STATE AND CIVILIZATION UNDER
THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN AYYUBIDS
(1171-1250)

ABSTRACT

THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
ISLAMIC STUDIES

BY
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2002
It is a historical fact that the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the Arab East gave rise to numerous major and minor dynasties in the medieval Arab World. Some of these dynasties generously patronised and carried on the traditions of Arab-Islamic learning and culture on a wide scale, thereby maintaining a continuity in Muslim contributions to the development of science and civilization. But it is a matter of regret that while comparatively sufficient work has been done on various aspects of the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Muslims under the Abbasids, the contributions made by these lesser dynasties have not yet been studied and analysed.

The Syro-Egyptian Ayyūbid rulers (1171-1250) were one such brilliant dynasty whose rise to power was a major event in the history of the middle East in general and in that of the Muslim world in particular.

It would be no exaggeration to say that but for heroic role played by the Ayyūbids, the Crusaders might otherwise have permanently settled in Muslim Asia with disastrous consequences not only for the Muslim world, but also for other nations of Asia including the Indian sub-continent.

Educated and cultured themselves, the Ayyūbid rulers were also efficient administrators and magnificent patrons of learning, due to which both Egypt and Syria witnessed under them a resurgence in educational, intellectual and artistic activity. In the present work an attempt has been made to assess the socio-political conditions and civilizational trends of life under the Ayyūbids.
The work is divided into eight chapters followed by a bibliography. The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the main historical factors and deplorable conditions of military and political anarchy which prevailed throughout the Muslim world on the eve of the rise of the Ayyūbid dynasty to power right from the period of decline of the Abbasid following the death of Caliph al-Wathiq in 892 AD. Although the Seljūqs brought glory to the Muslim world by establishing a mighty empire which extended in length from Kashghar to Jerusalem and in width from China to the Caspian sea, the mighty empire soon disintegrated into petty states and principalities, the chieftains and rulers of which remained busy in fratricidal wars among themselves.

It has been clearly brought out in this chapter how, motivated by a number of factors, political, economic and religious, in the wake of the deplorable conditions of the Muslim world, both eastern and western wings of the Christian West which had been hostile to each other for a long period of time, forgot their old rivalries, became united, and launched a series of military expeditions into Muslim Asia during the period 1096 to 1273 which became known to fame in history as Crusade wars.

In the course of the first Crusade war launched in 1097, the Crusaders, so called because of the cross of red cloth used by them as a badge, succeeded in thoroughly shaking the Muslim world by establishing as many as four Latin states in Muslim Asia as well as conquering Jerusalem on 15th July, 1099.
It was indeed unfortunate of Muslims that even after the severe defeat and great humiliation suffered by them at the hands of the Crusaders in the first Crusade war, they could not become united, and for a long period of time there was no reaction from the side of Muslim rulers to the invasion of the Crusaders. In this way the fate of Muslims appeared to be quite dark with no ray of hope in the restoration of their power and dignity. It was under these adverse circumstances that Imādudīn Zangī, a soldier and administrator of outstanding bravery and political wisdom appeared on the scene and championed the cause of Islam and Muslims.

The efforts made by Imādudīn Zangī and his able son and successor Nūrūdīn Zangī to organise and develop a powerful front against the Crusaders as well as the decisive victories scored by them against the latter have been dealt with in detail in this chapter, thereby concluding that their efforts had a very fruitful and lasting impact on the morale and fortune of the Muslim world. It was mainly the achievements made by these two Zangīd rulers that led to the emergence of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbī whose rise to power marked a turning point not only in the history of Egypt and Syria, but also in that of the entire Muslim world.

The Second chapter gives a comprehensive account of the origins of the Ayyūbid dynasty, their rise to power, the early education and training of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbī and the heroic role played by him as sultan of Egypt and liberator of Syria and Palestine.
Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi was not only a brave soldier, but also a great ruler and statesman of outstanding merits and abilities. He was always very careful about the choice of his colleagues, ministers and secretaries, upon whom he depended in the administration of the state. Only worthy, sincere and dedicated persons were appointed by him on different posts. He pursued a policy of unrelenting campaign against the Crusaders from the very beginning of his career, due to which he succeeded in forging unity among Muslims of different nationalities. It was mainly because of his magnetic personality coupled with his zeal for restoring the past glory of the Muslim world that the armies of Turks, Kurds and Arabs forgot their mutual differences and fought together against the enemy as good Muslim ought under his leadership for the common cause of liberating Syria and Palestine from the Crusaders. An idea of the success achieved by him in this respect may be had from the fact that it was mainly because of his efforts that Jerusalem was recaptured by the Muslims and the Crusaders were defeated and expelled from almost all their possessions in Syria and Palestine during his life time.

The main virtues and merits of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi as a human being have also been elaborately illustrated in this chapter. Far from being a narrow minded fundamentalist, he was very liberal, kind-hearted, magnanimous and admirably tolerant of religious minorities. That is the main reason why even Western historians are full of praise for his acts of clemency, his generous treatment of the defeated, his sympathy for the suffering, his protection of the weak, his love for poets, scholars and holy
men, his tenderness towards children and his faithful observance of treaties signed with different parties.

After the death of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi in 1193 the vast empire built by him split up into several small states under his different successors, due to which the central authority of the Ayyūbids weekened considerably. Although none of the successors of Salāhuddīn inherited his genius, yet some of them, especially Sultan al-ʿĀdil, Sultan al-Kāmil and Sultan al-Salīh Najmūdīn succeeded in holding the Crusaders in check till they were replaced by the Mamluks who completed the unfinished task of their predecessors by ousting the Crusaders out of Syria and Palestine.

The Third chapter deals with the main features of military organisation and state administration developed and adopted by the Ayyūbid rulers. The mainstay of the Ayyūbids was a well-trained army which consisted of Turkish and Kurdish horsemen. Although the Ayyūbids themselves were Kurds, they employed large numbers of Turkish soldiers in the army.

The Feudal regime of the Ayyūbids had two main features, the inheritability of the fiefs and its transitional character. The main advantage of this provision was that the fief holders from amongst the soldiers and commanders of his army fought very valiantly as they were protecting their own property.

Another important feature of Salāhuddīn's military organisation was that with his rise a new era of military pyrotechnics began. Now the
Muslims used incendiary weapons in every battle, which gave them a definite superiority over the Crusaders. For example, the incendiaries containing gunpowder were the deciding factors at the battle of al-Mansurah in 1249 when the Crusaders were defeated and their leader king Louis of France was taken prisoner.

It goes to the credit of the Ayyūbid rulers that despite their preoccupation with wars against the Crusaders the economic condition of their state was also good and prosperous thanks to the measures taken by them in this context, due to which the volume of the commercial activity of the state including international trade considerably increased. It is remarkable to note that the enmity with the Christians was no hurdle in the way of the Muslims in developing sound commercial relations with the European states. They rather followed a policy of peace with them after having pushed the Crusaders out of Syria. This led not only to the economic prosperity of the state, but also to fruitful interaction between both sides in diverse fields of life and activity, especially in agriculture, industry and trade.

The Ayyūbids took various measures to raise agricultural produce including the digging of a number of canals to facilitate irrigation of agricultural lands. Since sugar became in great demand in the West following its introduction there through the Crusaders, cultivation of sugarcane was officially encouraged to cope with the increasing demand for this item. Similarly, as a result of the Crusades cultivation of several
new plants and crops was started in the regions of the Western Mediterranean such as sesame, carob, millet, rice, etc.

Likewise, the development of new tastes among the Europeans in the products of Arabia, Central Asia and India such as perfumes, spices, rugs, tapestries, carpets, etc., boosted industry and trade under the Ayyūbids. The development of international trade led to the introduction of the elementary principles of credit and banking. This should be clear from the fact that both Jewish and Italian merchants had regular banking agents in Syria who did business on behalf of their masters. It is worthy of mention in this context that bills of exchange were also used by them in their dealings with one another with the provision that these paper transactions could be paid in cash later.

Lastly, it has been made clearly elaborated in this chapter that the encouragement of agriculture, trade and industry provided the Ayyūbid rulers with sufficient funds needed by them for military expenditure as well as for development and civilizational works.

The Fourth chapter gives a detailed account of educational activities under the Ayyūbids who were munificent patrons of learning and educational activities. They built large number of madrasah - type schools not only to educate people, but also to popularize knowledge of Sunni Islam. It is made clear that although the Ayyūbids were Shafi'iites, they built schools for imparting instruction in all the four Sunnite systems of religio-juridical thought.
The establishment of schools and libraries, their managements as well as the main features of educational system followed in them have been dealt with in detail in this chapter along with enlistment of schools founded by Sultans, princes, princesses, merchants, and common people. This is followed by an account of the libraries attached to educational institutions as well as renowned public libraries that developed and flourished in this period.

The fifth chapter throws sufficient light on the hitherto little studied Ayyūbid contribution to advancement of knowledge in different branches of science and medicine such as clinical medicine, botany, pharmacology, ophthalmology, anatomy, surgery, organization of hospitals and medical education, etc. It has been sufficiently illustrated in this chapter that the works produced by Arabic authors under the Ayyūbids on medicine, pharmacy and allied sciences not only promoted medical profession in the Muslim world, but also left their deep marks on the development of medicine and medical education in the West. This should be clear from the fact that Latin versions of these books were used as textbooks in Western medical schools for a long period of time.

The progress made in this period to the standardization and organization of the hospital system has been discussed in detail. For example, the hospitals built in this period not only treated patients, but also served as medical schools on modern lines. The hospitals were staffed with both eminent physicians and non-medical administrators who managed the
affairs of the hospitals. There were different wards for men and women as well as for different diseases. They also had specialized physicians who worked under the supervision of a chief medical officer. Each major hospital had laboratories, dispensaries, outdoor clinic, kitchen and bathrooms. Both physicians and para-medical personnel worked on shift basis, who had fixed hours of duty, during which they were available in their respective rooms and places.

Special attention was paid to the care of the patients suffering from psychological diseases in these hospitals. Such patients were provided with professional musicians, story-tellers and excellent reciters of the Qur'an. In the morning psychological patients gathered in a hall where they were entertained by the musician for about two hours. Similarly, story-tellers entertained them with interesting stories and humorous anecdotes, while the reciters of the Qur'an sought to stimulate their spiritual capacity in order to solidify their self-confidence.

Lastly, valuable information about twenty seven medical scientists who flourished in this period has been provided in this chapter from different original and secondary sources.

The sixth chapter gives a vivid account of the development of Sufism and philosophical thought under the Ayyūbids. It is discussed and made manifest in this chapter that the Ayyūbid rulers had been quite liberal in their outlook as well as in their dealings with others. Although they
themselves were Shafi'ite Sunni Muslims, they did not give any trace of narrow-mindedness of fundamentalism.

The Ayyubid rulers in general were full of respect for Sufis and saints. They provided them with the facilities of boarding and lodging in both Egypt and Syria by establishing and maintaining numerous visiting places for wandering Sufis. Sufism thus struck deep roots in this period. The Ayyubid rulers also tolerated philosophical thought expressed by the philosophers among the Sufis, provided it did not resemble open heresy. In short, there existed a congenial atmosphere for the development of philosophical Sufism in which the doctrines of *hulul* (incarnation of God in human body), *ittihad* (Union with God), and *Wahdat al-wujud* (the Unity of Being) were propounded without any inhibition from the state.

In addition to the above, the main works and philosophical thoughts of eminent Sufi philosophers who flourished in this period have also been discussed in this chapter. Sayfuddin Āmīdī, Shihabuddin Yahyā al-Suhrawardi, Muhyiddin Ibu al-Arābi and 'Umar Ibu al-Fārid were the main exponents of philosophical Sufism under the Ayyūbids.

The Seventh chapter gives a detailed account of literary progress made in this period in different branches of studies who wrote important books on religious and linguistic sciences, history, geography, poetry, etc. Twenty two authors and their works on religious and linguistic sciences have been briefly introduced in this chapter. Besides, eighteen eminent historians and geographers and six distinguished poets and their works have also been described from different original and secondary sources.
Finally, the eighth chapter deals with the manifestations of artistic and architectural activity under the Ayyūbids such as pottery, metal and glass work, wood carving, and architectural works. Great progress was made in this period in decorating glassware by applying the art of enamelling of colourless and coloured glasses such as those used in drinking glasses, in lamps for mosques and other items. Calligraphy was also highly developed in this period.

Likewise, both Egypt and Syria in this period witnessed a resurgence in architectural activity also. Several fortresses, bridges, bazaars, street fountains, mosques, caravansaries, public buildings, city walls, etc., were constructed in different places. Architecture depended largely on stone, in which a sophisticated technique of stone-cutting was used. Wood was another important material which was used for dome and for flat roofs. Decoration on architectural works was remarkable for its sobriety and simplicity. Lastly, the main architectural features of the buildings of five famous schools, five mausoleums and mosques as well as several citadels and walls have been briefly introduced in this chapter.

Thus in the above chapters it has been clearly brought and illustrated in this thesis that the rise of the Ayyūbids to power was an epoch making phenomenon in the history of the entire Muslim world. They restored and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Muslim world at a time when its future appeared to be quite bleak amid internal rivalry and external attacks. They also generously patronized civilizational development of their state on a wide scale, thereby maintaining a continuity in Muslim contributions to the advancement of science and civilization.
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For it is Allah That teaches you
And Allah is well acquainted with all things

Al Baqarah (2:282)
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Miss. Darakhshan Anjum has completed her Ph.D. thesis on “State and Civilization under the Syro-Egyptian Ayyubids (1171-1250)” under my supervision, and that the work is her own original contribution and suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Studies of this University.

(Prof. Abdul Ali)

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INTRODUCTION
It is a historical fact that the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the Arab East gave rise to numerous major and minor dynasties in the medieval Arab World. Some of these dynasties generously patronised and carried on the traditions of Arab-Islamic learning and culture on a wide scale, thereby maintaining a continuity in Muslim contributions to the development of science and civilization. But it is a matter of regret that while comparatively sufficient work has been done on various aspects of the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Muslims under the Abbasids, the contributions made by these lesser dynasties have not yet been studied and analysed.

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Educated and cultured themselves, the Ayyūbid rulers were also efficient administrators and magnificent patrons of learning, due to which both Egypt and Syria witnessed under them a resurgence in educational, intellectual and artistic activity. In the present work an attempt has been made to assess the socio-political conditions and civilizational trends of life under the Ayyūbids.
The work is divided into eight chapters followed by a bibliography. The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the main historical factors and deplorable conditions of military and political anarchy which prevailed throughout the Muslim world on the eve of the rise of the Ayyūbid dynasty to power right from the period of decline of the Abbasid following the death of Caliph al-Wathiq in 892 AD. Although the Seljūqs brought glory to the Muslim world by establishing a mighty empire which extended in length from Kashghar to Jerusalem and in width from China to the Caspian sea, the mighty empire soon disintegrated into petty states and principalities, the chieftains and rulers of which remained busy in fratricidal wars among themselves.

It has been clearly brought out in this chapter how, motivated by a number of factors, political, economic and religious, in the wake of the deplorable conditions of the Muslim world, both eastern and western wings of the Christian West which had been hostile to each other for a long period of time, forgot their old rivalries, became united, and launched a series of military expeditions into Muslim Asia during the period 1096 to 1273 which became known to fame in history as Crusade wars.

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The efforts made by Imādud-dīn Zangī and his able son and successor Nūrud-dīn Zangī to organise and develop a powerful front against the Crusaders as well as the decisive victories scored by them against the latter have been dealt with in detail in this chapter, thereby concluding that their efforts had a very fruitful and lasting impact on the morale and fortune of the Muslim world. It was mainly the achievements made by these two Zangīd rulers that led to the emergence of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi whose rise to power marked a turning point not only in the history of Egypt and Syria, but also in that of the entire Muslim world.

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Special attention was paid to the care of the patients suffering from psychological diseases in these hospitals. Such patients were provided with professional musicians, story-tellers and excellent reciters of the Qur'ān. In the morning psychological patients gathered in a hall where they were entertained by the musician for about two hours. Similarly, story-tellers entertained them with interesting stories and humorous anecdotes, while the reciters of the Qur'ān sought to stimulate their spiritual capacity in order to solidify their self-confidence.

Lastly, valuable information about twenty seven medical scientists who flourished in this period has been provided in this chapter from different original and secondary sources.

The sixth chapter gives a vivid account of the development of Sufism and philosophical thought under the Ayyūbids. It is discussed and made manifest in this chapter that the Ayyūbid rulers had been quite liberal in their outlook as well as in their dealings with others. Although they
themselves were Shafi'ite Sunni Muslims, they did not give any trace of narrow-mindedness of fundamentalism.

The Ayyūbid rulers in general were full of respect for Sufis and saints. They provided them with the facilities of boarding and lodging in both Egypt and Syria by establishing and maintaining numerous visiting places for wandering Sufis. Sufism thus struck deep roots in this period. The Ayyūbid rulers also tolerated philosophical thought expressed by the philosophers among the Sufis, provided it did not resemble open heresy. In short, there existed a congenial atmosphere for the development of philosophical Sufism in which the doctrines of *hulul* (incarnation of God in human body), *ittihad* (Union with God), and *Wahdat al-wujud* (the Unity of Being) were propounded without any inhibition from the state.

In addition to the above, the main works and philosophical thoughts of eminent Sufi philosophers who flourished in this period have also been discussed in this chapter. Sayfuddin Āmidī, Shihabuddin Yahyā al-Suhrawardi, Muhyiddin Ibu al-Arābi and 'Umar Ibu al-Fārid were the main exponents of philosophical Sufism under the Ayyūbids.

The Seventh chapter gives a detailed account of literary progress made in this period in different branches of studies who wrote important books on religious and linguistic sciences, history, geography, poetry, etc. Twenty two authors and their works on religious and linguistic sciences have been briefly introduced in this chapter. Besides, eighteen eminent historians and geographers and six distinguished poets and their works have also been described from different original and secondary sources.
Finally, the eighth chapter deals with the manifestations of artistic and architectural activity under the Ayyūbids such as pottery, metal and glass work, wood carving, and architectural works. Great progress was made in this period in decorating glassware by applying the art of enamelling of colourless and coloured glasses such as those used in drinking glasses, in lamps for mosques and other items. Calligraphy was also highly developed in this period.

Likewise, both Egypt and Syria in this period witnessed a resurgence in architectural activity also. Several fortresses, bridges, bazaars, street fountains, mosques, caravansaries, public buildings, city walls, etc., were constructed in different places. Architecture depended largely on stone, in which a sophisticated technique of stone-cutting was used. Wood was another important material which was used for dome and for flat roofs. Decoration on architectural works was remarkable for its sobriety and simplicity. Lastly, the main architectural features of the buildings of five famous schools, five mausoleums and mosques as well as several citadels and walls have been briefly introduced in this chapter.

Thus in the above chapters it has been clearly brought and illustrated in this thesis that the rise of the Ayyūbids to power was an epoch-making phenomenon in the history of the entire Muslim world. They restored and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Muslim world at a time when its future appeared to be quite bleak amid internal rivalry and external attacks. They also generously patronized civilizational development of their state on a wide scale, thereby maintaining a continuity in Muslim contributions to the advancement of science and civilization.
Chapter-I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
The Seljūqs and Fatimids were two major dynasties that arose with dismemberment of the Abbasid state. These two powers parcelled out Syria between them, the Seljūqs held its northern part and the Fatimids the southern.

The Seljūq was a turkish royal family which ruled over a wide territory in Central Asia and nearer Asia. The dynasty was founded by Tughril Beg and he made his dynasty very powerful in a short time. He was given the title of 'Sultan Rum' by Baghdad Caliph in 1055.1 He died in 1063 and after him his nephew Alp Arsalān became sultan. Alp Arsalān was an excellent judge of men and chose his advisers wisely. He had a natural respect for learning, and this was fostered in him by his remarkable wazir, the Nizamul Mulk.2 Alp Arsalān established his reputation as a military commander by capturing Herat within a year of assuming power. He restored order in the unsettled districts of Fars and Kirman, recaptured the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Fatimids and annexed Aleppo.3 He seized Jerusalem from the Fatimids in 1070 and captured Āni, the capital of Christian Armenia. In 1071 Alp won the decisive battle of Manzikart and took Emperor Romanus as a prisoner.4

The vast sultanate was divided into several small principalities and various Turkish states were founded under Seljūqs. The Asia Minor

3. Ibid., p 34.
(Rum) was held by a cousin of Alp, Sulayman. In 1077 he captured Nicæa and made it his capital. The town's position astride the road connecting Constantinople to Jerusalem made it a convenient centre from which he could control both Asia Minor and Syria. In 1086 he recovered Antioch for Islam from the Byzantine. After the death of Sulayman his son Qilij Arsalân became the ruler of Asia Minor whom the first bands of Crusaders encountered in 1097. After Qilij Arsalân his son Malik Shâh covered the most brilliant period of Seljūq ascendancy over the Muslim East. It was Malik Shâh under whom Seljūq power reached its meridian. His domain extended in length from Kashghar, a town at the extreme end of the land of the Turks to Jerusalem and in width from Constantinople to the Caspian sea. After the death of Malik Shâh civil wars that ensued among his sons and subsequent disturbances weakened the central Seljūq authority.

The Syrian dynasty of Seljūq was founded by Alp's son Tutush who in 1078 occupied Damascus from Atsiz, a general of Alp. Atsiz occupied Damascus in 1076 and exasperated its people with his exactions. In 1094 Tutush gained possession of Aleppo, al Ruha and al Mawsil. After his death Syrian possessions disintegrated as a result of the rivalry between his two sons Ridwan and Duqūq and jealousies of his ambitious generals.

7. History of Syria, p. 574.
9. Ibid., p. 635.
Ridwan after him became master of Aleppo while Duqūq established himself over Damascus. These two were soon involved in a family war and two years later Duqūq was forced to recognize the overlordship of his brother.\textsuperscript{10}

When Sulayman proclaimed Nicaea his capital in 1077, something very like panic broke out among the inhabitants of Asia Minor. Nicaea was near Constantinople. These Seljūqs had been able to threaten Byzantine itself. Their presence also interfered with the free movement of Christians towards Palestine. In Constantinople, a new Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus had come to the throne in 1081. In Asia he was faced with a situation which he could not hope to control till he had restored order in his capital and western provinces.\textsuperscript{11} In 1086 Sulayman captured Antioch from Byzantine and declared himself independent of the Great Seljūqs. This announcement aroused fear in princes of Syria and they sent Sulayman a joint challenge. The Seljūqs replied to the threat by advancing on Aleppo. The governor of Aleppo appealed to Tutush of Syria for aid. As Tutush's jealousy had also been aroused, he gladly hastened to the relief of the threatened city. The enemies met in the battle in 1086 midway between Aleppo and Antioch. The battle was severe and prolonged in which Sulayman died. After Sulayman's death, quarrels at once broke out between the various Turkish princes for the empty throne. After some time Qilij Arsalān, son of Sulayman became Sultan of Rum.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} History of Syria, p. 574.
\textsuperscript{11} The Seljuqs in Asia Minor, p. 48
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., pp. 49-50.
When European Christians saw the deplorable conditions of the Muslims they launched a series of wars against the latter during the period 1096 to 1273. These wars are known in history as Crusade wars.\textsuperscript{13}

The Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus appealed to Pope Urban II to help him clear the passage for the Christians to the holy land, Jerusalem, the birthplace of prophet Christ. Pope Urban II delivered a speech in which he incited the Christians with tales of Muslim persecution of the Christians and urged his followers to invade the Muslim world and to capture the Holy Sepulchre.

Ibn Athir gives another reason of Crusades, holding that when the Fatimids of Egypt became afraid of the expanding Seljüq Empire, they invited the Franks to invade Syria and so protect Egypt from the Muslims.\textsuperscript{14}

Inspired by the speech of Pope, the European Christians wearing a cross of red cloth, proceeded to invade the Muslim world. Apparently, religion was the main motive of the Crusade movement but in reality there were other politico-economic factors that urged them to get united against the Muslim world. They are briefly mentioned below.

(1) The Christians wanted to establish their supremacy over Muslims. They considered the presence of Muslims in Jerusalem as an abomination. Their leaders were also intent upon acquiring principalities for themselves.


(2) In the 11th century the zeal of the Christians for performing pilgrimage to Jerusalem became more ardent than ever. At the same time Jerusalem came under the control of the Turks, about whom it is said that they interfered with the free movement of Christians towards Palestine.

(3) The Muslims had become master of the Mediterranean sea from the 10th century onward. Trade and Commerce in the sea was fully controlled by them. The merchants of other nations, especially Pisa, Venice and Genoa had commercial interests in sea but the way was blocked against them. Hence the commercial interest played an important role in the Crusades.\textsuperscript{15}

(4) The restless and the adventurous in addition to the devout found a new rallying point in the Crusade movement. Pope promised a remission of sins to those who joined it, and paradise to those who fell in the battle. So many criminals sought penance thereby.\textsuperscript{16}

(5) Besides, the Seljūqs had extended their rule over Asia Minor. This phenomenon was also a cause of worry to the Europeans and they became united against the Muslim world.\textsuperscript{17}

Thus to the great masses in France, Italy and Sicily with their depressed economic and social conditions taking the cross was a relief rather than a sacrifice. And both eastern and western wings of Christian

\textsuperscript{15} K. Ali, \textit{A study of Islamic History}, Calcutta, 1974, p. 270.
\textsuperscript{16} History of Syria, p. 590.
\textsuperscript{17} Sabahuddin, \textit{Salibijang}, Azamgarh, 1980, p. 2.
Europe forgot their age-old rivalries, and joined the Crusade movement *en masse*.

In 1097 over 1,50,000 Crusaders under the leadership of Godfrey, Raymond and Baldwin measured sword for the first time with Muslims. When the Franks decided to attack Syria they marched east to Constantinople, so that they could cross the straits and advance into Muslim territory by the easier, land route. Alexius wanted to drive the Turks out of Asia Minor. The first objective of the Crusaders was the Seljūq capital, Nicaea. The Crusaders besieged Nicaea, capital of Qilij's father Sulayman. News of the siege reached Qilij Arsalān who was at that time away on his eastern frontier, contesting with the Danishmend princes for the suzerainty of Melitene, whose Arminean ruler, Gabriel was busily embroiling the neighbouring potentates with each other. Qilij Arsalān reached Nicaea on 21st May and lost no time in counter attacking, but although his men fought superbly he was unable to relieve the town. The city was captured by the Crusaders on 26th June and Alexius arrived from Pelecanum to take charge.

After a week the Crusaders marched towards the holy land and Antioch. Meanwhile Qilij Arsalān after his failure to relieve Nicaea, withdrew eastward. He gathered his forces and entered into an alliance with the Danishmend Emir against this new menace. In the last days of June he returned towards the west along with the Danishmend army. On 30 June he

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was waiting in a valley by Dorylaeum. Now he was ready to attack the Crusaders as they came down over the pass.  

At the outset fortune favoured the Seljūqs at Dorylaeum, but in the afternoon fresh Christian reinforcements arrived, in face of which Muslim soldiers weakened and they suddenly fled in disorder. The loss of Dorylaeum marked a turning point in Seljūq affairs, for the losses sustained by the Turks both in manpower and wealth were so immense that they put an end to whatever imperialistic designs might have been in their minds. The Sultan explained to the Syrian Turks that the numbers of strength of the Franks were greater than he had expected and they could not oppose them.

After the victory of Dorylaeum, many other cities of Asia Minor became the domain of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius. After crossing the Taurus mountain a contingent of the army under Baldwin moved into the eastern region of Armenia where they captured Edessa in 1098. The first Latin state was thus founded at Edessa with Baldwin as its prince.

Antioch was the first Syrian city in the way of the Crusading army. It was held by a Seljūq amir, Yaghi Siyan, who had received his appointment from the third Great Seljūq, Malik Shāh. As the cradle of the first organised Christian church, this city was of special significance to the

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Crusaders.\textsuperscript{24} Since Malik Shāh's death his nominal suzerain had been the Emir Ridwan of Aleppo; but he was an undutiful vassal and preserved practical independence by playing off against Ridwan his rivals Duqūq of Damascus and Kerbogha of Mosul. In 1096 Yaghi Siyan had even betrayed Ridwan during a war against Duqūq whom he now called his overlord; but his aid had not enabled Duqūq to take Aleppo, whose Emir never forgave him.\textsuperscript{25}

The Crusaders entered Yaghi Siyan's territory at a small town of Marata. Syria was divided among various Seljūq amirs, who were at daggers drawn against one another and had no interest in helping Yaghi Siyan. After a long and energetic siege which lasted about nine months, the city of Antioch was captured by the Crusaders.\textsuperscript{26} The capture of Antioch was a great achievement and the Crusaders inaugurated their victory by killing large numbers of Muslims. The streets were full of corpses, while their houses were ruthlessly looted.\textsuperscript{27} Antioch became the capital of the second Latin state in northern Syria, which was put in charge of Bohemond.

Raymond of Toulouse, the wealthiest leader of the Crusaders, marched southward and captured Ma'rrat ul Numan, one of the most populous and flourishing cities of Syria. They slaughtered 100,000 people

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{25} History of the Crusades, p. 213.
\item\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 215.
\end{itemize}
of its population indiscriminately. T.A. Archer writes "that there was no corner without a saracen corpse, and one could scarcely ride through the street without trampling on the dead bodies".  

After taking the town the Franks spent six weeks there and sent an expedition to 'Arqa, which they besieged for four months. Although they breached the wall in many places, they failed to storm it. Munqidh, the ruler of Shaizar, made a treaty with them about 'Arqa and they left it to pass on to Hims. Here too the ruler Janah ad Daula made a treaty with them, and they advanced to Acre by way of al Nawaqir. However they did not succeed in taking Acre.  

After their vain attempt to take Acre by siege, the Franks moved to Jerusalem and took possession of Ramlah which was left abandoned by the Muslims. After that on 7 June, 1099, about 40,000 Crusaders stood before the gate of Jerusalem and besieged it for more than six weeks. The population was put to the sword by the Franks and they massacred over 70,000 people including a large number of Imams and Muslim scholars.  

Godfrey was chosen as its ruler with the title "baron and defender of the Holy Sepulchre". In 1100 Godfrey, marched on the coastal city of Acre and besieged it, but he was killed and his brother Baldwin succeeded him a year later. Before his death he had fortified the city of Jaffa and handed it over to a Frankish count named Tancred. In the same year the

Franks took the port of Haifa, near Acre and besieged Acre. The Franks took it by assault, and unleashed the full violence of their brutality on the population. In 1109 the city of Tripoli in Syria was also conquered. The Crusaders destroyed the colleges, libraries and all merchandise found in the city. After that Franks captured Beirut and Sidon and sieged Tyre. The governor of Tyre Izzal 'Mulk wrote to the Atabeg of Damascus, Zahir al-Din (Tughtikin) asking for his help. The Atabeg responded at once and sent to Tyre a large contingent of Turks, fully equipped. The Franks lost about 2,000 people in war and withdrew. But in 1124, Tyre was finally captured by the Franks. Thus in the course of the first Crusade four Latin states were established in Muslim Asia.

It was very unfortunate of Muslims that even after the severe defeat suffered by them at the hands of the Crusaders in the first Crusade war they could not become united and for a long period of time there was no reaction from the side of the Muslim rulers to this invasion of the Crusaders and they could not rise against them. In this way the future of Islam was quite dark. It was under these adverse circumstances that Ata Beg Imāduddīn Zangī appeared on the scene in order to champion the cause of Islam and Muslims.

Imāduddīn Zangī was the son of a favourite counsellor of Malik Shāh, Aqsunqur, who became lord of Aleppo. Zangī was ten years old at his father's death. He was very brave and courageous. He had given

31. Ibid., p. 273.
32. *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 34.
evidence of his bravery in his childhood when he fought his first campaign against the Franks in the service of Mahmud, son of Sultan Malik Shāh with whom he was present at the great battle at Tiberias, in which he rode up to the very gate of the city and struck it with his lance. After that he became one of the close companions of Sultan Mahmud who appointed him governor of Mosul in 1127. After the death of Sultan Mahmud, Zangī declared himself to be an independent ruler of Mosul. In this way he became the founder of the royal Zangid dynasty which remained in power upto 1262.33

Zangī was not only a skilful strategist and diplomat but also an excellent administrator. Zangī was so attentive to his subjects that the population sometimes called on him for help against their own former bloodsuckers. Justice and personal security, which in these areas had long been unknown concepts were brought into repute by him once again.34

When Zangī became ruler, he soon paid attention to the need for making a strong and united front against the Crusaders. In order to achieve this objective it was absolutely necessary for him to put an end to the numerous small principalities that had sprung up around him. So he conquered Zajira Ibn Umar, Nasibin, Sinjar and Harran. Then he proceeded towards Syria and captured Aleppo and some other places. He proceeded still farther and attacked the strong fortress of al-Atharib, which had a great strategic value, and conquered it after a stiff resistance. That had the great

victory of Imāduddīn Zangī against the Crusaders because this fortress was of great importance for the Crusaders. According to the Arab authors the Crusaders had caught the Muslim rulers by their very throat after capturing that fortress and they had became quite helpless.\(^35\) Large numbers of enemy soldiers were killed in that battle. When the swords of the Muslim soldiers were broken due to excessive killing of the Crusaders, they started fighting and killing them by their sheaths. Another important result of that war was that the Crusaders now became afraid of Zangī and his soldiers. After that Zangī conquered the fortress of Harim and besieged Damascus but when he could not get any success there he left Damascus and conquered Baalbek and other cities. In this way he continued to harass the Crusaders.\(^36\)

The last and great success of Imāduddīn Zangī against the Crusaders was that he captured Edessa in 1144. The city was besieged for three weeks and captured. The citizens and their goods were seized while the young were made captives and their men killed. But when Zangī inspected the city, he ordered that his men should return every man, woman and child to his home together with the goods and chattels looted from them.\(^37\) So in contrast to the Crusaders he treated the Christians of the city with kindness. Edessa (al Ruha) was regarded by the Christians as one of the noblest of cities. First among the states to rise, Edessa became also the first to fall. Since this city was of great strategic value to all Latin states in Syria and Palestine, its loss caused a great deal of trouble and uneasiness

\(^ {35}\) Crusade Aur Jihad, p. 173.

\(^ {36}\) Ibid., p. 175.

among the European Christians, which ultimately became the cause of the second Crusade.  

Zangī was a man of noble character. He was a brave soldier, an able general and wise statesman. It was due to his courage and capacity that the prestige and honour of the Muslims were saved. As a ruler he was liked and appreciated by his people. They marvelled at his care for them in all matters, small and great. He revived agriculture as well as restored peace and prosperity to the country. Zangī also used to protect the honour of his subjects, especially women, his soldiers wives. He used to say that if the soldiers wives were not kept under strict control during their husbands long absence on campaigns they would certainly go astray.

His charity was lavish. His door was open to the poor and the needy. Every Friday he gave away 'openly' a hundred dinars in alms; on other days he distributed large sums in secret by the hands of a confidential servant. He loved the back of a saddle better than a silken bed, the din of battle better than the most enchanting music. He was a faithful friend and considerate master, but in camp he was a strict disciplinarian. But unfortunately he was killed by one of his own slaves in 1146. His death was a great loss to the Muslim world. But the jihad started by him against the Christians was continued by his son Nūrūdīn Zangī, who defeated the

38. History of Syria, p. 599.
39. The Crusades, p. 204.
40. Al Kāmil fi Tārīkh, vol. XI, p. 112; Arab Historians of the Crusades, pp. 55.
42. Arab Historians of the Crusades, p. 53.
Crusaders in the second Crusade war and captured some territories from them. The great Atabek left four sons. The eldest son Saifuddin Ghazi succeeded to the principality of Mosul. Nuruddin Mahmud became ruler of Aleppo. The third and fourth sons were Qutbuddin and Nusratuddin. Nuruddin Mahmud was an illustrious son of a distinguished father. He was a dedicated man of deep religious feelings. He remained busy in active warfare against the Christian intruders throughout his whole life.

Nuruddin's first encounter with the Crusaders after the death of Zangi took place when count Joscelin II occupied Edessa with the help of the Christians of Edessa. They massacred the Muslim soldiers. At this news Nuruddin Mahmud marched upon the city and captured it. Joscelin II was captured and imprisoned which was regarded by Muslims as a great success. The fall of Edessa revived the idea of the Crusade war in Europe once again. On the preaching of St. Bernard the Christians of Europe were roused for the second Crusade. In 1146 King Louis VII of France and the Hohenstaufen Conard III of Germany marched with a big army. The newcomers were not acquainted with the local conditions, as a consequence of which their army suffered such heavy losses through hunger and diseases that only a few enfeebled remnants reached the holy land. Still they had a big force with them and they arrived at Damascus and laid siege to it. 'At that time Damascus was under the leadership of Mujir al Din

44. A short history of Saracens, p. 341.
45. The Crusades, p. 241.
47. History of the Islamic People, p. 223.
Aybak who sought help from Saifūddīn and Nūrūdīn. Saifūddīn marshalled his army and marched into Syria, bringing with him his brother Nūrūdīn. On Saturday 24th July 1148 the Muslims challenged them to fight and the battle began.

The Franks destroyed the bridge, cut down the trees and built fortification with them. The Muslims were disheartened but the next day they attacked the Franks and defeated them, killing and wounding a large number of their soldiers. Fighting was still going on and the soldiers spent the night facing the enemy. In the morning reinforced and heartened, the Muslims returned to the battle. They stood firm and shot arrows from long bows and cross bows on the enemy's cavalry and infantry, horses and camels. On Tuesday the Muslim soldiers surrounded the Frankish camp, which had been barricated with tree-trunks from the orchards and broke down the defenders with arrows and stones. Conard and Louis then left for Europe. Thus Nūrūdīn continued to build up pressure upon the Crusaders and attack them during the remaining period of his rule.

Nūrūdīn Mahmud was a great man, soldier and ruler who was noted for his piety, simplicity, generosity, justice and scholarship. He was a skilful warrior and like his father careful of his soldiers. His soldiers loved him and stood firm in the battle. They knew that if they perished, their

48. Arab Historians of the Crusades, p. 61; Al Kāmil fi Tārikh, XI, p. 130.
49. Ibid., p. 58.
50. Ibid., pp. 57-58.
master would be kind to their children. On the battlefield he had no equal. He always carried, with him two bows and quivers into the fray.\textsuperscript{51}

In the earlier years Nuruddin could venture only on foraging raids but gradually his power grew and in 1154 he captured Damascus and extended his dynasty from Aleppo to Damascus. In 1163 he invaded Tripoli.\textsuperscript{52} Nuruddin captured almost all the cities of Jerusalem from the Crusaders and he wanted to conquer Jerusalem also from the Christians but he could not succeed, and he died in 1174. Nevertheless, the efforts made by Imaduddin Zangi and his able son and successor Nuruddin as champions of Islam against the Crusaders had a very fruitful and lasting impact on the morale and future of the Muslim world. It was mainly the achievements made by them that led to the emergence of Saluhuddin Ayyubi whose rise to power marked a turning point not only in the history of Egypt and Syria, but also in that of the entire Muslim world.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51} \textit{Arab Historians of the Crusades}, p. 71.
\item \textsuperscript{52} \textit{The Crusades}, p. 242.
\end{itemize}
Chapter-II

RISE OF THE AYYUBIDS TO POWER
Origins of the Ayyūbid dynasty

During the long drawn conflicts between Europe and Asia, for possession of the holy land of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi a man of rare power and character arose in the East, and built up his power. He not only reconquered Jerusalem from the Christians who had occupied it about ninety years ago, but also became the founder of an efficient ruling dynasty, which remained in power for a long period of time. A brief history of the origins and rise of this dynasty is attempted below:

Salāhuddīn Ayyūbid's grandfather Ayyūb bin Shādhi belonged to a Kurdish tribe, whose forefathers had settled in northern Armenia. They became thoroughly Turkicised because of the services rendered by them among Turkish soldiers. Ayyūb, the father of Salāhuddīn was born at Dawin near Karkh in eastern Azarbaijan where his father Shādhi served a Shaddādi family of Kurdish descent, to whom the Seljūq Sultan Alp Arsalān had entrusted governship of that territory.1 After sometime he left Dawin for Iraq as circumstances became unfavourable for him there. In Iraq he was welcomed by his friend Bihrūz, who was the military governor of Iraq under the Seljūq Sultan Masud bin Ghiyāthuddin. Bihrūz appointed Shādhi as his governor of the town of Takrit situated on the bank of the Tigris which was granted to him as a fief.2

After the death of Shādhi, his elder son Najmūdīn Ayyūb became the governor of Takrit. His younger brother Asaduddīn Shirkuh also assisted him in the administration of the town. They managed the affairs of the city with such dedication, love and wisdom that they soon became very popular among the local people. In the meantime Imāduddīn Zangī, the ruler of Mosul was defeated by the army of the Abbasid Caliph al Mustarshid in a battle, in which Bihrūz had also fought on the side of the Caliph. Now sandwiched between the enemy behind and the river ahead, Zangī was almost despaired of his life. He had only one option to escape to Mosul via Takrit. So he took shelter with Najmuddīn and sought his assistance in this task. Ayyūb provided him some boats by which he and his army crossed the Tiqris and safely reached Mosul. But Ayyūb was put to task by the authorities of Baghdad for having assisted the enemy. Simultaneously, there took place another serious incident in which Shirkuh killed a close confidant of Bihrūz settled at Tikrit on the charge of sexually assaulting a helpless woman. The matter was reported to the court of Baghdad in an exaggerated manner, as a consequence of which warrants were issued to arrest both Ayyūb and Shirkuh. But before they could be arrested, both left Takrit for Mosul in 1138. Salahuddīn was born in Takrit in the same night, in which they fled it, alongwith their families.

3. Ibid., p. 28.
5. Ibid., p. 28.
When they reached Mosul, they were welcomed by Imāduddīn Zangī with open heart. He provided them with all the facilities needed by them and recruited Ayyūb into his service on the post of commander of Ba'labakk. His brother Asaduddīn Shirkūh entered into the service of Zangī's son Nūruddīn. When Nūruddīn attacked Damascus, Ayyūb was in command of the city, while Shirkūh led the besiegers. There was however a peaceful reunion between the two brothers.6

By that time the Fatimid dynasty became very weak, Caliph Adīd sacked his wazir Shāwar and appointed Zargam on his post. Infuriated on his dismissal, Shāwar sought the help of Nūruddīn and promised to give him onethird of Egypt. Nūruddīn gave him a strong force of Turkamans led by his famous generals Shirkūh and Salāhuddīn.7 While Zargam sought the help of Amalric, king of Jerusalem. But Zargam was defeated before he could get any assistance from Amalric, following which Shāwar again became the Wazir in 1164 A.D.8 When Shāwar restored his power and broke all his promises. Nūruddīn ordered Shirkūh and Salāhuddīn to occupy Bilbeys and the Eastern provinces. Now Shāwar sought the help of Amalric.9

The Franks shut up Shirkūh in Bilbeys, but after sometime they granted him freedom when they were threatened by Nūruddīn in the north,

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6. Ibid., p. 28.
7. Sheikh Ahmad, Muslim Architecture from Advent of Islam to Mamluk, Lahore, 1941, p. 124.
who had already besieged and reduced the Harim fortress. The Franks were defeated and most of their chieftains such as Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, Raymond of Tripoli, Joscelin III and Greek general Duke of Calamar were taken prisoners. After that Nuruddin captured Harim, Paneas, al Monetara, etc.\(^{10}\)

In 1167 A.D. Shirkuh again entered Egypt with a force of two thousand horsemen. This time again Shawar called the Franks to his assistance. Shirkuh reached the Nile at Atfih, 40 miles south of Cairo, and crossed to the West bank while Amalric arrived from Palestine on the Eastern bank. Now the two armies followed the opposite banks to Cairo. Amalric pitched his camp at Fustat, while Shirkuh occupied Giza.\(^{11}\)

Amalric now sought a treaty with the Fatimid caliph that 200,000 dinars should be paid to him forthwith and the additional 200,000 dinars when the enemy had been driven out of the country. Due to this agreement Amalric suddenly crossed the Nile and Shirkuh marched south of Minya with surprise.\(^{12}\) There a pitched battle took place on 18 April 1167, called the Battle of Babain.\(^{13}\) Shirkuh became victorious, but his army was exhausted so they did not march toward Cairo. Instead, they took the desert route in the northern direction and entered Alexandria without opposition. Salahuddin was made the governor of Alexandria with one half of the army

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12. Ibid., p. 2.
put under his command. Shirkuh himself left for the upper Nile at the head of the remaining half of the army.\(^{14}\)

In the meantime the Franks laid siege to Alexandria which Salāhuddīn bravely defended. But when his provisions ran short, his soldiers wanted to surrender. Nevertheless in spite of seventy-five days of hunger, Sālahuddīn exhorted his men to action. At this very time Amalric heard that Shirkuh was laying siege to Cairo. This disheartened him so much that he arranged for peace.\(^{15}\) Shirkuh withdrew from Alexandria on payment of 50,000 pieces of gold and returned to Syria.\(^{16}\) The Franks obtained the right of keeping a resident at Cairo through a secret pact with Shāwar. They also occupied some territories and received an annual subsidy of 100,000 pieces of gold. This was in direct breach of the terms of peace with Shirkuh.\(^{17}\)

Amalric once more invaded the country in November 1168 and massacred the whole population of Bilbeys. At the behest of Shāwar the Franks set the densely populated city of Fustat on fire.\(^{18}\)

On 17th December 1168, Nūruddīn on the appeal of Khalīfa Al-Adīd and the people of Egypt sent an expedition of 8000 men to Egypt

\(^{14}\) The Muslim Architecture in Egypt, p. 2.
\(^{15}\) Daira Marifatul Islam, vol. XII, p. 168; Muslim Architecture from Advent of Islam to Mamluk, p. 125.
\(^{16}\) A short history of Saracens, p. 347.
\(^{17}\) Ibid., p. 347.
\(^{18}\) Lane Poole, Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, London, 1926, p. 93.
under the leadership of Shirkuh and Salahuddin. Needy and greedy, Amalric was now waiting before Cairo for more of Shāwar's gold. To his great surprise, he was attacked by Shirkuh and was forced to retire to Palestine. But instead of becoming grateful to Nuruddin on his deliverance, Shāwar turned disloyal and treacherous and planned to arrest Shirkuh at a friendly banquet. But he was attacked and arrested by Salahuddin who later on the order of the Caliph beheaded him. After that Shirkuh received the vizirate in 1169 under Caliph al-'Adid. But Shirkuh died shortly after his appointment as wazir and was succeeded by his nephew Salahuddin who was given the title al Malik an Nāsir. Although Salahuddin held the vizirate of the Fatimid Caliph, in reality he regarded himself as the lieutenant of Nuruddin. Salahuddin was not content with his position as a wazir. In a very short period of time he managed to bring the whole country under his complete control, following which the authority of the caliph became negligible. Due to Salahuddin's popularity many officials became openly hostile to him and had recourse to destroy the new wazir. They sought help from the Franks. The Franks decided to proceed by launching an attack upon Dimyat, as the master of that place.

19. Muslim Architecture from Advent of Islam to Mamluk, p. 126; Al Nawadir al Sultaniya, p. 32.
20. Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 95; Muslim Architecture from Advent of Islam to Mamluk, p. 127.
22. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 28.
23. The Muslim Architecture in Egypt, p. 2.
would command both land and sea, and if they succeeded in occupying this city, it would serve as a depot and place to retreat. At that time, on Salahuddin's request, Nuruddin dispatched Najmuddin Ayyub, Salahuddin's father, with auxiliary troops. The Franks, having encamped against Dimyat, made a vigorous assault on that place. But while engaged in fighting against the garrison on one side, they faced the counter attack of the cavalry which the Sultan set against them on the other. The measures taken by the Sultan for the reinforcement of the garrison gave victory to the Muslims.

In 1170, a great earthquake ruined many cities of Northern Syria such as Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre as well as Hamah, Edessa and Aleppo. Taking advantage of the prevalent weakness in the opposite camp, Salahuddin attacked and besieged Darum in 1170, the southern outpost of Christianity which had been recently fortified and held by the Templars. Amalric rushed there to save the citadel. Salahuddin did not wait for a pitched battle. Instead he occupied it at the dead of night, and when its inhabitants awoke, they found their town taken. The citadel of the town which was a strong fortress built by Baldwin III, held out and its warden

Mito de Planci, strictly refused to admit the fugitive citizens, who were thus forced to stand outside the gates and fight to death.²⁸ Salāhuddīn had no mind for a long siege and returned to Egypt.

In 1171, Nūruddīn wrote to Salāhuddīn ordering him to cease to recite the Friday prayer in the name of the Fatimid caliph and to substitute that of al Mustadi, the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. He had the Abbasid Caliph named in the Friday prayers instead of the Fatimid in 1172. After that Caliph 'Adid soon died. Although Salāhuddīn did not suppress the Shi'ite sect by force, it lost its natural support with the decline of the Fatimid dynasty due to which the Sunni Muslims got the upper hand in Egypt.²⁹

Salāhuddīn's growing power aroused Nūruddīn's mistrust of his loyalty as vassal. As soon as the Franks withdrew, Salāhuddīn made the conquest of Palestine as his next political goal.³⁰ In 1172, he sieged the harbour of Aylah on the Red sea as a basis of operations to realise his objective. But when Nūruddīn wanted to gain a foot-hold in southern Palestine and requested Salāhuddīn to lend him military aid for the conquest of the Crusaders fortresses Kerak and Shawbak, east of Jordan, the latter evaded this obligation on the grounds that the conditions in Egypt were still unsettled which did not permit him to turn his attention away

²⁸. Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 106.
³⁰. Ibid., p. 226.
from it. Nūruddīn got greatly annoyed by the non-cooperative attitude of his vassal, and started gathering troops to punish him for his disobedience. But Saḥāhuddīn succeeded in placating him by sending him a very humble letter. He also sent his brother Turan shah to assist him. Turan Shah attacked Yamen’s king Abdun-Nabi al Shayi got victory over him and became a deputy of the Caliph. When in 1172 Saḥāhuddīn had another rebellion to suppress in Egypt, Nūruddīn decided to attack him, but he died in Damascus on 15 May. After Nūruddīn’s death Saḥāhuddīn became the most powerful and independent ruler.

When the Franks heard about the change of government in Egypt, they conceived the hope of conquering the country and despatched a fully equipped army by sea. Sultan Saḥāhuddīn sent a body of troops to relieve the place and was so active in his opposition that the enemy became terror-struck and were unable to resist him.

Early Education and Training of Saḥāhuddīn Ayyūbi

Ibn Shaddād and Imāddudīn Isfahānī are the main sources of information about Saḥāhuddīn. They both were close friends and companions of Saḥāhuddīn and gave eyewitness accounts of his life. But the early life of Saḥāhuddīn is not found. Saḥāhuddīn Ayyūbi was born in 1138

34. Al Nawadir al Sultanīya, p. 38.
in Tikrit. His father Najmuddin Ayyub was governor of Baalbek in the period of Imaduddin Zangi and his uncle, Shirkuh was also in the service of Nuruddin. Salahuddin spent his childhood in Baalbek and other castles where his father Ayyub was the their governor. He received the usual education of a Muslim boy and was educated in the company of princes and children of high officials. While still a boy, he was carried across the desert to be trained in the company of armed horsemen. From there he was taken to his permanent house in Damascus, which was a great centre of arts and learning. He grew up a studious and thoughtful child. He soon showed signs of good fortune and gave all the evidences of a spirit that he was born to command. It is said that he succeeded his elder brother, Turan Shah, as his uncle's deputy in the military governorship of Damascus in 1156. After sometime he gave up the post in protest against the fraudulence of the chief accountant. He then rejoined Nuruddin at Aleppo and became one of his close associates. Later, he again held the office of the deputy commandant at Damascus for an unspecified period. He lived a pleasant life in Damascus and shared the life of court. His taste was very simple. He enjoyed hunting with falcons and leopards. He was also very fond of riding horses. He had a great liking for horses and took delight in them. He also found himself very comfortable on the horse's back. He enjoyed the

35. Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 66.
company of learned men. He took keen interest in polo and chess also. He was a highly educated man and took part in discussion with learned men on almost every subject. He was well informed and curious, and had great interest in the practical application of his ideas. He married the widow of Nūruddīn, Ismāʿīlī, daughter of Anār, the celebrated wazir of Damascus. This was an act of courtesy often performed by a ruler. She was much older than he.

Salāhuddīn as Sultan of Egypt

Salāhuddīn Ayyūbī was one of the greatest and most chivalrous monarchs the world has produced. The achievements of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbī are very important and remarkable in the history of Islam. Perhaps his most astonishing achievement was that he recovered Jerusalem from the Crusaders after a gap of about ninety years.

Salāhuddīn was a devout Muslim. He observed the prescribed prayers and fast regularly. He was very particular about the five daily prayers and the weekly attendance at the mosque. So much so that when he became ill, he sent for an Imam and forced himself to stand and pray with him. And whenever he awoke during the night, he engaged in prayers and remembrance of Allah. If the time of prayer came while he was travelling, he dismounted from his horse and offered his prayer. He was very fond of

39. Ibid., p. 70.
hearing the Qur‘ân recited by the Imam who had to be the master of all knowledge connected with the text of the Qur‘ân. When he listened to the Qur‘ân, his heart melted and tears generally flowed down his cheeks. He recited the Qur‘ân even on the back of his horse. He was also very fond of listening to the recital of traditions of the Prophet.

Salâhuddîn was just, merciful, compassionate and ready to aid the weak against the strong. He sat in the hall of justice, two days in the week to hear the complaints and dispensed justice to his subjects.

The Sultan was of sociable disposition, affable manners and generous to all those who came into contact with him. He never treated his servants harshly even when they were guilty of serious dishonesty. It is said that once two purses of Egyptian gold were taken from his treasury, but he punished the treasurers only with the loss of their jobs. As narrated by Bahauddin, when they were riding together in Jerusalem on a rainy day, his mule splashed the Sultan with mud, but the Sultan only laughed and would not let the abashed secretary ride behind. Bahauddin was also full of praise for the tolerance of the Sultan. Once he was on duty and the mule upon which he was riding was so terrified on seeing some camels that he started off, as a consequence of which he collided with the Sultan and hurt

42. Saladin what Befall Sultan Yusuf, p. 15.
43. Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 187.
44. Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 111.
him. But far from showing any anger, the latter only smiled. Abdul Latif al-Baghdadi expressed his appreciation of him, saying that he was a great king, whose very appearance inspired respect and love, and that he was approachable, deeply intellectual, and noble in thought.

The Sultan's audiences used to be very familiar with him. It was for this reason that they expressed themselves freely in his presence. Petitioners crowded around him so that they sometimes trod upon the cushion on which he sat. Yet he only smiled and listened patiently. It is said that whosoever went to him with a request, was never turned away dissatisfied.

Salahuddin showed himself worthy of victory. He treated his prisoners generously, set them free and sent many of them away with gifts. Although the Crusaders had slaughtered a large number of Muslims at the time of conquering Jerusalem, yet Salahuddin did not take revenge. Salahuddin too had captured thousands of Christians when Jerusalem fell to Muslims. He ordered that the crusade soldiers could safely go out of Jerusalem within 40 days by paying the ransom amount which was fixed as ten Syrian dinars for each man, five for each woman and one for each child. But many of the Christian prisoners were poor and could not find

45. *Al Navadir al Sultaniya*, p. 22; *Saladin what Befall Sultan Yusufl*, p. 35.
46. *Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 369.
47. *Saladin*, p. 67.
48. *Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 144.
the money. Ṣalāḫuddīn's brother al 'Ādil requested him to set one thousand of these poor Christians free to which Ṣalāḫuddīn agreed.50 Western historians are full of praise for Ṣalāḫuddīn Ayyūbi for his merciful treatment of the Crusaders. Not even a single Christian was harassed. When Jerusalem was conquered no damage was done to the properties and churches of the enemy.51 The clergy and the people carried away all their treasures and valuables without the smallest molestation. Several Christians were seen carrying their feeble and aged parents on their shoulders. Touched by the spectacle, the Sultan distributed a good sum of money to them in charity and even provided them with mules to carry their belongings.52 The Syrian Christians received permission to reside in the Sultan's dominions with full enjoyment of their civil rights. At the fall of Acre he released all the prisoners who numbered more than 40 thousand.53

Ṣalāḫuddīn had personal military virtues of a high order and his victories were due to his possession of moral qualities. He was a man inspired by an intense and unwavering ideal, the achievement of which involved him necessarily in a long series of military activities. He united the political force of Western Asia 'in one purpose'.54

52 *A short history of Saracens*, p. 357.
53 *Al Nawadir al Sultaniya*, p. 64.
54 *The life of Saladin*, p. 57.
At the time of war the Sultan himself looked after all the affairs without taking any note of rainy or windy days. He personally supervised the work and he even carried stones on his own shoulders. Although he had a delicate physique, he proved himself a sturdy warrior capable of amazing endurance. He was a magnetic leader who drew men unto him. He was also brave and action-oriented. He did not hesitate in killing a man in case the latter deserved it. Under his leadership the army consisting of different types of army personnel remained united. He himself selected the officers to fill the numerous posts. He rewarded his officers with titles and fiefs for distinguished services rendered by them. The achievements made by the troops were regularly reviewed and ceremoniously celebrated. One such instance is described by Lane Poole as follows:

"The Sultan himself (at the time of Béybars [Baybars] at least) rode in the midst of the procession, dressed in a plain black silk tunic with large sleeves, a turban over his steel cap, a hauberk under his tunic, and a long Arab sword at his side. In front some great noble displayed the royal saddle cloth, covered with precious stones and gold brocade; and the Sultan's head was shaded by the state parasol of yellow silk with gold embroidery, crowned with a golden eagle, and carried by a prince of the blood, whilst another noble bore the imperial standard. The royal horse was housed in yellow silk and red atlas satin, and the regimental colours of the escort were also of yellow Cairo silk, embroidered with their colonel's badge"
Salâhuddîn was unappreciative and indifferent to the importance of money. Ibn Shaddâd quoted "I once heard him say, in the course of conversation about one of the traditions : 'It may be that there is someone in the world who looks at money as if he looked at the dust of the earth'. He was apparently alluding to himself".57

The Sultan was very particular about jihad (the holy war), which he considered as the chief and supreme duty of Muslims.58 He animated his people with the spirit of holy war. His chief attention was directed to the construction of the citadel and the great wall of Cairo which he had begun in 1171 as a precaution against future Frankish invasions, together with the reorganisation of the fleet. He spoke of nothing else, all his thoughts were of instruments of war, his soldiers monopolised every idea. His desire to fight in God's cause forced him to leave his family, his children, his native land and all that he had in his hand.59

The Sultan loved horses and knew their pedigrees as he knew the traditions of the Prophet. Because of his delight in fine horses, they were his favourite gifts to others. At the time of siege of Akka he distributed twelve thousand horses. It was said that he never rode a horse that was not already given away.60

58. Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 374.
60. Saladin, p. 68.
Whenever an orphan was brought before him, he always sympathised with him and prayed to Allah for showering His mercy upon him and his parents. Then he would lavish comfort upon him and allow him the same emoluments that his father had enjoyed. If the orphan had an experienced and trustworthy person amongst his relations he would charge him with the care of the child. In case there was no such person, he would deduct from the father's emoluments sufficient amount of money needed for the orphan's maintenance, and then place him at the disposal of a suitable person who would look after his education and upbringing.\(^61\)

In dealing with the princes, whether friends or enemies, his first principle was sincerity and absolute loyalty to his word. Even with the Crusaders a truce was a truce. He never broke promises made with them, and to those who broke faith with him he was implacable, as Reginald of Chatillon and the Templars were to learn.\(^62\)

The Sultan was a zealous patron of science and educational activities. When he was in Alexandria, he often visited Hafiz al Ispähani and learnt from him a great number of traditions.\(^63\) He was a strict Hanafi.\(^64\) He had a firm faith in Shariat of Islam, and accepted its doctrines with an open heart. He disliked philosophers, materialists and all adversaries of
orthodox religion. It was his custom to gather men around him in the evening for conversation, games of chess and recitation of poetry. He always took part in discussions upon almost every subject. He was well acquainted with the pedigrees of the old Arabs and with the details of their battles. He knew all their adventures. He was master of all curious and strange lore. Thus his conversation used to be a source of knowledge and information to all those who participated in discussions with him. He was well informed and curious and his greatest interest was always in the practical application of ideas. There were many learned men in his court. He was also a patron of Sunni theologians and built many madrasah-type schools in Jerusalem and Egypt. He was not only a successful Sultan and commander but also a true Muslim. He died in 1193 and was buried near the Umayyad mosque in Damascus. His grave is still visited by admirers. Even Western writers are full of praise for his acts of clemency, his generous treatment of the defeated, his sympathy for the suffering, his protection of the weak, his love for poets, scholars and holy men, his tenderness towards children and his faithful observance of treaties. He is one of the most respectful personalities of the East.

Salāhuddīn as a liberator of Syria and Palestine

Nūruddīn died on 15 May 1174 and left an eleven year old son, Ismail al-Malik al Saleh. At the time of Nūruddīn's death, Salāhuddīn sent

66. Saladin, p. 69.
67. Al Nawadir al Sultaniya, p. 27.
68. Saladin, p. 69.
his condolence to Malik Saleh with the customary presents offering his services and expressing his devotion.\textsuperscript{69}

The castle of Aleppo was occupied by Gumushtagin. Al-Malik al-Saleh set out on his first expedition to Aleppo and arrested Gumushtagin. Knowing that Al-Malik al-Saleh was young enough Salâhuddîn hurried to Damascus. He took possession of the city and drove away the Franks who had seiged it in the meantime.\textsuperscript{70} He appointed his brother, Tughtagin, as its governor. He himself marched northward of Aleppo in December with a small force to occupy Hims, Hamah and Edessa and demanded Aleppo to surrender itself to its rightful guardian, Al-Saleh. Displeased with the autonomous attitude of Salâhuddîn, Al-Saleh appealed to the people of Aleppo to save him from the clutches of Salâhuddîn.\textsuperscript{71} The Aleppians stood against Salâhuddîn but were forced to give way to Saleh. Gumushtagin who was the then governor of Aleppo appealed to the Crusaders and Saifüddîn Ghazi Atabek of Mosul for help. The whole troop of Gumushtagin and the Crusaders did succeed in seizing Edessa but retreated. Salâhuddîn once again sought for the friendship of Saleh. Salâhuddîn agreed to reinstate Hamah, Edessa and Ba'labakk to Salah on condition of appointing the former as lieutenant of Damascus and Egypt. But this arrangement was turned down. And the result was the tussle in which the troops of Mosul

\textsuperscript{69} A short history of Saracens, p. 350; Al Kâmil fi Târikh, vol. XI, p. 405.
\textsuperscript{70} Al Nawadir al Suttania, p. 38-39.
\textsuperscript{71} Al Kâmil fi Târikh, vol. XI, p. 416.
were routed badly. Many of them were taken as prisoners who were later freed by Salāhuddīn. Now Salāhuddīn encamped in front of Aleppo again and forced the cession of el-Maarra and Kefr Tab as the prince of peace. Gumushtagin and Saifūddīn Ghazi tried to solve the problem through a sister of al-Saleh Ismail and sent her to the camp of Salāhuddīn to obtain favourable terms. Salāhuddīn received her with the greatest kindness, showered her with presents and at her request returned all the cities he had taken in the principality of Aleppo. By the treaty Damascus was definitely given over to Salāhuddīn. But Malik Saleh's name was removed from the Khutba in Syria, Hijaz and Egypt. He also took the fortress of Barin towards the end of this year.

The borders of Salāhuddīn's sphere of power in Syria were continuously being disturbed by the Crusaders. Franks leader Reginald de Chattillon attacked Aleppo, knowing that Saleh's affairs had fallen into disorder. Gumushtagin, who was the real governor of the whole country was arrested and asked to surrender the castle of Harim. On his refusal, Reginald put him to death. As a result of this, the Franks laid seige to Harim. The garrison was attacked on the one hand by the Franks and threatened on the other by Saleh's army. In this battle Saleh was victorious and annexed the castle in the month of Ramadhan 1178 A.D. In 1178

73. Ibid., p. 352; Al Nawadir al Sultaniya, p. 40.
Saifüddin Ghazi, prince of Mosul, died and was succeeded by his brother, Izzüddin Masud.\textsuperscript{74}

In 1181, Ismail, prince of Aleppo, died and was succeeded by his cousin, Izzüddin Mas'ud of Mosul. But he prepared to leave Aleppo to his brother, Imaduddin in exchange for Sinjar mountain bordering his ancestral lands. Before the new ruler could establish himself in Aleppo, Salahuddin occupied his territory and in the following years, he also attacked Mesopotamia and forced Izzüddin to come under his tutelage.\textsuperscript{75}

Guy of Lusignan who succeeded Baldwin V as king of Jerusalem was anxious to preserve the peace but it was broken by his vassals. Reginald of Chattilon, the lord of Kerak fortress, dominated the caravan highway from Damascus to Hijaz as well as to Egypt. He and his troops kept on disturbing the traffic of the pilgrimage and commerce as well, through their repeated raiding forays. It was difficult for Salahuuddin to keep himself away from these political disturbances in the beginning of 1187. He therefore decided on a great stroke.\textsuperscript{76} He dispatched pleading and argumentative letters to Baghdad justifying his own actions, and thereby proving his loyalty to the Caliphate and Shariah and also asking for the Caliph's support against his adversaries.\textsuperscript{77} He himself advanced into the

\textsuperscript{74.} \textit{Al Nawadir al Sultaniya}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{75.} \textit{History of the Islamic Peoples}, p. 228.
\textsuperscript{76.} Ibid., p. 228.
\textsuperscript{77.} \textit{Studies on the civilization of Islam}, p. 100.
Kerak region and sent Malik al Afzāl (Ṣalāḥuddīn's eldest son) towards Galilee to keep an eye on the Franks. Thereupon the King of Jerusalem also gathered a great army of knights in Saffuriyah. Ṣalāḥuddīn drew them into an enclosed valley among the mountains in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, near the hill of Hittin. Hittin is a place of great importance because Prophet Shoeb had been buried there. The Franks came down the hills with their faces towards the lake of Tiberias, whilst the Sultan's force was posted in front of the lake, thereby cutting off the Crusaders from the source of water. It was the evening of Thursday, the 2nd July as the two armies stood face to face. The Sultan kept himself awake the whole night finalising his plan for the decisive battle the next day. The battle of Hittin began on Friday, 3rd July, the day of prayer and a good omen for Ṣalāḥuddīn for fighting whereas the reverse was the truth for the Frankish army. The upholders of Islam surrounded the Crusaders. The enemy took to flight, but they were pursued by the Muslim warriors and in that case not a single fugitive could escape. Soon men and horses alike suffered bitterly from thirst. The Christians passed the night in misery, listening to the prayers and songs that came from the Muslim tents. To make their matters worse, the Muslim forces set fire to the scrub that covered the hill and its smoke poured in over the camp. When the dawn broke on Saturday 4th July, the Muslims attacked Christians who began to throw away their

armour while screaming for water. Their leaders were taken captives and the rest were killed. Among the leaders who surrounded were king Geoffrey (Guy of Lusignan), Reginald de Chattilion, lord of Kerak. Salāḥuddīn had sworn to put prince Arnāt (Reginald de Chattilion) to death if he ever fell into his hand. Perhaps he was one of the most ruthless and least scrupulous of the Latin leaders. Once a caravan coming from Egypt took advantage of the truce and went quite close to al-Shobek, where the prince then happened to be. Thinking there was nothing to fear from, they halted in the neighbourhood of the place, but the prince set upon them. The travellers in vain besought him for mercy in the name of God; telling him that there was a treaty of peace between him and the Muslims. He only answered by insulting the holy Prophet Muhammad. Salāḥuddīn heard this and being compelled by the faith and with his strong determination to protect his people, he swore to take Reginald's life. And the opportunity came for Salāḥuddīn when Reginald was his captive and the time came for the fulfilment of his oath. Guy of Lusignan and Reginald of Chattilion were brought into his tent. According to their custom, a cup of sherbat was given to the King Guy of Lusignan who after refreshing himself passed the cup to Reginald. Salāḥuddīn objected to this for the cup was not meant for Reginald, for the drink was meant only for the one who was granted his life. Then the Sultan called for a sword and with his own hand cut off

82. Saladin, p. 136.
Reginald's head, thereby completing his oath and avenging the plunder of his caravan. When the king Guy of Lusignan saw the way in which his fellow-captive had been treated, he thought that he would be the second victim but the Sultan calmed his fear by telling him that a king would not want to kill a king but that Reginald had transgressed all bounds and thus met his end in that way. The captives were allowed to return after the payment of ransom. The rest were sold in the slave markets.

The Sultan did not give the time to his enemy to recover from the defeat and rapidly followed up the victory of Hittin. He captured the castle of Tiberias. The wife of Raymond of Tripoli was made captive by soldiers but Salāhuddin sent her to her husband with courtesy and respect.

Four days after the battle of Hittin Salāhuddin conquered Acre. Acre was seiged on 9th July and Salāhuddin encamped on the hills, in front of the town. All the Franks of the coast had gathered in Tyre. The Sultan therefore thought it better to march against Ascalon, a city which he thought was easier to beseige. On 2nd September he encamped before the city, having taken on his way a number of places as Beirut, Jaffa, Sidon & Jubail. By the end of September he conquered Ascalon.

Tyre, Tripoli and Antioch were the only remaining sea ports in Christian hands. After taking Ascalon, the Sultan devoted all his energies

83. *Saladin and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 215;
for preparation of an expedition against the city of Jerusalem. After a siege of twelve days, the holy city was surrendered on 2nd October and the greatest aim of Salāhuddīn's life was accomplished. At least after a lapse of 100 years, the Muazzin's call came from the Aqsa Mosque and the famous mosque of Umar and the golden cross which surmounted the Dome of Rock was torn down by Salāhuddīn's men. Salāhuddīn protected the Holy Sepulchre from incendiaries and declared that only unarmed Christians could enter that place.

From Jerusalem Salāhuddīn marched upon Tyre, where the Crusaders whom his humanity had liberated had been allowed to betake themselves. The garrison of Tyre which was enforced from every direction, prepared for an obstinate defence. It was comanded by Conard, Marquis of Montferrat, a man of ability and great cunning. He refused to obey the Sultan's summons for surrendering the city and attacked the Muslims from behind their trenches. The battle raged until sunset from the early afternoon. This sort of situation continued for several days. When Salāhuddīn realized that it was going to be a long protracted war to conquer Tyre, he withdrew. Then he turned his attention to the fortresses which

88. *Crusades, Commerce and culture*, p. 80.
90. *Arab historians of the Crusades*, p. 181.
still remained in the hands of the Franks and thought that it would be best to get possession of these in order to discharge the garrison of Tyre. He captured Sahyūn, Bekās, Burzia and Derbesāk, Baghrās and Kaukab.

The Third Crusade -

The loss of Jerusalem resuscitated the idea of Crusades. The Pope compelled Hoheanstangen Fredrick I, Philip of France and Richard, the lion-hearted, of England to reconcile to each other. The courageous defence of Tyre by Marquis of Montferrat set in motion the third Crusade.

The Franks came from all directions by land and by sea with all their forces. Even women equipped themselves for war. They marched upon Acre and laid siege to it.91 Salāhuddin attacked the Crusaders on the 14th Sept. 1189 A.D. Taqiuddīn, nephew of Salāhuddin delivered a terrific charge on the Franks and drove them from their position and restored communication with Acre. Muslims continued the fighting till the night. They nearly attained their object, but after gaining half the position of the Franks, they took rest and resumed the battle the next day.92 On the next day, the battle was started by Franks who came from behind their entrenchment and vigorously attacked the Muslim's right wing, which was under the command of Taqiūddīn. They were repulsed with frightful slaughter and were compelled to retreat.

92. Al Kāmil fi Tārīkh, Vol. XII, p. 35.
At this time, Salāḥuddīn's force dispersed all over the country. One army watched Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, while another was stationed at Edessa in front of Tripoli for the defence of that frontier. When Salāḥuddīn saw that Taqīuddīn's force was less than that of the Franks, he sent a reinforcement from his own troops, for the men from Diyarbakr and other Eastern Contingents were drawn up to one side of the central block of troops. When the Franks realised that the centre was poorly guarded and many of its men had gone to reinforce the right wing, they turned towards the centre. The Muslim army fled and only a few soldiers stood firm, of whom many were killed like the Amir Miyalla Bin Marwan, Zahirūddīn, governor of Jerusalem.\(^\text{93}\)

The army of Salāḥuddīn's troops were mistaken about their own defeat, because of which they laid hands on all they could find and carried off great stores of money, clothes and arms. This was a much greater disaster than defeat. As soon as the Sultan returned to the camp and saw the consequences of the panic and the pillage, he took prompt measures to remedy this. He first of all wrote letters and sent men out to bring back the fugitives. The messengers overtook them and succeeded to bring them back. The Franks returned to the camp, having lost their bravest men and left their most valiant chief on the field.\(^\text{94}\) The number of Crusaders killed in this battle was almost 10,000 men. In spite of Salāḥuddīn's endeavours

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\(^{93}\) Ibid., p. 36-37.  
\(^{94}\) Al Nawadir at Sultaniya, p. 97; Saladin what Befall Sultan Yusuf, p. 168.
to keep the place clean and to throw the dead bodies into the sea, the
exhalations from the numerous unburied corpses poisoned the atmosphere.
The Sultan himself was affected and under the advice of the doctors and
generals the camp was broken up and Salāhuddīn with his army moved to
the neighbourhood of al-Kharruba. After the Muslims' departure, the
Franks again laid siege to Acre and in order to protect themselves against
Salāhuddīn's attack, they made a deep ditch round their camp.\textsuperscript{95}

Salāhuddīn spent the writer at al-Kharruba. In the spring of 1190
he descended again into the plains of Acre and took up his former position.
During the siege of Acre, the Franks built there lofty wooden towers, each
one sixty cubit tall. The Franks divided their forces into two parts. One part
was sent to attack Salāhuddīn while the other part attacked the city. And
thus the pressure on Acre was relieved. The fighting lasted for eight days
which rendered the troops completely exhausted. The Muslims were now
convinced that the Franks would take the city, as the defenders were not in
a position to ward off the attack from their besieged towers.\textsuperscript{96}

The Muslims were greatly upset by the news that Frederick
Barbarossa, the Emperor of Germany, was marching upon Palestine.
Salāhuddīn sent his armies into the direct bordering on the enemy's line of
march and himself remained with the rest of the army to oppose the enemy

\textsuperscript{95} A short history of Saracens, p. 362.
\textsuperscript{96} Al Kāmil fi Tārikh, Vol. XII, p.45; Arab historians of the Crusades, p.198.
encamped at Acre. An epidemic broke out in the army which greatly affected the Crusaders.\footnote{Al Nawadir al Sultaniya, p. 110; Saladin what Befall Sultan Yusuf, p. 191.}

On the 20th of Jamadi II 586/25th July 1190 A.D. after a temporary relief, the Franks again started their campaign. But they suffered a heavy defeat. Two days later count Henry of Champagne arrived with a huge army and landed his troops without difficulty in the neighbourhood of Acre and joined the Crusaders who had already encamped there. This time Salâhuddîn moved with his troops to al-Kharruba so as to have more space for deployment of his army and avoid the terrible stench before Acre. Due to the withdrawal of the Sultan's troops, the Crusaders pressed the siege with vigour but the Muslims remained within the city, and faced the horrors of this fierce attack with heroic constancy. The ameers Karakuh and Husâm ud-din animated the courage of the soldiers. They burnt the machines of the besiegers. Count Henry thereupon turned the siege into a blockade. But the Sultan relieved the garrison by sending provision by sea from Bayrut.\footnote{A short history of Saracens, p. 364.}

On 9th April 1191 A.D., fresh help arrived for the Franks, and Richard and Philip came with overwhelming forces. Salâhuddîn was by now tired by war, pestilence and famine began to feel the weight of the Crusaders. He asked Philip Augustus for the same condition which the Muslims had accorded to the Christians during the capture of Jerusalem. But the ungrateful king of England did not show any mercy to the Muslims and killed them.\footnote{A study of Islamic history, p. 278.}
After the capture of Acre, the Crusaders marched towards Ascalon under the leadership of Richard. Salāhuddīn came to Ascalon and removed the inhabitants and ruined the fort completely. When Richard arrived, he saw the uninhabitable ruins of a great fortress and city. Impressed with the personality of Salāhuddīn and being tired of prolonged warfare and long absence from his kingdom, Richard became anxious for peace. The Sultan after a lot of discussion and negotiation with the Christians agreed to the proposal for peace. At last peace was established between the Muslims and the Christians, declaring that the territories of both should equally enjoy repose and security and that persons of either nation could go into the territory of the other and return again without molestation or fear. Thus the third Crusade ended, and the Muslims lost the small city of Acre.

On the departure of Richard, Salāhuddīn rested a while at Jerusalem and after that he proceeded towards the sea coast to examine the state of the maritime fortresses and to put them in repair. He then returned to Damascus where he remained with his family until his death on Wednesday, the 27th of Safar 589 (4th March, 1193 A.D.). As described by Bahauddīn, the day of his death was a great loss for Muslims and Islam. The palace of the Emperor was overwhelmed with grief. The whole city was plunged in sorrow.

101. *A study of Islamic history*, p. 278.
Western writers have highly lauded his acts of clemency, his generous treatment of the defeated, his sympathy for the suffering, his protection of the weak, his love for poets, scholars and holy men, his tenderness toward children and his faithful observance of the treaties signed with different parties.

Later Ayyūbid rulers -

Salāhuddin himself divided his whole empire among his sons before his death. His eldest son al Malik al Afzāl inherited the sultanate together with Damascus and southern Syria, Al Malik al Azīz got Egypt and al-Malik al Zāhir Aleppo with northern Syria. Al Malik al Ādil Saifuddin Abu Bakr (the just king, the sword of religion), the brother of Salāhuddin who earlier had been a lieutenant in Egypt, proceeded to Syria, where he was given the possession in Mesopotamia. He was during Salāhuddin's reign his chief counsellor and next to him the strongest and most able personality in the family. He not only enjoyed great prestige, as against the youth and inexperience of Salāhuddin's sons, but also he was familiar with the internal conditions of Egypt, Aleppo and Kerak, as he had at different times governed all these principalities.

Due to the weakness of Al-Afzāl and his misgovernance at Damascus, his troops rebelled against him, following which al Aziz of Egypt led an expedition against Damascus in 1194. Al Ādil joined the coalition of Syrian princes against al Azīz and, on his withdrawal,

104. *History of the Islamic People*, p. 231
remained with al Afzāl in Damascus. Again in 1195 al-Azīz made second attempt in league with al-Zāhir of Aleppo. Al-Ādil broke up the coalition by intrigue, and followed al-Azīz to Egypt and stayed with him for some time. Later, they succeeded in driving al-Afzāl out of Damascus (June 1, 1196). After that al-Ādil stayed in Damascus as viceroy of al-Azīz. The Khutba was recited in his name and the coins bore his seal.

In spite of these disturbances the Ayyūbids held their territories against the Crusaders as well as against their neighbours in Asia Minor. In 1197 a large force of Crusaders landed on the Phoenician coast and seized Beruit. Al-Ādil resisted the Franks. He carried Jaffa by storm while the Crusaders were besieging Tibnin. The siege ended in disastrous failure and they were compelled to sue for peace.

Al-Ādil was a powerful monarch, displaying great foresight and information. He was very experienced, virtuous in his conduct, always animated with the best intention and gifted with perfect prudence. He was very attentive to fulfil the duty of prayer at the regular hours. He divided his state between his sons Al Malik al Muazzām received Syria, Al Malik al Kāmil received Egypt while al Malik al Ashraf got Mesopotamia.

106. Ibid., p. 695.
111. History of the Islamic People, p. 231.
In 1218 Innocent III proclaimed the fifth Crusade and set out for Dimyat and anchored at al Jiza. The Nile stood between them and Dimyat. At this point a tall and well-fortified tower had been built by the Egyptians, with massive iron chains slung across the river to the wall of Dimyat to prevent ships arriving from the sea from travelling up to the Nile into Egypt. The Franks disembarked at al Jiza and built a wall on their side and dug out a trench to defend themselves from attack. Then they began to assault Dimyat. Al Malik al Kāmil had camped in a place called 'Adiliyya' near Dimyat and sent continuous supplies of troops to Dimyat. After the death of Malik al Ādil, an Egyptian amir Ibn al Mashtūb hatched a plot with other amirs to depose al Malik al Kāmil in favour of his brother al Malik al Fā'iz ibn al Ādil with a view to controlling through him the whole country. When al Malik al Kāmil heard the news, he abandoned his position and went to Ashmun Tannah. The army in the absence of its Sultan was left to look after itself. Since the Franks did not see a single Muslim on the river bank, they crossed the Nile and marched into Dimyat in 1219.

When Malik al Muazzam Isa, the son of al Ādil arrived two days after this, he found that everything was in turmoil there. His arrival cheered and strengthened his brother. In the meantime Ibn Masrūb who had been driven out into Syria came to an understanding with al-Malik al-Ashrāf and joined his army.

In the year 1219, Malik al Muazzām returned to Syria and destroyed the wall of Jerusalem because of the general fear of the Crusaders. The rest of Egypt and Syria was on the point of collapse and everyone was afraid of the invaders and went in anticipation of disastrous night and day. Al-Malik al Kāmil sent a number of letters to his brothers al Malik al Muazzām of Damascus and al-Malik al Ashrāf who ruled the Jazira and Armenia for their help.\textsuperscript{114}

Malik al Mu'azzam himself went to al-Ashrāf. But he found him unable to send help to their brother because many of his vassals were in a state of rebellion. After sometime the rebellions in al Malik al Ashrāf's kingdom were put down.

At that time the Franks came out of Dimyat to confront al Malik al Kāmil. Al Ashrāf and al Muazzām came for the help of al Kāmil. The Muslim galleys came down the Nile, attacked the Frankish fleet and took three ships with all their crew, cargo and arms. This delighted and encouraged the Muslims, who saw it as a good omen and drew from it the strength they needed to overcome the enemy.

Meanwhile ambassadors passed between the two sides to discuss the terms and conditions of peace. The Muslims offered the Franks Ascalon, Tiberias, Sidon, Jabala, Laodicea and all Salāhuddīn's conquests except al Kerak, in return for Dimyat, but the Franks refused and asked for

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., p. 326.
300,000 dinars as indemnity for the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem, to be used to rebuild them. In such a situation, the Muslims had no alternative but to continue the fight.\textsuperscript{115}

The Franks were confident of their own strength and brought with them provision for only a few days thinking that the Muslim army would offer no resistance. A detachment of Muslims crossed the river to the Frankish side and opened the flood gates. The river flooded most of the area and left the Franks with only one way out, along a narrow causeway. Al Kāmil threw a bridge over the Nile at Ashmun and his troops crossed it and held the road along which the Franks would have to pass to reach Dimyat. The Franks became very nervous and the situation became so serious for them that they burnt their tents, ballistas and luggage and decided to attack the Muslims in the hope of breaking through and getting back to Dimyat. But the object of their longings was far off and their way to it restricted by the mud and water, surrounding them to a single path, along which they would have to fight their way through the Muslims who held it.\textsuperscript{116} When they realized that they were completely surrounded, they sent messengers to Malik al Kāmil and al Ashrāf asking for their lives in exchange for Dimyat with no indemnity.\textsuperscript{117} An agreement was reached to that effect, and it was signed in August 1221. The king of Acre, the Papal

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, p. 329.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., p. 329; Arab historians of the Crusades, p.263.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., p. 330.
Legate, Louis and others sent their priests and monks to Dimyat to negotiate the surrender. The inhabitants handed the city over on the 9th Rajab a memorable day for Islam.\footnote{118}{Ibid., p. 330.}

Al Malik al Muazzām died in 1227 leaving the principality of Damascus to his son al Malik an Nasir Daud. Kāmil and Ashrāf then combined to seize Damascus and to give to Nasir in return Harran, Ruha (Edessa) and Rakka.\footnote{119}{A short history of Saracens, p. 381.}

In 1229 Frederick arrived in Syria. There were many communications between al Kāmil and Frederick. Frederick refused to return home except on the conditions laid down which included the surrender of Jerusalem and of part of the area conquered by Salāhuddīn whereas al Malik al Kāmil was by no means prepared to yield him these territories.\footnote{120}{Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 269.} Finally a treaty was concluded between the two for ten years six months and ten days.\footnote{121}{A short history of Saracens, p. 381.} It was finally agreed that the Franks should have Jerusalem on condition that they did not attempt to rebuild the walls, that nothing outside it should be held by the Franks and that all the other villages within its province should be Muslim, with a Muslim governor resident at al-Bira, actually in the province of Jerusalem. The sacred precincts of the city, with the Dome of Rock and the Masjid al Aqṣa were
to remain in Muslim hands and the Franks were simply to have the right to visit them, while their administration remained in the hands of those already employed in it, and Muslims would be allowed to continue worshiping there.\textsuperscript{122} Frederick obtained the peaceful retrocession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and all the cities situated between the route from Jaffa to Acre.\textsuperscript{123} The Sultan Malik al Kāmil maintained that if he broke with the Emperor and failed to give him full satisfaction, this would cause an unavoidable war with the Franks, in which the Muslims would suffer an irreparable loss and everything for which they were working would slip from their grasp. So he was in favour of satisfying the Franks with a disarmed Jerusalem and making a temporary truce with them.\textsuperscript{124} The only privilege reserved for the Muslims was the free exercise of their religion in the ceded town. This treaty was approved neither by Muslims nor by Christians.\textsuperscript{125}

When the news of the loss of Jerusalem reached Damascus, al Malik al Nāsir began to criticise and abuse his uncle al Malik al Kāmil for alienating the people's sympathies. He also proposed to alienate the people from al Malik al Kāmil with a view to ensuring their loyalty to himself in his contest with his uncle.\textsuperscript{126}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{122} Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 269.
\item \textsuperscript{123} A short history of Saracens, p. 381.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 270.
\item \textsuperscript{125} A short history of Saracens, p. 381.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 272.
\end{itemize}
Kāmil died on the 8th March 1238. He was a powerful monarch and left an honourable reputation. He loved the men of learning and patronised them. He was a strict observer of the doctrines of the sunnah, and adhered with great zeal to the orthodox belief. He liked the company of talented men. It was a practice with him that on every Thursday he used to assemble with some learned persons who held discussions on different subjects of literary and religious importance. He also participated in the discussions and asked questions on the obscure points of different sources and he mixed up with them on equal terms.\footnote{127}{Wafayāt ul Ayān, vol. V, p. 117.}

After the death of al Kāmil the ameers thereupon raised to the throne his son Abu Bakr al Malik al Ādil, a young man of weak character and given to pursuits of pleasure. He was deposed by his brother Ayyub al Malik al Saleh Najmuddin Ayyūb who was better fitted to deal with the unruly military mamluks who now formed the aristocracy of Egypt. In 1239-40 Abu Malik an Nasir Daūd, the lord of Harran retook Jerusalem from the Christians and demolished its walls.\footnote{128}{A short history of Saracens, p. 382.}

Malik al Sālih Najmuddin Ayyūb made himself master of Egypt and extended his power over Syria and compelled the princes of the Ayyūbid dynasty, who held sway in that country, to acknowledge his suzerainty. While he was endeavouring to introduce peace and order in his dominions, the troops of Khawarizm Shah, fleeing before the Mongols,
entered Syria and plunged it into disorder. They took service first under one chief and then another. They finally threw off allegiance to the princes of Syria and gave themselves up to slaughter and rapine. After a series of battles they were finally destroyed.\textsuperscript{129}

While Malik al Saleh was engaged in Syria, the Franks launched the eighth Crusade in the leadership of Louis IX of France. Louis landed at Dimyat. The people of Dimyat feared for their lives if they were besieged. There was of course a garrison of brave soldiers in the city but God struck terror into their hearts and they left Dimyat. The behaviour of the people and of Fakhruddin Yusuf, head of the Egyptian troops, was shameful. If Fakhruddin Yusuf had prevented their flight and stood firm, Dimyat would have been able to defend itself. If the soldiers and people of Dimyat had shut the gate and entrenched themselves within that, after the army had gone to Ashmun Tannāh, the Franks could not have overcome them. The army would have been behind them and could have defended them. They had provisions, munitions and arms in such great quantity that they could defend the city for at least two years. When the Franks appeared before Dimyat they found it deserted and occupied it.\textsuperscript{130}

Large numbers of the Crusaders assembled at the port of Marseille. They started their journey in 1800 ships, and reached Cyprus in September 1248 where they spent the winter, during which the King tried

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 387.
\textsuperscript{130} Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 285.
to enlist the support of the Mongols in order to make a co-ordinated attack on Egypt. But when that could not materialize, the Crusaders sailed towards Dimyat. And as soon as they landed on it, the Muslims fled it in terror. When al Malik al Saleh heard of it, he immediately rushed back home from Syria. He avoided Dimyat and reached Mansurah where he organized his army. He also raised a commando force, which greatly harassed the Crusaders. A number of Beoduin Arabs also came and began to make raids and attacks on the Franks. They for their part, fortified the wall of Dimyat and filled the city with soldiers.

Al Malik al Saleh died in 1249 after a reign of nearly ten years, whilst the Franks were still at Dimyat. Al Malik al Saleh was just and upright in his conduct, faithful in his words. He never took any action without consulting his generals and counsellors. He organised the military corps of Bahrite Mamluks. He left one son named Turanshah al Malik al Muazzam who was at that time absent on the border of Syria. Shajarat-ul-Durr, the wife of Malik al Saleh, a woman of great capacity and courage, concealed the sultan's death until the principal officers had taken the oath of allegiance to Turan Shah. The death of Malik al Saleh caused great grief. Meanwhile the Franks occupying Dimyat realized that if the Muslim army encamped at Mansurah, they could be induced to withdraw even a short distance, the whole Egypt would soon be brought under their

131. *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, p. 35
132. *Arab historians of the Crusades*, p. 287.
control. Now al Saleh's wife Shajarat-ul-Durr played an important role in that dark hour in the history of Egypt. She called a meeting of all the war generals and made them swear to fight to the last for the sake of the country. Simultaneously the Sultan ordered them to abide by her orders in all matters. The enemy reached the end of the Dimyat peninsula and so found themselves face to face with the Muslim forces. The Frankish king penetrated Mansurah and reached the Sultan's palace. The Franks spread through the narrow streets of the town. It was lucky for the Muslims that the Franks dispersed through the streets. At the moment of supreme danger, the Turkish battalion of the Mamluks of al Malik al Saleh rode like one man upon the enemy in a charge that broke them and drove them back. King Louis and his companions were arrested who were later set free on payment of four lakh dinars as ransom money.

Turan Shah's favouritism towards the rival military corps (the Burjites) led to his assassination by the Bahrite Mamluks. They then raised to the throne Shajarat-ul-Durr. The Khutba was recited in her name and coins were inscribed with her title al-Musta'simiyah (the servant of caliph al Mustaasim, who then ruled at Baghdad), al-Salihah (the wife of al-Saleh Ayyub) Malikat al Muslimin (Queen of the Moslems).

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134. Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 288.
135. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 36.
136. Arab historians of the Crusades, p. 290.
137. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 36.
Chapter-III

THE AYYUBID STATE AND SOCIETY
State Organisation

The Ayyubid realm built up by Salāhuddīn was a confederation of semi-independent principalities which the Sultan had conquered by launching a series of military campaigns in an organised and systematic manner.

The central administration was in the hand of the Sultan. When Salāhuddīn became the full-fledged ruler of Egypt, he restored the name of the Abbasid Caliph in the sermon of Friday prayer and the coinage in that country from which it had been absent for over two and a half centuries. Egypt again became Sunnite and its rulers called themselves by the title of Sultan.¹ Salāhuddīn saw himself as simply the adjutant and commander of the armies of the Abbasids, as he had become for a brief time the wazir and commander of the armies of the Fatimid Caliphs. That he was called Sultan was simply the title he had inherited as wazir of the Fatimids². The names of both the Sultan and the Caliph of Baghdad were inscribed on the coins³.

The Sultan was helped by wazir, qazi, treasurer and other officers in the administration of the state whom he chose very carefully. These were very learned, capable and sincere men. They not only served the state, but also wrote books on biography, history and other sciences.

3. The Social Structure of Islam, p. 293.
Biographical sketches of Salāhuddīn were written by his wazir, qazi and other administrative officers, who were in close contact with Salāhuddīn. Salāhuddīn himself sat in the court to listen to the disputes along with his wazir and other concerned officers. He fixed Tuesday and Thursday to look into the matters of public interests.⁴

Each province was divided into several cities. Each city was controlled by a high ranking viceroy (Wali). It had its own finance house (Bait ul-Māl), and its own arsenal (bait al Silāh), its police and defense forces.⁵ There was a bureau to supervise canals and irrigation, one for taxes and public expenditures and another for protection of slaves and clients. There was a post-office which took charge of the camels that carried the mail and special service of the pigeon post.⁶ Its markets were subject to inspection by an intendant or inspector of morality (Muhtasib), whose extensive duties included the supervision of weights and measures, the prohibition and punishment of fraudulent dealings, execution of contracts and payment of debts. He had the right of summary justice in economic dissensions or breaches of the law, and he thus combined legal, economic, police and religious responsibilities. He was also the guardian of public morality in the city and could arrest a wine-bibber or a misbehaving townsman. He had to see that all Muslims attended the Friday prayer.

Prevention of cruelty to animals, servants and slaves, either in the form of physical torture or underfeeding or overworking and over-burdening also came under his jurisdiction. He was commissioned to keep streets in an orderly state of cleanliness and to ensure the free passage of merchants and merchandise on all thoroughfares. Although every city had a certain amount of autonomy, yet the central government had the supervision over all these departments including the courts of law.

Military organisation

The mainstay of the Ayyūbid rulers was a well-trained army which consisted of Turkish and Kurdish horsemen. The Arab Bedouin regiments were auxiliaries. Although the Ayyūbids themselves were Kurds, the Turks were much more numerous in their army. Salahuddin abolished the army of negro slaves headed by Egyptians, Arabs and Armenians which the Fatimids had maintained in Egypt. He raised a special force of Kurds and Turks, who numbered about 12 thousand horsemen. The reason for this step appears to have been one of finance. The regular army of the Ayyūbid dominions in Egypt, Syria and Upper Mesopotamia included about 20,000 horsemen. In time of war Salahuddin could mobilise approximately 12,000 additional horsemen. When he conquered Syria after

the death of Nūruddīn he had only 7,000 horsemen with him. In the later years of the Ayyūbid rule, the ruler of Aleppo could mobilise 1,500 horsemen for an important campaign, while a strong army of a Syro-Mesopotamian Kingdom numbered 8,000 horsemen. But the military forces of these principalities increased considerably when the remnants of the once powerful Khwarizmian army joined them, for these Central Asian mercenaries numbered more than 10,000.\textsuperscript{11} In the year 1181 Salāhuddīn reorganised the regular forces in Egypt. The number of the troops amounted to 8,640, of whom 111 were amirs, 6,976 were \textit{tawashis} and 1,153 were \textit{qaraghulams}. The total sum assigned to them was 3,670, 600 dinars. These figures are exclusive of troops without fiefs and entered on the register of assignments from the \textit{ushr} of the Arabs holding \textit{iqtaat} in al-Sharqiya and al-Buhaira, of the Kinaniyin, the Egyptian (i.e. Fatimid) troops, the jurists, qadis, sufis and the diwans amounting to not less than 1,00,000 dinars.\textsuperscript{12}

Six years later, at the siege of Tiberias, Salāhuddīn's army numbered 12 thousand knights in receipt of allowances. At the same time he could also mobilize a good number of volunteers to join his army as soldiers and fight the enemy. For example, he got the overwhelming support of fellow Muslims from both Egypt and Syria in his campaign against the Crusaders. When after the fall of Jerusalem, the Muslim force was held in check before Tyre, a portion of the volunteer army represented

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} \textit{A social and Economic history of the Near East in the middle ages}, p 236.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Gibb, \textit{Studies on the civilization of Islam}, New Jersey, 1982, p. 77.
\end{itemize}
by the richer and more powerful chiefs, wanted to return home. The ostensible reason was that the siege was likely to prove abortive. But the real cause of their reluctance to continue fighting was their knowledge of the fact that Sultan Salahuddin was having a financial crisis, and that they might be forced to offer loans to him in order to carry on the campaign. In the end the general was compelled to abandon the siege and permit his troops to go back home in the winter on condition that they joined him in spring. The men from the East and Mosul as also those of Syria and Egypt, therefore, departed, leaving him at Acre with no more than his personal following.

Salahuddin in order of battle retained the five unit formation, but he varied it by employing a picked force of archers for the vanguard instead of keeping all the best troops for the centre. It was upon these archers that the commander relied for his opening assaults, the wings and centre playing their part at the appropriate situation in the battle. The saqa as usual was present in the rear.

The Turkish and Kurdish horsemen of the Ayyubids were feudal knights, holding fiefs and receiving payment in addition. Under the later Fatimids the system of land tenure in Egypt had become similar to a feudal regime. So the establishment of the feudal regime by Salahuddin was not a complete break from the existing social order. In Salahuddin's time all the

15 Ibid., p. 448.
cultivated lands were assigned as fiefs to the army. The size of fiefs varied in a large measure.

1. There was a great number of small fief-holders who were not vassals of generals (amirs). These knights called al-halaqah al khassah (the special wing) constituted the core of the army, and fought in the centre of the battle line.

2. The second part of the army consisted of the amirs along with their military slaves (mamluks). Their fiefs provided them with a considerable revenue, from which they gave to their mamluks a regular pay.

3. The mamluks of the Sultan constituted the third part of the army. They seldom had fiefs comprising entire villages, but their fiefs were more productive than those of the knights.16

Faithful to the principles laid down by the founder of oriental feudalism, the Ayyūbids often assigned to their military iqtaat consisting of parts of estates situated in different places, to prevent the fief-holders winning a following in their districts.17 Fief-holders were responsible for seeing that the land was adequately cultivated and watered for maintaining the dykes, and for seeing that the state dues (kharaj) in money or kind on each crop were collected.18 It was not easy to ascertain the real income of

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17 Ibid., p. 236
18. Studies on the civilization of Islam, p. 75; A social and Economic history of the Near East in the middle ages, p. 236.
the Ayyūbid knights, because it was paid in both cash and kind. Ibn Mammati, a contemporary author wrote of fiefs that produced from 600 to 1,000 dinars a year. In 1181 the average income of a knight was 429 dinars a year. The pay of the Ayyūbid knights was higher than that of the Buyid and Seljūq armed personnel. It is obvious that the expenditure of the Muslim army was constantly on the increase, and that a good portion of the state revenue was spent on the armed forces. In 1189 the amount of 3,462,096 dinars was allocated by the Egyptian treasury for the pay of the army out of the total state budget amounting to 4,653,019 dinars. From the remaining 1,190,923 dinars, 728,248 dinars were affected to the diwan of al-Ādil, 158,203 to amirs and troops whose iqtāt were outside the districts registered for ibra; 13,804 to work on the walls of Cairo; 234,296 to the Arabs; 25,412 to the Kinaniya; 7,403 to Qadis and Shaikhs; 12,540 to the Qaimari, Salihi and Egyptian troops; and 10,725 to the ghazis and Ascalon troops stationed at Dimyat and Tunnis and others. The strain on the treasury was so heavy that from time to time the government used to have recourse to various measures. Sometimes it devalued the currency, while on some occasions it reduced the salary payable to the armed personnel. Salāḥuḍdīn chose the former measure, while his successors the latter.

Besides the increase in military pay, the feudal regime of the Ayyūbids had two features, the inheritability of the feifs and its transitional

20. Ibid., p. 237.
character. Nūruddīn used to leave the fief of a knight to his son. He did so even when a knight was killed in a battle, while his son was still a child. He appointed a trustee to look after his interests until the latter grew up. Salāhuddīn adhered to the same principle; he even made fief hereditary. The main advantage of the provision of the inheritability of the fiefs was that the knights fought valiantly as they were protecting their own property. Salāhuddīn assigned fiefs to his family members also. On his father's arrival in Egypt in 1170, Salāhuddīn assigned to him as iqta Alexandria, Dimyat and al-Buhaira. At the same time his brother Turanshah was assigned the southern provinces in upper Egypt (Qus, Aswan and Aidhab), value (ibra) of which was 266,000 dinars, and a few months later received Bush, Giza district and Samannud in addition. When Taqiuddin was appointed viceroy in Egypt in 1183, he was assigned Alexandria and Dimyat as fiefs, but given in addition al Buhaira, al-Fayyum and Bush as his iqta.

The civilians had ample opportunities of pursuing a good military career and they could reach the position of commanders. All the cultivated lands in Egypt and Syria were not handed over to the military. But a considerable part of it remained in private hands.

The Syrian and Mesopotamian Contingents

23. Ibid., p 237.
To the Egyptian nucleus of his military strength Salāhuddīn gradually added the regular armies of the Syrian and Mesopotamian princes. The strength of these contingents is briefly assessed below.

**Damascus**

After the death of Nūruddīn the feudal forces of his army were split up between Damascus, Aleppo and some minor principalities. Salāhuddīn appointed his nephew Farrukhshah to command the army of Damascus and despatched him with it to deal with the raiding force of the Franks under Humphry of Toron in 1178. Qādī al Fādil mentions the size of his army as less than 1,000 men when he gained victory on this occasion.26

**Hims**

After his first campaign in north Syria (1175-1176) Salāhuddīn gave Hims in fief to his paternal cousin Nasiruddin Muhammad, the son of Shirkūh, in addition to the fief of Rahba which he already held. On his death in 1186 his twelve year old son Shirkūh was confirmed in possession of all the fiefs held by Nasiruddin, and a Kurdish amir, the hajib Badruddin Ibrahim al Hakkari, was placed in command of the citadel.27 The actual figures of their troops are not found in Arabic sources. The troop of the elder Shirkūh, when he held Hims, numbered 500, and this may be taken as the approximate figure.28

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
Hamah

Salāhuddīn 's first governor in Hamah (1176) was his maternal uncle Shihabuddin Mahmud al-Harim, who was succeeded in 1179 by Salāhuddīn 's nephew Taqiuddin Umar. With him was associated the former commander of Damascus, Ibn al Muqaddam, as fiefholder of Barin, Kafr Tab and Raban, and the famous Kurdish general Saifuddin al Mashtub. Taqiuddin and Ibn al Muqaddam had to move northwards to defend Raban against the Seljūq Sultan of Rum, and their joint forces on this expedition are given as 1,000 men.\textsuperscript{29}

Aleppo

The number of regular troopers in Aleppo was approximately 1,000 which remained about the same in Salāhuddīn's period also.

Mosul

The army of Mosul was accompanied by the troops of all the vassal principalities including Hisn, Kaifa and Mardin. Their forces numbered 20,000.

Before setting out on the march that ended at Hittin, Salāhuddīn reviewed the whole force of 12,000 cavalry. These may therefore be distributed approximately as follows: 1,000 of the guard, 4,000 of the Egyptian army, 1000 from Damascus, 1000 from Aleppo and north Syria, and 5,000 from the Jazira, Mosul and Diyar Bakr.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 81.
The Auxiliary Forces

In addition to the regular military personnel of mounted archers and spearmen, Salāhuddīn's army included variable numbers of auxiliary troops, horsemen and soldiers.

Turkmens

Nūrūdīn had made much use of Turkmen auxiliaries, and Salāhuddīn continued this practice. Before the final attack on the castle at Jacob's Ford in 1179, he sent to the Turkmens and their tribes and to the territories for the gathering of their levies thousands of Egyptian dinars to be distributed among their hordes and paid to them as grants for their service as auxiliary troops, and ordered that large quantities of flour should be made ready for the Turkmens and that they should be liberally provided with all necessities.31 The Yaruqi Turkmens played a notable part in the third Crusade, because it was their arrival at a critical moment and their attacks on the supply lines of the Crusading forces below Jerusalem which largely contributed to Richard's withdrawal.32

Kurds

There were large numbers of Kurds who, like the Ayyūbid family itself, were enrolled as members of the regular army and received fiefs like the Turkish mamluks. During the second siege of Mosul in 1185, Salāhuddīn sent Saifūdīn al-Mashtub and some of his Kurdish amirs into

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p. 82.
Kurdistan to occupy the fortresses, and presumably also to act as recruiting agents for his intended operations in Syria. But the protracted and extensive feud which broke out between the Kurds and Turkmens in Diyar Bakr and Mesopotamia towards the end of the same year almost certainly put an end to any hopes of securing Kurdish troops from these provinces.

Arabs

The regular forces also included a number of Arab knights. The Bedouins of Syria supplied Salāhuddīn with auxiliary raiding forces which he employed on several occasions.

Al-Ajnād

The term ajnād, plural of jundi, was used for any soldiers, troopers in the regular forces and used collectively for the whole military forces of a region. As auxiliary troops, their place was taken in Salāhuddīn 's armies by volunteers, who came from far and wide to take part in the war.33 Imāduddin records their presence at Jacob's Ford in 1179 holding that it was some of the volunteer fighters in the holy war who set the grass on fire at the battle of Hittin.34

Foot soldiers

They consisted of the infantry troops who were assigned siege operations either as defenders or attackers. They also included the technicians who worked as hajjarin in charge of mangonels and catapults;

33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p. 84.
naqqābīn, who were given the charge of dugging mines underneath walls, and Khurasaniya, who manned the penthouses.\textsuperscript{35}

In the battle-field the signal for the attack was given by the waving of a flag or by trumpet blast or both. Each tribe had its own flag and regarded it as the rallying centre in battle, for near it was the position of the commander. An example is provided by an incident that occurred in one of the battles between the force of Salāhuddīn and Saifūdīn. Saifūdīn in the field had set up his standard in a low lying part of the plain, where it was out of sight of the men engaged in the battle. At a crucial point in the fight the absence of the flag was noted and the rumour promptly spread that the commander had fled.\textsuperscript{36}

At the siege of Kerak in 1184, after Salāhuddīn had captured the outer works, he found a deep trench separating him from the citadel. His attempts to fill it being for a long time hampered by a heavy fire of arrows and flaming naphtha from the defenders, he was compelled to find some method of protecting his men at work and ordered the erection of a penthouse of beams and bricks under cover of which his men were enabled to proceed with their task.\textsuperscript{37}

For the shooting of arrows in quantity or for shooting larger and heavier arrows than could be managed by the archers, the Muslim troops

\textsuperscript{35} Al Kāmil fil Tārīkh, XI, p. 283, Studies on the civilization of Islam, p.84.
\textsuperscript{36} The social structure of Islam, p. 435.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p. 440.
under Salāhuddīn at the siege of Sihyun used a machine known as a Ziyar, which was composed of a number of crossbows.\textsuperscript{38}

Another way of storming a strong point was by keeping up an unremitting onslaught and giving the defenders no rest. This was Salāhuddīn's method at the siege of Barziya in 1188, when he divided his force into three sections, each of which attacked in turn and without any interval until the Frankish defenders were compelled to surrender. The method was especially effective in this case because the Franks sallied out at the first attack and were attacked by a destructive chain of arrows from the men kept unexpectedly in reserve.\textsuperscript{39}

With the rise of Salāhuddīn in 1139 a new era of military pyrotechnics began. The Muslims used incendiary weapons in every battle. Incendiaries containing gunpowder were the deciding factors at the battle of al-Mansura in 1249 when King Louis IX of France was taken prisoner. Both sides relied heavily on the skills of their engineers but the mastery of the Muslims in the use of incendiary weapons gave them a decided superiority. Indeed it has been said that these weapons were real artillery and the bombardment had a terrifying effect on the Crusaders.\textsuperscript{40}

The Egyptian fleet was revived by Salāhuddīn. He created a special diwan for it and allotted a special source of revenue for its

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, p. 439.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 441.
\textsuperscript{40} Hasan & Hill, \textit{Islamic technology : an illustrated history}, Cambridge, 1986, p. 111.
maintenance. In 1173 on the occasion of the Silician attack on Alexandria, the harbour was crowded with warcraft and merchant vessels. After Salāhuddīn's death interest in the fleet disappeared and decline once more set in. Men had to be pressed into its service. They were seized in the streets. Those who could not free themselves by bribery or other means were chained to their posts during the day and kept in prison at night. As a result of the degeneracy and corruption that prevailed in consequence of this method of recruiting, the word Ustuli (naval man) became a term of abuse.\(^{41}\)

Salāhuddīn set out to recover the border cities (ports) of Syria from the Christian nations and to cleanse Jerusalem of the abomination of unbelief and to rebuild it. Fleet of unbelievers one after another came to the relief of the border cities (ports) from all the regions near Jerusalem which they controlled. They supported them with equipment and food. The fleet of Alexandria could not stand up against them. The Christians had the upper hand in the eastern Mediterranean for a long time, and they had numerous fleet there. The Muslims on the other hand, had for a long time been too weak to offer them any resistance there. In this situation, Salāhuddīn sent Abdul Kārim b. Munqidh, the ruler of Ṣḥayzar, a member of the family of the Banu Munqidh, as his ambassador to Yaqub al Mansur, the Almohad ruler of the Maghrib at that time. Salāhuddīn had taken Shayzar away from the Banu Munqidh but had spared them to use them in

\(^{41}\) *The social structure of Islam*, p. 453.
his government. Now he sent Abdul Kārim a member of that (family) to the
ruler of the Maghrib to ask for the support of his fleet, to prevent the feet
of the unbelievers from achieving their desire of bringing relief to the
Christians in the Syrian border cities (ports). Abdul Kārim carried a letter
from Salāhuddīn to that effect. The letter had been composed by al Qāzi
al Fādil. It began with these words "May God open to our Lord the gates of
success and good fortune". The letter was quoted by the Imam al Isfahani
in the Fath al Qudsi. Al Mansur was greatly annoyed with the members of
the embassy, because they did not address him as commander of the
faithful, but he concealed his annoyance and treated them with great
kindness and honour. He sent them back to Salāhuddīn and did not comply
with his request. This story is evidence of the fact that the ruler of the
Maghrib alone possessed a fleet, that the Christians controlled the eastern
Mediterranean and that the dynasties in Egypt and Syri? at that time and
later were not interested in naval matters or in building up government
fleets.

Egyptian manufacturing activities must have been stimulated by
Salāhuddīn's policies. His crash program for the military necessarily
stimulated those productive forces catering to army and navy needs.
Whatever supplies Salāhuddīn might have inherited from the previous
regime, the rapid expansion of his land and naval forces must have created

43. Ibid , p. 45.
an immediate heavy demand for uniforms and weapons as well as equestrian and naval equipments. Likewise, Salāḥuddīn 's naval needs spurred the ship building industry. As early as 1170 Egyptian shipyards were called upon to supply Salāḥuddīn with pre-fabricated ship sections for use in an offensive operation directed against a Crusader's fortress at Aylah. Further expansion of naval production followed, so that by the spring of 1179, only eight years after Salāḥuddīn's final take-over, the Egyptian Mediterranean fleet, which had been virtually wiped out during the punishing attacks of the Crusaders and their Norman and Byzantine allies, counted as many as eighty operational units, including six galleys and twenty transports.  

With the death of Salāḥuddīn his army dispersed although his son al Malik al 'Aziz could still command the services of over eight thousand knights, each of whom had a more or less, considerable following, making a total which Maqrizī doubtless with some exaggeration, put at two hundred thousand.  

Many military architectural works were also constructed by the Ayyūbid rulers. Salāḥuddīn in 1179 formed the plan of combining Cairo and Fustat into a single fortified unit. In the east, between the two quarters, he began with the citadel, erected on the model of the Crusader's fortresses. Cairo was to be shielded against attacks from Syria by a wall pushed forward as far as the Muqattam hill in the east.  

45. The social structure of Islam, p. 448.
used in this period. It was an arrangement of bold brackets and between each pair of brackets was an opening closed with a trap-door, through which arrows, boiling oil or water could be dropped on to the heads of besiegers attempting to mine the bottom of the walls below.\textsuperscript{47}

**Arabic Military treatises**

Military treatises include such subjects as fortification and siege warfare, camping and constructing palisades, spying and stratagems, battle formations, types of commanders and their qualities etc. In this field two important treatises were written. The first titled as "*Tabsirat arbab al albab fi Kayfiyyat al najat fi-al hurub*" (Instructions of the masters of the skills of the methods of salvation in wars) was written by Murdâ b. Ali al Tarsusi and composed for Salâhuddîn about 1187 A.D. The second "*Al Tadhkirat al harawiyya fi al hiyal al harbiyya*" (Things worth mentioning about warlike stratagems) was by Ali b. Ali bakr al Harawi (d. 1214). It is a very thorough study in twenty-four volumes of the Muslim army in the field and under siege.\textsuperscript{48}

Before setting out on campaign, the armours and weapons stored in the arsenal (zardkhana) were distributed to the troops, and a special allotment of pay was issued to them for campaign needs. Each amir and trooper took with him supplies of provisions and forage, out of his regular grain allowance or purchased at his own expense. Additional supplies were

\textsuperscript{48} *Islamic technology : an illustrated history*, p. 95.
brought from merchants, who established themselves at the base of operations or followed up the expedition.\textsuperscript{49} Imāduddīn relates that when the army reached al-Sadir on the expedition to Ramla in 1177 an announcement was made in the camp that all troops should take supplies for further ten days as a precautionary measure as they would not be able to procure any provisions in the enemy territories. He further said that he rode to the army bazaar to buy in supplies, but prices were already rising. On seeing it he told his ghulam that he had changed his mind. And instead of purchasing new items, he sold whatever he possessed in order to get advantage of enhanced prices.\textsuperscript{50}

During the actual campaign, the knights could not move far from their baggage, where not only their provisions but also their armour was kept. This was put on only when there was an immediate prospect of fighting, hence the disadvantage of being taken by surprise, which in effect meant being caught unarmed.\textsuperscript{51}

**Social life:**

Before coming into contact with the Muslims the Crusaders used to consider themselves far superior to the Muslims in culture and civilization. They held the Muslims to be barbarians and idolaters. They thought that the Muslims worshipped Mohammad as God and that they had

\textsuperscript{49} Studies on the civilization of Islam, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{51} Studies on the civilization of Islam, p. 85.
nothing to do with religion and civilization. But when they got the
opportunity to mix with the Muslims, their misunderstanding about
Muslims disappeared. They also developed mutual trust and confidence in
each other. Even their children intermingled with one another and and
played together. They also exchanged visits without any fear and
hesitation. The Europeans appointed local artisans and servants.

Another great advantage which the Europeans had from their
social interaction with the Muslims was that they raised their standards of
living. Both of them became acquainted with the habit and customs of each
other. They now developed new tests in the matter of fashion, clothing and
home furnishing. In their dress the Franks, imitated the luxury of their
enemies. So when in 1192 Salāhuddin made Henry of Champagne a present
of tunic and turban, the Christian prince ensured him that he did not
despise these items and that he would definitely use them. They also
began to grow beards, wore flowing robes and cover the head with scarf.
Women wore oriental gauze ornamented with sequins and sat on diwans
listening to the lute and rabab. They even veiled in public. Fabrics such as
velvet, muslin etc. also became popular in the West.

The Crusaders started establishing matrimonial relations with the
local population. Edward I suggested that the royal princesses of Europe

should be introduced into the harems of Arab rulers without any hesitation. So that they might influence their Muslim husbands to adopt Christianity.\textsuperscript{56} Richard proposed a marriage between his sister and Salāḥuddīn's brother al Malik al'Ādil and said that if the couple would receive Acre (Akkah) and Jerusalem as a wedding present the Christian-Muslim conflict would end.\textsuperscript{57} The Christians and Muslims in that period developed such close friendly relation at the public level that in their own internal quarrels sometimes the Christians sought the assistance of their Muslim friends against their co-religionists. Similarly the Muslims also sometimes took assistance of their Christian friends against their own co-religionists. As a result of the close contact and neighbourly relations the Christians were influenced to a great extent by the religious thoughts and doctrines of the Muslims, due to which they started venerating the Muslim shrines. The Christians were also influenced by Islamic morality and fraternity. European historians wrote about the Muslim rulers and respected them. The prince of Germani always prided himself on his friendship with Salāḥuddīn

**Economic life**

The Ayyūbid period was prosperous for both merchants and workers. This was partly due to the revival of the bi-metallic monetary system. The mints had considerable stocks of silver, which came partly from Central Asia and partly from Europe. During the reign of Salāḥuddīn the monetary system of Egypt underwent a crisis, owing to the great

\textsuperscript{56} The Crusades, p. 429.

\textsuperscript{57} History of Syria, p. 604.
expenditure incurred on wars with the Crusaders. The dinars he issued were devalued and the dirhams contained only 50% silver. But the successors of Salāhuddīn struck good dinars, and al Malik al Kāmil coined in 1225 the dirham called after him 'al Kāmili' which contained 66% silver. The dirhams put into circulation by the Ayyūbids were so numerous that the thirteenth century may be called the age of silver in Egypt's medieval history. The rulers of Egypt and Syria possessed the great quantities of silver coins. Muslim Syria had even more silver than Egypt, because of its being nearer to the Iranian and Central Asian regions whence the white metal came, and owing to its contacts with the Crusaders, who imported it from Europe. Although in Egypt there were shortages of dirhams but the silver coins issued by the Ayyūbid mints in Syria were of an excellent standard.

In the Ayyūbid period Syria and Mesopotamia expanded considerably. There was a demographic upsurge, notably in the big towns. Outside the gate of Mosul, Damascus and other towns, new quarters were built and everywhere the rulers founded new markets and caravanserais, schools and mosques. So economic life acquired a new impetus and commercial activities were intense. The bazaars of Alexandria and Damascus were frequently visited by Western merchants for Eastern goods.

58. *A social and Economic history of the Near East in the middle ages*, p. 239.
59. Ibid., p. 240.
60. *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, p. 181.
The volume of international trade increased owing to the growth of exchanges with the Italian republics. The activities of the Italian merchants in the Syro-Palestinian towns held by the Crusaders had intensified the commercial relations of the near-East with the Christian occident and resulted in an ever-increasing demand for spices and other products which the Muslim merchants obtained from Arabia and India. Italian merchants exported from northern Syria great quantities of cotton, a raw material for the flourishing industries of Lombardy. The Ayyūbid princes, who needed timber, iron, and other materials for their numerous wars, gave readily granted privileges to the Italian merchants. These privileges or in some cases commercial treaties granted them freedom of commerce, the reduction of duties and tolls, the right to have a fondaco (an inn with big storage space) and other facilities. Pisa concluded a treaty with Salāhuddīn in 1173 undertaking explicitly to import into Egypt iron timber and pitch. And there were the articles on which the church had imposed an embargo. A new treaty was concluded in 1215. Venice sent embassies to the Sultan of Egypt in 1208, 1217, 1238 and 1244 and obtained various privileges. The Venetians also concluded treaties with the princes of Aleppo in 1208, 1225, 1229. There was a steadily increasing number of European merchants who visited the ports of Muslim Egypt, Alexandria and Dimyat and penetrated from the coastal towns of Syria, still in possession of the Christians, to the emporia of the Muslim hinterland.61

Under the Ayyūbids Indian trade became the favourite form of investment. It lay in the hand of a company who called themselves Karamites and had their headquarters in Kus and Cairo. The Karimis were shipowners who carried the Indian spices to the Near-East. The natural products which were eagerly requested in the European markets were first of all spices and pepper, imported from India and brought by Venice and other mercantile organisations at high prices in the Egyptian emporia. The Fair of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica reflected all the trade activities of the Near-East. Syrian damasks and Egyptian linen were among the wares sold there.

Consequent upon the development of international trade and monetary transactions was the establishment of credit and banking. Bill of exchange, already in use among Greeks as well as Jews and Arabs was introduced by the Christian merchants of the Italian cities in their dealing with one another. Money was deposited in various banking centres to meet these paper transactions.

In Egypt the control of trade activity became very elaborate, since trade was the chief source of revenue for the sultan. Ships sailing into the harbour of Alexandria had their rudders and sails stripped and a chain was

64. *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, p. 184.
65. Ibid., p. 181.
66. Ibid., p. 191.
drawn across the entrances of the harbour at night to prevent ships from being stolen away under cover of darkness before payment of customs dues. Lists of names of visitors and inventories of cargoes on incoming ships were communicated to the central administration in Cairo at once by carrier pigeons and instructions were immediately issued to the local authorities in the same way. Usually a traveller had to present a letter of introduction from one of the Egyptian agents stationed abroad in numerous European cities to represent Egyptian interests, a kind of medieval consular crops. Each foreigner paid the fee of a gold piece on landing. He was not allowed to wander inside the country at large, especially towards the Red Sea, which the Sultans zealously guarded against alien infiltration.67

The traveller Ibu Jubayr who visited Egypt in Sultan Salāhuddīn's time says that alms tax (zakāt) was taken from all Muslims entering the country, which was levied at 5-6 places at the rate of 2.5% each time.68 This made a total customs duty of 15% of the value. In the early period the basis of the tax was one tenth, in Salāhuddīn's time a fifth of the value, but it varied between 10% or less and 35% or more according to the nature and place of origin of the goods. The tenth became the favourite levy; for example Pisa paid it on wood, iron and pitch i.e. entirely on articles which Egypt required to import. Precious metals were for brief periods duty free but as a rule the tax on them was 2.5 to 10%. The policy of the Egyptian

67 Ibid., p 194.
tariff system was to attract the country certain raw products which it could not do without and were not produced in it. These were principally wood and iron and all the articles required for ship-building and the munitions of war. Wood, iron and pitch recur continually in all commercial treaties. The Egyptians did everything they could to encourage such imports. On the other hand Europeans knew that Egypt required these articles to maintain its military efficiency.

Muslim citizens paid no taxes except the Qurānic alms, of which government received actually only three-eights, while the rest was distributed among awqaf and charitable funds. Amongst the more permanent sources of revenue were the profits from various monopolies, death duties, tolls on ships and bridges, profits from mint and fees from the assaying office. Zakāt was taken from every Muslim who was free and not physically incapacitated and was levied on his monetary capital, livestock and garden of orchard produce. Monetary capital was defined as gold coin, securities and merchandise. Non-Muslims paid Jizya if they were free men and of full age. But women, boys, slaves or lunatics were exempted from this tax.

The tax in Salāhuddīn's time levied in three rates - upper, middle and lower - according to the estimated wealth of the payer. The upper rate amounted to 4.16 dinars, the middle 2.08 and the lower to a dinar. The tax

69. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
70. Ibid., p. 19.
71. The social structure of Islam, p. 391.
72. Ibid., p. 392.
was payable annually at the new moon of the month of Muharram. A special class of jizya payer was constituted by certain Armenians in upper Egypt and at Aswan. They paid a dinar and 2 qirats per head, but no official was at liberty to demand, the tax without the express permission of the Sultan. In general, if a person liable to jizya was absent from his town or village for a long period and if he was the owner of a house there, the tax could be deducted from the rent of the house. Decision on this point rested, however, with the chief revenue officer of the district.\(^{73}\)

The government allotted a great part of the Kharaj as fiefs to the military. If additional funds were needed, new taxes were levied. Before this period *mukus* system was spread there. But Salāhuddīn abolished the *mukus* (non canonical taxes) which cost Salāhuddīn's treasury 100,000 dinars annually. This was an evidence of his respect for the canonical law.\(^{74}\) But these non-canonical taxes were restablished by Al Malik-al Azīz, who imposed them with raising rates. Al Malik al Kāmil imposed new taxes called *huluk* (duties). His successor Malik al Ādil II, reduced the rates of *mukus*. In Syria also these commercial taxes were a heavy burden. Sometimes a new prince would abolish them and a little while afterwards levy them again, as al Malik as Jawwad did when he became prince of Damascus in 1238. The collection of the *mukus* diminished the profits of the petty merchants. As such their condition became worse than that of the wholesale merchants.\(^{75}\)

\(^{73}\) Ibid., p. 392.

\(^{74}\) *Hamdard Islamicus*, p. 10.

\(^{75}\) *A social and Economic history of the Near East in the middle ages*, p. 241.
Salahuddin never cared for money or for prudent management of his revenues. He spent the revenues of Egypt to gain Syria, the revenues of Syria to gain Mesopotamia, those of Mesopotamia to conquer Palestine", and now found himself without adequate resources to meet the cost of weapons, food, forage, equipment, and the pay of the auxiliary troops. In consequence, he could do little to ease the difficulties of the feudal troops, who were either forced into debt or into pressing their cultivators.76

Apart from widespread collection of non-canonical taxes there were other negative economic developments in Egypt which caused Salahuddin's concern. For instance, in 1184 Egypt's agricultural production was hit by a catastrophic flood of the Nile; troops stationed in Egypt were afflicted by an outbreak of the plague; and the mints of Egypt were having difficulty maintaining the regular high standard of their gold coins. Considering that Salahuddin was kept informed about the current crisis in his domains, as he could not be unaware of what was going on in Egypt and in the Hijaz. However after his permanent move to Syria he was too occupied with his war effort to be concerned with the state of the Egyptian economy, except for imposing on it ever-increasing taxes.

Such a total subordination of Egyptian resources to Salahuddin's military needs in Syria provoked apprehensive concern in Cairo. There were fears that such an exploitative policy might jeopardize economic gains achieved in Egypt during the first decade of Salahuddin's new policy

as responsible for the rapid economic deterioration. Some of them even protested directly to the Ayyūbid leader. For example Qādi al Ḥādīl warned Salāḥuddīn not to demand too much because of Egypt's economic difficulties. Such and similar entreaties proved of no avail because Salāḥuddīn's mind and energy were totally absorbed by the prosecution of his wars in Syria. To this aim he sacrificed economic interests of Egypt and insisted that all of Egypt's army and resources must be placed at his disposal. During the confrontation with the third Crusade, when Salāḥuddīn decided to expand the range of taxes imposed on the Egyptian population, and an income tax of 1 percent was proposed, he found this absolutely inadequate considering the costs of the war.77

Salāḥuddīn's political achievements won him immortal glory but that could be done only at the cost of economic interests of the country. The military expenditure caused by recurrent demands for costly replacements in personnel, equipment and animals and by requests for additional cash, put great burden on the financial resources of Egypt. In general the Egyptian population suffered as more and more of its resources were absorbed. Special taxes were imposed on the Muslims. Taxes on non-Muslim Egyptian minorities were also expanded. For precautionary military reasons the town of Tinnis was completely evacuated of its civil population - a measure which spelt the end of that once flourishing urban centre. Again large-scale government purchases of food-stuffs greatly

77. Ibid., p. 14.
increased prices of commodities, especially in the metropolitan area where the price of beans in 1192 increased by 100 percent. It was in that period, however that Salāḥuddīn proceeded with one constructive intervention in Egyptian economy relating to the problem of coinage. In Salāḥuddīn's time Egypt faced the problem of shortage of gold which had its detrimental effect on the quality of the Egyptian dinars. In 1187 the year of the great triumph over the Crusaders - a major monetary reform was attempted, probably aimed at removing debased coinage from circulation. The effects of that reform proved shortlived. During the critical struggle against the Third Crusade, production at the Egyptian mints decreased and their coins suffered from debasement.

When the war was over, Salāḥuddīn once again took keen interest in the matters of economic administration. Nine days after the conclusion of armistice with the Crusaders, he returned to Jerusalem and proceeded with appointments of trustworthy men to positions of responsibility. He reopened, founded and funded several colleges (madrasahs), hospitals and charitable institutions. He ordered the crops from the region of Blaqa to be used as advances of grain for peasants.\footnote{Ibid., p. 15.}

**Industry**

The Ayyūbids brought about a great change in the structure and output of Egyptian industries. Their products were distinguished by their excellent quality. Manufacture of glass in Syria and Palestine was a
flourishing industry. The glass vessels produced in Aleppo, Rakka and other towns of Syria were of fine quality and were highly prized in markets.  

The new styles of pottery and metal work which developed in the twelfth century were important technological innovations. Sugar-cane plantations spread to North Africa and from there to Spain and Sicily, but the West became acquainted with the industry only during the Crusades with the settlement of the Franks in the Syrian coast. The technology of sugar refining was also transferred from Islam to China. Great quantities of Syrian and Egyptian sugar were exported to other countries.

The leather industry flourished in several Islamic countries to such a degree that it formed a significant export. Cairo was noted for its trade as well as its manufacturing. Indeed, the leather trade was so extensive in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D that in Aleppo for instance, taxes levied on its tanneries exceeded the total of those from the rest of its industries. The famous linen manufacturers of Tinnis and Dimyat produced those excellent products which were so much esteemed in all parts of the Near-East and elsewhere. In Bab, a small town in Northern Syria, muslin was produced, and in some villages of the Hauran carpets and robes.

80. *Islamic technology : an illustrated history*, p. 222.
82. *Islamic technology : an illustrated history*, p. 199.
Wool was the oldest fibre used in Muslim textiles. Fine woollen cloths were produced in Egypt and other Islamic lands, and different qualities of sheep's wool were recognised; some were considered suitable for weaving into cloth, others for carpets. The inner hair coat of the Angora goat known as mohair (from the Arabic Mukhayyar), was used for fine shawls and for the smooth cloth of coats, while camel hair was to be found in some other fabrics. Flax from Egypt was also exported to various Muslim countries as well as to Europe where it predominated until about 700 A.H./1300 A.D. Certain industrial cities such as Tinnis and Dimyat became famous for their linen textiles.\(^{84}\)

Similarly, dyeing was also an important and developed industry of that period which was closely related to the manufacture of textiles. The privet henna (lawsonia inervius) a source of red dye, was grown in Syria and Egypt. The main source of blue dyes was an indigo plant (nil or nila) (Indigofera tinctoria), which was grown in most Islamic lands, especially Palestine.\(^{85}\) The artistic use of colour and pattern in Muslim silk textiles became an inspiration to European designers. It can also be seen in the decorative designs of the garments worn by subjects in French, German and Dutch Paintings.\(^{86}\)

The use of paper was not common in Europe until the Crusaders returned from the East in the later middle ages with the exact technique of its manufacture.\(^{87}\)

\(^{84}\) Islamic technology: an illustrated history, p. 180.
\(^{85}\) Ibid., p. 175.
\(^{86}\) Ibid., p. 183.
\(^{87}\) Crusade, Commerce and Culture, p. 238.
Under the Ayyūbid administration the building industry also entered a boom period. To a considerable extent that industry responded to civilian demands, such as rehabilitation of Fustat, which had suffered from a devastating fire and vandalism at the time of the Frankish attack of 1168, the replacement of houses which the Crusaders destroyed in Bilbays in that same year, the reconstruction of Cairo where it was damaged in the destructive street fighting during the Sudanese rebellion of 1169 or the foundation of educational institutions such as Shafiite and Malikite madrasahs in Cairo. Various defence projects such as fortification in the capital and in Alexandria absorbed a large proportion of skilled and unskilled labour. 88

Apart from these major industries there were some minor centres of home industries also in that period which produced different items such as carpets, robes etc. 89

There can be no denying the fact that the Islamic industry had an appreciable effect on the West. This is evident from a study of Arabic and Islamic words for textiles which have found their way into European languages. For example a good number of words used in the English languages such as damask, muslin, satin and mohair, fully point to this fact. 90

The main factor which boosted industry and trade under the Ayyūbids was the fact that when the Europeans came into contact with the

88. Hamdard Islamicus, p. 10.
89. A social and Economic history of the Near East in the middle ages, p. 242.
90. Islamic technology: an illustrated history, p. 179.
Muslims, they developed new tastes in perfumes, spices and other products of Arabia and India, as a result of which incense, scents, numerous fragrant oils and aromatic plants of the East became their favourites. They also became acquainted with ginger, alum and aloes. These items were considered very precious in the West.\textsuperscript{91}

**Agriculture** -

The regime of the Ayyūbids was undoubtedly less detrimental to the agriculture of Egypt and Syria than other feudal regimes in the oriental world. The fiefholders were held responsible for the maintenance of dykes and irrigation canals, bridges and tracks and had to see that the estates assigned to them were properly cultivated. Fiefholders supervised the harvest and also spent sometime on their estates to pasture the horses in spring. The peasants were effectively protected by government, their rents being strictly fixed so that they could not be overtaxed. Sultan al Malik al Kāmil (1218-36) made great efforts to raise Egypt's agricultural output.\textsuperscript{92} He personally supervised the maintenance of the dams, imposed the same duty on his amirs and punished them if they were negligent. The agricultural output of Egypt increased considerably during his reign. But a change took place after his death. Many dykes were neglected and broken, and the cultivated area decreased once more. It seems, on the other hand that independently of the efforts made by the government there was always


\textsuperscript{92} A *social and Economic history of the Near East in the middle ages*, p. 237-238.
a spontaneous colonisation, which increased the cultivated area. A report from the year 1181 refers to the confiscation of the harvest of the Bedouin in the provinces of ash-sharkiyya and al Buhaira. In general, however, it was more than probable that the reign of the Ayyūbids was a flourishing period for Egypt's agriculture. Wheat was exported to the Hijaz and sometimes to Syria. The problem of the nomadic tribes in this period was less serious than before for agriculture in Egypt and Syria. The Bedouin tribes which immigrated into central Palestine at the end of the Ayyūbid period became peasants.\footnote{Ibid., p. 238.}

But Egypt suffered at the same time from the consequences of a terrible famine and epidemic which had far-reaching consequences for its demographic development. In the second half of the twelfth century the chroniclers seldom mention outbreaks of pestilence. Apart from an epidemic in Dimyat in 1150 they speak of pestilence in Cairo in the year 1179. These few epidemics were apparently local ones, but that which raged through all the provinces of Egypt in 1201 and in 1202 was undoubtedly a major catastrophe. Following a terrible famine, plague broke out and countless people died. The first hand account given by Abdul Latif al Baghdādī is eloquent testimony to the terrible number of the victims. In many villages only empty houses remained. In some quarters of Cairo almost all the inhabitants had died. This epidemic was the second great demographic catastrophe in Egypt's medieval history. There were additional
epidemics in 1236 and 1237. It is true that the decrease of population was not equal everywhere. The decline of the Fayyum was probably much faster than that of other provinces. It is clear from the fact that it had 198 settlements in Byzantine times which was reduced to 100 in the year 1315.

Apparently, Levasseur's law did not operate after the famine and plague of 1201-2. Undernourishment and the disequilibrium between sugar and proteins in the food of the poorer classes was no less portentous a factor in Egypt than elsewhere. Both Abdul Latif and al Maqrizi have written on the malnutrition of the Egyptians. Abdul Latif, an excellent observer, describes how the poor ate carcasses and reptiles, while Maqrizi strangely enough was aware of their unbalanced diet. He knew that the inhabitants of upper Egypt had plenty of sugar from the dates and sugar cane, those of lower Egypt colocasia (arum lilies) had almost nothing.94

The development of prices and wages in the first half of the thirteenth century shows clearly how much the population had decreased. Prices of grain went down considerably, and the real wages of workers rose. The price of 100 kg of wheat which had been one dinar on the average in the twelfth century was only 0.7 dinar after the great famine but the price of bread rose. An Egyptian ratl of bread cost 0.0035 - 0.004 dinar in the eleventh century, its price under the last Ayyūbids was probably on the average 0.0043 dinar, a consequence of the general rise of wages.95

94 Ibid., p 239.
95 Ibid., p 239.
Many products of Egypt became popular among the Crusaders such as sesame, carob, millet and rice, lemons, melons, apricots and shallots. For many years apricots were called the plums of Damascus. The Franks now became acquainted with new tastes, especially in perfumes, spices, sweetmeats and other tropical products of Arabia. Ginger was for the first time added to the Crusaders menu in Egypt.\textsuperscript{96}

In addition to the use of water-wheels for irrigation, a number of canals were also dug to facilitate irrigation of agricultural lands. Cultivation of sugarcane was officially encouraged to meet the great demand for it among both natives and Europeans in the West. Earlier, only honey was known to the Europeans as a sweet item. They became first acquainted with sugar in Syria. When they introduced it into the west, it became very popular there. Special attention was paid in this period for the conservation of forests also. Besides as a result of the Crusades, several new plants and crops were popularized in the regions of the Western Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{97}


\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Islamic dynasties of the Arab East}, p. 37.
Chapter-IV

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES
Being educated and cultured themselves, the Ayyūbid rulers were munificent patrons of learning and educational activities. Large numbers of madrasah type schools were built by them in different parts of the Empire not only to educate people but also to popularize knowledge of Sunni Islam. Ayyūbid dynasties arose and established schools as a counteraction to help people learn the true faith. So it is natural that in most of these schools the main attention was given to religious studies. Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi was a great builder of academic institutions. Although the Ayyūbids were Shafiites, they built schools for imparting instruction in all the four Sunnite systems of religio-juridical thought. In Syria there was no school for the Hanbalite and Malikite systems of theology before the Ayyūbid period, but the Ayyūbids founded schools for them. Salāhuddīn founded a school near the tomb of Imam Shafi‘ī. He converted the house of the Fatimid wazir Abbas into a school of Hanafi jurisprudence which was popularly known as the Suyufi school. He built the Sharīfiyah school in Egypt for Shafi‘ī jurisprudence, and in Egypt he built another school for Maliki jurisprudence. This school was known as the Qumhiliya school. Izz al Din Ibn Shaddād counted in Damascus 34 Hanafite schools, 40 Shafiite schools, 3 Malikite and 10 Hanbalite schools.

The time of the Ayyūbids was the golden age of Egypt for the promotion of learning. Schools were extensively founded and richly

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endowed not only by the Sultan but also by princes, princesses, ministers, learned men and employees. Whenever a mosque or a school was established, Sultan Salāhuddīn was in the habit of fixing adequate endowment to suffice for the employees and students as well as to keep the establishment in a good state. When Salāhuddīn established al Nasiriyah, he endowed it with baths, a bakery and a shop.5

The Prince Taqī al Dīn Umār b. Shahinshāh, the nephew of Salāhuddīn, bought the magnificent Fatimid house called "Manazil al Izz" (the house of glory) and made it a school for Shafiite jurisprudence. He endowed this school with baths called 'Hammam al Dhahab' and an inn known as 'Funduq al Nakhlah' (Hotel of the Oasis).6

Members of the royal family and some prominent public personages also contributed to the establishment of educational institutions. Ayshah the wife of Shūja al Dīn al Dimāgh made her husband's house after his death a school for Shafii and Hanafī sects and endowed it with a third of the Dimāghiyyah's farm, a portion of Rajm al Hayyāt, a portion of Isma'ili's baths, a portion of a certain meadow Sharkhub's farm and other properties.7

_**Al Madrasah al Shamiyyah al Juwwaniyyah**_ was founded by princess Sittushshām, the mother of Husām al Dīn and the daughter of Ayyūb who assigned this school for Shafi‘ī theologians and students and

5. *History of Muslim Education*, p. 213.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 214.
endowed it with the whole farm called 'Bezinah', eleven and a half portions out of 24 from the farm called Jirmāna, 14 1/7 portions out of 24 from the farm called 'al Tinah', half of the manor called 'Majidal al Suwaydah' and the whole farm called "Majidal al-Qaryah". The expenditure of this income was detailed as follows -

First, the school was to be properly maintained. Any damage caused to the building of the school was immediately repaired. In addition, oil lamps, mats, carpets and other requirements of the school were bought and paid for.

Secondly, each teacher of the school was given one sack of wheat, one sack of barley and 130 Nāsiri dirhams per month.

Thirdly, one tenth of the rest was given to the supervisor of the school.

Fourthly, the sum of 300 Nāsiri dirhams was allocated for distribution of sweets and fruits on different occasions.

Finally the remaining sum was given to theologians, students and the staff.

It was required that all the staff members of the school should be members of the Sunni sect, and that they should be honest, pious and chaste.8

Al Maqrizi has mentioned eight zawiyas (sections) which existed in the mosque of Amr for the promotion of learning, the expenses of which

8. Ibid., p. 215.
were met by the income from the endowments assigned for them. Some of these were -

*Zawiyat al Imam al Shafi‘i* which was endowed with land in Sandābis by Sultan al Aziz b. Salāhuddīn.\(^9\) *Al zawiyah al Kamāliyyah* which was endowed with an inn in Cairo by Kamāl al Din Samannudi,\(^10\) *Al zawiyah al Tajīyyah* which was endowed with a number of houses in Cairo by Taj al Din al Sathi.\(^11\)

In the Ayyūbid times, the stipends paid to teachers varied due to several factors such as endowment allotted to the institution, the position and reputation of the teachers and the generosity and integrity of the political leaders.

Salāhuddīn appointed Najm al Din al Khabūshānī to teach in *al-Madrasah al Salāhiyyah* on the following emoluments.

40 Sālahi dinars per month for the teaching work; 10 Sālahi dinars per month for looking after the emoluments; 60 Egyptian pounds of bread daily, 2 waterskins full of Nile water.\(^12\)

After some time when Taqī al Dīn b. Ruzain held this office, he was paid only half of that amount. But when Taqī al Dīn b. Daqīq al Id occupied the post, he was given only a quarter of the paid emoluments.

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10. Ibid., p. 214.
11. Ibid., p. 214.
Later when another scholar al Sāhib Burhan al Din took charge of teaching in this school, he was given the full pay.

Majd al Dīn Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Jabṭī was appointed as lecturer on the salary of eleven dirhams per month in al Madrasah al Suyufiyyah which was founded by Sultan Salāhuddīn for imparting education on Hanafi jurisprudence.\(^{13}\)

Salāhuddīn defrayed the entire expenses of the madrasah at Cairo, amounting to about 2,000 Egyptian dinars per month. In Damascus the salaries of teachers amounted to 30,000 dinars annually which was paid from the public treasury.\(^{14}\)

**Educational system**

Residential education was available to Muslim students even in early periods of time when the present school system was not established. Both teachers and students resided as a rule in these residential schools. The teachers appointed to teach in them were jurists, theologians and traditionists, who received their salary from endowments dedicated to these institutions.\(^{15}\) Ibn Jubayr has described the various facilities that were granted to the students. Every student was offered a lodging in which he resided. Regular grants were also provided to them to cover all their needs.

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In Alexandria several colleges and hostels were built for students and pious men of other lands.\textsuperscript{16}

In \textit{al-Nasiriyah}, built by Salāhuddīn in Egypt, professors and students were lodged in the college which had several lecture rooms, libraries, laboratories and other adjuncts. In \textit{Nizamiyyah} also there were residential areas which were occupied by students and teachers.\textsuperscript{17} The \textit{Mustansariyyah Madrasah} was also a residential institution which was equipped with a kitchen that provided meat and bread to all the inmates.\textsuperscript{18}

In this period stay in the residential schools was considered an essential part of education. In these residential institutions only students of good character were admitted. There were separate institutions for imparting education to girls. Students residing on the upper floor were required to walk slowly and not drop heavy things on the floor so that they might not disturb the people below. They were also under instructions not to stand at the entrance of the building or in its hall, nor go in and out frequently, nor look into other people's room. In short, all possible measures were taken to ensure that the students avoided all bad habits.\textsuperscript{19}

These schools were considered so prestigious institutions in society that it was not possible for anyone to get job in the government who

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Stanley Lane Poole, \textit{Cairo, Sketches of its history, monuments and social life}, London, 1898, p. 190.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Khuda Bakhsh, \textit{Contributions to the history of Islamic civilization}, vol. II, Calcutta, 1930, p. 150.
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{History of Muslim Education}, p. 222.
\end{itemize}
did not receive his education in a Madrasah. Medical practitioners were not allowed to practice until they did not pass the examination to obtain the certificate.\textsuperscript{20}

Schools established in the Ayyūbid period

Under the Ayyūbids education was generously patronised. A great number of educational institutions were built in different cities not only by the Sultans but also by princes, princesses, merchants and common people. The main schools founded by them are listed below.\textsuperscript{21}

A. Schools founded by Sultans

In Egypt

School
al Nāsirīyyah adjoining the 'Atīq Mosque
al Qumhiliyyah
al Suyūfiyyah
al-Nasiriyah in al-Qarāfah
al-Ādil
al-Kāmilīyyah
al-Sālīhiyyah

In Jerusalem

al-Salāhiyyah
al-Afdāliyyah
al-Nahwiyyah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Founder</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al Nāsirīyyah adjoining the 'Atīq Mosque</td>
<td>Salāhuddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al Qumhiliyyah</td>
<td>Salāhuddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al Suyūfiyyah</td>
<td>Salāhuddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nasiriyah in al-Qarāfah</td>
<td>Salāhuddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ādil</td>
<td>al-ʿĀdil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kāmilīyyah</td>
<td>al Kāmil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sālīhiyyah</td>
<td>Salih-Najmuddīn Ayyūb</td>
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<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Founder</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Salāhiyyah</td>
<td>Salāhuddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Afdāliyyah</td>
<td>al-Afdal b. Salāhuddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nahwiyyah</td>
<td>al Mu'azzām &quot;Isa b. al-ʿĀdil&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p. 60.
In Damascus

al Salāhiyyah  Salāhuddīn
al-'Azīziyyah  al'Azīz b. Salāhuddīn
al-Zāhiriyah al Barraniyyah  al Zāhir b. Salāhuddīn
al-'Ādilīyyah al-Kubrā  al Malik al-Ādil
al-Mu"azzamiyyah  al Mu'azzām 'Īsā
Dāral-Hadith al Ashrafīyyah  Müsa b. al-'Ādil (al-Barraniyyah)
al-'Azīziyyah  al'Azīz b. 'Ādil

B. Schools founded by people of high rank (princes, princesses, ministers and Amirs)

In Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Qutbiyyah</td>
<td>Qutb al Din Khusraw</td>
<td>Amir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Manazil al&quot;lzz</td>
<td>Taqi al Din-&quot;Umar</td>
<td>Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Fādiliyyah</td>
<td>al Qādi al Fādil</td>
<td>Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Azkashiyyah</td>
<td>Sayf al Din Ayazkuj</td>
<td>Amir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sayfiyyah</td>
<td>Sayf al Din b. Ayyūb</td>
<td>Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-&quot;Ashūriyyah</td>
<td>&quot;Ashūra&quot;bint Sarūh</td>
<td>Amir's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qutbiyyah</td>
<td>&quot;Ismat al Din bint al&quot;Ādil</td>
<td>Princess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sharifiyyah</td>
<td>al Sharīf Fakhr al Din</td>
<td>Amir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sāhibiyyah</td>
<td>Abdullah b. Ali</td>
<td>Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Fakhrīyyah</td>
<td>Fakhr al Dīn al Bārumi</td>
<td>ustādār of al Kāmil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sayramiyyah</td>
<td>Jamāl al Dīn b. Sayram</td>
<td>Amir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Fā'iziyyah</td>
<td>Sharaf al Dīn Hibatallah</td>
<td>Minister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. Ibid., p. 61.
In Jerusalem
al-Maymūniyyah
Maymun b. Abdullāh
Amir
al-Badriyyah
Badr al Din b. Abi al Qāsim
Amir

In Damascus
al Sāhibiyyah
Rabi'ah bint Najmuddin
Princess
al-Farrukhshāhiyyah
Farrukhshāh b. Shahinshah
Prince
al-Adhrāwiyyah
Adhrā bint Nural Dawlah
Princess
al-Taqwiyyah
Taqi al Din b. Shāhinshāh
Prince
al-Shāmiyyah al Barraniyyah
Sittal-Shām b. Najmuddin
Princess
al-Shāmiyyah al Juwwāniyyah
Sittal-Shām b. Najmuddin
Princess
al-Mārdāniyyah
Khātun'Azziāh
the wife of Muazzām
al-Bahnasiyyah
Majd al Din al Bahnasī
Minister
al-Atabikiyyah
Khātun bint "Izzal Din
the wife of Ashraf
al-Izziyyah al Barrāniyyah
Izzal Din al A'zami
the deputy of the king in Sarkhad
al-Izziyyah al Juwwāniyyah
Izzal Din al A'zami
the deputy of the king in Sarkhad
al-Izziyyah al Hanafiyyah
izz-al Din al A'zami
the deputy of the king in Sarkhad

C. By Commoners

In Egypt
Ibn al-Arsūfi
Abdullāh b. Arsufi
Merchant
al-Masrūriyyah
Masrur al Safadi
Servant
al-Ghaznawiyyah
Husam al Din Qāymāz
Freedman
Ibn Bashiq
Pilgrims from al Takrūr
Freedman
### In Damascus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Founder/Title</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-&quot;Asrنيیyah</td>
<td>Sharaf al Dīn b&quot;Asrun</td>
<td>Qādi al Qudāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Falāًکییyah</td>
<td>Falāk al Dīn Sulaiman</td>
<td>half brother of al-'Ādil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Iqbāًییyah</td>
<td>Jamāl al Dīn Iqbāl</td>
<td>Freedman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mansūًرییyah</td>
<td>Shibl al Dīn Kāfur</td>
<td>Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-'Umāًرییyah</td>
<td>Abu-'Umar al Maqdisi</td>
<td>Qādi al Qudāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar al Hadīًث al Urwiyyah</td>
<td>Sharaf al Dīn b'Urwaḥ</td>
<td>Theologian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ruwāًییyah</td>
<td>Zaki al Dīn b. Ruwāhah</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sarīًمییyah</td>
<td>Sarim al Dīn b. Azbak</td>
<td>Freedman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* al-Shibliyyah al Barraniyyah</td>
<td>Shibl al Dīn Kāfur</td>
<td>Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Rūًکنییyah</td>
<td>Rukn al Dīn Mankurs</td>
<td>Freedman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Dawla&quot;ییyah</td>
<td>Jamāl al Dīn al Dawla'ī</td>
<td>Theologian</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Dimāًگییyah</td>
<td>The wife of Shu'ja'uddin b. al Dimā'gh</td>
<td>Theologian</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Medical Schools

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Profession</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Dīًکhwāًرییyah</td>
<td>Muhadhdhab al Dīn Dikhwār</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Dunaysariyyah</td>
<td>Imād-al Dīn al Dunaysari</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Repeaters (*Mu'id*)

There was a post of *Mu'id* (repeater) in most of the schools in the Ayyūbid period. They sat with the audience and listened to the lecture.

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* Shibl al Din died in 623, but in accordance with his will the school was built posthumously (in 626).

given by the professor. When the lecture was over, they explained the
difficult parts of the lecture and assisted the students in comprehending the
topic. In al Nasiriyah Salāhuddīn appointed Mu'īd to assist Najm al Din al
Khabūshānī in imparting education to the students. In Madrasah al
Salihiyah which was established by al Salīh Najmuddīn Ayyūb there were
two teachers and two Mu'īds.24

Sometimes a man could be a teacher in one school and a Mu'īd in
another. Al-Nusair b. al Tabbākh was a teacher in al-Madrasah al
Qutbiyyah and a Mu'īd in al Salihiyah, where the famous Ibn Abd-al
Salām was the professor.25

The Mu'īd could also perform the duty of a teacher. In Madrasah al
Nasiriyah 10 repeaters taught for 30 years without any professors.26

Libraries

In the Ayyūbid period good libraries were established by the
rulers, princes and the learned men. Every school and institution had a
reference library, enriched by manuscript donations and acquisitions.
Scholars spent a great deal of time copying books, which ultimately found
their way to school or mosque libraries. The rapid growth and spread of
libraries in practically every city of the Islamic world was made possible
by the introduction of paper from China to the middle East in this period.

24. Ibid., p. 144.
25. Ibid., p. 144.
26. Ibid., p. 144.
Paper mills were established at Baghdad, Tripoli in Syria and many other centres in Egypt and Alexandria to cope with the increasing demand of paper by scribes. Tremendous accumulations of manuscripts filled the palace libraries of the caliph as well as all the famous learned institutions. These libraries were served as academics and translation bureaus also. Binders and attendants were employed to look after the safety and management of the books. The librarian looked after the administration of the library. He supervised the catalogueing of the collections as well as gave advice and all possible facilities to the learners. He issued orders for the binding or repair of any book in need of it. Copyists were also employed in almost all the important libraries. Some major libraries are briefly described below:

1. Madrasah Fādiliyyah was founded by the Qādi al Fādil in 580 A.H./1184 A.D. There was a library attached to the Madrasah in which al Fādil incorporated the books which he had received from Salāhuddin.

2. Al Madrasah Babriyyah

3. Al Madrasah Mansuriyyah

4. Al Madrasah al Nasiriyyah

5. Al Madrasah al Hajaziyyah

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6. Al Madrasah Takrisiyyah
7. Al Madrasah Mankutamiyyah
8. Al Madrasah Malikiyyah
9. Al Madrasah Sabaqiyyah
10. Al Madrasah Mahmudiyyah
11. Al Madrasah Basiriyyah
12. Al Madrasah al Zayiyyah
13. Al Madrasah Amir Jamāluddin

In addition to these libraries attached to the colleges, there were many private libraries also which were established by learned men. When Salāhuddīn overthrew the Fatimid dynasty, he dissolved the library of this dynasty by destroying the heretical books, selling some in auctions and presenting the rest to his secretaries al Qādī al Fādil and Imāduddīn al Isfahani.

The Library of Jamāluddin Qīfī
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Al-Qīfī known also by the title al Qādī al-Akram, had a fine library in Halab. He was such a great bibliophile that authors and book owners travelled to him from distant places to present him with new works and rare manuscripts in order to receive his liberal remuneration in return. His library is reported to have been worth 50,000 dinars, which by his will he left to Al-Nasir, the ruler of that city.

The Library of Imāduddin Isfahani

Imāduddin Isfahani had a huge library. He was a great lover of books. When Fatimid books were selling in low prices, he hurried to the spot and took part in the auctions. The wonderful collections he chose for himself cost some hundreds of dinars but Salāhuddīn did not let him pay anything and made him a present of them.\(^33\)

The Library of Muwaffaq al Din b. Matrān

Al Muwaffaq al Din b. Matrān, the medical scholar, was a great bibliophile. In his library he left about 10,000 volumes. Being a notable calligrapher he enriched his collection by copying several books himself. He also employed three scribes for the same purpose. Most of the books he preserved were collected and revised by himself with useful marginal comments inserted.\(^34\) Three copyists were continually working for the library of Muwaffaq al Dīn al Matrān. The calligrapher Jamāl al Din called Ibn Jammālah was one of these employees.\(^35\)

The Library of Qādi al Fādíl

After the conquest of Egypt Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi presented several books to Qādi al Fādíl. In the course of time he built a well-stocked library which contained as many as 68,000 volumes.\(^36\) He also founded a library

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33. Ibid., p. 110.
34. Ibid., p. 109.
attached to the Fādiliyyah madrasah in which he incorporated the books which he had received from Salāhuddin.37

In the Ayyūbid period, the garments of learned persons were different from those of the public. They used to wear very big turbān, an end of which hung down between their shoulders. Sometimes it was so long that it reached the saddle of a rider's mount. Some learned men used to put a fancy Taylasān upon their shoulders. Another robe called Farājiyyah was sometimes worn by men of the learned profession.38

In the Ayyūbid period women also took keen interest in learning. There were many learned women in different fields such as poetry, medicine and tradition. Taqiyyah Umm Ali, daughter of Abu al Faraj was a poetess of eminence. On one occasion she composed a laudatory poem and sent it to Taqī al Dīn Umār, the nephew of Salāhuddin. The poem was a symposium and in it the lady beautifully and precisely described a drinking party, the glasses and all that usually takes place in such a meeting as if she were a habitual drinker. On reading the poem Taqī al Dīn proclaimed that the poetess must have had experience in this respect.

The lady then composed a martial poem in which she gave accurate details of a battle and a correct picture of warriors in the field. She sent the poem to Taqī al Dīn with a note explaining that she had as much experience of drinking parties as she had of battles. On seeing this poem Taqī al Dīn recognised and appreciated her high imaginative powers.39

37. Ibid., p. 225.
39. Ibid., p. 196.
In this period Sultans, princes and princesses also took interest in acquiring knowledge. For this they did not hesitate to go to the house of learned men. Al Malik al Afdal regularly used to take his books, leave his royal palace and go to the house of Taj al Dīn al Kindi. The lesson of the earlier disciple might be continued longer than usual and in this case al Malik al Afdal would wait until he was called for.\(^{40}\)

When Ali b. al Hasan b. Asakir died, Salāhuddīn went to his house, prayed for him and walked in his funeral.\(^{41}\)

A literary meeting was regularly held in the house of al-Qādi al Fādil and among those who attended it were the prince Izzal Dīn Farrukh Shah and the learned Taj al Dīn al Kindi. Izz al Dīn took Taj al Dīn to his palace and prepared a magnificent apartment for him and from that time Taj al Dīn became one of the shining lights of the Ayyūbid salons.\(^{42}\)

40. Ibid., p. 130.
41. Ibid., p. 130.
42. Ibid., p. 42.
Chapter-V

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE
The Ayyūbid rulers provided patronage and facilities for the development of intellectual activities.\(^1\) They also took special interest in cultivation of scientific knowledge, specially in the branch of medicine, botany and pharmacology due to which these branches of learning flourished in this period. Arab physicians advanced and enriched medical knowledge in pharmacy and pharmacology and exerted a profound influence on the West as their books were used in Western medical schools.\(^2\) Arabic authors on medicine, pharmacy and allied sciences served to promote the medical profession in the Muslim world as well as in the West. Their contribution to the West was very effective in raising the standards of medicine in such areas as the code of medical ethics, awareness of the importance and development of the public and private libraries, physician diplomas, medical education and college planning, programming and teaching.\(^3\)

In this period many hospitals were built by Sultans, eminent physicians and religious organisations. There were three types of hospitals known as *al-Bimaristan*. The first was a state-sponsored hospital, which was financed by the government. The second type of hospitals were supported and financed by eminent physicians and religious organizations to cater to the health requirements of general public.\(^4\) Salahuddin Ayyūbi

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3. Ibid., p. 34.
4. Ibid., p. 11.
built a hospital in Cairo. It was established in a palace on whose walls the entire Holy Qur'an had been inscribed.\(^5\) It not only treated patients but also served as a medical school. The hospitals were staffed with physicians and non-medical administrators who managed the affairs of the hospitals.\(^6\)

There were different wards for men and women as well as for different diseases. Each hospital had laboratories, dispensaries, outdoor clinic, kitchen and baths.\(^7\) Hospitals had specialized physicians under the supervision of a head of the department. Thus there was a chief physician for the department of internal diseases, a chief surgeon for department of surgery and a chief ophthalmologist for the department of eye diseases. Besides, there was a chief superintendent to supervise the working of all the wards. Both physicians and paramedical personnel like attendants, technicians, druggists etc., worked on shift basis. They had fixed hours of duty, during which they were available in their respective rooms and places. Attractive salaries were paid to them from the state exchequer. Treatment was given free to the rich and the poor, men and women, slaves and free persons. Food, drugs were also given to them without any charge.\(^8\)

The Sultan visited and inspected the state of these hospitals. After admission each patient was required to wear special apparel provided by the hospital.\(^9\) His personal clothes, money and valuables were kept in a safe

\(^6\) *Arabic Medicine*, p. 11.
\(^8\) Ibid., p. 67.
\(^9\) *Arabic Medicine*, p. 11.
place until the day of his discharge. The patients while at the hospital were visited regularly by staff doctors who prescribed medicines and necessary diets during the daily round visit. Two separate baths were installed, one for men and the other for women.\textsuperscript{10} Both male and female attendants were appointed to attend on male and female patients respectively.\textsuperscript{11} The staff of the hospital maintained a register that recorded the names of the sick and the items they required of medicine, food and other things. Early each morning the physicians came to the hospital to visit the sick and order the preparation of the proper medicines and food according as suits each person.\textsuperscript{12}

Another noteworthy Muslim innovation was that the patients were discharged from the hospitals only after they were fully cured and had spent the stage of convalescence to the satisfaction of the physician. The convalescent was considered fit to be discharged when he could eat and digest one full chicken along with bread in a meal. At the time of his departure he was gifted a new suit of clothes and a sum of money, so that he was not forced to return to work immediately for his livelihood.\textsuperscript{13} If the patient died, he was buried at the expenses of the hospital concerned.\textsuperscript{14}

Special attention was paid to the care of the patient suffering from psychological diseases in these hospitals. They were provided with

\begin{itemize}
  \item[10.] Ibid., p. 11.
  \item[11.] Ahmad Shawakat al Satti, \textit{Al-Tibb-ind al Arab}, p. 120.
  \item[13.] \textit{Arab-Islamic Legacy to life Science}, p. 68.
  \item[14.] \textit{Al Tibb ind al Arab}, p. 120.
\end{itemize}
professional musicians, story tellers and excellent reciters of the Qur'an.\(^\text{15}\) In the morning psychological patients gathered in a hall and the musician entertained them for two hours.\(^\text{16}\) Story-tellers entertained them with interesting stories and humorous anecdotes, while the reciters of the Qur'an sought to stimulate their spiritual capacity in order to solidify their self-confidence. Besides, they were made to walk in the open air. They were all given relaxing baths and their garments were changed every morning in order to mitigate their distress by releasing symptoms of tension.\(^\text{17}\)

Military hospitals were also developed in this period. They were either temporary field hospitals in tents that moved along with the encampment of the army, or permanent hospitals established in castles and citadels to meet the health needs of the garrisons or stationed armies.\(^\text{18}\) Trained medical men were posted to provide medical aid to the military personnel.\(^\text{19}\) Ibn Matran was Salâhuddîn's physician who always accompanied him in every war. His camp was like that of Salâhuddîn. It had a large entrance which could be easily recognized.\(^\text{20}\) Malik al Ādil had appointed the great physician Hakim Muwaffaquddîn Abdul Azîz as his chief medical officer for the army.\(^\text{21}\) Besides, mobile hospitals for the

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15. *Arab-Islamic Legacy to Life Science*, p. 68.
17. *Arab-Islamic Legacy to Life Science*, p. 68.
18. *Arabic Medicine*, p. 11.
treatment of patients in remote places as well as hospitals for the treatment of prisoners in jails were also developed in this period.

The hospitals not only treated the patients but also served as medical schools. Each hospital had a big lecture hall in which lectures were delivered and practical education was imparted to the students as is done today in modern hospitals attached to the medical colleges. The attendance of the students was compulsory in the hospitals. Medical students were required to acquire both theoretical and practical education as well as clinical observation at the bedside of the patients. Here they completed their internship. The students of medicine were trained and educated either by private tutoring, private medical school or at the hospitals. The medical students under private tutoring followed his physician-teacher on visits to patients and rounds in hospitals, clinic and at home. On the tutor's advice, the student studied the recommended medical books. At the end of their training, they were examined. If their performance was found satisfactory, they were issued an Ijazah (permit or certificate).

The Crusaders were influenced by the hospital system of the Arab world. They adopted the method of these hospitals. The hospital "Les Quinze Vingt" was founded in Paris by Louis IX after his return from his Crusade in 1245-60.

23. Ibid., p. 67.
25. Ibid., p. 12.
There were three classes of apothecaries. The first were the professionally educated and social minded pharmacists who were called al-Saydalānī (the pharmacist). The Pharmacists sold their drugs over the counter or as ordered in written prescriptions (Wasfāt) by licensed physicians, in their own private pharmacies. Pharmacies also existed in hospitals to serve the patients. Secondly, regular apothecaries were called as al-'Attārīn (druggists). Their knowledge of popular simple materia medica was fairly good. Though they did not receive a formal education in this profession, their knowledge and experience were derived from apprenticeship and daily practice at the drug stores or other drug manufacture firms. The third category was known as the drug peddlers, who collected medicinal herbs and minerals, and sold them in the market and gained high profit.27

In the Ayyūbid period some other sciences were also cultivated, the knowledge of which was transmitted to the West. The science of opthalmology reached an unprecedented high standard due to great research done in the study of the diseases of the eye and their treatment in the hospitals of Cairo and Damascus.28 Some of the Arabic works had even more recognition in the West than in their native Muslim countries. After being translated they were studied, attentively copied and quoted by renowned scholars in Europe. Such activities stimulated the curiosity,

27. Arabic Medicine, p. 21.
interest and intellectual progress in the West. Adelard of Bath travelled to Egypt and Syria in the twelfth century where he studied the Arab astronomy and geography, and translated Khawarizmi's work on astronomy into Latin. Leonardo Fibonacci who dedicated a treatise on square number to Frederick II visited Egypt and Syria. Frederick II exhibited great interest in Zoology. He used his wealth and his friendly relations with the Muslim rulers to keep a menagerie of elephants, dromedaries, lions, leopards, falcons, owls etc., which he took with him on his travels.

Main Physicians and Scientists

There flourished a good number of physicians and scientists in different branches of scientific knowledge in the Ayyūbid period. The main physicians and scientists are briefly introduced below.

(1) Ibn al Baytār

Abu Mohammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al Baytār Dīyā al Din al Malagi was one of the greatest scientists, botanists and pharmacists of the middle ages. He was born in the Spanish city of Malaga towards the end of the 12th century. After completing his preliminary education in his native city he learned Botany from Abu al 'Abbās al Nabāṭī, a learned botanist of Seville. At the age of twenty Ibn al Baytār left his country and travelled

29. *Arabic Medicine*, p. 34.
30. *The legacy of Islam*, p. 64.
widely in North Africa as an enthusiastic researcher on plants and herbs. After visiting Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, he reached Egypt and entered the service of Sultan al Kāmil who appointed him as chief botanist at Cairo. After al Kāmil's death he continued in the service of his son al Malik al Sālih Najm al Din Ayyūb, who lived in his Syrian capital Damascus. He also shifted to it where he spent the rest of his life. From there he visited a number of places in Mesopotomia and Asia Minor and remained busy in making fruitful experiment and research on plants, herbs and simple medicines derived from natural sources, as a result of which he became an authority on both botany and pharmacology. As such he acquired a thorough knowledge of the medical properties, characteristics, benefits, side effects, places and seasons of growth as well as names in different languages of a wide range of plants and herbs. He is also said to have travelled in Greece and Italy and exchanged knowledge with a number of Western researches on the subject. Ibn al Baytār made a thorough study of the works of both Greek and Arab authors on the subject, specially those of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen etc. He had memorised the contents of their works. That was the reason that whenever he discussed a medicine with students, he pointed out the treatises and chapter of the books in

which it was described by different authors. He was also very particular in mentioning his source of knowledge.

He produced a comprehensive book on botany under the title al Jāmiʿli-Mufradāt-il-Adwiyah w-al-Aghdhiyah (The corpus of Simples and Diets) which remained the most important encyclopaedia on the subject. It is a systematic work that embodies Greek and Arabic data supplemented by the author's own experimental works and researches. This encyclopaedia contains some 1400 different items, largely medicinal plants and vegetables of which about 200 plants were not known earlier. This book refers to the works of about 150 authors mostly Arab and Greek medical scientists.

The second merit of this book lies in the fact that the author, instead of blindly accepting the statement of his predecessors on different items made his own experiments on them. The book is arranged in the alphabetical order with a view to facilitating its study by the readers. The author elaborated for the first time such new concepts as the impact of storage on the nourishing elements of the plants. The information provided by him in this matter played an important role in evolving the scientific method of storing and presenting medical and aromatic plants.

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39. Arab-Islamic Legacy to Life Science, p. 94.
40. Medieval Muslim thinkers and Scientist, p. 23.
41. 'Al Ulūm 'ind al 'Arab, p. 206.
43. Arab-Islamic Legacy to Life Science, p. 94.
His second monumental treatise Kitāb al Mughni fi Adwiyāt il Mufradah (The sufficient work on simple medicines) is an encyclopaedia of medicine dedicated to sultan Najmuddin. The drugs are listed in accordance with their therapeutical value. Thus its 20 different chapters deal with the plants bearing significance to diseases of head, ear, eye etc. On surgical issues he frequently quoted the famous Muslim surgeon, Abul Qasim Zahrawi. In addition to Arabic names Ibn al Baytār has given Greek and Latin names of the plants also, thus facilitating transfer of knowledge. The author's other books in manuscript form are "Mīzān-ul Tībb" (The Balance of Medicine) on general medicine and "al-Ibānah w-al I'lam bima fil-Minhāj min-al Khalal w-al-Awhām", a critique on the book "Minhāj ul Bayān" by Ibn Jazlah.

Ibn al Baytār's contributions are characterised by observation, analysis and classification and have exerted a profound influence on Eastern as well as Western Botany and Pharmacology. Though al Jāmi was translated and published late in the Western languages, it was studied and quoted by Western authors.

2. Mūsa Ibn Maymūn (1135-1204)

Mūsa ibn Maymūn a renowned Jewish physician, philosopher, astronomer and theologian was popularly known in Europe as Maimonides.

46. *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, Delhi, p. 43.
He was born in Cordoba in 1135 and educated there. But his family migrated to Egypt and settled in Cairo in 1165 where he became the chief physician of Salāhuddīn and his son Malik al Azīz and enjoyed great fame. He wrote several books in Arabic and Hebrew. His most important medical book is entitled as *al Fusūl fi‘il Tibb* (Aphorisms on Medicine) in which he even criticized the opinion of Galen himself. Another important work of the author is entitled as *al Maqālah fi Tadbīr al Sihhat al Afḍalīyah* (The Treatise on Management of Health for Afḍal). This book is a work on diet and personal hygiene and was issued in the form of letters to Sultan Malik al Afḍal. This book consists of four treatises, the first is on general rules for the maintenance of health. The second is on first aid where medical assistance is not available. The third is his personal advice to the Sultan, while the fourth is on matters useful to the sick and the healthy in all times and places. It was an important piece of medical literature produced during the later centuries of Islam. The influence of orthodoxy on the otherwise rather liberal court of Cairo is evident from the excuse given by Maymūn at the end of one of his tracts in which he has a lengthy scientific apology for his advice to the Sultan that he should indulge in the forbidden wine and music as a cure for his melancholy.

Another important book written by Maymūn is *Sharh Asmāʾal-Aqqār* (Commentary on the Names of Drugs) in which he prescribed syrup of raisins and vinegar. He also wrote *Risalah fi al-Bawāsīr* (Treatise on Piles), *Risalah al-Jimā* (Treatise on Intercourse). He was also the author of a treatise under the title *al-Sumūm wa al-Taharruz min al-Adwiyat al-Qattālah* (Treatise on Poisons and the ways of guarding against Killer Medicines). It was on the poison of reptiles and antidotes and widely read in medieval Europe and was frequently referred to by the physicians of the West. He also translated the *Canon of Ibn Sina* into Hebrew and made a collection of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates and Galen under the title *Aphorismen Mosis*.

He was a student of Ibn Rushd in philosophy. He wrote *Dalālāt al Hāʾirīn* (The Guide of the Perplexed) on philosophy in three volumes. In this book he tried to reconcile Jewish philosophy and Islamic philosophy.

3. Abdul Latif al Baghdādī (1162-1231)

He was a renowned scientist, physician, philosopher and historian. He was born at Baghdad in 1162 where he studied philosophy and philology and later alchemy and medicine. He migrated from Baghdad to Cairo and enjoyed the patronage of the Ayyūbid rulers. During his career he taught medicine and philosophy at Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo. He is

54. Arabic Medicine, p. 98.
the author of about 166 works many of which are on medical subjects. He
gives an interesting account of his osteological studies in an ancient
cemetery in the north-west of Cairo. He criticized Galen for asserting that
lower jaw is composed of only one bone. He himself examined about two
thousand skulls to find out the structure of bone in that part of the human
body. He observed that human anatomy could be better understood by the
minute observation of the human body than by reading the works of Galen
and Greek writers.57 His main books are Sharah Ahādīth Ibn Mājjah al-
Muta'alliqah b'il Tibb (Commentary on Apostolic Traditions compiled by
Ibn Majjah relating to Medicine) and a short treatise on medicine, diet,
sense, etc. He also wrote a summarized version of Kitab al Hayawān (The
Book of Animals) by al Jāhiz. His other important books on logic and
analogy are al Jāmīal Kabīr fi al-Mantiq al Tabī'ī wa al-Ilāhī (The
Comprehensive Book on Natural and Divine Logic) in ten volumes, and al
Qiyās (The Analogy) in four volumes. He also wrote a geographical treatise
Al-Amir al Mushahida wal Hawādis al Muniyat bi'l Misr, in which he gave
descriptions of the famines and earth-quakes in Egypt from 1200 to 1202.58

4. Fakhruddīn Ridwān Ibn al Sāātī (d. 1221)

Fakhruddīn Ridwān Ibn al Sāātī was a physician. He also had
extensive knowledge of literature, logic and other branches of philosophy

57. Muhammad Zubair Siddiqui, Studies in Arabic & Persian Medical Literature,

as well as in clockmaking. He was born in Damascus where his father had migrated from Khurasan. His father Muhammad ibn Ali Rustam was an astronomer and skilful clockmaker known as "as Sa'āti", the horologist. On the request of Nūrūddīn Mahmud, his father constructed a clock which was placed on Bab al Jayrun. Fākhruddīn Ridwan repaired and improved this clock and wrote a book in 1203 explaining its use and construction.

He was on the post of wazir to al Malik al Fa'īz b. al Malik, but after sometime he became wazir and physician to his brother al Malik al Muazzam b. al Malik al Ādil. He died in Damascus in 1221. He wrote *Takmil Kitāb al Qīlyanj li Ibn Sinā* (Supplement to the Book on Colitis by Ibn Sina) and *'ala Hawāshī alā Kitāb il Qānūn li Ibn Sīnā* (Marginal Notes on the Canon of Ibn Sina).

5. Rashīduddin al Sūrī (1177-1241)

Rashīduddin Ibn Abu Fazal bin Ali al Sūrī was a famous botanist of the twelfth century. He was born in 1177 at Sur in Lebanon. After completing his preliminary education in his native place he went to Jerusalem where he served as a physician at a hospital for two years. Then he met Sultan Malik al 'Ādil who being greatly impressed by him, brought

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62. Ibid.
him to Cairo, and made him his personal physician in 1215. After his death he served his son Sultan al Muazzām and grandson al Nasir also.64

Al-Sūrī was a keen and painstaking researcher on plant life. He used to roam about and study herbs and plants in their natural surroundings. He also took with him an expert painter who would sketch the plant for him. The painter sketched the plants in different stages of their growth as minutely as possible by the use of various colours and dyes.65 His book entitled Adwiyat al Mufrādah (the Simple Medicines) was illustrated with paintings of plants, in which he describes the benefits, properties, characteristics and side effects of medicines. Such details were not provided by his predecessors. He also manufactured medicine and cool them by different sources.66 His work is very famous and important in the field of medicine.

6. Al-Dakhwār (1170-1230)

Muhadhdbuddīn Abdul Rahīm Alī al Dakhwār was born and brought up in Damascus. His father Ali bin Hamid was an opthalmologist.67 He specialized in medicine and flourished as a leading physician of his time. He got his primary education in Damascus. The Ayyūbid ruler al Malik al 'Ādil came into contact with al Dakhwār and was greatly impressed by him. He appointed him as his personal physician.

64. 'Al-A’lām, Vol. III, p. 23.
65. Al Tibb ind al Arab, p. 106.
67. Ibid. p. 239.
After sometime Al Dakhwār became his boon companion and close confidant. When Sultan al Ādil died, Sultan Muazzām made him the chief superintendent of the great Nasiri Hospital at Damascus, where he remained busy writing books and giving lectures on medicine to his students. Later when al Ādil’s another brother al Ashraf annexed Damascus, he promoted Dakhwār as chief medical officer of his time. Dakhwār died in Damascus in 1230 and he donated his house for medical college. Al Dakhwār produce some eminent physicians including the great writer Ibn Abi Usabiyyah and Ibn Nafis, the discoverer of blood circulation in the human body. His important books on medicine are ʿal Janīnah (The Embryo), Sharh Taqdimat il Maʿrifah (Commentary on the Introduction of Knowledge), and Mukhtasar ul Hāwi lil Razi (Resume of al Hawi by al Razi). He also wrote a summarized version of Kitāb ul Aghānī (The Book of Songs) by Abul Faraj Isfahani.

7. Ahmad Bin Yūsuf al Tifāshī (1184-1253)

Al Tifāshī was a good physician and pharmacologist. He was an expert on minerals. He was born at Tifash in Africa. He got education in Egypt and appointed Qazi there. His important works are Azhār al Afkār fi Jawāhir il Ahjār (The Flowers of Thought on the Elements of Stones) in which he has discussed 25 precious stones in 25 chapters, Al Ahjār ul Latī tūjad fi Khazā, in-il-Mulūk wa Dhakhāʿ ir il Ruʿasā (The stones that are

69. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 41.
found in the treasures of the kings and the collections of the nobles) and *al Munqidh min al-Tahlukah fi Daf 'Madārr il Samā' il-m-Muhlikah* (The Deliverer from Death in warding off the Evil Effects of Fatal Poisons), *Khawāss ul Ahjār wa Manāfi' uha* (The Characteristics of Stones and their Benefits) and *Fasl-ul Khitab fi Madārik il Hawāss il Khams li-īl-il-Albāb* (Discourse on the Five Senses for Men of Understanding).  

8. Ibn Ali Usabiyah

Muwaffaq al Din Abul Abbas, a renowned physician and biographer, was born in Damascus. His father was a famous oculist in Damascus. He studied medicine there and afterwards in Cairo at the Nasiri Hospital. Among his teachers special mention may be made of the botanist al Baytār. Ibn Usaybiyāh won name and fame for his Knowledge, intelligence and professional expertise particularly in ophthalmology. He was also an eminent poet and had considerable verse composition to his credit. In 1236 he received a position in a hospital of Cairo. He is particularly famous for *Uyunul Amhā fi Tabqāt al Atibbā* (Sources of Information on the Classes of Physicians), an elaborated collection of some four hundred physicians of that period. Since most of these physicians were distinguished philosophers and scientists also, the book serves as an invaluable source for the history of Arab science in general. It gives not

72. Arabic Medicine, p. 83.  
74. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 72
only biographical details of the scientists, but also discusses the quality of their works and their status in their respective fields of studies and research. He died in 1270 A.D.

9. Ibn Jamī (d. 1198)

Habatullah bin Zayd, known to fame as Ibn Jamī, was an eminent Egyptian physician. He was born in Cairo and after completing his education he joined the service of Sultan Salāhuddīn as his medical advisor and the Sultan was impressed by him. He was also a prolific author on medicine. His important books are al Irshād li Masālih il Anfus w-al-Ajsād (Guidance for the Benefit of Souls and Bodies) on psycho-therapy, al Tasrih b-il Maknūn fi Tanqih il Qanūn (Explanation of the Hidden in the Study of the Canon), Risalah fi Tab-il Iskandarīyah wa Hawā' ihā wa Māīḥā (Treatise on the Nature, Air and Water of Alexandria), 'Ilāj ul Qīlānj (Treatment of Colitis) and Maqalāt fil Laymūn (Treatises on the Lemon).\(^75\)

10. Muwaffāq al Din b. Matrān

Muwaffāq al Din b. Matrān was a noted physician of his time. He was born and brought up in Damascus. His father was also a distinguish physician who visited many places. He was a voracious reader of books. He was a great lover of books and he had collected a big library. After his death his books were sold in three thousand dirhams. Ibn Matrān was a kind-hearted man. A big number of students studied medicine under him

and most famous of his students was Muhadhdhabuddin Abdul Rahim who spent most of his time with him and participated in a number of military expeditions against the Crusaders. Muwaffaq al Din had two brothers who also studied and practiced medicine. One of them was known as Hibatullah bin Ilyas and the other was known as Ibn Ilyas. Muwaffaq al Din died in the month of Rabi ul Awwal in 587 A.H./1191 A.D. at Damascus. He wrote Kitāb Bustan-ul Atibba (Book of the Garden of Physicians), Rawdatul Atibba (The Garden of Physicians), Kitāb ul Adwīyāt-il-Mufradah (Book on Simple Medicines), and Ādāb Tib al Mulk (On the treatment of kings).^76

11. Muwaffaq al Din Abdul Aziz

Muwaffaq al Din Abdul Aziz was a renowned physician of his time. He was very kind-hearted person. He gave free treatment to poor and handicapped patients. He served the hospital "Bimaristan al Kabir" as a physician. The hospital was founded by Malik al Ādil Mahmud b. Zangi. After that he joined the service of Malik Ādil Abu Bakr bin Ayyub and remained friendly with him for many years. He died in Damascus due to Colin in 604 A.H./1207 A.D.\(^77\)

(12) Najmuddin Ibn Labūdi (1210-1271)

Abu Zakariya Najmuddin Ibn Labūdi was a physician and learned person. He was born in Halab in 607 A.H./1210 A.D. and went to Damascus with his father. He studied under Muhadhdhabuddin Abdul

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76. Ibid., p. 181.
77. Ibid., p. 192.
Rahīm and spent time in medical practice. He entered in the service of Najmūddīn al Kāmil in Egypt, who appointed him on the post of diwān in Alexandria. He wrote a treatise on al Qānūn and Kitāb Uynul al-Hikmāh of Ibn Sīna, and a treatise on Ibn Khatīb's Mulakhkhas. He wrote Kitāb ul Manahijul Qudsuja fi Ulum al Hikmiya, Qafiyatul Hisab fil Ilm al Hisab. When he was 13 years old he wrote Kitab Iizahar rai as Saqifmin Kala mul Muwaffaq Abdul Lalif and Tahqiq-ul Mabāhith-il-Tibbiyah (Scrutiny of Medical Researches) and resumes of several books by Ibn Sīna and Hunayn Ibn Ishaq.

13. Shamsūddīn Ibn Labūdī

He was a famous physician, philosopher and writer. He was born in Syria. He travelled different countries for the purpose of knowledge. He studied under different scholars such as Najbuddin Asad Hamdani. He joined the service of Ghiyāsuddīn bin Salāhuddīn. After the death of Ghiyasuddīn he came to Egypt and taught in 'Bimaristan al Kabir al Nuri' till his death in 621 A.H. He wrote many books. His famous books are Kitābul Rai al Mutāba fi Marīfat il Qada'i (Book on Authentic Thought about Pre-determination). This book is a commentary on Kitāb ul Mulakhkhas by Ibn Khatīb, Risalah fi Waja al-Mafāsil (Treatise on Pain of

80. Ibid., p. 189.
Joints or Rhumatic Disease). This book is a commentary on *Kitāb ul Masāil* by Hunayn ibn Ishaq.  

14. Abu Najm Nasarani

Abu Najm bin Abi Ghalib bin Fahd was a renowned physician of his time. He was famous as Ayyar. He died in 599 A.H./1202 A.D. in Damascus. His son Abu Fath bin Abu Najm was also a physician. He wrote many books. *Kitāb ul Munjād fi Tibb* (The Short Book on Medicine) which deals with both theoretical and practical knowledge of the science.

15. Abu Faraj Nasarani

He was a renowned physician in Salāhuddīn's period. He remained in the service of Malik Nūruddīn b. Sālahuddīn. His sons were also employed in the service of the Ayyūbid rulers.

16. Nafisuddin Bin al Zubyar

He was born in 556 A.H./1160 A.D. He studied medicine from Ibn Shūa and al-Sādid. He was an ophthalmologist. He joined the service of Kāmil Ibn Malik Ādil who made him physician in his court. He died in 636 A.H.

17. Abul Fādl Ibn ul Nāqid

Abul Fādl was popularly known as al Muhaddab. He was a physician and a learned man. He was an ophthalmologist and famous

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83. Ibid., p. 184.
84. Ibid, p. 183.
85. Ibid., p. 120.
surgeon. Many people from different places came to him for acquiring knowledge. He died in 584 A.H./1188 A.D. in Cairo. He was a Jew but his son Abdul Faraj embraced Islam and became a famous physician. He wrote a book under the title *Mujārrabāt* (Tested Remedies) on ophthalmology.

18. **Abul Bayān Ibn ul Mudawwar (d. 1184)**

He was a Jewish physician. He served Sultan Salāhuddīn bin Ayyūb who was very friendly to him. Peoples from different places came to gain knowledge from him. Although he became very weak towards the close of his life, he remained busy in teaching and writing. Salāhuddīn gave him 24 dinars per month. He died in 580 A.H./1184 A.D.

19. **Abu Barakāt al Qudaī**

Abu Barakāt al Qudaī was a famous ophthalmologist. He was a court physician of Malik al Aziz bin Malik an Nasir Salāhuddīn in Egypt. He died in 598 A.H./1201 A.H. in Cairo.

20. **Qaysar Taʾāsif (1178-1251)**

He was a mathematician, astronomer and engineer. He was born in Safun. He produced the earliest Arabic celestial globes that depict all the observed stars which he made of wood for his patron Mahmūd al-Muzaffar,

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86. Ibid., p. 116.
89. Ibid., p. 117.
ruler of Hamāh. This work is still preserved in the National Museum of Naples in Italy.⁹¹

21. Muwaffaq al Din bin Shūah (d. 1183 A.D.)

He was a Jewish physician and famous surgeon. He served Malik an Nasir Sultan Salāhuddīn.⁹²

22. Abu Mali bin Tamam

He was a Jewish physician. He served Salāhuddin Ayyūbi and his brother Malik Ādīl. He wrote Taʿāliq wa Mujarrabāt fī al-Tibb.⁹³

23. Abu Imran Musa bin Mamun al-Qurtubi

He was a Jewish physician in the time of Salāhuddin and Malik Ādīl. After sometime he embraced Islam. He wrote Ikhtisār al-Kutub Sittata 'Ashara li Jālinūs and a treatise on the treatment of piles under the title Bavāsīr wa Ilajiha. He was also the author of Maqalah fī Tadbir al Sīhhah (Treatise on the Maintenance of Health) which he wrote for Malik Afdal.⁹⁴

24. Ibrahim bin Rais bin Mamūn

He was a famous physician. He served Malik al Kāmil and taught in a Bimaristan in Cairo. He died in Cairo in 630 A.H./1232 A.D.⁹⁵

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⁹¹ History of the Arabs, p. 668.
⁹³ Ibid., p. 117.
⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 117.
⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 118.
25. Asaduddin Ya’qub bin Ishaq

He was a Jewish physician. He was author of *Maqalah fi Qawānin al-Tibbīyah* (Tratise on Medical Principles) in six chapters and *Kitab al-Nazah fi Hall ma Waqa‘a min Idrāk al-Basar fi al-Marāyā min al-Shabah* on ophthalmology.96

26. Shaikh al Sadid bin Abul Faraj

He was born in 556 A.H./1164 A.D. in Cairo. He wrote *Kilab ul Aqrabādhin* in 12 chapters and a commentary on *Kitāb al-'Ilal w-al A'rād* (Book on the Causes and Symptoms of Diseases) of Galen.97

27. Rashiduddin Abu-Sa'id

He was a famous physician in Salāhuddīn's period. He memorised some major books on medicine. He wrote *Kitab Uyunal-Tibb* (Book on Fountains of Medicine) for Malik Salih and a treatise on *Kitab ul Hawī* of Ibn Zakariya Razi.98

In addition to the above there were several other physicians and scientists about whom sufficient information is not available. They are as follows:

Rafiuddin Zili, Zainuddin Hafizi, Shamsuddin al Khushroshahi, Fathuddin, Jamaluddin and Hibatullah.

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96. Ibid., p. 118.
97. Ibid., p. 118.
98. Ibid., p. 118.
Chapter-VI

SUFISM AND PHILOSOPHY
In the Ayyūbid period cultivation of philosophical knowledge was not banned by the rulers. Under their patronage a good number of thinkers and Sufis flourished who contributed a great deal to the development of philosophical thoughts. The Ayyūbid rulers gave full respect to Sufis and Saints. They not only honoured them but also provided them with the facilities of board and lodging in both Egypt and Syria. There were numerous Khānqāhs (temporary visiting places for wandering Sufis). They were ornamented palaces through all of which flew streams of water, thereby presenting a very delightful picture. Salāhuddīn welcomed Asiatic Sufis to Egypt and he and his followers founded and endowed many Khānqāhs. The first big Khānqāh built by Salāhuddīn in Egypt in 1173 was known as Dār Said as Su'ādā, which was originally a Fatimid building. Initially it served as a hostel for foreign Sufis, but after sometime it became the centre of Egyptian Sufism while its head was given the official honorific title of Shaykh al Shuyukh. Each Khānqāh had a Shaykh and superintendent who organized their affairs admirably. These men were celibate. There were separate Khānqāhs for the married. It was required of the Shaikh that he should attend the five ritual prayers. He should also remain present at their dhikr gathering. Qaraqush bin Abdullah al Asādi, erected a ribat at al Maqs whilst Muzaffar al-Din Gokbordī, Salāhuddīn's brother-in-law built two Khānqāhs for the Sufis which housed a large

3. *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, p. 45.
number both residents and visitors.\(^5\) Sufism thus struck deep roots in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyūbids, and the subsequent development of institutional Sufism took place along two distinct lines - the doctrines of classical Sunni Islam and liberal philosophical trends. The Sufis who visited Egypt and Syria from Iraq and other parts of the world were followers of the two prominent orders of Sunni Sufism, the Qadiriyah founded by Abdul Qādir al Jīlānī of Baghdad and Rifaiyrah attributed to Ahmad al Rifaī. Later the Shādhiliyah order founded by Abul Hasan al Shādhlī also became popular among the people of Egypt, particularly Alexandria and Cairo. It is interesting to note that although these Sufis and their followers were given over to the worship of Allah including *dhikr*, exercises and supererogatory prayers. They also provided the Ayyūbid army with valiant and dedicated fighters against the Crusaders. For example, the followers of the Shādhiliyah order fought bravely in the forefront of the Muslim soldiers who crushed the attack launched by the Crusaders on Egypt under the leadership of French King Louis IX in 1249-50.\(^6\)

The doctrines of *hulul* (incarnation of God in human body), *ittihad* (union with God) and *wahadat ul wujud* (The Unity of Being) developed in this period. Sayfuddīn Āmīdī, Shīhābuddīn Yahya al Suhrawardī, Muhyiddin Ibn ul Arabī and Umar Ibn ul Fārid were the main exponents of philosophical Sufism.

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 17.

\(^6\) *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, p. 46.
Sayfuddin al ‘Amidî (1156-1233)

Abul Hasan Sayfuddin al ‘Amidî, an Arab theologian, was born in Amid now known as Diyarbakr in 1156. He studied in Baghdad and Syria. He was first a Hanbalite, but in Baghdad he turned Shafiite. After studying philosophy in Syria he became a tutor at the Madrasa al Karafa al Sughra and in 1195 at the Zafiri mosque in Cairo. His philosophical knowledge brought upon him the accusation of heresy and he was compelled to flee to Hamat. Later he was called to the madrasa al Aziziya at Damascus but after sometime he was dismissed due to the correspondence with the prince of Amid, whom al Malik al Kamil had deposed in 1233, with a view to the acceptance of a judicial appointment. He died in 1233. He wrote 20 books in which *al Ikhām fi ‛Usūl il Ahkām* (The welldone work on the principles of laws) is in four volumes dedicated to al Malik al Muazzam of Damascus. *Lūbāb al Albāb* (The Quintessence of Understanding), *Daqāiq ul Haqāiq* (The details of truths) and *al Mubin fi Sharh Maān il Hukamā wal Mutakallimīn* (Clear explanation of the terms used by philosophers and scholastic theologians). He wrote a philosophical work on dogma under the title *Kitāb Abkar al Afkar* in 1215 A.D.

Yahyā al Suhrawardī (1154-1191)

Shihābuddīn Yahyā al Suhrawardī was a highly learned as well as outspoken pantheistic Sufi philosopher of his time. He was born in

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10. *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, p. 46.
Suhraward in 1154. He studied jurisprudence in Maraghah, then went to Ispahan, and later to Baghdad and Aleppo, where he occupied himself chiefly with philosophical studies. He acquired knowledge beyond the capacity of his mind which ultimately proved fatal for him. Having completed his formal studies, Suhrawardī set out to travel over Persia meeting various Sufi masters to some of whom he became strongly attached. In fact it was during this phase of his life that he entered upon the Sufi path and spent long periods in spiritual retreats in invocation and meditation. He cut himself off from ordinary society in order to lead a life of seclusion and retreat. Murids came to put themselves under him and fame of his baraka spread widely. He enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Salāhuddīn's son al Malik al Zāhir, ruler of Aleppo who had a special love for Sufis and scholars. When Sultan invited him to stay at his court Suhrawardī gladly accepted the offer because he had a special love for those regions. But when his extreme liberalism aroused the indignation of ulama he was put to death at the age of 38 by order of his patron. He was called al Maqlul (the slain) to keep him deprived of the epiteth of al-Shahid (the martyr). He gave himself the title "Disciple of the spirit world". He built a ribat on a ruined site on the Tigris, which became a place of refuge.

14. The Sufi Order in Islam, p. 34.
16. The Sufi Order in Islam, p. 34.
Al Suhrawardī was the author of several remarkable theosophical works in Arabic and Persian. These works are written in an exquisitic style and are of great merit. His important books are *al Talwīhāt* (The Remarks), *Hayākil ul Nūr* (The Temples of Light), *Maqāmat ul Sūfiyah wa Maāni Mustalāhātihihm* (Stages of the Sufis and Meaning of their Technical terms); *Risālah fi I'tiqād il Hukamā* (Treatise on the Faith of Philosophers) and *Hikmat ul-Ishrāq* (The Metaphysics of Illumination). Numerous commentaries were written on Suhrawardi’s work by later philosophers and authors, the most important of which are those of Shamsuddin Shahrazurī and Qutubuddin Širāzī in the thirteenth century, Wudud Tabrizi in the sixteenth century and Mullah Sadra in seventeenth century on the *Hikmat ul-Ishrāq*, the commentaries of Shahrazuri, Ibn Kammunah and Allamah Hilli in the thirteenth and fourteenth century on *Talwīhāt* and the commentaries of Jalal al Din Dawwani in the fifteenth century and Mawla Abdul Razzāq Lāhijī in the seventeenth century on *Hayākil ul Nūr*. These commentaries deal in detail with different aspects of the philosophy of illumination which has left its deep impact on many philosophers, theologians and gnostics.

His philosophy of illumination, according to which light is the essence of the existence of everything is remembered by Sufi philosophers. Suhrawardī described his concept of illumination in the following words -

"The Essence of the First Absolute light, God, gives constant illumination, whereby it is manifested and it brings all things into existence, giving life to them by its rays. Everything in the world is derived from the light of His essence and all beauty and perfection are the gift of His bounty, and to attain fully to this illumination is salvation."  

Al Suhrawardī's philosophy of illumination also exerted a great influence on the philosophical trends of the Muslim world, particularly Persia where it played a major role in the survival of Shiism during the Safawid period. Besides, together with the intellectual Sufism of Ibn Arabī, it contributed the main element which was destined to dominate Islamic intellectual life following the decline of Aristotelianism in the 12th century.  

It is evident from the above that this Sufi philosopher is best remembered for his philosophy of illumination, according to which light is the essence of the existence of everything.

Muhyiddin Abu Abdullah Ibn ul Arabī (1165-1240)

Shaikh Muhyiddin ibn ul Arabī was born at Murcia southeast of Spain on 28th July 1165. He was a descendant of the ancient Arab tribe of Tayy. He came from a family well known for their piety. He received his early education at Seville. He devoted his time to the study of hadith and jurisprudence. While making Seville his permanent place of residence, he

19. *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, p. 47.
20. Ibid., p. 47.
travelled widely throughout Spain and Maghrib establishing wherever he went fresh relations with eminent Sufis and other men of learning. When Ibn ul Arabī visited Egypt in 1201, he was ill received by some of its people and an attempt was made on his life. After leaving Egypt he travelled far and wide throughout the Middle East visiting Jerusalem, Mecca, Hijaz, Baghdad and Aleppo. Finally he settled down in Damascus until he died in 1240, where his tomb lies below Mount Qasiyun.22

Ibn ul 'Arabī is one of the prolific authors in Muslim history. By his own reckoning he wrote more than 250 books, though a modern estimate places the number of his books roughly at 400, in which Futūhāt ul Makhiyah (The Meccan Revelations) and Fusūs ul Hikam (Bezels of Wisdom) are important. As claimed by the author both works were written by him under divine inspiration. The Futūhāt is an encyclopaedic work in twelve volumes on the complete system of Islamic Sufism, in which 'Arabī claimed that Kashf (intuitive revelation) is the highest source of knowledge. In it he drew a parallel between the knowledge acquired by Kashf and the knowledge possessed by the Prophets, Ibn 'Arabī sought a similar recognition for his own teachings. Extending this argument further, Ibn 'Arabī went on to claim for himself the status of Khatam al-Auliya (Seal of the Saints) in contradistinction to the Prophet Muhammad's status of Khatam ul Ambiya (Seal of the Prophets).23 While the Fusūs ul Hikam


comprising 27 chapters is devoted to the discussion of the basic doctrine of Islamic esotericism. Ibn ul 'Arabī combined the most extravagant mysticism with the straitest orthodoxy. He was a Zahirite (literalist) in religion and a Batinite (spiritualist) in his speculative beliefs. He rejected all authority. Many theologians were scandalised by the apparently blasphemous expression which occurs in his writings and taxed him with holding heretical doctrines e.g. the incarnation of God in man (hulul) and the identification of man with God (Ittihad). He wrote Kimiya al Saadat an allegory which describes the ascent of man to the heavens and al Isra ila Maqam al Asra (The Nocturnal journey to the place of God) in which he discusses the Prophet's ascent to the seventh heaven.

Ibn ul 'Arabī gained great reputation for his poems, the best known of which is the collection called the interpreter of the (soul's) longings. In his poetry he carried to extremes the symbolism of the Sufis in clothing mystical experiences in the language of human passion. Tarjumān al Ashwaq (Interpreter of love) is a collection of Sufi poetry published in 1201.

Ibn ul 'Arabī was the first to formulate the doctrine of wahadat ul wujud (The Unity of being) which means that "the existence of created things is nothing but the very essence of the existence of the Creator". He

27. History of Arabic Literature, p. 278.
teaches that things necessarily emanate from divine prescience in which they pre-existed (thubūr) as ideas, by a flux evolving in five periods and that the souls by an inverse involution logically constructed reintegrate the divine essence. According to Ibn 'Arabī, 'Being is One. Everything else is His manifestation. The universe is nothing but the manifestation of God's attributes. The universe in other words is a mode of God; apart from God it has no existence. The universe is no illusion; it is real because it is the self-revelation of God. Ibn 'Arabī claimed that God's attributes are also manifested in man. God created man in His own image. God and man, Haqq and Khalq, are therefore identical. This doctrine has since remained the core of all philosophical Sufism.

He admires the East, where he spent the greater part of his life. He was called al Shaykh al Akbar (The Greatest Doctor) and Muhyiddin (The Revivifier of Religion) a title which has never been conferred on other Sufi. This is a sure evidence of his supremacy in this field. The impact of the doctrines of Ibn ul Arabī upon the subsequent life of Sufism has been so great and overwhelming that there was practically no exposition of Sufi doctrine which did not come in one way or another under the influence of the works of the great Andalusian sage. Ibn ul 'Arabī had a lot of influence on medieval mysticism both in Europe and in the middle East. His influence on the Christian scholastics like Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and others was very marked. Dante Alighieri's conception of the divine comedy

drives from the writings of Ibn 'Arabi.\(^{30}\) The tremendous commentary of Arusi on Qushairi's Risalah, which is the classical model of Sunni Sufism, abounds with ideas and terms borrowed from Ibn ul Arabi's work. The famous Catalan missionary Raymond Lull (d. 1315) is also said to have borrowed Ibn 'Arabi's ideas. Seyyed Hossein Nasr writes - "whole generation of Sages and Saints have commented upon his works and to this day his masterpiece, the *Fusûs ul Hikâm* or Bezels of Wisdom is taught in traditional religious circles as well as in the gathering of the Sufis and gnostics".\(^{31}\)

**'Umar Ibn-ul-Fārid (1182-1235)**

'Umar Ibn-ul-Fārid was a great Sufi poet born in Cairo. He was the son of a notary (fārid). In his youth he practised religious austerities on Al-Muqattam near Cairo and attended law court with his father and studied theology. One day he encountered a saint who told him that the hour of his illumination was at hand but that he must go to the Hijaz to receive it.\(^{32}\) So Ibn-ul-Fārid went to Mecca where his odes celebrate the hills and valleys in the neighbourhood of the holy city. After fifteen years he was called by the saint to Egypt where the saint was on his deathbed in order to pray over him. Ibn-ul-Fārid obeyed and have performed this pious duty settled in Cairo for the rest of his life. Ali, the grandson of Ibn-ul-Fārid and his biographer mentions two sons of the Poet, Kāmaluddin Muhammad and

\(^{30}\) _A short history of Islam_, p. 198.

\(^{31}\) _Islamic culture_, p. 25.

Abdul Rahman, who were invested with the *Khirqa* by the famous Sufi Shihābuddīn Suhrāwārdī on the occasion of his meeting with Ibn-ul-Fārid at Mecca in 1231 A.D.\(^\text{33}\)

Ibn ul Fārid was held in high esteem as a Sufi by the people. He mostly lived in a state of bewilderment as well as detachment from the worldly life. He would often lie on his back wrapped up like a dead man and would pass several days without eating or drinking anything.\(^\text{34}\) His grandson Ali used to describe his Sufistic experiences, love of the Divine and longing for absorption into the Divine self through his poetry, which is not only thoroughly Arabian in both form and spirit, but also a perfect model of the style used by the Sufis to express their ecstasies.\(^\text{35}\)

His poetic collection 'Diwān' comprising about twenty qasidas and *qitās* together with some quatrains (*rubā'iyāt*) and enigmas (*alghaz*). The longest poem in Ibn ul Farid's 'Diwān' is entitled as *Nazm ul Suluk* (poem on the Sufi progress) generally known as the Ta'iyyatu'l Kubra in which he is said to have favoured the doctrine of *hulul*. His other most popular poem is known as *al Khamriyah* (The Wine Ode) on the description of the wine of divine love "which the lovers have quaffed before the grapes were created (i.e. on the day of the covenant) and which intoxicates the whole

\(^{33}\) Ibid., p 165.

\(^{34}\) *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 396.

\(^{35}\) *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 115.
world, cures the sick, makes the blind see and the deaf hear and leads man like the north star towards the eternal goal.\textsuperscript{36}

Ibn ul Fārid's poetry has a feature that was entirely absent from pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. Ibn ul Fārid comes as near as he ever does to the modern European conception of what poetry should be.

There flourished in this period several other philosophers and Sufis. Of them Afdaluddin Muhammad bin Namawar al-Khunaji (1194-1248), author of \textit{Kashf-ul-Asrār 'an Ghawāmid-il Afkār} (Disclosure of Secrets about Obscure Thoughts), \textit{al-Mūjaz} (The Compendium) on logic and \textit{al-Jumal}, a summarized version of the book \textit{Nihāyat-ul-Amāl} (The Extreme Hope) by Ibn Marzūq al-Tilismani and Qaysar Ta'asif were eminent philosophers and thinkers of this period.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Islamic dynasties of the Arab East}, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p. 45.
Chapter-VII

LITERARY PROGRESS
The Ayyūbid rulers were munificent patrons of learning and educational activities. Salāhuddīn preferred the society of the wise men, the hafizs and scholars. He appreciated all kinds of talents and himself recited some poems which appealed to him, and the poets were always assured of a warm reception.¹ Many ulama who occupied official posts in the Ayyūbid period contributed to the writing of history, poetry and linguistic sciences.² A good number of biographical sketches of eminent persons as well as historical and geographical accounts of different cities and states were also produced in this period.³ This period also saw the popularity of the art of composing and reciting poetry extempore. The book *Badāʿīʿul Badāʾih* (The Novel Extempore Poems) is a collection of such poems composed by different poets in the poetical gatherings which were frequently organized and held almost everywhere in the Ayyūbid society. Ḥimāduddīn Isfahani has given in his book *Khāridat ul Qasr* (The Pearl of the Palace) biographies of 140 Egyptian and 130 Syrian poets who flourished under later Fatimid and Ayyūbid periods.⁴ Numerous books on religious, linguistic sciences, history, geography and poetry were produced in this period. The main authors are briefly discussed below.

**Religious and Linguistic authors**

1. 'Uthmān bin 'Umar Ibn-ul-Hājib (1174-1249)

   'Uthmān bin 'Umar Ibn-ul-Hājib was a renowned linguist and Maliki jurist. He was born at (Fana) Esneh in Upper Egypt in 1174. His

4. Ibid., p. 52.
father was a Kurdish chamberlain to Amir Izz al Din Müsak al Sālahi. He studied the Qur’ān and other sciences, Maliki law and its sources and grammar in Cairo. His main teachers were Imam al Shālibi, jurist Abu Mansur al Abyāri etc. He devoted himself to literature. He went to Damascus and became popular there for teaching Maliki law in the great Umayyad mosque. After that he went to Cairo and Alexandria. He died in Alexandria on 11th Feb., 1249.

He wrote many books on law and prosody but he was especially celebrated in the field of grammar. His famous books on grammar are *Kāfiyah* and *al Shāfiyeh*. Numerous commentaries, 67 on *al-Kāfiyeh* and 26 on *al-Shāfiyeh* were written by Arabic and Persian writers. He combined the doctrine of Malikis of Egypt with the Maghribi Maliki in his book "Mukhtasar-ul-Fiqh (The Compendium). It is also called Jami ul Ummahat. On prosody he wrote *Maqsadul Jalil* and *Muntahal Su'al wa'l Amal* on Maliki law. He wrote a commentary on the book al-*Mufassal* of *Zamakhsharī* under the title *al Idah* (The clarification).

2. Ibn Quddāmah (1146-1223)

Abdullāh bin Ahmad Quddāmah al-Jamāli al Maqdisi was a famous Hanbali jurist. He was born at Jammāil in Palestine and studied at

7. *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East*, p. 50.

3. Yaish bin 'Ali bin Yaish (1161-1245)

Muwaffaq al Din Abu'l Baqa Yaish bin Yaish born at Aleppo in 1161, was an Arab grammarian. He studied grammar and hadith in his native town and in Damascus. He taught literature in Aleppo and considered an authority in the field of *Adab* (Literature). Ibn Khallikān took advantage of his teaching in 1229. He wrote a commentary on Zamakhsharī's *Mufassal* and a *hashiya* (Marginal Notes) on Ibn Djinni's commentary on the *Tasrif* of al Mazini. He died at Halab on 18th Oct., 1245 and buried there in the Mukam-e Ibrāhim.

4. Ibn Mutī (1169-1231)

Abu'l Hasan Yahyā Ibn Abdul Mutī al Zawawi was born in 1169, surnamed Zayn al Din (The Ornament of Religion). Zawawi means belonging to the zawawa (zoaves), a great tribe. He was a member of

9. *A history of Arabic Literature,* p. 250
Hanafi sect and one of the great masters of this period as grammarian and philologist. He studied grammar and law in Algiers with Abu Musa al Djazuli and Ibn Asākir. He taught grammar in Damascus when al Malik al Kāmil visited the Syrian capital Damascus, he invited him to Egypt and appointed him professor of literature at the 'Amr Mosque in Cairo. He died there on Monday 29th Sept., 1231. He composed a poem of 1000 verses Alfiya and Fusil ul Khamsin (The Fifty Chapters) and Al-Durrat ul-Alfiya fi 'Ilm al-'Arabiya on Arabic linguistic sciences.

5. Abdul Azīz bin Abdul Salām (1181-1262)

Abdul Azīz bin Abdul Salām bin Qasim al Sulami surnamed Sultan al-'Ulama was born at Damascus. He was a Shafii jurist. He was also a mujtahid. He was brought up in Damascus. He received his education in his native place and in Baghdad. He taught in Damascus but after sometime he was summoned to Egypt by Malik Shāh. He wrote a good number of books on Shafii jurisprudence. Among his notable works are Tafsīr-al Kabīr on the Qur’anic exegesis from the linguistic point of view; Qawā'id ul Shariāh (Rules of the Islamic Law), Qawā'id ul Ahkām fi'Islah-il Anām (Rules of the Derivation of Laws for Reforming the People) on jurisprudence; Faraq bayan-al Iman-wal Islām (The Difference between Iman and Islam) and Mulhat al Iiqād which is a criticism of Al-Ashari's system.

6. Muhammad bin 'Abdullāh Ibn Mālik (1203-74)

Jamāluddin Muhammad bin Abdullāh ibn Mālik was born in Spain. He studied in his native town with Abu'l Muzaffar. He then went to the east and studied under Ibn ul Hājib and Ibn Yaish. After completing his studies he began to teach grammar in Damascus and became famous as philologist. He was a Maliki but after sometime became a Shafī. He wrote about 30 books on Arabic grammar in both prose and poetry. He was author of the books: Al Fawā'id (Useful Teachings) on the subject of syntax; Alfiyah, a didactic poem on grammar; and al-Tashil (The Simplification) which has been the subject of numerous commentaries. About 49 commentaries on Alfiyah and 10 on al Tashīl have been written.

7. Abdul Azim bin Abdul Qawi al Mundhiri (1185-1258)

Abdul Azim bin Abdul Qawi bin Abdullah Zaki ud din Mundhiri was born in Egypt. He was a renowned traditionist in Arabic. He travelled for the purpose of study to Mecca, Damascus, Edessa, Alexandria and other countries. He taught hadith of the Shafī rite for twenty years in the Kāmiliya Madrasa at Cairo. He wrote al-Targhib w-al-Tarhib (Making Interested and Making Frightened), a collection of traditions arranged in such a fashion that those which guide to what is right appear on one side,

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22. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 50.
and those which lead to the avoidance of evil, on the other.\textsuperscript{24} A book on hadith \textit{Arba-ūn Hadith} (Treatise on Forty Traditions), a commentary on the book \textit{al Tanbih} on jurisprudence, \textit{Mukhtasar Sunan Abi Dawūd}, \textit{Mukhtasar Sahih Muslim} and \textit{al Takmilat li-Wafayāta al-Naqalah}\.\textsuperscript{25}

8. Uthmān bin Abdul Rahmān Ibn ul Salāh (1181-1245)

Taqi al Din Umar Uthmān bin Abdul Rahmān Ibn ul Salāh was born at Sharakhān. He belonged to a Kurdish family. He studied at Mosul and travelled through the chief towns of Khurasān. He taught Shafīi law in Damascus. He wrote \textit{Aqsa 'l Amal wa'l Shawq} (The Liveliest Hope and Desire) which deals with the science of traditions\textsuperscript{26}, \textit{Marifāh Anwā 'Ilm il Hadith} on science of Apostolic traditions, \textit{al Fatāwā} (The juridical Decisions), \textit{Adab-ul-Mufīt w-al-Mustafī} (Ethics of the Giver and Seeker of Judicial Decision) \textit{Fawāid ul Rihlah} (The Benefits of Journey) in several volumes and a commentary on the book of \textit{al Wasit} on Shafīi jurisprudence.\textsuperscript{27}

9. Ibn Abī'Asrūn (1099-1189)

Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Hibatullah al Tamimi Saifuddin Abu Sad Ibn Abī Asrūn was a Shafīi jurist. He was born in Mosul and shifted to Baghdad. He spent most of his life in Damascus as a Qadi, where a madrasa was built in his name called Asrūniya. He was also the author of

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{A history of Arabic Literature}, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{25} 'Al-Alām, vol. IV, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{A history of Arabic Literature}, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Islamic dynasties of the Arab East}, p. 49.
Sifwātul Madhhab ala Nihayat ul Matlab in seven volumes; Al-Intisār (The victory) in four volumes; Al Murshid in two volumes; and al Dharīah fi Marʾifat-il Shāriah (The Means of Knowledge of Islamic Laws). 28

10. As-Sakhawi (1163-1245)

Ali bin Muhammad Abdul Samad Hamdāni was a Shafī jurist. He was a learned man and specialized in tafsir, grammar and qirat. He was born in Sakha and shifted to Damascus where he spent his life. He wrote Jamālul Qarrā wa Kamāl ul Iqrā on tajwid, Hidāyatul Murtāb on Qurʾānic verses and a commentary on Zamakhshari's Mufassāl in four volumes and the title al-Mufaddal.29

11. Ali bin Ibrāhim al Ghazanawi (d. 1186)

Ali bin Ibrāhim bin Ismail al Ghazanawi, a renowned Hanafi jurist and Mufassir lived in Halab. He wrote Tafsīr-ul-Tafsīr (Interpretation of Interpretation) in two big volumes and Mashāri ul Sharai (Squares of Islamic Laws) on jurisprudence.30

12. Ibrahim bin Mansur al 'Irāqī (1116-1200)

Ibrāhim bin Mansur al Irāqī was a Shafī shaykh of Egypt and author of a commentary on the book al Muhadhdhab of al Shirazī in ten volumes.31

29. Ibid., p. 333.
31. Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 49.
13. 'Abdul Ghanî al-Jamma'îlî (1146-1203)

Abdul Ghanî bin Abdul Wahid bin Ali al Jamma'îlî was a Hanbali jurist. He was born in Jamma'il near Nabulus and shifted to Damascus. He wrote *al-Kamāl fi Asmā-il Ri'jal* on the narrators mentioned in six authentic collections of Apostolic Traditions in ten volumes, and *al-Durrat-ul-Mudīyah-il-Sirat-il-Nabawīyah* (The Shining Pearl on the Life of the Prophet)\(^2\), *Al' Misbah* in 48 volumes, *Umdatul Ahkām min Kalam Khayrīlīnām* and *An Nasiha fi al Adiyatis Sahiyya, Ashrāt al-sā'ah*\(^3\).

14. Mufaddal al Maliki (1150-1214)

Mufaddal al Maliki was an eminent scholar of this period. He was author of *Kitāb-ul-Arabā'in* (The book of Forty Apostolic Traditions)\(^4\).

15. Ibn Shās (d. 1219)

Abdullah bin Mohd. bin Najmuddin bin Shās was a Maliki jurist of Egypt. He wrote *al Jawāhir ul Thamīnah* (The Precious Gems) on the Maliki jurisprudence\(^5\).

16. Mu'azzām bin Isa bin Muhammad (1180-1227)

Muazzām bin Isa bin Muhammad was author of *al-Sahm-ul-Musīb fil Radd-al-Khatib* (The Hitting Arrow in Criticism of al-Khatib) in which he has refuted al-Khatib's criticism of Imam Abu Hanifa. He also wrote a

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\(^{2}\) Ibid., p.49.

\(^{3}\) ‘Al-Alām, vol. IV, p. 34.

\(^{4}\) Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 49.

commentary on *al Jāmi-ul-Kabīr* of al-Shaybāni on the principles of the Hanafite jurisprudence.\(^{36}\)

17. **Abul Qāsim al Qusi (1160-1246)**

Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad bin Abdul Aziz al Lakhami Abul Qāsim, a renowned Hanafi jurist, was born in Qus and shifted to Cairo. He wrote a commentary on the book *Mashāriq-ul-Anwar* of al-Saghāni under the title *Hadā'iq-ul-Azhār* (The Gardens of Flowers) on the science of Apostolic Traditions.\(^{37}\)

18. **Zamalkāni (d. 1253)**

Abdul Wāhid bin 'Abdul Karīm al-Zamalkāni was author of *al-Tibyān fi 'Ilm il Bayān al-Mutli 'ala Ijaz il Qurān* (Clear Explanation of Rhetoric regarding the Miraculous Nature of the Qur’ān) and *Fil Khasa‘is il Nabawiyah* (Treatise on the Characteristics of the Prophet).\(^{38}\)

19. **Muhammad Abil Fadl al Mursi (1174-1257)**

Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Muhammad Abil Fadl al Mursi was a commentator. He wrote *Rayy ul Zamān fi Tafsir al Qurān* (Satisfying the Thirsty on the Qur’ānic Exegesis) in twenty volumes, *al Tafsir al Awsat* (The Intermediary Exegesis) in Ten volumes, *al Tafsir-ul-Saghib* (The Short Exegesis) in three volumes, *al Kāfi* on Arabic grammar and and *al_ \(^{36}\) Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 49.


\(^{38}\) Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 50.
Imlā-al-Mufassal (The Dictation on the Book al Mufassal) in which he has pointed out 70 mistakes committed by its author Zamakhshārī.39

20. Ibn Shār (1196-1254)

Mubarak bin Ahmad Abul Barkat was a historian and philologist. He was born in Mosul and died in Halab. He wrote Tuhfatul-Wizārah al-Mudhayyal alā Kitāb Mujam al-Shu‘arā, Tazkira in twelve volumes. Qalāidul I‘ra‘id, Aqadul jamān fi Shu‘ara-e-Hadha al-Zamān.40

21. Ibn Asākir (1155-1223)

Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad bin Hasan Abu Mansur Ibn Asākir was Shafī jurist. He was author of Kitab ul Arbain fi Manaqib Ummāhat al-Muminīn. He was brother of the famous historian Ibn Asākir.41

22. Ziauddin Al-Marani (1123-1206)

Uthman bin Isa al Marani Ziauddin was a Shafī jurist. He spent his childhood in Arbal and after that shifted to Damascus. Sultan Salāhuddīn appointed him Qādī al Qudāt of Egypt. He died in Cairo. He wrote Istisqah Mazahibul Fiqh in three volumes and Sharah ul Lama on principles of jurisprudence.42

39. Ibid., p. 50.
42. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 212.
Main Historians and Geographers

1. Abu Tahir al Salafi (1085-1180)

Ahmad bin Muhammad Abu Tahir al Salafi surnamed Sadr al-Din (centre of religion) was a Hafiz of great information and follower of the sect of al Shafii. He was born in Ispahan and travelled different places for the study of hadith and went to Baghdad where he studied jurisprudence under al-Kiya al-Harrasî and Arabic under the Khatib Abu Zakariya Yahya al Tabrizi. Al Adil Ibn ul Sallar Wazir to al Zafi al Ubaydi prince of Egypt, founded a college at Alexandria and appointed him its president. He taught there till his death and was visited by persons from different countries, who came to attend his lectures. He wrote an encyclopaedic work under the title *Mujam Mashyakhah Isbahan* (Biographical Dictionary of the Shykhs of Isfahan) and another encyclopaedia of Baghdadi people "Mu'jam Shuyukh Baghdad" "Mujam al- Safar". He was also the author of *Al Faddilul Bâhirah fi misr wal Qahirah* (The shining virtues of Egypt and Cairo). He compiled a collection of forty traditions "al Buldaniya" because every tradition was found in a different town.

2. Usâmah bin Munqidh (1098-1188)

Abu'l Muzaffar Usâma Ibn Munqidh was one of the most powerful learned members of Munqidh family. He was born on 25th June 1095 at

Shaizar in Syria. He was exiled in 1138 by his uncle Izz al Din, who feared his courage and ambition and went to Damascus. In 1162 he went with Nūruddīn on his campaign against the Franks.\(^{47}\) He spent most of his life in contact with the Franks and amirs of Syria and Caliphs of Egypt. He was a man of great charm and intelligence, a soldier, a sportsman and a man of letters. Usama was a bibliophile. He composed a number of books on different branches of literature. *Kitābul I'tibar* (Book of Instruction with illustration) which is an excellent autobiographical work. *Kitāb ul Asa* (The book of stick) is a collection in the traditional Arabic manner of anecdotes, rhymes, sayings and proverbs on matters relating to sticks.\(^{48}\) His remaining important books are *Al Manazil w-al Diyār* (The lodgings and the provinces); *al Qila w-al Husūn* (The fortresses and strongholds). and a book on women under the title *Akhbār ul Nisa*.\(^{49}\)

3. Imāduddin al Isfahani (1125-1201)

Muhammad bin Muhammad Saifūdīn Ibn Nafis Imāduddīn, surnamed al Kātib al Isfahani, the secretary of Isfahan, was a celebrated Arab Stylist and historian. He was born at Isfahan in 1125. He studied fiqh and literature in Baghdad. He belonged to the new class of college trained civil servants.\(^{50}\) Amir al Din Ibn Hubaria, Wazir of Seljuq Sultan Muhammad II appointed him Naib in Wasit.\(^{51}\) After the death of Ibn

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47. *A history of Arabic Literature*, p. 194.
Hubaria he joined the service of Nūruddīn who appointed him Kātīb and later Mudarris at a madrasa built in honour of him called al-Imādiyah. After that he became secretary of Salāhuddīn in 1175. He had a deep admiration for Salāhuddīn. On Salāhuddīn's death in 1193 he lived a secluded life and devoted himself to literary work. His book *al Barq al Shāmi* (The Syrian Lightening) deals with the years 1166-1193 covering the period which he spent in the domains of Nūruddīn and Salāhuddīn. This gives the book the value of a historical record of events narrated by an eye witness. His other books are *al Fath al qussī fil fath al qudsī* which covers the period 1187-1193 from the year in which Jerusalem was conquered by Salāhuddīn till his death. *al Sayl ‘alal Dhayl* on history of Baghdad in three volumes; *Nusrat ul Fatrah* (Victory of the Period) on the history of the Seljūq states; and *al Bustān* (The Garden) on history. His actual narratives of events are invariably comprehensive, precise and straightforward. He shows no sign of the twisting of facts. Although he admired Salāhuddīn, yet in his writings, he criticized his actions and judgment on several occasions.

4. Ali bin Zāfar al Azdi (1171-1216)

Jamāluddīn Ali bin Zāfar bin Hasan al Azdi was born in 1171 in Cairo. He was a distinguished historian and man of letters. He became his

52. *A history of Arabic Literature*, p. 190.
54. *‘Al-Alām*, vol. VII, p. 27.
father's successor as professor in the Kāmilīyya Madrasa at Cairo. After that he joined the service of al Malik al Ashrāf Muzaffār al Din Musa. He wrote of al Duwal ul Munqati-ah (The Past States) on the history of the Tulunids and the Ikhshidids, the history of Fatimids and Abbasids; Dhayl al Manāqib al Nuriyah on the attainment and merits of the Nūrids; Akhbār al Muluk al Duwat al Saljūqiyyāh (History of the rulers of the Seljūqs states); and Akhbār ul shujān (History of the Brave); and a literary book Kitāb Badā'ī al Badāīh which is a collection of jokes, witty replies, etc. He was translated the persian poet Firdausi's Shahnamah into Arabic.

5. Al-Qiftī (1172-1248)

Abu'l Hasan Ali bin Yusuf Ibn al Qiftī surnamed after the little town of Qift in upper Egypt, was born in 1172. He studied various branches of learning in Cairo. Malik al Zahir appointed him governor of Aleppo against his will. After the prince's death, he speedily got himself rid of the responsibility. He was a great bibliophile, he turned his back from all other earthly delights and indulged in literary work. He wrote Ikhbār ul Ulamā' bi Akhbār il Hukamā (Acquainting the Scholars with the History of Philosophers and Physicians), Akhbār Misr in six volumes and Tārikh ul Yaman (History of Yemen), etc.

60. Ibid., vol. III, p. 398.
6. Ibn Unayn (1154-1232)

Mohammad bin Nasrullāh Ibn Unayn was born in Damascus on 20th October, 1154. He was a great poet of his time. He wandered through Yemen, Persia, India and Bukhara. Then after visiting Hijaz, he returned to Damascus after Salāhuddīn's death.\(^6^3\) He entered in the service of Malik 'Azīz and after sometime he became Wazir of Malik Ādil. He was a cheerful, good-humoured man. His poems are mostly scattered and lost, as they were not collected by him in a book form. He wrote *al Tārikh ul Azizi* - the biography of Ayyūbid Sultan al Mālik al Azīz and *Diwan al Shi' r*.\(^6^4\)

7. Abu Shāmah (1202-1267)

Shihab ad Din Abu'l Qasim Abu Shāmah, the traditionist, jurist, grammarian and historian was born in Damascus on 10 January, 1203. He studied in his native town and then went to Alexandria for the study of jurisprudence and philosophy. After that he returned home and obtained a professorship in the madrasa al Rukniya.\(^6^5\) As he was suspected of a crime, he was killed by an excited mob on 17th June, 1268.\(^6^6\) He wrote several books on various subjects of which seven books deal with history. His chief work is *Kitāb ul Rawdātayn fi al Akhbār il Dawlātyn* the book of two gardens, concerning the two dynasties of Salāhuddīn and Nūruddīn.\(^6^7\) This

\(^6^3\) A history of Arabic Literature, p. 193.
\(^6^5\) A history of Arabic Literature, p. 192.
\(^6^7\) Arab historians of the Crusades, p. xxx.
work opens with a short account of the atabegs of Mosul, the ancestors of Nūrūddīn, with special reference to the activities of Imāduddīn Zangī. Thereafter Abu Shāmah records the history of Nūrūddīn and after his death in 1174, the history of Salāhuddīn in chronological order, beginning with the year 572 till Salāhuddīn's death in 1193. He also wrote the *Uyun* a summary of *al Rawdatāyn and Tarājim Rijālīl Qarnayn al Sādis wal Sabi* (Biographies of Eminent Men of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries).

8. Baha'uddin Ibn Shaddād (1145-1234)

Yusuf ibn Rafi Baha'uddin Ibn Shaddād was a poet and follower of the Shafii sect. He was born at Mosul on 6th March, 1145. He learnt the Qur'ān under the celebrated Hafiz Abu Bakr Yahya Ibn Sadun of Cordova. He visited several countries. He also served as an assistant professor in the Nizamiya college of Baghdad. In 1174 he returned to Mosul and became professor in the college founded by Kamaluddīn Abul Fadl Muhammad. After that he entered into Salāhuddīn's service in 1188, who appointed him judge of the army and Qādi in Jerusalem. Very soon he became Salāhuddīn's intimate friend and accompanied him everywhere on his travels and even in the battle-field into the front line.

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68. *Historians of the middle East*, p. 93.
72. *Arab historians of the Crusades*, p. xxix.
73. *Historians of the middle East*, p. 87.
Salahuddin's death he was appointed Qādi of Aleppo by Salahuddīn's successor where he founded two madrasahs.\textsuperscript{74} He wrote \textit{al Nawādir al Sultāniyah w-al Mahāsin ul Yusufiyah} on the biography of Sultan Salahuddīn. It is divided into two parts. The first outlines the life of Salahuddin and his virtuous qualities (e.g. justice, generosity and observation of religious practices). The second part deals with the events which took place from the time of Shirkuh's expedition into Egypt upto the death of Salahuddin in 1193. It is an accurate eyewitness account on the subject as he has derived his material from the most reliable authorities.\textsuperscript{75} The style of Baha'uddin is simple and straight-forward. Baha'uddin may perhaps be called uncritical, but he was no deluded hero-worshipper. His admiration is that of an upright and honest friend from whom nothing was concealed, and there can be no question of deliberate suppression or deflection of the truth in his narrative of the last five years of Salahuddin's life. He also gives portrait of Salahuddin at his climax of success. But in the desperate conflict of the Third Crusade, it supplies, little direct evidence on the long and hard struggle to build up his power.\textsuperscript{76}

9. Sibt al Jawzī (1185-1256)

Shamsuddin Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf al Jawzī was born at Baghdad in 1186. His father was a slave of Ibn Hubaira, the Wazir of Baghdad, who freed him and educated him.\textsuperscript{77} His father had married the daughter of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} \textit{A history of Arabic Literature}, 191.
\item \textsuperscript{75} \textit{Historians of the middle East}, p. 87.
\item \textsuperscript{76} \textit{Studies of the civilization of Islam}, p. 92.
\item \textsuperscript{77} \textit{A history of Arabic Literature}, p. 208.
\end{itemize}
learned Shaykh Ibn al Jawzī. Hence he was known by the name Sibt al Jawzī. He travelled to different places for the purpose of study and settled in Damascus and taught there Hanafite law. He joined the court of Ayyūbid rulers and became a famous scholar in the court of Muazzām Isa of Damascus. He wrote *Mirāt ul Zamān fī Tārikh il Ayān* (The mirror of time on the history of personages) is a universal history beginning with the creation and ending in 1257, the year of his death. The portion dealing with the Ayyūbid period is large and contains first-hand information derived from contemporaries. He also wrote *Tadhikirat Khawass al Ummah* which is a history of Caliph Ali and his family and the twelve Imams. He was also the author of a treatise on policy and on education of princes under the title *al Jalis al Sālih* (The honest comrade) in honour of Musa Abi Bakr.

10. Ibn Athīr (1160-1233)

Abu'l Hasan Ali Izz ul Din Ibn'ul Athīr was born in 1160 A.D. in Mosul and died in 1233. He was brought up at Mosul in Mesopotamia and studied in Baghdad, Jerusalem and Syria. After completing his study he returned to Mosul and devoted himself to reading and literary composition. Ibn Khallikān described him as a man and scholar of highest rank. He wrote many books on various subjects. His most important work is *al Kāmil fī al Tārikh*, a universal history of pre-Mohhammadan times to the

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78. Ibid., p. 208.
79. *Historians of the middle East*, p. 92.
82. *'Al-Alām*, vol. IV, p. 331.
year 1231 for which he made careful and critical selections from earlier and contemporary writers. For the history of earlier period he mostly depended upon the work of al Tābari and for his own time he was an eyewitness and used Imāduddin and Baha’uddin's works. In his books Usd al ghaba (Lions of the Forest) and al Lubāb, he wrote biographical dictionaries of the Prophet's Companions and of the Traditionists.

11. Ibn al Mammāti

Al Qadi’l Asad al Mammāti was a kātib and inspector of the government office in Salāhuddin and his son al ‘Aziz’s period. He was a descendant from a Coptic family in Upper Egypt. He was a man of merit and author of a number of books. He wrote an administrative history and survey of Egypt under Salāhuddin "al Qawānīn al Dawāwin'. It is ranked as the most reliable work of its kind. He versified the history of Sultan Salāhuddin and "Kalilah and Dimnah". His poetical compositions have been collected and published in the form of a Diwan.

12. Ibn Wāsil (1207-1298)

Jamāluddin Muhammad ibn Wāsil, an Arab historian was born in 1207 in Hamat. He was a teacher in Hamat and taught there Shafii law, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy. In 1261 Egyptian Sultan Baibars

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83 Arab historians of the Crusades, p.xxvii.
84 Historians of the middle East, p. 88.
85 Ibid., p. 95.
87 Historians of the middle East, p. 95.
summoned him to Cairo and despatched him on a mission to Manfred, king of Sicily, son of Frederick II. On his return he became chief Qādi and professor in Hamat where he died in 1298. His important work on the history of the Ayyūbids titled as *Mufarrij ul Kurub fi Akhbār Bani Ayyūb* gives a brief account of the history of the Zangids and Mamluks also upto 1282. It is therefore one of the best sources for the history of the thirteenth century Crusade wars.

13. Ibn Adīm (1192-1262)

Umar bin Ahmad bin Hibatullah Kamāluddīn Ibn al Adīm was born in Aleppo in 1192. He belonged to the family of Qadis. He travelled for the purpose of study to Hijaz, Mesopotamia and Syria. On his return to his native town he discharged the duties of Qādi and even of minister to several princes. He accompanied Mālik al Nasir to Egypt, when the sovereign was obliged to abandon Aleppo on the destruction caused by the Mongols. Kamāluddīn was a skilful calligrapher and prolific writer. He was author of the book *'Bughyat al Talib'* which is a history of the learned men of the city in ten volumes. Another important book produced by him was titled as "*Zubdat al Halab fi Tārikh Halab*" (Cream of the Milk in the History of Aleppo).

90. *Historians of the middle East*, p. 94.

Abu'l Qasim Ali Ibn Asākir was born in September, 1105 in Damascus. He travelled to Baghdad and other principal cities of Persia for the study of traditions of the Prophet. He performed professional duties at the Nūriyya school and died in his native town in 1176. Salāhuddīn himself attended his funeral.93 His principal work is Tārīkh Madinat Dimashk which he wrote on the style Tārīkh Baghdad of al Khātib al Baghdādi. It is a collection of biographies of all men who had ever been connected with Damascus. This work comprising 80 volumes in very large. It was later abridged by various authors.94

15. Uthmān bin Ibrāhīm al Nābulusī (d. 1286)

Uthmān bin Ibrāhīm al Nābulusi was a renowned historian of the Ayyubid period. He wrote Lam'ul Qawānin il Mudiyah fi Dawāwin il Diyār il Misriyah (Lustre of the shining laws in the offices of the Egyptian Provinces); Tajrid Sayf al-Himmah li-Istikhrāj Mafī al-Dhimmāh and Tārīkh al Fayum.95

16. Muhammad bin Asād Jawwānī (1131-92)

He was an eminent genealogist of his time and author of Tabaqāt il Talibin (The Classes of Seekers) and Taj ul Ansāb (The Crown of Genealogies).96

93. A history of Arabic Literature, p. 199.
96 Islamic dynasties of the Arab East, p. 51.
17. Ali al Harawi (d. 1214)

He was a renowned Islamic scholar. He wrote *al Ishārāt‘ila Ma‘rifat il Ziyārāt* (Information about the Visiting Places).97

18. Abdul Latif al Baghdādi (1162-1231)

He was a renowned scientist, physician, philosopher and historian. He was author of *Kitāb ul Ifādah wal Itibār* comprising two chapters, the first of which deals with the nature, population, flora and fauna of Egypt, while the other is devoted to the discussion of the Nile and the devastation caused by drought and epidemic diseases in this country.98

**Important poets**

1. Al-Qādi al-Fādil (1135-1200)

Abdul Rahim b. Ali surnamed al Qādi al Fādil (the excellent judge) was born in Ascalon in Palestine. He was the son of the Qādi of that town.99 He travelled to several places for the purpose of study. He worked in administrative offices from the last years of the Fatimids of Egypt. He also served the Ayyūbids before the foundation of that dynasty and became a close confidant of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi.100 Salāhuddīn appointed him governor of Egypt during his own campaign in Syria. After Salāhuddīn he became Wazir of al Azīz and al Malik al Afzāl. The documents compiled

97. Ibid., p.51.
98. Ibid., p. 51.
100. *Historians of the middle East*, p. 85.
by him, known as Rasail is a rich material for the historians of that period. He was also author of a Diwan; Tarsul Qādī al Fādil; Rasail Insha al Qādī al Fādil, al Durr al Nazim fi Tarassul Abdur Rahim.\(^1\)

2. Hibatullah Sāna ul Mulk (1150-1211)

Hibatullah Sāna ul Mulk surnamed al Qādi al Said (The lucky judge) was a celebrated Egyptian poet. He was born in 1150 and studied traditions from Hafiz Abu Tahir al Salafi.\(^2\) He went to Syria in 1176 where he came into contact with Salāhuddīn. He was appointed as a secretary in the department of army by Sultan al Malik. He was one of those men who obtained high rank by their merit and talent. Qādi al Fādil was greatly impressed by him. He wrote Diwan Dār ul Tiraz (Store-house of Embroideries) which contains elegant pieces of verses known as al-muwashshahat. He was also the author of Fusus al Fusul which is an anthology of scattered verses and prose works extracted from his literary correspondence.\(^3\) He abriged the book of animals composed by al Jahiz under the title Ruh al Haywān.\(^4\)

3. Kamāluddin Ibn Nabīh (1165-1222)

Ali bin Muhammad bin Hasan bin Yusuf Kamāluddin Ibn Nabīh was a famous poet of Egypt. He entered in the service of al Malik al Ashraf

\(^{102}\) Wafayāt ul Ayān, vol. VI, p. 81.
\(^{103}\) A history of Arabic Literature, p. 114.
\(^{104}\) Wafayāt ul Ayān, vol. VI, p. 81.
Musa, prince of Nasibin in Mesopotamia, as his secretary. He composed panegyrics on several Ayyūbid rulers. He wrote *Diwan al Shair* and *Intiqah min majmah Shirihi*.

4. Bahāuḍdīn Zuḥair al Muhallabī (1186-1258)

Bahāuḍdīn Zuḥair al Muhallabī was born in Nakḥla near Mecca in 1186 and spent his life in Cairo where he studied fiqh and literature. After that he became secretary in Egyptian government and court poet of the Ayyūbid government at the time of Malik Kāmil Ayyūbid and remained faithful to him till his death. After the death of al Malik al Kāmil he joined Malik Saleh. He died in 1258, leaving a Diwān which was published and translated into English by E.H. Palmer. His work is a complete reflection of civilization under the Ayyūbid period.

5. Jamāluddīn Yaḥyā Ibn Matruḥ (1196-1251)

Jamāluddīn Yaḥyā Ibn Matruḥ was born at Siout in Upper Egypt. He spent his early life in his native city and studied there. After serving on various posts under the Ayyūbid government; he was appointed as secretary in the department of treasury by al Malik Salih Najmūddīn. Later he was appointed governor of Damascus with the title of Wazir. Ibn Khallikān described him as a man of great power. He wrote a Diwān which

contains a poem on the battle of Mansurah in which French king Louis IX was defeated and taken prisoner.\footnote{110}

6. Aydamir al Mahyawi (d. 1275)

Aydamir al Mahyawi Muhyi al Din Muhammad bin Muhammad Said bin Nadi was a poet of Turkish origin. He was a freed slave of Muhyi al din Muhammad ibn Said. He was the poet of gardens and flowers. His diwan is known as \textit{muwashshah}.\footnote{111} Ibn Said al Maghribi wrote in his book "Al-Mashriq" that it is not possible for me to describe his merit as a poet.\footnote{112}

\footnote{110}{Ibid., p. 117.}
\footnote{111}{Ibid., p. 103.}
\footnote{112}{Muhammad Shakir al Kutabi, \textit{Fawtul Wafayât}, Cairo, 1951, p. 140.}
Chapter-VIII

ARTISTIC PROGRESS
Under the patronage of the Ayyūbids Egypt and Syria enjoyed a brilliant era of artistic and architectural activities also. After the decline of the Abbasid caliphate a good number of artists and artisans took shelter in Egypt. Pottery, metal work and wood carving were the main artistic forms that developed in this period.¹

It was there that much of the most accomplished pottery was made and much of the most delicate glass manufactured. Glass making was an ancient industry which began with the rise of civilization in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Syria.² The art of glass making in Syria was highly developed in the Ayyūbid period. Glass was made largely in Raqqa. Much progress was made in decorating glassware by applying the art of enamelling of colourless and coloured glasses, such as those used in drinking glasses, in lamps for mosques and other items. Such enamelled glass was made largely in Raqqa, Damascus and other cities.

Large numbers of public baths and caravanserais were also built in this period. It is said that there was as many as 300 public baths in Aleppo and Damascus. The quality of construction and decoration of the caravanserais still standing on the main roads of Syria is not so high as in Iran or Anatolia. The great markets that were built in Aleppo testified to the great interest taken by the Ayyūbid rulers in commerce. This is further

borne out by the account of a certain military leader who bought a palace in Aleppo and transformed it into a warehouse and oil press.\(^3\)

In Ayyūbid periods roads were properly constructed and maintained. The institution of the state postal service ensured that the roads were mapped and that the towns and staging post en route were properly equipped for the reception of travellers. One instance of the efficiency of transport was the carriage of ice from Syria to Egypt during the summer months. Five camel-loads of ice were sent every week from Syria to the Sultan's palace in Egypt and were paid for out of state funds.\(^4\)

In the 12th and 13th centuries Persian quatrains or longer poems, even Arabic poems were scribbled in a rather illegible cursive on the vessels. In metal work the artist used the possibilities of inlaying bronze with gold and silver for putting words of benediction or Qurānic verses on the bottom or the neck of the vessel, and some artists took a fancy in prolonging the stems of the letters and forming them into the shape of animals or into human bodies and faces. The same was done with inscriptions in naskh character which was at that time quite popular in the Islamic world.\(^5\)

As a witness to the quality of calligraphy during the twelfth century, a magnificent Qur'ān in 'Muhaqqaq' may be cited as an example. It

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4. *Islamic technology: an illustrated history*, p. 78.
was copied in 1160 by Masud ibn Muhammad al Katib al Isbahani, whose father was famous both as a man of letters and as a biographer and close friend of the great Salāhuddīn.⁶

Egyptian architecture developed within a very limited range of building types. In the Ayyūbid period patronage was now lavished on madrasahs, hospitals, monasteries and fortresses, markets and bridges. The Ayyūbid madrasahs were patterned on those of Zangid Syria which in turn had been influenced by the art of the great Seljūqs of the East. The majority of the Egyptians had remained unaffected by Ismaili propaganda and were still Sunnis belonging to the Shafīʿī's school of thought.⁷

Salāhuddīn spent a considerable part of his life fighting with the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine, and he captured Jerusalem from them in 1187 A.D.⁸ That was the main reason why several architectural works such as fortresses, bridges, stone vaulted bazaars, street fountains, mosques, madrasahs and other public buildings were constructed in Jerusalem and Damascus. The best known examples of work are the famous mosques at Ramlah and Gaza which were built in Norman-Sicilian style. The main features of this style are "the simple pointed and horse shoe arches, engaged or detached columns - with capitals of stiff foliage". This style was the result of Gothic art that was developed in Sicily. He converted it

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⁸ Sheikh Ahmad, *Muslim Architecture from the Advent of Islam to the fall of the Mamluke Empire in Egypt*, Lahore, 1941, p. 134.
into a Muslim city. The Haram was cleared of its Christian accretions and reconstructed as Muslim sanctuary. The cross was removed from the top of the Dome of Rock and replaced with a golden crescent and a wooden screen was placed around the rock below. Also at this time the famous wooden pulpit of Salāhuddīn was placed next to the new mihrab in the Aqsa Mosque. However, the major building projects of the Ayyūbid period date mostly to the time of Salāhuddīn's nephew al Malik al Muazzām Isa. During this period the most important project was rebuilding the city walls. Within the Haram certain restorations were carried out and at least two madrasahs were founded, the Nahawiyyah and the Muazzamiyah.\(^\text{9}\) Also the porch of the Aqsa Mosque was built during this period.

Egyptian architecture depended largely on stone. Wood was used for dome and for flat roofs.\(^\text{10}\) In this period, owing to irrigation, Damascus and other cities had forests and half timber construction was common in many areas. Even in later centuries, when wood containly became scarcer and more expansive in Egypt and Syria, small and relatively poor mosques were still provided with the usual wooden furniture, such as minbar, dikka, tomb screens, lecterns and chests. The ceilings were mostly in wood, often richly carved (as were those of even moderately sized houses) and wooden grille windows remained a standard feature of domestic architecture.\(^\text{11}\) In


Egypt, Palestine and Syria a sophisticated technique of stone cutting was used to achieve effect of texturing which was not sculptural but was akin to marquetry in wood-carving. Joggled voussoirs of extraordinary complexity and inlaid panels of different stones were particularly characteristic of Ayyūbid buildings. Immense skill was also used to achieve effect of inlay and contrasts of colour by alternating stone courses of different colours. Decoration in Egypt and Syria was on the whole remarkable for its sobriety and simplicity. It was limited to gates where single sculpted panels were often put on the walls, using Qurānic quotations or established formulas to point out the purpose of the building and glory of its founder.

Military architecture, as exemplified in the walls and gates of Cairo, was however much more daring. The builders of these fortifications were particularly adept at devising types of vault suitable for bridging awkward corners.

Ayyūbid architecture was dominated by the need to combat two enemies, the Crusaders in Palestine and the rising threat of Shiism and religious dissension. To combat the Crusaders a network of fortresses was built which rivalled those of the Crusaders both in size and technical sophistication. The Ayyūbids founded many madrasahs and khānqāhs as a means of propagation of orthodox law and religion. Salāhuddīn introduced

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12. Ibid., p. 167.
the monastic mosque in Egypt by founding the first khānqāh the Dār Sa‘īd al Su‘ādā in 1173-74.\textsuperscript{16} In 1176 Salāḥuddīn established in Cairo the first madrasah, that of Imam Shafi‘ī, the purpose of which was to propagate orthodox Islam. The Ayyūbids erected several madrasahs in Damascus and Aleppo. The first madrasah to be erected in Egypt in 1216 was a two-iwan college, of which the mausoleum of Abu Mausur Ismail still stands. The next building in Egypt to use the iwan principle was the Kāmilīyah madrasah. But the first institution to have four iwans was a curious twin madrasah (with two iwans apiece) erected by al Malik as Salih in 1241-42.\textsuperscript{17}

Salāḥuddīn himself studied at madrasahs built by Nūruddīn at Damascus and Aleppo. It is probable that those madrasahs served him as examples for his madrasahs in Cairo. These madrasahs were provided with a place for prayer, rooms for teaching and living quarters for students. The typical madrasah plan consists of a square open court or sahn. It had large covered portions spanned by pointed arches on all sides of it forming a simple Greek cross.\textsuperscript{18}

The standard form of Ayyūbid tomb was a square room covered with an octagonal zone of transition made up of squinches and blind arches, above which there was usually a sixteen sided drum pierced with windows and arches. The domes are usually tall, slightly pointed structures with

\textsuperscript{16} Architecture of the Islamic World, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 40.
\textsuperscript{18} Muslim Architecture from the Advent of Islam, p. 129.
broad fluting. The interior of the tomb was usually decorated with painted stucco designs. Important examples include the tomb of Badr al Dīn Hassan and the mausoleum of Salāḥuddīn in the madrasah Azīziya. Another feature of Ayyūbid architecture was the introduction of ablaq⁺ masonry.¹⁹

1. Madrasah of Imam Shafī'ī

Salāḥuddīn built the first madrasahs in Cairo by the tomb of Imam Shafī'ī which lies to the south of the city of Cairo. Ibn Jubair describes the shrine as a magnificent oratory of vast size. It was very strongly built on such a wide scale that it resembled a township with its dependencies.²⁰ The madrasah provided place for prayer, rooms for teaching and living quarters for students. Although the madrasahs no longer stands there, the connected tomb of Imam Shafī'ī is still intact. This is much larger than any of the earlier Fatimid tombs measuring approximately 15 m. square underneath the central dome. The wooden cenotaph of the imam survives intact and is decorated with carved geometric designs around bands of Kufic and Naskhi scripts which date back to 1178.²¹

2. Firdausi Madrasah

The Firdausi madrasah was built by Dayfa Khatun, regent of the ruler of Aleppo. This madrasah and its auxiliary buildings including a small mosque and tomb stand a little outside the ancient walls. The workmanship

⁺ Ablaq - term used to describe alternating light and dark courses of masonry.

of the complex is impeccable. Ashler masonry throughout is cut with incised, calligraphic, string-courses and worked into elegant muqarnas forms at the entrance. A bent entrance leads into the courtyard. The original central foundation still survives in the middle of marble paving, while the north side of the court is dominated by a single large iwan. The complementary triple domed prayer chamber focuses upon a mihrāb set in a wall of complex marble inlay in contrasting colours.\textsuperscript{22}

3. The Salihiya Madrasah

The madrasah was built by al-Salih Najm al Dīn Ayyūb, the seventh Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt. It was built on part of the site of the eastern Fatimid palace and was completed in 641 A.H./1243. It consisted of two blocks divided by a street. All traces of the southern block have disappeared, except the façade. Its site is now occupied by later buildings of the northern block. The western iwan, covered with a tunnel-vault is still intact.\textsuperscript{23} The richly decorated façade of this monument is worth mentioning. The portal, with its low arch, is keyed with a heavy lintel in stones assembled skilfully in quarter rounds which assure the solidity of the ensemble. The voussoirs of the arch are adorned with fleurons, on each side of this original opening there are flat backed niches decorated with shells, the outer edges of which are chiselled in foils with a Persian profile.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Architecture of Islamic World}, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Islamic Architecture in North Africa}, p. 84.
The upper part (decorated with rectangles containing muqarnas) is similar to those found in mosques at the end of the Fatimid period. The fine opening in the centre with a Persian arch is no longer ornamented with shells but is sculptured with muqarnas radiating outwards. The foundation inscription is also in cursive script.  

4. The Kāmiliyah Madrasah

It was founded by Sultan al Kāmil Nasir al Dīn, son of al-Malik al Ādil in 1225 A.D. It was the second Dār al Hadith in the world. He established in it a Waqf (endowment) for those who devoted themselves to the study of hadith as well as for the benefit of Shafi'iite lawyers.

5. Al-Madrasah al Sultaniyah at Aleppo

This madrasah was built on the order of the sultan Al Malik al Azīz Ghiyadh Duniya wa'd Dīn Mohammad. This monastery and this mausoleum have been constructed by the regent of his empire and his tutor. He has made it a college for the two juristic schools of jurisprudence rites, the Shafi'ites and the Hanafites. It contains a mosque and an edifice in which the mortal remains of sultan Malik az Zāhir was buried. Its construction was completed in 1223/4.

Several other important madrasahs built by the Ayyūbids were al Zahiriyyah in 1217, al Sultaniyyah in 1223 and Madrasah Nahwiyyah and the Mu'azzamiya built by Salāhuddīn's nephew al Malik al Muazzām.

25. Ibid.
27. Ibid., p. 114.
Salāhuddīn and his successors built many mosques, which were adjoined with madrasahs, mausoleum and citadels.

1. Mausoleum and Mosque of Imam Shafiī

The Mausoleum of Imam Shafiī was founded by al Malik al Kāmil in 1211 (608 A.H.). This mausoleum contains the mortal remains of the Imam as Shafiī, Queen Shāma wife of Salāhuddīn Ayyūbi, al Aziz Uthman, son of Salāhuddīn and the mother of Kāmil who died in 608 AH(1211).29

The mausoleum is accessible through a wooden door in its north-eastern wall. It consists of two halves, carved with fine designs and inscriptions, including verses of poetry and date of construction 608 A.H. This date is again inscribed on the exterior of the wooden lintel of the West window. The ceiling of the window recess is decorated with coffers, surrounded by geometrical designs. This decoration is the first of its kind in Egypt.30

2. The Mausoleum of Abbasid Caliph

It was built in 1242 on the model of the last Fatimid monuments. The Facade is similar in many ways to the Salih Tala's mosque. Once again there are rather simplified shells opening outwards in foils of a few degrees, and developing in fact into muqarnas. The opening is in the form of an angle rather than an arch. The corners of the spandrels are decorated

30. Ibid., p. 35.
with rosettes, while the grooves are pointed which are the only notable sign of evolution since the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{31}

3. The Mausoleum of Sultan as Salih Negm al Dīn 1249/50

The mausoleum is in contact with the northern end of as Salihiya madrasah, opposite the madrasah of al Mansur Qalaūn. It was built in 647 (1250) by order of Queen Shajarat al Durr, as a Mausoleum for her husband al Malik al Salih Najm al Dīn Ayyūb. It has a simple treatment both internally and externally. Its Façade which projects beyond that of the madrasah, is divided into panels and crowned with a serrated cresting. The dome rests on a zone of transition, with three windows in each of its four main sides. There are four more windows in the springing of the dome.\textsuperscript{32}

A most important feature of this mausoleum is the marked development of the pendentives, which differ from Fatimid ones, the number of tiers of stalactities being three instead of two. Another feature is the application of gilt glass mosaic (fusayfisā), still existing, in the decoration of the mihrāb hood, which occurs here for the first time in Egypt. Although gilt glass mosaic had previously been widely used as the principal decorative material in numerous Muslim monuments in the East, such as the Dome of Rock, the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusaleum and the great Umayyad mosque in Damascus, yet its application in Egypt has been limited to a small number of mihrābs. The woodwork of the mausoleum that has survived, comprises the following:

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Islamic Architecture in North Africa}, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{The Mosques of Egypt}, p. 38.
1. The door with its panels, engraved in fine relief,

2. The window shutters and doors of the cup boards,

3. The cenotaph, centrally placed, and engraved with ornament and beautiful Kufic inscriptions,

4. A wooden band which ran round the four sides of the square base of the dome, and which has traces of verses from the Qur'ān.\(^{33}\)

4. The Mausoleum of the Emir Abu Mansur Ismā'il

The mausoleum was constructed by the Sharif Abu Mansur Ismā'il in 1216. This mausoleum was probably on the side next to the mausoleum of Imam al Shafiī at a distance of about 270 meters to the north. It is said on the authority of al-Maqrizi that Abu Mansur founded a madrasah called al Madrasah al Shafiiyyah for the propogation of the Shafiīte school of jurisprudence.\(^{34}\)

5. The Great Mosque

The great mosque in the citadel was rebuilt by Ghazī, son of Salāhuddin in 1213-14 on the site of an older sanctuary. This rare kind of mosque has a large central area with a cupola between every pair of cross-vaults, and a court in front of it which is surrounded by barrel-vaulted halls\(^{35}\)

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33. Ibid.
34. *The Muslim Architecture*, p. 79.
Military architecture was also produced during that period. The arrival of the Crusaders at the end of the eleventh century revolutionized military architecture which was marked by a fusion of European, Byzantine and Islamic principles of fortification, and castles of enormous size and strength were produced. The Crusaders gleaned ideas from the fortresses of Syria and Egypt, as masonry in Syria and Armenia had reached a high level of excellence long long ago. The European use of machicolation for example, came from this source.

Amongst the best examples of Ayyubid military architecture are Qal'at Rabad at Ajlun in Jorden and Qal'at Nimrud at Banyas in Syria. In addition, the fortification of citadels was improved and the famous gateway of Aleppo citadel dates from this period. Some of the techniques of fortification were learned from the Crusaders (certain walls following the natural topography), while some other techniques were inherited from the Fatimids (machicolasions and round towers) and some were developed simultaneously (concentric planning).

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+ Machicolation - an arrangement of bold brackets or corbels, closely spaced, carrying a projecting parapet, between each pair of brackets is an opening (French machicoulis), closed with a trap-door, through which arrows, boiling oil or water and other unpleasant things could be dropped on to the heads of besiegers attempting to mine the bottom of the walls below. Machicolation superseded wooden galleries, known as bourders (hoardings) or breteches (brattices) and used for the same purpose.


The great citadel or Qalat al Jabal still stands intact. It is another important monument built by Salāhuṭdin. It was started about 1176 A.D. and in spite of alterations and additions, it still preserves its original appearance on the side facing the Muqattam Hills. Most of the architectural works of Salāhuṭdin were carried out by his general and right hand man the eunuch Qaraquch, the black Eagle, who also supervised the digging of the 'well of Joseph' done by Frankish prisoners.

Another interesting relic of Salāhuṭdin in the Bab al Mudarrag or the Gate of steps, was built in 1182 A.D. On it is recorded the name of the Sultan, his faithful servant Qaraquch and his brother, the heir apparent, Al-Ādil Sayf al Dīn. The inscription instead of being in stiff angular Kufic which had been the favourite of the Fatimids is in rounded and cursive Naskhi. Another example of this form of script of Salāhuṭdin's period is at the church of St. Anne, Jerusalem.

Damascus Citadel

Like many other Muslim fortresses, the form of this citadel was designed well before the Islamic period. It is naturally defended by the bank of the barada river. It is based on a heavy enceinte of limestone masonry. It was rebuilt by the Ayyūbids. It is architecturally remarkable for the massive barbican entered through a portal embellished with muqarnas work. Though the north flank is irregular, owing to the alignment of the

40. Ibid., p. 133.
river, the east, west and south sides are square. The extensive rebuildings by the Ayyūbid ruler, al Malik al Ādil, gave the citadel its present form. They were probably begun in 1208, an inscription of 1209 fixes the date for one of the machicolated outer towers.\textsuperscript{41}

The Citadel and Palace of Sultan Salih Negm al Din (1240\textsuperscript{41})

The Sultan Najm al Din built a citadel and palace in 1240\textsuperscript{41}. The Sultan ordered the construction of the fortress of the island, known as the Island of Roda, opposite the town of Misr-Fustat.\textsuperscript{42}

Apart from Qasr al Banāt, the best preserved medieval palace in Syria is so small that it does not deserve such a title. It was built by the Sultan al Malik al 'Azīz Muhammad. It dates back to 1233 and replaces an earlier structure of his predecessor, al Zāhir Ghazī. It contains an inner courtyard and a garden. The latter palace which adjoins a similarly rebuilt arsenal, contains a reception hall with an octagonal central pool. It is focused on a deep iwan with a muqarnas hood at the back. The best preserved element in the ensemble is the portal, which also has a muqarnas hood and is decked out in ablaq masonry. Similar 'palaces' are to be found in other Syrian castles of the period, such as Sahyūn and Qal'at Najm.\textsuperscript{43}

In addition to the above several walls were built by Salāhuddīn, They are as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} \textit{Architecture of the Islamic World}, p. 232.
\item \textsuperscript{42} \textit{The Muslim Architecture}, p. 84.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Robert Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, Edinburg 1994, p. 419.
\end{itemize}
1. The East wall from the Bāb al Wāzin to the Darb al Mahrūq.

2. The continuation of the same wall from the Darb al Mahrūq running north to a great tower called the Burg az Zafar, after which it turns west and runs to a point about 60 m south of the Bāb an Nasr.

3. The second half of the wall which runs west from the round fronted tower 103 m. west of the Bāb al Futuh.

4. The west wall which ran along the canal (khaliq al Masri), of which the base of the Bāb al Qantara was exposed by Patricolo in 1920.

5. The wall of Fustat.\(^{44}\)

Of the Ayyūbid monuments of Aleppo, the most important is undoubtedly the great gate and entrance-bridge of the citadel, which is strikingly situated on a great mound or rock-base, apparently partly artificial.\(^{45}\) For centuries it was regarded as one of the most formidable fortresses in the East. It commanded the junction of three great trade-routes. It is a composite structure, which was built by many workers at different periods. The great gateway is the finest example of such a feature in all the lands of the East.\(^{46}\) Both square and round towers were used to fortify the walls, which delineate two periods of construction, one under Salāhuddīn and the other under his son and successor Al Malik al Ādil.

\(^{44}\) *The Muslim Architecture*, p. 41.

\(^{45}\) *Muslim Architecture in Egypt & Palestine*, p. 87.

\(^{46}\) Ibid.
Innovations to the fortifications were marked by bent entrances in the gateways and arrowtists which reached the floor.\textsuperscript{47}

The Crusaders borrowed many features of military architecture from Egypt and Syria including the 'right angled' or crooked entrance to a fortress through a gateway in the walls, by means of which an enemy reaching upto the gateway could be prevented from seeing and shooting through it into the inner courtyard.\textsuperscript{48}

The European use of machicolation, for example, came from this source. The fortresses built by Muslims antedate by a century the first instances known in Europe, viz. at Château Gaillard (1184), Chatillon (1186), Norwich (1187) and Winchester (1193). It is therefore clear that the Crusaders borrowed the idea from the Arabs.\textsuperscript{49}

\begin{flushright}
\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{47} Dictionary of Islamic Architecture, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{48} The legacy of Islam, p. 168.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid. p. 168.
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