewish nobleman al-Kaḥḥāl, the shaykh ash-shuyūkh, the inspector of the treasury as-

¹⁰²) South of the citadel and communicating with the palace of Barqūq. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 185.

¹⁰³) This was the so-called "Baybars-turba" begun by al-Malik az-Zāhir Baybars (died in 676/1277—8) and finished by al-Malik as-Sa'īd (died in 678/1279—89). See *ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁴) District around the Madrasat al-Khātūniyya. See Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, JA, IX, 7, pp. 435—6.

Sayyid al-Qutb, and al-Uṣayl the son of an-Naṣir at-Tūs the inspector of the waqf-estates: these were Tatars wearing turbans, Christians and Jews¹⁰⁵), and such people as despised the ḥadīth: (nevertheless) no one refrained from (following) their manners, except a few.¹⁰⁶)

The prices rose: the flour reached (the price of 300 dirhams, and 2½ oqas of raisins (or also: figs) cost dirham, 1 raṭl of meat 9 dirhams, 1 oqa of cheese about dirham or so.

Qypchāq remained behind to exercise full authority and he used to ride about with policemen and staves¹⁰⁷). About 100 horsemen gathered round him: we saw them clothed as the *sharābīsh* were. His ustādh-dār 'Alāaddīn was the wālī of the city: he made him amīr and fitted out about 1,000 Tatars to persecute robbers. Shamsaddīn ibn aṣ-Ṣaas-Sinjārī exercised the office of the muḥtasib of the city: he rode in order to bestow the robe of honour upon him. (On this occasion) the gates of the city were opened with the exception of those which were round the citadel.

On Friday, 4 Jumādā 'l-Ākhira/26 February the amir Yaḥyā prayed in the mosque, at which time the festive drums were beating in the citadel and at the gate of Qypchāq, who lived at the Dār Bahādur Aṣ.

In the middle of the month/about 9 March wine and immorality were proclaimed to be prohibited at Damascus: this was begun in the house of Ibn Jarāda at as-Sa'ba, and was imposed upon about 1,000 (men) a day. A troop broke out of the citadel and drove to the vicinity of the Bāb al-Jābiya, and the Tatars fled from before them. The crowd beat the Tatars whereby confusion arose, the Bāb al-

¹⁰⁵) In the text *bī'at al-kutub*, ('the temple of the books' it certainly means 'the possessors of the books' (*ahl al-kitāb* i. e. Christians and Jews.

¹⁰⁶) The following phrase in the text is parallelism, which is — as so often in Oriental texts — immaterial for the context: for this reason we have omitted the translation of it.

¹⁰⁷) When Qāzān left Damascus, Qypchāq was left behind first as a nominal ruler, the real one being Kutlugh Shāh, the ten days later, after the departure of Kutlugh Shāh, as the real ruler of the city. See Howorth, part III, pp. 447—8.

Ṣaghīr¹⁰⁸) was closed, and a troop (or: number) of Tatars were said to be killed.

On the 20th of the month/14 March Būlāy returned with his vanguard from al-Ghūr: they went to the outside of Damascus. People became terrified, and from the city a sum was collected as a ransom for them (i. e. the Tatars). Then a troop went out of the citadel and secured the cattle of the Tatars and killed a number (of people), whereas a number of them were also killed: there was a riot in the city.

On the 28th of the month/22 March the khatīb Badraddīn marched into the citadel with a number of followers, among them with the nā'ib of the amīr Yahyā; they conferred with Arjawāsh upon the peace to be concluded between him and the nā'ibs of the Tatars and Qypchāq, but no agreement was come to. On 2 Rajab/24 March Qypchāq gathered the notabilities and the qādis into his house and made them swear in upon the dynasty of Qāzān in faithfulness and without (the intention of) misleading them. Ibn Taymiyya betook himself to the tent of Būlāy on account of the prisoners and the deliverance of them from his companions. He was absent for three days, then on 3 Rajab/25 March a number of chiefs in quest of him repaired to the tent of Būlāy and returned on the following day. They were plundered at the Bāb ash-Sharqī,¹⁰⁹) and their turbans and clothes were taken away. They entered on the same day: some of them hid themselves, the rest went away. (When) Būlāy and the Tatars left, they took with them Badraddīn ibn Faḍlallāh, Amīnaddīn ibn Shuqayr, 'Alāaddīn ibn al-Qalānīsī, and the child of Shamsaddīn ibn al-Athīr; by the Euphrates they released Ibn Shuqayr who arrived at Halab.

On 4 Rajab/26 March people mounted the minārats and told that they saw a multitude of Tatars go away from 'Aqaba Dummar.

Būlāy rode to Ba'labakk and al-Biqā', and the environs of Damascus as well as the city (itself) were cleared of them. On 10 Rajab/1 April people went to al-Qatla and ash-Shammāl. On that day, on Friday, Qypchāq

¹⁰⁸) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 183.

¹⁰⁹) See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 183—84.

prayed amidst a large and numerous congregation (whilst) the weapons were in the *maqṣūra* of the preaching.

On 13 Rajab/4 April the city was alarmed on account of the return of a troop of Tatars to the outside of the Bāb ash-Sharqī. People were discovered in the quincey-groves: they hurried back, (but) some of them were struck down and some of the youths were taken prisoners. Then this was the end of the period (of the encounter) with the Tatars: may Allāh suffice (i. e.: finish) their affair! As for Qypchāq, on the day of the middle of Rajab/6 April he with his followers left the city, — 'Izzaddīn al-Qalānīsī was with him, — and went to Egypt¹¹⁰). The city was administered by Arjawāsh¹¹¹), who ordered the walls to be defended and the building on them¹¹²) to be fitted out. Whosoever spent the night in his house was hanged, and the city-gates were locked. Then after dawn people unlocked the Bāb an-Naṣr and were terrified with the crowds.

On Friday, 17 Rajab/8 April at Damascus the khuṭba was said for the lord of Egypt again, after it had been said for al-Hākīm bi amr Allāh. People made noise and rejoiced at that: it (i. e.: the prayer for the Sultān) had been omitted for 100 days. At that time the houses of Ibn Taymiyya and of his companions were such that "the wine-shops were renewed, and the wine was shed, and the goblets cracked, and the wine-merchants were honoured"¹¹³). From Saturday morning on the city was decorated.

On 10 Sha'bān/1 May there arrived al-Afram, nā'ib of Damascus, with troops at Damascus¹¹⁴); then, two days

¹¹⁰) In order to swear allegiance to the Sultān again; see Howorth, vol. III, p. 449.

¹¹¹) Who reconquered the city on 8 April; see *ibid*.

¹¹²) This is certainly the tower which was erected in 569/1173—4 and rebuilt in 699/1299—300, i. e. the 'year of our record. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, pp. 186—7.

¹¹³) The meaning of this parallelism is: there were general rejoicings.

¹¹⁴) He dealt harshly with such people as were agents of the Mongols; some of them were crucified, others hanged, of others again their hands, feet, or tongues were cut, or their

later, there arrived the amīr Salār and the Egyptian left wing; then the right wing entered, commanded by the ustādh-dār al-Ḥisām; then, on 14 Shaʿbān/5 May there marched the main body in, commanded by Salār, nāʾib of the realm: they all put up at al-Marja.

In that (month) there officiated as qāḍī of Syria Ibn Jamāʿa, as Ḥanafite qāḍī Ibn al-Ḥarīrī; there taught at the al-Amīniyya¹¹⁵) Jalāladdīn, substituting his deceased brother. As overseer of the diwān there functioned Ibn ash-Shīrāzī, substituting the deceased Ibn ash-Shīrajī. As wālī of the city there functioned the amīr ʿIzzaddīn Ubayk ad-Dawīdār an-Najībī.

On 8 Ramaḍān/28 May Salār returned with the army to Cairo. In Shawwāl (20 June to 18 July) the sharīf Zaynaddīn ibn ʿAdnān was sent back from Cairo in chains: he was imprisoned in the jail of the Bāb aṣ-Ṣaghīr.

In Shawwāl/20 June to 18 July the malik al-umarā al-Afram repaired to Jibāl al-Jurd to their tribe, for in the army they had already learned the outcome of the defeat, and captured, killed, and robbed whatever was still possible. Their aim was to become deserters; moreover, people said: "They are heretics deviating from the religion", they were (however,) subdued, became obedient, and were overcome. A large amount of property was imposed upon them, and they were compelled to render everything they had taken away for the army, and their estate was confiscated.

In Dhul-Qaʿda/19 July to 18 August people were compelled to hang out their equipments: they were ordered to learn archery. The heroic deeds were proclaimed among the people; that (proclamation) was sent by the chief qāḍī to all the madrasas and lawyers, and in the same sense the whole of Syria was informed of it in writing.

eyes put out. See d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 263—67; Weil, vol. IV, p. 236; Abulfidā, vol. V, p. 173; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 449—50, where the new governors appointed by the Sultān are also enumerated.

¹¹⁵) The oldest madrasa in Damascus: it was founded by the amīr Amīnaddaula in 414/1023—4. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 5, p. 72.

2. A. II. 700/16th September 1300 to 5th September 1301.

On the 1st of it/16 September the *dīwān* held a meeting and ordered that four months should be fixed for all the estates and *waqfs* that were in Damascus and outside of it to be tilled (for public purposes). This weighed heavily on the people, many of whom fled and others kept in hiding. Then there were many rumours of the coming of the Tatars (again), and people began to flee to Egypt and the fortresses¹¹⁶). Conditions became (still) worse in *Ṣafar*/16 October to 13 November, the charges for jobbing animals advanced so that the charge for a camel foal reached 500 dirhams, (whereas) implements and coppers were sold at low prices. Then it was proclaimed in the cities that no one should depart without a (special) permit. When the Muslim messengers came (with the news) that the Tatars would drive (into the country) the city was alarmed; then the festive drums were beating at the (news of the) riding of the *Sultān* from Egypt (to Syria). Later, however, there fled from the city the people of Ibn Faḍlallāh's in a large number, then the people of the chief *qāḍī*s and the families of Ibn Ṣaṣarī, Ibn al-Qalānisi, Ibn al-Minjā and many other people. In *Rabī' al-awwal*/14 November to 13 December the (disquieting) news proved unfounded and the *Sultān* arrived at Ghaza.

But when *Rabī' ath-thānī*/14 December to 11 January began, the disquieting rumours about the Tatars increased again, and some of them arrived at al-Bīra. The whole Damascene army marched out, (in whose rank and file) the common folk as well as scholars and other (prominent) people were to be seen: their number reached 5,000. In Damascus there officiated as successor of Aqjabā the *amīr* Sayfaddīn Balbān al-Jaukandār al-Manṣūrī al-Hājib. In it (i. e.: the same month) the forsaken (i. e.: by God) enemy crossed the Euphrates: the *khaṭīb* recited the *qunūt*-prayers and the *amīr* was locked in. The Tatars entered Halab; their *nā'ib*, however, was too late to arrive at

¹¹⁶) About this second invasion of the Tatars in Syria see d'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 282—5; *Ilkhāns*, vol. II, pp. 106—8; al-Maqrizī, vol. II (part II), pp. 174—6; Abulfidā, vol. V, p. 175; Howorth, vol. III, pp. 454—7.

Ḥamāt. The charge for a camel foal was 300 (dirhams). People fled pell-mell. Then it was proclaimed by the end of the month that the taxation proved insufficient, so that all the more taxes were imposed: everybody was exposed, weak, and flying, and Allāh did not make useful to them what they had taken away from the belongings (of the people) and (what) they ate up and deformed. The rainy weather and the mire increased enormously, and the fugitives suffered tribulations in the roads, so that the imām prayed for fine weather in his khuṭba. Al-Manṣūrī rode to the Sultān who camped at Bud'ūsh near Qāqūn¹¹⁷) in order to inform him that the enemy was in the country (already) and approached (them). The army, however, desisted from action and behaved cowardly. The Sultān went (back) to Egypt: his departure, however, did not prove beneficial. The hearts were intimidated, the city became alarmed, and people were vexed in the roads.

When Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/12 January to 10 February began people were God knows in what condition. That time our shaykh Ibn Taymiyya went out to al-Marj and met the nā'ib of the Sultān who made him steadfast and firm: he spent two days with him, then he rode to al-Barīd to the Sultān but could not meet him there, and the affair was frustrated. He then rode to Cairo which he entered on the day the army marched in.

On 7 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/18 January the silāḥdār Bektemir arrived with 1,000 horsemen. People were convinced that the Egyptians had returned to their country and remained in slumber, and there was a general leaving of and fleeing from the country.

On the 9th of the month/20 January people became exceedingly terrified: this was because the wālī of the city Ibn Naḥḥās himself startled the people by stepping up to the merchants in the sūqs and saying: "Why are you sitting (here)? Whoever can depart must make haste (to do so)!" Then this was proclaimed in the city that (day at) noon; the women and children shrieked, the sūqs were closed, and people remained in terror and excitement and

¹¹⁷) In Palestine, near Caesarea, called Caco by William of Tīre. See Abulfidā, vol. V, p. 129 and note 84.

said: "The Muslim soldiers have declined (to obey) the command."

The Egyptians had (meanwhile) returned (home). The Syrian soldiers had not in mind how to meet Qāzān even if they had stood firm anyhow: they resolved on fleeing. The nā'ib al-Afram, whoever would have induced him for the encounter, even if the army had clung to him and had not relinquished him and gone away from before the enemy, would not have raised it (i. e.: the army).

People said that Qāzān would ride to us from Ḥalab on 10 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/21 January: many people entered the citadel that day with their provisions and belongings, so that it became close for the people and so crowded that many people were content to find enough room where to sit down, but sleeping was not possible in it, and they were restless in their crowds. Then on the 10th of the month/21 January, it was proclaimed: "Whoever intends to go to the Holy War should remain (here) and prepare himself for it; whoever is unable (to do so) should save himself!" Thereupon there left the citadel a crowd possessed with distress and affliction and fled to Egypt and to the fortresses. There left (also) those of the notabilities who had (formerly) remained in the city and had been denuded. There left the chief qāḍī Ibn Jamā'a, the qāḍī Najmaddīn ibn Ṣaṣarī, the qāḍī Shamsaddīn ibn al-Ḥarīrī, Sharafaddīn ibn al-Qalānisī, Wajīhaddīn ibn al-Minjā who functioned as the deputy of Ibn Jamā'a in the qāḍī-and khaṭīb-offices, at-Tāj al-Ja'barī, and al-Burhān al-Iskandarī. There went out to al-Marj: the shaykh Zaynaddīn al-Fāriqī, the shaykh Ibrāhīm ar-Raqqī, the shaykh Muḥammad ibn Qawwām, the shaykh Sharafaddīn ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Jabbāra, and a number (of people) encouraging al-Afram to stand firm and complaining to him of what had descended upon the people and what they had extracted from them; he was greatly afflicted for that and promised good (i. e.: improvement of the situation). They, dispirited, intended (seeing) the amīr and rode after him into the desert for one or two days' march from the city; they met him and pressed him to return and encounter the enemy together with al-Afram. He answered them (i. e.: agreed with them), and they were seized with fear in the desert (because) Arab

robbers rushed upon them with swords drawn: Allāh (however,) saved them. Then the amīr 'Izzaddīn al-Ḥamawī arrived at Ḥabamāya (Ḥamīdiyya?) from Ṣarhadd.

On the 17th (of the month/28 January the sentry of the people of Ḥamāt pounced upon the horde of the Tatars and Allāh helped them to victory. There were killed about 100 from among the Tatars, according to others more than 200 men, and a few times ten people were taken prisoners from among the Tatars. A letter was caught reporting that the ringleader Qāzān had already returned from Ḥalab and crossed the Euphrates for his country on the 11th of the month/22 January. The qādī of Ḥamāt begged valour and temerity (of the people). People rejoiced; their first group arrived and implored Allāh to divert their unluck from them. Then, on the 19th of the month/30 January, al-Burayd arrived and verified that (report) to them. The Tatars who remained behind in the country round Ḥalab were numerous but were extremely afflicted with weakness, cold, and snowfalls. During this week (the price of) meat rose in Damascus so that it amounted to 9 dirhams a raṭl, and the sale of two head (of cattle) was effected at 500 dirhams. On the other hand (the prices of) grain lowered to 100 dirhams on account of the (general) flight (of people from home). (When) Shubāt/February began, there were a great many rainfalls.

On 25 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/5 February there arrived the letter of Ibn Taymiyya (informing) that he had entered Cairo after seven days and was together with the notabilities of the empire, and good was derived from his instigating (them), rousing (their) emulation, and intimidating (them), so that the concern of the amīrs was awakened and they excused themselves (for the omissions). At Cairo the Holy War was proclaimed and the resolution (for it) became firmer. He put up at the citadel, then arrived to us on 27 Jumādā 'l-Ūlā/7 February.

Thereupon people left the citadel, the minds were reassured, thank God, and on 3 Jumādā 'l-Ākhira/13 February people recited the *qunūt*-prayers, and the (alarming) conditions were over.

Then on the 13th/23 February al-Afram entered the city from al-Marj after staying there for four months: there

entered with him the silāhdār Bektemir, 'Izzaddīn al-Hamawī and Bahāaddīn Ya'qūb. The ignorants (i. e.: those who did not know what happened) began to come (back) from aṣ-Ṣabiyya and the fortresses. (When) this (happened) the Tatars were descending on the district of Darīsāl and on Gharās¹¹⁸) moving to and from in the meadows and doing damages (while) there was nobody to prevent them or drive them away. They did not cross the Euphrates until 2 Rajab/13 March.

On 11 Rajab/22 March the destitute amirs entered Hims, and people learned of the Tatars' leaving Syria, and praised Allāh to whom (alone) thanks are due.

In Sha'bān/11 April to 9 May at the appearance of al-Afram and the qādis the regulations concerning the non-Muslims were promulgated. An agreement was made that they should be removed from the wālī-offices and prevented from riding on horse-back and leaving the country. They were compelled to wear yellow garments and blue turbans. They made haste (in enforcing) that (measure), which remained (in force) from that time on.

Im Ramaḍān (10 May to 8 June) Sayfaddīn Aqjabā al-Manṣūrī entered the citadel and was appointed adjutant to Arjawāsh.

In Dhul-Qa'da/8 July to 6 August there functioned as Hanafite qāḍī Jalāladdīn ar-Rūmī in lieu of Ibn al-Harīrī: he was appointed by the nā'ib, and as wazīr the amīr Shamsaddīn al-A'sar who had arrived already. Then he went to the north of the country for inspection and returned after a month.

The legate of the king Qāzān¹¹⁹) arrived (at Damascus) and made preparations (for going) to Egypt. May Allāh preserve the cause of Islām in good state and welfare!

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¹¹⁸) This is the ancient Gerasa. See Th. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, Heft 4, *Damascus die alte Stadt*, pp. 34, 42, and 75.

¹¹⁹) This was Kamāladdīn Mūsā, the chief judge of Mausil, accompanied by Nāṣiraddīn Khojā from Tabriz. For their mission see d'Ohsson, vol. IV, p. 286 ff.; Howorth, vol. III, p. 457; Waṣṣāf, *Ilkhāns*, vol. II, p. 109 ff.