

Queen in a diplomatic game: Ṭulunbāy, the Tatar bride of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

Th. M. Wijntjes ¹

Introduction

Women were not very visible in the Mamlūk society, but sometimes it is possible to catch a glimpse, as in the case of Ṭulunbāy. She left the territory of the Golden Horde in Southern Russia and traveled to Egypt to marry Mamlūk sultan Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The traces she left in the sources don't give an impression of her as a person, but are sufficient to sketch an outline of her life. For her story a combination is made of the tales as told by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Kitāb al-ʿibar* and by Al-Maqrīzī in his *Kitāb al-sulūk*², with additions from the *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.³ The quotations from Ibn Khaldūn and from Al-Maqrīzī are my own translations, those from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are taken from Gibb's translation. In these sources, the designations Mongol (or, more correct, Moghul) and Tatar are used without a clear distinction.⁴ Originally, the Tatars were a tribe living north of China, they were incorporated in the Mongol conglomerate under Genghis Khān, that included nearly all of Russia.⁵ But their name lived on, to the present day one of the republics of the Russian confederation is called Tatarstan, with Kazan as its capital, with a mixed population of Muslims and Christians.⁶ The Europeans changed the word Tatars into *Tartars*, to express the horror they felt for these invaders by connecting them with Tartaros, the underworld of the classical mythology. Concerning the spelling of the names of the main characters, I chose to use the most familiar forms for the Mongol names in the text. In the translations I added the Arabic form at their first occurrence.

Historical background

When this episode took place, there were interactions between three major parties: the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria that was ruled by Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1293-1294, 1299-1309, 1310-1341), and two Mongol-dominated sultanates, successors to Genghis Khān's extensive empire. The Golden Horde was founded by Bāṭū and his brother Berke in Southern Russia with the capital Ṣarāy on the Wolga and was ruled by Uzbek Khān (r. 1313-1341).⁷ The Īl-Khānate in Iraq, Persia and beyond was founded by Hūlagū after he had conquered Baghdad in 1258 and was ruled by Abū Saʿīd (r. 1316-1335).

The sultanate of the Īl-Khānids shared a border with the Mamlūk sultanate and had been a constant threat to Syria. As these two Mongol sultanates of The Golden Horde and the Īl-Khānids had a shared border in Khorāsān, east of the Caspian Sea, the policy of the Mamlūk sultans had been to incite the Īl-Khāns to fight the Golden Horde in Khorāsān to keep them busy far away from Syria. But in this period the animosity between the Golden Horde and the Īl-Khānids had diminished (but not completely disappeared) as both the rulers had finally converted to Islam. Uzbek Khān was first, the Īl-Khānids had for a long time hesitated between their original Shamanism, Bhuddism, Nestorian Christianity and Islam, but Abū Saʿīd had finally decided for Islam. And maybe because of their conversion, the Mamlūk sultan had started peace negotiations with the Īl-Khānids. That is the frame within which Ibn Khaldūn tells the story of Ṭulunbāy.

Diplomatic relations strengthened by matrimonial bonds

For the Mongol rulers of Central Asia it was common practice to strengthen the ties between the various parts of their empire and with other friendly or subordinate rulers by matrimonial relations. The Byzantine Empire used that strategy, too. To mention a few examples: Uzbek's uncle and predecessor Tokhta married a Byzantine princess, an illegitimate daughter of the emperor Andronikos II Palaeologus (r. 1282-1328). Uzbek himself married an illegitimate daughter of emperor Andronikos III Palaeologus (r. 1320-1341, from 1320-1328 together with Andronikos II), the lady Bayalūn whose story will be told later.⁸ The Īl-Khānids had relations with the Mongol ruler of China, Kubilay Khān. Marco Polo told in the prologue of his *Book of Miracles* the story of the Īl-Khān Arghūn (r. 1284-1291). His wife, Queen Bulagan, of the clan of Kubilay Khān, had died and he had requested Kubilay Khān to replace her with a woman of the same clan. That enabled Marco Polo and his father and uncle to return to Europe after many years of service to Kubilay Khān as they were chosen to escort the new wife of Arghūn, called Kokachin, "of great beauty and charm", and another lady, daughter of the vanguard emperor of Southern China. When they arrived in Baghdad, after almost two years of travel with a fleet of 14 tall ships, Arghūn had died and the lady was given to his son Ghazan (r. 1295-1304). What happened to the other lady has not been recorded.⁹ This happened in the years 1292-1294, some 25 years before the events that follow. So the case of the marriage of Ṭulunbāy to strengthen the ties between the Golden Horde and the Mamlūk sultanate was not exceptional.

The marriage of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad with Ṭulunbāy, a princess of the Golden Horde

Ibn Khaldūn relates the story in a short report:

When in 713 (1320) Uzbek (Uzbak; corrected from Unbak) of the Banū Jochi (Dūshī) Khān became ruler of Ṣarāy, and Quṭlughmīr was representative in Bilād al-Rūm¹⁰ the envoys of Egypt were sent to him as usual, and then Quṭlughmīr proposed to them the marriage of sultan al-Nāṣir with a woman of their family, on condition that the sultan openly expressed his wish, and they took time to put it into effect. They said that this was the habit of their rulers and the sultan did as advised. During six years he sent envoys and gifts until that was arranged between them. And in 720 (1320) they sent him as his fiancée Ṭulunbāsh, the daughter of Ṭughājī b. Handū (?) b. Berke¹¹ (b. Dūshī, accompanied by a distinguished Mongol, who was authorized to take command, and a group of their emirs and Burhān al-Dīn, the imām of Uzbek. They passed through Constantinople, the emperor¹² showed them excessive generosity, it is said that he spent 60,000 dinars on them, and they sailed from there to Alexandria. Then they travelled to Cairo with her, she was sitting in a carriage behind golden and silken curtains, drawn by a horse that was driven by two of her servants, in an ostentatious show of distinction and dignity. When they were approaching Cairo two deputies [of the sultan], Arghūn and Baktamur al-Sāqī, rode out to meet them with the troops, together with Karīm al-Dīn, the authorized representative of the sultan. They brought the lady to the citadel, and on the third day after her arrival the judges, jurisconsults and other people in order of their ranks were convened in the mosque of the citadel, and the envoys that had come to them were also present after they had been given ceremonial dresses. The marriage contract was concluded by the representatives of the sultan and of Uzbek, and then that gathering dissolved. It was a memorable day.

The version of al-Maqrīzī has more details:

In this month Rabī^c al-awwal [of the year 720/1320] Her Highness Queen Ṭulunbāy (or Dulunbaya, or Ṭūlūnaya), the daughter of Ṭughāy b. Handū (?) b. Bāṭū b. Jochi (Dūshī) Khān b. Genghis (Djinkiz) Khān arrived. That was the result of the sultan's request to Uzbek to be engaged to one of the princesses of the house of Genghis Khān. But Uzbek asked an exaggerated dowry, took a long time and set a great number of conditions, so that the sultan despaired of the betrothal and sent him the [required] gifts. Uzbek had already selected the aforementioned [princess]. He summoned the merchants and borrowed 30,000 dinars from them, at their usual rate of six dirhems for the dinar. He gave her an escort of one of his emirs with 150 men, 60 girls and the judge of Sāray, and the usual gifts. They sailed to Alexandria, where they arrived on the 20th of Rabī^c al-awwal. The emir Aqbughā °Abd al-Wāḥid went with a number of emirs and the barques to meet her, and Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr went out with Bedouins, Bactrian camels and mules. He pitched silken satin tents on the Mīdān. The princess was taken with the barques to the harbor of Cairo, and rode to the square in the carriage, with the officers walking before it. She stayed three days in the tents. On Saturday night, the last of the month, she was carried to the citadel in a domeshaped carriage, covered with brocade, drawn by pulleys.¹³ Arghūn the deputy, the emir Baktamar al-Sāqī and the judge Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr stood to her attendance. On the 22th of Rabī^c al-ākhir the sultan convened the envoys. Their leader Bāynājar was present, he was lame and could not stand or walk but had to be carried. With him entered Aytghalī, Ṭaqbughā, Manghūsh, Ṭurajī and Uthmān Khujā, and sheikh Burhān al-Dīn the imām of the Qān, and envoys of the Byzantine emperor. He made Bāynājar sit down and took Uzbek's letter from him. It said, after the presentation of greetings: "You contacted your brother Uzbek asking for a daughter of the Great Qān. And as we did not send one, you were not pleased. But we did send you [one] from a high-class family. If she pleases you, take her, as you will be adorned with no beauty greater than hers. And if not, do as the word of Allah says: 'Truly, Allah commands you to bring those entrusted to you to their family' (Sura 4: 58)". The sultan said: "We were not seeking beauty but we wanted [a share in] the fame of the house and proximity to our brother, for we and him, we are one". Burhān al-Dīn addressed him also orally in the name of Uzbek. The judge-in-chief Badr al-Dīn b. Jamā^c drafted the contract, to the amount of 30,000 dinars, 20,000 thereof [to be paid] immediately, and 10,000 later. The sultan in person agreed with that, and the secretary °Alā' al-Dīn °Alī al-Athīr wrote the contract in his own hand. It had after the greeting this form: "This is the dowry that the sublime sultan al-Mālik al-Nāṣir approved for the noble queen, daughter of my brother sultan Uzbek Khān: Ṭūlū, daughter of Ṭughāy b. Berke¹⁴ b. Dūshī Khān b. Jinkiz Khān". The sultan distributed that day 500 ceremonial dresses, it was a memorable day. The same night he consummated the marriage with her, but she did not comply with his wishes. In the morning he gave orders to Karīm al-Dīn Akram al-Ṣaghīr to go in the direction of Upper-Egypt and to Qūṣ to prepare for stays, he supplied gifts and presents to the envoys and sent them away, and he rode out to go hunting.¹⁵

Both stories agree that it took a long time of negotiations before the marriage was arranged. Uzbek was the one to be blamed for that, but seemed finally rather eager to make the deal, borrowed money for it (to the same amount as the dowry) and selected a suitable girl, not his daughter but a girl belonging to the clan. Her descent is given in both stories, but in the version of Ibn Khaldūn she was descended from Ghengis Khān through Berke, in al-Maqrīzī's through Bāṭū. Both stories omitted how she with her escort travelled from the Wolga to

Constantinople, a considerable distance and no easy going. That gap can be filled with a report by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who in 732/1332 covered the same distance under the protection of Bayalūn, the Byzantine princess married to Uzbek, who went back to her father's realm to give birth to the child she was bearing. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's story is too long to quote, but a summary will give an idea. ¹⁶

Bayalūn was accompanied by far more people than Ṭulunbāy. They made use of 400 waggons, and 2000 horses, some 300 oxen and 200 hundred camels to draw them and for riding. And that was only part of her personnel, she had left most of her attendants with Uzbek in the *ordū*. First they went down the Wolga to the Caspian Sea, then west to the Sea of Azof and the Crimea. "At every halting place in this land there was brought to the khātūn a hospitality gift of horses, sheep, cattle, *dūgī*, *qumizz*, and cows and sheep's milk". This treatment Ṭulunbāy might also have got, but on a lesser scale. Between the last town of Uzbek's kingdom and the beginning of the Byzantine territory was an uninhabited waste of 18 days traveling, on 8 days no water was available. That had to be carried in skins, together with the other provisions. When they had reached Greek territory, they left the waggons behind and rode further on mules and horses. In 22 days they reached Constantinople, after a difficult crossing of the estuary of the Danube on the 16th day. After the crossing, the princess was welcomed by her brothers accompanied by many horsemen in splendid attire. At last they entered the city: "At dawn, the drums, trumpets and fifes were sounded, the troops mounted, and the sultan and his wife, the mother of this khātūn, came out with the officers of state and the courtiers".

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's story raises several questions, many of its details are impossible or even definitely wrong. But the essence of the voyage, about two months travelling in waggons or on horseback or mule, to cover the distance between Ṣarāy and Constantinople must have been the same for Ṭulunbāy. And the splendour of her reception in Constantinople, comparable to the reception of Bayalūn by her family, was worthy of a girl related to the rulers of the Golden Horde with whom the Byzantine imperial family not only had an alliance but were, then and later, also connected by family ties. That Byzantine envoys later were present at the wedding ceremony in Cairo also testifies that she was of importance to the emperor.

Festivities at sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's court

Ibn Khaldūn reports the ceremony of drafting and signing the marriage contract, as does al-Maqrīzī, but neither of them mentions the wedding feast that normally follows when the formalities are over. Obviously there was no wedding-party. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad went hunting the next day and prepared a visit to the south of Egypt, as al-Maqrīzī reports. This is the more poignant if compared with the celebrations and parties that accompanied the weddings of his daughters a few years later, as described by al-Maqrīzī:

On Monday the 18th of Sha'ebān [of the year 723/1323] the wedding of the emir °Alī b. Arghūn, the deputy, with the daughter of the sultan took place. The sultan had paid great attention to her furnishings, he had ordered to be made for her a fourposterbed with a mosquito-net, curtains and roundabout sofa's of brocade to the cost of 80,000 dinars, and vessels of gold and silver for almost 10,000 dinars. The sultan had built for her a reception room with pillars, a new structure into which he had the furniture carried, and he occupied himself with the fixing of the furnishings. The wives of the emirs brought him their gifts, varying between 400 dinars – or its equivalent in pieces

of cloth – and 200 dinars. Eight bands of singers from Cairo were present, and 20 bands of slavegirls of the sultan and the emirs.¹⁷

The wedding of another daughter in 727/1327 to the emir Qawṣūn was also a big affair:

The wedding lasted seven days, 5000 sheep, 100 cows, 50 horses and an uncounted amount of chickens and geese were slaughtered. For sweets and to sweeten food and drinks 11,000 sugarloafs were used, and the weight of the wax that the emirs supplied reached 311 qintārs. The gifts of the emirs to Qawṣūn amounted to 50,000 dinars. The emir Qajlīs made on the citadel a tower of gunpowder and naphtha, he was paid 30,000 dirhams.¹⁸

Also at other occasions, such as the pilgrimage of a concubine and her return, no costs were spared, as we may conclude from al-Maqrīzī's report:

On mid-Jumādā al-ākhirā [721/1321] Lady Ṭughāy gave birth to a son to the sultan that he named Anūk. This Ṭughāy was a Turkish slavegirl bought by Tankiz, the governor of Syria, from Damascus for 90,000 dirhams, and sent to the sultan. (..) The khātūn Ṭughāy was in the favour of the sultan, she was of outstanding beauty. When she had given birth the sultan's action was exaggerated, he offered her a voyage to the Ḥijāz to make the pilgrimage. Karīm al-Dīn started the preparations and the emir Tankiz also asked for permission to make the pilgrimage, and was allowed to.¹⁹

Gifts from the governors of Syria arrived for the voyage of the khātūn Ṭughāy to the Ḥijāz. The emir Arghūn, the deputy, had ordered 8 carriages as they are usual in the land of the Turks to be made for her to travel in, and drew them into the stable. The sultan liked them and rewarded him for them. The deputy and the chamberlains departed to the pilgrims' pond to attend to her, she started travelling on Wednesday the 27th of Shawwāl [721/1321], accompanied by the leaders Ṣārūjā and Baktīsh, the sultan's insignia were raised over her, the small drums were beaten behind her, herbs, greens and sweet basil sown in earth in pots were carried along. Never a voyage of a royal woman like her voyage has been witnessed.²⁰

On Thursday the 21th [of Muḥarram of the year 722/1322] the judge Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr and the emir Qajlīs arrived accompanying the khātūn Ṭughāy. The sultan rode out to meet her at the pilgrims' pond, gave a great banquet and presented to all the emirs, the household managers and stewards, like the mistress of the harem known as the mistress of the accounts, and to the wives of the emirs ceremonial robes and let them all go to their houses. It was a memorable day. A comparable pilgrimage was not heard of, seeing to the amount of its charitable deeds and the extent of the gifts. It is said that the sultan spent on the pilgrimage of Ṭughāy the amount of 80,000 dinars and 680,000 dirhams, exclusive of the hire of the litters, the cost of the camels and the expenses for wages, and exclusive of the gifts of the emirs of Syria and Egypt.²¹

Ṭulunbāy's later life

For political reasons that will be discussed in the next paragraph, it is clear that the marriage with Ṭulunbāy had lost every meaning, if it ever had any. But before the marriage contract

was dissolved, she was obviously allowed to perform the pilgrimage. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported to have met her in Mecca in the year 726 (1326):

The date of my first ‘Standing’ [at ‘Arafā] was a Thursday, in the year [7]26, the commander of the Egyptian caravan at that time being Arghūn the dawādār, the lieutenant of al-Malik al-Nāṣir. In the same year, the daughter of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, wife of Arghūn’s son Abū Bakr, came on pilgrimage, and likewise the wife of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, called al-Khunda, she being the daughter of the exalted Sultan Muḥammad Uzbek, king of Al-Sarā and Khawārazm.²²

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was not well informed about her name, al Khunda. It is misread by Gibb, it should be al-Khawand, but it is not a name but a title and means Lady. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also misinformed about her ancestry, obviously she was presented deliberately as daughter of Uzbek, as in the marriage contract. In the company is another woman, the earlier mentioned daughter of the sultan, wife of Abū Bakr, the son of Arghūn, whose marriage was recorded by al-Maqrīzī. That Arghūn was in Mecca with his son is confirmed by al-Maqrīzī. It was his last performance as deputy and confidant of the sultan, he fell victim to the jealousy of rivals. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had tried in vain to stop Arghūn’s travelling to Mecca, after his return to Cairo he fell out of favour, his belongings were confiscated and he was banished to Aleppo.²³ But al-Maqrīzī says nothing about the presence of Ṭulunbāy. Nor of the daughter of the sultan.

Ṭulunbāy’s marriage to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ended two years later:

On the 29th [of Shawwāl of the year 728/1328] the marriage contract was concluded of queen Ṭulubāy, who had come from the land of Uzbek, with Sayf al-Dīn Munkalī Bughā, the Swordbearer, after the sultan had divorced her and her legal period of waiting had expired. On the 8th of Dhū l-Qa‘da Sayf al-Dīn consummated the marriage.²⁴

Thereafter the sources are silent about Ṭulunbāy, the girl of the Golden Horde. But a few obviously false assertions are current. On the Internet, on many Wikipedia pages where she is called Tulunbuya, can be read that she died 8 years after marrying sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but that is in contradiction with al-Maqrīzī’s report. In the description of the mausoleum of Ṭūlūbāy, which is situated in the northern cemetery of Cairo, a story is quoted that she had been married to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s son and successor al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347-1351; 1354-1361), but with the conclusion that it must have been named after another woman of that name, who died in 1364.²⁵ Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan married indeed a woman called Ṭūlūbāy and after his death she was remarried to the emir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī.²⁶

The peace treaty between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Abū Sa‘īd

Already in 720, the year of the wedding, negotiations had started between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Īl-Khān Abū Sa‘īd.²⁷ Abū Sa‘īd was interested in making the pilgrimage, he sought the protection of the Egyptian sultan against the Beduins who were the true masters of the desert, and he proposed co-operation. In 723 the peace treaty had been concluded and was formally confirmed by oaths of both the rulers. As al-Maqrīzī reports, there were repeated proposals for marriage bonds between the sultan and Abū Sa‘īd, but if that materialised is unclear.²⁸ Uzbek was not amused, of course, he had claimed the support of the sultan and did not get it, and was now passed by for Abū Sa‘īd. In the words of Ibn Khaldūn:

Between Coban (Jūbān) and Subūl, the ruler of Kwarizm and Transoxania, a feud reigned wherein Uzbek played a role, he supported him (sc. Subūl) with troops. Uzbek was master over most of Khorasān and after he and al-Nāṣir had become in-laws he demanded al-Nāṣir's support against Abū Saʿīd and Coban, and he had complied with it. But then Abū Saʿīd requested peace, as we have told, and he preferred that and concluded a treaty with him. The report reached Uzbek and the envoys of al-Nāṣir at his court, and he addressed them in rough words and blamed him. Al-Nāṣir offered him excuses, saying that they had only invited them to organize the rites of Islam, which he could not refuse, and he accepted that.²⁹

In later years the friendship between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Abū Saʿīd became even closer by the struggle with their respective enemies, Qarāsunqur and Damardāsh. That is fascinating story in its own right, in short this is what happened. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad hated the emir Qarāsunqur for the role he played in the murder of his brother and predecessor al-Ashraf (r. 1341-1342). After he had tried to kill him, Qarāsunqur fled to the Īl-Khānids, where he was well received. But even there he was several times unsuccessfully attacked by murderers sent by Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Damardāsh was the son of Abū Saʿīd's dominating vizier Coban, who had sought protection in Egypt after his father and brothers had been killed by Abū Saʿīd. In 728/1328 the culminating point was reached, Abū Saʿīd and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made a deal and became partners in crime. Abū Saʿīd proposed to al-Nāṣir: I will send Qarāsunqur to you if you kill Damardāsh. So al-Nāṣir Muḥammad did, or at least allowed the killing of Damardāsh and sent his head to Abū Saʿīd. Abū Saʿīd did not succeed in sending Qarāsunqur who died that same year, by whose hand is not recorded, maybe he committed suicide when he had understood Abū Saʿīd's intention.³⁰

Conclusion

The marriage of Ṭulunbāy with Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was a failure from the start. It was insult upon insult. Uzbek did not send the princess that was promised, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad did not get what he desired from the girl that became his legal spouse. After all, she was only one of four legal spouses and had to share the sultan's attention with a vast harem.³¹ He preferred his concubine Ṭughāy and other pleasure girls, as reported by al-Maqrīzī. In retrospect, the marriage came too late. The interest of a relation strengthened by marriage as a counterweight to the threat of the Īl-Khānids was no longer as vital as when the negotiations started. Uzbek had simply waited too long, and why he, being aware of the change, did not cancel the agreement escapes understanding. And why the sultan accepted the inferior bride, although the pretention that she was a daughter of Uzbek's was upheld, is also a mystery. Both might have seen it as an insurance against worsening relations with the Īl-Khānids.

¹ Author's name of Th. M. Koornwinder-Wijntjes

² Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar fī ʿayyām al-ʿarab wa-l-ʿajam wa-l-barbar wa-man ʿāsharahum min dhawī l-sulṭān al-akbar*, volumes I – VII (Cairo: Būlāq, 1867); idem, *Tārīkh al-ʿallāmī*

Ibn Khaldūn, volumes I – VII (Bayrūt: Dār al-kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1968). The citations are from ed. Būlāq V: 430-2; ed. Bayrūt V: 924-9.

Taqī al-dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifati duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, volumes I – VIII (Bayrūt: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1997), III: 23-115, esp. 25-26, 109-110.

³ Ibn Baṭṭūta: *Riḥlatu ibn Baṭṭūta* (Bayrūt: Dār Bayrūt, 1960); I consulted two translations: Ibn Battūta, *Voyages*, Traduction de C. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti. Introduction et notes de Stéphane Yerasimos, volumes I – III (Paris: François Maspero, 1982. This edition is based on *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, texte Arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti, volumes I – IV (Paris: 1853-58); reprinted as: *voyages d'ibn battūta*, texte arabe accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti; Réimpression de l'Édition de l'année 1854 augmentée d'une préface et de notes de Vincent Monteil de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, volumes I - IV (Paris: éditions Anthropos, [1969. And: *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta A.D. 1325-1354*, transl., with revisions and notes from the Arabic text by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, by H. A. R. Gibb [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society] volumes I – V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958-2000), I (Second Series No. CX, 1956); II (Second Series No. CXVII, 1959).

⁴ See for a discussion on this question Josephine van den Bent, “None of the Kings on Earth is Their Equal in ʿaṣabiyya”: The Mongols in Ibn Khaldūn’s Works”, *Al-Masāq* 28/2 (2016): 171-186; p. 173 n. 8.

⁵ For the history of Russia I consulted George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1929; revised since 1962³). For the cultural impact of the Mongol presence see Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance. A cultural history of Russia* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), especially chapter 6, Descendants of Genghiz Khan.

⁶ Richard Covington, ‘Kazan: Between Europe and Asia’, *Saudi Aramco World* September/October 2011: 24 - 33.

⁷ It took its name after the Mongol word for camp, *ordū*, Arabic sources call it the Kingdom of the North.

⁸ Ibn Battūta, *Voyages*, II, De La Mecque aux steppes russes, Introduction p. 41. See also the English Wikipedia s.v. Toqta and s.v. Öz Beg Khan (consulted on 5-9-2016).

⁹ *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Translated and with an introduction by Ronald Latham (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics L57, many reprints since 1958); 8-10.

¹⁰ With Bilād al-Rūm the Byzantine Empire must be intended, not Anatolia. In this period, what usually is called Bilād al-Rūm was under the domination of the Īl-Khānids, the enemies of the Golden Horde. But with the Byzantines the Golden Horde had friendly relations. See Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East. The Ottoman – Mamluk War 1485-91* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 1995), p. 34.

¹¹ Corrected from bkr.

¹² Lashkarī, from the former Byzantine dynasty of the Lascaris.

¹³ Maya Termonia & Jo Van Steenberg, *Cairo. Van Arabisch tentenkamp tot stad van Duizend-en-ee-nacht (641-1517)* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2010), on p. 282-3 description of the citadel of Cairo as it was in the time of Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The technique for bringing up carriages to the citadel is not mentioned, but techniques for transporting water from the Nile to the citadel by means of oxen driven pumpstations demonstrate a level of engineering that makes such a device possible.

¹⁴ See note 12.

¹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 25-26.

¹⁶ *Riḥlatu ibn Baṭṭūta*, 344-349; Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta*, II: 498-504; *voyages d'ibn battūta*, II: 412-426; Ibn Battūta, *Voyages*, II: 236-245.

¹⁷ Concluding of the contract (722): Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 55; the wedding (723): *al-Sulūk* III: 65-66. In the contract Arghūn’s son is called Abū Bakr, in the report on the wedding ʿAlī. Ibn Baṭṭūta met him later in Mecca, and called him Abū Bakr.

¹⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 101-102.

¹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 48. The baby obviously soon died, for next year Ṭughāy gave birth to a son who was also called Ānūk, Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 61. This one lived until the year of his father’s death in 741, Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 324.

²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 48.

²¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 53.

²² *Riḥlatu ibn Baṭṭūta*, 170; Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta*, I: 245; *voyages d'ibn battūta*, I: 399-400; Ibn Battūta, *Voyages*, I: 347.

²³ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 92, 95-6.

²⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 109-110.

²⁵ Maya Termonia & Jo Van Steenberg, *Cairo*, 359.

²⁶ Jo Van Steenberg, *Order Out of Chaos. Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1314-1382* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), p. 96. Jo Van Steenberg, “The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamlūk Society. A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131.3 (2011): 423-443, esp. 435.

²⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 29-30, an enumeration of the conditions; 55, 61, 63. Also Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar* ed. Būlāq V:431 / ed. Bayrūt V: 929.

²⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 74 (724), 88 (726).

²⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar* ed. Būlāq V:431-2 / ed. Bayrūt V: 927; Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 48 (721), 53-4 (722).

³⁰ The story of Damardāsh and Coban in Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* III: 82, 89, 105-111, 113-4.

³¹ Maya Termonia & Jo Van Steenberg, *Cairo*, 283, description of the living quarters of the legal spouses and the harem.