## Aspects of Trends of History in the Ayyubid Era

## (1119 -1198 AD / 570-648 AH)

## Abstract:

The History Movement has been active on a large scale during the Ayyubid era by taking many forms. This study aims to shed light on the features of the trends of history during this era, especially that some of the prominent figures of specialists in Prophetic Traditions and scholars have shown a special interest in the codification of history, where Ibn 'Asaakir, and Ibn Al-Atheer Al-Jazri, Abu Shama Al-Maqdisi are prominent examples. Some scholars, who have held official positions in the Ayyubid State, contributed to the codification of history whether in their works or in the official documents they prepared for certain events like Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil (virtuous judge), Al-Emad Al-Isfahani, Ibn Shaddad, and Ibn Al-Adim. It is worth mentioning that the subject of history during this era had received the attention of some of the sultans, princes and those in power as well as through a range of scholars. As a result, if we want to talk about the features of historical writing in the Ayyubid period, the subject of this study, we find that historical work appeared in two main types:

First: comprehensive historical work starting from the beginning of creation, as in the book *Al-Kamil Fi Al-Tareekh* (*The Complete Book in History*) (3).

Second: Interest in local and regional history, which is one of the most writings prominent writings that emerged during this period. This kind has taken several patterns which were arranged chronologically such as *Tareekh Dimashq* (*Damascus History*) by Ibn Al-Qlansi and *Al-Raudhatain* (*The Two Gardens*) by Abu Shama. Some others took the form of biographies like *Tareekh Dimashq* (*Damascus History*) by Hafiz Ibn Asaakir and *Bughyat Al-Talab* (*The Aaspired Goal*) by Ibn Al-Adim, and other works varied between biographies and history whose events were arranged chronologically such as *Al-Thail Alla Al-Rawdhatayn* (*Appendix to Al-Rawdhatayn*) by Abu Shama.

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If we are to sum up the definition of the word 'history' (Arabic taareekh) it is possible to say that it is the process of codification, and the right form of this word in Arabic is /ta'reekh/ which means 'writing of history'. But history in the first Arabic form is the stage preceding the writing of history, and this means to research in the conditions of the past ancestors and what they left of traces and documents that have been transferred and interpreted. This is what we mean when we use the word 'history', a meaning which includes investigation and search for truth. Then it is presented in the form of information through classification and categorization. As a result, many thinkers considered that history is a discipline by itself<sup>1</sup>. Those interested in the process of history can be described because they see events and are in the process of analysis and description. A historian looks for the event, understands and studies texts carefully and accurately, and examines the effects that result from the  $past^2$ .

If we talk about the trends of history in general, we find that in the codification of the Islamic history there appeared two methods: the first is bridging events in yearbooks system or without, by commenting, analyzing or searching for their motives or results; the second focused on commenting on and analysis of a historical events without paying attention to the narrative of the successive historical events. Moreover, ancient historians took the first path by writing huge volumes which narrate historical events. Modern historians took the second path and their writings were like an analysis of one event of history, or one character of historical figures, bringing each Islamic state its history and historians who exerted efforts in codifying history for Sultans as well as important events. Generally speaking, this is the historical trend that prevailed during the Ayyubid period. So, if we want to talk about the written historical features in the Avvubid period, the subject of this study, we find that historical work appeared in two main types:

<sup>2</sup>. same reference.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>. Shalabi, Ahmed. Mawsao'at Al-Tarikh Al-Islami (Encyclopedia of Islamic History). part 1, 14th edn. Maktabat Alnahdha Al-Misriya, pp.27-28 1966.

The first is the comprehensive historical work which starts from the beginning of creation, as in the book *Al-Kamil in History* By Ibn Al-Atheer Al-Jarzi<sup>3</sup>.

While the second is concerned with local and regional history, one of the most common writings that emerged during this period, and this kind has taken several ways of which some were arranged chronologically like *Damascus History* by Al-Qolonsi and *Al-Raudhatain* by Abu Shama, and some of them took the form of biographies as in *History of Damascus* by Hafiz bin Asaakir, *Bughyat Al-Talab* by Ibn Al-Adeem, and other works varied between biographies and history where events were arranged chronologically as in the attachment with *Al-Raudhatain* by Abu Shama.

There were also historical writings on the biography of people, as did by the historian Ibn Shaddad when he talked about the biography of Saladin in his book *AlNawader AlSultaniya* (*Sultani Anecdotes*), whereas other historians talked about the ruling families as in the book *ALIBaher* (*The Brilliant*) By Ibn AlAtheer AlJerza, or history was in the form of biography in the book entitled *Al'etibar* (*The Consideration*) of Osama bin Munqith. Some others paid attention to administrative actions as in *Qawaneen AlDawaween* (*Laws of Bureaucracy*) by Ibn Mamati. As a corollary, the Ayyubid period is one which was interested in the primary sources that provided us with a detailed and thorough information about a lot of the events of the Ayyubid period. In this research I will summarize some of the features and trends of history in the Ayyubid period.

Among the most important of these trends is that some historians gathered between history and geography in what could be called in history as topography; a lot of historians in the Ayyubid era were not content with just the mentioning of historical events but gave an accurate description of the place with all the physical components that represent the Islamic and the Arab city such as mosques, schools and a detailed description and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>. Ibn Al-Atheer, Ali Bin Mohammad. Al-Kamil Fi Al-Tarikh (The Complete reference in History). vol.1, Dar Sadir:Beirut, p.16.

features of architecture. Sometimes they mentioned churches, rivers, trees, public bathrooms, city gates, walls, castles, palaces and markets, in order to link these places and their description in the manner and way of life and standard of living of their inhabitants. What distinguishes this description is that it is vibrant. When these architectural features are mentioned their mentioning will be associated with their construction and reconstruction, and the scientists, scholars and wise men who visited these places, the events that took place in the atmosphere of these places, and the knowledge taught in mosques and schools. They also provided us with a detailed description of the schools form and was inhabited by scientists and responded to it of science students and the associated beta of libraries, as provided us a detailed description of all scholars and students as well as libraries. They also provided us with a detailed description of the hospital as the most important scientific medical institution that had a prominent role during the Avyubid period.

This trend of historical writing appeared in several forms of historical works such as books of plans and books of trips. For example, Ibn 'Asaakir, Abu Al-Qasim Ali bin Al-Hasan bin Hibat Allah (D. 571 AH / 1175 AD), scholar of Dar Al-Hadith Al-Nawawiya, the Levant's most prominent transmitter of Prophetic Tradition in his time, and a notable Shafi'i jurist<sup>4</sup>, wrote a book in this respect under the title *Tareekh Dimashq (History of Damascus)*, which is also sometimes called Plans of Ibn 'Asaakir which is regarded as one of the bulkiest books of cities. It is also considered a significant Who's Who source. It falls into 80 volumes and was written in the same manner as that of books of classes of Prophetic Tradition scholars and scientists in addition to statesmen and rulers. It was arranged alphabetically and mentioned people who dwelled or visited Damascus among the scholars and notables.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>. Al-Thahabi, Shams Al-Din Mohammad. Syar Alaam Alnubala' (Biographies of Prominent Nobles). vol.16 Beirut:Dar Al-Fikr Al-Mu'asir. pp.132-133.

In returning to the second volume of the *History of Damascus*<sup>5</sup>, one finds that Ibn 'Asakir talked about the plans of Damascus City by singling out the mosque a lot of details; he talked about the Jami' Masjid, its significance, construction and its related news. He also mentioned the number of mosques within and outside the city, the number of churches, the houses which were inside and outside the fence, the rivers, public bathrooms, gates of the city, and even cemeteries. He enriched this book by mentioning what is said by scholars and wise men in praise of Damascus. He also mentioned a large number of city scholars, powerful men and dignitaries who were his contemporaries. He was interested in highlighting the role of women by giving biographies to some famous women who dwelled or visited Damascus.

Other examples of trends in the history of the Ayyubid era given by Ibn 'Asakir was the information he provided us with about schools, connectivity and small mosques that had spread and flourished during that era, as well as the role of Prophetic Traditions and the phenomenon of Sufi mysticism<sup>6</sup>.

Ibn 'Asakir also gave biographies for scientists, scholars and imams of Hadith who received great attention from the Ayyubid Sultans. He documented the interest of the Ayyubid sultans in science and raising the profile of scientists. In giving the biography of Abdullah bin Mohammed bin Abdullah Abu AlSinhaji AlMaghribi, known as Ibn Alasheri, a senior Prophetic Tradition transmitter, who came to Damascus and stayed there for some time, then went to Aleppo, when AlMalik Al'Adil (the fair King) sent him to the bay of Aleppo and gave him as much as he needed. At his death AlMalik Al'Adil (the fair King) visited his

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>. Ibn 'Asaakir, Ali bin Al-Hasan. Kutat Dimashq (Damascus Plans). Damascus: Arabic Academy, vol.2 Part 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>. Ibn 'Asaakir, Ali bin Al-Hasan. Tareekh Dimashq (Damascus History).Beirut: Dar Ihyaa' Al-Turath Al-Arabi vol.7. pp.119-125.

grave and later on he brought the sons of Alasheri to Aleppo and was very generous with them<sup>7</sup>.

He also reported the Zanki's and Ayyubid's interest in the establishment of schools, as was the case with Nur ad-Din Zanki who based his policy on encouraging the establishment of schools and mosques, hospices and places for studying Prophetic Traditions. He also took care of the appointment of those who are the owners of knowledge to take over the business, as when Nur ad-Din Zanki called for Imam Ghotbeddin Masoud bin Mohammed AlNisaburi to teach in Alnouriya school<sup>8</sup>. Ibn'Asakir also mentions that AlNisaburi was the first to teach in this school and was an imam in discord issues, fundamental issues, interpretation and preaching. he was a man of letters well known for eloquence and rhetoric.

Other trends that are a feature of the history of the Ayyubid era are trip books that took an encyclopedic character. Examples of historians who were interested in this direction were Mosuli-born Abu Al-Hasan Ali ibn Abi Bakr Bin Ali, who dwelled Aleppo (d. 611 AH-1214 AD), who mentions that he had a long trip visiting the Levant, Iraq, Yemen, Hijaz, and Egypt. He saw the mosques and shrines and mingled with the people there that Ibn Khillakan described him as "almost toured the earth by travelling by land and sea, on easy and bumpy roads to the extent that he became a model example"<sup>9</sup>. He settled in Aleppo, met with great interest from its ruler at the time, King Zahir Ghazi (d. 613 AH -1216 AD), built a school where he taught and gave sermons in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>. Ibn 'Asaakir, Ali bin Al-Hasan. Tareekh Dimashq (Damascus History). vol.34, pp.163-164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>. Ibn Shaddad, Izzuddin Abi Abdullah. Al-A'laaq Al-Khateera fi Thikr Umaraa' Al-Sham Wa Al-Jazeera (Significant Comments on the News of Princes of Levant and Arabia). Tareekh Dimashq (Damascus History). French Institute for Arabic Studies, Damascus, vol.1 part 1, p.100,102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>. Ibn Khillakan, Abu Al-Abbas Shams Al-Din. Wafiyyat Al-A'yan wa Anba' Abna' Al-Zaman. Beirut: Dar Ihyaa' Al-Turath Al-Arabi.1997 vol.3.pp.346-47.

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Aleppo<sup>10</sup>. He has a book printed under the title *Al'Sharat Ila Ma'rifat AlZiyarat (References to Know Visits)* in which many of the holy places were mentioned, with the addition of details and general remarks in the description of the aspects of life in these places. For example, when he mentioned Alexandria he described its homes which were made up of three levels, and that the city was built in the form of a chessboard<sup>11</sup>.

Of them was also the historian Shihab al-Din Abu Abdullah, Yaqout bin Abdullah al-Hamawi (d. 626 AH -1229 AD), the author of Mu'jam AlBuldan (A Lexicon of Countries), a bulky geographical lexicon, classified into five sections. In the first section he talked about the shape of the earth and the various theories about it; in the second he talked about the division of regional system; in the third section he tackled the interpretation of the terms mentioned in the geographical books such as mail, parasang and mile, as well as province rural district and others. He pointed out some geographical astronomical terms such as height and width, and also mentioned the special terminology related to land tax and yields, like conciliation, peace, compulsion, land tax, booty and charity. The fourth section covered in short, Islam in different countries, whereas the fifth gave an introduction to the news of countries and the various aspects of the population<sup>12</sup>.

Thus, his lexicon is not only geographical but also a book of language and history at the same time. Al-Hamawi's lexicon is a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>. Al-Thahabi, Shams Al-Din Mohammad. Syar A'laam Alnubala' (Biographies of Prominent Nobles). vol.22 Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr Al-Mu'asir. p.57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>. Al-Hurawi, Abu Al-Hasan. Al-Isharat fi Ma'rifat Al-Ziyarat bi Dimashq (Notes on Visiting Damascus). French Institute for Arabic Studies, Damascus, pp.48-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>. Al-Hamawi, Yaqout. Mu'jam Al-Buldan. vol.1 Dar Sadir: Beirut. pp.15-48.

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good example of the combination of a historian and a geographer<sup>13</sup>.

When talking about this trend one cannot overlook the efforts exerted by the traveler Ibn Jubair, Abu Hassan bin Mohammed bin Ahmed ALKittani (d. 614 AH -1 217 AD), author of the book Rihlat Ibn Jubair fi Misr wa Bilad Al-Arab wa Al-Iraq wa Al-Sham wa Saqillya (Ibn Jubair's Journey in Egypt, Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Sicily). This trip is more like a diary in which he wrote down his notes and observations of the cities he visited. where he was interested in writing down a lot of details of social, cultural and economic aspects of life in these cities. He talked about mosques and described them. He also mentioned gorges, small mosques, schools and the role played by modern hospitals. Ibn Jubair brought to us a clear picture of the scientific movement that was interacting in the Umavvad Mosque in Damascus by talking about Umayyad Mosque, saying: "In the Umayyad Mosque there are several corners taken by students to copy, study and retire from people"<sup>14</sup>. Ibn Jubair also pointed to teaching workshops, the dorms, teachers and endowments to students as an indicator and to the interest of the Ayyubid State in Umayyad Mosque as it was a platform for the dissemination of science and transmit the spirit of jihad against the Franks.

In this respect, Ibn Jubair says: "In the Umayyad Mosque there are workshops to teach students, housing for teachers, professors and strangers, as the mosque contains three armitages, one on the west side which has roomy accommodations and corners inhabited by strangers and people of experience; the second also on the western side, and the third on the north side<sup>15</sup>."

Ibn Jubair also left us a clear picture of the scientific movement that existed in the Umayyad Mosque by saying: "it has workshops to teach students, and teachers are quite powerful. The

<sup>15</sup>. Ibn Jubair. p.257.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>. Ziyada, Niqola. Al-Jughrafiya wa Al-Rihlat Inda Al-Arab (Arab Geography and Trips). Beirut: Dar Al-Kitab Al-Lubnani.pp.61-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>. Ibn Jubair, Abu Al-Hasan. Rihlat Ibn Jubair (Ibn Jubair's Journey). Beirut: Dar Sadir, pp.229,240.

Malikis has a corner for teaching in the west side where Moroccan students meet with their known procedure. The facilities of this mosque for strangers and needy people are many and spacious<sup>16</sup>"

Ibn Jubair was also interested in the codification of social and religious aspects; he talked about the rites of pilgrimage and the difficulties he faced during his journey, processions of princes and the trade of Mecca. He described everything accurately, and explained in his note the relationship between the population and the Franks in the Levant. He also indicated more than once to the economic life by talking about the plants and commodities. He was also interested in antiquities and talked about Aleppo Citadel. Ibn Jubair was precise and clear in his writing style<sup>17</sup>.

Among the characteristic features of trends in the history of the Ayyubid era is that some historians had written to specific cities and regions, and examples of this are many including the historian Ibn Abi Tay, Yahia Bin Hamida al-Halabi (d. 630 AH-1232 AD), whose most important historical his works is *Maadin AlThahab Fi Tareekh Halab (Mines of Gold in the History of Aleppo)*, from which Ibn Al-Adim had quoted some information included in his book *Bughyat AlTalab fi Tareekh Halab (The Ultimate Desire in the History of Aleppo)*. Abu Shama also quoted information that he included in his book *AlRaudhatain fi Akhbar AlDawlatain AlNouriya wa AlSalahiya (The Two Gardens in the News in the News of the Two States of Nouriya and Salahiya)*<sup>18</sup>.

When talking about Ibn al-Adim, Abu al-Qasim Omar bin Ahmed bin Abi Jaradeh (d. 660 AH -1261 AD), the author of a workbook entitled *Bughyat AlTalab fi Tareekh Halab (The Ultimate Desire in the History of Aleppo)*, we find that he followed the style of historians of cities accurately by introducing the city,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>. Ibn Jubair. p.257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>. Ziyada, Niqola. Al-Jughrafiya wa Al-Rihlat Inda Al-Arab (Arab Geography and Trips). Beirut: Dar Al-Kitab Al-Lubnani.p.68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>. Abu Shama, Shihab Addin. Al-Rawdhatain fi Akhbar Al-Dawlatain AL-Nouriya wa Al-Salahiya. Cairo: Al-Mo'assasa Al-Misriyas. vol.1, pp. 173-174.

who built it, its kings, its residents of the notables and scholars, and who passed by it. It is arranged alphabetically<sup>19</sup>.

What matters in this respect is the first part of his book, which is considered as an important source for scholars of both history and geography alike. He gave us a detailed description of the city of Aleppo, his hometown, mentioning the virtues of Aleppo, and talked about the description of the city, its architecture, its gates and manifestations of change that have occurred in it. He also talked about the fortifications and rivers which cross the cities or near them, describing them from the source to the mouth of the river. Also, he talked about the mountains, their location, trees, monuments and springs. He and also talked about how the Muslims conquered Aleppo, and ended by giving a short account of the Levant and its affairs in early Islam<sup>20</sup>.

Other key trends in the history of the Ayyubid era is that people who are dating to the era were associated directly with the sultans and princes, and held many positions in the Ayyubid state including the presidency of the Office of Construction<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, a lot of them practiced teaching and the legal profession, and many of them were of the most important politicians who accompanied the sultans in their travels. Consequently, so much of the information that we received from such persons are considered as contemporary sources for people and events, and as personal memos that narrate to us the historical events at the sight and hearing of those people.

Examples of this trend is Judge ALBisani, Mohyiddin Abdul Rahim Abu Ali Bin Ali El-Shafei, of Albisani origin,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>. Ibn Al-'Adim, Kamal Addin Abu Al-Qassim. Zubdat Al-Halb min Tareekh Halab. Dar AL-Kitab Al-Arabi, vols.1-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>. Ibn Al-'Adim, Kamal Addin Abu Al-Qassim. Bughyat AlTalab fi Tareekh Halab (The Ultimate Desire in the History of Aleppo). Damascus:Dar Al-Ba'th.1988 vol.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>. Ibn Khillakan. Wafiyyat Al-A'yan. vol.1.p.79 and Al-Thahabi. Siyar A'lam Al-Nubala'. vol.5 p.469.

Asqalani-born author of the *Diwan AlInsha' ALSalahi (Salahi Composition Divan)* (d. 596 AH -1199 AD)<sup>22</sup>.

Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil was among the most important statesmen and politicians during the Ayyubid era; he supplied us with a lot of information about the events and people in what is known to us as Rasaa'il AlOadhi AlFadil (AlOadhi AlFadil Letters), which was an important source for historians of the Ayyubid period. Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil's approach. His letters were characterized by linguistic and literary rhetoric. They were also characterized by objectivity and honesty because they contained events that he witnessed and was informed of directly. He presented us an accurate history of some of the political, military and social aspects of Saladin's state. These letters of Al-Oadhi Al-Fadhil are important because he was closely attached to Saladin; traveled with him between Cairo and Damascus, accompanied him in most of his military campaigns, and Saladin often consulted him in matters of politics and war<sup>23</sup>, so that he was described in these words: "He died happily, without leaving any good work undone, he did people justice, the Sultan was compliant to his judgments, and could not conquer places without his advice...His regiments were victorious"<sup>24</sup>.

What demonstrates the importance of Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil (virtuous judge) is that Saladin depended on his eloquence and prestige in order to stimulate the Muslims for jihad against the Franks and alert their determination<sup>25</sup>. Saladin asked him during the siege of the Franks of Acre in 585 AH - 1189 AD, to write a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>. Ibn Taghri Bardi, Jamaluddin Al-Atabki. Al-Nujoum Al-Zahira Fi Mulouk Mulouk Misr wa Al-Qahira.Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiya.vol.6, p.140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>. Sa'dawi, Nadhira Hassan.Al-Mu'arrikhoun AL-Mu'asiroun LiSalahuddin Al-Ayyoubi (Contemporary Historians of Saladin). Cairo:Maktabat Al-Nahdha Al-Misriya, p.30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>. Al-Thahabi. Siyar A'lam Al-Nubala'. vol.15 pp.469-470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>.Ibn Saddad, Baha'uddin Yousif. Al-Nawadir Al-Sultaniya wa AL-Mahasin Al-Yousifiya:Sirat Salahuddin. Cairo: Al-Khanji Printing House,p.75.

message and send it to all parts of the Islamic state urging people to jihad. In an excerpt of this message he stated: "It is hoped from God Almighty to stir the believers' determination in soothing their rebellions and destroy their prosperous places... Where is the activeness of the peaceful and dignity of the pious"<sup>26</sup>. Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil's role had the greatest impact in guiding the Islamic Jihad due to his influence and eloquence of speech. As a corollary, we are not surprised by Saladin's description of Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil in these words: "Do not think that I conquered the country by your swords, but by Al-Qadhi Al-Fadhil's pen"<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>. Abu Shama, 'Uyoun Al-Rawdhatain fi Akhbar Al-Dawlatain Al-Nouriya wa Al-Salahiya. Damascus: Ministry of Culture, part 2, p.204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>. Ibn Taghri Bardi. Al-Nujoum Al-Zahira. vol5, p.157.

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