Islamic Near East: Policies in Face of the Frankish Presence

Sunni Resurgence, *Jihād* Discourse and the Impact of the Frankish Presence in the Near East

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The gradual emergence of political structures capable of integrating larger parts of the Near East under one rule during the 12th and 13th centuries was bolstered by religious loyalties and framed and propagated by Sunni Islam. The Muslim reconquest of Edessa by ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī in 1144, the unification of Aleppo and Damascus under one rule, established in 1154 under Nūr al-Dīn, and Saladin's takeover of Aleppo in 1183 can be recognized as significant incidents along this path. Whether these events were substantially sustained by a religiously motivated resistance against the crusades is an issue discussed, or implicitly treated in nearly every modern study of that period. Moreover, the question seems to be of unrelenting ideological relevance in our day, as the rhetoric of confrontation between the imagined entities of "the West" and "Islam" cannot be ignored. Answers concerning the historical period differ considerably depending on whether one wants to concede that the Frankish presence was of particular significance at all, and whether emphasis is given to the aspects of conflict, or to contacts and interaction emerging from the confrontation between the Franks and the societies of the Near East. Consequently, the role assigned to the concept of *jihād*, which serves as a shibboleth indicating the acknowledgement of Islam as a formative element of Near Eastern politics, is at the heart of the debate.

Historical evidence does not support an unambiguous answer, and interpretation therefore may be all the more guided by opinion. If we want to understand the role of *jihād* and its specific relationship with the historical situation marked by the presence of the Franks, we need to avoid a narrowed view as it necessarily leads to an overestimation of single elements within the complex process of change which occurred in the period. Several intersecting spheres of related activities have to be considered: Military confrontation and its political framework, the broader movement of Sunni resurgence, the perception of the crusades by contemporary Muslims, and the discourse of *jihād*, i.e. reference to *jihād* in religious scholarship, historiography, epigraphy and poetry in a context of glorifying and encouraging the struggle against the Franks.

It seems helpful to dissociate, more than is done usually, the discourse of *jihād* from proper military engagement against the Frankish enemy, as the latter is exposed to practical constraints and part of complex political set-ups. It is also recommendable to approach the conflict situation of the crusade period as one

which allowed exchange, communication and stimulation. The discourse of *jihād* is related to the Muslim perception of Frankish practices in this respect, including the notion of a Christian *jihād*. It is part of the reinforcement of religious scholarship and Sunni piety during this period. Under these premises, we indeed observe an increase of *jihād* discourse, which was related to the Frankish presence. This is particularly manifest in the reign of Sultan Saladin (1174-1193).

Warfare, alliances and cohabitation

Jihād was not a dominating ideology, however, shaping politics and popular attitudes in reaction to the Frankish intruders. Assessments of this kind cannot be maintained.[1] They fall short of recognizing historical circumstance and fail to understand the nature of *jihād* discourse, as it was advocated by distinct social groups, used in particular contexts and underpinned by a wider religious-political concept of just rule.

Military activities against the Franks were imbedded in a continuous struggle over hegemony among competing Muslim rulers. After the death of Saladin, who had united Egypt and Syria under his rule and established his hegemony well beyond,[2] interests of local political rule prevailed until the region was again united in the reign of Sultan Baybars (1260-1277). Under this circumstance, resistance against the crusaders in the name of Islam was, even if acknowledged as an obligation, not a binding rule or guiding principle. For the Mamluk state in the second half of the 13th century, the dangers emerging from the advent of the Mongols was more important and yet made it necessary to take a fierce stance towards the remnants of Frankish presence in the coastal regions of Syria.[3]

During the last decades, research has given attention to realities which were more complex than what a simplistic division into co-religionists and enemies can depict. Diverse interests and compelling situations generated various stances and reactions, including alliances, personal relationships, support and services from Muslims for the crusaders. At least before 1183, war against the Franks was not a political priority.[4] Also the Bedouin of the region, not a decisive power on their own, but acting on their own behalf, could effectively contribute to the advantage

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[1] The most prominent voice advocating the concept of a Muslim counter crusade, based on the ideology and practice of *jihād,* is the study of Sivan, Emmanuel 1968, *L'Islam et la Croisade. Idéologie et Propagande dans les Réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades*, Paris. The author suggests that *jihād* ideology gained grounds continuously from the early 12th century onwards.

[2] Möhring, Hannes 2005a, *Saladin. Der Sultan und seine Zeit 1138-1193*, München, 70ff.

[3] See the contributions of Peter Herde and Reuven Amitai to this volume.

[4] Köhler, Michael A. 1991, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin / New York, 281f., 316f.

of one side or the other.[5] Particularly in the early 12th century, but not limited to this period, many cases of alliances, as well as tributary relationships between Muslims and crusaders are noted.[6] As a consequence, the accommodation of the crusaders in the Near Eastern web of political relations was as much factual as was the resistance against their presence.[7]

Contact between Muslims and crusaders, civil exchange and trade, often were woven into warfare. The siege of Antioch which lasted for almost one year, from autumn 1097 to June 1098, is a good example of a constellation accommodating both military confrontation and civil contacts.[8] Heroic struggle against the crusaders and friendly attitudes could in fact coexist. The double feature which is at work in the poetry of Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 1153) is an obvious example. He sang the praise of Sultan Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1174) as a hero of the struggle against crusaders, described warfare against the Franks as fighting the unbelievers and idolaters; but he also indulged in delightful descriptions of life in Antioch among the Franks, depicting the beauty of its churches, its women and – nuns! He thus represents the coexistence of two strands of common attitudes to the crusades – and illustrates the cohabitation of seemingly contradictory stances.[9]

Cohabitation of Muslims and Christians, even under strained circumstance, is also reported for the antecedent period. A letter written by ʿAlī b. Maqlad b. Naṣr

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5   Abū l-Aʿazz Dubays, leader of the Banu Mazyad, allied with Balduin II in an attack on Aleppo in 1124 (Bosworth, C. E.1991, art. "Mazyad", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 6, Leiden, 965f., at 965); see also the memories of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's father about this incident in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Suhayl Zakkār, ed., 12 vols., Damascus 1406/1988, vol. 7, 3481. In the biography of Saint Louis by Jean de Joinville (d. 1317) particular attention is paid to the Bedouin (Housley, Norman 2002, *The crusaders*, German transl. (Thomas Bertram) 2004, *Die Kreuzritter*, Darmstadt, 108; Mouton, Jean-Michel 2001, "Saladin et les Bédouins du Sinaï", in: *Le Sinaï de la conquête arabe à nos jours*, Jean-Michel Mouton, ed., Cairo, 197-206).

6   Drory, Joseph 2001, "Early Muslim reflections on the Crusaders", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25, 92-101, at 95. The author concludes: "The Franks were incorporated into the network of feuds and quarrels in such a way that some local powers looked upon them as a legitimate military force." See also on the disunity between Duqāq and Riḍwān b. Tutush b. Alp Arslan, ruler of Aleppo (1095-1113), who was mainly interested in extending his territories to the expense of his Muslim rivals: Dajani-Shakeel, Hadia 1993, "Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish Rulers 1097-1153 A.D.", in: *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, Maya Shatzmiller, ed., Leiden / New York / Köln, 190-215, at 191. See also on the fidelity of the relation between Tancred and the Muslims: Eddé, Anne-Marie 2001, "Francs et musulmans de Syrie au début du XIIe siècle d'après l'historien Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ", in: *Dei gesta per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley Smith, eds., Aldershot, 159-169.

7   Lev, Yaacov 2008, "The 'jihād' of sultan Nūr al-Dīn of Syria (1146-1174): history and discourse", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 35, 227-284, at 254.

8   France, John 2001, "The Fall of Antioch during the First Crusade", in: *Dei gesta per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, eds., Aldershot, 13-20.

9   Ibrāhīm, Maḥmūd 1391/1971, *Ṣadā al-ghazw al-ṣalībī fī shiʿr Ibn al-Qaysarānī*, Damascus / Amman, 92-102, 140-146.

b. Munqidh informs us about how he took possession of the fortress of Shayzar in central Syria from the Byzantine conquerors in 474/1081-82. He mentions his fair treatment of the Christian population and his conviviality with them.[10] His famous grandson, warrior, courtier, diplomat and man of letters, Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 1188), spoke of his engagement in warfare against the Franks in the same breath with hunting. He had hardly any consideration for *jihād*, and might have viewed fighting the Franks as one of the things which were expected from noble men like him.[11] Usāma indeed visited Frankish territories, and Frankish merchants sold their ware to the Muslim population.[12] In addition to this circumstance which clearly speaks against an unquestionable dominance of *jihād* ideology, it must be noted that in military practice, *jihād* as a pious practice was not of decisive importance.[13] Campaigns were carried out and battles fought mainly by regular troops, organized by political powers. This does not mean, however, that there was no engagement by pious and scholarly people in *jihād*, of course. Usāma's brother Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, for instance, poet and scholar and lord of Shayzar, participated in the campaign defending Ashkelon in 1153. His volunteer engagement was preceded by the audition of a reading of Ibn al-Mubārak's work on *jihād*, conducted by Ibn ʿAsākir.[14]

Mobilization and militant piety

In the light of the complex political realities, the image of Sultan Nūr al-Dīn, commonly known for his engagement in *jihād*, has undergone a revision. Considering the relatively limited number of military campaigns exclusively directed against the Franks by Sultan Nūr al-Dīn, Yaacov Lev suggests that "war against the Franks neither dominated his reign, nor his public image".[15] In this view religious and social politics were more important to Nūr al-Dīn's rule than *jihād*.

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[10] Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar wa dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-l-khabar*, vol. 2, 9, Yaḥyā Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Sattār ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, ed., Tunis 2008, 715f. He quotes Ibn Khallikān, whose work *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* does not include the text. Cf. Sivan 1968, 18.

[11] Cobb, Paul M. 2007, "Infidel Dogs: Hunting Crusaders with Usama ibn Munqidh", *Crusades* 6, 57-68, at 67.

[12] Drory 2001, 96.

[13] Cf. Chabbi, Jacqueline 1995, art. "Ribāṭ", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 8, Leiden, 493-506.

[14] Shukrī Fayṣal in his edition of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qasr wa-jarīdat al-ʿaṣr*, qism *shuʿarāʾ al-Shām*, 1-2, Damascus 1955-59, vol. 1, 549, refers for this information to the *Muntakhab Taʾrīkh Dimashq* of Ibn ʿAsākir. The version accessible to me does not mention ʿAlī b. Munqidh, however; cf. Mottahedeh, Roy Parviz and Ridwan al-Sayyid 2001, "The Idea of the Jihād in Islam before the Crusades", in: *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, eds., Washington D.C., 23-29, at 29.

[15] Lev 2008, 277.

Reference to *jihād* was present in public representation, of course, and the ruler's titles referring to his struggle against the enemies of God are rich and varied. The famous inscription on the *minbar* at the Great Mosque of Aleppo ordered by him in 1169, refers to him as, among other epithets, "the one who strives for the sake of God (lit.: in His path; *mujāhid fī sabīlihi*), "the warrior against the enemies of His religion" (*murābit li-aʿdāʾi dīnihi*)".[16] But this can hardly be taken as a proof for a paramount significance of his championship in war against the crusaders, as it is often advocated,[17] since the term *mujāhid* is part of a sequence of titles listed, and is not of outstanding importance at other occasions either.[18]

Evidence of fear, hatred and religious disdain which Frankish warfare instigated among contemporary Muslims does not contradict the conclusions concerning Nūr al-Dīn's image as a ruler. There can be no doubt that the depiction of the enemies' malefaction in reaction to Frankish hostilities contributed to the formation of an Islamic defiance. Whereas Fatimid Egypt did not develop a *jihād* response to the crusades,[19] Syria was much more affected by the crusaders' aggression, and the testimony of complaints as well as references to the *jihād* ideal abound. References to the Frankish enemy, from the earliest sources on the period onwards, emphasized the violence and destruction emanating from them. The poet Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. 1123), for instance, complained about the lawless violence of the "polytheists" who came from the lands of *Ifranja* like a strong torrent: "They keep in distance to those who opt for violence, and allow to defer payment to those who prefer to pay tribute;[20] […] to the one who is the worst in malice, hatred for unbelief does not occur; the people of polytheism do not reject evil doing, and do not know restraint in tyranny; they do not spare anyone from being slain, and spend any effort to commit atrocities."[21] The poet's allusion to their lenience for those who submit to paying tribute reflects the scattered fronts of his time.

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[16] Berchem, Max von 1925, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptiorum Arabicum*, part 2: *Syrie du Sud*, vol 10: *Jerusalem 'Ḥaram'*, Cairo, 394.

[17] Tyerman, Christopher 2006, *A New History of the Crusades*, London, 269, referring to Hillenbrand, Carole 1999, *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh,150ff.

[18] Lev 2008, 271f.

[19] Lev, Yaacov 2009, "From revolutionary violence to state violence; the Fāṭimids (297-567/909-1171)", in: *Public Violence in Islamic Societies. Power, Discipline, and the Construction of the Public Sphere, 7th -19th Centuries CE*, Christian Lange and Maribel Fierro, eds., Edinburgh, 67-86.

[20] Christie, Niall 2006, "Religious Campaign or War of Conquest? Muslim Views of the Motives of the First Crusade", in: *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities. Warfare in the Middle Ages*, Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi, eds., Leiden, 57-72, at 62. The verse seems to have been misunderstood here: "they treat well whoever gives way to adversity, and are pleasant to whoever criticizes war", *turākhūna man yajtarī shiddatan, wa-tunsūna man yaʿalu l-ḥarba naqdan (naqdā)*.

[21] Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, *Dīwān Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, riwāyat al-Qaysarānī*, Khalīl Mardum Bek, ed., Damascus 1377/1958, 184f., translation by the author.

The historian Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. after 1161), one of the first to deal with the crusades' intrusions, gives testimony of their terrible deeds and cruelty, as well as to the destruction and criminal crushing (*mustabshaʿ*) of Islamic rights effected by them.[22] He regularly uses the term *jihād* for warfare against the Franks,[23] or in his terms, unbelievers (*al-kafara*)[24] and polytheists,[25] and refers to the Frankish warriors as the miserable army,[26] or, at the occasion of a general description of their invasion of the land of Islam, with many invective attributes.[27] Expressions highlighting the abyss of unbelief which the Franks represented, as well as descriptions of atrocities which they committed, reflect anger and fear and the mobilizing effects of depicting these emotions. Participation of the civilian population in the defence of cities under attack was a common phenomenon. When attacking Damascus during the second crusade in 1148, the Franks, who outnumbered the Muslim defenders by far, were confronted with defence forces composed of regular troops, militia and volunteers from the city. Ibn al-Qalānisī, who witnessed the successful organisation of resistance and the reorganisation of regional political rule in the fragmented political environment of pre-Ayyubid Syria undertaken by the Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, describes how the prince appealed to the untrained population of different social strata, militias and volunteers, scholars and pious ascetics, to participate in an attempt to re-conquer the fortified city of Bāniyās, declared as a *jihād* against unbelief in 1157. He systematically gathered irregular "*ghāzī* warriors [who aspired to fighting the infidels and looting the intruders], *mujāhid*s, militias and volunteers from the population of Damascus and surrounding villages, as well as foreigners; […] a large number of militias, volunteers, religious scholars, Sufis, and pious people" responded to his call.[28]

This report is characteristic of both the ruler's systematic policy of accommodating popular expectations in his *jihād* propaganda, and the author's conviction expressed at that occasion by evoking his firm believe in God's compensation by granting victory. This is a rhetorical formula, of course, as the author must have known that the attempt had failed when he wrote this, as Bāniyās was seized from the Franks in 559/1164 only; it is at the same time his explication of the event: The righteous prince called for support of *jihād* and many people obliged with the conventional pious belief that their readiness to sacrifice for the righteous cause would not fail to incite God's benevolent support.

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22 Drory 2001, 96.
23 Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashq*, H. F. Amedroz, ed., Leiden / Beirut 1908, 140.
24 Ibid. 148, 200.
25 Ibid. 146, 149.
26 Ibid. 159, 162: *al-ʿaskar al-makhdhūl* which is the opposite of *al-ʿaskar al-manṣūr*, the victorious army, supported by God, of the Muslims.
27 Ibid. 200.
28 Ibid. 340.

In a comparable manner, the historian Ibn al-Athīr from Mosul (1160-1233), presents in his chronicle "The shining history of the Atābak dynasty" prince Nūr al-Dīn's father, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (d. 1146), founder of the dynasty, as an instrument of God's unfathomable plans.[29] In his account he unfolds a panorama of the miserable state of Muslims in northern and central Syria, as they were subdued by the Franks, victims of their infamous and cruel tyranny, until God decided to stop them in discontentment about what the enemy had done *vicariously* to the Muslims – i.e. as a God inflicted punishment – and thus sent the heroic prince. Ibn al-Athīr underlines in his depiction of the hero that just rule and benevolent deeds will certainly be compensated and provide a framework of righteousness to *jihād* activities. His account *post eventum* may give witness to the attitudes of Saladin's époque more than it depicts common perceptions of Zangī's time. It remains, however, a document of perceiving *jihād* as a legitimizing practice.

Jihād activity particularly related pious scholars to militant activity and Muslim campaigns against the Franks. When Yūsuf al-Fandalāwī,[30] a scholar who originated from Morocco, for instance, was killed during the second crusade's attack on Damascus in 1148, because he neither withdrew from the front nor sought shelter, Ibn al-Qalānisī comments that he was martyred while applying the prescriptions of the Quran in an exemplary manner.[31] Participation of scholars remained during all of the 12th century a proof of piety and an attestation of the dignity of the *jihād*. Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, a famous Hanbali jurist, together with his brother Abū ʿUmar, the saintly scholar, accompanied Saladin's campaign against Jerusalem in 1187,[32] and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿUmar participated at the reconquest of Tripoli.[33]

Religious scholars and the perception of jihād

Scholars of course were also the most important element of a movement which often was described as Sunni resurgence: Rulers and the military class, religious officials and experts, as well as lay people, i.e. wide parts of the population, participated in accommodating, developing, and furthering pious practices and religious scholarship together with its institutions. The expansion of Sunni religious education strengthened ideological bonds within Sunni Muslim society, redefined delineations and increased the authority and public presence of religious officials:

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[29] Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Taʾrīkh al-bāhir fī l-dawla al-atābikiyya*, ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt, ed., Cairo 1963, 32ff.
[30] Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, vol. 29, Māhir Jarrār, ed., Beirut 1418/1997, 195f.
[31] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, 298.
[32] Ibn al-Jawzī, Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tārīkh al-aʿyān*, vol. 8,1-2, Hyderabad 1370/1951-52, 548.
[33] Ibn Ṭulūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Quḍāt Dimashq. Al-thaghr al-bassām fī dhikr man wulliya qaḍāʾ al-Shām*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, ed., Damascus 1956, 273.

"In their capacities as *khatibs* [official preachers], *qadis*, *muftis*, and jurisconsults, as well as prayer leaders, popular preachers, reciters of the Qur'an, and humble transmitters of *hadith* in mosques, cemeteries, open public spaces, and the courts of rulers, *'ulama'* secured the place of the *shari'a* [sic!] as the symbol of the proper social order in the public sphere."[34] The process of Sunni self definition and the beginning of institutionalization of Sunni education in *madrasa*s can be traced back to the 11th/12th centuries in Bagdad,[35] but the movement gained unprecedented momentum during the crusaders' period, especially from the time of Nūr al-Dīn onwards. This development was buttressed by the multiplication of pious *waqf* donations in Ayyubid Syria, the spread of institutions of religious learning and the resulting urban and social development.[36]

Muslim defence against the Franks and the enforcement of Sunni Islam against other sects thus were interrelated. In this respect one may subscribe to the assessment of the Frankish presence and rule serving "as a significant stimulus in the process of the intensification of religious fidelity and the setting forward of higher inter-religion barriers that were the prime characteristics of the movement often called the 'Sunnī revival'."[37] Confrontation certainly was an engine propelling this movement. But the complexity of the process to which the encounter between Muslims and Franks contributed, demands a consideration of the heterogeneity of experiences and the reactions in the wake of the crusades, the dynamics of social political and religious reorganization, as well as the impulses which arose from what Muslims perceived from the crusades.

The perception of the crusades by some contemporary authors was discussed recently as evidence of their insight into the matter and as an argument for incorrect and in fact apologetic Western assessments concerning the Muslims' ignorance of the nature of the crusade.[38] In fact, awareness that the crusades were part of a larger effort aiming at conquering Muslim territories in the West and in the East, as well as the notion of a Christian *jihād*, or religiously justified war, deserve attention. The fact that this insight is absent in the majority of our sources, does not invalidate the extant evidence.

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[34] Talmon-Heller, Daniella 2002, "Religion in the Public Sphere: Rulers, Scholars and Commoners in Syria under Zangid and Ayyubid Rule (1150-1260)", in: *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion, eds., Albany, 49-63, at 59f., emphasis in the original.

[35] Ephrat, Daphna 2000, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition. The Sunni 'Ulama' of Eleventh-Century Baghdad*, Albany, 3.

[36] Leder, Stefan 2005, „Damaskus: Entwicklung einer islamischen Metropole (12.-14. Jh.) und ihre Grundlagen", in: *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur*, Thomas Bauer and Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck, eds., Wiesbaden, 233-250.

[37] Ephrat, Daphna and Mustafa Daud Kabha 2003, "Muslim Reactions to the Frankish Presence in Bilād al-Shām: Intensifying Religious Fidelity within the Masses", *Al-Masāq* 15,1, 47-58, at 56f.

[38] Chevedden, Paul E. 2006, "The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades", *Der Islam* 83, 90-136.

One may first note that crusade and *jihād* concepts, although developing independently, indeed show some affinity. Both are meant to overcome discord and internal strife; they sustain faith; they are defensive in nature; an obligation to all; the adversaries are enemies of faith; there is a common focus on Jerusalem (the extent of which can be discussed of course); engagement promises spiritual rewards; both seem to know martyrdom for the right cause; and *jihād* and crusades legitimate political rule.[39] It may thus not come as a surprise that the crusaders' activity could be deciphered by Muslims. However humble this may seem, when compared to knowledge about Muslims in Latin Europe at the beginning of the crusades and during the first campaigns, which remained stereotyped and errant, it remains a remarkable fact.[40]

The earliest document of a Muslim interpretation of the crusades is related to the Muslim concept of *jihād*. The treatise is by ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (431/1039-40 – 500/1106-07), known mainly for his expertise of Arabic grammar,[41] who read his treatise on *jihād* to audiences in mosques in Damascus and a neighbouring village during the years 1105 and 1106, as we know from notes on the margins of the manuscript.[42] Al-Sulamī's work is a direct reflection of the first crusade, as he reports, for instance, the words of an inhabitant of Antioch from the time of the siege of the city by the crusaders, explaining that *jihād*, from the position of Islamic law, contains the obligation to come to the help of those who are defenceless, such as the inhabitants of Antioch who cannot resist the enemy.[43]

Jihād was rather a slumbering tradition, dozing in the textbooks of Islamic Tradition than a vital religious ideal at the time of the crusaders' intrusion. Its revival was not a reflex, but a constructive reaction to a specific situation, which required the recognition of the crusaders' motivation and intentions. In the treatise, which explains the *jihād* obligation with the support of citations from the teachings of Islamic Tradition, al-Sulamī refers to the crusades as an endeavour of conquest and, most interestingly, as a Christian holy war inflicted upon Muslims by God because of their neglect of the religious duties.

> "So God dispersed their unity and incited their enemies to wrest from them their territories and to cure their heart of them. A group of them invaded the island of Sicily – while the Muslims were in discord, and in this manner they took possession of many territories in Muslim Spain. When reports were confirmed that the rulers of these countries were quarrelling with each other, and that the attention of their leaders was ab-

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[39] Christie, Niall and Deborah Gerish 2003, "Parallel Preachings: Urban II and al-Sulamī", *Al-Masāq*, 15,2, 139-148.

[40] Jaspert, Nikolas 2007, "Die Wahrnehmung der Muslime im lateinischen Europa der späten Salierzeit", in: *Salisches Kaisertum und neues Europa. Die Zeit Heinrichs IV. und Heinrichs V.*, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, eds., Darmstadt, 307-340.

[41] Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, vol. 21, Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī, ed., Beirut 1408/1988, 154f.

[42] Al-Sulamī, ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir, "Kitāb al-jihād", in: *Arbaʿatu kutubin fī l-jihād min ʿaṣr al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, Suhayl Zakkār, ed., Damascus 2007, 41-182, at 169ff.

[43] Ibid. 170.

sorbed by disorder and trouble, they directed their resolve towards setting out, Jerusalem being their highest wish. They looked out to isolated principalities of Syria, to the discord which dominated the hearts of people, the divergence of opinions which were tied to hidden stratagems. So their appetite intensified and extended to what their ambitious imagination could reach, *and they did not cease to strive on their jihād against the Muslims*, while the latter were sluggish, allying against fighting the enemy and were proud of being in peaceful contact with them."[44]

The notion of a Christian *jihād* deserves attention. In a critical vein, we may assert that tangible historical proof for al-Sulamī's acquaintance with the ideological dimension of the crusade idea does not exist. Already the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phocas (963-969), in charge of the eastern frontier since 953, had tried to extend the concept of martyrdom to the soldier who lost his life in war against Islam, but his approach was opposed by the clergy.[45] Apparently there was no notion of a Byzantine *jihād* among the Muslims. Whether ideas propagated by Urban II in 1095 at Clermont might have spread to the east, can hardly be established; the transmission of his famous preaching is in itself problematic. It must also be taken into consideration that the encyclical of Pope Eugenius III which circulated widely in the Latin West half a century later, between 1146 and 1147, calling for the Second Crusade, was more elaborate with respect to objectives and spiritual rewards.[46] It would offer firm grounds for al-Sulamī's recognition of the *jihād*-scheme, but did not yet exist when he wrote his treatise.

However, Urban's call has to be situated in the context of a Christian reconquest, even if Jerusalem might not yet have been aimed at from the beginning, as has been recently argued.[47] Al-Sulamī's reference to this aspect is thus justified by the conceptual background of the crusades. There is also good reason to believe that al-Sulamī may have identified the first wave of the crusades as a Christian *jihād*: It is true: The devotional aspect of the Christian engagement, particularly the idea of pilgrimage promising redemption from sin, which was quite prominent at the time of the First Crusade, is not explicitly mentioned by him. But his use of the term *jihād* was surely not restricted to the military aspects of the Frankish enterprise. It implicitly recognizes the spiritual dimension of the crusade, of which he must have had an idea. It thus seems reasonable to argue that he must have learned about the religious enthusiasm of the Franks from oral sources, which were Frankish or reported about them from a close-by perspective.

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[44] Ibid. 45, translation by the author; cf. Christie 2006, 64.

[45] Canard, Marius 1936, "La guerre sainte dans le monde islamique et dans le monde chrétien", *Revue Africaine* 79,2, 605-623, at 617f.; repr. in: idem 1973, *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series 18), London, VIII.

[46] Asbridge, Thomas 2010, *The Crusades*, London, 199-204.

[47] Becker, Alfons 1964-1988, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, 2 vols., Stuttgart; Gresser, Georg 2005, "Die Kreuzzugsidee Papst Urbans II. im Spiegel der Synoden von Piacenza und Clermont", in: *Vom Schisma zu den Kreuzzügen 1054-1204*, Peter Bruns and Georg Gresser, eds., Paderborn, 133-154.

Al-Sulamī's insight was exceptional. The historian Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), a court official and eyewitness of the second crusade, notes for the year 490/1097 that news was beginning to arrive about the forthcoming arrival of a large number of Frankish troops who were believed to approach from the sea of Constantinople.[48] His report seems to indicate that information about an invasion of Frankish warriors spread quickly. As he correctly refers to their siege of Antioch in the same year, we may infer that his report is chronologically accurate and that news about the approach of Frankish troops preceded their actual appearance in Syria. This report of a contemporary perception of the arrival of the Franks is confirmed by the historian of Aleppo, al-ʿAẓīmī (483/1090 – after 556/1161), who lived at about the same time as Ibn al-Qalānisī. He notes for the same year that Frankish ships appeared in the harbour of Constantinople.[49] Like Ibn al-Qalānisī, he also had a vague notion of the strained relationship between the Franks and the Byzantine emperor: "They promised the Byzantine king that they would pass on to him (*yusallimu*) the first fortress they would conquer, but they did not fulfil their promise".[50] They were clearly perceived as being a separate force and disloyal allies of the Byzantines. As for the reasons and intention of the crusades, he only notes that some years before the Muslim population of the coast prevented Frankish and Byzantine pilgrims from crossing to Jerusalem and that therefore the Franks prepared to invade the land.[51]

Neither he nor Ibn al-Qalānisī seem to have had any notion of a religious background of the Frankish endeavours in the Near East. If we take into account that also Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188), a man well acquainted with the crusaders as mentioned before, and not specially interested in the *jihād* concept, perceived the crusades as an invasion motivated by the expectation of worldly gains,[52] we suppose that only those authors who themselves disposed of expertise in Islamic law and tradition and were themselves interested in the legal and religious implications of *jihād* were inclined to understand the crusades in this religious and political context. Individual strategies of religious scholars seem to have mingled in the conception of *jihād* and in the perception of the particularities of the crusades compared to other intrusions.

This suggestion is confirmed by another voice giving an assessment of the crusades which is similar to al-Sulamī's vision. Ibn al-Athīr, whose treatise on the Atābak dynasty was mentioned before, was, besides being a historian, an expert of

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[48] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, 218f.; cf. Christie 2006, 57.

[49] Al-ʿAẓīmī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Ibrāhīm Zaʿrūr, ed., Damascus 1984, 358.

[50] Ibid. As a proof of their disloyalty, Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, 218f., mentions that they did not hand over Nicaea – which in fact was not conquered by the Franks, but seized by the Byzantines.

[51] Al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, 356.

[52] Ibn Munqidh, Usāma, *Lubāb al-ādāb*, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, ed., repr., Beirut 1400/1980, 132; Cobb, Paul M. 2006, "Usāma Ibn Munqidh's 'Lubāb al-Ādāb' (The Kernels of Refinement): Autobiographical and Historical Excerpts", *al-Masāq* 18,1, 67-78.

Islamic tradition as his work on the companions of the prophet proves.[53] Writing roughly one hundred years after al-Sulamī, he offers an explanation – in fact more than one – of the political framework of the crusades. He sees them as a Christian *jihād* for the sake of Jerusalem, and, most interestingly, situates them in a wider movement of Christian conquest of Muslim territories in Sicily and Spain.[54] Ibn al-Athīr, who was personally present at Saladin's campaigns after his triumphant victory at Ḥiṭṭīn,[55] in fact seems to be inclined to see Muslim *jihād* as the adequate response to Christian *jihād*.

Not only does conflict not exclude, nor necessarily ban, cooperation; confrontation may also encourage, or instigate, processes of adopting concepts from the adversary side, where they fit into one's own framework. *Jihād* was such a concept. The Frankish presence was relevant as a tangible representation of hostility and danger to Islam, and also offered a model, parts of which could be used in order to construe the discourse of *jihād*. The revival of *jihād* discourse, and the wider context, Sunni resurgence, thus arose *with* the crusades. This notion includes that recognizable traits of the crusaders' endeavour served as a stimulation for the organization of defence and the struggle against them.

The image of Saladin's singularity resulted not only from his military success against the crusaders; a discourse was produced in his surroundings which presented him as the only ruler capable of fighting the Franks and saving the Muslim community. His enemies were depicted as being either inactive or collaborating with the enemy.[56] This spirit is also manifest in a monumental inscription highlighting his war against the "slaves of the cross".[57] The public image depicted the Frankish enemy as adhering to polytheistic beliefs, as being cruel and impure. This image was not the habitual Islamic perception of Christians, but a militant interpretation instigated by conflict. In this respect, the Frankish presence was an impulse triggering the reinforcement of adherence to Islam and its delineation towards others.

Not only were the crusades deciphered in a context of re-conquest and holy war by some contemporary observers; the Frankish attitudes of sacrifice and dedication, were, occasionally, presented as an incentive and model. Even if such state-

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[53] Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, M. Ibrāhīm al-Bannā et al., eds., 7 vols., Cairo 1390/1970-1393/1973.

[54] Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*, Carl Johann Tornberg, ed., 14 vols., Leiden 1851-76, vol. 10, 272-275.

[55] Rosenthal, Franz 1971, "Ibn al-Athīr", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new. ed., vol. 3, Leiden, 723ff.

[56] Eddé, Anne-Marie 2008, *Saladin*, Paris, 201.

[57] Ibid. 202; Wiet, Gaston 1922, "Les inscriptions de Saladin", in: *Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie* 3, 307-328, at 311: *Qāmiʿ ʿabadat al-ṣulbān*. The inscription dates from 1180, years before Saladin turned his armies against the Franks. His biographer, Ibn Shaddād (as note 65), used the same formula (49). Earlier we meet with the use of this term in historiography when the suppression of heresy is referred to.

ments remained relatively isolated and were situated in a context of propagandistic rhetoric, they testify to a recurrent reference to the Frankish endeavour which is based upon the recognition of similarities between Muslim and Christian conceptual frameworks.

The attitude of the Franks coming to the Near East for the sake of their religious community (*fī ṣawn millatihim*), for instance, appears in an invocation which is said to have been given by Saladin himself and which probably was written by his secretary and historiographer ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201).[58] The keenness of the Franks to sacrifice what they possess for God, their pride (*nakhwa*) in their religion, which stayed above, or at least controlled, political interests, is praised in many words.

> "But look at the Franks! […] There is no king in their lands and islands, no mighty or grand from their nobles, who would not compete with his neighbour in the arena of providing help, who would not try to outrival his peer with serious engagement and strive for the *jihād* (*ijtihād*). For the sake of their religious community they do not find it worth mentioning to spend their life and limb. They equipped the populace from their storehouses (*maddū ajnāsahum al-anjās*) with all sorts of arms, with all one needs for war. What they did and expended, they spent only assiduously for their Lord and out of pride for their creed. Not one of the Frankish (*al-franjiyya*) is seriously worried (*yastashʿiru*), that in the coastal area, when it was taken in possession (by their enemies) and the veil of their honour was lifted and torn, a certain place would be taken away from him and another would have the chance to take hold of it."[59]

Also Ibn al-Athīr speaks highly of the religious and psychological motivation (*al-bāʿith al-dīnī wa-l-nafsānī*) of the Franks leaving their homeland for the sake of participating in the crusades. He was impressed with what he heard when meeting with them.[60]

Jihād ideal exemplified

In general, and from its very outset, *jihād* combines outward activity with inner moralization,[61] and also al-Sulamī gives priority to the *jihād* against the lower self.[62] As a comprehensive concept, *jihād* also advocated principles of just rule as defined by Islam, and served to promote piety, such as obedience to religious rules and obligations, as well as modesty and restraint in lifestyle.[63] In this sense,

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[58] Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-nūriyya wa-l-ṣalāḥiyya*, Ibrāhīm Zaybaq, ed., 5 vols., Beirut 1997, vol. 4, 101f.; al-Iṣfahānī, ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-qussī fī l-fatḥ al-qudsī*, Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ, ed., Cairo 1965, 316f.

[59] Ibid., translation by the author.

[60] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, 33.

[61] Chabbi 1995, 497.

[62] Al-Sulamī, "Jihād", 55; cf. Sivan, Emmanuel 1966, "La genèse de la contre-croisade: Un traité damasquin du début du XIIᵉ siècle", [= Translation of selected passages], *Journal Asiatique* 254, 197-224, at 219.

[63] Al-Sulamī, "Jihād", 49, 67; Sivan 1966, 218.

jihād discourse not only legitimized the rulers' striving to gain control over their contenders' territories, and was not only an instrument of mobilization further-ing the coalition between political power and religious authority; it also framed the idea of the community united under righteous rule.

This aspect is particularly prominent in the case of Saladin. In addition to the scholarly tradition of *jihād* which explains the parameters of God's punishment and compensation as well as the believers' obligation and acquiescence, a heroic image of Saladin was shaped depicting his efforts, convictions and afflictions and demonstrating his virtues and his strive for human values. There is no figure on the Near Eastern side of the Mediterranean more famous during this period than the champion of Ḥiṭṭīn and the re-conqueror of Jerusalem, Saladin, the founder of the Ayyubid rule as a system of confederates.

As Anne-Marie Eddé explained in her recent biography,[64] Frankish and modern Western authors contributed to giving shape to the legend of Saladin. The por-trayal which supplied Saladin's Islamic image in the Ayyubid period in the Middle East in the most effective way is the work of Bahā᾽ al-Dīn b. Shaddād (1145-1239), a scholar of religious law and prophetic tradition, and Saladin's military judge. He was the sultan's close companion for six years, even sharing his habitat from sum-mer 1188 to the latter's death 1193. Ibn Shaddād's famous biography "The Sul-tanic rarities about the Yūsufite qualities" – Yūsuf being Saladin's first name – is a unique document which can also be read as a manual of good governance, as it explicates *jihād* comprehensively through the heroic figure of Saladin, who is de-picted from a close up perspective.[65] Saladin's triumphant victory, crowned by the re-conquest of Jerusalem is recorded from the author's "reliable sources". The au-thor is an eyewitness of Saladin's unsuccessful struggle for the defence of Akko in the face of the Third Crusade, which was lost in 1191. However, his book is not an eyewitness report. There is no stylistic difference between the narrative reproduced from his sources and his own account; the work forms an integrated whole. In ad-dition, the author was not at all innocent in ideological matters. As he mentions in his work, he also wrote a book on the merits of *jihād*, which he dedicated and partly read to Saladin.[66] Saladin's dedication to the defence of Muslim territories, his courage and personal involvement are depicted with many details stressing his commitment. The work is coloured by the spirit of *jihād* as a concept representing

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[64] Eddé 2008; see also Möhring, Hannes 2005b, "'Saladin, der edle Heide' – Mythisierung und Realität", in: *Konfrontation der Kulturen? Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer*, Heinz Gaube, Bernd Schneidmüller, and Stefan Weinfurter, eds., Mannheim / Mainz, 160-175.

[65] Ibn Shaddād, Bahā᾽ al-Dīn, *Al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya wa-l-maḥāsin al-yūsufiyya*, Aḥmad Ībish, ed., 2nd ed., Damascus 2003; Richards, Donald S., trans. 2007 [2002], *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya wa-l-maḥāsin al-yūsufiyya*, repr., Alder-shot. For the beginning of the author's company with Saladin (Jumādā I 584/July 1188), see *Nawādir*, 166, 169.

[66] Ibn Shaddād, Bahā᾽ al-Dīn, "Kitāb faḍā᾽il al-jihād", in: *Arbaʿatu kutubin fī l-jihād min ʿaṣr al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, Suhayl Zakkār, ed., Damascus 2007, 183-273; cf. *Nawādir*, 168.

Islam as a political entity, a common destiny, and an ecumenical way of experience and articulation. This interesting piece of literature was written after the sultan's death when the author, who was only seven years younger than the sultan, but outlived him by more than four decades, was head of a famous *madrasa* in Aleppo and in the service of Ayyubid princes there, direct descendants of Saladin.[67] It is conceived as a glorious monument of an ideal ruler representing an exemplary dedication to *jihād* which had vanished in the time when the work was conceived.

The shape of *jihād* depicted by Ibn Shaddād in his presentation of a heroic fulfilment of the predicaments refers in accordance with Islamic tradition to a combination of militant defence of Islamic territories and the struggle for inner edification. Saladin gives many proofs of his patience in the face of fate, as e.g. the loss of relatives,[68] high-spirited engagement in military activity,[69] self-restraint,[70] exaggerated generosity[71] and nearly brotherly conviviality,[72] also demonstrated when sharing his daily meals.[73] His engagement, or the stress which he allows himself to be exposed to, is such, that eating and sleeping become impossible in situations of intense struggle with the enemy. Disabled by illness the sultan weeps because he must stay away from the battlefield.[74] The image conveyed comes close to a comprehensive Islamic ideal combining *jihād* as war in defence of Islam, with the virtues mentioned, as well as personal interests in and respect for scholarship,[75] and serious efforts in applying justice in his government.[76] Ibn Shaddād's relationship with Saladin is referred to by the key term "service", or governmental service (*khidma, khidma sulṭāniyya*).[77] Although the author was particularly close to Saladin and indeed proud of the fact that he received the favour of his attention, his decision to serve him was made on the basis of his esteem for the sultan's rule, as he says.[78] The signification of "service" here surpasses the stance of a courtier acknowledging his duties, and designates a

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[67] The Jerusalem manuscript of the work was produced in 622/1225 (*Nawādir*, 42); Ibn Khallikān, disciple of Ibn Shaddād, wrote a detailed biography: *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ed., 8 vols., Beirut 1968-72, vol. 7, 85-100.

[68] Death of his nephew: *Nawādir*, 84; Richards 2007, 32.

[69] *Nawādir*, 83; Richards 2007, 31f. For courage, see also *Nawādir*, 72f., Richards 2007, 26f.

[70] Did not eat for several days during campaign: *Nawādir*, 195; Richards 2007, 99.

[71] *Nawādir*, 70f.; Richards 2007, 25f.

[72] With Ibn Shaddād, who used to assist the sultan daily in the first prayer of the day, he shared the discomfort of sleepless nights (*Nawādir*, 62; Richards 2007, 21).

[73] On a daily basis, *Nawādir*, 85; Richards 2007, 33; or for particular occasions, like the celebration of a victory, *Nawādir*, 170; Richards 2007, 90.

[74] He then behaves "like a mother bereaved of a child" (*al-wālida al-thaklā*):*Nawādir*, 195, 241, 290; Richards 2007, 99, 127, 162.

[75] *Nawādir*, 57, 89f.; Richards 2007, 18, 35f. He also had *ḥadīth* read between the rows lined up for battle (*Nawādir*, 74; Richards 2007, 27).

[76] *Nawādir*, 65; Richards 2007, 22f.

[77] *Nawādir*, passim.

[78] *Nawādir*, 169; Richards 2007, 81.

concept according to which ruler and servant are united in their service of a higher cause.

Jihād thus became constitutive for the concept of good governance. As argued before, the Frankish presence and its perception by contemporary Muslims gave an impulse. The presence of the Franks and the Christians in Ibn Shaddād's portrayal is noteworthy for its integration into an ideal of humanity, which allows for respect, compassion and sympathy.[79]

Islamic territories

Unfortunately, this encounter between Franks and Muslims in the Near East led in the longer run to a retreat of the Islamic vision, a withdrawal to a self-centered perspective. During the immediately ensuing intensification of diplomatic contacts between Frederic II and Sultan al-Kāmil, Muslim perception of the emperor was dominated by authors unable to perceive al-Kāmil's politics in their proper context. The image of the emperor as a friend of Islam gradually emanated from the inner dynamics of explaining his stance from legendary traits surrounding the figure, and was not a response to the historical circumstance of his political role.[80]

Especially during the Third Crusade, when after the re-conquest of Jerusalem support for Saladin from among his allies was decreasing, his demand to unify against the enemy became more urgent. He had to convince his allies that war against the Franks was more than a good occasion to take rich booty, but that the conflict was significant for Islam, as one of his letters says.[81] In a speech, Ibn Shaddād reports, he employs two arguments. One consists in his reference to the superior engagement of the Franks, who can count on ongoing support from Europe brought over by ship. The second is the religious cause: "they are the enemy of God and our enemy, who intrudes our territories and treads on the land of Islam (*arḍ al-islām*)."[82]

This term draws attention to a more political vision of Islam to which the crusades gave rise. A wide-spread linguistic feature which seems to be typical of the period of the crusades consists in adding the attribute "Islamic" (*al-islāmī*) to military terms, such as, in Ibn Shaddād's book, the Islamic armies (*al-ʿasākir al-islāmiyya*),[83] the Islamic territories, the Islamic camp, or fortifications, or fleet.[84]

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[79]   The famous story about his compassion with a kidnapped infant's mother: *Nawādir* 275f.; Richards 2007, 147f.; forgiveness of the enemy: *Nawādir*, 91; Richards 2007, 38.

[80]   Leder, Stefan 2008, "Der Kaiser als Freund der Muslime", in: *Friedrich II. (1194-1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*, Mamoun Fansa and Karen Ermete, eds., Mainz, 83-91.

[81]   *Nawādir*, 253; Richards 2007, 134.

[82]   *Nawādir*, 205f.; Richards 2007, 105; translation by the author.

[83]   *Nawādir*, 241, 271.

[84]   Ibid. 207 et al. (*bilād*), 229 (tents: *khiyam*), 362 (*ḥuṣūn*), 217 et al. (*usṭūl*).

In contemporary writings we find these same expressions[85] and also others, such as the Islamic cavalry, strongholds,[86] the Islamic fleet or vessel.[87]

Naturally, neither fleets nor military encampments are Islamic; the most which can be said in this respect is that they serve Islam if we conceive of it as a political body. We meet such expressions first in contemporary writings from the 12th century onwards. The *reference* to Islam here denotes the political entity of the Muslims and perhaps not only the Muslims, but the Islamic lands in contrast to the Frankish dominions. This tendency to Islamify the territories dominated by Muslims can perhaps be seen as a form of cultural translation of the experience brought about by the Frankish presence in the Near East.

In addition to the prominence of the conceptual vision presented by Ibn Shaddād, his portrayal of Saladin is also interesting, if not unique, for its literary features. In comparison to earlier examples of political biography centered upon a princely ruler,[88] the *Nawādir* are characterized by the presence of an authorial voice. The author relates that he spent nights talking to the sultan in his tent when the latter felt grief and despair during military campaigns, shared meals and ritual prayers with the sultan alone, was consulted by him in juridical cases, and, during endless days of regular duty, was a witness of his way of dealing with people, military officers, relatives, petitioners, prisoners, Frankish princes, and so forth. The personal relationship with Saladin functions as a continuously reappearing narrative focus point creating an atmosphere of intimacy which the reader shares. The resulting personalization of the character, based upon the personalization of the narrator, has in fact no parallel in earlier texts. This focus is consistent with the message as Saladin's emotional and spiritual sides are exposed always in relation to the dedication to his cause and his honest and profound piety.

Impact of the Frankish presence

The socio-political dynamics, which gradually led to the enhancement of military organization and its role within state administration as well as to the increase of authority and influence of Sunni religious scholars, were at the beginning related to the Frankish presence, and to the *jihād* discourse which was established in reaction to it. The Frankish presence served as a stimulus for the formation of an antibody and as an incitement on the basis of the Muslim perception of a competing positive model giving evidence of the identity of political and religious aspirations.

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[85] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl*, 299 (*al-ᶜasākir al-islāmiyya*); the expressions used by Ibn Shaddād can also be found in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, and Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Sāmī al-Dahhān, ed., 3 vols., Damascus 1951-68, for instance.

[86] Abu Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, 267: *al-khayl al-islāmiyya*; vol. 1, 385: *al-maᶜāqil al-islāmiyya*.

[87] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 12, 47: *al-usṭūl al-islāmī*; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubdat*, vol. 3, 118: *al-markab al-islāmī*.

[88] Al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn*, Muḥammad Kurd ᶜAlī, ed., 2nd ed., Damascus 1959.

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