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## The “Manṣūrīyah Legacy”: The Manṣūrī Amirs, Their Mamluks, and Their Descendants during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Third Reign and After

The long third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41) put an end to the turbulent Manṣūrīyah period (689–709/1290–1310), in which the mamluks of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678–89/1279–90) filled the highest positions of the sultanate. Several scholars have tried to find a “rational explanation” for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s unprecedented long reign. Robert Irwin and Peter M. Holt argue, based on the basic political “model” of David Ayalon, that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad succeeded in the tough mission of eliminating his father’s mamluks, the Manṣūrīyah, while advancing his own personal loyal mamluks, the Nāṣirīyah.<sup>1</sup> However, later studies, conducted by Reuven Amitai, Jo Van Steenberg, and Winslow W. Clifford, indicate that the political-military elite that was fostered by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad consisted of members of other *khushdāshīyāt* besides the Nāṣirīyah, as well as *wāfidīyah* (refugees from the Mongol Ilkhanate or Seljukid Anatolia) and *awlād al-nās* (sons of mamluks).<sup>2</sup> This heterogeneous composition of the military elite makes explaining the long duration of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign more difficult. Scholars hold different views with regard to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s policy. Amalia Levanoni indicates that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lost his authority over his personal mamluks, so one cannot see the Nāṣirīyah mamluks as a more loyal factor than any other political faction.<sup>3</sup> Jo Van Steenber-

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 106; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 107.

<sup>2</sup>Reuven Amitai, “The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn,” *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 149–50; Jo Van Steenberg, “Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2005): 173–98, esp. 194; W. W. Clifford, “State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 684–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995), 249–72.

<sup>3</sup>Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 60–72.

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gen, on the other hand, asserts that “it was his [al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s] solid, engaged, and independent position at the very top of the military hierarchy and of the government’s administration that account for the continuous subordination of this elite.”<sup>4</sup> Reuven Amitai suggests that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad promoted the “non-Nāṣirite” amirs in order to create a counter-balance to the power of his own mamluks.<sup>5</sup> Winslow Clifford argues that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s policy stemmed from the need to continue the constitutional order, the *nizām*, in which resources were distributed in an orderly and agreed-upon way among the members of the Mamluk elite.<sup>6</sup>

The policy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad might seem even more enigmatic, given the prominent position of the Manṣūrīyah, the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s father, Sultan Qalāwūn, during al-Nāṣir’s third reign. Though the above-mentioned scholars pointed out in their studies that several Manṣūrī amirs gained honorable positions from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the widespread assumption is that the Manṣūrīyah faction, which consisted mostly of opponents of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was more or less eliminated by this sultan, and definitely lost its political power.<sup>7</sup>

However, a thorough examination of the Manṣūrīyah’s role during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign might challenge this assumption. In what follows, I trace the careers of dozens of the Manṣūrīyah amirs, their mamluks, and descendants, after 709/1310, in order to evaluate more precisely the position of the Manṣūrīyah during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign and after. First, I will describe the moves made by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad against the Manṣūrīyah in his first years as an autonomous sultan. Then I will discuss the Manṣūrīyah amirs who were arrested or executed, and those who were not arrested at all. After that, I will discuss the mamluks and descendants of the Manṣūrīyah amirs, who became amirs in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign and after. The findings of this prosopographical examination do not necessarily bring about a better understanding of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s policy or explain his successful continuous rule. However, I will add my own opinion on this disputed issue.

<sup>4</sup>Van Steenberg, “Mamluk Elite,” 195.

<sup>5</sup>Amitai, “Military Elite,” 160.

<sup>6</sup>Clifford, “State Formation,” 272–74.

<sup>7</sup>On these studies and their incomplete findings with regard to the Manṣūrīyah’s political position during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, see below.

## 1. Manṣūrī Amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Third Reign

### 1.1. The Manṣūrīyah Amirs Who Were Arrested or Executed

#### 1.1.1. *The Moves Made by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad against the Manṣūrīyah*

When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was crowned as sultan for the third time in 709/1310, the Manṣūrīyah amirs filled the highest positions in the political-military elite. About forty prominent Manṣūrī amirs had passed away by this time, as a result of internal conflicts among the mamluk amirs, military confrontations with external enemies like the Mongols or the Crusaders, or natural deaths. The senior amirs were in their sixties, whereas the youngest, those whom Qalāwūn purchased during his reign, were in their thirties or forties. After about twenty years in which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was forced to accept the Manṣūrīyah amirs' *de facto* rule, and sometimes also *de jure*, he must have been angry with many of them and seen a significant risk to his rule in their current positions. The young sultan, hence, took gradual steps in order to reduce the power of these amirs.

The first step against the Manṣūrīyah was taken on 16 Shawwāl 709/19 March 1310, only two weeks after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad entered Cairo and was crowned as sultan. About twenty or thirty amirs who were the supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, the former sultan and the greatest enemy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, were arrested. Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions that all of them belonged to the Burjīyah, i.e., the fellows of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr within the Manṣūrīyah corps. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, however, the arrested amirs were those who were made amirs by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>8</sup> Examination of the identities of the twenty-two arrested amirs, as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, reveals that not all of them belonged to the Manṣūrīyah-Burjīyah. Most of the names are not mentioned in the sources before that, so there are only four who could be certainly classified as Burji amirs: Tākiz (or: Balabān) al-Tughrīlī, Aybak al-Baghdādī, Qijmās (Bashshāsh) al-Jūkandār, and Balāṭ al-Jūkandār. Another Manṣūrī amir mentioned among them is Mankubars or Baybars al-Manṣūrī. Among the arrested amirs were supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr who did not belong to the Manṣūrīyah-Burjīyah, like Sārūjā and Jaraktamur ibn Bahādur *ra's nawbah*.<sup>9</sup> Aybak al-Baghdādī died in

<sup>8</sup> Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar*, ed. Hans R. Roemer (Freiburg and Cairo, 1960), 9:196; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Akhbār al-Miʿah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1348), 1:534; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1930–73), 2:76; Khalil ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 5:92.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:76; Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:12–13; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad ʿAlawī Shaltūt (Cairo, 1992–98), 32:155. Tākiz or Balabān al-Tughrīlī is mentioned in the sources in different variants, such as: Dabākuz, Tanākur, Tabākur, Batākuz, or Bākīr. However, this amir is to be identified with Balabān al-

prison in the Cairo citadel in 722/1322.<sup>10</sup> It seems that Tākiz too died in prison, since he is not mentioned in the sources afterward.

Three weeks later, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took measures to promote the Manṣūrī amirs who seemed to be more loyal to him at the expense of those Manṣūrī amirs who were among his opponents during his confrontation with Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr (708–9/1309–10). Among the former were the three governors of the Syrian districts of Aleppo, Ḥamāh, and Tripoli–Qarāsunqur, Qibjaq, and Asandamur Kurjī—whereas among the latter were the deposed sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, his close friend and governor of Damascus Aqūsh al-Afram, and the former *nāʿib al-salṭanah* (vice-sultan), Salār. Qarāsunqur was appointed as the governor of Damascus while Aqūsh al-Afram was exiled to the remote fortress of Ṣarkhad as its governor; Qibjaq was appointed as the governor of Aleppo, while Asandamur Kurjī took Qibjaq’s position as the governor of Ḥamāh. Quṭlūbak al-Kabīr al-Manṣūrī, another of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s opponents, was exiled from Cairo and appointed governor of Safad. Baktamur al-Jūkandār, who joined the “pro-Nāṣirite” Manṣūrīyah coalition headed by Qarāsunqur, arrived in Cairo from Safad and was appointed *nāʿib al-salṭanah* instead of Salār. Other Manṣūrī amirs, who are not mentioned as opponents of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, remained in their offices: Sunqur al-Kamālī as *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* in Egypt, Qarālājīn as *amīr majlis* and later as *ustādār*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī as *dawādār*, and Balabān (or: Ṭurunṭāy) al-Muḥammadī al-Manṣūrī as *amīr jāndār*.<sup>11</sup>

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad turned now to deal with his greatest enemies among the Manṣūrīyah: Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, Salār, and Aqūsh al-Afram. From his place of refuge in Akhmīm, Upper Egypt, deserted by almost all of his allies and mamluks, Baybars asked *amān* from the sultan. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad agreed and dispatched his Manṣūrī *khushdashs* Baybars al-Manṣūrī and Bahādur Aṣ to receive his allegiance to the new sultan and to escort him to the remote fortress of Ṣahyūn in northern Syria. However, shortly after that, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad changed his mind and ordered al-Jāshnakīr brought to Cairo immediately. For that purpose, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dispatched other Manṣūrī amirs, Bahādur al-Ḥājī, Asandamur Kurjī, Qarāsunqur, and Baktamur al-Jūkandār. Baybars al-Jāshnakīr sur-

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Tughrīlī; see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:168, n. 4. Similarly, Qijmās al-Jūkandār, known as Bashāsh, is mentioned in different variants, such as Qijmāz, Qijmār, Qijqār, Qimār, Bijās, or Qihmāsh. See on Qijmās, Balāṭ, and Mankubars, 1.1.2. below.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:240.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:75, 77; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:11; Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo, 1987), 209–10; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:156–67. The same biographical data is mentioned both for Balabān and Ṭurunṭāy al-Muḥammadī. It is probable, then, that the two names refer to the same amir; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494–95, 2:218; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:162; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:418, 675; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115.

rendered himself to Qarāsunqur near Gaza, and the next day, when they arrived in the vicinity of Cairo, Qarāsunqur handed al-Jāshnakīr to Asnadamur Kurjī, who brought him to Cairo. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad repeated to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr all the evils that the latter had done to him, Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was executed, probably by strangling, on 15 Dhū al-Qa'dah 709/16 April 1310.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's most loyal amirs, the most prominent members of the Burjīyah. In the end of 709/spring 1310, the Burjis Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī and Baktūt al-Fattāḥ were arrested.<sup>13</sup> Baktūt al-Fattāḥ was executed in his prison in Alexandria not long after.<sup>14</sup> Another Burji amir who was arrested at the same time was Mughulṭāy al-Ba'li.<sup>15</sup> Qarāsunqur, the governor of Damascus, was ordered to arrest the Burji amirs Baybars al-'Alamī and Nughāy al-Jamḍār al-Manṣūrī. The two amirs were arrested in the Damascus citadel, and Nughāy died there in Jumādā II 710/October 1310.<sup>16</sup> In the end of 709/May 1310 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested also the prominent Burji amir and son-in-law of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, Burlughay al-Ashrafī, together with other amirs related to him. This was after Bughlughay tried to murder al-Nāṣir Muḥammad together with Aqūsh al-Ashrafī and the Burjīyah.<sup>17</sup> Bughlughay was starved to death in Rajab 710/November 1310.

A short time after that, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested three of the closest associates of Aqūsh al-Afram, took their *iqṭā'āt*, and imprisoned them in Alexandria.<sup>18</sup> In 710/1310 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also arrested the Burji Ṭashtamur al-Jumaqdār and the Manṣūrī Balabān (or: Ṭurunṭāy) al-Muḥammadi.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:80–81, 272–75; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:78–80; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:156, 158. On the military capture of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr by Qarāsunqur, see Ismā'īl Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Maktab Taḥqīq al-Turāth (Beirut, 1994), 14:45. It was also said that Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was executed by drinking poison; see Khalīl ibn Ayyub al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wafī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Istanbul, Damascus, Wiesbaden, and Stuttgart, 1931–93), 10:350; idem, *A'yān*, 2:73

<sup>13</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:14.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:490.

<sup>15</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:125; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:355.

<sup>16</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:14; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:159. On the death of Nughāy, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:525; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:217. Baybars al-'Alamī was probably released a short time after his arrest, since he was arrested again in 712/1312; see below.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:16–17, 216; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:88.

<sup>18</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84; these three were Quṭlūbak al-Ūshāqī, Alṭunqush (or: Alṭunfush) the ustādār of al-Afram, and 'Alī ibn Ṣabīḥ. Quṭlūbek was released only in 735/1334; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393; on Alṭunqush see 2.1 below.

<sup>19</sup>K. V. Zetterstéén, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hīgra, nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 152; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:162. On Balabān or

In the same year, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad succeeded also in eliminating Salār. As sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s deputy, Salār changed his “political tendencies” immediately after Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was forced to leave Cairo. Salār safeguarded the Cairo citadel, expressed his rejection of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, and demonstrated his support for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad unambiguously. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, Salār gave him precious gifts, including slaves, horses, and expensive fabrics. Still feeling unsecure in Cairo, Salār asked to be appointed governor of al-Shūbak, and he made his way there in Shawwāl 709/March 1310.<sup>20</sup> For a short time, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad satisfied Salār, and made him amir of one hundred.<sup>21</sup> However, after the execution of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and the arrest of his associates, the sultan felt strong enough to arrest about twenty of Salār’s close associates, mamluks, and brothers, as a preliminary to the arrest of Salār.<sup>22</sup> Then al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dispatched his envoys to bring Salār to Cairo. At first, Muḥammad ibn Biktāsh al-Fakhrī was sent, but Salār was cautious and refused to come to Cairo. Later, however, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad used the more effective tactic in which Manṣūrī amirs caught their *khushdāshs* for him once more. The sultan dispatched Salār’s close friends Sanjar al-Jawlī al-Manṣūrī and Baybars al-Manṣūrī to al-Shūbak. These two amirs succeeded in convincing their *khushdāsh* to travel to Cairo for “consultation with the sultan.” At the same time, the sultan ordered two other Manṣūrī amirs, Qarāsunqur and Asandamur Kurjī, who were the governors of Damascus and Ḥamāh, to block the roads from Syria to the Mongol Ilkhanate in order to prevent Salār’s defection to these territories. Immediately after his arrival in Cairo, Salār was arrested in the citadel and was starved to death, while all his innumerable monies and properties, hidden in many places, were brought to the royal treasury. Salār died on 24 Rabīʿ II/19 September 1310 or about a month later, in 20 Jumādā I 710/14 October 1310.<sup>23</sup>

At approximately the same time, in Rabīʿ II 710/August 1310, another Manṣūrī amir, Bahādur al-Ḥājj, met his death. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad feared his arrival in

Ṭurunṭay al-Muḥammadī, see n. 11 above; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:162; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:418, 675; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:75; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:11; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:155.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:160.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:15; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:86–87. The Arabic sources mention six brothers of Salār: Mughulṭay, Lājīn, Samūk (or: Samuk, Samūl), Ādam, Jubā, and Dāwūd. The last two arrived to the sultanate together with Salār’s mother in 705/1305 as part of the Wāfidiyah; see Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 385. Only three brothers are mentioned among Salār’s associates who were arrested (Samuk, Jubā, and Dāwūd). The last two brothers were released in Rabīʿ II 715/July 1315; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:16–18; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:88; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 215–16.

Cairo, and appointed him governor of Tripoli. The tension between the two, however, continued to escalate until Bahādur's death, which was likely the result of being poisoned by envoys of the sultan.<sup>24</sup>

In 710/1310 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad managed to capture Asandamur Kurjī. Asandamur was the governor of Tripoli and one of the main supporters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his struggle with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. After his arrival in Cairo, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed Asandamur governor of Ḥamāh. However, a few months later the sultan ordered Asandamur to leave his office for the Ayyubid prince Abū al-Fidā'. Asandamur refused, and after the death of Qibjaq, the governor of Aleppo, Asandamur took over this city. Asandamur was captured in Aleppo by many of his Maṣūrī *khushdāshs*, and they took him to Cairo, where he was put in prison and died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 710/March 1312.<sup>25</sup>

Several other prominent Maṣūrī amirs were arrested at the end of 710 and the beginning of 711/1311, after an unsuccessful attempt to depose the sultan and to crown his nephew Mūsá ibn 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn. The leaders of the conspirators were *nā'ib al-saltānah* Baktamur al-Jūkandār and Butkhāṣ al-Manṣūrī. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad captured not only these two Maṣūrī amirs, but also their *khushdāshs* and friends—Kirāy, the governor of Damascus, Quṭlūbak, the governor of Safad, and Quṭlūqatmur, the governor of Gaza.<sup>26</sup> Butkhāṣ was executed in Dhū al-Qa'dah 711/March 1312.<sup>27</sup> Baktamur al-Jūkandār stayed in prison until he was executed in 716/1316.<sup>28</sup> Kirāy also died in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's prison, but of natural causes, in 719/1319.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1991), 2:507; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:24, 216; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 90, 96.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:23–24, 26–27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:89–91, 93; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:167–68; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:188; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:208–9. On his death, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:535, 679; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:52. However, al-Maqrīzī mentions Asandamur Kurjī among the amirs who were executed by strangling in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168). According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Asandamur died in 721/1321 (*Durar*, 1:388).

<sup>26</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:91–93, 104; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:24–28, 30; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 224.

<sup>27</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:679; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:473.

<sup>28</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:168; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:485. On the arrest of Quṭlūbak, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:105; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 228.

<sup>29</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:199; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:245; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 24:332–33; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:267; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣafī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa'īd 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1984–2009), 9:123. Kirāy was jailed in very good conditions; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:154; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:332. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Kirāy was released in 717/1317 but arrested again and held until his death in 719/1319 (*Durar*, 3:267).

At the end of 711/spring 1312, three prominent senior Manşūrī amirs—Qarāsunqur, Aqūsh al-Afram, and his father-in-law Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh—defected to the Ilkhanid Mongols, after al-Nāşir Muḥammad made every possible effort to capture them. Despite the fact that Qarāsunqur had been the head of the “pro-Nāşirite” coalition during the conflict between al-Nāşir Muḥammad and sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, the new sultan was intimidated by Qarāsunqur. Qarāsunqur, who had sharp political instincts, escaped dangers time and again. Unlike Salār who was tempted to go to Cairo, or Asandamur Kurjī who was not suspicious enough, Qarāsunqur, who served now as the governor of Damascus, requested that the sultan appoint him governor of Aleppo. This request was not only in order to move even farther from Cairo, but also to feel more secure in the company of his loyal associates that he had managed to acquire during his long period as governor of this district. The sultan agreed to that and appointed him governor of Aleppo at the end of 710 or the beginning of 711/May 1311.<sup>30</sup> However, al-Nāşir Muḥammad dispatched his loyal mamluk Arghūn al-Dawādār ostensibly to escort Qarāsunqur to Aleppo, but he actually ordered Arghūn to capture him.<sup>31</sup> Qarāsunqur managed to avoid capture again, but felt totally unsecure in Aleppo. In Shawwāl 711/February 1312, while Qarāsunqur made his way to Mecca for the hajj, he managed to escape once more from another capture attempt by al-Nāşir Muḥammad, and received asylum from the Syrian Bedouin chieftain ʿĪsā ibn Muhannā.<sup>32</sup>

Qarāsunqur now contacted Aqūsh al-Afram so that the latter would join him in defecting to the Mongols. Aqūsh, who was appointed governor of Tripoli after the death of Bahādur al-Ḥājj, realized that if he did not act in time his end would be like that of most of the other Manşūrī amirs who lead the “anti-Nāşirite” coalition, such as his close friend Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār. Hence, Aqūsh al-Afram together with his father-in-law Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh fled to ʿĪsā ibn Muhannā, too, and joined Qarāsunqur on his way to the Mongols. The Manşūrī amirs received a warm and honorable welcome from Ilkhan Ōljeitū, who—according to the Mamluk sources—gave Qarāsunqur the district of al-Marāghah in Azerbaijan as an *iqṭāʿ*, Hamadhān district to Aqūsh al-Afram, and Nahāwand to Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh.<sup>33</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad continued with his attempts to

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:93; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:94; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:217–18.

<sup>31</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:94.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 2:108–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30–31; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:94; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:218; Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 235; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:219.

<sup>33</sup>On Qarāsunqur and Aqūsh al-Afram, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:110, 115; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:31–33; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:185. On Aydamur al-Zaradkāsh, see al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:95. On the warm welcome and the high position they received from the Ilkhan, see Ibn al-

murder Qarāsunqur and Aqūsh al-Afram. He dispatched assassins to the Ilkhanid territories who failed in their mission again and again, and the two Manṣūrī amirs died of old age in the Ilkhanid territories.<sup>34</sup>

The defection of Qarāsunqur and Aqūsh al-Afram caused al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to start an unprecedented wave of arrests: no less than fifteen high-ranking Manṣūrī amirs were captured in Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 712/August 1312, due to the sultan's suspecting them of collaboration with the defectors. These Manṣūrī amirs were: Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Sunqur al-Kamālī, Lājīn al-Jāshnakīr (Zīrbāj), Baynajār al-Manṣūrī, al-Dukuz al-Ashrafī, Mughulṭāy al-Mas'ūdī, Baybars al-'Alamī, Baybars al-Majnūn, Sanjar al-Barwānī, Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī, Baybars al-Tājī, Baybars al-'Alā'ī, Baktūt al-Qarmānī, and Kashlī.<sup>35</sup> These captured amirs were imprisoned in several jails, mainly in Cairo, Kerak, and Alexandria. Six of them died in prison: Baybars al-'Alā'ī, Baybars al-Tājī, Baynajār al-Manṣūrī, Sunqur al-Kamālī, al-Dukuz al-Silaḥdār al-Ashrafī, and Baybars al-Majnūn.<sup>36</sup>

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Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:230, 233, 268–70. On the protection they received from the Bedouin chieftain before their defection, see Joseph Drory, "The Role of Banū Faḍl in Fourteenth Century Northern Syria," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V*, Proceedings of the 11th, 12th and 13th International Colloquium, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, May 2002, 2003, and 2004, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Kristof D'Hulster (Leuven, 2007), 478–79.

<sup>34</sup>Qarāsunqur died, according to most of the sources, in al-Marāghah in 728/1328; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:89; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 9:48; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:273–74; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:305. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghribirdī, however, mention Qarāsunqur also among the people who died in 741/1340–41; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:554; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:326. According to these sources, Qarāsunqur captured and killed no less than one hundred twenty-four assassins sent by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:143, 207, 554–58; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:273–74; idem, *Al-Manhal*, 9:48; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 24:220; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:59. The data concerning Aqūsh al-Afram is also confusing, since he too died far away from the territories of the sultanate. Al-Ṣafadī mentions that Aqūsh had a stroke in 714/1314 and lived like that until his death after the year 720/1320 (*A'yān*, 1:571, 569; *Wāfi*, 9:334). According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Aqūsh had a stroke after 720/1320 (*Durar*, 1:398). Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that Aqūsh died as a result of his stroke, in 720/1320 or 716/1316–17 (*Al-Manhal*, 3:13). According to al-Ṣuqā'ī, the news of Aqūsh's death reached the sultanate in 717/1317; see Faḍl Allāh al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyāt al-A'yān*, ed. and tr. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 180. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that Aqūsh died in Muḥarram 716/April 1316 in Hamadān (*Sulūk*, 2:167) and that his stroke and death were in 714/1314–15 (*Al-Muqaffā*, 2:236, 245); Ibn Taghribirdī mentions too that Aqūsh died in this year, but in al-Marāghah (*Al-Nujūm*, 9:237).

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:33–34; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:117–19; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:196–97; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:77–78; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:243.

<sup>36</sup>Baybars al-'Alā'ī, who served as governor of Homs, died in Kerak in 712/1312; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:509. Baynajār died in 716/1316; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:471; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:168. Sunqur al-Kamālī and al-Dukuz al-Ashrafī died in the Cairo citadel in 718/1318; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:189. Baybars al-Majnūn died in 715/1315, 716/1316, or after 718/1318. Al-Maqrīzī mentions Baybars al-Majnūn among the amirs who were executed by strangling by order of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad



The year 712/1312, therefore, may be considered as the watershed after which the Manşūrīyah’s power was significantly weakened.<sup>37</sup> Six to nine Manşūrī amirs were arrested after 712/1312 and it seems that this was due to minor political disagreements, especially with the governor of Syria, Tankiz. In Ramaḍān 713/December 1313 al-Nāşir Muḥammad imprisoned Aybak al-Rūmī due to a disagreement between the latter and Aydughdī Shuqayr, al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s confidant. Aybak is not mentioned in the sources anymore, so it is probable that he died in prison.<sup>38</sup> In 714/1314 Balabān al-Shamsī was arrested because of his misconduct as the *amīr al-ḥajj*.<sup>39</sup> In the same year the governor of Safad, Balabān Ṭurnā, was arrested, after demonstrating his dissatisfaction with the fact that the sultan had empowered Tankiz as the supreme governor of all the districts of Syria.<sup>40</sup> In 715/1315–16 al-Nāşir Muḥammad arrested two other high-ranking Manşūrī amirs, Bahādur Āş and Tamur al-Sāqī, the governor of Tripoli. The first was arrested due to a disagreement with Tankiz.<sup>41</sup> In 720/1320 Sanjar al-Jawlī, the governor of Gaza, was arrested too, also as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz.<sup>42</sup> In Ramaḍān 722/September 1322 Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī was arrested after refusing to leave Cairo for Safad. He died in prison in Shaʿbān 728/June 1328.<sup>43</sup>

Three other Manşūrī amirs were arrested by al-Nāşir Muḥammad during his third reign: Ṭughjī al-Manşūrī, who was one of the prominent Burji amirs, died

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in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168). However, the same historian mentions shortly after that this amir was among the amirs whose prison conditions in the citadel tower were worsened; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:183. According to al-Şafadī, Baybars al-Majnūn died in Rabīʿ I 715/June 1315 (*Aʿyān*, 2:76). Baybars al-Tāji probably died in his prison too, since he is not mentioned in the sources anymore. All the other amirs who were captured were released after shorter or longer jail periods, as I discuss in 1.1.2 below.

<sup>37</sup>See also the opinion of Reuven Amitai, “Military Elite,” 156, 159.

<sup>38</sup>Aybak al-Rūmī was captured together with his close friend (*khushdāsh*) from the Burjiyah, Baybars al-Aḥmadī. However, the latter was released immediately and continued to serve as a high-ranking amir until his death from old age in 746/1345–46; see Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 160; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:128; David Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks—Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate,” *Tārīḥ* 1 (1990): 38. See section 1.2 below for more on Baybars al-Aḥmadī’s career.

<sup>39</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:212; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:136.

<sup>40</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:137. Balabān Ṭurnā was appointed as governor of Safad in Jumādā I 712/September 1312; see Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 149; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:199. He is not mentioned explicitly as Manşūrī, but he is mentioned together with other Manşūrī amirs; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:168.

<sup>41</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:41; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:107–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:497. On Bahādur’s disagreement with Tankiz, see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:166.

<sup>42</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:469; idem, *Wāfī*, 15:483.

<sup>43</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:701–2; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:238.

in prison in 738/1337–38;<sup>44</sup> Balabān al-‘Anqāwī al-Zarrāq al-Manṣūrī, who died in 732/1332 after his release from prison, when he was over seventy;<sup>45</sup> and Aydamur al-Yūnusī, who was released in 735/1335.<sup>46</sup>

To sum up: forty-six prominent Manṣūrī amirs were arrested during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, about forty of them during the first three years of his rule. However, during these three years, only eighteen amirs were executed after their arrest or died in jail. Among the nine amirs who were arrested between 712/1312 and 722/1322, only three died in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s prison. Three other amirs were forced to escape to the Ilkhanid Mongols. Thus, we may conclude that out of the forty-six amirs who were arrested, twenty-two amirs were executed or died in prison. The other twenty-four amirs were released after being imprisoned (discussed below). Three other amirs defected to the Ilkhanid Mongols.

### 1.1.2. *The Amirs Who Were Arrested*

The jail periods of the twenty-four prominent Manṣūrī amirs who were arrested during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign stretched from a few months to twenty-six years. In what follows, I briefly discuss the jail periods and careers of these Manṣūrī amirs, in addition to their attitude toward al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

1. Ṭashtamur al-Jumaqdār (Burji) was imprisoned in Rabī‘ I 710/August 1310 but released together with other Burji amirs already in 711/1311.<sup>47</sup> Ṭashtamur is not mentioned in the sources after his release, so it is reasonable to assume that he continued as an amir like Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, who was released together with him (see below).
2. Baktūt al-Qarmānī (Burji) was arrested for the first time in Rabī‘ II 712/August 1312, as mentioned above, but probably stayed in jail for a short period since already at the beginning of 713/May 1313 he was dispatched to al-Raḥbah as governor, after serving as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus.<sup>48</sup> Baktūt was arrested again in 726/1326 as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz, and was released in 734/1333.<sup>49</sup> Until his second arrest he held several important offices, like *kāshif al-qilā‘ al-shāmīyah* (supervisor of the for-

<sup>44</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:317; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:457.

<sup>45</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:49–50; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494. See section 1.1.2 below.

<sup>46</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:387; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393. See section 1.1.2 below.

<sup>47</sup>Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 152; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:211.

<sup>48</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:123.

<sup>49</sup>Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāṣir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 191; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:272, 371.

tresses in Syria), *shādd al-dawāwīn* and *ustādār* in Damascus, governor of Homs, amir in Damascus, and *shādd* in Tripoli. After his release in 734/1333, Baktūt again became *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus, probably until his death as a result of the epidemic of 749/1348–49.<sup>50</sup> Baktūt al-Qarmānī served in all these positions despite being one of the associates of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Baktūt received an amirate at the beginning of the joint rule of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār, and during the conflict between Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad he was sent by the former to capture Nughāy al-Jamdār, who started the wave of defection to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side.<sup>51</sup>

3. Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (Burji) was arrested during the wave of arrests in Shawwāl 709/March 1310. However, he was released less than two years later and became one of the most prominent amirs in the Mamluk Sultanate. He was the amir of one hundred twenty mamluks, and one of the consultant (*mashūrah*) amirs of the sultan.<sup>52</sup> In 715/1315 Aydamur was among the amirs who took part in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s *rawk* reform.<sup>53</sup> In 732/1332 he was *amīr al-ḥajj* and he died five years later in 737/1337.<sup>54</sup> Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī was one of the main supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and only in the last stages of the conflict was he forced to move to the side of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>55</sup>
4. Bahādur Āṣ was the governor of Safad and in 712/1312 became amir in Damascus.<sup>56</sup> He was imprisoned in 715/1315, as mentioned above, as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz. However, he was released two years later, and immediately was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus by the sultan.<sup>57</sup> Later he became amir of one hundred until his natural death in Damascus in

<sup>50</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:87, 105, 183, 192, 793; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:182; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:717, 3:720; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:489–90; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:237; Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks,” 38.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:873; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:251.

<sup>52</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:660; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:181; idem, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:312. On the *mashūrah* amirs, see Holt, “The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate,” in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 44–61; Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite,” 187, n. 65.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:146.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:351, 426; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:312; Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks,” 38; Clifford, “State Formation,” 252–53. Clifford mentions that Aydamur was governor of Damascus in 712/1312, but I did not find this in the sources.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:78; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:272.

<sup>56</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:199.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:172; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:41.

730/1329.<sup>58</sup> According to Ibn Kathīr, Aydamur was *ra's maymanat al-shām* and one of the most senior amirs in Damascus.<sup>59</sup> Bahādur Āṣ is usually mentioned as one of the supporters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. When Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was crowned sultan, Bahādur refused, at first, to swear allegiance to him.<sup>60</sup> Later he assisted al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to enlarge his circle of supporters by secretly swearing the amirs to the latter.<sup>61</sup> Bahādur Āṣ, together with Baybars al-Manṣūrī, suggested to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr that he leave Cairo and renounce his rule as sultan for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>62</sup> Later, these two Manṣūrī amirs captured Baybars al-Jāshnakīr for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>63</sup>

5. Aqūsh al-Manṣūrī was imprisoned by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for three years, 710–13/1310–13, and after his release he was made an amir. In 719/1319 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made him *amīr ṭablkhānah* and he was dispatched together with other amirs to defeat the Bedouins in 'Aydhāb.<sup>64</sup> In 724/1324 he was sent out, probably from Cairo, to serve as amir in Damascus or Aleppo. He died three years later.<sup>65</sup> Aqūsh was in prison during the conflict with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, probably because of his involvement in the murder of Sanjar al-Shujā'ī in 693/1294.<sup>66</sup>
6. Aqūsh al-Ashrafī was in prison from Rabī' II 712/August 1312 until Rajab 715/October 1315.<sup>67</sup> Before his arrest and after, he gained a high and honorable position in the sultanate. He is mentioned as the only amir for whom al-Nāṣir Muḥammad stood up out of respect.<sup>68</sup> From Jumādā II 711/October

<sup>58</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:56; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:326.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:120.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:236.

<sup>61</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:297; idem, *A'yān*, 2:56–57; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:245–46.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 2:270; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:70.

<sup>63</sup> See n. 12 above.

<sup>64</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 160.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:400; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 174; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:257; idem, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:274.

<sup>66</sup> Aqūsh al-Manṣūrī is probably to be identified with the amir of the same name who (or whose mamluks) murdered al-Shujā'ī; see Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, 1942), 8:182; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:276; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 302; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:46; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:78.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:578; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:395.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:378; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 9:336; idem, *A'yān*, 1:578; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:27.

1311 until his arrest he was governor of Damascus.<sup>69</sup> Right after his release he was made an amir of one hundred twenty.<sup>70</sup> In 721/1321 he was the commander of the Mamluk force that defeated the Armenians in Ayas.<sup>71</sup> He is mentioned as a commander also in the following year.<sup>72</sup> In 723/1323 he was appointed as the manager of the hospital (*bīmāristān*) in Cairo.<sup>73</sup> In 727/1327 he was the *amīr al-ḥajj* of Egypt.<sup>74</sup> In Muḥarram 734/September 1333, however, he was exiled from Cairo and appointed governor of Tripoli.<sup>75</sup> Aqūsh al-Ashrafī was arrested in Jumādā II 735/January 1335 and died in prison less than a year later, in Jumādā I 736/December 1335.<sup>76</sup> He was not executed but died as the result of an accident.<sup>77</sup> Aqūsh was one of the most loyal amirs (*khawāṣṣ*) of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Kerak in 708/1309 he expelled Aqūsh since he tried to restrict the property of the former.<sup>78</sup> Baybars al-Jāshnakīr relied on Aqūsh al-Ashrafī during his conflict with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and it was only in the last stage, when al-Jāshnakīr's defeat was clear, that Aqūsh al-Ashrafī was forced to leave him and to join the supporters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>79</sup> Later, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made his way to Cairo as the new sultan, Aqūsh, together with Burji amirs, planned to murder him.<sup>80</sup> However, Aqūsh al-Ashrafī is also mentioned as the one who fulfilled all the orders of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad already when the latter was exiled to Kerak in 697/1297.<sup>81</sup>

7. Baybars al-Manṣūrī was arrested and held in Alexandria for five years, from Rabi' II 712/August 1312 to Jumādā I 717/July 1317. After his release he gained a high position in the sultanate until his death in Ramaḍān 725/August 1325. Baybars al-Manṣūrī became amir of one hundred and *ra's al-maysarah*.<sup>82</sup> Be-

<sup>69</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:105; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 9:336.

<sup>70</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144, 159; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:232; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 9:336.

<sup>71</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:229.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 2:236.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 2:247.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 2:290.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 2:371; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:378.

<sup>76</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:405; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:310.

<sup>77</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:30; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:581.

<sup>78</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:139; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:469.

<sup>79</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:264, 9:4; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:66.

<sup>80</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:73.

<sup>81</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:832–33; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 314; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:331.

<sup>82</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:509–10; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:252; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:172.

fore his arrest he served as *dawādār* and as *nāʾib al-salṭānah* for about a year.<sup>83</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī tried to stay away from political conflicts. At the beginning of the conflict between Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, it seems he was neutral. Later he inclined to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's side, when the latter's power was strengthened. When it became clear that Baybars al-Jāshnakīr was going to lose, Baybars al-Manṣūrī advised the sultan to abdicate in favor of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Afterward, as mentioned above, Baybars al-Manṣūrī captured Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, Salār, and others, on the orders of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

8. Qijmās (Bashshāsh)<sup>84</sup> al-Jūkandār (Burji) was among the amirs who were captured right after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's arrival in Cairo, in Shawwāl 709/March 1310. He was released five and a half years later, in Rabīʿ II 715/July 1315, and made *amīr ṭablkhānah*.<sup>85</sup> In 734/1334 he was appointed governor of Homs and died in the same year.<sup>86</sup> Qijmās was one of the greatest supporters and associates of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and was loyal to him until the last stages of his conflict with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>87</sup>
9. Mankubars (or Baybars) al-Manṣūrī was arrested together with Qijmās and other confidants of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. It is not mentioned when he was released, but he died in 718/1318, probably as the governor of ʿAjlūn. He is mentioned as one of the veteran Manṣūrī amirs who gained a high position in the sultanate.<sup>88</sup>
10. Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī was arrested in the big wave of arrests in Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312. He was released in Ṣafar 720/March 1320.<sup>89</sup> Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made him amir of ten and sent him to Safad, where he held the office of *nāʾib al-qalʿah* until his death in 724/1324. Before his arrest he was *shādd al-dawāwīn* and *ustādār* in Damascus.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:103; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:30. For Baybars' self-testimony, see Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 228.

<sup>84</sup> See n. 9 above.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:222; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:41.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:371, 377; Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks," 38.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261, 271; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:64, 71.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:243; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 76, 189. Al-Maqrīzī mentions this amir as Baybars, whereas Ibn Taghribirdī refers to him as Mankubars.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:202; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:623.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī*, 193; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:623; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:94, 100. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ṭūghān stayed in his prison in Kerak until his

11. Sanjar al-Barwānī was arrested and held, according to most of the sources, from Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312 to Ṣafar 720/March 1320, like Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī.<sup>91</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, however, he was released only in 727/1327 and appointed as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo until his death in 731/1331.<sup>92</sup>
12. Sanjar al-Jāwli was arrested only in 720/1320 as a result of a disagreement with Tankiz, the governor of Damascus.<sup>93</sup> In 726/1326 he was transferred to prison in Alexandria and a year later to a more comfortable imprisonment in one of the towers of the Cairo citadel.<sup>94</sup> In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 728/September 1328 he was released after eight years and three months.<sup>95</sup> Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him government of Gaza from Jumādā I 711/October 1311 until his arrest nine years later. The sultan added several other places in Palestine under his supervision and gave him a vast *iqṭāʿ*.<sup>96</sup> In 713/1313 he was sent to Syria to assist the sultan in his *rawk* reform.<sup>97</sup> Four years later al-Jāwli is mentioned as a commander of a Mamluk force that besieged a Bedouin force near Jerusalem.<sup>98</sup> After his release at the end of 728/1328 he gained an even higher position than he had before his arrest. At the beginning he was *amīr ṭablkhānah*, but soon he became amir of one hundred and one of the consultant amirs (*mashūrah*) of the sultan.<sup>99</sup> In 732/1332 he was among the amirs who performed the hajj pilgrimage with the sultan. According to al-Maqrīzī, he was then an *amīr ṭablkhānah*. Ibn al-Dawādārī, however, mentions him among the amirs of one hundred.<sup>100</sup> During this decade Sanjar al-Jāwli was appointed as the *nāzir* of the Māristān hospital in Cairo.<sup>101</sup> In 741/1341, the year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, Sanjar is still

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death after 720/1320 (*Durar*, 2:228). Ṭūghān was arrested for a very short time before 712/1312; see Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 223–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:228.

<sup>91</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:202; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:318; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 170.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:173; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:338.

<sup>93</sup> See n. 42 above.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:274, 286.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 2:209, 299, 304; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:90; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:78.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:101; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 227. Al-Ṣafadī mentions that Sanjar al-Jāwli was also the governor of Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Qaqun, Lod, and Ramla (*Wāfī*, 15:483).

<sup>97</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:127; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:36.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:176.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:469; idem, *Wāfī*, 15:483; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:274.

<sup>100</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366.

<sup>101</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:420.

mentioned as one of the senior *mashūrah* amirs.<sup>102</sup> He continued his career after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death. In 743/1343 he was appointed governor of Homs for three months, later as the governor of Gaza for a similar period, and then he returned to his senior amirate in Cairo.<sup>103</sup> Sanjar al-Jāwli held other offices until he was murdered in Ramaḍān 745/January 1345.<sup>104</sup>

Sanjar al-Jāwli's political inclinations are puzzling. On the one hand, Sanjar is mentioned as a close associate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He served as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's *ustādār* during his second reign and took care of all his interests.<sup>105</sup> As described above, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also sent Sanjar to persuade Salār to come to Cairo, where he was executed. He even brought Salār's extensive property from his house to the sultan's treasury.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, there are several testimonies that Sanjar al-Jāwli was an opponent of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. First, Sanjar was Salār's closest friend and he served Salār's mamluks, Kitbughā and Butkhāṣ. Second, Aqūsh al-Afram, the governor of Damascus, had used Sanjar to prevent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from entering Damascus. And finally, Sanjar only joined al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's coalition at a late stage, after Aqūsh al-Afram had escaped from Damascus.<sup>107</sup> It seems, therefore, that Sanjar al-Jāwli was an associate of both al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Salār, he maneuvered between the two, and in the end he sided with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in order to protect his life and position. Sanjar, however, is mentioned as the one who washed the dead bodies of both al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Salār.<sup>108</sup>

13. Aydamur al-Yūnusī (Burji) was arrested and held for a long period that probably exceeded eight years, though it is not mentioned when he was imprisoned. In 727/1327 he was transferred with other amirs from Alexandria to Cairo, where he was imprisoned in *al-jubb* (the pit) jail.<sup>109</sup> Aydamur was released in Rajab 735/March 1335 together with other amirs and was made amir in Tripoli.<sup>110</sup> His death year is not mentioned. Aydamur was a

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:164.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:620; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:469; idem, *Wāfī*, 15:483.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:468; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:674.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 6:75; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 15:472; idem, *A'yān*, 2:468.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:17.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261, 265. About Sanjar al-Jāwli's service to Kitbughā and his mamluk, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:674.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:18–19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:171.

<sup>109</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:286.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:387; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393.

supporter of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and was one of his associates from the Burjīyah.<sup>111</sup>

14. Mughulṭāy al-Ba‘li (Burji) was arrested and held for about ten years, from 709/1310 to 720/1320. His death year is not mentioned. He was a confidant of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. When the latter became sultan, he sent Mughulṭāy to Kerak in order to take the property that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took with him.<sup>112</sup>
15. Balabān al-Shamsī was arrested only in 714/1314. He was released in 725/1325<sup>113</sup> and served as amir in Damascus and Aleppo until his death in 745/1345.<sup>114</sup>
16. Balabān Ṭurnā was also arrested in 714/1314, as a result of a dispute with Tankiz. He was released in Sha‘bān 726/July 1326, and made *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus and later amir of one hundred. He was one of Tankiz’s associates, and died in Damascus in Rabī‘ I 734/November 1333.<sup>115</sup>
17. Lājīn Zīrbāj al-Jāshnakīr al-‘Umarī al-Manṣūrī was arrested during the wave of arrests in Rabī‘ II 712/August 1312 and released at the end of 728/October 1328, after more than sixteen years.<sup>116</sup> He died three years later, in Ṣafar 731/November 1330 as a result of the plague in Cairo.<sup>117</sup> Lājīn Zīrbāj was one of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s loyal associates. He took the army’s allegiance to the sultan after the caliph crowned Baybars al-Jāshnakīr as sultan for the second time, during the conflict with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>118</sup> Until his arrest he was one of the senior amirs.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 406; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:235–36.

<sup>112</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 5:125; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:355.

<sup>113</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:264, 269.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:675.

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:494; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:45; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:377; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:304. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, after his release, Balabān Ṭurnā was sent to Aleppo as an amir (*Kanz*, 9:320). Al-Maqrīzī, contradicting all other sources including himself (*Sulūk*, 10:115), mentions Balabān Ṭurnā among the amirs who were executed in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168).

<sup>116</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:298; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:180; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:271. While al-Maqrīzī mentions that in Rajab 727/May 1327 Lājīn Zīrbāj was transferred to *al-jubb* prison in the Cairo citadel (*Sulūk*, 2:286), according to al-Yūsufī, Lājīn was released in this year (*Nuzhat al-Nāẓir*, 234).

<sup>117</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:358; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:271; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:338.

<sup>118</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 406; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:223.

<sup>119</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231, 235.

18. Mughultāy al-Mas'ūdī (Burji) was imprisoned for twenty years, from Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 712/August 1312 to 732/1332. He died two months after his release.<sup>120</sup> Before his arrest he was amir of one hundred and one of the senior amirs in the sultanate.<sup>121</sup> Mughultāy was probably one of the Burji amirs who were loyal to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, according to Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Mughultāy deliberately delayed pursuing Nughāy al-Jamdār and the other amirs who defected to Kerak, in order to save the sultanate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>122</sup>
19. Tamur al-Sāqī was also imprisoned for twenty years, from Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 715/July 1315 to 735/1335.<sup>123</sup> After his release he was *baṭṭāl* in Damascus, and later he was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* and amir of one hundred. He was among the honorable *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He died in Cairo in 743/1343.<sup>124</sup> Before his arrest he was governor of Homs and in 711/1311 he is mentioned as one of the senior amirs in the sultanate.<sup>125</sup> In Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 712/July 1312 he was appointed governor of Tripoli.<sup>126</sup> Tamur al-Sāqī is not mentioned as supporting either al-Nāṣir Muḥammad or Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad entered Damascus, Tamur arrived there with the army of Homs to welcome him.<sup>127</sup> He was the head of the *muqaddamah* that marched in front of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on his way to Cairo.<sup>128</sup>
20. Baybars al-ʿAlamī was one of the senior Burji amirs. He was arrested already in 709/1310.<sup>129</sup> However, he was released shortly thereafter and was arrested again during the big wave of arrests in Rabī<sup>c</sup> 712/August 1312. This time he stayed in prison for about twenty-three years until his release in

<sup>120</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:351, 355.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 2:54; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231.

<sup>122</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 414; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:250.

<sup>123</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:519. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, Tamur al-Sāqī was arrested in 714/1314 (*Kanz*, 9:283, 293).

<sup>124</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:519. Ibn Taghribirdī and al-Maqrīzī mention that Tamur al-Sāqī died at the end of 742/May 1342 (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:77; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:616).

<sup>125</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231.

<sup>126</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:118; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:34; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:243; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:195.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:268; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:68–69; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:152.

<sup>128</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 201.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84.

735/1335.<sup>130</sup> Baybars al-ʿAlamī moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side during the latter’s first attempt to enter Damascus.<sup>131</sup>

21. Kashlī was also imprisoned from 712/1312 to 735/1335.<sup>132</sup> Though he is not mentioned explicitly as a mamluk of Qalāwūn, he was arrested together with several other Manṣūrī amirs in 712/1312.<sup>133</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Kashlī was made amir again after his release, like all of his friends. Indeed, he might be identified with the amir named Kashlī (which is not a common name) who is mentioned as the *wālī* of Qūṣ who died there in 740/1339.<sup>134</sup>
22. Balāṭ al-Jūkandār (Burji) was imprisoned for about twenty-five years, from Shawwāl 709/March 1310 to Rajab 735/June 1335. After his release he became amir in Tripoli.<sup>135</sup> Balāṭ was one of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s greatest supporters.<sup>136</sup>
23. Balabān (or: Ṭurunṭāy) al-Muḥammadī was arrested and held for a similar period to Balāṭ, from 711/1311 to 737/1337, and after his release also became an amir (of ten) in Tripoli. Later he served as amir in Damascus until his death in 745/1345.<sup>137</sup>
24. Balabān (or: Baybars) al-ʿAnqāwī was arrested by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and released, probably close to his death, in Ramaḍān 732/May 1332. He was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:84, 378. Al-Maqrīzī mentions Baybars al-ʿAlamī’s name among the amirs who were executed in 716/1316 (*Sulūk*, 2:168), though the same author mentions in the same source that in 727/1327 Baybars al-ʿAlamī was among the amirs who were moved later to the *al-jubb* prison in the Cairo citadel (*Sulūk*, 2:286).

<sup>131</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:150.

<sup>132</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:108; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393.

<sup>133</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:77–78.

<sup>134</sup> Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi*, ed. B. Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 90.

<sup>135</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:393.

<sup>136</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 406; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:46; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:235, 251.

<sup>137</sup> See n. 11 above; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:418, 675; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115.

<sup>138</sup> See n. 45 above.

## Conclusions

The data detailed above, though not complete, shows that twelve out of the twenty-four Manṣūrī amirs who were arrested but not executed were released after relatively short periods that did not exceed eight years. Most of the other twelve amirs stayed in jail for longer periods, some of which lasted for twenty years or more. After their release, however, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made most—if not all—of them amirs. Seven of them were made amirs of one hundred and at least four became *amīrs ṭablkhānah*. Geographically, seven served in Cairo while eleven served in Syria. And eight belonged to the elite of the Burjīyah.

In many cases, it is hard to find a correlation between the attitude of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad toward the Manṣūrī amirs and their loyalty to him during his conflict with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Although al-Nāṣir Muḥammad hastened to eliminate his most bitter enemies—mainly the former sultan and his viceroy, Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār—other amirs who were close associates of these two continued to serve as high-ranking amirs. For example, the eight or nine high-ranking Burji amirs who were arrested, and were the biggest supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, were not all kept in jail for long periods. Burji amirs who fought against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, like Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, Baktūt al-Qarmānī, Qijmās, and Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, were detained for relatively short periods, and after their release were made *amīrs ṭablkhānah* and even amirs of one hundred. On the other hand, a Burji amir like Baybars al-ʿAlamī who moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side at an early stage was imprisoned for more than twenty years. Other Manṣūrī amirs who supported al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, like Baybars al-Majnūn and Baybars al-ʿAlāʿī, died in prison.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad persecuted Qarāsunqur, who led the coalition that resisted sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.

### 1.2. The Manṣūrīyah Amirs Who Were Neither Arrested nor Put to Death

Alongside the amirs who were executed, died in prison, or arrested, other Manṣūrī amirs were not imprisoned at all during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. In what follows, I will discuss these amirs and their careers.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Baybars al-Majnūn, Baybars al-ʿAlāʿī, and Baybars al-ʿAlamī joined al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s ranks during his first attempt to go out from Kerak to Damascus; see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:152; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 140. Later, these two amirs planned to attack Aqūsh al-Afram, who was Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s close confidant and the governor of Damascus, and this plan forced al-Afram to leave Damascus for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 2:265; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:67.

<sup>140</sup> I do not discuss here four amirs who are mentioned originally as mamluks of Qalāwūn but were moved to the service of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad when they were very young: Alṭunbughā al-Šālīhī al-Nāṣirī, Aruqtāy al-Ḥājj, Aytmiş al-Muḥammadī, and Arghūn al-Dawādār.

1. Qibjaq served one year as the governor of Aleppo until his death from a disease in Jumādā I 710/September 1310.<sup>141</sup>
2. Aqūsh al-Mawṣilī (known as: *qattāl al-sabʿ*) died in Rajab 710/November 1310 when he was amir of one hundred.<sup>142</sup>
3. Aqjubā al-Manṣūrī died in Rabīʿ II 710/September 1310. He served as governor of Damascus and Gaza, *shādd al-dawāwīn*, and *ustādār* in Damascus. It seems that he continued to serve as *shādd* in Damascus until his death.<sup>143</sup>
4. Qarālājīn was amir of one hundred in Egypt. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 709/April 710, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad continued his appointment as *amīr majlis*. Later, Qarālājīn was appointed *ustādār* until his death in Shaʿbān 715/November 1315. In 711/1311 he is mentioned among the most senior amirs in Egypt. In the same year he was one of the amirs of one hundred who were sent to fight against the Mongols who planned to attack Syria. In his death year he held the *iqṭāʿ* of an amir of one hundred twenty horsemen.<sup>144</sup>
5. Ālmalik<sup>145</sup> managed to recommend himself to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad already when he served as a messenger between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak and Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in Cairo. Ālmalik became amir of one hundred and a member of the sultan’s *khāṣṣakīyah* during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.<sup>146</sup> In 732/1332 Ālmalik was one of the amirs who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage.<sup>147</sup> In 741/1341, the year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, Ālmalik was one of the senior consultant amirs.<sup>148</sup> After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, in 744/1343, Ālmalik was appointed as *nāʿib al-salṭānah*. He died in 747/1346–47.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:216.

<sup>142</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:172; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 9:335; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:96; Amitai, “Military Elite,” 153.

<sup>143</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:173.

<sup>144</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:159; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:232; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 148, 152; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 235.

<sup>145</sup>Ālmalik was among the prisoners of the Abulustayn battle (675/1277). Qalāwūn gave him to his son al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Alī. It is reasonable to assume that he moved to the ranks of the Manṣūrīyah after ‘Alī died in 687/1288; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:411.

<sup>146</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:411; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:85.

<sup>147</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:351.

<sup>148</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:164.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., 10:87; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:640, 723.

6. Sanjar al-Jumaqdār (or al-Bashmaqdar) (Burji) served as amir of one hundred and belonged to the consultant amirs (*mashūrah*) of the sultan. He is mentioned as one of the amirs of one hundred who commanded the Mamluk raids on Cilicia in 714/1314 and in 722/1322. After the death of Bahādur Āş in 730/1329, Sanjar was transferred from Cairo to Damascus and received Bahādur's *iqṭāʿ*, which was the *iqṭāʿ* of an amir of one hundred. Sanjar continued to serve as amir in Damascus until his death of old age in 745/1345.<sup>150</sup>
  
7. Qullī al-Silaḥdār (Burji) was amir of one hundred from the beginning of al-Nāşir Muḥammad's third reign, a position he seems to have held until his death in 717/1317. He was one of the high-ranking amirs in the sultanate in the year 711/1311.<sup>151</sup> In 712/1312 and 714/1314 he is mentioned as one of the amirs of one hundred.<sup>152</sup> He died in Cairo in 717/1317.<sup>153</sup> Qullī was one of the main supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. He is mentioned several times together with the Burji amirs who were loyal to Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. He was among the amirs who received the army's allegiance on behalf of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>154</sup> Baybars al-Manşūrī mentions, however, that when Qullī was sent together with Mughultāy al-Mas'ūdī to stop Nughāy al-Jamdār, who was on his way to al-Nāşir Muḥammad in Kerak, they deliberately delayed their pursuit of the defectors in order to save the sultanate of al-Nāşir Muḥammad.<sup>155</sup> Unlike his friend Mughultāy, who was imprisoned for twenty years as mentioned above, Qullī was never arrested and became one of the senior amirs of the sultanate.
  
8. Baybars al-Aḥmadī (Burji) was a *khushdāsh* and a close associate of Aybak al-Rūmī, one of the most loyal Burji amirs of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, while Aybak was captured and probably died in prison, Baybars al-Aḥmadī, who was captured together with his friend in 713/1313, was released immediately after and continued to serve as amir of one hundred

<sup>150</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 2:465; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:173–74; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:236, 675; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 276. On the expeditions to Cilicia see: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:139, 234; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:284, 309. Ibn Taghribirdī mentions Sanjar as “al-bashmaqdar” (*Al-Nujūm*, 10:115).

<sup>151</sup> Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 231.

<sup>152</sup> Amitai, “Military Elite,” 149; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:138–39; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:284; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:39–40.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:241; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:180.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:233.

<sup>155</sup> Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Zubdah*, 414; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:250.

throughout al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.<sup>156</sup> In 709/1310 he was appointed as *amīr jāndār*.<sup>157</sup> In 732/1332 he is still mentioned as one of the most honored amirs of the sultanate, and among the amirs of one hundred who performed the hajj pilgrimage together with the sultan.<sup>158</sup> After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad he kept his high position and was one of the main decision-makers in the sultanate. Later he was appointed the governor of Safad (742–43/1342) and Tripoli (743–46/1342–45) and then he returned to serve as *amīr jāndār* in Cairo. He died in Muḥarram 746/May 1345 when he was in his eighties (or over seventy).<sup>159</sup>

9. Kūkāy al-Silaḥdār al-Manṣūrī was an amir of one hundred who owned a lot of property during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He died in the plague of 749/1348–49.<sup>160</sup>
10. Jūbān al-Manṣūrī is mentioned as a mamluk of al-Ashraf Khalīl, who made him an amir.<sup>161</sup> It seems, then, that he moved to al-Ashraf Khalīl’s mam-luks at a relatively early stage of his education. Jūbān, on the one hand, secretly swore allegiance to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and promised to assist him in his conflict with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>162</sup> On the other hand, Jūbān was sent to block the roads to Damascus in order to prevent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s entrance to the city.<sup>163</sup> He moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s side only when Aqūsh al-Afram was forced to leave Damascus.<sup>164</sup> However, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him a high-ranking amir in Damascus until his death there in Ṣafar 728/December 1327. As a result of a dispute with Tankiz, he moved to Cairo for one and a half years in 721/1321, but after that came back to Syria. In 726/1326 he was the *amīr al-ḥajj* of Syria.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>156</sup> See n. 38 above; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:81.

<sup>157</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 149.

<sup>158</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:365–66.

<sup>159</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:698; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:143.

<sup>160</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:162–63; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:376; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:270; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:24; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:796.

<sup>161</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:542; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:172.

<sup>162</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:260; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:63.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:63.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:265.

<sup>165</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:172; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:304; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:62.

11. Kundughdī al-Zarrāq al-Manṣūrī was one of the senior amirs in Egypt. He was *ra's al-maysarah* and commanded the Mamluk forces that were dispatched to Cilicia. He died in 745/1345 in Aleppo.<sup>166</sup>
  
12. Kujkun al-Manṣūrī served as amir in Damascus until his death of old age in 749/1349. According to several historians, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lowered his rank to amir of ten and wished for his death. However, according to al-Shujā'ī, Kujkun was amir of one hundred in Damascus. Indeed, in 722/1322 Kujkun commanded the expedition to Ayas, together with Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, who held the rank of amir of one hundred twenty, as mentioned above. Two years earlier, Kujkun was the commander of a Mamluk force aimed to attack the Mongols around the area of Sinjār. It is reasonable to assume, then, that Kujkun was a high-ranking amir during most, if not all, of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>167</sup>
  
13. Kahardāsh al-Zarrāq al-Manṣūrī served as amir of fifty in Damascus from the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign until his death at his home in Sha'bān 714/November 1314.<sup>168</sup> In 712/1312 he was among the amirs who accompanied the sultan for the hajj pilgrimage.<sup>169</sup> Kahardāsh was one of the amirs sent by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr to prevent the defection of Nughāy al-Jamdār to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak. Hence, he was definitely not one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's confidants.<sup>170</sup>
  
14. Sanjar al-Khāzin served about one year as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Egypt at the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>171</sup> Later he was the *wālī* of the Bahnasā district in southern Egypt. In 712/1312 he was appointed as the *wālī* of Cairo, an office he held, continuously or alternately, until 724/1324.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>166</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:115; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:675.

<sup>167</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 9:121; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:149–50. According to al-Shujā'ī, Kujkun died in 739/1439 (*Tārīkh*, 56). For his leadership of the Mamluk forces in 720/1320 and 722/1322, see Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā'il Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fī mā ba'da Ta'rīkh Ibn al-'Amīd*, ed. and tr. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 10, 17; On his amirate of one hundred, see al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 56.

<sup>168</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:269–70; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:162; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:216.

<sup>169</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:228.

<sup>170</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:251.

<sup>171</sup>Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 153.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid, 175.

He is mentioned among the amirs of Egypt in 732/1332.<sup>173</sup> He died in Jumādā II 735/February 1335 when he was about ninety.<sup>174</sup>

15. Balabān al-Tatarī was one of the senior amirs of Qalāwūn, as al-Şafadī and Ibn Taghrībirdī note. However, he is mentioned in the sources only during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. In 713/1313 he was *amīr al-ḥajj*. He died in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 725/October 1325.<sup>175</sup>
16. Aqūsh al-Raḥbī al-Manşūrī served as *wālī* of Damascus for more than eleven years, from 707/1307 to 719/1319. Tankiz captured him in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 714/March 1315, but only confiscated his property. From Şafar 719/March 1319 until his death, four months later, Aqūsh served as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus.<sup>176</sup>
17. Baybars al-Awḥadī served as *wālī* of the Cairo citadel from 720/1320 until 736/1336. He died in 740/1339.<sup>177</sup>
18. Balabān al-Ḥusaynī (or: al-Ḥasanī), who was the *amīr jāndār* of Qalāwūn,<sup>178</sup> served as governor of the Giza district and in 729/1329 was appointed as *wālī* of Damietta.<sup>179</sup> During the 730s/1330s, he was one of the *jamdārīyah* amirs in Egypt and a vizier.<sup>180</sup> He died in the plague of 749/1348–49 when he was over eighty.<sup>181</sup>
19. Nukbāy al-Barīdī al-Manşūrī is mentioned only in the late years of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. In 737/1337 he was appointed as *wālī* of Qaṭyā and

<sup>173</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368.

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:172; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:471; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:120, 387–88; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:305. Al-Şafadī mentions that he thinks that Sanjar al-Khāzin was imprisoned in 715/1315 (*A‘yān*, 2:471). However, if he was imprisoned he was released in the same year, since he is mentioned as the *wālī* of Cairo in the same year.

<sup>175</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:493; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:266; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:270.

<sup>176</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:576–77; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:74, 76.

<sup>177</sup> Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 170; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:399, 504–5; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368. Al-Shujā‘ī mentions this amir as Balabān al-Awḥadī, who served as *wālī* of the citadel’s gate (*Tārīkh*, 89).

<sup>178</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:483.

<sup>179</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:310.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368, 374, 380.

<sup>181</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:793; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:237.

three years later he moved to serve as *wālī* of Alexandria. Later he became *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *mihmāndār* in Cairo. He died in 749/1349.<sup>182</sup>

20. Baktamur al-ʿAlāʾī is not mentioned as a prominent amir before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Since he also died quite late, he probably belonged to the younger generations of the Manṣūrīyah mamluks. From Shaʿbān 715/November 1315 to 723/1323 he served as the *ustādār* of the sultan, and then he moved to Damascus.<sup>183</sup> In 730/1329 he was appointed governor of Gaza.<sup>184</sup> In 735/1335 he moved to serve as governor of Homs.<sup>185</sup> In 739/1338 he was, probably, again appointed governor of Homs, until his death in 745/1344–45.<sup>186</sup>
21. Biktāsh al-Mankūrsī was a veteran Manṣūrī amir, though he is not mentioned before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. He was appointed *shādd al-awqāf* (supervisor of the endowments) of Damascus in 712/1312 according to al-Ṣafadī, or ten years later according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. Biktāsh was a close associate of Tankiz. When Tankiz was arrested, Biktāsh was also, and his property was confiscated. However, he was released and served several times as governor of Baʿalbek. In 754/1353, in his old age, he still acted as *amīr al-ḥajj*. Biktāsh died in Shaʿbān 757/July 1365 when he was over a hundred years old.<sup>187</sup>
22. Kitbughā *ra's nawbah* (al-ʿĀdilī) al-Manṣūrī was invited from Aleppo to Damascus when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo in 709/1310, and was appointed *shādd al-dawāwīn* and *ustādār* there.<sup>188</sup> In the next year he was *amīr al-ḥajj* of Damascus.<sup>189</sup> Later he became amir of one hundred and the chief *ḥājib* in Damascus. He died in Shawwāl 721/November 1321.<sup>190</sup>
23. Bahādur al-Sanjarī (Burji) served during the first decade of the eighth/fourteenth century as the governor of the Damascus citadel, *nāʾib al-ghaybah*,

<sup>182</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:410, 491, 797; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:242.

<sup>183</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 148; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:246.

<sup>184</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:317.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:379.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:459, 675.

<sup>187</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:481–82; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:699–700.

<sup>188</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:43; al-Ṣuqāʾī, *Tālī*, 188.

<sup>189</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:264.

<sup>190</sup> Al-Ṣuqāʾī, *Tālī*, 188; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:81; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:234. Kitbughā *ra's nawbah* is probably identical to Kitbughā al-ʿĀdilī, since the same biographical details are mentioned concerning both amirs, though Ibn Ḥajar cites them as two different amirs (*Durar*, 3:264).

manager of the hospital of Damascus, and in other offices.<sup>191</sup> In Ramaḍān 711/January 1312 he moved to serve as the governor of al-Bīrah.<sup>192</sup> Twenty years later he was appointed governor of Gaza, and he died in 733–34/1333 while governor of Homs.<sup>193</sup>

24. Baybars al-Shujāʿī (Burji) was made an amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s first or second reign (693–94/1293–94; 698–708/1299–1309). He is mentioned as one of the *ṭablkhānah* amirs of Egypt in 709/1310.<sup>194</sup> He is not mentioned among the amirs who were arrested.
25. Aydamur al-Shujāʿī (Burji), like the above-mentioned Baybars al-Shujāʿī, was made amir before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.<sup>195</sup> He is mentioned later as *nāʿib qalʿat* of Safad, governor of al-Bīrah, and *nāẓir al-Ḥaramayn* in Jerusalem.<sup>196</sup>
26. Al-Shaykhī (Burji) was appointed by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in 709/1310 to oversee the eradication of alcohol in Cairo.<sup>197</sup> He is not mentioned among the amirs who were arrested or executed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.
27. Bilik al-ʿUthmānī al-Manşūrī is mentioned as an amir in Tripoli who was sent in 717/1317 as a commander of a thousand horsemen to fight against a local Syrian Shiʿite leader.<sup>198</sup>
28. Mubārak al-Manşūrī, though not identified with certainty as a mamluk of Qalāwūn, is mentioned as an amir of fifty in Damascus. He moved to Tripoli and became blind, but later his sight was restored. He died in 717/1317.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:15; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:61; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:949.

<sup>192</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:106; al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:61–62.

<sup>193</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:371; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 187.

<sup>194</sup> Baybars al-Manşūrī mentions that Baybars al-Shujāʿī and Aydamur al-Shujāʿī became amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign (*Zubdah*, 217). Since Baybars al-Shujāʿī is mentioned as amir already in 709/1310, it is clear that he became amir several years earlier; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77.

<sup>195</sup> See n. 194 above.

<sup>196</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:530.

<sup>197</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:53.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:175.

<sup>199</sup> Al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:190; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:275–76.

29. Murshid al-Khaznadār (eunuch) served as *muqaddam al-mamālik al-sultānīyah* during Qalāwūn's reign. He died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 710/March 1311 in Cairo, or according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, six years later. He served as *zamām al-dār* and *khaznadār*.<sup>200</sup>

30. Mukhtār al-Manṣūrī al-Bakansī al-Bilbaysī (eunuch) served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *khaznadār* in the Damascus citadel. He died in 716/1316.<sup>201</sup>

We may conclude from the data mentioned above as follows:

1. About thirty Manṣūrī amirs were never arrested during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Three senior Manṣūrī amirs—Qibjaq, Aqūsh al-Mawṣilī (*qaṭṭāl al-sabʿ*), and Aqjubā al-Manṣūrī—died of natural causes in the first year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.
2. Among the remaining twenty-seven amirs, at least twenty were known as amirs before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, most of them as prominent amirs.
3. Ten out of these twenty-seven amirs, it seems, were high-ranking amirs, i.e., amirs of one hundred, during different periods in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Most of the remaining seventeen were probably *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.
4. About half of these twenty-seven amirs served in Cairo, and the other half in Syria.
5. Seven amirs belonged to the Burjīyah.
6. Four amirs sided with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr during his struggle with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The Burjī amirs Qullī al-Silaḥdār and Baybars al-Aḥmadī, together with Jūbān and Kahardāsh, were generally supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, they gained high status and positions in the service of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The first two were amirs of one hundred in Cairo, the third was a high-ranking amir in Damascus, and the fourth was amir of fifty in Damascus.

<sup>200</sup> Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 154; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:96; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:245. The *zamām al-dār* was in charge of the door that separated the sultan or the amir and his servants and eunuchs; see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʿ* (Cairo, 1913–22), 5:459–60.

<sup>201</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:198; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:237; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:244; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:63.

7. At least five Manşūrī amirs continued their military-political careers even after the death of al-Nāşir Muḥammad.

Hence, similar to the analysis of the data concerning the Manşūrī amirs who were arrested, there is no consistent or “rational” policy of al-Nāşir Muḥammad toward the veteran and senior Manşūrī amirs, or even toward his enemies among them and those from the Burjīyah.

### 1.3. Conclusions

The prosopographical data of seventy-nine Manşūrī amirs, most of whom filled the most important positions of the sultanate on the eve of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign, reveals that twenty-two of them were executed by al-Nāşir Muḥammad or died in his prison, twenty-four were arrested (twelve of them for relatively short periods of less than eight years), three escaped to the Mongols, and thirty were not arrested at all. Thus, whereas thirty-seven amirs were “purged” by al-Nāşir Muḥammad by execution, imprisonment for long periods, or defection from the sultanate, forty-two continued their political-military careers since they were not arrested at all or were released after a few years in prison. About seventeen of the Manşūrī amirs were high-ranking amirs, probably all of them amirs of one hundred, during different periods of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Though al-Nāşir Muḥammad eliminated many of his Manşūrī opponents, there were several Manşūrī amirs, and especially Burji-Manşūrī amirs, who gained positions of honor during his reign despite the fact that they had been supporters of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Four Manşūrī amirs, and one of their associates, are still mentioned among the twenty-five amirs of one hundred in 741/1341, on the eve of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s death.<sup>202</sup> About ten Manşūrī amirs continued their political-military careers even after al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s death.

The prosopographical data and analysis, as discussed above, is partial. There are probably additional prominent Manşūrī amirs who are not discussed here since the Muslim historians did not explicitly mention their affiliation to the Manşūrīyah, or the required data regarding their careers. However, the impression that arises from this analysis and its conclusions is that the Manşūrī amirs played an important, if not central, role in al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. This impression is strengthened by the testimony of their contemporary al-Nuwayrī (677–733/1279–1333), who served as an official in *dīwān al-khāşş* (the sultan’s treasury) and *dīwān al-inshā’* (the chancery), and as *nāzir* in *dīwān al-jaysh* (in charge of the *iqṭā’āt*), and had a close relationship with al-Nāşir Muḥammad and several

<sup>202</sup>These four amirs were Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwli, Kūkāy, and Ālmalik. Another amir of one hundred was Jankalī ibn Bābā, a Mongol *wāfidī* who belonged to the circle of the high-ranking amirs who supported Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. For example, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:143–44; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:146, 177; Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite,” 174, 177.



Manṣūrī amirs.<sup>203</sup> In the last volume of his encyclopedia, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, composed between the years 725/1325 and 730/1330, al-Nuwayrī testified that the Manṣūrīyah mamluks are “the most honorable amirs in our time.”<sup>204</sup> Ibn al-Furāt (733–807/1334–1405), whose work is based on al-Nuwayrī’s, mentions several decades later that “the Manṣūrīyah mamluks were the most honorable amirs during most of the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.”<sup>205</sup>

Hence, according to both the biographical data concerning the Manṣūrī amirs and general observations of the Muslim historians, the Manṣūrīyah still held a prominent position in the Mamluk Sultanate about twenty years after its alleged “elimination.”

## 2. The Mamluks and Descendants of the Manṣūrīyah

The number of the mamluks and descendants of prominent Manṣūrī amirs who became part of the political-military elite during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign and after is more than twice that of the Manṣūrī amirs themselves. In what follows (2.1), I will discuss the careers of amirs who were originally mamluks of Manṣūrī amirs, and (2.2) amirs who were descendants of the Manṣūrī amirs (*awlād al-nās*).

### 2.1. The Mamluks of the Manṣūrī Amirs

#### *The Mamluks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr:*

A “large group” (*jamā‘ah kabīrah*) of the mamluks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr moved to the ranks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s mamluks after Baybars was captured. It would appear that Baybars al-Jāshnakīr manumitted most, if not all, of these mamluks and some of them were amirs. Among them were Baktamur al-Sāqī, Bilik al-Sāqī, Ṭughān al-Sāqī, and Qubātamur (or: Quyātamur).<sup>206</sup> Three other amirs who were originally among Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s mamluks are mentioned, so in total seven amirs are known from the sources:

<sup>203</sup> Little, “Historiography,” 430; Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, “Al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī al-Tamīmī al-Ḳurashī al-Shāfi‘ī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:156–57; Aminah Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn, *Al-Nuwayrī wa-Kitābuhu Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab: Maṣādiruhu al-Adabīyah wa-Ārā‘uhu al-Naqdīyah* (Cairo, 1984), 27–79.

<sup>204</sup> “Wa-baqāyā al-mamālīk al-Manṣūrīyah ilā al-ān hum a‘yān al-umarā’ fī waqtinā hādhā” (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:176). On the years in which al-Nuwayrī wrote the last volume of his encyclopedia, see Jamal al-Dīn, *Al-Nuwayrī wa-Kitābuhu*, 112; Chapoutot-Remadi, “Al-Nuwayrī,” 158.

<sup>205</sup> “Wa-baqāyā al-mamālīk al-Manṣūrīyah kānū a‘yān al-umarā’ fī ghālib dawlat al-malik al-Nāṣir...” (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 8:97–98).

<sup>206</sup> Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāṣir*, 149.

1. Baktamur al-Sāqī was raised by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr from early childhood.<sup>207</sup> When Baybars became sultan he appointed Baktamur as *jamdār* and later as *sāqī*. In 709/1309 Baybars made Baktamur an amir.<sup>208</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī claims that since Baybars al-Jāshnakīr conferred upon Baktamur an amirate of ten, he must have been the master who manumitted him as well.<sup>209</sup> Baktamur’s loyalty to his master is clear. When Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s mamluks started to abandon him one by one, Baktamur was the only one who defended his master with his body and caught a mamluk who tried to escape with Baybars’ gold.<sup>210</sup> Despite all that, Baktamur became one of the most senior amirs in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, he appointed Baktamur as his *sāqī*.<sup>211</sup> Baktamur’s promotion by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was very quick and before too long Baktamur became the sultan’s closest confidant.<sup>212</sup> However, like many of the high-ranking amirs, at some point Baktamur aroused the sultan’s suspicions. Baktamur was murdered in 733/1333, after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad feared that he was planning to murder him.<sup>213</sup> The descendants of Baktamur were also amirs: three of his sons, two of his grandsons, and one great-grandson. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī was an amir of one hundred already in 726/1325 when he was about thirteen. He was very close to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and married a daughter of Tankiz. However, he was executed with his father seven years later.<sup>214</sup> ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad was an amir as well<sup>215</sup> and his son Khiḍr ibn ‘Umar also received an amirate of ten, from 764/1363 until his imprisonment in 802/1399.<sup>216</sup> Another son of Baktamur al-Sāqī, Muḥammad, was promoted from amir of ten to *ṭablkhānah* in 742/1341.<sup>217</sup> The third son, ‘Umar ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī, was an amir, and his son, Khiḍr, is mentioned as amir of ten in 791/1389, 801/1398–99, and 802/1399.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>207</sup>Ibid., 148

<sup>208</sup>Ibid; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:468.

<sup>209</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:300.

<sup>210</sup>Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 149.

<sup>211</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:300.

<sup>212</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 1:709–10; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 149–50.

<sup>213</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:364.

<sup>214</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:486–87; Donald S. Richards, “Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 41.

<sup>215</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:534.

<sup>216</sup>Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50.

<sup>217</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:563; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 47.

<sup>218</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:593, 654, 876, 987; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50.

2. Qubātamur (or: Quyātamur) al-Muẓaffarī was promoted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad until he became *jamdār*. He was among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who were sent to capture Tankiz in 740/1340.<sup>219</sup> He is mentioned as an amir of one hundred in 742/1342.<sup>220</sup> In Muḥarram 743/June 1342 Qubātamur was released from jail and sent to Syria as amir.<sup>221</sup>
3. Bulak al-Jamdār (al-Muẓaffarī) al-Nāṣirī<sup>222</sup> was *amīr ṭablkhānah* during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. In 732/1332 he was among the amirs who accompanied the sultan on his hajj pilgrimage. He is mentioned with Qubātamur as one of the amirs who were sent to Damascus in order to confiscate the property of Tankiz in 740/1340. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death he served as the governor of Safad and amir of one hundred in Cairo until his death in the plague of 749/1348.<sup>223</sup>
4. Ṭūghān al-Sāqī al-Muẓaffarī is also mentioned among the *ṭablkhānah* amirs who accompanied the sultan on the hajj of 732/1332.<sup>224</sup> His son Ḥusayn was an amir too.<sup>225</sup>
5. Ṣafanjī al-Ruknī, who gained high status in the service of his master Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, was transferred to Damascus and served there as amir until his death in 734/1334.<sup>226</sup>
6. Baybars al-Muẓaffarī al-Ruknī was a mamluk of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr according to Ibn al-Taghrībirdī and the anonymous chronicle published by K. V. Zetterstéén. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-

<sup>219</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:498.

<sup>220</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:51.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 10:79.

<sup>222</sup> This amir is probably to be identified with Bulak al-Sāqī, who is mentioned by al-Yūsufī among the amirs who were taken by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from the ranks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's mamluks. Al-Maqrīzī, indeed, mentions him as Bulaq al-Muẓaffarī al-Jamdār (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:355, 498, 793). The editor of *Nuzhat al-Nāzir* also identifies Bulak al-Sāqī with Bulaq al-Jamdār al-Nāṣirī (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 149, n. 2). *Al-Muqaffā* is the only source that mentions two different amirs named Bulak (Bulak al-Muẓaffarī and Bulak al-Jamdār al-Nāṣirī), both of whom became amirs of one hundred and died in the same year. In my opinion, this is a mistake of al-Maqrīzī, who is actually referring to the same amir (*Al-Muqaffā*, 2:495).

<sup>223</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:52; *idem*, *Wāfī*, 10:388; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:495; *idem*, *Sulūk*, 2:352, 498, 793.

<sup>224</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:117.

<sup>226</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:553.

Shujā‘ī, this mamluk was originally a mamluk of Baktamur al-Silaḥdār al-Zāhirī-Manşūrī, and later transferred to the mamluks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. However, Baybars al-Muẓaffarī was transferred to the ranks of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr’s mamluks before the latter became sultan, and became amir during his master’s reign. When al-Nāşir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, Baybars al-Muẓaffarī moved to his service and informed him about the sultan’s nephew Mūsá ibn ‘Alī ibn Qalāwūn’s intention to depose him. During al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign Baybars served as the governor of al-Buḥayrah district in the western delta, and later as the governor of Alexandria. He died in 740/1339–40.<sup>227</sup>

7. Şawāb al-Ruknī (eunuch) served as *muqaddam al-mamālīk al-sultānīyah* for his master Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. Al-Nāşir Muḥammad deposed him when he reached Cairo, but in 721/1321 returned him to his position.<sup>228</sup> Şawāb was deposed again in 728/1328.<sup>229</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Salār:*

1. Aşlam al-Qibjaqī al-Silaḥdār was probably a mamluk of Qalāwūn, but moved to Salār when he was young and he is considered his mamluk.<sup>230</sup> Aşlam is mentioned as an amir of one hundred already in 712/1312.<sup>231</sup> He was among the amirs who were commanders during the conquest of Ayas in 722/1322.<sup>232</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad exiled him to Yemen in 725/1325, and when he came back to Egypt he was imprisoned in Alexandria for seven years due to the sultan’s suspicion that Aşlam was going to murder him.<sup>233</sup> After his release he served as amir again, probably in Cairo, and in 741/1340–41 he was appointed governor of Safad. He received (again) an amirate of one hundred

<sup>227</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:509; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 205; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:527–28; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:505; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:325; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 89–90.

<sup>228</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:208.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* 2:296.

<sup>230</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī mentions that Aşlam served Salār at first (*Durar*, 1:389). According to al-Şafadī, Aşlam was a *khushdash* of Baybars al-Salārī (*A‘yān*, 2:81). Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that Aşlam was a mamluk of al-Nāşir Muḥammad who also manumitted him (*Al-Manhal*, 2:455). According to other sources, however, he was originally Qalāwūn’s mamluk (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:722; idem, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:218; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:175) but moved to Salār (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:218).

<sup>231</sup> Amitai, “Military Elite”, 149–50.

<sup>232</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:309.

<sup>233</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:218

in Cairo lasting until his death in 747/1346.<sup>234</sup> Three of his sons were amirs too.<sup>235</sup> One of them, Shihāb al-Dīn or Bahā' al-Dīn became *amīr ṭablkhānah* in 742/1341.<sup>236</sup> Another son, Amir Aḥmad, died in 749/1348–49.<sup>237</sup>

2. Āqsunqur al-Salārī, like Aṣlam, probably belonged to the mamluks of Qalāwūn but moved to Salār when he was young and he is considered Salār's mamluk. Al-Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk* mentions that Āqsunqur was originally a mamluk of Salār.<sup>238</sup> However, in his *Al-Muqaffā* and *Khiṭaṭ* he mentions, like Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Shujāʿī, that Āqsunqur originally belonged to the mamluks of Qalāwūn but moved to Salār after the murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293.<sup>239</sup> At the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign Āqsunqur was made an amir and was promoted to the rank of amir of one hundred. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also married his daughter to him. In 738/1337–38 he was appointed as *amīr al-ḥajj*. In 741/1341 he was appointed governor of Safad and in the same year, governor of Gaza. In 743/1343 he became *nāʾib al-salṭānah* until his imprisonment and death in 744/1344.<sup>240</sup>
3. Baybars al-Salārī was exiled (probably from Cairo) to Safad in 727/1327, where he served as amir and later as *ḥājib*. Five years later he served as amir in Damascus. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death he returned to Safad and served as *ḥājib* until his death in 743/1342.<sup>241</sup>
4. Qīrān al-Salārī served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *naqīb al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah* until after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death.<sup>242</sup> His son Arghūn (d. 772/1370) inherited his father's office and later served as *naqīb al-jaysh*, during the reign

<sup>234</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:389; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:318–19; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:722.

<sup>235</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:319.

<sup>236</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 44.

<sup>237</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:792.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:620.

<sup>239</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:265; idem, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz wa-al-ʿItibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1853–54), 2:310; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:394; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 274.

<sup>240</sup> Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzīr*, 393; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 274; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:508, 517, 568; idem, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:265–66; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:310; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:105; idem, *Al-Manhal*, 2:499–500.

<sup>241</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:81; idem, *Wāfī*, 10:353; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:478.

<sup>242</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:259.

of Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (748–52/1347–51; 755–62/1354–61). He gained a high and honored position in the sultanate.<sup>243</sup>

5. Bilik Abū Ghuddah, who served as Salār’s *ustādār*, became amir *ṭablkhānah* and one of the *ustādārs* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He died in 734/1334.<sup>244</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Lājīn*

1. Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī served as the powerful governor of Damascus, and actually of Syria, during most of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. Lājīn purchased Tankiz from the slave trader al-Sīwāsī, when Tankiz was brought to Egypt as a young boy. After Lājīn’s murder in 698/1299, Tankiz joined the ranks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s *khāṣṣakīyah*. Tankiz was beside the young sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār (699/1299) and about ten years later, he accompanied the sultan to his exile in Kerak. Already before that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had made Tankiz an amir of ten.<sup>245</sup> Tankiz, hence, was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s mamluk for ten years before the latter’s third reign. However, Tankiz was a young *kutābbī* (novice) mamluk of Lājīn for several years before he moved to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s ranks. It seems that he was also manumitted by Lājīn, since his *nisbah* is al-Ḥusāmī, after Lājīn’s *laqab*, Ḥusām al-Dīn.<sup>246</sup> Three of Tankiz’s sons—‘Alī, Muḥammad, and Aḥmad—became amirs.<sup>247</sup> Tankiz’s grandson Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz was also an *amīr ṭablkhānah* and a member of the *khāṣṣakīyah*.<sup>248</sup> The latter’s son, i.e., Tankiz’s great-grandson, also called Muḥammad, was probably an amir since he bore the *laqab* Nāṣir al-Dīn. He died young in 802/1399.<sup>249</sup>
2. Ṭughāy al-Kabīr al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī was made an amir by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 709/1309 and gained high rank. Ṭughāy, however, was caught and executed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 718/1318 since the latter feared his

<sup>243</sup>Ibid., 1:350–51; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* 3:192; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:117. On *naqīb al-jaysh* and *naqīb al-mamālīk*, see David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army, III,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 64–65.

<sup>244</sup>Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 215; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:376.

<sup>245</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:152–53, 327; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:118.

<sup>246</sup>David Ayalon, “Names, Titles, and ‘Nisbas’ of the Mamluks,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 213.

<sup>247</sup>Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 48. On ‘Alī ibn Tankiz, see al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 3:320–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:35. On Muḥammad, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:152.

<sup>248</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:605, 827, 832; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>249</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, ed. Adnan Darwish (Damascus, 1977–97), 4:136.

ambitions. Ṭughāy had a “pact of brotherhood” (*ukhūwah, muwākhāh*) with Tankiz, since they were both originally mamluks of Lājīn.<sup>250</sup>

3. Aydughdī Shuqayr was one of Lājīn’s favorite mamluks. In 696/1296, immediately after Lājīn was crowned sultan, he made Aydughdī an amir and less than two years later, Lājīn planned to appoint Aydughdī governor of Aleppo.<sup>251</sup> After Lājīn’s murder, Aydughdī became a close friend of Lājīn’s cousin and governor of Damascus, Aqūsh al-Afram. However, when the political power of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Kerak strengthened, Aydughdī abandoned al-Afram in favor of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and he even incited him against al-Afram. In the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, Aydughdī became one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s closest associates (*khawāṣṣ*), with the help of his Ḥusāmī *khushdash* Ṭughāy. He became amir of one hundred and one of the sultan’s main advisers. However, al-Nāṣir feared Aydughdī’s intentions to murder him, so he arrested him in 715/1315 and executed him.<sup>252</sup>
4. Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī al-Turkmānī was raised by Lājīn from childhood. In 696/1296, after Lājīn was crowned as sultan, he made Bahādur amir together with others of his favorite mamluks. Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī remained amir until al-Nāṣir Muḥammad captured him together with his *khushdash*s Aydughdī Shuqayr and Baktamur al-Ḥājib in 715/1315. He remained in prison for fifteen years until he was released due to the mediation (*shafā‘ah*) of his *khushdash* Tankiz. After his release he became amir of one hundred in Cairo until his death in 739/1339.<sup>253</sup>
5. Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Manṣūrī (Lājīn al-Ṣaghīr)<sup>254</sup> was appointed as *wālī al-barr* (the governor of the Damascus countryside) by Sultan Lājīn in Muḥarram 698/October 1298. After Lājīn’s murder he was arrested and held for several

<sup>250</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:221–22; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 16:444–46; idem, *A‘yān*, 2:595–97; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:77.

<sup>251</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:853.

<sup>252</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 3:343; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:144; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:650–51; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:260; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:425–26.

<sup>253</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:501; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:496; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:59–60; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:354; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 54–55.

<sup>254</sup> Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Manṣūrī al-Ṣaghīr belonged to the mamluks of Lājīn, since he bore the same *nisbah* as Jaghān, who was another mamluk of Lājīn and died before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. This *nisbah* refers both to the *laqab* and the *nisbah* of Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī, i.e., “al-Ḥusāmī al-Manṣūrī.” Lājīn al-Ṣaghīr appointed Tankiz, his *khushdash*, in charge of his will; see al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:179.

months.<sup>255</sup> In 702/1303 after the battle of Shakḥab he was again appointed *wālī al-barr* of Damascus.<sup>256</sup> In 711/1312 he was appointed *wālī al-wulāh* of al-Qiblīyah (governor of the southern districts of Egypt).<sup>257</sup> He is mentioned again as *wālī al-barr* of Damascus one year later.<sup>258</sup> In 712/1312 he was appointed *amīr al-ḥajj* and in 720/1320 governor of Gaza. Later he served as governor of al-Bīrah until his death in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 729/September 1329.<sup>259</sup>

6. Bahādūr al-Jūkandār was made amir by his master Sultan Lājīn in 696/1296.<sup>260</sup> He served as amir of fifty in Damascus and died in 723/1323.<sup>261</sup>

Three other prominent amirs who originally belonged to Lājīn’s mamluks died before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign or they are not mentioned in the sources during his reign.<sup>262</sup> It should be mentioned that the grandson of Mankūtāmūr the mamluk of Lājīn, Mūsá ibn ‘Alī ibn Mankūtāmūr (d. 757/1356), was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Tripoli.<sup>263</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Kitbughā:*

1. Ughurlū al-‘Ādilī was raised from childhood by Kitbughā, and when Kitbughā became sultan he appointed Ughurlū as amir in Cairo.<sup>264</sup> Later Kitbughā appointed Ughurlū governor of Damascus for three months, in 695–96/1296–97. Ughurlū served as amir in Damascus after his master’s deposition and he became amir of one hundred until his death in his home in

<sup>255</sup> Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–92), 2:244; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:179.

<sup>256</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:22.

<sup>257</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:216.

<sup>258</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:54.

<sup>259</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:179; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:316. According to Ibn Kathīr he died one year later (*Bidāyah*, 14:118).

<sup>260</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumān*, 3:353.

<sup>261</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:54.

<sup>262</sup> These amirs are: Aqūsh al-Rūmī al-Ḥusāmī, who was killed by his own mamluks (al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-ḥumān*, 3:353; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:261; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:63–64); Jaghān, who died in 699/1300 (Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:150); and Bālūj al-Ḥusāmī (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 315; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:92).

<sup>263</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 5:485; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:378; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>264</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:224.

Damascus in 719/1319.<sup>265</sup> Ughurlū's son 'Alī (d. 749/1348) was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus.<sup>266</sup>

2. Ughulbak mamluk of al-Ādil Kitbughā was appointed as *wālī al-barr* of Damascus in 713/1313–14 and died in 722/1322.<sup>267</sup>
3. Uljaybughā al-Ādilī was amir of one hundred in Damascus during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. He was one of Tankiz's associates and was arrested together with him. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad died, he was released and returned to serve as amir of one hundred. He served as *nā'ib al-ghaybah* in Damascus and died in 754/1353.<sup>268</sup> His son Muḥammad (d. 781/1379–80) was amir of one hundred as well. He also served at different times as *amīr ṭablkhānah*, as the governor of Gaza, and as *ḥājib*.<sup>269</sup>
4. Baydarā al-Ādilī was married to the daughter of his master Kitbughā. He was *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus, probably until his death in 714/1314.<sup>270</sup>
5. Ṭuruntāy al-Zaynī al-Ādilī, who served as the *dawādār* of Kitbughā, became amir and a hadith scholar. He died in 731/1331.<sup>271</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Aqūsh al-Afram:*

1. Alṭunqush (or: Alṭunfush) al-Jamālī served as the *ustādār* of his master Aqūsh al-Afram. When Aqūsh al-Afram defected to the Mongols, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested Alṭunqush, but after a while released him and made him *amīr ṭablkhānah*. Alṭunqush was appointed governor of al-Sharqīyah district in northern Egypt and in 732/1333 was appointed *ustādār* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's son, Ānūk. Later he became the *ustādār* of the sultan himself.

<sup>265</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:76; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:245; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:305; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:199; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:390–91; al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī*, 185.

<sup>266</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:30; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 3:303; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45.

<sup>267</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:546–47.

<sup>268</sup>Ibid., 1:598–99; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:406; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:247–48.

<sup>269</sup>Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 43.

<sup>270</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:513.

<sup>271</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 16:432; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:217; the son of Ṭuruntāy, Khalīl, was also a prominent hadith scholar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:89; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1936–37), 2:47. Another mamluk of Kitbughā, who was called Ṭuruntāy al-Zaynī and had an interest in hadith but is not mentioned explicitly as an amir, died in 728/1328; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:218.

Altunqush was among the amirs who accompanied the sultan’s royal hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332. He continued to serve as amir in Cairo after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, until his own death in 745/1345.<sup>272</sup>

2. Sunqur al-Jamālī served as a member of the *barīdiyah* of Tankiz and later as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and as the governor of Ba‘albek. He died in 749/1349.<sup>273</sup> His son Abū Bakr (d. 803/1401) served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* and later as amir of one hundred in Cairo, as *ḥājib*, and as *amīr al-ḥajj* for several years.<sup>274</sup>
3. Tulak al-Ḥasanī al-Arghūnī, who was originally a mamluk of Aqūsh al-Afram and later moved to Arghūn al-Dawādār, is mentioned as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus in 748/1347–48, so it is reasonable to assume that he was an amir also during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. In 750/1349 he was *ḥājib ṣaghīr* in Damascus and in 752/1351 *ḥājib ṣaghīr* and *amīr akhūr* in Cairo. He died in 753/1352.<sup>275</sup> His son Muḥammad ibn Tulak (d. 799/1397) served as an *amīr ṭablkhānah* as well as holding several other offices.<sup>276</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Qarāsunqur:*

Several mamluks of Qarāsunqur became amirs. The sources mentioned the names of some of them but only added data for a few of them. Some of them were made *ṭablkhānah* amirs, like Baykhān, Mughulṭāy, and Balabān. Others became amirs of ten, like Bahādur and ‘Abdūn.<sup>277</sup> Amir Butkhāṣ, who was one of Qarāsunqur’s mamluks, commanded a Mamluk force that defeated Mongols raiding Karkar in 708/1308–9.<sup>278</sup> It is very likely that most of Qarāsunqur’s mamluks who were amirs continued to serve as amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. However, the sources mention only Balabān Jarkas who served as the governor of Qal‘at al-Muslimīn (Qal‘at al-Rūm), and died in 745/1344–45.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>272</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:352, 674–75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:410; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 276; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352, 674–75.

<sup>273</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:477–78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:176.

<sup>274</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:198–99; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 41.

<sup>275</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:604; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:387.

<sup>276</sup> For more about him, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:639; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 47.

<sup>277</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:98; idem, *Wāfī*, 24:221.

<sup>278</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 402–3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:140.

<sup>279</sup> Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl Abū al-Fidā’, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Beirut, 1972), 4:143.

*The Mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī:*

Al-Ṣafadī mentions that most of the mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī (d. 700/1300) became the greatest amirs of the sultanate in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, among them Aydughmish *amīr akhūr*, Ṭughrāy al-Jāshnakīr, Mankūtāmūr al-Ṭabbākhī, and others.<sup>280</sup> The sources provide the following data regarding these three amirs:

1. Aydughmish *amīr akhūr* was transferred to the *khāṣṣakīyah* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad probably after the death of his master Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī in 700/1300. Aydughmish became amir of one hundred and was appointed as *amīr akhūr kabīr* (grand master of the stable) in 712/1312. Aydughmish served in this office for about thirty years, until the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Later, he served as the governor of Aleppo and as the governor of Damascus until his death in 743/1343.<sup>281</sup> Due to Aydughmish's high status in the sultanate, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made his four sons amirs; among them 'Alī, Ḥājj Malik, and Aḥmad are mentioned.<sup>282</sup> 'Alī is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* and his brother Aḥmad among the amirs of ten who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage of 732/1332.<sup>283</sup> Aḥmad was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 741/1340.<sup>284</sup> Ḥājj Malik was *amīr ṭablkhānah* at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign.<sup>285</sup> He is also mentioned as an amir of ten about fifty years later, in 791/1389.<sup>286</sup>
2. Ṭurghāy al-Jāshnakīr al-Nāṣirī was transferred to the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī's mamluks after the latter's death in 700/1300. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made him amir and appointed him as *jāshnakīr* (taster). Ṭurghāy gained very high status during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign. In 729/1329 he held the *iqṭā'* of an amir of one hundred.<sup>287</sup> In 739/1339 he was appointed governor of Aleppo. About a year later, when Tankiz was captured, Ṭurghāy was returned to Cairo. In 743/1343 he

<sup>280</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:43.

<sup>281</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:99–100; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:653; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:320–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:426–28; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 250–51.

<sup>282</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:346; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:100. According to al-Shujā'ī, four of Aydughmish's sons were amirs (*Tārīkh*, 251).

<sup>283</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352.

<sup>284</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45.

<sup>285</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:559.

<sup>286</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 9:99; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 49.

<sup>287</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:314.

was appointed governor of Tripoli until his death a year later.<sup>288</sup> His son, Muḥammad, was also an amir.<sup>289</sup>

3. Mankūtamur al-Ṭabbākhi became a high-ranking amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign. He died in 718/1318.<sup>290</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Ṭurunṭāy (d. 689/1290)*

1. Baktamur al-Ḥāḥib was a mamluk of Ṭurunṭāy while the latter was still a mamluk of Amir Qalāwūn. Ṭurunṭāy raised and manumitted Baktamur.<sup>291</sup> During Aqūsh al-Afram’s tenure as governor of Damascus (698–709/1299–1310), Baktamur served as *shādd al-dawāwīn* of Damascus and later as *ḥāḥib*.<sup>292</sup> Baktamur al-Ḥāḥib is mentioned among the amirs of Syria who refused to swear allegiance to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr. In Muḥarram 710/June 1310 he was appointed governor of Gaza.<sup>293</sup> Eight months later Baktamur became amir of one hundred and was appointed wazir.<sup>294</sup> Shortly after, in 711/1311, he was removed from the wazirate to the office of *al-ḥāḥib al-kabīr* in Egypt.<sup>295</sup> After four years in this office, Baktamur was arrested, but released one and a half years later. He was appointed governor of Safad and received a lot of money from the sultan.<sup>296</sup> After three months, in Ṣafar 717/April 1317, Baktamur was returned to Cairo as amir of one hundred.<sup>297</sup> In 725/1325 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrested Baktamur again,<sup>298</sup> but he was probably released shortly after, since he died in his home in Cairo in 728/1328 or 729/1329, or 738/1337–38.<sup>299</sup> Two of Baktamur’s sons were amirs, as was at least one of

<sup>288</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:578; idem, *Wāfī*, 16:425; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:216; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:107; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:659.

<sup>289</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:51.

<sup>290</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 2:43; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:189.

<sup>291</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:314; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:278; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 33:292–93.

<sup>292</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:287.

<sup>293</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:161.

<sup>294</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:89; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:24.

<sup>295</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:28; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:100–1.

<sup>296</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144, 162–63; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:55; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:62; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:288.

<sup>297</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:181.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:260.

<sup>299</sup> Al-Ṣafadī mentions in *A’yān* that Baktamur al-Ḥāḥib died in 727/1327, or, according to another manuscript, in 728/1327–28 (*A’yān*, 1:704). According to Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, Baktamur died in 728/1327–28 (*Durar*, 1:484). Other sources mention that Baktamur died in 729/1328–29 (al-Maqrīzī,

his grandsons and great-grandsons. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 786/1384), who was also the grandson of Aqūsh al-Ashrafī on his mother’s side, served as amir of one hundred and *ḥājib* in Cairo and continued to hold his father’s property.<sup>300</sup> Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib was an amir of ten when he was only thirteen. He was arrested together with his father in 742/1342 and his *iqṭā‘* was transferred to his brother ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>301</sup> Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh was an amir of ten.<sup>302</sup> ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib is mentioned as an amir too. Even the great-grandsons of Baktamur were amirs and their sons are mentioned in the sources. Among Baktamur’s great-grandsons Amir ‘Alī is mentioned.<sup>303</sup>

2. Balabān al-Ḥusāmī was appointed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as *shihnah* (in charge of public security) and then as *barīdī*. Later, in 735/1335, he was appointed as *wālī* of Cairo and five months later as *wālī* of Damietta, until his death in 736/1336.<sup>304</sup>

### *The Mamluks of Baydarā:*

1. Asandamur al-Qalijī was a mamluk of Baydarā who was transferred to the mamluks of Ṭurunṭāy. During al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign he served as *wālī* of al-Buḥayrah district. Before his death in the plague of 749/1348–49 he served for several days as *wālī* of Cairo.<sup>305</sup>
2. Ṭaybars al-Khaznadārī was originally a mamluk of Bilik al-Khaznadārī al-Zāhirī and later was transferred to the mamluks of Baydarā. After his master’s death he became a close associate of Sultan Lājīn, who appointed him

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*Sulūk*, 2:214; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:277; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:116). Al-Ṣafadī mentions in his *Wafī* (and based on that Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions in his *Al-Manhal*) that Baktamur died ten years later, in 738/1337–38 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, 10:192; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:289).

<sup>300</sup> ‘Abd Allāh held other offices as *amīr ṭablkhānah*; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:144–45; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 7:83; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:64; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 40–41.

<sup>301</sup> Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 33:294; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:314; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:277.

<sup>302</sup> Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 50; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:133.

<sup>303</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi‘*, 11:242; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:64, 77. The last honorable descendant of Baktamur al-Ḥājib was his great-great-grandson, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 895/1490); see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi‘*, 8:257.

<sup>304</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 2:491; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, 231; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:493; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:377.

<sup>305</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:387.

*naqīb al-jaysh*. Ṭaybars held this office as *amīr ṭablkhānah* until his death in 719/1319.<sup>306</sup>

### **Other Mamluks of Manşūrī Amirs:**

1. Arghūn, the mamluk of Bahādūr Samiz al-Manşūrī, was an associate of Tankiz and served as *mushidd al-zakkāt* (overseer of the spice traders) and later in 728/1328 as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus. In 732/1331 he was appointed governor of Ba‘albek. Later he served as amir in Tripoli.<sup>307</sup>
2. Qadādār, the mamluk of Bughlughay al-Ashrafī, was appointed governor of al-Gharbīyah district in 723/1323, and a few months later, governor of al-Buḥayrah district. One year later, he was appointed *wālī* of Cairo in order to restore order and morality to the city. In 729/1329 he left his office and a few months later he died.<sup>308</sup>
3. Ayās al-Shamsī, the mamluk of Sunqur al-A‘sar al-Manşūrī, served as the governor of Qal‘at al-Rūm before al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Later he moved to Ḥamāh and from Ramaḍān 710/January 1311 he served as *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 711/April 1312 he was transferred to Tripoli, where he served as amir. He died in 722/1322.<sup>309</sup>
4. Ṭūghhān al-Shamsī, the mamluk of Sunqur al-Ṭawīl al-Manşūrī, served as *wālī* of Ashmūnīn and *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Cairo. In 740/1340–41 he was appointed *shādd al-dawāwīn* in Damascus until his death in the same year.<sup>310</sup>
5. Aqjubā, the mamluk of Baybars al-Ṭājī, served as amir in Damascus. He was executed in 720/1320 after he claimed to be a prophet.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>306</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:246; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 128–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:229.

<sup>307</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:462–63. For more on Bahādūr Samiz, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 3:433; idem, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:217; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:60. On *shādd al-zakkāt*, see Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-A‘shā fī Şinā‘at al-Inshā’*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987), 4:193.

<sup>308</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:250, 256, 312, 327; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:148–49; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:283–84.

<sup>309</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:641–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:420; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 153; Sunqur al-A‘sar moved to the mamluks of Qalāwūn when the latter was sultan; see al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:478.

<sup>310</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:227–28; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffā*, 4:38; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 121.

<sup>311</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:321; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:250.

6. Alṭunbughā al-Jāwli, the mamluk of Sanjar al-Jāwli, had moved to Sanjar's service from the mamluks of an amir named Ibn Bākhil. Sanjar appointed Alṭunbughā as his *dawādār* and Alṭunbughā served as amir in Damascus until his death in 744/1343.<sup>312</sup>

It should be noted that there were dozens of amirs, originally mamluks of Maṣṣūrī amirs, who became *amīrs ṭablkhānah* or amirs of ten, that the sources do not discuss or that we cannot affiliate explicitly to Maṣṣūrī amirs. As mentioned above, it is noted that “most” of the mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī became prominent amirs in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign. Similarly, most of Sunqur al-A'sar's mamluks became amirs after his death.<sup>313</sup>

### Conclusions:

1. Forty mamluks who originally belonged to Maṣṣūrī amirs served as amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. Fourteen of them continued to serve as amirs after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death.
2. Twenty-one sons of these forty amirs, four of their grandsons, and three of their great-grandsons are also mentioned as amirs.
3. Approximately ten amirs served for certain periods as amir of one hundred in Cairo during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign; three others served as amirs of one hundred in Damascus. Three amirs continued to serve as amirs of one hundred after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, and two others became amirs of one hundred after the sultan's death; three of the descendants of the mamluks of the Maṣṣūrī amirs were amirs of one hundred.
4. Most of the amirs who served as amirs of one hundred originated among the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's greatest enemies, like Baybars al-Jāshnakīr and Salār, or Kitbughā and Lājīn, who deposed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from the sultanate when he was young.
5. Approximately ten amirs served as *amīrs ṭablkhānah* in Cairo during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, and six as *amīrs ṭablkhānah* in Syria.
6. Half of the amirs, about twenty, served in Egypt, mainly in Cairo.

<sup>312</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:407; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:105.

<sup>313</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:480.

## 2.2. The Descendants of the Manşūrī Amirs

### *Bahādur Āş*

The five sons of Bahādur Āş became amirs: Muḥammad, ‘Umar, ‘Alī, Abū Bakr, and Aḥmad.<sup>314</sup> The sources add information about only three of them:

1. Muḥammad ibn Bahādur Āş was appointed amir of one hundred by sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāşir Muḥammad (748–52/1347–51; 755–62/1354–61).<sup>315</sup> He was deposed from the governorship of Homs in 754/1353.<sup>316</sup> In 776/1374 he was appointed governor of Bahnasā district in southern Egypt.<sup>317</sup> It is reasonable to assume that he was already an amir during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign. Muḥammad’s son Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh had an *iqṭā‘* in Syria. ‘Abd Allāh died in 761/1360.<sup>318</sup>
2. ‘Umar was *amīr ṭablkhānah*. He died in 731/1331 in Damascus.<sup>319</sup>
3. ‘Alī was amir of ten in Damascus and died in 744/1343.<sup>320</sup>

### *Qarāsunqur*

Three of Qarāsunqur’s sons were amirs during their father’s life, i.e., during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Muḥammad was an amir of one hundred, ‘Alī was an amir of forty and later an amir of one hundred, and Faraj was an amir of ten.<sup>321</sup>

1. Muḥammad ibn Qarāsunqur was an amir even before al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. He is mentioned as a commander already at the battle of ‘Urḍ, which preceded the battle of Shakḥab (Marj al-Şuffar) in 702/1303.<sup>322</sup> According to al-Şafadī, Muḥammad convinced his father to support al-Nāşir Muḥammad and not Baybars al-Jāshnakīr.<sup>323</sup> Muḥammad continued to serve

<sup>314</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:57; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 10:297; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:497.

<sup>315</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:61; Ibn Taghribirdī, probably mistakenly, mentions Muḥammad ibn Bahādur as *ra’s nawbah* (*Al-Manhal*, 5:127).

<sup>316</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:53.

<sup>317</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:232.

<sup>318</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:732–33.

<sup>319</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:341; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>320</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 3:315–16; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 49.

<sup>321</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:98; idem, *Wāfi*, 24:222; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:251–52.

<sup>322</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:931.

<sup>323</sup> Al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:91–92; idem, *Wāfi*, 24:216.

as amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign and, as mentioned above, as amir of one hundred. In 761/1360 he is still mentioned as amir.<sup>324</sup>

2. 'Alī ibn Qarāsunqur served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo. He is mentioned among the commanders who were sent in 716/1316 against the Bedouin revolts in southern Egypt, and in 723/1323 in the expedition to Nubia. After the arrival of the news of Qarāsunqur's death in 728/1328, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sent 'Alī to serve as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus. In Damascus he became a close associate of Tankiz and was made amir of one hundred until his death in 748/1347. 'Alī's son Muḥammad was an amir too.<sup>325</sup>
3. Faraj ibn Qarāsunqur received an amirate of ten from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 711/1311. In 723/1323 he was jailed in the Cairo citadel's *al-jubb* prison, where he remained for five years. After the arrival of the news of Qarāsunqur's death in 728/1328, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sent Faraj to Damascus as either an amir of ten (according to al-Maqrīzī) or as an *amīr ṭablkhānah* (according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī). Faraj died in Damascus in 734/1333. His son, who also bore the name Faraj, was an amir too.<sup>326</sup>

### *Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (Burji)*

Three of Aydamur's sons were amirs. Two of them, 'Alī and Muḥammad, received their amirate during their father's lifetime (he died in 737/1337). After his death, another son, Mūsá, became an amir.<sup>327</sup>

1. 'Alī is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332. He was amir in Damascus in the last years before his death in 762/1360–61.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>324</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:148.

<sup>325</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:238; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:250, 305, 754; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:473–74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:95–96; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 41, 45.

<sup>326</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:109, 249, 305; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:31; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:230; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45.

<sup>327</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:312; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:661.

<sup>328</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:103; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:30; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45. According to al-Shujāʿī, 'Alī died in 740/1339 (*Tārīkh*, 89).

2. Muḥammad ibn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī is mentioned among the amirs of ten who accompanied al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332.<sup>329</sup> He died in 740/1339.<sup>330</sup>
3. Mūsá ibn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī became an amir after his father’s death in 737/1337. He was an amir of ten and died in 776/1374–75.<sup>331</sup>

### *Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī (Burji)*<sup>332</sup>

Three of Baktamur’s sons were amirs. Asanbughā was an amir of one hundred, ‘Alī and Aḥmad were *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.<sup>333</sup>

1. Asanbughā<sup>334</sup> was an amir of one hundred during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign.<sup>335</sup> He was born in the first decade of the eighth/fourteenth century, so when his father was captured by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 722/1322 (and six years later was executed), Asanbughā was probably in his twenties. This fact did not prevent him from being a close associate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and conducting an honorable career during the latter’s reign. Asanbughā was arrested after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death (741/1341), and was released at the beginning of al-Şāliḥ Ismā‘īl’s reign (743/1342). He became *amīr akhūr kabīr* of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748–52/1347–51 and 755–62/1354–61) and of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān (764–78/1363–77). Later he served as governor of Alexandria, governor of Aleppo, and as chief *ḥājib* of Egypt. He died in 777/1375 when he was over seventy.<sup>336</sup>
2. ‘Alī ibn Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo, and after his father’s death in 728/1328 he moved to Damascus. Later he was twice appointed governor of al-Raḥbah. He died in 762/1361.<sup>337</sup>

<sup>329</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:103; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:367.

<sup>330</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:505.

<sup>331</sup>Ibid., 3:247.

<sup>332</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:457.

<sup>333</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:482.

<sup>334</sup>Al-Maqrīzī is the only source that mentions the name Ismā‘īl instead of Asanbughā (*Al-Muqaffá*, 2:186).

<sup>335</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:386; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:186. From Ibn Taghrībirdī, however, we are given the impression that Asanbughā received the rank of amir of one hundred only after the death of the sultan (*Al-Nujūm*, 11:140).

<sup>336</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 11:140; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:386; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 2:186; idem, *Sulūk*, 3:75, 258; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 42.

<sup>337</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:32; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 3:309–10.

3. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī was *amīr ṭablkhānah*, and he was also exiled to Damascus after his father's death.<sup>338</sup>

### *Salār*

ʿAlī ibn Salār was made an amir of ten in Cairo by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the beginning of the latter's third reign.<sup>339</sup> Later he became an *amīr ṭablkhānah*. He is mentioned as an amir in Egypt in 732/1332.<sup>340</sup> ʿAlī died in 742/1341–42 and the sultan transferred his amirate of *ṭablkhānah* to his son Khalīl.<sup>341</sup> Khalīl ibn ʿAlī ibn Salār (d. 770/1368–69) served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Cairo and was *nāẓir al-awqāf* (supervisor of the endowments) of his grandfather Salār.<sup>342</sup>

1. Abū Bakr ibn Salār bore the amir *laqab* "Sayf al-Dīn." His son Mūsá (d. 797/1395) was amir of ten and served as *amīr ṭabar* (in charge of the axe bearers).<sup>343</sup>
2. Nāṣir ibn Salār served as amir of ten in Cairo when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad began his third reign.<sup>344</sup> The name Nāṣir might refer to the *laqab* Nāṣir al-Dīn [Muḥammad?]. Indeed, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah mentions the amir "Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Salār" who served as governor of the Aleppo citadel.<sup>345</sup> It should be noted that two brothers of Salār, Daʿūd and Jubā, who were the greatest supporters of Salār during his conflict against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, were released by the latter already in 715/1315, after five years of imprisonment.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>338</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:309.

<sup>339</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 9:11; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:75; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah*, 206; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:281–82.

<sup>340</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:368.

<sup>341</sup> Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh*, 220; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:615.

<sup>342</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:90; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 46.

<sup>343</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:626, 848; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Hyderabad, 1969), 3:280.

<sup>344</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51.

<sup>345</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:363.

<sup>346</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:144.

### *Kitbughā*

1. Anaş ibn Kitbughā was appointed by his father, Sultan Kitbughā, as his deputy when he left Cairo for Damascus in 695/1296.<sup>347</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad honored and promoted not only Anaş but also his children.<sup>348</sup>
2. ‘Alī ibn Kitbughā was made *amīr ṭablkhānah* in 742/1341.<sup>349</sup> It is reasonable to assume, then, that he was amir during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign as well.
3. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil Kitbughā died as amir of ten in Cairo in 744/1344. His son Aḥmad inherited his amirate.<sup>350</sup>

### *Ṭurunṭāy*

1. Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who accompanied Baybars al-Manşūrī when he was dispatched to put down the Bedouin revolt in southern Egypt in 700/1300.<sup>351</sup> Despite his blindness, he became amir of one hundred during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign. He died in 731/1331.<sup>352</sup> His son ‘Abd Allāh, who was also the son of Qibjaq’s daughter, was an amir of ten and died in 741/1341 when he was only eighteen.<sup>353</sup>
2. ‘Alī ibn Ṭurunṭāy was an amir of ten in Egypt. He died in 726/1326.<sup>354</sup>

### *Kujkun*

1. Muḥammad ibn Kujkun was *amīr ṭablkhānah* and *amīr shikār* (master of the royal hunt) in Damascus. In 752/1351–52 he was appointed *wālī al-wulāh*

<sup>347</sup>Ibid., 1:816.

<sup>348</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:417; al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 1:628–29.

<sup>349</sup>Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 45. It is not explicitly mentioned that ‘Alī’s father was al-‘Ādil Kitbughā. However, since there are no other mamluks named Kitbughā mentioned in the sources except Kitbughā *ra’s nawbah* al-‘Ādilī al-Manşūrī (see n. 190 above), I assume that he is the son of al-‘Ādil Kitbughā.

<sup>350</sup>Al-Shujā’ī, *Tārīkh*, 266.

<sup>351</sup>Baybars al-Manşūrī, *Zubdah*, 349.

<sup>352</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 4:480; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:459; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:338; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 43.

<sup>353</sup>Zetterstéén, *Beiträge*, 317; al-Shujā’ī, *Tārīkh*, 121.

<sup>354</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 3:384; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā’il, *Āgypten und Syrien*, 36. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, ‘Alī died in 766/1364–65; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:56; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 49.

(head of the northern or southern districts of Egypt). In 754/1353 he was appointed governor of Homs, where he died a few months later at age sixty.<sup>355</sup>

2. Aḥmad ibn Kujkun is mentioned among the amirs of ten who accompanied the sultan on the hajj pilgrimage in 732/1332.<sup>356</sup>

### *Aybak al-Ṭawīl*

1. Muḥammad ibn Aybak al-Ṭawīl served as *shādd al-sāhil* and *wālī al-wulāh bi-al-ṣafaqah al-qibliyah* (in charge of the southern districts of Damascus). Later he was in charge of the fortresses of al-Raḥbah and al-Ja'bar. Toward the end of his life he served for about half a year as amir in Safad until his death in the plague of 749/1348.<sup>357</sup>
2. 'Alī ibn Aybak al-Ṭawīl served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus, probably during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign. Later he served as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Tripoli. In 760/1359 or 761/1360 he became *amīr ḥājib* in Tripoli and in 763/1362 amir in Damascus, where he died in 764/1363.<sup>358</sup>

### *Other Sons of Maṣṣūrī Amirs*

1. Jaraktamur ibn Bahādur *ra's nawbah* presented himself to Baybars al-Jāshnakīr after his father's death in 693/1293, and he was made amir by Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in 708/1309. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived in Cairo, he wanted to arrest Jaraktamur but the latter received a pardon, thanks to the efforts of his father-in-law, Qarāsunqur.<sup>359</sup> Jaraktamur continued to serve as amir, and in 722/1322 he is mentioned among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* who accompanied the sultan on his hajj.<sup>360</sup> In 735/1334 he was appointed governor of Gaza, and in 736/1336 governor of Homs. In 740/1340 he is mentioned again among the *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.<sup>361</sup> His two sons were *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.<sup>362</sup>

<sup>355</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:104; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:151.

<sup>356</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352.

<sup>357</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:341–42; idem, *Wāfi*, 2:233; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:393.

<sup>358</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 3:304.

<sup>359</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:534; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 223.

<sup>360</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:352; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366.

<sup>361</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:379, 403, 499, 571, 579–80, 615; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 45–46.

<sup>362</sup> Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 46.

2. ‘Alī ibn Ṭuġhrīl al-Ighānī is mentioned as *amīr ṭablkhānah* in 725/1325. Later he became an amir of one hundred in Cairo. He is mentioned as one of the greatest amirs in 740/1339–40. In 748/1347 he served for a few months as the chief *ḥājib* of Damascus. He died in Cairo in the plague of 749/1348–49.<sup>363</sup>
3. Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Aḥmadī served as one of the *amīrs ṭablkhānah* in Egypt. He died in 752/1351 in southern Egypt.<sup>364</sup> His son Aḥmad is mentioned as an amir of ten in 778/1377 who accompanied the sultan on hajj.<sup>365</sup>
4. Quṭlījā ibn Balabān al-Jūkandār was an *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Damascus. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him one of the *silahdārīyah*. He died in 720/1320.<sup>366</sup>
5. Muḥammad ibn Tamur al-Sāqī was an amir who died in Damascus in 728/1328 when he was thirty-five.<sup>367</sup>
6. Khalīl ibn Balabān Ṭurnā is mentioned as an *amīr ṭablkhānah* in Syria at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign.<sup>368</sup>
7. Baktamur ibn Kirāy was an amir who died in 731/1331.<sup>369</sup>
8. Muḥammad ibn Aqūsh al-Maṭrūḥī was an amir and a hadith scholar. He died in 735/1335.<sup>370</sup>
9. Aḥmad ibn Ālmalik al-Jūkandār was made an *amīr ṭablkhānah* by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and amir of one hundred in the reign of Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (748–52/1347–51; 744–62/1354–61). In 775/1373–74 he served as governor of Gaza and later as the governor of Jerusalem and Hebron. In the same year he came back to Cairo and served as a *ḥājib* there. In 779/1377–78 he left his military-political career and became a devout Sufi.

<sup>363</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:260, 498, 738, 795; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 3:385; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:56; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 41–42.

<sup>364</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:253; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:857.

<sup>365</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 11:71.

<sup>366</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:128–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:255; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs,” 48.

<sup>367</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:374; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:412.

<sup>368</sup> Al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh*, 95.

<sup>369</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:337.

<sup>370</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:340.

He died in 793/1391.<sup>371</sup> Another amir of one hundred was Aḥmad's cousin Albakī ibn akhī Ālmalik (d. 756/1355), who served before him as governor of Gaza.<sup>372</sup>

10. Muḥammad ibn Mughulṭāy al-Mas'ūdī served as the *wālī* of Cairo. He became an amir of twenty in 791/1389 and died one year later.<sup>373</sup>
11. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Biktāsh al-Mankūrsī was appointed by his father as *amīr al-ḥajj* in 754/1353. Before his death in 757/1356 Biktāsh gave his *iqṭā'* to his son.<sup>374</sup>
12. Muḥammad ibn Ṭūghān (al-Manṣūrī) is mentioned among the *awlād al-nās* who were made amirs of one hundred by Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>375</sup> It is reasonable to assume, then, that he served as an amir also during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign.
13. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-'Alā'ī was an amir.<sup>376</sup>

## Conclusions

1. Thirty-nine sons of Manṣūrī amirs, and ten of their grandsons, became amirs.
2. Four of them were amirs of one hundred during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign; three others became amirs of one hundred after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, most of them during the reign of Sultan Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.
3. Among the amirs of one hundred are the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's enemies, like Ṭughrīl al-Ighānī and Qarāsunqur.
4. Eleven were *amīrs ṭablkhānah*.

<sup>371</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:108; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 41.

<sup>372</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:405; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 41.

<sup>373</sup>Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 9:135, 214; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:653; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 48.

<sup>374</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:699–700; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51.

<sup>375</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 5:127. Most of the other recipients of this amirate of one hundred were sons of Manṣūrī amirs, so it is reasonable to assume that he is the son of Ṭūghān al-Manṣūrī, though only the name Ṭūghān is mentioned.

<sup>376</sup>Richards, "Mamluk Amirs," 51.

5. Nineteen amirs continued (and several started) to serve after al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s death.

## Final Conclusions

During the first three years of al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign, dozens of Manşūrī amirs—and others who were related to them—were imprisoned or executed by the young sultan. These moves might convey the impression that the Manşūrīyah was eliminated by al-Nāşir Muḥammad. However, a closer look at the careers of the Manşūrī amirs reveals that many of them, including al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s former enemies, continued to play an important role in the political-military life of the sultanate during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. This conclusion is strengthened by the observations of Mamluk historians. Moreover, many of the mamluks and descendants of these Manşūrī amirs gained very high positions as amirs in the sultanate during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign and after. The conclusive findings are as follows: Forty-two Manşūrī amirs conducted honorable careers during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign. Seventeen of them served as amirs of one hundred during different periods of his third reign; forty mamluks of the Manşūrī amirs became amirs as well, fifteen of them amirs of one hundred. Twenty-one of their sons and seven of their descendants are also mentioned as amirs; thirty-nine sons of Manşūrī amirs and ten of their grandsons became amirs during and after al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s reign. Eight of them were amirs of one hundred. The “Manşūrīyah heritage” thus consisted of at least one hundred sixty amirs who continued to play an important part in the military and political Mamluk elite from al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign up to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. Among these amirs, not less than forty-three (more than twenty-five percent) served as amirs of one hundred for certain periods.

The studies of Amitai, Levanoni, Van Steenberg, and Clifford, mentioned at the beginning of this article, already pointed out that the military elite during al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third reign was not based purely on the Nāşirīyah mamluks. However, the data discussed in the present article reveals that the Manşūrīyah’s position was much more dominant than previously assumed. Amitai, in his analysis of the military elite in 712/1312, classified four out of twenty-two amirs of one hundred as belonging to the Manşūrīyah, though at least thirteen of them were Manşūrī amirs or related to them.<sup>377</sup> Van Steenberg, who examined the

<sup>377</sup>The four amirs who are classified as Manşūrī mamluks are Sanjar al-Jumaqdār, Qarālājīn, Aybak al-Rūmī, and Baybars al-Aḥmadī. However, three other amirs, who are mentioned as “non-affiliated,” should be added: Ayadamur al-Khaṭīrī, Qullī, and Ālmalik. Other amirs of one hundred mentioned in this list who were related to the Manşūrīyah are Jankalī ibn Bābā al-



identity of the members of the military elite thirty years later on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, correctly identified four out of the twenty-five amirs of one hundred as Maṣṣūrī amirs, but four other amirs that were related to the Maṣṣūrīyah should be added.<sup>378</sup> In his dissertation, Clifford mentions only sixteen Maṣṣūrī mamluks (really only eleven), seven of their sons, and three of their grandsons, who served as amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>379</sup> Ayalon, it should be noted, discusses only four Burji amirs who continued their careers during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.<sup>380</sup>

Finally, we must return to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's enigmatic policy and his long reign, given the prominent position of the Maṣṣūrīyah and many other amirs who were related to them during this period. This question can be refined even further, since many of the high-ranking amirs during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign belonged or were related to his greatest opponents and enemies. In my opinion, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could not assert real authority over his own mamluks, since, in contrast to his father Qalāwūn, who fostered his Maṣṣūrīyah mamluks for many years before becoming sultan, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was only twenty-four at the beginning of his third reign. Most of his mamluks were more or less his age or even older than him, and he did not have the opportunity to educate them "as father" for many years and thus to achieve severity (*saṭwah*)

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Wāfidī, who is mentioned together with Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's Burji supporters (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:251) and Ḥusayn ibn Jāndār (or: Jāndārbak), Wāfidī's son, who was a close associate of Aqūsh al-Afram (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:313–14). Other amirs of one hundred originated among the mamluks of Maṣṣūrī amirs: Bahādūr al-Mu'izzī and Aydughdī Shuqayr were mamluks of Lājīn, Aṣlam was a mamluk of Salār, and Baktamur al-Ḥusāmī a mamluk of Ṭuruntāy; see Amitai, "Military Elite," 149.

<sup>378</sup>The Maṣṣūrī amirs are Ālmalik, Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwli, and Kūkāy. Two other amirs of one hundred are the mamluks of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī al-Manṣūrī, Aydughmish *amīr akhūr*, and Ṭurghāy al-Jāshnakīr. Jankalī ibn Bābā was a supporter of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, and Qumārī al-Kabīr was the brother of Baktamur al-Sāqī, Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's loyal mamluk; see Van Steenbergen, "Mamluk Elite," 174, 177.

<sup>379</sup>Clifford, "State Formation," 261–72, esp. 265–66. Clifford mentions only these eleven Maṣṣūrī amirs: Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwli, Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī al-Rūmī, Sanjar al-Jumaqdār, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Bahādūr Ās, Tamur al-Sāqī, Balabān Ṭurnā, Baktūt al-Qarmānī, Aqūsh al-Ashrafī, and Baktamur al-Jūkandār. In addition, he classified as Maṣṣūrī mamluks five other amirs: Āqsunqur al-Salārī (whom I considered a mamluk of Salār); Alaqtamur or Araqtamur al-Sāqī (who is not mentioned as Maṣṣūrī in any of the sources I have checked); Baybars al-Ḥājib (who is mentioned as Maṣṣūrī only in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Manhal*, 3:475, as opposed to idem, *Al-Nujūm*, 10:100–1; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1:508); Qirtāy (al-Ashrafī; see Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Āgypten und Syrien*, 9, 21; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:248; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:101–2; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:376); and Aruqtāy, whom I considered as Nāṣirī; see n. 140 above. Clifford discusses only three mamluks of the Maṣṣūrīyah amirs, those of Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī and Alṭunfush, the mamluk of Aqūsh al-Afram; see Clifford, "State Formation," 264.

<sup>380</sup>Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burji Mamlūks," 38.



over his mamluks. Similarly, the Nāşirīyah mamluks never felt emotions of awe (*mahābah*) toward their master, unlike the feelings of the Manşūrīyah mamluks toward their master Qalāwūn. In addition, it seems that during the turbulent Manşūrīyah period, the main principles of mamluk loyalty, those between fellows of the same *khushdāshīyah* and even between mamluks and their master, were much eroded. The fact that al-Nāşir Muḥammad used Manşūrī amirs to arrest their own *khushdāshs*, as mentioned above in section 1.1, is only one example of the weakness of the solidarity among the members of the Manşūrīyah.<sup>381</sup> Al-Nāşir Muḥammad understood, hence, that a threat to his rule could come from any political contender, regardless of their affiliation to a certain patron or *khushdāshīyah*. How, then, did this sultan manage to preserve his rule for such a long time? I believe that it was mostly thanks to a combination of his ever-suspicious, maybe paranoid, character, his highly effective intelligence network of internal spies and, above all, a great deal of luck. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī testified, after an incident in 721/1321 in which the sultan succeeded in saving himself from a great danger posed by his mamluks, that “it was a wonder that he emerged unscathed.”<sup>382</sup> These kinds of wonders, it seems, continued to accompany Sultan al-Nāşir Muḥammad during his long reign.

<sup>381</sup> See: Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment*, 147–94.

<sup>382</sup> “*Wa-‘uddat salāmatuhu min al-‘ajā’ib.*” See Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 64 (=al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:229).

