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Some New Sources on Palestinian Muslims before and during the Crusades

The internal history of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem, whether written in the twelfth century or in the twentieth, is very largely the history of the dominating Frankish element. The Muslim subjects of the Franks, who constituted a major component of the Kingdom's population and perhaps even formed its majority, have received little attention. It is symptomatic that the first work on Frankish history that mentions the Kingdom's subjected Muslims in its title was published only sixteen years ago; it was written by our host, Hans Eberhard Mayer[1]. It is therefore fitting, I believe, to use this opportunity to offer some new documentation on the Muslims in question.

The hitherto available evidence suggests that the manner in which the Franks took over a specific locality largely determined the immediate fate of the Muslim inhabitants as well as the future structure of their community. The role of the subjected Muslims in the Frankish body politic was negligible. Only a few of them rose to some prominence in Frankish service, and – unlike in Norman Sicily, Valencia, or Hungary – none of them fought in their field armies. These Muslim subjects were largely docile and usually dared to revolt only when a Muslim army was invading the country from the outside. This submissiveness may have been brought on, on the one hand, by memories of massacres perpetrated early in the crusader conquest and by efficient Frankish control in later years and, on the other hand, by the relative lenience of the Franks, who allowed their Muslim subjects to adhere to their religion and apparently taxed the many peasants among them more lightly than did landlords in neighboring Muslim-ruled Syria[2].

The available documentation has, however, shed little light on internal Muslim affairs. This is why the new sources I would like to present here are, to my mind,

[1] *Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in: History 63 (1978) 175–192; repr. in: *idem*, Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem (London 1983) Article VI, 175–192.

[2] See *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant, in: *James M. Powell* (ed.), Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300 (Princeton 1990) 135–174; reprinted in: *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries (Aldershot 1993) Article XVIII, 135–174.

so valuable – they refer precisely to these affairs, whether on the eve of the First Crusade or after the establishment of Frankish rule.

First, there is a bundle of excerpts from the copious writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī, a learned Spanish commentator on the Qur'an and Islamic traditions, a teacher and grammarian. In April 1092, when he was barely seventeen years old, Ibn al-ʿArabī left his native Seville, together with his father, for a pilgrimage to Mecca. (It appears that the Almoravid conquest of Seville a few months earlier impelled them to go abroad.) On their way to Mecca, father and son spent about three years, from 1092 to 1095, in Jerusalem. Having performed the *ḥajj* in 1096, they went on to Baghdad and later passed again through Jerusalem in December 1098 on their way to Alexandria. Ibn al-ʿArabī returned to Seville after 1101 and later became chief *qāḍī* there. After the Almohad irruption of 1146 he migrated to North Africa and died in 1148 near Fez.

Ibn al-ʿArabī described his travels in a book that disappeared already in his lifetime. However he incorporated a lengthy passage of the description in another work of his, and this passage was published in 1968 by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. Many other references to his stay in Jerusalem and to his visits elsewhere in Palestine appear in the commentary on the Qur'an that he wrote in 1110 and in another work of his; additional references appear in quotations from his writings that survive in books by later authors. Joseph Drory brought together and extensively commented upon all this material, forty-three passages in all, in a Hebrew-written book published last year[3]. These passages substantially expand our knowledge about the internal affairs of the Palestinian Muslims, upon whom the First Crusade was to descend within a few years.

Ibn al-ʿArabī relates that in Jerusalem he found twenty-eight circles of scholars and two *madrasa*s, or schools of higher learning, the first belonging to the Shāfiʿī school of law and located at the Gate of the Tribes and the other belonging to the Ḥanafī school and located opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[4]. The information on the *madrasa*s is new; until now, it was thought that Saladin introduced the institution of the *madrasa* to Jerusalem[5]. Bearing the new information in mind, one may assume that when Saladin converted the Latin nunnery of Sainte Anne – located near the Gate of the Tribes – into a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* (al-Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya), and when he transformed the patriarchal palace – located near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – into a Ṣūfi *ribāṭ*, he was reestablishing Muslim institutions at sites that had been occupied by the two *madrasa*s on the eve of the crusader conquest. In fact, Abū l-Fidāʾ relates that the church which Saladin turned into al-Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya had served as a Muslim house of learning *(dār ʿilm)* before the Frankish conquest[6].

[3] *Joseph Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī of Seville. Journey in Palestine, 1092–1095 (Ramat Gan 1993) [in Hebrew].

[4] Ibid. 112; also 96f.

[5] See *J. Pedersen, George Makdisi,* Madrasa, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. 5 (Leiden ²1986) 1127; but see *Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, 135 note 4.

[6] On the establishment of the *madrasa* and the *ribāṭ* see *ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī,* Conquête

While in Jerusalem, Ibn al-ʿArabī used to visit the two *madrasa*s and listen to the disputations between adherents of the two schools. He recounts at considerable length discussions of the issue of whether a man who commits murder at some holy place and escapes to the *Ḥaram* should be accorded immunity or not. (The repeated recourse to this issue may reflect, as Drory has surmised, an abuse of the *Ḥaram's* sanctity by some of the Muslim warriors who infested Palestine at the end of the eleventh century[7].) Ibn al-ʿArabī mentions also discussions of less dramatic cases. For instance, a man told the head of the Shāfiʿī *madrasa* that he had vowed that should he ever eat nuts, he would immediately have to divorce his wife. Having absentmindedly eaten nuts, he now inquired whether his vow was binding. The Ḥanafites unanimously maintained that he must disregard the vow; the Shāfiʿītes were split on the issue, but the head of their school smiled and told the man to depart in peace[8]. Ibn al-ʿArabī also tells of a discussion as to whether playing chess was a permitted form of pastime. The Shafiʿites claimed that it was, since it trains the player for warfare. But one of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachers, Abu Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī, a Mālikite scholar from Tortosa, advised a Shāfiʿīte – in the mosque of al-Aqṣa – that chess was detrimental to warfare, for in war one aims at misleading and killing the king in order to bring his army into disarray, whereas in chess the player says "Shāh" to the king, warning him thereby. We are told that the witnesses to this exchange burst out laughing[9]. Elsewhere we hear of a discussion in the mosque of al-Aqṣa on the permissibility of pulling out one's grey hairs – an action that stems, so we are told from infatuation with young girls and a wish to attain worldly success[10].

Ibn al-ʿArabī refers by name to seven scholars whom he encountered or with whom he studied in Jerusalem; four others arrived from Khurāsān during his stay there[11]. He mentions having taken part in discussions with followers of Muḥammad b. Karām (who were notable for their lenient attitudes), with Muʿtazilites (who attempted to expound the faith by rational thinking and were often denounced as free thinkers and heretics), and with 'Imaginers' (whose views of God's essence were anthropomorphic). He recounts a religious disputation between his teacher Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī and the Karaite Jew al-Tustarī, and mentions that there were in Jerusalem 'innumerable' groups of Jewish and Christian scholars[12]. About the Christians he remarks that "the country is theirs, they till its estates, attend to its monasteries and maintain its churches"[13]. This passage,

de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣaladin, transl. *Henri Massé* (Paris 1972) 58f. See *Shmuel Tamari*, Sulla conversione della chiesa di Sant'Anna a Gerusalemme nella Madrasa aṣ-Ṣalāḥīyya, in: Rivista degli Studi Orientali 43 (1969) 327–354. For the quotation from Abū l-Fidāʾ see ibid. 330, and *Drory*, Ibn al-ʿArabī, 135 note 4.

[7] Ibid. 95, 96ff., 136 note 8.

[8] Ibid. 112.

[9] Ibid. 102.

[10] Ibid. 103.

[11] Ibid. 95f., 104f., 109.

[12] Ibid. 96, 112.

[13] Ibid. 96.

already discussed in the literature, may refer to an Oriental Christian majority in the surroundings of Jerusalem[14].

The references to political events are few. Upon describing in considerable detail the Tower of David, Ibn al-ʿArabī mentions that he once witnessed a rebel take possession of it and fight against Jerusalem's governor, who attempted to dislodge him. (Apparently the incident took place during Seljuk rule.) To our author's astonishment, "despite the town being small", commercial, religious and scholarly activities were not disrupted at all. "The army split into two camps that fought one another, and the rest of the people did not budge."[15] This state of things recalls the famous passage in which, about ninety years later, Ibn Jubayr dwells on the persistence of Frankish-Muslim commerce at a time when Franks and Muslims were at war[16]. Elsewhere Ibn al-ʿArabī relates how, at the time of the Fatimid reconquest of Jerusalem in 1098, a local Muslim succeeded in averting punishment from the local populace by quoting an appropriate Qur'anic verse to the Fatimid conqueror, al-Afḍal[17]. Ibn al-ʿArabī must have heard this story during his second stay in Jerusalem, in December 1098. The details he gives about the crusader conquest of 1099 are evidently based on hearsay; the one new bit of information relates to a female scholar from Shīrāz, killed with other women at the Dome of the Chain[18].

With regard to Jerusalem Ibn al-ʿArabī mentions only discussions among Sunnites. But when he comes to speak of the largely Fatimid-ruled coastal plain he remarks that Shiʿite views were prevalent there. Specifically he mentions encounters with Shiʿites in Ascalon and Acre. In both places the encounters took place in guard stations that appear to have been manned by scholars on religious duty. The station in Ascalon was located at the Tower of Gaza; that at Acre is described as an impressive building on the seashore that was held by men from Tiberias[19]. Ibn al-ʿArabī writes most favorably about the extraordinary chastity of the women of Nablus, whom he never saw in the main road in daytime except on Fridays, when they flocked to the mosque[20]. He describes the dry trunk of a tree that he saw in 1092 in a cave within the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, believed to be the tree at which Mary suffered birthpangs; at the time of his second visit six years later, the trunk was gone and the monks told him it had decayed and fallen down, as people used to chop off pieces to obtain cures[21]. As for Hebron, we hear that the family of Tamīm al-Dārī possessed a letter by which Muhammad himself had granted them Hebron and another village; people could see this letter until the entry of the 'Rūm' – that is, the crusaders – in the year [4]96 (1102–03). This too is

[14] See *Moshe Gil,* A History of Palestine, 634–1099, transl. *E. Broido* (Cambridge 1992) 171; *Kedar,* Muslims, 149.
[15] *Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, 105 f.
[16] *Ibn Jubayr,* The Travels, transl. *R. J. C. Broadhurst* (London 1952) 313 f.
[17] *Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, 105.
[18] Ibid. 112.
[19] Ibid. 111 ff.
[20] *Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, 110; see also *idem,* Ḥanbalīs of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, in: Asian and African Studies 22 (1988) 99 f.
[21] *Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, 108.

evidently based on hearsay but must not necessarily be discarded; it may refer to some Frankish action against the Muslims of Hebron about three years after the conquest of 1099[22].

The passages gleaned from Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings thus throw light on the considerable intellectual activity that went on in Jerusalem just before the irruption of the First Crusade. This activity appears to have been restricted to Islamic studies; we do not hear of scholars specializing in mathematics, astronomy, optics and the like. Does this mean that Ibn al-ʿArabī chose to mention only scholars who, like himself, were dedicated to Islamic studies, or could one really not find there scholars interested in secular subjects?

Fortunately, it is possible to answer this question with some confidence. Moshe Gil, in a monumental compilation on early Muslim Palestine, brought together information on Muslim scholars who were active in the country during the eleventh century. This information, gleaned from a large number of sources, confirms that intellectual activities did focus on Islamic subjects[23]. Indeed, one may venture the hypothesis that a concentration on religious subjects is characteristic of cultural activities in holy cities of various civilizations; *mutatis mutandis,* this is largely true also of twelfth-century Frankish Jerusalem[24].

On 15 July 1099 the Jerusalem described by Ibn al-ʿArabī ceased to exist. Some scholars he mentioned are known to have left the city a few years earlier; others were killed, among them Abū'l-Qāsim Makkī al-Rumaylī, an author of tracts on the praises of Jerusalem and Hebron, whom some First Crusaders captured and later stoned to death near Beirut on 1 December 1099/12 Shawwāl 492[25].

No Islamic cultural activity of the kind described by Ibn al-ʿArabī is known to have taken place within the boundaries of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem. Yet despite the disappearance of their intellectual elite, at least some of the Muslims who chose, or were allowed, to stay under Frankish rule did benefit from the services of a secondary elite. Our information on this elite depends as of now entirely on a still unpublished treatise by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, recently transcribed and translated into Hebrew by Daniella Talmon-Heller[26].

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn is known to historians of the Frankish Kingdom as the author of an account of the exodus of more than 150 Ḥanbalī peasants from the region of Nablus to Damascus, which took place between 1156 and 1173. Their leader was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's grandfather. The account, con-

[22] Ibid. 109, 151 note 148.

[23] *Gil,* History, 421–429. (Gil, whose book appeared in Hebrew in 1983, partially utilized Ibn al-ʿArabī's narrative).

[24] See *Benjamin Z. Kedar,* Cultural Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century, in: *idem, Zvi Werblowsky* (eds.), Sacred Space – Shrine, City, Land (in press).

[25] *Gil,* History, 424; *Drory,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, 77.

[26] *Daniella Talmon-Heller,* The Shaykh and the Community. The Religious Life of Ḥanbalī Villagers of the Nablus Region in the 12th and 13th Centuries according to Three Biographical Tracts by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (1173–1245). Unpublished M.A. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1990 [in Hebrew]. (Hereafter quoted as *Talmon-Heller,* M.A. thesis).

tained in a work of Ibn Ṭulūn, a sixteenth-century Damascene author, was briefly mentioned by Henri Laoust in 1950, more thoroughly made use of by Emmanuel Sivan in 1967, and discussed in detail and partially translated into English by Joseph Drory in 1988[27]. More recently, a study of the demographic data embedded in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's account allowed for the conclusion that in the families of Ḥanbalī refugees about which information is most complete, the average number of children per woman was at least 5.5. (These and other findings call for a revision of the prevailing view, according to which the indigenous Muslim rural family of the Frankish period was small or very small[28].) Some of the Ḥanbalī refugees took part in Saladin's expeditions against the Franks, and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd Allah b. Aḥmad, one of the sons of their leader, left behind a report about the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn[29]. Another son, Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who also participated in Saladin's expedition of 1187, began some fourteen years later to build the Great Ḥanbalī Mosque in the Ṣāliḥiyya suburb of Damascus[30]. Art historians have observed that the wellhead in the mosque's courtyard consists of a Frankish capital in secondary use, depicting on one side a human figure that raises its right hand and on another side a rider on a horse. The mosque's *miḥrāb* is flanked by two small Frankish columns surmounted by capitals; these had originally shown human heads, but they were later chiseled off[31]. It is plausible to assume that, after 1187, the Ḥanbalī refugees from the Kingdom of Jerusalem transported spolia from some Frankish church and triumphantly incorporated them into their new mosque, scrupulously defacing the human heads.

Besides describing the Ḥanbalī exodus from the Nablus region that started in 1156, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn – who lived, primarily in Damascus, between the years 1173 and 1245 – left behind several other works. Of these the most important for our present purpose is *Karamāt mashāyikh al-ard al-muqaddasa,* 'The Miracles of the

[27] *Henri Laoust,* Le Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma, jurisconsulte musulman d'école hanbalite, né à Jérusalem en 541/1161, mort à Damas en 620/1123 (Beirut 1950) 11f.; *Emmanuel Sivan,* Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades, in: Revue des études islamiques 35 (1967) 138f.; *Drory,* Ḥanbalīs of the Nablus Region, 93–112.

[28] *Benjamin Z. Kedar, Muḥammad al-Hajjūj,* Muslim Villagers of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem: Some Demographic and Onomastic Data, in: Res Orientales 6 (1994) [= *Ryka Gyselen* (ed.), Itinéraires d'Orient. Hommages à Claude Cahen] 145–156.

[29] See *Benjamin Z. Kedar,* The Battle of Hattin Revisited, in: *idem* (ed.), The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn (Jerusalem, Aldershot 1992) 192.

[30] [*ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ*], Description de Damas, transl. *Henry Sauvaire,* in: Journal asiatique, 9ème série 7 (1896) 241f.; see also ibid. 4 (1894) 470–477. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was born in 907/1501.

[31] See *Jean Sauvaget,* Les Monuments historiques de Damas (Beirut 1932) 95f.; *Ernst Herzfeld,* Damascus: Studies in Architecture IV, in: Ars Islamica 13–14 (1948) 123 and figs. 3, 4, 23, 26. For other examples of trophies from the Frankish Kingdom reinstalled in Damascene buildings, including colonettes flanking a *miḥrāb,* see *Carl Watzinger, Karl Wulzinger,* Damaskus. Die antike Stadt (Berlin, Leipzig 1921) 110ff. and figs. 82–85; *Camille Enlart,* Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile, Vol. 1 (Paris 1925) 37, 100, 117, 127f., 162; Vol. 2 (Paris 1928) 100ff., 462. A small capital of the portal of the Qaymarī hospital, established between 646/1248 and 655/1257, may also be considered a spolium from some Frankish edifice. See *Karl Wulzinger, Carl Watzinger,* Damaskus. Die islamische Stadt (Berlin, Leipzig 1924) 126 and plate 11c.

Elders of the Holy Land'. As of now, only about one third of this treatise has come to light in a Damascene manuscript[32]. It is an alphabetically ordered biographical dictionary that contains descriptions of fourteen elders – *shaykhs* – of the Frankish and Ayyubid periods; eleven of these were active in villages of the Nablus region. One may surmise that the full treatise described about three times as many elders[33].

This still unpublished work is unique in medieval Islamic literature inasmuch as it deals almost exclusively with the religious life of peasant communities. It brims with scenes of everyday life that serve as a backdrop to the elders' miracles: here a small child cries out in the evening, craving for roasted meat; there a woman insists that her husband reveal why he suddenly burst into laughter, wonders loudly whether he was laughing at her, and finally succeeds in making the reluctant husband divulge a surprisingly risqué story; people go to vineyards (or trespass at night on other people's vineyards), draw water from a well, reap harvests. It is evident that the stories are based on Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's conversations with older acquaintances and on personal knowledge, and that he collected his information scrupulously and attempted to present it accurately.

The elders are depicted as local holy men who stand out for their piety and ascetism and are closer to God than the simple believers – for whom they set a model, whom they bring to repentance, and on whose behalf they intercede and perform miracles, from the multiplication of food to the reading of thoughts[34]. Thus, while we have learned from previously available sources about the *ra'īs*, the local village headman who appears to have acted as the representative of the Frankish lord as well as being head of the peasant community[35], we hear now that in several villages there existed (or existed also) a different, spiritual type of leadership, that of the elder or *shaykh*. In one instance we can observe the relationship between an elder and a *ra'īs*. Shaykh ʿAbd Allah of Funduq (a village 10 kilometers southwest of Nablus) tells the *ra'īs* of the village: "I want you to go to Nablus and buy me a jar of water that will serve for purification." The *ra'īs*, wondering at having been sent on so simple an errand, hastens to Nablus, buys the jar, and then prepares to spend the night in the courtyard of the western mosque of Nablus. (This would imply that the town had two mosques at the time). He finds there three poor people, and as nobody gives them alms, he goes to the market and spends a dinar to buy them bread and other articles. In the morning he returns to the village. Then the elder reveals that he had known all along that the *ra'īs* was wondering at having been despatched to Nablus merely for a jar, but in reality he, the elder, had sent him on behalf of the three men, whom he knew to belong to the 'friends of God' by whose merits the world persists. When the *ra'īs* hears this, he kisses the elder's hands. In another story the *ra'īs* – here we are told that he was a

[32] Ms. al-Ẓāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 238, part 3, pp. 91–99.
[33] *Talmon-Heller*, M.A. thesis, 1 f.
[34] See *Daniella Talmon-Heller*, The Shaykh and the Community: Popular Hanbalite Islam in 12th–13th Century Jabal Nablus and Jabal Qasyūn, in: Studia Islamica 79 (1994) 108–113.
[35] See *Kedar*, Muslims, 170, and the earlier works quoted there.

rich man – roasts a fair portion of meat and sends it to the elder. Both stories suggest that, at least in Funduq, it was the *ra'īs* who looked up to the elder[36].

There are several references to Franks in Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's treatise: all of them allude to Frankish violence. In one episode a man from Aleppo who is carrying silk and silver bowls to Ascalon is captured and bound by two Franks who have been gathering firewood[37]. Elsewhere we hear about eleven Muslim men who are busy harvesting near the village of Safarīn (southwest of Nablus) when a party of infidels (that is, Franks) arrives on the scene. Later some of them tell Ḍiyā' al-Dīn: "We were afraid and said: God, in honor of the elders, save us from them! And we stayed where we were, and they passed near us and went away as if they had not seen us."[38] (The implication is that the Franks could not see them because of the elders' miraculous intervention.) In a third story we hear of an elder who went with his son and a friend to al-Bīra and "encountered a group of Franks, that is, those from beyond the sea, and we were afraid of them and sat at the roadside. They passed without saying a single word to us. Then came a man with a stick and threw [?] it at one of us. Then we knew that they did not see us ... Those infidels who came here from across the sea, they say that each time they see a Muslim they hurt him."[39] Perhaps the Franks described as 'from beyond the sea' (*min khalf al-baḥr*, the exact equivalent of 'from Outre-Mer'), were new arrivals from the West, more aggressive, according to Usāmah b. Munqidh, than old-timer Franks[40]. At any rate, in all these stories the Franks connote a threat of violence and sometimes inflict it. One has of course to remember that Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, the Damascene, wrote down his stories after the eviction of the Franks from the Nablus region, and they may therefore reflect a later, pervasively harsher view. On the other hand, the fear that passing Franks induced in Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's informants does recall the fear that a group of Saracens evoked in the German pilgrim Theoderich and his companions when they heard them noisily approaching on the road to Nablus[41]. Similarly, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's claim in his treatise on the exodus of 1156 that the Frankish lord of the village of Jammā'īl used to mutilate the legs of his Muslim peasants[42] may be read in conjunction with the warning that Robert *de Retest* gave in about 1159 to an old Saracen – namely, that if he were to lie about the field boundaries at al-Bīra, his remaining good leg would be cut short[43].

[36] *Talmon-Heller*, M.A. thesis, 40, 44, 46 note 17.
[37] Ibid 27.
[38] *Idem*, Shaykh and Community, 109.
[39] *Idem*, M.A. thesis, 52.
[40] *Philip K. Hitti* (transl.), An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn Munqidh (New York 1929) 163; *Talmon-Heller*, M.A. thesis, 55 note 19.
[41] "... terrorem non modicum nobis intulerunt." *Theodericus*, in: *Robert B. C. Huygens* (ed.), Peregrinationes tres (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 139, Turnhout 1994) 187.
[42] *Drory*, Ḥanbalīs, 95.
[43] *Geneviève Bresc-Bautier* (ed.), Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's treatise discloses that under Frankish rule the Muslims of the Nablus area could publicly pray in mosques[44]. This ties in with the statement of Saladin's secretary ʿImād al-Dīn that the Franks did not change "a single law or cult practice" of the Muslims who lived in the region of Nablus[45]. Moreover, a fuller, recently published version of that statement spells out that the Franks allowed these Muslims "to maintain their customs as regards their laws, their statutes, their shrines and their mosques"[46]. We hear nothing of limitations on the performance of Friday prayers like the ones imposed by the Norman rulers of contemporary Palermo, or of interference with the public call to prayer like in parts of Byzantium a century earlier[47]. Indeed, one story of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's treatise suggests that the Muslims of the Nablus area were also able to go on pilgrimage to Mecca[48]. Only in one case do we hear about a formerly pious Muslim "who entered a church and became a Christian"[49], and there is no hint at all that he was compelled to do so.

The ban on the wearing of Frankish dress by Muslim men or women, issued at the Council of Nablus in 1120, implies that some Muslims did acquiesce in Frankish supremacy: as Ibn Khaldūn was to remark about 250 years later, the vanquished imitates the victor's dress, or his other distinctive marks, as he wishes to assimilate with those to whom he is subservient[50]. Yet the vanquished in question evidently did not lose all hope – a loss that, according to Ibn Khaldūn, signals a society's total undoing[51] – for Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's treatise bears witness to yearnings for liberation from the Frankish yoke. Thus when people complained to Shaykh ʿAbd

(Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 15, Paris 1984) 247.

[44] *Talmon-Heller,* M.A. thesis, 53; see also *Kedar,* Muslims, 140 note 10.

[45] The statement was re-edited and discussed by *Donald S. Richards,* A Text of ʿImād al-Dīn on 12th-Century Frankish-Muslim Relations, in: Arabica 25 (1978) 203.

[46] *al-Bundarī,* Sanā al-Barq al-Shāmi, ed. *Fatḥiyya al-Nabarāwī* (Cairo 1979) 302. Elsewhere he speaks of Muslim children who "were brought up under Frankish rule and so were accustomed to it; because they were afraid of them [=the Franks], they concealed their love for us." *ʿImād al-Dīn,* El-Barq el-Ṣāmī, ed. *Ramazan Şeşen* (Istanbul 1979) 151. A remark by *Donald S. Richards,* ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī: Administrator, Littérateur and Historian, in: *Maya Shatzmiller* (ed.), Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria (Leiden 1993) 14 note 65, has drawn my attention to these important texts; my friend Etan Kohlberg translated them into English.

[47] On the limitations in Palermo see *Ibn Jubayr,* Travels (note 16 above) 340, 348f.; *Kedar,* Muslims, 139f. The Baghdadi Christian Ibn Buṭlān witnessed in 1049 in a Byzantine-ruled village between Aleppo and Antioch that the call for prayer in the mosque was cried out in secret. In Byzantine Laodicea, the Christians would ring the bells as soon as they heard the Muslim call to prayer; the "judge for the Muslims" was under the order of the Byzantines. Ibn Buṭlān's account appears in *Joseph Schacht, Max Meyerhof,* The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwān of Cairo (Cairo 1937) 54, 57.

[48] *Talmon-Heller,* M.A. thesis, 35, 36 note 5.

[49] Ibid. 39.

[50] *Ibn Khaldūn,* The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History, transl. *Franz Rosenthal,* Vol. 1 (Princeton ^{2}1967) 299.

[51] Ibid. 300.

Allah of Funduq – the one who had sent the *ra'īs* to buy the jar – about their sufferings under the Franks and asked him when deliverance from them would come, he answered that because of the Franks' tyranny their rule would not last until the end of the century – that is, until the year 600 of the Hijra, or A.D. 1203. Later we hear that one day while the *shaykh* was out reaping with two men near the village of Sinjil, he told them that the infidel conquest was to end on that very day – and indeed it so happened[52]. Again, another Shaykh ʿAbd Allah, of the village of Salmiya or Sawiyya, had a son by the name of ʿAbd al-Malik "whom the accursed Franks took to Jerusalem saying: he is the son of their priest and they will give for him as much money as we shall ask". The *shaykh,* refusing to strengthen the Franks in any way, declined to give them even a single dinar. One year before Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem a rumor spread that the *shaykh's* son had gained freedom; but the *shaykh* knew the rumor was false and wept, saying that he would not see his son again. And in fact he died five days before the liberation of Jerusalem and of his son[53].

On the whole, 'The Miracles of the Elders of the Holy Land' (or that part of it which is now known) suggests that the Muslim peasants of the Nablus region and the Franks lived largely separated from one another: we hear of Muslim fear and hostility, we hear nothing about personal ties between members of the two groups. This conclusion is consonant with Ronnie Ellenblum's seminal thesis that the Franks settled mainly in areas in which Oriental Christians had formed a clear majority prior to the crusader conquest, and that consequently the Muslim peasants – like those of the Nablus region – lived largely in segregation from Franks and Oriental Christians[54]. Incidentally, Ellenblum's thesis, based on archaeological surveys and charter evidence, may now be bolstered by a chronicler's statement. Guibert of Nogent writes that upon the conquest of Caesarea in 1101, a colony of Franks *(Francorum colonia)* was sent to live in the captured city. He goes on to tell of the conquest of other places, which were, however, "interposed amid those savage Gentiles to such a degree, that hardly any of us would consider it safe [to establish] colonies there"[55].

But while there was no or very limited intermingling of Franks and Muslim peasants, there occurred culturally significant contacts between Franks and Muslims who were situated at higher rungs of their respective societies. It is enough to mention Usāma b. Munqidh, ʿAlī al-Harawī, or the still little-known Ḥamdān al-Atharibī, a Muslim chronicler and poet who carried out administrative tasks for the Franks in the Principality of Antioch[56]. I would like to mention here a further relevant text whose significance appears to have eluded us.

[52] *Talmon-Heller,* M.A. thesis, 41.
[53] Ibid. 51.
[54] *Ronnie Ellenblum,* Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (in press).
[55] *Guibert de Nogent,* Gesta Dei per Francos, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux, Vol. 4 (Paris 1879) 258.
[56] Muhammad al-Ḥajjūj is now preparing a M.A. thesis on this remarkable figure.

In his *Histoire de Saint Louis,* Joinville relates that while the king was in Acre he sent to the sultan of Damascus the Dominican Yves le Breton, "qui savoit le sarrazinois". Friar Yves later reported that in Damascus he saw an old woman who passed through a street carrying a ladle full of fire in her right hand and a vial full of water in her left. When the friar asked her what she was intending to do with them, she answered that she wanted to burn paradise with the fire and quench hell with the water, so that both should cease to exist, and thereafter no one would ever do good because of the hope of paradise or out of the fear of hell, but simply for the love of God[57].

Now, as Annemarie Schimmel, the Orientalist, recently implied, this story undoubtedly has an Islamic source. About the woman mystic Rābiʾa ʿAdawiyya, who died in Basra in the year 801, it has been told that one day a company of mystics saw that she had a wisp of fire in one hand and a pitcher of water in the other and was running very fast. When asked about her intention she said: "I am going to put paradise on fire and quench hell so that the two veils that hinder our way [toward God] should be pointed out, and the servants of God should serve him without motives of hope or fear."[58] Thus, it is evident that what Yves le Breton recounted was an Islamic tradition; but he disguised its Islamic origins by presenting the encounter as if he had taken part in it and by avoiding any typically Islamic terms. Similar, culturally dictated alterations may be discerned in the Western legends about the Virgin that were translated into Arabic, possibly by Yves le Breton's Dominican confrères in Acre[59]. But the cultural history of the Latin Levant and the mutual influences of Westerners and Orientals, whether Muslims or Eastern Christians, is a vast subject that must be (and I hope will be) dealt with separately.

Let me turn to the issue of Muslim slaves, which will allow me to conclude on a lighter note. On an earlier occasion I presented evidence indicating that, in the Frankish Kingdom, the number and economic importance of Muslim slaves was substantial[60]. It is now possible to add to this evidence the statement of Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, the thirteenth-century Syrian historian and geographer, that one thousand Muslim prisoners, guarded by less than 200 Templars, were coerced to

[57] *Jean, sire de Joinville,* Histoire de Saint Louis, ed. *Natalis de Wailly* (Paris 1874) § 444 f., pp. 242 ff.

[58] *Annemarie Schimmel,* introduction to *Margaret Smith,* Rābiʾa the Mystic and her Fellow-Saints in Islam (Cambridge 1984) xxvii, 98 f. The story was recorded in Persian in 1318 by Shams al-Dīn Aflākī. I follow the translation of *Cl. Huart,* Les Saints des derviches tourneurs. Récits traduits du persan et annotés, Vol. 1 (Paris 1918) 310 f.

[59] These Arabic texts and their Western models have been systematically compared by *Daniel Baraz,* Coptic-Arabic Collections of Western Marian Legends. The Reception of a Western Text in the East – A Case of Intercultural Relations in the Late Middle Ages, in: Acts of the First International Congress of Coptic Studies, 2 (Rome 1993) 23–32; *idem,* Bartolomeo da Trento's Book of Marian Miracles: A New Insight into the Arabic Collections of Marian Legends, in: Orientalia Christiana Periodica 60 (1994) 69–85.

[60] *Kedar,* Muslims, 152 ff.

build the castle of Safed[61]. This is a welcome specification of the statement in the *De constructione castri Saphet* that a *multitudo operariorum et sclavorum* was despatched by the Franks to build that fortress[62]. The same Latin account relates that upon the castle's completion it was manned by a garrison of 1,650, of which 400 were slaves[63]. This proportion renders quite plausible the assertion of ʿImād al-Dīn that in 1187 Saladin set free in Jerusalem some five thousand Muslim prisoners[64] – one of them being, as we have seen, the son of Shaykh ʿAbd Allah of Salmiya. A more famous prisoner of the Franks was the Persian poet Saʿdī, the well-known author of the *Bustān* and the *Gulistān*. In the latter book he writes that on his way from Damascus to Jerusalem – possibly in 1221[65] – he was taken prisoner by the Franks, who put him to work with Jews in digging a trench at Tripoli[66]. The story had a happy end, of sorts. A leading citizen of Aleppo recognized Saʿdī as he was sweating in the moat "with men that are not men," ransomed him for ten dinars, took him to Aleppo and married him to his daughter with a dowry of 100 dinars. But Saʿdī soon learned that Frankish captivity was not necessarily the worst option, for his marriage turned sour, with his wife quarrelsome, insulting, and making his life miserable. "Once in a torrent of abuse", he writes, "she said, 'Are you not that man whom my father bought back from the Franks?' I said, 'Yes, I am that man whom he bought back from the Frankish chains for ten dinars, and delivered into your bondage for a hundred dinars.'"[67]

[61] *Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī*, al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīra, ed. *Sāmī Dahhān* (Damascus 1963) 148; *R. Stephen Humphreys*, From Saladin to the Mongols. The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260 (Albany 1977) 267f.

[62] *Robert B. C. Huygens* (ed.), De constructione castri Saphet. Construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Verhandelingen NS 111, Amsterdam 1981) 38.

[63] Ibid. 41.

[64] See *Kedar*, Muslims, 153.

[65] For the date see *Henri Massé*, Essai sur le poète Saadi (Paris 1919) 26–30. Saʿdī's remark in the *Bustān* that Jerusalem's ramparts are in ruins (ibid. 68) renders Massé's dating still more plausible: the city's walls were razed in 1219 and 1220.

[66] *A. J. Arberry* (transl.), Kings and Beggars. The First Two Chapters of Saʿdī's Gulistān (London 1945) 92f. Wilhelm [Benjamin Z.] Bacher wrily commented: "Dass er Juden als Genossen seiner Sklavenleiden hatte, musste in Saʿdīs Augen die Schmach seiner Gefangenschaft noch erhöhen." *Saʿdī*, Aphorismen und Sinngedichte, ed. and transl. *Wilhelm Bacher* (Strassburg 1879) introduction, xxx note 3.

[67] *Arberry*, 93.