

The Mamluk Lancer

A philological study of *Nihāyat al-su'l wa-'l-'umnīya fī ta'īm 'a'māl al-furūsīya*

Kjersti Enger Jensen



ARA4590: Master's Thesis in Arabic Studies

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
the field of Arabic language (60 credits)

Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

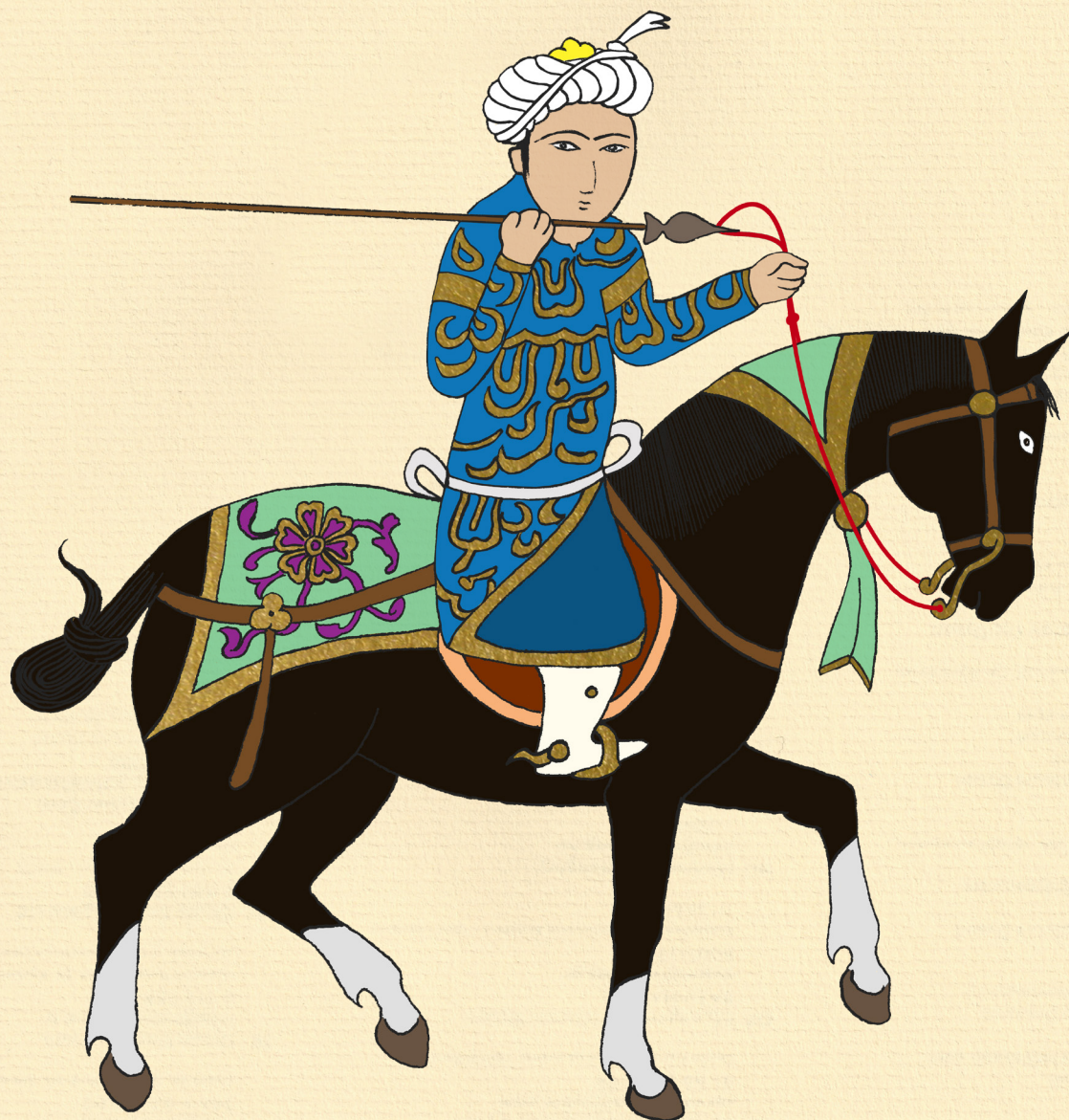
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A note on transcription

I have used the following transcription system, which is based on the Deutsches Institut für Normung standard for transliteration, with a couple of minor differences.

ا	'ā	ظ	z
ب	b	ع	‘
ت	t	غ	ġ
ث	ṭ	ف	f
ج	ġ	ق	q
ح	ḥ	ك	k
خ	ḫ	ل	l
د	d	م	m
ذ	ḍ	ن	n
ر	r	ه	h
ز	z	و	w/ū
س	s	ي	y/ī
ش	š	ة	-/t
ص	ṣ	ـ	a
ض	ḍ	ـ	i
ط	ṭ	ـ	u

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Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Lutz Edzard, for giving me free rein to pursue my interests to such a degree, for believing in my project, and for his valuable and insightful feedback.

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In the end, I am responsible for the final product, and every last mistake is entirely my fault.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

When I started my master's programme at the University of Oslo, I had little experience with classical Arabic. The only work I had done in pre-modern literature was with excerpts from religious and theological texts, and generous amounts of *jāhilīya* and early Islamic poetry that I was made to study in Damascus. So when I started studying classical Arabic texts under Professor Lutz Edzard, I was delighted to discover the wealth of technical treatises available from almost every field imaginable. These glimpses into the rich cultural and scientific heritage of the Muslim world intrigued me, and I was inspired to look in this direction when choosing the topic of my master's thesis. As an avid rider and horse enthusiast, I was keen to find out more about the place of the horse in this heritage, and because I am fortunate enough to know people who are knowledgeable about and even skilled in different disciplines of mounted fighting, I was curious to see what the classical Arabic literature had to offer on this topic. For me, it was a golden opportunity to combine the two greatest passions in my life. After some research, and with a little help and advice from colleagues and friends, I landed on *Nihāyat al-su'l*: a comprehensive work compiled in the Bahri period of the Mamluk dynasty, of which no complete critical edition and no complete translation have been published yet, as far as I can tell.

1.2 Purpose

With this thesis, my intention has been to make a philological contribution to the field, in the hopes that it may shed some light on this part of the *furūsīya* literature, which is not always very easily accessible even for the learned reader. It may also be considered a contribution, however modest, to the cultural history of the Muslims. The goal for the translation has been to create a target text that follows the source text as closely as possible, without twisting the target language too badly. When these two considerations have happened to be at conflict with each other, the former has taken precedence in most cases.

1.3 About *Nihāyat al-su'l* and its author

The source text for this thesis is a Mamluk horsemanship manual most commonly known as *Nihāyat al-su'l wa-'l-'umniya fī ta'līm 'a'māl al-furūsīya*, (literally: “An end to the question-

ing and desire of teaching [alt.: learning] the works of horsemanship”) or *ta‘allum*^[1] *‘a‘māl al-furūsīya*, although the title is sometimes given as *Nihāyat al-su‘l wa-‘l-‘umniya fī ‘ilm al-furūsīya*^[2]. It will henceforth be referred to as *Nihāyat al-su‘l* or simply *Nihāya*. It is usually (though not without dispute)^[3] accredited to Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Isma‘īl al-Ḥanafī al-‘Aqsarā’ī, about whom little else is known than that he died in 749/1348 in Damascus^[4]. He was a grandstudent of the *furūsīya* master Nağm al-Dīn ‘Ayyūb al-‘Aḥḍab^[5] and a contemporary of the emir ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz^[6]. According to Haarmann (1998), he was not himself a Mamluk but rather an immigrant from Anatolia, Azerbaijan or Iran.^[7]

There are, to my knowledge, ten known copies of this manuscript; four in London, two in Istanbul, and one each in Cambridge, Paris, Cairo and Dublin^[8]. Unfortunately, though not for lack of trying, I was unsuccessful in my attempts to acquire a copy of any of the manuscripts, nor was I able to study any of them in real life. The edition I primarily based my translation upon is therefore found in a printed book edited and published by one Dr. Ḥālīd al-Suwaydī in Syria. This edition appears to be based on only one copy of the manuscript – there is little to indicate otherwise, and this edition has turned out to be lacking in several aspects – and although the editor does not explicitly state which one it is, I believe it to be a copy present in the British Library^[9]. The title page of a MS as well as the explicit and colophon are reproduced in al-Suwaydī’s edition, and they match the ones given in G. Rex Smith’s *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship*, which is a booklet examining the British Library MS Add 18866. The illustrations reproduced in the edited text also match those from this MS, which is the only illuminated copy found in the British Library. (On the other hand, all these images are found in Smith’s booklet on this MS, so it is possible that al-Suwaydī has simply added them to his

[1] Ḥālīd ‘Aḥmad al-Suwaydī, *Nihāyat al-su‘l wa-‘l-‘umniya fī ta‘allum ‘a‘māl al-furūsīya*. (Damascus: *Dār Kanān li-‘l-našr wa-‘l-tawzī‘* 2009).

[2] G. Rex Smith, *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship*. (London: The British Library 1979), 27.

[3] David Nicolle, “The Reality of Mamluk Warfare: Weapons, Armour and Tactics.”, in *Al-Masāq. Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea*, Vol. 7 (1994): 77

[4] Smith, *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship*, 27.

[5] GAL SI 905. Not to be confused with al-Malik al-‘Afdal Nağm al-Dīn ‘Ayyūb, of course.

[6] GAL SII 167.

[7] Ulrich Haarmann, “The late triumph of the Persian bow: critical voices on the Mamluk monopoly on weaponry”, in Philipp, Thomas and Ulrich Haarmann (ed.): *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1998), 178.

[8] Smith, *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship*, 3, 27.

[9] He does mention a few of the known copies, listed almost casually, but the names and numbers don’t add up except for the Paris (2828) copy. There is also mention of another title attributed to al-‘Aqsarā’ī (سرور المهج، والألباب في رسائل الأحاباب), Hagia Sofia 1/4033, but the author has failed to provide any references here.

book to serve as illustrations). I have also had access to the critical edition by Lutful-Huq^[10] from 1955, which has been of great value as it is far more thorough than the aforementioned edition. Lutful-Huq states that he based his edition on five manuscripts: the British Museum MS., Or. 3641, the British Museum MS., Add. 23,488, the British Museum MS., No. Add. 23,487, the Cambridge MS., Qq. 277 and the Paris MS., No. 2828.^[11] He adds that he was unable to obtain copies of the manuscripts in Cairo and Istanbul, the former because it appeared to be lost at the time, but that it was possible to produce a complete text based on the other five copies, which complemented each other. Other copies have emerged found as there are ten known copies in existence, according to Smith (maybe even more today). As Scanlon points out^[12], it is peculiar that Lutful-Huq missed out on the most famous copy of the manuscript, the British Museum Add. 18,866^[13]. Perhaps this copy simply had not found its way to the British Museum at the time. The one in the Chester Beatty library, which is also beautifully illuminated, is not mentioned by Lutful-Huq either. If I am right in assuming that al-Suwaydī based his edition on the BM Add. 18,866, that adds one copy to the basis of the translation. Haarmann^[14] mentions another critical edition from 1972 by Nabīl ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (another Ph.D dissertation), which I have not succeeded in tracking down.

The text is long, counting nearly 500 pages in al-Suwaydī’s edition. (His probable source, the BL Ms. Add. 18,866 counts 292 folios^[15]). It consists of twelve lessons or instructional chapters (*ta’līmāt*), each one dealing with different aspects of cavalry training in the Mamlūk sultanate. These technical chapters consist for the most part of detailed descriptions of various exercises on horseback using a given weapon. Most of the text is copied from other sources, many of them pre-Mamluk. The first lesson is based on several such older sources, and the second lesson contains several chapters from an important work from the Abbasid period penned by Ibn ‘Aḥī Ḥizām. The entire compilation contains texts from a rich variety of sources; Greek, Sassanian, Abbasid and other.^[16] One should therefore

[10] Abul Lais Syed Muhammad Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition of Nihāyat al-sūl wa’l-umnīyah fī ta’līm a’ māl al-furūsīyah of Muḥammad b. ‘Isā b. Ismā‘īl al-Ḥanafī*. (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1955).

[11] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*, 2-4.

[12] George T. Scanlon, *A Muslim Manual of War* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1961, 2012), 11

[13] Today the British Library MS. Add. 18,866.

[14] Haarmann, “The late triumph,” 178 (note).

[15] Smith, *Medieval*: 27

[16] Shihab al-Sarraf, “Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature and its antecedents”, in *Mamluk Studies Review*, vol. VIII, no. 1, pp. 141-201 (Chicago: University of Chicago 2004), 196-7.

be careful to use *Nihāyat al-su'l* as a source of information about the military practices of the Mamluk era. However, it remains an important work because it transmits texts from other sources whose originals are now lost, and sources that are yet to be identified. It is also a testament to the importance of and interest for *furūsīya* in its time.

The contents of the text are as follows:

The author's introduction and a part listing the religiously sanctioned benefits of *ġihād* and martyrdom.

Lesson one: on archery, the benefits of archery, different kinds of bows and how to choose one, various techniques, how to aim.

Lesson two: on the lance. First comes several versions of the lance exercises^[17] accredited to the *furūsīya* master Naġm al-Dīn al-'Aḥḍab. These exercises are described only briefly, and for the most part give little or no information on their practical execution. Then, in chapter six of the second part, after an anecdote and a small part on the excellent qualities of the horse as an animal, the text deals briefly with how to train and ride horses. After that comes a part about how to enter and exit the manoeuvres, several drawings of patterns or manoeuvres in the hippodrome. These patterns come without an explanation, as they had already been forgotten at the time of compilation. The author very helpfully includes a detailed diagram of one manoeuvre and its important points and ways, after which follows the detailed lance exercises performed in the hippodrome and a few chapters on using the lance in battle. The last chapter of this part consists of questions and answers about how to fight with the lance.

Lesson three: on the sword, begins also with the benefits of the sword as a weapon, then follows a part on basic work with the sword and several exercises described in detail. There is also a letter from Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Ishāq al-Kindī to al-Mu'taṣim. The last chapter of this part is a section on questions and answers.

Lesson four: a very short part containing only questions and answers concerning the shield and its use.

Lesson five: an even shorter part concerning the mace^[18].

Lesson six: on the making of soldiers and cavalymen; five chapters, all questions and answers.

Lesson seven: on weapons, again mostly questions and answers. (An English translation of

[17] *bunūd*, see glossary.

[18] To sum it up: If you have a mace, you can do whatever you like!

some chapters from this lesson was published by David Nicolle in 1994).^[19]

Lesson eight: on conscription and how to assemble troops, including a chapter on physiognomy.

Lesson nine: on battle lines, including a few diagrams and some very carefully laid down instructions on how to form the various lines.

Lesson ten: on incendiaries and smoke devices, another short lesson.

Lesson eleven: on how to divide spoils, and what laws are relevant for warfare, including how to treat prisoners of war.

Lesson twelve: on what the soldier requires and other things, a collection of useful tips for the battleground.

Nihāyat al-suʿl is a comprehensive handbook for the Mamluk cavalry student. It is apparently meant to be used in the hippodrome, by students and teachers alike. The lessons are of unequal length, and while some topics are covered in passing, others are given thorough attention. The sections covering how to use the lance and the sword are the most extensive ones, and the lance part covers everything from how you approach the horse to how to ride complicated patterns in the hippodrome; alone, in pairs or in smaller or larger parties. The basics of horse training and riding are mentioned only fleetingly (there is a paragraph on the vices of the horse and how you should train them away, mostly by tapping various body parts with the whip); and while the author mentions twenty-one (increasingly complicated) ways of mounting a horse, he devotes only a couple of lines to the important topic of how you should, or shouldn't, sit in the saddle. The reader is clearly expected to have a working knowledge of riding and equitation to start with. Basic riding skills were probably acquired at a fairly early age; if not, they would not take long to master for a man with normal athletic abilities. Likewise, basic weapon skills seem to be expected from the student. Before the detailed lance manoeuvres, the author lists several slightly differing versions of the *bunūd* of Nağm al-Dīn, without further explanation. These famous jousting exercises were probably so widely known (or, perhaps, so basic and so logical to the contemporary reader?) that an explanation would have been superfluous for the intended audience.

1.4 Selection and scope

Taking advice from my supervisor, I have selected roughly 30 pages of Arabic text in order to

[19] David Nicolle, "The Reality of Mamluk Warfare", in *Al-Masāq. Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea*, vol. 7 (1994): 77-110.

translate and give comments. The selection is my own. I chose to start from around the sixth chapter of the second part, that which deals with riding in general and details the execution of manoeuvres for lancer in the hippodrome. Given the nature of this thesis, it was natural to select one of the more technical parts of the text. This particular section seemed suitable not only because it contains a lot of instructions about riding and mounted exercises, and I am myself a rider, but also because the first part, on archery, was too short and it seemed better to choose from the longer second section. The first part of the lesson deals with the aforementioned lance exercises (*bunūd*), but they are merely listed and not explained, and it would have been difficult to understand much of them without first translating the second section on the lance manoeuvres anyway. When the selected text and translation stop before the end of the lesson, it is due to lack of time and space only.

The scope of this thesis is naturally limited. To translate a small part, selected almost at random, of such an extensive and detailed treatise, without having any prior experience of or knowledge about the field of *furūsīya* literature, has proven to be challenging to say the least. I can only hope that my enthusiasm and hard work make up for at least some of the shortcomings of my scholarly background. It is regrettable that I have not had direct access to any of the original manuscripts, of course. This thesis is therefore in no way an attempt at a critical edition or anything extensive. It is an effort to look into a technical work to see what – if anything – a translation of a text like this can yield in terms of understanding technical terms and other useful information about medieval Muslim cavalry practices, even though it is based on two incomplete editions.

1.5 On *furūsīya*

There is no singular definition of the term *furūsīya*. Consulting various dictionaries and lexica yields slightly differing definitions of the term. Lane explains *furūsīya* as a *maṣdar* to the verb *farusa*; “he was, or became skilled in horsemanship, or the management of horses, and in riding them, and in urging them to run, and in remaining firm upon them”, or “he rode horses well”, or “he was, or became, skilled in anything that he endeavoured to do.”^[20] Steingass likewise: “*furūsīyya-t*, [...] excel in horsemanship, in breaking in horses, be a connoisseur of

[20] Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863-1893). 2366.

horses^[21]”. In *Lisān al-‘arab*^[22], it occurs just once: “*al-‘aṣma’ī: yuqāl fāris bayyana al-furūsa wa-l-farāsa wa-l-furūsīya.*”

According to Shihab al-Sarraf^[23], the term emerged in the Abbasid era in Iraq in the second half of the second/eighth century, and there is no evidence on the use of the term in the pre-Islamic or early Islamic periods. Appearing first in the late 2nd/8th century, it developed quickly and during the 3rd/9th century solidified and became well established as an institution. The activities that made it up included horsemanship^[24], mounted lance skills, close combat, weapons handling, archery, hunting and polo, as well as knowledge of basic veterinary science and the art of war. As the meaning of the term *furūsīya* extended to cover martial training and exercises on foot as well, two divisions arose: *al-furūsīya al-‘ulwīya* and *al-furūsīya al-sufliya*, where the former means whatever is performed on horseback and the latter signifies that which is done on foot.

Al-Sarraf^[25] also mentions a divide in the institution of *furūsīya* between the noble (*al-furūsīya al-nabīla*), performed by members of the Abbasid court, and the military (*al-furūsīya al-ḥarbīya*), which is basically cavalry training. The noble *furūsīya*, according to al-Sarraf, was a mix of local and Sassanian cultural practices, and became a state institution under caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75). The caliph himself was too old to partake, as the institution was meant to bring up princes and noblemen by the principles of the noble *furūsīya*. Thus al-Mahdī, who ruled from 158-69/775-85, was the first prince to be raised in this way. The arts taught included horsemanship, the use of arms, archery, polo and hunting; all of which seem like natural pastimes for a nobleman. However, the concept of noble *furūsīya* also contained certain characteristics of a moral constitution, like bravery, gallantry, manliness and generosity. “Indeed, the chivalric aspect of *al-furūsīya al-nabīla* was so powerful that it survived when the institution itself died out.”^[26] Princes and noblemen enjoy the privilege of being able to refine their skills and abilities into an art form, as we are familiar with from European treatises on the art of riding; developed from the manoeuvres and necessities of war and kept alive even today by institutions like the Spanish Riding School in Vienna, the Cadre

[21] Francis Joseph Steingass, *The student's Arabic-English dictionary*. (London: W.H. Allen, 1884). 783.

[22] Ḡamāl al-dīn Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*. Volume VI. (Beirut: Dar SADER, Publishers, 1992): 159

[23] al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsīyah Literature,” 144

[24] Horsemanship in this context probably means knowledge of the horse as an animal, its nature, how to care for it, how to train it and how to ride it.

[25] Ibid

[26] al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsīyah Literature,” 146.

Noir of Saumur, the Escola Portuguesa de Arte Equestre, and a few others. The military *furūsīya*, on the other hand, was purely hands-on and stemmed very much from necessity rather than pleasure. As the tribal armies gradually disappeared and the Abbasids started to develop and strengthen their military forces, the *furūsīya* concept played an important role. Having first relied on Khorasanian knights, the Abbasid cavalry under al-Māmūn and later al-Mu‘taṣim eventually consisted mainly of Turkic people, particularly nomads, free and unfree. The Abbasid military embodied military traditions from the Arabs, Persians, Central Asians and Byzantines, and their training system was sophisticated. The goal of the *furūsīya al-ḥarbīya* was to create well-rounded and fearsome mounted warriors who could match the Central Asian archers as well as duel with lances and use weapons in close combat, on horseback as well as on foot.^[27] This narrower, more technical interpretation of the concept of *furūsīya* matches well what we find in Mamluk *furūsīya* literature, which is mostly pragmatic in nature.

Going back to the reference works, we find that the classical references seem to relate strictly to the arts of riding, horsemanship and horse management, or simply the act of riding (or merely clinging on to) a horse. In modern Arabic, the meaning of *furūsīya* is twofold. Wehr^[28] lists “horsemanship, equitation, chivalry, knighthood, heroism and valor”, though Douillet^[29] mentions in the article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition (EI II)* that *furūsīya* used in the meaning of “high moral character” or “chivalry” is rare, at least in works from the Mamluk period. This usage may then stem from the Abbasid dynasty and the aforementioned institution of *al-furūsīya al-nabīla*. The Mamluk notion of *furūsīya* seems to be more related to practical skills. At the beginning of the article in *EI*, *furūsīya* is defined as “the whole field of equestrian knowledge, both theoretical and practical, including the principles of hippology (*ḥalq al-ḥayl*), the care of horses and farriery (*bayṭara*), and *siyāsāt al-ḥayl*, a more exact rendering of the concept of ‘equitation’ in European languages, which can be defined as the art of training and using correctly a saddlehorse. The words *farāsa* and *furūsa*, more rarely used, embrace the same group of ideas.”^[30]

A stricter definition perhaps more relevant to the topic at hand is cited in the part about *furūsīya* in the Mamluk state:

[27] al-Sarrf, “Mamluk Furūsīya Literature,” 147-8.

[28] Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (New York: Spoken Language Services, 1993). 825

[29] “Furūsīya.” *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Brill Online, 2012.

[30] Ibid.

“*Furūsiyya* is something different from bravery and intrepidity (*al-ṣhadjā’a wa’l-iḳdām*), for the brave man overthrows his adversary by sheer courage, while the horseman (*fāris al-khayl*) is one who handles his horse well in the charge (*karr*) and the retreat (*farr*), and who knows all that he needs to know about his horse and his weapons and about how to handle them in accordance with the rules known and established among the masters of this art” (*Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 445).^[31]

This last definition, from the pen of Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, fits nicely with what is covered in *Nihāya*, which deals with basic riding and training only briefly, devoting the bulk of the attention to advanced exercises, weapon skills and general information on warfare and battle. Ayalon^[32] further cites A.N. Poliak,

“who says: ‘The qualities which the accomplished knight had to possess, *furūsiyya*, are to be defined rather as ‘physical culture’ than as ‘chivalry’: among their ‘branches’ ... we find the correct use of bridle and spurs, the knowledge of pedigrees of horses, races, wrestling, lance exercises, the preparation of bows and arrows and their use, etc.’”

Ayalon himself goes on to say that “[i]t might perhaps be more accurate to say that *furūsiyya* embraced all that the horseman had to master, by systematic training, in order to become an accomplished knight.”^[33] I find that this line of thought goes well with the title in hand and what I have learnt about the field up until now, as the martial aspect is very strongly present in the *furūsīya* literature.

1.6 Mamluk *furūsīya* literature and the literary context of *Nihāyat al-su’l*

Furūsīya literature, in this context, is to be understood as including both the narrow definition of *furūsīya* as knowledge of horsemanship and the like, and other fields of knowledge related to military arts and war: “It covers a broad scope of disciplines ranging from hippology and the art of riding (*‘ilm al-khayl wa-fann al-rukūb*) to military technology (*‘ilm al-ālāt al-ḥarbīya*).”^[34] An impressive bibliography of these works is to be found in a paper by Shihab al-Sarraf in the *Mamluk Studies Review*^[35]. Al-Sarraf here suggests that Mamlūk *furūsīya* literature be classified in two main categories: Category I, which contains works that deal with a specific subject or branch of *furūsīya* (comprehensively or more specifically), and category II

[31] Ibid.

[32] David Ayalon, “Notes on the *Furūsiyya* Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate,” in *The Mamlūk Military Society*, edited by David Ayalon (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979): 34.

[33] *ibid.*

[34] al-Sarraf, “Mamluk *Furūsīya* Literature,” 142

[35] *ibid.*

for general treatises. He further splits Category I into the following subdivisions, based on the subject of the treatises: a) on horses and farriery, b) on archery, c) on the lance, d) on the mace, e) on the art of war, f) on arms and war engines, g) on hunting and h) on polo.^[36] In addition, works from either category may be placed in any of three groups: The first group is for those treatises that due to their originality or essential contribution can be reckoned as basic works, whose authors typically would have hands-on experience with the subjects from the military institution. These works are few. The second group comprises compilations by learned men (*'ulamā'*), based on works in the first group. According to al-Sarraf, what distinguishes the treatises in this group is that their authors usually quoted earlier works and authors with great deliberation, and also acknowledged the sources they used. Some of them very helpfully explain technical terms, and the language in these works is generally more sound than that of works from the other two groups. Al-Sarraf also mentions that many of these *'ulamā'* were not only familiar with, but also skilled in, some of the branches of *furūsīya* themselves. The author of *Nihāya*, for example, was “an experienced lancer and well versed in archery”^[37], which becomes apparent several places in the section on lance manoeuvres where the author weighs in with his own experiences and personal preferences. The third group contains popular works created to meet the rising demands for *furūsīya* works in the latter half of the 14th century. A large portion of these works consist of parts from Mamluk and pre-Mamluk treatises from the two former groups, sometimes blended together, and often left unsigned or incorrectly attributed to well-known authors.

Al-Sarraf's classification differs from that of Mercier and, later, Ritter. Mercier, in his *La parure des cavaliers*, decided on the following four categories: treatises describing horses and the mystical virtues attributed to them, treatises on weapons handling on horseback and the development of the cavalry (“*kutub el furusiya* ou *kutub el jihad*”), treatises on veterinary science, and treatises on falconry.^[38] Ritter, on the other hand, arranged the topics into three categories; *furūsīya*, archery, and strategy and warfare^[39]. The first category includes training of both horse and rider, weapons training for the rider, battle techniques both in the hippodrome and on the battle field as well as veterinary science. I am not qualified to decide

[36] al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsīya Literature,” 152-3

[37] *ibid*, 154

[38] Louis Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux. Traduction française* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, 1922): 384-5.

[39] Helmut Ritter, “*La Parure des Cavaliers* und die Litteratur über die ritterlichen Künste”, *Der Islam*, XVIII (1929): 116-154.

which categorisation is the best, although I find that al-Sarraḥ makes a convincing effort. George T. Scanlon criticises the former for dismissing all the earlier attempts to classify the works of *furūsīya* literature^[40] and goes a long way in blaming – perhaps unjustly – the resulting ambiguity for the slow progress of this field of study today. However it is, al-Sarraḥ's classification seems reasonable, and using that we will find that *Nihāyat al-su'l* belongs in category II, and in the second group. I have already mentioned the variety in the numerous sources for this work. Listing the titles here is unnecessary, so the interested reader is referred to al-Sarraḥ's paper, which should be a good starting point.

2. Translation and commentary

2.1 Introduction to the selection

Each lesson (*ta'līm*) contains several numbered chapters, although sometimes there are several groups of chapters within one lesson. This is the case with the lesson I have chosen, which is the second one, that which concerns the teachings on the lance. The first section of this lesson contains six chapters, of which five deal with the lance exercises of Nağm al-Dīn al-'Aḥḍab and the sixth is an introduction or foreword to the next section. I have explained earlier why I chose to skip these parts. I did, however, include the very last part from this section as it helped shed some light on a couple of terms in the first chapter of the next section. This one consists of five chapters dealing with very basic things, like choosing a suitable horse, different ways to mount and sit in the saddle and how to begin riding out in a manoeuvre. The fifth chapter laments how most of the manoeuvres have been forgotten, and includes several drawings of such that were useless at the time of writing as their explanations had been lost for some time already. The author provides a detailed drawing of a single manoeuvre which is the basis for all the following work he describes (in the hippodrome, at least). The next section is the largest one, containing thirty chapters of which the last has sixteen parts, the last part being a list of questions and answers. The first twenty-nine chapters each describe an exercise or pattern, or specific skill, to be practiced in the hippodrome. The first nine chapters describe basic ways of practicing skills at arms in the hippodrome. Chapters nine through twenty deal with different types of parries and blocks, and how to incorporate these moves into other patterns. The following three (or possibly four) chapters contain advice for the battlefield,

[40] Scanlon, *A Muslim manual of war*, 9-10

whereas chapter twenty-five takes us back to the training in the hippodrome again.

One would think that by reading the chapters in the order they stand, one would have little trouble following the text. However, the author mentions several terms and names of movements or exercises in the earlier chapters that are hard to understand before you reach the later chapters, where the movements are described in greater detail. Following these instructions in thoughts only is a bit of a challenge in itself. I found the diagram of the one manoeuvre the author did explain carefully to be of great assistance in my work. I will make an effort to clarify the various ways of the hippodrome in this basic manoeuvre, but the reader is encouraged to study the drawing and its explanations, or at the very least to consult it should there be any confusion while reading the text. The reader receives two basic kinds of instructions. These are orders to move in a specific direction or to (or from) a particular place, following the paths of the manoeuvre in straight or bent lines; and orders to handle the horse and the weapon in different ways, alone or when meeting the adversary. The movements of the manoeuvres are not very advanced or complicated in themselves. There are only two ways to move: forwards in straight lines, or in curved lines.

The manoeuvre that is described in detail (see figure 1) is fairly simple. The company lines up in one of the long sides of the hippodrome. To the left of it is the left flank, and to the right of it the right flank. The corners opposite the two flanks are marked (in the text, as points opposing each flank). The centre of the company is an important reference point, as is the point opposite the centre point. Between these two points, in the centre of the company, there are two circles; a small one and a large one that encompasses the small one, and a centre line that cuts across them both. There is a square drawn up encasing the circles, and there are diagonal lines either drawn up or marked with text from the corners of the square. It is useful to keep this diagram in mind when reading the translation. It is also useful not to get too caught up in the exact points where the text is placed in the drawings. The points that face the two flanks, for example, are not merely the corners, they cover a larger area that extends (at least) to the square in the centre, maybe even longer. I have translated them as “points”, because that is how they are drawn and because it made the text more tidy because it is now very obvious what it refers to, but the reader should try to think of them as larger areas for when the instructions fail to add up completely. (They sometimes do not add up at all). The diagram also states that when the rider is told to turn his back to the company, he is to follow

the diagonal lines at the bottom. Sometimes, though, he is meant to merely turn to the right or left at that point and then do something else (circle back, or go straight). In some places, the instructions seem either incomplete, or they require you to assume that the rider moves even when it is not specified that he does so. (For instance, if it says to turn the horse or the horse's head left, it may be that the rider is supposed to turn the horse left and keep going until he reaches a point, although most of the time, the start and end point are specified). There was little I could do about these passages, other than to resign and add a footnote.

The edition I first got access to, al-Suwaydī's, is not nearly as meticulously edited as Lutful-Huq's. The original text is written in what has been characterised as extremely corrupt Arabic, and it is clear from both editions that this statement is in fact fairly accurate. I have provided the Arabic source text parallel to the translation so that it is easily accessible. This text is copied from al-Suwaydī's lightly edited version, adjusted slightly for typographical errors and obvious misreadings. His edition contains hardly any punctuation, and what little there is does not aid the understanding of the text. It is still ripe with grammatical errors and abnormalities as well. I have not made any extensive attempts to correct these (Lutful-Huq, however, did a nice job, so his edition is worth the trouble it is to read it), except when there could be a danger of misunderstanding. The footnotes in the Arabic text refer to words and sentences in Lutful-Huq's edition that are missing in al-Suwaydī's edition. Some slip-ups are bound to have occurred, I apologise for them in advance.

The technical terms have been a challenge. For some of them, I have found a satisfactory translation. Others have been left transcribed and italicised, after some consideration. These are often names of manoeuvres or the like. They will have a footnote on their first occurrence, and will also be found in the glossary. Some words or phrases I have failed to decipher. They will be found in Arabic letters within brackets, with a footnote. The most important and/or noteworthy terms are collected in an extended glossary after the translation, with information about how and when they occur, what they (most likely) mean and how I came to that conclusion. I will give a note at the first mention of each such term in the translation. There is also a glossary of equestrian terms at the back.

فصل: واعلم ان للدواب اخلاقا في ساعة الحرب وغيره لا بد لنا من ذكرها ليعلم المطالع لهذا الكتاب احوالها واخلاقها وتأديبها من ذنوبها وعيوبها التي توجد في بعض الدواب. اعلم انها لا يصلح ركوبها في الحرب ولها عيوب تداوي ليصلح ركوبها، ولها ذنوب يودب كل واحد منها بوجه من الأدب تستقيم به ويصلح عليه، ولها أخلاق منكرة تحدثها عن الاستعداد للقاء لم تكن معرفتها قبل ذلك من ضرب الطبول والكوسات والصياح والنداء وجلبة العسكر وغير ذلك، حتى أن ركبها لا يمكنه أن يمسك نفسه عليها إلا بالجهد، فكيف جارب عليها؟ فهذه العيوب التي ذكرتها يمكن إصلاحها بأن تدرب على أمثال ذلك قبل اللقاء ويعمل لها الصواريخ والدهشات وغيرها، حتى تلين قبل ما ترى شيئا من هذه الاشياء

أما الذنوب التي للدواب فهي ستة وسائرها عيوب. من ذلك النفار والعثار والشب والجماح والروغان والشماس. فأما الأدب على النفار فضرب السوط على عنق الدابة قليلا قليلا لتسكن ويربط جأسها، ولا تشغل بشدة الضرب فيزيدها دهشا ونفورا، وأما الأدب على العثار فالضرب على سرج الدابة لتتيقظ، وحمل نفسها فلا تخطئ. وأما الأدب على الشب فالضرب على يدها بالسوط ساعة الذنب لتدع تلك العادة عنها. وأما الأدب على الجماح فالضرب على جانبي الدابة وبين يديها لتنحى ذلك عنها وتدع الجماح. وأما الأدب على الروغان وترك المنهج فالضرب على بطن الدابة محاذاة السرة لتلزم المنهج وتدع الروغان. [١٦٦] [١] وأما الأدب على الشماس فالضرب على الكفل والمؤخر لتجمع مؤخرها عند الشماس وتدع الرمح. فأما الدواب التي لا تركب في القتال فالمهارة والجموح الذي لا يصلح على

[1] Start of new page in al-Suwaydī's edition

2.2 Translation

2.2.1 Part: You should know that each mount has a disposition, at the time of war and otherwise, and we need to list them in order to know at the onset of this book about [the mounts'] conditions, dispositions and how to train away the vices and faults that are found in some mounts. You should know that there are faults to be found in some horses that make them unfit for being ridden in war, and there are faults [that can be] treated to make them fit for riding. There are vices, each one of which is disciplined in a manner of discipline that sets it straight and is appropriate for it, and there are bad dispositions that excite [a horse] in the preparation for battle, if it hasn't before that experienced the beat of large and small drums, crying, yelling, the clamor of war and the likes thereof, so that its rider is able to keep himself on it by effort only, and how then can he fight on it? These faults that I have listed can be corrected by training along those examples before the battle, if you subject [the horse] to firecrackers, surprises and other things until it [learns to] calm down, before that^[41] as soon as it sees any of these things.

Concerning the vices of mounts, there are six of them, and the rest are flaws^[42]. Of these [six] we have bolting^[43], tripping, rearing, disobedience, spookiness^[44] and being difficult to mount. The correction of the [vice of] bolting is to strike the whip on the mount's neck, little by little, until it calms down and remains calm. Don't strike it hard, or you will increase its fright and its flight. The correction of the [vice of] tripping is to strike the mount's saddle so it wakes up and carries itself so it doesn't make a mistake. The correction of the [vice of] rearing is a strike with the whip on its foreleg at the time of the vice in order to rid it of that habit. The correction of the [vice of] disobedience is to strike both sides of the mount, and between its forelegs, to make it stop with that and cease the disobedience. The correction of the [vice of] spooking and leaving the path is to strike the mount's belly and spur it on to [make it] follow the [given] path and give up spooking. The correction of [the vice of] being hard to mount is a strike on the croup and hindquarters to make it collect its hindquarters at the time of the vice and stop kicking. As for the mounts that are not ridden into battle, they are the ones that fall down, the disobedient ones that are unable to be corrected, the refractory^[45]

[41] Before being exposed to war.

[42] Ie. congenital.

[43] Bolting is when the horse runs off with the rider, either out of fear or something else.

[44] A horse that spooks will suddenly leap to the side, leaving its trail, and may or may not go on to run away with the rider.

[45] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 1878. "He (a horse) raised his head and his eyes in

التأديب (١٦٠ [٢]) والطموح والحرون والعتور والنفور
والناقص بعض اليبين عن الأخرى والمعتل القوائم والأعور
والأشئى والخام. فأما عمر الدابة التي تصلح للحرب فهو
من سبع سنين إلى خمس عشرة سنة، والأول أصح. والفحول
أصبر من الجحورة. والله أعلم

الباب الأول

و الفرس التي تصلح لذلك لمن اراد ان يتعلمه فليتخذ
فرسا شديد القوائم و الخلق مطبوعا ليس حاد النفس صالح
الجري ساكنه لين ريض الاخلاق ، و لا يكون طموحا ،
و لا يكون جموحا ، و لا عثورا ، فاذا حصل لك مثل هذا
الفرس فانك تبلغ به مرادك في العمل عليه ، و التعلم على
مثله امكن ، ثم احكم آلتك كلها إحكاما جيدا وثيقا و تصرف
همتك كلها الى حزام دابتك ، و لا شكل فيه على احد غيرك
، ان كان قد شده غيرك فابصره ، و تفقد حاله ، و ذكر
المتقدمون انهم كانوا يتخذون حلقة صغيرة من فضة او
غيرها يعلقونها في معاليق مناطقهم فيشمرون فيها ثيابهم
، فاذا لم تفعل ذلك فشمّر ثيابك في منطقتك من خلفك أي
ذلك فعلت جاز و ليكن رمحك بين الدقة ، و الغلظ ، فان
الغليظ ينبو من الكف ، و الدقيق لا يؤمن من انكساره ،
بل الخفة اولى فانه كلما كان خفيفا مكنك العمل به بلباقة
و رشاقة ، و يكون طول رمحك في هذا الوقت طوله عشرة
أذرع ، و اقل من ذلك جائز ، و اعد لرمحك طرادة فانه اخف
، واحسن و قد عملت الفرسان ذلك، و اياك ان تعمل في جد
، و لا ملح الا بطرادة ، او مطرد ابهى للعمل، واحسن وليكن
، عقدها على مقدار ذراعين ، من راس الرمح فهو احسن

[2] Start of new page in Lutful-Huq's edition

ones, the lazy^[46], the ones that trip, the ones that bolt, the ones whose one foreleg is shorter than the other, the weak-legged, the half-blind and the blind, and the greedy eater^[47]. When it comes to what age is fit for a mount in war, it is from seven to fifteen years, (*for that is when the [horse's] strength is greatest. It is said up to twenty years, but that [reasoning] is weak in my opinion,*)^[48] and the former is more correct. Stallions are more enduring than mares, God knows best.

2.2.2 Chapter one

On beginning to teach the lance^[49], and the horse that is suited for this

Whoever wants to learn this should get a horse with naturally strong legs and constitution, that is not hot-tempered, [but] which runs well, quiet, pliable, and well-tamed. It should not be refractory, and not disobedient, nor prone to tripping. If you find a horse like that, you will reach your goals for this work on it, and it is possible to learn on one such.^[50] Work your tool with with great and solid precision. Direct all your endeavour to the girth of your mount, and don't trust anyone other than yourself to do it.^[51] If someone other than you has tightened it, inspect it and check its condition. The ancient authors say that they take a small ring of silver or something else, and hang it in the hems of their belts so they can roll up their robes in it. If you don't do that, gather your robe behind you in your belt and that is sufficient. Your lance should be between the coarse and the frail. The coarse lance misses the palm of the hand, and the frail lance is not safe from shattering. But the light lance is the foremost, because when it is light, it allows you to handle it with grace and elegance. At this time, the length of the lance should be that of ten forearms, but less than that is permissible. Make a *tirrāda*^[52] ready in

the running, or he raised his forelegs; or was, or became, refractory, and overcame his rider, running away with him.”

[46] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 557. “stopped when one desired to call into action his power of running”

[47] Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 403. A horse that eats greedily might be more prone to colic, or simply too expensive to bring to war.

[48] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 160. فإنه في غاية ما يكون من القوة. وقيل الى عشرون سنة، فهو عندى ضعيف

[49] *rumh*: See glossary

[50] These are indeed characteristics one wishes to see in all riding horses to this day.

[51] al-Suwaydī has شكّل here, which makes no sense. Lutful-Huq (160) gives تتكّل with no note as to any deviation from this in any source, so perhaps it is just a typo or a misreading in the former's edition. al-Suwaydī, *Nihāyat al-su'l*: 166

[52] A short lance or spear. See glossary.

وأخف.

و قد عقده فرسان بابل على مقدار (١٦١) شبر، وأقل ،
والكثر المرادة للطراة و الطرد، ثم خذ سوطك بشمالك
بين أصابعك ، أو في ذراعك الايسر، و ان شئت علقه في
منطقتك، وان [١٦٧] المقرعة انفع من السوط ، و يكون
طول المقرعة اربعة اشبار ليمنك الدفع بهما عنه و لتكن
العلاقة فيها ضعف فانه ربما علق فيها رمح ، أو يعلق بها
رجل فيجذب الفارس ، و ينكسه عن فرسه ، و اذا ضعفت
انقطعت و شغل بها الراجل و غيره و قنعه الفارس بما
امكنه من سلاحه و الله اعلم

الباب الثاني

في الركوب وأنواعه

ينبغي أنك إذا تقدمت الى فرس لا تعرفه , ولا خبرته لا
تدخل إليه من قدام, ولا من خلفه, بل تدخل إليه من جانبه,
وأنت على حذر منه لئلا يكون شموصا أو طيسونا فاحذر
منه, فإذا قربت منه تناول عنانه وحركه فإن رأيتة ساكنا
تقدم عليه, وتأخذ الركاب, وتدخل رجلك في الركاب الايسر,
وأمسك العنان مع المعرفة بيدك اليسرى, وأمسك بيدك
اليمنى الرادفة الورانية وشيل نفسك حتى تقعد في سرجك
وهذا ركوب الناس

addition to your lance, because it is the lightest, and the best, and this is what the horsemen do. You should avoid using anything other than this *tirrāda*, whether for proper exercises or for simple enjoyment, save for with a *ṭirrāda* or a *miṭrad*^[53], as that is better and more splendid in the [lance] work. You should fasten it two cubits from its tip, as that is the best and easiest way.

The riders would hold it^[54] by the measure of a hand^[55], more or less. The real purpose of the *ṭirrāda* is the hunt. Then [concerning] your whip, [you should fasten it] on your left side, between your fingers, or on your left forearm, or if you wish you can hang it from your belt. The crop is more useful than the whip^[56]. The length of the crop is four hands, so that it can be put to use when the whip can't. The strap should be twice as long, because it happens that a lance gets entangled in it, or a foot gets caught up in it, or a man could get caught and the rider pull him and turn him off his horse. If it weakens, it will break. Keep footmen and others occupied, and the rider will be content with what is allowed him of his weapons, God knows best.

2.2.3 Chapter two

On manners of mounting

If you are approaching a horse you do not know, and have not tried, do not approach it from the front and not from behind, but approach it from the side, wary of it, as it might be difficult to mount^[57] or hot-headed^[58], so be careful of that. When you approach it, reach for its reins and move them, and if you see that it stands still, proceed towards it. Take the stirrup, put your foot in the left one, and take the reins deliberately in your left hand. Place your right hand on the cantle and raise yourself up until you sit in the saddle. This is how most people mount.

The second^[59] style, which has four parts:

[53] A short spear. See glossary.

[54] I.e. from the bottom.

[55] *šibr*: Lane explains the distance as 'the space between the extremity of the thumb and the little finger [...] when extended apart in the usual manner'. Lane, *An Arabic- English Lexicon*: 1496.

[56] *miqra' a* and *sawṭ*; see glossary.

[57] *šamūš*, same as *šamūs*. See glossary.

[58] طيسونا, probably from *ṭaiš*. See glossary.

[59] Cf. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 55.

النوع الثاني: وفيه أربعة فصول

الفصل الأول: وهو أنك إذا تتقدم إلى الفرس كما وصفت لك، فإذا وضعت رجلك اليسرى في الركاب، الزق ركبتك إلى جنب الفرس، ولا تبعدها من جنبه، ويدك اليسرى مع العنان، والعرف، وأقم ظهرك، ولا تنحني واطلع برجلك اليمنى حتى تحصل في وسط سرجك، ويكون طلوعك قائم الزهر، وإذا نزلت يكون قائم الظهر أيضا، ومتى تعدت (١٦٢) ركبتك عن جنب الفرس انحنى ظهرك في الركوب على سرع، وإذا قام ظهرك أسرعت الركوب.

الفصل الثاني: في تقدير العنان، قال المتقدون إن الأعنة ثلاث: طويل وقصير ومعتدل، فأما الطويل فهو أنك إذا استويت جالسا في سرجك فخذ وسط العنان بيدك وخذ به إلى قربوس سرجك فإن علا القربوس فهو طويل، وأما المعتدل فهو إذا جذبته، ووصل إلى القربوس فهو المعتدل، وأما القصير، فإذا جذبته إلى القربوس، ولم يصل فهو [القصير] ١٦٨

الفصل الثالث: في تقدير الركاب، الركاب ثلاثة طويل و معتدل و قصير فاما الطويل فهو أنك اذا حصلت جالسا في سرجك فدل رجلك ما امتدا معك مع كتفي الفرس، ثم قدمهما الى الركاب، فاذا وصل طرف رجلك الى الركاب، فهو طويل، و اذا وصل الى كعبك فهو معتدل، و اذا تجاوز كعبك فهو القصير.

الفصل الرابع: في المقرعة الذي ذكره المتقدمون من طول المقرعة قالوا يكون طولها ثلاثة أشبار، و قال بعضهم اربعة اشبار ان يكون في اليد اليسرى، و هي مدلاة الى جنب الفرس من الجانب الايمن و هذا عندي رديء كما تقدم.

Part one: which is that when you want to ride^[60], you approach the horse like I described to you, put your left foot in the stirrup, keep your knee close to the side of the horse, and do not remove it from its side, while your left hand is on the reins and the mane. Straighten your back, do not bend, and climb up with your right leg until you reach the centre of your saddle, keeping your back straight while you mount^[61]. When you dismount, keep your back straight as well. If you remove^[62] your knees^[63] from the side of the horse, bend your back when you mount in haste, but if you straighten your back, you mount faster.

Part two, in estimation of the reins. The ancient authors said that there are three [kinds of] reins: long, short and intermediate. Regarding the long; if you sit level in your saddle and hold the middle of your reins in your hand, grasp the pommel of your saddle. If the pommel rises, they are too long^[64]. Regarding the intermediate, if you pull them and arrive at the pommel of your saddle, the reins are intermediate. Regarding the short, if you pull them and do not reach the pommel, the reins are too short.

Part three, in estimation of the stirrups. There are three [kinds of] stirrups: long, intermediate and short. Regarding the long, when you are sitting in your saddle, point your legs so they extend to the shoulders of the horse, then bring them to the stirrups. If the tip of the stirrup reaches your foot^[65], it is too long. If it reaches your ankle, it is intermediate. If it goes beyond the ankle, it is too short.

Part four, about the crop, of which the ancient authors described the length. They said: The length of it is three hands. Some of them said four hands, and those who made it four argued that it lies in the left hand, and it hangs on the right side of the horse. I find that this supports what they presented.

[60] Some words missing in al-Suwaydī, cf. Lutful-Huq p. 55, who gives وهو انك اذا اردت (الركوب) تتقدم الى الفرس كما وصفت لك

[61] This is the most common way to mount a horse today.

[62] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 161. بعدت

[63] Or knee, cf. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 162

[64] Meaning that if there is slack on the reins when your hand is on the pommel, or you need to lift your hand (and the pommel) in order to establish contact with the horse's mouth, the reins are too long.

[65] Cf. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 162. This is a valid way of measuring the stirrup length, and it results in fairly long stirrups that enable the rider to let his legs come down around the horse's sides while still being able to rise the trot or stand in a light seat if needed.

الباب الثالث

في الركبة والجلسة

وفيه إحدى وعشرين فصلاً، وهو أنك إذا حصلت في سرجك (١٦٣) وقدرت عنانك، وأركانك فاضرب بيدك إلى قدام القربوس على جريان الفرس فإنك تمنعه من التشويش، ومن أن يشيل رأسه أو تحطه، ويسويه كما تختاره أنت، فإذا فعلت ذلك وحصلت رجلاك في الركاب فاخرج رجلك إلى برا لتضم الركبتين إلى جانب الفرس، وأقم ظهرك واسند اليتك إلى الرادفة لتستوي لك الجلسة، والاليتان، والقدم إلا متى فتحت رجلك من أسفل خرجت أصابع رجلك إلى برا وانقلبت أعقابك إلى إبط الفرس وانفتحت فخذاك من جانبي القربوس وحصلت جالساً على السرج باليتك، وهي ركبة الكتاب، والعوام فلا تبقى لك لباقة ولا حيل ولا تقتدر تلتفت، فإذا استوى لك جميع ما قلته لك فخذ أول سلاح الفارس معك، وهي المقرعة على قدر ما تقدم فهي سلاح جيد لمن عرفه وكثير من الفرسان يبطلون الرمح بها.

وذكر لي من أثق فيه قال: حدثني جمال الدين يوسف بن الرماح إنه لما قدم السلطان الملك الأشرف خليل قدس الله روحه إلى دمشق لفتح عكا في سنة تسعين وستمئة قال: وكنت يومئذ في دكاني وجاء نجم الدين الأحذب، وكان عندي على باب دكاني هو [١٦٩] راكب وجاء آخر من الرماحين المصريين فلان بن الكويس وسلم على الأحداب، وتمازحوا إلى أن أفضى بهم المزاح إلى التنافس في الرمح، فقال نجم الدين روح إلى باب القيسارية واحمل علي برمحك، وأنا بالمقرعة. فراح إلى باب القيسارية وحمل عليه بالرمح فلما

2.2.4 Chapter three

On mounting, and equitation^[66]

There are twenty-one parts to this. The first is that you, when you have reached the saddle and estimated^[67] your reins, and your stirrups^[68], move your hand forwards of the pommel in accordance with your horse. With this you prevent it from being disturbed, and from lifting its head, or putting it down, and you regulate it as you choose. When you have done this and found your stirrups with your legs, put your legs out^[69] to bring the knees to the sides of the horse. Straighten your back and lean your buttocks on the cantle to straighten the seat, the buttocks and the foot. However, when you open your legs from the lowest [point] and stick your toes out out, turn your heels towards the armpit^[70] of the horse and open your thighs from the side of the pommel and come to sit on your buttocks in the saddle. This is the seat of clerks and of common people, and there is neither any grace to it, nor vigour, and it does not allow you to turn^[71]. If you have aligned yourself to all that I have said, take the first weapon of the rider with you, which is the crop, according to what is already written. It is a good weapon to one who knows it, and many riders *block* the lance with it.

Someone whom I trust told me: *Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-Rammāḥ*^[72] told me about when Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAšraf Ḥalīl^[73], may God rest his soul, set out to conquer Acre in 690. He said: “That day, I was in my store when Naḡm al-Dīn al-ʿAḥḍab came, and he was with me by the door of my store as he was riding. Another one of the Egyptian lancers came, a wise guy, and greeted al-ʿAḥḍab. They had joked with one another, leading to the lancer having to compete with the lance. Naḡm al-Dīn said: ‘Go to the gate of the *qaysārīya*^[74] and charge at

[66] In this context: the rider’s seat (the way he positions himself in the saddle), his influence (his aids) and his feel (of the horse and its movements). These three things are inseparable.

[67] ie. adjusted according to the previous chapter.

[68] al-Suwaydī has اركان

[69] ie. from the side of the horse

[70] ie. the elbow, the joint below the horse’s shoulder

[71] What is meant here is probably not that the rider won’t be able to turn his horse, but rather that he himself will have trouble turning in the saddle, something which is very useful in battle. The problem here is that the rider won’t achieve a balanced and fully independent seat unless his knees are at least slightly bent and his heels are directly under his hips.

[72] sjekk

[73] Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAšraf Ṣalāḥ al-dīn Ḥalīl ibn Qalāwūn, eighth Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, 690/1291.

[74] A sort of market place.

وصل إليه بطل رمحه بالمقرعة وضربه على رأسه بها ,
وقال له : أقلع عينيك بها فاعتنقا واعترف له بالفضل , لأجل
ذلك تكون المقرعة سلاحا , وأيضا في أماكن أخرى

النوع الثاني: من الركوب , وهو أنك إذا ركبت وقبضت
بيسارك العنان مع العرف وباليمين الرادفة ورفعت رجلك
حتى تدخل بها من وسط السرج, (١٦٤) وهي ركبة مليحة
يركبها أكثر الغلمان

النوع الثالث: إذا كان معك رمح فاقبض عليه منصفًا بيدك
اليسرى مع العنان مع العرف وعقبه على الأرض واركب
النوع الرابع: وهو أنك تأخذ سير الركاب بكلتا يديك من
تحت الإبزيم , ثم ترفع نفسك , وتركب , وهذه ركبة مليحة
صعبة .

النوع الخامس: وهو أنك تفتل يدك اليسرى , وتقبض
القربوس , ويكون ظهرك إلى رقبة الفرس ثم تجمع نفسك
, وتثب حتى تحصل في سرجك , وهي أيضا مليحة جدا ,
وتركب أيضا هذا النوع من جهة اليمين فإنه يدور دورة فوق
السرج, وهو نوع صعب قل من يعمله

النوع السادس: مما ركبته , ولم أراه من أحد , ولا سمعته
, وهو أنك تأخذ الرمح , وتقبض عليه بيديك , وتقف عن
يسار فرسك من غير أن تمس شيئا منه , وتتكئ بعقب
الرمح على الأرض , وتثب حتى تعبر السرج إلى الجانب
الأيمن , ثم تقلب الرمح في يديك عكس ما كان من الجانب
الأيسر , وتثب حتى تحصل في سرجك في أسرع ما يمكن
, وهو مليح جدا , فإذا عمله الإنسان على ما قلته له فإنه
لا يعرف كيف ركب , بل يظنه أنه وقع من الجانب الأيمن
, وهو عجيب , وينبغي أن يكون فرسك قد مرنته على هذه
الركبة لئلا يتحرك من مكانه. [١٧٠]

النوع السابع: وهو أنك تأخذ الرمح بيدك اليمنى , وتقبض
باليسرى (١٦٥) على العنان , والعرف , وتتكئ بعقب الرمح

me with your lance, and I with the crop.’ So he went to the gate of the *qaysārīya* and charged at him with the lance, and when he came up to him, he countered his lance with the crop and hit him on the head with it, and said to him: ‘I will pluck your eye out with this’, and they embraced, and he admitted to him his virtue.” Because of that, the crop is a weapon, also in other situations.

The second way of mounting: This is that when you mount, you grasp the reins and the mane with your left hand, and the cantle with your right, and raise your leg until it enters the centre of the saddle. This is a nice way of mounting that most slaves use.

The third way: If you have your lance with you, grasp it halfway down with your left hand together with the reins and the mane while its end is on the ground, and mount.

The fourth way: This is when you take the stirrup leathers in both your hands beneath the buckle, then hoist yourself up and mount. This is a pretty, but difficult, manner.

The fifth way: This is when you twist your left hand and grasp the pommel with your back to the neck of the horse. Then you gather yourself and leap until you reach the centre of your saddle. This is also a very good way. You can also mount like this from the right side, and turn one round over the saddle. This way is difficult and those who do it are few.

The sixth way, which I use. I have neither seen nor heard it from someone else. This is when you take your lance, grasp it with your hands, and stand to the left of your horse without holding anything on him. Support yourself with the end of your lance on the ground and jump so that you cross the saddle to the right side. Then *invert*^[75] your lance in your hands opposite of what it was on the left side, and jump so that you reach the saddle as fast as possible. This is a very beautiful way, and if someone does this in the way I said, he will not know how he mounted, but will think that he fell to the right side, and he is astonished. It is necessary that your horse be accustomed to this manner of mounting, so it doesn’t move away from its place.

The seventh way: This is when you take your lance in your right hand, and grasp the reins and the mane with your left, support yourself with the end of the lance on the ground and mount. The Arabs mount in this manner.

The eighth way: This is when you take the lance in your left hand together with the reins and the mane, and do not grasp anything with your right hand, and jump up and mount. This is a timely manner with few difficulties.

[75] See glossary (*qalaba*).

على الأرض , وتركب العرب كذلك .
النوع الثامن: وهو أنك تأخذ الرمح بيدك اليسرى مع العنان , والعرف , ولا تمس بيدك اليمنى شيء , وتثب , وتركب , وهو مليح فيه قليل صعوبة

النوع التاسع: وهو أنك تقف إلى جانب الفرس , وتلصق ركبتيك قريب مكن حزام فرسك , وتقبض بيدك اليسرى القربوس , واليمنى الرادفة , وتثب حتى تحصل في وسط سرجك فإنه باب مليح

النوع العاشر: وهو أنك تقبض على القربوس بيدك اليسار , وتثب حتى تحصل في سرجك

النوع الحادي عشر: وهو أنك تقبض على القربوس بكلتا يديك , وتثب على السرج حتى تحصل راكبا , وهو أصح من الذي قبله

فهذه الأنواع يحتاج إليها من يريد أن يكون من الفرسان , ولا يجوز له أن يخل بها فإنها من أعظم الفروسية فإن فيها أنواع من الركوب , ونذكر بعد ذلك أبوابا آخر يحتاج إليها الفرسان في أوقاتها فإنها من أجل الأشياء إذا كان وحده في حرب , أو عدو , أو غير ذلك

النوع الثاني عشر: إذا انقطع ركابك , أو كبسك العدو , ولم تلحق تركب , أو كان الفرس عاليا فاضرب بيدك اليسرى إلى القربوس وبيدك اليمنى إلى الرادفة واسند ركبتيك إلى جنب الفرس وثب على الفرس وشل رجلك من جانب الفرس حتى تعبر بها على كفل الفرس (١٦٦) وتحصل في سرجك , وهذا الركوب تزكيه الجان بازية الذين يلعبون على الخيل

النوع الثالث عشر: وهو أنك إذا بليت بقيد , وأمكنك الفرصة , وأنت حذر من أعدائك فخذ رمحا , أو عصا , أو خشبة , أو ما تيسر لك واقرب إلى الفرس حتى تضرب بيدك اليسرى على الرادفة واكبس بيدك اليمنى على الرمح وما يقوم مقامه. [١٧١]

النوع الرابع عشر: وهو أنك إذا حصل على كفل فرسك

The ninth way: This is when you stand next to the horse, join your knees together close to your horse's girth, grasp the pommel with your left hand and the cantle with your right, and jump so that you reach the centre of your saddle. This is a nice manner.

The tenth way: This is when you grasp the pommel with your left hand, and jump up so that you reach your saddle.

The eleventh way: This is when you grasp the pommel with both your hands, then leap into the saddle so that you are sitting in your riding position. This way is more correct than the one before.

These [following] methods are needed by whomever wants to be a horseman^[76], and he is not permitted to refrain from them, for they are among the greatest [works] of horsemanship, and among them there are types of riding. After that, we will describe other sections that riders will need in good time, as they are some of the greatest things if one is by oneself in war, or [with] an enemy, and other things.

The twelfth way: If your stirrup gets cut, or an enemy attacks you and you are not able to mount, or if the horse is tall, then put your left hand to the pommel and your right hand to the cantle, support your knees against the side of the horse and jump onto it, lifting your legs over the horse's side so that they cross over the croup of the horse, and land in your saddle. This is the way of mounting used by the soldiers^[77] that play on horseback.

The thirteenth way: If you are tried^[78] with [قيد^[79]], and an opportunity presents itself while you are aware of your enemies, then seize your lance, or a cane, or a pale or whatever comes your way, approach the horse until you reach the cantle with your left hand, and throw yourself with your right hand on the lance^[80] or whatever takes its place.

The fourteenth way: This is if you have got a coat of mail hanging^[81] on the croup of your horse. Reach for your lance with your right hand and lift it up by its middle, then bring it

[76] *fāris*, see glossary.

[77] *ḡānbāzīya*. Lutful-Huq says this about them in his glossary: "Gallant soldiers fighting to death". (*A critical edition*: 144).

[78] *بليت*, maybe in the sense that one is under attack or about to be under attack?

[79] This remains unclear in the context.

[80] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 166, adds: ..., jump on it and raise your legs to the left side. This is like the chapter that preceded it, and [?] with the lance or whatever takes its place. (بالرمح بيدك اليمنى على الرمح وتثب عليها وشل رجلك في جانب يسارك، وهذا مثل الباب الذي قبله واختلاء بالرمح وما يقوم مقامه)

[81] *sammaṭa*, to hang [a coat of mail] on the hindquarters of a horse (cf. Lane). Perhaps what is meant is that this way you can mount the horse directly from behind?

شيء مسمط فتناول رمحا بيدك اليمنى وعليها في نصفه , ثم تجيء إلى القربوس من خلفه واضرب بيدك اليسرى على كفل الفرس واكبس على عقب الرمح واصعد إلى وسط السرج.

النوع الخامس عشر: منه مליح يعمل على الفرس إذا أردت أن تقوم على الفرس قائما رأسه , وهو يسمى السرس , فإذا حصلت في سرجك راكبا فاضرب بيدك اليمنى إلى أصل سير الركاب اليمنى , وإلى أصل سير الركاب الأيسر واسند يسارك إلى كتف الفرس وكتفك إلى حاركه واجمع نفسك وشيل رجلك إلى فوق , فإذا أردت الرجوع فضم رجلك حتى تحصل في السرج واجلس جالسا.

النوع السادس عشر: منه من المليح يعمل في الميدان , ويسمى حرب الميدان [١٦٩], وهو أنك تضرب يدك اليمنى إلى الرادفة وبيدك اليسرى إلى عرف الفرس واقلع رجلك اليمنى من الركاب وردها إلى قدام القربوس (١٦٧) حتى تنزل بها بين سير الركاب الأيسر , وبين رجلك اليسرى حتى يجرها مع الأرض , ويداك لا يبرحان , فإذا أردت الرجوع فادخل رجلك اليسرى مع الركاب إلى تحت بطن الفرس واصعد إلى سرجك , وإن شئت فادخل رجلك اليمنى لسان الفرس ولو خفت الوقوع من هذه الأبواب فاستعمل حزاما من قنب فإنك تأمن الوقوع من ذلك , وكذلك إذا كان الفرس يؤخر سرجه , أو يقدمه فإن حزام القنب لا يتحرك , ولا يزول لأنه كلما حصل له البلل من العرق قوي واشتد , ولم يحصل هذا من الصوف , والله أعلم.

النوع السابع عشر: من الركوب , وهو أنك تعمل على قربوس الفرس شيئا مثل العارضة حتى إذا وضعت حنكك المراد منه الذقن عليها مسكتها به , ثم إنك تكتف يديك , وتضع حنكك على العارضة , وتثب على الفرس حتى تحصل في سرجك , وهذه الركبة يركبها السائس في المعاياة بينهم.

النوع الثامن عشر: من الركوب , وهو أنك تقف بحذاء

towards the pommel from behind. Put your left hand on the horse's croup and press on the end of the lance, and ascend up towards the centre of the saddle.

The fifteenth way: of riding, [which is for] pleasure^[82]. It is to be used on the horse if you want to ride doing a handstand on the horse, and it is called *السرس*.^[83] When you have made it to your saddle, place your right hand on the root of the right stirrup leather and the root of the left stirrup leather, and lean your left hand on the horse's shoulder with your shoulder on the horse's withers, then gather yourself and lift your legs up. If you want to return, bring your legs together until you achieve a sitting position in your saddle.^[84]

The sixteenth way: of riding, [which is for] pleasure. It is practised in the hippodrome, and it is called "The war of the hippodrome". It is when you move your right hand to the cantle and your left hand to the horse's mane, and take your right foot out of the stirrup and bring it in front of the pommel so that you bring it down between the left stirrup leather and your left leg, so that you drag it on the ground while your hands are still in place. If you want to return, place your left leg with the stirrup under the horse's belly and raise yourself up into your saddle. If you want to, apply your right leg *ليتي الفرس*.^[85] If you fear falling off [when doing] these manners, use a hemp girth; it will keep you safe from falling. If the horse pushes his saddle backwards or forwards, a hemp girth will not move and does not break because whenever it gets moist from the horse's sweat, it grows stronger. You will not achieve this with wool, God knows best.

The seventeenth way: of riding, and this is when you do something like the *عارضة*^[86] on the pommel of the saddle, until your palate, by which is meant the chin, is on it. Grab it, then fold your arms and place your palate on the *'āriḍa*, and leap up onto the horse to reach the middle of your saddle. This is how the grooms^[87] ride in their doings between them.

The eighteenth way: of riding, and this is when you stand opposite your horse without reaching your hands out to him, and you leap up and ride. This is a difficult chapter, and I

[82] As opposed to the *ḡidd*; seriousness, training aimed at battle.

[83] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 167, has *اليسرتين*, "the two left [hands?]".

[84] There seems to be little practical value in this, other than to show off (which in itself may be of value to a knight, of course).

[85] This is unclear, to say the least. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 168, has corrected al-Suwaydī's *لسان الفرس* to what is seen in the translation here. It appears to be a bodypart (or a pair of them) of the horse, possibly its side or flank? (al-Suwaydī, *Nihāya*: 171).

[86] A sort of cross piece of wood. See glossary (*'āriḍa*).

[87] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: *السياس*

فرسك من غير أن تمد يديك إليه , وتثب عليه , وتركب وهذا
[باب صعب ورأيت من كان يركب هذه الركبة.] ١٧٢
النوع التاسع عشر: من الركوب , وهو أنك إذا حصل
الإنسان في أسر نعوذ بالله منه وكتفت يديه ورجليه فما
حيلته في الركوب , أخبرني بهذه الركبة أخي إسحاق عن
الأمير الأجل المرحوم طقتمر العلاني الملكي الناصري إنه
أسر هو , وأخيه وربطت يديهما ورجليهما وبقيا كذلك , ثم
إن أخوه ألقى نفسه ومشى على ركبتيه حتى وصل إلى مجر
فرس فمسكه في فمه وجره حتى أوقفه في مكان عالي , ثم
صعد عليه , وألقى نفسه على (١٦٨) الفرس وهرب , وفعلت
مثل ذلك يعني يقول طقتمر أنه فعل مثل أخيه , وهذه ركبة
لم يكن شيئاً أحسن منها , وإنما كان شد بيديه ورجليه على
صورة مخصوصة

فإذا فهم المعاني لهذا الفن ذلك فهو ممن يستحق الفراسة ,
ولم أشرح أكثر من ذلك حتى يكون الذي يطالع هذا الكتاب
يتفكر , وينظر كيف هذه الركبة , فإذا حلها فهو أهل لذلك
, وإن لم يحلها فهو مستفيد بحلها على شيخ عالم بها
وبغيرها

فهذه الأنواع التي ذكرتها تحتاج الرماح إليها في أكثر أحواله
, ولم أنكر ما عداها فإنه ليس فيها فائدة في هذا الموضوع ,
وإذا جاء غيرها فهو في باب المسائل , وبالله التوفيق
النوع العشرون: وهو أنك تأخذ العنان بيدك اليسار مع
القربوس , ويدك اليمنى الرمح , وتتكئ على الرمح , وتثب ,
وتركب

النوع الحادي والعشرون: وهو أنك تفعل كما قلت لك في
الباب الذي قبل هذا , وتوقف فرسين , أو ثلاثة , أو أربعة
على قدر ما تكون خفتك , وتثب , وتركب الثالث , أو الرابع
, وهو مليح جدا يظهر فيه الخفة , وإن كان تريد قلع السكك
فليضرب في الأرض سكة , أو سكتين , أو أكثر , وتدقهما
حتى تبلغ إلى آخرهما , وتربطهما في رجله , وتتكئ على
القربوس , والرمح تقدم , وتثب على الفرس , وذلك على قدر

have seen those who mount like this.

The nineteenth way: of riding, and this is if a man comes to be captured, God save us from that, and his hands and legs are tied, then he is unable to ride. My brother 'Ishāq informed me of this way via the late great 'amīr^[88] Ṭāqtimur^[89] al-'Alā'ī al-Malikī al-Nāširī^[90] that they were bound, he and his brother, and their hands and feet tied and remained like that. Then his brother dropped himself down and walked on his knees until he reached the *mijarr*^[91] of a horse, then he took hold of it with his mouth and dragged it until he stopped it in a high place^[92]. Then he raised himself up onto it, and dropped himself onto the horse and fled, 'and then I did like that', meaning that Ṭāqtimur says that he did like his brother. This form of mounting is not a good thing, and one must be strong in hands and legs in particular.

If one understands the meaning of this art, then he is among those who deserve horsemanship^[93], and I will not explain any more than that until he who studies this book thinks, and pays attention to this manner, for if he solves it, then he is qualified for it. If he does not solve it, then he will benefit from solving it under a knowledgeable master or the like.

These ways that I have listed are required for the lancer in most circumstances, and I have not mentioned what goes beyond those as there is no need for that in this passage. If there are more, they will be found in the section on questions, may God grant success!

The twentieth way: This is that you take the reins in your left hand with the pommel, and the lance in your right hand, lean on the lance, leap up and ride.

The twenty-first way: This is that you do like I said before in the chapter preceding this one, and stop two or three horses, or four horses, according to your agility, leap up, and ride the third or the fourth. This is a great way to show your agility. If you want to pick up pegs, drive a peg or two or more in the ground and strike them until you get to the last one, and tie them to your^[94] legs. Then you lean on the pommel, point your lance forwards and jump up on the

[88] A rank in the Mamluk army: commander over a unit of cavalry.

[89] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: has *طقطم*

[90] Possibly Ṭāqtimur al-Dimašqī. If so, one of the first mamluks to be promoted to the rank of 'amīr in 1311 (Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 195).

[91] Read: leadrope. See glossary.

[92] Most likely a slope.

[93] Here, uncharacteristically: *farāsa*, perhaps in the meaning of "kighthood" rather than "horsemanship"? See glossary.

[94] al-Suwaydī reads "his legs".

قوته وشهامته وخفته فإن قدر على ركوب فرس , أو اثنين , أو ثلاثة أو أربع مع قلع السكتين في غاية القوة , والخفة فهذا باب مليح فعلته , ووثبت على ثلاث أفراس وقلعت سكة واحدة , ووثبت على فرسين وقلعت سكتين. وثم أبواب أخر في الركوب تجيء في أماكنها إن شاء الله تعالى. [١٧٣] (١٦٩)

الباب الرابع

في ابتداء الخروج إلى الميدان

إذا أردت الخروج إلى الميدان فخذ الرمح بيمينك , وأرسل يدك معه حتى يكون مع جانب سرجك وخلف فخذك الأيمن ورأس رمحك إلى قدام مرتفعا عن أذن فرسك اليمنى واحفظ أسفله وليكن بينه , وبين الأرض أقل من ذراع , ثم اخرج واطرح فرسك في الناورد على مياسره تقريبا ساكتا دورا واسعا على المقدار الذي حددته لك من سعة الناورد وهدوء منك , ومن فرسك بأدنى التقريب قدر كذلك دورتين , ثم غير رأس الرمح حتى يصير رأسه من الجانب الأيسر , ثم خذ بيدك اليسرى في الموضع الذي كانت اليمنى مع العنان فاعترضه وليكن رأسه بحذاء ركابك الأيمن وسو بين رأسه , وأسفله في الارتفاع , ثم مد يدك اليمنى خلف فخذك الأيمن فسله مع مؤخرة السرج قدر كذلك دورتين , ثم ارفع يدك اليمنى ورأسك بإشارة حسنة ولباقة وهدوء وسلمه لشمالك , وتستقبله استواء بزنديه على ظهر الكف بدولاب شمال تبطيل هذا , وانت في ناوردك , وتكون يدك من تحت الرمح ونكس رأسه قليلا وزنه أيضا مع الركابين وفرسك يدور في هذا كله يسرة

horse, each according to his strength, boldness and agility, for if one is able to mount one, or two, or three, or four while pulling up two pegs, [he is] extremely strong and agile. This is a good manner for those who do it. I have jumped onto three horses while pulling one peg, and jumped onto two horses while pulling two pegs. Now other chapters on riding will follow in their place, God willing, exalted is He.^[95]

2.2.5 Chapter four

On beginning to exit^[96] in the manoeuvre^{[97][98]}

When you want to ride out in the manoeuvre, take your lance in your right hand^[99], then let your hand down with it until [the lance] is by the side of your saddle and behind your right thigh while the tip of the lance points forwards, raised over the right ear of your horse. Mind its bottom; there should be less than the length of a forearm between it and the ground. Ride out and present^[100] your horse in the *nāward*^[101] to his left, calmly cantering^[102] a wide circle of the measure I defined for you from the range of the *nāward*, you and your horse both quiet in the [slow] canter. Make two more circles like that, then change the tip of the lance so that it is on the left side. Put your left hand in the place where your right hand was, with the reins, and place it across^[103] [your saddle] so that the tip of it is facing your (*left stirrup, and its bottom is facing your*)^[104] right stirrup, and balance between its top and bottom when you raise it. Extend your right hand behind your right thigh and lift it along the

[95] This is probably either an exercise in strength and agility, or a game to be played or displayed on special occasions. It is not exactly clear to me how one is supposed to mount more than one horse at the same time, unless what is meant is a variation on what is known as the Puszta five; a Hungarian traditional skill, where the rider controls a number of horses (usually five) by standing on the backs or haunches of two in the rear and driving the others in front of him. The point here seems to be to pull the pegs out of the ground and to jump high and far at the same time.

[96] See glossary (*ḥaraḡa*).

[97] This term (*maydān, mayādīn*) is sometimes a little confusing as to whether it denotes a pattern of movements or a physical place. See glossary.

[98] This first part describes movements and exercises to be performed by the rider alone, to practice his skills and grow confident before he starts practicing with other riders and then duelling. (Maybe it describes some of the *bunūd* mentioned earlier?)

[99] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 169, adds: “by the middle”; منصفاً

[100] See glossary (*ṭaraḡa*).

[101] See glossary.

[102] See glossary (*taqrīb*).

[103] See glossary (*iṭaraḡa*).

[104] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 169: وليكن رأسه بحذاء ركابك الأيسر، وأسفله بحذاء ركابك الأيمن

على مقدار ما بدلت به التقريب قدور على دور واحد , ثم
اعبر بأسفله حين يصير رمحك على ساعدك الأيمن ورأسه
مع خد فرسك الأيمن فدور كذلك دورا , ثم اعبر رأس الرمح
رأس الفرس إلى الجانب الأيسر فدور دورا , ثم ادخل الرمح
إلى قدام , وأخرجه وسدد به يسرة تسديدا خراسانيا دورتين
, ثم انقل العنان , وأدر فرسك عند كل نقلة واقلبه واعطفه
في جريه فسدد يمنا واقلب الفرس , وأدره من النقل على
ميامنه دورتين , ثم رد رمحك إلى الامتناع وفرسك يدور
يمنا وامتنع , ثم اقلب رمحك على رأسك وامتنع (١٧٠) به
يسرة فرسك مع النقلة في سرعة مع مياسرك ليصير الرمح
من داخل , ويصير الفرس تدور عليه دورتين , ثم أدر الرمح
إلى التسديد , والامتناع يكون الرمح من داخل , والفرس
على اليد من جانبها , ثم أجر فرسك مستويا , وأنت حامل
مسدد يسرة [١٧٤] حملا مستويا قدر نصف دور , ثم اطرح
الرمح في يدك اليسرى إلى نصفه واحبس فرسك مع الخرطة
واعترض رمحك وسر سيرا رفيقا حتى ترجع إلى موضعك
إن شاء الله تعالى

back of the saddle and ride two circles like that. Then raise your right hand and your head as a sign of merit, elegance and calm, deliver it to your left and receive it straight on the arm and on the back of the hand with a spin^[105] to the left [and a movement like the] displacement [until it stops]^[106]. You do this while in your *nāward* with your hand under^[107] the lance. Tilt its tip a little and balance it as well by the stirrups while your horse during all of this turns to the degree that you changed^[108] the canter. Turn one circle, and then you make it cross its bottom so that your lance is on your right side and its top by your horse's right cheek, and circle like that once. Then make the lance tip cross the horse's head to the left side, and circle once. Now bring the lance forwards, retract it and do a Khorasanian block^[109] to the left for two circles. Then shift^[110] the reins and turn your horse in every shift; turn the horse around and bend it while it runs. Block to the right and turn the horse around; turn it after the shift to the right for two circles. Then bring your lance back to a parry^[111] while your horse circles to the right, and parry. Invert your lance over your head and parry with it to the left of your horse, with a shift to the left at speed, so the lance comes to be on the inside, and the horse comes to turn two circles *on it*. Turn the lance to a block, and a parry, the lance being on the inside, and the horse on the hand^[112] on its side. Make your horse run straight while you attack and block to the left in a straight attack and turn half a circle. Present your lance in your left hand, on the

[105] *dawlāb*, here: a rotating motion with the hand. See glossary.

[106] See glossary (*tabīl*).

[107] This probably refers to the grip of the hand on the lance.

[108] The canter has a right or a left lead, decided by which foreleg is the last to leave the ground in each stride. One usually rides a right lead canter when turning to or going on a curved line on the right, and likewise a left lead canter to the left. Changing the canter lead can be done by the rider on a straight line, but there are no explicit orders to change the canter lead in the text. A horse will usually rebalance and change the lead on its own if the rider just turns it in the other direction in canter.

[109] See glossary (*tasdīd*). Also 2.2.17, 2.2.23.

[110] See glossary (*naqala*).

[111] See glossary (*imtinā*). Also 2.2.20, 2.2.26.

[112] *yad* also means the foreleg of the horse. It could mean that he should make sure the horse is cantering on the appropriate lead, or that it is turned in the direction of the spearhead of the lance. There is a mention of this in the chapter on the parry (2.2.20), where it states that the horse should follow the direction of the spearhead in the parry, meaning that its inside (the side to which it bends) should be on the side of the spearhead.

وإن اردت أن تخرط الرمح في كل موضع فلا تمد يمينك في يسارك فذلك عيب وهذا قبيح عند الفرسان , والنظارة , وربما جازت يدك اليمنى في الجذبة فيسقط الرمح فيصير عيبا وخجلة , ولكن إذا أردت أن تخرط الرمح فمثل رأسه إلى فوق , وأسفل كفك وعينيك إليه ودعه يجري فيها فإنه يجري فيها , وينسل من نفسه حتى يبلغ رأسه فاقبض عليه حينئذ إن شاء الله تعالى .

ابتداء آخر , تأخذ عنانك بيدك اليسرى ورأس رمحك بيدك اليمنى فجر أسفله على الأرض , وإما أن تمسك الطرادة مع الرمح , وإما ترسلها , ويدك اليمنى من رأس الرمح خلف فخذك اليمنى , ثم اخرج تحت على فرسك مقدار ميدان حتى تبعد عن الناس فإنه أنهى للعمل , وأخفى لعيب إن كان , ثم اخرج فرسك إلى التقريب في هدوء وسكون فأدره على يده اليسرى دورتين , ثم اقلب رمحك من خلف من فوق رأسك بيدك اليمنى مع شعرك إلى الجانب الأيسر كما تقلده في الامتناع فخذ رأسه بيدك اليسرى وعنانك بيدك اليمنى واطرح فرسك على يده اليمنى , ويكون طرحك الفرس مع قلبك الرمح معا , ويدك اليسرى مع رأس الرمح وخلف فخذك اليسرى , وأنت تجره كما كان في يمينك قد دورتين , ثم اقلب رمحك بيدك اليسرى من فوق رأسك إلى الجانب الأيمن فخذ بيدك اليمنى كما أخذته أولا واطرح فرسك مع النقلة (١٧١) فأدره يسرة فأدره لذلك دورتين , ثم اقلب رمحك بيدك اليمنى حتى يصير على شمالك فسدد بأسفله مع خد فرسك الأيسر خراسانيا فدر دورا واحدا , ثم اخرط الرمح في مؤخر سرجك إلى الجانب الأيمن حتى يصير أسفله في يدك اليسرى مع العنان ورأسه إلى خلف فتصير به ممتنعا يمنا فدر كذلك دورا , ثم رده بيدك اليمنى من الامتناع إلى قدام حتى تغير رأس الفرس إلى الجانب

half^[113], and halt your horse with^[114] the change of the grip^[115]. Then cross^[116] the lance and go at a gentle walk until you have returned to your place, God willing, exalted is He.

If you want to change your grip on the lance in every position, don't extend your right hand to your left as this is a fault, and is repulsive both to horsemen and spectators. Your right hand might succeed in extending so the lance falls, which will be a fault and an embarrassment.

But if you want to change the grip on the lance, raise its top upwards [with] its bottom in your palm. Keep your eye on it and let it run through [your palm], so it runs through it, and slips on its own until its tip arrives. Grasp it in that moment, God willing, exalted is He.

Another start: take your reins in your left hand and the tip of your lance in your right hand, and drag the bottom along the ground. Whether you grasp the *ṭirrāda* with the lance, or you send it behind your right thigh, your right hand is on top of the lance. Ride out under [it] on your horse to the extent of the hippodrome until you are far from people, as this is better^[117] for the work, and hides faults should there be any. Then ride your horse out in a canter, calmly and quietly, and turn it in two circles on the left hand. Invert your lance from behind and over your head with your right hand, by your hair, to the left side, like you invert it in the parry. Take its tip in your left hand and your reins in your right hand and present the horse on its right hand, and when you present your horse you invert your lance at the same time. Your left hand is on the tip of the lance and behind your left thigh while you drag it like [you did] on the right lead in two circles, then invert your lance with your left hand from over your head to the right side and grip it with your right hand like you first held it. Turn your horse around [at the same time as] the shift^[118]. Turn it left and ride two circles like that, then invert your lance with your right hand so that it reaches your left side and block by its bottom beside the horse's left side in the Khorasanian manner. Circle once, then change the grip on your lance by the back of your saddle to the right side until its bottom comes to your left hand together

[113] Meaning that you hold it in the middle.

[114] Meaning to halt the horse at the time of this movement, which will look quite impressive.

[115] See glossary (*harāṭa*).

[116] Ie. make it lie across the saddle/horse in front of the rider. See glossary (*i'taraḍa*).

[117] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 170. أبيض

[118] Here seemingly a synonym to *invert*. See glossary (*qalaba, naqala*).

الأيسر في سرعة فسدد به خراسانيا وفرسك يدور على يدك اليسرى فدر دورا واحدا , ثم انقل الرمح على رأس الفرس خراسانيا مع العنان , وتقلب الفرس معه , وترد الرمح إلى التسديد , ثم تخرطه في يسارك إلى نصفه , ثم تحبس فرسك إن شاء الله تعالى. [١٧٥]

ابتداء آخر, تأخذ عنانك بيدك اليسرى ورمحك بيدك اليمنى في النصف منه فتجعله منصف , والطرادة مع رجل فرسك اليمنى , وانت تدور على مياسر فرسك فدر كذلك دورتين , ثم ارفع يدك كما أنت فوق رأسك حتى تعبر رأس الرمح كفل فرسك , ويدك إلى الجانب الأيسر فتجعل رأس الرمح مع رجله اليسرى , وتقلب فرسك فيدور يمنا , ثم تدير رمحك إلى ميامنه فتخرطه في كفك وراحتك إلى النصف , ثم ترفع يدك الى فوق يعني قعود قدام بخروج كفيه يدور دورتين بتسريح حتى يصير رأس الرمح تحت إبطك الأيمن, ثم تعبر بأسفله كفل فرسك فتأخذ أسفله بيدك اليسرى , وتجعله مع العنان يعني تنزل به ظهر, وتسلمه ليديك اليسرى مع العنان فيصير شبيها بالمتنع به بيدك اليسرى وحله من يدك اليمنى , ثم مد يمينك من قدام إلى الأرض فخذ على قدر ذراع من الرمح فرده بسرعة , وإشارة حتى تسدد به ثغريا من الجانب الأيمن , وتقلب فرسك مع الردة سواء على يمينه فتدور كذلك دورتين , ثم انقل الرمح على رأس الفرس(١٧٢) ثغريا , وتدرع عليه بيدك اليسرى واقلب فرسك على مياسره فدر كذلك دورا واحدا , ثم رده إلى التسديد يسرة وخذ العنان فسدد به خراسانيا , ثم انزل به على شمالك وسرحه من فوق رأسك وضعه على

with the reins and its tip to the back, while you parry to the right. Circle like this once, then take it back with your right hand from the parry towards the front so that you change the horse's head to the left side at speed, then block in the Khorasanian manner while your horse circles on your left hand for one *complete*^[119] circle. Shift the lance over the horse's head in the Khorasanian manner with the reins while you turn the horse around at the same time. You bring the lance back to the block^[120], then change your grip [on the lance] to your left [and] to its middle, then halt your horse, God willing, exalted is He.

Another start: Take your reins in your left hand, your lance in your right hand in its middle so that you make it divided in two, and the *ṭirrāda*^[121] by the right hind leg of your horse while you circle your horse to the left. Turn like that twice, then raise your hand as you are above your head until the tip of the lance crosses the croup of your horse and your hand to the left side, and place the tip of the lance by his left hind leg. You turn your horse around and circle to the right, turn your lance to its right and change your grip on it in your palm and the inside of your hand^[122] to the middle [of the lance]. You then raise your hand upwards, meaning ^[123] forward with an exit from the palm, and it circles twice with release so that the tip of the lance comes to be under your right armpit. Then make the bottom cross your horse's croup and grasp it with your left hand, and put it together with the reins meaning to let it down to the back, then deliver it to your left hand with the reins so it resembles^[124] the parry with your left hand. Release it from your right hand, then extend your right hand forward to the ground and grab the lance with a forearm's length and quickly bring it back with *a* gesture so that you block *taḡrī*^[125] from the right side. Turn your horse around as you bring it back, except on its right side, and turn twice like that. Then shift the lance *taḡrī* over the horse's head and ^[126] it with your left hand and turn your horse around to the left. Go like that

[119] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 171. دورا واحدا كاملا

[120] The Khorasanian block.

[121] It does not look like the rider uses two lances in this part.

[122] The author used *kaff* for the most part about the palm, and *zahr al-kaff* for the back of the hand. *Rāḥa* occurs quite frequently as well, sometimes together with *kaff*, like here.

[123] A way to send the lance up or forwards?

[124] It is not a parry (*imtinā*) because the parry always happens at the tip of the lance, cf. 2.2.20.

[125] See glossary.

[126] Either to make it ready as a weapon, or to make a defensive move with it. See glossary (*darra 'a*).

كتفك الأيسر يمينة , ويسرة ثغريا , ثم امتنع به , ثم رده إلى التسديد يمينة ثغريا واحمل به في آخر العمل حملا مستويا , ثم سل رأس الرمح واخرطه أي سرحه بدخول تحت إبطك ونصفه , ثم احبس وقف

وهذا الابتداء الذي ذكرته لك على أوجه إنما تعلمه قبل خروجك إلى القرن تعلمه أنت مع معلمك , أو تلميذك حتى يتمرن فيه , ثم بعد ذلك تدخل الميدان , وتعمل مثل ذلك , فإذا حصل لك التمرين , والإدمان مدة من الزمان دخلت بعد ذلك إلى الميدان وطلبت البراز مع الأقران وبالله المستعان.
[١٧٦]

الباب الخامس

من التعليم الثاني في ذكر الميادين أول ما يريد المتعلم تعلمه بعد علم البنود, وإتقانها, ثم علم الميادين لتتمرن أعضاؤه للدخول, والخروج مع الفرسان, والانعطاف, والكسرات يمينة, ويسرة ومقبلا ومدبرا, ويعلم مقامه مع مقدمه ومقام غيره إلى غير ذلك فيصير بصيرا بذلك, وذكرت في هذا الباب ذكر الميادين التي ذكرها الشيخ نجم الدين الأحذب وغيره من المشايخ المتقدمين, وفي دورانها اختلاف كثير, ولم يكن لأهل زماننا في علم الميادين ودورانها سوى الفرجة للناس, والملوك, والأمراء, والجنود, ولم يعلموا سرها التي وضعت له, ولم يذكرها أعداد من فيها من الفرسان, وهذا دليل على أنهم لم يعلموا سر الميادين.(١٧٣)

قلت اعلم ايدك الله أن سر الميادين التي وضعوها المتقدمين في الدوران إنما هو حيلة تحتال بها على عدوك حتى ينحصر معك, ولا يبقى له خلاص من يدك, فعلى أي الوجوه داره هذه الحيلة جاز, وأما عدد الفرسان, والعلة فيه, والدليل

one round, then bring it back to a block to the left, take the reins and do a Khorasanian block. Take it down to your left, release it from above your head and lay it on your left shoulder, (*then block with it while it is on your shoulder. Present it by your face on your left, and block with it taġrī*)^[127] right and left. Parry with it, then bring it back to the *taġrī* block to the right, and do a straight attack with it at the end of the work. Pull out the top of the lance and change the grip on it; that is release it with an entry under your armpit, and grasp the middle of it, then hold back and stop.

This is the start^[128] that I have described for you on the approaches that you, before riding out on the adversary, should do with your teacher, or your student, until he is experienced in it. Only after that do you enter the manoeuvre and work like that. When you achieve the skill and devotion after some time, you enter the hippodrome and initiate a duel with the adversaries, by God, who provides assistance.

2.2.6 Chapter five of the second part, in describing the manoeuvres.

The first thing a learner must be taught, after knowing and perfecting the lance exercises, is the knowledge of the manoeuvres so his limbs may get used to the entering and exiting with the riders, the bends and turns right and left, forwards and backwards, and know his place with the vanguard and his place otherwise, so he becomes insightful in that. In this chapter, I give mention of the manoeuvres that the *ṣayḥ* Naġm al-Dīn al-'Aḥḍab and other ancient *ṣayḥs* listed. Their turns^[129] differ considerably, and to the people of our day, nothing remains of the knowledge of the manoeuvre and its turns other than as a spectacle for the people, kings, princes and soldiers, and they do not know their secrets that are written down for them, nor are they described by the number of those who are among the horsemen, and this is evidence that they do not know the secret of the manoeuvre.

I said: Know, may God support you, that the secret of the manoeuvre that the ancients

[127] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 172, ثم وضعه على كتفك الأيسر، فسدد به يسرة وهو على كتفك. اطرح مع وجهك في يسارك، فسدد به يمنة ويسرة ثغريا

[128] These so-called beginnings look a little like warm-up exercises for the horse and rider, or simpler exercises intended to make the rider ready for the more advanced ones in the coming manoeuvres.

[129] *dawarān*. See glossary.

عليه نذكره إن شاء الله تعالى فيما بعد في تعبئة الجيش
على ما ذكره اليانوس, ولنذكر الآن الميادين التي ذكرها
نجم الدين وغيره إن شاء الله تعالى, وهذه صورة الميادين في
والعصمة, وهو (End of page), الوجه الآخر وبالله التوفيق
حسبي ونعم الوكيل. [١٨١] (١٨٠)

فهذه الميادين التي ذكرها المتأخرون، ولم يشرحها احدا
منهم زماننا ظنا بالنزر القليل الذي فهمه ، وامر المتعلم
بينهم ضائع و لجاهلهم طائع، وانا اذكر ميدانا ذكره بعض
المتقدمين و شرح العمل به ، و لم يظن به ، وهو احسن من
الميادين المتقدمة للخاصة ، والعامه لمن تأمله، وتدبره فانه
في غاية الحسن، و الفائدة ، و يدار بالجماعة القليلة ، و
الكبيرة و بالفرد، والزوج ومضاعفا ومنقوصا على انواع عدة
، وهو بعبارة المتقدمين، وهو أصل الميادين ، [١٨٢] ومن
تقاريعه الميادين المنتدمة وغيرها، و لم اذكرهم للاطالة و
هذا الميدان الجامع لهم و لغيرهم و صورته في ظهر الورقة
(١٨٢)

compiled is in the turns. They are nothing but a ruse to outsmart your enemy until he is confined with you, and no redemption remains to be found from your hand, for whichever direction he turns, this ruse will succeed. As for the number of riders, the weakness thereof and the evidence of this; it is, God willing, exalted is He, described in what comes after, about alerting the army of what Aelian^[130] described. Let us now name the manoeuvres that Nağm al-Dīn and others listed, God willing, exalted is He. This is the drawing of the manoeuvre on the other page, may God grant us success and protection. He is sufficient for me, and He is the best disposer of affairs.

[list of patterns^[131]]

These are the manoeuvres which are treated by the recent authors. Nobody in our time has explained them, extrapolating [what they know] from what little they understand. When confronted with these people, the learner is bewildered, and will be inclined to follow the ignorant among them. I describe a manoeuvre that some of the ancient authors listed, and [they] explained the works of it, but did not think of it. It is better than the previous manoeuvres both for the elite and the common people, for him who contemplates it and reflects on it, as it is very good and proper. It is ridden in a group, be it small or big, alone or in pairs, be it multiplied or lessened, in several ways. It is according to the explanation of the ancient authors, and it is the base of the manoeuvres, and among its branches are the ancient manoeuvres and others. I have not treated them, because that would take us too far, but this is the manoeuvre that brings them together with the others. Its picture is [found] on the back of the sheet.

[130] This refers to the ninth lesson, which is based mainly on Aelian's *Tactica*. See al-Sarraf: "Mamluk Furūsiyah Literature": 197.

[131] I have left out the drawings of the manoeuvres that come without an explanation as they add nothing to the rest of the text.

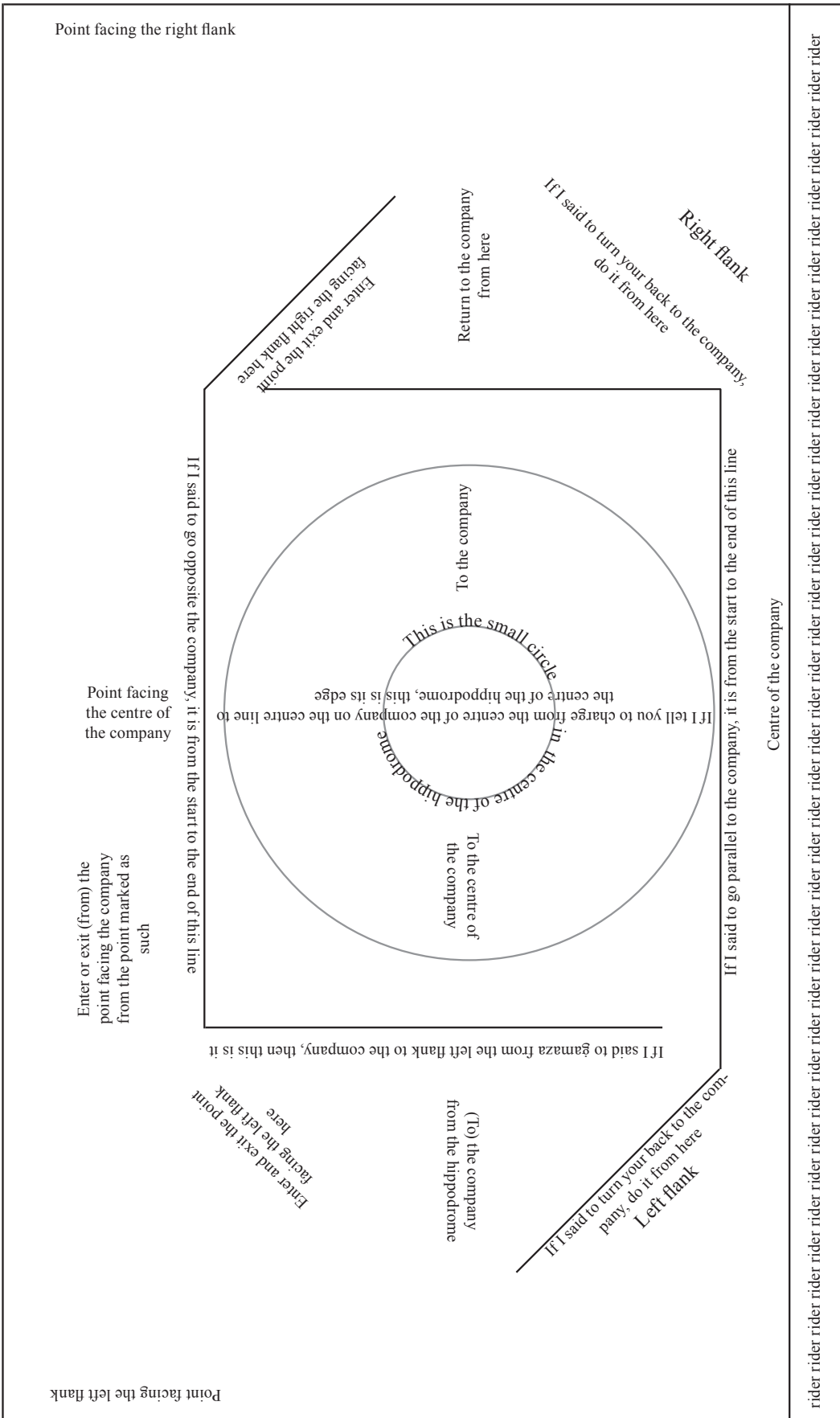


Figure 1.

هذا الناورد الذي رسمته لك على عدة وجوه وذكرت لكل وجه باب مفرد به، وقد وضعته ثلاثين بابا وخمسة عشرة فصلا وبالله التوفيق ، والعصمة [١٨٣]

الباب الاول

يعرف بموكبي سادج يعمل على سائر الخطوط وهو أنك إذا وقف الموكب حيث رسمت لك من الميدان فتخرج من يمين الموكب وبيدك رمح منصف فتدور على الدائرة الكبرى دورة حتى تنتهي إلى إزاء الميسرة , ثم شل رمحك واقلبه من فوق رأسك بلباقة , وتقانة ورد رأس فرسك شمالا وانقل رمحك ورد رأس فرسك يمينا وانقل الرمح إلى قدام وانظر من تحته وسر بإزاء الموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى إزاء الميسرة , ثم اغمز من إزاء الموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميسرة ورد رأس فرسك شمالا إلى وسط الموكب وسر موازيا للموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة , ثم ولي ظهرك الموكب وشل رمحك وانظر من تحته ورد رأس فرسك شمالا وسر موازيا للموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميسرة , ثم ولي ظهرك الموكب وشل رمحك وانظر من تحته ورد رأس فرسك يمينا إلى وسط الموكب وسر موازيا للموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة , ثم ولي ظهرك الموكب واغمز وطول في غمزتك حتى تنتهي إلى إزاء الميمنة , ثم رد رأس فرسك شمالا وسر بإزاء الموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى إزاء الميسرة , ثم رد رأس فرسك شمالا وسر بإزاء الموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميسرة , ثم رد رأس فرسك شمالا وسر موازيا للموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة , ثم ولي ظهرك الموكب , والرمح على كتفك ورد رأس فرسك شمالا وانقل الرمح إلى قدامك وسر إلى وسط الموكب , ثم سر موازيا للموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميسرة , ثم ولي ظهرك الموكب ورمحك على ساعدك الأيسر وعينك إلى الموكب, (١٨٣) ثم سر ورد رأس فرسك يمينا وانقل إلى قدام وسر موازيا للموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة فتفعل ذلك أيضا كما فعلت أولا , ثم

This *nāward* that I drew for you refers to many manners, and I have listed every manner in its own chapter. I have made them into thirty chapters, with twenty-five parts; God grants success and protection.

2.2.7 Chapter one

Known as two companies *sādiġ*^[132] on one who follows the drawn^[133] lines

When the company stands in the manoeuvre like I wrote down for you, you ride out from the right of the company with your lance in your hand, held in the middle. Ride once around the large circle until you reach [the point] opposite the left flank. Raise your lance and invert it over your head with elegance and skill, and take your horse's head back left^[134]. Shift your lance and take your horse's head back right. Shift your lance forwards and look from underneath it, then go opposite the entire company until you reach [the point] opposite the left flank, then^[135]charge.^[136] Turn your horse's head left to the centre of the company and go parallel to the entire company until you reach the right flank. Turn your back to the company, raise your lance and look from underneath it, take your horse's head back left and go parallel to the entire company until you reach the left flank. Then turn your back to the company, raise your lance and look from underneath it, take your horse's head back right towards the centre of the company and go parallel to the entire company until you reach the right flank. Turn your back to the company and charge and extend in your charge until you reach [the point] opposite the right flank. Take your horse's head back left and go opposite the entire company until you reach [the point] opposite the right^[137] flank. Then take your horse's head back left and go opposite the entire company until you reach the left flank. Take your horse's head back left and go parallel to the entire company until you reach the right flank. Turn your back to the company with your lance on your shoulder, take your horse's head back left and shift your lance to be in front of you and go to the centre of the company. Then go parallel to the

[132] Cf. Lutful-Huq p. 63

[133] Cf. Lutful-Huq p. 63

[134] This must mean to turn his horse to a side and then ride in that direction, otherwise this passage makes no sense.

[135] Here there is a repeat line in al-Suwaydī that caused a lot of headache. Unless they had invented teleportation, Lutful-Huq's version makes a lot more sense. (*A critical edition*: 182)

[136] See glossary (*gamaza*).

[137] Surely this should read 'left'?

تدخل على يمينك في الناورد الصغير , وهو وسط الميدان فتدور دورة واحدة حتى تنتهي إلى إزاء وسط الموكب , ثم تغمز على وسط الموكب , وتخرج شمالا فتدور دورة أخرى على الدائرة الصغيرة , فإذا صرت بإزاء وسط الموكب فاغمز واقطع فهذا مما يدوره واحدا , وإن شاء اثنان حتى يتكرر ذلك , وتدوره بسرعة من غير اختلاف إن شاء الله تعالى , وهو للمتعلم. [١٨٤]

الباب الثاني

يدوره المعلم بالمقرعة

إذا وقف الموكب تخرج عن يمينه فتدور ثلاث دورات , وتجتهد أن ألا تخرج حافزا عن حافر , فإذا حصل في الثالثة بإزاء الموكب فاقسم الدائرة واغمز بالفرس في الوسط الى أن تنتهي بإزاء الأمير , وهو وسط الموكب , وتخرج يسارك بالمقرعة , وترد الفرس الى شمال الموكب , وتخرج فتدور على أترك الأول ثلاث دورات لا تزيد عليها , ولا تنقص منها , ولا تخرج عنها , ولا تدخل فيها , فإذا فعلت ذلك يمينا وشمالا وحصلت في وسط الموكب غمزت على أترك الأول في وسط الدائرة إلى حيث رسمت لك من وسط الموكب فرد فرسك إلى اليمين واخرج مقرعتك بنفض مليح بغير تقطيع إلى أن تحتاج إليه , وتدور على أترك حتى تحصل بإزاء الموكب , ثم تغمز على اترك في وسط الدائرة إلى أن تنتهي إلى حيث رسمت لك من وسط الموكب , ثم رد فرسك على ميسرة الموكب واخرج المقرعة كما رسمت

entire company until you reach the left flank. Turn your back to the company with your lance on your left forearm and your eyes on the company, then go, and take your horse's head back to the right. Shift forwards and go parallel to the entire company until you reach right flank. Then do that also like you did the first time, then enter on your right in the small *nāward*, that is [in] the centre of the hippodrome, then do one circle until you reach [the point] opposite the centre of the company. You charge to the centre of the company, exit left and do another turn on the small *nāward*. When you have reached [the point] opposite the centre of the company, charge and break off^[138]. This is something you should do on your own, or if you want, two and two, until you have repeated it [enough]. Ride it quickly and without disparity^[139], God willing, exalted is He. This [lesson] is for the learner.^[140]

2.2.8 Chapter two

The teacher rides^[141] it with the crop

When the company stops, you exit from its right and circle three times. Take care not to exit horse after horse. When you come to the third [round] in [the point] opposite the company, cut across the circle and charge with the horse in the middle until you reach [the point] opposite the *'amīr*^[142], which is the centre of the company. Take your left hand out with the crop, take the horse back to the left of the company and exit, then turn in your first track and do three circles, no more and no less. Don't exit from [the circle], and don't enter it. When you have done that to the right and the left and come to be in the centre of the company, you charge on your first track through the centre of the circle to where I drew the centre of the company for you. Then you take your horse back to the right and take out your crop with a nice shake without disruption^[143], other than what you need, and turn in your track until you reach [the point] opposite the company. Then you charge in your track in the centre of the circle until you end up where I drew the centre of the company for you. Take your horse back to the left flank

[138] Ie. finish the exercise.

[139] Ie. do not deviate from the pattern described?

[140] This manoeuvre is hard to follow. Maybe there is something missing somewhere?

[141] In this context, *yadūru* means either to ride the turns of the manoeuvre, or it means the teacher is riding it with the student, but there is no indication of there being more than one rider in the chapter.

[142] The commander. Could be the centre of the circles, or the point of the *'amīr* could be the same as the centre of the company, making its opposite the point opposite the company.

[143] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 183, تقنيع

لك تفعل ذلك أربع مرات مرتين يمينا ومرتين شمالا (وتخرج المقرعة) (١٨٤) وترجع على أترك , وتدور على الناورد , فإذا حصلت بإزاء الموكب) , ثم تدور على اليمين صغيرا تقسمه في وسط الدائرة الكبيرة , فإذا درت واحدة وحصلت في الثانية بإزاء الموكب (في الناورد الصغير فادخل برأس الفرس , وتغمز في قسمة الدائرة الكبيرة للصغيرة حيث رسمت لك من وسط الموكب) على خط قسمة الدائرة الكبيرة فاخرج برأس الفرس واخرج المقرعة وارجع على أترك ففي الدور الصغير , فإذا حصلت بإزاء الموكب فاخرج برأس الفرس وارجع على أترك في الدائرة الصغيرة , فإذا وازنت فانصرف اقطع. [١٨٥]

الباب الثالث

وهو في الموازنة

وهو اصل العمل بالرمح ومنه تولد كل عمل , وهو أن تخرج إذا وقف الموكب عن يمين , وفي يدك الرمح منصفا , ويكون صاحبك واقفا في ميسرة الموكب ومعه رمحه منصفا وسنان كل واحد منكما إلى جهة صاحبه وقربا جميعا وعينك إليه وعينه عليك لئلا يخرج كل واحد عن صاحبه , فإذا توازنتما في آخر الميدان عرضا فليدخل كل واحد على قرنه وانقلبا جميعا , فإذا انقلبتما فليلز كل واحد صاحبه عن يمينه إذا دخل صاحبه إلى الذي عن يمينه إلى يمينه إلى برا إلى اخر الميدان , ثم يشد يده في الرمح , وينظر من تحته , ويفعل صاحبه كذلك (١٨٥) ويقربا جميعا مستويا على خط واحد لا يميل أحدا منهما يمينا , ولا

of the company and draw the crop like I described for you (*from the centre of the company and take your horse back in the direction of the company and draw the crop like I described to you*)^[144]. Do that four times; twice to the right and twice to the left, (and draw your crop and return in your track, and turn on the *nāward*. When you arrive opposite the company), you do a small circle to the right and cut across it in the centre of the big circle, and when you turn once and come to the second [turn] at [the point] opposite the company (in the small *nāward*, then enter by the horse's head^[145] and charge on the line across the big circle to the small circle where I drew the centre of the company for you) on the line that divides the big circle. (*You draw your crop, return in your track, and circle on the nāward. When you come to [the point] opposite the company on the line dividing the big circle*^[146]), then exit by your horse's head, draw your crop and return in your track on the small circle, and when you reach the point opposite the company, exit by the horse's head and return in your track to the small circle, and when you are parallel to the company, turn away and break off.

2.2.9 Chapter three

Which is about *al-muwāzana*^[147]

This is the foundation for the lance work from which all work is born. It is that you ride out on the right when the company stands, while you have the lance in your hand, holding it in the middle. Your companion is standing in the left flank of the company with his lance in his hand, holding it in the middle, and the spearhead of each one points in the direction of his companion. You approach^[148] each other, with your eye on him and his eye on you, so that each one does not exit from his companion. When you have gone parallel^[149] and reached the end of the hippodrome width-wise, then each one rides toward his adversary, and turns around at the same time. When you have turned around, each one thrusts^[150] his companion to his right; then his companion goes to the one on his right, and on the outside, to the end

[144] Extra line in Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 173, فرد الفرس إلى جهة الموكب، من وسط الموكب، وخرج المقرعة كما رسمت لك

[145] I.e. turn the horse's head in the direction you want to go

[146] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 184, فإذا، حصلت بإزاء الموكب على خط قسمة الدائرة الكبيرة

[147] Name of a pattern based on parallel lines. See glossary.

[148] Or: canter

[149] To each other

[150] Cf. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 2656. See also glossary (*lazza*).

شمالا , فإذا حصل بإزاء الميسرة , ثم نقل ورجع إلى قرنه
فليلزه ثانية حتى يوافي به ميمنة الموكب , ثم يشيل يده ,
وينظر من تحت , ويفعل صاحبه مثل ذلك , فإذا فعل ذلك
ثلاثا فليلزه صاحب الميمنة إلى الميسرة فإن يد صاحب
الميسرة تكون إلى الموكب , ويستوي له الخروج فليخرج
ثلاث مرات بعد أن يلز صاحب الميسرة , فإذا فعل ذلك
ثلاثا فليلزه صاحب الميمنة ثلاثا إلى آخر الميدان , ثم ينقل
, ويدخل مخالفا على حكاية القوس , فإذا فعل ذلك صاحب
الميسرة ثلاثا فليلزه صاحب الميمنة , ويخرج مثله ثلاثا

وفي الثالثة التي على صاحب الميمنة فليطولا جميعا ,
ويخرج صاحب الميسرة مخالفا ثلاثا متصلات ملاح ,
فإذا استوى في ثلاثة فليخرج صاحب الميمنة كمثلثه ثلاثا
إلى الناورد على اليمين وصاحب الميمنة في طلبه وليقع
الناورد قسمة في وسط العمل , فإذا دار ودورة خرج صاحب
الميمنة , وتبعه صاحب الميسرة , فإذا دار ودورة أخرى
مضى كل واحد منهما إلى أرضه وقطع , ولا ينبغي أن آخذ
بهذه الموازنة في الميدان من ميسرة الموكب , والأخرى
موازي الميسرة لأنه إذا ابتداء من هذين الموضعين استدبر
الموكب وجعل العمل خارج عما رسمته العلماء , ولا يبتدئ
أحد من الميمنة , والآخر من إزاء الميمنة فيكون من عجزه
في [١٨٦] العمل ما قد وصفته , ولا تبتدئ أيضا بها من إزاء
الميسرة , والآخر من إزاء الميمنة مستقبليين الميمنة لا غير
بل مثل ما قلت في أول الباب , ويجب أن تقدر الرمحين
, وإذا ابتداء أحد في العلم فليتنظر ركوب قرنه , والتفاتة
ونقلاته , وإلى عينه , وإلى فرسه , ويده في العنان , ويده في
الرمح , ويميزه تمييز الفراسة , ولا يجوز , بل يوازنه موازنة

of the hippodrome. Then he grasps the lance firmly and looks from underneath it, and his companion does the same, and they approach each other while keeping level on one line, nobody veering right or left from it, and when he reaches [the point] opposite the left flank, he shifts and returns to his companion and thrusts him again so that he overtakes him in the right flank of the company. Then he raises his hand, looks from underneath it, and his companion does the same. When he has done that three times, he joins his companion from the right flank to the left flank, and if the left hand of his companion is towards the company, and he is straight [enough] to exit, then he exits three times after thrusting his companion to the left. When he has done that three times, he joins his companion to the right three times to the end of the hippodrome, then shifts and enters opposing^[151] on *ḥikāyat al-qaws*^[152], and when his companion on the left has done that three times, he unites with his companion to the right and exits like that three times.

On the third exit which is to the companion of the right flank, the two of them extend^[153] together, and the companion of the left flank exits opposing three consecutive times in a good manner. When he has done it straight three times, the companion on the right exits like him three times to the *nāward* on the right with the companion of the right flank on his initiative. The *nāward* falls on the line in the centre of the work. When he has done one circle, the companion of the right flank exits and the companion of the left flank follows him, and when he has done another circle, each one goes to their place and breaks off. It is not necessary to do the *muwāzana* in the manoeuvre from the left flank of the company while the other is parallel to the left flank, because if one starts from these two places, he will turn his back to the company and render the work outside of what the masters drew up. Nobody starts from the right flank while the other [starts] from [the point] opposite the right flank, so that would be a fault in the work I have described. Don't start from [the point] opposite the left flank either while the other [starts] from [the point] opposite the right flank, meeting in the right flank or elsewhere, but start like I said at the beginning of the chapter. You need to master two lances. If someone starts in this learning, he should watch how his adversary rides, his turns and shifts, look him in the eye and look at his horse, his hand on the reins and on the lance. [He

[151] See glossary (*muḥālif*).

[152] A kind of formation of riders, in the shape of a semi-circle like the bow?

[153] See glossary (*taṭwīl*).

ليتوازن الفارسان بفرسيهما, ويكونا في النقلان , والأرضان سواء , ولا يعوجا يميننا , ولا شمالا عطب وليحذر من عمل هذه الموازنة أن يصرف في أرض صاحبه ويلزم السهر بين يدي قرنه ليسلم من الطعن مخافة آخر مخالف , والنقلة وانحطاط الرمح بغير بطا ومد اليد مع الرمح(١٨٦) وقت الانقلاب , والالتفات , فإن المخالف مثل القوس...وليكن رمحك أبدا قدام قرنك فإن رمحه يحصل قدام رمحك , ويكون التعطيل إلى برا نحو كفل الفرس فإنه أسلم , وإن عطلت إلى داخل فيؤمنك أن تعطل الرمح إلى عنق الفرس , أو إلى كتفه , أو رأسه , أو صدر الفارس , اللهم إلا إن تعطل إلى داخل ضرورة فلا بأس , وغذا عطلت إلى خلف فجب الفرس إلى قدام وادفع الرمح إلى خلف تسلم إن شاء الله تعالى

الباب الرابع

واسمه مخالف طرسوسي

وهو أنك إذا وقف الموكب تخرج فتقف في اليمينه , والرمح بيدك منصفاً , ويمينك إلى برا , ويقف قرنك بإزاء ميسرة الموكب في تربيعة الميدان , ووجهه مستقبل الموكب , ويمينه إلى برا بالرمح فيسير , وتسير كلاكما تقريبا لينا فيطلب القرن إلى ميسرة الموكب , وتطلب أنت إزاء اليمينه وسنان كل منكما إلى صاحبه وعينه كذلك , فإذا وصل إلى الموكب دخل برأس فرسه إلى تلقاك وادخل أنت برأس فرسك تلقاه وانقلا كلاكما من تحت الرمحين وادخلا بعضكما إلى بعض هنية , ثم اقلبا كل منكما بطلب مكانه الذي ابتداء منه , فإذا حصلتما مكانكما فادخلا , ويلقى كلا صاحبه هنية وانقلا من فوق , ويطلب هو ميسرة الموكب , وأنت ميمنته ,

must] distinguish himself in horsemanship^[154], and he must equal [his adversary] in balance so that the two riders on their horses can be counterpoised, shift equally and have equal distance, and not swerve right or left [so as not to] ruin [it]. He who works the *muwāzana* must be careful to pay attention to the place of his companion and stay watchful of his companion's hands to escape the thrust, fearing the last of the *muḥālif*, and the shift and inclination of the lance if it is quick, and the extension of the hand on the lance at the time of the turnaround, and the twist; for the adversary is like the bow ...^[155]. Your lance must always be in front of your adversary, [because] as his lance gets in front of yours and the displacement^[156] to the outside is on the side of your horse's hindquarters, he is safer; and if you displace to the inside you secure that you can interrupt the lance on the horse's neck, or his shoulder, or head, or the chest of the rider; unless you displace to the inside as a necessity, then it is fine. If you displace to the back, make the horse leap forwards and push the lance back, and you will be safe, God willing, exalted is He.

2.2.10 Chapter four

called the *muḥālif al-ṭarsūṣī*^[157]

When the company is standing, you ride out and stop in the right flank, holding your lance in the middle with your right side facing outwards. Your adversary stands in [the point] opposite the left flank of the company in the square of the hippodrome^[158], his face towards the company and his right side facing outwards with the lance. He then goes, and you go, both at a relaxed canter. The adversary initiates^[159] to the left flank of the company, and you initiate to [the point] opposite the right flank, while your spearheads both point to the other and his eye [to the other] as well. When he arrives at the company he enters by the head of his horse opposite you, and you enter by the head of your horse opposite him, and you both shift from under your lances and enter on each other^[160] quickly, then you both turn around^[161]

[154] Or knighthood?

[155] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 186: يمنو

[156] See glossary (*ta'īl*).

[157] “The Tarsusian opponent”, or maybe “going opposite in the Tarsusian way”.

[158] See the square drawn up in figure 1

[159] See glossary (*ṭalaba*).

[160] Ie. engage each other.

[161] Or back.

ثم ادخلا كلا تلقاء صاحبه, ويديكما من تحت الرمح كأنك تريد تبطل [١٨٧] واغمز حتى يلتقيان في وسط الميدان , ثم يخرج الذي وجهه إلى الموكب , ويده من تحت وساقه إلى وراء , وطلبه الآخر , ويده من تحت وسانه بين كتفي المطلوب

ثم يخرج الطالب من تحت وسانه بين كتفي المطلوب , ثم يخرج الطالب فيصير مطلوبا , والمطلوب طالبا ثلاث خرجات (١٨٧) بالصف مخالفات متواليات كمثل القوس , ثم طولا جميعا , ويخرج المبتدئ بالخروج نحو الموكب ثلاث خرجات متواليات بنقلات ملاح وسانه إلى وجه الثاني وسان الثاني بين كتفي المبتدئ , ثم يخرج الثاني ثلاث خرجات متواليات مخالفات بنقلات ملاح وسانه في وجه المبتدئ , ثم يخرج المبتدئ خرجة أخرى , ويرجع إلى الناورد يمينا فيدور جميعا حلقة واحدة , ثم يخرج الثاني خرجة , والمبتدئ في طلبه , ويرجعا إلى الناورد فيدور حلقة واحدة , ويقطع كل إلى ارضه , وهذا الوجه فهو مسترق ومنقول من الموازنة ومختصر منه , ألا ترى أن في دخول الفارسين وخروجهما في ابتداء المألف كهينتهما في الموازنة , ومن عمل هذا المخالف فليكن للعمل ضاربا إلى وقت الدخول في المخالفات , ثم يقطع الحث الشديد , والطلب للطعن واستغنام الفرصة , والسلام. [١٨٨]

الباب الخامس

يعرف بالبغدادي مولد مخالف

وهو انك تخرج عن يمين الموكب كما رسمت لك في الطرسوسي , ويخرج القرن فيقف في إزاء الميسرة , وتنصفا رمحيكما , وتقربا تقريبا لينا حتى يصل صاحبك إلى الميسرة , وأنت بإزاء الميمنة , ثم ردا فرسيكما كلا

and initiate the place you started from. When you get to your places, you enter^[162], and you both meet your companion quickly and shift from above. He initiates to the left flank of the company, and you to its right flank, then you both enter facing your companion with your hands beneath the lance as if you wish to displace^[163], and charge until you meet at the centre of the hippodrome. Then he exits whose face is turned towards the company, his hand down and his leg to the back, and initiates the other, with his hand down and his spearhead between the shoulders of the initiated.

Then the initiator exits from below while his spearhead is between the shoulders of the initiated, then the initiator exits and becomes the initiated, and the initiated becomes initiator [for] three exits by the line^[164], consecutive and opposing like the bow^[165], then extend together. Then the one who starts exits in the direction of the company three consecutive, good exits with his spearhead to the face of the second, and the spearhead of the second between the shoulders of the one who started. Then the second exits three consecutive exits with nice shifts, with his spearhead towards the face of the other. The one who started exits another turn, and returns to the *nāward* to the right. They both go one circle, then the second exits once, and the one who started is at his initiative. They return to the *nāward* and do one circle, and each returns to his place. This method is as it is known from the *muwāzana* and is a shortened version of it. Don't you see that in the entering and exiting of the two riders in the beginning of the formation, (*joining together the muwāzana and the muwāḡaha in three shifts, then finishing the muḡālif*),^[166] are like their shape in the *muwāzana*? He who works this *muḡālif* will be striking in it at the time of entering the *muḡālifāt*. He then interrupts the strong urging^[167], the initiate to the thrust and seizing the opportunity.^[168]

2.2.11 Chapter five

Known as *baḡdādī*, incorrectly [known as] *muḡālif*

[162] Meaning to ride towards each other.

[163] See glossary (*baḡḡala*).

[164] The line of horsemen, perhaps?

[165] qaws. The exact meaning is unclear.

[166] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 186:

[167] As in to urge or spur his horse to go faster.

[168] He impedes or interrupts all these things on his adversary's part, presumably.

تلقاء صاحبه وشيلا يديكما في الرمحين بداوي حتى تصل إلى السنان بعضهم إلى تلقاء بعض وانقلبا راجعين على أتركما حتى تعودا موضع ابتدائكما وردا رأسي فرسيكما على أتركما حتى تصلا إلى تربيح الميدان وشيلا الرمحين واغمزا أيديكما إلى آخر , والتقيا في وسط الميدان , ثم اقلبا الرمحين , ويخرج صاحب الموكب فيصير مطلوبيا , ووجهه نحو الموكب (١٨٨) ويده تحت وسانه إلى الخلف , ويد صاحبه من تحت في طلبه وسانه بين كتفي المطلوب , ثم يثني المطلوب عند إزاء اليمين , ويرد الطالب رأس فرسه شمالا إلى الموكب , ويصير مطلوبيا , والمطلوب طالبا ثلاث خرجات متواليات وسانه ورائه كيف دار , ثم يطولان , ويخرج المبتدئ بالخروج ثلاث خرجات متواليات بنقل مريح مطول وسانه إلى وراه , ثم يخرج المبتدئ خرجة , ويرجع إلى الناورد يميننا , ويدورا جميعا دورة واحدة , ويخرج الثاني خرجة , ويطلبه المبتدئ فيدورا دورة أخرى , ويقطع كل واحد منهم إلى أرضه , وهذا الوجه اشتق من الطرسوسي ألا ترى أن الطرسوسي جدا كله , وأن المولد المنقول منه قد خالطه شيء من الهزل في ميلاته التي ذكرتها وما يأتي بعدها فهو جد. [١٨٩]

الباب السادس

في العمل بالرمح , والمطلول وهو أنك تخرج بالرمح عن يمين الموكب ورمحك مطولا في يدك مع العنان قدامك عل القربوس وصاحبك بإزاء الميسرة في تربيح الميدان ورمحه كرمحك فقربا جميعا تقريبا لنا وعين كل واحد الى صاحبه بالطعن وارجعا على أتركما حتى تصلا الى ميدانكما، ثم يومئ كلا منكما الى

This is that you exit on the right of the company like I sketched out for you in the *ṭarsūsī*, and your adversary exits and stops in [the point] opposite the left flank. You grasp your lances in the middle and ride at a relaxed canter so that your companion reaches the left flank and you [the point] opposite the right flank. You both then take your horses back facing your companion and raise your hands with your lances the *badāwī*^[169] way until each one's spearhead^[170] is facing the other. You *turn around*, going back in your tracks until you return to your starting points. Take your horse's head back in your tracks until you reach the square of the hippodrome, raise your lances and signal with your hands to the back. You meet in the centre of the hippodrome, then invert your lances. The companion of the company exits and becomes the initiated, with his face towards the company, his hand under and the spearhead towards the back. The hand of his companion is under in his initiative and his spearhead between the shoulder blades of the initiated. Then the initiated bends at [the point] opposite the right flank, and the initiator brings his horse's head back left towards the company, and becomes initiated, and the initiated becomes the initiator, three consecutive times immediately, with his spearhead behind him [^[171]كيف] he turns. They then extend, and the one who started exits three consecutive times with a nice extended *shift* with his spearhead behind him, *and the second exits three times consecutively with his spearhead to his back*^[172]. Then the one who started exits once and returns to the *nāward* to the right, and they both go one circle. The second one then exits and the first one initiates him. They do another circle, then they both return to their places. This method is derived from the *ṭarsūsī*. Do you not see that the *ṭarsūsī* is all serious, and that what is produced and derived from it has been mixed with something of the playfulness^[173] in its turns that I described for you? What comes after that [that] is serious.

2.2.12 Chapter six

On lance work, called^[174] *al-muṭawwal*^[175]

This is that you exit with your lance to the right of the company, your lance extended in

[169] It is hard to say what this entails.

[170] L-H, *A critical edition*: 187

[171] . This is unclear.

[172] . Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 188: ويخرج الثاني ثلاث خرجات متواليات وسنانه إلى وراءه

[173] . *hazl & ġidd*, see glossary.

[174] . Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 188, واسمه مطول، في العمل بالرمح،

[175] . Cf. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 58

صاحبه خفياً وارجعاً على أتركما الى ان تصلا الى أطراف
تربيع الميدان, ثم يغمز مكل واحد منكما على صاحبه
حتى تلتقيا في وسط الميدان, ثم يخرج صاحب الموكب
مخالفاً خرجتين وسانانه الى خلفه تبطيل, والثاني في طلبه
طعن, ثم يخرج المبتدئ خرجة, ويرجع الى الناورد, ويتبعه
الثاني خرجة, ثم دوراً جميعاً حلقة أخرى, ويقطع كل الى
ارضه (١٨٩) وهذا الوجه مبتدع من الموازنة ومخترع من
المخالفات جداً ما يتضمن شيء من الهزل فإن قاس قاييس,
وقال البغدادي قد تضمن هزلاً بالفتلات التي ذكرناها فهذا
الوجه قد تضمن ثلاث دفعات ممر ومجيء بغير عمل هزل
منك فلم قال صاحب الكتاب لم يتضمن هزلاً جوابه انه ليس
حيث ذهب لأنني قد أوردت له في ابتداء الموازنة في شرحه
ال تمييز كل من يريد العمل مع صاحبه الذي يعمل معه
في ركوبه ونقلاته, ويده في عنانه وسائر قلباته, التفاته أنه
يميز الفراسة, وأنه متى تهجم أحد على أحد من غير خبرة,
ولا تميز يوشك أن يظفر به فعلم صنعه فلذلك هذه الثلاثة
التقريبات في الممر, والمجيء بغير عمل انما هو تمييز
الاقران, ألا ترى انني قد رسمت لك في العمل عند رجوعك
أن تومي اليه بالطعن, وهو تبطل فيبطل قول الخصم. [١٩٠]

الباب السابع

في الكر, والفر, والدوران
واذا أردت الكر, والفر تأخذ معك جماعة, واقله ثلاثة,
وانت, وتقف ميمنة الموكب, ويأخذ قرنك أيضاً مثلك ثلاثة,
ويخرج من الميسرة فتبتدئوا فتعملوا في الموازنة بالنصف
المرتبة الأولى, وهي الموجهة ثلاثة لكم وثلاثة لهم يريد
يدخل أصحاب الميسرة, ويخرجوا موازنة ثلاث مرات موازنة

your hand with your reins [and] in front of you over the pommel, while your companion is in [the point] opposite the left flank in the square of the hippodrome, and his lance is like your lance. You canter gently together, each one's eye on his companion in the thrust, and return in your tracks until you come back to your manoeuvres, then each one of you signals discreetly to his companion and returns in his tracks until he reaches the end of the square. Then you both charge on your companion until you meet in the middle of the hippodrome, and then the companion of the company exits opposing two times with his spearhead to the back in a displacement. The other, on his initiative, thrusts. The one who started rides out once and returns to the *nāward*, and the second one follows him once, then they turn together for another circle and return to their places. This method is invented from the *muwāzana* and created from the *muḥālifāt*^[176], and often contains something of the playfulness, [فإن قاس [177] قانس]. Al-Baġdādī said: 'It comprises the playfulness with the shifts that we treated.' This manner contains three continued and coming strikes, without work that [demands] playfulness from you. When the author of the book said: 'Doesn't it contain playfulness?', his reply was that it does not, inasmuch as it has departed, because I have conveyed it in the beginning of the *muwāzana* in its explanation that [what] distinguishes those who want to work with a companion who works with him in his riding and *shifts*, with his hand on the rein *being in control of his bends and turns*, [that] is the distinction of horsemanship. So when someone attacks someone without expertise, he is not distinguished, but [rather] is about to look at him and know what he is doing. Because of that, these three approaches in the passing, and the coming without work, is the distinction of the adversaries. Do you not see that I have explained to you in this work at your return to signal to him about the thrust, and [if] he deflects, he deflects the saying of the opponent.^[178]

2.2.13 Chapter seven

On attack and retreat, and the *dawarān*

If you wish to attack and retreat, take a group with you of at least three and yourself, and stop in the right flank of the company. Your adversary also brings three and exits from the left

[176] I.e. the manoeuvres called or based on the *muḥālif*, where the riders move opposite each other.

[177] This is also unclear. Perhaps it is something idiomatic?

[178] al-Suwaydī's text makes little sense here, and Lutful-Huq is inconclusive. It must have something to do with the moment of engaging your adversary in this exercise and his response to your signals.

لهم, ثم يدخلوا الميمنة, ويخرجوا ثلاث مرات موازنة لهم لم يطولون الأعنة, ويسيروا تقريبا لينا كل بحذاء صاحبه الى اخر الميدان عرضاً, ثم يطرح صاحب الميمنة رمحه على كتفه, ويسير على حد إزاء الموكب كله بالتفات, ويسير مستو مستقيم كما وضعت لك, لا يتعدى يمينا, ولا شمالاً الى اخر أرضه, ويكون صاحب الميمنة رمحه قائم مقرب صبه, وهو في يده مع العنان (١٩٠) حتى اذا حصل صاحب الميسرة في إزاء الميسرة, وهو اخر ارضه التي قدمت ذكرها فلينتقل, وينقل أصحابه معه, ويرجعوا نحو الموكب, وينقلوا أصحاب الميمنة بإزائهم, ويوازنونهم الى الميسرة, ثم يطرحوا أصحاب الميمنة رماحهم على أكتافهم, وتفعل أصحاب الميسرة مثلهم حتى ينتهوا الى الميمنة, ثم ينقل بعضهم الى بعض, ووازنوهم تقريبا هاد الى إزاء الميمنة, ثم ينقلوا أصحاب الميسرة رماحهم على أكتافهم, ويفعلوا كما فعلوا أولاً ثلاث دفعات, وفي ثلاث فليحدثوا الفئتين كل يتحرز على نفسه في الطلب للطعن, والخلص, ويعود الشوط على من كانت رماحهم على أكتافهم فشوطهم بحث شديد, فاذا فعلوا ذلك وقع المخالف على أصحاب الميسرة فيخرجوا مخالقات, ويخرجوا التالون لهم مثلهم, ثم يخرجوا المبتدئين خرقة, ويدوروا ناورداً على اليمين, ثم يخرجوا التالون خرقة أخرى, ويدوروا ناورداً واحداً, ويقطع كل في أرضه. [١٩١]

وهذا الميدان فهو حربي جد كله وفيه يتبين الفارس الممارس لأنه لا يفلت من هذا الميدان حرب كان, أو ميدانا إلا كل حاذق, وإذا وقعت هذه الأشواط, وواحد من خلفه ورمحه على كتفه فليرد يديه الى العنان, ويقبض بكليتهما على عقب الرمح, ويحطه من كتفه, ويعطل من تحته, ومن مشى في هذا الوجه فليبتدئ بما تطاول من حيث رسمت لك بالتطويل, ثم تعمل إلى آخر العمل على

flank. Then you start and work the [first] half of the *muwāzana* as described first, and that is three encounters to you and three to them. One wants the companions of the left flank to enter and exit in the *muwāzana* three times against them, then enter the right flank, and exit three times in the *muwāzana* to them without lengthening the reins^[179]. Then go in a relaxed canter, each one by the shoe of his companion, to the end of the hippodrome width-wise. The companion on the right flank throws his lance to his shoulder and goes to the brink of [the point] opposite the entire company, and turn. Then he goes level and straight like I wrote, veering neither right nor left to the end of his turf, while the companion in the right flank holds his lance upright, making it ready for a thrust^[180] while it is in his hand with the reins until his companion from the left flank makes it to [the point] opposite the company. This is the last of his turf which has been described before, so then he shifts [his direction], and his companions shift with him and return towards the company. The companions in the right flank shift opposite them and go parallel with them to the left flank. Then the companions in the right flank throw their lances to their shoulders while the companions in the left flank do like they do so that they reach the right flank; then they all shift towards each other, and go parallel in a quiet canter to [the point] opposite the right flank. Then the companions of the left flank turn around their lances to their shoulders, and do what they first did in three thrusts. In the third^[181], the two troops spur on, each one minding himself in the initiative to thrust, and the disengagement, then return the run to where the lances were on their shoulders and engage them to run by powerfully spurring them on^[182], and when they do that, the opposition falls on the companions of the left flank. They exit opposites, then the followers exit to them. Then the starters ride out once, and ride a *nāward* to the right, then the later exit one more time, ride one *nāward*, and then each breaks away to his turf.

This pattern is martial and serious, and the performing rider distinguishes himself in it because no enemy escapes from this manoeuvre, whether it is in war or in the hippodrome, except the skilfull. If these runs take place, and someone [is] behind him with his lance behind him, and his lance is on his shoulder, he should put his hands back on the reins, and grasp the

[179] Here, atypically, in the plural form: *'a 'inna*

[180] *qarbaša*, see glossary.

[181] Must be *tālīt*

[182] Extrapolated from *šawf*; a run on a course. They are supposed to move quickly and/or powerfully, judging by the context.

ما رسمت لك , ومن شاء إن يوقف فيه من هنا صف , ومن هنا صف بعد فراغهم من الميدان ورماحهم مطاولهم يخرج من أحد الجانبين فارس , وهو مقربص برمحه , ويكون في خروجه مستقبل الموكب , ثم يخرج إليه فارس آخر مثله يكون بإزائه , ويطرده إلى أن يصل إلى أصحابه فيخرج معه من أصحابه فارس آخر فيصيرا (١٩١) فارسين فيحملا عليه , ويكونان مقربصين , ويكون هو رمحه على كتفه , فإذا انتهى إلى أصحابه فيخرج من أصحابه فارس آخر فيصيرا فارسين , ويحملا على الفارسين إلى أن يصلا إلى أصحابهما فيخرج منهم فارس آخر فيصيرا ثلاث فرسان فيطردوهم إلى أن [١٩٢] يصل إلى أصحابه , وعلى هذا إلى إن لا يبقى من الفئتين أحد , فإذا تكاملوا فليعملوا ما رسمت لهم في الكر , والفر وقت التطويل إلى آخره .

الباب الثامن

في المجالات

وهو جمع مجال , وهو مكان يحول فيه واحدا , أو أكثر إما مقبلا , أو مدبرا ومستدبرا , والله أعلم , وهو أنك إذا وقف الموكب تخرج برمحك عن يمين الموكب فتدور دورة واحدة تقريبا هادئا حتى تصل إلى إزاء الميسرة فتدور رأس فرسك شمالا , وتشيل يدك بالرمح طعن بداوي كالحربة , وتنقله إلى شمالك , وتسير بإزاء الموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى اليمين , وترد رأس فرسك يميننا وانقل الرمح من فوق رأسك على ظهرك إلى وسط راحتك , ويكون سنانه نحو الموكب , وتسير حتى توافي بإزاء الميسرة , ثم تغمز إلى الموكب , وتأخذ [٣] رمحك كالحربة حتى توافي الميسرة , ثم ترد

[3] تؤخر

end of the lance with both of them, lower it from his shoulder and block from below. Whoever goes in this manner should begin with what extends from there where I drew it up for you with the extension. Then you work until the end of the work on what I drew up for you. He who wants to stand [in this manoeuvre] in one line here and one line there^[183] should widen their spaces in the hippodrome. Their lances [should be] extended, then a rider exits from one of the two sides while he makes his lance ready to thrust, and he faces the company in his exit. Then another rider exits to him in the same way to his spot, and chases him until he reaches his companions. Another rider exits with him from his companions so they become two riders who attack him, and they make their lances ready to thrust, while his lance is on his shoulder. If he reaches his companions, someone rides out from them so they become two riders, and attack the other two riders until they reach their companions. Then another rider exits from them so they become three riders, and hunt them until they reach their companions, and so on until only one remains from the two troops, and to complete [the exercise], they must do what I drew up for them in the attack and retreat one after the other when they extend it to its end.

2.2.14 Chapter eight

On *al-mağālāt*,

which is the plural of ‘field’^[184]. This is a place where one revolves^[185], one or more, whether [advancing from] the front or the rear and turning one’s back, God knows best. When the company is standing, you ride out with your lance to the right of the company and do one circle in a calm canter until you reach [the point] opposite the left flank. Take your horse’s head back left and raise your hand in a *badāwī* style thrust of the lance like the bayonet^[186], shift it to your left and go opposite the entire company until you end up in the right flank. Take your horse’s head back right and shift the lance from above your head over your back to the middle of your palm, the spearhead being in the direction of the company. Go until you come to [the point] opposite the left flank, then charge to the company. Take your lance like the bayonet until you reach the left flank. Take your horse’s head back left and shift your

[183] Ie. two lines of riders, one in each end of the hippodrome.

[184] مجال, see glossary

[185] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 191, يجول

[186] *ḥarba*; see glossary.

رأس فرسك شمالا وانقل الرمح إلى شمالك في وسط كفك
وسنانه نحو الموكب وسق إلى أن توافي الميمنة فول ظهرك
الموكب وانقل يدك اليمنى بنهضة مليحة وانظر من تحت
الرمح ورد رأس فرسك شمالا إلى الموكب وانقل الرمح من
فوق رأسك إلى راحتك اليمنى وسر موازيا للموكب كله حتى
تنتهي إلى الميسرة فول ظهرك للموكب وانقل يدك من تحت
الرمح مقورا ورد رأس [٤] (١٩٢) شمالا وسر بإزاء الموكب
كله حتى توافي إزاء الميسرة , ثم رد رأس فرسك شمالا بنقل
, وتسريح عنان بنقلات ثلاث واقبض على الرمح وسر بإزاء
الموكب حتى توافي إزاء الميمنة وانقل رمحك تسريح العنان
ورد رأس فرسك يمينا , ويكون عقب الرمح من تحت إبطك
, وهو مطروح على زندك الأيسر وسر موازيا للموكب كله
حتى توافي إزاء الميسرة , ثم خلص من تحت إبط بتسريح
عنان وسرحه حتى ينزل في كفك الأيسر مع العنان واغمز
إلى الموكب ورد رأس فرسك شمالا وسر موازيا للموكب كله
حتى توافي الميمنة فول ظهرك الموكب وجر سنان رمحك
على الأرض وعقبه على باطن كفك الأيمن , ثم افتل يددك
من فوق رأسك ورد رأس فرسك شمالا إلى [١٩٣] الموكب وسر
موازيا للموكب كله حتى توافي الميسرة فسلم الرمح إلى يدك
اليسرى وانفض يدك اليمنى نفضة مليحة , ثم اقبض بها
على عقب الرمح وديره حلقة من فوق رأسك ورد رأس فرسك
يمينا إلى الموكب , وتسلم الرمح إلى يسارك وتستقبله باليمن
كفية على رأسك بتسريح حلقة واقبض عليه وسر موازيا
للموكب كله وسنانه نحو القيام حتى توافي الميمنة , ثم ولي
ظهرك الموكب وجر سنانه على الأرض وعقبه على ظهر
كفك الأيمن وانقله إلى كفك الأيسر , ثم در ناوردا وخلص

[4] يمينا إلى الموكب، وأدر رمحك من فوق رأسك وسر حتى توافي الميمنة، فول فرسك

lance to the left in the middle of your palm with the spearhead in the direction of the company and go until you reach the right flank. Turn your back to the company, shift your right hand in an easy movement and look from under your lance. Take your horse's head back left to the company, shift your lance from above your head to your right palm and go parallel to the entire company until you reach the left flank. Then turn your back to the company and shift your hand from under your lance, with a hollow palm^[187], and take your horse's head back left. Go by [the point] opposite the entire company until you come to [the point] opposite the left flank. Then take your horse's head back left with a shift and release of the reins in three shifts. Grasp your lance and go by [the line] opposite the company until you come to [the point] opposite the right flank. Then shift your lance [in] a release of the reins and take your horse's head back right, the bottom of your lance being under [the] armpit and throw it down on your left forearm. Go parallel to the entire company until you come to [the point] opposite the left flank, then free it from under the armpit with release of the reins, and release [the lance] until it comes down to your left palm with the reins. Charge to the company and take your horse's head back left, and go parallel to the entire company until you come to the right flank. Then turn your back to the company and drag the spearhead of your lance along the ground with its bottom in the middle of your right palm. Twist your hand over your head and take your horse's head back left towards the company, and go parallel to the entire company until you come to the left flank. Deliver your lance to your left hand and shake your right hand beautifully, then grasp the bottom of the lance with it and turn it in a circle^[188] above your head. Take your horse's head back right toward the company. You deliver the lance to your left and receive it on the right with your palm, over your head, with disengagement of the circle^[189]. Grasp it and go parallel to the entire company with its spearhead toward the [قيام^[190]] until you come to the right flank, then turn your back to the company and drag the spearhead on the ground with its bottom on the back of your right palm. Shift it to your left palm. Then turn a *nāward* and separate your right hand from the bottom of the lance toward your left, and throw the lance backwards so that it becomes halved^[191], then twist it above your head so that you bring it back to your left. Immediately return in your *nāward* in a relaxed canter with your lance

[187] See glossary (*muqawwar*).

[188] حلقة, must be a circle in this context.

[189] Ie. as you stop turning it

[190] The ones that stand, ie. the ranks?

[191] Meaning that you come to hold it in its middle.

يدك اليمنى بعقب الرمح ناحية يسارك , ثم زج الرمح إلى خلف حتى ينتصف , ثم أفلته من فوق رأسك حتى ترده إلى ناحية يمينك ورد على حالك في ناوردك بتقريب لين , والرمح منصفا حتى توافي إزاء الميسرة , ثم تعمل الوجه الأول , وهو أنك إذا حصلت بإزاء الميسرة لف الرمح حمائلي على كتفك اليمين , وقبض مكتوف وحله إلى قدام زندية واقعد به على شمالك وانقله من فوق رأسك واقعد به أيضا على شمالك , ثم اخرج به ظهرية وسلمه ليدك الشمال مع العنان تديره خراسانيا ثلاث مرات, (١٩٣) ثم تسرح الرمح إلى آخره مقور بقبض مكتوف , وتسريح كتارة مرتين هذا , وأنت دائر على الناورد

ثم تبتدئ بالوجه الثاني , وهو أنك تدور على الناورد تقريبا لنا , ويكون الرمح طعن كالمزراق , ثم تديره فوق رأسك دورة واقعد بع على شمالك , ثم أنهضه بدخول تحت إبطك الأيمن وانقله إلى الشمال واقعد به قدام بتسريح مقدم مؤخر بقبض مكتوف , وتسرحه مع ركابك اليسار , ثم ترده إلى اليمين بتسريح وقربصة , ثم رد على حالك في الناورد , والرمح منصفا واعمل الوجه الثالث , وهو أنك تنهض الرمح إلى فوق , وترسله على زندك , وتديره كفية , وضرب دبوقة تدور على عنقك , وتستقبله ويدك من تحت , وتديره خراسانيا مرتين بتسريح مقور ومقدم ومؤخر ونزول شمال , وضرب زندية , ثم تدور على الناورد تقريبا لنا واعمل الوجه الرابع , وهو أنك تسرح الرمح على شمالك , وتقبض استواء بنصف زندية ودولاب يمين مستصعب ودولاب قائم , ثم دولاب قائم , ثم دولاب قائم , وتطوله في يدك حتى يرجع السنان في يدك [١٩٤] وهو على كتفك اليمين , وتكون

[held] in the middle until you come to [the point] opposite the left flank. You then work the first procedure, which is that you, when you come by [the point] opposite the left flank, twist^[192] the lance [حمائلي^[193]] on your right shoulder [with] a crossed grasp^[194] it and let it go forwards [in the manner of] the forearm^[195]. Set it down on your left, shift it above your head and set it down again on your left. Then exit with it to the back, deliver it to your left hand with the reins and turn it in the Khorasanian manner^[196] three times. You then release the lance to its end with a hollow hand and with a crossed grasp. [You] release once or twice, this being as you turn on the *nāward*.

Then you start with the second procedure, which is that you circle on the *nāward* in a relaxed canter, with the lance [in a] thrust like the javelin^[197], then turn it once over your head and set it down to your left. Raise it and put it under your right armpit, shift it to the left and set it down forwards in a release forwards and backwards with a crossed grasp, and release it by your left stirrup. Then bring it back right with a release and making it ready for thrusting, immediately return in the pattern with the spear being [held] in the middle, and do the third procedure. This is that you raise the lance up above and send it down your forearm, and turn it by your palm, [وضرب دبوقة^[198]] turning around your neck. Receive it with your hand below, and turn it in the Khorasanian manner twice with release and a hollow hand, forwards and backwards, a descent to the left and a forearm strike. You then circle on the *nāward* in a relaxed canter and do the fourth procedure. This is that you release the lance to your left, grasp it straight^[199] in its middle in [the manner of the] forearm^[200], then [do] a *spin*^[201] to the right [مستصعب^[202]], an upright^[203] *spin*, then an upright spin, then an upright spin. You extend

[192] لَفَّ

[193] Unclear. A mistake for *ḥāmīlan*, perhaps: ‘carrying [the lance] on your right shoulder.’

[194] *wa-qabḍ maktūf*; perhaps he is meant to cross his arms in some way?

[195] *zandīyatan*

[196] Not sure if he is referring to the Khorasanian block here, or if it is a Khorasanian way of turning [’*adāra*] the lance.

[197] *mizrāq*, see glossary.

[198] This is unclear. Some sort of a strike?

[199] Meaning, most likely, that the lance is vertical

[200] It takes a bit of imagination to picture where his forearm comes into play here; it is certainly hard to grasp anything with it. It could be short for *ḍarb zandīya* or something similar, perhaps.

[201] A spin? See glossary.

[202] *mustaṣ‘ab*; difficult; something one finds difficult?

[203] A vertical spin?

قابضا تحت السنان , وتدور على حالك , والرمح بيدك على ما وصفت لك دورة , ثم تنصف الرمح بيدك , وتدور ناوردا , وتعمل الوجه الخامس , وهو أنك تنهضه , ثم تسرحه على زندك إلى نصفه , وتديره كفية بنزول ظهرية لين , وتسلمه لشمالك مع العنان , وقبض استواء بنصف زندية , واللي وراءه بدولاب قائم ثلاث مرات بتسريح مقدم مؤخر , وقبض مكتوف ودخول بالطويل إلى ركابك الأيمن , ثم نصفه وضعه سنانه على الأرض مع مرور الفرس فإنه ينقلب , ثم أدر العقب مرة بالسنان , وأخرى بالعقب حتى يفرغ الناورد , فإذا أسرع في ذلك صار كأنه دولاب يدور على الأرض , ويكون [٥] في مكان واحد , ثم تقبض على العقب , وتغمز في وسط الموكب في وسط الميدان وافتل الرمح كفية مقورة وجر سنانه واخرج إلى إزاء (١٩٤) وسط الموكب واقطع , وهذا العمل يحتمل في الملح , والمبتدرات فوق ما وصفت لك لكنه يخرج عن حد الحرب كثيرا , ويدخل فيه ما لا يليق به لكنه يصلح للصبيان , والمتفرجين فإنه مريح , وإن شاء العامل له أن يزيد فيه أشياء فليفعل فإنه يصلح إذا أراد غير الحرب واسم هذا الميدان مساحة , والله الموفق. [١٩٥]

[5] لطف الحق

it in your hand so that the spearhead returns to your hand while it is on your right shoulder and you are grasping it beneath the spearhead. You then immediately turn with your lance in your hand like I described for one turn, then halve^[204] the lance with your hand, circle on the nāward, and do the fifth procedure. This is that you raise it up, then release it over your forearm to its middle and turn it by the palm with a gentle descent to the back. You deliver it to your left with the reins by a straight grasp [in its] middle [in the manner of] the forearm^[205] and what is behind it^[206], and to the back with an upright *spin* three times with release forwards and backwards, and a crossed grasp and an entering with the long one^[207] to your right stirrup. You then halve it and put it with its spearhead to the ground with the movement of the horse, then it will turn over^[208]. You spin the bottom once with the spearhead, then another with the bottom, until you finish the *nāward*. If you do that swiftly it will be like a spin on the ground while it is^[209] in one spot^[210]. You then grasp the bottom and charge to the centre of the company in the centre of the hippodrome, shift the lance with a hollow palm and drag its spearhead. Exit to [the point] opposite the centre of the company and break off. This work contains some of the light [training]^[211] and the hurried work^[212] above what I described to you, but it deviates a lot from the seriousness of war, and it enters into it what is unfit for it. However, it is suitable for youths and for those who do it for amusement, and for that is good. If he who performs it wants to increase something in it, he should do it, for it is fitting if one wants other things than war. The name of this manoeuvre is the *maydān al-misāḥa*^[213]; God grants success.

[204] Meaning to grasp or hold it in its middle

[205] Same as above: *zandīya*

[206] While there are a lot of grammatical irregularities, this phrase stands out because the relative pronouns used are normally the standard ones and not the colloquial *illī*.

[207] Maybe it should read *taṭwīl*; extension.

[208] *fā-’innahu yanqalibu*; see glossary.

[209] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition: yakūn*

[210] This brings to mind the *garrocha*, which is a long pole, sometimes with an iron tip or claw at the end, used for herding and working with cattle by horsemen of the *doma vaquera* tradition in the Iberian peninsula (and even in the south of France), and the vaqueros of California. It is originally a tool for cattle work, but is also used in competitions and shows without cattle.

[211] As opposed to martial training

[212] مبتدرات

[213] ‘The surface manoeuvre’

الباب التاسع

في المزايمة

وهو انك إذا وقف الموكب من الميدان فليخرج من يمينه فوارس برماح مطاولة فليقف فارسان في الميمنة وفارسان في إزاء الميمنة وفارسان في إزاء الميسرة وفارسان في الميسرة وليقيموا رماحهم بقربصة حتى يخرج الفارسان اللذان في الميمنة فيقربا ناوردا عن يمين الموكب ركابا بركاب حتى ينتهيان إلى إزاء وسط الموكب, ثم يغمز جميعا على وسط الموكب, ثم يرد أحدهما فرسه شمالا ورمحه على كفه [٦], وهو ملتفت, ويرد الآخر فرسه يمينا, وهو ملتفت مع رمحہ, ثم ينقلا رمحيهما نقلة واحدة إلى القربصة, ويدور أعلى الدائرة الكبرى حتى يجتمعان ركابا بركاب في إزاء وسط الموكب بحيث لا يسبق أحدهما الآخر بقرئد شبر يفعل ذلك ثلاث مرات, فإذا غمزا في الثالثة إلى وسط الموكب فليخرجا جميعا ركابا بركاب إلى الميمنة وليغمز الفارسا القائمان في الميسرة خلفهما فيخرجا جميعا إلى صاحبي اليمين مخالفا إلى صاحبيهما القائمين في إزاء الميمنة وصاحبي الميسر خلفهما, ثم يرجعا صاحبي الميسرة مخالفا, ويغمز أصحاب الميمنة, وقد صاروا أربعة خلف الاثنان مخالفا, وفي الرابعة يحصل (١٩٥) عند صاحبيهما القائمين في إزاء الميسرة فيرجع أصحاب الميمنة, وهو أربعة مخالفا, ويخالفوا أصحاب الميسر خلفهم, وقد صاروا أربعة, ويخرج أصحاب الميمنة مخالفا آخر, ويقع الناورد يمينا فيدور خلفه, ثم يخرج أصحاب الميسرة, ويرجعوا إلى الناورد, ويدورا دورة أخرى, ويغمز كل فيه إلى أرضه, ويقطع, وإن شاءوا أن يدوروا أكثر من ذلك جاز إلا أن يكونوا زوجا, وإن شاءوا ارباعا فغنه يكون مليح عجيب فإن كانوا طائفتين كانت كل واحدة أربعة أربعة, وإن كانوا أربعة يكون ستة عشر, والابواب التي من بعد باب المزايمة هي أصول الطعن, والامتناع فاحتفظ بها

2.2.15 Chapter nine

On the *muzāyada*^[214]

This is when the company stands in the hippodrome and [some] riders exit from its right with extended lances, and two riders stop in the right flank and two in [the point] opposite the right flank, two in [the point] opposite the left flank and two in the left flank. They raise their lances to a fighting position^[215], and so the two riders that are in the right flank exit to canter on the nāward to the right of the company, stirrup by stirrup, so that they end up opposite the centre of the company, then they charge together to the centre of the company. Then one of them takes his horse back to the left with his lance over his shoulder^[216] as he turns around, and the other takes his horse back to the right as he turns around with his lance. They then shift their lances once to the fighting position, and turn on the big circle so that they meet stirrup by stirrup^[217] opposite the centre of the company, such that one never outdistances the other by more than a hand^[218]. They do that three times, and when they charge to the centre of the company the third time, they exit, stirrup by stirrup, to the right flank, and the two riders standing in the left flank charge behind them. They exit together to their companions to the right, opposing^[219] their two companions that are standing in [the point] opposite the right flank while the two companions of the left flank are behind them. Then the two companions of the left flank return opposing, and the companions of the right flank charge. They are now four behind the two, who return opposing, and in the fourth they reach their two companions standing in [the point] opposite the left flank. The companions of the right flank return so they are four opposing, and oppose the companions of the left flank behind them. They are now four, and the companions of the right flank exit opposing each other, and perform the nāward to the right and turn in a circle. Then the companions of the left flank exit, and return to the nāward, turn once more, and everyone charges to his place, and breaks off. If they want to do more than that, it is fine as long as it is in couples, and if they want to do it in fours, then this is good and admirable. If they want to do it in two bands, they will have four each, and if they want four [bands] they will be sixteen. The

[214] Name of the manoeuvre, so called because of the increasing number of riders that enter as it progresses. See also glossary.

[215] *qarbaṣa*, see glossary

[216] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 194, كنفه

[217] They turn around on the circle and meet in the middle so that they turn at the same time and ride side by side down the centreline.

[218] *šibr*

[219] *muḥālifan*

فإنها أصل كبير , فإذا عملتها فقد حكمت العمل بالرمح , وقد رتبها على الأبواب التي قبلها , ومن ها هنا نذكر الأبواب التي ذكرها المتقدمون من الامتناع , وهو التبطيل على ما أتى حتى يعلم [١٩٦] ذلك حتى إذا حصل مع قرن يبطل مثل ذلك , ويعلم كيف قابلهم كما قيل عن السلطان جلال الدين بن خوارزم شاء لما قابلهم صفهم ثمانية عشر مصافا وكسرهم , ثم إنه لما جاء إلى كرجستان قال لبعض فرسانه ابرز إليهم حتى ترى قتالهم فلما برز إليهم ورأهم وقتالهم علموا أنهم ليسوا بشيء , فإذا علم أصل الطريق في الطعن كان ذلك صواب

الباب العاشر

في الموازنة , والموازاة

والامتناع على الذراع من الجانبين جميعا وامتناع الرومي^[7] على العاتق , والخذ , والامتناع يحتاجان جميعا إلى بابين لا بد منهما , ولا يصلحان إلا بهما في حالة من الحالات النقل , والقلب باليدين جميعا بإحكام ولباقة واقتدار , ويحتاج الجد إلى اللباقة , والتفافة^[8] , والتعطيل بإحكام وعمل بالعنان وحدة الكسرات , والعطفات في مواضعهما (١٩٦) وسرقة الأرض على المطارد , وغير ذلك وسيأتي شرح ما يحتاج إليه من ذلك في مواضعه إن شاء الله تعالى

الباب الحادي عشر

في التسديد الخرساني القديم بنقل العنان

أن تأخذ يدك اليسرى من الرمح على قيد ذراع مع العنان , ويدك من تحت العنانه فتلز بها كاهل الفرس , وأسفل الرمح بيدك اليمنى قد قبضت منه مقدار أربع أصابع لئلا يدخل أسفله في كفك فليزم كفك الأسفل إبزيم منطقتك مع أسفل الرمح , وتلصق ساعدك ومرفقك الأيمن بجانبك الأيمن , وتخرج مرفقك الأيسر خروجاً شديداً من تحت يديك , وتتورب من أعلاك وخصرك ورمحك

[7]
[8]

chapters that come after the chapter on the muzāyada are the principles of thrusting and parrying. Take heed of them as they are an important principle. If you work them, you will master the lance work. I have arranged them according to the chapters before them, and from here on we treat the chapters that the ancient authors listed on parrying, that is deflecting what comes, so that one knows that, so if he comes to an adversary who deflects him like that, he knows how to confront him. As it was said from sultan Ğalāl al-Dīn b. Ḥwarazm šāh: “When you confront them, set them up in 18 battle lines and break them.” Then, when he returned to Karağ^[220], he said to some of his horsemen: “Come out to them^[221] until we see their assassins”, for when they came out to them and saw them and their assassins, they know that they had nothing. If he knew the principle of the way of thrusting, then that was correct.

2.2.16 Chapter ten

On the muwāzana, and the muwāzāt, and parrying with the forearm from both sides at the same time, and parrying the lance^[222] on the top of the shoulder, and the side.

These two together require two chapters, it is inevitable. The two of them are of no use in any case without the shift and the inversion with both hands at the same time with skill, grace and power. The one on the side requires grace and refinement, and blocking by precision, and work with the reins the sharpness of the tilts and turns in their places, and taking land on the chase and other things. There will come an explanation of what is needed for that in its place, God willing, exalted is He.

2.2.17 Chapter eleven

On parrying the old Khorasanian way by shifting the reins

This is when you put your left hand to the lance by an arm’s length^[223], with the reins, while your hand is under the reins, and stick it to the withers of the horse while the lowest part of the lance is in your right hand, having grasped it by four fingers’ length so that the bottom of it does

[220] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 59. “Karağ is a town in the mid way between Hamaḍān and Iṣfahā.”

[221] Ie. into the field of their adversaries.

[222] Cf. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 59, but perhaps *rūmī* is right?

[223] From the bottom. It seems that when there is mention of “the lance” coming to or being on one side, the bottom is what is meant. The tip of the lance is usually specified as just that.

ملصق مع خد فرسك الأيسر واتكئ في ركابك الأيسر قليلا
باعتدال منك في سرجك، ولا تزيل مجلسك ولا رجليك حتى
تصير منكبك ورأس فرسك ورأس رمحك على خط واحد
، وذلك ان ترسلك، واتقاءك إنما هو في هذا الوقت فشانك
إذا لم يكن كما وصفت، وتصدرت، أو فتحت بين رمحك
وخذ فرسك كنت قد اخليت وكشفت [١٩٧] وجهك وصدرك
فدخلت الرماح إليك من ذلك الخلل فأحفظ هذا التسديد
الخراساني، فإذا أردت أن تسدد يمنا جعلت يدك اليمنى في
العنان، والرمح مكان اليسرى، واليسرى مكان اليمنى على
ما تقدم من الوصف بعينه، وكلمما أمرتك به من التسديد
الخراساني، أو ذكرته لك فعلى هذا المنوال لا تحتاج إلى
إعادته فافهم ذلك إن شاء الله تعالى

الباب الثاني عشر

في التسديد الثغري المحدث

وهو أن تأخذ من أسفل الرمح على قيد أربع أصابع بيدك
اليسرى (١٩٧) مع العنان وكفل [٩] من فوق العنان، وتأخذ
بيدك اليمنى على قيد ذراع من فوق الرمح وراجع [١٠] قليلا
فلا تخرج يدك كثيرا فتطعن فتسدد مع خد الفرس الأيمن،
وتستلقي [١١] استلقاء فاحشا فهذا التسديد الثغري المؤكد [١٢]
، وكذلك تسدد يسرة أيضا، فكل ما ذكرت لك من التسديد
الثغري فيما يأتي بعد هذا فعلى هذا الأصل

[9] كفك

[10] وارجع

[11] قليلا عند هذا التسديد فإنه خف، كأنك مستلق على وجهك، ولا تستلقي

[12] المولد

not enter your palm and the lowest part of your palm clings to the buckle of your belt with the bottom of the lance. Your right forearm and elbow cling to your right side, and your left elbow sticks out sharply from under your hands. Lean your upper [body] and your waist [obliquely] while your lance sticks to your horse's left side. Press down a little in your left stirrup, to straighten you^[224] in your saddle. Keep your seat and leg in place, until you make your shoulder^[225], your horse's head and the tip of your lance come together on a single line, so that this is your shield and your guard at this time. Your concern is this; that if it isn't like I described, and you stick your chest out or open up between your lance and your horse's side, you will have made space and laid bare your face and your chest, and the lance will have come to you from that gap, so be aware. This is the Khorasanian block. If you want to block the right, put your right hand on the reins, and the lance in the place of the left, and the left in the place of the right in the same way as what was described earlier. When you are ordered [to do] the Khorasanian block, or it is mentioned to you, it is in this manner. [There is] no need for reiteration, you will understand it, God willing, exalted is He.

2.2.18 Chapter twelve

On the modern *ṭagrī* block

This is that you take the lance four fingers from the bottom with your left hand together with the reins and your palm above the reins. Put your right hand an arm's length over that on the lance and balance slightly so your hand does not deviate much. You then thrust and block by the right cheek of the horse and throw it down^[226] a little with this block since it's a lightness, as if you are throwing it down in your direction, so don't throw it excessively. This is surely^[227] [the] *ṭagrī* block. You block this way to the left as well. Everything I relate to you about the *ṭagrī* block in what comes after this, follows the same principle.

[224] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*:196, باعتدال منك في سرجك لا تزيل مجلسك ولا رجلك حتى تصير منكبك ورأس فرسك ورأس رمحك على خط واحد وذلك أن ترسك واثقاؤك إنما هو في هذا الوقت

[225] Here: the shoulder joint.

[226] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 197, وتستلقي قليلا عند هذا التسديد فإنه خفة كأنك مستلق على وجهك و لا تستلقي استلقاء فاحشا

[227] Or: مولد, Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 197.

الباب الثالث عشر

في التسديد الشامي

وهو الرومي أن تأخذ الرمح بيدك اليمنى على قدر ذراع ,
وتجعل أسفله تحت إبطك الأيمن , وتلصق الرمح [١٣] بخد
الفرس , فإذا أردت التسديد يسرة حولت الرمح مياسرك
, وأجزته رأس فرسك , ولا تحرك من يدك اليمنى شيء ,
ولا تخرج أسفله من تحت إبطك الأيمن , وإن كنت وأثقا
بنفسك عملت به بيسارك كم عملت به بيمينك , وهو عندي
ضعيف جدا , وتسدد كما كنت أولا بيمينك بين أذني الفرس
وهذا التسديد تجذع به الفرسان وسنخلص ذلك في مواضعه
إن شاء الله تعالى. [١٩٨]

الباب الرابع عشر

في الامتناع

وهو أنك تأخذ أسفل الرمح بيدك اليسرى مع العنان من فوق
العنان , والرمح , وتأخذ بيد اليمنى على قيد ذراع , وأرجح
قليلا , ولا تمد يدك اليمنى في الرمح كثيرا فتطعن وأخرج
مرفقك الأيمن قليلا فإنه الأبين ورمحك يجري مع ثمرة الثغر
على فخذ فرسك أسفل من حجنته قليلا ليكون (١٩٨) رأس
رمحك على مقدار ذراع من الأرض فإنه أجود , وأحسن في
الامتناع واتكئ على ركابك إلى أسفل وانفتل من خصرك
انفتالا شديدا حتى يصير وجهك في قفاك حيال رأس رمحك
في اعتدال من مجلسك ورجليك في ركابيك ثابتة فدر
حينئذ في ميامن فرسك وسكون ذهابك أبدا على رمحك
فدر عليه ورمحك من داخل , أو متوربا إما دورا في ناورد
, أو متوازيا , ولا يذهب مستويا أبدا , وانت تمتنع فإنك إن
ذهبت مستويا كشفت , وبطل الامتناع , ولم يمكنك أن تمتنع
فافهم فهذا أحد الامتناع , وعليه اعتمادك إن أبلت بوقوع
بين يدي فارس , وهو الأصل الذي أرى أن تعمل عليه , وهو
أجود الامتناع الذي تهيأ فيه التعطيل , والكسرات . والرزق ,
والحبس , وغير ذلك في يدك فإنه أقوى لأن اليمنى مقدمة ,
وإن أردت أن تمتنع يسرة جعلت يدك اليمنى مكان اليسرى

2.2.19 Chapter thirteen

On the Syrian block which is the Roman^[228] one: You take hold of your lance with your right hand by an arm's length, and put its bottom under your right armpit while you make the lance cling^[229] to the side of the horse. If you want to block from the left, change^[230] the lance to your left arm and cross it over your horse's head. Don't move your right hand at all [on the lance], and don't extract the bottom [of the lance] from under your right armpit. If you are sure of yourself, do it with your left like you did it with your right (with me, it is very weak), and block like you first did to your right between the horse's ears. The horsemen use this block to deceive^[231] with, and we will clarify it in its places, God willing, exalted is He.

2.2.20 Chapter fourteen

On the parry

This is that you take hold of the lance with your left hand on the reins, over the reins and the lance, and take hold with your right hand at an arm's length. Balance slightly so your right hand doesn't extend a lot down the lance, and thrust. Stick your right elbow out a little since it stands out the most, while your lance runs along [^[232]ثمرة الثغر] on your horse's thigh, a little lower than [^[233]حجنته] so the top of your lance is an arm's length from the ground, which is the best when parrying. Press down in your stirrup and bend strongly at the waist until your face is turned back in front of the top of your lance with your seat straight, keeping your legs stable in your stirrups. Now turn [to] your horse's right; your way of going should always be to [where] your lance [points]. Turn to it with your lance on the inside, or slanting, either on a round on the nāward or parallelly. Don't ever go straight while you parry, because if you go straight you lay [yourself] bare, and annul the parry. You [then] won't be able to parry, so understand this. This is the sharpest parry, and it has your trust if you try it when falling into the hands of a rider. This method is the one I would see you use on him. It is the best parry, wih prepares for the displacement^[234], sharp turns, piercing, holding back and other things with your hand, as it is stronger

[228] This time both editions agree on *rūmī*.

[229] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 197: وتلصق الرمح بيدك اليسرى بخد الفرس

[230] Ie. incline it to the left, no changing hands

[231] تخذع به

[232] This remains unclear. See glossary (*taḡr*).

[233] An unknown part of the horse's anatomy. Some curved or crooked place on its hindquarters or hindleg, perhaps around the stifle?

[234] *ta ḡl*. See glossary.

,واليسرى مكان اليمنى على ما قلت لك ,ووصفته , والله أعلم

الباب الخامس عشر

في الامتناع على الذراع

وهو أن تأخذ الرمح بيمينك وحدها فتطرحه على ساعدك الأيسر فتمتنع يسرة , وهو الامتناع الذي يستعمله أكثر الناس من المتقدمين وفيه تقصير الرمح , وفي التقصير ما فيه فلا يمكن صاحبه أن يمنع له خلف ظهره على استواء , وإنما يجوز هذا , ويجوز عند خروجه إلى [١٩٩] القرن , تنقل الرمح بيمينك قبل أن يستقر على ساعدك الأيسر ترده بأسرع ما تقدر عليه إلى ميامنك ونكسه يمنى , وكذلك تمتنع به يمناً على ما وصفت يسرة

الباب السادس عشر

في الامتناع في الموازنة والموازاة على ما تقدم في الباب العاشر وشرح العمل به. وهو أن تمتنع (١٩٩) من قرنك من حيث جاءك من حيالك , أو عرضاً , أو من خلفك فاطرح رمحك إليك [١٤] من حيث جاءك , ولا يقع في هذا جد غير هذا على أن تكون يدك في الرمح على حد الامتناع أسفل الرمح مع العنان في يد واحدة اليمنى , أو الشمال على قدر الامتناع من أي جانب كان

الباب السابع عشر

في نقل الخراساني القديم وشرح العمل به إذا كنت مسددا يسرة كما تقدم فأردت أن تنقل على رأس فرسك مع العنان رفعت أسفل الرمح من يمينك حتى يحوز أسفله يدك ونصبت تحت زندك وذراعك الأيسر ليقوى , ولا يقع رأسه على الأرض , ويعبر رأسه رأس الفرس إلى الجانب الأيمن , وتبادر معا فتأخذ العنان من أسفل , والرمح في الموضع الذي كانت يدك اليسرى , وترد يدك

because the right is in front. If you want to parry to the left, put your right hand in place of the left, and the left in the place of the right like I told you and described for you, God knows best.

2.2.21 Chapter fifteen

On parrying over the arm

This is that you take the lance with your right hand alone and lay it on your left forearm to parry left, and this is the parry that the majority of the people among the ancient authors use. It puts restrictions^[235] on the lance, and with this restriction comes that its owner can't parry anything straight behind his back. This is permissible, though, and it is permissible when one rides out to an adversary. Shift your lance with your right hand before settling [it] on your left forearm, and bring it back as quickly as you are able to your right and turn around right. In this way you parry to the right the way I described to the left.

2.2.22 Chapter sixteen

On parrying in the muwāzana and the muwāzat as treated previously in chapter ten, and an explanation of the work in it.

You parry your adversary from where he comes to you; face to face with you, or from your side, or from behind you. Throw your lance towards him from where he comes at you. There is no graveness in this nor in that. Your hand on the lance at the point of the block should be on the bottom of the lance together with the reins in one hand, the right or the left, depending on what side you need to block.

2.2.23 Chapter seventeen

On the old Khorasanian shift and explanation of the work with that

If you are blocking to the left like before and want to shift over your horse's head with the reins, raise the bottom of the lance with your right hand until you receive its bottom in your hand and aim below your left forearm and arm to strengthen [it]. Don't put its tip to the ground, but make its head cross [over] the head of the horse to the right side. Hurry to do this at the same time as you take the reins from below while the lance is in the place where your left hand was, and turn

[235] Or: shortening, literally, but more likely it means that the lancer loses the full use of his lance in these moments.

اليسرى إلى أسفل الرمح مكان اليمين فتلزمها مع الإبزيم في منطقتك من الجانب الأيسر , وكذلك تنقل إن أردت أن ترد الرمح إلى يسارك كما كان فهذا النقل الخراساني القديم بالعمل الذي يعمل الأول فكلما ذكرت من النقل في التسديد الخراساني فعلى هذا الوجه إن شاء الله تعالى , وهذا يقال له تسريح عنان , وايضا نقل عنان يسموه [١٥] أهل هذا الزمان , وذكر المنصف , فقال إن بعض القدماء يفتل العنان فيصير نقلتين في نقلة فقد فعلت الفرسان ذلك , وهو ممكن لكنه يبطئ في النقل في الإبطاء ما تعلمه من إدراك قرنه ما يريد لا سيما إذا بلي بمن لا ينقل العنان فإنه لا يلحق معه شيئا , وأنا لا أرى نقل العنان إلا إذا [٢٠٠] كان مع المعلم , أو متعلم , وأما إذا كان مع قرن فلا ينقله إلا إذا علم أنه يسبق قرنه , وإلا فلا. (٢٠٠)

الباب الثامن عشر

في النقل المحدث الثغري وشرح العمل به على ما تقدم من التسديد الثغري المحدث وهو أنه إذا كان الرمح على قيد ذراع من يسارك مع العنان , ويديك اليمنى في أسفله كما وصفت لك من التسديد الخراساني فأردت أن تنقل رفعت أسفل الرمح حتى يصير في كفك اليسرى حتى يصير أسفله مع العنان في يسارك , ولا تحرك يدك اليسرى من العنان , وتعبر رأس الرمح رأس الفرس إلى ميامنه , وأخرج يدك اليمنى فتودع [١٦] , وتدرع بها في سكون وشكل , وإشارة حسنة فخذ من الرمح قيد ذراع في سرعة فسدد به , ويديك اليمنى المقدمة , وكذلك تفعل أيضا يسرة إذا كنت مسددا خراسانيا , وتفعل باليسرى كما تفعل باليمنى , وإن كنت مسددا محدثا سرقت يدك اليمنى في الرمح حتى تبلغ بها يدك اليسرى من أسفل الرمح , وتعبر برأسه رأس الفرس تجري مع أذن الفرس , وتتورع , وتدرع أيضا بيدك اليسرى كما فعلت باليمين , هذا النقل الثغري المحدث فكلما أمرتك به من النقل المحدث فعلى هذه الجهة وهذا النقل , والتسديد أحب الأعمال إلي , وبه أطارد الفرسان

your left hand to the bottom of the lance in the place of the right. Make it stick to the buckle on your belt on the left side. Thus you shift it if you want to turn the lance to your left like that, and this is the old Khorasanian shift in the work of the first [Khorasanian block]. Whenever I speak of the shift in the Khorasanian block, it is in this manner; God willing, exalted is He. This is known as releasing the reins, and people in our time also call it shifting the reins. The author also mentioned that some of the old ones twist the reins so there are two shifts in one. This is what the horsemen have done, and it is possible, but it slows [you] in the shift by slowing you down in what you learn from the adversary's awareness of what he wants, especially if he is tried with one who does not shift the reins, as he can't keep up with him. I do not regard [as proper] shifting the reins unless it is with a teacher or a learner. If it is with an adversary then he should not shift them unless he knows that he can outstrip his adversary, and if not, then he shouldn't.

2.2.24 Chapter eighteen

On the modern *taġrī* shift and explanation of the work in that, based on what has been written before on the modern *taġrī* block

When you have the lance at an armlength in your left hand with the reins, and your right hand on the bottom of the lance like I described for you in the Khorasanian block, and you want to shift, lift the bottom of the lance so that it comes to be in your left palm and its bottom is with the reins on your left, without moving your left hand from the reins. Cross the top of the lance over the horse's head to its right, move out your right hand, pause and [تَدْرِع^[236]] with it, with calm and purpose, and a handsome gesture. Take the lance at armlength, quickly, and block with it while your right hand is forward. You do like that to the left if you are blocking the Khorasanian way, and do with your left hand like you did with your right. If you are blocking the modern way, take your right hand back on the lance until you reach your left hand with it at the bottom of the lance, and cross the top of it over the horse's head so it runs with the horse's ears. Pause, and [تَدْرِع^[237]] also with your left hand like you did to the right. This is the modern *taġrī* shift, so when you are ordered to do the modern shift, it is in this way. This shift and block are the procedures I like the best, and I assault horsemen with them.

[236] 'Make the lance ready to be used as a weapon'? Or perhaps it should read [تَدْرِع]; 'raise it'?

[237] See above.

الباب التاسع عشر

في النقل الشامي وشرح العمل به
إذا كنت مسددا شاميا على ما وصفت لك فأردت أن تنقل
الرمح إلى الثوي فأخرج الرمح من تحت إبطك تدخله إلى
قدام فيصير أسفل الرمح في يدك اليسرى مع العنان , ويديك
اليمنى في موضعها لا تحركها فسددها بها ثغريا محدثا فإنها
نقلة جيدة بالغة. [٢٠١] (٢٠١)

الباب العشرون

في القلب , والامتناع

وشرح العمل به الامتناع كله على الرأس لا غير , وذلك أن
الامتناع للمطلوب , وإنما يريد أن يمنع ظهره , ويحميه , فإذا
نقل من قدام كشف ظهره لامحالة وحد القلب إذا كان ممتنعا
فأراد أن ينقل [١٧] رمحه إلى يساره حمل الرمح بيمينه
فعبره رأسه ورمحه يجري مع كفل الفرس ورأسه قريب من
الأرض وليكن ممر يده عند القلب مع شعره في أسرع ما
يقدر عليه بنترة ولكزة مرفقيه وساعده حتى يكون بسرعة
مليحة حتى تطرحه على ساعدك الأيسر , وتلتفت بأسرع ما
تقدر عليه من القلب , وتنفتل من خصرك في اعتدال من
مجلسك كما ذكرت لك , ثم يرد يده اليمنى إلى أسفل الرمح ,
والعنان مكان اليسرى على هيئتها , ويمد يده اليسرى مكان
اليمنى , ويقدمها , أو إذا انفتل في الامتناع أخذ الرمح من
فوق وفتله فتلة خفيفة , ثم دفعه وحول , وفي قلب الرمح
أيضا من الامتناع إذا كنت يسرة رددت يسارك إلى أسفل
الرمح مع العنان وحولت الرمح إلى ميامنك , وتركت أسفله
يدور في كفك اليسرى , ثم خرطت الرمح [١٨] وأخرته حتى
تعبه إلى ميامنك على حد الامتناع , وكذلك تفعل إذا كنت
ممتنعا يمنا , فإذا أردت أن تدير رمحه في الامتناع إلى
يمينه , وكان قوي الشمال قلبه بيساره كما يقلبه بيمينه ,
والإطرحة على ساعده الأيسر وشديدة [١٩] اليسرى , وأخذ
أسفل الرمح , والعنان من يده اليمنى وقدم يده اليمنى قليلا
لتقوى في الرمح وحمله فقلبه إلى ميامنه كما كان أولا , وفي

2.2.25 Chapter nineteen

On the Syrian shift and explanation of that work

If you are blocking the Syrian way like I described to you and you want to shift the lance to [الثوي^[238]]: withdraw the lance from under your armpit and point it forward so the bottom of the lance comes to be in your left hand with the reins, while your right hand remains in place, unmoving, and do a modern *taḡrī* block. This is a very good shift.

2.2.26 Chapter twenty

On the inversion[239] and the parry, and explanation of this work.

The entire parry is done with the tip [of the lance], nowhere else, and parrying is for the initiated. If one wants to block his back and guard it; he'll lay his back open if he shifts in front, no doubt. He impedes the inversion if he is parrying, and if he wants to invert his lance to his left, he'll carry his lance on his right and cross it over his head. The lance runs along the hindquarters of the horse with its tip close to the ground while he passes his hand over his hair in the inversion the fastest he can, pulling and pushing his elbows and forearm so that he reaches a fair speed [in the inversion]. You throw it on your left forearm, and turn around as fast as you are able from the inversion. Twist at your waist, [keeping] your seat straight like I described to you. He then brings his right hand back to the bottom of the lance, and the reins in the place of the left hand in their shape, and extends his left hand in the place of the right, and puts it forward. If he [was] twisted in the block, he takes the lance from above and twists it lightly, then pushes it and changes. There is something of a parry also in inverting the lance: if you are to the left, bring your left hand back to the bottom of the lance with the reins and change the lance to your right, leaving the bottom of it to turn in your left palm. Throw the lance and change the grip on it so that you cross it to your right on the point of a parry. Do like that if you are blocking right, too. If you want to turn his^[240] lance to his right in the block, and he is strong on his left and his inversion to the left like he inverts to the right, unless he throws it to his left forearm and strengthens his left [hand or arm], he takes the bottom of the lance and the reins from his right hand and puts his right hand forwards a little to strengthen [the grip] on the lance, carries

[238] This remains unclear. A suggestion: an end position where [the movement] stops?

[239] *al-qalb*, see glossary.

[240] The voice changes frequently in this chapter, even mid-sentence like here. There does not seem to be anybody else involved except the one rider.

كل الامتناع اليد التي فيها العنان من أسفل الرمح , والخالية من العنان المقدمة , وكذلك تمتنع في الموازنة , والموازاة ليكون رأس الرمح حيال قرنك من حيث جاءك وسنانك قبالة وجهه وعينه فهذا أصل الطعن وطامن رأس الرمح في هذه المواضع لا يؤخذ. [٢٠٢] (٢٠٢)

الباب الحادي والعشرون

في الابتداء في الخروج إلى القرن في الحرب اعلم أنك لا تدخل مع قريب , ولا بعيد تطارده عدوا كان , أو صديقا إلا , وهو يريد الظفر بك , وإياك , والتواني واستعمال التراخي , والمسالمة فإنك إن فعلت وظفر بك لم يوضع ذلك منك على ما استعمله من المحاباة , والمسالمة , ولا يزال ذلك عارا مذكورا عند الناس , والفرسان , والعوام فاحذر من ذلك واستعمل الحزم فإنه أولى من التواني , وبعد فليس ينبغي للفرسان أن يعمل في كل موطن إلا ما أحسن وما يجوز عند الفرسان ونزل [٢٠] البغي , والصغر إذ كانت هذه الصناعة من أمور الجد , والحق , ولا يجوز معها إلا بأحسن^[21] , ولا يعمل أبدا في حزب إلا على دابة فارهة جديدة حلیم إلا في ضرورة , وعلى أن للدواب عيوباً لا يصلح أن يركب معها مثل الجموح , والطموح , والحرون , والعتور من على [٢٢] والأعور.

فأما في الميادين فلا يعمل إلا على دابة وثيق جواد لين المعاطف برمح خفيف , وآلة مستوية فإن تهيأ لك ذلك فطارد , وإلا فلا تتعارض للمطاردة , وإن كان رمح قرنك أطول من رمحك فاقطعه , ولا تستحي من ذلك فليس يخفى عليك الطويل من القصير , وإن كان أيضا رمحك أطول من رمحه , فإذا قربت منه لتعطف سريعا فاعطف خلفه سرقة منه الأرض , وتدسس فإنك تصير خلفه فإن أمكنك طعنه طعنته , وإن هو مر بتدوير فرسه مستويا فقد أمكنك من ظهره , وإن هو كسر عن يمينه وضيق مثل كسرتك فامتنع منه [٢٣] فهو الذي ينبغي له أن يفعل فاطلب مياسره فإن لزم التضيق فدعه وارجع عنه وحامله مواجهة وخذه بتدوير فرسك

[20]
[21]
[22]
[23]

ترك
إلا ما حسن
علة
يمنة

it, and turns it to his right like it was at first. In every block, the hand in which the reins lie is on the bottom of the lance, and the hand empty of the reins is forwards. That is how you block the muwāzana and the muwāzāt. The tip of your lance is to be in front of your adversary from when he approaches you, your spearhead vis-à-vis his face and eyes. This is the principle of the thrust, but lower the lance in these positions and don't take him^[241].

2.2.27 Chapter twenty-one

On beginning to ride out to the adversary in war

You must know that regardless of whether you enter upon the close or the far to assault him, be he enemy or friend, he wants to defeat you. Be aware of being weak, to be relaxed^[242] and reconciliation: if you do that and he triumphs over you, what you employed in obliging and appeasing will not humiliate you. That is still a dishonour talked about by people, horsemen and the public. Be aware of that and use prudence, for that is the foremost weakness. Furthermore: It is not necessary for the rider to do in every position except for the good and what is proper for the horsemen, and to leave^[243] the injustice and the vileness. As this craft is a matter of seriousness and right, nothing is proper for it except what is best. Don't ever work in a troop unless it is on an agile mount that is freshly trained and gentle, unless it is necessary. There are blemishes to a mount that make it unsuited for riding, such as the disobedient, the refractory, the stubborn and the one that trips by some defect, and the one-eyed.

When it comes to the manoeuvres, don't do [them] unless it is on a trusted mount; a steed that is pliable, with a light lance and an even tool. If this is prepared for you, then attack. If not, then don't oppose in the assault. If your adversary's lance is longer than yours, break it. Don't be embarrassed about that, for you can very well tell the long from the short. Also, if your lance is longer than his, turn quickly when you get close to him, and turn behind him to rob him of his ground, then slip in so you get behind him. If you can thrust at him, do it. If he turns^[244] while his horse is straight, you can get to his back. If he breaks away to the right and besets [you] like your breaking away, then parry to his right^[245], for he is the one that has the need to do so. Initiate to his left side and if the besetting keeps up, give it up and return to

[241] Ie. do not actually pierce your partner to death in the hippodrome

[242] Lit. 'use relaxation'

[243] From Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 202, ترك

[244] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 202: مرّ بتدوير فرسه

[245] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 202: يمينه

واحذر أن لا يفعله [٢٤] مثل ما أمرتك ان تفعل به وارجع واحمل عليه أيضا وجوها في كل جملة^[25] تحمل عليه فرمحك يسرة , فإذا قربت منه فاقلب رمحك إلى يمينك ثغريا , والقه يمناة, [٢٠٣] ولا تنس أن تجعل رمحك على رمحه فإن ذهب بحركة عطلت رمحك رمحه جميعا , فإذا أنس (٢٠٣) بهذا العمل منك , وأنت تنقل يمناة فاحمل عليه أيضا , فإذا قربت منه فأره كأنك تنقل فالقه يسرة , ويكون رمحك قد سددت به ثغريا يسرة , وإن هو فطن لك وذهب ينقل , ويرد رمحه يسرة فإنه يشتغل بالنقل فخذ يمناة^[26] الفرصة فتطعنه فهذا كثيرا ما عمله أنا فافهمه إن شاء الله تعالى

الباب الثاني والعشرون

في المواجهة

أن يحمل عليه مرة يسرة وثانية , ثم ينقل منه ثغريا , وتلقيه , وتبعد عنه بعد أن تضرب رمحه برمحك حتى يأنس بذلك , فإذا أنس , وتوهم أن هذا عمالك معه حملت عليه ونقلت , ودنوت منه أكثر من الدنو الأول وسرقت يدك اليمنى , أخذت أسفل الرمح , فإذا فزت^[27] منه زرقته في وجهه وصدره فإنك لا تخطئه , وذلك أن رمحك يطول ذراعين , ولا تفعل هذا حتى تعلم أنك تناله إذا زرقته , وأدر رمحك بأسرع ما تقدر عليه إلى موضعه , وأسفله مع العنان ورد يدك إلى التسديد الثغري

واحذر فإن في هذا خطرا عظيما حتى إذا ضرب رمحك حفيت^[28] أن تقع رأسه إلى الأرض إن لم يكن حاذقا فاحذر ذلك , ولا تزرقه إلا ورمحك فوق رمحه , وإن نلته فاحترس منه واكسر فرسك يسرة وابعد عنه لا يواصلك , وإن أنت لم تنله رددت رمحك إلى موضعه واعطف عطفة رفيقة واضرب رمحك فإنك تصير في قفاه , ولا تلق فارسا , ولا

[24]
[25]
[26]
[27]
[28]

لا يفعل هو
حملة
منه
قربت
خفت

him, and charge at him face to face and take him by turning your horse.

Take care so he^[246] does not do what I instructed you to do, and return and also attack face to face in every attack^[247] that you do to him, as your lance is to the left. When you approach him, turn your lance over to your right *taḡrī*^[248], and throw it to the right. Don't forget to make your lance be on his lance, should he go with a movement that stops your and his lance both. If he becomes accustomed this work from your part, and you shift to the right, charge at him too. If you approach him, make him see you shifting and throw it to the left while your lance blocks him *taḡrī* to the left. If he becomes aware of you and undertakes to shift, and throws his lance back to the left so he profits from the shift, seize the opportunity from him and thrust at him. This is what I do a lot myself, so understand it, God willing, exalted is He.

2.2.28 Chapter twenty-two

On the *muwāḡaha*^[249]

This is when you^[250] attack him once from the left, and then again, then shift away from him *taḡrī*. Meet him and move away from him after striking his lance with yours so that he becomes familiar with that. When he does that, and believes that this is your move with him, you attack him, shift, and get closer to him than the first time. Take away your right hand and seize the bottom of the lance. When you get closer to him, pierce him in his face and chest so you don't miss him, that is if your lance is longer than two arms. Don't do this until you know that you reach him if you thrust at him. Direct your lance as fast as you can towards him in his place, with its bottom with the reins, and bring your hand back in a *taḡrī* block.

Be careful, for there is a great danger in this. If he strikes your lance, I fear that its head will drop to the ground unless you are skilled. So beware of this, and don't pierce him unless your lance is above his. If you can reach him, be on your guard against him. Break your horse away to the left and get away from him [so] he doesn't follow you. If you can't reach him, retract your lance to its place, bend slightly, and strike your lance, for you will be

[246] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition* 202: يفعل

[247] *ibid*: حملة

[248] *taḡr*: a gap or breach in the city walls; a pass; the place at a border or frontier where an attack is most likely. See glossary.

[249] Name of the manoeuvre; “frontal confrontation”. See glossary.

[250] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition* 203: وهو أن تحمل عليه مرة يسرة وثانية، (ثم تنقل) منه ثغريا

تقرب منه إلا ,وقد هديت فرسك وسكنته غاية التسكين حتى يمكنك أن تعمل ما تريد ,وينبغي أن يملأ فوجه في المواجهة قبل أن تدنو منه حتى يملأ فوجه فرسه ,فإذا دنوت منه فاحتبس ,هذا هو الأصل في كل موطن في المواجهة فلا تنس ذلك ,فإن الاعتماد في المواجهة عليه.٢٠٤

الباب الثالث والعشرون

في المطاردة في المبارزات للأقران ,والناوردات اعلم أن الناورد اسم اعجمي استعمله العرب , وأصله ناه برد يعني حومة القتال ,فإذا خرجت إلى فارس تطارده ,وقد أحكمت إليك وفرسك كما وصفت لك فيما تقدم فخذ رمحك وليكن على قدر قوتك فإن كنت مدمن في عمل البنود فلا بأس عليك إذ كان فيه قليل من الثقل , وإن لم تكن مدمن في البنود فليكن رمحك أخف ما تقدر عليه ,وإن كان خشبة من الدردار الإفرنجي فهو من أجود الرماح فإن لم يوجد فليكن من أجود خشب الحور غير مقطوع الشعرة , وإن أردت أن تجعل فيه سنان فلا بأس لاحتمال أن قرنك يكون رمحه بلا سنان , وإن كان رمح قرنك بلا سنان ,وأنت بسنان فلا يرضى قرنك بذلك فاجعل سنان رمحك بلولب فإن احتجت إلى سنان فهو موجود ,وإن لم تحتج إلى سنان نزعته وقت حاجتك واطرح فرسك في الناورد على يسارة تقريبا رفيقا تشبيها بدبيب الرجل وادن من قرنك في ناوردك , فإذا دنوت منه فسد رمحك على يسارك خراسانيا فإنه سيسدد هو أيضا مثل ذلك ,فإذا كدتما أن تواسلا فادخل في الحلقة فاستبقها واسرق الأرض عليه واتبعه فإنه يقع بين يديك فإن امتنع منك يسرة فاحكم أخذك الرمح , وأدركه فإن امتنع يمنا لا منعة له فإنه إذا صرت خلفه نقل رمحه ليمنع يمنا فادخل عليه عند قلب الرمح يكون الدخول فاضرب رمحه حتى يرده إلى يساره كما كان لا تدعه بعبر به رأسه وادخل فاطعنه ,وإن هو سبقك فحول فامتنع يمنا ولم تلحقه حتى يستوي في الامتناع فاحذره حينئذ أن يحبس

behind him. Don't meet a rider, and don't approach one, unless you have composed your horse and calmed it down enough that you are able to do what you want. It is necessary to fill the gaps in the frontal confrontation before you draw near to him, so that the gaps by his horse are filled. If you draw near to him, beware. This is the principle of every position in the frontal confrontation. Don't forget that, for this is the base of the *muwāḡaha*.

2.2.29 Chapter twenty-three

On the assault in duelling with adversaries, and *nāwardāt*

You should know that *nāward* is a Persian word used by the Arabs, its origin being *nāh* bard^[251], meaning 'the place of combat'. If you ride out to duel with a rider, and you have carefully prepared your tool and your horse like I described to you earlier, take your lance, and make it be with your utmost strength. If you were devoted^[252] to the lance exercises^[253] you will have no trouble even if it is a little heavy. If you were not devoted to the exercises, your lance should be as light as possible. If it is made of European elm, this is one of the best lances, but if you don't find it, one of the best is also [that made of] white poplar with the bark uncut. If you want to use a spearhead for it, there is a good probability that your adversary's lance is without a spearhead. If your adversary's lance is without a spearhead, and you have one, your adversary won't be satisfied with that. Make your lance's spearhead with a spring^[254], so that if you need a spearhead it will be there, and if you don't need a spearhead you remove it when you need to. Present your horse on the *nāward* to your left in a gentle canter resembling a man's walk, and approach your adversary in your *nāward*. When you come close to him, block your lance on your left the Khorasanian way and he will block you in that way also. If you both [try to] deceive [the other] by connecting with each other, enter the circle and keep it, take his space and follow him, for he will fall into your hands. If he blocks you from the left, so make up your mind to take the lance and overtake him.

If he parries to the right, he will have no power. If you get behind him, he will shift his lance to parry to the right, so enter upon him and make the entry be when he is inverting the

[251] Actually: نبرد, meaning 'battle'. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, 1385.

[252] Or rather that he spent time and effort practicing them? Arabic: مدمن, perhaps he was indeed addicted!

[253] *al-bunūd*

[254] لولب. A way of making a detachable spearhead?

عليك ,ويقف ,أو تكسر كسرة رفيقة فإما أن تمسك رمحه ,
وتجيء أنت بتدوير فرسك فتدخل على رمحه فيطعنك,(٢٠٥)
وإما أن يقيقك فتحبس حبسة خفيفة ,ويزررك ,ويوثب فرسه
فينالك ,ولا تلحقه ولهذين البابين علاجان يبطلان جميعا
به ,ويطعن صاحبهما , وأنا أعلمه كثيرا ينبغي إذا كنت
خلفه أن تكون شديد التيقظ إلى ما يعمله ,وإن الفارس إن لم
يكن أعلم بما يريد أم يفعل به فليس بفارس , وإذا رأيتَه يريد
أن [٢٠٥] يكسره , ويحبس , ويمد يده فازرقه وخذ بعنانك عنه
يسرة فإنك تخرج عن رمحه لا محالة إلى مياسره , وينكشف
لك ظهره فتطعنه فقد طعنت كذا جماعة

وان هو حبس حبسة خفيفة وزررك فبادر فاضرب رمحه
برمحك فإنه لا قوة لرمحه في ذلك لأنه لا بد له من أن
يصير إلى الأرض فادخل عليه فإن رمحه يقع بين أذني
فرسه فاركبه فإما أن تطعنه , أو تضرب رأسه بالرمح ,
والضرب يقع في هذا الموضع كثيرا , فإذا ظفرت فاخرج
ودير فرسك يسرة واحذر أن يشيل رمحه إليك فيواصلك فإن
هو فعل فعطله ودع أقاويل الناس في أن يكون رمحك على
رمحه في كل المواطن فقد استعملت كل ضرب من أعمال
الرمح , وإنما أمرتك بما جربته من المشايخ الحذاق ,وإن
طرح رمحه في الامتناع , وكان حاذقا وطاحنك الدور ورفق
في جريه وضيق ولزم المضيق , والحبس فدعه واخرج
عنه يسرة وقل له تعالى اطلبني اجعلها كأنها منه عنه , فإذا
تباعدت عنه فأره كأنك قد كشفت له ظهره بأن تطرح رأس
رمحك على الأرض وجره فإنه يطمع فيك حينئذ , ويتبعك
فدعه , فإذا قرب منك فاكسر عليه كسرة شديدة واحفظ رأسك
ورمحك , بل تكون على رمحه إن أمكنك منه شيء , وإلا
فعطل رمحه وازرقه بالرمح فإني أرجو أن لا تخطيه فإن
لم تلحقه الرمح فرد يدك إلى الامتناع بسرعة واطرح فرسك
أولا في الدور بأرفق ما يكون من الجري حتى يسكن خلفك
, ثم اسكن الجري بين الجريين حتى يعد منك على غفلة

lance. Strike his lance so that he brings it back to his left, as it were. Don't make it cross by his head, enter and thrust at him. If he is faster than you you, try to parry right, and don't follow him until he is straight in the parry. Even then, be aware of him as he will be wary of you and stop, or skilfully do a sharp turn, so either you grab his lance and come to turn your horse and enter on his lance, and he will thrust at you, or he will shelter you^[255], you will be a little wary, and he will stab you and make his horse leap and reach you. Don't go after him. In these two chapters there are two remedies that both counteract this, and their master [is enabled] to thrust, I myself use it a lot. If you are behind him, you need to be very vigilant as to what he is doing. A horseman who does not know what he^[256] wants or what [he wants] to do with him is not a horseman. If you see him wanting to break away, and take heed, and extend his hand; then pierce him and take your reins to the left, for you exit from his lance nowhere but his left, and he will lay his back open to you so you can thrust at him. This is how the troop thrusts.

If he obstructs you slightly and stabs at you, hurry and strike his lance with yours, for he will have no strength to his lance then, and it will have to drop to the ground. Enter upon him and, if his lance is between his horse's ears, engage him and either thrust at him or strike his head with the lance. In this position the strike is severe, so if you succeed, exit and turn your horse left and be aware should he lift his lance to you and connect to you. If he does that, interrupt him and put away people's sayings that your lance should be on top of his in every position, as I have used every lance strike there is and on the contrary I instruct you to what I have tested from the skilfull elders. So if he throws his lance into the block and is skilled, and he challenges you in the turn[ing], and if he is skilfull in his run and narrows [the space between the two of you], and pressures you and holds back, then give him up. Ride away from him towards the left and say to him: 'Come, challenge me!' and do it as if it was from him to him. If you move away from him and make it look to him as if you had laid your back open to him by throwing the tip of your lance to the ground and dragging it, he will desire to [reach] you at that moment and follow you, so leave him. If he gets close to you, turn very sharply on him, minding your head and your lance, but be over his lance in case you are able [to do] anything to him. If not, then stop his lance and pierce him with yours. I beg you not to miss him, so if you don't follow him with the lance, then draw your hand back in a block, quickly, and throw your horse first in a turn as skilfully as you can in the run[ning] so that he quietens

[255] ie. does not immediately attack you?

[256] The adversary?

منه وعينك إليه فإن حمل عليك بحملة فاكسر كما أنت يمنة ومد رمحك في وجهه فإنك (٢٠٦) لا تخطئ صدره , ووجه واستعمل الزرق , وإذا عملت الزروق فلتكن حافظا لرمحك لاحتمال أنك لا تصل إليه في الزرق يرجع إلى الامتناع قبل أن تنكس رأس رمحك , أو يضربه كما أوصيتك فإن هو حذر , ولم يتبعك عند خروجك من الناورد فاقلب رمحك وامتنع يسرة وقدم يدك اليسرى في الريح لئلا يقصر عليك , ثم اخرج أيضا خروجا شديدا تعلم أنه لا يلحق بك فرد رمحك إلى يمينك وافسح به في الناورد فافعل هذا به مرارا , فإذا أنس بذلك , وتوهم أنك تعامله بهذا الباب فضيق ناوردك فإنه يضيق أيضا , ثم اخرج من قدامه كأنك تخرج إلى استواء أقل من ذلك الركض الذي كنت به واقبل رأس فرسك فإنه إن كان حاذقا استطمعك قبل أن يدركك , وأنت تقلب رمحك فتشغل بالقلب , وتبادر بالقلبة [٢٠٦] إلى مياسره كأنك تريد نقله , فإذا حمل عليك فرد فرسك سرعة إلى ميامنك في الامتناع واكس عليه كسرة شديدة فإنك تلقى صدره مكشوفاً , وذلك أنه نقل رمحه إلى مياسره وكشف ميامنه , وهذه خدعة جيدة تريه كأنك تنقل , ولا تنقل , وإن هو شغل برد الريح إلى موضع فقد اشتغل , وأنت تطيعه , وإن هو استعمل المطاحية , والوقوف , ويلقاك برمحه من حيث ما جئته فاستعمل معه المواجهة , والحيل التي ذكرتها لك

وإن أمكنك أن تأخذ رمحه فخذة واخرج رأسه عن يدك إن كان فيه سنان لئلا يغمزك به فيطعنك , وإن كان في رأسه سواد فلا تأخذه , ولا تتعرض إليه يسودك , ويدعي عليك طعنة , وإذا دار معك في الناورد فعليك بسرقة الأرض عليه وشق الناورد , فإذا دار على ميامنه فاطلب مياسره , وهو في موضع الخلل , وكذلك إن دار على مياسره فاطلب ميامنه , وفي هذا الفرس يدور الريح , والريح من داخل

behind you. Then calm down in the run between the two runs until he moves away from you out of inadvertence on his part, with your eye on him so that if he attacks you, you break off just like you did to the right and extend your lance in his direction so you don't miss his chest and face, and use the pierce^[257]. When you use the pierce, you must be mindful of your lance, and in the eventuality that you don't get to him in the pierce, he will retreat to the parry before you can lower your lance tip or strike him like I advised you to. If he is cautious, don't follow him when you ride out from the *nāward*, invert your lance and parry left. Put your left hand forward on the lance so that it doesn't fall short^[258] for you, then ride out strongly as well knowing that he won't stick to you. Take your lance back to your right and make space with it in the *nāward*, then do that several times. If he becomes accustomed to that, and suspects that you are working him in this manner, narrow your *nāward* and he will also do it. Ride out in front of him as if you were to ride out straight, but at a lesser pace than the one you ride out with. Turn your horse's head around, and if he is skilled, he will entice you before he overtakes you. You invert your lance and [at the same time] engage in the inversion, and hurry to invert to his left as if you want to shift it. If he charges at you, quickly take your horse back to your right in a parry and break off to him sharply. You will find his chest exposed, so that he shifts his lance to his left and exposes his right. This is a good ruse; you look as if you will shift and then don't shift. If he is working on bringing the lance back to somewhere, he is then occupied, so you comply with him. If he challenges you, or stops and throws his lance at you from where he brought it, apply the *muwāğaha* on him, and the ruse I described for you.

If you are able to take his lance, then take it, and exit its head from your hand if it has a spearhead, lest he charges with it and stabs you. If there is a blackness^[259] on its head, don't take it and don't interfere with it lest it [يسودك^[260]] and challenges you to stab. If he turns with you on the *nāward*, you need to steal land from him and split the *nāward*. If he turns to his right, initiate to his left as he is in a position for piercing^[261]. Likewise, if he turns to his left, initiate to his right. In this, the horse turns around the lance, and the lance is on the inside, so

[257] ie. with the intention to fatally strike him?

[258] Ie. become useless

[259] I am not sure whether to read this as a literal blackness (something that stains) or if it is something else.

[260] Or *corrupts you*?

[261] Meaning that he might be pierced, since his left side is now open to you.

وصح بقرنك وازجره إذا كان قدامك احذر السير قدامك قد
انقطع حزامك , أو لجامك

فإن هذا ربما أدهش , وإن كان معك حجر رميته به , وإن
أدخلك فرسك (٢٠٧) عليه , وتدانيتما , وتلاصقتما فإن كان
عدوا فاستعمل غير الرمح مثل السيف , والعمود , والخنجر
وغيره , وإن كان غير عدو فبادر بخلع لجامه , ولا يكون
لك همّة غيره , وإن أردت أن تخلع اللجام فأدخل أصابعك
بين العذار وانتره نثرة شديدة , وتأخر عنه واضرب فرسه
بسوطك فإنه إن تهياً لك خلع لجامه فقد عطب , وأمكنك
وصار فضيحة , وإن مد يده إلى لجامك ليخلعه فاضرب
يدك إلى منطقتة من خلف واضعاً رجلك في مؤخر سرجه
وادفع الدابة واجذبه إليك فإنه يسقط , وإن طعنت فارساً
فصار إلى الأرض فإن أمكنك أن تطعنه أخرى فإن فعل^[29] ,
وإن وثب فاحذر رمحه فلا تدن منه وادخل رمحك في عنان
فرسه وخذه , وإن لم يمكنك طعن الفارس فاطعن فرسه فإنك
تصرعه , أو تشغله فاطعنه حينئذ , وذلك جائز في الحرب
فأما في غيرها فلا وهذا اختيلري. [٢٠٧]

الباب الرابع والعشرون

في ضرب المقرعة في العمل

وهو باب جليل قليل من يعمله , إذا هممت بضرب فرسك
بالمقرعة , وقد ضربها الفرسان المتقدمون بأسفل رماحهم
تحت أباطهم في كل وجه بالتسديد , والقوا رماحهم في
الامتناع على أذرعهم , وأسفلها مع العنان من كل الوجهين
وضربت باليدين جميعاً وكره ذلك بعض الفرسان أن يجعل
رمحه في التسديد تحت الإبط لأن الفارس إذا جعل رمحه في
التسديد تحت الإبط إنما يضرب في ذلك الوقت للحوق قرنه
فلعل الفارس لا يزيد في ركضه مقدار ما يزيد من رمحه ,
وليس في هذا القول شيء , وقال تجعل الرمح تحت الذراع
من اليد التي تحت العنان , قال , وهو عندي فيه ضعف ,
والذي أراه إن كان الفارس حاذقاً , ونقل الثغري , والشامي
والخراساني بغير نقل العنان لا يفارق مقرعته من يده

[29]

yell at your adversary to hold him back if he is in front of you, and tell him^[262]: ‘Watch out for someone going in front of you, your girth or your bridle might be cut.’

This might be startling [to him]. If you have a stone with you, throw it at him. In case your horse leads you to him and you get close to each other and keep together: if he is an enemy, use something other than the lance, like a sword or a mace, or a dagger or something else. If he is not an enemy, hasten to pull off his bridle. Don’t worry about anything else. When you want to pull the bridle off, insert your fingers between the cheekpiece(s) and pull strongly. Go a little behind him and hit his horse with your whip. If he prepares himself for your [wanting] to pull his bridle off [your chance] might be destroyed, and [if] it was within your power, it becomes a disgrace. If he extends his hand to your bridle to pull it off, put your hand to his belt from behind, placing your leg on the back of his saddle. Push his mount and pull him toward you so he falls. Should you have stabbed a rider so he falls to the ground; if you are able to stab him again, then do so. If he jumps up, beware of his lance and don’t get close to it. Stick your lance in his horse’s reins and take it. If you aren’t able to stab a rider, stab his horse so you can bring it to the ground, or distract him so you can stab it then. This is allowed in war, but not otherwise, and this is my preference.

2.2.30 Chapter twenty-four

On striking with the crop in the work

This is an important chapter, and those who do it are few. [It is] if you are concerned with [being able to] strike your horse with the crop. The ancient horsemen struck with the bottom of their lances under their armpits in every aspect of the block, and threw their lances over their forearms in the parry; its bottom being with the reins in both cases, and struck with both hands at the same time. Some of the horsemen disliked putting their lance under the armpit in the block, because the knight, if he put his lance under his armpit in the block, would then strike his adversary. Perhaps the horseman does not extend his run more than the degree of what he extends his lance, but there is nothing to this remark. It is said: “You put the lance under the forearm by the hand that is under the reins.” This [reasoning] is weak in my opinion. What I see if the rider is skilled and shifts *taḡrī*, Syrian or Khorasani without shifting the reins, his crop does not leave his left hand nor the left side. The master is he who

[262] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 206: وقف له - a peculiar ruse.

اليسار , أو في الجانب الأيسر , والمحكم من أخذ العنان عند الضرب (٢٠٨) بالتسديد أن يقدم يمناً فيأخذ العنان مع الرمح بها , ويخلي أسفل الرمح تحت إبطه من أي الجانبين كان التسديد , ويضرب بيساره متمكناً في الضرب مع التسديد الثغري , مما لا يقصر الرمح أن يأخذ العنان مع الرمح , أو يجعل أسفله في طاق القربوس , وتحكمه , ولا يفلت , ويضرب فإنه لا ينقص رمحك فأما أصحاب نقل الخراساني مع العنان في التسديد فلا بد له من تسميط المقرعة , وتفعله الغلمان ودلالين الخيل , وهو عندي عيب , والذي اختاره المهماز فأره أحسن , وأرفق لمن يحسن العمل به , ولا يحتاج إلى المقرعة إلا في الأحيان , والله أعلم. [٢٠٩]

الباب الخامس والعشرون

في العمل بالرمحين جميعاً

وهو باب جليل قل من يعمله في زماننا , ولم أسمع بمن يعمله من الرماحين أهل زماننا فأحببت أن أذكره في جملة هذه الأبواب حتى يكون قد جمع عمل الرمح بكماله , وهو أنك إذا حصلت في الميدان , ووقف الموكب على ما رسمت لك من الميدان فتناول رمحين خفيفين وليكن كل واحد منهما مخالف لون الآخر فإن لم يحصل لك ذلك فاجعل في كل واحد منهما علامة تخالف الأخرى كالشطفة ليكون كل واحد في يد , ويكونا منصفين , ويكون الرمح الذي في شماله مع العنان , والرمح الذي في يدك اليمنى على يدك اليسرى , وتمسكه بإبهامك الأيسر , ويكون عقب الرمح الأيمن من ناحية كفله الأيمن وسنانه عند أذنه الأيسر , ثم تخرج عن يمين الموكب ناوردًا تقريباً لنا دورة واحدة حتى إذا حصلت في الثانية بإزاء الميسرة تناولت الرمح الأيمن بيدك اليمنى وشله إلى أم رأسك , وأدره حتى يحصل السنان إلى ناحية يمينك ورد الفرس شمالاً , وتكون يدك اليمنى عالية بالرمح مقدار شبر وحده أن تكون يدك اليسرى بالرمح معك مع العنان , ويدك اليمنى (٢٠٩) بالرمح عندي ندوتك [٣٠] [٢٠٩]

takes the reins in the strike in the block, advances his right hand and takes the reins along with the spear in it, and lets go of the bottom of the lance under his armpit with any of the two sides if he is blocking. He strikes with his left hand as he is able in the strike with the *ṭagrī* block to the right, so he doesn't shorten^[263] his lance if he takes the reins with it, or he places the bottom of it on the arch of the pommel, restrains it and doesn't twist it, and strikes; then he does not impair your lance. As for those who do the Khorasani shift with the reins when blocking, they must suspend the crop. The slaves and horse traders do it this way, but I consider it a fault. I choose the spur, which I find is better, and more gentle to him who is proficient in this work, and [therefore] doesn't need a crop except occasionally, God knows best.

2.2.31 Chapter twenty-five

On working with two lances at the same time

This is an important chapter, and those who do this in our time are few. I have never heard of anyone among the lancers in our time who does this. I wanted to treat it among these chapters so that the works of the lance could be gathered in their entirety. This is that when you arrive in the hippodrome and the company is standing in the manoeuvre I drew for you, you present two light lances. Each one should contrast the other in colour, or, if that is not possible for you, make it so that each one has a mark that differs from [that of] the other, like a chip. Each one goes in one hand, and is held in the middle. The lance that is on the left side [of the horse] is with the reins. The lance that is in the right hand is over the left hand and you grip it with your left thumb. The bottom of the right lance should be by the horse's right croup and its spearhead by the horse's left ear. Ride out on the right of the company in a *nāward* in a relaxed canter for one turn, so that when you reach the second^[264] in [the point] opposite the left flank, you present the right lance with your right hand and raise it to the top of your head. Then turn it until the spearhead is in the direction of your right and take the horse back left. Your right hand should be high(er) on the lance by a hand, and be sure that your left hand with the lance is with the reins, and your right hand by the lance is with^[265] *شدوتك*].

[263] Or: lose the use of

[264] The start of the second turn?

[265] This remains unclear. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 209, *شدوتك*

وسر بإزاء الموكب كله حتى تنتهي إلى ناحية اليمين
ثم تدخل برأس الفرس وتدير رمحك من فوق رأسك حتى
يحصل سنانه إلى جهة يسارك مما يلي الموكب, ويحصل
سنان رمحك الأيسر إلى يمينك مما يلي برا, وتكون يديك
في علوها على ما رسمت لك ورد الفرس يمينا موازيا
للموكب كله حتى تصير بإزاء الميسرة فادخل برأس الفرس
واغمز إلى الموكب, وأدر رمحك الأيمن من فوق رأسك حتى
يحصل سنانه مما يلي يسارك وسنان رمحك الأيسر مما يلي
الموكب, ويديك في العلو على ما أمرتك به وسر بتقريب
لين حتى توافي اليمين فتشل رمحك الأيمن, وتولي ظهرك
الموكب, وتنظر من تحت سنانه مما يلي يسارك وسنان
رمحك الأيسر إلى ناحية الموكب ورد رأس فرسك يسارا
واقبل رمحك الأيمن من فوق رأسك مع ردك الفرس حتى
سنانه يحصل على يسارك مما يلي الموكب وسنان رمحك
الأيسر عن يمينك مما يلي برا وسر هادئا بحذاء الموكب,
وتشل يدك اليمنى في الرمح, وتنظر من تحته, وترد رأس
الفرس يمينا إلى الموكب وادر الرمح بيدك اليمنى من فوق
رأسك حتى يصير سنانه من جهة يسارك إلى برا وسنان
رمحك الأيسر على يمينك مما يلي الموكب وسر حتى
تنتهي اليمين, وتولي ظهرك الموكب, وتطول برمحك
الأيمن إلى آخره, وتسلمه إلى يسارك مع العنان فيحصل
على كتفك الأيسر وعقبه في كفك الأيسر, ويبقى رمحك
الأيسر تحت يدك اليسرى, وتحت الرمح المطول فتناوله
بيدك اليمنى وطول فيه إلى قدام إلى أذن الفرس اليمنى,
وأنت خارج

فإذا حصل كلاهما مطولين وازنت الموكب من بعيد,
وتناولت الرمح الذي في يسارك بيدك اليمنى بعقبه, وهو
مطروح على ساعدك الأيسر, وتناول الرمح الذي في يمينك
لليسرى مع العنان فيكون عقبه في يسارك, والرمح مطروح
على ساعدك الأيمن, ويكون سنان الرمح الذي في يمينك
مما يلي الموكب وسنان الرمح الذي كان في يمينك حصل في
يسارك (٢١٠) إلى برا ورد فرسك شمالا وسر موازيا للموكب
هادئا حتى تنتهب بإزاء الميسرة فتدخلها برأس فرسك,

Pass by [the point] opposite the entire company until you reach the area of the right flank, then enter by the horse's head, turn your lance from above your head until its spearhead comes to point to your left, which is next to the company, and the spearhead of your left lance comes to be on your right which is to the outside. Your hands are in their height^[266] like I described to you. Take the horse back right, going parallel to the entire company, until you are opposite the left flank. Then enter by the horse's head and charge to the company. Spin your right lance from above your head until its spearhead comes to be next to your left, and the spearhead of your left lance next to the company, while your hands are high up according to what I told you. Go at a relaxed canter until you come to the right flank, then raise^[267] your right lance and turn your back to the company, and look from under its spearhead which is next to your left with the spearhead of your left lance on the side of the company. Take your horse's head back to the left and twist your right lance from above your head as you take the horse back, so that its spearhead comes to be on your left which is next to the company, and the spearhead of your left lance is on your right which is next to the outside. You go calmly opposite the company and raise your right hand on the lance, looking from under it, and take your horse's head back to the right towards the company. Turn your lance in your right hand over your head until its spearhead comes to be in the direction of your left towards the outside, and the spearhead of your left lance on your right which is next to the company. Go until you reach the right flank, turn your back on the company and extend your right lance towards the back of it, and deliver it to your left with the reins so it comes to your left shoulder and its bottom in your left palm. Your left lance remains under your left hand and under the extended lance, so present it with your right hand and extend it forwards to the horse's right ear as you exit.

When both of them come to be extended, you go parallel to the company from afar, and present the lance that is to your left by its bottom with your right hand while it is thrown over your left arm. Present the lance that is on your right to the left [hand] with the reins so its bottom is on your left while the lance is thrown over your right arm and the spearhead of the lance that is on your right is next to the company and the spearhead of the lance that was on your right comes to be on your left towards the outside. Take your horse back to the left and go parallel to the company, calmly, until you reach [the point] opposite the left flank, then you

[266] Ie. raised high?

[267] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 209

وتجعل العقبين في يديك مع العنان من بين يدي القربوس ورد الفرس شمالا , وتجعل عقب الرمح الذي كان من فوق من تحت فيحصل سنان الرمح [٢١٠] الذي كان في يمينك إلى برا وسنان الرمح الذي كان في يسارك مما يلي الوكب وسر هادئا إلى أن تأتي بإزاء الميمنة. واجعل عقب الرمح الذي من تحت من فوق , وأدر الفرس يمينا وسر حتى تنتهي إلى إزاء الميسرة على الموكب حتى تلاققه واجعل العقب الذي من تحت من فوق حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة فاقبض بيدك اليمنى على العنان , والرمح , وولي ظهرك الموكب ورد رأس فرسك شمالا إلى الموكب واقبض بيدك اليمنى على الرمحين , ويدك اليسرى فارغة [٣١] بيدك اليمنى على الرمح التحتاني , وتديره من فوق , وتسلم العنان ليدك اليمنى , والرمحين , ثم اقبض بيدك اليسرى على عقب الرمح الذي كان في يمينك وسر حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة واخرج واقبض بيدك اليمنى على العنان , والرمحين واقبض بيدك اليسرى على الرمح التحتاني بغير عنان فتدير سنانك بحذاء وجهك بين أذني الفرس , وتجعل عقبيه تحت إبطك الأيسر من ناحية يسارك , ثم تسلم العنان بيسارك , وأدر الرمح الذي في يمينك إلى قدام فيحصل عقبه تحت إبطك الأيمن وسنانه على أذنه اليمنى فيحصل العقبين تحت إبطك , والعنان في يدك اليسرى على أذن الفرس اليمنى ورمحك الأيسر على أذنه اليسرى

وتدر ناوردا إدارة , والرمحين منصفين على الأذنين لا تحركهما حتى توافي (٢١١) الموكب من نصف الميدان , ثم اغمز إلى وسط الموكب , ثم اخرج برأس فرسك إلى ميسرة الموكب واترك رمحك الأيسر كما وصفت كما هو إلى برا ,

[31] ثم خذ بيدك اليسرى عقب الرمح الذي حصل من فوق، فإذا أردت فاقبض بيدك اليمنى على عقب الرمح الذي حصل من فوق، وتسلم العنان والرمح الذي من تحت، وسر حتى تنتهي إلى الميسرة وول ظهرك المكب، وتسلم ليدك اليسرى العنان والرمحين، ورد رأس الفرس يمينا إلى الموكب، وتقبض

enter by your horse's head. You place the two bottoms in your hand with the reins between the two hands^[268] of the pommel and take the horse back to the left. Make the bottom of the lance that was above be under, so the spearhead of the lance that was on your right comes to be to the outside and the spearhead of the lance that was on your left is next to the company. Go calmly until you arrive to [the point] opposite of the right flank, and make the bottom of the lance that is under be above. Turn your horse right and go until you reach [the place] opposite the left flank by the company so that you are next to it. Make the bottom that is under be above, [and go] so that you reach the right flank. Grasp the reins and the [one] lance with your right hand, turn your back to the company, then take your horse's head back left to the company. Grasp the two lances with your right hand, your left hand being empty. With your left hand, take the bottom of the lance that came to be on top. If you turned it, grasp with your right hand (the bottom of the lance that came to be on top, and deliver the reins and the lance that is under [to the other hand], and go until you reach the left flank. Turn your back to the company and deliver the reins and the two lances to your left hand. Take your horse's head back right towards the company, and grasp,^[269] with your right hand,) the bottommost lance and turn it from above, and deliver the reins and the two lances to your right hand. Now, with your left hand, grasp the bottom of the lance that was in your right hand, and go until you reach the right flank. Exit and grasp the reins and the two lances with your right hand, and with your left hand grasp the bottom of the bottommost lance without the reins. Turn your spearhead [so it is] opposite your face between the horse's ears, and its bottom comes to be under your left armpit on your left side. Deliver the reins to your left hand, and turn the lance that is in your right hand forwards so its bottom comes to be under your right armpit and its spearhead over the horse's right ear. The two bottoms come to be under your armpit, the reins are in your left hand over the horse's ears, and your left lance over its left ear.

Do a complete turn on the *nāward* with the lances in the middle over the ears, unmoving, until you come to the company from the centre of the hippodrome. Charge to the centre of the company, then exit by your horse's head to the left flank of the company. Leave your left lance

[268] Referring to the construction of the raised part in front of the saddle. It could be that he places or fastens the reins on the pommel sometimes while working with the lances.

[269] From Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 210, ثم خذ بيدك اليسرى عقب الرمح الذي حصل من فوق، وإذا أردت فاقبض بيدك اليمنى على عقب الرمح الذي حصل من فوق، وتسلم العنان والرمح الذي من تحت، وسر حتى تنتهي إلى الميسرة وولّ ظهرك المكب، وتسلم ليدك اليسرى العنان والرمحين، وردّ رأس الفرس يمينا إلى الموكب، وتقبض

واليمين تحطه على ساعدك الأيسر من فوق وسنانه نحو الموكب وتشيل يدك بنقلة مليحة , وولي ظهرك الموكب , ووسع في أرضك ورد الفرس يمينا إلى الموكب ورد عقبي الرمحين تحت إبطيك كما أمرتك أولا يمينا وشمالا واغمز على الموكب حتى تنتهي إلى الميمنة ثم تستدير^[32] الموكب , وتجعل رمحك الأيسر على كتفك الأيمن ورمحك الأيسر مع العنان بين أذني الفرس , وتنظر إلى الموكب , وتسرع هنية ورد رأس فرسك شمالا واغمز إلى الوسط ورد الفرس ورد الريح تحت إبطك واغمز إلى الموكب واخرج خرقة أخرى كما وصفت لك , ووسع في أرضك ورد الرمحين كما كانا تحت إبطيك واغمز إلى الموكب واخرج خرقة رابعة كما قلت لك أن يكون رمحك الأيمن على كتفك الأيمن , والأيسر ما بين أذني الفرس واستدير^[33] الموكب وادخل الناورد على يسارك على أترك الأول [٢١١] ومكن الرمحين عقبيهما تحت إبطك , والسنانان بين أذني الفرس وخالف بينهما , وأنت دائر فتارة تجعل اليمنى في ناحية الشمال , والشمال في ناحية اليمين تفعل ذلك دورا حتى إذا انتهيت في الثانية إلى إزاء الموكب واغمز على الموكب واخرج ميسرة قلب , وأدخل العنان في مستعان واعمل بالرمحين معا مهما شاء من البنود كان حسن , ثم تدخل بالرمحين تحت إبطك , وتخرج بهما , وترمي بهما طاقين قائمين , ثم تدخل بهما من تحت إبطك واغمز في غرضا^[34] الموكب ودعهما ينزلان من تحت إبطك إلى أن تصل أعقابهما مع قوائم الفرس واقطع وانصرف إلى أرضك , والسلام , تم الباب .

[32]
[33]
[34]

تستدير
واستدير
عراض

like I described when it is to the outside, and the right [lance] you place on your left arm from above, with its spearhead towards the company. Raise your hand in a fine shift, turn your back to the company and make space for yourself^[270]. Take your horse back to the right towards the company, and bring the bottoms of the lances back under your armpits like I first instructed you to, right and left. Charge to the company until you reach the right flank. You turn your back^[271] to the company and make your right^[272] lance be on your right shoulder, and your left lance with the reins between the horse's ears. You look towards the company and immediately go, bringing your horse's head back left and charge towards the centre. Take the horse back and bring the lance back under you armpit and charge to the company. Exit once more like I described to you and make space for yourself. Take back the two lances that were under your armpits and charge to the company, and exit a fourth time like I told you. The lance is to be on your right shoulder and the left between the horse's ears. Turn your back to the company and enter the *nāward* on your left in your first track. Place the lances so that their bottoms are under your armpit, while their spearheads are between the horse's ears. Make them be opposed to each other while you circle once, then make the right one [be] towards the left, and the left one towards of the right. Do that for one circle, until you, if you in the second one reach [the point] opposite the company, charge to the company and exit [on] the left flank [after] turning around. Move the reins^[273] to a helper and work together with the two lances. Whichever of the [lance] manoeuvres you want will be good. Then you move the two lances to under your armpit, and exit with them, and throw them in a standing arc^[274]. You then move them to under your armpit and charge the width^[275] of the company, and let them come down from under your armpit until they arrive at the horse's legs. Break off and proceed to your place.

[270] lit. 'widen your turf'

[271] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 211: *tastabdir*

[272] Cf. Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition*: 211, it must be the right one here

[273] Meaning to include a companion in the training?

[274] It is a little hard to imagine what this entails.

[275] Lutful-Huq, *A critical edition* 211: *عراض*

3. Glossary of key technical terms

More precisely, this is a list of the most frequent (or most important) words that can be considered technical terms, in the sense that they take on a new or different meaning that is specific to this context, and are thus in need of some explanation or elaboration. There are probably a few other words that arguably belong here. The selection reflects to some degree the challenges I encountered in the translation, and it is not an exhaustive list. I hope it may be of use nonetheless.

3.1 A note on defence techniques

A major challenge for a civilian like myself has been to figure out the differences between the several defence techniques mentioned throughout the text. There are four major ones: *tabīl*, *ta'īl*, *tasdīd* and *imtinā'*, of which the latter two have several short chapters devoted to them. The difficulty lies in figuring out exactly what these moves look like and how they work. *Ta'īl* and related words occur a few times without further explanation, as does *tabīl*. These two words may in fact be synonyms, or near synonyms. The *tasdīd* and *imtinā'* are mentioned explicitly (2.2.17-2.2.26) and it has been possible to extract more information about these two techniques than the others. The *imtinā'* is a simple deflection to the back or hindquarters of the horse, which protects the entire side of the equipage from attacks. From this position, the rider can bring his lance up to deflect an attack anywhere on a curved line or a circle (to the inside). I have translated it as a parry, but in this context it can be read as a parry to the back. There is also an *imtinā'* that is done over the arm, which seems to be for emergencies only as it impedes the use of the lance immediately after the encounter, and a parry meant for work in the *muwāzana*. Whenever the word parry/*imtinā'* occurs on its own, it is the first technique that is referred to. As for the *tasdīd*, there are three different kinds described: the Khorasani, the *taḡrī* and the Syrian/Roman. All of them happen to the front, on one side of the horse's head. I have translated *tasdīd* as block or blocking, not so much because I am convinced about the nature of these movements as because the Arabic root *s-d-d* suggests something that firmly stops or obstructs something else. The reader should keep this in mind. The other two types of defensive moves do not have entire chapters dedicated to them. I have chosen to translate them as deflecting or displacing, which in this case can be called synonyms. Deflecting is not really a very technical term, but displacement is, I believe,

a common translation of the German *versetzen*, known from medieval European martial arts. My understanding is that displacement refers to a small, but effective sort of parry that allows the user to remove his opponent's weapon and at the same time place his own in a position from which he can thrust, or stab, or whatever he needs to do. I regret to say that I lack the necessary knowledge to take this matter any further, but perhaps it may be of use to someone else one day. For more details, look up each root alphabetically.

3.2 Glossary

[بطل]

baṭṭala, tabṭīl. To deflect or displace an attack. The context speaks clearly about this word, cf. 2.2.4 and the anecdote about the lance master Nağm al-Dīn who deflected one of the best Egyptian lancers with his crop.

[بند]

bund, bunūd: basic lance exercises or drills, intended to teach the student the basics of lance handling and riding, as a prerequisite to doing more advanced work in the hippodrome.

[ثغر]

[*tasdīd*] *tağrī*: a style of blocking to the front, probably from *tağr*; a gap, space or breach in a city (wall) or a mountain; or a frontier or the part of a country where one fears invasion from the enemy. Also, *tuğra*: the pit between the collar-bone; or the most vulnerable part of a horse's (or camel's) chest.^[276] In a note to his translation of the seventh lesson of *Nihāyat al-su'l*, David Nicolle speculates that *tağr* could mean mouth or front teeth, and draws a possible connection between another of its meanings, “port”, and the port^[277] mouthpieces of curb bits in the English language^[278]. Presumably, *tağrī* in this context means a particular type of blocking to the front.

[جد]

jidd: seriousness; meaning work that is intended to directly prepare the lancer for battle. See also [هزل].

[276] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 338-9

[277] The port here refers to an arch of the mouthpiece of a bit that provides more space for the horse's tongue, but places more pressure on the bars of the mouth.

[278] Nicolle: “The Reality of Mamluk Warfare”: 99.

[جر]

mijarr: All the reference works I consulted gave as the meaning of this word a trace line, ie. the part of the harness that connects it to the cart, wagon or load being pulled by a carriage horse or draft animal. What this word means on a saddle horse, I'm not sure. My best guess is that it is a kind of leadrope (attached to the bridle/halter or fastened around the animal's neck). It occurs only once in the text, in an anecdote where two brothers escape capture with their hands and feet bound by dragging horses to a slope by the *mijarr* in their mouths and jumping onto them. The horses were likely tethered if they were left alone, which they must have been if the brothers could manage to steal them away like that. It is obviously related somehow to the act of dragging. (Whether it is the horse or the handler that is being dragged, remains unclear).

[جمع]

ġimāḥ; ġamūḥ: disobedience; a horse that is disobedient.

[جول]

maġāl, maġālāt: A place where the horse turns. *al-maġālāt* is the name of a manoeuvre containing a lot of turns and spins, both of the horse and of the lance.

[حربة]

ḥarba: a bayonet, or a short/small spear, or a dart.

[حزم]

ḥizām: girth, saddle-girth.

[حرن]

ḥarūn: a lazy, unwilling horse.

[خرج]

ḥaraġa; ḥurūġ/ḥarġa, ḥaraġāt; also; *'aḥraġa*: Translated here as 'to exit' for simplicity's sake so that it could be used in every place. In the context, it means to ride out or ride away from something, sometimes from something into something. It can be to ride out from a given position, or the rest of the company, or from battle or a confrontation with an adversary. Its opposite is *daḥala*, and they are both frequently occurring terms throughout the text. The form IV verb means 'to retract something', 'to pull something out/away', or sometimes, 'to make something go out'.

[خُرط]

ḥaraṭa: To change your grip on the lance by momentarily removing your hand from (or letting go of, or throwing) the lance. The meaning of this becomes clear in 2.2.5, where one technique for this is described in detail. It involves carefully sending the lance straight up in the air (the distance you send it will probably depend on your skill and dexterity), then letting it fall down in the same trajectory through your hollowed hand, catching it when the desired point reaches your hand. According to Lane^[279], *ḥaraṭa* means to strip a branch of leaves and/or bark by holding one hand on the top of the branch and passing the other down it, pulling the leaves off in the process. The move specified in the aforementioned chapter involves fundamentally the same movement as this, although it is the lance that moves. Later, we understand that it is also possible to change the grip on the lance in this manner by just letting go of it or by sending it forwards or backwards. Letting go of the lance must necessarily be done with care as you risk losing it in this way and you are also making yourself vulnerable for a moment – the author warns against doing it without the utmost care and preparation – but it is also very useful to be able to change the way you hold the lance using only one hand, when your other hand is occupied with something else.

[خلف]

ḥālafa, muḥālif: To oppose or be in conflict with someone. Here it is the name of a manoeuvre, and of a movement related to this that the lancers perform in the hippodrome, where the riders for the most part move opposite each other, in a pas de deux.

[خَم]

ḥāmm: a horse that eats greedily.

[دخل]

daḥala; duḥūl; also *'adhala*: Translated as 'to enter', to match its antonym *ḥaraḡa*, it means to ride towards or into something: the line or ranks, the starting point of something, a pattern or circle, or into battle, a duel or a confrontation with the intention of challenging someone.

[درع]

darra'a: Literally to arm someone or something. The context suggests something slightly different in this text, for example to make the lance ready as a weapon by placing it in a position that enables this. A couple of places in the text look as if this word could be a

[279] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 729

misspelling of *darra'a*, meaning to raise the hand or arm.

[دور]

dawara, *yadūru*, *dawr* and *dawra*; also *'adāra*; rarely: *dawarān*: Translated as 'to turn', this means to turn in the general sense, or to go on or ride a curved line or a circle (as opposed to [سير] and [غمز] which seem to be in straight lines). *Dawarān* occurs a few times in the text, and seems to denote the ways and turns of a manoeuvre.

[دولب]

dawlāb or *dūlāb*: Literally a cog or wheel. Here: a spin or spinning motion by the hand (making the lance spin). It could also arguably mean a spin or pirouette performed by the horse.

[رد]

to bring or take sth. back, return it to where it was. This word strictly means to take something back, or return something, to a sender, or to a previous state or position. I suppose it means to bring your hand or your lance back again to where it was before, or to take your horse back to the direction in which it travelled moments before. When it is used with the horse, it is usually the horse's head that is going somewhere. While it is absolutely possible for a horse to turn its head to one direction and move in the opposite one (at great speed, and even backwards!), my guess is that the horse's body is meant to follow the head. I have translated it as bringing the hand/lance back, and taking the horse/horse's head back. There is often an indication of direction anyway. This is but one of many ways of turning or changing directions. Maybe you are meant to literally pull the horse's head back towards you on the desired side, or maybe it is simply another way of saying "turn left" or "turn right". There is a lot of mention of the horse's head and one might think they used the reins for steering most of the time, which may well be true. There is little explanation of basic riding skills, like how to take the horse up and down between the different gaits, how to stop the horse, how to turn it and what aids to use for these things. However, if a mounted fighter were to ride into battle on a horse that he could not even turn without his hands on the reins, using only his seat, weight and legs, he would be at a great disadvantage. A horse – any horse, and particularly a horse of a noble breed – will naturally step under your weight if you displace it to either side from the saddle. An adult man could practically lift the horse to the side using his weight alone, especially at a higher pace where there is a phase of suspension. It is unlikely that these riders were completely

dependent on the reins for steering. My guess is therefore that when the reader is told to “take the horse’s head back left”, it just means to turn the horse back left and keep going in that direction.

[ردف]

rādifa; rādifa warānīya: Cattle, the back part of the saddle.

[رمح]

rumḥ: A lance or spear. I have chosen to translate it as “lance” rather than “spear”, although the two are often interchangeable to a certain degree. In modern English, the lance usually refers to a weapon used almost exclusively by mounted warriors. A lance is also used for thrusting, whereas “spear” may refer both to a weapon used for thrusting and one that is thrown. Lane specifies: “A certain weapon [...], well known; [...] [i.e. a spear, or lance; one with which one thrusts, not which one casts [...].” (Lane (1863), p. 1153).

[روغ]

rawḡān: Spooking (a vice), a horse that is prone to spooking and swerving when ridden.

[زرق]

zaraq: To pierce or stab. This word occurs for the most part in chapters dealing with duelling and actual combat, rather than practice in the manoeuvres of the hippodrome.

[زيد]

muzāyada: The name of a manoeuvre where the riders team up in equal, increasing numbers.

[سد]

saddada, tasdīd: To block. This occurs exclusively in the second form, often in its *maṣdar*, but also as a verb and sometimes an active participle. From the context, and the meanings of the form I verb, and what some modern references say about it, it is clear that it means to obstruct, hinder or block an attack.

[سن]

sinān: spearhead.

[سوط]

sawṭ: a whip.

[شباب]

šabb(a); šabūb: Rearing (a vice); a horse that is prone to rearing.

[شمس]

šimās; šamūs: Being difficult to mount; a horse that is difficult to mount

[شمص]

šamūš: See [شمس].

[طرح]

ṭaraḥa: To throw, or fling. Sometimes it refers to the lance (to be thrown over, or placed on, the shoulder, for instance), sometimes to the horse (to be ‘thrown on’, or maybe rather presented) on the *nāward*.

[طرد]

ṭirrāda: a light lance, shorter than the *rumḥ*^[280]

miṭrad: a short spear used for hunting.^[281]

tārada: to chase or hunt (your adversary).

[طعن]

ṭa’ana: to thrust, used a lot in the hippodrome and in the battlefield, with or without adversaries.

[بلط]

ṭalaba; ṭālib, maṭlūb; ṭalb: To initiate or challenge someone to a duel in a manoeuvre; the initiator and the initiated; the initiation or challenge.

[طمح]

ṭamūḥ: a refractory, obstinate or bull-headed horse.

[طيس]

ṭaysūn: Probably derived from *ṭayš*; in the meaning hot-headed, hot-tempered.^[282]

[عثر]

’itār; ’atūr: Tripping (a vice); a horse that is prone to trip or stumble.

[عرض]

i’araḍa: To place the lance in front of you in the saddle, making it lay across the pommel.

’arīḍa: I couldn’t find anything to illuminate this word anywhere. In all likelihood, it is something that lays, or is placed, across the pommel; some sort of crossbar. It could have something to do with *i’araḍa*, referring to the place where the lance lies across the saddle perhaps.

[280] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 1839

[281] Ibid.

[282] Dozy, *Supplément*: 81.

[عطف]

‘aṭafa, in ‘aṭafa: To bend. This may not even qualify as a technical term. It seems to differ from the several words used to describe turning the horse. One can of course bend the horse without changing direction.

[عطل]

‘aṭṭala; ta‘ṭil: To deflect an attack from a weapon. I have chosen to translate this as to displace, to keep it separate from the parry and the block. I have no details on the execution of this movement, so the reader should interpret it as a generalised term.

[عقب]

‘aqab: bottom of the lance.

[غمز]

ḡamaza: I have chosen to translate this word as ‘to charge’ in this text. The exact meaning of the word in the given context remains a bit foggy. All the reference works say the same: it means to give a signal (with the eye), or to limp, be lame, or to squeeze or press. The first meaning does not make sense, because in the text, it obviously means a way to move. I have discussed the word at lengths with colleagues and friends, other Arabists, native speakers and modern day lancers. Some have suggested it could mean to signal to ride. This is of course a possibility, but it does not quite fit the bill because from the context, it clearly means that you move in one way or another from point A to point B. The exact nature of the movement is fuzzy, to say the least. The other possible interpretation of the denotations I have found, is that it is to make the horse move in an irregular way, beat or rhythm. Again, this is a possibility, but I fail to see why anyone would want to make the horse move in an irregular way, especially not when they are training for war. You always want the horse to move in an even, rhythmical gait^[283], and there is no reason to think it would be any different in the 14th century. Another suggestion, based upon context and the third main meaning of the word, is that it could mean to charge, or something similar. The idea is that the rider presses or squeezes the horse with his legs, thus making it accelerate or move forwards with more power. In the drawing of the manoeuvre, the author has indicated that this is something you do on straight lines across the hippodrome, between the line that represents the company and the line that is parallel to it on the other side. To ride your horse away from the other

[283] Each gait has its own beat, see the glossary of equestrian terms for more.

horses will often require a little extra power from your aids to eliminate any hesitation on the horse's side. The same goes if you want to ride your horse very close to other horses, to enter between the ranks of horsemen or to get close enough to your adversary to engage him. There is, however, nothing to indicate this meaning in the reference works. Once in the selection it occurs in a peculiar setting^[284]: وان امكنك ان تأخذ رمحه فخذته واخرج راسه عن يدك ان كان فيه سنان لئلا يغمزك به فيطعنك. I am not sure if it means the same in this context as it does in the other chapters, which take place in the hippodrome. If it does, it would fit with “charge” or somethin akin to it. If not, it remains unclear, but it is quite obvious from the context that it means to move in some way.

[فرس]

faras (pl. *'afrās*): horse. The word *faras* is used consistently through the chapters on the manoeuvres, in contrast with the part on the vices of horses, which used *dābba* throughout. *fāris* (pl. *fawāris*, *fursān*): rider, or horseman. I have chosen to translate this word as ‘rider’ when it is used in a generic or everyday sense, and ‘horseman’ when it refers specifically to the professional mounted warrior. Although I mention the word ‘kighthood’ a couple of places in the note, I have chosen to avoid using the word ‘knight’ for *fāris*. The reasoning behind this is that I did not want to connect it too strongly to the common European understanding of the concept of knights and chivalry, to keep with what seems to have been the common understanding of *furūsīya* as a physical culture in the Mamluk era. ‘Horseman’ I find this word more neutral than ‘knight’. It also conveys the same strong connection to the horse that *fāris* does.

furūsīya: horsemanship; military arts.

farāsa: horsemanship; kighthood (the state of being a knight or horseman).

[قرب]

qarraba; *taqrīb*: Here translated as canter as it is meant to describe a gait rather than an exercise. Lane^[285] says: ‘A certain sort [...] of running of a horse: [...] he raised his fore legs together and put them down together [...]’, and later that there are two types of *taqrīb*: *'a'lā*, a gallop, and *'adnā*, a canter. The first description of this gait is reminiscent of a certain gait used in European riding tradition, called the terre-à-terre. This is a very collected canter where the horse leaps forwards in much shorter strides than the regular canter allows. The

[284] al-Suwaydī, *Nihāyat al-su'l*, 206.

[285] Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*: 2505.

high degree of collection forces the horse to move with the fore legs together and the hind legs together, as described in Lane. It is collected to such a degree that the horse is completely straight in this gait; whereas in the different canter tempi, the horse always has a leading side (right or left lead canter). The straightness of this gait is a great advantage in a battle situation as it allows the rider to keep the horse collected and ready to powerfully move forwards or to either side (even backwards!) with great power. It is very unlikely that this is what is meant in this chapter, because to ride several circles in terre-à-terre would not only be excessively tiring for the horse, it would also be painfully slow. The terre-à-terre is usually connected with the high school of riding, ie. a very advanced level of training for both rider and horse. In this context, we are clearly talking about either a canter or a gallop. What distinguishes the gallop from the canter are rhythm and speed. While the footfall is similar in both gaits, canter is a three-beat gait and gallop is four-beat. The gallop is faster, and it is the sprinting gait of the horse. Speed is a necessity in war, but so is control, and while it is safe to assume that certain movements and parts of strategies must have been performed at a gallop, many of the patterns explained here demand a certain degree of tractability that is difficult to achieve at a gallop. The reader should therefore assume a forward canter unless something else is specified.

[قربس]

qarabūs: Pommel; the front part of the saddle.

[قربص]

qarbaṣa: From context: To be ready for fight; make yourself and your weapon be ready (ie. in the right position).

[قرع]

miqrā'a: a crop (a short and inflexible whip).

[قلب]

qalaba; *qalb*, also: *inqalaba*: The form I verb is transitive, and takes as its object either the lance or the horse. Often when the lance is the object, the verb is used in connection with the movement known as *al-imtinā'*, the parry, which is a parry to the back towards the horse's hindquarters. In this context, *qalaba* means a specific way to turn the lance from one side of the horse to the other, behind the rider's back and over the horse's headquarters, as quickly and efficiently as possible so as to allow the rider to swiftly parry an attack from the other side. Sometimes it occurs without any immediate reference to the parry. In these cases, the

meaning seems to be much the same; it is to move the lance from one side to the other behind the rider's back. It does not, however, seem to indicate in any place a turning of the lance upside-down as one might expect. There are places in the text where the lance is held with its tip to the ground or the back, but the rider is simply asked to bring or make sure the tip or bottom faces wherever it should face at a given time. In the process related to the *imtinā'*, the tip is already close to the ground and it must stay this way as the rider brings it around to the other side of the horse. I have translated this as inverting the lance, which is a quite marked choice. The point is that it conveys the general meaning of the Arabic verb and that it stands out enough to enable the reader to recognise it when it occurs.

When the object is the horse, or the horse's head, the meaning is slightly different. It appears to mean to turn the horse around, perhaps even here to the back, and change direction completely. I have translated this as turning the horse around.

[كسر]

kasara; kasra, kasarāt: This occurs once in the obvious sense: to break or crush, in 2.215, in an anecdote. Elsewhere in the text it seems to refer to a way of turning the horse: والكسرات ويسرة ^[286]يمنة. My available references have been of little help to me here, but it is tempting to think it could denote a sharp or sudden turn. If not, it is some sort of movement of the hand or weapon, but this does not fit as well as it being a way to turn.

[لَز]

lazza: To *thrust* or *pierce*. This word occurs only in one manoeuvre, the *muwāzana*. Another meaning of the word is to stick to, cling to, adhere to, join or unite. This is also a possible interpretation of that manoeuvre. However, they are always made to move in parallel lines and to face each other, so they are probably meant to practice engaging their adversary in this manoeuvre like in most of the others.

[منع]

imtana'a; imtinā': To parry to the side and back; a parry to the side and back.

[ميد]

The word *maydān*, pl. *mayādīn*, is well-known and in my selected text it refers mainly to “the exercises of mounted formations”^[287]. Sometimes, it means the hippodrome itself, where these formations are carried out. There seems to be some consensus, perhaps for lack of a more

[286] al-Suwaydī, *Nihāyat al-su'l*, 176.

[287] “maydān.” *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms*.

organised effort, to translate *maydān* in the former meaning with “parade”^[288]. According to al-Sarraf, the only real attempt to figure this out was done by Mercier in his *Parure*, but it was a half-hearted attempt if we are to believe the former. I have unfortunately not been able to do a comparative study of any term for this thesis. However, I would like to suggest using “manoeuvre” for *maydān* in this sense, at least in the context in which it appears in this particular text. In the chapter describing the manoeuvres (2.2.6), the author says that the *mayādīn* are ruses or stratagems designed to outwit the enemy. I prefer manoeuvre over parade because the former immediately gives the reader an idea of what to expect: a series of pre-conceived movements, requiring skill or care. The word is also associated with military actions and warfare, which lends it a sense of usefulness or practical purpose. Using the word parade, on the other hand, will make the contemporary reader think of cheerful processions and festivities, and will need further explanation to avoid confusion and misunderstandings.

[نفر]

nifār; nafūr: Bolting (a vice); a horse that is prone to bolt or run off in fright.

[نقل]

naqala; naql and *naqla*: To turn, or shift, or move from one side to the other. There are two *maṣḍars* used, which seem to be used interchangeably throughout the selection. The best, and most accessible, insight into the meaning of this verb is found in the chapters describing the different blocks. Where we saw *qalaba* used with reference to the parry, *naqala* is used with the blocks. What it means in these cases is to change the position of the lance (or the lance tip), either from one side to the other, or towards the front. This change happens in front of the rider, over the horse’s head, as opposed to the *qalb*. Sometimes, however, it appears to be a superordinate that simply means to turn something around. These two words, *naqala* and *qalaba* also appear to be used interchangeably in a couple of places. I have chosen to translate *naqala* as ‘to shift’ throughout the text, for consistency and for the convenience of the reader who wants to keep track of the different terms. It is not a very elegant word, but it is better than to use ‘to turn’ for everything.

When it concerns the reins, what is actually supposed to happen remains a bit unclear. It is possible that it simply means to shift or transfer the reins from one hand to the other. The author voices his opinion on the matter in 2.2.23, where the process of changing the lance

[288] al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūsīya Literature”, 172.

to the other side when performing the Khorasanian block is also known as *naql al-'inān*, or *tasrīḥ al-'inān*. The latter name suggests that one possibility is to release or let go of the reins completely while turning the lance. If he does that, the rider momentarily diminishes his control of the horse, and he will need to pick the reins up later, potentially robbing him of time and attention needed to watch his adversary. The only mention of the reins in the chapter describing the Khorasanian block (2.2.17) is that the hand should be under them. Perhaps this is the key to understand this? It is safe to assume that the reins were whole, or tied together, and that if they were long, they were tied up like we see in the illustrations^[289] of this and other manuscripts. Maybe the rider is meant to stick his hand through the reins so that he keeps control of the reins while freeing up his hand for using the lance. This could be an explanation of the extra twist the author mentions; if the rider does this and moves his hands around while handling the lance, the reins could become twisted.

[نورد]

nāward: In the glossary of EI2 Online^[290], *nāward* is said to be “a training-routine of a horse”, which is of course very vague. If we are to interpret it literally, it seems to suggest that it refers to the schooling of the horse, rather than training the entire equipage. I do not think this is the case in *Nihāyat al-su'l*. There is no chapter on schooling the horse (other than to correct its behaviour or desensitise it to the noise of battle), so we must assume the horse is already tamed and has been trained for a while. When the author makes mention of the *nāward*, he seems to mean at least two different things. Immediately after the diagram of the manoeuvre, the author refers to the manoeuvre as a *nāward*: “This *nāward* that I drew for you [...]”. In this context it is hard to see what else he could mean by it. It may be used as a synonym or near-synonym elsewhere too, but this is difficult to ascertain in those places where it is particularly challenging to follow the instructions around the hippodrome. In several other places, the term *nāward* is used interchangeably with “circle” or “volte”, when the author refers to either of the two circles in the centre of the hippodrome: ثم تدخل على يمينكا في النورد الصغير وهو وسط الميدان

[289] See for instance Smith (19??), where many of the illustrations show these tied up reins clearly.

[290] “*nāward*.” Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms. Edited by: P.J. Bearman, Th. Banquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs Bosworth. Brill Online, 2013.

[292] وتدور على الناورد^[291], and so on. The author states that *nāward* is a loanword that means ‘place of battle’^[293], but unlike *maydān*, *nāward* does not appear to signify a physical place anywhere in the selection, other than the circle or the tracks it indicates that the rider should follow.

[هزل]

hazl: a lightness; jest; playfulness. Here: work that is intended as training for the lancer, but not as direct training or preparation for battle.

[وكب]

mawkib: a company (of soldiers), cf. Lane.^[294] ‘Company’ may not be the most suitable translation; it does not say anywhere in the text how many men are in a *mawkib*.

[وزى]

muwāzana; *muwāzāt*: Names of manoeuvres where the riders form parallel, or where the distance between them is always the same.

[291] al-Suwaydī, *Nihāyat al-su’l*, 183

[292] *ibid.*, p.184

[293] The Persian word is actually *nabard* and means battle, war or engagement.

[294] Lane, *An Arabic-English Dictionary*: 2963

4.1 Summary

Working on this text has been a great challenge and a wonderful learning opportunity. It turned out to be slightly more demanding than I had imagined before I started, but I am still satisfied with the results. Overall, I think I got as far as I could have hoped with the translation and it should be possible to follow the English text most of the way, even though some chapters obviously require you assume a little more than the words give away. Many of the English translations of the terms used are less precise than I would wish, and some questions remain unresolved. This lack of precision stems in part from my attempt to look at the text in isolation, and partly from my limited experience with the topic at hand (when it comes to weapons handling). Many words also seemed to be quite similar in meaning, but not entirely. Without more information about the hows and whys of the hippodrome, it was difficult to decide how to translate the different words for turning, parrying and moving around. There are quite a few of these words, and what nuances they convey is probably best looked for in their context.

The biggest challenge I faced during my work was not so much a wealth of foreign technical terms (I suspect that they may occur to a much greater degree in some of the other lessons), nor was it obscure words that have escaped the dictionaries and reference works I had access to, even though I encountered a few of those as well. It was rather the seemingly common words that you can look up anywhere and which ought to be straightforward, except that they made no sense in the context but clearly meant something completely different, or they were simply too vague for my satisfaction. As the general idea of these words is usually apparent from the context, it would have been easy to settle for assigning each of these Arabic terms a vague, English equivalent from a dictionary that conveys the general meaning, and leave it at that. (In fact, it was sometimes tempting)! However, I wanted to make the text clear enough that it could be possible (for someone devoted to the idea) to follow the advices, instructions and patterns in real life. In order to achieve this, my strategy was to read and re-read thoroughly, look everything up both in lexicographic works and in secondary literature, try things out for myself when possible, and try to sort the hard parts out by means of reasoning. While I did not succeed with every chapter, I did manage to work things out to the extent that I could perform some of the techniques and ride some of the exercises myself (albeit at a much gentler pace than the instructions demand – handling a lance is hard enough from the ground, let alone on horseback)!

What makes the translation of text and meaning particularly challenging is distances in space, time and culture – the modern Western culture, for instance, greatly emphasises civility and peacefulness, to the point where warfare is considered almost primitive and barbaric by many. Add to that the difficulties that arise in meeting a language that, in addition to being centuries old, is very particular in its nature and riddled with technical terminology from a field of which very few people in our time have any working knowledge. Some terms I succeeded in figuring out by exhausting my resources and stumbling across one obscure little reference, or by thinking about it enough times and going over it in my head. Others came about by discussing with others whose knowledge exceeds mine about these things, and some things I learned by holding a lance myself and only then realising not only how it must be moved, but what I could or could not do after performing the first move, and why. I, for one, find that movement is a language of its own, and that trying to understand movements strictly theoretically is very hard.

Better than saddling up and pretending to be a Mamluk soldier oneself, perhaps, would be an exhaustive critical edition based on all the available copies of the text. This would be a great aid to better understand this text. Such an edition could then be the starting point for a deeper dig into the meaning of each chapter and the hunt for the sources that remain unidentified. Having said that, it is my hope that this translation, flawed though it may be in many ways, can help shed some light on the *Nihāyat al-su'l* and what it contains, and that it can be an inspiration for others to look into the *furūsīya* literature themselves.

Glossary of equestrian terms

Bit: piece of metal, or bone, or leather et cetera, placed in the horse's mouth for control. A snaffle bit is a simple, straight or jointed bit made to use with two hands on the reins. A curb bit has shanks on the side for leverage and is used on schooled horses, to be ridden with one hand on the reins, leaving the other free to wield the lance or sword.

Bridle [لجام]: headstall used to place a bit in the horse's mouth to which reins are attached, for control and steering. The bridle is usually made of leather or strong fabric.

Canter [تقريب، تقريـب أدنى]: A fast and ground-covering gait, three-beat with suspension (eg. right hind, left hind and right fore, left fore, suspension).

Cantle [رادفة]: the raised part on the back of the saddle.

Crop [مقرعة]: a short stick used by the rider to intensify the leg aid or discipline the horse.

Croup [كفل]: a part of the horse's back, right above the hip joint.

Gait: the way a horse moves with a specific set of footfalls at different speeds; namely walk, trot, canter and gallop.

Gallop [تقريب أعلى]: very fast, four-beat gait, similar to the canter but with the following footfall pattern: eg. right hind, left hind, right fore, left fore, suspension.

Girth [احزام]: a wide strap, made from leather, textile or wool, that runs under the horse's chest behind the forelegs to secure the saddle in place.

Groom: a stablehand; someone who takes care of horses for a living.

Halter: a headstall used for leading the horse, or tying it (together with a lead rope).

Pommel [قربوس]: the raised part on the front of the saddle.

Reins [عنان، أعنة]: long and narrow pieces of leather or rope that run from the bit to the rider's hands, usually tied up in combat situations.

Seat: a) the place in the saddle where the rider sits, or b) the rider's pelvic floor and seat bones, the part of him that sits in the saddle/on the horse's back.

Stirrup [ركاب، ركب]: a frame, usually made of metal or sometimes wood, that is fastened to the saddle by a long strap and supports the rider's leg.

Stirrup leather [سير الركاب]: the strap that holds the stirrup, usually fastened with a buckle near the seat of the saddle.

Trot [خبب]: medium-paced, two-beat gait with a diagonal footfall and a moment of

suspension.

Walk [عنق]: slow, four-beat gait with a lateral footfall, no suspension.

Whip [سوط]: often longer than the crop, it serves the same purpose.

Withers [كاهل]: the highest part of the horse's back, located at the junction between the neck and the back.

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Abstract

The concept of *furūsīya* is widely known, and discussed, among scholars and lay people alike. It encompasses a variety of meanings, from the strictest definition of ‘horsemanship’ to ‘military arts’ and even what we may call ‘chivalry’, invoking the image of the noble *fāris* (knight) of ancient times. *Furūsīya* literature is considered a genre in its own right, and the study of this literature is a growing field. This thesis is a philological study of one such work of literature; the *Nihāyat al-su’l wa-’l-’umnīya fī ta’līm ’a’-māl al-furūsīya*, attributed to Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Ḥanafī al-’Aqsarā’ī (d.1348). This is a comprehensive handbook for the cavalry, compiled in the Bahri era of the Mamluk dynasty. Much of the text is based on older pre-Mamluk sources, and the importance of this work lies for the most part in its transmission of texts whose original sources are probably now lost.

The thesis gives a brief introduction to the field of *furūsīya* literature, and a look at different definitions of the term *furūsīya* suitable for the topic at hand. The main part is a translation of an excerpt of the text (ca. 30 pages in Arabic), on the topic of the lance and manoeuvres for lancers to be performed in the hippodrome. The goal has been to create a target text that closely follows the source text, but is still readily accessible for the interested reader. Technical terms are marked with footnotes and will be found in a glossary in the back. The source text is included next to the translation for convenience. After the translation, most of the technical terms found in the text are listed in an extended glossary, where the most important ones and/or the ones that presented the most difficulties are discussed. What became apparent in the process of translating and writing, is that careful reading and translation of treatises such as this one can at least add something new to the understanding of archaic technical terms. As for *Nihāyat al-su’l*, the lack of a complete critical edition based on all the available manuscripts is an issue that should be addressed before advancing any further in process of translating it and making it accessible to the public.

