THE CRUSADES IN ARABIC POETRY UP TO THE DEATH OF NŪR-AD-DĪN

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By

ZAKARIA MUSBAH GHAITH

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Chapter One

The Crusades In Arabic Poetry Between (1097-1127)

1. The attitude of Arabic poetry towards the Crusaders prior to their arrival in Syria.

Since pre-Islamic times Arabic poetry has occupied a prominent place as a record of the Arabs' life in all its aspects. Among these aspects were their wars amongst each other before the emergence of Islam, and later on against the other nations. The poetry of war had reached its highest place at the time of Sayf-ad-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī Prince of Aleppo(944-967)when the celebrated poet al-Mutanabbī and the warrior and poet Abū-Farās al-Ḥamdānī recorded the defeats and victories of their master in eulogies extolling his bravery and heroism in the face of the continuous Byzantine raids on the northern Syrian frontiers.[1] After the reign of Sayf-ad-Dawla the quantity and quality of the poetry of war declined owing to the comparatively long interval of peace with the Byzantines. On the other hand because almost all the wars against the Byzantines after Sayf-ad-Dawla were conducted either by Turkman generals of the Fāṭimids or Saljūqid rulers and Sultans, whose Arabic was superficial and they could not be interested in Arabic literature like the Arab rulers and generals who always encouraged poets to compete at their courts, in reciting their verse and eulogies, through their generous gifts and rewards. It was well over a century after Sayf-ad-Dawla's death when the poetry of war began to appear again. Although it was not abundant and original

1. Al-Maḥāsinī,Z., Shiᶜr al-Ḥarb fī Adab al-ᶜArab, pp.262,298.

like that of the previous century, yet it still had a very important place especially in the circles of the Arab rulers of Aleppo and Mosul, in their dispute over possession of Aleppo or their wars with the Greeks.[1] But the most significant poetry of war appeared shortly before the advent of the Crusading army and then co-existed in the area of Syria and Egypt with the presence of the Franks and their states in Syria.

While the Crusaders were marching towards Antioch news of them reached the people of Syria, who became fear-stricken especially when they saw how their petty rulers were fighting with each other. The danger was imminent. And the rulers were if not indifferent more concerned each with the safety of his own city alone rather than that of the whole country. In this bad situation poetry was not completely absent. Poetry has always been of great influence in arousing the Arab leaders and people and making them fly to their arms to defend themselves against an enemy or attack his territory. The rulers of the main towns and cities of Syria at that time however were not Arabs. They were Saljūqs and Turks.[2] Yet this did not prevent the most distinguished Syrian poet of his time from trying to urge these Turks to rise up and repulse the invading Crusaders. So Ibn al-Khayyāṭ(1058-1123)the Damascene poet composed a resonant poem of 56 lines and presented it to the commander-in-chief of the army of Damascus Ābaq b. ᶜAbd-ar-Razzāq. This poem is one of the best of his poems. The poet exerted all his efforts and skill in order to arouse the fighting zeal of

1. See Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Tarīkh Ḥalab,ii,pp. 15,58-61,63-65 ; Ibn Ḥayyūs, Dīwān, pp. 206,570-77.
2. Gibb,H.A.R., The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades,pp.22-26.

this general. He starts by praising Ābaq as the noblest, bravest and most generous army leader of his time, then he concentrates on the impending danger of the Franks and the atrocities which they might commit against the Muslims and their religion. He says[1]:

Who can compete with you in honour and nobility ?
Who can be an equal to you in authority ?
O chief of the armies your virtues have thwarted
their describer in encompassing them.
.....
Until when (shall you wait) while the polytheists have come like
a swollen torrent, of which the torrent itself is horrified.
From the land of the Franks armies have flowed ~~by night~~,
the size and movement of which are like collapsing mountains.
.....
How can you sleep when there is that which like the noise
of the falling rock? How can you care not while
things have become serious ?
.....
Children of polytheism do not disapprove of mischief, and
they do not know moderation with their oppression.
They do not prevent any one from killing, and they
do not save any effort in respect of murder.
How many a girl, would become out of terror,
beating her cheeks and breast.
.....
So defend your religion and women, the defence
of those who do not see death a loss.

1. Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, Dīwān, pp.182-187.
App., 1.

And block the frontiers by piercing the throats(of the enemy),
for the frontiers deserve to be blocked by you.
.....
And you will not be unable to find someone of power, firm
in opinion and persevering, to improve the situation.
Like the Emir of the armies, who is full of might,
and firmness is his garments at night.
The habits of your might in battle never fail to
fulfil their pledge to give victory.
So,do have a quick victory,and make the whole earth safe.[1]
The heads of the polytheists have ripened, so do not
neglect to pluck them and reap them.
Their edges must be turned blunt,and their power must be
destroyed.
Alp-Arslān did the like of it and he was sharper
than the edge of the sword.
.....
This is his son among you in the boasting place, because of
(the greatness) of his forefather and earnestness,
(Go to the Franks)on horses which might be thought on the
morning of the encounter to be birds carrying
forests and lions.
With thrusts more bitter than the taste of death,
and blows hotter than the blazing fire.
When the swords in the early morning of death, make
various types of blows, deep cuts and slashes.
.....
It was said about the Turks "he who makes peace with them
is truly the most lucky amongst men".

---

1. Lit. level or flat.

This warning cry in which the poet tried to stimulate the commander of the Damascene army by touching on the sensitive spots, such as religion, fear of atrocities, glory of victory and praising the Turks, seems to have been the only effort made by the Arab poets of the time to arouse the enthusiasm and concern of the Syrian rulers in order to make them rise and repel the Crusading army, for in all the Arab sources available nothing else is found to have been composed before the arrival of the Crusaders.

2. The Crusaders' Conquests

A. The Capture Of Edessa

While the Crusaders' army was marching towards Antioch, Baldwin of Boulogne separated from it together with his troops and went towards the Euphrates. In the winter of 1097 Baldwin conquered the two main towns in northern Syria, Tall-Bāshir and Rāwandān.[1] At the beginning of February 1098 he moved to Edessa after he had received an invitation from its Armenian ruler Thoros, who adopted Baldwin and made him his heir. About a month later Baldwin was made the governor of the city after a popular uprising against Thoros. Baldwin assumed the title of Count of Edessa and began to strengthen his position.[2] He started by buying Samosata from Balduk its Turkish ruler who was frightened by Baldwin's preparations to attack his town.[3] The possession of Samosata was followed by the capitulation of Sarūj[6] and then a few months later by Birejik (al-Bīra).[4]

1. Runciman,S., A history of the Crusades,vol. i, p.203.
2. Ibid.,i,p.208. 3. Loc.cit.
4. Op.cit. i,p.210.

Thus the first Crusading state was founded in the East. Apart from its base Edessa, all the other main towns were captured from Muslim hands. The loss of these towns seems not to have moved the Arab poets of the time. There was not even any poetry said in lamentation for these towns. The reason for this seeming indifference may be ascribed to the fact that all these towns were ruled by Turks who were not interested in, or did not appreciate Arabic poetry. On the other hand their loss was mainly by peaceful capitulation which meant only the change of the rulers. Thirdly there was the tolerant policy of Baldwin towards the Muslim population. All these factors together may be regarded as responsiple for the silence of poets at this early phase of struggle between the Muslims and the Franks. Yet the fall of these northern towns did not pass absolutely unreflected in Arabic literature. The loss of Sarūj in particular and what happened to its inhabitants had been referred to in the first Maqāma of the fifty famous Maqāmāt(Assemblies) composed by al-Ḥarīrī (1054-1122). The hero of these Maqāmāt is a man from Sarūj called Abū-Zayd. Whether he was a true refugee from Sarūj or not is not significant. The imporant thing is that he was aware of the loss of Sarūj to the Franks, and he made an advantage of the sufferings of the people of Sarūj in order to gain the sympathy of the people gathered at the mosque of Banū-Ḥarām, amongst whom happened to be the man of letters al-Ḥarīrī who was impressed by Abū-Zayd's wit, eloquence, and the way in which he displayed his misfortune[1], and made him write his first Maqāma - the 48th of the collection- in which he depicts how a sinful man stood in the mosque asking people for advice as to

1. Cf. H.A.R.,Gibb, Arabic literature, PP. 87-88;D.S.,Margoliuth,al-Ḥarīrī, EI, 3rth ed. Vol. iii,P.221.

what to do to atone for his sins and acquire the forgiveness of God, and Abū-Zayd seized the opportunity, arose and said in verse:[1]

O splendid man who surpassed others in glory and honour.
And who seeks guidance so as to survive in the hereafter.
I have the remedy for what made you spend the night sleepless.
I am one of the people of Sarūj the possessors of religion and guidance.
I was wealthy when I was in it, obeyed and of authority.
And those of misfortune see in me refuge and objective.
But God had ordained to change what he had accustomed us to.
The Rūm had invaded our land after hatred had been generated.
They violated the harem of whom they found isolated.
And they took all what I had in it whether hidden or shown.
So I wandered in the countries, exiled and outcast.
Begging from people after I had previously been begged from.
You see me in poverty for which I wish death.
And the calamity which caused the dispersion of my happiness,
(Is) the captivity of my daughter whom they (the Franks) had imprisoned in order to be ransomed.
So, realise of my ordeal, and extend a hand to my aid.
And protect me from Time, which had oppressed and wronged me.
And help me to free my daughter from the hands of the enemy.
And so sins will be forgiven for the man who had rebelled.

Thus we find that the loss of Sarūj to the Franks at least was recorded indirectly in Arabic literature, though not deliberately and

1. Al-Harīrī, Maqāmāt, Vol. ii, PP.290-91.
App., 2.

out of religious or patriotic feelings.

B. The Fall Of Antioch, Al-Ma'arra And Jerusalem

The arrival of the Crusaders in Syria was indeed at the most suitable and favourable time for them.[1] They arrived when Muslim power was divided religiously and politically. In Baghdad there was the centre of the sunnite Caliphate under the 'Abbāsids whose Caliphs were almost mere figureheads beside the Saljūqid Sultans.[2] The other great religious schism which was a big challenge and in permanent hostility to the sunnite regime, was the Fāṭimid Caliphate in Egypt, which practiced authority over some regions in Syria for long periods especially Palestine.[3] From the political standpoint there was that conflict between the two Caliphates on one hand . On the other hand the sons of Malikshāh who died in 1092 were fighting each other in Iraq and Persia over the succession to the Sultanate.[4] At the same time the sons of Tutush b. Alp-Arslān who died in 1095, Riḍwān of Aleppo and Duqāq of Damascus were fighting each other also. There were other independent rulers in Syria, such as Yāghī - Siyān of Antioch, Īlghāzi and Suqmān sons of Urtuq in Jerusalem, and Diyār-Bakr, and Janāḥ-ad-Dawla Riḍwān's atabeg in the city of Ḥimṣ. Every one of these petty rulers was eager and anxious to dispossess the other of his dominions. The brothers Riḍwān and Duqāq were persistent in waging wars against each other, joined every time by one or two other allies. For instance just before

1. Gibb,H.A.R., The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, P.14.
2. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al A'yān,Vol. ii,P.125.
3. The Saljuqs replaced the Fāṭimids in Palestine from 1070. Cf. Ibn-al-Athīr, Vol. X,P.36.
4. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, an-Nujūm az-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira,V, PP.162-165.

the approach of the Crusaders, Riḍwān ,Yāghī-Siyān and Suqmān son of Urtuq were at Shayzar preparing their forces to march against Damascus and Ḥimṣ.[1] This mutual hostility and distrust among the governors of Syria was undoubtedly a strong cause for the delay of the military aid sent to relieve Antioch of its siege by the Franks who captured it after a desperate resistance lasting from 7th October 1097 until 3rd of June 1098. This hostility was also responsible for the non cooperation between Duqāq and Riḍwān when each one of them tried to send a relieving army to Antioch , but both of their attempts were foiled and ended in their forces being driven back by the Franks.[2] More over it may be regarded as a reducing factor to the effect of the poem which was composed by Ibn al-Khayyāṭ to arouse the commander of the Damascene army, and may have discouraged him and other Arab poets from composing any more poetry in order to arouse the rulers of Syria. This may explain the absence of rousing poetry, but cannot serve as an excuse for the poets of the time not to describe what they saw or heard, or express what they or the people of Antioch felt and suffered as a result of the conquest of their city. There was indeed a fertile field for literature and poetry in the happenings of these eight months of fear and hope on both sides, the besiegers and the defenders. At any rate, the absence of any poetical account of the loss of Antioch, by no means indicates the total silence of the poets, who were numerous and their extant poetry does not include any thing that they may have said about it. In fact it is more likely that there was poetry

1. Gibb, H.A.R.,op.cit.P.31.

2. Runciman,S., A History of the Crusades, Vol.i,PP.221,225-26.

composed mourning the fall of Antioch, but was lost. It seems impropable that such a significant event would have gone without being recorded by the poets in verse. This is true, at least in the case of Antioch itself when it was reconquered from the Greeks only fifteen years earlier by Sulaymān b. Qutlumish, after it had been in their hands for well over a century. On this occasion we find the poet Abū-l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī (d. 1113) praises Sulaymān for this great conquest in a poem which starts with these lines[1]:

> A fire, on the rough sides of a dusty sandy hill shone
> like the forelock of a blond horse.
> And you have conquered Antioch of the Rūm which (in the past)
> had opened its fortresses to Alexander.
> (When)your horses trampled its land, the daughters of the
> pale-skinned people started to miscarry.

After Antioch al-Maᶜarra was the next big town conquered by the Crusaders. They had besieged it on 27 November 1098 and took it by force after a fortnight's siege, in which the Crusaders were very much infuriated by the vigour of the defence offered by its population[2]. After their triumph the Crusaders looted the town, set on fire and killed all its men and enslaved the women and children though Bohemond had given them assurance of protection[3]. Ibn al-Athīr estimated the number of people killed at al-Maᶜarra at one hundred thousand souls[4]. Nevertheless,

1. Ḥabashī, Ḥasan, Al-Ḥarb aṣ-Ṣalībiyya al-Ūlā, P.111. App.,3.
2. William of Tyre, A History of deeds done beyond the sea, Vol. i,P.310.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fī at-Tārīkh,Vol. X,P.190.
3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl Tarīkh Dimashq, 136.

although this figure may seem greatly exaggerated, it still bespeaks the magnitude of the comprehensive disaster which afflicted this city. The dimensions of this misfortune, however can be easily seen in the literature said in lamentation of al-Ma'arra. Two expressive lines of poetry were said by Abū-l-Mu'āfā b. al-Muhadhdhab (d. 1118) a native of al-Ma'arra, when he saw it in ruins and empty of its inhabitants. The lines are [1] :

> I have dwelt in Syria at aplace, its miserable resident should be excused (from any blame).
> It was caught by epidemic, and the enemy became its neighbour, so its people are martyrs between stabbing and plague.

Another poet from Syria Maḥmūd b. 'Alī (d. 1111) described the sad picture of al-Ma'arra after the Franks had left in these three lines of verse [2] :

> O companion, this is a town to which as you see God had predetermined devastation.
> Halt your camel for a while and bewail those who were in it of old and young people.
> If you enter it one day, then contemplate over it , because it was the dwelling place of the beloved.

In corroboration of the information obtained from historians about the great misfortunes brought to al-Ma'arra by the Franks, another poet of the city Abū-Bishr b. al-Ḥawwāri expressed in wailing verse

1. 'Imād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, the Syrian pt. Vol. ii, PP. 129. App., 4.

2. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, an-Nujūm, V, P. 200. App. 5

his sorrow over the destruction of his town and consoled himself with the idea that this calamity was inevitable, for it is the law of this life. It happened to other capital[a] cities before in Persia and Yemen and so on.[1] The verse reads :

After my attempts to recognize, I wonder, whether these
are roads of beasts or my house and homeland ?
I could not identify it, then its playing fields have reminded
me of childhood among my brethren and playmates.
So I inclined to ask them while my tears were pouring
down, and my broken heart suffering from its grief.
O home, why I see time has dealt out us and you
in a tyrannical and criminal way ?
Had it been able to reply, it would have said; thus it had
done in the ancient times to Nuᶜmān and his Ḥīrah.
And there is an example to the enquirers in the (ruins) of
the cities of Anū-Shirwān, and in what happened to
Sayf and Ghumdān.[2]
So go to your business, for in this life there are various
regimes which come and others go, while everyone will perish.

So far the reaction of the Arab poets of Syria towards the Crusaders' invasion was confined to the aforementioned pieces of elegiac poetry, which portrayed to some extent the state of al-Maᶜarra after the Franks

1. Imād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, the Syrian pt.ii, P.87. App., 6.

2. A large building in Sanᶜā' was destroyed by ᶜUthmān b. Affān, Cf. an-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, i, P.384.; Al-Ḥimyarī, Shams al-ᶜulūm, P. 81.

had left it for Jerusalem.

Jerusalem was now in the hands of the Fāṭimids who took it by the sword from the sons of Urtuq after the Crusaders' conquest of Antioch.[1] The Crusaders however succeeded in conquering the city, after a blockade of forty days, on 14th of July 1099. Thus they acquired their highest objective after great hardships and sufferings. Their triumph as the poet Ibn al-Khayyāṭ foretold did not restrain them from mischief or prevent them from killing. "No mercy was shown to anyone and the whole place was flooded with the blood of the victims".[2] " When Raymond of Aguilers later that morning went to visit the temple area he had to pick his way through corpses and blood that reached up to his knees.[3] " The influence of this horrifying massacre was great. The people of Syria realized that their rulers were hopeless. Therefore, a delegation was formed under the Qaḍī Abū-Sa'd al-Harawī and went to Baghdad with the aim of urging the Caliph to do something to protect the Muslims of Syria and avenge their losses. The Caliph responded by sending a delegation of some Qāḍīs to Ḥulwān in persia where the Saljūqid Sultan Barqyārūq resided.[4] The Caliph could not do anything else beyond that because all the military power was in the hands of the Sultans. His delegation however returned empty-handed, for actual warfare was taking place between the sons of Malikshāh over the succession to the throne of the Sultanate. Thus the Syrian delegation's aim and their efforts exerted to recruit an army to counter the

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, P. 193.
2. William of Tyre, A History of deeds done beyond the sea, Vol.i, P.371.
3. Runciman, S. A History of the Crusades, i, P. 287.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit. p.192.

Crusaders came to nothing. Among the means this delegation employed in order to arouse the zeal of the Caliph and the population of Baghdad was poetry. Books of history have preserved for us two poems which were recited during the stay of the delegation in Baghdad. One of these two is attributed to the poet Abū-l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī. IN this poem the poet is concerned with arousing the zeal and enthusiasm of the masses of Baghdad, to achieve this end he started with " shedding bloody tears " and described the affliction which befell the Muslims of Syria and the cause of Islam. Then he proceeded and focused his efforts on exhorting the people to go for war, for the sake of Muhammad, rewards from God and protection of their women, or if they do not want to respond to any of these motives, then why not come for the sake of booty. The poem reads [1]:

Our flowing tears are mixed with blood, and nothing in us remained to be abused.
A man's worst weapon is tears which he sheds, while the fire of war is kindled by swords.
O children of Islam truly there are behind you events which levels the camel's hump with the soles of its feet.
How can you drowse in the shade of security and happiness ?
Or enjoy a delicate life like the flowers of a garden ?
And how can the eye sleep fully ? while there are catastrophies which awake every one asleep.
And your brethren in Syria their places of rest became the backs of horses or the stomachs of eagles.

1. Ibid., P. 192.
App., 7.

The Rum caused them to suffer humiliation, while you pull
(behind you) the tail of luxury, the deed of peace makers.
How much blood was shed? and how many a beatiful woman
like a doll, hides her beauty with her hands out of shyness.
Where the blades of the white swords are red, and the tawny
long lances' sharp points are dripping with blood.
And there between the quick piercing and blowing is a scene which,
when children see it, their hair becomes white.
These wars, whoever avoid them in order to keep safe,
he will later on regret it.

.....

(Because of these wars) he who is buried in Ṭayba is about
to cry with the loudest voice , O house of Hāshim.
I see my nation do not direct, hastily, their spears towards
the enemy, and the pillars of religion became weak.
And they evade the fire of war out of fear of death, and
they do not realise that disgrace clings eternally.
How can the heroes of the Arabs accept to suffer damage ?
and how can the champions of the persians acquiesce humiliation?
Would that those who will not want to protect the faith out
of zeal, would they protect their women jealously.
If they do not wish for the divine reward when war becomes
fierce, would that they go to it out of desire for booty.
If these noses surrender to creatures, then may they only
sneeze with mutilated and humiliated ones.
We have summoned you while war is looking at us insistently
with glances like those of the eagles.

They (the eagles) expect from us an Arabian raid, that makes the Rūm prolong biting their thumps.

If you after all, were not angered by this, we would throw to our enemy our young descendants.

This poem is indeed the outpouring of the heart. Because of its emotional tone it had a strong influence on the audience when it was recited in the mosques of Baghdad, to the extent that they wept and mourned the victims of the Muslims until they could not carry on fasting, because the time was Ramaḍān.[1] In spite of this sensational response and sympathy yet the delegation failed to achieve any practical aid to the cause of the Muslims concerned, owing to the fact that the real rulers of Iraq were at strife with each other and unless their dispute ended nothing could be done at that juncture.

The second poem which is not ascribed to a named poet had the same purpose, that is to stimulate the ardour and anger of the Muslims, that they may rise and go to wage a Holy War against the invaders. Unlike the previous poem its metre is al-Wāfir, which is famous as being the most popular metre for the poetry of war and boasting.[2] The choice of this metre makes a difference, because it is easier to learn the poetry of this metre by rote, for it has a quick and regular musical tone which moves the feelings out of delight. Since the meanings and words employed in this verse are characterised by description of sad pictures it might have been more convenient to use other than this metre. This poem also has other peculiarities

1. Ibn al-Athīr, Loc. cit.

2. See Muʿallaqat ʿAmr b. Kulthūm.

such as perspicuous expressions and words which may be understood by any ordinary man. Secondly its shortness and frequency of exclamatory question marks and finally its brief and expressive end which summon all men of reason to respond to God and come to defend Islam. Here is the poem[1] :

Unbelief has inflicted upon Islam oppression, because
of which religion will protract its wailing.
A lost right, a profaned home, a cutting sword
and pouring blood.
A nd how many a Muslim became captive, and how
many a woman of honour was violated.
And how many a mosque was transferred into a church,
on its niche the cross was displayed .
Blood of pigs is used inside it as their perfume,
and burning of the Qur'ān there in is their incense.
Matters, had a child thought of them, white hair
would have intruded into his forelocks.
How could it be that Muslim women are captured in
every frontier, and the living of the Muslims is still good.
Have God and Islam no right to be defended by
both young and old men ?
Say to those who possess reason wherever they might be,
respond to God, woe unto you respond.

1. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, an-Nūjum az-Zāhira, Vol. V.PP. 151-52. App., 8.

3. The Role Of Poetry Before The Rise Of Zankī

Between the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 and the emergence of Imād-ad-Dīn Zankī in 1127 as governor of Mosul many developmens took place in Syria and Palestine which led to the expansion of the territories which were held by the Crusaders and henceforth to the consolidation of their position in the area.

After the loss of Jerusalem and until 1104 the Egyptians directed five successive expeditions against the Franks. The outcome of them was always a fiasco except in the third one when the Egyptian army wiped out the army of Jerusalem which was virtually left without a garrison. Had the Egyptians attempted to capture Jerusalem they would have taken it very easily.[1]

In 1100 Bohemond Prince of Antioch was captured by the Danishmend Emir and not freed until 1103.[2]

In May 1104 the Franks suffered a disastrous defeat at Ḥarrān, and Baldwin II and Joscelin of Edessa both were taken prisoners by Suqmān and Jekermish rulers of Mardīn and Mosul respectively.[3]

In the course of the following year Acre was conquered by the Franks, and in 1105 they captured also the castle of Artāḥ from Fakhr-al-Mulk b. ʿAmmār. In 1109 they took ʿArqa, and on 12th July of the same year they conquered Tripoli and sacked it.[4] Less than fortnight

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq, PP. 140-41 ; Runciman, S., ii, PP. 75-77.
2. Runciman, S., i, P. 321.
3. Ibid., ii, PP. 42-43.
4. Ibid., ii, P. 69.

later the Franks forced b. ʿAmmār the ex-ruler of Tripoli to surrender the port of Jubayl. In the following year Beirut was also captured by the Franks with the aid of the Genoese fleet. In December 1110 Sidon surrendered to Baldwin I of Jerusalem. In 1113 Mawdūd of Mosul in a joint action with Tughtekin of Damascus inflicted on King Baldwin a severe defeat near the bridge of as-Ṣunbura on the upper Jordan, in which Baldwin himself was wounded and died later affected by his wound.[1]

In 1116 Tughtekin in another alliance with the new ruler of Mosul Āqsunqur al-Bursuqī, fell on the Franks who were taken by surprise, and killed all who could not escape.[2]

On 28 June 1119 Īlghāzī b. Urtuq ruler of Aleppo achieved a splendid victory over the Franks when Roger of Antioch and his army of seven hundred horsemen and four thousand infantrymen were annihilated save about one hundred horsemen who managed to escape.[3] After this battle which was known to the Franks as the field of blood there was the best opportunity for the Muslims to recover Antioch from the Franks. But Īlghāzī did not follow up his triumph. Instead of marching immediately against Antioch he preferred to conquer the small towns of Sarmadā, al-Athārib and Zardanā.

On 13 September 1122 Count Joscelin of Edessa and Waleran of Birejik together with sixty of their comrades were taken prisoners by Balak b. Bahrām the Urtuqid who cast them in his castle of Kartabirt.[4]

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, P.185 ; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, iv, p.21 ; Ibn Taghri Bardī, v. p208.

2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Ibid., p. 197.

3. Ibid., p. 201; Runciman, S., ii, pp. 148-153.

4. Ibid., ii, p161 ; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubdat al-Ḥalab., ii, p.206.

On 18 April of the following year King Baldwin II himself was taken captive after most of his army was massacred at the very scene of Joscelin captivity, by Balak and his troops.[1] Four months later Balak took from the Franks the town of Albāra. In 1123 the united troops of Tughtekin and Āqsunqur which was besieging ʿAzāz was defeated by the Frankish army who came to relieve the town. On 8th July 1124 the city of Tyre at last after a long siege and many unsuccessful attempts to capture it, capitulated to the combined forces of the Franks and most of its inhabitants left it.[2] In May 1125 the combined armies of Tughtekin and Āqsunqur who became the overlord of Aleppo in addition to Mosul, conquered Kafarṭāb and laid siege to ʿAzāz. Baldwin hurried to the rescue of the Frankish territory with the armies of Antioch, Tripoli and Edessa. At ʿAzāz and near the end of the month" took place one of the most bloodthirsty battles in the history of the Crusades." The Muslims were vanquished.[3] In 1126 Ibn al-Athīr reported the loss of Rafaniyya to the Franks.[4]

This was in brief the most important outstanding results of the continued sanguinary fighting between the invading Franks and the Muslim powers in Syria and Egypt until the appearance of Zankī in 1127 . If we look at the literary history of this period (1099-1127) we shall find the reflection of these aforementioned defeats

1. Runciman,S., Ibid.,ii,p. 162 ; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Ibid.,ii, p.211.
2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Ibid., p.261 ; Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 438.
3. Ibn al-ʿAdīm,Ibid., iip. 231 ; Runciman,S.,ii, p.175.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, x, p.451.

and victories in poetry according to what books of history had recorded very little indeed. For instance after Īlghāzi's splendid triumph over the army of Antioch in 1119 he was congratulated and highly praised by the poets according to Ibn al-Athīr who cites only two lines from a poem recited by the poet al-ʿUẓaymī whose hyperbolic praise of the victorious leader gives an impression that the hostility which was between the Muslims and the Franks is also between the Qur'ān and the Holy book of the Christians, which is contrary to the Qur'ānic teachings. The poet says addressing Īlghāzī[1] :

> Say what ever you like, for your [illegible] saying is acceptable,
> and reliance is upon you after the Creator.
> And the Qur'ān rejoiced when you had achieved victory(for
> its cause),and the Gospel wept for the loss of its men.

Also preserved in the historical books is that which Aḥmad Badawī describes as " collaboratory poetry[2] " ,which expresses the rejoicing of the enemy at the Muslims' defeat and praises the Franks for their heroism. The following two lines whose composer is anonymous represent this kind of attitude[3] :

> By your sword you succoured the religion of Christ,
> what a wonderful man you are O Ṣanjal[4].

1. Ibn al-Athīr,x,p. 390. App., 9.
2. Aḥmad Badawī, al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī ʿAṣr al-Hurūb aṣ-Ṣalībiyya, p. 543.
3. Ibid., p. 544. App., 10.
4. Ṣanjal or Ṣanjīl is the Arabicised name of Raymond vi of Saint Gilles, Count of Toulouse.

Men never heard (before) among what was narrated,
anything worse than the defeat of al-Afḍal.[1]

In this period we find also a third kind of poetry, the type which depicts the hardships and difficult circumstances which the population of Syria underwent. It is "optimistic poetry" and refers to the Muslims' attitude towards this state of constant danger of death, captivity or exile which resulted from the Frankish raids and Conquests.

One example of this literature is the poem al-Munfarijah (the relief) which was composed by Yūsuf b. Muhammad whose nickname is Ibn an-Naḥawī (d. 1119). Here are some verses of his poem :[2]

O hardship when you become severe, you will ease off,
your night foretells the coming of the dawn.
The darkness of the night becomes brightness when the man
with the lamps comes.
Its rain is the clouds of goodness, when the beginning
is due it will come.
The boons of our Lord are numerous for
freeing the souls (from grief).
They have a sweet scent which ever enlivens, so go toward
that scent.
All creatures are in his hands, some are
in affluence and others are in misery.

1. He was the Egyptian minister from 1094 until his assasination in 1121.
2. Muḥammad Kīlānī, al-Ḥurūb aṣ-Ṣalībiyya, p.240.

App., 11.

The presence of theCrusaders in Syria even influenced the love poetry. The military vocabulary indeed existed in this genre before the Crusades. But in this period we find poets employ it at larger scale more than ever before especilly when they come to description of the beauty of the Frankish women. An instance for this phenomenon is the poetry of the celebrated poet of his time Ibn al-Qaysarānī (1085-1153) who was born in Acre and brought up in Qaysariyya(Caesarea), then left it when the Franks occupied the Palestinian coast.[1] On an occasion of passing by or through ʿAzāz which was conquered by Roger of Antioch in 1118, he composed the following verse expressing his inclination towards its women:[2]

I wonder what happened to my honour when I visited ʿAzāz,
and passed by the thirsty antelopes.
.....
They have eyes(their effect is) like the sharpened swords,
and statures which resemble the shaking lances.
.....
(Each one) has a waist (so slender) that the knight
scarcely knows where he should thrust his spear.
She glanced at me, from her eyes swooped down on my
heart(something) which has the wings of a falcon.
And a lock of hair of her which she made like
a crown on a frame has captivated me.
Who will help me in the invasion against the daughters of
the pale-skinned people, surely I am today an invader.

1. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, an-Nujūm.,v, p. 302.

2. ʿImād- ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,The Syrian pt.,i,p.156. App.,12.

Ibn al-Qaysarānī was also so much attracted by the girls of Antioch that he envies those who were taken prisoners by the Franks. He says in a poem[1]:

> Woe to me from a city on the frontiers, which smiles prettily as if it was a mouth.
> You see (there in it) palaces like churches, inside them there are paintings speak out.
> The openings of their windows are occupied, in each window there is a moon smiling.
> They were unveiled, whenever they feel us, pudicity and shyness cover their faces.
> .....
> I travelled and left in their city a heart,
> I wish it was eyes.
> I still envy those who were living in it, because of nearness to them, even I envy those who are prisoners.

On the whole the poetry of this period in respect of the relationship with the emergence of the Crusaders in the Middle East is relatively little. And it is not easy to reach a definite conclusion concerning the nature of this poetry and the part which it might have played in the struggle against the invading Franks, unless more poetry becomes known and available to us. As for the real amount of

1. ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, the Syrian pt., Vol. i, p.100.

App., 13.

poetry which might have been composed, it is presumably scanty. This is true at least in the case of praise poetry. The reason for that is , there was not any crucial conquest on the side of the Muslims which led to the restoration of any of the lost cities. On the contrary the situation was deteriorating gradually, until the Muslims lost all the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean except Ascalon in the south which remained under the Egyptians until 1155. If there was abundant poetry it must have been elegy and lamentation of the conquered homeland and complaints of the injustice of the Time and sufferings of hardships, bereavement and exile.

As for the praise poetry it did not appear strongly until the Muslims achieved real success and triumph at the hands of Zankī, and his son and successor Nūr-ad-Dīn.

Chapter Two

The Reign Of ʿImād-ad-Dīn Zankī (1127-1146)

1. Zankī's Expansionist Policy

This period of the history of the Crusades is distinguished by the passing of the powerful leaders of the first generation of the Crusaders and the coming to power of the second generation leaders whose weakness and discord were among the most important factors responsible for the end of the growth of their states in Syria, and the loss of some of their territories and castles, and moreover the loss of the first founded principality of theirs.[1] On the other hand it is characterised by the increase of the Muslim power, represented by the emergence of Zankī, the strong personality who could check the expansion of the Franks and wrest from them some of their strongholds in northern Syria. Zākī's main policy throughout his rule was to create a united front in the face of the Latins. He realised, from his past experience in the affairs of Syria, that this objective could not be achieved as long as Syria remained split under more than one supreme ruler. Thus Zankī had in fact two enemies in Syria; the Latins on one hand , and the rulers of Damascus and their vassals on the other . Moreover he had also very often to go to Baghdad or Mosul where his presence was required because of the continued conflict between the Caliphs and the Sultans.[2] Zankī at first was invested by the Sultan Maḥmūd (1117-1131) with the governorate of

1. Cf. Runciman,S., A history of the Crusade, ii, p.185.
2. Ibid., p.194.

Mosul in November 1127 in place of the son of al-Bursuqī. From the start Zankī expanded his domains in northern Iraq. By force of arms, but without great difficulty he obtained Nasībīn, Sinjār and Ḥarrān from petty Muslim rulers. When he took Ḥarrān he became close to Joscelin of Edessa. In order to enable himself to better the conditions of his realm and to consolidate his position, he wanted to avoid confrontaion with Joscelin by making a temporary truce with him.[1] Then Zankī began to design the capture of Aleppo which was at this time quarelled over by some lieutenants of al-Bursuqī its previous governor. Then a golden opportunity came to Zankī when the disputants came to him seeking his arbitration. He reconciled them, but did not confirm anyone of them in the desired office. He rather sent his troops which took possession of Aleppo in his name without opposition. This took place in January 1128.

About six months later he conquered Buzā'a and Manbij on his way to Aleppo.[2] After a short stay in it he made for Baghdad where he got from the Sultan a diploma of investiture of the lands to the west of the Euphrates, and then returned to Mosul where he spent the rest of the year 1129.[3]

So far Zankī did not play any part against the Franks for he was

1. Ibn Wāṣil, Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī-Ayyūb, i,p.36.
2. Ibid., i,p.39.
3. Ibid.,i,pp.40-41; Ibn al-'Adīm ,ii,p.243 ; Ibn Taghrī Bardī,v,234.

still unprepared to take the offensive against them. On the other hand they did not attack his territories because they were engaged in preparations to conquer Damascus from Būrī son of Tughtekin. Baldwin II King of Jerusalem and overlord of all of the Latin states was well aware of the strategic significance of Damascus. On hearing of Tughtekin's death on 12 February 1128 Baldwin sent Hugh of Payens, the master of the Knights of the Temple to Scotland, England and France to recruit soldiers there, with the purpose of the conquest of Damascus.[1] It was in November 1129 when Baldwin together with his army, the new Crusaders from Europe, the armies of Tripoli, Antioch and Edessa embarked on the projected attack on Damascus. This action of the Franks was in fact hastened by the opportunity offered to them by the Bāṭinī ruler of Bānyās who asked them to come and take over the town after the extirpation of his followers in Damascus at the hands of Būrī on the4th of September[2]. After they had received Bānyās the Latins marched on Damascus and encamped at Dārayyā near it. They found that Būrī its Lord was ready to defend his capital. The Muslim army waited for the Franks to attack, but the latter did not show any sign that they were going to to do so for several days, owing to the fact that they were awaiting the return of a strong part of their army which went to the south in order to collect supplies for the army. Having realised of this Būrī at once sent secretly

1. Runciman,S., ii,p.179.

2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq, pp. 192-94.

a strong detachment of his army to intercept and ambush this Frankish force. The plan was quite successful and the Frankish knights were all massacred save a few men who escaped with William of Bures their leader. The Muslim force returned to Damascus over-joyed with their easy triumph and booty-laden.[1]

This victory raised the morale of the Muslims and discouraged the Frankish camp. So when the Muslims advanced towards the Franks on the following day they found that they had deserted the place during the night , leaving behind their heavy equipment.

After this serious, but ill-fated attempt to capture Damascus it was natural for Būrī and his people to rejoice over this occasion and celebrate their victory.

As usual amongst the Arabs, poetry was (and still is) the highest form of praise. and this occasion provided the poets with a chance to display their eloquence and skill in praising the victorious leader, his firm stand and policy.

Ibn al-Qaysarānī in the following verse records and describes this event in an easy style, and a strong cheerful tone. Moreover this verse shows clearly the hostile religious attitude towards the Franks:[2]

> The right is rejoicing, the sword is smiling, and the property of the enemies of the protector of the religion is divided.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Ibid., p.198. ; Runciman,S., ii,p. 180.
2.Abū-Shāma , ar-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār ad-Dawlatayn, i, p. 54. App., 14.

You have led the horses, fortified the country, and secured
the people, so you are the holy places (al-ḥillu wa 'l ḥaram)[1].
When the polytheists surrounded us like the night
whose darkness envelopes the world.
You have caused a river of turbid blood to flow,
the waves of which clash with those of despair.
They came by night to plunder souls and pillage property,
But they were plundered by killing and pillaged.
And the tyrant king returned shaken by the heat
of the points of the lance while he is cold.
They came to Damascus thinking it is a gift,
but they left it with nothingness in their hands.
At the coming of the light of the dawn they realised that,
if they do not go quickly their tents will be removed.
So they abandoned most of the oblations and startled away,
and left behind the biggest cross and fled.
Surrendering to the hands of the Muslims, while gluttony,
tempted the lances to go too far in snatching them.
They endeavered (to acquire) the near mosque, but their
feet could not go behind the old farthest mosque[2].

After this foiled endeavour to take Damascus the Latins did not make any further attack on it until the arrival of the second

1. Al-Ḥaram : is the sacred area of Mecca, in which blood shed is not allowed during the pilgrimage season. Al-Ḥill is the places where killing of the animals or fighting is allowed.

2. Note the Ṭibāq between the nearest mosque (of the Umayyad) and the farthest mosque (i.e. al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem).

Crusade in 1148 . Neither Baldwin who died in 1131 nor Būrī who died in the following year could take any further action against the other, for they became occupied with their own problems.[1]

As for Būrī he was now engaged in protecting his dominions from the rising threat of Zankī who in September 1130, in line with his unionist policy treacherously arrested Siwing son of Būrī and took from him the city of Ḥamāh, and then laid siege to Ḥimṣ which he failed to conquer in spite of all attempts.

Concerning Baldwin he had to go to Antioch to sove the problem of succession to governorship of the city after the death of Bohemond II and the disaster which befell its army in February 1130 at the hands of the Turkmen in the Taurus mountains.[2]

Knowing the weakness of Antioch, Zankī raised the siege of Ḥimṣ and vigorously waged his first campaign against the Franks. On 18th November he raided Ma'arrat Maṣrīn and Tall-Bāshir and plundered them. Then he proceeded to al-Athārib and conquered it from Baldwin and destroyed its castle. After this victory he marched on Ḥārim and laid siege to it until the Franks agreed to pay him half of the revenue of the city and its districts.[3] Near the end of the year Zankī went to Mosul and remained there until the summer of 1131, when he came back to Syria. After a short stay in Aleppo he set out towards

1. Cf. Runciman,S., ii, p.184.
2. Ibid., p. 183.
3. Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 466 ; Ibn Wāṣil, i,p42; Stevenson,W.B., The Crusaders in theEast. p. 129.

Ḥimṣ and besieged it once again, but for a short time. His attention was distracted from Syria by the conflict which had recently arisen between the Caliph and al-Mustarshid and the other members of the Saljūqid house who claimed the right to the Sultanate after the death of the Sultan Maḥmūd.

Zankī remained away from Syria until the spring of 1135. During his absence the scale of war with the Franks was limited. The most important event was the striking energy which the new ruler of Damascus Ismā'īl son of Būrī showed when he led the Damascene army in utmost secrecy aganst the strong castle of Bānyās. In an astonishing and swift attack on its Frankish garrison he could storm the city and then conquer its castle in a matter of four days.[1] Eight months later (5th August) in the same way he restored Ḥamāh from the deputy of Zankī.[2]

Concerning the Latin's activities, there was one insignificant raid led by King Fulk of Jerusalem against the territories of Aleppo in December 1132. When Sawār the deputy of Zankī met Fulk in battle he was defeated and fled to Aleppo. But without delay he assembled his troops again and followed the Latins and avenged his previous losses.[3]

Zankī's next presence in Syria was in February 1135. He was desperately invited by Ismā'īl of Damascus to come and take over

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 237 ; Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 481.
2. Ibn Wāṣil, i, p. 53.
3. Op. cit. x, loc.cit. ; Ibn al-Qalānisī, 240.

the city, threatening that he would deliver it to theFranks if Zankī did not come. Zankī arrived hastily from Mosul only to find out that Ismā'īl was assasinated and his brother Maḥmūd installed in his place. Zankī was asked politely not to come. But he determined to carry on his march. He besieged the city of Damascus for a month then abandoned it after being paid homage by Maḥmūd and called by the Caliph ar-Rāshid. During Zankī's occupation in Iraq his deputy Sawār marched out from Aleppo into the Frankish territory as far as Laodicea, killing, ravaging and plundering and then returned with about seven thousand prisoners, men and women of all ages. This raid took place in April 1136.[1]

As far as poetry is concerned thre is no mention in the available sources of any verse composed in respect of the three abovementioned actions crried out by Zankī, Ismā'īl and Sawār against the Franks.

It seems that the mention of such events in poetry was more common in praise poetry. It is known that good poets prefer to present their poetry to the popular, established and strong leaders. By now however none of those rulers possessed all these qualities.

The first mention of Zankī in poetry was after a battle in which he wiped out the Fankish forces of Tripoli and Jerusalem in July 1137 at Bārīn. After his defeat King Fulk and some of his knights resorted to the castle. They were blockaded there until Zankī accepted

1. Ibn alAthīr, xi, p. 26 ; Runciman, S., ii, p.201.

to set them free in return of possession of the fortress. The capture of this fortress was extremely valuable, because it prevented the Franks from penetration into the Muslim area and at the same time controled Ḥamāh and Ḥimṣ.[1] At this occasion Ibn al-Qaysarānī praised Zankī with the following verse[2];

Beware of us, but how can caution avail with (our) swords
which do not leave any thing without distruction.
Where can the kings of polytheism escape with their life to,
from a king one of whose knights is victory, nay fate is
his army .
When 'Imād-ad-Dīn exhausted them by his swift running horse
the flash of which causes eyes to be opened with astonishment.
They fled through passages which became narrow to them, while
death did not become a burden any more, nor escapable.
They have a very long distance to go before survival,
even though the distance to their country is short.
And the religion became afraid neither of a spy nor of
a sword, and the unbelief became neither a body nor a trace.[3]
From now on never fear the Franks combined, for if they
attack (us now) a few people will (be able to) destroy them.
If they kill or fight or chase or besiege, they will
be killed, fought, chased and besieged.

1. Runciman, S., ii, p. 205.

2. Abū-Shāma , ar-Rawḍatayn., i, pp.34-35.

App., 15 .

3. Note the double Jinās in the phrase " lā 'aynan wa lā atharan" .

For how long was the black danger intensified by them, until
the king whose opinions are (like) the gleam of the dawn emerged
May the bright sword like the dawn which will regain from
the enemy what they took, not be separated from the
shadow of the one who gave life to justice[1].
Until the frontiers of Syria became again smiling,
as if ʿUmar came to live among them.

2. The Byzantine Invasion

While Zankī was besieging the Franks in the castle of Bārīn the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus was at the head of his army on the way to Syria to restore to Byzantium its old possessions there. Antioch was his objective. Raymond of Poitiers its governor was coming back from his relieving mission to the Franks who were besieged in Bārīn when he found that the Emperor had already started the siege of the city though not completely. After few days of resistance Raymond acknowledged the Emperor's right and claim to the city and recognized him as his suzerain. After the submission of Raymond it was agreed that he should hand back Antioch to the Emperor who would compensate him with the Muslim towns of Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ and Shayzar after their conquest by joint efforts of both the Franks and the Byzantines.[2] The allies did not start executing their plan until April 1138 .

1. Note the Ṭibāq between Yaṭwī and Nasharū .
2. Runciman,S., ii,p. 213.

On the first day of that month they occupied Bāla . On the 3rd day their cavalry raided the fringes of Ḥamāh.[1] The next step was the capture of Bzā'a by capitulatin on the 9th of April. The Emperor did not keep to his oath to the people who were all taken cptives save four hundred who became Christians including the Qāḍi.[2] Zankī was all this time busy in blockading Ḥimṣ. Having known the Greeks' design on Aleppo he sent reinforcements to it in advance before the allies could reach it on 18th of the month. Finding Aleppo very well defended the Emperor withdrew from it after two days siege. On their way to Shayzar the allies conquered al-Athārib, al-Ma'arra and Kafarṭāb. They encamped before Shayzar on 28th of April and started its blockade. For twenty three days the Byzantine Mangonels bombarded the walls and the town of Shayzar, but without avail. At length the Emperor gave up and ended the war, leaving behind all his siege engines.[3]

The faiure of the Emperor's project was mainly due to the inactivity and unwillingness of the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa to co-operate with him. Raymond did not like the abandonment of Antioch for Shayzar.[4] Another reason for the Emperor's failure is the impregnability of Shayzar, and finally the important role played by Zankī whose manoeuvres produced a great effect on the morale of the

1. Gibb,H.A.R.,The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades ,p. 249.
2. Ibid., p. 250.
3. ibid., p. 251.
4. Runciman,S., ii,p.216.

Emperor, who refused the challenge of Zankī to come to battle with him.[1] Zankī's role was manifested also in another way that is his correspondence with the Frankish Princes and the Emperor which aimed at the creation of misgivings and the increse of mistrust among them. There were probably other factors which may contributed to the fiasco of the Emperor's expedition, but the aforesaid were the most important ones.

The departure of the Emperor meant great relief of tension and end of fear amongst the Muslims. No doubt Zankī was regarded as victorious although he did not engage in any battle with the Emperor's army. When he celebrated the departure of the allies' armies he was extolled in verse and given much more credit than he realy deserved. The poet Muslim b. al-Khiḍr al-Ḥamawī (d. 1139) composed the following verse praising Zankī for his heroism[2]:

> By your firm will O great king, difficulties become
> humble and easy for you.
> How can the Franks hope for your forgiveness, while you
> are standing surely for uprooting them.
> How many a time you made them gulp down the agonies of
> death in a day in which the infant becomes an aged man.
> Your sword is dyed with the blood of their heads,
> and your fame amongst them is great.

1. Ibn Wāṣil, i, p. 81 ; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, pp.39-40.
2. ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat., the Syrian pt., i, pp. 471-72. App., 16.

And every fortified one of them became a prisoner,
and every ward became an orphan.
When you chased them their base Joscelin
wished for death.
He set out wandering in the lands for sometime,
while you are residing at his fortresses.
Do you not see that the dog of the Rūm[1]
thought that you are a merciful king.
But when you alone charged him like an entire army
he realized that mercy will not last (for long time).

you were in the dust of the battle like a blazing
shooting star, and he was like accursed devil.
He wanted to save his soul, so he fled without
a companion to him except death.[2]
He hoped that you would grant it unto him, while you
are generous enough to give it and the World.
I saw you when your door is crowded with
kings who do not move or go.
Every day they kiss a place in your stirrup the stars
cannot reach it.
If you suffer in the way of God, then it is from God
that you will get your reward and Paradise.

1. i,e. the Emperor.
2. Note the Jinās between himām and hamīm.

This poem shows clearly the skill and the poet's capacity in choice of poetical pictures and vocabulary. His moderate use of verbal ornamentation adds to his merit in the field of poetry. Yet his excessive exaggeration in praising Zankī and the use of abusive language against his opponents, decrease the beauty of his verse. The same criticism can be applied on another piece of verse composed by Muslim in which he praises the first lieutenant of Zankī Ṣalāh-ad-Dīn al-Yāghīsiyānī who was in charge of Ḥamāh when it was attacked by Byzantine army. The lines are [1] :

> The dog of the Rūm did not come for anything but to possess Ḥamāh, does the dog assault the lion ?
> He did not revile living in it until he was debarred from it, so the army's wing declined and the heart became broken. [2]

The admirable picture of the poet is his saying :

> So, he fled, while the points of the lances are like shooting stars, pouring death on him.

Immediately after the decampent of the allies' armies on 21st May 1138 Zankī resumed his action to gain Ḥimṣ which still belonged to Damascus. At the end of the month his ambition was at last accomplished

1. Abū- shāma ,i, p. 33.
App., 17.
2. Note the pun on the literal and metaphorical meanings of Janāḥ and Qalb.

by means of marrying Zumurrud Khātūn the mother of Maḥmūd b. Būrī ruler of Damascus.[1] His marriage to Zumurrud was a plan to facilitate his taking over of Ḥimṣ and in the long run Damascus itself.[2] This desire however, was not completely fulfilled. Zumurrud did not urge and encourage Zankī to go and take over Damascus until her son Maḥmūd was murdered about the end of June 1139. Zankī failed to acquire Damascus although he besieged it for six months. Had he attempted its conquests first instead of Baʿlabakk he might have achieved his aim. But because of his violation of his oath to the garrison of Baʿlabakk and his brutal treatment of its population, the people and the army of Damascus determined not to surrender to him or trust him.[3]

After the long siege Unar the Atabeg of Ābaq b. Muḥammad b. Būrī realized the weakness of their position and the growing danger of the loss of Damascus to Zankī. Therefore he appealed to the only power which might help him against Zankī. He asked King Fulk of Jerusalem to come and relieve Damascus in return for Bānyās which was in the hands of Zankī.[4] Fulk was convinced by Unar's argument that if Zankī took Damascus he then would start his next step aginst Jerusalem and the coast. Thus this alliance between the Franks and Damascus made Zankī raise the siege for the moment.

Until 1144 no serious action was taken by Zankī against the Franks,

1. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, p. 269 ; Ibn al-Qalānisī, the Damascus., p. 252.
2. Ibn Wāṣil , i, p. 77.
3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, op. cit. p. 255.
4. Ibid., p. 259 ; Stevenson, W.B., p. 143.

apart from his recovery of the towns of Buzāʿa , al-Athārib, al-Maʿarra an Kafarṭāb from them shortly after the Greek's departure.[1] Most of Zankī's operations afterwards were directed against petty Muslim governorates in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. His aim was to spread his authority all over Syria and Iraq.

3. The Fall Of Edessa

When Zankī achieved his objective in extending his authority all over Syria and northern Iraq save Damascus and some few castles which remained independent such as Shayzar and Jaʿbar, he embarked on his greatest plan of conquering Edessa the first Crusading state in the East. According to Ibn al-ʿAdīm Zankī's attention was drawn to Edessa by Jamāl-ad-Dīn of Ḥarrān.[2] He supports this by his claim that after the conquest of Edessa the following verse was found written on the side of the niche of its mosque[3]:

I became empty of the children of the pale-skinned,
and proud with the (Muslim) standard and the pulpit.
(And) close to virtue, ornamented with it,
far from sins and wrong.
(And) purified and yet had it not been for Jamāl-ad-Dīn,
I would not have been cleaned.

1. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, p. 270 ; Ibn Wāṣil, i, p. 83 ; Runciman, S., p. 219.
2. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, op. cit. p. 279.
3. Ibid., p. 280.

App., 18.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm tells that when Jamāl-ad-Dīn learned of these lines of poetry he ordered his name to be replaced by the title of Zankī "ʿImād-ad-Dīn". When Zankī heard of this he said to Jamāl-ad-Dīn[1] : The poet wrote the truth, had it not for you we would not hope for it.

The conquest of Edessa became a sort of legend, because it was like a dream which became a reality. The same abovecited verse was mentioned by Ibn Taghrī Bardī in his hisory of Egypt with the word "Ibn Sunqur" instead of "ʿImād-ad-Dīn", and the omission of the second line[2]. He said that those two lines are the translation of Syriac writing found on a rock appeared in a deep-dug site in Edessa. The translator was a Jew.

Thus we find the second account developed and had some flavour in order to demonstrate that the conquest of Edessa was something predestined and alloted to Zankī, although it is not more than the work of Jamāl-ad-Dīn who resorted to this clever way in gaining the pleasure of Zankī.

The conquest of Edessa took place on 23rd of December 1144 , after 28 days blockade. Undoubtedly Zankī was a far-sighted and an intelligent military leader. In order to surprise the Franks it is reported that when he decided to attack Edessa he pretended that he was intending and busy in preparing to march on Diyār Bakr. Then he suddenly arrived before its walls seizing the opportunity of the absence of its Lord Count JoscelinII from it . When at last the walls collapsed the sldiers took their way into it killing and

1. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, loc.cit.
2. An-Nujūm az-Zāhira , v ,p.275.

pillaging. When Zankī himself entered the city he admired its beauty and said[1] : "it is not wise to ruin such a town" , and gave his orders that all prisoners and plundered material should be freed and returned to their homes. This was carried out so perfectly that only a few things were missed[2]. The fall of the capital was followed by the recovery of Sarūj and all the other places to the east of the Euphrates except Birejik.

The significance of this victory to the Muslims is implied in the abundance of poetry composed in praising of Zankī as well as his senior ministers, in comparison with what was composed or preserved in connection with the previous victories. For the first time in the course of 45 years of events we find poets elaborate their eulogies to the victorious leader and his army.

A nice piece of verse was composed by Ibn al-Athīr in description of Zankī's army while it was marching towards Edessa. In addition to the interesting similes and symbols in the verse it provides us with the fact that the colour of the head dress of the Muslim soldiers was red. The verse says[3] :

> With an army swollen by knights to the extent that
> I thought the land is a sea of weapons.
> And red tongues of the end of the turbans,
> speak to us with the mouths of the winds.

1. Ibn Wāṣil ,ip.94.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Abū-Shāma ,i, pp. 37 .
app., 19.

A nd a splendid (leader) whose army is like a black night
(covering all the land) and his face is like the light
of the dawn.

.....

His firm stand was a heart to the heart and
his dignity a wing to the wing.

The Crusaders saw their success in overrunning the East as a sign of God's grace and His acceptance of them. They believed also that some saints and Christ had helped them in their fighting against the Muslims.[1]

The poet Ibn al-Qaysarānī now contends that the Franks were mistaken in their belief after the fall of their fifty-year old state[2]:

In the conquest of ar-Ruhā (Edessa) there is a sign
contrary to what the Franks used to believe.
They expect the rebirth of the son of Mary to help them,
while they did not profit from his (first) birth.
A city of falsehood for fifty years, the indian
swords have been being turned blunt by its defence.

Then Ibn al-Qaysarānī in another poem of moving and melodious tone describes the joy of the Muslims and advises the kings of the Franks to surrender their kingdoms to Zankī because these countries

1. Cf. Runciman,S.,i, pp.241-45.

2.Abū-Shāma ,op. cit.i, p. 38.

App.,20.

are his. The poem reads[1] :

How wonderful is a victory the goodness of which spreads
over the land, over those whose mischief covered the land.
At the day when the heads are like the blossoms of
a plant the reaper of which are the swords.
No one of them was left without being tied up, and
no one tied was left without being released from his fetters.
No pulpit its wood did not shake (out of joy) and
no copy of the Qur'ān its ink did not shine.
Where will you go to you prisoners of misguidance after
this (defeat), your sinner has been humiliated and his
guidance became dear.

.....

Tell the kings of unbelief after this (defeat) to surrender
their kingdoms, because this land is indeed his own.

.....

O darkness go away from the way of the dawn, how many a time
darkness was murdered by its own length.

.....

TheQibla (Kaʿba) of Islam rose high out of pride of his[2]
highness, had it not been for its pillar, religion could
not have risen high[3].

1. ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīda, the Syrian pt., i, p.155. App., 21.

2. i.e. Zankī.

3. Note the pun on the lit. and metaphorical meanings of "ʿImād-ad-Dīn".

The poet in another verse which he presented to the supreme judge of Syria , shows that he is not satisfied with the capture of Edessa. He looks for more conquest and threatens the Franks that they would not escape revenge[1] :

Prelude of the conquests heralding its completion,
like the dawn at the onset of the returning day.
How wonderful a Badrian stand, gave victory to its
participants by (presence of) the most blessed companion.
O prisoners of perils where will you escape to after this
(defeat),the space is narrow for the survival of the fugitive.
Were you deceived by the lowering of the eyes of the claimant,
while revenge is bound with your blood ?

Ibn al-Qaysarānī almost repeats himself in another poem in which he congratulates Jamāl-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī the minister of Zankī,and energizes him to go and conquer Jerusalem and the coast[2] :

Has the time of passing away of falsity and fulfilment
by the dilatory of his promise not arrived?
Until when will the kings of misguidance evade the sword
which is in charge of their necks.
Do not care about the barking of the wolves
when the brave lion starts roaring.

1. Abū-Shāma , i, p.38,
App., 22.
2. ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīda ,the Syrian pt., i,pp.109-110.
App., 23.

And fight properly in the way of God for the
reward's sake, and return with glory.

.....

If the conquest of ar-Ruhā is a sea, then
its shore is Jerusalem and the coast.
Did you know what those lands have known ? That
those who are residing on them will depart.
I noticed that the Count hopes for the missing of lances,
but the lances must thrust.[1]
He strengthens his forts with all his efforts, how does
a wise man remain wise after such an action ?
(Ask)the accountant who missed the right calclation,
how about the control of the rest of the districts ?
Is it by (the virtue of) your opinion or speach on
war the archer hit the target ?
It is on behalf of the edge of your resolution in dealing
with problems that the sharp sword judged and executed.

The Syrian poets vied with each other to produce new images and metaphores in their eulogies of Zankī. The rival poet of Ibn al-Qaysarānī. Aḥmad b. Munīr aṭ-Ṭarābulsī (1080-1153) recalls to the memory the conquest of ʿAmmūriyya (Amorium) by the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in 838 which is particularly of outstanding fame thanks to the celebrated poet Abū-Tammam. In his poem Ibn Munīr argues that the

1. al-Qumṣ is the Arabic word for the Latin title "Comes" .

conquest of Edessa is greater than that of Amorion, and supports his opinion with the fact that no general tried to conquer it and succeeded. He says[1] :

> The attributes of your glory is a term the meaning of which
> is exalted, may God not take back what He bestowed upon you.
> O sword the hilt of which is in the hand of God,
> and its edges on the heads of His enemies.
> Say to the enemies ; die of grief, for God frustrated
> you and granted victory to him.
> .....
> Where are those who remained behind, to see a preordained
> conquest the wings of which cover the horizons,
> A victory which returned to Islam its joy, so that its
> mouth smiled and its shoulder shook (out of pleasure).
> His conquest discredits al-Muʿtaṣim bi-'l-Lāh and its
> news abrogated the past and caused its oblivion.
> Indeed ar-Ruhā is not like Amorion, and that who wished it
> his objective is not like yours.
> It is the sister of the planets in impregnability,
> no one of the kings wanted to subdue it and succeeded.

Ibn Munīr once again in another verse overrates the importance of the fall of Edessa in the hands of Zankī. Addressing him he says:[2]

1. Abū-Shāma ,i, p.39.
App., 24.
2. Loc. cit.
App., 25.

You have combined the conquest (or opening) of ar-Ruhā
and the closure of its gate, by means of your combination
between plunder ,captivity and killing.
It is the conquest the news of which overshadowed all the
other conquests,and crowned the written and vocal tradition.

Always competing with Ibn al-Qaysarānī Ibn Munīr in order to surpass his rival, at least in the eyes of Zankī, he highly praises him, and promotes him to the rank of the Caliphs[1] :

If justice were to be observed in respect of his titles,
then the commander of the faithful would be the most
suitable one.

Like Ibn al-Qaysarānī he also tries to inspire enthusiasm in Zankī to go and recover Jerusalem from the Franks, whom he warns not to be deceived by Zankī's forbearance[2] :

And tomorrow he will press hard on Jerusalem which will
be thrashed like the dried leaves of plants.
Tell the people who were cheated by his patience,
you will soon taste his odour.

But this suggestion does not rise to the level of that picture, drawn by Ibn al-Qaysarānī, which necessitates the conquest of Jerusalem,

1. Ibid., i, p.40. App.,26.
2. Loc. cit. App.,26.

because it is the shore of the sea of conquest which must be reached.

After this success achieved by Zankī, his attention was distracted from following it up. While besieging Birejik, the last Frankish town to the east of the Euphrates, he received news of the assasination of his deputy in Mosul. Therefore he raised the siege for the moment. After this operation Zankī did not make further attacks on the Franks except that he repulsed an attack made by them to restore Edessa.[1] He also foiled a conspiracy made by some Edessans to get rid of its Muslim garrison. Zankī,however did not live long to resume his war against the Franks. He was assasinated in his bed while he was besieging the castle of Jaʿbar (or Dawsar) on the Euphrates on the 14th of September 1146.

Chaos and disorder followed his death. Bandits and thieves felt free to spread mischief to the extent that made Ibn al-Qalānisī expresses his grief and sorrow for the death of Zankī which resulted in this bad situation.[2] But the greater sorrow was for his loss to the cause of Islam. The verse composed by Abū-'l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī represents how much Zankī was a symbol of hope to the people of Syria or at least to the poet himself and his class. Abū-'l-Ḥakam in bitter and deep sorrow mourns passing of Zankī in the following lines[3]:

> O my eyes do not save tears, cry and shed tears of blood for the loss ofZankī.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, The Damascus Chronicle, p.269.
2. Abū-Shāma ,i, p. 45.
3. Ibid., i, p. 46.

App.,27.

Death did not fear his person, although his
reverential fear was upon every Turk.
Indeed an abode which supplies us with disasters in
my eyes is the first thing which deserves to be abandoned.

.....

Pour over his grave attar of roses, and
drench it with saffron and musk.

.....

Every calamity brought about by Time's turns
is trivial beside the death of Zankī.
After the Rūm were about to submit to him,
and he was about to posses the land undoubtedly.

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Chapter Three

Characteristics Of The Poetry Of This Period

The poetry of the Crusades during the first fifty years constitutes only a part of the whole contemporary Arabic poetry of the time. So it is natural that it has the same characteristics and features of the latter as for its poetical style, images and meanings.

Since the fourth century A.H. the tenth century A.D. ,Arabic poetry has become a craft more than any time before, and a complex one.[1] This phenomenon was in fact a reflection of the new and complicated life of the later ʿAbbāsid period. One example on this complication is the case of the vizier al-Muhallabī (d.963 A.D.) who used to use thirty spoons of glass at every meal in which he needed a spoon.[2] The simple explanation for that habit is that the vizier wanted to make himself conspicuous and distinguish himself from the others by this privilege. This phenomenon of making things difficult made itself clear in Arabic poetry, when most of the poets tended to care more about producing new exotic ideas or images in order to attract the attention and acquire admiration and reputation or just for the sake of showing their comprehensive knowledge of the Arabic language and its mysteries. Al-Mutanabbī (915-965 A.D.) and Abū-'l-ʿAlā'al-Maʿarrī the top poets of their time are famous in this attitude . Al-Maʿarrī's collection "al-Luzūmiyyāt" or "Luzūm mā lā yalzam" (adherence to what is unnecessary) in which he imposed on himself

1. Ḍayf,S., al-fann wa madhāhibuh fī sh-shiʿr al-ʿArabī, p.279.
2.Ibid., p.

making the rhyme of every line of his poems consists of two or three letters instead of the traditional monorhyme is a striking example of his making the poetry difficult and complex.[1] This trend continued after the death of al-Ma'arri(d. 1057 A.D.) . The poet al-Bandanījī was reoprted admiringly by Ibn al-Athīr that he praised Niẓām al-Mulk(d. L092 A.D.) with two poems each of them exceeding forty lines, and one of them had all its letters dotted, whereas the other is free from any dots at all.[2] This form of skill and exotic poetry must have been appreciated and admired by the people of the time, for it continued to appear in the following century. The poetry of Aḥmad al-Arrajānī (d. 1149 A.D.) illustrates clearly the hard effort exerted by him and the other poets in composing new forms of extraordinary poetry. The second line of the following verse composed by al-Arrajānī which can be read from left to right as it is exactly from right to left, is a good example for the verbal jugglery in the poetry[3] :

أحب المرء ظاهره جميل لصاحبه وباطنه سليم

I like the man whose appearance for his friend is nice,
while his intentions at heart are sincere.[4]

مودته تدوم لكل هول وهل كل مودته تدوم

Whose friendship lasts for ever against every dread, and
does every one's friendship last ?

In general the poetry of the Crusades during the first half of the

1. C.f. any verse of al-Luzūmiyyāt in Studies in Islamic poetry, by R.A.Nicholson.

2.Ibn al-Athīr, x, p. 108.

3. Ibn Taghrī Bardī ,v,p. 285. 4. Lit. sound.

twelfth cenury does not rise to the standard of that of the previous times, specilly the poetry of war of Abū-Tammām (806-851 A.D.) and al-Mutanabbī. The reason for the inferiority of the poetry of this period in artistic and literary value is that its poets did not colour their poetry with the philosophical and wide cultural knowledge which was the mainstay of the poetical equipment of the former poets. In order to know the characteristics of the poetry of this period it is suggested to deal first with its prominent poets individually, then afterwards come to a conclusion in respect of their poetical product as a whole.

1. Ibn Al-Khayyāṭ[1]

His name is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad at-Taghlabī surnamed Ibn al-Khayyāṭ ad-Dimashqī. He was born in Damascus in 1058 and died in it in 1123. He left Damascus at his early youth for Tripolī where he tried to start his career at the court of its ruler Jalāl-al-Mulk Ibn ʿAmmār. After a short stay in Tripolī he went to Aleppo in 1079 hoping for better fortune there under Waththāb b. Maḥmūd, the last of the Mirdāsid dynasty. During his stay in Aleppo he met the leading poet of Syria of his time Ibn Ḥayyūs (1003-1081). When the latter saw the poetry of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, he was impressed by

1. Bibliography : Brockelmann, C.,vol. i, p. 294, Sup. i,p.448 ; Dīwān; Ibn Khallikān,i, p. ; Ibn taghrī bardī, v,p. 226 ; adh-Dhahabī, al-ʿIbar fī Khabar man Ghabar, iv, p.

it and said to him "you have announced to me my death". When Ibn al-Khayyāṭ exclaimed why? The answer was, "because Syria must always have a good poet, and two poets do not exist in it at the same time, and you are my equal in this art."[1] Ibn Khallikān reported that he travelled to Persia and composed poetry in praise of its princes. But the poet spent most of his life until his death , in Damascus, for we find the largest part of his poetry is composed in praise of its rulers and description of its social life and the beauty of its gardens.[2]

Ibn al-Khayyāṭ was by the standard of his age the first Syrian poet. This is the testimony of his leading predecessor poet and his successors and biographers. In studying his forgoing poem addressed to Ābaq the commander of the Damascene army, we find that he adopted the conventional form of the Arabic poem. In this comparatively long poem the poet's aim was to rouse the General for fighting. In order to reach this end, he elaborated it by drawing many pictures the ideas of many of them derived either from the Qur'ān or from previous Arab literary tradition. For instance his metaphor in the following line :

> The heads of the polytheists have ripened,
> so do not neglect to reap them and pluck them.

was first used by the despot of Iraq al-Ḥajjāj in his first oration to the populace of Kufa when he was appointed as governor of that country by the Caliph ʿAbd-al-Malik b. Marwān.[3] From the Qur'ān the

1. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, v,p. 227.
2. Cf. the Dīwān, pp. 299-300, 207, 232,234.
3. Cf. Ṭabarī , Tarīkh, Secunda series ii,p. 864.

poet cited the phrase; "make the earth level"[1]. Nevertheless he could draw some live pictures in his verse. Praising Ābaq he compared his fame to the movement of the moon of the sky, the light of which is seen everywhere despite the distance. Another picture is that of the Muslim girls who beat their cheeks and chests with their hands out of fear. In brief all his poetical images are brief but marked by movement. Concerning the use of flowery style two kinds of verbal decoration are noticeable in his poem. The first is the Ṭibāq (The combination between two opposite words or meanings in one line) such as the East and the West (Sharq wa Gharb), and playing and seriousness (Hazlan wa Jiddā) etc. The second is the Jinās (The complete or semi-unity between two words in pronunciation while they differ in meaning) such as his saying "Kunta al-asadda ... wa kunta al-ashadda" (You were the most right ... and the most vigorous). And such as "Na'ilin ... Na'ilin" which mean respectively (bounty and acquiring) . However, the poet used the Jinās more than the Ṭibāq in this poem. We notice also that he frequently used the derivative Jinās such as "Jāsha ...juyūshun" (Armies flowed) etc.

On the whole the poet did not use these two kinds of rhetorical decoration as much as his use of superlatives in describing Ābaq as the most generous and the most kind etc. His exaggeration in praising Ābaq shows clearly his hypocrisy and deficiency in the art of praise. In fact the poet is better in describing the wine and song parties in the palaces and gardens of Damascus , for simple and obvious reason that the poet here expresses his own experiences in life.

1. See the Qur'ān, sūra, xx, verse,53.

2. Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī[1]

His name is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and he is famous as having claimed Umayyad lieage and called himself the Muʿāwī. His place of birth is Kawfan near Abīward in Khurāsān. He was brought up and received his early education there from famous learned men among whom were ʿAbd-al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī and Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abū- l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī. His first patron was the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and then his son Muʾayyad al-Mulk. He left his home for Baghdad at an unknown date and lived there for about twenty years. During his stay in Baghdad he became in charge of the library of its Niẓāmiyya school after 1104 A.D. His life was ended by poison in Aṣfahān in 1113.

Al-Abīwardī is regarded as a traditionalist poet, in the sense that his poetry was like the early Islamic poetry in style and meaning. His poetical attitude can be seen clearly from his poem which composed so as to arouse the people of Iraq and make them go to defend the Muslims of Syria against the Franks. The first point to notice in this poem is that he comes directly to his objective without introducing to it by praising any personality as Ibn al-Khayyāṭ did.
The second is the warmth of its emotions in which the poem of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ was lacking. This poem of al-Abīwardī is indeed of a good quality. His poetical metophors and images are relevant, impressive and stirring. We notice a sort of symbolism in some of his poetical

1. Bibliography : Brockelmann,C., i, 293, SI,447 ; EI , new ed.,p.100; Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān,i,p. 111 ; Ibn Khallikān, , p. ;ʿAlī Jawād aṭ-Ṭāhir, ash-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī fī- l-ʿIrāq wa bilād al-ʿAjam fī ʿAṣr Āl-Saljūq, pp. 106-123 ; Abū-l-Fidā ,Mukhtaṣar, vii,p.380.

pictures such as his urging of the Arabs to launch a raid on the Franks, which causes them to prolong biting on their thumbs. The poem is also characterised by having moving pictures in the majority of its verses, and the poetical unity between these verses. As for his use of verbal ornamentation, it was however very little in comparison with his contemporaries. His showy style is provoking and effective. The vehement and symmetrical music of the poem added to its effectiveness.

3. Aḥmad b. Munīr aṭ-Ṭarābulsī[1]

His name is Abū- l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Munīr b. Muflih surnamed ar-Raffā'. He was born in Tripoli in 1081. He seems to have been prepared to be a poet by his father whose profession was singing and reciting poetry in the fairs of Tripoli.[2] At an early age he memorised the Qur'ān and Arabic poetry, and cultivated himself in Arabic language, poetry and literature. He left Tripoli for Damascus and lived in it as a darner until he was expelled from it by Būrī, because in addition to his Shī'ite attitude he was notorious in composing offensive satirical poetry which had offended the public feeling. After his expulsion from Damascus he went to Shayzar where he was well received and treated by the Munqidhite Prince

1. Bibliography : Brockelmann,C.,i,p.297 ,SI p. 455 ;Ibn Khallikān, i,p.61-63 ;adh-Dhahabī, al-'Ibar., iv,p.130 ;Ibn Taghrī Bardī, an-Nujūm.,v,p. 299 ;Abū-Shāma , ar-Rawḍatayn.,i,pp. 39-40, 49-50, 55, 57,61-62, 69,76-79, 82, 87-88 ; Yāqūt , Irshād.,viii,pp.126-7;'Imād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī,Kharīda.,Syrian pt.,i,p.2 ; Ibn Kathīr,Bidāya,xii, p. 231.

2. Ibn Khallikān,i, p. 61.

Abū-l-ʿAsākir Ṣultān. He does not seem to have praised Zankī before his conquest of Edessa. But after that he remained in the service of Zankī and his son Nūr-ad-Dīn until his death in Aleppo in 1153.

Aḥmad b. Munīr together with his rival Ibn al-Qaysarāni are regarded the best two poets in Syria at their time. Ibn Munīr's poetry contains the traditional themes, but satire was the most prominent part of his poetry. His praise poetry on Zankī and his son Nūr-ad-Dīn is not the best of his poetry. He was admired by some critics of his time except for his satire, and accused by others such as Usāma b. Munqidh with plagiarism.[1] This is true in respect of his borrowing or imitating ideas and images used by previous poets. For example his description of the death of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch in a decisive battle with Nūr-ad-Dīn in which he says[2] :

" And now he is cast in the waste (land) eaten by what was before hunt and eaten by him "

shows that he was influenced by the verse of Abū-Tammām in which he describes how his camel became thin after a hard and long journey:[3]

The lands have grazed it after it had grazed them for a long time while the meadows were watered by heavy rain.

When Nūr-ad-Dīn reconquered Afāmiya from the Franks Ibn Munīr

1. Sallām,M.Z., al-Adab fī al-ʿAṣr al-Ayyūbi,p. 286.
2.Abū-Shāma ,i,p.61. App., 28.
3. Ḍayf,S.,al-Fann wa Madhāhibu fi sh-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī,p.195. App.,29.

made use of the verse composed first by al-Mutanabbī in praise of Sayf-ad-Dawla when he reconquered the frontier-post of al-Ḥadath in 954 from the Byzantines and in which he says[1] :

> (It was)an exile driven away by destiny, then you restored it to the(true)religion with Khaṭṭi lances in destiny's despite.

Ibn Munīr took this idea and put it into the following line[2] :

> The loan of the raiding time, the raiding quality of you rose to it and recovered what it had borrowed(by force).

As for his style , he is fond of ornamenting it with the disease of the age; the Ṭibāq and the Jinās. His insistance on using the Jinās makes him uses the derivative kind as it is seen in the last cited verse. His fondness and admiration of verbal legerdemain expresses itself clearly in the following line/in which he uses grammatical terms in praising Nūr-ad-Dīn[3] :

> The sword outstripped the spear, so its nominative is by conjunction by then, while you were promoted (to your high position) from the beginning.

All the words : sabaqa,al-Muḥalla, raf'uh, nasaq, thumma, bi-l-ibtidā' are grammatical terms. The trick of this line is his pun on the grammatical and intended meaning of "rufi'ta bi-l-ibtidā".

1. Arberry,A.J., Arabic poetry, p. 84. App., 30.
2. Abū-Shāma, i,p.62. App.,31.
3. Ibid., i,p.22. App.,32.

4. Ibn al-Qaysarānī[1]

His name is Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Ṣaghir b. Dāghir al-Makhzūmī al-Khālidī(after Khālid b. al-Walīd) surnamed Sharaf ad-Dīn and known as Ibn al-Qaysarānī. He was born in Acre in 1085 and brought up in Qaysariyya(Caesarea) on the Palestinian coast. He left his home to Damascus after its conquest by the Franks in 1101. In Damascus he studied literature at the hands of the poet Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. In Aleppo he heard the tradition of the Prophet from its preachers. Ibn al-ʿImād mentions that he was good at astronomy and mathematics,[2] and Ibn Khallikān mentions that both Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn as-Samʿānī took tradition from him.[3] He contributed poetry on the events of Syria and the wars with the Franks especially those victories which were achieved by Zankī and his son Nūr-ad-Dīn after him. He served with his poetry also the rulers of Damascus. He died in Damascus at the age of seventy in 1153 shortly after his arrival in it in response to an invitation to him by Ābaq the last of the Būrid dynasty.

Love, mutual satire with aṭ-Ṭarābulsī and praise of Zankī and Nūr-ad-Dīn are the prominent themes of Ibn al-Qaysarānī's poetry.

1.Bibliography: Brockelmann,C.,i,p. Sup.,i,p.455; Ibn Khallikān,ii, p.17.;Abū-Shāma, ar-Rawḍatayn,i,pp. 34-35,38,54-56,58-60 ;ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī,Kharīda,the Syrian pt.,i,pp.109-110,113-14,157-58 ; Ibn Wāṣil,i,pp.121,125; Yāqūt,Irshād,viii,pp.112-121.

2. Shadharāt,iv,p.150. 3. Wafayāt, ii,p. 17.

His eulogies are better than those of his opponent. The reason for that is his little use of Jinās, and that he colours his poetry with much more images and metaphors. In all of his eulogies on Zankī and Nūr-ad-Dīn the purpose of encouraging them to follow up their actions against the Franks until their eviction from the lands which they had occupied, is very clear.

As it has already been shown how aṭ-Ṭarābulsī was influenced by the previous great poets, Ibn al-Qaysarānī also was influenced by them. We find him in some verses takes the idea from previous poets and applies it in another theme. For instance his description of a beautiful woman in the following verse[1] :

> This is the one who plundered the lovers of their sleep,
> do you not see her eye full of drowsiness?

must have been inspired by the idea in the verse of al-Mutanabbī in which he praises Sayf-ad-Dawla for his fighting in a battle[2]:

> You plundered souls, had you possessed which, world would
> have been congratulated that you are eternal.

Another example on his borrowings from the others is this line in which he describes the beauty of a woman in a symbolic and interesting picture[3] :

> I love the one to whom the full moon fell down prostrating,
> do you not see the traces of soil in his face ?

1. Ibn Khallikān,ii,p.17. App., 33. 2. Loc.cit. App.,34.
3.Badawī,A.A.,al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī ʿAṣr al-Ḥurūb aṣ-Ṣalībiyya,p. 148. App.,35.

The idea of this verse is clearly taken from Abū-l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's verse in an elegy in which he wanted to say that even the moon grieved over the death of the lamented person[1]:

> The scar in the face of the bright moon is not old,
> but it is the traces of slapping.

The best example of Ibn al-Qaysarānī's imitation of the previous poets is his poem in praise of Nūr-ad-Dīn, in which he copied the metre and rhyme of that of the famous poem of Abū-Tammām in praise of al-Muʿtaṣim, when he conquered Amorium.[2]

5. Conclusion

From the previous brief survey of the poetry of the first half of the twelfth century, we find that it was to a great extent conventional and dependent on the old Arabic poetry in style and meanings, with more interest in form and diction instead of trying to produce new and profound meanings.

Concerning the attitude of the poetry which was composed as a reaction to the crusading invasion and conquest of parts of Syria it may be summerised in the following:

1. From the start it attempted by drawing a picture of the impending danger of the invasion to stir all kinds of motives in the Turkish generals of Syria in order to make them rise and repulse the invaders.[3]

1. Loc.cit. App.,36.
2. See below, pp.77-78.
3. See above, pp.3-4.

2. Description and lamentation of the destruction of some of the Syrian towns such as al-Ma'arra without revolt or compalaint, but accepting the decree of Fate.[1]
3. Description of the disasters which befell the Syrians and calling upon the authorities and people of Iraq to come to the rescue of their brethren in Syria, by means of rousing in them religious and national motives.[2]
4. The call for endurance and expectation of the end of hardships and misery which must ease off after reaching the climax.[3]
5. Appearance of joyful tone and the rise of morale after the fiasco of the expedition against Damascus.[4]
6. Expression of rejoicing over the victories achieved by Zankī and the appearance of the new trend of urging the victorious leader to go and recapture Jerusalem and the coast from the Franks.

In the following chapter we will see the continuation of this trend throughout the reign of Nūr-ad-Dīn the son and successor of Zankī in Syria.

1. See above, p.12.
2. See above, pp.14-17.
3. See above, p.22.
4. See above, pp.29-30.
5. See above, p.47.

Chapter Four

The Reign Of Nūr-ad-Dīn (1146-1174)

1. Nūr-ad-Dīn's Wars Before The Conquest Of Damascus

On Zankī's death his kingdom was subdivided between his two sons Sayf-ad-Dīn Ghāzī who took over Mosul and Nūr-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd who took Aleppo. So the task and burden of combating the Franks was mainly on Nūr-ad-Dīn who was their immediate neighbour. In spite of this split of Zankī's kingdom and its resources into two parts, the Muslims of Syria continued their progress towards ascendancy over the Franks. Throughout of his reign Nūr-ad-Dīn was obsessed by the aspiration of liberating the Syrian lands from the Franks. The motives behind this obsession were purely religious. The piety and religious mindedness of Nūr-ad-Dīn was outstanding[1]. In the eyes of the Muslims the task of the restoration of Jerusalem to Islam is equally holy to its holiness. Therefore no wonder if the greatest ambition of Nūr-ad-Dīn was the conquest of that city. This ambition was embodied in the magnificent pulpit which he made and stored away until the day of the conquest of Jerusalem when he would ornament the Aqṣā mosque with it[2]. But Nūr-ad-Dīn died before achieving his desired prospect which was however executed later on by his vassal and successor Saladin[3].

1. Stevenson,W.B.,p. 155 ;Ibn al-Qalānisī,The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusade , p. 298. 2. Ibn Wāṣil,Mufarrij al-Kurūb,ii,pp.228-29.
3. Cf. Michel Join-Lambert, Jerusalem,pp.156-57.

All the battles and raids which were carried out by Nūr-ad-Dīn against the Franks were crowned with success, except on two occasions when he was taken by surprise by the Latins of Antioch as we shall see below.[1]

As far as literature is concerned Arabic poetry participated in the struggle of this phase between the Muslims and their opponents. The poetry which is related to this period was not mere panegyrics on Nūr-ad-Dīn and his generals. In addition to that it played an effective role in charging those leaders with energy and resolution for fighting with the Franks. As it will be seen the Arab poets were persistent almost in every poem and on every occasion in their demands or allusions for the recovery of Jerusalem from the Franks.

The first problem which confronted Nūr-ad-Dīn at the outset of his reign was about two months after his father's death when Joscelin II attacked Edessa with connivance and collaboration of its Armenian population. The garrison and the Muslims of the city were put to the sword and Edessa was restored to Joscelin. But he did not enjoy that for long, because he no sooner acquired the city than he found himself trapped in it by Nūr-ad-Dīn and his army. The immediate and quick action of Nūr-ad-Dīn enabled him to subdue the rebels and defeat Joscelin, who managed to flee under the cover of the night. The punishment of the traitors was severe. All the Frankish men were put to death and their women

1. pp. 73-74, 125.

and children enslaved. As for the Christian citizens they were expelled from the town.[1] Admiring the resolution of Nūr-ad-Dīn at-Ṭarābulsī praised him with a verse saying[2] :

This is the virgin of the conquests, for which Syria
is a mole, while Iraq is his Iraq.

.....

A tradition his father founded in dealing with the dog
of the Rūm when he was shadowed by his malice.
His heart was pulpitating for a hope, whose failure
forestalled his aquisition of it.

.....

And so you are,his son, you have all his creative
qualities in you without exception.
It is enough (honour) for the sea to be the son of the
clouds, whose pouring forth(of water)and rumbling(of
the thunder)is never slow.

.....

And (his) defence of the enclosure of religion diminished
neither by his hard march nor by his spending.

In the summer of 1147 the Atabeg of Damascus Unar went to subjugate Tuntash the governor of Ṣarkhad and Buṣrā because he renounced his loyalty to Damascus and declared his independence.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī,pp.274-75 ;Cf. Runciman,S.,ii,p.240.
2. Abū-Shāma,i,pp.49-50. App.,37.

When Unar started the siege of Sarkhad Tuntāsh was in Jerusalem seeking Frankish support. After discussions among themselves, and much hesitation the Franks decided to break their previous treaty with Unar by helping his vassal against him, for the hope of extending their sway over the two Syrian towns. Facing the threats of the Franks Unar found no alternative but to summon Nūr-ad-Dīn to his aid.[1] The latter came without delay with his army and joined Unar at Sarkhad at the end of May. Then the united Muslim army advanced towards Busrā before the arrival of the Franks in order to prevent them from entering the city or reaching the water or the pastures. However there was no decisive battle took place because the Franks, after suffering heavy losses , took to flight and returned home desappointed.[2] At this praise worthy alliance and success of repelling the Franks Unar and Nūr-ad-Dīn both were praised for this victory. As for Nūr-ad-Dīn he was praised by aṭ-Ṭarābulsī in a verse in which he says :[3]

O light of the religion of God what a high place you reached,
while its pursuit made the (other) kings impotent.
The envious ascribed[4] inability to a king whose
belt is ornamented with brilliant deeds.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, The Damascus chronicle, p.277 ;Cf. Runciman,S.,ii, pp. 241-42. 2. Ibid.,ii,p.243.

3.Abū-Shāma,i,p.51. App., 38 .

4. Lit. uttered.

Ask the perspicacious how many were emancipated by you at
the battle of Buṣrā from the captive of bitter death.

As for Unar (surnamed Muʿīn-ad-Dīn) he was praised by Usāma b. Munqidh who sent him the following verse from Egypt where he was staying[1] :

A triumph and manifest conquest in every day,
and superiority over the enemy and constraint.
.....
Your attribute is right, you are the helper of religion,
attributes truly can be good or bad omens.
.....
Because of you, you the sharp sword of Islam, its power
increased and unbelief and polytheism were humiliated.
Be confident that you will achieve what you aspire to, and
indeed God rewards His slaves for their secret intentions.
You have been concealing the intention for Holy War,
then you announced it when it became possible.

In addition to the hackneyed style of praise, the poet refers to the fact that Unar never fought the Franks before, because he was in alliance with them since the siege of Damascus by Zankī in 1139[2].

1. Usāma, Dīwān, p.171 ; Abū-Shāma, i, p.64. App., 39 .
2. See above, p.40.

From the religious point of view the alliance with the enemy of Islam and the inactivity in fighting him is sin and bad, unless there is a strong reason for that. Therefore we find Usāma apologizes for, and justifies the act of Unar in the past.

As the menace of the Franks to Damascus in 1147 brought about the co-operation of the Muslim powers of Syria, it promoted this co-operation a further step forward once again in July 1148, when a fresh crusading army from the West arrived before Damascus. This new crusade was the reaction and response of the West to the fall of Edessa. For as soon as the authorities of Jerusalem learned of its loss, they sent to the Pope Eugenius in Rome asking for help. The outcome of the Pope's response was the second crusade. Two European monarchs responded to the summons and the sermons of the Pope and his men, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany. Together with many of their princes and vassals they led their armies towards Palestine. After great losses and hardships on their way throughout Europe and (~~Turkey~~ Asia Minor) they arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1148.[1] After a general meeting which took place on 24th June, at Acre, all the leaders of the new crusade together with those of the kingdom of Jerusalem took a decision that their first action should be directed against Damascus. It should be mentioned that the princes of the other Frankish states did not join this movement because of certain differences had arisen between them and some of the new-comer leaders.[2] On 25 July the crusading army

1. For more details about this crusade , see, Runciman, S., pp.247-77.
2. Ibid., ii, pp. 280-81.

encamped before Damascus at Almizza. After an initial success the Crusaders were driven back in the following days, by the fierce defence of the Damascene army, its citizens and reinforcements which came from the near districts. In the meantime the strong army of Nūr-ad-Dīn and his brother Sayf-ad-Dīn of Mosul was standing by at Hims, after he had been asked for help, ready for movement. Unar of Damascus however, unwilling to lose his authority ~~for~~ neither to Nūr-ad-Dīn nor the Franks, before admitting Nūr-ad-Dīn into the city, he threatened the Franks with the strength of Nūr-ad-Dīn, and advised them to retire to their own country because that would be better for both of them. Nevertheless the Franks who were now rather on the defensive, thanks to a sort of guerilla war launched against their men,[1] decided to give up their plan. Their departure came only after four days of fighting. Their losses were greater during the retreat, because of the showers of arrows which poured on them from the Turkmen archers who followed on their heels.[2] Although the fiasco of this Frankish attempt is partly due to the discord between the Franks themselves, and the valiant defence of the city which could not have been sustained for long , yet the coming of the army of Mosul and Aleppo which had the greatest effect on the morale of the Crusaders. The coming , fighting and the defeat of the Franks were recorded in Arabic poetry. The poet Abū-l-Ḥakam al-Andalusī composed the following verse describing this event and praising Mu'īn-ad-Dīn

1. For more details ,see,Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.286.
2. Ibid.,p.287.

Unar for his bravery and resistance[1] :

At the two banks of the river of Dārayyā,(there were)
happenings which did not comply with our wishes.
And people who reckon blood shed in Jullaq[2] is religion.
Two hundred thousands in number or more invaded us.
Some of them from Andalus, and some from Palestine.
And from Acre,Tyre, Sidon and Tibnīn.
When you see them you see mad people.
At once they set the gardens on fire.
They run through the Tower, the Ta'dīl also and the squares.
You think them while they were riding the camels lizards.
In their tents they kept pigs and oblation.
And crosses and banners over the mosque of the Khātūn.
When we saw them we said, may God protect us.
Against them rose Mu'īn who helped the people and religion.
And youths whom you would think devils at the battle.
They(the Franks) attempted the plain to the east of Jisrīn.
But they returned leaving behind despair buried under the soil.
The Shaykh al-Fandalāwī[3] the jurist who supports the religion.

1. Abū-Shāma, i,pp. 53-54. App., 40.
2. Another name for Damascus.
3. He was a qāḍī and jurist . His death together with another ascetic was reported also in other sources, because of their courage in fighting the besiegers despite their old age, Cf. Ibn al-Qlānisī,p.284 ; Usāma b. Munqidh, al-I'tibār,p.124.

Together with young men about seventy from Damascus died.
And from them(the Franks) two hundred strong and about ninety horses.
And the rest of them until now flee from slaughter.

A remarkable notice on this verse is that the poet estimated the number of the enemy's army at two hundred thousand soldiers, and their losses only at two hundred men. Whereas the historian Ibn al-Qalānisī estimated them only at fifty thousand horse and foot.[1] Apart from this obvious exaggeration of the poet in this matter, he seems to have been nearer to the truth in what he said in the rest of the poem, although he must have been affected by the poetic limits of the rhyme and metre.

One of the results of the second crusade is that it brought about discord among the ranks of the Franks. This discord made Raymond of Tripoli call upon Nūr-ad-Dīn and Unar to capture the fortress of al-ʿUrayma which was wrest from him by Alfonso-Jordan grandson of Raymond of Toulouse the founder of the principality. Moreover Alfonso claimed and threatened to capture Tripoli itself. But instead of that his fort was completely destroyed by Nūr-ad-Dīn and Unar, and he himself was taken prisoner to Aleppo where he remained for twelve years.[1]

Two months after this victory, in December 1148 while Nūr-ad-Dīn was camping with his army at a place called Yaghrā, he was taken by surprise by the army of Antioch. The Muslim army fled in

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp.287-88 ; Runciman, S., ii, pp.287-88.

panic and lost to the enemy a great deal of their equipment and animals, but without heavy losses in men.[1] Ibn Munīr aṭ-Ṭarābulsī recorded this defeat in his poetry and consoled Nūr-ad-Dīn by calling to mind the flight of the early Muslims in the battle of Ḥunayn in which the Prophet alone with afew men around him remained in the battlefield.[2] Justifying this defeat and finding an excuse for Nūr-ad-Dīn, aṭ-Ṭarābulsī says :[3]

> Nothing disgraced him because of his flight at the spring of
> Yaghrā except aspersions which his sharpness defended.
> He was in it like the lion of the covert who defends
> the cubs angrily, his eyes are like fire.
> And he was(also)similar to the Prophet at Ḥunayn,
> when his thyriac avoided their disease.

When Nūr-ad-Dīn avenged this defeat shortly afterwards at al-Khaṭīm close to Yaghrā,[4] Ibn al-Qaysarānī celebrated and urged him in a poem to go further and conquer more of the Frankish territory:[5]

> The white sharp(swords)fulfilled their undertakings,
> and the long tawny(lances)paid their due.
> And the knights which fighting is among their resolutions,
> achieved their revenge from every oppressor.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.289.
2. Ṭabarī, vol.iii, p.74.
3. Abū-Shāma, i, p.55. App., 41.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, p.89.
5. Op.cit. i, p. 56. App., 42.

Do they think that the fire of war will subside while
Nūr-ad-Dīn (is holding) the fire steel in his hand.
.....
The pens of the long(lances)wrote victory,and
their ink is nothing but blackish blood.
And the heads of the villains grew high out of fertility,
and the sword called this is the time of harvest.
....
So go ahead and contain the World and conquer it,
(do not leave) hills nor plains.

Ibn Munīr also praised Nūr-ad-Dīn reminding him of Jerusalem:[1]

May he who made you lighting in the night of religion
and life preserve you for(both of)them,
Until you see Jesus coming from Jerusalem
appealing for help from your sword.

A comparison between this battle and Yaghrā was made in verse composed by an unnamed Aleppan poet in praise of the heroism shown by Shīrkūh,uncle of Saladin[a] and one of the senior generals of Nūr-ad-Dīn. The verse reads :[2]

If the Franks had achieved success at the day of Yaghrā,
and obtained victory,
You O Abū-l-Muẓaffar muzzled the unbelief at the day of
al-Khaṭīm with the unsheathed male swords.

1.op.cit.i,p.57. App.,43. 2. op.cit.i,58.

At Yaghrā they acquired goods, but you plundered at
al-Khaṭīm the souls of the bad people.
And they led the horses naked, whereas you led to us the
Counts of unbelief in humiliation and humbleness.

The next battle was fought by Nūr-ad-Dīn against the Franks was at Ānib on 28 June 1149. In this battle his army of six thousand horse including a strong contingent from Damascus wiped out the army of Antioch of four thousand horse and one thousand foot save a few number who could escape. Among the victims was Raymond II Prince of Antioch[1]. It was an enormous joyful victory for the Muslims, and Antioch was left virtually without defence, and the conquest of its territories became an easier task. Celebrating this splendid triumph aṭ-Ṭrābulsī praised Nūr-ad-Dīn with a poem of 62 lines in which he says[2] :

Falsehood collapsed and its territories became deserted,
and guidance rose high and its features brightened.
.. ..
And the religion of Muḥammad was delivered by its Maḥmūd,
after its tears were dominated over with blood.
You returned to Islam the age of its youth, and
its patience in defending it and its ties.
You laid down its basis and hightened its pillar
and your anger constructed its walls.

1.Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.291 ; Runciman, S., ii, p.326.

2.Abū-Shāma, i, pp.61-62; Ibn Waṣil, i, p.122. App., 45 .

You hit the cross despite the hardness of its wood, which
dispersed like the dispertion of Saba'
You gave the prince whose soul was clothed with humiliation
a bitter drink, the earning of his treachery.
At the day of al-Khaṭīm his nose was led by the bridle of
death, and his ambition fell short.
And at Ānib he went on rebuking a strength whose gasps
of falsity became his gasps.
....
And now he his cast in the waste(land) eaten by what
was formerly hunt and eaten by him.
And tomorrow the lot will make lawful to you the wives
(of the Franks) among whom his daughter will be distributed.

On this occasion the poet Ibn al-Qaysarānī also composed a long poem in praise of Nūr-ad-Dīn in which he tried to imitate the famous poem of Abū-Tammām in eulogy of al-Mu'taṣim which starts[1] :

The sword is truer in tidings than books: in its edge is
the boundary between seriousness andplaying.

Ibn al-Qaysarānī's poem is of the same metre and rhyme, and though it is a good poem it is still inferior to the imitated poem particularly in its length and richness of aphorisms which

1. See Arberry,A.J., Arabic poetry, p.50. App.,46.A.

reflects the philosophical outlook of Abū-Tammām[1] on life and events. The imitative poem has also its own characteristics which arise from the occasion, envinonment and difference of time. Here is a part of the poem[2] :

These are the resolutions and not what the lances claim,
and these are the virtues and not what the books say.

.....:.:.... ..

Your earnestness has been building every high(virtue)
until it built a dome the pegs of which are the stars.
Your swords tempted the Franks to shake(out of fear),
because of which the heart of great Rome shivers.
You smote their ram with a blow, because of which the back
was bent and the crosses were pulled down.

The idea of the following line is apparently borrowed from Abū-Tammām's verse which reads:[3]

تصرح الدهر تصريح الغمام لها عن يوم هيجاء منها طاهر جنب

Destiny revealed itself plainly[1] to her as the clouds,
(diperse to)reveal(the sun),disclosing a day of fierce
battle,a day(at once)pure and defiled thereby.

And Ibn al-Qaysarānī uses the religious term of purity in another place, he says :

1. For the analysis of the poem see; Ḍayf,S.,al-Fann wa Madhāhibu, pp.257-62. 2. Abū-Ṣāma,i,p.59 ; Ibn al-Athīr,xi,p.95. App.,46. B.
3. The translation is cited from A.J. Arberry,Arabic poetry,p.54.

You have purified the land of the enemy of their blood,
a purity at which every sword is defiled.

Then the poet proceeds :

If other kings invade the land of polytheism for(mundane) gain,Nūr-ad-Dīn does that for reward(in the hereafter). He has a blaze, if it rises while the night is intense dark,the veils of the forenoon sun will be torn away. His deeds are like his name in every event, and his face is substitute for describing him by the title.[1]

After describing the battle scene in verses among which is the following :

And the dust above the polished white(swords),roofing over (them)is like smoke ~~rose~~ rising over, with flames underneath.

The poet ends his eulogy with the following lines urging Nūr-ad-Dīn to invade Jerusalem;[2]

Your conquests prevailed their fortresses by infection,as if the capitulation of this(fort)was a smallpox caused the surrender of that.

.....

Rise to the Aqṣā mosque with a large army which will give you the utmost desire, for Jerusalem is awaiting.

1. An elegant use of the meanings of the name and title of Nūr-ad-Dīn;the first means "the praised" and the second means "the light of religion". 2. The idea is taken from Abū-Tammām's verse:
لما رأت اختها بالامس قد خربت كان الخراب لها اعدى من الجرب

And allow your waves to clean its coast, for you are indeed a fathomless sea.

After the crucial victory at Ānib Nūr-ad-Dīn occupied some Frankish forts around Antioch and the town of Afāmiya which surrendered to him on 26 July 1149.[1] On this occasion aṭ-Ṭarābulsī praised Nūr-ad-Dīn in a poem of 57 lines in which he says :[2]

O Maḥmūd you have revived the religion of Aḥmad after (wearing)disease had enveloped its lands.

.....

(Afāmiya is)the loan of the raiding Time,the raiding (quality)of you rose to it and recovered what it had borrowed (by force)

.....

When the hearing of Antioch gathered it ,it concealed its dignity and revealed its secrets.

Today it became reviling its protector, because of his oppression and(simultaneously)its neighbourhood.

In September 1149 Sayf-ad-Dīn b. Zankī ruler of Mosul died, and his vassal in the town of Sinjār invited Nūr-ad-Dīn to come and take it over.[3] When Nūr-ad-Dīn received the town and became under his sway Ibn al-Qaysarānī found another opportunity to urge

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī,p.293.
2. Abū-Shāma,i,pp.62-63. App., 47.
3. Ibn al-Athīr,xi,p.92.

Nūr-ad-Dīn forward to fight the Franks. Of a long poem in which he praised Nūr-ad-Dīn are the following stimulating verses[1] :

If your winds become in the evening gentle in Aleppo,
they are hurricane in Antioch.

.....

Stop the obstinacy of those stuborn people with an army
like the night, which has a day of blades.

.....

Sincerity has pledged to help(you), and there are
helpers to every nation's guide.
(You are)the king who has from his justice and honesty
an army by which countries are conquered.
If(the other)kings acted slowly to achieve an objective
and he wanted it,Fate will help him.
If resolution drew him(like the sword) to the frontiers
news will substitute his soldiers.

When Nūr-ad-Dīn gave Sinjār to his brother Quṭb-ad-Dīn the new ruler of Mosul, in exchange for Ḥimṣ which still belonged to Mosul since the days of their father, aṭ-Ṭarābulsī took the chance to praise Nūr-ad-Dīn and remind him of the long forgotten cause of Islam and makes Ḥimṣ itself speaks for it:[2]

1. Abū-Shāma,i,pp.86-9. App.,48.

2. Loc.cit. App.,49.

The cross has been over-come by the heat of war, the
ardour of which makes the forelocks of night white.
.....
Ḥimṣ asks questions about a forgotten religion[1] which
the elapsed years are in debt for you.

Near the end of April 1150 Nūr-ad-Dīn decided to lead an expedition against the Franks of Palestine, because of their increasing raids against the people of Ḥawrān. When he asked reinforcements from Damascus, its ruler Ābaq refused to do so, complying with the renewed agreement made with the Franks of Palestine by Unar about three months before his death on 28 August 1149. Moreover, Ābaq challengingly answered the letter of Nūr-ad-Dīn saying "there is nothing between us and you but the sword, and if you attacks us the Franks will come and help us to repel you". In response to this defiant reply Nūr-ad-Dīn determined to conquer Damascus and marched against it on the following day which was 26 April 1150. After a siege of a few days Ābaq came out of the city and paid homage to Nūr-ad-Dīn who received and welcomed him and bestowed on him robes of honour, afterwards he returned to Damascus acknowledging the nominal authority of Nūr-ad-Dīn, which involved mentioning his name in the Friday prayers after those of the Caliph and the Sultan.[1] The significance of the unity of Damascus with the other Syrian towns was very well known to and appreciated by the Muslims. In a resonant poem Ibn al-Qaysarānī praises Nūr-ad-Dīn on this

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.299.

occasion and refers to the importance of the possession of Damascus[1]:

> God is for you, if you fight then it is victory and conquest, and if you want peace, it will be regarded from your party.
> In either case you are nothing but the sword which at one time has an edge, and at another has forgiveness.[2]
> When Damascus makes you possess its bridle, those who are in Īliyyā will realise that it is slaughter.
> When Nūr-ad-Dīn sets out with the army in an invasion, then say to the night of falsehood: the dawn has arrived.
> You have left the hearts of polytheism complain their wounds, but complaint did not stop, nor the wound healed.
> This age has generously gave you to mankind, yet there is still meanness in its nature.[3]

While Nūr-ad-Dīn was besieging Damascus reports came from Aleppo that Joscelin of ʿAzāz had fallen prisoner in the hands of his Turkmen soldiers. After the peaceful settement with Ābaq, Nūr-ad-Dīn hasted northward and besieged ʿAzāz until its capitulation.[4] The capture of Joscelin and the conquest of the capital of his remaining towns provided the poets with another chance to chant Nūr-ad-Dīn's praise. Ibn al-Qaysarānī after describing and counting the last achievements of Nūr-ad-Dīn repeated again his call

1. Op.cit. i, p.70. App., 50.
2. Lit. broad side. Note the pun on the two meanings of "safḥ".
3. i.e. because it has not yet given absolute victory.
4. Runciman, S., ii, pp.327-8.

upon him to recover Jerusalem. Here is a part of his poem[1] :

Congratulation for Damascus that its seat of power was granted by you honour the chest itself cannot contain.[2]

.....

It is the frontier-post which became stern by the squadrons of cavalry, and(at the same time)smiles(t)o reveals the gate of Paradise.

.....

He who(wants to)wrest Antioch from its king, the glances of the squint(ing) sharpened points of the spears would obey him.
His head came rolling down, while his corpse was left to no grave but(the stomachs of)the strong eagles.[3]
And also Fate presented to the Count his captivity,
and the happiest man is he whom your prison contain.
His castles surrendered to you, had they not done so willingly, force would have brought them(to your obedience).
And ʿAzāz,because of you,became like its name in impregnablity, if it was a nest, it would be difficult for the eagles to reach it.
So go ahead and spread in the world light and joy,because the dark horizon is in need for this brightness.
(I feel)it is as if this resolution,may its sharpness not be weakened,has reached the Aqṣā and the decree of Fate is accomplished.

1. al-Aṣfahānī,Kharīda,the Syrian pt.i,pp.157-8. App.,51.

2. Note the Jinās, and the punning use of "ṣadr".

3. The head of Raymond II was cut off and sent to the Caliph in Baghdad.

And the sacred House became pure, but there will be no purification to it except by running blood.
And if you aim at possessing the sea coast, it is no wonder that the sea possesses the coast.

After the fall of ʿAzāz Nūr-ad-Dīn captured from the Franks of the north the castles of ʿAyn-Tāb, Tall-Khālid, Qūras, Kafar-Lātā, Albāra, Kafar-Sūb, Marʿash, Rāwandān, Nahr-al-Jawz, Burj-ar-Raṣāṣ, and Dulūk.[1] At Dulūk the Franks met Nūr-ad-Dīn in battle and were defeated. Aṭ-Ṭarābulsī praised Nūr-ad-Dīn recording this victory and recalling the early Muslim victories at the time of the Prophet. He says[2]:

It is the horses which are the best weapons[a] of the noble, their running brings an end to anxiety.[3]

.....

In this brilliant reign of yours, you have brought back the conquests[e] of the Prophet and their ages.
Your followers are their emigrants, and the supporters of your opinion are their helpers.
And renewed the Islam of its Salmān and your earnestness repaired its ʿAmmār.[4]

In may 1151 Nūr-ad-Dīn wanted to wage a Holy War against the Franks of Jerusalem, and demanded again military help from Ābaq

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.301. ; Abū-Shāma, i, p.76.
2. Ibid., i, loc.cit. ; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, p. 107. App., 52.
3. Iḥḍār also means preparing, and bringing.
4. Salmān and ʿAmmār are two of the first Muslims who ~~persevered~~ suffered very severe persecution because of their belief in Islam.

of Damascus. But Ābaq once again refused to comply with his demand. Therefore Nūr-ad-Dīn led his army and encamped around Damascus intending to conquer it unless he got what he asked.[1] Ābaq summoned the Franks to his aid. In June they came to relieve their ally from Nūr-ad-Dīn, who withdrew his army away from Damascus with the intention to engage them in battle away from it. When they returned home about a month later he resumed the siege of Damascus on 7 July. During the period of Nūr-ad-Dīn's siege of Damascus aṭ-Ṭarābulsī sent him from Ḥimṣ two eulogies. In the first poem he starts by reviling Ābaq, and describing him as an apostate and fool, because his invitation to the Franks in order to improve his position which they made worse than before. Then the poet ends his poem by hoping for the conquest of Jerusalem. Here are some verses of his poem[2]:

> And say to that man who is liquidating the religion while
> he is its "protector" an assertion because of which
> the face of reality is dust-coloured.
>
> .....
>
> You became christian through your mother, nay you are magian
> through your father and uncle, so the vein of unbelief
> is old in you.
>
> .....
>
> O Damascus, O Damascus, Jerusalem is very easy object,
> and its centre is the lofty polished building[3].

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.303. 2. Abū-Shāma, i, pp.78-9. App., 53.
3. Ṣarḥun mumarrad is a Qur'ānic expression in description of the palace of King Solomon in Jerusalem. Cf. Qur'an, Sūra, xxvii, verse, 44.

When shall I see the bird of conquest fluttering
and singing in all of its corners?

In his second poem the poet also stimulates Nūr-ad-Dīn against the Franks and urges him in the end to purify the Aqṣā mosque from their traces. He says[1]:

Tuck up(your garments)for they stretched their necks to
you(to be cut off)no one can reach the aims but the tucker.
.....
Their traces are filth which abased the Aqṣā mosque,
so protect and purify what they had defiled.
Protect al-Khalīl(Hebron)and those who are in the Gaza
of Hāshim by your large Damascene Egyptian army.[2]

As the last year Nūr-ad-Dīn's expedition against Damascus terminated in peace treaty and reconciliation between him and Ābaq. This agreement took place on 26 July 1151.[3] On this occasion aṭ-Ṭarābulsī praising Nūr-ad-Dīn and attacking the Franks says:[4]

You have made the religion of God feel glory,by which
the holy places of Mecca are proud.
.....

1. Op.cit.,loc. cit., App.,54. 2. The word Jār is not in concord with the second hemistish,therefore it should be either Jāwir or Ajir. 3. Ibn al-Qalānisī,p.310.
4. Abū-Shāma,i,p82. App.,55.

You have clothed the head of the Prince with the leather of the camel's sole, and Joscelin tasted the bitterness of your raids.

.....

How many a time the cross crossed (the borders) with them when it is hard and your lance returned it soft.

In April of 1152 Nūr-ad-Dīn launched a successful raid against the Franks of Tripoli and penetrated into their territory as far as Tortosa and devastated it and annihilated its Frankish garrison. After he had left a Muslim garrison in it he attacked and conquered some other castles among which was Yaḥmūr. Aṭ-Ṭarābulsī recorded this successful expedition of Nūr-ad-Dīn in the following verse which he completes, as he did before, with urging him to conquer the rest of the Frankish domains especially, Tripoli, Tyre, and Jerusalem[1]:

Yesterday he washed the capital towns from their dirt,
and today he turned the coast into waste.

.....

He emptied the lands of polytheism from their idols,
until their trinity became unknown (thing).
He built palaces upon the heaps of their heads,
after he had made (their) palaces tombs.

1. Abū-Shāma, i, p.87. App., 56.

You left Anṭarsūs like a paper the drawing of which
is erased, and its paint is Yaḥmūr.
It was the fire steel of the ordeal of Islam,
and elixir made its breakage perfect.
You broke the front tooth of Tripoli so its smiling
mouth became lacking the strength of the mouths.[1]
Rise up early and prepare lances to undermine its sites,
and flocks of horses so as to enable you to visit Tyre.
And the shining iron helmets will show you the
courtyard of al-Aqṣā purified and clean.[2]

This poem seems to have been the last one in which aṭ-Ṭarābulsī praised Nūr-ad-Dīn on an occasion of new victory. Until his death in 1153 we find two more poems composed by this poet. In both poems aṭ-Ṭarābulsī mentions the previous victories of Nūr-ad-Dīn at Ṣarkhad, Kafar-Lātā, al-ʿUrayma, al-Khaṭīm, ʿAzāz, Hāb, Qūras and Bāsūṭā.[3] In each poem also he expresses how Nūr-ad-Dīn delivered Islam from its misfortunes, and how he brought it glory after it had been suffering from the Franks. Therefore the poet considers that the long life of Nūr-ad-Dīn is the most worthwhile thing to be hoped for. Addressing Nūr-ad-Dīn the poet says :[4]

Your long survival is the best of what is hoped for, and
the most availing of what the burning thirst is satisfied by.

1.i.e. frontier-post.
2. Note the Jinās between turīk and tarīk.
3. Abū-Shāmaʿ, p.22.
4. Ibid., i, p. 88. App., 57.

The devoted poets of Nūr-ad-Dīn, Ibn Munīr and his rival Ibn al-Qaysarānī died less than a year before his aquisition of Damascus in April 1154. Had they lived longer they might have enriched Arabic literature with more of their poetry, for Nūr-ad-Dīn had lived twenty eventful years after them. Yet other poets appeared during the rest of Nūr-ad-Dīn's life. The most prominent poets in Syria , part of whose poetry covered the events related to the conflict with the Franks were Usāma b. Munqidh, ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, al-Muhadhdhab b. Asʿad al-Mawṣilī and Ibn ʿAsākir ad-Dimashqī..

At this phase of the conflict with the Franks, Egypt began to play a more active and significant part in the crusades. The Egyptian participation in those wars involved the poets of Egypt and made them employ their poetry in recording the wars on their part with the Franks and in urging the rulers to wage Holy War. The most important Egyptian poets of this stage until the death of Nūr-ad-Dīn were the vizier Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, al-Muhadhdhab b. az-Zubayr, Ibn aṣ-Ṣayyād, and ʿImāra al-Yamanī.

2. Ṭalāʾiʿ — Usāma Correspondence

The conquest of Damascus by Nūr-ad-Dīn in 1154 was a large step towards greater Muslim unity. This step was accentuated and necessitated by the failure of its ruler to co-operate with Nūr-ad-Dīn to relieve Ascalon from the Frankish siege which ended in its fall in August 1153. Thus after a survival of half a century

the last Palestinian town was lost to the Franks. During all of the past period Ascalon was ruled, administered and protected by Egypt. Its loss was rather due to the recent intrigues and fierce conflict over authority in Egypt amongst the viziers of the weak Fatimid Caliphs and some ambitious army leaders or provincial governors. Those intrigues which led to the murder of the Caliph az-Ẓāfir on 15 April 1154 brought to power just six weeks later the famous poet Abū-l-Ghārāt al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk.[1] During his seven year rule Ṭalā'i' played an important part in the struggle against the Franks. His role was distinguished not only by his expeditions on land and sea against the Frankish territories, coasts and navy, but also by his anxious endeavours to bring about a military alliance between Egypt and Syria in order to deliver a major blow to the common foe, by bringing them between the two millsones of Islam. For this purpose Ṭalā'i' entered into long correspondence with Nūr-ad-Dīn. The most interesting part of Ṭalā'i' 's correspondence was his poetical letters to Usāma b. Munqidh, the Syrian prince, poet, political and military figure who played an eminent part in internal and external Egyptian affairs during his ten years of stay in Egypt between 1144 and 1154.[2]

The first poetical letter seems to have been sent by Ṭalā'i' from Egypt to Usāma in Damascus was in 1155, when Nūr-ad-Dīn

1. See O' Leary, History of the Fatimid Khalifate, p.231.
2. For more details see Usāma' memoirs trans. by Hitti, P., pp.30-60.

concluded on 28 May a truce with the Franks of Jerusalem for a period of one year.[1] The poem most probably was delivered before September of the year, because we know another poem was delivered in October. In this poem Ṭalā'i' tells how he refused the Franks' request for an armistice with Egypt, and asks Nūr-ad-Dīn not to make truces with them, advising and urging him to fight the Franks for that is the best remedy for their problem. The technique of the poem is simple and perspicacious. It has many admirable and interesting images from the battlefield. Here is a part of the poem:[2]

> (And we have)swords which cut every coat of mail and shield into strips if they fall on them from above,or into halves if they hit horizontally.
> We have spared their ferocity for the Franks, because they are from all of the people of the earth the most worthy to be assaulted by them.
> At war they have(i.e. the Franks)their shares of them but they have no justice or moderation in dealing with them.
> They have written(to us)in respect of peace, but their reply from us will be the(shafts of) Khaṭṭī (lances) rather than the script.[3]
> Lines of horses which do not absent from their districts, have from the spears and the sharp(swords)dots and vowel-marks.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī,p.322. 2. Ṭalā'i' ,Dīwān,pp.86-87. App.,58.
3. Note the Jinās between al-khaṭṭ and al-khaṭṭ.

And a war the souls perish in them because of what they witness, and voices are clamour because of bewilderment.
When it sends flocks of lank, black and thick dust,
the points of the spears will be its combs.
In which the spears are like the fingers of the accountant, which are quickened by picking up(of heads) and counting (money)(respectively).
Say to Nūr-ad-Dīn: in medical treatment there is nothing for the stinking wounds except cauterisation and lancing.
And eradication of the origin of a disease is more proper for the clever and wise when mixture of disease overwhelm the seriously ill.
So abandon an inclination towards the Franks and a truce which will be ever granted to other than them, to those who do not commit wrong.
Reflect on(it) how many a condition you provided on them previously and how many(an act) of treachery in which the conditions were violated.
And tuck up(your garments), for we prepared all the aid which you had asked for, and,(also)armies which will not be slow (in marching).

In October 1155 , a delegation from Egypt arrived in Damascus carrying letters from Ṭalā'i' to Nūr-ad-Dīn and Usāma, and news of a successful expedition carried out by the Egyptian fleet against some Frankish ports.[1] After describing the outcome of this operation,

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 323-24.

Ṭalā'i asks Usāma to urge Nūr-ad-Dīn not to delay from marching to Jerusalem, he says [1]:

(I am)mentioning the victory which God gave us,
a beautiful wrought by him.
Our deeds have been always purely for him, and
He does with mankind as He wishes.
It came to us after what we had mentioned in the letters
which (our) envoy had delivered to you.
That some of(our)fleet acquired from the Franks,
what can not be obtained by hope.
It embarked in a few number(of ships)for God,
and the sincere intentions increase the few.
It obtained from Acre and Tortosa number(of prisoners)
accountancy does not encompass them.
The people of Dīwiyya [2] with whom the Franks
used to raid and attack the people.
In the midst of them their leader was led and
presented to us with his neck fettered.
After the death of a group which perished by the sword,
some were killed and some drowned.
These are the boons of God, and counting the favours
of God is something which takes a long time.

1. Usāma, Dīwān, p.218.; Abū-Shāma, i, p.119. App., 59 .
2. The Knights of the Temple as called by the Arabs. See Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.330.

Convey our saying to the just King, for he is
the object of our requests and hopes.
Say to him for how long will you delay the due payment
of the religion, in respect of the unbelievers? beware
the anger of the creditor who is delayed.
March to Jerusalem and count (your reward) upon God,
for it is by your march(our)vehement thirst (for
revenge)will be satisfied.
And if your march was delayed, then God is enough
for us and He is the best guardian.

Usāma answered this letter of Ṭalā'iʿ in a poetical form in which he adopted the same metre and rhyme of the preceding poem. The poem of Usāma is characterised by its hyperbolical praise of Ṭalā'iʿ and richness of interesting imagination. He says:[1]

And you protected the lands by the sword, so that
the vulnerable of them became difficult and the
humbled strong.
And you divided the Franks by invasion into two(parts);
some are suffering and some are killed.
And that whose expiry of life did not come yet by your
sword, his mind for fear of you became insane.
Fear personified in his eyes an army for you which
does not move away from his very home.

1. Usāma, Dīwān, pp.191-92. App.,60.

So, to him hills are armies, and(as for)the waves of the
sea there is a fleet in every large wave.
When he sleeps your unsheathed sword in (his)
dream disturbs his sleep.
Remain a cave for the Muslims, and death for the Franks
as long as generations succeed generations.

Then Usāma speaks about his own efforts in conveying the messages of Ṭalā'i' to Nūr-ad-Dīn, and depicts the reactions to those letters in the following lines[1]:

The slave used every possible exertion in representing
(you)and urging(for fighting)and he is the acceptable orator.
So he saw of the resolution for invasion what made
the earth and mountains about to collapse.
And thirsty swords answered him by clashing,
and horses by neighing.
And saw the dust still in the way of the sun(shine),
while the land is flowing over with the armies.[2]
In every land there is an army of lions,
over which march forests of tawny (spears).
And if Fate ~~obstacles~~ impedes it, then God is enough for us,
and He is the best guardian.

1. Loc.cit.
2. A good picture if he did not make the dust still.

The Egyptian vizier was serious and zealous in his policy of creating a united Muslim front against the Crusaders. Undoubtedly this policy sprang from religious rather than nationalistic motives, since he was of Armenian stock.[1] Apart from the race of the vizier his poetry shows clearly the strength of the religious influence on his attitude towards the Crusaders and the events of that time. The following verse in which he blames Nūr-ad-Dīn and Qilij Arslān for their fighting with each other over territorial dispute in northern Syria between 1155-1156 is a good illustration for his religious attitude :[2]

We say,but where/he who will understand,and know the
face of(right)opinion, when opinion is obscure?
And not every one who measures matters and handles them,
(can)reach the best opinion(which is sought).
And no one remains in(the seat of)power for ever,
and no one survives what God had preordained.
Is it after the enemy had tasted your bitter fighting
which is like colocynth,with their mouths,
You returned to the arbitration of rivalry between
you,while you have a blazing fire of hatred?
Is there no one amongst you who fears God alone?
Is there no one Muslim amongst your subjects ?

1. Ibn al-Athīr,xi,p.181 ; O'Leary, History of the Fatimid Khalifate,p.233 ; Runciman,S.,ii,p.366.

2. Ṭalā'i' ,Dīwān,p.133. App., 61.

Come on, (reconcile) so that God may help his religion,
if we and you help the religion.
And rise together towards the unbelievers with a resolution,
by the like of which the countries(will be) contained
and devided.

In the early days of September 1157 a destructive earthquake hit Syria. Many towns were affected by it, and thousands of people were killed. Among the victims of this earthquake were all the members of the family of Munqidh, rulers of Shayzar.[1] On this tragic incident Ṭalā'iᶜ sent his friend Usāma a poem consoling him for the loss of his relatives. In addition to this consolation the poem contained exhortation to Nūr-ad-Dīn to make an alliance with him in order to fight the enemy of Islam together. This part of the poem reads[2]:

It is my assumption, and assumption is like shooting
arrows; some hit(the target)and some miss(it).
That has become no share for Islam in
the territory of Jerusalem.
The abode of revelation before the mission of the
messenger of God,it is the place of pilgrimage,
which is debarred from.
Pigs and wine settled in the midst of it,
and the bell competed with the cross.

1. Ibn al-Athīr,xi,p.144.;Husayn,M.A., Usāma b. Munqidh,p.67.
2. Ṭalā'iᶜ, Dīwān,pp.63-65. App., 62.

Had Christ seen that, he would not have accepted an act
they claimed that it is to him ascribed.
The farthest people from the(true)worship of the Lord of
people are those whose God was crucified.[1]
My soul cries alas for territories which are deserted from
inhabitants, so there is no (single)small Arab in them.

After displaying the problem in the beginning of his poem, Ṭalā'i' comes then to the subject matter of his letter :

And by my life,he who is sincere in religion his
reward is surely to be counted upon with God.
And fighting the enemy by(both)action and words
is prescribed on every Muslim.
And you have high rank in both; since you became
(a man) you kindle (the fire of) wars.
You are the brave in them, you have no similar in
stabbing(by the spear) and blowing (by the sword)
When you urge (for fighting) then you are the
excellent[1] poet,and orator in what you say.
And when you give your advice, resolution does not
deny that your opinion is correct.
You have tactics which have been hard on the carriers of
the cross, when (other) tactics are weak.
Rise up now quickly, it is with the like of you
that the desired (aims) can be achieved.

1. i.e. who believe that Christ was crucified.

And deliver a letter from us to Nūr-ad-Dīn, the
deliverance of which does not rouse (any) suspicion,
Say to him, may his rule be permanent, and may
he has on new garment of luck.
O just(king) who is a youth for the religion,
and kindler for wars.
And by whose might the hardships of Islam
were cleared away in the past.
And tomorrow there will be to the Franks if
they encounter him a hard day of time.
If he wishes to have their rancour exhausted, the ropes
of his lances will deal with the wells of their hearts.
Other than us are those who say what they do not
carry out in action, and other than you is the liar.
We have written to you, so make clear to us now
what is your reply to(our)letter.

At this point the poet seems to have felt that he should clarify his letter more, so he continues supplementing his poem with the following lines :

Our aim is that to arrange between you and us
a date on which(we start) our march.
We have soldiers who make the wide horizon
narrow for the nearest of them.
And we promise to pour down on Syria
abundant money instead of rain.
.....
That will be by the might of God, and whoever
God fights he will be overcome.

In October 1157 Nūr-ad-Dīn fell seriously ill, and his main army dispersed.[1] This situation tempted the Franks of Antioch to action, so they attacked Ḥārim and recaptured it from the Muslims by the sword in February 1158.[2] About six weeks later the Egyptian army made a successful expedition into the districts of Gaza and Ascalon. About the same time also the Egyptian fleet captured some Frankish vessels and returned with their contents and mariners prisoners.[3] Delighted at this news Ṭalā'i composed an elaborate poem in which he adopted the same metre and rhyme of that of al-Mutanabbī in praise of Sayf-ad-Dawla when he restored the frontier post of al-Ḥadath from the Greeks.[4] The poem was sent to Usāma in Damascus. After describing the army and the battles from his imagination Ṭalā'i' urges Nūr-ad-Dīn once again to joint action against the Franks, and consoles him for the loss of Ḥārim during his illness. Here is the poem :[5]

It is like that that resolutions(should)go in(the way of)
God,and the cutting swords act at war,
And the enemies be brought down from the mountains of their
strength,and no ladders(for that)except the tawny spears.
And the armies of unbelief be invaded at their very home,
and their sanctuaries trampled upon despite(their)noses,
And the noble men fulfil their oaths, even if
noble souls were to be sacrificed for them.
We swore to send the army in safar, and before the elapse
of its half it returned with the booty.

1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, p.342.
2. Ibid., p. 344.
3. Ibid., p.346.
4. See al-Mutanabbi, Diwan, p.375.
5. Ṭalā'i', Diwān, pp.135-142. App., 63.

We sent it from Egypt to Syria, traversing deserts the
wide strides of the she-camels in them is continuous.

.....

The remoteness of home did not frighten it, and the suffering
of thirst and pestilential hot wind did not break
its determination.

.....

When it folds up the banners during its march,
the hovering birds become their substitute.
They(the birds)vie with the horses which have always been,
when they dash(upon the enemy),like the vulturous eagles.
When they(i.e. the birds and the horses)aim at(the same)
object, the wings in the sky and the feet(on the earth)
are equals in speed.

.....

Dirgham leads them in every battle and no one
accompanies the lion but the lions.[1]
And his comrades are ʿAyn-az-Zamān, Ḥātim and Yaḥyā,
although Ḥātim met(his)fate.
He passed away, pure from any suspicion and a martyr,
as the noble leaders pass away.
Congratulation to him when he is given the sweet drink,
and saluted in the eternal(garden)by the soft good looking
women.

1. Note the meaning of the name of the leader of the army.

If we cry for the loss of the dead, then the heavy
tears would be very little for him.
But we sell our souls to God, and
no one of us regrets this sale.
It is easy for us to lose our souls,
if sins do not befall us during life.

Then after he counts the various tribes which his army consisted of, Ṭalā'iʿ describes their arrival in Syria and the battles which were fought against the Franks :

When they trod upon the land of Syria, its Arab and
non-Arab(natives)became allies and united.
And the Frankish army encountered them with an attack from
which(because of its ferocity)the brave would not consider
defeat shameful.
(But instead of flight)they encountered them with the blue-
pointed (lances)and enveloped them,(until)no one
appeared surviving from the unbelievers.
He to whom their crowds appeared,would compare them to
the sea whose waves clash together.
It is enough for you(to know)that no one knight in
the army who did not break(his)lance.
So they returned to drawing of the swords, so heads were severed
and throats ~~were~~ cut for the Franks.
At that day no one of them escaped to give the news,
and it was not said: this one alone survived today.

After this elaborate description of the armies and battles Ṭalā'i' comes to the most important part of the poem which is addressed to Nūr-ad-Dīn, rousing in him determination to fighting the Franks after his recovery from his severe illness. He says :

> And say to Nūr-ad-Dīn may his edge not be blunted and
> the tyrant nights not govern him.
> Prepare(for marching)to the land of the enemy, and lose
> not heart and show not remissness because Ḥārim[1] went
> out of your hands.
> You should not show care for the like of it,nor do kings
> bite their thumbs for(its loss).
> You have of the favours of your Lord what shows of
> certain knowledge that he is merciful to you.
> He revived you after the people had asserted that
> you had met what God had made inevitable.
> At the time when befell the earth what had befallen it,
> and settled in it those enormous disasters.
> And the army of unbelief encamped in the land of Shayzar[2],
> and the women were driven captives and honour violated.

1.Ḥārim was overrun by the Aleppan army in April 1156, as in Ibn-al-Qalānisī,p.325. Ibn Al-Athīr mentions that Nūr-ad-Dīn accepted from the Franks the offer of half of its revenue.xi,p.137. This verse however corroborates the fact that Ḥārim was in the hands of Nūr-ad-Dīn before Feb. 1158;Cf.W.B.Stevenson,p.179,who suspects that the "important castle" which was captured by the Franks was Ḥārim. 2. During the illness of Nūr-ad-Dīn Shayzar was captured by the Franks for sometime before they were driven out of it.

So rise and thank the generous God, by going against them
for giving thanks to God is prescribed on the creatures.
(On our part)as you know we terrify them, and we swear
our best that we shall not make peace (with them).
And our raids will not become remiss, and flight will not
deliver them from them.
And our fleet has multiplied since the time it invaded
them,so no castle will protect them from it.
And we hope that we will overrun by it the rest of them,
and take from them prisoners and booty.
.....
And we seal our deeds with goodness, it is the ends
indeed, which beautify the deeds of men.

The answer of Usāma to this poetical letter does not contain the reply of Nūr-ad-Dīn to Ṭalā'i' 's requests and suggestions. It is merely a flattery panegyric on Ṭalā'i' and an exibition of his poetical imagination and capacity. The first sign of this display is his limiting himself to the same metre and rhyme of Ṭalā'i' 's poem. This is an old well known habit among the Arab poets, which was regarded rightly as a sign of skill and mastery of the Arabic language. But Usāma does not rise in his imitative poem to the standard of the old Arab poets. In this poem we find the influence of al-Mutanabbī on Usāma obvious especially in his description of the Egyptian fleet in this verse[1]:

1. Usāma, Dīwān, pp.224-226.

when they(i.e.the crew)push them(forward)you would say:
they are raiding horsemen who""travelled by night on
horses that had no feet".[1]

The second hemistiʿh of this line is the very words of al-Mutanabbī in his description of the horses of the army of Sayf-ad-Dawla. The following extracted lines are an example on Usāma's attempt to draw some poetical pictures in his poem:[2]

You have pelted the enemy with lions in forests of
lances,on(the backs of) swift horses which drive death
despite its will.
They vie with the shooting stars(in speed)carrying the
like of which of the missiles of death for the accursed
oppressor.
.....
The armies of birds fly over their armies, in every day
they have banquets from(the corpses of)their enemy.
When the knights at war lower their lances for thrusting,
the eagles swoop down on them.
Clouds of them appeared over Gaza, the clouds of
death are heaped over them.
(At the battle)The dust has clouds, and the swords have
lightning,the blood rain and the plʿants are the skulls.

1. The translation between ʿconverted commas is from Arberry,A.J., Arabic poetry, p.86.

2. Usāma,Dīwān,op.cit. App.,64.

You invaded them in their land and country while their numerous army is thronged there.
And extirpated them all (by) killing or captivating, so the safe of them is that who surrendered or (was) at peace(with you)
After your sword had liquidated them and the earth was cleared from their darkness and wrongs,
You invaded them in the sea, in which the fleet was (in number) like its clashing waves.
(Together)with sea knights in black(ships)which(look)on (the surface of)the water as if they were birds without wing-tips.
When they(i.e.the crew)push them(forward)you would say: they are raiding horsemen "who travelled by night on horses that had no feet".
Death and inauspicious birds of the Franks drive the Franks' fleet to them.

Usāma's indication to Nūr-ad-Dīn comes almost only at the end of the poem when he suggests that the conquest of the Franks' land and their defeat is an easy thing :

And the two kings have tucked up (their garments)in(the way of)God seeking His pleasure,with a resolution which is not obstructed by blames.
With earnestness which is like the sharp sword whose edges stop the injustice of the enemy and unbelief.

And they helped the religion and God will be helping
them as long as the sword has a hilt.
And nothing is between the disappearance of the Franks
and conquest of the land except the execution of the
resolution by the resolute man.

In 1158 (September-October) the Egyptians resumed their raids against the Franks of Ascalon and Gaza.[1] The Egyptian vizier also continued his calling upon Nūr-ad-Dīn to make an alliance with him for the sake of Holy War. Once more we find the project suggested by Ṭalā'i' put forward in a poetical form and the medium of comunication between him and Nūr-ad-Dīn was Usāma b. Munqidh.[2] Here is the poem which was addressed to Usāma :

O you who (deserves to be)ransomed(by souls)you are in spite
of remoteness a friend of us and what an excellent friend ?
Nothing of what you do of your good deeds is refractory
to the man who demands duties (to be done).
For this reason we consider the continuation of sending
you letters consecutively is something suitable.
And we confide to you the serious secrets,
for you are worthy to be given them.
And the most important of the important is the issue of
fighting the unbelief, so listen for we have the facts;

1. Stevenson,W.B., The Crusaders in the East,pp.179-80.
2. Abū-Shāma, ar-Rawḍatayn,i,p.116. App., 65.

Our battalions continued to reach them,their(attacks)in
the early mornings and evenings caused them(the Franks)grief.
And violated their homes, so the continuous killing
and burning eradicated the people.

The exaggeration in the last three lines is obvious. But it will be modified in the following verses which prove the great exaggeration in the previous ones:

And we awaited in our march the recovery of Nūr-ad-Dīn
out of our knowledge that he will awake.
And now he is under the protection of God,
and no obstructive matters befall him.
(And)no one for this important issue is like you O Majd-
ad-Dīn, so undertake it, for you are worthy of (doing it).
Say to him,may he not lack(good)opinion, and may he not
cease to have access to every good.
You are that hope and prospect in putting an end to the
disease of the unbelieving tyrant.
And seize the opportunity of getting your reward in Holy
War so as to meet a friend for you and an excellent friend.

Usāma's reply to this letter was clear and brief. It was a short poem similar in its metre and rhyme to that of Ṭalā'iʿ. The poem contained the reaction of Nūr-ad-Dīn to Ṭalā'iʿ 's calls.

Praising both rulers Usāma says addressing Ṭalā'i' :[1]

O commander of the armies there is still in you for
Islam and religion a strong pillar.
Your call for the Holy War has been heard, and there has
responded to it a king who is worthy of(doing)noble actions.
A just King which religion has been illuminated by,
and his first light has brightened the whole of Islam.
He has no occupation which may obstruct him from waging Holy
War against unbelief, establishing justice,and doing good.
He is like the sword(which has)polished flat, of
soft touch but sharp edged.
He is one with patience which the inexperienced think
negligence,while in it is destructive death for the enemy.
So (I pray for both of you to be preserved safe as two caves
for Islam,as long as flashing lightning ornaments the
night's clothes.

The Egyptian vizier did not despair from reaching an agreement with Nūr-ad-Dīn. So he continued his attempts to reach this aim. In another poetical letter to Usāma after praising him and describing the activity of the Egyptian army against the Franks he asks him to convey this message to Nūr-ad-Dīn saying[2] :

1. Abū-Shāma,i,p.117. App.,66.
2. Ṭalā'i' ,Dīwān,p.173. App.,67.

Visit Nūr-ad-Dīn and tell him about this issue.
Because it is he who still shows sincere deeds and intentions.
And eradicates the crowds of unbelief with the white,
light Yemenite swords.
So that he may rise a rise in which he extirpates
the remnants of that rest.
Either for (the sake of) helping his religion, or
his kingdom or out of enthusiasm.

Nūr-ad-Dīn's response did not fulfil Ṭalā'i' 's wishes and proposals. So we find Usāma in his replies to his friend's letters content to reassure him of the strong will of Nūr-ad-Dīn to fight the Franks, and of his desires for the recovery of the lands which were taken from the Muslims particularly Jerusalem which was the focus of these desires. As Ṭalā'i' used to describe and enumerate in his letters to Usāma the activities of the Egyptian fleet and army in order to stimulate the interst and enthusiasm of Nūr-ad-Dīn, so Usāma did, but for reason other than rousing the zeal of Ṭalā'i' . The reason seems to have been the reassurance of Ṭalā'i' that the tepid reaction of Nūr-ad-Dīn to the idea of military alliance with Egypt is not because of his idleness or negligence. In an elaborated poem Usāma explained to Ṭalā'i' the attitude of Nūr-ad-Dīn and enumerated most of his achievements which we have already known in the previous pages. Here are some extracts from Usāma's poem [1]:

1. Usāma, Dīwān, pp.201-206. App., 68.

We have made Holy War our concern and occupation, and
neither listening (to songs) nor wine distracted us (from
that)
Blood of the enemy is more desirable than wine to us
and falling of the white (swords) on them is the (music)
pipe and string(of the lute).
We continue to contact them with the contact of the beloved,
while they are the enemy to whom our visits absolve us
of our sins.

.....

Islam was strengthened by us,and its glory increased, and
unbelief was humbled for us after it had been glorious.
We killed the Prince[1] when he marched in his ignorance
surrounded by the knights and large army.

.....

And in our prison is the son of Alfonso the best of their
kings, although they have neither goodness or beneficence.
We took him prisoner from the fortress of al-ᶜUrayma against
his will after his knights had been killed like camels.
And ask the valley of iqlīs[2] about them, it has until
today pools of their blood.
They spread in it to repulse our cavalry, and in the
hereafter their resurrection will be from its soil.

1. i.e. Raymond of Poitiers.
2. It is Aflīs in Ibn al-Qalānisī, it was captured by Nūr-ad-Dīn in April 1153. See p.315.

And we took Joscelin prisoner, and he was not one to
fear from days any misfortune (which may) befall (him)[1]
The inexperienced thought that we will sell him for money,
and how by many an assumption does the inexperienced perish.
We blinded him wishing reward for our action in him, and
for the like of what he got the reward is obtainable.
And we have defeated al-Baghdawīn[2] and for whom we have
broken neither recovery nor setting (of the bone) is
to be expected.
Ask him; the accursed, stupid and treacherous, to whom
treachery is a religion, what has treachery done for him?
.....
Has he any excuse for his (act of) treachery[3] on our horses
after he had sworn by his Gospel before the people ?
.....
When his error and misguidance were protracted, and warn-
ing and asking (him to refrain) did not stop his ignorance.
We appeared to him like the lion which left its covert,
and whose habit is breaking and squeezing the prey.
And we marched to him when he feared our meeting, and
appeared to him the misery and evil (which will be brought
upon him by)[4] our might.

1. The capture of Joscelin was in 1150. (Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, ii, p.302.)
2. The corrupted name of Baldwin.
3. A reference to the violation of Baldwin to the truce which was concluded with Nūr-ad-Dīn in Sep. 1156 (Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.327.)
4. A reference to the battle of al-Mallāha between Tiberias and Bānyās in June 1157 in which the Franks were severely defeated. See Ibid., p.336.

He fled avoiding our random arrows, with deafness in his ears because of the(noises)of falling of our swords.
The bridles of our horses will not be turned from chasing him even if the eagle flies with him to the sky's horizon.
Until he visits Joscelin and shares with him darkness, the night of which has no dawn.
And restored the purified Jerusalem from them, and the Qur'ān is recited by the leave of God inside (the dome of) the rock.
We conquered ar-Ruhā when our enemy profaned its sanctuary, and their possession of it was facilitated by treachery.
.....
And we conquered Tall-Bāshir after it[1], whereas the brilliant Khosroes were not able to (take it).
Its inhabitants brought us (its) keys out of obedience (although)their journey to our doors takes a month.[2]
.....
And the hill of ʿAzāz our armies reached it by the morning, and neither the men nor the walls protected it against us.

At this point Usāma mentions in succesive verses the conquest of Nūr-ad-Dīn of the castles of Burj-ar-Raṣāṣ, Ḥārim, Kafar-Lātā,

1.This town was taken by capitulation in July 1151 while Nūr-ad-Dīn was besieging Damascus (See Ibn al-Qalānisī,p.309.)
2. A reference to the delegation of the town which came to Nūr-ad-Dīn to regulate the capitulation.(Loc.cit.)

Hāb, Bāsuṭā, Qūraṣ, Afāmiya, Albāra, Basarfūd, Ānib, Tall-ᶜAmmār, Tall-Khālid, Salfīn, and Rāwandān. Then he continues describing the deeds of Nūr-ad-Dīn, justice and piety :

We returned to the people of Syria their abodes and possessions, so by this action poverty has been removed from them.
And (the possessions) came to them after despair and destitution, and after harm and misery had affected them.
And endless time passed while unbelief was ruling it,
and life after life passed after it.
They got goodness and richness of its return, as we obtained reward (from God) and thanks (from the people).
And we remitted the custom duty of every town, and every traveller became pleased in his trade.
And the horizons became a refuge because of our justice, so the falcon does not frighten their dusty-coloured partridges.

Then Usāma finishing his poem depicting the contempt of Nūr-ad-Dīn for rule and his belief that his governorship is a religious responsibility :

Had it not been for (fear of) God at the day of the resurrection questioning us about his creatures which we protected,
We would have abandoned life and said to it: set, for you is separation from us as long as our lives last.
And what is the advantage of power which you will be questioned about, and kingdom with death and grief after it?

As for the real position of Nūr-ad-Dīn he was however compelled because of certain circumstances to be at peace with the northern

and southern Franks until after the death of Ṭalā'i^{c} in September 1161. The most important of these circumstances were ; his illness, which resulted in succession problem[1], his desire to perform the religious duty of pilgrimage to Mecca[2], and the arrival of the Byzantine emperor Manuel in Syria in the spring of 1159[3]. For these reasons Nūr-ad-Dīn prefered not to commit himself to Ṭalā'i^{c} by giving him a definite and clear promise to make with him the proposed alliance against the Latin forces. But Ṭalā'i^{c} did not lose hope. He was serious and most persistant in securing the co-operation of Nūr-ad-Dīn against the common foe of Islam.

This desire made him pursue his attempts to convince Nūr-ad-Dīn of the advantage and necessity of an Egyptian-Syrian alliance . This concern of Ṭalā'i^{c} appears clearly in the following poem which seems to have been the last poetical letter sent by Ṭalā'i^{c} to Usāma , he starts by blaming Usāma for his indifference , then moves on to mention some of the Egyptian raids in southern Palestine and ends it by expressing his desire to Nūr-ad-Dīn to act against the Franks in the same way. Here is the poem[4] :

Say to the son of Munqidh who has reached
perfection in virtue.

1. Nūr-ad-Dīn fell seriously ill twice: the first time in October 1157 and the second in the end of 1158.(Ibn al-Qalānisī,pp.341,349.)
2. Cf.Stevenson,W.B.,p.184. 3. Runciman,S.,ii,pp.353-54.
4. Ṭalā'i^{c},Dīwān,pp.125-26. App., 69.

How many a time we dispatched poetry hastening
to you .
And you averted it when it wished
to contact your goodness.
Would you be generous in talking on our
behalf when you do not provide action ?
While we show endurance and patience
because of your friendship.
And we communicate the news to you,
whether it was short or long.
Our forces travelled towards Syria
raising dust of the sands.
They urge to the enemy the swift horses
following (each other) .
They go to the raided people in it light,
and return heavy (with booty).
Until the enemies wanted to depart
from their country.
.....
And at the hill of al-ᶜUjūl we covered
the hills with the corpses (of the enemy).
When Amalric[1] fled anddid not busy himself
in looking towards his comrades.

1. This name was corrupted by the Arabs of the time to Murrī as it is in this and other poems ;see below,App.,79.

And our soldiers drove from him money
and relatives whom he loves.
And the contingent of Ibn Furayj at-Ṭā'ī by which
he attacked and overcame (the enemy),
It marched to the land of al-Khalīl (Hebron)[1], and
wandered in all of its surroundings.
If Nur-ad-Din makes our action against them an example,
And sends the soldiers openly in order to combat them,
And fulfil to us and to the people of his
kingdom what he had said,
You will see all of the Franks imprisoned in their
fortresses.
So prepare yourself for marching towards the west or north.
And if he refused(every thing) except casting
aside (of our) counsel,
Then we return to leave the matters to the Judgement
of our almighty creator.

1. It may be translated also; entered every home in it.

3. The Role of the Other Egyptian Poets

Poetry was flourishing in Egypt during the reign of Ṭalā'i^{c}, who sponsored and favoured its poets and men of letters. Among the peots who presented to him their panegyrics were al-Qāḍī al-Jalīs b. al-Habbāb (d.1167), ash-Sharīf As^{c}ad b. ^{c}Alī al-Ḥusaynī, Hibat Allāh b. Badr, known as Ibn aṣ-Ṣayyād, ar-Rashīd Aḥmad b. az-Zubayr (d.1165) and his brother al-Muhadhdhab al-Ḥasan b. az-Zubayr.

What concerns us here of the poetry of these poets is only their record of the wars of Ṭalā'i^{c} with the Franks and their role in stimulating his militant spirit. The preserved poetry which is related to the Franks and Ṭalā'i^{c} is scanty indeed. Of the surviving poetry on this subject is the following short poem of Ibn aṣ-Ṣayyād, in which he mentions the slaughter of one of the Frankish leaders named Reynald and praises Ṭalā'i^{c}[1]:

> About the sword of the religion of God ask Reynald[2] at the place where the cups of death are served.
> And the Yemenite swords imitated in dealing with his army the speedy partridges in (having) the first and second draughts.
> The bird of unbelief expected from him the beak of a bird of prey with jagged teeth and beheld a tearing claw.
> It is he who clothed the corpses of the enemies in war with shirts of cloth of blackish blood and thin coverings.
> He is the knight of Islam who safeguards with the swords the centres and the frontiers of (the land of) his religion.

1 al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, Egyptian pt., vol.i , pp.243-44, App., 70.
2 In the Arabic sources and this verse it is Arnāṭ.

How many a time did he light stars from the points of spears when he stirred up a darkness from the dust?
You think him in the battle an angel who threw his meteor at the devil of wars and burnt him.

When Ṭalā'i^{c} in 1158 despatched the Egyptian army and fleet in land and sea on an expedition against the Franks, his panegyrist al-Muhadhdhab b. az-Zubayr recorded this event in a good long poem. After a long lyrical introduction, the poet urged Ṭalā'i^{c} to conquer Syria from the Franks, saying[1]:

O breaker of the idols, rise up with us so as to become the breaker of the crosses,
For Syria is your property, you have inherited its heritage from your old dead relatives of Ghassān[2],
And if you suspect that it was their home in the past, then ask about Ḥārith al-Jawlān;
Or if you want to recite the goodness of their news, then ascribe its narrataion to Ḥassān.

Then, he says,referring to the disastrous earthquakes which caused the destruction of many towns in north Syria in 1157[3]:

The land of the enemy was not shaken (because of the earthquake), but because the (increase of) beating of their hearts.
And I say their castles prostrated themselves because of what you had been given of power and authority.

1 al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qasr, Egyptian pt., i, pp.210-212. App.71.
2 A reference to Ṭalā'i^{c}'s claim of being Ghassānid.
3 Ibn al-Qalānisī; p.339.

And (it is) more fitting that the people who should prostrate themselves (to you) when lofty buildings prostrate themselves to your highness.

And you have despatched to the Franks contingents like lions when they assault (the prey)in Khaffān[1].

They wore the coats of mail, and we did not think before that seas dwell in ponds.

They travelled towards the land of the enemy in a naked desert, empty of people.

Travelling by night in the land of raids for twenty-one nights under the stars of spears.

Until they traversed al-Jifār[2] with an army which is in number the same as the sands.

You tempted them (to attack) the home of the enemy, and you made it, thanks to your attacks, a home of humiliation after glory.

.....

At the day of al-ᶜArīsh, you ruined their thrones with the edges of sincere thrusting and lancing.

You made them resort to the sea when two seas flowed from it and their blood.

People praised for their might when they dye the swords on the day of their fighting with (the blood) of opponents.

And, indeed, you colour every crowded sea with the dark red blood of those whom you fight.

Until you see their blood and the greenness of its water, like poppies scattered on basil.

---

1 A place full of lions near Kūfa.
2 Al-Jifār is the land of many natural wells or ditches.

Then, in the following lines he describes the fleet:

It is as if the face of the sea of Rūm is perfumed and the coral plants floated on its surface.
How lovely are to me the warships which became, because of their ferocity, hated by the enemy.
They resembled the crows in their colour and did the deeds of flesh-eating falcons.
You loaded them with the equipment of war, and spears became in them the substitutes of ropes.
They came (back) to you loaded with spoils, among which are their captives with their necks in bonds.
(The) repeated war made you arbiter over the enemy in respect of every maiden and beautiful woman (of theirs).
And you returned the envoy of Ibn al-Qasīm[1] to him in Sha^{c}bān, so that the two peoples came together.
And a good omen indicates by his name that Syria will become divided between both of you.

The following lines are in praise of Nūr ad-Dīn and a reference to his victory over the Prince of Antioch in June, 1149:

He killed the Prince and those who might help him, when he became haughty in oppression and tyranny.
And showed the people when he returned with his head the bitter harvest displayed on the hard and pliant spears.
And they wondered at the blueness of his eye, as though the spear had two heads.

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1 Part of the title of the grandfather of Nūr ad-Dīn, which means the partner of the state (Qasīm ad-Dawla) (See an-Nujūm, v, p.141).

4. The Wars of Nūr ad-Dīn before the Conquest of Egypt

After having known the last Egyptian attitude as represented in the poetry of that period, we come back to continue the survey of the recorded Latin-Muslim hostilities in Arabic poetry in Syria. As we have already seen, some of these hostilities were mentioned briefly in the Ṭalā'i^{c}-Usāma correspondence[1]. From the annexation of Damascus to Aleppo in 1154 and until 1162, we have only two outstanding achievements of Nūr ad-Dīn which were recorded in the poetry. The first is on his acquisition of Ḥārim in February, 1156. The poem is cited by Ibn al-Athīr and Abū-Shāma with some difference in the selection of verses and wording. The name of the poet was not given by Ibn al-Athīr and the possibility of its composition by Ibn Munīr was ruled out by Abū-Shāma[2].

The poem has the strong rhythmical tone of al-Kāmil metre[3] and starts with the following verses extolling Nūr ad-Dīn:

> There is no increase above your ambition in highness, so why does exertion bother your strength?
> (You have) ambitions which pitched in the sky a pavilion, so the stars are its ropes and poles.
> You are one who was praised by his enviers, and the (true) merit is what is recognised by the envious.
> If pulpits were able to speak, the wood would praise you in lieu of its orators[4].
> (You are) throwing heavy pressure[5] on the frontiers of the Franks, the two edges of which are sincere striking and patience.

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1 See above, pp. 104, 113.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.101. The poem was seen by Abū-Shāma in Ibn Munīr's Diwān.
3 Loc. cit., Ibn al-Athīr, xi, pp.137-8; App.72.
4 This line is not in Abū-Shāma.
5 The literal meaning is: a hard callous in the chest of the camel.

The second poem was recited on the occasion of the wresting the town of Bānyās from the Franks in June, 1157, and inflicting shortly afterwards a severe defeat on the relieving army under King Baldwin at al-Mallāḥa between Tiberias and Bānyās. This act of Nūr-ad-Dīn was engendered by the Franks' pillaging of the Muslim animals and property in the district of ash-Shaᶜrā near Bānyās in violation of the truce which was concluded with them in the preceding September[1]. The poem is a brief record of the celebrations and rejoicing of the Muslims over this remarkable triumph. Like the previous poem, the poet's name was not given in its sources. Here is a part of it[2]:

We have never seen in the past a day perfect in beauty and utmost splendour,
Like the day when the Franks were crowned with the humiliation of captivity, misfortune and extinction.
And together with their banners they were paraded on the (backs of the) she-camels in humbleness, grief and distress.
After their might and feared reputation on the battle-fields and wars,
Ignorantly they violated the truce of goodness, after they had ratified it by (showing) good faithfulness.
They were met by what they had committed out of their ignorance, mischief and aggression.
.....
And the retribution of the ungrateful is death and captivity, whereas the grateful deserves the best reward.

1 Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.327; W.B. Stevenson, p.176.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, 108; Ibn al-Qalānisī, adh-Dhayl, p.342, App.73.

The next recorded event in Arabic poetry was the second and last defeat of Nūr ad-Dīn. In September, 1163, Amalric, who succeeded Baldwin III to the throne of Jerusalem after his death on 10th. February, 1162, led his army to Egypt in an attempt to conquer it[1]. Nūr-ad-Dīn took the advantage of Amalric's absence and led his army against Tripoli. But, while he and his army were encamping at al-Buqayᶜa below the Castle of Krak (Ḥisn al-Akrād), the Frankish army of Antioch and Tripoli together with Greek forces took him by surprise and inflicted on him heavy losses in men and war equipment. He himself fled with a few of his soldiers to a place near Ḥimṣ where he rallied his forces again[2]. At this great misfortune, the poet ᶜUbayd-Allāh b. Asᶜad al-Mawṣilī apologetically consoled Nūr ad-Dīn on his defeat in the following poem[3]:

> The blades of the white (swords) and the points of the languid spears will secure you the recapturing of the booty they acquired.
> The spoils they made by a trick do not disgrace you for even lions may be killed by tricks.
> For they resorted out of cowardice to deceit since they could not encounter (your) army.
> And they awoke while God wanted your unawareness so that preordained Fate may take its course.
> .....
> (Your) lances were cast and the bows unstringed, the horses were in the remote pasturage grazing with the young rams.
> What can the lion without a fang and claw do with what are around him of swine and antelopes?
> .....

1 Runciman, S, ii, p.367.
2 Loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athir, xi, p.194.
3 Imād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīda, Syrian pt., ii, pp.289-90; Abū-Shāma, i, p.128; App.74.

O children of the pale-skinned people, what you have acquired was by your slyness, and slyness in every man is the brother of failure.

And your return was not with prisoners; may your work be frustrated, but with the ignoble, vassals and the low people.

You plundered the swift horses, naked and unbridled, while the tawny lances were stuck up and the swords in the scabbards.

Is the capture of horses whose riders have been killed like the taking of them when tethered and shackled?

.....

It was a perfect army smitten by an evil eye, for only the imperfect is secure against the evil eye.

Of the day of Hunayn they have a good example, when the best of mankind with the seal of the prophets amongst them (were defeated).

5. The Contest over the Possession of Egypt

During the reign of Ṭalā'i^{c}, the Franks strongly felt the strategy and importance of possessing Egypt for the survival of their states more than any time before. Since Amalric, who became the king of Jerusalem in 1162, was governor of Ascalon during this period, he realised the importance of this strategy more than anyone else. Therefore, the first serious action carried out by this king after his accession was his abortive invasion of Egypt in September, 1163[1].

1. See, Runciman, S., ii, p.367.

As for Nūr ad-Dīn, he seems not to have had any aspirations for conquering Egypt at this stage. This is clear from his hesitation to send troops there when Shāwar, the deposed Egyptian vizier, came to him in February, 1164, appealing for his help in return for favourable conditions, such as having one-third of Egypt's revenue and sharing its rule with Shāwar. After much consideration, Nūr ad-Dīn sent with Shāwar his general Shīrkūh to Egypt at the head of a Syrian contingent. After having been replaced in his previous office, Shāwar violated his promises to Nūr ad-Dīn and asked his general to leave Egypt. Shīrkūh insisted on fulfilling the provisions of the agreement between them. Shīrkūh followed up his demands by occupying Bilbīs and its districts. Shāwar's counter-step was his invitation to King Amalric to help him against the Syrian army. Amalric found himself provided with another chance to accomplish his plans for Egypt, wasted no time and marched on Egypt hastily. Then the allied Egyptian Frankish forces blockaded Shīrkūh within the walls of Bilbīs from the middle of April. The siege lasted for three months and was raised after an agreement was reached between Amalric and Shīrkūh that both parties should leave Egypt for their homes in Syria. This suggestion by Amalric was necessitated on hearing the bad tidings of Nūr ad-Dīn's reconquest of Ḥārim and the defeat of the united armies of Antioch and Tripoli and the capture of their princes, and then his hazardous blockade of Bānyās.[1] The relief of Egypt from Shīrkūh by buying the Frankish aid was recorded in the following poem of ᶜImārah al-Yamanī in praise of Shāwar[2]:

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1 For further details on the first Syrian expedition to Egypt, see O'Leary, pp.236-8; Runciman, S., ii, p.368; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, v, pp.346-7; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, pp.196-8.

2 AbūShāma, i, p.132, App.75.

You have rescued Egypt from an enemy by the like of which,
how wonderful a fang and a claw have you blunted.

.....

And the soldiers of Egypt have drawn resolutions whose
blows on the rocks are unopposed.
They took upon themselves from the Franks the heavy weight
(of war) whose millstone was turned round by them over hills.
The coats of mail of the soldiers remained as their clothes
for ninety nights without being changed.

In January, 1167, Shīrkūh set out from Damascus for Egypt, accompanied by his nephew Saladin (Salāh-ad-Dīn) Yūsuf at the head of two thousand cavalry with the purpose of conquering it[1]. On their departure the poet ᶜArqala ad-Dimashqī prayed for Shīrkūh and Saladin to rule Egypt. Comparing Saladin with Yūsuf son of Jacob, the poet says[2]:

I say while the Turks have just resolved to go to Egypt
to fight the Arabs,
O my Lord, as you made the truthful Yūsuf son of Jacob
possess it,
Make the truthful Yūsuf b. Ayyūb possess it in our age.

On hearing of Shīrkūh's movement, Shāwar at once called on Amalric for help. The Frankish king eagerly responded to this call as he had in the previous time. As the Franks arrived in Cairo, Shīrkūh retreated from al-Jīza where he was encamping to the south alongside the western bank of the Nile, until he reached al-Bābayn. The more numerous Frankish-Egyptian army

1 For details, see Runciman, S., ii, p.372; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, v, p.348; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, p.213.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.142, App.76.

followed him there where a crucial battle was fought on 18th. April, that year. Shīrkūh was victorious and the allies retreated back to Cairo, and the former to Alexandria where he was welcomed by its citizens. After receiving new reinforcements, the Franks and the Egyptians came up to Alexandria and besieged it by land and sea. About a month later, Shīrkūh left Saladin in charge of the defence of the city with half of his forces and went to Upper Egypt in order to collect supplies for the besieged city. Saladin withstood the siege for two months more, after which he urged his uncle to come back to solve the problem because the situation inside the city was becoming increasingly worse. On his return, Shīrkūh suggested to Amalric that both the Franks and the Syrians should withdraw from Egypt once again and an agreement was reached between them on this basis[1]. Shīrkūh returned to Syria and arrived in Damascus on the 10th. of September empty-handed except for his victory at al-Bābayn and his better knowledge of Egyptian affairs and its strategic significance. As for the Franks, they had better advantages. Before they left they had compelled Shāwar "to sign a pact promising to pay a yearly tribute of 100,000 pieces of gold and to keep a Frankish High Commissioner and a small Frankish garrison in Cairo, in control of the gates of the city."[2]

On their return from Egypt, Shīrkūh and Saladin were received with honour and were praised by ᶜImād ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī in two poems recording their victory at al-Bābayn and the heroic defence by Saladin of Alexandria. Here are some verses from the poem on Shīrkūh[3]:

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1 See, Runciman, S., *ii*, pp.372-5.
2 Ibid, p.376.
3 Abū-Shāma, i, p.145; App.77.

By earnestness you have reached what mankind cannot reach,
and obtained what Fate could not obtain.
The party of the Franks had transgressed, and thanks to
your boldness the cutting Indian (swords) exacted justice
from them.
From their bodies you planted in the land of Egypt khatt
trees which have fruits of their skulls.
And sea of blackish blood flowed on the battlefield, in
which the iron is clouds and blood is rain.

The following are verses from the poem on Saladin[1]:

You are the one who had been yearned for while still in the
cradle and cot by his saddle,
Of the blood of the treacherous you left yesterday the face
of Upper Egypt like a pool.

.....

Shāwar took refuge with the Nile like Pharoah, so the refugee
was disgraced and crossing was dear.
He shared the polytheists in death and previously Qurayẓah
and an-Naḍīr shared them.

.....

And you protected Alexandria against them when the
millstone of those who were in it was grinding them (i.e.,
the Franks).

Then, the poet ended the poem with the following verse, in which he made a parallel between the siege of Saladin in Alexandria and the Prophet in Medina:

---

1 Abū-Shāma, i, p.146; App.78.

Like the siege of Ṭayba by the parties in the past when the Prophet of guidance was victorious in it.

The third and last phase of the contest over possession of Egypt was initiated by the Franks who invaded it and conquered Bilbīs at the beginning of November, 1168. After this, they besieged Cairo itself. This action of the Franks was met by vigorous resistance from Shāwar, who set the first Muslim town in Egypt, al-Fusṭāṭ, on fire and it continued burning for about two months in order not to let them benefit from its resources. The strong fear of the acquisition of Egypt by the Franks made the Fatimid Caliph al-ʿĀḍid send desperate and sentimental appeals to Nūr-ad-Dīn and Shīrkūh to come and deliver the land of Islam from its enemy. Nūr-ad-Dīn immediately mustered eight thousand cavalry and forwarded them to Egypt under the leadership of Shīrkūh, who was accompanied by Saladin and other notable amirs. When the Syrian army arrived in Cairo near the end of 1168, Amalric realised that there was no hope for him in Egypt and he judged it safer to retreat. Therefore, he traced his way back home on 2nd. January, 1169[1]. By the withdrawal of the Franks, the fate of Egypt was decided. Shīrkūh was received cordially by the Caliph and by Shāwar. But, the former and more particularly his nephew, Saladin, lost all confidence in Shāwar because of his treacherous act in the past. Therefore, Saladin determined to get rid of him. On 19th. January Saladin executed his plan and arrested Shāwar while on a visit to his uncle. After receiving orders from the Caliph, Shāwar was beheaded and a new epoch was started in Egypt. Shīrkūh was appointed by the Caliph

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1 For further details on this expedition, see Runciman, S., ii, pp.380-2; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, v, pp.350-1; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, pp.220-3.

in the place of Shāwar[1]. Thus, the domination of Egypt by Syria was at last consummated and a large step was achieved towards the unity of the two countries. The conquest of Egypt and its deliverance from the Franks by Shīrkūh was recorded in the poetry of the time. In the following verse, ᶜImāra al-Yamanī praises Shīrkūh because he rescued the Caliphate and mentions how he evaded the ambush which was laid for him by the Franks[2]:

> You protected against the Franks the Caliphate's women,
> for whom you rendered safety after they had been terrified.
> You overtook the Franks in every mountainous path, and
> said to the feet of the horses, "Run over Amalric".
> If they built a bridge (of men) on the land, you with sea
> of iron crossed over that bridge.

ᶜImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī also praised Shīrkūh for his achievement in a poem which he sent to him from Damascus. Once more we find the panegyric of Abū-Tammām on al-Muᶜtaṣim is imitated in rhyme and metre. As for the theme of the poem, there are two points which the poet stressed. The first one is that the conquest of Egypt will facilitate that of Jerusalem. The second is the call to Shīrkūh to convert the Fāṭimid Caliphate of Egypt into the ᶜAbbāsid one. Here are some verses from the poem[3]:

> You achieved what you achieved by industry, not by sport;
> how many a rest is reaped from the tree of toil?
>
> .....

1 Runciman, S., ii, p.383.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.163; Ibn Wāṣil, i, p.141.
3 Abū-Shāma, i, p.159; Ibn Wāṣil, i, pp.166-7; App.80.

You conquered Egypt and I hope that you will become by it facilitating the conquest of Jerusalem very soon.

.....

The white (swords) visited the children of the pale-skinned people, who met in them the red death unveiled.
You delivered the people from the evil of Shāwar; how many a time and desire you accomplished for the party of God.
It was He who made the Franks covet the land of Islam until they endeavoured to achieve the purpose and desire.

.....

Make the Caliphate ᶜAbbāsid again, and let the impostor meet the worst destiny.
Do not cut off the tail of the serpent and then let it go; firmness in my eyes is the cutting off of the head before the tail.

In Damascus, the good tidings of the conquest of Egypt coincided with the exemption of Nūr-ad-Dīn of the Damascenes from supplying him with wood. On these two occasions, the historian and traditionalist ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAsākir (1105-1175) in a short poem congratulated Nūr-ad-Dīn and urgently called upon him to wage Holy War and restore Jerusalem and the al-Aqṣā Mosque. The poem, like the previous one, is also similar to the above-mentioned one of Abū-Tammām in its rhyme and metre. The poem is[1]:

When you exempted the people of Damascus from the wood, you were compensated by Egypt together with what it contains of unmoveable property.

1 ᶜImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, the Syrian pt., i, p.277; App.1.

And if you spend generously for the conquest of Jerusalem, hoping for reward in the Hereafter, you will be rewarded goodness uncounted.

And reward for this action is to be expected from God, the best expected in respect of what He rewards for.

And the gain of good fame among people is better for you than white silver and gold.

And you will not be excused for abandoning Holy War while your possessions became from Egypt to Aleppo.

And the ruler of the sweet-scented Mosul is complying with what you want, so hurry up before the unexpected turns of time (prevent you).

And the more judicious of men is he who strengthens his determination until he reaches by it the highest of ranks.

.....

And purify the Aqṣā Mosque and its area from dirt, polytheism and crosses.

That you might win in this life good praise, and in the Hereafter meet good destiny.

After the conquest of Egypt, ʿImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī also urged Nūr-ad-Dīn to fight the Franks and restore Jerusalem from them in the following verse[1]:

O king of nations, congratulations to you that you possess Egypt, be happy and have good tidings of the help of God very soon.

.....

---

1 Abū-Shāma, i, pp.174-5; App.82.

O Nūr-ad-Dīn, how wonderful a just king committed to guarding the religious affairs you are.

.....

Invade the Franks, for this is the time to invade them, and shatter their crowds with the languid-eyed destructive (spear).

And purify Jerusalem from the filth of the cross and swoop on the oppressors like the swooping of the meat-greedy hawk.

Because the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were strung in a necklace of glory made of Islam.

The next occasion on which al-Aṣfahānī employed his poetry to rouse the zeal of the rulers to conquer Jerusalem was when Saladin was appointed to the office of the vizierate of Egypt after the death of his uncle Shīrkūh in March, 1169[1]. In the following poem of al-Aṣfahānī, Saladin was consoled on the death of his uncle and congratulated on his accession to his seat of power and urged to fight the Franks in these lines[2]:

When Egypt yearned for the time of Yūsuf[3], God returned to it Yūsuf and his time.

.....

And pour on the Franks scourge of chastisement by dividing between them killing and imprisonment.

And do not neglect the Holy House (i.e. Jerusalem) and determine to conquer it by invasion, and deflower the virgin.

---

1 See, Runciman, S., ii, p.383.

2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.179; App.83.

3 i.e., Yūsuf, son of Jacob (Israel).

(By that) you will make your renown permanently good,
and kingship is nothing but to make your fame permanent.

Saladin was urged again to conquer Jerusalem after his discovery of a conspiracy against him planned by the Caliph's chief eunuch, Mu'taman al-Khilāfa Jawhar, who, in order to enable himself to get rid of Saladin, wrote secretly to Amalric to come and invade Egypt[1]. However, the conspirators were executed on 20th. August, 1169, and the rebellion of their followers was curbed. Al-Asfahānī, supporting and praising Saladin, recorded this event in the following verse[2]:

The entrusted of the people betrayed (them) until his evils murdered him.
He treated you with deceit and the result was that his head was (put on) the head of a spear.
O you who is causing the seas to feel shame because of your favours, the time has come to conquer the coasts.
And purify Jerusalem from the dirt and filth of the impeded (in speaking Arabic) wicked unbelievers.

Amalric's aspiration for conquering Egypt was revived by the promised collaboration of Mu'taman al-Khilāfa. He at once sent to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel asking for his aid[3]. The fruit of the Frankish-Byzantine preparations was the joint attack and siege of Damietta which started on 27th. October and ended in fiasco on 13th. December, 1169.

Al-Asfahānī praised Saladin for his firm stand in defending Damietta. In a poem sent to him from Damascus recording the failure

1 Ibn al-Athir, xi, p.328.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.179; App.84.
3 See, Runciman, S., ii, p.385.

of the Franks to occupy the city, he says[1]:

Yūsuf of Egypt, whose epics were made to introduce his attributes.
The author of the history books does not decorate them except with his attributes.
You protected Damietta when it was surrounded by those who bombarded it with the missiles of death.
The transgressors of the Franks met their frustration, so their sorrow increased with grief.
You sent ropes of lances to the wells of hearts to drain them of their blood.
God sharpened for you in fighting them a resolution for Holy War which exhausts them.

The attack on Damietta was recorded in another poem composed by the poet Fityān ash-Shaghūrī, in which he says[2]:

When they came to Damietta like the crowded sea which, because of the multitude of men, has no coast,
Their crowd exceeds computation and enumeration, their horses and riding beasts are thousands of thousands.
They saw before them lions with spears in their hands, and thin white (swords) which the polishers made very well.
They surrounded it from the sea in every direction, while there separated them from it a preventive wall of death.
At that time the dog king of Rūm hoped for its conquest, then he was scared and bereavement stepped towards the Rūm and

1 Ibn-Wāṣil, i, p.184; App.85.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.182; App.86.

the king.

They retraced their steps away from it, defeated and disgraced as if they were scared-away ostriches.

The last poetically recorded action of Saladin before the death of his sovereign Nūr-ad-Dīn is his first expedition against the Franks of Gaza and Ascalon between 8th. and 22nd. December, 1170. The outcome of this expedition was not a big success. It was limited to the destruction of the walls of the Castle of ad-Dayr (Darum) and the suburbs of Gaza[1]. For this operation Saladin was praised in verse by ᶜImāra al-Yamanī and Usāma b. Munqidh. Both poets urged Saladin to go further in his wars against the Franks and recover Jerusalem and Syria from them. In the first verse, ᶜImāra urges Saladin in the following lines[2]:

And you devastated of their districts every cultivated (part), which, if the phantom of imagination passes by, get frightened.

You added to the reward of Holy War the visit of al-Khalīl[3]; have good tidings (from me) that you are a successful invader.

And excited a yearning for the Holy House, which needs a long time to tell you all about it.

.....

And this invasion of yours is a ladder (before) its imminent conquest, a scout and a predicter.

It is the house which, if you open, and God will execute that, no door in Syria will remain closed after it.

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1 Cf. Stevenson, W.B., p.199; Abū-Shāma, i, p.193.
2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.193; App.87.
3 i.e., Abraham who is believed to be buried in Hebron.

The following poem of Usāma was sent to Saladin from Syria[1]:

Congratulations to you O strongest king in spreading justice, attack and liberality.
(You obtained) reward and fame, for one is graefulness in this life and for the other Paradise in the Hereafter.
Do not discount what you did, for you performed the task of Holy War industriously.
And entered the land of the enemy and destroyed of their heroes what exceeds enumeration.
And we have never seen any of the kings who invaded the Franks in their very home.
Therefore, march to Syria and the good angels will receive you with a reception of praise.
It is lacking you, hoping that you will repair with justice what was spoiled of it.
And God will give you eventual victory as He promised in His book.

The last poetically recorded action of Nūr-ad-Dīn is his raid in the district of Tiberias in the last days of September, 1172, when it was empty of the Franks, who were going on a raid to Ḥawrān. Al-Aṣfahānī. who was with Nūr-ad-Dīn, recorded the event in verse according to the wish of the latter. The following lines are from al-Aṣfahānī's poem[2]:

The fame of how many a battle of yours against the Franks has spread on the horizons and in the countries?

1 Op. cit., p.237; App.88.
2 Abū Shāma, i, pp.207-8; Ibn Wāṣil, i, p.228; App.89.

You clothed their Count a dress of death and bound the head of their Prince to the spearhead.
And possessed the slavery of their kings and left them in humiliation, fetters and grief.
How wonderful the disappointment of the Franks is when they gathered in bewilderment and came to Ḥawrān.
And you defeated them by your wisdom before encountering them, and wisdom is superior to the boldness of the brave.

The last panegyric of al-Aṣfahānī on Nūr-ad-Dīn was recited only ten days before the death of the latter on 14th. May, 1174, on the occasion of celebrating both the feast of Breaking the fast of Ramaḍān and the circumcision of his only son, Ismāʿīl. Even on such a peaceful, happy occasion, al-Aṣfahānī did not forget to inject into his praise poetry an arousal of Nūr-ad-Dīn to fight the Franks. Here is the poem[1]:

Two feasts: Breaking the fast and circumcision; speedy conquest and victory.
In both you have indeed congratulations (or, enjoyment) and reward.
Every frontier-post opens its gate in reply to your smile.
The multitude of the Rūm and Franks in them is little for you.
(The) repeated fighting and conquests to your will are just the start.
The children of the pale-skinned people are pale for fear of your vengeance.
No claw remained for the unbelief; may unbelief never have a claw.

1 Abū-Shāma, i, p.227; App.90.

The darkness of the night of danger never intensified
but that your resolution was the dawn.
You became fond of invasion, and have no patience for
not doing it.

The passing away of Nūr-ad-Dīn was a great loss to the cause of Islam. His strong personality, which sprang from his firmness and justice, made him in the eyes of his people the hope and the hero whose loss would cause the defeat of Islam. Ibn al-Athīr regards him as the best Muslim ruler after the first four Caliphs and ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz. He was succeeded by his eleven-year old son, Ismāᶜīl, who was under the guardianship of some amirs of his father. The magnitude of the loss of Nūr-ad-Dīn and his importance to Islam was reflected in the following desperate verses by al-Aṣfahānī[1]:

Religion is in darkness for the absence of its light, and
Time is in grief for the loss of its prince.
Who will help Islam in its expeditions, for it was hit
in its back and pillar?
Who will be for (encountering) the Franks and captivating
of their kings? Who will be for guidance to free its
prisoner?
Did you not promise Jerusalem that you will fulfil the
promise made to it by its conquest and purification?
When will you protect Jerusalem against the dirt of the
enemy and glorify the Most Merciful by cleansing it?
O you who are carrying his coffin, wait; how surprising
is your rising with his bier[2]?

1 Abū-Shāma, i, p.245; App.91.
2 Lit. mountain.

Chapter Five

The Distinguished Poets in Nūr ad-Dīn's Period

1. Ṭalā'i^{c} b. Ruzzīk[1]

He is the last powerful vizier of the last Fāṭimid Caliph, al-^{c}Āḍid, and his predecessor, al-Fā'iz. He is reported to have been of Armenian stock, although he claimed to have been a descendent of the Ghassānids.

Before the murder of the Caliph aẓ-Ẓāfir, Ṭalā'i^{c} was the governor of the province of Minyat al-Khaṣīb in Upper Egypt. He was appealed to by the household of the murdered Caliph to come and punish the murderers, the vizier ^{c}Abbās and his son Naṣr[2]. Before the arrival of Ṭalā'i^{c} with his troops in Cairo, ^{c}Abbās had fled the country towards Syria, taking with him the Prince Usāma b. Munqidh who was compelled to leave Egypt without his family. The family was left under the care of Ṭalā'i^{c} himself for there was an old link of friendship between them.

Ṭalā'i^{c} ruled Egypt from the summer of 1154 until his assassination in September, 1161. During this period his utmost ambition was to drive the Franks from Palestine. He expressed that ambition strongly as we have already seen in his poetical correspondence to Usāma and Nūr ad-Dīn, and in the last words he uttered when he was dying[3]. During the years which followed his

1 Bibliography: Dīwān; Abū-Shāma, i, pp.124-5; ^{c}Imād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīda, the Egyptian pt., i, pp.173-85; Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, iv, p.177; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, v, pp.311-5, 345, 360; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, pp.127-8, 181-2; Ibn Khallikān, i, p.298; ^{c}Imāra al-Yamanī, an-Nukat al-^{c}Aṣriyya, adh-Dhahabī, al-^{c}Ibar, iv, p.160; Walker J., EI, Article Tala'i^{c}, p.635.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, xi, pp.127-8.

3 See, Walker, J., EI, p.635.

death and until Saladin became the master of Egypt, the fortune of men of letters and poets in Egypt was declining, for they lost together with him the patronage and favour which he provided them with throughout his reign because he himself was a cultivated man and poet[1].

Concerning his poetry, al-Aṣfahānī mentions in Kharīdat al-Qaṣr that because of the excellence of his poetry, it was said that al-Muhadhdhab b. az-Zubayr versified for him and that Ibn al-Ḥabbāb helped him in composing it[2]. But, a close study of Ṭalā'i^{c}'s poetry as a whole shows that this accusation cannot be true, for if we leave aside his poetical letters to Usāma and consider other themes of his poetry, especially love and ascetic poetry, we will judge that this poetry could not have been composed for him by others since ascetic poetry with what there is in it of pessimism, contempt for life and fear of the Hereafter must be pure personal feeling and thinking. An instance of his ascetic poetry is his verse[3]:

> O you who are mounting the back of sins, do you not fear the penalty?
> Do you not see that the ropes of your age are becoming untwisted and on the decrease?

In another verse ascribed to Ṭalā'i^{c}, he says[4]:

> O you who are asleep in this life, has the time of your awakening not arrived?

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1 ^{c}Imād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī, Kharīda, the Egyptian pt., i, p.174.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Ibid, p.184; App.92.
4 Ibid, p.185; App.93.

Money will not enrich you in the Hereafter, nor will your prestige deliver you[1].

This admonitory poetry is unlikely to have been composed for him by the other poets. The same judgements can also be reached with regard to his love poetry, such as his words from a poem[2]:

The people are obedient to me and my rule is over them,
while my heart is now obedient to Him[3].
Have wonder for a Sultan who spreads his justice, whereas
the Sultan of love oppresses him[4].

As for the quality of Ṭalā'i^{c}'s poetry, it is good for the most part, and it may be said that his versification on asceticism and love is better than that on other subjects. There is no doubt that he cared for the meaning more than the form of his poetry, and this is manifest in his slight use of jinās, ṭibāq and other decorative figures. His poetry was characterised by calrity and simplicity.

2. Usāma b. Murshid b. Munqidh[5]

He was born in Shayzar on 4th. July, 1095, just about two years before the arrival of the Crusaders in Syria. Because of its geographical situation in northern Syria, Shayzar was always exposed to the Frankish attacks. These circumstances of the town

1 For more examples, see ibid, pp. 178, 180, 183, 184.
2 Ibid, p.177; App.94.
3 This form of speaking of a woman in lyrics as if she were a man is common in Arabic poetry and songs, especially in Egypt today.
4 For more examples, see Kharīda, op. cit., pp.180-2.
5 Bibliography: Brockelmann, C., i, pp.316, 319; 51, pp.552, 916; Ign. Kratschkovsky, EI, Article Usāma, p.1047; Ḥusayn, M.A.

led to his bringing up in a military environment, especialy because he was a member of the ruling family and was prepared by his uncle Abū-l-ᶜAsākir Sulṭān to be his successor to the throne of the principality.[1] But when his uncle had offspring, his intention towards Usāma and his good treatment changed. So Usāma left Shayzar to serve in the army of Zankī between 1129-1138, While the Emperor John Comnenus was besieging Shayzar a disagreement occurred between him and a Turkish leader of Zankī which made him go to Damascus where he was received very well by its Atābeg Unar, and he became there his first lieutenant.[2]

When Zankī besieged Damscus in 1139, it was Usāma who was sent to King Fulk of Jerusalem to arrange with him the first alliance of its kind between Damascus and Jerusalem against Zankī.[3]

When Unar in 1144 favoured Ṭūmān in his place, Usāma left for Egypt together with his family.[4] There in Cairo he was treated honourably by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ, then by his successor aẓ-Ẓāfir. In 1152 he was despatched by the vizier Ibn as-Salār to Syria to arrange with Nūr-ad-Dīn the first plan of its kind to bring an alliance between Egypt and Syria against the Franks in Palestine. But Nūr-ad-Dīn failed to respond to the Egyptian proposal for he was engaged in the siege of Damascus.[5]

After about four months of conducting warfare against the

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cont.) Usāma b. Munqidh; Badawī, A.A., al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī ᶜAṣr al-Ḥurūb aṣ-Ṣalibiyya, pp.171-88; Ibn Kallikān, i, p.78; Sallām, M.Z., al-Adab fī al-ᶜAṣr al-Ayyūbī, pp.257-8; Kīlānī, M.S., al-Ḥurūb aṣ-Ṣalibiyya, pp.202-7, 290-7; Ḥamza, A., Adab al-Ḥurub aṣ-Ṣalibiyya, pp.56-8, 81, 84.

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1 Hittī, P.K., Introduction to Kitāb al-Iᶜtibār, p.d.
2 Cf. Usāma, al-Iᶜtibar, p.2. 3 See above, p.40.
4 See his poem in Usāma b. Munqidh by Ḥuṣayn, M.A. pp.52-54.
5 See al-Iᶜtibār, trans. by Hittī, P.K., pp.30-60

Franks, Usama was recalled from Ascalon to Cairo. In 1154 he was compelled to leave it with the vizier ᶜAbbās and his son Naṣr for Syria after the incidents of murder which were committed by the latter two. After his departure from Egypt, Usāma spent the following ten years at the court of Nūr-ad-Dīn. When he became 76 years old he retired to Ḥiṣn-Kayfā where he spent another ten years in peace, mainly writing his literary works and memoirs, which gave him a great reputation in the circles of modern scholars. After that Usāma spent the rest of his life in Damascus in the shade of Saladin's care and respect until his death in 1188, after he had witnessed in the previous year the accomplishment of his lifelong aspiration which he talked about in his poetry and for which he fought many battles, that is the recapture of Jerusalem from the Franks.

Usāma is regarded as one of the great Arab (his family is a branch of the tribe of Kināna) personalities who fought the Franks. But his literary reputation overshadowed his military life, for he left us some verse and prose works of which the most important is the Kitab al-Iᶜtibār, his memoirs which provides us with a vivid and live picture of the society and age in which he lived. The other extant and published works of Usāma are his Dīwān of poetry, Kitāb al-Badīᶜ fī Naqd ash-Shiᶜr, Lubāb al-Ādāb and Kitāb al-ᶜAṣā.[1]

As for his poetry, it is of the best of his age in spite of his frequent citations from the poetry of al-Mutanabbī and Abū-Farās.[2] The fondness of Saladin for his poetry is evidence that it

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1 For further details about his works, see, Husayn, M.A., Usāma b. Munqidh, pp. 93-102.

2 For examples on this matter, see above, p. 134; also Ibid., pp. 53-54.

was of a good standard and quality.

It is reported that Usāma was always unsatisfied with his poetry and used to amend and revise it very often. No doubt this feeling made him leave to us the best of what he could compose.

3. ᶜImād-ad-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī[1]

His name is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid, surnamed ᶜImād-ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Aṣfahānī. He was born in Aṣfāhan in 1125. When he reached 20 years of age he came to Baghdad where he studied at its Niẓāmiyya school jurisprudence, Arabic grammar and literature and the tradition of the Prophet. When he became skilled in these subjects, he attached himself to the vizier Ibn Hubayra, who made him ruler of Baṣra, then Wāsiṭ. After the death of the vizier in 1164, he was imprisoned by his opponents, but his panegyrics on the Caliph al-Mustanjid delivered him from captivity. On his release he went to Damascus in 1166. There he met Ayyūb, the father of Saladin who introduced him to the supreme Qāḍi of Nūr-ad-Dīn, Kamāl-ad-Dīn ash-Shahrazūrī. Through his profound education, poetry and skilled composition, al-Aṣfahānī became the secretary of Nūr-ad-Dīn and the principal lecturer in the Nūriyya school of Damascus, which later on was named after him and became al-ᶜImādiyya . When Nūr-ad-Dīn died in 1174 he left Syria for Mosul but returned there immediately on the arrival of Saladin from Egypt to take Syria under his sway. Al-Aṣfahānī became the confidant and sec-

1 Bibliography: Yāqūt, Irshād, vii, pp.81-90; Ṣafadī, Wāfī, i, pp.132-38; Ibn Khallikān, ii, p.108; Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt, iv, pp. 332-33; Subkī, Ṭabaqāt, iv, p.97; Kharīda, introduction by

retary of Saladin in Syria until his death in 1193. After this date and until his death in 1200, al-Aṣfahānī spent most of his time in isolation writing and compiling his famous books on the history of the wars of Nūr-ad-Dīn and Saladin, and his own poetry and anthology of the poetry of the poets of his age during the twelfth century. Of the many books of al-Aṣfahānī, we know three extant books: al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-Fatḥ al-Qudsī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa Jarīdat al-ᶜAṣr and al-Barq ash-Shāmī. Of these only the first two were published.

Al-Aṣfahānī is the head of the school of the artificial, decorated style. His history books are in rhymed prose and full of paronomasia (jinās)[1]. He is reported once to have greeted al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, the secretary of Saladin in Egypt; سر فلا كبابك الفرس " Go, may the horse not fall with you " , and al-Fāḍil replied with; دام علاء العماد " May the highness of al-ᶜImād last for ever ". Both greetings are palindromic sentences.

The poetry of al-Aṣfahānī is better and easier to understand than his prose because he could not use the Jinas in it very much thanks to the poetical limits.

cont.) Ḍayf, S.

1. Cf. Gibb, H.A.R., The Arabic sources for the Life of Saladin, Speculum, vol. XXV, No. 1, P. 59.

CONCLUSION

All the poetry of the twelfth century A.D. which we have already surveyed was a direct or indirect result of the appearance and existence of the Crusaders in Syria. We notice on this poetry that it played, from the very start, an active part in the struggle against the Franks.

The most outstanding feature of this poetry as a whole is its religious character. There is hardly any poem which does not describe the Franks as polytheists or infidels.[1] In many poems we find attacks on the cross, for it was the banner under which the Franks waged their wars and came to the East.[2] At the same time, the name of Christ and Muḥammad and his wars were reiterated in many poems.[3]

The Crusades were, in the first place, started and continued for religious motives, with the aim of the deliverance of the Holy Places from the hands of the Muslims who were regarded by the first Crusaders as infidels.[4] The counter-attack by the Muslims was also motivated by religion, with the determination to restore to Islam the very places which they also regard as most holy.

The poetry of our period depicts this Muslim attitude very strongly. In almost every poem addressed to Zankī, Nūr-ad-Dīn and Saladin we find this urge to recover "al-Bayt al-Muqaddas" (the hallowed house) by using the strongly expressive religious term "Ṭahhir"

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1 For examples, see above, pp. 3,17 45,75,88,95,101,108,119,130,140.

2 For examples, see above, pp.17,77,82,99,120,134,135.

3 For examples, see above, pp.15,21,75,80,85,99,126,131.

4 Cf. Gesta Francorum, pp.40, 91-92.

(purify) the Holy House from the "rijs" or "najāsa" (filth).[1] The reference to the living of pigs in Jerusalem or its mosque was also stirring because it is regarded as an abominable animal in the Qur'ān.[2]

The religious character of this Arabic poetry is also demonstrated by the absolute absence of praise or boasting of the Arab race or its past, for all the Muslim leaders were in fact of non-Arab origin. Therefore, all the panegyrics on them were marked by religious descriptions. So, any victorious leader was the sword of Islam, the knight of Islam,and the re-creator of Islam,etc.[3]

We have seen from the previous pages how the poets made use of every occasion to urge the rulers to drive the Franks from Syria. But how far could they influence those rulers by their poetry ? If we suppose that the influence of any poetry depends on the relationship between its quality and characteristics on the one hand, and the spirit, mintality and attitude of the reader or hearer on the other, then we may be able to assess to what extent the poets succeeded in influencing the Muslim leaders. In this respct, it is certain that the poetry of our period was most appealing to the hearer or the praised ruler, for it reflected the latter's feelings and thoughts. It was loaded with religious meanings and terms, and the leaders were religious-minded and

1 For examples,see above, pp. 85,89,134,136,141.

2 For examples,see above,pp. 17,72,76,80,85,119.

3 For examples,see above,pp. 45,48,68,75,119.

pious. Their response to the hortatory poetry must have been strong. This claim is supported by the fact that each one of the Muslim rulers showed favour to the poets and made them close to him.

It is reported that Nūr-ad-Dīn used to ask al-Aṣfahānī to describe in verse some of his successful raids, such as his raid on Tiberias,[1] and as the following two lines which Nūr-ad-Dīn asked al-Aṣfahānī to compose in description of Damascus :[2]

> There is no city in the whole world
> like Damascus (in beauty).
> And my fondness (of fighting) in the way
> of God entertains me better than it.

Saladin was also interested in poetry, and it is reported that he used to carry with him the Dīwān of Usāma b. Munqidh, and to compose poetry himself.[3] We have seen how Ṭalā'i^{c} was himself a poet.

The final word to be said about this poetry is that it gives us a historical advantage in that it may be considered as a historical source for the history of the Crusades.

1 See above, p.139.

2 Abū-Shāma, i, p.207. App., 95.

3 Sallām, M.Z., fī al-Adab al-Ayyūbī, p.257.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendices

1

ومن ذا يجاريك فضلا ونبلا ... ومن ذا يساويك حلا وعقدا
زعيم الجيوش لقد اعجزت ... ايا ديك و اصفها ان تحدا
....
فلو طبع الفخر سيفا لكنـ ... ـت دون الورى حده و الفرندا
....
الى كم وقد زخر المشركون ... بسيل يهال له السيل مدا
وقد جاش من ارض افرنجة ... جيوش كمثل جبال تردا
....
انوما على مثل هد الصفاة ... وهزلا وقد اصبح الامر جدا
وكيف تنامون عن اعين ... وترتم فاسهرتموهن حقدا
وشر الضغائن ما اقبلت ... لديه الضغائن بالكفر تحدا
بنو الشرك لا ينكرون الفساد ... ولا يعرفون مع الجور قصدا
ولا يردعون عن القتل نفسا ... ولا يتركون من الفتك جهدا
فكم فتاة بهم اصبحت ... تدق من الخوف نحرا وخدا
....
فحاموا على دينكم و الحريم ... محاماة من لا يرى الموت فقدا
وسدوا الثغور بطعن النحور ... فمن حق ثغر بكم ان يسدا
فلن تعدموا في انتشار الامور ... اخا تدرإ حازم الرأي جلدا
....
كمثل زعيم الجيوش المليء ... بعزم يبيت له الحزم ردا
وعادات بأسكم في اللقاء ... ليست تحول عن النصر عهدا
فدونكم ظفرا عاجلا لكم ... جاعلا سائر الارض مهدا
فقد اينعت اروس المشركين ... فلا تغفلوها قطافا وحصدا
فلا بد من حدهم ان يفل ولا ... بد من ركنهم ان يهدا
فان الب ارسلان في مثلها ... مضى وهو امضى من السيف حدا
فاصبح ابقى من الفرقدين ... ذكرا و اسنى من الشمس مجدا
لعلكم ان تعيدوا من المآ ... ثر و المجد ما كان ابدا
وهذا ابنه قائما فيكم ... مقام المفاخر جدا وجدا
بخيل تخال غداة المكر ... طيرا تحملن غابا و أسدا
وطعن امر من الموت طعما ... وضرب احر من النار وقدا
إذا ما السيوف غداة الحتو ... ف نوعت الضرب قطعا وقدا
ترى لمعا وقعا لايزلن يخطف ... ن برقا ويقصفن رعدا
فذو الباس من جاب من تركة له ... عمة ومن الدرع بردا

فلسنا نرى بعد طول البقاء اكرم منكم على الله وفدا
وقد قيل في الترك ان الذي يتاركهم أسعد الناس جدا

2

أيها الأروع الذ ي فاق مجدا وسؤددا
والذي يبتغي الرشا د لينجو به غدا
ان عندي علاج ما بت منه مسهدا
....
انا من ساكني سروج ذوي الدين والهدى
كنت ذا ثروة بها ومطاعا مسودا
....
ويراني المؤملون ملاذا ومقصدا
....
فقضى الله ان يغير ما كان قد عودا
بوأ الروم ارضنا بعد ضغن تولدا
فاستباحوا حريم من صادفوه موحدا
وحووا كل ما استسر بها لي وما بدا
فتطوحت في البلاد طريدا مشردا
اجتدي الناس بعدما كنت من قبل مجتدا
وترى بي خصاصة اتمنى لها الردى
والبلاء الذي به شمل انسي تبددا
استباء ابنتي التي اسروها لتفتدى
فاستبن محنتي وامـ دد الى نصرتي يدا
واجرني من الزمان فقد جار واعتدى
واعني على فكاك ابنتي من يد العدى
فبذا تنمحي المآ ثم عمن تمردى

3

لمعت كناصية الحصان الاشقر نار بمعتلج الكثيب الاعفر
وفتحت انطاكية الروم التي نشرت معاقلها على الاسكندر
وطئت مناكبها جيادك فانثنت تلقي اجنتها بنات الاصفر

4

ولقد حللت من الشآم بقعة اعذر بساكن ربعها المسكين
وبئت وجاورها العدو فاهلها شهداء بين الطعن و الطاعون

5

هذه صاح بلدة قد قضى اللـ ـه عليها كما ترى بالخراب
وقف العيس وقفة وابك من كا ن بها من شيوخها و الشباب
و اعتبر إن دخلت يوما اليها فهي كانت منازل الاحباب

6

أهذه بعد انكاري وعرفاني مسارب الوحش ام داري و اوطاني
جهلتها ولقد ابدت ملاعبها عهد الصبا بين اخواني وخلاني
فعجت اسألها و الدمع منسكب و القلب في لوعة من وجده عاني
يا دار مالي ارى الايام قد حكمت فينا وفيك بحكم الجائر الجاني
فلو اجابت لقالت هكذا افعلت قدما بحيرة نعمان ونعمان
وفي مدائن نو شروان معتبر للسائلين وفي سيف وغمدان
فاذهب لشأنك فالدنيا لها دول تمضي وتاتي وكل بينها فان

7

مزجنا دماء بالدموع السواجم فلم يبق منا عرضة للمراجم
وشر سلاح المرء دمع يفيضه إذا الحرب شبت نارها بالصوارم
فإيها بني الاسلام ان وراءكم وقائع يلحقن الذرى بالمناسم
اتهويمة في ظل امن وغبطة وعيش كنوار الخميلة ناعم
وكيف تنام العين ملىء جفونها على هفوات ايقظت كل نائم
و اخوانكم بالشام يضحي مقيلهم ظهور المذاكي أوبطون القشاعم
تسومهم الروم الهوان و انتم تجرون ذيل الخفض فعل المسالم
وكم من دماء قد ابيحت ومن دمى تواري حياء حسنها بالمعاصم
بحيث السيوف البيض محمرة الظبا وسمر العوالي داميات اللهاذم
وبين اختلاس الطعن و الضرب وقفة تظل لها الولدان شيب القوادم
وتلك حروب من يغب عن غمارها ليسلم يقرع بعدها سن نادم

ولقد حللت من الشآم بقعة اعذر بساكن ربعها المسكين

يكاد لهن المستجن بطيبة ... ينادي باعلى الصوت يا آل هاشم
ارى امتي لايسرعون الى العدى ... رماحهم و الدين و اهي الدعايم
ويجتنبون النار خوفا من الردى ... ولايحسبون العار ضربة لازم
اترضى صناديد الاعاريب بالأذى ... ويغضي على ذل كماة الاعاجم

ومنها :

فليتهم ان لم يذودو احمية ... عن الدين ضنو اغيرة بالمحارم
و اذ زهدو افي الاجر اذ حمي الوغا ... فهلا اتوه رغبة في المغانم
لئن اذ عنت تلك الخياشيم للبرى ... فلاعطسوا الا باجدع راغم
دعوناكم و الحرب ترنو ملحة ... الينا بالحاظ النسور القشاعم
تراقب فينا غارة عربية ... تطيل عليها الروم عض الاباهم
فان انتم لم تغضبو ابعد هذه ... رمينا الى اعدائنا بالجرايم

8

احل الكفر بالاسلام ضيما ... يطول عليه للدين النحيب
فحوضائح وحمى مباح ... وسيف قاطع ودم صبيب
وكم من مسلم امسى سليبا ... ومسلمة لها حرم سليب
وكم من مسجد جعلوه ديرا ... على محرابه نصب الصليب
دم الخنزير فيه لهم خلوق ... وتحريق المصاحف فيه طيب
امور لوتأملهن طفل ... لطفل في عوارضه المشيب
اتسبى المسلمات بكل ثغر ... وعيش المسلمين اذ ايطيب
اما لله و الاسلام حق ... يدافع عنه شبان وشيب
فقل لذوي البصائر حيث كانوا ... اجيبوا الله ويحكم اجيبوا

9

قل ماتشاء فقولك المقبول وعليك بعد الخالق التعويل
و استبشر القران حين نصرته وبكا لفقد رجاله الانجيل

10

نصرت بسيفك دين المسيح فلله درك من صنجل
وما سمع الناس فيما رووه باقبح من كسرة الافضل

11

اشتدي ازمه تنفرجي قد اذن ليلك بالبلج
وظلام الليل له سرج متى يغشاه ابو السرج
وسحاب الخير لها مطر فإذا جاء الإبان تجي
وفوائد مولانا جمل لسروح الانفس و المهج
ولها ارج محيي ابدا فاقصد محياذ اك الارج
....
و الخلق جميعا في يده فذو سعة وذو حرج

12

اين عزي من روحتي بعز از وجوازي على الظباء الجوازي
....
بعيون كالمرهفات المواضي وقدود مثل القنا الهزاز
....
ذات خصر يكاد يخفى على الفا رس منه مواقع المهماز
لاحظتني فانقض منها على قلبي طرف له قوادم باز
وسبتني لها ذوائب شعر عقدتها تاجا على ابرواز

من معيني على غزو بنات بني الاصفر غزو افانني اليوم غاز

13

و احربا في الثغور من بلد ... يضحك حسنا كانه ثغر

ترى قصورا كانها بيع ... ناطقة في خلالها الصور

هالات طاقاتهن آهلة ... يبسم في كل هالة قمر

سوافر كلما شعرن بنا ... برقعهن الحياء و الخفر

....

سرت وخلفت في ديارهم ... قلبا تمنيت انه بصر

ولم ازل اغبط المقيم بها ... للقرب حتى غبطت من اسروا

14

الحق مبتهج و السيف مبتسم ... ومال اعداء مجير الدين مقتسم

قدت الجياد وحصنت البلاد و امنت العباد فأنت الحل و الحرم

حتى اذ اما احاط المشركون بنا ... كالليل يلتهم الدنيا له ظلم

أجريت بحرا من المان معتكرا ... امواجه باو اسي اليأس تلتطم

....

سروا لينتهبوا الاعمار فانتهبوا قتلا ويغتنموا الاموال فاغتنموا

و ادبر الملك الطاغي يزعزعه ... حر الاسنة وهو البارد الشبم

و افو ادمشق فظنوا انها جدة ... ففارقوها وفي ايديهم العدم

و ايقنوا مع ضياء الصبح انهم ... ان لم يزولو اسراعا زالت الخيم

ففارقوا اكثر القربان و انجفلوا وخلفوا اكبر الصلبان و انهزموا

مستسلمين لايدي المسلمين وقد ... اغرى القنا بتمادي خطفهم نهم

....

وحاولوا المسجد الادنى فما عبرت عن مسجد القدم الاقصى لهم قدم

15

حذارمنا وانى ينفع الحذر وهي الصوارم لا تبقي ولا تذر
واين ينجوملوك الشرك من ملك منخيله النصر لا بل جنده القدر
....
حتى اذا ماعماد الدين ارهقهم في مازق من سناه يبرق البصر
ولوا تضيق لهم ذرعا مسالكهم والموت لاملجأ منه ولا وزر
وفي المسافة من دون النجاة لهم طول وان كان في اقطارها قصر
واصبح الدين لا عينا ولا اثرا يخاف والكفر لا عين ولا اثر
فلا تخف بعدها الافرنج قاطبة فالقوم ان نفروا الوى بهم نفر
ان قاتلوا قتلوا اوحاربوا احربوا او طاردوا طردوا اوحاصروا حصروا
وطالما استفحل الخطب البهيم بهم حتى اتى ملك اراؤه غرر
....
لا فارقت ظل محيي العدل لامعة كا الصبح تطوي من الاعداء ما نشروا
....
حتى تعود ثغور الشام ضاحكة كانما حل في اكنافهم عمر

16

بعزمك ايها الملك العظيم تذل لك الصعاب وتستقيم
....
ايلتمس الفرنج لديك عفوا وانت بقطع دابرها زعيم
وكم جرعتها غصص المنايا بيوم فيه يكتهل الفطيم
فسيفك من مفارقهم خضيب وذكرك في مواطنهم عظيم
وكل محصن منهم اخيذ وكل محض منهم يتيم

وكل محصن منهم اخيذ وكل محضن منهم يتيم
ولما ان طلبتهم تمنى المنية جوسلينهم اللئيم
اقام يطوف الافاق حينا وانت على معاقله مقيم
....
الم تر ان كلب الروم لما تظنن انك الملك الرحيم
فحين رميته بك في خميس تيقن ان ذلك لا يدوم
كانك في العجاج شهاب نور توقد وهو شيطان رجيم
اراد بقاء مهجته فولى وليس سوى الحمام له حميم
يومل ان تجود بها عليه وانت بها وبالدنيا كريم
رايتك والملوك لها ازدحام ببابك لاتزول ولا تريم
تقبل من ركابك كل يوم مكانا ليس تبلغه النجوم
وان تك في سبيل الله تشقى فعند الله اجرك والنعيم

17

وما جاء كلب الروم الا ليحتوي حماة وهل يسطو على الاسد الكلب
وماذم فيها العيش حتى صد منه فمال جناح الجيش وانكسر القلب
فولى واطراف الرماح كانها نجوم عليه بالمنية تنصب

18

اصبحت صفرا من بني الاصفر اختال بالاعلام والمنبر
دان من المعروف حال به ناء عن الفحشاء والمنكر
مطهر الرحب على انني لولا جمال الدين لم اطهر

19

بجيش جاش بالفرسان حتى ظننت البر بحرا من سلاح
والسنة من العذبات حمر تخاطبنا بافواه الرياح
واروع جيشه ليل بهيم وغرته عمود للصباح
....
وكان ثباته للقلب قلبا وهيبته جناحا للجناح

20

لقد كان في فتح الرهاء دلالة على غير ما عند العلوج اعتقاده
يرجون ميلاد ابن مريم نصرة ولم يغن عند القوم عنه ولاده
مدينة افك منذ خمسين حجة يفل حديد الهند عنها حداده

21

فياظفر اعم البلاد صلاحه بمن كان قد عم البلاد فساده
غداة كان الهام في كل قونس كمائم نبت بالسيوف حصاده
فما مطلق الا وشد وثاقه ولا موثق الا وحل صفاده
ولا منبر الا ترنح عوده ولا مصحف الا انار مداده
الى اين يا اسرى الضلالة بعدها لقد ذل غاويكم وعز رشاده
....
فقل لملوك الكفر تسلم بعدها ممالكها ان البلاد بلاده
كذا عن طريق الصبح ايتها الدجى فيا طالما غال الظلام امتداده

سمت قبلة الاسلام فخرا بطوله وماكان يسمو الدين لولا عماده

22

فتح الفتوح مبشرا بتمامه كالفجر في صدر النهار الايب
لله اية وقفة بدرية نصرت صحائبها بايمن صاحب
....
لا اين يا اسرى المهالك بعدها ضاق الفضاء على نجاة الهارب
افغركم والثأر رهن دمائكم ما كان من اطراق لحظ الطالب

23

أما آن أن يزهق الباطل وان ينجز العدة الماطل
الى كم يغب ملوك الضلا ل سيف باعناقها كافل
فلا تحفلن بصوت الذئاب وقد زأر الاسد الباسل
....
وجاهد في الله حق الجهاد محتسب، بالعلى قافل
....
فإن يك فتح الرها لجة فساحلها القدس والساحل
فهل علمت علم تلك الديار ان المقيم بها راحل
ارى القمص يأمل فوت الرماح ولا بد ان يضرب السابل
يقوي معاقله جاهدا وهل عاقل بعدها عاقل
وكيف بضبط بواقي الجهات من فات حسبته الحاصل
برأيك في الحرب ام لفظك استفاد اصابته النابل
وعن حد عزمك في المشكلات قضى فمضى الصارم القاصل

24

صفات مجدك لفظ جل معناه فلا استرد الذي اعطاكه الله
يا صارما بيمين الله قائمه وفي اعالي اعادي الله حداه
....
قل للاعادي الا موتوا به كمدا فالله خيبكم والله اعطاه
....
اين الخلائف عن فتح اتيح له مظلل افق الدنيا جناحاه
....
فتح اعاد على الاسام بهجته فافتر مبسمه واهتز عطفاه
يهذي بمعتصم بالله فتكته حديثها نسخ الماضي وانساه
ان الرها غير عمورية وكذا من رامها ليس مغزاه كمغزاه
اخت الكواكب عزا ما بغا احد من الملوك لها وقما فواتاه

25

جمعت الى فتح الرهاسد بابه بجمعك بين النهب والاسر والقتل
هو الفتح انسى كل فتح حديثه وتوج مسطور الرواية والنقل

26

لو جرى الانصاف في اوصافه كان اولاها امير المؤمنين
....
وغدا يلقي على القدس لها كلكل يدرسها درس الدرين
....
قل لقوم غرهم امهاله ستذوقون شذاه بعد حين

27

عين لا تذخري المدامع وابكي واستهلي دماعلى فقد زنكي
لم يهب شخصه الردى بعد ان كا نت له هيبة على كل تركي
....
ان دارا تمدنا بالرزايا هي عندي احق دار بتركي
فاسكبوا فوق قبره ماء ورد وانضحوه بزعفران ومسك
....
كل خطب اتت به نوب الدهر يسير في جنب مصرع زنكي
بعدما كاد ان تدين له الروم ويحوي البلاد من غير شك

28

والان ملقى بالعراء يقتاته ماكان قبل يصيده يقتاته

29

رعته الفيافي بعد ما كان حقبة رعاها وماء الروض ينهل ساكبه

30

طريدة دهر ساقها فرددتها على الدين بالخطي والدهر راغم

31

عارية الزمن المغير سما لها منك المغيرة فاسترد معارها

32

سبق المحلى للخطي فرفعه نسق بثم وقد رفعت بالابتدا

33

هذا الذي سلب العشاق نومهم اماترى عينه ملأى من الوسن

34

نهبت من الاعمار ما لوحويته لهنئت الدنيا بأنك خالد

35

و اهوى الذي اهوى له البدر ساجدا ألست ترى في وجهه أثر الترب

36

وماكلفة القمر المنير قديمة في وجهه لكنها من اثر اللطم

37

تلك بكر الفتوح فالشام منها شامة و العراق بعد عراقه

....

سنة سنها ابوه بكلب الروم لما اظله ارهاقه

خافقا قلبه الى امل عا جله دون نيله اخفاقه

وكذا انت يا ابنه ماعدا من خلقه فيك خصلة خلاقه

وكفى البحر انه ابن سحاب ماونى سحه ولا اصعاقه

وجهاد عن حوزة الدين لم يأ له له ركضه ولا انفاقه

38

أي شأن ادركت يانور دين الله اعيى على الملوك لحاقه
نطق الحاسدون بالعجز عن ملـ ـك محلى بالنيرات نطاقه
سل بصيرا كم اعتقت يوم بصرى من اسارى الموت الزؤام عتاقه

39

كل يوم فتح مبين ونصر واعتلاء على الاعادي وقهر
....
صدق النعت فيك انت معيـ ـن الدين ان النعوت فالوزجر
....
بك زاد الاسلام ياسيفه المخذ م عزا وذل شرك وكفر
ثق بادراك ماتؤمل ان الله يجزي العباد عما اسروا
لم تزل تضمر الجهاد مسرا ثم اعلنت حين امكن جهر

40

بشطي نهر داريا امور ما تؤاتينا
واقوام رأوا سفك الد ماء في جلق دينا
أتانا مائتا الف عديدا أو يزيدونا
فبعضهمو من اندلس وبعضهم من فلسطينا
ومن عكا ومن صور ومن صيدا وتبنينا
إذا ابصرتهم ابصر ت قوما مجانينا
ولكن حرقوا في عاجل الحال البساتينا
وجازوا البرج والتعديل ايضا والبساتينا

تخالهم وقد ركبوا ... فطائرها حراذينا
وبين خيامهم ضموا الـ ... خنازر والقرابينا
وقلنا اذ رايناهم ... لعل الله يكفينا
سما لهم معين قد ... اعان الخلق والدينا
وفتيان تخالهم ... لدى الهيجا شياطينا
فولوا يطلبون المر ... ج من شرقي جسرينا
ولكن غادروا الياس ... تحت الترب مدفونا
وشيخا فندلاويا ... فقيها يعضد الدينا
وفتيانا تفانوا من ... دمشق نحو سبعينا
ومنهم مائتا علج ... وخيل نحو تسعينا
وباقيهم الى الان ... من القتل يفرونا

41

لم يشنه من ماء يغرى ان فرا ... الإشابات زاد عنها انذلاقه
كان فيها ليث العرين حمى الا ... الاشبال منه غضبان كالنار ماقه
وشبيه النبي يوم حنين ... إذ تلافى ادواءهم ترياقه

42

تفي بضمانها البيض الحداد ... وتقضي دينها السمر الصعاد
وتدرك ثارها من كل باغ ... فوارس من عزائمها الجلاد
....
أظنوا ان نار الحرب تخبو ... ونور الدين في يده الزناد
....
جرت بالنصر اقلام العوالي ... وليس سوى النجيع لها مداد

وطالت اروس الاعلاج خصبا فنادى السيف قد وقع الحصاد

....

فسر واستوعب الدنيا فتوحا فلا هضب هناك ولا وهاد

43

أبقاك للدنيا وللدين من خلاك في ليلهما نيرا

حتى ترى عيسى من القدس قد نجا الى سيفك مستنصرا

44

إن كان آل فرنج ادركوا فلجا في يوم يغرى ونالوا منية الظفر

ففي الخطيم خطمت الكفر منصلتا ابا المظفر بالصمصامة الذكر

نالوا بيغرى نهابا وانتهبت لنا على الخطيم نفوس المعشر البتر

واستقودوا الخيل عريا واستقدت لنا قوامص الكفر في ذل وفي صغر

45

اقوى الضلال واقفرت عرصاته وعلا الهدى وتبلجت قسماته

وانتاش دين محمد محموده من بعد ماغلبت دما عبراته

رددت على الاسلام عصر شبابه وشباته من دونه وشباته

ارسى قواعده ومد عماده صعدا وشيد سوره سوراته

....

صدم الصليب على صلابة عوده فتفرقت أيدي سبا خشباته

وسقى البرنس وقد تبرنس ذله بالروح ممقر ماجنت غدراته

فانقاد في خطم المنية انفه يوم الخطيم واقصرت نزواته

ومضى يؤنب تحت آنب همة امست زوافر غيها زفراته

....

والان ملقى بالعرا يقتاته ماكان قبل يصيده يقتاته

وغدا تحل لك الحلائل اسهم متوزعات بينهن بناته

46.A

ألسيف أصدق أنباء من الكتب في حده الحد بين الجد واللعب

46 B.

هذي العزائم لا ماتدعي القضب وذي المكارم لا ماقالت الكتب

....

مازال جدك يبني كل شاهقة حتى بنى قبة اوتادها الشهب

....

اغرت سيوفك في الافرنج راجفة فؤاد رومية الكبرى لها يجب

ضربت كبشهم منها بقاصمة اودى لها الصلب وانحطت لها الصلب

....

طهرت ارض الاعادي من دمائهم طهارة كل سيف عندها جنب

....

من كان يغزو بلاد الشرك مكتسبا من الملوك فنور الدين محتسب

ذو غرة ماسمت والليل معتكر الا تمزق عن شمس الضحى الحجب

افعاله كاسمه في كل حادثة ووجهه نائب عن وصفه اللقب

....

عمت فتوحك بالعدوى معاقلها كأن تسليم هذا عند ذا جرب

....

فانهض الى المسجد الاقصى بذي لجب يوليك اقصى المنى فالقدس مرتقب

وائذن لموجك في تطهير ساحله فانما انت بحر لجه لجب

47

انشرت يامحمود ملة احمد ... من بعد ماشمل البلى اصحارها

عارية الزمن المغير سمالها ... منك المغيرة فاسترد معارها

لما وعاها سمع انطاكية ... سرت الوقار وكشفت استاوها

فاليوم اضحت تستذم مجيرها ... من جوره وغدت تذم جوارها

48

إن تمس في حلب رياحك غضة ... فلها بانطاكية اعصار

فاحسم عناد ذوي العناد بجحفل ... كالليل فيه من الصفيح نهار

قد بايع الاخلاص بيعة نصرة ... ولكل هادي امة انصار

ملك له من عدله ووفائه ... جيش به تستفتح الامصار

واذا الملوك تثاقلت عن غاية ... وارادها خفت به الاقدار

واذا انتضته الى الثغور عزيمة ... قامت مقام جنوده الاخبار

49

لقد غلب الصليب بحر حرب ... يشيب اوارها لمم الليالي

تساءل حمص عن منسي دين ... تقاضاه لك الحجج الخوالي

50

لك الله ان حاربت فالنصر والفتح ... وان شئت صلحا عد من حزبك الصلح

وهل انت الا السيف في كل حالة ... فطورا له حد وطورا له صفح

اذا ما دمشق ملكتك عنانها تيقن من في ايليا انه الذبح
اذا سار نور الدين في الجيش غازيا فقولا لليل الافك قد طلع الصبح
تركت جيوش الشرك تشكو جراحها فلازالت الشكوى ولا اندمل الجرح
....
سخابك هذا الدهر جودا على الورى على انه ما زال في طبعه شح

51

ليهن دمشق ان كرسي ملكها حبي منك صدرا ضاق عن همه الصدر
....
هي الثغر امسى بالكرادیس عابسا واصبح عن باب الفرادیس يفتر
....
ومن بز انطاكية من مليكها اطاعته الحاظ المؤللة الخزر
اتى راسه ركضا وغودر شلوه وليس سوى عافي النسور له قبر
كما اهدت الاقدار للقمص اسره واسعد قرن من حواه لك الاسر
فالقت بايديها اليك حصونه ولولم تجب طوعا لجاءبها القسر
وامستعز از كاسمها بك عزة تشق على النسرين لو انها الوكر
فسروا ملأ الدنيا ضياء وبهجة فبالافق الداجي الى ذا السنا فقر
كاني بهذا العزم لا فل حده واقصاه بالاقصى وقد قضي الامر
وقد اصبح البيت المقدس طاهرا وليس سوى جاري الدماء له طهر
وان تتيمم ساحل البحر مالكا فلاعجب ان يملك الساحل البحر

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هي الخيل خير عتاد الكريم يحضر للهم احضارها

اعدت بعصرك هذا الانيق فتوح النبي واعصارها
وكان مهاجرها تابعيك وانصار رايك انصارها
فجددت اسلام سلمانها وعمر جدك عمارها

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وقل لمبيد الدين وهو مجيره بزعم له وجه الحقيقة ازبد
....
تنصرت اما بل تمجست والدا وعما فعرق الكفر فيك مردد
....
دمشق دمشق انما القدس سرحة ومركزها صرح عليها ممرد
..... متى انا راء طائر
متى أنا راء طائر الفتح صادحا يرفرف في ارجائها ويغرد

54

شمر فقد مدت اليك رقابها لا يدرك الغايات غير مشمر
....
آثارهم نجس أذال المسجد الاقصى فصن ما دنسوه وطهر
جار الخليل ومن بغزة هاشم بلهامك المتدمشق المتمصر

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لقد أشعرت دين الله عزا تتيه به المشاعر والحجون
....
فبرنست البرنس لفاع خف وجرع مر جوسك جوسلين
....
وكم عبر الصليب بهم صليبا فردته قناك وفيه لين

56

غسل العواصم امس من ادرانهم واليوم رد به السواحل بورا

....

اخلى ديار الشرك من اوثانها حتى غدا ثالوثهن نكيرا

رفع القصور على نضائد هامهم من بعد ما جعل القصور قبورا

غادرت انطرسوس كالطرس انمحى رسما وحمر ردعها يحمورا

وجه البلاد بفتية كانت على بلدم أحلكم كسره الكسيرا

هتمت طرابلسا فاصبح ثغرها البسام من عز الثغور ثغيرا

....

باكر بركز قنا تنسف اسها والخيل صور كي تزيرك صورا

وتريك لامعة التريك بساحة الاقصى مطهرة لها تطهيرا

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بقاؤك خير ما يرجوه راج وانفع ما يبل به اوام

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سيوف لها في كل درع وجنة إذا ما اعتلت قد او اعترضت قط

ذخرنا سطاها للفرنج لانها بهم دون اهل الارض اجدر ان تسطو

لهم قسطهم في الحرب منها ومالها عليهم لدى الهيجاء عدل ولا قسط

وقد كاتبوا في الصلح لكن جوابهم بحضرتنا ماينبت الخط لا الخط

سطور خيول لا تغب ديارهم لها بالمواضي والقنا الشكل والنقط

وحرب لها الارواح زاهقة لما تعاين والاصوات من دهش لغط

إذا ارسلت فرعا من النقع فاحما اثيثا فاسنان الرماح لها مشط

كان القنا فيها انامل حاسب اجد بها في السرعة الجمع واللقط

وأبصرت به السوء محرا فمل السوء من محمد ابن أنعم

رددنا بها ابن الفنش عنا و انما يثبته في سرجه الشد و الربط
فقولوا لنور الدين ليس لجائف الجراحات الا الكي في الطب و البط
وحسم اصول الداء اولى لعاقل لبيب اذا استولى على المدنف الخلط
فدع عنك ميلا للفرنج وهدنة بها ابدا يحظى سواهم ولم يخطوا
تامل فكم شرط شرطت عليهم قديما وكم غدر به نقض الشرط
وشمر فإنا قد اعنا بكل ما سالت وجهزنا الجيوش ولن يبطوا

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ذاكرين الفتح الذي فتح الله علينا فالصنع منه جميل
لم يزل فعلنا له خالصا وهو لما شاء في الانام فعول
جاءنا بعد ما ذكرناه في كتب أتاكم بهن منا الرسول
ان بعض الاسطول نال من الافرنج ما لا يناله التاميل
سار في قلة وما زال بالله وصدق النيات ينمي القليل
فحوى من عكا و انطرطوس عدة لم يحط بها التحصيل
جمع ديوية بهم كانت الافرنج تسطو على الورى وتصول
قيد في وسطهم مقدمهم يهدى الينا وجيده مغلول
بعد مثوى جماعة هلكت بالسيف منها الغريق و المقتول
هذه نعمى الاله وتعديد أيادي الاله شيء يطول
فابلغن قولنا الى الملك العادل فهو المرجو و المأمول
قل له كم تماطل في الدين في الكفار فاحذر ان يغضب الممطول
سر الى القدس و احتسب ذاك في الله فبالسير منك يشفى الغليل
و اذا ما ابطأ مسيرك فالله اذن حسبنا ونعم الوكيل

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وحميت البلاد بالسيف فاستصـ ... عب منها سهل وعز ذليل
وقسمت الفرنج بالغزو شطريـ ... ن: فهذا عان وهذا قتيل
والذي لم يحن بسيفك من خو ... فك امسى وعقله مخبول
مثل الخوف بين عينيه جيشا ... لك في عقر داره مايزول
فالربى عنده جيوش وموج الـ ... بحر في كل لجة اسطول
واذا ما اغفى اقض به الـ ... مضجع في الحلم سيفك المسلول
فابق للمسلمين كهفا وللإ ... فرنج حتفا ما اعقب الجيل جيل
....
بالغ العبد في النيابة والتـ ... حريض وهو المفوه المقبول
فرأى من عزيمة الغزو ماكا ... دت له الارض والجبال تميل
واجابته بالصليل سيوف ... ظامئات وبالصهيل خيول
ورأى النقع راكدا دون مجـ ... رى الشمس والارض بالجيوش تسيل
كل ارض فيها من الاسد جيش ... سائر فوقه من السمر غيل
وإذا عاقت المقادير فاللـ ... ـه إذا حسبنا ونعم الوكيل

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نقول ولكن اين من يتفهم ... ويعلم وجه الرأى والرأى مبهم
وماكل من قاس الامور وساسها ... يوفق للامر الذى هو احزم
وما احد فى الملك يبقى مخلدا ... وما احد مما قضى الله يسلم
امن بعد ما ذاق العدى طعم حربكم ... بفيهم وكانت وهى صاب وعلقم
رجعتم الى حكم التنافس بينكم ... وفيكم من الشحناء نار تضرم
أما عندكم من يتقى الله وحده ... أما فى رعاياكم من الناس مسلم
تعالوا لعل الله ينصر دينه ... اذا ما نصرنا الدين نحن وانتم

وننهض نحو الكافرين بعزمة بامثالها تحوى البلاد وتقسم

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إن ظنى و الظن مثل سهام الرمي منها المخطى ومنها المصيب
إن هذا لان غدت ساحة القد س وما للاسلام فيها نصيب
منزل الوحى قبل بعث رسول الله فهو المحجوج و المحجوب
نزلت وسطه الخنازير و الخمر وبارى الناقوس فيها الصليب
لو رآه المسيح لم يرض فعلا زعموا انه له منسوب
أبعد الناس عن عبادة رب الـ ناس قوم الههم مصلوب
لهف نفسى على ديار من الس كان اقوت فليس فيها عريب
....
ولعمرى ان المناصح فى الد ين على الله اجره محسوب
وجهاد العدو بالفعل و القول على كل مسلم مكتوب
ولك الرتبة العلية فى الامرين مذ كنت اذ تشب الحروب
انت فيها الشجاع مالك فى الـ طعن ولا فى الضراب يوما ضريب
و اذا ما حرضت فالشاعر المفلـ ق فيما تقوله و الخطيب
و اذا ما اشرت فالحزم لا ينكر ان التدبير منك مصيب
لك راى مذ كان ان ضعف الرا ى على حاملى الصليب صليب
فانهض الان مسرعا فبامثالك ما زال يدرك المطلوب
و الق عنا رسالة عند نور الـ دين ما فى القائها ما يريب
قل له دام ملكه وعليه من لباس الاقبال برد قشيب
ايها العادل الذى هو للد ين شباب وللحروب شبيب
و الذى لم يزل قديما عن الاس لام بالعزم منه تجلى الكروب

وغدا منه للفرنج اذا لا قوه يوم من الزمان عصيب
ان يرم نزف حقدهم فلاشطا قناه فى كل قلب قليب
غيرنا من يقول ما ليس يمـ ضيه بفعل وغيرك المكذوب
قد كتبنا اليك فاوضح لنا الا ن بماذا عن الكتاب تجيب
قصدنا ان يكون منا ومنكم اجل فى مسيرنا مضروب
فلدينا من العساكر ما ضاق بادناهم الفضاء الرحيب
وعلينا ان يستهل على الشام مكان الغيوث مال صبيب
....

وبحول الله ذاك ومن غالب ربى فانه مغلوب

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ألا هكذا فى الله تمضى العزائم وتمضى لدى الحرب السيوف الصوارم
وتستنزل الاعداء من طود عزهم وليس سوى سمر الرماح سلالم
وتغزى جيوش الكفر فى عقر دارها ويوطا حماها والانوف رواغم
ويوفى الكرام الناذرون بنذرهم وان بذلت فيه النفوس الكرائم
نذرنا مسير الجيش فى صفر فما مضى نصفه حتى انثنى وهو غانم
بعثناه من مصر الى الشام قاطعا مفاوز وخد العيس فيهن دائم
....

فماهاله بعد الديار ولا ثنى عزيمته جهد الظما والسمائم
.....

اذا ماطوى الرايات وقت مسيره غدت عوضا عنها الطيور الحوائم
تبارى خيولا ما تزال كانها اذا ما هى انقضت نسور قشاعم
فان طلبت قصدا تساوين سرعة قوادمها فى جوها والقوائم
.....

يسير بها ضرغام فى كل مأزق ... ومايصحب الضرغام الا الضراغم
ورفقته عين الزمان وحاتم ... ويحيى وان لاقى المنية حاتم
مضى طاهر الاثواب من كل ريبة ... شهيدا كما تمضى السراة الاكارم
هنيئا له يسقى الرحيق اذا غدت ... تحييه فى الخلد الحسان النواعم
ولو اننا نبكى على فقد هالك ... لقلت له منا الدموع السواجم
ولكننا بعنا الاله نفوسنا ... ورحنا وما منا على البيع نادم
تهون علينا ان تصاب نفوسنا ... اذا لم تصبنا فى الحياة المآثم
.....
ولما وطوا ارض الشآم تحالفت ... فاضحت جميعا عربها والاعاجم
وواجههم جمع الفرنج بحملة ... تهون على الشجعان منها الهزائم
فلقوهم زرق الاسنة وانطووا ... عليهم فلم ينجم من الكفر ناجم
.....
يشبههم من لاح جمعهم له ... بلجة بحر موجها متلاطم
وحسبك ان لم يبق فى القوم فارس ... من الجيش الا وهو للرمح حاطم
وعادوا الى سل السيوف فقطعت ... رؤوس وحزت للفرنج غلاطم
فلم ينج منهم يوم ذاك مخبر ... ولا قيل هذا وحده اليوم سالم
.....
فقولوا لنور الدين لا فل حده ... ولا حكمت فيه الليالى الغواشم
تجهز الى ارض العدو ولا تهن ... وتظهر فتورا ان مضت منك حارم
فما مثلها يبدى احتفالا به ولا ... ولا تعض عليها للملوك الاباهم
فعندك من الطاف ربك ما به ... علما يقينا أنهُ لك راحم
اعادك حيا بعد ان زعم الورى ... بانك قد لاقيت ما الله حاتم
بوقت اصاب الارض ما قد اصابها ... وحلت بها تلك الدواهى العظائم
وخيم جيش الكفر فى ارض شيزر ... فسيقت سبايا واستحلت محارم

فقم و اشكر الله الكريم بنهضة اليهم فشكر الله للخلق لازم
فنحن على ما قد عهدت نروعهم ونحلف جهدا اننا لا نسالم
وغاراتنا ليست تفتر عنهم وليس ينجى القوم منها الهزائم
و اسطولنا اضعاف ما كان سائرا اليهم فلا حصن لهم منه عاصم
ونرجو بان نجتاح باقيهم به ونحوى الاسارى منهم و الغنائم
....
ونختم بالحسنى الفعال و انما تزين اعمال الرجال الخواتم

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رميت العدى بالاسدفى اجم القنا على الجرد تقتاد الردى وهو راغم
....
يبارين شهب القذف يحملن مثلها من الحتف، للباغى الرجيم رواجم
....
تسير جيوش الطير فوق جيوشها لها كل يوم من عداها ولائم
فإن خفض الفرسان للطعن فى الوغى رماحهم انقضت عليها القشاعم
تعرض منها فوق غزة عارض سحاب المنايا فوقه متراكم
فللنقع سحب و السيوف بوارق وللدم وبل و النبات جماجم
....
غزوتهم فى ارضهم وبلادهم وجحفلهم فى ارضها متزاحم
فأفنيتهم قتلا و اسرا باسرهم فناجيهم مستسلم اومسالم
فلما ابادتهم سيوفك و انجلت عن الارض منهم ظلمة ومظالم
غزوتهم فى البحر حتى كأنما الاساطيل فيه موجه المتلاطم
بفرسان بحر فوق دهم كانها على الماء طير مالهن قوادم

اذا دفعوها قلت فرسان غارة سروا بجياد مالهن قوائم

يسوق اساطيل الفرنج اليهم حمام وطير للفرنج اشائم

....

وقد شمر الملكان فى الله طالبى رضاه بعزم لم تعقه اللوائم

بجدهو العضب الحسام وحده لعادية الاعداء والكفر حاسم

وقاما بنصر الدين والله قائم بنصرهما ما دام للسيف قائم

وما دون ان يفنى الفرنج وتف تح البلاد سوى ان يمضى العزم عازم

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ايها المفتدى لأنت على البعد صديق لنا ونعم الصديق

ليس فيما تاتيه من بر افعا لك لطالب الحقوق عقوق

فلهذا نرى مواصلة الكتب تباعا اليك مما يليق

وننا جيك بالمهمات اذ ان ت بالقائها اليك خليق

واهم المهم امر جهاد الـ كفر فاسمع فعندنا التحقيق

واصلتهم منا السرايا فاشجا هم بكور منها لهم وطروق

واباحت ديارهم فاباد الـ قوم قتل ملازم وحريق

وانتظرنا بزحفنا برء نور الـ دين علما منا بان سيفيق

وهو الان فى امان من الله ومايعتريه امر يعوق

مالهذا المهم مثلك مجد الد ين فانهض فأنت به حقيق

قل له لا عداه راى ولا زال لديه لكل خير طريق

انت فى حسم داء طاغية الكفا ر ذاك المرجو والمرموق

فاغتنم بالجهاد اجرك كى تلفى رفيقاله ونعم الرفيق

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يا امير الجيوش ما زال للاسلام والدين منك ركن وثيق
اسمعت دعوتك الجهاد فلبا ها مليك بالمكرمات خليق
ملك عادل انار به الد ين فعم الاسلام منه الشروق
ماله عن جهاده الكفر والعد لوفعل الخيرات شغل يعوق
هو مثل الحسام صدر صقيل لين مسه وحد زليق
ذو اناة يخالها الغر اهمالا وفيها حتف الاعادى المحيق
فاسلما للاسلام كهفين ما طرز ثوب الظلام برق خفوق

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الم بنور الدين واعـ ـلمه بهاتيك القضيه
فهو فهو الذى مازال يخلص منه افعال ونيـــه
ويبيد جمع الكفر بالـ ـبيض الرقاق المشرفيه
فعساه ينهض نهضة يفنى بها تلك البقيه
امالنصرة دينـــه او ملكه او للحميـــه

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جعلنا الجهاد همنا واشتغالنا ولم يلهنا عنه السماع ولا الخمر
دماء العدى اشهى من الراح عندنا ووقع المواضى فيهم الناى والوتر
....
بنا ايد الاسلام وازداد عزة وذل لنا من بعد عزته الكفر
قتلنا البرنس حين ساربجهله تحف به الفرسان والعسكر المجر
....

وفى سجننا ابن الفنش خير ملوكهم ... وان لم يكن خير لديهم ولا بر
اسرناه من حصن العريمة راغما ... وقد قتلت فرسانه فهم جزر
وسل عنهم الوادى بافليس انه ... الى اليوم فيه من دمائهم غدر
....

ونحن اسرنا الجوسلين ولم يكن ... ليخش من الايام نائبة تعرو
وكان يظن الغر انا نبيعه ... بمال وكم ظن به يهلك الغر
....

كحلناه نبغى الاجر فى فعلنا به ... وفى مثل ما قدناله يحرز الاجر
ونحن كسرنا البغدوين ومالمن ... كسرناه ابلال يرجى ولا جبر
فسله اللعين الحائن الخائن الذى ... له الغدر دين ما به صنع الغدر
....

افى غدره بالخيل بعد يمينه ... بانجيله بين الانام له عذر
....

فلما تمادى غيه وضلاله ... ولم يثنه عن جهله النهى والزجر
برزناله كالليث فارق غيله ... وعادته كسر الفرائس والهصر
وسرنا اليه حين هاب لقاءنا ... وبان له من باسنا البؤس والشر
فولى يبارى عائرات سهامنا ... وفى سمعه من وقع اسيافنا وقر
....

وما تنثنى عنه اعنة خيلنا ... ولو طاربه فى افق السماء به النسر
الى ان يزور الجوسلين مساهما ... له فى دياج ما لليلتها فجر
ونرتجع القدس المطهر منهم ... ويتلى باذن الله فى الصخرة الذكر
....

فتحنا الرها حين استباح عداتنا ... حماها وسنى ملكها لهم الختر

ونحن فتحنا تل باشر بعدها — وقد عجزت عنه الاكاسرة اللغر

اتى ساكنوها بالمفاتيح طاعة — الينا ومسراهم الى بابنا شهر

....

وتل عزاز صبحته جيوشنا — فلم تحمه عنا الرجال ولا الجدر

....

رددنا على اهل الشام رباعهم — واملاكهم فانزاح عنهم بها الفقر

وجاءتهم من بعد يأس وفاقة — وقد مسهم من فقدها البؤس والضر

ومر عليها الدهر والكفر حاكم — عليها وعمر مر من بعده عمر

فنالهم من عودها الخير والغنى — كما نالنا من ردها الاجر والشكر

واصبحت الافاق من عدلنا حمى — فكدر قطاها لا يروعها صقر

....

ولولا سؤال الله عن خلقه الذى — رعيناهم حفظا اذا ضمنا الحشر

لملنا عن الدنيا وقلنا لها اغربى — لك الهجر منا ما تمادى بنا العمر

فما خير ملك انت عنه محاسب — ومملكة من بعدها الموت والقبر

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قل لابن منقذ الذى — قد حاز فى الفضل الكمالا

كم قد بعثنا نحوك — الاشعار مسرعة عجالا

وصددت عنها حين رامت — من محاسنك الوصالا

هلا بذلت لنا مقا — لا حين لم تبذل فعالا

مع اننا نوليك صبرا — فى المودة واحتمالا

ونبثك الاخبار ان اض — حت قصارا او طوالا

سارت سرايانا لقصد — الشام تعتسف الرمالا

تزجى الى الاعداء جر — د الخيل اتباعا توالا

تمضى خفافا للمغار — بها وتاتينا ثقالا

تمضى خفافا للمغار ... بها وتاتينا ثقالا
حتى لقد رام الاعا ... دى من ديارهم ارتحالا
....
هذ اوفى تل العجول ... ملان بالقتلى التلالا
اذ مرمرى ليس يل ... وى نحو رفقته اشتغالا
واستاق عسكرنا له ... اهلا يحبهم ومالا
وسرية ابن فريج الطا ... ئى طال بها وصالا
سارت الى ارض الخليل ... فلم تدع فيها خلالا
فلو ان نور الدين يج ... عل فعلنا فيهم مثالا
ويسير الاجناد جهرا ... كى ننازلهم نزالا
ويفى لنا ولاهل دولته ... بما قد كان قالا
لرايت للافرنج طرا ... فى معاقلها اعتقالا
وتجهزوا للسير نحو الـ ... غرب اوقصد الشمالا
واذا ابى الا اطراحا ... للنصيحة واعتزالا
عدنا بتسليم الامور ... لحكم خالقنا تعالا

70

عن سيف دين الله سل ارناطا ... حيث المنية كاسها يتعاطا
والمشرفية قد حكت فى جيشه ... فى العل والنهل القطا الفراطا
قد شام طير الكفر منه منسرا ... اشغى وعاين مخلبا عطاطا
هو ملبس جثث العدى فى الحرب ... حلل النجيع مجاسدا وريا طا
....
هو فارس الاسلام يحفظ بالظبا ... من دينه الاطراف والاوساطا

كم قد انار من الاستة انجما لما اثار من العجاج غطاطا
فتخاله ملكا رمى بشهابه فى الروع شيطان الحروب فشاطا

71

ياكاسر الاصنام قم فانهض بنا حتى تصير مكسر الصلبان
فالشام ملكك قد ورثت تراثه عن قومك الماضين من غسان
فاذ اشككت بانها اوطانهم قدما فسل عن حارث الجولان
او رمت ان تتلو محاسن ذكرهم فاسند روايتها الى حسان
مازلزلت ارض العدى بل ذاك ما بقلوب اهليها من الخفقان
واقول ان حصونهم سجدت لما اوتيت من ملك ومن سلطان
والناس اجدر بالسجود اذا اغدا لعلاك يسجد شامخ البنيان
ولقد بعثت الى الفرنج كتائبا كالاسدحين تصول فى خفان
لبسوا الدروع ولم نخل من قبلهم ان البحار تحل فى غدران
وتيمموا ارض الجفار بقفرة جرداء خالية من السكان
عشرين ليلة فى المغار وليلة يسرون تحت كواكب الخرصان
حتى اذا قطعوا الجفار بجحفل هو فى العديد ورمله سيان
اغريتهم بحمى الدى فجعلته بساطاك بعد العزدار هوان
....

وثللت فى يوم العريش عروشهم بشباضراب صادق وطعان
الجأتهم للبحر لما ان جرى منه ومن دمهم معا بحران
مدح الورى بالباس اذ خضبوا الظبا فى يوم حربهم من الاقران
ولانت تخضب كل بحر زاخر ممن تحارب بالنجيع القانى
حتى ترى دمهم وخضرة مائه كشقائق نثرت على الريحان

وكان بحر الووم خلق وجهه ... وطفت عليه منابت المرجان

....

احب الى بها شوانى اصبحت ... من فتكها ولها العداة شوانى

شبهن بالغربان فى الوانها ... وفعلن فعل كواسر العقبان

اوقرتها عدد القتال فقدغدت ... فيها القنا عوضا عن الاشطان

فاتتك موقرة بسبى بينه ... اسراهم مغلولة الاذقان

حرب عوان حكمتك من العدى ... فى كل بكر عندهم وغوانى

واعدت رسل ابن القسيم اليه فى ... شعبان كى يتلائم الشعبان

والفال يشهد باسمه ان سوف يغـ ... ـدو الشام وهو عليكما قسمان

ومنها فى مدح نور الدين:

قتل البرنس ومن عساه اعانه ... لماعتا فى البغى والعدوان

وارى البرية حين عاد برأسه ... مر الجنى يبدو على المران

وتعجبوا من زرقة فى طرفه ... وكان فوق الرمح نصلا ثانى

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ما فوق شاوك فى العلا مزداد ... فعلام يقلق عزمك الاجهاد

همم ضربن على الماء سرادقا ... فالشهب اطناب لها وعماد

انت الذى خطبت له حساده ... والفضل ما اعترفت به الحساد

ان المنابر لو تطيق تكلما ... حمدتك عن خطبائها الاعواد

ملقبا أطراف الفرنجة كلكلا ... طرفاه ضرب صادق وجلاد

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مارايناقيما تقدم يوما كامل الحسن غاية البهاء
مثل يوم الفرنج حين علتهم ذلة الاسر والبلا والفناء
وبرايا تهم على العيس زفوا بين ذلة وحسرة وعناء
بعدعز لهم وهيبة ذكر فى مصاف الحروب والهيجاء
....
نقضوا هدنة الصلاح بجهل بعد تاكيدها بحسن الوفاء
فلقوا بغيهم ما كان منهم من فساد بجهلم واعتداء
....
فجزاء الكفور قتل واسر وجزاء الشكور خير الجزاء

74

ظبى المواضى واطراف القنا الذبل ضوامن لك ماحازوه من نفل
....
ومايعيبك ما نالوه من سلب بالختل قدتوتر الاسادبالحيل
وانما اخلدواجبنا الى خدع اذلم يكن لهم بالجيش من قبل
واستيقظوا واراد الله غفلتكم لينفذ القدر المحتوم فى الاول
....
قنا لقى وقسى غير موترة والخيل عازبة ترعى مع الحمل
مايصنع الليث لا ناب ولاظفر بماحواليه من عفرومن وعل
....
بنى الاصافر مانلتم بمكركم والمكرفى كل انسان اخو الفشل
ومارجعتم باسرى خاب سعيكم غير الاراذل والاتباع والسفل

سلبتم الجرد معراة بلا لجم والسمر مركوزة والبيض فى الخلل
هل آخذ الخيل قد أردى فوارسها مثال اخذها فى الشكل والطول
. . . . . .
جيش اصابتهم عين الكمال وما يخلو من العين الا غير مكتمل
لهم بيوم حنين اسوة وهم خير الانام وفيهم خاتم الرسل

75

وانقذت مصر من عدو بمثله فلله من ظفر فللت وناب
. . . . . .
وقد جردت اجناد مصر عزائما مضاربها فى الصخر غير نوابى
تولوا عن الفرنج فادح ثقلها ودارت رحاها منهم بهضاب
اقامت دروع الجند تسعين ليلة ثيابا لهم ما بدلت بثياب

76

اقول والاتراك قد ازمعت مصر الى حرب الاعاريب
رب كما ملكتها يوسف الـ صديق من اولاد يعقوب
يملكها فى عصرنا يوسف الـ صادق من اولاد ايـــوب

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بلغت بالجد ما لا يبلغ البشر ونلت ما عجزت عن نيله القدر
. . . . . .
لقد بغت فئة الافرنج فانتصفت منها باقدامك الهندية البتر

غرست فى ارض مصر من جسومهم اشجار خط لها من هامهم ثمر
وسال بحر نجيع فى مقام وغى به الحديد غمام و الدم المطر

78

انت من لم يزل يحن اليه وهو فى المهد سرجه و السرير
من دم الغادرين غادرت بالامـ ـس صعيد الصعيد وهو غدير
لاذ بالنيل شاور مثل فرعو ن فذل اللاجى وعز العبور
شارك المشركين نعيا وقدما شاركتها قريظة و النضير
. . . . . .
كحصار الاحزاب طيبة قدما ونبيى الهدى بها منصور

79

حميتم من الافرنج سرب خلافة جريتم لها مجرى الامان من الذعر
اخذتم على الافرنج كل ثنية وقلتم لايدى الخيل مرى على مرى
لئن نصبوا فى البر جسرا فانكم عبرتم ببحر من حديد على الجسر

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بالجد ادركت ما ادركت لا باللعب كم راحة جنيت من دوحة التعب
فتحت مصر و ارجو ان تصير بها ميسرا فتح بيت القدس عن كثب
زارت بنى الاصفر البيض التى لقيت حمر المنايا بها مرفوعة الحجب
. . . . . .
من شر شاور انقذت العباد فكم وكم قضيت لحزب الله من ارب
هو الذى اطمع الافرنج فى بلد الا سلام حتى سعو للقصد و الطلب

رد الخلافة عباسية ودع الد عى فيها يصادف شر منقلب
لا تقطعن ذنب الافعى وترسلها فالحزم عندى قطع الرأس كالذنب

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لما سمحت لاهل الشام بالخشب عوضت مصر بما فيها من النشب
وان بذلت لفتح القدس محتسبا للاجر جوزيت خيرا غير محتسب
والاجر فى ذاك عند الله موتقب فيما يثيب عليه خير مرتقب
والذكر بالخير بين الناس تكسبه خير من الفضة البيضاء والذهب
ولست تعذر فى ترك الجهاد وقد اصبحت تملك من مصر الى حلبْ
وصاحب الموصل الفيحاء ممتثل لما تريد فبادر فجأة النوب
فاحزم الناس من قوى عزيمته حتى ينال بها العالى من الرتب
. . . .
وطهر المسجد الاقصى وحوزته من النجاسات والاشراك والصلب
عسا تظفر فى الدنيا بحسن ثنا وفى القيامة تلقى حسن منقلب

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بملك مصر اهنى مالك الامم فاسعد وابشر بنصر الله عن أمَم
. . . .
لله درك نور الدين من ملك عدل لحفظ امور الدين ملتزم
. . . .
اغز الفرنج فهذ اوقت غزوهم واحطم جموعهم بالذابل الحطم
وطهر القدس من رجس الصليب وثب على البغاة وثوب الاجدل القطم
فملك مصر وملك الشام قد نظما فى عقد عز من الاسلام منتظم

83

ولماصبت مصر الى عصر يوسف اعاد اليها الله يوسف و العصرا
. . . .
فصبو اعلى الافرنج سوط عذابها بان تقسموا اما بيتها القتل و الاسرا
ولا تهملوا البيت المقدس و اعزموا على فتحه غازين و افترعوا البكوا
تديمون بالمعروف طيب ذكركم وما الملك الا ان تديموا لكم ذكرا

84

مؤتمن القوم خان حتى غالته من شره غوائل
عاملكم بالخنا فاضحى وراسه فوق رأس عامل
يا مخجل البحر بالايادى قد آن ان تفتح السواحل
فقدس القدس من خباث ارجاس كفر غتم اراذل

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يوسف مصر التى ملاحمها جاءت باوصافه تعرفها
كتب التاريخ لا يزينها الا باوصافه مصنفها
وحطت دمياط اذ احاطبها من برجوم البلاء يقذفها
لاقت غواة الفرنج خيبتها فزادمن حسرة تاسفها
اوردت قلب القلوب ارشية من القنا للدماء تنزفها
يمضى لك الله فى قتالهم عزيمة للجهاد ترهقها

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ولما اتوا دمياط كا البحر طاميا وليس له من كثرة القوم ساحل

يزيد عن الاحصاء والعد جمعهم — الوف الوف خيلهم والرواحل
راوا دونهم اسدا بايديهم القنا — وبيض رقاقا احكمتها الصياقل
ودارو ابها في البحر من كل جانب — ومن دونها سد من الموت حائل
رجا الكلب ملك الروم اذ ذاك فتحها — فخاف فأم الملك والروم هابل
فعادوا على الاعقاب منها هزيمة — كانهم ذلا نعام جوافل

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واخربت من اعمالهم كل عامر — يمر به طيف الخيال فيفرق
اضفت الى اجر الجهاد زيارة الـ — خليل فابشر انت غاز موفق
وهيجت للبيت المقدس لوعة — يطول بها منه اليك التشوق
. . . . . .
وغزوك هذا اسلم نحو فتحه — قريبا والارائد ومطرق
هو البيت ان تفتحه والله فاعل — فما بعده من الشام مغلق باب

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تهن يا اطول الملوك يدا — في بسط عدل وسطوة وندا
اجر اوذكرا من ذلك الشكر في الـ — دنيا وفي ذلك الجنان غدا
لا تستقل الذي صنعت فقد — قمت بفرض الجهاد مجتهدا
وجست ارض العدا وافنيت من — ابطالهم ما يجاوز العددا
وما رايناغزا الافرنج من الـ — ملوك في عقر دارهم احدا
فسر الى الشام فالملائكة الـ — أبرار تلقاك ملتقا حمدا
فهو الفقير اليك يامل ان — تصلح بالعدل منه ما فسدا
والله يعطيك فيه عاقبة الن — صر كما في كتابه وعدا

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كم وقعة لك بالفرنج حديثها — قد سار فى الافاق و البلدان

قمصت قومصهم رداء من ردى — وقرنت رأس برنسهم بسنان

وملكت رق ملوكهم وتركتهم — بالذل فى الاقياد و الاشجان

. . . . . .

ياخيبة الافرنج حين تجمعوا — فى حيرة و اتوا الى حوران

. . . . . .

وهزمتهم بالراى قبل لقائهم — و الراى قبل شجاعة الشجعان

90

عيد ان فطر وطهر — فتح قريب ونصر

كلاهما لك فيه — حقا هناء واجر

يفتر من كل ثغر — الى ابتسامك ثغر

روم به وفرنج — فى شفعهم لك وتر

حرب عوان وفتح — على مرادك بكر

بنو الاصافر من خشـ — ـية انتقامك صفر

لم يبق للكفر ظفر — لا كان للكفر ظفر

وما دجا ليل خطب — الا وعزمك فجر

اصبحت بالغزو صبا — وعنه مالك صبر

91

الدين فى ظلم لغيبة نوره — و الدهر فى غم لفقد اميره

. . . . . .

من ينصر الاسلام فى غزواته — فلقد اصيب بركنه وظهيره

من للفرنج ومن لاسر ملوكها — من للهدى يبغى فكاك اسيره

أوّما وعدت القدس انك منجز ميعاده قى فتحه وطهوره
فمتى تجير القدس من دنس العدى وتقدس الرحمن فى تطهيره
يا حاملين سريره مهلا فمنه عجب نهوضكم بثبيـــــره

92

يا راكبا ظهر المعاصي أوما تخاف من القصاص
أوما ترى اسباب عمـــ رك فى انتقاض و انتقاص

93

يا نائما فى هذه الـ دنيا اما آن انتباهك
المال لا يقنيك فى الـ اخرى ولا ينجيك جاهك

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الناس طوع يدي و امري نافذ فيهم وقلبي الان طوع يديه
فاعجب لسلطان يعم بعدله ويجور سلطان الغرام عليه

95

ليس فى الدنيا جميعا بلدة مثل دمشق
ويسليني عنها فى سبيل الله عشقي

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