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DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC AND SEMITIC STUDIES
Ph.D. Programme in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

Summary of a Dissertation

**INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS ELITES IN THE LEVANT AND
THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLICIES OF THE AYYUBID
DYNASTY IN THE PERIOD 1174–1250 AD**

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOFIA UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Sofia, 2021

The official public defense of the dissertation is to be held on 2 December 2021 at 16:30 p.m. in the Center for Oriental Languages and Cultures, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski

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Introduction

The present Ph.D. dissertation discusses the attitudes and roles of the intellectual and religious elites in the Levant towards the policies of the Ayyubid Dynasty (ruled 1174–1250 AD). drawing on an in-depth study of a bulk of sources and cross-references. The chapters and sections of the thesis deal with the attitudes and roles of Muslim religious scholars “ ‘*ulamā*’ ” in all spheres of life in *Bilād al-Shām* – an area designated by the Europeans as the Levant. The analyses is thus focused on the attitudes and roles of a large group of influential scholars during in the Ayyubid era and during the Crusades in the Levant. The attitudes and roles of scholars towards the political, administrative, military, cultural, social, economic, religious and doctrinal matters are closely examined to review the details and identify the related events and the various historical processes. These matters affected the aspects of the intellectual movements in the Levant during the Ayyubid period and were related to major events that revolved around the resistance of the Crusader forces, the confrontation of the flow of the renewed Crusades throughout the Ayyubid era and the empowerment of the Sunni doctrine after the collapse of the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate (909–1171 AD), in Egypt (969-1171 AD), in the Levant (973-1099 AD).

The thesis involves descriptive and critical historical approaches to the events and processes under study. In so doing, it draws on a wide variety of Arabic, European, Turkish, Persian and Hebrew sources and references, thus embracing comprehensive information on the era, which contributed to shaping the attitudes and roles of scholars towards the Ayyubids regime. The historical events were linked to the factors that encouraged scholars to combine their basic scholarly tasks with functions dictated by the circumstances of the era and sometimes their religious duties. They were some other times forced to perform those tasks because of their official positions and functions and their close relations with the Ayyubid rulers. Therefore, the attitudes and roles of scholars are analyzed as inter-related to the events and factors that entailed such attitudes. The subject was thus placed in a broader historical context by which the thesis describes the relevant historical events comprehensively. The historical criticism is then followed by extrapolating and examining the historical narratives that included key events and interpretations related to the attitudes and roles of the scholars. In so doing, I aimed to assess those attitudes and roles and to evaluate the extent of their effectiveness in dealing with the crises of the era and to observe the important results of those attitudes and roles in all fields of Levant life in the Ayyubid era.

Importance of the Study

The importance of this study also lies in that I was keen to overcome the pitfalls of previous studies which dealt with the intellectual movement during the reign of Ayyubids by uncovering the secrets of many historical events which the previous studies did not deeply investigate.

Therefore, I aim to provide a comprehensive objective study promoted by historical evidence to clearly reflect the reality in that period. My efforts in this field can be summarized as follows:

- ❖ Many earlier studies focused on the intellectual movement during the reign of Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī and adopted historical evidence related to his era to generalize historical facts. Those studies adopted such facts as a general history of the intellectual movement during the reign of the Ayyubids regardless of the events of successive reigns of the successors of Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī. It is possible that such studies adopted such a trend given that the researchers carrying out such studies were impressed by the character of the hero at a time when submission dominated the Muslim world. This study identified the key events in which a group of the eminent scholars played decisive and crucial roles during the reigns of all the Ayyubid rulers in Egypt and the Levant.
- ❖ Most previous studies focused on the methodology of official historical events which focused on the roles of a certain group of scholars who worked in official state institutions, such as al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī (d.597 AH/1201 AD), al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ‘Abdu’l Raḥmān al-Bīsānī (d.596 A.H/1199 A.D), Bahā’ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Shaddād (d.632 AH/1234 AD), and Ḍiyyā’ al-Dīn ‘Isā al-Hakkārī (d.585 A.H/1189 A.D). Such studies neglected the role of the opposition movements which some considered as a challenge to the *jihād* and an unnecessary rebellion under a crucial historical circumstance. However, I managed to study the roles of many scholars who played vital roles in all aspects of life during the reign of the Ayyubids, particularly, those who were obliterated in the chronicles of official history. Doing so, I aimed to rewrite the official historical events with a modern methodology that aims to record the events with social-historical methodology to highlight the role of many scholars whose roles were not highlighted in the midst of the battle for championship, competing to score a place on the official letters and records in the era which enhanced official historical writing and created opportunities for a group of scholars who were loyal to the state to write historical works according to the desires the state.
- ❖ Most previous studies focused on the attitudes and roles of scholars in the field of mobilization and participation in the religious *jihād* against the Franks and Mongols. That was the major theme in those studies. In this study, I examined all the attitudes and roles of the eminent scholars in the political, administrative, military, social, economic, doctrinal and religious aspects. Thus, the study is considered comprehensive covering the overall attitudes and roles of scholars in all fields. Each field was discussed in a separate chapter in this thesis. Therefore, this thesis is a fundamental reference study in this area in terms of the comprehensiveness of the subject, the abundance and diversity of sources, the number of historical facts, and the richness of its footnotes, explanations, comparisons, approaches, comments and conclusions.
- ❖ Many of the previous studies were limited in chronicling the intellectual movement in the Ayyubid era by relying on historical, jurisprudence and educational resources and neglected other key sources which chronicled the history of the attitudes and roles of scholars, especially the references and literary sources which chronicled the attitudes and roles of a number of famous poets and writers, especially those who held senior positions in the state. One of those senior positions was writing *dīwān* “*dīwān al-inshā’*” which was one of the key state *dīwāns*

during the Crusades. This also includes those who worked hard to motivate the rulers, *amīrs*, leaders and members of the society to resist the Franks as well as poets who composed the libel poems to condemn and criticize the rulers and leaders who wasted their time to satisfy their desires and did not paid attention to their entourage that suppressed and oppressed people.

Others criticized the rulers and *amīrs* who signed peace treaties with the Franks and failed to confront them in order to maintain their own interests. There are also other essential resources in the field of arts neglected by previous studies despite their importance to the understanding of the nature of the clash between the Muslim and Crusader historians on the negative stereotypes embodied by each party of the conflict to the leaders of the crusades and leaders of Islamic *jihād* through poems, prose, songs, drawings and inscriptions as well as other forms of arts. Therefore, I attempted to enhance the sources of his study by relying on literary and artistic sources to complete the parts of historical images which reflect all the attitudes and roles of the eminent scholars in that period.

- ❖ Most of the previous studies from Arab, European and other university theses dealt with Sufism in the Ayyubid era in a traditional way and discussed it in a religious context. The studies focused on its origins, basics, sects, Sufi methods, types of their chants, ceremonies and occasions. However, in this study, I focused on the efforts of the Ayyubid rulers to transform religious and social Sufi institutions to political and military institutions by appointing their supporters from the Sufis at the head of these institutions and supporting them financially and morally to play their role in strengthening the political regime. I also look into how they exploiting their places as advanced war fortresses in monitoring the movements of the Crusader armies and as a front line to confront any incursion attempts of the Crusader forces and in the recruitment of Sufis in these institutions as leaders and fighters. This is also added to the exploitation of Sufi leaders in empowering the Sunni sect, strengthening the Ayyubid regime, and theorizing the Islamic *jihād* against the Crusaders because they are a religious group accepted and close to the hearts of most social classes for their asceticism, austerity, worship, tahajjud and distance from the manifestations of material life.

Objectives of the Study

Filling the gaps in earlier research, the present dissertation aims at:

- ❖ Adopting the methodology of social history to highlight the roles of the eminent scholars who were ignored by earlier historical writings. Most of the historical studies have adopted the methodology of official history which chronicles incomplete and distorted historical accounts. Such studies only focused on the character of the “absolute hero”, ignoring many important figures that had important attitudes and roles during the historic events of that period.
- ❖ Attempting to change the negative stereotypic image of an unparalleled “East and West” which still exists until today. Such an image spread because of the clash between the Islamic and the Western world during the Crusades by clarifying aspects of the medieval ages that were

dominated by the factors that led to sharp historical turns. Certain ideologies were formed by the social, economic, and doctrinal nature of that era.

- ❖ Separating between religious and historical studies to present a fresh study far from the religious theorizing that might interfere with some historical narratives and diverting them from their natural course. Writing history under the influence of religious fanaticism leads to presenting religious writings that are very ambiguous and dominated by the interpretations of religious jurisprudence rather than historical writings which record historical facts and explain their diverse contexts in a systematic and scholarly way.
- ❖ Chronicling the attitudes and roles of the scholars in a balanced way by reviewing the historical narratives, opinions, ideas and interpretations contained in Arab, Latin, European, Persian and Turkish sources, which represent the basic languages of people who clashed with one another during the Crusades. The thesis thus aims to produce a historical account staying away from national or religious fanaticism and avoiding discussion of mass media type. Reliance on historical evidence from one perspective would distort the clarity of historical facts and promote the sectarianism and nationalism regardless of the deficiency, weakness, shortcoming, evils, atrocities and abuses hidden in the major events that swept the Levant during the Crusades.

Thematic Scope and Research Questions

The present dissertation aims to answer the following main research question: What is the nature of the attitudes and roles of the intellectual elites, and religious leaders and references in the Levant towards the Ayyubid regime?

Answering this vital question entails raising sub-questions which enable me to answer such questions through the review of various topics in different chapters and sections of the thesis, then collecting the answers to these sub-questions and rearranges the same to ensure a comprehensive and logical answer to the central question which represents the problematic of the thesis. The sub-questions were drafted in two parts because the historical narratives contained in the historical sources consist of two parts: events and opinions. The events cannot be denied because they are historically registered, but the opinions that historians attributed to the events which they chronicled, thus forming part of their historical narrative, necessitate me to explain the same thought using the methodology of historical, internal, and virtual criticism that tests the opinions in the historical context because mixing the historical accounts with the explanations of the historians formed historical dilemma. This requires making many comparisons and approaches. In addition, this investigation requires tracing the status, positions, posts, relations, interests, beliefs of the historians and the extent of their contemporary and participation in the events in order to address the deliberate distortion of their historical narratives. This is done by studying the factors that dominated the historians' recording of their historical narratives which mixed events and views for objectives having no relevance to historical facts.

- ❖ **Administrative aspects,** In this thesis, I will answer a number of questions dealing with issues related to the extent to which the elite scholars interfere in the legislation and adoption of the

administrative systems in the Ayyubid era. I also investigate if their role was limited to being advisers to the development of some administrative systems that were legislated by the Ayyubid state in line with the rulers' policy and goals. I will also discuss an important question: "Did the sponsorship of the Ayyubid rulers to the elite scholars originate from their interest in sponsoring science and scholars, or to achieve objectives that ultimately contribute to the interest of their regime?" We will also discuss other important questions: "Did the increased interest towards the elite scholars enable them to succeed in achieving clear historical changes in the administrative system in the Ayyubid era, such as passing of new administrative laws and regulations? What are the indicators of those transformations, if any? Were their efforts in this era which can be merely additions and amendments to administrative systems known in previous eras?" In this thesis, we will also answer questions related to the ability of the elite scholars to force the Ayyubid rulers to abandon some of their administrative policies. Was the supreme policy of the Ayyubid state the basis for determining the administrative legislations?

❖ **Political aspects**, In this thesis, I will discuss a number of questions such as: "Did the elite scholars manage to end the conflict that erupted between the Ayyubid rulers after the death of Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī? Was their role limited to the policy of reconciling the adversaries whenever the conflict erupted? Did some scholars exploit the divisions resulting from the conflict of interests between the Ayyubid rulers to achieve their own interests to strengthen their political and social status? To explain this, I will answer important questions in this thesis: "To what extent did the Ayyubid rulers allow the elite scholars to participate in their political system? Did they allow them to move in certain areas that do not exceed the limits of the interests of the ruling regime?"

❖ **Military aspects**, In this thesis, I will answer some of the main questions concerning the elite scholars, the most important of which discusses the motives for the participation of the elite scholars in the military efforts: "Did the participation of the elite scholars in the military efforts against the Franks originate from the religious principles? Was it dedicated by the nature of their positions and careers and their loyalty to the Ayyubid rulers? What are the truth, quality, and size factors of the participation of the elite scholars in the military efforts against the Franks? Was their role military or confined to support, mobilization, motivation, praising and condemning? In this thesis, I will discuss the effectiveness of the efforts of poets and writers and I will answer some of the main questions: "Did the efforts of poets and writers manage to expand the circle of followers of the Islamic *Jihād*? Were their poems merely slogans limited to glorifications and praise of heroes and defamation of the laggards in the royal and social councils? Was the failure of the Fatimid Ismā'īlī Shiite state to face the first Crusade that swept al-Mashriq al-Islāmī a reason that many Muslims cities fell into the hands of the Franks? Was the weakness of the Muslim world in general and its division into two Sunni and shiite sects the real reason for the success of the Franks in the incursion in large areas of al-Mashriq al-Islāmī and the establishment of four central entities in those areas? Were the agreements and truces

that were held between the Muslims and Crusaders imposed by victories and defeats? Were they characterized by a tendency towards peace and coexistence? Were they imposed by hopelessness, manifestations of destruction, poverty and disease, signs of alliances, rebellions, divisions and agitation that hit the parties of the conflict? Did the parties of the conflict exploit the cases of captivity to retaliate against each other, or did exceptional cases occur under certain circumstances and facets?

❖ **Economic and social aspects,** In this thesis, I will answer some of the main questions: “Did the elite scholars succeed in creating, adopting and imposing a formal system of social and economic reform? Were their efforts in this area individual contributions that did not exceed assistance and relief to improve the conditions of some of the disadvantaged groups of society? Did the elite scholars succeed in developing a comprehensive practical program and official decrees to eradicate corruption in state institutions and the evil of the regime? Was their move limited to verbal appeals for official reform whenever they see a sin? In this thesis, I will answer some of the main questions concerning the systems of *waqf*: “Did the Ayyubid rulers intend to undermine the social purposes of the Islamic *waqf*? Was the *waqf* turned into a political system? Was the Islamic *waqf* used in certain aspects necessitated by the nature of the era and military data? Did the texts of *waqf* documents accommodate all elite of scholars? Did the elite of scholars manage to impose a formal system to ensure the eradication of odd customs introduced to the Muslim community? Was their role confined to the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice? Was the opposition of a group of elite scholars to the Ayubid regime in the political, social and economic fields merely contradictions and secondary rebellions at the level of overthrowing the throne of the Ayyubid regime?

❖ **Religious and doctrinal aspects,** In this thesis, I will answer a set of questions concerning the motives of some elite scholars related to the spread of schools and scholarly centers be they scholarly, religious, social or doctrinal motives. I will also discuss important questions such as: Did the elite of scholars manage to achieve clear cultural transformations in the scholarly life in the Ayyubid era? were their efforts merely a repetition of the efforts of their predecessors, and minor additions that not reach a level of cultural transformation? I will also answer questions about Sufism as reasons for the Ayyubid rulers' interest in it. Did the Ayyubid rulers' attraction of the Sufi movement originate from their tendency to mysticism or concealing political and sectarian motives to employ Sufi rituals in the empowerment of the Sunni doctrine? Did the Ayyubid rulers succeed in achieving clear transformations to strengthen the Sunni doctrine due to their interest in the Sufi movement? I will also discuss an important issue related to the circumstances of the era to clarify whether they played an important role in the contribution of the elite scholars in establishing the principle of spreading religious sciences and combating rational sciences. Did the culture of those conservative elites, their doctrines and the trends of the state dominate the cultural features of the era? Did the scholars' resistance of the Fatimid Shiite heritage originate from a firm belief? Were their hostile attitudes originating

from the bases laid down by their high positions, privileges and their own interests to support the regime and its political system? Did the scholars of the other Sunni doctrines succeed in continuing their work with their sciences, establishing foundations for their doctrines, and attracting followers in the light of Shāfiī school dominance over the state's administrative, scholarly and financial institutions? Were there gaps exploited by the followers of those doctrines to adapt the reality? Was the adherence to the doctrine in that era more important than earning livelihoods and receiving privileges? Finally, I will clarify an important issue by answering a key question: “In the absence of the elite scholars from the political and military scene during the Crusades, were the political and military equations to move towards another turn?”

- ❖ **From the Frankish side,** In this thesis, I will answer a set of questions: “Did the Franks employ women in the military efforts to entertain their soldiers in al-Mashriq al-Islāmī? Did the Muslim historians and explorers exaggerate the dissemination of that phenomenon? Did the Crusader women participate in the actual fighting against the Muslims in the Levant? Was their role limited to support? Did some Muslim historians deliberately involve the Frankish women in their historical writings by accusing them of engaging in real battles to fight Muslims to distort their image in order to strengthen and consolidate the concept of the Crusader terrorism in the Arab and Islamic mind? Did the Muslim historians and explorers deliberately distort the image of the customs and traditions of the Crusader society in al-Mashriq al-Islāmī by establishing the principle of permissible sexual relations between the crusaders men and women? Was that an exaggerated phenomenon which in fact is limited to normal relations in the European society? Did the Muslim historians and explorers exaggerate such a relation for the purposes of distortion or perhaps for they felt that the relation differs from the customs of the Muslims? Were the atrocities committed by the Franks in the first stages of the Crusades against the inhabitants of the cities of the Levant an inherent nature of the Franks? Were they religious trends deliberately promoted by the Papacy and the Church for political and religious purposes? Were the motives of the Crusades launched by Western European on al-Mashriq al-Islāmī religious goals? Were they dominated by the deteriorated social and economic factors which dominated the Western Europe in that period? Were opposition movements to the Islamic conquest to avenge the Muslims who undermined the political throne of some Christian Kingdoms and to eradicate the Islamic plans to renew the idea of the Islamic expansion which reached previously to Europe? Did the Islamic doctrinal sects exploit the sectarian disputes and invested the same in the alliance with the Franks to eliminate their opponents in faith? Did the motives of their alliance aim at preserving their own interests and preventing the fall of their political and doctrinal entities in the hands of the Franks? Did the Muslim and Franks historians separate between their emotions and their chronicling of historical facts? Did their fanaticism lead to mixing historical narratives with the mythical theorization of their heroes?”

Methodology of the Study

The study adopts a combination of historical approaches to clarify the attitudes and roles of the intellectual elites, and religious leaders, figures and references in the Levant toward the Ayyubid regime and to produce accurate and objective results relating to the nature of the composition and components of those elites in terms of their philosophy, elements, objectives, loyalties, methods of attraction, their efforts and scholarly works. The most important historical approaches that I used: inductive, descriptive, analytical and critical approaches. I examined the scholarly material from various aspects and then described the attitudes and roles of those elites towards the general situation that prevailed in the Levant region during the reign of the Ayyubids by examining the historical events related to the study. I also examined a number of narratives and interpretations using analysis and criticism. In addition, I explored a wide range of manuscripts, records of Islamic court in Jerusalem “*Sijelāt al-Maḥkama al-Shar’iyya fī al-Quds*”, sources, encyclopedias, sources, references, university theses, researches, seminars and conferences related to the subject of study. Therefore, enormous scholarly resources were collected to serve the study relating to the events, narratives, interpretations, analyses, and different opinions and views.

Those scholarly resources are studied in-depth which is followed by a comparison between the narratives related to one event. I also studied the conditions of the narrators in terms of their contemporary experience with history, their proximity to the place and time of the event, the reality of their fanaticism, their relation with the decision-makers, and the nature of their positions, which may determine the credibility of their sources of information. This is because some of them participated in taking some official decisions. They had opportunities to see and read the official documents and records. Afterwards, I subjected those narratives, ideas and views to the methodology of constructive criticism, to reach historical facts closest to the reality that chronicles the attitudes and roles of the eminent scholars in the Levant towards the Ayyubid regime.

The thesis also tried to overcome the methodological gaps that may deviate the study from its right course, avoided the pitfalls of the shortcomings and imbalances that may lead to the mismatch between the title of the study and the topics in the chapters. I adhere to the limits of the thesis’ objective, its temporal and geographical scope by committing myself to not exceed the same except in certain cases within the necessary justifications. I avoided the method of collecting secondary information and tried to focus on the main, direct and influential historical evidence related to the subjects of the study. I was keen to provide observations, explanations, interpretations and justification for many historical events that needed to be explained in terms of their context to justify their narration. The study thus seeks to overcome the imbalance of not linking many historical events to the policies of the Ayyubid regime. Moreover, I was also interested in separating original historical narratives from historians’ interpretations within the historical events mentioned in the sources and references. My study adopts the historical narratives after examination and subjecting the interpretations to analysis and historical criticism.

I also tried to separate the Islamic history from Islamic doctrine according to the concept and methodology of historical search because the confusion between them deviate the study from its

historical context. It may also produce a religious doctrinal study under the name of Islamic history. Such mixed studies may produce results contrary to the historical reality given that the inputs of the research are targeted from the outset. This is due to the religious doctrinal factors that direct the studies into different paths. I also used the medieval language for the purposes of documentation, where I adhered to the literal text of the historical narratives as contained in the contemporary Arab historical sources related to the subject of the study. Therefore, I should not be considered as biased in relation to some of the narratives that dealt with the non-Muslims. I made all possible efforts to separate my emotions and beliefs in chronicling the historical events. In addition, I worked hard to document events related to the atrocities and horrors of the Franks relying on European sources and references for historical integrity and to avoid mistrust regarding my fanaticism.

Limitations of the Study

❖ Objective Limitation

I adhered to the objective limit of this study and focused on the issues related to the thesis. Therefore, I focused on political, administrative, military, social, economic, religious and doctrinal events. Relying on such events, I concluded the most important attitudes and the central roles of the intellectual elites, and religious leaders and references which clearly influenced the course of the intellectual movement in the Levant during the reign of the Ayyubids. To this end, I conducted a study and explored a wide range of sources and references to induce the events in the Levant during the reign of the Ayyubids, adopting those that had a decisive and central role in the historical transformations made by a group of scholars in that period. The deliberate excess of objective limit, if any, aims to investigate some of the urgent scholarly issues that required extensive exploration for all the situations and circumstances of the era and their results, especially those that contributed to the formation of the attitudes and roles of scholars in the Levant towards the Ayyubid regime. I often used the term scholars' as a synonym for the intellectual elites, and religious leaders and references that include: Teachers, Poets, Writers, Grammarians, Linguists, Philosophers, Narrators, Doctors, Historians, Explorers, Mystics, *Muftis*, *Imāms*, Preachers, Judges, Reciters, Readers and others.

❖ Spatial Limitation

I chose the region of the Levant and preferred it to other regions of the Ayyubid state as a spatial dimension for this study because the region of the Levant was a fertile environment for the activities of many intellectual elites, and religious Leaders and references. The circumstances that ravaged the Levant in that era imposed additional burdens on the scholars in addition to their traditional duties. The most important of those circumstances is that most of the Crusades of the Levant targeted conquering Jerusalem. In addition, the region of the Levant had many racial and ethnic sects which led to diversity in the attitudes and roles of the eminent scholars at that period.

I also adhered to the spatial limit of the study. All historical evidence was related to the region of the Levant. The deliberate excess of spatial limit, if any, aims to investigate the movements of elite of influential scholars in the intellectual life in the Levant, and follow their movements outside the Levant in the regions of the Ayyubid state in Egypt, the Upper Mesopotamia-Euphrates Island and the regions of the Islamic world. This also included tracking their efforts in scholarly fields and assessing their attitudes and roles in various fields of life, especially as the circumstances of the era imposed on a number of those elites permanent instability in the Levant because of their political, scholarly and social status. Some of them left the homeland because of the wars to resort to safe places to engage in science. Some others traveled for collecting knowledge, and some of them were assigned to assume political, religious and administrative positions outside the Levant. Some of them traveled to the regions of the Islamic world and to the areas of the Franks and Mongols and others to carry out the missions and negotiations. In addition, some of them were subjected to persecution, expulsion and exile from the Levant because of their opposed attitudes against the regime. This included leaving the Levant and returning to the homeland. The nature of the study in some of the sections necessitated exceeding the spatial limit, especially when discussing topics related to the Ayyubid scholarly policy. This is because the Ayyubid policy in this field cannot be confined to one region, but a general policy followed by most of the Ayyubid state rulers.

❖ **Temporal Limitation**

I also adhered to the period of the Ayyubid rule of the Levant region extending between 570 A.H/1174 A.D and 648 A.H/1250 A.D. Sometimes I exceeded the temporal limit for scholarly necessities within certain determinants and extent. I referred to subjects related to certain intellectual phenomena in pre-Ayyubid times in order to understand the nature of the changes that occurred during the Ayyubid era and the extent to which the Ayyubid rulers and their followers of the eminent scholars intervened in those changes. I was sometimes obliged to exceed the temporal limit by discussing some issues after the Ayyubid period to explore some of the results of Ayyubid policy in the field of the intellectual movement in later eras or to complete the research on some efforts made by some Ayyubid scholars who continued their efforts in later periods beyond the specified temporal frame. This aimed to provide an integrated and unambiguous image of important and necessary research issues in a manner that does not constitute a methodological defect that may affect the coherence of the structure of the study.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE STUDY

The topics discussed in this study required me to study such topics through the chapters and sections of the thesis to cover all aspects and different branches of the subject. The study focuses on the attitudes and roles of the intellectual elites, and religious leaders, figures and references in the Levant towards the regime of the Ayyubids. This aims to identify the nature and features of those attitudes and roles and to explore the determinants, components, goals, objectives and results

of such attitudes and roles to assess their effectiveness in addressing the internal and external problems of the era and their ability to achieve the objectives of the state.

The Introductory Chapter entitled: **The General Framework of the Study**, discussed key points related the importance of the study, its problematic, objectives, methodology, its objective, spatial and temporal limit, its contents, review the main sources and references and the findings. The components of this chapter are considered as keys to all the chapters of the thesis and its appendices because its contents provide a detailed explanation of the content of the thesis, its methodology, results, and its various sources.

Chapter I entitled: Intellectual and Religious Elites and their Attitudes towards the Political and Administrative Situations, includes five sections: (1) The Contribution to Endowing Scholarly and Religious Centers, (2) The State Sponsorship of the Scholars and Promotion of their Official and Public Status, (3) The State's Attraction of the Sufi Movement, (4) The Participation in Establishing the Political System, and, (5) The Participation in Reinforcing the Administrative System.

I adopted the sections of this chapter to highlight the efforts exerted by the Ayyubid rulers and a number of scholars to establish a large number of schools and scholarly centers in the Levant and their effective role in strengthening the Sunni doctrine, spreading the religious sciences and mobilizing people to fight the Franks. To clarify this, I discussed the goals behind the expansion of the establishment of Shāfi'ī schools with the aim of spreading and strengthening the official state doctrine. I also showed the special privileges granted to schools endowed with the Shāfi'ī school of doctrine in terms of the rulers' interest in them, the splendor of their buildings and facilities, the fame of their scholars and the abundance of endowments earmarked for spending on them. The same thing happened to endowment schools related to Ḥanāfi sect thanks to the efforts of the al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā who was the adherents of the Ḥanāfi doctrine while the schools endowed with the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī doctrines were few in number. They were established with individual efforts and self-financing.

The sections of that chapter also detailed the means and methods used by the rulers to attract the targeted intellectual elites, and also explained the political and administrative objectives of the state to attract those elites. The chapter highlights the achievements made by the Ayyubid rulers in exploiting the returns of *awqāf* to strengthen their political and administrative system through the establishment of schools and scholarly centers, provision of *awqāf* to cover the expenses of such places to perform their roles in the political and administrative fields. An important issue was also discussed in this aspect concerning the exploitation of *awqāf* by the Ayyubid rulers in the field of attracting a group of trustworthy scholars and the Sunni Sufis to appoint them in endowed scholarly places, by offering them political and administrative posts, care, attention, money, awards, gifts and lands. They also granted them the opportunity to engage in royal councils by allowing them to occupy the highest political and administrative positions in the state. The Ayyubid rulers adopted actions to attract trustworthy scholars to confront the temptation, seduction, revolutions, conspiracies and political conflicts that afflicted their regime. They also sought the scholars support in strengthening their regime to overcome those political and

administrative crises through the recruitment of these scholars to strengthen and maintain the principles of their political system, and reinforce, develop and activate its administrative systems in order to support its steadfastness against the political threats that have attempted to destabilize and undermine its pillars. Throughout the chapter, I attempted to identify the nature and of the roles of those elites and explore the reality and extent of the historical transformations they had made in the political and administrative systems during the reign of the Ayyubids

Chapter II entitled: Intellectual and Religious Elites and their Attitudes towards the Military Situations, includes four sections: (1) Utilizing Scholarly and Religious Centers in Military Mobilization, (2) The Leadership of the Islamic Resistance Movement during the Reign of the Fatimids, Seljūqs and Zengids, (3) Resisting the Crusader Danger during the Reign of Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, and, (4) Encouraging and Motivating Ayyubid Rulers and Opposing the Laggards and Compromisers.

Throughout the sections of this chapter, I aimed to identify the efforts of the Ayyubid rulers and their entourage of the eminent scholars to exploit the schools and scholarly and religious centers financed by the money and property of the *awqāf* in the field of military mobilization. I explained clarifies some functions of Qurān houses and talks about the military mobilization through the teaching of Quranic verses and Ḥadīth of the Prophet that encourage *jihād* and show its virtues and rewards. I also reviewed the military efforts against the Franks during the reign of the Fatimids, the Seljūqs and the Zengids to explore the features of the Islamic resistance movement in the period leading to the Ayyubid era and to highlight their positive and negative repercussions on the Islamic resistance movement during the reign of the Ayyubids.

I also showed the pivotal role played by a group of scholars in supporting Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī financially, morally, militarily and diplomatically during the period of consolidating his rule in Egypt and his efforts aimed at unifying Egypt and the Levant. Furthermore, I discussed his wars against the Crusader presence in the cities of the Levant especially their efforts and support for him during the third Crusade on Acre. I also pointed out the efforts made by the Ayyubid rulers to use *awqāf* to face the Crusades that invaded their areas, and the extent of their exploitation of the Islamic *waqf* system in recruiting groups of Sunni scholars and Sufis to form a military force equal to the Ayyubid army. Such groups included writers, historians, poets, preachers, missions' leaders, preachers, narrators, readers, explorers, advisers, army commanders, fighters, the heads of military dīwāns and others. The members of those intellectual and military groups were the most enthusiastic to mobilize the people to fight the Franks, as well as the most influential and decisive during the Crusader Islamic conflict of that period. I also reviewed in this chapter the means of exploiting Sufi places and using them as advanced fortresses to monitor the movements of the Crusader army and also as a first line of defense to repel its incursions towards the kingdoms of the Levant especially those established on the borders of Islamic kingdoms.

I devoted a considerable space to reviewing the most important indicators of the opposition of the scholars to the rulers, leaders, compromisers and laggards, especially the opposition of scholars to al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, who negotiated to give Jerusalem to the Crusaders in the Fifth and Sixth Crusades, and the consequences of that opposition, the effects on both parties of the

conflict from the rulers and leaders and opposition forces alike. To clarify this point, I discussed the preaching councils and Friday sermons for elite scholars who confronted the Ayyubid rulers who were reluctant to *jihād*, or who allied with the Franks. The most famous of these are the preaching councils of Shams al-Dīn Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d.654 A.H-1256 A.D) and sermons of 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Ibn 'Abdu'l Salām al-Sulamī (d.660 A.H/1261 A.D).

Chapter III entitled: **Intellectual and Religious Elites and their Attitudes towards the Cultural Situations**, includes four sections: **(1)** The Role of Jurists in Spreading Religious Sciences Related to the Culture of *Jihād*, **(2)** The Contribution of Writers and Poets in Mobilizing the Public, **(3)** The Role of Historians in Writing and Documenting the Incidents and the Impact of Conflict, and, **(4)** Utilizing the Experience of Scholars Relating to Applied Sciences in Supporting the Military Effort.

In the sections of this chapter, I aimed to explore the efforts of the Ayyubid rulers in recruiting a large number of the eminent scholars in the Levant to resist the Franks by urging them to spread the religious sciences related to the virtues of religious *jihād* through teaching and writing. I also discussed the efforts of the rulers in the field of urging the elites of Sunni scholars to work hard with the aim of empowering Sunni doctrine and eradicating Fatimid Shiite thought. I also explained the factors that led to the prevalence of religious sciences and their supremacy in different places of education, such as schools, mosques, Sufi houses, Qurān and Ḥadīth houses, and other councils compared to other sciences. I showed how religious culture dominated the culture of the era. I also explained the abundant endowments allocated to schools and endowed scientific centers which contributed largely to the dissemination of religious sciences among the members of the Levantine community in the Ayyubid era. Moreover, I discussed how the Ayyubid rulers encouraged scholars and jurists to categorize the virtues of *jihād* so that these works would be a source of energizing determination and inciting to help the rulers and leaders in mobilizing and recruiting a large number of people to participate in fighting the Franks.

I also explained the extent of the care that the Ayyubid rulers gave to the sciences of the Arabic language in terms of grammar, poetry and eloquence as it is one of the religious sciences. Private schools were established to teach those sciences and chiefdoms of the Holy Qurān “Mashyakhāt” in some schools as they were taught in special episodes in the major mosques. This is also added to their keen interest in assigning distinguished scholars to collect books related to the sciences of the Arabic language as well as the increased interest shown by mulūk and amīrs of the Ayyubid towards the distinguished poets of the era. I showed the Ayyubid rulers’ care to the eminent poets of the era by giving them money and gifts to urge them to motivate the leaders, amīrs and rulers of the regions to fight the Franks. In this chapter, I also discussed the topic of the prevalence of prophetic praises and poems of lamentation for the cities that were controlled by the Crusaders and the omens of victories and liberation of the Levantine cities especially the city of Jerusalem as well as praise and lament for Muslim leaders and also irony. Moreover, the chapter includes vilification and satire of Frankish leaders in a striking way. This reflects that the aforementioned was due to the military and political conditions that prevailed in the Levant region in the Ayyubid era. This played a major role in the prosperity of the field of poetry and its popularity to a large extent until

the literature of the era became inspired by war. The majority of poetic and literary production in the Ayyubid era was pivoted on the basis of encouraging people for *Jihād* and preaching of the Islamic unity.

Throughout the sections, I pointed out the role of historians in urging people to fight the Franks, documenting the events of the Crusader Islamic conflict, and recording the details of the course of the conflict through portraying the victories, defeats, heroism and peace treaties, and observing the influences that affected the Islamic and Crusader communities during the military, religious, social and economic conflict during the Crusades. An appropriate space was devoted to the claim of most Muslim historians about the fact that Frankish woman participated in fighting the Muslims especially in the first, third and fifth Crusades. On the contrary, I discussed the contrasted accounts of Frankish historians who are contemporary for Crusades about the participation of Frankish woman in fighting. I also discussed the views of Muslim historians regarding the description of the courage and bravery of the Franks leaders which was elaborated in detail by Usāma Ibn Munqidh (d.584 A.H/1188 A.D) in his book (al-I'tibār). I also showed the extent to which both Muslim historians and the contemporary Crusaders of the Crusades deliberately described their enemies with disgraceful words and accused some of them of torturing and killing prisoners as well as raping female captives. Furthermore, I demonstrated the extent of the insistence of Frankish writers, historians, explorers, monks and artists on distorting the image of Muslim leaders especially Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī.

Chapter IV entitled: **Intellectual and Religious Elites and their Attitudes towards the Social and Economic Situations**, includes three sections: **(1)** The Contribution to Social Welfare, **(2)** Leading the Opposition Movement for Social and Economic Reform, and, **(3)** Utilizing the Sufi Rituals in the Field of Social and Economic Reform.

Through the sections of this chapter, I attempted to study the topics related to the social and economic situations in the Levant during that period, especially those that affected the march of the intellectual movement and their effects which were clearly reflected in their course. In the light of the military circumstances of the era, the difficult economic and social crises, the natural disasters that hit the Levant suffered, poverty, disease and hunger, schools and scholarly and religious centers were forced to match their scholarly duties with the social duties imposed by the political and military circumstances, the social and economic impacts that affected most of aspects in the Levant in that era. Thus, there was a change in the beneficiaries of the proceeds of *awqāf*. *Awqāf* used to spend on scholars and those who engaged in science. However, a new group of beneficiaries, those affected by the situations then, was added. Therefore, the documents of *awqāf* included stipulations to spend on those groups and to provide them with shelter, support and all means of securing the necessities of life. Hence, there was a change in the objectives of those places and their basic scholarly function in response to situations imposed by the nature of the era.

I also discussed a key topic related to the role of scholars in the social and economic reform. In addition to their individual efforts to alleviate the social and economic damage that affected the members of the Levant community at that time, they played new roles imposed by the military, social and economic situations of the era. These factors resulted in disasters, devastation and

destruction that affected most of the life facilities especially the properties of the peasants, who were the most affected and harmed of social groups due to their displacement, abandonment and devastation of their agricultural lands as well as the destruction caused by the Crusades in the Levant during that period. Assassins and Khwārizm sects committed assassinations, devastation, and looting. The consolidation of the feudal system in the Ayyubid era also had negative effects in worsening social and economic conditions due to the large number of taxes that were imposed on the residents of the regions to support the war effort, in addition to the natural disasters that afflicted the Levant during that period due to the lack of rain, earthquakes and attacks of Locust swarms. Of course, economic and war disasters had negative impact on the social life. Hunger, diseases and epidemics spread noticeably. Also, some bad social manifestations such as prostitution and drinking alcohol spread.

Therefore, some of scholars formed an opposition front against the regime and rebelled against their attitudes towards the situations resulting from the circumstances of the era when the Ayyubid state policy and their religious endowments failed to accommodate a range of scholars that preferred the interests of the nation to their interest. Such scholars confronted the social injustice and the rulers causing the same. In addition, those scholars resisted the economic setbacks, social injustices and the manifestations of corruption in the Islamic social life then. Such group of scholars determined to continue reform efforts, despite the hostility of the regime which aimed to exclude these scholars who rebelled against scholarly and practical life. The rulers attempted to hinder their reform activities. Although their call for economic and social reform was limited to denunciation, slander, incitement, slander and satire, it did not rise to the point of direct confrontation with rulers and Amīrs.

Chapter V entitled: **Intellectual and Religious Elites and their Attitudes towards the Religious and Doctrinal Situations**, includes four sections: **(1)** Eradicating Fatimid Heritage and Strengthening the Sunni Doctrine, **(2)** Activating Religious Motives to Endow Scholarly Centers, **(3)** Eradicating Rational Sciences Related to Shiite Ideology, and, **(4)** Promoting the Doctrinal Conditions of *Awqāf* in Scholarly Centers.

Throughout the sections of this chapter, I attempted to explore the efforts made by the Ayyubid rulers and their scholars to eradicate the Fatimid heritage in an attempt to destroy the Fatimid *Ismā'īlī* ideology which the Fatimid Shiite state sought to consolidate its bases and spread its principles during its long-ruling of Egypt and the Levant. The Ayyubid rulers and their entourage of scholar took a number of steps to support and strengthen the Sunni doctrine in schools, mosques and Sufi places of worship as well as other scholarly and religious buildings which were subject to Fatimid influence and the effects of the *Ismā'īlī* Shiite ideology. In addition, the Ayyubid rulers also began to establish a large number of endowed schools for the Sunni doctrine and made great efforts to attract Sufi Sunni scholars to contribute to the dissemination of the religious sciences of the Sunni culture and the fight against the rational sciences linked to the Fatimid *Ismā'īlī* ideology, especially those related to philosophy.

I also devoted a wide area, in this chapter, to discuss an important topic related to the Ayyubid rulers' fight against the philosophers for fear of reviving the Shiite Fatimid thought. Of course, the

elite scholars played a pivotal role in supporting Ayyubid rulers in their fierce war against philosophers. This led to separating them and making them continue their education secretly for fear of oppression especially after Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī killed the famous philosopher Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī in 586 A.H/1190 A.D. Working in philosophy remained secret despite an emergency recovery due to personal inclinations of some Ayyubid rulers such as al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the ruler of Karak. Of course, the Ayyubid rulers' fight against the philosophers had negative impact on the development of the intellectual movement because of the implosion of creativity in the field of Islamic illumination philosophy during the historical periods that followed the Ayyubid era.

The **Conclusion** included the vital findings of the study, which can be summarized in a central result: the attitudes and roles of the intellectual elites, and religious leaders and references in the Levant towards the regime of the Ayyubids were ambiguous and varied as some supported the regime while other opposed it. This gave rise to a disorder of the unorganized attitudes and roles of those elites which failed to unite under one umbrella to achieve a strategic historical shift and in the policy of the regime for citizens. The elite scholars, given the lack of unity, failed to achieve a decisive victory against the rulers to force them to renounce some of their powers and beliefs in favor of the enlightened beliefs of the period. The failure is attributed to official, popular, personal and sectarian factors which intervened in determining the attitudes of those elites and their roles. The Islamic *waqf* also intervened in shaping their attitudes and roles during the reign of the Ayyubids. In addition, the Islamic *waqf* in the Ayyubid era witnessed a sharp turn from its basic goals which were diverted by the Ayyubid rulers and their scholars towards achieving their goals and beliefs and their political, military and sectarian desires. That policy clearly influenced the history of the intellectual movement in that era, so there were some changes that influenced most of the pillars of intellectual movement, in response to the political and military situations of the era, especially in the region of the Levant which was a fertile environment for the growth and spread of religious sects, doctrines and beliefs. In addition, the area was critically affected by the Crusader Islamic conflict.

The attitudes and roles of Intellectual and Religious Elites towards the Ayyubid regime can be assessed in a central point:

The attitude and roles of the scholars of the Levant towards the Ayyubid regime can be assessed by classifying them into three different levels. First: politicized roles and attitudes of a number of scholars who were loyal to the regime; second: neutral attitude and roles of a number of scholars who preferred to engage in their duties in isolation from political strife; and third: rebellious attitudes and roles of a number of scholars who rebelled against regime. The attitudes and roles of the rebellious elite of scholars can be described as individual efforts and movements which did not unite in a single front that could form an opposition movement capable of overthrowing the regime or radically altering the nature of the ruling regime. A number of important factors during the Ayyubid era prevented the formation of a separatist movement and eradicated any attempt to revive that movement. The key factors include the Crusades which imposed on the elite of scholars a priority to oppose the Crusades which targeted the Levant instead of opposing the Islamic regime

struggling to face the Crusades. The elite scholars who supported the regime outnumbered the opposition elites, as well as force and influence.

REVIEW THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOURCES AND REFERENCES OF THE STUDY

Discussing the attitudes and roles of the intellectual elites, and religious leaders, figures and references in the Levant towards the Ayyubid regime necessitated that for me to study a large number of various historical sources and references to collect comprehensive information on the attitudes and roles of those elites in various aspects of life in that period given that such roles emerged under very complex and sensitive circumstances. Thus, several factors dominated the attitudes of those elites, such as the Crusades that invaded the Levant during the reign of the Ayyubids and the transition of the regime in Egypt and the Levant from the Fatimid Shiite Caliphate to the Sunni Ayyubid state.

The elites of the scholars of the Levant played new roles due to their religious and social status. Such roles were added to their traditional scholarly duties, especially supporting and strengthening the Sunni doctrine, leading the Islamic resistance movement, participating in military mobilization to resist the Franks, and engaging in the fields of religious, social and economic reform due to the deterioration of the social and economic factors because of the consequences of the Crusades, the collapse of the principles of the Islamic faith because of the spread of doctrinal sects in the Levant during that period, and the spread of many social influences among the Muslim community because of the coexistence between the Islamic and Crusader communities during the reign of the Franks in the Levant during the Crusades. The circumstances of the era imposed on the scholars to determine their attitudes and roles in supporting the state to lead the resistance movement against hostile political and doctrinal sects or to be defected to lead the popular opposition movement against rulers who violate the rules of Islamic law, compromisers, laggards and those who failed to resist the Franks.

I used a selected group of **Manuscripts** (*Makhṭūṭāt*) related to the subject of his study. Such manuscripts were recorded on microfilm tapes at the Centre of Documents and Manuscripts, University of Jordan, Amman. Those manuscripts are characterized by the authenticity of their sources and the accuracy of their information because they were hand-written by their authors. Therefore, such manuscripts are very important for this study because they contain information rarely collected from printed sources, especially the quality and size of *Awqāf* that were allocated to the schools and scholarly centers in the Levant during the reign of the Ayyubids, as well as the documents of that *Awqāf*.

I also used **Records of Islamic Court in Jerusalem** (*Sijillāt al-Maḥkama al-Shar'īyya fī'l-Quds*) which were the oldest records of the Courts in the Ottoman state. The Islamic Court performed the functions of Land Registration Services, in the period leading up to the establishment of the Departments of Land Registration. Therefore, the Records of Islamic Court

were necessary to verify the ownership of the old estates because they were the competent authority for verifying the authenticity of the *Awqāf* documents during that period. Such records are very important because they contain information rarely collected from printed sources. Those records are authentic because their texts have not been interpreted by historians. I also used a large number of Records of Islamic Court in Jerusalem and relied on their images recorded on microfilm tapes, the Centre of Documents and Manuscripts, University of Jordan, Amman. In addition, I focused on the Records of Islamic Court that explained in detail the types and characteristics of *waqf* properties allocated to the most famous and oldest schools and religious places of worship for Sufi movement members “*Khawāniq*” that were established in Jerusalem during the reign of the Ayyubids. I also examined the detailed information on the names and situations of teachers who have been teaching at those schools, the students, and the most important sciences at those schools.

I also relied on a wide range of **Sources of General Islamic History** (*Maṣādir al-Tārīkh al-‘Ām*, *al-Hawliyyāt*) – “historical books recording facts and events in order according to years” because of their importance in supporting the study and enriching it with important information. Such sources included parts, sections and topics related to the situations of the Ayyubid state. Those sources also included important events related to the general situations that prevailed in the Levant during that period, the impacts which affected some aspects of the scholarly movement at the time and their repercussions on the attitudes and roles of scholars in the Levant towards the regime of Ayyubids. Those sources are very important because they contained many biographies of a large number of scholars that mentioned important signs on the topics of this study, especially the attitudes and roles of scholars in the Levant. They also included important information on the schools of the Levant, its scholarly centers and its *awqāf*. Thus, such sources helped me to follow the texts of *waqf* documents to understand the nature of the circumstances that created the policy of the Ayyubid rulers in formulating the *waqf* system of intellectual movement, and the effects of that policy in shaping and determining the attitudes and roles of the eminent scholars in that period.

I relied on a number of specialized **Sources of the History of the Ayyubids** (*Maṣādir Tārīkh al-Ayūbiyīn*). Such sources are very important because they included information of the Ayyubids’ history. Therefore, such sources gave me an opportunity to study the details of historical events that revealed important information about the events that took place in the Levant region during the reign of the Ayyubids. In addition, they included a large glossary of biographies a number of *mulūk*, *amīrs* and leaders of the Ayyubid, and the nature of the tasks, functions and roles assigned to their scholars in various fields.

I also benefited from the books of **Biographies and Invasions** (*al-Siyar wa’l-Maghāzī*) because they contain important and abundant information about the biographies of the Ayyubid rulers, and their battles, conquests, forays and victories, as well as the biographies of the most influential scholars during that era. Such biographies helped me to explore the policy of the Ayyubids in dealing with events in their regions and their efforts in using components of the intellectual movement to overcome the crises of their political, military, social, economic and doctrinal reality. Such books benefited the study because of the biographies of the eminent

scholars of the Levant who engaged in the service of the Ayyubid rulers, especially their efforts in the scholarly movement and their influential role in all aspects of life during that era, particularly their attitudes and roles in supporting and strengthening the new state of Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī in Egypt by facing the revolutions and conspiracies led by the remnants of the Fatimid house and their allies from assassins and the Franks. In addition to the efforts, they made to support Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī to achieve the unity project of Egypt and the Levant. In addition to the factors that played a role in determining the level of their relationship with the state, and the nature of their efforts and supporting and opposing activities, which formed their attitudes and roles towards the regime of Ayyubids. I also adopted those books to explore the military situations in the Levant during the Crusades, especially the description of situations, formations, weapons, plans and commanders of the Islamic and Crusader armies. This is also added to other topics related to the quality and volume of the participation of the scholars in military efforts, and the participation of the Crusader women in military operations against Muslims in the Levant.

I also benefited from the books of **Biographies and Strata of Scholars** (*al-Tarājim wa'l-Ṭabaqāt*) which chronicled the biographies of a large number of scholars in general. Such books also chronicled the biographies of a certain strata of scholars, such as the strata of physicians, and the jurists of Sunni doctrines, including Shāfi'īs, Ḥanafīs, Ḥanbalīs and Mālikīs, especially those who played a key role in intellectual movement in the Levant during the reign of the Ayyubids through their efforts in the field of establishing endowed schools and scholarly centers, their efforts in teaching, judiciary, preaching, *fatwas*, sermons, writing, spreading the science of jurisprudence of the doctrines they embraced, as well as their social, military and political role during the reign of the Ayyubids, the nature and the level of their relationship with the regime, and their role in establishing doctrinal *awqāf* by adopting doctrinal conditions of *awqāf* at the schools they established.

I benefited from **Books of Geography and Journeys** (*Kutub al-Goghrāfiyya wa'l-Rihlāt*). The books of geography included important information related to the definition of some of the geographical terms that were mentioned in this study, including regions, cities, villages and areas in the Levant, especially those where the scholars of the Levant settled. I also benefited from the books of Arab explorers who visited the Levant during the study period. Such explorers showed important detailed information about what they saw during their journeys to the Levant. Therefore, they explored many manifestations of scholarly activities in that period. They also described the scholarly centers they visited, *awqāf* that were allocated for those centers, abuses that hit the al-Aqsa Mosque and other scholarly buildings, changes and additions made by the Franks in Jerusalem, customs and traditions of the Frankish society in the Muslim East (*al-Mashriq al-Islāmī*), the extent of the influences that both parties have responded to them in the social field, and other issues. Through the collection of this information, I followed many topics related to the transformations that have affected the intellectual movement, especially the efforts made by the scholars of the Levant in the field of social and economic reform, the factors that contributed to the prevalence of the mystic sect, social influences in the Muslim and Crusader communities, the increased attention that the city of Jerusalem has received after its liberation in the field of intellectual movement to fortify and strengthen it intellectually for fear of falling again into the

hands of the Franks, and the effectiveness of *awqāf* system developed by the Ayyubid rulers to overcome the situations of the Levant in that period.

I also relied on a set of major **Books of Topography, Archaeology, Construction and Urbanism** (*Kutub al-Khiṭaṭ wa'l-Āthār wa'l-'Umrān*), especially those which contained information about religious, social and scholarly centers established in Egypt and the Levant, such sources are very important because of their vital information related to scholarly activities at mosques, schools, Sufi houses, social centers. In addition to other information related to the description of those centers and founders of *awqāf* and scholars.

I also relied on a set of **Books of the History of Cities and Regions** (*Kutub Tārīkh al-Mudun wa'l-Aqālīm*), especially the cities that were considered as intellectual centers in the Levant during the reign of the Ayyubids, namely Damascus, Jerusalem and Aleppo. The importance of these sources lies in the fact that they specialized in certain cities, included important detailed information, mentioning the events and facts, and describing detailed conditions and situations of those intellectual centers, which provided great opportunities for the authors to clarify various issues related to its life, intellectual situations, *awqāf* and activities of its scholars.

I also relied on a variety of historical and geographical sources. Such sources supported the sections of this study in more than one place with important information related to the definition of some of the concepts and terms, especially the geographical, administrative, physical, scholarly, military, urban and cultural concepts and terms that needed to be interpreted and verified, being they are not common these days because they belong to the language of medieval eras.

I also benefited from a group of **Arabized Latin Sources**. Such sources are central to this thesis because their authors were contemporary to the historical events that took place in the area of the Levant during the Crusades and they were witnesses to Crusader Islamic conflict in that period, especially since a number of them were in official positions that gave them the opportunity to see the official correspondences and documents and, as well as some of them were engaged in religious posts enabling them to make a good relation with the regime thanks to the cooperation and synergy of the political and religious authorities of the crusaders then due to the Church's influence on the Frankish entity. In those sources, I found key information on several subjects related to his study, which is rarely collected from Arab and Islamic sources. Therefore, the deliberate neglect of such sources or lack of interest in the historical topics related to the Islamic and Western worlds is a clear methodological imbalance which leads to a lack of impartiality and neutrality from my part. In addition, the Latin sources contain important events and analyzes that may not be mentioned in the specialized Arab and Islamic studies of this subject.

Part of the criticism that can be recorded on most of the Latin Sources: Foucher de Chartres (d.521 AH/1127 AD), **Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium**. One of the drawbacks of the historian is that he wrote down his narrations as a cleric not as a historian, as he was a supporter of the papacy's call to carry out a crusade against the Islamic East. It is noticed in many positions in his book attacking the Islamic religion, considering it a pagan religion. He also expressed his overwhelming joy at the scenes of the massacre committed by the Franks against the residents of

the city of Jerusalem when they took control of it in Sha'bān 492 A.H/July 1099 A.D. William of Tyre (d.582 AH/1186 AD), **Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum**. Among the disadvantages of the historian is that he was clearly biased as he adopted in his historical narratives the ideas of the Frank leaders regarding their hostility to the Muslim Arabs. He spoke in several places in his book as their spokesperson where he described Arab Muslims with hostile and racist terms as he was more impulsive and faithful than the leaders of the Franks themselves in the necessity of killing every Arab they get and also torturing, raping their captives, looting their property, vandalizing and demolishing their places of worship, to the extent that he adopted the narrative of the Frankish leaders regarding the massacres they committed against the residents of the Levantine cities they controlled. In addition, he reached to the point where he justified the crime of the Crusaders who committed the massacre of Jerusalem in Sha'bān 492 A.H/July 1099 A.D claiming that it was a just judgment of the God which was implemented on those who desecrated the temple of Christ with their superstitious rites and forbade it to his believing people. Therefore, they had to atone for their sin by death.

Jacques de Vitry (d.638 AH/1240 AD), **Historia Hierosolymitana**. Among the drawback of the historian relates to the subject of the massacres committed by the Franks against the residents of the Levantine cities that they controlled especially the city of Jerusalem. He spoke on the subject as if he was a leader of the Crusade and not as a historian who records events fairly. He described the massacre committed by the Crusaders against the Muslim residents of Jerusalem as carried out by the heroes of the Lord for Christ's sake. Peter Tudebode (d.Unknown), **Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere**. As a clergyman imbued with the anti-Muslim ideas of the papacy, he struggled like other Latin historians and to establish the principle that fighting Muslims is considered an act of God. Therefore, he framed his narrations with a religious framework with religious quotations he cited so that his narrations would have the desired effect on the inhabitants of Western Europe in the era of Domination of the Church, describing Muslims as pagans and barbarians, to the extent that he was proud of the killing, looting, rape and sabotage carried out by the Crusaders during their control of Antioch and Jerusalem. He named those who committed the Jerusalem massacre as pilgrims and the dead Muslims as infidels and pagans. The German explorer, Pilgrim Burchard of Mount Sion (d.684 AH/1285 AD), **Descriptio Terrae Sanctae**, The drawback of his writings lies in that they were characterized by racism and blind fanaticism as he described Muslims as bloody and barbaric. Also, they are pagans, infidels, evil, savages and usurpers of the Holy Land. Muslims did not enjoy in his writings except one positive image as he mixed with them and coexisted with them. The image was reductive. He also described them as very hospitable, generous, kind and excellent.

I also studied many important books related to the **Modern Arabic References**. Such books had an important and essential impact in enriching the various aspects of the study. They supported it with opinions and views. I also studied a long list of books, university theses, seminars, conferences and scientific journals to identify the views, opinions and suggestions contained in those references on many topics for this study. Such references, especially university theses related to the Master and PhD degrees, and historical researches published in specialized scholarly journals, provided me with many opportunities to collect a lot of information and ideas on the

topics of this study. I also worked hard to avoid shortcomings and scholarly imbalance of other researchers, whether deliberately to jump through complex search stages, or unintentionally due to a lack of patience of search, or a lack of deep search skills.

Most of the modern Arab studies specialized in studying the subject of the Ayyubid scholars can be described as local and not international studies which were used references mostly published in Arabic language. This is a clear methodological shortcoming and defect as they did not see the opinions of many orientalist who produced in-depth modern studies because of their deep concern about this topic. Moreover, most Arab researchers have not examined university theses submitted to international universities.

I reviewed a number of studies that discussed the religious efforts of the scholars of Ayyubid era. Of course, the interest in this aspect has its downsides in terms of researching the religious field regardless their outstanding efforts in the administrative, political, military, economic and doctrinal fields. Moreover, most of these studies were similar to religious sermons. It is theorizing, not history because its authors glorify the efforts of scholars who supported Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, and those who took over after him from the rulers in the face of the Crusades and launched through their studies a scathing attack on the Crusaders and their leaders using hostile terms. Therefore, the bulk of their interest was the formation of studies intended and directed by relying on ideological sources mostly to mobilize the younger generations with religious concepts that encourage *jihād*. Thus, such studies avoided the historical research methodology that seeks to reach historical facts without religious or national fanaticism. I reviewed a number of these studies to review the opinions of researchers in this aspect, and they are included in the list of secondary literature.

The aspect of getting benefit from modern Arabic studies related to the topic of the efforts of scholars in the Ayyubid era was confined to the field of my review of their perspective and assessment of the efforts of scholars in that period. Most of the researchers supported the efforts of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī and his entourage of scholars in eliminating the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate and they were victorious for the efforts made to empower the Sunni doctrine in Egypt and the Levant, in addition to their support for the efforts made by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in fighting philosophy, and persecuting those who worked in it, as it was from the destructive and useless sciences at that time. They also praised the Islamic endowment system in the Ayyubid era and considered it as an economic and social pillar to achieve social solidarity and also in order to support the war effort against the Crusaders. I have explored from the Arabic studies that I reviewed during the preparation of this thesis regarding to the Arab mentality which is still thinking about the mentality of the Middle Ages at the time of the Crusades. Some researchers still attribute the cause of defeats, setbacks and delay in the current Arab world and the decline in the power, influence and leadership of the Islamic religion to the European West, who are the descendants of the papacy and leaders of the Crusades. This means that the expansion of the events and results of the Crusades are still continuing and dominating the contemporary Arab mentality, and rooted in their imaginations. This is proved that they look with great apprehension towards the other, considering that they have been targeted since the time of the Crusades.

I also relied on many important books related to the **Modern European references** produced by a number of orientalists who were interested in studying the events and results of the Crusader Islamic conflict and the accompanying social, scholarly, economic and military aspects of the conflict. I focused on the most important oriental studies specialized in this field, especially university theses related to the Master and PhD degrees, and the historical researches published in the scholarly journals because they dealt with important topics that benefited the topics of this study. It also included opinions, ideas, proposals and intellectual discussions that were not available in Arab references that were dominated by a historical narrative nature.

Such references provided the study with important views, opinions and ideas that revealed the ambiguity of many issues related to the aspects of life and systems of the Franks in *al-Mashriq al-Islāmī*, namely: The problematics and controversy related to the contribution of the Frankish women in the fight against Muslims, the influence of the Latin clerics, the influence of the Church within the Crusader entity and other topics related to the arts and manners of the Crusader era, which aimed to distort the image of Muslims and their leaders during the Crusades, and the Frankish policies of the settlement, lands and economy in the holy land, especially those that were clearly reflected upon the course of the intellectual movement in Jerusalem and its surrounding areas, and led to the regression and decline of the scholarly movement. Moreover, the European references provided the study with kind of scholarly, methodological and intellectual balance because my reliance on Arab sources and references only during searching some topics related to the Crusader Islamic conflict may shift the methodology of historical search towards bias, because I adopted one pattern of ideas and proposals, which prevented me from exploring other ideas that may be more logical than believed.

I selected an important collection of European references produced by a number of orientalists who were interested in studying the events and results of the Crusader Islamic military conflict, especially those who were from European countries which participated in leading the Crusades, such as England, Germany and France, and other orientalists whose countries contributed to support the crusades to maintain their commercial interests as Italy, and other orientalists whose states were directly or indirectly affected by the crusades, especially the people of Balkans, who had a special attitude towards the Crusades because of the schism between the eastern and western Churches, and the arrogance of the Latin Franks against those who do not belong to the Catholic Church in that period.

Part of the criticism that can be recorded on most of the contemporary European studies that I reviewed, especially university theses and research published in specialized historical journals, is that they did not use the transliteration system from Arabic Language into English in documenting names and terms. Without the use of phonetic language, it is difficult to pronounce the names of people, places and terms in a similar pronunciation in Arabic. Also, all the university theses, which I reviewed, the researchers did not mention the names of scholars, leaders and rulers in an integrated manner. Which may lead to confusion between the similar names, because many rulers, amīrs, leaders and scholars had similar names because they were named according to the names of their relatives, great leaders, elders and eminent scholars, seeking blessings from their status

and heroism, and not forget them after their death.. I also noticed that most of the university theses that I have reviewed do not contain an introductory chapter despite its great importance in clarifying the structure of the theses, its methodology, its objectives, its questions, its sources, the importance of its subject and other issues that are considered keys to understanding the contents of the thesis chapters. Therefore, most researchers just wrote a simple introduction that doesn't exceed a few pages.

Also, the authors of most of the contemporary European studies are satisfied with relying on some Islamic sources. There are university theses that did not depend entirely on any Islamic historical source and on any reference published in the Arabic language. Through my review of many university theses that I relied on this dissertation, noticed that all researchers focus on certain Islamic sources, such as: Abū Ya'lā Ḥamzah Ibn al-Qalānisī, 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Usāma Ibn Munqidh, Abū Shāmah al-Maḡdisī and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm. All these historians have personal inclinations. some of them are from the entourage of Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, such as Abū Shāmah al-Maḡdisī and Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād. Others are from the entourage of the Zengids, such as 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr. Some of them are from the retinue of the mulūk Aleppo, al-Zāhir Ghāzī and aal-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf. Therefore, being satisfied with their narrations is considered a methodological defect because their historical narrations overlap in their whims and tendencies. In addition, most researchers relied a few of secondary Arabic and Islamic references. They focused on the use of references published in English or written in their own languages. This in turn may lead to the recycle of historical writing and turn it into a local history, although it is an important topic on which many researchers belonging to different nationalities wrote.

It seems that researchers have relied on these sources and secondary Arabic and Islamic references only because they are translated into English, and they did not rely on others because they did not know the Arabic language. This fact was admitted by researcher John Chamberlin in his thesis. Daniel Roach also in his thesis, pointed out this flaw and showed that much of the European studies related to Crusades neglected the Islamic perspective, and wrote from a European Christian perspective as a result of the lack of knowledge of some researchers in the Arabic language. The Czech researcher, Ondřej Štěrba in his thesis admitted that the Crusades were very popular in the Czech environment because what was translated into Czech in this area was from a single-sighted perspective. He also indicated that he was unable to see sources other than those written in his Czech language, although an important part of his study dealt with the interpretation and analysis of the blogs of the historian 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr on topics related to the Crusades, but he did not see Ibn Ibn al-Athīr's book: *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* and based his narratives on secondary literature. This defect led to researchers not being informed of contemporary and important Islamic sources in the history of the Islamic Crusade conflict.

Their studies, especially university theses, dealt with topics related to the controversy between Muslim and European historians about the nature and objectives of the Crusades, and the extent of their negative extension to contemporary Islamic and European thought, and the consolidation of a kind of cautious relations between the Islamic and European worlds. I reviewed the most

important of those studies to explore the views of European historians about the attempt of historians of both sides of the conflict to try to prove that the Crusade movement was a religious war, regardless of other factors, as the Crusaders called for it in the name of the holy war promoted by religious historians accompanying the leaders of the Franks and those close to them. Muslims confronted it in the name of *jihād*, which was promoted by the intellectual and religious elites from the entourage of the Ayyubid rulers. This concept has extended to our present era. It is still dominated on Arab-Islamic mind by a constant wait for fear of Christianity targeting Islām.

Other topics that discuss the issue of the Crusader identity in the Islamic East in terms of the success of the Crusader movement in achieving a common Christian identity among the Crusaders at least at the beginning of their journey to the Islamic East, as they fought a holy *jihād* to recover the Holy Land. I reviewed the most important of those studies to clarify the roles of and the positions of Muslim scholars regarding the promotion of some of the nefarious behaviors of the Frankish society, and that the nationalist factor was stronger in dismantling the religious factor that brought them together. The diversity of goals and interests failed the process of their integration into the Islamic society in the Levant despite the long period of their stay. Other topics related to Islamic perceptions of Crusader women. I relied the most important studies to explore the views of European historians regarding the roles and attitudes of Muslim scholars towards Crusader woman in the Levant especially with regard to Muslim historians deliberately writing exaggerated narratives with the intention of discrediting Crusader woman.

Despite my criticism of some aspects of the flaws in modern European historical studies especially university theses, I noticed that most of them were more accurate in analyzing and interpreting events. The research methodology used is considered critically analytical, and by this feature, it is superior to Arab historical studies, which are predominantly narrative in traditional nature. I also benefited from European studies, most of which I discussed in my thesis regarding the expansion of the horizon on many controversial topics that I did not find in contemporary Arab studies. In addition, I got benefited from university dissertations that were written in European languages other than English in terms of understanding the researchers' point of view and their attitudes on the Islamic Crusader conflict especially as they were written by some researchers whom their countries were involved in the events of the Crusades through the crossing of the Crusaders' forces from the lands of their countries. What is more regarding to the extent to which the rulers and residents of those regions responded to the Papacy's calls to participate in and support the Crusades. I also learned through my review of these studies on other topics related to the religious and military researchers' assessments of the Crusades, their interpretations of the religious perspective of those campaigns and other interpretations related to the ferocity of the Crusaders in their first campaigns against residents of the cities of the Levant especially Jerusalem, and also the consequent dominance of the spirit of revenge between the two sides of the conflict, and its repercussions on the roles and attitudes of the Islamic and Latin religious intellectual elites as well as the prevalence of Islamic and Latin historical and literary writing filled with a spirit of hatred and contempt towards the Islamic and Christian religions Until the matter ended with the clash of three civilizations: Western Latin, Eastern Greek (Byzantine) and Islamic ones.

I also relied on many important books related to **Turkish References** because their authors were belonging to a country that ruled large and important parts of the Islamic world during the Crusades. The Turkish Seljūq incursion in the Byzantine State after their victory in the battle of Malazgirt in 463 A.H/1071 A.D was one of the alleged reasons of the Papacy to launch the Crusades towards *al-Mashriq al-Islāmī*, and the most of the leaders of the Islamic *Jihād* who fought against the Franks whose Turkish origins.

After searching in Turkish university directories and specialized historical journals, I noticed that most of the historical studies published in the Turkish language, especially historical research and university theses, focused on certain topics. The most important of which are: the Armenian-Crusader relations, where they concentrated on the issue of the betrayal of the Armenians living in the Levant to their homeland when they donated voluntarily to cooperate with the Crusaders. They explained their role in helping the Crusaders to control some of the cities of the Levant, especially Antioch as well as their role in spying for the Crusaders on the Islamic army and the nature of its movements and military fortifications.

Among the most important studies that I relied on in this field: Researcher's Master's thesis: Tuğba Yiğit, **I. ve II. Haçlı seferleri sürecinde Ermeni-Haçlı ilişkileri**, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Tarih Ana Bilim Dalı, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, Trabzon, Türkiye, 2011. The researcher decided in his master's thesis that the Armenians were the reason for the birth of the idea of the Crusades when the Armenian patriarchs communicated with Pope Gregory VII (478 A.H/1085 A.D) and proposed him the idea of directing crusades to the Islamic East to save Eastern Christians from the danger of the Seljuks. The Armenians are considered a major reason for the Crusaders' success in controlling the cities of the Levant at the beginning of their Crusades because of the enormous support they provided to them in terms of food aid, horses, weapons and money, in addition to military and logistical support. They were the ones who saved them from death by starvation and disease when they besieged Antioch for a long time. They were the reason for the steadfastness of the Crusaders and the continuation of their campaign, hoping to get rid them of the Seljuk and Byzantine domination. Therefore, the researcher considers that the Armenians were more loyal to the Crusaders than their Byzantine allies who were skeptical about the Crusaders' goals. Moreover, the Byzantines did not intervene until the idea of the Crusades became tangible.

I benefited from this study in evaluating the roles and positions of the intellectual and religious elites who took advantage of the position of the Christian Armenians in consolidating the idea of the religious perspective of the Crusades, for confirming that it was a religious war waged by the Christian world against Islam. Therefore, they directed most of their activities and efforts to spread that idea in their books, sermons, sermons and lessons.

They also stressed on the issue of Fatimid-Crusader relations especially on the issue of the attempt of the Fatimids at the beginning of the Crusades to communicate with the Franks to participate with them in eliminating their common enemy, the Sunni Seljuks. They also focused extensively on the role of the Turkish Seljuks in confronting the Crusades, protecting the cities of the Levant and providing them with assistance at a time when the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad

was suffering from severe weakness and impotence. This is proved by the fact that the Abbasid Caliph often sought the help of the sultans and Seljuks leaders when delegations of Levant jurists came to him to seek his help to confront the forces of the Crusades before they approached their cities especially when they received news of the atrocities and massacres committed by the Franks in Antioch, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Jerusalem.

Among the most important studies that I have depended on in this field: doctorate dissertation entitled: Serkan Özer, **Fâtımî-Haçlı İlişkileri (1098-1171)**, Doktora Tezi, Tarih Ana Bilim Dalı, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Gazi Üniversitesi, Ankara, Türkiye, Ağustos 2015. In his doctorate dissertation, the researcher decided that the Fatimids were the cause of the Crusaders' incursion and their insistence on completing their campaign until the control of Jerusalem due to the Fatimids showing their weakness and submissiveness when they communicated with them during their siege of Antioch. They were also the reason for the Crusaders' control of Jerusalem which was within their possessions. When the Fatimid minister al-Afdal Ibn Badr al-Dīn al-Jamālī reassured them, he left for Egypt, instead of bringing forces to fortify the target city. He also pointed out that the rulers of the Islamic kingdoms and the Fatimid Caliph al-Musta'li Bi'llāh were not aware of the nature and objectives of the Crusades when the first crusade arrived. He also attributes the reason for the success of the Crusaders in their first crusade to the Fatimids' quest to eliminate Seljuk Sunni power and domination more than their quest to confront the Crusaders. Therefore, their delay and inaction in declaring *jihād* is considered a reason for stability of the Crusaders in the Islamic East, in which their expulsion requires great efforts and long years.

I benefited from this study in evaluating the roles and positions of the intellectual and religious elites regarding their strong rush to support Şalāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī in eliminating the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt in order to create the conditions for him to assume the leadership of the Islamic *Jihād* movement against the Crusaders, at a time when defeat and surrender prevailed the Islamic world.

I also relied on many important books related to **Persian References** because of its importance in providing the study with many opinions, interpretations and comments, especially since the Shiite Persian researchers "Iranians" disagreed with many Sunni Arab researchers on topics related to the description of the sect of assassins of terrorism. Some Arab researchers considered such sect as terrorists and hindered the Islamic *jihād* movement through its alliances with the enemies and carried out a number of assassinations against the leaders of the Islamic *jihād* movement motivated by its own interests. Some Iranian researchers considered that sect as revolutionary because of the injustice and oppression of the Sunni Arab people and their monopoly of all aspects of life and depriving all those who did not embrace their religious beliefs and those who did not belong to their nationalism from their legitimate rights for fear of Shiite Persian tendency that hated the Arabs and preferred *al-'Ajam-Persian "al-Shu'ūbiyya movement"*. For example, a research published in the Faşlnāmih-yi Tārīkh-i Islām, Autumn, No.07, 1961, Pp137-168, by Nāşirīţāhirī, 'Abd Allāh, entitled: **Rāşīd ad-Dīn Sinān, Pyshvā-yi Buzurg-i Ismā'iyliyan-i Shām dar 'aşr-i Şalībī**. The researcher considers that Rāşīd al-Dīn Ibn Sinān, the leader of the Assassins, is a revolutionary leader, as he is considered one of the greatest and

bravest leaders of the Shiite Nizari Isma'ilism during the period of the Crusades. He also regards that the Zangids, the Ayyubids, and the Crusaders were a triple enemy of the Shiite Nizari Isma'ilism, while he regards Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī an enemy of the Nizari Isma'ilism because he eliminated the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt and destroyed its civilizational heritage. Therefore, he acknowledges the alliance of the Hashishiyah group with the Crusaders against Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zengī and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī. In another matter, he denies the accusation of the Fatimid Caliphate's failure to wage *jihād* against the Crusaders to the point where he asserted that a number of Isma'ilism fighters participated with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī in the Battle of Hattin.

The Shiite Iranian researchers also disagreed with many Sunni Arab researchers on topics related to the attitudes and roles of the Fatimid Shiite state towards the Crusades. Thus, Arab researchers accused the Fatimid Shiite state that they were the main reason for the incursion of the crusades in large and important parts of the regions of the Levant and the loss of Jerusalem because of the peace treaties that were held with the Franks, and its failure to address the crusades. However, the Iranian researchers defended the attitudes of the Fatimid Shiite state through historical evidence of the efforts of its military leaders in the fight against the Frank and their sacrifices in order to recapture Jerusalem and other Levantine cities. They also said that the Fatimid Shiite state was the biggest loser of the crusades, because it undermined its throne in Egypt and its transfer to the Sunni Ayyubids

The Shiite Iranian researchers also disagreed with many Sunni Arab researchers on topics related to the eradication of rational sciences, especially philosophy by the Ayyubids, being sciences adopted by the Shiite Fatimid call. The Arabs defended the attitude of Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī when executing the Persian philosopher, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥabash Ibn Amīrak al-Kurdī, known as the martyr (d.586 A.H/1190 A.D), to maintain the Islamic front at a time when no one was allowed to destroy the cohesion of the internal front. However, the Iranian researchers accused Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī of using excessive force against any team belonging to the ideology or doctrine of the Shiite Isma'ilism, fearing of the appearance any scholarly, political or economic teams that could revive the Shiite Fatimid heritage. The Iranian researchers also accused Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī of insulting the Fatimid Caliph, al-‘Āḍid li-Dīn’llāh. They also did not believe that the circumstances of his death were normal, yet it emphasized that his death was the result of a conspiracy by a group of scholars of entourage of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī.

I have benefited from the Iranian studies that I reviewed during the preparation of this thesis regarding the roles and attitudes of the intellectual and religious elites in leading the efforts aimed at strengthening the Sunni doctrine in Egypt and the Levant and fighting the Fatimid Shiite doctrine, and their continuous endeavor to eradicate the heritage and sciences of the Fatimid state. Iranian researchers expanded in this field during the preparation of their studies, as they were looking for historical evidence to prove that the Ismaili Shiites were persecuted during the Ayyubid era, especially during the era of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī as a result of inciting Sunni scholars who were considered among his entourage. They also focused in their studies on research

in the field of philosophy and the famous Persian scholars, particularly Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, to show their scientific superiority over the Sunnis who were busy researching religious sciences, and to clarify that the reason for their persecution by Sunni scholars was due to envy and jealousy because they could not keep up with them.

The study draws on a variety of sources related to **Hebrew References** which included very important information on the holy land during the Crusades. The Israeli historians have paid much attention to the study of the history and its effects on the holy land, as they belong to the state that currently controls the holy land, encouraging the researchers to chronicle everything related to the history of Jerusalem, especially during the Crusades because it was the focus of the conflict between the Muslims and the Franks. In addition, the Israeli historians were keen to chronicle the situations and news of the Jews in the Levant during the Crusades and their destiny in the midst of the change of regimes during the Crusades, assessing the attitudes of Jews and the parties of the Crusader Islamic conflict towards each other.

After doing an extensive research in the theses submitted to their universities on topics related to the Crusades, it turned out that they are very few and they dealt with topics related to the conditions of the Jewish communities in Egypt and the cities of the Levant such as Jerusalem and Ashkelon, and how to preserve their presence as strangers in the religion in light of a bitter conflict in addition to other topics related to the city of Jerusalem in particular. These studies did not focus on topics outside the scope of their religious interests. I also noticed, through my review of historical research and university theses which dealt with topics related to the period of the Crusades which I chose the most important in this thesis, that the Israeli historians did not look at the basic Islamic and Crusader sources, but rather relied on documenting their texts, narratives and opinions on some orientalist books only. This is considered as a methodological defect and a clear scientific deficiency. I also noticed that they focus on studies glorifying the Crusaders leaders who were among the leaders most hostile to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, and through this they deliberately invoke any text, narrative or legend that describes them as martyrs and saints. In return, they recall and use narratives and texts that describe Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī as the devil, the beast and the hateful, on the grounds that they are narratives and opinions of other historians and researchers. Utilizing them outside their historical context by mobilizing the largest amount of these narratives and opinions without criticism, analyzing, historical comparison or interference by the researcher, leads to making them religious studies rather than being historically impartial. For example, a master's thesis was submitted to the Department of General History at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in 2013 by Eran Shlomi, entitled: **Raynald of Châtillon, Prince of Antioch, Lord of Oultre-Jourdain: The Shaping of his Image in Europe, 1187-1250.**

CONTRIBUTION OF THE DISSERTATION TO THE FIELD

1. The present thesis seeks to overcome a major shortcoming of the state of research related to the highly ideologized nature of earlier studies on the Muslim-Crusader conflict during the Ayyubid era produced in Arab and other Muslim-majority countries, especially in university theses and specialized research papers published in academic journals. Among these shortcomings is the trend to discuss the topic without a research distance and neutrality by supporting a particular ideological position regardless of the historical evidence. Instead of following this trend, the present dissertation seeks to present a more comprehensive picture, including without to neglect the shortcomings of the rulers and scholars under study. In earlier research, many Arab and Muslim historians perceive the critical approach to the era as an insult to the Islamic faith at a time when the Ayyubids are considered to have been the leaders of *jihād* against the Crusader presence in Egypt and the Levant. This PhD thesis, contrariwise, focuses on rewriting history in a systematic, academically neutral manner based on sources, references and evidence derived from both sides of the Islamic-Crusader conflict.
2. The dissertation seeks to avoid a particular one-sidedness of earlier research on the topic stemming from a biased and selective approach to the sources. Historical Islamic studies in the modern Arab world have relied mostly on Arabic and Islamic sources, and many researchers did not undertake an in-depth study of specialized scholarly literature published in peer-reviewed journals in Europe, the United States and Canada. Many researchers have not been aware of specialized theses submitted to universities in those countries although their professors and students have long experiences, broad interests and in-depth scholarly research on Orientalism, especially in the field of the Muslim-Crusaders conflict. In addition, they did not familiarize themselves with the literature of contemporary Persian and Turkish historians whose nations were a major party in the Muslim-Crusader conflict in the period under study.
3. The thesis seeks to build its balanced and historically neutral approach by relying on all relevant sources and references of historians, including Orientalists, who belong to nations with central roles and positions in the intellectual, religious and military aspects of the events under study. The thus introduced comprehensive in-depth approach highlights and discusses both the positive and negative roles and positions of the Ayyubid rulers and scholars in various aspects of public life. In so doing, it elaborates on a historical account in contradistinction to earlier research offered by most of the scholars in the Arab and Muslim-majority world, particularly on the military aspect related to the events that preceded, accompanied and followed the battle of Hattin that “returned” Jerusalem to Muslims. Earlier studies, for example, focused extensively to the individual heroic image of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Saladin), and the entourage of scholars close to the royal palace. Unlike those previous studies, the present thesis undertakes a social historical approach embracing the multiplicity of roles and attitudes, including by examining cases of political and military treason committed by some rulers and scholars who did not guard the interest of Muslims.

4. While, in turn, the bulk of the earlier European, American, Turkish and Iranian scholarly work did not consider the specialized Arab-Muslim research on the topic, the present thesis draws on material from the literature, particularly paying attention to theses prepared in Arab, other Muslim-majority, European, Turkish, Iranian, Canadian, American and Hebrew universities.
5. The present PhD dissertation presents the roles and positions of the Turkish and Iranian leaders and scholars neutrally by demonstrating not only their roles but also their positive and negative political, intellectual and military positions. In opposition, most of the recent studies by Iranian researchers focused on the persecution of the Ayyubid rulers against the scholars belonging to the Ismā'īlī Shiite sect, especially the prominent philosophers for fear of reviving the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt. Studies undertaken by Turkish scholars, in turn, focused on the role of the Turkic scholars and leaders and considered them as the elite of the intellectual movement and the protectors of some areas of Egypt and the Levant from the Crusade penetration.
6. Unlike most of the modern Arab, Muslim, European and other historical studies that deal with endowments as a voluntary social system that helps the poor and the needy and contributes to building scientific, health and social institutions, the present dissertation approaches the endowments as a *political system* that under the “cover” of social solidarity aimed to control the course of Ayyubid public life. The thesis thus shows that endowments were used to attract scholars who supported the rulers and to fight and isolate opponents by depriving them of scholarly, professional, financial and moral privileges throughout the establishment of a system of endowments (*waqfiyāt*) stipulating conditions and laws formulated by the rulers and their entourage of scholars and wealthy people to suit their economic interests and serve their administrative, political, intellectual and sectarian aims.
7. In the present PhD dissertation, unlike many university theses conducted by non-Arabists and reviewed during the study, the Arabic terms are sought to be properly transliterated into the Latin alphabet, so the names of people, terms, places and others are pronounced as in their original form. Some ambiguities and factual errors regarding the names of certain rulers, leaders and scholars in the Ayyubid era noticed during the review of a number of theses submitted to Arab and European universities were corrected.

PUBLICATIONS

Evolving from the Dissertation

1. (02-04 November 2018): **The Reasons of the Ayyubids' Resistance against Philosophy and Its Implications on the Culture of the Era (570–648 A.H/1174–1250 A.D)**, Submitted to Conference: 6th International Conference on Modern Approach in Humanities, Organizer: (ACAVENT), Vilnius, Lithuania. Venue of the held conference: Centre Malesherbes de l'Université Paris, Sorbonne, Sorbonne University, Paris, France, Published in: Diamond Scientific Publication, Vilnius, Lithuania, Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences, 2018, pp. 21–56.
<http://www.dpublication.com/abstract-of-6th-mah/mah-6-178/>
2. (May 2019): **The Isolation Policy against the Intellectual Elites and Religious Leaders Opposing the Ayyubid Rule (570–648 A.H/1174–1250 A.D)**, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IJHSS), Center for Promoting Ideas (CPI), New York, USA, Vol.09, No.05, pp.211–220. <http://www.ijhssnet.com/journal/index/4351>
3. (31 December 2019): **The Problematics of Frankish Women Participation in Fighting against Muslims during the Crusades on Egypt and the Levant**, Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, University of Nouakchott, Mauritania, No.38, pp.163–178.
<http://rehs.mr/index.php/2019-06-06-12-52-52/56-2019-12-23-18-59-55.html>;
<http://rehs.mr/pdf/38.pdf>
4. (Winter 2020): **Maqdisi 'Ulamā' Displaced during the Crusades and Their Influence on Intellectual Life in Damascus**, Jerusalem Quarterly, Institute for Palestine Studies, Ramallah, Palestine, Issue 84, pp.131–138.
This research has received an honorary mention from the Jury for Ibrahim Dakkak Award 2020 to a best outstanding essay addressing either contemporary or historical issues relating to Jerusalem. It was recommended for publication by the jury of Jerusalem Quarterly with a note stating so.
<https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650837>; <https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/Maqdisi%20Ulama%20Displaced%20during%20the%20Crusades%20and%20Their%20Influence%20on%20Intellectual%20Life%20in%20Damascus.pdf>