1412: al-Qalqašandī Historicises the Crusades

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Abstract: Upon closer inspection, the geographical section on Syria in al-Qalqašandī's famous manual and encyclopaedia of the secretarial arts contains a short history of the crusades. It begins with the earliest arrival of "the Franks" at the end of the eleventh century and ends with the fall of Acre in 1291. Scholarship of the twentieth century claimed that Arabic-Islamic historiography did not conceptualise the crusades as a historical phenomenon until the late nineteenth century. Against this backdrop, the article discusses when, and to what degree, Arabic-Islamic historiographers born after the fall of Acre began treating the crusades as a self-contained historical phenomenon.

Source

Al-Qalqašandī, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, 14 vols (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīriyya, 1913–1922), vol. 4, pp. 177–178, trans. Daniel G. König.

وأما غيرهما من بلاد السواحل وما والاها، فإن غالبها كان بيد الفاطميين خلفاء مصر إلى أن ضعفت دولتهم في أيام المستنصر أحد خلفائهم، فقصدت الفرنج هذه السواحل من كل جهة واستولوا على بلادها شيئا فشيئا.

With regard to the other two lands of the coast and what surrounds them, their majority was in the hands of the Fāṭimids, the caliphs of Egypt, until their dynasty weakened in the days of al-Mustanṣir (r. 427–487/1036–1094), one of their caliphs. Then the Franks attacked these coasts from all sides and, step by step, took over power in these lands.

فاستولوا على عكا وجبيل في سنة تسع وتسعين وأربعمائة، وعلى صيدا في سنة أربع وخمسمائة، واستشرى فسادهم حتى ملكوا بيروت وعسقلان وصور وأنطرسوس والمرقب وأرسوف واللاذقية ولدا والرملة ويافا ونابلس وغزة وبيت لحم وبيت جبريل، وغير ذلك من بلاد السواحل وما جاورها، فبقيت في أيديهم حتى فتحها السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب فيما بين الثلاث والثمانين والخمسمائة إلى الثمان والثمانين والخمسمائة.

They conquered Acre (ʿAkkā) and Byblos (Ǧubayl) in the year 499/1105, and Sidon (Ṣayḍā) in the year 504/1110, and their corrupting impact (fasāduhum) grew worse until they ruled Beirut, Ascalon (ʿAsqalān), Tyre (Ṣūr), Tartous (Anṭarsūs), Marqab (al-Marqab), Arsuf (Arsūf), Latakia (al-Lāḏiqiyya), Lod (Ludd), Ramla (al-Ramla), Yaffa (Yāfā), Nablus (Nābulus), Gaza (Ġazza), Bethlehem (Bayt Laḥm), Bayt Jibrin (Bayt Ǧibrīl) and other places on the coast and what surrounds them. These stayed in their hands until Sultan Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb) conquered them between 583/1187 and 588/1192.

ثم عقد الهدنة بينه وبين الفرنج في سنة ثمان وثمانين على أن تكون يافا وأرسوف وعكا وقيسارية وأعمالها بيد الفرنج، وأن تكون لد والرملة مناصفة بينهم وبين المسلمين.

Then a peace agreement was concluded between him and the Franks in the year [5]88/1192, according to which Yaffa, Arsuf, Acre, Caesarea (*Qaysāriyya*) and their districts (*aʿmāluhā*) would remain in the hands of the Franks whereas Lod and Ramla would be shared equally between them and the Muslims.

ثم استولوا على بيروت في سنة أربع وتسعين وخمسمائة، ثم وقعت الهدنة بعد ذلك بين الفرنج وبين العادل أبي بكر بن أيوب في سلطنته في سنة إحدى وستمائة على أن تستقر بيد الفرنج يافا وتترك لهم مناصفة لد والرملة. ثم استعاد الفرنج عكا في سنة أربع عشرة وستمائة في أيام العادل أبي بكر المذكور.

Then they [the Franks] seized Beirut in the year 594/1197, and a peace agreement was made after that between the Franks and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, r. 596–615/1200–1218) during his rule as sultan in the year 601/1204, according to which Yaffa would stay in the hands of the Franks and half of Lod and Ramla would be left to them. Then the Franks recovered possession of Acre in the year 614/1217 in the days of the aforementioned al-ʿĀdil Abī Bakr.

ثم استولوا على صيدا وما معها في أيام ابنه الكامل محمد في سنة ست وعشرين وستمائة قبل تسليمه القدس لهم.

Then they took possession of Sidon and its dependencies in the days of his [i.e. al-ʿĀdil's] son al-Malik al-Kāmil (al-Kāmil Muḥammad, r. 615–635/1218–1238) in the year 626/1228, before he surrendered Jerusalem (*al-Quds*) to them.

ثم سلمهم الصالح إسماعيل صاحب دمشق صفد والشقيف على أن يعاونوه على الصالح أيوب صاحب مصر في سنة ثمان وثلاثين وستمائة. ثم سلمهم الصالح إسماعيل والناصر داود صاحب الكرك عسقلان وطبرية حين سلماهم القدس في سنة إحدى وأربعين وستمائة.

Then al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, the lord of Damascus (*Dimašq*), surrendered Safed (*Ṣafad*) and Shaqif (*Šaqīf*) to them in the year 638/1240, under the condition that they would support him against al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the lord of Egypt. Then al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the lord of Kerak (*al-Karak*), surrendered Ascalon and Tiberias (*Ṭabariyya*), when they surrendered Jerusalem in the year 641/1243.

ثم فتح الصالح أيوب صاحب مصر غزة واستولى عليها في سنة اثنتين وأربعين وستمائة. ثم فتح الظاهر بيبرس في سنة اثنتين وستين وستمائة قيسارية وأرسوف، وصفد ويافا في سنة أربع وستين وستمائة. وفتح صهيون في سنة ست وستين وستمائة وأطرابلس في سنة ثمان وثمانين. ثم فتح ابنه الأشرف خليل عكا في سنة تسعين وستمائة، وتتابعت فتوحه ففتح صيدا وبيروت وعثليث في السنة المذكورة. وبفتوحه تكاملت بلاد السواحل

Then al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the lord of Egypt, conquered Gaza and took possession of it in the year 642/1244. Then al-Ẓāhir Baybars conquered Caesarea and Arsuf in the year 662/1263, and Safed and Yaffa in the year 664/1265. He conquered Zion (*Ṣahyūn*) in the year 666/1267 and Tripolis (*Aṭarābulus*) in the year [6]88/1289. Then his son al-Ašraf Ḫalīl conquered Acre in the year 690/1291, and his conquests continued, for he conquered Sidon, Beirut, Atlit (*ʿAṭlīṯ*) in the year mentioned, and with his conquests, he united all the coastal lands. When they were conquered, they were all destroyed out of fear that the Franks would take

بأجمعها. ولما فتحت هدمت جميعها خوفا أن يملكها
الفرنج ثانيا وبقيت بأيدي المسلمين إلى الآن.

possession of them again. They have remained in the hands of the Muslims until now.

Authorship & Work

[§1] Al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418), carrying the full name Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fazārī al-Šāfiʿī, was born in Qalqašanda, a small town north of Cairo in 756/1355. Hailing from a family of scholars, he was educated in literature, tradition, and law in Alexandria, striving to become a qāḍī of the Šāfiʿī law school. He received his licence to pronounce juridical opinions and to lecture on Šāfiʿī law and the classic collections of traditions in 778/1376–1377. Teaching slightly more than a decade, he received the post of an adjuvant secretary (*kātib al-dast*) assisting the Mamlūk sultan's chief secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) in the Mamlūk chancery (*dīwān al-inšāʾ*) in Cairo. Aside from fulfilling his duties, he was a prolific writer and scholar before he died in 821/1418.[1]

[§2] Al-Qalqašandī composed works in the fields of law, literature and literary criticism (*adab*), and the secretarial arts (*kitāba*) with its auxiliary disciplines genealogy and history. Among his many writings, his seven-volume manual and encyclopaedia of the secretarial arts under the title "Daybreak for the Night-Blind Regarding the Composition of Chancery Documents" (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā fī ṣināʿat al-inšāʾ*) makes him one of the most important authors of the Mamlūk era. The work was completed in 814/1412 and is also responsible for al-Qalqašandī's reputation as a historian and historiographer, since it contains synoptic overviews on different facets of Islamic history and cites a plethora of documents available to al-Qalqašandī thanks to his professional background. The latter did not only enable him to access documents stored in the Mamlūk chancery, but also acquainted him with the works of other scholars working in the same fields, including the works of Šihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) and Ibn Nāẓir al-Ǧayš (d. 786/1384).[2]

Content & Context

[§3] One of al-Qalqašandī's last works, the "Memorable Achievements of the Forbears Concerning the Characteristics of the Caliphate" (*Maʾāṯir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-ḫilāfa*) sheds an interesting light on the time and circumstances he lived and wrote in. It is dedicated to the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Muʿtaḍid b. al-Mutawakkil (r. 816–845/1414–1441) who resided in Cairo under the control of the Mamlūk sultanate. After the execution of the last ruling ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim bi-llāh (r. 640–656/1242–1258), during the Mongol sack of Baghdad led by Hülegü in 656/1258, the Egyptian Mamlūks had taken care to set up a member of the ʿAbbāsid family as caliph under their protection in Cairo. In this way they added to their prestige as the ruling elite that had beaten back the Mongols in the Battle of ʿAyn Ǧalūt (658/1260) and then guaranteed the survival of the caliphate by bringing the ʿAbbāsids to Cairo in 659/1261 before definitely expelling the Franks from Palestine by conquering Acre in 690/1291.[3] This prestige was fully recognised by Muslim intellectuals of the following centuries, including Ibn Ḫaldūn (d. 808/1406), who claimed that God had "rescued the faith by reviving its dying breath and restoring the unity of the Muslims in Egypt (…)," before giving a detailed description of

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[1] Bosworth, al-Ḳalḳashandī, pp. 509–511.
[2] Bosworth, al-Ḳalḳashandī, pp. 509–511.
[3] Ayalon, Studies on the Transfer, pp. 41–59.

the Mamlūk system of rule.[4] The fact that Muslim rulers on the Malay Archipelago took on honorifics also carried by prominent Mamlūk sultans who had successfully fought against Franks and Mongols, demonstrates how far this prestige radiated.[5]

[§4] By the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, when al-Qalqašandī wrote what Clifford E. Bosworth summarises as a "treatise on the constitutional position of the Caliphate, the qualities necessary for office, the duties of the caliphs, the documents issued by them (of which many texts are quoted), together with a history of the caliphs and some of the later sultans," things had changed.[6] Egypt had gone from the rule of the so-called Baḥrī Mamlūks of mainly Qipčaq and Central Asian origin (1250–1382) to the rule of the Burǧī Mamlūks of mainly Circassian origin (1382–1517).[7] It had suffered from the Great Plague of the mid-fourteenth century and a resulting deep economic recession.[8] In the late years of al-Qalqašandī, it entered the last century of Mamlūk rule before the Ottoman takeover in 1517. In this period, a late generation of Mamlūk intellectual elites, able to access and reflect upon masses of historical material, looked back on a glorious age. This is also apparent in al-Qalqašandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*: its documentary wealth and richness of detail, its comprehensive and structured dealing with the secretarial arts bring together centuries of historical documentation and the experience of generations of scholars.

[§5] Thanks to Walter Björkman's synopsis of the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, it is fairly easy to give an overview of the seven volumes. Following an introduction that deals with the art of writing and the scribe in general, the work is divided into ten sections (*maqālāt*). Whereas the first section deals with the knowledge essential for anyone wishing to become a scribe, the second section introduces the reader to the fields of geography and history. The third section deals with the essential protocol of writing, i.e. titles and formulae, while sections four to ten are dedicated to the different genres of writing a secretary should be able to handle. These include diplomatic correspondence, appointment letters, special letters, letters awarding fiefs, oaths, treaties, and miscellaneous forms of correspondence. The entire work ends with a conclusion detailing the forms of transporting correspondence by courier or carrier-pigeons.[9]

[§6] The quotation featuring here forms part of the very long second section on geography and history that stretches across volumes III, IV, and V of al-Qalqašandī's manual. This section begins with a short introduction to the geography of the earth, and then narrates the history of the caliphate up to the transfer of the caliphate to Cairo after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad. Then follows a highly detailed description of Egypt,[10] which first deals with the country's merits (*faḍāʿil*) and then provides details on its administrative division, its history, and its financial administration and administrative offices, moving from the Fāṭimid period in volume III to the post-Fāṭimid, i.e. Ayyūbid and Mamlūk period in volume IV. After this, al-Qalqašandī turns to the description of Syria, also a part of the Mamlūk realm. This is the part from which the quotation cited here is taken.[11]

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[4] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar*, vol. 5, p. 371: "laṭafa llāh an tudārik al-īmān bi-iḥyāʾ ramaqihi wa-talāqā šamal al-muslimīn bi-l-diyār al-miṣriyya;" Amitai, Military Slavery, pp. 8–9.

[5] Wade, Early Muslim Expansion, p. 383: "That the rise of these Islamic polities was linked with the rise and expansion of the Mamlūks (648–923/1250–1517) in Egypt is suggested by the adoption by Samuderan sultans of the title al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, an apparent commemoration of the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658–676/1260–1277) of Egypt and Syria, who had defeated the Seventh Crusade sent by Louis IX, as well as the Mongol forces at ʿAyn Ǧālūt in Palestine in 658/1260."

[6] Bosworth, al-Ḳalḳashandī, pp. 509–511; Hassan, *Longing*, pp. 126–130.

[7] Holt, Mamluks.

[8] Borsch, *Black Death*, pp. 40–54; but see: Christ, Was there Economic Decline, pp. 190–223.

[9] Björkman, *Beiträge*.

[10] El-Calcaschandí, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten*, transl. Wüstenfeld.

[11] Björkman, *Beiträge*, pp. 101–103.

[§7] The description of Syria is similarly structured to that of Egypt, but much shorter. It begins with Syria's merits, characteristics, and wonders, defines its borders and gives a geophysical description. The historical overview begins with the early Islamic administrative division of Syria into five military sectors (ǧund, Pl. aǧnād) and then lists Syria's rulers from Noah until the Muslim takeover, then the early Muslim governors. Syria's integration into the political sphere of Egypt under Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (r. c. 263–270/877–884) in 264/878 is taken as a historical marker to relate the successive history of Syria in the times of the ʿAbbāsids, Ṭūlūnids, Iḫšīdids, Fāṭimids, Seljuqs and Turkmen, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks from the viewpoint of Damascus and Aleppo with special attention to the histories of Ḥamā, Aṭarābulus, Ṣafad, and Karak, the latter only told in fragments. Turning to the history of other towns and regions, al-Qalqašandī also deals with Jerusalem and later with Syria's coasts. Against this backdrop, he launches into his short description of the crusades that has been quoted above.[12]

[§8] This passage of about two pages features a history of the crusades from the Fāṭimid period, that witnessed the arrival of the first crusaders, until the fall of Acre in 1291. The reader is offered a broad, but selective overview on the crusades, which focuses on the coastal parts of the Bilād al-Šām, i.e. the geographical term for what is today Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine/Israel. Because of this geographical focus, the passage ignores crusading activities against Egypt (1219–1221) or the crusade against Constantinople (1204), of which Arabic-Islamic historiographers were well aware. There could be a certain pro-Egyptian bias hidden behind the fact that, in al-Qalqašandī's description, Muslim rulers stationed in Syria seem to have made much more damaging compromises with the Franks than rulers from Egypt. In al-Qalqašandī's narrative, the rulers of Egypt, beginning with Saladin, were the ones who up the fight against the Franks and finally managed to evict them from the region. The tone is not emotional, but the drama and danger of the entire historical episode surfaces occasionally, e.g. when al-Qalqašandī mentions explicitly that the Mamlūk sultan al-Ašraf Ḫalīl decided to destroy all Frankish strongholds after conquering them as not to allow the Franks to take them again.[13]

[§9] Having finished his overview on Syrian history, al-Qalqašandī turns to different facets of Syria's administration under Muslim rule, providing information on many things ranging from measures, the ethnic makeup of Syrian troops in the Mamlūk era, the different kinds of administrative functionaries, including top judges in Damascus, important physicians, representatives of the non-Muslim population (waẓāʾif zuʿamāʾ ahl al-ḏimma), Syria's different Bedouin populations, etc.[14]

[§10] The rest of the section, still dedicated to geography and history, then turns away from Egypt and Syria to regions little or not affected by Mamlūk rule. Al-Qalqašandī offers shorter overviews on the Ḥiǧāz, the Mongol ruled "realms of the sons of Činggis" (mamālik banī Ǧinkiz Ḫān) with an extensive and detailed description of Iran and less detailed descriptions of Central Asian regions up to China. Then, in volume V, al-Qalqašandī treats those parts of Arabia that are beyond the Mamlūk sphere of influence, in addition to India (mamlakat al-Hind), the Maghreb, i.e. all Muslim lands lying west of Egypt, al-Andalus, the Sudān (i.e. subsaharan East and West Africa), then all countries north of Egypt, including the bilād al-Rūm, i.e. regions formerly or currently ruled by Constantinople, then Christian Europe, finally Caucasian and Central Asian countries lying north of Byzantium.[15]

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[12] Al-Qalqašandī, Ṣubḥ, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 4, pp. 158–177; Björkman, Beiträge, pp. 101–103.
[13] On this, see Fuess, Verbranntes Ufer, pp. 458–471.
[14] Björkman, Beiträge, pp. 101–103.
[15] Björkman, Beiträge, pp. 97–109.

Contextualization, Analysis & Interpretation

[§11] The following paragraphs will discuss whether al-Qalqašandī's historical description of the crusades can be regarded as one of the earliest instances, in which an Arabic-Islamic scholar depicted the Frankish attack of, settlement in, and expulsion from the Levant as a coherent historical period that lasted from the end of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century. This question is raised against the backdrop of a scholarly tradition that denies Arabic-Islamic scholarship any kind of conceptualization of the crusading period before the European concept of "crusades" was adopted in Arabic texts in the course of the nineteenth century. Rather than looking at the entire Arabic-Islamic documentation of the crusades—a feat impossible to achieve—the article will discuss a selection of Arabic-Islamic sources that depict European-Christian expansionism of the twelfth and thirteenth century as a phenomenon. Dealing with texts written both before and after the fall of Acre in chronological order, the article will show that these depictions immediately conceptualised European-Christian expansionism and developed a particular conceptual terminology for the crusaders from the twelfth century onwards. It will argue that these depictions were characterised by an increasing degree of emotional distance the later they were written. Moreover, it will demonstrate that, from the early fourteenth century onwards, the time between the crusaders' arrival in Syria and the fall of Acre was increasingly presented as a concluded period with a beginning and an end. In this context, the excerpt from al-Qalqašandī's manual of the secretarial arts represents one manifestation of depicting the time between 1096 and 1291 as an episode of eastern Mediterranean Islamic history that was related *en bloque* and thus conceptualised as a distinct episode of regional, in this case, Syrian Islamic history.

[§12] Until the beginning of the 2000s, Western scholarship has claimed in sometimes rather drastic terms that, before the nineteenth century, Muslim historiography or even Muslims as such neither conceptualised nor understood the phenomenon of the crusades before the nineteenth century. In 1962, Francesco Gabrieli underscored that

> "the concept of the Crusades as an historical phenomenon in itself with its own characteristics, which might be treated separately, either in a monograph or within the framework of a general periodization of history, is one totally alien to Muslim historiography,"

and that the crusades as such

> "have never been the object of a special and at the same time comprehensive treatise on the part of the chroniclers. In general, the wars with the Crusaders were for the Muslim historians one element among several others, a thread in the cloth of their history, although naturally this thread at certain times displayed a very special importance and development."[16]

In the article dedicated to the crusades in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, dated 1965, Claude Cahen went one step further, claiming that

> "[t]he specific character of the *Crusades* was not and could not be understood by Muslims. The very term, *al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, used to designate them in modern Arab literature, was unknown to ancient authors, who referred to Crusaders by the plain ethnical term "Franks," and seems to have made its appearance during the Ottoman period in Christian circles of the East influenced by French culture."[17]

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[16] Gabrieli, Arabic Historiography of the Crusades, p. 98.
[17] Cahen, Crusades.

[§13] These ideas were taken up in an article on the modern Arab historiography of the crusades, published 1972 by Emmanuel Sivan who, in 1966, had edited and translated parts of al-Sulamī's (d. 500/1106) "Book on Ǧihād" (*Kitāb al-Ǧihād*), a treatise written in direct response to the crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. According to Sivan, Arabic terms for "crusades"and "crusaders" had first appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century. In analogy to the high medieval Latin term designating armed Christian fighters setting out to take or maintain control over Jerusalem, i.e. "those signed with the cross" (*cruce signati*), Arabic-Christian intellectuals in Syria of the mid-nineteenth century introduced Arabic speakers to neologisms employing variations of the Arabic term for "cross" (*ṣalīb*) such as "wars of the cross" (*al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya* or *ḥurūb al-ṣalīb*) and "crusaders" (*al-ṣalībiyyūn*). According to Sivan, the appearance of these new terms attested "not only to the emergence of an awareness of the specificity of the Crusades but also to the growth of interest in them," thereby suggesting that interest in the crusades in previous periods had been low.[18] In the early 2000s, several studies dealing with Arabic historiography on the crusading period, including Carole Hillenbrand's *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives*, repeated and enlarged on Sivan's proposal that an Arabic-Islamic concept of the crusades only came up in the nineteenth century.[19]

[§14] None of the researchers dealt with so far ever reflected upon the question when a concept of crusades actually came up in medieval Christian Europe. Medieval Latin texts generally define crusades as an "expedition" (*expeditio*), a "passage" (*passagium*), "journey" (*iter*) or "peregrination/pilgrimage" (*peregrinatio*). Since only the term *peregrinatio* is associated to religious, in this case early medieval ascetic practices of spreading the faith or seeking martyrdom in foreign lands,[20] these terms are generally defined by the addition "to the Holy Land" (*in terram sanctam*) or "against the Saracens" (*contra Saracenos*). While the twelfth century already knew a term for "crusaders," literally "those signed with a cross" (*cruce signati*),[21] a proper noun for the term "crusade" (*cruciata, croxada*) in medieval Latin only came up in the thirteenth century and was rarely used,[22] whereas the French terms *croisade* and *croisés* seem to have appeared in the fourteenth century,[23] and the German terms *Kreutz-Zug* or *Creutzzug* only in the late seventeenth century.[24]

[§15] The idea that Muslim historiography and Muslims in general only began to be able to engage with the crusades conceptually and terminologically in the nineteenth century thanks to European-Christian conceptual and terminological imports was first seriously questioned by Paul E. Chevedden. Employing al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-ǧihād*, edited fourty years earlier by Emmanuel Sivan, Chevedden pointed to the fact that al-Sulamī characterised the "Franks'" military campaigns against Muslims in al-Andalus, Sicily, and Syria as *ǧihād*, i.e. a form of striving for God that could have a militant or even military component.[25] Chevedden thus proved that, in the immediate wake of the first crusade, a Muslim intellectual understood that

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[18] Sivan, Modern Arab Historiography, p. 109.

[19] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, chapter 9; Peters, The Firanj Coming, pp. 1–12; Chamberlin, Imagining Defeat.

[20] Angenendt, Spiritualität der peregrinatio, pp. 9–17; Richter, Peregrinatio, pp. 323–373.

[21] Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed./trans. Edgington, lib. I,26–27, pp. 50–52: "peregrini et cruce signati (…)."

[22] Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 19. See http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/CRUCIATAE; and *Annales Ianuenses*, ed. Belgrano and Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, vol. 2, a. 1212, 124–125, for the term *croxada* in connection with the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).

[23] See the entries "croisade" and "croisé" in the online *Dictionnaire du moyen français*, URL: http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/ (access: 15 September 2022).

[24] See the entry "Kreuzzug" in *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, URL: https://www.dwds.de/r/?corpus=dtaxl&q=Kreuzzug (access 15 September 2022).

[25] Chevedden, Islamic Interpretation, pp. 90-136, on the basis of al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-Ǧihād*, ed. Sivan, La genèse, fol. 174b, p. 207; al-Sulamī, *The Book of the Jihad*, ed./trans. Christie, pp. 42–43 (AR), pp. 206–207 (EN).

the wars waged by European Christians against Muslims on different fronts were bolstered by a particular religious ideology. Although this does not exactly equate to an Arabic-Islamic concept of "the crusades," al-Sulamī's text proves that some Muslims of the early sixth/eleventh century had formed a specific conceptual understanding of what they were confronted with in different Muslim societies attacked by European Christians. The concept of ǧihād is definitely no equivalent to the concept of crusades, but it certainly features strong parallels in that it potentially combines religious ardour with military aggression against a perceived religious other.[26]

[§16] A wave of research on Arabic-Islamic historiography describing medieval European phenomena including the crusades and crusaders[27] then demonstrated that historiographers of the seventh/thirteenth century already interpreted the crusades as one manifestation of a macro-historical phenomenon. What al-Sulamī had described as ǧihād, Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the following generations described as the rise of "the Franks" (al-Ifranǧ) i.e. a historical process that had already begun in post-Roman times and was now culminating in the Frankish takeover of Muslim and Byzantine territory. At the end of his chapter on Roman history, Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 630/1233) writes:

> "After this, the power of the Franks did not stop growing. Their realm grew and extended as is manifest in their conquest of parts of al-Andalus, as we will still mention, in their capture of the island of Sicily as well as the lands on the Syrian coast and Jerusalem, as we will still mention. They eventually even took possession of Constantinople in the year 601 [1204], as we will mention, if God wills."[28]

[§17] Systematically perusing historiographical texts of the thirteenth century, Abbès Zouache then demonstrated that we certainly possess terminological evidence for a contemporary conceptualization of the crusades. In Arabic, Zoauche contends, the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries witnessed the introduction of various Arabic neologisms that were only applied to European Christians fighting against Muslims in the Holy Land. These terms were tied, in one way or another, to the Arabic root ṣ-l-b, the root of the Arabic word for "cross" (ṣalīb). According to Zouache, the terms "venerators of the cross" (ʿabadat al-ṣalīb), "sect of the cross" (millat al-ṣalīb), "armies of the cross" (ǧunūd al-ṣalīb), and even a collective term al-ṣalībiyya, very similar to the modern Arabic term for "crusaders" (al-ṣalībiyyūn), were used by all historiographers who depicted crusading campaigns in this period.[29]

[§18] We can thus prove that an Arabic-Islamic conceptualization of the crusades already came up in the crusading period itself, albeit in the form of conceptual terms that do not equate exactly with conceptualizations in medieval Latin or modern European languages. This conceptualization manifests itself first in the early use of the term ǧihād that served to point to the religious dimension of Frankish warfare. It then becomes obvious in the early historicization of the rise of the Franks, which regards the campaigns to the Holy Land as one of several manifestations in a longer history of post-Roman Frankish or European-Christian expansionism—however without pointing to the religious dimensions of these campaigns. Finally, we can show that historiographers from the thirteenth century onwards developed and employed a more specific vocabulary that did not only apply to any form of "Frankish"

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[26] Noth, *Heiliger Krieg*.

[27] Hermes, *The [European] Other*; König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, Mallet, *Popular Reactions*.

[28] Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kitāb al-kāmil fī l-tārīḫ*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, pp. 242–234 (Leiden), pp. 338–339 (Beirut): "wa-lam yazal amr al-Ifranǧ baʿda hāḏā yaqwā wa-yazdād wa-yattasiʿ mulkahum ka-l-istīlāʾ ʿalā baʿḍ bilād al-Andalus ʿalā mā naḏkuruhu wa-ka-aḫḏihim ǧazīrat Ṣiqilliya wa-bilād sāḥil al-Šām wa-l-bayt al-muqaddas ʿalā mā naḏkuruhu wa-fī āḫir al-amr malakū al-Qusṭanṭīniyya sanat iḥdā wa-sitta miʾa ʿalā mā naḏkuruhu in šāʾ Allāh (…)." See König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, pp. 215–216.

[29] Zoauche, Les croisades en Orient, pp. 75–119, here: 101–102.

expansionism, with or without religious ideology, but specifically denoted Frankish Christians fighting against Muslims in and around the Holy Land. Last but not least, we must underscore that medieval Latin and the late medieval European vernaculars did not develop conceptual terms for "the crusades" and "crusaders" significantly earlier.[30] Against this backdrop, we cannot continue to claim that Arabic-Islamic historiography of this period "failed" to develop a concept of the crusades. Rather, closer scrutiny reveals that Arabic-Islamic notions of the crusades underwent a process of historicization between the thirteenth and fifteenth century that becomes evident when we look at its emotional and narrative framing.

[§19] As regards the emotional framing characteristic of Arabic-Islamic depictions of the crusades, scholarship specialised on Arabic-Islamic historiography of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries demonstrated that the conquests of Antioch and Jerusalem in 1098 and 1099 respectively provoked the emergence of highly emotionalised narratives in Arabic-Islamic historiography. Over time, this plurality of narratives was eventually fused into an "Islamic" standard narrative. The latter highlighted dramatic key events and pointed to Muslim suffering, e.g. in the form of death counts or by referring to massacres or particularly gruesome forms of violence. In a somewhat "coded" form, emotional reactions were thus transmitted from one generation of historiographers to the next.[31] However, rather than demonstrating how historiographers of later generations encoded and thus transmitted certain emotions produced by crusading phenomena to later generations, this article suggests that, simultaneously, Arabic-Islamic historiographers became increasingly distanced emotionally from crusading events. One could even speculate whether the technique of "encoding" emotions in and through standardised narratives containing emotional triggers developed to "compensate" for this increasing emotional distance.

[§20] Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries tended to highlight what Muslims suffered from the crusaders. In consequence, and in spite of all nuances,[32] they often combined the ethnonym "Franks" with an almost ritualised curse, e.g. "may God curse them" (laʿanahum Allāh) or "may God desert them" (ḫaḏalahum Allāh).[33] Strong emotions were not only expressed in connection with the crusaders' early conquests and particularly outrageous bouts of violence, but with the key event that is generally regarded as the terminal point of crusading to the so-called Holy Land, i.e. the fall of Acre in 1291. The generation of historiographers that had personally witnessed the Mamlūk conquest of Acre clearly expresses feelings of triumph and strong relief while employing a specific language of purification to describe the expulsion of the Franks. Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 672–732/1273–1331), whose universal history was completed shortly after 729/1329,[34] wrote, for example:

> "With these conquests all the lands of the coast were returned to Islam, a result that no-one would have dared to hope for or to desire. Thus, the whole of Syria and the coastal regions were purified of the Franks, who had once been on the point of conquering Egypt and of subduing Damascus and other parts of Syria. Praise be to God and a blessing for this."[35]

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[30] Tyerman, Were there any Crusades, pp. 553–577.

[31] Hirschler, The Jerusalem Conquest, pp. 37–76; Wilson, The "ʿasākir al-Shām," pp. 300–336. I would like to thank James Wilson for his helpful suggestions and associated material.

[32] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, pp. 268–322; Mallett (ed.), *Muslim Historians*; Mallett, *Popular Reactions*.

[33] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 269; Zoauche, Les croisades en Orient, p. 99; Christie, Origins of Suffixed Invocations, pp. 254–266.

[34] Gibb, Abu 'l-Fidā.

[35] Abū l-Fidāʾ, *al-Muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar*, ed. Muʾnis, vol. 4, AH 690, p. 35: "fa-takāmalat bi-hāḏihi al-futūḥāt ğamīʿ al-bilād al-sāḥiliyya li-l-islām, wa-kāna amran lā yaṭmaʿ fīhi wa-lā yurām wa-tatahhara al-Šām wa-

[§21] In works written by authors born shortly after the fall of Acre, e.g. in Ibn Kaṯīr's (ca. 700–774/1300–1373) "The Beginning and the End" (al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya), we are still confronted with strong rancour. Ibn Kaṯīr comments on the fall of Acre in the following way:

> "God facilitated its conquest on a Friday, as the Franks had also taken it from the Muslims on a Friday. The leaders of Ṣūr and Ṣaydā also submitted to al-Ašraf, and the coast returned to the Muslims. Then it was cleaned of unbelievers and the lines of ancestors of this oppressive people were cut off, praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds."[36]

[§22] Also born after the fall of Acre, Šihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (700–749/1301–1349) uses a language similar to that of Abū l-Fidāʾ and Ibn Kaṯīr to describe the conquest of Acre at the hands of the Mamlūk sultan al-Ašraf Ḫalīl (r. 689–693/1290–1293) in "The Routes of Insight into the Civilised Realms" (Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār), a twenty-seven-volume work of geography, history, and biography. He comments:

> "He [the sultan] did not die, God be merciful to him, until he cleaned the coast from the filth of the Franks and purified it from the squalor of unbelief. Thus, the entire lands from the Euphrates to Aswan returned to the people of one religious community and one religious law except for those receiving protection (al-ḏimma)."[37]

[§23] The emotional content of these passages differs considerably from al-Qalqašandī's depiction of the crusades written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā also mentions emotionally encoded key events of crusading history.[38] All in all, however, al-Qalqašandī's approach to the crusades seems more detached. Rather than expressing feelings of triumph and relief, or using a language of purification, he merely states in the passage cited above that

> "al-Ašraf Ḫalīl conquered Acre in the year 690/1291, and his conquests continued, for he conquered Sidon, Beirut, Atlit (ʿAṭlīṯ) in the year mentioned, and with his conquests, he united all the coastal lands."

[§24] One could argue that the emotional distance characterizing this passage gives testimony to the author's sobre character. This explanation seems possible, but difficult to gauge, given that we do not know very much about al-Qalqašandī's personality except from his scholarly writings. It does not seem, however, that we are only dealing with the idiosyncracy of a single author. As we will see below, Ibn Ḫaldūn, for example, deals with the crusades in a comparable detached manner, even though he mentions his grandfather as an eyewitness of the crusade against Tunis in 1270 and consequently regarded at least one crusading campaign as part of his

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l-sawāḥil min al-Faranǧ baʿda an kānū qad ašrafū ʿalā aḫḏ al-diyār al-miṣriyya, wa-ʿalā mulk Dimašq wa-ġayrihā min al-Šām. fa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna ʿalā ḏālik (…)."; Gabrieli, Arab Historians of the Crusades, p. 346.

[36] Ibn Kaṯīr, al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 17, p. 634: "fa-yassara Allāh fatḥahā nahār al-ǧumʿa, kamā aḫaḏathā al-Faranǧ min al-muslimīn fī yawm al-ǧumʿa, wa-sallamat Ṣūr wa Ṣaydā qiyāduhumā ilā l-Ašraf, fa-stawasaqa al-sāḥil li-l-muslimīn wa-tanaẓẓafa min al-kāfirīn, wa-quṭiʿa dābir al-qawm allaḏīna ẓalamū, wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh rabbi l-ʿālamīn."; trans. Daniel G. König.

[37] Al-ʿUmarī, Masālik al-abṣār, ed. al-Ǧubūrī, vol. 2, p. 159; al-ʿUmarī, Condizioni, ed./trans. Amari, p. 14 (AR), p. 22 (IT): "fa-mā māta raḥamahu Allāh ḥattā naẓafa al-sāḥil min daran al-Faranǧ wa-ṭahharahu min raǧis al-kufr wa-ṣārat al-bilād kulluhā min al-Furāt ilā Aswān li-ahl millatin wāḥida wa-dīn wāḥid illā l-ḏimma (…)."; trans. Daniel G. König.

[38] On (potential) emotion in the accounts of al-Qalqašandī, see the sections on the fall of Jerusalem and on Antioch: Al-Qalqašandī, Ṣubḥ, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 4, pp. 176, 178.

family history.[39] Looking for a broader explanatory approach, one could propose that the emotional distance transpiring in the works of these two authors has to do with the genre they wrote in. Both wrote works that observed historical events from the bird's-eye view of the macro-historian, Ibn Ḫaldūn in his universal history, al-Qalqašandī in his comprehensive manual of the secretarial arts. We should consider, however, that Ibn al-Aṯīr, Abū l-Fidāʾ, Ibn Kaṯīr, and al-ʿUmarī—all of them representatives of a more emotionalised approach to the topic—also wrote macro-historical works. This begs the conclusion that Ibn Ḫaldūn's (732–808/1332–1406) and al-Qalqašandī's (756–821/1355–1418) less emotional approach to the crusades may have to do with the fact that they belonged to a later-born generation. Born about half a century after the fall of Acre and writing several decades later, they seem to have been less involved emotionally than historiographers whose personal lives had been directly affected by the crusades.

[§25] As regards the narrative framing characteristic of Arabic-Islamic depictions of the crusades, it seems noteworthy that scholars writing after the fall of Acre immediately began presenting the Levantine crusades as a self-contained historical episode that had come to conclusion. Scholars of the twelfth century had already regarded the intrusion of the Franks as a historical threshold of epochal relevance: in his biographical dictionary, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) claims that a certain Ḥamdān al-Aṯāribī (d. 541/1147) began his now lost chronicle of Aleppo with the arrival of the crusaders. This he seems to have regarded as an epochal marker, for "he wrote a book on the history of Aleppo from the year 490/1096–1097 onwards containing news about the Franks, their deeds, their departure to Syria in the aforementioned year, and what happened after that (…)."[40] In the twelfth century, however, an Arabic-Islamic historiographer could obviously not yet anticipate the end of this episode and was, consequently, still unable to present a "full" history of the Levantine crusades.

[§26] This changed in the generation of historiographers writing after the fall of Acre, which—as we have seen above—was generally considered the terminal point of the Levantine crusades. Whether an Arabic-Islamic historiographer presented the crusades as a self-contained historical episode depended on the genre he wrote in, however. Abū l-Fidāʾ and Ibn Kaṯīr commented on the fall of Acre within the framework of annalistic works of historiography that narrate historical events year after year. Consequently, they do not depict the Levantine crusades as a historical phenomenon with a beginning and an end. Among the earliest works to do this, is al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*.

[§27] Šihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, the brother of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, the man responsible for employing al-Qalqašandī in the Mamlūk chancery in Cairo, presented a comparatively self-contained description of the Levantine crusades in a section under the title "Summary of the conditions of the most famous land-based and not seaborne realms of the venerators of the cross," with al-ʿUmarī continuing directly: "What I say here has been related to me by the Genoese Bilbān, one of the dependents of [the Mamlūk amīr] Bahādur al-Muʿizzī (…)."[41] This section, in turn, is part of al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*, a work divided into two uneven parts (*qism*, Pl. *aqsām*), the first on geography (four volumes), the second on history (twenty-three volumes). The section on the crusades forms part of the second chapter on the seven climate zones (*al-bāb al-ṯānī fī ḏikr al-aqālīm al-sabaʿa*). The latter begins with an overview on the different climate zones and then describes the cities

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[39] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Tārīḫ*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 426: "ḥadaṯanī abī ʿan abīhi raḥamahumā Allāh qāla (…)."

[40] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 6, p. 2926. On the author, see Cobb, Hamdan al-Atharibi's History, pp. 3–20.

[41] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. al-Ǧubūrī, vol. 2, p. 148: "Kalām ǧumlī fī amr mašāhīr mamālik ʿibād al-ṣalīb fī l-barr dūn al-baḥr wa-llaḏī aqūluhu ḥaddaṯanī Bilbān al-Ǧanawī aḥad mamālīk Bahādur al-Muʿizzī (…)."; al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 1 (AR), p. 8 (IT).

and islands of each climate (*al-faṣl al-ṯānī fīmā waqaʿa fī l-aqālīm al-sabaʿa min al-mudun wa-l-ǧazāʾir*). The section on the "realms of the venerators of the cross" comes at the end of this subchapter and leads into a third subchapter dealing with the lengths of the rivers in each of the seven climate zones. In spite of using the term "venerators of the cross" (*ʿibād al-salīb*), described above as being confined to the crusaders, it deals with the entire European-Christian sphere as described by al-ʿUmarī's Genoese informant Bilbān.[42] We are thus dealing with a geographical-historical appendix on the political formations produced by (Western European) "venerators of the cross" that was added to his overview on manifestations of human civilization in the seven climate zones. Because it depends on a single source, i.e. the Genoese Mamlūk Bilbān, the section seems to have been allocated a special status within the larger chapter.

[§28] Notwithstanding this, al-ʿUmarīs account of the crusades within this geographical-historical appendix contains a self-contained history of the crusades. The Levantine Franks are dealt with at the end of a section that lists different Western European-Christian rulers ranging from the King of France to the Lombards and the inhabitants of Cyprus, Sicily, and Mallorca.[43] This section ends with the phrase:

> "This is the summary of what he informed me about with all the details about their [the Frankish realms'] circumstances and the things that I managed to compile. Concerning what I want to say about this is that the sting of these damned Franks is strong (…)."[44]

[§29] This, in turn, represents the introduction to a multi-page description of the crusading phenomenon that systematically traces the different phases of the Muslims' wars against the intruders while commenting widely and emotionally on the problems caused by the Frankish presence, in part on the basis of contemporary documents. It does not address the inner-Christian preliminaries of the crusading movement, but begins with the establishment of the Franks in divided Syria, describes the problems their presence caused there, the increasing danger to Egypt averted by Šīrkuh's overthrow of Fāṭimid rule, the role played by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, the rise of Saladin (*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*) and his liberation of Jerusalem, this ultimately leading up to the victorious Mamlūk onslaught against the Franks under al-Ẓāhir Baybars, al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, and al-Ašraf Ḥalīl in spite of the contemporary Mongol danger, all this resulting in the fall of Acre and the "purification" of the coast from the Frankish presence. This self-contained narrative ends with a short comment on the usefulness of having included this section on Christian polities into the book: although not necessary for the work as such, al-ʿUmarī states, it provides a special perspective as well as interesting and entertaining information for those seeking knowledge.

[§30] Texts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, including the one quoted here by al-Qalqašandī, offer variants of presenting the crusading period in "self-contained" form. Frequently used by al-Qalqašandī, Ibn Ḫaldūn's universal history approaches the history of the crusades from two macro-historical perspectives. In a chapter in volume 2 dedicated to the Byzantine phase of Roman history entitled "News about the Caesarian rulers from the period of Herakleios and the Islamic dynasty until the extinction and the annihilation of their affairs," he picks up the narrative tradition already known from Ibn al-Aṯīr: he depicts the Franks as a post-Roman people containing several peoples who rose to power in the following centuries until they entered the eastern Mediterranean where they conquered Constantinople among other

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[42] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. al-Ǧubūrī, vol. 2, p. 148–159; al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 1–15 (AR), pp. 8–22 (IT).

[43] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, p. 273.

[44] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. al-Ǧubūrī, vol. 2, p. 156–157: "hāḏihi ǧumla mā aḫbaranī bihi min tafāṣīl aḥwālihā wa-mā huwa min al-umūr al-ǧāmiʿa aḥwī lahā wa-ammā mā aqūluhu fa-huwa an šawkat al-Faranǧ al-malāʿīn qawiyya (…)."; al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 11 (AR), p. 19 (IT).

places.[45] In volume 5, Ibn Ḫaldūn then presents us with a chapter entitled "News of the Franks concerning what they ruled of the Syrian coasts and plains, how they conquered it, the beginnings and the development of their affairs regarding this issue."[46] This chapter suggests a self-contained narrative that guides its readers from the beginning of the crusading period at the end of the eleventh century to the fall of Acre in 1291, i.e. an approach already taken by al-ʿUmarī. Ibn Ḫaldūn, however, gives much more details and offers a wider perspective. In the edition of Zakkār and Šaḥāda, Ibn Ḫaldūn needs 264 pages to reach the fall of Acre in 1291: he describes the Frankish establishment in Syria and Palestine, but also mentions crusader attacks on Ifrīqiya, the Maghreb, Egypt, and the Byzantine Empire (pp. 209–246). Then he turns to the dynasties that actively took up arms against the crusaders. His description of the Zangids (pp. 246-295), the Ayyūbids (pp. 295-416), and the Mamlūks (pp. 416-473) focuses on inner-Muslim affairs and only dedicates an occasional subchapter to Muslim interaction with the Franks. Although the chapter is announced as a self-contained narrative on the crusades, it is actually not really clear where it ends, since it simply continues with Mamlūk history after having dealt with the fall of Acre. The crusades are recognised as an important historiographical topic meriting an independent heading, but their description is diluted into a general history of the Western Asia from the eleventh to the thirteenth century that focuses more and more on inner-Muslim affairs.

[§31] Using both al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Ḫaldūn as sources for his works, al-Qalqašandī did not succumb to the temptation of "drowning" the history of the crusades in a general history of Western Asia under Muslim rule. In the geo-historical overview on Syria that forms part of his secretarial manual, al-Qalqašandī first gives a short resumé of the crusades as a regional phenomenon with a clear beginning and an end:

> "Know that most parts of the Syrian lands as well as their coastal lines were in the hands of divided rulers already in olden times, to the effect that some of them reached independence. Then the circumstances changed until the people of unbelief conquered a large part of them, and they remained in their hands until God most high predestined someone to conquer them."[47]

[§32] Al-Qalqašandī then begins his short history of the crusades quoted above. One could claim that this short history does not move far beyond the model provided by al-ʿUmarī, given that it forms part of a larger chapter on geography, in which historical information fulfills an auxiliary function. In fact, however, al-Qalqašandī's version combines features characteristic of two depictions of the crusades by historiographers born after the fall of Acre. Less detailed and vagrant than Ibn Ḫaldūn's description of Western Asian history in the crusading period, al-Qalqašandī follows al-ʿUmarī by being short and concise. In line with Ibn Ḫaldūn, he depicts the crusades with much less emotion than al-ʿUmarī. For al-Qalqašandī, the Levantine crusades were *history*.

[§33] The seemingly banal fact that an Arabic-Islamic historiographer of the early fifteenth century regarded the crusades as a thing of the past is actually rather remarkable if we consider that Muslim-ruled societies in and beyond the Mediterranean were still confronted with European-Christian aggression against Muslim-ruled territories: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368–69

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[45] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Tārīḫ*, ed. Zakkār and Šaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 277–80: "al-ḫabar ʿan mulūk al-qayāṣira min ladun Hiraql wa-l-dawla al-islāmiyya ilā ḥīna inqirāḍ amrihim wa-talāšī aḥwālihim (…)."
[46] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Tārīḫ*, ed. Zakkār and Šaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 209: "aḫbār al-Ifranǧ fīmā malakūhu min sawāḥil al-Šām wa-ṯuġūrihi wa-kayfa taġallabū ʿalayhi wa-bidāyat amrihim fī ḏālik wa-maṣāyirihi (…)."
[47] al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 4, p. 176: "wa-iʿlam anna ġālib aṭrāf al-bilād al-šāmiyya wa-maḍāfātihā kānat bi-aydī mulūk muftaraqa min qadīm al-zamān wa-baʿḍuhā ḥadaṯa infirāduhu, ṯumma tanaqqalat bihā al-aḥwāl ḥattā istawlā ʿalā kaṯīr minhā ahl al-kufr, wa-ṣārat bi-aydīhim ilā an qayyaḍa Allāh taʿālā laha man fataḥahā."

or 779/1377) mentions the Smyrna crusade of 1344.[48] In 1365, when al-Qalqašandī was ten years old, Alexandria witnessed an unsuccessful attempt by Peter I of Lusignan (r. 1359–1368) to conquer the city.[49] Ibn Ḫaldūn explains the constellation that led to the crusade against al-Mahdiyya in 1390.[50] Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) claims that the duke of Milan planned a crusade as late as the late 1430s.[51] Against this backdrop, it is actually quite surprising that Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century were able to depict the crusading period as terminated and to write comparatively sober accounts of the crusading period. This was only possible, it seems, if they depicted the crusades as a regional phenomenon confined to Syria, as is the case in both al-ʿUmarī's and al-Qalqašandī's texts. Here, the Mamlūk victors had taken care to destroy every potential stronghold on the Syrian coast as to avoid any Frankish attempt to re-install crusader rule in these regions, as al-Qalqašandī underscores in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article.[52]

[§34] Soon, however, the historical episode of the Levantine crusades took on a new relevance: when the Portuguese began to menace the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula in the early sixteenth century, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fākihī (d. 982/1574), writing in Ǧidda, recalled the earlier Frankish attacks on Syria and Palestine.[53] And, as scholarship has already highlighted, nineteenth-century European colonialism prompted additional and often highly emotional historical analogies between the present and the crusader past.[54] However, the idea that Muslim historiography and Muslims in general only began to conceptualise, even "understand" the crusades as a phenomenon in the nineteenth century is clearly wrong.

[§35] It is undeniable that the modern Arabic term for "crusades" (al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya) and that the first Arabic-language chapter headings and then monographs featuring this particular terminology did not appear before the nineteenth century.[55] And it should also be clear that no single Arabic-Islamic author of the pre-modern era used European-Christian sources to understand the crusading phenomenon from the perspective of the aggressors. This was first done in Arabic by the Maronite patriarch and historiographer Istifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704) in his "History of the Times" (Tārīḫ al-azmina) and his "History of the Maronite Sect" (Tārīḫ al-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya).[56] Both works probably profited from the important number of Latin–Arabic translations that had been produced in Maronite circles since the early modern period.[57]

[§36] All pre-modern Arabic-Islamic descriptions of the crusades deal with the latter as a regional Syrian, not a European phenomenon. However, this cannot mean that pre-modern Arabic-Islamic historiography failed to understand or conceptualise this phenomenon. Rather, this analysis has shown that historiographers post-1291 increasingly depicted the Syrian crusades as a self-contained regional phenomenon within the geographical sections of larger works associated with secretarial skills or non-annalistic universal histories. Their narratives were separated from the rest of Syrian history by chapter headings or introductory and concluding phrases, which drew a clear line from the first appearance of the Franks in Syria via the struggles of the Zangids, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks to the Franks' expulsion in 1291.

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[48] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, ed./trans. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2, pp. 311–312.

[49] Steenbergen, The Alexandrian Crusade, pp. 123–137.

[50] Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 578–579.

[51] al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, ed. ʿAṭāʾ, vol. 7, AH 843 (11 Shaʿbān), p. 446, König, Arabic-Islamic Views, p. 253.

[52] Fuess, Verbrannte Ufer.

[53] al-Fākihī, Kitāb manāhiǧ al-surūr, ed. al-Šawqī and Zuwāš, p. 47, writes in Jeddah when the Portuguese arrive and describes the Ḥiǧāz as a coast menaced by Christians as in the former case of the Palestinian coast.

[54] Hillenbrand, Crusades, p. 590.

[55] Sivan, Modern Arabic Historiography, p. 110.

[56] Istifān al-Duwayhī, Tārīḫ al-azmina, ed. Fahd, vol. 1, cap. 6 [titled (later) al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya], p. 81–82; Istifān al-Duwayhī, Tārīḫ al-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya, ed. al-Šartūnī, cap. 7, p. 350; see Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, vol. 3, p. 370.

[57] König, Unkempt Heritage, pp. 450–455.

Chronological analysis of these narratives allows us to observe a process of historicization, a decline of emotional involvement, and the emergence of an increasingly standardised self-contained narrative—three features that cleary characterise al-Qalqašandī's depiction of the Levantine crusades as cited above.

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