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| | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--|---------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| | | Sani al-Dawla | | | | conduct |
| 37 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Shaykh Awhad al-Din | Judges | 739 AH / 1338 AD | Jerusalem | Corruption and bad conduct |
| 38 | al-Nasir Hassan | Dia' al-Din Yūsūf b. Abi Bakr b. Khatib | Judges | 759 AH / 1358 AD | Qūs | Rivalry with some scholars |
| 39 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Shaykh Nour al-Din Ali b. Abd al-Warith al-Bakri | Shaykhs | 714 AH / 1313 AD | ? | Opposition against sultan |
| 40 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | al-Ta'ifa al-Eqba'ia | Shaykhs | 741 AH / 1341 AD | ? | ? |
| 41 | Nasir al-Din b. al-Baba Jankli | Al-Shaykh Jalal al-Din b. al-Qalansi | Shaykhs | ? | Jerusalem | ? |
| 42 | Baybars and Salar | Al-shaykh Ahmed b. Taymiyyah | Shaykhs | 705 AH / 1306 AD | Cairo then Alexandria | Rivalry with some scholars |
| 43 | Al-Nasir Hassan | Al-Shaykh Qutb al-Din al-Hermas | Sheikhs | 761 AH / 1360 AD | Musiaf | Rivalry with some scholars |

It is clear from the information in the table that the category of amirs is the most being exiled category in the first Mamluk state, then they are followed by the category of shaykhs, judges, ministers, and caliphs. We also note that other groups of society are not mentioned, including merchants, craftsmen, women and other groups. The rule of Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un witnessed a large number of exile sentences, this is not surprising because the period of his rule actually extended to more than thirty years.

| | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--|-----------|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Hassan b. Muhammad b. Qala'un | Satlamush Terkash | | 1354 AD | | |
| 26 | Al- amir Yalbūgha al- Khasiski | Qatlūbūgha al- Mansouri | Amirs | 767 AH / 1365 AD | Syria | Punishment for disobeying orders |
| 27 | Yalbūgha al- Khasiski | Sabeq al-Din Methqal al- Anoki | Amirs | 768 AH / 1366 AD | Aswan | Competition for power |
| 28 | Al-Ashraf Shaaban | Arjun al-Ajami al- Saqi | Amirs | 770 AH / 1369 AD | Damascus | Giving public money |
| 29 | Al-sultan Alaa al-Din Ali | Al-amir Karim al-Din Shaker b. Ghannam | Amirs | 781 AH/ 1380AD | Jerusalem | A reduction of a greater penalty |
| 30 | Al-amir Baraka | Al-amir Karim al-Din Abd al- Karim b. al- Ruwaiheb | Amirs | 781 AH / 1380 AD | Tarsus | A reduction of a greater penalty |
| 31 | Al-Ashraf Shaaban | Zain al-Din Baraka | Amirs | 782 AH / 1380 AD | Alexander ia | Gaining and exploiting power |
| 32 | al-Ashraf Shaaban | Nasir al-Din al- Dimerdashi | Amirs | 782 AH / 1380 AD | Upper Egypt | Gaining and exploiting power |
| 33 | Al-sultan Zain al-Din Haji | Muqbil Al-Rumi Al- Khazandar | Amirs | 783 AH / 1381 AD | ? | Punishment |
| 34 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Karim al-Din Abd al- Karim al- Kabeer | Ministers | 723 AH / 1323 AD | al-Shobak then Jerusalem | Giving public money |
| 35 | Salah al-Din Muhammad b. Hajji | Fakhr al-Din Majid b. Khasib | Ministers | 762 AH / 1361 AD | Musiaf then Jerusalem | Gaining and exploiting power |
| 36 | al-Zahir Baybars | al-Najm b. al-Sadr b. | Judges | 659 AH / 1261 AD | Egypt | Corruption and bad |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|--|-------|---------------------|---------------------|---|
| 14 | Al-Nasir Muhamm ad b. Qala'un | His son al- amir Ahmed b. Al-Nasir Muhammad | Amirs | 741 AH / 1341 AD | Karak | Punishment for bad morals |
| 15 | Al-Nasir Muhamm ad b. Qala'un | Tughan al- Shamsi Sonqor al- Taweel | Amirs | 741 AH / 1341 AD | Damascus | Punishment |
| 16 | Al-Kamel Sha'aban | Al-Tawashi Arafat | Amirs | 747 AH / 1346 AD | Syria | ? |
| 17 | Al-Kamel Sha'aban | Al-Tawashi kafūr al- Hindi | Amirs | 747 AH / 1346 AD | Syria | ? |
| 18 | Al-sultan Zain al- Din Haji | al-Tawashi Anbar al- Saharti | Amirs | 748 AH / 1347 AD | Jerusalem | Punishment for disobeying orders |
| 19 | Al-Nasir Hassan b. Muhamm ad b. Qala'un | Al-Tawashi Anbar al- Saharti | Amirs | 749 AH / 1348 AD | Jerusalem | ? |
| 20 | ? | Al-amir Aytmosh al- Jammdari' al-Nasiri | Amirs | 753 AH / 1352 AD | Safad | A reduction of a greater penalty |
| 21 | ? | Al-amir Shihab al- Din Sha'ban | Amirs | 753 AH / 1352 AD | Gaza | A reduction of a greater penalty |
| 22 | ? | Al-amir Shihab al- Din Sha'ban | Amirs | 753 AH / 1352 AD | Safad - Damascus | ? |
| 23 | ? | Al-amir Arjun al- Kameli | Amirs | 753 AH / 1352 AD | Jerusalem | ? |
| 24 | Al-Nasir Hassan b. Muhamm ad b. Qala'un | Al-amir Homous Akhdar | Amirs | 755 AH / 1354 AD | Tripoli | Punishment for bad morals |
| 25 | Al-Nasir | Al-amir | Amirs | 755 AH / | ? | Punishment |

| | | 1362–77) | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|-------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 3 | Baybars al-Jashankir | Saif al-Din al-Tashlaki | Amirs | 706 AH / 1306 AD | Damascus | Competition for power |
| 4 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Saif al-Din Bibūgha al-Turkumani | Amirs | 707 AH / 1307 AD | Jerusalem | Competition for power |
| 5 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Saif al-Din al-Haj Bedamūr | Amirs | 707 AH / 1307 AD | Jerusalem | Competition for power |
| 6 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Saif al-Din Khās Türk | Amirs | 707 AH / 1307 AD | Jerusalem | Competition for power |
| 7 | Baybars and Salar | Baktamūr al-Jokindar | Amirs | 707 AH / 1307 AD | Sarkhad then Safad | Competition for power |
| 8 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Aqbūgha al-Hasani | Amirs | 717 AH / 1317 AD | Safad | Punishment for drinking alcohol |
| 9 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Salah al-Din al-Dawadar | Amirs | 733 AH / 1333 AD | Safad | Punishment |
| 10 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Alaa al-Din Aydkine al-Azkashi | Amirs | 735 AH / 1335 AD | Syria | Punishment |
| 11 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Al-amir Alm al-Din Taybūgha al-Qasimi | Amirs | 735 AH / 1335 AD | Syria | Punishment for bad morals |
| 12 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Al-amir Torontai al-Muhammadi | Amirs | 737 AH / 1337 AD | Damascus | A reduction of a greater penalty |
| 13 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Al-amir Ala' al-Din Ali b. Hilal al-Dawla | Amirs | 737 AH / 1337 AD | Damascus | A reduction of a greater penalty |

It is also clear that more men than women were exiled in the Bahri Mamluk state, as women were not exposed to exile except when they decided to accompany their husbands or patrons to exile. The sources were silent about the exile of some other social classes, such as the merchant class and craftsmen. This silence does not mean that this did not occur; perhaps there were some cases of exile against infamous merchants or craftsmen that were not recorded by the available historical sources.

The research has indicated that exile was not the end for the exiled person, since there was another life after exile: there was great hope for forgiveness and for changes in the political circumstances that led to someone's exile, or the exiled could live an acceptable life in the country of exile. Exile also had a positive effect that can be clearly observed, which is preserving the life of the exiled person in the bloody conflicts that the Mamluk era witnessed. This, of course, does not negate the major negative effects of exile on the exiled person and those close to him.

Finally, exile had a demographic effect on the cities of exile. An example is the demographic effect of exile on Jerusalem, which was one of the most famous cities to which Mamluk amirs were exiled during the era of the Bahri Mamluk state.

Appendix: Summary of Exile Cases mentioned in this Research

| No | Who sentenced Exile | The exiled person | Class | Date of Exile | Place of Exile | Reason of Exile |
|----|------------------------------|---|---------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 | Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un | Al-Musta'fi bi-Allah Abu al-Rabee' Suleiman (701-37 AH / AD 1301-36) with a hundred of his sons | Caliphs | 737 AH / 1337 AD | Qūs | Punishment |
| 2 | Al-amir Ainbuk al-Badri | Caliph al-Mutawakil Ala al-Allah Muhammad (763-79 AH/AD | Caliphs | 779 AH / 1377 AD | Qūs | Punishment |

he remained in exile until his death in Dhu al-Qa'da in 722 AH/AD 1322.⁽¹⁾

6.5 *The Demographic Impact of Exile on Cities of Exile.*

As the amirs were exiled with their families, their slaves, and their entourage, their exile had a demographic effect on the composition of the cities to which they were exiled. Ali al-Sayyid referred to this when he spoke about the effect of the exiled amirs to Jerusalem on its demography.⁽²⁾ He reached a conclusion through a statistical study about the Mamluk amirs exiled to Jerusalem that it is not nearly a year away without the exile to Jerusalem is to be mentioned. If we knew that some of these amirs were accompanying his family and his followers, we would realize how many Mamluks in Jerusalem as a percentage of the size of its inhabitants, or as a percentage of the size of the city itself. As well as those who were seeking residence in the city –from the great amirs- to be away from the volatility of events in Cairo.

7. Conclusion

The discussion of the role of exile and its effect in the era of the Bahri Mamluk state has shown that more cases of exile occurred in this era than in the Ayyubid period. This was undoubtedly caused by the intense sedition and political and social unrest in the Bahri Mamluk state.

The majority of exile cases in the Bahri Mamluk state focus on Mamluk amirs and senior officials of the state. The exile of scholars and clerics, on the other hand, was very limited and used when exiling a particular scholar or cleric could calm (potential) conflicts between them and the Mamluk amirs or other scholars and clerics.

(1) AL-SAFADI., *al-Wafi bi-l-wafiat.*, XI: 135; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 238.

(2) A. A. ALI., *al-Quds fi-al-Asr al-Mamluki* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr for Studies., Publishing and Distribution., 1986), 74.

return them. They accordingly released them and favored Yalbūgha al-Tarjmani, Altanbūgha al-Salihi, and Belbin al-Zarraq with an amirate of ten soldiers.⁽¹⁾ Amir Karim al-Din Shaker b. Ghannam also returned to Egypt from his exile to Jerusalem on 4 Rabie II in 782 AH /15 July AD 1380.⁽²⁾

Among the scholars who returned from exile was Shaykh al-Hermas, who returned to Cairo after the death of Sultan Hassan, where he remained until his death in 769 AH/AD 1367, when he was over eighty years old.⁽³⁾ The judge Dia 'a al-Din Yūsūf b. Abi Bakr also returned to Cairo after a year or more in exile.⁽⁴⁾

6.4 Death in Exile:

Many people died in their country of exile, including al-Tawashi Anbar al-Saharati, who remained in exile in Jerusalem until he died in 749 AH/AD 1348 with the plague.⁽⁵⁾ The minister al-Sahib Fakhr Fakhr al-Din Majid b. Khasib died in his last exile in Jerusalem after he lived there for four years.⁽⁶⁾ Amir Nasir al-Din b. al-Baba Jankli⁽⁷⁾ exiled Shaykh Jalal al-Din al-Qalansi to Jerusalem, where

(1) IBN ABI AL-FADA'IL., *al-Nahj al-sadid.*, I: 464; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 37.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 370., 391; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Manhal al-safi.*, VII: 332; I. AL-ŞAYRAFĪ., *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-al-abdān fī tawārīkh al-zamān.*, ed. by Ḥ. ḤABASHĪ (Cairo: Wizarat al-Thaqāfah., Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turāth., 1970): 2: 483.

(3) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*: 168; AL-ASQALANI., *Al-Durar.*, 3: 413.

(4) AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, V: 615; Al-Maqrizi., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 42; Al-Asqalani., *al-Durar.*, IV: 482.

(5) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 796; AL-ASQALANI., *Op. Cit.*, III: 199.

(6) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 58; IBN SHAHIN., *Nail al-amal.*, I: 325.

(7) AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, II: 163; *al-Wafi bi-l-wafiat.*, 11: 199; *al-Durar.*, I: 539; *al-Manhal al-safi.*, V: 222.

readiness and ability to work.⁽¹⁾ The term “idle” was used in Mamluk state to denote the amir whose estate was removed by depriving him of his job and exiling him.⁽²⁾

Sources state several examples of those who became idles during their exile or after returning from their exile, for example the Abbasid caliph, al-Mutawakil ‘Ala-Allah Muhammad, who returned from his exile from Qūs to Cairo as an idle.⁽³⁾ Amir Karai al-Mansūri was exiled to Jerusalem as an idle, and took over Jerusalem and al-Khalil with an enough salary.⁽⁴⁾ In Rajab, amir Mūsa b. al-Azkashi was exiled in 763 AH/May AD 1362 to Hama as an idle and was replaced by Astadūr al-amir Ārūs al-Mahmūdi.⁽⁵⁾ Mahmūdi.⁽⁵⁾ Amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Āqbūgha Ās al-Astarar was exiled to Jerusalem as an idle.⁽⁶⁾

6.3 Return After Exile

There are many cases in which exiled people returned to their homeland after exile. An example is a group of mamluks that were exiled by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala’un under pressure of the two amirs Baybars and Salar. Among them were Yalbūgha al-Tarjmani, Edmūr al-Mūrtad, and Khās Tūrki, who had been exiled to Jerusalem.⁽⁷⁾ They soon returned to Cairo on the order of Amir Aqūsh al-Afram, the deputy of the Levant. He sent note to amirs Baybars and Salar, blaming them for the exile of the sultan’s men, and suggested their return; otherwise, he would come himself and

(1) DOUZY., *Takmilat al-ma’ajim.*, 1: 373; OMAR., *Mu’jam al-lugha*: 219.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 37., footnote 2.

(3) M. AL-SAKHĀWĪ., *WajĒ al-kalām fī al-dhayl ‘alā duwal al-Islām.*, ed. by B.A. MA’RŪF., et al. (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla.,1995)., I: 232.

(4) AL-MANSŪRI., *Zubdat al-fikra.*, 399; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 36–37.

(5) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 74; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, XI: 6.

(6) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 268; M. AL-SAKHĀWĪ., *al-Dhayl al-tāmm ‘alā duwal al-Islām li-al-Dhahabī.* Ed. by Ḥ. I. MARWA (Kuwait: Dār al-‘Urūba., 1992): III: 228.

(7) AL-MANSŪRI., *al-Tuhfa al-mamlukiyya*: 182; *Zubdat al-fikra.*, 392; IBN ABI AL-AL-FADA’IL., *al-Nahj al-sadid.*, I: 464; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 35–36.

with the *iqta'a* of Qardūm.⁽¹⁾ However, the sultan arrested Qardūm and brought him back to Egypt to be exiled there. The Sultan then moved to Alexandria with Qardūm, then returned once again to exile in Damascus in 754 AH/AD 1354, where he remained until his death in 756 AH/AD 1356.⁽²⁾ The sultan arranged fifty dirhams daily for amir Qūrdūm in his second exile in Damascus.⁽³⁾

Amir Sha'aban – a relative of Yalbūgha al-Yahyawī - was exiled several times since 754 AH/AD 1354. He was exiled to Safad and was favored with an amirate after a period of time, then went to Aleppo, where he was imprisoned for a while. He was then released and again favored with an amirate, after which he returned to Egypt and then Damascus, where he stayed until the end of his life.⁽⁴⁾

Amir Asnadmūr Harfūsh al-A'lai al-Hajib was granted commandership of one thousand in his exile in Damascus. He died in exile in 772 AH/AD 1371.⁽⁵⁾ Amir Būri al-Ahmadi was favored with watching the mosques of Jerusalem and al-Khalil in Rajab 780 AH during his exile.⁽⁶⁾

6.2 *The Exile as an Idle*

An “idle” refers to an unemployed person, the person who discontinues work, and the person who cannot find job with his

(1) AL-SAFADI., *al-Wafī bi-l-wafīat.*, XXIV: 224; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 3: 859; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, III: 248. Al-Maqrizi differed from al-Safadi and al-Asqalani on the place of exile of Qūrdūm., making it the Cit.y of Safad., not Damascus. See: AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 3: 859.

(2) AL-SAFADI., *al-Wafī bi-l-wafīat.*, XXIV: 224–25; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 26; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, X: 322; *al-Durar al-kamina.*, III: 332.

(3) AL-SAFADI., *al-Wafī bi-l-wafīat.*, XXIV: 225.

(4) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 905.

(5) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 192; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, XI: 117. 117.

(6) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 33.

on the first of Sha'aban in 740 AH/February AD 1340.⁽¹⁾

When Karim al-Din al-Kabeer was exiled to Shobak, the sultan arranged a salary of a thousand dirhams per month for him. In his second exile to Qūs, the sultan arranged six hundred dirhams and six ardebs⁽²⁾ monthly, and one hundred dirhams and two ardebs for his son Abd Allah.⁽³⁾ This salary continued until his death in exile on 20 Shawwal, 724 AH/October AD 1324, when he was found hanged in his house. Sources differed on whether he committed suicide or was hanged by mamluks.⁽⁴⁾

When amir Aqbūgha al-Hasani was exiled to Damascus, he was appointed as an amir.⁽⁵⁾ Amir Baktamūr al-Jokindar also took over the deputyship of Safad after the death of his former deputy, Amir Sonkūr Shah, in exile.⁽⁶⁾

When Amir Qardūm - the amir of Akhūr - was exiled to Damascus in 753 AH/AD 1352, Sultan al-Salih b. al-Nasir Muhammad favored him with the *iqta'a* (the land) of Amir Taūlk al-Hasani al-Arghūni. The latter was brought to Egypt to be favored

(1) AL-SHUJA'I., *Tarikh al-malik al-nasir*: 70; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 2: 502; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, IX: 151.

(2) Ardebs is the plural of ardeb., a measure of grain weight., and measures twenty-four sa' (a standard measure that often equals three kilograms or differs according to the type of the grain). It weighs one hundred and fifty kilograms. See A.M. OMAR., *Mu'jam al-lugha al-'arabia al-mu'asira* (Beirut: 'Alam al-Kutub., 2008): 83.

(3) AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXIII: 45–46.

(4) COMPARE: *al-Nuwairi.*, *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXIII: 47–48; AL-DAWDARY., *Kinz al-durar.*, IX: 314; IBN HABIB., *Tazkirat al-nabīh.*, II: 133.

(5) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 176; *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr.*, ed. by M. AL-YA'LĀWĪ (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami., 1991.), II: 258.

(6) AL-MANSŪRI., *Zubdat al-fikra.*, 393; IBN ABI AL-FADA'IL., *al-Nahj al-sadid.*, I: 464; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 3.

When amir Saif al-Din Surghotmush arrested the judge Dia' al-Din Yūsūf b. Abi Bakr, the overseer al-Bimaristan al-Mansūri insulted him, beat him naked with whips, mounted him on a donkey, and confiscated his estate.⁽¹⁾ On 19 Dhu al-Qa'da 770 AH/2 July AD 1369, amir Bedmūr, the deputy of the Levant, arrived with the company of amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Qūmari, the amir of Shokar. He ordered the mule to be brought for Qumari, and then he was ordered to come to amir Ala'a al-Din Ali b. Muhammad b. Kūft, who imprisoned him in al-Sahib hall and committed him to pay three hundred thousand dinars. He mangled him and he took a hundred thousand dinars from him. The judge Dia' al-Din then went to Damascus to pay the rest of what he was committed to and was exiled to Tarsus.⁽²⁾

The judge al-Maliki Taqi al-Din al-Ikhna'i ordered to beat and confine Shaykh Shihab al-Din Ahmed b. Muhammad b. Mūra before his exile to al-Khalil in Jerusalem in 725 AH/AD 1325.⁽³⁾

When the exiled person arrived to his place of his exile and was prepared for the new life imposed on him, there were several possibilities that any of them may have faced, which are discussed next.

6.1 Bestowal of a Job or Salary

Perhaps one of the most prominent of those whom al-Nasir Muhammad bestowed was Caliph al-Mustakfi bi- Allah Abu al-Rabee' Suleiman. He paid him a salary of five thousand dirhams a month in his exile in Qūs, then reduced to three thousand dirhams, then to one thousand dirhams. This was insufficient to him, so his wives had to sell their clothes.⁽⁴⁾ Al-Mustakfi bi-Allah died in exile

(1) AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, V: 615; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 482.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 172; IBN QADI SHUHBA., *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba.*, III: 349–50; IBN SHAHIN., *Nail al-mal.*, I: 427.

(3) AL-YAFA'I., *Mira't al-jinan.*, IV: 273; IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihai.*, XVI: 182; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 263; AL-ASQALANI., *Al-Durar.*, I: 302–3; ATTWA., *al-Shafa'a*: 189–190.

(4) AL-SAFADI., *al-Wafi bi-l-wafiat.*, XV: 350; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 417.

before they were exiled to Syria in 767 AH/AD 1366.⁽¹⁾ When amir Yalbūga al-Atabik arrested amir Al-Tawashi Sabeq al-Din Methqal al-Anoki in 768 AH/1366AD, he had him beaten about six hundred times.⁽²⁾

In the same context, when amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Aqbugha as al-Estadar was arrested in 778 AH/AD 1376, his estates in Egypt and Syria were seized, and the sultan ordered to exile him and his son to Tarsus. However, with amirs' intercession, he was settled in Jerusalem as an idle, soon followed by his son. This was because of Aqbugha's control of power and the immensity of his terms of reference, to the extent that when he called for his son he said "Sir Muhammad."⁽³⁾

Among the worst forms of torture before exile was what happened to amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad as he was carried from Akhmim to Cairo: he was badly beaten, his money was taken, and he was then exiled to Upper Egypt.⁽⁴⁾ After al-Sahib Karim al-Din Shaker b. al-Ghannam took over the ministry, he tortured minister Taj al-Din al-Nashu, took eighty thousand weights of gold from him, demolished his house in Egypt, and brought him out on a donkey to exile to Syria in 776 AH/AD 1374.⁽⁵⁾ When amir Sharaf al-Din Musa b. al-Azkashi arrested Shaykh Qutb al-Din al-Hermas and his son, he was arrested, stripped from his clothes, and beaten with a whip around ten times before he was exiled to Musiaf.⁽⁶⁾

(1)AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 120.

(2)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 128; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, XI: 135.

(3)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 268; IBN QADI SHUHBA., *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba.*, III., 2: 508.

(4)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 389–90; I. AL-ASQALĀNĪ., *Inbā' al-ġumr bi-anbā' anbā' al-ūmr.*, ed. by Ḥ. ḤABAŠĪ (Cairo: Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs., 1969 – 1998), I: 216.

(5)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 234; IBN QADI SHUHBA., *Op. Cit.*, III., 2: 447.

(6) IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihaia.*, XVI: 403; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 52–53; AL-ASQALANI., *Op. Cit.*, III: 413.

6. Life in Exile

When the sentence of exile was pronounced, some of the exiled persons were exposed to harsh procedures commensurate with the crime they committed or the danger they represented. When al-Nasir Muhammad issued a ruling to exile amir Aqbugha al-Hasani to Damascus in 717 AH/AD 1317, he ordered to beat him first.⁽¹⁾ Likewise, when he ordered the arrest of Karim al-Din al-Kabeer, he seized his estate, his *awqāf*, his yields, and other things before his exile to Shobak. He then summoned him to Cairo to re-seize him and his property before his exile to Qūs.⁽²⁾

Sultan; al-Kamel Sha'aban (746–47 AH/AD 1346–47) confiscated the estate of al-Tawashi Arafat and al-Tawashi kafūr al-Hindi in 747 AH/AD 1346, before they were exiled to Syria.⁽³⁾ Al-Tawashi Anbar al-Saharti, the Mamluks' representative in the state of Mūzafaria, was arrested in 749 AH/AD 1348 and brought to Cairo from his exile in *bait al-maqdis* because of his pilgrimage without permission, his money was confiscated. then, he was exiled once again to Jerusalem.⁽⁴⁾

In 751 AH/AD 1350, Ibn al-Aradi was exiled to Hama after he was seized.⁽⁵⁾ The minister Al-Sahib Fakhr al-Din Majid b. Khasib, his brother, his retinue, and his in-laws were arrested, his house was seized and he was committed to pay a huge sum of money in 762 AH/AD 1361.⁽⁶⁾ The tongues of amir Qatlbūgha al-Omari al-Hajib and amir Ahmad b. Abi Bakr b. Arghūn al-Na'ib were also cut off

(1) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II, 1: 176; Al-Asqalani., *al-Durar.*, I: 392.

(2) AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXIII: 44–46; Al-Dawdary., *Kinz al-durar.*, IX: 310., 311., 314; IBN DAQMAQ., *al-Jawhar al-thamien:* 372; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II, 1: 243., 244., 247., 248.

(3)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II, 3: 706; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, X: 132.

(4)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II, 3: 760; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, III: 199.

(5)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II, 3: 826.

(6)AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III, 1: 58; IBN QADI SHUHBA., *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba.*, III., 2: 179–80; IBN IYAS., *Bada' al-zuhūr.*, I., 1: 574.

Din Yūsūf b. Abi Bakr b. Khatib, the overseer of al-Bimaristan al-Mansouri, for his close relationship with Sarghatmūsh. He was accordingly exiled to Qūs after being insulted, beaten naked with whips, mangled, and ridden on a donkey. The sultan also exiled all those whom he let them took over.⁽¹⁾

In 761 AH/AD 1360, Sultan al-Nasir Hassan also ordered the demolition of the house of Shaykh Qutb al-Din al-Hermas, which was adjacent to the mosque of al-Hakim bi-Amr al-Allah. Amir Sharaf al-Din Musa b. al-Azkashi was arrested and his son was taken, stripped of his clothes, and hit with scourges;⁽²⁾ almost ten whips.⁽³⁾ His house was demolished in front of his eyes, and then he was exiled to Musiaf. He passed through Damascus and got down to the *jalaliyya* school Zaher Bab el-Farag.⁽⁴⁾

The reason for the exile of Shaykh al-Hermas was the defamation of both Shams al-Din b. al-Naqash and Seraj al-Din al-Hindi against him at Sultan Hassan. The sultan turned against him after being close to him, especially after the exile of amir Izz al-Din Azdmūr al-Khazandar to Syria, who was the aid of Shaykh al-Hermas.⁽⁵⁾

(1) AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, V: 615; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 42.

(2) According to linguistic definitions and Mamluk historical sources., a scourge was a piece of wood or a stick with a whip fixed to it. See S. M. AL-ASFOUR., *Wasael al-Ta'zeeb fi-al-Asr al-Mamluki.*, (Cairo: Ibn Qutaybah Library., 1999): 68.

(3) Meaning the whip or a strike with a whip. See R. DOUZY., *Takmilat al-ma'ajim al-arabia.*, translation to Arabic M. S. AL-NAIMI.,(Iraq: withart al thaqafa wa al ealam., 1979-2000)., VI: 391.

(4) IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihaia.*, XVI: 403; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 52–53; *Plans.*, III: 252–53; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, III: 413., III: 253–54.

(5) IBN KATHEER., *Op. Cit.*, XVI: 403; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 48–50; AL-ASQALANI., *Op. Cit.*, III: 372–73; al-ASQALANI., *Op. Cit.*, III: 413. Amir Izz al-Din Azdmur was a reason to make Shaykh al-Hermas closer to Sultan Hassan., and to strengthen the relationship between them. See: AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 11.

released in 707 AH/AD 1307, was accommodated in Dar Shuqair, and a sitting was held for him in the Salihyya school in Cairo.⁽¹⁾

Circumstances surrounding Ibn Taymiyyah did not calm down much. A group of Sufis met with Shaykh Taj al-Din b. ‘Ata’ Allah al-Iskandari, followed by many common people. They went to the vice-sultan to complain against Ibn Taymiyyah. He was ordered by the state to stay in Damascus or Alexandria under conditions or be confined. Ibn Taymiyyah chose confinement, then changed his opinion into being returned to Damascus after pressure from his companions. However, the judge of judges (The highest judge) Zain al-Din al-Maliki, ordered his return to Cairo. He was consequently confined in the prison of Harat al-Dclam in 709 AH/AD 1309, then exiled to the Alexandria prison, and returned with al-Nasir to Damascus during the latter’s third rule term in 712 AH/AD 1312.⁽²⁾

The companions of Ibn Taymiyyah faced the same fate of imprisonment and exile. Shaykh Shihab al-Din Ahmed b. Muhammad b. Mūra followed the footsteps of his friend and teacher, Ibn Taymiyyah, against Sufism, forbidding their beliefs of invocation but to Allah. The Sufis complained to the judge, al-Maliki Taqi al-Din al-Akhna’i, who hit and confined him, but the commendation of some statesmen—including Badr al-Din b. Jankli b. al-Baba, judge Badr al-Din b. Jama’a, and others—led to the acceptance of intercession for him. He was then released and brought to al-Khalil in Jerusalem two days after his imprisonment, and then fled to Al-Jazeera land in Iraq.⁽³⁾

In the same context, the order of Sultan al-Nasir Hassan b. Muhammad b. Qala’un in 759 AH/AD 1358 to arrest amir Saif al-Din Sarghatmūsh was followed by an order to arrest judge Dia’ al-

(1) AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXII: 115–17; AL-BARZALI., *al-Muqtafa.*, II., 1: 354–55; IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihaia.*, XVI: 56–57; AL-‘AINI., *Iqd al-jumān.*, IV: 459–60.

(2) AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXII: 117–18; AL-BARZALI., *al-Muqtafa.*, II., 1: 379; IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihaia.*, XVI: 62–63; AL-‘AINI., *Iqd al-jumān.*, IV, p. 460–61; ATTWA., *al-Shafa’a*: 188.

(3) S. AL-YĀFIĪ., *Mir’āt al-ġinān wa ‘ibrat al-yaqzān fī ma’rifat mā yu’tabar min ḥawādīṭ al-zamān.*, (Cairo: Dar alkitab al’islami., 1993), IV: 273; IBN KATHEER., *Op. Cit.*, XVI: 182.

imprisoned in one of the castle's towers. Then, he and his two brothers, Sharaf al-Din Abd Allah and Zein al-Din Abd al-Rahman were taken to *al-jūb* from Qala'at al-Jabal on the night of Eid al-Fitr.⁽¹⁾

Ibn Katheer explained the reason behind Ibn Taymiyyah's exile and the hate of some scholars and scientists for him, especially Shaykh Nasr al-Manbaji, the shaykh of amir Baybars al-Jashankir. This was because Ibn Taymiyyah:

Was speaking about al-Manbaji and attributed him Ibn Arabi's belief, they [scholars and scientists] envied him for his advances at the state, his uniqueness of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil, people's obedience to him, and their love for him, the multitude of his followers, his fulfillment of the right, his knowledge and his work.⁽²⁾

Ibn Taymiyyah remained in *al-jūb* until the night of Eid al-Fitr in 706 AH/AD 1307. Then, amir Saif al-Din Salar, the deputy of Egypt, brought three judges (al-Shafi'i, al-Maliki, and al-Hanafi) and a group of *fuqahā'* together to talk about Ibn Taymiyyah's release. It was granted provided that their conditions were fulfilled, including that he retract some of the doctrine. However, Ibn Taymiyyah refused. They tried to persuade him and his brothers six times, until they dispersed at the end without getting Ibn Taymiyyah out of *al-jūb*.⁽³⁾ Ibn Taymiyyah remained in prison for eighteen months until amir Husam al-Din Mahanna b. Isa interceded for him. He was then

(1) AL-MANSŪRI., *Zubdat al-fikra.*, 386; IBN KATHEER., *Op. Cit.*, XVI: 45; AL-'AINI., *Iqd al-jumān.*, IV: 407–8.

(2) IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihai.*, XVI: 44.

(3) A. b. Y. AL-BARZALI., *al-Muqtafi.*, *'ala Kittab al-Rawdatin* known as *Tarikh al-Barzali* ed. by O. TADMOURI (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Hadithah., 2006-1427) 1: 337; IBN KATHEER., *Op. Cit.*, XVI: 49., 51- 52; AL-'AINI., *Iqd al-jumān.*, IV: 421–30.

spending on them and on the poor.⁽¹⁾ The sources did not disclose the direct cause of the exile of Shaykh Jalal al-Din. But this can be attributed to the sultan's worry about al-Qalansi for the amirs' belief in him, so it is said that they built his mosque, some of the sultan's men tend to him and bestowed gold upon him.⁽²⁾

Al-Safadi explains this, saying: "His (i.e. Ibn al-Qalansi's) fame increased out of line, exceeded measurement; the state's amirs thought of him, he held the *law of the soul* and the soula [He took the lead] and took a group of the sultan's men to his side and they loved him with the love of those who realized the virtues in the homelands."⁽³⁾ The fear of amir Jankli of this closeness was what prompted him to seek his exile, especially since amir Jankli followed shaykh Ahmed b. Taymiyyah's belief and views and stuck to him.⁽⁴⁾

Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah is the most prominent scholar who was sentenced to exile from Syria to Egypt. This was in the month of Ramadan, 705 AH/March AD 1306, where he was summoned to Egypt for a complaint against him. A meeting was set for him in the castle, attended by amir Baybars al-Jashankir, amir Salar, and other statesmen and scholars. When Ibn Taymiyyah tried to defend himself, he was prevented from speaking and was

(1) S. H. AL-ŞAFADĪ., *A'yan al-'aṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr.*, ed. by A. ABŪ ZAYD et al. (Damascus: Dar al Fikr., 1998), II: 163–64; IBN TAGHRIBIRDĪ., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, X: 144.

(2) M. b. A. AL-ZAHABI., *Min Zeol al-Abr lil-Zahabi wa-al-Husini.*, M. R. ABD EL-MUTTALIB., (Kuwait: Kuwait Government Press., 1986): 65; AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, I: 115; IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihai.*, XVI: 161; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 238; S. M. IBN AL-'IMĀD., *Şhaḍarāt al-ḍahab fī aḥbār man ḍahab.*, ed. by A. AL-ARNĀ'ŪṬ and M. AL-ARNĀ'ŪṬ., (Beirut: Dar Ibn Katheer., 1991), VIII: 103.

(3) AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, I: 114.

(4) AL-SAFADI., *A'yan al-asr.*, II: 164; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, I: 539; *al-Sakhawi*: 539.

reputation was rumored to be bad. Hence, they were all dismissed, and Shaykh Shrine settled in the shaykhdom.⁽¹⁾

5.2 *Political or Doctrinal Disagreement between Scholars and the Authorities*

Juridical disagreement among scholars on some jurisprudential issues and the exploitation of ongoing political circumstances concerning the pitting of one side against another affected the course of events in the Bahri Mamluk state. This made it possible to issue sentences of exile against some scholars. For instance, al-Nasir Muhammad exiled Shaykh Nour al-Din Ali b. Abd al-Warith al-Bakri from the country in 714 AH/AD 1314, as a commutation of a sentence to cut off his tongue, after the intercession of many amirs and scholars. The reason for this was an incident of cressets borrowed by Christians from *al-jami'a al-atīq* to use in the Hanging Church (*al-kanīsa al-mu'alaqa*). Shaykh al-Bakri denied this and protested in front of the sultan with words of arrogance and antipathy, accusing him of being unjust and taking the side of Copts against Muslims. The sultan then ordered his killing, and the sentence was commuted to cutting off his tongue and then exile.⁽²⁾

Amir Nasir al-Din b. al-Baba Jankli, exiled Shaykh Jalal al-Din b. al-Qalansi to Jerusalem. Ibn al-Qalansi was known for his righteousness. The amirs, the statesmen, and the people were coming and going to his mosque located on *birkit el-feel*, near to amir Jankli's house,⁽³⁾ who was also known for his goodness, righteousness, comprehension, and his closeness to scholars and

(1) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Khitat.*, II., 2: 516; SHEIKH SHERIN: Was the Sheikh of Khanqah Baybars in Cairo., died on 17 Jumada II in 749 AH See: IBN HAJAR., *al-Durar al-kamina.*, II., p. 197.

(2) AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXII: 212–14; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 135–36; for more on the incident of cressets., see A. M. ATTWA., *al-Shafa'a fi-al-asr al-mamlūki al-awwal* (Riyadh: al-Jam'ia al-Tarikhyya al-Saūdiyya., 2013): 193–96.

(3) AL-SAFADI., *al-Wafī bi-l-wafiat.*, VI: 135; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 238.

presence or in travel. They also had a strong and influential presence in the jihad against the Crusaders and the Mongols. However, there were incidents that led to a clash between Mamluk authorities and some of these scholars. The most important cases are mentioned next.

5.1 *Bad Reputation and Corruption of Some Scholars*

Examples of this include al-Zahir Baybars issuing a decision on 8 Dhu al-Hijjah 659 AH/November 2nd, AD 1261 to exile the judge of Damascus, Najm al-Din b. Sadr al-Din b. Sani al-Dawla and replace him with Shams al-Din b. Khalkan. He exiled him to Egypt under tight guarding because of his bad reputation, as he was known for debauchery, injustice, and the enormous amount of complaints against him. Hence, when he was exiled, there were a lot of damn upon him.⁽¹⁾

Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un issued an sentence of exile to Jerusalem against Shaykh Awhad al-Din; the Shaykh of Khaneqah Baybars—after he was arrested in Rabee' I, 739 AH/ October 4th, AD 1338 in Rawda in an inappropriate situation.⁽²⁾ Al-Nasir Muhammad issued another sentence of exile against al-Tā'ifa al-Eqba'ia—which refers to the inhabitants of Khaneqah Baybars—in 741 AH/AD 1341, and exiled their shaykh “Zadah” after their

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- (1) A. b. I. ABU SHAMA., *Al-Mudhail 'ala al-rawdatayn.*, II., ed. by I. AL-ZAYBAQ (Beirut: Dar al-Risala al-'Alamia-Dar al-Basha'er al-Islamiyya., 2010): 165; I. A. ABŪ AL-FIDĀ', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī-akhbār al-bashar* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif., 1999), III: 213; AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, III: 49; B. A. M. AL-'AYNĪ., *Ṭiqd al-ḡumān fī-tārīkh ahl al-zamān.*, ed. by M. AMĪN and A. AL-ṬANTĀWĪ: *the era of the Mamluk Sultans* (Cairo: Dar al-kutub al-masriyya., 1985 – 1992), I: 311., 312., 314.
- (2) A. b. ALI AL-MAQRIZI., *Al-Mawa'iz wal-I'tibar fī Dhikr al-Khitat wal-Athar.*, ed. By A. F. SAYYID (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation., 2013), II: 459.

In the same context, sources mention that a dispute between al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un and two amirs, Baybars and Salar, intensified, with the latter seeking to control the state. This led to undesirable relations between the two parties. The two amirs Baybars and Salar exercised pressure on the sultan to remove all those who caused sedition, whether Mamluks or his Khasiskis, and bore down on him until he listened to them and exiled some of his mamluks to Jerusalem in 707 AH/AD 1307. Among them were amir Saif al-Din Bibūgha al-Turkumani, Saif al-Din al-Haj Bedamūr, and Saif al-Din Khās Türk.⁽¹⁾ This rivalry also led to the exiling of amir Baktamūr al-Jokindar, as the sultan was angry with him because he took the side of Baybars and Salar. He turned them against sultan until they exiled him to *al-qala'a al-sabība* in Syria in 707 AH/AD 1307. Next, he was transferred to Sarkhad and then to Safad.⁽²⁾

Among these provisions was also Amir Yalbūgha al-Khasiski's sentence of exile against Amir Sabeq al-Din Methqal al-Anoki to Aswan, after he was hit about six hundred times with sticks on 19 Rabe' I, 768 AH/22 November AD 1366, because of "words he got against him."⁽³⁾

5. Exiling Scholars

Scholars had a great position in the Mamluk state, as the Mamluk sultan's council was never free of one of them, whether in

(1) AL-DAWĀDĀR., *al-Tuḥfah al-mulūkiyyah.*, 181–82; *Zubdat al-fikrah.*, 392., 128; M. b. M. AL-YUNINI., *Dhayl mira't al-zaman.*, 2., ed. by H. A. AHMAD (Abu Dhabi: Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage., 2007): 1163., 1164; IBN ABI AL-FADA'IL., *al-Nahj al-sadid.*, I: 462–64; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 33., 35- 36.

(2) AL-MANSŪRI., *Zubdat al-fikra.*, 393; AL-NUWAIRI., *Nihaiat al-arib.*, XXXII: 129; IBN ABI AL-FADA'IL., *al-Nahj al-sadid.*, I: 464; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 36.

(3) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 128; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, XI: 135.

foods and suggested large boxes of sweets, which were known for years to come as “al-Khusaibia boxes.” His maids reached seven hundred after he was one of the poorest clerks.⁽¹⁾

Also mentioned in this regard is what was reported by AL-MAQRIZI and Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani about the deterioration of the estate of the *khatīb* of Akhmim city in Upper Egypt by the great amir Zain al-Din Baraka in 782 AH/AD 1380, who left a lot of money and made amir Zain al-Din Baraka an administrator of it. Amir Baraka, however, captured the entire estate and sent Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. al-Dimerdashi to seize the estate left by the *khatīb* of Akhmim, and inflicted on his companion all that hatred. Amir Baraka was exiled to Alexandria, where he died in 782 AH/AD 1380. Then, amir Nasir al-Din al-Dimerdashi was arrested, being one of amir Baraka’s men and having committed injustice and abuse of influence. He was taken to Cairo in miserable conditions, was severely hit, his money was taken, and he was exiled to Upper Egypt.⁽²⁾

4.7 Exile as a Result of Competition between Amirs

Conspiracies and intrigues between amirs resulted in them issuing sentences of exile against each other. However, such a sentence was most often issued by a great amir of the state, whose role became clear at a time when the role of the sultan was diminished. For example, amir Baybars al-Jashankir issued the sentence of exile against amir Saif al-Din al-Tashlaki to Damascus in 706 AH/AD 1306 because of the abuse of amir al-Tashlaki directed toward amir Baybars, who was in control of the state at that time when al-Nasir Muhammad was still young.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 58–59.

⁽²⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 389–90; A. A. AL-ASQALĀNĪ., *Inbā’ al-ġumr bi-anbā’ al-’umr.*, ed. by Ḥ. ḤABAŠĪ (Cairo: Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs., 1969–1998), I: 216.

⁽³⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 1: 22–23; IBN TAGHRIBIRDĪ., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, VIII: 221–22.

4.6 Exile for Haughtiness and Abuse of Influence

Sources speak about the reason behind the ruling of Sultan Salah al-Din Muhammad b. Hajji (762–64 AH/AD 1361–63) to arrest the minister Fakhr al-Din Majid b. Khasib, his brother, his dependents, and his in-laws. His property was seized and he had to pay a large sum of money in 762 AH/AD 1361 for indulging in too much luxury and haughtiness during his ministry. He was then exiled to Musiaf⁽¹⁾ in Syria and then moved to Jerusalem, where he lived for four years until his death.⁽²⁾

Some examples of minister Fakhr al-Din Majid b. Khasib's haughtiness are mentioned by AL-MAQRIZI:

He committed all the officials of the state, the private and the public, to ride with him when he rode. If they arrived with him to the market of al-Haririyān in Cairo, the representative of the state and the representative of the private got down and walked behind him to Bayn al-Qasrayn. Then, group after group, according to their grade, got down and walked, so that no one would remain riding until he reached his home at the head of the alley of Zuwailah. When he went to al-Sina'a in Egypt, the people got down at Bab Masr and he and his brothers were still riding alone to al-Sina'a, while all people were walking. He was interested in food, so he was always cooking a thousand pounds of meat at his house every day, rather than chicken and geese. Every night after his dinner, he sent to buy two hundred and fifty silver dirhams of fried pica, crake, chicks, doves, and birds. He exaggerated in all types of delicious

(1) Musiab or Musiaf., a fortified fortress., was known in Ismailia as al-Shami coast near Tripoli. See AL-HAMAWI., *Ma'ajim al-buldan.*, V: 114.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 58; A. b. QADI SHUHBA., *Tarikh Ibn Qadi Shuhba.*, ed. by A. Darwish (Damascus: French Institute for Arab Studies., 1994.), G3., II: 179–80; IBN IYAS., *Bada' al-zuhūr.*, I: 574.

4.5 Exile for Wasting and Misusing Public Money

One of the most prominent examples of this is what happened to judge Karim al-Din Abd al-Karim al-Kabeer, the overseer of al-Khas and the agent of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un. Al-Nasir ordered his arrest on 14 Rabee' II in 723 AH/21 April AD 1323 for misusing the sultan's money. When he was arrested, he confessed that all the property he had collected, bought, and endowed had been bought and built from the sultan's money, not his own money. His residence and his son's residence were consequently limited to his tomb, which he built in al-Qarafa. Next, the sultan ordered his exile to the city of al-Shobak on the 19th of Jumada II, then moved him to Jerusalem on 19 Shawwal, then ordered to bring him from Jerusalem to the castle on 25 Rabee' I, 724 AH, where he remained in detention until he was exiled to Upper Egypt. Finally, he settled in exile in Qūs city.⁽¹⁾

Shaaban al-Ashraf also issued a ruling to arrest amir Arjun al-Ajami al-Saqi on 24 Rajab 770 AH/3 March AD 1369 and exiled him to Damascus, for he sold precious jewels owned by the sultan without his knowledge. When some of the Frankish brought a stone to him that they had, they said that amir Arjun had sold it to them. He was, thereby, arrested, and nothing worthy of the stone's price was found on him. He was accordingly beaten and exiled to Damascus.⁽²⁾

(1) A. AL-NŪWAYRĪ., *Nihāyat al-arab fī-funūn al-adab.*, XXXIII., (Cairo: Dar al-kutub al-masriyya., 1926): 44–46; A. IBN AYBAK AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ., *Kanz al-durar wa-ḡāmi' al-ḡurar: al-dur al-fāḥir fī-sīrat al-malik al-Naṣir.*, ed. H. ROBERT (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji., 1960)., VI: 310., 311., 314; A.O. IBN ḤABĪB., *Taḍkirat al-nabīh fī-ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīh.*, ed. by M. AMĪN (Cairo: Dar al-kutub al-masriyya., 1982 – 1986)., II: 133; I. M. IBN DAQMAQ., *al-Jawhar al-thamīn fī-siyar al-khulafā' wa-al-mulūk wa-al-salāṭīn.*, ed. by S. A. ĀSHŪR (Beirut: Ālam al-Kutub., 1982): 372; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 243., 244., 247., 248.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 171; IBN SHAHIN., *Nail al-amal.*, 1: 424; M. IBN IYĀS., *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī-waqā'i' al-duhūr.*, ed. by M. MUṢṬAFĀ (Cairo: al-Nashr Frānz Shtāyнар., 1975)., 2: 83.

The sources also mention that Sultan al-Nasir Hassan ordered the exile of amir Satlamush Terkash in 755 AH/AD 1354 for his bad conduct.⁽¹⁾ Sultan Zain al-Din Hajji also issued a sentence of exile against amir Muqbil al-Rumi Al-Khazandar on 22 Ramadan 783 AH/9 December AD 1381 for being unjust and rude.⁽²⁾

4.4 Exile of Amirs as a Result of Disobedience of Orders

The Mamluk Sultanate applied the penalty of exile with extreme rigor, so we find it re-issuing rulings against some amirs for leaving their exile without permission. An example is the arrest of al-Tawashi Anbar al-Saharti on the order of al-Muzaffar Zain al-Din Haji in 748 AH/AD 1347. Al-Tawashi left his exile in Jerusalem to perform pilgrimage and came to Cairo without permission which angered sultan, then, his money was confiscated, and he was returned to exile in Jerusalem once again.⁽³⁾

The penalty of exile was also received by amir Qatlbūgha al-Mansouri for defaulting on his military duties when he came to Cairo, in response to the invitation of amir Yalbūgha al-Khasiski, to help rescue Alexandria from the Crusade in 767 AH/AD 1365. With him were only twenty knights, although he was the amir of a hundred. This angered Yalbūgha, who ordered his arrest after his return to Cairo and his exile to Syria.⁽⁴⁾

According to some sources, amir Yalbūgha's anger was not caused by this reason only, but also by al-Mansouri's friendship with amir Taybūgha al-Taweel, who was in a dispute with amir Yalbūgha. This dispute ended with fighting between them; Taybūgha was defeated and imprisoned with his friends in Alexandria. Among them was Qatlbūgha before his exile to Syria.⁽⁵⁾

(1) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 3: 915; IBN SHAHIN., *Nail al-amal.*, I: 263.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 2: 452.

(3) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 760; IBN SHAHIN., *Op. Cit.*, I: 1.

(4) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 107–8; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, XI: 32; IBN SHAHIN., *Op. Cit.*, I: 376.

(5) IBN KATHEER., *al-Bidaia wa-l-nihai.*, XVI., ed. by H. I. Marwa (Damascus: Dar Ibn Katheer., 2010): 465; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *Op. Cit.*, XI: 32.

them.⁽¹⁾ The sultan also issued a sentence of exile to al-amir Salah al-Din al-Dawadar to Safad in Shawwal in 733 AH/AD 1333, because of his ill-treatment and arrogance toward the people, especially writers, and for his speaking unfavorably in front of him about one of the dead amirs, which angered him. This was exploited by amir Shihab al-Din Ahmed b. Fadl -Allah al-Omari, who was an enemy of Salah al-Din al-Dawadar, and pleaded with the sultan until he ousted Salah al-Din and exiled him.⁽²⁾

Al-Nasir Muhammad also issued a sentence of exile against the governor of Cairo, amir Alaa al-Din Aydkine al-Azkashi, because of the change in feelings of amir Qūsūn against him and the latter's arguing against him at the sultan, in addition to the many complaints in the city about his oppression and abuse of the people. Therefore, the sultan ordered his exile as an idle to Syria on Jumada I, 735 AH/January AD 1335.⁽³⁾ The same happened with amir Tughan al-Shamsi Sonqor al-Taweel, who was sentenced by Nasir Muhammad to exile in Damascus in 741 AH/AD 1340 for his slanderous behavior, his brutal injustice, and his excessive bloodletting.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 246.

⁽²⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 2: 361–62; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, 4: 449–50; IBN SHAHIN AL-ZAHIRI., *Nail al-amal fi-zail al-duwal.*, ed. by O. A. TADMORI (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Asriyya., 2002) I: 99.

⁽³⁾ M. I. AL-ĞAZRĪ., *hawadith al-zaman wa anbā'ih wa-wafiyāt al-akābir wa-l-a'yān min abnā'ih.*, al-ma'rūf bi-TĀRĪḤ IBN AL-ĞAZRĪ., ed. by O. A. Tadmurī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Asriyya., 1998)., III: 761; M. b. ABI AL-FADA' il., *al-Nahj al-sadid wa-al-dur al-farid fima ba'd ibn al-'amid.*, ed. by M.K.I. al-Sayyed (Damascus: Dar Sa'd al-Din., 2017) II: 711; M. M. Y. AL-YŪSŪFI., *Nuzhat al-nazir fi-serat al malik al-nasir.*, ed. by A. Hatet (Beirut: 'Alam al-Kutub., 1986): 231.

⁽⁴⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 553; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, II: 227–28.

against amir Alm al-Din Taybūgha, al-Nasir Muhammad ordered to exile him and his mamluk to Syria in Shawwal 735 AH/June AD 1335.⁽¹⁾

Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un did not hesitate to impose the penalty of exile to his son, amir Ahmed, when he was fond of a young man named "Shuhaib." He first exiled him to Karak in 741 AH/AD 1341, then decided to exile him again to Sarkhad. With the defamation of al-Nasir's women and amirs, he returned him to Karak once again.⁽²⁾

Amir Ahmed did not refrain from his passion for the young boys of Karak and his indulgence in wine. Amir Mulktamūr al-Serjiwani, the deputy of Karak, wrote to complain about him to Sultan Ala' al-Din Kujuk b. al-Nasir Muhammad (742 AH/AD 1341) who tried to bring him back to Egypt to exile him to Qūs in Upper Egypt with his brothers, but amir Ahmed declined and refused to come.⁽³⁾

Among the rulings of exile issued in the same context, there is also the ruling by Sultan al-Nasir Hassan b. Muhammad b. Qala'un in 755 AH/AD 1354 to exile the amir known as "Homous Akhdar" to Syria for his indulgence in playing.⁽⁴⁾

4.3 Exile for Political Plots and Mismanagement

The doubt about amirs' allegiance to the sultan was a sufficient reason for issuing a sentence of exile against them. There is - for example- the ruling issued by al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un to exile a group of Mamluks in 723 AH/AD 1323 because of a piece of paper found under the sultan's throne containing a reprimand and insult to him. He -therefore- exiled some of them, for he doubted

⁽¹⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 387; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, 9: 114.

⁽²⁾ AL-SHUJA'I., *Tarikh al-malik al-nasir*: 97; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 2: 515.

For more about the story of amir Ahmed and his beloved mamluk al-Shuhaib., see AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, I: 294–95.

⁽³⁾ AL-SHUJA'I., *Tarikh al-malik al-nasir*: 143–46; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 573; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, 10: 23–24.

⁽⁴⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 916.

his property to the sultan—the sentence was commuted to exile to Jerusalem on 27 Dhal al-Qa'da 781 AH/4 March AD 1380.⁽¹⁾ On the same day, amir Baraka withdrew his ruling against amir Karim al-Din Abd al-Karim b. al-Ruwaiheb to take off his clothes and to beat him, preferring to exile him to Tarsus.⁽²⁾

4.2 Exile for Crimes and Moral Offenses

The Mamluk era witnessed a number of crimes and moral offenses, mainly alcohol use and prostitution,⁽³⁾ and the Mamluk authorities exerted great efforts to eliminate them. One of the ways of dealing with these unlawful acts was to exile some of those caught, who were either amirs or members of the public. For example, in 667 AH/AD 1269, Sultan al-Zahir Baybars (658–76 AH/AD 1260–77) ordered the removal of alcohol and the abolition of corruption and taboos from Cairo and Egypt, as well as all immoral deeds, and he exiled many offenders.⁽⁴⁾

In the same context, Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un ordered the exile of amir Aqbūgha al-Hasani for drinking alcohol during the day of Ramadan 717 AH/November AD 1317, to Damascus. He thereafter decided to exile him to Safad.⁽⁵⁾

When Sharaf al-Din al-Nashu accused amir Alm al-Din Taybūgha al-Qasimi of bad behavior toward the sultan, al-Nasir accused him of passion for his mamluk, destroying his property, breaking into his home, and attacking his wives while he was drunk. Despite AL-MAQRIZI accusing al-Nashu of telling lies about the claims

(1)AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 370.

(2) Al-Maqrizi., *Op. Cit.*, III., 1: 370.

(3) See also: S. b. SA'D AL-MAKAZEEM., “Dirāsa fī-mawqif dawlat al-mamālik al-bahria tujah al-khamr bayn al-man' wa-l-tasahul.” *Journal of the Saudi Historical Society* 35 (2017): 59-115. And see: S. ALI MESELHI., “al-Bigha' fī-masr fī-al-asr al-mamlūkī., 648–923 AH/AD 1250–1517.” *Hawliat Adab Ain Shams.*, G 33 (Cairo: January–March 2005): 107–63.

(4)AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, I., 2: 578.

(5)AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 176; AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar.*, I: 392.

Damascus.⁽¹⁾ A sentence of exile was also issued as a relief for amir Aytmosh al-Jammdari' al-Nasiri, who was detained in Alexandria's prison, and went to Safad as an idle⁽²⁾ in Rabee' I (753 AH/April AD 1352).⁽³⁾

Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un arrested amir Shihab al-Din Sha'ban, the nephew of amir Saif al-Din Ulmas al-Hajeb, after the sultan was angered by the latter and killed him. He then exiled him to Gaza, where he stayed for a period until the sultan died. He then returned to Egypt and contacted amir Yalbūgha al-Yahyawī, with whom he began to move between Aleppo, Hama, and Damascus. During this period, he was imprisoned twice, and his sentence was commuted in both cases to exile. The first time, he was exiled to Safad, then released. Next, he went to Aleppo, where he was imprisoned for the second time, and then released once again. He came to Egypt and was arrested in 753 AH/AD 1352 to be exiled to Damascus. He died in 754 AH/AD 1353.⁽⁴⁾ Amir Arjun al-Kameli was also taken out of prison in Alexandria to be exiled to Jerusalem as an idle.⁽⁵⁾

The sentence of exile was used as a substitute for another, harsher sentence. For example, when amir Aytmosh al-Bajasi intervened to intercede for amir Karim al-Din Shaker b. Ghannam—after the Mamluk Sultanate obliged him to relinquish all

⁽¹⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 418–19; A. b. A. B. HAJAR. AL-ASQALANI., *al-Durar al-kamina fi-a'yan al-mia't al-thamina.*, ed. by M. A. AL-MU'AID KHAN (Hyderabad: *Majlis Da'rat al-Ma'arif al-Osmaniyya.*, 1972)., II: 218.

⁽²⁾ “THE IDLE” was a term used in the Mamluk state to denote the amir whose estate was removed as he was removed from his job and exiled. See: AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, 1: 37., footnote 2.

⁽³⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 859.

⁽⁴⁾ K. b. AIBAK AL-SAFADI., *Al-Wafi bi-l-wafiat.*, ed. by I. ABBAS., (Beirut: *al-Ma'had al-Almani.*, 1991)., 16: 153; AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, II., 3: 883., 905.

⁽⁵⁾AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., 1: 36; Y. b. TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Manhal al-Safi wa-al-moustawfi Ba'd al-wafi.*, 9., ed. by M. M. AMIN., (Cairo: *al-Haya' al-Misriyya al-'amma li-l-Kitab*): II: 322.

amir Ahmed, the son of amir Yalbūgha al-Omari, on the throne of the Sultanate. Amir Ainbuk rebuked him and said to him: “You are only successful in playing with doves, occupying yourself with the singing maids, and playing with lute, and (he) rebuked him and ordered him to be exiled to Qūs.”⁽¹⁾ Caliph al-Mutawakil halted in Ribat al-Âthar, outside Egypt, in preparation of his travel to Qūs. Twenty days later, amir Ainbuk summoned him again and forgave him and returned him to the caliphate on 24 Rabee’ I, 779 AH/30 July AD 1377.⁽²⁾

4. Exiling the Amirs and Senior Officials of the State

A number of amirs and senior officials of the Bahri Mamluk state were exposed to exile. This punishment was issued either by the sultan himself, if he was strong and in control of the state, or by the amir who was in charge of the state, even if he was not the sultan. The most important reasons behind exiling amirs and senior officials are discussed next.

4.1 Exile to Ease Prisoner’s Sentences

Exile was a means to ease the sentences of imprisoned amirs and senior officials by replacing the prison sentence with exile. An example is al-Nasir b. Qala’un’s order on 2 Ramadan 737 AH/3 April AD 1337 to release amir Torontai al-Muhammadi—after the latter had been imprisoned for twenty-seven years—and transfer him to Damascus, despite the enormity of the crime for which he was arrested, namely his participation in the killing of al-Ashraf Khalil b. Qala’un (689–93 AH/AD 1290–93).⁽³⁾ On the same day, Ala’ al-Din Ali b. Hilal al-Dawla was released by the intercession of Saif al-Din Tankiz, the deputy of the Levant, and exiled to

(1) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, III., S1: 309.

(2) AL-MAQRIZI., *Op. Cit.*, III., S1: 309; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, 11: 155.

(3) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 418; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, 9: 116.

Muslims and exposing their wives and children to captivity by saying: “I am informed that the King al-Nasir, the son of the king al-Mansūr, held the stick against the Muslims, dispersed their word, separated them, made their enemy covet them, exposed Syria and Egypt to the captivity of women and children and bloodshed, and that blood has been saved by Allah from that.”⁽¹⁾

On the contrary, the author of the book *The History of the Mamluk Sultans* disputes Caliph al-Mustaqafi’s authorship of the text of this decree and attributes it to the amirs, saying: “When Baybars al-Jashankir became a sultan, they got him from the house of amir Saif al-Din Salar to the castle, sat him on the throne of the Kingdom, made him sultan, wrote of the caliph’s inauguration of Baybars, and declared it on the minbars, while the caliph did not order any of this; but even if he said ‘no,’ they would not have made him stay, as he was sentenced to exile.”⁽²⁾

The reasons behind the caliph’s exile were what al-Nasir heard of his amusement in the house he built on the Nile on *Jazerat al-Feel*, his companionship with a beautiful Jummdari called “Abu Shama,”⁽³⁾ and what was attributed to his son, Sadaqah, about his relationship with some al-Nasir’s own people.⁽⁴⁾

Thus, it is possible to say that there are a number of reasons that led al-Nasir to exile Caliph al-Mustaqafi bi- Allah, the most prominent of which were his fear of some of his actions by which he intended to gain supporters through bestowals, his attempt to get out of the role assigned to him, his influence over people, and the rising of his sons’ fame among the public.

One of the exiled caliphs was Caliph al-Mutawakil Ala al-Allah Muhammad (763–79 AH/AD 1362–77), who was exiled to Qūs at the order of the great amir Aimbuk al-Badri on 4 Rabee’ I, 779 AH/July 10, AD 1377, for his refusal to attend the inauguration of

(1) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 66; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *Op. Cit.*, 8: 263.

(2) UNKNOWN., *Tarikh salatin al-mamalik.*, 138.

(3) “Al-Nasir Qala’un seized him., beat him., and exiled him to Safad. See AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 416.

(4) AL-SHUJA’I., *Tarikh al-malik al-nasir*: 14; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 416.

Rabee' Suleiman (701–37 AH/AD 1301–36) to the city of Qūs on 19 Dhu al-Hijjah, 737 AH/July 18, AD 1337, after he was sent to prison for fifteen months and seven days in Qala'at al-Jabal. He was released after the intervention of amir Qūsūn and accompanied his children and some of his family in exile. They totaled a hundred people, including the companion of amir Qutlutmar (Saif al-Din Qutlwa Tamarkli). The latter also advised al-Nasir, the governor of Qūs, to keep them.⁽¹⁾

The sources mentioned several reasons, accumulated over time, that prompted Sultan al-Nasir to issue the sentence of exile against Caliph al-Mustaqfi. The first was his anger with the caliph for pledging allegiance to al-Muzaffar Baybars al-Jashankir (708–9 AH/AD 1308–9) in the Sultanate (708 AH/AD 1308) and re-pledging allegiance to him in 709 AH/AD 1309, after al-Nasir abdicated the Sultanate and went to Karak.⁽²⁾ In addition, there was Caliph al-Mustaqfi's severe attack on al-Nasir Muhammad,⁽³⁾ which is mentioned in the inauguration decree that he addressed to al-Muzaffar Baybars. In it, he satirizes al-Nasir, saying: "Know, may God have mercy on you, that the king is a barren, not to be inherited by anyone, neither successor nor antecedent, nor great to great...".⁽⁴⁾ He also accused al-Nasir of dividing and separating

(1) UNKNOWN AUTHOR., *Tarikh salatin al-mamalik* (Leiden: Brill., 1919): 194; "S. AL-SHUJA'I", *Tarikh al-malik al-nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un al-salihi wa-awladih.*, ed. by B. Schefer (Wiesbaden: Franz Shtainer., 1398 AH/AD 1977) M: 14; "Al-Maqrizi", *al-Sulūk.*, II., 2: 416.

(2) "BAYBARS AL-MANSŪRI AL-DAWADAR", *al-Tuhfa al-mulukiyya fi-l-dawla al-turkiyya.*, ed. by A. S. HIMDAN (Cairo: al-Dar al-Misriyya al-Lubnaniyya., 1407 AH/AD 1987): 187 and its sequel; *Zubdat al-fikra fi-tarikh al-hijra.*, ed. D.S. RICHARDS (Beirut: Matba'at Mu'sasit Hasib Durgham wa-Awladih., 1419 AH/AD 1998): 403 and its sequel; AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 416.

(3) See the text of the Covenant by AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 65–66; Y. b. TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira fi' muluk Misr wa-al-Qahira* (Cairo: Matba'at Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya., 1351 AH/AD 1932) 8: 263.

(4) AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk.*, II., 1: 65; IBN TAGHRIBIRDI., *al-Nujum al-zahira.*, 8: 263.

Al-Malik al-Mo'azam, Isa, also used the penalty of exile for espionage against the Byzantine Empire. He exiled one of the monks of al-Shobak to Byzantium in order to know the Emperor's news without being harmed there, and to deceive the enemy by thinking that they were infuriated in the Islamic lands. The monk returned from exile one year later, and the great king recommended the governor of Shobak to give him land to live from and a hundred dinars.⁽¹⁾

Sultan al-Kamel Mohammed ordered the exile of Mohammed b. Ismail, nicknamed, al-Shams, from Egypt; the latter went to Damascus. The reasons for his exile were possibly his wickedness, the slander of his tongue, and adultery.⁽²⁾

3. Exiling the Abbasid Caliphs

Al-Zahir, Baybars, formally revived the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt in 659 AH/AD 1260, when eight Abbasids took over the caliphate of the Bahri Mamluk state. Despite their nominal influence, they were formally on the top of the political pyramid in the Mamluk state and were, therefore, under close surveillance by the Mamluk sultans, who granted them only limited residence and mobility. When the sultans felt that the Abbasids would deviate from the general political line, they issued sentences of exile against them.

Thus, the caliphs of Banu al-Abbas were among those who were exiled by the Mamluk sultans, and Qūs⁽³⁾ was their main exile during the reign of the Bahri Mamluk state.⁽⁴⁾ Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un exiled Caliph al-Musta'fi bi-Allah Abu al-

(1) AL-JAWZI., *Mira't al-zaman.*, 22: 238.

(2) AL-JAWZI., *Op. Cit.*, 22: 196–97.

(3) The large City of Qūs is a town of Upper Egypt., whose people have vast wealth. It was a destination for merchants coming from Aden and was very hot because of its closeness to the southern countries. See: "Y. AL-HAMAWI", *Ma'ajim al-buldan.*, (Beirut: Dar Sader., 1994): 4: 413.

(4) It should be noted that the selection of the City of Qūs as a place of exile for many amirs and senior officials is remarkable. One possible reason is its remoteness from the center of governance in Cairo., and it is easy to reach by the Nile in case of emergency. In addition., its harsh climate and way of life were considered a new punishment for the exiled person., and the strong grip that the mamluks had on it and the ease of controlling the exiled played a role as well.

important case of exile in this state was that of al-Afdal, Ali Ibn Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, from Damascus to Sarkhad in 592 AH/AD 1196,⁽¹⁾ and the king al-Mansūr b. Abd el-Aziz Othman in 596 AH/AD 1200.⁽²⁾

The sentence of exile by Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (567–89 AH /AD 1174–93) against the poet Sharaf al-Din b. Aunin was one of the most prominent penalties of exile against poets in the era of this state and was due to the latter's satire of a group of the greatest statesmen of the Salahdiyya state. These included the judge al-Fadel Abd el-Rahim al-Bisani (526–96 AH/AD 1132–1200), who replied to the exile sentence by narrating verses of poetry that are said to have been written on a nut tree in Damascus:⁽³⁾

*What you are dismissing a trusted brother for...
no sin or theft he committed*

*Dismiss the muezzin out of your country... since
who tells truth is to be exiled*

In 616 AH/AD 1219, al-Malik al-Mo'azam Isa exiled amir Ahmed b. Ali b. al-Mashtoub from Egypt to Syria after getting information that confirmed the latter's intention to overthrow al-Malik al-Kamel Mohammed and have him replaced by his brother, al-Malik al-Fa'iz Ibrahim. The great king intervened as he knew that his brother, al-Malik al-Kamel, would be unable to face this conspiracy, and decided to remove Ibn al-Mashtoub from the course of events in Egypt by exiling him to Syria.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) A. b. M. b. AL-ATHEER., *al-Kamil fi al-tarikh.*, 10. (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi., 2012): 140–42; A. b. M. b. KHALKAN., *Wafiat al-a'yan wa-anba' abna' al-zaman.*, 3., ed. by I. Abbas (Beirut: Dar Sader., 1978): 419–421.
- (2) A. b. ALI AL-MAQRIZI., *al-Sulūk li ma'rifat dual al-muluk.*, ed. by M. M. ZIYADA and S. A. ASHÜR (Cairo: Dar al-kutub al-masriyya., 1956): I., 153.
- (3) M. b. S. IBN WASEL., *Mufarij al-kurub fi 'akhbar bani Ayyub.*, 5. ed. by G. a. Shayyal- et al. (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Amiriyya., 1957): 41; IBN KHALKAN., *Wafiat al-a'yan.*, 5: 14.
- (4) S. b. AL-JAWZI., *Mira't al-zaman.*, ed. I. AL-ZAYBAQ., 22. (Damascus: al-Hijaz., 2013): 238; A. b. AIBAK AL-DAWDARY., *Kinz al-durār wa jami' al-ghurar.*, ed. by U. Harman et al. (Cairo: German Institute of Archeology., 1391 AH/AD 1971): 7: 199., 200.

abovementioned categories had reasons that resided in the opinion of the person who issued the sentence.

The reader will note that I did not tackle the exile of the Bahri Mamluk sultans, for this subject has been covered in another study.⁽¹⁾ This study complements what that study started by discussing the reasons and nature of the exile of these important classes of society.

The research problem lies in studying the penalty of exile in the era of the Bahri Mamluk state in terms of its causes, events and political and social effects. In addition to identifying the groups around which this punishment revolved, and comparing these groups to each other in terms of the prevalence of this punishment on one group without another within the Mamluk society, in addition to knowing the places to which exile was carried out, and the indications of choosing these places without others, then identifying the Details of the life they were living in their last exile.

2. Approach

Linguistically, exile refers to exclusion and expulsion, but in terms of terminology, there are three meanings: (1) Displacement to other countries, chasing, and prosecution; (2) imprisonment and confinement; and (3) deportation to and imprisonment in another country.⁽²⁾

Exile is a legal sanction approved by Islamic law for a number of crimes, such as adultery, theft, robbery, and apostasy.⁽³⁾ This research looks at the exile of several important figures in the Mamluk era. Before we proceed, I provide an historical overview of some cases of exile in the Ayyubid state (569–648 AH/AD 1174–1250), which preceded the Mamluk state. The first and most

(1) S. b. SA'D AL-MAKAZEEM., "Nafi salatin al-mamalik al-bahriyya." *Darah Journal* 3 (2019).

(2) *Al-Mawsu'a Al-Fiqhia Al-Kuwaitiyya.*, Xxxxi (Kuwait: Wizarat Al-Awqāf Wa-Shuw'wn Al-Islamia., 2002): 118.

(3) O. M. AL-HAMAWI., "Ūqubat al-nafi (Comparative Study in Islamic Jurisprudence and Law)". *Majalat Jami'at Dimashq* 19., no. 2 (2003): 497.

Abstract

This article discusses sentences of exile issued by political authorities in the state of the Bahri Mamluks. The penalty of exile was used to control conquered populations and was imposed on caliphs, amirs, and senior scientists and officials of the state. Reasons differed according to rulers' objectives and included limiting crimes and moral offenses, tightening control of the government, and removing rivals from the center of government in Cairo.

First, an approach and historical background are discussed, followed by the exile of the Abbasid caliphs, amirs and senior officials of the state, and scientists. Before concluding, life in exile is considered.

Keywords: Exile; State of Bahri Mamluks; Political Conflict; Caliphs; Senior State Officials.

1. Introduction

The state of the Bahri Mamluks was one of the most important states in the Islamic Mashriq, as it assumed the responsibility of defending the Islamic presence in both Egypt and Syria. With the fall of the Abbasid caliphate in 656 AH/AD 1258, it became the shelter that restored the influence of the Abbasid caliphate, even if nominally.

The state of the Bahri Mamluks had a feudal military base and relied primarily on force. Its political conflicts therefore had a bloody character. What alleviated this and created an outlet for political tension was the punishment of exile, which—although it had its origins in Islamic law as punishment for some crimes—predominantly means political exile in this research, even though there are different categories of exiled persons, including caliphs, amirs⁽¹⁾, senior state officials, or scientists.

The stated aim of exile was to maintain security and peace and to fight strife.⁽²⁾ In practice, however, each case of exile in the

(1) The method used in transliterating Arabic names into English in this research is the "Arabica method", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*.

(2) As long as the offence committed by the exiled person did not deserve the death penalty.



The Role of Exile in the Era of the Bahri Mamluks (1250 – 1382)

دَوْرُ الْمَنْفَى فِي عَصْرِ الْمَمْلُوكِ الْبَحْرِيِّينَ (١٢٥٠ – ١٣٨٢)

Sami S. Abdulla Al-Makazeem (*)

ملخص

وظفت السلطة السياسية في دولة المماليك البحرية عقوبة النفي بما يتلاءم مع تطبيق نظريتها في الحكم التي تقوم على تطويع الغالب للأسباب الممكنة حتى يفرض كلمته على المغلوب، وكان من بين هذه الأسباب إصدار أحكام النفي ضد الخلفاء والأمراء وكبار موظفو الدولة من العلماء والمعممين.

اختلفت بواعث هذه الأحكام تبعاً لتفاوت أهداف الذين أصدروها، فمن راغب في الحد من الجرائم والمفاسد الأخلاقية، إلى راغب في تشديد القبضة والإمساك بزمام الأمور في إدارة شؤون الحكم، وآخر يرغب في إبعاد منافسه من مركز الحكم بالقاهرة، إلى غير ذلك من أهداف.

تمت دراسة الموضوع في ضوء بعض العناصر التي تناولت: مدخلاً عن الخلفية التاريخية للنفي، ثم نفي الخلفاء، ويليه نفي الأمراء وكبار موظفي الدولة، فنفي العلماء وبواعثه، وأخيراً تناولت الحياة في المنفى.

الكلمات الدلالية: النفي، دولة المماليك البحرية، الصراع السياسي، الخلفاء، العلماء، كبار موظفو الدولة.

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