

Is the Poetry of the Time of Saladin a Reliable Source of his Deeds?

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Saladin's (1137-1193 AD / 531-588 AH) conquest of Jerusalem, which came in the heels of his sweeping victory over the Crusaders in 1187 AD earned him a respectable reputation not only in the East but in the West as well. Fifty-six years ago H. Gibb said about Saladin: "the life and achievements of Saladin constitute one of the great moments in the history of the crusades. In literature, he appears most frequently as a conquering hero, who fought his enemies victoriously and in the end beat them to a standstill. But a closer examination of his actual life reveals him not only as a conqueror but as a man who struggled with enemies of his own side who finally joined him and fought along with him under his sole command."¹ But, recently, D. Nicolle had a mixed viewpoint when he says: "Saladin has traditionally been seen in Europe as a paragon of virtue and a hero. Recently, however, a critical view has portrayed him as an ambitious, ruthless, and devious politician, and less brilliant as a commander than once thought. As usual, the truth probably lies between these extremes, though all agree that Saladin was the greatest man in the history of the twelfth century Middle East".² So, his career became an important subject to both history and literature.

Although the details of the life of Saladin are obvious to the historians through the valuable studies of H. Gibb,³ M. C. Lyons and D. E. Jackson,⁴ the recent study of Y. Lev,⁵ and others,⁶ there are hardly

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¹ Hamilton Gibb, *The Life of Saladin: from the Works of 'Imâd ad-Dîn and Bahâ' ad-Dîn* (Oxford, 1973), p. 1.

² David Nicolle, *Hattin 1187 Saladin's Greatest Victory* (London, 2005), p. 14.

³ See also Hamilton Gibb, "The Rise of Saladin," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, I (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 563-589.

⁴ Malcolm C. Lyons and D. E. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1997).

⁵ Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Brill, 1999).

⁶ For the other studies see, W. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, Eng., 1907), pp. 204-288; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II (Cambridge, Eng., 1954), pp. 383-473; M. W. Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth Setton, I (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 590-621; C. M. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192," *Speculum* 37 (1962), 167-181; Régine Pernoud, *The Crusades*, trans. E. McLeod (London, 1962), pp. 146-

any studies of the literary treatment of his deeds by his contemporary poets or poet statesmen. When these modern historians wrote about Saladin's deeds, they mainly depended on the chronicles of Saladin's biographers such as ibn Shaddâd,⁷ who was the judge of the army of Saladin,⁸ and had the prime influence in forming the view of Saladin held by the European historians;⁹ Abû Shâma,¹⁰ who glorified the exploits of the Zangids and Saladin respectively;¹¹ al-Işfahânî,¹² who was Saladin's private secretary,¹³ ibn al-Athîr¹⁴ who presented a counterblast to the writings of Saladin's admirers,¹⁵ and ibn abî Tayyî',¹⁶ besides the other historical sources, whether Greek, Latin, Syriac or

199; D. S. Richards, "The Early History of Saladin," *The Islamic Quarterly* 17 (1973), 140-159; P. M. Holt, "Saladin and his Admirers: A Biographical Reassessment," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46 (1983), 235-239. See also B. Z. Kedar, "The Battle of Ḥaṭṭîn Revisited," in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (London, 1992); M. Shatzmiller, ed., *Crusaders and Muslims in the Twelfth Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993).

⁷ Bahâ' ed-Dîn ibn Shaddâd, *Al-Nawâder al-Sultâniya wa-l-Mahâsen al-Yousifiya*, ed. Jamâl al-Dîn al-Shayâl (Cairo, 1964).

⁸ Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, p. 2.

⁹ Holt, "Saladin and his Admirers," p. 235.

¹⁰ Shihâb ed-Dîn Ismâ'îl abî Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn fî Akhbâr al-Dawlatayn al-Nûriyya wa-l-Şalâhiyya*, ed. Ibrahîm al-Zaybaq, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1997). (henceforth Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*)

¹¹ Holt, "Saladin and his Admirers," p. 236.

¹² 'Imâd ed-Dîn Al-Işfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, ed. Fâliḥ Ḥusain, 5 vols. (Amman, 1987); idem, *Al-Fath al-Qussî fî al-Fath al-Quddsî* (Cairo, 2004).

¹³ Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, p. 2. 'Imâd ed-Dîn Al-Işfahânî was surnamed 'Imâd ed-Dîn al-Kâtîb Al-Işfahânî. He was born at Asbahân and came to Baghdad when he was a youth. In 562 A.H. he moved to Damascus at the time of Nûr ed-Dîn Mah□mûd. During this stage of his life 'Imâd ed-Dîn Al-Işfahânî related with Saladin and their relation was very close and friendly. So, he was one of Saladin's faithful propagandists. He left many important books such as *al-Barq al-Shâmî*, *Al-Fath al-Qussî*, a poetry collection in four volumes and others. For more details see: Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân wa-Anbâ' al-Zamân*, ed. Eḥsân 'Abbâs, 8 vols (Beirut, 1968), 5:147-153; (henceforth Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*); Al-Işfahânî, *Al-Fath al-Qussî*, pp. 5-8. See also D. Richards, "'Imâd al-Dîn Al-Işfahânî Administrator, Literature and Historian," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 133-146; Holt, "Saladin and his Admirers," p. 236.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, ed. Abî al-Fedâ' A. al-Qâḍî, 10 vols. (Beirut, 1997); idem, *Al-Târikh Al-Bâhir fî Dawlat Atâbakat al-Moşul*, ed. A. Tolymât (Cairo, 1963).

¹⁵ Holt, "Saladin and his Admirers," p. 236.

¹⁶ Ibn abî Tayyî' wrote a chronicle about the early life of Saladin. But it is lost except some quotations which are distributed in the Arabic sources. See Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, pp. 1-2.

Arabic.¹⁷ They paid a little attention to the poetic sources which reflect clearly that most of the poets of the time of Saladin also played a vital role, besides the deeds of Saladin himself, in the construction of his reputation. These poets wrote several hundreds of poems in the praise of the achievements of Saladin and of course, they omitted his defeats. Some of them were propagandists and the others were truthful poets.

This article aims to show how the poets¹⁸ of the time of Saladin dealt with his deeds, i. e. whether the poetry of the time of Saladin is a reliable source of his deeds or not. This study will show that most of the poets of the time of Saladin had various aims from composing their poetry on Saladin. On the other hand, they presented some historical events and omitted others.

To answer the topic of this article, it will be useful to deal with the poets of the time of Saladin chronologically, one by one, according to their death years and try to explain their motives of the praise or satire.

The first one of the poets of the time of Saladin is 'Arqala al-Kalbî¹⁹ (d. 567 AH / 1171 AD) who refers to the existence of the Franks in Palestine as *état tambon* or a 'wall' between Egypt and Syria,²⁰ because Saladin at that time was interested in the establishment of his new state in Egypt. And as for his struggle with the Crusaders, he fought them only during the events of the conflict between Shâwar and Dirghâm in Fatimid Egypt.

3 سِيَاحُ قَتِيلِ دُونَهُ وَأَسِيرُ هِيَهَاتَ وَالْإِفْرَنْجِ بَيْنَ وَبَيْنَكَ م

¹⁷For the writings of the other historians of the life of Saladin see: Hamilton Gibb, "Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin," *Speculum* 25 (1950), 58-72; L. Richter-Bernburg, "Observations on 'Imad al-Din's al-Fath al-Qussi fî al-Fath al-Qudsi", *Studia Arabica and Islamica*, Festschrift for Ihsân 'Abbas, ed. W. al-Qadî (Beirut, 1981), pp. 373-379; Richards, "'Imâd al-Dîn Al-Işfahânî," pp. 133-146; Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, pp. 14-45.

¹⁸We will use only the poems of the famous poets of Saladin, not all the poets who have many hundreds of poems about his feats. For the other poets of Saladin see Ahmad Ḥammza, *The Literature of the Crusader Wars* (Cairo, 1948), pp. 111-147. (in Arabic) (henceforth Ḥammza, *The Literature*)

¹⁹Arqala al-Kalbî is Abû al-Nadâ Ḥassân bin Numayr al-Kalbî. He was born in 486 AH/1093 AD and died in 567 AH/1171 AD. He was an inhabitant of Damascus and connected with Saladin. See Muhammad Zaghîl Sallâm, *The Literature in the Time of Saladin* (Cairo, 1959), pp. 333-340. (in Arabic) (henceforth Sallâm, *The Literature*)

²⁰Arqala al-Kalbî, "The poem of ilyka Şalâḥ ed-Dîn," in *Poetry Collection of 'Arqala al-Kalbî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), line 3.(henceforth 'Arqala al-Kalbî, *Ilyka Şalâḥ ed-Dîn*)

Translation: Alas! There stands between me and you a Frankish siege that holds [to anyone approaching it] either death or capture.

As for Saladin as a founder of the Ayyubid state in Egypt and Syria, some poets showed their admiration of Saladin as a general of Nûr ed-Dîn Mahmûd. These poets hoped that Saladin would drive the Crusaders out of Syria by himself. ‘Arqala al-Kalbî in the following verses²¹ describes Saladin as a courageous military leader, not a Sultan, when he says that Saladin desires only to reach the heights, i.e. the Sultanate, not to others. He says that he was a courageous leader such as the lion not cowardly as the fox. (lines 13 - 14). This contrast between the lion and the fox in this verse represents one of the strong points in the poem. In this way, the poet described the Crusaders as a fox, i.e. cowards, and Saladin as a lion, i.e. brave and strong people. He refers to the readiness and courage of Saladin's soldiers whose lances will be lodged in the chests of every footman and horseman of the Crusaders if the cross was raised.(line 16) The poet in the last line described the military status of the soldiers of Saladin, i.e. they were ready to attack the Crusaders at any time.

13	وفيما سواها زاهداً غير راغبٍ	غداً في المعالي راغباً غير زاهدٍ
14	كفرسانه ما الأسد مثل الثعلب	يظنُّ صلاح الدين فرسان جلقٍ
15	مَعوْدَةٌ أبطاله للصائب	أنا تطلع الشام الفنج بفيلقٍ
16	رماحه م في كل ملش وراكب	رجال إذا قام الصليب تصدبت

Translation: Towards heights of glory did he set his heart; from everything else he set it away.

Saladin thinks the knights of Damascus are like his own; far be it they are as unlike as lions and foxes.

Tomorrow, Syria will send forth to the Franks a legion, whose heroes are toughened by calamities,

A legion who, upon the sight of the cross, lodge their lances solidly in the chests of every footman and horseman.

After Saladin became the Sultan of Egypt, ‘Arqala al-Kalbî praises him in many places of his poems.²² He says that Saladin, as a

²¹"The poem of *taḏā'afa ḏa'fī*," in *Poetry Collection of 'Arqala al-Kalbī*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 13-16. (henceforth Al-Kalbî, *Taḏā'af ḏa'fī*)

²²Al-Kalbî, "The poem of 'arrij 'alâ Najd," in *Poetry Collection of 'Arqala al-Kalbī*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 13-16.

king, the pulpits of the mosques were dignified with his name, whose virtues were well-nigh over the stars. It is known that the name of the Sultan was mentioned on the pulpits of the mosques as a symbol of his rule. The Sultanate of Saladin in Egypt arose after the fall of the Fatimid caliphate by Saladin and after the defeat of Amalric by Saladin and his uncle's army. So, 'Arqala attributed the victories of Saladin and his uncle Shirkûh over Amalric in Egypt to Saladin only and regarded these victories as high virtues. Then, he likens him to the Sun, which spreads its rays from the high spheres. (Lines 13-14)

He refers also to his victories over his enemies, probably the Crusaders when he says that when Saladin distributed his banners on the battlefield the enemy's army was defeated (line 15). He uses here the Arabic verb (*inṭawâ*), from the verb (*tawâ, yaṭwî*), which means to fold, to refer to the quick defeat of the army of the enemy. He questions who he fought the Frankish faith (i.e. Christianity) except Saladin. He adds that when he met them his horses were like torrential rains (line 16). In the second part of this verse, he likened the numerous horsemen of Saladin to the torrential rains, which overrun everything during its march.

13	علت مناقبه فوق الفرقد	ملك تشرفت المنابر بلسمه
14	شمس تجلت م ب روج الأسعد	وعلى الأسرة وجهه
15	إلا انطوى جيش العدو المعند	ذشرت راياته يوم الوغى
16	والخيل مثل السيل عند المشهد	من قاتل الإفرنج ديناً غيره

Translation: He was a king whose name dignified pulpits and whose virtues were well-nigh over the stars.

His visage radiated on homesteads like a sun shining from the highest sphere.

No sooner were his banners unfurled than those of his enemies were folded in defeat.

Who but he stemmed the tide of the Frankish faith? Which battle but his had horses as numerous as the torrential rains?

'Arqala al-Kalbî says generally that the heroes of the Franks fell in captivity or were killed by Saladin.²³He also refers to the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin and says that the news spread in the world.²⁴

²³Al-Kalbî, "The poem of wafat rasâ'il hadha al-Fath," in *Poetry Collection of 'Arqala al-Kalbî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 9-10.

²⁴Al-Kalbî, *Wâfat rasâ'il hadha al-Fath*, line 1 ff.

In another poem²⁵ ‘Arqala al-Kalbî asks Saladin to send him the sum of 1000 *dinars* which he promised and tells him that he is afraid if he goes to him in Egypt he will be captured by the Franks. In this case, Paradise, i.e. Egypt, will not benefit him if he fell in the Hell, i.e. the hands of the Crusaders.

أخشى مِنَ الأَسْرِ إِنْ حَاوَلْتُ أَرْضِكُمْ بِمَا تَقِي جَنَّةَ الفَرْدَوْسِ بِالنَّارِ²

Translation: I fear captivity if I were to journey to your land, yet the road to Paradise cannot be through Hell.

So, what is the story of the 1000 *dinars*, which was mentioned, in the latter verse? Saladin promised ‘Arqala to give him 1000 *dinars* if he became a Sultan of Egypt. After Saladin established the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt and became a Sultan ‘Arqala wrote a poem and sent it to Saladin in Egypt reminding him of his promise. So, Saladin sent to him 2000 *dinars*. But ‘Arqala died suddenly before enjoying this money.²⁶

‘Arqala also praised Saladin in one of his poems in which he thanked God for the victories of Saladin who destroyed the cross and the infidelity.²⁷ The friendly relation between Saladin and ‘Arqala was the motive of ‘Arqala to praise the first, besides his wish to obtain the money from Saladin. Al-Şafadî says that ‘Arqala received at first 20 *dinars* from Saladin.²⁸ These accounts, whether true or not, confirm the monetary motive of ‘Arqala and explains why he praised Saladin. This issue is confirmed too by ‘Arqala himself when he said to Saladin that he became rich in Egypt, while he was poor in Damascus:²⁹

وَمِنْ عَجَبِ الأَيَّامِ أَنْكَ ذُو غَنَى بِمِصْرَ وَأَنْي فِي نَشَقِ فَقِيرٍ⁴

Translation: It is an irony of fate indeed that in Egypt you are a man of riches while in Damascus I am in rags.

As for this issue, al-Maqrîzî declares that when the Fatimid Caliph died Saladin entered his palace and took over all the treasures of it, such as many arms and their equipment, clothes, rare things, jewels,

²⁵ ‘Arqala al-Kalbî, *The poem of tadâ‘afa da‘fî*, line 2.

²⁶ Al-Şafadî, *Al-Wâfi bi-l-Wafayât*, eds. Aḥmad al-Aranâ’ôt and Turkî Muştafa, 29 vols. (Beirut, 2000), 11:281; Al-Kutubî, *Fawât al-Wafayât*, eds. Alî M. You‘wad Allah and Âdel A. ‘Abdul-Mawjûd, 2 vols. (Beirut, 2000), 1:305.

²⁷ Sallâm, *The Literature*, p. 336. He says:

الحمد لله السميع المجيب قد هلك الشرك وفضل الصليب
يا ساكني أكناف مصر أنا أبو نواسٍ والصلاح الخصب

²⁸ Al-Şafadî, *Al-Wâfi bi-l-Wafayât*, 11:283.

²⁹ Al-Kalbî, *Ilyka Şalâḥ ed-Dîn*, line 4.

such as necklaces of emerald, corundum, and pearls, about 1.600.000 rare books, and other things.³⁰

Ibn al-Dahhân (d. 581 AH/1185 AD)³¹ wrote some poems about Saladin. It is useful to know the background of the relation between this poet and Saladin to see the influence of this relation on his poetry about Saladin. He met Saladin when the latter came to Ḥimş and encamped with his army outside it since 'Imâd ed-Dîn al-Işfahânî introduced him to Saladin and told him that 'this is the poet who praised Ṭalâi' ibn Ruzâyk'. Then, Saladin ordered to give him some money, so that he doesn't say that "we left him". Then, ibn al-Dahhân praised Saladin in a poem, which was called *al-Qaşîyda al-'Ayniyya*.

In one of his poems on Saladin³² he refers to Saladin's invasion of Baisân on 9th of Jumâda al-Thânî 579 AH/28th of Sept. 1183 AD and the defeat of the Franks there. The poet in the following verse uses the Arabic verb (*shariba, yashrab*), which means to drink, to refer to the continuity of the death for the Crusaders during Saladin's invasion of Baisân.

37 وفي يوم بيسان سقيتُهم الردى وغلرت أخلاف المنية حُفلا

Translation: In the battlefield of Baisân you gave them the cup of death to drink from, and left their numerous hordes to be nursed by death.

It is known that in 579 AH/1183 AD Saladin invaded Amida, Til Khâlid, Aintâb, Aleppo, and the castle of Ḥârim. After these conquests, Saladin went to Damascus and stayed there for some time and accompanied his soldiers to attack the Crusaders in the Palestinian lands.³³ So, he crossed the Jordan River on 8th of Jumâda al-Thânî 579

³⁰Taqî ed-Dîn al-Maqrîzî, *Et'âz al-Ḥonafâ bi-Akhhâr al-A'imma al-Fâtmîen al-Kholafâ'*, ed. Muhammad H. M. Aḥmad, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1996), 3:330-331. (henceforth al Maqrîzî, *Et'âz al-Ḥonafâ*)

³¹Ibn al-Dahhân is Abû al-Faraj 'Abdullâh bin Ass'ad bin 'Alî al-Moşulî, who was surnamed ibn al-Dahhân and al-Ḥimşî too. He was born at al-Moşul in 521 AH/1127 AD and passed away in Ḥimş in 581 AH/1185 AD. He was a Shâfi'î jurisprudent and poet. When his life became difficult there, he went to Ṭalâi' ibn Ruzâyk, the Fatimid minister of Egypt, and praised him in a poem, which was called *al-Qaşîyda al-Kâfiya*. He returned to Ḥimş and lived there and worked in teaching. He has a small and good poetry collection. See Ibn Khallikân, *Wafîyyât al-A'yân*, 3:57-60.

³²Ibn al-Dahhân, "The poem of aba jaladun an aḥmela," in *Poetry Collection of ibn al-Dahhân*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 37-40. Cf. also the poem of Abû al-Ḥasan al-Sâ'âtî in: Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:306.

³³Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:119-124.

AH/27th of Sept. 1183 AD and entered a place called Cursat. On 9th of Jumâda al-Thânî 579 AH/28th of Sept. 1183 AD. He invaded Baisân where he found that its people had left the city and left there a lot of weavings, wheat, and other things. The soldiers of Saladin plundered Baisân and set it on fire. Then they met Frankish soldiers under the leadership of the son of Humphrey, where Saladin's soldiers attacked them and killed many of them, and captured one hundred of them.³⁴

Ibn al-Dahhân in the following poem³⁵ refers to the battle of Hittîn and says that the Franks were subdued to Saladin because of the hard struggle of the Muslim soldiers. After their defeat in Hittîn, they asked Saladin to make peace not out of their own free accord but because of the pressure of the arms or fear of the lances. (L.8)

7 وما خضعَ الفرنجُ لَدَيْكَ حَتَّى رأوا ما لا يطاقُ من الكِجاجِ
8 وما سألوكَ عقدَ الصِّلحِ وداً وَلَكِنْ تَحْتَ غَابَاتِ الرِّمَاحِ

Translation: The Franks did not submit to you till they have seen your unbearable fight.

Nor did they ask for peace for the love of peace, but out of fear of your lances.

Usâma ibn Munqidh (d. 584 AH/1188 AD)³⁶ refers in a poem to the struggle of Saladin against the Crusaders in Egypt. He says that Saladin stopped the tyrant of the Franks, i.e. Amalric I, who wished to

³⁴For more details see Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 5:147-151; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 3:184-186; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târîkh*, 10:124. See also Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem," p. 599.

³⁵See "The poem of qâranta shajā'atan wa-tuqan," in *Poetry Collection of ibn al-Dahhân*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 7-16.

³⁶Usâma ibn Munqidh al-Shayzarî is Abû al-Muzaffar Usâma bin Morshid bin 'Alî bin Maqlad bin Munqidh al-Shayzarî who was surnamed Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah Majd ed-Dîn. He belonged to the tribe of Banî Munqidh, the masters of the castle of Shayzâr in Syria, and was one of their scholars and courageous men. He stayed in Damascus and went to Egypt, and stayed there until the days of Ṭalâî' ibn Ruzâyk, where he returned to Damascus. For some reasons, he transferred to the fortress of Kaifa until Saladin's coming to Syria and taking of Damascus. He died in that city about 584 AH/1188 AD, i.e. after the battle of Hittîn. He has many literary and historical works, such as the book of *al-Itibâr*, *Akhbâr al-Nisâ'*, *al-Qilâ' wa-l-Huṣûn*, and a poetry collection in two parts, and others. See, Ibn Khallikân, *Wafîyyât al-A'yân*, 1:195-196. See also, 'Abdul-Raḥman A. Badawî, *The Literate Life in the time of the Crusades in Egypt and Syria* (Cairo, 1954), pp. 171-188. (in Arabic) (henceforth Badawî, *The Literate Life*); Muhammad 'Alî al-Harfî, *The Poetry of al-Jihâd of the Crusades in Syria* (Al-Iḥsâ', 1979), pp. 231-255. (in Arabic) (henceforth Al-Harfî, *The Poetry of al-Jihâd*)

conquer Egypt. He mocks Amalric's hope and says that it was a dream.³⁷

رَدَّ طَاغِيَةَ الْإِفْرَنْجِ يَحْسَبُ مَا رَجَاهُ مِنْ مَلِكِ مِصْرَ كَانَ فِي الْحَلْمِ

Translation: He forced the Tyrant of the Franks on his heels, making his hopes of conquering Egypt an idle dream.

He also praises Saladin, when the latter became the Sultan of Egypt and asks him to free his cousin from the captivity of the Franks and their injustice.³⁸ It means that Usâma composed this poem before the victory of Saladin over the Crusaders at Hittin in 1187 AD, and probably it was an invitation to Saladin to fight them.

هَذَا ابْنِ عَمِّكَ فِي أَسْرِ الْفَرَنْجِ لَهُ حَوْلَ تَجْرِمِ فِي الْأَغْلَالِ وَالظُّلْمِ⁵

Translation: There is your cousin fettered for a year, a captive of the Franks, laboring in a dark jail.

It is obvious that after the establishment of the Ayyubid state in Egypt Saladin directed his efforts to unite the princes of Syria after the death of Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd. So, he left Egypt in November 1174 AD/570 AH and went to Syria. Saladin arrived in Damascus at the same time, whereas ibn al-Moqaddim opened its gates before him and gave him the city.³⁹ Usâma ibn Munqidh immortalized this occasion in his poetry. He says that Saladin revived Damascus such as Egypt and restored lost justice to it. He states Saladin made Islam victorious and insulted the disbelief and the cross, i.e. the Crusaders.⁴⁰ Remarkably, the poet here turns to a polemic issue, when he mentioned that Saladin insulted Christianity, which he regarded disbelief and the cross too. Of course, the poet uses this polemic tune to make Saladin a protector of Islam and a destroyer of the other religions. This kind of polemic issues was usual in the writings of the Middle Ages, whether on the Islamic side or on the Christian side. For instance, when Charlamgne entered Sarcusa, according to *la chanson de Roland*, he destroyed the mosques of

³⁷Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:54. This meaning is repeated in another poem of another poet, whereas he says that Saladin changed the life of Amalric from the sweet life to the opposite by the fighting. The same poet asks Saladin also to drive Amalric out of Syria and to arrest Shâwar and kill him. See Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:55.

³⁸Usâma ibn Munqidh, "The poem of yâ Nâsir ed-Dîn," in *Poetry Collection of Usâma al-Shîrâdhî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 1-13.

³⁹Sa'îd A. 'Ashûr, *The Ayyubids and Mamluks in Egypt and Syria* (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 39-40. (in Arabic)

⁴⁰Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:345.

the Muslims and the Jewish temples too.⁴¹ The Muslim queen Bramimond abandoned Islam, was baptized in the Frankish capital, and adopted a Christian name, Juliana.⁴² On the other side, we can see in the Arabic epics the image of the Christian who abandoned his Christianity and converted to Islam for specific purposes and the Arabs' invasions of the Byzantine lands.⁴³

أحييتها مثل ما أحييت مصرَ فقد أعدت من عدلها ما كان قد ذها
هذا الذي نصر الإسلام فاتضحت سبيله وأهان الكفر والصلبا

Translation: You revived her as you did Egypt, and restored justice to her.

This is what gave victory to Islam, illuminated its path, and humbled disbelief and cross-worshippers.

He refers also to Saladin's conquest of Ḥimṣ, which took place in December 1174 AD/570 AH and says that "every strong man of Ḥimṣ came to Saladin".⁴⁴

رأت منك حمصُ لها كافياً فواتاك منها القوي العسير²⁸⁷

Translation: Emesa saw you as a capable defender, and so thronged to you her mighty strong men.

Usâma ibn Munqidh refers also to the defeat of the Crusaders by Saladin at Ḥiṭṭîn when he says that Saladin protected the homelands by the sword and divided the Franks, by the invasion, into two divisions: the fighters who suffered from their pains, and the fighters who were killed in the battle. And he asks him to remain as a shelter for Muslims and a death to the Franks for generations to come.⁴⁵

7 وحميت البلاد بالسيف فاستصد عب منها سهل وعزّ ذليل
8 وقسمت الفرنج بالغزو شطريـ ن فهذا عان وهذا قتيل
13 فابق للمسلمين كهفاً وللايف رنج حتماً ما أعقب الجيل جيل

⁴¹ *The Song of Roland*, Eng. trans. Dorothy L. Sayers (Penguin books 1970), p.190 § 266.

⁴² *The Song of Roland*, pp. 202-203 § 290-291.

⁴³ There are many examples in the Arabic epic of Al-Amîrah dhât al-Himmah.

⁴⁴ Al-Iṣfahânî, "The poem of kataba al-‘adharu ‘ala al-khudûd," in *Poetry Collection of Al-Iṣfahânî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhâbi, 2003), line 287. (henceforth Al-Iṣfahânî, *Kataba al-‘adharu*)

⁴⁵ Ibn Munqidh, "The poem of fi'atî altâjî," in *Poetry Collection of Usâma al-Shîrâdhî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhâbi, 2003), lines 7-8, and 13.

Translation: You protected the land with your sword, strengthened her weakness, and gave dignity to the humble.
 Your invasion left the Franks into two divisions: in pain or dead!
 May you stay a shelter to Muslims and a death-giver to the Franks for generations to come.

In another long poem Usâma ibn Munqidh returns to the battle of Hittin,⁴⁶ when he says that although the Crusaders had numerous soldiers, Saladin conquered their lands and destroyed them by killing and captivity (line 12). Usâma ibn Munqidh showed that the Crusaders who were still alive either surrendered their arms or asked him for peace. (line 13)

12	وَجَحَفُوا فِي أَرْضِهَا مَتَزَاكُمُ	غَزَوْتُهُمْ فِي أَرْضِهِمْ وَبِلَادِهِمْ
13	نَجَّيْتُهُمْ مَسْتَسَلِمًا أَوْ مُسَالِمًا	فَنَيْبَتَهُمْ قِتْلًا وَأَسْرًا بِأَسْرِهِمْ

Translation: You invaded them in their own land, while their armies were numerous.
 Yet you annihilated them through death or captivity so that whoever survived either surrendered or sought peace.

M. al-Harfi⁴⁷ mentioned that this poem was written by ibn Munqidh to Ṭalâi' ibn Ruzâyk. But I think, according to the military activity of Saladin against the Crusaders, that this poem was written to Saladin, not to Ṭalâi' ibn Ruzâyk. On the other side, the poet in another verse mentions⁴⁸ "O king" (*yâ malikan*) which means that he directed his speech to the Sultan himself. It is known that Saladin had the official title *al-malik al-nâsir*.⁴⁹

He repeats this meaning in another poem where he addresses Saladin saying: you entered the enemy's land and destroyed many of their countless braves. He also says that they didn't see before any one of the kings conquer the Franks in their own lands, and asks him to march onto Syria, where the pious angles will meet and support him there.⁵⁰

⁴⁶Ibn Munqidh, "The poem of *edhâ ḍaqa bi-l-khoṭâ mo'tarak al-waghâ*," in *Poetry Collection of Usâma al-Shîrâdhî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 12-13. (henceforth Ibn Munqidh, *Edhâ ḍaqa bi-l-khoṭâ*)

⁴⁷*The Poetry of al-Jihâd*, pp. 254-255.

⁴⁸Ibn Munqidh, "Edhâ ḍaqa bi-l-khoṭâ," line 51.

⁴⁹Gibb, "The Rise of Saladin," p. 546.

⁵⁰Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 2:344. See also Hammza, *The Literature*, p. 111.

وَجِستَ أَرْضَ العَدَى وَأَفنِيتَ من أَبطالهم ما يَجاوِزُ العَدَا
وما رأينا عِزَّ الفَرنجِ من الملوِكِ في عَقَرِ نارِهِم أَحدًا
فَسِرْ إلى الشامِ فالملاتِكَةُ الأبرارِ يَلقائُك جَمعُهم مَندًا

Translation: You landed among the enemies and annihilated countless
braves among them.

No king before you ever dared to invade the Franks in their
own lands.

So, lead the march to Syria, and the good angels will meet
you and give you support.

Thus, the poetry of that time played an important role in the
events between the Muslims and the Crusaders and reflected the
Muslims' ideology towards them.⁵¹ After the victory of Hiṭṭīn Usâma ibn
Munqidh records the events between Saladin and the Crusaders and "his
getting rid of their injuries and darkness", and showed that Saladin
moved from his fighting them on land into the sea by his navies.⁵² He
likenes his navies to the numerous waves of the sea (line 15). He also
likenes the naval knights of Saladin on their horses to the birds which are
flying on the water without forelegs.⁵³ (line 16)

15 غزوتهم في البحر حتى كأنما الـ أساطيل فيه موجه المتلاطم
16 بفرسان بحر فوقهم كأنها على الماء طير ما لهم قوائم

Translation: You attacked them at sea so that fleets looked as if they
were tumultuous sea waves

With sea knights mounted on striped white horses that flew
on the water like birds without forelegs.

He refers here to the naval activity of Saladin against the
Crusaders. Usâma ibn Munqidh says, "Death led the ships of the Franks
to Saladin's soldiers so that the blood of the Franks flowed on the sea
and their heads were also cut on the land. None of the Frankish escapees
could be hidden in any place of the land. No swimmer could be alive on
the water of the sea". He tells us that Saladin returned from that naval

⁵¹Sallâm, *The Literature*, p. 263.

⁵²The contemporary historians point out Saladin's care of the navy before Hiṭṭīn,
when they give the details of the events of the naval war between Renauld de
Châtillon, i.e. Ernât, the governor of the fortress of al-Kerak, and Saladin's navy in the
Red Sea. See, Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 3:84; 5:70-75; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-
Rawḍatayn*, 3:134-141.

⁵³Ibn Munqidh, *Edhâ ḍaqa bi-l-khoṭâ*, lines 14-16.

war with the captives and the ships of the Franks (lines 19-22).⁵⁴ Usâma ibn Munqidh in the previous verses of his poetry collection gives some important historical details, especially the naval wars of Saladin against the Crusaders of the coastal cities of Syria. It is obvious that after Saladin's victory in Ḥiṭṭîn he directed his armies against the Crusaders in the Syrian cities and castles from 1187 AD to 1190 AD.⁵⁵

Anyway, Usâma ibn Munqidh states that Saladin fought the enemy, probably the Crusaders, "not for money, in which he was uninterested, and his armies didn't care about booties".⁵⁶

Now, what are the motives of Usâma ibn Munqidh to praise Saladin greatly? When Saladin was one of the members of the court of Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd Usâma was close to him. Saladin was an admirer of the poetry collection of Usâma and he was a reader of his poetry collection too.⁵⁷ When Saladin arrived in Damascus he invited Usâma ibn Munqidh, when he was 80 years old and over, to come to him and granted him a house. The relation between them became stronger.⁵⁸ On the other hand, in 1188 AD when Usâma ibn Munqidh died, he was about ninety years old and Saladin was a young man, a brilliant leader and, Sultan of Egypt. According to this biographical background, it is expected that an old man like ibn Munqidh, who transferred between Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd in Syria and the Fatimids in Egypt, praises Saladin. Finally, according to the military poetry of Usâma ibn Munqidh during the time of the Crusades, it seems that he complied with the events and the battles between the Muslims and the Crusaders through his poetry. He tried also to urge the Muslims and their leaders, such as Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd, Ṭalâi' ibn Ruzâyk, and Saladin, to go forward and to fight the Crusaders, and restore their lands from their hands. Especially he participated in the battles between the Muslims

⁵⁴ Ibn Munqidh, *Edhâ ḍaqa bi-l-khoṭâ*, lines 19-22.

19	حمَامٌ وَطَيْرٌ لِلْفَرَنْجِ أَشَانِمُ	يسوقُ أساطيلَ الفَرَنْجِ إليهم
20	وَهُامِهِمْ فِي الْبَرِّ سَحْمٌ جَائِحٌ	مَاؤُهُمْ فِي الْبَحْرِ حُمُرٌ سَابِحٌ
21	لَمْ يَنْجُ فِي لُجٍّ مِنَ الْمَاءِ عَائِمٌ	فَلَمْ يَخْفَ فِي فِجٍّ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ هَارِبٌ
22	قَادُ كَمَا قَادَ الْمَهَارِي الْخَائِمُ	وَعَادَ الْأَسَدَ أَرَى مُرْتَفِعِينَ وَسَفْنَهُمُ

⁵⁵ Ashûr, *The Ayyubids and Mamluks*, pp. 68-71.

⁵⁶ Ibn Munqidh, *Edhâ ḍaqa bi-l-khoṭâ*, line 2.

2	فَقَدْ جُهَلَتْ بَيْنَ الْجِيُوشِ الْمَقَائِمُ	تَنْزَهَتْ عَنِ أَمْوَالٍ مِنْ أَنْتَ قَاتِلٌ
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⁵⁷ Sallâm, *The Literature*, p. 174.

⁵⁸ Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, 1:195-196. See also Sallâm, *The Literature*, p. 174.

under the commandment of Nûr ed-Dîn Mahmûd and Ṭalâi' ibn Ruzâyk, and the Crusaders.⁵⁹ Maybe the love of Usâma ibn Munqidh and his admiration of the Muslims' leaders of that time stimulated him to praise them. So, he praised also many Muslim leaders and statesmen in Egypt and Syria not only Saladin.⁶⁰

Anyway, Usâma ibn Munqidh did not satirize Saladin in his poems but he praised him greatly and left many poems to prove that he was one of the Muslim poets who played an important role in the mobilization of the Muslim mind against the Crusaders.

The greatest composer of many poems about Saladin is al-Işfahânî (d. 597 AH/1200 AD). He describes the conflict between Shâwar and Dirghâm in Fatimid Egypt.⁶¹ He refers to the communications between Shâwar and the Crusaders.⁶² He directed one of his poems to Asad ed-Dîn Shirkuh and saw that he saved the people from the worst of Shâwar.⁶³ But, he likens the killing of Shâwar by Saladin⁶⁴ to the killing of Goliath by David.⁶⁵

2 يماثلُ إلا قتل داود جالوتا 2 ما كان فيها قتل يوسف شاوراً

Translation: The killing of Shawir by Yûsuf has no match save that of Goliath by David.

Al-Işfahânî gives more details in his poetry about the struggle of Saladin against the Crusaders when he was a military leader with Shirkuh in Egypt, more than the other poets.⁶⁶ Although he mentions historical facts in his verses, he uses some rhetorical devices such as the allusion to the superiority of Saladin over the Crusaders. He addresses Saladin: "The Frankish horde transgressed, but your valor quenched the thirst of your Indian sabers." He likens the bodies of the Crusader victims to the trees which were cultivated in the land of Egypt by Saladin and their heads to its fruits (lines 75-76). Again, he uses

⁵⁹Al-Harfî, *The poetry of al-Jihâd*, pp. 232-234.

⁶⁰Al-Harfî, *The poetry of al-Jihâd*, p. 247.

⁶¹Al-Işfahânî, "The poem of abâ Yûsuf al-ihsân," in *Poetry Collection of 'Imâd ed-Dîn Al-Işfahânî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), line 15. (henceforth Al-Işfahânî, *Abâ Yûsuf al-ihsân*)

⁶²Al-Işfahânî, *The poem of kataba al-'adharu*, line 84.

⁶³Al-Işfahânî, *The poem of bi-l-jide adrakta ma adrakta*, line 15. (henceforth Al-Işfahânî, *Bi-l-jide adrakta*)

⁶⁴For the killing of Shâwar see Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, pp. 46-49.

⁶⁵Al-Işfahânî, *The poem of hanî'an li-Mişra*, line 2. (henceforth Al-Işfahânî, *Hanî'an li-Mişra*)

⁶⁶Al-Işfahânî, *Kataba al-'adharu*, lines 75-78.

hyperbole to allude to the great multitudes of the Crusader victims when he says that "Of their blood in Upper Egypt you made a stream that flowed from their valley to the Nile" (line 78). He likens the blood of the Crusaders on the land of the battle to the sea, and their much blood to the rains. (line 77)

75	منها بإقدامك الهندية البتر	لقد بغت فنة الإفرنج فانتصفت
76	أشجار خط لها من هامهم ثمر	غرست في أرض مصر من جسمهم
77	به الحديد غمام والدم المطر	وسال بحر نجيع في مقام وغي
78	منها إلى النيل في واديهم نهر	أنهرت منهم دماء بالصعيد جرى

**Translation: The Frankish horde transgressed, but your valor quenched the thirst of your Indian sabers;
You sowed the land of Egypt with their bodies that produced heads for fruit.
A red sea flowed in the battlefield where clouds were of iron and the rain of blood;
Of their blood in Upper Egypt, you made a stream that flowed from their valley to the Nile.**

Al-Iṣfahânî refers to the combined attack of the Crusaders and the Byzantine fleet on Damietta 1169 AD / 565 AH where the Crusaders failed to achieve any success.⁶⁷ In another poem, he attributes the failure of the Crusaders in this expedition to Saladin who got over them and had "broken their crosses," as he said.⁶⁸ The combined attack of the Crusaders and the Byzantine fleet on Damietta 1169 AD/ 565 AH is confirmed by historians.⁶⁹ William of Tyre recorded the details of the Byzantine fleet of this naval expedition on Egypt.⁷⁰

As for the fall of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt 'Imâd ed-Dîn al-Iṣfahânî gives some details and praises this event. According to his poems, it is obvious that he praises Saladin and is proud of him, for his restoration of the 'Abbasid Caliphate's sovereignty in Egypt. He is

⁶⁷Al-Iṣfahânî, *The poem of yâ Yûsuf al-ḥusne*, line 3.

⁶⁸Al-Iṣfahânî, *The poem of yaruqanî fî al-maha*, lines 38-42. (henceforth Al-Iṣfahânî, *Yaruqanî fî al-maha*)

⁶⁹See William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, II (New York, 1943), pp. 361-370. Compare also Ibn Shaddâd, *Al-Nawâder al-Sultâniya*, pp. 41-43; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:22; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatyn*, 1:420; Abû al-Mahâsen ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira fî Mulûk Miṣr wa-l-Qâhira*, 16 vols. (Cairo, n.d.), 6:15 ff. (henceforth Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*).

⁷⁰William of Tyre, II, p. 361.

pleased for the return of *al-Sunnah* doctrine instead of *al-Shī'ah* doctrine in Egypt. The *imâms* of the mosques of Egypt returned to the speech for the 'Abbasid Caliph, whom 'Imâd ed-Dîn al-Işfahânî regards a successor of the Prophet Muḥammad (al-Mustafâ in the poem).⁷¹ (ll.353-355) He says that the pulpits of the mosques were proud of the speech for al-Hashimî, i.e. the 'Abbasid Caliph in Egypt, and the false *imâm* of Cairo, i.e. the Fatimid Caliph, was relegated to utter negligence. (lines 360, 375)

353	بفتح يوسف العصر	قد استولى على مصر
354	ن في البدو وفي الحضرة	وأحيا سنة الإحسا
355	نائب المصطفى إمام العصر	قد خطبنا للمستضيء بمصر
360	بة للهاشمي بأرض مصر	وتباهت منابر الدين بالخط
375	هرة انحط في حضيض القهر	والذي يدعي الإمامة بالقفا

Translation: A modern-day Joseph has rightfully taken possession of Egypt,⁷²

Where he revived the tradition of benevolence in city and desert alike.

In our sermons, we so hailed al-Mustaḏî' as a successor of the Prophet and the Imam of our times,

That the Hashemite scion was exalted on every pulpit in every Egyptian mosque,

While the false imam of Cairo was relegated to utter negligence.

In another poem, al-Işfahânî repeats his impressions about the fall of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt, which reflects his satisfaction. In this poem he says:⁷³

1	رَجَعَتْ أُمُورُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلَى السُّنَنِ	بِالْمُسْتَضِيِّ أَبِي مُحَمَّدٍ الْحَسَنِ
2	وَأَتَتْ لَتَحْطَبَ بَكَرَ خَطْبَتِهِ عَدْنُ	فِي أَرْضِ مِصْرَ دَعَا لَهُ خَطْبَاؤُهَا

Translation: By al-Mustaḏî' Abî Muḥammad al-Ḥassan the conditions of the Muslims returned right.

The orators, in the land of Egypt, prayed for him, and 'Adan came to make the speech for him.

⁷¹Al-Işfahânî, *Kataba al-'adharu*, lines 352-355, 360-361, and 375.

⁷² Here the poet compares between Saladin (also known as Yûsuf = Joseph) and the Biblical Joseph who has formerly ruled over Egypt.

⁷³Al-Işfahânî, *The poem of bi-l-Mostaḏî' abî Muḥammad*, lines 1-2.

According to the sources, Saladin in 566 AH/1170 AD arrested the Egyptian princes of the Fatimid Caliph. When the latter asked Saladin why he killed them Saladin told the Caliph that they were disobedient men and that he had to kill them to save the Caliph. He also captured the palaces of Cairo and put them under the charge of his eunuch Bahâ' ed-Dîn Qarâqûsh. In the same year, Saladin changed the Fatimid symbol and removed the name of the Fatimid Caliph from the sermons of Friday prayer.⁷⁴

The *imâms* of Egyptian mosques were afraid to return to the speech for the 'Abbasid Caliph at one time. So, Saladin brought someone who was called al-Yas' ibn 'îsa al-Andalusî, and ordered him to pray for the 'Abbasid Caliph.⁷⁵ Al-Maqrîzî states that in 567 AH / 1171 AH the *imâm* of the main mosque of Cairo, the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ, was ordered by Najm ed-Dîn Ayyub to pray for the 'Abbasid Caliph. However, he neither prayed for the 'Abbasid Caliph nor the Fatimid Caliph, but prayed for Saladin and *al-A'imma al-Mahdiën*. Then, he was ordered again to mention the name and the titles of the 'Abbasid Caliph in the next Friday prayer. Thus, the prayer for the Fatimid Caliph in the mosques of Egypt was stopped.⁷⁶ Al-Iṣfahânî⁷⁷ likens Egypt after its liberation from the harm of Shâwar by Saladin to *al-Haram*, i.e. the Makkan sanctuary, in its security and coming of people to it. And *al-Sunnah* was re-established and the heresy smashed, i.e. *al-Shî'ah*. Egypt became again the state of benevolence and generosity. (lines 16-17)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 15 | من شر شاور في الإسلام مضطرم | عانها الله في إطفاء جمر أذي |
| 16 | للأمن والعز والإقبال كالحریم | وأصبحت بك مصر بعد خيفتها |
| 17 | بعادت دولة الإحسان والكریم | السنة اتسقت والبدعة انمحقت |

Translation: God helped her extinguish the ravishing flames the evil Shâwar set in the lands of Islam,
And thus the once-terrified Egypt became a sanctuary of security, glory, and prosperity,
And thus the Sunnah was re-established, the heresy (i.e. al-Shî'ah) smashed, the state of benevolence and generosity returned.

⁷⁴Al-Maqrîzî, *Et'âz Et'âz al-Honafâ*, 3:321-322.

⁷⁵Al-Maqrîzî, *Et'âz Et'âz al-Honafâ*, 3:322-323.

⁷⁶Al-Maqrîzî, *Et'âz al-Honafâ*, 3:325. See also, Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, pp. 124-132.

⁷⁷*The poem of bi-mulke Miṣr*, lines 15-22. (henceforth Al-Iṣfahânî, *Bi-mulke Miṣr*)

There are even some fine verses by al-Iṣfahânî in which he identifies Saladin with the Sun of the day, which comes after the full moon. He says, in a metaphoric style, that when Egypt yearned for the time of Joseph, i.e. the Prophet Joseph, Allah sent her Joseph, i.e. Saladin, and his time.⁷⁸

- 10 وقام صلاح الدين بالملك كافلاً وكيف ترى شمس الضحى تخلف البدر
11 ولما صبت مصر إلى عصر يوسف أعاد إلي الله يوسف والعصر

Translation: Saladin rose to his responsibilities as an able king just as the forenoon sun rises to eclipse the moon.

When Egypt longed for the time of Joseph, God resent her both Joseph and his time.

Al-Iṣfahânî refers to the conditions of Egypt under Saladin. He says that the latter ruled Egypt well, decreased taxes, and administered justice all over Egypt. He states that Saladin overcame his enemies and Egypt under his rule was a wondrous Paradise.⁷⁹

- 17 لملك الناصر الذي أبداً عز سلطانه ي شرفها
18 نام بأحوالها ي دبرها تسناً وأثقالها يخففها
19 بعدله والصلاح يعمرها بالندى والجميل يكتفها
20 من دنس الغادرين يوضها ومن خباث العدا يظفها
21 ولن مصرأ بملك يوسفها جنة خلد يروق زخرفها

Translation: The Victorious King, whose rule will forever be an honour to Egypt,

Took it upon him to set aright her conditions and lighten her burdens.

With his justice and righteousness, she was raised, with generosity and fairness she was girdled.

He defended her against the desecration of the treacherous and purified her from the filth of her enemies.

Indeed, Egypt under the rule of her [new] Joseph is a paradise to be coveted.

The writing style of al-Iṣfahânî in his historical books is very literary and full of zeugmas and other rhetorical devices. We can say that it is not only a versified prose, but also pure historical accounts. Thus, we can imagine how his poetry will be.

⁷⁸Al-Iṣfahânî, *Abâ Yûsuf al-iḥsân*, lines 10-11.

⁷⁹Al-Iṣfahânî, *Yaruqânî fî al-maha*, lines 17-21. He repeats the same meaning in another poem, *Yâ Yûsuf al-ḥusne*, lines 4-5.

Anyway, there is a kind of literary hyperbole in his above-mentioned verses but they refer to some historical facts. For example, Saladin canceled all the taxes in Egypt in 566 AH/1170 AD, destroyed the prison of *al-Ma'ûnah*, built a school to teach al-Shâfi'î doctrine, and another for al-Mâlikî doctrine.⁸⁰ Finally, al-Iṣfahânî congratulates Egypt on her new monarch Saladin, and regards this event had as a divine dispensation:⁸¹

هنيئاً لمصرٍ حوزِ يوسفٍ ملكها بأمرٍ من الرحمنِ قد كان موقوتاً¹

Translation: Blessed be Egypt to be under Yûsuf whose rule there was a timely decree from the Merciful.

After the fall of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt at the hands of Saladin, the people looked forward to the next step, that is, the liberation of Syrian and Palestinian lands from the Crusaders. This is obvious in the poetry of that time, where al-Iṣfahânî⁸² urges Saladin to attack the Franks. He told him that "this is the time of invading them" and destroying their hordes. He asked him to purify Jerusalem from the filth of the Franks and to attack the enemy (lines 23-24).

أغزُ الفرنجِ فهذا وقتُ غزويهم وأحطمُ جموعهم بالذابلِ والحطمِ²³
 وطهرِ القدسَ من رجسِ الفرنجِ وثبُ على البغاثِ وثوبَ الأجدلِ القَطْمِ²⁴

Translation: Attack the Franks, this is the time, and smash their hordes with sword and fire.

Purify Jerusalem from the filth of the Franks and swoop down on those worthless birds like a brave eagle.

The tune of motivation in these verses is mentioned before al-Iṣfahânî by al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil (d. 596 AH/1199 AD),⁸³ when he speaks

⁸⁰Al-Maqrîzî, *Et'âz Et'âz al-Honafâ*, 3:319.

⁸¹Al-Iṣfahânî, *Hanî'an li-Miṣra*, line 1.

⁸²*Bi-mulke Miṣr*, lines 23-25.

⁸³Al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil is Abû 'Alî 'Abdul Rahîm Ibn al-Qâḍî al-Ashraf Bahâ' ed-Dîn bin Aḥmad Allakhmî, who was surnamed Mujîr ed-Dîn al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil. He was born at 'Ascalon in 529 AH/ 1135 AD and passed away in Egypt in 596 AH/1200 AD. He was the minister of Saladin and was distinguished and expert at *Diwân al-Inshâ'*. Some say that If we collect the drafts of his messages and his comments they will be at least one hundred volumes. He was very intelligent, clever, and nice too in his writings and poetry. (Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, 3:158-159.) After the death of Saladin, Al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil remained in his high position and dignity, during the time of Sultan al-'Azîz, son of Saladin and al-Malik al-Mansûr, his grandson. He was still so until the arrival of al-Malik al-'Âdil to Egypt and his conquest of it, where he passed away. See Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, 3:162; Al-Dhahabî, *Siyâr A'lâm al-Nubalâ'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Aranâ'ôt and Muḥammad al-'Irqesûsî, 23 vols. (Beirut, 1413 AH), 21:343-

about Saladin, in a metaphoric style, "You had no Noah's ark to board, though the armies were like his floods, when the trumpet for the reconquest of Syria was sounded."⁸⁴

Al-Iṣfahânî, who refers to the battle of Ḥiṭṭîn, says that Saladin disgraced the Crusader kings and wiped out their disbelieving hordes.⁸⁵

678 حططت على حطين قدر ملوكهم ولم تبق من أجناس كفرهم جنسا

Translation: At Ḥiṭṭîn you trampled on the honor of their kings, and wiped out their infidel races to the last man.

It is known that at Ḥiṭṭîn Saladin captured Guy of Lusignan, the Crusader king of Jerusalem, Renauld de Châtillon, the prince of al-Kerak, the grandmaster of the Templars, some Hospitallers, and others.⁸⁶ D. Nicolle adds that the captive Hospitallers were given the choice of converting to Islam or execution. Two hundred and thirty of them were slaughtered and a few converted to Islam.⁸⁷

The sources reflect the hatred of the Muslims to Renauld de Châtillon not only because he was a Crusader, but also because he raided the holy lands of Mecca and Medina in 1182 AD/578 AH after his capture of the ports of Ailah and 'Aydhâb on the Red Sea.⁸⁸ Saladin in the next year 1183 AD/579 AH besieged the fortress of al-Kerak, but he failed to capture it. Later in 1186 AD / 582 AH. Renauld de Châtillon attacked a large caravan that was going from Cairo to Damascus, in which Saladin's sister was traveling, violating the truce between Saladin and the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁸⁹ King Guy of Lusignan chastised

344. M. A. 'Attallah, *The Letters of Al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil* (Tanta, 2000), pp. 2-15. (in Arabic)

⁸⁴ سفينة نوح ما ركبته وعسكر كطوفانه والشام بالفتح قد نودي

Al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil, "The poem of jihâduk ḥuk Allah," in *Poetry Collection of Al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), line 2.

⁸⁵Al-Iṣfahânî, *Kataba al-'adharu*, line 678; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 3:302; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:34.

⁸⁶Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:148; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:32-33. See also Nicolle, *Hattin 1187*, pp. 77-78. Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 3:284, and 288, gives more details about the Crusader captives of Ḥiṭṭîn:

"قتم أسر الملك وإيرنس الكرك وأخي الملك جفري وأوك صاحب جبيل وهنفرى بن هنفرى وابن صاحب إسكندرونة وصاحب مرقية وأسر من نجا من القتل من الداوية ومقدمها ومن الإسبتارية ومعظمها من البارونية"

⁸⁷Nicolle, *Hattin 1187*, pp. 78-79.

⁸⁸See Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 3:84; 4:70-75; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 3:134-141.

⁸⁹Gibb, "The Rise of Saladin," p. 585; Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem," p. 606; Nicolle, *Hattin 1187*, p. 56.

Renauld in an attempt to appease Saladin, but Renauld replied that he was lord of his own lands and that he had made no peace with Saladin. Saladin swore that Renauld would be executed if he was ever taken, prisoner.⁹⁰ Abû Shâma⁹¹ adds another reason for Saladin's vow to kill Renauld. He claims that Renauld insulted the Prophet Muḥammad when he said to Saladin's legates: "Say to your Muḥammad to save you."

Al-Iṣfahânî in his long poem of *kataba al-‘adharu ‘ala al-khudûd*,⁹² states these events, especially the issue of the execution of Renauld de Châtillon, prince of al-Kerak, and how Saladin's sword cut his head (lines 692,695,697). He also refers to Renauld de Châtillon's treachery to Saladin as the reason for his death (line 693). He addresses Saladin: "You sent the *imâm* of the hell-bound nation to it until Ernât came to rest in that jail" (line 697).

692	تَدَى حُسام حاسِمُ ذلكَ اليُّ بيسا	شكا بيساً رأسَ البرنيسِ الذي به
693	كان لولا غدرةُ نمه يُحدي	حسا نمه ماضي الغرارِ لقدره
694	أظهر سيفاً معدماً رجسه النجسا	فله ما أهدى فتكتُ به
695	فأشبهَ رأسُ العنِّ والبرِّ رسا	نسفت به رأسَ البرنيسِ بضربة
697	فزارَ إمامَ أرناطها ذلكَ الحيسا	بعثتَ إمامَ أمةِ النارِ نحوها

Translation: The head of the prince became dry when the sword cut it and the blood flowed.

Because of his deeds and his treachery, the sword drank his blood.

His death was a gift from Allah, and this sword ended his evil.

By a strike, you destroyed the head of the prince, and his head became like the flying cotton and wool.

⁹⁰Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:274, 288. Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:34, says that Saladin asked Renauld to accept Islam, but the latter refused. Then he executed him by himself. But Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Fath al-Qussî*, pp. 50-51, says that Saladin blamed him for his bad behaviors and treachery with him, and refused to drink the water without his permission. Then, he killed him and ordered his soldiers to cut his head and drag his body outside his tent. See also Nicolle, *Hattin 1187*, pp. 77-78; Karen Armstrong, *Holy War: the Crusades and their Impact on Today's World* (New York, 1988), pp. 253-254.

⁹¹*Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:296; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:33.

⁹²Lines 692-699; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:303. See also Al-Jilyânî, *Taşârēf dahrin*, lines 12-19; idem, *Fî bâṭin al-ghaiyb*, line 12; Al-Iṣfahânî, *The poem of ‘uqidat be-naṣrika*, lines 10-11.

You sent the *imâm* of the hell-bound nation to it until Ernât came to rest in that jail.

When al-Işfahânî speaks of the Crusader captives of Ḥiṭṭîn,⁹³ he says that they were so countless that the countries of God were full of them. The Muslims bought these captives at a cheap price, i.e. with the fighting, and they presented them in the markets of slaves. He says because the Crusader captives were so many in the markets no one would like to buy them.⁹⁴

690 سَبَايَا بِلَادِ اللَّهِ مَمُوءَةٌ بِهَا وَقَدْ شَرِيَتْ بَخْسًا وَقَدْ عُوِصِتْ نَخْسًا
691 طَافُ بِهَا الْأَسْوَاقُ لَا رَاغِبٌ لَهَا لَكثَرْتَهَا كَمَ كَنْزَةٍ تُوجِبُ الْوُكُوسَا

Translation: The Lord's lands are full of countless captives--cheaply purchased, sold as slaves.

They were too many no wonder they were shunned by buyers in over-flooded markets.

The accurate details of these verses of al-Işfahânî mean that he accompanied Saladin at the war. On the other hand, they agree with the account of Abu Shâma about the captives of Ḥiṭṭîn, where he says that the Frankish captives of Ḥiṭṭîn were countless. One day someone bought a Frankish man and his wife and three sons and two daughters for eighty *dinars*. The Crusader captives were so many so that one day a poor Muslim soldier sold a Frankish captive for a pair of sandals.⁹⁵ The so many Crusader men killed at Ḥiṭṭîn gave the impression that there were no captives and the countless Crusader captives at Ḥiṭṭîn gave the impression that none of their men was killed.⁹⁶

The period, which followed the victory of Ḥiṭṭîn in Arabic poetry, could be called 'the time of stimulation or the time of mobilization in the Muslim thought'. It is notable that in the poetry of that time the poets urged Saladin to invade the Syrian cities and restore them from the hands of the Crusaders.⁹⁷ For instance, al-Işfahânî asked Saladin in his

⁹³About them see Pernoud, *The Crusades*, p. 168.

⁹⁴Al-Işfahânî, *Kataba al-‘adharu*, lines 689-691. See also Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:284, and 303.

⁹⁵Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:299.

⁹⁶Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:148.

⁹⁷Muḥammad S. Kilânî, *The Crusades and its Influence on the Arabic Literature in Egypt and Syria* (Cairo, 1949), pp. 234-235. (in Arabic) (henceforth Kilânî, *The Crusades*)

poems to re-conquer Jerusalem.⁹⁸ He says: "Do not neglect holiest Jerusalem and resolve to re-conquer it as soon as possible."⁹⁹

In another place, he repeats the same wish when he says: "You conquered Egypt and I hope you will re-conquer Jerusalem just as easily."¹⁰⁰ He informs Saladin that the difficult issues will be easy by Allah, should he ask him, and describes the conquest of Jerusalem as the "the great conquest" which quenches their thirst.¹⁰¹

314 بهوضاً إلى القدس يشفي الغليل بفتح الفتح وماذا عسير
315 سلى الله تسهيل صعب الخطوب فهو على كل شيء قدير

Translation: Up to Jerusalem! Only that would quench our thirst for the Great Conquest beside which all else is easy.

Ask Allah to make easy the toughest of hardships, for He is indeed omnipotent.

Al-Iṣfahânî traces the conquests of Saladin in Syria after the battle of Ḥiṭṭîn and gives in his poems an account of the Syrian cities and castles, which were conquered by Saladin and his brother al-ʿĀdil.¹⁰² He begins with Tberias, Acre, Sidon, Beirut, Tibnîn, Jaffa, Arsûf, Gaza, Ascalon,¹⁰³ and the castle of Manbij (Hierapolis).¹⁰⁴ He showed also that the conquest of Acre was badly needed to drive the Crusaders completely out of the coastal cities of Syria (line 666).

666 وعكا وما عكا فقد كان فتحها إجلاتهم عن مدن ساحلهم كد سا
667 صيدا وبيروت وتبنين كلها يفك ألفى أنفه الرغم والتعسا
668 ويافا وأرسوف وتد بني وغزة تخنت بين الطلى والظبي عوسا

⁹⁸See, *Bi-mulke Miṣr*, lines 23-25; *The poem of ʿafâ Allâh ʿankum*, lines 24-25.

⁹⁹Al-Iṣfahânî, *Abâ Yûsuf al-iḥsân*, lines 18-19.

19 على فتحه غازين وافترعوا البكرا ولا تهملوا البيت المقدس واعزموا

¹⁰⁰Al-Iṣfahânî, *'Bi-ljide adrakta'*, line 6.

6 ميسراً فتح بيت القدس عن كذب فتحت مصر وأرجو أن تصير بها

¹⁰¹Al-Iṣfahânî, *Kataba al-ʿadharu*, lines 314-315. See also Ḥammza, *The Literature*, p. 112.

¹⁰²As for the historical accounts see Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatyn*, 3:318-320; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:144 ff.; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:35.

¹⁰³Al-Iṣfahânî, *Kataba al-ʿadharu*, lines 665-669; idem, *The poem of hum al-mulûk*, line 3.

¹⁰⁴Al-Iṣfahânî, *The poem of bushrâ al-mamâlik*, line 1. As for these events see Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Faḥ al-Qussî*, pp. 53-66. Al-Iṣfahânî mentioned these conquests in another poem too. See Ḥammza, *The Literature*, p.116.

669 نظره بَلْ أَمْرُهُ أَرِيدٌ وَارْجَسَا وَفِي عَسْقَلَانَ الْكُفْرُ نَلٌّ بِمَلِكِكُمْ

Translation: And Acre, how about Acre! Its conquest made them leave
all their coastal cities,
And in Sidon, Beirut, and Tibnîn you defeated the enemy by
your sword and made them miserable and humble,
And Jaffa, Arsûf, Tubnâ, and Gaza your sword's blade cut
their necks,
And in Ascalon the disbelief became humble by your
monarchy, its shape became black and dirty.

After Saladin's re-conquest of the Syrian cities and castles al-Işfahânî asks Saladin to re-conquer Tyre and destroy the remaining Crusaders completely.¹⁰⁵ Ibn al-Athîr¹⁰⁶ states that at this time most of the Franks went to Tyre to prepare themselves against Saladin's armies. Al-Işfahânî warns Saladin that there was a league of the Crusaders in Tyre watching his military activities. He also urges Saladin to push these Crusaders to fight (lines 670, 672). But he refers to unique information about the collapse of the Crusaders' economy after Ḥiṭṭîn, when he says that the value of the Crusader coinage *dinar* decreased and became like a *fiḥs* in value (line 672).

670 وَصَارَ بَصُورٍ عَصَبَةٌ يَرْقُبُونَكُمْ فَلَا تَبْطِنُوا عَنْهَا وَحَسُّوهُمْ حَسًّا
672 دَمْرٌ عَلَى الْبَاقِينَ وَاجْتَنَّتْ أَصْلَهُمْ م فَإِنَّكَ قَدْ صَيَّرْتَ دِينَارَهُمْ قَسًّا

Translation: There is a league in Tyre watching you, so don't be delayed
to it and kill them fully,
And destroy the remained and remove their origin; you made
their *dinar* a *fiḥs*.

These verses reflect the hope of the Muslims to reconquer Jerusalem and Tyre, which is shown in their historical writings too. Abû Shâma repeats the same idea and declares that Saladin conquered all the coastal cities except Jerusalem and Tyre.¹⁰⁷ Al-Işfahânî also asks Saladin to march towards Tripoli, Neapolis,¹⁰⁸ and Antioch.¹⁰⁹ In

¹⁰⁵ Al-Işfahânî, *Kataba al-‘adharu*, lines 670 and 672.

¹⁰⁶ *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:148, and 152-153; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:327.

¹⁰⁷ Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:328.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Işfahânî, *Bushrâ al-mamâlik*, line 8.

¹⁰⁹ Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:363-364.

another poem, he urges Saladin to cross the Euphrates river to free Edessa from its Crusader captivity and to free Ḥarran too.¹¹⁰

42 فاعو إلى القومِ الفراتَ ليشربوا الـ
وت الأجاجَ فقد طمأطفأحه
43 فلك من أيديهم رهمن الرها
عجلاً ويدرك ليلها إصبأحه
44 وابغوا لحران الخلاص فكم بها
حان قلب نحوكم ملتاحه

Translation: Cross the Euphrates to the enemies to give them a salty taste of overflowing death
And wrest Edessa from their hands and give her light after the long dark night.
Seek salvation for Ḥarran wherein many a burning heart pines for your help.

It seems that al-Iṣfahânî was so full of hope that he asked Saladin to march towards Mesopotamia and Khorasân, and capture them with the Turks and Persians. He also asked Saladin to march towards Georgia after the Franks to fight the Georgians.¹¹¹

674 وإن بلادرق مظلمة فخذ
خراسان والنهرين والثرك الفرسا
675 ربعد الفرنج الكرك فاقصد بلادهم
بعزمك وأملأ من دمائهم الرسا

Translation: The countries of the Orient are dark, so capture Khorasân, Mesopotamia, the Turks, and Persians.
After the Franks, march towards the country of the Georgians by your intention and fill the grave with their blood.

The latter verses probably reflect the Muslims' desire to reconquer the lost lands and they hoped that Saladin will be the awaited champion who will restore and unite the Islamic World from Persia to Andalusia.

On the 2nd of October 1187 AD/ 27th of Rajab 583 AH. Saladin entered Jerusalem after his victory over the Crusaders, who withdrew from the war's land.¹¹² This serious event in the history of relations between the Muslims and Crusaders caused a hard shock in Europe; on the other hand, it brought delight and pleasure to Muslims and restored their military confidence after the loss of Jerusalem in 1097 AD. So, it is

¹¹⁰Al-Iṣfahânî, *The poem of yawmun ahabba*, lines 42-44. See also Ḥammza, *The Literature*, p. 115.

¹¹¹Al-Iṣfahânî, *Kataba al-'adharu*, lines 674-675.

¹¹²About the fall of Jerusalem by Saladin see Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatyn*, 3:333-358; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:35-37; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:154-185.

no wonder to see the contemporary poets of Saladin praising him so much in their poems. Of course, one of them will be his faithful secretary al-Iṣfahânî, who addresses Saladin: "No one deserves Jerusalem except you, because you are the only one who conquered Jerusalem (line 657) and you purified it from their abomination with their blood (line 659). You discarded the garment of disbelief from its holy land and clothed it with belief again. The judgments of Islam returned to the house of Allah when you left neither patriarch nor bishop (line 661). Rejoice, it is known far and wide that the *adhân* of Jerusalem has canceled all bell-ringing."¹¹³ (line 662).

The conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin made the poets, such as al-Iṣfahânî, ask him strongly to re-conquer Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch and to drive the Crusaders out of all the Syrian coast.¹¹⁴

من بعد فتحك بيت القدس ليس سوى	صور فإن فتحت فاقصد طرابلسا
أثر على يوم انطرسوس ذا لجب	وأبعث إلى ليل أنطاكية العسسا
خُل ساحل هذا الشام أجمعه	من العداة ومن في دينه وكسا

Translation: After reconquering Jerusalem, there remains Tyre, and when that is reconquered, then march onto Tripoli.

Marshal to Antaradus an ear-deafening legion, and into the night of Antioch send your spies.

And clear the entire coast of Syria of all enemies and people of questionable faith.

So, Saladin began to raid the possessions of Tripoli and Antioch. By the end of 1188 AD/584 AH. Saladin captured the cities and castles of Tripoli and Antioch, such as the castle of Hunin, Safad, the fortress of Beavoir, Banyas, Gibellum, Laodicea (today is Lattakia), and the fortresses of Saone, Cursat, Baghras, and Darbsak. Later, he captured also al-Kerak, al-Shobak (*Krak de Montreal*), and Shaqif Arnun.¹¹⁵ The Arab poets omitted the failure of Saladin to capture Tyre and the naval defeat of the Egyptian fleet before its coast by the Crusader fleet at 1187 AD, which seized five Egyptian ships and the Crusaders captured the grandmaster and the head of the Muslim navy.¹¹⁶ Ibn al-Athîr

¹¹³Al-Iṣfahânî, *Kataba al-'adharu*, lines 657-662. See also another poem in, Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatyn*, 3:364; idem, *Al-Faṭḥ al-Qussî*, pp. 66-82.

¹¹⁴Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatyn*, 3:364.

¹¹⁵See Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Faṭḥ al-Qussî*, pp. 85-100, 117-148, and 154-160, and 193; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*, 10:161-162, 166-177, and 180-181; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:38 ff.

¹¹⁶Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:38.

estimates the total number of the Egyptian ships at ten *Shawânî*,¹¹⁷ which came from Acre to support Saladin in his besiege of Tyre.¹¹⁸ The omission of this event leads us to the fact that the poets showed only the victories of Saladin and praised only his great achievements, omitting his defeats such as the defeat of al-Ramlah in 1177 AD/ 573 AH by the Crusaders under the leadership of Renauld de Châtillon, or unsuccessful endeavors such as the besiege of Tyre. Although the details of the defeat of al-Ramlah is obvious in the historical chronicles,¹¹⁹ al-Işfahânî composed a poem for al-Malik al-Mudhaffar ʿAḍîy ed-Dîn of Ḥamâh,¹²⁰ who came with his soldiers to support Saladin, and attacked the Crusaders, and killed many of them.¹²¹ This means that those poets were interested in the victories only or they were interested in the issues which elevate the rank of the Muslims and increase their enthusiasm against their enemies.

As for the motives of al-Işfahânî to praise Saladin we have to keep in mind that he belonged to the inner circle of Saladin's court officials.¹²² He was the personal secretary of Saladin since 1175.¹²³ So, he accompanied Saladin almost without intermission from the summer of that year until his death.¹²⁴ Besides these facts, al-Işfahânî dealt with Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd before Saladin and had a good experience and he knew how to deal with the high leaders and statesmen.¹²⁵ Thus, al-

¹¹⁷*Shanya* was called *Shînî*, *Shînîyah* and *Shûnah*. The plural is *Shawânî*. It was a big Galley. This term, *Shânyah*, was the origin of many other ships such as *al Ghurâb*, *al-Tarîdah*, *al-Harrâqah*, and others. This galley was used in the Mediterranean and the Nile as well. (See, Darwîsh al-Nikhîlî, *Al-Sufun al-Islâmîya 'alâ Hurûf al-Mu'jam* (Alexandria, 1979), pp. 83-85.) Ibn Mamâtî, *Qawanîn al-Dawâwîn*, ed. Azîz S. 'Aṭya (Cairo, 1991), pp. 339-334, mentions that this ship had 100-140 oars and was full of the fighters, sailors, and oarsmen. It was also full of foods, cistern of water, arms, and *al-Naft*. (Badr ed-Dîn al-'Aynî, *Iqdu al-Jumân fî Tarîkh Ahl al-Zamân*, ed. Muhammad M. Amîn, 8 vols. (Cairo, n.d.), 4:186-187.

¹¹⁸Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil fî al-Târîkh*, 10:159-160 and Al-Işfahânî, *Al-Fath al-Qussî*, pp. 89-90, mention the reason of the fall of these five Egyptian ships in the hands of the Crusaders. They say that their soldiers and sailors were sleeping when the Crusaders attacked them.

¹¹⁹Al-Işfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 3:31-41; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:462-466.

¹²⁰As for this poem see Al-Işfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 3:46-50.

¹²¹Al-Işfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 3:38 ff.

¹²²Holt, "Saladin and his Admirers," p. 236.

¹²³Gibb, "The Arabic Sources," p. 59.

¹²⁴Gibb, "The Arabic Sources," p. 60.

¹²⁵For the relation between Al-Işfahânî and Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd see Richards, "Imâd al-Dîn Al-Işfahânî," pp. 135-140; Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, pp. 27-28.

Işfahânî showed a deep admiration for Saladin¹²⁶both in his chronicles and his poetry, especially that his access to Saladin gave him personal prestige and opportunities for enrichment.¹²⁷

‘Abdul Mon‘im al-Jilyânî (d. 602 AH/1205 AD)¹²⁸also persuaded Saladin to attack the Franks and to free Jerusalem and says to him, "if you didn't fight them, who would do it and destroy them?"¹²⁹

‘Abdul Mon‘im al-Jilyânî shows the wonder of the Crusaders in the battle of Hiṭṭîn about the strength of Saladin.¹³⁰

13 بَقِيَ بِأَسْ صَلاَحِ الدِّينِ أَذْهَبَهُمْ مِ بَوَقْعَةِ النَّلِّ وَاسْتِشْرَاءِ سَوْرَتِهِ

Translation: But the might and fury of Saladin left them stunned in the battle of al-Tall.

Probably, the words of al-Jilyânî didn't state the fact, because the Crusaders met Saladin several times before and the strength of Saladin was clear to them. Probably, it was Saladin's military plan not only his strength that surprised them.¹³¹

Al-Jilyânî also indicates the battle of Hiṭṭîn and likens the selling of the many captives of the Franks in the markets to the collections of birds in strings without feathers.¹³² The poets of the time of Saladin mentioned many times that the Crusader captives were so many.

Al-Jilyânî refers to the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin¹³³ and regards the fighting of Saladin against the Franks as an epic (line 8). His

¹²⁶Gibb, "The Life of Saladin," p. 3.

¹²⁷Richards, "‘Imâd al-Dîn Al-Işfahânî," p. 138.

¹²⁸‘Abdul Mon‘em al-Jilyânî is ‘Abdul Mon‘im bin ‘Omar bin ‘Abdullah al-Jilyânî al-Andalusî. He was born in 531 A.H/1136 AD in Jilyanah, a village in Granada, and died in 602 AH/1205 AD in Damascus. He worked as a physician there. Saladin respected him so much. So, al-Jilyânî praised him in many poems, especially the poem of *Rawdat al-Ma‘âthir wa-l-Mafâkhir*, which was composed in 568 AH. He has ten poetry collections and much prose. See Al-Dhahabî, *Siyar A‘lâm al-Nubalâ’*, 21:476-477; Ibn abî Uşaybi‘ah, *‘Uwn al-Annâbâ’ fî Ṭabaqât al-Aṭṭibâ’*, ed. Nizâr Redâ (Beirut, n.d.), pp. 630-635.

¹²⁹‘Abdul Mon‘em al-Jilyânî, "The poem of fayâ malikan," in *Poetry Collection of ‘Abdul Mon‘im al-Jilyânî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 4-9.

¹³⁰Al-Jilyânî, *The poem of fayâ malikan*, line 13; Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawdatyn*, 3:365.

¹³¹About the battle of Hiṭṭîn in the poetry of al-Jilyânî see Al-Jilyânî, *The poem of taşârîf dahrîn*, lines 1-24; idem, *The poem of fî bâṭîn al-ghaiyb*, lines 2-12.

¹³²Al-Jilyânî, *Taşârêf dahrin*, line 15.

¹³³Al-Jilyânî, *The poem of Allâh Akbar*, lines 1-8. See also Kilânî, *The Crusades*, pp. 213-214.

poems about Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem are called “*al-Quddsiyyât*.”¹³⁴

Besides this historical-poetic evidence of al-Jilyânî, he presents unique information about the third Crusade.¹³⁵ Some of his verses about Saladin show that the Franks were outraged because of the defeat of the Crusaders at Ḥiṭṭîn and the fall of Jerusalem by Saladin. So, they mobilized the European kings to participate in a new expedition against Saladin (line 4). Al-Jilyânî says that the Franks of Europe objected to abandoning Jerusalem (line 5); that many kings sailed to save the holy sepulcher from the Muslims (line 6); that they mobilized their people to go with them and prepared much money for the planned expedition (line 8):

4	فاستنفروا كلَّ مرهوبٍ تُغْلِهُ	ماجَ الفرنجُ وقدَ خاروا لفَتَكته
5	ربُّ في حَفرةٍ منها تُمَدُّه	لَمَّا سبى القُدسُ قالوا كيفَ تُرَكُّها
6	يُصُورُوا القَبْرَ والأَقْدَارُ تَخْذُله	كَمَ مَلِكٍ لَهْمُ شَقِّ البَحَارِ سَرَى
8	استكثروا المَنيَّ والهيجَا تُنْقِله	تَصْرَحُوا الأَهْلَ وَالعَوَى تُرَقِّهْمُ

Translation: When the Franks became weak, they were excited and they mobilized every strong [king].

For the capture of Jerusalem, they said how to leave it and the Lord is buried there.

How many kings of them navigated at night to save the sepulcher, and the fate abandoned them.

They stimulated {appealed to} their people, while the infection rends them, and collected the money which the war increased.

The motives of al-Jilyânî to praise Saladin in his poetry are not clear in the sources. But ibn abî Uṣaybi‘ah mentions that Saladin respected him so much and gave him so many benefactions.¹³⁶ This short information answers why al-Jilyânî praised Saladin in his poetry and showed that the relations between them were so strong that he wrote a poetry collection, which is called “*al-Mobashirât wa-l-Quddsiyyât*,” to describe the battles of Saladin against the Crusaders and

¹³⁴Kilânî, *The Crusades*, p. 213.

¹³⁵Al-Jilyânî, *The poem of yâ munqidh al-Quds*, lines 4-12. See also Ḥammza, *The Literature*, p. 145; Kilânî, *The Crusades*, pp. 213-214.

¹³⁶Ibn abî Uṣaybi‘ah, ‘*Uwn al-Annabâ*’, p. 630.

to praise him. He wrote another book about him, too.¹³⁷ Thus, the strong relations between Saladin and al-Jilyânî led the latter to praise Saladin in his poetry.

The poet ibn al-Sa‘âtî (d. 604 AH/1207 AD)¹³⁸ who contacted the Ayyubid statesmen, such as Saladin, al-‘Âdil, and others, praised the courage, noble-mindedness, and morals of Saladin. He wrote many poems about the conquest of Tiberias¹³⁹ and the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin.¹⁴⁰ He also referred to the third crusade of Richard the Lion Heart.¹⁴¹ It is remarkable that most of the poems of ibn al-Sa‘âtî which he wrote about Saladin were panegyric. The motives of ibn al-Sa‘âtî to do it are unclear. But, according to his biography, it is probable that he found that Egypt was the country where he liked to stay. So, when he was thirty years old he left Damascus and went to Egypt. His praising poetry of Egypt and its cities reflected this hypothesis. In this case, it will be acceptable to find someone like ibn al-Sa‘âtî who praises Saladin, Sultan of Egypt. He stayed in Egypt until his death.¹⁴²

Ibn Rashîq al-Qayrawânî (d. 608 AH/1211 AD)¹⁴³ in his poetry refers to the attack of Saladin on al-Kerak where he says:¹⁴⁴

46	واديها كالباسقات من النخل	بنى أهل تلك القلعة الشدَّ إذ رأوا
47	بها وهي لا تنفك من لعنة الجبل	غدا بطنها الإبرنس يلعن عوسه
49	لشيخ لعين كافر جاهل رذل	وقد رجمتها المنجنيقات إذ رمت

¹³⁷Ibn abî Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uwn al-Annba’*, p. 635.

¹³⁸Ibn al-Sa‘âtî is Abû al-Ḥasan Alî bin Rustum . He was born in Damascus in 553 AH/1158 AD and died in Egypt in 604 AH/1207 AD. He had some poetry collections. See Al-Dhahabî, *Shadharât al-Dhahab fî Akhbâr man Dhahab*, 4 vols. (Beirut, n.d.), 3:13-14; Kilânî, *The Crusades*, p. 304.

¹³⁹Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:305-307; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:34. See also Kilânî, *The Crusades*, pp. 305-306.

¹⁴⁰Abû Shâma, *Kitâb al-Rawḍatyn*, 3:373-374. See also Kilânî, *The Crusades*, pp. 306-307; Badawî, *The Literate Life*, pp. 192-195.

¹⁴¹Badawî, *The Literate Life*, p. 195.

¹⁴²Badawî, *The Literate Life*, p. 189.

¹⁴³ Ibn Rashîq al-Qayrawânî is Hebat Allâh bin Dja‘far al-Qâdî al-Sa‘îd ibn Sanâ’ al-Mulk. He was born in Egypt in 550 AH/ 1155 AD and died there also in 608 AH/ 1212 AD. He was a poet of the Egyptian nobles. He worked in *Diwân al-Inshâ’* and worked in *Diwân al-Djaîsh* under al-Malik al-Kâmil in 606 AH/1210 AD he has many books and a poetry collection. See, Badawî, *The Literate Life*, pp. 196-203.

¹⁴⁴Ibn Rashîq al-Qayrawânî, "The poem of waṣaftoka wallahî yu‘âned," in *Poetry Collection of ibn Rashîq al-Qayrawânî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 46-51.

Translation: The inhabitants of that castle reaped evil when they saw
its front walls high like palm-trees.

Its master, the prince, took to cursing his relation with it and
continued to do so.

The catapults strafed it as they would pelt an old, accursed,
ignorant, and evil disbeliever.

In 579 AH/1183 AD, Saladin and his brother al-‘Âdil attacked al-Kerak with many soldiers and besieged it with catapults for several weeks. The besiegers struck the wall of the fortress with stones and succeeded in destroying a part of it. But they failed to enter the fortress because of the deep and wide ditch which was like a wide valley. Although they tried to cross it they failed. Then, the month of fasting of the Muslims, i.e. *Ramadan*, was about to come. So, Saladin left al-Kerak and went to Damascus with his army.¹⁴⁵ Although ibn Rashîq al-Qayrawânî refers to the conquest of Jerusalem,¹⁴⁶ he determines the day of Saladin's entry to it as Friday (line 65).

Finally ibn ‘Anîn (d. 632 AH/1234 AD)¹⁴⁷ was interested in showing Saladin as a protector of Islam and its lands, especially Egypt, Mecca, and al-Medina. He refers indirectly to the attempt of the Franks to attack Mecca and al-Medina.¹⁴⁸ He declares that the bonds of Islam would have been destroyed, neglected, and replaced in Egypt had it not been for him. And the Franks controlled Egypt and their people left the chamber of the mosque of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Âṣ a temple.¹⁴⁹

30 لولاك لانفصمت عرى الإسلام في صر وأخمل نكره وتبدلاً
31 وتحكمت فيها الفرنج وغائرت علاجها محراب عمرو هيكلًا

¹⁴⁵Al-Iṣfahânî, *Al-Barq al-Shâmî*, 5:152-153, and 162; Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:29.

¹⁴⁶Al-Qayrawânî, *Wasftuka wallahî yu‘ânid*, lines 56-66.

¹⁴⁷ Ibn ‘Anîn is Muḥammad bin Naṣr Allâh bin Makârim al-Dimashqî al-Ansârî al-Kûfî. He was born in Damascus in 549 AH/1154 AD and died there in 632 AH/1234 AD. He was a satirist even Saladin was satirized by him. After the death of Saladin, he returned to Damascus and he praised al-Malik al-‘Âdel. He was a minister to al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam and al-Malik al-Nâṣir in Damascus. See Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A‘yân*, 5:14-19. Compare Sallâm, *The Literature*, pp. 340-349; Badawî, *The Literate Life*, pp. 222-237.

¹⁴⁸Ibn ‘Anîn, "The poem of *yâ dahru wayḥak*," in *Poetry Collection of ibn ‘Anîn*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 23-26.

¹⁴⁹Ibn ‘Anîn, "The poem of *ja‘ala al-‘itâb ilâ al-ṣudûd*," in *Poetry Collection of ibn ‘Anîn*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 30-31.

Translation: If it were not for you, the bonds of Islam would have been broken and Islam would have been neglected and replaced in Egypt;

The Franks would have been its absolute rulers; the priests would have turned the Mosque of ‘Amr into a temple.

Ibn ‘Anîn refers not only to the combined attack of the Crusaders and the Byzantine fleet on Damietta 1169 AD/ 565 AH but also to important information that the Franks transformed many of its mosques into churches. But he says that Saladin saved them from the Frankish plan of destruction which would have reduced these mosques to shambles.¹⁵⁰

27 يَتَغَرِّمِ بِمِائِطِ فَكَمٍ مِنْ بَيْعَةٍ عُدِّ الصَّلِيبُ بِهَا وَكَانَتْ مَسْجِدًا
28 أَنْقَذَتْهَا مِنْ خُطَّةِ الْخَصْفِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ أَحَلَّتْهَا الْحَضِيضَ الْأَوْهَدَا

Translation: In the port of Damietta, how often the cross was worshipped in a church that was once a mosque, Until you restored it to what it was and uplifted it from its erstwhile degradation.

The latter information of ibn ‘Anîn shows the continuity of the hostile policy of the Crusaders towards the conquered Muslims' lands, which began with the First Crusade. It is known that they changed many mosques to churches after they entered the holy lands¹⁵¹ and after seventy-two years of the First Crusade, they maintained this policy and changed many mosques of Damietta to churches. Probably this policy forced the Crusaders to do it in Damietta or they wanted to intrigue the Muslims, especially when we know that the Crusader-Byzantine expedition against Damietta lasted a short time and they had no chance to stay there for a long time to establish a Crusader community such as that of Antioch, Edessa, Tripoli, or Jerusalem.

Ibn ‘Anîn refers also to the conquests of Saladin of some Syrian cities and says that the dust of the attack of Saladin on Caesarea hid the sun.¹⁵² This remark means that the troops of Saladin were too many.

The questionable point here is why ibn ‘Anîn praised Saladin although he was a satirist? Ibn ‘Anîn was one of the professional poets

¹⁵⁰Ibn ‘Anîn, *The poem of yâ dahru wayḥak*, lines 27-29.

¹⁵¹The historians of the time of Saladin declare that the Crusaders removed the Islamic sights from Jerusalem and changed it to Christian places. They changed al-Aqṣâ mosque and *Qubbat al-Ṣakhrāh* into temples. So, when Saladin entered Jerusalem he restored these places as Islamic places. See note 95.

¹⁵²Ibn ‘Anîn, *Yâ dahru wayḥak*, lines 30-32.

of the time of the Crusades. He had a great knowledge of poetry, Arabic, and culture. During the time of Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd, when he was sixteen years old, he wrote poetry. After the death of Nûr ed-Dîn Maḥmûd, Damascus was captured by Saladin. Then ibn ‘Anîn showed his political trends against Saladin and his ministers. He satirized them many times in his poems. One day he satirized Saladin "Our Sultan is hobbled, his writer is bleary and his minister is back-hunched".¹⁵³

سلطاننا أعرج، وكاتبه
ذو عمشٍ والوزير منحذبٌ

Ibn ‘Anîn also satirized one of Saladin's men, Ass‘ad ibn Elyâs al-Tabîb.¹⁵⁴ So, Saladin ordered ibn ‘Anîn to leave Damascus. He left it and moved from one country to another, such as Iraq, Mesopotamia, Khwrasan, Khwarizm, India, and others.¹⁵⁵ After his dispersion in many countries, he decided to contact the Ayyubid dynasty. But, while he couldn't go to Egypt because Saladin did not forgive him, he went to the brother of Saladin, who was the governor of Yemen. He praised him in many poems.¹⁵⁶ It is probable that he praised Saladin too during his stay in Yemen to gain his cordiality and his forgiveness. I think that Saladin did not forgive ibn ‘Anîn because he did not return to Damascus during his life. He returned to Damascus only after the death of Saladin, when he took permission from al-Malik al-‘Âdil to enter it.¹⁵⁷

Conclusion:

Thus, the contemporary Muslim poets who composed poetry about Saladin referred to all the stages of his life, beginning with the time of leadership under Asad ed-Dîn Shirkuh, the minister under the Fatimid Caliphate, and Sultanate of Egypt and Syria. The range of the praise in their poems was varied from one stage to another. It reached the top after he triumphed over the Crusaders at Ḥiṭṭîn and his conquest of Jerusalem.

It is obvious that, far from the historical events in their poems, most of the poets praised Saladin so much and gave him the characteristics of a mythical hero, even Fityân al-Shaghûrî regarded him as "the owner of hitherto unwritten epics",¹⁵⁸ and he regarded him, rather hyperbolically, as the destroyer of Chosroes, the Persian king,

¹⁵³Sallâm, *The Literature*, p. 341.

¹⁵⁴Ibn Taghrî Berdî, *Al-Nujûm al-Zâhira*, 6:113.

¹⁵⁵Badawî, *The Literate Life*, pp. 222, and 225-226.

¹⁵⁶Badawî, *The Literate Life*, p. 227.

¹⁵⁷See Badawî, *The Literate Life*, pp. 228-230.

¹⁵⁸Fityân al-Shaghûrî, *The poem of tubna al-mamâlik*, line 9.

and Caesar of *al-Rûm*, the Byzantine Emperor. But, he regarded the armies of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641 AD) and Alexander the Great (r. 356-323 BC) as nothing compared to Saladin's army.¹⁵⁹

The abundant praise of Saladin by various contemporary poets is proportionate to the disappointment felt by Muslims after the First Crusade and their subsequent failures to restore their lands from the Crusaders for about ninety years. Thus, when Saladin restored most of the Muslim lands, save a few Crusader cities in Syria, the Muslims were naturally jubilant. Besides, Saladin's conquests and achievements were swift and successive. So, most of the contemporary poets of Saladin praised him so much and gave him all the ideal characteristics, which we have been unable to account for completely in their poetry, i.e. they were propagandists. Although their motives to praise Saladin were various, they played an important role to make Saladin's reputation in the Islamic world in the time of the Crusades by their poems and the tune of their poetry was zealous to mobilize the Muslims and their leaders against the Crusaders. And the deeds of Saladin later became a parable among the Muslim people, probably up to now. So, we find Sharaf ed-Dîn al-Hillî (d. 627 AH / 1229 AD)¹⁶⁰ speaks to al-Zâher Ghâzî, the son of Saladin, and reminding him of the triumphs and achievements of his father.¹⁶¹

According to these conclusions, the poetry of the time of Saladin presented nothing new about the deeds of Saladin. It repeated briefly the events, which were recorded in the historical sources. However, it showed that most of the poets of his time were propagandists and played a vital role in the making of Saladin's reputation in the Islamic world. It also showed the psychological status of the Muslims before and after Hittin.

¹⁵⁹Fityân al-Shaghûrî, *The poem of tubna al-mamâlik*, lines 13-14.

¹⁶⁰Sharaf ed-Dîn al-Hillî is Abû al-Wafâ' Râjeh bin Abî al-Qâsim. He was born in 572 AH/1176 AD in al-Hilla of Iraq and died in 627AH/1229 AD. He was a poet of the tribe of Banî Asad. He moved from al-Hilla to Baghdad under the caliphate of Abû al-'Abbâs Aḥmed al-Mustaḍî'. But he did not stay there for long and went to Syria and Egypt. He has a poetry collection, which shows that he was a *Shî'î*. See Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, 4:7, and 10.

¹⁶¹Sharaf ed-Dîn al-Hillî, "*The poem of areḥ al-maṭiyya men al-wajîf*," in *Poetry Collection of Sharaf ed-Dîn al-Hillî*, ed. by Cultural Foundation of UAE, in *The Poetic Encyclopedia* (Abû Dhabi, 2003), lines 15-18; idem, *The poem of enna nufûsan balaghat*, lines 38-32; idem, *The poem of qaḍat laka al-bîyḍu wa-l-qanâ*, lines 25-28.

