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Long before the caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809) sent Charlemagne (r. 768–814) his famous gift of an elephant named Abu l-'Arab in 802, rare and valuable goods—fine garments and precious stones, slave-girls and stallions, relics and eunuchs—had played an important role in diplomatic relations. The artfully chosen gift is an eloquent envoy, capable of imparting a multitude of messages and of engendering diverse and even contradictory sentiments: deference and admonition, allegiance and bravado, submission and disdain. For as long as embassies have visited foreign capitals, gifts have been used to establish and solidify bonds between empires. They also display the magnanimity and fortunes of their givers and compel responses in kind from their recipients.

The exchange of gifts was a significant aspect of the relations between the burgeoning Ottoman empire and the aging Mamluk state, from the earliest contacts between the two polities in the late fourteenth century until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517. A period of great flux in the eastern Mediterranean, “the long fifteenth century” witnessed momentous shifts in political and military hegemony, diplomatic and cultural relations, and patterns of trade and migration. The history of the relations between the two empires has been the subject of much scholarship in recent years, revealing the intricacies of a complex bond between two Muslim polities that were continuously engaged in a process of self-definition and legitimization vis-à-vis the other. To shed further light on the formation, development, and deterioration of this bond, it is necessary to examine the political and ideological discourses through which it was expressed and that often depended upon the “language” of gifts.

This study addresses the following questions: Did gift exchanges take place between the Ottoman and Mamluk sultans during the fifteenth century? If so, what shape did the flow of gifts take as the century progressed? Did it proceed in fits and starts, abating during periods of conflict and resuming during periods of entente? What kinds of gifts were sent by each side, and what might this suggest about the availability of, and attitudes toward, different kinds of commodities and materials? Finally, what kinds of diplomatic messages can be distilled from the choices of specific gifts on certain occasions?

In order to answer these questions, I have compiled a corpus of data from six late medieval Arabic historical chronicles and one collection of diplomatic correspondence: Hawâdith al-duhûr fi madâ ’l-ayyâm wa ’l-shuhûr and al-Nujûm al-zâhira fi mulâk Miṣr wa ’l-Qâhira by Ibn Taghribirdi (d. ca. 1470); Nuẓhat al-nuṣūf wa ’l-‘abdûn fi tawârîkh al-zamân by Ibn al-Sayrafi (d. 1495); Muḥākāt al-khillān fī ḥawâdith al-zamân by Ibn Tulun (d. ca. 1546); Münṣe ṭūs-salāṭin by Feridun Ahmed Beg (d. 1583); Badâ’i’ al-zuhûr fi waqāʾi’ al-duhûr by Ibn Iyas (d. 1524); and al-Sulûk li-ma’rifat duwal al-mulâk by al-Maqrizi (d. 1442). With the exception of Feridun Ahmed Beg’s collection of Ottoman diplomatic correspondence, the remaining works are chronicles written by scholars in the Mamluk empire.

Taken together, these texts provide a wealth of information about the world of diplomatic courtship—such as the dispatch and reception of envoys, the gifts they bore from their patrons, and the language of official letters—allowing us to reconstruct a history of gift
exchange over an extended period. Our sources make reference to a total of sixty-six encounters between Ottoman and Mamluk envoys and rulers during the period under examination (an average of one every two years). About two-thirds of these references contain explicit mentions of diplomatic gifts, often with accompanying descriptions. On the basis of these descriptions—tantalizingly brief though they often are—it is possible to discern some broad trends of exchange, and to make some observations about the ways in which each empire projected a certain political identity on its sometime ally and rival.

The following pages present the corpus of diplomatic visits assembled from the sources listed above. I have included every mention of a gift, including the few cases where all efforts to decipher the object in question have been in vain. The analysis that follows aims, firstly, to provide a bird’s-eye view of the flow of gifts and diplomatic encounters as the Ottoman–Mamluk political relationship evolved. Secondly, it attempts to isolate patterns of gift giving and evidence pertaining to the availability and popularity of different commodities and materials in the fifteenth century.

THE CORPUS OF DIPLOMATIC VISITS AND GIFT EXCHANGES

Below is a list of all sixty-six diplomatic encounters mentioned in the historical sources surveyed. Proceeding on the assumption that an official envoy would not likely have appeared in a foreign court without a gift—an insult that, if intended, would probably have been remarked upon by contemporary chroniclers—I have also listed every encounter not accompanied by a mention of gifts. Each record in the list contains the names of two rulers, with an arrow indicating the direction in which the letter and/or gift traveled. This is followed by the date of the encounter (or the date of the official letter), and a description of the gift, if one is supplied. The gifts are emphasized in bold type.

2. Bayezid I → Barquq (6 Shawwal 793 [6 September 1391]): No gifts mentioned.14
3. Barquq → Bayezid I (undated): Reply to previous letter. No gifts mentioned.15
4. Bayezid I → Barquq (Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 795 [September 1393]): “News came of the arrival of the envoy of the King of Rum, Abu Yazid ibn Uthman, bringing with him gifts (taqādim) for the sultan. The reason that he came was…to inform the sultan about Timur Lank and to warn him…He also sent a request to the sultan for a skilled doctor (ṭābib ḥādiq) and medicine suitable for his illness (adwiya tuwāfiq maradahu), for he was suffering from joint pain (darabān al-mafāṣil). When the sultan read Ibn Uthman’s letter…he appointed [the doctor] al-Rayyis Shams al-Din ibn Saghir to him, and sent two loads of medicines that suited his malady, as well as a grand gift with his envoy.”16
5. Bayezid I → Barquq (Sha‘ban 796 [June 1394]): “Next arrived ambassadors of the Ottoman sultan Yıldırım Bayezid, ruler of Asia Minor (Rūm), stating that he was sending 200,000 dirhams as assistance for al-Zahir, and that he would await the sultan’s reply so that he might act accordingly…Letters of praise and thanks were written to all three rulers, stating the wishes of the sultan.”17
6. Bayezid I → Faraj (r. 801–15 [1399–1412]) (15 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 803 [27 July 1401]): “And on this day, a large group of envoys arrived from Ibn Yazid [sic] b. Murad b. ‘Uthman, the King of Rum. Their most senior member was one called Amir Ahmad, and he was one of Ibn Yazid’s eminent princes. He was received by the office of the chamberlain…and they lodged him in the home of Amir Qushtamar al-Mansuri, in Bab al-Barqiyyya.”18
"And on [16 Dhu ‘l-Hijja], the envoys of Abu Yazid b. ‘Uthman—the King of Rum—presented a gift, consisting of ten slaves (mamlâkî), ten horses (khayl), ten lengths of broadcloth (qitâ’ min al-jûkh), two silver cups (sharibatân min al-fi’dâ), ten pieces of silver plates, and other things (qitâ’ fi’dâ mà bûyyn a’tbâq wa-ghayrâhâ)—and several gifts for the nobles..."19

7. Mehem I (r. 816–24 [1413–21]) → al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (7 Safar 823 [22 February 1420]): "We have sent you...intended as a gift, five qaṣīzât of various Rûmî fabrics (aqmitha), three qaṣīzât of European (Ifrânî) fabric, and two bundles (bûghjatayn) of Persian (‘Ajami) fabric..."20

8. al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh → Mehem I (Sha’ban 818 [October 1415]): "We have sent two fine horses (khayl), and two saddles (sarjâyn) made of gold and silver, and five qaṣīzât of Egyptian fabric (aqmitha), and four qaṣīzât of Indian and Alexandrian wares (al-âmîtî’a l-Hindiyya wa-l-Iskandariyya)..."21

9. Mehem I → al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (7 Safar 823 [22 February 1420]): "On Thursday...envoys from Kirishji [Mehem I] arrived and they had with them thirty slaves (mamlâkî), birds (tu’yûrî), many beasts of prey (jawârîh), silk clothes (thiyyâb ḥarîrî), and other things...On Monday, 25 Safar, the Portico Hall [jîwân] was in the service of the envoys...and the sultan bestowed a robe of honor upon the chief emissary."22

10. al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh → Mehem I (17 Safar 824 [21 February 1421]): No gifts mentioned.23

11. Murad II (r. 824–48 [1421–44]; 850–55 [1446–51]) → Barsbay (r. 825–41 [1422–38]) (27 Sha’ban 826 [5 August 1423]): "A large group arrived from the lands of Ibn ‘Uthman, and among them was a man named ‘Umur...And they had brought with them a gift from Ibn ‘Uthman, the ruler of Bursa, and they presented it to [the sultan]. And he, too, presented to Ibn ‘Uthman things of his own..."24

12. Murad II → Barsbay (2 Rabi’ I 831 [21 December 1427]): "A man named Taghibirîdi al-Hijazi al-Khassaki al-Ashrafi arrived from the lands of Rum. The sultan had sent him to Sultan Murad Beg to affirm his friendship and affection...and because a mighty army had arisen in the lands of Rum and met Murad Beg, and the sultan did not know the truth of the matter regarding this. So he sent the aforementioned emissary to discover the news and also convey greetings to Murad Beg...The emissary was absent for about five months, and upon his return he reported Murad Beg’s victory over the Rum and the infidels. He met Murad in the land of Qustantiniyya and Murad was greatly pleased that the sultan had sent him to inquire about the state of affairs. He bestowed upon him the very cloth that he was wearing (qumâshuhu), and even his turban (‘imâmâtuhu) and his cap (qubba’uhu), which was made of pure gold. The turban was made of silk and very high-quality cloth with gold brocade (kânâ qumâshuhu ĥârîran wa-jûkhan râf’î’ân jîddan), and it was said that each cubit cost two dinars."25

13. Murad II → Barsbay (end of Jumada II 831 [mid-April 1428]): "...Envoy arrived from Murad Beg...and they were received by the chamberlains and some of the chief officers...And on 2 Rajab...court service was held in the Portico Hall for the envoys from Ibn ‘Uthman and other Turkoman (turkmân) envoys, and it was a memorable and well-attended day. Then, when the service was over, Ibn ‘Uthman’s gift was presented and it included: fifty Rûmî slaves; a white eunuch (jawârîh a’byad); fifteen birds and various wild animals, including some that looked like a sable (sammûr), a gray squirrel (sinjâb), a lynx (washaq), and a fox (fanak); twenty velvet garments of European make (al-mukhmal shughl al-Franj na’hwa ‘ishrîna thawban). The sultan reciprocated by bestowing upon the nobles some slaves and fabrics (qumâsh)."26

14. Murad II → Barsbay (Dhu ‘l-Hijja 831 [September–October 1428]): No gifts mentioned.27
15. Barsbay → Murad II (undated response): “…And we have sent [with our envoy] as a gift for your Majesty, two Cretan (Chandakī) slaves, one male and one female…”

16. Murad II → Barsbay (undated, post-conquest of Salonica, Jumada II 833 [March 1430]): In this letter, a fetḥ-nāme of Salonica (announcement of the conquest of Salonica), a gift is mentioned, details about which are found in another letter.

17. Barsbay → Murad II (undated response): In this letter, Barsbay thanks Murad II for the wonderful gift, but no details are supplied.


22. Murad II → Barsbay (Safar 840 [August–September 1436]): No gifts mentioned.

23. Murad II → Barsbay (Jumada I 840 [November–December 1436]): Murad’s envoys arrive with a letter and a gift, but no details are supplied by Ibn al-Sayrafi.

24. Jaqmaq (r. 842–57 [1438–53]) → Murad II (10 Jumada I 842 [29 October 1438]): “You had requested an elephant from Barsbay (may he rest in peace), but it was not so easy to send it during the winter season. However, we have now dispatched it for the service of your throne. Our envoy has placed the elephant on a ship, and it will arrive subsequently, after the winter season, in the land of Turkey….”

25. Murad II → Jaqmaq (18 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 843 [21 April 1440]): “Ibn ‘Uthman’s envoy presented a splendid gift of sixty loads of fabric (shiqaq), from silk (harîr) to sable (samūr) to miniver (sinjāb) to lynx (washaq), different kinds of garments (malbūs), and thirty slaves (mamālīk).”

26. Jaqmaq → Murad II (21 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 843 [24 May 1440]): “The amir Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. Inal set out for the ruler of the lands of Rum, who is called Murad b. ‘Uthman, accompanied by [the latter’s] envoy, who had come to Cairo before this date.” (Accompanying this envoy were the following twenty-six gifts. In cases where the vocabulary ranges from ambiguous to indecipherable, I have supplied the full text in Arabic script):


   b. Two swords, damascened in gold and silver (ḥaqqat fūlād fi/hāṣid/hāṣid/dī/ī/dī)

   c. Gold-encrusted weapon (?)

   d. One steel helmet, inlaid or ornamented with silver (khūd fūlād fi/dāḥid/dāḥid)

   e. Two brigandines damascened in gold (wūlāt ‘Abbāsīyayihi fūlād ‘Abbāsīyayihi)

   f. A suit of horse armor (ṣarj)

   g. Four steel axes (atbār fūlād)

   h. Ten turban cloths in a rosette pattern (shāšāh shamsī ‘ashra)

   i. Bows made by Ibrahim b. ‘Abd Allah (ṣamīk fūlād ‘Abbāsīyayihi)

   j. Four carpets with gold thread (nakh mudhahhab)

   k. 1,000 pieces of Alexandrian velvet (qumāsh kamkhā Iskandariyya)

   l. Fifteen saddles (sarj)
p. Ten garments (تاءرط دجذ باب)\textsuperscript{50}  
q. A golden saddle (رركخ حاص)\textsuperscript{51}  
r. Four silk kerchiefs (مانديل ناكح أربع)\textsuperscript{52}  
s. Seven kerchiefs and twenty-five leather bags (َناديل سج وبمارخمة وعشرين)\textsuperscript{53}  
t. A golden billhook (رركخ مطح)\textsuperscript{54}  
u. Four silk kerchiefs (مانديل ناكح أربع)\textsuperscript{55}  
v. Balsam oil (هشدوباري اربع عشر)\textsuperscript{56}  
w. Fourteen shawls, camphor-scented (طاقي حارب ساب)\textsuperscript{57}  
x. Seven silk garments (تافاس حارب ساب)\textsuperscript{58}  
y. Six garments (ِنارك عرش)\textsuperscript{59}  
z. Three elephants (أفيال)\textsuperscript{60}

27. Murad II → Jaqmaq (22 Dhu ’l-Hijja 848 [1 April 1445]): “One of the emirs of the ruler of Rum arrived with a cortège of European princes who had been defeated (العفاررة إلادحه َنكاسار مين باني ت-أفسر), and they were dressed according to the custom of their country. There were sixteen of them, and their forearms were covered in iron and steel, and on their heads were helmets like basins, and they were on horseback. So the people of Cairo came out to meet them and it was a great day…Murad Beg sent these men to demonstrate his bravery to the Muslims and the Turks, and the bravery of his army. He also sent some of them to Shah Rokh b. Timur Lank, and to the ruler of Tabriz and Baghdad. He sent to Sultan Jaqmaq a splendid gift of fifty exquisite slaves (كحاسن ممالك مين ال-هـسان) and five special slave girls (كحاسن َل-الخاوش) and other things like fabrics (قماش) and silk (حارب) and velvet (مكحمل)…”\textsuperscript{61}

28. Mehmed II (r. 848–50 [1444–46]; 855–86 [1451–81]) → Jaqmaq (3 Shawwal 849 [2 January 1446]): “A gift arrived from Sultan Muhammad b. Murad Ibn ’Uthman. The occasion for the gift was Murad Beg’s abdication in favor of his son Muhammad, who sent the gift. So they ascended with it to the fortress, [carrying it] in twenty-five crates (أكفا): five crates were full of silver vessels (أواني كلاهاء فيدده), from bowls (أقداح) to plates (سولا) to platters (سخاري), and things of that nature; five crates contained plain clothes (ثيياب); five contained clothes of gilded velvet (مكحمل مداهحاب); five contained pieces of silk covered in floral patterns (شيقع حارب مازاهرات). Accompanying the gift were five white Rumi slave girls (jawارين بيد رميانيات).”\textsuperscript{62}

29. Jaqmaq → Murad II (19 Jumada II 853 [9 August 1449]): “Emir Qanım b. Safar Khuja al-Mu’ayyadi, known as ‘the merchant,’ set out as ambassador to Ibn ’Uthman, ruler of Asia Minor (رُم), in company with Ibn ’Uthman’s ambassador, who had arrived before this date.”\textsuperscript{63}

No gifts mentioned.

30. Murad II → Jaqmaq (18 Safar 854 [2 April 1450]): “Emir Qanım al-Mu’ayyadi, the merchant, came from Asia Minor (رُم) to Cairo.” No gifts mentioned.\textsuperscript{64}

31. Jaqmaq → Mehmed II (undated): No gifts mentioned.\textsuperscript{65}

32. Mehmed II → Jaqmaq (2 Safar 856 [23 February 1452]): No gifts mentioned.\textsuperscript{66}

33. Mehmed II → Inal (r. 857–65 [1453–61]) (undated, post-conquest of Constantinople): “[We have sent with our envoy] Jalal al-Din al-Qabuni…a gift of prisoners (أسرون), slaves (غللمان), fabrics (ؤمتشا), and other things described in detail in another letter. And indeed, the relation of these gifts to what is truly incumbent upon us is like the relation of a trickle of water to the ocean…”\textsuperscript{67}
34. Mehmed II → Sharif of Mecca (undated, post-conquest of Constantinople, pre-Dhu 'l-Qa'da 857 [November 1453]): “…[W]e have sent to you personally two thousand florins of pure gold (alfay aflūri min al-dhahab al-khāṣṣ al-tāmm al-wazn wa l-'iyār), taken as booty from the conquest, and another seven thousand florins for the poor, to be split up as follows: two thousand for the descendants of the Prophet (al-sādāt wa 'l-nuqabā), one thousand for the servants of the two Sanctuaries (al-Haramayn), and the rest for those in need in Mecca and Medina…What is hoped for is that you will divide this between them according to their needs and poverty…and that the poor invoke God’s blessing upon us in their prayers.”

35. Inal → Mehmed II (20 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 857 [22 November 1453]): This is a congratulatory letter from the Mamluks, on the occasion of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Containing a list much like the one sent by Jaqmaq in 843 [1440], it was presented by Feridun Ahmed Beg in the form of a grid of four columns by four rows: “And we have sent with our envoy a gift, to confirm our love and friendship…: 68

a. One gold damascened sword (سيف سطيف ذهب وبدله مكاسك من مان ويسبعون مصي) 69
b. Ten units of damask silk, with gold embroidery (بمحيا سيف ذهب عا.) 70
c. Maces and steel axes (دبابيس براغيات وتاطوارات) 71
d. Two hauberks with red velvet and gold embroidery (جزوالوم محلا يرس ماراة ذهب) 72
e. Gold-embroidered red velvet curtain (or tapestry) with gold sequins (سات محكم ألم بلا دهاب مخاريق دهاب مهابس) 73
f. Horse armor with red velvet and gold embroidery (بكرشطوان محكم ألم بلا دهاب مخاريق دهاب مهابس) 74
g. Gold coins (نوميز ذهب) 75
h. One hundred pieces of Alexandrian cloth (قمشة إسكندري) 76
i. Carpets (سجفة) 77
j. Velvet or damask silk (كمكح) 78
k. Thirty-one Alexandrian garments or pieces of fabric (تاسفبل إسكندري) 79
l. One choice mare (حجاجلا) 80
m. Two elephants (إفأل) 81
n. One wild ass (حمار وحش) 82
o. Glass unguent bottles, carrying balsam oil (أرط زجاج ضم مسحة بنان) 83

36. Inal → Mehmed II (end of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 857 [end of November 1453]): This letter from the Mamluks was sent just a few days after the previous one with the seventeen gifts. It mentions the arrival in Cairo of the Ottoman envoy to Mecca—who bears an undetermined gift—and assures Mehmed II that “we dispatched your envoy…carrying the florins struck with the excellent new royal seal (ال aflūriyyāt al-maskūka bi 'l-sikka 'l-jayyida 'l-jadīda 'l-sulānīyya) that were sent to the Sharif of Mecca…with an Egyptian convoy,…”

37. Sharif of Mecca → Mehmed II (undated): The sharif thanks Mehmed for “the nine thousand new florins with Mehmed’s seal (تيس علائذ aflūriyyāt al-jadīda bi 'l-sikka 'l-Muhammadiyya)…” As a token of gratitude, the Meccans sent: “the veil of Mecca’s door (?) (براحة باب المكاكة),” seven tāqūsāt of different Indian fabrics (al-agmisha 'l-Hindiyya 'l-mutanawwī’ā), and twenty turban cloths (شهاشة) soaked in Zamzam water [from the well of Zamzam, located near the Ka’ba], and a dappled mare [as fast as] the pigeon of Mecca…"
38. Mehmed II → Inal (18 Jumada I 1860 [24 April 1456]): “The ambassador of Sultan Muhammad ibn Murad Beg ibn ‘Uthman, ruler of Asia Minor, arrived; he was Jamal al-Din ‘Abd Allah al-Qabuni. He went up to the Sultan on Tuesday, bearing the letter of the one who sent him; it contained the tidings of the conquest of Constantinople, and was partly in verse, partly in prose.” No gifts mentioned.81

39. Inal → Mehmed II (5 Sha/ban 860 [9 July 1456]): “The envoy of Ibn ‘Uthman set out in the direction to return to the one who sent him, ‘Uthman, followed by Sultan Inal’s ambassador to Ibn ‘Uthman, al-Sayfi Qani Beg al-Yusufi al-Mihmandar.” An unspecified gift is mentioned.82

40. Mehmed II → Inal (868 [1463]): No gifts mentioned.83

41. Qa/rigit Beg (r. 872–901 [1468–96]) → Mehmed II (Dhu ‘l-Qa/da 878 [March–April 1474]): No gifts mentioned.84

42. Bayezid II (r. 886–918 [1481–1512]) → Qa/rigit Beg (3 Rabi/I 897 [4 January 1492]): “…[T]he Emir Jan Bulat, who was the sultan’s peacemaking envoy to Abu Yazid b. ‘Uthman, returned to Damascus…[He reported that Bayezid] had honored him and the six people with him, and bestowed upon them robes of honor, slaves (mamālīk) and slave girls (jawārī), camels (jimāl), silk fabric (qumāsh /h+dotbelowarī), gold (dhahab), and other things.”85

43. Qa/rigit Beg → Bayezid II (Rabi’ I 899 [December 1493–January 1494]): “And on this day, Ibn ‘Uthman’s envoy left Egypt and returned to Damascus. He had with him many gifts of different kinds, from horses (khayl) to slaves (raqīq) to precious metals (ma/ādin) and jewels (jawāhir), and weapons (silāḥ), and other things….”86

44. Bayezid II → Qansawh al-Ghawri (r. 906–22 [1501–16]) (Jumada I 908 [November 1502]): “The envoy of the ruler (malik) of Rum, Ibn ‘Uthman, arrived at the noble gates and accompanying him was a magnificent gift for the sultan.”87

45. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Bayezid II (undated): Wonderful gifts are mentioned, but no details are supplied.88

46. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Bayezid II (8 Safar 909 [2 August 1503]): “Emir Azbak arrived in Damascus…accompanied by some Egyptian merchants and others. They had with them many goods…including four prize horses for Ibn ‘Uthman, with bales of seeds of Egyptian clover or alfalfa (birsīm) for the horses’ fodder.”89

47. Bayezid II → Qansawh al-Ghawri (11 Jumada II 913 [18 October 1507]): No gifts mentioned.90

48. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Bayezid II (19 Muharram 916 [28 April 1510]): A Mamluk envoy returns to Damascus from Istanbul, having been treated well by Bayezid II. No gifts mentioned.91

49. Bayezid II → Qansawh al-Ghawri (Rabi’ I 916 [June–July 1510]): This letter thanks the Mamluks for the wonderful gifts, but no details are supplied.92

50. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Bayezid II (undated): Response to previous letter. No gifts mentioned.93

51. Selim I (r. 918–26 [1512–20]) → Qansawh al-Ghawri (Jumada I 918 [July–August 1512]): An Ottoman envoy arrives with a letter announcing that Bayezid II has abdicated in favor of his son Selim. No gifts mentioned.94

52. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Selim I (12 Dhu ‘l-Qa’dā 918 [19 January 1513]): The Mamluk sultan designates an envoy to visit Selim and congratulate him on his accession. No gifts mentioned.95

53. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (1 Jumada II 920 [24 July 1514]): “And on that day, Ibn ‘Uthman’s envoy came to the palace to meet the sultan…and he had with him a lavish gift (taqdimā bāfilā) comprising twenty-five porters (hammāl) [bearing] lynx (washaq), sable (sammār), ermine (qāqum), velvet clothing, and garments from Bursa (athwāb mukhmal wa-Bursāwī), as well as colored pieces of fabric from Samarqand (shiqaq Samarqandī mulawwan). A porter carried
silver vessels (*awānin fiḍda*), and [the envoy's] entourage arrived with twenty-five beautiful young slaves (*khamsa wa-'ishrīna mamlūk sighār ḥisān al-askhāl*). 96

54. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (21 Rajab 920 [11 September 1514]): A Mamluk envoy returns to Cairo bearing a letter from Selim I, greatly glorifying Qansawh al-Ghawri (*bālagha fī ta'żīmihi*). No gifts mentioned. 97

55. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (29 Ramadan 920 [17 November 1514]): An Ottoman envoy arrived bearing news of Selim I's victory over Shah Isma'il at the Battle of Çaldıran (2 Rajab 920 [23 August 1514]). No gifts are mentioned. 98

56. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (1 Muharram 921 [15 February 1515]): An Ottoman envoy arrived with a letter from Selim I informing Qansawh al-Ghawri of the friction between 'Ali b. Shahsuwar, son of the former ruler of Dhu 'l-Qadr, and 'Ala' al-Dawla, the current Mamluk vassal. Al-Ghawri took umbrage at Selim's request that he appoint 'Ali b. Shahsuwar the ruler of Dhu 'l-Qadr. No gifts mentioned. 99

57. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Selim I (25 Safar 921 [10 April 1515]): A Mamluk envoy is sent to Selim I to find out whether he intends to enter Mamluk or Safavid territories. No gifts mentioned. 100

58. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (14 Jumada I 921 [26 June 1515]): In this letter, the Ottoman sultan describes the exploits of his forces in eastern Asia Minor, beginning with the conquest of the Qizilbash fortress of Kamakh (5 Rabi'I 921 [19 May 1515]), followed by the fall of the Dhu 'l-Qadrid principality (29 Rabi'I 921 [12 June 1515]) and the execution of its leader, the Mamluk vassal 'Ala' al-Dawla, whose head was presented to Qansawh al-Ghawri by the Ottoman envoy. Selim informs al-Ghawri of his determination to continue to fight the Qizilbash forces in the "eastern provinces," and asks him not to come to their aid. 101

59. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (end of Ramadan 921 [early November 1515] [sic]): An Ottoman envoy brings news of Selim's defeat of the Persian vassal Qara Khan near Mardin, and presents his head to the Mamluk sultan. 102

60. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Selim I (undated): This response congratulates Selim on his defeat of Qara Khan and presents him with an elephant "given to us by the king of the Indian lands (*malik al-bilād al-Hindiyya*). . . .and some Egyptian wares (*al-amti 'l-Misriyya*)." The letter concludes with a request that the Mamluk envoy be permitted "to purchase wood needed for some of our important interests in Cairo (*ishīra' al-khashab al-lāzima li-ba'd mašālišinţ 'l-muhimma fi 'l-Qāhira*)" and asks Selim "to dispatch a group of people [who have specialized in] this craft (*irsāl jamm min ahālī tilka 'l-an/la'alā tiša 'l-san'a*)." 103

61. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (beginning of Jumada II 922 [early July 1516] [sic]): Selim provides the Mamluk envoy with the requested wood but apologizes profusely for not being able to dispense with any of his woodworkers, because he is building "one hundred great ships" with which to fight the Christians. 104

62. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Selim I (undated): Al-Ghawri informs Selim of his decision to go to Aleppo with his army in order to broker an agreement between the Ottomans and the Safavids (*al-munāsib an nuṣliha baynakum*), now that the latter have largely been subdued. He asks Selim not to enter the Syrian territories because "most of its inhabitants are Sunnis...[including] the greatest scholars of this umma, and many catastrophes have befallen them in the past, such as the appearance of the Chingizids and the Timurids..." No gifts mentioned. 105

63. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (10 Jumada II 922 [11 July 1516]): When Qansawh reached Aleppo on this date—bringing with him an enormous retinue, including the caliph and the four chief judges of Cairo—there were two Ottoman envoys awaiting his arrival. They presented "a
gown of forty slaves, tunics of sable (abdān sammūr), velvet clothes (athwāb mukhmal), wool clothes (athwāb šūf), Ba’albaki clothes (athwāb Ba’albākī), and other things. [Selim] sent to the caliph two tunics of sable (badanayn sammūr), a velvet garment with brocade gloves (thawb mukhmal bi-kufūf qaṣṭā), and two fine wool garments (thawbayn šūf ‘alīn).”

64. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Selim I (Jumada II 922 [July 1516]): Upon receiving the conciliatory letter borne by Selim’s envoys in Aleppo, Qansawh sent a response in kind to Selim with the Mamluk envoy Mughulbay, along with “one hundred qinṭārs of sugar and confectionery in large containers” (mi‘at qinṭār sukkar wa-ḥalwi fī ḫalab khābīr), per Selim’s request. No gifts mentioned.

65. Qansawh al-Ghawri → Selim I (Jumada II or Rajab 922 [July or August 1516]): Qansawh dispatched a second envoy to Selim, the emir Kurtbay, bearing a lavish gift of ten thousand dinars.

66. Selim I → Qansawh al-Ghawri (ca. 20 Rajab 922 [ca. 19 August 1516]): The envoy Mughulbay returns from his visit to Selim after being thrown in prison and humiliated, with the message: “Tell your master to meet me at Marj Dabiq.”

ANALYSIS

Two general observations are in order before proceeding with an analysis of the corpus. Firstly, it is necessary to keep in mind that we are analyzing not gifts but descriptions of them, as offered by various authors. Moreover, these descriptions are very rarely rendered in vivid, ekphrastic prose, which poses several challenges for the interpretation of this material. Quite aside from the mundane difficulties of specialized and archaic terminology, manuscript corruptions, and copying errors, there are the conceptual difficulties of picturing what the chroniclers described in words and connecting their descriptions with real objects that remain from the period in question. For the most part, the chronicles provide only general descriptions of gifts, rarely giving away much more than the types and quantities of objects sent. The letters in Feridun Ahmed Beg’s collection are occasionally more elucidatory, since they serve as grandiose introductions to the accompanying gifts. However, much of what we would like to know about the precise nature of a gift is usually impossible to reconstruct on the basis of the description provided.

Secondly, there is an empirical dilemma to bear in mind, namely, that the sources utilized are selective in the information that they provide about diplomatic visits. The records for only about half of such visits mention gift exchanges (see table 2 in the Appendix), but the proportion must certainly have been higher, given the unlikelihood of an envoy appearing empty-handed before the Mamluk or Ottoman sultan. Furthermore, of the thirty-six visits that mention a gift exchange, only twenty-seven identify what the gift was, often with only the barest of descriptions. For all we know, there may have been far more visits and gifts than the ones alluded to by the sources utilized in this study. Therefore, conclusions of a quantitative nature (e.g., that the Mamluks sent more carpets than the Ottomans, or that the Ottomans sent more slaves than the Mamluks) should be taken with a grain of salt. This is, after all, an inductive process; drawing precise conclusions on the strength of a limited sample is akin to making pronouncements about the nature of a lake’s ecosystem on the basis of what a few nets may bring to the surface. An alternative approach to the material in the corpus is offered below, along with some suggestions for future research.

Setting aside the conceptual, methodological, and philological hazards endemic to this type of study, we remain faced with a long list of curious items that were sent back and forth across the Mediterranean between two imperial courts: fine velvets and silks, swords, axes, urban cloths, money, ungueants, elephants, slaves, political prisoners, severed heads, and more. Several questions come to mind, which can be grouped according to two principal themes. First, we might ask what the timeline of visits and gift exchanges reveals about the
development of the Ottoman–Mamluk relationship. Are the visits evenly dispersed or concentrated within certain periods? Do gift exchanges reach a peak or drop off noticeably at any specific points? Is it legitimate to read into the frequency of visits a sign of the subservience or relative status of either the visitor or the host?

Secondly, one might parse the above corpus by arranging the gifts along two axes: (a) typological categories, and (b) giver/recipient. Proceeding from such an arrangement, one can ask: What were the most common types of gifts (according to our sources)? Were there certain gifts that were given regularly by both sides and others that came exclusively from one court? Along these lines, do large imbalances in the categories of gifts suggest that certain materials were exclusively available to one party or another, as a result of trade routes and spheres of influence?

To address questions of the first theme, I have aligned all of the diplomatic visits along a regnal chronology (see table 1 in the Appendix). The period begins with the reign of Bayezid I, who sent five missions to the Mamluks. During the early part of his reign, the joint concern of both courts was the danger presented by Timur, particularly to the frontier territories of eastern Anatolia and northern Syria. The alliance was breached in 1398, when Bayezid conquered several provinces within the Mamluk sphere of influence; this would have grave consequences for the Ottomans once Timur returned to eastern Anatolia.112 When Faraj came to power, Bayezid sent an envoy with many expensive gifts (see no. 6 in the list above), attempting to reestablish an alliance with him against the Mongols, but Faraj refused. Bayezid was captured by Timur’s forces and died in captivity. A long interregnum ensued, during which there was no contact between the two sides.113 The Ottomans and Mamluks resumed diplomatic relations during Mehmed I’s short reign, when envoys were sent by both courts, and the tone of the letters exchanged indicates that the situation between the two empires had improved.

The most prolific gift giver of the fifteenth century was undoubtedly Murad II, who sent no less than eight envoys to Barsbay and three to Jaqmaq, receiving a combined nine in return. This period represented the height of the Ottoman–Mamluk diplomatic relationship: united and successful in their struggle against various infidel forces, the two powers rarely infringed upon each other’s territory.114 These good relations continued during the early part of Mehmed II’s reign, especially after the Ottomans’ successful conquest of Constantinople, but Mehmed’s expansionist policies against the Qara-Qaquirids and Dhu ‘l-Qadrids created friction between him and his Mamluk counterparts, as did his rising status as primus inter pares in the Islamic world. Tense relations prevailed up to and after the Ottoman–Mamluk war between 1485 and 1491, but the emergence of the Safavid threat in the early sixteenth century produced a flurry of diplomatic activity.

Although the Mamluk empire met its demise at the hands of Sultan Selim I, the four years between his accession to power and the Mamluk defeat were full of diplomatic visits and gift exchanges. Indeed, up until the declaration of war, the language of the letters sent remained highly gracious, even as the two sovereigns prepared for a seemingly inevitable conflict. Between 1514 and 1516 in particular, as Selim and Qansawh fought a proxy war in the border territories, their official correspondence nevertheless maintained an air of artificial cordiality. When Selim sent Qansawh the head of ‘Ala’ al-Dawla, the Mamluk-supported ruler of Dhu ’l-Qadr (and Selim’s own maternal grandfather), claiming that this offering was meant for Qansawh’s “enjoyment” (li-inbisā/tfikum), the “gift” had its desired effect: Ibn Iyas reported that the sultan did not emerge from his quarters the next day, and quaffed some medicine to calm his nerves (see no. 58). When Qansawh met Selim’s envoys in Aleppo and demanded an explanation for their ruler’s aggressive behavior (no. 63), they presented him with a huge gift of forty slaves and various kinds of fine clothing, begging Qansawh’s pardon for any offense, while politely insisting that Selim was determined to finish off Shah Isma’il.115 The ploy seemed to work, as Qansawh sent Selim a gift of ten thousand dinars, along with several containers of sugar and confectionery (per Selim’s request). Less than two months later, Qansawh was dead and the Mamluk army destroyed.116

Turning to the gift exchanges (and bearing in mind the caveats discussed above), we find that certain categories of gifts are mentioned far more frequently in connection with one side than the other (see table 3 in the
Appendix). The Ottomans, for example, sent slaves or prisoners on at least twelve occasions, while there are only three recorded instances of such gifts by the Mamluks. In addition to their great value, gifts of slaves drew attention to the Ottomans’ status as ghazis, and served as fitting accompaniments to letters that brought news of their conquests in Europe and Anatolia. With the Mamluks’ war-making days mostly behind them—and faced with severe economic conditions for much of the period in question as a consequence of multiple epidemics of bubonic plague and Portuguese inroads into the trade with India—the sultans of Egypt were reduced to sending weapons and armor, rather than slaves, as reminders of their once proud warrior past.

Among the most frequently encountered gifts on the Mamluk side are horses, along with gold and silver saddles, horsecloths, and horse armor, objects that do not appear in the Ottoman embassies. The Mamluks also sent elephants, which they obtained from India, while the Ottomans sent animals found in the Anatolian woodlands such as foxes, lynxes, and squirrels. The most popular gifts, given regularly by both sides, were textiles. In this area, the Ottomans sent Persian (‘Ajami), European (İfranjī), and Ottoman (Rūmī) fabrics, while the Mamluks favored Indian (Hindi) and Alexandrian (İskandari) cloths, reflecting the access of the two powers to commodities produced by their respective neighbors, trading partners, and enemies. The Ottomans also seem to have had greater access than the Mamluks to silk broadcloth, as well as to unusual animal pelts such as sable and miniver. The Mamluks, on the other hand, regularly sent decorative household textiles (e.g., carpets, shawls, drapery, etc.). Clothing and silver tableware were types of gifts favored mainly by the Ottomans, who seem to have been particularly fond of velvet garments, and sent them in large quantities (see no. 28). In addition to velvet, silk and wool clothes, as well as tunics of sable (samārī), are mentioned. In 1428, following a year of raiding in the Balkans, the Ottomans sent a large convoy of gifts (no. 13) intended to project the image of an expanding polity at the edge of Christendom. Accompanying the fifty Rūmī slaves and a white eunuch were “twenty velvet garments of European make.” Similarly, in Selim’s final gift to the Mamluks, a reference to “Ba’albaki clothing” (no. 63) seemed to send a message of encroaching Ottoman hegemony in the Syrian territories that had long been part of the Mamluk empire.117

Two interesting items appear in the sources around the middle of the century. The first was sent by Jaqmaq to Murad II in 1440, one month after Murad’s envoy had arrived bearing “a splendid gift of sixty loads of fabric, from silk to sable to miniver to lynx, different kinds of garments, and thirty slaves” (no. 25). In return, Jaqmaq sent Murad a letter declaring his desire that “both countries be as two spirits in one body,” and providing information about a great gift that he hoped would confirm the warm relations between the Mamluks and the Ottomans: in addition to large quantities of fine turban cloths, several carpet runners with gold embroidery, and one thousand pieces of uncut Alexandrian velvet, the Mamluks sent “the noble Kufic Koran, written in the hand of [the third Rightly-Guided Caliph] ‘Uthman b. ‘Affan” (r. 644–56) (no. 26). Such a gift must have conveyed a message of an entirely different order from the luxury goods that accompanied it. The ‘Uthmanic codex is an artifact of legendary stature in Islamic history. According to the traditionally accepted view among Muslims, ‘Uthman was the architect of the redaction process that led to the establishment of a single Koranic codex during the early years of the Islamic community.118 Tradition holds that he had all the other codices destroyed and instructed his scribes to send copies of the canonical text to the administrative centers of the empire in Syria, Iraq, and the Arabian peninsula. Another tradition claims that he was assassinated while reading his own copy of the Koran, which was splattered with traces of his blood. Such a gift would have contained immense symbolic power, the effect of which would not have been lost upon the Ottomans. When Cairo was established by the Mamluks as the new seat of the Abbasid caliphate, the Mamluk sultan assumed the self-designated role of Custodian of the Two Holy Sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina. The gift of the ‘Uthmanic codex, on the one hand, would have sent a message of Sunni Muslim solidarity in the face of “infidel” aggression. On the other hand, this may have been simultaneously a subtle reinforcement on the part of the Mamluks of the notion that they remained the ultimate arbiters of political legitimacy in the Muslim world. It was one
thing, after all, to send frivolous and exotic paraphernalia gathered from various rampaging conquests in southeastern Europe, as the Ottomans did; it was quite another to send a priceless piece of sacred history, from the birthplace of Islam.119

The second noteworthy gift falls in the momentous year of 1453. When the Ottomans conquered Constantinople, Mehmed II sent an embassy bearing the glorious news to the Mamluk sultan, as well as a separate delegation to the Sharif of Mecca—at the time, a client of the Mamluks. The letter to the Sharif states: “We have sent to you personally two thousand florins of pure gold, taken as booty from the conquest, and another seven thousand florins for the poor...in Mecca and Medina” (no. 34). The evidence from the Sharif’s response to Mehmed (no. 37) suggests that the Ottomans had overstamped these gold coins, as he confirms the receipt of “nine thousand new florins with the seal of Mehmed from the spoils of that great city” (tis’at ālāf aflārijyyāt al-jadida bi ʾl-sikka al-Muḥammadīyya min anfāl tilka ʾl-balda ʾl-ʿazīma). The coins were also noted by the Mamluk sultan Inal, who sent Mehmed a letter after the Ottoman convoy left Cairo for Mecca, expressing his hopes that “the florins struck with the excellent new royal seal” (al-aflārijyyāt al-maskūka bi ʾl-sikka ʾl-jayyida ʾl-jadida ʾl-sulṭāniyya) reach their destination safely (see no. 36).

This gift is significant for two reasons. Firstly, by patronizing the Sharif of Mecca—a role reserved for the Mamluks—Mehmed II was overtly staking a claim for the political leadership of the Islamic world, and his decision to send gold coins taken as booty from Constantinople and overstamped with his seal suggests that he saw himself as the heir to both the Islamic and Roman traditions. Secondly, while it is known that Turkish gold florins and ducats—Ottoman replicas of the Venetian originals—had been produced as early as 1425, the mention of an overstamped florin from 1453 in the two letters in Feridun Ahmed Beg’s collection (nos. 34 and 36) is an indication that the Ottoman sultans had begun to put their names on gold coins well before the minting of sulṭānīs began in 1477–78.120

FUTURE LINES OF INQUIRY

Several additional questions can be raised about the corpus of material presented above, and it is worth gesturing towards a few of these issues by way of indicating some other lines of future inquiry. The approach I have adopted has been to parse the corpus according to different gift categories (textiles, metalwork, slaves, animals, etc.), but one would be equally justified in asking whether there were other assumed hierarchies or typologies of gifts, organized according to different qualitative variables or units of worth. In the bureaucracies of these empires, which structured their diplomatic encounters according to elaborate protocols, was the choice of a gift governed by a set of attitudes about its conventional “meaning”? Do any continuities exist between the “meanings” of gifts in this particular context, and gift exchanges from other geographical and chronological contexts?121

The aim of this article has been to reconstruct a preliminary history of gift exchange between two Muslim polities over the course of the long fifteenth century, based on historical sources and chancery documents. Having established a diplomatic chronology and a “skeleton inventory” of gifts exchanged during this period, the incorporation of further sources (particularly from the Ottoman side) could well shed further light on the gift-giving habits and tastes of different rulers, the ways in which diplomatic messages were communicated in the language of gifts, and the availability of various luxury materials in the fifteenth century.

Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

APPENDIX

The tables below sort the data gathered from the historical chronicles by date and reign (table 1), level of detail vis-à-vis gift exchanges (table 2), and gift categories (table 3).
Table 1. Diplomatic Envoys Sent by Ottoman and Mamluk Sultans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ottomans</th>
<th>Mamluks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bayezid I</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0 Barquq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 Faraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murad II</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5 Barsbay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 Jaqmaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 Inal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 Sharif of Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 Qa’it Beg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barquq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 Bayezid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faraj</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 Mehmed II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 Barsbay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barsbay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 Jaqmaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaqmaq</td>
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<td>3 Inal</td>
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<td>1 Sharif of Mecca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharif of Mecca</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 Mehmed II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qa’it Beg</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 Bayezid II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayezid II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 Qansawh al-Ghawri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qansawh al-Ghawri</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7 Selim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers in this table refer to instances of envoys dispatched by Ottoman and Mamluk courts.

Table 2: Visits and Gift Exchanges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Diplomatic visits and gifts</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diplomatic visits</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visits mentioning gifts</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visits with no mention of gifts</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Detailed gift exchanges*</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undetailed gift exchanges</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ottoman gift exchanges</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mamluk gift exchanges</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A gift exchange is defined as the act of giving one or multiple gifts by one party to another on a single occasion. Note that there may be more than one gift exchange on a single diplomatic visit, if the visiting envoy presents his gift(s) to the sultan and also receives a gift in return.

Table 3. Categories of Gifts Exchanged

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gift Type</th>
<th>Ottomans</th>
<th>Mamluks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slaves &amp; Prisoners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>(6) ten slaves</td>
<td>(13) slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9) thirty slaves</td>
<td>(15) two Chandaki slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prisoners</td>
<td>(13) fifty Rumî slaves, a white eunuch</td>
<td>(13) slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(25) thirty slaves</td>
<td>(43) slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(27) prisoners, fifty slaves, five slave girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(28) five Rumî slave girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(33) prisoners, slaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(42) slaves, slave girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(53) twenty-five slaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(58) head of Ala’ al-Dawla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(59) head of Qara Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(63) forty slaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animals</td>
<td>(6) ten horses</td>
<td>(8) two horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9) birds, beasts of prey</td>
<td>(24) one elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(13) birds, sable, gray squirrel, lynx, fox</td>
<td>(26) three elephants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(42) camels</td>
<td>(35) three horses, two elephants, one wild ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(37) one horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(43) horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(46) four prize horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(60) one elephant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table 3 continued on next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gift Type</th>
<th>Ottomans</th>
<th>Mamluks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>(9) silk clothes</td>
<td>(26) ten turban cloths, ten garments, four silk kerchiefs, seven kerchiefs, fourteen silk garments, six sa’diyāt/salāriyyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12) Murad II’s own clothes, silk turban with gold brocade, pure gold cap</td>
<td>(35) thirty-one Alexandrian garments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13) twenty velvet garments of European make</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(25) various garments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28) five crates of plain clothes, five crates of velvet clothes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(53) velvet clothing, garments from Bursa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(63) tunics of sable, velvet clothes, wool clothes, Ba’albaki clothes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brocade gloves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpets</td>
<td>(26) four carpets with gold thread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35) carpets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather</td>
<td>(6) two silver cups, ten pieces of silver tableware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28) five crates of silver vessels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalwork</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddles</td>
<td>(8) two gold/silver saddles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(26) fifteen saddles, one golden saddle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35) one golden saddle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devotional Gifts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles &amp; Furs</td>
<td>(6) ten lengths of broadcloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7) five taqūzdāt of Rāmī fabric, three taqūzdāt of European fabric</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(25) sixty loads of silk, sable, miniver, lynx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27) fabric, silk, velvet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28) five crates of silk in floral patterns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33) fabrics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(42) silk fabric</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(53) twenty-five porters bearing loads of lynx, sable, ermine, colored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fabric from Samarqand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaponry</td>
<td>(26) two swords (gold and silver), gold ’ajanāt, steel and silver helmet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two brigandines, horse armor, four axes, bows, golden billhook,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35) gold sword, maces and steel axes, two hauberks, horse armor with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>red velvet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(43) weapons (silāh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguents</td>
<td>(26) balsam oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35) balsam oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>(5) two hundred thousand dinārs</td>
<td>(35) gold coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(34) nine thousand gold florins</td>
<td>(65) ten thousand dinārs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precious Metals</td>
<td>(42) gold</td>
<td>(43) precious metals, jewels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8) Indian and Alexandrian wares</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(60) Egyptian wares</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers in parentheses refer to the diplomatic visits in which the gifts were exchanged, as enumerated above.
1. **Author’s note:** This article was originally written as a seminar paper for Professor Gülru Necipoğlu at Harvard University. It was subsequently presented at the Historians of Islamic Art Association Majlis held in New York City in February 2006. I would like to thank Gülru Necipoğlu and others for their valuable comments: David Roxburgh, Stefano Carboni, Ghada Qaddumi, Wheeler Thackston, Marcus Milwright, Jeff Spur, András Riedlmayer, Lutz Ilisch, and Cihan Yüksel, as well as an anonymous reviewer.


8. Feridun Ahmed Beg, *Māneqūtī s-selātīn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1848). Feridun Ahmed Beg was the head of the Ottoman chancery during the reign of Murad III.


11. In some instances, a letter sent by one party may allude to a gift sent by the other party, so it is not always the case that the sender and addressee are always the giver and recipient, respectively.


13. Ibn Iyas, *Badā‘ al-zuhār*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 390. Note that Bayezid I was not yet sultan at the time of this visit, which may mean that the envoy was sent by his father, Murad I. See Muslu, “Ottoman–Mamluk Relations,” 34–35 n. 23, for a discussion of an earlier visit by an Ottoman envoy to Cairo in 1366. Muslu argues that it was probably not sent by the Ottomans, as Ibn Iyas, writing 150 years later, thinks, but rather by Orhan, ruler of Menteşe.

15. Ibid., 1:116–17.


19. al-Maqrīzī, *Ifranjī*, 3:131–32. This visit is also documented in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, 18:55, but with no mention of the gifts: “The Sultan held the court service in the Portico Hall of the Palace of Justice of the Citadel; the ambassadors of Murad Beg Ibn Uthman, ruler of Bursa, Adrianople, and other places in Asia Minor, were brought there. It was a mighty cortège, in which there were the emirs, Sultan’s mamluks, the standing army, and others, in accordance with the usual nature of the elaborate arrangements of the service in the Portico Hall, a service that has not been held in that Hall since the days of al-Malik al-Zahir Jaqmaq; those who knew its arrangements have passed away, so that if any king should wish to perform it, it would not be possible for him to do so.”

24. Ibn al-Ša‘rāfī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, 3:28. Barsbay’s gifts are described as “wa-qaddama huwa aydan li bn ‘Uthman ashyi’ min indaha,” which may suggest that Barsbay sent some of his personal belongings. See the exchange of 2 Rabi’ I 831 (21 December 1427), for an example of this type of gift.

26. Ibn al-Ša‘rāfī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, 3:131–32. This visit is also documented in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, 18:55, but with no mention of the gifts: “The Sultan held the court service in the Portico Hall of the Palace of Justice of the Citadel; the ambassadors of Murad Beg Ibn Uthman, ruler of Bursa, Adrianople, and other places in Asia Minor, were brought there. It was a mighty cortège, in which there were the emirs, Sultan’s mamluks, the standing army, and others, in accordance with the usual nature of the elaborate arrangements of the service in the Portico Hall, a service that has not been held in that Hall since the days of al-Malik al-Zahir Jaqmaq; those who knew its arrangements have passed away, so that if any king should wish to perform it, it would not be possible for him to do so.”


28. Ibid., 1:197–98. Chandakī probably refers to the city of Heraklion in Crete, which acquired the name Chandak when it was fortified by surrounding trenches (khandaq in Arabic) in the tenth century.


30. Ibid., 1:200–201.

31. Ibid., 1:201–2.

32. Ibid., 1:202–3.

33. Ibid., 1:203–5.

34. Ibid., 1:205–6.

35. Ibid., 1:206.


40. This list appears in Feridūn Ahmed Beg, Münşet ‘ulūs s-salātin, 1:214. The letter is dated 20 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 843, i.e., one day before this envoy departed on his journey. The inventory is laid out in grid-fashion, and many of the terms are difficult to decipher. I have compared the list found in the 1848 printed edition of Feridūn Ahmed Beg with the 1858 edition, as well as with two manuscripts of the same work (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ms. Fatih 4126; Istanbul, Ms. Raqip Paşa 1521). I am grateful for the assistance of Norman Stillman, Wheeler Thackston, Andras Riedlmayer, and Ghada Qaddumi in helping me to decode some of the specialized vocabulary.


42. For the term ṣaqqat, see Dozy, *Supplément*, for which he gives the definition: “Damasquier—incruster l’or ou l’argent dans le fer ou l’acier.” See also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 44: “The chroniclers made repeated mention of swords damascened with silver (mussaaqa bi-fidda) or gold…inscribed, or inlaid with jewels.” The adjective مروره remains a mystery.

43. I have found no definitions for the gold-encrusted item in this entry. Given its placement in the grid, it would appear to be some kind of weapon.

44. This is certainly qarqalāt, rather than farfalāt. A qarqalāt could refer to one of three things: a gown with no sleeves; a cuirass (Dozy, *Supplément*); or a brigandine, on which see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 40: “At the beginning of the fifteenth century the brigandine was called qarqal. This is clear from the definition given by Qalqashandi: the qarqal-armor is made of iron laminate covered with red and yellow brocade (dibqi).” Ibn Taghrībirdī made specific mention of brigandines without sleeves.” The name given, Muhammad Kabari, may refer to the artisan.
45. Dozy, Supplément, glosses this word as caparaçons, a kind of horse armor. In the case of both this gift and the previous one, the presence of proper names may indicate that the artifact was signed.

46. The meaning of this listing is unclear. The term mismår can mean a nail or a peg. The manuscripts consulted do not contain alternatives to the printed edition.

47. One potential reading of this entry is zarkash (brocade), although the misspelling, coupled with the term saqqât (which suggests something made out of metal), renders it unlikely.

48. Sâdhîj means "plain," or "unornamented"; this may be the term used to distinguish solid, colored cloth from patterned or printed cloth. Thus, this entry would refer to a gift of plain red cloth. Alternatively, and given that this entry comes directly after a listing of ten turban cloths in a rosette pattern, sâdhîj may refer to turban cloths again, indicating that a single, plain red one was also sent.

49. Here again, we have an artifact possibly associated with a craftsman. A qawâs is a bow, but the term kâfâr is less clear. One manuscript (Ms. Ragip Paşa 1521) provides the alternate reading kâfâ, which makes khamnsa (five) possible, but given that quantities are always provided at the end of each gift entry, this reading is also unlikely.

50. The manuscripts consulted provide a variant for the first word, which looks like the term tâfîšâ (a generic word for "garment"). The second word would appear to be shâfîr, so these may have been some kind of Persian garments. An alternate reading would be shâlîwâr (trousers). The rest of the description is a mystery.

51. The entry contains a description of two parts of the saddle, the first of which was covered with gold brocade, while the second was made with a large quantity (600 mithqâlîs) of gold. The manuscripts consulted, while containing some slight variants, are not helpful in decoding the description.

52. A mändîl is a kind of a scarf, kerchief, or towel. The term nakh can refer to a mat, a rug, or a carpet runner, but is more likely to refer here to a kind of silk fabric with gold brocade. See Dozy, Dictionnaire détaillé, 221.

53. Here we have seven towels/kerchiefs, followed by a listing of ten units.

54. Here we have seven towels/kerchiefs, followed by a listing of ten turban cloths in a rosette pattern, sâdhîj may refer to turban cloths again, indicating that a single, plain red one was also sent.

55. The final words in this description may refer to the place of origin of this balsam oil.

56. The first word is likely to refer to a kind of garment from Yemen, attributed to Sa’îd b. al-‘As, a prominent Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. I am grateful to Dr. Ghada Qaddumi for this latter suggestion.

57. A Dozy, Supplément, Nuẓhat al-nûfûs, 4:311–12. See also Ibn Īyâs, Badâ‘î al-zûhâr, 2:247. The prisoners mentioned may have been taken a few months earlier at the famous Battle of Varna, in which the Ottoman army, led by Murad II, defeated a force of European crusaders. While the source says that the prisoners and the gifts were sent by Murad II, the sultan at the time was officially the thirteen-year-old Mehmed II, who would be deposed a year later, before returning to the throne in 1451.

58. Ibn al-Šârâfî, Nuẓhat al-nûfûs, 4:324. This only accounts for twenty of the twenty-five mentioned crates, unless we assume that the slave girls were put in cages as well and presented to the sultan, which seems unlikely. This gift exchange takes place during Mehmed II’s brief first reign (1444–46). See also Ibn Īyâs, Badâ‘î al-zûhâr, 2:252.


60. Ibid., 19:125.


62. Ibid., 1:266–68.

63. Ibid., 1:237. These prisoners were, according to other sources, high-ranking Byzantine officials.

64. Ibid., 1:240.

65. Ibid., 1:238–39. In cases of ambiguity, I have compared the printed text with three manuscripts of the same work: Istanbul, Suleymaniye, Ms. Fatih 4070, Ms. Fatih 4126; Istanbul, Ms. Ragip Paşa 1521.

66. The manuscripts consulted provide the variant sakâkîn (knives) for the sixth word, but otherwise do not help to decipher the rest of the description.

67. This may be a corruption of kamkhâ, which refers to Damask silk. The ‘ayn-alîf is an abbreviation signifying a quantity of ten units.

68. The manuscripts consulted provide the variant dâbabîs (plural of dâbûs, which means "mace").

69. A chuqal is a mail hauberk; see D. Nicolle, El2, s.v. “Silâh.”

70. See n. 44 above.

71. Here is another reference to a golden saddle, with its (?) made of gold brocade (see gift no. 26–q). The manuscripts consulted provide no helpful variants.

72. The word bunduqûf refers to a gold coin minted according to the standard weight of a Venetian ducat. The word that follows it is presumably an abbreviation of quantity.

73. The second word is likely an abbreviation of quantity.

74. The printed edition contains corruptions for this reference and the following one that are clarified by the manuscripts consulted.

75. Ferîdûn A/hîmed Beg, Mûneçê’tîs ’r-selâtîn, 1:240–43.

76. This may be a symbol equivalent to bestowing upon someone the "keys of the city."
84. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 3:94. Ibn Iyas erroneously says that the envoy was sent to Abu Yazid (Bayezid II) rather than Mehmed II; the former did not accede to the throne until 1481.
85. Ibn Tulun, Mu'afkahat al-kihilân, 1:147. This visit may have been the first conciliatory exchange between the two sides following the Ottoman–Mamluk War of 1485–91. I have found no records of diplomatic visits for the eighteen years prior to this one.
86. Ibid., 1:154. It is unclear why Ibn Tulun says that the Ottoman envoy "returned to Damascus" (ra'aj'a ilâ Dimashq). The use of the term qasid Ibn 'Uthmân makes it unlikely that this was actually a Mamluk envoy, and would not avoid the problem of his "returning to Damascus" on the way to Istanbul.
87. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 4:46. The letter carried by this envoy, dated Safar 908 (August 1502), is noted in Feridun Ahmed Beg, Mense'attu 's-selatin, 1:347–49. No gifts are mentioned in the letter.
90. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 4:122. This letter from Qansawh makes it unlikely that this was actually a Mamluk envoy, and was not avoided the problem of his "returning to Damascus" on the way to Istanbul.
91. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 4:269.
92. Ibid., 4:289. This decision to send an envoy to Selim was made a few days after the arrival in Cairo of Suleyman, the son of Prince Ahmed (Selim's older brother, who had been Bayezid II's favorite to replace him on the throne).
94. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 4:269.
95. Ibid., 4:583–84. It is not clear from the description whether this gift included live animals or pets, although the fact that they are followed by other kinds of fabric would suggest the latter.
97. Ibid., 4:402–4. Ibn Iyas notes that Sultan Qansawh did not order the drums to be beaten or the city to be decorated following the news of this victory, nor was the reason for this lack of celebration known at that time.
98. Ibid., 4:435–36. Ibn Iyas points out that the title used to refer to Qansawh (maq'murukum al-âli), was distinctly less lofty than the one Selim used to refer to himself (maq'munât al-sharif). This, says Ibn Iyas, represented a form of disdain on Selim's part (wa-hadhâ min naw' al-istikhhrâ bi l-sulûtân). The following day brought news of the battle between the forces of 'Ali b. Shahsuvwar and 'Ala' al-Dawla, and the latter's defeat and flight.
100. Feridun Ahmed Beg, Mense'attu 's-selatin, 1:411–13. This letter is also mentioned by Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 4:462–63, who describes the scene of disturbance caused by the "gift" of 'Ala' al-Dawla's head. The Ottoman envoy arrived in Cairo on 25 Jumada II 921 (6 August 1515).
101. Feridun Ahmed Beg, Mense'attu 's-selatin, 1:419–21. Note that this letter is dated incorrectly, as the defeat of Qara Khan and the conquest of Diyar Bakr was not complete until 922 (1516): see A. H. de Groot, EI2, s.v. "Ko Hoşâr." This is further corroborated by the statement in the letter that Selim spent the winter at his capital before launching his campaign again in the spring.
102. Feridun Ahmed Beg, Mense'attu 's-selatin, 1:421–22. This is the last letter of this is almost certainly incorrect, as the undated response from al-Ghawri suggests that he received the letter in Cairo before departing for Aleppo in May 1516.
103. Ibid., 1:423–24. In this letter, Qansawh strikes a balance between praising Selim for fighting the affected Safavids and attempting to convince him that they no longer represent a threat. He urges Selim to turn his attention to the west.
104. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 5:60–61. Selim also sent gifts to the caliph and to some of the umma.
105. Ibid., 5:60–63. A qintâr was equivalent to 100 râfîs, a unit of weight that, in northern Syria during the period in question, was roughly equivalent to 2.22 kilograms. See E. Ashtor, EI2, s.v. "Makâyil." I have not designated the sugar and confectionery as gifts because Selim specifically asked for them.
106. Ibn Iyas, Badai'i al-zuhur, 5:63–64. As Ibn Iyas reports, this gift never reached Selim. When Kurthay arrived in 'Ayntab, he learned that the sultan had cast Mughrulbay in prison and that the Ottoman army had entered Syrian territories and was descending on Malatya. He immediately hurried back to Qansawh to deliver this news.
107. Ibid., 5:68.
108. For a discussion of the difficulty of defining "the boundaries between a written document meant to be read or heard and images or objects meant to be seen or used," see Grabar, "Shared Culture of Objects," 116–17.
109. The choice of sources has also had the effect of providing slightly more information about Ottoman gifts. Although all of the chronicles are Mamluk sources, detailed information about gift exchanges tends to make its way into the history books when the envoy is arriving from, rather than setting out for, a foreign court. Incorporating some Ottoman chronicles and the few Mamluk chancery documents that remain might change the overall picture of the corpus.
110. See al-Thai, "Diplomatic Relationship," 57–60.
114. On Murad II’s good relations with the Mamluks, see Muslu, “Ottoman–Mamluk Relations,” 39–41, 117–26. Muslu notes a period of “harmony from 816/1413 to 855/1451…due to the ongoing menace that Shah Rokh, the successor of Timur, posed to both powers.”

115. This, says Ibn Iyas, was a trick designed to turn Qansawh’s thoughts away from war. See Ibn Iyās, Badā‘i’ al-zuhūr, 5:60–61.

116. Caroline Finkel discusses Ottoman “chicanery” in the build-up to war against the Mamluks, noting that “[d]iplomacy between the great powers of the Middle East was a complicated business. The spies and agents of each—Ottoman, Mamluk, and Safavid—were engaged in an endless game of disseminating propaganda and disinformation in equal measure.” See Caroline Finkel, Osman’s Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire (New York, 2006), 108.

117. For the trade in Ba/ilegal/silk, see Dina Rizk Khoury, State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540–1834 (Cambridge, 2002), 34.


119. An “Uthmanic Koran” can be found today in the Pavilion of the Sacred Relics at Topkapı Palace. It was sent as a gift from Egypt to Istanbul by Mehmed Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt, in the year 1226 (1811); this is not the one from 1440 mentioned by Feridun Ahmed Beg. However, according to the late curator of the Topkapı Palace Museum, Tahsin Öz, there are two copies in the museum that are presumed to have belonged to Uthman. Thus, it is possible that the second one is the copy mentioned in our sources. See Aydın, Sacred Trusts, 91. The Topkapı Palace Museum has been closed for renovations for the past several years and I have not been able to verify the existence or the provenance of this second text.


121. In order to restrict the scope of this study, I have not examined the letters between the Ottomans and the Persians found in Feridun Ahmed Beg’s collection, which might provide a useful basis for comparison. Nor have I investigated Mamluk sources of gift exchange with other powers, such as the Venetians and Florentines.