Annales islamologiques

41



INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

dossier dirigé par Marie Favereau

Les conventions diplomatiques dans le monde musulman. L'umma en partage (1258-1517).

Marie Favereau XI Introduction.

La question des archives diplomatiques dans le monde musulman : sources inédites et nouvelles pistes d'investigation.

Frédéric Bauden I Les relations diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks circassiens et les autres pouvoirs du Dār al-islām.

L'apport du ms. ar. 4440 (BNF, Paris).

István Vásáry 31 On the Periphery of the Islamic World:
Diplomatic Correspondence of the Nogays with the Russians.

L'unité des conventions stylistiques en diplomatique islamique.

Annabel Teh Gallop 41 Elevatio in Malay Diplomatics.

Marie Favereau 59 Comment le sultan mamlouk s'adressait au khan de la Horde d'Or.

Formulaire des lettres et règles d'usage d'après trois manuels

de chancellerie (1262-v. 1430).

Le protocole diplomatique à l'épreuve du pragmatisme politique.

Anne F. Broadbridge 97 Diplomatic Conventions in the Mamluk Sultanate.

Alaa Talbi II9 Un exemple de « diplomatie en temps de guerre » entre les Mongols de Perse et les Mamlouks d'Égypte (701/1302).

Entre alliances et rapports de vassalité: l'expression de la domination au sein de l'umma.

Mohamed Elhadri 131 Monnaies et relations diplomatiques sous les derniers Zayyānides

de Tlemcen. Quelques remarques sur des problèmes d'attribution.

Éric Vallet 149 Les sultans rasūlides du Yémen, protecteurs des communautés

musulmanes de l'Inde (VIIe-VIIIe/XIIIe-XIVe siècles).

Glossaire 177

VARIA

Yūsuf RāĠib 187 Une ère inconnue d'Égypte musulmane: l'ère de la juridiction des croyants.

Christophe Bouleau **209** Bâtir une coupole en pierre de taille. La coupole du mausolée de l'émir Khayr Bek au Caire: dessin, construction et décor.

Stéphane Pradines, 229 Les fortifications fatimides du Caire : Bāb al-Tawfīq et l'enceinte en briques crues de Badr al-Ğamālī.

Abbès Zouache 277 L'armement entre Orient et Occident au vie/xiie siècle. Casques, masses d'armes et armures.

ABSTRACTS 327

متنو عات

أبيار العَلائي على دَّرْب الحَاجّ المِصْرى في سَيْنَاء: ١ سامي صالح عبد المالك دراسة تاريخية - آثارية معارية جديدة على ضوء الحفائر الآثارية.

قلعة ذات الحاج في طريق الحَاجّ الشامي: دراسة معارية وثائقية. و ه هشام بن محمد على حسن عُجيمي

دراسة لوقف الأمير قيت الرجبي. ٧٧ حسين مصطفى حسين رمضان

التصوف والفن الإسلامي. ١٠١ إيهاب أحمد إبراهيم

الأسطورة في المجتمع الهندي في العصور الوسطى ودلالاتها التاريخية. ١٢٧ محمد نصر عبد الرحمن قصة شكروتي فرماض نموذجاً.

Abstracts

Les conventions diplomatiques dans le monde musulman L'umma en partage

Frédéric Bauden

Diplomatic Relations between Mamluk Sultanates and the other Powers of Dār al-islām: ms. Ar. 4440 (BNF-Paris)

Due to the scarcity of documents that were exchanged between Muslim powers prior to the 16th century, the historian, in order to study the nature of these relations, is compelled to rely upon secondary sources such as copies that might have survived. A particularly fruitful and yet underused genre is represented by the collections of letters compiled, for the most part, by secretaries employed at the chancery of state. Of particular interest to the author and known since the 19th century is ms. ar. 4440 now held at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. This manuscript contains several copies of letters exchanged by powers pertaining to the Dār al-islām and the Mamluk Sultanate. The study of these documents provides the opportunity to understand the nature of relations between the Muslim powers and in particular the protocols that prevailed at the chancery. The aim of this paper is to draw attention to the importance of this manuscript as well as to construct an inventory of the material that the document provides.

Keywords: Chancellery, Diplomatic, Relations, Mamluk Sultanate, Correspondence, Collections of letters (*munša'āt*), Embassies, Envoys.

István Vásáry

On the Periphery of the Islamic World: Diplomatic Correspondence of the Nogays with the Russians

The Nogay ulus (appanage) seceded from the Golden Horde in the 1390s under the leadership of Edigü, a well known military commander and chief of the Turco-Mongol Mangit tribe. Up until this point Nogay Horde had occupied a vast territory between the Yayik (Ural) and the Lower Volga River. Consequently during the 15th – 16th centuries they became the significant Tatar successor state of the Golden Horde. After the Russian conquest of the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan (1552, 1556), it was only the Nogay Horde and the Crimean Khanate that represented any real danger to the eastward expansion of the Muscovite state. Similar to their Crimean Tatar relatives, by the 16th – 17th centuries the Nogays were able to pursue large scale diplomatic correspondence with Moscow. This correspondence has been mostly preserved within the Russian State Archives of Old Documents (RGADA) in Moscow. Fourteen volumes of the so-called "envoy books" (posol'skie knigi) and thousands of letters written in separate sheets (stolbtsy) are kept in fond 127 of the RGADA archive. Although the material contains numerous contemporary Russian translations of Tatar documents, the originals of which have been lost; a few dozen of the original Nogay letters have survived. These letters are written in Tatar using the Arabic alphabet. The Nogay-Tatar documents of the 16th - 17th centuries, virtually unstudied by scholars, form the core material from which the author wishes to present his findings. These documents provide important descriptions of how the Nogay chancellery functioned and in particular, associated diplomatic and linguistic characteristics.

Keywords: Nogay Horde, Nogay documents, Russo-Nogay contacts, Tatar chancelleries, Russian archives.

Annabel Teh Gallop

Elevatio in Malay Diplomatics

This article explores the extent to which the Islamic diplomatic practice of *elevatio* has permeated the chanceries of the Malay world in South East Asia. This honorific 'elevation' of a name or phrase from its normal position in the text to a more prominent position on the document, is described by V. Ménage in his seminal article published in 1985. In fact, no 'true' examples of *elevatio* can be found in the letters written in Malay, and although numerous examples illustrating the honorific elevation of the name of God can be documented in Malay seals from all over the archipelago, this practice appears to stem from a different source of authority. Nonetheless, a clear example of *elevatio* in a letter in Arabic from Sultan Alauddin

Johan Sayah of Aceh serves to confirm that during the mid 18th century, the royal chancery of Aceh was fully aware of both principle and practice of this diplomatic nicety. Especially significant is the implication that different diplomatic traditions were deemed appropriate for documents in different languages issued from the same chancery, an important factor for consideration in any study of the diplomatic conventions of the Islamic world.

Keywords: Elevatio, Islamic diplomatics, Malay diplomatics, Aceh, Ternate, Malay seals.

Marie Favereau

How the Mamluk Sultan addressed the Khan of the Golden Horde: Forms of letters and rules of custom according to three chancellery handbooks (1262-a. 1430)

This study focuses on the question of form and protocol that underline "the written connections" between the Mamluks and the Chinggisids of the Golden Horde. Our aim is to establish if the chancellery rules of the Jochids influenced the Mamluks and whether we are entitled to speak of a "cross-influence" between the Turkic, Mongols and Arabic epistolary practices of the time. The address to the khan by the sultans was governed by a strict set of rules. In order to shed light on these structures, the author wishes to make use of a corpus of letters that have until now remained an under exploited source. Although this source comprises of copied letters, it is reliable enough to enable us to recover part of the correspondence between the Muslim rulers. Moreover, it informs us about models and forms used by the chancellery secretaries, when constructing such diplomatic letters. This corpus is made of abstracts from chancellery handbooks written by three kuttāb al-inšā' of the Mamluk Saltanate: al-Ta'rif fī-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349), al-Tatqif fī-l-ta'rif by Taqī al-dīn Ibn Nāzir al-Ğayš (d. 786/1384) and the Ṣubḥ al-a'šā fī ṣina'at al-inšā' by al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418).

Keywords: Chinggisids, Golden Horde, Mongols, khans, Mamluks, Chancellery, Codicologe, Diplomatics, Diplomacy, Letters.

Anne F. Broadbridge

Diplomatic Conventions in the Mamluk Sultanate

In this two part article, the author firstly analyses four published Mamluk chancellery manuals in terms of topics, organisation, their relationship to other works, and usefulness to modern historians. Secondly, evidence from these manuals and chronicles will be used to argue that diplomatic and ceremonial etiquette in the Mamluk Sultanate could be read by contemporary

observers. This enabled the readers to understand important information with regard to politics both within the Sultanate itself and how the Mamluks approached relations with outsiders.

Keywords: Mamluk Sultanate, Chancellery manuals, Diplomacy, Ceremonies, Protocol, al-Ḥalabī, al-'Umarī, Ibn Nāẓir al-Ğayš, al-Qalqašandī, Qalawūn, al-Ašraf Ḥalīl, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barqūq, Toqtamïš, Crimea.

Alaa Talbi

One Case of "Diplomacy in Wartime" between the Mongols of Persia and the Mamluks of Egypt (701/1302)

This article investigates the issue of diplomacy in wartime, with specific reference to an instance concerning a letter from the Mamluk embassy to the Ilkhan Ġazān (701/1302). This letter was in response to an earlier missive from the Mongol ruler. According to two Arabic sources, this embassy led to an open discussion between the Mamluk ambassador (al-Muǧīrī) and the Ilkhan Ġazān. The words used by the Ilkhan take the form of a violent invective toward the Mamluks, blaming them for their immoral attitudes and negative behaviour. Al-Muǧīrī, the Mamluk messenger, counted "the insult" delivered by the Mongol ruler with an even more vindictive speech. Analysis of such behaviour, although appearing in the sources as spontaneous and violent in nature, allows us access to the mechanisms of expression and hostility within a diplomatic context as well as the political discourse underlining this specific situation.

Keywords: Ilkhanids, Mamluks of Egypt, Ilkhan Ġazān, Diplomacy, War, Embassy, Murdān, Tatar, Islam.

Mohamed Elhadri

Coins and Diplomatic Relations under the last Zayyanids of Tlemcen: Some Remarks Concerning Attribution Problems

This article will consider attribution problems raised by the coinage of the last Zayyanids of Tlemcen. The discussion is in response to fresh numismatic data as well as a restudy of chronicles concerning political relations between Marinids and Nasrids on the one hand, and Zayyanids and Ottomans on the other. Emphasis is given to a group of gold coins issued by the Zayyanids under the Ottoman Suzerainty during the first half of the 16th century. These coins bear in their legends reference to both political authorities: on one face the name of the Zayyanid and on the other face the name of the Ottoman Sultan.

It is on this issue that controversy between numismatists and historians exists. The coins concerned were initially attributed to the Marinids; the main criterion for the attribution was based on the political alliance contracted, according to Ibn Ḥaldūn, between the Nasrid Muḥammad III (701-708/1302-1309) and the Marinid Sultan Abū l-Rabī' (708-710/1308-1310). This alliance led, according to H. Lavoix, to a monetary association between the two rulers. However some decades later, a different attribution was advanced by H. Hazard for the coins in question. Doubt concerning the accuracy of these attributions continues among scholars and therefore the aim of this paper is to reconsider these attributions and discuss their historical and numismatic criteria.

Keywords: Coins of Tlemcen, the Last Zayyanids, Coin attribution, Political contracts.

Éric VALLET

Rasulid Sultans of Yemen: Protectors of Muslim Communities in India (7th-8th/13th-14th Centuries)

This paper presents a unique testimony with regard to the political and religious relationships between medieval Yemen and India. A document preserved in the Yemeni archives of the Rasulid Sultanate (1229-1454) enumerates 46 Indian cities in which Muslim predicators and judges were annually sponsored by the Rasulid Dynasty. These communities are predominantly situated in coastal regions, from Gujarat to Coromandel. The establishment of the Rasulid patronage on these Indian Muslim communities can be directly associated with the collapse of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad. This situation allowed the Rasulid Sultan to exert a wider influence on the Muslim population living on the shores of the Indian Ocean. This patronage and influence remained in some coastal cities around Malabar until it was challenged by the conquests of the Delhi Sultanate at the end of the 14th century. A letter sent from Calicut to the Rasulid Sultan in 1393 AD illustrates the situation. This article provides an annotated translation from Arabic into French of two documents outlining these events.

Keywords: Yemen, Rasūlid Sultanate, Muslim communities in India, butba.

Abstracts

Varia

Yūsuf Rāģib

Unknown Era of Muslim Egypt: Believers Jurisdiction's Era

Two arabic papyruses, the first one dated from 42/662 and the second one dated from 57/676 reveal the existence of a lunar era with sunny monthes. This lunar era was used in juridic acts.

Keywords: Early Islam, Calendar.

Christophe Bouleau

How to Build a Freestone Dome The Emir Khayr Bek Shrine's Dome: Design, Construction and Decoration

Stone domes of Cairo, built throughout the Mamluk period represent one of the most significant features of Cairean construction techniques used during the 14th to 17th centuries. The stone dome of Emir Khayerbek'Mausoleum, constructed between 1502 and 1520 illustrates the high degree of technical skill needed as well as demonstrating architectural and artistic ability. A new survey and field study of the dome has enabled the author to shed new light on the building's structure, construction materials and decorative plan. Such a survey makes possible the identification and illustration of important yet previously undocumented building techniques. Among these techniques is an understanding of how the builders organised the use of iron cramps to connect together the stone courses of the dome as well as the arrangement of the inclined mortar joints linking together the value of the keystone and the use of compression. Another technique and moreover an important theme of enquiry since the project's inception is the association between the structure itself and decorative elements such as the sculpted detail on the extrados. These new findings enable us to formulate a hypothesis for the construction phase of the building and to understand with greater detail the synthetic approach of the builders as well as their virtuosity in design techniques.

Keywords: Mamluk architecture, Dome, Building technique.

Stéphane Pradines and Osama Talaat

Cairo's Fatimid Fortifications: Bāb al-Tawfīq and the Badr al-Ğamālī's Mud Bricks Surrounding Wall

Archaeological research conducted by the Ifao on the eastern walls of Fatimid Cairo has brought forth new scientific evidence for the presence of a Fatimid mud brick surrounding wall. Fragments of the town wall indicate a continuity of the fortification from Badr al-Ğamālī (1087-1092 ad.) along the entire eastern part of Islamic Cairo. This town wall remained preserved until the period of Maqrīzī, when there is mentioned an area known as "Bayn al-Surayn;" known as the zone "between both walls." Our observations, yet unpublished, make clear the stylistic practices with regard to the Fatimid fortifications of Cairo. The enclosure wall of Badr al-Ğamālī is interspersed by towers and quadrangular supports, only the towers belonging to the gates of Bāb al-Futūh and Bāb Zuwayla comprise of semicircular elements.

Keywords: Fatimid Cairo, Fortifications, Badr al-Ğamālī.

Abbès Zouache

The Weaponry between Orient and Occident in 6th/12th Century Helmets, Maces and Armours

The weapon is a privileged vector of technological progress, but it also remarkably reveals the exchanges that took place between the Muslim Middle East and Western Europe in the 6th/12th centuries. The Franks and the Muslims' weapons tended to standardize, even if several types of weapons always coexisted on the battle fields, and if Muslims as well as Franks kept their specificities. The evolution of three weapons is here analyzed: helmets, maces and amours. The Western helmets tended to be thicker and heavier. Those of the Muslims, which were quite as various in form and constitution, also appeared to become more and more effective. The Arabic texts show that the Muslims added a *migfar* to them, a typically Eastern (but not unknown in Western Europe) mail curtain or a cap of mail like the one which the Western fighters used to wear. The maces, which were particularly appreciated by the Muslim Turkish riders, spread in Western Christianity, perhaps after their adoption by the Templars, even if the influence of the riders from the steppes of Eastern Europe cannot be ignored. Various types of armour coexisted in the Frank and Muslim armies. Once again, the ones did not hesitate to make theirs the weapons of the others.

Keywords: War, Weapons

Sami Salih Abdel-Malik

Abyār al-'Alā'ī on Darb al-Ḥāǧ al-Miṣrī in the Sinai A New Historical-Archaeological Study

Although situated within close proximity of each other on the Darb al- Ḥāǧ al- Miṣrī "Egyptian" in the Sinai, Abyār al-ʿAlāʾī and Wādī al Qurrayṣ should rightly be considered as two different places. Guarding the region of the "Dark" Abyār al-ʿAlāʾī was the work of the al-ʿAyḍ tribes, in which the Tarabīn tribe was defiantly involved. Previously unknown buildings were discovered in the Abyār al-ʿAlāʾī region, along with a dam situated in Wādī al-ʿAqaba. Many wells have been noted in the area and others were found by means of drilling, excavation and probing. Important among these discoveries is the remains of a qalʿa that should be considered a new addition to the known forts along the Darb al-Ḥāǧ al-Miṣrī in particular and for Sinai forts in general. Found also was the al-sulṭān Kitbuġa al-Manṣūrī mosque, comprising of the dome, water pools with their associated water-refineries and canals. A station associated with the reign of al sulṭān al-mamlūkī Kitbuġa al-Manṣūrī was uncovered that included a number of wells as well as a rare inscription from a mosque. Many important historical inscriptions were discovered that will help us interpret the civil development of this region, in particular the almanzel or "small station" and the al-manhel or "grand station" of the Darb al-Ḥāǧ al-Miṣrī.

Keywords: Darb al-Ḥāǧ al-Miṣrī, Egyptian Darb al-Ḥāǧ, Sinai, Fort Abyār al-ʿAlāʾī, Al-Qurrayṣ.

Hisham Ibn Muhammad Ali Hassan Uguimi

The Fort of Dat al-Ḥāǧ in Syrian Darb al-Ḥāǧ An Architectural Documentary Study

The fort of Dāt al-Ḥāǧ is one of a number of Ottoman forts situated in the Syrian Darb al-Ḥāǧ that until now has not been carefully studied. The Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān al-Qanūnī gave the order for its erection in 967 H., completing work in 971 H. By 1266 H. the Sultan Abd al-Magid I had ordered its restoration and by 1328 H. The fort's use was finally superseded by the construction of the al-Ḥiǧāz railway in 1318 H. The Dāt al-Ḥāǧ fort had served in a civil and military capacity for the Syrian al-Ḥāǧ caravans and travellers for nearly 295 years.

The author has made a comprehensive study of the fort which includes; field studies and survey of the site, photography of the exterior and interior of the structure as well as detailed descriptions of its rooms. Both the foundation plaque (971 H.) and later restoration plaque (1266 H.) have also been located and studied. This paper introduces for the first time a scientific study of one of a series of forts that operated along the Syrian Darb al- Ḥāǧ.

Keywords: Syrian Darb al-Ḥāǧ, Fort of Dat al-Ḥāǧ.

Hussein Mostafa Hussein RAMADAN

A Study of the Amir Qit al-Ragaby's Waqf

Amir Kit al-Ragaby is considered to be one of the great Mamluks in Egypt and Syria during the late Mamluk Period, in particular during the court of Sultan al-Ghoury. Despite this fact, Amir Kit and his significance remains unmentioned by biographers. The author has endeavoured to collect biographical details of his life from many different sources, with particular detail to his Endowment document that provides a partial description of his house. An attempt will be made within this paper to reconstruct the house using contemporary comparative material.

Keywords: Endowment, Biography, House, Reconstruction.

Ihab Ahmed Ibrahim

Islamic Art and Sufism

This study attempts not only explore the influence that Sufism had on Islamic art, but how we set about identifying and measuring this influence. In the author's attempt to identify and prove this influence several steps were necessary. Firstly, it is important to examine and discuss previous studies with regard to the subject matter. Interestingly, two contrary issues are noted; one overplays the role that Sufism had on the development of Islamic art, whereas the other completely denies that this influence exists. Secondly, having asserted the effect of Sufism on Islamic art, the research path subsequently diverges into two basic themes. First and foremost it is important to locate the types of objects that would be of value within the context of Sufism, from buildings to tools. On a second, more difficult level it is important to examine the very essence existing between the philosophy of Sufi teachings and its relationship to the properties and philosophy of Islamic art. By applying this method of research to certain branches of Islamic art such as architecture, painting, applied arts, calligraphy as well as inscriptions, our study can pin point potential areas that would require further research and discussion. The aim of this paper is to highlight the relationship that does exist between Sufism and Islamic art.

Keywords: Islamic art, Sufism, Architecture, Painting, Applied Arts, Metal, Textile, Carpets, Glass, Pottery, Calligraphy, Inscriptions.

Muhammad Nasr Abd-al-Rahman

Myth in the Indian Community during the Medieval Period and its Historical Implications: The Qissat Shakarawati Farmand Example

This study examines a number of historical texts that deal with legendary stories from Medieval India. The author would like to explore from a new perspective the historical accuracy of these legends in that they might indeed hold important historical facts, otherwise neglected by scholars due to the very nature of them being labelled as myths. The author will illustrate his theory by using a number of historical texts that deal with the legend of the Indian king Shakarawati Farmand and how he came to embrace Islam.

Keywords: Islam, India, Myth, Shakarawati Farmand, Cheramen Perumal, Malabar, Arab, Mapillas, Muslim, Prophet, Baba Ratan, Medieval, Muhammad b. Malik, The Endowment.