

Ibn Manglī between the Arab and Byzantine Worlds: New Evidence[#]

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Muḥammad Ibn Manglī¹ is one of the important writers in the late Mamluk period, who has written about the art of war in the Eastern Mediterranean. He has many historical works, nearly fourteen works, from which there is an important and valuable treatise, *al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkiyya wal-dawābeṭ al-Nāmūsiyya fī fann al-Qitāl fī al-Baḥr* [The Royal Orders and Divine arrangements in the Art of Naval warfare].²

We can say that this is the sole and complete work, which speaks on the art of naval warfare in the Middle Ages, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean. On the European side, especially in Byzantium, we have some chapters speak of the naval warfare in different works, such as the chapter of “*Peri Naumachia*” in the *Tactica* of the Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise (886-912 AD). However, there is not a complete Byzantine work such as Ibn Manglī’s *al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkiyya*.

Ibn Manglī has had a good military experience, which was shown in his historical works. He was an officer in the Mamluk army at Alexandria, *Naqīb al-Djayish*,³ during the reign of the Mamluk

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¹There are no clear indications to the life of Ibn Manglī to say that what is the correct date of his birth or death.

²I’ll re-edit this treatise in collaboration with Prof. V. Christides, with an English translation and commentary.

³Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭāniyya fī Siyāsāt al-Ṣinā‘a al-Ḥarbiyya*, MS. British Museum P. 6019-Or. 3734, 8; Christides, V., "Naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th – 14th centuries). An Arabic Translation of Leo’s VI Naumachica", *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984), 139. For *Niqābat al-Djayish*, al-Maqrīzī

Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sha‘bān 764-778 AH. / 1362-1376 AD. He had also a wide knowledge in many aspects such as chivalry (*al-furūsiyya*), hunting and literature.

First, we have several pronunciations of the name of our author, Ibn Manglī. So, what is the correct pronunciation of this name? Secondly, unfortunately, the editors of some of his works never presented a good view on his education. Then, from where did Ibn Manglī take his information? Thirdly, Ibn Manglī says that he depended on the *Tactica* of the Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise, which is written in Greek. So, the questionable point did Ibn Manglī know the Ancient Greek? Or did he use a simplified Arabic copy of the *Tactica*? These are the main questions of this paper.

V. Christides has called this author Ibn al-Manqālī or Ibn al-Manglī⁴ and declares that there are many variations which appear in the translation of this name such as Munkālī, Menkelī, Mangalī. He supposed also that the name Mankālī or Manqālī or Mangālī originated from Mōngli.⁵ Most of the Arab historians called him Ibn Manklī such as M. Ṣalḥiya,⁶ M. S. Khattāb⁷ and A. ‘Abdel-Dā’im.⁸

says, “This rank was one of the great ranks in the Turkish State. Its owner is one of the inferior chamberlains. He adorns the soldiers in their festivals and the magistrates walk with him. When Sultan or one of his deputies or the chief of the chamberlains ask a prince or a soldier he will be their messenger and he has to bring him. If some one of them will be appointed as a prince or a soldier, *Naqīb al-Djaysḥ* was “appointed on him”. In the Sultan’s festivals he was the leader of the Sultan’s bodyguards in his travel or walking. Today, this rank is declined and its owner became one of *al-Noqaba*’ who frighten the people and take their money by force...” see, *Al-Mawā‘iz wal-I‘tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wal-Athār*, Cairo, N.D., vol. II, 223.

⁴Christides, V., "Ibn al-Manqlī (Manglī) and Leo VI: New Evidence on Arabo-Byzantine Ship Construction and Naval Warfare", *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ*, BSL 56 (1995), 83.

⁵Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 83, n.5.

⁶Ibn Manklī, *Kitāb Uns al-Malā bi-Waḥsh al-Falā*, ed. M. Ṣalḥiya, Amman, 1993.

⁷Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla al-Rasmiyya fī al-Ta‘ābī al-Ḥarbiyya*, ed. M. S. Khattāb Baghdad, 1988.

⁸Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkiyya wal-dawābeṭ al-Nāmūsiyya fī fann al-Qitāl fī al-Baḥr*, ed. A. ‘Abdel-Dā’im, Unpublished PH.D dissertation, Cairo University Library, R. N^o.1332.

Serikoff also called him Ibn Mankalī.⁹ Finally, Viré and Zoppoth called him Ibn Manglī.¹⁰ The copier or the writer of Ibn Manglī's *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sultāniyya fī Siyāsat al-Şinā'a al-Ḥarbiyya* has written two forms of this name, Muḥammad Ibn Manglī (محمد بن منجلي)¹¹ and Muḥammad Ibn Manklī al-Dā'ī (محمد بن منكلى الداعى).¹² So, Serikoff, Viré and Zoppoth used the two forms of the name without modification. In fact, the last two forms of the name are one. In the first form the copier or the writer has written the name as the Mamluks or the Egyptians pronounced it at that time; but in the second form he has written the name as in Turkish form. So, he put clearly three points under the Arabic letter ك = k to show the Turkish form of the name and in this case the Turkish letter ك will be pronounced in Turkish ج = g, in Mamluk Cairo, such as ك in the Persian.¹³ On the other hand, we have not forgotten that the father of Ibn Manglī, as Şalhiya said, was born in *Bilād al-Turk*,¹⁴ i.e. *Bilād Uzbik*.¹⁵ According to the Turkish name Ibn Manglī, 'Abdel-Da'im, the editor of *al-Aḥkām*, believes that Muḥammad Ibn Manglī was a descendant of a Turkish origin and his father was a soldier in *Bilād Uzbik*, whereas Ibn Manglī just says that his father had fought in *Bilād Uzbik*.¹⁶ We couldn't

⁹Serikoff, N., "Leo VI Arabus? A Fragment of Arabic Translation from the "Tactica" by Leo VI the Wise (886-912) in the Mamluk Military Manual of Ibn Mankalī (d.1382)," *Macedonian Studies* 9 (1992), 57-61.

¹⁰Viré, N., "Ibn Manglī", *ET*, Suppl., 392; Zoppoth, G., "Muhammad Ibn Māngli, Ein ägyptischer Offizier und Schriftsteller des 14.Jhs.", *WZKM* 3 (1957), 288-299.

¹¹Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 7.

¹²Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 10.

¹³Thanks for M. A. Harīdī, Prof. of Turkish, who explained to me the deference between the two forms of the name.

¹⁴Ibn Manklī, *Uns al-Malā*, 8.

¹⁵*Bilād Uzbik* means the lands, which were situated on the north of Pontos and Caspian seas and the Volga. The king of *Bilād Uzbik*, Muhammed Uzbik, has died in 741 AH/1340 AD. 'Abdel-Dā'im, *Al-Aḥkām*, 3, n. 5. It is probable that *Bilād Uzbik* was *Bilād al-Kipchāk*, the main lands of the Turks and the Mamluks of that time. See Ahmed 'Abd al-Rāziq, *The Egyptian Army in the Mamluk Era*, Cairo, N.D., 13 (in Arabic). It is now the Republic of Uzbekistan. *Khaṭṭāb*, *Al-Adilla*, 205, n. 18.

¹⁶Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, 205.

declare now that if Ibn Manglī was born in Egypt from a Turkish father and then he was surnamed Muḥammad or he had been brought to Egypt as a Mamluk.¹⁷

Now let us discuss the following question, which is dealing with his education: From where did Ibn Manglī take his sources and information? I think that we must try to trace his sources.

Unfortunately, neither Ṣalḥiya, who simply reports that Ibn Manglī was well educated, nor Serikoff tried to find a background about the life of Ibn Manglī and his education. They also didn't any effort to explain the actual sources of Ibn Manglī's numerous passages on geography and history. As far as we know that he was being thoroughly acquainted with the Qur'ān, the relevant religious literature and Arabic poetry, Ibn Manglī had a vast knowledge in other fields as well. For instance, there are detailed references in his works about North Africa and Cyprus. He must have been acquainted with the works of Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Maqqdisī, and other Arab geographers who are mentioned explicitly.¹⁸

Although there is no clear information on the life of Ibn Manglī, before he has undertaken his rank *Naqīb al-Djayish* in the Mamluk army at Alexandria, or his education, we can draw a somewhat view of it through some of his works.

It seems that he has taken his primary education in Egypt, as we will try to conclude. Muḥammad Ibn Manglī in his works has depended on the religious sciences such as the Qur'ān, *al-ḥadīth*, *al-tafsīr*, the Arab poetry, literature, military manuals, oral or written accounts, science of letters and numbers, his own military experience or of his father and etc.¹⁹ Then, where did Ibn Manglī obtain or learn these sciences?

To answer on this question, we have to know the status of the Mamluk education in Egypt at that time. Mamluks were interested especially in the construction of *al-Madāris*, the schools, which were

¹⁷Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 3.

¹⁸Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 122; Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 84.

¹⁹Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, 90.

countless as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa said.²⁰ Most of these schools were dedicated to *al-madhāhib al-arba‘a*, i.e. the four Islamic juristic schools.²¹ So, the internal courtyard of the school was divided into four parts, one for every doctrine’s teaching. The school had *Khazā’in al-Kutub*, the libraries, which had librarians to organize and to repair their books. In every school, there were many teachers, demonstrators, and students.²²

In these schools, the students studied the Qur’ān, with its seven readings, *al-ḥadīth*, *al-tafsīr*, the Arabic poetry, literature, and the other intellectual sciences.²³ It might be noted that these are most of the sciences on which Ibn Manglī depended, in his writings. It is probable that the majority of the students couldn’t obtain these sciences outside the school or at least without study in *al-Kuttāb*.²⁴

Ibn Manglī also in his writings has mentioned this term “*al-Ulama’...*”,²⁵ i.e. the scholars, and of course he wants to refer to the teachers, who educated him. His description of some of these scholars shows that he has known their scientific dignity, the value of their writings and probably he has known some of them personally. For instance, he refers to ‘Abd al-Mon‘im al-Djiliānī, one of his authorities, saying: “*Al-Imām, al-Ḥabr, al-‘Allāma...*”,²⁶ to Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, another authority, saying: “*al-Shayikh, al-Imām, al-Ḥabr, al-‘Allāma, Shayikh Mashāyikh al-Islām...*”,²⁷ and to Muḥammad Ibn Zakarīyā, one of his other sources, saying: “*al-Shayikh, al-Fāḍil, al-*

²⁰ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Paris, 1969, 70.

²¹ These four doctrines are the doctrine of *al-Imām abū-Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān*, of *al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, of *al-Imām Mālik*, and of *al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn -Ḥanbal*, which are for *al-Sunna*. See, Mez, A., *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Arabic trans. M. A. Abū-Raidah, Cairo, 1995, 293-296.

²² ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., *The Islamic Civilization in the Middle Ages: the Intellectual Sciences*, vol. II, Cairo, 1997, 37-38 (in Arabic).

²³ See ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *The Islamic Civilization*, II, 38-39. For the Mamluk schools in Egypt, see Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamalīk wa Bayān al-Ṭuruq wal-Masālik*, ed. P. Ravaise, Paris, 1894. Reprinted in Cairo, 1988, 30-32.

²⁴ *Al-Kuttāb* was a general place in which the boys and girls had took their primary education, especially the holy Qur’ān and other religious subjects. It was distributed in all the Islamic countries either in the East or the West. See, ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *The Islamic Civilization*, II, 21-25.

²⁵ Ibn Mankalī, *Al-Adilla*, 204.

²⁶ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 21.

²⁷ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 22.

(الإمام الحبر العلامة...)
(الشيخ الإمام الحبر العلامة شيخ مشايخ الإسلام...)

Hakīm, al-Wāsīl...,²⁸ Ibn Manglī often refers in some of his works to *madhhab al-Imām abū-Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān* and to *madhhab al-Imām Mālik*.²⁹ So, I believe that he had to study in one of the Mamluk schools, in which there were the four doctrines of Islam, and he has chosen either *madhhab al-Imām abū-Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān* or *madhhab al-Imām Mālik*.

Moreover, Ibn Manglī refers frankly to his teacher, who was 96 years old.³⁰ He never mentions his teacher’s name but we can say that he was his military trainer,³¹ who educated him the art of Mamluk war. He says about him: “I have seen the teacher (*al-’ustādh*), may God be pleased him, has taken a belt to carry the sword...I have never seen any one of the soldiers or people more interested in the construction of the soldiery than him. He had 96 years and killed great numbers of Tartars in every battle, a company of the Franks and mountain’s rebels. He fought all the battles of al-Malik al-Zāhir and the other kings. He died at the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn,³² 684-741 AH. /1285-1341 AD. Ibn Manglī was sad very much for the death of his teacher.³³

Ibn Manglī was fond of the science of letters and numbers³⁴ on which he described the arrangement of the armies. For instance, he says:³⁵ “ من التديرات السلطانية علم سر الحروف فإن علم ذلك من جملة مهمات التديرات السلطانية. فمن ذلك مما جربه الملوك قديماً وكانوا يضمنون به على خواصهم. وهو من الأسرار التي يتعين كتمها. إذا كان وقت الحرب فليقدم السلطان نصره الله ويخط برحمه بعد التسمية هذه الحروف ا ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ي ك ل م ن س ع ف ص ق ر ت ث خ ذ. ض ظ غ... الخ ”.

²⁸ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 25. Cf. 24, 37.

(الشيخ الفاضل الحكيم الواصل...)

²⁹ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, 168-169, 170.

³⁰ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 26; *Al-Adilla*, 251.

³¹ M. *Khattāb* believes that his name is Ḥassan al-Rammaḥ, who was famous at that time and had many of military treatises. See, *Al-Adilla*, 251, n. 105.

³² Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, 251-253.

³³ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, p.253.

³⁴ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, p.92; Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 3-5.

³⁵ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 3-4.

Translation: "The science of letters' secret is one of Sultan's arrangements, which was used by the ancient kings and never announced it even to their close friends. This science is one of the secrets, which has to be hidden. In war time, the Sultan advances, God give him the victory, and after he says 'In the name of Allah', draws by his lance these letters: ا ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ي . ك ل م ن . س ع ف ص ق ر . ت ث خ ذ . ض ظ غ .."

Probably, he has took this science from the works of *al-Shaykh* abūl-‘Abbās al-Būnī, who was mentioned many times in Ibn Manglī's works.³⁶ Al-Būnī had many books in the science of letters' secrets and its properties. He was a Moroccan scholar, who lived and died at Cairo in 622 AH. / 1225 AD.³⁷ Thus, if we assumed that he was studied in one of Cairo's schools, then he had to use its libraries beside the other public libraries of Mamluk Cairo. From these libraries he used many of the Arabic sources such as the important book of al-Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*, which he has used many times in his writings.³⁸ He also used the *Tactica* of the Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise, from which he has quoted many passages³⁹ and was effectual on his method in the writing of *Al-Adilla*.⁴⁰ He has benefited also from Aristotle, who is mentioned many times.⁴¹ This assumption will explain the wide knowledge of Ibn Manglī of many sciences.

These libraries maybe stimulated Ibn Manglī's love of knowledge and urged him to collect the books and to have a private library. This fact is shown in the words of Ibn Manglī in his work *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sultāniyya*.⁴² He addressed his soldiers what about the importance of the books in the following words "you have to purchase the books in any language, either in Arabic, Persian, Greek or Indian". He added that "it is the best friend for man".⁴³

³⁶ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 8; *Al-Adilla*, 92, 202.

³⁷ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Adilla*, 92.

³⁸ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 48; *Al-Adilla*, 169.

³⁹ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 3; *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 37. V. Christides and N. Serikoff studied some of these passages.

⁴⁰ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 3-4, 20, 122-124; *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 15,37. Cf. Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 85-96.

⁴¹ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 15-16.

⁴² 18-19.

⁴³ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 18.

Thus, Ibn Manglī depended on a lot of countless Arabic writings, some of which reached us, but the other is lost. We can trace these writings, but it is difficult to study it, passage by passage in the works of Ibn Manglī. As a historian he says frankly that this or that author says... in another place he says that his father says...and sometimes he speaks depending on his own experience, i.e. he was honest in his writings.

Now, according to this concluded biography of Ibn Manglī it is obviously that he was born, educated and lived as a one of *awlād an-nās*.⁴⁴ So, because of the similarity of his life with the other of *awlād an-nās* we can declare that he was born in Egypt from a Mamluk (Turkish) father and was surnamed Muhammad, as a Moslem name.

Ibn Manglī and Leo the Wise

Ibn Manglī in three of his works, *al-Aḥkām*, *al-Tadbīrāt* and *al-Adilla*, has quoted some passages from the *Tactica* of the Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise, which is written in Greek. So, the questionable point is: Did Ibn Manglī know Greek? Or did he have a simplified Arabic version of the *Tactica*?

Ibn Manglī in his work *al-Aḥkām*⁴⁵ uses the Arabic word “*waqaftu*”, which Christides is thinking that it actually means to pay special attention, to devote particularly to something.⁴⁶ In Arabic Lexica the Arabic verb “*waqafa*” means, “the human has read...” or “saw...”⁴⁷ In other place Ibn Manglī says.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Awlād an-nās* means the sons of the Mamluk Sultans and the Mamluks' sons who were born in Egypt not had been bought by the money like their fathers. Some times the historians called them Egyptians. For more details see Ibn Taghrī Berdī, *Al-Njūm al-Zāhira fī Mlūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, Vol. 10, Cairo, N.D., 309-310. Cf Ibrahīm Hassan Sa'īed, *The Army in the time of Mamluk Sultans*, Unpublished MA. thesis, Cairo University, 1975, 105-109 (in Arabic).

⁴⁵ p.3; Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 84. 'Abdel-Dā'im has mistaken when he read this word as “*waqa 'tu*” (actually meaning that he found that book).

⁴⁶ Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 84.

⁴⁷ *Al-Mu'djam al-Wadīz*, Cairo, 1990, 678-679.

⁴⁸ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 37.

لما طالعت كتاب لاون اليوناني الذي سماه مراتب الحروب رأيت[ه] كتاباً نفيساً صالح مطالعته “
للجند، ولمن يتغى الجهاد في مرضاة الله تعالى ؛ وفيه ضوابط عجيبة تختص بقتال المسلمين. وقصدُ
الداعي أن يشرحه إن شاء الله تعالى، هذا إن بقي من العمر بقية”.

Translation: “When I read the book of the Greek Leo, which he called *marātib al-Ḥurūb* (τακτικὰ πολεμίων = *Tactica*) and I think that is a useful book to the soldiers and to those who want to fight for God’s satisfaction. There are wonderful laws to know how to fight Moslems.⁴⁹ God willing, Ibn Manglī will explain this book afterwards...”

Thus, he confirmed that he has read the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise. But he didn’t mention that if he has read it in Greek or in Arabic? And if he had a copy in Greek did he read it by himself or by the assistance of someone?

The textual evidence:

According to Leo the Wise Ibn Manglī mentions that ⁵⁰:
"صناعة الحرب هي المعرفة بكيفية تحرك المحاربة ، ويتهياً لها... ولنرجع إلى شرح كلام لاون الملك في قوله
صناعة الحرب هي المعرفة بكيفية تحرك المقاتلة...".

Translation: “Warfare is to know how to move the fighters, and to be ready for it...we will return to explain the king Leo’s words who says warfare is to know how to move the fighters...”.

This meaning is found in the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise who says:
" Ωσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὀλκάδι πελάγη διαπορμεύεσθαι
κυπερνητικῆς ἐπιστήμης χωρὶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ πολεμίους κ-
αταγωνίζεσθαι τάξεως καὶ στρατηγίας ἔκτος..."⁵¹

Translation: “As we couldn’t navigate a ship without leadership’s science, we couldn’t also begin the wars and end it without knowledge of strategy and leadership’s sciences...” Leo also

⁴⁹T. Koliass believes that the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise was actually written as a war treaty almost exclusively against the Arabs (Muslims). Koliass, T., "The Taktika of Leo the Wise and the Arabs", *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984), 130.

⁵⁰Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 37,40.

⁵¹Leo VI, *Tactica*, ed. J. Migne, PG, tome 107 (Turnholti, 1978), Col. 677.

used an important passage, which is similar to the other of Ibn Manglī completely, whereas he said:⁵² “Τακτική ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη πολεμικῶν κινήσεων.”

Translation: “Warfare is the science of battles’ movement.”
Ibn Manglī says also:⁵³

” تحرك المقاتلة على قسمين، قسم يتعلق بكيفية القتال على الخيل وقسم يتعلق بكيفية القتال على الأقدام ”

Translation: “Soldiers’ march is on two divisions, one fights on horse and other fights on foot...”. The same words are mentioned in the *Tactica* as follow:⁵⁴

”Τοῦ δὲ μαχίμου μέρους, ἡγουν πολεμικοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ πεζικὸν τὸ δὲ καβαλλαρικόν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰδίως πεζικὸν τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς ἰστάμενον, τὸ δὲ καβαλλαρικὸν τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχοῦμενον.”

Translation: “The fighters are divided into footmen and horsemen. The footmen who remain on land, the horsemen who mount the horses.”

Frankly, Ibn Manglī mentioned that Leo the Wise said:⁵⁵

”وأما ما يكون عليه المقاتلة وقت الحرب فيكونون أربعة مقاتل جميعاً، أو ستة عشر. والستة عشر في العدد هو زوج الزوج. قال ذلك لاوون الملك اليوناني في كتابه الذي سماه مراتب الحروب، وهو كتاب جيد ينبغي للجند أن يطالعوه، فإن فيه قانون غريب في ترتيب القتال.”

Translation: “ During the war, the arrangement of the soldiers is four by four or sixteenth. In numbers, the sixteenth is double of doublet In his book, which is called *marātib al-Ḥurūb* (τακτικὰ πολεμίων = *Tactica*), Leo, the Greek king, said those words. It is a good book, it should be read by the soldiers in which there is a strange law in war arrangement.”

Ibn Manglī in *al-Aḥkām* says:⁵⁶ “ ينبغي أن يكون صفة مراكبك التي تسمى ادرومنس ، ادرومنس باليونانية ... ويكون في كل مركب من العدد التي يحتاج إليها عدد مضاعفة من

⁵² *Tactica*, Col. 680.

⁵³ *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 37.

⁵⁴ *Tactica*, Col. 680.

⁵⁵ Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 15.

⁵⁶ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 20-21.

المقاديف والحبال والقلوع والغرى والصواري، وفاضل من العود المنجور والمشاق والزيت السائل واليابس...".

Translation: "You must have the type of ship known as *adromonos*, *dromonos* in Greek.... In every ship you should have whatever is necessary for it and even double the number of articles needed, such as oars [and/or steering oars], ropes, coils, sails, rods [supporting the sail], masts.[And let them have] some extra curved wood, and also oakum, dry and liquid tar..."⁵⁷

There are the same words in the *Tactica* of Leo the wise:⁵⁸
"Κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ καὶ δρόμωνα καταρκούτας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν... Ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ πάντα πρὸς ἑξαρτισμὸν δρόμωνος ἀπαραλειπτὰ καὶ διπλᾶ, οἷον ἀυχένας, κώπας, σκαρμούς, σχοινία, κάρυα, καὶ τὰ ἄρμενα δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ κεφαλάρια καὶ κατάρτια καὶ ὀπόσα ἄλλη ἢ ἄλλη ἢ ναυτικὴ τέχνη πρὸς χρείαν ἀπαιτεῖ. Ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ ἐκ περισσοῦ ξύλα τινὰ ἐγκοίλια καὶ σανίδας καὶ στυπία καὶ πίσσαν καὶ ὑγρόπισσον..."

Translation: "You must construct *dromons* suitable for sea-battle... They [the ships] should have whatever is necessary to probably equip a *dromon*, without any shortages and even with double the number of what is needed, as for example: steering oars, oars, toggles, ropes, coils, their sails, architraves, masts, and whatever else naval craft requires. And let them also have extra round wood planks, and oakum ant tar and liquid tar..."⁵⁹

There are also many indications to the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise in the Ibn Manglī's works *Al-Aḥkām*⁶⁰ and *Al-Adilla*. V. Christides studied some of the passages of Leo the Wise's *Tactica*, which are interested in the naval warfare and used by Ibn Manglī in his works.⁶¹

⁵⁷Christides, "Naval warfare," 140.

⁵⁸*Naumachica*, ed. A. Dain, Paris, 1943, 19 § 3, 20 § 5.

⁵⁹Christides, "Naval warfare," 140.

⁶⁰Pp. 3, 20-22, 122-125.

⁶¹Cf. Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 85-96; idem, "Naval warfare," 137-148.

If we examine the above-mentioned passages that Ibn Manglī used the *Tactica*, we may conclude of course that he fully understood its passages and the military technical terms, and maybe he had a somewhat knowledge of the ancient Greek. But this conclusion needs to be substantiated evidence.

It will be obvious that there was a clear Byzantine influence on the method of Ibn Manglī in his writing of *al-Adilla*, if we compare between the contents of *al-Adilla* and those of the *Tactica*.

Leo VI begins his *Tactica* with a general introduction to show his aim from the writing that book,⁶² and so Ibn Manglī does in *al-Adilla*.⁶³ Chapters two of the *Tactica*⁶⁴ and *al-Adilla*⁶⁵ speak about the Leader's advantages and qualities. Chapter three of the *Tactica* speaks of the military advice,⁶⁶ which corresponds, to chapter five in *al-Adilla*.⁶⁷ Chapters five and six of the *Tactica* speak of the arms and military equipment,⁶⁸ and the same subject is found in chapter eight of *al-Adilla*.⁶⁹ Chapter eight of the *Tactica* speaks of military punishments⁷⁰ and so chapter four of *al-Adilla*.⁷¹ In some chapters of the *Tactica* Leo the Wise speaks separately of the military arrangements of the troops,⁷² but Ibn Manglī speaks continuously of this subject in many chapters.⁷³

In chapter eighteen of the *Tactica*, Leo the Wise presents a general view on the art of war of Byzantium's neighbors such as Turks, Bulgars, Scythians and Arabs.⁷⁴ On the other hand, Ibn Manglī followed the same method of Leo the Wise when he speaks in the

⁶²Leo VI, *Tactica*, Cols. 671-679.

⁶³Ibn Manglī, *Al-Adilla*, 139-146.

⁶⁴Cols. 682-694.

⁶⁵149-150.

⁶⁶Cols. 693-698.

⁶⁷155-157.

⁶⁸Cols. 718-734.

⁶⁹171-175.

⁷⁰Cols. 763- 767.

⁷¹153-154.

⁷²Cols.755-761; 807-842; 982-986.

⁷³176-188; 196-198; 202-203.

⁷⁴Cols. 946-988.

twelfth chapter of *al-Adilla* on the same subject, whereas he mentions the following nations the Franks, Byzantines, Turks, Arabs and Kurds.⁷⁵

The *Tactica*, in chapter fourteen,⁷⁶ and *al-Adilla*, in chapter sixteen,⁷⁷ speak of the ambushes and their importance before and during the battle. The *Tactica* also, in chapter fifteen,⁷⁸ and *al-Adilla*, in chapter nineteen,⁷⁹ speak of the siege of fortresses. Finally, there is a closed common tie between the *Tactica* and *al-Adilla* in the naval warfare. Leo the Wise called his chapter Περὶ ναυμαχίας,⁸⁰ i.e. on the naval warfare, but Ibn Manglī called his chapter *Nukat fī Qitāl al-Bahr*,⁸¹ i.e. subjects on the naval warfare.

According to this comparison between the contents of Leo's *Tactica* and the contents of Ibn Manglī's *al-Adilla*, it is clear that the latter was influenced by Leo the wise. This may stimulate us to confirm that Ibn Manglī has read the *Tactica* carefully, either in Greek or in Arabic.⁸²

There are some indications in the works of Ibn Manglī, which aid us to declare that he had somewhat knowledge of the Ancient Greek, and he has read the *Tactica* in Greek not in Arabic, either by himself or by the assistance of someone.

Ibn Manglī always uses Greek terms in his writings, for instance he states that the tubes of the Greek fire, *al-anabīb*, which were situated in the front and the back of the ships, were called in Greek σίφων, in Arabic pronunciation *Sifoniya*.⁸³

In another case, the Arabic translation found in Ibn Manglī states that the warship must be bigger and faster and then adds that the

⁷⁵ 189-195.

⁷⁶ Cols. 863-870.

⁷⁷ 199-200.

⁷⁸ Cols. 886-907.

⁷⁹ 216-234.

⁸⁰ Col. 989-1013. See also, *Naumachica*, 19-33.

⁸¹ 241-256.

⁸² We have not a complete and modern translation to the *Tactica* up to now, which is full of difficult military terms.

⁸³ Ibn Manklī, *Al-Ahkām*, 124; *Al-Adilla*, 241-242.

admiral must be in a warship which has an elite squad of fighting men on board.⁸⁴ In the Greek text of Leo the Wise, it is stated first that a hand-picked force of fighting men must be embarked and then that the admiral's ship must be bigger and faster.⁸⁵

Ibn Manglī explained also the meaning of the name of Leo the Wise, which is a name to the lion in Greek.⁸⁶ In another place, he referred to a sort of the Byzantine ships which was called *Dromon*.⁸⁷ He called this ship in Arabic pronunciation *Adromons*⁸⁸ or *Adromon*.⁸⁹ He stated that is a Greek word and means *al-Mashaya*, i.e. the voyager, which was the suitable ship for the fleet's admiral.⁹⁰

Besides the textual indications and evidence, which show that Ibn Manglī has read the *Tactica* of Leo the wise, he said that he would explain this book to the soldiers afterwards.⁹¹ So, it is probable that the copy of the *Tactica*, which was used by Ibn Manglī, was not in Arabic, and maybe in Greek. Then, he would explain it for his soldiers. I think that if the *Tactica* was translated into Arabic, it must have been famous in the Moslem world at that time or at least during the hard struggle between Moslems and Byzantines, i.e. the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. On the other hand, this is the first time in which

⁸⁴Ibn-Mankali, *Al-Aḥkām*, 122.

⁸⁵*Naumachica*, 27. Cf. Christides, "Ibn al-Manqlī and Leo VI," 85.

⁸⁶Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 15.

⁸⁷For this kind of ships see, Al-Nakhīlī, D., *Al-Sufun al-Islāmiyya 'alā Hurūf al-Mo'jam*, Alexandria, 1974, 46-48 (in Arabic).

⁸⁸Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 20.

⁸⁹Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 122. Ibn Manglī uses the term *adromon* in its arabized form for the average "ship in line". He didn't identify it with the Moslem type of ships known as *shalandī* or *shinī*. Ahrweiler points out that in the 9th and 10th centuries there was no deference between the warships called "δρόμων" and "χελάυδιον", and that these terms were indiscriminately used in Byzantine texts. Ahrweiler, H., *Byzance et la mer*, Paris, 1966, 415; Christides, "Naval warfare," 140. Christides believes that the Arabic terms *shalandī* or *shinī* were likewise synonyms in Arabic texts by the 10th century and roughly corresponded to the regular type of the Byzantine *Dromon*. When the Arabic sources refer to average Byzantine warfare, they usually call them *shalandī* or *shinī*. See, Christides, "Naval warfare," 140-141.

⁹⁰Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 20.

⁹¹Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 37.

the *Tactica* was mentioned in the Arabic writings. Anyway, Ibn Manglī was the first writer who has used Byzantine, military texts translated into Arabic. Moreover, it should be remembered that Ibn Manglī was fond of collecting the books in any language, either in Arabic, Persian, Greek, or Indian.⁹²

Lastly, he says also that in the *Tactica* of Leo the wise there are wonderful laws to know how to fight the Moslems, and he will explain this book afterwards. These words refer clearly to the chapter eighteen, which was interested in the neighbors of Byzantium, especially the Arabs.⁹³ Leo when he wrote this chapter about the foreign nations, he had the Arabs in his mind and the way they could be confronted. He says explicitly that he gave all these details about war tactics because of the Moslems.⁹⁴ This matter is confirmed by Ibn Manglī himself, when he says that Leo the Wise had written his *Tactica* to inform his soldiers how to fight the Moslems.⁹⁵

Anyway, maybe Ibn Manglī had a complete copy or an epitome of the *Tactica*⁹⁶ in Greek and he has read it in its original language not in Arabic, either by him self or by the assistance of someone.

So, the questionable point is: Did Ibn Manglī knows the Ancient Greek? Or who did help him to read it? We have no evidence to answer on these questions, but I assume that he learned the Greek from the Mamluks who came from *Bilād al-Rūm*,⁹⁷ i.e. Byzantium, especially who were under his commandment and well known his fondness of collecting the books in any language, either in Arabic,

⁹²Ibn Manglī, *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 18.

⁹³Leo VI, *Tactica*, Cols. 946-988.

⁹⁴Kolias, "The Taktika," 130.

⁹⁵Ibn Manklī, *Al-Aḥkām*, 20.

⁹⁶It should be noted that there is an epitome to the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise, which is called *L'extrait tactique tiré de Léon le sage*, ed. et trad. par A. Dain, Paris, 1942.

⁹⁷Al-Maqrīzī mentions that the Mamluks were brought from *Bilād Uzbic*, *Bilād Tūrīz*, *Bilād al-Rūm* and Baghdad. Some Mamluk Sultans such as al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, paid much money to the slaves' merchants to bring Mamluks from these countries. See Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, II, 214. Cf also Ibrahiēm Sa'īd, *The Army in the time of Mamluk Sultans*, 62. Maqrīzī adds that there was a market in Cairo called *Souk al-Suofiēn* in which the merchants sold their Mamluks of *al-Turk* and *al-Rūm*. See Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, I, 374.

Persian, Greek, or Indian. Probably, they gave him a copy of Leo's work. Then, these *al-Rūm* Mamluks told Ibn Manglī with the importance of the military treatise of Leo the Wise and translated it or some selected chapters directly into Arabic. Thus, Ibn Manglī became able to read it well by their assistance and concept its military importance.⁹⁸ I think that the last assumption is acceptable, because *al-Rūm* Mamluks were known well the Byzantine military treatise of the beginning of the 10th century, the *Tactica*, more than the other races of the Mamluks.

Appendix **A list of Ibn Manglī's works**

There are many works of Ibn Manglī from which we have some treatises but the other are lost. This list contains two categories, the first shows the remaining works but the other shows the lost works.

I- The remaining works

- *Al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkiyya wal-ḍawābeṭ al-Nāmūsiyya fī fann al-Qitāl fī al-Baḥr*⁹⁹ [The Royal Orders and Divine arrangements in the art of naval warfare]. There are many copies of this work as follow:

⁹⁸ In a discussion with I. Pahlitzsch, he thinks that the most probable way for Ibn Manglī to learn Greek was from the Melkites in Egypt. There has been Greek clerics (the patriarch, bishops, and priests) and monks in Egypt. I couldn't accept his opinion because of the Mamluks were a separated order in the Egyptian society. They had kept their independent character and didn't mix with any race of the Egyptians. At the same time, they didn't allow to the Egyptians to serve in the Mamluk army as soldiers. Cf. Sa'īed 'Ashor, *The Mamluk Era in Egypt and Syria*, Cairo, 1965, 310 (in Arabic); Ibrahiēm Sa'īed, *The Army in the Time of Mamluk Sultans*, 17. On the other hand, the Melkites were a closed minority and Muhammad Ibn Manglī, as a Muslim, had has no necessity to contact with them to study the Greek.

⁹⁹Ed. by M. 'Abdel-Dā'im, infra note no. 7. There are two photocopies of the copy of the Egyptian National Library no.23 *Frūsiyya / Taymour* are preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria and in the Library of the Egyptian Military Museum.

1. One is preserved in the Egyptian National Library no.14790 ‘*Fenōn Ḥarbiyya*’.
2. One is preserved in the Egyptian National Library no. 23 ‘*Frūsiyya / al-Khizāna al-Taimoriyya*’.¹⁰⁰
3. Two are in the Egyptian National Library nos. 25749, 27997.¹⁰¹
 - *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭāniyya fī Siyāsat al-Ṣinā‘a al-Ḥarbiyya* [Sultans’ arrangements in the policy of war’s construction]. There are many copies of this work as follows:¹⁰²
 1. One is preserved in the Egyptian National Library no. 1147B.
 2. One is preserved in the Egyptian Military Museum no. 379.
 3. One is preserved in the Library of ‘*al-Baladiyya*’ at Alexandria no. 76.
 4. One is preserved in the British Museum Library no. P. 6019-Or.3734.
 5. One is preserved in the Oriental Institute at Leningrad no. 213.
 6. One is preserved in the Library of the University of Leningrad no. 762.
 7. One is preserved in the Library of the Institute of Asian & African Peoples at Petersburg no. 726C.
 8. One is preserved in the Library of al-Solimaniyya, ‘*Khizānet Hagia Sophia*’ at Istanbul no. 2856.
 9. One is preserved in the National Library of Tunisia no. 3254.

¹⁰⁰Abdel-Dā’im, the editor of this work, says that this is the only copy of this MS. from which there are many photocopies. *Al-Aḥkām*, 15. In fact, there are four different copies of it in the Egyptian National Library. Its microfilm’s number in the library is 57.

¹⁰¹There is no microfilm to these copies. So, it is not easy to deal with it.

¹⁰²A photocopy of the copy of British Museum no. P. 6019-Or.3734 is preserved in the Central Library of Cairo University no. 26337. Another photocopy of the copy of the Egyptian National Library no. 1147B is preserved in the Library of the Scientific Council of Iraq no. 646. This copy has been published by S. M. al-Gamīlī in *Al-Mawrid Magazine* of Iraq, vol. 12, 4 (1983), 319-378.

- *Al-Adilla al-Rasmiyya fī al-Ta‘ābī al-Ḥarbiyya*.¹⁰³ [The Official Evidence in the Arrangements of the Soldiers]. There are two copies of this work as follows:

1. One is preserved in the Library of al-Solimaniyya, ‘*Khizānet Hagia Sophia*’ at Istanbul no. 2875. A photocopy in the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts at Cairo no. 1 *Frūsiyya*, of this copy.
2. One is preserved in the Library of al-Solimaniyya, ‘*Khizānet Hagia Sophia*’ at Istanbul no. 2839, which is written in the author’s hand.

- *Kitāb Uns al-Malā bi-Waḥsh al-Falā*.¹⁰⁴ There are two copies only of this work as follows:

1. One is preserved in the Egyptian National Library no. 12 *Şena‘a ‘Arabī*.
2. One is preserved in the *bibliothèque nationale* of Paris no. 2832.¹⁰⁵

- *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb wa Fath al-Mudun wa Hifz al-Durūb*¹⁰⁶ [Book of Deceits of Wars and Conquest of Towns and Defense of Passes]. There are many copies of this MS. as follows:

1. Two copies in the Library of al-Solimaniyya, ‘*Khizānet Hagia Sophia*’ at Istanbul no. 2875 and 3187.¹⁰⁷
2. One is preserved in the Library of al-Solimaniyya, ‘*Khizānet Ass‘ad Efendī*’ at Istanbul no.1884.
3. One is preserved in the Library of the Museum of ‘*Top Kapu Serai*’ at Istanbul no. 3469/7418A.¹⁰⁸
4. One is preserved in the Library of the University of Leiden no. OR. NR. 499.

¹⁰³Ed. by M. S. *Khattāb*, infra. note no. 6.

¹⁰⁴Ed. by M. E. *Şalhiya*, infra. note no.5.

¹⁰⁵Ed. and French trans. by Florian Pharaon, Paris, 1880.

¹⁰⁶Ed. by N. M. ‘Abdel-‘Azīz, Cairo, 2000.

¹⁰⁷M. *Khattāb* mentions that their numbers are 3086 and 3087. Cf. *Al-Adilla*, 102.

¹⁰⁸There is a photocopy of this one in the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts at Cairo no. 19 *Frūsiyya*.

5. One is preserved in ‘*al-Khizāna al-‘Amma*’ at Rabat, Morocco, collection of al-Gallawy no. 43G.
 6. One in ‘*al-Khizāna al-Malakiyyā*’ at Rabat, no. 2850.
- *Al-Manhal al-‘Adhb l-Wurūd Ahl al-Ḥarb*¹⁰⁹. There is only one copy of this work in the Library of al-Solimaniya, ‘*Khizānet Hagia Sophia*’ at Istanbul no. 2839.

II- The lost works

- *Al-Risāla Al-Murḍiyya fī Ṣinā‘at Al-Djundiyya*.¹¹⁰
- *Fann al-Ḥarb*.¹¹¹
- *Rīsālat al-Taḥqīq fī Ṣūr‘at al-Tafwiq*.¹¹²
- *Aqqṣā al-Amad fī al-Rad ‘Ala Monker Ser al-‘Adad*.¹¹³
- *Kitāb al-Kashf wal-Baiyān*.¹¹⁴
- ‘*Eqd al-Slūk Fīmā Yalzam Djalīs al-Mlūk*.¹¹⁵
- *Al-Ta‘ābī al-Qamariyya*.¹¹⁶
- *Al-Dorru al-Thamīn fī Aḥwāl al-Motaqadmīn*.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹This work is mentioned in *Al-Adilla*, 199, 214; *Al-Tadbīrāt*, 22.

¹¹⁰*Al-Adilla*, 103; *Uns al-Malā*, 15-16.

¹¹¹Maher, S., *Al-Baḥriyya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo, 1967, 7 (in Arabic).

¹¹²*Al-Tadbīrāt*, 56.

¹¹³*Al-Adilla*, 105; *Uns al-Malā*, 15.

¹¹⁴*Al-Adilla*, 104, 222; *Uns al-Malā*, 16.

¹¹⁵*Al-Tadbīrāt*, 10; *Uns al-Malā*, 16; *Al-Adilla*, 103.

¹¹⁶This work is mentioned only by the editor of *Al-Adilla*, 104.

¹¹⁷This work is mentioned only by the editor of *Al-Adilla*, 105.