

THE MAMELUKE
OR SLAVE
DYNASTY OF EGYPT
1260-1517 A.D.

WORKS BY SIR WILLIAM MUIR.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET. From Original Sources. Third Edition, thoroughly Revised. With a New Map and several additional Illustrations. 8vo, 16s.

LONDON: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE.

MAHOMET AND ISLAM. A Sketch of the Prophet's Life, from original sources, and a brief outline of his Religion. With Illustrations and a large Map of Arabia. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth boards.

THE CALIPHATE: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall. New and Revised Edition. With Three Maps. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. cloth.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ISLAM. Present Day Tract. No. 14. 4d.

THE LORD'S SUPPER: An Abiding Witness to the Death of Christ. Present Day Tract. No. 36. 4d.

SWEET FIRST-FRUITS. A Tale of the Nineteenth Century, on the Truth and Virtue of the Christian Religion. Translated from the Arabic, and abridged. With an Introduction by Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth boards.

THE BEACON OF TRUTH; or, Testimony of the Coran to the Truth of the Christian Religion. Translated from the Arabic by Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. cloth boards.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY, 56 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

THE CORAN: Its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures. By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I. New Edition, Revised. Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

LONDON: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.



THE IWÂN, PAVILION OR HALL OF NÂSIR MOHAMMED IBN KILAWUN, AS IN 1798 A.D.

THE MAMELUKE
OR SLAVE
DYNASTY OF EGYPT

1260-1517 A.D.

BY

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L.
PH.D. (BOLOGNA)
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF MAHOMET" "MAHOMET AND ISLAM"
"THE CALIPHATE," ETC.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE.
1896.

[All rights reserved.]

V671. J1

C6

MORRISON AND GIBB, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH

2323

CONTENTS

YEAR A.D.		PAGE
	PREFACE	ix
1097-1291.	INTRODUCTION—THE CRUSADES	xiii

CHAPTER I

640-1170.	EGYPT AND THE MAMELUKES	1
-----------	-----------------------------------	---

CHAPTER II

1171-1260.	THE EYYUBITE DYNASTY, AND SULTANATES OF EYBEK AND KOTUZ	6
------------	--	---

MAMELUKE DYNASTY

PART FIRST

BAHRITE DYNASTY

CHAPTER III

1260-1277.	BEIBARS	13
------------	-------------------	----

CHAPTER IV

1277-1290.	SAID—KILAWUN	33
------------	------------------------	----

CHAPTER V

1290-1293.	KHALIL, SON OF KILAWUN	43
------------	----------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VI

1293-1299.	NÁSIR, SON OF KILAWUN—KETBOGHA—LACHÏN	47
------------	---	----

YEAR A.D.		PAGE
	CHAPTER VII	
1299-1310.	NĀSIR'S SECOND REIGN—BEIBARS II	53
	CHAPTER VIII	
1310-1341.	NĀSIR'S THIRD REIGN	66
	CHAPTER IX	
1341-1382.	NĀSIR'S SONS AND GRANDSONS	86
	PART SECOND	
	<i>CIRCISSIAN DYNASTY</i>	
	CHAPTER X	
1382-1399.	BERKUCK AL ZĀHIR	105
	CHAPTER XI	
	THE OSMANLY DYNASTY	117
	CHAPTER XII	
1399-1412.	FARAJ	121
	CHAPTER XIII	
1412-1421.	ABBAS CALIPH—SHEIKH AL MUZYAD	129
	CHAPTER XIV	
1421-1438.	AHMED — TATĀR — MOHAMMED — BURSBAI AL ASHRAF	137
	CHAPTER XV	
1438-1453.	YUSUF—JAKMAC AL ZĀHIR	149
	CHAPTER XVI	
1453-1461.	OTHMAN—ISĀL	156

CONTENTS

vii

YEAR A.D.		PAGE
	CHAPTER XVII	
1461-1467.	AHMED—KHUSHCADAM	163
	CHAPTER XVIII	
1467-1496.	JELBAI—TIMURBOGA—KAITBAI	172
	CHAPTER XIX	
1496-1501.	AL NÂSIR MOHAMMED II.—KANSOWAH AL ASHRAFY —JÂN BELAT—TUMANBAI	182
	CHAPTER XX	
1501-1516.	KANSOWA AL GHURY	187
	CHAPTER XXI	
1516-1517.	TUMANBEG	202
	CHAPTER XXII	
1517.	SULTAN SELÎM AND THE CALIPH MUTAWAKKIL	210
	CHAPTER XXIII	
	THE MAMELUKE RACE	215

APPENDIXES

I.—THE MAMELUKES UNDER OSMANLY RULE	223
II.—MEMORANDUM BY H.E. YACCOUB ARTIN PASHA ON THE MAMELUKES	225
INDEX	233

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAP OF SYRIA AND ASIA MINOR	<i>Faces p. xiii</i>
—♦—	
THE IWÂN, PAVILION OR HALL OF NÂSIR MOHAMMED IBN KILAWUN, AS IN 1798 A.D.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
CITADEL (AS IN 1798 A.D.) FROM S.E.	<i>Faces p. 1</i>
CITADEL (AS IN 1798 A.D.); THE RUMEILAH GATE	" 13
MINARET OVER MOSQUE OF NÂSIR IBN KILAWUN	" 84
MOSQUE AND TOMB OF SULTAN HASAN, SON OF NÂSIR	" 96
TOMB OF BERKUCK	" 116
TOMB OF BURSBAL AL ASHRAF	" 148
MINARET OF SULTAN INAL'S TOMB	" 162
THE CITADEL; FROM THE MOKATTAM HILL	" 214
STOOL OR STAND OF BRONZE, INLAID AND EMBROIDERED WITH SILVER, FOUND IN NÂSIR IBN KILAWUN'S MOSQUE, AND SUPPOSED TO BE OF HIS AGE. PRESERVED IN CAIRO MUSEUM	" 222
TOP OF THE STOOL IN PREVIOUS PICTURE	" 222
TOP OF A STOOL, INLAID WITH SILVER, FOUND IN THE MOSQUE OF SHABAN, SON OF NÂSIR, AND PRESERVED IN CAIRO MUSEUM	" 222

PREFACE

THE present volume contains a survey of the Mameluke dynasty, which, begun under Beibars, A.D. 1260, was brought to a close by the Ottoman Sultan Selim in 1517 A.D. The work also completes the history of the Abbaside Caliphate down to the assumption of the title by the Osmanly Sultanate.

At the outset, I gladly acknowledge my obligations to the late Dr. Weil. For the materials of this history I am mainly indebted to the last two volumes of his great work *Geschichte der Chalifen*. These materials are rich and full; for with vast skill and labour that learned writer not only quotes his authorities as he goes along, but as a rule gives all that is most important in his Authors' very words.

The greater part of these authorities were accessible to Dr. Weil only in rare Arabic MSS., which were, with marvellous industry, sought out by him in the libraries of Gotha, Munich, Berlin, Leyden and Paris. Excepting the last fifty years of the Dynasty (for which we are mainly dependent on Ibn Ayâs and Turkish writers) the history is supported by a singular concurrence of contemporary writers, the chief of these being—

Abulfeda	born	1273;	died	1331 A.D.
Noweir	„	1280;	„	1332 „
Ibn Batuta	„	1302;	„	1377 „

Macrizy	born	{ 1358 or 1364;	died	1441 A.D.
Abul Mahâsin	„	1409;	„	1470 „
Ibn Ayâs	„	1448;	„	1524 „

and a dozen others. But the chief authorities are the last three given above.

Part of Macrizy, the great historian both of his own and preceding times, has been translated into French by M. Quatremere¹; and the work is all the more valuable, because many of the more important passages are reproduced as notes in the original Arabic. Macrizy (so called from the quarter in Baalbec from which his family originally came) was himself a native of Egypt. He held office in the Cairo police, and was also Superintendent of an endowment in Damascus. His copious writings are universally held in high esteem, the annals of past times being marked by industrious research and historical judgment; while for his own day he is an unexceptionable and impartial witness.

Abul Mahâsin who survived Macrizy some thirty years was the son of the Emir Tagri Berdy, a Greek Mameluke of Sultan Berkuck. His father played a prominent part in the fortunes of Sultan Faraj; and on one occasion was pardoned at the intercession of that Prince's mother, herself originally a Greek slave-girl. Abul Mahâsin as a copious Author of high intelligence is widely relied on; and his continuation of Macrizy is especially valuable. He was a favourite at Court; and although on that account his judgment may be occasionally biassed, his testimony otherwise as a contemporaneous witness is beyond question.

Ibn Ayâs is the writer we have mainly to rely upon

¹ A portion published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Two parts. Paris, 1837 and 1840.

for the concluding period of the Dynasty. As he survived its fall, his work supplies contemporary and invaluable information at a time when other authorities fail.¹

The following is Dr. Weil's opinion of his History, as given in the Preface to the Fifth Volume—

This volume, like the last, is devoted chiefly to the history of Egypt and Syria. But the reader will find much also relating to the border Asiatic States, as the dynasties of Timur, Osman, the White and Black Weir, the Beni Dulgadir and Karaman, and the Shereef of Mecca; as well as fresh insight into the relations of the Mameluke Sultans with Rhodes and Cyprus, Portugal, Venice, the Papacy, and other European States.

I am well aware that there are many things which yet require fuller detail and explanation than the sources at my command enable me to give. Gaps might have been filled up by conjecture, and the whole grandly rounded off as History. My object, however, has not been to frame an elaborate work like that, but in simple form to bring to light events and narratives hitherto for the greater part unknown, which had moreover to be gathered from many scattered manuscripts, and then subjected to critical analysis. The kind Reader will make allowances for the difficulty of such a task; nor will he expect from the Orientalist who has had to draw such new materials from their fountain-head, the same finished work as he would from the Historian who has found them all complete and ready to his hand.

If such be the humble view of his own work taken by the Author whose materials I have mainly depended on, how much greater cause there is for me to beg for kindly consideration at my Readers' hands. The only value I can place upon the present endeavour, is that it seeks to supply a want in our own language,—a gap,

¹ Ibn Ayás has been published at Cairo in three volumes. I obtained a copy of it by Artin Pasha's kindness; but not until this work had been completed; so that I have hardly been able to take any advantage of it.

namely, in the history of a period of special interest, touching as it does the close of the Crusades, and embracing a Dynasty of slave Sultans unique in the annals of the world.

As the Mameluke dynasty follows close upon the steps of Saladin and his Successors,—grew in fact out of the Eyyubite Sultanate,—it is thus immediately associated with the last days of the Crusades. To illustrate this connection, I have ventured to place as an introduction to the history, part of a Lecture containing a chronological outline of the protracted struggle of the “Soldiers of the Cross,” and of its final issue. The Reader may perhaps find it useful at the outset as explaining the origin and rise of the Leaders who were finally to crush the expiring efforts of that great armament of misguided Christianity.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has an able article on Egypt which is especially valuable with reference to the latter days and fate of the Mameluke race. The French Archæological Mission has also published several excellent numbers on the period under consideration, with beautiful illustrations, of which I have ventured to borrow some. There is also an interesting *brochure* by M. Max Herz on the Cairo Museum, with an illustrated description of its archæological contents.

Lastly I have to express my thanks to H.E. Yacoub Artin Pasha for publications regarding Cairo and the Mameluke dynasty, and for photographs of ancient buildings of which specimens are introduced into this Volume; and above all for the interesting Memorandum on the habits of the Mamelukes, which will be found as Appendix II. at the end of the book.

W. M.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY, 1895.



INTRODUCTION

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CRUSADES

(Taken from a Lecture delivered to the Students of the
Edinburgh University in 1894.)

IN the Preface to the *Rise, Decline, and Fall of the Caliphate* is the following paragraph:—

I may be permitted here to lament the want of any full and standard work in our own language on the Crusades, and on the Mameluke dynasty and its overthrow by the Osmanlies,—chapters not only deeply interesting in themselves, but bound up with the interests of the Eastern Churches and development of the political relations of Europe, Asia, and Egypt. . .

. . . I purpose inviting your attention to this subject, pointing out the present defect in our literature, indicating the sources from which it may be supplied, and offering some inducement toward the study.

In our own language, Gibbon's history of the period—bright and instructive as it is, and invested with his own peculiar charm—must still be held fragmentary and incomplete; and, like other English, and indeed most European authorities, it has been drawn mainly from the Western standpoint. The most elaborate, and by far the most exhaustive treatise on the subject is by Wilken, in eight volumes. No student can pretend to any sufficient acquaintance with the history, either in its Asiatic or its Western aspect, without a thorough mastery of this great

work.¹ Still more important in its Oriental bearing is Weil's *History of the Caliphs*,² which at this period (the Abbaside Caliphate having declined and almost vanished out of sight) is virtually a history of the Eastern Empire, —the Seljukes, Mongols, and Mamelukes. The latter half of Weil's third volume, and beginning of the fourth, are quite essential to the grasp of the successive Crusades as affected by the breaking up of the Seljuk house, the growth of the Ortok family, the fall of the Fatimide Caliphate, and the rise of the Mameluke dynasty. No writer has gone so deeply as Weil into the Oriental authorities who here are often at variance with the Western, or so thoroughly analysed the bearing of the Crusades from an Asiatic and Egyptian point of view. I therefore recommend any student who would enter on this chapter of history, to make himself perfect master of all that both Wilken and Weil have to say on the subject.

In an address like the present, which has for its object simply to direct attention to the history and results of the Crusades, any detailed narrative of the events would be altogether out of place. I will therefore confine myself to a brief chronological review. . . . The importance of the study will come home to us when we remember, *First*, that Jerusalem was held by a Christian king for nearly a century; and Syria by Christian rulers more or less for two centuries, that is, from 1097 A.D. to 1291 when Acre fell and the Crusaders were swept out of the land; and *Second*, when we take note of the vast multitudes which for two hundred years poured steadily into Palestine, numbering from first to last not less than several millions. The reflex

¹ *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge nach Morgenländischen und abendländischen Berichten*, 1807–1832. I strongly recommend the study of these eight volumes, long and laborious though the task may be, to anyone who desires complete knowledge of the subject.

² *Geschichte der Chalifen*, von Dr. Gustav Weil. First series. 3 vols., 1846–1851, from the rise of Islam to end of the Abbaside Caliphate. The second series covers the Mameluke dynasty till conquered by the Osmanlies, vols. iv. and v., 1860–1862.

influence upon Europe must also be held a matter of the highest historical moment.

The first idea of a Crusade arose out of the desire to protect pilgrims resorting to the Holy places there. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, there was a marked increase in these, partly from the expectation of Christ's advent at the close of 1000 years of our Era; partly, also, from the conversion of Bulgaria, which enabled pilgrims, avoiding the dangers of a sea voyage, to journey by land to Constantinople, and thence by the coast to Palestine. We read of one such expedition in the middle of the fourth century numbering 7000, of whom but a fourth returned. The enormities perpetrated in the Sanctuary by Hakem, the insensate demigod of the Fatimides, and afterwards by the Seljukes, who took Jerusalem in 1070 A.D., touched the heart of Christendom; while Peter the Hermit, by harrowing details, roused the passion for vengeance throughout every class, down to the lowest dregs of the people. In 1095. the vast assemblies at the Councils of Placenza and Clermont, thousands, both of clergy and laity, were stirred to the wildest enthusiasm by the fiery appeal of Pope Urban, who promised absolution and heavenly succour to all that joined the enterprise, and paradise for such as might fall fighting for the Cross. Marvellous was the effect. The wild cry, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, resounded all around. Men, women, and even children, flocked from every quarter to be sealed as pilgrims with the sign of the Cross, and preparations were forthwith set on foot for contingents from every land to meet the following year at Constantinople.

Meanwhile, prodigious numbers of the lower classes, "a 1096. plebeian multitude," followed in the Hermit and other leaders' train, animated by a fierce fanaticism, and, as their conduct shortly showed, slaves to rapine as well as to lower passions. They marched in several bands through Hungary, where their outrageous conduct brought the greater part to an untimely end. The first under Walter, and the second

A.D. 1096. under Peter, gave themselves up to plunder and riot, and a portion only reached Constantinople. Thence, passing into Bithynia, they took Nicæa; but jealousies broke out between the various nationalities, and they fell before the Turkish arms: "a pyramid of bones" the only relic of their misguided zeal. A few thousands were rescued by the Kaiser, but the youths and maidens—a sad foretaste—were led off to the Turkish Court. Again, a body of 15,000, and another of 20,000, taking the way through Germany where they drew the sword and committed unheard-of atrocities against the Jews, were pursued and slaughtered in Hungary; but a remnant escaped to Constantinople, and the remainder returned, a laughing-stock, to their homes. Thus, "of the first Crusaders, 300,000 had already perished, before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise."¹

First
Crusade,
1097.

This miserable tale quickened the departure of the now well-marshalled forces, some 600,000, besides women, clerics, and camp followers. The leaders were princes of distinction, surrounded by brilliant companies of Knights and their attendants, the growth of chivalry; for "the Crusades were at once an effect and a cause of this memorable institution."² They marched, as the miserable crowds before them had done, in three bodies, and by similar routes; and, though not without severe hardships and loss, reached at last the Bosphorus. Their reception by Alexius, the Kaiser, was far from friendly, and many passages of arms with the Greeks took place before the great host was able to pass from Constantinople into Asia Minor.

Such was the route through Greece and Asia Minor, that for many years was taken by the successive expeditions which, with more or less of military discipline, sought the shores of Syria; but later on, the easier way was resorted to of a direct sea voyage. Meanwhile, we need not wonder that Alexius was dismayed at the vast armed multitudes which kept passing through his land. He had,

¹ Gibbon, chap. lviii.

² *Ibid.*

indeed, been long appealing to the European Powers for help against the Turks. But the unwelcome attitude of these countless hosts brought a new disquiet into his mind, and the jealousies which made the Byzantine Court often thwart their progress, fermented bad blood, and eventually led to the loss of the eastern Citadel of the faith. A. D. 1097.

It was toward the end of 1097 A. D. that the invading force, reduced in its passage through Asia Minor by fighting and desertion to 300,000 combatants, invested Antioch, and, after a siege of nine months, took it by storm, and also Edessa, with the surrounding country. Shortly after, they were in considerable danger from the Seljukes, but were able eventually to drive them off. After some delay, 20,000 soldiers, followed by as many pilgrims, marched, without serious opposition, along the sea coast of Syria towards the Holy land. It was the middle of summer when they reached Jerusalem, then in the hands of the Fatimides; and after a siege of seven weeks, took it by storm. The Sacred city flowed with blood; the Jews sought refuge in their synagogue, but it was set on fire, and they perished in the flames. Within the next three days, 70,000 Moslems, without respect of age or sex, were put to the sword. Having sated thus their savage passions, the soldiers of the Cross fulfilled their vows, and kissed the stone that had covered Him who said, *My kingdom is not of this world, else would My servants fight*. Barbarism, cruelty, hand in hand with fanatical piety, was the strange badge of this "Holy war"; and, as we shall see, jealousy, strife, and even treachery, avarice, dissipation, and moral laxity, transpire too often, amongst the clergy as well as amongst the laity, throughout the whole course of these Crusades, and were indeed among the chief reasons that brought the cause eventually to an untimely end. 1099.
15th July.

Godfrey was now elected King, and thus a Christian prince, though weak and often hard pressed, and but one amongst the independent Barons who held cities and strongholds throughout the land, occupied the throne of

A. D. 1099. the Holy city for fourscore and eight years, when at last Jerusalem fell before the arms of Saladin.

At first the Crusaders overran the greater part of Syria, though they never succeeded in taking Damascus. The Caliphs of Bagdad, now in abject dependence on the eastern Sultans, did not trouble themselves about the Crusade; and the Seljukes were too closely occupied with their own jealousies and dissensions to direct an army against the Holy land. But Scions of their house, and Arab Emirs of the lands around, from time to time fought vigorously, and with varying fortune, against the invaders. Tancred and Baldwin seemed at one time to be carrying all before them, when, as was the wont, they fell out among themselves, and (strange alliance for soldiers of the Cross) joined on either side by Moslem arms, fought an internecine war. Tancred became supreme in Syria; so much so, indeed, that Ridhwan and other Seljuk Emirs were fain to make him heavy payments as an inducement to grant them a truce. But this success soon roused alarm amidst the peoples of the East; and though the Caliph of Bagdad was deaf to their cries for help, a powerful army at last assembled, and repeatedly drove back the Crusading forces, led bravely on by Baldwin, with heavy loss. Dissensions, however, eventually broke up this Moslem host; and thus the Crusaders, though weakened and losing many strongholds, were still enabled to hold their own. About this time, too, Baldwin I. made a successful inroad into Egypt, and was on the very point of taking Cairo, when he died.

Throughout these first twenty years of the Crusade, the stream of Knights and Soldiers of the Cross towards the Holy land was steadily maintained, and that often in prodigious numbers. In particular, Raimond, with a host
 1103. 300,000 strong, sought by a northern circuit through Asia Minor to attack Bagdad, but was routed in Armenia so fearfully that but few escaped to the shores of the Black Sea. Two other great bodies, one of them 100,000 strong, were similarly cut up in the attempt to cross from

the Bosphorus through Asia Minor to Syria, and the survivors, of whatever sex or age, sold into slavery. Such was the wild and blinded zeal with which the heaven-born assurances of the Papal Court had inflamed the Christian world. A. D. 1103.

We come now to a period when the Border Emirs, gathering strength from the dissensions of the Seljuk House, began to inflict the first of those decisive blows eventually fatal to the Crusade. They roused the Moslem populations all around, and defeat upon defeat of the Franks was the unhappy result. The Ortok clan, with Ilghazy at their head, beat back Rogers of Antioch, and, aided even by the Christian inhabitants, took that city for a time. Afterwards, in the pitched battle of Danit, they inflicted upon the Crusaders a terrible defeat, with great loss of Knights, and of Rogers himself, of whose last confession and communion before the fight a touching account is given. In another sad disaster, Joscelin was taken prisoner; and King Baldwin, sent in chains to Harran, only gained his freedom by a compact which he failed to fulfil. Amid all these calamities, the Crusaders obtained a single advantage in the capture of Tyre, but otherwise they could do little in reprisal beyond cruelly ravaging the land. 1119.

It was now that Zenky, the terrible foe of the Crusaders, came to the front. He was Atabek, or Major-Domo, at one of the Seljuk Courts, and was also much occupied with the affairs of the Abbaside Caliphate at Bagdad. Succeeding to the Chiefship of Mosul, he entered on a campaign against Syria. Beating the Franks at every point, he seized many of their strongholds. While thus pursuing a victorious course, he was called back to Bagdad, and there detained for several years immersed in the broils of the declining Caliphate. Eventually the city being captured by the Seljukes, he escaped with the Caliph to Mosul. Central Asia was at this time convulsed by the incessant irruption of Ghaznevdes, Ghorians, Ghoos, Kharizmies, and other Turcoman hordes, before whom 1126-1128.
1134, 1135.

A. D. 1136. the Seljuk dynasty came to an end. Freed thus from superior control, Zenky became the fortunate ruler of the country west of the Euphrates. And it was now that, descending like a whirlwind on Syria, he ravaged the Christian territories, and with great slaughter beat the Crusading armies back. Multitudes were slain, and many knights made prisoners. King Fulco himself was pursued and taken captive, but graciously by the conqueror let go free.

1137. About this time the Kaiser, jealous of the Crusader's claim to the province of Antioch, and with the view of securing the sovereign title recognised as his at its first conquest, marched across Asia Minor, and laid siege to the city. Having come, however, to terms with Raimond, they joined forces and, 200,000 strong, attacked Aleppo. Zenky, in alarm, appealed to the Powers around for aid. He was reinforced from various quarters, and, among the rest, with 20,000 horse from Bagdad,—all the help the Abbaside Caliphate ever gave against the Crusade.

1138. Thus strengthened, Zenky attacked the combined army, and drove them ignominiously back to Antioch. He then went against Damascus, but the Governor with the help (strange to say) of the Franks, resisted the attack. After various victories all around, he stormed Edeasa, which had been carelessly left by Joscelin undefended. The city was ransacked, but special consideration was shown by Zenky towards the native Christians and their Bishop. Shortly after Zenky was murdered by his own memlukes. The Crusaders rejoiced, but their joy was shortlived. Joscelin, hastening back with his knightly force, and aided by the Greeks, who thus quickly forgot the clemency of Zenky, retook the city. But a greater than Zenky was at hand. His son, Nureddin, coming up, attacked them in front; while the garrison from the citadel fell on them from behind. All night the battle raged. The Crusading force was cut to pieces, and only the few knights who, with Joscelin, could force their way through the enemy, escaped to Samosata. A terrible fate awaited the native Christians; for Nureddin,

incensed at their ingratitude, gave no quarter. Thirty thousand are said to have been slain, and fifteen thousand sold into slavery. A. D. 1144.

Europe was aroused by these terrible disasters. The Pope again sounded his heavenly summons to the battle of the Cross; and Bernard, like Peter the Hermit, made Europe ring afresh with the cry,—a repetition, in fact, of what happened fifty years before. Louis and Conrad headed the vast force thus assembled, and it marched in great pomp, with noble ladies in its train. Against the Jews in Germany, savage enormities were perpetrated as before; and in Asia Minor, through the Kaiser's treachery, even greater losses were suffered from the Turks. Hardly one-tenth survived to reach the Holy land. Still, the Franks were so greatly strengthened by the reinforcements that they attempted to storm Damascus.¹ But the eastern Barons, bribed (sad to say) by the Governor, dealt faithlessly by their fellows; the force retired disastrously, and the newcomers sickened by the intrigues and laxity around them, sighed again for home. Excepting the capture of Ascalon, the campaign was one of unbroken loss and misfortune. Jerusalem was twice attacked, and the land overrun by Nureddin. Few strongholds now were left either in the north or south to the Crusading forces, whose rivalries, and too often worthless lives, but courted defeat, and were fast discrediting the Christian name. In a pitched engagement, Raimond of Antioch was slain with all his train, and Joscelin II. carried off a prisoner in chains, and so remained for years until his death. Nureddin, having at last got possession of Damascus, daily grew in power. A truce made by him about this time was faithlessly broken by King Baldwin, who fell upon an unsuspecting Moslem camp that trusted to it. Shortly after, the Franks paid dearly for this act of treachery. 1149-
1152.

¹ Saladin was present at this battle with his father. It is curious to read that the enthusiasm of the citizens was kindled by the holding up of Othman's Coran, the same copy so recently lost in the conflagration of the great Mosque.

A. D. 1156. The King escaped with difficulty from Nureddin's hands ; but a body of his knights was captured, marched with ignominious pomp through the Damascus streets, and then in retaliation put to death. Even when success was near at hand, as in the siege of (northern) Caesarea, the opportunity was, by the jealousies of the Barons, lost. But the cause, sunk thus low, was anew strengthened by a fresh contingent under Dietrich of Flanders. Nureddin, too, fell sick, and in one engagement was nearly taken prisoner. But fortune turned again, and in a raid against Armenia, Rainald fell into the enemy's hands, and was led off in chains to Aleppo. A year or two of inaction followed ; but the time was made good use of by Nureddin to consolidate his rapidly increasing realm.

Third
Crusade,
1158.

1169. At this point, Egypt comes upon the stage as bearing on the fate of the Crusade. In the decrepitude of the Fatimide dynasty, Nureddin and King Amalrich both set their heart upon it. The Caliph's Vizier sought aid from each against the other, and each in turn invaded the land. At last a friendly treaty was concluded with both, which Amalrich was the first to break, ravaging the country and exacting largesses from the Court. The wretched Caliph appealed to Nureddin, sending locks of his ladies' hair in token of extremity. Nureddin gladly despatched his general Shirkoh to the rescue, before whom Amalrich, crestfallen, slipped away. Shirkoh thus became supreme

1170. in Egypt, and shortly after his nephew, Saladin, succeeded to his place. Next year the Caliph died. So ended the Fatimide dynasty.¹ And Saladin became Lord of Egypt. He was of Kurdish blood, and though at first little of a soldier, was not long in distinguishing himself by the able defence of Damietta against the Franks, and he soon displayed all the qualities of a great ruler at once in council and in war. Jealous of the independent attitude of his viceregent, Nureddin repeatedly summoned him to submission ; and the position of Saladin was rapidly becoming hazardous, when he was happily relieved of the danger.

¹ Having lasted 272 years.

For just then Nureddin died,—a grand, true, and faithful prince. And so Saladin was left at peace in Egypt, where he signalised his reign by schools and hospitals and other improvements. A. D. 1174.

Fortunately for Saladin, dissensions in the family of Nureddin enabled him to extend his sway over Syria, and eventually as far as Mesopotamia and Mosul. He was recalled to Syria by a fresh invasion of the Franks, who arrived in bodies both by land and sea. At first these, with the miraculous fragment of the Holy cross, drove all before them; but, as usual, they wasted their energies in wrangling and useless raids. Attacked at Paneas, they suffered a sad defeat, losing Honfroi and a multitude of knights. A fortress built on the Jordan to threaten Damascus was stormed, and the King himself on one occasion escaped with difficulty. The Franks were fast sinking into a weak and helpless state. The guardians of the throne about this time were (as Gibbon puts it) successively a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor; while the Barons and Knights, of whatever order, instead of rallying to its defence, did little else than quarrel for the supremacy, and, indeed, were too often taken up by cupidity, jealousy, strife, and licentious lives,—unholy defenders of a Holy land! The Pullanes too (half-caste progeny of native mothers), grown up now a disreputable and disloyal race, added to the insecurity of the Franks. The wonder is that the kingdom hung so long together; which, indeed, it never would have done had there not been an unceasing flow, year by year, of Knights and Pilgrims for its defence. Things, however, were now coming to a bitter end.

Satisfied with his victories, Saladin entered into a truce, and returned to Egypt. He was, however, shortly after recalled to revenge an attack on the Sacred environs of the Hejâz by Rainald, who, having fitted out a fleet at Ayla, devastated the coasts of Mecca and Medina. He was driven off with great loss, and a multitude of his followers were taken captive, some of whom were sacrificed at the 1182.
1183.

A. D. 1186. shrine of Mina. Saladin, resenting the despite thus done to his Faith, inflicted reprisals on the Crusaders' territory, and, being now secure throughout the East, gathered his forces from all sides, resolved to make a final end of the Crusading rule. Against Rainald he was specially incensed, not only for the attack on Arabia, but for repeated seizure of caravans with Moslems on their pilgrimage to Mecca. Against the advice of Raimond, who had lately made peace with Saladin, King Veit marched upon Tiberias, where Saladin, having taken the city, was raiding all around. The armies met at Hittin, where the Crusaders, blinded by the smoke and heat of the kindled grass, suffered a crushing defeat. The King and the Grandmaster of the Templars, with all survivors, were taken captive. Rainald was slain by Saladin, as he had sworn, with his own hand. The captives were sold as slaves; but the Knights of both Orders, to avenge the inroad on the Sacred territory and attacks upon the Moslem pilgrims, were hewn in pieces before Saladin's eyes. The King alone was taken honourably to Damascus, and freed on promising to give Ascalon up.

1187.

2nd Oct.
1187.

Saladin now scoured the land, and recovered most of the strongholds still in the Crusaders' hands. Unwilling to besiege the Holy city, he offered to make concessions if it were but ceded peacefully. His advances were declined, and so at last Jerusalem was invested; and, after an eight days' siege, becoming untenable, the keys were delivered up to Saladin. A cry of anguish rose from the miserable inhabitants, and of wailing from the women clothed in sackcloth. The Sacred places were desecrated, the churches turned into Mosques, the crosses torn down, and the bells destroyed. But the people, on payment of a light ransom, were allowed free departure. The conduct, indeed, of Saladin and his brother Adil on this occasion is praised for their care of the poor Christians, and for the convoy provided for their departure.

1188.

Saladin made good use of his victory, and left little of importance throughout Syria in the Crusaders' hands

besides Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli. Boemund was A. D. 1188. besieged in Antioch; but, on surrendering all his Moslem captives, and promising to retire if not soon relieved, Saladin admitted him to a seven months' truce. Another Crusadē, however, was at hand. The loss of Jerusalem and its desecration after having been a Christian capital for nearly a century, the slaughter of Knights, and the loss of Syria, fell like a thunderbolt on Europe. The Pope fulminated his Bulls afresh, and (forgetful of the past) reiterated the promise of Divine aid and victory. He also imposed fresh burdens on the people, of which "Saladin's tenth" survived a welcome remnant for the treasury of Rome. The cry resounded through Europe, and though at first there was much dissatisfaction, especially at the faithlessness of the Pullanes, multitudes at last assembled, and carrying, like their predecessors, cruelty and rapine in their front, set out upon the fourth Crusade. Many went by Fourth Crusade, 1189. sea; the rest, by land, fought with the Greeks, as their fore-runners had done a hundred years before, and after similar perils and privations, reached, but a remnant, the Holy land. Thus reinforced, the Franks invested Akka. There Saladin inflicted severe loss upon them; but they were too many for him, and so, sick and disheartened, he retired from the scene. The siege was prosecuted with vigour. Hunger and hardship were bravely borne by the forces as they held their ground around the city; but there is also the usual story of dissension; Cœur-de-Lion, for example, and King Veit arrayed with their followers in arms, against Conrad and Philip of France. There is also the same sad tale throughout the army of mingled fanaticism and sin, of masses and prayers, hand in hand with vice and riot. After two years the Moslem garrison, in the last extremity of want, surrendered upon favourable 1191. terms. These were faithfully carried out by Saladin, who forthwith set all the Christian captives free, while the cruel Richard put the garrison, two or three thousand in number, to death, excepting such as could give a heavy ransom. After some fresh hostilities, in which Saladin

A. D. 1191. retaliated by taking the lives of such Crusaders as fell into his hands, and the loss of Ascalon (which Saladin, with a heavy heart, to safeguard Egypt, took and razed to the ground), a three years' truce was concluded between the contending parties. Soon after, Saladin died. A noble prince: in virtuous living, not, indeed, to be compared with Nureddin; but gentle and forbearing, though ever stirred by a lofty ambition and by the aggressive spirit of Islam.

1193-1196. The truce was fortunate for the Moslems, who were at that moment seriously weakened by the death of Saladin and by the discord which, as usual, rent his large family, till at last his brother Adil gained the ascendancy. But the Crusaders were in no case to profit by such opportunity; and we may say, indeed, that the fate of the Crusade was henceforth but a foregone conclusion. Their land was waste, and their hold alone maintained by the few strongholds yet left in their possession, and by the ceaseless flow of fresh Crusading bands. The fifth Crusade, composed of German levies, under Henry VI., was ill-received by the Italians, French, and English. Bad blood and disunion again paralysed their efforts. Beyond the capture of Beyrut,¹ little else was gained, and the newcomers, disheartened, soon began to return again to Europe. Meanwhile, Adil was achieving a grand and undisputed rule from Georgia to Aden, before which the weak, divided, and desultory efforts of the Franks were powerless.

Fifth
Crusade,
1197.

Sixth
Crusade,
1200. The sixth Crusade, an overpowering force, was diverted, on reaching Venice, from the Holy land by the ecclesiastical rancour that ruled against the Greek Church. Constantinople was besieged and taken with terrible slaughter and calamities, and remained under the Roman hierarchy for half a century, when it again reverted to the Greeks. From first to last this Crusade, supported by the Papal

¹ Two ships had long lain in wait outside the harbour to decoy Crusading vessels and carry their passengers into Beyrut, where as many as 14,000 were, on its capture, found in captivity. Some say many more.

Court, was an iniquitous work, which but tended to the A. D. 1200. eventual downfall of the Eastern bulwark of the Christian faith. About this time, also, we read of the Children's 1212. Pilgrimage, which ruined disastrously the lives and virtue of thousands of girls and boys. Some 30,000 were seized on their voyage to Egypt, and there sold as slaves; sad illustration of the fanatical darkness in which the Crusading spirit had shrouded Europe, and its melancholy results.

Little time elapsed before there was a new inroad into Syria. A great army, headed by four kings, assembled at Akka. After ravaging the Holy land, they advanced on Seventh Crusade, 1217. Egypt, and laid siege to Damietta. In a few months they forced the defences that barred entrance, and invested the 1218. city. Hearing of their success, the Pope sent Cardinal Pelagius as his representative, who immediately assumed the management of affairs. After two years of heavy 1220. fighting and bloodshed, the city, and eventually the citadel also, fell into their hands, whereupon Pelagius was glorified by the Pope throughout Europe as a second Joshua. Another year passed, and the opportunity of further advance was lost in the usual quarrels and jealousies; —Pelagius spending such time as he could spare from fasts and masses in bitter dissensions with the other leaders. The Sultan, in distress, made repeated offers to cede Jerusalem if they would but retire; but, against King John's advice, the offer was rejected by the Cardinal. After the King with many thousands had retired in disgust, Pelagius at last advanced from Damietta upon Cairo. But the Egyptians, attacking the force before and behind, cut off both advance and retreat. Reduced to terrible straits, it was only by the clemency of the Sultan that they were not utterly destroyed, but were allowed to return unmolested to Syria. So ended the 1221. grand scheme of the Papal Court, all chance of success being lost by the ambition and perversity of Pelagius; while the forbearance of the Sultan, who granted an eight years' truce, has been justly lauded on every hand.

The sons of Adil, who died of grief at the taking of 1222.

- A. D. 1222. **Damietta**, fell into discord among themselves; but little advantage was taken of it till Kamil at last gained
1227. **supreme command.** Between him and Frederick II, who made his Crusade about this time, friendly relations sprang up; so much so, indeed, that Jerusalem, with the
1229. **surrounding lands,** was restored to his possession on condition of equal rights and freedom to the Moslems, and also that the city should remain unfortified. Frederick was now crowned King of the Holy city, and this concession was enjoyed for fifteen years, till at last the Mongols swept before them all away. But Frederick, being under the Pope's displeasure, the Holy places were for a time under the Papal ban; and Frederick, in consequence, was ill-received by the Knights, who are said even to have planned his assassination. The Chiefs of Antioch, Tripolis, and Beyrut, independent one of another, thought little of combined action. Miserable contentions and abandoned living still weakened the Crusading arm; little more than raids and plunder were attempted, and that often with serious loss.¹ Meanwhile, the Crusade was again vigorously preached in Europe; but the new levies were, during the next ten or fifteen years, diverted by the Pope to Crusades against the Albigenses, the Pagans of the north, and suchlike objects of Papal displeasure.
1239. **About this time the Franks embraced the cause of Ismail,** who rose in rebellion against his nephew, the Sultan Eyyub,—an alliance so hateful even to Ismail's own followers, that their desertion on the field of Ascalon led to
1240. **the Christians' shameful overthrow.** The Sultan, nevertheless, came to peaceful terms with them; but the restless Knights continued hostile raids against Kerak, and even among themselves. We blush to read that 2000 prisoners
1243. **were slaughtered by them at Akka, and still worse, that a body of captives brought in on promise of being baptized,**

¹ In repelling an attack of the Mongols on Jerusalem, 2000 of the Moslems were mercilessly cut to pieces by the Pullanes; who, we are told, were more dreaded by the inhabitants of Syria even than the Mongol hordes.

were also put to death. A yet darker season was at hand A. D. 1240. in the eruption of the Charizmian hordes, who now at last reached Syria and fell upon it like an avalanche. They destroyed Jerusalem with horrible barbarity, slaying 7000 Christians, and carrying off the maidens into captivity. These barbarians formed an alliance with the Egyptian Sultan; and, commanded by Beibars, his Mameluke general, routed a combined army of Franks and Moslems near to Joppa, where the Christians, being again deserted by their Moslem companions, met with a terrible and bloody overthrow.

We come now to what may be called the last Crusade 1247. upon the Holy land, namely, Louis' first campaign. Passing on to Egypt, he attacked Damietta with the same early success, and the like eventual disaster, as in the case of Pelagius thirty years before. The army was defeated in an advance on Cairo, the fleet destroyed, and Louis taken prisoner. He was well treated by Turan Shah, who, for this act of kindness, was slain by Beibars; and Beibars thus succeeded to the Sultanate, the first of the Mameluke dynasty. In wretched case Louis and his Barons got back to Syria, and after further misfortunes, home to France. Long afterwards, Louis engaged in a second 1270. Crusade, but that being against Tunis, requires no further notice here, except that it was marked by the same disunion as of old, and had an equally unfortunate end.

The remainder of our story is one melancholy tale 1263. of decadence, hastened by the fatal discord and internal et seq. warring of the Hospitallers with the Templar Knights. "Foes to themselves," said Beibars, "their own strife and folly are their downfall." In his four memorable 1262-1269. campaigns, Beibars destroyed their chief remaining strongholds excepting Tripolis and Akka. The women and children from all quarters were sent as slaves to Tyre. At Antioch there is a sad tale, the whole body of the Crusaders—soldiers, priests and monks, and Christian citizens—on its capture, were put to death or reduced to slavery.

In 1289, Tripolis at last was stormed with terrible 1289.

A. D. 1289. massacre, thousands of women and children being driven into slavery. Still Knights and Barons courted attack on their yet remaining places on the coast by frequent raids and breach of truce, till at last Akka alone remained, the centre to which all fled for safety; and that was now besieged. It was a vast, magnificent, and voluptuous city, as grandly described by Wilken; crowded by Franks from every quarter as their last resort; Crusaders all, but yet, as the historian tells us, even in the throes of last existence still a prey to dissensions, jealousies, greed, and dissipation.¹ The Grandmaster of the Templars, anxious to save this great city, sought the Sultan, and brought from him pacific terms; but he was disowned as a traitor by the infatuated leaders, who drove him back upon the Sultan's Court. The first attack was repelled, but at the cost of 2000 lives. Despairing now, this last Crusading band resolved to die, and there is an affecting scene of their last confession and communion. The city fell (strange to say) on the same day, and same hour of the day, as a hundred years before it had been captured from the Moslems. A few escaped by ship. A thousand fled for the moment into a fortified place, but in the end all met their fate, and not a soul survived. A melancholy tale.

1291.

So ended the great Crusade. "By the command of the Sultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished; a motive of avarice or fear still opened the Holy sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims; and (as Gibbon finishes the sad story) a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE."

Such is a brief outline of the Crusades. I have had occasion repeatedly to notice the jealousies and discord which led to misfortune and defeat. But above and beyond these, the grand cause that rendered success impossible was the absence of any supreme and recognised ruler. There was no common authority from first to

¹ Wilken, viii. p. 793.

last, which could prevent disorder, enforce obedience, or command united action. The Crusaders came from the various lands of Europe; as such they had each their separate interests, and not less so the various knightly Orders. Too often, as we have seen, they fought one against the other. The "King" of Jerusalem had little authority beyond his own environs. Antioch, Tripolis, Edessa, and other strongholds were independent of one another, sometimes even hostile, and the Kaiser was jealous of them all. Under a common Prince, with recognised authority, success was possible. Torn by factions and contending interests, defeat was in the end inevitable.

The Crusades from first to last are a chapter unique in the history of the world; a chapter also, of which, especially in its Oriental aspect, there is, as I have said, much need of a well-digested work in our own language. Such an undertaking would afford occasion also for reviewing the effect of that great and protracted warfare upon the social state of Europe, as well as upon the Churches and Communities of the East. With the latter, persecution, loss, and decadence; with the former, some advantages as well as many evils.

The Crusades it was that roused the Western world from a long sleep of listlessness. It was they that first brought the Principalities throughout Europe into common action with a grand though mistaken object, and endowed them thus with a fresh political life. A new interest was by them created and quickened in the East, extending historical and geographical knowledge both as to place and people, and enlarging ideas in respect of the language as well as the manners and habits of the Asiatic world. Again, while the Crusades gave an insight into the defects of the Moslem faith, they furnished some bright examples of generosity and virtue even in the hostile ranks. They promoted trade and mercantile activity, and thus increased the wealth and capital of Europe. They contributed to the revival of the fine arts, and the prosecution of such scientific branches as astronomy, mathematics, medicine,

pharmacy, and natural history. Above all, the Crusades gave a last blow to the Feudal system. The multitude of serfs that flocked to the banner of the Cross threw aside their servile bonds and assumed an attitude of independence; while the system was still further loosened by the frequent sale of feudal properties as the Knights and Barons left their homes for the East.

On the other hand, the Crusades aggravated the intolerance of the day, and promoted deeds of bloodshed and cruelty in the Christian ranks as appalling at times as those of their enemy; while we also have the strange combination of fanatical piety hand in hand with the lowest vices of humanity. Indeed, it is often difficult to recognise the Faith of Jesus, either in the religion which, throughout these two centuries, the Popes and their Councils kept sending back to the land of its birth, or in the agencies by which it was sought to establish it there. And while it might have been expected that the constant falsification of the Heavenly promises made by the Roman conclave would have weakened, if not altogether destroyed, faith in the guidance of the Western Church, we find, strange to say, that the Crusading sentiment had the directly contrary effect, introduced the reign of inquisitorial terror, filled the coffers of the Roman See, and riveted the shackles of Papal dominancy.

.

APPENDIX I

BRIEF NOTICE OF THE MAMELUKES UNDER OSMANLY RULE.

UNDER Ottoman rule, the Mamelukes still maintained their hold upon Egypt; and as the Porte's prestige began from time to time to wane, so likewise did the influence of its Cairo representative; and in the same measure did that of the Beys and their Mamelukes gain ascendancy. They remained, as in generations past, a separate race not mingling with those around them; and they still continued to multiply their numbers by the flow of slaves purchased by themselves from Siberia, Circassia and adjoining lands. The head of the Mamelukes came to be called *Sheikh ul Beled*, or "Chief of the Land"; and to gain this office, strife and combat too often embittered the race, and caused fighting and disorder to prevail. The Sheikh when supported by the Emirs was all-powerful; and the Porte, with its local Pashas, must in that case abide by his demands. The virtual ruler was the Sheikh.

A. D. 1517-
1811.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Porte being then at war with Russia, the famous ALY BEY, as Sheikh ul Beled, gradually reduced the Janissaries, the Osmanly prop; while he increased the number of the Court memlukes till they reached six thousand. Then assuming independent power, he sent back the Ottoman Governor to Constantinople. Victorious also over Syria and the Bedouins, he was recognised as Lord of the Holy places by the Shereef of Mecca, who also conferred upon him the title of Sultan. But, after a brilliant reign, he was eventually betrayed in Syria and slain.

A. D. 1798-
1800. IBRAHIM was Sheikh when Napoleon, to protect the interests of France, took possession of Egypt; but the combined action of England and the Porte forced him to leave it, and then Ibrahim who had fled to Upper Egypt was restored to power.

1805.
1811. It is needless here to follow the course of events till at length MAHOMET ALY gained the supreme authority; and fearing the Mamelukes took measures to get rid of them; but the savage act by which he put an end to the leaders of the race did not take place for six years after. The Beys and Emirs were then invited to an entertainment in the Citadel. On their taking leave, the outer gates were closed; and, every way of egress barred, the whole body, said to have been four hundred and seventy in number, were shot down. By further orders, the multitude of Mamelukes in Cairo and throughout the land were pursued, slain or chased abroad. A body escaped to Nubia, but are said to have met the same fate there. The few that survived in Egypt mingled at last with those around them, and are not now, it is said, to be distinguished from the general population.

So ended the Mameluke race, which for generations had lorded it over Egypt, and Cairo enjoyed a rest it had never known before.

APPENDIX II

MEMORANDUM BY HIS EXCELLENCY YACOUB ARTIN PASHA
ON THE RELATION OF THE MAMELUKES TO THE GENERAL
POPULATION.

(Being answers to questions put to him by the Author.)

In your letter you ask me several questions. I will try to answer them to the best of my ability.

1. "The Mamelukes came under the Porte in 1517. Up to that time I imagine they kept altogether a separate and a dominant race?"

Yes, provided that he who deals with their history does not forget that the Mamelukes never pretended to create a race by intermarriage with the inhabitants of the countries in which they held sway. Even with the female consorts of their own race they did not pretend to establish dominant families, or an aristocracy of any kind. A characteristic feature of their moral and social code was that a child should never succeed his father. The slave or mameluke succeeded his slave-master, and became the protector of the lawful family of his master. In many instances he took his master's wives into his own harem; and if he did not slay the children, the perverted habits he allowed them to acquire in the harem brought them to an early grave. The more we approach our own period in history, the more this idea of a democratic slave-soldiery predominates amongst them.

2. "After that, did they keep as distinct as before, or did they at all mingle with the people, Arabs, or other inhabitants of the land, or with populations which came in from Syria, Asia Minor, etc.?"

No, they kept distinct. Continuing to be a body of soldiers holding the country, they held to their paramount principle of not establishing themselves permanently. The maintenance of their political position required them to stand always in the breach. Fighting was their principal interest in life, even with each other, or with the people of the country, in order to keep them down. Leading such an existence, family life was rendered well-nigh impossible. Very few of this soldiery died at home in their own bed; nearly ninety, or perhaps more, per cent. used to die a violent death, and most of them were under thirty or thirty-five years of age. At death, their property, house, goods, female slaves, male mamelukes, children, and, in fact, everything went to their master, to their murderer, or to the State, whichever was the strongest. In the event of the State being the most powerful, everything belonging to the dead man, including his children, was sold for the benefit of the Bait-el-Mâl (Treasury): otherwise, his estate passed into the hands of the foremost and strongest Mameluke chief. Those Mamelukes who lived in retirement and led a civil life, who married, and in the majority of cases had children, were, in the first or second generation, merged into the Egyptian people. Their children were called "Muwellid" (native-born), or nicknamed "Abdullawi," *i.e.* degenerate, or good-for-nothing as soldiers or administrators. You will find in the Chronicles of Gabarti several cases of this absorption. The most prominent is probably that of Abd-el-Rahman Kahia, the master of Ali Bey, in the second half of the eighteenth century. Another example, one you must know by name, is that of Mahmoud Pasha Sami, of the family of Baroudi, who is now in Ceylon with Arabi Pasha. He pretends

to be a descendant of the Sultan-el-Ghourî, but is known to be the great-grandson of a Mameluke of Ali Bey (eighteenth century) whom the latter intrusted with the arsenal which he created at Boulak. Even after the death of his master, Ali Bey, this Mameluke kept his post, because of his knowledge of powder-making, bronze gun-casting, etc. Hence his surname of Baroudî, which signifies "powder-maker." His son went on with the concern, and married a Circassian slave: their only child, a daughter, was married to a Circassian male slave, who became the father of Mahmoud Sami. Mahmoud Pasha Sami married a great-niece of Mohammed Ali Pasha, and he has several children by her living. Here is, then, an instance of a family of about one hundred and fifty years' standing in Egypt, sprung from a Mameluke, and of which the main line has been kept distinct from the surrounding population, because the men always married Asiatic slave-girls of their own race, except this Mahmoud Pasha Sami, who (as already explained) married a freeborn girl. But she also had no Egyptian blood in her. Instances of this kind are rare, to my knowledge; but instances of families of less than one hundred years' standing, *i.e.* subsequent to the conquest of Mohammed Ali Pasha, are numerous. Generally speaking, all foreigners, or those of foreign extraction by both parents, prefer to keep distinct from the different dark-hued Egyptians; but there are many instances of their having commingled. There is no fixed rule in the matter, but owing to the difficulty of finding a wife or a husband of the same race or of the same fortune, or owing to the growing keenness in the struggle for existence, the tendency for about twenty years past has been to mix. Furthermore, some thirty years ago, Ismail Pasha changed the official language from Turkish to Arabic. That has had a great effect on the tendencies of the Turks and Circassians—at anyrate of Mussulmans of foreign descent—to approach the Egyptians, and not to treat them as a conquered race, but to try to be accepted as Egyptians by the Egyptians. This sentiment was carried

to its extreme in the time of Arabi Pasha's revolution, 1882, when I saw people who had not a single drop of Arab blood in their veins, pretending to be connected with the Arabian prophet's family. This movement is spreading, and in another thirty years I believe it will be difficult to find a pure-bred Turk or Circassian. All of the existing families will have become mixed with Egyptians, and of course the Egyptian blood will prevail, as it has always done. Even in the case of Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, and Christian foreigners in general, who intermarry with Copts, their offspring merges into the Egyptian type, after the intermarriage of two or—at the most—three consecutive generations.

I may here observe, that the idea that foreigners in Egypt cannot have offspring, or rear families beyond the third generation, is absurdly erroneous. To prove this, by an instance which is quite historical, I venture to point to the Ptolemaic family, which came from the mountains of Macedonia to establish itself in Egypt, and had in itself another more serious reason of family decay, namely, consanguinity,—most of those kings having married their sisters,—and still they lived as a strong family for nearly four hundred years, *i.e.* about thirteen or fourteen generations. For an explanation of the difficulty of rearing families in Egypt from the time when the Turkish slaves took the reins of government, practically from the ninth century, we must look first to their military constitution, then to their turbulent life and violent death, and to their intermarriage (when by chance they lived long enough) with Egyptian women, who turned their offspring into Egyptians and merged them into the general public. I am aware that the climate and the country have an enervating effect on foreigners, but I am convinced that by experience and study of the climate, the material life and hygienic conditions will be still further improved, and the scientific comforts of life will allow, as of old, foreigners to live here and multiply better than in many other southern climes. I am told that Kait Bey's family is still living,

that some Abbaside offspring exists in Cairo, but those that have been pointed out to me I have found quite Egyptian in form, hue, and mien. One must also listen very sceptically when he hears that such an one is a descendant of such a Sultan, or of any other celebrated Mameluke. Because such an one holds Wakf properties, or part of them, entailed by those Sultans or Mamelukes on behalf of their families—this is no sufficient proof that he is a descendant of the said Sultan or Mameluke; for the Wakfs are entailed, generally speaking, on the children, parents, Mamelukes, white or negro, male or female, and even servants of both sexes, and their offspring right to the end of all the branches. You will thus perceive the difficulty of going back to the origin of anyone existing now, through all the revolutionary epochs in the history of Egypt for the last six centuries, with such scanty means of information.¹

3. "In 1811 a multitude was massacred in the Citadel by Mohammed Ali; did many escape this fate, and since then are there any traces of their being a distinct race?"

At the massacre of the Mamelukes only the principal chiefs were killed, with their followers. I cannot tell, for a certainty, how many were killed, but at anyrate, from all that I can gather, not more than a couple of hundred, at the utmost, were killed in that celebrated massacre, including chiefs, followers,—who were Circassians by birth,—and their Egyptian servants and grooms. Those Mamelukes who were in the provinces escaped the fate. Many of them, who were in Cairo, were supporters of Mohammed Ali; *they* escaped. Perhaps some thousands

¹ The Turkish poet, Fazil Bey (xviii. S.), in his *Zenana Namek*, under the title of "Egyptian" (women), says: "Why do they call Egypt 'mother of the world'? She is only a prostitute who has given herself up each century to all the nations." This fact, which is so conspicuous, alone accounts for not having any solidly established families besides the democratic, demagogic institution of the revealed religions, etc.

left the country for Syria and Upper Egypt. In that part of the country they retired first to Dongola, and then to Shendy. Some died there, whilst others took service in the forces of Mohammed Ali that were going to the Soudan in 1824. More than two thousand, under eighteen years of age, belonging to Mamelukes were seized as prizes by Mohammed Ali, according to the law prevailing then that everything belonging to a vanquished foe belonged by right to the conqueror—which principle you will find even in the Bible (*e.g.* David and his son). Those boys were incorporated first in Mohammed Ali's bodyguard as Mamelukes in the school at the Citadel, and afterwards as cadets in the regular army, started by him as early as 1815, in the Cairo citadel, and subsequently transported in 1818 to Assouan, after the revolt of the Albanian troops against the regular army. These boys formed the nucleus of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the four regiments ready by 1824. It is believed that the Mameluke soldiery was about twenty thousand strong in the beginning of Mohammed Ali Pasha's rule. Fighting, death, and exile had reduced them to nothing by the time of the massacre, in comparison with the numbers in Bonaparte's time, which, it is said, amounted to forty thousand. One must bear in mind that owing to the fights and revolutions in Egypt from 1798 up to 1811, the import of slaves from the north had slackened, and also that as owing to the bankruptcy of the chief Mamelukes merchants did not find it in their interest to import slaves, the recruiting of that soldiery had been stopped several years before their entire disbandment by Mohammed Ali in 1811. From 1824 to the present time, the army has been commanded by foreigners, one half of whom, at the very least, were Circassian Mamelukes belonging to the Viceregal family. You find them for the last time in 1881, when Arabi wanted to dismiss them all from the army. Most of those Circassians were bought by the Khedive Ismail, shortly after Shamil, the great and last chief of the Circassians, had been captured and put to

death by the Russians. At his death a great number of Circassians emigrated to Turkey and Egypt, and sold their children. Ismail Pasha purchased a considerable number of them, put them in his schools, and eventually improved them into officers. Since a stop has been put to the slave trade, Mamelukes can no longer be found for sale in Egypt. A great many of the Mamelukes, however, are still living, and have posts in the public service. They are generally of Aryan extraction,—Greeks, Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, etc.,—and have all the liberty enjoyed by any freeborn man.

Nowhere in Egypt do you find any trace of foreign blood being paramount in the population, either in towns, or in the country. The foreign observer, landing in Lower Egypt, will at first notice the hue of the skin clearer on the seaside, and darker towards Cairo, Cairo being the centre of a great mixture of hues. To my mind, in our own time, as in antiquity, the Egyptian blood has been mixed mainly with Semitic. To the south of Cairo the colour gets darker and darker up to Assouan, where it is almost negro-hued,—the negro element getting the best of it in the course of a few generations. In the north of Cairo the colour is cleared by the mixture of Syrian, Greek, and Turkish blood, without the Semito-negro mixture being ever transformed into a pure Aryan race. •An Egyptian race, clearly distinguishable or autochthonous, does not exist, I believe, at least at the present time. It is thus very difficult to assign a colour to the Egyptian. As far as my own knowledge goes, two places are, however, worthy of notice, namely, (*a*) the shores of Lake Menzaleh, where one finds the original type of Hyksos, as shown to us by the monuments, with prominent cheeks, small eyes, large forehead, large nose and scanty beard; (*b*) the north-west of the province of Dakahlieh, bordering the Syrian desert, where you find a pure, or very nearly pure, Semitic type,¹ especially in women. As for the Egyptian type, as shown by the monuments, one meets with it south of

¹ Syrian or northern Semites.

Beni Suef up to the cataracts, but all these different kinds are more or less tainted according to their position from south to north.¹

I think I have given you an answer to each of your queries. I am afraid I have been too long, but you will excuse me, as you well know the difficulty of dealing briefly with these matters.

YACCOUB ARTIN PASHA.

CAIRO, *December 11th*, 1895.

¹ The predominant feature being more or less of the Semitic type.

INDEX

A

- Abagha, Mongol leader, 18, 28, 36.
- Abbas, Caliph, nominated Sultan, 129.
- Abbaside Caliphate, ix., xiv., xix.; destroyed by Mongols, 10; re-established by Beibars, 14; claimed by Osmanlies, 213.
- Abdul Aziz, brother of Furaj, 125.
- Ablestin, Mongols defeated at, by Beibars, 28; daughter of Chief marries Jakmac, 152; Aslan Chief of, 170; war with Egypt, 174.
- Abu Bekr, son of Nâsir, 85, 87; put to death at Coss, 88.
- Abulfeda, ix.; at battle of Merj Soffar, 58; Sultan of Hamah, 84.
- Abul Mahâsin, x., 134; position at Court, 134; 148 note; value of his history, 187.
- Acre, fall of, xiv. See Akka.
- Adana, seized by Moslems, 97; taken by Chief of Karaman, 160; taken by the Osmanlies, 177.
- Aden, port of traffic, 141; embargo on goods, 142; taken by Alfonso Albuquerque, 192.
- Adil, brother of Saladin, xxiv.; succeeds him, xxvi., 7; extensive rule, xxvi.; his sons quarrel, xxvii., 7.
- Adzerbaijan, spread of Soofeism in, 193.
- Aghlabites of Tripolis, 2.
- Ahmed, Sultan, son of Nâsir, 84, 88; vices, 88; Sultan, 89; retires to Kerak, 90; deposed and put to death, 91.
- Ahmed, Sultan, son of Sheikh, 134; saluted Sultan when a year and a half old, 137; deposed by Tatâr, 138.
- Ahmed, son of Inâl, Sultan, 163; resigns, 164.
- Ahmed ibn Oweis, 114; at Bagdad, 115, 119, 132.
- Ahmed Mongol, 37.
- Ahmed, son of Bajazed II., 194, 197; son betrayed in Cairo, 211.
- Ain-Jalût, battle of, 10, 11.
- Aintab threatened by Haiton, 23; attacked by Egypt, 174.
- Akberdy, Mameluke leader, 180, 182, 183.
- Akka, described by Wilken, xxx.; invested by Crusaders, xxv., xxvii., xxviii.; attacked by Beibars, 26; Jehâd against, 39; invested by Khalil, 44; stormed and burned, xxx., 44.
- Aksonker, Regent, 90.
- Aktai, 9.
- Akush, Governor of Damascus, 64.
- Aleppo, attacked by Raimond, xx.; ravaged by Mongols, 34; Timur's victory at, 122; entered by Selim, 200.
- Alexandria, ravaged by Venetians and Knights of Rhodes, 98, 99; by Franks, 128, 136; tower inaugurated by Kaitbai, 179; visited by Selim, 210; canal from Fuah to, 79.
- Alexius, Kaiser, xvi.
- Alfonso Albuquerque takes Aden, 192.
- Ali Boy, Treasurer, conspiracy of, 112.

- Ali Bey reduces Janissaries, 223 ; dominant in Syria, 223, 226, 227.
- Al Mueyyad faction, origin of the name, 135.
- Altunbogha, 89 ; Regent, 134 ; submits to Tatár, 138.
- Aly proclaimed Sultan, A.D. 1369, 101 ; died, 103.
- Amalrich, King, invades Egypt, xxii., 6.
- Amasia, 195.
- Amid, capital of Kara Yelek, 144.
- Amru conquers Egypt, 1.
- Angora, 117 ; battle of, 120.
- Antioch stormed by Crusaders, xvii. ; besieged by Kaiser, xx. ; Boemund besieged in, xxv. ; stormed by Beibars, xxix., 25 ; by Ghazan, 56 ; by Chief of Ablestin, 174.
- Arabi Pasha, 226, 228.
- Arabia Felix, Násir's connection with, 73.
- Arabic, adopted in Egypt as official language, 227.
- Aradus taken by Egypt, 57.
- Archæological Mission, xii.
- Ardebil, 193.
- Argun, dealings with Pope, 27.
- Arish, 204.
- Armenia, first connection of Mamelukes with, 23 ; Haiton seeks aid of Tartars and Crusaders, *ib.* ; devastated from Adana to Tarsus, *ib.* ; raid by Beibars on, 27 ; oppressed by Kilawun, 38 ; attacked by Lachin, 50 ; chastised by the Egyptian army, 57, 59 ; makes peace with Egypt (a Chief embracing Islam), 59 ; again attacked by Násir, 68 ; by Mongols, 71 ; by Syrian army, 71 ; Leo imprisoned, 99 ; ceases to be a Christian State, 100 ; persecuted, 143 ; Inál's relations with, 160.
- Armenians slain at Kalaat Rum, 45 ; contingent joins Mongols, 58 ; in Egypt, 228 ; Armenian Mamelukes in modern Egypt, 231.
- Army composed of Mamelukes, 133.
- Arragon, Court of, sends embassy to Egypt, 59.
- Arsuf destroyed by Beibars, 20.
- Artillery of Osmanlies, 176, 195.
- Artin Pasha, His Excellency Yacoub, xi., xii., 225.
- Ascalon taken by Crusaders, xxi. ; given up to Saladin, xxiv. ; destroyed, xxvi.
- Asendimur, Governor of Hama, 63, 68.
- Ashrafite party, 149, 150, 168, 165, 167, 171.
- Asia Minor, how divided in fourteenth century, 118 ; attacked by Timur, 120 ; again attacked by Timur, 124 ; by Bursbai, 146 ; Western half under Osmanlies, Eastern half under Egypt, 146 ; Inál's relations with, 160 ; Egyptians devastate, 160.
- Aslan, Chief of Ablestin, 174.
- Assasin Race, 70, 128.
- Assilbai, Sultanah, 185.
- Assouan, governor's cruelty, 100 ; Mamelukes in, 230, 231.
- Atabeg, title, xix., 107, 165.
- Ayas, in Armenia, destroyed by Egypt, 71.
- Ayla, xxiii., 101.

B

- Baalbec, connection of Macrizy with, x. ; battle of, 127.
- Bab-el-Mandeb, Straits of, 142.
- Bagdad, Caliphs of, indifferent to Crusade, xviii. ; taken by Seljukes, xix. ; Abbaide house destroyed at, 14 ; Governor proclaims Sultan, 98 ; attacked by Timur, 113 ; destroyed by Timur, 120 ; Timur again vents his fury on, 123 ; held by Ahmed ibn Oweis, 132.
- Bahrite Dynasty, rise of, 13.
- Bahrite Mamelukes, 5, 8.
- Bajazet, chief of Black Weir, 113, 114.
- Bajazet, Osmanly, his conquests, 118 ; addressed by Timur, 119 ;

- defeated at Angora, 120; his "cage," *ib.*
- Bajazet II., defeats Jem, 176; hostility to Egypt, 177; insulted by Ismail Shah, 193; arrests and exiles Soofies, 194.
- Baldwin, fights Tancred, xviii.; defeated by Moslems, xix.; breaks truce with Moslems, xxi.
- Baroudi family, 226.
- Bedouins, hostilities with Egypt, 39, 57, 100; overrun Egypt, 160, 170, 171, 173, 186; pursued by Tumanbai, 186; attack Kerak and Jerusalem, 190; help Tumanbeg against Turks, 206; Bedouin chief betrays Tumanbeg to Turks, 208; roving habits, 221.
- Beibars I., early history of, 13, 29, 30; defeats Franks at Joppa, xxix., 8; flies from Eibek, 9; bravery of, 11; kills Kotuz, 11; succeeds to Sultanate as first of Mameluke dynasty, xxix., 11, 14; destroys Crusaders' stronghold, xxix.; cruelty to Christians, *ib.*; wise administration, 14; re-establishes Caliphate, 14, 16, 213, 214; treachery and cruelty of, 17, 22, 27, 31; alliances, 18, 19; grants fiefs in Palestine, 20; four campaigns against Crusaders, 19-25; bridges over Jordan, 21; besieges Safed, 22; attacks Armenians, 23; storms Shekif and Jaffa, 25; destroys Antioch and wars against the Crusaders, 25; captures Akkar, 26; fits out a fleet against Cyprus, 26; treaty with Tyre and Akka, 26; last campaign, 28; his faithlessness, 29; death, *ib.*; person and habits, 30; extent of dominions, *ib.*; family, 31; buried, 32.
- Beibars II., President of Palace, 53; attacks Bedouins, 57; attitude towards Christians, 60; opposes Sallar, 61; first Sultan of Circassian birth, 63; sees for Nâsir's pardon, 65; is imprisoned at Gaza, 65; cruel end, 66.
- Berbers, their connection with the Fatimide Caliphs, 2.
- Berekh, Prince of Kiptchak, 18.
- Berekh (Mameluke), supreme in Cairo, 102; defeated by Berkuck, and death, *ib.*
- Berkuck, Sultan, x.; origin and rise, 98, 105, 106; with Berekh supreme in Cairo, 102; defeats Berekh and puts him to death, *ib.*; deposes Hajy, 103; affair with Caliph, 106; prisoner at Kerak, 107; escapes to Syria, 108; advances on Cairo and again proclaimed Sultan, 109; attacks Mintash, 110; puts Yelbogha to death, 111; plotted against by Ali Bey, 112; fears the memlukes, 113; communications with Timur, puts Timur's messenger to death, 114; marches to Damascus and Aleppo, dies, 115; tastes and character, *ib.*; his tomb, 116; sepulchre visited, 135.
- Beshtak, 81 note, 85, 87.
- Bernard preaches Second Crusade, xxi.
- Bertram of Ghibelet, 39.
- Beyrut taken by Crusaders, xxvi.; slaughter at, 44; burned by Cyprians, 128.
- Bilbeis, 205.
- Birkat al Hajj, 205.
- Black Death, The, 94.
- Black Weir, 118, 124, 132, 146, 160, 193.
- Blue River, 28.
- Boemund, besieged in Antioch, xxv.; attacks Hims, 21; attacked by Beibars, 25; admitted to truce, 35; his sister claims the succession, 39 note.
- Bokhary, Traditions of*, 145 note.
- Bonaparte's time, Mamelukes in, 230.
- Boulak, 227.
- Brousa, Osmanly capital, 117.
- Bu Khalil, 102 note.
- Bû Saïd, relations with Nâsir, 69.
- Bulgaria, route of Crusaders, xv.

- Burjites, 5, 40, 48, 53.
 Burjite Dynasty, rise of, 103.
 Burkhardt, 27 note.
 Bursbai, major-domo, 138; Sultan, *ib.*; seizes and imprisons Jani Beg, 139; edicts against Jews and Christians, 139, 147; treachery of, 140; attacks pirates, *ib.*; destroys Roha, 143; alliance with Morād, 146; beats back Jani Beg and Dulgadir Chiefs, 146; dies, *ib.*; his failings, 147.
- C
- Cesarea besieged, xxii., 20, 29, 160; Egyptians defeat Turks at, 178.
 Cairo, 2, 3; Saladin's capital, 7; attacked by Pelagius and Louis, xxvii., 8; plague in, 49, 147; Black Death, 94; attacked, 126; sacked by Turks, 205, 210; sinks to provincial town, 211.
 Caliphate of Bagdad, xviii.; indifferent to Crusades, *ib.*; rule over Egypt, 1; connection with rise of Mamelukes, 3; fall of, 3, 14; influence on Egypt, 8; re-established by Beibars, 14, 16.
 Caliphate, Egyptian, a shadow, 16, 64; Caliph banished to Upper Egypt, 84; prestige abroad, 91; Caliph appointed Sultan, 129; deposed, 130; follows Sultan in military expeditions, 132 note; sent a prisoner to Alexandria, 157; improved position under later Mamelukes, 157 note; goes over to Selim, 199; public prayer of for do., 205; greater prominence under Turks, 206; accompanies Selim to Constantinople, 210; end of, 212; office given up to Osmanlies, 213; baseless assumption of, by Ottoman Sultana, 214.
 Caliphate, Fatimide. See Fatimide.
 Camel, parading on, description of the torture, 102 note.
 Castile, Kilawun treats with, 38.
 Catapults used at siege of Akka, 41.
 Charizmian hordes, xxix., 7.
 Charlotte, Queen of Cyprus, 159, 160.
 Chateauroux devastated by Egyptians, 152.
 Children's pilgrimage, xxvii.
 Christian wife of Abagha, 37.
 Christians, favoured by Zenky, xx.; well-treated by Saladin and Adil, xxiv., xxv.; at Jerusalem slain by Charizmians, xxix.; at Damascus, 11; at Cairo, 15; oppressed by Beibars, 19; led in triumph, 20; restrictions on, 21, 59, 136 and note, 139, 154, 159; favoured by Argun, 37; missionaries received in Persia, 37 note; Kilawun intolerant to, 38, 40, 41; indignities offered to, 44; protection of, proclaimed by Mongols, 54; slain at Aradus, 57; populace attack, 60; edict against, *ib.*; persecuted, 68, 74, 75, 76; treatment by Nāsir, 76; by Tengiz, 77; in Damascus, 83; ill-treated by Salih, 96; abused by Yelbogha, 99; persecuted, 180, 192, 220; in Armenia, 143; Copts, exactions on, 147; in modern Egypt, 228.
 Cilicia attacked, 99.
 Circassian, origin of Burjite Mamelukes, 5; Regent, 92; dynasty, 103; long tenure of the throne, 164, 184, 185; memlukes, 93, 107, 125; slaughtered by Turks, 205; by Mahomet Ali, 224, 229; officers in Egyptian army, 230.
 Circassians emigrate to Turkey and Egypt in modern times, 231; recent nationalisation of, in Egypt, 227, 228.
 Clement v., Pope, 69 note.
 Cœur-de-Lion, xxv.
 Colleges, Al Azhar, 2; erected by Kilawun, 41; founded by Sheikh, 136; by Kansowa al Ghury, 206.
 Commerce of the East, revival of, 141.
 Conrad heads the Second Crusade,

- xxi.; attacked by Cœur-de-Lion, xxv.
- Constantinople, besieged by the Crusaders, xxvi.; besieged by Bajazet, 119; becomes Turkish capital, 160.
- Copts, 216; depressed condition of, 220; intermarriage with, 228.
- Coran, Othman's, at siege of Damascus, xxi. note; 186 note; 190.
- Council of Placenza, xv.; of Clermont, *ib.*
- Crusades, the, connection of Mameluke dynasty with, xii.; First Crusade, xvi.; causes of failure, xvii.; Second Crusade, xxi.; Third, xxii.; defeated by Saladin, xxiv.; Fourth Crusade, xxv.; Fifth, xxvi.; Sixth, *ib.*; Seventh, xxvii.; last Crusade and loss of Antioch, xxix.; end of Crusade, xxx., 44; cause of failure, xxx.; effect of, on Europe, xxxi.; Crusaders friendly with Mongols, 19; vindictive treatment by Kilawun, 40; by Khalil, 44, 46; remnant destroyed at Aradus, 27.
- Currency arrangements by Nâsir, 55 note; by Sheikh, 135.
- Cyprus, Cyprians attack Egypt, 98; burn Beyrut, 128; defeated at Larnaca, 141; Bursbai attacks island, 140; it becomes tributary, 141; rebellion in, 159; expeditions against, 159, 168, 169.
- D
- Dakalieh, province of, Semitic type of race in, 281.
- Damascus, never taken by Crusaders, xviii.; attacked by Zenky, xx.; besieged by Crusaders, xxi.; taken by Nureddin, xxi.; by Mongols, 10; spared by Ghazan, 54; panic on approach of Mongols, 58 note; rebels against Faraj, 121; attacked and sacked by Timur, 119, 122, 123; vicerealty of, sold, 170; Kansowa enters in state, 197; taken by Selim, 200.
- Damietta, defence by Saladin, xxii.; besieged in Sixth Crusade, xxvii.; attacked by Louis, xxix.
- Danit, battle of, xix.
- Death-rates imposed by Kansowa al Ghury, 189.
- Diarbekr overrun by Selim, 195.
- Dietrich of Flanders joins Crusade, xxii.
- Dilghadir, Chief of, 100, 145, 146, 152, 170, 195.
- Dongola, battle of, 28; Mamelukes retire to, in modern times, 230.
- Druses attacked by Egypt, 59; rising of, 72; tenets of, *ib.*
- Duties on trade imposed by Kansowa al Ghury, 189.
- E
- Edessa, xvii.; stormed by Zenky, xx.; independence of, xxxi.
- Edward II., 69 note.
- Egypt, conquered by Amru, 1; by the Fatimides, 2; invaded by Baldwin, xviii.; invaded by Nureddin and by Amalrich, xxii., 6; Saladin and Adil succeed to power in, xxii. *et. seq.*; Selim's designs against, 195; spoiled by the Turks, 211; Pasha sent yearly from Constantinople, 212; recent commingling of races in, 227-9; adaptibility of foreigners to residence in, 228; ethnology of, 227-231; predominance of Semitic blood, 231.
- Eibek, Sultanate of, 8; defeats Nâsir, 9; death, *ib.*
- Emessa, 11.
- Endowments (Carât), 51 note.
- Ertogral, Chief of the Oguz, 117.
- Erzengan, Chief of, 119, 120; battle of, 146.
- Extravagance, in Nâsir's Court, 81, 82; of Shaban's Court, 92, 98; of Bursbai, 147.

Eyyub, Sultan, xxviii., 7.

Eyyubite Sultanate, xii.; fall of, 3, 8.

F

Famine, 49, 50; Násir's measures in, 79, 101; Sheikh's measures in, 135; in Bursbai's reign, 144; in Kaitbai's reign, 178.

Faraj, Sultan, x., 115, 121; fights Timur, 122, 123; sends gifts to Timur, 124; unhappy rule, 125; cruelties, 126, 128; yearly campaigns in Syria, 127; defeated at Baalbec, *ib.*; surrenders, *ib.*; strikes his image on coin, 128.

Fatimide Caliphate, origin, 2; hold Jerusalem, xvii.; fall of, xiv., xxii.; defeat Aghlabites, 2; conquer Egypt and Southern Syria, 2; remove seat at Cairo, 2; fall into hands of Turkish Viziers, 2; connection with Mamelukes, 3; end of, 7.

Fazil Bey, poet, quoted, 229 note.

Female society, state of, under Násir's reign, 83 note, 88 note.

Ferghana lineage of Ibn Toghej, 2.

Fostat, Mosque of, 1, 2 note.

Frederick II. crowned King of Jerusalem, xxviii.

Fuah Canal, 79.

Fulco, King, xx.

G

Gabarti quoted, 226.

Gallipoli, 118.

Gaza, visited by Black Death, 94 note; battle of, 109; taken by Turka, 203; massacre at, 204.

Genoa, Kilawun makes commercial arrangements with, 38.

Georgia, Adil extends rule to, xxvi., 7.

Georgian contingent joins Mongols, 58; in modern Egypt, 231.

Ghazan, ruler of Persia, 50; advance of against Násir, 54; retires, 55; embassies to England and France, 56, 57; dies, 59; character, *ib.*

Ghoriens, xix.

Godfrey elected King, xvii.

Gold, fall of value, 55; rating of, 135.

Grandmaster of Templars taken captive at Hittin, xxiv.; tries to save Akka, xxx.; shelters Jem, 177.

Greeks oppose Crusaders, xxv., xxvi.; G. Mamelukes, 165, 231.

Grenada, 179.

Guzerat, sovereigns of, seek help from Egypt against Portuguese fleet, 191.

H

Haiton, King of Armenia, defeated by Beibars, 23; submits, 24.

Hájy succeeds to throne, is slain, 91, 93.

Hájy II., Sultan, 103; deposed, *ib.*; restored, 107; resigns, 109.

Hakem, Fatimide Sultan, xv.

Hamah, Abulfeda made Sultan of, 84.

Harim besieged by Armenians, 23; Beibars retires on, 28.

Hasan the Greater, 70; *the Less, ib.*

Hasan, Sultan, 93; defeats Yemen troops and Turcomans, 95; deposed and confined, *ib.*; reappointed, 96; imprisoned, 97.

Hawks, Násir's love of, 82.

Hebron visited by Beibars, 21; by Kaitbai, 179.

Hejaz invaded by Rainald, xxiii.

Henry VI., xxvi.

Hims attacked by Boemund, 21; battle of, 36.

Hittin, battle of, xxiv.

Holagu, 10; cruel capture of Damascus, 10; destroyed the Abbasside Caliphate at Bagdad, 14.

Honfrói, xxiii.

Horses, prices given by Násir, 82 note.

- Hosein the Kurd, Admiral, 191.
 Hospital erected by Kilawun, 41 ;
 founded by Sheikh, 136.
 Hospitallers quarrel with Templars,
 xxix. ; defend Arsuf, 20 ; attacked
 by Kilawun, 35.
 Hungary, on Crusaders' route, xv. ;
 Bajazet pushes his army to border
 of, 118.
 Hyksos, Egyptian type of feature,
 231.
- I
- Ibn Ayâs, ix., x., 49 note, 83 note,
 184 note, 187 note, 190 note.
 Ibn Batuta, ix.
 Ibn Khallican, the historian, 34.
 Ibn Toghej, 2.
 Ibn Toghluq, his embassy to Egypt,
 73, 91.
 Ibn Tulûn, 1.
 Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sheikh,
 campaign in Asia Minor, 138.
 Ibrahim Sheikh, supported by Eng-
 land, 224.
 Ikshidite line, 2.
 Ilghazy takes Antioch, xix.
 Ilkhan Dynasty, 59 ; Ilkhan Oweis,
 98.
 Import duties under Bursbai,
 142.
 Inâl, besieges Rhodes, 152 ; Sultan,
 157, 158, 160 ; foreign relations,
 180 ; rejoices at Byzantine con-
 quest, 161 ; death, 162.
 Inâlites, 167.
 Income-tax, 188.
 Indian Embassies, 73, 91, 177.
 Ismail, Khedive, 230.
 Ismail Pasha, 227.
 Ismail Shah, the Safyide, 193 ; zealot
 of Soofie sect, 193 ; embassy to
 Venetians, 194 ; opposes Porte and
 champions Soofeites, 195 ; de-
 feated, 195 ; coalesces (secretly) with
 Sultan, 196 ; legal pronouncement
 against, 198.
- Ismail, Sultan, 90, 91.
 Ismail, uncle of Eyyub, xxviii.
 Ismailians, 2 note.
 Ismailites, in Syria, 26 ; subject to
 Egypt, 27.
 Itilmish, Chief of Van, 122 ; re-
 leased by Faraj, 124.
 Itmish, 115.
- J
- Jakam, Emir, and Sultan of Syria,
 126.
 Jakmac, 148, 149 ; Sultan, 150 ;
 fights Franks, 151 ; welcomes em-
 bassy from Shah Rookh, 153 ; a
 pattern Mussulman, 154 ; zeal and
 learning, *ib.*
 James II., Archbishop of Nikosia,
 159.
 Jân Belat, Sultan, 185 ; swears on
 Coran, 185, 186 note ; beheaded
 at Alexandria, 185 ; interred at
 Cairo, 188.
 Jân Berdy, 199, 203 ; beaten at
 Gaza, 204 ; opposes Selîm at
 Ridanieh, 207 ; goes over to him,
ib. ; governor of Syria, 210 ; rebels
 against Porte and forfeits his life,
 212.
 Jani Beg, Regent, 138 ; imprisoned
 at Alexandria, 139 ; escapes, *ib.* ;
 reappears, 145 ; put to death, 146.
 Jani Beg (second), distinguished
 supporter of Khushcadam, 165 ;
 Khushcadam puts him to death, 166 ;
 memlukes resent his death, 168,
 171.
 Janim, nominated Sultan, 163, 164 ;
 deposed, 165 ; flies, *ib.* ; dies, *ib.*
 Janissaries, insolence of, 211 ;
 reduced by Ali Bey, 223.
 Janus, King of Cyprus, taken
 prisoner, 141 ; ransomed, *ib.* ;
 vassal of Sultan, 141.
 Jebela, 72.
 Jedda, 141, 142, 165, 191.
 Jelbai, Sultan, 172.

- Jem, rebels against Bajazed, 176, 177; received by Pope, 177; poisoned, *ib.*
- Jerusalem, King of, xiv.; taken by Seljuks, xv.; by Crusaders, xvii.; attacked, xxi.; taken by Saladin and desecrated, xxiv.; given over to Frederick II., xxviii.; attacked by Mongols, xxviii. note; destroyed by Charizmians, 7; visited by Beibars, 21; by Sheikh Sultan, 132; by Kaitbai, 179, 190.
- Jews, attacked by Crusaders in Germany, xvi., xxi.; attacked also by Egyptians, 11; join in procession of Abbaside Caliph, 15; persecuted by Beibars, 31 note; favoured by Argun, 37 note; protected by Ghazan, 54; restrictions and edicts against, 59, 136, 139, 147 note, 154, 180, 220.
- Jizeh, 206.
- John I. of Castile, 99 note.
- John, King, adverse to advance on Cairo, xxvii.
- Joppa, battle of, xxix., 8.
- Jordan, bridge of Beibars, 21; stoppage of stream, 21 note; bridged by Berkuek, 116 note.
- Jocelin, xx.
- Jocelin II. dies in prison, xxi.
- K
- Kaaba curtain, 144, 145; hung by Shah Rookh, 153.
- Kairowan, Aghlabites of, 2.
- Kaitbai, 167; Sultan, 173; cruelty, 174, 175, 180; receives Jem, 176; supports Dulgadir, 178; travels and character, 179, 180, 181; visits Mecca and Jerusalem, 179; dies, 180; descendants, 228, 229.
- Kalaat Râm, stormed, 45; Weir hordes fight at, 132.
- Kamil, xxviii.
- Kansowa al Ghury, Sultan, 187; brilliant Court, 189; maritime proceedings against Portuguese, 191; relations with Ismail Safyide, 194; dies fighting against Selim, 199; character, 201.
- Kansowah Khamsmieh, 180; Atabeg, 182, 183.
- Kansowah, surname, 182.
- Kara Sonkor, governor of Aleppo, 63, 68, 70.
- Kara Yelek, 126, 143, 144, 146.
- Kara Yusuf, 132, 133, 134.
- Karaman, Chief of, 145, 160, 169.
- Kausun, Emir, 81 note, 85, 87, 88, 89.
- Keisar, relations with Crusaders, xvi., xx.; joins in attack on Aleppo, xx.; Beibars makes friends with, 18; Murâd slain while fighting, 118.
- Kemisbogha, governor of Cairo, 110 note.
- Kerak, Prince of, attacks Egypt, 9; stormed by Beibars, 18, 33, 35, 90, 91, 190.
- Kesrawan, 59.
- Ketbogha, Emir, 46; deposes Nâsir, 47; deposed by Lachin, 47; Sultan, 48; resigns, 49.
- Ketbogha, Mongol, 10; slain, 11.
- Khalil, Sultan, 42; kills Vizier, 43; cruel character, 43, 46; destroys Akka and ends Crusade, 44; assassinated, 45, 46.
- Kharput, 170.
- Khedive Ismail, 220.
- Kheirbeg, Emir, 172, 173.
- Kheirbeg, governor of Aleppo, 198; joins Selim, 200; governor of Egypt, 210, 211.
- Khusheadam, 163; Sultan, 164; cruel treatment of Jani Beg, 166, 171.
- Kilawun, 9, 33; Sultan, 34; attacks Mongols, 35; opposes Crusaders, 38; Jehâd on Akka, 39; character, 40, 41; benevolent institutions, 41; family, 42; dynasty ends, 103.
- Kiptchak, Prince of, 18, 37, 50, 51, 55.
- Kirkmaah, 149, 150.

- Knights Templars and Hospitallers, xxiv., xxix.; cruelly treated by Khalîf, 44; of Rhodes attack Egypt, 98, 152.
- Konieh besieged by Egypt, 160.
- Kotlubogha, 88, 89, 90.
- Kotlushah commands Mongols, 57.
- Kotuz, Vicegerent, 9; Sultan, 10; campaign in Syria, 11; killed by Beibars, *ib.*
- Kujuk, Sultan, 87; deposed, 88; strangled, 92.
- L
- Lachin, Regent, 47; Sultan, 49; attacks Armenia, 50; assassinated, 51, 52, 164 note.
- Lahijan, 193.
- Larnaca plundered, 140, 141.
- Latakia seized by Kilawun, 88.
- Library, public, at Cairo, 41.
- Limasol plundered and burned, 140, 141.
- Lorenzo of Almeida defeated at sea, 192.
- Louis IX., or Saint Louis, xxi., xxix.; attacks Damietta and taken prisoner, xxix., 8.
- Lydda, bridge of, 21.
- M
- Macrizey, historian, x., 100, 134, 136, 142, 145, 148, 187.
- Mahomet Aly, 224, 227 *et seq.*
- Malatia, 68.
- Mamelukes, 1; rise of, 4, 215 *et seq.*; segregation, 216, 219, 225 *et seq.*; relation to Egyptians and subsequent history, 23, 225 *et seq.*
- Mangu, 10.
- Manuel, sea exploits, 192.
- Marash, 145.
- Massissah, 27; seized by Moslems, 97.
- Mecca, attacked by Rainald, xxiii.; Yemen contests for its supremacy, 40; Nâsir's interest in, 71, 72; embellished by Nâsir, 80, 81; victory over Yemen troops at, 95; Hasan defeated at, 96; rebellion at, 141; commercial centre, 142; repair of water-courses, 177; Kaitbai visits, 179; beautified by Kansaowa, 189; disorder at, 190, 191; passes into Osmanly hands, 192.
- Medina, xxiii., 71, 72; mosque destroyed by lightning, reconstructed by Kaitbai, 179.
- Memluke, the name, 1; Bahrites and Burjites, 5, 8, 9, 10; divisions of memlukes, 167; their barbarities, 170, 171, 178; succumb to plague, 180; deadly strife among, *ib.*; extortion and cruelty of, 184, 193; slaughtered in Cairo by Turks, 206.
- Mengu-Timur, Abagha's brother, 36.
- Menkutimur, Mameluke, 50, 51.
- Merj Dâbik, battle of, 199.
- Merj Soffar, battle of, 58.
- Mintash, 107, 108, 109, 110; cruel death, 111.
- Mission Archæologique, 81 note.
- Moghth, Prince of Kerak, 17.
- Mohammed I., Osmanly, 120, 131.
- Mohammed I., Sultan, 97.
- Mohammed II., Sultan, 180; his licentious character, 183; killed, 184.
- Mohammed II., Osmanly, 169.
- Mohammed, Sultan, son of Tatâr, 138.
- Mongols, xiv.; invade Palestine, xxviii.; attack Jerusalem, *ib.*; overthrow Bagdad, 10; defeated at Ain-Jalût, 10, 11; friendly relations with Crusaders, 19; pursued by Beibars, 27; fall on Syria and Damascus, 34, 57, 58; dealings with Papacy, 37; converted to Islam, *ib.*; attacked by Khalil, 45; ravages by, 53; defeat Egyptians and seize Damascus, 54; second inroad beaten back, 57, 58.
- Moors of Spain, Kaitbai's sympathy with, 179.

- Mosul taken by Selim, 195; Zenky, chief of, xix.; subdued by Saladin, xxiii.
- Muconcus, 1.
- Mueyyadites, the, 167, 172.
- Mughla Beg, Chancellor, 198.
- Murâd, Osmanly, 118; Bursabai's alliance with, 146.
- Murrain of camel herds, 180.
- Mutawakkil, Caliph, 106; M. the last Caliph, 212; resigns title to Osmanlies, 213; dies at Cairo, *ib.*
- N
- Naphtha at siege of Safed, 22.
- Naples, 19.
- Nashju, 75, 76.
- Nâsir, the Eyyubite, of Syria, 8, 9; flies from the Mongols, 10.
- Nâsir, son of Kilawun, 42, 47; second reign, 51-53; defeated by Mongols, 54; but inflicts severe reprisal on them in turn, 58; resigns, 61, 62; third reign, 66; kills Beibars, 66; visits Mecca, 68; peaceful relations with Persia, 69; supports Hasan the Greater, 70; suppresses Druses, 72; territory in North Africa, *ib.*; relations with India, Constantinople, Pope, and France, 73; supports Christians in Cairo, 74, 76; impartiality, 74, 75; marries Tengiz' daughter, 77; treacherous end of Tengiz, 78; wise measures, 79, 83; public works, 79, 80, 81; extravagance, 81-82; appreciates learning, 84; his sons' vices, 84; death, 85, 219.
- Nazareth Church destroyed by Beibars, 19.
- Negro element in Egyptian population, 231.
- Nejimeh, Cilician fortress, 50.
- Newroz, Emir, rebels in Syria, 127; proclaims Holy war against Sbeikh, 130; murdered, 131.
- Nicaea taken by Crusaders, xvi.
- Nicopolis, victory of, 118.
- Nile, 63; Nâsir's works on, 80.
- Nile, Fast at failure of, 135; Sellm's bridge of boats over, 208.
- Nisibin taken by Selim, 195.
- Noweiry ix., 17, 21 and 22 note; present at battle of Merj Soffar, 58.
- Nubia, attacked by Beibars, 27; subjected to Egypt, 28; Kilawun's campaigns against, 39; Nâsir's expedition against, 72.
- Nureddin defeats Crusaders, xx.; devastates Palestine, xxi.; sends Shirkoh to Egypt, xxii.; dies, xxiii.; compared with Saladin, xxvi.
- O
- Oeljeitu, Mongol, 37, 68, 69.
- Ogus tribe, 117.
- Omeyyad Caliphate, 213.
- Orchan, Osmanly, 117.
- Orfah, *see* Roha.
- Orphan Asylum of Kilawun, 41.
- Ortok, house of, xiv.; take Antioch, xix.
- Osman, son of Ertogral, 117.
- Osmanly Turks, become unfriendly to Egypt, 100; dynasty, 116-118; besiege Constantinople, 119; weakened by Timur, 120; Egypt's alliance with, 146, 153; take Constantinople, 160, 161; attack Syria, 177; defeated at Cœsarea, 178; victory at Merj Dâbik, 199; march on Cairo, 204; enter Cairo, 205; rule in Egypt, 212.
- Othman, Sultan, his Greek origin, 156; deposed, 157.
- Othman's copy of Coran, 186 note, 190; exhibited at siege of Damascus, xxi. note.
- Ottoman. *See* Osmanly.
- P
- Panaca, defeat of Franks at, xxvii.

- Paolo Gierro quoted, 197.
 Papacy and Crusades, xxv.; Pope supports Sixth Crusade, xxvi.; ban against Frederick II., xxviii.; effect of Crusades on, xxxii.
 Patriarch of Bagdad beheaded, 18.
 Pelagius, Cardinal, xxvii.
 Pepper monopolised by Sultan, 142.
 Persia, 51-55, 59.
 Pestilence, 144, 147.
 Peter the Hermit, xv.
 Philip of France, xxv.
 Philip the Fair, 37 note, 69 note.
 Philippopolis, 118.
 Pirates, 140.
 Plague in Cairo, 147, 159, 179.
 Poll-tax imposed on Nubia, 28.
 Pope, Nâsir's dealings with, 73; keeps Jem Osmanly in durance, 177; threatened by Kansowa al Ghury, 192.
 Porte, Egypt's relations with, 169, 174; embargo on goods passing Syrian border, 178; menaced by Ismail Shah, 194.
 Portuguese destroy Egyptian fleet, 191, 192.
 Pullanes, xxiii., xxv., xxviii. note.
 Pyramids, 7; battle at, 208; visited by Selim, 210.
- Q
- Quatremere, his translation of Marizy, 21.
- R
- Raimond routed in Armenia, xviii.
 Raimond of Antioch, xx., xxi., xxiv.
 Rainald, xxii., xxiii., xxiv.
 Red Sea, traffic in, 141; attacked by Portuguese, 191, 192.
 Remusat quoted, 69 note.
 Rhodes, Knights of, 98, 152, 177.
 Richard Cœur-de-lion puts Akka garrison to death, xxv.
 Ridanieh, battle of, 204, 205.
 Ridhwan, xviii.
 Rogers of Antioch, xix.
 Roha (Orfah or Odessa), besieged, 143; Egyptian army beaten at, 176; taken by Selim, 195.
- S
- Safed, besieged, 22; rebuilt, 23; Governor rebels, is seized and put to death, 140.
 Safyide dynasty, 193.
 Safyuddin mystic, 193.
 Saïd, Sultan, 62.
 Saladin, xxi. note; Lord of Egypt, xxii.; victorious against Franks, xxiii., 7; slays Rainald and Knights, xxiv.; takes Jerusalem, *ib.*; fighting at Akka, xxv.
 "Saladin's Tenth," xxv.
 Salahia, 204.
 Salamia, battle of, 54, 110.
 Salih, Sultan, 95, 96.
 Sallars, Regent, 53; attacks Bedouins, 57; opposes Beibars II., 61; cruelty and avarice, *ib.*; welcomes back Nâsir and is starved to death, 67; popularity and wealth, *ib.* note.
 Saluting Sultan, fashion of, 139.
 Samarcand, Timur carries educated Damascenes to, 123; Chief of, defeated by Usan Hasan, 174.
 Sawakin. See Suakin.
 Selim, Osmanly Sultan, ix., 194; embassy to Egypt, 196; victory at Merj Dabik, 199; enters Aleppo, 200; Cairo, 204; occupies Citadel, 207; offers terms to Tumanbeg, 207; puts Emirs to death, 208; visits Pyramids, 210; licentious life in Egypt, 211.
 Seljuks, xiv., xv., xvii., xviii.; dynasty ends, xx., 19, 117, 118.
 Sepahies, insoleness of, 211.
 Shabân, Sultan, 91; slain, 92.
 Shabân II., 97; strangled, 101.

- Shadibeg, General, 208, 209.
 Shah Rookh, Timur's son, 144; claims right of Kaaba curtain, 145; embassy to Cairo, 153; Queen Mother hangs Kaaba curtain, *ib.*
 Shamil, Circassian chief, 230.
 Sheikh, besieges Cairo, 126; governor of Tripoli, *ib.*; rebels, 127; Sultan, 130; treacherous death of Newroz, 131; visits Soofie cloister, 131; attacks Armenia, 132; obsequies, 134.
 "Sheikh-ul-Beled" title, 223.
 Shicku, 96 note.
 Shiea faith, 2 note, 15, 72; opposed by Beibars, 25; Timur's zeal for, 123; Shieas persecuted by Selim, 194, 195.
 Shirkoh, xxii., 6.
 Shujai, 47, 48.
 Sicily, 38.
 Sinjar, battle of, 95.
 Sis, Armenian capital, ravaged, 24, 27; peace restored, 59; Leo prisoner, and Sis annexed, 99.
 Siwar of Dulgadir, 170, 171.
 Siwar of Ablestin, opposes Egypt, 174; cruelly slain at Cairo, 175.
 Siwaa, 118, 119.
 Sonkor, governor of Damascus, 34.
 Soofies, 131, 194, 195.
 Soudan, 230.
 Spain, 19.
 Suakin, 30, 72, 100.
 Sugar, monopoly, 142; prophylactic in plague, 142 note.
 Syria, xiv., 54, 55, 124-128, 221.
 Taxes imposed by Kausowa, 188, 189.
 Tebriz, 59; Timur winters at, 120; battle, 195.
 Tell Hamdun fortress, 59.
 Templars, slain by Saladin, xxiv.; internal dissensions among, xxix.; make a stand at Akka, xxx.; two thousand beheaded by Beibars, 22; their Armenian stronghold stormed, 24; attacked by Násir, 57.
 Tengiz, Governor of Damascus, 76; Násir marries daughter, 77; put to death, 78; his daughter and grandson, 95.
 Tertosa (Tartus), 57 note.
 Timur or Tamerlane, 113; his messenger put to death, 114; attacks Syria, 119, 122; and Bajazet in Asia Minor, 120; victory at Aleppo, 122, 123; sacks Damascus, 123; embassy, 124; his widow in Egypt, 153.
 Timurboga, Sultan, 172, 173.
 Timurtash, Emir, 127, 130.
 Timurtash, Mongol, 69; his son Hasan the Less, 70.
 Tokat, 118.
 Trade, interfered with by Bursbai, 143; by Jakmac, 153.
 Tripolis, xxix., xxxi., 25, 39 note, 72, 126, 128, 203.
 Tulunidea, 2.
 Tumanbai, 184; Sultan, 185; murdered, 188.
 Tumanbeg, Governor, 197; Sultan, 202, 203; beaten by Turks, 205, 206; battle at the Pyramids, 208; hanged, 209; high character, *ib.*
 Tunisia, xxix., 73.
 Turan Shah, Sultan, xxix., 8.
 Turcomans, xix., xx., 3, 5, 73, 95, 117, 118, 133.
 Turkish abolished as official language, 227.
 Turks. See Osmanliea.
 Tushtumur, 89; beheaded, 90.
 Tushtumur, Prime Minister, 101, 102.
 Tyre, xix.; Beibars' treaty with, 26.

T

- Tagri Berdy, x., 115, 121, 122, 125, 127.
 Tancred and Baldwin, xviii.; supreme in Syria, *ib.*
 Tarsus, 97, 132, 133, 160, 174, 177.
 Tatar, 138; Regent, 137; kills Altanbogha, Sultan, 138.

- U
- Usan Hasan of the White Weir, 165, 169, 176; defeated by Mohammed II., 176, 198.
Uzbeks, 69, 70:
- V
- Van, Chief of, 122.
Van, Lake, 113.
Vasco da Gama, 191.
Veit, King, xxiv., xxv.
Venetians, 98, 194.
- W
- Wakf entails, 229.
Walter, First Crusade, xv.
Watson, Colonel, on stoppage of Jordan, 21.
Weil, History of Caliphs, ix., xi., xiv., 22 note, 120 note, 184 note.
Weir hordes, Black Weir, 118, 124, 132, 146, 160, 175, 193; White Weir, 118, 126, 132, 143, 160, 165, 193.
- Wilken's History of Crusades, xiii., xxx., 39 note.
- Y
- Yelbogha alJahjawy, Emir, 97, 98, 99.
Yelbogha al Násiry, Atabeg, 107, 108, 110, 111.
Yemen, embassies from, 38; defeated at Mecca, 95; seeks help against Portuguese, 191.
Yenbo, risings at, 190.
Yurat leaders, 54.
Yusuf, Sultan, 148, 149.
- Z
- Záhir, last Abbaside Caliph, 213.
Záhirites, 85, 157, 163, 165, 166; pitted against Ashrafites, 167; influence in appointing Sultan, 172.
Zenky defeats Crusaders, xix., xx.; storms Edessa, xx.
Zion, Prior of, 192.

ERRATA

- P. 78, l. 15, margin, *for* 1381, *read* 1330.
P. 102, l. 16, *for* Berkuck, *read* Berekh.
P. 209, l. 15, *for* Tumanbai, *read* Tumanbeg.

SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

- THE LIFE OF LORD LAWRENCE.** By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Assistant Master at Harrow School; Author of "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," "Carthage and the Carthaginians," etc. Revised and Cheaper Edition, being the Sixth Edition. Two Vols. large crown 8vo. With Two Portraits and Two Maps. 21s.
- LIFE OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.** By Major-General Sir HERBERT BENJAMIN EDWARDES, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and HERMAN MERIVALE, C.B. With Two Portraits. 8vo, 12s.
- LIFE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM.** By Major-General Sir FREDERIC J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I. Second Edition. Two Vols. demy 8vo, 32s.
- THE LIFE OF MAHOMET.** From Original Sources. By Sir WM. MUIR, K.C.S.I. Third Edition. With a new Map and several Illustrations. 8vo, 16s.
- THE MERV OASIS: Travels and Adventures east of the Caspian** during the Years 1879-80-81, including Five Months' Residence among the Tekkes of Merv. By EDMOND O'DONOVAN, Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. In Two Vols. demy 8vo. With Portrait, Maps, and Facsimiles of State Documents. 36s.
- MERV: A Story of Adventures and Captivity.** Epitomised from "The Merv Oasis." By EDMOND O'DONOVAN, Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. With a Portrait. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- ESSAYS ON THE EXTERNAL POLICY OF INDIA.** By the late J. W. S. WYLLIE, C.S.I., India Civil Service, sometime Acting Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. Edited, with a brief Life, by Sir W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D. With a Portrait of the Author. 8vo, 14s.
- THE ANNALS OF RURAL BENGAL.** From Official Records and the Archives of Ancient Families. By Sir W. W. HUNTER, LL.D. Vol. I. The Ethnical Frontier. Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo, 18s.
- BY THE SAME AUTHOR.
- ORISSA; or, The Vicissitudes of an Indian Province under Native and British Rule.** Being the Second and Third Volumes of "Annals of Rural Bengal." With Illustrations. Two Vols. demy 8vo, 32s.
- A LIFE OF THE EARL OF MAYO, Fourth Viceroy of India.** Two Vols. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 24s.
-
- THE LIFE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE CONSORT.** By Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. With Portrait and Views. Five Vols. demy 8vo, 18s. each.
. Also a "People's Edition," in One Vol., bound in cloth, 4s. 6d.; or in Six Parts, 6d. each. Cloth cases for binding, 1s. each.
- MORE LEAVES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS,** from 1862 to 1882. Fifth Edition. With Portraits and Woodcut Illustrations. 8vo, 10s. 6d.
. Also the Popular Edition, with Portrait and Woodcut Illustrations, fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- ENGLISH PROSE; its Elements, History, and Usage.** By JOHN EARLE, M.A., Rector of Swanwick, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. 8vo, 16s.
- THE HISTORIC NOTE-BOOK.** With an Appendix of Battles. By the Rev. E. COHAM BREWER, LL.D., Author of "The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable," "The Reader's Handbook," etc. Crown 8vo, over 1000 pp., 7s. 6d.
- HAYTI; or, The Black Republic.** By Sir SPENSER ST. JOHN, G.O.M.G., formerly Her Majesty's Minister Resident and Consul-General in Hayti, now Her Majesty's Special Envoy to Mexico. Second Edition, revised. With a Map. Large crown 8vo, 8s. 6d.
- THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA: A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress.** Edited by T. HUMPHRY WARD. Two Vols. 8vo, 32s.
- UNDERGROUND RUSSIA.** Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life. By STEPNIAK, formerly Editor of "Zemlia i Volia" (Land and Liberty). With a Preface by PETER LAVROFF. Translated from the Italian. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- ENGLISH LIFE IN CHINA.** By Major HENRY KNOLLYS, Royal Artillery, Author of "From Sedan to Saarbrück"; Editor of "Incidents in the Sepoy War," "Incidents in the China War," etc. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.
- WALKS IN FLORENCE AND ITS ENVIRONS.** By SUSAN and JOANNA HORNER. With numerous Illustrations. Two Vols. crown 8vo, 16s.

LONDON: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.

A SELECTION FROM SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

- THE LIFE OF SIR JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN, BART., K.C.S.I.,** a Judge of the High Court of Justice. By his Brother, **LESLIE STEPHEN.** Second Edition. With 2 Portraits. Demy 8vo, 16s.
- AN ARTIST'S REMINISCENCES.** By **ROLDOPH LEHMANN.** With Portrait. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d.
- RECOLLECTIONS OF A MILITARY LIFE.** By General Sir **JOHN ADYE, G.C.B., R.A.,** late Governor of Gibraltar. With Illustrations by the Author. Demy 8vo, 14s. net.
- OUR SQUARE AND CIRCLE; or, The Annals of a Little London House.** By "JACK EASEL," sometime *Punch's* Roaming Correspondent. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- OFF THE MILL.** By the Right Rev. **G. F. BROWNE, D.C.L.,** Bishop of Stepney. With 2 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- FIFTY YEARS; or, Dead Leaves and Living Seeds.** By the Rev. **HARRY JONES,** Prebendary of St. Paul's; Author of "Holiday Papers," etc. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 4s.
- HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.** By **E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D.,** President of the Brown University. 2 Vols. With Maps. Crown 8vo, 16s.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.** Taken from the Work of **JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.** By Lieut.-Colonel **ALFRED PEARSON.** With a Steel Engraving of a recent Portrait of Mr. Symonds. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d.
- THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF ROBERT BROWNING.** By Mrs. **SUTHERLAND ORR.** With Portrait and Steel Engraving of Mr. Browning's Study in De Vere Gardens. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 12s. 6d.
- THE JOCKEY CLUB AND ITS FOUNDERS.** By **ROBERT BLACK, M.A.,** Author of "Horse Racing in France." Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d.
- A COLLECTION OF LETTERS OF W. M. THACKERAY, 1847-1855.** With Portraits and Reproductions of Letters and Drawings. Second Edition. Imperial 8vo, 12s. 6d.
- LIFE OF FRANK BUCKLAND.** By his Brother-in-Law, **GEORGE C. BONPAS,** Editor of "Notes and Jottings from Animal Life." With a Portrait. Crown 8vo, 5s.; gilt edges, 6s.
- NOTES AND JOTTINGS FROM ANIMAL LIFE.** By the late **FRANK BUCKLAND.** With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5s.; gilt edges, 6s.
- AN AGNOSTIC'S APOLOGY, and other Essays.** By **LESLIE STEPHEN.** Large crown 8vo, 10s. 6d.
- HOURS IN A LIBRARY.** By **LESLIE STEPHEN.** Revised, Rearranged, and Cheaper Edition, with additional Chapters. 3 Vols. Crown 8vo, 6s. each.
- LIFE OF HENRY FAWCETT.** By **LESLIE STEPHEN.** With 2 Steel Portraits. Fifth Edition. Large crown 8vo, 12s. 6d.
- A HISTORY OF ENGLISH THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.** By **LESLIE STEPHEN.** Second Edition. 2 Vols. demy 8vo, 28s.
- THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS: An Essay upon Ethical Theory as Modified by the Doctrine of Evolution.** By **LESLIE STEPHEN.** Demy 8vo, 16s.
- LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.** By the late Sir **JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN, K.C.S.I.** Second Edition, with a new Preface. Demy 8vo, 14s.
- GERALD EVERELEY'S FRIENDSHIP: A Study in Real Life.** By the Rev. **J. E. C. WELLDON,** Headmaster of Harrow School. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SHAKESPEARE COMMENTARIES.** By Dr. **G. G. GERVINGUS,** Professor at Haldesberg. Translated under the Author's superintendence, by **F. E. BURNETT.** With a Preface by **F. J. FURNIVALL.** Fifth Edition. 8vo, 14s.
- SHAKESPEARE: certain Selected Plays** abridged for the use of the Young. By **SAMUEL BRANDRAM, M.A. Oxon.** Fourth and Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo, 5s.
- SHAKESPEARE'S PREDECESSORS IN THE ENGLISH DRAMA.** By **JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.** Demy 8vo, 16s.
- THE GAMEKEEPER AT HOME.** By **RICHARD JEFFERIES.** New Edition, with all the Illustrations of the former Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- WILD LIFE IN A SOUTHERN COUNTY.** By **RICHARD JEFFERIES.** Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THE AMATEUR POACHER.** By **RICHARD JEFFERIES.** Crown 8vo, 5s.
- WOODLAND, MOOR, AND STREAM: being the Notes of a Naturalist.** Edited by **J. A. OWEN.** Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- ROBERT ELSWERE.** By Mrs. **HUMPHRY WARD.** Popular Edition, crown 8vo, 6s.; Cheap Edition, crown 8vo, limp cloth, 2s. 6d.; Cabinet Edition, 2 Vols. small 8vo, 12s.
- By the same Author.*
- THE HISTORY OF DAVID GRIEVE.** Popular Edition, crown 8vo, 6s.; Cheap Edition, crown 8vo, limp cloth, 2s. 6d.
- MARCELLA.** Fourteenth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- IN STEVENSON'S SAMOA.** By **MARIE FRANK.** Second Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- THE HAWARDEN HORACE.** By **CHARLES L. GRAVES,** Author of "The Blarney Ballads," "The Green above the Bed," etc. Third Edition. Small post 8vo, 2s. 6d.
- THE STORY OF GOETHE'S LIFE.** By **GEORGE HENRY LAWES.** Second Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d.
- THE LIFE OF GOETHE.** By **GEORGE HENRY LAWES.** Fourth Edition. With Portrait. 8vo, 16s.

LONDON: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.