

## From the Sea to the Foot of the Hill. The Dislocation of Tripoli by the Mamluks after 1289

### Introduction

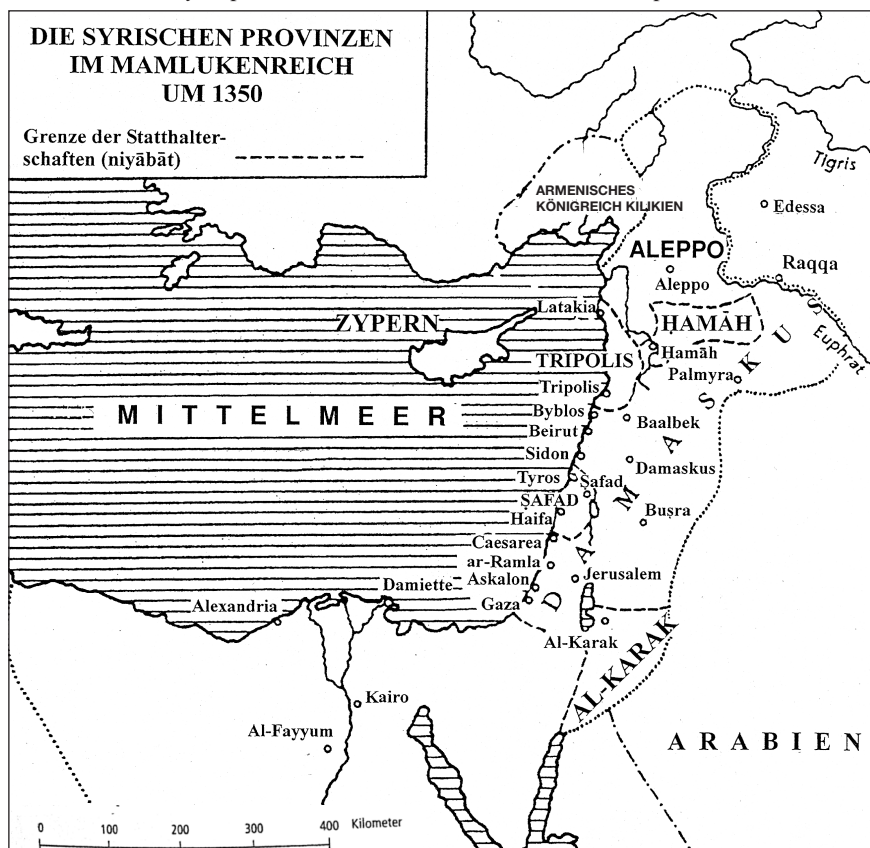
The dislocation of Tripoli after the conquest of the coastal Crusader town by Mamluk forces in 1289 happened in the framework of a consequent master plan of the Mamluks towards the Syro-Palestinian coast and its harbours. The main aim of the Mamluks was to prevent the return of crusaders at the shore via a „scorched shore“ policy. Towns and especially fortresses along the Syro-Palestinian coast were razed. This policy was designed to hinder the Crusaders from capturing a fortified town on the coast and using it as a base for further operations in Syria. Nevertheless, the defensive strategy of destroying the coastal cities represented not an original idea developed by the Mamluks. It goes back to the example set by the Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) (1171–1193). He had experienced a serious setback, when he could not break the blockade

of the Crusader ships around Acre in the year 1191. The Crusaders therefore were able to reconquer Acre, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had taken from them in 1187<sup>1</sup>. The sultan was so disappointed by this failure that he preferred to destroy the coastal town of Ascalon when the crusaders were advancing on it rather than to let the city fall into the hands of his enemy<sup>2</sup>.

When the Mamluks seized power in 1250 they imitated Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's strategy at Ascalon by destroying and razing all the harbours of the Syro-Palestinian coast, which they managed to reconquer during the following years. After the Crusaders were repelled, the fortifications of the towns along the coast were never rebuilt by the Mamluks. The worst destruction of coastal towns took place in Palestine because of the geographical proximity of Jerusalem, the potential target of any new crusade. All the major fortresses on

the shore from Ascalon in the south to the harbour of Antioch, St. Simeon (al-Suwaidā'), in the north were razed to the ground. The grand fortifications on the shore were replaced by smaller towns with small garrisons. These fortifications were only shadows of the former Crusader castles. The defence line against crusaders was moved from the coast to locations further inland. Tripoli represented no exception to this rule. It was razed at the old location on the coast and rebuilt approximately 3 to 4 kilometers inland, at the foot of Mount Lebanon. Another example of the same policy can be noticed after the conquest of Marqab, the fortress of the knights of St. John, by Sultan Qalāwūn (1279–1290) in 1284. Marqab, situated inland south of Latakia (al-Lādhīqiya), was rebuilt and fortified whereas the coastal fortress of Maraḳīya in the same district was destroyed<sup>3</sup>. This policy also implied that local nobles and their troops like the Buḥturids of the Gharb or the Turcomans from Kisrawān were responsible for the regional defence against Frankish naval raids between Beirut and Tripoli<sup>4</sup>. The locals had then the task of delaying Frankish attackers until regular Mamluk troops were sent to confront the Franks from Damascus or Tripoli. As a complete contrast, defence strategy in the East of the Empire was structured somehow differently. Indeed, Sultan Baibars I (1260–1277) was quoted saying that parts of the Muslim armies were occupied to uproot Frankish fortresses and destroy their castles while another part of the armies would rebuild, what the Mongols had wrecked in the East and even stronger than before<sup>5</sup>. The initiation of a fleet building program arguably might have been a better long-term option than the razing of harbours at the coast, but the Mamluks were fierce horse riders and as such not interested in successful naval encounters with the Franks<sup>6</sup>. Seen from the military view of the Mamluks, their policy of the devastated coast worked. The crusaders did not return during their reign. From an economic point of view however, it was less successful and left the coast to lan-

Fig. 1. The Syrian Provinces of the Mamluk Empire around 1350 (Taken from: Albrecht Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer. Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste*, Leiden 2001, p. 294).



guish. Beirut remained the only real harbour on the Syro-Palestinian coast, but it was stripped of its wall, and was left with some fortifications near the harbour area to blunt the initial impact of a Frankish attack. Tripoli on the other hand was completely relocated and lost its status as coastal city. Nevertheless, it became one of the most important towns of the Syrian part of the Mamluk Empire. It emerged as a capital of the Mamluk province with the same name (Fig. 1). Thus, it did not lose its status of importance in the area, but there was a clear transition in its main task from that of a harbour town towards that of an inland economic centre. Tripoli's power ceased to influence the Eastern Mediterranean, as it lost its location on the coastline. Instead, under the auspices of the Mamluks, it was now allowed to occupy a position of importance in the economic affairs of the hinterland.

### The Conquest of Tripoli by the Mamluks in 1289

*He (the sultan) then advanced with the Egyptian and Syrian forces, and besieged the city of Syrian Tripoli on Friday Rabī' I [25 March 1289]. The sea surrounds most of the city, and no land engagement is possible except on the east side, where there is little space. When the sultan besieged it, he set up a large number of mangonels, both great and small, kept up the blockade and pressed on with the fighting until he captured it by the sword on Tuesday Rabī' II [27 April 1289]. The army entered by force, and the inhabitants fled to the harbour. A small number of them got away in the ships. Most of them were killed and their children taken prisoners. The Muslims took much booty.*

*During the siege of Tripoli I was there with my father and the son of my paternal uncle al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the Ṣāhib [Lord] of Ḥamāh. When the Sultan and the Muslims were ready with the looting and the killing, he (Sultan Qalāwūn) ordered the destruction of the town and its complete levelling with the ground. In the sea near the town of Tripoli there was an island with a church named St. Thomas. The harbour laid in between Tripoli and the island. Many Franks and women fled to the island. The Muslims plunged into the sea and swam with their horses towards the island. After the*

*massacre in Tripoli they killed the people there and captured the women, the children and the money. When someone crossed over to the island on a boat after this event, he found the island full of dead corpses. The decomposition was so strong, that the people could not stay there because of the horrible smell of the killed<sup>7</sup>.*

This is how the eyewitness Abū'l-Fidā, who should later become lord of Ḥamāh himself, recalls the conquest of Tripoli by the Mamluks. It had been a bloody battle which ensued after a month long siege end of April 1289. With its fall, the 200 years of Frankish rule over Tripoli were ended.

The loss of Tripoli came as a shock for the Christians. The sultan's soldiers razed the monasteries of the town, even though some monks survived. The Franciscan Fra Fidentii of Padua tells the story how the Muslim soldiers brought him to Damascus and how he gave spiritual guidance to other Christian prisoners. Moreover, he apparently defended the Christian faith against the accusations of the Muslim guards. For them the veneration of the saints and of Jesus Christ represented polytheism. Back in Europe Fra Fidentii wrote a treatise on how to regain the Holy Land. In this „Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae“ he described different possibilities to reconquer the coast and pointed out that the Maronites would be very useful in supporting this undertaking from inside the Mamluk Empire<sup>8</sup>.

In contrast to the hopes of the monk it was not the Crusaders that should come back; instead the Mamluks continued their systematic conquest of the coast. The last towns fell into their hands after the successful siege of Acre in 1291 by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290–1293). The policy of destruction of coastal towns was followed through and all of the conquered harbours razed.

### The Mamluk Dislocation of Tripoli

In the case of Tripoli there had been a debate in the Mamluk encampment either to rebuild the town or to destroy it. Apparently Sultan Qalāwūn had been at first inclined to pursue a solution towards reconstruction, but was dissuaded by his leading emirs who convinced him to follow the policy of destruction<sup>9</sup>.

The Mamluks then decided to relocate Tripoli 3 to 4 kilometers further inland at the foot of the old crusader fortress of Saint-Gilles at the banks of the river Abū 'Alī. From there the plain towards the sea could be easily controlled against Frankish incursions. The newly built town had apparently no walls in the immediate aftermath of the foundation, it seems that only the crusader citadel had been renewed and reinforced (Fig. 2)<sup>10</sup>.

Nimrod Luz has argued that the main defensive unit was therefore the citadel and that walls had not been built even later<sup>11</sup>. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salam Tadmūrī on the other hand claimed that the Mamluk authorities did add a wall, whereby this wall, which replaced a former fortification around the so called „quarter of the Franks“ (*al-ḥayy al-lāṭīnī*), was formed by the linking up of the rear walls of solid buildings around the markets and the living quarters. The wall created by this defence measure exceeded a thickness of one meter and possessed over several gates with towers as access points<sup>12</sup>. Old Tripoli on the coast, which from now on was just called the harbour (*al-mīnā'*), was left in ruins. Only four watch towers were built in order to warn the Mamluks about an impending Frankish attack<sup>13</sup>. This architectural arrangement should stay like this at least until the end of the sixteenth century, when the Belgian traveller Jean Zuallart visited Tripoli in 1586 and drew a picture of the town (Fig. 3)<sup>14</sup>.

The dislocation of Tripoli for strategic reasons by the Mamluks was not liked by everybody. Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470) reports that after the foundation New Tripoli was blamed by contemporaries for having bad winds and an unhealthy atmosphere<sup>15</sup>. Apparently this had to do with nearby marches. The Arab scholar al-'Umarī (d. around 1349) wrote *when the new city was first constructed, it was on an unhealthy spot, and life there was both difficult and unpleasant. But after a while, the people started to settle there. The marshes around it were drained, gardens were laid out, and flowers and trees planted, and the air became healthier*<sup>16</sup>. Therefore there might have been some improvement in the actual living conditions in New Tripoli during the Mamluk times. The fertility of Tripoli's soil though was

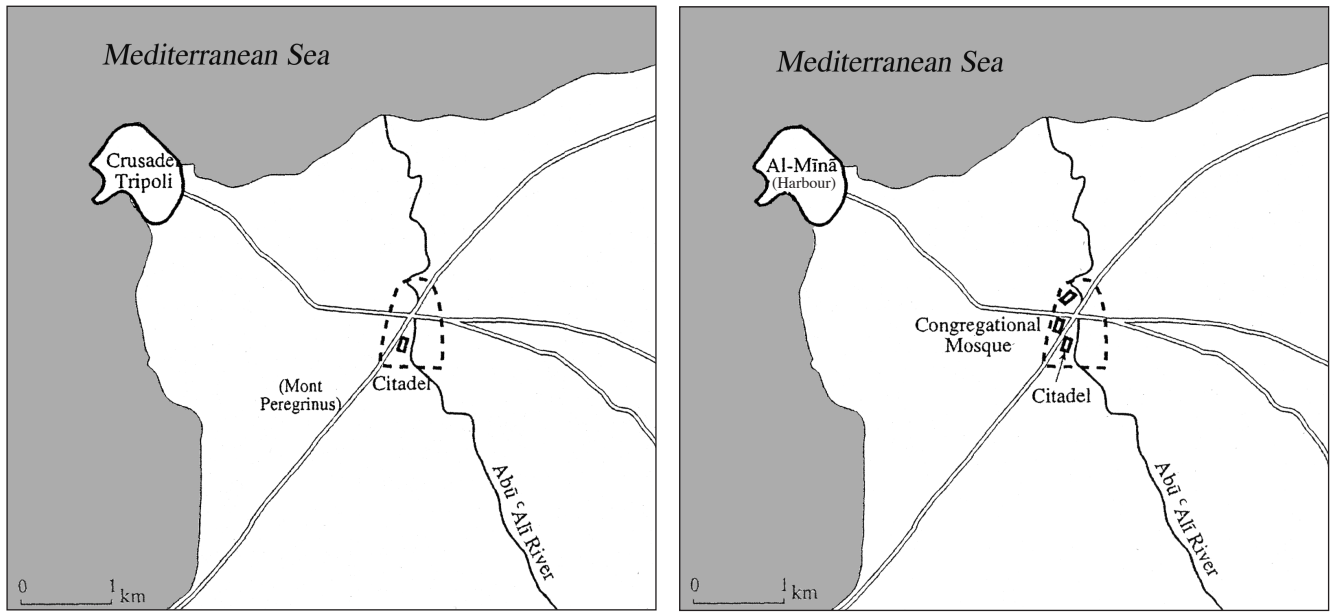


Fig. 2. Pre-Mamluk and Mamluk Tripoli (Taken from: Nimrod Luz, *Tripoli Reinvented: A Case of Mamluk Urbanization*, in: Yaacov Lev (Ed.), *Towns and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East*, Leiden 2002, p. 55).

undisputed and was put to good commercial use for the Mamluks. Medieval travellers praised repeatedly the gardens and orchards of Tripoli irrigated by the waters of the Qadisha river<sup>17</sup>. It is very important to complement the history of the foundation of Tripoli with an excursion into the area of architectural history as it is one of the few complete new foundations of a city in

the Mamluk era. No wonder that this fact has already attracted specialized studies on the Mamluk architecture of Tripoli like the work „The architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli“ by Hayat Salam Liebich<sup>18</sup>. Looking at the architecture of the Mamluk town of Tripoli allows further consideration of the structure of Mamluk urban government and civil life. For exam-

le the aspect of religious buildings and their connection to the rest of the town can be analysed by diving into the realm of architectural studies. The building of the great mosque was already initiated by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil (1290–1293). Consequently six additional mosques had to be built in the next hundred years to serve the believers and cope with the influx of citizens. Two mosques were additionally constructed in the second century of Mamluk rule<sup>19</sup>. The rising building activity indicates clearly the importance of Tripoli as the emerging capital of a Mamluk province.

Fig. 3. Tripoli in 1586 (Taken from: Jean Zuallart, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme fatto e descritto in sei libri dal signor Giovanni Zuallardo l'anno 1586, aggiuntovi i disegni in rame di varij luoghi di Terra Santa, & altri paesi. Di nuovo ristampato e corretto*, Rome 1595, p. 285).



### The Strategic Impact of the Relocation of Tripoli

From the military point of view the dislocation of Tripoli proved successful, as it suffered far less from constant Frankish naval attacks and raids in the Mamluk period as did its southern neighbour Beirut, which the Mamluks had left unfortified directly on the coastline. There was a larger assault on Tripoli and further coastal towns at the end of September 1367 by the Frankish king of Cyprus Peter I. of Lusignan (1359–1369) in the framework of the Mamluk Cypriot war 1365–1370, which had started by an initial attack of the Cypriots on Alexandria in 1365<sup>20</sup>. The attack on Tripoli in 1367 was led by the Cypriote king himself. He was helped by

the knights of St. John of Rhodes. The troops landed at Tripoli. The Mamluk governor (*nā'ib*) of Tripoli and his army were not present at that time. According to Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) a Muslim spy betrayed his religion and had informed the Cypriot king about the absence of the army<sup>21</sup>. Nevertheless, after the landing of the Cypriots a fierce fighting ensued with local inhabitants of the region. The Cypriots then managed to enter the town and plunder the markets, before they were expelled and forced to return to their ships and depart<sup>22</sup>.

Although at this occasion the defence arrangements proved to be not too successful mainly due to the absence of the regular Mamluk army, another major attack of Franks on Tripoli was halted before the city, when a mutual French-Genoese fleet assaulted Tripoli in the summer of 1403. The Franks started their aggression by landing the troops near Tripoli. Mamluk troops, which had been warned by the Venetians, were already waiting for them at the coast. Nevertheless the Franks disembarked and started a battle. The French-Genoese army then succeeded in occupying *al-mīnā'*, the harbour of Tripoli, but did not enter the actual town of Tripoli further inland because the Mamluks had reorganized in the fields between *al-mīnā'* and Tripoli. Faced with the appearance of a determined resistance in the area between the harbour and the town, the Christian soldiers returned to their ships and headed towards the next target.<sup>23</sup>

Although the Mamluk troops had been warned by the Venetians, which had been old rivals of the Genoese in Eastern Mediterranean trade, it seems that the strategic concept of the Mamluks concerning the relocation of Tripoli had paid off in this instance as Beirut, which was still located directly at the sea, was heavily devastated by the same French-Genoese fleet shortly after they had left Tripoli.

### Tripoli as Capital of a Mamluk province

Tripoli drew its importance within the Mamluk sultanate from its rank as a capital of a Mamluk province. In Syria a number of six so called kingdoms (*mamlakas*) or provinces (*niyābas*) existed in the fourteenth century. They were Damascus, Ḥamāh, Ṣafad, Karak, Aleppo and Tripoli (Fig. 1)<sup>24</sup>. Of

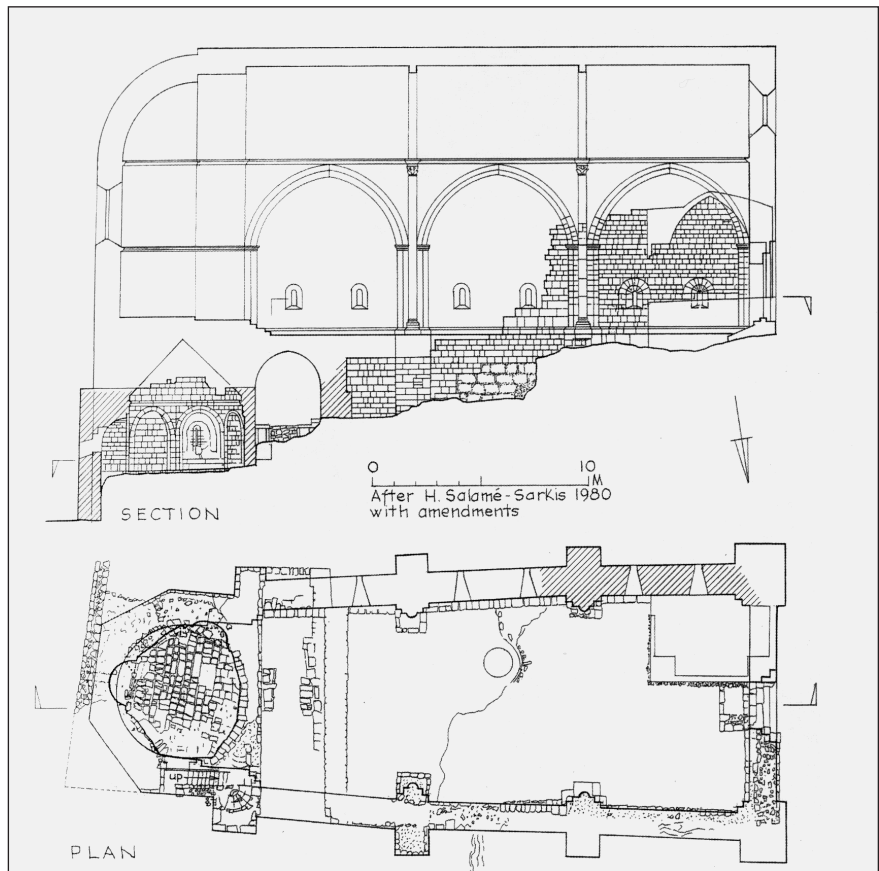


Fig. 4. Tripoli Castle (Mount Pilgrim), church of the Holy Sepulchre: reconstructed plan and elevation, showing extent of surviving masonry (Taken from: Nicolas Faucherre/Jean Mesqui/Nicolas Prouteau, *La Fortification au temps des Croisades*, Rennes 2004, p. 37).

all these towns Tripoli had the only direct access towards the sea and as the other coastal towns had been destroyed, Tripoli became besides Beirut the most important coastal town in the Mamluk period, even though it was not a harbour in the true sense of the word any more. The high rank of Tripoli in the Mamluk Empire is further underlined by the fact that Tripoli, like Damascus and Aleppo, was governed by a Mamluk emir of the highest rank of the Mamluk military hierarchy, a so-called *amīr mi'a wa-muqaddam alf*. That meant that the governor of Tripoli was head over 100 Mamluk horsemen and 1000 soldiers from the auxiliary *ḥalqa* forces.

To make a comparison: The governor of Beirut was only an *amīr* of forty or *amīr tablkhānāh*<sup>25</sup>. Quite often though in Beirut the position was taken by locals as it seems to have not been prestigious enough for ambitious Mamluk soldiers<sup>26</sup>.

In contrast to this the post of a governor of Tripoli was well sought after, as he had the troops at hand to

play an important role in the interior power struggle of Mamluk emirs in Syria and sometimes even in the inner strives of the entire Mamluk Empire. Two of the most important sultans of the fifteenth century, namely al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–1421) and al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422–1438) had started their career as governors of Tripoli (al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh 1400/1400-02; 1407; 1409-10/ al-Ashraf Barsbāy 1418). Barsbāy's governorship of Tripoli was not very successful though as he entered in an unsuccessful skirmish with Turcomans which had fled the East because of the advancing tribal federation of the Qara Qoyunlu. This episode, which had cost the lives of 13 Mamluk emirs, brought his career to a preliminary halt. It had been Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, himself a former governor of Tripoli, who had Barsbāy arrested for his failure<sup>27</sup>. This episode however does illustrate the political importance of Tripoli. There were other aspects to the administrative structure of Tripoli which underline its role as a province



Fig. 5. Tripoli, castle from northeast, after reconstruction at the beginning of the 19th century. The lower parts of the eastside belong to the Crusader Period (Taken from: *Burgen und Basare der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, hrsg. von Hans Altmann/ Bernhard Siepen, Petersberg 2005, S. 81).

capital and economic centre of the hinterland. Like in Cairo and Damascus all the four Muslim law schools (*madhāhib*) were present with their respective *qādī* (judge). A smaller town like Beirut had to content itself with only a shafi‘ī judge.

### Tripoli and European Trade

While New-Tripoli developed as a thriving administrative and economic centre for its local markets and its hinterland, it did not participate as actively in the Mediterranean trade as Old-Tripoli had done during the Crusader period. First of all, the popes had declared after the fall of Acre in 1291 a total boycott of any trade with the Mamluk Empire, which was quite rigidly observed until the middle of the fourteenth century. It was Cypriot smugglers, who broke the blockade from time to time by bringing European goods to nearby Tripoli and Beirut. In 1317 Arab travellers reported in Tripoli, they had been on board of a ship, when the Genoese captured it and beheaded all Cypriots on board under the accusation that they had allegedly circumvented the prohibition of the pope, *the caliph of the franks*, to trade with the Mamluk infidels<sup>28</sup>. By the mid-century the boycott loosened considerably, as the popes started increasingly to sell absolutions for the trade with the Mamluks, which

proved to be so lucrative that the trade between Europe and the Levant coast could resume again. Especially the Venetians with their interest for oriental spices were very active. After 1375 they sent a stately convoy every year to trade at the Syro-Palestinian coast<sup>29</sup>. Moreover they entered consultations with the Mamluk authorities in order to open consulates in Syrian cities<sup>30</sup>. Despite Tripoli being the main administrative and economic centre of the region, Beirut, whose harbour was better suited for trade, was the place, where the convoy was heading at and where the majority of the trade was done. It was not until 1385 that the Venetian senate decreed that one of the official state galleys should visit Tripoli as well, while the crew of the other galleys was trading in Beirut<sup>31</sup>. While the majority of the trade was apparently carried out in Beirut, which developed as the main harbour of Damascus, Tripoli got its considerable share especially in the fifteenth century when the town emerged as the port of Aleppo and was host of its own Venetian merchant community, which coordinated the trade between Aleppo and Venice<sup>32</sup>. Despite these tendencies it can be remarked in general that Beirut was in Mamluk times more important in European-Mamluk trade relations than Tripoli. This was a long lasting consequence of the destruction of coastal Crusader Tripoli.

### Conclusion

*The conquest [of Acre in 1291] was followed by the fall of Sidon, Beirut, and ‘Athlīth in the same year. With this conquest the whole coast was liberated, and when these towns were captured they were totally razed out of fear that the Franks could reconquer them. They have stayed in Muslim hands until now*<sup>33</sup>.

This is how the Mamluk historian al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) describes the result of the “scorched shore” policy of the Mamluks. Looking at it from the point of view of the Mamluks as initiator of this policy it was a full success. The coast had stayed free of the Franks. On the other hand the coast was left economically to decay; the towns were razed and not really rebuilt again during the following periods of Mamluk rule. Tripoli represented the odd one out in this process. Only, that Tripoli was not a sea harbour any more. Its growth and development were mainly due to its function as a regional inland centre. Therefore it became more important in terms of wealth than the rest of the coastal cities in the Mamluk era, but on the long run it should be Beirut with its still functioning sea connection and the harbour which should outplay its northern rival as it could still function as the gate to the Syro-Palestinian coast and the Eastern Mediterranean. A function New-Tripoli could not provide that easily any more.

Notes

- <sup>1</sup> *Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī* (d. 1442), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. *Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah*, Cairo 1934, vol. 1, part 1, p. 104–105; *idem*, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, transl. with introduction and notes by *R. J. C. Broadhurst*, Boston 1980, p. 90–93.
- <sup>2</sup> *Al-Maqrīzī*, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* (see note 1), vol. 1, part 1, p. 106; *idem*, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, p. 93; *Moshe Sharon*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palastinae*, Leiden 1997, vol. 1, p. 139.
- <sup>3</sup> *Peter M. Holt*, *The Age of the Crusades. The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London/New York 1997<sup>8</sup>, p. 103; *Linda Northrup*, *From Slave to Sultan. The Career of al-Manṣūr al-Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./ 1279-1290)*, Stuttgart 1998, p. 128.
- <sup>4</sup> *Šāliḥ ibn Yahyā* (d. after 1436), *Tārīkh Bayrūt: Akhbār al-Salaf min Dhurriyat Buḥtur ibn ‘Alī Amīr al-Gharb bi-Bayrūt*, ed. *Francis Hours/Kamal Salibi*, Beirut 1969, p. 70–72.
- <sup>5</sup> *Al-Maqrīzī*, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 53; *David Ayalon*, *The Mamluks and Naval Power: A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe*, in: *David Ayalon*, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, London 1977, p. 11.
- <sup>6</sup> For the naval policy of the Mamluks see: *Albrecht Fuess*, *Verbranntes Ufer. Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste*, Leiden 2001, p. 13–101; *idem*, *Rotting Ships and Razed Harbours: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks*, in: *Mamluk Studies Review* 5, 2001, p. 45–71.
- <sup>7</sup> *Abu l-Fidā’* (d. 1331), *al-Mukhtaṣar fi Tārīkh al-Bashar*, Cairo n.d., vol. 4, p. 23; *Peter M. Holt*, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince. Abū l-Fidā’ Sultan of Ḥamāh*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 14–15
- <sup>8</sup> *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’oriente Francescano*, *Nuova Serie-documenti*, ed. by *P. Girolamo Golubovich O.F.M.*, vol. 2, Florence 1936, p. 21, p. 55, p. 108.
- <sup>9</sup> *Linda Northrup*, *From Slave to Sultan* (see note 1), p. 154.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibn Taghrībirdī* (d. 1470), *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fi Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, ed. by *Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wal-Irshād al-Qawmī*, Cairo 1938, vol. 7, p. 322; *Imad al-Dīn ibn Kathīr* (d. 1373), *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya fi Tārīkh*, Beirut 1987<sup>3</sup>, vol. 7, part 13, p. 332.
- <sup>11</sup> *Nimrod Luz*, *Tripoli Reinvented: A Case of Mamluk Urbanization*, in: *Yaacov Lev* (ed.), *Towns and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East*, Leiden 2002, p. 57.
- <sup>12</sup> *‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī*, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus*, *al-Siyāsī wal-Ḥaḍārī ‘Abri al-‘Uṣūr*, vol. 2, Beirut 1981, p. 276.
- <sup>13</sup> *‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī*, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus* (see note 12), vol. 2, 259 f.; *Nimrod Luz*, *Tripoli Reinvented* (see note 11), p. 57.
- <sup>14</sup> *Jean Zuallart*, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme fatto e descritto in sei libri dal signor Giovanni Zuallardo l’anno 1586, aggiuntovi i disegni in rame di varij luoghi di Terra Santa, & altri paesi. Di nuovo ristampato e corretto*, Rome 1595, p. 285.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibn Taghrībirdī* (d. 1470), *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* (see note 10), vol. 7, p. 322.
- <sup>16</sup> *Al-‘Umarī* (d. around 1349), *al-Masālik al-‘Absār fi Mamālik al-‘Amsār*, ed. by *Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid*, Cairo 1985, p. 131.
- <sup>17</sup> *Hayat Salam-Liebich*, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli*, Cambridge 1983, p. 13.
- <sup>18</sup> *Hayat Salam-Liebich*, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli*, Cambridge 1983.
- <sup>19</sup> *Nimrod Luz*, *Tripoli Reinvented* (see note 11), p. 56, p. 62.
- <sup>20</sup> *Leontios Makhairas* (d. after 1432), *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, vol. 1, Oxford 1932, p. 210–213; *‘Imad al-Dīn ibn Kathīr* (d. 1373), *Kitāb al-Ijtihād fi Talab al-Jihād*, ed. by *‘Abdallāh ‘Abdarrahīm ‘Usaylān*, Beirut 1981, p. 75–76; *Albrecht Fuess*, *Verbranntes Ufer* (see note 6), p. 185–186.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibn Kathīr*, *Kitāb al-Ijtihād* (see note 20), p. 76.
- <sup>22</sup> *Al-Maqrīzī*, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* (see note 1), vol. 3, part 1, p. 149, *Alyās al-Qaṭṭār*, *Niyābat Ṭarābulus fi ‘Ahd al-Mamālīk (688-922 h./1289-1516)*, Beirut 1998, p. 128.
- <sup>23</sup> *Denis Lalande*, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaud (1366-1421). Étude d’une Biographie héroïque*, Geneva 1988, p. 112; *Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneurs de Jennes*, ed. by *Denis Lalande*, Geneva 1984, p. 234–243; *Emmanuel Piloti* (d. after 1438), *L’Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle d’après le traité d’Emmanuel Piloti de Crète*, ed. *P. H. Dopp* (Cairo: Université Fouad I, 1950), p. 90; *Šāliḥ ibn Yahyā ibn Buḥtur*, *Tārīkh Bayrūt* (see note 4), p. 32.
- <sup>24</sup> *C. E. Bosworth*, *al-Shām*, in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, Leiden 1996, p. 268; *Philip Hitti*, *Lebanon in History*, London 1957, p. 328.
- <sup>25</sup> Like his superiors an amīr tablkhānāh was entitled that a military band tablkhānāh of drums, trumpets and flutes, played before his house every evening.
- <sup>26</sup> *Albrecht Fuess*, *Verbranntes Ufer* (see note 6), p. 279–286.
- <sup>27</sup> *Albrecht Fuess*, *Verbranntes Ufer* (see note 6), p. 195, 205; *Tadmūrī*, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus* (see note 12), p. 45–49.
- <sup>28</sup> *Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faḍā’il* (d. mid 14th century), *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 and 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā’il*, ed. and transl. by *Samira Kortantamer*, Freiburg 1973, p. 51 (German Text), p. 2-3 (Arabic Text), *Šāliḥ ibn Yahyā*, *Tārīkh Bayrūt* (see note 4), p. 35.
- <sup>29</sup> *Archivio di Stato (Venice)*, *Senato-Misti*, *Copia 1375-77*, Nr. 35, 3r.
- <sup>30</sup> *Archivio di Stato (Venice)*, *Senato-Misti*, *Copia 1375-77*, Nr. 35, 17 r; *Albrecht Fuess*, *Verbranntes Ufer*, p. 386.
- <sup>31</sup> *Eliyahu Ashtor*, *Levant Trade in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1983, p. 121.
- <sup>32</sup> *Eleanor A. Congdon*, *Venetian Merchant Activity within Mamluk Syria (886-893/ 1481-1487)*, in: *al-Masāq* 7 (1994), p. 4-9.
- <sup>33</sup> *Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Qalqashandī* (d. 1418), *Subḥ al-A‘shā fi Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā’*, Cairo 1914, vol. 4, p. 178.

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**Vom Meer bis an die Ausläufer des Gebirges: Die Verlagerung von Tripoli durch die Mamluken 1289**

Im April 1289 eroberten die Mamluken Tripoli, eine der letzten Kreuzfahrerstädte an der syro-palästinensischen Küste. Als Teil ihrer Verteidigungsstrategie gegenüber den überlegenen Flotten der Kreuzfahrer machten die Mamluken die Stadt an ihrem alten Standort am Meer vollständig dem Erdboden gleich. Tripoli war nicht die einzige Küstenstadt, der die Zerstörung im Rahmen der mamlukischen Politik des „verbrannten Ufers“ widerfuhr, aber die einzige, die zumindest in der Nähe wieder aufgebaut wurde. Die Mamluken verlegten die Stadt drei Kilometer landeinwärts an den Fuß des Libanongebirges nahe der alten Kreuzfahrerfestung St. Gilles, wo sie besser gegen Angriffe vom Meer aus verteidigt werden konnte. Trotz dieser unruhigen Gründungsgeschichte sollte sich Tripoli in mamlukischer Zeit zum bedeutendsten politischen und wirtschaftlichen Zentrum der Region des Nordlibanons entwickeln.