

are instructed to travel by sea; Qalāwūn did not intend to give them the opportunity for espionage as they approached the heartlands of his realm. The negotiations lasted from their arrival in April until the conclusion of the treaty on 3 June, as indicated in its text. The two named envoys remain unidentified, and it is not clear what offices are intended by their titles. It is possible that Fahd (meaning "cheetah") was not a personal name but indicated the *wazīr*'s armorial bearings.

Shāfi' b. 'Alī's more rhetorical account adds little of substance beyond a muddled list of the names of the Frankish leaders in Acre, and the important detail that the sultan discussed the proposed truce with the amirs of his council, and pointed out the economic advantages of relations with the Latin kingdom:

He said, "For Acre is a caravanserai to which our merchants resort, a place from which comes a wider range of choice for us."¹³

It was this truce which Qalāwūn abrogated in 689/1290, on hearing of an incident in Acre involving the death of some Muslims. After his death the city was taken, and the Latin kingdom brought to an end by his son and successor, al-Ashraf Khalil, in 690/1291.

The text of the treaty has been published in three sources. The earliest is the contemporary *Tashrif* of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir at pp. 34–43. A second version is given by Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) in his *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, VII, 262–70. The third and fullest text is that transmitted by al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ*, XIV, 51–63. Ibn al-Furāt also gives the oath, of ratification (pp. 270–2), as does al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 311–14. Of these, Ibn al-Furāt's is the better text. Quatremère gives the Arabic text from *Tashrif*, and a French translation in *Sultans mamlouks*, II/i, 179–85 and 224–35 respectively. An English translation of an Italian translation appears in Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab historians of the Crusades*, London 1969, 326–31.

The following translation is of the version in *Ṣubḥ*, collated with the other two texts.

Text of the treaty

- [1] Truce is established between our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Malikī al-Ṣāliḥī and his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (may God make their power eternal);

¹³ *Faql*, f. 117b.

And the authorities in the kingdom of Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and their territory upon which this truce is concluded: to wit, the Seneschal Odo, *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre, the Master Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Order of the Templars, Master Nicholas Lorgne, Master of the Order of the Hospitallers, the Marshal Brother Conrad, Deputy Master of the Teutonic Order;¹⁴

For the period of ten whole years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, beginning on Thursday, 5 Rabi' I, A.H. 682, corresponding to 3 Ḥazirān 1594 from the conquest of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek;¹⁵

[2] Upon all the territory of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and of his son, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn 'Alī, which is in their realm and under their jurisdiction and obedience, and what is in their possession this day, being all the regions, provinces, strongholds, fortresses, districts, towns, villages, cultivated fields and lands: to wit,¹⁶

- [a] The province of Egypt (may God Most High guard it), its ports, strongholds and Islamic fortresses;
 - the port of divinely-guarded Damietta;
 - the port of divinely-guarded Alexandria;
 - Nastarawa;
 - Santariyya and the harbours, coasts and mainlands pertaining thereto;
 - the port of Fuwwa;
 - the port of Rosetta;
- [b] The Ḥijāzī territory;
- [c] The divinely-guarded port of Gaza and its accompanying harbours and territory;

¹⁴ The Frankish names are given reasonably clearly in *Tashrif* and Ibn al-Furāt. The text in *Ṣubḥ* is here very corrupt.

¹⁵ The *Hijrī* date corresponds to 3 June 1283.

¹⁶ The list of Qalāwūn's possessions as given here comprises:

[a] Egypt with its principal ports (*thughūr*; cf. No. 2, n. 14).

[b] The Ḥijāz, over which the Mamluk sultans exercised suzerainty.

[c]–[j] Territories and strongholds conquered in the past from the Latin kingdom. These territories and the rest of the kingdom, conquered in 690/1291, ultimately formed part of the province of Damascus [k], as did the former Ayyubid principality of Ḥimṣ [l].

[m] The province of Ḥamāh, under which are listed territories and strongholds taken from the county of Tripoli.

[n] The province of Aleppo, under which are listed the territories of the principality of Antioch.

- [d] The province of al-Karak and al-Shawbak and its districts;
al-Salt and its districts;
Buṣrā and its districts;
- [e] The province of the territory of al-Khalil (the blessings of God be upon him and peace) [Hebron];
- [f] The province of Jerusalem the August and its districts;
Jordan and Bethlehem, its districts and territory, all included in it and ascribed to it;
Bayt Jibrīl;
- [g] The province of Nablus and its districts;
- [h] The province of al-Aṭrūn and its districts;
Ascalon, its districts, harbours and coastlands;
- [i] The province of Jaffa and al-Ramla and its harbour;
Caesarea, its harbour, coastlands and districts;
Arsūf and its districts;
the stronghold of Qāqūn, its districts and territory;
Lydda and its districts;
the districts of al-ʿAwjā and their accompanying salt-pans;
the Fortunate Conquests, their districts and cultivated fields;
Baysān, its districts and territory;
al-Ṭūr and its districts;
al-Lajjūn and its districts;
Jinīn and its districts;
ʿAyn Jālūt and its districts;
al-Qaymūn and its districts, and what appertains to it;
Tiberias, its lake, districts and what accompanies it;
- [j] The province of Ṣafad and what appertains to it;
Tibnīn, Hūnīn and their accompanying territory and districts;
the divinely-guarded Shaqīf, known as Shaqīf Arnūn, its accompanying territory and districts, and what appertains to it;
the territory of al-Qarn and what accompanies it, apart from what is specified in this blessed truce:
- half of the town of Iskandarūna;
half of the estate of Mārun [?]
with its ploughland, vineyards,
orchards and dues;
other dues of the said Iskandarūna shall with all its boundaries and territory belong to the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and

to his son as to one half, and
the other half to the kingdom
of Acre;

- al-Biqā' al-‘Azīzī and its districts;
Mashgharā and its districts;
Shaqīf Tīrūn and its districts;
the caverns as a whole, Zalāyā and elsewhere;
Bāniyās and its districts;
the stronghold of al-Ṣubayba and its districts, and its accompa-
nying lakes and districts;
Kawkab, its districts and what accompanies it;
the stronghold of ‘Ajlūn and its districts;
- [k] Damascus and the Damascene province (may God Most High
guard it), and its strongholds, territory, provinces and districts;
the divinely-guarded stronghold of Ba‘labakk, what accompanies
it, and its districts;
- [l] The province of Ḥimṣ and its districts and boundaries;
- [m] The divinely-guarded province of Ḥamāh, its town, citadel, ter-
ritory and boundaries;
Balāṭunus and its districts;
Ṣahyūn and its districts;
Burzayh and its districts;
the Conquests of the divinely-guarded Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and its
districts;
Ṣafīthā and its districts;
Mī‘ār and its districts;
al-‘Urayma and its districts;
Qadfiyā and its districts;
Maraqīyya and its districts;
Ḥalbā and its districts;
al-Qulay‘a and its districts;
Ḥiṣn ‘Akkār and its districts and territory;
the castle of Shayzar and its districts;
Afāmiyya and its districts;
Jabala and its districts;
Abū Qubays and its districts;
- [n] The province of Aleppo and the strongholds, towns, territory and
fortresses annexed thereto;
Antioch, its districts and what is included in the blessed Con-
quests;

Baghrās and its districts;
 al-Darbsāk and its districts;
 al-Rāwandān and its districts;
 ‘Ayntāb and its districts;
 Hārim and its districts;
 Tizīn and its districts;
 Shih al-Ḥadīd and its districts;
 Qal‘at Najm and its districts;
 Shaqīf Darkūsh and its districts;
 al-Shughr and its districts;
 Bakās and its districts;
 al-Suwaydā’ and its districts;
 al-Bāb and Buzā‘ā and their districts;
 al-Bīra and its districts;
 al-Raḥba and its districts;
 Salamiyya and its districts;
 Shumaymis and its districts;
 Tadmur and its districts, and what appertains to it;
 and everything of the territory appertaining to our lord the Sultan
 and to his son, whether specified or unspecified in this blessed truce;

[3] And upon all the soldiers and all the civilians of the whole of the people in their entirety, of their various kinds and different groups, nations and religions; the residents therein, and the wayfarers passing to and fro from all the lands of the Muslims; and upon all the merchants, travellers and wayfarers passing to and fro by land and sea, plain and mountain, by night and day;

They shall be safe and secure both in going out and coming in, in respect of themselves, their chattels, their children, their women-folk, their goods, their servants, their followers, their cattle, their beasts of burden, all belonging to them, and everything in their possession of whatever kind;

From the authorities in the kingdom of Acre: to wit, the *Bailli* of the kingdom there, the Master Brother William of Beaujeu, Master of the Order of the Templars, Master Brother Nicholas Lorgne, Master of the Order of Hospitallers, Brother Conrad, Deputy Master of the Teutonic Order, and from all the Franks, the Brethren and the knights who are under their obedience and included in their coastal kingdom; and from all the various Franks who have made their homes in Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce; and from all arriving there by land and sea, of whatever nations and groups.

[4] The territory of the Sultan and his son, their fortresses, castles, territory, estates, soldiery, armies, Arabs, Turcomans, Kurds and civilians of whatever nations and groups; the cattle, chattels, produce and other things in their possession, shall suffer no treachery or evil. They shall not fear from any of them a wrongful act, raid, interference or harm. And likewise whatever territory, fortresses, castles, allods, districts and provinces by land and sea, plain and mountain, our lord the Sultan and his son shall conquer and annex by their own hands and the hand of their representatives and soldiery.

[5] Likewise all the coastal territory of the Franks upon which this truce is now established: to wit,¹⁷

[a] the city of Acre, its orchards, lands, mills, its property of vineyards, dues belonging to it in the vicinity, and settlements¹⁸ as confirmed to it in this truce: to wit,

al-Baṣa and its cultivable land,

Majdal Ḥamṣīn, Ra's 'Abduh, al-Manawāth and their cultivable land,

al-Kabira and its cultivable land,

Half of Waqiyya,

Ja'thūn,

Kafr Baradā and its cultivable land,

Kawkab,

'Amqā and its cultivable land,

al-Mūnya,

Kafr Yāsif and its cultivable lands,

Būsinān,

Makr Ḥarsīn and its cultivable land,

al-Judayada,

al-'Ayadiyya;

al-'Aytāwiyya,

Barqūqa,

al-Ḥārithiyya,

Thamrā,

al-Ṭira,

al-Zib,

¹⁷ For the identification and correct form of place-names in this section, see the very important article by Dan Barag, 'A new source concerning the ultimate borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem'. *Israel Exploration Journal*, 29, 1979, 197-217.

¹⁸ Settlements: here and below *bilād*; elsewhere translated "territory".

al-Yānuḥiyya and its cultivable land,
 al-Faraj and its cultivable land,
 al-Mazra‘a,
 al-Samiriyya al-Bayḍā’,
 Da‘ūq and the mill,
 Kurdāna and the mill,
 Jadrūl,
 Tall al-Naḥl,
 al-Fār;
 al-Rukh,
 al-Majdal,
 Tall Kisān,
 al-Dāmūn;
 Sāsā al-Siyāsiyya,
 al-Shubayka,
 al-Mushayrifa,
 al-Qaṭrāniyya,
 al-Munāyir,
 Iklil,
 Hariyā Sayf al-Gharbiyya,
 Hūsha,
 al-Zirā‘a al-Jadīda al-Shamāliyya,¹⁹
 al-Raḥāḥiyya,
 Quṣṭa,
 Kafr Nabīd;
 al-Duwayrāt,
 Māṣūb,
 Mīmās,
 al-‘Abbāsiyya,
 Shifāya,
 ‘Ayn al-Malik,
 al-Manṣūra,
 al-Ruṣayfa,
 Ḥabāṭā,
 Sarṭā,
 Kafr Ātā,

¹⁹ The new northern cultivation: perhaps a description rather than a place-name—*al-zirā‘a al-jadīda al-shamāliyya*, rendered by Barag, “the cultivated area of Judeidah al-Shamāliyah” (pp. 202, 206).

Arḍ al-Zirā'a,²⁰
 Ruways,
 Ṣaghad 'Adī,
 Shafa 'Amr.

These settlements as mentioned shall be the property of the Franks.

[b] Haifa and all its vineyards and orchards, the castle which is the enclosure, and Kafr Tūthā, [and the settlements as confirmed in its possession in this truce]:²¹ to wit,

al-Kanīsa,
 al-Ṭira,
 al-Sa'ba,
 al-Sa'āda,
 al-Ma'r,
 al-Yājūr,
 Sūmarā.

Haifa and these settlements as mentioned with their boundaries and lands shall be the property of the Franks.

[c] Likewise Qiryat Mārīnā as known there, and its vineyards and plantations shall be the property of the Franks.

[d] Likewise Dayr al-Siyāḥ and Dayr Mār Ilyās with their lands as known, their vineyards and orchards, shall be the property of the Franks.

[e] Provided that the Sultan shall have of the settlements of Carmel [as property 'Isfiyā and al-Manṣūra; the rest of the settlements of Carmel]:²² to wit,

al-Dāliya,
 al-Dūbla,
 Ḍarībat al-Riḥ,
 al-Karak,
 Ma'liyā,
 al-Dāmūn,
 Lūbiya,
 Basūr,
 Khirbat Yūnus,

²⁰ The cultivation land: again perhaps a description, *arḍ al-zirā'a*. Barag does not translate this phrase, but says that "it is an enigma" (pp. 202, 207).

²¹ The portion in square brackets translates a conjectural insertion into the text by Barag (p. 201, n. 14; p. 208).

²² The portion in square brackets is based upon a conjectural reconstruction of the text by Barag (p. 209).

Khirbat Khamīs,
Rūshmiyā,
Duwāba,

shall be the property of the Franks among the other settlements mentioned. Except for this, all the mountain settlements in their entirety shall belong to the Sultan and his son.

- [6] All this territory of Acre and the coastlands as specified in this blessed truce shall be safe from the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr and his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, and safe from their soldiers, their troops and their servants. This territory as set forth above being covered by this blessed truce, whether property or condominium, shall be secure, it and its civilians, all nations of people in it, the residents therein and the wayfarers thereto, of whatever nations and religions, the wayfarers thereto from all the lands of the Franks, the merchants, the travellers and the wayfarers passing to and fro by land and sea, night and day, plain and mountain. They shall be safe in respect of themselves, their chattels, their children, their ships and their beasts of burden, all belonging to them and everything in their possession of whatever kind, from the Sultan, his son, and all under their obedience.
- [7] They and the said territory upon which this truce is concluded shall suffer no evil, damage or raid; nor shall either of the two parties, the Islamic and Frankish, suffer damage or harm from the other. What has been confirmed to be held in domain by the Franks as laid down above shall be theirs, and what has been confirmed to be held in domain by the Sultan and his son shall be theirs. The condominiums shall be as set forth. The Franks shall have no territory or condominiums save what is set forth and specified in this truce.
- [8] Provided that the Franks shall not restore any wall, castle, tower or fortress, whether old or recent, outside the walls of the three places, Acre, Athlith and Sidon.
- [9] Provided that if anyone, whoever he may be, flees from the territory of the Sultan and his son to Acre and the coastlands as specified in this truce, and seeks to enter the Christian religion, and becomes a Christian voluntarily, all he brought with him shall be returned, and he shall be left naked. If he does not seek to enter the Christian religion, and does not become a Christian, he shall be returned to their Court with all he brought with him on the mediation of a trustworthy person, and after being granted a safeconduct.

Likewise if anyone comes from Acre and the coastlands covered

by this truce, and seeks to enter the religion of Islam, and becomes a Muslim voluntarily, all with him shall be returned, and he shall be left naked. If he does not seek to enter the religion of Islam, and does not become a Muslim, he shall be returned to the authorities in Acre, the *Bailli* of the kingdom and the Masters with all he brought with him, on mediation and after being granted a safeconduct.

[10] Provided also that the prohibited articles,²³ the prohibition of which was previously recognized, shall be confirmed as prohibited by the two parties.

If there is found with a merchant of the territory of the Sultan and his son, whether a Muslim or of whatever religion or nation, he being in Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce, any prohibited article, such as a set of weapons etc., it shall be returned to the owner from whom he bought it, and its price shall be returned to him. He shall be sent back without forfeiture of his chattels or harm for that reason either to his person or his chattels.

Likewise if a merchant of the Franks, of whatever nationality or religion, proceeds from Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce to the Islamic territory covered by this truce, and any prohibited article is found with him, such as a set of weapons etc., it shall be returned to the owner from whom he bought it, and its price shall be returned to him, and he shall be sent back without forfeiture of his chattels or harm.

The Sultan and his son shall have jurisdiction over any of their subjects, of whatever religions and nations, who leave their territory with any prohibited articles.

Likewise the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters shall have jurisdiction over their subjects who leave their territory as covered by this truce with prohibited articles.

[11] When booty is taken from either side, or someone from either side is slain in any way (which God forbid), the booty itself shall be restored if it is found, or its value if it is lost. Compensation for the slain person shall be made with his peer from his nation: a knight for a knight, a turcopole for a turcopole, a merchant, a foot-soldier for a foot-soldier, a peasant for a peasant.

If the matter of the homicide or the booty is concealed, there shall be 40 days of grace for investigation. If the booty comes to light, or the matter of the homicide is determined, the booty itself shall

²³ The prohibited articles: *al-mamnū'āt*, see Introduction, p. 11.

be restored, and compensation shall be made for the slain person by his peer.

If it should not come to light, the *wālī* of the accused locality shall be placed on oath together with three persons of that *wilāya*, chosen by the accuser.

If the *wālī* refuses the oath, three persons from the accusing side, chosen by the other side, shall be placed on oath, and he shall take its value.

If the *wālī* does not act justly, and does not restore the chattel, the accuser shall petition the authorities on both sides. After the petition there shall be 40 days of grace, and the *wālis* on both sides are required to comply with the condition.

When they conceal a homicide or booty, or are able to take a due, and fail to do so, each in his *wilāya*, it shall be incumbent on whichever of the rulers on both sides who appoints him to execute summary justice upon him by the taking of his life and chattels and gibbeting. There shall be complete disavowal of him who should be disavowed if he acts thus in his *wilāya* and his land.

[12] If anyone absconds with chattels and confesses part, and denies part of what is accused against him, he shall be required to swear that he took nothing but what he restored. If the accuser is not satisfied with the oath of the absconder, the *wālī* of that *wilāya* shall swear that he was not aware that anything arrived with him save what he restored. If he denies that anything whatsoever arrived with him, the absconder shall be put on oath that nothing belonging to the accuser arrived with him, and the *wālī* of those districts shall swear that nothing arrived with him.

[13] Provided also that if a ship of the merchants of the Sultan and his son, to which this truce applies, or of their subjects, whether Muslims or otherwise, of whatever nations and religions, be wrecked in the harbour of Acre, its coasts or the coastlands to which this truce applies; everyone in it shall be safe in respect of themselves, their chattels, their followers and their stock-in-trade. If the owners of these wrecked ships are found, their ships and chattels shall be delivered to them. If they are missing through death, drowning or absence, their possessions shall be kept, and delivered to the representatives of the Sultan and his son.

Likewise for the ships belonging to the Franks, and sailing from these coastlands to which this truce applies, the same procedure shall be followed in the territory of the Sultan and his son. Their possessions

shall be kept in the absence of their owner until they are delivered to the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre or the Master.

- [14] If any of the merchants of whatever nation and religion in transit from the territory of the Sultan and his son die in Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and the coastlands covered by this truce, his chattels shall be kept until they are delivered to their representatives.

Likewise the merchants of whatever nation and religion in transit from Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and the coastlands covered by this truce; if anyone should die in the Islamic territory covered by this truce, his chattels shall be kept until they are delivered to the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters.

- [15] Provided also that if the galleys of the Sultan and his son are commissioned and set sail, they shall not cause harm to the coastlands to which this truce applies.

If the said galleys are bound for a place other than these, and the lord of that place is an ally of the authorities in the kingdom of Acre, they are not to enter the territory to which this truce applies, nor to be provisioned thence.

If the lord of the place to which the divinely commissioned galleys are bound is not an ally of the authorities in the kingdom of Acre and the territory covered by the truce, they may enter the territory, and be provisioned thence.

If any of those galleys suffer wreck (which God forbid) in one of the harbours of the territory to which this truce applies or its coasts, while bound for an ally of the kingdom of Acre and the Masters of its Orders, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters of the Orders are required to guard it, to enable the crew to have provisions, repair the wreck, and return the vessel to Islamic territory. He [*sic*] shall stop the movement of such of them as are wrecked (God is our refuge) or are cast up by the sea. This is if they are bound for an ally of the kingdom of Acre and its Masters.

If they are not bound for an ally, they are to be provisioned and the crew equipped from the territory to which this truce applies, and they are to proceed to the territory as ordered.

This clause shall apply to both parties.

- [16] Provided also that if one of the Frankish maritime kings or others should move by sea with the intention of bringing harm to our lord the Sultan and his son in their territory to which this truce applies, the *Bailli* of the kingdom and the Masters in Acre are required to inform our lord the Sultan and his son of their movement two months

before their arrival in the Islamic territory covered by this truce. If they arrive after the lapse of two months, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters shall be exempt from responsibility under oath under this clause.

If the Mongols or another enemy move by land, whichever of the two parties has first information shall inform the other of the advance information he has about them.

- [17] Provided also that if the Mongols or another enemy proceed by land to Syrian territory (which God forbid), and the Islamic soldiers flee before the enemy, and the enemy draw near to the coastlands covered by this truce with the intention of harming them, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there may protect themselves, their subjects and their territory as best they can.

If there should be a flight (which God forbid) from Islamic territory to the coastlands covered by this truce, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there are required to guard and defend them, and to obstruct those who seek to harm them; and they shall be safe and secure in what they have with them.

- [18] Provided also that the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there shall give orders throughout the coastlands to which this truce applies that pirates shall not be enabled to obtain provisions or take on water from them. If they sell goods among them, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters shall detain them [the goods] until the appearance of the owner and they are delivered to him.

This shall likewise be applied by our lord the Sultan and his son, and both parties shall apply this concerning the pirates.

- [19] Provided also in regard to the sureties in Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce, that for any of them owing a sum of money or produce, the *wālī* of the place whence the surety comes shall swear, and the fiscal officer and the clerk shall swear when this person is taken as surety, that his debt is such-and-such in dirhams, produce, cattle etc. If the *wālī*, the fiscal official and the clerk take an oath thereon before the representative of the Sultan and his son, the family of the surety shall pay his debt to the Franks on his behalf, and they shall release him.

As for the sureties taken as allegedly contemplating flight, and out of fear lest they flee to Islamic territory, and the *wālīs* and fiscal officials refuse to take an oath on them, they shall be released.

- [20] Provided also that no new and extraordinary due shall be introduced by either party on travelling merchants when leaving and entering.

They shall proceed with their customary dues as continuing in force to the end, and the dues shall be taken from them according to continuing custom; they shall not be liable to any new fee or extraordinary due. In every place recognized for the levying of dues, they shall be levied there without increase by either party in the event either of their travelling or their staying.

Merchants, travellers and wayfarers shall be safe and secure, having escorts from both parties, whether they are travelling or staying, leaving or entering, together with such such articles and goods accompanying them as are not prohibited.

[21] Provided also that proclamation be made in the Islamic territory and the Frankish territory covered by this truce that anyone who was a peasant in the territory of the Muslims, whether a Muslim or a Christian, shall return to the territory of the Muslims. Likewise anyone who was a peasant in the territory of the Franks, whether a Muslim or a Christian, shall return to the territory of the Franks, being recognized by both parties as domiciled there. Whoever does not return after the proclamation shall be expelled by either party. The peasants of the territory of the Muslims shall not be enabled to stay in the territory of the Franks to which this truce applies, nor the peasants of the territory of the Franks to stay in the territory of the Muslims to which this truce applies. The return of a peasant from one party to the other party shall be under a safeconduct.

[22] Provided also that the church at Nazareth and four of the nearest houses shall be for the visiting by pilgrims and others of the religion of the Cross, great and small, of whatever nations and groups, from Acre and the coastlands covered by this truce. The priests shall hold divine service in the church, and the said houses shall be reserved for pilgrims to the church at Nazareth. They shall be safe and secure in their coming and presence to the frontiers of the territory included in this truce.

If the masonry of the said church be dilapidated, it shall be cast out; one of its stones shall not be put on another for the purpose of building it.

There shall be no interference with the priests and monks on the pretext of an illicit gift because of the pilgrims of the religion of the Cross.

[23] The Sultan and his son are required to give protection to this specified territory to which this truce applies, from themselves, their soldiery and their troops; from all criminals, robbers and breakers of the peace

among those under their jurisdiction and obedience.

The *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters there are required to give protection to this specified Islamic territory to which the truce applies, from themselves, their soldiery and their troops; from all criminals, robbers and breakers of the peace among those under their jurisdiction and obedience in their coastal kingdom included in this truce.

[24] The *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre and the Masters of the Orders there, the authorities in Acre and the coastlands included in this truce, are required to fulfil all the conditions contained in this truce, condition by condition, clause by clause; to act according to its terms, and to abide by its conditions until the expiry of its term. Each of them shall fulfil what he has sworn with binding oaths that he would fulfil everything in this truce as they swore to it.

[25] This blessed truce shall continue between the Sultan, his son, their children and their children's children, and the authorities in the kingdom of Acre, Sidon and 'Athlith: to wit, the Seneschal Odo, the said Masters N. and N. to its end. It shall not be changed by the deaths of the rulers of either party, nor by the change of a Master and the appointment of another, but it shall continue as it is, until its end and its expiry with its conditions as defined and its principles as confirmed, whole and complete.

When this blessed truce expires or is abrogated (which God forbid), both parties shall allow 40 days of grace. Proclamation shall be made for everyone to return home after the announcement, so that people may return home safe and secure; and they shall not be prevented from travelling by either party.

It shall not be annulled by the removal from office of either party. Its provisions shall be maintained consecutively and continually through years, months and days until its expiry. The one removed from office and the one appointed shall be required to keep it, and to act according to its conditions to its end as specified. This truce shall continue with its conditions, clauses, branches and roots, and it shall be given its most favourable application until its end.

On all this there is assent, concurrence and agreement. Both parties have taken their oath upon it.

God grants success.

Appendix 1: The Frankish territory as specified in Tashrif

Likewise all the territory of the Franks upon which this truce is now established, of the coastal territory: to wit,

the city of Acre and its orchards, lands, mills, its property in vineyards, dues belonging to it in the vicinity, and the settlements as confirmed to it in this truce; the number and the cultivable lands therein being 73 localities, the property of the Franks;

Likewise Haifa, the vineyards and the orchards, the number in Haifa being seven localities;

Likewise Mārsā [Mārinā] with its land as known there shall belong to the Franks;

Likewise Dayr al-Siyāj [Siyāḥ] and Dayr Mār Liyās [Ilyās] shall belong to the Franks;

To our lord the Sultan shall belong as property ‘Afā [‘Isfiyā] and al-Manṣūra; and the rest of the settlements of Carmel being 13 settlements in all shall belong to the Franks;

‘Athlith, the citadel, the town, the orchards which are felled, the vineyards, its cultivation, its lands belonging to it; and the settlements belonging to it are 16 localities;

the property of our lord the Sultan shall be as stated: to wit, the village of al-Harāmīs in its entirety, its dues and cultivable land; the remainder of the settlements of ‘Athlith shall be condominium; apart from what belongs to the August Fisc and from what is the property of ‘Athlith, it shall be condominium, being eight localities;

The cultivation of the Hospitallers in the district of Caesarea shall be the property of the Franks with what is in it;

Half of the town of Iskandarūna and half of the village of Mārūn with what is in it shall belong to the Franks; what is apart from that shall be the property of our lord the Sultan; whatever dues and produce may be in Iskandarūna and the village of Mārūn shall be shared in halves;

Sidon, the citadel, the town, the vineyards, its suburbs and all pertaining to it shall be the property of the Franks; there shall belong to it as settlements in property 15 localities;

In the lowlands, whatever rivers, waters, springs, orchards, mills, waste, running waters, and sugar plantations, wherein by ancient custom their lands are watered, shall be their property;

Apart from this, the whole of the mountain settlements shall belong to our lord the Sultan and his son in their entirety.

Tashrif, 40–1.

Appendix 2: The oaths of ratification

1. *The Oath of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn*

By God, by God, by God;

By God, by God, by God;

By God, by God, by God;

By God the Inaccessible, He Who seeks out and overcomes, Who afflicts and favours, Who overtakes and destroys, Who knows what is manifest and what is hidden, Who knows what is secret and what is open, the Merciful, the Compassionate;

By the truth of the Qurʾān, and Him Who revealed it, and him to whom it was revealed, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (the blessing of God be upon him and peace); by what is said in it, chapter by chapter, verse by verse;

By the truth of the month of Ramaḍān;

I shall keep this blessed truce which has been established between myself and the kingdom of Acre and the Masters therein, upon Acre, ʿAthlith, Sidon and their territories which are comprised in this truce, whereof the duration from first to last is ten complete years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, beginning on Thursday, 5 Rabiʿ I, A.H. 682;

I shall keep it, and be bound by all its conditions as stated therein, and I shall cause matters to proceed according to its provisions until the expiry of its period;

I shall not put my own interpretation upon it or upon any part of it;

I shall not obtain a legal opinion about it with a view to its abrogation so long as the authorities in the city of Acre, Sidon and ʿAthlith (to wit, the *Bailli* of the kingdom in Acre, the Master of the Order of the Temple, the Master of the Order of the Hospital, the present Deputy Master of the Teutonic Order, who now are, and their successors in the bailiwick of the kingdom or as Master of an Order in this said kingdom) shall keep the oath which they shall swear to me and to my son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, and to my children to establish this truce as now written, acting by it and its conditions as stated therein until

the expiry of its period, and being bound by its provisions.

If I break this oath, I shall be bound to make thirty Pilgrimages to the Holy House of God in Mecca the Ennobled, barefoot and bareheaded, and I am bound to fast the whole time except the forbidden days. (He cites the rest of the oath to its end; then says:)

And God is the Trustee for what We say.

2. *The Oath of the Franks*

By God, by God, by God;

By God, by God, by God;

By God, by God, by God;

By the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ, by the truth of Christ;
By the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross, by the truth of the Cross;

By the truth of the three Persons of one Substance called the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God;

By the truth of the venerated Divinity which was made man;

By the truth of the pure Gospel and its contents;

By the truth of the four Gospels brought by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John;

By the truth of their prayers and benedictions;

By the truth of the Twelve Disciples and the Seventy-two and the Three Hundred and Eighteen gathered for the Synod;

By the truth of the Voice which came down from heaven upon the River Jordan, and drove it back;

By the truth of God, the Revealer of the Gospel to Jesus the son of Mary, the Spirit of God and His Word;

By the truth of the Lady Mary, the Mother of the Light, Saint Mary, John the Baptist, Saint Thomas and Saint Matthew;²⁴

By the truth of the Great Fast;

By the truth of my religion and that which I worship, what I believe as a Christian, and what I have received from the fathers and priests in baptism;

From this time and from this hour I intend sincerely and conscientiously to keep to the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr and to his son,

²⁴ The last two names are corrupt in the text as given by Ibn al-Furāt and *Şubḥ*: *mrtmān wa-mrtmānī*, but may be corrected from the oath of Leon III (see No. 7) as *Mār Tūmā wa-Mār Mattā*, and are here translated accordingly.

al-Malik al-Şāliḥ, and to their children, all that is contained in this blessed truce, on which peace has been concluded for the kingdom of Acre, Sidon, 'Athlith and their territory as included in this truce and named therein, its duration being ten complete years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, beginning on Thursday, 3 Ḥazirān 1594 of the era of Alexander, the son of Philip the Greek;

I shall act according to all its conditions, condition by condition, and I shall be bound to keep every clause in this said truce until the expiry of its period.

By God, by God, by the truth of Christ, the truth of the Cross and the truth of my religion, I shall not inflict damage or wrong on the territory of the Sultan and his son, nor on any of the people whom it contains, or will contain, nor on the wayfarers from it to the territory included in this truce, either their persons or their chattels.

By God, by the truth of my religion and that which I worship; in regard to the covenant, truce, concord, friendship and the safeguarding of the Islamic civilians and the wayfarers coming and going to and from the Sultan's territory, I shall follow the path of friendly contracting parties, who are bound to abstain from damage or enmity to persons and chattels;

I am bound to keep all the conditions of this truce until its expiry so long as al-Malik al-Manşūr keeps the oath which he swore upon the truce;

I shall not abrogate this oath or any part of it, or make any exception in it or any part of it, seeking its abrogation.

If I violate it or abrogate it, I shall have abjured my religion, my belief and that which I worship; I shall be disobedient to the Church; I shall be obliged to make thirty pilgrimages to Jerusalem, barefoot and bareheaded; I shall be obliged to release a thousand Muslim prisoners from captivity with the Franks, and to set them free; and I shall have abjured the Divinity which was made man.

This is the oath of me N. The intention in it is entirely the intention of al-Malik al-Manşūr and the intention of his son, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ, and the intention of him who administered my oath to them upon the Holy Gospel; I have no other intention.

God and Christ are the Trustees for what We say.