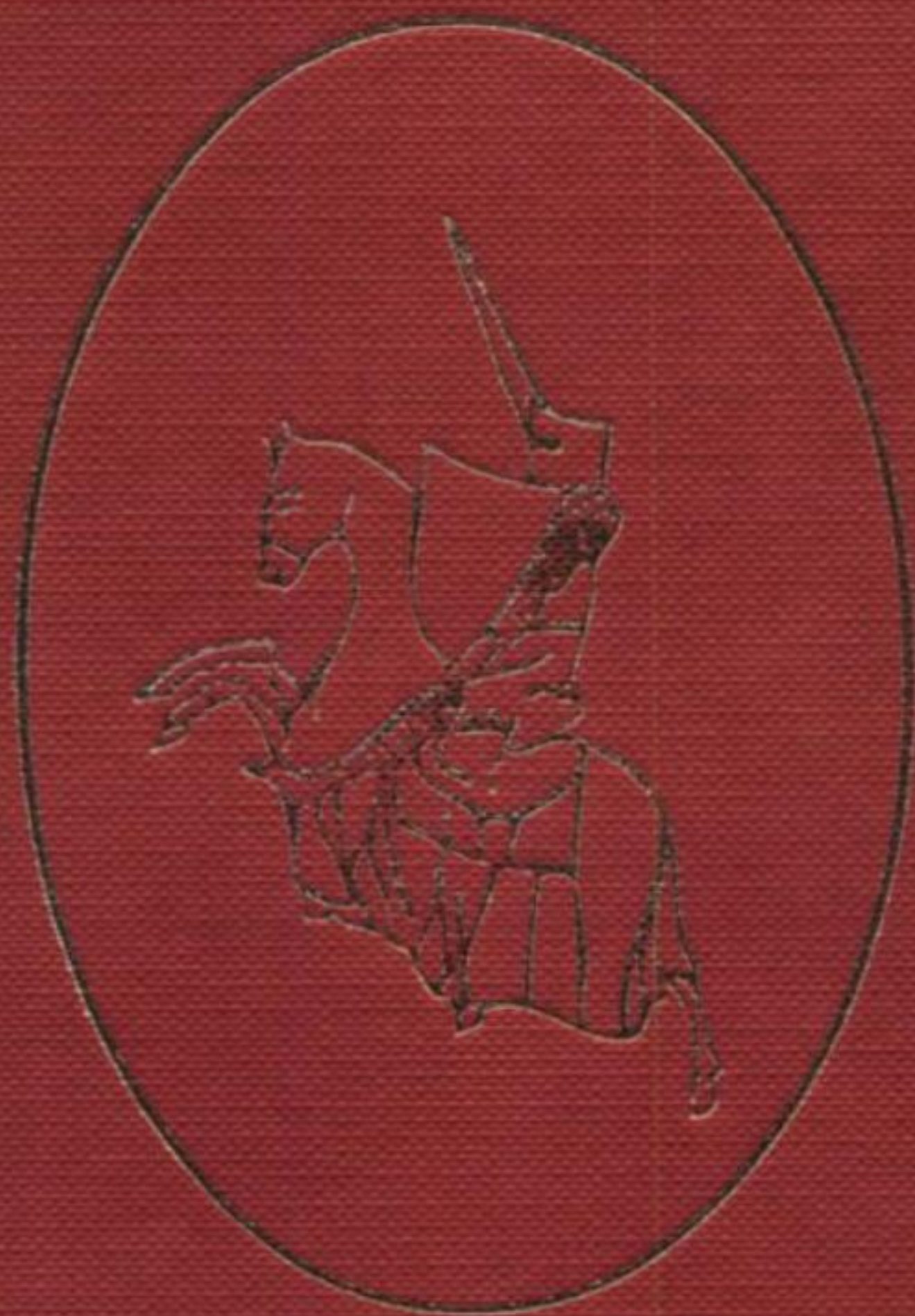


The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athār for the Crusading Period

from *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh*. Part 2

The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur al-Din
and Saladin

D.S. Richards



Crusade Texts in Translation 15

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of Ibn al-Athīr
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al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh

Part 2

The Years 541–589/1146–1193
The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin

Translated by

D.S. Richards

ASHGATE

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Preface

This volume comprises the second part of a planned three-volume translation of the later parts of *al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr's major chronicle of Islamic history. The first part of the translation contained the period from the year 491/1097 up to 541/1146. Since these volumes appear in the series Crusader Texts in Translation, it is only reasonable that the divisions imposed on the material should refer to dates that have a relevance for the history of the Crusades. Thus the first part began with the year in which the chronicle first refers to the coming Frankish expedition to the Levant. It ended with the murder of Emir Zankī, the Atabeg of Mosul and Aleppo, whose career marked the end of one stage of the Muslim response to the Crusades.

This second part, which is now offered, has an even greater inner consistency from the viewpoint of Crusading history as it takes a crucial span of years that covers the careers of Nūr al-Dīn, son of Zankī, and his one-time subordinate Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, whom we shall throughout refer to as Saladin. That is to say that it covers the period 541-589/1146-1193. These are years that saw the growth of the spirit of Jihad, which in this case we may call a Counter-Crusade, an altogether more concentrated effort to recover the lands lost to Latin Christendom, especially Jerusalem. A leading role in this may be credited to Nūr al-Dīn whose example was followed by Saladin (with whatever reservations might be made concerning the totality of his career). It was Saladin who achieved the major victories, although he then had to face the bitter challenges of the Third Crusade.

Even though events in Syria and Palestine take up a major share of this volume and, as we have seen, define its limits, it must not in any way be forgotten that Ibn al-Athīr wished to write a work that dealt as comprehensively as possible with what he envisaged as the Islamic world. This wider narrative has other themes that proceed according to their own separate rhythms. This means that we still have many pages that concern themselves with Muslim Spain (Andalusia) and North Africa (the Maghrib and Ifrīqiya), mainly with the developing power of the Almohad dynasty. There are many other pages that look eastwards from Ibn al-Athīr's centre of gravity, towards Persia and the lands beyond the Oxus, even across the Indus into the realms of the Hindu kings. In these pages we read of the modest revival of the political power of the Abbasid caliphate, the steady decline of the Saljuq sultanate and the constant disputes of the great emirs and atabegs, the disruptive influence of Oghuz tribesmen, the more organized challenge to the Saljuqs posed first by the Qarakhanids, a Muslim Turkish dynasty, and secondly

by the Qarakhitay, the pagan Sinified dynasty of the Western Liao, and then their mutual rivalry in Central Asia, and finally the rise of the Ghurid sultanate at the expense of the later Ghaznavids and their expansion into India.

Once again I thank the editors for accommodating these translated volumes in their series on Crusader Texts and also the publishing house of Ashgate for making it possible. My warmest thanks go to my former colleagues at Oxford University's Oriental Institute, especially to Professor Geert Jan van Gelder and Dr Emilie Savage-Smith, whose assistance has been greatly appreciated. I also acknowledge with gratitude the helpful suggestions of Dr Peter Jackson who read through my typescript. As always I owe a great deal to the constant support of my wife.

Introduction

The historian, Ibn al-Athīr or, to give him his personal name, ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Jazarī, was born on 4 Jumādā I 555/13 May 1160 at Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar (the modern Cizre), north of Mosul on the River Tigris. His father Muḥammad served in the administration of the then ruling dynasty of the Zankids, a successor state of the Saljuq sultanate. His older brother, Majd al-Dīn Mubārak, also followed a career in government service for the Zankids. This background provided Ibn al-Athīr with the pro-Zankid sentiment which is a feature of his relevant historical writings and which has so often been remarked on. There is no clear evidence that he was himself a paid servant of the Zankid regime. He records that he was an ‘associate’ of the ruling house’s prominent vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn, using a rather imprecise expression, which could mean that he was a personal friend or that he was part of the vizier’s cultural circle or, indeed, that he was a member of his paid staff. It seems more likely that our author followed his scholarly and literary bent, while living on rents from family estates and perhaps benefiting from the commercial operations that the family clearly carried on. Perhaps it may be allowed to refer the reader to the introduction to the first part¹ of this translation for further details of Ibn al-Athīr’s life and his writings and for editions and translations of the latter.

This second part has followed the lines laid down in the first as far as translation and editorial practice are concerned. They shall be set out here in summary fashion. For the translation the Beirut edition published by Dār Ṣādir² remains the basic text and, to facilitate reference to the original Arabic, its pagination has been recorded in bold within square brackets. For technical reasons this original pagination has also been used for internal cross-referencing. An accurate delivery of the original text’s meaning has quite naturally been the prime aim but readability has followed hard on its heels. The passages where the text has presented problems of interpretation, not to speak of basic intelligibility (especially in the poetic excerpts), will no doubt declare themselves to the reader. Alternative readings or emendations have been explained in footnotes. Comment and identification in footnotes have been kept to what is hoped to be a moderate, yet sufficient, level. The range of the material is such that footnotes could easily proliferate and extend beyond measure. The translator can only ask indulgence for any shortcomings and, more particularly, for cases where identification proved impossible.

¹ *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr (1)*.

² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī’l-ta’rikh*, 13 vols, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1965–7.

Dates according to the Hijrī calendar have been converted into those of the Christian era according to the table given by Grenville.³ If an 'equals' sign (=) precedes an AD date, this signifies that the day of the month has been adjusted to achieve a congruence of the day of the week.

The question of transliteration has been treated in Part 1 and the same practice has been followed here. Among other things this means that certain toponyms and terms have been given in an anglicized form, where such exists.

The introduction to Part 1 ended with some explanatory comment on the way that certain commonly occurring terms were to be translated. Broadly speaking, the same list will apply in this present volume. One further term deserves comment. It is a military term, that is to say, *yazak*. It lacks precision, as is so often the case, and can in different circumstances imply an advanced guard, a small tactical force operating independently, or a screening or picketing force. Variations on all of these will be met with.

A question that always looms around discussion of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* is the identification of the sources for his wide-ranging narrative – or, to be more pertinent, the problem that Ibn al-Athīr routinely fails to specify his sources. It is not the case that he neglects absolutely to name informants. In fact, he indicates a source, sometimes left as an anonymous oral source, more often than one might think, but usually for a very limited and specific item. His family, because of their connection with the Atabeg house, was a source of information for him and it may have been through them that he was able to claim that he saw a letter of Saladin in his own hand. What he fails to do is to state clearly which accounts he has relied on to give him his fundamental narrative.

It is, however, abundantly clear from even a cursory comparison of the texts that for events at Baghdad and the general milieu of caliph and sultan he relied greatly on the chronicle of Ibn al-Jawzī,⁴ which comes to an end in the year 574/1177. For the history of lands further to the east in the orbit of the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids and the Qarakhitay Ibn al-Athīr's sources are far from obvious. In one passage he names Ibn Funduq,⁵ but unfortunately in connection with events that date from after Ibn Funduq's death. One assumes therefore that what Ibn al-Athīr had access to at this point was in fact a continuation, by an unspecified hand, of Ibn Funduq's work. This does not in any way rule out the decided probability that Ibn al-Athīr used Ibn Funduq's own writings for earlier matters. These particular later events are further set out in the *Kāmil* in a different version which is anonymous and which Ibn al-Athīr is unable to reconcile with the so-called Ibn Funduq account. In short, the historiography of this period and this area is limited and would have been even more limited for Ibn al-Athīr, if one accepts that he was

³ See G. S. P. Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars being tables for the conversion of Muslim and Christian dates from the Hijra to the year A.D. 2000*, Oxford, 1963.

⁴ As a source Ibn al-Jawzī is expressly mentioned s.a. 569 p. [410].

⁵ See s.a. 568 p. [386].

an unfavourable verdict and attributed the shortcomings in Ibn al-Athīr's use of his sources to his pro-Zankid and anti-Saladin sentiments. There is a difficulty in establishing beyond any doubt that the rearrangement of material and the inaccuracies that Gibb identified were really intentional and motivated in this way and that they were not the result of editorial confusion. The historian's attitude to Saladin is complex and far from being wholly negative. There are indeed passages where Saladin is criticized but these can be balanced by passages where admiration is expressed. When explicit blame is attached, for instance over Saladin's notorious failure to deal with Tyre to prevent its becoming a future threat, we know that Ibn al-Athīr was benefiting from a large dose of hindsight but nevertheless in Ibn al-Athīr's account there is also some implicit excusing of Saladin in the recognition that Saladin was limited by the means and institutions that he was working with.

Abū Shāma portrayed Nūr al-Dīn as the first genuine proponent of the Jihad against the Frankish invaders, whose religiously inspired action marked a significant change in the depth of dedication and commitment to the struggle. In Abū Shāma's view Saladin followed in the footsteps of Nūr al-Dīn and in due course, as the model *mujāhid*, outstripped his achievements by his own victories and the reconquest of Jerusalem. This view rather puts on one side the events of the Third Crusade and the disappointing end to Saladin's career, the military stalemate and the growing exhaustion and discontent of the Muslim armies.

Ibn al-Athīr's narrative in this part certainly supports the idea of Nūr al-Dīn as a model Islamic ruler and exponent of the Jihad. This is hardly surprising owing to Ibn al-Athīr's close family ties with the Atabeg dynasty. His pious gratitude is amply revealed in his monograph dedicated to the dynasty, *al-Ta'rikh al-bāhir*. On the other hand his portrayal of Saladin is mixed, as has been said. There are indications that he saw him as a usurper, motivated by his dynastic ambitions, but the picture is not wholly bad and the final judgment is generous.

The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr

The Age of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin

arrived at Mosul, he sent to tell him how few were the men with the Prince, so he dispatched some of his troops, who arrested him. He was imprisoned in the citadel of Mosul. Sayf al-Dīn's control of the lands became well established, but his brother, Nūr al-Dīn, remained in Aleppo, which he held. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Yāghīsiyānī joined him to administer his affairs and to undertake to maintain his rule. We have given a complete exposition of these events in our *The Resplendent History of the Atabeg Dynasty (al-Ta'rikh al-bāhir)*.⁶

[114] Account of the rebellion of Edessa after the death of the Atabeg

Joscelin the Frank, who had been lord of Edessa, was in his dominion, that is, Tell Bāshir and the neighbourhood. He wrote to the people of Edessa, the generality of whom were Armenians, and urged them to rebel, resist the Muslims and surrender the city. They agreed to do this and he appointed a day on which he would come to them. He proceeded to Edessa with his troops and conquered the city but the citadel and the Muslims who were within held out against him, despite his attacks on them. News of this reached Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī, while he was at Aleppo. He set out with his army on forced marches. When he drew near, Joscelin departed in flight back to his own land. Nūr al-Dīn entered the city and at that time sacked it and enslaved its populace.

This was the occasion when the city was plundered and became devoid of inhabitants. Only a small number remained there. Many people think that it was plundered when the Martyr conquered it but this is not so.

The news about the rising at Edessa reached Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī. He sent troops there but they heard, while they were on the way, of Nūr al-Dīn's seizure of the city and his allowing it to be sacked, so they turned back.

A remarkable thing that is related is that Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī, who was the deputy in the citadel of Mosul for the Martyr and his sons, received a present which Nūr al-Dīn sent to him from this conquest. It included a slave girl. After he had been with her and left after his ablutions, he said to those with him, 'Do you know what has happened to me on this day?' 'No,' they replied. 'When we conquered Edessa,' he continued [115], 'with the Martyr, part of the plunder that fell into my hands was a splendid girl, whose beauty delighted me. My heart inclined to her. Then all of a sudden the Martyr made a proclamation ordering the return of captives and plundered property. He was held in awe and fear, so I gave her back, although my heart was attached to her. Just now a gift from Nūr al-Dīn came to me, consisting of several girls, that girl being one of them. I have had my way with her for fear that I might have to hand her back as before.'

⁶ See *Bāhir*, 84-86. Sultan Mas'ūd readily recognized Sayf al-Dīn's position because of their long-standing friendship.

How 'Abd al-Mu'min gained control of Andalusia

In this year 'Abd al-Mu'min⁷ sent an army to Andalusia and took control of the lands of Islam there. This came about because, when 'Abd al-Mu'min besieged Marrakech, a group of notables of Andalusia, one of whom was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdīn, came to him, bearing a letter that contained the submission of the people of their towns to 'Abd al-Mu'min, their entry into the ranks of his followers, the Almohads, and their support for his cause.⁸ 'Abd al-Mu'min accepted this with thanks and put their minds at rest. They asked him for assistance against the Franks, so he equipped a large force and sent it with them. He prepared a fleet and sent it to sea. The fleet arrived at Andalusia and they attacked the city of Seville, reaching it by its river. An army of the Veiled Ones⁹ was there. The attackers besieged it by land and by water and took it by assault. Several were killed there. The population sought terms and stayed quiet. The troops took control of the country and the people there became [subjects] of 'Abd al-Mu'min.

[116] Account of the killing of 'Abd al-Raḥmān [ibn] Ṭughāyuruk and 'Abbās, the lord of Rayy

During this year Sultan Mas'ūd killed Emir-Chamberlain 'Abd al-Raḥmān [ibn]¹⁰ Ṭughāyuruk, who was the lord of Khalkhāl and part of Azerbaijan and the effective ruler of the sultan's state. Alongside him the sultan had no authority.

The reason for his being killed was that, after 'Abd al-Raḥmān had so severely limited the sultan, he remained with him rather like a captive with no authority in the country. In the end 'Abd al-Raḥmān singled out a page who belonged to the sultan, namely Arslān Beg, known as Khāṣṣ Beg ibn Balankirī,¹¹ whom the sultan had raised and taken as an intimate, and removed him, so that the sultan could no more see him. Khāṣṣ Beg had intelligence, resourcefulness, an excellent mind and the ability to achieve what he wanted to do. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān assembled the troops, among whom was Khāṣṣ Beg, the latter and Sultan Mas'ūd had already agreed between them that 'Abd al-Raḥmān should be killed. Khāṣṣ Beg summoned a group of men whom he trusted and discussed this with them. Each of them feared

⁷ 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Alī, a Zanāta Berber, who succeeded the Mahdi Ibn Tumart as ruler (1130-63) of the Almohads in the Maghrib (Abun-Nasr, *Maghrib*, 106-8).

⁸ Ibn Ḥamdīn, governor of Cordoba, had along with other local rulers rebelled against the Almoravids.

⁹ *al-mulaththamīn*, i.e. the Almoravids.

¹⁰ See Bundārī, index.

¹¹ A Turkoman emir whose high position under Sultan Mas'ūd won him his soubriquet, Khāṣṣ Beg (special lord). An 'overmighty subject', he was executed in 548/1153. See *EI*(2), iv, 1097.

to take this step against him, except for a man called Zankī, who was a life-guard (*jāndār*). He offered on his own initiative to be the first to strike. A group of emirs conspired with Khāṣṣ Beg to support his plan. While ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was parading in the retinue, Zankī the Life-Guard struck him on the head with an iron mace he had in his hand. He fell to the ground and Khāṣṣ Beg despatched him. The emirs with whom he had conspired to this end helped him to protect Zankī and his associates. His killing took place outside Ganja.

News of this came to Sultan Mas‘ūd when he was at Baghdad with Emir ‘Abbās, lord of Rayy. The latter’s troops were more numerous than the sultan’s. Although disapproving of this and vexed by it, the sultan handled him with blandishments and gentleness. He summoned Emir Alpqush Kūn Khar from al-Liḥf¹² [117] and also Tatar, who was a chamberlain. Backed by these two, he called ‘Abbās to him in his palace. As he entered, his men were prevented from entering with him. They turned him aside into a chamber and said to him, ‘Take off the brigandine.’ He said, ‘I have oaths and undertakings from the sultan.’ They punched him and some mamlukes, prepared for this purpose, emerged to deal with him. Thereupon he made his confession of faith, took off his brigandine and cast it down. They struck him with their swords, then cut off his head and threw it to his followers. Later they threw out his corpse. His baggage train and his tents were plundered and this put the city in a turmoil.

‘Abbās was one of Sultan Maḥmūd’s mamlukes, of excellent conduct, just towards his peasants and a great warrior for the Faith against the Bāṭinīs, of whom he killed very many and built a beacon from their heads at Rayy. He besieged the castle of Alamut and entered one of their villages, which he set fire to and burnt everyone there, men, women and children, and all else besides. After he was killed, he was buried on the West Bank. His daughter later sent and had him carried to Rayy, where she buried him. His murder took place in Dhū’l-Qa‘da [April 1147].

It was a strange coincidence that al-‘Ibādī was preaching one day when ‘Abbās attended. One of those present at the session voiced objection and dashed towards Emir ‘Abbās, whose followers beat him and restrained him, fearful for ‘Abbās because he was extremely wary of Bāṭinī attacks. He always wore a brigandine and his valiant mamlukes were ever at his side. Al-‘Ibādī said to him, ‘O Emir, how long this caution? By God, if some fate had been decreed for you, with your own hand would you loose the buttons of your brigandine, for your fate to be fulfilled.’ What he said came to pass.

The sultan had appointed as his vizier Ibn Dārūst, the vizier of Būz-Aba, though unwillingly, as has been mentioned before. At this present time he dismissed him, as he preferred to be dismissed and to return to his master Būz-Aba. After

¹² According to Yāqūt, iv, 353, ‘a well-known district in the Baghdad area ... containing several strong castles.’ Bandanījīn was in the Liḥf district, ‘the Foot-hills’ of the Kurdistan Mountains (Le Strange, *Caliphate*, 63).

In Rabī' II of this year [September 1146] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad, Abū Muḥammad al-Muqrī, the grandson of Shaykh Abū Maṣṣūr, died. He was born in Sha'bān of the year 464 [May 1072]. He was a teacher of the Koran (*muqrī*), a grammarian and a scholar of Ḥadīth and also the author of several works on the Koran recensions.¹⁹

¹⁹ He died Monday 18 Rabī' II/=30 September 1146. Ibn al-Jawzī studied Koran and Ḥadīth under him and writes of him with affection and respect (*Muntaẓam*, x, 122).

Account of the killing of Būz-Aba

When the killing of 'Abbās reached the ears of Emir Būz-Aba, he gathered his troops from Fars and Khūzistān and marched to Isfahan, which he put under siege. He sent a second force to Hamadhan and a third to the fortress of Māhkī, in the territory of al-Liḥf. As for his troops in Māhkī, Emir Alpqush Kūn Khar marched against them and drove them out of those regions, which were his fief. Then Būz-Aba moved away from Isfahan, seeking Sultan Mas'ūd. The sultan made overtures to him about peace but he did not respond to them. He made a forced march and the two met in pitched battle at Qarātakīn's Meadow.¹ After both armies had engaged, the right and the left wings of Sultan Mas'ūd were routed. Both centres fought very fiercely and strongly and both sides held firm. The battle continued between them and then Būz-Aba fell from his horse, hit by an arrow. Another account says, no, his horse fell and brought him down. He was made prisoner, taken to the sultan and put to death before him. After he had been taken prisoner his followers fled the field.

The rout of the right and left wings of the sultan's army took them as far as Hamadhan. Large numbers were slain from both sides. This battle was one of the greatest that took place between the 'Ajamīs.²

[120] How the people of Gabès submitted to the Franks and how the Muslims then conquered it

Before this year the lord of the city of Gabès was a man called Rushayd.³ He died and left some sons. A freedman of his, whose name was Yūsuf, turned to the youngest son, called Muḥammad, and made him ruler, expelling the oldest son, called Mu'ammar. Yūsuf took charge of the city and exercised authority over Muḥammad because of his young age.

Certain incidents, molestation of his [former] master's womenfolk, occurred. The responsibility for this report rests on its source. One of the women was a

¹ For this location ('a day's march from Hamadhan' according to *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 225), the site of many battles, see *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr (1)*, [331].

² 'Ajamī (plural: *A'ājim*) denotes a non-Arab, here Turks or more generally a person from the eastern lands of Islam.

³ For the events of this section, see Idris, *La Berbérie*, 353-5. For the spelling Rushayd (rather than Rashīd), see *op. cit.*, 353, note 277. Ma'mar is a possibility, rather than Mu'ammar.

woman of the Banū Qurra. She sent to her brothers complaining of her situation. When her brothers came to take her, Yūsuf stopped them and said, 'This is the harem of my master,' and refused to hand her over. The Banū Qurra and Mu'ammār ibn Rushayd went to al-Ḥasan, the lord of Ifrīqiya⁴ and complained to him about what Yūsuf was doing. Al-Ḥasan wrote to him about this but Yūsuf paid no attention. He said, 'If al-Ḥasan does not leave me alone, I shall surrender Gabès to the king of Sicily. Al-Ḥasan prepared an army to attack him and when Yūsuf heard of this, he sent to Roger the Frank, king of Sicily, and offered him his allegiance. He said to him, 'I want you to give me a robe of honour and appoint me governor of Gabès to be your deputy, just as you did with the Banū Maṭrūḥ in Tripoli.' Roger sent him robes and a diploma. He donned the vestments and the diploma was read at an assembly of the leading men.

Thereupon al-Ḥasan exerted himself to equip his troops to go to Gabès. They set out and put it under siege. The citizens rose against Yūsuf because of his policy of submitting to the Franks and they delivered the town to al-Ḥasan's army. Yūsuf fortified himself in the citadel but they assailed it until they overcame it. Yūsuf was taken prisoner. Mu'ammār ibn Rashīd and the Banū Qurra set about torturing him. They cut off his penis and inserted it into his mouth. He was subjected to a variety of tortures.

Mu'ammār became ruler of Gabès in place of his brother Muḥammad and the Banū Qurra took away their sister. 'Īsā, the brother of Yūsuf, and Yūsuf's son fled and made their way to Roger, king of Sicily. They sought protection [121] with him and complained of their treatment from al-Ḥasan. This made Roger angry and the sequel, the conquest of al-Mahdiyya, we shall mention under the year 543 [1148-9], God willing.

Account of an incident, the like of which any wise man ought to be wary of

This same Yūsuf, lord of Gabès, had sent an envoy to Roger in Sicily. He and the envoy of al-Ḥasan, lord of al-Mahdiyya, met before Roger and a dispute occurred between the two envoys. Yūsuf's envoy spoke of al-Ḥasan and the trouble he had caused and blamed his conduct. They both returned at the same time, each one sailing in his own ship. Al-Ḥasan's envoy wrote a report to his master by pigeon post, telling him of Yūsuf's envoy's behaviour. Al-Ḥasan sent some of his men to sea, who captured Yūsuf's envoy and brought him before al-Ḥasan. He berated him, saying, 'You have given the Franks control of Muslim lands and let your unbridled tongue censure me!' He mounted him on a camel, with a pointed cap with bells on his head, and paraded him through the city. A crier proclaimed, 'This is the reward of anyone who strives to make the Franks masters of Muslim lands.' When he reached the centre of al-Mahdiyya, the common people rose up and stoned him to death.

⁴ i.e. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm of the Zirid dynasty (ruled 515-43/1121-48).

[123] Miscellaneous events

In Jumādā I [October 1147] al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh Yūsuf, son of al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh, was proclaimed in the khutbah as heir apparent.

This year 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Hubayra was appointed chief secretary of the Bureau of Control in Baghdad and Za'im al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Ja'far was put in charge of the Storeroom.

In Rabī' I [August 1147] Abū'l-Qāsim Ṭāhir ibn Sa'id ibn Abī Sa'id ibn Abī'l-Khayr al-Mīhanī, the shaykh of the Bistāmī Hospice at Baghdad, died.⁹

In Rabī' II [September 1147] there died the Lady Fatima, daughter of Sultan Muḥammad and wife of al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh.¹⁰

In Rajab [December 1147] the death occurred of Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muslima, Ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'. He was born in the year 484 [1091-2]. He had become a sufi and he made his residence in the palace a hospice for sufis.¹¹

This year Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn Zankī marched to the castle of Dārā, which he took, as he did other castles in the territory of Mardin. He then went to Mardin, besieged it and ruined and ravaged its land. The reason for this was that, after Atabeg Zankī was killed, the lords of Mardin and Ḥiṣn [Kayfā] presumed to claim those lands of theirs that he had conquered and they duly seized them. After Sayf al-Dīn came to the throne and gained power, he marched to Mardin, besieged it and perpetrated dreadful acts in its territory. Seeing what he was doing in the land, its lord, who was at this time Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, said, 'We used to complain of Atabeg Zankī. Where are his days now! They were festive days. He besieged us more than once but neither he nor anyone in his army took a bag of straw without paying for it. Neither he nor his troops injured the revenue of the sultan. However, I see this man plundering and ruining the land.'

[124] Ḥusām al-Dīn later made contact and reached a settlement, arranging his daughter's marriage to him. Sayf al-Dīn retired and returned to Mosul. Ḥusām al-Dīn prepared a retinue for his daughter and sent her to Sayf al-Dīn. When she arrived, he was ill and on the point of death. The marriage was not consummated but she remained with him until his death. Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd succeeded and took her as his wife, as we shall relate, God willing.

This year there was a famine in Ifrīqiya, which lasted a long time. It had begun in the year 537 [1142-3]. It had a terrible effect on the population, who even resorted to cannibalism. Because of starvation the nomads sought out the towns and the townspeople closed the gates against them. Plague and great mortality

⁹ Died Monday 12 Rabī' I/11 August (*Muntaẓam*, x, 128).

¹⁰ According to *Muntaẓam*, x, 128, she died in Rabī' I/October 1147, at Baghdad.

¹¹ Muḥammad, the grandson of the caliph's vizier killed by Basāsīrī in 450/1059 (see Richards, *Annals*, 121-4) died the eve of Friday 9 Rajab/=5 December 1147 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 129).

followed. The country was emptied and from whole families not a single person survived. Many people travelled to Sicily in search of food and met with great hardship.

Account of the Franks' capture of the city of al-Mahdiyya in Ifrīqiya

Under the year 541 [1146-7]¹ we have already mentioned how the family of Yūsuf, lord of Gabès, went to Roger, king of Sicily, and begged his assistance. This angered Roger, between whom and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs al-Ṣanhājī, ruler of Ifrīqiya, there were treaties of peace for several years. He knew that he had missed the chance to conquer the land during the present hardship which afflicted them. The hardship was the continuation of the famine throughout all the Maghrib from the year 537 [1142-3] until this present year. It was at its worst in the year 542 [1147-8]. The people abandoned their towns and villages and the majority emigrated to a city of Sicily. There were cases of cannibalism and large-scale mortality. So Roger took advantage of these hard times and built a fleet which he made very large. It amounted to about 250 galleys, full of men, weapons and supplies.

The fleet sailed from Sicily and came to the island of Pantelleria, lying between al-Mahdiyya and Sicily. They came across a ship there which had come from Mahdiyya. The crew were seized and brought before George, the commander of the fleet.² He questioned them about the state of Ifrīqiya and found on board a cage of pigeons, so he asked them whether they had dispatched any of them. They swore that they had not sent any. [126] He then ordered the man who had the pigeons with him to write in his own hand: 'When we arrived at the island of Pantelleria, we found ships from Sicily there. We questioned them about their God-forsaken fleet and were told that it had sailed to the islands of Constantinople.'

The pigeon was released and came to Mahdiyya. Emir al-Ḥasan and the people were delighted. George's plan was to arrive by surprise. He set sail and intended to reach Mahdiyya at dawn to invest it before any people left. Had he managed that not one of them would have survived. However, God Almighty decreed that He sent against them a dreadful wind which checked them. They were only able to make headway under oars and on 2 Ṣafar this year [22 June 1148] day broke before they arrived. The people caught sight of them and when George realized this and that his cunning plan had failed, he sent to Emir al-Ḥasan, saying, 'I have come with this fleet merely to seek revenge for Muḥammad ibn Rushayd, lord of Gabès, and to restore it to him. As for you, there are treaties and a compact between us to last a while yet. We want an army from you to join us.'

¹ Actually under the year 542/1147-8; see above pp. [120-21].

² That is the Greek, George of Antioch, since 1132 the Sicilian grand admiral.

Al-Ḥasan gathered the leading lawyers and notables and consulted them. They said, 'Let us fight our enemy, for our city is strong.' He replied, 'I fear that he will disembark and beleaguer us by land and by sea and cut us off from our supplies. We do not have enough to feed us for a month. We shall then be taken by force. I consider that to save Muslims from captivity and death is better than to continue to rule. He has demanded an army from me against Gabès. If I comply, then it is not lawful for me to aid infidels against Muslims, and if I refuse, he will say, "The peace treaty between us has been broken." He simply wishes to distract us until he can cut us off from the land. We do not have the power to fight him. The right course is for us to leave with our wives and children and to abandon the city. Anyone who wants to act as we do, let him hurry to join us.'

[127] He ordered an immediate departure and took with him whoever presented himself and whatever was light to carry. The people left in blind panic with their wives and children and any light possessions and furnishings. There were some people who hid with the Christians and in the churches. The fleet remained at sea, held back by the wind from reaching Mahdiyya, for two-thirds of the day. Of those who planned to leave not one still remained. Then the Franks arrived and entered the city without opposition. George entered the palace and found it untouched, as al-Ḥasan had taken only the portable royal treasures. Several of his concubines were still there. George saw storerooms full of precious treasures and every rare object, the like of which is seldom to be found. He sealed it all and assembled al-Ḥasan's concubines in his palace.

Those of the line of Zīrī ibn Manād who reigned, down to al-Ḥasan, were nine in number. The period of their rule was 208 years, from the year 335 [946] until 543 [1148]. One of his commanders had been sent by al-Ḥasan to Roger with a message and he took a safe-conduct for himself and his family and did not leave with the others. When the city was taken, it was sacked for two hours and then a general safe-conduct was proclaimed. Those who had hidden themselves emerged. On the morning of the following day George sent to the Arabs who were nearby. When they came to him, he treated them generously and gave them handsome sums of money. He also sent out several of the troops of Mahdiyya who had remained behind with a guarantee of security for the people of Mahdiyya who had left and with mounts on which they could carry their infants and their women. They had come close to perishing from hunger, although they had hidden wealth and deposits in Mahdiyya. When the guarantee reached them, they returned and before a week had passed most of the inhabitants had come back.

Al-Ḥasan, however, continued with his family and children, of whom there were twelve sons apart from the female members, and his personal retainers, making his way to Muḥriz ibn Ziyād,³ who was at La Malga.⁴ He was met on the

³ Abū Maḥfūz Muḥriz was emir of the Riyāḥ Arabs (see *EI*(2), v, 59-61, s.v. Banū Khurāsān).

⁴ In Arabic: al-Mu'allāqa (between Tunis and Carthage). See Idris, *La Berbérie*, 234-5.

road by an Arab emir, called Ḥasan ibn Tha'lab, who demanded money from him that was due to him for [128] his administration. Al-Ḥasan could not produce any money lest it [all] be seized. He handed over his son Yaḥyā as a pledge and continued on his way. On the second day he came to Muḥriz, whom he had favoured over all the Arabs and treated generously, having given him much of his wealth. Muḥriz gave him a handsome welcome and expressed his pain at what had befallen him. For several months al-Ḥasan remained with him, although he was not content with his stay. He wanted to travel to Egypt, to the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ the Alid, and purchased a ship for his journey. George the Frank heard of this and deployed galleys to seize him. Therefore al-Ḥasan gave up this plan and determined to go to 'Abd al-Mu'min in the Maghrib. He sent his older sons, Yaḥyā, Tamīm and 'Alī to Yaḥyā ibn al-'Azīz, one of the Banū Ḥammād, who were cousins, asking permission to come to him, renew his acquaintance and travel on from there to 'Abd al-Mu'min. Yaḥyā gave his permission, so he set out. When he arrived, Yaḥyā would not meet him but sent him and his sons to Jazā'ir Banī Mazghannān.⁵ He appointed men to guard him and deprive all of them of freedom of action. They remained in this state until 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered Bougie in the year 547 [1152-3]. He came before him then and under that year we have told what happened to him.

After George had become established in Mahdiyya, a week later he sent a fleet to the city of Sfax and another one to Susa. When the population of Susa heard the news of Mahdiyya, the governor, 'Alī the son of Emir al-Ḥasan, left to go to his father. The people left at the same time and the Franks entered without a fight on 12 Ṣafar [2 July 1148]. On the other hand, the people of Sfax were joined by many Arabs and, strengthened by them, when the Franks attacked them, they sallied forth against them. The Franks feigned flight and the people pursued until they were far from the city. The Franks then wheeled around to meet them. Some fled back to the city and some into the open country. Many were killed. The Franks entered the city after fierce fighting with many slain. The surviving men were taken prisoner and the women enslaved. This was on 23 Ṣafar [13 July]. Guarantees were then proclaimed and the populace returned to the city and ransomed their womenfolk and children. They and the people of Susa and Mahdiyya were treated mildly. Later on, letters came from Roger to all the population of Ifrīqiya, [129] with guarantees of life and property and fair promises.

When the state of the country became settled, George proceeded with a fleet to the castle of Kelibia,⁶ which is a strong castle. After his arrival the Arabs heard this news and assembled there. The Franks disembarked to attack and in a battle they were defeated and a large number of them killed. They withdrew discomfited to Mahdiyya. The Franks now held from Tripoli to close to Tunis and the Maghrib almost up to Qayrawan. God knows best!⁷

⁵ The text has Jazīrat etc., but cf. below p. [159]. This is modern Algiers.

⁶ In Arabic: Iqlībiya, a fortress on the peninsula of Cape Bon.

⁷ See Idris, *La Berbérie*, 355-61 (fall of Mahdiyya), 361-3 (flight of al-Ḥasan).

How the Franks besieged Damascus and what Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn Zankī did

This year the king of the Germans⁸ came from his lands with a great host and large following of Franks, aiming to attack Islamic territory and not doubting that he would conquer it with the easiest of fighting because of the great multitude of his following and the abundance of his money and equipment. On his arrival in Syria, the Franks there sought him out and waited upon him, obeying his every command and prohibition. He ordered them to march with him to besiege and take Damascus, as he asserted. They duly set out with him, came to the city and put it under siege. The ruler there was Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq ibn Būrī ibn Ṭughtakīn, although he had no authority at all. All power in the city belonged to Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, a mamluke of his grandfather, Ṭughtakīn, and he it was who had installed Mujīr al-Dīn. Mu'īn al-Dīn was intelligent, just, charitable and of excellent conduct. He gathered the troops and defended the city.

The Franks maintained their siege and then on 6 Rabī' I [25 July 1148] they launched an assault with both their cavalry and infantry. The populace and the regular troops went out to meet them and held firm against them. Among those who went forth to fight was the lawyer, Proof of the Religion (Ḥujjat al-Dīn) Yūsuf ibn Dirbās al-Findalāwī al-Maghribī.⁹ He was a great shaykh and a learned lawyer. When Mu'īn al-Dīn saw him, [130] as he marched on foot, he went to him, greeted him and said, 'Shaykh, you are excused because of your great age. We will undertake the defence of the Muslims,' and he asked him to retire. He refused and said, 'I sold and He bought from me. By God, I shall not back out nor ask Him to cancel.' He alluded to the words of God Almighty: 'Verily God has purchased from the believers their lives and goods in return for Paradise.'¹⁰ He advanced and fought the Franks and was in the end killed at al-Nayrab¹¹ about half a league from Damascus.

The Franks grew strong while the Muslims weakened. The German emperor advanced and camped at the Green Hippodrome.¹² The people were convinced that he would conquer the city. Mu'īn al-Dīn had sent to Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, son of Atabeg Zankī, calling on him to come to the aid of the Muslims and to drive the enemy from them. Accordingly he gathered his troops and set out for Syria, taking with him his brother, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, from Aleppo. They camped at Homs

⁸ This section contains Ibn al-Athīr's account of the Second Crusade. The Emperor Conrad III is intended. There is no special mention of the French king, Louis VII.

⁹ A Mālikī lawyer, whose father's name is given as Dī Nās in *Kāmil*, as Dhūnās in *Rawḍatayn*, i, 190 (ostensibly quoting Ibn al-Athīr), Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, 200-201, and *Wāfi*, xxix, 195-6. Dirbās is supplied by *Wafayāt*, ii, 452.

¹⁰ Koran, ix, 111.

¹¹ A suburb north-east of Damascus (Elisséeff, 252).

¹² Arabic: *al-maydān al-akhḍar*, situated about 1 km west of the NW corner of the city between the rivers Baradā and Bānyās.

and he sent to Mu‘īn al-Dīn, saying, ‘I have come, bringing with me all who bear arms in my lands. I want my deputies to be in Damascus, so that I may come and confront the Franks. If I am defeated, I and my troops can enter the city and protect ourselves within. If I am victorious, the city is yours and I shall not dispute it with you.’

He also sent to the Franks, threatening them if they did not withdraw from the city. The Franks slackened their attacks, fearing the large number of wounded and because of the possibility that they would be obliged to fight Sayf al-Dīn. They spared themselves with the result that the populace became stronger for their defence of the city and also had a respite from continuous warfare. Mu‘īn al-Dīn wrote to the newly-arrived Franks, ‘The ruler of the East has come. If you do not withdraw, I shall surrender the city to him and then you will be sorry.’ On the other hand, he sent to the Franks of Syria, to say to them, ‘By what reasoning do you aid these men against us? You know that, if they take Damascus, they will seize the coastal lands that you have in your hands. For myself, if I see that I am too weak to hold the city, I shall surrender it to Sayf al-Dīn, and you know that, if he controls Damascus, he will not allow you to retain any foothold in Syria.’ They agreed with him to withdraw cooperation with the German emperor [131] and Mu‘īn al-Dīn offered to hand over to them the castle of Bānyās.

The Levantine Franks met with the German emperor and warned him against Sayf al-Dīn, his large forces and his constant supply of reinforcements. ‘Possibly he would take Damascus and you will be too weak to resist him.’ They continued to press him until he withdrew from the city. They then received the surrender of Bānyās and the Germans returned to their own lands beyond Constantinople. Thus God saved the believers from their evil.

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū’l-Qāsim ibn ‘Asākir has mentioned in his *History of Damascus* that one of the ulema related to him that he saw al-Findalāwī in a dream. He asked him, ‘How has God treated you? Where are you?’ He replied, ‘He has forgiven me. We are in the Gardens of Eden, face to face on couches.’¹³

How Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī took the fortress of al-‘Urayma

After the Franks had withdrawn from Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn marched to the fortress of al-‘Urayma,¹⁴ which was held by the Franks, and took it.

The reason for this was that, when the German emperor set out for Syria, he had with him the son¹⁵ of Alfonso, a scion of Frankish princes, whose grandfather was the one who took Syrian Tripoli from the Muslims. He took and gained control of the fortress of al-‘Urayma and declared openly that he intended to take Tripoli

¹³ Reading *innā* rather than *ana*. A slightly altered version of Koran, xxxvii, 44.

¹⁴ Situated north of the Homs/Tripoli gap, it is sometimes called Arima (see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 68–73).

¹⁵ Bertrand, illegitimate son of the Count of Toulouse Alfonso-Jordan, son of Raymond I.

from the Count.¹⁶ The latter sent to Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who had met with Mu‘īn al-Dīn Unur in Baalbek, saying to him and Mu‘īn al-Dīn that they should attack al-‘Urayma and take it from the son of Alfonso. They both set out with their troops on forced marches and sent to Sayf al-Dīn, who was at Homs, asking for his aid. [132] He reinforced them with a large force under Emir ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaysī, lord of Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar and elsewhere. They camped about the fortress and put it under siege. Alfonso’s son was within and he mounted a strong defence. The Muslims attacked more than once. The sappers went forward and mined the wall. Then the Franks there surrendered and the Muslims took possession, seizing all within, cavalry and infantry, male and female, including the son of Alfonso. They demolished the fortress and returned to Sayf al-Dīn. For Alfonso’s son the following saying is appropriate: ‘The ostrich went out, seeking two horns and returned minus both ears.’

The disagreement between Sultan Mas‘ūd and several emirs, their coming to Baghdad and what they did in Iraq.

During this year a group of senior emirs broke with Sultan Mas‘ūd, namely from Azerbaijan Īldikiz al-Mas‘ūdī, lord of Ganja and Arraniyya, and Qayṣar; from the Uplands Alpqush Kūn Khar and Tatar the Chamberlain,¹⁷ another of Mas‘ūd’s mamlukes, and Ṭurunṭāy al-Maḥmūdī, the prefect of Wāsiṭ, and Īldikiz, Qurqūb and the son of Ṭughāyuruk.

The reason for this was the sultan’s preference for Khāṣṣ Beg and his neglect of them. They feared that he would treat them as he treated ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Abbās and Būz-Aba, so they broke with him and set out for Iraq. When they reached Ḥulwān, the people in Baghdad and the districts of Iraq became fearful and prices rose. The [Caliph] Imam al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh ordered the city wall to be repaired and restored. He also sent al-‘Ibādī the Preacher to them but they paid no attention to his words. They came to Baghdad in [133] Rabī‘ II [19 August–16 September 1148], accompanied by Prince Muḥammad, son of Sultan Maḥmūd, and camped on the East Bank. Mas‘ūd Bilāl, the prefect of Baghdad,¹⁸ left the city, fearful of the caliph, and went to Takrit, which was held by him. The situation was serious for the people of Baghdad. ‘Alī ibn Dubays, lord of al-Ḥilla, came to them and camped on the West Bank. The caliph raised troops for his own protection.

Fighting broke out between the emirs and the Baghdad populace and local troops. They fought several times and one day the ‘Ajamī emirs fled from the mob

¹⁶ Raymond II.

¹⁷ According to *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 225, Khāṣṣ Beg, using his dominant position, arrested and killed Tatar in Rabī‘ I/20 July–18 August 1148.

¹⁸ Bundārī, 234, calls him Mas‘ūd al-Bilālī. He was Sultan Mas‘ūd’s appointee and represented Saljuq military power in Baghdad.

as a trick and strategem. The mob pursued them but when they had gone some distance the emirs turned to face them and some troops appeared behind them. They were put to the sword and a great crowd of the populace were slain. Neither young nor old were spared. Great slaughter was done and the people of Baghdad suffered an unparalleled disaster. The dead and wounded were numerous and many were captured, of whom some were later killed and some publicly pilloried. Those known to people were buried but those unknown were left lying out in the open country. The troops scattered throughout the western quarters and looted much property from their inhabitants. They sacked the town of Dujayl and others and seized women and children.

Later the emirs gathered and camped opposite the Tāj, where they kissed the earth and made their apologies. Until the end of the day envoys went back and forth between them and the caliph. They returned to their tents and set out for Ḥulwān, plundering the countryside and doing wicked deeds. Mas'ūd Bilāl, the prefect of Baghdad, returned to Baghdad from Takrit. The emirs then broke up and left Iraq. Emir Qayṣar died in Azerbaijan. All this happened while Sultan Mas'ūd remained in the Uplands, with envoys constantly going between him and his uncle, Sultan Sanjar. The latter had sent, blaming him for his advancement of Khāṣṣ Beg and ordering him to send him away, threatening that, if he did not do so, he would come against him [134] and remove him from the sultanate. Mas'ūd was prevaricating and not obeying, so Sultan Sanjar set out for Rayy. When Sultan Mas'ūd learnt of his arrival,¹⁹ he went to him, begged for his good pleasure and persuaded him not to carry out his intention. Thus the situation was calmed. They met in the year 544 [1149–50] as we shall relate, God willing.

Account of the Franks' defeat at Yaghrā

This year Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī defeated the Franks at a place called Yaghrā²⁰ in Syria. They had mustered with the aim of raiding the districts of Aleppo. He learnt about them and marched against them with his army. They met at Yaghrā and fought a fierce battle which ended with the defeat of the Franks. Many of them were slain and several of their commanders taken prisoner. Only a few of this host escaped. Some of the booty and the captives were sent to his brother Sayf al-Dīn, to the caliph at Baghdad, to Sultan Mas'ūd or to others.

Concerning this battle, in his ode which begins, 'Would that the dam were blocked or not, and would that sleep were rejected,' Ibn al-Qaysarānī²¹ says the following verses about Nūr al-Dīn:

¹⁹ Sanjar came to Rayy in Sha'bān 543/15 December 1148–12 January 1149 (*Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 227).

²⁰ See Eddé, *Description*, 263: north-east of the Antioch Depression (al-'Amq) and east of Nahr al-Aswad (or Qarā Su, 'Black River').

²¹ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Qaysarānī died at Damascus in 548/1153.

How should we not celebrate our praiseworthy (*maḥmūd*) life, when the sultan is praiseworthy,

And the sword of Islam is only turned aside when the carcass of Unbelief is cut in slices.

Virtuous deeds are only found where the Light of Religion (*Nūr al-Dīn*) is present.

How many a battle has he, whose day is marked well by the infidel princes!

[135] How the Ghūr took Ghazna and then withdrew

During this year Sūrī ibn al-Ḥusayn, the ruler of the Ghūr,²² attacked Ghazna and conquered it. The reason was that his brother, the ruler of the Ghūr before him, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, became the brother-in-law of Bahrām Shāh Mas'ūd, the ruler of Ghazna and a member of the house of Sabuktakīn.²³ On account of this marriage-relationship his importance grew and his ambition expanded. He gathered many groups and marched to Ghazna to seize it. It has been reported that he set out claiming that he was making a visit of homage, although he was intending trickery and treachery. Bahrām Shāh heard about him and, having seized him, put him in prison, then killed him. The Ghūr were outraged at his killing but were unable to take revenge.

After he was killed, his brother Sām ibn al-Ḥusayn succeeded but he died of smallpox and his brother Prince Sūrī ibn al-Ḥusayn became the next ruler of the lands of the Ghūr. His position became powerful and his rule well established. He raised an army of horse and foot and marched to Ghazna, seeking blood-revenge for his slain brother and also to conquer Ghazna. He arrived and took it in Jumādā I of the year 543 [17 September-16 October 1148].

Bahrām Shāh departed for India. He gathered large forces and returned to Ghazna, with his advance guard commanded by al-Salār, al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī, the emir of Hindūstān. The hearts of the Ghazna army, who had remained with Sūrī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ghūrī and entered his service, were still with Bahrām Shāh; their loyalty to Sūrī was only superficial. When Sūrī and Bahrām Shāh met in battle, the army of Ghazna turned to Bahrām Shāh, joined him and handed over Sūrī, the Ghūr ruler. Bahrām Shāh took Ghazna in Muḥarram of the year 544 [11 May-9 June 1149]. Also in Muḥarram of that year Prince Sūrī was crucified along with al-Sayyid al-Māhiyānī.

²² Ghūr refers to a mountainous area in central Afghanistan, the main town of which was Fīrūzkūh, and to the region's inhabitants (see *EI(2)*, ii, 1096). For the dynasty that arose in this area, the Ghurids, see *EI(2)*, ii, 1099-1104, and the general account below s.a. 547/1152-3. The ruins of Fīrūzkūh are at Jām on the middle Hari Rūd about 200 km. east of Herat (see Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, 6).

²³ Sabuktakīn, the leading emir of the Samanids (died 387/997) and father of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (born 361/971, died 421/1030).

[136] Sūrī was a man of outstanding worth, possessed of abundant generosity and great virtue. For the poor he used to throw [purses of] dirhams in slings to fall into the hands of whoever were the lucky ones.

Later the Ghūr returned to take Ghazna which they razed. We have mentioned this under the year 547 [1152-3], where we have related the beginning of the Ghūrīd state because it was at that time that their standing became great. They abandoned the mountains and came into Khurasan. Their importance grew. There is some disagreement about this,²⁴ as we have mentioned. God knows best!

How the Franks took some cities in Andalusia

In Andalusia this year the Franks took Tortosa²⁵ and along with it they took all its castles and the fortresses of Lérida and Fraga. In those parts there was nothing the Muslims held that was not seized by the Franks because of the internal dissensions of the Muslims and all has remained in their hands until now.

Miscellaneous events

This year Abū Bakr al-Mubārak ibn al-Kāmil ibn Abī Ghālib al-Baghdādī, whose father was known as al-Khaffāf, died. He studied much Ḥadīth and was the scholar of Baghdad from whom many benefitted.²⁶

[137] This year prices in Iraq rose very high and foodstuffs were impossible to obtain because of the army that came. The people from the surrounding countryside came to Baghdad as refugees, having been robbed of their possessions, and they perished hungry and naked. Throughout most lands there was a similar dearth, in Khurasan, the Uplands, Isfahan and Fars, the Jazīra and Syria. In the Maghrib, however, the famine and high prices were worse because of the interruption of the rains and the invasion of the enemy.

There died in this year:

Ibrāhīm ibn Nabahān al-Ghanawī al-Raqqī, who was born in the year 459 [1066-7]. He was a pupil of al-Ghazālī and al-Shāshī and transmitted the digest of *The Two Genuine Collections*²⁷ by al-Ḥumaydī, direct from the author.²⁸

The Imam Abū'l-Faḍl al-Kirmānī, the Ḥanafī lawyer and leading scholar of Khurasan, in Dhū'l-Qa'da [13 March-11 April 1149].

²⁴ Reading *fī-hi ba'd al-khulf* as in Ms Pococke 346, fol. 109a, rather than *fī ba'd al-khulf*.

²⁵ See *EI*(2), x, 738-9, s.v. Ṭurṭusha.

²⁶ Born 495/1101-2; died Jumādā I/September-October 1148 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 137).

²⁷ For Sunni Islam the two most important collections of Ḥadīth, the *Ṣaḥīḥān* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

²⁸ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Nabahān, died the eve of Thursday 4 Dhū'l-Hijja/= 14 April 1149 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 134).

to make him the successor. They fetched him and took sworn oaths from him and themselves swore to him. They brought him on horseback to the palace of the sultanate with Zayn al-Dīn holding his stirrup. All the lands of his brother Sayf al-Dīn, such as Mosul, the Jazīra and Syria, gave him allegiance.

After his accession he married the Lady, daughter of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, whom his brother Sayf al-Dīn had married, only to die before consummating the marriage. She was the mother of Quṭb al-Dīn's children, Sayf al-Dīn [Ghāzī II], 'Izz al-Dīn and others.

How Nūr al-Dīn took control of Sinjār

When Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd² came to rule in Mosul after his brother Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, his older brother Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was in Syria, in possession of Aleppo and Hama. A number of emirs wrote to him, asking for him, among them al-Muqaddam 'Abd al-Malik, the father of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad,³ who was at that time [140] governor of Sinjār. He sent to him, inviting him to come, so that he could take over Sinjār. Nūr al-Dīn set out lightly equipped, leading seventy mounted men, emirs of his state.

He came to Māksīn with a handful of men, having outstripped his companions. It was a day of heavy rain. The person in command of the gate did not recognize them and informed the prefect that a band of Turkomans, the auxiliary troops, had entered the town. Hardly had he finished his report before Nūr al-Dīn entered the palace into the prefect's presence, who rose to his feet and kissed his hand. The rest of his company caught up with him and he travelled on to Sinjār.

He sent to al-Muqaddam to tell him of his arrival. His messenger saw that he had gone to Mosul and left his son, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, in the citadel. The latter told him that his father had set out for Mosul and he organized someone to catch up with his father on the road and tell him of Nūr al-Dīn's arrival. So al-Muqaddam returned to Sinjār and handed it over to Nūr al-Dīn, who made his entry and sent for Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, lord of Ḥisn [Kayfā], asking him to join him because of the friendship that existed between them. He came to him with his troops. When Atabeg Quṭb al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn in Mosul heard of this, they gathered their troops and marched towards Sinjār. When they had come as far as Tell Ya'far, envoys went to and fro between them. They had planned to attack Nūr al-Dīn in Sinjār. Jamāl al-Dīn said to them, 'It is not sound sense to take issue with him and fight him. We have built him up in the eyes of the sultan and made much of his role in the Jihad. We have presented ourselves as subordinate to him. Meanwhile he shows the Franks that he respects us⁴ and that

² See an account of his career in *EI(2)*, vi, 870-71.

³ Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muqaddam was to be an important supporter of Saladin.

⁴ This is the reading of the text's footnote, which the context demands.

he is our subject. He is always saying to them, "If you are not as you ought to be, I shall surrender the country to the lord of Mosul [141] and then he will deal with you." If we confront him and defeat him, the sultan will turn his ambitions towards us and say, "This person whom they were vaunting and hiding behind is weaker than they are. They have defeated him." However, if he defeats us, the Franks will turn their ambitions towards him and say, "Those whose support he relied on are weaker than he is. He has defeated them." And when all is said and done, he is the son of the great Atabeg.'

He advised peace and after a visit to Nūr al-Dīn an agreement was reached. Sinjār was handed to his brother Quṭb al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn took over⁵ Homs and al-Raḥba in Syria. Syria remained his and the regions of Jazīra his brother's. After reaching agreement, Nūr al-Dīn returned to Syria and took with him all the monies and stores that his father, the martyred Atabeg, had amassed, which were very extensive indeed.

Account of the death of al-Ḥāfiẓ, the accession of al-Zāfir and the vizierate of Ibn al-Salār

In Jumādā II of this year [October 1149] there died al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh 'Abd al-Majīd, son of Emir Abū'l-Qāsim ibn al-Mustanşir bi-Allāh the Alid, ruler of Egypt, whose caliphate had lasted twenty years all but five months. He was about seventy-seven years of age. Throughout all these years he was dominated by his all-powerful viziers, so that in the end he appointed his son, Ḥasan, as vizier and heir apparent but he too dominated him and seized all power for himself. He murdered many emirs of the state and extorted money from many others. When al-Ḥāfiẓ saw this, he gave him poison to drink and he died, as we have already related.⁶

Of the Egyptian Alids who ruled there was none whose father was not caliph other than al-Ḥāfiẓ [142] and al-'Āḍid. We shall be giving an account of the genealogy of al-'Āḍid. Al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Majīd's successor as caliph in Egypt was his son, al-Zāfir bi-Amr Allāh Abū Maşşūr Ismā'īl,⁷ who appointed Ibn Maşşāl as vizier. For forty days the latter survived to administer the affairs of state and then al-'Āḍil ibn al-Salār marched against him from Alexandria and challenged him for the office of vizier. Ibn Maşşāl had left Cairo to hunt down some evil-doers from Sudan. Al-'Āḍil succeeded him in Cairo and became vizier.

'Abbās ibn Abī'l-Futūḥ ibn Yaḥyā ibn Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs al-Şanhājī, who was the step-son of al-'Āḍil, was sent with an army against Ibn

⁵ Reading *wa-tasallama*.

⁶ See *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr (1)*, pp. [22-3].

⁷ The twelfth Fatimid caliph, born 527/1133, reigned 544-9/1149-54; see *EI(2)*, xi, 382-3.

Maṣāl, whom he defeated and killed. He then returned to Cairo and al-‘Ādil became firmly established in power. Alongside him the caliph had no authority at all.

‘Abbās had come to Egypt because his grandfather Yaḥyā had expelled his father, Abū’l-Futūḥ, from Mahdiyya and then, when Yaḥyā died and his son ‘Alī succeeded as ruler of Ifrīqiya, he expelled his brother Abū’l-Futūḥ, the father of ‘Abbās, from Ifrīqiya in the year 509 [1115–6]. He came to Egypt with his wife, Ballāra the daughter of al-Qāsim ibn Tamīm ibn al-Mu‘izz ibn Bādīs, and his son, this ‘Abbās, when he was young and still being suckled. Abū’l-Futūḥ took up residence in Alexandria and was respected during the little time he remained there. After his death his wife Ballāra married al-‘Ādil ibn al-Salār.

‘Abbās grew up and gained favour with al-Ḥāfiẓ, so that eventually he became vizier after al-‘Ādil, for the latter was killed in Muḥarram of the year 548 [1153–4]. It is said that ‘Abbās instigated those who slew him. After the murder he took on the office of vizier and exercised it with firmness. He was a bold and determined man, but despite this it was during his days that the Franks took Ascalon. This was a cause of further weakening of the dynasty. During his days in office Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd took Damascus from Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq and after that matters developed until Egypt was taken from the dynasty, as we shall later narrate, God Almighty willing.

[143] How several emirs returned to Iraq

In Rajab of this year [November 1149] Alpqush Kūn Khar, al-Ṭurunṭā’ī and Dubays, accompanied by Malikshāh, son of Sultan Maḥmūd, returned to Iraq and made contact with the caliph about making the khutbah for Malikshāh. The caliph paid them no attention, gathered his forces and fortified Baghdad. He also sent to Sultan Mas‘ūd to inform him of the situation. The latter promised to come to Baghdad but did not appear.

This was because of what we have related before, namely his uncle Sanjar’s coming to Rayy concerning the matter of Khāṣṣ Beg. When he arrived at Rayy, Sultan Mas‘ūd went to him, met and attempted to win his good pleasure. Sanjar declared his satisfaction with him. When Alpqush heard of the caliph’s correspondence with Mas‘ūd, he sacked al-Nahrawān and arrested Emir ‘Alī ibn Dubays in Ramaḍān [January 1150]. Hearing of this, al-Ṭurunṭā’ī fled to al-Nu‘māniyya.

Sultan Mas‘ūd came to Baghdad in the middle of Shawwāl [15 February 1150]. Alpqush Kūn Khar departed from al-Nahrawān and freed ‘Alī ibn Dubays. When the sultan reached Baghdad, ‘Alī went to find him, threw himself at his feet and asked for forgiveness. He was accepted back into the sultan’s good graces. A certain historian mentioned this sequence of events under the year 544 [1149–50] and also mentioned the same under the year 543 [1148–9], thinking that they were

two separate occurrences. I think that it was a single one. However, I have followed him, while bringing attention to this matter.⁸

[144] Account of the killing of the Prince, lord of Antioch, and the defeat of the Franks

This year Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī raided Frankish territory in the direction of Antioch. He marched to the fortress of Ḥārim, which belonged to the Franks, besieged it, destroyed its suburbs and ransacked its hinterland. He then left to go to the fortress of Inab, which he also besieged. The Franks gathered with the Prince, lord of Antioch, Ḥārim and those regions, and moved towards Nūr al-Dīn to force him to depart from Inab. However, he stayed to meet them and a fierce battle was fought. Nūr al-Dīn took a direct part in the fighting that day. The Franks suffered a very bad defeat and a great number of them were killed and a like number captured.

One of those killed was the Prince, lord of Antioch.⁹ He was one of the most intransigent of the Franks and one of their great leaders. After his death his son, Bohemond, who was still a child, succeeded. His mother married a second prince to rule the land until her son grew up. He remained with her in Antioch.¹⁰

Later Nūr al-Dīn carried out another raid against them. They mustered again and confronted him but were defeated, losing men killed or captured. Amongst those taken was the second prince, Bohemond's step-father.¹¹ Thereupon Bohemond took control in Antioch. The poets made much praise of Nūr al-Dīn in congratulation for this victory, as the killing of the Prince had a great effect on both sides. One of those poets was [Ibn] al-Qaysarānī in his celebrated ode which begins:

[145] These are the resolves, not what pens claim;
 These are the noble qualities, not what books mention.
 These are the ambitions, which, when they are sought,
 Poems and sermons stumble along in their tracks.
 O son of 'Imād al-Dīn, you have shaken hands with their highest
 With a hand fit for great endeavours, achieved with toil.
 Your forbear did not cease to build every lofty building
 Until he built a dome whose props¹² are meteors.

⁸ The historian in question is Ibn al-Jawzī. For his narrative under the year 543, see *Muntazam*, x, 131-3, and for 544, see *op. cit.*, x, 137-8.

⁹ This was Raymond of Poitiers, who had married Constance, daughter of Bohemond II of Antioch. The battle was fought on 30 June 1149.

¹⁰ Constance married Reynald de Chatillon, who acted as regent for her son, Bohemond III.

¹¹ This can only refer to the much later capture of Reynald de Chatillon in November 1160.

¹² Literally 'tent-pegs'.

better if you delayed donning the robe of office because of these quartile aspects.' He replied, 'What is there more auspicious than becoming the caliph's vizier!' He donned the robe that day.

The Chief Cadi 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Zaynabī died in Muḥarram [11May-9 June 1149]. The cadi's office was filled by 'Imād al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Dāmghānī

Also in Muḥarram prices fell in Iraq. Good things were abundant and the country people left [Baghdad] for their villages.

The following died this year:

Emir Naẓar, the emir of the Pilgrimage. He had left with the pilgrims as far as al-Ḥilla, where he fell ill.¹⁶ His sickness increased and he appointed as his deputy over the pilgrims Qāymāz al-Arjuwānī. He returned to Baghdad in his ill state and died in Dhū'l-Qa'da [March 1150]. He was a eunuch, intelligent and benevolent. He did much good and gave abundant alms.¹⁷

[147] Aḥmad ibn Niẓām al-Mulk, who was vizier of Sultan Muḥammad and of [Caliph] al-Mustarshid bi-Allāh.

'Alī ibn Rāfi' ibn Khalīfa al-Shaybānī, one of the notables of Khurasan. He was 107 years old in solar years.

The Imam Mas'ūd al-Ṣawābī in Muḥarram.

Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, the deputy of Abaq, lord of Damascus, although he was the real ruler and holder of authority, while Abaq was emir in form with no substance to it.

Cadi Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Arrajānī, Abū Bakr,¹⁸ cadi of Tustar. He was the author of some good poetry, for example:

When I tested people, seeking amongst them
 A trusty brother for when disasters strike,
 I viewed both states, ease and hardship,
 And called among the living, 'Is there any helper?'
 I saw none but a malicious rejoicer at my pains
 Or one envious of what gave me delight.
 My eyes, you have benefited from a look
 And brought my heart most bitter report.
 O my eyes, spare my heart, for it is
 Wicked for two to strive to kill one.

¹⁶ *Muntazam*, x, 138: 'he fell ill at Kufa and turned back.'

¹⁷ Abū'l-Ḥasan Naẓar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Juyūshī performed 27 pilgrimages, at least 20 of them as emir. Ibn al-Jawzī went on the Ḥajj under him in 541/1147 and disapproved of his leadership. He died the eve of Tuesday 21 Dhū'l-Qa'da/21 March 1159 (*Muntazam*, x, 141-2).

¹⁸ See *EI*(2), i, 659.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh ‘Īsā ibn Hibat Allāh ibn ‘Īsā al-Bazzāz.¹⁹ He was a man of wit and author of some good poetry. A friend wrote a note to him and exaggerated the form of address; he replied:

You added so much to my form of address that
I feared a decrease in the increase.
Make my address that of my peers
And do not change what I am used to.

¹⁹ i.e. the cloth merchant. *Muntazam*, x, 141, reads al-Naqqāsh (the painter, sculptor?) and also makes it clear that the ‘friend’ about to be mentioned was Ibn al-Jawzī himself.

How the Arabs attacked the pilgrim caravan

On 14 Muḥarram this year [13 May 1150] the Bedouin Arabs, Zughb¹ and their allies, waylaid the pilgrim caravan at al-Gharābī, between Mecca and Medina. They overwhelmed them and only a few escaped.

The reason for this was that Naẓar, the emir of the Pilgrimage, turned back at al-Ḥilla, as we have mentioned, and Qāymāz al-Arjuwānī, who was an inexperienced youth, travelled with the caravan and took them to Mecca. After the Emir of Mecca had seen Qāymāz, he formed a low opinion of him and became eager to plunder the pilgrims. Qāymāz successfully managed the situation with him until they set out to return.

After he had left Mecca, he heard that the Arabs had gathered and said to the pilgrims, 'The best course for us is not to go to Medina.' The Persians caused an uproar and threatened to complain of him to Sultan Sanjar. He therefore said to them, 'Then give the Bedouin money to buy off the trouble they can make,' but they refused to do that. He led them as far as al-Gharābī, which is a halt which one comes to after a narrow passage between two mountains. The Arabs stood at the mouth of the pass. Qāymāz and his men fought them but when he saw that he was too weak, he accepted a safe-conduct for himself. The pilgrims were overwhelmed, their goods and all they had with them seized as booty. The people scattered in the desert and very many, too many to count, perished. Only a few survived. [149] Some of them reached Medina and from there were conveyed to their lands. Others remained with the Bedouin until they found their way to settlements.

Later God aided the pilgrims against the Zughb, who continued to dwindle and decline. I saw a youth, one of their clan, in Medina in the year 576 [1180–81]. He and I had a conversation, during which I said to him, 'By God, I was ready to sympathize with you until I heard that you were of Zughb. I then shrank away and feared trouble from you.' He said, 'Why?' to which I replied, 'Because of your robbing the pilgrim caravan.' 'I was not alive at that time,' he said. 'How do you think God has treated us? By God, we have not prospered, nor been successful. Our numbers have dwindled and our enemies are eager to destroy us.'

¹ In *Kāmil* [Z.:b]. Correct from Qalqashandī, *Ansāb al-'arab*, 272: 'The nomadic circuits [of the Banū Zughb] were between the Ḥaramayn [Mecca and Medina]. Then they migrated to the Maghrib and resided in Ifrīqiya.' See also Idris, *La Berbérie*, 210.

Account of the taking of the castle of Apamea

This year Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of the Martyr Zankī, conquered from the Franks the castle of Apamea in the vicinity of Shayzar and Hama on a high hill, one of the strongest and most impregnable of castles. Nūr al-Dīn marched there and put the Franks within under siege. He fought and pressed hard on those in the fortress. The Franks in Syria assembled and marched towards him to force him to raise the siege, but they arrived only after he had taken the place and filled it with stores, weapons, men and everything that was needed. When he heard that the Franks were coming, he left, having completed arrangements for the castle, and marched to meet them. The Franks, when they saw that the castle had been taken and that Nūr al-Dīn had the strong determination to confront them, diverged from their line of march, returned to their own lands and made overtures to him concerning a truce. He himself returned safe and victorious. The poets gave him praise and celebrated this success. An example of this is an ode of Ibn al-Rūmī,² which begins:

The most exalted of realms is one whose beacon you have raised high
 And made sharpened sword-blades its nails.
 The most worthy to rule the land and its people is
 A merciful one, whose justice has embraced its regions.

[150] It continues with a description of the castle³ and it is a long poem.

Account of the Franks' siege of, and withdrawal from, Cordoba

This year 'little sultan', namely Alfonso, king of Toledo and its regions, one of the kings of the Jalāliqa,⁴ a race of Franks, marched with 40,000 horse to the city of Cordoba and put it under siege, when it was in a state of weakness and famine. The news came to 'Abd al-Mu'min at Marrakech. He raised a large army, appointed as commander Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā ibn Yūmūr⁵ and sent him to Cordoba. When they came near the city, they were not able to meet 'little sultan's' army on the plain. They wished to link up with the people of Cordoba to protect it because of the danger of what might happen after the battle. They therefore traversed rugged

² This cannot be the celebrated Ibn al-Rūmī who died in the late 9th century AD. The poet was in fact Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī (d. 548/1153). See his *Dīwān*, 215-16.

³ Four verses have been omitted here, which are full of obscurities and differ from the text given in the published *Dīwān*, itself equally obscure.

⁴ i.e. the 'Galicians'. Jillīqiyya was the term used for the kingdoms of Asturias and Leon; see *EI*(2), ii, 541-2.

⁵ He was a member of the second-rank of the Almohad hierarchy (the 'People of Fifty') and a one-time governor of Meknès (see Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits*, 51, 58, 212-13). For his father's name, correct the text's Y.r.mūz.

mountains and intricate narrows and covered in about twenty-five days' march on difficult terrain the distance of four days' march on easy ground. They arrived at a mountain overlooking Cordoba. When 'little sultan' saw them and realized their plan, he withdrew from Cordoba.

In Cordoba was the Commander Abū'l-Ghamr al-Sā'ib,⁶ a son of Commander Ibn Ghalbūn, [151] one of the heroes and emirs of the Andalusians. When the Franks withdrew, he immediately left the city and climbed up to Ibn Yūmūr and said, 'Come down quickly and enter the city.' They did so and spent the night there. In the morning they saw the troops of 'little sultan' on the summit of the hill where 'Abd al-Mu'min's troops had been. Abū'l-Ghamr said to them, 'This is just what I feared for you, because I knew that 'little sultan' had only moved camp with the desire to bring you to battle. There is an easy route from his former position to the mountain. Had he caught you there, he would have achieved all he wanted from you and from Cordoba.' When 'little sultan' saw that they had eluded him, he realised that he had no hope left of achieving anything against Cordoba. He left and returned home. His siege of Cordoba had lasted three months. God knows best!

How the Ghūr took Herat

This year the ruler of the Ghūr, al-Ḥusayn⁷ ibn al-Ḥusayn marched from the lands of the Ghūr to Herat and besieged it. The inhabitants had written to him and asked to surrender the city to him, to escape the tyranny of the Turks and because they had lost their awe of the sultanate. Herat held out for three days and then the people went out to him, handed over the city and gave their allegiance. He treated them well and poured out his favours upon them, enveloping them with his justice. He professed his allegiance to Sultan Sanjar and that he undertook to be faithful to him and to show him obedience,

Miscellaneous events

During this year 'Alā' al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd, the leading man in Ṭuraythīth, which was in the hands of the Ismā'īlīs, ordered the khutbah to be made for the caliph and for black to be worn.⁸ The preacher complied [152] but 'Alā' al-Dīn's uncle, his relatives and those who agreed with them rose against him. Fighting

⁶ See *EI*(2), iii, 770-71, s.v. Ibn Ghalbūn. His son called Abū'l-Ghamr 'Azzūn died in the battle of Za'bula in Rabī' I 553/April-May 1158.

⁷ This is 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (Jahānsūz, 'World-burner'), for whose sack of Ghazna see below s.a. 547. For a detailed discussion of his name (*Kāmil* at this point calls him al-Ḥasan) and his career, see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, 347-50.

⁸ Black was the ceremonial colour of the Abbasid caliphs. To adopt it signified recognition.

followed and they smashed the minbar and killed the preacher. 'Alā' al-Dīn acted thus because his father was a Muslim who, when the Ismā'īlīs took control at Ṭuraythīth, pretended to conform but secretly nurtured his belief in the Sharia and used to debate in support of the Shāfi'ī school of law. His leadership role in Ṭuraythīth increased and its affairs proceeded according to his wishes. When he was close to death, he instructed that he should be washed by a Shāfi'ī lawyer and he recommended to his son, 'Alā' al-Dīn, that, if he were able, he should restore open adherence to the Sharia of Islam. When he thought that he had the power, he did so but without success.

This year in Iraq there was much sickness, especially in Baghdad. Mortality was high there too. Sultan Mas'ūd moved away.

Emir 'Alī ibn Dubays ibn Ṣadaqa, the lord of al-Ḥilla, died this year in Asadābād. His doctor, Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ, was suspected of being involved in a plot to kill him. The doctor himself died soon afterwards.

This year 'Abd al-Mu'min, ruler of the Maghrib, appointed as his vizier Abū Ja'far ibn Abī Aḥmad al-Andalusī. He had been a captive of his but was described to him as a wise man and an excellent administrator. He freed him from prison and made him vizier. He was the first vizier the Almohads had.

In Muḥarram [May 1150] Yūsuf al-Dimashqī took his chair as professor at the Nizāmiyya in Baghdad. His appointment was made without the caliph's order, so on Friday he was prevented from entering the mosque. He prayed in the sultan's mosque but was not allowed to lecture. Sultan Mas'ūd ordered Shaykh Abū'l-Najīb to lecture in the madrasah but he declined to do so without the caliph's order. The sultan extorted the caliph's permission and he began his lecturing in the middle of Muḥarram this year [14 May 1150].

[153] The following died this year:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Muhrān, the Shāfi'ī lawyer. He studied with al-Harrāsī and served as cadī of Nisibis. Later he gave up the position and dwelt in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar. He then moved to a mountain in the land of Ḥiṣn [Kayfā], to a sufi hospice (*zāwiya*). Manifest saintly deeds were done by him.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Dhī'l-Nūn ibn Abī'l-Qāsim ibn Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Mis'arī, Abū'l-Mafākhir al-Nīsābūrī. He heard much Ḥadīth and was a lawyer, a man of letters, an assiduous scholar and a preacher.⁹ Verses he used to declaim were:

Generous men have died, passed away, ceased and departed.

After them their generous deeds likewise died.

They have left me among men of no honour;

If in slumber they saw a vision of a guest, they would die!

⁹ He died in Jumādā I/August-September 1150. He gained a reputation among the Ḥanbalīs at Baghdad for his support of the Sunna and condemnation of the Ash'arīs, but according to Ibn al-Jawzī he later confessed a leaning towards a Mu'tazilī belief in the created nature of the Koran (*Muntaẓam*, x, 143-4).

Account of Nūr al-Dīn's defeat at the hands of Joscelin and Joscelin's subsequent capture

This year Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd gathered his army and marched to the lands of Joscelin the Frank, that is, northwards of Aleppo, including Tell Bāshir, 'Ayntāb, A'zāz and elsewhere. He planned to besiege and take them. Joscelin (God curse him) was the Franks' leading knight, redoubtable. He combined courage and good sense. When he heard of this he assembled the Franks in large numbers and proceeded towards Nūr al-Dīn. They met and fought. The Muslims were defeated and a large number of them were killed or captured. Among those taken was Nūr al-Dīn's armour-bearer (*silāḥ dār*), who was captured by Joscelin when he had Nūr al-Dīn's armour with him. He sent it to King Mas'ūd ibn Qilij Arslān, lord of Konya and Aqsaray, and said to him, 'Here is your son-in-law's armour. Next you will be receiving something much more serious!'

When Nūr al-Dīn learnt what had happened he was outraged by it and devised a plan against Joscelin and banished all rest in order to take his revenge. He summoned a group of Turkoman emirs and offered them incentives if they would seize Joscelin and hand him over, either dead or a prisoner, because he knew that, if he attacked him in person, he would protect himself with his troops and his castles. The Turkomans set spies on him and, when he went out hunting, a group of them caught up with him and secured his person. He bargained with them [155] with an offer to pay them money. They agreed to free him when the money came, so he sent someone to fetch it. However, one of their number went to Abū Bakr ibn al-Dāya,¹ Nūr al-Dīn's deputy in Aleppo, and told him of the situation. He sent him back with some troops, who surprised those Turkomans, while Joscelin was with them, took him prisoner and brought him back to Abū Bakr. His capture was one of the greatest successes because he was an intransigent devil, fierce against the Muslims and cruel. His capture was a blow to all Christendom.

After he was taken, Nūr al-Dīn moved against his castles and took them, namely, Tell Bāshir, 'Ayntāb, A'zāz, Tell Khālid, Qūrus,² Rāwandān, Burj

¹ The Banū'l-Dāya (sons of the wet-nurse), so called because of the foster-brother relationship with Nūr al-Dīn, played a significant role in his reign. There were three brothers: Shams al-Dīn 'Uthmān, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr.

² Eddé, *Description*, 278-80 and references cited: it is north-west of A'zāz in the upper valley of River 'Afrīn.

al-Raṣṣāṣ,³ the fortress of al-Bāra, Kafar Sūd,⁴ Kafarlāthā, Dulūk,⁵ Mar'ash, Nahr al-Jawz⁶ and others, in a short period of time, details of which will be given.⁷

Whenever Nūr al-Dīn conquered one of these castles he conveyed to it all that any fortress requires, fearing a setback that the Franks might inflict upon the Muslims and to ensure that their lands might not be in need of material to defend them against the enemy. The poets praised him again, one of them being al-Qaysarānī who wrote in an ode concerning Joscelin:

So did fate give the count the gift of his captivity and
 The luckiest opponent⁸ is he whom captivity has seized for you
 He was overweening and greedy a degree beyond his [normal] excess.
 Blasphemy and unbelief destroyed his violence.
 'Azaz became like its name a glory (*'izza*) for you.
 Were it a nest it would be difficult for its two eagles.
 Proceed and fill the world with light and joy,
 For on the dark horizon there is a need for that brightness.
 [156] It's as though I feel his determination (may its edge not be blunted),
 With its destination in the Aqsa. This matter has been decreed
 And Jerusalem is as good as purified.
 There is no purification for it except when it runs with blood.

Account of the siege of Granada and Almeria in Andalusia

During this year 'Abd al-Mu'min sent a large army of about 20,000 horse to Andalusia with Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Yaḥyā al-Hintātī. He sent their womenfolk with them. They travelled separately, dressed in black burnouses. They had only eunuchs with them. When any man came near them, he was beaten with whips.

After they had crossed the straits they went to Granada, where was a detachment of the Almoravids. 'Umar and his army besieged it and maintained a tight blockade. Aḥmad ibn Malaḥān, lord of the city of Guadix and its districts, came to him with his following. They accepted the beliefs of the Almohads and joined them. Ibrāhīm ibn Hamushk, the father-in-law of Ibn Mardanīsh,⁹ lord of

³ Literally 'Tower of Lead.' It is in modern Turkey, west of 'Ayntāb, see Eddé, *Description*, 60-61.

⁴ This should perhaps be Kafarsūt, near Behesna (see Yāqūt, iv, 288).

⁵ 'A small town in Aleppo province', modern Düllük, 10 km north of Gaziantep (Krawulsky, 598; *EI(2)*, ii, 624).

⁶ 'A district between Aleppo and al-Bīra' (Yāqūt, ii, 151).

⁷ This comment which is not in all Mss appears not to be followed up.

⁸ Emending the text to read *wa-as'adu qirnin*.

⁹ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd (born 518/1124-5, died 567/1172), ruler of Valencia and Murcia who fought the Almohads for 25 years; see *EI(2)*, iii, 864-5.

How 'Abd al-Mu'min took Bougie and conquered the Banū Ḥammād

During this year 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Alī went to Bougie, which he took and conquered all the lands of the Banū Ḥammād.¹ When he had decided to attack them, he went from Marrakech to Ceuta in the year 546 [1151-2] and remained there for a while, building up his fleet and gathering the nearby troops.

As for the lands on the road to Bougie, he wrote to the people there to make their preparations and to be ready to move at any time he asked for them. People thought that he was planning to cross to Andalusia. He sent to order the suspension of all travel from the eastern Maghrib by land or by sea.

He left Ceuta in Ṣafar 547 [8 May-5 June 1152], making forced marches and rolling up the stages. Troops met him on the road and the people of Bougie were not aware of his coming until he was in their region. The ruler there was Yaḥyā ibn al-'Azīz ibn Ḥammād, the last of the Banū Ḥammād rulers. He was devoted to hunting and entertainments, paying no attention to the affairs of state. The Banū Ḥamdūn had come to dominate there. When the news was brought to Maymūn ibn Ḥamdūn, he gathered his troops and moved out of Bougie towards 'Abd al-Mu'min. The latter's advance guard, more than 20,000 mounted men strong, met them. [159] The people of Bougie fled without a fight and 'Abd al-Mu'min's advance guard entered Bougie two days before the arrival of 'Abd al-Mu'min. Yaḥyā ibn al-'Azīz's troops all scattered and fled by land and by sea, while Yaḥyā himself took refuge in the castle of Constantine.² His two brothers, al-Ḥārith and 'Abd Allāh, fled to Sicily. 'Abd al-Mu'min entered Bougie and conquered all the lands of [Yaḥyā] ibn al-'Azīz without a battle.

Later Yaḥyā submitted to 'Abd al-Mu'min on the basis of a guarantee which he granted him. When al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī's lands in Ifrīqiya were taken from him, Yaḥyā had openly rejoiced, for he had been denigrating him and publishing his faults. However, it was not long before his own lands were seized. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī came to 'Abd al-Mu'min in Jazā'ir Banī Mazghannān. We have mentioned under the year 543 [1148-9] the reason for his travelling there. They both met with 'Abd al-Mu'min who sent Yaḥyā ibn al-'Azīz to the Maghrib, where he remained, in receipt of a large pension. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī was treated very well, being made a close companion and given a high position. He stayed close to 'Abd al-Mu'min

¹ A central Maghrib dynasty (405-547/1015-1152), related to the Zirids and founded by Ḥammād ibn Buluggin ibn Zīrī (died 419/1028); see *EI(2)*, iii, 137-9, s.v. Ḥammādids.

² In Arabic Qusanṭīnat al-Hawā', i.e. Constantine 'of the air', because of its situation on a high plateau with deep ravines around. See *EI(2)*, v, 530-32.

image

not

available

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available

It is not like the old days of the encampment, O Umm Mālik;
Rather have chains encompassed our necks.²⁵

I returned to my father and told him what had occurred. He wept and said, "The man is convinced he is going to perish." Then they departed and when they arrived at the lands of the Ghūr, Ghiyāth al-Dīn did not meet with them but gave orders for them to be taken up into a certain castle. This was the last that was heard of them.'

He was the last ruler of the family of Sabuktakīn.²⁶ Their dynasty began in the year 366 [976-7] and their rule lasted for approximately 213 years. Their rulers were among the best of princes for conduct of government, especially his ancestor, Maḥmūd, for his exploits in Jihad are well-known and his good deeds to gain the life to come are celebrated.

Were any family to sit above the sun in nobility,
Through the first of them and their glory they would do so.

[170] Blessed be He whose kingdom does not pass away and who is unchanged by the ages! Out on this despicable life here below! Consider how it treats its sons. We pray God Almighty to take the veil from our hearts so that we may see this world with the eye of truth, that He may turn our thoughts to Him and fill our minds to the exclusion of all else. 'He is over every thing mighty.'²⁷

This is the account of a certain scholar of Khurasan,²⁸ that Khusroshāh was the last of the rulers of Sabuktakīn's family. However, another has recorded that he died while in power and that his son Malikshāh succeeded him. We shall mention this under the year 559 [1163-4]. Altogether there is some dispute, as I see it, about the beginning of the dynasty of the Ghurids. If the truth should ever come to light, then I shall correct it, God willing.

How Ghiyāth al-Dīn was proclaimed as sultan in the khutbah

When their sovereignty was established in Lahore, their kingdom had expanded and their troops and wealth become numerous, Ghiyāth al-Dīn wrote to his brother Shihāb al-Dīn about instituting the khutbah in his own name as sultan and adopting the honorific titles of sultans. His own title had been Shams al-Dīn and he now

²⁵ Verse by Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī, one of the Hudhaylī poets, who died in the caliphate of 'Umar (634-44 AD). See *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, i, 292-3.

²⁶ i.e. the Ghaznavid dynasty, whose founder was Maḥmūd, son of Sabuktakīn (see *EI*(2), ii, 1050).

²⁷ Koran, xli, 39.

²⁸ This probably refers either to Ibn Funduq (d. 565/1169) or to his presumed continuator. See below s.a. 568, p. [380].

styled himself Ghiyāth al-Dīn wa'l-Dunyā Mu'īn al-Islām Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn.²⁹ He gave the title Mu'izz al-Dīn to his brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, who carried out his orders and proclaimed his name in the khutbah as sultan.

Account of Ghiyāth al-Dīn's conquest of Herat and other places in Khurasan

After Shihāb al-Dīn had finished his reorganization and reordering of Lahore, he travelled to his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn. When they met, they agreed to march to Khurasan and attack [171] and besiege the city of Herat. They set out with large forces, descended upon the town, where there was a body of Sanjar's Turks, and put it under siege. They pressed hard on the defenders, who sought to surrender the town, sending a request for terms. The two rulers accepted this, granted them terms and took over the town. They expelled the emirs of Sanjar who were there and Ghiyāth al-Dīn appointed as his lieutenant there Kharnak³⁰ al-Ghūrī.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother went to Būshanj³¹ and took it, then to Bādghīs, Kālīn and Baywār, which they also conquered. All of this Ghiyāth al-Dīn took over and ruled the inhabitants well. He returned to Fīrūzkūh, while Shihāb al-Dīn returned to Ghazna. Properly speaking these events of Ghurid history should be mentioned under the various years. We have lumped them together to give a continuous narrative and because it included matter for which no date was known, so we have left it as we found it.

How Shihāb al-Dīn took the city of Agra in India

When Shihāb al-Dīn returned to Ghazna from Nishapur, he remained until he and his army had rested and recuperated, then marched into India and besieged the city of Agra, the seat of an Indian king, but he could achieve nothing against him. This Indian had a wife who dominated his affairs. Shihāb al-Dīn wrote proposing that he marry her. She replied to say that she was not suitable for him but that she had a daughter [172] who was beautiful and whom she would give to him in marriage. He sent agreeing to the marriage with the daughter. Thereupon she gave her husband poison. He died and she delivered the city to Shihāb al-Dīn.

Having taken over the city, he took the girl and, after her conversion to Islam, married her and bore her to Ghazna. He granted her abundant pensions, entrusted her to people to teach her the Koran but neglected her. Her mother died and then ten years later she too died. He had not seen her nor approached her. He built a shrine for her, where she was buried and the people of Ghazna visit her tomb.

²⁹ i.e. Succour of Religion and of Worldly Affairs, Helper of Islam, Partner of the Commander of the Faithful.

³⁰ *Kāmil* has Khaznak, but Juzjānī gives Kharnak, e.g. *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, 343, 381.

³¹ Sometimes Fūshanj, as in the text. Cf. *El*(2), i, 1342-3.

He later returned to India, where its difficulties were overcome by him and he succeeded in conquering a large amount of the country. He humbled their kings and achieved more against them than any Muslim ruler had ever done before.

Account of the Hindus' victory over the Muslims

When Shihāb al-Dīn had caused serious depredation in the land of the Hindus and much slaughter among its population and had gained power there, the rulers gathered together, held discussions and criticized one another. They came to the opinion that they should unite and cooperate to wage war on him, so they assembled and raised their armies. The Hindus flocked to them from every nook and cranny on every variety of mount,³² arriving with all sorts of weapons. The person who controlled all the princes that gathered together was a woman, one of the greatest of their rulers.

When Shihāb al-Dīn heard of their gathering and their march towards him, he also moved against them with a large force of Ghūr, Khalaj, Khurasanians and others. They met and battle was joined but there was not much fighting before the Muslims broke and the Hindus rode them down, killing and taking prisoners, causing great losses. Shihāb al-Dīn received a blow which disabled his left arm and another on his head which brought him to the ground. Night separated the two sides. Shihāb al-Dīn became aware in the darkness of the night of a group of his Turkish mamlukes, who were seeking him amongst the corpses and weeping. [173] The Hindus had already retired. He called to them, despite what he was suffering, and they hurried to him. They carried him away on their shoulders, on foot and taking it in turns to carry him, until they arrived at the city of Agra with the dawn.

News that he was safe spread amongst his people and they arrived from all quarters to congratulate him. The first thing he did was to take the Ghūr emirs who had fled and abandoned him, fill their horses' nosebags with barley and swear that if they did not eat it he would cut off their heads, so of necessity they ate it. The news also reached his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who wrote to him, blaming him for his hastiness and rashness, and sent him a large army.³³

Account of the Muslim victory over the Hindus

After Shihāb al-Dīn's escape and return to Agra and the arrival of reinforcements from his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the Hindus returned, having renewed their armament and augmented their host with replacements for those who had been

³² In the text 'on the refractory and the docile', the opposites expressing comprehensiveness.

³³ An account of this Ghurid defeat is given s.a. 583/1187-8, pp. [561-2].

of Khurasan and invited him to come to them. They gave him dominion over their affairs and submitted to him in Shawwāl 549 [9 December 1154-6 January 1155]. Along with him they marched against the Oghuz who were besieging Herat. There were various battles between them in most of which the Oghuz were victorious. However, they raised the siege of Herat in Jumādā I 550 [July 1155] and returned to Marv, where they renewed their extortion of the population.

The Khāqān Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad went to Nishapur, but al-Mu'ayyad had already taken control of it, as we shall relate. He made overtures of peace to the Oghuz and in Rajab 550 [September 1155] they concluded a tactical truce.¹⁰ We shall narrate the rest of the history of the Oghuz under the year 552 [1157-8].

How al-Mu'ayyad took Nishapur and elsewhere

Sultan Sanjar had a mamluke whose name was Ay-Aba and who had been dubbed al-Mu'ayyad.¹¹ When all this disturbance took place, he became prominent and important. Many emirs gave him their obedience and he took control of Nishapur, Tūs, Nasā, Abīward, Shahrīstan and Dāmghān, driving the Oghuz out of all these places and killing many of them. He ruled well, gave justice to the people and won their favour. He also reduced the land tax for those liable and was fully considerate of the members of established houses. The country was well under his control and his subjects were obedient because of his good government. His standing grew and his troops became numerous. The Khāqān Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad contacted him about surrendering his lands and attending at court. This was rejected. To and fro went [184] their envoys, until al-Mu'ayyad agreed to pay a tribute to Prince Maḥmūd, who then left him alone. He and Prince Maḥmūd remained in the lands they held.

The account of Īnānj's taking of Rayy

Īnānj was one of Sultan Sanjar's mamlukes. When the Oghuz caused the turmoil that we have mentioned, he fled from Khurasan and came to Rayy, which he seized and made his residence. To Sultan Muḥammad Shāh ibn Maḥmūd, lord of Hamadhan, Isfahan and elsewhere, he sent a dutiful message and gifts to win his goodwill and made a show of obedience to him. He remained in Rayy until the death of Sultan Muḥammad¹² and then he took full control of it and of several

¹⁰ The phrase *hudna 'alā dakhan* is glossed in dictionaries as 'a peace [made] for a reason, not for reconciliation'.

¹¹ i.e. 'the one supported [by God]'.

¹² The text has 'Maḥmūd' incorrectly. *Kāmil* (Thornberg), xi, 122 has 'Muḥammad'. He died in 554/1159.

towns in the neighbourhood of Rayy. His position and his standing became very great and his army grew to 10,000 cavalry.

When Sulaymān Shāh took Hamadhan, as we shall relate, Īnānj came to him and offered him allegiance because of his friendship with him that dated from the days of Sulaymān Shāh's residence in Khurasan.

How Ibn al-Sallār, al-Zāfir's vizier, was killed and 'Abbās became vizier

In Muḥarram of this year [April 1153] the vizier of al-Zāfir bi-Allāh, al-'Ādil ibn al-Sallār, was killed. He was killed by his stepson, 'Abbās ibn Abī'l-Futūḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣanhājī, who was advised to do that by Emir Usāma ibn Munqidh with the agreement of the Caliph al-Zāfir bi-Allāh. 'Abbās gave the order to his son, Naṣr, who came to al-'Ādil, while he was with Naṣr's own grandmother, Umm 'Abbās, and killed him. He was followed as vizier by his stepson 'Abbās.¹³

[185] 'Abbās had come to Egypt from the Maghrib, as we have mentioned. He learnt tailoring and was a good tailor. Ibn Sallār who married his mother, became fond of him and raised him well but 'Abbās repaid him by murdering and succeeding him.

In Egypt the vizierate was the prize of whoever was the strongest. The caliphs were kept behind the veil and the viziers were the *de facto* rulers. Since al-Afḍal it was rare for anyone to come to office except by fighting and killing and similar means. This is why we have written of the viziers under [their own] individual rubrics.

The conflict between the Arabs and the troops of 'Abd al-Mu'min

In Ṣafar of this year [April 1153] there was a battle between the army of 'Abd al-Mu'min and the Arabs at the city of Sétif.

This came about because, when 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered the lands of the Banū Ḥammād, the Arabs, that is the Banū Hilāl, Athbaj, 'Adī, Riyāḥ, Zughb and other tribes, met together from Tripoli to the furthest Maghrib and said, 'If 'Abd al-Mu'min becomes our neighbour, he will expel us from the Maghrib. We have no option but to exert all our efforts against him and drive him out of the country before he becomes entrenched.' They all swore to cooperate and give mutual support and that they would not betray one another. They determined to meet him with their men, their families and possessions to fight to the last.¹⁴

News of this came to King Roger the Frank, lord of Sicily, who sent to the emirs

¹³ For the murder of al-'Ādil (Thursday 6 Muḥarram/= 2 April 1153) and 'Abbās's vizierate, see Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Memoirs*, 42-4.

¹⁴ Literally 'to fight the fight for their womenfolk'.

of the Arabs, namely Muḥriz ibn Ziyād, Jubāra ibn Kāmil, Ḥasan ibn Tha'lab, 'Īsā [186] ibn Ḥasan and others, urging them to confront 'Abd al-Mu'min and proposing to send them 5,000 Frankish knights to fight with them, on condition that they send him hostages. They thanked him but said, 'We do not need your help. We only seek aid from Muslims.' They set out in numbers beyond counting.

'Abd al-Mu'min had departed from Bougie for the Maghrib. When he heard the news, he despatched an army of Almohads numbering more than 30,000 horse and gave the command to 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Hintātī and Sa'd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā. The Arabs outnumbered them many times but the Almohads enticed them forward and the Arabs followed them until they arrived at the region of Sétif among the mountains. 'Abd al-Mu'min's troops then attacked them and caught the Arabs unprepared. The two sides met in a very fierce and terrible battle. The engagement ended with the defeat of the Arabs and victory for the Almohads.¹⁵

The Arabs abandoned all they had, families, goods, utensils and flocks and the Almohads seized everything. The army returned to 'Abd al-Mu'min with all the booty which he divided among the troops. He left the women and children under guard and put them in the charge of eunuch servants who served them and looked after their needs, ordering them to be well protected. When they arrived with him at Marrakech, he lodged them in spacious houses and supplied them with generous funds. He ordered his son Muḥammad to write to the Arab emirs to tell them that their women and children were under guard and protected and to order them to come so that his father could hand everything back. He added that they were offered guarantees of security and honourable treatment.

When Muḥammad's letter came to the Arabs, they hastened to set out for Marrakech. Upon their arrival 'Abd al-Mu'min gave them their women and children, treated them well and gave them large sums of money. Thereby he captivated their hearts, they stayed with him and were welcomed by him. He sought their help to establish his son Muḥammad as his heir, as we shall relate under the year 551 [1156-7].

[187] Account of the Franks' capture of Bône, the death of Roger and the accession of his son William

This year the fleet of Roger, the king of the Franks in Sicily, went to Bône. Their commander was his eunuch Philip of Mahdiyya, who besieged it and sought the aid of the Arabs against it. He took it in Rajab [22 September-21 October 1153] and enslaved the population and seized everything there, except that he turned a blind eye to a number of ulema and divines who were thus able to leave with their

¹⁵ See Idris, *La Berbérie*, 371-4, for other details of this uprising. The battle took place on Thursday 1 Šafar 548/= 30 April 1153.

Egypt. 'Abbās became vizier and before there was any settled authority the Franks took advantage of the neglect of Ascalon, gathered their forces and put it under siege. The inhabitants held firm and fought fiercely, some days even fighting outside the city wall. They repulsed the Franks and drove them defeated back to their tents, pursuing them all the way. At that stage the Franks despaired of taking the city.

While they were deciding to withdraw, they received news that a dispute had broken out between [189] the inhabitants and that there had been people killed, so they stayed where they were. The reason for this dissension was that, when they returned from the battle with the Franks, victorious and triumphant, one party claimed that victory had come from them and that they were the ones who had repulsed and defeated the Franks. Their argument grew serious until there was a fatality on one side. Then a serious crisis arose and the evil became grave. A battle ensued and men were killed. The Franks seized their chance and made an assault. They met no resistance and conquered the city.¹⁹

Account of the caliphal army's siege of Takrit and its withdrawal

This year the Caliph al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh sent an army to besiege Takrit. With them he sent as commanders Abū'l-Badr, the son of Vizier 'Awn al-Dīn ibn Hubayra, and Turshak, one of the caliph's close staff, and others. A rivalry arose between Abū'l-Badr and Turshak, which obliged the vizier's son to write, complaining of Turshak. The caliph ordered him to arrest Turshak, who learnt of this and made contact with Mas'ūd Bilāl, lord of Takrit. He came to terms with him and arrested the vizier's son and the other commanders who were with him. He handed them over to Mas'ūd Bilāl. The [caliph's] army fled and many were drowned. Mas'ūd Bilāl and Turshak moved out of Takrit to the Khurasan Road, which they plundered and destroyed. Al-Muqtafī marched from Baghdad to drive them away. They fled at his approach. The caliph made for Takrit and besieged it for several days. The inhabitants fought him from behind the city wall and several men in his army were killed by arrows, so the caliph withdrew without having taken it.

[190] Miscellaneous events

This year ships came from Sicily with a force of Franks. They sacked the city of Tinnis in Egypt.

During this year there was a pitched battle and fierce fighting between the

¹⁹ Ibn Qal., 321-2, gives no date. See Stevenson, *Crusaders*, 171, note 3, for a review of the sources, which point to late August 1153.

Georgians in Armenia and Şaltuq, lord of Erzerum. Şaltuq was defeated, taken prisoner by the Georgians but then released.²⁰

The following died this year:

Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Ghālib, the book-seller, known as Ibn al-Ṭalāya, the Baghdad ascetic. He was a pious man, who transmitted both Ḥadīth and belles-lettres.²¹

'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sahl, Abū'l-Faḥ ibn Abī'l-Qāsim al-Karūkhī al-Harawī, the transmitter of *The Collection* of al-Tirmidhī.²² He was born in the year 462 [1069-70] and died in Baghdad in Dhū'l-Ḥijja [17 February-17 March 1154].²³

²⁰ Correct text's Şalīq. The Şaltuqids were a Turkoman dynasty centred on Erzerum circa 465-598/1072-1202; see *EI(2)*, viii, 1001, s.v. Şaltuq Oghulları. The Georgians under Dimitri I captured 'Izz al-Dīn Şaltuq ibn 'Alī near Ānī in 1154 AD; he was later ransomed.

²¹ He was born after 460/1067-8 and died Monday 11 Ramaḍān/30 November 1153 (*Muntazam*, x, 153).

²² For Tirmidhī (died c.275/888), see *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ii, 773-4. His Ḥadīth collection is normally called *al-Sunan*.

²³ *Muntazam*, x, 154-5, says that he died in Mecca and that he made his living as a copyist.

The two armies met at Bakimzā⁵ near Ba'qūbā. The skirmishing and the combats lasted eighteen days, but at the end of Rajab [10 October 1154] they clashed in a full-scale battle. The caliph's right wing and part of the centre were broken and fled back to Baghdad. The caliph's stores were plundered and his treasurer killed. He along with the heir apparent charged in person, crying out 'Onward the Hashemites! Give the lie to the Devil,' and reciting 'God has turned back the unbelievers in their wrath; they gained no benefit.'⁶ The rest of the army then charged with him and Mas'ūd Bilāl, Alpqush and all with them were routed. Their defeat was complete and the caliph was victorious. His troops took all the property of the Turkomans as booty, their mounts, flocks and such like. A ram was sold for a *dāniq*.⁷ They had also brought their womenfolk, children, their tents and all their goods. All was seized. A proclamation was made: 'Anyone who has taken any of the Turkomans' children or women, let him give them back.' This was done. Alpqush Kūn Khar took Prince Arslān and fled to the district of al-Liḥf and the castle of Māhkī.

[196] During this conflict the Banū 'Awf treacherously withdrew from the caliph's army and joined the 'Ajamīs. Hindī the Kurd also went with them. Prince Muḥammad had sent a force with Khāṣṣ Beg ibn Āqsunqur to reinforce Kūn Khar. When they reached al-Rādhān the news of the defeat came to them, so they retired. The caliph went back to Baghdad and entered in the early days of Sha'bān [began 11 October 1154]. He received intelligence that Mas'ūd Bilāl and Turshuk had attacked Wāsiṭ and sacked and destroyed it. The caliph despatched the Vizier Ibn Hubayra with an army on 5 Sha'bān [15 October]. The 'Ajamīs fled but were met by the caliph's army which took a good deal of booty from them, before returning to Baghdad. The vizier was given the title 'Sultan of Iraq, Prince of the Armies.'

The caliph sent another army to the territory of al-Liḥf, which he captured and appropriated. As for Prince Alp Arslān ibn Ṭughril, Alpqush took him with him to his lands and Prince Muḥammad sent to him, asking for his presence along with Arslān. However, Alpqush Kūn Khar died during Ramaḍān this year [9 November–8 December 1154] and Arslān remained with Alpqush's son and Ḥasan al-Jāndār, who took him to the Uplands. Prince Muḥammad feared that Arslān would come to his stepfather Īldikiz, who would make him a pretext for attacking his lands. All his caution was of no avail. Arslān did make contact with Īldikiz, his stepfather, and joined forces with him. Arslān was the brother of Pahlawān ibn Īldikiz on his mother's side. Ṭughril, who was killed by Khwārazm Shāh, was the son of this Arslān and the last of the Saljuqs.

⁵ In Yāqūt, i, 706: Bakimzā, 'a village about two leagues from Ba'qūbā.' This battle is expressly mentioned. Cf. Yāqūt, i, 497, s.v. Bajimzā (variant: Bakimzā). *Muntaẓam*, x, 156, has 'at the river of Bakimzā.'

⁶ Koran, xxxiii, 25.

⁷ i.e. a sixth of a dirham.

[197] Account of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd's conquest of Damascus

In Ṣafar of this year [April 1154]⁸ Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī ibn Āqsunqur took the city of Damascus from its ruler, Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq ibn Muḥammad ibn Būrī ibn Ṭuḡtakīn the Atabeg. The reason for his efforts to conquer it was that, when the Franks took the city of Ascalon in the previous year, Nūr al-Dīn had no route to hinder their attack because Damascus was an obstacle between him and Ascalon. After the Franks gained Ascalon they became eager to dominate Damascus. They even reviewed every local Christian slave or slave girl in the city and those who wanted to stay they left there but any who wanted to return to their home they took away by force, whether the owner was willing or not. The Franks had an annual tribute which they took from the population. Their agents used to enter the city and collect it from the people.

When Nūr al-Dīn saw this, he feared that the Franks would take full possession and then the Muslims would have no base left in Syria. He employed guile to take the city since he knew that it could not be taken by force because, whenever its ruler thought that he was about to be overcome, he made contact with the Franks and sought their assistance; and they gave assistance to prevent its falling into the hands of someone who would use its resources to fight them. So Nūr al-Dīn wrote to its ruler Mujīr al-Dīn, won him over with a series of gifts and declared his friendship for him, so that he came to trust him. On some occasions Nūr al-Dīn used to say, 'Such and such a person (meaning one of Mujīr al-Dīn's emirs) has written to me about surrendering Damascus.' The person about whom the comment was made would be banished and his fief confiscated. When none of his emirs remained with Mujīr al-Dīn, he promoted an emir called 'Aṭā ibn Ḥaffāz al-Sulamī, the eunuch,⁹ who was resolute and brave, and entrusted him with all the affairs of state. With him there Nūr al-Dīn was unable [198] to gain Damascus. However, Mujīr al-Dīn arrested and executed him.¹⁰ Thereupon Nūr al-Dīn marched to Damascus, having already corresponded with the local militia and won their support. They promised to deliver the city to him. When Nūr al-Dīn besieged the city, Mujīr al-Dīn sent to the Franks, offering money and the cession of Baalbek castle if they would aid him and raise Nūr al-Dīn's siege. They began to gather their cavalry and infantry to make Nūr al-Dīn withdraw but, before they had got together what they wanted, Nūr al-Dīn had taken over the city and they returned 'with great cry and little wool'.¹¹

⁸ *Bāhir*, 107, has 10 Ṣafar/26 April 1154.

⁹ 'Aṭā *al-Khādim*, who had been governor of Baalbek, was made viceroy in Damascus in 547/1152-3 (Ibn Qal., 321).

¹⁰ In Dhū'l-Qa'da 548/January 1154 'Aṭā was arrested for corrupt and high-handed administration and was executed on Monday 25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja/= 15 February 1154 (Ibn Qal., 326).

¹¹ The original Arabic is *bi-khuffay Ḥunayn* ('with Ḥunayn's two boots'). The narrative behind the proverb is set out in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *khuff*.

As for the way Damascus surrendered, when he put it under siege, the militia with whom he had made contact, rose up and gave him access to the city by the East Gate. He secured the city and blockaded Mujīr al-Dīn in the citadel. He proposed that he give it up and offered him a fief that included the city of Homs. He accepted and left for Homs but later wrote to the Damascenes suggesting that they reinstate him. Learning of this, Nūr al-Dīn became anxious and took Homs from him, giving him Bālis instead. He was not satisfied with this, however, and went away to Iraq. He took up residence in Baghdad and built himself a house there near to the Nizāmiyya.

How the Ismā‘īlīs attacked Khurasan and how they were overcome

In Rabī‘ II of this year [15 June–13 July 1154] a large body of Ismā‘īlīs from Quhistan gathered together, their numbers reaching 7,000 men, both mounted- and foot-soldiers, and set out for Khurasan because the troops there were distracted by the Oghuz. They attacked the district of Khwāf¹² and the neighbouring lands. Emir Farrukhshāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Kāsānī with a band of his retainers and men met them but he knew that he did not have the strength to deal with them, so he left them and withdrew. He sent to Emir [199] Muḥammad ibn Unur, one of the greatest and bravest of the emirs of Khurasan, to inform him of the situation and ask him to come to them with his troops and any emirs he could bring so that they could cooperate to wage war on the Ismā‘īlīs.

Muḥammad ibn Unur set out with several emirs and many soldiers. They met with Farrukhshāh and faced the Ismā‘īlīs in a battle, which lasted a long time. God gave victory to the Muslims and the Ismā‘īlīs were routed. Many of them were killed, as the sword came upon them from every side. Their notables and leaders were finished; some were killed and others made prisoner. Only the rare fugitive survived. Their castles and forts were denuded of defenders. Were the armies not fully occupied with the Oghuz, they would have conquered them with no effort and trouble and rid the Muslims of the Ismā‘īlīs. However, God has a purpose which He will achieve.¹³

The account of Nūr al-Dīn’s taking of Tell Bāshir

In this year or the next Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī took the citadel of Tell Bāshir,¹⁴ which is north of Aleppo, one of the strongest of fortresses. This came

¹² A province in Khurasan, whose main cities were Zūzan, Sanjān and Salāma (see Krawulsky, 94).

¹³ An allusion to Koran, lxv, 3.

¹⁴ According to *EI(2)*, x, 167, Joscelin II lost Tell Bāshir (Turbessel) to Nūr al-Dīn in 546/1151. However, a year earlier the Byzantines had taken over. Ibn Qalānisi’s text as

about because, when the Franks saw that Nūr al-Dīn had taken Damascus, they became fearful of him and knew that he was too strong for them and that they would be unable to get him to divide revenues, because of their experience with him before his taking over Damascus. The Franks in Tell Bāshir made contact with him and offered to surrender it. He sent them Emir Ḥassān al-Manbijī, one of his senior emirs, whose fief at that time was the city of Manbij, which was close to Tell Bāshir. He ordered him to go there and receive its surrender, which he duly did. He fortified it and took up into it stores sufficient for many years.

[200] Miscellaneous events

The following died this year:

The major-domo, Abū'l-Futūḥ 'Abd Allāh ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Muẓaffar, son of Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'. He used to give alms, do many good works and patronize the canon lawyers. After his death the caliph appointed his oldest son, 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, to the offices his father had held.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, Abū'l-Qāsim al-Akkāf al-Nīsābūrī. He was a pious ascetic, a lawyer and an expert on law school differences. Sultan Sanjar used to visit him and seek the blessing of his prayers. Sometimes he would keep Sanjar out and not allow him to visit him.¹⁵

Thiqat al-Dawla Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Duwaynī. He used to be in the service of Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj al-Ibarī, who brought him up. He was even known as 'son of al-Ibarī,' and was given his daughter Shuhda *al-Kātiba*¹⁶ in marriage. Al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh showed him favour and made him his agent. He built a madrasah at the Azaj Gate.¹⁷

quoted in *Rawdatayn*, i, 267, says that Nūr al-Dīn's deputy, Emir Ḥassān al-Manbijī, took the place (*tasallum*) on terms. Correct Ibn Qal. 315, which has Ḥassān 'surrendering' (*taslīm*), but gives a precise date for Nūr al-Dīn's hearing the news, i.e. Thursday 25 Rabī' I 546/12 July 1151.

¹⁵ Nevertheless, Sanjar interceded for him when the conquering Oghuz seized him at Nishapur and intended to torture him (*Muntaẓam*, x, 159).

¹⁶ This lady, known for her piety, died in 574/1178-9 almost 100 years old (see below). 'She lived in contact with the court and the learned.' The description *al-kātiba* ('the writer') refers to her reputation as a calligrapher. See *Wāfī*, xvi, 190-92.

¹⁷ He was a blacksmith (*ḥaddād*), favoured and advanced by al-Muqtafī. He died in Shā'bān/11 October-8 November 1155 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 160).

In this year the Caliph al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh went to Daqūqā, put it under siege and fought the defenders. He then withdrew because he heard that the army of Mosul had mobilized to march to protect it from him. He left without having achieved anything.

This year Shumla the Turkoman took control of Khuzistan. He had assembled a large body of Turkomans and marched towards Khuzistan. The ruler at the time was Malikshāh ibn Muḥammad, to whom the caliph sent an army. Shumla confronted them in battle during Rajab [September 1155] and the caliph's force was defeated and its leaders taken prisoner. They were treated well and released. Shumla sent his excuses which were accepted. However, he went on to Khuzistan which he took and removed Malikshāh, the son of Sultan Muḥammad.

The Oghuz attacked Nishapur this year and took it by force. They entered the city and killed Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, the Shāfi'ī lawyer and about 30,000 others. Sanjar was still nominally sultan but he was confined and ignored, so much so that on many days he wished to go riding but had nobody to carry his weapon, so he fastened it at his waist and rode out. Whenever food was presented to him he would put some of it aside to eat another day, fearing that it might be withheld from him because they were so remiss in treating him as was due and because 'his due' was not something that they recognized.

This year the Armenian priests rebelled in the city of Ānī and took it from Emir Shaddād [202] and gave it over to his brother Faḍlūn.¹

During Dhū'l-Ḥijja [26 January-23 February 1156] the Qarluq Turks killed Ṭamghāj Khān² ibn Muḥammad in Transoxania and abandoned his body in the desert. They attributed wicked deeds to him. During his rule he had been weak and not respected.

This year there died Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ibn 'Alī al-Baghdādī, the Koran scholar and literateur. Renowned for his learning, he was a Shāfi'ī who became an extreme Ḥanbalī. He was born in Sha'bān 467 [April 1075] and his death also fell in Sha'bān [this year] [October 1155].³

¹ They were members of the Shaddadid dynasty of Arran and eastern Armenia, which began in Dvin circa 340/951; see *EI*(2), ix, 169-70. Fakhr al-Dīn Shaddād ibn Maḥmūd of the minor branch at Ānī was replaced by Faḍlūn IV who ruled until 556/1161; see Minorsky, *Studies*, 86-9 and genealogical tree, p. 106.

² Ṭamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm III (ruled 1141-56) was ruler of the western branch of the Qarakhanids (see Davidovich, 'The Karakhanids,' 132).

³ He was Ibn al-Jawzī's main teacher of Ḥadīth. He was born the eve of Saturday 25 Sha'bān 467/= 14 April 1075, and died Tuesday 18 Sha'bān/= 18 October 1150 (*Muntazam*, x, 162-3).

not turn back on the basis of a letter.' The king sent an envoy to him with threats and orders to abandon his course. 'Umar did not allow him to enter the city that day and on the following day all the inhabitants came out carrying a coffin, while the envoy watched. They buried it and returned. 'Umar sent to the envoy to say, 'This is my father I have buried and I have held a session of condolence for him. Do with him what you will.' The envoy went back to William and told him what 'Umar ibn Abī'l-Ḥasan had done, so William took his father and crucified him. He continued to call upon God Almighty until he died.

[205] The people of Zawīla gathered in a large host with the Arabs, the people of Sfax and others. They put Mahdiyya under a close siege. Provisions were scarce there and the ruler of Sicily sent them twenty galleys with men, food and armaments. Having entered the city, they sent to the Arabs, offering them money to retire. The next day they made a sortie and fought the men of Zawīla. The Arabs then deserted the field and the men of Zawīla and Sfax were left fighting the Franks outside the city. The Franks surrounded them and the men of Sfax fled, put out to sea and escaped. The men of Zawīla who were left were charged by the Franks and retreated towards Zawīla, whose gates they found closed. They turned to fight below the walls and held firm until most of them were slain. Only a few survived and they scattered. Some made their way to 'Abd al-Mu'min.

After this slaughter the women, children and old men who were there fled to the countryside, without thought for any of their property. The Franks entered Zawīla and killed any women and infants they found there and seized property as booty. The Franks were established in Mahdiyya until 'Abd al-Mu'min took it from them, as we shall relate, God willing.

The arrest of Sulaymān Shāh and his imprisonment at Mosul

During this year Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūchuk, the deputy of Qutb al-Dīn Mawdūd ibn Zankī ibn Āqsunqur, lord of Mosul, arrested Prince Sulaymān Shāh, son of Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh. Sulaymān Shāh had formerly been with his uncle, Sultan Sanjar, who had made him heir apparent and put his name in the khutbah on the pulpits of Khurasan. After Sanjar had endured from the Oghuz what we have already recounted and Sulaymān Shāh taken command of the Khurasan army, although they proved too weak to deal with the Oghuz, Sulaymān Shāh went to [206] Khwārazm Shāh, who married him to the daughter of his brother Aqsīs. Later Khwārazm Shāh heard reports about him that displeased him, so he sent him away. Sulaymān Shāh came to Isfahan but the prefect refused him entry. He then went to Qāshān but Muḥammad Shāh, the son of his brother Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad, sent a force which drove him away. He went to Khuzistan but Malikshāh repelled him. Finally he made for al-Liḥf and stopped at Bandanījīn. He sent an envoy to Caliph al-Muqtafī to tell him of his arrival. Messages went to and

fro until it was agreed that he should send his wife to be a hostage. He duly sent her to Baghdad, accompanied by many slave-girls and attendants and said, 'I sent these as hostages. If the Commander of the Faithful allows me to enter Baghdad, I shall do so but otherwise I shall go away.'

The caliph received his wife and those with her honourably and allowed Sulaymān Shāh to come to him. He came with a small force amounting to 300 men. The son of Vizier Ibn Hubayra went out to meet him with the chief *cadi* and the two *syndics*. The vizier's son did not dismount on meeting him. He entered Baghdad with a parasol borne over his head and the caliph gave him a robe of honour. Sulaymān Shāh remained in Baghdad until Muḥarram 551 [March 1156],² when he was summoned to the Caliphal Palace, as were the chief *cadi*, the notaries and the notables of the Abbasid family. He made an oath to the caliph to be loyal and obedient, to maintain his allegiance and that he would not cause any trouble to Iraq under any circumstance.

After his oath the *khutbah* in Baghdad was said in his name, he was given the titlature of his father, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn and the rest of it, and was invested with the sultanian robes. Three thousand cavalry from the Baghdad army were seconded to him and Emir Quwaydān, lord of Ḥilla, was appointed as his emir-chamberlain. He marched off to the Uplands in Rabī' I [24 April-23 May 1156]. The caliph went to Ḥulwān and sent to Malikshāh, son of Sultan Maḥmūd and brother of Sultan Muḥammad, the lord of Hamadhan and elsewhere, calling him to joint action. Accordingly he came with 2,000 cavalry and each swore oaths to the other. Malikshāh was made heir apparent of [207] Sulaymān Shāh. The caliph supported both with money, weapons and other things. They continued their progress, joined with Īldikiz and grew to a great host.

When Sultan Muḥammad heard news of them, he sent to Qutb al-Dīn Mawdūd, lord of Mosul, and his deputy Zayn al-Dīn, seeking their help and support and offering them great rewards, if he should be victorious. They accepted this and made an agreement. Muḥammad's morale was strengthened and he marched to meet Sulaymān Shāh and the troops who had gathered under him. They fought a battle in Jumādā I [22 June-21 July 1156] and the fighting was fierce between the two sides. Sulaymān Shāh and his men were defeated and his army dispersed. Of the caliph's force, which was 3,000 strong, about fifty men returned [to Baghdad]. Not one was killed. Just their mounts and their possessions were taken and they were scattered and returned in dribs and drabs.

Sulaymān Shāh left Īldikiz and went towards Baghdad by way of Shahrazūr. He was intercepted by Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī with a company of the Mosul army. In Shahrazūr there was Emir Buzān, who held it as a fief from Zayn al-Dīn. When Zayn al-Dīn set out he chanced upon Sulaymān Shāh's route and took him prisoner. He carried him to the Mosul citadel³ and kept him there in honoured and

² Until Friday 15 Muḥarram/= 9 March 1151 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 164).

³ In Ramaḍān/18 October-16 November 1156 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 165).

respected captivity, until there happened to him what we shall mention under the year 555 [1160-61], God willing. After his arrest of Sulaymān Shāh, Zayn al-Dīn sent to inform Sultan Muḥammad⁴ of this and promised him support for whatever he had in mind to do with him.

[208] How Nūr al-Dīn besieged the castle of Ḥārim

This year Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī marched to the castle of Ḥārim which was held by the Franks, more precisely by Bohemond, the ruler of Antioch, for it is nearby, to the east of Antioch. Nūr al-Dīn besieged it and pressed hard on those within. It was a strong castle, a blockage in the Muslims' throats. The Franks gathered, those both near and far, and marched towards it to force Nūr al-Dīn to raise the siege.

In the fortress was one of their devils whose intelligence they recognized and whose opinion they deferred to. He sent to them to say, 'We can hold the castle. We are not powerless. But do not put yourselves at risk by an engagement. If he defeats you, he will take this and others. The right course is to play a waiting game.' In the end they sent to Nūr al-Dīn and came to terms with him on condition that they would give him half the lands of Ḥārim. They made peace on that basis and Nūr al-Dīn withdrew. One of the poets⁵ said:

You have clothed Muḥammad's religion, you that are its light [*nūr*],
 With glory that has lions above a star in Ursa Major.
 You have continued to maintain it with your waving spears
 Until its wavering frame was disciplined.
 Since you sharpened your determination to reach it,
 There was left no number to be feared and no preparation.
 If the pulpits were capable of speech,
 Their timbers, in place of the preachers, would praise you.⁶
 The Prince [*al-birins*], having donned [*tabarnasa*] abasement, saw
 A sanctuary⁷ for Ḥārim but the refuge is a hunting field.
 [209] Who denies that the flood will scatter the hillocks,
 When its father is that far-reaching thunder cloud?
 Or that the brightness of the sun will again be eclipsed
 By a blaze for which that meteor is a flint-stone.

⁴ Correcting the text's 'Maḥmūd' and following the variant reading given.

⁵ See Ibn Munīr, *Dīwān*, 262-4. Abū Shāma points out that, as Ibn Munīr died in 548/1153, either he wrote these verses in connection with a different occasion or this occasion fell in an earlier year (*Rawḍatayn*, i, 323).

⁶ Two obscure and probably corrupt lines that follow have been omitted.

⁷ Reading *ḥaram*, as in the *Dīwān*, instead of *ḥazm*.

There is no benefit for ancestors, however high they reach,
Until their offspring are raised up.

It is a long ode.

Account of the death of Khwārazm Shāh Atsiz and other rulers

This year on 9 Jumādā II [30 July 1156] Khwārazm Shāh Atsiz ibn Muḥammad ibn Anūshtakīn died. He had been afflicted by hemiplegia, received treatment but did not recover. He took some exceedingly 'hot' medicines without doctors' orders. His illness intensified, his strength weakened and then he died. As death approached he was repeating, 'My wealth has not availed me; my royal power has deserted me'. He was born in Rajab 490 [14 June–13 July 1097].

After his death his son Arslān succeeded. He slew a number of his uncles and blinded a brother of his, who died three days later, although it is reported that he committed suicide. Arslān sent to Sultan Sanjar, who had fled from imprisonment by the Oghuz, as we shall relate, offering allegiance and obedience. The sultan drew up a diploma for him for the governorship of Khwārazm and sent him robes of honour in Ramaḍān [18 October–16 November 1156]. He was left peaceful and secure in his rule.

Atsiz was a good ruler, not covetous of his subjects' wealth, just and cherished by them, devoted to kindness and doing good. With him his people lived amongst abundant security and enveloping justice.

On 17th of the same month [3 November 1156] Abū'l-Fawāris Muḥammad ibn Arslān [210] Shāh, ruler of Kerman, died and was succeeded by his son Saljūqshāh.⁸

Also this year there died Prince Mas'ūd ibn Qilij Arslān ibn Sulaymān ibn Qutlumush, the lord of Konya and neighbouring lands in Anatolia. His son Qilij Arslān came to power after him.⁹

Sultan Sanjar's escape from the Oghuz

In Ramaḍān of this year [18 October–16 November 1156] Sultan Sanjar ibn

⁸ Ibn al-Athīr is confused over this Kerman branch of the Saljuqs. The text reads 'Abū'l-Fawāris ibn Muḥammad' but it was Muhammad himself who died in 551/1156, not any son of his. According to *Tārīkh-e Kirmān*, 45, Muḥammad died 6 Jumādā I 551/27 June 1156, having ruled since 537/1142, and was succeeded by a son, Ṭughril Shāh, who died 29 March [558] 1163. Saljūqshāh was a brother of Muḥammad's who sought to remove him and was killed in the reign of Ṭughril Shāh (Bosworth, 'The Iranian World', 134, and *Tārīkh-e Kirmān*, 47).

⁹ Rukn al-Dīn Mas'ūd, Saljuq sultan of Rūm (510–51/1117–56), was succeeded by 'Izz al-Dīn Qilij Arslān II who ruled until c.581/1185; see *EI(2)*, viii, 948.

Malikshāh escaped from the captivity of the Oghuz, he and several of the emirs who were with him. He went to the castle of Tirmidh and took steps to defend himself there against the Oghuz. Khwārazm Shāh Atsiz ibn Muḥammad ibn Anūshtakīn and the Great Khān Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad¹⁰ were attacking the Oghuz and fighting them with their troops. The warfare between them was evenly balanced. Each [leader] of the Oghuz and the Khurasanians seized control of a part of Khurasan and consumed its revenues, lacking any head to unite them.

From Tirmidh Sultan Sanjar proceeded to the Oxus, intending to cross into Khurasan. It chanced that the chief of the Qarluq Turks, whose name was 'Alī Beg, died. He was fiercely hostile to Sultan Sanjar and others and created much evil and trouble, fomenting dissensions. After his death the Qarluqs turned to Sultan Sanjar, as did other tribal groups both near and far. He returned to his capital at Marv in Ramaḍān. His captivity had lasted from 6 Jumādā I 548 [30 July 1153] until Ramaḍān of this year, 551 [18 October-16 November 1156].

[211] Account of the recognition of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min as heir apparent of his father

During this year 'Abd al-Mu'min ordered his son Muḥammad to be proclaimed as his heir apparent. There had been a stipulation and an understanding between 'Abd al-Mu'min and 'Umar al-Hintātī that the latter would take power after 'Abd al-Mu'min. However, when 'Abd al-Mu'min was firmly in power and his sons became many, he wished to hand on power to them. He summoned the emirs of the Arabs, from Hilāl, Ra'ba, 'Abdī and others, rewarded them and showed them favour. He instigated someone to say to them that they should seek out 'Abd al-Mu'min and say, 'We want you to appoint us a successor from amongst your children, one whom the people will look to after you.' They did this but he did not respond out of respect for 'Umar al-Hintātī because of his high standing among the Almohads. He said to them, 'Authority belongs to 'Umar al-Hintātī.' When 'Umar learnt of this, he feared for himself, came before 'Abd al-Mu'min and agreed to be demoted. Thereupon Muḥammad was proclaimed heir and letters to this effect were sent throughout all the lands. The khutbah was made in his name in all of them. That day 'Abd al-Mu'min dispensed a vast amount of money.

How 'Abd al-Mu'min gave governorships to his sons

This year 'Abd al-Mu'min made his sons governors throughout his lands. He appointed his son Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh to Bougie and its districts, his son Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī to Fez and its districts, his son Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar to the city of

¹⁰ The Qarakhanid sultan, son of Sanjar's sister, died 557/1162.

remonstrating with Zayn al-Dīn for fighting against the caliph, so he acted half-heartedly and without enthusiasm.

The battle continued most days. Sultan Muḥammad made four hundred ladders for his men to scale the wall. They attempted a violent assault, but the Baghdad citizens opened the city gates and called, 'Why do you need ladders? These gates are open. Enter!' but they were unable to approach them. While this was the situation, news came to Sultan Muḥammad that his brother Malikshāh and Īldikiz, lord of Arran, along with Prince Arslān, the son of Prince Ṭughril ibn Muḥammad and of Īldikiz's [present] wife, had entered Hamadhan and taken control there, having seized the families of the emirs who were with Muḥammad Shāh and their property. [215] After he had heard this, Muḥammad Shāh intensified his attacks in the hope of achieving something but could do nothing. He therefore withdrew towards Hamadhan on 24 Rabī' I 552 [6 May 1157].

Zayn al-Dīn returned to Mosul and that whole gathering disbanded with the intention of returning when Muḥammad Shāh had brought order to his lands. However, they never did gather again. In all their many engagements only a small number were killed on either side, but there were many wounded. When they retired they sacked Ba'qūbā and elsewhere on the Khurasan Road. When the army withdrew from Baghdad, serious feverish illnesses and heavy mortality afflicted the citizens because of the hardship they had undergone.

Malikshāh and Īldikiz and those with them left Hamadhan for Rayy. The prefect there, Īnānj, came out against them, fought and was defeated. Sultan Muḥammad sent the Emir Saqmas ibn Qaymāz al-Ḥarāmī¹⁸ with a troop to reinforce Īnānj. Saqmas set out when Īldikiz and Malikshāh with their followers had withdrawn from Rayy, intending to besiege the caliph. Saqmas met and fought them but they defeated him and plundered his troops and his baggage-train. Sultan Muḥammad needed to make haste, so he set out and, having reached Hulwān, heard that Īldikiz was at Dīnawar. A messenger from his lieutenant Īnānj came to him with news that he had entered Hamadhan and restored the khutbah for him there. Muḥammad's morale was strengthened. Shumla, lord of Khuzistan, fled to his lands and most of Īldikiz's and Malikshāh's host scattered. They were left with 5,000 horsemen and returned to their lands like fugitives. When Muḥammad Shāh set out for Hamadhan, he planned to attack the lands of Īldikiz but he began a consumptive illness, which stayed with him until his death.

[216] Miscellaneous events

In Rabī' I this year [24 April-23 May 1156] Abū'l-Badr, son of the Vizier Ibn Hubayra, was released from Takrit prison. When he came to Baghdad, his brother

¹⁸ This is an unlikely *nisba* for a Turkish emir, as it applies to persons who have as their ancestor Ḥarām al-Anṣārī (see *Ansāb*, iv, 102). Perhaps one should read al-Ḥarrānī.

and a ceremonial escort went out to meet him. It was a memorable day. He had stayed in prison more than three years.

In Rabī' II [June 1156]¹⁹ there was a fire at Baghdad and much was destroyed. Fire broke out in the streets of Fīrāshā,²⁰ the Horses (*al-Dawābb*) and the Brickmaker (*al-Labbān*). the Waste of Ibn Jarada,²¹ [the districts of] al-Zafariyya, al-Khātūniyya,²² the Caliphal Palace, the Azaj Gate and the Sultan's Market.

In Shawwāl [17 November-15 December 1156] the Ismā'ilīs attacked Ṭabas in Khurasan. They did great damage there and took prisoner several of the sultan's leading statesmen. They plundered their property and their stables and killed some of them.

The following died this year:

The Shaykh of Islam Abū'l-Ma'ālī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Razzāz, at Nishapur in Dhū'l-Qa'da [16 December 1156-14 January 1157]. He was one of the leading scholars.

Murīd al-Dīn ibn Nīsān, the headman of Āmid and the man who dominated its ruler. His son, Kamāl al-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim, succeeded to what he had held.

Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaznawī, the celebrated preacher, at Baghdad. He had come there in the year 516 [1122-23] and was very well received by sultans, common people and caliphs, except that al-Muqtafī turned away from him after the death of Sultan Mas'ūd because of the favour [217] shown him by the sultan. His death occurred in Muḥarram [March 1156].²³

Abū'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Khul, the Shāfi'ī lawyer, shaykh of the Shāfi'īs in Baghdad, who was one of the pupils of Abū Bakr al-Shāshī. He united both learning and practical piety. He served the caliph as imam when he prayed.

Ibn al-Āmidī, the poet, who came from al-Nīl and was one of the leading poets in the generation of al-Ghazzī and al-Arrajānī. He lived for more than ninety years.

Muẓaffar ibn Ḥammād ibn Abī'l-Khayr, the lord of the Marsh, who was killed this year. He was killed while in the bath by Nafīs ibn Faḍl ibn Abī'l-Khayr and was succeeded by his son.

al-Wa'wā' al-Ḥalabī, the celebrated poet.²⁴

¹⁹ See *Muntaẓam*, x, 165, where the date is 29 Rabī' II/21 June.

²⁰ Identical perhaps with 'Chambermaid Road' (*darb al-farrāsha*), see Makdisi, 'Topography', 30, note 8.

²¹ Following the variant reading. See Makdisi, 'Topography', 33, note 11: in fact it was an east-side inhabited quarter, re-developed amid remains of former glories.

²² Perhaps the area around the Khātūniyya Madrasah, founded by Turkhān Khāṭūn, the wife of Malikshāh.

²³ Died the eve of Thursday 27 Muḥarram/22 March 1156 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 166-8). Ibn al-Jawzī thought him unlearned and disapproved of his attacks on the caliph, his ambition and his seeking favour with the Saljuq regime.

²⁴ This 'grammarian, poet and scholar' is named as Abū'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Qāhir ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Farrāsh in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughya*, x, 4746.

The doctor Abū Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī at Isfarā'īn during Ramaḍān [18 October-16 November 1156]. He was greatly learned in the sciences of the ancient doctors.

Account of earthquakes in Syria

In Rajab of this year [9 August-7 September 1157] there were many strong earthquakes in Syria, which destroyed much of the country and which caused the death of more people than could be counted. In one moment Hama, Shayzar, Kafartāb, al-Ma'arra, Homs, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād,¹ 'Arqa, Lattakia, Tripoli and Antioch were ruined. All Syria suffered damage in most of its parts, even if the damage was not total. City walls and citadels were demolished. Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd dealt with this in an exemplary manner. He feared for the land since the city walls had been destroyed. He assembled the troops and camped on the frontiers of his land, carrying out raids on Frankish territory, while working on the walls in the rest of his lands. He kept this up until he had completed all the city walls.

The great number of people who were killed is sufficiently indicated by the fact that a teacher who was in his town, namely Hama, left the Koran school for some matter of business that occurred, when the earthquake came and destroyed the town. The school collapsed on all the children. The teacher said, 'Not a single person came to enquire after any child of his.'

[219] How Nūr al-Dīn took the castle of Shayzar

We shall begin by telling of this castle and who held it before it was taken by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī. This castle is near Hama, half a day's journey away, situated on a high hill which is very defensible, as it can be approached by a single path. It belonged to the Munqidh family, Kinānīs among whom it passed by inheritance from the days of Ṣāliḥ ibn Mirdās,² until it came to Abū'l-Murhaf Naṣr ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muqallad after his father Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī. He held it until he died in the year 491 [1097-98]. He was a brave and noble man. When his death was near, he appointed as his deputy his brother Abū Salāma Murshid ibn 'Alī who said, 'By God, I shall not be ruler. I shall leave this world as I entered it.' [Murshid] was learned in the Koran and belles-lettres and was the father of Mu'ayyad al-Dawla Usāma ibn Munqidh. He made his younger brother Sulṭān ibn 'Alī the ruler and the two brothers cooperated extremely well for a period of time.

Murshid fathered several male children who grew up as noble lords, for

¹ i.e. Crac des Chevaliers, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 146-63.

² Asad al-Dawla Ṣāliḥ, an Arab of Kilāb (died Rabī' II 420/May 1029) was the founder of the Mirdāsīd dynasty of N.Syria and the Jazīra (early 11th century AD to 472/1080); see *EI(2)*, vii, 115-23.

example 'Izz al-Dawla Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, Mu'ayyad al-Dawla Usāma and others. His brother Sulṭān produced no male child until he was old, when some male children did come. This made Sulṭān envious of his brother and he feared for his sons from those of his brother. Evil men caused trouble between them and set each brother against the other. Sulṭān wrote some verses to his brother Murshid to censure him for things that he had heard about him. Murshid answered him with verses in the same vein, the relevant parts of which I have decided to record. These are the verses:

Zalūm insisted on persevering with injustice and on going to extremes in her aloofness and rejection.

She complained that we rejected her but the fault in this was hers. How strange, a wrong-doer (*ẓālim*) who comes complaining!

She listened to those who slandered me. Often have I flouted one who blamed my love for her or a slanderer.

[220] Pride of beauty inclined her to hate me, but far be it that I should ever hate her,

Or forget the promises she laid up, although she has shown harshness and a pretence of forgetfulness.

When a gem of your verses came to me, you gathered in it for me high thoughts and ideas.

I had shunned poetry for a while, because it turned its back on me to my dismay, when my youth deserted me.

What has excellent diction to do with the sixty-year-old? When I aim at the lowest language, it rebels against me.

I said, 'My brother will care for my sons and my family and uphold my undertaking towards them and my responsibility.

He will requite them with what I have not enjoined him to do, for my own sake, for I have prepared it from my inheritance.'

Why now, when time has bent my straight back and blunted in me a sword that was keen,

Have you changed so that your kindness has turned to harshness and your closeness to them become roughness and distance?

I have become empty-handed of what I hoped for. I see that despair has effaced the track of my hopes.

However, I have not wavered from what I promised and these years have not changed my love.

There is no wonder in times of trouble that I see you as my right hand and other folk as my left.

Deck yourself with this [poem], a virgin, if the stars of the heavens were compared with her, they would no longer be counted shining stars.

It decks itself with pearls of your qualities which adorn it as threaded pearls adorn beautiful girls.

route and followed the Khaybar road. They experienced severe hardship but escaped the Bedouin.¹¹

This year the following died:

The Shaykh Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ḥarrānī, the druggist. He was born in Ḥarrān in the year 484 [1091-2]. He resided in Baghdad and his wealth and also his almsgiving were extensive. He used to read the Koran [frequently]. He was the father of Zāhīr al-Dīn, who served as caḍi in the reign of al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr Allāh, as we shall relate, God willing.

Abū'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal ibn 'Īsā ibn Shu'ayb al-Sijzī in Baghdad. He was from Sijistan by origin and brought up in Herat. He came to Baghdad in the year 552 [1157-8], with the intention of going on the Pilgrimage. People in Baghdad studied *The Genuine Collection (al-Ṣaḥīḥ)* of al-Bukhārī under him, for he had high authority as a transmitter. Because of that he delayed his pilgrimage. In this present year he planned to perform the Ḥajj but died.

Yaḥyā ibn Salāma ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū'l-Faḍl al-Ḥaskafī, the litterateur, in Mayyafaraqin. He is the author of good poetry and excellent epistles that are renowned. He had Shī'ite sympathies. He was born in Ṭanza.¹² An example of his poetry is;

[240] How many a reprobate have I continued to blame,
While he considers my blaming a joke!
I say, 'Wine is an abomination',
He replies, 'It is far from being that!'
I say, 'Obscene things follow it.'
He says, 'The good things of life are in the obscene.'
I say, 'Vomiting follows from it.' 'Yes,' he says,
'It avoids the disgrace of the excrement's passage.'
'I shall give it up.' I say, 'When?'
He replies, 'When I am in the grave!'

¹¹ Ibn al-Jawzī participated in this Pilgrimage: at Medina 'we were told that the Bedouin had stationed themselves on the route to waylay the pilgrims. The guide led us on the Khaybar route, where I saw amazing mountains and other things' (*Muntaẓam*, x, 182).

¹² Born after 460/106, an 'extremist' Shiite, he died in Rabī' I/April 1158 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 183-8; *Wāfi*, xxviii, 149-54). Ṭanza was a small town near Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar (Yāqūt, iii, 551-2).

How 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered the city of Mahdiyya from the Franks and took the whole of Ifrīqiya

We have mentioned under the year 543 [1148-49] how the Franks took the city of Mahdiyya from its ruler, al-Ḥasan [ibn 'Alī] ibn Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs al-Ṣanhajī, and we have also mentioned under the year 551 [1156-57] how the Franks killed and plundered the Muslims in Zawīla, the neighbouring city of Mahdiyya. After the Franks had slain them and seized their property, several of them fled and made their way to 'Abd al-Mu'min, lord of the Maghrib, who was in Marrakech, to seek his protection. When they arrived and entered into his presence, he received them honourably. They told him what had befallen the Muslims and that there was among the princes of Islam none they could appeal to but he and that only he could remove this affliction. Tears came to his eyes and he lowered his gaze. Then he raised his head and said, 'Be of good cheer. I will aid you, although after a while.'

He ordered them to be given lodgings and granted them 2,000 dinars. Then he ordered the preparation of water skins and bottles, water tanks and everything needed by an army on the march. He wrote to all his lieutenants in the West - and he ruled nearly up to Tunis - ordering them to keep all the grain that was harvested, to leave it in the ear and store it in special places, and also to dig wells along the route. They did all that they were ordered. They gathered three years' harvests and transferred it to depots, which they sealed with clay and which became like hills.

When it was Ṣafar of this year [22 February-22 March 1159] 'Abd al-Mu'min left Marrakech. Most of his expeditions were [242] in Ṣafar. His destination was Ifrīqiya. One hundred thousand fighting men and the like number of camp-followers and traders gathered. His control of his troops was such that they marched among crops and not an ear of corn was damaged by them. When they camped, all prayed behind one imam with unanimous responses, Not a single person, whoever he might be, failed to join the congregation.

'Abd al-Mu'min was preceded by al-Ḥasan ibn Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs al-Ṣanhajī, who had been lord of Mahdiyya and Ifrīqiya. We have told the reason for his being with 'Abd al-Mu'min. The latter continued his march until he came to the city of Tunis on 24 Jumādā II this year [13 July 1159], where was its ruler, ['Alī ibn¹] Aḥmad ibn Khurasān. The fleet arrived at sea with seventy galleys,

¹ This addition is from Ibn Khaldūn, see Idris, *La Berbérie*, 388.

'Come tomorrow early to so-and-so's house', naming mine, although I did not identify myself. 'I shall have some alms for you from Jamāl al-Dīn.' That evening I rode to the latter's house and when he saw me, he asked, 'What have you done about what I mentioned to you?' I began to tell him about some matter connected with their affairs of state but he said, 'This is not what I am asking you about. I'm asking about the food I gave you.' I told him what had happened. Delighted at this, he said, 'The only thing is you should have told the man to come to you with his family, for you to clothe them, give them [310] some dinars and arrange a monthly payment of a dinar.' I replied, 'I have already told the man to come to me.' He was even more delighted. I treated the man as he had said and he continued to receive his due until he passed away. There were many other times he acted thus. For example, he donated the clothes off his body one year when food was scarce.

Account of the expulsion of the Qarluq Turks from Transoxania

The Chinese Great Khan, the ruler of the Khitay, had entrusted the rule of Samarqand to the Khan Chaghri Khan ibn Ḥasan Takīn and made him governor over it. He was from the ruling house and of ancient lineage. He continued to administer its affairs. At the present time the ruler of the Khitay sent ordering him to expel the Qarluq Turks from the areas of Bukhara and Samarqand as far as Kashgar and that they should abandon the carrying of weapons and engage in agriculture and other occupations. Chaghri Khan gave them these orders but they refused, so he used compulsion and insisted that they move. They gathered together, united and numerous, and went to Bukhara. The lawyer Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Burhān al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Māza, the headman of Bukhara, sent to Chaghri Khan to inform him of this and urging him to come with his troops before their evil grew great and they plundered the city.

Ibn Māza sent to them, saying, 'When recently the infidels invaded these lands they refrained from plunder and killing. You are Muslims, warriors for the Faith. It is wicked of you to employ your hands in plundering and shedding blood. I offer you enough money to persuade you to refrain from killing and raiding.' Messengers went to and fro to settle terms, while Ibn Māza was procrastinating, playing for time until Chaghri Khan arrived. Before the Qarluq Turks knew what had happened [311] Chaghri Khan with his troops and his levies overwhelmed them and put them to the sword. They fled in all directions and great was the slaughter and plunder amongst them. A body of them hid in the woods and thickets but were later defeated and eradicated by Chaghri Khan's men, who cleared Bukhara and its regions of their nuisance. Those lands became free of them.¹⁸

¹⁸ Cf. Bosworth, 'The Iranian world', 187-8.

How Sunqur took control of Taliqan and Gharchistan

During this year Emir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Sunqur, one of the mamlukes of Sanjar, took control of the area of Taliqan and raided the borders of Gharchistan. He carried out a series of raids until he conquered it. Those districts became his and under his jurisdiction. He had some strong castles and well-defended citadels there and made terms with the Oghuz emirs and paid them an annual tribute.

Account of the killing of the ruler of Herat

There was a truce between the ruler of Herat, Emir Aytakīn, and the Oghuz. After the death of Muḥammad the ruler of the Ghūr, Aytakīn became eager for their lands and raided them more than once, plundering and laying waste. When it was the month of Ramaḍān this year [23 July–21 August 1164], Aytakīn gathered his forces and marched to the land of the Ghūr. They came to Bamiyan and the province of Bust and Rukhkhaj. He was resisted by their ruler Ṭughril Takīn [312] Yurunqush al-Falakī on behalf of the Ghurids, who appeared in Bamiyan. Ṭughril Takīn took control of Bust and Rukhkhaj, both of which he handed over to a scion of the Ghurid ruling house. As for Aytakīn, he penetrated deeply into the lands of the Ghūr and was met by its inhabitants who fought and blocked his progress, resisting him manfully. His troops were defeated and he himself was killed in the battle.

How the Shah of Mazandaran took Qūmis and Bisṭām

We have mentioned how al-Mu'ayyad, ruler of Nishapur, took Qūmis and Bisṭām and those regions and that he appointed as his deputy there his mamluke Tankiz. During this present year the Shah of Mazandaran sent out an army whose command he gave to an emir of his, called Sābiq al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī. He went to Dāmghān and took it. Tankiz gathered the troops he had and marched against him to Dāmghān. Al-Qazwīnī moved out to confront him and arrived taking Tankiz by surprise. Before he and his troops knew what was happening al-Qazwīnī attacked and put them to the sword. They scattered and fled in rout. The troops of the Shah of Mazandaran seized those regions. Tankiz returned to al-Mu'ayyad, lord of Nishapur, and busied himself with raiding Bisṭām and the area of Qūmis.

Account of the rebellion of the Ghumāra in the Maghrib

After people had confirmed the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min in the year 559, the tribes of Ghumāra rebelled along with Miftāḥ ibn 'Amr, who was a great leader among

them. They followed him [313] every one of them and held out in their mountains, which are like strong fortresses, they themselves being various peoples. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min prepared to march against them, accompanied by his two brothers, 'Amr and 'Uthmān, leading a large army of Almohads and Arabs. They advanced against them and fought a battle in the year 561 [1166-7], in which the Ghumāra were defeated and many of them slain. Among those killed were Miftāḥ ibn 'Amr, their commander, and several of their notables and chiefs. Their lands were taken by force.

There were many tribes there who were contemplating dissent. They waited to see what would be the outcome for the Ghumāra and when the latter met their deaths, those tribes submitted and followed the path of obedience. No agitator for uprising and rebellion was left and the population throughout the Maghrib remained quiet.

Miscellaneous events

This year Emir Muḥammad ibn Unur raided Ismā'īlī territory in Khurasan, taking the inhabitants unaware. He killed many of them, plundered and took prisoners and captives. His men filled their hands with booty.

This year Abū'l-Faḍl Naṣr ibn Khalaf, the ruler of Sijistan, died at the age of more than 100. His reign lasted for 80 years. He was succeeded by his son, Shams al-Dīn Abū'l-Faḥ Aḥmad ibn Naṣr.¹⁹ Abū'l-Faḍl was a just ruler who did not despoil his subjects. He performed some fine exploits to aid Sultan Sanjar in more than one situation.

The emperor of Byzantium left Constantinople with innumerable forces and attacked the lands of Islam which were held by Qilij Arslān and Ibn Dānishmand. The Turkomans gathered in [314] those lands in a great host. They used to raid the fringes of the emperor's army at night but by morning there was nobody to be seen. Many of the Greeks were killed until their losses reached tens of thousands. The emperor returned to Constantinople and after his return the Muslims took several fortresses from him.

This year the Imam 'Umar al-Khwārizmī, the preacher and mufti of Balkh, died there.

The Cadi Abū Bakr al-Maḥmūdī also died this year, the author of prose works and poetry who wrote *maqāmas* in Persian on the model of the Arabic *maqāmas* of al-Ḥarīrī.

¹⁹ Two of the so-called Maliks (princes) of Nimruz, who had no dynastic connection with the earlier Saffarids. Tāj al-Dīn II Naṣr ibn Bahā' al-Dīn Khalaf, Sanjar's brother-in-law, ruled, in fact, for nearly 60 years, 499-559/1106-64. His son, Shams al-Dīn, was overthrown and killed in Sha'bān 564/May 1169; see Bosworth, *Saffarids of Sistan*, 389-97 and 398-9.

before the death of Ibn Mardanīsh, crossed to Andalusia with 100,000 fighting men. Yūsuf,¹² when he saw them, was delighted and pleased at their coming to him. He took over their lands and married their sister, while he treated them with honour and respect, giving them vast sums of money. They remained in his service.

[375] Account of the Qarakhitay's crossing of the Oxus and the battle between them and Khwārazm Shāh

This year the Qarakhitay crossed the river Oxus making for Khwārazm. Its ruler, Khwārazm Shāh [Ī] Arslān ibn Atsiz, heard of this and assembled his armies and then marched to Āmūye¹³ to fight and drive them back. However, he fell ill, so remained where he was and sent part of his army with a senior emir to confront them. They met and fought a fierce battle. The men of Khwārazm were defeated and their commander taken prisoner. The Qarakhitay took him with them to Transoxania, while Khwārazm Shāh returned, still ill, to Khwārazm.

Miscellaneous events

This year Nūr al-Dīn began the use of homing pigeons in Syria. They are the ones that used to be called 'pedigrees' (*manāsīb*) and fly back to their lofts from lands far away. He made them ready throughout his lands. The reason for this was that, when his lands became extensive, his realm increased and its bounds broadened, so that where one part began became distant from the other end. When they became contiguous with Frankish lands, often the latter would descend upon a frontier fortress and before he could learn of this and march against them they would have attained their purpose, so he ordered carrier pigeons to be able to receive news immediately. He provided regular pay for the men he appointed to keep and maintain them. The pigeons provided great relief and significant advantage for the Muslims.

This year the Caliph al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr Allāh dismissed his vizier, 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abū'l-Faraj, son of Ra'īs al-Ru'asā', although unwillingly because Quṭb al-Dīn Qaymāz forced him to dismiss him and he was not able to oppose him.

The following died this year:

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Khashshāb, the linguist. He was well versed [376] in literary Arabic and studied Ḥadīth a lot until his death.¹⁴

¹² The text has some confusion between 'Yūsuf' and 'Ya'qūb' in this section.

¹³ More commonly called Āmul al-Shaṭṭ, it is on the west bank of the Oxus, a main crossing point on the Marv-Bukhara road. See Krawulsky, 65, and sources there cited.

¹⁴ On Friday 3 Ramaḍān/ = 28 April 1172 (*Muntaẓam*, x, 238).

Al-Būrī, the Shāfi'ī canon-lawyer.¹⁵ He studied with Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, came to Baghdad where he preached. He used to criticize the Ḥanbalīs and his following grew numerous. He was afflicted by diarrhoea and died, he and also several of his followers. It is said that the Ḥanbalīs gave him a present of some sweetmeat. He died, as did all who ate any of it.

Al-Qurṭubī, Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Sa'dūn ibn Tammām al-Azdī. He was a leading scholar of Koran recitation, grammar and other sciences, an ascetic and pious man. Many benefited from him in Mosul and that is where he died.

¹⁵ In *Muntazam*, x, 239, he is called Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ..., Abū'l-Muẓaffar al-Barawī (?). He was an Asharite and died during Ramaḍān/April-May 1172.

Account of the death of Khwārazm Shāh [Īl] Arslān and the accession of his son Sulṭān Shāh, followed by his other son Tekesh, and also of the death of al-Mu'ayyad and the coming to power of his son

This year Khwārazm Shāh [Īl] Arslān ibn Atsiz ibn Muḥammad ibn Anushtakīn died, after he had returned ill from fighting the Qarakhitay. He was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Shāh Maḥmūd, whose mother administered the realm and the army.

His older son 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekesh was dwelling in Jand, which had been given him as a fief by his father. When he heard of his father's death and the appointment of his young brother, he refused to accept it and went to the ruler of the Khitay whom he asked for aid against his brother and tempted with the wealth and treasure of Khwārazm. The ruler sent with him a large army, commanded by Fūmā.¹ They proceeded until they drew near Khwārazm.

Sulṭān Shāh along with his mother left to go to al-Mu'ayyad, to whom he gave a very costly gift and promised *him* the wealth and treasure of Khwārazm. Deluded by his words, he gathered his troops and marched with Sulṭān Shāh until he reached Sūbarnī,² a little town twenty leagues from Khwārazm [Urgench]. Tekesh had made camp nearby and now advanced towards them. When the two armies set eyes on one another, al-Mu'ayyad's force fled. Al-Mu'ayyad himself, wounded and taken prisoner, was brought to Khwārazm Shāh Tekesh, who ordered his death. He was killed in cold blood before him.

[378] Sulṭān Shāh escaped and was taken to Dihistan. Tekesh followed him and overwhelmed the city by assault. Sulṭān Shāh escaped again but his mother was taken by Tekesh and killed. He then returned to Khwārazm. When the defeated members of al-Mu'ayyad's army returned to Nishapur, they put into power his son, Ṭughān Shāh Abū Bakr ibn al-Mu'ayyad. Sulṭān Shāh joined him but later moved from there to Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the ruler of the Ghurids, who received him with honour and respect and made him very welcome.

As for 'Alā' al-Dīn Tekesh, after he became well established in Khwārazm, he was contacted by envoys of the Khitay bringing high-handed proposals, as was their custom, and he was carried away by zeal for his position and his religion and killed one of the ruler's relatives, who had come to him with a group sent by their

¹ The text has Qūmā. The daughter of the first Gūr-Khān had taken a husband, known as Fūmā, which in Chinese means 'son-in-law of the king' (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 337 and note 3; Bosworth, 'The Iranian world', 189.

² Yāqūt, iii, 182, gives the name thus, but various spellings are found. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 337 and note 5 has: Sūbarlī (?).

Ḥarrān, to Raqqa. When he arrived there, its fief-holder, Quṭb al-Dīn Yināl ibn Ḥassān al-Manbijī, deserted it and went to Atabeg 'Izz al-Dīn. Saladin took it over and then proceeded to Khābūr, Qarqīsiyā, Māksīn and 'Arābān, all of which he took control of.

After having taken all of Khābūr, he went to Nisibis, where he immediately took the city. The citadel held out but, after a siege of a number of days, he took that too. He stayed there to put its affairs in order and assigned it as a fief to an emir who was with him, called Abū'l-Hayjā' the Fat, before departing, accompanied by Nūr al-Dīn, ruler of Ḥiṣn [Kayfā].

He received news that the Franks had attacked Damascus and plundered its villages. They reached Darayyā and planned to demolish its mosque. The governor in Damascus sent a group of local Christians to them to say, 'If you demolish the mosque we shall build it again but we shall demolish every church you have in our lands and allow no one to rebuild them.' They therefore left it alone. When news of this came to Saladin, those who were zealous for the honour of the religion advised him to return, but he said, 'They may ruin some villages, yet we will conquer lands to replace them and we shall revive them again and gain strength to attack their lands', so he did not return. Things came about just as he said.

Account of Saladin's siege of Mosul

When he had taken Nisibis, he gathered his emirs and his counsellors and asked their advice about which city to begin with and which to attack, Mosul or Sinjār or Jazīrat ibn [485] 'Umar. They gave conflicting opinions. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī ibn Zayn al-Dīn said, 'A start should be made with none other but Mosul. It is in our power with no defender. When 'Izz al-Dīn and Mujāhid al-Dīn hear of our march there, they will abandon it and go to one of the castles in the Uplands.' Saladin's nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shīrkūh, agreed, for he had offered Saladin a large sum of money to give him Mosul as a fief, if he conquered it, and Saladin had granted his request. He proposed this view because of his own interest.

Saladin marched on Mosul. Its ruler, 'Izz al-Dīn, and Mujāhid al-Dīn had assembled large forces there, both cavalry and infantry, and produced weapons and siege engines sufficient to amaze the beholder. They disbursed much money and Mujāhid al-Dīn spent much of his own. He personally kept busy with affairs and made excellent dispositions. They also supplied the places that remained in their hands, such as Jazīrat [Ibn 'Umar], Sinjār and Irbil among others, with men, weapons and money.

Saladin advanced until he was near Mosul. Then he left the army and along with Muẓaffar al-Dīn, his nephew Nāṣir al-Dīn and a small band of his leading magnates approached the city by themselves. When they drew near, he viewed and assessed it and what he saw amazed him and overawed both him and his

Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, one of his senior emirs and one of the best of them in appearance and substance.

Account of Saladin's return to Ḥarrān

After having taken Sinjār and settled its affairs, he went to Nisibis, where he was met by the inhabitants complaining about Abū'l-Hayjā' the Fat and weeping at his tyranny, in regret for the regime of 'Izz al-Dīn and his justice towards them. When this came to Saladin's attention, he condemned Abū'l-Hayjā's oppressive rule, dismissed him and took him with him when he went to Ḥarrān. He dispersed the army so that they could take some rest and remained with a limited force among his close staff and trusted companions. His arrival at Ḥarrān was in the early part of Dhū'l-Qa'da of this year [began 26 February 1183].

Account of the alliance of 'Izz al-Dīn and Shāh Arman

In Dhū'l-Ḥijja this year [28 March-15 April 1183] Atabeg 'Izz al-Dīn, lord of Mosul, and Shāh Arman, lord of Khilāṭ, formed an alliance to oppose Saladin. This came about as follows. 'Izz al-Dīn's envoys went frequently to Shāh Arman, asking for aid and support [489] against Saladin. Shāh Arman sent a number of envoys to Saladin to use his good offices to persuade him to keep his hands off Mosul and whatever concerns 'Izz al-Dīn, but Saladin did not accept this and answered in blunt terms. Finally Shāh Arman sent him his mamluke, Sayf al-Dīn Baktimur, who became ruler of Khilāṭ after Shāh Arman. He came to Saladin, while he was besieging Sinjār, to ask him to leave it alone and withdraw. Shāh Arman had said to him, 'If he withdraws, [all well and good], but if not, threaten him with hostilities and military action.' Baktimur delivered the offer of good offices but Saladin procrastinated with his reply, in the hope that Sinjār would fall. When Baktimur realized this, he delivered the second message of threats and left in an angry mood, neither accepting a robe of honour nor a gift [of money]. He told his master what had happened and warned him of the result of ignoring, and hesitating about, Saladin. Shāh Arman, who had been camping outside Khilāṭ, went to Mardīn, whose lord at that time was Quṭb al-Dīn ibn Najm al-Dīn Alpī, the nephew of Shāh Arman and cousin and father-in-law of 'Izz al-Dīn (for the latter had married his daughter to Quṭb al-Dīn) and with Shāh Arman came Dawlat Shāh, lord of Badlīs and Arzan. Atabeg 'Izz al-Dīn left Mosul with his army without any heavy baggage train.

Saladin had taken Sinjār, left it to go to Ḥarrān and dispersed his forces. When he heard of the enemies' alliance, he sent to Taqī al-Dīn, his nephew, in Hama, to summon him and he arrived with all haste. He advised a march [to meet them¹³].

¹³ Following the addition (*ilayhim*) given in one Ms.

Others warned against it but Saladin's own predilection was for the move, so he set out for Ra's 'Ayn. When the enemy heard of his march, they broke up. Shāh Arman returned to Khilāṭ, with the excuse that he would assemble his troops and come back; 'Izz al-Dīn returned to Mosul; Quṭb al-Dīn remained at Mardīn. Saladin moved on and made camp for several days at Ḥarzam¹⁴ below Mardīn.

[490] Account of the victory over the Franks in the Red Sea¹⁵

This year the Prince, lord of Kerak, fabricated a fleet of vessels which he completed at Kerak. All that remained was to assemble the various pieces together. He transported them to the Gulf of Ayla [Aqaba] and assembled them in very quick time. Having finished them, he manned them with fighting men and sent them off to sea. However, they formed two groups. One group stayed at the fort of Ayla to besiege the Muslims who were holding it and to prevent them getting water. The defenders suffered great hardship and much distress. The second group sailed towards 'Aydhab and did much damage along the coast. They took plunder and seized whatever Muslim ships they found and the merchants on board. They surprised the people in those regions, taking them quite unawares. They had never any experience of a Frank in that sea, neither as merchant nor soldier.

Al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb was in Egypt as lieutenant for his brother Saladin. He built and dispatched a fleet with a great host of Muslims, commanded by Ḥusām al-Dīn Lu'lu', the admiral of the fleet in Egypt. He was a man who had had many victories, brave and noble. Lu'lu' set out in pursuit of them with all speed. He began with those at Ayla, swooping down on them like an eagle on its prey. Engaging them, he killed some and captured the rest. Immediately in the afternoon he sailed to follow the course of those who had attacked 'Aydhab but there was no sight of them. They had raided all that they could find and killed those they had come across there and set sail for a different harbour to do as they had done at 'Aydhab. Their plan was to enter the Hijaz, Mecca and Medina (may God Almighty defend them), and to seize the pilgrims and keep them from the Sacred House, then to enter Yemen.

When Lu'lu' came to 'Aydhab and did not see them there, he continued on their tracks and reached Rābiḡh¹⁶ [491] and the coast of al-Ḥawrā'¹⁷ among other places.

¹⁴ Situated six miles south-west of Mardīn. According to Yāqūt, ii, 239, the population consisted mostly of Armenians.

¹⁵ The text has 'the sea of 'Aydhab'. 'Aydhab was an important trading and pilgrimage port on the west coast of the Red Sea.

¹⁶ On the coast of the Arabian peninsula, 90 miles north of Jedda.

¹⁷ Here and immediately below *Kāmil* reads: al-Jawzā'. Ḥawrā' is mentioned in a report of these events sent to Baghdad (*Rawḍatayn*, iii, 138). This anchorage on the east shore of the Red Sea is half-way between al-Wajh and Yanbu', see *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 387 and Yāqūt, ii, 356, where it was reported to be uninhabited in 626/1229.

outside the town and desired to shift his property but that he was unable to do because of his loss of authority over his men and their rejection of all his orders. He sent to inform Saladin of this and to ask him for assistance. Saladin supplied him with pack animals and men, so some was brought out but some was pillaged. The three days elapsed before the task was over and he was denied what remained. The town's towers were full of all sorts of stores but he had left them untouched. Had he issued a part of them, he would have held the town and all his goods and money. However, when God wills a thing he prepares its means.

When Saladin received the town he handed it over to Nūr al-Dīn, lord of Ḥiṣn [Kayfā]. Before he did so, he was told, 'This town contains stores worth more than 1,000,000 dinars. If you were to take them, distribute them to your army and followers and give him the town empty, he would be content. He does not hope for more than that.' Saladin rejected this and replied, 'I am not a man to give him the fundamentals and to stint on the subsidiaries.' After he had taken over the town, Nūr al-Dīn provided a great feast to which he invited Saladin and his emirs. Saladin had not [previously] entered the town. [Nūr al-Dīn] presented to him and his men a great many gifts.

[495] Account of Saladin's taking Tell Khālid and 'Ayntāb in Syria

Having finished with Āmid Saladin went to Syria, making for Tell Khālid, which is part of the district of Aleppo. He besieged it² and bombarded it with trebuchets. The defenders came down and asked for terms, which he granted them. He received its surrender also in Muḥarram³ [May 1183].

From there he proceeded to 'Ayntāb and put it under siege. It was held by Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad,⁴ the brother of Shaykh Ismā'īl, who was the treasurer of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī and his friend. Nūr al-Dīn had entrusted it to him and it stayed in his hands until this present time. When Saladin invested it, he sent asking for the fortress to be confirmed in his possession, [offering] to descend to do obeisance and to be under his authority and suzerainty. Saladin accepted this and gave him his oath, so Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn came down and put himself at his service. This was also in Muḥarram of this year.

Account of two battles with the Franks, at sea and in Syria

On 10 Muḥarram [5 May 1183] the Muslim fleet sailed from Egypt and met a transport vessel carrying about 300 fully-armed Franks along with money and

² On Tuesday 12 Muḥarram/7 May 1183, a Saturday! (*Barq al-shāmī*, v, 112).

³ According to Ibn Abī Ṭayy, quoted in *Rawḍatayn*, iii, 156, on 14 Muḥarram/9 May 1183.

⁴ In *Barq al-shāmī*, v, 112; *Sanā al-barq*, 223; Sibṭ ibn al-Jāwzī, 375, called Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Khumārtakīn. The *Kāmil* text has Nāṣir al-Dīn.

weapons for the Levantine Franks. They engaged them and both sides fought stubbornly until victory went to the Muslims. Having taken the Franks prisoner, they killed some and kept the others in captivity. They seized all that was with them and returned to Egypt safe and sound.⁵

Also in this year a large company of Franks set out from the region of Dārūm towards Egypt to raid and pillage. The Muslims heard of them and went out⁶ to meet them by the route of [496] Ṣadr and Ayla. The Franks withdrew before them and camped at a watering place called al-'Usayla.⁷ They reached it before the Muslims, who arrived thirsty and on the point of death. They saw that the Franks had occupied the spring but God (praised and mighty is He!) in His mercy formed a great cloud which rained upon them so that they slaked their thirst. It was high summer and the heat was intense in a deadly waste. Their spirits were strengthened when they witnessed this and they trusted that God would give them victory. They engaged the Franks and God did give them victory. They slew them and only the isolated fugitive escaped. The Muslims seized the weapons and horses that the Franks had with them and returned victorious and triumphant through the grace of God.

Account of Saladin's taking of Aleppo

This year Saladin marched from 'Ayntāb to Aleppo, before which he camped, at the Green Hippodrome, again during Muḥarram. He remained there for a number of days and then moved to Mount Jawshan, on the top of which he pitched his camp, and made clear that he intended to build dwellings for himself, his companions and his troops. For some days he remained busy on them, while there was daily fighting between the two armies.

The lord of Aleppo, 'Imad al-Dīn Zankī ibn Mawdūd ibn Zankī, had with him the army of Nūr al-Dīn, who fought wholeheartedly. However, when he saw the great expense, it was as though he became miserly with money. One day one of his soldiers came to him and asked him for something, but he made an excuse that he had little money. Another man said to him, 'Anyone who hopes to hold a place such as Aleppo would spend his money, even if it meant selling his women's jewelry.' It was then that he came to favour surrendering Aleppo and taking somewhere in exchange. He sent a message with [497] Emir Ṭūmān al-Yārūqī, who was in favour of Saladin and whose sympathies were with him, which is why he sent him. He arrived at an agreed settlement that 'Imād al-Dīn would surrender

⁵ The fleet sailed from Damietta on 15 Muharram/10 May and returned 24th/19 May, according to *Barq al-shāmī*, v, 141.

⁶ With the governor of Egypt's Sharqiyya province (*Barq al-shāmī*, v, 141).

⁷ A place of this name is approximately 80 miles N.E. of Medina (see Cornu, *Atlas*, 88), but is surely too deep in Arabia. For a place in Sinai or the Negev, see Yāqūt, iii, 678.

Account of the arrest of Mujāhid al-Dīn and the harm that resulted from that

In Jumādā I [22 August–20 September 1183] ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd, ruler of Mosul, arrested his lieutenant Mujāhid al-Dīn Qāymāz, who held authority throughout the land. In this he followed the desires of those who wished advantage for themselves and did not consider the harm done to their lord. The persons who advised this were ‘Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zulfandār and Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Abī'l-Khayr, whose father had been lord of al-Gharrāf.¹⁸ They were both among the senior emirs. [500] When [‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd] wanted to arrest Mujāhid al-Dīn, he did not dare to do it because of his power, so he pretended to be ill and gave up appearing on horseback for several days. Mujāhid al-Dīn visited him alone. He was a eunuch and was not prevented from entering the women’s quarters. When he came in to see him, ‘Izz al-Dīn arrested him, rode immediately to the citadel and appropriated the money and stores that Mujāhid al-Dīn had. He appointed Zulfandār as the next governor of the Mosul citadel, made the son of the lord of al-Gharrāf emir-chamberlain and gave them both authority over his state.

At this time Irbil and its dependencies were under Mujāhid al-Dīn’s control. With him there was Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī, who was a young lad with no share of authority. Authority and the standing army belonged to Mujāhid al-Dīn. Also under his control was Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar, which was [nominally] held by Mu‘izz al-Dīn Sanjar Shāh ibn Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn Mawdūd, who was also a child. Authority, the deputies and the regular troop were all Mujāhid al-Dīn’s. In addition he held Shahrazūr and its dependencies, where his deputies were in post, Daqūqā with his deputy there, and the fortress of ‘Aqr al-Ḥumaydiyya with his deputy. After Saladin had taken the Jazīra lands nothing was left to ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd apart from Mosul, although its citadel was in Mujāhid al-Dīn’s hands and he in truth was the prince while only the title was ‘Izz al-Dīn’s. When he was arrested, the lord of Irbil refused obedience to ‘Izz al-Dīn and took full power, and likewise the lord of Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar. The caliph sent to Daqūqā, besieged and took it. ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd acquired only Shahrazūr and ‘Aqr. Irbil and Jazīrat [Ibn ‘Umar] became a very great source of trouble to the lord of Mosul. Their lords sent to Saladin, offering him allegiance and to be at his service.

The Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh had sent to Saladin Ṣadr al-Dīn the Chief Shaykh, accompanied by Bashīr, the special palace eunuch, to discuss peace with ‘Izz al-Dīn, lord of Mosul. The latter sent with him Cadi Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid ibn al-Shahrazūrī on the same matter. Saladin responded favourably to this but said, ‘You have no claim on Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar or Irbil.’ [501] Muḥyī al-Dīn objected to this and said, ‘They are ours’. However, Saladin would agree to make peace only on condition that Irbil and Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar go to him. The matter was not settled, but Saladin’s ambition for Mosul was increased by the arrest of

¹⁸ This seems to be the name of a navigable canal and villages along it below Wāsiṭ (Yāqūt, iii, 780; Krawulsky, 481).

Mujāhid al-Dīn. When 'Izz al-Dīn saw the harm done by the arrest of Mujāhid al-Dīn, he seized Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad, the son of the lord of al-Gharrāf, and Zulfandār to punish them. He later freed Mujāhid al-Dīn, as we shall narrate, if God wills.

Account of the raid on Baysān

When Saladin had finished with Aleppo, he installed his son, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, who was a youth, and placed alongside him Emir Sayf al-Dīn Yāzkūj, the senior emir of the Asadiyya. He then went to Damascus and made preparations for a raid with the forces of Syria, Jazīra and Diyār Bakr. He marched into Frankish territory and crossed the Jordan on 9 Jumādā II [29 September 1183]. He found that the inhabitants of those regions had already abandoned them in fear. He went to Baysān, which he burnt and destroyed and ravaged everything there. Meanwhile the Franks concentrated their forces and came to oppose him, but when they saw the great number of his troops, they did not engage with him. Saladin remained in contact with them, after they had taken up a position on a hill there and dug defensive ditches. Saladin encircled them as the Muslim troops were harassing them with arrows and skirmishing with them. However, they did not leave their lines and stayed thus for five days. The Muslims retired on 17 Jumādā II [7 October 1183] in the hope that the Franks would be eager and follow them, so they could lure them on to achieve something decisive against them. Realizing this, the Franks had no ambition for themselves other than survival.

The Muslims raided those districts both southward and northward¹⁹ and reached areas that they had not dreamt of reaching or venturing into. When the amount of booty they had become large, [502] they judged it best to return victoriously to their own lands with what they had seized. They therefore returned with every intention of further raids.

Account of the raid on Kerak and al-'Ādil's becoming ruler at Aleppo

After Saladin and the Muslims had returned from the raid on Baysān, he made preparations to raid Kerak and set out with his troops. He wrote to his brother al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who was his deputy in Egypt, ordering him to march with all his forces to Kerak. Al-'Ādil had written to Saladin to ask him for the city and citadel of Aleppo. This had been agreed and he was ordered to set out with his family and his treasure. Saladin came to Kerak during Rajab [20 October-18 November 1183], where he was joined by his brother al-'Ādil with the Egyptian army. His combined army was numerous and he imposed a tight blockade. The

¹⁹ Literally 'right and left'.

Muslims got into the suburb and took control of it, pressing the siege of the fortress from the suburb and gaining the upper hand in the battle. Seven trebuchets were set up which continued to hurl stones night and day.

Saladin had thought that the Franks would not allow him to besiege Kerak, that they would exert all their efforts to make him withdraw, so he had not brought with him sufficient siege engines for such a great fortress and impregnable stronghold. He retired in the middle of Sha'bān [3 December 1183].

He sent Taqī al-Dīn, his nephew, to Egypt to be his deputy there and take on the position that his brother al-'Ādil had held. His brother al-'Ādil he took with him to Damascus and gave him the city and citadel of Aleppo with its districts and the town of Manbij with its dependencies. He sent him there in the month of Ramaḍān [18 December 1183–16 January 1184] and called his son al-Zāhir to Damascus.

[503] Miscellaneous events

This year the hospice, which the caliph's mother had built in Ma'mūniyya, was opened.

In Dhū'l-Ḥijja [16 March–13 April 1184] there died in Baghdad Mukarram ibn Bakhtiyār, Abū'l-Khayr the ascetic. He was a student of Ḥadīth and was [known for] his frequent weeping.

In Jumādā II [21 September–19 October 1183] died Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār ibn 'Abd Allāh, Abū 'Abd al-Muwallad, the poet, known as al-Ablah (the Idiot).²⁰ An example of his poetry is:

He made my tears flow, no, rather he shed my blood
Cruelly by the ice from his cold lips.
He has a splendid stature, like a willow wand, and
An eye, from whose languid looks comes my sickness.
From his promise have I gained the truest
Promise and from union with him suspicion.

²⁰ Known thus, according to Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, 379, 'because of his intelligence'!

comprised Hama, Manbij, Ma'arrat [al-Nu'mān], Kafartāb, Mayyāfāriqīn, Mount Jūr and all their dependencies. Taqī al-Dīn had sent on his mamluke Būz-Aba with his advance guard. He made contact with Qarāqūsh and the sequel was what we have related under the year 581 [1185-86].

I have heard from someone well informed about Saladin's affairs that he was persuaded to take Aleppo from al-'Ādil and bring Taqī al-Dīn back to Syria just because, when he fell ill at Ḥarrān, as we have mentioned, there were rumours in Egypt that he had died and on Taqī al-Dīn's part several initiatives were taken as of one who planned to seize power for himself. When Saladin was restored to health, he heard of this and sent the Lawyer 'Īsā al-Hakkārī, who was in high standing with Saladin and obeyed by the army, to Egypt and ordered him to send Taqī al-Dīn out and to remain himself in Egypt. He travelled with all speed and before Taqī al-Dīn was aware of it the Lawyer 'Īsā had entered his residence in Cairo and sent orders for him to leave. He asked to be given time to prepare for the journey but 'Īsā did not allow it. He said, 'Remain outside the city and get ready there.' Taqī al-Dīn left and announced that he intended to make his way to the Maghrib. 'Īsā said to him, 'Go wherever you want.' However, when Saladin heard the news, he sent demanding his presence, so he went to Syria. Saladin treated him kindly and did not reveal to him any of his feelings because he was forbearing, generous and long-suffering (God have mercy on him).

As for Aleppo's being taken from al-'Ādil, this came about as follows. Among the troops of Aleppo there was a great emir, named Sulaymān ibn Jandar, between whom and Saladin there was an old friendship dating from before his coming to power. Saladin relied upon him, for he was wise, cunning and astute. It came about that, when al-'Ādil was in Aleppo, Saladin did not treat him according to his expectations and gave others precedence over him. [525] He was much affected by this.

After Saladin had been ill and recovered, he went to Syria. One day Sulaymān bin Jandar went riding with him and they talked of his illness. Sulaymān said to him, 'By what reasoning did you think that you could go hunting and that they would not disagree with you?'⁸ By Allāh, are you not ashamed that a bird finds its way to its own interest better than you do?' Saladin said, 'How is that?' laughing the while. 'When a bird wishes to make a nest for its chicks,' he replied, 'it seeks out the tops of the trees to protect its brood. You have handed over the fortresses to your [wider] family and put your sons on the ground. There is Aleppo in your brother's hands, Hama in the hands of Taqī al-Dīn, Homs in the hands of Ibn Shīrkūh and your son al-'Azīz with Taqī al-Dīn in Egypt, who can remove him whenever he wishes. And there is your other son, your brother has him in his tents, able to treat him as he wishes.' Saladin said, 'You are right. Keep this matter

⁸ Clearly the reorganization of the state is concerned but the sentence is not entirely clear. In *Rawḍatayn*, iii, 268, we read: 'During the rest of the year 582 at Damascus the sultan was occupied with hunting and hawking.'

secret.' Subsequently he took Aleppo from his brother and removed Taqī al-Dīn from Egypt. Then he gave Ḥarrān, Edessa and Mayyāfāriqīn to his brother al-'Ādil to remove him from Syria and Egypt, that they might remain his sons' possessions. What he did was of no use to him, since God Almighty willed the transference of sovereignty away from his sons, as we shall narrate.

Account of the death of Pahlawān and the succession of his brother Qizil

At the beginning of this year [began 24 March 1186] Pahlawān Muḥammad ibn Īldikiz, the ruler of the Uplands, Rayy, Isfahan, Azerbaijan, Arrāniyya and other territories, died. He was a just man, of good conduct, wise and mild and of excellent practice in ruling. His lands were secure during his reign and his subjects quietly peaceful. After his death there occurred in Isfahan between the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs battles, killings, burnings and plunderings that beggar description. The local *cadi* was head of the Ḥanafīs and Ibn al-Khujandī head of the Shāfi'īs. In the city of Rayy there was [526] also serious rioting between the Sunnis and the Shia. Its population was scattered and some were killed. The city was ruined, as were others.

After the death of Pahlawān his brother Qizil Arslān, whose personal name was 'Uthmān, succeeded. Under Pahlawān's control was the Sultan Ṭughril ibn Arslān ibn Ṭughril ibn Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh, who was proclaimed as sultan in the *khutbah* throughout the land. He had no actual power. The land, the emirs and the finances were under Pahlawān's authority. After Pahlawān's death Ṭughril escaped from Qizil's control and was joined by several emirs and troops. He seized part of the country and battles followed between him and Qizil, as we shall relate, God willing.

Account of a dispute among the Franks in Syria and the alliance of the Count, lord of Tripoli, with Saladin

The Count, lord of Tripoli, whose name was Raymond, son of Raymond of St Gilles, had married the Countess, lady of Tiberias. He moved to live with her there at Tiberias. Then the king of the Franks in Syria, who was a leper, died and willed the kingdom to a nephew of his, who was a child.⁹ The Count became his guardian and undertook the rule and administration of the kingdom, because at that time the Franks had nobody more influential than him, none braver and none more excellent in counsel. Because of this child he was ambitious to be king. It then chanced that the child died and sovereignty passed to his mother. What the Count had been contemplating in his heart came to nothing.

⁹ Baldwin IV's sister, Sybilla, had a child by William of Montferrat, who ruled for a short time as Baldwin V and died aged seven.

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