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CHRISTIAN LANGE

Khādim al-Ḥaramayn

Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn (custodian of the two holy mosques, or, servant of the two noble sanctuaries, that is, of Mecca and Medina) is a royal title used by many Muslim rulers, including Ayyūbid, Mamlūk, and Ottoman sultans. It is unclear whether ʿAbbāsīd caliphs ever used the title.

The first Muslim ruler known to have used the designation was the founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladīn, r. 564–89/1169–93): the earliest known evidence is a restoration inscription in the Qubbat Yūsuf (dome of Yūsuf), on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem commissioned by him in 587/1191. Saladīn may have used the title in his rivalry with the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r. 575–622/1180–1225), as the two men

competed for leadership of the pilgrimage and argued over related matters concerning the Muslim holy places in the Ḥijāz. In the Qubbat Yūsuf inscription, the words *al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* are followed by *wa-hādhā l-bayt al-muqaddas* (and this sanctified house), referring to Jerusalem. This formula recurs, without *al-ḥaramayn*, in a 692/1193 inscription, again in the Qubbat Yūsuf.

In two inscriptions in the same building referring to the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I (r. 658–76/1260–77), the title Khādim al-Ḥaramayn is accompanied, in one case, by Ṣāḥib al-Qiblatayn (master of the two *qiblas*) and, in the other, by Malik al-Qiblatayn (king of the two *qiblas*), the *qibla* being the direction of Muslim prayer towards either Jerusalem or Mecca. The title Khādim al-Ḥaramayn was used by other Mamlūk sultans, including al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) and his son al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 689–93/1290–3).

The use of the title Khādim al-Ḥaramayn in preference to other, less deferential, formulas, such as *sultān*, *malik*, or *ṣāḥib al-ḥaramayn*, has been debated. It probably was from the sultans, not the caliphs, that the Ottomans adopted the title, along with other Mamlūk possessions and perquisites. The Ottoman sultan Selim (Selīm) I (r. 918–26/1512–20) adopted it after the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517, and it was used by some of his successors, until about 1918–26. In late Ottoman times, it was considered a caliphal title, said to have been adopted by Selim I from the last ʿAbbāsīd caliph residing in Cairo, al-Mutawakkil III (r. 914–22/1508–16 and 923/1517), who was briefly deposed in 922/1516 but was restored to the caliphate the following year, before Selim I defeated the

02 Mart 2023
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