

نهضة النصارى

في سيرة الملك الناصر

— Yusufi (f) —

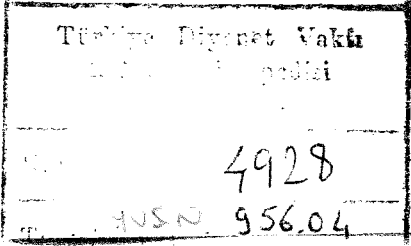
تأليف

موسى بن محمد بن يحيى اليوسفي

ت ٧٥٩ / ١٣٥٨

تحقيق ودراسة

الدكتور أحمد مطيط



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« الحلقة المنصورة » في الجيش المملوكي المقيم في القاهرة ، ومع أننا لا نعرف على وجه الدقة تاريخ توليه لمنصبه هذا ، لكن على الأقل بإمكاننا القول أنه لم يكن قبل سنة ٧٢٥ / ١٣٢٥ ، ففي هذه السنة شارك المؤرخ في الحملة المملوكية إلى اليمن^(١) . ويبدو أنه قام بدور بارز في هذه الحملة حيث أرسله الأمير ركن الدين بيبرس الحاجب ، مقدم العساكر ، لمفاوضة والي مدينة تعز اليمنية قبل دخول الجيش المملوكي إليها . وما يشير إلى وظيفته العسكرية أيضاً مشاركته سنة ٦٩٩ / ١٣٠٠ ، في وقعة وادي الخزندار^(٢) ، ضد التتار وهي معركة انتهت بهزيمة الجيش المملوكي ودخول قازان إلى دمشق ، وكذلك مشاركته في غزو بلاد الأرمن^(٣) ما بين ٧٣٧ - ٧٣٨ / ١٣٣٧ ، حيث قدم لنا معلومات فريدة عنها ، سوف يكون لنا وقفة عندها في إطار دراستنا لمحتويات الكتاب .

ولم أقع لليوسفي إلا على ترجمتين إحداهما للصفدي^(٤) والأخرى لابن حجر^(٥) . قال فيه الصفدي^(٦) : « كان مشهوراً بالبروءة ، معروفاً بالعصبية التي هي في حنايا جوارحه مخبوءة ، يصحب الكبار ويخالطهم بالموودة ويكابر ، ويلزم صحبة الأعيان ويشابر ، فلم تفته صحبة رب سيف أو قلم ، ولا حامل علم ولا رافع علم ، يتقرب إليهم بالخدم ، ويسعى على رأسه في قضاياهم لاعلى القدم » حتى صح فيه قول الشاعر^(٧) :

- (١) عن أخبار هذه الحملة ، انظر: العيني ١٧/٢٩١١ : ٢-١٣ ، أبو الفدا ، المختصر ٤ : ٩٤ ؛ ابن السدوداري ، الدرر الساسر : ٩ : ١٥-١٨ ، ودرر التيجان : ٦١٧-٦١٨ ؛ المقرئزي ، السلوك ٣/١ : ٨٨٦-٨٩٧ .
- (٢) أبو الفدا ، المختصر ٤ : ٤٢-٤٤ ؛ المقرئزي ، السلوك ٣/١ : ٨٨٦-٨٨٨ .
- (٣) المخطوط : ١٤٩-١٥١ ، ١٦٥-١٨٣ .
- (٤) الصفدي ، أعيان العصر ، نسخة دار الكتب المصرية ١٠٩١ : ٢١٥-٢١٧ .
- (٥) ابن حجر ، الدرر الكامنة ٤ : ٣٨١ .
- (٦) الصفدي ، المصدر السابق : ٢١٥ .
- (٧) المصدر نفسه : ٢١٥ .

العام^(١) ، وكتب التراجم^(٢) والسير^(٣) .

ولما كان الناصر محمد الشخصية الاسلامية البارزة في ذلك العصر ، لذا لم يكن غريباً أن تستأثر انجازاته ونشاطاته باهتمام معاصريه المؤرخين ، فأطال أصحاب الموسوعات التاريخية في سرد أخباره^(٤) ، حين اختار فريق آخر من المؤرخين^(٥) تأليف كتب مستقلة قائمة بذاتها عن سيرة^(٦) السلطان ، ومن هذا الفريق المؤرخ موسى اليوسفي .

٢ - اليوسفي المؤرخ :

أ - حياته :

هو موسى بن محمد بن يحيى اليوسفي المصري ، عماد الدين ، المعروف بابن الشيخ يحيى . ولد بالقاهرة سنة ٦٧٦ / ١٢٧٧^(٧) ، آخر سنة من حكم الملك الظاهر بيبرس ، وتوفي بها في أوائل سنة ٧٥٩ / ١٣٥٨ .

ويؤخذ مما يقوله الصفدي ، معاصره ، أن اليوسفي كان مقدماً في

(١) و(٤) كالتنويري (غاية الأرب في فنون الأدب) ، والذهبي (تاريخ الإسلام) ، وابن كثير (البداية والنهاية في التاريخ) .

(٢) كالذهبي (سير أعلام النبلاء) ، والصفدي (الوافي بالوفيات) ، وابن شاعر (فوات الوفيات) .

(٣) و(٥) كابن الدواداري (الدرر الفاخر في سيرة الملك الناصر) ، وابن حبيب (تذكرة النبيه في أيام المنصور وبنه) ، والشجاعي (تاريخ الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون الصالح) .

(٦) وعن فن كتابة السير وأهميتها كمصادر للتاريخ العربي يقول المؤرخ جيب (GIBB) :

« إن نبوغ العرب الحقيقي في علم تدوين التاريخ يتجل في كتابة السير أكثر من تجليه في رواية الأخبار . »

انظر : دائرة المعارف الاسلامية : مادة « تاريخ » ، م ٤ ، ص ٥٠٣ .

(٧) كذلك ورد عند الصفدي في أعيان العصر ، نسختي أحمد الثالث ، رقم ٣٠١٠ (٤٩) ورئيس الكتاب رقم ٥٨٩ (ص ٢١٦) وهو مخالف لما ورد في نسخة آيا - صوفيا (١٥٤) وحيث ذكر أن ولادته كانت سنة ٦٩٦ ، ونقل عنها ابن حجر ، درر ٤ : ٣٨١ والمراجع الحديثة . أما سبب ترجيحنا لسنة ٦٧٦ فهو ما ذكر عن مشاركة المؤرخ في معركة وادي الخزندار سنة ٦٩٩ .

THE RECOVERY OF A LOST SOURCE FOR BĀHRĪ MAMLŪK HISTORY:
AL-YŪSUFĪ'S NUZHAT AL-NĀẒIR FĪ SĪRAT AL-MALĪK AL-NĀẒĪR.

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Ayasofya MS 3434, entitled and catalogued as a part of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār*, proves to be a fragment covering the years 733-38 *hiḥr* of al-Yūsuff's *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāẓir*, known heretofore only from references in biographical and bibliographical sources and from citations in later chronicles. Collation of the fragments with al-'Aynī's *Iqd al-Jumān* and al-Maqrizī's *Sulūk* shows that the *Nuzha* was the chief source for both these chronicles for the years in question. A hitherto unknown biography of al-Yūsuff in al-Ṣafadī's *A'yūn al-'Aṣr* along with autobiographical data contained in the *Nuzha* allows a determination of al-Yūsuff's accessibility to high-ranking eyewitness informants. The *Nuzha* is highly significant as a source for the reign of the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāẓir Muḥammad Ibn Qalā'ūn (reigned 693-741) on the basis of al-Yūsuff's detailed accounts, his frequent identification of his informants, and the unavailability of many other sources for the later part of al-Nāẓir's reign. Most significant, however, is the fact that al-Yūsuff emerges as the only contemporary historian who was critical of the sultan and his reign.

I. INTRODUCTION

IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED SOME SIXTY-FIVE YEARS ago on Arabic historical manuscripts found in various libraries in the Middle East, Josef Horowitz pointed out that one of the volumes (No. 3434)¹ in the Ayasofya set of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's (d. 749 H.) famous encyclopedia *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* seemed to belong to another, unidentified work. Although the title page, Horowitz noted, declares the manuscript to be Part XXIX (or, elsewhere on the same page, Part XXII) of the *Masālik*, "the volume contains no other indication that it belongs to *Masālik al-Abṣār*; even the handwriting differs from that of the other volumes. This volume treats the history of Syria in the Mongol period (?)."² This clue to the existence of an unidentified manuscript of possible value to Mongol and Mamlūk studies has been ignored by scholars who have concerned themselves with these two branches of Islamic history. There is no reference to this volume, for

example, in the massive work devoted by Klaus Lech to al-'Umarī's section on the history of the Mongol Empire,³ and a recent study on the Egyptian system of finances in the Middle Ages cites the volume as an integral part of al-'Umarī's encyclopedia.⁴ In my own work on the historians of the reign of al-Malik al-Nāẓir Muḥammad Ibn Qalā'ūn (693-741), I had confined my research on al-'Umarī to the annalistic and biographical sections of his encyclopedia⁵ and failed, unfortunately, to examine A. S. 3434 until the winter of 1972. At that time a look at the manuscript confirmed Horowitz's judgment that the volume does not belong to the *Masālik*, from which it differs markedly in terms of format and style, quite apart from considerations of such technical, and variable, matters as script. But Horowitz's opinion, which he guarded with a question mark, that the manuscript contains a history of the

³ *Das mongolische Weltreich: al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche* . . . , Wiesbaden, 1968.

⁴ Hassanain Rable, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564-741, A.D. 1169-1341*, London, 1972, pp. 89, n. 2; 137, n. 5.

⁵ *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Islamic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāẓir*, Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 40, 66.

Mongols in Syria turns out to be wrong. Although the work does contain reports on the Mongols in Syria and elsewhere, these fall in the general context of a history of the reign of the Egyptian sultan mentioned above, i.e., al-Malik al-Nāẓir, who was probably the most important single Bāhri Mamlūk ruler of Egypt and Syria after Baybars (658-76). The fact that the volume begins without any preliminaries other than a *bismillāh*, in *medias res*—in the middle of the year 733—would throw the hurried reader off the track, but it soon becomes apparent that this manuscript contains a chronicle beginning with 733 and continuing through mid-738. In format it is a conventional chronicle, in that each year is divided into *ḥawādith*, or reports on events arranged more or less in chronological order, and *waḥayāt*, or obituaries of notables who died in the course of the year. Since there is no indication in the work itself of the name of the author or the title of the chronicle of which it forms a part, the identity of the work had to be established by collating it with corresponding sections of other chronicles of the Mamlūk era, of which, it is well known, there are many. However, this task proved to be considerably lighter than it may sound because, quite by accident, I was working at the same time on the Topkapı manuscripts of al-'Aynī's (d. 855) fifteenth century history, *Iqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rikh Ahl al-Zamān*,⁶ having discovered that the Topkapı volumes contain a much fuller version of al-'Aynī's annals for 726-745 than was previously known to exist.⁷ Therefore, I was able to recognize that the passages frequently and extensively quoted by al-'Aynī in his annals for 733-38 and attributed by him to "Ṣāhib al-Nuzha" were always similar to, and sometimes identical in phrasing with, those of A.S. 3434. Indeed, collation proves, beyond doubt, that A.S. 3434 contains a copy of

⁶ Ahmet III MSS 2911/a17 for the years 725-45; 2911/c31 for 736-46, and 2912/4 for 624-735, 797-850. As far as has been determined the text of all three volumes is practically the same.

⁷ Previously I had used Dār al-Kutub MS 1584, Parts LVII-LXIV, *ma'arif 'amma* (Introduction, pp. 80-87), the last part of which apparently corresponds to Vellyeddin Efendi MS, Beyazit Kütüphanesi 2395. For a discussion of some of the Istanbul manuscripts of *Iqd al-Jumān*, see Barbara Schäfer, *Beiträge zur mamlukischen Historiographie nach dem Tode al-Malik an-Nāẓirs mit einer Teiledition der Chronik Šams ad-Din as-Suḡdī's*, Freiburg, 1971, pp. 46-58, especially pp. 48-49, n. 3.

the principal source used by al-'Aynī for the reign of al-Nāẓir, heretofore considered to be lost. Therefore I shall refer hereafter to the Ayasofya MS by its correct name: *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāẓir*.

Not surprisingly, Franz Rosenthal was the first Western scholar to call attention in print to the existence of a work entitled *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir* in the second edition of his *History of Muslim Historiography*. There he refers in a footnote⁸ to the five references to this work by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 842), in his *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, wherein Ibn Ḥajar identifies the author as al-Yūsuff and records such biographical data as were known to him.^{9a} These references were called to my attention by a colleague, Dr. Ulrich Haarmann,⁹ in time for me to identify al-'Aynī's "Ṣāhib" as Ibn Ḥajar's Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Yahyā al-Yūsuffi, known as Ibn al-Shaykh Yahyā, in the published version of my *Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*.¹⁰ Later research indicates that the work cited by al-'Aynī as *Kitāb Sīrat al-Nāẓir* probably refers to al-Yūsuff's *Nuzha* also.¹¹

As I have shown in my *Introduction*, al-Yūsuff's work is one of the three key sources for the early reign of al-Malik al-Nāẓir from one or all of which all other Mamlūk historians freely borrowed.¹² On the basis of a comparative analysis of passages from the *Nuzha* quoted or paraphrased in al-'Aynī's *Iqd*, it was demonstrated that al-Yūsuff consistently recorded original material not to be found in other sources.¹³ The discovery of a portion of the original text covering years toward the end of the same sultan's reign, as well as discovery of additional biographical material, permits a fuller and more accurate description of al-Yūsuff and his work and a more meaningful estimate of the significance of the *Nuzha* for Mamlūk history. First, however, the relationship between *Nuzhat*

⁸ Leiden, 1968, p. 499, n. 4.

^{9a} *Al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yūn al-Mī'a al-Thāmina*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, V, Cairo, 1966, 52-53. Ibn Ḥajar's data on al-Yūsuff as author of *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir* were copied by Ḥājjī Khalifa in his *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asmā' al-Kutub wal-Funūn*, 11, Istanbul, 1943, pp. 1947-48.

⁹ Cf. his *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg, 1969, pp. 88, 156, and Schäfer, *Beiträge*, p. 26.

¹⁰ Pp. 81-82.

¹¹ Schäfer, *Beiträge*, p. 27.

¹² Pp. 94-99.

¹³ *Introduction*, pp. 81-86.