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THE FRANKISH WARS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON PALESTINE

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THE FRANKISH WARS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON PALESTINE

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The Academic Conference on "The Frankish Wars and their Influence on Palestine" was held in Jerusalem because of the military-imposed closure of the Birzeit University campus. It was organized in commemoration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the departure of the Crusaders from their final remaining stronghold in Palestine, Akka (St. John of Acre). It was made possible, as is the present publication, by the generous financial support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Bonn, Germany) and its patient and hard-working representative in Amman, Dr. Andrae Gaerber. The editors also wish to thank the following people for their contribution to the production of this volume: Nabil Mazbar, Emily Makhlouf, Intissar Sinnokrot and Nader Al-Khateeb.

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THEN AS NOW:
THE FACES OF PALESTINE

GABI BARAMKI

As we gather here today, I can only wish that such a significant academic event could be taking place on our campus at Birzeit. Unfortunately, this cannot be, because we have been under uninterrupted closure orders for the last fifty months, or over four years. Of course such a denial of the right to education stands in violation of international law, as laid down after World War two and as enshrined, for example, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Fourth Geneva Conventions and other agreements binding upon their signatories, including Israel.

But the fact of the matter is that, in addition to violating international legality, the prolonged closure of Birzeit by the occupation authorities is in violation of Israeli law itself, as laid down by the Israeli High Court, which stipulated that closures of educational institutions 'for security purposes' was only permissible for 'short', or 'reasonable' periods of time. In no way can uninterrupted months be interpreted as a 'reasonable' period, even if successive military orders have closed us for one, two or three months (as is currently the case) at a time.

Birzeit University continues, despite the apparently endless closure, to be an academic institution, as the present conference, among other activities, demonstrates. In the spring of 1988, while under closure order, we held a highly successful international conference analyzing 20 years of occupation; in the meantime, our faculty has almost without interruption continued to teach, do research and take part in conferences held in other universities the world over, and most of all, our students to study, to graduate, to be admitted to and succeed in graduate studies at a variety of institutions.

Birzeit is an academic institution. It is also a Palestinian institution, engaged primarily in educating young Palestinians. As such it is viewed negatively by the occupation authorities, and accused of being detrimental to Israeli interests. We, however, shall never accept the premise that our educational service to the youth of our nation is anything but a noble, a necessary, a holy undertaking.

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Of course, this may be considered an inevitable part of life under occupation. The fact of the matter is, the repression of cultural and intellectual manifestations, unrelated to specific, resistance-related activities, does not occur in all or even the majority of cases of belligerent occupations. It tends to occur when the nature of the occupation is not simply colonial-exploitative but rather, settler-colonial.

In this respect, we find ourselves confronted with the events which began nine centuries, and ended seven centuries, ago. A people or peoples came from far away to the north and north-west, occupied the land, massacred and drove out a portion of the people, and settled in their places, setting up their own system of states. During the period of their stay, they left a mark on the indigenous people (one has but to see the number of blonde, blue-eyed Palestinians) and on the landscape, in the form of buildings, monuments, castles. But in the final analysis, as was the case seven centuries ago, people and cultures in this part of the world come and go, while the people of the land stay on.

The crusaders came under the banner of religion, but most of their numbers had other motives, although the call was issued by a pope and the armies were led by Latin Christian knights. The majority were coming to find better living conditions, which had been promised them by those who called for the crusade. Was Palestine not, as pope Urban the Second had proclaimed, the 'land of milk and honey', where tensions, privations and want would disappear, and where the entrance to heaven would be guaranteed ? Nowadays, we are witnessing the same type of phenomenon, with the arrival of tens and hundreds of thousands of new immigrants from Russia and elsewhere. They are coming for the sole purpose of finding what they hope will be a better life, although those who have organized for their arrival have promised them an end to prosecution and proclaim higher goals for the enterprise. Meantime, the indigenous people are ignored, harmed, driven off their lands, or at the very least treated as less important.

One has to infer from this historical parallel and the present state of things, that the people who have come from the north will have to integrate in the region this time. Otherwise they will in the end decide to leave. It is not impossible for such an integration in a region to take place. There are examples of it. But those examples have not been taken to heart by the current generations of settlers.

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History repeats itself, in form as well as content. And this is because it is values, universal values, which ultimately regulate relations among people. The crusaders left because their acquisition of land by force was unacceptable, and never accepted. Such was the case nine centuries ago; such is the case today. Whether the universal values in question are proclaimed in religious terms, as the great religions then did and now continue to do, or whether they are as in modern times expounded in terms of international conventions, the objective is the same. Those who violate these codified universal values are resisted, and eventually will be subjected to them anyway. How will this be done? Again, history shows that it will be by force: whether the force of law, of sanctions, of negotiations, or of persuasion.

This is what we call international legitimacy, and this is what we are now fighting for, in the knowledge that aggressors and trespassers will and must be expelled.

Centuries ago, the crusader mini-states stood out in the landscape, with their castles and fortresses. They and their manifestations were artificial. Their monuments were not part of what one might term the cultural landscape. Today, we see everywhere the settlements, with their barbed wire and electronic devices. They too are artificial. We see heavily armed settlers sallying forth. They remind us that they are there by force, and in opposition to human nature. Unless people learn to coexist with others and respect their individual and collective rights, their presence is doomed. For the moment this has yet to be understood by our occupiers, who refuse, in their illicit acquisition of the lands of others, to coexist with them, even on the terms they, the occupiers, originally set down.

Let me pass one moment from the general to the particular. I was born and raised in Jerusalem. My family goes back, based on the written documentation, at least five centuries, as a family of Jerusalemites. And, based on oral tradition, it goes back to the early middle ages, to crusader times and before. But I am now forbidden from entering my ancestral home town, from coming to the place I was born and raised in, unless I request and obtain a permit from the military authorities. This is the ultimate irony of such forms of occupation and dispossession.

Despite the somber quality of some of the above analysis, when opening a conference marking the seven hundredth anniversary of the expulsion of the crusaders from Akka, we are confident that things will ultimately work out. We shall overcome, as the saying goes. We shall overcome, not as

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Palestinians, but as Palestinians, Israelis, and all other human beings interested in and having a stake in this holy land, who share the same values of human justice, equality and peace.

As for our university, it will hopefully, with the support of the international community, and most significantly, the international academic community to which this august gathering belongs, be opened in the near future. And as we welcome the scholars from near and far who are gathered to participate in this conference, we bid them well in their labors, and hope that the next international academic conference we organize will take place on the beautiful campus of Birzeit University.

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Open questions, new light. Usama Ibn Munqidh's account of his battles against Muslims and Franks.

STEFAN WILD

This paper is designed to serve three aims. The first aim is to call for an adequate edition of Usama Ibn Munqidh's masterpiece, the *Kitab al-I'tibar*. In spite of three respectable efforts[1] we still do not have an adequate critical edition which reflects our one and only textual basis: the manuscript Escurial No. 1947. The second aim is to point out that the *Kitab al-I'tibar* has a certain function from the author's point of view. It is not only an account of facts but a well planned utterance governed by a specific sense of historical orientations as well as by literary conventions. Usama's *Kitab al-I'tibar* is one of the earliest attempts at something like autobiography in Arabic writing. Autobiography is more openly a document of subjectivity than most other historical writing. This does not diminish the historical value of Usama's work, instead it enhances it, provided this characteristic feature is not overlooked. The third aim of this paper is to compare Usama's attitude towards the Frankish crusaders with his attitude towards the Muslim heterodox Isma'ilis and Fatimids.

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1 Hartwig Derenbourg, Ousama Ibn Mounkidh. *Un Emir syrien au premier siècle des croisades (1095-1188). Première partie: Vie d'Ousama,* Paris 1889; *deuxième partie: Texte arabe de l'autobiographie d'Ousama publié d'après le manuscrit de l'Escurial,* Paris 1886.

Philip K. Hitti, *Usamah's Memoirs Entitled Kitab al-I'tibar* by Usamah Ibn-Munqidh. *Arabic Text Edited From the Unique Manuscript in the Escurial Library,* Spain, Princeton 1930 *(= Princeton Oriental Texts - Volume 1).*

Qasim as-Samarra'i (ed.), *Kitab al-I'tibar li-l-amir al-Muzaffar Mu'ayyid addaula Magdaddin Usama b. Murshid b. 'Ali b. Munqidh as-Saizari al-Kinani al-Kalbi.* Dar al-asala li-t-thaqafa wa-n-nashr wa-l-li'lam, Riyadh 1987 / 1407, 29 + 267 pp.

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I. The pitfalls of the text

It is generally acknowledged that Usama Ibn Munqidh did not write his *Kitab al-I'tibar* in his own hand. At some time around the year 578/1182-83 and in Damascus, he dictated the text at the age of ninety to an unknown person of his entourage. In polished verses he laments the weakness of his hand:

> When, at eighty, time plays havoc with my power of endurance, I am chagrined at the feebleness of my foot and the trembling of my hand.
> While I write, my writing looks crooked,
> Like the writing of one whose hands have shivers and tremors.
> What a surprise it is, that my hand be too feeble to carry a pen,
> After it had been strong enough to break a lance in a lion's breast.
> And when I walk, cane in hand, I feel heaviness
> In my foot as though I were trudging through mud on a plain.
> Say, therefore, to him who seeks prolonged existence:
> Behold the consequences of long life and agedness[2].

The colophon of our undated and unique Escurial manuscript tells us that the copyist of its predecessor was one of Ibn Munqidh's great grandchildren. He read the text from the beginning to the end in several sittings (*fi 'iddat majalis*) to the author's son Murhaf Ibn Usama Ibn Munqidh and asked him on Thursday, 13th of Safar 610 (July 4, 1213) to acknowledge the correctness of the text and to allow him to transmit it (*wa-sa'altuhu an yujizani riwyatahu 'anhu*). It is possible that there were intermediate manuscripts between the Escurial manuscript and the manuscript read to Usama's son, but it is equally possible that the former is a direct offshoot of the latter.

This then raises the much debated question of the linguistic style of the *Kitab al-I'tibar*. The general opinion prevalent in the past is expressed by Philip K. Hitti:

> The colloquialisms used and the mistakes in grammar and spelling committed leave no doubt that a copyist's hand had played havoc with the original. Usamah may have dictated his book in a more or

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2 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 164,4-7 = *Memoirs* 194.

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> less conversational style, but the author of a Diwan which was considered a classic and a book on al-Badi' could not have been guilty of such inelegant phrases as are common in the extant manuscript.[3]

The editor of the most recent edition of the text, Qasim as-Samarra'i, comes to a similar conclusion:

> The number of misspellings and mistakes and possibly the expressions in colloquial Arabic used in the text were - I think - not Usama's own work... Possibly, one of the copyists dictated from the original, while another copyist took it down. The dictator may have made many mistakes in reading while the writer wrote what he heard.[4]

A different opinion is given by Hasan 'Abbas:

> Usama wrote his memoirs in this simple style, close to the spoken language in order to assure that his book should be spread among high and low...[5]

This comes closer to the truth but is surely an oversimplification. Usama never "wrote" this text. But how do we explain that an homme de lettres like Usama, whose Diwan was famous and whose *Kitab al-Badi'* showed its author to be a man of high rhetorical insight, committed "mistakes" like the ones we find in this text?

The solution lies in the fact that there are two sharply distinct linguistic layers to be found in the *Kitab al-I'tibar*. One is the formal and classical Arabic style which reigns in Usama's long praise of his sponsor Salahaddin, exhibiting rhymed prose throughout, or in the chapter on the vicissitudes of old age with its long poetic digressions. The other layer is the strictly autobiographical, often anecdotal layer. Here Usama related stories: gruesome, amusing, edifying. In telling and dictating these stories to his secretary, Usama must have switched from unblemished *fusha* to pure

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3 Hitti, *Memoirs* 17

4 *I'tibar* (ed. Samarra'i), *Muqaddima* 23

5 Quoted in *I'tibar* (ed. Samarra'i), *Muqaddima 22.*

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colloquial and back. The writer to whom the text was dictated followed as well as he could. For the reader today it is difficult or even impossible to distinguish between the different registers of Usama's dictating - style and the varying degrees of classicizing which the writer and later the copyist or copyists may or may not have inflicted on the original text. The partial use of substandard Arabic, while never really and officially allowed or even acknowledged, was nevertheless not uncommon in certain types of literature. The term "Middle Arabic" has established itself to describe this language. A work of history like Muhammad Ibn Sasra's History of Damascus[6] would tolerate a relaxed style much closer to the spoken language than, let us say, 'Imad al-din al-Isfahani's *al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi.* In later Mamluk historiography important chronicles written in "Middle Arabic" abound. In Ibn al-Jazari's *Mukhtasar tarikh al-Islam* or Ibn ad-Dawadari's *Kanz ad-durar* we have the autographs to prove that the substandard-Arabic features were the author's own and cannot be ascribed to later copyists.[7] With scientific literature like philosophy, medicine, alchemy, many authors did not bother to apply all rules of the *fusha.* This is even more true of Arabic texts which were not considered acceptable genres of literature by contemporary Arab cultures: folktales like the *Banu Hilal* stories, *Alf layla wa-laila* and their predecessors like the *Kitab al-hikayat al-'ajiba wa-l-akhbar al-ghariba.*[8] Those parts of Usama's *Kitab al-I'tibar,* which deal with anecdotes, personal experiences and jokes show a marked tendency towards substandard features. J. Schen, to whom we owe a very thorough investigation of the linguistic pecularities of the Middle Arabic used in the *Kitab al-I'tibar* even supposed that the original version of the dictated text showed more substandard features than the text in our hands.[9] Joshua Blau has argued against this by pointing out that "a man who was so used to Classical Arabic as Usama would be easily capable of using relatively many Classical elements even in dictating a text of a

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6 William Brinner (ed.), *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389-97* by Muhammad ibn Sasra, 2 vols., Berkeley 1963

7 Cf. Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur fruehen Mamlukenzeit,* Freiburg 1969, 176f.

8 Hans Wehr (ed.) *Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzaehlungen und seltsamen Geschichten,* Wiesbaden 1956 (= Bibliotheca Islamica vol. 18), with an important preface.

9 Schen, *Usama Ibn Munqidh's Memoirs...* part I, 233

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private character not belonging to an established literary genre".[10] There is no doubt that Usama would have been capable of doing such a thing. But the evidence of our Escurial manuscript suggests that while dictating the text of the anecdotal chapters Usama used a style which was closer to substandard than the style of the other passages.

A typical feature of Usama's art is that he dramatizes his accounts by using direct speech and dialogue extensively. In these passages the language abounds in colloquialisms. This may be due partly to Usama's attempt at something like realism. Usama faced the same difficulty which, generations later, vexed Arab novelists. Should an Egyptian author of the 20th century reproduce a dialogue between two Egyptian peasants in *fusha* or not? Usama reproduces the words of a blacksmith or a Kurdish soldier, of the hag Buraika, who is fond of riding a broomstick in the graveyard, of a Frankish knight, or of the brigand and rascal Zamarrakkal. When he intends to characterize the speaker, Usama does not mean to impress his reading public by his own elegance of style. Mimicking the simple Arabic of everyday life added spice to amusing or sardonic stories. Usama dictated his stories and anecdotes of Frankish folly and Muslim virtue in a loose and relaxed style which was close to the *'ammiyya* of his time. This becomes very clear in the numerous passages which are morphologically classical but syntactically colloquial.[11] Therefore, many "mistakes" which are considerd by all three editors to be scribal errors in our unique manuscript reflect with high probability Usama's own words. They are typical features of "Middle Arabic". Whether Usama would have consented to his text being written, read and spread in this form is another question. It is significant that when Usama turns to poetry lamenting the ailments of old age and continues with a long eulogy on Salahaddin in *saj*-style and the style of his writing abruptly changes in the middle of his book, the "mistakes" and "scribal errors" cease, or rather Usama no longer uses Middle Arabic but Classical Arabic. The same is true for the first - missing - part of the *I'tibar*. This part of the book is known to us only by a long

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10 Joshua Blau, *Das fruehe Neuarabisch in mittelarabischen Texten, in:* Wolfdietrich Fischer (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie,* Band I: *Sprachwissenschaft,* Wiesbaden 1982, 98, fn. 13.

11 Schen, *Usama Ibn Munqidh's Memoirs...* part II 79ff. and Witkam, *Establishing the Stemma* 93

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quotation in al-Dhahabi's *Tarikh al-Islam* and is written partly in *saj*.[12] It is probable that al-Dhahabi's quotation preserves the very first sentences of Usama's memoirs.

Usama, for example, makes a *batini* strong man cry out from his tower to his enemy in Shaizar: *ya mu'akhkhar inta lees ma tadkhul?* "You weakling, why don't you come in?",[13] pure *'ammiyya* which no editor should "correct" into *fusha*. A few lines later, Usama turns to poetry and his language becomes flawless *fusha*. At this point, it should be clear that any editor has to respect the two linguistic layers in the *Kitab al-I'tibar*. If he tries to classicize the whole text, it will lose half of its charm and all of its authenticity.

None of the three editions displays sufficient awareness of this dichotomy Classical Arabic - Middle Arabic which pervades the text. The consequence is that we still do not possess an edition of the Arabic text of the *Kitab al-I'tibar* which satisfies the critical reader and does justice to one of the supreme Arabic sources for the history of the Crusaders' invasion of Palestine. A text of such outstanding historical and literary value deserves a facsimile edition of the Escurial manuscript in addition to a critical edition of the text which does not attempt to correct it, but lets the reader read what was the text intended by the last copyist. A thorough and complete analysis of the text and its Middle-Arabic elements after the fashion of I. Schen's work would get us as close as possible to Usama's original version of the *Kitab al-I'tibar*.

II. Dialogue, literary conventions and narrative technique in the Kitab al-I'tibar.

As already pointed out, the first part (21 out of 134 folios) of the Escurial manuscript of the *Kitab al-I'tibar* is missing. We do not know whether Usama mentioned in the *Muqqaddima* - assuming that there was a *Muqaddima* - the aims of his writing. We do not know whether the whole

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12 Derenbourg I 601f. Cf. *I'tibar*, ed. Q. al-Samarra'i, Muq. 8ff.

13 I'tibar *(ed. Hitti)* 160, 7. Cf. Schen, Usama Ibn Munqidh's Memoirs..., part II, 68. Ya mu'akhkhar or mu'akhkhir *"O you who you are standing back" or "O you who are keeping others back"*. Samarrai 179, 2 reads ya mw'gr and explains it as equivalent to ya ma'bun *"catamite, sissy!"* This would fit the context well but I cannot find mu'agi/ar in this meaning. According to Hitti, I'tibar 160, fn. 81, the manuscript shows in the margin the gloss ya mw'ji.

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text was in some way connected with Usama's most important political contemporary Salahaddin al-Ayyubi. The long and profuse eulogy of Salahaddin (ed. Hitti 164-166) stands in curious contrast to Usama's other accounts of Salahaddin, which are markedly critical and in fact portray Usama as the superior intellect. Qasim al-Samarra'i has tried to shed some light on the missing first part by collecting possible quotations from the missing part of the *I'tibar* in later sources. Most of these have already been collected by Derenbourg. Some of these texts were indeed most probably taken from the *I'tibar*, some are possible quotations, some are demonstrably not.[14]

In reference to what I take to be the *Kitab al-I'tibar*, al-Dhahabi says:

> I own a volume, in which he (scil. Usama) relates what horrors he has seen (*'indi mujalladun yukhbiru fihi bi-ma ra'a mina-l-ahwal*).

After a passage in *saj'* and a poetic quotation, Usama is literally quoted to name, in chronologial order, the battles and skirmishes (*al-musaffat wa-l-waqa'at*) in which he has taken part, thereby giving a historical structure to the loosely connected stories and anecdotes which follow. Al-Dhahabi proceeds:

> He then begins to relate the remarkable events (*'aja'ib*) which he witnessed in these battles and to describe thereby his courage and boldness (*yasifu biha shaja'atahu wa-iqamahu*).[15]

This then is an important feature of the book: self-glorification. This is, of course, a standard ingredient of the memoir genre. The hunting stories are also definitely part of this autobiographical material and serve to show Usama (and his father) as a noble hunter. I doubt that the *I'tibar* was only "a

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14 J.J. Witkam says: "There is no reason to assume that most of the twelve fragments given by al-Samarra'i were ever part of the *Kitab al-I'tibar,* and in one case the editor even admits as much"; in: *Establishing the Stemma*: *Fact or Fiction*? in MME 3 (1988) 88-101, p. 93. However, the quotation which al-Dhahabi attributes to a work of Usama's (see following footnote) seems to me beyond doubt taken from the missing first part of the I'tibar.

15 Derenbourg 602

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kind of family history, to be read and recounted in the family circle".[16] The political issues mentioned, and particularly the eulogy of Salahaddin, suggest the likelihood of a direct political cause. At any rate, one didactic line of thought runs through the whole book and is its second important message: the duration of human life is predetermined by God, so are success and failure, preordained are military victory and defeat. Usama's reminiscences are full of *'ibar* proving this point, and, of course, the title of the book reflects this.

Dialogue is an essential feature of many of Usama's tableau-like scenes. These are usually short, consisting of no more than three or four sentences in staccato-style - regardless of whether the dialogue takes place on the battlefield or in the ruler's palace. Consider a typical example, a dialogue between that Latin king Fulco and Usama. Usama explains to the reader the high position enjoyed by the Frankish knight in Frankish society. Once the knights give a judgment on any issue, Usama says, not even the Frankish king is able to alter or revoke it. And Usama proceeds:

> The king said to me: 'By the truth of my religion, I rejoiced yesterday very much indeed'. I replied: 'May Allah always make the king rejoice! What made thee rejoice?' He said: 'I was told that thou wert a great knight'. 'Oh my lord,' I replied, 'I am a knight according to the manner of my race and my people' (*ana faris min jinsi wa-qaumi*).[17]

This dialogue embodies the frequently observable ABAB dialogue: speaker 1, speaker 2, speaker 1, speaker 2. The sentences are as short and as much to the point as possible, the focus is usually on the one who has the last word and the whole dialogue leads up to the last catch-phrase-like sentence. Usama's dialogue with Fulco contains much more of conventionalized material than may be apparent on first sight. The oath *wa-haqq dini* 'By the truth of my religion' is conventionally presented as the Frankish equivalent to *wallahi*.[18] Usama addresses the Frankish king basically as his peer, the only indication of the king's superior position is that Usama politely inserts the wish *allah yufarrih il-malik*. The question and answer following the

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16 Witkam l.c., MME 92

17 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 65; *Memoirs* 94

18 Cf. the same oath used by William of Jiba: *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 82, 15.

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first statement leads up to Usama's proud claim to a rank analogous to the Frankish knighthood: *ana faris min jinsi wa-qaumi.*

A similar function has Salahaddin's praise of Usama in the very first dialogue transmitted in the existing part of the *Kitab al-I'tibar.* When Usama gives Salahaddin a particularly sound piece of frank advice, Salahaddin marvels - and this is the end of this dialogue:

> No other man has ever said such a thing to me.[19]

Analyzing these and other dialogues reported in the *Kitab al-I'tibar* makes us wonder which language was used when Usama talked to the Frankish king or the Frankish knights. The sources, at least Usama, never mention a translator. There can hardly be any doubt, however, that the language used, the lingua franca current in Palestine at the time, was Arabic. In the ranks of the military Turkish was widely used. Usama insists that he and most of his friends know as much of the Frankish language as of the Turkish language, namely nothing.

> As I [namely a Muslim friend of Usama's] was passing in the market-place [of Antioch], a Frankish woman all of a sudden hung to my clothes and began to mutter words in their language while I could not understand what she was saying...
> (*wa-hiya tubarbir bi-lisanihim wa-ma adri mataqul*).[20]

Tancred of Antioch grants safe-conduct to a Kurdish knight named Hasanun. At least that is what Hasanun thinks. In reality, when Hasanun is taken prisoner once again, Tancred has him tortured and one of his eyes blinded. Usama explains that Tancred did not in fact grant the safe conduct, that Hasanun only imagined it (*a'tahu amanahu 'ala ma tawahhama Hasanun*) "for these people speak nothing but Frankish, we do not understand what they say" (*fa-innahum la yatakallamuna illa bi-l-franji ma nadri ma yaqulun*).[21] It is interesting to note that Usama does not blame Frankish treachery for this happening but a linguistic misunderstanding.

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19 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 2, 15.

20 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 140, pu

21 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 66, 7.

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When Salahaddin and the Atabek of Damascus have a heated debate about a wrong stategy against Zanki in Turkish, Usama states:

They spoke Turkish, whereas I could not understand what they said.[22]

But he is nevertheless able to tell his readers what the conversation was all about and even to reproduce part of the dialogue! Again, when Salahaddin addresses one of his attendants in Turkish, Usama stresses that he does not understand.[23]

Of the well-behaved Frankish knight (*faris franji muhtasim*)[24] who makes the foolish offer to take Usama's fourteen-year-old son Murhaf away to Europe, Usama informs us: *anisa bi wa-sara mulazimi yad'uni akhi wa-bainana l-mawadda wa-l-mu'ashara* "he became my intimate friend, he used to call me *ya akhi* and between us was love and friendship".[25] Do we have to infer that this man spoke Arabic to be able to say *ya akhi*? Usama seems to stress this, as the ensuing dialogue is started by the Frankish knight with these words. Yet, I am not convinced that this knight spoke Arabic, because in this particular instance Usama tells us that this knight had just come to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then to go back to his country. So there was probably an interpreter around. An interpreter was most probably also present when Usama conducted talks with a Frankish knight called William Jiha holding a number of Muslim prisoners.[26] Usama, who does not have enough money with him to ransom them all, asks him: "Can you sell me ten of them?", whereupon William answers: "By the truth of my religion, I will only sell all of them at once!" (*wa-haqq dini ma abi'u illa l-jami'*)

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22 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 151, 7.

23 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 100, 9.

24 Hitti, Memoirs, 161, translates *"reverend". Cf.* also *I'tibar* ed. Hitti, 69, 17, where he translates muhtasim as *"reverend"* (Memoirs *98).* Here faris muhtasim is a description given by Tancred of Antioch to one of his own men.

25 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 132, 7.

26 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 82, 15.

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When Usama accompanies Amir Mu'in ad-Din to visit the Latin king Fulco in Acre they meet a man from Genoa (*janawiyya*) who shows them his hunting bird, an imported goshawk that is able to hunt cranes. The Genoese (*al-janawiy*) explains to Usama and the Damascene emir: "In our country, if the goshawk has thirteen feathers in her tail, she can hunt cranes".[27] It is hardly conceivable that the Genoese, "who had just arrived from Europe", spoke Arabic, so they must have used an interpreter.[28]

A similar question must be asked with regard to the written documents quoted by Usama. The most famous document mentioned in Usama's memoirs, is probably the safe-conduct (*aman*), which King Baldwin of Jerusalem granted to Usama's family for their way back from Egypt to Damascus. Usama mentions that the document showed a cross on it - which leads to the supposition that the document was not issued in Arabic but in Latin.[29] There is furthermore a letter of recommendation writen by Tancred, Lord of Antioch, to Usama's father with the request quoted by Usama to treat the carrier of the letter, a Frankish knight, well and to introduce him to the Muslim cavaliers.[30] Another similar letter of recommendation was written by Roger of Antioch to Usama's uncle in order to ensure the safe-conduct of one of Roger's knights from Afamiya to Rafaniyya on his way to Jerusalem.[31] Again the Arabic text or rather the contents of the document are quoted in the *I'tibar*. But in which language were these letters written? In Latin or in Arabic, or perhaps in both languages?

The dialogues reported in the *Kitab al-I'tibar* must in real life have been much more complicated than they seem to the reader in their present form. They are evidently not transcripts, not verbatim acccounts but streamlined

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27 *I'tibar* ed. Hitti, 196. Cf. G. Rex Smith, *A New Translation*...244f.

28 The same is true for the conversation which Usama had in Frankish-held Haifa with a Frank who owned a leopard and tried to sell it to Usama as a cheetah: *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 111.

29 *I'tibar* (ed. Hittia) 34, 10.

30 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 69.

31 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 87,9.

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fictionalized items governed by their own textual rules and by narrative strategy. In numerous instances, e.g. in the jokes, they are, of course, purely fictional.

When Usama, as official representative of Jamaladdin Muhammad Ibn Tajalmuluk, the Emir of Damascus, is responsible for the peace talks with Fulko, the Latin king of Jerusalem, one of the most important questions for both sides is the ransom of prisoners. Usama, in this capacity, sees William of Jiba and describes his visit:

> I rode to his house - God curse him - and said: 'Will you sell me ten (prisoners)?'[32]

It is inconceivable that this was indeed the course of events. There was surely a lot of protocol and ceremony when the Muslim Arab Emir and the Frankish knight sat down to talk - leaving aside the question of the language in which these talks were conducted. The dialogue sums up what was talked about, but it is again not a naturalistic transcript of a historical dialogue. In this Usama follows the use of dialogue in Arabic historical works where it is a time-honoured technique allowing the author to give the reader insight into the characters, into the motives and aims of the persons involved. The literary device of the dialogue in *adab*-literature serves the same purpose. At the end of this development we find the *maqamat* genre, which consists almost exclusively of dialogues. So Usama's use of dialogue gives the spice of *adab* to his anecdotes. But the dialogues should not be taken as stenographic reports.

A very important element in the dialogues is the person of the speaker. When Usama is present in the Fatimid palace in Cairo as the assassination of the Fatimid caliph al-Zafir by his vizier and the ensuing massacre in the royal Palace are taking place, he sends an Armenian attendant to find out what is happening and has him report about the killings with the words: "These people cannot be Moslems" (*ma ha'ula' muslimun*).[33] The fact that it is a Christian who pronounces this verdict makes it all the more harsh and the more effective with the Muslim listener or reader.

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32 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 81.

33 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 21, 15.

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Usama more than once distances himself sharply from the Fatimids. Nasr Ibn 'Abbas, who was induced by the caliph to kill his own father, was for a time working closely together with Usama. Usama says:

> All that took place while I was in the constant company of Ibn 'Abbas, who would not allow me to be absent by night or day. I used to sleep with my head at the end of his pillow (*wa-ra'si 'ala raisi makhaddati*).[34]

But when an accomplice of Nasr Ibn 'Abbas arrives to discuss details of the plot with him, Usama keeps himself apart (*wa-ana mu'tazil 'anhuma*). He is sitting at the window reading the qur'an, because, he says, he has been so busy all day that he has not yet found the time for this. When Nasr Ibn 'Abbas wants to draw him into the plot, Usama refuses by saying:

> Oh my lord, let not the devil cause thee to stumble and be not deceived by him who wishes to delude thee. To murder thy father is not the same as to murder al-'Adil. Undertake, do nothing, therefore, for which thou shalt be accused till judgment day.

Then Nasr bends his head down and cuts short the discussion.[35] The dialogue and the whole tableau fit very well into Usama's and, of course, Salahaddin's anti-Fatimid stance of the time when Usama's memoirs were written. Here it is not only the wording of the dialogue but also the setting as such which serves to underline the moral position of the two participants: on the one side, the ruthless Ibn 'Abbas bent on senseless killing and destruction, on the other side the blameless Usama, fortified by reading the Holy Book which as the reader is allowed to see Usama reads everyday. Usama courageously but in vain tries to convince Ibn 'Abbas not to continue with his evil plans.

A second element of *adab* lies in the choice of some of the stories. Amusing stories are there to amuse - they do not gain by being literally true. When Usama exposes to his audience the incredibly lax and boorish sexual mores of the Frankish knights, he uses stories which have been jokes for hundreds of years. Some of the stories have their parallels in Greek sources. At least one of the outageous anecdotes which Usama

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34 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 20, 1.

35 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 20, 7.

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relates about the Franks is reproduced by the Egyptian historian al-Jabarti who uses it more than 600 years later to describe the scandalous behavior of the French army in Egypt. So these stories tell us a lot about the image of the Franks in Arab eyes. They do not have to be literally true.[36] Similarly, the hunting passages - while on the whole "sober" - also contain "tall tales" of the kind huntsmen and fishermen are fond of telling.[37]

III. Usama, his Frankish "friends" and his Isma'ili foes

Usama's memoirs confirm that relations between the local Muslim rulers and the Franks were not only and always inimical. There were long periods of truce as well as coalitions against common enemies. Such a truce could be a mere de facto truce, but in many cases there were formal treaties regulating all aspects, economic, political and otherwise, of relations between the contracting parties. These treaties could include sharing of the administration of border territories. Regulations then covered taxation, customs, forced labor, security, etc. These condominia were called *bilad al-munasafat* in Arabic. Michael Kohler, who studied this aspect of the Crusaders' period, has counted more than thirty cases, starting from the agreement between King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and the Atabek Tugtakin of Jerusalem in the year 502/1108 and ending with an agreement between Sultan Qalawun and Marguerite, ruler of Tyre, in the year 1285.[38] Usama mentions such an agreement en passant when he speaks of a Syrian village "shared by us and a Frankish knight from Kafartab" (ed. Hitti 97, 12).[39]

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36 (ed. Hitti, 136, 13 = S. Moreh, *Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt*..., Leiden 1975, Arabic text 12, 8 = transl. 43). John Mattock has argued that at least one of these stories is in reality a European joke, imported as an element of Western sub-culture by the Crusaders and misunderstood by Usama. There is little evidence to support this, as Mattock himself concedes.

37 Cf. G. Rex Smith, *A New Translation*...240.

38 Michael Kohler, *Munasafat: Gebietsteilungen zwischen Kreuzfahrern und islamischen Herrschern im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert,* in: ZDMG Suppl. VI (= XXII, 156-65 and Michael A. Koehler, *Allianzen und Vertraege zwischen frankischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie ueber das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert.* (= Studien zu Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients 12), Berlin 1991.

39 By mistranslating "a village which was owned by a Frankish knight from

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Apparently this was such a common procedure that it does not deserve any further comment. Michael Koehler rightly stresses that the legal impediments the shari'a must have seen in the sharing of political power between Muslim and non-Muslim authority were negligible.

So, on the one hand, Usama's book is full of "innumerable battles against unbelievers as well as Muslims" (*hurub ma'a l-kuffar wa-l-muslimin ma la ahsiha,* ed. Hitti 36,1). The Franks are "dumb animals" (*baha'im*), possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else.[40] On the other hand, however, at times relations between Usama and the Frankish knights were not only peaceful, but almost intimate. Usama does not hesitate to call the Templars "my friends" (*asdiqa'i*).[41] He takes a certain pride in having himself been addressed by a Frankish knight as *ya akhi.* Between some Frankish knights and Usama, bonds of appreciation and love develop (*bainana l-mawadda wa-l-mu'ashara*,[42] exactly as between Usama and the ruler of Antioch Theodoros Sophianos, friendship blossomed (*wa-bayni wa-baynahu sadaqa*).[43]

In two cases, Usama mentions as a positive trait of a Frankish knight that he has only come to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then return to his country. This suggests that Usama differentiated between those Franks who came to conquer and those who only came to perform a pilgrimage. It has often been stated that for Usama as for the rest of the Muslim contemporary observers, the Crusaders were not the Crusaders but only the Franks. Surely, the Arabic word *salibiyyun* is a creation of the 19th century and it does not exist in Usama's vocabulary. But the differentiation between Frankish knights who came to stay and others who would return to Europe after their pilgrimage to Jerusalem proves the obvious political awareness of the existence of an organized Frankish move to occupy as much as

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Kafartab" (transl. Hitti 127) Hitti obscures this important point.

40 *I'tibar*, ed. Hitti 132, 2. The complete passage, which is often quoted, runs in Arabic: *Subhana lkhaliqu l-bari'u idha habara l-insanu umura l-firangi sabbaha llaha ta'ala wa-qaddasahu wa-ra'a baha'ima fihim fadilatu s-saga'ati wa-l-qitali la-ghair kama fi l-baha'imi fadilatu l-quwwati wa-l-hamli.*

41 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 134 ult.

42 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 132, 8.

43 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 140, 13

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possible and to gain and retain control of large parts of Palestine for politico-religious reasons. On the other hand, some of the Franks who stay for long periods are praised because they have adjusted to their Muslim neighbors and have acquired the customs of the country (*alladhina qad taballadu wa-'asharu l-muslimin*).[44] Usama says they belong to the "old category of knights who came with the early expeditions of the Franks" (*farisun mina l-fursani l-'utuqi lladhina kharaju fi awwali khuruji l-firanj*).[45] Koehler has shown that there were indeed important diffences of interest between the Franks who had settled and the Frankish newcomers [46].

Whereas Usama does not miss an opportunity to distance himself from the Fatimids and Batinis, he is much more ambiguous with regard to the Franks. On the one hand, he regularly curses them, whenever their name is mentioned with formulas like *la'anahumu llah, khadhalahumu llah* or *qabbahahumu llah.* We also find instances where, after the name of an individual, deceased Frank, the formula *la rahimahu llahu* is quoted. But in many other instances, these curses are lacking. And what are we to say to the following well known passage:

> An example of their rude character - God curse them - is the following: Whenever I visited Jerusalem I used to enter the Aqsa-mosque, beside which stood a small mosque, which the Franks had converted into a church. Whenever I entered the Aqsa-mosque which was full of Templars who were my friends, the Templars would evacuate the little adjoining mosque so that I might pray in it...[47]

Jerusalem is in the hands of the Latins, the Aqsa-mosque, the third holiest place in Islam, is swarming with Templars, and Usama calls these Templars "my friends"! Usama's anger is not directed against the Templars as such, but only against the uncouth barbarian who according to Usama's continuation of this story tries to make him perform the *salat* not towards the *qibla* but eastward.

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44 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 143, 17.

45 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 140, 14.

46 Koehler, loc.cit.

47 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 134, 19...

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It was not considered unusual that Mu'in al-Din Onor, king of Damascus, travelled together with William de Bures, lord of Tiberias, from Tiberias to 'Akka - with Usama in Mu'in's entourage.[48] Usama was invited to attend the Frankish feasts and their robust, in fact rather disgusting merrymaking. Muslims would eat with their Frankish friends,[49] especially if those had grown accustomed to the local food and refrained from eating pork.[50] Muslims and Franks would buy in the same bazar[51] and they would exchange useful information on hunting dogs and birds of prey.[52] In the time of *sulh*, Muslims and Crusaders would hold horse races.[53] During a skirmish between Usama and Frankish troops, Usama engages for the first time in battle. He smites a Frankish horseman with his lance and hits him so hard that he believes he has killed him. A few days later, Usama's uncle summons Usama and presents him to another Frankish knight who wants to find out who delivered this terrible blow which after all had not been fatal. These were chivalrous days! In Frankish held Sabastiya, Usama wants to visit the grave of Yahya Ibn Zakariyya, John the Baptist. He happens to run into a congregation of ten Frankish devouts, who are assembled in a church:

> Their heads were unveiled and (white) like combed cotton. They were facing east, while on their breasts there were sticks with curved crossbeams at the top of the size of a man. They were leaning on the sticks while a sheikh recited in front of them.[54]

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48 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 137.

49 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 140.

50 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 140.

51 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 140.

52 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 196.

53 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 66, 1.

54 Usama b. Munqidh, *Kitab al-'Asa*, ed. Hasan Abbas, Alexandria 1981, 326. The meaning of this passage was obscure in Derenbourg's reading, which is still reflected in F. Gabrieli's *Die Kreuzzuege aus arabischer Sicht, aus den arabischen Quellen ausgewaehlt und uebersetzt von Francesco Gabrieli.* Aus dem Italianischen von Barbara von Kaltenborn-Stachau unter Mitwirkung von Lutz Richter-Bernburg, Zurich / Muenchen 1973, 126.

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Usama comments:

> I saw something which moved my heart and saddened and embittered me. For among the Muslims I had never seen people of such religious zeal (*fa-ra'aytu manazaran yariqqu lahu l-qalbu wa-sa'ani wa-asafani idh lam ara fi l-muslimina man huwa 'ala mithli jtihadihim*).

And it is only when Usama comes into contact with sufis that he reverses this opinion:

> One day Mu'inaldin Onor - may God have mercy in him - said to me, while we were marching in the neighborhood of Dayr at-Tawawis:[55] "I want to visit the sheikhs." I answered: "As you please". We stopped and walked to a long and broad (*'ardi*) house. We entered while I thought that there was nobody in it. But suddenly I noticed that there were about a hundred prayer-carpets and on each carpet there was a sufi sheikh with the signs of holiness and humble piety (*wa-'ala kulli sajjadatin ragulun mina l-sufiyya 'alayhimu s-sakinatu wa-l-khushu'u 'alayhim zahirun*). I rejoiced by what I saw and I thanked God because I saw that the Muslims were more pious (*aktharu ijtihadan*) than those priests. Before that day I had neither seen the Sufis in their house nor known anything about their way of life."[56]

Usama never lost interest in "holy men". In the *Kitab al-I'tibar* there is a whole section on the *akhbar al-salihin*.[57]

A significant feature is that Usama's bitterest comments and stories are not aimed at the Franks but at the Isma'ilis, or as Usama calls them often, the Batiniyya. Usama tells us, for example, about the noble conduct of his mother. When Shayzar is besieged by the Isma'ilis and in danger of being taken, she makes Usama's elderly sister sit clad in her finest clothes on a

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55 Yaqut, *Nu'jam* (ed. F. Wustenfeld), IV 521, names a Dar al-Tawawis in Baghdad and (IV 675) a Dayr al-Tawawis in the region of Samarra. Neither can be intended by Usama.

56 Usama b. Munqidh, *Kitab al-'Asa* 327.

57 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 169ff.

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balcony. When Usama, after the Batinis are driven back, asks his mother why she did this she replies:

> "Oh my dear son, I have given her a seat at the balcony and sat behind her so that in case I found that the Batinites had reached us, I could push her and throw her into the valley, preferring to see her dead rather than to see her captive in the hands of the peasants and ravishers". I thanked my mother for her deed, and so did my sister, who prayed that mother be rewarded by Allah on her behalf. Such solicitude for honor is indeed stronger than the solicitude of men.[58]

By involving female honour in general and his mother and his sister in particular, Usama makes his absolute condemnation of the Batiniyya very clear. This kind of 'Masada' attitude is not altogether lacking in Usama's dealings with the Franks. Usama tells us about an incident involving the suicide of a Kurdish young woman who had fallen into the hand of the Franks. Her father learns of his daughter's suicide and is relieved by this news.[59]

The point is that Usama creates in the reader the impression that the worst enemies of his were and are the Isma'ilis, not the Franks. This is the political and historical consequence which the reader or listener is invited to draw and this may reflect Usama's wish to impress on Salahaddin that he - Usama - shared Salahaddin's abhorrence of the Fatimids at the period in which the *Kitab al-I'tibar* was dictated. P. Hitti wonders:

> Could it have been some secret sympathy with the Shi'ah cause, of which the orthodox Saladin was a champion opponent and with which Usama may have been inoculated during his sojourn in Fatimide Egypt? That Usama had cherished some sympathies may be inferred from a passage in al-Dhahabi.[60]

The following text is quoted by al-Dhahabi, *Tarikh al-islam*, and attributed to Yahya Ibn Abi Tayy's *Kitab al-shi'a*.[61]

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58 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 125.

59 *I'tibar* (ed. Hitti) 149f.

60 Hitti, *Memoirs*, 14.

61 Yahya b. Abi Tayy Hamid b. Zafir b. 'Ali al-Halabi al-Ghassani (575-631)

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> My father related to me: I met him (scil. Usama) several times. He was an Imami of sound conviction. However, he had to use ruses to gain his post (*yudari 'an manisibihi*) and to show *taqiyya*. There was much good in him. He joined the shi'a, gave alms to their poor and aided the *ashraf*.[62]

It is, of course, more than likely that Usama had, during his sojourn at the Fatimid court, leaned towards Fatimid ideology. When, many years later, Usama dictated his memoirs in Syria, this was a potentially damaging political issue. And Usama reacted by presenting his position in Cairo in the most favorable light.

Usama and his *Kitab al-I'tibar* deserve closer study. The man and his work have not yet been adequately investigated.

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wrote a biography of Salahaddin *Kanz al-muwahhidin fi sirat Salahaddin*, which became the most important source for Ibn Shaddad's *an-Nawadir al-yusufiyya* (cf. GAL I 549). Among the many works which he wrote and which are enumerated by al-Kutubi, *Fawat al-wafayat wa-l-dhayl 'alayha*, ed. Ihsan 'Abbas, Beirut 1974, vol. IV 269ff. There is no book *Kitab al-shi'a*. Possibly al-Dhahabi means *Akhbar shu'ara' al-shi'a* or *Asma' ruwat al-shi'a wa-musannifiha*.

62 The text is given by Derenbourg I 602. Al-Dhahabi seems to adopt a similar position when he refers to Usama's stay in Egypt: *intaqala ila Misr fa-baqiya biha mu'ammaran musaran ilaihi bi-l-ta'zim* "he moved to Egypt and stayed there as an emir, always mentioned with the greatest respect" (Derenbourg I 596, quoting al-Dhahabi's *Tarikh al-islam*). The same sentence is quoted by as-Safadi, *Wafi* in Usama's biography (vol. VIII, ed. M.Y. Nagm, Beirut / Wiesbaden 1979, 378, 13).

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Burj Bardawil and Frankish Settlement North of Ramallah in the Twelfth Century

DENYS PRINGLE

Burj Bardawil is a deserted site (Palestine Grid ref. 17301548), lying 32 km. north of Jerusalem (Johns 1937, 23). It is represented today by a cluster of ruined vaulted buildings which occupy the summit and north-east facing slope of an elongated hilltop (altitude c. 800 m.), overlooking to the north the Jerusalem to Nablus road where it enters the narrow pass of the Wadi al-Haramiya (Valley of the Robbers). The site's name, 'Baldwin's Tower', and the local identification of one of its ruined vaults as al-baubariya, derived from the Old French word boverie, meaning a byre for oxen or, by derivation, a farm (Benvenisti 1982, 132), proclaims its origin as Crusader and twelfth century. As with many other such sites that survive in the landscape of Palestine, however, nothing definite is known of its history.

In the 1870s, the site attracted the attention of Victor Guérin:

> Là s'étendent les ruines d'une vaste forteresse ... qui forme un polygone irregulier. Les murs d'enceinte ont une épaisseur de 1m,30. Ils sont construits avec des moëllons, auxquels sont mêlées quelques pierres de taille, et ils suivent les contours du plâteau. Au dedans, de nombreux magasins, voûtés en ogive et couronnés par des terrasses plates, sont encore debout; d'autres sont écroulés, et leurs décombres sont tapissées de vignes ou parsemées de figuiers (1874, II, 37).

Shortly afterwards, on 8 June 1875, Burj Bardawil was visited by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine (SWP), who provided a valuable sketch plan (Fig. 1) and the following brief description:

> The plan is irregular, with the entrance-gate on the west, and a courtyard surrounded by vaulted chambers. The east

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and south walls are arranged so as to give flank defence. The masonry is very rough; the vaults are tunnel vaults of rubble (or rag-work), and are of pointed cross section' (Conder and Kitchener 1881, III, 306-307).

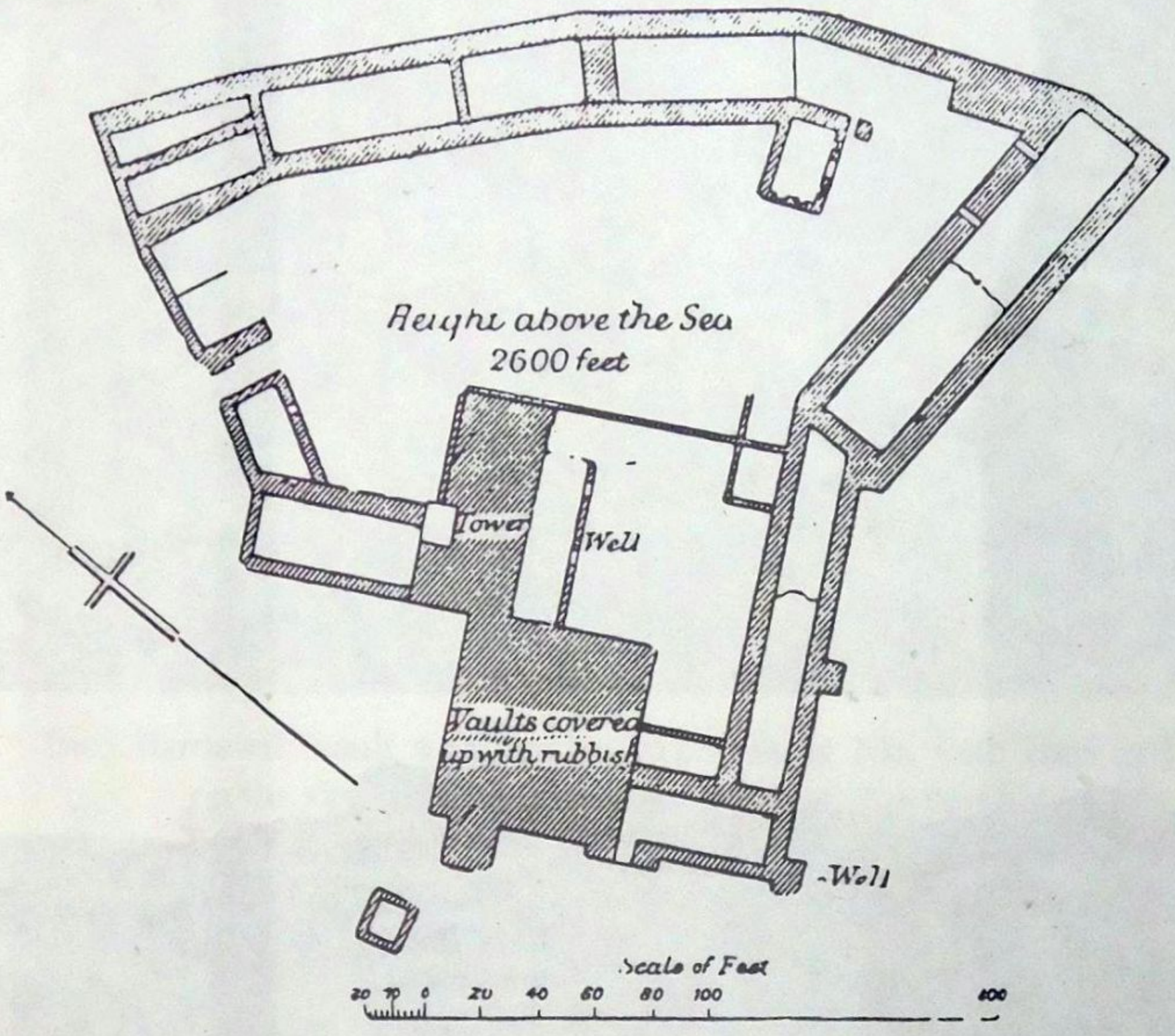


Fig. 1: Burj Bardawil, as surveyed by the Survey of Western Palestine (8 June 1875).

The officers compared this structure to Burj al-Malih (Palestine Grid ref. 19321927: cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881, III, 235-236, Fig.) and suggested that it might be of the same date.

In 1919, Burj Bardawil was visited by Major (later Professor) K.A.C. Creswell, to whom we owe the earliest photographs of it (Pls. I-II):

> It has ... suffered so much since [the visit of the SWP] that it would now be difficult to make a conjectural reconstruction. A few lengths of tunnel vaulting and the bases of one or two square towers still exist, but the remainder is inextricably mixed up with cattle pens, debris and walls of rubble laid dry.

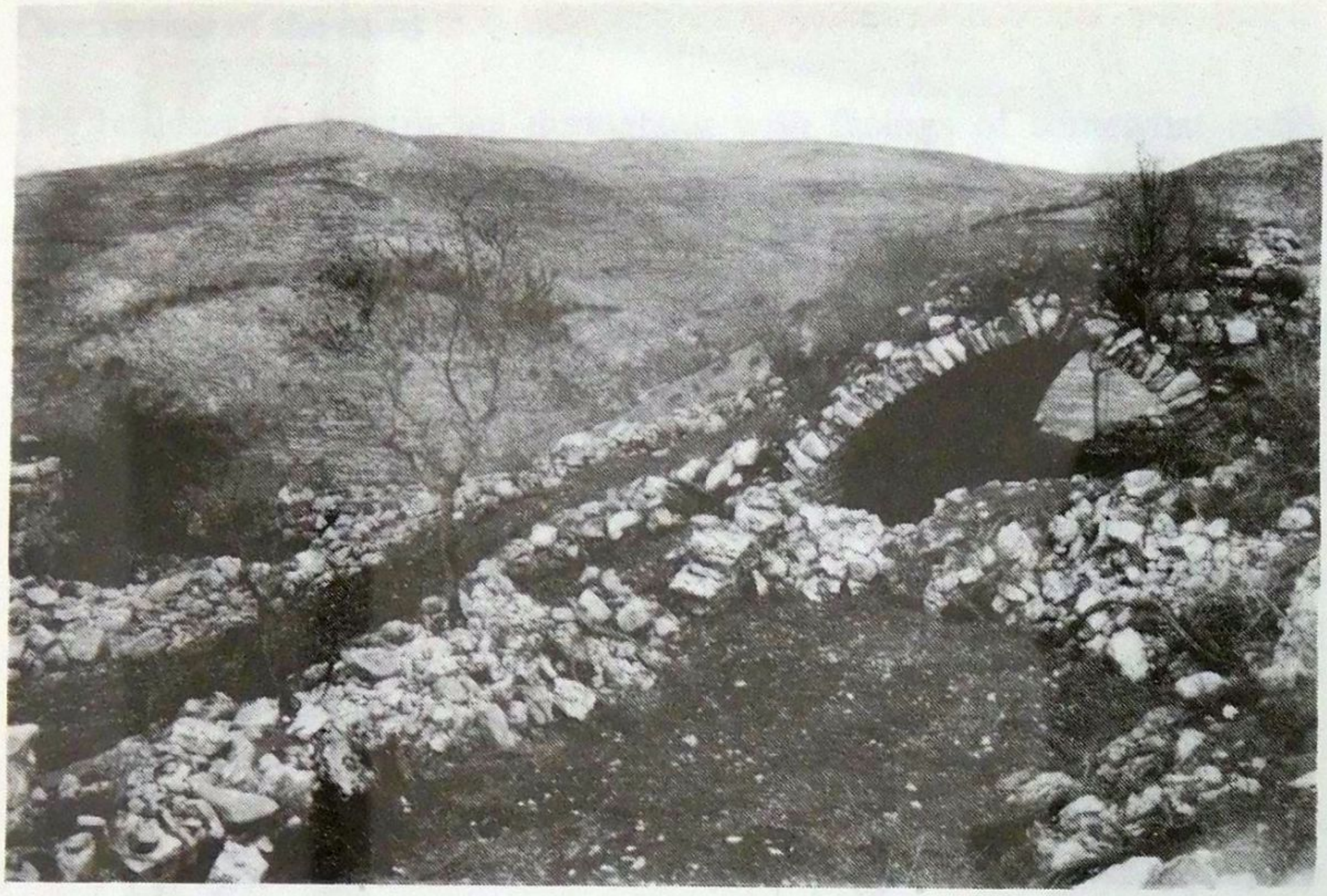
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Creswell concluded his report to the fledgling Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine with the recommendation that the building was too far gone for active conservation (PAM, report in file 'Burj Bardawil').



Pl. I. Burj Bardawil, from the SE, photographed by K.A.C. Creswell in 1919 (Creswell Archive, Crusading, No. 54: courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

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Pl. II. Burj Bardawil: vault 4 (al-baubariya), looking NE, with Burj al-Lisana on the skyline to the left and Silwad village just behind the vault itself. Photographed by K.A.C. Creswell in 1919 (Creswell Archive, Crusading, No. 55: courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

More recently descriptions of the site have been made by M. Benvenisti (1970, 237-238, pl. p. 232) and Z. Kallai (in Kochavi 1972, 173, No. 69), but without shedding much further light on its layout. In August 1986, through the kindness of Robert and Helen Merrillees, I was able to visit Burj Bardawil and ascertained that most of the features shown on the SWP's plan of a century ago were still recognizable. On 8 September 1989, I returned to the site with Na'el Jalal, of Birzeit University, and with the cooperation of the owner, Mr. Subhi Abdel Al Salih of Silwad, we took sufficient measurements to allow a new plan to be made (Fig. 2; cf. Pringle 1991, 88-89, No. 4). Since much of the site is still encumbered with debris and terracing, and since our survey equipment consisted of no more than a tape measure, there still exists much scope for further precision and elucidation. However, our observations provide a reasonable basis for making a new assessment of the structure's layout and of its possible function.

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BURJ BARDAWIL

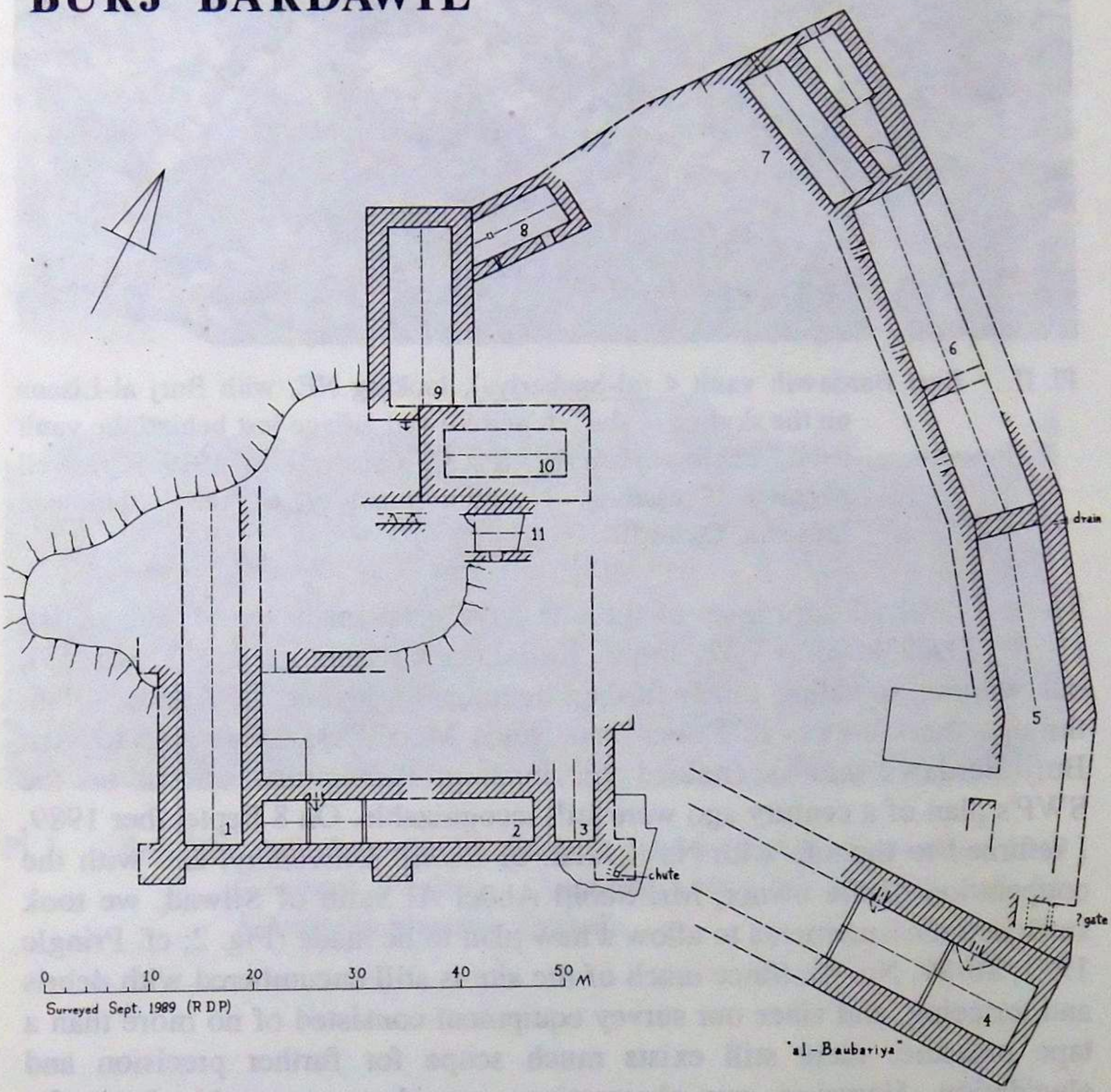


Fig. 2: Burj Bardawil (surveyed by Na'el Jalal and the author, 8 September 1989).

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Description of the ruins

The building is constructed throughout with facings of somewhat rough hard limestone blocks laid in fairly regular courses with smaller irregular pinnings in the joints to level up the courses. Where it survives, the lime mortar of the facing is in places rendered flush with the surface and impressed with a trowel in a fish-scale pattern; a similar style of mortar finish may be seen on other Crusader buildings of the twelfth century at Bethany, Qal'at ad-Damm, Bait Jubr at-Tahtani, Burj al-Ahmar and Kh. 'Iqbala (Pringle 1986, 102-104; 1992a, 150). The wall cores are of coursed rubble, set in a weak earth mortar. The vaulting sometimes springs from a freestone course, but as often the spring course is of the same hard rough stone, making it difficult at times to distinguish medieval work from the later houses that are built in and among the ruins. Internally the vaults were evidently originally plastered, and traces of internal plaster still survive on vault 4.

Two principal phases of construction may be discerned. The first appears to have consisted of a square or rectangular structure, measuring 44 m. SW-NE and probably the same SE-NW. Solid rectangular turrets some 4 m. wide projected 1.95 m. from the south and east corners and from midway along the south-east and south-west sides (Pls. IV-V), while traces of another turret exist on the north-east. The outer walls are some 2 m. thick, and ranged around their inside face are remains of a series of barrel-vaults, varying in internal width from c. 3.65 m. on the north-east (3), to 4.05 m. on the south-east (2) and 5.6 m. on the south-west (1). The line of the north-western vault is probably represented by vault 10, which, however, belongs to a later phase. The northern end of the north-east range (vault 3) has also disappeared.

These vaulted ranges appear to have enclosed four sides of an open courtyard, some 26 m. square, from which they would no doubt have been accessible (Pl. VI). Indeed a break in the line of the north wall of vault 2 may indicate the former existence of a door; and another opening enclosed by an intersecting vault survives 8 m. west of it.

Other structures seem to have occupied part of the central area, though whether they belong to the first or second phase cannot be known. The western part of the enclosure, corresponding to the area marked 'Vaults covered up with rubbish' on the SWP's plan (Fig. 1), is obscured by a mound of rubble. The

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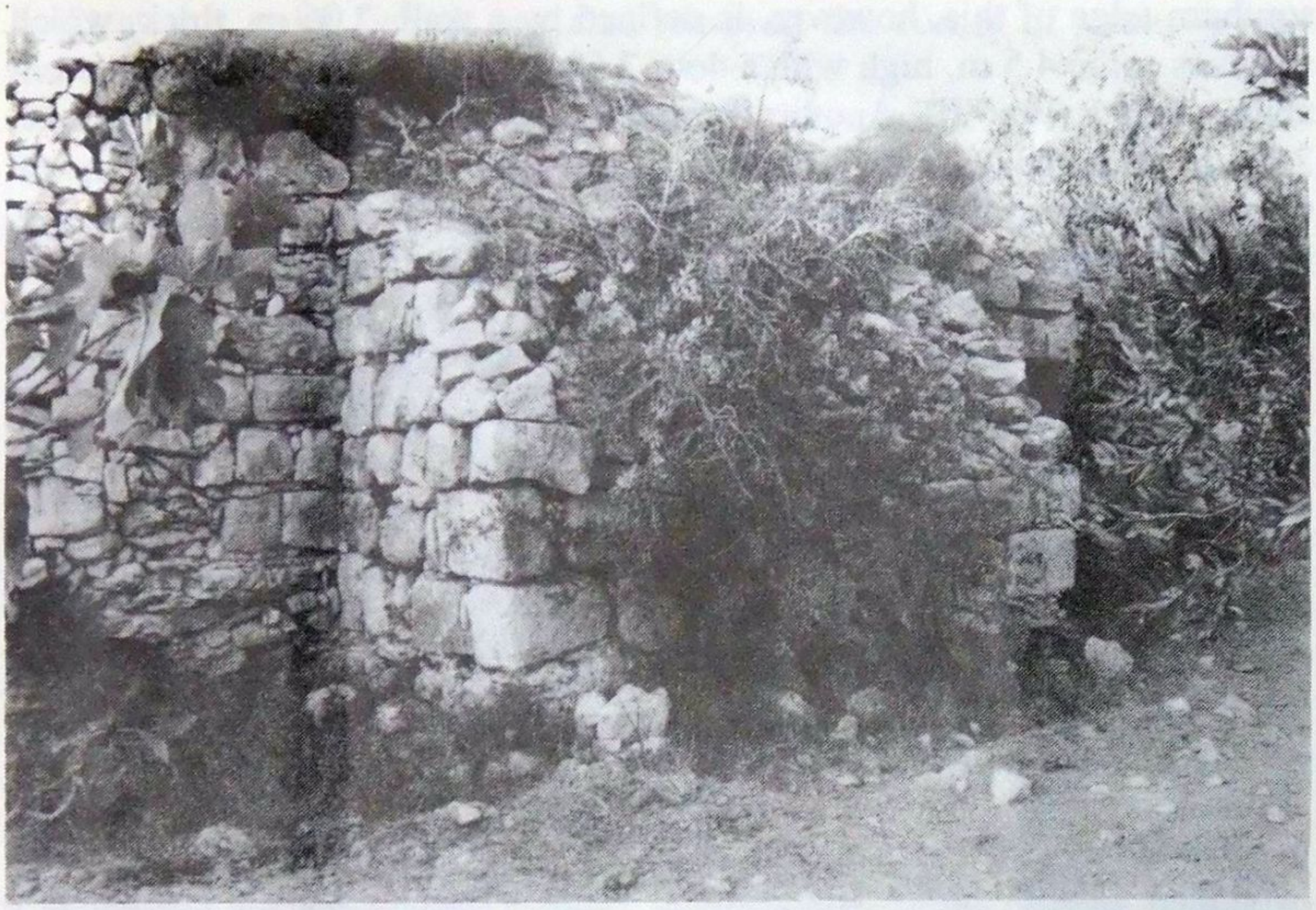


Pl. III. View N. from Burj Bardawil, showing Burj al-Lisana on the skyline, overlooking the Nablus road where it passes through the Wadi al-Haramiya. Birkat ad-Dawiya lies in front of the clump of trees in the valley bottom (photo. author 1989). A general view of the natural environment.



Pl. IV. Burj Bardawil: the S corner-turret (photo. author 1986).

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Pl. V. Burj Bardawil: interval turret on SE wall (photo. author 1986).



Pl. VI. Burj Bardawil: the central courtyard of the first phase, looking S from vault 11 towards vault 2 (photo. author 1989).

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southern edge of this, however, is defined by a wall, 2.05 m. thick, which survives some 4.5 m. high with a door 2.58 m. wide at its west end where it abuts vault 1 (Pl. VII). Another feature in this area is a low-level passage, 2.06 m. wide, covered by a pointed barrel-vault with interesting groins on the south, which survives to the west of vault 11; it is uncertain, however, how it related to the other features. Vault 11 itself may possibly have been a secondary addition to the southern face of the north-west range. It now survives in a fragmentary state as part of a later house; it is 3.72 m. wide internally, but its south wall appears to have been reduced in thickness and its north wall, and its relationship to the north-west range, is obscured by the later vault 10.

It seems likely that the vaulted ranges of the first-phase structure would once have supported an upper storey. This is also suggested by the existence in the remains of the eastern corner-turret of a garderobe chute emptying into a vaulted pit beneath the same turret (Pl. VIII).

In a secondary phase, or series of phases, the early rectangular complex was expanded when a series of additional vaulted structures were erected in a fan shape downhill to the east and north-east. The most massive of these is vault 4, known locally as al-baubariya, which extended some 41 m. downhill and due east of the partially demolished east corner-turret of the first-phase building (Pl. II). Internally, this vault is some 6.9 m. wide, and its side walls are some 3 m. thick. The two openings in the north wall shown on the SWP plan are indicated by intersecting vaults, but their character can now only be determined by excavation (Pl. IX).

As remarked above, vault 10 appears to post-date the original north-western range of the courtyard building, over which it is built. Three of its corners are visible, showing it to have been 16.6 m. SW-NE, and 9.4 m. SE-NW, with walls about 2 m. thick. On the north-west, abutting it and at right-angles to it is vault 9, measuring 16.45 by 5.95 m. internally, with walls also 2 m. thick. The west corner of this structure has rusticated quoins with drafted margins. From its north corner and clearly secondary to it, another vault (8) runs off to the north-east to form the start of the north-western side of the fan-shaped extension. Vault 8 is 4.2 m. wide internally and 8-10.5 m. long, with a doorway 0.96 m. wide and a splayed slit-window in the inward facing wall. Its pointed vault is pierced by a rectangular vent near its south-western end. The wall between this vault and the north corner of the 'fan' is not straight, and shows evidence of various phases of rebuilding, some of them recent (Pl. X). There is no longer any trace of the gateway seen by the SWP immediately beyond vault 8, but a change in

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build at this point (which has also removed the corner of vault 8) may indicate its position.



Pl. VII. Burj Bardawil: the central courtyard, looking N from S corner (photo. author 1989).



Pl. VIII. Burj Bardawil: garderobe (or latrine) chute in E corner-turret of first phase (photo. author 1986).

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Pl. IX. Burj Bardawil: intersecting vault in N side of vault 4 (al-baubariya) (photo. author 1989).

On the downhill side to the north-east, the fan-shaped enclosure is defined by an almost continuous barrel-vault (5-6), 6.25 m. wide internally with walls some 2.4 m. thick, which alters direction at certain points, following the contours of the hill (Pl. XI). This was subdivided internally, and in its northern sector (6) there are traces of three pointed segmental-arched openings communicating with the enclosed area uphill. Remains of a gateway, 2.5 m. wide, survive in the external wall near the junction of vault 5 with vault 4; and a drain with a projecting stone sill pierces the external wall at the north-west end of vault 5. At the north corner of the complex (7), a more complicated arrangement of barrel-vaults and a semi-vault seems to have been intended to support a more elaborate superstructure; but this has disappeared (Pl. X).

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Frankish Settlement North of Ramallah in the Twelfth Century

Deserted Crusader structures such as Burj Bardawil, sited provocatively on a hilltop dominating the surrounding countryside, may easily be seen today as illustrations both of the apparent self-confidence with which the Franks took possession of Palestine in the twelfth century and on the other hand of the tenuousness of their actual hold on the land and its people. It was indeed in such terms that Professor Baramki opened this conference. However, leaving aside the question of whether such an interpretation has any relevance for understanding the present-day problems of the region, it should be pointed out that as far as the twelfth century is concerned it provides only a partial view of the nature of Frankish settlement; for documentary and archaeological evidence combine to suggest that in the area north of Jerusalem Frankish settlement was more intensive and socially and economically more integrated than has often been supposed (Ellenblum 1991, part III; 1992, 176-178, Fig. 2).

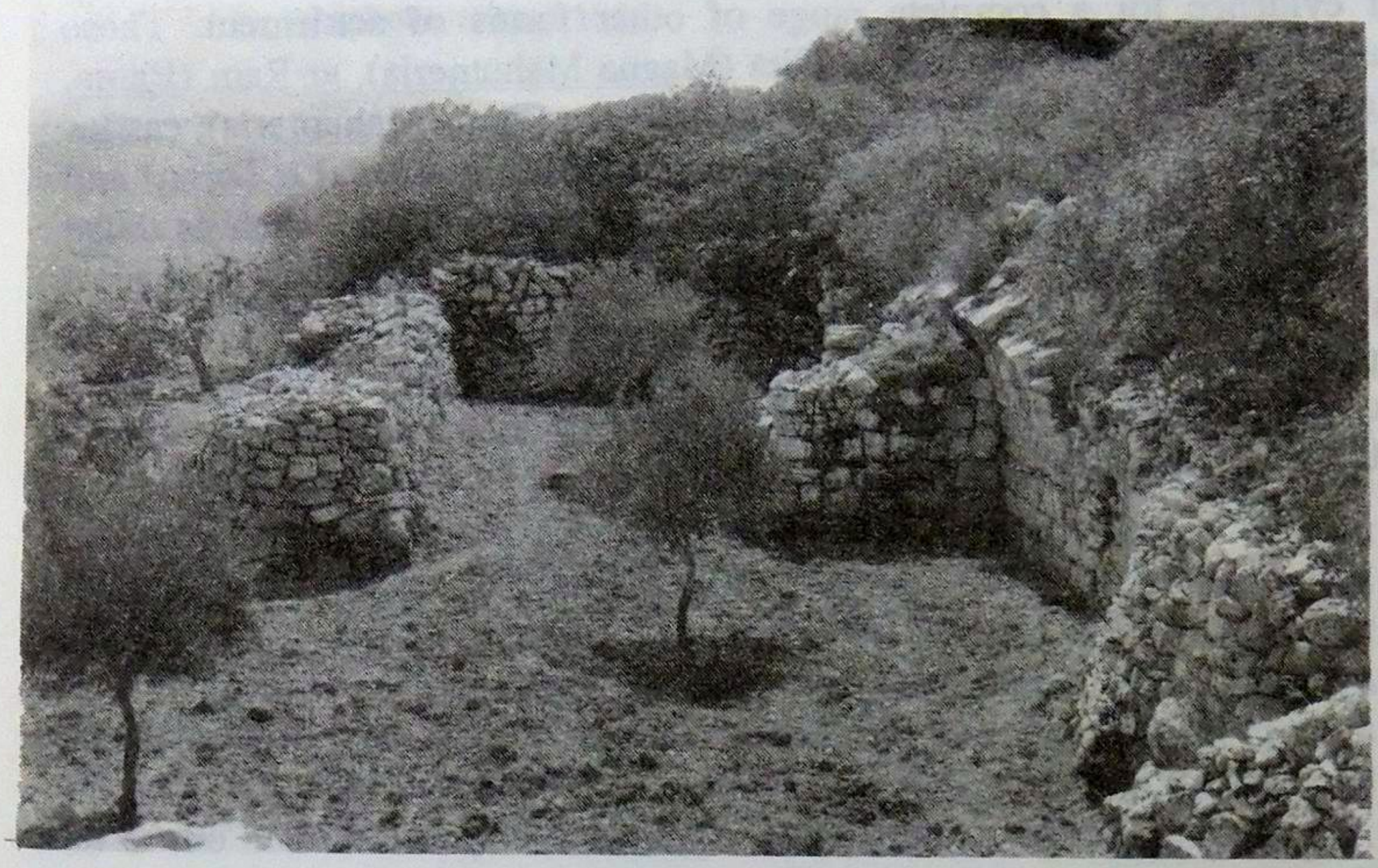
While it appears to be the case that in the Judaean hills, as elsewhere in twelfth-century Palestine, the Frankish population was largely urban, settled in this case mainly in Jerusalem itself, there is also a growing body of evidence for a complete range of other forms of settlement. These included 'new towns' such as al-Bira (Magna Mahumeria), ar-Ram (Rama, Ramatha), Bait Suriq (Bethsuri) and al-Qubaiba (Parua Mahumeria), castles such as Suba (Belmont), Yalu (Castellum Arnaldi), Latrun (Le Toron) and at-Taiyiba (castiel St. Elyes), Latin religious establishments such as those at Bethany, Bethlehem 'Ain Karim and Abu Ghosh (castellum Emmaus), and a multitude of towers and semi-fortified building complexes, representing the rural residences and granges of lesser lords and their vassals, or of the stewards or village headmen (ra'is) who acted on behalf of religious or absentee landlords.

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Pl. X. Burj Bardawil: NW wall of the second-phase extension, running from vault complex 7 (left) to vaults 8 and 9 (right) (photo. author 1989).



Pl. XI. Burj Bardawil: vault 6, looking S (photo. author 1989).

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When we look at the settlement history of the area, we also find that most of the rural sites that were occupied by the Franks in the twelfth century have yielded evidence for earlier occupation, going back in some cases to the Early Bronze Age (Kochavi 1972; Finkelstein 1989). The site of Burj Bardawil itself, for example, is littered with Byzantine pottery of the fifth to seventh centuries. Compared to the centuries immediately preceding it, the twelfth century represented a relatively stable period, during which encouragement was also given to the growth of indigenous village settlements,many of which are referred to in Frankish documents by the same names that they bear today. Indeed, a recent major archaeological survey of the area has concluded that 'in the Medieval period were laid the foundations of the settlement pattern that has endured to the present day' (Finkelstein 1989, 164). Seen from this perspective, the view commonly expressed - though more often by modern political commentators than by historians with a knowledge of the period - that the Frankish settlement was superficial, tenuous or somehow irrelevant to the long-term settlement history of the region, is shown to be seriously deficient.

In order to approach a better understanding of the context and possible function of Burj Bardawil, let us therefore take a brief look at the evidence for Frankish settlement in the area round it (Fig. 3). This area, lying astride the road that follows the crest of the hills between Ramallah and Khan al-Lubban, repesented in the twelfth century the northern part of the royal domain centered on Jerusalem (Beyer 1942). To the north lay the lordship of Nablus.

Frankish settlement in this area took a number of different forms. Although there were no major towns, a new town was established on an existing village site at al-Bira around 1120. The Crusader name for this, Mahumeria or Magna Mahumeria, suggests that the earlier inhabitants included Muslims; and both Muslims and Christians are recorded among the population of the surrounding area in the twelfth century. Magna Mahumeria was a planned settlement, with a main street (today represented by Shari' Maghtarbain) flanked to either side by vaulted houses. The street ran from a newly built church (first mentioned in 1128) at the north end, downhill to the fortified courthouse (curia) at the south end. Settlers from France and elsewhere in the West were encouraged by the landowners and promoters of the enterprise, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, to come and set up house in the new settlement, where they were given building plots and a share in its agricultural resources on attractive terms. The affairs of the inhabitants were regulated by their own court, and the interests of the

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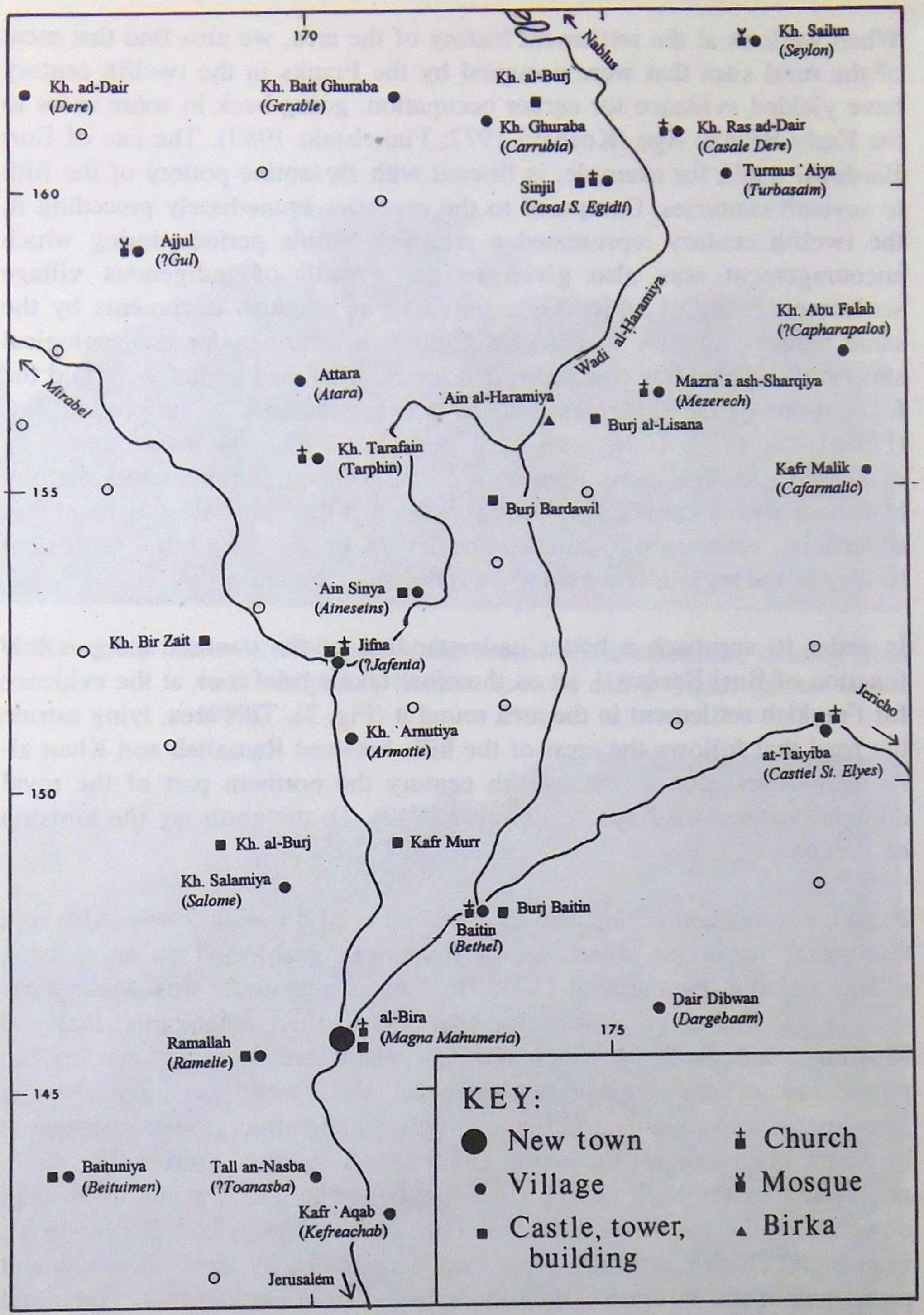


Fig. 3: The area north of Ramallah in the twelfth century. (Open circles represent modern villages that may be assumed to have existed in the twelfth century).

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canons were looked after by their steward (dispensator), who received into the vaults of the courthouse the annual renders of agricultural produce, notably grapes for winemaking, paid in as rents and tithes. By c.1185 the population numbered 500-700, comparable to a small market town in England in the same period (Prawer 1980, 126-132; Pringle 1985; 1993, I, 161-165).

At al-Bira, a tower was one of the earliest buildings to be erected by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre at their new settlement, and in 1124 the old men, women and children took refuge in it during a Muslim raid launched from Ascalon (Pringle 1985, 151). Although towers were often used as refuges in times of danger, and sometimes, as at Bethany in the 1140s, were built specifically for that purpose (Pringle 1923, I, 134-135), the prime function of most Crusader towers, including most probably that at al-Bira, was to form part of the residence and administrative base of the local landowner or his representative. As most of the surviving documentation for land ownership comes from the archives of religious houses and orders, an impression tends to be given that most of Frankish Palestine was in religious ownership. This impression is probably misleading, at least as far as the early twelfth century is concerned. Many of the twelfth-century secular buildings that we find in the area north of Ramallah more probably related to small lordships held directly or indirectly from the king by knights and their vassals.

One of the larger examples of such structures is the castle that occupies the summit of the hill around which cluster the houses of the present-day village of at-Taiyiba (Grid ref. 17841512). The existence of remains of a Byzantine church beneath the modern Greek Orthodox church and evidence for the medieval rebuilding of another Byzantine church, dedicated to St. George (al-Khidr), indicate continuity of Christian settlement from the late Roman period (Bagatti 1979, 31-36). The castle, known in the twelfth century as the Castle of St. Elias, occupied a position of strategic importance overlooking one of the principal routes of access to the hill country north of Jerusalem from Jericho and the Jordan Valley; and although its date of foundation and early history are unknown, its importance is underlined by the social and political standing of those to whom it was granted later in the century. We first hear of it being granted by Baldwin IV to Joscelin III of Courtenay, titular count of Edessa; the grant would evidently have occurred after the latter's release from captivity in Aleppo in 1175 and possibly on his appointment as seneschal the following year. In February 1182, Joscelin surrendered the castle to the

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king along with Lubanum (Lubban Sharqiya) and Carrubia (Kh. Ghuraba), and received in return an extensive lordship centered on Castellum Novum (Mi'iliya) in Galilee (TOT, 13-14, No. 14; RRH, 163, No. 614). Three years later, in 1185, the castle was granted by the child king, Baldwin V, to his grandfather, William III of Montferrat, who despite his advanced years had taken the cross and set out for Outremer on hearing of his grandson's accession to the throne (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 125-126); Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (ed. Morgan, 24-25; RHC Occ, II, 14-15)).

The Castle of St. Elias was surveyed by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1988 (Fig. 4). It was found to consist of a compact inner ward, some 28 m. square, with solid clasping turrets similar to those at Burj Bardawil at the corners and midway along the sides. This was perhaps built on the south-east against a tower, some 15 m. square, whose remains now form part of a house. A doorway on the east, 1.4 m. wide, led through a barrel-vault, 6.6 m. wide, into a square central court of the same width, from which other vaults opened to north and south. Directly opposite, a smaller door flanked by two windows gave access into another barrel-vault, running north-south the length of the building. The main domestic apartments are likely to have been on the floor above, which has now disappeared. Lower down the hill on the north stand the remains of an outer wall, polygonal in plan following the contours of the hill and with a sloping outer face (Pringle 1989, 22-25, Fig.; cf. Benvenisti 1982, 147-150, Figs. 19-20).

Most of the other Crusader structures surviving in the area are more modest in scale. At Kh. al-Burj (Grid ref. 17381614) we find a large rectangular tower with a barrel-vaulted ground floor, the door to which also gives access to an ascending staircase inside the wall; the tower stands at the center of a rectangular enclosure (Guérin 1874, II, 32; Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 307; Palestine 1948, 97; Kochavi 1972, 169, No. 41). Close to Burj Bardawil, on another hilltop overlooking 'Ain al-Haramiya, this time from the east, stands Burj al-Lisana (Grid ref. 17481562) (Pls. II-III). Here the tower measures about 12.75 by 9.7 m., and has walls 1.8-2.0 m. thick. Like Kh. al-Burj, it had a barrel-vaulted ground floor and stood within an apparently later enclosure (Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 307-309; Palestine 1948, 103; Kochavi 1972, 171, No. 57). Remains of another, apparently isolated, tower, now standing only 2-3 m. high, survive at another Kh. al-Burj (Grid ref. 16961483), beside the road from Ramallah to Birzeit University campus (Palestine 1948, 110; Benvenisti 1970, 338; Kochavi 1972, 177, No. 88).

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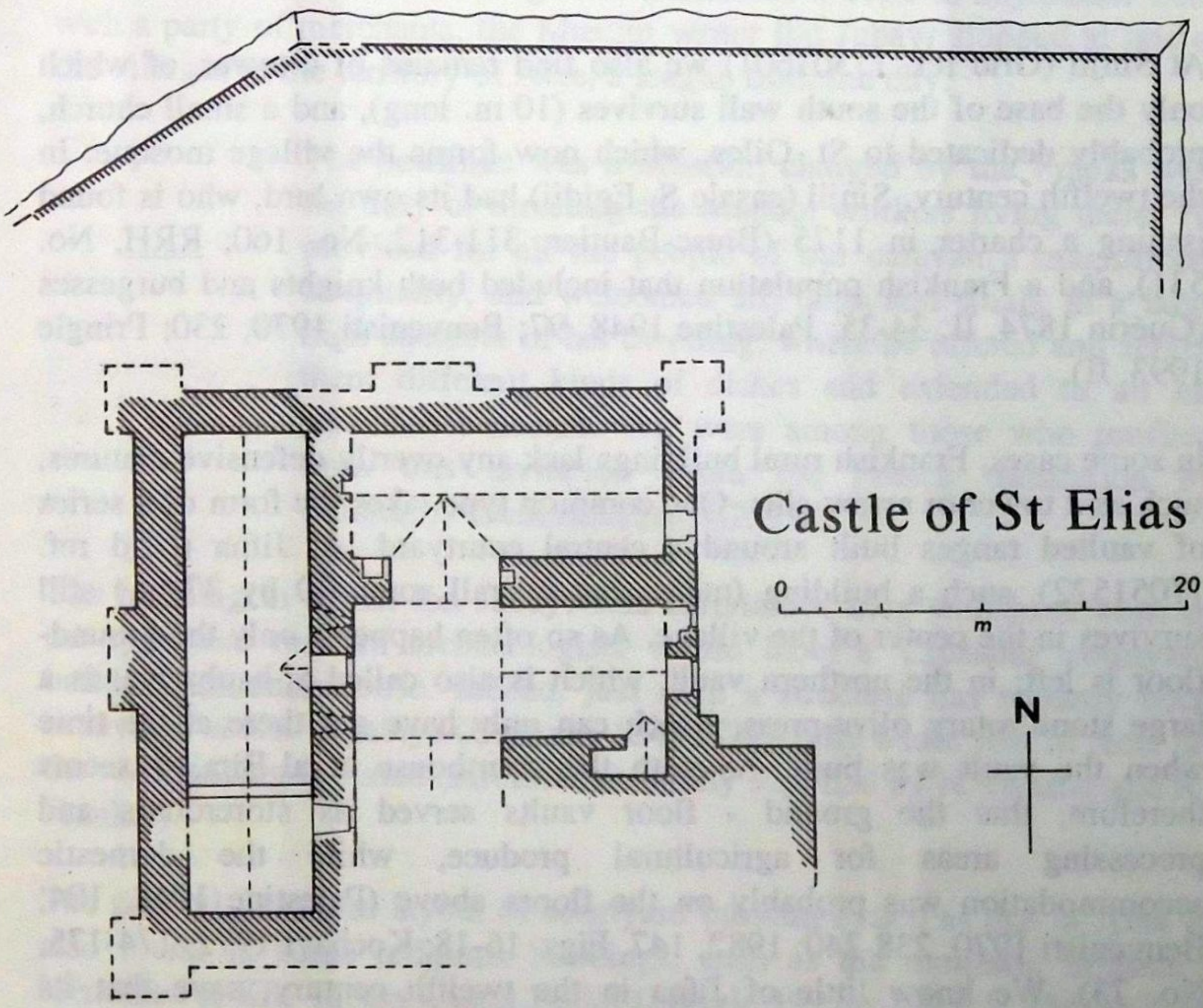


Fig. 4 Al-Taiyiba: the Castle of St. Elias (surveyed by Matthew Pease and the author, 20 August 1988).

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On the east side of the village of Baitin stands Burj Baitin (Grid ref. 17331477). This consists of a tower (11 by 9.5 m.) set within a rectangular enclosure (36.6 by 32 m.). The complex is built on the site of a former Byzantine church and incorporates material from it (Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 307; Schneider 1934; Palestine 1948, 113; Kochavi 1972, 178, No. 91). Sometime after 1138, Baitin was granted by Balian I of Ibelin to the Premonstratensian canons of St. Joseph and St. Habakkuk (a double house, with churches at Rantis and Kafr Jinnis, north of Lydda, respectively), who in 1159/60 exchanged it for other lands with the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. During the intervening period, the Premonstratensians had built a church (whose remains are now incorporated into the village mosque) and other buildings in Baitin; but the tower, which is also mentioned in the documents, may possibly have been constructed during an earlier secular phase of ownership (Bresc-Bautier, 139-142, Nos. 52-53; Pringle 1993, I, 104-105).

At Sinjil (Grid ref. 17501601) we also find remains of a tower, of which only the base of the south wall survives (10 m. long), and a small church, probably dedicated to St. Giles, which now forms the village mosque. In the twelfth century, Sinjil (casale S. Egidii) had its own lord, who is found issuing a charter in 1175 (Bresc-Bautier, 311-312, No. 160; RRH, No. 531), and a Frankish population that included both knights and burgesses (Guérin 1874, II, 34-35; Palestine 1948, 97; Benvenisti 1970, 230; Pringle 1993, II).

In some cases, Frankish rural buildings lack any overtly defensive features, such as a tower or arrow-slits. One common type takes the form of a series of vaulted ranges built around a central courtyard. At Jifna (Grid ref. 17051522), such a building (measuring overall some 30 by 37 m.) still survives in the center of the village. As so often happens, only the ground-floor is left; in the northern vault, which is also called al-baubariya, is a large stone rotary olive-press, which can only have got there at the time when the vault was built. As with the courthouse at al-Bira, it seems therefore, that the ground - floor vaults served as storerooms and processing areas for agricultural produce, while the domestic accommodation was probably on the floors above (Palestine 1948, 104; Benvenisti 1970, 238-240; 1982, 147, Figs. 16-18; Kochavi 1972, 174-175, No. 73). We know little of Jifna in the twelfth century, save that its inhabitants included indigenous Christians. Some of these, Ibrahim and his brothers, the sons of Musa, played a part in restoring the monastery of Choziba in the Wadi Qilt in the latter part of the century; and there is also

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evidence for the use of at least one of the village churches during this period (Bagatti 1979, 111-115; Pringle 1993, I, 279-282). A certain Raimundus de Jafenia, who witnessed a charter in Acre in 1182, could perhaps have had a connection with Jifna (RRH, 162, No. 613).

Whoever owned Jifna in the twelfth century, however, it seems likely that the courtyard building would have performed a function similar to that of a small castle, but with the difference that its military role would have been negligible. Its function may therefore be compared to that of the semi-fortified houses, or maisons fortes, that archaeologists and historians have identified in France as having belonged in many cases to the lesser ranks of the feudal hierarchy: the sergeants, esquires and vassals of knights, rather than to knights themselves (Louise 1986). In Frankish Palestine, where landowners were often absentee, running their estates through local estate officials, the residents of such buildings need not always have been Frankish at all. While travelling from Damascus to Acre in September 1182 with a party of merchants, the Muslim writer Ibn Jubayr stopped at one of the villages in the territory of Acre, a league from the city.

> The headman was a Muslim, charged by the Franks with the duty of directing the Muslim workers living there. He provided for all the people of our caravan a magnificent hospitality, and welcomed all, large and small, in a large high chamber of his dwelling, where he offered and served them different kinds of dishes and extended to all his generous welcome. We were among those who profited from this invitation (from the French translation by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, III, 354).

The building in which Ibn Jubayr was entertained may well have been of the type that modern archaeologists would label a 'Crusader' courtyard building or manorhouse. Indeed, just such a structure has recently been excavated at Kh. 'Ayadiya (Grid ref. 16482576), only 8 km. east of Acre on the road leading to Safad (information kindly supplied by N. Getzov and R. Frankel).

The general form and layout of courtyard buildings such as that at Jifna is also found in some religious buildings, such as the monastic infirmary identified at Kh. 'Iqbala (Aqua Bella) (Pringle 1992a; 1993, I, 239-250) or the Cistercian abbey at 'Allar as-Sufla (Pringle 1992b; 1993, I, 47-52). Where documentary evidence is lacking, caution therefore needs to be exercised in interpreting such buildings. A secular interpretation, however,

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seems appropriate at Kh. Bir Zait (Grid ref. 16821535), where we find a rectangular complex (35 by 37 m. overall), with three vaulted ranges set around a courtyard containing a cistern (Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 329; Palestine 1948, 102; Benvenisti 1970, 237; Kochavi 1972, 173-174, No. 72; Pringle 1986a, 19-20, Fig. 6). At Baituniya (Grid ref. 16621436), south-west of Ramallah, remains of a large vaulted building containing on olive-press survive in the village center (Palestine 1948, 111; Benvenisti 1970, 233; 258). Other apparently secular buildings of less certain Crusader identification have also been noted at 'Ain Siniya (Grid ref. 17181532: Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 291; Palestine 1948, 104), Kh. Kafr Murr (Grid ref. 17141491: Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 354; Palestine 1948, 112) and Ramallah itself (Grid ref. 168145: Palestine 1948, 110; Bagatti 1979, 102).

Such is the evidence for Frankish settlement activity in the area north of Ramallah in the twelfth century. Evidence relating to the indigenous population is more thinly spread. This is partly because the documentary sources are concerned mostly with the Franks or with those with whom they had closest dealings (mainly the Christian population), and partly because the architectural evidence for village houses is less durable and even where it may be suspected less easily datable without archaeological excavation. We can only assume therefore, that the indigenous population would probably have considerably outnumbered the Frankish population in the area. The relative proportion of Christians to Muslims, however, is harder to assess, though it is likely to have been higher than it is today. It may be noted, for example, that al-Harawi makes no mention of any Muslim holy sites between Sinjil, where he saw Joseph's Pit (Jubb Yusuf), and Jerusalem when he travelled down the main road in 1173 (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, pp. 61-62). However, an inscription recording the construction of a mosque at 'Ajjul (Grid ref. 167159) by Abu'l-Majd Ibn 'Abd al-Jalil, in Ramadan 572 H./June-July A.D. 1176-77 (PAM, report by S.A.S. Husseini, 3 January 1935; squeeze Nos. 561-2, photo No. 9447; cf. Palestine 1948, 101), suggests that Muslim communities continued to flourish in areas away from the main roads.

Burj Bardawil in Context

Finally, we must ask how Burj Bardawil fitted into the picture of Frankish settlement that has just been drawn. Victor Guérin, basing his conclusion on its place-name and mode of construction, suggested plausibly enough

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that its foundation was due to one of the five Baldwins who reigned as kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century (1874, II, 37). Other writers have stressed the complex's defensive features and remarked on its apparent strategic siting, commanding the Wadi al-Haramiya (Creswell, report in PAM, 1919; Prawer 1975, II, 138 footnote 14). Meron Benvenisti, however, has noted the lack of any specifically defensive features, and has suggested that the complex was more likely to have been a farm (1970, 238).

A courtyard building consisting of vaulted ranges set around a central courtyard, and with solid clasping turrets or buttresses at the corners has been identified at 'Umm Khalid, a khirba now engulfed by the suburbs of modern Natanya (Grid ref. 13751929). In 1135 this was referred to as the castle (castellare) of Roger the Lombard, though in terms of its form and likely function it may be more readily identified as one of the semi-fortified maisons fortes described already (Pringle 1986, 73-75, Fig. 19, Pls. XXII-XXIII). We find the same rectangular plan and corner and interval turrets on the inner ward of the Castle of St. Elias at at-Taiyiba (Fig. 4). At Suba (Belmont), the castle's inner ward also consisted of a courtyard building, with vaulted ranges enclosing four sides of a central court, and with solid turrets projecting from the walls. Here, as at at-Taiyiba, the inner ward, occupying the summit of the hill, was enclosed by a polygonally shaped outer wall with a sloping face lower down the slopes; and between the inner ward and the outer wall there was, as at Burj Bardawil, a series of barrel-vaults following the contours of the hill (Harper 1990; Harper and Pringle 1988; 1989). The fact that the inner ward at Suba contained a wine-press indicates that its function was not much different to that of a maison forte; possibly it only developed into a fully fledged castle, in the military sense of the word, by gradual stages (cf. Pringle 1989, 22). Burj Bardawil may therefore represent a maison forte that never quite developed into a castle.

By c.1160 Suba (Belmont) belonged to the Hospitallers, though it had not necessarily always been theirs (Harper and Pringle 1988, 102). There is no direct evidence to tell us who owned Burj Bardawil in the twelfth century; however, some evidence relating to other places in the immediate vicinity may possibly have a bearing on the question.

In 1112, Patriarch Arnulf granted the tithes that Godfrey de Cauis was paying on the villages of Mezera and Daltim to the abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Delaborde, 21, No. 1; RRH, 14-15, No. 67). Godfrey is styled de Turri in later confirmations of this charter (e.g.

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Delaborde, 64, No. 28 [1154]; Kohler, Chartes, 19, No. 17 [1129]; Hiestand, Vorarbeiten, III, 206, No. 70 [1154]; 210, No. 72 [1155]; RRH Ad, 10, No. 129a [1129]), allowing us to identify him as Godfrey of the Tower of David, castellan of Jerusalem, who witnessed a charter of King Baldwin I in 1104 (RRH, 8, No. 42) and held lands from the king near Jerusalem and in Transjordan (Kohler, Chartes, 10, No. 6 [1115]; RRH, 62, No. 245; Tibble 1989, 85; 159). Mezera and Daltim evidently lay near to each other in the royal domain; they may be identified with Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya (Grid ref. 17601568) and Kh. Tarafain (Grid ref. 17011556), which lie to either side of the Jerusalem-Nablus road and of the celebrated valley (cauea) through which it passes, about 3 km. ENE and WNW of Burj Bardawil respectively (Pringle 1993, II). Later in the twelfth century, both villages passed to the Templars, and in 1183 Patriarch Heraclius settled a dispute that had arisen between the order and the abbey of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat concerning the same tithes. As a result, the Templars agreed to pay half of the tithes on all sources of income to the abbey, except those levied on their own possessions, on fodder for their animals, on their gardens and on the churches that they might build in the two villages (Delaborde, 89-90, No. 42; Hiestand, Vorarbeiten, III, 301-303, No. 126; RRH, 167, No. 631). It would seem therefore that the Templars were not simply collecting rents from this estate, but were exploiting at least some of the lands directly.

A Templar presence in the area is also indicated by the place-name, Birkat ad-Dawiya (Pool of the Templars), which has been applied since the twelfth century to a rectangular masonry-built cistern (Grid ref. 17401561), plastered internally and formerly covered by a pointed vault (Conder and Kitchener 1881, II, 302; cf. Guérin 1874, II, 36; Palestine 1948, 103). This was fed from the 'Ain al-Haramiya, or 'Spring of the Robbers'. Al-Haramiya, however, was also a term applied to the Templars themselves, being a pun on al-Haram, the Temple area in Jerusalem where they had their headquarters. The Birkat ad-Dawiya was evidently used as a road station in the twelfth century. It was here, for example, that Saladin spent the night of 14 October 1192 while en route from Jerusalem to Nablus (Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, V, 87); 'Imād al-Dīn, trans. Massé, 398; Bahā' al-Dīn (PPTS, XIII, 394)). It seems very possible, therefore, that a Templar guard-post was the precursor of the deserted police station of the Mandate period that occupies the site today.

Drawing the strands of evidence together, we may suggest the following hypothesis. The lands in which Burj Bardawil stood formed part of a

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lordship in the royal domain, that was granted to a secular lord perhaps at the time of Baldwin I. Whether or not this lord was Godfrey de Cauis (or de Turri) we cannot tell, though the name de Cauis (and the fact that Mezera is referred to in some later confirmations as Cauea) suggests that Godfrey's lordship would have included part of the valley (Wadi al-Haramiya) lying between Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya and Kh. Tarafain. The buildings of Burj Bardawil would have represented the lord's residence and estate center or farm, a maison forte rather than a castle in the military sense; and although in time they expanded down the hillside, they would never have been fully defensible. Later in the twelfth century, Burj Bardawil may well have passed to the Templars along with the lands that had formerly belonged to Godfrey; but here again there can be no certainty, since our knowledge of the possessions of the Templars in the Kingdom of Jerusalem is extremely sparse.

Such an explanation can be no more than tentative. In the absence of more explicit documentary sources, however, it serves to underline the crucial importance of surviving archaeological and topographical evidence for shedding light on the evolution of the landscape during the medieval period. Sites such as Burj Bardawil and others like it should not therefore be despised as symbols of past domination, but protected, recorded and studied for what they can tell us about a formative phase in the history of settlement in the region.

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PPTS — Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society Library, 13 Vols. London (1890-97).

RHC Occ — Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux, 5 Vols. Paris (1844-95)

RHC Or — Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux, 5 Vols. Paris (1872-1906).

RRH — Regesta Regni Hierosolimitani. Ed. R. Röhricht. Innsbruck (1873).

RRH Ad — Regesta Regni Hierosolimitani. Additamentum. Ed. R. Röhricht. Innsbruck (1904).

TOT — Tabulae Ordinis Theutonicae ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum. Ed. E. Strehlke. Berlin (1869). Reprinted with preface by H.E. Mayer, Toronto (1975).

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Jihad Propaganda in Syria From the Time of the First Crusade Until the Death of Zengi: the Evidence of Monumental Inscriptions

CAROLE HILLENBRAND

Introduction

It is a well-known fact, as Muslim sources themselves openly admitted,[1] that by the time the Crusaders arrived in the Near East and took Jerusalem in 1099, the disunited and strife-ridden Muslim world had lost the spirit of jihād which had already appeared at intervals in its preceding history, especially on the Byzantine and Central Asian frontiers.[2] Thanks above all to the pioneering work of the French scholar Emmanuel Sivan,[3] the gradual development of the concept of jihād as a propaganda weapon against the Crusaders has been clearly charted. Sivan argued persuasively that the real impetus towards jihād and the real propaganda campaign which underpinned that Muslim political reunification in Egypt, Syria, the Jazīra and Palestine so necessary to defeat and expel the Crusaders took definitive shape under the aegis of Nūr al-Dīn (1146-74). And no-one would

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1 Cf. the evidence from poets and historians cited in the Introduction to E. Sivan, l'Islam et la Croisade, Paris, 1968, 9-22.

2 Cf. the rousing jihād sermons of Ibn Nubāta produced in the Hamdanid court. A selection of these was published by M. Canard, Sayf al-Daula: Recueil de textes relatifs à l'emir Sayf al-Daula le Ḥamdānide, Algiers, 1934. For the situation on the Central Asian frontier, cf. the evidence of recent excavations at Paykand (near Bukhara) which have brought to light some of the ribāṭs noted there by medieval geographers. The Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam records that Paykand was a "borough with a thousand ribāṭs" (tr. V. Minorsky, London, 1970, 113).

3 Op. cit.

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seriously contest his conclusion that the jihād campaign reached its climax in the time of Saladin and specifically in his recapture of Jerusalem in 1187.

It is clear that the full exploitation of an extremely effective and multi-facetted jihād propaganda machine was not just a supplementary weapon in the Muslim arsenal but, on the contrary, that it was the key factor in the reunification and revitalization of those Muslim territories contiguous with the Crusader states. Jihād propaganda - in the form of religious tracts, poems, speeches, letters, sermons, as well as the so-called Books of jihād and the Faḍā'il al-Quds literature which extols the virtues of visiting Palestine and more especially Jerusalem formed the basis for the military efforts centered on Jerusalem itself. But coming events cast their shadow before. As it happens, the period before Nūr-al-Dīn, the period from the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 to the death of Zengi in 1146, has received much less scholarly attention than it deserves within the framework of the evolution of jihād propaganda. Admittedly Sivan's book, which is extremely ambitious in scope, covering as it does the whole of the period from 1099 to 1291, devotes some discussion (some 35 pages out of a total of 206)[4] to Muslim activities pre-1146. A recent article by Yasir Tabbaa[5] confronts the problem of jihād directly, but here too - though there is much penetrating analysis of the architecture and inscriptions of Nūr-al-Dīn - the period before 1146 receives somewhat short shrift.

The aim here is to focus closely on the period 1099-1146 through an analysis of the evidence of historical architectural inscriptions within this time frame in the area of Syria - inscriptions, moreover, which are not anonymous but are clearly associated with specific contemporary personalities. Thereafter, some tentative conclusions will be drawn which may be of relevance in illuminating our knowledge of how jihād was re-awakened in the twelfth century Near East.

First, a few general comments by way of introduction and warning. Why focus on inscriptions? There are a number of valid reasons for doing so. First, their unfamiliarity. There is no doubt that for the period 1099-1146

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4 Op. Cit., 23-58.

5 Y. Tabbaa, "Monuments with a message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur al-Din (1146-1174)" in The Meeting of Two Worlds, ed. V.P. Goss, Kalamazoo, 1986, 223-40.

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their historical value has been neglected. Sivan's book is primarily based on a wide range of literary sources and pays scant attention to epigraphic evidence. It is true that Elisséeff[6] and Tabbaa made thorough use of inscriptions in their writings on Nūr al-Dīn. Given the wealth of such material for his reign, it is perhaps inevitable that the earlier period 1099-1146 did not come under their scrutiny in the same way.

The major value of inscriptions, moreover, is their contemporaneous quality. This is in sharp contrast to literary historical sources which for the most part date from a later period and which have, therefore, to be treated with caution and stripped, if that is possible, of later prejudices and preoccupations. Thirdly, inscriptions of historical content erected in the Near East in the early twelfth century were of deliberately public nature. Virtually all of them were executed at the behest of sultans, high amīrs and similar notables. Here, then, if anywhere, is the authentic voice of contemporary propaganda. This is how these people or their entourage elected to present themselves to the public and to posterity.

Now a word of warning. A number of valid objections may be raised to the value of inscriptions as historical evidence. The actual survival of inscriptions is a capricious matter and tends to be patchy. There is, moreover, the danger of attributing too much historical value to inscriptions and to their highly stylized modes of expression. It could be argued that inscriptions too should be treated with caution, that the pace of change in inscriptions is slow, moving more according to the rhythm of modifications, however slight, in legal theory than in response to historical events. In short, the evidence of inscriptions can be peculiarly opaque and difficult to decode.

Nevertheless, there are sound reasons for a judicious use of inscriptions in historical research. The problem should be approached laterally as well as chronologically. It is not enough to mention an inscription uncritically. It should be evaluated in the context of the formulae employed in earlier and later inscriptions in the same geographical area, as well as with reference to surviving contemporary inscriptions in other areas of the Islamic world. By these lateral and chronological methods, minor changes in protocol can be properly highlighted and omissions as well as additions can be noted. If protocols become markedly longer it may be illuminating to point out how

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6 N. Elisséeff, "La titulature de Nour al-Dīn d'après ses inscriptions", Bulletin des Etudes Orientales, 14 (1952-4), 155-96.

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one part of the Islamic world has different emphases in its inscriptions from another.

There is often a big divide between Islamic epigraphists and Islamic historians. The former, above all van Berchem[7] and the team of scholars who compiled the Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe [8] provided an invaluable corpus of evidence. The latter, Islamic historians, usually fail to exploit that evidence. At most they cite it briefly.[9] Much the same can be said of coins, for which date and identification seem more important than mint towns or epigraphic protocols.

The epigraphic evidence 1099-1146

A few general observations first. Taken laterally, within this historical time frame the corpus of published inscriptions known for the whole of the Islamic world, from Spain to Central Asia and India, contains no references at all to jihād titulature anywhere other than Syria. Predictably the full-length and full-blown historical inscriptions in areas within Fāṭimid jurisdiction are preoccupied with claims and proofs of legitimacy.[10] Those in the eastern Islamic world, notably in Iran and Central Asia, have to do with support for the Sunni caliph at Baghdad and the pretensions of Sunni Turkish rulers. This dearth of references to jihād in the official epigraphic titulature of these areas makes the few but telling examples in Syria stand out all the more prominently, especially since the inscriptions from Spain, the other theatre of war with the Crusaders, reveal no comparable use of jihād titulature in the lacunary epigraphic corpus which has survived from that area.

The first evidence of jihād titulature in any inscriptions of this period appears to have been one in the name of Tughtegin, the ruler of Damascus. It is dated 514/1120 and is found on a qubba in the Dahdah cemetery

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7 Cf. above all his Opera Minora, Geneva, 1978, Vol, 1, 263-518, 539-60.

8 The volume used as the basis of this article is Volume VIII, ed. Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet, Cairo, 1937.

9 Sivan, for example, cites the evidence of inscriptions for only 4% of the footnotes in the chapters in his book which deal with the period pre-1146.

10 E.g. RCEA, No. 2882, Vol. VIII, 49-50.

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erected by his unnamed wife, the mother of his son Būrī.[11] In a full-blown protocol of titles familiar to the Perso-Turkish rulers of the Seljuk period, a new epithet has been added, nāṣir al-mujāhidīn ("protector of those who fight the Holy War"). Earlier inscriptions of Tughtegin have survived. None bear this title. It seems, therefore, that a new process has begun.

A key document in any discussion of jihād titulature in Syria in the Crusading period is without doubt the inscription on the tomb of the Artuqid prince Balak at Aleppo, dated 518/1124 and published by Sauvaget.[12] The inscription is revealing on two counts. Firstly, Balak, an early and much-feared opponent of the Crusaders, killed outside Manbij on 19 Rabī' I 518/6 May 1124, is called sayf al-mujāhidīn zāʿim juyūsh al-Muslimīn qāhir al-kafara wa-l-mushrikīn ("sword of those who fight the Holy War, leader of the armies of the Muslims, vanquisher of the infidels and the polytheists"). It is noteworthy that here we have a sequence of resonant titles (not just one passing title but three out of a total of eight epithets) reflecting a distinct preoccupation with jihād against the Crusaders. In other words, epigraphic norms have been overturned in the interests of exalting Balak's role as a Muslim champion in the wars against the unbelievers. In addition, Balak is given the epithet shahīd.

Also on the tomb of Balak is a Quranic quotation, Sura 3/verse 169:

> "Think not of those who are slain in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision."[13]

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11 RCEA, No. 2981 (Vol. VIII, 125); M. van Berchem, Op. Cit., 508.

12 J. Sauvaget, "La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak", Ars Islamica, Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1938, 207-15.

13 The tomb of Balak also bears a second Quranic inscription (Sura 9, verse 21):

"Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy from Him, and acceptance, and Gardens where enduring pleasure will be theirs".

This promise of Paradise is to be found on a number of tombs in medieval Syria.

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According to a recent comprehensive index of Quranic inscriptions in medieval Islamic architecture, conducted by Dodd and Khayrallah, this quotation occurs only four times in the whole of the Islamic world.[14] The juxtaposition of jihād titulature and this particular Quranic verse is therefore especially noteworthy.

The next inscription bearing jihād titulature is to be found on two large black stones from Damascus.[15] These bear an elaborate inscription in the name of Tughtegin. Amongst the grandiose titles accorded to him is again that of nāṣir al-mujāhidīn. More significant is an inscription dated 524/1130 on a madrasa in Damascus[16] founded by the freedman of Tughtegin, Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, on which he describes his master (who had died a year earlier) in a series of jihād titles, al-malik al-mujāhid al-murābiṭ al-ghāzī (the prince, the one who fights the Holy War, the one who perseveres assiduously on the frontier (against the enemy), the warrior).

There then follows, chronologically speaking, a jihād inscription dated 527/1133 in the name of Abu'l Ḥasan Yūsuf b. Fayrūz at Palmyra[17] in which he is described amongst the usual titles of Sunni rulers as muʿīn al-mujāhidīn ("helper of those who fight the Holy War").

In another inscription dated 528/1133-4, an associate of Tughtegin, Gumushtegin, is commemorated in a long string of titles on the Khiḍr mosque at Busra.[18] These include the term ẓāhir al-mujāhidīn ("helper of those who fight the Holy War"), which recurs, also in Busra, on the masjid al-Mibrak, in an inscription dated 530/1136 as part of an even longer and more grandiose protocol.

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14 E.C. Dodd &S. Khairallah, The Image of the Word; A Study of Quranic verses in Islamic architecture, Beirut, 1981.

15 RCEA, No. 3025 (Vol. VIII, 159-60).

16 RCEA, No. 3033 (Vol. VIII, 165).

17 RCEA, No. 3056 (Vol. VIII, 182).

18 RCEA, No. 3063 (Vol. VIII, 188).

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Two inscriptions dedicated to Zengi deserve longer discussion. The first, undated, is on a tower at Baʿlabakk[19] and contains a lengthy protocol, including the names Inanj Qutluq, Tughrultegin and the title ʿImād al-Dīn, as well as a number of Persian titles. This is a clear reference to Zengi,whose titulature is minutely analyzed in these terms in a detailed article by Herzfeld.[20] The person in whose honor the inscription is written is also given the titles amīr al-mujāhidīn qāmiʿ al-mulḥidīn qāhir al-kafara wa-l-mushrikīn ("commander of those who fight the Holy War, tamer of the heretics, vanquisher of the infidels and the polytheists"). The second inscription is on the mausoleum of Shaykh Muḥassin at Aleppo[21] and refers also to ʿImād al-Dīn. In the long list of titles are included qāmiʿ al-kafara wa-l-mushrikīn zāʿim al-mujāhidīn muʿīn al-juyūsh ḥāfiẓ ḥawẓat al-Muslimīn ("tamer of the infidels and the polytheists, leader of those who fight the Holy War, helper of the armies, protector of the territory of the Muslims"). The inscription is dated Muḥarram (5)37/August 1142. Whilst it is true that much of Zengi's orientation in the earlier part of his career was directed eastward towards involvement in power struggles in Iraq as well as the Jazīra,[22] we see here the beginnings of jihād nomenclature being employed for his activities in Syria even before his far-reaching victory over the Crusaders at Edessa in 1144.

It is time now to examine the preceding epigraphic evidence not in isolation but in the context of a possible epigraphic development and in comparison with what is known of the period 1099-1146 from literary historical sources. The first known occurrence of jihād titulature, the modest nāṣir al-mujāhidīn of Tughtegin, dated 514/1122, was most probably prompted by his participation with another Turkish warrior, Il-Ghāzī, in the victory against Roger of Antioch at Darb Sarmadā in Rabīʿ I

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19 RCEA, No. 3111 (Vol. VIII, 228-9).

20 E. Herzfeld, "Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Troisième partie: Syrie du Nord. Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep", vols. 76-8 of Mémoire - Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (1954-6), 188-92.

21 RCEA, No. 3112 (Vol. VIII, 229-30).

22 For the general outlines of Zengi's career, cf. H.A.R. Gibb, "Zengi and the fall of Edessa", in A History of the Crusades. ed. M.W. Baldwin, Vol. I, 449-62.

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513/June 1119.[23] Tughtegin's career had not been without its problems, including his possible complicity in the murder of Mawdūd in 507/1113 and in truces made with the Crusaders. However, he had visited the caliph at Baghdad in 1116 and may well have come back with a different concept of his role against the Crusaders.[24] Earlier epigraphic evidence which bears on Tughtegin's titles makes no mention of jihād nomenclature. The second jihād inscription in the name of Tughtegin, dated 524/1130 and put up by one of his associates, reveals a more self-confident and ambitious jihād protocol - four titles instead of one - and may well show that Tughtegin's claims to be a mujāhid were now felt by his entourage to be more firmly established. The fourfold repetition is also evidence of an increasing contemporary interest in jihād and its implications. This eulogizing inscription is found on a madrasa, a teaching institution. The inscription was intended to be read by those who were studying in the madrasa: in other words, by future members of the religious establishment, the ᶜulamā'.

What of the sophisticated inscription on the tomb of Balak? Grandiose claims are being made for the "martyr" Balak who died fighting jihād. This inscription occurs very much earlier than dates usually given for jihād "reawakening" in twelfth-century Syria and Palestine. Perhaps this confident inscription had a very localized raison d'être; perhaps, indeed, it sprang from exultation after the defeat of Roger of Antioch at Darb Sarmadā. Certainly, Sivan argues that this battle appears to have evoked feelings of jihād fervor amongst the Muslims,[25] although his sources, al-ᶜAẓīmī and Ibn al-Qalānisī, are scarcely contemporary. Sivan's statement that Balak, although he fought the Franks, hardly used jihād propaganda,[26] is not in the least compatible with the sentiments expressed on his tomb. And it is the tomb which is the most nearly contemporary witness of events. Balak had fought alongside his uncle Il-Ghāzī and Il-Ghāzī's ally,

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23 Cf. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl tārīkh Dimishq, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden, 1908, 200-1; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, Paris, 1899-1914,217

24 For a general account of the career of Tughtegin, cf. EI' art: Tughtegin (K.V. Zettersteen); W.B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East, Cambridge, 1907, 48ff.

25 Op. cit., 42.

26 Ibid.

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Tughtegin, and was an energetic soldier. The influence of Tughtegin may well have affected Balak and his entourage too.

Several of the inscriptions which bear jihād titles are on religious buildings and are linked to waqf endowments. Clearly, therefore, two distinct religious ideas are made to support each other.

Conclusions

What conclusions may be drawn from this discussion of inscriptions relating to jihād in the period 1099-1146? Early twelfth-century evidence shows that inscriptions featuring long sequences of titles, wherever they are to be found in the Islamic world, show little concern with jihād - except in Syria. The inscriptions of the Fātimids and more notably the Seljuk Turks, even when they are found in territory close to the Crusaders, reflect no preoccupation with jihād in spite of the fact that historical sources describe their military activities as jihād. Is this then evidence that the historical texts are re-writing history in the light of later preoccupations?

As for the epigraphic evidence within Syria itself, it is lacunary - but revealing. It is not too sweeping to suggest that there were awakenings of jihād awareness amongst some at least of the Turkish amīrs fighting the Crusaders in the early twelfth century. However hollow jihād titles may have become by the Ayyūbid period, it is surely significant that the timing of the first appearance of these titles on public buildings coincides with the first modest military victories on the part of the Muslims against the Crusaders. And by virtue of being innovations alone these titles must have had a powerful impact at the time. It is surely significant also that the Muslims began at least to interpret these victories in the light of jihād and were preparing for the more fully-fledged propaganda campaigns of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin. It was the jurists of Islam who interpreted jihād and it was also they who composed the wording of inscriptions, who were the leaders of public opinion and who provided the bridge between the common people and their military overlords. These modest and apparently unheralded titles on architectural monuments evoked in lapidary form echoes of earlier Islamic victories. They were a reminder of the Quranic passages which speak of fighting in God's path. They were also an echo which recalled the great military campaigns of the early caliphs of the seventh century. The juxtaposition of jihād titles and a relevant Quranic quotation on the tomb of Balak in 518/1122 is a remarkable and surprisingly early example of the linking of military and religious aims in

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the struggle against the Crusaders. It is a clear indication that Nūr al-Dīn was building on foundations which had already been laid two decades earlier. It is therefore, perhaps too crude to "explain" (as has hitherto been done) the Muslim recovery and revival of morale as stemming so clearly from a turning point after the fall of Edessa and the death of Zengi.

Much more work needs to be done on all sorts of aspects of the epigraphic evidence - analyses of the linguistic features of inscriptions, their grammatical constructions, their rhythms, their literary techniques, the relationship between historical and Quranic inscriptions. Indeed, the critical scrutiny of the choice of Quranic passages in these inscriptions in order to determine whether they were chosen for their specific relevance to the theme of jihād (or to related themes) has scarcely begun. Greater attention needs, moreover, to be devoted to the relationship between coins and architectural inscriptions. But such a relationship can be shown to exist.

It is to be hoped that this discussion has revealed the value of examining epigraphic evidence with more care than historians usually devote to it. Inscriptions are contemporary historical documents, very often on religious buildings, positioned at a level high enough not to be defaced but low enough to be read by the population at large. They were placed there with deliberate intent, with every word and phrase laboriously carved and full of meaning. They spoke to the present using the resonances of the past and with an eye to the future. Their relevance has remained undimmed to this very day.

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Saladin's Hospital in Jerusalem: Its Foundation and Some Later Archival Material

D. S. RICHARDS

Having noted one or two items amongst the so-called Haram documents[1] which touched on the existence and operation of Saladin's Hospital, and having also come across similar material in the Jerusalem Sharia Court records, which suggested a long functioning continuity for the Hospital, I decided to investigate what was known about the foundation of the hospital, especially as there was a presumed closeness, even identity, between the site of Saladin's foundation and the celebrated complex of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. Was it possible to identify where Saladin's hospital had stood? What continuity had there been? Any continuity would have been limited to the re-use or adaptation of buildings, as with its previous long experience of such institutions Islam had no need to take the idea of hospitals from the Crusaders. The matter has previously been looked into, but there seemed to me to be some areas of ambiguity.

Long ago Vincent and Abel appeared to mis-apply a text of Mujīr al-Dīn and stated that the Muslim hospital (*bīmāristān*) in Jerusalem was founded in 1216 by Shihāb al-Dīn, the nephew of Saladin (that is, al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī ibn al-ʿĀdil).[2] This has often been repeated, also in more recent books.[3] Kurd Ali had a more involved but equally mistaken story, that a nephew (an *ibn ukht*!) of Saladin converted the *kanīsat al-malja'* (lit. the church of the hospice) into a hospital, and that Saladin had himself already converted the *dār al-usquf* (sic, "the bishop's residence") into a hospital. Al Muẓaffar Ghāzī is actually said to have established the *zāwiyat a-Dargāh*,

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1 See D.P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem,* Beirut 1984.

2 H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem, vol. ii, Jérusalem Nouvelle,* Paris 1914, 648. The text of Mujīr al-Dīn is *al-Uns*, Amman 1973, ii, 47.

3 E.g. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310*, London 1967, 109; note 1.

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but if Kurd Ali had him in mind as the nephew, he was an *ibn akh* in any case. One presumes that Kurd Ali also had a garbled memory of Saladin's conversion of the Patriarch's palace into a Ṣūfī establishment.[4]

The clearest statement about the foundation of the hospital is found in ʿImād al-Dīn's *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī*. Saladin visited Jerusalem in autumn 1192 (588) to see to the defensive state of the city. He made some further financial provision for the Shāfiʿī madrasa in the former St. Anne's and for the Ṣūfī establishment in the former Patriarch's palace, and then, as ʿImād al-Dīn has it:

".... he ordered the church adjacent to the Hospitallers' residence (*dār al-isbitār*) near the Sepulchre to be made a hospital (*bīmāristān*) for the sick. He adapted within it rooms in which the needs of all the various sorts of patients could be met. He made various places endowments for the hospital, and transferred to it rare medicaments and drugs. He entrusted the office of Qāḍī and of inspector of these endowments to the Qāḍī Bahā' al-Dīn [that is, Ibn Shaddād, his future biographer]."[5]

Abū Shāma quotes the same information in a different version, also from ʿImād al-Dīn, the text that was repeated by later chroniclers, such as al-Nuwairī and al-ʿAinī:[6]

[Saladin] "assigned the church in the street of the Sepulchre to the hospital, and transferred to it drugs and medicaments of all sorts and varieties."

ʿImād al-Dīn is thus very clear that it was a church that was converted. Saladin's hospital was not established in any immediate part of the Hospitaller's residential buildings, and certainly not in the actual existing

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4 Kurd Ali, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damas 1928, 168.

5 *Fatḥ*, ed. Landberg, Leiden, 1888, 443.

6 *Rawdatain*, Bulaq, ii, 205, line 10. The printed text is corrected (*ʿayyana* instead of *ghayyara*) on the basis of two Bodleian Mss., Marsh 383, fol. 229a and Bruce 62,, fol. 393a, and also by comparison with the parallel phraseology in ʿImād al-Dīn, *Fatḥ*, 69, although there *li'l-māristān* and *li'l-ribāṭ*, which are equivalent to *li'l-bīmāristān* in this present passage, are anticipated by indefinite nouns, *madrasa* and *ribāṭ*. Any awkwardness could be due to Abū Shāma's editing.

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hospital. It is not absolutely certain where that hospital/hospice was, although the accepted view is that is was in the N.W. corner of the area south of the Sepulchre, while the conventual buildings and general living quarters were further away around the church of St. John. The 1182 Statutes of the Order might even suggest that the sick quarters were somewhat wide-spread: "....en chascune rue et place de l'Ospital où les malades reposent ...."[7] The Arabic sources, as far as I am aware, do not help to identify where the Hospitallers' hospital was, because they do not mention it specifically, but only use the term *dār*, which either refers to the "residence" or is all-inclusive.

Why did Saladin not take over the original hospital that was already serving the purpose? Of course, we know that directly after the re-conquest Saladin allowed ten Hospitaller brothers to remain in the Hospital for a year to tend the sick there.[8] Remember also that some part was being used for important visitors. When Saladin's son, al-Ẓāhir, visited Jerusalem in July 1192, he lodged in the *dār al-isbitār*.[9] The N.W. corner of the complex was taken over in 1193 (589) by another son of Saladin, the Sultan al-Afḍal, for the mosque he founded there.[10] According to Mujīr al-Dīn, as has already been alluded to, some other part of the Hospitallers' buildings was endowed as a zāwiya in 1216-17 by al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī ibn al-ʿĀdil, and the zāwiya was known as *zāwiyat al-Dargāh* ("of the Palace"), which name explicitly links it with the "palatium" of the Hospitallers. Mujīr al-Dīn adds that the zāwiya served as a residence for the governors of Jerusalem,[11] although without specifying for how long. The Emperor Frederick II was also able to take up lodgings in the former Hospitallers'

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7 See *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers* etc., ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, vol. i, 1894, No. 627, also '...in qualibet rua domus ubi infirmi jacebunt...'

8 S. Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerusolimitano*, Lucca 1733, vol. 1, 315.

9 Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, Cairo 1964, 221.

10 This is the present-day Mosque of ʿUmar. For a discussion of the foundation and the text of the foundation inscription, see M. Van Berchem, *CIA*. Part 2: Syrie du Nord; vol. 1: Jerusalem "Ville" (*MIFAO*, vol. 43), Cairo 1922, 96 ff.

11 *al-Uns*, ii, 47.

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buildings for his brief stay in Jerusalem in 1229.[12] During the following short Frankish re-occupation the Hospitallers restarted their welfare work in their old buildings, but after the definitive Muslim recovery of Jerusalem in 1224 the zāwiya must have been re-instituted. It makes an appearance with resident Sufis and the designation of *ribāṭ in* Ḥaram document No. 218, dated 1392 (794). Other parts of the former Hospital of St John, however, once again housed Western pilgrims from the 1340's until the end of the fifteenth century, now under the administration of the Franciscans. This re-born hospice was probably located "in the heart of the Hospitaller Quarter."[13]

It is also the case that some building work was necessary to set up Saladin's hospital, and that it was not just a matter of taking over a functioning unit. This is suggested by the wording of Ibn Shaddād's *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.* When Ibn Shaddād was ordered to remain in Jerusalem in 1192, it was to oversee the building work (*ʿimāra*) on the hospital and the administration (*idāra*) of the madrasa (that is the one in St Anne).[14] The difference in the verbal nouns is instructive. On the one hand, the madrasa, begun earlier in 1187, was already functioning, even though the extant inscription is dated 1192 (588),[15] according to the common practice of marking the very end of the foundation process, but, on the other hand, the *conversion* of the hospital was just beginning.

To return to the church that was taken over by Saladin for his hospital, the question is which church was it. In 12th century Jerusalem there were three churches in the area south of the Sepulchre, now known as the Muristan. In the S.W. the ancient church of St John the Baptist, and close together in the

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12 Eracles, ii, 374. Roger of Wendover reports that after crowning himself in the Sepulchre, Frederick II walked "wearing the crown back to the *palatium Hospitalis." (Chronica*, ed. H.G. Hewlett, London, 1887,ii, 373). Ibn Wāsil merely says that, after visiting the Ḥaram, "the Emperor proceeded to the *dār,* where his lodging had been arranged." (*Mufarrij*, iv, 245).

13 For a discussion and references, see Sylvia Schein, "Latin Hospices in Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins,* vol. 101, 1985, 84 - 91.

14 *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, Cairo 1964, 239.

15 Van Berchem, op. cit., 91 -95. ʿImād al-Dīn (*Fatḥ*, 69) records the beginning in 1187.

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N.E., two churches of Crusader construction, the foundations of which were seen and mapped by Conrad Schick at the end of the 19th cent.[16] On the site of the present Lutheran Church of the Redeemer stood S. Maria Latina, and west of it stood S. Maria Major (or Parva/Minor or Magdalena).[17] Both were Benedictine establishments, with monks and nuns respectively, who offered hospice facilities for pilgrims.

Islamic Law did not tolerate the creation of new Christian churches in the area of its competence, but St John was protected, no doubt, by its antiquity - and it has of course survived to this day - so it can be ruled out as the church referred to by ʿImād al-Dīn. The two Benedictine churches, however, were ripe for demolition or conversion after the re-conquest, when Saladin was eager to restore an Islamic character to Jerusalem.

In this connection, Ibn al-Athir gives us a short text,[18] which is problematical:

"[Saladin] remained outside the city until 25 Shaʿbān [in 583, i.e. 30 October 1187], organizing the city's affairs. He ordered the creation of ribats and madrasas, and converted the residence *(dār)* of the Hospitallers into a madrasa for the Shāfiʿīs."

One may well imagine that this is a simple error of Ibn al-Athīr's, apart from the question of which part of the *dār al-Isbitār* was he referring to. No other source mentions such a madrasa foundation in the Hospitallers' complex. Possibly he confused Saladin's founding of a hospital in or near the Hospitallers' complex with his founding of the Shāfiʿī madrasa in the Church of St Anne. We should note, however, that Ibn al-Athīr spoke of Saladin's creation of 'madrasas', in the plural, and ʿImād al-Dīn also hinted at further foundations, when he wrote, after his mention of the St. Anne

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16 In "The Muristan, or the site of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem", *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement,* 1902, 42 - 56.

17 There is a good deal of doubt still about the dedications of these two churches. However, I have given what is generally agreed. The anonymous account of *La Citez de Iherusalem* in T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* etc., Leipzig 1874, 202, moving from east to west, names S. Maria Major, then S. Maria Latina, then the St. John's Hospital, that is, he gives the churches in the opposite order.

18 *Kāmil*, Beirut 1966, xi, 553.

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conversion, "He [Saladin] sought madrasas for the groups (*ṭawā'if*) to allow them to share in the beneficence he bestowed." If we may understand *al-ṭawā'if* to mean *al-madhāhib* (the orthodox schools of Law),[19] this would lead us to expect foundations for schools of law *other than* the Shāfi^{c}is. There is indeed evidence for another madrasa in the general area south of the Sepulchre, although another Shafi^{c}i one, and one, moreover, that cannot be connected with any charitable creation of Saladin. A waqf foundation inscription was found during excavations for the Church of the Redeemer,[20] but it dates from the early 13th century.[21] Nevertheless, if the inscription really belongs to the site of the Redeemer, that is, the one time S. Maria Latina, it means that the latter could not have been the church that was transformed into the Hospital of Saladin. Van Berchem did believe that Saladin's hospital stood on the present-day Redeemer site, although one must be careful not to be confused by the fact that he called the Crusader church originally there "Sainte-Marie la Grande", rather than "la Latine".[22]

Much of Van Berchem's argument is scattered amongst footnotes and difficult to follow. The fundamental points to insist on are that Saladin's hospital had to be based on the conversion of a church and that, as Mujīr al-

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19 H.Massé (*Conquȇte de la Syrie etc.,* Paris 1972, 59) translated this as "...pour d'autres groupes de docteurs ..."

20 For the text and a long discussion, see M. Van Berchem, op. cit., 177 - 185; also K. al-Asali, *Ma^{c}āhid al-^{c}Ilm* etc., Amman 1981, 285.

21 The readable part of the inscription's date is limited to the "600", and the nature of the reference to the *dawla* of both al-Mu^{c}aẓẓam ^{c}Īsā and his father, al^{c}Ādil, suggest that the date cannot be later than 615 (1218), when the latter died. Van Berchem, although with many qualifications, left open the possibility that the Shāfi^{c}ī madrasa in the insciption should be identified with the *Zāwiyat al-Dargāh.* This, I believe, is unlikely. For the name of the founder of the madrasa only "...ibn Rāfi^{c} ibn ..." was read by Van Berchem. Is it not possible that this might have been Yūsuf ibn Rāfi^{c} ibn Tamīm, that is, Ibn Shaddād, the biographer of Saladin? Looking at plate XLIX in *CIA,* Jérusalem "Ville", it is almost possible to persuade oneself that "Tamīm" can be made out. Ibn Shaddād had been made responsible for Saladin's foundations in Jerusalem and himself founded a madrasa in Aleppo. Perhaps he appears here in some supervisory capacity.

22 Van Berchem, op. cit., 101, note 3, and 182.

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Dīn says,[23] it was adjacent to the *zāwiyat al-Dargāh*. In another passage[24] Mujīr al-Dīn mentions Saladin's hospital and the Sepulchre in one breath as the features of the street which leads to the Sepulchre from the east, the *khuṭṭ al-Dargāh* (the Palace Lane). An entry in the Sharia Court Records reports that re-usable material from the ruined upper store-rooms of the *Dargāh* had been sold off by the inspector of its waqf to the overseer of the welfare foundations being erected in the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent. One should note that the *dargāh* is described as being in the Christian quarter opposite the Sepulchre to the south and adjoining the Hospital of Saladin from the west.'[25]

Much depends, therefore, on where one considers the zāwiyat al-Dargāh to have been. Its name seems to connect it with the Hospitaller building in the N.W. corner. No doubt there was room for it to exist alongside the mosque established and endowed by al-Afḍal in 1193 (589). Notwithstanding the speculations of Van Berchem, the zāwiya was also probably associated with what seems to have been the only minaret in the whole area, as suggested by the plan of the foundations,[26] the one now known as the minaret of the Mosque of ʿUmar, situated near the steps leading up to Christian Street. No sure proof for the existence of two minarets can be derived from the fact that Mujīr al-Dīn refers independently to the minaret of the *Masjid al-Ḥayyāt* (the Snakes' Mosque, alias the Mosque of ʿUmar) and that of the zāwiyat al-Dargāh.[27] His sources could have preserved different attributions from different periods. It is suggestive that the zāwiya's minaret was partly destroyed by earthquake in November 1458 (Muḥarram, 863) and what is known as the minaret of the Mosque of ʿUmar was repaired before 1465 (870).[28]

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23 *al-Uns*, ii, 47.

24 *al-Uns*, ii, 53.

25 *Sijill* 30, p. 214: year 962/1555.

26 See note 16.

27 *al-Uns*, ii, 49. For the anti-snake talisman which legend attributed to this mosque, see op. cit. i, 126, & ii. 47.

28 *al-Uns*, ii, 46 and 49.

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If it is accepted that the zāwiyat al-Dargāh could have been further to the west than Van Berchem seemed inclined to locate it, perhaps where the Gethsemane Convent is now situated or even to the south of the extant minaret, then the most likely candidate for the church transformed into Saladin's *bīmāristān* is S. Maria Major, now normally identified as such, the Crusader church that was to the S.W. of the present Redeemer Church, along with, no doubt, its associated Benedictine hospice buildings, which perhaps facilitated the conversion. This would certainly place Saladin's foundation "adjacent to the *dār al-Isbitār* near the Sepulchre."

Saladin's hospital continued in existence long into the Ottoman period. I do not believe that it is known exactly when it fell into decay, either institutionally or physically. A really systematic combing of the Court Records would possibly produce information. Its endowments were extensive, in the form of rents from property in Jerusalem and from agricultural holdings outside. They are published by İpşirli from the Ottoman Taḥrīr register No. 522.[29]

In my rather random exploration of the *Sijillāt* I have met with the appointment of a financial official for the hospital as late as 1656 (1066)[30] and his continuing arrangements for the leasing of waqf property. As is often the case, these records are short on details of the internal functioning of the institution, but they are not entirely lacking. In 1532 (938) the Chief Qāḍī stated clearly that Saladin's madrasa and the hospital were two distinct foundations and that the office of inspector *(nāẓir)* in the madrasa gave no right to any part of the responsibilities and salary of the inspector of the hospital.[31] A few years later, in 1539-40 (946) the Hospital accounts show payments to a doctor and an attendant (*al-ḥakīm and al-khādim*) and for an item "for preparing the dead for burial".[32] In 1560 (968) there is an order by the Ḥanafī Qāḍī for the committal of the applicant's brother, who is

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29 *The Muslim Pious Foundations and Real Estates in Palestine*, Istanbul 1982, 45 - 6, see also 33.

30 *Sijill* 151, p. 444.

31 *Sijill*, 2, No. 634.

32 *Sijill*, 12, No. 1836.

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certified mad, into the charge of *qayyim al-bīmāristān*, to be treated and looked after in the normal way, in effect, until further notice.[33]

There is every sign of continuing effectiveness in these entries, but a little later, in 1578 (985) there is indication of some sort of trouble when the 'servant of the sick' (*khādim al-ḍuᶜafā*) in the hospital reports to the Ḥanafī Qāḍī that a sick inmate is not receiving what he needs financially from the intendant (*al-mutawallī).* When questioned the intendant explains that there is no head physician (*al-ḥakīm*) to prescribe for the patient and that his deputy, the doctor (*al-ṭabīb*) ᶜImād al-Dīn has refused to serve. The Qāḍī sets up ᶜImād al-Dīn to treat the sick until the Chief Qāḍī can look into the case.[34]

The entries are proof that the hospital was still operating, but the question is whether it was on the original site. It has been suggested that the earthquake of 1458 (863) left Saladin's hospital in ruins.[35] An argument from silence is dangerous, but I find it almost unbelievable that Mujīr al-Dīn would not have mentioned the loss of the hospital at that time, while mentioning that part of the minaret of the neighbouring *Zāwiyat al-Dargāh* was ruined.[36]

To turn now to the mainly late 14th century Ḥaram documents, a few of them show that individuals chose the hospital as an obvious residual beneficiary of their waqfs.[37] The control of the hospital's waqfs, and possibly the general oversight of its administration, had become associated with the office of Shāfiᶜī Qāḍī in Jerusalem, perhaps by the terms of the original waqf document. Remember that Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād had been made Shāfiᶜī Qāḍī and nāẓir of Saladin's endowments in Jerusalem, including the hospital. That point cannot be decided because the appropriate waqfiyya text is not known to have survived or to have been

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33 *Sijill* 40, p. 7, No. 1, dated 20 Ṣafar 968 (10 November 1560).

34 *Sijill* 58, p. 26, No. 3.

35 Asali, *Maᶜāhid*, 297.

36 *al-Uns*, ii, 47 & 49.

37 Documents, Nos. 20, 31, 204, 486, 716.

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copied anywhere. In most of the Ḥaram documents the person involved as nāẓir is the Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā ibn Ghānim al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī.

The capacity of the hospital was no doubt limited, which meant that admittance as a patient had to be authorized. An example of that is found in Ḥaram document No. 268. On the back of one of the regular attestations of a deceased person's estate, someone, probably the Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn, has drawn up a list of deaths on that particular day. Incidentally, one of the deaths, that of a person from out of town, from the village of Fāghūr, was notified by Murshid, who is described as the *bawwāb* of the Hospital. Presumably the person died while he was a Hospital inmate. A little further below are two other names under the heading 'Those given permission to enter the Hospital'.[38]

Another Haram document, No. 615, gives a glimpse of the working of the hospital. A woman, Zainab bint Yūsuf ibn Badr, called al-Miṣriyya, on entering the hospital as a patient, had drawn up an inventory of her effects, in what is expressly said to be the normal procedure. It is perhaps not surprising that this was also the standard practice in the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. She had also put other property, which is listed in the document, including a hundred dirhams, in the keeping of the oculist in the Hospital, which is evidence for the maintenance of such specialized staff. He denied this, but, when threatened with imprisonment, confessed, produced the woman's property from his house in Jerusalem, and also several other items which are listed. One assumes that he had been appropriating other persons' property and, as it were, wished his other offenses to be taken into account. With his status of upright citizen (*ʿadāla*) and his trustworthiness compromised, he was left to be punished according to the dictates of the Sharia. The report was drawn up and sworn to in the presence of the Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn, who is described as 'inspector of the waqf of the Ṣalāḥī Māristān etc.'.

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38 D.P. Little (*A Catalogue etc.*, 230) gives the date of this document as 11 Rajab 794. I read it as Wednesday 21 Ṣafar 794 (Wednesday = 17 January 1392), and he does not mention the text on the verso.

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Haram Document No. 615

Paper. Dated 16 Ramadan 796 (15 July 1394). Verso blank.
Arabic Text :

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- بتاريخ سادس عشر شهر رمضان سنة ست وتسعين وستعمائة حضر من انهى بين يدي سيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى .

٣- قاضي المسلمين شرف الدين صدر المدرسين شيخ الشيوخ مفتي المسلمين ابن الروح عيسى الانصاري الخزرجي الشافعي الحاكم .

٤- بالقدس الشريف وأعمالها والناظر على وقف المارستان الصلاحي وما مع ذلك من الاوقاف المبررة بالقدس .

٥- الشريف ايد الله تعالى احكامه وادام ايامه ان امراة تسمى الحاجة زينب يوسف بن بدر المصرية الضعيفة بالمارستان .

٦- الصلاحي بالقدس الشريف المشار اليه اعلاه تغمده الله تعالى برحمته ذكرت في ورقة الضبط لحوائجها بسبب دخولها .

٧- المارستان على العادة بعض ما تملكه جسبما تضمنته ورقة الضبط المذكورة وذكرت في الورقة المذكورة .

٨- انها لا تملك شيئا سوى ذلك وان لها غير ما ذكرته تحت يد محمد ابن (٣) المصري الكمال .

٩- بالمارستان المشار اليه منشفتين حمصية وأربع مناديل حرير اسود وتفصيله نصفى وكر ... يمنى ابيض وغير ذلك ومن الدراهم .

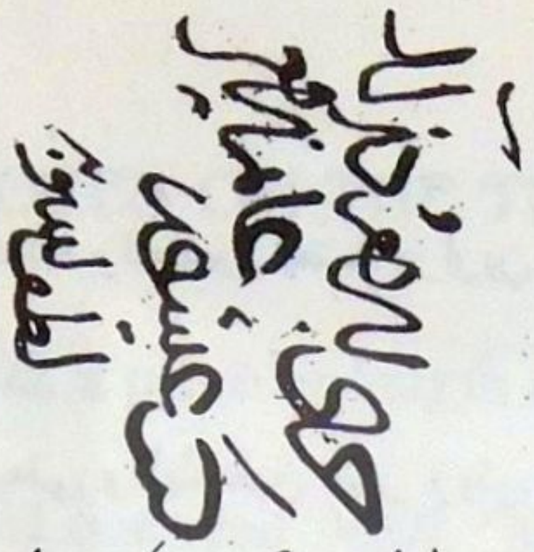
١٠- الفضة مائة درهم فتوجه من يضع خطة اخرى من الشهود المندوبين من مجلس الحكم العزيز الشافعي المشار اليه أعلاه .

١١- ادام الله تعالى علاه الى الضعيفة زينب المذكورة وسألها عن الحوائج المودعة المذكورة فذكرت ان الحوائج والفضة .

١٢- المعنيين اعلاه لها يد محمد المذكورة فاحضره الحاكم المشار اليه أعلاه وسأله عن ذلك فأنكره انكارا بليغا وجحده .

١٣- جحود مانع من اداء الحق فعرض عليه الحبس ليتبين الحق فاعترف بذلك وتوجه الى منزله بالقدس الشريف فأحضر القماش والفضة .

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Courtesy of the Islamic Museum, Haram ash-Sharīf.

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١٤- المعين ذلك اعلاه واحضر ايضا ايزارين صغار وتفصيلة مشطوف وشدين صغار وشد موصلي وقبا .

١٥- نسائي طرح يمنى وطيلسانين شعر زيني ورفيق محرر عتيق وطيلسانين نسائي بحاشية حرير ازرق ونقاب .

١٦- بحاشية زرقا وشملة محقق وقميص كتان بندقى مستعمل ومنديل كتان محقق وملحفة محقق وملاة مشهر ازرق وابيض .

١٧- قطن وثلاث ... نحاس صغار وست مناديل قطن محقق وشدين حمصيات صغار وسجادة يمنى وشد حمصي كبير وزكيبة مطرزة .

١٨- ووضح بذلك بين يدي سيدنا الحاكم المشار اليه ادام الله تعالى نعمته عليه تعدى محمد المذكور وجحوده الحق .

١٩- وعدوانه واقدامه على هذا الفعل القبيح المانع من عدالته وامانته والوثوق به وترتب عليه ما يقتضيه .

٢٠- الشرع الشريف وبذلك حرر في التاريخ المعين اعلاه والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد آله وسلم .

حضرت ذلك والامر على ما شرح فيه
كتبه محمد الصفدي

حضرت ذلك والامر على ما
شرح فيه كتبه قاسم بن محمد بن الحلال

حضرت ذلك والامر على ما شرح
في كتبه محمد بن قاسم

حضرت ذلك على ما شرح فيه اعلاه كتبه
محمد بن احمد ( )

حضرت المجلس المشار اليه اعلاه أدامه الله تعالى بالتاريخ وشاهدت المذكور بالوصف المذكور ( )
كتبه احمد بن سليمان

حضرت ذلك كتبه محمد الحلال

جرى الامر كذلك كتبه عيسى بن غانم الشافعي
لطف الله تعالى به

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LEXICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT:

Line 9. *Tafṣīla*: a piece or length of material.

Should one read *Niṣfī*, "half (the usual size)", or is this a variant for *naṣāfī*, Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Leiden 1881, repr. Beirut, 1968, s.v., "étoffe de soie et toile". R.B. Serjeant, "Islamic Textiles etc.", *Ars Islamica*, vols 15-16 (1951), 66, "The naṣāfī seems to have been a robe of white silk".

Kurr: Dozy, s.v., "sorte d'étoffe".

Line 14. *Shadd*: L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Geneva, 1952, 19, "sash"; Dozy, s.v., "la pièce de mousseline, de soie..., que l'on roule autour de la calotte du turban" or "un chale de mousseline etc." or "une ceinture de coton, de soie etc."

Line 15. *Rafiq*: "trousers." Dozy, s.v., "caleçon."

Muḥarrar: Dozy, s.v., "soyeux, fin et doux au toucher comme de la soie."

Line 16. *Shamla*: Dozy, s.v., "sorte d'étoffe" or "ceinture"; Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, London, 1947, s.v., "a kind of shawl for throwing over the shoulders or wrapping about the head." R.B. Serjeant, vols. 13-14, 75, "a striped blanket carpet", and 76, "a striped garment of the kind called shamla."

Muḥaqqaq: Dozy, s.v., "compact, serré"; Steingass, s.v., "firmly woven (cloth)."

Mushahhar: Mayer, 39, note 1, "The form *shahhara* is used for multicoloured garments or clothes with trimmings in colours different from the dress itself."

Line 17. *Zakība*: This is an Egyptian word for a bag or sack (for grain). al-Fairūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, s.v., glosses "a sort of *juwāliq*", and Steingass explains the latter word as "a sack", or, for the Persian *jolakh*, "a religious tunic, a dervish's mantle of blue colour." Could *zakība* be a sack-dress!?

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THE FRANKISH WARS, VENICE AND THE RISE OF THE WEST

ROGER HEACOCK

I. The Historical and Geographical Framework

Around the year one thousand of the Christian era, five great civilizations largely controlled North Africa and Eurasia: the East Asian, Hindu, Islamic, Byzantine-Russian and western European civilizations.[1] Three of them, the Byzantine, Islamic and western European had, during the formative years of what we call the Middle Ages, established a de facto equilibrium around the Mediterranean basin. Their respective spheres of influence were bordered by a long and fluctuating invisible line, which had since the ninth century become relatively stable:

1. Asia Minor formed the frontier between the Islamic and Byzantine civilizations. In that zone, the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean (Adriatic and Aegean Seas) belonged to Byzantium, which shared the coast with the Islamic civilization, now including Palestine, Syria and the rest of the Fertile Crescent;

2. The Mediterranean separated western Europe from the Islamic world, along a line passing through certain Tyrrhenean islands (Islam having lost Sicily and Malta to the Normans during the eleventh century) and the Iberian peninsula;[2]

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1 See for example Archibbald R. Lewis, *Nomads and Crusaders: A.D. 1000 - 1368,* Bloomingdale, Indiana, 1991, p.3. See also numerous works by world historians, for example William H. McNeill,"The Rise of the West after Twenty-Five Years", *Journal of World History,* 1 (1), Spring 1990, pp. 1 - 22.

2 For Philip Khoury Hitti, the dividing line between Islam and Christianity in the Mediterranean roughly corresponded to that between the ancient Semitic-Carthaginian-

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3. The Balkans formed the zone of commercial, cultural and military contacts between western Europe and the Byzantine-Russian worlds.

It is in the context of this territorial division that the three contiguous civilizations existed, each on of them being in turn divided into numerous sub-systems.

II. The Tangible Results of the Frankish Wars in the Levant

The unleashing of the first Crusade, whose principal goal was the control of Palestine, and the subsequent two-hundred year-long "Frankish Wars" (as they were known in contemporary Arab, Armenian, Persian, Syriac and Greek historiography) were the direct result of the serious erosion of this equilibrium in the area of the Near East, involving Byzantium and the Islamic world. One of the latter's sub-systems, that of the Seljuk Turks, by threatening the existing balance with the Byzantine Empire, indirectly triggered western Europe's intervention in the area for the first time. This in turn finally resulted, paradoxically, in a reversal of the Near Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean balance in favor of western Europe. It will here be shown that the Frankish invasion of Asia Minor, with its primary military objective, the control of Palestine, was in fact specifically and directly responsible for the growing western, in particular Italian, control over East-West trade. It thus indirectly sparked the extraordinary capitalist take-off which took place in Italian city-states such as Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence. That phenomenon in turn marked the point of departure for economic developments culminating during the sixteenth century in the establishment of a world economic system based in Europe, which was to control and benefit from it.

Punic and Roman-Western civilizations. Cf. his *History of the Arabs*, New York, 11th edition, 1970, p. 551.

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The equilibrium between Byzantium and the Islamic Caliphate was called into question by the advances of the Seljuk Turks during the eleventh century,[3] punctuated by successive military victories, which pushed Byzantium's borders in Asia back to where pressure could distantly be felt on the glorious and ancient Byzantine capital of Constantinople itself. It was of course for this reason that Alexius I Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor, launched his appeal to the West in 1095, to help restore the heavily threatened equilibrium. In so doing, he was introducing a new and much greater threat to the region. Whereas in the first instance, Alexius' call and the Frankish response (the Crusade) resulted in two of the actors in this triangular game coalescing against the third, unwelcome western pressure on Byzantium began to rise with the arrival of the first Frankish warriors, never again to subside until Constantinople ultimately fell to the Ottoman Empire, in 1453.

The gains made by the Seljuks were therefore one of the factors which, as it were dialectically, set off the revolution in the world system, by legitimizing the arrival of the Franks in the Byzantine Empire and their subsequent departure for Asia Minor. True, the Franks in the short run slowed down the Byzantine decline, and reestablished a balance with the Islamic world. But in the longer run, this armed western military transfer to the Eastern Mediterranean contributed to the creation of a power vacuum there. Neither the Muslims nor the Byzantines, nor the 'Franks' (Flemings, Lorrainers, Toulousans, Normans, English, Germans, etc.) were strong enough in the economic or the naval sphere singly to fill that void. The Muslim fleets had long been on the decline. Only the Fatimids were able to project naval power, and this only a few dozen kilometers north of the Egyptian frontier (to Gaza or Askelan, or for very limited purposes to Jaffa). The Byzantine fleet was still rather powerful, but its tasks, from the end of the eleventh century, were virtually only defensive. It had to attempt to maintain control over its numerous Mediterranean island possessions, and to defend Constantinople and the Black Sea against a possible surprise attack from the East or the West. The western Europeans were still busy catching up in the area of naval technology, although they were in future rapidly to make up the deficit.

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3 The newly Islamicized Seljuks appeared in Western Asia, themselves driven by population movementrs originating in China. Cf. François L. Ganshof, *The Middle Ages*, New York, 1970/1953, p. 87.

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III. The Mediterranean Character of the Crusades

Some historians have seen in the Crusades in Palestine and in the Eastern Mediterranean during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the birth of a collective European consciousness.[4] Others go so far as to declare that such a Pan-European spirit had been gestating ever "since the fall of the Roman Empire".[5] Perhaps, as regards the motivations for the call to the Crusade launched by the Papacy and the massive response of the Frankish barons from several regions of north-western Europe (including of course, the Normans recently installed in Sicily). But what is even more striking in the establishment of the Latin States in Cilicia, Syria and Palestine, is the Mediterranean character of the undertaking.[6] That character (already palpable in the first discussions and projects of Pope Urban II and Raymond de Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse) was steadily reinforced through the ever-increasing military dependence of the Crusaders on the armed prowess of the Normans of Sicily and most of all, in the long run, by the increasing economic dependence of all the Crusaders on the States of northern Italy. In this sense, the undertaking represented the continuation and the reinforcement of reinvigorated trade relations with Syria and Egypt, beginning in the tenth century, and carried out jointly by Greek and Italian merchants with the approval of the Muslim authorities.[7]

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4 Cf. Régine Pernoud, *Lumière du Moyen-Age,* Paris, 1981, *passim.*

5 Cf. Edgard Weber and Georges Reynaud, *Croisade d'hier, Djihad d'aujourd'hui,* Paris, 1989, p. 190.

6 See for example Pierre Villemart, *Les Croisades: Mythe et réalité de la guerre sainte,* Paris, 1972, p. 36.

7 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades. I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,* Middlesex, 1984/1951, p. 44.

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IV. The Commercial Expansion of Venice

It is thus into a growing power vacuum in the eastern Mediteranean that the most advanced of the European cultures, that of the Italians, introduced itself: Genoa, Pisa and most of all Venice. They were the guardians, then the protectors of the Franks, ever since the first Crusade, and their presence constantly strengthened, before, during and after the capture of Constantinople by the Franks and the Venetians, and the occupation for more than fifty years of the Byzantine Empire, rebaptised "Latin Empire of Constantinople" (1204-1261). The capacity of these States to occupy and to exploit an ever-expanding space was in fact due to their prolonged contact with the more advanced Greek-Byzantine and Arab-Islamic civilizations. They were able to adapt and develop certain types of technological and economic behavior which proved very useful. The Venetians in particular took advantage of the situation. It must here be recalled that they had always been legal (but not religious) subjects of the Byzantine Empire, a situation which Charlemagne himself had been obliged to recognize in 810. They had often protected their nominal overlords rather than the other way around (losing their navy to the Normans of Sicily in 1084 in the defense of Byzantium), and ever since the beginning of the Crusades at the latest, they were considered with suspicion by the Greeks in general, and by the Byzantine Emperors in particular. According to certain historians, it is precisely the marriage carried out by the Venetians between Byzantine and Latin modes that made their strength in relation to both of them.[8]

Venice had in fact always existed thanks only to trade with the eastern Mediterranean. It had practically no control over "terra ferma", or the Italian mainland, until the very late Middle Ages, and therefore no means of subsistence through agricultural production. The arrival of the Crusaders in the Levant therefore opened up extraordinary perspective which Venice did not fail to exploit. Fernand Braudel goes so far as to proclaim that Venetian and other "vessels and merchants of Italy" reoccupied for the first time since the Roman

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8 Cf. Louise Buenger Robbert, "Venice and the Crusades", in Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, *A History of the Crusades, V: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, pp. 380 - 381.

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Empire all of the Mediterranean basin and that "this victory was crowned by the powerful movement of the Crusades."[9]

The privileges of Venice date back to a much earlier period, and the Seljuk and Norman perils led the Emperor Alexius to grant even more by an Edict in 1082, which exempted Venetian merchandise from customs duties over the entire Empire, granted Venetians their own quarter in Adriatic, Greek and Asia Minor ports such as Lattakie, Antioch, Adana, Thessaloninki, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Corfu, Durazzo and many others.

V. The Dependence of the Franks on the Italians and its Consequences

The Venetians were not the first Italians to join the Crusades in support of the Frankish warriors. The Genoans and Pisans preceded them, although not by much. But the Venetians were able to take advantage of the situation which was offered them. Duke Godefroy de Bouillon, the first Frankish master of Jerusalem, had by 1100, one year after the capture of the Holy City and shortly before his death, offered them what in later history became known as capitulations, and from which Venice had already been benefiting on the part of the Byzantine authorities for a long time. In exchange for their financial and naval participation in operations mounted against the Muslims in Palestine, he granted them a church and a market in each of the towns already under the control of the newly-formed State (the future Latin kingdom of Jerusalem); the control of a third of all of the cities they would in the future help to capture; and total control over the city of Tripoli (in exchange for payment).[10] These promising beginnings were followed by many other advances, Venetian in particular and Italian in general. But as a result of the advantages offered by the establishment of the Franks in Palestine, the increasing hostility of the Byzantines towards the Latins extended also to their Venetian 'vassal' so that they attempted for the first time during the first half of the eleventh century to

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9 Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, III: Le temps du monde*, Paris, 1979, p. 74.

10 Runciman, *op.cit.*, p. 386.

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reduce those privileges. The fear elicited by other enemies (notably the Normans) was such that they in fact ended up granting Venice even greater rights to unfettered trade to and within the Empire, so that it finally extended to all regions of the Empire with the exception of the strategic Black Sea. One therefore witnesses during this period a progressive breakthrough of Venice and the other Italian maritime cities, first in Palestine, then in the Byzantine Empire, which continued throughout the various phases of the Frankish wars until the final evacuation of Palestine by the Crusaders in 1291 (fall of Saint John of Acre). In Palestine, the concessions of the kings of Jerusalem went so far that Venetian citizens were offered legal extraterritoriality (similar agreements were concluded with Genoa and Pisa), and they were able (as were much later Europeans in China) to appear before their own courts and to be judged according to their own legislation. One might add that the Muslim States of the region adapted rather well to this primacy of the Italians, and integrated rapidly into their commercial circuits.[11]

VI. The Accumulation of Merchant Capital

From this base, the Italian maritime cities were to undergo a rapid economic and financial development, and there occurs throughout the twelfth and thirteenth century an extraordinary accumulation of merchant capital, notably in the Republic of Venice. Nothing could restrain its rise: neither the fratricidal wars with Genoa, nor occasional defeats by the Muslims...and the Byzantines. Its trading privileges extended progressively to the key islands of Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes. In the middle of the twelfth century, Venetian merchants no longer paid any taxes at all on their merchandise anywhere in the Byzantine Empire. They thus enjoyed even better conditions than the Greeks themselves.[12] Strangely enough, under the cirumstances, the independence of Venice was not recognized by the Byzantine Emperor until 1187, shortly before the fourth Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks and Venetians.

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11 Hitti, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

12 Robbert, *op.cit.*, p. 386.

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During the same period in which Genoese, Pisan and Venetian power increased, that of the Frankish States in Asia Minor (which the Italians had helped to set up) was constantly declining, from the fall of the County of Edessa in 1144, and most of all with the stunning victories of Saladdin in 1187 (battle of Hattin, recapture of Jerusalem by the Muslims). Saladdin and his successors in no way interfered with the growing role of the Italian merchants, even after the reduction of the Frankish States to a narrow coastal band after 1187.[13] What happened after that was not only the progressive loss of control by the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, but also, in the longer run, and despite the Ayyubid and Mamluk interlude, the continuing decline of the Islamic camp[14] as well as the decline of the Frankish States until the final collapse of 1291. The crusaders, the Byzantines and the Muslims were thus constantly at war, while they were all in decline, even as they recreated a new triangular equilibrium, but this time a much feebler and more precarious one, without a single victor or vanquished. The Italian States, and expecially Venice, continued to fill the growing void, especially in the area of commercial exchanges, a void which resulted from this 'equilibrium of the weak'.[15] The fourth Crusade, with the capture of Constantinople, was itself a manifestation of that state of affairs. The Venetians had to come to the assistance of the Franks who had insufficient funds to lauch their Crusade, and once it was underway, to pay their debts to the Venetians. The weakness of Byzantium made it possible for Venice to compensate itself for the Franks' inability to pay in full.[16] The original goal of this Crusade, which was the conquest of Egypt,

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13 Cf. Bernard Lewis, *Comment l'Islam a découvert l'Europe,* Paris, 1984, p. 19.

14 The stunning victories of Saladdin demonstrated the effectiveness of the call to *jihad* against the Franks in the Arab Mashreq (but under Kurdish or Turkish military leadership) during the second half of the twelfth century. The region was indeed to be reunited under Islam during the Ottoman expansion, with the creation of a new Islamic power, destined to be a mighty one in the military and political, but never in the economic, fields.

15 Cf. Ganshof, *op.cit.*, pp. 176 - 178.

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also represented an economic objective, especially fo the Venetians, who dreamt of securing all or part of trade to the Far East via the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Of course, by the terms of the Frankish-Venetian accord on division of spoils in Byzantium, the Emperor was to be a Frankish (in this particular case Flemish) prince. But what counted for the Venetians, and what was most important, was the fact that the merchants, and the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, were to come from their ranks.

The recapture of their country by the Greeks in 1261, with the expulsion of the Latin regime and the return of their Emperor, put an end to Frankish control of the country. It did not, however, threaten the position of the Venetians, whose influence in fact increased in the Byzantine Empire thereafter, despite the destruction they had wreaked during the occupation of Byzantium. And from the beginning of the thirteenth century, Venetian penetration extended through the Black Sea, which had previously been off limits to them, given the importance of commerial routes which crossed there, coming from the north and east, and which the Greeks had always wanted to exploit, but without having the full economic capacity to do so.

Nor did the expulsion of the Franks from Palestine in 1291 change anything. The Venetians were able to continue their commercial activities in the Levant from the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete and even, with the assistance of Frankish warriors, reinforce their hold on the maritime routes of the eastern Mediterrantean.[17]

VII. The advantages offered by the Mongols

When during the thirteenth century the Mongols, after having conquered Central Asia and Russia, descended on Europe and the Fertile Crescent, the Venetians found themselves in their path, ready to exploit new poossibilities

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16 See for example Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven, 1987, pp. 125 - 130.

17 Riley-Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 216.

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for trade opened by the conquerors from the Far East. Even though these fearsome warriors got as far as Udine, a mere 130 kilometers from Venice, before deciding for purely internal administrative reasons to halt their advance, it was as commercial partners rather than adversaries that the two parties related to one another.[18] The Venetian traders sent their merchandise eastward via Kiev in the north, and Central Asia further south. The voyages to China (likewise under Mongol domination) undertaken by the Venetian merchant Marco Polo and his father after 1270, are a simple indicator of the importance of Venetian trade with the Mongol Far East. Despite, or perhaps because of, the horrifying reputation of the Mongol warriors, trading routes towards China remained relatively calm and secure.

VIII. The Results of Venetian Trading

During the thirteenth century, Venetian traders thus came to participate in a variety of markets, which made it possible for them to choose among goods coming from a number of regions: Egypt-Africa; Palestine-Fertile Crescent; Byzantium-Russia; Central Asia-Far East; and the Balkans. Of course, Venice was also a privileged point of departure for European goods going eastward. And, indeed, for the first time there took place, during the period of the Frankish wars, a reversal of the balance of exchanges: whereas before, Europe imported from the east much more than it exported, the reverse was now true, and the overall volume of trade was much higher. Since several regions with which the Venetians had trade relations exported the same types of goods, Italian merchants could now choose their precious stones, textiles, metals, skins, grains, slaves, wood, waxes, honey, cheeses, wines, salts, etc., at the best price\quality ratio, putting their various sources in competition with one another. The Republic of Venice thus became during the Middle Ages a veritable mini-capitalist trading entity.

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18 Archibald Lewis, *op.cit.*, pp. 149 - 150.

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From the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth,

> *"...and all the more in the fourteenth, Venetian economic life already disposes of all of its tools: markets, shops, stores, the fairs of the Sensa, the Zecca (mint), the palace of the Doges, the Arsenal, the dogana [customs-house]...And already every morning, on the Rialto, across from the money changers and bankers installed in front of the tiny church of San Giacometto, there takes place the meeting of the great Venetian and foreign merchants who have come from Terra Ferma, Italy or beyond the Alps. The banker is there, pen and notebook in hand, ready to record the account-to-account deposits. The recording (scritta) is the marvellous way in which transactions are immediately carried out between merchants by account-to-account deposits, without going through a cash transaction, and without having to wait to settle at the fairs, which are separated from one another by long periods of time."*[19]

True, Venice is not the only one to have achieved this point in capitalist development. Still according to Braudel, Genoa became capitalist more rapidly, and Florence was more solid in its capitalist ways, having transformed a significant portion of its merchant capital into financial capital.[20] What we are here concerned with is to show how the Crusades led to the extraordinary transformation of Italian cities, notably Venice, where there took place a remarkable accumulation of capital, which made out of it a mini-capitalist system as of the beginning of the thirteenth century. This transformation was due to the opportunities which were offered to it by the Orient, starting out with the Eastern Mediterranean. The use, which soon became generalized, of Florentine money (Florins), and then Venetian (Ducats) for transactions with distant countries, the invention of standard contracts, imposed by the Venetians

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19 Fernand Braudel, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

20 *Ibid.*, p.

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on their partners beginning with the twelfth century, then adopted in various forms by foreign traders,[21] also set significant precedents.

The result is that in the beginning of the 15th century (but it is true that the era of decline is near) the real individual income of the Venetians is perhaps the highest in Europe, and that the volume of its State budget is only slightly less than that of England or France, and equal to that of Spain.[22]

Conclusion: The Frankish Wars as a Point of Departure

For a whole series of reasons, the primacy of the Italian cities was challenged, then eroded, in favor of western Europe, beginning with Portugal, the Netherlands, England, etc.[23] It is not the place here to speculate as to the variety of causes which brought about the transfer westwards and northwards over the Alps, of capital which had been accumulated in Italy. Venice, for its part, never underwent a transformation into a society which produced industrial goods. Its wealth was entirely trade-based. This was during a rather long period its great strength; but in the even longer term, it created a deadly structural weakness and the incapacity to progress on the road towards full capitalist development, all the more so since its small size and intense rivalries with other Italian cities meant that it had only limited productive potential to begin with. When the West underwent the process of Atlanticization, other countries took over and created the world economic system dominated by Europe.

But it was on the basis of vast and profitable trading networks created by the Italians in general and the Venetians in particular, of the enormous volumes of capital which were first accumulated in those same cities, and of a set of

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21 Robbert, *op.cit.*, pp. 402 - 406.

22 Braudel, *op.cit.*, pp. 97 - 98.

23 Cf. Archibald Lewis, *op.cit.*, p. 153. Italian bankers were active north of the Alps from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they began to transfer large sums in order to sustain the European monarchies.

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practices and forms of behavior of the Italian businessmen which were later taken up by others, that the rise of the Euro-Atlantic system later took place.

There is therefore a clear, organic historical link between the undertakings of the crusaders in the Near East in general, in Palestine in particular - the Frankish wars - and the subsequent rise of the West.

And we can for now only speculate as to the reasons why it was precisely, among others, the societies having participated in these repelled invasions (such as France and England) which likewise played an important role in the later hegemonic venture.

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١٨) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٤٩ وما بعده

١٩) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٥٣-٥٤

٢٠) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٧٦-٧٧ وما بعده

٢١) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ١٦٥ وما بعده

٢٢) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٤٣/س٢ وما بعده

٢٣) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٤٣/س١٣ وما بعده

٢٤) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٤٥ وما بعدها وص ٢٥٦-٢٥٧

٢٥) فيه راجع ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٣١٢-٣١٣

٢٦) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٣١٢/س١١ وما بعده ص ٣١٣/س١ وما بعده

٢٧) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٣١٣ الى ٣١٦

٢٨) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٣١٣/س٢٠ وما بعده

٢٩) فيه راجع ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٣١٩-٣٢٢

٣٠) نفس المرجع ص ٣٢ س٦

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(ملاحظات : فضل المقدسيين)

راجع : -

١) Raif Georges Khoury, *Asad B. Musa (132-212/750-827). Kitab az-Zuhd.* Wiesbanden 1976 (Codices Arabici Antiqui II).

٢) نفس المرجع ص٤٤

٣) نفس المرجع ص٩١ وما بعدها

٤) نفس المرجع ص٩٣ رقم I

٥) نفس المرجع ص٩٤ في آخر رقم IV

٦) محمد بن طولون : القلائد الجوهرية في تاريخ الصالحية . تحقيق محمد أحمد دهمان . دمشق ١٣٦٨/١٩٤٩ ص٣١٧

٧) فيه راجع ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص٣١٩ - ٣٢٢

٨) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٧ وخاصة ياقوت معجم البلدان ، طبع ببيروت ١٩٥٥ انظر : جماعيل

٩) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٥/س١٠ وما بعده

١٠) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٤

١١) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٦-٢٧

١٢) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٢٩-٣٠

١٣) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٣٠

١٤) راجع : Raif Georges Khoury : *Asad B. Musa*, 106, XXIV.

١٥) ابن طولون ص ٣٨ س٢٠ وما بعده

١٦) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٤٠-٤٢

١٧) ابن طولون (نفس المرجع) ص ٤٢-٤٨

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الحنبلي الشهير بالمحب الصامت (٢٥) . ولد سنة ١٣١٢/٧١٢ "بسفح قاسيون ظاهر قاسيون" . وسمع من الكثيرين "وطلب الحديث بنفسه فقرأ على الحجاز ... ورحل وأفاد وخرج وانتخب وأجاد وكتب الطباق والاجزاء ... وكان مكثرا سماعا وشيوخا ... وكان اماما عالما حافظا متقنا زاهدا متقشفا أحد أئمة هذا الشأن ، في الحفظ والاتقان" (٢٦) . وكانت وفاته سنة ١٣٨٧/٧٨٩ .

ومثال آخر هو محمد بن عبد الهادي بن عبد الحميد بن عبد الهادي بن يوسف بن محمد بن قدامة المقدسي "الجماعيلي الاصل ثم الصالحي المقري الفقيه المحدث الحافظ الناقد النحوي التقي" (٢٧) . ولد سنة ١٣٠٤/٧٠٤ وتوفي سنة ١٣٤٣/٧٤٤ . وكما يقول ابن طولون "عني بالحديث وفنونه ومعرفة الرجال والعلل وبرع في ذلك ... وله توسع في العلوم وذهن سيال ... وله عدة محفوظات وتواليف وتعاليق مفيدة ... وكتب بخطه المتقن الكثير . وصنف تصانيف كثيرة ..." (٢٨) .

ومنهم على سبيل المثال عالم ثالث أتى ذكره فيما سبق وهو عبدالغني بن عبد الواحد بن علي بن سرور بن رافع الجماعيلي المقدسي (١١٤٦/٥٤١ - ١٢٠٣/٦٠٠) (٢٩) . وسبق أن رأينا ما كان له من النشاط الفكري والبدني ، اذ تنقل ورحل بعد هجرته الى دمشق وسمع وحفظ وصنف الكثير . وكان يلقب بأمير المؤمنين في الحديث (٣٠) . هذه بعض الافكار عن هذه الهجرة المشهورة من بيت المقدس الى دمشق ، وكان الهدف منها ابراز أهمية هؤلاء القوم في جميع الميادين العمرانية والثقافية التي اتسعت بفضل نشاط الصالحية الرائع ، فازدادت من ورائها مدينة دمشق علما وعمرانا .

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(٢١) . ولا بد أن نلفت النظر الى كل ما طور أو أنشئ في هذه الحقبة أو في العصر الذي تلاها من زوايا وترب ومارستانات (وابن طولون يستعمل هذه الكلمة) . وفي هذا المجال الاخير يتوجب ذكر المارستان القيمري "وسط الصالحية" وواقفه "الامير الكبير سيف الدين أبو الحسن يوسف بن أبي الوارس ... القيمري الكردي أكبر أمراء القيامرة كانوا يقفون بين يديه كما تعامل الملوك ومن أكبر حسناته وقفه المارستان الذي بسفح جبل قاسيون وكانت وفاته ودفنه بالسفح في القبة التي تجاه المارستان المذكور من جهة الغرب وكان ذا مال كثير وثروة" . وقد روى الشيخ جمال الدين بن عبد الهادي عن هذا المارستان أنه "من أحاسن الدنيا يقال أنه ليس ثم في الدنيا ... أحسن منه ولا أشرح فان فيه هذا الايوان المعظم والقاعتان المعظمتان القبليات هكذا بهذه الشبابيك المشرفة على الدنيا ، وتحت الشبابيك هذا الحوض النارنج سيما في أيام زهره تفوح منه هذه الرائحة الزكية فتنعش النفوس وتزكي الارواح" (٢٣) . ثم أخذت المساجد تتكاثر في الصالحية ، الى حد أن ابن طولون يذكر أنه "لا يمكن حصرها" لكثرتها والرباطات أيضا تكاثرت ، وهي "معدة للعجائز والنساء والارامل" (٢٤) .

واذا تصفحنا لائحة المحدثين والحفاظ من أهل الصالحية وكل من أتى مهاجرا اليها من بيت المقدس ، نرى أن المقدسيين في طليعة من عمل وألف وروى ونسخ وعلم ، وهم عدد كبير ليس من المستطاع ذكرهم في محاضرة مثل هذه بالتفصيل . وابن طولون يبتدئ بأفراد منهم في بعض فصوله ويبسط أحيانا تراجم البعض منهم ، لما يرى لهم من الاثر المحمود . فعلى سبيل المثال أود أن أذكر البعض منهم الذين يخصص لهم عددا أكبر من الفقرات أو الصفحات :-

محمد بن المحب بن عبدالله بن أحمد المحب ... (ابن طولون يذكر كل أسماء سلالته) الى منصور بن عبدالرحمن السعدي المقدسي الاصل الصالحي

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دمشق يقضون صيفهم فيها ، وبجانب عدد منها "محلة قبور الشهداء" وعندها مئذنة عبد الحق ومسجدها ومسجد الربوة والمصلى مكان جامع الحنابلة والمسجد العتيق الى أشياء أخرى (١٦) . سنرى أنها لم تكن بنفس الاهمية التي كانت للمنشآت التي أقامتها العائلات المقدسية .

ولجبل قاسيون تاريخ قديم يشير الى أهميته خاصة من الناحية الصحية بالنسبة لاهل المدينة ، بغض النظر عن المعلومات الكثيرة عن تسمية الجبل بقاسيون وما فيه وما حدث في مواضعه الخ (١٧) .

ثم بنى الامراء الجوامع في الصالحية وبجانبها المدارس (١٨) ، تحت اشراف أو مشورة أهل العلم والفضل المقدسيين ، منها الجامع الركني والمدرسة الركنية ، وجامع الحاجبية والمدرسة الحاجبية ، وكانت هذه المدرسة "من أحاسن دمشق ، جميعها حجر" (١٩) ، ومنها الجامع الجديد وجوامع أخرى كان يلحق بها مرافق لتسهيل الدروس المختلفة وتأسيس مكتبات تابعة لها . وفي هذا المجال يجب الا ننسى دور الحديث العديدة ، ابتداء من دار الحديث الضيائية وكان يقال لها "دار السنة بسفح قاسيون شرقي الجامع المظفري" - وكان بانيها ضياء الدين محمد بن عبد الواحد المقدسي (١١٧١/٥٦٧ - ١٢٤٥/٦٤٣) . وقد وقف كتبا كثيرة بخطه بخزانة المدرسة الضيائية التي وقفها على أصحابه من أهل الحديث والفقهاء وقد وقفت عليها أوقاف أخرى كثيرة بعد ذلك" (٢٠) . وفي المدارس الاخرى الكثيرة - وهي من انشاء أمراء أو قضاة أو غيرهم - نرى المقدسيين فعالين ، مدرسين ذوي فضل كبير تشهد به كتب التاريخ المختصة وغيرها ، وذلك من الناحية العلمية والدينية والمادية (راجع خاصة المدرسة العمرية التي كانت تعرف أيضا بمدرسة الشيخ أبي عمر محمد بن أحمد بن محمد بن قدامة المقدسي الذي رأيناه فيما سبق على رأس جالية المهاجرين الاوائل ، وكان واقفها وبانيها)

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كيف تمت هجرتهم بعد أن "جمعوا أهاليهم من القرايا" . وكانوا يتوجهون الى دمشق ومعهم أدلاء ، يمشون بالليل ويتوقفون بالنهار . فضاعوا على الطريق بعد أن مكثوا بقرية "تشرف على الغور تسمى جبعيت" وفي ضياعهم كان خلاصهم من حرامية على الطريق . فهكذا وصل أول فريق من القوم الجماعيليين بمعية الشيخ أحمد بن محمد الآنف الذكر "وعددهم خمسة وثلاثون نفسا من ذكر وأنثى كبير وصغير" (١٣) . وحسب روايات أخرى كانوا أربعين أو أكثر من ذلك أو أقل في هذه الهجرة . ثم تتابعت بعد ذلك هجرة قوم آخرين من المقدسيين على مر السنين التالية . وكان جماعة آخرون يأتون الى دمشق ثم يعودون الى فلسطين .

وأثناء اقامتهم في مسجد أبي صالح في باب شرقي حصل نزاع بينهم وبين بني الحنبلي ، اذ كان المسجد والوقف الملحق به في أيدي أبناء هذا البيت وتفجر النزاع لخوف الحنابلة من ذهاب كل هذا من أيديهم هم ، غير أن الامر سوي أخيرا فأعطى المقدسيون حق الاقامة في المسجد حيث ظلوا هناك الى أن انتقلوا للاقامة في الجبل . وكان الشيخ أحمد يأتي اليه قبل ذلك "اذا مات لهم ميت يدفنونه" الى أن ضاق بهم الامر في مسجد أبي صالح كما ذكرنا واشتهوا الانتقال الى الجبل . فانتقلوا اليه وشرعوا في بناء دير لهم حمل أسمهم (دير المقادسة كما تذكر احدى اجازات السماع في كتاب الزهد لاسد بن موسى) (١٤) . فأخذ البناء يرتفع ، وهم لا يعرفون البناء ، وذلك بمساعدة من ساعدهم من أهل المعونة والفضل ، وكان الناس يأتون اليهم ويقدمون لهم الهدايا لمعيشتهم . وهكذا فعل السلطان نور الدين أيضا . وأخذ القوم "يكثرون ويتملكون هذه المواضع" (١٥) .

وقبل هجرتهم الى الجبل كان هناك أديرة منها دير الحوراني "وكان يعرف بدير الحنابلة" ، وعلى ما يظهر أنه كان لرهبان أخرجوا منهم لانهم "أحدثوا شيئا" . ومنها أيضا دير أبي العباس أحمد الكهفي ، بالاضافة الى بعض بيوت كان ناس من

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تركهم هذا المسجد فيعود الى ما كان فيه من الوخم الذي أدى الى موت ما يقارب الاربعين شخصا في شهر واحد . فنقلهم رئيسهم الى جبل قاسيون حيث أسسوا على سفحه الصالحية ، فبنوا فيها المنازل والمساجد والمدارس كما سنرى . فكان لهم جميعا بعد الضيق الثاني سعة وفضل كبيران .

وقبل أن ننهي تماما قضية الهجرة ، يجب أن نشير - ونحن هنا في ذكر الحروب الصليبية بعد مرور كل هذه القرون عليها - الى قضية "الاجبار" التي تعرض لها هؤلاء المقدسيون (ولفظ أجبر يستعمله ابن طولون نفسه) ، اذ لم يصيروا فقط "تحت أيدي الفرنج بأرض بيت المقدس ونواحيها يعملون لهم الارض" بل كان الفرنج "يؤذونهم ويحبسونهم ويأخذون منهم شيئا كالجزية" . وكان أكثر الفرنج أهون من ابن بارزان لعنه الله ، وكانت تحت يده جماعيل ، قرية أصحابنا ، وسردا وياسوف وغير ذلك . وكان اذا أخذ الكفار من كل رجل ممن تحت يده دينارا أخذ هو لعنه الله من كل واحد منهم أربعة دنانير وكان يقطع أرجلهم ، ولم يكن في الكفار أعتى منه ولا أكثر تجبرا أخزاه الله" (١١) .

وهكذا تعرض القوم للكثير من الظلم والسوء ولم يرضوا أن يعيشوا هكذا ، كما لم يرض شيخهم الاكبر أحمد بن محمد ... بن قدامة (الجماعيلي) المقدسي "بمقامه تحت أيدي الكفار" على حد قول ابن طولون فرحلوا معه .

وهؤلاء المقدسيون كانوا على مستوى رفيع من العلم والتقوى . فهذا أحمد بن محمد المذكور : كان عالما يسافر ثم يعود الى قريته قبل مغادرته اياها ويشتغل بالعلم ويعلم الناس القرآن والعلم ويقرأ لهم الاحاديث . وكان هذا الشيخ أول من هاجر مع فريق من المقربين اليه ، فحث بعد وصوله الى دمشق ولده أبا عمر محمد ومن معه من القوم أن يسافروا الى دمشق . ويصف أبو عمر نفسه

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١٢٠٣ م . وله عدة كتب في الفقه والحديث والسيرة ("جزء كبير") ومواضيع أخرى متعلقة بالصلاة والاعتقاد والصحابة الخ ...

ولعله مما يلفت الانظار في سيرة هذا الرجل أنه أتى الى دمشق - على حد قول ابن طولون - بعد سنة ٥٥٠ هـ . ونحن نعرف أن سنة ٥٥٠ كانت ذات أهمية خاصة فيما يتصل بموضوعنا الذي نحن بصدده اذ رحلت فيها "أول قافلة من لاجئي فلسطين" الى دمشق وعلى رأسهم الشيخ أحمد بن قدامة المقدسي "كبير قرية جماعيل" . وجماعيل قرية في جبل نابلس من أرض فلسطين . منها الحافظ عبد الغني بن عبد الواحد المقدسي انتسب الى بيت المقدس لقرب جماعيل منها ولان نابلس وأعمالها جميعا من مضافات بيت المقدس" (٨) .

اذا كان عبد الغني الآنف الذكر من المجموعة التي كان على رأسها أحمد بن قدامة المقدسي ، ولا بد أنه نزح معه وهو في سن العاشرة ، وكما يذكر ابن طولون في وصفه لهجرة هذه المجموعة .

وأما سبب هذه الهجرة في هذه الفترة فيوضحه ابن طولون من خلال الكلمات القليلة التي يتعرض فيها للحديث عن أبي عمر المولود ٥٢٨ هـ بجماعيل حيث يقول "هاجر به والده وبأخيه موفق الدين وأهليهم الى دمشق سنة احدى وخمسين لاستيلاء الفرنج على الارض المقدسية فنزلوا بمسجد أبي صالح ظاهر باب شرقي فأقاموا به نحو سنتين ثم انتقلوا الى الجبل " (٩) أي الى جبل قاسيون ، حيث أسسوا قسما كبيرا من مدينة دمشق دعي منذ ذلك الوقت بالصالحية . أما سبب تسميته هكذا فيعود الى الصالحين الذين لقب الجبل أيضا بهم (جبل الصالحين) ("لصلاح من كان ابتداء وضعها ، وقيل لان الذين وضعوها كانوا بمسجد أبي صالح فنسبت اليه" (١٠) . والرأي الاول هو الاهم . وأما سبب

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في المكتبة الظاهرية (مكتبة الاسد حاليا) . وهناك فروق غير مهمة بينهما فيما يتعلق بنص الكتاب نفسه ، غير أنها كبيرة في ناحيتين : الاولى متصلة بمطلع الكتاب الذي يبتديء باسناد طويل (٢١ سطر) في نسخة برلين ، بينما لا نجد سوى ٧ أسطر في النسخة الاخرى (٢) . أما الثانية متعلقة بروايات السماع التي هي أكثر عددا في النسخة الدمشقية (٣) . وأسانيد هذه السماعات لها أهمية كبيرة في فهم تاريخ نص الكتاب ، وكيف وصل الينا عن النسخة الاصلية بخط المؤلف حين وضعه وهو ما زال في مصر ، حيث عاش لاجئا (اذ كان هرب من اضطهاد العباسيين لمن تبقى من الاسرة الاموية) وتتلمذ كعلمائها الكبار مثل عبد الله بن لهيعة أو الليث بن سعد في الشطر الاخير من القرن الثاني هـ/الثامن م . ومن خلال أسانيد السماعات هذه وقعت على ما قادني الى عائلة بني قدامة المقدسيين ، اذ أن النص وصل أولا بنسخة ما – ومن المجهول كيف ؟ الى الشيخ أبي الحسين أحمد بن محمد بن الحسين بن فاذشاه (ت ٤٣٣/١٠٤١) فكان هذا الاخير المسمع فسمعه منه عبد الملك بن أحمد بن الفضل العنبري وأخواه عبد الصمد وعبد الواحد سنة قبل وفاة الشيخ المسمع ، وذلك في آخرين (٤) . ولا بد أن تكون هذه القرية مهمة في حياة هؤلاء العنبريين اذ ظل الكتاب فيها ١٦١ سنة الى أن وصلت نسخة منه الى أصفهان (٥٩١ هـ (٥) ، حيث حمل أحد الدمشقيين – كان قد مر بأصفهان نسخة من هذا الكتاب – الى مدينته ، وهو : يوسف بن خليل بن عبد الله الدمشقي الحافظ المحدث (٥٥٥ – ٦٤٨ /١١٦٠ – ١٢٥٠) الذي يذكره ابن طولون في كتابه (القلائد الجوهرية في تاريخ الصالحية) بهذه الكلمات : "وسمع وكتب ما لا يوصف بخطه المليح المتقن ، ورحل الى الاقطار وسمع بدمشق من الحافظ عبد الغني ..." (٦) . ويشير ابن طولون الى نسب عبد الغني الحافظ فيقول هو : عبد الغني بن عبد الواحد بن علي بن سرور الجماعيلي ، ولد في جماعيل "من أرض نابلس" سنة ٥٤١ هـ / ١١٤٦ م "وقدم دمشق بعد الخمسين" (٧) . ثم ارتحل منها الى بغداد ، فهمذان ، فأصفهان ، فالموصل ، فمصر . ومات سنة ٦٠٠ هـ /

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حروب الافرنج وتأثيرها على فلسطين

أوراق عمل مقدمة الى

المؤتمر العلمي الدولي لجامعة بير زيت

الذي عقد في القدس بتاريخ ١٣- ١٥ آذار ١٩٩٢

إعـــداد الكتاب

د.خليل عثامنه، د. روجر هيكوك

منشورات

جامعة بيرزيت

وحدة دراسات البحر الابيض المتوسط

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العلاقات اللا-عسكرية بين المسلمين والفرنجة

خليل عثامنة

شهد حوض البحر المتوسط الشرقي خلال ما يقرب من قرنين من الزمان (١٠٩٨-١٢٩١) صراعا مسلحا يمتاز بالشراسة والعنف ، وقد غذت هذا الصراع وأوقدت ناره ، التي كانت كلما كادت أن تخبو تستعر من جديد ، مشاعر الكراهية التي نمتها الأفكار المسبقة والتناقضات الدينية وتضارب المصالح لدى الأطراف المشاركة في هذا الصراع . ومع هذا ، ينبغي ألا يغرب عن البال أن مائة وثلاثة وتسعين عاما من الصراع بين الفرنجة والمسلمين ، لم تكن كلها أعوام حرب واحتراب وقتل واقتتال ، بل تخللها فترات من الموادعة والمهادنة ، توقف فيها القتال وانصرف الناس فيها الى أمور معاشهم وأمور دنياهم وهم مطمئنو البال آمنون على أرواحهم وتجارتهم وممتلكاتهم . ويمكن القول ، أن فترات السلم خلال هذين القرنين كانت أطول من فترات الحرب كما يظهر لعين المتتبع للأحداث سنة بعد أخرى . فنشأ من خلال تراكم سني المسالمة والهدوء مناخ صالح تطورت خلاله روابط وصلات اجتماعية وحضارية وانسانية أملتها ضرورات المجاورة المستمرة بين المسلمين وبين الفرنجة .

في هذه المحاضرة سأحاول أن أرسم صورة لهذه الصلات والروابط ، التي لم تلق المصادر المتعلقة بالفترة التي نحن بصددها ضوءا كافيا عليها . فمؤلفوها كانوا منخرطين بشكل مباشر أو غير مباشر في هذا الصراع الدامي سواء من كان منهم من الفرنجة مثل وليام الصوري (١) (William of Tyre) أو من

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كان من المسلمين كالعماد الأصفهاني (٢) ، كاتب صلاح الدين أو أسامة بن منقذ الفارس المقاتل من شيزر (٣) . وعلى الرغم من الأهمية التاريخية لهذه الحقيقة ، فان فيها ما يؤثر على موضوعية المؤلفين الذين كانوا ينساقون أمام تيارات عواطفهم الجياشة ، وفوق ذلك فان انشغالهم في تسجيل الأحداث العسكرية وانهماكهم في التركيز على الأخبار الرسمية التي يحتل الحكام ورجال السلطة وعمالهم مكان الصدارة فيها ، كل ذلك صرف أذهانهم عن الاهتمام بأخبار عامة الناس من الجنود والفلاحين والحرفيين وصغار التجار ، ولعل التصاقهم بالحكام والقادة أبعدهم عن معرفة مشاعر العامة وآمالهم وعن همومهم وطموحاتهم ، وهنا تكمن الصعوبة التي يجدها الباحث في تقصي الحقائق المتصلة بالواقع الاجتماعي والاقتصادي وبالاحرى في الجانبين الحضاري والانساني . ومع ذلك تظل لدى قارىء النصوص المدرب ، فرصة حسنة لاستقراء الحقائق من بين السطور ، من خلال بعض الاشارات الهامشية أو من خلال بعض العبارات التوضيحية التي تتخلل السرد التاريخي لسير الأحداث . ولعل قسطا لا بأس به من المعلومات يمكن أن توفره تلك النوادر التي تتميز بها المصادر العربية والتي درج المؤلفون المسلمون على بثها خلال النصوص ترويحا عن القارىء وطردا للملل الذي قد يتسرب الى نفسه من طول معاناة النصوص الرصينة الجادة ، كما يشير الى ذلك الجاحظ في بعض مؤلفاته (٤) . ومن خلال رصد هذه المعلومات في المصادر المتاحة يمكن أن نصنف العلاقات اللا-عسكرية التي نشأت بين المسلمين وبين الفرنجة في نوعين من العلاقات :-

١- العلاقات الرسمية : وهي اما بين الحكومات والممالك واما بين أمراء اقليميين من المسلمين ومن الفرنجة . وتشمل اتفاقيات الهدنة ، التحالفات المرحلية ، العلاقات التجارية واتفاقيات اقتصادية أخرى .

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٢- العلاقات الانسانية والتفاعلات الاجتماعية : وتشمل فئات المجتمع المختلفة بدءا بالارستقراطية الحاكمة ، فئة التجار ، الفلاحين ، الخدم والعبيد والجنود المحاربين وتتسع أيضا لتشمل قضايا الزواج المختلط ، موضوع الصداقات الشخصية ، مجال الترفيه والتسلية ، المرافق المشتركة ، علاقات الجوار الحميمة وغير ذلك ، كاكتساب العادات وتعلم اللغة والنقول الحضارية الأخرى .

أ) **العلاقات الرسمية :-**

اتفاقيات الهدنة : بعد مرور عشر سنوات على الاجتياح الفرنجي لمدن الساحل السوري واللبناني (بداية الغزو ١٠٩٧) وبعد أن سقطت معظم مدن الساحل الفلسطيني ودخل الفرنجة مدينة القدس واستولوا على بيسان ونابلس وطبريا وأراضي الجليل ، كانت مدن العمق السوري (حلب ، حماة ، ودمشق) تشكل الخط الأول بما يجوز أن نسميه الجبهة الشرقية ، ولكن هذه المدن الثلاث لم تكن الا امارات يحكمها قادة عسكريون من السلاجقة الأتراك المتنازعين المتربصين ببعضهم البعض بعد أن ورثوا مشاكل الوراثات السلالية المزمنة ، وكانت تنخر فيها بالاضافة الى ذلك دسائس القواد والامراء المحليين المتنافسين على المناصب أو الطامعين في الوصول الى السلطة .

أما في الغرب فكانت الخلافة الشيعية الفاطمية في مصر التي نخر الضعف والفساد في بنيتها السياسية والعسكرية ولم تكن قادرة على استرجاع شبر واحد من الأراضي التي خسرتها للفرنجة في فلسطين ومدن الساحل السوري الأخرى .

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في هذا الوضع المتردي وجدت دمشق نفسها وحيدة أمام طموحات بالدوين (Baldwin) في الضفة الشرقية لنهر الأردن ومنطقة البلقاء وهضبة الجولان وأرض حوران . ولم يكن أمام أمير دمشق ظهير الدين ، أتابك العسكر ، طغتكين (Tugtikin) الذي كان قد تولى الوصاية على ولي العهد تتش بن دقاق القاصر (Tutush) سنة ١١٠٣/٤٩٧ ، الا أن يواجه التهديد منفردا ، ففي سنة ١١٠٧/١١٠٦ أقطع أحد قواد الأتراك الذي التجأ الى دمشق فارا من الموصل ، منطقة جنوبي شرقي الأردن ، أي منطقة وادي موسى والبلقاء ، عسى أن يحفظ هذه المنطقة الهامة من السقوط بأيدي الفرنجة ، لأن سقوطها كان يعني قطع الطريق الوحيد المتبقي بين دمشق وعمق البر الشامي من جهة وبين مصر والحجاز من جهة ثانية . فلما أحس الملك الفرنجي Baldwin بهذه الحركة أسرع بقواته الخفيفة من الفرسان (الأرمن) فاستولى على المنطقة قبل أن يتمكن القائد التركي من اقامة الحصن الذي أزمع على بنائه ، وقبل أن يتم تقوية تحصيناته في هذه المنطقة الصحراوية الوعرة . فكان من السهل عليه أن يطرد القوات الاسلامية من هذه الناحية ، وقد ساعده في انجاز المهمة تعاون السكان المحليين ، من أبناء القبائل العربية والجالية المسيحية السريانية التي تسكن هناك (٥) .

ويبدو أن فشل هذا التدبير ، قد سد منافذ الحلول عند طغتكين وجعله يقدم على اتخاذ قرار انقلابي لا سابقة له في هذه المرحلة من الصراع بين الاسلام وبين الكفر ، حيث عزم على عقد اتفاقية للهدنة مع Baldwin ملك مملكة اللاتين في القدس . ان مثل هذا القرار قد يثير الدهشة عند القارىء لأول وهلة الا أن المتتبع لمسيرة الاسلام ، والعالم بأحكام السنة الاسلامية سوف لن يرى في هذه الخطوة بأسا طالما كان القصد منها النظر لصالح المسلمين ، ويكفي أن نشير في هذا الصدد الى الهدنة التي عقدها النبي محمد (صلى الله عليه وسلم) نفسه مع كفار

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مكة سنة ٨ هجري ، فيما عرف في أدب الحديث والسيرة ب "صلح الحديبية" (٦).

ان الجانب الشرعي من عقد اتفاقية الهدنة مع ملك الفرنجة ، لا ينبغي أن يشغل بال المؤرخ ، ويجب ألا يستدعيه الى الوقوف عنده على الرغم من أهميته ، فالجانب الأهم في هذه الخطوة هو أن تعترف السلطة الرسمية ، التي ترى نفسها تحكم باسم الشرعية ، أن دولة الفرنجة ، هي دولة شرعية ، تعترف بوجودها اعترافا قانونيا ، (de jure) وليس مجرد اعتراف محكوم بتحصيل الحاصل (de facto) .

لقد انطوت اتفاقية الهدنة ٥٠٢ /١١٠٨ التي لم تعمر الا عدة أشهر على مكاسب اقتصادية لملك الفرنجة تمثلت بالحصول على ثلث الغلال من أرض الجولان (السواد) ومنطقة جبل عوف (أرض الغور الشمالي وعجلون) ، واحكام السيادة على امتداد الضفة الشرقية لنهر الأردن . ولكن المكسب الأهم الذي كانت تسعى اليه هذه المملكة الفتية ، في أن تصبح كيانا سياسيا معترفا به على خارطة الشرق العربي قد تحقق .

وخلال مدة الصراع الطويلة التي استمرت بعد هدنة سنة ١١٠٨ ، توالى عقد اتفاقيات مماثلة بين الفرنجة من جهة وبين حكام مدينة دمشق على اختلاف الأسر التي تعاقبت على حكمها ، ثم ما لبثت عدوى اتفاقيات الهدنة أن أصابت مصر دولة المواجهة الثانية ممثلة بحكامها من الفاطميين الشيعة وبعض القادة أصحاب النفوذ في هذا البلد . وما يعنينا في المقام ليس احصاء هذه الاتفاقيات بقدر رصد الخلفيات ومن ثم الأهداف التي كانت تنطوي عليها ، وكذلك الوقوف على مضامينها وغرائب بنودها . وأول ما يلفت النظر ، أن اتفاقيات الهدنة في

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غالبيتها كانت تأتي في أعقاب ضغوط عسكرية يمارسها الفرنجة ضد الجبهة الاسلامية وليس بالضرورة أن تكون هذه الضغوط أعمالا عسكرية محضة تنتهي باشتباكات مسلحة ، بل كانت تتمثل بحشود أو تحركات عسكرية على حدود مناطق التماس (٨) ، وهي ضغوط يتبين منها خلل في توازن القوى العسكرية كانت كفة الفرنجة فيه هي الراجحة . ولكن المصادر الاسلامية ، في الغالب ، لم تكن تفصح ودون لبس عن تفوق الطرف الآخر . انها لم تعترف صراحة برجحان كفة الفرنجة ولكن كانت تضع هذا الاعتراف في غلاف شفاف من أساليب الكناية والتعريض ، ولعل ما يكتبه ابن القلانسي مستعينا بهذا الاسلوب البلاغي يوضح هذا التوجه في المصادر الاسلامية ، ففي حديثه عن الهدنة التي عقدها ظهير الدين أتابك Tugtakin سنة ١١٠٩/٥٠٣ مع الملك بلدوين في أعقاب احتلال الفرنجة لمدينة طرابلس اللبنانية يقول القلانسي :

"لما فرغ الافرنج من طرابلس بعد افتتاحها وتدبير أعمالها وتقرير أحوالها ، نهضوا الى رفنية ، وعرف ظهير الدين ذلك من قصدهم فنهض في العسكر نحوها لحمايتها وخيم بازائهم بحمص ، فلم يتمكن الافرنج من منازلتها ومضايقتها . وترددت بينه وبينهم مراسلات ومخاطبات أفضت الى أن أجاب كل واحد من الفريقين الى تقرير الموادعة على الأعمال والمسالمة ..." (٩) .

الى هنا لا يلمس القارىء ما يشير الى ضعف معسكر Tugtakin ، بل على العكس يرى أنه قد أفشل خطة الفرنجة المعلنة ، ولكن ابن القلانسي يستأنف كلامه ويقول "واستقر الأمر في ذلك على أن يكون للافرنج الثلث من استغلال البقاع ، ويسلم اليهم حصن المنيطرة ، وحصن ابن عكار ، ويكفوا عن العبث والفساد في الأعمال والأطراف . وأن يكون حصن مصياف وحصن الطوفان وحصن الأكراد داخلا في شروط الموادعة ، ويحمل أهلها عنها مالا معينا في كل

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سنة الى الافرنج . فأقاموا على ذلك مدة يسيرة ، فلم يلبثوا على ما تقرر ، وعادوا الى رسمهم في الفساد والعناد" (١٠) .

ان النصف الثاني من النص يبين بجلاء أن الاتفاقية كلها كانت تصب في صالح الفرنجة ، حيث صار لهم بموجبها ٣٣٪ من محاصيل سهل البقاع ، وتنازل لهم الدماشقة عن حصنين هما المنيطرة وابن عكار وهما حصنان يضيفان عمقا استراتيجيا مهما لمدن الساحل اللبناني الخاضعة للفرنجة ، كما حظي الفرنجة بأتاوة سنوية فرضت على سكان ثلاث مناطق اسلامية اخرى . أما أقصى ما حظي به الجانب الاسلامي ، فهو تعهد يتوقف الفرنجة عن الغارات التدميرية التي كانوا يشنونها بين الحين والآخر على المناطق الاسلامية . ولعل ما يؤكد الضعف المستشري في المعسكر الاسلامي هذا الحرص المفرط على احترام شروط اتفاقيات الهدنة ، فاذا ما حدث وحاولت بعض الجهات الاسلامية ، غير الخاضعة لسلطة الحاكم المباشرة ، أو الخارجة عن نطاق نفوذه أن تعتدي على الفرنجة أو أن تغير على بعض نواحيهم كان الحكام المسلمون يقيمون الدنيا ولا يقعدوها بسبب هذا الخرق . ففي سنة ١١٥١/٥٤٦ هاجمت جماعة من التركمان حصن بانياس الذي كان بأيدي الفرنجة فقتلوا وأسروا الكثير من أفراد الحامية ونهبوا طعامهم وأمتعتهم ، فوصل الخبر الى حاكم دمشق مجير الدين (أنور أبو سعيد محمد بن بوري) الذي تولى حكم دمشق سنة ١١٤٩/٥٤٤ ، فما كان منه الا أن جرد عساكره للقبض على هؤلاء الجناة ومعاقبتهم على قبيح فعلتهم ، لأنه كما يقول ابن أبي طي : "اتصل ذلك بصاحب دمشق فأغضبه فعل التركمان لمكان الهدنة المنعقدة بينه وبين الفرنج" (١١) . والأنكى من ذلك أن غيرة حكام دمشق لم تكن لتتحرك ، ولم تكن حميتهم لتستفز ، اذا ما كان المسلمون هم ضحايا خروق اتفاقيات الهدنة ، ولم يكونوا يحركون ساكنا . وقد عير نور الدين زنكي الذي كان يحكم حلب في هذه الفترة مجير الدين صاحب دمشق بهذا الموقف المتخاذل حين خرج بجيشه الى

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ريف دمشق لكي يحمي فلاحيه وقاطنيه من أبناء القبائل العربية من غارات الفرنج التي كادت تودي بكل شيء . فكتب نور الدين الى مجير الدين وقواده ما يلي : "انني ما قصدت بنزولي هذا المنزل طلبا لمحاربتكم وانما دعاني الىهذا الأمر كثرة شكاية المسلمين من أهل حوران والعربان ، بأن الفلاحين أخذت أموالهم وسبيت نساؤهم وأطفالهم بيد الفرنج ، وعدم الناصر لهم ..." (١٢) .

ومن الطريف أن نشير في هذا الصدد الى أحد الشروط المهينة التي كانت تشتمل عليها بنود أتفاقيات الهدنة ، هذا الشرط الذي كان يبيح للافرنج يدا طليقة في تقرير مصير الهدنة فان شاؤوا أعملوها وان شاؤوا أبطلوها . فقد كانوا يشترطون أنه اذا وصل ملك أو قوة فرنجية جديدة من القارة الأوروبية بقصد الغزو والاحتلال فانهم ان استطاعوا اقناعه بالعدول عن قصده ، فالهدنة قائمة ، أما اذا لم يقتنع فما عليهم الا أن يضموا قواتهم اليه ويحاربوا معه بالرغم من سريان اتفاقيات الهدنة ، فاذا فرغ وفرغوا من مهمتهم ، تعود الهدنة سارية المفعول كما كانت قبل الحرب ، وكأن شيئا لم يكن . فينقل لنا أبو شامة عن العماد الأصفهاني ما يلي : "ومن جملة شروط هدنة الفرنج أنهم اذا وصل لهم ملك أو كبير ، مالهم في دفعه تدبير ، أنهم يعاونونه ولا يباينونه ، يحالفونه ولا يخالفونه ، فاذا عاد ، عادت الهدنة كما كانت".

وبحكم هذا الشرط حشدوا الحشود وجندوا الجنود ونزلوا على حماة في العشرين من جمادي الاولى سنة ١١٧٦/٥٧٢ ...(١٣) .

لم تكن الضغوط العسكرية دائما هي الدافع الذي يحدو بالاطراف المتنازعة للتوصل الى الموادعات ، وعقد اتفاقيات الهدنة . بل كان للعوامل الاقتصادية أحيانا الدور الحاسم في غمد سيوف المتحاربين الى حين . فبعيد الغارات التدميرية الناجمة التي شنها ظهير الدين Tugtakin في عمق التراب

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الفلسطيني المحتل ، في خريف ١١١٣/ ربيع الاول ٥٠٧ ، حين شلت حركة فرسانه السريعة في مروج فلسطين ووديانها قوات الفرنجة واضطرتها على أن تظل حبيسة في حصونها المنيعة على رؤوس الجبال ، وشمل الدمار ضياع الفرنجة وأرض فلاحيهم ونهبت كبريات المدن كجنين ونابلس ، واشتد الحصار والتضييق على الفرنجة ، حتى لم يبق بين عكا والقدس ضيعة عامرة (١٤) حينها تبودلت الرسائل بين بلدوين ملك الافرنج وبين ظهير الدين أتابك ، لايقاع المهادنة والموادعة والمسالمة ، لا لشيء الا "لتعمر الاعمال بعد الاخراب ، وتأمن السوابل من شر المفسدين والخراب ، فاستقرت الحال بينهما واستحلف كل منهما صاحبه على الثبات والوفاء واخلاص المودة والصفاء ، وأمنت المسالك والاعمال وصلحت الاحوال وتوفر الاستغلال" (١٥) . فكانت غاية هذه الاتفاقية واضحة لخصتها العبارة الاخيرة ، والتي تنطوي على عنصرين اقتصاديين الاول : الامان في الطرق ، للقوافل والتجار ونقل المؤن والموارد الى الاسواق والثاني : توفر الاستغلال ، أي ضمان استغلال الارض وزراعتها والقيام على المحاصيل والبساتين والعمائر ، علما بأن الزراعة كانت الركيزة الاساسية للاقتصاد في فلسطين قبل الحرف والتجارات .

وهنالك بعض الاتفاقيات التي كانت تعقد خاصة لغرض التجارة وحدها ، حيث نرى أن أحد الطرفين في هذه المعادلة كان أمير مدينة صور المسلم ، مسعود ابن سلار ، سيف الدولة ، الذي كان واليا على هذه المدينة من قبل ظهير الدين أتابك حاكم على دمشق ، قبل أن يسقط هذه الميناء الهام بأيدي الفرنجة . وعقدت الاتفاقية مع الملك بلدوين في سنة ١١١٣/٥٠٧ ، حيث بادر الاخير الى هذا الصلح حتى يسهل على الفرنجة رسو سفنهم وتنقلها بين موانيء سواحل الشام ومصر دون أن تتعرض للاذى ، ولكي تصل الامدادات البشرية لتقوية العناصر الفرنجية المحاربة بعد الخسائر التي منيت بها خلال هذا العام القاسي .

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ويعكس النص الذي يورده ابن القلانسي هذه الاهداف بوضوح حين يقول : "وانعقد الامر بينهما على السداد واستقامت الاحوال على المراد ، وأمنت السابلة والتجار والسفار والواردين من جميع الاقطار" (١٦) . اذا كانت الاسباب التي تدعو الى عقد اتفاقيات الهدنة حتى الآن ، قد صنعتها يد الانسان ، فان اتفاقيات اخرى قد تدخلت قوى الطبيعة في التهيئة لها . فمناخ الشرق الادنى الجاف الذي يسفر في بعض السنين عن انحباس للامطار في موسم الشتاء قد أسهم هو الآخر في فرض الهدنة على طرفي النزاع . ففي عام ١١٧٩/٥٧٥ أصاب بلاد الشام قحط شديد حتى لم يجد الناس في أعقابه طعاما لانفسهم ولا لدوابهم ، فكاتب ملك الفرنجة السلطان صلاح الدين بشأن عقد هدنة بين الطرفين فأجابه السلطان الى ذلك (١٧) ، ولعل في مبادرة الملك بلدوين (الخامس) واستجابة السلطان صلاح الدين ، ما يؤكد حسهما العالى بالمسؤولية تجاه رعاياهما من جهة ، ويكشف من جهة أخرى عمق المأساة والمعاناة التي لحقت بالناس نتيجة لهذا القحط الماحق .

ب) العلاقات التجارية :-

عندما مر الرحالة العربي الاسباني ابن جبير في بلاد الشام وهو في طريق عودته من رحلة الحج الى مسقط رأسه في غرناطة ، وكان ذلك في النصف الثاني من عام ١١٨٤/٥٨٠ م سجل في يومياته التي عرفت باسم "رحلة ابن جبير" بعض الغرائب التي شاهدها عن العلاقة القائمة بين المسلمين وبين الفرنجة في هذه البلاد . وكان من أبرز هذه الغرائب ما لاحظه عن العلاقات التجارية النشطة التي لا تنقطع بين الطرفين في أيام الحرب والسلم على حد سواء فهو يقول في صريح العبارة :-

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"ومن أعجب ما يحدث به أن نيران الفتنة تشتعل بين الفئتين ، مسلمين ونصارى وربما يلتقي الجمعان ويقع المصاف بينهم ورفاق المسلمين والنصارى تختلف بينهم دون اعتراض "(١٨) . فالقوافل التجارية للمسلمين وللفرنجة لا تنقطع حتى في وقت الحرب ، وهي فوق كل هذا آمنة في أرض العدو لا يتعرض لها أحد بأذى .

ان اللهجة التعميمية التي يتحدث بها ابن جبير اذا كانت تصلح في حقبة زمنية بعينها ، فهي لا تصلح في كل الحقب . ويكفي لاثبات عدم دقتها ما حدث بعد مضي أقل من سنة على مغادرة ابن جبير ميناء عكا حين انقض الامير رينو من شاتيون (Renaud of Chatillon) (التي تسميه المصادر العربية أرناط) سنة ١١٨١ على قافلة اسلامية عظيمة خرجت من دمشق الى مصر فاستولى على بضائعها وقتل التجار والمسافرين والحجاج (١٩) ومع ذلك فان لدينا من الأدلة المكتوبة ما يبين وضوح اهتمام مملكة بيت المقدس وأمراء الفرنجة الآخرين من جهة واهتمام حكام المسلمين المجاورين من جهة ثانية باستمرارية النشاط التجاري . ففي الجانب الفرنجي كانت هناك طوائف من التجار برز منهم التجار الايطاليون من جنوة والبندقية الذين أقاموا حيا منفردا في مدينة عكا ، وكانت سفنهم الكبار ترتاد موانىء بلاد الشام لتحمل معها البضائع وخاصة الحديد والأخشاب والمؤن لتعود محملة بأقمشة الشرق دقيقة الصنعة والعطور والتوابل (٢٠) . ومع أن الرأي العام بين الفرنجة لم يبد ارتياحا الى اهتمام الايطاليين بالتجارة وتحقيق الأرباح ، حيث وضعوا تجارتهم فوق كل اعتبار ، الا أنه لم يتوفر لهم بديل آخر . كما أن نشاط الحركة التجارية واستمرارية الملاحة بين موانىء الغرب والشرق ، كانت الوسيلة الوحيدة لوصول الامدادات البشرية من أوروبا الى الشرق ، وكان الفرنجة أحوج ما يكونون الى مثل هذه الأعداد الجديدة التي تأتي لتقوي صفوفهم وتسد النقص البشري المتتالي في مقاتليهم . ليس هذا وحسب ، فان التجارة ذاتها

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كانت تدر دخلا مباشرا على خزينة الدول المتحاربة ، لما يؤديه التجار من ضرائب ومكوس في الموانىء والمعابر البرية الأخرى التي أقيمت فيها محطات للمكوس (٢١) .

أما حاجة المسلمين في بلاد الشام الى التجارة فكانت أشد بعد أن قطعت الاتصلات بين العمق البري لبلاد الشام مع المدن الساحلية ، ومن ثم انقطعت الاتصلات البحرية مع مصر والدول في شمال افريقيا ، ولم يعد الاتصال البري بين الشام ومصر آمنا ، بل أنه قد انقطع تماما لفترات متباعدة ، بعد أن بنى الافرنج حصني الكرك والشوبك على الضفة الشرقية لنهر الأردن . كل ذلك أعطى موانىء البحر المتوسط الشامية وخاصة ميناء عكا أهمية تجارية خاصة ، فكانت قوافل التجار المسلمين تغدو عليه وتروح وتعقد فيه الصفقات التجارية بين تجار المسلمين وتجار الفرنجة (٢٢) . وقد عملت بعض التسهيلات لاقامة التجار الوافدين الى عكا ، حيث كانوا ينزلون في فندق خصص لاقامتهم ، وقد اشتملت بعض أقسام هذا الفندق على جناح أعد لجلوس الموظفين الرسميين الذين يقدرون قيمة البضائع القادمة لتحديد مقادير العشور الواجب تأديتها الى الخزينة . وامعانا في التسهيل على التجار المسلمين فقد كانت الكشوف والايصالات وباقي المعاملات تكتب باللغة العربية من قبل موظفين رسميين يحسنون قراءة العربية وكتابتها (٢٣).

وقبل عكا لعبت بيروت دورا تجاريا نشطا في وقت مبكر بعد الغزو الفرنجي سنة ١١٣٢/٥٢٧ الا أن هذا الدور كان محدودا حيث اقتصر ميناء بيروت على تجار مدينة دمشق دون غيرها (٢٤) ، وكان التجار المسلمون يلقون معاملة خاصة على النقاط الحدودية ، فكانوا يعفون من دفع رسوم المرور التي

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كانت تجبى من غيرهم من السابلة المسافرين (٢٥) ، وان دل هذا على شيء فانما يؤكد التشجيع الرسمي الذي تلقاه التجار .

لم يكن النشاط التجاري قائما في أيام السلم أو سني الهدنة فقط ، اذ لم تنقطع الاتصالات التجارية مع أرض الفرنجة في أيام الحرب ، فحين شدد المسلمون الحصار والمضايقة على معسكر الفرنجة المحيط بمدينة عكا المحاصرة ، كان أمراء بعض المدن الساحلية المسلمين ، كصيدا وعسقلان وبيروت يهربون المؤن الى المحاصرين عن طريق البحر (٢٦) . أما سفن الفرنجة فلم تكن ترسو فقط في الموانىء الخاضعة لهم ، بل كانت تأتي الى الموانىء الاسلامية وخاصة دمياط والاسكندرية في مصر ، حيث تقوم أيضا بنقل المسافرين المسلمين من مصر الى بلاد الشام (٢٧) . وكان الاسطول التجاري المصري يقوم بالمقابل برحلات تجارية الى موانىء الفرنجة في الشام (٢٨) .

جـ) التعاون العسكري بين المسلمين والفرنجة :-

بعد أن توالت الضغوط العسكرية للفرنجة على ولاية دمشق وأعمالها ، وبعد أن قطعت طرق تجارتها ومواصلاتها مع مصر والساحل ، وبعد أن تأكد لصاحبها Tugtakin عجزه عن التصدي لهذه الضغوط (٢٩) ، أرسل رسلا الى بغداد مستغيثا بأمراء المسلمين لنصرة أخوانهم في الشام على الفرنجة ، فظهر الأمير شرف الدين مودود أتابك الموصل على رأس قوات عسكرية تركية انضمت الى الجبهة الدمشقية ، حيث اجتاحت القوات المشتركة نهر الأردن وتوغلت في عمق فلسطين صيف ١١١٣ ، الا أن المسلمين لم يستغلوا تفوقهم على الفرنجة ولم يكملوا المهمة التي أتوا من أجلها ، فعادت جيوشهم تحت وطأة الحر اللاهب الى دمشق (٣٠) .

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وبالرغم من عدم تحقيق الأهداف المعلنة لهذه الحملة التي قادها مودود الى جانب Tugtakin الا أن أمرا واضحا كان قد برز الى الوجود ، وهو يقظة وعي الجهاد في نفوس المسلمين وخاصة في أرض العراق ، فتبلورت لدى أتابك الموصل السلجوقي فكرة انشاء جبهة انقاذ اسلامية تضم الأمراء المسلمين في الجزيرة وبلاد الشام من أجل تحرير أرض المسلمين من الفرنجة . واختار أتابك الموصل لهذه المهمة القائد برسق (بعد أن قتل مودود غيلة في دمشق من أحد فدائيي الباطنية) . ولما أحس أمراء الجزيرة والشام بمخطط سلطان الموصل أخذوا يستعدون لمقاومته ، فتحالف أمير ديار بكر وأمير حلب مع Tugtakin ، أتابك دمشق ، بينما رحب أمير حمص وبنو منقذ أمراء شيزر بخطة التحرير المقترحة وأعلنوا ولائهم وتعاونهم مع برسق . لم تقف الأمور عند هذا الحد ، فالعداوة للسلاجقة ، لم توحد فقط هؤلاء المتحالفين الثلاثة (ديار بكر ، حلب ودمشق) بل انبثق عنها تحالف من نوع جديد ، وهو تحالف مسلمين مع الفرنجة ضد مسلمين آخرين . بمعنى أخر تحالف الضحية مع جلادها ضد من يريد انقاذها ، اذا جاز لنا هذا التعبير .

وسرعان ما انضم الى هذا التحالف ، بناءا على مبادرة من أمراء المدن السورية ، أمير انطاكية الفرنجي روجير (Roger) ، وأمير طرابلس وبالتالي أنضم الملك بلدوين ملك بيت المقدس الى هذا التحالف (٣١) . وبغض النظر عن سير الأحداث في هذه المرحلة فان الهزيمة العسكرية المبكرة التي لحقت بالقائد السلجوقي برسق (٣٢) ، قائد قوات الانقاذ ، قبل أن يتم بناء القوى العسكرية لجبهة الانقاذ هذه ، كانت قد فوتت الفرصة على التحالف الاسلامي من أن يثبت نفسه على الساحة . الا أن حقيقة قيام تحالف مضاد بين أمراء مسلمين وأمراء افرنج ضد الجبهة الاسلامية التي بادر اليها اتابك الموصل ، تؤكد ظهور رؤية جديدة في

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العالم الاسلامي لم تكن قائمة من قبل ومفادها أن دول الفرنجة لم تعد كيانات غريبة معادية بل صارت تعتبر ، وفي ظروف معينة جزءا من المناخ السياسي في بلاد الشام . ومن منظور أبعد فان هذا التحالف الذي ضم دويلات الشام عربها وفرنجها ، لا بد أن يعيد الى الأذهان الصراع السياسي التقليدي الذي كان قائما بين اقليمي العراق والشام فيما كان يعرف بصراع العباسيين والامويين . ولعل أهم العبر التي تستفاد من هذا التحالف ، أن الحكام المسلمين الذين أغمضوا أعينهم عن الهوة العقائدية السحيقة التي كانت تفصل بين الاسلام وبين المسيحية في نظر أبناء ذلك الزمان . وفي هذا السياق ينقل المستشرق Prawer عن مدون حوليات حلب بأن الدافع الأساسي لامراء المسلمين المتحالفين مع الفرنجة انما كان حرصهم على التمسك بكراسيهم (٣٣) .

لم يكن هذا التحالف حادثة عابرة في تاريخ الصراع الافرنجي-الاسلامي، بل سبقته وتلته تحالفات رسمية بين حكام مسلمين وبين الفرنجة على خلفيات مشابهة ، حيث كانت نزعة التشبث بالحكم والتربع على كرسي السلطة تؤدي بهم الى البحث عن الوسيلة الأسهل لتحقيق هذا الهدف ، حتى ولو كانت هذه الوسيلة هي التحالف مع الفرنجة ضد حاكم مسلم آخر . هذا ما فعله مجير الدين أتابك دمشق حين استعان سنة ١١٣٩/٥٣٤ بملك الفرنجة خوفا من مطامع عماد الدين زنكي أمير حلب ، ومقابل حصوله على دعم الفرنجة تعهد بأن يدفع رواتب جيشهم في كل شهر وأن يتنازل لهم عن حصن بانياس ، وأن يسلمهم رهائن من أبناء اسرته وقواده لضمان وفائه بوعوده (٣٤) . وعلى غرار ذلك تحالف صاحب قلعة صرخد (القريبة من بصرى Palmyra) ضد نور الدين زنكي سنة ١١٤٧/٥٤٢ (٣٥) .

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وفي وقت لاحق جوبهت جهود صلاح الدين في توحيد القوى الاسلامية بالاعراض والتصدي من قبل أمراء المسلمين . وكأسلافهم من الأمراء رأوا في الفرنجة الحليف الطبيعي الذي يلجأون اليه . هكذا فعل أمير حلب عندما استعان بالفرنجة ضد صلاح الدين في سنة ١١٧٥/٥٧١ وفي سنة ١١٧٧/٥٧٣ (٣٦) . وهكذا فعل أمير الموصل سنة ١١٨٢/٥٧١ (٣٧) . وتجدر الاشارة في هذا السياق الى أن الطرف الرابح من هذه التحالفات كان دائما الفرنجة ، سواء تمثل ذلك بتلقي الرشوة المالية الضخمة أو بفكاك أسراهم أو تحسين مواقعهم العسكرية بعد تسليمهم بعض الحصون والقلاع بينما كانت هذه التحالفات تؤول على أمراء المسلمين بالدمار ، ان لم تعجل نهايتهم ونهاية حكمهم .

تطورت هذه التحالفات في القرن السابع الهجري/الثالث عشر الميلادي أيام حكم الجيل الثاني من الاسرة الايوبية الى حد التنازل عن بعض المدن الهامة للفرنجة مقابل تحالفات مرحلية معهم أثناء حروب أمراء هذه الاسرة مع بعضهم البعض . ففي سنة ١٢١٨ وعد الملك المعظم عيسى حلفاءه الفرنجة بتسليم القدس اذا ما عاونوه على محاربة أخيه الكامل (٣٨) ، وبعد ذلك بعشر سنوات سنة ١١٢٧ وعد الملك الكامل حاكم مصر الايوبي بتسليم القدس للفرنجة مقابل أن لا يهاجموه أثناء حربه مع أخيه الملك الناصر (٣٩) . وفي سنة ١٢٤٠/٦٣٨ سلم حاكم دمشق الملك الناصر مدينة القدس ومدينة صفد وقلعتها وقلعة شقيف الى الفرنجة مقابل مساعدته في الحرب ضد نجم الدين أيوب حاكم مصر (٤٠) وسلمت القدس مرة ثانية سنة ١٢٤٣ من قبل الملك الصالح حاكم دمشق ، وسلم بالاضافة الى القدس طبرية وعسقلان (٤١) .

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د) **تعاون عناصر غير رسمية مع الفرنجة :-**

تشتمل هذه العناصر على خليط متنوع من الفئات العرقية والطائفية والدينية والسياسية . ومن ثم تتنوع الدوافع التي أدت الى تعاونهم مع الفرنجة. ولعل من أبرز هذه الفئات تعاونا كان البدو أبناء القبائل العربية التي تقيم داخل فلسطين وتلك التي تعيش في غور الاردن الجنوبي والشمالي ، يضاف اليهم أبناء القبائل على حدود النقب مع شبه جزيرة سيناء . لقد أدى قيام مملكة الفرنجة الى تقييد حرية الحركة والتنقل لهذه القبائل الرحل التي اعتادت اجتياز الحدود الفاصلة بين مناطق نفوذ الدول أو الدويلات التي كانت تقوم في المنطقة قبل الاجتياح الفرنجي. ولكن سرعان ما أبدى الفرنجة استعدادا لتفهم احتياجات هذه القبائل وتوصلوا الى تفاهم معها (٤٢) . وينبغي أن نشير هنا الى أن غالبية هذه القبائل كانت لها جذور تاريخية قديمة في المنطقة خاصة تلك التي تقيم في جنوب فلسطين ، غربي البحر الميت ووادي عربة وعلى طول السهول الممتدة بين غزة وبيت جبرين والخليل . وكان وجودها في هذه الربوع يمتد الى عدة قرون قبل الفتح الاسلامي ، وكانت قبيلتا لخم وجذام المتحدرتان من قبيلة كلب ، هما العنصر الغالب بين سكان هذه المنطقة ، كما ويجدر أن نشير الى ان غالبية ابناء هذه القبائل كانوا قد اعتنقوا الديانة المسيحية خلال الفترة الممتدة من منتصف القرن الرابع الميلادي وحتى منتصف القرن السادس الميلادي . فلما ظهر الاسلام أبدت هذه القبائل تعاونا مع الحكومة الاسلامية الاوتوقراطية في المدينة ، ولعبت دورا مهما في الفتح الاسلامي لبلاد الشام . ومع ذلك تصمت المصادر الاسلامية ازاء اعتناق هذه القبائل للاسلام بشكل جماعي ، بل يقتصر حديثها عن اسلام بعض شيوخها فقط (٤٣) . صار لقبائل البدو هذه وضع قانوني خاص حيث اعتبروا جزءا من ممتلكات الملك (أملاك

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التاج) ، فهم ليسوا من سكان المدن الذين أصبحوا بعد الغزو في عداد طبقة ال Serfs (الأقنان) وليسوا في عداد الفلاحين من سكان الأرياف الذين صاروا يشكلون طبقة ال Villani أو Rustici (أي المزارعون) . وقد ترتب على وضعهم القانوني الخاص أن فرض على البدو دفع أتاوة مقابل حق استغلال المراعي الواقعة ضمن حدود الدولة ، وكانت هذه الأتاوة تؤدى عينا من الابل أو الغنم أو الخيول (٤٤) .

استغل الفرنجة بعض المؤهلات التي يتميز بها البدو عن غيرهم ، فقد منحتهم مواقعهم على اطراف الدولة امتيازات أخرى لم تتوفر لغيرهم من السكان المسلمين والفرنجة على حد سواء . وكان الأمير ارناط (Renaud of Chatillon) أمير الكرك من أكبر المستفيدين من تعاون البدو وعرف كيف يستفيد من خدماتهم (٤٥) . فاستعان بهم كأدلاء لقوات الفرنجة في الطرق الصحراوية والمسارب الوعرة والاستهداء بهم الى الأماكن الخفية . وقد فطن حكام المسلمين الى خطورة الخدمات التي يؤديها البدو الى الفرنجة وحاولوا منعها عنهم . ففي سنة ١١٧٢/٥٦٨ خرج صلاح الدين من مصر في غارة على حصني الكرك والشوبك من أجل طرد قبائل البدو المقيمين بالقرب من هذين الحصنين واجبارهم على الانتقال الى مواقع جديدة يسيطر عليها المسلمون متوخيا بذلك أن يحرم الفرنجة من الخدمات الهامة التي يقدمها هؤلاء البدو لهم . فجاء في التقرير الذي رفعه الى السلطان نور الدين زنكي سيده في دمشق مجملا له فيه أهداف الغارة ونتائجها قوله : "أن لا يبقى في بلادهم (بلاد الفرنجة) أحد من العربان ، وأن ينتقلوا من ذل الكفر الى عز الايمان ، وما اجتهد فيه غاية الاجتهاد ، ترحيل كثير من أنفارهم والحرص في تبديل قرارهم الى أن صار العدو اليوم اذا نهض لا يجد بين يديه دليلا ، ولا يستطيع حيلة ولا يهتدي سبيلا" (٤٦) .

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واستغل الفرنجة البدو في أعمال التجسس وتعقب تحركات الجيوش الاسلامية والترصد لقوافل التجارة والتموين . فيورد أو شامة من كلام ابن شداد ما يؤكد نشاط البدو في هذا المضمار حيث يقول : "والعدو يترقب اخبارهم ويتوصل اليهم بالعرب المفسدين" (٤٧) . فلولا نشاط البدو لما استطاع الفرنجة أن يعرقلوا القوافل التجارية على الطرق السلطانية ، وكان نجاح الحصار الذي فرضه الملك بلدوين (Baldwin) بين دمشق ومصر يعود الى تعاونهم النشط معه ، كما يعزو ذلك ابن القلانسي (٤٨) . ولم يتوقف أمر تعاون البدو مع الفرنجة عند هذا الحد ، بل وصل الى درجة انضمام مقاتليهم الى جيوش الفرنجة التي كانت تغير على مواقع المسلمين (٤٩) .

لم يقتصر التعاون غير الرسمي على عنصر البدو من ابناء القبائل كما أسلفنا ، بل اتسع ليشمل عناصر أخرى من جنسيات مختلفة . الا أن الروايات التاريخية الاسلامية لم تكشف دائما عن الدوافع التي حدت بهذه العناصر الى هذا التعاون . كانت هذه العناصر محاربة اشتركت مع الفرنجة في اعمالهم العسكرية ، فيروي ابن الأثير أن القائد التركي بكتاش بن تتش (Biktash b. Tutush)، الذي فر من دمشق بعد أن تنازع مع صاحبها Tugtakin أتابك ، كان قد التجأ بجنوده الى الفرنجة ، وانخرط في صفوف مقاتليهم وشارك فعلا في الدفاع عن الرملة عندما هاجمها الجيش الفاطمي سنة ١١٠٤/٤٩٨ (٥٠) .

وفي مرحلة مبكرة من الغزو الفرنجي انضم جماعة من المسلمين الى الفرنجة ، وظلوا يحاربون معهم مدة طويلة حتى وقعوا اسرى بأيدي المسلمين بعد هجوم شنوه على حصن الأكراد ، في الساحل الشمالي لبلاد الشام (٥١) . ولما سقط حصن الأحزان (المقام بالقرب من جسر بنات يعقوب) كان بين الأسرى ٧٠٠ من المسلمين الذين كانوا قد ارتدوا عن الاسلام واعتنقوا المسيحية وانخرطوا في

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قتال المسلمين مع الفرنجة (٥٢) وفي هجوم ريتشارد (Richard) ملك الانجليز على قلعة الداروم فقد استعان بنقابين من حلب كانوا مع جيش صلاح الدين في عكا ، ولكن ريتشارد استغواهم فانضموا اليه ، واوكلت اليهم مهمة نقب صور حصن الداروم تمهيدا لاحتلاله من قبل الفرنجة سنة ١١٩٢/٥٨٨ (٥٣) .

وفي سنة ١١٥٦/٥٥١ وقعت دورية قتالية من الفرنجة في كمين نصبه المسلمون على طريق حصن بانياس ، فقتل أفراد الدورية جميعا ووجد بين القتلى مسلمون من جبل عاملة كانوا مع دورية الفرنجة (٥٤) . واستعان الفرنجة بفئة مميزة تعرف باسم التركبولي (Turcopoli) وهم أبناء الزواج المختلط ، اباؤهم مسلمون ، اما عرب أو أتراك ، وأمهاتهم من أصل يوناني ، كانوا يخدمون كرماة في سلاح الفرسان (٥٥) .

أما الحشاشون أو الباطنية ، كما درج الشاميون على تسميتهم (٥٦) ، فقد كانوا دائما أقرب للتعاون مع الفرنجة ضد المسلمين ، وقد وصفهم صلاح الدين في احدى كتبه الى الخليفة في بغداد أنهم عرابو اغواء المسلمين للتعاون مع الفرنجة (٥٧) . وعلى خلفية الصراع بين الشيعة والسنة كان أنصار الخلافة الفاطمية في مصر يرون في الفرنجة حليفا طبيعيا لهم ضد صلاح الدين الذي قضى على تلك الخلافة ، فأشركوا الفرنج في مؤامراتهم لاستعادة الخلافة الفاطمية البائدة (٥٨) .

لم يكن نقل الولاء الى معسكر الخصم مقصورا على الفئات الاسلامية وحدها ، بل شهدت فترة الصراع الطويلة مع الفرنج بعض الحالات التي ترك فيها أمراء الفرنجة اخوانهم وحالفوا المسلمين عدوهم التقليدي . ومن أبرز الأمثلة ما قام به الزعيم ريموند صاحب طرابلس أمير طبرية (Raymond of Tripoli, Prince of Galilee) الذي أنيط به عام ١١٨٣ القيام بتصريف شؤون مملكة الافرنج ، ريثما

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يبلغ الملك الطفل (بلدوين الخامس) أشده . ولكن المنية فاجأت الملك الطفل مات سنة ١١٨٦ ، وكان من المفروض ان يستمر ريموند صاحب طرابلس في مهمته كقائم بأعمال الملك الى أن يتم تتويج ملك جديد ، الا أن بعض البارونات والنبلاء وبطريرك القدس وقائد الفرسان الهيكليين (الداوية) عملوا بليل ، وتوجوا أخت الملك الراحل سيبيل (Sybille) وزوجها جي دي ليزنيان (Guy of Lusignan) ملكين لمملكة القدس ، فاضطر ريموند صاحب طرابلس الى الانتقال من نابلس الى طبرية خوفا أن يوقع به الملك الجديد وحزبه ، وفعلا تحققت هذه المخاوف حين أخذ زعيم الداوية يحرض الملك على الزحف الى طبرية لتأديب البارون المتمرد . وفي هذه اللحظة الحرجة والمصيرية بالنسبة الى ريموند صاحب طرابلس ، فقد قرر الاستعانة بصلاح الدين وعقد تحالفا معه تعزيزا لموقفه (٥٩) . الا أن هذا التحالف لم يعمر طويلا ، حيث أتهم البارون بالارتداد عن المسيحية واعتناق الاسلام فهددته الكنيسة باعلان الحرمان عليه فاضطر عندئذ الى التراجع وفسخ هذا التحالف (٦٠) . وفي ظروف مشابهة بادر مركيز صور Conrad of Montferrat الى الاتصال بالسلطان صلاح الدين من أجل الاستعانة به أو التحالف معه على خلفية الصراع بينه وبين ملك الانجليز وبعض البارونات الافرنج في المدن الساحلية (٦١) . وحدث قبل ذلك شيء مماثل على خلفية أطماع أمراء الفرنجة بممتلكات بعضهم البعض . فعند وفاة (Bohemond of Antioch) (بيمند) صاحب أنطاكيا سنة ١١٣٠/٥٢٥ خافت أرملته ابنة الملك Baldwin II من أطماع أبيها في أنطاكيا ، فاستنجدت بعماد الدين زنكي الذي كان آنذاك أميرا على مدينة حماة (٦٢) . وكانت لصلاح الدين علاقة مودة مع احدى الأميرات الفرنجيات وهي مدام سيبيل (Sybille) زوجة البرنس ، صاحب أنطاكيا ، وكانت موالية للسلطان ، عينا له على العدو تهاديه وتناصحه على أسرارهم كما يقول ابن شداد ، والسلطان يكرمها لذلك ويهدي اليها أنفس الهدايا (٦٣) .

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وعلى غرار ما كان يفعل أمراء الفرنجة في استغواء عناصر اسلامية للتعاون معهم ضد أبناء امتهم ، جند صلاح الدين جماعة من الخارجين على القانون من بين الفرنجة ليقوموا بعمليات عسكرية أو شبه عسكرية داخل معسكر الفرنجة ، وكان صلاح الدين يزودهم بالسلاح ويؤمن لهم طرق المواصلات والقوارب حتى يسهل عليهم عمليات الاغارة (٦٤) . ولم يكن السلطان صلاح الدين يعدم وجود المخبرين والجواسيس الذين كانوا يوافونه بما يجري عند الفرنجة . ففي سنة ١١٧٣/٥٦٩ ، بدأت تحاك في مصر خيوط مؤامرة انقلابية ضد صلاح الدين ، كان ابطالها انصار الاسرة الفاطمية ، وأراد الانقلابيون اعادة خلافة الفاطميين الزائلة بالتعاون مع الفرنجة ، فأرسلوا عنهم مندوبا الى بلاط الملك في القدس ليكون حلقة الوصل بين المتآمرين وبين البلاط ، فكان الملك يرسل مندوبا من طرفه لاستكمال حلقات المؤامرة ، وكان المبعوث الملكي يأتي من القدس الى القاهرة كمندوب رسمي ، ولكنه كان يستغل وجوده في القاهرة فينقل الى المتآمرين التعليمات التي يحملها من القدس . الا أن احد جواسيس صلاح الدين في القصر الملكي كشف في احدى رسائله تفاصيل الخطة الانقلابية ودور ملك الفرنجة مع المتآمرين . وقد جاء في الكتاب الذي أرسله صلاح الدين الى السلطان نور الدين في دمشق حول هذه المؤامرة ما كشف به عن وجود هذا الجاسوس الافرنجي في بلاط الملك Baldwin في القدس حيث كتب : "ورد الينا كتاب ممن لا نرتاب به من قومه ..." (٦٥) .

التفاعلات الاجتماعية والحضارية :-

نشأت مع مرور الزمن وطول المعاصرة بين المسلمين وبين الفرنجة صداقات على مستوى الأفراد ، تخللتها مظاهر المودة والوفاء ، وتبودلت فيها الهدايا بين المتصادقين . ولكن الأمثلة والنماذج التي تزودنا بها المصادر تكاد تكون مقصورة على تلك الحالات الخاصة بالامراء والنبلاء وكبار الفرسان

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والملوك . ولكننا نراها تلوذ بالصمت اذا ما كان الأمرمتعلقا بالروابط والصلات بين الدهماء من كلا الجانبين . فلا نجد المصادر تتحدث عن صداقات وروابط بين العامة من المسلمين والفرنجة الا في القليل النادر . وبسبب الخصوصية الفريدة التي تميز كتاب الاعتبار ، كون مؤلفه أحد الفرسان الأشراف الذي ترعرع خلال العقدين الأولين منذ أن بدأ الصراع ، وكونه فارس ميدان ، وجليس ملوك ، ورسول دبلوماسية ، فقد أورد نماذج صادقة استقاها من مصادرها الأولى ان لم يكن هو بطلها أو شاهد عيان عليها . فنراه يتحدث عن الصداقة الحميمة التي ربطت بين اسرته ، أمراء شيزر ، وبين بلدوين الأول الذي كان في البداية أميرا (Count) على الرها (Edessa) ، ثم توج فيما بعد ملكا على بيت المقدس ، فيروي أنه لما وقع بلدوين في أسر القائد التركي السلجوقي تمرتاش بن أيلغازي (Temurtash B. Elghazi) ، سلمه الى عم أسامة في شيزر لكي يتولى أمر بيعه ، فأحسن بنو منقذ معاملة هذا الأمير الى أن اطلق سراحه ، فحفظ لهم بلدوين هذا الجميل ، فلما أصبح ملكا لم ينس للاسرة يدها البيضاء ، فألغى الأتاوات التي كانت مفروضة على أهل شيزر ، وجعل أمر هذه الاسرة نافذا في انطاكيا ، لا يرد لهم طلب ولا ترفض لهم وساطة (٦٦) . ويبدو أن علاقات الصداقة بين بني منقذ وبين امراء الفرنجة في انطاكيا ، صارت تقليدا تراعيه هذه الاسرة ، حيث يتحدث اسامة بن منقذ أن امير انطاكيا Tancred (دنكري) لما جلس على كرسي الامارة بعد بوهمون الأول (Bohemond) سنة ١١٠٨ ، بعث الى أمير شيزر عم اسامة يستهديه حصانا ، فبعث بالحصان الى انطاكيا مع أحد رجاله (٦٧) . وكجزء من التقاليد التي راعتها الاسرة فقد كانت تربط اسامة بن منقذ نفسه روابط صداقة مع "رئيس" (Raicius) (٦٨) افرنجي من انطاكيا ، كان يرعى لصداقته مع اسامة حقها (٦٩) .

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وكما اكتسب اسامة مكانة رفيعة بين اوساط الامراء فقد نال شهرة واسعة كأحد الفرسان المقاتلين ، فوصل صيته وأخباره الى أسماع الفرسان من الفرنجة ، فبعد احدى المعارك التي خاضها اسامة وأبلى فيها بلاءا حسنا ، كما يقال ، فوجىء عندما عاد الى أهله بأحد الفرسان الفرنجة قد جاء يتعرف عن كثب على هذا الفارس الشجاع (٧٠) . وبعد هذه الحادثة وصلت رسالة من أمير انطاكيا Tancred ، يستأذن فيها من عم اسامة ، أمير شيزر ، بالسماح لأحد فرسانه بلقاء اسامة قبل أن يغادر الى اوروبا حيث أبى أن يعود قبل أن يتعرف على هذا الفارس المعدود (٧١) . وبمناسبة الحديث عن اسامة فقد عرف أن مسرح نشاطه السياسي لم يقتصر على بلده شيزر حيث انتقل الى دمشق ومنها الى القاهرة ، ثم عاد الى الشام وكان مقربا من حكام المسلمين وسلاطينهم حتى آخر أيامه ، وأثناء المرحلة الأولى من اقامته في دمشق وكان حاكمها آنذاك ، معين الدين أنر (Unur) قد عقد هدنة مع ملك بيت المقدس ، فلما أخل الفرنجة بشروط هدنة ١١٤٠ ، حيث اعتدى قائد بانياس وجنوده على رعاة المسلمين وفلاحيهم ، بعث Unur اسامة برسالة الى الملك Fulk اشتكى فيها قائد الحصن ، فاستجاب الملك لشكواه ، واستصدر من مجلس القضاء قرارا بتعويض المسلمين المتضررين (٧٢) . وفي السنة ذاتها رافق أتابك دمشق معين الدين أنر في زيارة مجاملة الى مقر الملك فولك الخامس ، في عكا عندما قدمها من القدس (٧٣) . ان زيارة هذا الحاكم المسلم الى بلاط ملك الفرنجة لأكبر دليل على الدبلوماسية المرنة التي كان يمارسها حكام الطرفين ، والتي اتاحتها بالطبع ظروف الاسترخاء في العداء الأعمى الذي ميز المراحل الأولى من الغزو . وشيئا فشيئا أخذت قواعد الدبلوماسية تتبلور بأشكال وصيغ مختلفة ، فكان تبادل الهدايا بين الملوك والامراء من أكثر هذه الصيغ شيوعا . وقد حفظت لنا المصادر ذكرا لبعضها ، كان منها تبادل الهدايا بين الملك ريتشارد ملك انجلترا وصلاح الدين (٧٤) . وكان منها الهدايا الثمينة التي قدمها صلاح الدين

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للأمير بوهمون (Bohemond) أمير انطاكيا ورجاله حين قدم من انطاكيا الى بيروت ليقابل فيها السلطان صلاح الدين (٧٥) .

وفي هذا الصدد لا بد من الاشارة الى التشريف الملكي الذي ناله الملك الكامل ابن أخي السلطان صلاح الدين . حين منحه الملك ريتشارد (الملقب بقلب الأسد) رتبة الفروسية في احتفال رسمي مهيب . هذه الرتبة التي كانت قد منحت للسلطان صلاح الدين نفسه من قبل أمير حصن الشوبك (Krak de Montreal) قبل عدة سنين خلت (٧٦) .

ولعله ينبغي لنا الا نغفل بعض اللمحات الانسانية التي تخللت العلاقات المتبادلة بين الطرفين المتحاربين والتي كان لصلاح الدين حصة الأسد فيها ، فأثناء حصار الفرنجة لعكا بعد أن حررها صلاح الدين ، كانت خنادق الفرنجة تحيط بأسوار المدينة على اليابسة ، وضرب المسلمون من حول المحاصرين نطاقا من المقاتلين فصار المحاصرون محاصرين ، ولما طال التواقف بالفريقين ، شحت الامدادات والمؤن على عسكر الفرنجة ، وحدث أن مرض الملك ريتشارد ، فأرسل الى صلاح الدين يطلب منه ان يبعث ببعض الدجاج ولحم الطيور الأخرى لاطعام صقوره (التي كان يستخدمها للصيد) ، ولكن صلاح الدين كان يعلم أن الملك مريض وأنه بحاجة الى لحم الدجاج ، وعرف ان حكاية الصقور ما هي الا ذريعة ملفقة اراد بها اخفاء السبب الحقيقي ، ومع ذلك فقد ارسل له ما طلب ومن ثم صار يرسل اليه لحم الطيور والماء المثلج بين الحين والآخر (٧٧) . وفي موقف انساني آخر لصلاح الدين ، نراه شديد الحرص على استعادة طفل سرقه لصوص المسلمين من معسكر الفرنجة فجاءت امه ضارعة الى صلاح الدين من أجل طفلها، فبعث يبحث عن الطفل فوجد أنه قد بيع ، فارسل بثمنه الى من اشتراه وأمر باعادة الطفل الى حضن امه واعادها الى معسكرها تحت حراسة عسكرية (٧٨) .

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وتجلت اريحيته وانسانيته بعد أن حرر مدينة القدس حيث أمر بأن تعامل الأميرات الفرنجيات معاملة خاصة تختلف عن معاملة الآخرين ، فلم تفتش امتعتهن ورحالهن وعوملن بما يليق بمثلهن من التكريم والاحترام (٧٩).

وسجلت المصادر الاسلامية موقفا انسانيا رائعا للملك بلدوين الأول حدث سنة ١١٠١ ، حيث أغار بقواته على مضارب البدو بالقرب من مدينة الرملة بسبب تعرضهم لقوافل الحجاج المسيحيين بين ميناء يافا ومدينة القدس ، فوجد المهاجمون امرأة مسلمة قد ضربها المخاض وحيدة تقاسي آلامه ، فأرسل على الفور من يمرضها ويعتني بها حتى وضعت حملها . ثم زودها بماء وغذاء وأعطاها ناقتين وأرسلها مخفورة الى حيث غادر زوجها وعشيرتها (٨٠) . ولم تغفل المصادر الاسلامية ذكر بعض العادات والاخلاق المستحبة عند الفرنجة ، ونوهت بشكل خاص بوفائهم للصداقة والصديق ، فروي أن احد فرسان الفرنجة المرابطين في أفاميا (على الساحل السوري) قد استضاف صديقا له مسلما فصادفه رعاع السوق من الفرنجة ، فهموا بايذائه والاعتداء عليه ، فما كان من الفارس الافرنجي الا أن زجرهم عنه وحماه وأدخله بيته وأكرمه (٨١) .

ويتحدث الرحالة ابن جبير عن بعض الغرائب التي شاهدها في سلوك لصوص الفرنجة ، حيث أنهم لا يتعرضون للمسلمين الوافدين الى بلادهم بمجرد أن تطأ اقدامهم ارض الفرنجة ، فيعلق على هذا السلوك بقوله : "وهو من أظرف الارتباطات الفرنجية وأغربها" (٨٢) وهم بالاضافة الى ذلك يؤدون الأمانة ولا يخفرونها فقد روي أن الأمير حسام الدين بن زريك (Hussam Al-din B. Zurayk) ، وزير البلاط المصري ، لما اقيل من منصبه واستشعر الخطر على حياته من وريثه الوزير شاور (Shawar) استودع عند الفرنجة مالا وفيرا يقدر ب ٧٠،٠٠٠ ألف دينار ثم اختفى ، فلما انقشع الخطر سلموه الوديعة كاملة لم تنتقص (٨٣) .

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وتبين المصادر الاسلامية في أكثر من موضع مدى الشجاعة التي يتمتع بها الفرنجة بالمقارنة مع المسلمين (٨٤) ، حتى أن اسامة بن منقذ الذي تعرض لذكر بعض صفاتهم السلبية يعترف بهذه الشجاعة ويرى فيها الفضيلة المميزة عندهم (٨٥) .

وعلى صعيد الحياة اليومية ظل رعايا دولة الفرنجة من المسلمين يمارسون حياتهم اليومية دون عراقيل جوهرية ، فكانوا يخرجون الى اعمالهم ويسيرون على الطرق جنبا الى جنب مع الفرنجة في جو من الأمن والامان ، في ايام الحرب وايام السلم على حد سواء كما يشير الى ذلك الرحالة الاندلسي ابن جبير (٨٦) . اما في المدن المختلطة القليلة التي بقيت عامرة بسكانها المسلمين كمدينة نابلس (Nablus) ، فيؤكد أبو شامة ان غالبية سكان هذه المدينة وغالبية سكان ضاحيتها كانوا من المسلمين ، وان الفرنجة الحاكمين لم يحاولوا التدخل في عبادة المسلمين ومعتقدهم ، ولم يتعرضوا لعاداتهم وتقاليدهم ، كما لم تنطفىء في نفوسهم جذوة الأمل بهزيمة الفرنجة وجلائهم عن بلدهم ، وقد لخص أبو شامة ذلك موردا كلام العماد الاصفهاني قائلا : "وأما نابلس فان اهل ضياعها ومعظم اهلها كانوا مسلمين وفي سلك الرعية مع الفرنج منتظمين ، وهم يحبون كل عام منهم فرارا ، ولا يغيرون لهم شرعا ولا شعارا" (٨٧) . وفي مدينة جبلة (Jabala) ، وعلى عكس معظم مدن الساحل السوري-اللبناني-الفلسطيني ، بقيت في المدينة جالية اسلامية كبيرة يتولى أمر شؤونهم الدينية وينظم معاملاتهم الشخصية قاض مسلم يسير فيهم وفقا لأحكام الشريعة الاسلامية (٨٨) . وفي مدينة صور (Tyre) بقيت للمسلمين على قلتهم فيها عدة مساجد معمورة شاهدها الرحالة ابن جبير (٨٩). أما في عكا فقد خصص جانب من جامعها الكبير ليؤدي فيه المسلمون المقيمون فيها والوافدون اليها صلاتهم وشعائرهم (٩٠) . وكانت بعض الأماكن المقدسة والمزارات التي يقدسها المسلمون والمسيحيون تعج بالزوار من الطرفين ،

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كل يمارس شعائره دونما ازعاج (٩١) . وكذلك شهدت المرافق والخدمات حضورا مشتركا للطرفين ، فكانت الحمامات مفتوحة يرتادها المسلمون والفرنجة في نفس الوقت دون أن تفصلهم فواصل عن بعضهم البعض ، فكانوا يلتقون ويتجاذبون أطراف الحديث (٩٢) . ولم يمنع المسلمون من دخول حمامات الفرنجة التي كان يختلط فيها الذكور والاناث ، والتي كانت مناظر التعري عند الفرنجة فيها تثير دهشة المسلمين ، كما يورد ذلك صاحب كتاب الاعتبار (٩٣) . وبلغ التعايش بين المسلمين والفرنجة ذروته في ظاهرة الزواج المختلط . ومع أن حالات الزواج المختلط التي سجلتها المصادر لم تكن كثيرة ، الا أن ما ذكر منها يكفي ليدل على وجود هذه الظاهرة (٩٤) . بل لعلها كانت من الانتشار والكثرة بحيث تشكلت من الابناء الذكور من نتاج هذا الزواج فرق عسكرية من الرماة ومن كتائب الفرسان عرفت باسم التركبولي (Turcopoles) أو (Poulains) كانوا في خدمة منظمة الفرسان الاسبتاريين (Hospitallers) (٩٥) . ويجب الا نغفل في هذا السياق الاعداد غير المحصية من الاسيرات الفرنجيات التي درج قواد المسلمين على توزيعهن على جنودهم كجزء من الغنيمة العسكرية أو اللواتي كن يبعن في الاسواق ويتسرى بهن المسلمون (٩٦) . ويذهب فيليب حتى الى الزعم بأن انتشار اصحاب العيون الزرق والشعور الشقراء بين الفلسطينيين واللبنانيين في أيامنا هذه ، لا سيما في بعض المناطق في البلدين لدليل على هذا التزاوج بين المسلمين وبين الفرنجة ، ويشير كذلك الى ان بعض اسماء الاسر اللبنانية ان هي الا تحوير عن الاسماء الفرنجية التي كان يحملها الآباء الأولون لهذه الاسر ، منها على سبيل المثال عائلة فرنجية وصليبي ودويهي وبردويل وصوايا (٩٧) . ويبدو أن ظاهرة الزواج المختلط لم تكن محصورة في المغمورين من عامة الفرنجة أو المسلمين ، بل تعدتهم لتشمل اسر النبلاء والملوك ، وعلى أساس من هذا التقدير يمكن للمرء ان يفهم ذلك العرض الذي تقدم به الملك الانجليزي ريتشارد حين رشح اخته الاميرة لتكون زوجة للملك العادل أخو السلطان صلاح الدين ، ولم يمنع من

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تحقيق هذا العرض الا اعتراض رجال الكنيسة الذين حرضوا الاميرة الفرنجية على رفض الاقتراح (٩٨) .

ولعله من المفيد أن نجمل هذا الموضوع بالقول أن المسلمين اخذوا تدريجيا يألفون العيش مع الأفواج الاولى من الفرنجة ، ويفضلونهم على الأفواج المتأخرة لأن الأوائل تخلقوا بأخلاق اهل البلاد وألفوا كثيرا من عاداتهم فصاروا في نظرهم أصلح من المتأخرين . فيقول اسامة بن منقذ في هذا السياق : "ومن الافرنج قوم قد تبلدوا وعاشروا المسلمين فهم اصلح من قريبي العهد ببلادهم" (٩٨). ثم نراه يردد هذه العبارة بصيغة أخرى مؤكدا امكانية التعايش مع الفرنجة المبكرين دون اللاحقين حيث يقول : "فكل من هو قريب العهد بالبلاد الافرنجية أجفى اخلاقا من الذين تبلدوا وعاشروا المسلمين" (١٠٠) . وبالفعل فقد اثبتت بعض الحوادث صدق المقولة التي يطلقها ابن منقذ . فعندما حاصر ملك الألمان دمشق سنة ١١٤٨/٥٤٣ ، توجه أميرها معين الدين أنر الى فرنجة فلسطين والساحل مبينا لهم خطر حملة الملك الألماني ورجاله عليهم ووصفهم "بالغرباء" ، فوافقوا معين الدين واقنعوا ملك الالمان بفك الحصار عن دمشق والتخلي عن المدينة (١٠١) .

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الهوامش

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٥) Joshua Prawer, *History of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (3rd ed., Jerusalem 1971).

٦) W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, (Oxford, 1968), pp. 46-52

٧) Prawer, op. cit. p. 185

٨) ابن القلانسي ، أبو يعلى حمزة بن القلانسي ، ذيل تاريخ دمشق ، (ed. by H.F. Amedroz, Leiden, 1908) ص ١٦٥

٩) المصدر نفسه ، ص ١٦٥

١٠) المصدر نفسه ، ص ١٦٥

١١) أبو شامة ، عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم المقدسي ، الروضتين في أخبار الدولتين (طبعة وادي النيل ، القاهرة ، ١٢٧٨) ج١ ص٨٤ ، ابن القلانسي ، ٣١٧

١٢) أبو شامة ، ج١ ص٧٠

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١٣) أبو شامة ، ج١ ص٢٧٥ ؛ البنداري ، الفتح بن علي ، سنا البرق الشامي (تحقيق النبراوي ، القاهرة ، ١٩٧٩) ، ص١٣٥ - ١٣٦

١٤) ابن القلانسي ، ص١٨٦

١٥) المصدر نفسه ، ص١٩٠

١٦) المصدر نفسه ، ص١٨٨ - ١٩٠

١٧) Ad-Dwaihi, *Le Partriarche Stephane, Tarikh al-Azminat, 1095-1699*, ed. par Ferdinand Taoutel, Beyrouth, 1951, p. 80

١٨) ابن جبير ، محمد بن أحمد بن جبير الكناني ، رحلة ابن جبير (دار صادر ، بيروت ١٩٦٤) ، ص٢٦٠

١٩) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص٧٥؛ Prawer, op. cit., p. 487

٢٠) Philip Hitti, "The Impact of the Crusades on Moslem Lands", *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. V, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, Wisconsin Press, 1985 pp. 33-58; وانظر ايضا : زابوروف ، الصليبيون في الشرق (دار التقدم ، موسكو ١٩٨٦) ص ٢٨٢-٢٨٣ .

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٢٢) المصدر نفسه ، ص٢٧٦

٢٣) المصدر نفسه ، ص٢٧٥

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٢٧) الاعتبار ، ص٣٥ - ٣٦

٢٨) ابن الاثير ، ج٩ ص١١٣

٢٩) ابن القلانسي ، ص١٧٠ ، ١٧٣ ، ١٧٤

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٣٠) Prawer, op. cit., 203

٣١) Ibid., 205

٣٢) الاعتبار ، ص٧٦

٣٣) Prawer, op. cit., 204

٣٤) Ad-Dwaihi, op. cit., 46

٣٥) أبو شامة ، ج١ ص٥٠ – ٥١

٣٦) المصدر نفسه ، ج١ ص٢٥٥ و ج١ ص٢٧٥

٣٧) المصدر نفسه ، ج١ ص٣١

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٤٠) ابن شداد ، محمد بن علي بن ابراهيم الحلبي ، الاعلاق الخطيرة في ذكر أمراء الشام والجزيرة (تحقيق سامي الدهان ، دمشق ١٩٦٢) ص٢٣٤؛ Ad-Dwaihi, op. cit., p. 116

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٤٢) Prawer, op. cit., p. 409

٤٣) Khalil Athamina, "The Appointment and Dismissal of Khalid b. al Walid from the Supreme Command, A Study of the Political Strategy of the Early Muslim Caliphs in Syria" The Forthcoming Volume of ARABICA, Paris

٤٤) Prawer J., *Crusader Institutions*, (Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 214

٤٥) Prawer, op.,cit 480 ff.

٤٦) أبو شامة ، ج١ ص٢٠٦

٤٧) المصدر نفسه ، ج٢ ص١٩٨

٤٨) ابن القلانسي ، ج١٨٣

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٤٩) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٩٨

٥٠) ابن الاثير ، ج٨ ص٢٢٩

٥١) المصدر نفسه ، ج٩ ص٢٠١

٥٢) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١١

٥٣) المصدر نفسه ، ج٢ ص١٩٧

٥٤) المصدر نفسه ، ج١ ص١٠٧

٥٥) الفتح القسي ، ج٤٢٥

٥٦) عن تكون الحشاشين وجذورهم ونشاطهم راجع كتاب برنارد لويس ، الحشاشون (ترجمة محمد العزب موسى) دار المشرق العربي الكبير، بيروت ، ١٩٨٠ ، وعن نشاطهم في بلاد الشام وسوريا بالتحديد انظر : المصدر نفسه ، ص١١٢ - ١٧٧

٥٧) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص٢٤

٥٨) المصدر نفسه ، ج١ ص٢٢٠ ، ٢٢١

٥٩) Ad-Dwaihi, op. cit., 86; Prawer, op. cit., 524 ; الفتح القسي ، ص١٨

٦٠) ابن الاثير ، ج٩ ص١٧٦

٦١) زابوروف ، ص٢١٠ ؛ أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٩٣ - ١٩٦

٦٢) Ad-Dwaihi, op. cit., 37

٦٣) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٣١

٦٤) المصدر نفسه ، ج٢ ص١٨١ - ١٨٢

٦٥) المصدر نفسه ، ج١ ص٢٢٠ - ٢٢١ ؛ سنا البرق الشامي ، ص١٦٠

٦٦) الاعتبار ، ص١٢٠

٦٧) المصدر نفسه ، ص٦٥ - ٦٦

٦٨) "الرئيس" مصطلح يدل في هذه الفترة على بعض العائلات التي تتمتع بمكانة متميزة سواء في المدن الصليبية أو في الارياف الخاضعة لهم في

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بلاد الشام . يدل على ذلك ما كان بحوزتهم من الممتلكات وما كانوا يمارسونه من نفوذ . أنظر تفاصيل أوفى عند :

Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 207-8

٦٩) الاعتبار ، ص١٤٠ – ١٤١

٧٠) المصدر نفسه ، ص٤٢

٧١) المصدر نفسه ، ص٦٩

٧٢) المصدر نفسه ، ص٦٤ – ٦٥

٧٣) المصدر نفسه ، ص١٩٦

٧٤) فيليب حتي ، تاريخ سوريا ولبنان وفلسطين (ترجمة كمال اليازجي) ، مراجعة وتحرير جبرائيل جبور ، دار الثقافة ، بيروت ١٩٥٩ ، ج٢ ص٢٤٠

٧٥) أبو شامة ، ص٢٠٧

٧٦) Philip Hitti, "The Impact of Crusaders on Moslem Lands", op. cit., p.46

٧٧) الفتح القسي ، ص٣٤٨ – ٣٤٩ ؛ تاريخ سوريا ولبنان وفلسطين ، ج٢ ص٢٤٠ ؛ أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٨٦

٧٨) الفتح القسي ، ص٣٣٢ – ٣٣٣ ؛ أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٨٤

٧٩) الفتح القسي ، ص٥٦

٨٠) Ad-Dwaihi, op. cit., 14

٨١) الاعتبار ، ص١٤٠ – ١٤١

٨٢) ابن جبير ، ص٢٧٣

٨٣) أبو شامة ، ج١ ص١٦٥

٨٤) المصدر نفسه ، ج١ ص١٨٦

٨٥) الاعتبار ، ص١٣٢

٨٦) ابن جبير ، ص٢٦١

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٨٧) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص٨٨

٨٨) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٢٧

٨٩) ابن جبير ، ص٢٧٩

٩٠) المصدر نفسه ، ص٢٧٦

٩١) الحميري ، محمد عبد المنعم ، الروض المعطار في خبر الاقطار (تحقيق احسان عباس ، بيروت ١٩٧٥) ص٤١٠ ؛ القزويني ، زكريا بن محمد ، آثار البلاد وأخبار العباد (دار صادر ، بيروت ، ١٩٦٠) ص٢٢٤

٩٢) تاريخ سوريا ولبنان وفلسطين ج٢ ص٢٥٨

٩٣) الاعتبار ، ص١٣٦ ، ١٣٧

٩٤) من الامثلة التي ساقها أسامة بن منقذ عن الزواج المختلط راجع كتاب الاعتبار ص١٣٠ ، ١٣١ ، ١٣٩ - ١٤٠

٩٥) تاريخ سوريا ولبنان وفلسطين ، ج٢ ص٣٥٨ ؛ الفتح القسي ، ص٤٢٥

٩٦) Philip Hitti, "The Impact of the Crusaders on Moslem Lands", p. 47

٩٧) تاريخ سوريا ولبنان وفلسطين ، ج٢ ص٢٥٨

٩٨) أبو شامة ، ج٢ ص١٩٣ ؛ تاريخ سوريا ولبنان وفلسطين ، ج٢ ص٢٤٠

٩٩) الاعتبار ، ص ١٤٠

١٠٠) المصدر نفسه ، ص١٣٤

١٠١) أبو شامة ، ج١ ص٥٣

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فضل المقدسيين اللاجئين الى دمشق في احياء العمران والحضارة في هذه المدينة في العصور الوسطى .

رئيف جورج خوري

ان من يتصفح تاريخ العمران والحضارة العربية الاسلامية في العصور الوسطى ، وبشكل خاص في عصور الحروب الصليبية ، يجد آثارا عجيبة لعدد كبير من العلماء الرحالين ، الذين كانوا يتجولون في البلاد والامصار سعيا وراء السعة العلمية والمادية ، أو هربا من ضغط هنا أو هناك تهدم من جرائه كيان حياتهم .

وفي هذه المحاضرة أود أن أتكلم بضعة دقائق عن فئة خاصة منهم نزحت أو هربت من بيت المقدس متجهة - بين ما اتجهت اليه - بصورة خاصة الى دمشق ، وعن الابواب المهمة التي فتحها هذا التنقل ، وعما كان وراءه من فعالية خلاقة في مختلف الميادين الفكرية والعمرانية .

وما لفت أنظاري باديء بدء وبشكل خاص هو الدور الذي لعبه بعض العلماء المقدسيين في أسانيد روايات كتاب الزهد لمؤلفه أسد بن موسى الدمشقي الاموي (١٣٢ - ٢١٢ هـ / ٧٥٠ - ٨٢٧ م) الذي نشرته سنة ١٩٧٦ (١) . وهناك نسختان من الكتاب : واحدة محفوظة في مكتبة برلين ، والاخرى في دمشق

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