

Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

العلاقات بين الشرق والغرب

دراسات متنوعة: عصور وسيطة ومعاصرة

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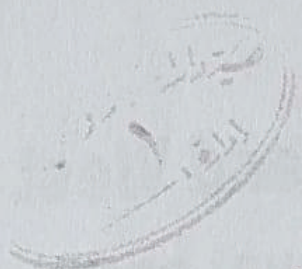
Dr. Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar



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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains the results of some studies presented by Egyptian and Italian scholars at the International Conference “Peace building between East and West XI-XVI c.”, organized in Cairo on October 27, 2016 by the Egyptian Unity of research, as part of the academic activities of the Bilateral Project “History of Peace-building: peaceful relations between East and West (11th - 15th century)” carried out jointly by the Institute of the Mediterranean Europe History of the CNR (Italy), and the University of Damanhour. The project is totally funded by the Academy of Scientific Research and Technology (ASRT)⁽¹⁾ of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Italian National Research Council (CNR)⁽²⁾.

The purpose of the Bilateral Project - and even of the aforementioned International Conference - is to carry out research in order to examine through the study of different types of documentary and narrative sources; the nature, quantity and quality of peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims in a geographical area extending from the Iberian Peninsula to the Levant in a chronological interval between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries. Needless to say that since it is an Italian-Egyptian project, the researchers will devote particular attention in their studies to the relations between these two geographical areas.

In this book we can find the first contributions of some scholars of the two Research Units on the important theme of the complex relationships between the Christian world and the Islamic one, which characterised almost all the Middle Ages and much of the Modern Age in the area gravitating around the Mediterranean Sea.

The researchers’ aim is to focus their studies on episodes, geographical areas, persons and moments which represent incidents and cases of peaceful coexistence and connection, with fruitful exchanges of various kinds of knowledge, even in a general context characterised by

(1) Non-profit organization affiliated to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, established in September 1971 by the Presidential Decree No 2405 as the national authority responsible for science & technology in Egypt. In 1998, ASRT was reorganized by the Presidential Decree No 377 that defined its mission, function and activities. ASRT is the Egyptian house of expertise. It brings together outstanding Egyptian scientists and experts from universities, research institutions, private sector, NGOs, policymakers and prominent Egyptian scientists in Diaspora to deliberate country problems, propose and carry out scientific studies and future strategic basic plans to tackle these problems. ASRT adopts a comprehensive plan for developing Egyptian S&T to support relevant national ministries and research institutions in creating an integrated system of scientific research together for increasing the number of trained scientists in Egypt, and giving science a leading role in the country’s development and knowledge based economy. ASRT also promotes and encourages female and youth participation in S&T and scientific leadership.

(2) The largest public research institution in Italy, the only one under the Research Ministry performing multidisciplinary activities. Founded as legal person on 18 November 1923, Cnr’s mission is to perform research in its own Institutes, to promote innovation and competitiveness of the national industrial system, to promote the internationalization of the national research system, to provide technologies and solutions to emerging public and private needs, to advice Government and other public bodies, and to contribute to the qualification of human resources. In the CNR’s research world, the main resource is the available knowledge which means people, with their skills, commitment and ideas. This capital comprises more than 8.000 employees, of whom more than half are researchers and technologists. Some 4.000 young researchers are engaged in postgraduate studies and research training at Cnr within the organization’s top-priority areas of interest. A significant contribution also comes from research associates: researchers, from Universities or private firms, who take part in CNR’s research activities.





military, religious and ideological-cultural conflict.

In order to offer a diachronic key, that would allow to understand the development of the theme in the context of the selected geographic and temporal boundaries, we decided to arrange the essays in the book in a chronological order, according to the subject being considered by them. This allows to observe the initial military, political and cultural reactions of the Byzantine Empire and other Western institutions to the effects of the early Arab expansion, which rapidly conquered territories politically targeting the Western world for centuries. It was certainly a phase of confrontation which, however, prepared the base for a deep cultural interchanges in extended parts of the entire Mediterranean area and large regions of Europe, from which future cohabitation would be born, even peaceful ones, in the same territories.

Peaceful relations examined even in the Mamluk Age (1250-1517 AD) in Hebron focusing the attention on the case of the *Waqf* built in honor of the Prophet Abraham by Tamim ibn Aws al-Dari, a Christian convert to Islam from the Prophet Muhammad. The Sanctuary's income and endowments were also destined to the hospitality of the poor, travelers, and Christians and Jews pilgrims on their way to their Holy Places. The sources show, therefore, a useful example of how the relationships between different nations should be based on the interconnection and mercy, in order to stem the violence and hatred, and to achieve a peaceful coexistence.

The relations do not cover only the persons, but also goods, ideas, artists / artisans, technical knowledge, artistic models that intertwined between the different shores of the Mediterranean Sea, as shown by the glass and rock crystal manufactures of Fatimid origin attesting the intense and peaceful relations existing between the Norman court of Sicily, and the Egyptian one, also established by the exchange of gifts between the rulers. Relations not only confined to the political and economic sphere but also to the cultural one in the broad sense (*lato sensu*), as it would seem confirmed by an "Arabisation" program, created in the same capital of the Norman kingdom.

Another article is dedicated to the analysis of the difficult attempts to build peace in the eastern sector of the Mediterranean, between two of the main political actors of this area: the Byzantine Empire and the Seljuk Sultanate. In this case, the text's author focuses on the 1162 CE visit in Constantinople of the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II to the basileus Manuel I Comnenus. Perhaps it was an initiative to consolidate his Sultanate before the expansion and authority of the Byzantine Empire and other political Entities present in the area, that basileis tried to maintain in a useful balance to the Imperial interests in the region.

Christians and Muslims tried to save and maintain Peaceful relations, even during one of the periods of maximum military confrontation between them, such as that following the recapture of Jerusalem by Saladin. See the example of the policy followed by the Mamluk Sultan Baibars, who granted the Monastery of Mount Sion many exemptions and privileges already granted by the Pope Alexander III with an edict in 1178, adding even more donations and rights. The initiative of the sultan was later confirmed by the following sultans for more than two centuries; a very favorable condition that allowed those monks to be a peaceful link with Europe.

Given the importance of the topic and context - the Crusades - another essay of this volume is devoted to analyse in detail not only how the Muslim authorities ran the visits of Christians and Jews to the Holy Places reconquered to Islam, but also the reaction of several Western Eu-





ropean powers. To this purpose Arab and Western sources have been examined, trying to seize if Muslim authorities were truly animated by a spirit of tolerance, in order to start a period of peace between East and West, instead of continuing with wars, conflicts and clashes between the two sides. Or, rather, if it was merely an attempt by the rulers to manipulate politically in such difficult times of the human history.

Another analysis of the Crusades is made in a different text, which is dedicated to providing a cultural and anthropological reading of a figure of great importance, legendary but also historical -for the amount of people who believed to his existence: Prester John, whose legend has helped to shape the history of the conflict between Crusaders and Muslims during the Fifth Crusade. Just as much attention it has been paid to the possible role that this legend may have had in influencing Muslim minds and in shaping the real events of the peace negotiations and reconciliation among the Latin Christians and Muslims on the beaches of the Egyptian city of Damietta.

In order to observe the relations between Christians and Muslims throughout the geographical area analysed by the Bilateral Project, in this book there is a text devoted to these relations in different royal cities of the Crown of Aragon, between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, a territory chosen as the first case study of the Iberian Peninsula in view of the presence of numerous Muslim communities and the deep cultural imprint they have left there. The study - here just started - is made using a particular type of documentary sources - the *Llibres d'Ordinacions* - which, along with other municipal sources connected to them, are the provisions of royal power through the municipalities, whose life they rule with the purpose to preserve and maintain the public order. Hence, their great utility for the study of coexistence and strategies for the maintenance of peace between Christian and Muslim communities in daily life. In this first phase of research, special attention is devoted to the *ordinacions* of Sardinian cities.

The next article embraces chronologically the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. It is dedicated to the reconstruction of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Powers of the Italian peninsula, with special attention to those existing with the papal Curia in the second half of the fifteenth century. Relations intensified also for the Egyptian policy of autonomy and opposition to the Sultan of Istanbul, whose expansionism in Europe and in the Mediterranean worried more and more the Italian and European Powers. Another consequence of this increase of diplomatic relations with Egypt was the realisation of numerous trips in the African country, about which there are accounts informing European and Italian readers of different social, cultural, political and economic, as well as geographical terms that struck the travelers / observers. As a case study, the essay focuses on one of these accounts: *The Viaggio dell'Egitto, dell'Arabia, del mar Rosso et del Monte Sinai* by Filippo Pigafetta, carried out on behalf of the Roman Curia between 1576 and 1577, whose main aim was to provide a detailed description of the Ottoman expansion along the Mediterranean shores, the Nile and the Red Sea's coast and the commercial potential for the Papal State.

In view of the considerable interest to continue the analysis of the relations between the Western world and the Islamic one, not limited only to the chronological period indicated in the Bilateral Project - dealing only with the Middle Ages -, and in order to propose new interpretations of these relations, it was decided to insert in the present volume two essays on





the relations between the Bilateral Project's two partner in the Contemporary Age.

In these two texts, the scholars' attention, however, is not confined to Egypt and Italy but it was extended also to another European country: Hungary, an attractive political entity examined in two key moments of the whole history of Europe and the Mediterranean Sea, with obvious implications for the worldwide geopolitical order: the Soviet invasion of 1956 and the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

The main aim of the first essay of Contemporary History is to show the peaceful bilateral relations between Egypt and Hungary, and Egypt and Italy during the events of 1956, in addition to the development and the close interconnection of the Suez crisis and the Hungarian uprising on 1956. The same attention has been dedicated to the direct effects of the aggression against Suez on the Hungarian situation, and how this two crises influenced one another. The first part of the text is focused on Hungary's support to Egypt (in the nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt), and on the connections between the two sets of events. This is an interesting aspect, because there are relatively few studies on this connection and, basing on archival sources and scientific literature derived from them, it seems that there was not just a temporal coincidence between the Suez crisis and the Hungarian one on 1956 .

The second part of the paper focuses, instead, on the Italian support role during the Suez crisis, and on some significant personal episodes, illustrating how deep were the Italian-Egyptian relations.

The second text dedicated to the Contemporary Age, however, is based on archival documents of the Hungarian Embassy in Cairo and Damascus, as well as on the documents of the Communist Party and the newspapers, and it focuses on the analysis of the Hungarian-Egyptian relations during the war of 1967 between Arabs and Israelis, focusing on Hungarian and Socialist support in Egypt and Syria in the military, economic and political sectors.

Finally, we believe that these early researches - in some cases begun only in occasion of this Bilateral Project - start to show some initial results, surely the subject of future necessary research and, at the same time, that they highlight the necessary scientific caution that scholars should have in their research and study to give a balanced visibility to episodes, moments and characters that allow to observe a peaceful coexistence and mutual interchange between the Christian/Western world and the Islamic one.

Based on this amicable spirit, and with this etics, Egyptian and Italian members intend to proceed in future initiatives of this Bilateral Project, sure they can make a contribution - no matter how small it is,- to a subject of fundamental importance for the contemporary world: an improvement of mutual understanding between Westerners and Muslims, to overcome harmful stereotypes and to achieve an ever better coexistence.

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The firsts Muslim incursions in Sardinia and their consequences on the island (6th -11th century). Some reflections

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Premise

As we have highlighted in some previous works, new interpretative theories have been formulated by the scholars about, in particular, two very important topics of Early Medieval Sardinian history: 1) the possible presence of Muslim permanent communities on the island between the 8th and the 11th century, and 2), closely interconnected with the first, the origin of the *Giudicati* after the dissolution of the ancient Archonship of Sardinia. The data so far presented to the academic community are of great interest, even though some historiographical conclusions are less inspiring.

The period between the 6th and the 11th century - discussed here - was full of events of major political importance for Sardinia, but documented by sources which always provide great interpretative difficulties. They are quite rare and, with regard to the relations between Sardinia and the Muslim world, in many cases, the sources with a remarkable chronological distance from the events described reproduce a few others of the 9th – 10th century, almost without any new data.

This period begins with the reintegration of the island in the Roman Empire at mid-sixth century under the guidance of a civil governor titled *Praeses* – included in the broader category of *iudices* - created by Justinian I⁽²⁾, and it ends in the 11th c. with the fragmentation of the Archonship of Sardinia – an institutional development of the *Sardiniae Provincia* - in four “states”, due to the raid and the conquest of part of the island at the hands of Mujāhid, prince of Denia (1015/1016 CE). The rulers of those “states” were titled *Iudices*⁽³⁾.

(1) This research has been realised in the context of the CNR/ASRT Bilateral Project “Peace-building between East and West (XI-XVI c.)” - (2016-2017).

(2) “Codex Justinianus”, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, P. Krueger ed., II, (Dublin-Zürich, 14a ed., 1964), I, 27/12, p. 77: «et auxiliante Deo, septem provinciae cum suis iudicibus disponantur (...); reliquae vero, id est Numidia et Mauritania et Sardinia a praesidibus gubernentur». The emperor decided that the second category of *iudices* leading the other four Provinces of the Prefecture of Africa was that of the *rectores consulares*.

(3) See Barbara Panico - Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, “Civitates Sancti Marci, Sancti Augustini, Sancti Salvatoris, et oppida Domu de Cubas, Sancti Saturnini, Sancti Georgii in saltibus de Sinnis”, in *Itinerando. Senza Confini dalla Preistoria ad oggi. Studi in ricordo di Roberto Coroneo*, Rossana Martorelli Ed., I, (Perugia: Morlacchi editore, 2015): 460; Luciano Gallinari, “Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal”, in *Bilanci e prospettive storiografiche*, Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena Eds., (Roma: Viella, 2015): 83-107 and Luciano



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So, what was the role of Sardinia in these five centuries so full of important historical events, many of which related the island with the Islamic Egypt? Was the island the periphery of the Byzantine Empire, or a military stronghold - especially between 7th and 9th century -, still attached to Byzantium in the 10th century, though in different ways than before?⁽⁴⁾. In this historical moment, Sardinia is central to the interests of multiple stakeholders: the Lombards, the Frankish Empire, the Apostolic See and the Saracens proceeding initially from the African coasts and, later, from the Iberian Peninsula.

Sardinia and the Muslims in the Early Middle Ages (7th – 8th century)

This is one of the historiographical issues of the early medieval Sardinia at the centre of various scholars' recent attention, which offer some interpretations significantly different from the previous ones⁽⁵⁾. In this context, two strands of strictly interrelated research see the emergence of new studies: one is the role of the islands - (and, therefore, also of Sardinia) - within the broad historical phenomenon of Muslim expansion, since they were considered sources of huge spoils in men and goods. Furthermore, their conquest required the development of an extensive and articulated strategy on the part of Muslim authorities⁽⁶⁾. The second is always about the possible relationship between the Islamic Arab world and Sardinia, home of Muslims settlements and operational base for the Islamic fleet and army

Gallinari, "Still on the origin and the nature of power of the the iudex Sardiniae / 'Archon Sardanians' (6th - 11th century)", in *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*, Alex Metcalfe, Giovanni Serreli Eds., Brill, in press. and the bibliographies therein.

(4) Roberto Coroneo, *Scultura mediobizantina in Sardegna*, (Nuoro: Il Poliedro, 2000); Roberto Coroneo, "Nuovo frammento epigrafico medioellenico a Sant'Antioco", *Theologica & Historica. Annali della pontificia Facoltà Teologica della Sardegna*, XII, (2003): 315-325; Salvatore Cosentino, "Potere e istituzioni nella Sardegna bizantina", in *Ai confini dell'impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Paola Corrias, Salvatore Cosentino Eds., (Cagliari:M&T, 2002): 1-13; Pier Giorgio Spanu, "Dalla Sardegna bizantina alla Sardegna giudicale", in *Orientis radiata fulgore. La Sardegna nel contesto storico e culturale bizantino*, Lucio Casula - Antonio M. Corda - Antonio Piras Eds., (Cagliari: Nuove Grafiche Puddu, 2008): 353-387; Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini della SARDENIA*, (Roma: Carocci, 2004), Pier Giorgio Spanu et al., "L'Arcontato d'Arborea tra Islam ed eredità bizantina", in *Tharros Felix*, 5, Antonello Mastino - Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca Eds., (Roma: Carocci, 2013): 515-536; Corrado Zedda - Raimondo Pinna, "La nascita dei giudicati: una proposta per lo scioglimento di un enigma storiografico", *Archivio Storico Giuridico Sardo di Sassari*, XII, (2007): 27-118; Luciano Gallinari, "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal", and the bibliographies therein.

(5) On the role that early medieval Muslim incursions in Sardinia have had on the historiography, as a driver for major demographic and geo-political changes, see Alex Metcalfe, "Early Muslim raids on Sardinia", in *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*, Brill in press, p. 1. I would like to thank the author for making me read the draft of his text.

(6) Piero Fois, "Peut-on dégager une stratégie militaire propre aux Îles", in *Les dynamiques de l'islamisation en Méditerranée centrale et en Sicile: nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes / Le dinamiche dell'islamizzazione nel Mediterraneo centrale e in Sicilia: nuove proposte e scoperte recenti*, Annliese Nef - Fabiola Ardizzone Eds., (Roma-Bari: EFR-Edipuglia, 2014), 15-24:16. The scholar warns that, in the case of islands, Arab sources are never as clear as for Cyprus' conquest (649) and it could be dangerous to extend these specificities to other islands (p. 19). See also Christophe Picard - Piero Fois, "I musulmani nel mediterraneo nel IX secolo: un freno per lo sviluppo economico?", in *Interscambi socio-culturali ed economici fra le città marinare d'Italia e l'Occidente dagli osservatori mediterranei*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in memoria di Ezio Falcone (1938-2011), (Amalfi, 14-16 maggio 2011), Bruno Figliuolo, Pinuccia Franca Simbula Eds., (Amalfi: CCSA, 2014): 259-271.



about to leave for the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula⁽⁷⁾. This latter hypothesis left us puzzled - in light of the issues mentioned about similar settlements on the island of Arwād around the same time, at only 3 km off the Asiatic coast⁽⁸⁾ - as well as we were very puzzled by another hypothesis on the relations between Sardinia and Muslims, that has been at the centre of a recent historiographical debate before being shelved by the same author.

We are talking about the Walter Kaegi's proposal to bring the first Muslim raid in Sardinia forward the second half of the 7th century⁽⁹⁾. It is the alleged attack narrated by Pseudo-Methodius in his *Apocalypse*, composed around 690-692. One episode placed initially by the scholar in 665/666, and then moved in his later studies to a period between 675 and 687, much closer to the drafting of the *Apocalypse*⁽¹⁰⁾. Recently, the historian himself had some doubts about the effective occurrence of this attack on the Sardinian coasts⁽¹¹⁾. Our interest in the Kaegi's hypothesis was due more to the great echo it had in the historiography on Byzantine Sardinia than to the hypothesis itself. And this, above all, since a text with teleological purpose was considered a faithful historical source *tout court* for the evenemential reconstruction, notwithstanding more than one concern especially in the presence of a description of some Muslim conquests never happened: before or after the alleged attack in Sardinia⁽¹²⁾.

(7) Pier Giorgio Spanu et al., "L'Arcontato d'Arborea tra Islam ed eredità bizantina": 518-520 talk of "more or less recent archaeological finds that prove the presence in the region [the Sinis Peninsula, in this case, at the centre of Sardinia's west coast] from the 8th century of Arab-Muslim cultural groups involved in the war, and during the following centuries, devoted to navigation and commerce" (Our translation of the Italian text).

(8) Piero Fois, "Peut-on dégager une stratégie militaire propre aux Îles": 17 and 20 emphasises that Arwad's conquest was postponed from year to year because of the risk of quartering of the troops and their commanders in areas which, even though close to the continent, could be reached only by sea. He also adds that the information found in the sources on military companies formed in the islands during their occupation is scarce and indirect. If there were these concerns for a distance of only 3 km off the Syrian coast, it can be assumed that they were even greater for the winter settlement of troops and ships in the Sinis Peninsula, set much further away from the African coast, especially at a time in which Muslims had just begun to reach Sardinia. See also Christophe Picard, "Le calife 'Umar interdit la Méditerranée aux Arabes: peur de la mer our raison d'État?", in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourdhui. Mélanges offerts à Claude Guavard*, Julie Claustre, Olivier Matteoni et al., eds., (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010): 247-257.

(9) Walter .E. Kaegi, "Byzantine Sardinia Threatened: Its Changing Situation in the Seventh Century", in *Forme e caratteri della presenza bizantina nel Mediterraneo occidentale: la Sardegna (secoli VI-XI)*, in *Atti del Convegno di Oristano (22-23 marzo 2003)*, Paola. Corrias Ed., (Cagliari: Condaghes, 2012), 43-56: 48-49. See also the earlier works by this author mentioned in our final Bibliography.

(10) *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*, ed. comment by W.J. Aerts, G.A.A. Kortekaas, 5 (4), in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 569. Subsidia Tomus 97, Peeters, Leuven 1998, Grec. I, 94, 98; Latin., I, 95, 99. Commentary, vol. 570. Subsidia Tomus 98, Peeters, Leuven 1998, "unverständlich", II, 12.

(11) "We cannot be certain whether the Pseudo-Methodius reference to Olbia meant explicitly the port or was used somehow generically for the island of Sardinia, we just do not have sufficient information about Semitic usage in the Seventh century, let alone in Syriac." See Walter .E. Kaegi, "Byzantine Sardinia Threatened: Its Changing Situation in the Seventh Century": 55. A link between the citation by Pseudo Methodius and Sardinia had already been proposed by Luciano Gallinari, *Les Judicats sardes: une différente typologie de souveraineté médiévale?*, Thèse Doctorale, (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2009): 52-53.

(12) For further details on our perplexities Luciano Gallinari, "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal".



On the contrary, it was not paid the due attention to a passage of the source in which the *Apocalypse's* author used at the end of 7th c. the adjective “great” to indicate a Sardinian city (Olbia, Karales?) or the entire island. In the *Apocalypse's* Greek and Latin editions Sardinia appears as an important imperial possession, a reference point, whose conquest will be a significant event for the Muslims and their expansion. Perhaps because Sardinia was a land endowed with economic and military resources, within at least the western Mediterranean, whereas the source did not mention Carthage, the capital itself of the Prefecture of Africa, nor Septem and the remaining of its Province.

After devoting a little attention to the Kaegy's hypothesis, now we will analyse the sources on Muslim raids on Sardinia about which we have more reliable information, but also great interpretative difficulties. In addition to being quite rare and, in many cases, very distant from the events described, as we highlighted before - the Arab chroniclers have an inaccurate image of Sardinia and its characteristics, even at the beginning of the Late Middle Ages (e.g.: al-Idrīsī who wrote his *Noshat al-Mushtaq* for the Norman king of Sicily Roger II in 12th c.)

Nevertheless, the Islamic sources attest several raids on Sardinia in the first half of the 8th century, described by various Muslim chroniclers.

On the date of the first Muslim raid on Sardinia there are still some concerns, despite a recent article suggests again that it occurred in 703 CE, being based on the *Kitāb al-imāmat wa-l-sīyasa*. This source is an apocryphal text attributed to Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī (828-889 CE), from here on named as Pseudo-Ibn Qutayba. This is his account:

When the year 84 (March-September 703 CE) was ending... then came ‘Aṭa’ Ibn Abī Nāfi’ al-Ḥdhulī, sent by ‘Abd al-Azīz leading the Egyptian ships leaving for Sardinia. He moored in Susa (*Sūsāt*). Mūsā sent to him the necessary supplies (*al-‘answāq*) for his trip and wrote that the period (*waqt*) of the year for the navigation was then finished ... ‘Aṭa’ did not consider Mūsā’s message and charged his ships. After he hoisted (the sails), he sailed to an island called *Silsila* and conquered it (*fataḥahā*). He took a big booty and a huge amount of gold, silver and jewels⁽¹³⁾.

According to Fois, this account is quite clearly based on the work (*Futūḥ Miṣr*) of ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Egyptian historian died in 870 CE⁽¹⁴⁾. This derivation would be proved by a number

(13) A variation of the name of the island reached by the Egyptian fleet is *Salsalah*, according to Reinhart Dozy, *Recherches sur l’Histoire et la Litterature d’Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*, III ed., I, (Leyden, 1883): 231, and Maria Giovanna Stasolla, “La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe”, in *Ai confini dell’impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Paola Corrias – Salvatore Cosentino Eds, (Cagliari: 2002): 87. Alex Metcalfe, “Early Medieval Sardinia”: 11 notes that *Silsila* in Arabic means «a chain» and this could be «a reference to the Balearics which was also raided in the early 700s». The scholar also highlights the existence of the al-Silsila fortress in the eastern Mediterranean and even the hypothesis that *Silsila* was a copyng error for “Messina”. *Cronaca di Ibn Qutia* éd. Ribera, Madrid, 1926.

(14) Alex Metcalfe, “Early Medieval Sardinia”: 15 stresses that the main purpose of the Mālikī jurist was to create a “framework of religious and legal opinions in the Muslim West, rather than to produce a historically accurate or objective narrative of events”. On this historian see Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam (ed. Ch. C. Torrey), *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain known as Futuh Misr of Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam*, (New



of common elements in both sources: the desecration of a church where the Sardinians had hidden their treasures; the disembowelling of a cat and its subsequent filling with stolen goods and, finally, the sinking of the Muslims as a result of a divine intervention:

When al-Andalus was conquered, the armies took possession of a great spoil (*ghanāim*) they stolen (*ghalla*) a great part of it, loaded it on their ships (*faghalū fiha ghalūlān kathīrān ḥamalūha fī almarākib*) and finally they embarked. But when they came through the sea, they heard someone crying: “O my God, drown them!”. (The Muslims) then invoked God and recited the Quran. It is said that the wind began to blow (so) violently that the ships were broken and the crews drowned. But the Egyptians deny this, and say that were not the people of al-Andalus to drown, but the people of Sardinia (*al Sardānīya*)⁽¹⁵⁾.

This passage was followed by the episodes of the desecrated church and the disembowelled cat, mentioned above, that Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam took from a tradition of Ibn ‘Ufayr, another Mālikī jurist (d. 840), concerning events allegedly occurred in Sardinia.

But as we can see from the beginning of the quotation, the *Futūḥ Miṣr* placed chronologically this narration in a historical period defined by a temporal statement: “When al-Andalus was conquered ...”, suggesting that the chronicler was reporting a raid on the island occurred in 711 and not that, allegedly, happened in 703. A confirmation of this could be provided by Ibn al-Athīr, who reproduced this same *Futūḥ* passage but when he was talking about the incursion of 711: “... Sardānīya. This island is located in the sea of al-Rūm and is the largest after Sikīlīya and Iqrīṭīya. There is plenty of fruit. When Mūsā conquered al-Andalus, he sent by sea a part of his army against the island in the year 92 H.”⁽¹⁶⁾.

That said, why the scholars attribute the name *Silsila* (or *Salsalah*) to Sardinia? Just because in previous lines the same chronicler said that the Egyptian fleet went to the island? But if so, why was introduced this different name in the text?⁽¹⁷⁾.

According to the description of events, it has been proposed by some scholars to identify *Silsila* (or *Salsalah*) with the island of *Sulci*, nowadays Sant’Antioco, in the south west coast of Sardinia, since there was (and there is yet) an important church (a *martyrium*) perhaps with golden and silver furniture, a harbor and a community. Without the prejudice to the term *Silsila*, mentioned only by the Pseudo-Ibn Qutayba and the possibility that the attack described took place in 711, more or less simultaneously with the expedition against al-Andalus, we can not completely exclude the possibility that this source described a raid on another different island from Sardinia and *Sulci*, perhaps as a sort of preparation for the attack against *Septem* (Ceuta), the last Byzantine stronghold in African soil.

York: Cosimo Classics, 2010².

(15) Piero Fois, “Il ruolo della Sardegna nella conquista islamica dell’Occidente (VIII secolo)”, in *RiMe. Rivista dell’Istituti di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea*, 7, (2011): 24, <rime.to.cnr.it/2012/RIVISTA/N7/2011/articoli/Piero_Fois.pdf>.

(16) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: I, (Torino – Roma: Ermanno Loesher, 1880-1881): 357.

(17) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: I, 273-274; Tullio Zedda, *La Sardegna nel primo Medioevo*, (Roma: Canella, 1956): 84; Maria Giovanna Stasolla, “La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe”: 80 and 87 (Appendix, I, 1).



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The first reliable raid on Sardinia occurred in 706. It is described in a rather laconic manner by two sources separated by about five centuries. The first chronicler (Ibn Khayyāt, d. 240 H. / 854 CE), a chronicler and traditionis lived a little more than a century after the events, and he did not made any description of Sardinia except place it among the western lands (al-Maghrib).

No more news are provided by the second source that mentions this raid, al-Dhahabī, (1274 - 1348/1352 CE), who reproduced almost literally the passage of the previous source in two of his works: *Tārīkh al-Islam* and *al-'ibar fī khabar man ghabar*

705/706 CE 87 H.	In this year Mūsā b. Nuṣayr sent his son ‘Abd Allāh with an expedition (Ghazwa) to Sardinia, which is among the Maghreb countries. They say he conquered it. During the same year, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr sent ‘Abdullah b. Ḥuzayfa al-Azdī in an expedition to Sardānīya. This was able to capture prisoners and to take booty	Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāt al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr
705/706 CE 87 H.	In this year, the governor of North Africa Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, after al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik gave him the government of the whole Maghreb, sent his son ‘Abdullah to attack Sardānīya. He conquered it, he took captives and booty (<i>Tārīkh al-Islam</i> , VIII, 1); ... This same year, Sardānīya was conquered from the Maghreb (<i>Tārīkh al-Islam</i> , VIII, 2).	<i>Tārīkh al-islam</i> al-Dhahabī (1274 – 1348 / 1352 CE)

On 707/708 CE, according to the Pseudo-Ibn Qutayba’s *Kitāb al-imāmat wa-l-sīyasa*, ‘Abdullah b. Murrāh, commander of an Egyptian fleet sailed away from Ifrīqīyā and attacked some Sardinian cities⁽¹⁸⁾.

‘Abdullah b. Murrāh went to the presence of Mūsā in command of the Egyptian army. Mūsā gave him the control over the Ifrīqīyā sea. So [‘Abdullah] attacked Sardānīya and seized the cities. The prisoners were three thousand in addition to gold, silver, farmlands and other goods.

The reference to farmlands has been interpreted as a first stable Islamic settlement, albeit modest⁽¹⁹⁾. But, since it is added to a short list of the goods stolen to the Sardinians, maybe we can think that the source refers to farmlands belonging to the islanders who were sacked, as well as it occurred to the cities. Instead, cities and farmlands could suggest that Muslims did not operate only in one area of the island, as also it may be suggested by the high number of prisoners, without prejudice to the habit of all antique sources to increase the number of participants and victims in relevant events.

Another important element is that this expedition was not limited to Sardinia, as we can see from the accounts of various Muslim sources mentioning the capture of certain personalities

(18) Maria Giovanna Stasolla, “La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe”: 80 and 87 (Appendix, I, 2). Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, I, (Catania: Romeo Prampolini, 1933): 248, brings the Musa ibn Nusayr’s raid forward a few years, and places it in 704.

(19) Maria Giovanna Stasolla, “La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe”: 80



defined as “*mulūk*” (Kings) of Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca and Menorca⁽²⁰⁾.

These same *Mulūk* would be brought by Mūsā to Damascus when he was summoned by the caliph and, moreover, they were mentioned by the conqueror of al-Andalus in his conversation with the supreme Muslim authority: “O Commander of the believers, my son Marwān has captured the king (*malik*) of al-Andalus and ‘Abdullāh those of Mayūrqa, Minūrqa, Sikīliya and Sardāniya...”⁽²¹⁾.

This passage is interesting because it encourages to reflect about the identity of the *malik* of Sardinia.

Epigraphic island sources attest between 7th and 8th century the presence of several supreme officers with the title of ‘*upatos kai doux*’ (*consul et dux*), who seem to embody civil and military power. Maybe one of them, leading the Sardinian troops clashed with the Muslims and was captured. Or, maybe, there is another possibility offered by an Islamic source, dated to the mid-ninth century which, however, according to some scholars, would describe the Byzantine Empire’s defensive structure in the late 7th century. We refer to the Persian geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih, who in 846/847 CE compiled a list of the 12 patricians (*baṭariqa*) of the Byzantine Empire copied from a previous work of al-Djarmī, which would be contemporary of the *Exemplar divae Iussionis Iustiniani augusti directae ad Iohannem papam* (687)⁽²²⁾. The most interesting data of this source is that, apart from the six patricians resident in the imperial capital and four other in the Eastern Provinces, the remaining two of the list were western patricians: and, more precisely, “... the patrician of Sikīliya, a large island and a vast kingdom in front of Ifrīqiya, [and] the patrician of Sardāniya which rules all the islands in the sea”⁽²³⁾.

An established historiographical hypothesis affirms that the supreme governor of Sardinia

(20) Historians gave different interpretations of these «kings» captured by the Arabs, wondering if they were already semi-independent lords, governors appointed by Byzantium, or finally notables of the indigenous societies. About this incursion Margarita Vallejo Girvés, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua (ss. V-VIII) un capítulo de historia mediterránea*, Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 1993): 344-346 recalls that several Arab sources - among which Ibn Abd Al-Ḥakam (9th c.), Al-Bakri (1014-1094), Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), Ibn Koteiba (9th c.), Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233), al-Qūṭīya (10th-11th c.) e ibn ‘Adhārī (13th) - talk of the arrival of ‘Abd Allah, son of the emir Mūsā, in the Balearic Archipelago after some raids in the large islands of the western Mediterranean, among which Sardinia.

(21) Piero Fois, “Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra”: 57. Margarita Vallejo Girvés, *Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida*, (Madrid: Akal, 2012): 472-476.

(22) *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. Jascques Paul Migne, (Paris: 18001875-): Tomus CXVI, Col. 737.

(23) Nikolas Oikonomides, “Une liste arabe des strateges byzantins du VII^e siècle et les origines du thème de Sicile”, in *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VII^e - XV^e s.)*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976) p. 122. According to André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris- La Haye, Éd. de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales - Mouton, 1980, p. 444, Khurradādhbih, speaking of the six patricians who did not reside in Byzantium, gave them as seats some places which we knew are the Themes ruled by the *Strategoī*: Ammuria (Anatolia), Ankira (Bucellari), Arminiak (Armenia), Thrace, Sicily and Sardinia. About this *Patrikios* of Sardinia, Alex Metcalfe, “Early Medieval Sardinia”: 10 shows the assertion of al Maqṛīzī, according to which this imperial officer would rule on Sicily before the start of its conquests at the hands of the Muslims.



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extended his authority also on the Balearic archipelago between the 7th and 8th centuries. And, incidentally, in the text of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, were mentioned as well as Sicily and Sardinia the three main islands of the archipelago.

So, maybe, the “*malik*” of Sardinia mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭīya was the patrician in command of the imperial fleet present in this island’s waters.

Another Muslim attack against Sardinia is mentioned by the following sources in the years 710-711.

710 / 711 CE 92 H.	...It is the largest in the western sea after al-Andalus, Sikīliya and Iqrītīya. The Muslims attacked and took possession of it in the 92 H. with the army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Today it is under the rule of the Franks. I find that, according to other writers, Sardāniya is [also] a city in Sikīliya (...)	<i>Kitab Mu'gam al buldān</i> Yaqut ibn 'Abdullah al- Rūmī al-Ḥamawī (575/626 H. 1179/1228 CE)
710/711 CE 92 H.	... Sardāniya. This island is located in the sea of al-Rūm and is the largest after Sikīliya and Iqrītīya. There is plenty of fruit. When Mūsā conquered al-Andalus, he sent by sea a part of his army against the island in the year 92 H.	<i>Kāmil al-tawārīkh</i> Ibn al-Athīr (555 H./630 H. 1160 /1233 CE)
710/711 CE 92 H	This year the island of Sardāniya was conquered by the army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Sardāniya is the largest island in the Mediterranean after Sikīliya and Iqrītīya. It produces a lot of fruit.	<i>An Nugūm az-Zahirah</i> Abu l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrī Bardī (813/874 H. 1411/–1470 CE)

All the three sources are characterised by poor and inaccurate information on Sardinia, albeit with some differences among them. The geographer al-Ḥamawī inaccuracy concerns the size of Sardinia, considered smallest than al-Andalus (cited among the islands), Sicily and Crete. This source also reported that Sardinia was conquered by the Muslims.

The geographical inaccuracy (Sardinia is three times larger than Crete) is also present in Ibn al-Athīr, a contemporary of al-Ḥamawī, who – as we said before – recalls the narrative of *Futuḥ miṣr wal magh ib wal andalus* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. The only data Ibn al-Athīr added to the description of this island was that in it there was plenty of fruit. These vague details were also included in the work of the Egyptian historian Abu l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Bardī, who lived in 15th century, more than two hundred years after the sources just mentioned, and about seven hundred years from the events.

Despite the inaccurate geographical information provided, Ibn al-Athīr clearly states that the raid on Sardinia happened simultaneously or immediately after the al-Andalus' one: «When Mūsā conquered al-Andalus, he sent by sea a part of his army against the island



[Sardinia]»⁽²⁴⁾. After this news Ibn al-Athīr inserted the narration of the events based on *Futuḥ miṣr*, as mentioned above.

In view of all these elements, leaves us puzzled the historiographical hypothesis on the *sine qua non* role of Sardinia and its west coast for the conquest of al-Andalus (in the Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's opinion) suggested recently by some scholars⁽²⁵⁾. If there was in the Sinis Peninsula or in other parts of the island some Muslim settlement, this presence did not have to be a large-scale nor a long-lasting conquest. The transfer of the imperial mint in Karales (nowadays Cagliari) would confirm the continuation of the Empire's institutional activity in Sardinia for at least about twenty years. That is, until the first half of the basileus Leo III's reign (717-720) after the fall of Carthage (698) and Septem (711), even suffering several Muslim attacks⁽²⁶⁾.

Probably, this transfer of the imperial mint in Karales was another reason that prompted these raids against Sardinia, for the presence of the precious metals for the minting. Due to this transfer, we should be more cautious in accepting literally the account of Paul the Deacon, who, after talking of the Island's depopulation, reports that Liutprand, king of the Lombards acquired the relics of St. Augustine guarded in Karales, fearing they might fall into the Muslims' hands. Although some archaeological excavations have proved the destruction by a fire of the city in the early decades of the 8th century, does not appear that the raids of this period given rise to durable Islamic settlements in the island.

The causes of those attempts proposed by Arab sources are twofold. On the one hand, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands were the remaining part of the Exarchate of Africa which had lost all its mainland, and they became the farther byzantine boundaries in the western Mediterranean about to become a "Muslim lake". On the other hand, the wealth of Sardinia interested the Arabs for both its metal resources and timber, more than ever necessary for the equipment of new fleets⁽²⁷⁾.

In the second decade of the 8th century Muslim sources attest three expeditions against Sardinia. These are very short passages and the only interesting data for the historian are the protagonists' names: on the contrary, no useful information on the island, its settlements and institutions are provided.

(24) According to Metcalfe, "Early Medieval Sardinia": 16, the connection of these events with the raid in Sardinia of 710/711, would be nothing but "an educated guess", since "None of this is assigned to any particular year, other than it happened under the unrestrained leadership of Mūsā bin Nuṣayr (711 – c.716)".

(25) One hypothesis based on a reading of the Islamic sources that we have already discussed before, and on some leaden seals and four seals with Kufic inscriptions found in S. Giorgio di Cabras (in the Sinis peninsula) that would prove the presence in the 8th c. in this region of Arab-Muslim cultural groups involved in the war and dedicated to navigation and commerce. These groups would support the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. No other source mentions this hypothetical role played by Sardinia. On the transport of the Muslim Army in the Iberian Peninsula see Christophe Picard. *La mer del califes: une hitoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, (Paris: Seuil, 2015).

(26) See Marco Muresu, "I reperti metallici in Sardegna tra VIII e XI secolo: problematiche e prospettive di ricerca", in *Settecento-Millecento. Storia, archeologica e arte nei "secoli bui" del Mediterraneo*, Rossana Martorelli Ed., II, (Cagliari: Scuola Sarda Editrice, 2013): 742.

(27) Maria Giovanna Stasolla, "La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe": 79.



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As noted by Piero Fois, the accounts' structure is always the same: the commander of the fleet of Ifriqya was appointed by the governor of the region to organize an expedition to the island.

As regards the incursion of 721/722 CE, the text of al Ḥimyarī is clearly based on the Ibn Khayyāt's one, which reported the attack and the taking of spoils, with the addition of some further details, perhaps taken from other sources. He mentioned an occupation, but did not provide further details on it: cities, fortresses, villages ...?

About the raid of 727/728, however, the only data al Ḥimyarī added to the Ibn Khayyāt's text was the taking of prisoners.

721/722 CE 103 H.	In this year, al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd made an expedition to the land of al-Rūm. During the month of Muḥarram of that year, Bishr b. Ṣafwān sent Yazīd b. Misrūq al-Yaḥṣbī to Sardinia, which is in the Maghrib. He took the spoils and returned (in Ifrīqīya) safe and sound.	<i>Tārīkh</i>
724/725 CE 106 H.	In this year Bishr b. Ṣafwān who was in Ifrīqīyā, sent Muḥammad Abī Bakr mawalā of the Banī Jamḥa with an expedition. He reached Kursīqa and Sardānīya ⁽²⁸⁾	Khalīfa b. Khayyāt al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr
727/728 CE 109 H.	In this year Bishr b. Ṣafwān who was in Ifrīqīyā, sent Ḥasān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr mawalā of Banī Jamḥa with an expedition to Sardānīya. He took the spoils and returned (in Ifrīqīyā) safe and sound.	(Died 854 CE)
721/722 CE 103 H.	Bishr b. Ṣafwān sent in the year one hundred and three Yazīd b. Masruq al Yahshuni against Sardānīya; he occupied (cities?) took prisoners and returned without losses	al-Ḥimyarī Geographer (13 th - 14 th c. CE)
727/728 CE 109 H.	And in the one hundred and nine Bishr b. Ṣafwān sent from Ifrīqīyā Ḥasān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (of the Banī Jamḥa) against Sardānīya (where) he took booty and prisoners.	

For the Thirties of the 8th century three Muslim raids in Sardinia are attested, in the years 732/733, 735/736 and 737. They were described by five different authors distributed over a time period between the 9th and the 15th centuries. Also for these attacks the scheme is the one mentioned before, and in fact even in these sources are cited mostly the names of the raids' authors, the spoils and the capture of prisoners. But there is also a significant difference among these incursions: the first was commissioned by the governor of Ifrīqīyā, while the other two were organized by the governor of Egypt.

(28) Also in al-Ḥimyarī (15th c.).



732/733 CE 114 H.	In this year ‹Ubaydallah b. ‹Abd al-Raḥman sent from Ifrīqīyā ‘Ubaydallah b. Qaṭān to Sikīliya. He took booty and returned (in Ifrīqīyā) safe and sound. In the same year ‘Ayda’ Abdullah b. Zīyād al-Anṣārī went to Sardānīya with an expedition. He took booty and returned (in Ifrīqīyā) safe and sound.	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr (Died 854 CE)
	In the year [1]14/732 [‹Ubaydah Allah ibn› Abd al-Raḥman] sent from Ifrīqīyā ‘Abd Allah b. Qatan to attack Sikīliya. He took booty and returned safe and sound. He sent Abdullah b. Zīyād al-Anṣārī to attack Sardānīya; he also took booty and returned safe and sound.	<i>Kitāb al-Muqaffā</i> Al Maqrīzī (776/845 H. 1364/1442 CE)

Furthermore, in some cases the chroniclers add a few details: about the raid of 735/736, Ibn Khayyāṭ specified that Muslims reached a Sardinian village, while Ibn al-Athīr said that they conquered a part of the island, unfortunately without adding further information.

About the attack on 737, however, the three sources (9th century, 12th -13th c. and 15th c.) give the same version of events, recalling the Muslim conquest of a fortress in Sardinia. The only difference among them is that while the first, in chronological order, cites a fortress, the other two mention “the” Fortress of Sardinia. An expression that might indicate the conquest of the most important island fortress or, maybe, the same island capital. Several times in Muslim sources the names of the islands are used to indicate their capitals. Another observation: maybe the Muslims rather than conquer the fortress took it by force and then went away, according to the sources.

735/736 CE 117 H.	In this year ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥabḥāb dispatched Ḥabīb b. Abī ‘Ubayda so that he seized a village (<i>qarya</i>) of Sardānīya ⁽²⁹⁾ . He slaughtered the inhabitants and took prisoners.	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr (Died 854 CE)
	[‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥabḥāb] ... in the year 17 [117] sent by sea an army against the island of Sardānīya. [The soldiers] conquered a part of it and made loot, then they went away.	<i>Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh</i> Ibn al-Athīr (555/630 H. 1160 /1233 CE)



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737/738 CE 119 H.	In this year Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb sent out Quthim b. Awāna. He reached a stronghold (<i>Qal'at</i>) of Sardānīya, from the lands of the Maghrib. Quthim sank along with the Muslims' ships, although some were unharmed.	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāt al-Layshī al-'Uṣfurī 'Abū 'Amr (Died 854 CE)
	... In that year the governor of Maghrib of Ifrīqīyā equipped an army under the command of Quthim b. Awāna: they took Qal'at Sardānīya which is in the Maghrib. Upon returning, Quthim b. Awāna and all the men drown at sea.	<i>Tārīkh al-islām</i> al-Dhahabī (1274–1348/1352 CE)
	This year 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥabḥāb, emir of Ifrīqīyā, sent an army under the command of Quthim b. Awāna, who took the stronghold of Sardānīya in Maghrib. Upon returning Quthim sank with all his [soldiers].	<i>al-Nujūm al-zāhira</i> fī mulūk Miṣr wal- <i>Qāhira</i> Abūl-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Bardī (812/874 H. 1409/–1470 CE)

The next raid on Sardinia occurred about fifteen years later, in 753, and it was maybe the most important because several Muslim sources stated that Sardinians did submit to the payment of *jizya*, whereas another does not contain any reference to this tribute.

Recently it has been supposed that the payment of the *jizya* by the Sardinians would be considered important for two reasons: it represented the final phase of the war between Umayyads and Byzantines for the possession of Sardinia, which started at the beginning of the 8th c. with the first raids against the island; and, in the account of Ibn al-Athīr, the *jizya*

(29) He was famous also for his victories on the Atlantic coastlines and in the heart of the African continent, in the Sudan.



would be synonym of “conquest”⁽³⁰⁾.

753 C.E. 135 H.	In the year 135/752-753 ‹Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī ‘Ubaydah al-Fihri attacked this island and massacred the inhabitants. Then they submitted to the payment of <i>jizya</i> , and (it) was [actually] collected. From then on the island was not tormented by any Muslim and the Rūm restored its conditions ⁽³¹⁾ .	<i>Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh</i> Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233 CE)
	In the year 135 (July-September 752/March-June 753) ... ‹Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥabīb went on an expedition to Sicily and later he sent (<i>biṭha</i>) <i>بعثة</i> (an army) to Sardāniya. The Muslims miserably killed the inhabitants and finally they agreed on a treaty (<i>sulḥ</i>) by paying a tribute (<i>jizya</i>) ⁽³²⁾ .	<i>Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fī ākḥbār mulūk al-andalus wal-maghrib</i> ibn ‘Adhārī (End 13 th c. / Beginning 14 th c. CE)
	In the year 135 (18 July 752 - 6 July 753), he sent in Sikīliya an army, which was victorious and took much booty. He sent another army in Sardāniya, which plundered the country and spread very blood of Rūm. He subdued all the Maghrib and was never defeated.	al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal- <i>Qāhira</i> Abūl-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghrī Bardī (812/874 H. 1409/-1470 CE)

Continuing with the analysis of these sources on the 753 CE raid - since it is definitely an important event in the history of the early medieval Sardinia - it seems that the texts of Ibn al-Athīr and ibn ‘Adhārī do not differ much. Both stated that Muslims massacred the Sardinians; then they reached an agreement so that the islanders paid a tribute (*jizya*).

But Ibn al-Athīr and ibn ‘Adhārī talk about an attack against Sicily in the same year

(30) According to Piero Fois, Piero “Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra”: 6162- and AlexMetcalfe, “Early Medieval Sardinia”: 17, note 69 although it has been translated as «conquest» *tout court*, the term *Fath*, really means the “opening” of a given territory to the Islam, and not necessarily that it was annexed or invaded by Muslim authorities. In the opinion of Piero Fois, Piero “Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra”:70 the *jizya* is the keystone in the history of al- Sardāniya (“la *jizya* è la chiave di volta della storia d’al-Sardāniya”) and ibn ‘Adhārī modified the Ibn al-Athīr’s text stating that this tax marked the subjugation and humiliation of the enemy defeated on the battlefield, which had to accept the winner’s conditions.

(31) Our English translation of this source is based on the Italian version of Michele Amari, Biblioteca arabosicula: I, p. 358. Another version of this text is in Stasolla, p. 88: “In the year 135/752-753/ ‹Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī ‘Ubaydah al-Fihri attacked this island and massacred the inhabitants. Then they came to terms [submitting to the payment of] *jizya* which was [actually] collected. [The island] remained [in these conditions] and after him no one invaded it. Meanwhile, the Rūm [kept on] living there”. Another Italian version is in Piero Fois, “Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra”: 69, and it shows some differences in the translation of the terms concerning the agreement between Muslims and Sardinians. According to Stasolla they came to terms; whereas, according to Fois, ‹Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī ‘Ubaydah al-Fihri allowed the Sardinians escaped from the massacre to pay the tribute (*jizya*).

(32) Our English translation of the source is based on an Italian version translated by Piero Fois, “Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra”: 70. ‹Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī ‘Ubaydah al-Fihri was the last Umayyad wālī of Ifrīqiya.



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752/753, although they provide different information on the episode and the causes leading to a next period of calm.

Ibn al Athīr reported that in this year “‘Abdullah b. Ḥabīb attacked the island of Sikīliya, where he took prey and prisoners and earned more than anyone else before him”. No mention was made to the payment of the *jizya*. Indeed, the chronicler added that the cause of the subsequent island’s tranquillity was that “the governors of Ifrīqīya were always disturbed by the Berber revolution”. Thanks to this tranquillity “[the] Rūm gradually restored every place of the island; they provided the castles and the fortresses” and, finally they were able to patrol the island’s waters by some ships which, sometimes, captured Muslim merchants’ boats⁽³³⁾.

The information provided on this raid by ibn ‘Adhārī was almost identical: the assault on Sicily, the conquest of prisoners and booty and, finally, the attack against Sardinians, after which “he [‘Abdullah b. Ḥabīb] reached an agreement with them so that they paid the *jizya*”⁽³⁴⁾. No information was provided on the Sicily’s condition after the end of the raid.

However, al-Nūwayrī (1279/1333 CE) in his work - *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Funūn al-Adab* referred to the payment of the *jizya* by the Sicilians occurred in the year 120 H. (December 739 - November 740 CE), when the citizens of “Syracuse, which was the capital of the realm”, defeated by ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥabīb, “agreed to pay him the *jizya*; and he collected it”. Although the chronicler mentioned only the capital of the “realm” of Sicily, we can maybe assume that the Syracuse’s surrender to Muslims was that of the whole island, so that the payment of the *jizya* were to be extended to all the islanders. This may explain why after this agreement, the Muslim commander left: his result had been reached⁽³⁵⁾.

To find a clear statement of the submission of Sicily and Sardinia to the payment of the *jizya* we need to resort again to the work of Ibn Khaldūn, who, however, gave no year for the event: “Then (‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥabīb) sent by sea two armies: one against Sikīliya and the other against Sardāniya; they tormented both the Frankish nations [of those islands] so that they got rid of him [by paying] the *jizya*”⁽³⁶⁾. Even in the absence of an explicit date for this dual event, its description so close to that of the 752/753 raids might suggest that the al Nūwayrī text refers to them. If so, the sure attack against Sicily (regardless of the *jizya* payment) would indicate that the tax imposed on that island in 739/740 had not been paid anymore and that, therefore, the Muslims could attack it again.

In light of the examined sources, maybe in the first half of the 8th century, there could be a Muslim presence on the island linked to the attested raids, though, up to now, historiography tends to exclude a stable Muslim conquest of Sardinia, based on two elements: the quality

(33) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: I, 363. This narration of the events is almost identical in Al-Nūwayrī, which, however, placed them in the years 747/748/ CE, with the only variation that “the prefects of Africa” were engaged in internal wars and not against the Berbers.

(34) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: II, 4.

(35) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: II, 118 and 171 with a version of the facts almost identical reported by the Egyptian historian, Ibn Khaldūn, who mentioned the payment of the tribute by the Syracusans: “He attacked Syracuse [who was] the largest city of the island; he imposed the tax to the inhabitants”.

(36) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: II, 172.



of information provided on the island – usually a bit generic when compared to those given for other areas of the Mediterranean with attested presence of Muslims; and the difficulties encountered during each attack against the island., Difficulties described especially by the 9th century sources.

Conclusions

After the incursion of 753, no Arab raid against Sardinia is mentioned until the beginning of the 9th century, but from that moment on the raids against the island came from the Umayyads of the Iberian Peninsula⁽³⁷⁾. The tranquility of this period may be due to the agreement between the Sardinians and the Saracens of Ifrīqīya, although we do not know unequivocally if and as long as the Sardinians would have pay the *jizya*. But if so, it must not have been for a long time because of the change of the dynasty leading the Muslim world. The Abbasids in place of the Umayyads.

The tranquility enjoyed by Sardinia in the second half of the century is probably also due to the effectiveness of the military countermeasures of the empire in the face of the gravity of the situation in the western Mediterranean. The presence on the island of the *exercitus Sardiniae*, supported financially since the last decades of the 7th century by the local notables, following the measures taken by the Emperor Constant II during his stay in Syracuse, is proved by the numerous burials of soldiers uncovered by the archaeologists.

In addition, the 9th century sources (Western and Muslim) report a great capacity for military reaction and defense by the armies operating in the island and the surrounding waters, quite different from that mentioned in the sources until the mid-eight century. In some cases, the sources explicitly use the term “*proelium*” (sea battle) to indicate that the clashes took place on the sea⁽³⁸⁾. Furthermore, the same sources reported the high number of Muslims killed during these fights and the destruction of entire Iberian fleets.

All arguments in favor of the survival and efficiency of the above mentioned *Exercitus Sardiniae*, as evidenced also by the cooperation given to the frankish fleet in 828. The count Boniface, who was entrusted with the defense of Corsica, after arriving in Sardinia - “*insula amicorum*” (Island of Allied) - without encountering Saracen, asked the island authorities some navigation expert so that he may go to Africa to fight the Muslims⁽³⁹⁾.

All the attacks highlight the importance of the island, and they were certainly also aimed

(37) Maribel Fierro, “Les généalogies du pouvoir en al-Andalus: politique, religion et ethnicité au IIe / VIIIe – Ve-XIe siècles”, in *Islamisation et arabisation de l’Occident musulman médiéval (VIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, D. Valérian Ed., (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011): 265-294.

(38) For a long time we have highlighted the circumstance that some clashes were victorious *proelia* for the Sardinians, confirming that the island was equipped with naval forces capable of opposing a greater resistance to the Muslims in the 9th century. Luciano Gallinari, *Les Judicats sardes: une différente typologie de souveraineté médiévale?*: 67.

(39) Astronomus. *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris*, (Georg Heinrich Pertz ed), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica - Scriptores, II, Scriptores rerum Sangallensium. Annales, chronica et historiae aevi, Carolini*, (Hannover; 1829): 613



at eliminating the threat posed by Sardinia and the military power of Byzantium in the western Mediterranean.

Even after all these raids Sardinia was never conquered by the Muslims. The only Muslim long presence on the island during the Middle Ages, so far established, was the Mujāhid's one. The Prince of Denia, near Valencia in 1015/1016 conquered part of Sardinia and had an important role in the future island history, since probably during the clash between his troops and the Sardinian ones the supreme insular ruler was killed: *Malut* in the Western sources, an erroneous transcription for the arab term *Malik*⁽⁴⁰⁾.

This death led to the disappearance of the Arconship of Sardinia – the institutional development of the ancient Byzantine imperial province - and, after a few decades, the appearance in the western sources of four new “states” called in Latin *Iudicati*, from the name of their rulers: the *iudices*⁽⁴¹⁾.

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(40) Corrado Zedda. – Raimondo Pinna, “La nascita dei giudicati: una proposta per lo scioglimento di un enigma storiografico”: 69-70.

(41) Corrado Zedda, “Dalla *Santa Ilia* giudicale al *Castrum Calari* pisano”, in *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa mediterranea*, 15/2, (2015): 13-58. Barbara Panico - Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, “Civitates Sancti Marci, Sancti Augustini, Sancti Salvatoris, et oppida Domu de Cubas, Sancti Saturnini, Sancti Georgii in saltibus de Sinnis”: 460.



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Le prime incursioni musulmane in Sardegna e le loro conseguenze sull'isola (VI - XI secolo). Alcune riflessioni

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Premessa

Come abbiamo evidenziato in alcuni lavori precedenti, nuove teorie interpretative sono state formulate dagli studiosi specialmente su due temi molto importanti della storia alto-medievale sarda: 1) l'eventuale presenza di stabili comunità musulmane nell'isola tra VIII e XI secolo, e 2), strettamente interconnesso con il primo, l'origine dei Giudicati dopo la dissoluzione dell'antico Arcontato di Sardegna. I dati finora presentati alla comunità accademica sono di grande interesse, anche se alcune conclusioni storiografiche appaiono meno stimolanti.

Il periodo compreso tra VI e XI secolo – qui preso in esame – si rivela pieno di avvenimenti di notevole importanza politica per la Sardegna, attestati però da fonti che creano sempre notevoli difficoltà di interpretazione.. Esse sono abbastanza esigue e, in molti casi, riguardo alle relazioni tra la Sardegna e il mondo musulmano, le fonti con una ragguardevole distanza cronologica dagli avvenimenti narrati riproducono alcune altre fonti del IX - X secolo, quasi senza aggiungere nuovi dati.

Il periodo analizzato inizia con la reintegrazione dell'isola nell'Impero romano a metà del VI secolo, sotto la guida di un governatore civile chiamato *Praeses* - incluso nella categoria più ampia degli *iudices* - creata da Giustiniano I⁽²⁾, ed esso termina nell'XI secolo con la frammentazione dell'Arcontato di Sardegna - uno sviluppo istituzionale della *Provincia Sardiniae* - in quattro “stati”, a causa dell'incursione e conquista di parte dell'isola per mano di Mujāhid, principe di Denia (1015/1016 CE). I governanti di questi “stati”ebbero il titolo di *iudices*⁽³⁾.

(1) Questa ricerca è stata realizzata nell'ambito del progetto bilaterale CNR / ASRT “Peace-building between East and West (XI-XVI c.)” - (2016-2017).

(2) “Codex Justinianus”, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, P. Krueger ed., II, (Dublin-Zürich, 14a ed., 1964), I, 27/12, p. 77: “et auxiliante Deo, septem provinciae cum suis iudicibus disponantur (...); reliquae vero, id est Numidia et Mauritania et Sardinia a praesidibus gubernentur”. L'imperatore decise che la seconda categoria di *iudices* alla guida delle altre quattro province della Prefettura di Africa fosse quella dei *rectores consulares*.

(3) Vedansi Barbara Panico - Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, “Civitates Sancti Marci, Sancti Augustini, Sancti Salvatoris, et oppida Domu de Cubas, Sancti Saturnini, Sancti Georgii in saltibus de Sinnis”, in *Itine-*



Quindi, quale fu il ruolo della Sardegna durante questi cinque secoli così pieni di eventi storici molti dei quali collegarono l'isola all'Egitto islamico? L'isola fu solamente la periferia dell'Impero bizantino oppure, specialmente tra VII e IX secolo, una piazzaforte militare, ancora collegata a Bisanzio nel X secolo, seppure in modi differenti rispetto a prima? ⁽⁴⁾

In questo momento storico la Sardegna fu al centro degli interessi di molteplici soggetti i Longobardi, l'Impero franco, la Sede Apostolica e i Saraceni provenienti inizialmente dalle coste africane e poi dalla Penisola Iberica.

Sardegna e Musulmani nell'Alto Medioevo (VII - VIII secolo)

Questo è uno dei temi storiografici relativi alla Sardegna alto-medioevale al centro della recente attenzione di diversi studiosi, i quali propongono interpretazioni sensibilmente differenti dalle precedenti⁽⁵⁾. In questo ambito due filoni di ricerca strettamente interconnessi vedono la nascita di nuovi studi: uno è sul ruolo delle isole – (e quindi anche della Sardegna) – all'interno del vasto fenomeno storico dell'espansione musulmana, poiché esse furono considerate fonti di enormi bottini in uomini e beni, la cui conquista richiese l'elaborazione di un'ampia e articolata strategia da parte delle autorità musulmane⁽⁶⁾.

rando. Senza Confini dalla Preistoria ad oggi. Studi in ricordo di Roberto Coroneo, Rossana Martorelli Ed., I, (Perugia: Morlacchi editore, 2015): 460; Luciano Gallinari, "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal", in *Bilanci e prospettive storiografiche*, a cura di Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena, (Roma: Viella, 2015): 83-107 e Luciano Gallinari, "Still on the origin and the nature of power of the the iudex Sardiniae / 'Archon Sardanians' (6th - 11th century)", in *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*, Alex Metcalfe, Giovanni Serreli Eds., Brill, in corso di stampa e le relative bibliografie.

(4) Roberto Coroneo, *Scultura mediobizantina in Sardegna*, (Nuoro: Il Poliedro, 2000); Roberto Coroneo, "Nuovo frammento epigrafico medioellenico a Sant'Antioco", *Theologica & Historica. Annali della pontificia Facoltà Teologica della Sardegna*, XII, (2003): 315-325; Salvatore Cosentino, "Potere e istituzioni nella Sardegna bizantina", in *Ai confini dell'impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, a cura di Paola Corrias, Salvatore Cosentino, (Cagliari:M&T, 2002): 1-13; Pier Giorgio Spanu, "Dalla Sardegna bizantina alla Sardegna giudicale", in *Orientis radiata fulgore. La Sardegna nel contesto storico e culturale bizantino*, a cura di Lucio Casula - Antonio M. Corda - Antonio Piras, (Cagliari: Nuove Grafiche Puddu, 2008): 353-387; Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini della SARDENIA*, (Roma: Carocci, 2004), Pier Giorgio Spanu et al., "L'Arcontato d'Arborea tra Islam ed eredità bizantina", in *Tharros Felix*, 5, a cura di Antonello Mastino - Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, (Roma: Carocci, 2013): 515-536; Corrado Zedda - Raimondo Pinna, "La nascita dei giudicati: una proposta per lo scioglimento di un enigma storiografico", *Archivio Storico Giuridico Sardo di Sassari*, XII, (2007): 27-118; Luciano Gallinari, "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal", e le relative bibliografie.

(5) Sul ruolo che le incursioni musulmane alto-medioevali in Sardegna ebbero sulla storiografia, come motore di grandi cambiamenti demografici e geopolitici, vedasi Alex Metcalfe, "Early Muslim raids on Sardinia", in *The Making of Medieval Sardinia*, Brillin press, p. 1. Voglio ringraziare l'autore per avermi fatto leggere la bozza del suo testo.

(6) Piero FOIS: "Peut-on dégager une stratégie militaire propre aux Îles", p. 16. Lo studioso avverte che nel caso delle isole le fonti arabe non sono mai tanto chiare come per la conquista di Cipro (649), e che potrebbe essere



Il secondo riguarda sempre il possibile rapporto tra il mondo arabo e la Sardegna, sede di stanziamenti musulmani e base operativa per la flotta e l'esercito islamici in procinto di partire alla conquista della Penisola Iberica⁽⁷⁾. Ipotesi quest'ultima, che lascia perplessi anche alla luce delle problematiche menzionate a proposito di simili stanziamenti all'incirca nello stesso periodo nell'isola di Arwād, distante solo 3 km dalla costa asiatica⁽⁸⁾ - così come siamo molto perplessi per un'altra ipotesi sulle relazioni tra la Sardegna e i Musulmani, che è stata al centro di un recente dibattito storiografico, prima di essere accantonata dallo stesso autore.

Stiamo parlando proposta di Walter Kaegi di anticipare il primo raid musulmano in Sardegna alla seconda metà del VII secolo⁽⁹⁾.

Si tratta del presunto attacco a Olbia narrato dallo Pseudo-Methodio nella sua *Apocalisse*, composta intorno al 690-692. Un episodio collocato inizialmente dallo studioso negli anni 665/666, e poi situato in suoi studi successivi in un periodo tra 675 e 687, in una data molto più vicina alla redazione dell'*Apocalisse*⁽¹⁰⁾. Recentemente lo storico ha mostrato qualche perplessità sulla effettiva realizzazione di questo attacco sulle coste sarde⁽¹¹⁾.

pericoloso estendere tali specificità ad altre isole (p. 19). Vedansi inoltre, Christophe Picard - Piero. Fois, "I musulmani nel mediterraneo nel IX secolo: un freno per lo sviluppo economico?", in *Interscambi socio-culturali ed economici fra le città marinare d'Italia e l'Occidente dagli osservatori mediterranei*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in memoria di Ezio Falcone (1938-2011), (Amalfi, 14-16 maggio 2011), Bruno Figliuolo, Pinuccia Franca Simbula Eds., (Amalfi: CCSA, 2014): 259-271.

(7) Pier Giorgio Spanu et al., "L'Arcontato d'Arborea tra Islam ed eredità bizantina": 518-520 i quali parlano di "scoperte archeologiche più o meno recenti che testimoniano la presenza nella regione [del Sinis, nella fattispecie, al centro della costa occidentale della Sardegna] a partire dall'VIII secolo di gruppi culturali arabo-musulmani impegnati nella guerra e, durante i secoli successivi, dediti alla navigazione e al commercio".

(8) Piero Fois, "Peut-on dégager une stratégie militaire propre aux Îles": 17 e 20 sottolinea che la conquista di Arwād fu posticipata da un anno all'altro per il rischio di accantonamento delle truppe e dei loro comandanti in zone che per quanto vicine al continente non potevano essere raggiunte che per mare. Aggiunge, inoltre, che le informazioni reperibili nelle fonti sul tema delle società militari formate nelle isole durante la loro occupazione sono scarse e indirette. Se vi erano queste preoccupazioni per una distanza di soli 3 km dalla costa siriana, si può ipotizzare che ve ne fossero a maggior ragione per lo stanziamento invernale di truppe e imbarcazioni a Tharros, ben più distante dalle coste africane, soprattutto in un periodo (710) in cui i Musulmani avevano appena iniziato a raggiungere la Sardegna. Vedasi anche Christophe Picard, "Le calife 'Umar interdit la Méditerranée aux Arabes: peur de la mer our raison d'État?", in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui. Mélanges offerts à Claude Guavard*, Julie Claustre, Olivier Matteoni et al., eds., (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010): 247-257.

(9) Walter E. Kaegi, "Byzantine Sardinia Threatened: Its Changing Situation in the Seventh Century", in *Forme e caratteri della presenza bizantina nel Mediterraneo occidentale: la Sardegna (secoli VI-XI)*, in Atti del Convegno di Oristano (22-23 marzo 2003), a cura di Paola. Corrias, (Cagliari: Condaghes, 2012), 43-56: 48-49. Vedansi anche i lavori precedenti di questo autore citati nella nostra bibliografia finale.

(10) *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*, ed. comment by W.J. Aerts, G.A.A. Kortekaas, 5 (4), in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 569. Subsidia Tomus 97, Peeters, Leuven 1998, Grec. I, 94, 98; Latin., I, 95, 99. Commentary, vol. 570. Subsidia Tomus 98, Peeters, Leuven 1998, "unverständlich", II, 12.

(11) "We cannot be certain whether the Pseudo-Methodius reference to Olbia meant explicitly the port or was used somehow generically for the island of Sardinia, we just do not have sufficient information about Semitic



Il nostro interesse per l'ipotesi di Kaegi era dovuta più al grande eco che ha avuto nella storiografia sulla Sardegna bizantina che all'ipotesi in sé. E ciò, soprattutto, poiché un testo con finalità teleologiche fu considerato un fonte storica credibile *tout court* per la ricostruzione evenemenziale, nonostante più di una perplessità soprattutto in presenza di una descrizione di alcune conquiste musulmane mai avvenute: prima o dopo il presunto attacco in Sardegna⁽¹²⁾.

Al contrario, non si prestò la dovuta attenzione a un brano della fonte in cui l'autore dell'*Apocalisse* utilizzò alla fine del VII s. l'aggettivo "grande" per indicare una città della Sardegna (Olbia, Karales?) o l'intera isola. Nelle edizioni greca e latina dell'*Apocalisse* la Sardegna appare come un importante possesso imperiale, un punto di riferimento, la cui conquista sarà un evento significativo per i Musulmani e la loro espansione. Forse perché la Sardegna era una terra dotata di risorse economiche e militari, all'interno almeno del Mediterraneo occidentale, mentre la fonte non menzionò Cartagine - la stessa capitale della Prefettura d'Africa - o Septem e il resto della sua Provincia.

Dopo aver dedicato un po' di attenzione all'ipotesi di Kaegy, ora analizzeremo le fonti sulle incursioni musulmane in Sardegna su cui abbiamo informazioni più affidabili, ma anche grandi difficoltà interpretative. Oltre ad essere piuttosto rari e, in numerosi casi, molto distanti dagli eventi descritti, come evidenziammo prima - i cronisti arabi hanno un'immagine inesatta della Sardegna e delle sue caratteristiche, anche all'inizio del Basso Medioevo (per esempio, al-Idrīsī che scrisse il suo *Noshat al-Mushtaq* per il re normanno di Sicilia Ruggero II nel XII s.).

Tuttavia, le fonti islamiche attestano diverse incursioni sulla Sardegna nella prima metà dell'VIII secolo, descritte da vari cronisti musulmani.

Sulla data del primo raid musulmano in Sardegna vi sono ancora alcuni problemi, nonostante un recente articolo suggerisca ancora una volta che si verificò nel 703 CE, basandosi sul *Kitāb al-imāmat wa-l-sīyasa*. Questa fonte è un testo apocrifo attribuito a Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba al-*Dīnawārī* (828-889 CE), da qui in poi chiamato Pseudo-ibn Qutayba.

Questo è il suo racconto:

Quando l'anno 84 (marzo-settembre 703 CE) stava per finire ... allora arrivò 'Aṭa' Ibn Abī Nāfi' al- Ḥdhulī, mandato da 'Abd al-Azīz che guidò le navi egiziane dirette in Sardegna. Attraccò a Susa (*Sūsāt*). Mūsā gli inviò i rifornimenti necessari (*al-'answāq*) per il suo viaggio e scrisse che il periodo (*Waqt*) dell'anno per la navigazione era allora finito ... 'Aṭa' non considerò il messaggio di Mūsā e caricò le sue navi. Dopo aver issato (le vele), navigò verso un'isola chiamata *Silsila* e la conquistò (*fataḥahā*).

usage in the Seventh century, let alone in Syriac." Vedasi Walter .E. Kaegi, "Byzantine Sardinia Threatened: Its Changing Situation in the Seventh Century": 55. Un collegamento tra la citazione dello Pseudo-Methodio e la Sardegna era già stata proposta da Luciano Gallinari, *Les Judicats sardes: une différente typologie de souveraineté médiévale?*, Thèse Doctorale, (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2009): 52-53.

(12) Per ulteriori dettagli sulle nostre perplessità cfr. Luciano Gallinari, "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal".



Egli prese un grande bottino e una quantità enorme di oro, argento e gioielli⁽¹³⁾.

Secondo Fois, questo racconto è chiaramente basato sull'opera (*Futūḥ Miṣr*) di 'Abd al-Ḥakam, lo storico egiziano morto nel 870 CE⁽¹⁴⁾. Questa derivazione sarebbe dimostrata da una serie di elementi comuni a entrambe le fonti: la profanazione di una chiesa in cui i Sardi avevano nascosto i loro tesori; la sventramento di un gatto e il suo successivo riempimento con beni rubati e, infine, l'affondamento dei Musulmani a seguito di un intervento divino:

Quando al-Andalus fu conquistato, gli eserciti si impadronirono di un grande bottino (*ghanāim*) essi rubarono (*ghalla*) una gran parte di esso, lo caricarono sulle loro navi (*faghalū fīha ghalūlān kathīrān ḥamalūha fī almarākib*) e, infine, si imbarcarono. Ma quando attraversavano il mare, essi sentirono qualcuno gridare: "O mio Dio, annegali!". (I Musulmani) quindi invocarono Dio e recitarono il Corano. Si dice che il vento cominciò a soffiare (così) violentemente che le navi furono distrutte e gli equipaggi annegarono. Ma gli egiziani negano questo, e dicono che non fu la gente di al-Andalus ad annegare, ma la gente di Sardegna (*al Sardānīya*)⁽¹⁵⁾.

Questo brano era seguito dagli episodi della chiesa sconsecrata e il gatto sventrato, menzionati precedentemente, che Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam prese da una tradizione di Ibn 'Ufayr, un altro giurista Mālikī (m. 840), riguardante gli eventi presumibilmente verificatisi in Sardegna.

Ma, come si può vedere dal principio della citazione, il *Futūḥ Miṣr* collocò cronologicamente questa narrazione in un periodo storico definito da una affermazione temporale: "Quando al-Andalus fu conquistato ...", suggerendo che il cronista raccontasse una spedizione sull'isola verificatasi nel 711 e non, presumibilmente, nel 703. Una conferma di ciò potrebbe essere fornita da Ibn al-Athīr, che riprodusse questo stesso brano del *Futūḥ*, ma quando parlò dell'incursione del 711: "... Sardānīya. L'isola si trova nel mare di al-Rūm è la più grande dopo Sikīlīya e Iqrītīya. C'è abbondanza di frutta. Quando Mūsā conquistò al-Andalus, egli inviò via mare una parte del suo esercito contro l'isola nell'anno 92 H."⁽¹⁶⁾.

(13) Una variante del nome dell'isola raggiunta dalla flotta egiziana è *Salsalah*, secondo Reinhart Dozy, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Litterature d'Espagne pendant le Moyen Âge*, III ed., I, (Leyden, 1883): 231, and Maria Giovanna Stasolla, "La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe", in *Ai confini dell'impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Paola Corrias – Salvatore Cosentino Eds, (Cagliari: 2002): 87. Alex Metcalfe, "Early Medieval Sardinia": 11 nota che *Silsila* in Arabo significa "catena" e ciò potrebbe essere "a reference to the Balearics which was also raided in the early 700s". Lo studioso evidenzia anche l'esistenza della fortezza di al-Silsila nel Mediterraneo orientale e perfino l'ipotesi che Silsila fosse un errore di trascrizione per "Messina". *Cronaca di Ibn Qutia* éd. Ribera, Madrid, 1926.

(14) Alex Metcalfe, "Early Medieval Sardinia": 15 sottolinea che lo scopo principale del giurista Mālikī era di creare un "framework of religious and legal opinions in the Muslim West, rather than to produce a historically accurate or objective narrative of events". Su questo storico vedasi Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (ed. Ch. C. Torrey), *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain known as Futuh Misr of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam*, (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2010)².

(15) Piero Fois, "Il ruolo della Sardegna nella conquista islamica dell'Occidente (VIII secolo)", in *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 7, (2011): 24, <rime.to.cnr.it/2012/RIVISTA/N7/2011/articoli/Piero_Fois.pdf>.

(16) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: I, (Torino – Roma: Ermanno Loesher, 1880-1881): 357.



Detto questo, perché gli studiosi attribuiscono il nome *Silsila* (o *Salsalah*) alla Sardegna? Solo perché nelle righe precedenti lo stesso cronista disse che la flotta egiziana si diresse verso l'isola? Ma se è così, perché nel testo fu introdotto questo nome diverso⁽¹⁷⁾?

Secondo la descrizione degli eventi, alcuni studiosi hanno proposto di identificare *Silsila* (o *Salsalah*) con l'isola di Sulci, oggi Sant'Antioco, nella costa sud occidentale della Sardegna, dal momento che vi era (e vi è ancora) un'importante chiesa (un *Martyrium*) forse con corredi d'oro e d'argento, un porto e una comunità. Fermo restando il termine *Silsila*, citato solo dall'Pseudo-Ibn Qutayba e la possibilità che l'attacco descritto ebbe luogo nel 711, più o meno in contemporanea con la spedizione contro al-Andalus, non possiamo escludere del tutto la possibilità che questa fonte descrisse un raid contro un'altra isola diversa da Sardegna e Sulci, forse una sorta di preparazione per l'attacco contro Septem (Ceuta), l'ultima piazzaforte bizantina in terra africana.

Il primo raid sicuro sulla Sardegna avvenne nel 706. Esso è descritto in maniera piuttosto laconica da due fonti separate da circa cinque secoli. Il primo cronista (Ibn Khayyāt, m. 240 H. / 854 CE), un cronista e tradizionalista vissuto un pò più di un secolo dopo i fatti, che non fece alcuna descrizione della Sardegna, tranne collocarla tra le terre occidentali (al-Maghrib).

Nessuna ulteriore notizia è fornita dalla seconda fonte che cita questa incursione, al-Dhahabī, (1274 - 1348/1352 CE), che riproduce quasi letteralmente il brano della fonte precedente in due sue opere: *Tārīkh al-Islam* e *al-'ibar fī khabar man ghabar*.

705/706 CE 87 E.	In questo anno Mūsā b. Nuṣayr mandò suo figlio 'Abd Allāh con una spedizione (<i>Ghazwa</i>) in Sardegna, che è tra i paesi del Maghreb. Dicono che la conquistò. Nello stesso anno, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr inviò 'Abdallah b. Ḥuzayfa al-Azdī con una spedizione in Sardānīya. Egli fu in grado di catturare prigionieri e bottino	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāt al-Layshī al-'Uṣfurī 'Abū 'Amr
705/706 CE 87 E.	In questo anno, il governatore del Nord Africa Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, dopo che al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik gli diede il governo di tutto il Maghreb, inviò suo figlio 'Abdallah ad attaccare la Sardānīya. Egli la conquistò, prese prigionieri e bottino (<i>Tārīkh al-Islam</i> , VIII, 1); ... In questo stesso anno, la Sardānīya fu conquistata dal Maghreb (<i>Tārīkh al-Islam</i> , VIII, 2).	<i>Tārīkh al-islam</i> al-Dhahabī (1274 – 1348 / 1352 CE)

Nel 707/708 CE, in base allo *Kitāb al-imāmat wa-l-sīyasa* dello Pseudo-Ibn Qutayba, 'Abdallah b. Murrāh, comandante di una flotta egiziana partì dall'Ifrīqīyā e attaccò alcune città sarde⁽¹⁸⁾.

'Abdallah b. Murrāh andò alla presenza di Mūsā al comando dell'esercito egiziano.

(17) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: I, 273-274; Tullio Zedda, *La Sardegna nel primo Medioevo*, (Roma: Canella, 1956): 84; Maria Giovanna Stasolla, "La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe": 80 e 87 (Appendix, I, 1).

(18) Maria Giovanna Stasolla, "La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe": 80 e 87 (Appendix, I, 2). Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, I, (Catania: Romeo Prampolini, 1933): 248, anticipa l'incursione di Mūsā b. Nuṣayr di alcuni e lo colloca nel 704.



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

Mūsā gli diede il controllo sul mare di Ifrīqīyā. Così [‘Abdallah] attaccò la Sardānīya e s’impadronì delle città. I prigionieri furono tremila, oltre a oro, argento, terreni coltivati e altri beni.

Il riferimento a terreni coltivati è stato interpretato come un primo, stabile insediamento islamico, anche se modesto⁽¹⁹⁾. Ma, poiché è aggiunto a un breve elenco dei beni rubati ai Sardi, forse si può pensare che la fonte si riferisca a terreni coltivati appartenenti agli isolani che furono saccheggianti, come si verificò per le città. Invece, le città e i terreni coltivati potrebbero suggerire che i Musulmani non operarono solo in una zona dell’isola, come può essere suggerito anche dall’elevato numero di prigionieri, fatta salva l’abitudine di tutte le fonti antiche di aumentare il numero dei partecipanti e delle vittime in eventi di rilievo.

Un altro importante elemento è che questa spedizione non si limitò alla Sardegna, come si può vedere dai racconti di varie fonti musulmane che menzionano la cattura di alcune personalità definite “*Muluk*” (re) di Sicilia, Sardegna, Maiorca e Minorca⁽²⁰⁾.

Questi stessi *Muluk* sarebbero stati portati da Mūsā a Damasco, quando fu convocato dal califfo e, inoltre, furono menzionati dal conquistatore di al-Andalus nel colloquio con la suprema autorità musulmana: “O Comandante dei credenti, mio figlio Marwān ha catturato il re (*Malik*) di al-Andalus e ‘Abdallāh quelli di Mayurqa, Minūrqa, Sikīliya e Sardānīya ...”⁽²¹⁾.

Questo brano è interessante poiché spinge a riflettere sull’identità del *malik* di Sardegna.

Fonti epigrafiche isolane attestano tra VII e VIII secolo la presenza di alcuni ufficiali supremi con il titolo di ‘*upatos kai doux*’ (*consul et dux*), che sembrano incarnare il potere civile e militare. Forse uno di loro, alla testa delle truppe sarde si scontrò con i Musulmani e fu catturato. O, forse, vi è un’altra possibilità offerta da una fonte islamica, datata alla metà del IX secolo, che, però, secondo alcuni studiosi, avrebbe descritto la struttura difensiva dell’Impero Bizantino alla fine del VII secolo. Ci riferiamo al geografo persiano Ibn Khurrādādhbih, che nel 846/847 CE compilò una lista dei 12 patrizi (*batariqa*) dell’Impero Bizantino copiata da un precedente lavoro di al-Djarmī, che sarebbe contemporanea della *Exemplar Divae Iussionis Iustiniani Augusti directae Iohannem Papam* (687)⁽²²⁾. I dati più interessanti di questa fonte è che, a parte i sei patrizi residenti nella capitale imperiale e altri

(19) Maria Giovanna Stasolla, “La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe”: 80

(20) Gli storici hanno dato diverse interpretazioni di questi «re» catturati dagli arabi, chiedendo se fossero signori già semi-indipendenti, governatori nominati da Bisanzio o, infine, notabili delle società indigene. A proposito di questa incursione Margarita Vallejo Girvés, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua (ss. V-VIII) un capítulo de historia mediterránea*, Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 1993): 344-346 ricorda che diverse fonti arabe - tra le quali Ibn Abd Al-Ḥakam (IX s.), Al-Bakri (1014-1094 CE), Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406 CE), Ibn Koteiba (IX s.) Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233 CE), al-Qūṭīya (X - XI s.) e ibn ‘Adhārī (XIII s.) - parlano dell’arrivo di ‘Abd Allah, figlio dell’emiro Mūsā, nell’Arcipelago Balearico dopo alcune incursioni nelle grandi isole del Mediterraneo occidentale, tra le quali la Sardegna.

(21) Piero Fois, “Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra”: 57. Margarita Vallejo Girvés, *Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida*, (Madrid: Akal, 2012): 472-476.

(22) *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. Jascques Paul Migne, (Paris: 1800-1875): Tomus CXVI, Col. 737.



quattro nelle province orientali, gli altri due della lista erano patrizi occidentali: e, più precisamente, “... il patrizio di Sikīliya, una grande isola e un vasto regno di fronte all’Ifriqīyā, [e] il patrizio di Sardāniya che governa tutte le isole del mare”⁽²³⁾.

Una consolidata ipotesi storiografica sostiene che il supremo governante della Sardegna estese la sua autorità anche sulle Baleari tra VII e VIII secolo. E, per inciso, nel testo di Ibn al-Qūṭīya, furono citati oltre a Sicilia e Sardegna anche le tre isole principali dell’arcipelago.

Quindi, forse, il “*malik*” della Sardegna citato da Ibn al-Qūṭīya era il patrizio al comando della flotta imperiale presente nelle acque di questa isola.

Un altro attacco musulmano contro la Sardegna è menzionato dalle seguenti fonti negli anni 710-711.

<p>710 / 711 CE 92 H.</p>	<p>... È la più grande nel mare occidentale dopo al-Andalus, Sikīliya e Iqrītiya. I Musulmani attaccarono e presero possesso di essa nel 92 H. con l’esercito di Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Oggi è sotto il dominio dei Franchi. Trovo che, secondo altri autori, Sardāniya è [anche] una città in Sikīliya (...)</p>	<p><i>Kitab Mu’gam al buldān</i> Yaquṭ ibn ‘Abdullah al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī (575/626 E. 1179/1228 CE)</p>
<p>710/711 CE 92 H.</p>	<p>... Sardāniya. L’isola si trova nel mare di al-Rūm ed è la più grande dopo Sikīliya e Iqrītiya. C’è abbondanza di frutta. Quando Mūsā conquistò al-Andalus, inviò via mare una parte del suo esercito contro l’isola nell’anno 92 H.</p>	<p><i>Kāmil al-tawārīkh</i> Ibn al-Athīr (555 H./630 E. 1160 /1233 CE)</p>

(23) Nikolas Oikonomides, “Une liste arabe des strateges byzantins du VII^e siècle et les origines du thème de Sicile”, in *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VII^e - XV^e s.)*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976) p. 122. According to André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris- La Haye, Éd. de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales - Mouton, 1980, p. 444, Khurradādbīh, parlando dei sei patrizi che non risiedevano a Bisanzio, diede loro come sedi alcuni luoghi che noi sappiamo essere Temi governati da strateghi: Ammuriā (Anatolia), Ankira (Bucellari), Arminiak (Armenia), Tracia, Sicilia e Sardegna. A proposito di questo *Patrikios* della Sardegna, Alex Metcalfé, “Early Medieval Sardinia”: 10 riporta l’affermazione di al Maqrīzī”, secondo il quale questo ufficiale imperiale avrebbe governato sulla Sicilia prima dell’inizio delle sua conquista a opera dei Musulmani.



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710/711 CE 92 H	Quest'anno l'isola di Sardānīya fu conquistata dall'esercito di Mūsā b. Nusayr. Sardānīya è la più grande isola del Mediterraneo dopo Sikīlīya e Iqrītīya. Produce molta frutta.	<i>An Nugiūm az-Zahirah</i> Abu l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrī Bardī (813/874 E. 1411/-1470 CE)
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Tutte le tre fonti sono caratterizzate da scarse e imprecise informazioni sulla Sardegna, sebbene con alcune differenze tra di loro. La inesattezza del geografo al-Ḥamawī riguarda la dimensione della Sardegna, considerata più piccola rispetto a al-Andalus (citata tra le isole), Sicilia e Creta. Questa fonte riferì inoltre che la Sardegna fu conquistata dai musulmani.

L'imprecisione geografica (la Sardegna è tre volte più grande di Creta) è presente anche in Ibn al-Athīr, un contemporaneo di al-Ḥamawī, che - come abbiamo detto prima - richiama il racconto del *Futuḥ miṣr wal magh ib wal andalus* di Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. Gli unici dati che Ibn al-Athīr aggiunse alla descrizione di questa isola fu che in essa vi era molta frutta. Questi vaghi dettagli furono inclusi anche nel lavoro dello storico egiziano Abu l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Bardī, vissuto nel XV secolo, più di duecento anni dopo le fonti appena menzionate, e a circa settecento anni dagli eventi.

Nonostante le inesatte informazioni geografiche fornite, Ibn al-Athīr afferma chiaramente che il raid contro la Sardegna avvenne simultaneamente o immediatamente dopo quello contro al-Andalus: “quando Mūsā conquistò al-Andalus, inviò via mare una parte del suo esercito contro l'isola [Sardegna]”⁽²⁴⁾. Dopo questa notizia Ibn al-Athīr inserì la narrazione degli eventi basati sul *Futuḥ miṣr*, come detto prima.

In considerazione di tutti questi elementi, lascia perplessi l'ipotesi storiografica sul ruolo *sine qua non* della Sardegna e della sua costa occidentale per la conquista di al-Andalus (a parere di Mūsā b. Nuṣayr) suggerito di recente da alcuni studiosi⁽²⁵⁾. Se vi fu nella penisola del Sinis o in altre parti dell'isola qualche insediamento musulmano, questa presenza non dovette essere su larga scala, né una conquista duratura. Il trasferimento della zecca imperiale a Karales (oggi Cagliari) confermerebbe la continuazione della attività istituzionale dell'Impero in Sardegna per almeno una ventina d'anni. Cioè, fino alla prima metà del regno del basileus Leone III (717-720), dopo la caduta di Cartagine (698) e Septem (711),

(24) Secondo Metcalfe, “Early Medieval Sardinia”: 16, il collegamento di questi eventi con l'incursione in Sardegna del 710/711, non sarebbe altro che “an educated guess”, poiché “None of this is assigned to any particular year, other than it happened under the unrestrained leadership of Mūsā bin Nuṣayr (711 – c.716)”.

(25) Un'ipotesi basata su una lettura delle fonti islamiche che abbiamo già menzionato in precedenza, e su alcuni sigilli di piombo e quattro sigilli con iscrizioni cufiche trovati a S. Giorgio di Cabras (nella penisola di Sinis) che proverebbero la presenza in questa regione nell'VIII secolo di gruppi culturali arabo-musulmani impegnati nella guerra e, durante i secoli successivi, dediti alla navigazione e al commercio. Questi gruppi avrebbero avuto un ruolo attivo nella conquista della Penisola iberica. Nessuna altra fonte cita questo ipotetico ruolo svolto dalla Sardegna. Sul trasporto dell'esercito musulmano nella penisola iberica vedasi Christophe Picard. *La mer del califes: une hitoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, (Paris: Seuil, 2015).



nonostante diversi attacchi musulmani⁽²⁶⁾.

Probabilmente, questo trasferimento della zecca imperiale a Karales fu un altro motivo che indirizzò queste incursioni contro la Sardegna, per la presenza dei metalli preziosi necessari alla coniazione. A causa di questo trasferimento, dovremmo essere più cauti nell'accettare alla lettera il racconto di Paolo Diacono, il quale, dopo aver parlato dello spopolamento dell'isola, riferisce che Liutprando, re dei Longobardi acquistò le reliquie di Sant'Agostino custodite a Karales, temendo che potessero cadere nelle mani dei Musulmani. Sebbene alcuni scavi archeologici abbiano dimostrato la distruzione della città a causa di un incendio nei primi decenni dell'VIII secolo, non sembra che le incursioni di questo periodo diedero vita a durevoli insediamenti islamici nell'isola.

Le cause di questi tentativi proposti dalle fonti arabe sono duplici. Da un lato, la Sardegna e le isole Baleari erano la parte restante dell'Esarcato d'Africa, che aveva perso tutto il suo territorio continentale, e divennero i confini bizantini più lontani nel Mediterraneo occidentale in procinto di diventare un "lago musulmano". D'altra parte, la ricchezza della Sardegna interessò gli Arabi per le sue risorse di metalli e legname, quanto mai necessari per l'equipaggiamento delle nuove flotte⁽²⁷⁾.

Nel secondo decennio dell'VIII secolo le fonti musulmane attestano tre spedizioni contro la Sardegna. Si tratta di brani molto brevi e gli unici dati interessanti per lo storico sono i nomi dei protagonisti: al contrario, non è fornita alcuna informazione utile sull'isola, i suoi insediamenti e le istituzioni.

Come notato da Piero Fois, la struttura dei racconti è sempre la stessa: il comandante della flotta di Ifrīqīyā era incaricato dal governatore della regione di organizzare una spedizione contro l'isola.

Per quanto riguarda l'incursione del 721/722 CE, il testo di al Ḥimyarī è chiaramente basato su quello di Ibn Khayyāt, che riportò l'attacco e la presa di spoglie, con l'aggiunta di alcuni ulteriori dettagli, forse ricavati da altre fonti. Egli menzionò una occupazione, ma non fornì ulteriori dettagli su di essa: città, fortezze, villaggi ...?

Sul raid del 727/728, invece, l'unico dato che al Ḥimyarī aggiunse al testo di Ibn Khayyāt fu la cattura di prigionieri.

(26) Marco Muresu, "I reperti metallici in Sardegna tra VIII e XI secolo: problematiche e prospettive di ricerca", in *Settecento-Millecento. Storia, archeologica e arte nei "secoli bui" del Mediterraneo*, Rossana Martorelli Ed., II, (Cagliari: Scuola Sarda Editrice, 2013): 742.

(27) Maria Giovanna Stasolla, "La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe": 79.



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721/722 CE 103 H.	In questo anno, al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd fece una spedizione nella terra di al-Rūm. Durante il mese di Muḥarram di quell’anno, Bishr b. Ṣafwān inviò Yazīd b. Misrūq al-Yaḥṣbī in Sardegna, che si trova nel Maghreb. Egli prese bottino e tornò (in Ifrīqīyā) sano e salvo.	<i>Tārīkh</i>
724/725 CE 106 H.	In questo anno Bishr b. Ṣafwān che era in Ifrīqīyā, inviò Muḥammad Abī Bakr mawalā del Banī Jamḥa con una spedizione. Egli raggiunse Kursiqa e Sardāniya	Khalīfa b. Khayyāt al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr (m. 854 CE)
727/728 CE 109 H.	In this year Bishr b. Ṣafwān who was in Ifrīqīyā, sent Ḥasān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr mawalā of Banī Jamḥa with an expedition to Sardāniya. He took the spoils and returned (in Ifrīqīyā) safe and sound.	
721/722 CE 103 H.	Bishr b. Ṣafwān inviò nel corso dell’anno centotre Yazid b. Masruq al Yahshuni contro Sardāniya; egli occupò (città?) ha prese prigionieri e ritornò senza perdite.	al-Ḥimyarī (XIII - XIV s)
727/728 CE 109 H.	E nel centonove Bishr b. Ṣafwān inviò dall’Ifrīqīyā Ḥasān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (dei Banī Jamḥa) contro Sardāniya (dove) prese bottino e prigionieri.	

Per gli anni Trenta dell’VIII secolo sono attestate tre incursioni musulmane in Sardegna, negli anni 732/733, 735/736 e 737. Esse furono descritte da cinque diversi autori distribuiti su un periodo di tempo compreso tra il IX e il XV secolo. Anche per questi attacchi lo schema è quello citato in precedenza, e in realtà anche in queste fonti sono citati per lo più i nomi degli autori delle incursioni, il bottino e la cattura di prigionieri. Ma vi è anche una differenza significativa tra queste incursioni: la prima fu commissionata dal governatore di Ifrīqīyā, mentre le altre due furono organizzate dal governatore d’Egitto.

732/733 CE 114 H.	In questo anno Ḳubaydallāh b. Ḳabd al-Raḥman inviò dall’Ifrīqīyā ‘Ubaydallāh b. Qaṭān in Sikīliya. Egli prese bottino e tornò (in Ifrīqīyā) sano e salvo. Nello stesso anno Abdullah b. Zīyād al-Anṣārī andò in Sardāniya con una spedizione. Egli prese bottino e tornò (in Ifrīqīyā) sano e salvo.	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāt al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr (m. 854 CE)
	Durante l’anno [1]14/732 Ḳubaydah Allah ibn Ḳabd al-Raḥman] inviò dall’Ifrīqīyā ‘Abd Allah b. Qatan per attaccare la Sikīliya. Egli prese bottino e tornò sano e salvo. Egli mandò Abdullah b. Zīyād al-Anṣārī per attaccare la Sardāniya; egli prese anche bottino e tornò sano e salvo.	<i>Kitāb al-Muqaḥḥā</i> Al Maqrīzī (776/845 E. 1364/1442 CE)

Inoltre, in alcuni casi, i cronisti aggiungono alcuni dettagli: sull’incursione del 735/736, Ibn Khayyāt precisò che i Musulmani raggiunsero un villaggio sardo, mentre Ibn al-Athīr disse che conquistarono una parte dell’isola, purtroppo senza l’aggiunta di ulteriori informazioni.

Circa l’attacco del 737, tuttavia, le tre fonti (IX s., XII - XIII s. e XV s.) danno la stessa versione dei fatti, ricordando la conquista musulmana di una fortezza in Sardegna. L’unica differenza tra loro è che, mentre la prima, in ordine cronologico, cita una fortezza, gli

(28) Anche in al-Ḥimyarī (XV s.).



altri due menzionano “la” Fortezza della Sardegna. Un’espressione che potrebbe indicare la conquista della più importante piazzaforte isolana o, forse, la stessa capitale dell’isola. Più volte nelle fonti musulmane vengono utilizzati i nomi delle isole per indicare le loro capitali. Un’altra osservazione: secondo le fonti, forse i musulmani più che conquistare la fortezza la presero con la forza e poi se ne andarono.

735/736 CE 117 H.	In questo anno ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥabḥāb inviò Ḥabīb b. Abī ‘Ubayda affinché egli prendesse un villaggio (<i>qarya</i>) di Sardānīya ⁽²⁹⁾ . Egli massacrò gli abitanti e prese prigionieri.	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr (m. 854 CE)
	[‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥabḥāb] ... l’anno 17 [117] inviò via mare un esercito contro l’isola di Sardānīya. [I soldati] conquistarono una parte di essa e ricavarono bottino, poi se ne andarono.	<i>Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh</i> Ibn al-Athīr (555/630 E. 1160 /1233 CE)
737/738 CE 119 H.	In questo anno di Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb inviò Quthim b. Awāna. Egli raggiunse una roccaforte (<i>Qal’at</i>) della Sardānīya, dalle terre del Maghrib. Quthim affondò insieme alle navi dei Musulmani, anche se alcuni si salvarono.	<i>Tārīkh</i> Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-Layshī al-‘Uṣfurī ‘Abū ‘Amr (m. 854 CE)
	... In quell’anno il governatore del Maghreb di Ifrīqīyā allestì un esercito sotto il comando di Quthim b. Awāna: essi presero <i>Qal’at Sardānīya</i> che si trova nel Maghreb. Al ritorno, Quthim b. Awāna e tutti gli uomini annegarono in mare.	<i>Tārīkh al-islām</i> al-Dhahabī (1274–1348/1352 CE)
	Quest’anno ‘Abdullah b. al-Ḥabḥāb, emiro di Ifrīqīyā, inviò un esercito sotto il comando di Quthim b. Awāna, che prese la roccaforte di Sardānīya in Maghreb. Al ritorno Qutam affondò con tutte i suoi [soldati].	<i>al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira</i> Abūl-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghrī Bardī (812/874 E. 1409/–1470 CE)

La successiva incursione in Sardegna avvenne circa quindici anni dopo, nel 753, e forse fu la più importante, poiché diverse fonti musulmane affermarono che i Sardi si sottoposero al

(29) Egli era famoso anche per le sue vittorie sulle coste atlantiche e nel cuore del continente africano, in Sudan.



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pagamento della *jizya*, mentre un'altra fonte non contiene alcun riferimento a questo tributo.

Recentemente è stato supposto che il pagamento della *jizya* da parte dei Sardi dovrebbe essere considerato importante per due motivi: rappresentò la fase finale della guerra tra Omayyadi e Bizantini per il possesso della Sardegna, che cominciò all'inizio dell'VIII s. con le prime incursioni contro l'isola; e, nel racconto di Ibn al-Athīr, la *jizya* sarebbe sinonimo di "conquista"⁽³⁰⁾.

	Nell'anno 135 / 752-753 Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī 'Ubaydah al-Fihrī attaccò questa isola e massacrò gli abitanti. Allora essi si sottomisero al pagamento della <i>jizya</i> , e (essa) fu [realmente] riscossa. Da allora l'isola non fu disturbata da un musulmano e i Rūm ripristinarono le sue condizioni ⁽³¹⁾ .	<i>Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh</i> Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233 CE)
753 C.E. 135 H.	Nell'anno 135 (luglio-settembre 752 / marzo e giugno 753) ... <Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥabīb realizzò una spedizione in Sicilia e più tardi inviò (<i>bi'tha</i>) بعثة (un esercito) in Sardānīya. I Musulmani miseramente uccisero gli abitanti e, infine, concordarono un trattato (<i>sulḥ</i>) pagando un tributo (<i>jizya</i>) ⁽³²⁾ .	<i>Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fī ākḥbār mulūk al-andalus wal-maghrib</i> ibn 'Adhārī (fine XIII s. / Inizi XIV s)
	Nell'anno 135 (18 luglio 752 - 6 Luglio 753), egli inviò in Sikīliya un esercito, che fu vittorioso e ottenne molto bottino. Mandò un altro esercito in Sardānīya, che saccheggiò l'isola e sparse molto sangue dei Rūm. Egli sottomise tutto il Maghreb e non fu mai sconfitto.	<i>al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira</i> Abūl-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghrī Bardī (812/874 H. 1409/-1470 CE)

(30) Secondo Piero Fois, Piero "Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra": 61-62 e Alex Metcalfe, "Early Medieval Sardinia": 17, nota 69 sebbene sia stato tradotto come «conquista» *tout court*, il termine *Fath*, in realtà significa "apertura" di un determinato territorio all'Islam, e non necessariamente che esso fu annesso o invaso da autorità musulmane. Secondo Piero Fois, Piero "Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra": 70 "la *jizya* è la chiave di volta della storia d'al-Sardānīya" e ibn 'Adhārī modificò il testo di Ibn al-Athīr affermando che questa tassa segnava la sottomissione e umiliazione del nemico sconfitto sul campo di battaglia che aveva accettato le condizioni del vincitore.

(31) La citazione della fonte è presa da Michele Amari, Biblioteca arabo-sicula: I, p. 358. Un'altra versione di questo testo è in Stasolla, p. 88: "Nell'anno 135 / 752-753 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī 'Ubaydah al-Fihrī attaccò questa isola e massacrò gli abitanti. Poi vennero a patti [sottomettendosi al pagamento della] *jizya* che fu [in realtà] riscossa. [L'isola] rimase [in queste condizioni] e dopo di lui nessuno la invase. Nel frattempo, i Rūm [continuarono a] vivere lì". Un'altra versione italiana è in Piero Fois, "Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra": 69, ed essa mostra alcune differenze nella traduzione dei termini riguardanti l'accordo tra Musulmani e Sardi. Secondo Stasolla essi vennero a patti; mentre secondo Fois, 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī 'Ubaydah al-Fihrī permise ai Sardi sfuggiti al massacro di pagare il tributo (*jizya*).

(32) La citazione della fonte è tratta da Piero Fois, "Omayyadi e Bizantini in Sardegna: concezioni e realtà di una lunga guerra": 70. 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī 'Ubaydah al-Fihrī fu l'ultimo wālī omayyade di Ifrīqiya.



Continuando con l'analisi di queste fonti sull'incursione del 753 CE - poiché è sicuramente un evento importante nella storia della Sardegna alto-medievale - sembra che i testi di Ibn al-Athīr e ibn 'Adhārī non differiscano molto. Entrambi dichiararono che i Musulmani massacrarono i Sardi; poi essi raggiunsero un accordo affinché gli isolani pagassero un tributo (*jizya*).

Ma Ibn al-Athīr e ibn 'Adhārī parlano di un attacco contro la Sicilia, nello stesso anno 752/753, sebbene forniscano informazioni diverse sull'episodio e le cause che portarono al successivo periodo di calma.

Ibn al Athīr riferì che in questo anno “ ‘Abdallah b. Ḥabīb attaccò l'isola di Sikīliya, dove prese prede e prigionieri e guadagnò più di chiunque altro prima di lui”. Nessuna menzione fu fatta al pagamento della *jizya*. In effetti, il cronista aggiunse che la causa della successiva tranquillità dell'isola fu che “i governatori di Ifrīqiya erano sempre disturbati dalla rivoluzione berbera”. Grazie a questa tranquillità “[i] Rūm gradualmente ripristinarono ogni località dell'isola; rifornirono i castelli e le fortezze” e, infine, furono in grado di pattugliare le acque dell'isola con alcune navi che, a volte, catturarono imbarcazioni di mercanti musulmani⁽³³⁾.

Le informazioni fornite su questo raid da ibn 'Adhārī furono quasi identiche: l'assalto alla Sicilia, la conquista di prigionieri e bottino e, infine, l'attacco contro i Sardi, dopo di che “egli [‘Abdallah b. Ḥabīb] raggiunse un accordo con loro affinché pagassero la *jizya*”⁽³⁴⁾. Nessuna informazione fu fornita sulle condizioni della Sicilia dopo la fine del raid.

Tuttavia, al- Nūwayrī (1279/1333 CE) nella sua opera - *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Funūn al-Adab* - riferì il pagamento della *jizya* da parte dei Siciliani si sono verificati durante l'anno 120 E. (Dicembre 739 - Novembre 740 CE), quando i cittadini di “Siracusa, che era la capitale del regno”, sconfitti da ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥabīb, “accettarono di pagargli la *jizya*; ed egli la riscosse”. Sebbene il cronista citò solo la capitale del “regno” di Sicilia, si può forse dedurre che la resa di Siracusa ai Musulmani fu quella di tutta l'isola, cosicché il pagamento della *jizya* dovesse essere esteso a tutti gli isolani. Ciò potrebbe spiegare perché, dopo questo accordo, il comandante musulmano se ne andò: il suo risultato era stato raggiunto⁽³⁵⁾.

Per trovare una chiara affermazione della sottomissione di Sicilia e Sardegna al pagamento della *jizya* dobbiamo ricorrere di nuovo all'opera di Ibn Khaldūn, il quale, tuttavia, non indicò l'anno per l'evento: “Allora (‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Ḥabīb) inviò per mare due eserciti: uno contro Sikīliya e l'altro contro Sardāniya; essi tormentarono entrambe le nazioni franche [di quelle isole] cosicché essi si liberarono di lui [pagando] la *jizya*”⁽³⁶⁾. Anche in

(33) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: I, 363. Questa narrazione degli eventi è quasi identica in Al-Nūwayrī, che, però, li collocò negli anni 747/748 CE, con l'unica differenza che “i prefetti d'Africa” furono impegnati in guerre interne e non contro i Berberi.

(34) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: II, 4.

(35) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: II, 118 e 171 con una versione quasi identica dei fatti riportati dallo storico egiziano, Ibn Khaldūn, che citò il pagamento del tributo da parte dei Siracusani: «egli attaccò Siracusa [che era] la più grande città dell'isola; egli impose la tassa agli abitanti”.

(36) Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*: II, 172.



assenza di una data esplicita per questo duplice evento, la sua descrizione così vicino a quello delle incursioni del 752/753 potrebbe suggerire che il testo di al Nūwayrī si riferisca a loro. In tal caso, l'attacco sicuro contro la Sicilia (indipendentemente dal pagamento della *jizya*) indicherebbe che la tassa imposta su quell'isola nel 739/740 non era stata pagata più e che, di conseguenza, i Musulmani potevano attaccarla di nuovo.

Alla luce delle fonti esaminate, forse nella prima metà dell'VIII secolo, ci potrebbe essere stata una presenza musulmana sull'isola legata alle incursioni attestate, però, finora, la storiografia tende ad escludere una conquista musulmana stabile della Sardegna, in base a due elementi: la qualità delle informazioni fornite sull'isola - di solito un po' generiche rispetto a quelle per le altre aree del Mediterraneo con presenza attestata di Musulmani; e le difficoltà incontrate nel corso di ogni attacco contro l'isola, difficoltà descritte in particolare dalle fonti del IX secolo.

Conclusioni

Dopo l'incursione del 753, nessun raid arabo contro la Sardegna fu menzionato fino all'inizio del IX secolo, ma da quel momento in poi le incursioni contro l'isola provennero dagli Omayyadi della penisola iberica⁽³⁷⁾. La tranquillità di questo periodo può essere dovuta a un accordo tra i Sardi e i Saraceni di Ifrīqīya, anche se non sappiamo in modo inequivocabile se e fino a quando i Sardi avrebbero pagato la *jizya*. Ma se anche fu così, non dovette essere stato per lungo tempo a causa del cambiamento della dinastia alla guida del mondo musulmano. Gli Abbasidi al posto degli Omayyadi.

La tranquillità di cui godette la Sardegna nella seconda metà del secolo, è probabilmente dovuta anche all'efficacia delle contromisure militari dell'impero di fronte alla gravità della situazione nel Mediterraneo occidentale. La presenza nell'isola dell'*exercitus Sardiniae*, sostenuto finanziariamente dagli ultimi decenni del VII secolo dai notabili locali, a seguito delle misure adottate dall'imperatore Costante II durante il suo soggiorno a Siracusa, è dimostrato dalle numerose sepolture di soldati scoperti dagli archeologi.

Inoltre, le fonti del IX secolo (occidentali e musulmane) attestano una grande capacità di reazione militare e di difesa da parte degli eserciti che operavano nell'isola e nelle acque circostanti, molto diversa da quella indicata nelle fonti fino alla metà dell'VIII secolo. In alcuni casi, le fonti usano esplicitamente il termine "*proelium*" (battaglia navale) per indicare che gli scontri avvennero sul mare⁽³⁸⁾. Inoltre, le stesse fonti riferirono l'elevato numero di Musulmani uccisi durante questi combattimenti e la distruzione di intere flotte iberiche.

Tutti argomenti a favore della sopravvivenza e dell'efficienza del succitato *Exercitus Sardiniae*, come evidenziato anche dalla collaborazione data alla flotta Franca nell'828. Il

(37) Maribel Fierro, "Les généalogies du pouvoir en al-Andalus: politique, religion et ethnicité au IIe / VIIIe – Ve-XIe siècles", in *Islamisation et arabisation de l'Occident musulman médiéval (VIIe-XIIe siècles)*, D. Valérian Ed., (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011): 265-294.

(38) Da tempo abbiamo evidenziato che alcuni scontri fossero vittoriosi *proelia* per i sardi, a conferma che l'isola era dotata di forze navali in grado di opporre una maggiore resistenza ai Musulmani nel IX secolo. Luciano Gallinari, *Les Judicats sardes: une différente typologie de souveraineté médiévale?*: 67.



conte Bonifacio, cui fu affidata la difesa della Corsica, dopo il suo arrivo in Sardegna - “*insula amicorum*” (Isola di alleati) - senza incontrare Saraceni, chiese alle autorità isolate qualche esperto di navigazione in modo che egli potesse andare in Africa per combattere i Musulmani⁽³⁹⁾.

Tutti gli attacchi sottolineano l'importanza dell'isola, e furono sicuramente finalizzati anche a eliminare la minaccia rappresentata dalla Sardegna e dalla potenza militare di Bisanzio nel Mediterraneo occidentale.

Anche dopo tutte queste incursioni la Sardegna non fu mai conquistata dai Musulmani. L'unica, lunga presenza musulmana nell'isola durante il Medioevo, finora accertata, fu quella di Mujāhid. Il principe di Denia, vicino a Valencia nel 1015/1016 conquistò parte della Sardegna e ebbe un ruolo importante nella futura storia isolana, poiché probabilmente durante lo scontro tra le sue truppe e quelle sarde il supremo governante insulare fu ucciso: *Malut* nelle fonti occidentali, una trascrizione errata per il termine arabo *Malik*⁽⁴⁰⁾. Tutti gli attacchi sottolineano l'importanza dell'isola, e sono stati sicuramente anche lo scopo di eliminare la minaccia rappresentata da Sardegna e la potenza militare di Bisanzio nel Mediterraneo occidentale.

Questa morte portò alla scomparsa dell'Arcontato di Sardegna - lo sviluppo istituzionale della antica provincia imperiale bizantina - e, dopo alcuni decenni, alla comparsa nelle fonti occidentali di quattro nuovi “stati” definiti in latino *Iudicati*, dal nome dei loro governanti: gli *iudices*⁽⁴¹⁾.

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(39) Astronomus. *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris*, (Georg Heinrich Pertz ed), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica - Scriptorum*, II, *Scriptores rerum Sangallensium. Annales, chronica et historiae aevi, Carolini*, (Hannover: 1829): 613

(40) Corrado Zedda. – Raimondo Pinna, “La nascita dei giudicati: una proposta per lo scioglimento di un enigma storiografico”: 69-70.

(41) Corrado Zedda, “Dalla Santa Ilia giudicale al *Castrum Calari* pisano”, in *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa mediterranea*, 15/2, (2015): 13-58. Barbara Panico - Pier Giorgio Spanu - Raimondo Zucca, “Civitates Sancti Marci, Sancti Augustini, Sancti Salvatoris, et oppida Domu de Cubas, Sancti Saturnini, Sancti Georgii in saltibus de Sinnis”: 460.



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Islamic Awqaf related to Peace-Building Among Nations: Tamim Al-Dari Hospice as a Model.

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Abstract

It seems that our current political reality urges us to search for what brings together different peoples, cultures, and thoughts; accordingly, the subject matter of this research is founding a basis for this. The research sheds light on a grant by Prophet Muhammad – *peace be upon him* – to a Christian, who has converted to Islam, named Tamim Al-Dari 9AH/630AD. The grant consists of fertile farmlands in Hebron. After about fifteen years, ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb, the second Caliph, set regulations for its revenues to be divided into three thirds; one for the wandering travellers, another for its architectural development, and a third for its employees. These regulations were strictly followed throughout the Middle Ages, except for almost one century whence the Crusaders were controlling the region. They were more interested in excavating the Cave of the Patriarchs that was discovered in Hebron on 1119. Celebrating such finding, the Sanctuary of Abraham received much attention from both the governments and the public alike. When Al-Dareen Waqf failed to fulfill the duties it was endowed for, i.e. providing for the Hospice at the Sanctuary, it received governmental aids, especially during the Mamluk era (1250-1517AD) whence further Awqaf [endowments] were added; which reflects the fact that the Sultans paid much attention to the Hospice as well as the architecture of the Sanctuary. The real reason behind such grant in this region in particular was very clear when it witnessed the followers of the three religions – Muslims, Christians, and Jews – as neighbouring guests within one Hospice for few days, seeking the known generosity of the Father of Prophets, Abraham – *peace be upon him* – through the continuous revenues of the Waqf. Thus, the research reflects a perfect image of how the relationships among different nations should be of interconnection, mercy, curbing violence and hatred, and seeking peaceful coexistence worldwide.

Introduction:

This research paper aims at emphasizing the role played by the Waqf of the honourable companion Tamim Ibn Aws Al-Dari as a charitable Islamic institution intended to provide



for the pilgrims of the Sanctuary of Abraham, and its flourishing during the period of the Medieval Ages; however, the history of the Tamim waqf goes back to the early times of the Islamic Age, and extends all the way to the beginnings of the 3rd Century. This Waqf is special for many reasons. The first reason is its attachment to both Prophets; Prophet Abraham as the whole Waqf was constructed in his honour, and Prophet Muhammad as the grantor. Another reason is its relevance to the Caliph ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb as the actual administrator and supervisor of its properties and endowments. An additional important reason for the prominence of this institution is that the incomes of its endowments provided not only for the architecture of the Sanctuary of Abraham and the hospitality of the poor, the travellers, the neighbours, the pilgrims, the pious and Muslim Scholars all alike, but also for the hospitality services offered to the Hebron pilgrims from the Christians and the Jewish alike. The latter being an act that embodies essential human values most notable of which is social peace on basis of finding a common ground that unites the believers of the three holy religions, that is under the blessed umbrella of their father Abraham, for the achievement of the ultimate goal of finding a common language of understanding, closeness and peace. One more reason for the importance of this research is the lack of any historic studies on its topic with the exception of a few reference writings that are mainly concerned with the Islamic Sharia aspects of endowments, and the historical events surrounding it. Moreover, these references failed to do any sort of investigation, or comparison or analysis,⁽¹⁾ all of which typical of modern scientific research. The other available source is an English translation of the document given by Prophet Muhammad granting the endowment.⁽²⁾ Hence, the research focuses on addressing everything related to the Waqf starting from the time of its establishment during the life-time of the Prophet in the year (9AH - 630 AD), and covering all the period till the final years of the Medieval Ages. Upon this, the research discusses the reasons behind the endowment and the circumstances surrounding it, and identifies its intended uses and tracks each through history. The waqf is considered one of the first endowments in Islam, as Prophet Muhammad, after opening Hebron, granted a large piece of its land as a grant to Tamim Ibn Aws Al-Dari. Thus, it is regarded as a confirmation to the words of the prophet. The endowment is a large piece of extremely fertile land located inside the Palestinian city of Hebron and the surrounding area, which is historically famous for its fruits production especially vineyard and seeds plantations.

To begin with, a definition of a **Waqf** lexically and semantically should be introduced.

(1) al-Maqrizi document is a precise model of the scientific research that should be objective and methodological in each step; where he accurately transfers and verifies the source, and interprets the Prophet saying (Hadith). See Taqiüddin Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad al-Maqrizi, *Al-Dawo Al-Sari fee Maarefat Khobar Tamim Al-Drai*, ed., Muhammad Ahmed Ashour, (Cairo: Dar Al-Eatesam Publishing House, 1972); Abu Al-Abas Ahmed Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmed Abdullah Al-Qalaqshandi, *Subh Al-Aasha fee Senaat Al-Enshaa*, 14 vols., (Cairo 1914), vol. 13, 118-122.

(2) Kren Kow, “The Grant of Land by Mohammad to Tamim al-Dari”, in: *Islamica*, (London, 1925), vol. 1, 529-532.



Lexically, a Waqf is defined as follows: wāqāfā (v) wokofān (adv) meaning; stood up, to stand up from a seating place, or to stop or stand still after walking; waqaf as in waqaf al-dar; meaning to withhold it (the house) [held in trust] for charitable purposes for the sake of Allah. Waqf means to abstain or withhold from using something definitely, and also means: the confinement of the said property in the ownership of the founder (wāqef) or in the ownership of Allah – the Exalted. The plural form of waqf in Arabic is awqāf or wqoof, and it dually expresses both the meanings of holding [ownership] as well as releasing [dispossession].⁽³⁾ Semantically, however, there is a disagreement among the Four Imams: Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik, Imam Al Shafi and Imam Ahmad Ibn Hambal - May Allah be pleased with them all - concerning the definition of waqf in accordance to their different schools of thought, as each had a different say in matters such as: presence of obligation for the waqf or its absence, its continuity for a limited or unlimited period of time, and the condition of nearness in kinship. It is possible to conclude a brief definition from the Four Imams as follows: “Waqf is: the alienation of a revenue-generating property with the principal remaining inalienable, while its revenues are disbursed first and foremost only for a charitable purpose.”⁽⁴⁾

Consequently, waqf is the alienation of the property by the founder (wāqef) to the beneficiaries, who maintain the ownership in part; meaning, they shall not transfer the possession of the property in any form whether by selling it or giving it as a gift, they can only benefit from its revenues in the manner they deem necessary.⁽⁵⁾ Generally speaking, the establishment of pious endowments (waqf) played an effective role in the flourishing of the Islamic Civilization as it has become one of the solid bases upon which the society should be built.

Some Islamic resources included a reference to the grant to the companion. The incident had been recounted by many resources, though not through one continuous sequence of reporters. However, this does not mean it lacks credibility, as the Imams are of the opinion that the numerous recounts of an incident solidifies each other's credibility based on the shared parts among them. Whereas there is a weakness in a certain aspect in the narratives, it is countered by the Islamic rule that states the following: both Hurried Hadith and Weak Hadith could be accepted in case there is nothing that refutes them, and in the absence of any contradictory incident, or a companion's statement in the matter, or an agreement among scholars on its contradiction, hence its preferred to be applied than to be discarded.⁽⁶⁾

(3) Lessan al-'Arab: Waqf; Muktar al-Sahah: Waqf

(4) Muhammad Ibn Saleh al-Saleh: *Waqf in the Islamic Shariaa and its Role in Community Development*, (Riyadh 2001), 23.

(5) Mustapha Muhammad Argawy, “Waqf and its Effects on Both Social and Cultural Aspects”, published among the papers of the conference: *Re-activating the Role of Waqf in the Islamic Countries*, held in Port Said 7-9 May 1998, 133; Muhammad al-Saleh, *Waqf in the Islamic Shariaa*, 23 .

(6) Abdul Kader Bin Badran Aldemshky, *Introduction to Imam Ahmed bin Hanbal doctrines*, ed., Dr Abullah al Turki, (Beirut, Resala Publishing House, 1401AH), 116.



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It has been agreed among scholars consensually to accept a weak hadith as **valid** in matters of advisable deeds rather than matters of lawful/permitted and unlawful/prohibited things.⁽⁷⁾

In the light of the above clarification, it is time to refer to the Hadith narrated by Ibn ‘Asaker (died 1175 AD – 571 AH) and attributed to Tamim. The text is as follows: “He said: O Messenger of Allah I have some Roman neighbours at Palestine who own a village named Hebrun⁽⁸⁾, and another one named Bayt ‘Anun⁽⁹⁾, if Allah allows you to open Ash-Sham [the Levant] at your hands, shall you give them to me as a gift. The Prophet said: they are yours. Tamim answered: Write a letter to me of this. The Prophet wrote a letter to him stated as follows: In the Name of Allah, the All-Merciful, Most Merciful, This is what Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah has presented to Tamim Ibn Aws Al-Dari: I present you the whole land of Hebron and Bayt ‘Anun, along with the belongings of these villages - i.e. its flat and high lands, water, animals, wellsprings⁽¹⁰⁾ and wells⁽¹¹⁾. I have approved and surrendered it to him i.e. Tamim Al-Dari and his descendants as an undisputed right⁽¹²⁾. This gift is decisive and irrevocable and he who unlawfully takes any of this land or displeases them i.e. Tamim Al-Dari and his descendants, will incur the Curse of Allah, the angels, and all the people.”⁽¹³⁾

On account of Ali Ibn Abi-Talib – May Allah honor his face – as he cites from the Caliph Abu-Bakr’s letters to Al-Dareen [the house of Al-Dari] between the years 11AH to

(7) Abu Zakaria Mohīddin Ibn Sharaf al-Nowawy, *al-Majmo’a Sharhulmāzhāb*, (Jeddah al-Ershad Library 1980).

(8) or Hebron, it seems that name given to the city of al-khalil Abraham was taken from the Hebrew word ‘Habeer’ that means the friend or [al-khalil in Arabic] is a description for the Prophet Abraham. See: Fulcran Grégoire Vigouroux, “Hebron”, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 3, (Paris 1903), 535; Encyclopédie de l’Islam, (Paris 1990), vol. 4, Art. Al-Khalil.

The used derivations for Hebron, cebron, cefron, cebron; the historians of the old and Middle Ages used the last name. For more details, see Ali Ahmed El Sayed, *Hebron and the Sanctuary of Abraham During the Crusades 1099-1187AD/492-583AH*, (Dar El Fekr Publishing House, 1998) 59-61.

(9) A name of one of the main four villages that Hebron city consists of, see: the Old Testament, Genesis 23, 2, Joshua 20,7, 3,22. Islamic resources refers to those cities in addition to Bayt ‘Anun and also mentioned Hebron and Bayt Abraham. See Ibn Saad, *al-Tabaqat al-Qobra*, vol. 2, 75, vol. 7, 129-130. The fourth village “martōm” was not mentioned except lately; see Abu Mo’in Nāsir Khusraw (died 1061AD/453AH), *Safarnama*, ed., yahia al-khashab, (Cairo,1993), 53; Shihab al-Din abu ‘l-Abbas Ahmad ben Ali ben Ahmad Abd Allah al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-A’sha fe Sena’et al-Insha*, vol. 13, 118-121; where he dedicated a long chapter about Tamim Al-Dari Hospice. In Bayt ‘Anun there are still monuments that refer to the Byzantine Era indicating its military and religious activities, and there are ruins of a Church and a Castel. See.

Victor Guerin, *Description Géographique: Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine, accompagnée de cartes détaillées. I Judée*, 3 vols., (Paris 1868), vol. 1, 150

(10) The Classical Arabic word *Anbat* means wellsprings.

(11) The added word is taken from al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-A’sha*

(12) The Classical Arabic verb *la yu hakoh* indicates that no one shall claim this as his right.

(13) al-Hafez Abu al-Qassem Ali Ibn al-Hassan Ibn ‘askir (died 1175AD/571AH), *Tarīkh Dimashq*, ed., Dr. Salahuddīn al-Monjīd, 10 vols., (Damascus, 1332AH), vol. 10, 468.



13AH⁽¹⁴⁾, in which he wrote the following: “do not strip them of their merits⁽¹⁵⁾; the villages of Hebron and Bayt ‘Anun. He whoever listens and abides by the word shall not be unjust towards them or spoil their merits. Amr Ibn Al-‘Ās shall maintain the villages and keep them from the spoilers” Upon the Muslim victory over the Romans and entering the lands of Palestine in the Battle of Ajnadayn which was fought in July 634 AD / Jumada I, 13 AH,⁽¹⁶⁾ the Caliph Umar Ibn Al-Khattāb undertook to fulfill the Prophet’s promise to Tamim by re-giving the grant to Tamim Al-Dari and made him the Muslim ruler in Jerusalem and assigned to him the task of “preaching in his name”.⁽¹⁷⁾ Undoubtedly, this role assigned to Tamim made him an expert of the situation in Jerusalem and Hebron.

A very important modification happened, however, at the time of the implementation of the grant to Tamim Al-Dari and it had been recounted by Ibn ‘Asaker in a sequence of reports that go back to Tamim Al-Dari as he said: “Umar, – May Allah be pleased with him – gave one-third of it to the traveller, and one-third to its architecture, and one-third to us – i.e. Tamim Al-Dari, his family-members, relatives and descendants.” The report also recounted another equally significant statement that reads as follows: “Umar said to Tamim: the whole grant is two villages in Ash-Sham [the Levant], and you shall have no authority over its inhabitants of people and you ought not to, however, you are entitled to its land tax; it is not theirs anymore.”⁽¹⁸⁾

Since the main subject of the research is to historically analyze Tamim Al-Dari Waqf and to confirm its establishment and its continuity in reality over the centuries, it is the baseline for comparison herein. We also notice on basis of the textual references in the subject matter of this research that the grant works as an endowment [waqf] in addition to its inherent meaning as (gift and charity). This notion is further confirmed by the historian Al-Maqrizi as he wrote: “there is no reference in the traditions to a clear unambiguous statement to the endowment except the above mentioned saying attributed to Umar in which he made a condition for the endowment [to Tamim] that it shall not be sold, and that he shall spend one-third of its income on the traveller, and one-third on the architecture. This, in itself, is a documentation of the allotment of the grant to Tamim and his descendants till the end of time.”⁽¹⁹⁾

(14) al-Qalqashandi mentioned in *Subh al-A’sha* “this is a book from Abou Bakr the Caliph of the Messenger of Allah - *peace be upon him* - appointed as his successor”.

(15) The Classical Arabic word *Ma’thara* means their advantage [i.e. the grant].

(16) Ajnadayn: one of the lands of Hebron located on the way to Ramla, to the West of Hebron, similar in position to Bayt Jibrīn. See: René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale*, (Paris 1927), 402.

(17) Isaac Ibn Abraham Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Kamel al-Tadmūri (died 1428AD/833AH), *Muthār al-Gharam wa Kholasat al-Kalam*, Arabic manuscript, in: History of the Prophets, The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, No. 46353..

(18) al-Hafez Ibn ‘askir, *Tarīkh Dimashq*, vol. 10, 468, 469.

(19) Taqiūddīn al-Maqrizi, *Al-Dawo Al-Sari*, 116-117.



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

Al-Maqrizi also stated that the grant did not include the Cave of Machpelah⁽²⁰⁾ “the burial place of the holy Prophets, peace be upon them [in Hebron]. Abraham had bought the plot to be used as a burial place for his family members; consequently, no one has the right to claim it as it is a personal property and it was not part of the grant. The gift included [that] which did not belong to or fall under the possession of common Muslims, let alone the holy Prophets, peace be upon them”⁽²¹⁾

Therefore, Tamim Al-Dari Waqf is considered to be one of the oldest awqāf in the history of Islam. The wisdom behind the establishment of the waqf might have been Allah’s final Messenger’s desire to set forth a group of regulations that should be implemented when undertaking any charity work by Muslims. The awqāf for Muslims represents a very unique medium for investing in their continuous charity for the attainment of Allah’s reward and grace which would fill their scales in the Day of Judgment with good deeds. As a result, common Muslims - who are property owners - were very keen on giving it as endowments for the sake of charity in order to achieve success in this world and in the Hereafter. The success in this world is attainable through the preservation of the endowment as it cannot be sold or given as a gift, whereas success in the Hereafter is achieved by means of the continuity of the reward to the endower even after his death.⁽²²⁾

It is noteworthy to pinpoint that in the specific case of Tamim Al-Dari Waqf, it was the Prophet’s condition to grant the endowment to “Tamim Al-Dari and his descendants” as mentioned above. This means that the administration of the endowment as well as its overview and architecture should be the responsibility of Tamim’s family members and his descendants after him, therefore the case shall not be subject to the opinions of the jurists and it is not up to them to accept or reject establishing the waqf inheritance. That being the case, and for the waqf to take effect, it was a necessity to appoint specific controllers to provide for the incomes of the grant on the one hand, and to undertake the tasks of serving the Sanctuary of Abraham and offering hospitality to its pilgrims and administer its properties as well. Thus, Tamim was granted the endowment on the one-third basis rule established by Umar Al-Farooq [a common Arabic name means the one who distinguishes between right and wrong]. Waqf Tamim Al-Dari is categorized as a Joint Waqf, as it is a combination of both family and charitable waqf; meaning that the owner dedicates part of

(20) Machpelah: a Semitic noun means double, Prophet Abraham -*peace be upon him*- bought it to be buried in it, his wife Sarah died and was buried there, then he died and was buried there as well. Also Isaac, Rebecca, Jacob, and lea. this cave is considered as an essential part of the Abraham Mosque, located beneath it. See: the Old Testament, 25:9, 23:19, 49:31, 50:31. This thought was consolidated over the ages in the sources; for instance, see: Abu al-Hassan Ali Ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawy (died 1214AD/611AH), *al-Isharat ela Ma’refat al-Ziyarat*, ed., Ali Omar, (Cairo: Library of Religious Culture, 2001), 29-31; John Wilkinson and others, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, (London 1988), 89.

(21) Taqiuddin al-Maqrizi, *Al-Dawo Al-Sari*, 120.

(22) Muhammad Bin Ahmed al-Saleh, *al-Waqf in the Islamic Shari’a Law*, 10.



the waqf to his family, children and relatives or others and the remaining part; be it large or small, goes to charity or the other way around.⁽²³⁾

The role played by Tamim Al-Dari Waqf in developing of the Architecture of the Sanctuary of Abraham:

The transformation of the stone construction of the enclosure around the cave of the Patriarchs as a roofed sanctuary is probably the earliest use of the Waqf endowments in the field of Architectural development in the area. The building was considered by the Muslims as a mosque⁽²⁴⁾, and they named it The Sanctuary of Al-Khalil or The Sanctuary of Abraham later on. In the Umayyad Period between the years (661-750AD/40-132AH), the city of Hebron was described in 670AD/50AH with simplicity in style, which reflects the supremacy of the agricultural rural and bedouin identity on it.

During that period, the Caliph Abd Al-Malik Ibn Marwan (685-705AD/65-86AH) wanted to involve himself in the matters of Tamim Al-Dari Waqf, but Al-Dareen (the house of Al-Dari) presented their letter of endowment to him and he left them alone.⁽²⁵⁾ Likewise, the Caliph Sulayman Ibn Abd Al-Malik Ibn Marwan (717-719AD/99-101AH) set out not to take anything from Al-Dareen waqf in Hebron, and said: "I fear that the prayers of the Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, might harm me"⁽²⁶⁾ Generally speaking, by the end of the Umayyad Period, the roof for the construction was built and the six memorials for the Prophets Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives were erected "adjacently" and distributed evenly throughout the enclosure just above their initial tombs, for its protection and in their honor. Many resources were concerned with highlighting these significant additions which reflect the Islamic Architecture and its sublime Art. The resources also collectively confirmed that the place had been amended in a manner that intended to transform it into an inclusive mosque, since it is a prerequisite for the place to be appropriate for performing prayers to erect a stone dome on top of the Patriarch's memorials.⁽²⁷⁾

(23) Abu Bakr Ahmed Bin Amr al-Shibani Khesaf (died 872AD/261AH), *Ahkam al-Awqāf*, ed., Muhammed Mustapha Shalabi, (Cairo: Library of Religious Culture), several pages; Muhammad al-Saleh, *al-Waqf*, 53, 55.

(24) Abou Isaac Abraham Ibn Muhammad al-Farisi al-Ostūkhri (died in the 10th century AD/ the 4th century AH), *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, ed., Muhammad Jabber Abdul'al al-Husseiny, (Cairo, 1961), 57; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, (Cairo, 1991), 172. It is known that the building was established in the era of the Roman King Herod the Great (37-4 BC) and was consist of the Machpelah and the upper four walls supported by forty-eight pillars. See: ZYarim, *The Underground Cave of Machphela*, (Jerusalem 1986), 52-63.

(25) Taqiūddīn al-Maqrizi, *Al-Dawo Al-Sari*, 79.

(26) Abu Obeid Abdullah Ibn Abdel Aziz al-Bakry al-Andalusy (died 1094AD/478Ah), *Mo'jam ma Esta'jam min Asmaa al-Bilad wa al-Mwade'*, ed., Mustapha al-Saka, 4 vols, (Cairo, 1951), vol. 2, 420.

(27) Abou Isaac al-Ostūkhri, *al-Masālik*, 172; Shams al-Dīn al-Maqrizi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 172. For more



In the Abbasid Period and during the reign of the Caliph Al-Mahdi (774-785AD/158-169AH) the mosque had gone another architectural development as an entrance was added in the north-eastern wall, at a three and a half meters above the ground level, which demanded a staircase to be built up to it and the addition of a small gate of iron.⁽²⁸⁾ During the period of the Caliph Al-Muqtadir (908-932AD/295-320AH) the main dome building was supported and another dome was added over the place where it was commonly claimed to be the burial site of the Prophet Joseph in the cave. These changes required an expansion to be made to the Sanctuary from the southwestern section that resulted in the expansion looking like an independent mosque.⁽²⁹⁾ It is affirmed that the development of the architecture of the Sanctuary of Abraham in this manner made its fame prevail over the city of Hebron itself. This can be seen evidently in Al-Balādhuri's (died 892 AD/279 AH) description of the city of Hebron as "the city of Abraham Mosque"⁽³⁰⁾, as well as in the manner in which Ibn Al-Faqih Al-Hamādhani, in the beginnings of the 10th century AD/the late 3rd century AH, referred to the whole city as just "the Abraham Mosque". In the second half of the 10th century/ the beginning of the fourth 4th Century AH, Ibn Hawqal described Hebron as: "a city as small as a village in which Abraham Mosque is located".⁽³¹⁾ It goes without saying that the one-third of the endowment incomes dedicated for the architectural development of the endowment was invested for the accomplishment of this momentum Islamic architectural pursuit, in accordance to the conditions set by Umar.

This interest in the Sanctuary from the state's part was accompanied by an equal interest from the people and the administrators of the endowment alike. This public interest was further increased after a credible incident that happened in the 4th century AD/the 3rd century AH, which can be summarized as follows. One of the charity givers named Ibrahim Al-Iskafi wanted to investigate the validity of the subject for which he had endowed money, so he was granted entry to the Cave stealthily after all the pilgrims left.⁽³²⁾ The incident was investigated by one of a researcher in the field and we can draw some conclusions from

details about the Sanctuary of Abraham and the six shrines, see Figure (2) in the Annex. cf., also, Samuel Ben Samson, "Itinerary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson in: 1210 AD", in: *Jewish Travellers*, (London 1930) 104-105.

He say that the shrines were built to deceive people, as they were fake.

(28) Nāsir Khusraw, *Safarnama*, 33.

(29) Abu al-Hassan al-Harawy, *al-Isharat*, 30; Isaac al-Tadmūri, *Muthīr al-Gharam*, manuscript 38a.

(30) Abou al-'Abas Ahmed Bin Yahiya Bin Jabber al-Baladhri (died 892AD/279AH), *Futūh al-Buldān*, ed., Abdullah Anees al-Tabba' and Omar Anees al-Tabba', (Cairo, 1956), 29.

(31) Abu Bakr Ahmed Bin Ibrahim al-Hamadhani Ibn al-Faqih (died 951AD/340AH), *Mukhtasar kitab al-Buldān*, (Leiden, 1302AH), 101; Abu al-Qasim Muhammad Bin Ali al-Nasibi Ibn Hawqal (died 977AD/367AH), *Surat al-Ard*, 2 vols., (Leiden: Brill Publishing House, 1938), 159.

(32) Abu al-Hassan al-Harawy, *al-Isharat*, 30; Abu Abdullah Zakariya Bin Muhammad Bin Mehrez al-Qazwini (died 1283AD/682AH), *Āthar al-Bilād wa akhbār Al-ʾIbād*, (Göttingen, 1848), 187; and Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi narrated the story in details. See Abu al-Yaman Abdel Rahman Bin Mojīruddīn al-Olimi (died 1532D/927AH), *al-Anas al-Galīl be Tarīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl*, 2 vols., (Beirut, 1973), vol. 1, 43-45.



his research⁽³³⁾ such as the following: it was prohibited to enter the Cave out of respect and reverence for the dead; Tamim endowment was not the only source of endowments for the Sanctuary; and there were regular pilgrims to the Sanctuary during the beginning of the Fatimid Caliphate.

The Sanctuary of Abraham witnessed a great development in the same century in many aspects. In the Architectural aspect, residences for the pilgrims⁽³⁴⁾ were built all around it so that they adjoin the main building from all sides. A channel of thin stream of water was running through it as it sprung from a place near the Sanctuary and slowly moved to reach a covered basin for the pilgrims and inhabitants to use.⁽³⁵⁾ In the social aspect, Hebron offered the following: “a continuously open Public Guest House with regular cooks, backers and servants who offer a dish of lentils and olive oil to every poor person who arrives, and it is set before the rich, too, should they wish to join. Most men express the opinion this is a continuation of the guest house of Abraham, [meaning generous hospitality and offerings], however, it is, in fact from the donations of Tamim Al-Dari and others the villages around are [an area that extended] for about half a stage [equal to around three kilometers] surrounded from all directions by villages with vineyards and gardens producing grapes and apples – it was called – Jabal Nasra – being fruits of unsurpassed excellence, much of which was dried and sent to Egypt⁽³⁶⁾ to be sold for the highest prices.”⁽³⁷⁾

This is considered the first mention recorded for the hospice in Hebron, which is focal topic of study in this research as it is closely linked to the Sanctuary of Abraham and the person of the Prophet himself who is buried along with his family members in its Cave. The previous statements confirm the house of Al-Dari’s involvement and commitment to the stated conditions of the endowment as comptrollers of it. All their endeavors; of building residences for the pilgrims, extending water supplies by the means of a channel, offering meals of food and fruits to the travellers whether they are poor or rich, are all examples of their compliance with the condition of dedicating two-thirds of the incomes to the service of the travellers.

This tradition of hospitality has rules most notable of which is shown by the manner in which Prophet Muhammad’s promised the grant to Tamim and his descendants as he clearly linked between the promise of the gift and the person of the Prophet Abraham as he recited the Words of Allah,: “Without doubt, among men, the nearest of kin to Abraham, are those who follow him, as are also this Prophet and those who believe: And Allah is the

(33) Ignac Goldziher, “Das Patriarchengrab in Hebron nach al-Abdari”, in: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (Z.D.P.V. – Journal of the German Society for Exploration of Palestine), vol. 17, 115-122.

(34) Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 173.

(35) Nāsir Khusraw, *Safarnama*, 33.

(36) Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 173.

(37) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 417.



Protector of those who have faith.”⁽³⁸⁾ Historians and travellers tried to investigate the reason behind the importance given to the hospice of Hebron. They consensually agreed that the tradition could be tracked starting from the Prophet Abraham himself when he used to be a good host to his guests, and considered the step taken by the Prophet Muhammad as a revival of this tradition and an establishment of a deed to be followed.⁽³⁹⁾

Abraham, Father of the Prophets, used to share his food with the poor...“if he wanted to eat, he would go outside and walk for one or two miles trying to find someone to share his meal with, - he was known as the (father of the guests) - and he had the most truthful good intentions⁽⁴⁰⁾. He insisted that the guest should stay in his hospitality for fifteen days, and other sources say for three days...when he wanted to announce the time to eat, he would knock on drums announcing that everything is set and ready for them to gather and eat, and so when the guests hear the drums they would readily gather to eat from his blessed table. Thus, it became sunnah and a tradition after him daily...and so his hospitality continued in his Sanctuary.” Eyewitnesses from different creeds admitted the characteristic trait of Abraham as a generous man and collectively agreed that he used to receive guests from all directions and places in his tenant of four entrances.⁽⁴¹⁾ Consequently, both the Muslim and the European societies approved the continuity of this tradition as it is a desirable deed, confirming its undisturbed origins which go back to the days of the Father of the Prophets.

In the 11th century AD/ the 5th century AH, the architecture of the buildings of the Sanctuary and the residences around it flourished substantially. In the aspect of endowment’s spending on the architecture, it will suffice to refer to the record given by the – Shiite – traveller Nāsir Khusraw of the Sanctuary as follows: standing in the width of the building are the Maksurah⁽⁴²⁾ (or enclosed space for Friday-prayers) – which Al-Maqdisi referred to

(38) The Holy Quran, *Surat Al ‘Imran*, verse 86.

(39) Salah al-Din bin Aibak al-Safdi (died 1363AD/764AH), *al-tazkirah al-Safdiah*, vol. 28, a manuscript in The Egyptian National Library and Archives, no. 821 History, 27-28; Kren kow, *The Grant*, 531.

(40) Isaac al-Tadmūri, *Muthīr al-Gharam*, manuscript 41b; Isac Ben Joseph Chelo, “The Roads from Jerusalem 1334 AD”, in: *Jewish Travellers*, 135; Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Voltera, “Itinerary of Rabbi Meshullam Ben. R. Menahem 1481 AD”, in: *Jewish Travellers*, (London 1930) 185-186.

(41) Isaac al-Tadmūri, *Muthīr al-Gharam*, manuscript ,page 40 b; Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 671-672. Isaac al-Tadmūri is considered one of the prominent scholars interested in collecting references about the grace of visiting Abraham Mosque. in this matter it is enough to refer to a Prophetic Hadith [saying] mentioned in this respect; Abu Huraira narrated that the Prophet -*peace be upon him*- said “whose who cannot visit me, shall visit the grave of Ibrahim al-khalil peace be upon him”. See manuscript 40 a-b.

(42) During the reign of the Caliph Othman bin Afan, the praying compartments were erected to protect the governor during prayers, then their design witnessed a great development during the Fatimid era and were characterized by large structures. During the Mamluk era, their forms and materials varied; wood compartments were replaced by iron ones. Over the years, the function of these compartments changed ,there are compartments for imam or Caliph, others for women, for tombs, and for student according to their doctrines and compartment for safes and reserving books. For more details, see Muhammad Muhammad al-kahlawy, “Prayers compartments in the Islamic Era: an Antique Study”, in: *The Magazine of Faculty of Archaeology*, (Cairo, 1989), the 3rd issue, 207- 225.



as the mantle⁽⁴³⁾ – and The Mihrab (or niche). In the Maksurah are many fine Mihrabs. It contains two memorials their heads point in the direction of Kabaa in Meccah (qiblah) and both are made of polished stone at a height of a regular man: the right is dedicated to Issac, and the other one belongs to his wife Rebecca. The walls and floor of the memorials are covered by expensive decorative Damascus rugs and carpets, and with Moroccan mats that surpass the Silk brocades in beauty. The prayer mats are of the finest and most expensive kinds which were purchased from Egypt at a price of thirty dinars of Moroccan gold coins.⁽⁴⁴⁾ As a pilgrim walks his way out from the Maksurah to the middle of the enclosure, he will find the Memorial of Abraham on his right. It is a huge one covered by decorative cloth made of silk brocades made from a stone canopy in which silver lanterns and lamps are attached. On the left hand a pilgrim will find the Memorial of Abraham's wife Sarah. There is a corridor between the two memorials filled with lanterns and lamps. Following the previously mentioned memorials are the ones dedicated for Jacob, and Leah. The memorial of Joseph is built from stone too; however, it is located outside the enclosure.⁽⁴⁵⁾ It can be concluded from this given description of the Sanctuary that there were ongoing and continuous construction works throughout four centuries and reached its peak with the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate rule of Hebron starting the year 969 AD/ 358 AH.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This in turn indicates the extended spending of the endowment incomes over these expansions. It is worth mentioning that there is no wonder in the special attention dedicated to the illumination of the Sanctuary in this manner when we consider what Tamim Al-Dari was famous for; for Tamim is said to have been the first person to light lamps in the Prophet's Mosque at Medina.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Khusraw identifies the location of the hospice as follows: “there are many rooms dedicated to the arriving groups of guests which are provided for by many endowments from the villages and the yields of Jerusalem.” He also recounted the activity of Al-Dareen in these rooms in the following manner: “The guests are given bread and olives. There are very many mills here, worked by oxen and mules, that all day long grind the flour, and further, there are working girls baking bread during the whole day. The loaves weigh one mānn [about eight hundred and nineteen grams]⁽⁴⁸⁾ and to every persons who arrives they give

(43) Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 173.

(44) The Golden Dinar is equivalent to four grams and a third gram of gold, so it is a unit of weight look , Falter Hints, *Islamic Weights and their Equivalent in Metric System*, trans., kamel al-'Asley, (Oman: Jordan University Press, August 1970), 29.

(45) Nāsir Khusraw, *Safarnama*, 33-34; Alexander Beaufort Grimaldi, “The Cave of Machpelah - Cenotaphs of the Hebrew Patriarchs”, in: *Northern British-Israel Review*, (Glasgow: January 1911) 146-147.

(46) Ali Ibn Ahmed Ibn Abi al-Karam Ibn al-Athir (died 1233AD/630Ah), *al-kamil fi al-Tarīkh*, 12 vols., (Beirut, 1979), vol. 2, 591.

(47) Muhammad bin Saad bin Manea' al-Bosairi al-Zahri known as Abu Abdullah Ibn Saad (died 841AD/230AH), *al-tabaqāt al-Kubra*, ed., Ehssan Abbas, 8 vols., (Beirut), vol. 1, 234,249, 267, 490, vol. 2, 355, vol. 5, 26, vol. 7, 408.

(48) According to the weight measures in the Levant in the second half of the second century AD/ the sixth century AH. See: Falter Hints, *Islamic Weights*, 46.



daily a loaf of bread, and a dish of lentils cooked in olive-oil, also some raisins there are some days when as many as five hundred pilgrims arrive, to each of whom this hospitality is offered.”⁽⁴⁹⁾ It is noteworthy from all that has been previously mentioned that the endowment revenues especially in the aspects of Architecture and Hospitality were in constant increase. Moreover, the interest of the state and the community was in a continuous increase likewise. This latter reflects the ideas and opinions in *Fiqh* that were widespread at the times of the 11th century AD/ the 5th century AH, which approved the establishment of charity endowments (waqf) and considered it lawful on basis from Al-Sharia (the Islamic Law) after thoroughly discussing all its aspects thus refuting the opinions held by some conservatives. This firmness in belief reached a level where Hujjat Al-Islam Abu Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī considered the Jurist of Jerusalem who denied the lawfulness of the establishment of Waqf in Islam as a disbeliever. He also submitted the evidence from the Islamic Law in support of the validity of his opinion.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Tamim Al-Dari Hospice and its Role during the Crusader Rule 1099-1250AD/492-648AH:

The Crusaders invaded the Levant and took over Hebron in 1099AD/492AH with Bayt Anun and Hebron – the lands of the grant – falling under their hands; however, without its inhabitants who flee it after the invasion and “who left of its inhabitants fled to the lands under the Muslim’s rule”.⁽⁵¹⁾ Whereas the history of Hebron is closely related to Abraham, the Crusaders converted Abraham Mosque into a Church and called it St Abraham’s Church.⁽⁵²⁾ Nonetheless, the now church did not receive enough attention from the new rulers. This is evident in the writings of the Crusaders’ travellers themselves who understated the status of the Sanctuary from its previous high-regarded state.⁽⁵³⁾ However, after two decades of the beginning of their rule, they started to be curious about investigating the inside of the Cave to verify the truth of the existence of the Patriarchs burial tombs; which they confirmed in the years 1119AD/513AH. Many actions resulted from this finding, especially in the fields of Architecture and performed religious rituals. One result was the revival of the pilgrim

(49) Nāsir Khusraw, *Safarnama*, 35.

(50) Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habib al-Mawardi (died 1058AD/450AH), *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya wa al-Wilayāt al-Diniyya*, (Cairo, 1966), 191-192; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmed al-Tawsi known as Abou Hamed al-Ghazali (died 1111AD/505AH), *ihya ‘ulum al-Din*, ed., Muhammad Muhammad Tamer, 5 vols., (Cairo, 1348AH), vol.1, 4-5.

(51) Taqiuddīn al-Maqrizi, *Al-Dawo Al-Sari*, 123.

(52) The first problem faced the Crusaders team of architects is that the walls of the Sanctuary were not consistent with the ecclesiastical trends, which dictates that the direction of the Churches should be towards the East. So the efforts of the team members were limited to internal changes only, in order to add ecclesiastical landmarks on the building. See: Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jerusalem: Architecture Religieuse et Civile*, 2 vols. and 2 albums of plates, (Paris 1928), vol. II, 319.

(53) Sæwulf, “A Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land”, in: *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 4, (London 1893) 24; Daniel the Russian, “The Pilgrimage of Daniel the Russian in the Holy Land 1106-1107AD”, in: *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 4, (London 1888) 44-45.



tradition to the city by the Europeans.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the following year, a declaration stating exempting due taxes on whoever brings wheat, barley, beans, lentils and chickpea to Jerusalem, was signed. Baldwin of St. Abraham (1115-1136AD/509-531AH), the Crusader Ruler of Hebron, was a witness to the signing of the mentioned declaration.⁽⁵⁵⁾ On the other hand, the status of the St. Abraham's Church was gradually on the rise until it reached the status of a major Cathedral⁽⁵⁶⁾ and it took one of the four Bishop's chairs in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the year 1168AD/263AH.⁽⁵⁷⁾

As far as the hospice is concerned, contemporary resources mentioned nothing about the Hebron with no Muslim inhabitants. Albert d'Aix, the Crusader historian who stopped writing after two decades of the Crusader's control over the city, was the only person who mentioned bits of information. He wrote that the invaders equally bestowed the same respect and reverence previously dedicated to the Sanctuary from its previous providers. He also referred to the celebrations that were held by the Crusaders and that were in no respect less than these thrown by the Muslims before them.⁽⁵⁸⁾ However, the Muslim traveller, Al-Umari, visited Hebron a century and a half after the Muslims regained control over it and stated the following: "when the European foreigners took over the city of Hebron, they kept the tradition of the Table [the house of hospitality] and they further enhanced it and went the extra mile in the relations of Kindness."⁽⁵⁹⁾ Accordingly, it can be inferred from this information that the Islamic aspects of celebrations ceased to exist with the Crusaders' control of the city and consequently eroded the House of Al-Dari's right to the waqf. While the Al-Umari's statement of the Crusader's maintaining the house of hospitality in the waqf could be accepted, it is important not to overlook that this was done in the manner compatible with their belief and primarily for the sake of the Christian pilgrims whose numbers grew significantly after the discovery of the Patriarchs' tombs.

But what about the fate of Al-Dareen and their endowment in Hebron after that Saladin restored it again from the Crusaders in 1187AD/583AH?? Were their descendants able to regain their grant to re-carry out its services?? In this regard, the historian Al-Nuwayri Al-Kindi tells us the following "Tamim Al-Dari has become extinct".⁽⁶⁰⁾ Assuming the au-

(54) For a thorough study of Hebron during the Crusades; see Ali Ahmed El Sayed, Ibid.

(55) Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire de Chapitre de Saint- Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris: Geuthner, 1984), doc. no. 27.

(56) Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments*, vol. 1, 15.

(57) Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Bistümer, Klster und Stifte in Koenigreich Jerusalem", in: *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* 26, (Stuttgart 1977), 114 - 115.

(58) Albert d'Aix, "Historia Hierosolymitana", in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 4, (Paris 1879), 524.

(59) Shihāb al-Dīn Abu al-'Abbas Ibn Fadlullah al-'Umari (died 1349AD/749AH), *Masalik al-Absār fi Mama-lik al-Amsār (dawlat al-Mamalik al-Oula)*, ed., Dorweitska Flouski, (Beirut, 1986), 176.

(60) Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Kindi Al-Nuwayri (1332AD/732AH), *Nihayat al-Arab Fi Funūn al-Adab* a manuscript in The Egyptian National Library and Archives, no. 549 General Knowledge,



thenticity of the end of Al-Dareen, it would be natural that the works collapse after their endowment, with which the incomes returning to the Sanctuary will decrease to a large extent; at the time, the Crusader donations of villages, orchards, and financial aid to the Sanctuary or, rather, of the Church of St. Abraham in the form of rental properties owned by the Church, were stopped, specially that most of these donations were located in the territory that were still under the sovereignty of the Crusaders - and Muslims did not recover yet - or located in Europe itself.⁽⁶¹⁾

There seem to be sufficient evidence to demonstrate the return of Al-Dareen to Hebron and their supervision on the Sanctuary affairs. In the first half of the 14th century AD/the 8th century AH, Al-Umari, when talking about the tribes that inhabit the Levant in his time “the city of Abraham [Hebron] was inhabited by the sons of Tamim Al-Dari, may God bless him.”⁽⁶²⁾ Salah al-Din al-Safdi, (died 1363AD/764AH), also saw the Messenger of Allah’s *Grant*, written and kept in the house of Al-Dareen.⁽⁶³⁾ On the other hand, between the districts of Hebron during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, Al-Dareen’s emerged for being “the best neighbourhood, being located to the West of the Sanctuary, and includes the city’s markets and facilities”⁽⁶⁴⁾ In the following century, we find what confirms the continuity of the ruling of Al-Dareen of their endowment in Hebron, the only question just about the legitimacy of their reclaim of the Hospice from the Crusaders?⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the following century, Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, the historian of Jerusalem and Hebron, (died 1532AD/927AH), confirmed that Al-Dareen regained the legitimacy of their specialty in the endowment; he saw with his own eyes what was written by Ali Ibn Abi Talib on a piece of leather, “that was about to be worn-out, with some signs of writing, and I saw with it a paper written in the box of the leather piece, where the handwriting of this paper attributed to the Caliph Al-Mustanjid Al-Abbasi (1160-1170AD/555-566AH) in which he wrote [a copy of the grant], and the image of what was written by Al-Mustanjid handwriting: After giving Thanks to Allah, this is a copy of the book of the Messenger of Allah written to Tamim Al-Dari and his brothers in the ninth year AH after the Battle of Tabuk ...” , so this grant continued, by the sons of Tamim Al-Dari until today, they are residents of Hebron city.⁽⁶⁶⁾

According to the agreed jurisprudential rule, the Sultan is the guardian of anyone that has no guardian in the case of an interruption of the connection of the endowment owner and

vol. 2, 289.

(61) Hans Eberhard Mayer, ed., *Tabulae Oridinis Theutonici*, (Berlin 1975), doc. no., 101, 102, 104, 331, 336, PP. 81, 82- 84; Delaville le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire général de l’ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jerusalem* (1100- 1310), 4 vols., (Paris 1906), vol. 3, 3120.

(62) Shihāb al-Dīn al-’Umari, *Masalik al-Absār*, 154.

(63) Salah al-Din al-Safdi, *al-tazkirah*, manuscript, vol., 28, 27-28.

(64) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 425.

(65) Taqiūddīn al-Maqrizi, *Al-Dawo Al-Sari*, 120,123-124.

(66) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 429.



his ownership⁽⁶⁷⁾. This is what happened to Al-Dareen, where they were able to restore their endowment legitimately after losing it, by renewing the mandate-holder, caliph Abbasid Al-Mustanjid the first book containing their obtain of the grant as a gift from Prophet Muhammad, while keeping the original document. Thus, all the evidence gathered confirming that Al-Dareen regained their role in the ownership and management of the endowment, which carries their name day after their return to the Islamic rule in the late 16th century AD/ the late 12th century AH, which is a good sign for financing the institutions of Abraham Mosque over the next three centuries. It is worth mentioning here that the endowments of Tamim Al-Dari have been preserved to the present era; as stated in endowments of the Jordanian government in 1935 records what confirms that⁽⁶⁸⁾, but the subject matter of the research at hand does not allow the tracking of Al-Dareen endowment's conditions until the present time.

After confirming the restore of Al-Dareen to their grant, we trace their continuation of charitable work in the fields of architecture and providing for the travellers; there is an evidence of the start of the recovery of Hebron economically and architecturally after it was subjected to the rule of the Ayyubid, as a large number of soldiers immigrated to it from every direction⁽⁶⁹⁾, and what helped in that was the rule of military subversion of neighbouring cities⁽⁷⁰⁾, Hebron also recovered its role in the trade between Egypt and the Levant⁽⁷¹⁾ in light of the stoppage of the coastal road between them Via Maris. During this war and economic activity in Hebron, Muslims shortly focused on eliminating the Crusaders architectural features that have been added to the Sanctuary after its restore, and the most important were the altar and the images that marked the presence of a Church inside the building, and it was necessary to replace these manifestations by the creation of a new shift by its restoration to its first form as a Mosque by transferring the Membār [speech dais] of Al-Husseini Mosque in Cairo to put it inside, it was truly the most beautiful thing that the Muslims added to the building⁽⁷²⁾. Perhaps the additions mentioned on the Sanctuary reflect the re-activation of the role of Al-Dareen Hospice.

(67) Al-Bahooti: Kashaf Al-Qinaa, c 2, p. 143.

(68) See: Book Ma'mour Awkaf Al-khalil Al-Mowwagah Ila Ka'em Makam Al-Khalil, dated 06/16/1935 corresponding to 16/03/1354 AH... Including all known and famous farms in the villages of Habre, Beit Ainun, and Alrthom. See: Muhammad Racan Aldghamy, Salah Diab Al-Hindi: Al-Awqāf wal Masajed fi Al Ordon wa Tatawor Al Taalim Al diny== Islamic since the inception of the emirate so far, two books in a folder, publications committee Jordan's history, research and specialized studies series (4) of Oman, 1991, C (1), p. 38, see also Appendix (1) research, and includes a vocabulary Waqf property belonging to Tamim AlDari may God bless him for the year 1935.

(69) Taqiüddin al-Maqrizi, *al-Solök li Ma'rifat Dowal al-Mulük*, 2 vols., (Cairo, 1939), vol. 1, 97-100.

(70) al-Qadi Baha al-Din Abu al-Mahasen Yusuf Ibn Tamim Ibn Shaddad (died 1234AD/632AH), *al-Nawader al-Sultaniya wa al-Mahasen al-Yusufiya*, (or the biography of Salah al-Din), ed., Jamalüddin al-Shayal, (Cairo, 1964), 87-191.

(71) Ibn al-Athir, *al-kamil*, vol. 12, 82.

(72) Antonin Jaussen, "Inscriptions Coniques de la Chaire du Martyre al-Husayn à Hebron", in: *Revue Biblique*, (Paris 1923), 576-596; Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments*, vol. 2, 132.



As for the movement of the visit to the Sanctuary, it reflects the Hospice activity at the time of Saladin and his Ayyubid successors more clearly; they put a rule for the organization of the Europeans visits to the holy places of Palestine that goes: “whomever wills, from their country, to enter our country, let him do so, and whomever wills, of our country, to enter their own country, let him do” An example of this is attributed to Saladin as saying “if they come to visit their church [the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] we cannot stop them.”⁽⁷³⁾ This agreement was ratified in the Treaty of Ramla on the 1st of September 1192 AD/the 20th of Sha’ban 588 AH. Because of the link between the conditions of visiting the holy places in Jerusalem and Hebron, we can truly believe that what were followed in the visit to Jerusalem has been applied for Hebron as well.

The phenomenon of the arrival of European visitors continued to grow; whether Jews or Christians, especially since the Crusades movement continues and push the transfer of these people, and if we exclude the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which grabbed the attention of every European arrival, we find that Hebron and the Sanctuary have become of the most important areas that the European pilgrimages went to,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and all what the foreigner had to do is to provide an entry fee for every visit to the Sanctuary.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson trip to Palestine in 1210AD/607AH, witnesses the tolerance shown by Muslims with them; as he managed to land into the cave of the real graves themselves, and what separated him from it was the wall that the Crusaders built, and the visit would not take place except under a sealed statement from the Abbasid Caliph. the Christian Jacques de Vitry could visit the site a few years later, he saw the six memorials inside.⁽⁷⁶⁾ And it was necessary that the Ayyubid supervise these dealings, so Saladin was aware, since the opening, to nominate Prince Alamuddin Qansuah as a special vali [governor] to Hebron and some of the neighbouring cities, reflecting the care that needs to be supplied to the city, especially that this post of ‘the governor of Hebron’ was not known before.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Thus, we see good spirit by the Ayyubid toward foreign visitors despite the continuous state of war with the Crusaders.

It is clear that Hebron restored its economies thanks to organizing its administration, which activated the work in Tamim Al-Dari Hospice in neighbouring villages, and soon the endowments grew as it even included lands near Nablus, and there are inscriptions on the main entrance of the Abraham Mosque dated to the year 1215AD/612 AH. It refers to the endowment of Al-Mouthām Eissa who died in 1227AD/624 AH., son of King Al-Adel on

(73) Ibn al-Athir, *al-kamil*, vol. 12, 85-86; see also: Jamal al-Din Mohammed Ibn Salem Ibn Wassel (died 1298AD/697AH), *Mofareg al-Korüb fi Akhbār Bani Ayūb*, 3 vols., ed., Jamal al-Din Al-Shayyal, (Cairo, 1960), vol. 2, 402-406.

(74) Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, (London 1987), 42.

(75) Ibn al-Athir, *al-kamil*, vol. 12, 230; Taqiüddin al-Maqrizi, *al-Solök*, vol.1, 544.

(76) Samuel Ben Samson, *Itinerary*, 104-105; Jacques de Vitry, “The History of Jerusalem”, in: *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society* (P.P.T.S.), vol. 6, (London 1896), 106-107.

(77) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 1, 345.



the Sanctuary⁽⁷⁸⁾ to activate the role of Al-Awqāf [the endowments] along with the commercial activity which has led to an increase in Hebron growth as a city, and the role of the Sanctuary of Abraham as well, demonstrated as described in the report by Yakout Al-Hamwi (died 1228AD/626AH) when he described it saying: “Hebron: the name of a location and a town, where the fort and architecture and a market near the sacred house ... and there is a memorial ... and hospitality house for visitors.”⁽⁷⁹⁾ Reflecting the attention of both the people and the strangers. That is how the uses of the endowments of Hebron returned to Al-Dareen or others to its previous status, whether in the field of architecture and furnishings, or in the field of hospitality to receive travelling visitors once again.

In a large view of Hebron and its Sanctuary since the Crusaders invasion until the end of the Ayyubid, we realize several changes: The first is that the Muslim community in the Levant has made ready since the early 12th century AD/the 6th century AH, to deal with the Europeans of different beliefs, not because of the Crusader conquest only, but also by the wise thoughts of the Muslim jurists of the need to accept others, and this is understood, for example, through the lines said by, Abou Hamid Al-Ghazali about the Hospice in Hebron, by recording the narration about the Magi whom Prophet Abraham refused to feed him unless he becomes a Muslim [follower of Abaraham]; thus Allah revealed to him: “O! Abraham you did not feed him only to change his religion, and we are feeding him since seventy years ago despite his disbelief. If you had fed him tonight, that would not have done you any harm!” Accordingly, Prophet Abraham went after that Magi and fed him.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Same period also witnessed the discovery of the real tombs of the prophets, peace be upon them, as we saw in Hebron. All of this led to the East opening up to the West, which necessarily impacted on the growing role of the Sanctuary in receiving the visitors; whether the locals, the subjects of the Ayyubid or the foreigners regardless of their various ideological affiliations.

During the reign of the king of Damascus, Al-Mouathām Eissa (1218-1227AD/615-624AH), Muslims expressed, nations and rulers, day after day, a clear interest in Abraham Mosque, which increased its demands and services, and politicians realized the need to continue to develop the management of Hebron and the neighbouring cities by setting a vali [governor] on them again, named Rashid Ibn Faraj Ibn Abdullah. It is noted at that time that the Sufi activity⁽⁸¹⁾ was dominant. One of the evidences of their appearance was the going out of the Sufi and dervishes to resist the return of the Crusaders to Jerusalem in

(78) Abu Bakr Abdullah Ibn Aybak al-Dwardary (died 1331AD/732AH), *Kanz al-Dorar wa Game' Al-Ghurar*, vol.7, *Al-Durr Al-Matloub fi Akhbar Melouk Bani Ayūb*, ed., Said Ashour, (Cairo, 1972), 198- 201; Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 377, 440; Jamaluddin Abu al-Mahassen Yusuf Ibn Taghribirdi (died 1470AD/874AH), *Al-Nejūm al-Zahera fi Melouk Misr wa al-Kahera*, 16 vols., (Cairo, 1972), vol. 7, 194.

(79) Shihāb al-Dīn Abu Abdullah Yakout Al-Hamawi (died 1229AD/626AH), *Mo'gam al-boldān*, 5 vols., (Beirut, 1975), vol. 2, 212.

(80) Isaac al-Tadmūri, *Muthīr al-Gharam*, manuscript 42a.

(81) Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Battuta (died 1377AD/799AH), *al-Rihla*, (Beirut, 1992) 77; Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 421-605.



1229AD/626AH during the Sixth Crusade, their numbers have reached about fifteen thousands.⁽⁸²⁾ In the following pages, we trace the extent of the realization of the religious and social momentum in Hebron.

Tamim Al-Dari Hospice during the Mamluk reign of the Levant (1250-1516AD/648-923AH):

This period is the golden age of the Hospice; After the Mamluks overcome the problems that have troubled their state from the beginning, the role of Tamim Al-Dari Hospice was confirmed and supported by the Sultanate, where Al-Zāher Rukn al-Din Baibars Al-Bunduqdari (1260- 1277AD/659-676AH), the Real founder of the State, appointed Prince Aladdin Aydighdi Al-A'ma in the position of the Supervisor of the Two Holy Mosques [i.e. The Temple Mount and the Abraham Mosque], in the period 1263-1294AD/661-693AH. Al-Maqrizi explains the functions of this position that whomever entitled to such position shall take care of the endowments of the Temple Mount and the Abraham Mosque. In fact, this prince lifted the affairs of Hebron, and showed much interest in evolving the Hospice and the Sanctuary, and developing all religious and social activities related to it.⁽⁸³⁾ The position of the Supervisor of the Two Holy Mosques in Jerusalem and Hebron remained a prestigious position, and princes were keen on attaining it from the Sultans, which reflects the growing interest in the Two Holy Cities.⁽⁸⁴⁾

We can interpret Baibars' introducing the position of the Supervisor of the Two Holy Mosques in Jerusalem and Hebron though Al-Dareen the first administrators were still present; that Managing the Awqāf is originally an independent civil management, operating according to the principle of self-management, i.e. away from governmental intervention, and prompted by a legitimate interest. However, the actual management daily-practices of Tamim Al-Dari Hospice, in the next phases, required the intervention of the government represented by the Sultan, who tended to establish certain managerial systems for the endowments through the Supervisors whose main duty was to manage the accounts of the charitable endowments; controlling their expenses and revenues. On the other hand, to

(82) Eracles, "L'Estoire d'Eracles Empereur et de conquest de la terre d'outre-mer", in: Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, vol. 2, (Paris 1859), 183- 185. See also: Shihāb al-Dīn Abu Isaac Ibrahim Abdullah Ibn Abi al-Dam (died 1244AD/642AH), *al-Tarikh al-Mudhafari*, manuscript at the Library of Alexandria University, No. 1292 B, without numbering.

(83) Taqiūddīn al-Maqrizi, *al-Solōk*, vol. 4, 81; see also Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 605. The Prince Alaa al-Din Aidighdi is Aladdin Aidighdi Al-A'ma Bin Abdullah Al Salhi Al-Najmi, he was one of the great princes; when he resided in Jerusalem, «He proceeded things himself and had a sanctity ample». He died in August 1294AD/Shawwal 693AH; see Imaduddīn Abu al-Feda Ismail Ibn Omar Al Qurashi Ibn Kathir (died 1373AD/774AH), *al-Bedaya w al-Nehaya fi al-Tarikh*, known as *Tarikh Ibn Kathir* - 14 vols., (Cairo, 1358AH) vol.13, 337.

(84) Jamaluddin Ibn Taghribirdi, *Al-Nejūm al-Zahera* , vol.15, 131-136, 340, 502; to find out the names of those who were the Principals of the Two Holy Mosques, see: Ahmed Sameh Al Khaldi, *Rulers and Administrators in Palestine since the rightly guided Caliphs till the fourth century*, (Jerusalem: Modern Printing Press, 1947).



maintain the rights of the beneficiaries, particularly the mosques, in addition to organizing employees' salaries and keeping general ledgers.⁽⁸⁵⁾ All these practices necessitated regulating the relationship between the Supervisor as a representative of the government and the Endowment as a charitable institution.

In a next step the judiciary in the cities of Jerusalem and Hebron has been merged into one position titled "Judge of Jerusalem and Hebron."⁽⁸⁶⁾ However, Hebron had its own judge in the mid-fourteenth century AD/eighth century AH, named Abbas ibn Abdul Mo'min Al-Aframawi Alharemī⁽⁸⁷⁾. Thus, the sacredness and the management united between the two cities, highlighting the prestigious importance of Hebron thanks to its campus and endowments, so it was worthy to appoint a special judge to highlight its personality.

The management of Al-Dareen Hospice was affected by the new position of the Supervisor of the Two Holy Mosques and the overlapping of the two sides together; so the Hospice became a huge part of the managerial duties of the Supervisor, which included both the architectural and hospitality aspects, but the overlap is most evident in the provision of food and shelter by the fact that the needs of the travellers have increased in quantity and quality with the increase of the numbers of visitors. Thus, the architectural additions required a huge and direct governmental supervision; and then providing service and hospitality for the visitors received high priority; and that was consistent with the order of priorities set out in the regulations of the Caliph Umar Ibn al-Khattāb.

(A) Providing Hospitality for the Visitors

During the period between the months of October and December of the year 1267 AD/the months Safar and Rabi' Al-Akhar of the year 666 AH, 'Izzuldeen Al-Halaby, Deputy of the Mmluk Sultan of Egypt Baibars, paid Hebron a visit for the inspection and investigation of the place in preparation of the Sultan's visit. In the same year, while on pilgrimage to Hebron and the Abraham Mosque, Baibars "as it reached him that the Jews and Christians, who are impure, . . . are being allowed to enter the Sanctuary of Abraham and down to the Cave in exchange of some fees, strongly disapproved of this action, and issued a decree forbidding Christians and Jews from entering the sanctuary, and the situation continued this way henceforth."⁽⁸⁸⁾ This incident confirms the following facts; first, that the European pilgrims continued to visit the Sanctuary for the whole seven decades consequent to the Crusader reign of Hebron just as they used to, back in the time of the Crusader area, and that the Hospice continued to host them side by side with the Muslim pilgrims even though

(85) Ibrahim Al-Bayoumi Ghanem: *al-Awqāf and Politics in Egypt*, (Cairo: Dar Al Shorouk, 1998) 386 et seq.

(86) Thaghr Al-Din Ibn Abib Corbin Quadi Shahba al-Demashky Ibn Quadi Shahba (died 1469AD/ 874AH), *Tarikh Ibn Quadi Shahba*, (Damascus, 1977), vol. 1, 77,159; Taqi'uddin al-Maqrizi, *al-Solōk*, vol. 2, 288.

(87) Al-Hafiz Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmed Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani: (died 1449AD/853AH), *Inba' al-Ghumar bi Anba' al-'Umr*, (Damascus 1399AH), 313.

(88) al-Amir Rukn al-Din Baibars al-Mansuri al-Dawadari (died 1325AD/725AH), *al-Tuhfa al-Mamlukia fi al-Dawla al-Torkia*, ed., Abdul Hamid Saleh Hamdan, (Egyptian-Lebanese Publishing House, 1987), 67.



they were foreigners; second, that the Baibars' decree was intended as a regulatory procedure for the visits out of respect of the holiness of the place and perseverance of it, this is especially true because not even Muslims were permitted to enter the underground caves in the beginning according to the decree.

In the light of the support bestowed by the Sultan on Al-Dareen Waqf in the aspect of hospitality offered to the inhabitants of the neighbouring areas and the local as well as foreign visitors and worshipers, this tradition along with the same aspects relating to it since the times of the Fatimid and Ayyubid Caliphate, such as celebrations and the like, persisted throughout the Mamluk period. In this regard, we shall give an account of the efforts exerted by the Muslim Prince Aladdin Aydighdi Al-A'ma for the Sanctuary. The Prince established, near the door of the Mosque, a strong building with many rooms included. The building "has ovens and mills inside; a place of wonder that is sealed with one door and contains a warehouse where wheat and barley grains are stowed on its top." He also managed to increase the amount of food and meals distributed by the guest house of the Mosque – the table of Abraham custom – from just five kāyalij [an old unit of weight used in ancient Iraq] of wheat grains and another five of lentils of the same measure, to two Sacks of wheat grains, "this act is recounted as a record of his good memoir and times."⁽⁸⁹⁾ Considering that the one kāylaj of wheat grains equals around one kilogram and two-thirds of kilo, while one Sack is equivalent to six-hundreds and thirteen (613) kilograms plus half a kilo,⁽⁹⁰⁾ it could be clearly concluded that the amounts of grains that were consumed in the guest house during the beginnings of the Mamluk period have been doubled ten times more than its previous amounts during the Ayyubid period. However, this shows that the resources of the Waqf failed to support for its duties; which solidifies the importance of the State's support for the Waqf to exist.

Time and again, the contemporary Islamic sources, and Western ones, record their testimonies on the development of the tradition of hospitality and the role played by it under the support of Tamim Al-Dari Hospice and the other Awqāf [endowments] and charity added to it. To begin with, the traveller Al-Qazwini describes the guest house of Abraham Mosque as follows: "It is a pure and honorable spot; the aura of blessings is manifested on it".⁽⁹¹⁾ The traveller Ibn Al-Haj Al-'Abdari in the late 13th century AD/the 7th century AH, says the following about Abraham Mosque: "let alone what they [the pilgrims] do of singing and dancing every day after the 'Asr Prayer, Inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un (We surely belong to Allah and to Him we shall return), and beware of what some of them say about that lentils they give to the visitors of the guest house of Abraham ...". His remark is based on the suggestion that Prophet Abraham used to offer meat to his guests, and not grains. Al-'Abdari's statement here also shows discontent at the behaviour of the guests of the house, for it is only appropriate for a pious Muslim to follow the tradition and take after the steps of his an-

(89) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 605-606.

(90) Falter Hints, *Islamic Weights*, 64, 71.

(91) Abu Abdullah al-Qazwini, *Āthar al-Bilād*, 187.



cestors and that is to visit the Sanctuary from the outside area only in his opinion. He adds the following: “What is even much worse than them [i.e. pilgrims] beating on the drums and blowing the pipes and the trumpets, is their belief that they consider such deeds as acts which draw men close unto Allah, ... and calling this Nawbat Al-Khalil, meaning the paroxysm of Abraham.”⁽⁹²⁾ And he adds in his comment that all this in its entirety is considered as Bid’ah or Novelty.⁽⁹³⁾ Four decades after the previous references, Al-Umari mentions the following as his testimony on the hospitality of the waqf: “the table of Abraham is made everyday afternoon after Al-’Asr Prayer, generously offering loaves of bread to the guests, never withholding or turning down a guest’s request for more. There are workers dedicated to the service of the guest house day and night. They do all the preparations of the wheat grains from garbles, crushing, kneading and backing, as well as ovens’ burning supplies. This custom and work goes on unbroken and uninterrupted for days and nights, months and years and forever supplementing”.⁽⁹⁴⁾

During the second period of the reign of Sultan al-Zahir Barquq (1382-1389AD/784-791AH), he donated “ the village of Deir Istiya of Nablus as an endowment to be added to the waqf dedicated to the ‘table of Abraham’ and he ordered that its entire incomes to be fully spent on the ‘table of Abraham’ only, and he wrote the endowment on the threshold of the door of Abraham Mosque.”⁽⁹⁵⁾ An additional testimony dated to the century following the one previously mentioned here above reached us and in it a report that there was not a single night when the spot did not receive at least one guest.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olaimi is considered to be one of the finest tellers of the tradition of the Hospice of Abraham, as he used to refer to it with ‘table of Abraham’ which hints at the suggestion that meat was offered on the table among the kinds of foods offered. He also mentions that the people who undertook the responsibility of the Hospice used to “beat drums daily after Al-’Asr Prayer at the door of the kitchen to announce that it is time to distribute the food; a thing which is considered so marvelous and rare. Both the inhabitants and the visitors share in these meals. Bread is distributed three times a day; in the morning to the poor and others, in the noon to the local inhabitants and in the afternoon to them [too] and whoever comes to visit. At the door and at a distance from the grains warehouses, where the drums beat, we have the kitchens which usually include within a number of three ovens and six mills” Moreover, he reports that in the year 1463 AD/ 867 AH, the Sultan al-

(92) Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-’Abdari al-Maliki known as Ibn al-Haj, *al-Madkhaal* (The Introduction), vol. 4, 243-246.

(93) Khalid bin Eisaa bin Ahmad bin Ibrahim bin Abi Khalid Al-balwi (died 1337AD/737AH), *Taj al-Mafraq fi Tahalliat ‘Ulama Ahl al-Mushriq*, a manuscript in The Egyptian National Library and Archives, no. 844, 326, no. 363,363; Ibn Hajar al-’Asqalani, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī a’yān al-mi’ah al-thāminah*, 3 vols., (Hyderabad, 1353AH), vol.2, 40.

(94) Shihāb al-Dīn al-’Umari, *Dawlat al-Mamalīk*, 176.

(95) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 440.

(96) Isaac al-Tadmūri, *Muthīr al-Gharam*, manuscript 42a.



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Zahir Abu Saeid Khushqadam (1460-1468AD/865-872AH) generously granted as a gift of a number of sixty Sacks of wheat grains which cost around eight-hundred and forty Dinars. Thus the Hospice's consumption of wheat grains amounted to around thirty-seven tons.⁽⁹⁷⁾ While the endowments used to provide around five-thousand gold Ducats to be spent on the same aspect every year,⁽⁹⁸⁾ bearing in mind that a Ducat at that time was equivalent to three-and-a half grams of gold.⁽⁹⁹⁾

In regard to the Christian Pilgrims to the Sanctuary, and in the light of the late decree issued by Baibars forbidding them from entering the underground cave of the Patriarchs, their visits were extremely restricted. The Christian traveller Burkhart of Mount Zion informs us in his record that he managed to visit only the outside area of the Sanctuary of Abraham and that was in the year 1282AD/682 AH.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ A few years later, the writer traveler Riccoldo di Monte expressed his anger at the fact that the Muslims denied him access to the inside of the Sanctuary, and when he tried to enter it another time, he was only allowed to pray outside the building itself.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Jacque di Verona in the year 1335AD/736AH narrates the following: "It is because of our misfortunes and mistakes, the place has turned out to be a Mosque for the Muslims, and those [i.e. the Muslims], do not allow any Christians inside, or they will be condemned to death."⁽¹⁰²⁾ Towards the end of the 15th century AD/ the 9th century AH, Felix Fabri informed that a Christian cannot enter inside the Sanctuary of Abraham, even if he offered to pay substantial amounts of money in return, unless he is in disguise. He also expresses his great admiration of the Hospice and positively confirmed that there is nothing quite like it in the whole world. He adds to his description of it that its numerous upper floor rooms are adequately equipped for guests to stay in for a period of three to four days, while the guests' luggage are to be kept in the lower floor. Felix also mentioned the kitchen, the management room and the medical clinic included within the Hospice whose yearly income was estimated by twenty-four Ducats which yielded the production of a number of twelve-thousand loaves of bread to be distributed daily with olive and dessert "to whoever asks regardless of their faiths or religion."⁽¹⁰³⁾

(97) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 1, 68, vol. 2, 443, 445; considering that one Sack is equivalent to six-hundreds and thirteen (613) kilograms plus half a kilo, in measures used in the late Middle Ages at Jerusalem. See: Falter Hints, *Islamic Weights*, 64.

(98) Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185-186.

(99) John Porteous, *Coins in History*, (West Sussex 1969), 106.

(100) Burchard of Mount Zion, "A Description of the Holy Land 1232 AD", in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 12, (London 1896), 35.

(101) Ricoldo de Monte-Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce, 1280-1300 AD", in: *Archives de l'Orient Latin (A.O.L.)*, vol. 2, (Paris 1884), 278.

(102) Jacques de Verone, "Libre Peregin, 1335 AD", in: *Revue de l'Orient Latin (R.O.L.)*, vol. 3, (Paris 1895) 252.

(103) Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanders of Brother Felix Fabry (circa 1480-1483 A.D.)*, in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, 2 vols., 2 parts, (London 1893), vol. 2, part 1, 257, part 2, 408-411, 417.



The Jewish Pilgrims, however, were more understanding of the decree issued by Baibars for the pilgrimage, and were more tolerant about it than their Christian counterparts. Isaac ben Joseph ben Chelo in the year 1334AD/734AH, for example, managed to visit a number of his ancestors' Shrines in Hebron and the surrounding areas accompanied by a group of his friends. However, they did not visit the Sanctuary, which was considered as a local direction of prayer during their period of residence in the area; their Qiblah. They, [i.e. the Jews], voiced little disappointment about this unequal access to the Sanctuary.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Moreover, both Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra and Ovaida Albartnori, were received as guests in the years 1481AD/886AH and 1488AD/893AH respectively, and both reported that the officials newly opened a small hole in one of the walls of the Cave and that it was used by the Christian and Jewish pilgrims for their prayers outside the walls. It was customary for the pilgrims to throw expensive spices, coins and writing papers around it.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ They also shared with the Muslims in kindling the lamps inside the Cave of the Patriarchs through this hole. According to Meshullam, the Mamluk officials appointed two-hundred knights to defend the Cave of the Patriarchs and guard it against any dangers – he meant by dangers here, the looters who would occasionally rise in their attacks to rob the city. He also expressed his gratitude to the Muslims for the kind of security he personally experienced during his pilgrim to the city. Both historians realized the wealth and abundance of the villages surrounding Hebron, and its valley that was full of riches and ran through the city dividing it into two halves. They likewise confirmed that the Muslims used to offer thirteen-thousand loaves of bread every single day to the poor in honouring the Prophets Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

On account of the meals prepared and offered in the Hospice of the Sanctuary, Meshullam mentions the following: “Muslims put bread in mustard [mustard plant] along with camel meat; just like what Abraham did with the angels. In honor of Isaac, they used to present sheets of venison meat the way he, the Prophet, preferred to eat it. While the dish of bread thread porridge in lentils soap is presented in honor of Jacob in a similar custom to what the Prophet offered to his brother Esau. Such routine recurs every day without any boredom or tiredness”⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ If we consider the fact that Hebron and Palestine, while in fact the whole land

(104) Isaac Ben Joseph Chelo, “The Roads from Jerusalem 1334 AD”, in: *Jewish Travellers (J.T.)*, 135.

(105) Modern archeological findings prove the truth of the account; as traces of the things thrown away and piles of papers that have supplications and wishes written on it by those who threw them were found. See: Grimaldi, *Cenotaphs*, 149-150.

(106) Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185; Ovadiah of Bar Tenuva, “The Travel letters of Rabbi Ovadiah, written Between 1488-1490”, in: *Pathway to Jerusalem*, (Jerusalem 1992), 35, 43, 47- 48; Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanders*, vol. 2, part 2, 409.

(107) An interpretation of the tradition of offering lentils to the pilgrims as mentioned by Meshullam could be found in the Israelite writings. As Esau, the older son of Isaac, gave up his seniority to Jacob in exchange of a dish of lentils he badly needed, this meant giving up his privacy and reign. The third wife of Esau was the granddaughter of Ismael, which affected the Palestinian Muslim society, as Meshullam heard them calling “Ad-das al-khalil” (i.e. Lentils of Abraham). For more details, see: Alan Unterman, *Dictionary of Jewish Lore and legend*, (London 1991), Art. Esau.



of the Mamluk's Caliphate, were suffering from great famine at the time, we can clearly understand the extent to which the Hospice was very keen on playing its lofty role in honouring the travellers in addition to the inhabitants of the area regardless of their religion.

Accordingly, we have given an account of the development of the Hospice in a manner that would help in picturing a complete honest picture of it, since the account is given on basis of eyewitnesses' depictions. Moreover, those eyewitnesses belong to different faiths; a fact which adds more to the credibility and subjectivity in the historic account of it. Despite of the emergence of some writings horrifying the acts of the pilgrims and doubting its validity, the prevailing attitude at the late middle ages was to allow celebrations and offerings of meals accompanied with meat and the visit of the Shrine of Abraham; on account of its value that is held in same regard as the values of the Shrines in Al-Madina Al-Munawara and Hebron,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and that attitude was also in compliance with the desire of both the nations and their Islamic leading State. The Hospice seemed to be a melting pot for different ethnicities to intermingle, whilst each one maintaining their own creed.

There was an additional role played by the Hospice during the era of the Mamluks, namely taking care of the hermits and the scholars and providing them with food. It could be very possible that those whom Al-Maqdisi referred to as the neighbours are actually the distinguished ones among those scholars and hermits.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ One of the very distinguished among them was Sheikh Ali Albakāa who died in 1271AD/670AH. He was the resident of the Zawiya [prayer room] near the Sanctuary; also the place where he was buried. He was: "famous for his piety and his custom of feeding whoever passes him by from the passerby and pilgrims alike." Among them too was Sheikh Ibrahim Al-Hadma who died in the year 1330AD/730AH, who was Kurdish in origin, and who left the East and undertook the cultivation of a piece of land located somewhere between Hebron and Jerusalem. He was famous for many miracles and so he was sought after by devotee pilgrims. Of the accounts on him we mention the following: "he was assigned to ten loaves of bread every day from the 'table of Abraham', but it was added up the whole week to be handed in to him together. He would come to the Hospice the last day of the week and receive the bread due to him as accumulated the whole week, and he would start to crumble it in a bowl and add gasheesha [milled grains]⁽¹¹⁰⁾ to it, and he would sit to eat the mixture." Sheikh Burhanuddin Abu Isaaq Ibrahim bin Umar al-Ja'bari who died in 1332AD/ 732AH, was a prominent scholar among the scholars, and who was appointed as ruler of the sheikhdom of Abraham Mosque. He

(108) Isaac al-Tadmūri, *Muthīr al-Gharam*, manuscript 31a-b, 40b, 42b. Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galīl*, vol. 2, 425-427.

(109) Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 173.

(110) The word *gasheesha*, written as *dasheesha* in another account as used by the Moroccans; meaning milled grains. There are three kinds of *gashaesh* (*pl. n.*); namely: grains of wheat, molt and rice. The meaning of *gasheesha* here is typical of the wheat grains as being selectively chosen, cleared and crushed to become *flour*; see Abu Alhassan Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Abi Al-Qāsim Bin Muhammad Bin Abi Bakr Ibn Razyn al-Tajaybi (lived in the 13th century AD/ the 7th century AH), *Fodalat al-khowan fi Tayibat al-Ta'am wa al-Alwan*, ed., Muhammad Bin Shaqroun, (Beirut : Dar Algharb Al-Islamai, 1984), 61-62.



wrote many important books.⁽¹¹¹⁾ There are a number of successive rulers of the sheikhdom of the Mosque in his blood line. One more distinguished scholar was the scholar Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn Najmuddīn Yākub al-Maqdisi who was known as al-Mojarād and took up the construction of a Zawiya [corner room mosque] on which he spent money as he used to give hospitality to whoever came to visit it. He died in 1393 AD/795AH.⁽¹¹²⁾ All this resulted in the revival of the cultural and enlightenment movement in Hebron.

Thus, the cornerstones of the Hospice were grounded and its social and scholarly roles were strongly established. Even though there were many obstacles that stood in the way of its full realization such as: looting amounts from its incomes by Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Harawi, the Supervisor of the waqf who was hired for the job in 1419AD/822AH, an act that put him under trial;⁽¹¹³⁾ another obstacle was caused by another Supervisor in the year 1488AD/893AH, al-Amir Diqmaq Inal al-Ashqar when he stopped the custom of the hospitality for a period that mounted to four months on account of the famine; this led to the local residents calling for his removal from his post, upon this he was summoned by the Deputy of the Sultan in Jerusalem who severely criticized him and ordered him to resume offering meals in the Hospice even if it were made only from malt bread.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Sometimes, the pilgrims would be faced by security procedures problems. An example to this was the incident that happened in the year 1481 AD/886AH, when looters raided over the city.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ As a result of the attack, the State introduced the job of the guide or companion for the first time, whose task was to appoint a number of guards as leaders for each group of pilgrims from the three religions; Muslims, Christians and Jews, for their safety and protection⁽¹¹⁶⁾ in order for the Hospice to carry on performing its duties in the midst of such attentive support from the inhabitants and the rulers of successive generations.

(B) The Awqāf of Hebron and the Architecture of the Sanctuary

As for the direct governmental support for Al-Dareen Hospice for the purposes of financing the architecture, in 1268AD/666AH, Al-Zaher Baibars renewed the mosque’s main dome. He also “mended the wooden doors and compartments, and made the necessary paintings.

(111) Including: *Nuzhat al-Bodra fi al-Qiraat al-’ashra*, *Sharh al-Shahatibiah wa al-Raiyah*, *Mukhtasar Ibn al-Hajib*, and *al-Muqaddimah fi al-Nahw* and he continued *Sharh al-Ta’giz*, in addition to other writings amounting to almost one-hundred.

(112) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 492-493, 495-496, 497-498.

(113) Taqiuddīn al-Maqrizi, *al-Solōk*, vol. 3, 483-484.

(114) Abu al-Yaman al-Olimi, *al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 663 ‘666 ‘673; Ovadiah of Bar Tenuva, *The Travel letters*, 35, 42.

(115) Taqiuddīn al-Maqrizi, *al-Solōk*, vol. 3, 764; Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185.

(116) Taqiuddīn Abu Bakr bin Hujja al-Hamawi (1441AD/83AH), *Thamarat al-Awraq*, ed., Muhammad Abu Al-fadl Ibrahim, (Cairo, 1971), 367; Anselm Adorno, *Itinéraire d’Anselme Adorno en Terre-Sainte 1470-1471 AD*, (Paris 1978), 244-251; Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 187.



He built new compartments and renewed the holy places and repaired the ablution space.”⁽¹¹⁷⁾ It is reported that he raised the salaries of servants of the Sanctuary and the employees.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ During the reign of Sultan Qalawoon, the revenues of the dhimmis’ tributes in Jerusalem, Hebron, Beit Lahim and Beit Jala for the year 682 AH, have been assigned for financing the construction of a basin in Hebron in order to face the increasing requirements of citizens and visitors.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ He decreed, in 1287AD/686AH, covering wide parts of the sanctuary with marble. It seems that these actions have been so great that they have been regarded by historians as a renewal for the Sanctuary. He completed his efforts in Hebron by establishing a garrison and a Clinic.⁽¹²⁰⁾

In the next century, the 14th AD/the 8th AH, the document of Seif Al-Deen Boktomor Al-Gokendar, the Mamluk Deputy, proved that in 1311AD/719AH, he endowed the village of Magdal Fadeel, located near Hebron, for the charitable channel, from which a spring called “Al-Twashi” starts and falls in the block near the Northern gate of Abraham Mosque for the purposes of financing the necessary maintenance.⁽¹²¹⁾ In the middle of the same century, the Sanctuary was described as “elegant, coherent, wonderfully looking, very high and built of carved rocks ... At the right of the platform beside the qiblah’s wall there is a place from which one can descend on a well-set marble staircase to a narrow way leading to an area furnished with marble. There was a way to the holy cave” which was blocked.⁽¹²²⁾

Early in the 15th century AD/the 9th century AH, silky curtains were hung on the tombs at the Sanctuary. The renewal of the memorials’ sheets was the interest of many sultans when they took the throne of the State. This may have been a fulfillment of their vow.⁽¹²³⁾ Abraham Mosque was constructed with beautiful structures which were endowed for Awqāf.⁽¹²⁴⁾ These additions are represented in covering the front of the Sanctuary with marble. Besides, Sultan Al-Zaher Jaqmak (1438-1453AD/842-856AH) endowed an immense amount of money for the Hospice of Hebron. During his reign, the Supervisors of the Two Holy Mosques in Jerusalem and Hebron introduced a more developed system which included organizing ranks and increasing salaries. Thus, new Awqāf [endowments] appeared to support the available ones. Their influence appeared in building schools and mosques which were exclusively mentioned by Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Thanks to these Awqāf, Abra-

(117) Al-Qādi Mohīddīn Abu Al-Fadl Ibn Abd Al-Zaher (died 1292AD/692AH), *Al-Rawd Al-Zahir fe Serit Al-Malek Al-Zaher*, ed., Abd Al-Aziz Al-Khweiter, (Riyadh 1976), 287

(118) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 434

(119) Taqiūddīn al-Maqrizi, *al-Solōk*, vol. 1, 712.

(120) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 435

(121) Kamel Gamil Osaili, *Historical Documents of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, (Oman 1983), 187

(122) Ibn Batouta, *Travels*, 55

(123) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 444

(124) Taqiūddīn al-Maqrizi, *al-Solōk*, vol. 2, 131.

(125) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 445



ham Mosque was completed by the late Middle Ages. It occupied half of the Sanctuary's area. It had four minarets at the top, and two gates with stairs ascending to its inner part.⁽¹²⁶⁾

According to these new expansions, the Maleki Imam prayed in the Western corridor behind the Abrahamic room. The Shafeyi Imam prayed in the large Mihrab beside the Membār [speech dais]. The Hanafi Imam prayed beside Adam's shrine.⁽¹²⁷⁾ The existence of many Membārs was an evidence of the structural expansion in the Mosque, hence the social and religious expansion. It is noticed that the construction of the Abraham Sanctuary was the first to be affected by Al-Dareen's Waqf. This appeared in the constructional development for the ancient building which includes the Machphelah by building the six tombs above it and converting it to a huge Mosque including Membārs, mihrabs, minarets, compartments and domes. It was also furnished by carpets, lamps, and so forth.

Tamim Al-Dari Hospice and its attachments have other important results. The civil architecture in Hebron responded to the developments of its Sanctuary. The cave, at the time of Prophet Abraham, "had been in the desert and there had been no building. Then the city disappeared."⁽¹²⁸⁾ It changed so greatly that it was described in the 9th century AD/the 3rd century AH, as a village.⁽¹²⁹⁾ By the ends of the Middle Ages, it was described as a city. It was described as "having an extremely beautiful shape. It is a circle surrounding the Mosque from the four directions. A part of it which is high over a mountain at the East of the mosque is called Yasloon. Another part is low in a valley at the West of the mosque. The high part is almost looking at the lower part. Some of the streets are plain and some are rugged. The city was built of carved rocks. Its ceiling is vault. Its structure contains no soil. The ceiling contains no woods."⁽¹³⁰⁾

Because of the constructional developments the Sanctuary witnessed, it played a central role in Southern Palestine. It led to its advancement in the fields of science, religion and culture. It graduated many scholars and great sheikhs [preachers] who contributed to the intellectual movement especially during the Mamluk era. Thus, the Waqf clearly influenced Hebron and its society. It developed the surrounding Muslim society. In this respect, we can read a text that reflects this influence which continued not only throughout the Middle Ages, but throughout the entire history of the waqf. The text included "If the tomb of prophet Abraham were not there, the (city) would not have been mentioned. It has been

(126) Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase, "The Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria: (A) Architecture and Sculpture", in: A History of the Crusades, ed., Kenneth Meyer Setton, (Wisconsin University Press 1977), vol. 4, 69-99; See also Figure (1) in the Annex of Abraham Mosque from the outside; one of its earliest photos in modern ages.

(127) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 384

(128) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 424

(129) Al-Astakhary, *Masalek Al-Mamalek*, 57.

(130) Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil*, vol. 2, 425; Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185; Ovadia of Bar Tenuva, *The Travel letters*, 48, 72.



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blessed by this honourable tomb. It was a pride to the region! Its people have been welcomed everywhere!”⁽¹³¹⁾ The entire history of city was influenced by Prophet Abraham. Tamim Al-Dari Hospice has been playing its important role throughout the ages,⁽¹³²⁾ relying on its authenticity. There has been great care for it, for documenting it and maintaining the documents that refer to it, compared to other endowments. Why not! It was honoured by the approval of the Messenger - *peace be upon him*.

To conclude, it is clear that Tamim Al-Dari Waqf had essential social effects represented in its reviving the Sunnah of Prophet Abraham through establishing a Hospice for the poor and the rich, whether Muslims, Christian or Jews, citizens or foreigners. It is noticed that its role was not the same as the hostels to which travelers resort. It played a more important role by receiving huge numbers of citizens, neighbours and visitors, and supporting them by food for free, commemorating the Sunnah of the Father of the Prophets. It was a civilized embodiment of the perfect relations among believers of the three religions, seeking what gathers them and creates sympathy among them, and tending to tolerance and accepting the other in a land which gathers them in peaceful coexistence. It could be said that Tamim Al-Dari’s Hospice was one of the strongest evidences to the fact that civilizations can meet and resolve any clashes.

Annex includes two figures of Abraham Mosque: from outside, and a line sketch of the composing parts of the Machpelah:⁽¹³³⁾

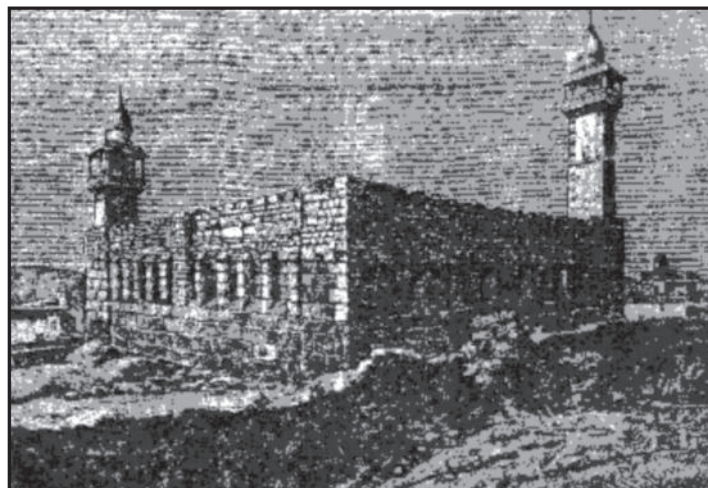


Figure (1) : Abraham Mosque from outside; one of the earliest photos in modern ages

(131) Al-ʿUmari, *Dawlat Al-Mamalik Al-Ola*, 211.

(132) Mohamed Rakan Al-Doghmy and Saleh Diab, *Al-Awqāf wal Masajed*, 39.

(133) Fulcran Vigouroux, “Hebron”, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 2, (Paris 1912), 559-560.

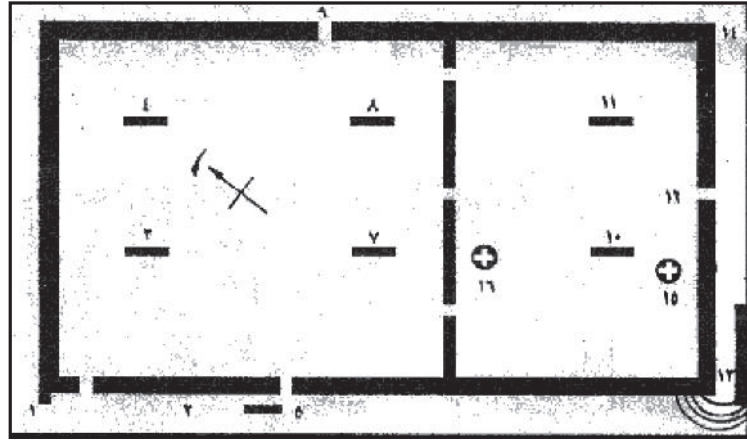


Figure (2) : A line sketch of the composing parts of the Machpelah

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Door | 2. Joseph Compartment | 3. Jacob Memorial |
| 4. Lea Memorial | 5. Joseph Memorial | 6. Inner Court |
| 7. Abraham Memorial | 8. Sarah Memorial | 9. Door |
| 10. Isaac Memorial | 11. Rebecca Memorial | 12. Mihrab |
| 13. Main Entrance | 14. Door | 15. Closed Hole |
| 16. Floor Hole | | |

الأوقاف الإسلامية وعلاقتها ببناء السلام بين الشعوب: ضيافة تميم الداري نموذجاً

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كلية الآداب - جامعة دمنهور

ملخص البحث:

يبدو أن الواقع السياسي الحالي يجعلنا جميعاً نتجه إلى الأسانيد التي تُقرب الشعوب والحضارات والأفكار بعضها بعضاً؛ وانطلاقاً من ذلك يأتي موضوع هذا البحث ليُشكل ركيزةً لذلك. فالبحت يُسلط الضوء على إقطاع وهبه الرسول محمد - صلى الله عليه وسلم - لشخص مسيحي أسلم يُدعى تميم الداري عام 9هـ/630م عبارة عن أراض خصبة في الخليل. وبعد حوالي خمسة عشر عاماً قام ثاني الخلفاء عمر بتنظيمه ليعود ريعه مُثالثة؛ بين ابن السبيل والصرف على عمارته والقائمين على خدمته. وتم تنفيذ هذه الضوابط بدقة على مدى القرون الوسطى إلا قرن واحد تقريباً على عهد الصليبيين اتخذ الاهتمام فيه شكلاً آخر حيث اهتموا باكتشاف مقابر الأنبياء في الخليل عام 1119م واحتفلوا بها. ومن ثم لقي الحرم الإبراهيمي في الخليل بما فيه من أضرحة الأنبياء اهتمام كل من الشعوب والحكومات؛ إذ إن الإقطاع الداري عجز عن الوفاء بالمتطلبات التي أنشئ من أجلها: دعماً للضيافة التي ألحقت بالحرم خدمة لابن السبيل، وتصاعد ذلك الدعم بوضوح طيلة العصر المملوكي (1517-1550م) حيث تفاقمت الإقطاعات المُنضافة وبلغت رعاية الحكام أوجها للضيافة وأبنية الحرم. وكان المعنى واضحاً منذ بداية هذا الإقطاع حيث شاهدنا معتنقي الأديان الثلاثة - مسلمون ومسيحيون ويهود - ينزلون ضيوفاً في ضيافة واحدة لبضعة أيام مجاناً مُستظلين بكرم أبو الأنبياء إبراهيم عليه السلام، المشهود له بذلك، من خلال الربيع المُستدام للوقف. وهكذا يُبرز البحث صورةً رائعة مما يجب أن تكون عليه العلاقات بين الشعوب من تواصل ورحمة ونبذ للكرهية من أجل سلام العالم.

مقدمة:

يهتم هذا البحث بإبراز توظيف دور وقف الصحابي الجليل تميم بن أوس الداري كمؤسسة إسلامية خيرية في خدمة مجاليّ ضيافة زوار الحرم الإبراهيمي، وعمارته، إبان العصور الوسطى؛ علماً بأن تاريخ وقف تميم الداري يبدأ منذ بواكير العصر الإسلامي حتى بدايات الألفية الثالثة. وأول ما يُميز هذا الوقف ارتباطه بشخص النبي إبراهيم الذي تأسس الوقف تكريماً له ومحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم بصفته المتصرف في الوقف وواهبه، وبشخص عمر بن الخطاب المنظم الفعلي لاستخداماته. ومما يميزه أيضاً أنه لم يقتصر الصرف من مردوده على عمارة الحرم الإبراهيمي أو على الفقراء وعابري السبيل والمجاورين والزوار



والزهاد والعلماء المسلمين فحسب، إنما شمل أيضاً ضيافة المسيحيين واليهود زوار الخليل، الأمر الذي جسّد قيماً إنسانية مهمة على رأسها السلم الاجتماعي وإيجاد أسس يلتف حولها معتنقوا الأديان السماوية الثلاثة مستظلين جميعاً ببركة أبيهم إبراهيم حتى يجدوا لغةً للتفاهم والتقارب والمسالمة فيما بينهم.

وترجع أهمية هذا البحث أيضاً إلى أنه لم يُعثر على دراسة تاريخية في موضوعه إلا بعض الكتابات المصدرية التي اهتمت فقط بالنواحي الشرعية والسرد التاريخي دون الدراسة والمقارنة والتحليل العلمي الحديث⁽¹⁾، وترجمة للنص النبوي المنشيء للوقف إلى الإنجليزية⁽²⁾. وعليه اهتم البحث بتناول كل ما يتعلق بالوقف في الفترة الممتدة من وقت كتابته من عصر النبوة في العام (9هـ-632م) حتى أواخر العصور الوسطى. فتناول أسباب وظروف تأسيسه، وتحديد وظائفه وتتبعها تاريخياً بصفة وقفاً من أبكر أوقاف المسلمين بشأن هبة قدّمها الرسول محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم للصحابي تميم الداري تتمثل في أراض بالخليل في شكل إقطاع قبيل فتح المسلمين لها، فكان بمثابة تصديق خبر وتحقيق إعجاز، حيث يُعد من الخصائص النبوية. ويتألف الوقف في مساحات من الأراضي الزراعية شديدة الخصوبة تقع داخل بلدة الخليل الفلسطينية وحولها، والتي اشتهرت على مر العصور بإنتاج الفواكه خاصة الكروم فضلاً عن الحبوب.

وبدايةً، يجدر بنا التعريف بمعنى **الوقف لغة واصطلاحاً**؛ ففي الأولى: وقف وقوفاً: قام من جلوس وسكن بعد المشي، ووقف الدار ونحوها: حبسها في سبيل الله، فالوقف يعني الحبس عن التصرف مطلقاً، والوقف: حبس العين على ملك الواقف أو على ملك الله تعالى، ويجوز جمع الوقف على أوقاف ووقوف، ويُعبر عنه بالحبس تارة وبالتسبيل تارة أخرى.⁽³⁾ أما اصطلاحاً فقد اختلف الفقهاء الأربعة: أبو حنيفة، ومالك، و الشافعي، وأحمد بن حنبل (رضى الله عنهم جميعاً) في تعريف الوقف بحسب اتجاهات كل منهم في القول بلزوم الوقف من عدمه، واستمراريته من عدمها، واشتراط القرية فيه. ومن الممكن استخلاص تعريف مختصر من الأئمة على النحو الآتي: «الوقف هو: حبس عين يمكن الانتفاع بها بمنع التصرف في رقبته بأي تصرف ناقل للملكية، وتسبيل منفعتها بجعلها لجهة من جهات الخير ابتداءً وانتهاءً»⁽⁴⁾. وبناءً عليه فإن الوقف يُخرج العين الموقوفة من ملك الواقف إلى ملك الموقوف عليهم، ويكون ملكاً ناقصاً، فلا يجوز لهم التصرف فيها بتصرف ناقل للملكية مثل البيع والهبة، وإنما ينتفعون بغلتها على وجه اللزوم⁽⁵⁾. وبصفة عامة أسهم نظام العمل بالوقف بدور فعال في بناء الحضارة الإسلامية، والمحافظة عليها على مر العصور، حيث غدا قاعدة صلبة من قواعد بناء مؤسسات المجتمع.

تحدثت المصادر الإسلامية عن الإقطاع الذي حازه الصحابي، حيث وردت واقعة الإقطاع من طرق كثيرة ليس من بينها طريق واحد متصل صحيح، وهذا لا يعني عدم صحتها؛ إذ إن الأئمة الحفاظ قد رأوا أن تلك

(1) تعد رسالة المقرئ هذه نموذجاً دقيقاً لأسلوب البحث العلمي الذي ينبغي أن يكون منهجياً وموضوعياً في كل خطوة من خطواته، حيث تحرى في كتابتها الدقة في النقل وإثبات المصدر وتخريج الأحاديث، انظر: تقي الدين المقرئ (ت 845هـ/1442م)، *الضوء الساري في معرفة خبر تميم الداري*، تحقيق وتعليق: محمد أحمد عاشور، (القاهرة: دار الاعتصام 1972) متفرقات؛ راجع أيضاً: أبو العباس شهاب الدين أحمد بن علي بن أحمد القلقشندي (ت 821هـ/1418م): *صيح الأعيان في صناعة الإنشا*، 14 ج، (القاهرة 1914)، ج 13، 118 - 122.

(2) Kren Kow, "The Grant of Land by Mohammad to Tamim el Dari", in: *Islamica*, (London, 1925), vol. I, 529-532

(3) لسان العرب: مادة وقف؛ مختار الصحاح: مادة وقف؛ المعجم الوسيط: مادتي (وقف) و(حبس).

(4) محمد بن أحمد بن صالح الصالح: *الوقف في الشريعة الإسلامية وأثره في تنمية المجتمع*، (الرياض 2001)، 23.

(5) مصطفى محمد عرجاوى: *الوقف وأثره على الناحيتين الاجتماعية والثقافية*، منشور في مجموعة أبحاث ندوة «إحياء دور الوقف في الدول الإسلامية» المنعقدة في بورسعيد 7-9 مايو 1998، 133؛ محمد الصالح: *الوقف في الشريعة*، 23.



الطرق المتعددة يقوي بعضها بعضاً، ومن ثم فالقدر المشترك بين تلك الروايات يُرجح صحته. وإذا كان هناك ضعف في جانب ما من النصوص فإن هذا الضعف مردود عليه وفقاً لقاعدة فقهية مفادها: أنه يُمكن الأخذ بالحديث المرسل والضعيف إذا لم يكن في الباب شيء يدفعه، فإذا لم يوجد في الباب أثر يدفعه ولا قول صحابي ولا إجماع على خلافه كان العمل به أولى.⁽⁶⁾ وكذا اتفق العلماء على العمل بالحديث الضعيف في فضائل الأعمال دون الحلال والحرام.⁽⁷⁾

وفي ضوء هذا التوضيح نعرض للحديث الذي خرّجه الحافظ ابن عساكر (ت 1175 م / 571 هـ) منسوباً إلى تميم، وجاء فيه: «قال: يا رسول الله [صلى الله عليه وسلم] إن لي جيرة من الروم بفلسطين لهم قرية يقال لها حبري⁽⁸⁾، وأخرى يقال لها بيت عينون⁽⁹⁾، فإن فتح الله عليك الشام فهبهما لي. قال: هما لك. قال: فاكتب بذلك كتاباً. فكتب له: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا كتاب من محمد رسول الله تميم بن أوس الداري: أن له قرية حبري وبيت عينون كلها، سهلها وجبلها، وماءها وحرّتها، وأنباطها⁽¹⁰⁾ [وبقرها]⁽¹¹⁾، ولعقبه من بعده، لا يحاقه⁽¹²⁾ ولا يلجها عليهم أحد بظلم، فمن ظلمهم أو أخذ منهم شيئاً فعليه لعنة الله، والملائكة والناس أجمعين»⁽¹³⁾

ونقلًا عن علي بن أبي طالب -كرم الله وجهه- أنه كتب عن الخليفة أبوبكر الصديق فيما بين 11-13 هـ⁽¹⁴⁾

(6) عبد القادر بن بدران الدمشقي: *الدخل إلى مذهب الإمام أحمد بن حنبل*، تحقيق: د. عبد الله التركي، (بيروت، مؤسسة الرسالة، 1401 هـ)، 116

(7) أبو زكريا محي الدين بن شرف النووي، *المجموع شرح المهذب*، (جدة: مكتبة الإرشاد 1980)

(8) أو حبرون؛ والواضح أن هذا المسمى لمدينة الخليل قد أخذ عن لفظة خبير Habeer عند العبرانيين التي تعنى الصديق الحميم أو الخليل نعتاً منهم للنبي إبراهيم الخليل (عليه السلام). راجع:

Fulcran Grégoire Vigouroux, "Hebron", in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 3, (Paris 1903), 535; *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, (Paris 1990), vol. 4, Art. Al-Khalil.

ومن مشتقات حبرون المستخدمة: Cebrun - Cefron - Cebron - Hebron، وقد استخدم المسمى المذكور المؤرخون القدامى ومؤرخو العصور الوسطى. للمزيد راجع: على أحمد السيد: الخليل والحرم الإبراهيمي عصر الحروب الصليبية، 1099 - 1187 م / 492 - 583 هـ، الطبعة الأولى: دار الفكر العربي، 1418 هـ / 1998 م، 59-61.

(9) اسم لإحدى القرى الأربع التي تتألف منها مدينة الخليل التي دعيته أصلاً بسمى «قرية أربع» أي المدينة الرباعية. انظر: العهد القديم، سفر التكوين 23، 2؛ يشوع 20: 7، 3: 22؛ الأعداد: 13: 23. وقد أشارت المصادر الإسلامية إلى هذه القرى، فضلاً عن بيت عينون ذكرت حبرون وبيت إبراهيم؛ انظر ابن سعد: *الطبقات الكبرى*، ج 2، 75، ج 7، 129-130؛ أما القرية الرابعة «مرطوم» فلم تذكر إلا متأخراً بعض الشيء. انظر: أبو معين الدين العلوي ناصر خسرو (ت 453 هـ / 1061 م)، *سفرنامه*، تحقيق: يحيى الخشاب، (القاهرة 1993)، 53؛ أبو العباس شهاب الدين القلقشندي، *صبح الأعشى في صناعة الإنشا*، ج 13، 118-121، حيث أفرد فصلاً طويلاً عن إقطاع تميم الداري. وفي بيت عينون آثار ترجع إلى العصر البيزنطي تدل على نشاطها الديني والعسكري حيث توجد أطلال كنيسة وحصن. انظر:

Victor Guerin, *Description Géographique: Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine, accompagnée de cartes détaillées. I Judée*, 3 vols., (Paris 1868), vol. 1, 150

(10) الأنباط: الآبار.

(11) الكلمة المضافة مأخوذة عن: القلقشندي، *صبح الأعشى*، ج 13، 121.

(12) لا يحاقه: لا يخاصمه.

(13) الحافظ أبو القاسم علي بن الحسن ابن عساكر (ت 571 هـ / 1175 م)، *التاريخ الكبير المعروف بتاريخ دمشق*، تحقيق: د. صلاح الدين المنجد، ج 10، (دمشق 1332 هـ)، ج 10، 468.

(14) ذكر القلقشندي في *صبح الأعشى*: «هذا كتاب من أبي بكر أمين رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الذي استخلف في الأرض من بعده».



كتبه للداريين يقول فيه: «أن لا تُفسد عليهم ما أثرتهم»⁽¹⁵⁾: قرية حبري وبيت عينون ، فمن كان يسمع وبطبع فلا يفسد منهما شيئاً وليقم عمرو بن العاص عليهما ، فليمنعهما من المفسدين» وبعد الانتصار على الروم في موقعة أجنادين وفتح المسلمين فلسطين يوليو جمادى الأولى 13هـ/636م⁽¹⁶⁾ ، أقدم الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب على تنفيذ وصية الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم فجدد الهبة لتميم الداري ونصّبَه أميراً على بيت المقدس ، «وتولى وعظ الناس باسم عمر»⁽¹⁷⁾ وما من شك في أن هذا المنصب جعله خبيراً بأوضاع القدس والخليل .

ثمة نقلة مهمة حدثت عند تسليم الأراضي المُقطّعة لتميم الداري وقت التنفيذ؛ أضافها ابن عساكر بسنده ورواية عن تميم الداري: «جعل عمر ، رضى الله عنه ، ثلثها لابن السبيل ، وثلثها لعمارتها ، وثلثها لنا» أي لتميم وأقاربه من بعده . وأوردت الرواية كذلك عبارة أخرى لها دلالاتها ، نصّها: «قال عمر لتميم: هما قريتان من الشام ، ليس لك أن تستخدم أهلها ولا تبيع ، ولكن خراجهما لك . فلم يزل ذلك لهم»⁽¹⁸⁾ .

ولمّا كان موضوع البحث ينصب على عقد دراسة تاريخية لوقف تميم الداري وتأكد قيامه تاريخياً واستمراره واقعياً على مرّ القرون فيتم التعامل معه من هذا المنطلق ، كذلك نلاحظ أن الشواهد النصية حوله تجعل من الإقطاع وقفاً فضلاً عن صفته الأصلية (الوهب والتصديق)؛ ويؤكد المؤرخ المقرئ على ذلك: «أنه ليس في شيء من الآثار التصريح بالوقفية؛ إلا ما في الأثر السابق عن عمر ، رضى الله عنه ، أنه شرط [على تميم] الأبييع ، وأن يُخرج ثلثاً لأبناء السبيل ، وثلثاً في العمارة ، والذي يتحرر أن ذلك كان إرساداً له ولذريته إلى آخر الدهر»⁽¹⁹⁾ .

ومما نبّه إليه المقرئ أيضاً أن الإقطاع لم يشمل مغارة المكفيلة Makphila⁽²⁰⁾ «التي فيها قبور الأنبياء عليهم السلام [بالخليل] فلا يحل لأحد المطالبة بحكرها فإنها لم تدخل في العطية لكون [إبراهيم] الخليل ، عليه السلام ، اشتراها لدفن أهله ، فإن العطية إنما وقعت على [ما] لا ملك فيه لمسلم ولا اختصاص ، فكيف إذا كان لنبي من أنبياء الله تعالى ، عليهم السلام»⁽²¹⁾ .

بذلك يُعد وقف تميم الداري من أبكر الأوقاف الإسلامية التي ربما كانت الحكمة من ورائه رغبة خاتم المرسلين سن مجموعة من القواعد التي يجب أن تتبع في ممارسة العمل الخيري بين المسلمين ، فكانت الأوقاف بالنسبة لهم هي المجال المتميز لكل ما يُحقق الأجر والثوبة عن صدقاتهم الجارية ، بغية تثقيف موازينهم يوم الحساب . لذلك حرص عامة المسلمين من أصحاب الممتلكات على وقفها لئيفق منها على

(15) المأثرة: المكرمة المتوارثة.

(16) وأجنادين إحدى بقاع بلاد الخليل إذ تقع فيما بين بلدتي الرملة والخليل إلى الغرب منها ، مطابقة لموقع بلدة بيت جبرين . انظر: René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale*, (Paris 1927), 402

(17) إسحق بن إبراهيم بن أحمد بن محمد بن كامل التدمري ، (ت 833هـ/1428م .) ، *مثير الغرام وختلاصة الكلام في فضل زيارة سيدنا الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام* ، مخطوط منشور في: Arabic manuscript, in: History of the Prophets, The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, No. 46353.

(18) الحافظ ابن عساكر ، *تاريخ دمشق* ، ج 10 ، 468 ، 469 .

(19) تقي الدين المقرئ ، *الضوء الساري* ، 116 - 117 .

(20) المكفيلة اسم سام يعنى مزدوج ، وكان النبي إبراهيم عليه السلام قد اشتراها ليدفن فيها ، وتوفيت زوجته سارة من قبله فدفنها ، ثم تم دفنه أيضاً بها ، وكذلك إسحاق وربقة ويعقوب وليثة ، وهذه المغارة تعد جزءاً أساسياً من مبنى الحرم الإبراهيمي وتقع أسفله . انظر: العهد القديم: سفر التكوين ، 25: 9 ، 23: 19 ، 49: 31 ، 50: 31 . وقد ترسخ هذا المعتقد على مر العصور في الكتابات المصدرية ، ومن ذلك راجع: أبو الحسن على بن أبي بكر الهروي (ت 611هـ/1214م) ، *الإشارات إلى معرفة الزيارات* ، تحقيق: على عمر ، (القاهرة: مكتبة الثقافة الدينية، 2001) ، 29 - 31 ؛ انظر أيضاً:

John Wilkinson and others, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, (London 1988), 89.

(21) تقي الدين المقرئ ، *الضوء الساري* ، 120 .



جهات الخير المختلفة، ليجمعوا بين خيري الدنيا والآخرة؛ أما خير الدنيا فبالمحافظة على العين الموقوفة حيث لا تُباع ولا توهب، وأما خير الآخرة فهو امتداد ثوابها إلى صاحبها بعد موته⁽²²⁾.

وتجدر ملاحظة أنه بالنسبة لوقف تميم الداري تحديداً فقد اشترط الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يكون إقطاع تميم الداري «لِعَقْبِهِ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ» كما ورد سلفاً، وهذا يعني أن تبقى إدارته وتبدير أمره والولاية عليه في ورثته من أهل بيته؛ لذا فلا يخضع مصيره إلى آراء الفقهاء وإقرارهم لأمر التوريث من عدمه. ومن هنا وكى يضطلع الوقف بدوره بثبات كان لا بد من تحديد المسؤولية على قوم بعينهم حتى يتمكنوا من توفير الأموال اللازمة من ريع الإقطاع هذا من ناحية، ومن ناحية أخرى حتى يتمكنوا من خدمة الحرم الإبراهيمي وزواره، وإدارة شؤونه. فجعل لتميم موقفاً له هبة انطلاقاً من قاعدة المثلثة التي وضعها الفاروق. ويُصنف وقف تميم الداري على أنه وقف مشترك لاجتماع صفتي الخيرية والأهلية فيه بمعنى أن الواقف جمعهما في وقفه بأن جعل لذريته نصيباً من العين الموقوفة، وللبر نصيباً محدوداً أو مطلقاً في الباقي أو العكس⁽²³⁾.

دور وقف تميم الداري في تطوير عمارة الحرم الإبراهيمي:

لعل أبكر استخدامات الوقف في مجال العمارة تحويل المبنى الحجري للحرم فوق مغارة الأنبياء، والذي اعتبره المسلمون حصناً فجعلوه مسجداً⁽²⁴⁾، وأطلقوا عليه الحرم الخليلي أو الإبراهيمي فيما بعد، ففي العصر الأموي (661-750 م./40-132 هـ). وصفت في عام 670 م./50 هـ. الخليل بالبساطة، مما يعكس غلبة الطابع الزراعي البدوي على مجتمعها. وفي ذلك العصر أراد الخليفة عبد الملك بن مروان (685 - 705 م./65 - 86 هـ.) أن يتعرض لإقطاع الدارين، فأتوه يكتبهم فتركهم⁽²⁵⁾، كما عمد الخليفة سليمان بن عبد الملك بن مروان (717 - 719 م./99 - 101 هـ.) إلى الأيعرج على إقطاع الدارين بالخليل، ويقول: «أخاف أن تصيبي دعوة رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم»⁽²⁶⁾. وبصفة عامة لم ينته العصر الأموي إلا بتشديد سقف للمبني وإقامة مشاهد ستة فوق قبور الأنبياء: إبراهيم، وإسحاق، ويعقوب عليهم السلام «حذا كل نبي إمراته» فوق المغارة حماية لها بحيث تطابق أمكنتها مواقع القبور السفلية. وقد عنيت مصائد عدة بالإشارة إلى تلك الإضافات الهامة التي تعكس العمارة الإسلامية وفنها الراقي، وجميعها تؤكد على أنه قد تم تعديل المكان بجعله مسجداً جامعاً، حيث تطلبت عمارة المسجد إقامة قبة من الحجارة فوق مشاهد الأنبياء⁽²⁷⁾.

وفي العصر العباسي وعلى عهد الخليفة المهدي (774-785 م./158-169 هـ.) شهد المسجد طفرة معمارية

(22) محمد بن أحمد الصالح، الوقف في الشريعة الإسلامية، 10.

(23) أبو بكر أحمد بن عمرو الشيباني الخصاص (ت 261 هـ./872 م.)، أحكام الأوقاف، تحقيق: محمد مصطفى شلبي، (القاهرة: مكتبة الثقافة الدينية (د.ت.)، صفحات متفرقة؛ محمد بن أحمد الصالح، الوقف في الشريعة الإسلامية، 53-55.

(24) أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن محمد الفارسي الأصبخري (ت القرن الرابع الهجري/العاشر الميلادي)، المسالك والممالك، تحقيق: محمد جابر عبد العال الحسيني، (القاهرة 1961)، 57؛ محمد بن أحمد شمس الدين المقدسي (عاش في القرن الرابع الهجري/العاشر الميلادي): أحسن التقاسيم في معرفة الأقاليم، (القاهرة 1991)، 172. والثابت أن المبنى الحجري أسس في عهد الملك الروماني هيرودس الكبير (37 - 4 ق.م.) وكان يتألف من مغارة المكفيلة والأسوار الأربعة العلوية مدعومة بثمان وأربعين دعامة من كتل صخرية ضخمة. انظر: ZYarim، *The Underground Cave of Machphela*، (Jerusalem 1986)، 52 - 63.

(25) تقي الدين المقرئ، الضوء الساري، 79.

(26) أبو عبيد عبد الله بن عبد العزيز البكري الأندلسي (ت 478 هـ./1094 م.)، معجم ما استعجم من أسماء البلاد والمواقع، تحقيق: مصطفى السقا، 4 ج، (القاهرة 1951)، ج 2، 420.

(27) أبو إسحاق الأصبخري، المسالك والممالك، 57، شمس الدين المقدسي، أحسن التقاسيم، 172؛ وعن شكل الحرم والمشاهد الستة داخله انظر شكل رقم (2) بملحق البحث؛ انظر أيضاً:

Samuel Ben Samson, "Itinerary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson in: 1210 AD", in: *Jewish Travellers*, (London 1930) 104-105.

ويتجه الرحالة ذاته إلى أن المشاهد بنيت لتضليل الناس، حيث كانت مزيفة.



أخرى بإحداث مدخل عند السور الشمالي الشرقي بارتفاع ثلاثة أمتار ونصف، فاحتاج الأمر إلى بناء السلم، كما تم تركيب باب حديدي صغير⁽²⁸⁾. وعلى عهد الخليفة المقتدر (908-932 م./295-320 هـ.) تم تدعيم أبنية القبة الرئيسية وإضافة قبة أخرى فوق المكان الذي كان يُظن بأن النبي يوسف قد دُفِن فيه داخل المغارة، فتطلب ذلك توسعة الحرم جهة الجنوب الغربي حتى بدت وكأنها مسجد مستقل⁽²⁹⁾. والثابت أن تطور أبنية المسجد على هذا النحو جعلته يُهيمن بصيته على بلدة الخليل ذاتها؛ إذ يذكرها البلاذري المتوفى عام 279 هـ./892 م بوصفها «بلدة مسجد إبراهيم»⁽³⁰⁾، كذلك اكتفى ابن الفقيه الهمداني في أوائل القرن العاشر الميلادي/أواخر الثالث الهجري بأن ذكرها باسم «مسجد إبراهيم». وفي النصف الثاني من القرن الميلادي نفسه -الرابع الهجري- وصفها ابن حوقل بأنها «مدينة صغيرة كالقرية بها مسجد إبراهيم»⁽³¹⁾ عليه السلام. ولنا أن نتوقع أن ثلث ريع الوقف الداري المخصص للعمارة قد تم استخدامه في إنجاز هذا الزخم الواضح من العمارة الدينية وفقاً للشروط العمرية.

واكب اهتمام الدولة بالحرم اهتمام شعبي ومن القائمين على الوقف، ساعد على تزايد حدث مشهود له بالصدق وقع في العقد الرابع من القرن العاشر الميلادي -العقد الثالث من القرن الرابع الهجري- خلاصته أن إبراهيم الإسكافي أحد فاعلي الخير أراد الوقوف بنفسه على صحة توجية ما أوقفه من أموال بالنزول إلى مغارة الخليل فكان له ما أراد جلسة بعد انقطاع حركة الزوار⁽³²⁾. ودرس أحد الباحثين الواقعة، ونخلص من دراسته⁽³³⁾ إلى: أن زيارة المغارة قد حُظرت تقديساً لها، وأن وقف تميم الداري لم يكن وحده هو القائم على خدمة الحرم؛ إذ انضاف عليه جانب من صدقات الإسكافي وربما غيره، وأن الزوار قد دبوا على زيارة الحرم مع بداية الدولة الفاطمية.

شهد الحرم الإبراهيمي في القرن ذاته طفرة مهمة، ففي مجال العمارة بُني حوله دور⁽³⁴⁾ للزوار، واختلطت به العمارة للزائرين المجاورين به، واتصلت به من كل جانب، ولهم قناة ضعيفة حيث أن مياهها كانت تنبثق وتتهادى رويداً من مكان قريب من الحرم لتصل إلى حوض مغطى لينتفع منها الزوار والأهالي⁽³⁵⁾. وفي المجال الاجتماعي ضمت الخليل «ضيافة دائمة وطباخ وخباز وخدام مرتبون يقدمون طببخ العدس بالزيت لكل من حضر يأتي، ويحضر عندهم من الفقراء، ويُدفع إلى الأغنياء إذا أخذوا. ويظن أكثر الناس أنه من قرى [أى كرم] إبراهيم وإنما هو من أوقاف تميم الداري وغيره [وهي منطقة تمتد] إلى نحو نصف

(28) ناصر خسرو، سفرنامه، 33.

(29) أبو الحسن الهروي، الإشارات، 30؛ إسحق بن إبراهيم التدمري، مثير الغرام، مخطوط ورقة 38 أ.

(30) أبو العباس أحمد بن يحيى بن جابر البلاذري (ت 279 هـ/892 م)، فتوح البلدان، تحقيق: عبد الله أنيس الطباع وعمر أنيس الطباع، (القاهرة 1956)، 129.

(31) أبو بكر أحمد بن إبراهيم الهمداني ابن الفقيه (ت 340 هـ./951 م.)، مختصر كتاب البلدان، (طبعة ليدن 1302 هـ.)، 101؛ أبو القاسم محمد بن علي النصيبى ابن حوقل (ت 367 هـ./977 م.)، صورة الأرض، (ليدن: مطبعة برييل 1938)، 159.

(32) أبو الحسن الهروي، الإشارات، 30؛ أبو عبد الله زكريا بن محمد بن محرز القزويني (ت 682 هـ./1283 م.)، آثار البلاد وأخبار العباد، (جوتنجن 1848)، 187؛ وقد أورد أبو اليمن العلمي القصة بالتفصيل؛ انظر: أبو اليمن عبد الرحمن بن مجير الدين العلمي (ت 927 هـ./1532 م.)، الأنس الجليل بتاريخ القدس والخليل، 2 ج، (بيروت 1973)، ج 1، 43-45.

(33) Ignac Goldziher, "Das Patriarchengrab in Hebron nach al-Abdari", in: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (Z.D.P.V. - Journal of the German Society for Exploration of Palestine), vol. 17, 115-122.

(34) شمس الدين المقدسي، أحسن التقاسيم، 173.

(35) ناصر خسرو، سفرنامه، 33.



مرحلة [أى حوالى ثلاثة كيلو مترات] من كل جانب قرى وكروم وأعناب وتفاح -يسمى جبل نصره- لا يرى مثله ولا أحسن من فواكهه، عامتها تُحمل إلى مصر⁽³⁶⁾ لتُباع بأعلى الأثمان»⁽³⁷⁾.

هذا يُعد أول ذكر لضيافة الخليل، وهي ظاهرة محورية في هذه الدراسة؛ إذ اقترنت جنباً إلى جنب بالحرم الإبراهيمي وبشخص النبي إبراهيم الراقد هو وذريته الأنبياء بمغارتها. والعبارات السابقة تؤكد على تفاعل الدارين وإذعانهم للشروط الموضوعية على بقاء الوقف تحت إدارتهم؛ فما إقدامهم على بناء الدور للزوار والعمل على مد المياه من خلال قناة، وتقديم الوجبات من أطعمة وفواكه إلى ابن السبيل سواء أكان فقيراً أم غنياً إلا تنفيذاً لشرط تخصيص ثلثي ريع الوقف على ابن السبيل.

ولظاهرة الضيافة أسس أبرزها الرسول حينما أوصى بمنح الإقطاع إلى تميم وعقبه حيث ربط عليه الصلاة والسلام بين منحه للهبة وشخص النبي إبراهيم ذاكراً قول الله تعالى: (إِنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِإِبْرَاهِيمَ لَئِذٍ اتَّبَعُوهُ وَهَذَا النَّبِيُّ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَاللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ)⁽³⁸⁾. كما اتجه المؤرخون والرَّحالة إلى تفسير الاهتمام بضيافة الخليل والاتفاق على أنها ترجع بنشأتها إلى ما استنته إبراهيم حينما كان يُكرم ضيفه مُعتبرين الخطوة التي اتخذها الرسول محمد إحياءً للسنة بغرض وضع نهج يُحتذى⁽³⁹⁾؛ إذ كان أبو الأنبياء قد اعتاد ألا يأكل إلا إذا شاركه طعامه الفقراء... «وإذا أراد أن يأكل خرج ميلاً أو ميلين ليلتمس من يتغذى معه، -وكان يُكنى أبا الضيفين- وأصدق نيته في الضيافة⁽⁴⁰⁾ ويحتم على الضيف أن يقيم في ضيافته خمسة عشر يوماً، وفي رواية أخرى ثلاثة أيام... وإذا قصد إطعامهم دق الطبل لإعلامهم أنه هيا لهم ما يأكلون ليجتمعوا، فإذا سمعوا بأدروا، واجتمعوا لأكل سماطه الكريم، فصارت سنة بعده في كل يوم... فدامت ضيافته في مشهده». وقد اهتم شهود العيان على اختلاف عقائدهم بالإشارة إلى نزعة الكرم عند إبراهيم وانفقوا على أنه كان يستقبل في خيمته ذات الأبواب الأربعة الضيوف من كل صوب⁽⁴¹⁾. وبذلك أقر المجتمعان الإسلامي والأوروبي استمرار هذه السنة بصفتها سنة حميدة، مؤكدين على أنها ترجع إلى أيام أبي الأنبياء دون انقطاع.

وفي القرن الحادي عشر الميلادي/الخامس الهجري ازدهرت أبنية الحرم والدور من حوله إلى حد بعيد، ونكتفي في مجال الإنفاق على العمارة من خلال وصف الرحالة -الشيعة- ناصر خسرو للحرم أن بُنيت

(36) شمس الدين المقدسي، أحسن التقاسيم، 173.

(37) أبو اليمن العليم، الأنس الجليل، ج 2، ص 417.

(38) القرآن الكريم: سورة «آل عمران»، آية 68.

(39) صلاح الدين بن أبيك الصفدي (ت764هـ/1363م)، التنكرة/الصفدية، مجلد 28، مخطوط بدار الكتب المصرية، رقم 821 تاريخ، ورقة 27-28؛

The Grant, 531. kow, Kren

(40) إسحق بن إبراهيم التدمري، مثير الغرام، ورقة 41ب. راجع أيضاً:

Isac Ben Joseph Chelo, "The Roads from Jerusalem 1334 AD", in: Jewish Travellers, 135;

Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Voltera, "Itinerary of Rabbi Meshullam Ben. R. Menahem 1481 AD", in: Jewish Travellers, (London 1930) 185-186.

(41) إسحق بن إبراهيم التدمري، مثير الغرام، مخطوط، ورقة 40ب، أبو اليمن العليمي: الأنس الجليل، ج 2، ص 671-672. وقد اقترنت هذه السنة عند الزوار المسلمين بفضل الزيارة، ويعد التدمري أبرز المهتمين بجمع الأسانيد المؤكدة على فضل زيارة الخليل عليه السلام. ويكتفي في هذا الموضوع بالإشارة إلى أحد الأحاديث النبوية الشريفة التي ساقها في هذا الشأن، ففي سنده نقلاً عن أبي هريرة قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: «من لم يمكنه زيارتي فليزر قبر إبراهيم الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام» راجع مخطوطه، ورقة 40 أ-ب.



به مقصورة⁽⁴²⁾ - التي كان المقدسي قد ذكرها بالمغطى⁽⁴³⁾ -، ومحراب في عرض البناء، وبالمقصورة محاريب جميلة بها مشهذان رأسهما للقبلة وكلاهما من الحجر المصقول بارتفاع قامة الرجل: الأيمن مشهد إسحاق (عليه السلام) والآخر مشهد زوجته ربقة، وأرض هذا المشهد وجدرانه مزينة بالسجاجيد الدمشقية القيمة والحصر المغربية التي تفوق الديباج حسناً، وحصير للصلاة من أفخم الأنواع وأغلاها ثمناً حيث تمّ شراؤها من مصر بثلاثين ديناراً من الذهب المغربي⁽⁴⁴⁾. وحين خروج السائر من المقصورة إلى وسط الساحة يجد ناحية اليمين مشهد إبراهيم الخليل (عليه السلام) وهو مشهد كبير، وقد كسيت أرضه وجدرانه ببسط من الديباج. وقد بُني من حجر علق به القناديل والمصابيح الفضية. أما على اليسار فيوجد مشهد زوجته سارة وبين المشهدين ممر به كثير من القناديل والمسارج، ويليهما مشهد يعقوب (عليه السلام) وزوجته ليئة. أما مشهد يوسف (عليه السلام) فقد بُني كذلك من الحجر لكنه يقع خارج الحرم⁽⁴⁵⁾، ونخلص من هذا الوصف إلى أن أعمال البناء والتشييد على مدى قروننا أربعة كانت في تطور مستمر وصل مداه إبان الحكم الفاطمي الشيعي للخليل بداية من عام 969م/358هـ.⁽⁴⁶⁾ مما يدل على التوسع في الإنفاق من ريع الوقف، وليس من المستغرب الاهتمام بالإضاءة داخل الحرم على هذا النحو لما كان ماثوراً عن تميم الداري؛ إذ أنه أول من أوقد المصابيح في المسجد النبوي الشريف⁽⁴⁷⁾.

يحدد خسرو موقع الضيافة بأنه: «على سطح المقصورة التي في المشهد، حجرات للضيوف الوافدين، وقد وُقف عليها أوقاف كثيرة من القرى ومستغلات بيت المقدس»، كما تناول الرحالة نشاط الدارين فيها قائلاً: «يعطون الضيوف والمسافرين والزائرين الخبز والزيتون، وهناك طواحين كثيرة تديرها البغال والثيران لطحن الدقيق، وبالمضيعة خادمتان يخبزن طوال اليوم، ويزن الرغيف مناً واحداً [أى ثمانمائة وتسعة عشر جراماً]⁽⁴⁸⁾، ويُعطى من يصل هناك رغيفاً مستديراً وطبقاً من العدس المطبوخ بالزيت وزبيباً كل يوم... وفي بعض الأيام يبلغ عدد المسافرين خمسمائة، فتتهيأ الضيافة لهم جميعاً»⁽⁴⁹⁾ وعليه يلاحظ التنامي

(42) نشأت المقصورة في المساجد في زمن الخليفة عثمان بن عفان رضى الله عنه ليحتمى بها الحكام أثناء صلاتهم، وما لبثت أن شهدت عمارتها تطوراً كبيراً على عهد الفاطميين حيث تميزت بكونها من العصر الملوكى تنوعت أشكالها ومادة بنائها، وفضلاً عن الخشبية منها ظهرت المقاصير الحديدية. وعلى مر العصور الإسلامية اختلفت وظائف المقصورة، فهناك مقاصير صلاة الإمام أو الخليفة ومقاصير النساء ومقاصير الأضرحة ومقاصير الطلاب وفقاً لمذاهبهم ومقاصير الخزائن وحفظ الكتب. لمعرفة المزيد راجع: محمد محمد الكلاوى، «مقاصير الصلاة في العصر الإسلامى دراسة أثرية معمارية»، مجلة كلية الآثار، (القاهرة 1989)، العدد الثالث، 207-225.

(43) شمس الدين المقدسي، *أحسن التقاسيم*، 172.

(44) يقدر الدينار الذهبى بما يعادل أربعة جرامات وثلاث جرام ذهباً ومن ثم فهو وحدة وزن متوازى مثقالاً واحداً، انظر: فالتر هنتس، *المكاييل والأوزان الإسلامية وما يعادلها في النظام المترى*، ترجمة: كامل العسلي، (عمان: منشورات الجامعة الأردنية، أغسطس 1970)، 29.

(45) ناصر خسرو، *سفرنامه*، 33-34 راجع أيضاً:

Alexander Beaufort Grimaldi, "The Cave of Machpelah - Cenotaphs of the Hebrew Patriarchs", in: *Northern British-Israel Review*, (Glasgow: January 1911) 146-147.

(46) على بن أحمد بن أبي الكرم ابن الأثير (ت 630هـ/1233م)، *الكامل في التاريخ*، ج 12 + جزء للفهارس، (بيروت 1979)، ج 2، 591.

(47) محمد بن سعد بن منيع البصيري الزهري المكنى بأبي عبد الله ابن سعد (ت 230هـ/841م)، *الطبقات الكبرى (السيرة النبوية الشريفة)*، تحقيق: إحسان عباس، ج 8، (بيروت د.ت)، ج 1، 234، 249، 267، 490، ج 2، 355، ج 5، 26، ج 7، 408.

(48) وذلك وفقاً للأوزان في الشام في النصف الثاني من القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي/السادس الهجري، انظر: فالتر هنتس، *المكاييل والأوزان الإسلامية*، 46.

(49) ناصر خسرو، *سفرنامه*، 35.



المستمر في مردود الوقف في مجالي العمارة والضيافة والاهتمام الشعبي والحكومي مما يعكس الأفكار والآراء الفقهية المنتشرة في القرن الحادي عشر الميلادي - الخامس الهجري التي تجيز الوقف وتأسلة شرعا وناقشته من جميع جوانبه ردا على بعض المتحفظين وبلغ الأمر بحجة الإسلام أبي حامد الغزالي أن اعتبر قاضي القدس الذي أنكر شرعية الوقف كافراً وقدّم أسانيدَه الشرعية الدالة على صحة ذلك⁽⁵⁰⁾.

وقف الدارين ودوره في عصر الوجود الصليبي 1099م - 1250م / 492هـ - 648هـ:

غزا الصليبيون الشام واستولوا على الخليل في عام 1099م - 492هـ وما زال إقطاع الدارين في بيت عينون وحبري - اللتين تألف منهما الإقطاع - بأيديهم إلا أن أهلها أخلوها. «وَقَرَّ مَنْ بَقِيَ مِنْهُمْ إِلَى أَمْصَارِ أَهْلِ الْإِسْلَامِ»⁽⁵¹⁾. ولما كان تاريخ الخليل قد ارتبط بشخص سيدنا إبراهيم، فقد حول الصليبيون الحرم الإبراهيمي إلى كنيسة أطلقوا عليها كنيسة سانت أبراهام St Abraham⁽⁵²⁾. ومع ذلك لم تحظ في بادئ الأمر باهتمام كاف من قبل الحكام الجدد، وهذا يتضح من خلال كتابات الرحالة الصليبيين أنفسهم حيث صوّروا الحرم بشكل أقل بهاء⁽⁵³⁾ مما كان عليه سلفاً، إلا أنهم ما لبثوا بعد مرور عقدين أن أبدوا اهتماماً بإجراء الكشوف داخل المغارة للوقوف على حقيقة دفن الأنبياء بها فتأكد لهم ذلك في عام 1119م - 513هـ. وترتب على ذلك نتائج عدة في مجالي العمارة والطقوس مما أدى إلى تنشيط حركة الزيارة للمدينة من قبل الأوروبيين⁽⁵⁴⁾، إذ تم في العام التالي توقيع قرار يقضي بإعفاء الذين يجلبون القمح والشعير والفول والعدس والحمص إلى بيت المقدس من الضريبة التي كانت مقررة عليهم، وكان حاكم الخليل الصليبي بلدوين دي سانت أبراهام Baldwin of St. Abraham (1115-1136م. / 509-531هـ). أحد الشهود على توقيع القرار⁽⁵⁵⁾. من ناحية أخرى أخذ شأن كنيسة سانت أبراهام في الارتفاع تدريجياً حتى صنفت بأنها كنيسة كاتدرائية كبرى⁽⁵⁶⁾ بدليل أنها غدت تمثل في عام 1168م. / 263هـ.⁽⁵⁷⁾ أحد الكراسي الأسقفية الأربعة في مملكة بيت المقدس اللاتينية.

أما عن الضيافة، فقد صممت المصادر المعاصرة عن ذكرها، صدى لخلو الخليل من أهلها المسلمين، واكتفى المؤرخ الصليبي ألبرت داكس Albert d'Aix الذي توقف عن الكتابة بعد عقدين فقط من استيلاء الصليبيين

(50) أبو الحسن بن محمد بن حبيب المصري الماوردي (ت 450هـ. / 1058م.)، الأحكام السلطانية والولايات الدينية، (القاهرة 1966)، 191-192؛ محمد بن محمد بن أحمد الطوسي المكنى بأبي حامد الغزالي (ت 505هـ. / 1111م)، إحياء علوم الدين، ضبطه: محمد محمد تامر، 5 ج، (القاهرة 1348هـ)، ج 1، 4-5.

(51) تقي الدين المقرئ، الضوء الساري، 123.

(52) كانت أول مشكلة واجهت فريق المعماريين الصليبيين هي أن اتجاهات أسوار الحرم ذاتها لم تكن تتماشى مع الاتجاه الذي تفره الطقوس المسيحية، والتي تقضى بأن يكون اتجاه الكنائس نحو الشرق، ولذا اقتضت جهود أعضاء الفريق على إحداث تغييرات داخلية فقط بغرض إضفاء معالم الكنيسة على مبنى الحرم. انظر:

Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jerusalem: Architecture Religieuse et Civile*, 2 vols. and 2 albums of plates, (Paris 1928), vol. II, 319.

(53) Sæwulf, "A Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land", in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 4, (London 1893) 24; Daniel the Russian, "The Pilgrimage of Daniel the Russian in the Holy Land 1106- 1107 AD", in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 4, (London 1888) 44- 45.

(54) راجع الدراسة المتخصصة عن الخليل في عصر الحروب الصليبية عند: على أحمد السيد، الخليل والحرم الإبراهيمي، أماكن متفرقة.

(55) Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire de Chapitre de Saint- Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris: Geuthner, 1984), doc. no. 27.

(56) Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments*, vol. 1, 15.

(57) Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Bistümer, Klster und Stifte in Koenigreich Jerusalem", in: *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* 26, (Stuttgart 1977), 114 - 115.



على المدينة منفرداً بالإشارة إلى أن الغزاة أولوا الحرم الاحترام والتبجيل بشكل لا يقل عن الذين أداروا شئونه سلفاً، كما أشار إلى ظاهرة الاحتفالات التي أقامها الصليبيون بشكل لا يقل عن الاحتفالات التي كان المسلمون يقيمونها⁽⁵⁸⁾. إلا أن الرحالة المسلم العمري زار الخليل بعد عودة السيادة الإسلامية عليها بحوالي قرن ونصف قرن أفاد بأنه حينما: «استولى الفرنج على بلد الخليل أجروا هذا السماط [أي الضيافة] وزادوا على ما كان قبله وبالغوا في صلة المعروف»⁽⁵⁹⁾. ويُستشف من ذلك، أنه بسيطرة الصليبيين على الخليل قد توقفت المظاهر الاحتفالية الإسلامية، ومن ثم تمّ القضاء على أحقيّة الدارين في الوقف؛ في حين يُمكن تقبل ما ذكره العمري عن إبقاء الصليبيين على ما كانت تقوم به الضيافة من دور ولكن بالشكل الذي يتناسب مع عقيدتهم. وبغرض خدمة الزوار المسيحيين بعد أن زادت أعدادهم جرّاء اكتشاف مقابر الأنبياء.

لكن ماذا عن مصير الدارين ووقفهم في الخليل بعد أن تمكن صلاح الدين الأيوبي من استعادتها مرة أخرى من الصليبيين عام 1187 م/583 هـ.؟ وهل تمكنت ذريتهم من استعادة إقطاعهم ليعاودوا الاضطلاع بما كان يقوم به من خدمات؟ وفي هذا الشأن يُخبرنا المؤرخ النويري الكندي بالآتي «وقد انقرض تميم الداري، ولا عقب له»⁽⁶⁰⁾ وإذا افترضنا صحة اندثار الدارين يكون من الطبيعي أن ينهار العمل بوقفهم، الأمر الذي تنخفض معه الدخول العائدة على الحرم إلى حد بعيد، في الوقت الذي لم تستمر فيه الهبات الصليبية من القرى والبساتين والأموال التي تم وقفها على الحرم أو بالأحرى على كنيسة سانت أبراهام في شكل إيجار لعقارات تملكها الكنيسة خاصة وأن معظم هذه الهبات تقع في الأراضي التي ما تزال خاضعة للصليبيين - ولم يستردها المسلمون بعد- أو تقع في أوروبا ذاتها⁽⁶¹⁾.

بيد أن هناك من الشواهد ما يكفي للتدليل على عودة الدارين للخليل وإشرافهم على شئون الحرم؛ ففي النصف الأول من القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي/الثامن الهجري يقول العمري عند حديثه عن القبائل التي تسكن الشام في عصره «بلد الخليل عليه السلام معمور بني تميم الداري رضى الله عنه»⁽⁶²⁾. كما رأى صلاح الدين الصفدي المتوفى عام 764 هـ/1363 م عهد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم مكتوباً ومحفوظاً في بيت الدارين⁽⁶³⁾. ومن ناحية أخرى برز من بين حارات الخليل طوال العصرين الأيوبي والمملوكي حارة الدارية التي تُعد «أحسن الحارات، وكانت تقع غربي الحرم، وفيها أسواق البلد ومنافعها»⁽⁶⁴⁾ وفي القرن التالي يأتينا من يؤكد على استمراريه الدارين في إدارة وقفهم بالخليل وكان التساؤل فقط حول مدى شرعية استردادهم للإقطاع من الفرنج⁽⁶⁵⁾؟ وفي القرن الذي تلاه يؤكد أبو اليمن العلمي مؤرخ القدس والخليل المتوفى (927 هـ/1532 م) على أن الدارين استردوا شرعية اختصاصهم بالوقف؛ إذ رأى بأمر عينه ما كتبه علي بن أبي طالب على قطعة أديم «وقد صارت رثة وفيها بعض أثر الكتابة، ورأيت معها ورقة مكتوبة

(58) Albert d'Aix, "Historia Hierosolymitana", in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 4, (Paris 1879), 524.

(59) شهاب الدين أبو العباس بن فضل الله العمري (ت 749 هـ/1349 م)، *مسالك الأبصار في ممالك الأمصار*، (دولة المماليك الأولى)، تحقيق: دورويتا كرافلوسكي، (بيروت، 1986)، 176.

(60) شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الوهاب الكندي النويري (ت 732 هـ/1332 م)، *نهاية الأرب في فنون الأدب*، مخطوط بدار الكتب المصرية رقم 549، معارف عامة، ج2، ورقة 289.

(61) Hans Eberhard Mayer, ed., *Tabulae Oridinis Theutonici*, (Berlin 1975), doc. no., 101, 102, 104, 331, 336, PP. 81, 82- 84; Delaville le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jerusalem (1100- 1310)*, 4 vols., (Paris 1906), vol. 3, 3120.

(62) شهاب الدين أحمد العمري، *مسالك الأبصار*، 154.

(63) صلاح الدين بن أبيك الصفدي، *التذكرة*، مخطوط، مجلد 28، ورقة 27-28.

(64) أبو اليمن العلمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج2، ص425.

(65) تقي الدين المقرئ، *الضوء الساري*، 120، 123-124.



في الصندوق الذي فيه قطعة الأديم، منسوب خط هذه الورقة إلى أمير المؤمنين المستنجد بالله العباسي [1160-1170 م./555-566 هـ.] كتب فيها [نسخة الإقطاع]، وصورة ما كتبه المستنجد بخطه: الحمد لله، هذه نسخة كتاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الذي كتبه لتميم الداري وأخوته في سنة تسع من الهجرة بعد منصرفه من غزوة تبوك...» وهكذا استمر هذا الإقطاع بيد ذرية تميم الداري يأكلونه إلى يومنا، وهم مقيمون ببلد سيدنا الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام⁽⁶⁶⁾.

واستناداً إلى القاعدة الفقهية المتفق عليها: أن السلطان ولي من لا ولي له في حالة حدوث انقطاع ما في صلة مالك الوقف بملكه عليها⁽⁶⁷⁾ فإن هذا هو ما حدث بالنسبة للداريين حيث تمكنوا من استعادة إقطاعهم بشكل شرعي بعد فقده، وذلك بتجديد صاحب الولاية وهو الخليفة العباسي المستنجد الكتاب الأول المتضمن حصولهم على الإقطاع هبة من الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم، مع الحرص على الاحتفاظ بالأصل (النبوي). وهكذا اجتمعت الشواهد لتؤكد على استعادة الدارين دورهم في تملك وإدارة الوقف الذي يحمل اسمهم غداة عودتها للسيادة الإسلامية أواخر القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي/أواخر السادس الهجري، الأمر الذي يبشر بالخير بالصرف على المؤسسات الخاصة بالحرم الإبراهيمي خلال القرون الثلاثة التالية. ومما يجدر ذكره هنا أن أوقاف تميم الداري ظلت مُصانة إلى عصرنا الحالي؛ إذ ورد في سجلات الأوقاف الخاصة بالحكومة الأردنية لعام 1935 للميلاد ما يؤكد على ذلك⁽⁶⁸⁾، بيد أن موضوع البحث لا يسمح بتتبع أوضاع وقف الدارين حتى وقتنا الراهن.

وبعد ما تأكد لنا استعادة الدارين لإقطاعهم نتتبع مواصلة وقفهم للعمل الخيري في مجالي العمارة ورعاية ابن السبيل؛ فثمة شواهد تدل على بدء انتعاش الخليل اقتصادياً ومعمارياً عقب خضوعها للسيادة الأيوبية، حيث هاجر إليها عدد كبير من الجند المجاهدين من كل صوب⁽⁶⁹⁾، و ساعد على ذلك سيادة التخريب العسكرية للمدن المجاورة⁽⁷⁰⁾، كما استردت الخليل دورها في التجارة البرية بين مصر والشام⁽⁷¹⁾ في ضوء توقف الطريق الساحلي بينهما Via Maris. وإبان هذا النشاط الحربي والاقتصادي في الخليل حرص المسلمون بعد فترة قصيرة على أن يقضوا على المظاهر المعمارية الصليبية التي أضيفت على حرمها بعد استعادته، ومن أهمها المذبح والصور التي كانت تميز وجود كنيسة داخل المبنى، وكان من اللازم استبدال هذه المظاهر بإحداث نقلة جديدة بإعادته إلى صفته الأولى كجامع بنقل منبر المسجد الحسيني من القاهرة ليُنصب داخله، فكان بحق أجمل ما أضافه المسلمون إلى المبنى⁽⁷²⁾ ولعل الإضافات المذكورة على الحرم تعكس إعادة تفعيل دور وقف الدارين.

أمّا عن حركة الزيارة للحرم فتعكس نشاط الوقف على عهد صلاح الدين وخلفائه الأيوبيين بشكل أوضح؛ إذ وضعت قاعدة لتنظيم زيارة الأوروبيين لمقدسات فلسطين مفادها «من شاء من بلادهم أن يدخل بلادنا فليفعل،

(66) أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، ص 429.

(67) منصور بن يونس بن صلاح الدين بن إدريس البهوتي الحنبلي، *كشاف القناع عن متن الإقطاع*، ج 2، ص 143.

(68) راجع: كتاب مأمور أوقاف الخليل الموجه إلى قائم مقام الخليل بتاريخ 16/6/1935م الموافق 16/3/1354هـ.. شاملاً جميع المزارع المعروفة والمشهورة في قرى حبرى، وبيت عينون، والرطوم. انظر: محمد راكان الدغمي، صلاح دياب الهندي: *الأوقاف والمساجد في الأردن وتطور التعليم الديني الإسلامي منذ نشأة الإمارة حتى الآن*، (عمان: منشورات لجنة تاريخ الأردن، 1991)، سلسلة البحوث والدراسات المتخصصة (4)، ج 1، ص 38.

(69) تقي الدين المقرئزي، *السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك*، ج 2، (القاهرة 1939)، ج 1، ص 97-100.

(70) القاضي بهاء الدين أبو المحاسن يوسف بن تميم بن شداد (ت 632هـ/1234م)، *النوادر السلطانية والمحاسن اليوسفية*، أو سيرة صلاح الدين، تحقيق: جمال الدين الشيبان، (القاهرة 1964)، ص 87-191.

(71) علي بن أحمد ابن الأثير، *الكامل في التاريخ*، ج 12، ص 82.

(72) Antonin Jaussen, "Inscriptions Coniques de la Chaire du Martyre al-Husayn à Hebron", in: *Revue Biblique*, (Paris 1923), 576-596; Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments*, vol. 2, 132.



ومن شاء من بلادنا أن يدخل بلادهم فليفعل» وكمثال على ذلك يُنسب إلى صلاح الدين قوله «إذا جاءوا لزيارة كنيستهم [القيامة] ما يليق بنا ردهم⁽⁷³⁾» وتمّ التصديق على هذا الاتفاق في صلح الرملة في الأول من سبتمبر 1192م./العشرين من شعبان 588هـ. ونظراً لارتباط الظروف بشكل وثيق بين زيارة الأماكن المقدسة بالقدس ومثلتها بالخليل يصح الاعتقاد في أن ما اتبع في زيارة القدس يكون قد طبق بالنسبة للخليل.

على ذلك أخذت ظاهرة قدوم الزوار الأوروبيين في التنامي سواء اليهود منهم أم المسيحيين خاصة وأن الحركة الصليبية ما زالت مستمرة وتدفع بانتقال هؤلاء، وإذا ما استبعدنا الحج إلى القدس الذي استأثر باهتمام كل أوروبي وافد، نجد الخليل وحرماها قد أصبحت من أهم المناطق التي يتوق الحاج الأوروبي إلى زيارتها⁽⁷⁴⁾، وكان كل ما على الفرنسي فعله هو تقديم رسم دخول مقابل كل زيارة يقوم بها للحرم الإبراهيمي⁽⁷⁵⁾. وتشهد رحلة الرابي صاموئيل بن شمشون إلى فلسطين 1210م./607هـ. على مدى التسامح الذي أبداه المسلمون معهم؛ إذ تمكن من الهبوط إلى مغارة القبور الحقيقية ذاتها، ولم يحل بينه وبينها سوى حائط كان الصليبيون قد استحدثوه، ولم يكن للزيارة أن تتم إلا بموجب تصريح مختوم من الخليفة العباسي. كما تمكن المسيحي جاك دي فيتري من زيارة الحرم بعد ذلك ببضعة أعوام، ورأى المشاهد الستة داخله⁽⁷⁶⁾. وكان لابد من إشراف السلطة الأيوبية على هذه المعاملات لذا حرص صلاح الدين منذ الفتح على تعيين الأمير علم الدين قنصوا والياً خاصاً بالخليل يتبعه بعض البلاد المجاورة، عاكساً بذلك ما يجب توفيره للمدينة من رعاية، خاصة وأن منصب والي الخليل لم يكن معروفاً من قبل⁽⁷⁷⁾ وبذلك نلمس الروح الطيبة من قبل الأيوبيين تجاه الزوار الأجانب رغم استمرار حالة الحرب مع الفرنج في كثير من الأحيان.

والواضح أن اقتصاديات الخليل انتعشت بفضل تنظيم إدارتها، مما فَعَلَ العمل بوقف تميم الداري في القرى المجاورة، ولم تلبث أن تنامت هذه الأوقاف حتى شملت أراضٍ قريبة من نابلس، وتوجد نقوش كتابية على المدخل الرئيسي للحرم الإبراهيمي مؤرخة بعام 1215م./612هـ. تشير إلى وقف الملك المعظم عيسى المتوفى 624هـ./1227م ابن الملك العادل على الحرم الإبراهيمي⁽⁷⁸⁾ بنفعل دور الأوقاف جنباً إلى جنب مع النشاط التجاري قد أدى إلى تزايد نمو الخليل كمدينة تعاضم دور حرماها أكثر، ويتجلى ذلك من وصفها فيما أورده ياقوت الحموي (ت 626هـ./1228م). عندما وصفها بقوله: «الخليل: اسم موضع وبلدة، فيها حصن وعمارة وسوق بقرب البيت المقدس... وهناك مشهد زوار وقوام... وضيافة للزوار»⁽⁷⁹⁾. مما يعكس اهتمام كل من الأهالي والغرباء بها. على ذلك عادت استخدامات أوقاف الخليل ما اختص منها بالداريين أو غيرهم إلي عهدنا السابق سواء في مجال العمارة والتجهيزات، أم في مجال فتح الضيافة لاستقبال الزوار من جديد أمام عابري السبيل.

(73) على بن أحمد ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ، ج 12، 85-86؛ جمال الدين محمد بن سالم ابن واصل (ت 697هـ/1298م)، مفرج الكروب في أخبار بني أيوب، ج 3، تحقيق: جمال الدين الشيال، (القاهرة 1960)، ج 2، 402-406.

(74) Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, (London 1987), 42.

(75) على بن أحمد ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ، ج 12، 230؛ تقي الدين المقرئ: السلوك، ج 1، 544.

(76) Samuel Ben Samson, *Itinerary*, 104-105; Jacques de Vitry, "The History of Jerusalem", in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 6, (London 1896), 106-107.

(77) أبو اليمن العلمي، الأنس الجليل، ج 1، 345.

(78) أبو بكر عبد الله بن أبيك الدواداري (ت 732هـ/1331م)، كنز الدرر وجامع الغرر، ج 7: الدرر المطلوب في أخبار ملوك بني أيوب، تحقيق: سعيد عاشور، (القاهرة 1972)، 198-201؛ أبو اليمن العلمي، الأنس الجليل، ج 2، 377، 440؛ جمال الدين أبو المحاسن يوسف ابن تغري بردي (ت 874هـ/1470م)، النجوم الزاهرة في ملوك مصر والقاهرة، ج 16، (القاهرة 1972)، ج 7، 194.

(79) شهاب الدين أبو عبد الله ياقوت الحموي (ت 626هـ/1229م)، معجم البلدان، ج 5، (بيروت 1975)، ج 2، 212.



وفي نظرة شمولية للخليل وحرمة منذ الغزو الصليبي حتى نهاية العصر الأيوبي ندرك متغيرات عدة: أولها أن المجتمع الإسلامي في الشام قد تهيأ منذ أوائل القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي/السادس الهجري للتعامل مع الآخر الأوروبي على اختلاف عقائدهم، ليس بسبب الغزو الصليبي فحسب، إنما أيضاً بما تركه فكر فقهاء المسلمين الواعي بضرورة استيعاب الأغيار، وهذا يفهم مما رده -على سبيل المثال- أبو حامد الغزالي بشأن ضيافة الخليل، وذلك بتدوينه رواية المجوسي الذي أبى إبراهيم عليه السلام أن يضيّفه إلا أن يسلم؛ فأوحى له الله تعالى: «أن يا إبراهيم لم تطعمه إلا لتغير دينه، ونحن منذ سبعين سنة نطعمه على كفره، فإن أضفته ليلة ماذا كان عليك!» فسعى عليه السلام خلفه فردّه وضايفه⁽⁸⁰⁾. كذلك شهدت الفترة ذاتها اكتشاف القبور الحقيقية للأنبياء عليهم السلام كما رأينا في الخليل، فأدى هذا كله إلى انفتاح الشرق على الغرب مما أثر بالضرورة على تنامي دور ضيافة الحرم في استقبال الزوار سواء من الأهالي ورعايا الدولة الأيوبية أم من الأجانب على شتى انتماءاتهم العقائدية.

وفي عهد ملك دمشق -المعظم عيسى (1218-1227م/615-624هـ) - أبدى المسلمون شعوباً وحكاماً يوماً بعد يوم اهتماماً واضحاً بالحرم الإبراهيمي، الأمر الذي تزايدت معه مطالبهم والخدمات، حتى أدرك ساستهم ضرورة الاستمرار في تطوير إدارة الخليل والبلاد المجاورة بتعيين وال عليها مرة أخرى، اسمه الرشيد بن فرج ابن عبد الله، كما لوحظ في تلك الأونة تغلب النشاط الصوفي⁽⁸¹⁾. ومن أدلة ظهورهم خروج متصوفة الخليل والدرّاويش لمقاومة عودة الصليبيين إلى بيت المقدس في عام 1229م/626هـ إبان الحملة الصليبية السادسة، وقد بلغت أعدادهم حوالي خمسة عشر ألفاً⁽⁸²⁾. وفي الصفحات التالية نتتبع مدى تبلور الزخم الديني والاجتماعي في الخليل.

وقف الدارين في عصر دولة المماليك بالشام (1250-1516م/648-923هـ):

تعد هذه الفترة بمثابة العصر الذهبي لهذا الوقف؛ فبعد أن تجاوز المماليك المشاكل التي أحقت بدولتهم منذ البداية، تأكد دور وقف تميم الداري مدعوماً بالسلطنة ذاتها، حيث اهتم الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس البندقداري (1260-1277م/659-676هـ). -المؤسس الحقيقي للدولة- بتعيين الأمير علاء الدين أيدغدي الأعمى في وظيفة ناظر الحرمين الشريفين، واستمر فيها ما بين (1263-1294م/661-693هـ). ويُفسر المقرئ في مهام هذه الوظيفة بأن صاحبها يتولى النظر في أوقاف الحرم القدسي والحرم الخليلي، وقد ارتقى هذا الأمير بشئون الخليل كثيراً أثناء ولايته، ومما يُنسب إليه اهتمامه بتطوير ضيافة الحرم وإدارته لجميع الأنشطة الدينية والاجتماعية المتعلقة به⁽⁸³⁾ وظل منصب ناظر الحرمين بالقدس والخليل يُمثل أحد المناصب

(80) إسحق بن إبراهيم التدمري، *مثير الغرام*، مخطوط، ورقة 42.

(81) أبو عبد الله محمد بن إبراهيم ابن بطوطة (ت 799هـ/1377م)، *الرحلة*، (بيروت 1992)، 77؛ أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، 421-605.

(82) Eracles, "L'Estoire d'Eracles Empereur et de conquest de la terre d'outre-mer", in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 2, (Paris 1859), 183- 185.

راجع أيضاً: شهاب الدين أبو إسحاق إبراهيم عبد الله ابن أبي الدم (ت 642هـ/1244م)، *التاريخ المظفري*، مخطوط بمكتبة جامعة الإسكندرية، رقم 1292ب، بدون ترقيم.

(83) تقي الدين المقرئ في، *السلوك*، ج 4، 81؛ راجع أيضاً أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، 605. والأمير علاء الدين أيدغدي هو الأمير الكبير: علاء الدين الأعمى الأيدغدي بن عبد الله الصالحى النجمي، كان من أكابر الأمراء فلما أقام بالقدس الشريف ولى نظارته فعمره، وكان مهيباً لا يُخالف. وله كثير من الأعمال العمرانية «وكان يُباشر الأمور بنفسه وله حرمة وافر» توفي في أغسطس 1294م/شوال 693هـ، راجع عماد الدين أبو الفدا إسماعيل بن عمر ابن كثير (ت 774هـ/1373م)، *البداية والنهاية في التاريخ*، المعروف بتاريخ ابن كثير، ج 14، (طبعة القاهرة 1358هـ)، ج 13، 337.



المرموقة، وكان الأمراء يحرصون على تقلده من قبل السلاطين مما يعكس الاهتمام المتزايد بالحرمين⁽⁸⁴⁾. ويمكننا تفسير استحداث ببيرس منصب ناظر الحرمين الشريفين بالقدس والخليل في ظل وجود الدارين أصحاب الإدارة الأولين؛ بأن الأصل في إدارة الأوقاف كونها إدارة أهلية مستقلة، تعمل وفق مبدأ التسيير الذاتي بعيداً عن التدخل الحكومي يحدوها في ذلك المصلحة الشرعية، إلا أن الممارسة الفعلية للوقف الداري تطلبت في المرحلة التالية تدخل الإدارة الحكومية ممثلة في السلطان الذي اتجه إلى إرساء نظم معينة لإدارة الأوقاف من خلال النظار وكانت مهمتهم ضبط حسابات الأوقاف الخيرية من حيث إيراداتها ومصروفاتها من ناحية، ومن ناحية ثانية المحافظة على حقوق الجهات الموقوف عليها، وفي مقدمتها المساجد، ومن ناحية ثالثة تنظيم صرف مرتبات موظفي تلك الجهات من خلال وضع دفاتر وقلم محاسبات⁽⁸⁵⁾، وقد استلزم ذلك وضع تقنين ينظم العلاقة بين الناظر بصفته ممثلاً للحكومة وبين الوقف.

وفي خطوة تالية خضع القضاء في مدينتي القدس والخليل لسلطة واحدة عُرف وليها بلقب «قاضي القدس والخليل»⁽⁸⁶⁾. إلا أن قضاء الخليل استقل بتعيين وال خاص به في أواسط القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي/الثامن الهجري يدعى عباس بن عبد المؤمن العفرا ماوي الحارمي⁽⁸⁷⁾. وهكذا جمعت القدسية ووحدة الإدارة بين المدينتين مما يبرز ما بلغته الخليل من شأن مرموق بفضل حرمة الأوقاف الموقوفة عليه، فغدت جديرة بتعيين قاضٍ خاص بها مبرزاً شخصيتها.

تأثرت إدارة وقف الدارين باستحداث منصب ناظر الحرمين وتداخل الجهتين معاً؛ بحيث غدا الوقف جزء لا يتجزأ من إدارة الناظر، وشمل إشرافهما المشترك كلا من المدخلات المعمارية والضيافة، بيد أن تداخلهما كان أكثر وضوحاً في توفير الأضمة والمأوى بحكم أن احتياجات ابن السبيل قد اتسعت كماً وكيفاً مع تزايد الزوار، في حين تطلبت الإضافات المعمارية صرفاً حكومياً ضخماً ومباشراً؛ ومن ثم يكون الحديث عن مجال خدمة الزوار والضيافة له الأولوية حتى يستقيم الأمر ويتفق مع ترتيب الأولويات الوارد في التنظيم العمراني المنشئ لها.

(أ) مجال الزيارة والضيافة:

شهدت الخليل في الفترة الواقعة بين أكتوبر وديسمبر 1267م. /صفر وربيع الآخر 666هـ زيارة عز الدين الحلبي نائب السلطان ببيرس على مصر بإيعاز منه لتقصي أوضاعها تمهيداً لأن يقوم بنفسه بزيارتها، وفي العام الهجري ذاته توجه بنفسه إلى الحرم الإبراهيمي إذ «بلغه أن اليهود والنصارى... يؤخذ منهم حقوق عن زيارة الخليل عليه السلام والنزول إلى المغارة بنجسهم، فأنكر ذلك، وكتب مرسوماً يمنعهم من دخول المقام الشريف، واستمر الأمر على ذلك»⁽⁸⁸⁾. وهذا يؤكد أن الأوروبيين واصلوا زيارتهم للحرم طوال العقود السبعة التالية للوجود الصليبي بالخليل، كما كانوا قد اعتادوه في الحقبة الصليبية، وبالتالي فإن الضيافة كانت تستقبلهم رغم كونهم أجانب جنباً إلى جنب مع المجاورين والزوار المسلمين، كما يتأكد

(84) جمال الدين ابن تغري بردي، *النجوم الزاهرة*، ج 15، 131-136، 340، 502، وللوقوف على أسماء من تولوا نظارة الأوقاف الخاصة بالخليل من خلال منصب ناظر الحرمين الشريفين راجع: أحمد سامح الخالدي، *رجال الحكم والإدارة في فلسطين من عهد الخلفاء الراشدين إلى القرن الرابع عشر الهجري*، (القدس: المطبعة العصرية، 1947)، متفرقات.

(85) إبراهيم البيومي غانم، *الأوقاف والسياسة في مصر*، (القاهرة: دار الشروق، 1998)، 386 وما بعدها.

(86) ثغر الدين بن أبيب كربن قاضي شهبة الدمشقي ابن قاضي شهبة (ت 874هـ/1469م)، *تاريخ ابن قاضي شهبة*، (دمشق 1977)، ج 1، 77، 159؛ تقي الدين المقرئ، *السلوك*، ج 2، 288.

(87) الحافظ شهاب الدين أحمد ابن حجر العسقلاني (ت 1449م - 853هـ)، *إنباء العُمر بآباء العُمر*، (دمشق 1399هـ)، 313.

(88) الأمير ركن الدين ببيرس المنصوري الدواداري (ت 725هـ/1325م)، *التحفة المملوكية في الدولة التركية*، تحقيق: عبد الحميد صالح حمدان، (الدار المصرية اللبنانية، 1987)، 67.



أن حظر بيبرس جاء تنظيمًا للزيارة حرصاً على قداسة المكان ، خاصةً وأن الحظر كان يشمل في الأصل المسلمين بمنعهم الهبوط إلى المغارة .

وفي ضوء الدعم السلطاني لوقف الدارين في مجال الضيافة حيث خدمة المجاورين والزوار المحليين منهم والأجانب ، فإن هذه الظاهرة استمرت طيلة العصر المملوكي مصحوبة بالمظاهر ذاتها التي أحاطت بها منذ عصر الدولتين الفاطمية والأيوبية من احتفالات وغيرها . ونرصد في هذا الشأن جهود الأمير أيديني الأعمي حيث اهتم بتشييد بناء مُحكم يضم بعض الغرف بالقرب من باب الحرم الإبراهيمي ، «بداخله الأفران والطواحين ، وهو مكان من العجائب يغلق عليه باب واحد ، والحاصل الذي يوضع فيه القمح والشعير علوه . وتمكن الأمير من أن يرتفع بالكميات التي كانت الضيافة توزعها من طعام من مجرد خمسة كيلوجراماً وأخرى عدساً إلى غرارتين قمحاً» وهذا يُعدُّ من حسن سيرته وطيب أيامه⁽⁸⁹⁾ . وإذا ما علمنا أن كيلجة القمح تعدل حوالي كيلو جراماً وثلثي الكيلو ، في حين تبلغ الحرارة الواحدة ستمائة وثلاثة عشر كيلو جراماً والنصف كيلو⁽⁹⁰⁾ ، فيتبين أن كميات القمح التي كانت تستهلك في الضيافة أوائل العصر المملوكي قد تضاعفت عشرات المرات عما كانت عليه إبان العصر الأيوبي ، وعليه يتضح أن إمكانات وقف الدارين عجزت عن الاضطلاع بما ينبغي القيام به ما يؤكد حيوية الدعم الحكومي .

وتباعاً تسجل المصادر الإسلامية والغربية المعاصرة ، شهادتها على تنامي الضيافة وما تقوم به من دور بفضل وقف تميم الداري ، وما أضيف إليه من أوقاف وصدقات . وبداية يذكر الرحالة القزويني (ت682هـ/1283م .) عن ضيافة الخليل إنها «موضعٌ طيبٌ نزه ، آثار البركة ظاهرة عليها»⁽⁹¹⁾ ويذكر الرحالة ابن الحاج العبدري في أواخر القرن الثالث عشر الميلادي/السابع الهجري عن الحرم الخليلي : «ما بالك بما يفعلونه [الزوار] فيه اليوم من الغناء والرقص في كل يوم بعد صلاة العصر ، فإننا لله وإننا إليه راجعون ، وليحذر مما يقوله بعضهم عن العدس الذي يُفروونه في ضيافة الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام . . . » باعتبار أن الخليل كان يُكرم ضيفه باللحم ، كما استاء العبدري من سلوكيات زوار الضيافة؛ ورأى أنه على المسلم الورع أن يتأسى بالأجيال السابقة ، بزيارة الحرم من الخارج فقط ويُضيف «وأشنع من ضربهم بالطبل وتصويتهم بالمزامير والأبواق أنهم يرون أن ذلك قربة يتقربون بها إلى ربهم عز وجل . . . ويسمون ذلك بنوبة الخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام»⁽⁹²⁾ وهذا كله يُعد في حكم البدع⁽⁹³⁾ . وبعد حوالي عقود أربعة يوضح العبدري أن «السماط كان يمد في كل يوم بعد صلاة العصر ، ويغدق من الخبز على الواردين على قدر كفايتهم ، وهناك الموظفون الذين يعملون على خدمة الضيافة ليل نهار حيث يقومون بغرلة القمح وطحنه وعجنه وخبزه ، فضلا عن مستلزمات إيقاد الأفران . . . ولم يزل على هذا مدى الشهور والأعوام والليالي والأيام لا ينقطع له مدد»⁽⁹⁴⁾ وأثناء ولاية السلطان الظاهر برقوق الثانية (1382-1389م/784-791هـ) أوقف «قرية دير أسطيا من أعمال نابلس على سماط سيدنا الخليل عليه السلام ، وشرط ألا يُصرف ريعها إلا على السماط الكريم فقط ، وكتب الوقف على عتبة باب مسجد سيدنا الخليل»⁽⁹⁵⁾ . وتفيد شهادة في

(89) أبو اليمن العليمي ، الأُنس الجليل ، ج2 ، 605-606 .

(90) فالتر هنتس ، المكابيل والأوزان الإسلامية ، 64 ، 71 .

(91) أبو عبد الله زكريا القزويني ، آثار البلاد ، 187 .

(92) أبو عبد الله محمد بن محمد العبدري الفاسي المالكي الشهير بابن الحاج ، المدخل ، ج4 ، 243-246 .

(93) خالد بن عيسى بن أحمد بن إبراهيم بن أبي خالد البلوي (ت737هـ/1337م) ، تاج الفرق في تحلية علماء أهل المشرق ، مخطوط بدار الكتب المصرية ، تاريخ تيمور رقم 844 ، جغرافيا ، 326 ، ورقة 363 ؛ الحافظ ابن حجر العسقلاني ، الدرر الكامنة في أعيان المائة الثامنة ، ج3 ، (حيدرآباد 1353هـ) ، ج2 ، 40 .

(94) شهاب الدين أبو العباس العمري ، دولة المماليك ، 176 .

(95) أبو اليمن العليمي ، الأُنس الجليل ، ج2 ، ص440 .



القرن التالي بأنَّ الموضوع لم يخلُ ليلةً من ضيف⁽⁹⁶⁾.

ويُعدُّ العليمي خير مَنْ تحدَّث عن ضيافة الخليل؛ إذ اعتاد الإشارة إليها بـ«سماط إبراهيم» ما يوحي بأنها كانت تقدم اللحم صنفاً من الطعام، هذا وكان القائمون على الضيافة «يضربون الطبل كل يوم بعد صلاة العصر عند باب المطبخ حين يوزع الطعام، وهو من أعجب ما في الدنيا، ويشترك السكان مع الزوار في هذه الوجبات وإنَّ الخبز يوزع ثلاث مرات في اليوم، ففي الصباح للفقراء وغيرهم، وفي الظهر للسكان، وبعد العصر لهم [أيضاً] ولمن يأتي من الزوار. وعند الباب - حيث يدق الطبل - توجد المطابخ التي تحتوي على ثلاثة أفران وست طواحين، وعلى مسافة من هذا مخازن الغلال». وأفادنا بأنه في عام 1463 م/867 هـ. أنعم السلطان الظاهر أبو سعيد خشقدم (1460-1468 م/865-872 هـ) على الوقف الخليلي بستين غرارة قمح بما يُقدَّر بثمانمائة وأربعين ديناراً وبذلك بلغت ما تستهلكه الضيافة من القمح حوالي سبعة وثلاثين طنًا⁽⁹⁷⁾ وكان إجمالي ما يرد من الأوقاف للصرف على ذلك يُقدر بالخمسمائة ألف دوقية (Ducats) ذهبية عن كل عام⁽⁹⁸⁾، علماً بأنَّ الدوقية حينها كانت تعدل ثلاثة جرامات ونصف الجرام ذهباً.⁽⁹⁹⁾

أما عن زيارات المسيحيين للحرم الإبراهيمي فقد كانت مقيدة، في ضوء الحظر الذي كان قد فرضه الظاهر بيبرس مؤخرًا على نزولهم إلى مغارة الأنبياء؛ إذ يُخبرنا الرحالة الصليبي برخارد من جبل صهيون إنه تمكن من زيارة الحرم الإبراهيمي من الخارج حوالي عام 1282 م/682 هـ.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ وبعد بضع سنين عبَّر ريكلدو دي مونتي عن غضبه من عدم سماح المسلمين له بزيارة الحرم من الداخل، وحينما عاود المحاولة لم يُسمح له إلا بالصلاة خارج المبنى.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ ويروي جاك دي فيرونا حوالي عام 1335 م/736 هـ. «إنه بسبب مأسينا وأخطاؤنا أصبح المبنى مسجدًا للمسلمين، وهؤلاء لا يسمحون لأي مسيحي بالدخول، وإلا حكموا عليه بالقتل»⁽¹⁰²⁾ وفي أواخر القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي/التاسع الهجري يُعلمنا الراهب فيليكس فابري أنه لا يُمكن للمسيحي الدخول إلى المسجد الإبراهيمي حتى لو دفع أموالاً طائلة إلا متخفياً. وأبدى إعجابه الشديد بالضيافة وأكد على أن ليس لها مثيل، وأنها مُعدة للإقامة في غرفها العديدة بالطابق العلوي مُدة ثلاثة أو أربعة أيام في حين وُضعت الأمتعة في الطابق السفلي. وأشار فيليكس أيضاً إلى المطبخ وغرف الإدارة والعيادة الطبية التي تضمها الضيافة وقُدِّر مدخلها السنوي بأربع وعشرين دوقية بمردود اثني عشر ألف رغيفا يومياً توزع مع الزيتون وأطباق الحلوى «على كل من يطلب بغض النظر عن ديانتته أو مذهبه أو أمته التي ينتمي إليها»⁽¹⁰³⁾

(96) إسحق بن إبراهيم التدمري، *مثير الغرام*، مخطوط، ورقة، 42، أ.

(97) أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 1، 68، ج 2، 443، 445؛ على اعتبار أن الغرارة الواحدة تعدل ستمائة وثلاثة عشر كيلو جراماً ونصف كيلو وفقاً لمكايل بيت المقدس أواخر العصور الوسطى، راجع: فالتر هنتس، *المكايل والأوزان*، 64.

(98) Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185-186.0

(99) John Porteous, *Coins in History*, (West Sussex 1969), 106.0

(100) Burchard of Mount Zion, "A Description of the Holy Land 1232 AD", in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, vol. 12, (London 1896), 35.0

(101) Ricoldo de Monte-Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce, 1280-1300 AD", in: *Archives de l'Orient Latin (A.O.L.)*, vol. 2, (Paris 1884), 278.

(102) Jacques de Verone, "Libre Peregrin, 1335 AD", in: *Revue de l'Orient Latin (R.O.L.)*, vol. 3, (Paris 1895) 252.0

(103) Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanders of Brother Felix Fabry (circa 1480-1483 A.D)*, in: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (P.P.T.S.)*, 2 vols., 2 parts, (London 1893), vol. 2, part 1, 257, part 2, 408-411, 417



أما الرحالة اليهود فقد كانوا أكثر تفهماً عن أقرانهم المسيحيين لضوابط الزيارة التي وضعها الظاهر بيبرس؛ إذ تمكن إسحاق بن يوسف بن شيللو في عام 1334 م./734 هـ. وسط ضحبة من رفاقه من زيارة عديد من أضرحة الأجداد في الخليل وما حولها لم يكن من بينها الحرم ، الذي اعتبروه بمثابة القبلة المحلية التي ولوا وجوههم شطرها للصلاة وقت تواجدهم في المنطقة دون إبداء أي تحفظات أو تبرُّم من عدم دخوله⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. كما نزل كل من ميشولام بن مناحم أوف فولتيرا في عام 1481 م./886 هـ. و عوفاديا البرنتوري في عام 1488 م./893 هـ. ضيفان على الخليل وأبلغانا بأن السلطات استحدثت فتحة صغيرة في أحد حوائط المغارة استخدمها زوار الحرم من المسيحيين واليهود في صلاتهم خارجه ، وأنهم اعتادوا إلقاء التوابل غالية الأثمان والعملات والأوراق⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ ، وأنهم يشاركون المسلمين في تدلية المشاعل داخل مغارة الأنبياء من خلالها. وذكر ميشولام أن السلطات المملوكية خصت مغارة الأنبياء بمائتي فارس يتولون حمايتها من أي أخطار -وكان يعني بالأخطار العربان الذين كانوا ينشطون أحياناً بالاعتداء على المدينة ونهبها- مُثنياً على ما نعم به هو شخصياً من أمان أثناء الزيارة ، كما أدرك كلاهما ثراء القرى حول الخليل وواديها الغني بالخيرات الذي يخترق المدينة ويقسمها إلى شطرين ، وأكد على أن المسلمين يُقدمون ثلاثة عشر ألف رغيفاً كل يوم للفقراء إكراماً لإبراهيم وإسحاق ويعقوب.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

وعن إعداد الوجبات داخل الضيافة يقول ميشولام: «كان المسلمون يضعون الخبز في المستردة [نبات الخردل] مع لحم الجمل مثلما كان يفعل إبراهيم عليه السلام مع الملائكة. وإكراماً لإسحاق كانوا يُقدمون رقائق لحم الغزلان مثلما كان عليه السلام يُفضل أكله ، ويُقدمون الخبز مفتوتاً في العدس إكراماً ليعقوب عليه السلام مثلما قدمه إلى شقيقه عيسو وهذا يحدث في كل يوم دون كلل أو ملل⁽¹⁰⁷⁾» وإذا ما علمنا أن الخليل وفلسطين ، بل وكل بلاد دولة المماليك كانت تعاني من مجاعة حادة في ذلك الوقت لأدركنا مدى حرص الضيافة على أن تقوم بدورها الكريم مع ابن السبيل أياً كانت ديانته فضلاً عن الأهالي .

بذلك تمّ استعراض تطور الضيافة ، وقد ساعد على رسم صورة واقعية شاملة لها أن معظم الذين رسموها من شهود العيان ، كما كانت لهم انتماءات دينية مختلفة مما يُضفي مزيداً من الموضوعية في التأريخ لها. وعلى الرغم من ظهور كتابات تشنّع تصرفات الزوار وتشكك في شرعيتها إلا أن الاتجاه السائد في أواخر العصور الوسطى ذهب إلى إجازة الاحتفالات وتقديم الطعام مقرّوناً باللحم ، وزيارة قبر الخليل على أساس تشابه قدر الحرمين؛ في المدينة المنورة والخليل⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ ، استجابة لرغبة الشعوب والحكومات الإسلامية ، وبدت الضيافة بوتقة انصهرت فيها الأعراق المختلفة برغم احتفاظ كل منها بعقيده الخاصة .

(104) Isaac Ben Joseph Chelo, "The Roads from Jerusalem 1334 AD", in: *Jewish Travellers (J.T.)*, 135.

(105) تثبتت الكشوف الأثرية الحديثة صدق ما قيل؛ حيث تمّ العثور على ما يدل على إلقاء هذه الأشياء فضلاً عن أكداًس من الأوراق التي تحمل أدعية وأمانى الذين ألقوا بها. راجع: Grimaldi, *Cenotaphs*, 149-150.

(106) Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185; Ovadiah of Bar Tenuva, "The Travel letters of Rabbi Ovadiah, written Between 1488-1490", in: *Pathway to Jerusalem*, (Jerusalem 1992), 35, 43, 47-48; Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanders*, vol. 2, part 2, 409

(107) نستقرأ من الاسرائيليات تفسيراً لاشارة ميشولم عن تقليد تقديم العدس لضيوف الخليل؛ حيث تنازل عيسو البكر عن بكوريته لشقيقه يعقوب مقابل طبق عدس احتاجه بشدة وكان ذلك يعنى تنازله عن الخصوصية والملك ، كما كانت الزوجة الثالثة لعيسو حفيدة لاسماعيل عليه السلام ، مما ترك أثره على المجتمع الفلسطيني المسلم حتى سمعهم ميشولام ينادون «عدس الخليل عدس الخليل» للتفاصيل انظر:

Alan Unterman, *Dictionary of Jewish Lore and legend*, (London 1991), Art. Esau.

(108) إسحق بن إبراهيم التدمري ، مثير الغرام ، ورقة 31 أ- ب ، ورقة 40 ب ، 42 ب؛ أبو اليمن العلمي ، الأناجيل ، ج 2 ، 425-427.



ثمَّ دورٌ إضافي لعبته الضيافة في العصر المملوكي بأن تولّت رعاية الزهاد والعلماء ومدّتهم بالطعام، ولعلّ طلائعهم هم أولئك الذين أشار المقدسي إليهم بالمجاورين⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. ومن أبرز هؤلاء الشيخ علي البكاء توفى عام 670هـ/1271م صاحب الزاوية القريبة من الحرم والتي دُفِنَ فيها: «كان مشهوراً بالصلاح وإطعام من يجتاز به من المارة والزوار، وكان السلطان قلاوون يُثني عليه». ومنهم أيضاً الشيخ إبراهيم الهدمة المتوفى عام 730هـ/1330م كردي الأصل، ترك الشرق وأقام في فلاحية قطعة من الأرض تقع بين الخليل والقدس، وظهرت له كرامات، فكان هدفاً للزيارة، ومما رُوِيَ عنه إنه «كان يُصرف له من سماط سيدنا الخليل... في كل يوم عشرة أرغفة فكانت تجمع له من أول الأسبوع إلى آخره فيحضر [الضيافة] في آخر يوم من الأسبوع ويدفع له الخبز عن جميع ذلك الأسبوع، ويفت في وعاء، ويوضع عليه الجشيشة⁽¹¹⁰⁾ من السماط الكريم فيأكله». ومن علمائها برز الشيخ العالم برهان الدين أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن عمر الجعبري الذي توفى في عام 732هـ/1332م وتولى مشيخة الحرم الإبراهيمي، وكانت له مؤلفات مهمة⁽¹¹¹⁾، ومن ذريته عددٌ ممن تولوا مشيخة الحرم الإبراهيمي متعاقبين. كما برز الشيخ العالم أبو حفص عمر بن نجم الدين يعقوب المقدسي المعروف بالمجرّد الذي بنى بها زاوية أجريت عليها الأموال، حيث اعتاد أن يُضيّف من يقصده وتوفى ودُفِنَ بها عام 795هـ/1393م⁽¹¹²⁾ وقد أدى كل ذلك إلى إحياء الحركة الثقافية والعلمية بالخليل.

توطدت على هذا النحو أركان الضيافة وتأكّد دورها الاجتماعي والعلمي، بالرغم من بعض الصعوبات التي عرقلت دورها ومنها: نهب جانب من مواردها من قبل شمس الدين محمد الهروي ناظر الوقف المستأجر في عام (1419م/822هـ) مما عرضه للمحاكمة⁽¹¹³⁾؛ كما تسبب أيضاً الأمير دقماق إبنال الأشقر الناظر في عام (1488م/893هـ) في توقف الضيافة مدةً تربو عن الأربعة أشهر بسبب المجاعة فطالب الأهالي بإقالته واستدعاه نائب السلطنة بالقدس ونهرة بعنف وأمر باستمرار تقديم وجبة ولو من شعير⁽¹¹⁴⁾، وأحياناً كان الزوار يتعرضون لمشاكل أمنية مثلما حدث في عام (1481م/886هـ) من هجوم للعربان على المدينة⁽¹¹⁵⁾، ما دعى السلطات إلى استحداث وظيفة صاحب ومهمته وضع عدد من الحراس على رأس كل مجموعة زوار من المسلمين والمسيحيين واليهود لحمايتهم⁽¹¹⁶⁾ لتستمر الضيافة في عملها وسط حرصٍ دائم من قبل الأهالي والحكام جيلاً بعد جيل.

(109) شمس الدين المقدسي، *أحسن التقاسيم*، 173.

(110) وردت لفظة الجشيشة برسم الدشيشة في موضع آخر عنده، ورسمها المذكور أعلاه يستخدمه المغاربة، وهناك ثلاثة أنواع من الجشيش: القمح والشعير والأرز، والمقصود هنا جشيشة القمح حيث يغربل القمح الطيب، وينقى ويطن جشيشاً ويستخرج منه الدقيق، انظر أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن أبي القاسم محمد بن أبي بكر ابن رزين التحيبي (عاش في القرن السابع الهجري/ الثالث عشر الميلادي)، *فضالة الخوان في طبيبات الطعام والألوان*، تحقيق: محمد بن شقرون، (بيروت: دار الغرب الإسلامي، 1984)، 61-62.

(111) ومنها: نزهة البدر في القراءات العشرة، وشرح الشاطبية والرائية، وكتاب مختصر ابن الحاجب ومقدمته في النحو، وأكمل شرح التعجيز، فضلاً عن أن له مصنفات أخرى تقارب المائة.

(112) أبو اليمن العلمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج2، 492-493، 495-496، 497-498.

(113) تقي الدين المقرئ، *السلوك*، ج4، 483-484.

(114) أبو اليمن العلمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج2، 662، 663، 666، 673، *The Travel of Ovadia of Bar Tenuva*، 35، 42.

(115) تقي الدين المقرئ، *السلوك*، ج2، 764، انظر أيضاً: Meshullam of Voltera، *Itinerary*، 185.

(116) تقي الدين أبو بكر بن حجة الحموي (ت 83هـ/1441م)، *ثمرات الأوراق*، صححه وعلق عليه: محمد أبو الفضل إبراهيم، (القاهرة 1971)، 367، *Anselm Adorno, Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre-Sainte 1470-1471*. 367، *AD*، (Paris 1978)، 244-251؛ Meshullam of Voltera، *Itinerary*، 187.



(ب) أوقاف الخليل وعمارة الحرم:

أما عن الدعم الحكومي المباشر لوقف الدارين بغرض الصرف علي العمارة، فقد قام الظاهر بيبرس في عام 1268م/666هـ. بتجديد القبة الرئيسية للمسجد، كذلك رتب «الأخشاب والمقاصير والأبواب، ودهن ما يحتاج منها إلى الدهان، وعملت المقاصير... وجددت المشاهد المقدسة... وأصلح ميضاته»⁽¹¹⁷⁾ كذلك يُنسب إليه رفع رواتب المهتمين بأمر الحرم والمقيمين فيه على خدمته⁽¹¹⁸⁾. وفي عهد السلطان قلاوون تمّ رصد جواليّ (جزية) أهل الذمة في القدس والخليل وبيت لحم وبيت جالا عن العام 682هـ. للصرف على عمارة حوض ماء في الخليل لتوفير متطلبات الأهالي والزوار المتزايدة منهم⁽¹¹⁹⁾. كما أمر السلطان في عام 1287م/686هـ. بتغطية أجزاء واسعة من الحرم بالرخام. ويبدو أنّ هذه الأعمال كانت من الكبر إلى حدّ عهد المؤرخون بمثابة تجديد للحرم الخليلي. وكان السلطان قد أكمل جهوده تلك بإقامة رباط وبيمارستان⁽¹²⁰⁾ بالمدينة، وفي القرن التالي (الرابع عشر الميلادي-الثامن الهجري) تثبت وثيقة سيف الدين بكتمر الجوكندار كافل الدولة المملوكية قيامه في عام 1311م/719هـ. بوقف قرية مجدل فضيل القريبة من الخليل على قناة السبيل التي تبدأ منها عين تدعى «الطواشي» وتصب في الحوض الواقع عند باب مسجد الخليل الشمالي بغرض توفير ما يلزم لأعمال الصيانة لهما⁽¹²¹⁾. وفي أواسط القرن وُصف الحرم بأنه «أنيق الصنعة، محكم العمل، بديع الحسن، سامى الارتفاع، مبنى بالصخر المنحوت... وعلى يمين المنبر بلصق جدار القبلة موضع يُهبط منه على درج رخام محكمة العمل إلى مسلك ضيق يُفضي إلى مساحة مفروشة بالرخام، وكان هناك مسلك إلى الغار المبارك» وقد تمّ سدّه⁽¹²²⁾.

وفي أوائل القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي/التاسع الهجري عُلق على الأضرحة بمسجد سيدنا إبراهيم عليه السلام الستائر الحريرية، وكانت كسوة المشاهد تلقى عناية دوماً بتجديدها من قبل معظم السلاطين حينما يتولون أمر البلاد ربما على سبيل الوفاء بالنذر⁽¹²³⁾ كما تمّ تعمير مسجد إبراهيم الخليل بعمائر حسنة وجعل عليها أوقاف⁽¹²⁴⁾. وتتمثل أهم هذه الإضافات في تغطية واجهة الحرم بالرخام. كما أوقف السلطان الظاهر جقمق (1438م-1453م/842هـ-856هـ). أموالاً طائلة على ضيافة الخليل، وفي عهده أرسى موظفوه النظار على الحرمين القدس والخليل نظاماً أكثر تطوراً شمل ترتيب الوظائف وزيادة الرواتب والمؤذنين فظهرت أوقاف أخرى داعمة لهذه الأوقاف برزت آثارها واستخداماتها في إقامة عديد من الزوايا والمدارس ذكرها أبو اليمن العليمي على سبيل الحصر⁽¹²⁵⁾.

بفضل هذه الأوقاف انتهى الأمر بالمسجد في أواخر العصور الوسطى إلى أن أصبح يُمثل نصف مساحة

(117) القاضي محي الدين أبو الفضل عبد الله المصري ابن عبد الظاهر (ت 692هـ/1292م)، *الروض الزاهر في سيرة الملك الظاهر*، تحقيق ونشر: عبد العزيز الخويطر، (الرياض 1976)، 287؛ صلاح الدين بن أبيك الصفدي، *التذكرة*، مخطوط، مجلد 28، ورقة 28.

(118) أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، 434.

(119) تقي الدين المقرئزي، *السلوك*، ج 1، 712.

(120) أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، 435.

(121) انظر الشهادة على تقديم الوقف المهور من اليهود في عام 1345م/745هـ)، في: كامل جميل العسلي، *وثائق مقدسية تاريخية*، (عمان 1983)، وثيقة رقم (10)، 187.

(122) أبو عبد الله محمد بن بطوطة، *رحلة ابن بطوطة*، 55.

(123) أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، 441، 444.

(124) تقي الدين المقرئزي، *السلوك*، ج 2، 131.

(125) أبو اليمن العليمي، *الأنس الجليل*، ج 2، 424، 438، 443، 445.



الحرم ، كما أصبحت تعلوه أربع مآذن ، وغدا له بإبان يصلان إلى الداخل بسلمين صاعدين⁽¹²⁶⁾ ، وبهذه التوسعات أصبح «يصلى فيه أولاً إمام المالكية بالرواق الغربي الذي خلف الحجرة الخليلية ، ثم إمام الشافعية في المحراب الكبير الذي يقع إلى جانب المنبر ، ثم إمام الحنفية عند مقام آدم»⁽¹²⁷⁾ وكان تعدد المنابر في حد ذاته شاهداً قوياً على توسع الحرم معمارياً ، ومن ثم اجتماعياً ودينياً ؛ فيلاحظ أن معمار الحرم الإبراهيمي كان أبكر تأثراً بدعم الوقف الداري ، وبدا ذلك في الطفرات المعمارية التي شهدتها المبنى العتيق الذي يضم مغارة الماكفيل بإقامة الأضرحة الست فوقها وتحويل المبنى إلى مسجد جامع حيث المنبر والمحاريب والمقاصير والقباب والمآذن ، وكذلك التجهيزات من سجاجيد وقناديل وفرش وغيرها .

للوقف الداري وملحقاته نتائج أخرى مهمة ؛ إذ استجابت العمارة المدنية في الخليل لتطور حرما «فإن في زمن سيدنا الخليل كانت المغارة في صحراء ولم يكن هناك بناء . . . ثم اختفت المدينة بعد ذلك»⁽¹²⁸⁾ فتحوّلت حتى وصفت في القرن التاسع الميلادي/الثالث الهجري بالقرية⁽¹²⁹⁾ ، ومع أواخر العصور الوسطى وصفت بالمدينة ، وذكر عنها «منظرها في غاية الحسن والنورانية ، وهي مستديرة حول المسجد من الجهات الأربع . . . فبعضها مرتفع على رأس جبل وهي شرقي المسجد تسمى بسلون ، وبعضها منخفض في وادي ، وهي غربي المسجد ، والأماكن التي في العلو غالبها مشرف على الأماكن المنخفضة . وشوارع المدينة بعضها سهل ، وبعضها وعر وبنائوها . . . بالأحجار الفص النحيت وسقفها عقود ليس في بنائها لبن ولا في سقفها خشب»⁽¹³⁰⁾

ترتب على الطفرات المعمارية التي شهدتها الحرم أن أصبح مؤهلاً لكي يلعب دوراً مركزياً في جنوب فلسطين ، حيث ارتقى بمجتمعها في المجالات الدينية والعلمية والثقافية ، وتخرج منه عدد من العلماء وكبار الشيوخ الذين ساهموا في الحركة الفكرية خاصة في العصر المملوكي . وبذلك ترك الوقف تأثيره على مدينة الخليل ومجتمعها بشكل واضح بتطوير المجتمع الإسلامي المحيط ، ونقرأ في هذا الصدد نصاً يعكس هذا الارتباط الذي استمر طوال فترة العصور الوسطى ، بل على مدى تاريخ الوقف حيث ورد فيه «ولولا مكان الخليل بها لم تذكر [المدينة] فيما يُذكر ، وإنما عادت عليها بركات هذا المثوى الكريم ، فباهت الأقطار بفضلها ، وتأهلت الأمصار بأهلها»⁽¹³¹⁾ حيث تأثر تاريخ المدينة بأكمله بشخص النبي إبراهيم عليه السلام . هكذا ظل وقف الدارين يقوم بدوره على مر العصور وما زال مستمراً في أداء دوره⁽¹³²⁾ مستنداً إلى حُجِّيَّته التي حظى بها ، ومن حيث مدى الاهتمام به وبتوثيقه والحفاظ على المستندات الدالة عليه مقرونا بغيره من الأوقاف ، ولم لا وقد حمل شرف تصديق الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم .

مما سبق يتبين أن وقف تميم الداري ترك آثاراً اجتماعية أساسية تتمثل في أنه ساعد على إحياء سنة النبي

(126) Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase, "The Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria: (A) Architecture and Sculpture", in: *A History of the Crusades*, ed., Kenneth Meyer Setton, (Wisconsin University Press 1977), vol. 4, 69-99

انظر أيضاً شكل رقم 1 بالملحق الذي يتضمن شكل الحرم الإبراهيمي من الخارج في أقدم صورة له في العصر الحديث .

(127) أبو اليمن العلمي ، الأُنس الجليل ، ج 2 ، 384 .

(128) أبو اليمن العلمي ، الأُنس الجليل ، ج 2 ، 424 .

(129) أبو إسحاق الأصبخري ، المسالك والممالك ، 57 .

(130) أبو اليمن العلمي ، الأُنس الجليل ، ج 2 ، 424-425 ؛ واتفق معه في الوصف :

Meshullam of Voltera, *Itinerary*, 185; Ovadia of Bar Tenuva, *The Travel letters*, 48, 72.

(131) شهاب الدين أبو العباس العمري ، دولة المماليك ، 211 .

(132) تضمنت إحدى الدراسات جدولاً يشمل العقارات الوقفية العائدة لوقف تميم الداري رضى الله عنه لسنة 1935م . انظر : محمد راكان الدغمي وصالح دياب الهندي ، الأوقاف والمساجد ، 39 .



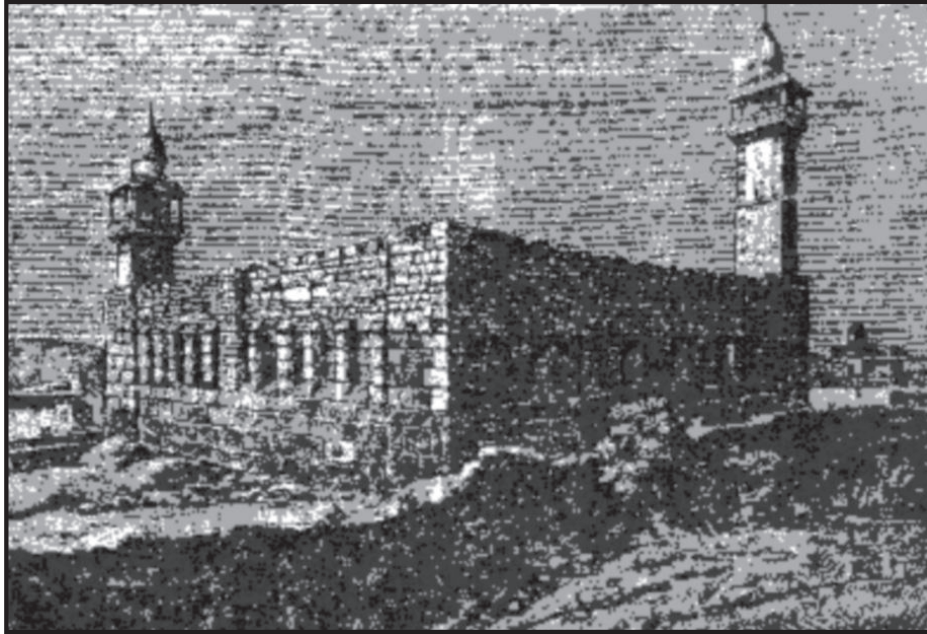
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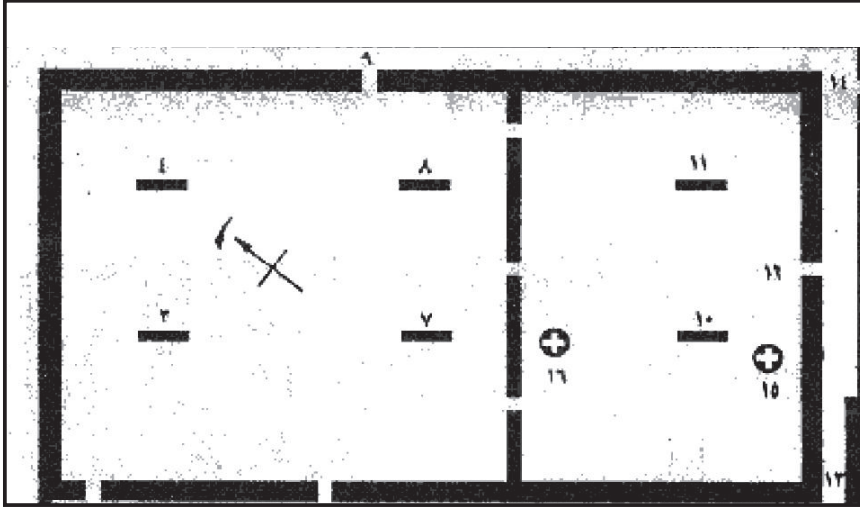
إبراهيم بإقامة ضيافة مهمتها استقبال الفقراء والأغنياء ، مسلمين ومسيحيين ويهود ، من الأهالي والأجانب .
ويلحظ أن دورها لم يُطابق الدور الذي تقوم به النزل التي يأوي إليها المسافرون ، إنما لعبت الضيافة دوراً
أوسع في استقبال الأهالي والمجاورين والزوار بأعداد كبيرة ومدّهم بالطعام المجاني إحياءً لذكرى بعينها
وسنة عن أبي الأنبياء ، فكان تجسيداً حضارياً مبكراً لما يجب أن تكون عليه الروابط بين معتنقي الأديان
الثلاثة والبحث عما يجمعهم ويؤلف قلوبهم ، والجنوح للتسامح وقبول الآخر في أرض مباركة تشملهم
جميعاً في سلام . وعليه يمكن القول إن وقف تميم الداري يُعد أحد أقوى الأسانيد على أن الحضارات لها أن
تتلاقى ، ومن ثم تنبذ الصدام فيما بينها .

ملحق يتضمن شكل الحرم الإبراهيمي من الخارج ورسم تخطيطي لأجزاء الحرم الداخلية . نقلاً عن:

Fulcran Vigouroux, "Hebron", in: Dictionnaire de la Bible, vol. 2, (Paris 1912), 559-560.



شكل رقم (1) : الحرم الإبراهيمي من الخارج :



شكل رقم (2) : رسم تخطيطي لأجزاء الحرم الداخلية :

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 3- مشهد يعقوب | 2- مسجد يوسف | 1- مدخل |
| 6- الساحة الداخلية | 5- مشهد يوسف | 4- مشهد ليا |
| 9- مدخل | 8- مشهد سارة | 7- مشهد إبراهيم |
| 12- محراب | 11- مشهد ربيعة | 10- مشهد إسحاق |
| | 14- مدخل | 13- المدخل الرئيس |
| | 16- فتحة بالأرضية | 15- فتحة مغلقة |

Glass and Rock-Crystal Manufactured in Egypt in the Medieval Mediterranean (10th-12th C.)

Ottavia Domenici

ISEM-CNR

The Fatimid caliphate rise (909-1171), that begun with the Ifrīqiyya's territories conquest, today Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and with the later expansion in Egypt, brought in the Mediterranean countries a significant increase in wealth that led to a flourishing industrial production with a consequent fast development of markets and trade. Population growth, that followed the economic expansion, led to an increasing number of consumers, whose needs for means they were unable to produce themselves, required to be satisfied. Craftsmen and artists were called to meet the requirements of an increasingly wider and varying range of costumers. Therefore together with luxurious rock crystal items, intended for high dignitaries and to embellish caliphs' courts, simpler and traditional consumer goods were produced, in order to satisfy society's daily needs. The increase of glass production was probably linked to the expansion of the Fatimid caliphate and consequently to the expansion of trade. In a short period of time these artifacts spread throughout the Mediterranean as simple bargaining chips or gifts thus reaching the Italian peninsula and the European countries, stretching to the Scandinavian coasts⁽¹⁾.

The wide variety of artifacts, preserved in Museums all over the world, attests the high degree of artistry achieved inside the workshops.

The centre of al-Fuṣṭāṭ has long been recognized, by ancient literary sources and the archaeological investigations, as the one of the main manufacturing centres in Egypt. The relevance of the city as propeller of many commercial activities, occurring in the Mediterranean, is proven by numerous reports of travellers visiting Egypt, between the 10th and 11th century, such as al-Muqaddasī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Nāṣir-i Khusraw⁽²⁾. As Nāṣir-i Khusraw narrates, in one of his travels to al-Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt, he visited a *bāzār*, located north of the mosque, called *sūq al-qanādil* or "the market of the lamps". In describing this market he praises the fine and expensive rock crystal examples coming in all shapes and sizes, while mentioning as well other numerous glass artifacts⁽³⁾. These materials were crafted, in workshops in or nearby Cairo city, as confirmed by evidence such as the notorious Fatimid Caliph al-'Azīz bi-llāh (975-96/365-86) ewer (Cat. 1), preserved in Venice's San Marco Treasure and the crescent, a half-moon shaped artifact, inscribed with a blessing to the

(1) Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, 51.

(2) Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 16-18.

(3) Nāṣer-e Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khusraw's Book of Travels*, 53-55.



Fatimid Caliph al-Zāhir li-i‘zāz dīn allāh (1021-36/411-27)⁽⁴⁾, today in the Germanisches National-Museum at Nürnberg (Cat. 2). Originally the crescent was probably intended as ornament for one of the caliph’s horses. Being both artifacts made under the caliph’s scrutiny a local manufacture is most likely. The glassware production also must have been local, given that during R. Pinder-Wilson and Scanlon 1950’s diggings around the al-Fustāt area, the Old Cairo, numerous kilns and glass waste, even of Tulunid dynasty (10th-11th c.), were discovered. Knowledge gathered to this date however doesn’t establish if these factories were within or nearby al-Fustāt walls, where the artifacts were produced.

In light of the abundance of rock crystal and glass artifacts discovered, it’s plausible speculate the shared use of the yards, between glass and hard-stone makers. The lacking of surviving documentation makes it challenging to determine nationalities of artisans in the workshops, considering that manufacturer marks are all but absent. If on one side the hard-stone masons in Cairo employed directly by the caliph, are most likely of Egyptian origin, on the other the glass makers nationality it’s uncertain.

The manufacturing of such items wasn’t address exclusively to enhance local economy but was destined for a bigger and wider market. Trade routes were also exchange courses of arts and culture; traveling with goods were also ideas, technical knowledge, artistic patterns and presumably craftsmen. Proof that glass and rock crystal artifacts trading, reached swiftly southern Italy littoral it appears to be found in the frequent gifts from the Norman King Roger II of Sicily, to his numerous religious and secular institutions⁽⁵⁾. The finest example, is certainly the astonishing engraved rock crystal ewer⁽⁶⁾(Cat. 3), given to Theobald II of Champagne by the King, as marriage pledge between one of his daughters and the King’s scion, Roger II Duke of Apulia. This artifact it’s clearly made by the Fatimids and was most likely a present from the Fatimid caliph to King Roger III, to testify the good relations between the court of Sicily and Egypt’s one. The relations between the courts, were not only economical and political in nature but mostly artistic, as proven by the “cultural pillage program” and authentic “Arabization”, that was taking place in Palermo at the time. The two sovereign rulers had strong trade relations, as further demonstrated by a letter⁽⁷⁾ written by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hāfiz (1130-1154), to King Roger II in the winter between 1137 and 1138. This script, mentioned by the Arabic author al-Qalqashandī, clearly refers to an exchange of gifts among the two rulers⁽⁸⁾. Given the prestige of the figures, the presents must have been of equal value, including vessels and rock crystal artifacts and most likely the above mentioned and certainly Fatimid⁽⁹⁾, Saint-Denis’ ewer.

Comparing style and morphology with the renowned Fatimid Caliph al-‘Azīz bi-llāh rock crystal ewer, without doubt the finest achievement of Egyptian crystal carving, it’s been possible to allocate this artifact within a corpus of clearly Egyptian ewers. This collec-

(4) Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 19.

(5) Bongianino, *Al-Ḥaḍra ar-Ruġġāriyya*, 108.

(6) *Ibid.*, 107-108.

(7) Canard, *Une lettre du caliphe fātimite al-Hāfiz*, 125-146.

(8) Johns, *I re normanni e i califfi fatimidi*, 26.

(9) Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, 193-194.



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tion shares in fact a series of common elements. Morphologically characterized by a pear-shaped body resting on a ring base, a prominent spout, enclosed by a series of overlapping mouldings. The handle, carved from the same block of material as the ewer itself, is bent at a right angle and is crowned by zoomorphic thumb-rest. Having also decorative wise, common iconographic themes, mainly zoomorphic and phytomorphic motifs. In a similar manner the so-called “thick glass” production appears to have convincing analogies with the rock crystal ewers manufactured at the time. Perfect examples are the famous ewer preserved in New York’s Corning Museum of Glass⁽¹⁰⁾ (Cat. 4), the Victoria and Albert Museum Buckley’s ewer⁽¹¹⁾ (Cat. 5) in London and the one (Cat. 6) found during al-Fuṣṭāṭ’s⁽¹²⁾ excavations, preserved today in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, dating between the 9th and 11th century. This particular kind of Egyptian rock crystal ewers are then possibly an imitation of one or more glassware artifacts manufactured at the time⁽¹³⁾, addressed to the elegant caliph’s court clientele. The choice of rock crystal as material instead of glass, was most likely the will of the caliph as a way to better express the wealth and power of his court⁽¹⁴⁾.

From a morphological point of view, the prototype of this ewer likely originates from Iranic lands among the end of the Sasanian period (III-VII a. C.) and the rise of Islam⁽¹⁵⁾. The first examples derived from silver and bronze vessels⁽¹⁶⁾ (Cat. 10-11). Heritage of the ancient metallurgical tradition, arose from a classical prototype⁽¹⁷⁾.

The esteem of Fatimid glyptic art, during King Roger II reign, entailed importation to Sicily of rock crystal carving techniques, although with low end results if compared to the Egyptian manufacturing. Some findings seem to reveal a Sicilian manufacture, such as the small flask (Cat. 7), adapted in a later date to be used as a reliquary, preserved in St. Stephen and Agate’s Cathedral in Capua and dated before the first half of the 11th century⁽¹⁸⁾. Another great example, preserved in St. Petersburg’s Hermitage Museum, is the small, pear-shaped, XII century ewer⁽¹⁹⁾ (Cat. 8), decorated with vegetal and zoomorphic motifs (facing lions, in a design that recalls the renowned Fatimid Caliph al-‘Azīz bi-llāh’s ewer in Venice⁽²⁰⁾).

(10) Whitehouse, *The Cornig Ewer*, 48-56; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 23; Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, 184-186.

(11) Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, 1938-1939; Whitehouse, *The Corning Ewer*, 52-53; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 22-23.

(12) Whitehouse, *The Cornig Ewer*, 53-54; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 23.

(13) There aren’t today known rock crystal vessels and dated to a time earlier than the Fatimid era.

(14) Bongianino, *Al-Ḥadra ar-Ruġġāriyya*, 118; Distelberger, “*Brocca con leoni affrontati*”, 331, mentioned in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Voll. 2.

(15) Carboni, *Islamic Lands*, 219.

(16) Curatola, *Eredità dell’Islam*, 97-98.

(17) Scerrato, *Metalli Islamici*, 23.

(18) Gabrieli and Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, 504; Venezia, “*Reliquiario di S. Brigida*”, 325-326, mentioned in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Voll. 2.

(19) Distelberger, “*Brocca con leoni affrontati*”, 331, mentioned in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Voll. 2.

(20) Rice, *A Datable Islamic Rock-Crystal*, 86; Erdmann, *Fatimid Rock Crystals*, 112-113; Alcouffe, *La glittica*



From a strictly archaeological prospective, the existence of any crystal workshop or Egyptian artisan on Sicilian territories, it's not confirmed, nevertheless in the 'forties of the twentieth century, some academics asserted that such degree of glyptic perfection in southern Italy, must have been based on the Fatimid Egyptian knowledge. Technical premises and models, were brought by Fatimid crystal engravers residing in Sicily, most likely due to frequent uprisings in Egypt⁽²¹⁾. Prime example of the Sicilian manufacturing is the Karlsruhe's Lionhead (Cat. 9), were the differences between the Fatimid and Sicilian glyptic are clearly visible⁽²²⁾. Similarly we can find in the St. Petersburg's ewer an occidental pear-shaped profile together with a classical Fatimid⁽²³⁾ embossing, reasons why the academics attributed this artifact to a local *atelier*. Given the lacking of knowledge and findings on the matter, we can only assume the presence of allochthonous *ateliers*, of Egyptian or other Islamic countries origin, in Norman rulers of Sicily employ.

Conversely it's possible to imagine that techniques and procedures from the Mediterranean area, were imported in Italy through the well-developed and dense network of political and commercial relations, especially during the first Fatimid era.

Methods and techniques, were then directly or indirectly employed by court's *ateliers* and adapted to respond local tastes and requirements, ultimately highlighting the prestige and power of Roger II's Norman court. It's uncertain the existence of a production destined to satisfy the requirements of simpler and unrefined costumers. The artifacts discovered and belonging to the Sicilian manufacture, show in fact a high degree of achievement. By the material's analysis, it's been possible to identify a wide variety about the main workshops involved in the production of rock crystal and glass artifacts. Such Egyptian items reached the Italian peninsula and the European and Oriental countries across the Mediterranean. The future archaeological investigations will allow to certify the existence of new workshops, in Egypt and mostly in the south of Italy.

Cat. 1_Fatimid Caliph al-'Āzīz bi-llāh ewer

Origin: Egypt

Storage place: San Marco Treasure, Venice (Inv. N. 80)

Date: ewer 975-96/365-86; frame 16th century ca.

Bibliography: Rice (1956), p. 86, fig. 2; Shelkovnikov (1966), pp. 110-111, fig. 27; Erdmann (1971), pp. 112-113, fig. 124; Alcouffe (1986), pp. 225-227; Curatola (1993), p. 153, fig. 61; Contadini (1998), p. 18, fig. 15; Meinecke-Berg (1998), p. 141, fig. 87; Spiazzi (2006), Voll. 2, p. 129, fig. II 8.



islamica, 225-227; Curatola, *Eredità dell'Islam*, 153; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 18.

(21) Distelberger, "I cristalli di rocca", 195 e ss., mentioned in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Voll. 1.

(22) Ibid., 196.

(23) Ibid.,



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Cat. 2_Fatimid Caliph al-Zāhir li-i' zāz dīn allāh crescent –shaped piece

Origin: Egypt

Storage place: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
(Inv. N. KG 695)

Date: 1021-36/411-27

Bibliography: Contadini (1998), p. 19, fig. 17.



Cat. 3_Anonymous ewer from Saint-Denis Treasury

Origin: Egypt

Storage place: Louvre Museum, Paris (Inv. N. MR 333)

Date: 10th-11th century; frame 12th century ca.

Bibliography: Migeon (1922), p. 7, fig. 1; Rice (1956), p. 90, fig. 8; Alcouffe (1986), p. 228, fig. 31/b; Distelberger (2006), Voll. 2, pp. 195-196, fig. 2.





Cat. 4_ *Anonymous ewer*

Origin: Iran (?)

Storage place: Corning Museum of Glass, N. Y. (Inv. N. 85.1.1)

Date: 10th-11th century

Bibliography: Whitehouse (1993), pp. 48-56, figg. 1-5; Contadini (1998), p. 23, fig. 20; Carboni (2001), pp. 184-186, fig. 90.



Cat. 5_ "*Buckley*" ewer

Origin: Iran

Storage place: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Inv. N. C. 126-1936)

Date: 10th-11th century

Bibliography: Pope (1939), Voll. 7, Tav. 1141 A/B; Whitehouse (1993), pp. 52-53, fig. 9; Contadini (1998), pp. 22-23, fig. 19.





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Cat. 6_ al-Fuṣṭāṭ ewer

Origin: Egypt

Storage place: Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo

Date: 9th century

Bibliography: Whitehouse (1993), pp. 53-54, fig. 10; Contadini (1998), p. 23, fig. 21.



Cat. 7_ St. Brigida Reliquary

Origin: Egypt or Sicily

Storage place: St. Stephen and Agate's Cathedral, Capua

Date: 11th century

Bibliography: Venezia (2006), voll. 2. pp. 325-26, fig. 1.





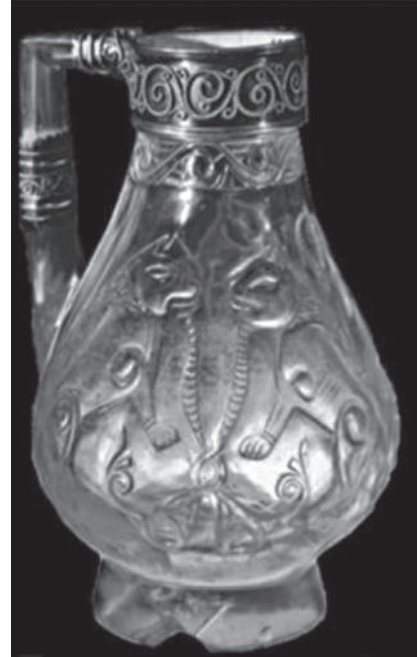
Cat. 8_Ewer with facing lions

Origin: Sicily (?)

Storage place: Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Date: 12th century

Bibliography: Distelberger (2006), voll.2. pp. 330-331.



Cat. 9_Lion's Head

Origin: Sicily

Storage place: Badisches Museum, Karlsruhe

Date: 12th century

Bibliography: Distelberger (2006), Voll. 1, p. 196.





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Cat. 10_ Anonymous ewer

Origin: Iran

Storage place: Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Lon. Ex. No. 91 J)

Date: 7th century ca.

Bibliography : Pope (1938), Voll. 4, Tav. 226 A



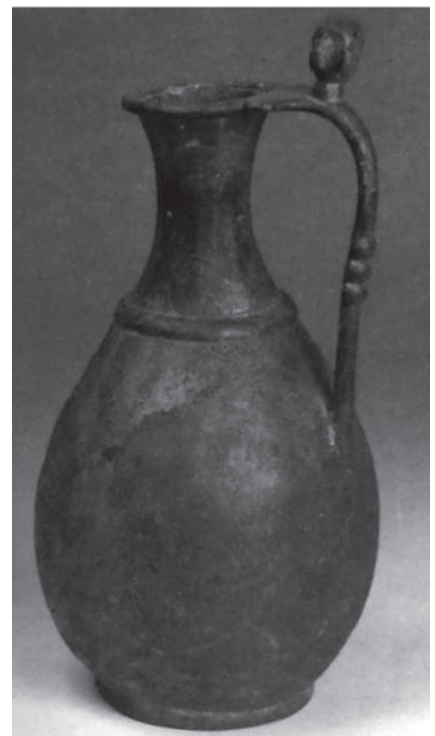
Cat. 11_ Anonymous ewer

Origin: Khurāsān, Iran

Storage place: Museum of Oriental Art "G. Tucci", Roma (Inv. N. 877/695)

Date: 9th-10th century

Bibliography: Curatola (1993), pp. 97-98, fig. 25; Scerrato (1966), p. 18, fig. 4.





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Vetro e Cristallo di Rocca di Produzione Egiziana nel Mediterraneo Medievale (X-XII Secolo)

Ottavia Domenici

ISEM-CNR

Con l'avvento del dominio fāṭimide (909-1171) dapprima nei territori dell'Ifrīqiyya, attuale Marocco, Algeria e Tunisia, e poi in Egitto, i maggiori paesi del Mediterraneo furono investiti da una forte crescita economica la quale generò una produzione su vasta scala industriale e di conseguenza un rapido sviluppo dei mercati e del commercio.

La crescita demografica ed economica portò con sé un sempre più crescente numero di consumatori i quali necessitavano di tutti quei beni e tutti quei mezzi che da soli non erano in grado di produrre. Artigiani e artisti furono chiamati a soddisfare le esigenze di una clientela sempre più vasta e variegata. Accanto ai beni di lusso in cristallo di rocca, destinati ad arricchire le corti di califfi e alti dignitari, furono realizzati i più tradizionali beni di consumo di massa, destinati a soddisfare il fabbisogno quotidiano della società. Verosimilmente l'aumento della produzione di oggetti in vetro fu legato alle mire espansionistiche messe in atto dal califfato fāṭimide e di conseguenza allo sviluppo del commercio che ne seguì. Ben presto tali manufatti iniziarono a circolare in tutta l'area del Mediterraneo, quali semplici oggetto di scambio o doni, raggiungendo così la penisola italiana e i paesi europei, fino a toccare le coste della penisola scandinava⁽¹⁾.

La grande varietà dei manufatti conservata oggi in tutti i musei del mondo testimonia l'alto grado di specializzazione raggiunto all'interno delle officine.

Le fonti letterarie antiche e le indagini archeologiche concordano nell'individuare presso la città di al-Fuṣṭāṭ uno dei principali centri di produzione in Egitto. L'importanza della città quale centro propulsore di molte delle attività di commercio che si svolgevano nel Mediterraneo è testimoniata dai resoconti di numerosi viaggiatori che visitarono l'Egitto tra il X e l'XI secolo, come al-Muqaddasī, Ibn Ḥawqal e Nāṣir-i Khusraw⁽²⁾. Lo stesso Nāṣir-i Khusraw, durante uno dei suoi viaggi, visitando il centro di al-Fuṣṭāṭ racconta che a nord della moschea era situato un *bāzār*, chiamato *sūq al-qanādil*, ovvero il "mercato delle lampade". Nel descrivere questo mercato si sofferma in particolar modo nell'esaltazione dei raffinati esemplari in cristallo di rocca venduti a caro prezzo, di diversa forma e dimensioni. Allo stesso modo cita la presenza di numerosi manufatti in vetro⁽³⁾. Che questi materiali fossero lavorati all'interno di botteghe situate nella città del Cairo o nelle immediate vici-

(1) Lopez e Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, 51.

(2) Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 16-18.

(3) Nāṣer-e Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khusraw's Book of Travels*, 53-55.



nanze sembrerebbe essere confermato dal ritrovamento, ad esempio, della nota brocca (Cat. 1) del califfo fāṭimide al-‘Azīz bi-llāh (975-96/365-86), conservata oggi nel Tesoro di San Marco a Venezia e da un manufatto (Cat. 2) in forma di mezzaluna conservato al Germanisches National-Museum di Norimberga, la cui superficie reca unicamente un’iscrizione di benedizione per il califfo fāṭimide al-Zāhir li-i‘zāz dīn allāh (1021-36/411-27)⁽⁴⁾. In origine la mezzaluna era probabilmente intesa come ornamento per uno dei cavalli del califfo. Si tratta di una produzione eseguita sotto il diretto controllo dell’autorità califfale ed è dunque verosimile ipotizzare una manifattura locale. Locale doveva pur essere la produzione vetraria, gli scavi condotti alla metà del secolo scorso da R. Pinder-Wilson e Scanlon presso l’area di al-Fustāt, il Vecchio Cairo, hanno riportato alla luce infatti fornaci e scarti in vetro, attribuibili addirittura all’epoca ṭūlūnide (IX-X secolo). Sulla base delle conoscenze attuali non è possibile tuttavia stabilire se tali fabbriche fossero situate all’interno della città o nelle immediate vicinanze, fuori delle mura. Analogamente è verosimile ipotizzare l’uso dei medesimi ambienti di lavoro da parte dei mastri vetrai e degli antichi lapicidi egiziani, data la ricca produzione di manufatti in vetro e cristallo di rocca riportati alla luce. La scarsa documentazione superstite rende però difficile individuare l’esatta nazionalità degli artigiani impegnati nelle officine dal momento che scarseggiano, o sono quasi del tutto assenti, veri e propri marchi di fabbrica. Se da un lato però potrebbe risultare certa l’origine egiziana dei mastri lapicidi attivi al Cairo e operanti alle strette dipendenze della committenza califfale, più dubbia appare quella degli artigiani impegnati nella lavorazione del vetro.

La produzione di tali manufatti non era tuttavia limitata ad arricchire l’economia locale ma era destinata ad alimentare un mercato a più ampio raggio. Queste rotte commerciali altro non erano che crocevia di scambi non solo materiali ma anche e soprattutto artistici e culturali; insieme alle merci viaggiavano idee, conoscenze tecniche, modelli artistici e, verosimilmente, artisti/artigiani. Il traffico di manufatti in vetro e cristallo di rocca raggiunse ben presto le coste dell’Italia meridionale, come sembrerebbero confermare i frequenti doni che Ruggero II, re normanno di Sicilia, elargiva alle diverse istituzioni, laiche e religiose, da lui fondate⁽⁵⁾. L’esempio sicuramente più sorprendente è la raffinatissima brocca⁽⁶⁾ (Cat. 3) in cristallo di rocca intagliato donata dal re a Teobaldo II di Champagne come pegno di un patto matrimoniale tra una delle sue figlie e il rampollo di re Ruggero, ovvero Ruggero III duca di Puglia.

Dal momento che si tratta di un prodotto di chiara provenienza fāṭimide, è verosimile ipotizzare che questo fosse un dono in precedenza inviato dal Cairo alla corte di Ruggero II, a testimoniare e suggellare gli intensi rapporti che esistevano tra la corte normanna di Sicilia e quella fāṭimide d’oltremare. Relazioni che investivano non solo la sfera politico-economica ma anche e soprattutto quella artistica, come sembra confermare l’attento programma di “appropriazione culturale”, nonché di vera e propria “arabizzazione”, attuato a Palermo. Ulteriore conferma degli intensi scambi commerciali tra i due regnanti è una lettera⁽⁷⁾ del califfo fāṭimide al-Hāfiz (1130-1154) a Ruggero II, datata all’inverno fra il 1137 e il 1138. La lettera viene riportata dall’autore arabo al-Qalqashandī, in essa si fa riferimento a uno

(4) Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 19.

(5) Bongianino, *Al-Ḥaḍra ar-Ruġġāriyya*, 108.

(6) *Ibid.*, 107-108.

(7) Canard, *Une lettre du caliphe fāṭimite al-Hāfiz*, 125-146.



scambio di doni tra i due regnanti⁽⁸⁾. Doveva trattarsi di doni preziosi, conformi al loro prestigio, che includevano verosimilmente vasellame e oggetti in cristallo di rocca tra cui, con ogni probabilità, la brocca sopra citata di Saint-Denis, certamente fāṭimide⁽⁹⁾. Sulla base di confronti stilistici e morfologici con la meglio nota brocca in cristallo di rocca del califfo fāṭimide al-‘Azīz, capolavoro indiscusso dell’arte dell’intaglio delle pietre dure propria dei mastri lapicidi egiziani, è stato dunque possibile attribuire questo manufatto a un corpus di brocche di chiara produzione egiziana. Tale corpus presenta infatti una serie di elementi comuni. Sul piano morfologico si caratterizza per un corpo piriforme, base ad anello, versatoio con beccuccio prominente, collo circondato da una serie di modanature sovrapposte e ansa ad angolo retto coronata da un poggia-dito in forma di animale. L’apparato decorativo poi mostra anch’esso temi iconografici comuni a carattere principalmente animale e vegetale. Analogamente la produzione in vetro mostra stringenti analogie con la coeva produzione, nel caso specifico di brocche, in cristallo di rocca. Basti citare al riguardo la nota brocca⁽¹⁰⁾ (Cat. 4) del Corning Museum of Glass di New York, la brocca (Cat. 5) cosiddetta Buckley⁽¹¹⁾ del Victoria and Albert Museum di Londra o quella (Cat. 6) proveniente dagli scavi di al-Fuṣṭāṭ⁽¹²⁾, oggi conservata presso il Museo di Arte Islamica del Cairo, databili tra il IX e l’XI secolo. Seppur ancora oggi oggetto di dibattito, questa particolare tipologia di brocca in cristallo di rocca e prodotta in Egitto appare verosimilmente come un’imitazione di una più o meno coeva produzione in vetro⁽¹³⁾, limitata però al vanto di una raffinata clientela, quella ovvero della corte califfale. L’uso del cristallo di rocca poi è da giustificare probabilmente con una precisa e ferma volontà da parte dei califfi fāṭimidi di esprimere al meglio il loro potere e il lusso delle loro corti⁽¹⁴⁾. Da un punto di vista morfologico, il prototipo di questa brocca può essere rintracciato nei territori iranici, a cavallo tra la fine dell’epoca sasanide (III-VII d. C.) e l’avvento dell’Islam⁽¹⁵⁾. I primi manufatti derivavano da vasellame realizzato dapprima in argento e in bronzo e poi successivamente anche in vetro⁽¹⁶⁾ (Cat. 10-11). Eredità dell’antica tradizione metallurgica, sembrerebbe derivare da un prototipo classico⁽¹⁷⁾. È probabile che in Sicilia durante il regno di Ruggero II fosse stata importata la tecnica dell’intaglio del cristallo di rocca, seppure con esiti più scadenti rispetto alla produzione egiziana. Alcuni cristalli infatti sembrano tradire un’origine siciliana, come testimonia una fiaschetta (Cat. 7), adattata ad uso di reliquiario, conservata nella Cattedrale dei Santi Stefano e Agata,

(8) Johns, *I re normanni e i califfi fatimidi*, 26.

(9) Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, 193-194.

(10) Whitehouse, *The Cornig Ewer*, 48-56; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 23; Carboni e Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, 184-186.

(11) Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, 1938-1939; Whitehouse, *The Cornig Ewer*, 52-53; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 22-23.

(12) Whitehouse, *The Cornig Ewer*, 53-54; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 23.

(13) Sulla base delle testimonianze attuali, non ci sono manufatti in cristallo di rocca noti e datati a un’epoca antecedente a quella fāṭimide.

(14) Bongianino, *Al-Ḥaḍra ar-Ruġġāriyya*, 118; Distelberger, “*Brocca con leoni affrontati*”, 331, citato in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Vol. II.

(15) Carboni, *Islamic Lands*, 219.

(16) Curatola, *Eredità dell’Islam*, 97-98.

(17) Scerrato, *Metalli Islamici*, 23.



a Capua, e datata alla prima metà del secolo XI⁽¹⁸⁾. Un altro esempio è costituito poi da una brocchetta⁽¹⁹⁾ (Cat. 8) caratterizzata da un profilo piriforme e una decorazione intagliata a rilievo che include motivi vegetali e zoomorfi (leoni affrontati come nella nota brocca del califfo fāṭimide al-‘Azīz bi-llāh a Venezia⁽²⁰⁾). Datata al secolo XII è oggi conservata al Museo dell’Ermitage a San Pietroburgo.

Da un punto di vista propriamente archeologico non è attestata la presenza sul territorio siciliano di officine deputate alla lavorazione del cristallo, così come non è certa la presenza di artigiani egiziani attivi in Sicilia. Tuttavia alcuni studiosi già negli anni Quaranta del Novecento sostenevano che la perfezione raggiunta nella glittica dell’Italia meridionale doveva necessariamente essersi sviluppata a partire da una lunga tradizione, individuata non a caso proprio nell’Egitto fāṭimide.

I presupposti tecnici sarebbero stati importati dagli intagliatori di cristallo di rocca fāṭimidi residenti in Sicilia, verosimilmente scappati in seguito ai disordini che imperversavano in Egitto⁽²¹⁾. Emblematico, al contrario, della produzione propriamente siciliana è la testa di leone di Karlsruhe (Cat. 9), in cui si individuano perfettamente le differenze tra la glittica fāṭimide e quella siculo-normanna⁽²²⁾. Analogamente la brocchetta di San Pietroburgo mostra un profilo piriforme occidentale e un intaglio a rilievo tipicamente fāṭimidi⁽²³⁾, elementi questi che hanno spinto gli studiosi ad attribuire questo manufatto all’attività di un *atelier* locale. Sulla base delle scarse conoscenze attuali è solo possibile ipotizzare l’attività di *ateliers* alloctoni operanti direttamente alle dipendenze dei re Normanni di Sicilia, provenienti dall’Egitto o da altre regioni del territorio islamico.

Viceversa è possibile immaginare una diffusione di tecniche e pratiche di lavoro nell’area del Mediterraneo importate in Italia attraverso una rete ben sviluppata e densa di relazioni politiche e commerciali, soprattutto durante la prima era fāṭimide. L’adozione più o meno diretta di queste tecniche venne poi adattata al gusto e alle esigenze locali, poste principalmente a servizio degli *ateliers* di corte e dunque destinate a enfatizzare il prestigio e il potere della corte normanna di Ruggero II. È incerta invece l’esistenza di una produzione destinata a soddisfare le richieste di consumatori più semplici e meno raffinati. I manufatti riportati alla luce e appartenenti alla manifattura locale siciliana, mostrano infatti un alto grado di specializzazione. Dall’analisi del materiale superstite, è stato possibile identificare alcune tra le principali officine deputate alla lavorazione di manufatti in cristallo di rocca e in vetro. Tali manufatti di produzione egiziana hanno poi raggiunto, attraverso la circolazione nel Mediterraneo, le coste della Penisola italiana e i principali paesi europei e orientali. Le future indagini archeologiche permetteranno di attestare l’esistenza di nuove officine, in Egitto e soprattutto nell’Italia meridionale.

(18) Gabrieli e Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, 504; Venezia, ”*Reliquiario di S. Brigida*”, 325-326, citato in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Vol. II.

(19) Distelberger, ”*Brocca con leoni affrontati*”, 331, citato in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Vol. II.

(20) Rice, *A Datable Islamic Rock-Crystal*, 86; Erdmann, *Fatimid Rock Crystals*, 112-113; Alcouffé, *La glittica islamica*, 225-227; Curatola, *Eredità dell’Islam*, 153; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 18.

(21) Distelberger, ”*I cristalli di rocca*”, 195 e ss., citato in Andaloro, *Nobiles Officinae*, Vol. I.

(22) *Ibid.*, 196.

(23) *Ibid.*,



Cat. 1_Brocca del Califfo fāṭimide al-‘Āzīz bi-llāh

Luogo di provenienza: Egitto

Luogo di conservazione: Tesoro di San Marco, Venezia (Inv. Tesoro n. 80)

Datazione: brocca 975-96/365-86; montatura secolo XVI ca.

Bibliografia: Rice (1956), p. 86, fig. 2; Shelkovnikov (1966), pp. 110-111, fig. 27; Erdmann (1971), pp. 112-113, fig. 124; Alcouffe (1986), pp. 225-227; Curatola (1993), p. 153, fig. 61; Contadini (1998), p. 18, fig. 15; Meinecke-Berg (1998), p. 141, fig. 87; Spiazzi (2006), Vol. II, p. 129, fig. II 8.



Cat. 2_Crescente del Califfo fāṭimide al-Zāhir li-i‘zāz dīn allāh

Luogo di provenienza: Egitto

Luogo di conservazione: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Norimberga (Inv. N. KG 695)

Datazione: 1021-36/411-27

Bibliografia: Contadini (1998), p. 19, fig. 17.





Cat. 3 *Brocca anonima dal Tesoro di Saint-Denis*

Luogo di provenienza: Egitto

Luogo di conservazione: Museo del Louvre, Parigi
(Inv. MR 333)

Datazione: fine del X secolo-inizi XI secolo; montatura
XII secolo ca.

Bibliografia: Migeon (1922), p. 7, fig. 1; Rice (1956),
p. 90, fig. 8; Alcouffe (1986), p. 228, fig. 31/b; Distel-
berger (2006), Vol. II, pp. 195-196, fig. 2.



Cat. 4 *Brocca anonima*

Luogo di provenienza: Iran (?)

Luogo di conservazione: Corning
Museum of Glass, N. Y. (Inv. N.
85.1.1)

Datazione: X-XI secolo

Bibliografia: Whitehouse (1993),
pp. 48-56, figg. 1-5; Contadi-
ni (1998), p. 23, fig. 20; Carboni
(2001), pp. 184-186, fig. 90.





Cat. 5_Brocca cosiddetta Buckley

Luogo di provenienza: Iran

Luogo di conservazione: Victoria and Albert Museum, Londra (Inv. N. C. 126-1936)

Datazione: X-XI secolo

Bibliografia: Pope (1939), Vol. 7, Tav. 1141 A/B; Whitehouse (1993), pp. 52-53, fig. 9; Contadini (1998), pp. 22-23, fig. 19.



Cat. 6_Brocca da al-Fusṭāṭ

Luogo di provenienza: Egitto

Luogo di conservazione: Museo di Arte Islamica, Cairo

Datazione: IX secolo

Bibliografia: Whitehouse (1993), pp. 53-54, fig. 10; Contadini (1998), p. 23, fig. 21.





Cat. 7 *Reliquiario di S. Brigida*

Luogo di provenienza: Egitto o Sicilia

Luogo di conservazione: Cattedrale dei Ss. Stefano e Agata, Capua

Datazione: XI secolo

Bibliografia: Venezia (2006), Vol. II, pp. 325-26, fig. 1.



Cat. 8 *Brocca con leoni affrontati*

Luogo di provenienza: Sicilia (?)

Luogo di conservazione: Hermitage Museum, S. Pietroburgo

Datazione: XII secolo

Bibliografia: Distelberger (2006), Vol. II, pp. 330-331.





Cat. 9_ *Testa di leone di Karlsruhe*

Luogo di provenienza: Sicilia

Luogo di conservazione: Badisches Museum,
Karlsruhe

Datazione: XII secolo

Bibliografia: Distelberger (2006), Vol. I, p.
196.



Cat. 10_ *Brocca anonima*

Luogo di provenienza: Iran

Luogo di conservazione: Hermitage Museum, S. Pietro-
burgo (Lon. Ex. No. 91 J)

Datazione: VII secolo ca.

Bibliografia : Pope (1938), Vol. IV, Tav. 226 A.





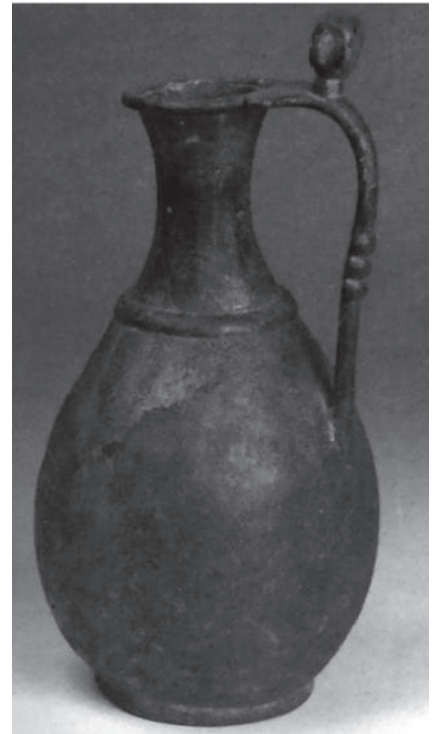
Cat. 11 *Brocca anonima*

Luogo di provenienza: Khurāsān, Iran

Luogo di conservazione: Museo di Arte Islamica “G. Tucci”, Roma (Inv. N. 877/695)

Datazione: IX-X secolo

Bibliografia: Curatola (1993), pp. 97-98, fig. 25; Scerrato (1966), p. 18, fig. 4.



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Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II visit to Constantinople in 1162 AD

Backgrounds and Results

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The policies of the Byzantine Emperor “Manuel I Komnenos” (1143-1180 AD) in the east was concentrated on achieving several priorities. These priorities involved over powering the all kingdoms and nations in the east to be under Byzantine power, albeit nominally. The second goal was to make a balance between these forces in a way that could help Manuel pursue Byzantine colonial interests in the region. The ultimate purpose was to foster a great deal of conflict between these forces so none of them had full sovereignty over the region.

On the other hand, the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1155-1192 AD), who was one of the most famous of Seljuk Rum’s Sultans, pursued expansion of his country’s area through overwhelming surrounding forces. This included such groups as the Byzantines, the Danishmendid and the Nūr ad-Dīn Mahmūd properties in the emirate of Edessa, in the north-west of the Euphrates River. The goal was to make his country the most powerful country in the region.

The main purpose of this research is to study Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II’s visit to Constantinople in 1162 AD. This includes previous events, especially the years 1158-1162 AD. Those years are considered the peak of surrounding forces’ alliance against the Sultanate Seljuk of Rum and attempts to eliminate and totally destroy it. This research also addresses how Kilij Arslan II was able to engage those forces, resorting to wars sometimes, or by using diplomacy on other times. His visit to Constantinople in 1162 AD was one of those diplomatic encounters.

In 1158 AD, Manuel Komnenos overcame his problems in the European West,⁽¹⁾ and then

(1) Manuel Komnenos held a peace treaty with William I Sicily, King of Sicily (1154-1166 AD). See: *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, by John Kinnamos, translated by Charles M. Brand, (Columbia University Press New York, 1976), 132-4, (Hereafter, *Kinnamos*). Magdalino, P., *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993), 60-1. (Hereafter, Magdalino, *Manuel I*); Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, translated by J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings, (Oxford, 1993), 169-70. (Hereafter, Lilie, *Crusader States*). He also imposed the reconciliation with Hungary. For more details about the treaty of 1156, see: *Kinnamos*, 105; Elmetwali Tamim, the Kingdom of Hungary and its relationship with the Byzantine empire 1000-1453AD, Ph.D. thesis unpublished, Faculty of Arts, University of Mansoura, (2004 AD), 100-8 (in Arabic); Lilly Abdel Jawad Ismail: “Manuel Koumnin campaigns against Hungary (1151-1167 AD) in light of the writings of John Kinnamus “, the Egyptian Society for Historical Studies, No. 37 (1990), pp. 73-83 (in Arabic). For more details about the Manuel Komnenos’ policy toward the West, see: Abdel-Aziz Mohamed Abdel-aziz Ramadan, *Latin-Byzantine relations during the reign of Emperor Manuel I*



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devoted himself to solving problems in the east, as well as punishing his neighbors who had long attacked Byzantine territories, especially the Sultanate Seljuk of Rum.

The Byzantine Emperor was worried about ongoing situations in Asia Minor. The 12 year truce held between Byzantium and the Seljuk in 1146 AD was over in that year, namely 1158 AD.⁽²⁾ The Seljuk Sultan seized the towns of Pounoura and Sibyla,⁽³⁾ which had been subjected to Byzantine sovereignty.⁽⁴⁾ Yaghi-Basan (Arslan) (Yakub-Arslan the Danishmendid), the Danishmendid prince of Sivas (1156-1167 AD), had cooperated with the Seljuks⁽⁵⁾ by seizing Oinaion city (Ünye), and the city of Paurae (Bafra), located on the Near Halys River/ Kizil, both being Black Sea cities.⁽⁶⁾

Manuel had to defuse the situation with the Seljuk to delay the clash with them until ending all his problems with Thoros II, Prince of Cilicia (1144-1167 AD),⁽⁷⁾ and Prince Renaud of Chatillon (Arnat) (Renaud de Châtillon), the Crusader Prince of Antioch (1153-1160 AD), who rebelled against the Byzantine Empire and attacked his properties in Cyprus.⁽⁸⁾ As a result, Manuel sent the commander Alexius Giphardos (Gifard) (circa 1158 AD) on a diplomatic mission to the Seljuk Sultan and the Danishmendid Prince. Alexius had succeeded in his quest to return the cities that Seljuk and the Danishmendid forces had already seized. The truce was renewed with the Seljuk, and Prince Yaghi-Basan became a loyal ally to Byzantium.⁽⁹⁾ There is no doubt that the Emperor sacrificed some money and gifts to satisfy the Seljuk and the Danishmendid forces to seize the opportunity in order to subdue the Crusaders and Armenians.

Added to this, Manuel also succeeded, in the same year (1158 AD), in making an affine of

Kommenos 1143-1180 AD, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University, 2000 (in Arabic).

(2) For more details about the truce, see: Mahmoud Saed Omran, *Eastern policy of the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180/ 537-576h)*, unpublished PhD thesis, (Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, 1975), 97-99 (in Arabic). (Hereafter, Omran, *Eastern policy*). Mohammed Suhail Tqoh, *The History of the Seljuq Rum in Asia Minor (470-704 H/ 1077-1304 AD)*. Introduction to the History of the Ottomans, (Dar Al-Nnafayisi, 2002), 131-135. In Arabic (Hereafter, Tqoh, *The History of the Seljuq Rum*).

(3) Their location is unknown, but perhaps in Cilicia, south of Laranda/ Karaman. See: *Kinnamos*, 249, n. 29; Ramsay W. M., *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (London, 1890), 369, 450. (Hereafter, Ramsay, *Historical Geography*).

(4) *Kinnamos*, 134-5.

(5) Omran believes that the problems between the Seljuk and the Danishmendid had been held in abeyance and that perhaps a reconciliation was reached between them against the Byzantines. See: Omran, *Eastern policy*, 180.

(6) *Kinnamos*, 134-5; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 180.

(7) For more details about the relations between Manuel and the Armenian Prince, see: William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Translation from English to Arabic by Hassan Habashi (Cairo 1994), 428-9, (In Arabic) (Hereafter, William of Tyre, *Deeds*); Lilie, *Crusader States*, 166-9.

(8) *Kinnamos*, 134-5; *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians*, Translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian (1871), ch. 181 (AD 1157). (Hereafter, *Michael the Syrian*); William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 401-3; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 180.

(9) *Kinnamos*, 134-5; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 180.



King Baldwin III King of Jerusalem (1144-1162 AD). King Baldwin had married Theodora, Manuel's niece, Isaac. She was thirteen years old, featuring an eye-catching and charming comportsment of body and appearance.⁽¹⁰⁾ Thus, Manuel succeeded in imposing his influence and power on the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the largest Crusader Kingdom in the Levant.

After signing a truce with Seljuk and the Danishmendid, as well as completing the marriage ceremony of Theodora to Baldwin III, Manuel embarked on preparing a march to Cilicia to conquer Prince Thoros. He then moved his troops from Constantinople in September 1158 AD⁽¹¹⁾, using the element of surprise. He sparked rumors that his forces were conquering the Seljuk in Asia Minor to ensure Thoros' unwillingness to fight him. When his troops reached Lesser Phrygia,⁽¹²⁾ he faced the Turks, where he conquered them, destroyed the surrounding area, and then moved quickly to Cilicia to surprise Thoros.⁽¹³⁾ A modern historian believes that Manuel operating in this region was by a prior agreement with Kilij Arslan II. This was set out in the truce that held between Alexius Gievardos with the Seljuk, a short time before, although it did not prevent the occurrence of some skirmishes with some Turkic tribes who were roaming the area.⁽¹⁴⁾

In any event, Manuel succeeded in entering Cilicia and surprising Thoros, who had learned about it at the last moment. He had no choice except to run away from Byzantine forces which had infiltrated Cilicia in large numbers. Almost two months later, the Byzantine forces controlled the Cilicia region. It is obvious that the Emperor Manuel did not meet much resistance by the Armenian citizenry. This was due to the element of surprise, the large size of the Byzantine force, as well as the Emperor taking over the leadership of the Byzantine forces himself. There was also the escape of Thoros, which had a profound impact on the success of the Byzantine forces in the invasion of Cilicia region and controlling it.⁽¹⁵⁾

Overpowering and controlling Cilicia was not Manuel's ultimate goal. As Thoros was still a free man, he would perhaps try to rally his troops and attack Manuel in his camp. So Manuel established his camp in Mopsuestia, anticipating what could come from Thoros. The psychological pressure came down upon the Antioch Prince Reynald, who was the next goal for Manuel, as the city of Mopsuestia was not far from Antioch. Surely this would put fear in the heart of the Reynald as he waited for what would be happening to him the next day.

Both Thoros and Reynald tried their best to convince some of the princes who were fol-

(10) For more details about the marriage and its reasons, see: William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 426-8., ; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 69-70; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-1174", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. I, (London, 1969), 542-3. (Hereafter, Baldwin, *Latin States*); Lilie, *Crusader States*, 176-7; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 175-9.

(11) For more details about the movements of the Byzantine army, see: *Kinnamos*, 136-7; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 181-2.

(12) It could be the area of *Laodikeia/ Denizli*. See: *Kinnamos*, 249, n. 34; Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, 150- 3.

(13) *Kinnamos*, 136-7.

(14) Omran, *Eastern policy*, 182.

(15) *Kinnamos*, 137-8; William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 428-429; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 185; *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 183 (AD 1159); Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543; Lilie, *Crusader States*, 176-7.



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lowing the Emperor to mediate between them and the Emperor, but Manuel rejected such petitions strenuously. Reynald offered him the delivery of Antioch city's castle, but the Emperor rejected this suggestion, which put more fear in the heart of Reynald, especially since the Byzantine troops were close from Antioch.⁽¹⁶⁾ Finally, Reynald himself went to the Emperor in Mopsuestia to announce his remorse and servility.⁽¹⁷⁾ In the end, the Emperor forgave him, provided that he delivered the Antioch castle to the Byzantines and supplied a number of military forces from the Principality of Antioch to Byzantium when it in need to them. He was also to select the Patriarch of Antioch from the Orthodox Byzantine and not from Latin Catholics.⁽¹⁸⁾

Around that time, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem arrived to Mopsuestia. The Emperor received him officially with a warm welcome.⁽¹⁹⁾ Manuel accepted his intercession and pleas for giving amnesty to Prince Thoros in an attempt to satisfy the King after being deceived⁽²⁰⁾ about amnesty for Reynald.⁽²¹⁾ Manuel also met with the ambassadors of Nūr ad-Dīn, and Yaghi Basan.⁽²²⁾ Emperor Manuel went back to Antioch after the Easter celebrations (12 April 1159 AD), and after spending about seven months in Cilicia.⁽²³⁾

After that, the Emperor began, at the urging of the Crusaders, to prepare to fight Nūr ad-Dīn Mahmoud, Atabeg Aleppo, (1146-1174AD/ 541-569H), in order to eliminate the Islamic forces led by Nūr ad-Dīn which were developing into a substantial threat to the crusade emirates. Emperor Manuel came out of Antioch, along with a large following of crusader forces led by the King of Jerusalem and Prince of Antioch Reynald. Thoros may have joined them in order to take possession of Aleppo.⁽²⁴⁾ But when the Crusader forces reached

(16) William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 429-30; *Kinnamos*, 138; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 187.

(17) For more details on how Reynald went and met the Emperor, see: William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 430-31; *Kinnamos*, 139; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543.

(18) *Kinnamos*, 139; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 190; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543; Lilie, *Crusader States*, 177-81.

(19) *Kinnamos*, 140-1; William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 431-432; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 190-193; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543-4.

(20) King Baldwin III coveted helping the Emperor in isolating Reynald from the Principality of Antioch to become the emirate under the direct authority of the King, but the Byzantine Emperor would have preferred to keep Reynald as prince of Antioch, and Baldwin III King of Jerusalem, where the split of the Crusaders themselves an opportunity to support Byzantine influence in the crusade principalities in the Levant. For more details in this regard, see, Omran, *Eastern policy*, 186-7, 191-3.

(21) *Kinnamos*, 142; William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 432-433; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 194; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 544.

(22) *Kinnamos*, 142; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 544.

(23) *Kinnamos*, 142-3; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 544; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 199.

(24) Ibn al-Qalanisi (Hamza ibn Asad abu Ya'la, d.1160), *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, Investigation Sohail Zakkari, (Damascus, 1983), 544. (Hereafter, *Ibn al-Qalanisi*); *Kinnamos*, 143; Chronique de Mathieu d'Édesse (926-1136), avec la continuation de Grégoire le Prêtre jusqu'en 1162, (Paris, A. Durand, 1858), 358; (Hereafter, *Grégoire le Prêtre*); *Michael the Syrian*, ch.183 (AD 1159); Tritton A.S. and Gibb H.A.R., The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle (Concluded from p.101), *JRASGBI*, No. 2 (Apr., 1933), 302-3. (Hereafter, *First and Second Crusades*); Mag-



the Orontes River, there was a shift in Manuel's attitude toward the war with Nūr ad-Dīn. Contemporary sources indicate that news spread in the Byzantine camp of a conspiracy in Constantinople to oust Manuel.⁽²⁵⁾ Correspondence between Manuel and Nūr ad-Dīn then ended in a truce.⁽²⁶⁾ The terms of the truce involved the domestic release of the Crusaders and his pledge of help for the Emperor Manuel in his war against Kilij Arslan II.⁽²⁷⁾

It is obvious that Manuel had not intended to eliminate the influences of Nūr ad-Dīn, as the all preparations and arrangements done by the Emperor for this campaign was just a play to convince the Crusaders that he had intended to fight Nūr ad-Dīn, and he couldn't do that because of situation's deterioration in Constantinople. The reconciliation negotiations between Nūr ad-Dīn and Manuel had begun since he was in Mopsuestia, where Kinnamos indicates that some of Nūr ad-Dīn and Yaghi-Basan ambassadors were in the Emperor's camp in Mopsuestia.⁽²⁸⁾ Moreover, Ibn al-Qalanisi indicates that Manuel had sent a messenger from his camp in Mopsuestia to Nūr ad-Dīn, with some gifts in addition to a letter whose content Ibn al-Qalanisi did not mention. Nūr ad-Dīn answered by sending similar gifts, and the Byzantine messenger returned home at the end of Safar 554 AH / about 22nd March, 1159 AD.⁽²⁹⁾ It seemed that it was agreed to hold a truce between the two sides during the visit. The presence of a Nūr ad-Dīn messenger in the Emperor's camp in Mopsuestia was to confirm this agreement. That situation may support the description of Ibn al-Qalanisi of the truce held between Nūr ad-Dīn and Manuel as in the following: „It was a confirmed and stable truce,”⁽³⁰⁾ which alludes to a prior agreement to a truce. *Not* eliminating Nūr ad-Dīn represented a double benefit to the Emperor. Nūr ad-Dīn represented pressure on the Crusades forces in the East to remain under the protection of the Emperor at all times, fearing from the attack of Nūr ad-Dīn. He could also be used against the Sultan Kilij Arslan II, against whom the Emperor was now seeking for Nūr ad-Dīn to make a great military action. This, especially, since he was the only ruler now in the East who was still under Byzantine influence. Add to that, eliminating Nūr ad-Dīn would increase Kilij Arslan II and Seljuk's power. Thus, the presence of Nūr ad-Dīn was a must to keep balance in the region. On the other hand, the presence of Kilij Arslan II was a pressuring tool on Nūr ad-Dīn, not to mention attacking the Crusaders, who represented a foothold for Byzantium in region.⁽³¹⁾

dalino, *Manuel I*, 71; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 545.

(25) Kinnamos, 144; Grégoire le Prêtre, 359; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 71. An Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of the First and Second Crusades refers to the leader of the coup against the Emperor under the name “Andronicus”, and describes him as a son of a noble man. See, *First and Second Crusades*, 302.

(26) For more details about the mail and truce, See, Omran, *Eastern policy*, 197-205.

(27) Kinnamos, 143- 44; Grégoire le Prêtre, 358; Ibn al-Qalanisi, 544; William of Tyre, Deeds, 435; *Michael the Syrian* ch.183 (AD 1159); *First and Second Crusades*, 302-3; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 71; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 545; Lilie, *Crusader States*, 182.

(28) Kinnamos, 140.

(29) Ibn al-Qalanisi, 544.

(30) Ibn al-Qalanisi, 545.

(31) Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330*, Translated from the French by J. Jones-Williams, New York, 1969, 100. (Hereafter, Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*). Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 71; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 545-6. The reason for the dispute between Kilij



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This is the situation that Kilij Arslan II had to face through his crush with Emperor Manuel. Manuel had succeeded in making an alliance with all the princes of the East, either with Crusaders or Muslims, who were surrounding Kilij Arslan II. A target who was the only one not subject to Byzantine influence who was also the next destination in Manuel's plan.

In any case, the Emperor Manuel decided, after the truce with Nūr ad-Dīn, to return to Constantinople through marching on the central of the Valley, through the Laranda/ (Karaman) route. This road would make him pass near the Seljuk capital of Konya. Michael the Syrian indicates that Manuel sent a messenger to Kilij Arslan II asking him permission to pass through his territory and the latter agreed,⁽³²⁾ while Kinnamos indicates that Kilij Arslan II opposed this matter strongly. The people of Konya had fled believing that the Emperor had come to attack them, but after the Byzantines had passed, the Turkmen tribes attacked the rear of the Byzantine army causing great losses,⁽³³⁾ From this itinerary, it seems that the Emperor was trying to provoke the Seljuk and push them to attack the Byzantine army as an excuse for him to attack them. Confirming this is the matter of Emperor Manuel traveling in September 1158 AD by the coast, without penetrating the Seljuk lands so as not to provoke them and with whom he had a truce at the time. By so doing, he had avoided war with them to devote himself to overpowering the Armenian Prince Thoros and Prince of Antioch Reynald.

In late 1159 AD, Emperor Manuel pursued a retaliatory campaign against the Seljuk's army, but it was a short campaign and did not achieve any results. So, Manuel was forced to return back to Constantinople as a result of the winter coming,⁽³⁴⁾ Emperor Manuel spent the whole winter in Bithynia. When there in early 1160 AD he met with the Seljuk Sultan's ambassadors who tried their best to calm the situation with Manuel. Kinnamos did not mention the offer presented by Kilij Arslan II's ambassadors negotiating with Emperor Manuel, but he only indicated that he dismissed them after realizing that they did not have any serious issue to negotiate upon,⁽³⁵⁾

Manuel Komnenos had realized, especially after meeting the Sultan's ambassadors, that the Seljuk issue would not be resolved by the local military operations, and that he had to deal a heavy blow to the Seljuk Sultan through attacking the capital of Konya. So, the Emperor involved himself with an alliance with Yaghi-Basan and Shahinshah. Manuel also sent the leader John Kontostephanos, in early 1160 AD, to King Baldwin III to supply him with troops according to an agreement between them. He also asked him for mercenary soldiers

Arslan II and Nūr ad-Dīn refers back to the attempted incursion of the Sultan in the northern territory of the Emirate of Edessa, at the west of the Euphrates River, which represented the edge of the border territory of the Syrian northern part close to the mountains of Anatolia. It was clear that Nūr ad-Dīn would not allow this new rivalry to his influence in regions considered his property. Hence the frosty relations between the two princes, which was subject to the outbreak of war at any time; Nūr ad-Dīn was the direct reason of condemnation of Kilij Arslan II in front of his faithful followers, as a friend to the Byzantines. Cahen, *The Turks*, 678.

(32) *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 183 (AD 1159).

(33) While Kinnamos indicates that Kilij Arslan II opposed this matter strongly. *Kinnamos*, 145.

(34) *Kinnamos*, 145-7; *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 183, (AD 1159)

(35) *Kinnamos*, 148.



and sent one of his commanders to collect additional forces from Antioch and Cilicia tied to 1158 AD agreements. And he prepared countless bulls with their vehicles from the villages of Thrace in order to provide supplies and services.⁽³⁶⁾

Manuel had also pitted Nūr ad-Dīn to fulfill a condition set forth to help Manuel in his war against the Seljuk. So in 556 AH/ 1161 AD, during the Seljuk war with the Byzantines, Nūr ad-Dīn attacked the Seljuk properties located on the edge of his country. He captured Behesne, Raban, and Marash as well as monasteries and much more.⁽³⁷⁾ A modern historian thinks that this condition was apparently a secret between Nūr ad-Dīn and Byzantines, because if that situation was well known to the Crusaders, King Baldwin III would not attack Damascus during the Nūr ad-Dīn attack of the Seljuk's properties.⁽³⁸⁾ This point of view was supported through Ibn al-Qalanisi not referring to the situation,⁽³⁹⁾ but on the other side, the Byzantine sources expressly indicated this situation⁽⁴⁰⁾ while Syrian sources alluded to it.⁽⁴¹⁾

The Sultan was certain that he couldn't confront all these forces any more, especially after his troops were suffering from several defeats. He then tried to have peace with Manuel and his allies. Sultan made reconciliation with Nūr ad-Dīn, who returned him to the areas that he had already seized, and included the areas seized by Danishmendid. He also included the properties of his brother Shahanshah,⁽⁴²⁾ as well as announcing his assignment of all the towns seized lately from the Byzantine Emperor. He also wrote him asking for pardon promising him to return the Byzantines prisoners who were kept in his kingdom⁽⁴³⁾. While negotiations were under way between the Emperor and the Sultan, the Byzantine commander John Kontostavanus returned in the fall of 1161 AD with the troops he had gathered from the Crusaders and others. He inflicted a severe victory over the Seljuk's army.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This defeat forced the Seljuk Sultan to make greater concessions to the Emperor Manuel, in addition to the earlier concessions. In 1161 AD, he vowed returning Byzantines prisoners who were kept in his kingdom, and to provide the Byzantines with military squads, when they ask for them in return for subsidies. He also promised not to allow the Turks (i.e Turkmen) to attack the Byzantine territory with his consent, and if any of the Turkish emirates provoked any issues in the Byzantine territory, he would then wage war directly. He also admitted that he must use all possible means to prevent any betrayal, as well as doing anything ordered by the Emperor. He also agreed to return all the towns that were overpowered, then seized by the Turks, to the Byzantines.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The Emperor agreed to these

(36) *Kinnamos*, 151.

(37) *Michael the Syrian* ch. 183, (AD 1159); William of Tyre, *Deeds*, 437.

(38) Omran, *Eastern policy*, 204-5.

(39) *Ibn al-Qalanisi*, 545-6.

(40) *Kinnamos*, 144.

(41) *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 183, (AD 1159).

(42) *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 183, (AD 1160).

(43) *Kinnamos*, 152.

(44) *Kinnamos*, 152.

(45) *Kinnamos*, 152.



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terms, which meant the subordination of Seljuk under Byzantine influence.

Here, a question arises: Why the Byzantine Emperor did not eliminate the Sultanate of Seljuk Rum at that time, in spite of having such a large number of troops? As he was also allying with all the countries that surrounded the Sultan of Seljuk, Manuel succeeded at that time in subordinating crusader kingdoms under his influence, as Nūr ad-Dīn Mahmūd pledged to send troops to help the Emperor in his war against Kilij Arslan II. In addition, Manuel allied with the Danishmendid Prince Yaghi-Basan, and Shahanshah, Kilij Arslan II brother. Thus, Kilij Arslan II was cordoned off from all surroundings, and eliminating him permanently was now possible. However, Manuel Komnenos did not take this step and agreed to a reconciliation.

Manuel perhaps thought that the elimination of Kilij Arslan II would create a political vacuum that Byzantium would be unable to fill at the time, especially with their high aspirations in the West. It would also lead to increasing the regional powers' expansions a great deal, especially for Nūr ad-Dīn and Danishmendid in Asia Minor. The collapse of the Sultanate of Seljuk Rum, which destroyed the balance of power principle in the region, provided the opportunity for Nūr ad-Dīn Mahmūd to attack the crusaders. Finally, Manuel accepted the existence of the Sultanate of Seljuk Rum at the same time, when he established a balance of power in Asia Minor, which would make Byzantium the most dominant influence without the need to use force.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In any event, the 1161 AD treaty did not help Kilij Arslan II to feel safe against Byzantine plots, so after several months of concluding a treaty, he made a surprise visit to Constantinople in 1162 AD. The contemporary sources varied about the reasons that prompted the Seljuk Sultan to make this visit. The Byzantine historian, *Kinnamos* suggests that in 1162 AD, Sultan Kilij Arslan II came to Constantinople to submit a petition relating to matters beneficial to him, without giving details about these beneficial matters.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Another Byzantine historian, *Choniates*, suggests that the reason for the Seljuk Sultan's visit to Constantinople was requesting the Emperor Manuel's assistance in his war against the Danishmendid Prince Yaghi-Basan.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The Syriac historian, Michael the Syrian, indicates that scandalmongers informed the Seljuk Sultan that Yaghi-Basan had an alliance with some of the princes, and planned to see him step him down from his throne, nominating his brother to replace him, so he traveled to Constantinople to request the assistance of the Emperor.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The other Syriac historian, Ibn Al-Ibri, asserts previous information which indicates that when Kilij Arslan II knew that Yaghi-Basan and other princes trying to get him to step down and nominating his brother

(46) One of the modern historians discusses this issue extensively. See: Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Twelfth-century Byzantine and Turkish States, in *Manzikert to Lepanto: the Byzantine world and the Turks 1071-1571*, Papers given at the Nineteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1985, edited by Anthony Bryer and Michael Ursinus, (Amsterdam, 1991), 37-41. (Hereafter, Lilie, *Turkish States*).

(47) *Kinnamos*, 156.

(48) Nicetas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium, Annals of Nicetas Choniates*, Translated by Harry J. Magoulias, (Detroit, 1984), 67. (Hereafter, *Choniates*).

(49) *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 185, (AD 1162).



in replace of him, he walked to Constantinople, the affectionate Greek with him.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Armenian historian, Gregoire, refers to Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II possibly travelling in that year (1162 AD) to Manuel, without mentioning the reason for his trip.⁽⁵¹⁾

The Islamic sources did not refer to the Sultan Kilij Arslan II trip to Constantinople in 1162 AD. The Muslim historians wrote very rarely about the history of the Sultanate Seljuk of Rum, as the relations and links seldom tied them to those peoples. In spite of that, Ibn al-Athir referred to the kind relations between the Seljuk Sultan and the Byzantine Emperor, after 1162 AD, when he referred to the defeat of Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan II by the Danishmendid Prince Yaghi Basan in 1164 AD. After the defeat, Kilij Arslan II had resorted to the Byzantine Emperor asking for help. He states, “[h]e resorted to the King of the Romans for help, so, he sent him a great army. By this army, Kilij Arslan II managed to defeat the Danishmendid and possessing some of their countries.”⁽⁵²⁾ Ibn al-Athir did not try to explain the reason of the Seljuk Sultan asking help from the Byzantines, maybe as per the lack of information he had.

In all events, it appears from the sources that the Seljuk Sultan had heard about the existence of a plot to make him step down from his throne led by Yaghi-Basan, and appointing his brother Shahanshah in his place. He felt that the Emperor Manuel was the real person who raised the unrest provoked by Yaghi-Basan, so the Sultan went to Constantinople in order to prevent permitting the Byzantine and the Danishmendid alliance, or at least stop the Emperor from encouraging of the Danishmendid to fight the Seljuk behind his back. A modern historian mentioned that this visit was an implementation of 1161 AD Treaty.⁽⁵³⁾ Nothing in the terms of the agreement refers to the need of the Sultan’s visit to Constantinople.

Kilij Arslan II gave this visit special importance, as he undertook preparing this visit arrangement personally. He sent his advisor, Christopher, to the Emperor Manuel to inform him about the Sultan’s desire as well as giving him safety and approving to visit him.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Emperor Manuel agreed to this request on the spot, and vowed to ensure the safety of the Seljuk Sultan, Manuel. As *Choniates* points out, it seemed to suggest high aspirations to satisfactorily get rid of the East problems, so he welcomed this visit.⁽⁵⁵⁾ After preparing the necessary arrangements, Kilij Arslan II, along with Amir Amiran, brother of Nūr ad-Dīn, and accompanied by a thousand equestrians headed for the Byzantine capital.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Sultan, perhaps, accompanied with Amir Amiran, brother of Nūr ad-Dīn, in an attempt to respond to Nūr ad-Dīn supporting Yaghi-Basan and his brother Shahanshah against him,

(50) Gregorius Ibn Al-Ibri (Abu-Alfaraj Jamal Al-Din Ibn AL-Ibri) (d. 1286), *Tarih Al-Zaman*, Translated to Arab, P. Ishaq Armaleh (Beirut: Dar Al Mashreq, 1986), 175. (Hereafter: Ibn Al-Ibri, *Tarih Al-Zaman*).

(51) *Grégoire le Prêtre*, 364.

(52) Ibn al-Athir (Izz al-Din Abu al-Hassan Ali Ibn al-Athir al-Jazari (1160-1133), *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, reviewed and corrected, Dr. Mohammad Yousuf, (Beirut, 2003), 477, (Hereafter: Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kāmil*).

(53) Omran, *Eastern policy*, 219, 220.

(54) *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 185, (AD 1162).

(55) *Choniates*, 67; *Michael the Syrian*, ch. 185, (AD 1162).

(56) *Grégoire le Prêtre*, 364; Omran, *Eastern policy*, 219;.



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and he may have been accompanied by this large number of horsemen to protect him in the event of any attacks by his enemies.

In any event, Seljuk Sultan was greeted with a warm welcome by Manuel, who was at the head of recipients with the Guard members, the nobility and the Empire servants, as both of them entered Constantinople. After the Sultan had seen the appropriate welcoming, he left to his residence that was selected for him in the Imperial Palace.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Byzantine sources did not specify the period of time that Seljuk Sultan spent in Constantinople. *Kinnamos* indicates that he had spent enough time in Constantinople.⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Choniates* say that the Sultan resided with the Emperor for some time;⁽⁵⁹⁾ the Syriac historian, *Michael the Syrian*, indicates that the Seljuk Sultan resided in Constantinople for eighty days,⁽⁶⁰⁾ exploiting this period in preparing luxury banquets for the Sultan to entertain him through horseracing and holding festivals. Many gifts of silky garments, silver, and gold handicrafts were presented to him.⁽⁶¹⁾

The period that the Seljuk Sultan spent in Constantinople raised many questions about the real reason that motivated the Seljuk Sultan to carry out this visit. Firstly, if we accepted what some sources had mentioned that the Sultan had gone to the Emperor asking for help against the machination that contrived against him by Yaghi-Basan and his brother Shahanshah for his stepping down from his throne. Would it not be more useful for the Seljuk Sultan to do so by his Special Envoy, Christopher, without bothering traveling far from his throne which was threatened by conspiracies? Secondly, could the Sultan leave his kingdom for eighty days which was threatened by enemies without fear of being seized and forced from the throne, as when it happened to his uncle, Sultan Malik shah I the son of Kilij Arslan I (1107-1116 AD), by his father Sultan Massoud (1116-1156 AD) in 1116 AD?⁽⁶²⁾

Thereupon, the visit of the Sultan Kilij Arslan II to Constantinople was likely not to ask for help from the Byzantine Emperor as a result of a conspiracy contrived against him, as some sources said, as no Byzantine forces had moved eastward upon his departure. And the treaty, which was held at the end of this visit, did not differ in any way from the 1161 AD treaty. So, it is likely that this visit had its own goals relating to some beneficial matters to the Sultan, as *Kinnamos* said. These matters were representing in strengthening his position in the Sultanate of Seljuk Rum firstly, so as not to allow Byzantium to support any rival in his throne, such as his brother Shahanshah; and to become the first ally of Byzantium in

(57) For more details about the reception of the Sultan, see: *Choniates*, 67-8; *Kinnamos*, 156-7.

(58) *Kinnamos*, 158.

(59) *Choniates*, 67.

(60) Ibn Al-Ibri, *Tarih Al-Zaman*, 175; *Michael the Syrians*, Ch. 185, (AD 1162).

(61) For more details about the celebrations hosted by the Sultan, see: *Choniates*, 67-8; *Kinnamos*, 156-7.

(62) The Sultan Malik shah went to the camp of the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118 AD), during the war between them in 1116 AD, in order to reach a peace treaty between Byzantium and Seljuk Rum. See, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, translated by Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, (New York, 1982), 481-88. (Hereafter, *Alexiad*). Massoud succeeded in seizing on the Seljuk throne during the absence of Malik shah. Despite warnings of the Emperor Alexius, Malik shah insisted on returning to Konya, where he was arrested and killed by Sultan Massoud forces. Ibn Al-Ibri, *Tarih Al-Zaman*, 132; *Alexiad*, 488-90



Asia Minor, as well as forcing the Byzantine Emperor not to hold any alliances with the princes of Asia Minor except Seljuk Sultan.

Kinnamos supported that event by saying that the news of an agreement signed between the Sultan and the Emperor had reached the ears of Turk princes in Asia Minor, meaning Yaghi-Basan and Shahanshah, who were convinced that the Sultan's agreement with the Emperor would not be in their favor. Therefore, they quickly sent their envoys to the Byzantine Emperor asking him to mediate to settle their clashes with the Sultan. But he refused this mediation and asked them to negotiate directly with the Sultan. Not only this, but attributing everything to the Sultan's will, he sent both of them to his own suite at the Imperial Palace.⁽⁶³⁾ Ambassadors succeeded in persuading the Sultan to give up their enmity, asking him to speak on their behalf in front of the Emperor. The Emperor, indeed, accepted the Sultan's mediation and made the Turks princes imperial friends.⁽⁶⁴⁾ It seems that the Emperor Manuel had welcomed the Seljuk Sultan requests gladly because he wanted, as *Choniates* said, to satisfactorily end the problems in the East so as to devote time solving his problems in the West.⁽⁶⁵⁾

In any case, this visit did not add any new value to Byzantium, except extending the formal peace between the Sultan and the Emperor for a period of fourteen years, as well as reflecting the fake Byzantine success on the Asia Minor front. As for Kilij Arslan II, this visit was considered a turning point in his success in the region. He exploited the Emperor Manuel's indulgence as a result of his sense of security towards Kilij Arslan II in the western affairs. It neglecting the Turkish problem as well, which provided Kilij Arslan II with an opportunity to work freely to solve his problems with his brother Shahanshah and the Danishmendid. The death of Yaghi-Basan, the bitter enemy, in 1164 AD helped to facilitate his mission in the seizure of the Danishmendid territory. The death of Nūr ad-Dīn in 1174 helped in getting rid of the last strong competitor in the East. In the following year (1175 AD) he succeeded in possessing the last of the Danishmendid properties, including Sebasteia (Sivas), and he captured Mitylene two years later. By achieving this, he made a tremendous growth in the power of the Sultanate of Seljuk Rum in Asia Minor and the whole region, as well as a collapse of the entire balance of power in the region, and such a policy was one of the priorities of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos.

(63) This correspondence occurred, while the Sultan was in Constantinople, and not after he left it, as Omran said. Omran, *Eastern policy*, 221-2.

(64) *Kinnamos*, 158.

(65) *Choniates*, 67.



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زيارة السلطان السلجوقي قلق أرسلان الثاني إلى القسطنطينية عام 1162م المقدمات والنتائج

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كانت سياسة الإمبراطور البيزنطي مانويل الأول كومنينوس Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180م) في الشرق تهدف إلى إخضاع كل ممالكه ودوله للنفوذ البيزنطي، ولو من الناحية النظرية، وإيجاد نوع من التوازن بين هذه القوي يستطيع من خلاله تحقيق المصالح البيزنطية في المنطقة، فضلاً عن تأليب هذه القوي بعضها ضد البعض الآخر بحيث لا تكون لأي منها نفوذ كبير في المنطقة. علي الجانب الآخر كان السلطان السلجوقي قلق أرسلان الثاني *Kilidj II Arslan* (1155-1192م)، أحد أشهر سلاطين سلاجقة الروم، يسعى إلى توسيع رقعة بلاده علي حساب القوي المحيطة به مثل البيزنطيين والدانشمانيين وممتلكات نور الدين محمود في إمارة الزها، شمال غرب نهر الفرات، وجعل بلاده أقوى دول المنطقة.

ويهدف هذا البحث إلي دراسة زيارة السلطان السلجوقي قلق أرسلان الثاني إلي القسطنطينية في عام 1162م، وما سبقها من أحداث تاريخية، خصوصاً خلال الفترة الممتدة ما بين عامي 1158-1162م، التي كانت تمثل قمة تحالف القوي المحيطة بدولة سلاجقة الروم ضدها بهدف القضاء عليها، وكيف استطاع قلق أرسلان الثاني أن يواجه تلك القوي، بالحرب تارة، وبالديبلوماسية تارة أخرى، تلك الدبلوماسية التي توجت بزيارته إلي القسطنطينية في عام 1162م، ونتائج تلك الزيارة بالنسبة لكل من بيزنطة والسلاجقة.

تمكن الإمبراطور مانويل كومنين في عام 1158م من إنهاء مشاكله في الغرب الأوربي،⁽¹⁾ ومن ثم تفرغ للاهتمام بمشاكل الشرق، ومحاولة تأديب جيرانه الذين طالما اعتدوا علي الأراضي البيزنطية، خاصة

(1) - عقد مانويل كومنين في عام 1158م معاهدة سلام مع وليم الأول William I Sicily ملك صقلية (1154-1155م)،
أنظر:

Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus, by John Kinnamos, Translated by Charles M. Brand, (Columbia University Press New York, 1976), 132-4. (Hereafter *Kinnamos*); Magdalino, P., *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993), 60-1. (Hereafter, Magdalino, *Manuel I*); Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096—1204*, translated by J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings, (Oxford, 1993), 169-70.(Hereafter, Lilie, *Crusader States*).

كما نجح في عام 1156م في فرض الصلح علي المجر، حول الصلح مع المجر (معاهدة 1156م)، أنظر: المتولي السيد تميم، مملكة المجر وعلاقتها بالدولة البيزنطية 1000-1453م، رسالة دكتوراه غير منشورة، كلية الآداب، جامعة المنصورة، (2004م)، 100-108؛ ليلي عبد الجواد إسماعيل: "حملات مانويل كومنين علي بلاد المجر (1151 - 1167م) في ضوء كتابات حنا كناموس"، الجمعية المصرية للدراسات التاريخية، العدد 37 (1990م)، ص 73 - 83. *Kinnamos*, 105.

لمزيد من التفاصيل حول سياسة مانويل كومنين تجاه الغرب، أنظر: عبد العزيز رمضان، العلاقات البيزنطية اللاتينية في عهد الإمبراطور مانويل الأول كومنين 1143-1180م، رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآداب جامعة عين شمس، 2000م.



السلاجقة. من ناحية أخرى، كان الإمبراطور البيزنطي قلقاً من الأوضاع في آسيا الصغرى، فقد انتهت الهدنة التي عقدها بيزنطة مع السلاجقة عام 1146م، ولمدة اثنتا عشر عاماً، في ذلك العام (1158م)،⁽²⁾ واستولي السلطان السلجوقي علي مدينتي بونورا *Pounoura* وسيبيلا⁽³⁾ *Sibyla* الخاضعتين لبيزنطة،⁽⁴⁾ كما قام الأمير الدانشمدي ياغي بسان (أرسلان *Arslan*) *Yaghi-Basan*، أمير سيواس *Sivas* (سيبستيا *Sebasteia*) (1156-1167م)، ربما بالتعاون مع السلاجقة،⁽⁵⁾ بالاستيلاء علي مدينة أينايون (يونيه) *Oinaion (Ünye)*، علي ساحل البحر الأسود، ومدينة باراي (بافرا) *Paurae (Bafra)*، علي نهر هاليس/ كيزيل *Halys/ Kizil* الأدنى، وكلتاها من مدن البحر الأسود.⁽⁶⁾

قرر الإمبراطور مانويل تهدئة الوضع مع السلاجقة وتأجيل الصدام معهم حتى ينتهي من إخضاع الأمير ثوروس الثاني *Thoros II* أمير أرمينية الصغرى (قليقية *Cilicia*) (1114-1167م)،⁽⁷⁾ والأمير رينالد من شاتيون (أرناط) (*Renaud de Châtillon*) أمير أنطاكية الصليبي (1153-1160م)، الذي تمرد علي الإمبراطورية البيزنطية وهاجم، بالتعاون مع ثوروس، ممتلكاتها في قبرص،⁽⁸⁾ لذلك أرسل قائده ألكسيوس جيفاردوس *Alexius Giphardos (Gifard)* (حوالي عام 1158م) في بعثة دبلوماسية إلي السلطان السلجوقي والأمير الدانشمدي، وقد نجح ألكسيوس في مسعاه فأعاد السلاجقة والدانشمديون المدن التي استولوا عليها، وتم تجديد الهدنة مع السلاجقة، وأصبح ياغي بسان حليفاً مخلصاً لبيزنطة.⁽⁹⁾ ولاشك أن الإمبراطور ضحي ببعض الأموال والهدايا لإرضاء السلاجقة والدانشمديين ليغتتم الفرصة لإخضاع الصليبيين والأرمن.

كما نجح مانويل في ذلك العام (1158م) من عقد مصاهرة مع بلدوين الثالث *Baldwin III* ملك بيت المقدس (1114-1162م)، حيث زوجه من ثيودورا *Theodora*، ابنة أخيه اسحق، وكانت في الثالثة عشر من عمرها، وذات فتنة طاغية في الجسم والطلعة، تشد الناظر إليها.⁽¹⁰⁾ وبذلك نجح مانويل في فرض نفوذه علي

(2) - عن هذه الهدنة أنظر، محمود سعيد عمران، السياسة الشرقية للإمبراطورية البيزنطية في عهد الإمبراطور مانويل الأول (1114-1180م/ 537-576هـ)، رسالة دكتوراه غير منشوره، كلية الآداب جامعة الإسكندرية، 1975م، 97-99. (فيما بعد: عمران، السياسة الشرقية)؛ محمد سهيل طقوش، تاريخ سلاجقة الروم في آسيا الصغرى (470-704هـ/ 1077-1304م) مدخل إلي تاريخ العثمانيين، (دار النفائس، 2002م)، 131-135. (فيما بعد، طقوش، سلاجقة الروم).

(3) - مكانهما غير معروف، ويبدو أنهما واقعتين في قليقية، جنوب لارندا/ كارامان *Laranda/ Karaman*، أنظر: *Kinnamos*, 249, n. 29; Ramsay W. M., *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (London, 1890), 369, 450. (Hereafter, Ramsay, *Historical Geography*).

(4) - *Kinnamos*, 134-5.

(5) - يري عمران أن المشاكل بين السلاجقة وآل دانشمند قد تجمدت في ذلك الوقت، والأرجح أن الصلح قد تم بينهما، وكان هذا الصلح علي حساب البيزنطيين. أنظر: عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 180.

(6) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 180. *Kinnamos*, 134-5.

(7) - حول علاقات مانويل مع الأمير الأرميني في الفترة السابقة، أنظر: Lilie, *Crusader States*, 166-9. وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، ج3، ترجمة وتعليق د. حسن حبشي، (الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، القاهرة: 1994م)، 428-429. (فيما بعد، وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية)

(8) - حول هذه القضية أنظر، وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 401-403.

Kinnamos, 136-7; *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians*, Translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian (1871), ch. 181 (AD.1157). (Hereafter, *Michael the Syrians*); Lilie, *Crusader States*, 168-9.

(9) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 180. *Kinnamos*, 134-5.

(10) - عن هذا الزواج ودوافعه، أنظر: وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 426-428؛ عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 175-



مملكة بيت المقدس ، أكبر الممالك الصليبية في بلاد الشام .

شرع مانويل عقب مهادنة السلاجقة والدانشمانيين ، وإتمام مراسم زواج ثيودورا من بلدوين الثالث ، في الاستعداد للزحف علي قليقية وإخضاع الأمير ثوروس؛ تحرك الإمبراطور بقواته من القسطنطينية في سبتمبر عام 1158م ،⁽¹¹⁾ ولجأ إلي عنصر المفاجأة ، فأشاع أن قواته متقدمة في آسيا الصغرى لقتال السلاجقة ، حتى يضمن عدم استعداد ثوروس لمواجهة ، وبالفعل عندما وصلت قواته إلي فريجيا الصغرى Lesser Phrygia⁽¹²⁾ ، واجه الأتراك هناك ، فانتصر عليهم ، ودمر مناطقهم المحيطة ، ثم أسرع إلي قليقية حتى يفاجئ ثوروس .⁽¹³⁾ ويرى أحد المؤرخين المحدثين أن ظهور مانويل في هذه المنطقة كان باتفاق مسبق مع قلعج أرسلان الثاني ، تضمنته الهدنة التي عقدها ألكسيوس جيفاردوس مع السلاجقة منذ قليل ، وإن كان ذلك لا يمنع من وقوع بعض المناوشات من بعض القبائل التركية المتنقلة التي تجوب المنطقة .⁽¹⁴⁾

علي أية حال نجح مانويل في دخول قليقية ومفاجأة ثوروس ، الذي علم بالأمر في آخر لحظة ولم يكن أمامه سوي الفرار من أمام القوات البيزنطية التي تسلمت بأعداد كبيرة إلي قليقية ، وخلال شهرين تقريبا كانت القوات البيزنطية تسيطر علي إقليم قليقية . والواضح أن الإمبراطور مانويل لم يجد مقاومة فعالة من قبل المواطنين الأرمن ، وذلك لعنصر المفاجأة ، وكبر حجم القوات البيزنطية ، وتولي الإمبراطور بنفسه قيادة القوات البيزنطية ، إضافة إلي فرار ثوروس ، الذي كان له أبلغ الأثر في نجاح القوات البيزنطية في اجتياح إقليم قليقية والسيطرة عليه .⁽¹⁵⁾

لم تكن السيطرة علي قليقية هي نهاية المطاف بالنسبة لأهداف مانويل ، إذ كان ثوروس لا يزال حرا طليقا ، وربما سعى إلي جمع قواته ومهاجمة مانويل في معسكره ، لذلك أقام مانويل معسكره في المصيصة ، انتظارا لما يمكن أن يحدث من ثوروس ، وللضغط علي معنويات رينالد أمير أنطاكية ، الذي كان الهدف التالي لمانويل؛ فمدينة المصيصة لا تبعد كثيرا عن أنطاكية ، الأمر الذي من شأنه أن ينزل الرعب في قلب رينالد انتظارا لما سيلحق به في الغد .

حاول ثوروس ورينالد دفع بعض الأمراء المرافقين للإمبراطور إلي التوسط لديه لعقد الصلح معهما ، إلا أن الأخير رفض بشدة مثل هذه الالتماسات . فعرض عليه رينالد تسليم قلعة مدينة أنطاكية ، لكنه رفض هذا العرض أيضا ، مما ألقى مزيداً من الرعب في قلب رينالد ، خاصة مع قرب القوات البيزنطية من أنطاكية .⁽¹⁶⁾

Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 69-70; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-1174", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. I, (London, 1969), 542-3. (Hereafter, Baldwin, *Latin States*); Lillie, *Crusader States*, 175-6.

(11) - حول تاريخ تحرك الجيش البيزنطي ، أنظر: عمران ، *السياسة الشرقية* ، 181-182 . . 136-7 . Kinnamos ،

(12) - يبدو أنها منطقة لاو ديكييا *Laodikeia/Denizli* ، أنظر:

Kinnamos, 249, n. 34; Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, 150-3.

(13) - Kinnamos ، 136-7 .

(14) - عمران ، *السياسة الشرقية* ، 182 .

(15) - وليم الصوري ، *الحروب الصليبية* ، 428-429؛ عمران ، *السياسة الشرقية* ، 185 .

Kinnamos ، 137-8; Michael the Syrians ch. 183 (AD. 1159) .; Baldwin ، *Latin States* ، 543; Lillie ، *Crusader States* ، 176-7 .

(16) - وليم الصوري ، *الحروب الصليبية* ، 429-430؛ عمران ، *السياسة الشرقية* ، 187 .

Kinnamos, 138; Lillie, *Crusader States*, 177-8.



وأخيراً ذهب رينالد بنفسه إلي الإمبراطور في المصيصة ليعلن ندمه وخضوعه،⁽¹⁷⁾ ونجح في نيل العفو لقاء تسليم قلعة أنطاكية إلي البيزنطيين، وتعهد إمارة أنطاكية بتزويد بيزنطة بالقوات العسكرية وقت الحاجة، وأخيراً تنصيب بطريكاً من البيزنطيين الأرثوذكس وليس من اللاتين الكاثوليك على كنيسةها.⁽¹⁸⁾

وفي ذلك الوقت تقريبا وصل بلدوين الثالث إلي المصيصة، واستقبله الإمبراطور استقبالا رسمياً حاراً،⁽¹⁹⁾ وقبل مانويل شفاعته للعفو عن الأمير ثوروس، وذلك في محاولة منه لترضية الملك بعد أن خدعه⁽²⁰⁾ بالعفو عن رينالد.⁽²¹⁾ كما استقبل الإمبراطور سفراء من نور الدين، وياغي بسان،⁽²²⁾ رحل مانويل إلي أنطاكية بعد الاحتفال بعيد القيامة (12 إبريل عام 1159م)، وبعد أن قضى حوالي سبعة أشهر في قليقية.⁽²³⁾

شرع مانويل، تحت إلهام الصليبيين، إلي الاستعداد لمحاربة نور الدين محمود، أتاك حلب، (1174-1146م/541-569هـ)، حيث طالبوه بالقضاء علي القوي الإسلامية التي يقودها نور الدين وتشكل خطراً علي الإمارات الصليبية؛ خرج الإمبراطور من أنطاكية ومعه حشد كبير من القوات الصليبية، يقودهم بلدوين الثالث ورينالد، وربما انضم إليهم ثوروس، بهدف الاستيلاء علي حلب،⁽²⁴⁾ لكن عندما بلغت القوات الصليبية نهر العاصي حدث تحول في موقف مانويل تجاه الحرب مع نور الدين، حيث تشير المصادر المعاصرة إلي انتشار الأخبار في المعسكر البيزنطي عن وجود مؤامرة في القسطنطينية لخلع الإمبراطور مانويل.⁽²⁵⁾ ومن

(17) - حول الطريقة التي دخل بها رينالد علي الإمبراطور، أنظر: وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 430-431. Kinnamos, 139; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543.

(18) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 190. Kinnamos, 139; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543; Lilie, *Crusader States*, 177-81.

(19) - أنظر: وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 431-432؛ عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 190-193. Kinnamos, 140-1; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 543-4.

(20) - كان الملك بلدوين الثالث يطمح في مساعدة الإمبراطور في عزل رينالد عن إمارة أنطاكية لتصبح الإمارة تحت سلطة الملك مباشرة، لكن الإمبراطور البيزنطي كان يفضل أن يبقى رينالد أميراً علي أنطاكية، وبلدوين الثالث ملكاً علي بيت المقدس، حيث كان انشقاق الصليبيين علي أنفسهم فرصة لدعم النفوذ البيزنطي في الإمارات الصليبية في بلاد الشام، حول هذه القضية أنظر، عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 186-187، 191-193.

(21) - وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 432-433؛ أنظر: عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 194. Kinnamos, 142; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 544.

(22) Kinnamos, 140.

(23) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 199. Kinnamos, 142-3; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 544.

(24) - ابن القلانسي (أبو يعلي حمزة بن أسد بن علي بن محمد التميمي، المعروف بابن القلانسي) المتوفى 555هـ، تاريخ دمشق، تحقيق د سهيل زكار، (دمشق: دار حسان للطباعة والنشر، 1983)، 544. (فيما بعد، ابن القلانسي).

Kinnamos, 143; Chronique de Mathieu d'Édesse (926-1136), avec la continuation de Grégoire le Prêtre jusqu'en 1162, Paris, A. Durand, 1858, 358; (Hereafter, *Grégoire le Prêtre*); Michael the Syrians, ch.183 (AD. 1159); Tritton A.S. and Gibb H.A.R., *The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle* (Concluded from p.101), *JRASGBI.*, No. 2 (Apr., 1933), 302-3. (Hereafter, *First and Second Crusades*); Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 71; Baldwin, *Latin States*, 545.

(25) Kinnamos, 144; Grégoire le Prêtre, 359; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 71.

يشير المؤلف المجهول للحملة الصليبية الأولى والثانية إلي قائد الانقلاب ضد الإمبراطور تحت اسم (أندرونيقوس)، ويصفه بأنه ابن أحد النبلاء. *First and Second Crusades*, 302.



ثم جرت المراسلات بين مانويل ونور الدين وانتهت بعقد هدنة⁽²⁶⁾ كان من شروطها إطلاق نور الدين لسراح الأسري الصليبيين لديه، وتعهده بمساعدة الإمبراطور مانويل في حربه ضد قلعج أرسلان الثاني.⁽²⁷⁾

يبدو أن الإمبراطور مانويل لم يكن ينوي حقاً القضاء علي قوة نور الدين، وأن ما قام به الإمبراطور من إعداد لتلك الحملة كان تمثيلية الهدف منها إقناع الصليبيين، بكونه ينوي حرب نور الدين، وأن ما منعه من تحقيق ذلك هو ترددي الأوضاع في القسطنطينية؛ فقد بدأت مفاوضات الصلح بين نور الدين ومانويل منذ أن كان في المصيصة، حيث يشير كيناموس إلي وجود سفراء لنور الدين في معسكر الإمبراطور في المصيصة،⁽²⁸⁾ كما يشير ابن القلانسي أن الإمبراطور مانويل قد أرسل من معسكره في المصيصة رسولا من قبله إلي نور الدين ومعه بعض الهدايا، إضافة إلي خطاب، لم يشر ابن القلانسي إلي محتواه، وقد رد نور الدين بهدايا مماثلة وأعاد الرسول البيزنطي في نهاية صفر عام 554هـ/حوالي الثاني والعشرين من مارس عام 1159م،⁽²⁹⁾ ويبدو أنه تم الاتفاق علي عقد هدنة بين الطرفين أثناء هذه الزيارة، وأن وجود سفير نور الدين في معسكر الإمبراطور في المصيصة كان لتأكيد هذا الاتفاق. وربما يدعم ذلك وصف ابن القلانسي للهدنة التي عقدت بين نور الدين ومانويل "بالمهادنة المؤكدة والمواذعة المستحكمة"،⁽³⁰⁾ مما يلمح إلي وجود اتفاق مسبق علي هدنة؛ ثم أن وجود نور الدين يمثل فائدة مزدوجة للإمبراطور، فهو يمثل ضغطا علي القوي الصليبية في الشرق لتظل دائما تحت حماية الإمبراطور خشية الهجوم عليها من نور الدين، كما يمكن استخدامه ضد قلعج أرسلان الثاني،⁽³¹⁾ الذي يسعى الإمبراطور الآن إلي القيام بعمل عسكري كبير ضده، خاصة أنه هو الحاكم الوحيد الآن في الشرق الذي لم يخضع للنفوذ البيزنطي، يُضاف إلي ذلك أن القضاء علي نور الدين يزيد من قوة قلعج أرسلان الثاني، ومن ثم فلا بد من وجود نور الدين لحفظ التوازن في المنطقة.

كان هذا هو الوضع الذي كان علي قلعج أرسلان الثاني أن يواجه عند صدامه مع الإمبراطور مانويل، فقد نجح مانويل في التحالف مع كل أمراء الشرق، سواء من الصليبيين أو المسلمين، الذين يحيطون بقلعج أرسلان، ولم يتبق خارج السرب البيزنطي إلا قلعج أرسلان الثاني، الذي كان هو المحطة التالية في خطة مانويل.

(26) - لمزيد من التفاصيل حول المراسلات والهدنة، أنظر: عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 197-205.

(27) - ابن القلانسي، 544؛ وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 435؛ طقوش، سلاجقة الروم، 168.

Kinnamos, 143- 44; Grégoire le Prêtre, 358; Michael the Syrians ch.183 (AD. 1159); First and Second Crusades, 302-3; Magdalino, Manuel I, 71; Baldwin, Latin States, 545; Lilie, Crusader States, 182. أشار ابن القلانسي (ص 545-546) إلي إطلاق نور الدين سراح الأسري الصليبيين، لكنه لم يشر إلي تعهد نور الدين بمساعدة الإمبراطور في حربه ضد قلعج أرسلان الثاني.

(28) - Kinnamos, 140.

(29) - ابن القلانسي، 544.

(30) - ابن القلانسي، 545.

(31) - Claude Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330, Translated from the French by J. Jones-Williams, New York, 1969, 100. (Hereafter, Cahen, Pre-Ottoman). Magdalino, Manuel I, 71; Baldwin, Latin States, 545-6.

يعود سبب الخلاف بين قلعج أرسلان الثاني ونور الدين إلي محاولات السلطان التوغل في الأراضي الشمالية لإمارة الرها، غرب نهر الفرات، والتي تمثل حافة الأراضي الحدودية للسهل السوري الشمالي المجاور لجبال الأناضول. وكان من الواضح أن نور الدين لن يسمح لهذه القوة الجديدة أن تنافسه النفوذ في أقاليم يعتبرها ملكه. ومن هنا كانت العلاقات بين الأميرين فاترة، وكانت عرضة لاندلاع الحرب في أي وقت؛ كما كان نور الدين سببا في إدانة قلعج أرسلان الثاني أمام المؤمنين من أتباعه بأنه صديق للبيزنطيين. أنظر، Cahen, The Turks, 678.



علي أية، قرر مانويل، بعد عقد الهدنة مع نور الدين، العودة إلى القسطنطينية عبر وسط الهضبة، عن طريق لارندا/ كارامان (Laranda (Karaman)، وهو طريق مختصر يجعله يمر بالقرب من العاصمة السلجوقية قونية، ويشير ميخائيل السورباني إلى أن الإمبراطور مانويل كان قد أرسل إلى قلع أرسلان الثاني يطلب منه التصريح بالمرور عبر أراضيه وأن الأخير وافق،⁽³²⁾ بينما يشير كيناموس أن قلع أرسلان الثاني عارض هذا المرور عبر أراضيه بقوة؛⁽³³⁾ علي أية حال، عندما اقترب الإمبراطور من العاصمة قونية، هرب سكانها، معتقدين أن الإمبراطور قد أتى لمهاجمتهم، لكن بعد أن مر البيزنطيون، قامت القبائل التركمانية بالهجوم علي مؤخرة الجيش البيزنطي وأحدثت به خسائر كبيرة.⁽³⁴⁾ ويبدو من خط سير هذه الرحلة أن الإمبراطور كان يحاول استنزاف السلاجقة ودفعهم لمهاجمة الجيش البيزنطي ليكون ذلك ذريعة له لمهاجمتهم، فعندما توجه الإمبراطور مانويل إلى الشرق في شهر سبتمبر عام 1158م سافر عن طريق الساحل، ولم يحاول التوغل داخل الأراضي السلجوقية حتى لا يستنزف السلاجقة، الذين كانت تربطه بهم أذاك هدنة، كما أنه كان يتحاشى الحرب معهم ليتفرغ لإخضاع ثوروس الأرمني وريبالد أمير أنطاكية.

علي أية حال، أعد الإمبراطور مانويل في أواخر عام 1159م حملة انتقامية ضد السلاجقة، لكنها كانت حملة قصيرة لم تحقق أية نتائج، فقد اضطر مانويل إلى العودة إلى القسطنطينية نتيجة حلول فصل الشتاء.⁽³⁵⁾ قضي الإمبراطور مانويل فصل الشتاء في بثينيا (Bithynia)، حيث تقابل في أوائل عام 1160م مع سفراء السلطان السلجوقي، الذي حاول تهدئة الأوضاع مع مانويل؛ ولم يذكر كيناموس العرض الذي قدمه السفراء لمانويل لفتح باب التفاوض، لكنه أشار فقط أنه صرفهم بعد أن أيقن أنهم لا يملكون شيئاً جدياً للتفاوض.⁽³⁶⁾

أيقن مانويل كومنين، بعد مقابلته لسفراء السلطان، أن المسألة السلجوقية لن تحسمها هذه العمليات العسكرية المحلية، وأنه لابد من توجيه ضربة قوية إلى سلطان السلاجقة نفسه وذلك بمهاجمة العاصمة قونية، من أجل ذلك دخل الإمبراطور في تحالف مع ياغي بسان وشاهنشاه،⁽³⁷⁾ كما أرسل القائد يوحنا كونتوستيفانوس (John Kontostephanos)، في أوائل عام 1160م، إلى الملك بلدوين الثالث لإمداده بقوات صليبية، إضافة إلى قوات مرتزقة، حسب الاتفاق المبرم بينهما، وأرسل أحد قادته لجمع القوات المساعدة من أنطاكية وقلقية، والتي تم الوعد بها في عام 1158م، كما جهز أعداد لا حصر لها من الثيران مع عرباتهم من قري تراقيا وذلك لتوفير الإمدادات والخدمات.⁽³⁸⁾

ليس هذا فحسب، بل حرض نور الدين علي تطبيق الشرط الخاص بمساعدته لمانويل في حربه ضد السلاجقة، فقام نور الدين في عام 556هـ/1161م، أثناء حرب السلاجقة مع البيزنطيين، بمهاجمة الممتلكات السلجوقية الواقعة علي تخوم بلاده، فسقطت في يده مدينة مرعش وقلعتا كيسوم وبهنسا الحصينتان.⁽³⁹⁾ ويرى أحد المؤرخين المحدثين أن هذا الشرط كان علي ما يبدو سرورياً بين نور الدين والبيزنطيين، لأنه لو كان ذلك

(32) - *Michael the Syrians*, ch.183 (AD. 1159).

(33) - *Kinnamos*, 145.

(34) - *Kinnamos*, 145.

(35) - *Kinnamos*, 145-47; *Michael the Syrians*, ch. 183, (AD. 1159).

(36) - *Kinnamos*, 148.

(37) - *Kinnamos*, 151.

(38) - *Kinnamos*, 151.

(39) - وليم الصوري، الحروب الصليبية، 437، (AD. 1159)، *Michael the Syrians* ch. 183،



الشرط معروفاً لدي الصليبيين لما قام الملك بلدوين الثالث بمهاجمة دمشق أثناء مهاجمة نور الدين لممتلكات السلاجقة. (40) وربما يدعم ذلك الرأي أن ابن القلانسي لم يشر إلى هذا البند، (41) لكن علي الجانب الآخر، فقد أشارت المصادر البيزنطية صراحة إلى هذا البند، (42) بينما ألمحت إليه المصادر السريانية. (43)

أيقن السلطان أنه لا طاقة له بمواجهة كل هذه القوات، خاصة بعد ما عانته قواته من هزائم، ومن ثم سعى إلى التصالح مع مانويل وحلفائه، فتصالح مع نور الدين، الذي أعاد إليه المناطق التي استولي عليها، وأُعترف بالمناطق التي استولي عليها الدانشمنديون، كما اعترف بممتلكات أخيه شاهنشاه، (44) كما كتب إلي الإمبراطور البيزنطي يطلب منه العفو، ووعد أنه يُعيد إليه كل المدن البيزنطية التي استولي عليها حديثاً، وكذلك كل الأسرى البيزنطيين الموجودين في مملكته. (45) وبينما كانت المفاوضات جارية بين الإمبراطور والسلطان، عاد القائد البيزنطي يوحنا كونتوستيفانوس، في خريف عام 1161م، بالقوات التي جمعها من الصليبيين وغيرهم، وأوقع هزيمة قاسية بالجيش السلجوقي؛ (46) وقد أُجبرت تلك الهزيمة السلطان السلجوقي إلي تقديم تنازلات أكبر لمانويل، إضافة إلي التنازلات السابقة، فقد تعهد في عام 1161م بإطلاق سراح سائر الأسرى البيزنطيين في مملكته، كما وافق علي إعادة المدن التي كانت تخضع فيما سبق للبيزنطيين، واستولي عليها الأتراك، وتزويد البيزنطيين بالفرق العسكرية في أي وقت يشاءون لقاء مبالغ مالية، كما وعد ألا يسمح للأتراك (يقصد التركمان) بمهاجمة الأراضي البيزنطية، وتعهد في حالة قيام أي من الإمارات التركية الأخرى بإثارة المشاكل في الأراضي البيزنطية بشأن الحرب عليها على الفور، كما يجب عليه استخدام كل الوسائل لو أدت أية خيانة ضد الإمبراطور، وأخيراً، فسوف يقوم بعمل كل ما يأمر به الإمبراطور؛ (47) وافق الإمبراطور علي هذه الشروط التي كانت تعني خضوع السلاجقة للنفوذ البيزنطي.

والسؤال الذي يطرح نفسه هنا: لماذا لم يقيم الإمبراطور البيزنطي بالقضاء علي دول سلاجقة الروم في ذلك الوقت علي الرغم من امتلاكه لكل الظروف التي يمكن أن تساعد في ذلك؟ فقد كانت لدي الإمبراطور أعداد ضخمة من القوات البيزنطية، إضافة إلي القوات المساعدة التي جاءت من الإمارات الصليبية، كما قام نور الدين محمود بتنفيذ الشرط الخاص به وهاجم ممتلكات السلاجقة القريبة منه، بالإضافة إلي ذلك، فقد تحالف مانويل مع الأمير الدانشمندي ياغي أرسلان، وشاهنشاه أخو قلع أرسلان الثاني. وهكذا تم تطويق قلع أرسلان الثاني من جميع الجهات، وأصبح القضاء عليه نهائياً الآن ممكناً، ورغم ذلك لم يقيم مانويل كومنين بهذه الخطوة، ووافق علي قبول الصلح معه.

ربما اعتقد مانويل أن القضاء علي قلع أرسلان الثاني قد يحدث فراغاً سياسياً لن تستطيع بيزنطة ملأه في ذلك الوقت، خاصة مع تطلعاتها في الغرب، مما يفتح المجال واسعاً أمام توسعات القوي الإقليمية الأخرى في آسيا الصغرى، خاصة نور الدين والدانشمنديين. كذلك ربما وجد في إضعاف دولة سلاجقة الروم أمراً يقوض

(40) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 204-205.

(41) - ابن القلانسي، 545-546.

(42) - Kinnamos, 144.

(43) - Michael the Syrians, ch. 183, (AD. 1159).

(44) - Michael the Syrians, ch. 183, (AD. 1160).

(45) - Kinnamos, 152.

(46) - Kinnamos, 152.

(47) - Kinnamos, 152.



مبدأ توازن القوي في المنطقة، ويتيح الفرصة لنور الدين محمود لمهاجمة الصليبيين؛ وأخيراً، فقد قبل مانويل بوجود دولة سلاجقة الروم، التي تدعم مبدأ توازن قوي في آسيا الصغرى، وتمنح بيزنطة السيطرة على المنطقة دون الحاجة إلى استخدام القوة.⁽⁴⁸⁾

علي أية حال، لم تؤد معاهدة عام 1161م إلى شعور قلعج أرسلان الثاني بالأمان تجاه المؤامرات البيزنطية ضده، لذلك قام، بعد عقد المعاهدة بعدة أشهر، بزيارة مفاجئة للقسطنطينية عام 1162م؛ وقد اختلفت المصادر المعاصرة حول الأسباب التي دفعت السلطان السلجوقي إلى القيام بهذه الزيارة، إذ يشير المؤرخ البيزنطي كيناموس إلى أن السلطان قلعج أرسلان الثاني زار القسطنطينية طواعية لتقديم "التماس يتعلق بمسائل نافعة له"، دون أن يقدم تفاصيل حول هذه المسائل النافعة؛⁽⁴⁹⁾ ويشير نيقيتاس الخونياتي إلى أن السبب هو حاجة السلطان إلى مساعدة مانويل في حربه ضد الأمير الدانشمندي ياغي بسان.⁽⁵⁰⁾

ويشير ميخائيل السورباني إلى أن السلطان السلجوقي علم من النمامين (ربما يقصد الإشاعات) أن يعقوب أرسلان (ياغي بسان) قد اتحد مع بعض الأمراء، وخططوا لتحتيته من علي العرش، وتعيين أخيه مكانه، لذلك سافر إلي القسطنطينية لطلب مساعدة الإمبراطور.⁽⁵¹⁾ ويؤكد المؤرخ السورباني الآخر، ابن العبري، علي المعلومة السابقة حيث يشير إلى أن قلعج أرسلان الثاني، عندما عرف أن يعقوب أرسلان وسائر الأمراء يحاولون خلعهم ليقبموا أخيه بدلاً منه، سار إلي القسطنطينية، حيث استقبله البيزنطيون بحفاوة؛⁽⁵²⁾ أما المؤرخ الأرمني جريجوار فيشير فقط إلى أن السلطان السلجوقي قلعج أرسلان الثاني قد سافر في ذلك العام (1162م) إلي مانويل، دون أن يذكر سبب هذه الرحلة.⁽⁵³⁾

أما المصادر الإسلامية، فإنها لم تشر إلي رحلة السلطان قلعج أرسلان الثاني إلي القسطنطينية عام 1162م، حيث أنها لا تتطرق لتاريخ دولة سلاجقة الروم إلا عرضاً، وبقدر ما كان لهذه الدولة من علاقات مع الشعوب التي يؤرخون لها،⁽⁵⁴⁾ وعلي الرغم من ذلك، يلمح ابن الأثير إلي العلاقات الودية التي كانت تربط

(48) - يناقش أحد المؤرخين المحدثين هذه القضية بشكل موسع خلال القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي، أنظر:

Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Twelfth-century Byzantine and Turkish States, in *Manzikert to Lepanto: the Byzantine world and the Turks 1071-1571*, Papers given at the Nineteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1985, edited by Anthony Bryer and Michael Ursinus, (Amsterdam, 1991), 37-41. (Hereafter, Lilie, *Turkish States*).

(49) - *Kinnamos*, 156.

(50) - Nicetas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium, Annals of Nicetas Choniates*, Translated by Harry J. Magoulias, (Detroit, 1984), 67. (Hereafter, *Choniates*).

(51) - *Michael the Syrians*, ch. 185, (AD. 1162).

(52) - جريجوريوس أبي فرج جمال الدين المعروف بابن العبري (ت 1286م)، *تاريخ الزمان*، نقله إلي العربية الأب اسحق أرملة، قدم له الأب الدكتور جان موريس فييه، (بيروت: دار المشرق، 1986م)، 175. (فيما بعد: ابن العبري، *تاريخ الزمان*).

(53) - Grégoire le Prêtre, 364.

(54) - سنشير إلي إثنين من المؤرخين عاصراً قلعج أرسلان الثاني في جزء من حياته هما ابن القلانسي (ت 555هـ/1160م)، وابن الأثير (ت 630هـ)؛ يتحدث ابن القلانسي عن قلعج أرسلان الثاني في ثلاث حوادث، يبدأ حديثه بالسنة التي تولى فيها السلطان السلطان الحكم، والنزاع الذي اندلع بينه وأخيه شاهنشاه، وتدخل نور الدين محمود للصالح بينهما. (ص 511)؛ كما يورد حادثة مهاجمة نور الدين محمود لممتلكات قلعج أرسلان الثاني في شهر رمضان عام 555هـ/1155م، مستغلاً انشغال السلطان بحرب الدانشمنديين، (ص 511)؛ ويشير في الحادثة الأخيرة إلي وصول جيش السلطان قلعج أرسلان الثاني إلي أنطاكية في عام 552هـ/1157م، ووصل نور الدين محمود إلي حلب في نفس العام لحمايتها، نتيجة قرب جيش السلطان منها، (ص 525، 526)؛ والملاحظ في الأحداث



السلطان السلجوقي بالإمبراطور البيزنطي، بعد عام 1162م، حيث يشير إلى هزيمة السلطان السلجوقي قلعج أرسلان الثاني أمام ياغي بسان عام 1164م، واتجاهه إلى طلب المساعدة من الإمبراطور البيزنطي، فيقول ” التجأ إلي ملك الروم واستنصره، فأرسل إليه جيشاً كثيراً، استطاع به قلعج أرسلان الثاني هزيمة الدانشمنديين وامتلاك بعض بلادهم“.⁽⁵⁵⁾ لكنه لم يوضح سبب لجؤ السلطان السلجوقي إلى طلب المساعدة من البيزنطيين، ربما لقلة المعلومات التي لديه.

علي أية حال، يبدو من المصادر أن السلطان السلجوقي قد تنامي إلى سمعه وجود مؤامرة لخلعه من العرش بزعامه ياغي بسان وتعين أخيه شاهنشاه بديلاً له، وأحس بأن الإمبراطور مانويل ربما يكون وراء القلاقل التي يثيرها ياغي بسان ضده، لذلك توجه السلطان إلى القسطنطينية بهدف قطع خط الرجعة علي تحالف بيزنطي دانشمندي، أو علي الأقل وقف تشجيع الإمبراطور للدانشمنديين علي قتال السلاجقة من وراء ظهره. أما ما يذكره أحد المؤرخين المحدثين بأن هذه الزيارة قد جاءت تنفيذاً لمعاهدة 1161م،⁽⁵⁶⁾ فلا يوجد في بنود الاتفاقية ما يشير إلى وجوب زيارة السلطان للقسطنطينية.

أعطي قلعج أرسلان هذه الزيارة أهمية خاصة، حيث تولى بنفسه إعداد الترتيبات الخاصة بها، فأرسل مستشاره كريستوفر Christopher إلي مانويل، لإبلاغه برغبة السلطان، والحصول منه علي الأمان والموافقة علي الزيارة.⁽⁵⁷⁾ وافق الإمبراطور مانويل علي هذا الطلب علي الفور، وأقسم أن يضمن سلامة السلطان السلجوقي، ويبدو أن مانويل، كما يشير نيقيتاس الخونياتي، كانت لديه آمال عريضة أن يتخلص بشكل مرض من مشاكل الشرق، لذلك رحب بهذه الزيارة.⁽⁵⁸⁾ وبعد إعداد الترتيبات اللازمة اتجه قلعج أرسلان ومعه أمير أميران، شقيق نور الدين، وبصحبه ألف فارس إلي العاصمة البيزنطية.⁽⁵⁹⁾ وربما سحب السلطان معه أمير أميران شقيق نور الدين في محاولة منه للرد علي وقوف نور الدين مع ياغي بسان وشقيقه شاهنشاه ضده، وربما صحبه هذا العدد الكبير من الفرسان لحمايته في الطريق من أي هجمات قد يتعرض لها من جانب أعدائه.

علي أية حال، تم استقبال السلطان السلجوقي بالترحاب الكبير من جانب مانويل، الذي كان علي رأس المستقبلين مع أعضاء من الحرس والنبلاء والحاشية الإمبراطورية، حيث دخلا مع القسطنطينية، وبعد أن

الثلاثة أنها مرتبطة بنور الدين محمود وعلاقته بالسلاجقة، سواء بشكل مباشر أو غير مباشر. ويتوقف ابن القلانسي في الحديث عن سلاجقة الروم بعد ذلك نتيجة وفاته عام 1160م. أما ابن الأثير فيبدأ حديثه عن قلعج أرسلان الثاني عام 1164م/560هـ، عندما أشار إلي حادثة اختطاف الأمير الدانشمندي ياغي بسان لزوجة السلطان السلجوقي قلعج أرسلان الثاني، وهي في طريقها من مدينة أرضروم، شرق الأناضول، مقر إمارة أبيها عز الدين صلتق بن علي بن أبي القاسم (540-570هـ/1145-1174م)، إلي العاصمة السلجوقية قونية، والحرب التي اندلعت بينهما نتيجة ذلك، أنظر: ابن الأثير (عز الدين أبي الحسن علي بن أبي الكرم محمد بن محمد بن عبد الكريم بابن الأثير الجزري (ت. 630هـ)، الكامل في التاريخ، ج9، راجعه وصححه الدكتور محمد يوسف الدقاق، (بيروت: دار الكتب العلمية، 2003م)، 477. (فيما بعد، ابن الأثير، الكامل)؛ ثم يورد مجموعة من الأحداث تتعلق أيضاً بتاريخ نور الدين محمود وعلاقته مع السلطان السلجوقي، أنظر، الكامل، ج10، ص 48-101، 49-102.

(55) - ابن الأثير، الكامل، 477.

(56) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 219، 220.

(57) - Michael the Syrians, ch. 185, (AD. 1162).

(58) - Choniates, 67; Michael the Syrians, ch. 185, (AD. 1162).

(59) - عمران، السياسة الشرقية، 219، 364. Grégoire le Prêtre،



سمع السلطان كلمات الترحيب المناسبة غادر إلي مقر إقامته الذي تم تحديده له في القصر الإمبراطوري؛⁽⁶⁰⁾ لم تحدد المصادر البيزنطية المد التي قضاها السلطان السلجوقي بالقسطنطينية، فيشير كناموس أنه قضي وقت كاف في القسطنطينية،⁽⁶¹⁾ ويقول خونياتس أن السلطان أقام مع الإمبراطور لبعض الوقت؛⁽⁶²⁾ أما المؤرخ السورياني ميخائيل فيشير أن السلطان السلجوقي قد أقام في القسطنطينية لمدة ثمانون يوماً،⁽⁶³⁾ تم خلالها إقامة المآدب الفاخرة للسلطان والترفيه عنه بسباقات الخيل وإقامة المهرجانات، وقدمت له العديد من الهدايا من الملابس الحريرية والمشغولات الفضية والذهبية.⁽⁶⁴⁾

أثارت المدة التي قضاها السلطان السلجوقي في القسطنطينية الشكوك حول السبب الحقيقي الذي دفعه للقيام بهذه الزيارة، أولاً: إذا قبلنا ما ذكرته بعض المصادر أن السلطان قد ذهب إلي الإمبراطور طلباً لمساعدته ضد المكيدة التي تدبر ضده من جانب ياغي بسان وأخوه شاهنشاه لعزله من العرش، ألم يكن من الأجدي للسلطان السلجوقي أن يفعل ذلك عن طريق مبعوثه الخاص كريستوفر، دون تكبد عناء السفر والبعد عن عرشه المهدد بالمؤامرات، ثانياً هل يمكن أن يترك السلطان مملكته لمدة ثمانون يوماً وهي مهددة من جانب أعدائه، دون أن يخشى أن يتم الاستيلاء عليها، وعزله من العرش كما حدث مع عمه السلطان ملكشاه الأول بن قلع أرسلان الأول (1107-1116م)، من جانب والده السلطان مسعود (1116-1156م) عام 1116م.⁽⁶⁵⁾

وعلي ذلك فمن المحتمل أن زيارة السلطان قلع أرسلان الثاني إلي القسطنطينية لم تكن لطلب المساعدة من الإمبراطور البيزنطي نتيجة مؤامرة تحاك ضده، كما تقول بعض المصادر، حيث لم تتحرك أية قوات بيزنطية باتجاه الشرق بعد هذه الزيارة، كما أن الاتفاقية التي عقدت في نهاية هذه الزيارة لم تختلف في شيء عن معاهدة عام 1161م، لذلك فمن المحتمل أن هذه الزيارة كانت لها أهداف أخرى تتعلق بمسائل نافعة للسلطان، كما يقول كناموس، وقد تمثلت هذه المسائل في الآتي، أولاً: تدعيم مركزه في السلطنة السلجوقية بحيث لا تقوم ببيزنطة بدعم أي منافس له في العرش، مثل أخيه شاهنشاه، وثانياً: أن يصبح هو الحليف الأول لبيزنطة في آسيا الصغرى، والمدبر لكل شؤونها، علي الأقل في آسيا الصغرى، ولا يقوم الإمبراطور البيزنطي بعقد أية تحالفات مع أمراء آسيا الصغرى إلا من خلاله. يدعم هذا التصور ما يذكره كناموس أن أخبار الاتفاقية بين السلطان والإمبراطور قد وصلت إلي مسامع الأمراء الأتراك في آسيا الصغرى، يقصد ياغي بسان وشاهنشاه، الذين أيقنوا أن تعامل السلطان مع الإمبراطور لن يكون في صالحهم، لذلك سارعوا

(60) - لمزيد من التفاصيل حول وصف المصادر لاستقبال السلطان، أنظر: . 156-7. Kinnamos، 67-8؛ Choniates،

(61) - Kinnamos، 158.

(62) - Choniates، 67.

(63) - ابن العبري، تاريخ الزمان، 175.. (AD. 1162). Michael the Syrians، ch. 185،

(64) - لمزيد من التفاصيل الاحتفالات التي أقامها الإمبراطور للسلطان، أنظر: . 156-7. Kinnamos، 67-8؛ Choniates، 7.

(65) - ذهب السلطان ملكشاه إلي معسكر الإمبراطور ألكسيوس الأول كومنين (1081-1118م)، أثناء الحرب التي دارت بينهما عام 1116م، لعقد معاهدة سلام بين بيزنطة وسلاجقة الروم، أنظر: ألكسياد للمؤرخة اليونانية الأميرة أنا كومنين، ترجمة حسن حبشي، (القاهرة: المجلس الأعلى للثقافة، 2004م)، 604-611. (فيما بعد، ألكسياد).

The Alexiad of Anna Comnena، translated by Elizabeth A. S. Dawes، (New York، 1982)، 481-88 . (Hereafter، *Alexiad*).

نجح مسعود في الاستيلاء علي العرش السلجوقي أثناء غياب ملكشاه، ورغم تحذيرات الإمبراطور ألكسيوس، أصر ملكشاه علي العودة إلي قونية، حيث قبضت عليه قوات السلطان مسعود وتم سمل عينيه ثم خنقه. أنظر: ابن العبري، 132؛ ألكسياد، 611-614.. *Alexiad*، 488-90.



بإرسال مبعوثيهم إلي الإمبراطور البيزنطي وطلبوا منه التدخل لتسوية خلافاتهم من السلطان ، لكنه رفض مانويل التدخل ، وطلب منهم التفاوض مباشرة مع السلطان ، ليس هذا فحسب ، بل أرجع كل شئ لمشئة السلطان ، وأرسلهم إليه في جناحه الخاص في القصر الإمبراطوري؛⁽⁶⁶⁾ نجح السفراء في إقناع السلطان بالتخلي عن عداوتهم ، وطلبوا منه أن يكون نائباً عنهم لدي الإمبراطور ، وبالفعل قبل الإمبراطور وساطة السلطان وأدخل الأمراء الأتراك في صداقته.⁽⁶⁷⁾ ويبدو أن الإمبراطور مانويل قد رحب بطلبات السلطان السلجوقي بكل سرور لأنه كان يريد ، كما يقول خونيئاتس ، أن يتخلص من مشاكل الشرق بشكل مرضٍ حتى يتفرغ لمشاكله في الغرب .⁽⁶⁸⁾

علي أية حال ، لم تطف هذه الزيارة أي جديد بالنسبة لبيزنطة ، غير أنها مدت السلام الرسمي بين السلاجقة والبيزنطيين لمدة أربعة عشر عاماً ، وعكست النجاح البيزنطي المزيف في جبهة آسيا الصغرى . أما بالنسبة لقلج أرسلان الثاني فتعتبر هذه الزيارة نقطة تحول في صعود نجمه في المنطقة ، فقد استغل انغماس الإمبراطور مانويل في الشؤون الغربية ، وإهماله المشكلة التركية ، نتيجة شعوره بالأمان من ناحيته ، وعمل بحرية علي حل مشاكله مع أخيه شاهنشاه والدانشمنديون ، فاستغل وفاة ياغي بسان ، العدو اللدود ، عام 1164م ، واستولي علي معظم أراضي الدانشمنديين ، كما أدت وفاة نور الدين عام 1174م إلي تخلصه من آخر منافس قوي له في الشرق ، حيث نجح في العام التالي (1175م) في الاستيلاء علي ممتلكات أخيه شاهنشاه في أنقرة ، وعلي آخر ممتلكات الدانشمنديين ، بما فيها سيواس (سيبستيا) ، واضطر ذا النون ، آخر حاكم دانشمندي لها ، وشاهنشاه ، إلي الفرار إلي القسطنطينية؛ كما استولي بعد ذلك بعامين علي ملطية (Melitene (Malatya) ، ليصبح هو سيد آسيا الصغرى بلا منازع ، وتصبح سلطنة سلاجقة الروم أكبر قوة في آسيا الصغرى والمنطقة ، وأخيراً ، فقد أدت تحركات قلج أرسلان الثاني انهيار كامل في توازن القوي بالمنطقة ، تلك السياسة التي كانت من أولويات الإمبراطور مانويل كومنين ، ليس هذا فحسب بل لقد فشل مانويل فشلاً ذريعاً عندما حاول معالجة أخطاؤه في الشرق (وتلك قصة أخرى) .

(66) - تمت هذه السفارة بينما كان السلطان لا يزال في القسطنطينية ، وليست بعد مغادرته لها ، كما يقول عمران ، السياسة الشرقية ، 221-222 .

(67) - Kinnamos, 158.

(68) - Choniates, 67.



المصادر والمراجع

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Peace between Muslims and Europeans: A Papal Edict and A Mamluk Decree for Mount Zion Monastery

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Abstract

The Roman Church adopted the ideology of the Crusades, therefore patronized the Levant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even proceeded in the following centuries. In fact, its motives were not merely religious for it pursued securing its influence with the use of the seculars and systematically balancing the impacts of all religious sects. Thus, Pope Alexander III issued a papal edict on 1178, which was renewed four times after, for Mount Zion Monastery at the south of Jerusalem increasing its powers till the extent of reaching the status of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem; as it included a wide range of exemptions, donations, privileges, and several other rights. In addition to its possessions in the Levant, the monastery was given other assets and large amounts of yields in Western Europe which reinforced the relations between the monastery and Europe embodying the idea of the Crusades. To untie this relation, the Muslim rulers followed a clever policy that aimed at eliminating the spirit of hostility, especially after Saladin has regained Jerusalem. Although the Mamluke Sultan, Baibars, was famous for being a powerful ruler, he adopted that very peaceful policy; hence issuing a decree, which was renewed by the following Sultans for more than two centuries, by which not only granting Mount Zion Monastery many of the exemptions and privileges it was given by the Pope, but also adding more donations and various other rights. Consequently, the monastery remained a fundamental basis for the Franciscans, till the end of the Middle Ages or even after that, to receive any Christian who longs for visiting the Holy Lands or wishes to be buried in its blessed soil. If the Mamluk Sultans, till the age of Khushqadam, mastered the spirit of tolerance and pacifism with the Franks represented by the monks of Mount Zion Monastery, the monks on their turn, with their pure hearts and souls, successfully played the role of the connecting link with Europe.

Introduction

A documentary book included several Mamluk decrees, one of which captured my attention⁽¹⁾ due to its similarity with a papal edict⁽²⁾ as they were both issued for the service of Mount Zion Monastery in Jerusalem. This raised several questions which need to be answered, and a confusion that only deep historical research can clarify; why did the Mam-

(1) Norberto Rissani, *Documenti E. Firmani*, (Gerusalemme 1931), (XXV Documento), 290-316.

(2) Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey, *Chartes de l'Abbaye du Mont Sion*, Mémoire de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 5 séries, n. 8, (Paris 1887), 39-53.



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lukes grant generous privileges and exemptions to a Catholic monastery, especially one with crusade pillars, when they had the upper hand and the sovereignty over the monastery and its affiliates? Besides, how does this relate to the papal edict which offered plentiful grants, privileges and powers to the same monastery?

This is where the idea of this research came from. I hope, through it, I can highlight the civilized dimension of the thought of the Islamic leadership at that time; in addition to demonstrating its ability to find the appropriate method to address the conflict of civilizations and the clash among believers of different religions in the late middle ages. Thus, the research seeks to compare what was specified in the Mamluk decree with what was mentioned in the papal edict; and its resemblance to the Roman papacy regarding the generosity granted to the same monastery during the Crusaders' presence. This can only be explained with the fact that the papacy donating attitude was driven by the idea of fostering the crusades, and its wish to expand its influence over the Levant. However, the Mamluks issued the decree in order to find a way to achieve peace with the Europeans after the phase of worthless bloody confrontations that broke out during the crusades.

A Brief about Mount Zion Monastery and its Religious and Historical Background

The decree at hand edited by Pope Alexander III (1050 - 1181) on March 1178 to John abbot of Mount Zion Monastery (1178 - 1190) was included in a later papal document dated the 12th of July, 1336 which was considered as its fifth version in the reign of Pope Benedict XII (1334 - 1342). It is known that the idea of the crusades was still preoccupying his mind, however the Hundred Years War broke out between England and France (1337 - 1453) and it has ousted his hopes⁽³⁾. Perhaps we will find in these explanations indications to the circumstances surrounding the papacy when issued such a decree. The personality of Alexander III, who issued this decree, was of a great influence in the papacy policy with the Levant. His influence came from issuing a huge number of decrees and letters regulating how to deal with the religious and secular institutions; and, furthermore, arranging such institutions internally. Besides, Alexander III did not seek to impose Christianity on Muslims who are subject to the sovereignty of Christians⁽⁴⁾. Therefore, the year 1178 was the start of a new phase in the history of the monastery that has its own characteristics.

As for the Mamluk decree, it has been reissued several times as well. Its first version was during the reign of Al-Zaher Rukn Al-Din Baybars Al-Bunduqdari (1261 - 1278) and it has been reviewed through its fourteenth renewal as a confirmation from Sultan Al-Zaher Abu-Saied Saif Al-Din Khushqadam (1460 - 1467) as a response to the request of the abbot and the contemporary monks; and it has been issued on the 28th of Safar 869 AH / the 30th of October 1464. It is noticed that the decree has always been amendable, this is naturally due to the historical developments; however, its essence remained unaltered.

(3) John Norman Davidson Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, (New York : Oxford university press, 1986), 21.

(4) Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, vol. III, (Duesseldorf 1985), Doc. No. 118, 292; Benjamin Zeev Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims*, (Princeton 1984), 47, 52 n. 29, 69, 81 n.108.



Since the Byzantine era, Christians paid much attention to the area of Mount Zion. Therefore, they constructed a number of buildings there; collectively, they composed a large church, in commemoration of Jesus Christ eating the Last Supper⁽⁵⁾. In the eighth century, it has been referred to these churches as a church of simple construction⁽⁶⁾. When the Crusaders conquered Palestine in 1099, the Zion hill and with its sacred sites were real obstacles for them⁽⁷⁾. But soon, the military operations required launching from this area, using a wooden tower in order to shower the city with fire. Therefore, Zion buildings were exposed to large destructions that have even left many of them just walls. Soon the Crusaders started using Zion buildings. Godfrey de Bouillon, the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099 - 1100, has ordered to provide care to the monastery and granted it generous donations. In addition, the monastery has followed The Augustinian Canons in monasticism. Thereby, it is clear that the Crusaders are the ones who worked hard in the restoration process of the destroyed buildings where the Church of our Lady Mary, Church of Zion, and the monastery have all composed a number of sacred buildings called Zion.

In 1111, Mount Zion Monastery was under the direct supervision of the Latin Patriarch of the Catholic Church of Jerusalem, in accordance with the papal edict which stated that all monasteries were to be under his supervision since he was their archbishop⁽⁸⁾. The monastery was known as Zion Hill on which it has been established. Christians were emotionally and religiously related to the monastery depending on doctrinal heritage extending to the Jews. The religious importance of Zion lands is due the fact that, over the generations, it is a symbol of Jerusalem, and it is often referred to the whole city with the name of Zion. This is evident in the pilgrims of the European Christians to Jerusalem, as we always find them keen to record their visits to Zion's holy places as the region and the city are included in the pilgrims guide. The region's buildings have developed over the time; the monastery building even seemed as a major religious, economic, and social institution.

Comparison between the Contents of the Edict and the Decree:

First: The Properties Granted to the Monastery

In the next pages, this research seeks to identify the regions granted in the Levant, rather than the territories outside it in Sicily and the peninsula of Italy, France, and Spain. Then, the research will represent the statements mentioned in the Edict in order to confirm such

(5) Christians believe that during the Last Supper, Jesus Christ took a loaf of bread, thanked the Lord, then broke it, and gave it to them, saying, "This is my body given for you; do this in remembrance of me", then he took the cup, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you." see Botros Abdul Malik and others, *Arabic Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, roots: akala and shareba.

(6) Prêtre Willibald and William Robert Brownlow, *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald (circa 754 A.D.)*, in (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol. III, 46.

(7) Rosalind Hill, ed., *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pelgrims to Jerusalem*, (London 1962), 81-88, 100; William Robert Brownlow, trans., *Saewulf's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol. IV, 24, 37.

(8) Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire de Chapitre de Saint- Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris : P. Geuthner, 1984), Acte 1, 3; Reinhold Röhrich, ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, (Geneva 1893), doc. no. 60, 13-14.



properties and grants as well as the privileges granted by the papacy to the monastery as the primary intellectual trend distinguishing the era of the Crusades. The research then compares the contents of the Edict with the contents of the Mamluk decree.

(A) *The Papal Edict* included a document that recorded the properties acquired by Mount Zion Monastery in the Levant throughout the preceding eight decades. Given the fact that the first grants were made by Godfrey de Bouillon, this means that it was during the first year of establishing the Kingdom of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. The Edict defined the granted territories which were confirmed by Pope Alexander III. Such territories include: Mount Zion and the lands surrounding it, which are part of its range, including the lands extending to the inside of the city itself from south, and which are on the left and right sides⁽⁹⁾. According to the testimony of one of the European travelers, three decades after the invasion, that there were no landmarks at this place, except for a wall that separates Mount Zion from the city⁽¹⁰⁾. This makes us believe that this area was mostly a farmland.

The edict has also included the grants of King Baldwin I to the monastery. It stated that he has confirmed the donations of his predecessor Godfrey. Besides, it added some clarifications to the latter's grant when it mentioned that the grant includes two triangle-shaped lands located at the south of the city. This is in addition to the orchards, baths, and houses in this area. This is based on the fact that this land is considered as a part of Mount Zion region inside and outside of the city walls. Moreover, the King granted the monastery the authority to open a gate in the southern wall leading to the inside of Jerusalem⁽¹¹⁾. Indeed, there are numerous references to this gate as Mount Zion Gate, and another one as Prophet David Gate⁽¹²⁾.

In addition to what Mount Zion Monastery has acquired, it has been granted much from princes and charitable people, as evidenced by a series of grants and plentiful donations mentioned by the Edict. The monastery has also been given numerous grants by someone called Anselm de Pareinte, including the locations that we have here; the properties registered, the extended fields, and the vines located at the south of Mount Zion. The Edict has defined this spot by the name of Asheldamah⁽¹³⁾. The Crusader traveler Fetellus referred to this same region in 1130 with the same name as a sacred spot⁽¹⁴⁾; while the publisher of the Edict said that he has considered this location as a hill on south-west Jerusalem on

(9) Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie au XIIème et XIIIème siècle*, (Paris 1883), 281

(10) Rorgo Fretellus, *Description of Jerusalem and The Holy Land 1130 A.D.*, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol. V, 40.

(11) Rey, *Chartes*, 42.

(12) For instance, see: Emily Atwatter Babcock and August Charles Krey, trans., *William of Tyre: A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, II vols., (New York, 1943), vol. I, 350 – 51; Aubrey Stewart, trans., *Burchard of Mount Sion: A Description of the Holy Land 1232 A.D.*, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol XII, 67, 109.

(13) Rey, *Chartes*, 40; the researcher could not find the name of Anselm de Pareinte in the list of Crusader governors. Therefore, it is more likely that he was a wealthy philanthropist.

(14) Fetellus, *Description*, 40.



Bethlehem road on which sides many vines are lined⁽¹⁵⁾. The grant has also included feudal unit mentioned by the Edict as Casal, the researcher will call it the village and it is called Sorbeal which includes the Asquatim land⁽¹⁶⁾. In fact, Sorbeal is a village near Saint-Elie monastery. It is a Greek monastery near Bethlehem referred to as Soir-Bahil⁽¹⁷⁾. Near Sorbeal village, the Edict confirms other properties to the monastery, as it was granted by the Noble Hugues de Gorron. The Noble's grant was a waterway known as Dersoeth, and the neighboring lands including the adjacent village which was handed over to the monastery by Anselm de Pareinte.

One of the researchers has a worth mentioning opinion regarding this matter; the religious institutions belonging to the Crusaders, which owned the lands, have given viticulture great attention. Therefore, farmers were motivated to plant it more than any other crop, even wheat. This was due to the great profits accrued by vine growers⁽¹⁸⁾. When we focus on the nature of the lands granted to the monastery from Jerusalem governors and wealthy people, we clearly notice that most of the lands were specifically producing vines as it generated large incomes. This, of course, reflects the donors' attitude that resorted to provide a good economic ground for the monastery to be capable of providing the necessary funds to carry on the tasks entrusted to the monastery.

At Nablus, North of Jerusalem, many donations were offered to Mount Zion Monastery; two sets of them were mentioned in two different locations. The credit of the first group goes to the Noble descendent of Milly feudal family, his name is Guido de Milly⁽¹⁹⁾. Such donations were affirmed by Pope Alexander III, and they were very generous as they included a town called Mahmoerie located on the road connecting Jerusalem with Nablus, which is now known as El Bireh. It is worth mentioning that other documents referred to this town with the name Magna Mahumeria, and that it is a part of the property of Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1124⁽²⁰⁾. It is then believed that its ownership has moved to the Milly family after that date. Moreover, Guido de Milly has also granted the monastery the village Martini and a land called Fontaine containing a spring; it is obvious that this is where the name of the village comes from.

(15) Rey, *Chartes*, 40, note 2.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid, 40, note. 3.

(18) Joshua Prawer, *Colonisation Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire XXIX, (Brussels, 1951), 1063 – 1068.

(19) Guido belongs to the Milly noble family who settled in Palestine, the family origin was Flemish (the people of Belgium). The king Baldwin I, granted a big part of Nablus for feudalism to Payen the oldest person in the Milly family at the time in 1108. After Payen's death, the feudalism was handed to his nephew Philip de Milly. See: Said Al-Bishawy, *Nablus: Political, Social, Cultural, and Economical State in Crusaders Wars Era (492-690 AH/1099-1291)*, (Oman 1990), 75, 94.

(20) Henri François Delaborde, ed., *Chartes de Terre Sainte Provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris 1880), Doc., No. 12, 37- 38; Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte 30, 92 - 93, Röhricht, *Regesta*, Doc. No. 302, 77 – 78; Denys Pringle, "Magna Mahumeria (al -Bira) : The Archaeology of a Frankish New town in Palestine", in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, (London: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 147.



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The second set of grants was also within Nablus, the Edict included the holdings given to Mount Zion Monastery and they have been confirmed. However, the Edict did not refer in this regards to those who offered these grants. Some of the houses in the city and the land surrounding the allocation were dedicated to the monastery. One of which is the village of Burin, and it still carries the same name; Caphastrum, now known as Kefer – Iston; Gul, which is currently desolated; and Gerable. This is in addition to tithes paid by the Patriarchs of Jerusalem Monastery. Within the realms of Nablus, the papacy confirmations mentioned some of the names of the entities, such as Sebaste village, known for the Crusaders by the name of Saint-Jean de Sebaste⁽²¹⁾, and it included the following: Fame village, known as Fameh, and Age and its surroundings of lands and abdication of half of tithes⁽²²⁾. All the territories that the monastery got from charitable people in Nablus helped in making the monastery rich during the Crusades, as they included water springs and fertile lands⁽²³⁾.

Then the Edict mentioned a list of the villages belonging to Mount Zion Monastery, which were bought, and the papacy affirmed on their ownership. They are as follows: Ubeth villages, Dormibedi, Kariateri, Genism, Casert, Tyberie monasteries and the lands surrounding them, Caphason and the lands surrounding it, Aniethe and Amieth and the lands surrounding them, and Farafronte and the lands surrounding it, in addition to the ruins in Gebea area, knowing that all this was sold by a wealthy man named Amaury de Franclieu.

According to what was mentioned in the Edict, Mount Zion Monastery also had a share in the territory of Ascolon. This includes the village of Carcafafas, currently known as Caicafa, and the surrounding land with half of its tithes, and Romenbre village, which is believed that it matches Omar Rabiq remains nowadays, located between Esdoud and Hamama, and the surrounding areas with its full tithes. In Ascolon itself, the grant has included the houses of the city and one of the Mills⁽²⁴⁾. It is worth mentioning that the Carcafafas village was a property of the Bethlehem Church in 1111, and since then, it followed the Monastery of Mount Zion informally⁽²⁵⁾. When the confirmation came on its ownership of the Monastery in the papal Edict since 1178, it has been resolved to the Monastery by adding legality to its ownership of the village.

The grant of Jaffa for Mount Zion Monastery was also great, it was mentioned in the Edict that Pope Alexander III confirmed the grant provided by a person named Gay for the Mon-

(21) Anonymous Pilgrims, in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, Vol. IV, trans., Aubrey Stewart, (London 1891), 74-75.

(22) Paying the Tithes is an oriental old tradition; it is based on paying one-tenth of the agricultural and livestock production to God. The Old and New Testaments included many signs to tithes and its payment, which made it linked to the Divine legislations as a private property to God and it is offered to priests. Therefore, both rich and poor Christians had to pay tithes to the church to obtain Holy Mysteries. By the fifth and sixth centuries, monks had the right to get the tithes. In the next stage, popes affirmed this right; they were even exempted from paying by some of the popes in the twelfth century. See: Botros Abdul Malek and others: *Arabic Dictionary*, root: tenth. See also: Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 4-9.

(23) Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, (New York : Macmillan, 1972), 367.

(24) Rey, *Chartes*, 42.

(25) Guy Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und St. Abraham (Hebron)", in : *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (Z.D.P.V.)*, LXV, (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1942), 173.



astery, who also carried the title of Count of Jaffa. The grant was a piece of land, in addition to an orchard and another piece of land that was previously granted by Lamert Calioth to the Monastery. The name of this Noble was mentioned in one of the private Jaffa documents dated the 14th of November, 1158⁽²⁶⁾. Reviewing some of the recent studies about the Crusaders' feudal history within the Kingdom of Jerusalem, we could not find a ruler count of Jaffa named Gay. Since 1100, Jaffa has been under the rule of the Crusaders' king until 1110, then Hugh le Puisel I was named Jaffa's King, then his son Hugh II succeeded him till 1134. After that, it returned under the direct rule of the Crusaders' king⁽²⁷⁾, until after the issuance of Edict. Thus, it appears that the characters cited in the papal Edict were just noble men that serve the kings of Jerusalem, and did not carry the title of Count.

In the coastal city Cesarée, in which the Crusaders succeeded to establish a feudality in 1101, so that it includes some of the land under its control⁽²⁸⁾, the Edict has confirmed the Monastery properties; these are Sidea, Caforana, and Canet villages and the surrounding areas and half of its tithes, as well as a house in the city with the exemption of the monks of its taxes. It is noticeable here that the Edict did not originally mention the names of those who made such donations to the Monastery, although the Grenier Dynasty was in it, which succeeded in capturing the city of Sidon⁽²⁹⁾.

In the southwest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Ligion area, located on the internal trade road between Ascolon and Jerusalem, was the Monastery's property that the papacy affirmed as well; which are two Carrucas (two acres)⁽³⁰⁾ of the finest territory, a mill, and two orchards with half of the tithes, in addition to the ownership of a house in the town itself.

The papal Edict confirmed the properties of Mount Zion Monastery's holdings and wealth in Acre and the surrounding lands that fell into the hands of the Crusaders in 1103⁽³¹⁾. As for the lands outside the city, the Edict confirmed the grant of Myary village, which is still known as Miar. The inner city has included the Saint - Léonard and Saint - Romain churches, farmlands, grape vines, silos and houses belonging to them in addition to all the tithes⁽³²⁾.

Among the properties of Mount Zion Monastery, which Pope Alexander III affirmed as one

(26) Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte 48, 131 – 132.

(27) Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (1099 – 1291)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 88 –89.

(28) Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 Vols.,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951 – 1954), vol 2, 88-89; It is worth mentioning that the pope has played an important role in capturing Cesarée through preparing for the crusade, supervising it, and negotiating with the Genoese fleet to participate in the military attacks. See: Hassan Abdul Wahab Husein, *The History of Cesarée during the Islamic Era*, (Alexandria 1990).

(29) Tibble, *Monarchy*, 23-24.

(30) Both the clergymen and the seculars divided the agricultural lands to Carrucas, a unit of measurement of the land, in order to facilitate tax procedures and collection, and it was equivalent to the Arab acre. For more details, see: Said Bishawi: *The Church Properties in The Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Alexandria, 1990), 467-72.

(31) Tibble, *Monarchy*, 26, 49, 62-63.

(32) Rey, *Chartes*, 43.



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of the Crusader King properties, is Tyre that fell in the hands of the Crusaders in 1124⁽³³⁾. In addition to what fell outside the city; such as, Messoria village and the neighboring lands, as well as two acres near them, and two other acres in the village of Sardena, currently known as Zerdana, with half of the tithes. As for the city, the properties included St. Leonard's Church and the surrounding land with all its houses. The pope acknowledgement of the properties of Mount Zion Monastery was welcomed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Guillaume, after obtaining the consent of the clergy in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher⁽³⁴⁾. The Monastery properties in the city of Tyre and the surrounding lands are the last ones confirmed by the Edict within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Then the Edict, in its following paragraphs, shows what Mount Zion Monastery acquires in the Crusaders' principality of Antioch. It is noted here that Pope Alexander III and the scribes around him mentioned the properties of the Monastery in the coastal Giblet⁽³⁵⁾ before mentioning its properties in the principality itself, where the city of Antioch, taking into consideration the geographical arrangement of these sites from the south to the north. Giblet have fallen into the hands of the Crusaders in 1109, and was ruled by a Duke who, in turn, underwent the rule of the Crusader prince of Antioch⁽³⁶⁾. It was confirmed by the pope to the Monastery that the city gives it twenty-five Besants⁽³⁷⁾, and he did not specify the due date for those takings, but it is clear that it is payable annually.

In the city of Antioch itself, the Edict approved the ownership of a house, and another house in its subsidiary village Amis. The ownership of the Miserach village was installed, in addition to the vine called Cafaria; and Bussadan, Félix, and Cuccave villages with the surrounding areas, as well as half of the tithes. Moreover, the Edict confirmed the ownership of the Church adjacent to the Doninium castle in Bexa⁽³⁸⁾ to Mount Zion Monastery. All these properties prove the large amount of allocations that were gifted to the Monastery from secular rulers, not to mention those allocated by the pope himself.

We end this part of the Edict of Pope Alexander III concerning the Monastery grants in the Levant by his saying: "There is no one that opposes my Edict on the tithing in the Jewish area and Jerusalem and all surrounding borders, as a permanent grant, and no one opposes the unity among you." The pope also cared to identify the people to whom it grants; "you and your successors after you," meaning, of course, the monks of Mount Zion Monastery.

Thus, we clearly notice how Pope Alexander III was keen to regulate some controlling rules in this Edict, summed up in the following points:

(33) Tibble, *Monarchy*, 74.

(34) Rey, *Chartes*, 43, 44.

(35) Giblet: a coastal Castle in the Levant near Latakia, was later recovered from the hands of the Crusaders. See: Yaquout Al-Hamawy: *mu'jam al-buldān* (Dictionary of Countries), vol II, 105.

(36) Runciman, *A History*, vol. III, 552.

(37) A Besant is originally a Byzantine gold coin. It was the currency in used in Europe and Latin East until the thirteenth century, and the average value is about nine English shillings. See: Joseph Nassim Youssef, *Crusader Aggression on Egypt: The defeat of Louis IX in Mansoura and Faraskour*, (Alexandria, 1969), 216, 3.

(38) Rey, *Chartes*, 44.



- Emphasizing the eligibility of the Monastery to keep the properties already possessed before 1178, indicated in the Edict, as true legit properties.
- Not only did the pope commit himself to confirm the Monastery grants, but we find that he has been keen to oblige the subsequent popes to approve them as well, based on what the kings of Jerusalem and its nobles and even its benevolent men accustomed to submit of donations and grants.
- The pope also showed his desire for more properties to be added, which he considered legitimate rights to the Monastery, and for this granting-policy to continue over generations.

(B) *The Mamluk Decree* will surely not confirmation the pope donations of lands and villages to the Monastery since this is against the Mamluk sovereignty; for this would make the Mount Zion Monastery a state within the state. Accordingly, the Monastery properties were limited from what was mentioned in the Decree to fewer villages and lands, the most important of which were Ein Karem⁽³⁹⁾ and Bethlehem as well as Zion itself and the lands around them. These spots are consistent with what has been allocated to the Monastery in the papal Edict from Asheldamah to the south and Sorbayal on the Bethlehem road, which produces vines. Baybars allocated this land to the Monastery to keep the role, which is the reception of the Christian visitors, stressing on their protection “from the damage and the noise, safety and confidence; and keeping them and their followers safe, as a pursuance of the virtuous Justice” This means maintaining the prestige of the Monastery and its prestigious religious position.

The Mamluk Sultans continued to renew what Baybars assigned to the Monastery until Sultan Khushqadam, who said: “we have Decreed them now to continue the rule of the previous honourable Decrees ... and any one that testimonies our Decree should come forward to prevent the mentioned from any accident or grievance and get them to the rule of the honourable Decrees referred to as required by Sharia law, and the contents of the previous Decrees ... and the adoption of this Decree ... its application and recommending it ... and preventing anyone from harming them and the honourable Decrees confirm that.”

As for what the Monastery possessed in Sicily, the Italian peninsula, France, and Spain -villages and church yields- the Mamluk Authority did not have a hand on them, but its generosity took another form that we find clear in the Decree in the phrase, “Do not interrupt any of their work and do not prevent them from the charity coming from their countries, and no one of the port and coast keepers opposes them ... The Abbot of Mount Zion Monastery can send monks to wherever they want ... If monks traveled for their necessities and missed two years or more in the works of their Monastery, their names are to be written down in the staff record so that if they return they do not bear any costs.”⁽⁴⁰⁾

Second: The Monastery Privileges and Rights

(39) Ein Karem: a small village near Jerusalem, located on the road to Jaffa, Christians believe it is the birthplace of John the Baptist, and also believe that Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary visited it several times. See: Jaqueline Tivers and Tijana Rakic, ed., *Naratives of Travel and Tourism*, (London: 2012), 53.

(40) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.



Pope Alexander III made a decision, in this regard, to ensure the right of all Christians to bury their deads in the Monastery area at the top of Mount Zion, if agreed by the monks who volunteer to do and supervise this work there. None of the communities should be deprived of this right, except with the consensus of the rest of the communities on this prohibition specifically, the pope explained that he took this decision in order to avoid any objections⁽⁴¹⁾. Thus only the Monastery monks organized the burial of the Christians process⁽⁴²⁾. It is sure that in 1187 the Crusaders have transferred at least a hundred of their dead people through the Ein Silwan area every day, one of the parts of Mount Zion, to bury them in this cemetery⁽⁴³⁾, for Zion was the aim of the sick and the elderly coming from Europe and wanting to spend their last days in it.

In this regard, we recognize the Islamic administration's situation from burying the dead at Mount Zion, in light of the use of a part of the area as a Muslim cemetery before the Crusades. The Russian traveler Daniel saw the Potters Field, a place featuring well carved tombs in the rock that has been allocated to bury the stranger Muslim travelers for free⁽⁴⁴⁾. There were three Jews' graveyards that the Crusaders destroyed⁽⁴⁵⁾. Despite the possession and use of both Muslims and Jews of a part of the cemetery of Zion, the Mamluk Decree acknowledged the monks their right to "bury the dead and not to be opposed ... to exempt their grievances ... to invalidate any levies against the monks ... and not to incur any costs except for legitimate reasons."⁽⁴⁶⁾

Thus the papacy aimed at strengthening the relationship between the West and the Levant using a cause that affects the faith, conscience, and the unity of the Christian thought; as the land of Zion witnessed the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the tomb of the Prophet David, peace be upon him, and in it was the Last Supper of Jesus Christ peace be upon him, making it more Holy in their eyes. In recognition of these feelings, the Islamic authority

(41) Rey, *Chartes*, 47; Excavations revealed the presence of foreign graves dating back to the twelfth century on Mount Zion, some belong to The Church of the Holy Sepulchre such as the tomb of a famous French knight who once lived in Jerusalem. See: Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. (London, 1972), 166; Jean Richard, "Hospitals and Hospital Congregations in the Latin Kingdom during the First Period of the Frankish Conquest", in *Crosies, Missionaires et Voyageurs: Les Perspectives Orientales du Monde Latin Medieval*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), 172.

(42) Muslim and Jewish sources emphasize that the Franciscans in the Church of Zion remained controlling the graves of Zion until the late Middle Ages, including the Jewish Cemetery, which have caused some disputes, but the Arabs intervened to control the region to approve things. See: Abu Yemen Alimi: (d. 927 AH. / 1522), *Al Anas Al Galil betareekh Al Quds wal Khalil*, 2 Vols, (Beirut 1973), vol. II, 657; Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Volterra, *The Journey of Rabbi Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Volterra in 1481 A.D.*, ed. Elkan Nathan Alder, *Jewish Travellers*, (London, 1930), 192; Obadiah Jare Da Bertinoro, "Itinerary of Obadiah 1487 – 1490", in *Jewish Travellers*, 243.

(43) Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, *The journey of Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel*, ed. Elkan Nathan Adler, in *Jewish Travelers*, (London 1930), 99.

(44) Daniel The Russian, *The pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land 1106 – 1107 AD*, trans. Sir Charles William Wilson, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), vol. IV, (London 1891), 48

(45) Ezra Haddah, trans., *The Journey of Benjamin of Tudella*, (Baghdad 1945), 103

(46) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.



was keen to keep the tradition of burying Christians in Zion motivated by reducing the rancor and hostility, taming the Crusades spirit of the Europeans.

The pope continued his series of grants to the Monastery by taking another decision in which he warned from the establishment of any preaching centers of Christian sects in the area of Mount Zion Monastery, but he gave the Abbot and the monks the right to approve the establishment of such centers, and justified his decision with his desire to avoid any dispute between these sects that he did not mention by name. The Decree asserted the Monastery rights, stating that it “shall not be compelled to open their monasteries and churches except with their consent,” thus confirming the Mamluk power over the former Monastery property gifted to it under the Edict of 1178 where Asheldamah and Sorbayal.

For the third time, the pope confirms the Monastery rights; in his Edict to the monks, he secured them, not only in concerning their farmlands, but he also emphasized on their right to utilize manpower and farmers, without prejudice; in addition to securing their livestock pastures. The Pope ended this item of his decisions for the monks in a strong tone, saying: “No one dares to take tithes of you.” And the Decree confirms to that by citing: “do not oppose them in their food and drink, and give them the grape drink, and transport them from Monastery to another and from a church to another, as their old habit goes.”⁽⁴⁷⁾

The papacy also allowed the Monastery to receive the non-Catholic Christian clergymen who the Edict mentioned as “deviant from the ordinary in their religious life,” and their insurance in order to engage in dialogue with them, and the pope promised the monks not to be disagreed in this procedure, but warned that if the opposition happened, and amounted to an argument, the monks are allowed to close the doors of the Monastery until the debate ends. It is possible to hold celebrations, despite the disagreements, in order to avoid raising any disputes. We find this right in the Decree stating that “No one of the Christian sects can enter their places without their acceptance, and prevent whomever intends to harm them”. With these privileges that the monks obtained, they became able to play a distinct role in the religious life within the Kingdom Jerusalem. They were authorized to preach by entering into religious discussions with the Armenians, the Syriacs, the Orthodox, and other visitors of Zion who come to meet, visit, and celebrate.⁽⁴⁸⁾

As an extension of these privileges, the pope accepted that the monks give speeches in other churches among the people as well as the churches located over Mount Zion, and allowed them to make Sacrament celebrations after closing their doors, according to their beliefs and their science⁽⁴⁹⁾; since some religious sects have Secrets that they transfer only to the experts of their followers for they exceed the understanding of the common people⁽⁵⁰⁾, which suggests that such foundation had its own religious approach. However, the papal policy encouraged following one doctrine in the region, perhaps in order to avoid any clashes among the Christian sects. We find these rights and privileges in the Mamluk De-

(47) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.

(48) William of Tyre, *A History*, vol. II, 122.

(49) Rey, *Chartes*, 48.

(50) Botros Abdul Malak and others, *Arabic Dictionary*, root: Secret.



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cree as: “no one of the Christian different sects can enter their places without their approval and prevent anyone that intends to harm them ... they shall not be prevented from entering the places they used to visit and have the festivals prescribed by their religion ... and they shall get all their rights.”

Through the Edict, the pope allowed the monks the following: “You can accept from the Catholic Bishop [the Patriarch of Jerusalem] the food and holy oil, the churches or altars grants, and the priests or clerics equipment that must move to religious sacred centers [Church of the Holy Sepulcher] which you choose for yourselves.” It is clear that these religious phrases emphasize one sense, they elevate the Monastery and its Abbot, we find an echo of that in the Decree, which stressed the need to “enable the Abbot of Mount Zion Monastery to accept the residence of thirty two or forty [priests in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher] and get them out if he wants to, and replace them with others as used to do over the time”⁽⁵¹⁾

There is a papal warning that exalted the Monastery, which is: “No Bishops -unless with a permission from the Roman papacy- has the right to assault your place, priests, clerics, or the brothers living there [in the Monastery] in any way, nor to exercise any authority or to make any form of harassment.” The Mamluk Decree confirmed the monks right stating that “no one of the rulers of Jerusalem, the supervisor, the procurator, the governor, or anyone else is allowed to harm them ... and if any of the monks was harmed by one of the rulers of Jerusalem, and he intended to come to the Honourable Door [The Sultan himself], he should not be prevented”⁽⁵²⁾ and it was normal that the Decree replaced the papal power with the Mamluk power as an application of the historical reality, where the headmaster of Jerusalem and Hebron replaced the Catholic Patriarch.

There is another important privilege; which is acknowledging the monks choice of their Abbot, then the papacy would appoint him. the Edict clarified the recruitment process basics: first, the selection process should be on a sound basis, not characterized by fraud or deceit or violence; second, to be chosen with the consent of the monks gathered, if not possible, the largest group of them would nominate one of them who is known for his piety and commitment to the St. Augustine monastic rules. If the pope realized the rightness of this opinion, the chosen will receive his blessings. Thus, the Edict gave a clear evidence of the desire of the pope to distinguish the Monastery by choosing their Abbot compared to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was appointed directly without selection.

The Edict set the fundamental rules that organize the Monastery’s relationship with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the papacy; with regard to its relationship with the patriarch, it was stated in the Edict that the patriarch used to come to celebrate at the Church of Mount Zion, but the pope put this church at the disposal of the Abbot of Mount Zion Monastery, and under his religious authority; thus he was assigned the task of supervising the celebrations on this site, and also added other sites over the hill at the Church of the Last Supper. As a result of these generous decisions, there were an emergence of disputes between religious leaders in the holy land, which the papacy had to resolve being the resort in the rise of any

(51) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.

(52) Ibid.



dispute⁽⁵³⁾. The Mamluk Decree comes to preserve the Monastery its control over the region saying that the monks can “take the house adjacent to the Monastery.” This means that the Decree stressed that the Abbot of Mount Zion Monastery have the upper hand over all the Christian holy places over the hill.

The embodiment of the papal amendments of the relationship between the Monastery and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was clearly emphasized through the Edict’s discussion of the financial obligations of the Monastery, where it approved fees and cash privileges that used to be submitted to the patriarch according to decisions made by the previous popes, and this can be known of the phrase “you cannot add another new burden” on the Monastery. The Edict kept emphasizing this sense when it mentioned: “If the patriarch himself came to your church, it will not cost the cathedral anything except what has been said before; and if he wanted to eat there, the table will not be prepared to him.” Under the Mamluk rule, and after the power of the Catholic Patriarch was transferred to the headmaster of Jerusalem and Hebron, the Decree cited: “do not ask them to pay any fine, and to deal gently with them ... The monks of Mount Zion Monastery should not be asked to incur any costs and only the consuls [representatives of countries] are demanded to pay.”⁽⁵⁴⁾

As for the relationship of the Monastery with the papacy, the Edict has included a statement confirming that the monks were “not subject to the ruling of anyone but the Romanian papacy.” the pope justified his grant with his desire to secure the Monastery and its property, monks and all the clergymen, and even employees, from the dangers and discomforts, and to keep them away from everyday problems and pressures of the civilian life. As for the financial transactions, the Edict guarantees another privilege, as the papacy was authorized to give the Abbots of the Monastery and the priests, monks and bishops, and all the official clerics of the affiliated churches the disposition of the funds through the vows, or any other financial support with full freedom; stating that “ you shall not be obliged to incur any expenses unless a clear direct order from the papacy was issued”, and this is a clear instruction from the papacy itself.

The Papacy crowned its privileges provided to the Monastery by allowing it to become under the jurisdiction and supervision of Peter the blessed, as he is a symbol of the Roman Catholic Church and the founder of the Holy See there. the pope addressed the Monastery church saying “It is not something in our mind for you, favoured Daughter -under the successive Abbots - except the supervision and the imposition of the papal influence” in exchange for the monks’ obedience and the apparent devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, and even to the pope personally, that the Monastery pays one golden Florin, to us and to our successors [the popes of Rome] every year.” There is no doubt that the affordable value of one Florin was only a symbol to emphasize the papacy’s direct supervision of the Monastery. We find a resemblance in the Mamluk Decree: “If there is a complaint from them [the monks], they shall give one or two silver dirhams; and, in accordance with their old habit, they should not be asked to pay anything more.” That is a reference to the

(53) Hans Eberhard Mayer, “Bistümer, Klster und Stifte in Koenigreich Jerusalem”, in *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptorum 26, (Stuttgart 1977) 66.

(54) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.



transmission of the Monastery' subordination to the pope religiously and to the headmaster of Jerusalem administratively.

Finally, Pope Alexander III ended his generous Edict by mentioning several prohibitions expressing his intentions to protect the Monastery:

(1) "It is not allowed for any person to cause any inconvenience to the mentioned Monastery." There is in the Decree what corresponds to this warning, "prevent them from any harm and treat them with honest justice; and prevent the governor, the pedestrians, and others from entering the Monastery and harm them ... and if a new Abbot enters and the old one goes out, none of them shall incur any costs."

(2) «No one shall threaten the Monastery, or claim the possession of any of its granted properties» and this phrase carries all the means of protection for the Monastery in various prospects; including the physical aspects like the buildings, pastures, money, and so forth, in addition to the moral ones like the prestige of its monks according to the new religious status. The Decree, as well, stressed some aspect of this protection mentioning that «they can cover their homes to prevent them from the damage of the rain.»

(3) «All types of hunting shall not be prohibited.» Perhaps this warning indicates that the protection reached its maximum till the extent of preserving the rights of the Monastery in areas under its sovereignty.

Then came in the end of this prohibitions the words of the pope in which he said: «We must maintain the privileges granted to the Monastery in full, and provide all protection and maintenance, keeping them safe and secure under the papal tutelage.» then he added that in case of breach of any of the clergymen, or others, to the provisions of the Edict, or its opposition, he will be warned two or three times and asked to correct his mistake and acknowledge the legitimacy of the Edict, honor and sanctity; and if he does not retreat of his actions, he will be out of the church and «subject to the maximum penalty and the wrath of the Lord.» Thus, the pope's warning was directed -according to his sign- not only to the clergymen, but also to other men, rulers and nobles.

Under Mamluk sovereignty, the sultans presented - one after another- several privileges and powers to the Monastery that were not mentioned in the papal Edict, including very generous exemptions like:

- The monks shall pay no costs - meaning taxes - of the production of the Christians and the Jews of the wines, and «If postmen come to Jerusalem, they are not asked for a cost, and no one shall harm them in their homes ... and if one of the different foreign sects attack one of the Muslims in land or in sea, the monks are not asked for that; as they left the world and devoted themselves to worship God in the mentioned monasteries ... and renovate their places which they need for housing.»

- «If the monks went to the Sea of Sharia [the Jordan River], and other holy places they are free of any costs.»

- If a mugger objected a crowd of foreign visitors or other Christians that are going to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, «the monks are not committed to any duties ... If anyone



submitted a complaint against them unjustly and were fined something, the complainer pays the fine» and leave it to the Deputy in the Levant.

- «If the Church [of the Holy Sepulcher] was opened for visit and for fulfilling the needs of the churches and monks, they [the monks] shall be allowed to visit it without any cost as they are used to.»

- The Mamluk Decree addressed, in a peremptory tone, the officials of Security regarding the ways that the monks use through Ramla and Jaffa's main port, «not to oppose the mentioned monks arriving [from overseas] to Jaffa port ... and their followers can travel wherever they want with no one opposing them.» The Decree also included measures to governing the movement of the monks in terms of rental of donkey drivers and translators.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Third: the Reasons for issuing the Decree and the Edict and their Results:

After the abovementioned comparative study of the papal Edict and the Mamluk Decree, we should search for the real motives behind the issuance of these documents; what motive behind the issuance of all these grants: the papal donations and the Mamluk exemptions in favor of the Monastery? First of all, the papacy largely succeeded in maintaining the property of the monasteries in the Levant through confirmations and grants⁽⁵⁶⁾ of which was the Edict in the study; the Church of Rome seemed from the beginning to be credited for directing the European expansion towards the East, known as the Crusades, and consequently becoming the mastermind controlling the majority of the events. However, there are those who believed that the establishment of a powerful church in the site of the holy shrine may lead to a strong competitor to the Church of Rome; therefore, the papacy sought to reduce the power of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem constantly.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Yet, this religiously-coated political motivation needed supportive grounds; it is sure that Mount Zion Monastery has the needed capabilities that encouraged the pope to take this step; as the religious establishment over Mount Zion has a religious and social weigh, from the wealth it acquired since it was chaired by Arnaldus⁽⁵⁸⁾ who was repeatedly referred to in the documents of the years 1129, 1130, 1132, as one of the most prominent figures in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁽⁵⁹⁾

In 1148, when the King of France Louis VII (1179 - 1137) visited Mount Zion Monastery, he gave it a church attached to the Monastery of Samson des Orleans, in France, and a number of monks of the Monastery of Zion that the king accompanied with him there joined the Monastery and brought with them some types of chromium, that Palestine was known

(55) Ibid.

(56) Henri François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte Provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris 1880) 50 – 54.

(57) Harold Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099 – 1118", in ed., Kenneth Meyer Setton, *A history of the Crusades*, vol. I, (Pensylvania, 1958), 379 – 382.

(58) William of Tyre, *A History*, vol I, 536.

(59) Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte, Acte. 62, 155-6, Acte 136, 267-8; Röhricht, *Regesta*, Doc. No. 70, 142, 196, 207, 417, 4, 36, 49, 52, 108; Usually Arnaldus name is mentioned among the signers. See : Delaborde, *Chartes*, 43 - 44, 45 – 47.



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for.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In 1167, the Monastery had the ability to give a public pool of water as a gift for the public, and after years the Crusader King made it up for it by granting a gift.⁽⁶¹⁾ All these factors convinced the pope to make the Monastery a religious competitor, by supporting it over the patriarch.

To achieve this purpose, Pope Alexander III issued an Edict, months prior to the Papal Edict, as a result of repetitive disputes between the monasteries of Jerusalem about who comes in the first place, and the Mount Zion Monastery was among them; then he decided that both the Monastery of the Temple Domini and the Mount Zion Monastery come in the first place, the archbishop of the monks in both is carrying the title of Abbot, both having the right to act on behalf of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in his absence. The Edict also noted that both the Monastery of Virgin Mary in the Josaphat Valley and the Monastery of the Mount of olives came next in the ranking.⁽⁶²⁾ Thus Mount Zion Monastery and its Abbot and monks occupied the high position where it seemed often an aide to the Patriarch.⁽⁶³⁾

The following goal of the papacy in highlighting its prestige, it has achieved it by determining the relationship between the Monastery and the Crusader King in Jerusalem and its nobles; as the Edict provides us with numerous aspects of that relationship. The power of the papacy appears in its emphasis on what the Monastery acquires as property of the secular by referring to the secular grantor whether a king or a noble, as well as referring to the nature of the grant, whether a land, an orchard, a property, or even a cash grant. Featured in this regard two rulers, Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother King Baldwin, who grant the Monastery properties that formed its first pillar which included all the known area of Zion, and the gate which carried the same name,⁽⁶⁴⁾ as well as the properties of the Monastery in the territory of Acre which are one of the clearest examples that show how much the Monastery received a private care; since Acre and its surrounding territories were considered royal properties; which means they belonged to the Crusader King directly. Among what we know by the Edict that the Monastery owned the St. Lorenzo church in Acre, although it was under the supervision of the Archbishop of Tyre.⁽⁶⁵⁾ By The variety of rights of the Monastery and the Crusade privileges, its incomes were clearly increased; including farm-lands, workforce and financial returns of fixed amounts which made the Monastery a major religious institution.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The Mamluk Decree supported the Monastery as well, maintained

(60) Rey, *Les Colonies Franques*, 827.

(61) Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte, 161, 313.

(62) Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, doc. no. 118, 119, 292 – 293; Hiestand adds that senior clerics in Jerusalem entered in sharp disputes and debates several times while discussing the subject of the order, in the years 1150 and from 1170 until 1172 and from 1180 until 1181.

(63) Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 Vols., trans., Janet Shirley, (Amsterdam: 1979), vol. I, 105

(64) Joseph Delaville-LeRoulx, *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jerusalem (1100 - 1310)*, 4 Vols., (Paris 1899), vol. I, doc. no. 537.

(65) Jean Richard, "The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States", in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed., Kenneth Meyer Setton, Vol 5, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 244.

(66) Said Abdel Fattah Ashour, "Features of the Crusader Community in the Levant", *Arab Future Magazine*, Issue Number 8, (1987), 26.



its gains, and protected it, in a constant way as evidenced by putting the rules guaranteeing the continuation of what is called “European charity coming to the Monastery from overseas.”⁽⁶⁷⁾

The papacy also targeted linking the Catholics with the Holy Land and consolidating their presence in order to create a solid entity and a right in preparation for the future. This can be seen, for instance, in the Edict’s referring to the Zion Gate that it mentioned under the name of the new Belcayran gate “Porta Nova que vocatur Belcayra”; for the Belcayran and natives of southern France who accompanied the Count Raymond of St. Gilles in the siege of Jerusalem and the invasion of the south, has joined the neighborhood and the southern gate to them.⁽⁶⁸⁾ By attaching the name of the new areas to the local settlers in Zion, the role of the Monastery is clearly expressed; supporting the Crusader settlement movement in the whole region.

The goal of unifying the Church is regarded as the most important goal that the mother church in Rome was seeking. Hence, the Edict ordered Mount Zion Monastery to pay a golden ounce to the church of Agrigento Duchy in Sicily every year, and it seems that this was for the purpose of consolidating the relationship among the monasteries of the Levant and the churches in the West by linking them with common interests. The papacy helped them by introducing a communications network between Mount Zion Monastery in Jerusalem and other monasteries in the West, by enabling the monks to move freely and easily through the allowances and houses awarded by the papal Edict in Europe.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It also means that this type of grants was intended to exempt the monks from the burden of property management, they only collected the revenues through traveling papal delegates.

The Mamluk Decree was released as an embodiment of the desire of Al Zahir Baybars and his successor, Mansour Qalawoon to eliminate the roots of the Crusades by reducing the rancor and hostility, as the famous historian Ibn Wassel went in 1260 to the West with messages of friendship.⁽⁷⁰⁾ He was followed by embassies and diplomatic activities with the kings of the West in the kingdoms of Sicily, Castile, and Aragon.⁽⁷¹⁾ After the end of the Crusades, the Mamluk sultans till Khushqadam were keen to continue the friendship with the Kings of the West as long as they stayed away from the spirit of the war.⁽⁷²⁾

This policy, based on pacifism, is a natural result after a long bloody conflict prevailed among the Mediterranean forces for decades. There is no doubt that the motivation of the Mamluk sultans was out of religion; since Islam urges to care for hermits and monks in

(67) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.

(68) Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) 190.

(69) Rey, *Chartes*, 50.

(70) Ibn Wassel: (d. 697 AH / 1298 AD) Mohammed bin Salim Jamal al-Din: *Moufarrej Alkrüb fi Akhbār Bani Ayoub*, Saeed Ashour, ed., vol IV, (Cairo, 1975), 24.8

(71) Ibn Abdul Zahir (d. 692 AH / 1292AD) Al Qādi Mohiddin Abou El Fadl, *Al-Rawd Al Zahir Fe Siret Al Mālek Al Zāher*, ed., Abdul Aziz Khwaiter, (Riyadh, 1976) 201; Henry John Chaytor, *A history of Aragon and Catalonia*, (London 1933), 124 – 132.

(72) William Muir, *The Mameluke; or Slave, Dynasty of Egypt*, (London 2013), 38.



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monasteries, in AL-MA'IDAH, Allah Almighty says: "You will surely find the most intense of the people in animosity toward the believers [to be] the Jews and those who associate others with Allah; and you will find the nearest of them in affection to the believers those who say, "We are Christians." That is because among them are priests and monks and because they are not arrogant." Verse number (82).

That is why Baybars documented the peaceful role of monks and considered them as a link with Europe; thus, he issued the Decree for them. In return, the monks considered the Decree very vital to protect them and save their rights, so they asked the following sultans to continue the application of its provisions; due to the fact that they sometimes suffered from attacks by local authorities in response to attacks by the Crusaders on their country.⁽⁷³⁾ Over the Mamluk era, the authorities consistently allowed the Christians and Jews to visit the religious buildings of the hill of Zion, where the tomb of Prophet David and the Church of the Holy Spirit and the Church of the Last Supper exist.⁽⁷⁴⁾

If the papal Edict prepared Mount Zion Monastery to play an important role during the Crusades, this led to the role it played in the history of the Franciscans under the Islamic sovereignty. After the recognition of the rules of the Franciscan Authority in the Lateran Council in 1215, the King Isa, the Ayyubid Sultan of Damascus in 1219, upon the request of his brother, King Mohammed Al-Kamel Sultan of Egypt, allowed Saint Francis of Assisi⁽⁷⁵⁾ and his followers from the monks to stay in the Monastery. Their main goal of staying in this spot was to get the right to take care of the rest of the Christian holy places related to the life of Jesus Christ, and spread the Franciscan teachings.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The number of the followers at the Monastery quickly increased, since it was easy for the adherents of the former monastic systems, especially the Augustinians, to respond to the ideas of the Franciscans. The researcher confirms that the communications network that the papal Edict established through the houses and allowances granted in Europe has provided an opportunity for the spreading of the Franciscan thoughts in a systematic and fast way.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Among the results of the Edict and the Decree in the architectural aspect, and only seven years after the issuance of the Edict, Johannes Phocis described that the buildings of the Monastery were set in an unprecedented form so that it includes a large stoned-roof church and included a number of buildings, shrines; most notably the Last Supper Room (The Cenacle), iron fences and the doors in front of it, and the Church of Pentecost, all of that

(73) Ahmed Darag, *Documents of Mount Zion Monastery in Jerusalem*, (Cairo: The Anglo library, 1968), 4.

(74) Jean Richard, *The Latin*, Vol. I, 108; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin church in the Crusader States*, (London 1980), 137, Prawer, *The Latin*, 208 – 209.

(75) Born in 1182 in Italy, and in his youth he lived a life indulged in pleasures, and then surrendered to the life filled with austerity and asceticism. Thanks to his attractive character, he has many followers and he had a deeper impact on the Catholic Church with his ideas, and he has gained the support and recognition of the papacy. He died in Italy in 1226 after leaving three sects that carry his ideas. For more details, see: James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol XI, Art. Franciscans.

(76) Marie-Léon Patrem, *La Custodie Franciscaine de Terre Sainte*, (Paris 1879), 12 – 13.

(77) Charles George Herbermann and others, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VII, p. 428.



were decorated with pictures and all prepared.⁽⁷⁸⁾ If we exclude the temporary period in which the monks had been displaced and move to Acre because of the military operations during the Ayyubid years,⁽⁷⁹⁾ Saladin was careful to surround the religious buildings on Mount Zion with walls in order to immunize the entire region.⁽⁸⁰⁾ In 1217, the Zion Church was destroyed and only the Cenacle on the west side and the Tomb of David on the east side were left.⁽⁸¹⁾ Then the Crusade sovereignty returned to the Monastery in 1229 till the year 1244; and those inputs of Gothic architecture and images added to the Last Supper room remain witness to that.⁽⁸²⁾

In 1245, the Franciscans could get the custody of the Christian holy places in Zion from the Ayyubid authorities,⁽⁸³⁾ and after nearly nine decades, they had the opportunity to expand their first headquarters and build the full Zion Monastery. It included the Cenacle and its church, which were rebuilt, as well as the other Christian holy places over the hill.⁽⁸⁴⁾ In 1342, Pope Clement VI (1342 - 1347 AD) acknowledged the Franciscan right of supervision over the holy land, while a number of preachers, followers of St. Francis, went to the Monastery to evangelize. The French Saint Peter Thomas trip in 1360 trip to Monastery, and his preaching there, represent a clear evidence of the continuing of the Franciscan expansion. It is noted that the building was described in this period as consisting of a number of monasteries that followed Franciscan teachings.⁽⁸⁵⁾

According to one of the Mamluk documents dated 1437 AD, the floor and the buildings of the Monastery were restored.⁽⁸⁶⁾ It is clear that maintaining the ancient Monastery and its buildings demonstrates the implementation of the Mamluk policy based on respect for each other holy places and freedom of worship. After end of the Crusades completely, the Crusade trend remained through the monks and the visitors. They were at the forefront to achieve the Crusaders goals inspired by the advocates of the Crusades projects sponsored by the papacy. It was, thus, difficult to separate between the original mission, which is

(78) Johanes Phocas, *The Pilgrimage of Johanes Phocas to the Holy Land in the year 1185 AD*, trans., Aubery Stewart, in (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), 17-18.

(79) For more information about military operations, see: Al Emād Al Asfāhāni: (d. 597 AH. / 1200 AD): *Al Fath Al Qessy Fi Al Fath Al Qudsi*, ed., Mohamed Mahmoud Sabih, (Cairo, 1965), 145; As for the Abbots of the Mount Zion Monastery in St. Lorenzo Church in Acre until its fall in 1291, see: Girolamo Golubovich : *Serie Cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*, (Gerusalemme, 1898), 53-57.

(80) Benvenisti, *The Crusaders*, 52.

(81) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.

(82) Raymond Charles Smail, *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land*, (London 1973), 132.

(83) Patrem, *La Custodie*, p. 12.

(84) Golubovich, *Serie*, 191.

(85) Atiya Aziz Suryal, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (London 1938), 128-136; St. Peter Thomas was born in the city of Salignac in the southwest of France. He came to Palestine on a journey through Cyprus in 1357 and was appointed to various religious positions until he became the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople in 1362. He is one of the most prominent Franciscan preachers.

(86) Rissani, *Documenti*, (XVIII Documento), 181-188; the following documents prove how Mamluk Sultans paid much attention to the buildings of the Monastery through restoring them regularly.



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purely religious, and the political goals of the European West.

As for the administrative aspects, the Monastery status during the Crusades has become similar to that of the major monastic orders (i.e. the Hospitallers and the Templers) directly following the papal authority.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The influence of the Monastery greatly increased and it played a greater role than ever before in the Levant and overseas. As throughout the Mamluk era, it continued to be of high religious status, and kept extending its administrative influence over neighboring monasteries at Ein Karem and Bethlehem. It also continued to provide the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with numerous priests. It remained that way during this era, despite the transfer of the different political power to the hands of the Mamluk ruler of Jerusalem and the Sultan Deputy in the Levant.

Finally, we note that the terms of the Decree were significantly affected by the decisions of the papal Edict and the privileges granted therein, although they targeted the Franciscan monks. It is no wonder that the Mamluk Decree greatly resembled the papal Edict on several aspects; since the beneficiary in both cases is the same. The papal tendencies and the Mamluk politics agreed on supporting the Monastery and giving it a pivotal role to play; the papal Edict came in the second century to present and approve grants and gives privileges to the monks of the Mount Zion Monastery, and was renewed by the popes five times over almost a century and a half.

If the Edict had lost its effect, in practice, with respect to several grants to the Monastery in the Holy Land; since the Crusaders lost it as a result of their withdrawal on 1291 AD, its impact remained appearing in the uninterrupted receipt of wealth from the European West. The monks of the Monastery went to the Mamluk Sultanate to approve their demands in their circle of sovereignty, which were approved; and this essentially shows the peaceful tolerant way through which Muslim Mamluks treated the Dhimmis [i.e. Jews and Christians] even if they were foreign strangers. In spite of the elimination of the military presence of the Crusaders in the Levant, the Monastery - side by side with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher - remained representing the continued existence of the Catholic religious influence, and maybe even a little political influence also in the Holy Land, through the Franciscans. In fact, we do not find an explanation for such tendency, except that the Monastery had a huge religious impact on Christians. It is also clear that the Edict versions stopped after the year 1336 AD, and the Franciscans emerged as the rightful heir to the old institution of the Monastery with all its properties, privileges, and obtained rights.

Conclusion:

We conclude from the foregoing that the Edict was made and recommended by the papacy, for more than a century and a half, while the Mamluk Decree continued for nearly two centuries. Both parties gave these grants to the Abbot of Mount Zion Monastery as the most important Catholic Monasteries in the East; hence the removal of the powers of both the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the ruler of Jerusalem and Hebron, and the Monastery became a link between the remaining Crusaders and the Christians of the West during the Crusades on one side, and the Crusaders and the Mamluk power on the other side.

(87) John Life LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 - 1291*, (Cambridge 1932), 215.



The historical significance of the Edict and the Decree is that they were important sources for the history of the relations between East and West during the Middle Ages. The Edict included a comprehensive and detailed tracking record of the properties granted to Mount Zion Monastery from various donors; both secular and religious, in the Levant and the West. In addition to the rights and privileges stated by both founders: the Pope and the Sultan, stressing their decisions' continuation, which has been taken into account for a long time. However, the papacy has stopped providing donations after the defeat of Battle of Hattin and the recovery of Jerusalem by the Muslims, and its only role was to confirm the additional grants, after deducting the Levant donations as a result of the change of the political power from the hands of the Crusaders to the Ayyubid and Mamluk. In spite of this change, the Edict had a great impact on the Decree; as the monks retained what they owned in Western Europe and received the used revenues under the Mamluk rule without taxes, not to mention the other several generous exemptions.

The completion of the study required referring to many historical documents and dozens of references, travel books, and recent studies in order to clarify various mysterious things in the Edict and the Decree alike. It was necessary to take into consideration the nature of these times, and understand the European West and the Mamluk state methods to clarify the circumstances and conditions that surrounded such trial of peace-building. This required resorting to comparing the Mamluk generosity with the generous papal donations historically, and inferring texts and reading between the lines in order to reach the historical truth as much as possible. Several issues were discussed, the most important are the following:

* Highlighting the donations, privileges, and rights granted to the Monastery by the pope and the exemptions and the protection granted by the Mamluk Sultans, as well as the real motives behind the submission of all these donations by both parties. The researcher found that the papacy had political motives, though covered with religious justifications, which appeared in elevating the status of the monks over that of the clerics in order to keep a kind of balance between them; aiming at maintaining its global influence. One indicator is that it appeared through the Edict as a top authority over the Kings of Jerusalem, approving the grants and tenders that they and their Nobles gave to the Monastery. In addition to supporting the missionary role of monks, taking advantage of the Monastery potentials since the beginning of the Crusader Kingdoms in the Levant. Out of the power of the Monastery, Baybars also allowed it to be a base for the foreign monks, granting them generous exemptions in order to play their important role of receiving the visitors.

* The papal Edict embodied the idea of settlement for the Crusaders, confirming their trend in establishing their religious and social institutions, through secular and religious donations. Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother King Baldwin I emerged in this regard as the first ones to grant the Monastery such properties that formed its first pillar, as well as Pope Alexander III, who granted the Monastery such a prominent social status, emphasizing its independence from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The Mamluk Decree came to embody the notion of peace-building among nations and to find solutions that satisfy the believers of different religions, despite ideological variations by supporting and strengthening Mount Zion Monastery, and prepare it to be an oasis of peace not a zone of war.

* The papal Edict formed a legitimate basis for what Mount Zion Monastery have got in



terms of financial benefits throughout eight decades, adding major ecclesiastical grants, and privileges that included various exemptions and rights. As a result, the Monastery remained an important economic institution with ever-increasing wealth. The Decree guaranteed it a financial support from Europe, ensuring necessary security measures to its visitors, and dealt with the monks as hermits who live in social peace according to the followed religious rules.

* As for the architectural aspects, we noticed the evolution of the buildings of the Monastery; during the Crusader invasion, they were described as simple, whereas seven years after the issuance of Edict they had a Romanesque touch that was done gradually. Because of the war, the buildings were relatively damaged; however, the generous donations established it once again, and, according to the Decree, the Mamluks allowed the restorations.

This study provided a documented model that illustrates the manner in which the papacy dealt with the Levant religious institutions during the Crusades; it succeeded in combining the efforts of the religious and secular authorities to support Mount Zion Monastery and its monks with the huge revenue generated by the properties and the endowments of the churches, which were preserved by the empowerment, care and exemptions of the Mamluks in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the Edict mirrored the essence of the Crusader movement and its expansion ambitions in the region, while the Decree reflected the spirit of tolerance between Muslim rulers and their foreign subjects. It sought after replacing the Crusader tendency with solid spiritual sentiments, and friendly relations between the Catholics and the Holy Land. Despite the religious nature of the study, it revealed some important political relations, as well as intellectual and cultural trends, which were important to think over deeply when writing the history of the relations between East and West, in the middle ages.

السلام بين المسلمين والأوروبيين: عهد بابوي ومرسوم مملوكي لصالح دير جبل صهيون

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ملخص البحث

تبنت كنيسة روما أيديولوجية الحرب الصليبية ومن ثم أصبحت هي الراعية للشرق اللاتيني على مدى القرنين الثاني عشر والثالث عشر بل سعت إلى المضي في ذلك في الفترة التالية، ليس من منطلق الدافع الديني؛ إذ سعت إلى توطيد نفوذها على حساب العلمانيين بل ومن خلال إحداث توازنات بين القوى الدينية بشكل ممنهج. فمنح البابا ألكسندر الثالث في عام 1178 دير جبل صهيون جنوب القدس عهداً مكنه من مضاهاة بطريركية القدس في منزلتها بما تضمنه من هبات وامتيازات وحقوق وإعفاءات قوت من أزره وتم تجديده أربعة مرات من بعده. وفضلاً عما حازه الدير في الشرق اللاتيني، أضيفت إليه ممتلكات وريوع كبيرة في الغرب الأوروبي ما وطّد علاقة الدير بأوروبا. وهكذا تجسّدت الفكرة الصليبية بهذا الارتباط. ومن أجل فض هذا الارتباط اتبع حكام المسلمين سياسة ماهرة استهدفت امتصاص الروح العدائية خاصة بعد تمكن صلاح الدين من استعادة القدس وتبنى بيبرس المملوكي تنفيذ هذه السياسة بالرغم مما تمتع به من قوة فحرر مرسوماً حرص خلفاؤه على تجديده لما يربو عن القرنين يمنح دير صهيون كثيراً من الإعفاءات والامتيازات التي خصّه البابا بها من قبل بل زاد عليها. ومن ثم ظل الدير ركيزة لطائفة الفرنسيسكان يلعب دور استضافة ورعاية كل مسيحي يهفو قلبه إلى الأرض المقدسة زائراً أو راغباً في الدفن فيها لما بها من بركات، حتى نهاية العصور الوسطى بل وبعد ذلك. وإذا ما كان سلاطين المماليك حتى خوشقدم قد برعوا في إبداء روح التسامح والمسالمة مع الفرنج ممثلين في دير صهيون، نجد الرهبان وقد نجحوا في أن يكونوا حلقة الوصل مع أوروبا بما عرفوا به من زهد ونقاء.

مقدمة

تضمن كتاب وثائقي عدة مراسيم مملوكية، وفت نظري أحدها⁽¹⁾ لتشابهه مع عهد بابوي⁽²⁾؛ إذ إن كلاهما تم إصداره خدمة لدير جبل صهيون بالقدس. وسرعان ما خرجت من قرائتهما بأسئلة تحتاج إلى إجابة، وحيرة لا يُطْفئ نارها سوى البحث التاريخي؛ فما الدافع وراء منح السلطنة المملوكية إعفاءات وامتيازات سخية إلى دير كاثوليكي له دعائمه الصليبية في وقت كانت الغلبة والسيادة على الدير وتوابعه للمماليك دون منازع؟ وما ارتباط ذلك بالعهد البابوي الكريم بما قدمه من هبات وامتيازات واختصاصات للدير ذاته؟

من هنا تولدت فكرة هذا البحث والذي أرجو من خلاله إبراز البعد المتحضر في فكر القيادة الإسلامية آنذاك، وتبيان قدرتها على إيجاد الأسلوب المناسب لمعالجة إشكالية الصراع بين الحضارات وبين معتنقي الأديان

(1) Norberto Rissani, *Documenti E. Firmani*, (Gerusalemme 1931), (XXV Documento), 290-316.

(2) Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey, *Chartes de l'Abbaye du Mont Sion*, Mémoire de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 5 séries, n. 8, (Paris 1887), 39-53.



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المختلفة في القرون الوسطى المتأخرة . لذا يعمد البحث إلى مقارنة ما جاء بالمرسوم المملوكي بالعهد البابوي ومحاکاته بابوية روما في السخاء المقدم للدير ذاته إبان الوجود الصليبي ، وهذا لا يمكن تفسيره إلا أن توجهات البابوية وقت تقديم هبتها كانت بدافع ترسيخ النعرة الصليبية وتأصيلاً لمَد نفوذها على الشرق اللاتيني ، في حين كان وازع المماليك في إصدار المرسوم هو إيجاد سبيل لتحقيق السلام مع الأوروبيين بعد مرحلة من الصدام الدموي الذي أثبت فشله إبان الحروب الصليبية .

نبذة عن دير جبل صهيون وخلفيته الدينية والتاريخية

العهد الذي بين أيدينا حرره البابا ألكسندر الثالث (1059 - 1181) Alexandre III بتاريخ مارس 1178م إلى يوحنا رئيس دير جبل صهيون Mount Zion (1178 - 1190) تضمنته وثيقة بابوية تالية دونت بتاريخ 12 يوليو 1336م كانت بمثابة الإصدار الخامس له في عهد البابا بندكت الثاني عشر Benedict XII (1334 - 1342) هو الذي قام بإصداره؛ ومن المعروف عنه أن فكرة القيام بحرب صليبية كانت لاتزال مسيطرة عليه بيد أن اندلاع حرب المائة عام (1337 - 1453م) بين إنجلترا وفرنسا قد أطاحت بما عقده من آمال⁽³⁾. ولعل في هذه الإيضاحات ما يشير إلى الظروف التي أحاطت بالبابوية عند إصدارها لمثل هذا العهد؛ إذ كانت شخصية البابا ألكسندر الثالث، أول من حرر هذا العهد، ذات تأثير كبير في سياسة البابوية مع الشرق اللاتيني، وذلك من خلال إصدار عدد كبير من المراسيم والرسائل التي تنظم المعاملات مع المؤسسات الدينية والعلمانية، بل وتقوم بترتيب تلك المؤسسات من الداخل، كما أنه لم يسع إلى فرض المسيحية جبراً على المسلمين الخاضعين لسيادة المسيحيين⁽⁴⁾. وعليه يكون العام 1178م بمثابة بدء مرحلة جديدة في تاريخ الدير كان لها سماتها الفريدة .

أمّا عن المرسوم المملوكي فقد كان يتم تجديده أيضاً ، وكان أول إصدار له في عهد الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس البندقداري (1261 - 1278م) ، وتمّ الوقوف عليه من خلال التجديد الرابع عشر له تنبئاً من السلطان الملك الظاهر أبو سعيد سيف الدين خشقدم (1460 - 1467م) وذلك نزولاً على طلب من رئيس الدير ورهبانه المعاصرين للسلطان ، والمدوّن في الثامن والعشرين من شهر صفر عام 869 هـ / الثلاثين من أكتوبر 1464م . ويُلاحظ أنه كان قابلاً للإضافة عليه دائماً مع الاحتفاظ بثوابته ويرجع هذا بطبيعة الحال إلى التطورات التاريخية .

فمنذ العصر البيزنطي أحاط المسيحيون منطقة جبل صهيون باهتمام واضح ، فقاموا بتشييد مجمع للأبنية هناك يؤلف كنيسة كبرى ، إحياءً لذكرى تناول السيد المسيح العشاء الأخير The Last Supper⁽⁵⁾ ، وفي القرن الثامن الميلادي تم الإشارة إلى هذه الكنائس بأنها كنيسة بسيطة البناء⁽⁶⁾. وعندما غزا الصليبيون فلسطين في عام 1099م شكلت هضبة صهيون وما فوقها من مقدسات عائقاً أمامهم⁽⁷⁾. ولكن سرعان ما تطلبت العمليات

(3) John Norman Davidson Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, (New York : Oxford university press, 1986), 21

(4) Rudolf Hiestand, *Papstorkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, vol. III, (Duesseldorf 1985), Doc. No. 118, 292; Benjamin Zeev Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims*, (Princeton 1984), 47, 52 n. 29, 69, 81 n.108

(5) يعتقد المسيحيون أنّ في هذا العشاء أخذ المسيح خبزاً وبعد أن شكر الرب كسر الخبز وأعطى تلاميذه قائلاً لهم: خذوا كلوا، هذا هو جسدي الذي يبذل عنكم فاصنعوا هذا لذكري ، ثم أخذ الكأس وبعد أن شكر الرب أعطاهم قائلاً: اشربوا من هذا كلكم فإن هذا دمي لعهد جديد فاصنعوا هذا لذكري كلما شربتم منه : راجع بطرس عبد الملك وآخرون: قاموس الكتاب المقدس ، مادة أكل ، شرب .

(6) Prêtre Willibald and William Robert Brownlow, *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald (circa 754 A.D.)*, in (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol. III, 46

(7) Rosalind Hill, ed., *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pelgrims to Jerusalem*, (London 1962),



الحربية الانطلاق من هذه المنطقة باستخدام برج خشبي لإمطار المدينة بالنيران ، ولذا تعرضت أبنية صهيون لتدمير واسع حتى خلفت الكثير منها مجرد حوائط ، وسرعان ما بدأ الصليبيون في استخدام أبنية صهيون ، إذ عني جودفري دي بوايون Godefrey de Bouillon أول حكام القدس 1099 - 1100م برعاية الدير وأجزل له العطاء ، وكان الدير قد اتبع النظم الأوغسطينية Augustines Canons في الرهينة . وبذلك يتأكد لنا أن الصليبيين هم الذين جدوا في ترميم ما شعث من أبنيته حيث كنيسة السيدة مريم وكنيسة صهيون والدير؛ فكونت جميعاً مجمعاً للأبنية المقدسة حمل اسم صهيون .

خضع دير جبل صهيون بالتبعية المباشرة لبطريرك كنيسة بيت المقدس الكاثوليكي عام 1111م . وفقاً للعهد البابوي والذي أقر بتبعية كل الأديرة له ، فهو أسقفهم الأكبر⁽⁸⁾ . وعرف الدير بهضبة صهيون المقام عليه وارتبط المسيحيون وجدانياً ودينياً به اعتماداً على تراث عقائدي يمتد بجذوره إلي اليهود . حيث ترجع الأهمية الدينية لأرض صهيون إلى أن الهضبة تعد بالنسبة لهم رمزاً للقدس على مر الأجيال وكثيراً ما يُشيرون إلى مجمل المدينة بمسمى صهيون . وهذا يتضح في حركة الحجيج من المسيحيين الأوربيين إلى القدس ، إذ نجدهم قد حرصوا على تسجيل زياراتهم لمزارات صهيون والمنطقة وتضمينها الدليل الاسترشادي للحجيج ، وأخذت أبنية المنطقة في التطور حتى بدى الدير مؤسسة دينية واقتصادية واجتماعية كبرى .

دراسة مقارنة لمضموني العهد والمرسوم:

أولاً من حيث الممتلكات الموهوبة للدير

وفي الصفحات التالية يهتم البحث بالوقوف على الجزء الخاص بالمناطق الموهوبة في الشام دون الأراضي الواقعة خارجه في كل من صقلية وشبه جزيرة إيطاليا وفرنسا وإسبانيا ، ثم يتناول ما جاء في العهد بشأن إقرار وتثبيت واقع الممتلكات وكذلك إطلاق الامتيازات التي خصت بها البابوية الدير كنمط فكري أساسي يميز الحقبة الصليبية ، ومقارنة ذلك بما تضمنه المرسوم الملكي .

(أ) تضمّن العهد البابوي سجلاً دُونَ فيه الممتلكات التي حازها دير جبل صهيون في الشرق اللاتيني على مدى حوالي ثمانية عقود سابقة ، وكان أول تقديم للمنح قد تم علي يد جودفري دي بوايون ، أي في العام الأول من تأسيس الحكم الصليبي في بيت المقدس . وحدد العهد الأراضي الممنوحة التي ثبّت البابا الكسندر الثالث ملكيتها للدير بأنها كل جبل صهيون والأراضي المحيطة به الداخلة في نطاقه بما فيها الأراضي الممتدة داخل المدينة ذاتها جهة الجنوب والواقعة على يمين ويسار الداخل إليها من هذه الجهة⁽⁹⁾ . ووفقاً لشهادة أحد الرحالة الأوربيين ، تلت الغزو بثلاثة عقود ، فلم يكن بها أي معالم سوى ذلك السور الفاصل بين جبل صهيون والمدينة⁽¹⁰⁾ . وهذا يجعلنا نتجه إلى الاعتقاد بأنها كانت عبارة عن أراضي زراعية في غالبيتها .

ثم تناول العهد أيضاً منحة الملك بلدوين الأول للدير ، فذكر أنه ثبّت هبة سلفه جودفري وأدخل بعض التوضيحات على هذه المنحة عندما ذكر أنها تشمل المثلثين من الأرض الواقعين داخل المدينة جنوباً بما تضمنه

81-88, 100; William Robert Brownlow, trans., *Saewulf's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol. IV, 24, 37

(8) Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire de Chapitre de Saint- Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris : P. Geuthner, 1984), Acte 1, 3;

Reinhold Röhrich, ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, (Geneva 1893), doc. no. 60, 13-14

(9) Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie au XIIème et XIIIème siècle*, (Paris 1883), 281

(10) Rorgo Fretellus, *Description of Jerusalem and The Holy Land 1130 A.D.*, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol. V, 40



أرضهما من بساتين وحمامات ومنازل ، على أساس أن هذه الأراضي تُعد جزءاً من منطقة جبل صهيون داخل أسوار المدينة وخارجها. كذلك منح الملك للدير أحقية فتح بوابة في السور الجنوبي للقدس تقضي إلى داخل المدينة⁽¹¹⁾. وبالفعل فهناك إشارات عديدة إلى هذه البوابة تذكرها بسمى بوابة جبل صهيون Gate ، وأخرى بسمى بوابة النبي داود⁽¹²⁾.

وإضافة إلى ما حازه دير جبل صهيون من منح ملكية ، فإن ما حصله من الأمراء وأهل الخير يُعد ضخماً أيضاً ، ويشهد على ذلك سلسلة المنح والهبات الطويلة التي أوردتها العهد ما قدمه شخص يدعى أنسلم دي بارينت Anselm de Pareinte من أراض ، وتشمل المواضع التي بين أيدينا ، ومن الممتلكات المسجلة الحقول الممتدة والكرمات الواقعة في جنوب جبل صهيون ، وحدد العهد اسم هذه البقعة بالشديماك⁽¹³⁾ Asheldamah . وقد أشار الرحالة الصليبي فتلس Fetellus حوالي عام 1130م إلى المنطقة ذاتها وبالمسمى نفسه بصفتها بقعة مقدسة⁽¹⁴⁾. بينما أوضح ناشر العهد وقد رأى هذا الموقع بأنه ربوة تقع جهة الجنوب الغربي من القدس على الطريق إلى مدينة بيت لحم Béthléem الذي تنتشر على جانبيه كثير من الكرمات⁽¹⁵⁾. وشملت المنحة أيضاً وحدة إقطاعية ذكرها العهد برسم كازال Casal اصطلاحاً وسيذكرها الباحث تباغاً بالقرية وتدعى سوربايال Sorbeal التي تضم أرض اسكوتيم⁽¹⁶⁾ Asquatim . وفي الواقع فإن سوربايال قرية تقع بالقرب من دير القديس إلى Saint – Elie وهو دير يوناني يقع بالقرب من طريق بيت لحم والذي يعرف اليوم باسم سور باهيل⁽¹⁷⁾ Soir – Bahil . وبالقرب من قرية سوربايال يُثبت العهد للممتلكات أخرى ؛ حيث منحة النبيل هييج دي جورون Hugues de Gorron للدير ، وكانت عبارة عن مجرى مائي يعرف باسم ديرزويث Dersoeth والأراضي المجاورة له التي ضمت القرية الملاصقة للممتلكات التي آلت إلى الدير من أنسلم دي بارينت .

وهناك رأي لأحد الباحثين جدير بعرضه في هذا الموضوع؛ إذ يذكر أن المؤسسات الدينية الصليبية التي كانت امتلكت الأراضي قد أولت زراعة الكروم اهتماماً كبيراً ، حتى أصبح إقبال الفلاحين على زراعته يفوق إقبالهم على أي محصول آخر حتى ولو كان القمح؛ نظراً للارباح الطائلة التي تعود على زارعيه⁽¹⁸⁾. والمدقق في طبيعة الأراضي التي آلت إلى الدير هبة من حكام بيت المقدس وأثريائها يلحظ بوضوح أن معظمها تخصص في إنتاجية الكروم لما يدره من دخل كبير ، وهذا بالطبع يعكس توجهات مانحي الهبات الذين عمدوا إلى توفير أرضية اقتصادية لا بأس بها للدير تكون كفيلاً بتوفير الأموال اللازمة للقيام بالمهام المنوطة به .

(11) Rey, *Chartes*, 42

(12) راجع على سبيل المثال كلاً من :

Emily Atwatter Babcock and August Charles Krey, trans. , *William of Tyre: A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, II vols. , (New York, 1943), vol. I, 350 – 51; Aubrey Stewart, trans. *Burchard of Mount Sion: A Description of the Holy Land 1232 A.D.* , (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), vol XII, 67, 109

(13) Rey, *Chartes*, 40

ولم يعثر الباحث في قوائم الحكام الصليبيين المتاحة على ذكر لأنسلم هذا ولذا يرجح أنه كان أحد الأثرياء الخيرين .

(14) Fetellus, *Description*, 40

(15) Rey, *Chartes*, 40, note 2

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid, 40, note. 3

(18) Joshua Prawer, *Colonisation Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* XXIX, (Brussels, 1951), 1063 – 1068



أما في إقطاعية نابلس في شمال القدس فقد تم تخصيص كثير من المنح لدير جبل صهيون؛ ورد بالعهد مجموعتان منها في موضعين متفرقين؛ يرجع الفضل بالنسبة للمجموعة الأولى إلى نبيل سليل أسرة ميللي الإقطاعية يدعى جويدو دي ميللي⁽¹⁹⁾ Guydo de Milly، فقد قام البابا ألكسندر الثالث بتثبيت منحة هذا النبيل وكانت سخية للغاية إذ شملت بلدة مهمورية Mahmoerie الواقعة على الطريق الواصل بين القدس ونابلس ومعروفة حالياً باسم البيرة El Bireh، وجدير بالذكر أن وثائق أخرى قد أشارت إليها بمسمى مهمورية الكبرى Magna Mahumeria على أنها من ممتلكات كهنة كنيسة القيامة في عام 1124م،⁽²⁰⁾ ومن ثم يعتقد أن ملكيتها انتقلت إلى أسرة ميللي بعد هذا التاريخ. كذلك شملت منحة النبيل جويدو دي ميللي للدير قرية مارتيني Martini وأرضاً تدعى فونتين Fontaine بها عين ماء؛ ولذا فمن الواضح أن القرية حملت مسماها نسبة للعين الكائنة بها.

أما المجموعة الثانية من المنح داخل إقطاعية نابلس أيضاً فقد تضمن العهد ذكراً لحيازات آلت إلى دير صهيون وتم تثبيتها، بيد أن العهد لم يُشر في هذا الموضع إلى الذين قاموا بتقديم المنح في الأصل، فقد تم تخصيص بعض المنازل في المدينة والأراضي المحيطة بالقرى المبنية الواقعة في زمامها وهي قرية بورين Burin وما زالت تحمل المسمى ذاته وكافا ستروم Caphastrum المعروف حالياً باسم كفر إستون Kefer - Iston وجل Gul، وهي حالياً خربة جول وجيرابل Gerable ذلك فضلاً عن العشور التي تنازل عنها بطاركة بيت المقدس للدير. كذلك في إطار إقطاعية نابلس ورد في التأكيدات البابوية أسماء بعض الجهات مثل قرية سبسطية المعروفة عند الصليبيين باسم القديس يوحنا السبسطي⁽²¹⁾ Saint-Jean de Sebaste، فشملت كلا من: قرية فام Fame المعروفة حالياً باسم فامة Fameh، وقرية آجيه Age وما يحيط بها من أراضٍ مع التنازل عن نصف العشور فيها⁽²²⁾. وجميع ما حصل عليه الدير من أراضي أهل الخير في نابلس قد حظيت خلال العصر الصليبي بثراء واضح نظراً لما احتوته من جداول مياه وأعين وأراضٍ خصبة.⁽²³⁾

(19) ينتسب جويدو إلى أسرة ميللي النبيلة التي استقرت في فلسطين، وترجع الأسرة في أصلها إلى العنصر الفلمنكي (سكان بلجيكا) وقام الملك بلدوين الأول في 1108م بمنح جزء كبير من نابلس إقطاعاً إلى باين Payen كبير عائلة ميللي وقتذاك، وبعد وفاته آلت الإقطاعية لابن أخيه فيليب دي ميللي. انظر: سعيد البشاوي: نابلس، الأوضاع السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية والاقتصادية في عصر الحروب الصليبية «492 - 690هـ/ 1099 - 1291م» الطبعة الأولى، (عمان: 1990)، 75، 94.

(20) Henri François Delaborde, ed., *Chartes de Terre Sainte Provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris 1880), Doc., No. 12, 37- 38; Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte 30, 92 - 93, Röhricht, *Regesta*, Doc. No. 302, 77 - 78;

Denys Pringle, "Magna Mahumeria (al -Bira) : The Archaeology of a Frankish New town in Palestine",

in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, (London: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 147

(21) Anonymous Pilgrims, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. IV, trans., Aubrey Stewart, (London 1891), 74 - 75

(22) دفع العشر عادة شرقية قديمة وتقضى بدفع واحد من عشرة من المحصول الزراعي والحيواني للرب، وقد تضمن العهد القديم والعهد الجديد إشارات عديدة إلى العشور وتقديمها، الأمر الذي جعلها ترتبط بالتشريعات الإلهية على أنها ملكية خاصة للرب ومنحها للكهنة، ومن ثم كان على المسيحيين أغنياء وفقراء دفع العشور للكنيسة لتلقي الأسرار المقدسة. وبحلول القرنين الخامس والسادس الميلاديين صار من حق الرهبان الحصول على العشور، وفي المرحلة التالية أكد الباباوات على هذا الحق، بل تم إعفائهم من الدفع من قبل بعض الباباوات في القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي. راجع: بطرس عبد الملك وآخرون: قاموس الكتاب المقدس، مادة عشر، انظر أيضاً:

Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964)، 4 - 9

(23) Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, (New York : Macmillan, 1972), 367



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ثم عرض العهد قائمة بأسماء القرى التي آلت إلى دير جبل صهيون بالشراء ، وأكدت البابوية ملكيتها وهي : قرى أوبت Ubeth ودور ميبيدي Dormibedi وكارياتيري Kariateri وجينيسيم Genesim وكازارت Casert وتيبيري Tyberie والأراضي المحيطة بها وكافاسون Caphason والأراضي المحيطة بها وأنيت Aniethe وأميت Amieth والأراضي المحيطة بها وفارافرونت Farafronte والأراضي المحيطة بها ، إضافة إلى خربات منطقة جيبييا Gebea علماً بأن جميع ذلك قد ابتيع من أحد الأثرياء ويدعى عموري دى فرانسليو Amaury de Franclieu

كذلك كان لدير جبل صهيون نصيب في أراضي عسقلان Ascolon وفقاً لما ورد في العهد وهي تشمل قرية كاركافاس Carcafes المعروفة حالياً باسم كايكافا Caicafa والأراضي المحيطة بها مع نصف عشورها ، وقرية رومينبر Romenbre ، والتي من المعتقد أنها تطابق اليوم موقع خربة عمر الربيق ، الواقعة بين اشدود Esdoud وحمامة ، والمناطق المحيطة بها مع كامل عشورها. أما في عسقلان ذاتها ، فقد شملت المنحة منازل بالمدينة وأحد المطاحن⁽²⁴⁾ . وجدير بالذكر أن قرية كاركافاس كانت من ممتلكات كنيسة بيت لحم في عام 1111م ومنذ هذا الحين ظلت تتبع دير جبل صهيون بشكل غير رسمي⁽²⁵⁾ . ولما جاء تأكيد على ملكية الدير لها في العهد البابوي بداية من عام 1178م فقد حُسم الأمر للدير بإضفاء الصبغة الشرعية على ملكيته للقرية .

وكان عطاء إقطاعية يافا الصليبية لدير جبل صهيون كبيراً أيضاً ، حيث ورد بالعهد أن البابا ألكسندر الثالث أكد المنحة التي قدمها شخص يدعى جي Gay للدير ، الذي حمل لقب كونت يافا ، وكانت عبارة عن قطعة أرض إضافة إلى بستان وقطعة أخرى من الأرض كان لامبيرت كاليوث Lamert Calioth قد منحها للدير آنفاً . وقد ورد اسم هذا النبيل في إحدى الوثائق الخاصة بإقطاعية يافا مؤرخة بيوم 14 نوفمبر⁽²⁶⁾ 1158 . وبمراجعة جانب من الدراسات الحديثة المتخصصة في تاريخ الإقطاعات الصليبية داخل مملكة بيت المقدس ، فلم يُعثر على كونت حكم إقطاعية يافا يدعى جي التي تقلبت تبعيتها بين الملك الصليبي وأفراد الأسرة الحاكمة فيها؛ فمنذ ضمها في عام 1100م ظلت تابعة للملك حتى عام 1110م ثم تولى هيو لوبويزيه الأول Hugh le Puisel I ثم ابنه هيو الثاني حتى عام 1134م حكمها ، وما لبثت أن عادت للسيادة الملكية المباشرة⁽²⁷⁾ حتى ما بعد صدور العهد . ومن ثم فيبدو أن الشخصيات التي ورد ذكرها بالعهد البابوي كانوا مجرد رجال بارزين لعلهم من النبلاء في خدمة ملوك بيت المقدس ، ولم يحملوا لقب الكونت .

وفي مدينة قيسارية Cesarée الساحلية التي نجح الصليبيون في تأسيس إقطاعية صليبية فيها عام 1101م بحيث ضمت بعض الأراضي الواقعة في زمامها⁽²⁸⁾ فقد أكد العهد ممتلكات الدير بها ؛ وهي قرى سيديا Sidea وكافورانا Caforana وكانيه Canet والمناطق المحيطة بها وأنصاف عشورها ، فضلاً عن أحد البيوت في المدينة مع إعفاء رهبان الدير من ضرائبه . والملاحظ هنا أن العهد لم يأت بذكر أسماء أولئك

(24) Rey, *Chartes*, 42

(25) Guy Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und St. Abraham (Hebron)", in : *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina- Vereins (Z.D.P.V.)*, LXV, (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1942), 173

(26) Brec-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte 48, 131 – 132

(27) Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (1099 – 1291)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 88 –89

(28) Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 Vols.,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951 – 1954), vol 2, 88-89

جدير بالذكر أن النائب البابوي ساهم بدور واضح في إسقاط قيسارية ، وذلك بالترتيب للحملة والإشراف عليها بتذليل الصعاب وإجراء المفاوضات الخاصة بمشاركة أسطول جنوة في الأعمال الحربية. راجع : حسن عبد الوهاب حسين، *تاريخ قيسارية الشام في العصر الإسلامي*، (الإسكندرية: 1990)



الذين قدموا تلك المنح أصلاً للدير، رغم وجود أسرة جرنبيه Grenier الحاكمة فيها، والتي نجحت في ضم مدينة صيدا إليها⁽²⁹⁾.

وفي جهة الجنوب الغربي داخل مملكة بيت المقدس حيث منطقة اللاجون Ligion الواقعة على طريق التجارة الداخلية بين عسقلان والقدس كان للدير ممتلكات ثبتتها البابوية أيضاً؛ وهي عبارة عن كاريوكاتين Carrucas (فدانين)⁽³⁰⁾ من أجود أراضيها، وطاحونة وبستانين مع أنصاف العشور بالإضافة إلى ملكية منزل بالبلدة ذاتها.

ومن الممتلكات التابعة للملك، ثبت العهد البابوي ما لدير صهيون من حيازات و ثروة في عكا والأراضي الواقعة في زمامها التي سقطت في أيدي الفرنج عام 1103م⁽³¹⁾، وفيما يختص بالأراضي خارج المدينة أكد العهد منحة قرية مياري Myary التي ما زالت تعرف باسم ميار Miar. أما في داخل المدينة فقد شمل التأكيد كنيسة القديس ليونارد Saint - Léonard وكنيسة القديس رومانوس Saint - Romain والأراضي الزراعية وكرمات العنب والصوامع والمنازل التابعة لهما إضافة إلى جميع العشور⁽³²⁾.

واستمراراً في ذكر حيازات دير صهيون التي ثبتها له البابا ألكسندر الثالث من ممتلكات الملك الصليبي إقطاعية صور Tyre، التي سقطت متأخراً عام 1124م في أيدي الصليبيين⁽³³⁾؛ وكان ما وقع منها خارج المدينة أوضح حيث تضمنت قرية ميسوريا Messoria وما جاورها من أراضٍ، إضافة إلى فدانين يقعان بالقرب منها، ثم فدانين آخرين في قرية ساردينا Sardena المعروفة حالياً باسم زردنة Zerdena مع أنصاف العشور، أما في المدينة فقد شملت الممتلكات كنيسة القديس ليونارد والأرض المحيطة بها بما تضمنه من منازل. وقد جاء إقرار البابا بأحقية الدير لهذه الممتلكات مصحوباً بترحيب من بطريرك بيت المقدس وليم Guillaume بعد حصوله على موافقة هيئة رجال الدين في كنيسة القيامة⁽³⁴⁾. وكانت الممتلكات الخاصة بالدير في مدينة صور وما يحيط بها من أراضٍ تُعد آخر الممتلكات التي أكدها العهد داخل مملكة بيت المقدس اللاتينية.

ثم ينتقل العهد في فقراته التالية إلى عرض ما حازه دير جبل صهيون في إمارة أنطاكية Antioche الصليبية؛ ويُلاحظ هنا أن البابا ألكسندر الثالث والكتبة في حضرته أتوا بذكر ما حازه الدير في إقطاعية جبلة Giblet الساحلية⁽³⁵⁾ قبل ذكر ممتلكاته في مركز الإمارة ذاتها، حيث مدينة أنطاكية، آخذين في الاعتبار على ما يبدو الترتيب الجغرافي لمواقع تلك الجهات من الجنوب إلى الشمال. وكانت جبلة قد سقطت في يد الصليبيين عام 1109م وتولى إدارتها دوق خضع بدوره لأمير أنطاكية الصليبي⁽³⁶⁾. ومما أكده البابا للدير أن تقدم المدينة له مبلغاً يُقدر بخمس وعشرين بيزنطاً⁽³⁷⁾ Besants، ولم يحدد البابا أجل تلك العوائد، ولكن

(29) Tibble, *Monarchy*, 23 – 24

(30) قسّم كل من رجال الدين والعلمانيون الأراضي الزراعية إلى كاريوكات كوحدة قياس للأرض من أجل تسهيل الإجراءات الضريبية وجبايتها، وكانت الرسمية منها تعادل الفدان العربي. ولمعرفة المزيد راجع: سعيد البيشاوي: *الممتلكات الكنسية في مملكة بيت المقدس الصليبية*، (الإسكندرية: 1990)، 467-72

(31) Tibble, *Monarchy*, 26, 49, 62-630

(32) Rey, *Chartes*, 43

(33) Tibble, *Monarchy*, 74

(34) Rey, *Chartes*, 43, 44

(35) جبلة: قلعة بساحل الشام قرب اللاذقية، كانت بعد استردادها من أيدي الصليبيين من أعمال حلب. انظر: ياقوت الحموي: (ت 626هـ/ 1229م.): *معجم البلدان*، 5، ج، (بيروت 1975)، ج 2، 105

(36) Runciman, *A History*, vol. III, 552

(37) البيزنط هو في الأصل عملة ذهبية بيزنطية، وقد سُمي هكذا نسبة إلى بيزنطة (أي القسطنطينية) وكانت هذه العملة متداولة بكثرة في أوروبا والشرق اللاتيني حتى القرن الثالث عشر الميلادي تقريباً، ومتوسط قيمتها حوالي تسعة شلنات إنجليزية.



من الواضح أنها واجبة الدفع سنويًا.

أما في مدينة أنطاكية ذاتها ثبت العهد ملكية أحد المنازل. ومنزل آخر في قرية آميس Amis الواقعة في زمامها، كما تم تثبيت ملكية قرية ميزيراش Miserach، إضافة إلى الكرمة التي تدعى كافاريا Cafaria وقرية بوسادان Bussadan وقرية فيليكس Félix، وقرية كوكافا Cuccave مع المناطق المحيطة، فضلاً عن أنصاف العشور. وعلاوة على ذلك ثبت العهد ملكية دير صهيون للكنيسة المتاخمة لقلعة دونيوم Doninium في قرية بيكسا⁽³⁸⁾ Bexa. وهذه الممتلكات تعد شاهداً على مدى ما آل للدير من مخصصات واسعة منها ما يُعد هبة من حكام علمانيين ومنها ما خصصه البابا نفسه.

ونتهي هذا الجزء من عهد ألكسندر الثالث الخاص بهبات الدير في الشرق الاتيني بقوله: «وليس ثمة أحد يعارض عهدي هذا بشأن العشور في منطقة يهودية وبيت المقدس وجميع حدودها، منحة دائمة لكم، ولا أحد يعارض الوحدة بينكم»، ومما حرص عليه البابا أيضاً تحديد الأناض الذين تخصصهم هذه المنحة «لكم ولخلفائكم من بعدكم» ويعني بالطبع رهبان دير جبل صهيون.

بذلك نلمس بقوة حرص البابا ألكسندر الثالث على أن يُقر في عهده بعض الضوابط التنظيمية، نُخلصها في: - التأكيد على أحقية الدير في الاحتفاظ بالممتلكات التي كان قد حازها سلفاً أي قبل عام 1178م الواردة في العهد ملكاً صحيحاً شرعياً.

- لم يكتف البابا بالزام نفسه بتثبيت المنح التي حازها الدير، بل نجده قد حرص على إلزام البابوات اللاحقين عليه بتثبيتها أيضاً، استناداً على ما كان ملوك بيت المقدس ونبلائها بل والخيرين من رجالها قد اعتادوا تقديمه من هبات ومنح.

- سجل البابا أيضاً رغبته الأكيدة في أن يُضاف المزيد من الممتلكات التي اعتبرها حقوقاً شرعية إلى الدير والتوسع في ذلك على مر الأجيال.

(ب) أمّا المرسوم المملوكي؛ فطبيعياً ألا يتعامل مع ما منحه البابا من هبات وتأكيدات للأراضي والقرى بإقرار الملكية للدير بشكل مطلق لتعارض ذلك مع السيادة المملوكية ما يجعل دير صهيون دولة داخل دولة؛ وفي ضوء ذلك اقتصرت ممتلكات الدير كما أوردتها المرسوم على عدد أقل من القرى والأراضي أهمها عين كارم⁽³⁹⁾ وبيت لحم فضلاً عن صهيون ذاتها وما حولهم من أراض، وهذه البقاع تتفق مع ما تم تخصيصه للدير في العهد البابوي حيث الشيدماك إلى الجنوب وسوربايال على طريق بيت لحم المنتجة للكروم. وجاء تخصيص ببيرس هذه الأراضي للدير للإبقاء على دوره الذي رسمه له وهو استقبال الزوار المسيحيين، «مؤكدًا على حمايتهم» من الضرر والتشويش والأمان والاطمئنان وكف الأذى عنهم وعن غلمانهم وأتباعهم وأجرائهم وأجراءهم على جاري العوايد عملاً في ذلك بالعدل الشريف. « وهذا يعني الإبقاء على هبة الدير ووضعها الديني المرموق.

استمر السلاطين في تجديد ما خصَّ به ببيرس الدير من كرم وصولاً إلى السلطان خشقدم الذي ذكر: «وقد رسمنا لهم الآن باستمرارهم على ذلك حملاً على حكم ما بأيديهم من المراسيم الشريفة المتقدمة... ومرسوماً لكل واقف عليه ومستمعه وناظر إليه أن يتقدموا بمنع من يحدث على المذكورين حادث أو يجدد عليهم مظلمة

انظر: جوزيف نسيم يوسف، العدوان الصليبي على مصر «هزيمة لويس التاسع في المنصورة وفارسكور»، الطبعة الأولى، (الإسكندرية: 1969)، 216، ح 3.

(38) Rey, Chartes, 44

(39) عين كارم: قرية من زمام القدس تقع على الطريق المؤدي إلى يافا، ويعتقد المسيحيون أنها مسقط رأس يوحنا المعمدان، كما يعتقدون إن السيد المسيح والسيدة مريم العذراء زاراها مرات عدة. انظر:

Jaqueline Tivers and Tijana Rakic, ed., *Naratives of Travel and Tourism*, (London: 2012), 53



وحملهم على حكم ما بأيديهم من المراسيم الشريفة المُشار إليها حيث اقتضته الشريعة المطهرة ومن اعتمد خلاف ما رسمنا به من ذلك وما تضمنته مراسيم الملوك السالفة . . . واعتماداً بأيديهم من المرسوم الشريف . . . والعمل به والوصية بهم ومنع من يتعرض إليهم بغير طريق مبين قولاً واحداً وأمرًا جازماً والمراسيم الشريفة تؤكد عليهم في ذلك غاية التأكيد».

أما عن ما امتلكه الدير في كل من صقلية وشبه الجزيرة الإيطالية وفرنسا وأسبانيا - وهي قرى وريوع كنسية- فلم يكن للسلطة المملوكية يداً عليها إلا أن كرمها اتخذ شكلاً آخر نجده واضحاً في المرسوم في هذه العبارة: «ولا يقطع لهم أحد مصانعة ولا تمنع الصدقة المُحضرة إليهم من بلادهم ولا يعارضهم فيها أحد من الخفرا والشادين بالميين [أي المواني] والسواحل والطرقا وغير ذلك . . . يُمكن الرئيس بدير صهيون من إرسال رهبانه حيث شاءوا من ساير الممالك لاستعطا ما يقوم بأودهم . . . وإذا سافر رهبانهم بحوايجهم وضروراتهم وغابوا سنتين أو أكثر في أشغال ديرهم تكتب أسماؤهم عند المباشرين [الموظفين] بحيث إنهم إذا عادوا لا يلزموا بكلفة ولا موجب⁽⁴⁰⁾».

ثانياً: امتيازات الدير وحقوقه

أورد البابا في هذا الشأن قراراً يكفل حرية جميع الطوائف المسيحية في الدفن في منطقة الدير فوق جبل صهيون ، إذا وافق على ذلك رهبانه الذين يتطوعون للقيام والإشراف على هذا العمل هناك ، ولا يُمنع أي من الطوائف من هذا الحق إلا بإجماع باقي الطوائف على هذا المنع تحديداً ، وأوضح البابا أنه أقدم على هذا القرار بغرض تفادي أي اعتراضات⁽⁴¹⁾ . وبذلك انفرد رهبان الدير بتنظيم عملية دفن موتى المسيحيين .⁽⁴²⁾ والثابت أنه لم يأت عام 1187م إلا وكان الصليبيون قد اعتادوا كل يوم نقل ما لا يقل عن مائة من موتاهم عبر منطقة عين سلوان ، إحدى بقاع جبل صهيون كي يقوموا بدفنهم في هذه الجبانة⁽⁴³⁾ باعتبار أن صهيون كانت هدف المرضى والشيوخ القادمين من أوروبا والراغبين في قضاء أيامهم الأخيرة فيها .

وفي هذا الصدد نتعرف على موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من دفن موتى الفرنج في جبل صهيون في ضوء استخدام جزء من المنطقة جبانة للمسلمين قبل الحروب الصليبية . إذ رأى الرحالة الروسي دانيال ، بستان

(40) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316

(41) Rey, *Chartes*, 47

كشفت التنقيبات الأثرية عن وجود مقابر فرنجية ترجع إلى القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي على جبل صهيون ، بعضها يخص كنيسة القيامة ذاتها . منها قبر لفارس فرنسي شهير سكن القدس . راجع :

Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. (London, 1972), 166;

Jean Richard, "Hospitals and Hospital Congregations in the Latin Kingdom during the First Period of the Frankish Conquest", in *Crosies, Missionaires et Voyageurs: Les Perspectives Orientales du Monde Latin Medieval*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), 172.

(42) تؤكد المصادر الإسلامية واليهودية على أن طائفة الفرنسيسكان في كنيسة صهيون ظلت تضع أيديها حتى أواخر العصور الوسطى على مقابر صهيون ، بما فيها مقابر اليهود ، الأمر الذي تسبب في إحداث بعض المنازعات ، إلا أن العرب تدخلوا للسيطرة على المنطقة لإقرار الأمور . انظر : أبو اليمن العليمي : (ت 927 هـ . / 1522 م) ، الأوس الجليل بتاريخ القدس والخليل ، ج 2 ، (بيروت 1973) ، ج 2 ، 657

cf. also Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Volterra, *The Journey of Rabbi Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Volterra in 1481 A.D.*, ed. Elkan Nathan Alder, *Jewish Travellers*, (London, 1930) 192; Obadiah Jare Da Bertinoro, "Itinerary of Obadiah 1487 – 1490", in *Jewish Travellers*, 243

(43) Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, *The journey of Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel*, ed. Elkan Nathan Adler, in *Jewish Travelers*, (London 1930), 99.



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الفخاري Potters Field ، وهو مكان يضم مقابر منحوتة بشكل جيد في الصخر تم تخصيصها لدفن المسافرين المسلمين الغرباء بالمجان⁽⁴⁴⁾. كما توجد مقابر ثلاث لليهود في المكان هدمها الصليبيون⁽⁴⁵⁾. وبالرغم من حوزة واستخدام كل من المسلمين واليهود جزء من جبانة صهيون إلا أن المرسوم المملوكي أقر للرهبان حقهم في أن «يُمكنوا من دفن مَنْ هلك ولا يُعارضوا... وأن يُعفوا من سائر المغارم والمظالم... وإبطال ما كتب على رهبانه... ولا يُلزموا بما على أحد يموت من الفرنج البنادقة وغيرهم إلا بوجه شرعي⁽⁴⁶⁾». «

بذلك سعت البابوية إلى توطيد علاقة الغرب اللاتيني بالشرق الصليبي بشكل أوثق باستخدام أمر يمس العقيدة والوجدان ووحدة الفكر المسيحي ، فأرض صهيون شهدت وفاة السيدة مريم العذراء ، وبها قبر النبي داود عليه السلام ، وفيها كان العشاء الأخير للسيد المسيح عليه السلام ، ما جعلها أكثر البقاع قداسة في نظرهم وتقديرًا لهذه المشاعر حرصت السلطة الإسلامية على إبقاء تقليد دفن المسيحيين في صهيون بدافع الحد من الضغينة والعداء امتصاصاً للروح الصليبية عند الأوروبيين .

واصل البابا سلسلة عطاءاته لحقوق الدير بإصدار قرار آخر حذر فيه إقامة أي مراكز إرسالية للطوائف المسيحية في منطقة دير جبل صهيون ، ولكنه أعطى رئيس الدير ورهبانه حق الموافقة على إقامة مثل هذه المراكز ، وبرر قراره هذا برغبته في تجنب نشوب خلاف بين هذه الطوائف التي لم يذكرها . وجاء المرسوم مؤكداً على حقوق الدير السيادية تلك ، فنصّ على: «ولا يُجبر المذكورون على فتح ديورتهم وكنائسهم إلا برضاهم» وبذلك تؤكد السلطة المملوكية على الملكية السابقة للدير الموهوبة له بموجب عهد 1178م حيث الشيدماك وسوربايال .

مرة ثالثة يؤكد البابا حقوق الدير؛ ففي عهده إلى الرهبان أمنهم ليس فيما يخص أراضيهم الزراعية فقط ، بل حصّن حقهم أيضاً في الانتفاع بالأيدي العاملة والمزارعين فيها دون مساس ، إضافة إلى تأمين المراعي الخاصة بدوابهم ، وقد أنهى البابا هذا البند من قراراته للرهبان في لهجة قوية إذ يقول : «لا أحد يجزؤ على أخذ العشور منكم». ويؤكد المرسوم على ذلك المعنى ما نصّه: «ولا يُعارضوا في ماكلهم ومشربهم ويُفسح لهم شراب العنب لمشروبهم ومعاشهم ، ونقلها من دير إلى دير ومن كنيسة إلى كنيسة ، على جاري عادتهم القديمة⁽⁴⁷⁾». «

كذلك سمحت البابوية للدير باستقبال رجال الدين من المسيحيين من غير الكاثوليك الذين ذكرهم العهد — «الخارجين عن المؤلف في حياتهم الدينية» ، وتأمينهم بغرض الدخول في حوار معهم ، وتعهد البابا للرهبان بالألا يعارضهم أحد في هذا الإجراء ، ولكنه نبّه إلى أنه إذا حدث معارضة ، بلغت حد التذمر فيسمح للرهبان إغلاق أبواب الدير حتى ينتهي النقاش . ومن الممكن إقامة الاحتفالات برغم إختلافها بما يتم الاتفاق عليه بغرض عدم الإثارة . ونجد لهذا الحق صدقاً في المرسوم فنصّ على: «لا يُمكن أحد من طوائف النصرارى من الدخول إلى أماكنهم بغير رضاهم ومنع من يقصد ضررهم» ؛ وبهذه الامتيازات التي حصل عليها الرهبان أصبح في مقدورهم لعب دور متميز في الحياة الدينية داخل مملكة بيت المقدس الصليبية ، إذ حوّل لهم التبشير من خلال الدخول في مناقشات دينية مع أرمن وسريان وأرثوذكس وغيرهم الذين كانوا يترددون على صهيون للاجتماع والزيارة والاحتفال⁽⁴⁸⁾.

(44) Daniel The Russian, *The pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land 1106 – 1107 AD*, trans. Sir Charles William Wilson, (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), vol. IV (London 1891), 48

(45) بنيامين التطيلي: *رحلة بنيامين*، ترجمة: عزرا حداد، (بغداد 1945)، 103

(46) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316

(47) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316

(48) William of Tyre, *A History*, vol. II, 122



وامتداداً لهذا الامتياز أجاز البابا للرهبان الخطابة في الكنائس الأخرى بين الناس إضافة إلى تلك الكنائس الكائنة فوق جبل صهيون، وسمح لهم بإقامة الاحتفالات بالأسرار المقدسة بعد إغلاق الأبواب، وذلك من خلال معتقداتهم ومذهبهم وعلومهم⁽⁴⁹⁾ في ضوء أن بعض الهيئات الدينية لها ما تحفظه من أسرار لا تفضي بها إلا إلى الأخصاء من تابعيها نظراً لأنها تفوق الإدراك الطبيعي لعموم البشر⁽⁵⁰⁾ وهو ما يوحي بأن مؤسسته أضحت لها نهج ديني وفكر خاص، ومع ذلك ظلت السياسة البابوية تشجع أحادية المذهب في المنطقة ربما بغرض تفادي تصادم الطوائف المسيحية. ونجد لهذه الحقوق والامتيازات صدىً في المرسوم الملوكي إذ نصّ على: «لا يُمكن أحد من طوائف النصارى من الدخول إلى أماكنهم بغير رضاهم ومنع من يقصد ضررهم... ولا يُعارضوا في جميع مزاراتهم بالأماكن التي لهم بها عادة ودخولهم فيها وفعل شرايطهم وأعيادهم التي اقتضاها دينهم وخلص حقوقهم ممن يتعين في جهته».

وبموجب العهد سمح البابا لرهبان الدير بالآتي: «لكم أن تتقبلوا من الأسقف الكاثوليكي [أي بطريرك بيت المقدس] الطعام والزيت المقدس، والتكريمات الخاصة بالكنائس أو المذابح وتجهيزات الكهنة أو رجال الدين الذين يجب نقلهم إلى مراكز دينية مقدسة [بكنيسة القيامة] مما تختارونه بأنفسكم». يتضح لنا أن هذه العبارات الدينية تؤكد على معنى واحد فهي ترفع من شأن الدير ورئيسه، ونجد صدىً لذلك في المرسوم الذي أكد ضرورة: «تمكين الرايس بدير صهيون من إقامة اثنين وثلاثين أو اربعين [كاهناً في كنيسة القيامة] واخراجهم إذا اراد واستبدلهم بغيرهم على جاري العادة»⁽⁵¹⁾.

ثمة تحذير بابوي رفع من شأن الدير ما نصّه: «لا يحق لأي من الأساقفة -إلا بتصريح من البابوية الرومانية- أن يتعرض بالاعتداء على أماكنكم أو كهنتكم أو رجال دينكم أو الإخوة المقيمين هناك [في الدير] بأي صورة من الصور، ولا أن يمارس فيها أي سلطة أو يحدث أي مضايقات». وجاء المرسوم الملوكي يؤكد على ما للرهبان من حق سيادي بالتأكيد على: «ولا يتأقلمهم احد من الحكام بالقدس الشريف لا من الناظر ولا النايب ولا الوالي ولا غيرهم... وإذا حصل لاحد من الرهبان من احد من الحكام بالقدس الشريف وغيره ضرر وقصد الحضور إلى الابواب الشريفة [السلطان ذاته] يُمكن من الحضور ولا يُمنع»⁽⁵²⁾ وكان من الطبيعي أن يستبدل المرسوم السلطاني بالسلطة البابوية مصداقاً للواقع التاريخي حيث حل ناظر القدس والخليل محل البطريرك الكاثوليكي.

وهناك امتياز سيادي آخر له مغزاه؛ ألا وهو إقرار اختيار الرهبان لرئيس الدير، ثم تعيينه من قبل البابوية. وحدد العهد أسس تركز عليها عملية التعيين تلك: أولها، ضرورة أن تقوم عملية اختياره على أساس سليم، ألا يتصف بالاحتيال أو الخديعة أو العنف، وثانيها أن يُختار بموافقة الرهبان مجتمعين، فإذا تعذر ذلك يرجح الفريق الكبير منهم أحدهم لهذا المنصب على أن يتصف بالورع وبالالتزام بقواعد القديس أغسطين الرهبانية. وإذا ما أدرك البابا صواب هذا الرأي، يحظ المختار بمباركته. وبذلك قدّم العهد دليلاً واضحاً على رغبة البابا في تمييز الدير باختيار رئيسه مقارنةً ببطريرك القدس نفسه الذي كان يُعيّنه مباشرةً دونما اختيار.

وما برح العهد أن وضع القواعد الأساسية التي تركز عليها علاقة الدير بكل من بطريرك بيت المقدس والبابوية؛ ففيما يختص بعلاقته بالبطريرك، ورد في العهد أن البطريرك اعتاد أن يأتي وسط مواكبه للاحتفال عند كنيسة جبل صهيون، ولكن البابا وضع هذه الكنيسة تحت تصرف رئيس دير جبل صهيون وتحت سلطانه الديني، وبالتالي أسند إليه مهمة الإشراف على الاحتفالات في هذا الموقع، بل وأضاف

(49) Rey, *Chartes*, 48

(50) بطرس عبد الملك وآخرون، قاموس الكتاب المقدس، مادة: سر

(51) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316

(52) Ibid.



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إليها مواقع أخرى فوق الهضبة يظلها بإشرافه المباشر حيث كنيسة العشاء الأخير. ولما ترتب على هذه القرارات السخية نشوء منازعات بين الزعامات الدينية في الأراضي المقدسة، كان على السدة البابوية أن تتولى فضها بصفقتها الملجأ لأي خلاف⁽⁵³⁾، ويأتي المرسوم المملوكي ليحفظ للدير تسيده على المنطقة ذاكرة أن للرهبان أن «يُمكنوا من الدار المجاورة لديرهم». وهذا يعني أن المرسوم أكد على أن رئيس دير صهيون له أن يبسط يديه على كل مقدسات المسيحية الرئيسية فوق الهضبة.

وتجسيدا للتعديل البابوي للعلاقة بين الدير والبطريركية، تعرض العهد للواجبات المالية على الدير، حيث أقر الرسوم والامتيازات النقدية التي اعتاد تقديمها للبطريرك بموجب القرارات التي صدرت في المرحلة السابقة من قبل رجال كنيسة روما، وهذا يمكن تبيانه من عبارة «لا يمكن إضافة عبء آخر جديد» على الدير ومؤسسته الدينية. ومضى العهد في التأكيد على هذا المعنى حين ذكر: «وإذا ما جاء البطريرك نفسه إلى كنيستكم، فإن الكاتدرائية لن تتكلف شيئا باستثناء ما قيل من قبل؛ وإذا ما أراد أن يأكل هناك فإن المائدة لن تجهز له». وفي ظل الإدارة المملوكية وبعد أن تبدلت السلطة من البطريرك الكاثوليكي إلى ناظر القدس والخليل نص المرسوم على «ألا يُطلب منهم غرامة ولا قطع مصانعة [التعامل بلطف]... وأن لا يطلب الرهبان المقيمون بدير صهيون القدس الشريف بسبب القسايم التي كتبت عليهم ولا يلزم بها إلا القناصة [ممثلوا الدول] لا غير... وأن لا يُلزموا بكتب قسايم ولا حلف حيث يشق ذلك عليهم في دينهم وأنه إذا حدث طلب بالقدس الشريف على النصارى واليهود بسبب تكسير أو غير ذلك لا يُلزم الرئيس بالدير المذكور ورهبانه بشيء من ذلك»⁽⁵⁴⁾.

أمّا عن علاقة الدير بابابوية روما فقد تضمن العهد تصريحاً يؤكد على أن الرهبان «ليسوا خاضعين لسلطان أحد أبداً إلا السدة البابوية الرومانية». وبرر البابا منحة السيادة هذه برغبته في تأمين الدير وأملاكه ورهبانه وجميع رجال الدين، بل والعاملين فيه، من الأخطار والمضايقات، وإبعادهم عن المشاكل والضغوط اليومية في الحياة المدنية. وفيما يخص المعاملات المالية، فقد تضمن العهد امتيازاً سيادياً إضافياً، إذ فوضت البابوية لرؤساء الدير والكنائس الملحقة بشتى درجاتهم الكهنوتية، رهبان وأساقفة وشمامسة وجميع رجال الدين الرسميين، التصرف في الأموال من خلال النذور، أو أي دعم مالي آخر بحرية كاملة فلا «إجبار عليكم في ذلك إلا بأمر خاص» ويتم هذا بتكليف واضح من السدة البابوية ذاتها.

توّجت البابوية امتيازاتها المقدمة للدير بأن سمحت له بأن يصير تحت اختصاص وإشراف بطرس المبارك إذ إنه يعد رمز لكنيسة روما الكاثوليكية ومؤسس الكرسي الرسولي هناك، وتوجه البابا إلى كنيسة الدير بالقول «إنه لا شيء في اعتبارنا بالنسبة لك أيتها الابنة المُدلة - في ظل رؤساء الدير المتتابعين - سوى الإشراف عليك وفرض النفوذ البابوي» مقابل طاعة الرهبان وإخلاصهم الظاهر تجاه كنيسة روما الكاثوليكية بل وتجاه البابا شخصياً، على أن يدفع الدير فلورين ذهبي واحد «إلينا وإلى خلفائنا [بابوات روما] في كل عام». وما من شك أن قيمة الفلورين الزهيدة ما كان المقصود من تقديمها إلا كونها رمزا للتأكيد على التبعية البابوية في إطار جديد، ألا وهي التبعية المباشرة. ونجد لتبعية الدير صدي أيضاً في المرسوم المملوكي: «وإذا حصلت عليهم شكوى من القدس الشريف يُعطي درهم واحد فضة أو درهمين ولا يُطالبوا ولا يُكلفوا بشيء جملة كافية على جاري عادتهم القديمة»، وفي ذلك إشارة إلى انتقال تبعية الدير للبابا دينياً لناظر القدس الشريف إدارياً.

وأخيراً ختم البابا ألكسندر الثالث عهده بالغ الكرم بتوجيه عدة محظورات يفهم منها أنها كانت بقصد إعلان حمايته على الدير. وتتمثل في:

(53) Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Bistümer, Klster und Stifte in Koenigreich Jerusalem", in *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptorum 26, (Stuttgart 1977) 66.

(54) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.



(1) "غير مسموح لأي شخص مهما كان أن يتسبب في أي إزعاج للدير المذكور". ويوجد بالمرسوم ما يطابق هذا التحذير، بلزوم "كف أسباب الأذى والضرر عنهم ومعاملتهم بالمعدلة الشريفة ومنع من يتعرض لهم بسوء ولا يُكلفوا ما لا طاقة لهم به ولا عادة عليهم ومنع الوالي والبلاصية والمشاة وغيرهم من دخول ديرهم وقطع مصانعتهم والتشويش عليهم وإذا دخل ريس جديد وخرج من قبله لا يُكلف أحد منهما إلى مغرم ولا يُلزم بكلفة"

(2) "لا مساس بأمالك الدير أو تهديده"، وهذه العبارة المختصرة تتضمن كل أسباب الحماية للدير في شتى المجالات، حيث النواحي المادية من مبان ومراع وأموال وغيرها، والنواحي المعنوية حيث هيبة رجاله والوضع الديني الجديد. ويأتي المرسوم موضحاً جانباً من هذه الحماية فيذكر: "ويمكنوا من تلبيس مساكنهم وأسطحتهم لدفع الضرر من المطر على الوجه الشرعي"

(3) "لا تنفير لأي نوع من أنواع الصيد التابعة له"، ولعل في هذا التحذير ما يشير إلى أن الحماية بلغت أقصى حد لها، حيث شملت عدم التعدي على مجرد حقوق الدير في الصيد بأنواعه في المناطق الواقعة تحت سيادته.

ثم جاء في نهاية هذه المحظورات عبارة للبابا قال فيها: "يجب الحفاظ على امتيازات الدير كاملة، وحمايتها وصيانتها، تحت وصاية السدة البابوية آمنة سالمة"، ثم أضاف أنه في حالة إخلال أي من رجال الدين أو غيرهم بما ورد بالعهد أو معارضته، يحذر مرتين أو ثلاث ويطلب منه تصحيح خطئه والإقرار بشرعية العهد ودوامه وشرفه وقديسيته، وإذا لم يقدم على ذلك يعد خارج عن الكنيسة و"يخضع لأقصى غضب وعقوبة من الرب". ومن ثم فتحذير البابا كان موجهاً -وفقاً لإشارته- ليس لرجال الدين فحسب وإنما لغيرهم من الرجال حكماً ونبلاء.

وفي ظل السيادة المملوكية قدام السلاطين - واحداً بعد الآخر - عدة امتيازات وصلاحيات للدير لم ترد في العهد البابوي، ومن ذلك إعفاءات سخية خلاصتها:

- ألا يُلزم الرهبان بتكسير ولا كلفة - ويعني بها الضريبة - عن إنتاج النصارى واليهود للخمر، و"إذا حضرت بريديّة أو خاصكية أو غيرهم إلى القدس الشريف لا يُكلفوا ولا يُلزموا بكلفة ولا تفسير إلا إن كان لهم اسما وإن كان على أحد من طائفة الفرنج أو من أجناس النصارى مطالبة فلا يُلزموا بها ولا تُلزم طائفة الرهبان بتفسير ولا كلفة إلا إن كان لأحد اسم... وإذا حضر أحد من البريديّة لا يتعرض إليهم في بيوتهم ولا في مساكنهم ولا يقصدهم بضرر جملة كافية... وإذا اعتدى احد من طوايف الفرنج على احد من المسلمين في البر أو البحر لا يلزم الرهبان بذلك لانهم تركوا الدنيا واشتغلوا بعبادة الله بالديورة المذكورة... وترمم أماكنهم اللائي يحتاجون إليها للسكن"

- "وإذا توجه الرهبان إلى بحر الشريعة [نهر الأردن] وغير ذلك من المزارات لا يُكلفوا لخرافاً ولا لقطع مصانعة"

- وإذا اعترض قاطع طريق جمعاً من الزوار الفرنج أو غيرهم من النصارى القاصدين زيارة كنيسة القيامة "فلا يُلزم الرهبان ولا يُلزموا غصبا [بأي واجبات]... إذا شكاهم أحد بغير حق وغرموا شيئاً يرجع على من شكاهم بذلك" وترك الأمر إلى نائب السلطنة بالشام

- "وإذا فتحت [كنيسة القيامة] للزيارة وقصد حوايج كنائسهم ورهبانهم الدخول لها يُمكنوا من ذلك بغير كلفة الدرهم الفرد على جاري عادتهم"

- يؤكد المرسوم المملوكي بلهجة أمرة للكشافين (أي مسؤولي الأمن) على الطرق التي يستخدمها رهبان الدير عبر الرملة ويافا الميناء الرئيس القريب "بعدم معارضة الرهبان المذكورين جملة كافية على جاري عادتهم وأن لا يتعرض أحد إلى الرهبان الواصلين [من وراء البحار] لمينا يافا... وأن يُمكن غلمانهم وأتباعهم



من السفر حيث شأوا من غير معارض لهم“ وتضمن المرسوم الإجراءات الكفيلة المنظمة لحركة الرهبان من حيث استئجار المكارية (سائقي الحمير) والمترجمين. (55)

ثالثاً أسباب إصدار العهد والمرسوم ونتائجهما

وبعد دراسة مقارنة لمضموني العهد البابوي والمرسوم السلطاني يجدر بنا البحث عن الدوافع الحقيقية وراء إصدار الوثيقتين؛ فما الدافع الذي وراء إصدار كل هذه المنح والقرارات البابوية والإعفاءات والحقوق المملوكية لصالح الدير؟ بداية نجحت البابوية إلى حد بعيد في الحفاظ على ممتلكات الأديرة في الشرق الاتيني من خلال تقييدات ومنح⁽⁵⁶⁾، كان منها العهد موضع الدراسة؛ إذ بدت كنيسة روما منذ البداية صاحبة الفضل في توجيه الفكر والمد الأوروبي شرقاً، فيما يعرف بالغزو الصليبي، وترتب على ذلك أن أصبحت تمثل العقل المدبر والمسيطر على غالبية الأحداث. ولكن هناك من يرى أن تأسيس كنيسة قوية في موقع الضريح المقدس قد يؤدي إلى إيجاد منافس قوي لكنيسة روما في الشرق؛ ولذا سعت البابوية إلى تقليص قوة بطيركية القدس باستمرار، تحجيماً لنفوذها⁽⁵⁷⁾. وهذا الدافع السياسي المصبوغ بالدين كان يحتاج إلى أسانيد تدعمه؛ فمن الثابت أن دير صهيون كان لديه قدرات كفيلة بتشجيع البابا على اتخاذ هذه الخطوة؛ إذ كان للمؤسسة الدينية فوق جبل صهيون ثقل ديني واجتماعي، لما حازه من ثروات⁽⁵⁸⁾ منذ أن ترأسه أرنالدوس Arnaldus، الذي تكررت الإشارة إليه في الوثائق أعوام 1129م، 1130م، 1132م؛ بصفته واحداً من أبرز الشخصيات في مملكة بيت المقدس⁽⁵⁹⁾.

وفي عام 1148م حينما قام ملك فرنسا لويس السابع (1137 – 1179) Louis VII بزيارة دير صهيون وسط حاشيته، منحه كنيسة ملحقة بدير سامسون دي أورليان بفرنسا، والتحق بالدير عدد من رهبان دير صهيون كان الملك قد اصطحبهم معه إلى هناك ونقلوا معهم بعضاً من أنواع الكروم التي اشتهرت بها فلسطين⁽⁶⁰⁾. وفي عام 1167م بلغ بالدير القدرة على منح هبة قوامها حوض ماء عمومي للاهالي وبعد سنوات عوضه الملك الصليبي بتقديم هبة⁽⁶¹⁾. واجتمعت بذلك عوامل أقنعت البابا بأن يجعل من الدير منافس ديني، عليه أن يدعمه في مواجهة البطريرك.

لتحقيق هذا الغرض أصدر البابا ألكسندر الثالث وثيقة عهد سابقة للعهد البابوي بأشهر، نتيجة لتكرار المنازعات بين أديرة القدس حول من يأتي في الترتيب الأول، وكان دير صهيون من بينها، وفيها قرر أن كلا من دير معبد الرب Templum Domini ودير صهيون يأتيان في المرتبة الأولى، وذكر رئيس الرهبان في كليهما حاملاً لقب Abbot ولكليهما الحق في أن ينوب عن بطريرك بيت المقدس في حالة غيابه، كذلك أشار العهد إلى أن كلا من دير السيدة مريم في وادي جوزيفات ودير جبل الزيتون يأتيان في مرتبة تالية⁽⁶²⁾. وبذلك

(55) Ibid.

(56) Henri François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte Provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris 1880) 50 – 54.

(57) Harold Fink, “The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099 – 1118”, in ed., Kenneth Meyer Setton, *A history of the Crusades*, vol. I, (Pensylvania, 1958), 379 – 382.

(58) William of Tyre, *A History*, vol I, 536.

(59) Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte, Acte. 62, 155-6, Acte 136, 267-8; Röhricht, *Regesta*, Doc. No. 70, 142, 196, 207, 417, 4, 36, 49, 52, 108. عادة ما يأتي اسم أرنالدوس في موقع متوسط بين المؤرخين. انظر: Delaborde, *Chartes*, 43 - 44, 45 – 47.

(60) Rey, *Les Colonies Franques*, 827.

(61) Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, Acte, 161, 313.

(62) Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, doc. no. 118, 119, 292 – 293.



احتل دير صهيون ورئيس رهبانه مكانة رفيعة حيث بدا في كثير من الأحيان مساعداً للبطريرك⁽⁶³⁾.

أما هدف البابوية التالي الكامن في إبراز هيبتها فقد حققته من خلال رسم علاقة الدير بالملك الصليبي في بيت المقدس والنبلاء فيها؛ إذ إن العهد يمدنا بعدد من الركايز التي تقوم عليها تلك العلاقة ، بل ويؤرخ لها . وتتضح قوة البابوية في تأكيدها على ما حازه الدير من ممتلكات من العلمانيين بالإشارة إلى المانح العلماني سواء كان ملكاً أو نبيلاً ، وكذلك الإشارة إلى طبيعة المنحة سواء كانت أرضاً أو بستاناً أو عقاراً أو حتى منحة نقدية . وبرز في هذا المضمار الحاكمان جودفري دي بوايون وأخوه الملك بلدوين اللذان منحا الدير ممتلكات شكلت الدعامة الأولى له حيث شملت كل الأراضي المعروفة بمنطقة صهيون والبوابة التي حملت المسمى نفسه⁽⁶⁴⁾، كذلك كانت ممتلكات الدير في أراضي عكا تُعد من أوضح النماذج التي تدل على مدى ما حظى به من رعاية خاصة؛ إذ كانت عكا والأراضي الواقعة في زمامها من الممتلكات الملكية؛ أي التي تتبع الملك الصليبي مباشرة ، ومن بين ما أعلمنا به العهد أن الدير امتلك كنيسة القديس لورانزو في عكا برغم أنها كانت تابعة لرئيس أساقفة صور⁽⁶⁵⁾ . وتتعدد حقوق الدير وامتيازاته الصليبية ، تفاقمت دخوله بشكل واضح بين دخول عينية وأراض مزروعة وأيد عاملة ومردودات مالية ثابتة بالقدر الذي جعل من الدير مؤسسة دينية كبرى⁽⁶⁶⁾ . وجاء المرسوم المملوكي داعماً للدير ومحافظاً على مكتسباته حامياً لها ، بشكل متوارث بدليل وضعه للقواعد الضامنة للاستمرار بما دعاه صدقات الأوروبيين للدير القادمة من وراء البحار⁽⁶⁷⁾.

ومن أهداف البابوية أيضاً ، ربطها الكاثوليك بالأرض المقدسة وتأصيل وجودهم فيها بغرض إيجاد كيان وحق ثابت فيها توطئة للمستقبل . وهذا يتبين على سبيل المثال في تسمية العهد لبوابة صهيون التي ذكرها بمسمى بوابة البلكاريين الجديدة *Porta Nova que vocatur Belcayra* . ولما كان البلكاريون من أهالي جنوب فرنسا الذين رافقوا الكونت ريموند الصنجيلي *Raymond of St. Gilles* في محاصرة القدس وغزوها من جهة الجنوب ، فقد انتسب الحي الجنوبي والبوابة إليهم⁽⁶⁸⁾ ، وبارتباط مسمى المناطق بالمستوطنين المحليين الجدد في صهيون يتضح دور مؤسسة الدير الدينية في دعم حركة الاستيطان الصليبي في مُجمل المنطقة .

كذلك يُعد هدف تحقيق وحدة الكنيسة من أهم ما تسعى إليه الكنيسة الأم في روما ، وانطلاقاً من هذا الأزم العهد دير صهيون بتقديم أوقية ذهب لكنيسة دوقية أجريجت في صقلية كل عام ، ويبدو أن ذلك كان بغرض توطيد العلاقات بين أديرة الشرق اللاتيني بكنايس الغرب عن طريق ربطهما بالمصالح المشتركة ، وساعدتهم البابوية على ذلك باستحداث شبكة اتصالات بين دير جبل صهيون في القدس وأديرة أخرى في الغرب عن

ويضيف رودلف هشتند ناشر الوثيقتين أن كبار رجال الدين في بيت المقدس دخلوا في منازعات حادة عدة مرات حين مناقشة موضوع الترتيب وذلك في أعوام 1150م ومن 1170 حتى 1172م ومن 1180 حتى 1181م

(63) Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 Vols., trans., Janet Shirley, (Amsterdam: 1979), vol. I, 105.

(64) Joseph Delaville-LeRoulx, *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jerusalem (1100 - 1310)*, 4 Vols., (Paris 1899), vol. I, doc. no. 537.

(65) Jean Richard, "The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States", in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed., Kenneth Meyer Setton, Vol 5, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 244.

(66) سعيد عبد الفتاح عاشور ، «ملامح المجتمع الصليبي في بلاد الشام» ، مجلة المستقبل العربي ، عدد 8 ، (1987) ، 26 .

(67) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316

(68) Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) 190



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

طريق تمكين رهبان الدير من الانتقال بحرية وسهولة من خلال النزل والضيافات التي منحها العهد البابوي له في أوروبا⁽⁶⁹⁾. وهذا يعني أيضاً أن هذا النوع من المنح كان المقصود منه إعفاء رهبان الدير من تكبد عناء إدارة ممتلكاته، فلم يكن عليه إلا أن يتحصل على عوائدها عن طريق مندوبيه المنتظمي الترحال.

أما المرسوم المملوكي فتكمن دوافع إصداره في رغبة الظاهر بيبرس وخلفه المنصور قلاوون في تجفيف منابع الحملات الصليبية بالحد من الضغينة والعداء حيث ذهب المؤرخ الشهير ابن واصل في عام 1260 إلى الغرب برسائل مودة وصدقة⁽⁷⁰⁾. وتلاه في ذلك سفارات متبادلة ونشاط دبلوماسي واسع مع ملوك الغرب في ممالك صقلية وقشتالة Kingdom of Castile وأراجون Kingdom of Aragon⁽⁷¹⁾ وبعد انقضاء الحروب الصليبية في الشرق حرص سلاطين المماليك التالين وصولاً إلى خوشقدم علي مواصلة علاقة المودة مع الغرب إذا ما بعدوا عن روح الحرب⁽⁷²⁾. هذه السياسة القائمة على المسالمة تعد نتيجة طبيعية بعد طول صراع دموي ساد بين قوى البحر المتوسط على مدى عقود، وما من شك في أن باعث سلاطين المماليك في ذلك ينطلق من الدين فالإسلام يحض على رعاية النساك والرهبان في أديرتهم ففي سورة المائدة يقول الله تعالى: «ولتجدن أقربهم مودةً للذين آمنوا الذين قالوا إنا نصارى ذلك بأن منهم قسيسين ورهباناً وأنهم لا يستكبرون» آية (82) وعليه وثق بيبرس في دور الرهبان السلمي واتخذهم حلقة وصل مع أوروبا فاستصدر لهم المرسوم. وفي المقابل وجد الرهبان في المرسوم أمراً حيويًا لحمايتهم وحفظ حقوقهم فطالبوا السلاطين التالين باستمرار تطبيق بنوده في ضوء ما تعرضوا أحياناً له من اعتداءات السلطات المحلية كرد فعل لهجمات الفرنج على بلادهم⁽⁷³⁾. وعلى مدى العصر المملوكي دأبت السلطات على السماح للمسيحيين واليهود بزيارة أبنية هضبة صهيون الدينية، حيث مقبرة النبي داود وكنيسة روح القدس وكنيسة العشاء الأخير⁽⁷⁴⁾.

وإذا ما كان عهد البابا قد أهدل دبر صهيون للعب دور مهم إبان الحكم الصليبي فقد انعكس ذلك على ما لعبه من دور كبير في تاريخ طائفة الفرنسكان في ظل السيادة الإسلامية؛ ذلك أنه بعد الاعتراف بقواعد هيئة الفرنسكان في مجلس اللاتيران الكنسي Lateran Council الكبير عام 1215م سمح الملك المعظم عيسى سلطان دمشق الأيوبي في عام 1219م -بناءً على طلب أخيه الملك محمد الكامل سلطان مصر- للقديس فرانسيس أوف أسيز Saint Francis of Assisi⁽⁷⁵⁾ وأتباعه من الرهبان بالإقامة في الدير. وكان هدفهم الرئيس من إقامتهم في هذه البقعة هو الحصول على حق رعاية ما تبقى من الأماكن المسيحية المقدسة

(69) Rey, *Chartes*, 50

(70) ابن واصل: (ت 697هـ/ 1298م) محمد بن سالم جمال الدين: مفرج الكروب في أخبار بني أيوب، ج4: تحقيق سعيد عاشور، (القاهرة، 1975)، 248.

(71) ابن عبد الظاهر (ت 692هـ/ 1292م) القاضي محيي الدين أبو الفضل، *الروض الزاهر في سيرة الملك الظاهر*، تحقيق عبد العزيز الخويطر (الرياض، 1976)، 201، Henry John Chaytor، *A history of Aragon and Catalonia*، (London 1933)، 124 - 132

(72) William Muir, *The Mameluke; or Slave, Dynasty of Egypt*, (London 2013), 38

(73) أحمد دراج: وثائق دير جبل صهيون بالقدس الشريف، (القاهرة: مكتبة الأنجلو 1968) 4

(74) Jean Richard, *The Latin*, Vol. I, 108; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin church in the Crusader States*, (London 1980), 137, Prawer, *The Latin*, 208 - 209

(75) ولد في عام 1182 بإيطاليا، وفي شبابه عاش حياة مليئة بالمجون والانغماس في اللذات، ثم استسلم لحياة ملؤها النقص والزهة وبفضل خصائص شخصيته الجذابة تبعه كثير من المتدينين فذاع صيته وكان له أعرق التأثير على الكنيسة الكاثوليكية بأفكاره؛ حيث كان يقرع الحجة بالحجة وقد اكتسب تأييد البابوية واعترافها، وتوفي في إيطاليا عام 1226م بعد أن ترك ثلاث طوائف تحمل أفكاره، ولمعرفة المزيد راجع:، vol XI، James Hastings، ed.، *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*، Art. Franciscans



المتعلقة بحياة السيد المسيح، ونشر تعاليم الفرنسيسكانية⁽⁷⁶⁾، وسرعان ما ازدادت أعداد الأتباع في الدير إذ كان من السهل على مُعتنقي الأنظمة الرهبانية السابقة، خاصة الأوغسطينية منها، الاستجابة للأفكار الفرنسيسكانية⁽⁷⁷⁾. في ضوء ذلك يؤكد الباحث على أن شبكة الاتصالات التي هيئها العهد البابوي من خلال الضيافات والنزل الممنوحة له في أوروبا قد أتاحت الفرصة لنشر الفكر الفرنسيسكاني بشكل منظم وسريع.

ومما ترتب على العهد والمرسوم في الجانب المعماري وبعد إصدار العهد بسبع سنوات فقط وصف يوحنا فوقاس Johannes Phocas أن مجموعة بنايات الدير تكونت بشكل غير مسبوق بحيث ضمت كنيسة كبيرة حجرية الأسقف وتضمنت عددًا من أبنية المزارات، أبرزها حجرة العشاء الأخير (العلية) والأسوار الحديدية والباب أمامها، وكنيسة العنصرة، وتم تزيين جميع ذلك بالصور وتجهيزه⁽⁷⁸⁾. وإذا استبعدنا فترة مؤقتة تعرض فيها الرهبان للتشتيت والانتقال إلى عكا بسبب العمليات الحربية عصر الأيوبيين⁽⁷⁹⁾، إلا أن صلاح الدين كان حريصا على إحاطة الأبنية الدينية فوق جبل صهيون بأسوار بغرض تحصين مُجمل المنطقة⁽⁸⁰⁾. وفي عام 1217م تهدمت كنيسة صهيون ولم يبق من مجموع الأبنية سوى عليّة صهيون في الجانب الغربي وقبر النبي داود في الجانب الشرقي⁽⁸¹⁾. ثم عادت السيادة الصليبية على الدير عام 1229م وحتى عام 1244م وتشهد على ذلك المدخلات المعمارية القوطية والصور المضافة إلى حجرة العشاء الأخير⁽⁸²⁾.

وفي عام 1245م تمكنت طائفة الفرنسيسكان من الحصول على حق رعاية أماكن المسيحيين المقدسة في صهيون من السلطات الأيوبية⁽⁸³⁾، وبعد حوالي تسعة عقود من الزمن أتيحت لهم فرصة توسيع مقرهم الأول وبناء دير صهيون كاملا، بحيث ضمّ عليّة صهيون وكنيستها التي أعادوا بنائها، وكذلك المقدسات المسيحية الأخرى المجاورة لها فوق الهضبة⁽⁸⁴⁾. وفي عام 1342م أقر البابا كليمنت السادس Clement VI (1342 – 1347م) لجماعة الفرنسيسكان حق الإشراف على الأراضي المقدسة، في حين واصل عدد من أتباع القديس فرانسيس من الدعاة الذهاب إلى الدير للقيام بأعمال التبشير، وتقدّم رحلة القديس الفرنسي بيتر توماس Saint Peter Thomas عام 1360م إلى دير صهيون، وقيامه بإلقاء المواعظ والتبشير هناك، دليلا واضحا على استمرار المد الفرنسيسكاني، ويلاحظ أن المبنى وُصف في هذه الفترة بأنه يتألف من عددٍ من الأديرة لها اتجاهها الطائفي الفرنسيسكاني⁽⁸⁵⁾.

(76) Marie-Léon Patrem, *La Custodie Franciscaine de Terre Sainte*, (Paris 1879), 12 – 13.

(77) Charles George Herbermann and others, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VII, p. 428.

(78) Johannes Phocas, *The Pilgrimage of Johannes Phocas to the Holy Land in the year 1185 AD*, trans., Aubrey Stewart, in (Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London 1889), 17-18.

(79) عن العمليات الحربية راجع: العماد الأصفهاني: (ت 597 هـ/1200م): *الفتح القسي في الفتح القديسي*، تحقيق محمد محمود صبيح، (القاهرة) 1965، 145؛ أما عن رؤساء دير جبل صهيون في كنيسة القديس لورانزو في عكا حتى سقوطها عام 1291م راجع: Girolamo Golubovich : *Serie Cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*، (Jerusalem، 1898)، 53-57.

(80) Benvenisti, *The Crusaders*, 52.

(81) Rissani, *Documenti*, 290-316.

(82) Raymond Charles Smail, *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land*, (London 1973), 132

(83) Patrem, *La Custodie*, p. 12.

(84) Golubovich, *Serie*, 191.

(85) Atiya Aziz Suryal, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (London 1938), 128-136.

القديس بيتر توماس من مواليد مدينة سالينياك Salignac في جنوب غرب فرنسا، قدم إلى فلسطين في رحلة عبر قبرص عام 1357، وترقى في المناصب الدينية حتى أصبح بطريرك القسطنطينية اللاتينية في عام 1362م ويعد القديس من أبرز الدعاة الفرنسيسكان.



وتُفيد إحدى الوثائق المملوكية التي ترجع إلى عام 1437م بأن أرضية الدير تم تبليطها كما أن أبنيته ظلت ترمم حفاظاً عليه واحتفظ بالقلاليات وغرف الرهبان المنقطعين للعبادة «وأبنية ذلك مزمنة عتيقة من عهد بناء الدير». (86) والواضح أن في الإبقاء على الدير وأبنيته القديمة ما يُدلل على تنفيذ سياسة مملوكية تقوم على احترام مقدسات الآخر وحرية العبادة. في حين أنه رغم انتهاء الحروب الصليبية تماماً في الشام ظلت النزعة الصليبية واضحة على الرهبان والفرنجة الزائرين فكانوا في مقدمة العاملين على تحقيق الأهداف الصليبية بوحى من دعاة المشاريع الصليبية الذين ترعاهم البابوية؛ إذ كان من الصعب الفصل بين مهمتهم الأصلية، وهي دينية بحتة، وبين الأهداف السياسية للغرب الأوروبي.

أما من الناحية الإدارية، فقد أصبح وضع الدير في عهده الصليبي مشابهاً لوضع الطوائف الرهبانية الكبرى (الاستبارية Hospitallers والداوية Templers) المرتكبة مباشرة إلى السلطة البابوية (87). وكان في تنامي نفوذ الدير أن أصبح مؤهلاً للعب دور أكبر عن ذي قبل في الشرق اللاتيني وما وراء البحار. أما طوال العصر المملوكي استمر محافظاً على هيئته ودوره الديني والأدبي حتى إنه غدا يفرض نفوذه الإداري على الأديرة المجاورة حيث عين كارم وبيت لحم. وبلغ به الأمر أنه ظل يمد كنيسة القيامة بعدد من الكهنة. وبقي الأمر على هذا الحال خلال هذا العصر رغم اختلاف السلطة السياسية لصالح والي القدس وناظرها ونائب السلطنة في الشام.

أخيراً يُلاحظ أن بنود المرسوم المملوكي الممتد مفعوله طيلة هذا العصر قد تأثرت بشدة بقرارات العهد البابوي والامتيازات الممنوحة بموجبه، وإن كانت استهدفت الرهبان الفرنسيين. ولا عجب في تشابه المرسوم المملوكي مع العهد البابوي في جوانب عدة على هذا النحو؛ إذ إن المنتفع في الحالتين واحد، كما أن الإرادة الدينية البابوية والسياسة المملوكية توافقتا على دعم الدير ومنحه دوراً يضطلع به، فقد جاء العهد البابوي في القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي ليُقدم ويُقرّ منحا ويُعطي امتيازات إلى رهبان دير صهيون، وجدده الباباوات خمس مرات على مدى قرن ونصف تقريباً. وإذا ما كان العهد قد فرغ مفعوله عملياً فيما يختص بالحيازات الممنوحة للدير في الأرض المقدسة جراء فقد الصليبيين لها بطردهم منها عام 1291م، فقد ظل تأثيره واضحاً من خلال ورود الثروات بلا انقطاع من الغرب الأوروبي. وها هم رهبان الدير ذاته، وقد توجهوا بدورهم إلى السلطنة المملوكية لإقرار مطالبهم التي في دائرة سيادتها، فما كان منها إلا الاستجابة، وهذا في حد ذاته شاهد أكيد وقوي على التعامل السلمي المسموح من قبل المسلمين الممالئك تجاه أهل الذمة حتى لو كانوا من الغرباء الفرنج. كما يُلاحظ أنه بالرغم من القضاء على الوجود العسكري للفرنجة في بلاد الشام، فإن الدير - جنباً إلى جنب مع كنيسة القيامة - ظل يُعلن استمرار وجود ظل للنفوذ الديني الفرنجي الكاثوليكي، وربما القليل من النفوذ السياسي أيضاً في الأرض المقدسة، تحت راية الرهبانية الفرنسيين. وفي الحقيقة لا نجد تفسيراً لذلك إلا بما كان للدير من فضل ديني عند المسيحيين. والواضح أيضاً أن إصدارات العهد توقفت بعد عام 1336م ولهذا ما يفسره؛ إذ غدت الطائفة الفرنسيين بمثابة الوريث الشرعي لدير صهيون وممتلكاته وامتيازاته وحقوقه التي كان قد حصل عليه، فظهرت الطائفة بديلاً لمؤسسة الدير فيما حصلت عليه من مكانة.

خاتمة:

نخلص مما سبق إلى أن العهد قطعته بابوية روما على نفسها وأوصت به، ممثلة في عدد من رؤسائها، لمدة تربو عن القرن والنصف قرن، أما المرسوم المملوكي فامتد عطاؤه زهاء القرنين بل واستمر، وكان الطرفان

(86) Rissani, *Documenti*, (XVIII Documento), 181-188.

تتابع الوثائق لتثبت اهتمام سلاطين الممالئك بأمر أبنية الدير وترميمها والحفاظ عليها. راجع عرض لها في: أحمد دراج: وثائق، 48-56

(87) John Life LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 - 1291*, (Cambridge 1932), 215.



قد قطعاه لرئيس دير صهيون بصفته رئيساً لأهم الأديرة الكاثوليكية في الشرق بشكل مباشر، وبذلك تم تنحية بطريك بيت المقدس اللاتيني وناظر الحرمين بالقدس والخليل جانباً، حيث صار الدير يُمثل حلقة الوصل بين بقايا الصليبيين ومسيحيي الغرب عصر الحروب الصليبية من ناحية وبين الفرنج والسلطة المملوكية من ناحية أخرى.

وتكمن الأهمية التاريخية لكل من العهد والمرسوم في أنهما مصدران مهمان للتأريخ للعلاقات بين الشرق والغرب زمن العصور الوسطى؛ إذ تضمن العهد سجلاً شاملاً يضم الحيازات التي آلت إلى دير جبل صهيون من شتى الجهات، العلمانية منها والدينية، في الشرق والغرب الاتيني، فضلاً عن الحقوق والامتيازات التي أرساها المُنشئان: البابا والسلطان، وشدّد كل منهما على إحاطة قراراتهما بالاستمرار، وهذا ما روعي بالفعل لفترة طويلة مع ملاحظة أن البابوية قد توقفت عن تقديم الهبات بعد هزيمة حطين واسترداد المسلمين للقدس، واكتفى دورها على مجرد تأكيد المنح الإضافية، بعد طرح الهبات الشامية نتيجة لتغيير السلطة السياسية من كونها صليبية إلى أيوبية مملوكية. وبالرغم من هذا التغيير بقي للعهد تأثيره القوي على المرسوم في احتفاظ الرهبان بما امتلكوه في الغرب الأوروبي ووصول ريعه برعاية مملوكية بلا ضرائب، فضلاً عن تقديم عديد من الإعفاءات.

تطلب إنجاز الدراسة الرجوع إلى عديد من الوثائق التاريخية وعشرات من المصادر وكتب الرحلات والدراسات الحديثة، بغية تبيان كثير من الأمور الغامضة في العهد والمرسوم. كذلك كان لا بد من استيعاب طبيعة العصر وفهم الأساليب السائدة عند الغرب الأوروبي ودولة المماليك لاستنباط الظروف المحيطة بمحاولة بناء السلام مما احتاج اللجوء إلى مقارنة الكرم المملوكي بالسخاء البابوي تاريخياً وتحليل النصوص واستقراء ما بين السطور بغرض الوصول إلى الحقيقة التاريخية ما أمكن، وعليه نوقشت عدة قضايا أهمها:

● إبراز ما تلقاه الدير من منح وامتيازات وحقوق من البابا وما تحصّل عليه من إعفاءات وحماية من الإدارة المملوكية وكذلك الدوافع الحقيقية وراء تقديم كل هذه العطاءات البابوية منها والمملوكية، وتبين للباحث أن البابوية كانت لديها دوافع سياسية ممزوجة بالدين ظهرت في رفع شأن الرهبان على حساب رجال الكنيسة لإحداث توازن فيما بينهما للإبقاء على هيبتها ونفوذها العالمي. ومن مظاهر ذلك أنها بدت من خلال العهد السيد الأعلى لملاك بيت المقدس الصليبيين بدليل تثبيتها للمنح والعطاءات التي قدموها هم ونبلاؤهم للدير، كذلك دعمت دور الرهبان التبشيري بهيمنة منها مستغلة ما للدير من إمكانيات منذ بدء الكيان الصليبي. ومن منطلق قوة الدير أيضاً سمح له ببيرس بأن يكون قاعدة للرهبان الفرنج؛ إذ أولاهم برعايته ومنحه وإعفاءاته كي يضطلعوا بدورهم في استقبال الزوار.

● جسّد العهد البابوي فكرة الاستيطان عند الصليبيين وأكد أسلوبهم في إقامة مؤسساتهم الدينية والاجتماعية، من خلال هبات علمانية ودينية، وبرز في هذا المضمار الحاكمان جودفري دي بوايون وأخوه الملك بلدوين الأول اللذان منحا الدير ممتلكات شكلت الدعامة الأولى له، علاوة على البابا ألكسندر الثالث الذي منحه وضعاً أدبياً واجتماعياً مرموقاً وأكد على استقلاليتها التي كادت أن تكون تامة عن البطريركية في القدس. أمّا المرسوم المملوكي فقد جاء ليُجسّد فكر السلام بين الأمم وإيجاد حلول تُرضي مُعتنقي الأديان السماوية رغم اختلافهم العقائدي من خلال دعم دير صهيون وتقويته، وتهيئة لتكون واحة للسلم وليس ميداناً للحرب.

● شكل العهد البابوي غطاء شرعي لما حصل عليه دير صهيون من مكاسب عينية ونقدية خلال العقود الثمانية التي سبقت الإصدار، وأضاف عليها منحاً كنسية كبرى وعوائد وامتيازات تشمل إعفاءات وحقوقاً وصلاحيات، وترتب على ذلك أن غدا الدير وحدة اقتصادية مهمة حتى تفاقمت ثرواته في حين ضمن المرسوم له وصول ما اعتاد عليه من دعم مادي من أوروبا وكفل لزواره الأمن اللازم وتعامل مع الرهبان كنسك لهم أن يعيشوا في سلام اجتماعي وفقاً للقواعد الدينية المتبعة.



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● وفي مجال المعمار نلاحظ ما وقع من تطور في أبنية الدير ذاته، فغداة الغزو الصليبي وُصفت بالبساطة، وبعد سبع سنوات من إصدار العهد حملت معالم الطرز الرومانسكية وتم ذلك تدريجياً، وبسبب الحرب تداعت أبنية الدير نسبياً بيد أن رصيده من الهبات أقامت أوده وسمح المماليك وفقاً للمرسوم بتجديده وترميمه.

بذلك قدّمت الدراسة نموذجاً موثقاً يوضّح الأسلوب الذي انتهجته البابوية في التعامل مع المؤسسات الشامية الدينية زمن الحروب الصليبية حيث نجحت في صهر جهود السلطتين الدينية والعلمانية في دعم دير جبل صهيون ورهبانه بالدخول الضخمة التي تدرها الممتلكات والأوقاف الموقوفة على الكنائس، موصولة بالتمكين والرعاية والإعفاءات المملوكية أواخر العصور الوسطى. فكان العهد يعكس نبض الحركة الصليبية الدافق الذي يُحيى طموحاتها ويُبقي على أطماعها في المنطقة، في حين عكس المرسوم روح التسامح بين المسلمين ورعاياهم من الفرنج فسعى إلى إبدال النزعة الصليبية بروابط روحية كفيفة بالربط بين الكاثوليك والأرض المقدسة بعلاقات ودية. وبالرغم من الصبغة الدينية للدراسة إلا أنها كشفت عن علاقات سياسية واتجاهات فكرية وثقافية، كان من المهم الوقوف عليها عند التّأريخ للعلاقات بين الشرق والغرب فترة العصور الوسطى.

Muslim Administration's Attitude towards Europeans Visits to The Holy Places (1192-1291 AD / 588-690 AH), Pacification or Policy?

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Abstract

When Saladin won the Battle of Hattin on 1187 AD/ 583 AH, and regained Jerusalem and the rest of the holy places to be under the Muslim rule once again after about ninety years; taking into consideration the spirit of war that predominated at that time, whether in the West or the East, the question about the Muslim reaction towards the European visits to the holy places after they were controlled by the Muslims, and how this was affected by the surrounding political and military circumstances in the region? became of great importance. That is why the researcher has chosen the issue of the Muslim Administration attitude towards the Europeans visits to the holy places (1187-1291 AD/ 588-690AH), pacification or politics? to be the basis of attempting to answer such question. Not only has the study focused on knowing the details of how the Muslim Administration managed the visits of Christian and Jews, but it also analyzed the reaction of different Western European forces. Following what the sources have recorded; whether the Arabic Eastern sources or the Western ones, the research tried to reach the real motive behind the Muslim Administration attitude. Was it truly based on the spirit of tolerance till the extent of beginning to make peace between East and West instead of wars, conflicts, and clashes between the two parties? Or was it a mere attempt that can be viewed as a kind of political maneuvers by the rulers at these hard times of the history of mankind.

The desire to visit the holy places in Palestine has been a common tradition among believers of the three divine religions since the very early ages. These places contain religious sites which Muslims, Christians and Jews used to visit to be endowed by their blessings and to practice their religious rites. Thus, visiting these places was a form of tolerance and accepting the other. It was a civilized embodiment of the perfect ties among believers of the three religions. Yet, the medieval world, especially in the late 11th century, witnessed an incident which badly affected these peaceful harmonious relations; that was the outrage of what is known as the Crusades; resulting in a long-lasting conflict between the West and the East that lasted for two centuries. The Western European powers found in these visits - which their communities are used to for hundreds of years - an excuse to wage the war which brought death and devastation to the whole world during that period.

The first Crusade, coming from Western Europe, managed to fulfill its objectives in the late



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11th century AD/the 5th century AH, and established four Crusaders' centers in the Muslim Levant within one decade; thus, the holy places became under the Crusaders' control, after four centuries of the Muslim rule. The religious visits deteriorated as the Crusaders failed to grant freedom of visiting for believers of the other religions. Jews were banned from visiting the holy places, especially Jerusalem. Muslims faced the same suffering as long as the Crusaders controlled the holy places. ⁽¹⁾

In fact, the First Crusade's success was not due to courage or remarkable fighting techniques on part of the Crusaders, but due to the weakness of the Muslim forces that confronted them, and divisions among the Muslims of the Levant. However, the situation changed after Saladin managed to unify the Muslim troops. He deprived the Crusaders from the life they used to live in Syria when Muslims achieved a great victory in Battle of Hattin on Saturday, the 4th of July 1187 AD., the 25th of Rabeaa Al-Awal 583 AH.⁽²⁾ Saladin made the best use of his victory showing his unique fighting capabilities. Instead of attacking Jerusalem, he started by invading Acre and decided to take over the Christian coastal cities.⁽³⁾ He managed - with amazing speed - to take over Acre, Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut and Byblos; among other coastal cities of the Levant.⁽⁴⁾ Almost all the castles from which Christian knights used to launch several attacks on the Muslims such as Tiberias, Safed and Hunin collapsed and submitted to his forces.⁽⁵⁾ His vision proved to be true, as he decided to deprive the Crusaders from their bases that have connections with Europe, in order to be sieged in the Levant.

Saladin immediately managed to take over the main religious cities, such as, Nazareth, Bethlehem and Hebron. He, then, invaded Jerusalem, which was occupied by the Crusaders for eighty-eight years. Muslims showed tolerance and forgiveness as they entered the city on the 2nd of October 1187 AD./ the 27th of Ragab 583 AH.⁽⁶⁾ Immediately, the Crusader messengers hurried to seek support and aids from the pope and the European rulers by informing them of their terrible conditions. They mainly suffered losing their holy places.

(1) Goiten, S.D., (Summarized and trans.) *Geniza Sources for the crusader period Asurvey, in outrener. Studies in the History Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Kedar, Z.B. Mayer, H.E., and Smail, R.C., (Jerusalem, 1982), 308-309; Henry, S., *Pilgrimages and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095*, in Setton, K., (ed.), *A History of the Cusades*, vol. 4, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 38.

(2) For more details about the battle of Hattin, See Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nwader Al-Sultaniah w Al-Mahasen Al-Yusufeiah*, ed., Jamaluddin Al-Shayal, (Cairo 1964), 128-130; Ibn Al-Ahthir, *Al-Kamel fel-Tareekh*, 12 vols, (Beirut 1982), vol. 11, 532-534; Abu Shama, *Al-Rawdatain fe Akhbar Al-Dawlatain Annuriyah w Al-Salahiyah*, 2 vols, (Cairo 1962), vol 2, 77-85; See also, Ernoul, *Chronique de Ernoul et de Bernard Le Tresorier*, ed. L. de Mas - Latrie, (Paris, 1871) , 170-172; Eracles, *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conquete de la Terre d' Outre- mer*, R.H.C. - H. Occ, T.II, (Paris, 1859), 68-71.

(3) Ernoul, *Chronique*, 175.

(4) For more details about Saladin victories after the battle of Hattin, See Al-Emad Al-Kateb, *Al-Fateh Al-Qassy fel-Fateh Al-Qudsy*, ed., Mohamed Mahmoud Sobh, (Cairo 2003), 88-94; See also, Roger of wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. By J.A. Giles, 2 vols., (London, 1849), vol. 2., 64-64; Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 78-79; Ernoul, *Chronique*, 184.

(5) Emad Al-Kateb, *Al-Fateh Al-Qassy*, 95-96.

(6) Emad Al-Kateb, *Al-Fateh Al-Qassy*, 124-127; Ibn Al-Ahthir, *Al-Kamel*, vol. 11, 111; Abu Shama, *Al-Rawdatain*, vol 2, 96.



This resulted in waging the Third Crusade.⁽⁷⁾ Despite being the prominent and the best organized, this Crusade merely kept the Crusaders existence and saved the Crusaders from the dangers of Saladin who was at the peak of his victory. Because of this Crusade, Crusaders at the Levant controlled a narrow coastal strip from Tire to Jaffa.⁽⁸⁾ The real safety the Crusaders gained in the Levant was merely during the truce held between King of England, Richard the Lionheart, and Saladin in September 1192 AD/Shaaban 588 AH, known as The Treaty of Ramla.⁽⁹⁾

Saladin found himself in a unique situation that never occurred to any of all previous Muslim rulers. He won the holy lands with their holy places which are cherished by believers of the three divine religions. For Europeans this was a bit much. Saladin had to follow new policies appropriate for the current situation; as Muslims were viewed by Europeans and especially European rulers and the pope as a real enemy who occupied their holy lands. He was sure that it was necessary to follow a flexible policy to avoid their angry response.

Indeed, the Crusaders and the European powers, especially the pope, the kings and the leaders realized that they should think of the destiny of the visitors who desire to visit the holy places; and if these visits are still possible within the Muslim ruling of the holy lands? Bearing in mind what Muslims suffered in these places when they have been occupied by the Crusaders for eighty-eight years. The Crusaders still occupy many neighbouring territories. This means that the conflict and fighting between both parties would renew at any time. Undoubtedly, this would impact visiting the holy places, especially by Western Europeans. This would affect not only the Christians but the Jews as well. Hence the question how did Muslims treat the pilgrimage to the holy places after they had taken them over from the Crusaders?

Based on the information mentioned hereinbefore, the researcher has chosen the topic of the Muslim Administration's attitude towards Europeans visits to the holy places; in the period they returned to the Muslim ruling after Treaty of Ramla in 1192 AD./588 AH., until the end of the Crusaders existence in the Levant in 1291 AD./690 AH. It is worth mentioning that this topic has not been sufficiently covered in the historical studies and writings. For instance, the writings of Diana Webb and Pringle referred to the European pilgrimage to the holy places; and so did the Arab studies.⁽¹⁰⁾ They focused on the Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem in particular. Taking into consideration that these presented ideas about the attitude of the Muslim Administration towards the Europeans visits to the holy places are few; in addition to the fact that the historical library is void of any research which is intended inde-

(7) Ernoul, *Chronique*, 220-226; Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 92-93.

(8) Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 98.

(9) The truce lasted for three years and eight months. See, Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nwader Al-Sultaniah*, 222 ; Abu Shama, *Al-Rawdatain*, vol 2,203.

(10) Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700 - c. 1500*, (New York, 2002); Pringle, D., *The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine World Archaeology*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Archaeology and the Christian Church (Feb., 1987), 341-362; Maher Y. Abu-Munshar, *Sultan al-Kamil, Emperor Frederick II and the Submission of Jerusalem*, International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, Vol. 3, No. 5, September 2013, 442-447.



pendently and sufficiently for this topic, the researcher set his eyes on the necessity of clarifying this attitude; not only towards Jerusalem but also towards the other holy places which attract the European pilgrims such as Bethlehem, Nazareth and Hebron. The researcher also concentrated on the Jewish visitors in addition to the Christians; raising the question; have they been treated during their visits better than the time of the Crusaders? Finally, the researcher tries to answer the important question concerning the interpretation of the attitude of the Muslim Administration during different phases; is it pacification or policy?

Saladin specified the features of this issue since the beginning. Due to the close relation between Jerusalem and the other territories containing holy places, the decisions of the Treaty of Ramla, September 1192 AD./Shaaban 588AH, have been implemented to guarantee free movement of visitors to the Islamic-governed Jerusalem and Nazareth without paying any taxes or fees.⁽¹¹⁾ Historian, Abu Shama, tells us that few days after the signature of the treaty, Saladin received a letter from King Richard asking him not to allow any European visitor before making sure they have been granted a sign or letter from him.⁽¹²⁾

Contrary to the king's desire, Saladin allowed a great number of Western European Christians to visit Jerusalem and practice their pilgrimage rituals. This happened after Saladin said his famous saying reported by Historian, Ibn Shaddad, "If they come to visit their church, we should not dismiss them".⁽¹³⁾ Moreover, Saladin agreed to meet their leader, Bishop of Salisbury, Walter Herbert, and accepted his demand to appoint two deacons and two priests for the churches of the Holy Sepulcher, Bethlehem and Nazareth.⁽¹⁴⁾

Saladin continued to show tolerance and generosity to the Western visitors mentioned here-inbefore. He sent guards to escort them from and to the holy places.⁽¹⁵⁾ Christians hurried from everywhere in Europe after they felt safe and secure from the Muslim Administration, especially Saladin. Moreover, Saladin gave the same care to Jewish pilgrims when he allowed them to visit the holy places in unprecedented freedom which they did not witness in the time of the Crusaders.⁽¹⁶⁾

Thus, Saladin did not obey King Richard and treated the European Christians with the utmost generosity. He may have done so intentionally for two reasons: the first is his well-known spirit of generosity of such Muslim leader as well as reason. Saladin, for long a western hero⁽¹⁷⁾; and the second is his desire to mitigate the European hostility towards Muslims after they regained the holy lands right after the Battle of Hattin. Saladin, by doing so, made King Richard miss the opportunity, as he tried to hinder the Christian visits to the holy lands in order to arouse them against the Muslims.

(11) Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nwader Al-Sultaniah* , 223.

(12) Abu Shama, *Al-Rawdatain*, vol 2, 273.

(13) Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nwader Al-Sultaniah* , 226.

(14) Emad Al-Kateb, *Al-Fateh Al-Qassy*,610.

(15) Abu Shama, *Al-Rawdatain*, vol 2, 273.

(16) Ibn Wassel, *Mufarrej Al-Kurub Fi Akhbar Bani Ayub*, 5 vols., ed., Jamaluddin Al-Shayal, (Cairo 1960), vol. 2, 186-189.

(17) Christopher, T., *The Debate on the Crusades*,(Manchester, 2011),79.



Saladin set a great example in this respect, represented in his reaction towards the embassy sent to him by the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos(1185-1195AD/581-591AH),⁽¹⁸⁾ offering the Emperor's desire to form an alliance with him in return for the byzantine control over the religious matters of Christians in all the churches of Jerusalem, including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Saladin refused this offer because he did not want a specific sect to be superior in the holy lands.⁽¹⁹⁾ Presumably, Saladin wanted to preserve the right for him and for the Muslim rulers to resolve any dispute among the non-Muslim communities in the holy lands since they are under the Islamic administration.

It is also noticeable that Saladin insisted on appointing Prince Alam Aldin Caesar, as a governor of Hebron and some neighboring territories. This reflects his interest in providing special care for the city; taking into consideration that Hebron has not have a governor before.⁽²⁰⁾ Thus, European visits to the holy places increased; whether Jews or Christians, who were motivated by the Crusade movement. Excluding pilgrimage to Jerusalem which has been the main concern of any European, European visitors have been interested in visiting other holy places, such as Hebron which every European pilgrim has been looking forward to visiting.⁽²¹⁾ A European pilgrim only had to pay an entry fee for visiting the Tomb of the Patriarchs.⁽²²⁾ This shows that the Muslim Administration has been tolerant with the holy places and their European pilgrims.

As for the conditions of the Crusaders after the Third Crusade, which reportedly has achieved no victory, this important Crusade has only helped them to regain a little part of what they had lost as a result of the Treaty of Ramla after the Battle of Hattin. It failed to achieve its main objective and failed to regain Jerusalem. By contrast, it caused the following Crusades to change their focus from it to Egypt which later became their direct objective. Kingdom of Jerusalem has become a narrow coastal strip from Jaffa to Tire only 90 miles long and not more than 10 miles wide; it lost its dignity, and its borders shrank,⁽²³⁾ to the extent that it could be called the Crusader kingdom of Acre. However, the Crusaders insisted on assigning the old name to it. Their princes insisted in calling themselves kings as they used to at the time of the old kingdom.⁽²⁴⁾

It is worth mentioning that the new Crusade kingdom became closer to Western Europe after it became totally a Northern area and lost its Southern territories; and after its con-

(18) When the news reached Constantinople that the Normans have captured Thessaloniki and that they are on their way, they killed their Emperor Andronicus III. On September 1185, Isaac Angelos has been chosen to be the new Emperor forming a new dynasty. See, Nicetas Choniates, *Ocity of Byzantium: Annales of Nicetas Choniates*, English trans. H. Magoulias, (Detriot, 1984), 189.

(19) Ibn Shaddad, *Al-Nwader Al-Sultaniah* , 193.

(20) Al-Emad Al-Kateb, *Al-Fateh Al-Qassy*,611.

(21) Riley Smith, J., *The Crusades: A Short History*,(London 1987), p. 42; Ali Ahmed El-Sayed, *Hebron and the Sanctuary of Abraham During the Crusades (1099-1187AD/492-583AH)*, (Cairo 1998), 308.

(22) Ibn Al-Ahthir, *Al-Kamel*, vol. 12.,230.

(23) Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 199.

(24) Grousset, R., *Historie des Croisdes et du Royaume France de Jerusalem*, 3 toms, (Paris, 1984), t. 3, 124.



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control became exclusive to such narrow strip.⁽²⁵⁾ It became more dependent on the Italian merchant fleets which managed to render these coastal cities into important trading ports. They managed to link the ports of the kingdom to Western Europe.⁽²⁶⁾ A historian of this era believed that Crusaders at the Levant lost their independence and freedom to manage their affairs after they became dependent on Western Europe.⁽²⁷⁾ Thus, European visitors to the holy places became more dependent on the sea road.

As for the conditions of the Ayyubid State after the death of Saladin on the 3rd of March 1193 AD./the 27th of Safar 589 AH., wars and conflicts erupted for long time among his sons, especially between Al-Afdal and Al-Aziz. Some conspiracies took place in the North; targeting to return the rule of Zenki's dynasty led by Ezzudin Prince of Mosul. These risks remained to endanger the state for a long time; until King Al-Adel - Saladin's youngest brother - managed to control the state.⁽²⁸⁾

Concerning the Muslim Administration's attitude towards the Europeans visits to the holy places at the time of Saladin successors, we notice that after the Latins invaded Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade, the Crusaders at the Levant became more courageous. Rumors spread among them saying that Muslims were screaming out of fear. Moreover, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216AD/595-613AH)⁽²⁹⁾ celebrated what circulated about the massive grief and fear that inflicted King Al-Adel because of what happened. The pope believed that the Crusade would become more powerful and head to the Levant. Yet, as reported by Arnaoul, the historian; shortly, Constantinople attracted the Crusaders from the West and from the Levant itself who were seeking calm life far from the conflicts in the holy lands.⁽³⁰⁾ Undoubtedly, this Crusade was the most powerful after the first one. Yet it succeeded against Byzantium rather than against the Muslim world. It served some personal interests rather than supporting the Crusades at the Levant.

Consequently, Amalric II(1197-1205 AD/ 594-602 AH), the Crusader King, realized that sending a new Crusade to the Levant would be hopeless; especially that the summer has ended and the Crusaders were still in Constantinople. Thus, he offered to King Al-Adel to hold a truce, who welcomed this offer. A treaty was held between the Muslims and the Crusaders in September 1204 AD./Safar 601 AH. The important point of this treaty was that it obliged King Al-Adel to manage the affairs of the European pilgrims to the holy places. Historian, Ibn Al-Athir, reported that King Al-Adel gave the Crusaders the city of Nazareth, which had a special importance for the Christians and visitors of Jerusalem.⁽³¹⁾

(25) Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 10965-1274, (Oxford, 1985), 84.

(26) Bartlett, W.B., *God Wills it! An Illustrated History of The Crusades*, (London, 2000), 187.

(27) Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 200.

(28) Abu Shama, *Al-Rawdatain*, vol 2, 229-230; Ibn Wassel, *Mufarrej Al-Kurub*, vol. 3, 30-31.

(29) Reigned from the 8th of January 1198; the day on which pope Caelestinus III passed away. His birth name was Lotario dei Conti di Segni, he is from a noble Roman family. He studied theology in Paris, and jurisprudence in Bologna. He is the author of many important theological writings. See Ursula, S., *Die Aufrufe Derpapste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Beiszum Ausgang Innozennz IV*, (Berlin, 1937), 92-94; Hans, K., *Encyclopedia of the Papacy*, (London, 1959), 84-86.

(30) Ernoul, *Chronique*, 387.

(31) Western sources stated that this truce has lasted for six years; however, Arabic sources never mentioned this piece of information. Ibn Al-Athir just said "King Al-Adel and the Franks hold a truce." Ibn Wassel said that "the two kings signed a truce for a certain period." Al-Maqreezy stated that "a truce has been reached." See, Ibn



It seems that King Al-Adel quickly accepted the offer of holding a truce because of his desire to end the state of war with the Crusaders, after their success to hinder the Muslim trade activities on the Levant coasts.⁽³²⁾ Another reason can be added; that is king Al-Adel's attempt - based on this truce - to appear to be taking care of the European visitors by showing tolerance to the pilgrims. He mainly sought not to provoke the Western powers. His policies were centered on the diplomatic solutions or sometimes referring to the use of power without resorting to it in deed. It seemed that King Al-Adel thought that a military action from his part would result in waging a new Crusade as powerful as the Third Crusade on both the military and political levels.

Western Europe had great interest in the issue of the Christian visits to the holy lands in the Levant; The Crusades continued to be massively present to the minds of clergy in Western Europe.⁽³³⁾ when the Crusaders-Muslims conflict took an important place in the policies of Pope Innocent III. He believed that any Crusade, heading to the Levant to regain control over the holy places, had to be under the papal control. He was concerned with restoring the Crusaders kingdom of Jerusalem destroyed by Saladin. This was what the Third Crusade failed to achieve. He used the Crusade idea as his fatal weapon locally and abroad; facing the secular authority to achieve the utmost papal control. He frankly expressed his great dominion in a letter sent by him to Lords of Tuscany; stating that: "As the moon illuminates by the sunlight, the secular authority gains its power and dignity from the papal authority".⁽³⁴⁾

Due to the pope's belief that he is the leader of the whole world "Dominus Mundi", he did not allow anything to prevent him from achieving his objectives. Thus, he indulged in the political, diplomatic, feudal and matrimonial issues in Europe.⁽³⁵⁾ He had the opportunity, because when he took the Holy See, he has not been opposed by any secular rival after the sudden death of the German Emperor Henri VI,⁽³⁶⁾ and the civil war broke out in Germany. The conflict escalated between the French and the English kings. The pope regained his control over the south of Italy.⁽³⁷⁾ It has become clear that the pope combines the Crusades with the papal supremacy. Hence, Innocent III become able to focus on the troubles in the holy lands, especially the issue of the European visits to the holy places.

As soon as he took the Holy See, he sent several letters to Amalric the Monk: the Pa-

Al-Athir, *Al-Kamel*, vol. 12,122; Ibn Wassel, *Mufarrej Al-Kurub*, vol. 3,161; Al-Maqreezy, *Al-Solok li Marifa Dauwal al Muluk*, edited by Mostafa ,Z., 3 vols,(Cairo,1934-1942), vol.1,163; See also, Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 261- 263; Ernoul, *Chronique*, 360.

(32) Runciman ,S., *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., (Cambridge, 1968),vol.3, 103.

(33) Colin, M., *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West From the Beginning to 1600*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005),260.

(34) This letter is dated October 1198 AD/ZulQeada 594 AH. See Pope Innocent III, Letter of Innocent III to The Nobles of Tuscany (October 1198), in Ursula, S., *Die Aufrufe Derpapste*, 93.

(35) Raafat Abd Al-Hamid, *The Crusading Papal Thought: A Research in The History of The Crusades*, (Cairo 1998),48.

(36) Norman Cantor, *Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization*, trans., Qassem Abdou Qassem, 2 vols., (Cairo 1997), vol 2, 562.

(37) Innocent III, *pope, Regesta*, in p. L., vol. 214. Cols119- 123.



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triarch of Jerusalem(1190-1205AD/586-602AH), Gilbert Horal: the Grand Master of the Templars(1191-1204 AH/590-601AH), and Godfrey du Donjon: the Grand Master of the Hospitallers(1192-1204AD/588-601 AH); calling them to send detailed reports about the conditions in the Levant, including detailed data about the Muslim rulers and the nature of the relations among them and their response to the visitors to the holy places.⁽³⁸⁾ consequently, a report has been delivered to him from the Levant stating that the remains of the Crusaders territories which remained under their control throughout the 12th century AD./the 6th century AH., with little European aids were then in the beginning of the new century asking for financial support. The Crusaders' ports have become void of any strategic depth. The road of the Western visitors to the holy places has become unsafe. The date of this report was November 1199 AD./Muharam 596 AH.⁽³⁹⁾

It seems that these reports were being sent from time to time. A detailed one was sent by Albert Verceel: the Patriarch of Jerusalem(1205-1214AD/602-611AH), Garien De Moun-tiugo: the Grand Master of the Hospitallers(1207-1227AD/604-624 AH), and Guillaume de Puisse: the Grand Master of the Templars(1210-1219AD/607-616AH) in 1213 AD./609 AH., about the conditions of the Ayyubid State in Egypt and the Levant. It included important information about its political and economic conditions. Yet, it included some false information about King Al-Adel's relation with his sons during this period.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Moreover, it claimed that Saladin's successors, especially King Al-Adel "desired to return the holy lands to the pope".⁽⁴¹⁾ As soon as this report reached Pope Innocent III, he became more enthusiastic to confront King Al-Adel; motivated by misleading hopes. Despite King Al-Adel's tolerance with the Crusaders, he had no reason to lose the gains accomplished by his brother Saladin. He has never wasted any effort to defeat any attack by the Franks of the Levant on the Muslims. He had strong relations with his sons. His powerful personality maintained the unity of the Ayyubid State.

Consequently, the pope sent a letter to King Al-Adel calling him to return Jerusalem to the Crusaders; because its existence in the Muslims' possession would cost him severe sacrifices and dangers which he would fail to face and would fail in the administration of the holy places. This letter was dated on the 6th of May 1216 AD./the 13th of Zulhejjah 609 AH.⁽⁴²⁾ No response from King Al-Adel to this letter has been found in any historical source. If a response were found, it would not be believed to include an acceptance of the Pope's demand stated in his letter.

(38) Innocent III, *Pope, Regesta*, in P.L., vol.214; cols.737- 738 ; Rohricht, R., ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 2vols., (Innsbruck, 1892 - 1904), no.760., 202-203.

(39) Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*,(Graz-Austria, 1965), Libxxix, ch. Lix.

(40) King Al-Adel depended on his sons and relatives to run the state, he appointed them deputies everywhere. For instance, he appointed Al-Kamel Mohamed on Egypt, Al-Moatham Eisa on Damascus, Al-Ashraf Mousa on Hiran, Al-Awhad on Meyafarikin, and Al-Zaher Ghazi, Saladin's son on Aleppo. See Al-Maqreezy, *Al-Solok*, vol.1,189-190.

(41) Ryccardus de San Germano, *Chronican*, in Muratori, R.I.S., vol. VIII, cosl. 985-986.

(42) Ryccardus de San Germano, *Chronican*, vol. VIII, cols. 986-988 .

while Röhricht stated that the letter of Pope Innocent III to King Al-Adel was dated the 26th April 1213. See Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 864., 232.



Pope Innocent III's request raised an important question: Did the peaceful policy shown by King Al-Adel in his treaty of 1204 AD./601AH., lead to the Pope's belief that King Al-Adel was a ruler who tends to pacifism? In fact, despite King Al-Adel's tolerance and moderate policy with the crusaders, he had no reason to lose Jerusalem. Moreover, his powerful personality helped him to control the Ayyubid dynasty and to unify the State during his reign. Al-Maqreezi depicted him saying: "He uses tricks and plots to fulfill his purposes. His truce with the Franks was due to his strictness, extreme alertness, acute mind, and strong conspiracy".⁽⁴³⁾ Thus, he relied on the best use of politics in his dealing with all his affairs. This included his recognition of the religious and political importance of Jerusalem; and his recognition that its religious holy places have been the aim of the believers of all the divine religions.

It is well-known that a very important religious incident in the reign of the Crusader king Baldwin II⁽⁴⁴⁾ was the declaration of the discovery of the cave which included the real grave of some prophets. It included the corpses of prophets Abraham, Isaac and Jacob peace be upon them, and their spouses in the city of Hebron. This took place under the auspices of René Bishop of St. Abraham Church. The place was called the Cave of Macphelah. The cave was opened on the 7th of July 1119 AD./the 27th of Rabeea Alakhar 513AH.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In fact, this incident deserves more attention in order to know the attitude of the Crusaders towards what was known as visiting the graves of the prophets or the cave of Machpelah. While the Christians were allowed to visit the place freely and enjoy it, non-Christians, whether Jews or Muslims, were banned. The Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela⁽⁴⁶⁾ stated in his journey to the holy places that he had to pay an amount of money to the guards to be able to visit the cave of the prophets.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Another Jew, Fetahya of Ratisbon,⁽⁴⁸⁾ stated in his journey which has not been written down by him but by his friend and companion Yahuza⁽⁴⁹⁾ that he had to pay two golden coins to the Crusader guard in order to be able to visit the

(43) Al-Maqreezy, *Al-Solok*, vol.1,229.

(44) When Baldwin I passed away on 1118 AD/ 512 AH, he did not leave an heir. A council attended by Arnulf of Chocquas the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the nobles of the kingdom was summoned. After several long discussions it was decided that Baldwin count of Edessa would be crowned as the King of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, under the name of Baldwin II. See, William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds done beyond the Sea*, trans.by.Babcock and Key,(New york,1943),vol.1,520.

(45) Ali Ahmed El-Sayed, *Hebron and the Sanctuary of Abraham*,127.

(46) Benjamin of Tudela lived in the town of Tudela in what is now Spain. He is the son of Jonah. He went on a great journey from 1163 till 1179 in which he visited the whole old world, including the Levant and the holy places. See Mohamed Mones Awad, *European Travellers in the Middle Ages*, (Cairo 2004),39.

(47) Benjamin of Tudela, *The Travels of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans., Ezra Haddad, 1st ed., (Baghdad 1945),105.

(48) Fetahya was born in Ratisbon, in Eastern Europe in the first half of the twelfth century AD / the sixth century AH. His family was a religious one; his father Jacob, his brother Isaac, and his brother Nuchman were all Rabbis. Fetahya lived in Brague; then started his journey to Poland, Armenia, Kiev; then to Persia and the Levant, where he showed great interest of the holy places. After that, he headed to Greece. See Mohamed Mones Awad, *European Travellers*,53.

(49) Petaachia of Ratisbon, *Itinerary of Rabbi Petaachia of Ratisbon in1174-1187 A.D.*,in Jewish Travelers , 109-123.



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cave of the prophets.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Jew, Jacob ha Cohen who visited the place at the end of the Christian existence, exactly in 1187 AD./583 AH.,⁽⁵¹⁾ stated that he managed to visit the place after he had disguised in Frankish clothes to resemble the Christians, because non-Christians were banned from visiting the place.⁽⁵²⁾

During king Al-Adel reign, the Western European Jew visitor Samuel ben Samson who arrived at Hebron⁽⁵³⁾ clarified that he has visited the Sanctuary of Abraham and descended to the cave of the prophets accompanied by two Jews; Rabbi Tobiah and Rabbi Abraham ben Saadyia after the latter managed to take a signed permission from the Muslim Caliph delivered to them by a Muslim who accompanied them. Had not they taken this permission, the visit would be exclusive to the upper sites only without descending to the cave.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The noticeable development in the attitude of the Muslim Administration of the holy places since they regained them in the late 12th century AD./the 6th century AH., is concerned with the Jewish visitors. It is understood from Samuel ben Samson's story that after the Muslims regained the holy places, visiting the cave of the prophets became possible to Jews and Christians with a permission signed by the Muslim Caliph himself. This shows the Muslim Administration's tolerance with the European visitors, especially the Jews unlike what was the case at the time of the Crusaders and during the bitter conflict of the Crusades.

During King Al-Kamel reign, and his signature of Jaffa treaty with Emperor Fredrick II on the 18th of February 1229 AD./the 23rd of Rabea Awal 626 AH., we will not pay a great attention to the dispute concerning this treaty, resulting from King Al-Kamel's wasting what Saladin had regained in his bitter conflict against the Crusaders. In fact, this issue has been studied, criticized and analyzed in many modern studies.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Therefore, we will concentrate on the articles of the treaty related to our research, such as King Al-Kamel's waiver of Jerusalem for the Crusaders provided that it would not be fortified. Thus, he abandoned the holy places in the main cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. He was obliged to allow them to establish a road from these cities to the Crusaders' port of Jaffa, in order to guarantee safety for the holy places visitors and pilgrims, while Muslims kept control over Al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock to be governed by a group of Muslims.⁽⁵⁶⁾

(50) Petaachia of Ratisbon, *Itinerary*, 89-90.

(51) Jacob Ben R.Nathaniel Ha Cohen, *Itinerary of Rabbi Jacob Ben R.Nathaniel Ha Cohen Twelfth Century*, in *Jewish Travelers*, 92-100.

(52) Jacob Ben R.Nathaniel Ha Cohen, *Itinerary*, p.93.

(53) The journey of Samuel ben Samson was mentioned in the *Jewish Travels* in about nine pages. It was recorded by his friend Jonathan ha Cohen. See Samuel Ben Samson, *Itinerary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson in 1210 A.D.*, in *Jewish Travelers*, ed. by Adler, E.N., (London 1930), 101-109.

(54) Samuel ben Samson said that he descended twenty-four steps on a small ladder that he could not even turn over, and then he saw three tombs where he prayed in abidance, then he climbed up, and completed his visit around Hebron. After that he headed towards Jerusalem. See Samuel Ben Samson, *Itinerary*, 105.

(55) Richards, D.S., *The Crusade of Fredrick II and the Hamah Succession, Extracts from the Chronicle of Lbi Al-Damn*, in *Bullet in d;Etudes Orientales*, t. xiv, 1993, 183-200; See Raafat Abd Al-Hamid, *King Al-Kamel versus the Crusaders: between Excessiveness and Squander*, A research in the Crusades History, (Cairo, 1998), 123-201 ; Hassan Abd El-Wahab, *Jerusalem Truce: according to the historian Al-Qady Ibn Abi Al-Dam Al-Hamawy 1229AD/626AH*, A Comparative Study, in *The Conference of Jerusalem History Sources*, (Cairo : March 1998).

(56) For more details about the Treaty of Jaffa, see Ibn Wassel, Mufarrej Al-Kurub, vol. 3, 231-233; Ibn Al-



Although what King Al-Kamel did was regarded by some historians as pacifism undoubtedly, taking into consideration that he did not cover his negotiations with the Emperor with political appearance like his predecessors of the Ayyubid State had done. Nevertheless, it could be viewed as the essence of tolerance of a ruler who was ahead of his time; especially that religious fanaticism was predominant at his time. However, he rendered Jerusalem into a city ruled by Muslims and Christians together. It became a highly cosmopolitan city, accessible to visitors of all religions freely and safely.

Concerning the European visits to the holy places, they greatly reduced. The results King Al-Kamel sought to achieve through his treaty have not been fulfilled for many reasons; mainly because of the opposition of the Crusaders at the Levant to the results of the treaty. They were led by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerald of Lausanne (1225-1239 AD/622-636 AH), whose opposition was related to the situation of the Pope and his conflict against Emperor Fredrick whose Crusade was a part of this conflict.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Only two days after signing the Treaty of Jaffa, exactly on the 20th of February 1229 AD./the 25th of Rabeea Al-Awal 626 AH., the patriarch sent a letter to all the Western Christians about the behavior of the Emperor in Jerusalem and how he abused the Crusaders in the Levant, especially the princes. He also abused the different orders, especially the Hospitallers. He even insulted the clergies in the holy lands.⁽⁵⁸⁾ On the 7th of March 1229 AD./the 9th of Rabeea Alakher 626 AH., he sent a detailed letter to Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241 AD/624-639 AH) about what Emperor Fredrick did in the Levant. He described the treaty as a treason committed by the Emperor with The Egyptian king. He mentioned the weak points of the treaty. He described the emperor as a bold and a fool as he allowed himself to be deceived by the Muslims. He also mentioned that the Crusader Counties have not benefited from the Crusade which came from Western Europe.⁽⁵⁹⁾ These letters seriously influenced Western Europe. The pope made use of them and started abusing the Emperor. He described his acts as shameful. The pope called him “follower of the Muslims”, after he was called “the Church’s loved son”.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Adding the fact that Muslims did not like the treaty either,⁽⁶¹⁾ we

Adim, *Zebdat Al-Halab men Tareekh Halab*, 3 vols, ed., Samy Addahan, (Damascus 1951), vol 3,205; Ibn Nazeef Al-Hamawy, *Talkhees Al-Kashf w Al-Bayan fe Hawadeth Al-Zaman*, (Al-Tareekh Al-Mansoury), ed., Abu Al-Abd Dawod, (Damascus 1981),176; Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Solok*,vol.1,230-232. ; See Eracles, *L’Estoire*, 374; Ernoul, *Chronique*, 465.

(57) Paul Wiegler, *The Infidal Emperor and his Strauggles against the Pope*, trans. By B. Downs, (London, 1930),141.

(58) About this the Patriarch says that “it was widely knows how mean the behaviour of the Emperor was in the Eastern Lands right from the very beginning, till the extent of talking to clergymen in a mocking tone.” See Hassan Abd El-Wahab, *Jerusalem Truce*,140.

(59) Gerald ends his letter to pope Gregory IX saying that: “after the Emperor has figured out that his mean attitude was of no use; achieving no success, he wanted to leave the Levant after doing much harm to the holy lands.” See Letter of Gerald Patriareh of Jerusalem to Pope Gregory IX, Acre (7 Mar. 1229), in Huillard-Bréhollcs, (ed.), *HistoriaDiplomatica Friderica Secundi*, 7vols., (Paris, 1851-1862)vol. 3, 86-90.

(60) The pope described the Treaty of Jaffa as being in accordance with the religion of the Muslims not the Christian creed. See Roger of Wendoverd, *Flowers of History*, trans. By J.A. Giles, 2vols., (London, 1849), vol. 2. 528; cf. also: Grousset, R., *Historie des Croisdes*, t. 3, 322.

(61) This Treaty evoked rage in the whole Muslim world; the historian Sebt Ibn Al-Jawzy says: “when Muslims heard the news of handing Jerusalem over to the Crusaders, it was like the dooms day in all Muslim countries, till the extent of holding mourning ceremonies expressing condolences”, Al-Maqreezi also says:



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would realise that it was seriously difficult for the holy places to remain accessible to believers of all the divine religions.

Undoubtedly, the roads and territories from Jaffa and Acre to the holy places which, in accordance with the treaty between King Al-Kamel and Emperor Fredrick, governed by the Crusaders, became isolated lands surrounded by a vast Muslim land. This meant that the freedom of the visitors to the holy places was subject to the continuation of the amicable relations between the Muslims and the Crusaders; which could not be guaranteed given the occurring conflict between them at the time of the Crusades.

Nevertheless, the Crusaders' control over the religious places of Jerusalem pursuant to Jaffa treaty did not last for long. Al-Naser Dawod managed in a short time to enter the city. The few Crusaders failed to defeat him. Thus, the city with all its facilities and holy places returned to the Muslim rule after about ten years, in 1239 AD./637 AH., exactly.⁽⁶²⁾

In another period, exactly in 1253 AD./651 AH., another situation is important to be mentioned. French King, Louis IX during his stay in the Levant was invited by King of Damascus, Al-Naser Yussif, to visit Jerusalem and perform pilgrimage there under the latter's protection and care. Yet the French king refused the invitation. Joinville has attributed King Louis refusal to visit Jerusalem as a Pilgrim to his fear that another Western king would follow his footsteps and come for pilgrimage only without thinking of reoccupying the holy city.⁽⁶³⁾ However, the invitation sent by the Ayyubid ruler Al-Nasser Yussif to the French King was out of the spirit of tolerance or pacification. On the contrary, it was an attempt to win his support in the running conflict between him and The Egyptian Mamluk king Ezz Al-Din Aybak. Thus, this offer was based on a political aim.

At the time of the Mamluk king Baibars(1260-1277AD/659-677AH),⁽⁶⁴⁾ he achieved several military victories over the Crusaders in the Levant. This certainly affected his situation towards the Western pilgrims to the holy places. In 1267 AD./666 AH., he sent his deputy Ez Al-Din Al-Heli to the city of Hebron to inspect the holy places; after he was informed that the Jewish and Christians visitors have been requested to pay a fee for visiting the holy places and descending to the cave of the patriarchs. He refused and sent a decree with his deputy banning visitors from entering this holy place.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Borchard the Traveller who lived in the Holy Land for about ten years told us that he was able to visit all the holy places

“Muslims all over the countries were crying and weeping, and they denounced such act from Al-Kamel. Rumors and false talk about him spread around the countries.” See Sebt Ibn Al-Jawzy, *Mreaat Azzaman fe Tareekh Al-Aayan*, vol. 8, (Hyderabad 1951), part 2,654; Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Solok*,vol.1, 230.

(62) Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Solok*,vol.1, 291.

(63) Joinville, *St. Louis*,trans. Hassan Habashy,(Cairo,1968),243.

(64) After Saif ad-Din Qutuz won the Battle of Ain Jalut, Baibars al-Bunduqdari killed him and became the chief commander of the Army. He entered Egypt with this army and the nobles crowned him the Sultan of Egypt; al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Din Baibars al-Bunduqdari, on October 1260 AD./ ZulQeaada 658 AH. See Ibn Abd Al-Zaher, *Al-Rawd Al-Zaher fe Serat Al-Malek Al-Zaher*, ed., Abd Al-Aziz Al-Khweiter, (Riyadh 1976),76-78; Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Solok*,vol.1,432.

(65) Baibars Al-Mansoury, *Al-Tohfa Al-Mamlukia fe Al-Dawla Al-Turkiya*, ed., Abd Al-Hamid Saleh, (Beirut 1987)67; Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Selook*, vol. 1, 544.



in Hebron freely in 1283 AD./682 AH.⁽⁶⁶⁾ This shows that Baibars decision has not been implemented strictly after his death.

When King Baibars held a truce with the Crusaders in 1272 AD./670 AH., he vowed to guarantee for the Christian pilgrims the free use of the road to Nazareth without any hindrances from the Muslims.⁽⁶⁷⁾ This indicates that Baibars military victories over the Crusaders has given him absolute control over the entire territory; hence, controlling the European visits to the holy places.

It is worth mentioning that a Mamluk decree for Mount Zion Monastery dated by the end of October 1464 AD./the 28th of Safar 869 AH., was found. It included several privileges to its monks at the era of the Mamluk King Khushqadam(1461-1467AD/860-872AH). He stated that his decree was a mere renewal of these privileges granted in previous decrees. These privileges started since the time of King Baibars. They included the king's agreement to allow the monks to serve the Western European Christian pilgrims to the holy places.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Thus, it is clear that the articles of this Mamluk decree were effective during this age. It was mentioned in the decree of King Al-Zaher Baibars and continued to be renewed by his successors.

As for the Jewish visitors to the holy places at the time of King Baibars, Rabbi Moses ben Nahman known as Nachmanides, came from Spain. He noticed that the Jewish sites were neglected, because they were rarely visited, in addition to the low number of Jewish settlers, especially in Jerusalem. He managed to get permission from King Baibars allowing him to stay in Jerusalem and to revive the Jewish practices. He was also allowed to build a synagogue called after his name. This increased the Jewish visits to the city.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Another aspect - which is considered to be a very important reflection of visiting the holy places - is the Hospice in Hebron which, for long time, Muslims have been taking care of, and continued after Saladin regained control over the holy places. Food remained to be presented to visitors of Hebron.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Historian Abu Al-Yaman Al-Olaimi reported that the European visitors continued with the Muslim visitors. Muslims' generosity remained towards both Jews and Christians. When King Baibars noticed the importance of providing comfort for the visitors of the holy places, he appointed Prince Aladin Aideghdi Al-Aama in a new rank called master of the two holy sanctuaries "Jerusalem and Hebron". The prince founded a well-set building including some rooms close to the gait of the Sanctuary of Abraham

(66) Burchard was a German Dominican who lived in the Holy Land for about ten years from 1275 to 1285. See Burchard of Mount Sion, *A Description of the Holy Land*, tr. by Aubrey Stewart, in: P.P.T.S., vol. XII, (London, 1896), 35; cf. also: Colin, M., *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West*, 275.

(67) Ibn Abd Al-Zaher, *Al-Rawd Al-Zaher*, 398; Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Solok*, vol. 1, 601.

(68) See the full text of the document in : Risani, N, Documenti E Firmani, Gerusalemme, 1931. Doc XXV, 290 – 317.

(69) For more details about Nachmanides, and his works; See Joseph E. David, *Dwelling Within the Law: Nachmanides Legal Theology*, Oxford Journal of Law and Religion, (2013), 1–21.

(70) For more details about the Hospice of Hebron, See Ali Ahmed El-Sayed, "Tamim Al-Dari's Waqf in Hebron: Its Role in Flourishing the Sanctuary of Abraham and Accommodating the Locals and the Foreigners", in: Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Issue no. 54, (Alexandria University Press, 2005).



in order to maintain the role of the hospitality houses there.⁽⁷¹⁾ It was certain that the hospice of Hebron reached its peak of activity and generosity with the visitors since the time of King Baibars until the end of the Mamluk dynasty. This was witnessed by a European visitor to the holy places. He stayed there and was entertained.⁽⁷²⁾ When King Baibars knew the increasing role of this hospice to the extent that its facilities became unable to help play such role, he restored it. He introduced the new rank of Master of the two holy sanctuaries. This step could only be interpreted to reflect his sincere interest in the affairs of the visitors of the holy places.

If we are to evaluate Baibars attitude towards the European pilgrimage to the holy places, we could say that he managed to show generosity and tolerance with the Christians. He facilitated and secured pilgrimage without wasting any of the military victories achieved at his time or at the time of his Muslim predecessors. Accordingly, he managed to reduce the European spirit of hatred, hence mitigate the calls for sending a Crusade to the Levant to retaliate his military successes. Besides, he showed generosity to the Jews by presenting facilities for Nahmanides; which undoubtedly increased the Jewish visits to the holy places. Baibars treated the European pilgrims to the holy places with political keenness.

Concerning the action of the Muslim Administration towards the European visits at the time of Al-Mansour(1279-1289AD/678-689AH), the articles of his treaty with the Crusaders on the first of August 1283 AD./the fifth of Rabea Al-Awal 682 AH., which can be found in many Arab sources entail that Al-Hagag gives facilities to the Europeans to help them perform pilgrimage and visits, especially at the city of Nazareth. These articles include making an oath to provide safety for them and to specify four houses near to Nazareth Church for their accommodation.⁽⁷³⁾

Historian, Ibn Abd Al-Zaher told us that when Al-Mansour signed a treaty with King of Aragon, Alfonso III and his brother Khaimi king of Sicily, he insisted that it includes allowing Christian pilgrims from Aragon and Sicily and their allies to visit the holy places, provided that each visitor should have a letter from King of Aragon signed by him to the governor of Jerusalem who escorts them till they return home. The treaty was signed on Tuesday, the 23rd of April, the 13th of Rabea Al-Akhar.⁽⁷⁴⁾

These pages clarify that traveling to visit the holy places in the Levant has never been interrupted since they returned to the Muslim governance. This was clear after Al-Ramla treaty till the end of the Crusaders' existence in the Levant. It has been noticed that the attitude of the Muslim Administration towards the European visits to the holy places has been

(71) Abou Al-Yaman Al-Olaimi, *Al-Anas Al-Galil fe Al-Quda w Al-Khalil*, 2 vols., (Beirut 1973), vol. 2,605-606; about Aladin Aidighdi Al-Aama, See: Ibrahim Margouna, *The Civilized Role of Aladin Aidighdi Al-Aama in Jerusalem and Hebron*, Arab Historian Magazine, Issue 18, (Cairo 2010), 233-264.

(72) Anselme Adorno, *Iteneraire d, Anselme Adorno in Terre-Sainte 1470-1271 A.D.*, trans.Heers J.et Groer J.,(Paris, 1978),.251.

(73) Ibn Abd Al-Zaher, *Tashreef Al Ayyam w Al-Osor fe Serat Al-Malek Al-Mansour*, ed., Morad Kamel, (Cairo 1981),35-38; Ibn Al-Forat, *Tareekh Al-Dowal w Al-Molok*, ed., Constantine Zuraik, (Beirut 1942), 263-264; Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Solok*, vol 1.985-990.

(74) Ibn Abd Al-Zaher, *Tashreef Al Ayyam*,156-161.



clearly affected by the treaties signed between the parties of the conflict between 1192AD and 1291AD/ 588-690AH.; especially within the Muslims' continuing success in regaining their properties in the region, in addition to the treaties signed by Al-Mansour.

At the end, it must be mentioned that the Muslim Administration represented by the Muslim rulers realized the importance of respecting the other divine religions and the rights of the Jews and Christians to practice their religion freely and safely. Whereas Islam is a tolerant peaceful religion, all the Muslim rulers succeeded at the situations mentioned above, except King Al-Kamel, in following a tolerant policy conforming to the tolerant nature of Islam, without wasting any victories achieved in their venture to recover the lands taken by the Crusaders. This indicates that the Muslim Administration in the holy places have not been influenced by the occurring conflict in the region. They behaved with tolerance and without extremism. This results from their belief in the right for believers of any divine religion to perform their practices freely with no interference. The Muslim rulers realized that the priority of the governance which aims at stability is the belief in the right of the others to practice their beliefs with no abuse.

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موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوروبيين إلى الأماكن المقدسة (1192-1277م / 588-676هـ) ، مسألة أم سياسة؟

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كلية الآداب - جامعة كفر الشيخ

ملخص البحث

عندما نجح السلطان صلاح الدين الأيوبي في الانتصار على الصليبيين في معركة حطين عام 1187م/583هـ، واستعاد بيت المقدس وجميع الأماكن ذات المكانة الدينية لتعود إلى السيادة الإسلامية بعد غياب ما يقرب من تسعين عاماً. وفي ظل أجواء الحرب والقتال وروح العداوة المسيطرة على الجميع سواء في الغرب أو في الشرق كان التساؤل حول رد فعل المسلمين من زيارات الأوروبيين للأماكن المقدسة عقب عودتها للسيادة الإسلامية ومدى تأثير ذلك بما يحيط بالجميع من ظروف سياسية وعسكرية في المنطقة؟ ومن هذا المنطلق جاء اختيار الباحث لموضوع موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوروبيين إلى الأماكن المقدسة "1187-1291م" مسألة أم سياسة؟ ليكون محورا للإجابة على التساؤل السابق؛ حيث تركز الدراسة ليس فقط على معرفة تفاصيل كيفية إدارة السلطات الإسلامية لتلك الزيارات سواء للزوار المسيحيين أو اليهود ، بل الرصد التحليلي لرد فعل قوى الغرب الأوروبي. وذلك عن طريق ما تتبعته المصادر سواء العربية منها أو الأوربية من أجل الوصول لحقيقة تصرفات السلطات الإسلامية. وهل كان ذلك يستند على تسامح قد وصل إلى بداية بناء سلام بين الشرق والغرب يحل محل الحروب والصراعات بين الطرفين؟ أم أنها كانت مجرد محاولات تعدد نوع من المناورات السياسية التي اتبعتها الحكام والقادة في تلك الفترة العنصرية من تاريخ البشرية.

اجتمع أصحاب الديانات السماوية الثلاثة منذ القدم على الرغبة في زيارة الأماكن المقدسة في فلسطين لما احتوت عليه تلك الأماكن من مزارات دينية حرص المسلمين والمسيحيين واليهود على التوجه إليها والتبرك بها وإقامة طقوسهم الدينية هناك. فكانت زيارة تلك الأماكن صورة من صور التسامح والرغبة في قبول الآخر وتجسيد حضاري لما يجب أن تكون عليه الروابط بين معتنقي الأديان الثلاثة. ولكن شهد العالم في فترة العصور الوسطى ، وبالتحديد أواخر القرن الحادي عشر الميلادي ، حدثاً أثر تأثيراً خطيراً على تلك الروابط والتآلف السابق ذكره بعد أن اندلعت ما يُعرف بالحروب الصليبية ، ونتج عنها صراع طويل على مدى قرنين من الزمان ، بين غرب العالم وشرقه ؛ اتخذت فيه القوى المتواجدة في الغرب الأوروبي من تلك الزيارات - والتي اعتاد عليها رعاياها منذ مئات السنين في ظل الإدارة الإسلامية للمنطقة - ذريعة لشن تلك الحرب وما أحدثته من قتل ودمار أبتليت به الإنسانية في ذلك الوقت .

وبنجاح الحملة الصليبية الأولى - التي جاءت من الغرب الأوروبي - في تحقيق أهدافها أواخر القرن الحادي عشر الميلادي/الخامس الهجري ، في إقامة أربع ركائز صليبية في الشرق الأدنى الإسلامي خلال عقد واحد من الزمان ، وبالتالي السيطرة على الأماكن المقدسة ، وذلك بعد إدارة إسلامية استمرت لأكثر من أربعة قرون ، خضعت الأماكن المقدسة لسيطرة الصليبيين ؛ حيث تعرضت خلالها حركة الزيارات الدينية للتدهور بعد أن فشلت إدارتهم في إعطاء حرية الزيارة لمعتنقي الديانات المختلفة ، وجرموا على اليهود دخول الأماكن المقدسة وخاصة - مدينة بيت المقدس - وبالطبع عانى المسلمون من نفس الأمر طوال سيطرة الصليبيين على



تلك الأماكن. (1)

وفي حقيقة الأمر، فإنَّ النجاح الذي حققه صليبيوا الحملة الأولى لم يكن بفضل شجاعة، أو فنون حرب و قتال تميزوا بها عن المسلمين، ولكن لضعف المقاومة الإسلامية التي واجهتهم، وتشتت كلمة مسلمي الشرق الأدنى. لكن ذلك الأمر تغير بعد أن استطاع صلاح الدين الأيوبي توحيد الجبهة الإسلامية، وأطاح بما توصل إليه الصليبيون من "نمط الحياة Modus Vivendi" في بلاد الشام عقب انتصار المسلمون انتصاراً حاسماً في موقعة حطين في يوم السبت الموافق 4 يوليو 1187م / 25 ربيع الأول 583هـ. (2) واستغل صلاح الدين ما أحرزه من نصر أياً استغلالاً، مُثبِتاً كفاءته الحربية الفريدة؛ فبدلاً من أن يتجه مباشرة إلى مدينة بيت المقدس، إذ به يتجه إلى عكا ويُقرّر الاستيلاء أولاً على المدن الصليبية الساحلية. (3) واستطاع بالفعل - في إيقاع سريع مبهر - الاستيلاء على عكا ويافا وصيدا وبيروت وجبيل وغيرها من مدن الساحل الشامي. (4) وتهاوت أمامه معظم القلاع الصليبية التي طالما أغار فرسانها على المسلمين مثل قلاع طبرية وصفد وهونين وغيرها. (5) وأثبت صلاح الدين بُعد نظره بسعيه لحرمان الصليبيين من قواعدهم الحربية المتصلة بالغرب الأوروبي كي يصيروا محصورين داخل بلاد الشام.

ما لبث أن نجح صلاح الدين في استرداد المدن ذات المكانة الدينية مثل الناصرة وبيت لحم والخليل، ثم توجَّه جهوده بفتح بيت المقدس بعد ثمان وثمانين عاماً من الاحتلال الصليبي لها. وأظهر المسلمون ما يدل على التسامح والعفو عند دخولهم المدينة في 2 أكتوبر 1187م / 27 رجب 583هـ. (6) وحينها هرع رُسل الصليبيين إلى الغرب الأوروبي مُستغيثين ومُستنجدين، يشكون للبابا والحكام أحوالهم السيئة، وأبرزها فقدانهم الأماكن المقدسة؛ لئيسفر ذلك في النهاية عن مجيء ما يُعرف بالحملة الصليبية الثالثة. (7) وعلى الرغم

(1) Goiten, S. D., (Summarized and trans.) *Geniza Sources for the crusader period Asurvey, in outrener. Studies in the History Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Kedar, Z. B. Mayer, H. E., and Smail, R. C., (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 308-309; Henry, S., *Pilgrimages and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095*, in Setton, K., (ed.), *A History of the Cusades*, vol. 4, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 38.

(2) لمزيد من التفاصيل عن معركة حطين، انظر:

ابن شداد: النوادر السلطانية والحاسن اليوسفية، تحقيق: جمال الدين الشيال، القاهرة 1964م، ص 128-130؛ ابن الأثير: الكامل في التاريخ، 12 جزء، بيروت 1982، ج 11، ص 532-534؛ أبو شامة: الروضتين في أخبار الدولتين النورية والصلاحية، جزآن في مجلد واحد، القاهرة 1956-1962م، ج 2، ص 77-85. راجع أيضاً:

Ernoul, *Chronique de Ernoul et de Bernard Le Tresorier*, ed. L. de Mas - Latrie, (Paris, 1871), pp. 170-172; Eracles, *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conquete de la Terre d'Outre- mer*, R. H. C. - H. Occ, T. II, (Paris, 1859), pp. 68-71.

(3) Ernoul, *Chronique*, p. 175.

(4) عن موجة سقوط المدن الساحلية الصليبية في قبضة صلاح الدين في أعقاب حطين، انظر: العماد الكاتب: الفتح القسي في الفتح القديسي، تحقيق محمد محمود صبح، سلسلة الذخائر، القاهرة 2003م، ص 88-94. راجع أيضاً: Roger of wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. By J. A. Giles, 2 vols., (London, 1849), vol. 2, pp. 64-64; Eracles, *L'Estoire*, pp. 78-79; Ernoul, *Chronique*, p. 184.

(5) العماد الكاتب: الفتح القسي، ص 95.

(6) العماد الكاتب: الفتح القسي، ص 124-127؛ ابن الأثير: الكامل، ج 11، ص 111؛ أبو شامة: الروضتين، ج 2، ص 96.

(7) Ernoul, *Chronique*, 220-226; Eracles, *L'Estoire*, pp. 92-93.



من أن تلك الحملة كانت أكبر الحملات الصليبية وأكثرها تنظيماً ، فإن كل ما حَقَّقته أنها حافظت على الكيان الصليبي ، وأنقذته من خطر صلاح الدين وهو في أوج انتصاره ، وبفضلها ظل في أيدي فرنج الشام شريط ساحلي ضيق يمتد من صور إلى يافا، (8) وكل ما غنمه الصليبيون في الشام من أمان هوما وفرته لهم الهدنة التي عقدها ريتشارد قلب الأسد ملك إنجلترا مع صلاح الدين وعُرفت بصلح الرملة في سبتمبر 1192م/ شعبان 588هـ. (9)

من ثمَّ وجد صلاح الدين نفسه في موقف لم يحدث لغيره من حكام المسلمين السابقين ؛ إذ ظفر بالأراضي المقدسة وما بها من أماكن تستحوذ على اهتمام أصحاب الديانات السماوية الثلاثة ، وهذا كان يعنى الكثير بالنسبة للأوروبيين ، وكان لابد من إتباع سياسة تتواءم وتتناسب مع الأحوال الجديدة ، والتي بدا فيها الجانب الإسلامي عدواً حقيقياً غاصبا لمقدساتهم في نظر الغرب الأوروبي وعلى رأسه البابوية والحكام . فتأكد صلاح الدين أن هذا الأمر يتطلب ضرورة اتباع سياسة مرنة يمتص بها أكبر قدر ممكن من رد الفعل الغاضب عند الأوروبيين .

وبالطبع أدرك الصليبيون ومعهم قوى الغرب الأوروبي - وعلى رأسها البابا والملوك والقادة - أن عليهم أن يفكروا في مصير هؤلاء الزوار الراغبين في التوجه إلى الشرق لزيارة الأماكن المقدسة . وهل يستطيعون القيام بذلك في ظل عودة تلك الأماكن للإدارة الإسلامية مرة أخرى ؟ ذلك مع الأخذ في الحسبان ما عناه المسلمون في تلك الأماكن وقت التواجد الصليبي فيه والذي استمر ما يقرب من ثمان وثمانين عاماً ، وفي ظل استمرار احتلال الصليبيين لعدة مناطق إسلامية مجاورة ؛ مما يعنى تجدد الصراع والقتال مرة أخرى بين الطرفين في أي وقت . وبلا شك سوف يُلقى ذلك بظلاله على زوار الأماكن المقدسة ، خاصة هؤلاء القادمين من الغرب الأوروبي . وهذا الأمر ينطبق ليس على المسيحيين فحسب ، بل وعلى اليهود أيضاً ، لاسيما وقد عُرف عن أوروبا في تلك الفترة أنها قلب الحركة الصليبية والداعم الرئيس للصليبيين في بلاد الشام . وهناك تساؤل تبادر إلى ذهن الجميع ؛ ماذا عن الأسلوب الذي انتهجه الحكام المسلمين تجاة حركة الحج إلى الأماكن المقدسة عقب استردادها من أيدي الصليبيين ؟

انطلاقاً مما سبق ، وقع اختيار الباحث على موضوع موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوروبيين إلى الأماكن المقدسة ، وذلك في الفترة التي عادت فيها الأماكن المقدسة للإدارة الإسلامية مرة أخرى ، والتي بدأت عقب توقيع صلح الرملة عام 1192م/ 588هـ حتى نهاية الوجود الصليبي في بلاد الشام وتحديدًا في عام 1291م/ 690هـ . والجدير بالذكر ، أن هذا الموضوع لم يلق الاهتمام الكافي من الكتابات والدراسات التاريخية ؛ فمثلاً ما كتبه كل من ديانا ويب Diana Webb وبرينجل Pringle اقتصر فيه على الإشارة إلى حركة الحج الأوروبية إلى الأماكن المقدسة ، وكذلك الحال فيما كتبت في الدراسات العربية. (10) وانصبَّ

(8) Eracles, *L'Estoire*, p. 98

(9) كانت فترة الهدنة ثلاث سنوات وثمانية أشهر ، انظر :

ابن شداد: النوادر ، ص 222؛ أبو شامة: الروضتين ، ج 2، ص 203.

(10) Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700 - c.1500* , New york, 2002; Pringle, D. , *The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine* World Archaeology, Vol. 18, No. 3, Archaeology and the Christian Church (Feb. , 1987), pp. 341-362; Maher Y. Abu-Munshar, *Sultan al-Kamil, Emperor Frederick II and the Submission of Jerusalem*, International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, Vol. 3, No. 5, September 2013, pp. 442-447.

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الاهتمام على حج المسيحيين إلى مدينة بيت المقدس على وجه التحديد. ونظراً لأنّ ماسبق يُعدُّ أفكاراً قليلة عن موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوروبيين إلى الأماكن المقدسة المليئ بالآفكار ، و بالإضافة إلى خلو المكتبة التاريخية من بحث قائم بذاته يتناول هذا الموضوع بشكل كاف ، من ثم وضع الباحث نصب عينيه ضرورة توضيح هذا الموقف ؛ ليس بالنسبة لبيت المقدس فحسب ، بل وبأقي الأماكن المقدسة التي كانت تستحوذ على اهتمام الزائر الأوروبي ؛ مثل تلك الموجودة في بيت لحم والناصره والخليل . كذلك عدم التركيز على هؤلاء الزوار الأوروبيين المسيحيين فحسب ، بل واليهود أيضاً . وهل وجد اليهود معاملة أفضل أثناء زيارتهم لتلك الأماكن اختلفت عما لاقوه زمن الإدارة الصليبية؟ وأخيراً ، محاولة الإجابة على ذلك التساؤل الهام حول تفسير موقف الإدارة الإسلامية في مراحلها الزمنية المختلفة ؛ هل هو مسالة أم سياسة؟

وفي الحقيقة ، حدّد صلاح الدين الأيوبي ملامح ذلك الأمر منذ البداية ، فنظراً لارتباط الظروف بشكل وثيق بين مدينة بيت المقدس ، وجميع المناطق التي يوجد بها مزارات دينية ، تم تطبيق ما قرّره صلح الرملة في سبتمبر 1192م/ شعبان 588هـ بشأن ضمان حرية انتقال الزوار إلى كل من بيت المقدس والناصره الخاضعتين للإدارة الإسلامية ، وألا يُفرض على الزوار أي ضريبة أو رسم مقابل ذلك. (11) ويُحدثنا المؤرخ أبو شامة أنه حدث بعد أيام قليلة من توقيع الصلح أن تلقى صلاح الدين رسالة من الملك الإنجليزي ريتشارد Richard (1189-1199م/585-595هـ) يُطالبه بعدم السماح لأي زوار أوروبيين بالزيارة إلا بعد التأكد من حصولهم على علامة من جانبه أو كتاب منه. (12)

وعلى عكس رغبة الملك الإنجليزي ، وجدنا صلاح الدين يسمح لعدد كبير من الحجاج المسيحيين الغربيين الأوربيين بزيارة مدينة بيت المقدس وتأدية طقوس الحج هناك . وهذا ما حدث بعدما صرّح صلاح الدين بمقولته الشهيرة التي أوردها المؤرخ ابن شدّاد ”إذا جاؤا لزيارة كنيستهم ما يليق بنا ردّهم“ (13) بل إن صلاح الدين وافق على مقابلة قائدهم ويدعى والتر هيربرت أسقف سالسبوري Bishop of Salisbury واستجاب لمطالبه بتخصيص اثنين من القساوسة ومثلهم من الشماسة ، على أن يكونا من اللاتين ، وذلك في الخدمة الدينية في كنيسة القيامة وبيت لحم والناصره. (14)

على أي حال فإنّ صلاح الدين واصل إظهار كرمه وتسامحه مع الزوار الأوروبيين السابق ذكرهم ، فأرسل معهم حراس مرافقتهم في ذهابهم إلى الأماكن المقدسة وإيابهم منها. (15) وما لبث أن توافد الحجاج المسيحيون من جميع أرجاء القارة الأوروبية بعد أن شعروا بالأمان من قبل الإدارة الإسلامية وعلى رأسها صلاح الدين الأيوبي ؛ بل إنه شمل الزوار اليهود بنفس الرعاية عندما سمح لهم بالزيارة في حرية لم يحصلوا عليها زمن السيطرة الصليبية على تلك الأماكن. (16)

وهكذا وجدنا صلاح الدين يرفض طلب الملك الإنجليزي ريتشارد ، بل ويبالغ في كرمه مع الزوار المسيحيين الأوروبيين على وجه التحديد . وقد يكون قد تعمّد ذلك لسببين ؛ أولهما روح التسامح غير العادية التي عرفت عن هذا القائد المسلم ، والتي جعلت منه ولفترة طويلة ، بطلاً أسطورياً في الغرب الأوربي (17) وثانيهما رغبته

(11) ابن شدّاد : النوادر ، ص 223 .

(12) أبو شامة: الروضتين ، ج 2 ، ص 273 .

(13) ابن شدّاد : النوادر ، ص 226 .

(14) العماد الكاتب: الفتح القسى ، ص 610 .

(15) أبو شامة: الروضتين ، ج 2 ، ص 273 .

(16) ابن واصل: مفرج الكروب في أخبار بني أيوب « خمسة أجزاء - ج 1 ، 2 ، 3 ، تحقيق: جمال الدين الشيال - القاهرة 1960 م ، ج 2 ، ص 186-189 .

(17) Christopher ، T. ، *The Debate on the Crusades*، (Manchester ، 2011) ، 79



في التخفيف من الروح العدائية التي كانت منتشرة في الغرب الأوروبي خاصةً بعد استرداده للأراضي المقدسة عقب معركة حطين . وبهذا نجح في توفيت الفرصة على الملك ريتشارد الذي حاول وضع العقبات أمام زيارات الأوروبيين لهذه الأماكن بغرض إثارتهم ضد المسلمين .

ومما يجدر ذكره أيضاً أن صلاح الدين أبدى موقفاً هاماً في السياق ذاته ؛ يتمثل في موقفه من تلك السفارة التي وصلت إليه من الإمبراطور البيزنطي إسحق الثاني أنجيلوس (Isaac II Angelos) 1185-1195م/581-591هـ⁽¹⁸⁾ وعرضت عليه رغبة الإمبراطور في عقد تحالف معه في مقابل أن يكون لبيزنطة - بمذهبها الديني - السيطرة على الأمور الدينية للمسيحيين في كافة كنائس مدينة بيت المقدس بما فيها كنيسة القيامة . وكان الرفض هو رد صلاح الدين ؛ مبرراً ذلك الرفض بأنه لا يريد أن تسيطر طائفة بعينها على الوضع الديني في الأراضي المقدسة⁽¹⁹⁾ . ومن المرجح أيضاً أن يكون صلاح الدين قد أراد أن يكون له - وللحكام المسلمين من بعده - الأمر في الفصل في أي خلافات تنشأ بين الطوائف الدينية غير الإسلامية الموجودة في الأراضي المقدسة لأنها تحت الإدارة الإسلامية .

كان من الملاحظ أيضاً أن صلاح الدين حرص على تعيين الأمير علم الدين قيصير والياً خاصاً بالخليل ، يتبعه بعض البلاد المجاورة ، عاكساً بذلك ما يجب توفيره للمدينة من رعاية ؛ خاصة وأن منصب والي الخليل لم يكن معروفاً من قبل⁽²⁰⁾ . وعلى ذلك أخذت ظاهرة قدوم الزوار الأوروبيين في التنامي ؛ سواء اليهود منهم أم المسيحيين ، خاصة وأن الحركة الصليبية كانت قد أعطت دفعة قوية لزيارة هؤلاء . وإذا ما استبعدنا الحج إلي بيت المقدس الذي استأثر باهتمام كل أوروبي وافد ، نجد أماكن مقدسة أخرى حازت على اهتمام الزوار الأوروبيين أيضاً ؛ منها مدينة الخليل وجرمها والتي أصبحت من أهم المناطق التي يتوق الحاج الأوروبي إلى زيارتها⁽²¹⁾ . وكان كل ما على الزائر الأوروبي فعله هو تقديم رسم دخول مقابل كل زيارة يقوم بها للحرم الإبراهيمي⁽²²⁾ ، مما يدل على روح التسامح من جانب الإدارة الإسلامية عند التعامل مع الأماكن المقدسة وزوارها من الأوروبيين .

أما عن أحوال الصليبيين عقب رحيل الحملة الصليبية الثالثة - التي لا يمكن أن يوصف ما حققته بالإنجاز الكبير - فلم يسترد الصليبيون بمساعدة هذه الحملة - رغم إنها كبرى الحملات الصليبية - إلا قليلاً مما فقدوه بعد حطين عن طريق صلح الرملة . ولم تحصل على بيت المقدس - هدف الحملة الرئيس - بل صُرفت أنظار الحملات الصليبية عن هذه المدينة فيما بعد صوب مصر إلى أن صارت هدف أوروبا المباشر . وغدت مملكة بيت المقدس شريطاً ساحلياً ضيقاً يمتد من يافا إلى صور نحو تسعين ميلاً فقط لا يتجاوز عرضه عشرة أميال .

(18) حينما وصلت أخبار استيلاء النورمان على سالونيك وأنهم في طريقهم نحو القسطنطينية ، ثار سكانها وقاموا بقتل الإمبراطور أندرنيقوس الثالث ، لتنتهي بذلك عصر أسرة كومنين ، ووقع الاختيار أخيراً على أحد أفراد الطبقة الأرستقراطية وهو إسحق أنجيلوس ليجلس على العرش الإمبراطوري مؤسساً لأسرة جديدة ، وهي أسرة أنجيلوس ، وذلك في سبتمبر عام 1185م . انظر: Nicetas Choniates ، *Ocity of Byzantium: Annales of Nicetas Choniates* ، English trans . H . Magoulias ، (Detriot ، 1984) ، p . 189 .

(19) ابن شداد : النوادر ، ص 193 .

(20) العماد الكاتب: الفتح القسى ، ص 611 .

(21) Riley Smith ، J . ، *The Crusades: A Short History* ، (London 1987) ، p . 42 ; Ali Ahmed El-Sayed ، *Hebron and the Sanctuary of Abraham During the Crusades (1099-1187AD/492-583AH)* ، (Cairo 1998) ، p . 308 .

على أحمد السيد: الخليل والحرم الإبراهيمي في عصر الحروب الصليبية "1099-1187م/492-583هـ" ، ط 1 ، القاهرة: 1998م ، ص 308 .

(22) ابن الأثير: الكامل ، ج 12 ، ص 230 .



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وفقدت المملكة هيبتها الأولى وتقلصت حدودها⁽²³⁾؛ حتى إنه يُمكن تسميتها حينها بمملكة عكا الصليبية، ولكن أصراً الصليبيون على إطلاق التسمية القديمة عليها، كما أصراً أمراؤها على تسمية أنفسهم بالملوك كما كانت الحال من قبل في عهد المملكة القديمة.⁽²⁴⁾

ويجدر بنا أن نذكر أن المملكة الصليبية الجديدة صارت أكثر ارتباطاً بالغرب الأوروبي بعد أن اصطبغت بصبغة بحرية بحتة، وفقدت المناطق الداخلية واقتصر نفوذها على ذلك الشريط الساحلي الضيق،⁽²⁵⁾ فأصبحت أكثر اعتماداً على أساطيل الجاليات التجارية الإيطالية، التي نجحت بدورها في جعل تلك المدن الساحلية موانئ تجارية كبيرة، وكان لها الفضل في ربط موانئ المملكة بالغرب الأوروبي⁽²⁶⁾ حتى إن أحد مؤرخي هذا العصر يرى أن صليبي الشام فقدوا استقلالهم وحريتهم في تسيير أمورهم بعد أن صاروا أكثر اعتماداً على الغرب الأوروبي.⁽²⁷⁾ وبالتالي أصبح الطريق البحري هو الأكثر استخداماً لزوار الأماكن المقدسة القادمين من الغرب.

وعن أحوال الدولة الأيوبية بعد أن توفي صلاح الدين الأيوبي في 3 مارس 1193م/ 27 صفر 589هـ فقد نشبت الصراعات والحروب بين أبنائه خاصة بين الأفضل والعزیز واستمرت وقتاً طويلاً؛ مع حدوث بعض المؤامرات في الشمال استهدفت إعادة حكم الزنكيين بقيادة عز الدين أمير الموصل، وظلت تلك الأخطار تحدد بالدولة فترة طويلة، حتى تمكن الملك العادل - الأخ الأصغر لصلاح الدين - من السيطرة على زمام الأمور في الدولة.⁽²⁸⁾

أما عن موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوربيين للأماكن المقدسة في عهد خلفاء صلاح الدين، فبعد استيلاء اللاتين على مدينة القسطنطينية - فيما يُعرف بالحملة الصليبية الرابعة - تشجّع صليبيوا الشام في البداية عندما علموا بهذا الحدث، وتردّدت الشائعات بينهم بأن المسلمين قد اشتدّ بهم الخوف، بل وهنأ البابا إنوسنت الثالث (1198 - 1216 م / 595 - 613 هـ)⁽²⁹⁾ نفسه في البداية لما شاع بأن الملك العادل أظهر جزعه وخوفه مما حدث، معتقداً بأن الحملة سوف تواصل طريقها نحو بلاد الشام بعد أن تكون أكثر قوة. ولكن، وحسبما يذكر المؤرخ أرنول Ernoul، أنه بعد فترة قصيرة وجدنا القسطنطينية تجتذب العديد من القادمين من الغرب بل ومن صليبي الشام أنفسهم الباحثين عن الحياة الهادئة بعيداً عن الصراع الموجود في الأراضي المقدسة.⁽³⁰⁾ ولا شك في أن تلك الحملة كانت أكثر الحملات نجاحاً بعد الحملة الأولى، لكنها نجحت ضد بيزنطة لا ضد العالم الإسلامي، وساندت بعض المصالح الشخصية بدلاً من مساندة صليبي الشام في بلاد الشام.

انطلاقاً مما سبق، أدرك عموري الثاني Amalric II ملك الصليبيين (1197-1205م/ 594-602هـ) أنه

(23) Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 199.

(24) Grousset, R., *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume France de Jerusalem*, 3 toms, (Paris, 1984), t. 3, p. 124.

(25) Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 10965-1274*, (Oxford, 1985), p. 84

(26) Bartlett, W. B., *God Wills it! An Illustrated History of The Crusades*, (London, 2000), p. 187.

(27) Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 200.

(28) أبو شامة: الروضتين، ج 2، ص 229-230؛ ابن واصل: مفرج الكروب، ج 3، ص 30-31.

(29) اعتلى الكرسي البابوي في يوم وفاة البابا كلستين الثالث Caelestinus III، وذلك في الثامن من يناير عام 1198م، واسمه في الأصل لوتاريو دي كونتي Lotario dei Conti وهو من أسرة رومانية نبيلة، وقد درس اللاهوت في باريس، والقانون الكنسي في بولونيا وله مؤلفات دينية مهمة، للمزيد عن البابا إنوسنت الثالث. انظر:

Ursula, S., *Die Aufrufe Derpapste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Beiszum Ausgang Innozenz IV*,

(Berlin, 1937), pp. 92-94; Hans, K., *Encyclopedia of the Papacy*, (London, 1959), pp. 84-86.

Ernoul, *Chronique*, p. 387. (30)



لا أمل في قدوم أي حملة صليبية إلى الشام بعد أن انقضى الصيف وما زال الصليبيين مُقيمين في القسطنطينية . ومن ثم بادر بعرض هدنة على الملك العادل الذي رحّب بذلك لئتمَّ عقد معاهدة بين المسلمين والصليبيين في سبتمبر 1204م/ صفر 601 ما يهمنها منها إلزام العادل بتسيير أمور الحجاج القادمين من الغرب الأوروبي القاصدين للأراضي المقدسة. وأشار المؤرخ ابن الأثير بأن العادل أعطى للصليبيين مدينة الناصرة ، وهي المدينة التي لها مكانة هامة عند المسيحيين والزوار القادمين لمدينة بيت المقدس .⁽³¹⁾

ويبدو أنّ الملك العادل قد وافق سريعاً على عرض الملك الصليبي بعقد هدنة بسبب رغبته في إنهاء حالة الحرب مع الصليبيين بعد نجاحهم في وضع العراقيل أمام النشاط التجاري للمسلمين على السواحل الشامية .⁽³²⁾ ويُمكننا أن نضيف سبباً آخر ألا وهو محاولة العادل من خلال تلك الهدنة إظهار دوره في رعاية الحجاج القادمين من الغرب الأوروبي بإبداء نوع من التسامح في تسيير حركة الحج والأهم هو محاولته عدم إثارة قوى الغرب ؛ إذ كانت سياسته تقوم على تفضيل الحلول الدبلوماسية أو التلويح باستخدام القوة دون استخدامها فعلياً . ويبدو أنّ العادل كان يخشى أن يؤدي تعامله العسكري مع الصليبيين إلى قدوم حملة صليبية بالثقل العسكري والسياسي للحملة الصليبية الثالثة .

وقد أبدى الغرب الأوروبي اهتماماً بأمر زواره إلى الأماكن المقدسة في الشرق ، وظلت الفكرة الصليبية موجودة في عقول رجال الدين في الغرب الأوروبي⁽³³⁾ وذلك عندما شغل الصراع الصليبي الإسلامي حيزاً هاماً في سياسة البابا إنوسنت الثالث والذي كان يرى أنه يجب على أي حملة صليبية - تتجه للشرق لإعادة الأماكن المقدسة للسيطرة المسيحية - أن تخضع للبابوية . وكان إنوسنت مهتماً بإعادة بناء مملكة بيت المقدس الصليبية التي دمرها صلاح الدين ، الأمر الذي لم تستطع إنجازها الحملة الصليبية الثالثة . ولقد حرص على أن يجعل من الفكرة الصليبية سلاحه البتار في الداخل والخارج في مواجهة السُلطة الزمنية ، لتحقيق أعلى قدر من السيادة البابوية ، وأفصح دون مواربة في رسالة بعث بها إلى نبلاء تسكانيا عن مدى سلطانه ، بقوله «كما أن القمر يستمد نورَه من الشمس ، فإن السُلطة الزمنية تستمد سلطانها وكرامتها من البابوية.»⁽³⁴⁾

ومن هذا المنطلق ، وبسبب اقتناع البابا إنوسنت الثالث بأنه «سيد العالم Dominus Mundi» بلا منازع ، لم يكن يسمح لأي شيء بأن يعوقه عن تحقيق أهدافه . ومن ثم انخرط في المسائل السياسية والدبلوماسية والإقطاعية والعائلية في أوروبا،⁽³⁵⁾ وكانت الفرصة مواتية للبابوية ، فلم يُصادف إنوسنت الثالث حين تولى كرسي البابوية نداءً من الحكام العلمانيين ، خاصة بعد أن مات الإمبراطور الألماني هنري السادس فجأة⁽³⁶⁾

(31) أوردت المصادر الغربية بأن مدة الهدنة ست سنوات ، بينما لم تشر المصادر العربية إشارة واحدة إلى ذلك فأبن الأثير اكتفى بعبارة «فاصلح هو والفرنج»، وأبن واصل قال «تقررت بينهم وبينه مدة اتفق عليها»، والمقریزی قال «تقررت هدنة». انظر: أبن الأثير: الكامل، ج12، ص122؛ أبن واصل: مفرج الكروب، ج3، ص161؛ المقریزی: السلوك لمعرفة الملوك «نشر محمد مصطفى زياد، الجزء الأول في ثلاث أجزاء القاهرة 1934 - 1942م، ج1، ق1، ص163. راجع أيضاً:

Eracles، *L'Estoire*، 261- 263; Ernoul، *Chronique*، 360.

(32) Runciman، S.، *A History of the Crusades*، 3 vols.، (Cambridge، 1968)، vol.3، p. 103.

(33) Colin، M.، *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West From the Beginning to 1600*، (Oxford: Oxford University Press، 2005)260.

(34) أرخت تلك الرسالة بأكتوبر عام 1198م/ ذي القعدة 594هـ . انظر:

Pope Innocent III، Letter of Innocent III to The Nobles of Tuscany (October 1198)، in Ursula، S.، *Die Aufrufe Derpapste*، p. 93.

(35) رأفت عبد الحميد: الفكر البابوي الصليبي ، بحث في قضايا من تاريخ الحروب الصليبية، القاهرة 1998م

(36) نورمان كانتور التاريخ الوسيط « قصة حضارة البداية والنهاية » ، جزء أن ، ترجمة وتعليق : قاسم عبده قاسم ، القاهرة



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واشتعلت الحرب الأهلية في ألمانيا، وانغمس ملكاً فرنسا وإنجلترا في المنازعات، واستعادت البابوية سلطاتها في جنوب إيطاليا⁽³⁷⁾ وبات واضحاً امتزاج الفكر الصليبي عنده بفكر السمو البابوي، وأضحى في وسع إنوسنت أن يمضي قدماً في التفرغ لمشاكل الأراضي المقدسة، ومن بينها بالطبع ما يخص أمر زيارة الأماكن المقدسة.

وفور اعتلائه الكرسي البابوي، أرسل عدّة رسائل إلى كل من عموري الزّاهب Amalric the Monk بطريرك بيت المقدس (1190-1205م/586-601هـ)، وجيبلرت دي دورال Gilbert de Doral مُقدّم الدّاوية (1194-1204م/590-601هـ)، و جودفري دي دونجون Godfrey de Donjon مُقدّم الإِسبتارية (1192-1204م/588-601هـ) طالباً منهم إرسال تقارير مُفصّلة عن الحالة في بلاد الشام، مع تدعيم هذه التقارير بجميع البيانات التي تتعلق بالحكام المسلمين وطبيعة العلاقات بين بعضهم البعض، وموقف حكام المسلمين من الزوار القادمين لزيارة الأماكن المقدسة.⁽³⁸⁾ وبالفعل وصله أحد التقارير من الشرق يُشير إلى أنّ ما تبقى من المناطق الخاضعة للصليبيين - والتي ظلت متواجدة طول القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي/السادس الهجري دون مساعدات كبيرة تقريبا من غرب أوروبا - استعدت لدخول القرن التالي ويدها ممدودة تستجدي عطايا أوروبا، بعد أن أصبحت موانئ الصليبيين في الشام دون عمق استراتيجي، وبالتالي لم تعد الطرق آمنة بالنسبة للزوار القادمين لزيارة الأماكن المقدسة، وأرخ هذا التقرير في نوفمبر 1199م/المحرم 596هـ.⁽³⁹⁾

ويبدو أنّ هذه التقارير كانت تُرسل من آن لآخر، فقد أرسل ألبرت أوف فرسل Albert Verceel بطريرك بيت المقدس (1214-1205م/611-602هـ) وجارين دي مانتياجو Garien De Mountiugo مقدم الإِسبتارية (1227-1207م/624-604هـ) ووليم دي بوسيه Guillaume de Poisse مقدم الداوية (1219-1210م/616-607هـ)، في أوائل عام 1213م/609هـ تقريراً مُفصّلاً عن أحوال الدولة الأيوبية في مصر وبلاد الشام. فقد أورد معلومات هامة عن الأحوال السياسية والاقتصادية للدولة الأيوبية، إلا أنه أشار إلى بعض المعلومات الخاطئة فيما يخص علاقة الملك العادل بأبنائه في تلك الفترة،⁽⁴⁰⁾ بل زعم هذا التقرير أنّ خلفاء صلاح الدين - وعلى رأسهم الملك العادل - «يرغبون في عودة الأراضي المقدسة إلى فخامة البابا

و ما أن Volunt isti libenter redders in manus Domini Popae Terram Sanctam.⁽⁴¹⁾ وصل هذا التقرير إلى البابا إنوسنت الثالث حتى زادت حماسه تجاه الملك العادل، مُنساقاً وراء أمانه كاذبة. فبالرغم من تسامح الملك العادل مع الصليبيين، فلم يكن هناك ما يدعو إلى أن يُفرط في المكاسب التي حققها أخوه صلاح الدين، كما أنه لم يتوان في أي وقت عن التصدي لأي نشاط عدائي يقوم به فرنج الشام ضد المسلمين، كما أنّ علاقاته كانت قوية بأولاده، وساعدت شخصيته القوية على استمرار وحدة الدولة الأيوبية. وبناءً على ما سبق، أرسل البابا للملك العادل رسالة يُطالبه فيها بإعادة مدينة بيت المقدس إلى الصليبيين لأنّ

1997م، ج2، ص562.

(37) Innocent III, pope, *Regesta*, in p. L., vol. 214. Cols 119-123

(38) Innocent III, Pope, *Regesta*, in P.L., . vol. 214; cols. 737-738; Rohricht, R., ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 2vols., (Innsbruck, 1892 - 1904), no. 760., 202-203

(39) Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, (Graz-Austria, 1965), Libxxix, ch. Lix

(40) اعتمد الملك العادل على أبنائه وأقاربه في تصريف أمور الدولة الأيوبية، فقد عين نواباً منهم في كافة أقاليم دولته، فأناج الكامل محمد في حكم مصر، وأعطى المعظم عيسى دمشق، وجعل الأشرف موسى على حران والأوحد ميافرقين، في حين جعل حكم حلب للظاهر غازي ابن صلاح الدين الأيوبي. انظر: القريني: السلوك، ج1، ق1، ص189-190.

(41) Ryccardus de San Germano, *Chronican*, in Muratori, R.I.S., vol. VIII, cosl. 985-986.



وجودها في حوزة المسلمين سوف يكلفه كثيراً من التضحيات والمشاكل - التي لن يستطيع مواجهتها - وأنه سوف يفشل في إدارة الأماكن المقدسة . وأرخت تلك الرسالة في السادس من مايو 1213/ الثالث عشر من ذي الحجة 609. (42) ولم نجد أي رد من الملك العادل على رسالة البابا في أي مصدر تاريخي ؛ وإذا كان قد وجد هذا الرد ، فمن المرجح أنه تضمن عدم الموافقة على ما طلبه البابا في رسالته السابقة .

وتسبب ما طلبه البابا انوسنت الثالث في رسالته السابقة في إثارة تساؤلاً هاماً : هل كانت لسياسة المهادنة التي أظهرها الملك العادل في معاهدة 1204م/601هـ أثر كبير في اعتقاد البابا بأن الملك العادل حاكم يميل للمسالمة؟ وفي حقيقة الأمر فإنه بالرغم من تسامح العادل وسياسته المعتدلة مع الصليبيين فإنه لم يكن هناك ما يدفعه في التفريط في بيت المقدس بل كان ذو شخصية قوية ساعدته في السيطرة على أفراد الأسرة الأيوبية ، وتحقيق الوحدة لدولته طوال عهده . وقد وصفه المقرئزي بقوله «يستعمل في مقاصده المكائد والخدع ، فهادنته الفرنجة لقوة حزمه وشدة يقظته وغزارة عقله وقوة كيده .» (43) ومن ثم كان يستند في حكمه على الاستخدام الأمثل للسياسة في التعامل في كل الأمور؛ ومنها إدراكه للمكانة الدينية والسياسية لبيت المقدس ومعرفة أن مزاراتها الدينية تعد مقصداً لاتباع الديانات السماوية .

جدير بالذكر أنه من أهم الأحداث الدينية التي حدثت في عهد الملك الصليبي بلدوين الثاني Baldwin II (1118-1131م/512-525هـ) (44) هو ما تم إعلانه عن اكتشاف المغارة الحقيقية الموجود بها قبور الأنبياء - التي تضم رفات عدد من الأنبياء ؛ هم : إبراهيم وإسحاق ويعقوب عليهم السلام وزوجاتهم ، وذلك في مدينة الخليل - وقد تم هذا الأمر تحت رعاية رئيس كنيسة سانت إبراهيم St. Abraham ويُدعى رينيه René . وقد أطلق على المكان اسم المكفيلة Macphelah وتم فتح المغارة في السابع من يوليو عام 1119/ السابع والعشرين من ربيع الثاني 513. (45)

وفي حقيقة الأمر ، يستحق ذلك الحدث التوقف عنده لمعرفة موقف الصليبيين من زيارة ما عُرف بقبور الأنبياء أو مغارة المكفيلة . ففي الوقت الذي سُمح فيه للمسيحيين بزيارة المكان والتبرُّك به في حرية تامة ، مُنع غير المسيحيين - سواء مسلمين أم يهود - من القيام بالأمر ذاته ؛ إذ يذكر اليهودي الإسباني بنيامين التيطلي Benjamin de Tudela (46) في رحلته إلى الأماكن المقدسة أنه اضطرَّ إلى دفع مبلغاً من المال للحراس كي

(42) Ryccardus de San Germano ، *Chronican* ، vol. VIII ، cols. 986-988 .

بينما أورد روهرشث Rohricht رسالة البابا إنوسنت الثالث إلى الملك العادل في السادس والعشرين من إبريل عام 1213م . انظر : Rôhricht ، *Regesta* ، no. 864. ، 232 .

(43) المقرئزي: السلوك، ج 1، ق 1، ص 229

(44) عندما توفي الملك الصليبي بلدوين الأول Baldwin I في عام 512/1118 هـ ، لم يترك وريثاً للعرش ، لذلك تقرر عقد مجلس حضره أمراء المملكة ومعهم أرنولف أوف شوكس Arnulf of Chocquas بطريرك بيت المقدس ، وذلك في اليوم التالي لوفاة الملك الصليبي وبعد مناقشات عديدة للمفاضلة بين بلدوين كونت الرها وبين يوسناش البولوني Eustache Boulogne - شقيق الملك الراحل والموجود بإيطاليا- تقرر في النهاية تنويع كونت الرها ملكاً على مملكة بيت المقدس الصليبية في كنيسة القيامة ، تحت اسم بلدوين الثاني Baldwin II . انظر :

William of Tyre ، *History of the Deeds done beyond the Sea* ، trans. by Babcock and Key ، (New York ، 1943) ، vol. 1 ، p. 520 .

(45) على أحمد السيد: الخليل والحرم الإبراهيمي ، ص 127 .

(46) عاش بنيامين التيطلي Benjamin de Tudela في مدينة طليطلة Tudela والتي نسب إليها ، وكان والده يدعى جونا Jonah ، وقد قام بنيامين برحلة طويلة استمرت سبع سنوات ، منذ عام 1163م حتى عام 1179م ، طاف خلالها عدداً من البلدان في كافة أرجاء العالم القديم ومن بينها بلاد الشام ، وخاصة الأماكن المقدسة ، انظر : محمد مؤنس عوض الرحالة الأوربيون في العصور الوسطى ، القاهرة 2004م ، ص 39 .



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

يتمكّن من زيارة مغارة الأنبياء. (47) وأيضاً ما ذكره اليهودي الآخر وهو فتاحية الرتسبوني Petaachia of Ratisbon (48) في رحلته التي قام بها ولم يدوّنها بنفسه - بل تولى ذلك يهوذا Yahuza صديقه ورفيقه في رحلته (49) - بأنه اضطرّ إلى دفع عملتين ذهبيتين للحارس الصليبي لكي يسمح له بزيارة المغارة. (50) بينما اليهودي يعقوب ها كوهين Jacob Ha Cohen والذي زار المكان في أواخر الوجود الصليبي وتحديداً عام 1187م/583هـ (51) ذكر أنه نجح في زيارة المغارة ، بعد أن تنكّر في ملابس الفرنج ليظهر وكأنه رجل مسيحي حيث إنّ زيارة المكان يُحرّمها المسيحيون على غيرهم من أصحاب الديانات الأخرى. (52)

وفي عهد العادل ، أوضح لنا أحد الزوار اليهود القادم من الغرب الأوروبي ، وهو صموئيل بن شمشون Samuel Ben Samson الذي وصل إلى مدينة الخليل، (53) أنه زار الحرم الإبراهيمي ، وهبط إلى المغارة السفلى المعروفة باسم المكفيلة - أو قبور الأنبياء - بمصاحبة اثنين من اليهود هما الرّابي طوبيه Rabbi Tobiah والرّابي إبراهيم بن سعديه Rabbi Abraham ben Saadya - بعد أن نجح إبراهيم بن سعديه في الحصول على تصريح مختوم من خليفة المسلمين حملة لهم أحد المسلمين الذي رافق الزوّار اليهود أثناء الزيارة . ولولا هذا التصريح لاقتصرت الزيارة على المشاهد العلوية فقط دون النزول إلى المغارة السفلى. (54)

وعلى ذلك فإنّ التطوّر الملحوظ في موقف الإدارة الإسلامية للأماكن المقدسة منذ أن تمّ استردادها وأواخر القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي/السادس الهجري هو ما يختص بالزوار اليهود ؛ حيث يُفهم مما رواه صموئيل بن شمشون أنه بعد استرداد المسلمين للأماكن المقدسة أصبحت زيارة مقابر الأنبياء متاحة لجميع الزوار من اليهود والمسيحيين الأوروبيين بمجرد الحصول على تصريح مختوم من سلطان المسلمين . وهذا يكشف عن جانب من الإدارة الإسلامية السّميحة مع زوار الأماكن المقدّسة من الأوروبيين ، لم يعهدوا الزوار اليهود على وجه التحديد زمن سيطرة الصليبيين على تلك الأماكن في ظل الصراع المرير التي تشهده المنطقة ممثلاً في الحروب الصليبية .

(47) بنيامين التطيلي: رحلة بنيامين التطيلي، ترجمة الى العربية: عزرا حداد، ط. 1، بغداد 1945م ، ص 105 .

(48) ولد فتاحية في مدينة راتسبون في شرق أوروبا في النصف الأول من القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي/السادس الهجري ، من أسرة ذات ثقافة دينية فكل من أبيه يعقوب Jacob وأخويه إسحاق Isaac و نكمان Nuchman قد حملوا لقب الرّبي Rabbis ، ثم عاش فتاحية في مدينة براغ Brague ، ومنها بدأ رحلته الى بولندا وأرمينية وكيف ثم فارس ومنها الى بلاد الشام وأبدى إهتماماً خاصاً بالأماكن المقدسة ، ثم ذهب الى بلاد اليونان . انظر: محمد مؤنس عوض: الرحالة الأوروبيون في العصور الوسطى، ص 53 .

(49) Petaachia of Ratisbon ، *Itinerary of Rabbi Petaachia of Ratisbon in 1174-1187 A.D.*, in Jewish Travelers ، pp. 109-123 .

(50) Petaachia of Ratisbon ، *Itinerary* ، pp. 89-90 .

(51) Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen ، *Itinerary of Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen Twelfth Century.*, in Jewish Travelers ، pp. 92-100 .

(52) Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen ، *Itinerary* ، p. 93

(53) جاءت رحلة صموئيل بن شمشون Samuel Ben Samson في كتاب الرحالة اليهود Jewish Travelers وذلك على مدى ما يقرب من تسع صفحات ، وسجلها صديق صموئيل ، ويدعى جوناتان هاكوهين Jonathan Hacohe . انظر: Samuel Ben Samson, *Itinerary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson in 1210 A.D.*, in Jewish Travelers ، ed. by Adler, E. N. ، (London 1930) ، pp. 101-109 .

(54) ذكر صموئيل بن شمشون أنه هبط أربع وعشرين درجة على سلم صغير وضيق ، حيث لم يستطع أثناء النزول التلفت يمينا أو يسارا ، وأخيراً شاهد ثلاثة مقابر ، حيث صلى وسجد في خشوع ، ثم صعد ، وأتمّ زيارته للخليل ، وبعدها واصل طريقه الى مدينة بيت المقدس . انظر:

Samuel Ben Samson ، *Itinerary* ، p. 105 .



أما إذا وصلنا لعهد الملك الكامل وتوقيعه معاهدة يافا مع الإمبراطور الألماني فريديريك الثاني Fredrick II في 18 فبراير 1229م/23 ربيع أول 626هـ والتي لن نقف طويلاً عما أثير حولها من جدل حول قضية تفريط الكامل فيما استرده صلاح الدين بعد كفاح مرير مع الصليبيين؛ إذ أفاضت كثير من الدراسات الحديثة في تناول تلك القضية بالنقد والتحليل.⁽⁵⁵⁾ ومن ثم سيكون تركيزنا مُنصباً على بنود المعاهدة؛ لا سيما ما يخص محور دراستنا مثل تنازل الملك الكامل للصليبيين عن بيت المقدس بشرط عدم تحصينها، وبالتالي عن مقدساتهم في مدن الأماكن المقدسة الرئيسية وهي بيت المقدس وبيت لحم والناصرية، مع التزامه بضرورة السماح لهم بوجود ما يُشبه ممر يصل الأماكن المقدسة في تلك المدن بميناء يافا الخاضع للصليبيين، وذلك لضمان توفير الأمان للحجاج والزوّار القادمين للأماكن المقدسة، على أن تكون منطقة الحرم الإبراهيمي بما تحويه من المسجد الأقصى وقبة الصخرة بأيدي المسلمين، ويتولاها جماعة من المسلمين.⁽⁵⁶⁾

على الرغم من أن ما قام به الملك الكامل يُعدُّ في نظر عديد من المؤرخين مسألةً من الدرجة الأولى - بعد أن افتقد خلال مفاوضاته مع الإمبراطور تغليفها بطابع سياسي كسابقه من أبناء الأسرة الأيوبية - فإنه، ومن جانب آخر، ما قام به هو قمة التسامح من قِبَل حاكم سبق عصره بزم كبير، خاصة في زمن كان التعصّب الديني من أبرز سماته الظاهرة، وذلك بعد أن استطاع تحويل مدينة بيت المقدس إلى مدينة يشترك في إدارتها المسيحيين والمسلمين على حد سواء؛ لتصبح أشبه بمدينة تم تدويلها بعد أن باتت متاحة للزيارة بحرية وأمان لكل الزوار من أتباع الديانات السماوية المختلفة.

أما ما يخص تأثير حركة الزوار الأوروبيين للأماكن المقدسة، فما من شك أنها تأثرت وضعفت بشكل كبير، ولم تتحقق النتائج التي سعى الملك الكامل لتحقيقها عن طريق المعاهدة السابقة؛ وذلك لعدة عوامل أبرزها معارضة صليبيو الشام لما أسفرت عنه المعاهدة، وقادهم جيرولد لوساني Gerald Lausanne بطريك بيت المقدس (1225-1239م/622-636هـ)، الذي ارتبطت معارضته بموقف البابوية وصراعها مع الإمبراطور، خاصة وأن صليبية فريديريك شكلت جانباً من هذا الصراع.⁽⁵⁷⁾ وبعد يومين فقط من توقيع معاهدة يافا، وبالتحديد في 20 فبراير 1229م 25 ربيع أول 626هـ، أرسل البطريرك خطاباً إلى المسيحيين المؤمنين في الغرب قاطبة عن سلوك الإمبراطور في الأراضي المقدسة، وكيف أساء مُعاملة صليبي الشام، خاصة الأمراء والطوائف الدينية لاسيما فرسان الداوية، بل وإهانة رجال الدين في الأراضي المقدسة.⁽⁵⁸⁾ وفي 7 مارس 1229م/9 ربيع الآخر 626هـ أرسل البطريرك جيرولد خطاباً إلى البابا جريجوري التاسع

(55) Richards, D.S., *The Crusade of Fredrick II and the Hamah Succession, Extacts from the Chronicle of Lbi Al-Damn*, in *Bullet in d;Etudes Orientales*, t. xiv, 1993, pp. 183-200.

راجع أيضاً: رأفت عبد الحميد: الملك الكامل بين الإفراط والتفريط في مواجهة الصليبيين، بحث في قضايا من تاريخ الحروب الصليبية، ص 123-201؛ حسن عبد الوهاب: هدنة القدس في ضوء فتوى المؤرخ القاضي ابن أبي الدم الحموي 1229م/626هـ، دراسة تحليلية مقارنة، بحث منشور في مؤتمر مصادر تاريخ القدس، القاهرة، مارس 1998م.

(56) عن معاهدة يافا. انظر:

ابن العديم: زبدة الحلب من تاريخ حلب «ثلاثة أجزاء»، نشر وتحقيق سامي الدهان - دمشق 1951م، ج3، ابن نضيف الحموي تلخيص الكشف والبيان في حوادث الزمان «المعرف بـ «التاريخ المنصوري»»، تحقيق أبو العبد دودو، دمشق 1981م، ص 176؛ المقرئ: السلوك، ج1، ق1، ص 230-232، وكذلك:

Eracles, *L'Estoire*, 374; Ernoul, *Chronique*, p. 465.

(57) Paul Wiegler, *The Infidal Imperor and his Strauggles against the Pope*, trans. By B. Downs, (London, 1930), p. 141.

(58) وفي هذا يقول البطريرك كان معروفًا تمامًا مدى الغرابة بل والإسفاف في سلوك الإمبراطور في الأراضي الشرقية من البداية إلى النهاية إلى حد المساس برجال الدين والعقيدة المسيحية من أخصص قدمه حتى أم رأسه. انظر: حسن عبد الوهاب: هدنة القدس، ص 140.



Gregory IX (1227-1241 م) يحتوي على تفاصيل ما فعله فريدريك في بلاد الشام، ووصف الاتفاقية بأنها خيانة ارتكبها الإمبراطور مع سلطان مصر، وذكر له نقاط الضعف في هذه المعاهدة، كما وصف الإمبراطور بأنه أحمق ومُنَهَوَّر، بعد أن سمح لنفسه بأن يمدعه المسلمون وكيف أن الإمارات الصليبية لم تستفد مما حققته الحملة القادمة من الغرب الأوروبي. (59) وكان لهذه المراسلات أثر كبير في الغرب الأوروبي، فقد استغلها البابا وبدأ يُسيئ إلى فريدريك، ووصف الأعمال التي قام بها بأنها مخجلة، وأطلق عليه لقب «تابع المسلمين» بعد أن كانت البابوية فيما مضى تطلق عليه «ابن الكنيسة المحبوب» (60) وإذا أضفنا إلى ماسبق أن المعاهدة لم تحظ كذلك برضا المسلمين، (61) لأدركنا أنه كان من الصعب أن تظل الأماكن المقدسة متاحة لجميع أصحاب الديانات السماوية الثلاثة لزيارتها.

ومما لا شك فيه، أن الطرق والمناطق الممتدة من يافا وعكا إلى الأماكن المقدسة - والتي من المفترض طبقاً لمعاهدة الملك الكامل مع فريدريك الثاني أنها تحت سيطرة الصليبيين - أصبحت مناطق مُعزلة وسط أراض شاسعة يُسيطر عليها المسلمون؛ مما يعني أن حرية حركة مرور الزوار المسيحيين للأماكن المقدسة باتت خاضعة بضرورة استمرار العلاقات الطيبة بين المسلمين والصليبيين. وهو الأمر الذي لم يكن مضموناً بين الطرفين المتصارعين زمن الحروب الصليبية.

على أي حال، لم تستمر هيمنة الصليبيين على الأماكن الدينية في بيت المقدس طبقاً لقرارات معاهدة يافا وقتنا طويلاً؛ إذ ما لبث أن نجح الناصر داود الأيوبي في اقتحام المدينة، ولم تفلح القلة القليلة من الصليبيين في صدّه. لتعود المدينة بمرافقها ومقدساتها الدينية كافة تحت راية الحكم الإسلامي وبالتالي للإدارة الإسلامية بعد غياب ما يقرب من عشرة سنوات، وبالتحديد في عام 1239 م/637 هـ. (62)

وفي فترة زمنية أخرى، وتحديدًا عام 1253 م/651 هـ وجدنا موقفاً آخر يستحق الإشارة إليه. فأثناء إقامة الملك الفرنسي لويس التاسع في بلاد الشام، تلقى دعوة من الناصر يوسف سلطان دمشق لزيارة مدينة بيت المقدس وأداء طقوس الحج هناك، وذلك تحت حمايته ورعايته. ولكن اعتذر الملك الفرنسي عن تلبية تلك الدعوة. وإذا كان المؤرخ جوانفيل Joinville قد فسّر رفض الملك لويس الذهاب للمدينة المقدسة كحاج عادي خوفاً من أن يأتي بعده أحد ملوك الغرب الأوروبي ويكتفي بالحج - اقتداءً بما فعله لويس - دون التفكير في استرداد المدينة المقدسة (63) فإن الدعوة التي أرسلها الناصر يوسف لسلي الأيوبيين لم تكن نابعة من محاولته إظهار روح التسامح أو المسالمة تجاه الملك الفرنسي، بل كانت محاولة منه لكسبه بجانبه في ذلك الصراع الدائر في تلك الفترة بينه وبين عز الدين أيبك سلطان مصر المملوكي. وهكذا كان الدافع السياسي هو الهدف الأساسي من ذلك العرض الذي قدمه الناصر يوسف للملك الفرنسي.

(59) يختم جيرولد خطابه إلى البابا جريجوري التاسع بقوله: بعد أن أدرك الإمبراطور أن خبثه لم يحقق له النجاح، لم يعد راغباً في البقاء أكثر من ذلك في الشرق بعد أن سبب كثيراً من الضرر للأراضي المقدسة. انظر:

Letter of Gerald Patriarch of Jerusalem to Pope Gregory IX, Acre (7 Mar. 1229), in Huillard-
Historia Diplomatica Friderica Secundi, 7 vols., (Paris, 1851-1862) vol. 3, 86-90 Bréhollcs, (ed.)

(60) وصف البابا اتفاقية يافا بقوله أنها وفق عقيدة المسلمين لا عقيدتنا وتبع عاداتهم في كثير من الأمور، انظر:

Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. By J.A. Giles, 2 vols., (London, 1849), vol. 2, p. 528; cf. also: Grousset, R., *Histoire des Croisades*, t. 3, p. 322.

(61) أثار ذلك الاتفاق الغضب في العالم الإسلامي: إذ يقول المؤرخ سبط بن الجوزي: «وصلت الأخبار بتسليم القدس إلى الفرنج، فقامت القيامة في جميع بلاد المسلمين واشتدت العظائم بحيث أنه أقيمت الأمم»، ويقول المقرئزي: «اشتد البكاء وعظم الصراخ والعيويل، وعظم على أهل الإسلام هذا البلاء، واشتد الإنكار على الملك الكامل، وكثرت الشائعات عليه في سائر الأقطار»
سبط بن الجوزي: مرآة الزمان في تاريخ الأعيان «الجزء الثامن في ثلاثة أقسام - حيدر آباد 1951، ج 2، ق 2، ص 654؛ المقرئزي: السلوك، ج 1، ق 1، ص 230.

(62) المقرئزي: السلوك، ج 1، ص 291.

(63) جوانفيل: القديس لويس، ترجمة: حسن حبشي، القاهرة 1968 م، ص 243.



وفي عهد السلطان المملوكي بيبرس (1260-1277م/659-676هـ)⁽⁶⁴⁾ الذي نجح منذ توليه الحكم في تحقيق عدة مكاسب عسكرية على صليبي الشام ، وهو الأمر الذي انعكس على مواقفه من حركة الحج الأوروبي للأماكن المقدسة . ففي عام 1267/666 أرسل بيبرس نائبه عز الدين الحلي إلى مدينة الخليل لتقصي الأوضاع في الأماكن المقدسة بعد أن بلغه أن الزوار اليهود والمسيحيين يؤخذ منهم رسوم عند الزيارة للنزول إلى المغارة . فرفض ذلك وأرسل مرسوماً مع نائبه يمنع هؤلاء الزوار من دخول المقام الشريف.⁽⁶⁵⁾ ومن الملاحظ أن الرحالة بورشارد Borchard ، الذي عاش في الأراضي المقدسة ما يقرب من عشرة سنوات ، قد أخبرنا أنه تمكن من زيارة جميع الأماكن المقدسة في مدينة الخليل بحرية تامة وذلك في عام 1283م/682هـ⁽⁶⁶⁾ مما يدل على أن القرار الذي اتخذه بيبرس لم يطبق بشكل صارم عقب وفاته .

وعندما عقد السلطان بيبرس هدنةً مع الصليبيين في عام 1272م/670هـ تعهد فيها بحرية استخدام الحجاج المسيحيين للطريق الواصل إلى مدينة الناصرة دون أي اعتراض من الجانب الإسلامي⁽⁶⁷⁾ مما يدل على أن النجاحات العسكرية التي حققها بيبرس على حساب الصليبيين قد جعلته المهيم على المنطقة بأكملها ، وهو ما جعل له اليد العليا في حركة الزوار الأوروبيين القادمين لزيارة الأماكن المقدسة .

الجدير بالذكر أنه عُثرَ على مرسوم مملوكي لدير جبل صهيون A Mamluke Decree For Mount Zion Monastery مؤرخ في آخر أكتوبر 1464م / الثامن والعشرين من صفر 869هـ ، وبه عدة امتيازات لرهبان هذا الدير ، وذلك في عهد السلطان خشقدم (1461 - 1467م / 865 - 872هـ) ؛ الذي أشار إلى أن مرسومه هذا ما هو إلا تجديداً لتلك الإمتيازات الممنوحة في مراسيم سابقة ، بدأت منذ عهد السلطان بيبرس . ومنها موافقة السلطان أن يقوم رهبان الدير برعاية وخدمة الزوار الأوروبيين القادمين للأماكن المقدسة⁽⁶⁸⁾ وهكذا يلاحظ بوضوح أن بنود هذا المرسوم المملوكي امتد مفعولها طيلة هذا العصر إذ وردت في مرسوم السلطان الظاهر بيبرس أول مرة وظلت تجدد في عهد خلفائه من سلاطين المماليك .

أما بالنسبة للزوار اليهود للأماكن المقدسة في عهد بيبرس ، فقد حدث أن وصل من أسبانيا الزباني موسى بن مناحم Moses ben Nahman المعروف باسم نحمانيدس Nachmanides وعندما وجد أن المزارات اليهودية أصبحت شبه مهملة بسبب قلة الزوار - وكذلك قلة عدد اليهود المقيمين خاصة في بيت المقدس - نجح في الحصول على تصريح من السلطان بيبرس يسمح له بالإقامة في مدينة بيت المقدس ، بل وإعادة إحياء

(64) عقب انتصار قطز في عين جالوت ، في أثناء عودته بالقوات إلى مصر انقض عليه الأمير بيبرس البندقداري وقتله ، وعندما دخل بيبرس بالقوات إلى مصر اعترف الأمراء به سلطاناً ، وتلقب بالملك الظاهر بيبرس وذلك في أكتوبر 1260م / ذي القعدة 658هـ ، لمزيد من التفاصيل . انظر :

ابن عبد الظاهر: الروض الزاهر في سيرة الملك الظاهر ، تحقيق: عبد العزيز الخويطر ، الرياض 1976م ، ص 76-78؛ المقرزي: السلوك ، ج 1 ، ق 2 ، ص 432 .

(65) بيبرس المنصوري: التحفة المملوكية في الدولة التركية ، تحقيق: عبد الحميد صالح ، بيروت 1987م ، ص المقرزي: السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك ، تحقيق: محمد مصطفى زيادة ، ج 1 ، ق 4 . القاهرة 1939م؛ المقرزي: السلوك ، ج 1 ، ق 2 ، ص 532 .

(66) بورشارد هو أحد الرهبان الألمان الذي ينتمي لجماعة الدومنيكان ، وقد جاء الى الشرق في عام 1275م حيث ظل في الاراضي المقدسة لما يقرب من عشرة سنوات ، انظر :

Burchard was a German Dominican who lived in the Holy Land for about ten years from 1275 to 1285. See Burchard of Mount Zion, *A Description of the Holy Land*, tr. by Aubrey Stewart, in: P. P. T. S., vol. XII, (London, 1896), 35; cf. also: Colin, M., *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West*, 275.

(67) ابن عبد الظاهر: الروض الزاهر ، ص 398؛ المقرزي: السلوك ، ج 1 ، ق 2 ، ص 601 .

(68) راجع النص الكامل للوثيقة منشوراً في :

Risani, N, *Documenti E Firmani*, (Gerusalemme, 1931), Doc XXV, pp. 290 - 317.



الطقوس اليهودية وبناء معبد لليهود حمل اسمه مما ساعد على تدفق الزوار لليهود للمدينة المقدسة. (69)

وننتقل إلى جانب أخير يُعدُّ من أهم المظاهر التي اقترنت بزيارة الأماكن المقدسة ألا وهي الضيافة الموجودة في مدينة الخليل والتي اهتم بها المسلمون منذ زمن بعيد واستمرت في نشاطها عقب استرداد صلاح الدين للأماكن المقدسة؛ حيث ظلت تقدم الطعام لزوار الأماكن المقدسة في الخليل. (70) ويُحدثنا المؤرخ أبو اليمن العليمي عن زيارات الأوروبيين التي ظلت مستمرة مع زيارات المسلمين لدار الضيافة، واستمر كرم الضيافة يشمل الزوار الأجانب من مسيحيين ويهود، وكيف عندما شعر السلطان بيبرس بضرورة الاهتمام براحة زوار الأماكن المقدسة قام بتعيين الأمير علاء الدين أيدغدي الأعمى في منصب جديد يطلق عليه ناظر الحرمين الشريفين "القدس والخليل" حيث اهتم هذا الأمير بتشييد بناء مُحكم يضم بعض الغرف بالقرب من باب الحرم الإبراهيمي، للحفاظ على الدور الذي تلعبه دور الضيافة هناك. (71) والثابت أن ضيافة الخليل قد بلغت أوج نشاطها وكرمها مع الزوار منذ عهد بيبرس حتى أواخر العصر المملوكي وهو ما شهد به أحد زواره من الأوروبيين القادم لزيارة الأماكن المقدسة - حيث نزل هناك - وحصل على كرم الضيافة. (72) وهكذا عندما تبين للسلطان بيبرس تعاطم الدور التي تلعبها تلك الدار بشكل أصبحت معها إمكاناتها عاجزة عن الاضطلاع بما ينبغي القيام به، تدخل بيبرس من أجل النهوض بها، وذلك باستحداث منصب ناظر الحرمين الشريفين الذي لم يكن معروفاً من قبل، ولا يُمكن تفسير تلك الخطوة إلا بأنها تعبير عن مزيد من الاهتمام بالمزارت الدينية.

وإذا حاولنا تقييم مواقف بيبرس تجاه حركة الحج الأوروبي للأماكن المقدسة نجد أنه نجح في إظهار كرمه وتسامحه مع المسيحيين فيما يخص تسهيل حركة الحج وتأمينه وذلك دون التفريط في أي مكاسب عسكرية سواء تمت في عهده أم ورثها عن أسلافه من الحكام المسلمين. ونجح بذلك الأسلوب أن يُخفف من روح الكراهية التي كانت موجودة عند الأوروبيين، وبالتالي من الدعاوى التي كانت منتشرة آنذاك والتي كانت تنادي بإرسال حملة صليبية للشرق لمواجهة نجاحات بيبرس العسكرية. كذلك أبدى اهتماماً بقدم الزوار اليهود بما قدّمه من تسهيلات لنحمانيدس ساعدت بلا شك في تدفق الزوار اليهود للأماكن المقدسة ليثبت بيبرس في النهاية أنه تعامل بمهارة سياسية تجاه حركة الحج الأوروبي للأماكن المقدسة.

وعن موقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوروبيين في عهد السلطان المنصور (1279-1289م/678-689هـ) نجد في بنود المعاهدة التي عقدها مع الصليبيين في الأول من أغسطس 1283م/الخامس من ربيع الأول 682 - والتي وردت في عدد من المصادر العربية - ما يُنبئ على أن يمنح السلطان الحاج الأوروبيين تسهيلات تساعد على أداء مراسم الحج والزيارة، خاصة في مدينة الناصرة ومنها التعهد بتوفير الأمن لهؤلاء مع تخصيص أربعة منازل قريبة من كنيسة الناصرة لإيوائهم وسكنهم. (73)

(69) عن نحمانيدس واعماله. انظر:

Joseph E. David، *Dwelling Within the Law: Nachmanides Legal Theology*، Oxford Journal of Law and Religion، (2013)، 1-21.

(70) للمزيد من التفاصيل عن ضيافة الخليل انظر: على أحمد السيد: وقف تميم الدار بالخليل ودوره في مجالى عمارة الحرم الإبراهيمي وضيافته للأهالي والأجانب، بحث منشور في مجلة كلية الآداب - جامعة الإسكندرية، العدد 54، عام 2005م.

(71) أبو اليمن العليمي: الأناجيل في تاريخ القدس والخليل، جزء 2، بيروت 1973م، ج 2، وعن علاء الدين أيدغدي الأعمى انظر:

إبراهيم مرجونة: الدور الحضاري للأمير علاء الدين أيدغدي الأعمى في القدس والخليل، بحث منشور في مجلة المؤرخ العربي، العدد 18، القاهرة 2010م، ص 233-264.

(72) Anselme Adorno، *Iteneraire d, Anselme Adorno in Terre-Sainte 1470-1271 A.D.*، trans. Heers J. et Groer J.، (Paris، 1978)، p. 251.

(73) ابن عبد الظاهر: تشريف الأيام والعصور في سيرة الملك المنصورى، تحقيق: مراد كامل، القاهرة 1981م؛ ابن الفرات: تاريخ الدول والملوك: تحقيق: قسطنطين زريق، بيروت 1942م، ص 263-264؛ القرظي: السلوك، ج 1، ق 3، ص 985-990.



وُجِدَتْنا المؤرِّخ ابن عبد الظاهر أنه عندما عقد المنصور مع ألفونسو الثالث Alfonso III ملك أراجون وأخيه خايمي Jaime ملك صقلية حرص السلطان أن تتضمن المعاهدة السماح للحجاج والزوار المسيحيين القادمين من مملكتي أراجون وصقلية وبلاد إخوانهم ومُعاهديهم بزيارة الأماكن المقدسة؛ بحيث يكون مع كل منهم كتاب من ملك أراجون ويحمل ختمه إلى نائب السلطان في بيت المقدس أو حاكمها الإداري الذي يتولى حمايتهم حتى عودتهم لبلادهم. وقد أُرخت المعاهدة في يوم الثلاثاء الثالث والعشرين من أبريل/الثالث عشر من ربيع الآخر. (74)

من خلال ما سبق عرضه من صفحات يتضح أن الارتحال لزيارة الأماكن المقدسة في بلاد الشام لم ينقطع في أي وقت من أوقات السيادة الإسلامية عليها منذ عودتها للمسلمين، وظهر ذلك بشكل واضح عقب صلح الرملة حتى نهاية الوجود الصليبي في الشام. أيضاً كان الملاحظ أن مواقف الإدارة الإسلامية من زيارات الأوروبيين للأماكن المقدسة قد تأثر بشكل واضح بما تم إدراجه عنها في بعض المعاهدات التي تمت بين أطراف الصراع في بلاد الشام في الفترة من عام 1192م إلى عام 1291هـ في ظل المد الإسلامي الناجح في استعادة ممتلكاته في المنطقة، وهي عدة معاهدات الرملة عام 1192م/588هـ، ومعاهدة 1204م/601هـ، ومعاهدة يافا 1229م/626هـ، ومعاهدة عام 1272م/670هـ، بالإضافة إلى ما عقده السلطان المنصور من معاهدات في عامي 1283م/682هـ و1289م/689هـ.

وفي النهاية يجب الإشارة إلى أن الإدارة الإسلامية ممثلة في الحكام المسلمين قد أدركوا دائماً أهمية احترام الديانات السماوية الأخرى وحق اليهود والمسيحيين في ممارسة عبادتهم في حرية وأمان. ولما كان الإسلام دين تسامح يميل إلى المسالمة، فقد نجح حكام المسلمين جميعاً في المواقف السابق ذكرها؛ باستثناء الملك الكامل، في انتهاج أسلوب السياسة المغلفة بالسماحة الدينية، والتي تتماشى مع طبيعة الإسلام السمحة، دون التفريط في أي مكاسب تم تحقيقها في مسيرة الجهاد لاستعادة الأراضي المسلوقة من العدوان الصليبي على بلادهم. وهذا يشير إلى أن الإدارة الإسلامية للأماكن المقدسة لم تتأثر بذلك الصراع الدائر في المنطقة في ذلك الوقت، واتبعت منهاج التسامح الديني دون تطرف أو تزمت؛ وهو المنهاج الذي ينبثق من الإيمان بحق أصحاب كل عقيدة سماوية بممارسة عبادتهم دون تضييق أو تعنت من أي جانب، بل أدرك الحكام المسلمون أن أولويات الحكم الهادف إلى الاستقرار هو الإيمان بحق الآخرين في ممارسة عقائدهم وطقوسهم دون مضايقة أو اجحاف لهم.

(74) ابن عبد الظاهر: تشریف الأيام والعصور، ص 156-161.



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

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The Legend of Prester John versus the Peace Negotiations between the Muslims and the Crusaders in Damietta (1218-1221/ 615-618 AH)

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Abstract:

There is a relationship between legends on one side, and human heritage, as well as the intellectual development of the societies' theology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, and history on other side.⁽¹⁾ Therefore, it is significant to discuss and analyze the myths and legends, measuring their impact on the hostility and the détente that marked the relations between Muslims and Crusaders during the age of the Crusades. What we discover is the extent to which the Prester John legend shaped real events – in both the Latin West and the East – and played a role in forging the history of the Crusader-Muslim conflict during the Fifth Crusade over the Egyptian city Damietta.

It is important to study not only the political-military history of the Crusades, but also the history of thought and culture behind the conflict, as well as the anthropology and mythology of the times. This work thus examines the legend of Prester John, one of the most influential legends at the time of the Crusades and afterward, by focusing on the extent to which it captured the Crusader-Western imagination and how in turn it affected the peace and reconciliation negotiations between the Latin Christians of the Fifth Crusade and the Muslims. It also investigates if the legend influenced and shaped Muslim thinking. In so doing, the present paper aims to clarify the degree to which this legend was actually reflected in the collective imaginings of Latin Christians in the West and in the Levant during the Fifth Crusade, and how it contributed to shaping the real events of peace negotiations in Damietta at that time.

The Birth of Prester John's legend:

About two decades after John, Bishop of India, arrived in Rome in 1122,⁽²⁾ where he disseminated stories about the miracles of St. Thomas in India, culminating in a description

(1) Hans Schoenmakers, *The Power of Culture: A Short History of Anthropological Theory about Culture and Power* (Groningen: University of Groningen, 2012), 32,46; Nasir al-Dīn Saidon, 'Fikrat Alustūrāt Wa Kitābat Altārīkh', *Ālām Ālfkr Journal* . 40, no. 4 (2012): 253.

(2) "De Adventu Patriarchae Indorum Ad Urbem Sub Caslisto Papa Ilo (Date: Mid. 12th C.(?)", in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 30–33, 34–38.



of the annual revivification of the interred body of St. Thomas.⁽³⁾ It is believed that the coming of this Indian bishop to Rome during the pontificate of Calixtus II in 1122 was the nucleus of the story of an Asian ruler called Prester John who had defeated the Muslims in the East and governed over a huge Christian Kingdom.⁽⁴⁾ Contributing to the Crusader's need for a "rescue" legend was the resistance movement against the Crusaders led by the Turkish atabeg Imad al-Din Zengy, who besieged and succeeded in taking the city of Edessa in 1144. These events created a ripe climate for a growing hope among the Christians that providence would rescue the Latin East by way of a Christian king who would emerge in the Orient to support the Crusaders in the Levant by overwhelming the Muslims from behind.⁽⁵⁾

The legend of Prester John was created under the historical pressure of real events in the Far East and the Levant. After the collapse of the Franco-Byzantine alliance in 1138, the Muslim resistance movement led by Imad al-Din Zengy managed to take control of the city of Edessa in 1144. Once Queen Melisende, the queen regent of Jerusalem, learned that the Muslims had captured Edessa, she summoned Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (1136-1149) to find an ambassador to Rome to ask for help and a new Crusade. Thus, Hugh, Bishop of Jabala (a Syrian city) was dispatched to Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153) in Viterbo in the spring of 1145. Hugh spoke of a rich and powerful, albeit mysterious, king in the Far East who was advancing to assist the Crusaders against the Muslims.⁽⁶⁾

Otto of Freising, (1111-1158), a German bishop, was witness to the report of Hugh of Jabala to Pope Eugenius III in Rome and was the first to record Prester John's legend in the seventh book of his chronicle, "*Otto's Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*." From then on, the legend of Prester John evolved to the point that it underpinned manifold events surrounding the Crusades. It has been said that Freising wrote this work during the time of the Second Crusade, in which he recorded the story of Prester John in one major revision of the original version in or before 1157.⁽⁷⁾

(3) This event has been described in the letter the letter entitled entitled; "On the arrival of the patriarch of the Indians to the city of Rome in the time of Pope Calixtus II , see the original Latin version and his translation in; Ibid.

(4) Andrew Kurt, 'The Search for Prester John, a Projected Crusade and the Eroding Prestige of Ethiopian Kings, c.1200–c.1540', *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 3 (2013): 297–320; Meir Bar-lian, 'Prester John: Fiction and History', *History of European Ideas* 20, no. 1–3 (1995): 291–98; Friedrich Zarncke, 'Der Patriarch Johannes von Idien Und Der Priester Johannes', in *PJMILT*, ed. Charles F. Beckingeham and Bernard Hamilton (UK&USA: Ashgate, 1996), 23–38.

(5) Serban Papacostea, *Between the Crusades and the Mongol Empire: The Romanians in the 13th Century*, ed. Trans. From Romanian by Liviu Bleoca (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian: Cultural Foundation, 1998), 164; Adil Hilal, *Al- Ailāqāt Baīn Al-Maghūl and Āūrūpa Wa Ātharahā Ala Al- Aālam Al-Eslāmy* (Cairo: Dar 'Ein, 1997), 18.

(6) William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, ed. trans. E. A. Bacock and A. C. Krey, vol. I (New York, 1943), 119, 142-144; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Vol. 2* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 15th ed, 1995), 225, 247-248.

(7) Otto of Freising (d. 1158), *The Two Cities, the Chronicles of Universal History to the Year of 1146*, trans.



Figure 1: *The legendary Prester John*, c. 1599. Engraving, 20.3×15.7 cm (8×63/16in.), by Luca Ciamberlano after Agostino Carracci, after Karel Van Mander.⁽⁸⁾

Freising reports that Hugh of Jabala told him of a mysterious king under the name of Prester John, who was also a Nestorian preacher, ruling a kingdom beyond the Armenian and Persian lands in the Far East. He was rich and powerful enough to assist the Crusaders and to attack the Muslims, having fought against the so-called Samiardi brothers, kings of Persia, in Media in today's western Iran and stormed "Ebcactana" or "Ekbatana" the royal city of their kingdom. According to Freising, the forces of the Persian kings surrounded Prester John in a three-day battle to the death, but Prester John had forced the Persians to flee and thereafter marched towards Jerusalem to rescue the Church of the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims. Unable to cross the Tigris River, the king ordered his men north. Knowing that the river became frozen in the winter, Prester John tried to cross the ice, but lost many of his men due to the harsh weather. Finally, Prester John was forced return to his country

Charles Christoph Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xi-xiv; Charles Christopher Mierow, 'Bishop Otto of Freising : Historian and Man', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 80 (1949): 393–402, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/283529>.

(8) Courtesy of Harvard Art Museums/ Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund. S1.44.2. Photo: Imaging Department, Harvard College. See: *Keagan Brewer (Trans.), Prester John: the Legend and its sources*, London: Ashgate, 2015.



with what remained of his army.⁽⁹⁾

Karl Helleiner writes that Hugh of Jabalah used the story of Prester John to plead for military assistance against the Muslims who controlled Edessa in 1144, and that this anecdote should be understood in the context of the Islamic-Christian conflict. The message, therefore, proposes a legendary strategy for surrounding the Muslims armies from the West and the East by way of a Christian military alliance between this person called Prester John and the western Crusaders.⁽¹⁰⁾

On the other hand, there is no doubt that this legend was a reflection of real historical events occurring in central and eastern Asia at this time. That may explain its appearance in Otto's report, and its contribution to European and Levantine imaginings. The first historical occurrence was the fall of Edessa in 1144 into the hands of Imad al-Din Zingy, which made the Levant a fertile environment for spreading tales, legends, and superstitions about a heroic figure who could rescue them.

The second real event is recorded by Ibn al-Āthir and Ibn-al-Jauzī, who wrote that Sultan Sanjar, ruler of Khorasan and Ghazni (died 1157), had been defeated by Yelu Dashi of the Qara Khitai State at the ferocious Battle of Qatwan in 1141-42 /536 AH, which took place in central Asia. The battle was so tremendous that Ibn-al-Jauzī and Ibn al-Āthir later wrote, "In the history of Islam, there was no battle greater than this (Qatwan)." It was especially important for Muslims because it was a crushing defeat for their forces under the leadership of Sanjar, whose army apparently lost some 100,000 fighters, including 4,000 women (!).⁽¹¹⁾

This highlights the defeat of Sanjar and his brother Masoud in 1141 and the collapse of the Kharizmain who were defeated by Yelu Dashi the next year, in 1142.⁽¹²⁾ Reports of Yelu Dashi became conflated with the figure of Prester John so that it was believed that Prester John was the leader who defeated the Muslim Seljuk Sultan Sanjar in 1142, and would, therefore, come to defeat the other Seljuk leader, Imad al-Din Zingy in Edessa in 1144. Nevertheless, Yelu Dashi was not a Nestorian, but in fact Buddhist, and the official religion of his state was Buddhism. A Chinese source relays, "On the day of Kai wu in the second month of 1121, Yelu Dashi slaughtered a black bull and white horse to the earth, heaven, and his predecessors and prepared himself launching to the East." This confirms that Yelu

(9) Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronica, 'Historia De Duabus Civitatibus', in *Monumentis Germaniae Historicis*, lib. VII, XXXIII, ed. Adolf Hofmeister (Hanover: Lipsiae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912), 363-67; Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, 443-44.

(10) Karl F. Helleiner, 'Prester John's Letter: A Mediaeval Utopia', *Phoenix*, 13, no. 2 (1959): 51-52.

(11) 'Izz ad-Din (d.1233/630 AH) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kitāb Al-Kāmil Fi Al-Tārīkh*, vol. 9, ed. Mohamed Yusuf, 4th ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmyah, 2003), 319; Abū-al-Farāj Abd-al-Rahman Ibn-al-Jauzī (d.1116/510AH), *Al-Muntazam Fi Tārīkh Al-Umam Wa Al-Mulūk*, Vol. 18, ed. Mohamed 'Ata and Mustafa 'Ata (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmyah, 1992), 17, 19.

(12) Hilal, *Al-Ailāqāt Baīn AlMaghūl and Āūrūpa*, 19; Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend* (Minnesota, 1959), 28.



Dashi was never a Christian; nevertheless, Christianity did make inroads in his lands at the hands of the Nestorians missionaries.⁽¹³⁾

In addition, the association between Prester John, as an Indian ruler, and the Muslims went back to the year of 392 AH / 1001 AD. When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (971-1030 AD), who was of Turkish-Persian origin, invaded India and captured the Indian ruler “Gibal”, who committed suicide by self-immolation, after which Islamic rule over India continued for eight centuries up to 1857 AD/ 1274 AH.⁽¹⁴⁾ This old conflict between India and the Muslims contributed to growing the hopes and imaginations of the Western-Crusading world about what was called Prester John and his victories over the Muslims in the Far East. An imaginary visualization of victory over the Muslims in India and Persia in the person of the awaited savior Priest, Prester John, fulfilled an important psychological function for Christian Europeans

The legend and the peace negotiations during the Fifth Crusade

Latin Christians in the West and the East employed myths and legends during the Crusades to recruit support for their conflict with Islam and Muslims.⁽¹⁵⁾ In Germany, religious rumors, stories, and legends spread to invoke the need for a Fifth Crusade. In 1217, rumors circulated that signs had appeared in the skies over the provinces of Cologne and Friesland in the shape of crosses; these appeared in three places: one appeared towards the north and was white in color, another, also white, pointing southwards and the third was a crucifix in the middle of a dark color. These signs were promoted as favorable portents for the launch of another crusade.⁽¹⁶⁾

King Andrew II of Hungary took up the cross and led the first wave of the Fifth Crusade to the Levant in 1217. However, King Andrew II returned to Hungary at the beginning of 1218 without having achieved little towards motivating the Western world against the Muslims.⁽¹⁷⁾

(13) Hilal, *Al-'Ailāqāt Baīn Al-Maghūl Wa Āūrūpa*, 19-21; Hafez Hamdi, *Aldaūlat Alkhaūārizmīat Wa AlMaghū* (Cairo, 1949), 51.

(14) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kītāb Al-Kāmil Fi Al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 8, 20; Ahmad al-Jawarneh, *Alhind Fi Dhil Alsāadah Aleslāmīah* (Yarmouk, Saudi Arabia: Hamada li Alnashr, 2006), 14, 30-31.

(15) Christopher Eric Taylor, “Waiting For Prester John: The Legend, the Fifth Crusade, and Medieval Christian Holy War.” (master’s thesis, University of Texas at Austin, May 21011), 3.

(16) Roger of Wendover (d.1236), *Flowers of History*, Vol.II., trans. J.A. Giles (London: Henry G. Born, 1849),388-89; Oliver of Paderborn, ‘Historia Damiatina (date late 1220s)’, in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 135-36; Oliver of Paderborn, ‘The Capture of Damietta’, in *CSC* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 48-49.

(17) Oliver of Paderborn, ‘The Capture of Damietta’, 56-57; Thomas C. Van-Cleve, ‘The Crusade of Frederick II’, in *The History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, ed. K.M.Setton. (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 393-94; Mahmud Saeed Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah 1218-21/615-18 AH* (Alexandria, Egypt: Dār al-M ‘aārif, 1985),176.



The Fifth Crusade against Egypt, 1217-1221, led to a revival of Prester John legend once again by Jacques de Vitry, the Bishop of Acre, who was involved in the Crusades in the early thirteenth century. De Vitry was the first one to believe in, and refer to, the Prester John legend in 1217. He wrote letters in 1217 to various ecclesiastics in Europe claiming that many Christian kings who lived in the East in regions next to the land of Prester John, had heard of the advent of the Crusaders, “*crucesignatorum*,” and were about to come to help them against Muslims “*Sarracenis*.”⁽¹⁸⁾

Whether de Vitry had heard this story from some Nestorian bishops or he and his followers produced it, it is clear that de Vitry’s aim was to whip up the enthusiasm of the European and Crusader forces towards taking on the Muslims in Egypt. The psychological role that this legend played in the Fifth Crusade is thus apparent. The importance of “Prester John’s reinforcements” is also clear when de Vitry claimed that the Christians who lived among Muslim “Saracens” outnumbered the Muslims, and if the Crusaders could gather “4,000 men”, they would not find any army strong enough to counter them. He also referred to the discord between Muslims.⁽¹⁹⁾ The appearance of these letters at the beginning of the Fifth Crusade contributed toward driving the enthusiasm for crusading warfare.

In 1219, Oliver of Paderborn, a German historian who participated in the Fifth Crusade and was one of its most important chroniclers, wrote that the Crusaders received a letter written in Arabic, whose author was neither a Jew, a Christian nor a Muslim. This anonymous letter prophesied the fall of Damietta. This letter predicted that a certain Christian king of the Nubians was underway to destroy the holy Muslim city of Mecca and to exhume the bones of the Prophet Muhammad, who is described by Oliver of Paderborn as «*the false prophet*.” Such actions would, he thought, lead to the glorification of e Christianity.⁽²⁰⁾

Although this letter might have been intended as a form of propaganda to reinforce the crusading effort against Damietta, the news of the above-mentioned letter as well as the siege of Damietta itself circulated throughout the Christian world. In addition, it led the Georgians to send a letter to the Crusaders’ camp in Damietta expressing shame that they

(18) Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres (1160/1170-1240)*, ed. R.B.C.Huygens (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1960), 95-98; Jacques de Vitry, ‘Letter II, March 1217’, in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015); 98-99; I. de Rachewiltzy, ‘Search of Prester John: Europe’s Early Vision of Asia’, in *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1971), 37-38.

(19) Jacques de Vitry, ‘Letter II, March 1217,’ 98-99; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 95-98; Reinhold Röhrich, ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII –MCCXCI)* (Oeniponti: Libraria Academica Wageriana, 1893), 280-28:no.894.

(20) Oliver of Paderborn, ‘The Capture of Damietta’ 89-91; Oliver of Paderborn, ‘Historia Damiatina,’ 135-139; Dominic Francis, ‘Oliver of Paderborn and His Siege Engine at Damietta’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 37 (1993): 28-32.



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were not joining the Crusade to Egypt.⁽²¹⁾ Accordingly, the Crusader leaders had a strong conviction that they would exterminate the Muslims and felt little need to hold peace talks with them.⁽²²⁾

Prester John was a motivational factor for the Crusaders in Damietta, especially whenever some disaster struck, such as the storm that wrecked the Crusader camp in 1218.⁽²³⁾ Crusaders, like de Vitry, used this legend to help overcome the difficulties they faced. On the other hand, the conspiracy of Ibn-al Mashtūb,⁽²⁴⁾ and a number of the princes to depose al-Kamil, led to the spread of chaos in the Muslim camp on the eastern side of Nile River. Thus in February, 1219 AD/Zulqida 615 AH, the Crusaders were able to march to the eastern side and take control of the Muslim camp.⁽²⁵⁾ This further increased the Crusaders' hope in the coming of Prester John, especially when they thought that the Muslims were frightened of his powers.

The news spread quickly among the Christians of the medieval world of the time about the presence of a Christian sovereign in the Far East, King Prester John/King David, who governed a number of people and had enormous wealth.⁽²⁶⁾ The Crusaders were hugely confident with this notion and were sure of the coming assistance from the Orient in the person of Prester John or, according to some texts, King David, who was determined to serve the Christian world and release it from the oppression of Islam.⁽²⁷⁾

Oliver of Paderborn maintained that King David, who was the son of Prester John or perhaps his nephew, fought with three armies against the Muslims. It was believed that the forces of King David would join the army of Emperor Frederick II, who had sent the Duke of Bavaria with the bishop of Passau, Count Guy of Brienne, the Marquis of Baden and others nobles, to Damietta in May 1221 to support the Crusaders.⁽²⁸⁾ These forces, together with the Crusader army in Damietta, would be sufficient to exterminate the Ayyubids in

(21) - Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 91.

(22) Serban Papacostea, *Between the Crusades and the Mongol Empire*, 164.

(23) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta' in *CSC*, 66-67; Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. II, 413; Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīyah Al-Khāmisah*, 217.

(24) 'Imad al-Dīn ibn al-Mashtūb was a Kurdish prince who rebelled against al-Kāmil sayin; "This (al-Kāmil) is a silly boy, and there is no benevolence comes from him." Abu Bakr Ibn Aybak al-Dwādāry (d. 1335/ 736 AH), *Kinz Al-Durar Wa Jāmi'u Alghurar*, Vol.7, ed. Saeed Ashour (Cairo: Dār Eaḥiā al-kutub, 1972), 198-200.

(25) Gamal al-Din Mohamed Ibn-Wāṣil (d. 1298/ 697 AH), *Mufarrij Al-Kurūb Fi Akhbār Banī Āyyūb*, Vol.4, ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shaiyal (Cairo, 1960), 16-17; Taqī al-Dīn Ahmed Ibn-Ali al-Maqrīzī (d.1441/845), *Kitāb al-Sulūk Li-M'arifa Duwal Al-Mulūk*, Vol.1, ed. Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Ata (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'lmyah, 1997), 314; al-Dīādāry, *Kinz al-Durar*, Vol.7, 198-200.

(26) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 90. note.2, 112, 113, note.4.

(27) Papacostea, *Between the Crusades and the Mongol Empire*, 164.

(28) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 90-note.2, 112, 113-note.4; Paul Pelliot, 'Deux Passages de La Prophétie de Hannan, Fils d'Isaac', in *PJMTLT* (UK&USA: Variorum& Ashgate, 1996), 113.



Egypt.⁽²⁹⁾ Hence, the possibility of making peace with the Muslims was dismissed, as long as they believed in their powers and the fictional army of Prester John. However, this belief would drive them to a disaster in the end, as will soon be made clear.

Although the Crusaders in Damietta showed hostility to the Muslims, the people of Damietta were not equally set on war, avoided giving offense and sought some form of peace agreement. Expecting a long siege, the residents of Damietta stored wheat, flour and any other supplies they might need during this Crusader investment. Additionally, they sent their messengers to inform al-Kāmil about their cruel situation.⁽³⁰⁾

However, the propaganda concerning the imminent arrival of the legendary king, Prester John or his son David and their fictional army, contributed psychologically to the obstruction of any peace negotiations. In fact, it fed the Crusader's enthusiasm for warfare – or as they saw it, certain victory. There was, they felt, no need to make peace with the Muslims. Such feelings became stronger when the news of the above-mentioned letters, as well as the fall of Damietta, circulated in the Christian world. Thus, as long as the Crusaders believed in Prester John, the possibility of making peace with the Muslims was ignored.

The Legend of Prester John versus al-Kāmil's Peace Offers:

Once the Crusaders arrived on the coast of Egypt at Damietta, Sultan al-Kāmil of Egypt sent his men to beg the Muslim world to rescue Egypt and wrote to his brothers in the Levant seeking their help against the Crusaders.⁽³¹⁾ However, al-Kāmil was also inclined to hold peace talks with the Crusaders, believing that reconciliation would be better than war and that the objective of any warring parties was to establish a permanent peace.⁽³²⁾

In March 1219 AD/ Zulhijja 615 AH, al-Kāmil sent a peace offer to the Crusaders in which he offered to hand over to them the cities of Jerusalem; Tibnīn, Tiberius as well as the other areas that had been taken by Salah al-Dīn, except for the castles of Karak and Montreal “*Shoubak*.” In return, the Crusaders would raise their siege on Damietta and leave Egypt.⁽³³⁾ The King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, preferred to accept this offer, but Pelagius, who was the papal legate, as well as the Knights Hospitallers, and Knights Templar, refused to

(29) Oliver of Paderborn, ‘The Capture of Damietta’ 90-note.2, 112, 113-note.4; Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffā, *Tārīkh Misr Min: Tārīkh Al-Baṭārikah Li-Sawīrus Ibn Al-Muqaffā*, Vol 3.2., ed. Abd-al-Aziz Jamāl al-Dīn (Cairo: Maitabat Madbūly, 2006), 1530.

(30) Omran, *Al-Hmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 193.

(31) Badr al-Dīn al-‘Ainī (d. 1451/855 AH), *‘Iqd Al-Jumān Fi Tārīkh Āhl Al-Zamān*, Vol.4, ed. Mahmud Rizq, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub wa al-Wathāiq al-Qaūmīah, 2010), 57; al-Dwādāry, *Kinz Al-Durar*, Vol.7, 190-191.

(32) Omran, *Al-Hmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 36-37; Mohammed M. Zeadh, *Hamlit Loius XI ‘ala Misr* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Tālīf wa Tarjama, 1961), 49.

(33) Abū al-Faraj Gregorius Ibn al-‘Ibrī (d. 1286/ 660 AH), *Tārīkh Mokhtaṣr Al-Diwwal*, ed. Antoine Salhani, 2nd ed. (Lebanon: Dar al-Raaed, 1994), 413; Oliver of Paderborn, ‘The Capture of Damietta,’ 84-86, 89-90; Ahmed Sheir, *Tibnīn (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade AD 1105-1266 / AH 498- 664* (Germany: GRIN, 2015), 95-96.



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hold peace negotiations with the Muslims.⁽³⁴⁾ It looked, according to the above-mentioned letters of Prester John, that the Crusaders wanted to capture the whole of Egypt and the Muslim world with Prester John's awaited assistance.

Al-Mu'azzam—Isa, al-Kamīl's brother and ruler of Damascus, marched to join his brother al-Kamil in Egypt and to defend it against the Crusaders' invasion. On his way to Egypt, he destroyed several Muslim castles and cities, as he wanted to leave them in an untenable condition for the Crusaders in case they accepted al-Kāmil's above-mentioned peace offer.⁽³⁵⁾ He also calculated that even if the Frankish forces did occupy these cities, he would be able to regain them because they would be vulnerable without defenses.⁽³⁶⁾

Interestingly, Oliver of Paderborn thus perceived an association between the above-described precautions of al-Mu'azzam and the potential coming of Prester John. He mentions that al-Mu'azzam (called "Cordin" by Oliver) came with the princes of Hamah and Homs to help Egypt. Oliver maintained that the Ayyubids were influenced by the power of King David, the son of Prester John, who had achieved great victories over the Persians and Khwarismains. The power of King David was threatening Baghdad, the capital of the Caliphate. Thus, according to Oliver, al-Mu'azzam was afraid to advance far from his land, though he did finally march to Egypt.⁽³⁷⁾

The extent to which the collective mind of the Crusaders in Damietta connected between Prester John and the legend of King David, was connected to their refusal to consider the peace-building overtures of the Muslims soon became obvious. The Crusaders believed that the Muslims were suing for peace in order to avoid the overwhelming extermination they would face once the forces of Prester John or his son David reached Damietta. In addition, the legend helped the Crusaders to manage and overcome any internal conflicts in their own ranks.

That this legend had an influence on the Muslim-Crusader peace negotiations was obvious on the beaches of Damietta. In August 1219 AD/ Jumada al-Thani 616 AH, the Crusader-Western forces in Damietta refused a new peace offer from al-Kāmil, who sent two Crusader prisoners, Andrew of Nanteuil and John of Arcis, to renew his former peace offer and hold

(34) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kitāb Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 10, 379; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 143-44; Pelliot, 'La Prophétie de Hannan, Fils d'Isaac,' 113; Joseph Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 62-63.

(35) Thomas C. Van-Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in *Setton, Vol. II*. (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 410; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Vol. 3*, 156.

(36) Ahmed Ibn Ali al-Harīrī (d.1519/926 AH), *Al-I'alām Wa Al-Tibūn Fi Khorūd Al-Firingj Al-Malā'aīn 'Ala Dīār Al-Muslmīn*, ed. Suhail Dhakar (Damascus, 1981), 91; Shīhab al-Dīn Abū-Shāmah (d.1266/665AH), *Dhīl Al-Raūdatīn*, ed. Mohammed Zahid Ibn-al-Hassan, 2nd ed. (Beirut-Lebenon: Dar al-Jāal, 1974), 155; Sheir, *Tibnīn (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 96.

(37) Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatina,' 136, 139; Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 123-124, 130.



a truce.⁽³⁸⁾ Al-Kāmil offered to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and other castles. He also promised that he would send twenty Muslim nobles as hostages until delivery of the above-mentioned places to the Crusaders had taken place.⁽³⁹⁾ However, the Crusaders rejected all attempts to negotiate a peace with the Ayyubids, and the Muslims had to resort to war to liberate Damietta.⁽⁴⁰⁾

It was interesting that the second peace offer of al-Kāmil came after a great triumph of the Muslim forces over the Crusaders in Fāriskūr; a small village near Damietta, on August 29th, 1219/ 16th Jumada al-Thani 616 AH. In this battle, the Muslims pretended to withdraw, but resumed their attack against the Crusaders at night, inflicting heavy losses.⁽⁴¹⁾ However, the peace offer made thereafter represented a sincere intention on the part of the Muslims to end the conflict, and it also reflected the extent to which this legend influenced the conflict and the peace-building process.

Notwithstanding the Crusaders' rejection of a peace treaty, the Sultan of Egypt renewed his peace offer for the third time. He offered to hold a truce for thirty years and pay five thousand Bezant/dinars to the Crusaders in exchange for the castles of Karak and Shoubak. He also promised to pay all expenses to rebuild the castles and cities that had been destroyed by his brother al-Mu'azzam.⁽⁴²⁾ Omran written that it was unreasonable for the Crusaders to refuse all these offers. On the other hand, it is possible that al-Kamil's generous concessions were mere political trickery, or a ploy by which to gain time, and regroup Muslims forces.⁽⁴³⁾

(38) Vitry, *Lettres De Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170-1240)*, 150; Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 264; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 62; Rachewiltzy, 'Search of Prester John,' 39.

(39) Van-Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade,' 415; 69.

(40) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kītāb Al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, 379; Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c.1175-1237* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 198-200.

(41) Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 114; Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 260-261.

(42) Eracles, 'Estorie d'Eracles, Empereur et de Conquest de La Terre d'outreMer', in *R.H.C.H. Occ., Tome II* (Paris, 1859), 342-43; Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 264; Perry, *John of Brienne*, 198-200.

(43) Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 265.



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Figure 2: Attacking the city of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade from the boats on the river; Matthaei Paris Chronica Maiora II, Saint Albans, England, ca. 1240–53. Folio 59V, MS 16II, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.⁽⁴⁴⁾

During the long siege of Damietta, the people who had suffered indescribably and faced certain starvation,⁽⁴⁵⁾ were hoping al-Kāmil would make peace with the Crusaders. The situation became worse with the death of al-Kāmil's brother, al-Fā'iz, who was responsible for bringing assistance from the East, with increasing the Mongol danger, and with the conflict between al-Kamil and his brother in Aleppo. All these exigencies forced al-Kamil to make one last attempt at peacemaking a few days before the fall of Damietta in November 1219. The Crusaders, as before, refused to consider peace.⁽⁴⁶⁾

As described, the Prester John legend had driven the Crusaders to reject peace. This was obvious in Jacques de Vitry's Letter VII, dated 18th April 1221, when he said that the Sultan of Egypt, al-Kāmil, had heard about the marvels of King David, Prester John's son. Accordingly, the Sultan of Egypt contacted certain Latin nobles who were captives in Cairo, "*John of Arques-la-bataille, odo of Chatillon, Andrew of Carignon*" and certain Knights Templar, Knights Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights, through whom he aimed to build peace with the Crusaders ("us"). Moreover, Jacques de Vitry mentions that al-Kāmil sent letters with his own messengers to the Crusaders' camp with the aim of forming a

(44) Helen Nicholson and David Nicolle, *God's Warriors: Crusaders, Saracens and the Battle for Jerusalem* (UK: Osprey, 2005), 190.

(45) Röhricht, *Regesta*, 246:n0.924; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 112-22; Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah al-Khāmisah*, 270 .

(46) Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, Vol. II, 421-422; Ibn-Wāṣil, *Mufarrij Al-Kurūb Fi Akhbār Banī Āyyūb*, Vol.4, 23; Omran, *Al-Ḥmlah Al-Ṣalībīah al-Khāmisah*, 270 .



peace agreement or at least a truce. The Crusaders, however, refused the offer, particularly, when the Crusaders received the above-mentioned news and rumors regarding King David or Prester John. They also received a letter confirming that Emperor Fredrick II was about to march in August with substantial supplies to help the Crusaders in Damietta.⁽⁴⁷⁾

It has been mentioned that de Vitry and the Crusaders obtained the above-mentioned letter about King David, through their Arab spies in Outremer, where Prince Bohemond IV obtained it from spice merchants in Antioch.⁽⁴⁸⁾ De Vitry and others did consider this legendary letter as trustworthy and as a legitimated fact. Translated by De Vitry into Latin, the letter Christianized the Mongols. Additionally, there were some real historical events added to this letter, like the certain Latin nobles who were sent by al-Kāmil to present his request of peace, in order to be consistent with their imaginary historical events.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Jacques de Vitry's letter of 1221 stated that the Christians would vanquish the city of Damietta, which would then be subject to the control of two new kings; one for the West, Fredrick II, and the other from the East, Prester John. These kings would exterminate some Muslims, and others would convert to the "faith of Christ." De Vitry wrote that the Crusaders announced the previously mentioned news and letter to the Christian people who "were gathered on the Word of God", i.e. who had joined the Crusade. However, they waited for a long time without hearing any pleasant news or letters from either the Emperor Fredrick II or King David, the eastern king.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Al-Kāmil was himself facing several internal troubles because of the conspiracy of Ibn-al-Mashtūb, which led him to leave the Muslim camp. This left it open to the Crusaders, who captured it in February 1219/ Zulqida 615 AH.⁽⁵¹⁾ In addition, news had arrived that the Mongols led by Genghis Khan had invaded the eastern Muslim lands, news which terrified the Muslims in Egypt and Syria. By contrast, the same news revived the crusading spirit. In Genghis Khan (1206-1226 AD/ 603-623 AH) the Crusaders imagined they had found a divine ally, and awaited the successor of Prester John.⁽⁵²⁾

The extent to which the Levant and the West believed in this legend is obvious from the outcome in Damietta. It led the Crusaders' rejection of peace with the Ayyubids of Egypt.

(47) Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 134-53; Röhrich, *Regesta Regni*, 250: no. 941; Jacques de Vitry, 'Epistola VII, Date 18th April 1221', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 128, 132.

(48) Christopher Eric Taylor, 'Waiting for Prester John: The Legend, the Fifth Crusade, and Medieval Christian Holy War' (master's thesis, the University of Texas at Austin, 2011), 1, 8-9.

(49) Jacques de Vitry, 'Epistola VII, Date 18th April 1221,' 128, 132; Taylor, "Waiting For Prester John," 8-9

(50) Jacques de Vitry, 'Epistola VII, Date 18th April 1221,' 128-29, 133-34; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 134-53; Röhrich, *Regesta Regni*, 250: no. 941.

(51) Ibn-Wāṣil, *Mufarrij Al-Kurūb Fi Akhbār Banī Āyyūb*, Vol. 4.16-17; Omran, *Al-Hmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 234-35.

(52) Omran, *Al-Hmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 236; Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, *Entishār Al-Eslām Bān Al-Māghūl Wa Al-Tatār* (Cairo, 1933), 28.



Subsequently, many rumors about Prester John and his son, King David, spread throughout the Christian world, and were used as a psychological weapon to discourage any attempts to make peace with the Muslims. No less than three other versions of the letters associated with King David, son of Prester John, were used in these propaganda wars, letters asserting that King David or Prester John were awaited in Damietta. They depicted David, his army, and his kingdom as the divine superpower, which would crush the Persians and the Muslims in the East, and eventually the Muslims of Egypt also.

These three versions of the letter associated with King David were Latin translations from what was thought to be original Arabic, written by a Christian in Baghdad in 1220 or early 1221, with some elements added to the Latin translation. The letters recorded the victories of King David, son or grandson of Prester John – in reality Genghis Khan. Jacques de Vitry in Egypt received a copy of the letter and its second version, which was widely circulated in 1220-1221. The letter described the initial movements of the Mongols and included the names of many places and cities that were subject to the authority of “King David.”⁽⁵³⁾

Moreover, the letter wrongly mentioned that King David defeated the sultan Soniar, referring to the Sultan Sanjār of Khorasan and Ghazni, who was defeated in the above-mentioned battle of Qatwan in 1141-42 AD /536 AH by Yelu Dashi the leader of Kara Khitai State.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This mistake was perpetuated for more than fifty years, between 1141-42 and 1220-1221, which shows that the sender and author of the letter had a historical knowledge of the story of Prester John which was first began in Europe with the Bishop of Jabala in Rome in 1145 and further recorded by Otto of Freising.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The author of the letter wanted to restore the old hopes and boost the Crusaders’ ambitions in Egypt.

Eric Taylor argues that this shows “the ideological stamina of Christianity by subtly incorporating Islam’s influence into the construction of John’s realm and ruling practices.”⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Crusaders and the Western world imagined Prester John, or his son King David, to be the protector of the Christian world; the present letter declared that he had insulted the Muslims’ Caliph and would deliver Baghdad. The messenger said, “*Our king... wants to have Baghdad so that the seat of our Patriarch might be there.*”⁽⁵⁷⁾

This letter also referred to the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, which had been demolished by al-Mu’azzam, as mentioned above. Once again, it depicts this King as a

(53) Relatio de Davide, ‘(Prima Carta, 1220/early 1221)’, in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 107-113; Relatio de Davide, ‘(Secunda Carta of 1220/1221)’, in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 114–17; Relatio de Davide, W. and R., *Epistola (Tertia Carta 1220/1221)* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 118-122.

(54) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kitāb Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 9, 319; Ibn-al-Jauzī, *al-Muntaẓam Fi al-Tārīkh al-Umamm*, Vol. 18, 17, 19.

(55) Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, 443-444.

(56) Christopher Eric Taylor, ‘Waiting for Prester John,’ 26.

(57) Relatio de Davide, ‘(Prima Carta),’ 105-106, 112-113.



Nestorian Christian, who freed the Christian captives sent by al-Kāmil of Egypt, “Sultan of Babylon”⁽⁵⁸⁾ as a gift to the Caliph of the Muslims in Baghdad.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Hence, a historical, albeit willful, misconception occurs conflating King David with Genghis Khan, the former who was said to have sent a letter to the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasser “Alnazer” in 1221, demanding his homage and so forth. However, the historical resources mention nothing regarding any letter that might have been sent by Genghis Khan to Bagdad at this time, 1221 AD/617-618 AH.

Indeed, in 1217 AD/614 AH, the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasser in Baghdad requested the assistance of Genghis Khan against the Sultan Mohamed Ibn Khawarizm, who was about to attack Baghdad because of his disagreement with the Abbasid Caliph. The latter thus sent his messengers to the Mongol leader to enlist him as an ally against the Khwarizmi Sultan.⁽⁶⁰⁾ There were many other points of convergence such as this between acts that the letter attributed to King David but which in reality were linked to Ghengis Khan.

Ibn al-‘Ibrī mentions that the Tatars under the leadership of Genghis Khan conquered the lands beyond the river, which in the letter is called the “*Alaanar*” in 1219/ 616 AH with about 200,000 soldiers. He subsequently captured the lands of the Khwarizmi state, described under the name “*Chavarsmisan*” in David’s letter, as well as Samarkand, and other cities up to the borders of Iraq, Baghdad and the Muslim Caliphate.⁽⁶¹⁾ It did not record that Genghis Khan (King David) sent a letter to Baghdad or even brought it under his authority.

In 1219, 617 AH, Ibn al-Āthīr also wrote that people came from China to the lands of Turkistan, including Kashgar and Blasagun. They then headed to lands beyond the River, including Samarkand and Bukhara, among others. Some of these Tatars marched on Khorasan and devastated it, after which they continued to conquer the cities from Khorasan up to the border of Iraq. Later, a group of them marched to Ghazni, India, Sajestan, Kerman and other cities and countries, committing atrocities and crimes.⁽⁶²⁾ This clearly illustrates that the writer of the King David/Prester John letter and the Crusaders added imaginative and dramatic materials to the legend by attributing the exploits of the actual historical Genghis Khan to the non-existent Prester John and his son David.

The letter states that the son of Prester John forced the Muslims to rebuild the walls of

(58) who was known to the latinas in the crusader states as Meledin, with variants thereon. In medieval usage, Babylon of signified to Cairo, *Relatio de Davide*, ‘(Prima Carta),’ 113, note:21.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kītāb Al-Kāmil*, Vol.10, 371-373; Fouād Saīād, *AlMaghūl Fi Altārīkh*, vol.1 (Beirut: Dar alnahdhah, 1980), 71-74.

(61) Ibn al-‘Ibrī, *Tārīkh Mokhtaṣr Al-Diwwal*, 407-411, Abd El Salam Fahmy, *Tārīkh Aldawlah Almaghwliāh Fi Eīrān* (Cario: Dar Almā‘arif, 1981), 57-70.

(62) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kītāb Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 10, 399-401.



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Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by al-Mu'azzam.⁽⁶³⁾ However, the city of Jerusalem remained in Muslims' hands until 1229 when Emperor Fredrick II took control of the city on February 18th, 1229/ 638, through the Agreement of Jaffa signed with al-Kāmil of Egypt.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Because al-Mu'azzam had destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, it remained without defense until the Crusaders rebuilt the city's walls in 1239, which in turn led to the repeal of the agreement of 1229 between the Muslims and the Crusaders.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Returning to Damietta, we find one individual on the Crusader side interested in peacemaking – St. Francis of Assisi, who had abandoned military life and become a preacher. St. Francis thought that he could convert the Muslims and their Sultan al-Kāmil to Catholicism and that this could serve as the foundation for a peace without bloodshed. St. Francis got Pelagius' approval and visited the Muslims' camp and the Sultan al-Kāmil, who listened to Francis and his offer of peace through conversion. St. Francis believed that peace could not hold without the conversion of the Muslims. He was an ardent Christian who sought to convert all people to a belief in Christ. His overtures to al-Kamil could thus be seen as another form of the crusading mission to regain Jerusalem for Christianity.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Meanwhile, the Crusaders continued to refuse any peace agreement with al-Kāmil of Egypt, who contacted the Crusaders for this purpose in 1221 AD/ 618 AH; as mentioned, al-Kāmil had offered to hand over to the Crusaders the cities of Jerusalem, Tiberius, Sidon, Jabala, and Latakia, as well as all of the places that had been taken by Salah al-Din. The Crusaders, however, refused a peace settlement and demanded three hundred thousand dinars (al-Maqrīzy says that they asked for 500 thousand), in compensation for the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Disputes broke out between King John of Brienne of Jerusalem (1210-1225), who favored accepting the peace offer of the Muslims, and the papal legate, Pelagius, over the leadership of the Crusaders in Damietta. In March 1220, King John of Brienne and his forces returned from Damietta to defend Acre and Crusader possessions in Syria against al-Mu'azzam,⁽⁶⁸⁾

(63) Sheir, *Tibnān (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 96; Van-Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade,' 410 ; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 3, 156.

(64) al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Al-Sulūk*, Vol.1, 353-54; Sheir, *Tibnān (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 97.

(65) Ibid, 100-101; Peter Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239-41 and Their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50, no. 1 (University of London:1987), 42; Saeed Ashour, *Al-Ḥarakah Al-Ṣalībīyah*, Vol. 2 (Cairo, 1963), 987-89.

(66) Adam L Hoose, 'Francis of Assisi's Way of Peace? His Conversion and Mission to Egypt', *The Catholic Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (2010): 449–69; Jessalynn Lea Bird, 'Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): Oliver of Paderborn's and James of Vitry's Missions to Muslims Reconsidered', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21, no. 1 (2004): 30; Rosalind B Brooke, 'The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages by E. Randolph Daniel', *Speculum* 52, no. 3 (1977): 643–44.

(67) al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Al-Sulūk*, Vol.1, 327; Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Tārīkh Al-Baṭārikah*, Vol 3.2, 1538; Omran, *Al-Hmlah Al-Ṣalībīyah Al-Khāmīyah*, 323.

(68) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 101-102; Pelliot, 'La Prophétie de Hannan, Fils d'Isaac,'



who had returned to Damascus to mobilize Islamic forces to fight the Crusaders in Egypt, as well as launch attacks against their possessions in Syria to distract the Crusaders' attention from Egypt. In 1221, John of Brienne returned to Damietta with numerous stories about the victories of King David, "who they say is the son of Prester John."⁽⁶⁹⁾ This news underlay their intention to continue fighting the Muslims and caused them to dismiss all peace-making attempts.

This is a quotation from Brienne' story of Prester John "My counsel shall stand, and all my will shall be done; there is no one who can resist my countenance (...). I have found David, son of Prester John, my servant; with my holy oil, I have anointed him king of the Indies (...). I have given victory over the king of the Persians; I have placed a great part of Asia under his feet. The King of the Persians, being lifted up unto excessive pride, wished to be the monarch of Asia; against him, King David, who they say is the son of Prester John, won the first fruits of victory. Then he subjugated other kings and kingdoms to himself, and, as we learned by a report that reached far and wide, there is no power on earth that can resist him."⁽⁷⁰⁾

Pope Honorius III received a letter from Plagues, the papal delegate, in March in 1221,⁽⁷¹⁾ recounting the glories of King David and triumphs against the Muslim "infidels." The Pope used the aforementioned peace-building proposal to promote Prester John's legend, stating that the news of Prester John caused the Muslims to be frightened and that this was the reason they were suing for peace.⁽⁷²⁾ Influenced by the report of Plagues, Honorius accepted the news about "Prester John" and "King David" that was circulating, though actually based on the victories of Genghis Khan.⁽⁷³⁾ The Pope in turn spread this report of the good news from the East among Western political figures including the Archbishop of Trier, to whom he wrote:

"The lord has clearly begun to judge his cause, mindful of the injuries suffered by his people every day, and of the reproaches of those who call upon him. Actually, as our Venerable brother Pelagius, Legate of the Apostolic See, has informed us in his letter, King David, who is ordinarily called Prester John, a catholic and God-fearing man, has entered Persia with powerful forces, has defeated the Sultan of Persia on the battlefield, has invaded and

113; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 70-71; Omran, *Al-Hmlah Al-Ṣalībīah Al-Khāmisah*, 298.

(69) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 112-113

(70) Ibid.

(71) It was said that this letter was among the Chaldean letters discovered by Pelagius in "the temple of the Saracens" and then translated by Pelagius, who sent it to the Pope. See: Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica (1232-1241)', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 146-147.

(72) 'Pope Honorius III, Letter Date 12th March 1221', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 124; R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge & Massachusetts: Harvard University press, 1962), 45-46.

(73) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 124 . n.7.



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occupied 24 days' march of his land. He holds therein many fortified cities and castles. His army is not even ten days' march from Baghdad, the greatest and most famous city, and special seat of the Caliph, whom the Saracens call their chief priest and pontiff. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

Thus the papacy's dreams of supremacy over the East – including Christians and Muslims – appeared to be on the verge of fulfillment. In other words, it could be said that the Prester John legend of the Fifth Crusade seemed to be a kind of attempt at a convergence of the till then divergent Eastern and Western Christian powers, who could now be allied against the Muslims. In addition, the Pope hoped to use this legend to bolster the supremacy of the Papacy over secular authority in the West.

The letter shows the attitude of the Pope towards the Muslims' peace proposals on the one hand, and the legendary savior, Prester John on the other; it is clear evidence of the hold the Prester John legend had over the collective consciousness of the Christians and their leaders in the West and the Levant. The pope believed that the Muslims must be frightened of Prester John's powers:

“The fear of these events has caused the Sultan of Aleppo, brother of the Sultans of Damascus and Egypt, to prepare his army to attack the Christian forces at Damietta and to march against the above-mentioned king. (...). Whence we hope in the Lord that, if our army at Damietta receives the help in this summer, it will easily occupy the land of Egypt, while the forces of the Saracens, which had been gathered from all directions to defend it, have been dispersed to defend the parts of their land. Owing to this reason, we command your brotherhood through these papal writings that urge the Crusaders in the region of Trier to fulfill their vows to come to assist the above-mentioned army. ⁽⁷⁵⁾

However, the passage above makes clear the Pope's lack of knowledge about the political and religious situation in the East. In another passage, the pope says that the Georgians were “*Catholic men,*” who would launch a war against the Muslims; but in fact, the Georgians were Orthodox and owed allegiance to the Seljūks of Asia Minor. In addition, the Georgians were geographically distant from the Muslims of Egypt and Syria, there were no joint borders between them nor did they have a powerful army. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

Bernard Hamilton writes that the letter Pope Honorius III received from Plagues with its prophecy was originally written in Arabic and was an updated rewrite of “the work of the ninth century Persian Nestorian scholar, Hunan Ibn Ishak.” He also thought it possible that the Copts of Egypt wrote the letter. ⁽⁷⁷⁾ Christian Tyerman, on the other hand, believed that

(74) ‘Pope Honorius III, Letter’ 123-124; F. Zarncke, ‘Zur Sage von Prester Johannes’, *Neues Archiv* II (1887), 612-13; Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 45-46.

(75) ‘Pope Honorius III, Letter,’ 123-124; Zarncke, ‘Zur Sage von Prester Johannes,’ 612-13; Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 45-46.

(76) Hilal, *Al-‘Ailāqāt Baīn Al-Maghūl wa Āūrūpa*, 25; Rachewiltzy, ‘Search of Prester John,’ 39.

(77) Bernard Hamilton, ‘Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies’, in *Prester John, the*



this prophecy was a byproduct of an Egyptian Nestorian interpretation from around 1220.⁽⁷⁸⁾

It is quite unreasonable to believe that the Nestorians played a any role in spreading and feeding the legend of Prester John because the Nestorians did not have any interest in engendering the Crusades or in promoting this prophecy. On the contrary, they hoped for peace because the seat of the Nestorian Patriarch in Asia was in Baghdad. Furthermore, the dhimmis, Eastern Christians or Copts, were well integrated into the Islamic state and were respected by Muslims as “people of the book”. The Crusaders on the other hand, regarded the Eastern Christians and Copts as heretics.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Hilal maintains that the Crusaders themselves circulated the prophecies and rumors surrounding Prester John, and that the legends and myths about a Christian King coming from the Far East to recapture Jerusalem were an expression of the Western Christian’s deep-seated hostility towards the Muslims and the Arabs. But the Prester John legend also represented a continuously dynamic effort to unify the Crusaders forces to restore Jerusalem and to encroach on Muslim lands. Such efforts were particularly renewed after every unsuccessful confrontation with the Muslims, such as in 1144 after the fall of Edessa, during the Second Crusade or during the Fifth Crusade.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Adding fuel to the fire, the Pope relayed in another letter that King David had begun marching on Baghdad with around “400,000 men, including 132,000 Christian Knights,” and that the capture of the city was imminent.⁽⁸¹⁾

These letters and the spread of rumors by Pope Honorius, Plagues, Jacques De Vitry and others formed and reflected the imaginings of the crusading culture of the Latin West and East. After a long waiting period, in which peace agreements with Muslims were refused, Prester John did not come! The Crusaders marched towards Cairo in July 1221 and the Egyptian forces repulsed them. This interval of time in which the crusaders waited for Prester John, proved pivotal and enabled the Muslims to regroup while the seasons changed from dry to monsoon. Equally it the Nile time to burgeon and overflow in the summer, contrary to the rivers in Europe, and preventing the Crusaders from crossing itsouthward to Cairo.⁽⁸²⁾ The Muslims were thus able to besiege the crusader forces between the two water sources of the Nile.⁽⁸³⁾

All told, the legend of Prester John and its impact on decisions for war or peace in the Fifth Crusade was an anomaly. However, it is also indicative of the Crusaders essential

Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes, ed. C.F. Buckingham and B. Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 243.

(78) Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 642

(79) Hilal, *Al- Ailāqāt Baīn Al-Maghūl wa Āūrūpa*, 25-26.

(80) Ibid, 25-26.

(81) Zarncke, ‘Zur Sage von Prester Johannes,’ 613-614; Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 46.

(82) Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Tārīkh al-Baṭārikah*, vol.3.2, 1538; Brewer, *Prester John*, 97.

(83) Brewer, *Prester John*, 97.



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determination – one might even say irrational desire – for supremacy over the Muslims. Prester John, “merely provided a vessel through which a long-held Christian desire might materialize.”⁽⁸⁴⁾

After several more clashes between the two sides in Damietta, the Crusaders eventually did come to make a peace agreement.⁽⁸⁵⁾ At this point, Al-Āshrāf, al-Kāmil’s brother, was not inclined to be reconciled and wanted to wipe out the Crusaders. Nevertheless, the Sultan al-Kāmil said that this was not right nor was it in the interests (“Maṣlaḥah,”) of Muslims. The Sultan was concerned that the Crusaders were the Latin Christian senior knights, still in control of the city of Damietta at the time. The right decision, he argued, was to make peace with the Crusaders, who were in such a weakened state by then that they would accept any terms offered from the Muslim side.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The Crusaders signed a peace agreement and a truce with the Muslims and left Egypt on the September 7th, 1221/ 7th Rajab 618. All prisoners held by the Crusaders and Muslims were released according to the terms of this long-awaited peace.⁽⁸⁷⁾

It is not an overstatement to say that the Crusaders lost the Fifth Crusade, not on the beaches of Damietta or the Nile River but behind the Tigris River. Furthermore, the destruction of the Khwarizmi state, the battles of Persia, and the incalculable psychological effect this had upon the Crusaders certainly changed the course of the Fifth Crusade – while also helping the Ayyubids foster their power in Egypt.⁽⁸⁸⁾ In other words, while the Legend of Prester John and the overthrow of Khwarizmi rule, gave new hope and enthusiasm to the Crusaders, it also allowed the Ayyubids to concentrate on uniting their forces and overcoming their differences so as to more successfully face the Crusaders.

Steven Runciman has argued that the papal legate, Pelagius, was an arrogant man who caused the failure of the Fifth Crusade by refusing the peace terms offered by the Sultan of Egypt. However, his strategy might not seem quite as intransigent, i.e. refusing to take back the city of Jerusalem without holding the castles of Montreal castle and Karak, when we consider that the Muslims in Egypt and Syria were in alliance and governed by the same sultan.⁽⁸⁹⁾

At all stages of its development and evolution, the Prester John’s legend was an attempt to merge fiction and fact so as to induce greater numbers of Christian soldiers and knights

(84) Taylor, ‘Waiting for Prester John,’ 49.

(85) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kitāb Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 10, 380; Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Tārīkh Al-Baṭārikah*, Vol 3.2, 1539; Al-‘Ainī, *Iqd Al-Jumān*, Vol.4,57.

(86) al-al-Dwādāry, *Kinz Al-Durar*, Vol.7, 211.

(87) Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kitāb Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 10, 380; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Al-Sulūk*, Vol.1, 329.

(88) Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 73-74.

(89) Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 74.



to fight the Muslims in Egypt in defense of Christianity and its “honor”.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The mystery of Prester John’s legend left its imprint particularly on the Fifth Crusade.

European writers and European society were aware of the existence of the Tartars and the Mongols, but had consciously or unconsciously imagined the forces of Prester John and his son David in their place. In Alberic’s chronicle it is recorded that when King David, the son of Prester John, and his army heard about the delivery of Damietta to the Muslims, they returned to their fatherlands. Alberic writes that the Hungarians and Cumans called the army of King David the “Tartars” at the time of the chronicle of Alberic, 1232-12141.⁽⁹¹⁾

In conclusion, although the legend of Prester John was used to oppose peace with the Muslims, the failure of the miraculous rescue by Prester John eventually forced the Crusaders in Damietta to seek peace without any of the advantages they might have originally had. They only asked the Egyptians to allow them to travel far away from the water, which besieged them everywhere. The legend thus while serving the Crusader cause in the beginning by helping to rally Crusader morale, in the end led to defeat and disappointment. While belief in Prester John and his imminent arrival was an effective psychological weapon against Muslims, it also provided a delay that gave the Muslims a chance to overcome their difficulties and to regroup their forces.

In principle, the Muslims were willing to sue for peace because their internal affairs were tenuous at the beginning of the Fifth Crusade. There was a rebellion led by Ibn-al Mashtūb, which was subdued with al-Mu’azzam’s assistance.⁽⁹²⁾ The Muslims also feared an alliance between the advancing Mongols in the East and the Crusaders. However, the Crusaders misinterpreted the Muslims’ actions as a fear of Prester John. While the Muslims feared a genuine foe, the Crusaders had converted that foe and his victories into an imaginary Crusader legend.

In the beginning, Muslims sued for a peace that would have disadvantaged them and stripped them of much of what they had gained since 1187. It would have been reasonable to expect the Crusaders to jump at this spectacular offer, which gave them Jerusalem. However, the Crusaders refused the offer twice, relying instead on exaggerating the legend and lore of Prester John. This in turn changed the historical narrative of both the Christian West and the Muslim East. If anything, the impact of the myth of Prester John on the course of history demonstrates how myth can also become truth.

(90) Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 74.

(91) Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, ‘Chronica (1232-1241),’ 146, 147.

(92) Ibn-Wāsil, *Mufarrij Al-Kurūb Fi Akhbār Banī Āyyūb*, Vol.4, 16-17.



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Abbreviations:-

PJLIS: Prester John: The Legend and Its Sources, trans. Keagan Brewer

Setton: The History of the Crusades, ed. Setton.

CSC: Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1229, trans. J.J. Gavigan, Sources in Translation, ed. E. Peters

PJMTLT: Prester John: The Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes, ed. Bernard Beckingham, Charles and Hamilton.

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أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا في مواجهة المفاوضات السلمية بين المسلمين والصليبيين في دمياط إبّان الحملة الصليبية الخامسة (1218-1221 م / 615-618 هـ)

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ملخص البحث

تُعد الحكايات الشعبية والخرافات والأساطير تعبيراً عن الفكر السائد لدى مجموعة معينة من البشر، عاشوا في منطقة محددة، أثناء فترة زمنية بعينها. فهناك علاقة وطيدة بين الأساطير والموروث الإنساني وكذلك التطور الفكري للمجتمعات دينياً واجتماعياً وفلسفياً وتاريخياً.⁽¹⁾ لذلك أصبح من المهم مناقشة الأساطير والخرافات وتحليلها، والوقوف على مدى تأثيرها على العلاقات العدائية والسلمية، العسكرية والسياسية، التي شكلت تاريخ العالم. وأنه لمن الجدير بالبحث معرفة إلى مدي لعبت أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا دوراً في تشكيل أحداث تاريخية حقيقة في الغرب والشرق، والتي بدورها أثرت على الصراع الصليبي الإسلامي أثناء الحملة الصليبية الخامسة على مصر.

وتكمن أهمية هذا البحث في أنها لم تتناول التاريخ السياسي والعسكري للحروب الصليبية فحسب، بل دراسة التاريخ الفكري والثقافي، فيما وراء هذا الصراع العسكري، وكذلك دراسة التاريخ الأنثروبولوجي والأسطوري في نفس الوقت. والإنساني والخرافي للحملة الصليبية من خلال دراسة أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا وهي إحدى أهم الأساطير التي كان لها بالغ الأثر إبّان الحملات الصليبية وبعدها. ومن ثم، ويُركّز البحث على إبراز إلى أيّ مدى أسرت تلك الأسطورة الخيال الغربي الصليبي أثناء الحملة الصليبية الخامسة، وكيف أثر ذلك الأمر بدوره على مفاوضات السلام بين المسلمين والصليبيين (المسيحيون اللاتين) في الحملة الصليبية الخامسة التي وقعت أحداثها على شواطئ دمياط المصرية. كما يهدف البحث إلى الوقوف على مدى تأثير هذه الأسطورة على المسلمين. وبذلك، فإن هذه الدراسة تهدف إلى دراسة إلى أي مدي أثرت هذه الأسطورة على العقلي والفكر الجماعي وقت الحملة الصليبية الخامسة، والذي بدورها في تغيير سير الأحداث على أرض الواقع أثناء مفاوضات السلام التي جرت في دمياط أثناء وقت الحملة الصليبية الخامسة.

(1) Hans Schoenmakers, *The Power of Culture: A Short History of Anthropological Theory about Culture and Power* (Groningen: Unveersity of Groningen, 2012), 32,46;

نصر الدين صيدون، "فكرة الأسطورة وكتابة التاريخ"، مجلة عالم الفكر. العدد 40:4 (2012): 253.



نواة أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا وجذورها:

بعد مرور قرنين تقريباً من زيارة أسقف الهند، المبعوث يوحنا، إلى روما عام 1122،⁽²⁾ والتي تحدّث فيها عن معجزات القديس توماس الرسول في الهند، وقد تمادي في وصف موطنه الشرقي، وكذلك وصف معجزات وبركات قبر القديس توماس في الهند.⁽³⁾ ويعتقد أن زيارة المبعوث الهندي يوحنا البابا إلي روما في 1222، لحضور تتويج البابا كاليستوس الثاني، هي النواة الأولى عن قصة عن حاكم آسيوي يدعى الكاهن يوحنا والذي استطاع أن يهزم المسلمين في الشرق، ويحكم مملكة مسيحية هائلة.⁽⁴⁾ لا سيّما وأنّ ظهور حركة المقاومة بقيادة عماد الدين زنكي، والذي استطاع استعادة مدينة الرها عام 1144، قد ساهم في إيجاد بيئة مناسبة للاعتقاد المتنامي في أنّ العناية الإلهية ستنقذ الممالك الصليبية في الشام على يد ملك مسيحي آتٍ من الشرق لمساعدة الصليبيين من خلال مهاجمة المسلمين من الخلف.⁽⁵⁾

ولقد نشأت الأسطورة كرد فعل لأحداث تاريخية حقيقة حدثت في الشرق الأقصى البعيد وفي بلاد الشام. فبعد انهيار التحالف البيزنطي الفرنجي في 1138، استطاعت حركة المقاومة الإسلامية تحت قيادة عماد الدين زنكي باسترداد مدينة الرها في عام 1144. وبمجرد أن علمت الملكة ميلسندا، الوصية على عرش مملكة بيت المقدس، بسقوط مدينة الرها، سارعت في طلب ريموند أوف بواتيه، أمير إمارة أنطاكية الصليبية، من أجل الإعداد لإرسال سفارة إلى روما لطلب المساعدة ضد المسلمين من خلال إرسال حملة صليبية جديدة. ومن ثم؛ أرسل هيو أسقف جبلة إلى البابا يوجين الثالث (1145-1153) في مدينة فيترابوا الإيطالية، في ربيع عام 1145 لطلب العون. وقد أخبر هيو عن ملك ثري ذي سلطة قوية - يُحيطه بعض الغموض - في الشرق الأقصى، في طريق لمساعدة الصليبيين في حربهم ضد المسلمين.⁽⁶⁾

كان الأسقف الألماني أوتو أوف فريسنج (1111-1158)، شاهداً عياناً على تقرير هيو أسقف جبلة، المقدم للبابا يوجين الثالث في روما، حيث روي أسقف جبلة قصة الكاهن يوحنا الكامن في بلاد الشرق البعيد. ولذلك كان فريسنج أول من سجّل أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا؛ حيث دونها في المجلد السابع من حوлиته التاريخية

(2) "De Adventu Patriarchae Indorum Ad Urbem Sub Caslisto Papa Ilo (Date: Mid. 12th C. (?)" in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 30-33, 34-38.

(3) هذا الحدث قد وصف في خطاب أودو أوف ريمز عن وصول البطريرك الهندي إلي مدينة روما في وقت البابا كاليستوس الثاني، أنظر النص اللاتيني:

'De Adventu Patriarchae Indorum Ad Urbem Sub Caslisto Papa Ilo,' 30-33, 34-38.

(4) Andrew Kurt, 'The Search for Prester John, a Projected Crusade and the Eroding Prestige of Ethiopian Kings, c.1200-c.1540', *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 3 (2013): 297-320; Meir Bar-lian, 'Prester John: Fiction and History', *History of European Ideas* 20, no. 1-3 (1995): 291-98; Friedrich Zarncke, 'Der Patriarch Johannes von Idien Und Der Priester Johannes', in *PJMTLT*, ed. Charles F. Beckingeham and Bernard Hamilton (UK&USA: Ashgate, 1996), 23-38.

(5) Serban Papacostea, *Between the Crusades and the Mongol Empire: The Romanians in the 13th Century*, ed. Trans. From Romanian by Liviu Bleoca (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian: Cultural Foundation, 1998), 164;

عادل هلال، العلاقات بين المغول وأوروبا وأثارها على العالم الإسلامي (القاهرة: درا عين، 1997)، 18.

(6) William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, ed. trans. E. A. Bacoock and A.C. Krey, vol. I (New York, 1943). 119, 142-144; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Vol. 2* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 15th ed, 1995), 225, 247-248.



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

المعروفة باسم المدينتان، *Otto's Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*، ومنذ ذلك الحين، تطوّرت أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا تدريجياً إلى أن أضحي لها دوراً بارزاً في تشكيل الأحداث المحيطة بالحروب الصليبية. ويذكر البعض، أن أوتو أوف فريسنج كتب حوليته سألقة الذكر أثناء الحملة الصليبية الثانية (1146-1148)، ثم في عام 1157 أو قبله، قام بتتقيح كتابه السابع من تلك الحولية 1157، والذي يتضمن في فصله الثالث والثلاثون الرواية الخاصة بأسطورة الكاهن يوحنا.⁽⁷⁾

يذكر أوتو أوف فريسنج أن هيو أسقف جبلة أخبره عن ملك غامض يُدعي الملك يوحنا، نستوري المذهب وداعية مسيحي، ويحكم مملكة تقع خلف الأراضي الأرمنية والفارسية في الشرق البعيد. هذا الملك الكاهن لديه من القوة والثراء ما يجعله قادراً على مساعدة الصليبيين ومهاجمة المسلمين، حيث أنه حارب ملوك الفرس المدينيين، الذين يُدعوا "Samiardi"، ويسمي عرش مملكتهم اكباتنا "Ekbatana". ولقد حاربت قوات هذه الممالك الكاهن يوحنا في معركة استمرت ثلاثة أيام حتى الموت، والتي انتصر فيها قوات الأخير، زاحفاً تجاه مدينة القدس لإنقاذها وكنيسة القيامة من أيدي المسلمين. ولقد حاول الكاهن يوحنا عبور نهر دجلة، الذي يُعرف بأنه يتجمد في فصل الشتاء، وبعد عدة محاولات لعبور النهر، خسر فيها الكثير من رجاله، عاد مع ما تبقى من جيشه إلى بلاده.⁽⁸⁾



(7) Otto of Freising (d. 1158), *The Two Cities, the Chronicles of Universal History to the Year of 1146*, trans. Charles Christoph Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xi-xiv; Charles Christopher Mierow, 'Bishop Otto of Freising: Historian and Man', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 80 (1949): 393-402, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/283529>.

(8) Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronica, 'Historia De Duabus Civitatibus', in *Monumentis Germaniae Historicis*, lib. VII, XXXIII, ed. Adolf Hofmeister (Hanover: Lipsiae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912), 363-67; Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, 443-44.



صورة خيالية للكاهن يوحنا، رُسمت عام 1599.⁽⁹⁾

ويروي كارل هيلينر؛ بأن هيو أسقف جبلة استخدم قصة الكاهن يوحنا كنوع من الدعم لطالبه من البابا، حتى يوافق على تقديم دعماً عسكرياً ضد المسلمين الذين استعادوا مدينة الرها عام 1144م. ويجب أن يتم تفسير هذه الأسطورة وفهمها في سياق الصراع المسيحي الإسلامي. وبالتالي، كانت الاستراتيجية المقترحة أن يتم تطويق جيوش المسلمين من جهتي الشرق والغرب على يد تحالف عسكري مسيحي بين جيوش ذلك الملك المعروف بالكاهن يوحنا وجيوش الغرب اللاتيني الذي سيرسلها البابا.⁽¹⁰⁾

ومن ناحية أخرى، ما من شك في أن الأسطورة قد عكست أحداثاً تاريخية وقعت على أرض الواقع بالفعل في منطقة آسيا الوسطى في تلك الآونة، مما قد يُفسّر ورودها في تقرير أوتو أوف فريسنج؛ الأمر الذي ساهم في زيادة مصداقية الأسطورة في الخيال الصليبي الغربي في أوروبا وبلاد الشام. وقد كان الحدث التاريخي الأول الذي أُستخدم في الترويج لهذه الأسطورة، هو سقوط مدينة الرها عام 1144 في يد عماد الدين زنكي، وبذلك باتت منطقة الشام أرض خصبة لانتشار الحكايات والخرافات والأساطير عن المنقذ الذي سيهب لنجدة الصليبيين. أما الحدث التاريخي الثاني، فهو ما سجّله ابن الأثير وابن الجوزي اللذان أخبرا عن السلطان سنجر، حاكم خراسان وغزنه، (توفي عام 1157)، الذي مُني بهزيمة نكراء على يد "ييلو داشي" مؤسس دولة القراخاني، وكان ذلك في معركة قطوان الشهيرة التي وقعت في آسيا الوسطى عام 41-1142م/536 هـ. وقد كانت معركة رهيبة حقاً حتى إن ابن الأثير وابن الجوزي كتبا بعد ذلك عنها وقال: "إن تاريخ الإسلام لم يشهد معركة أعظم من هذه". وبالفعل فقد هُزم جيش المسلمين تحت قيادة السلطان سنجر شرّاً هزيمة؛ إذ بلغ عدد القتلى مائة ألف شخص من بينهم أربعة آلاف امرأة!⁽¹¹⁾

بذلك هُزم السلطان سنجر وأخوه الملك مسعود عام 1141 وتلا ذلك انهيار الدولة الخوارزمية على يد خلفاء ييلو داشي عام 1142. وهكذا جاءت فكرة أن الكاهن يوحنا هو ذلك القائد العظيم الذي استطاع أن يُنكّل بالمسلمين مُلقاً شرّاً هزيمة لجيوش السلطان السلجوقي سنجر عام 1142،⁽¹²⁾ وبالتالي سيأتي كي يهزم الملك السلجوقي الآخر عماد الدين زنكي في الرها عام 1144. ومع ذلك، فلم يكن "ييلو داشي" نسطورياً، ولكنه كان بوذياً، وكانت الديان الرسمية لدولته هي البوذية. وقد ورد في مصدرًا صيني أنه "في يوم كاي وو، في الشهر الثاني لعام 1121، قام "ييلو داشي بذبح ثور أسود وحصان أبيض، قريباً إلى السماء والأرض وإلى أسلافه، ثم جهز نفسه وانطلق متجهاً إلى الشرق." مما يؤكد ذلك أنه لم يكن أبداً معتقاً للمسيحية، ومع ذلك امتدت جذور المسيحية في أرضها على يد المبشرين النساطرة.⁽¹³⁾

(9) The legendary Prester John, c. 1599. Engraving, 20.3×15.7 cm (8×63/16in.), by Luca Ciamberlano after Agostino Carracci, after Karel Van Mander. Courtesy of Harvard Art Museums/ Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund. S1.44.2. Photo: Imaging Department, Harvard College. See: Keagan Brewer (Trans.), *Prester John: the Legend and its sources*, London: Ashgate, 2015.

(10) Karl F. Helleiner, 'Prester John's Letter: A Mediaeval Utopia', *Phoenix*, 13, no. 2 (1959): 51–52.

(11) عز الدين ابن الأثير (ت. 1233م/630 هـ)، كتاب الكامل في التاريخ، تحرير، محمد يوسف، ط 4 (بيروت: دار الكتب العلمية، 2003)، 319؛ أبو الفرج الجوزي (ت. 1116م/510 هـ)، المنتظم في تاريخ الأمم والملوك، ج 18، تحرير: محمد عطية ومصطفى عطية (بيروت: دار الكتب العلمية، 1992)، 17، 19.

(12) Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend*, 28؛ هلال، العلاقات بين المغول وأوروبا، 19

(13) هلال، العلاقات بين المغول وأوروبا، 19-21؛ حافظ حمدي، الدولة الخوارزمية والمغول (القاهرة: 1949)، 51.



هذا وترجع العلاقة بين الكاهن يوحنا، أو حاكم الهند في واقع الأمر، والمسلمين إلى عام 392هـ / 1001م حينما قام السلطان محمود الغزنوي (971-1030م) -ذو الأصول الفارسية والتركية- بغزو الهند وأسر حاكمها "جيبال" الذي انتحر حارقاً نفسه. واستمر حكم المسلمين للهند لثمانية قرون حتى عام 1857م / 1274هـ. وهكذا كان للصراع القديم بين الهند والمسلمين أثر بالغ في تنامي آمال الصليبيين في الغرب وتصوّراتهم عن ذلك المُنقذ الذي غزا أعداءهم المسلمين في الشرق الأقصى بعدما استمر حكمهم لثلاثة قرون. ويُعد هذا بمثابة التفسير النفسي للتصوّر الخيالي عن تحقيق النصر على المسلمين في الهند وبلاد فارس على يد المُنقذ المُنتظر؛ الكاهن يوحنا. (14)

الأسطورة والحملة الصليبية الخامسة

قام الغرب اللاتيني وصليبي الشرق اللاتيني بتوظيف الأساطير والخرافات في صراعهم مع المسلمين أثناء عصر الحروب الصليبية. (15) حيث انتشرت في ألمانيا مجموعة أساطير وخرافات وقصص دينية للدعاية إلى الحملة الصليبية الخامسة. وفي عام 1217، كانت هناك شائعات عن ظهور علامات في سماء مقاطعتيّ كولونيا وفرايزلاندا على شكل صليب بدا على ثلاثة صورٍ؛ أحدها أبيض تجاه الشمال والآخر له اللون نفسه تجاه الجنوب والآخر يحمل صورة السيد المسيح مُعلقاً عليه وقد ظهر في المنتصف وذو لون داكن. وفُسرت هذه العلامات على أنها بشائر تدل على ضرورة القيام بحملة صليبية جديدة للشرق. (16)

وبالفعل قام الملك أندرو الثاني ملك المجر باتخاذ أولى خطوات الحملة الصليبية الخامسة حاملاً الصليب ومتوجهاً صوب أراضي الشام. إلا أنه عاد أدراجه في عام 1218 دونما إحراز أي نصر يُذكر من شأنه المساهمة في حثّ العالم الغربي لمواجهة المسلمين. (17) وأثناء الحملة الصليبية على مصر (1217-1221) تمكن جاك دي فيتري، أسقف عكا والذي شارك في الحملات الصليبية منذ أوائل القرن الثالث عشر، من إعادة إحياء أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا مرةً أخرى؛ إذ كان أول مَنْ بها وأشار إليها عام 1217 في خطابه الذي أرسله إلى عديد من رجال الكنيسة في أوروبا. وقال إنَّ هناك كثير من الملوك المسيحيين -الذين يعيشون في الشرق وحتى أراضي الكاهن يوحنا- قد سمعوا بتقدّم الصليبيين «*crucesignatorum*». وأنهم على أهبة الاستعداد لمساعدتهم ضد المسلمين. "Sarracenis". (18)

(14) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج8، 20؛ أحمد الجوارنة، الهند في ظل السيادة الإسلامية (اليرموك: المملكة العربية السعودية، حمادة للنصر، 2006)، 14، 30-31.

(15) Christopher Eric Taylor, "Waiting For Prester John: The Legend, the Fifth Crusade, and Medieval Christian Holy War." (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, May 21011), 3.

(16) Roger of Wendover (d.1236), *Flowers of History*, Vol.II., trans. J.A. Giles (London: Henry G. Born, 1849), 388-89; Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatina (date late 1220s)', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 135-36; Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta', in *CSC* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 48-49.

(17) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta', 56-57; Thomas C. Van-Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', in *The History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, ed. K.M.Setton. (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 393-94; محمود سعيد عمران، الحملة الصليبية الخامسة (الإسكندرية: دار المعارف، 1985)، 176.

(18) Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres (1160/1170-1240)*, ed. R.B.C.Huygens (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1960), 95-98; Jacques de Vitry, 'Letter II, March 1217', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015); 98-99; I. de Rachewiltz, 'Search of Prester John: Europe's Eraly Vision of Asia', in *Papal Envoys to the Great*



وسواء أكان جاك دي فيتري قد سمع هذه القصة من الأساقفة النسطوريين أم أنه قد اختلق - هو وأعوانه - تلك الرواية برممتها فإن ذلك يؤكد حرصه على دفع القوات الأوروبية والصليبية وإلهاب حماسهم للهجوم على المسلمين في مصر. وكان ذلك جلياً عندما أخبر بأن أعداد المسيحيين الذين يعيشون في أراضي المسلمين تفوق أعداد المسلمين أنفسهم، وأنه إن استطاع الصليبيون أن يجمعوا "أربعة آلاف مقاتل، « فلن يستطيع جيش المسلمين التصدي لهم بأي حال من الأحوال. كما أشار إلى حالة الفرقة والنزاع السائدة بين المسلمين آنذاك.⁽¹⁹⁾ ومن ثم، فإن ظهور هذه الخطابات في بداية الحرب الصليبية الخامسة، ساعد على إشعال الحماسة الصليبية وتعزيزتها ضد المسلمين.

وفي عام 1219، أوليفر أوف بادربون - وهو أحد المؤرخين الألمانين الذين شاركوا في الحملة الصليبية الخامسة ومن أبرز المؤرخين لها - يذكر أن الصليبيين تلقوا خطاباً مكتوباً باللغة العربية، ولم يكن كاتبه يهودياً ولا مسيحياً ولا مسلماً. تنبأ هذا الخطاب بسقوط دمياط. وتنبأ هذه الخطاب أن ملك مسيحي معين من النوبيين،⁽²⁰⁾ كانت متجه إلى تدمير المدينة الإسلامية المقدسة، مكة المكرمة، ونبش عظام النبي محمد صلي الله عليه وسلم، الذي وصفه أوليفر بادربون باسم «النبي الكذاب» - مما يبين مدي الكراهية ضد المسلمين ونبههم - واعتقد أوليفر إن مثل هذه الإجراءات قد تؤدي إلى تمجيد المسيحية.⁽²¹⁾

على الرغم من أن هذا الخطاب هو شكل من أشكال الدعاية من أجل تعزيز الجهود الصليبية ضد دمياط، فإن خبر وصول هذا الخطاب وكذلك حصار دمياط، قد انتشرت في جميع أنحاء العالم المسيحي. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، دفعت الكرج إلى إرسال رسالة إلى معسكر الصليبيين في دمياط معرباً عن خجلهم من أنهم لم ينضموا إلى الحملة الصليبية المتجهة إلى مصر.⁽²²⁾ مما جعل قادة الصليبيين في الغرب يؤمنون بأنهم سيقضون على المسلمين، ومن ثم فلا داعي للخوض في مفاوضات من أجل السلام مع المسلمين.⁽²³⁾

ولعبت أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا دوراً بارزاً في إبقاء حماسة الصليبيين في دمياط مُتَقَدَّة، لا سيَّما بعد تعرضهم لبعض الكوارث مثل تلك العاصفة التي هبَّت عليهم وحطمت معسكرهم عام 1218.⁽²⁴⁾ فاستعان الصليبيون - مثل جاك دي فيتري - باستحضار أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا في الأذهان، للتغلب على مثل هذه الصعوبات والنكبات. ومن ناحية أخرى، أدى تأمر ابن المشطوب،⁽²⁵⁾ مع عدد من الأمراء للإطاحة بالملك الكامل

Khans (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1971), 37-38.

(19) Jacques de Vitry, 'Letter II, March 1217,' 98-99; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 95-98; Röhricht, *Regesta*, 280-28: no. 894.

(20) في إشارة إلى الكاهن يوحنا حيث كان هناك خلط بين مملكة الهند والحبشة حتى النوبة شمالاً، على انها جزء من مملكة الهند حينذاك، وأراضي الكاهن يوحنا التي تمتد حتى الحبشة.

(21) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta' 89-91; Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatina', 135-139; Dominic Francis, 'Oliver of Paderborn and His Siege Engine at Damietta', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 37 (1993): 28-32.

(22) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 91.

(23) Serban Papacostea, *Between the Crusades and the Mongol Empire*, 164.

(24) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta' in *CSC*, 66-67; Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. II, 413; عمران، *الحملة الصليبية الخامسة*، 217.

(25) عما الدين ابن المشطوب، كان أمير كردي تمرد ضد الملك الكامل قائلاً: "هذا" الكامل" صبي سخيف ولن يأتي من وراءه أي خير." أنظر: أبو بكر أبيك الدواداري (ت. 1335م / 736هـ)، *كنز الدرر وجامع الغرر*، ج7، تحقيق: سعيد عاشور (القاهرة: دار إحياء الكتب، 1971)، 198-200.



(1218-1238م/615-635هـ) من الحكم إلى انتشار حالة من الفوضى في صفوف المسلمين الموجودين في الضفة الشرقية لنهر النيل. وهكذا سَنحت الفرصة أمام القوات الصليبية للهجوم على معسكر المسلمين في فبراير عام 1219م / ذو القعدة 615 هـ، الأمر الذي أدى بدوره إلى زيادة آمال الصليبيين في مجيء الكاهن يوحنا إليهم، خاصة وأنهم اعتقدوا أن المسلمين يخشون قدومه على رأس جيوشه الجرارة التي سمعوا بشأنها. (26)

وبالفعل انتشرت الأخبار سريعاً بين المسيحيين آنذاك، عن وجود مملكة عظيمة يحكمها الملك المسيحي عظيم الشأن: الكاهن يوحنا والذي يفرض سطوته على مجموعة من الأقوام شديدي الثراء والسلطة. (27) وهكذا استقرت في أذهان الصليبيين فكرة مجيئي العون من جهة الشرق على يد الكاهن يوحنا - أو كما ذكرته بعض النصوص الملك داود - الذي آمن بضرورة نجدة العالم المسيحي وتحريره من ربقة الذل تحت حكم المسلمين. الأمر الذي ترتب عليه استحالة بناء السلام مع المسلمين؛ إذ إنهم آمنوا بقدرات جيش الكاهن يوحنا الجبارة الذي سيهب لنجدتهم قريباً. (28)

أخبر أوليفر أوف بادربون بأن الملك داود - ابن الكاهن يوحنا أو ابن أخيه - قاد ثلاثة جيوش في حربه ضد المسلمين، وأن قوات الملك داود ستتضم إلى قوات الإمبراطور فريديريك الثاني، الذي أرسل دوق بافاريا مع أسقف باساو والكونت جي برين، وماركيز بادن، وعدد من النبلاء الآخرين، الذين وصلوا دمياط في مايو عام 1221 لدعم القوات الصليبية. (29) ومما لا شك فيه أصبح الأمر لدي الصليبيين أن هذه القوات، بالإضافة إلى جيشهم المتواجد بالفعل في دمياط، ستكون كافية لاستئصال شأفة الأيوبيين من مصر تماماً. (30) ومن ثم أصبحت إمكانية بناء السلام مع الأيوبيين في دمياط غير ممكنة، طالما ان الصليبيين يؤمنون بالقوة الخارقة للمزعوم الكاهن يوحنا وقواته. ومع ذلك، فإن هذا الاعتقاد كان السبب في حدوث كارثة للصليبيين في نهاية الحملة الصليبية كما سيتضح لاحقاً.

وبالرغم من أن الصليبيين الموجودين في دمياط كانوا يُعاملون المسلمين بعداوة شديدة، فقد أثرت أهالي دمياط اتباع سياسة الدفاع وتجنب الأساليب العدائية وسعوا نحو بناء السلام. وقد توقع المسلمون في دمياط استمرار حصار القوات الصليبية لهم فاستعدوا لذلك بتخزين كميات من القمح والدقيق والمؤن المختلفة التي قد يحتاجون إليها أثناء هذا الحصار، وأرسلوا إلى الملك الكامل يُعلمونه بموقفهم العصيب. (31)

ولا ريب في أن الدعاية للكاهن يوحنا وابنه الملك داود وجيوشهما الجرارة، ساهمت نفسياً في عرقلة عملية

(26) جمال الدين ابن واصل (ت. 697/1298هـ)، مفرج الكروب في أخبار بني أيوب، ج4، تحرير: جمال الدين الشيال (القاهرة: (1960)، 16-17؛ تقي الدين المقرئ (ت. 845/1441هـ)، كتاب السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك، ج1، تحقيق: محمد عطية (بيروت: دار الكتب العلمية، 1997)، 314؛ الدواداري، كنز الدرر، ج7، 198-200.

(27) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 90. note.2, 112, 113, note.4.

(28) Papacostea, *Between the Crusades and the Mongol Empire*, 164.

(29) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 90-note.2, 112, 113-note.4; Paul Pelliot, 'Deux Passages de La Prophétie de Hannan, Fils d'Isaac', in *PJMTLT* (UK&USA: Variorum& Ashgate, 1996), 113.

(30) Oliver of Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta'.90-note.2, 112, 113-note.4;

ساويرس ابن المقفع. تاريخ مصر من تاريخ البطارقة لساويرس ابن المقفع، م.2:3، تحقيق: عبد العزيز جمال الدين (القاهرة: مكتبة مدبولي، 2006)، 1530.

(31) عمران، الحملة الصليبية الخامسة، 193.



بناء السلام؛ بل إنها ساعدت كثيراً في إشعال حماسة الصليبيين بانتظارهم ذلك الدعم غير المسبوق. ومادام الصليبيون يؤمنون بمجيئ الكاهن يوحنا، فمن ثم؛ فلا داعي لإقامة سلام مع المسلمين.

أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا في مواجهة عروض الملك الكامل لبناء السلام

ما أن وصل الصليبيين ساحل دمياط حتى أرسل الملك الكامل رجاله إلى شتى أرجاء العالم الإسلامي من أجل الدعوة للاتحاد ونجدة مصر؛ فأرسل إلى إخوانه في الشام طالبا مساعدتهم ضد الصليبيين.⁽³²⁾ وفي نفس الوقت، كان الملك الكامل يسعى نحو إجراء مباحثات للسلام مع الصليبيين؛ إذ إنه كان يؤمن بأن التوصل إلى تسوية سلمية معهم سيكون أفضل بكثير من خوض الحرب، وأن هدف أي أطراف متناحرة هو التوصل إلى حالة من السلام الدائم فيما بينهم.⁽³³⁾

ولذلك أرسل السلطان الكامل ملك مصر عرضاً للسلام في مارس 1219 / ذو الحجة 615، نصّ على أن يُسلمهم مدينة القدس وتبنين وطبرية، بالإضافة إلى مجموعة من المدن الأخرى التي كان صلاح الدين قد استردها في 1187، على أن يحتفظ المسلمون بحصن الكرك والشوبك؛ وفي المقابل يُغادر الصليبيون دمياط ويتركوا الأراضي المصرية.⁽³⁴⁾ وقد كان جون أوف بريين ملك مملكة بيت المقدس الصليبية يميل نحو قبول هذا العرض، إلا أن بلاجيوس مبعوث البابا وكذلك فرسان المعبد والداوية، اكتناهم الكبر ورفضوا عقد مباحثات للسلام مع المسلمين.⁽³⁵⁾ ويبدو أن الصليبيين كانوا يأملون في الاستيلاء على الأراضي المصرية بالكامل، بالإضافة إلى باقي العالم الإسلامي؛ وذلك بمعاونة جيوش الكاهن يوحنا الجرارة التي كانوا في انتظارها.

تقدّم المُعظّم عيسى (1218-1227م/615-624هـ) - أخو الملك الكامل وحاكم دمشق - لمؤازرة أخيه الكامل في مصر وصد الغزو الصليبي. وفي طريقه إلى مصر حطم مجموعة من الحصون والقلاع؛ إذ أراد تركها للصليبيين وقد لحقها من الدمار ما لا يُمكن إصلاحه فيما بعد في حالة إذا وافق الصليبيون على عرض السلام الذي يقدمه أخوه الملك الكامل.⁽³⁶⁾ وإن استطاعت قوات الفرنج الاستيلاء على هذه المدن فسيكون

(32) بدر الدين العيني (ت. 1451م/855هـ)، *عقد الجمان في تاريخ أهل الزمان*، ج4، تحقيق: محمد رزق، ط2 (القاهرة: دار الكتب والوثائق القومية، 2010)، 57؛ الدواداري، كنز الدرر، ج7، 190-191.

(33) عمران، الحملة الصليبية الخامسة، 36-37؛ محمد زيادة، حملة لويس السابع علي مصر (القاهرة: لجنة التأليف والترجمة، 1961)، 49.

(34) أبو الفرج ابن العبري (ت. 1286/660 هـ)، تاريخ مختصر الدول، تحرير: أنطوني صالحاني، ط2 (لبنان: دار الرائد، 1994)، 413.

Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 84-86, 89-90; Ahmed Sheir, *Tibnīn (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade AD 1105-1266 / AH 498- 664* (Germany: GRIN, 2015), 95-96.

(35) ابن الأثير، *الكامل*، ج 10، 379.

Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 143-44; Pelliot, 'La Prophétie de Hannan, Fils d'Isaac,' 113; Joseph Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 62-63.

(36) Thomas C. Van-Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in *Setton, Vol. II*. (Madison, Mikwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 410; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Vol. 3*, 156.



من السهل عليه استعادتها؛ إذ ستكون سهلة المنال بعدما تركها دونما حماية تُذكر. (37)

ومن المثير للدهشة؛ أن أوليفر أوف بادربون ربط بين ردّ فعل المُعظّم عيسى ومجيئ الكاهن يوحنا؛ إذ أخبر أن المُعظّم -وأطلق عليه اسم "كورادين" - جاء مع أمراء حماة وحمص لنجدة مصر. وفَسّر أوليفر ذلك التصرف بأنّ الأيوبيين يخشون بأس الملك داود، ابن الكاهن يوحنا، الذي استطاع تحقيق انتصارات عظيمة ضد الخوارزميين والفارسيين، وأنّ بغداد -عاصمة الخلافة- قد صارت ساحة لحروب الملك داود. وأضاف أوليفر أنّ المُعظّم كان يخشى أن يترك بلاده في بادئ الأمر، إلاّ أنّه توجه صوب مصر في نهاية المطاف. (38)

يتضح مما سبق إلى أيّ مدى ربط الفكر السائد لدى الصليبيين في دمياط بين الكاهن يوحنا ومحاولات بناء السلام المتكرّرة من جانب المسلمين؛ إذ اعتقد الصليبيون أنّ المسلمين يطلبون السلام محاولةً منهم لتجنب الإبادة المحتومة على يد جيوش الكاهن يوحنا وابنه الملك داود التي أوشتت على الوصول إلى دمياط. كما أنّ رفض الصليبيين للسلام أدّى إلى زيادة انتشار أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا، وكذلك استخدمت في التغلب على نزاعتهم ومخاوفهم الداخلية.

ويمكن التوصل إلى تصوّر دقيق عن مدى تأثير أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا على عملية بناء السلام بين المسلمين والصليبيين علي ضفاف شواطئ دمياط. ففي أغسطس 1219 م / جمادى الثاني 616 هـ، رفضت القوات الصليبية عرضاً جديداً للسلام قدّمه الملك الكامل حينما أرسل اثنين من الأسرى -هما أندرو أوف نانتويل وجان دارك- لتجديد عرضه الأوّل للسلام وعقد هدنة. (39) كما عرض الملك الكامل إعادة بناء أسوار مدينة القدس بالإضافة إلى مجموعة من القلاع الأخرى. وعرض أن يُرسل عشرين من أمراء المسلمين يظلّوا مُحْتَجِزِينَ إلى حين تسليم القلاع المذكورة للصليبيين بعد اكتمال أعمال البناء. (40) إلاّ أنّ الصليبيين رفضوا تماماً أيّ محاولة لبناء السلام مع الأيوبيين واضطر المسلمون إلى محاربتهم حتى يُحرروا دمياط من أيديهم والذود عن مصر. (41)

وجدير بالذكر أنّ ذلك العرض الثاني للسلام الذي قدّمه الملك الكامل جاء بعدما استطاع معسكر المسلمين تحقيق نصراً كبيراً في موقعة "فارسكور" -وهي قرية من أعمال دمياط- في التاسع والعشرين من أغسطس 1219 م / السادس عشر من جمادى الثاني 616 هـ. ففي هذه المعركة تظاهرت قوات المسلمين بالانسحاب في بادئ الأمر، ثم استأنفوا هجماتهم ضد القوات الصليبية ليلاً؛ مما أدّى إلى تكبّد الصليبيين خسائر فادحة.

(37) أحمد ابن علي الحريري (ت. 1519م/926هـ)، الإلام والتبئين في خروج الفرنجة الملاعين على دار المسلمين، تحقيق: سهيل زكار (دمشق: 1981)، 91؛ شهاب الدين ابوشامة (ت. 1266هـ/665 هـ). ذيل الروضتين، تحرير: محمد زياد ابن الحسن ط2 (بيروت: دار الجليل، 1974)، 155؛

Sheir, *Tibnān (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 96.

(38) Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatina,' 136, 139; Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 123-124, 130.

(39) Vitry, *Lettres De Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170-1240)*, 150; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 62; Rachewiltzy, 'Search of Prester John,' 39;

(40) Van-Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade,' 415; 69.

(41) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج 10، 379.

Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c.1175-1237* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 198-200.



(42) وبالرغم من كل ذلك، يأتي عرض الملك الكامل للسلام في هذه المرّة ليكون دليلاً مُبيناً على صدق نوايا قادة المسلمين ورغبتهم في إقامة السلام مع الصليبيين؛ وفي الوقت ذاته يعكس إلى أيّ مدى بلغ تأثير أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا على عملية بناء السلام أثناء الصراع بين المسلمين والصليبيين.

وبالرغم من إصرار الصليبيين على رفضهم بناء السلام مع المسلمين، يُذكر أنّ سلطان مصر كان شديد الحرص على التوصل إلى اتفاقية سلام؛ ولذلك جدّد عرضه للمرّة الثالثة عارضاً عقد هدنة تدوم لثلاثين عاماً وأن يدفع خمسة آلاف بيزنطا / ديناراً للصليبيين في مقابل حصني الكرك والشوبك. كما وعد بتحمل نفقات بناء القلاع والمدن التي هدمها أخوه المُعظم عيسى. (43) ويرى سعيد عمران أنّ رفض الصليبيين كل هذه العروض بالغة السخاء المقدّمة من الملك الكامل ليس بالأمر الطبيعي. ومن ناحية أخرى، يُمكن رؤية تلك العروض على أنها خدع حربية كان يُمارسها الملك الكامل للمُطالعة وكسب مزيد من الوقت للاستعداد وإعادة تجميع قوات المسلمين. (44).



رسم توضيحي بيد ماثيوس باريس يُصوّر الهجوم على مدينة دمياط أثناء الحملة الصليبية الخامسة من المراكب في النهر. (45)

هذا وقد عانى أهالي مدينة دمياط معاناة شديدة أثناء فترة الحصار الطويلة للمدينة، (46) وبالفعل كانت الأهالي تأمل أن يتمكن الملك الكامل التوصل للسلام مع الصليبيين. وقد وقعت مجموعة من الأحداث زادت من تعقيد الموقف، من بينها وفاة «الفائز بن العادل» أخو الملك الكامل الذي كان مسؤولاً عن جلب المساعدات من الشرق، وظهور خطر المغول، ونزاع الملك الكامل مع أخيه في حلب. وكانت نتيجة تلك الأحداث مجتمعة أن وجدّ الملك الكامل نفسه مضطراً إلى القيام بمحاولة أخيرة لبناء السلام مع الصليبيين في نوفمبر

(42) Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 114; 260-261..61-260، الحملة الخامسة، عمران

(43) Eracles, 'Estorie d'Eracles, Empereur et de Conquest de La Terre d'outreMer', in R.H.C.H.Occ., Tome II (Paris, 1859), 342-43; Perry, John of Brienne, 198-200; 264، الحملة الخامسة، عمران

(44) عمران، الحملة الخامسة، 265.

(45) Matthaei Paris Chronica Maiora II, Saint Albans, England, ca. 1240-53. Folio 59V, MS 16II, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Helen Nicholson and David Nicolle, God's Warriors: Crusaders, Saracens and the Battle for Jerusalem (UK: Osprey, 2005), 190.

(46) Röhricht, Regesta, 246:n0.924; Jacques de Vitry, Lettres, 112-22; Omran, Al-Hmlah Al-Şalībāhal Al-Khāmisah, 270.



عام 1219 وذلك قبل بضعة أيام من سقوط دمياط في أيديهم. إلا أن الصليبيين كالعادة رفضوا هذا العرض أيضاً لإقامة السلام. (47)

لقد كان الصليبيون يؤمنون بشدة بمجيئ الكاهن يوحنا مما جعلهم يُصرُّون على رفضهم المستمر لعروض الملك الكامل، وكان ذلك جلياً في خطاب جاك دي فيتري بتاريخ الثامن عشر من أبريل عام 1221. أورد جاك في خطابه أن الملك الكامل، سلطان مصر، حينما سمع خبر مجيئ جيش الملك داود ابن الكاهن يوحنا إلى مصر، سارع بالتواصل مع بعض النبلاء الذين كانوا قد وقعوا في الأسر في مصر مثل جان دارك ورينالد أوف شاتيون وأندرو أوف كاريجنون، "John of Arques-la-bataille, od of Chatillon" و"Andrew of Carignon" وبعض فرسان المعبد والداوية والتوتون، بُغية بناء السلام معنا [أي الصليبيين]. وأضاف جاك دي فيتري أن الكامل قد أرسل خطابات مع مبعوثيه إلى معسكر الصليبيين محاولاً التوصل إلى اتفاق للسلام أو عقد هدنة على الأقل. إلا أن الصليبيين رفضوا محاولات الملك الكامل لبناء السلام، لا سيما بعد أن وردت أخبار مجيء الملك داود أو الكاهن يوحنا. كما وردهم خطاباً يؤكد أن الإمبراطور فريديريك الثاني سيمدهم بالدعم والمؤن وسيتحرَّك في أغسطس لمساعدة القوات الصليبية في دمياط. (48)

وقد قيل إن جاك دي فيتري والصليبيين قد حصلوا على خطاب الملك داود من خلال جواسيسهم العرب في بلاد ما وراء النهر حيث استطاع الأمير بوهمند الرابع الحصول عليه من بعض التجار في أنطاكية. (49) وبالفعل عدَّ جاك دي فيتري ما جاء في هذا الخطاب الأسطوري صحيحاً، بل إنه تعامل مع أخباره على أنها حقائق مُسلم بها. ومن ثمَّ قام جاك دي فيتري بترجمة هذا الخطاب إلى اللاتينية مع إضافة الصبغة المسيحية على المغول في ترجمته. وقد أضيفت فيما بعد بعض الحقائق التاريخية إلى ذلك الخطاب مثل أسماء النبلاء اللاتين الذين أرسلهم الملك الكامل لتقديم عرضه للسلام؛ وذلك لتلاءم مع تصوُّرهم الخيالي للأحداث. (50)

سجَّل خطاب جاك دي فيتري بتاريخ 1221 أن الصليبيين سيستولون على مدينة دمياط التي ستكون تحت حكم ملكين؛ أحدهما من الغرب -أي الإمبراطور فريديريك الثاني- والآخر من الشرق وهو الكاهن يوحنا. وسيقضي الملكان على مجموعة من المسلمين، بينما ستتحوَّل مجموعة أخرى منهم إلى « عقيدة المسيح » [أي الديانة المسيحية]. وأخبر جاك دي فيتري عن انتشار أخبار ذلك الخطاب بين المسيحيين، «الذين اجتمعوا على كلمة الله»، أي الذين انضموا إلى الحملة الصليبية. على الرغم من ذلك، فقد انتظروا فترة طويلة دونما ظهور أي أخبار عن الإمبراطور فريديريك الثاني أو الملك من الشرق، الملك داود. (51)

وبالفعل كان الملك الكامل يُواجه مجموعة من الصعاب؛ من بينها مؤامرة ابن المشطوب التي جعلت الملك

(47) ابن واصل، مفرج الكروب، ج 4، 23؛ عمران، Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, Vol. II, 421-422; *الحملة الخامسة*, 270

(48) Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 134-53; Röhricht, *Regesta Regni*, 250: no.941; Jacques de Vitry, 'Epistola VII, Date 18th April 1221', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 128, 132.

(49) Christopher Eric Taylor, 'Waiting for Prester John: The Legend, the Fifth Crusade, and Medieval Christian Holy War' (master's thesis, the University of Texas at Austin, 2011), 1, 8-9.

(50) Jacques de Vitry, 'Epistola VII, Date 18th April 1221,' 128, 132; Taylor, "Waiting For Prester John," 8-9

(51) Jacques de Vitry, 'Epistola VII, Date 18th April 1221,' 128-29, 133-34; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 134-53; Röhricht, *Regesta Regni*, 250: no.941.



الكامل يُغادر معسكر المسلمين . الأمر الذي أدى إلى سقوط دمياط في فبراير 1219م / ذو القعدة 615 هـ .⁽⁵²⁾ بالإضافة إلى أنه علم بغزو المغول بقيادة جنكيزخان (1206-1226م / 603-623هـ) أراضي المسلمين من جهة الشرق ، مما أخاف المسلمين في الشام ومصر . ومن ناحية أخرى ، كان لهذه الأخبار ذاتها أثرٌ كبيرٌ في إحياء آمال الصليبيين مرةً أخرى ؛ إذ رأوا في جنكيزخان مبعوث العناية الإلهية لنصرتهم وتخيلوه خليفة للكاهن يوحنا .⁽⁵³⁾

ويتضح مما سبق إلى أي مدى آمن الصليبيون في الغرب وفي الشام بهذه الأسطورة التي لعبت دوراً كبيراً في مصير الحملة الصليبية الخامسة في دمياط ؛ حيث رفضوا تماماً شتى محاولات الملك الكامل لبناء السلام معهم نتيجة انتشار الشائعات حول الكاهن يوحنا وابنه الملك داود في العالم المسيحي والتي استخدمت كأحد أسلحة الحرب النفسية ضد المسلمين وأي محاولة لإقامة السلام معهم . وبناءً عليه ، ظهرت ثلاثة نسخ من الخطاب الذي يتناول أخبار الملك داود -ابن الكاهن يوحنا- التي كانت نوعاً من الدعاية للملك داود أو الكاهن يوحنا الذي انتظره الصليبيون في دمياط ؛ حيث صوّرت الملك داود وجيشه ومملكته كأنها قوّة من السماء تود القضاء على مملكة فارس والمسلمين في الشرق ، وختاماً بالمسلمين الموجودين في مصر .

كانت النسخ الثلاثة للخطاب الذي يتناول أخبار الملك داود عبارة عن ترجمة لاتينية لخطاب يُعتقد أن مسيحي يقطن في بغداد كان قد كتبه باللغة العربية أواخر عام 1220 / أوائل عام 1221 ، ولكن كانت هناك إضافات أدخلت على الترجمة اللاتينية . وقد سجّلت الخطابات الثلاثة انتصارات جنكيزخان ، ولكنها صوّرت على أنه الملك داود ؛ ابن الكاهن يوحنا أو حفيده . وقد تلقى جاك دي فيتري النسخة الأولى من ذلك الخطاب ، وكذلك النسخة الثانية منه وهي تلك النسخة التي انتشرت بين عامي 1220 و 1221 . وقد أوضح الخطاب التحركات الأولى للمغول والتي اعتبرت حقائق فيما بعد . كما احتوت على أسماء عديد من المدن والأقاليم التي يحكمها الملك داود .⁽⁵⁴⁾

ويُخطئ الخطاب مرةً أخرى حينما يذكر أن الملك داود قد هزم السلطان سنجر (حاكم خراسان وغزنة) الذي كان قد مُني بهزيمة نكراء في معركة قطوان عام 1141م / 536هـ على يد ييلو داشي مؤسس دولة القراخاني .⁽⁵⁵⁾ ويظهر جلياً أن الخطاب يتجاهل ثمانين عاماً هي الفترة بين 1141 و 1221 ؛ مما يؤكد أن كاتب هذا الخطاب كان يعلم بشأن قصة الكاهن يوحنا التي انتشرت في أوروبا على لسان هيو أسقف جبلة الذي كان موجوداً في روما عام 1145 ، والتي سجّلها أوتو الفريزي . ولا ريب أن كاتب الخطاب أراد إحياء الأمل في الكاهن يوحنا مرةً أخرى كي يُحمس الصليبيين الموجودين حينئذٍ في مصر .⁽⁵⁶⁾

ويرى إريك تايلور أن هذا يدل على ”القدرة الإيديولوجية للمسيحية على التحمل من خلال المهارة في محاولة دمج النفوذ الإسلامي داخل بناء عالم القديس يوحنا وممارسات الحكم .“⁽⁵⁷⁾ وقد نظر الصليبيون والعالم

(52) ابن واصل، مفرج الكروب، ج16-23، 17؛ عمران، الحملة الخامسة، 234-235

(53) عمران، الحملة الخامسة، 236؛ حسن إبراهيم حسن، انتشار الإسلام بين المغول والتتار (القاهرة: 1933)، 28

(54) Relatio de Davide, ‘(Prima Carta, 1220/early 1221)’, in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 107-113; Relatio de Davide, ‘(Secunda Carta of 1220/1221)’, in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 114-17; Relatio de Davide, W. and R., *Epistola (Tertia Carta 1220/1221)* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 118-122.

(55) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج9، 319؛ ابن الجوزي، المنتظم، ج18، 19.

(56) Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, 443-444.

(57) Christopher Eric Taylor ، ‘Waiting for Prester John ،’ 26.



الغربي إلي أن الكاهن يوحنا، أو ابنه الملك ديفيد، هو الحامي والمنقذ للعالم المسيحي. وقد ذكر الخطاب أعلاه أن الملك ديفيد السابق ابن الكاهن يوحنا قد أهان خليفة المسلمين الذي أراد أن يُسلم بغداد. حيث ينص الخطاب علي لسان المبعوث المجهول للكاهن يوحنا: "أن ملكنا . . . أراد أن يمتلك بغداد وأن يجعل مقر بطريركنا هناك".⁽⁵⁸⁾

كما أشار الخطاب أيضاً إلى إعادة بناء أسوار مدينة القدس التي كان المُعظم عيسى قد هدمها، بالإضافة إلى ذكر عديد من الأمور التي تصوّر هذا الملك على أنه ملك مسيحيّ نسطوريّ استطاع أن يُحرّر الأسرى المسيحيين الذين أرسلهم الكامل ملك مصر كهديّة إلى خليفة المسلمين في بغداد، أو "سُلطان بابل"⁽⁵⁹⁾ كما أشار إليه الخطاب.⁽⁶⁰⁾ وهكذا اقتُرف كاتبُ الخطاب خطأ عندما ذكر أن الملك داود، بدلاً من جنكيزخان، قد أرسل خطاباً إلى الخليفة العباسي "الناصر" في عام 1221 كي يُجبره على طاعته والإذعان التام له؛ إذ إن ذلك لم يحدث قط في تلك الآونة، فالمصادر التاريخية لم تذكر شيئاً عن رسالة بعث بها جنكيزخان - أو الملك داود كما يزعم الخطاب - إلى بغداد في عام 1122م / 617هـ. إلا أن ما حدث حقاً هو أنه في عام 1217م / 614هـ أرسل الخليفة العباسي "الناصر" في بغداد رسالةً إلى جنكيزخان طالباً مساعدته ضد السلطان محمد بن خوارزم الذي تقدّم لغزو بغداد بسبب عدم الوفاق مع الخليفة العباسي، والذي بدوره أرسل مبعوثيه إلى قائد المغول كي يتحالف معه ضد السلطان الخوارزمي.⁽⁶¹⁾ قد تكون تلك هي حقيقة الشائعات التي ذكرها الخطاب بشأن الملك داود، الذي هو جنكيزخان في واقع الأمر.

ويذكر ابن العبري أنّ التتار بقيادة جنكيزخان قد استطاعوا غزو أراضي ما وراء النهر - التي ذُكرت في الخطاب باسم "الأنار" - في عام 1219م / 616هـ بما يقارب مائتي ألف مقاتل. وبعد ذلك استطاعوا فرض سيطرتهم على أراضي الدولة الخوارزمية "Chavarsmisan"، مثل سمرقند ومدن أخرى حتى حدود العراق حيث بغداد وخليفة المسلمين،⁽⁶²⁾ ولم يَذكر ابن العبري شيئاً عن رسالة بعث بها جنكيزخان - أو الملك داود - إلى بغداد.

كما يذكر ابن الأثير أنه في عام 1219م / 617هـ جاء أناس من الصين إلى أراضي تركستان؛ حيث قشغَر وبلاصغنة (بلاسجون). ثم توجهوا إلى أراضي ما وراء النهر؛ حيث سمرقند وبُخارى وغيرهما. وقد ذهب بعض هؤلاء التتار إلى خراسان فخرّبوها وتابعوا غزو المدن التي تليها حتى وصلوا إلى حدود العراق. وبعد ذلك اتجه بعض منهم نحو غزنه والهند وساجستان وكرمان، وعديد من المدن الأخرى في مختلف البلدان وفعّلوا بها شتى الجرائم التي دأبوا على اقترافها.⁽⁶³⁾ وهذا يدل على أن كاتب خطاب الملك داود - ابن الكاهن يوحنا - والصليبيين قد أضافوا أجزاءً من مُخيّلاتهم إلى الخطاب؛ مثل معجزات الكاهن يوحنا وابنه الملك داود التي عكست أعمال جنكيزخان في الواقع التاريخي للأحداث.

ويذكر الخطاب أن ابن الكاهن يوحنا قد أجبر المسلمين على إعادة بناء أسوار مدينة القدس التي كان المُعظم

(58) Relatio de Davide، ' (Prima Carta)، 105-106، 112-113.

(59) وهو ما كان معروفاً لدي اللاتين في الأمارات الصليبية علي انه من الميليين، مع بعض الاختلافات والمتغيرات في هذا الشأن، وقد استخدمت كلمة بابليين في العصور الوسطي كدلالة على القاهرة. 113، note:21، ' (Prima Carta)، Relatio de Davide،

(60) Relatio de Davide، ' (Prima Carta.)، 105-106، 112-113.

(61) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج10، 371-373؛ فؤاد صياد، المغول في التاريخ، ج1 (بيروت: دار النهضة، 1980)، 71-74.

(62) ابن العبري، المختصر، 407-411، عبد السلام فهمي، تاريخ الدولة المغولية في إيران (القاهرة: دار المعارف، 1981)، 57-70.

(63) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج10، 398-400.



عيسى قد هدمها. (64) إلا أن المدينة ظلت في أيدي المسلمين حتى عام 1229م / 638هـ حينما استطاع الإمبراطور فريديريك الثاني فرض سيطرته عليها في الثامن عشر من فبراير من العام ذاته تنفيذاً لبند من بنود صلح يافا المعروف أيضاً بمعاهدة فريديريك-الكامل. (65) ولأنَّ المُعظم عيسى كان قد دَمَّر أسوار مدينة القدس ، فقد ظلت المدينة بدون أسوار إلى أن أعاد بناءها الصليبيون في عام 1239م مما أدى إلى إلغاء صلح الذي كان قد أبرم عام 1229م بين المسلمين والصليبيين. (66)

ورجعاً إلى أحداث دمياط ، وعلى الرغم من رغبة الصليبيين في تفضيل الحرب على السلام ، نجد أن هناك شخص واحد قد حاول العمل على بناء السلام بطريقته الخاصة ، وهو القديس فرنسيس الأسيزي ، الذي كان قد تخلى عن الحياة العسكرية وأصبح واعظاً . فكر القديس فرنسيس أنه يمكن تحويل المسلمين وسلطانهم الكامل إلى الكاثوليكية ، وبذلك يتحقق السلام بدون إراقة قطرة دماء . وبعد أن حصل القديس فرنسيس على موافقة المندوب البابوي بيلاجيوس ، قام بزيارة السلطان الكامل في معسكر المسلمين ، الذين استمعوا إلى فرانسيس وعرضه للسلام من خلال اعتناق المسيحية ، اعتقاداً من فرانسيس أنه لن يتم اتمام حالة السلام إلا إذا تحول المسلمون للكاثوليكية . فقد كان القديس فرنسيس مسيحي متحمس الذي سعى إلى دعوة جميع الناس لاعتناق المسيحية ، ومن ثم كانت عروضه للكامل ، هي بمثابة محاولة مسحية لاستعادة بيت المقدس بطريقة تبشيرية سلمية. (67)

وظلَّ الصليبيون يرفضون التوصل لاتفاق للسلام مع الكامل ملك مصر ، الذي تواصل معهم مرة أخرى ، في محاولة منه لبناء السلام في عام 1221م/618هـ؛ إذ عرض الكامل أن يُسلم للصليبيين مُدُنَ القدس وطبرية وصيدا وجبلّة واللادقيّة ، بالإضافة إلى جميع الأقاليم التي استعادها صلاح الدين الأيوبيّ منهم . إلا أن الصليبيين رفضوا ذلك وطلبوا ثلاثة آلاف ديناراً . ويذكر المقرئزي أن الصليبيين طلبوا خمسة آلاف ديناراً عوضاً عن تدمير أسوار مدينة القدس . (68)

نشأت نزاعات بين ملك مملكة بيت المقدس جان دي بريين (1210-1225م) الذي اقترح قبول السلام مع المسلمين ومبعوث البابا بلاجيوس حول قيادة الحملات الصليبية في دمياط . فعاد جان دي بريين على رأس قواته للدفاع عن عكا وباقي ممتلكاته في سوريا ضد هجمات المُعظم عيسى ، (69) الذي عاد هو الآخر إلى

(64) Sheir, *Tibnān (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 96; Van-Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade,' 410 ; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 3, 156.

(65) المقرئزي، *السلوك*، ج 1، 354-353؛ Sheir, *Tibnān (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 97

(66) Sheir, *Tibnān (Toron) in the Age of the Crusade*, 100-101; Peter Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239-41 and Their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50, no. 1 (University of London:1987), 42;

سعيد عاشور، *الحركة الصليبية*، ج 2 (القاهرة: 1963)، 987-989

(67) Adam L Hoose, 'Francis of Assisi's Way of Peace? His Conversion and Mission to Egypt', *The Catholic Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (2010): 449-69; Jessalynn Lea Bird, 'Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): Oliver of Paderborn's and James of Vitry's Missions to Muslims Reconsidered', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21, no. 1 (2004): 30; Rosalind B Brooke, 'The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages by E. Randolph Daniel', *Speculum* 52, no. 3 (1977): 643-44.

(68) المقرئزي، *السلوك*، ج 1، 327؛ ابن المقفع، *تاريخ البطارقة*، ج 3.2، 1538، عمران، *الحملة الخامسة*، 323.

(69) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 101-102; Pelliot, 'La Prophétie de Hannan,



دمشق لحتّ قوات المسلمين للذود عن مصر ضد الحملات الصليبية، ولشن هجمات على ممتلكاتهم في سوريا بهدف تشتيت القوات الصليبية وإبعادهم عن مصر. وبالفعل عادَ جان دي بريين في عام 1221م إلى دمياط مُحَمَّلًا بعدد من الحكايات عن انتصارات الملك داود "الذي قالوا إنّه ابن الكاهن يوحنا"؛⁽⁷⁰⁾ الأمر الذي يعكس عزمهم على المُضِيّ قُدُمًا في محاربة المسلمين والقضاء على أي محاولات لبناء السلام.

وفيما يلي اقتباسٌ من رواية جان دي بريين عن الكاهن يوحنا: «رَأَيْي يَقُومُ وَأَفْعَلُ كُلَّ مَسَرَّتِي، فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ يَقُولُ مَاذَا صَنَعْتُ أَوْ يَعْتَرِضُ قَضَائِي؟ وَجَدْتُ دَاوُدَ عَبْدِي، بِدُهْنٍ قُدْسِي مَسْحَتُهُ، مَلِكُ الْهِنُودِ (. . .)، الَّذِي أَمَرْتَهُ أَنْ يَنْتَقِمَ مِنِّي كُلِّ مَنْ أَخْطَأَ بِحَقِّي وَأَنْ يَقِفَ أَمَامَ الْوَحْشِ عَدِيدِ الرَّؤُوسِ، وَالَّذِي أَيْدَتَهُ بِنَصْرِي عَلَى مَلِكِ الْفَرَسِ وَمَكْنَتَهُ مِنْ أَجْزَاءِ كَبِيرَةٍ مِنْ أَرْضِي آسِيَا، مَلِكِ الْفَرَسِ الَّذِي طَغَى وَتَكَبَّرَ، وَأَرَادَ أَنْ يَصِيرَ مَلِكَ آسِيَا الْوَاحِدِ. فَذَهَبَ إِلَيْهِ الْمَلِكُ دَاوُدَ -الَّذِي يَقُولُونَ إِنَّهُ الْكَاهِنُ يَوْحَنَّا- وَحَقَّقَ أَوْلَى انْتِصَارَاتِهِ عَلَيَّ. ثُمَّ أَخْضَعَ تَحْتَ سُلْطَانِهِ مَلُوكَ آخَرِينَ وَمَمْلَكَاتٍ أُخْرَى، وَكَمَا وَصَلْتَنَا الْأَخْبَارُ مِنْ تِلْكَ الْأَرْضِ الْبَعِيدَةِ مُتْرَامِيَةِ الْأَطْرَافِ فَإِنَّهُ لَا تَوْجِدُ قُوَّةَ عَلَى وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ بِإِمْكَانِهَا الْوُقُوفَ أَمَامَهُ.»⁽⁷¹⁾

وعلاوة على ذلك، تسلّم البابا هونوريوس الثالث خطاباً من بلاجيوس في مارس عام 1221م،⁽⁷²⁾ يُعَدُّ فيه انتصارات الملك داود على المسلمين "الكفار"، ولذلك استخدم البابا عروض بناء السلام سائلة الذكر للترويج لأسطورة الكاهن يوحنا. وأقرّ البابا بأن أخبار تقدّم الكاهن يوحنا جعلت المسلمين يخشونه بشدّة. ⁽⁷³⁾ وَصَدَّقَ الْبَابَا أُسْطُورَةَ الْكَاهِنِ يَوْحَنَّا بِنَاءً عَلَى تَقْرِيرِ بِلَاغِيُوسِ الَّذِي كَتَبَهُ عَنِ الْكَاهِنِ يَوْحَنَّا وَالْمَلِكِ دَاوُدِ الَّذِي ذَاعَ صَيْتُهُ بِسَبَبِ انْتِصَارَاتِ جَنْكِيْزْخَانَ. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ وَلِذَلِكَ جَدَّ الْبَابَا فِي نَشْرِ هَذَا التَّقْرِيرِ بَيْنَ السِّيَاسِيِّينَ وَأَسَاقِفَةِ مَدِينَةِ تَرَايِرِ الْأَلْمَانِيَّةِ وَنَقَلَ إِلَيْهِمُ الْأَخْبَارَ السَّارَةَ الْآتِيَةَ مِنَ الشَّرْقِ. وَمِمَّا جَاءَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْخَطَابِ:

«لقد بدأ الرب الحكم في قضيته، وهو يعلم الخطايا التي اقترفت في حقه، التي لا يكف العصاة عن اقترافها، ولا يغفل عن الاستجابة للأصوات التي لم تكف عن دعائه. فكما أخبرنا الأخ الكريم بلاجيوس، أسقف ألبانو ومبعوث البابا، وقصّ علينا في رسالاته كيف دخل الملك داود المعروف بالكاهن يوحنا، وهو رجل كاثوليكي تقي، بلاد فارس بقوة عظيمة وهزم سلطانها وغزا أرض تبلغ مساحتها مسيرة أربعة وعشرين يوماً وبها كثير من المدن والقلاع المحصنة. ثم تقدم إلى أن أصبح بينه وبين بغداد ما يقل عن عشرة أيام، وهي المدينة العظيمة الشهيرة مقر خليفة المسلمين والذي يسميه المسلمون أمير المؤمنين.»⁽⁷⁵⁾

وهذا يُفسر أحلام البابوية في السيطرة على الشرق كافة؛ مسلميه ومسيحييه. وبعبارة أخرى، يُمكننا القول إنَّ

عمران، الحملة الخامسة، 298. 70-71; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 113; Fils d'Isaac,

(70) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 112-113

(71) Ibid.

(72) It was said that this letter was in Chaldean letters discovered by Pelagius in "the temple of the Saracens" and then translated by Pelagius, who sent to the Pope. See: Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica (1232-1241)', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 146-147.

(73) 'Pope Honorius III, Letter Date 12th March 1221', in *PJLIS* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 124; R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge & Massachusetts: Harvard University press, 1962), 45-46.

(74) Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta,' 124 . n.7.

(75) 'Pope Honorius III, Letter' 123-124; F. Zarncke, 'Zur Sage von Prester Johannes', *Neues Archiv* II (1887), 612-13; Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 45-46.



أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا التي انتشرت أثناء الحملة الصليبية الخامسة كانت محاولة للتقريب بين القوى المسيحية في الشرق والغرب للاتحاد ضد المسلمين. بالإضافة إلى أن البابوية حاولت استخدام الأسطورة للتأكيد على هيمنتها على السلطة الزمنية «الإمبراطورية». كما أوضح الخطاب موقف البابا من محاولات المسلمين لبناء السلام من ناحية، وكذلك موقفه من الكاهن يوحنا المنفذ من ناحية أخرى؛ وهو الأمر الذي يدل على مدى تأثير أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا على الفكر المسيحي السائد آنذاك، لا سيّما قادة الصليبيين في الغرب والشام؛ إذ آمن البابا أن المسلمين كانوا يرتعدون خوفاً من قوة الكاهن يوحنا، فنجدته يقول:

«عندما تمكّن الخوف من قلوب المسلمين، اضطرّ سلطان حلب -أخو سلطان دمشق وسلطان مصر- إلى إعداد جيشه لمهاجمة القوات المسيحية في دمياط... ونحن نأمل أن تصلّ التعزيزات هذا الصيف إلى جيشنا الموجود الآن في دمياط كي يتمكّن من احتلال باقي الأراضي المصرية بينما لا تزال جيوش المسلمين التي اجتمعت لمواجهة في حالة تشرذم وتشتت محاولة الدفاع عن أراضيها. ولهذا فنحن نأمر إخواننا الصليبيين في مدينة ترير الألمانية من خلال هذا الخطاب البابوي أن يوفوا بوعودهم بالتقدم ومساعدة الجيش الموجود في دمياط.»⁽⁷⁶⁾

إلا أن هذا الخطاب يعكس عدم معرفة البابا بالأوضاع السياسية والدينية في الشرق. فعلى سبيل المثال؛ يذكر البابا أن الجورجيين ينتمون إلى طائفة الكاثوليك وأنهم سيثنون حرباً ضد المسلمين، ولكن حقيقة الأمر أن الجورجيين ينتمون إلى طائفة الأرثوذكس ولديهم علاقات طيبة مع المسلمين السلاجقة في آسيا الصغرى، بالإضافة إلى أنهم بعيدون جداً عن المسلمين الموجودين في الشام ومصر، فلا توجد حدود متاخمة معهم ولا يمتلكون جيشاً قوياً بإمكانه شن هجمات عسكرية آنذاك.⁽⁷⁷⁾

ويذكر برنارد هاميلتون أن هذا الخطاب كان مكتوباً باللغة العربية في الأصل، وأنه كان نقلاً "لما كان قد كتبه العالم النسطوري الفارسي حنون بن إسحاق في القرن التاسع الميلادي"، كما يعتقد أن أحد أقباط مصر هو الذي كتبه.⁽⁷⁸⁾ بينما يرى كريستوفر تايرمان أن هذه النبوءة كانت قد كتبت على يد أحد النسطوريين المصريين حول عام 1220م تقريباً.⁽⁷⁹⁾

ومع ذلك، فلم يكن من المعقول أن يقوم النسطوريون بدور رئيس في نشر أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا؛ إذ لم تكن لديهم أي رغبة في نشر الروح الصليبية والدعاية لقيام الحملات الصليبية من خلال نشر هذه النبوءة. بل على العكس، كان النسطوريون يسعون دائماً إلى أن تسود روح السلام، لا سيّما وأن كرسي البطريرك النسطوري موجود في بغداد. كما أن الدولة الأيوبية في ظل عهدي الملك العادل والملك الكامل كانت تعامل أهل الذمة - مثل أقباط مصر ومسيحيي الشرق - بمنتهى الاحترام والتقدير، فيما عدا بعض الأحيان التي كان بعض أفراد المسلمين يُسيئون فيها معاملتهم؛ في الوقت الذي اتهم فيه الصليبيون أقباط مصر ومسيحيي

(76) 'Pope Honorius III, Letter,' 123-124; Zarncke, 'Zur Sage von Prester Johannes,' 612-13; Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 45-46.

(77) هلال، *العلاقات بين المغول وأوروبا*، 25؛ Rachewiltz, 'Search of Prester John,' 39.

(78) Bernard Hamilton, 'Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies', in *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. C.F. Buckingham and B. Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 243.

(79) Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 642.



الشرق بالهرطقة. (80)

هذا ويعتقد عادل هلال أن الصليبيون هم أنفسهم من قامَ بنشر هذه النبوءات والإشاعات حول الكاهن يوحنا؛ مما يعكس روح العداء تجاه المسلمين والعرب والتي تجسّدت في شكل الأساطير والخرافات التي نسجوها عن ملك مسيحي آت من الشرق الأقصى للاستيلاء على القدس مرةً أخرى. كما كانت الأسطورة بمثابة محاولةً مستمرة لتوحيد صفوف القوات الصليبية وتحفيزها لسلب أراضي المسلمين ونهبها؛ فوجد تلك الأسطورة تتجدّد كلما تواجه الجيشان، مثلما حدث عام 1144م بعد سقوط الرّها وكذلك بعد الحملة الصليبية الثانية وبعد الحملة الصليبية الخامسة أيضاً. (81)

وصباً للزيت على النار لإشعالها، ذكر البابا في خطاب آخر مزيداً من التفاصيل؛ إذ نجده يقول إنَّ الملك داوود قد خرج على رأس جيش "من أربعمئة ألف مقاتل من بينهم مائة واثنتين وثلاثين ألف فارس مسيحي،" وبالتالي كان سقوط بغداد في قبضة ذلك الجيش القوي مسألة أكد حدوثها. (82)

وهكذا صوّرت خطابات البابا هونوريوس والشائعات التي أطلقها بلاجيوس وجاك دي فيتري وآخرون ما كان يدور في مخيلة المجتمع الصليبي آنذاك في الغرب والشرق على حد سواء. وبعد انتظار قدوم الكاهن يوحنا، ومن ثم رفض جميع عروض بناء السلام مع المسلمين، لم يأت الكاهن يوحنا! توجه الصليبيون نحو القاهرة في يوليو عام 1221م، ولكنَّ القوّات المصريّة استطاعت ردعهم. فبينما كان الصليبيون ينتظرون قدوم الكاهن يوحنا، استطاع المسلمون تجميع صفوفهم من جديد من ناحية، وكذلك بدء موسم فيضان نهر النيل من ناحية أخرى -على عكس المعتاد في أُنهار أوروبا. وبالتالي لم يستطع الصليبيون عبور النهر للزحف إلى القاهرة، (83) وهكذا استغلت قوات المسلمين قوى الطبيعة في محاصرة القوات الصليبية بين فرعيّ النهر. (84)

وهكذا كان تأثير أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا كبيراً على القرارات العسكريّة في الحملة الصليبية الخامسة بصورة غير مسبوقه. كما كانت دليلاً على تصميم القوى المسيحية في الهيمنة على بلاد المسلمين؛ فكانت الأسطورة بمثابة "طوق النجاة الذي تشبّث به العالم المسيحي طويلاً أملاً في تحقيق رغبتهم تلك يوماً ما، ولو بعد حين." (85)

وبعد أن تصارع الفريقان في دمياط، وافق الصليبيون في نهاية المطاف على اتفاق سلام مع المسلمين وعقد هدنة لثمانى سنوات. (86) وقد كان الأشرف -أخو الملك الكامل- يرفض التصالح مع الصليبيين ويرى ضرورة القضاء عليهم تماماً عن بكرة أبيهم، إلا أن الملك الكامل كان يؤمن أن إبادة الصليبيين لا يصب في صالح المسلمين على المدى البعيد؛ خاصة وأن الصليبيين حينئذ ما زالوا يسيطرون على دمياط. لذا كان من الصائب بناء السلام مع الصليبيين الذين كانوا في حالة من الضعف تجعلهم يقبلون بأي شروط قد يُملئها

(80) هلال، العلاقات بين المغول وأوروبا، 25-26.

(81) Ibid.

(82) Zarncke, 'Zur Sage von Prester Johannes,' 613-614; Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 46.

(83) Brewer, *Prester John*, 97. ابن المقفع، تاريخ البطارقة، م. 3:2، 1538؛

(84) Brewer, *Prester John*, 97.

(85) Taylor, 'Waiting for Prester John,' 49.

(86) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. 10، 380؛ ابن المقفع، تاريخ البطارقة، م. 3:2، 1539؛ العيني، عقد الجمان، ج. 4، 57.



عليهم المسلمون. (87) وبالفعل وقَّع الصليبيون اتفاقية السلام وقبلوا بعقد هدنة مع المسلمين، وغادروا مصر في السابع من سبتمبر عام 1221م / السابع من رجب عام 618 هـ. وترتَّب على هذه الاتفاقية التي طال انتظارها، أن تمَّ إطلاق سراح جميع الأسرى المسلمين والصليبيين بناءً على البنود المتفق عليها. (88)

وليس من المبالغة أن نقول بأن الصليبيين خسروا الحملة الصليبية الخامسة ليس على شواطئ دمياط أو نهر النيل فحسب، بل على أوهاام ما وراء نهر دجلة. وعلاوة على ذلك، كان لتدمير الدولة الخوارزمية، ومعارك بلاد فارس، تأثيراً نفسياً لا يحصى على الصليبيين، والذي بدوره أدي إلى تغيير مسار الحملة الصليبية الخامسة، وإلى جانب ذلك تمكن الأيوبيين من تعزيز قوتهم في مصر. (89) وبعبارة أخرى، فإن أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا أعطت أملاً جديداً للصليبيين لكنها في المقابل، أعطت الأيوبيين الوقت لإعادة وحدثهم وتعزيز قوتهم، والتغلب على مشاكلهم لمواجهة الصليبيين الراضين للسلام.

ويذكر المؤرخ ستيفن رانسيمن أنه بالرغم من أن بلاجيوس مبعوث البابا كان شخصيةً متعجرفة، ورغم أن أخطائه تسببت في فشل الحملة الصليبية الخامسة، لا سيَّما حينما رفض قبول عروض السلام المتكررة التي قام بها الملك الكامل سلطان مصر، فإنَّه كان مُحققاً عندما رفض الحصول على مدينة القدس دونما الحصول على حصني الشوبك والكرك، مادام المسلمون في مصر والشام متحالفون ويحكمهم سلطان واحد. وهكذا نجد أسطورة الكاهن في كل مراحلها محاولةً لدمج الحقيقة، بالخيال بهدف دفع الفرسان والمقاتلين في صفوف القوات الصليبية نحو مُلاقاة قوات المسلمين في مصر، تملؤهم روح الدفاع عن المسيحية. (90)

كانت أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا في جميع مراحلها، محاولةً لدمج الخيال والحقيقة من أجل تحفيز أكبر عدد من الجنود والفرسان المسيحيين اللاتين، لمحاربة المسلمين في مصر، تحت شعار الدفاع عن المسيحية الغربية و”شرفها”. (91) ومن ثم فقد تركت غزا أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا بصماتها على الحملات الصليبية بعامه، والحملة الصليبية الخامسة بخاصة.

وقد عبَّرت بعض الكتابات الغربية عن الفكر السائد آنذاك، الذي اعترف بوجود التتار والمغول اللذان كانا يتم رؤيتهم على أنهما قوى الكاهن يوحنا وابنه الملك داود، خاصةً بعدما غزت قوات المغول شرق أوروبا؛ إذ يذكر ألبريك أوف فونتتان في حوليته أنه عندما بلغ الملك داود -ابن الكاهن يوحنا- ما حدث بشأن تسليم دمياط للمسلمين، وجَّه جيشه عائداً من حيث أتى. وأضاف أن المجرين وشعب الكومان أطلقا على جيش الملك داود اسم ”التتار”، وقد ظل أتباعهم يحملون الاسم نفسه حتى وقت تدوين ألبريك لتلك السطور 1232 - 1241م. (92)

وختاماً، فبالرغم من أن الأسطورة كانت تستخدم سلاحاً ضدَّ بناء السلام مع المسلمين، تأتي الرياح بما لا تشتهي السفن، فباتت الأسطورة ذاتها سبباً في أن يتجه الصليبيون في دمياط نحو بناء السلام مع المسلمين في نهاية المطاف دونما أيِّ مكاسب تُذكر. بل إنَّ الشيء الوحيد الذي طلبوه من المسلمين هو أن يدعوهم

(87) الدواداري، كنز الدرر، ج.7، 211.

(88) ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج.10، 380؛ المقرئزي، السلوك، ج.1، 329.

(89) Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 73-74.

(90) Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, 74.

(91) Ibid., 74.

(92) Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, ‘Chronica (1232-1241)’.



يذهبون بعيداً دون أن يُحاصروهم في كل مكان ويأسرونهم . وهكذا أدت تلك الأسطورة في النهاية إلى نتائج مُغايرة تماماً لما كان يأمله الصليبيون؛ إذ إنَّ إيمانهم بالكاهن يوحنا أعطى المسلمين الفرصة كي يتغلبوا على مشاكلهم ويُعيدوا ترتيب صفوف قواتهم . ورغم أنَّ أسطورة الكاهن يوحنا كان الهدف من ورائها شن حرباً نفسيةً ضدَّ المسلمين - وربما ظنَّ بعضهم أنها نجحت في تحقيق مآربها عندما قام الملك الكامل بعروض متكررة لبناء السلام معهم - فالصليبيون لم يستفيدوا من ذلك قط، بل انهزموا وانسحبوا من دمياط عام 1221م .

وقد أبدى المسلمون في الأصل نواياهم لبناء السلام لأنَّ شئوهم الداخلية لم تكن على ما يُرام في بداية الحملة الصليبية الخامسة؛ فقد كانت هناك مؤامرات بزعامة ابن المشطوب وبمساعدة المعظم عيسى،⁽⁹³⁾ كما سمع المسلمون بشأن تقدُّم المغول من جهة الشرق فخشوا أن يتحالف الصليبيون مع المغول . ولكنَّ الصليبيين فسَّروا خطوات المسلمين أنَّها جاءت نتيجة خوفهم من قدوم الكاهن يوحنا على رأس جيشه الصليبي المزعوم؛ إذ نشر الصليبيون أخبار انتصارات جنكيز خان -زعيم المغول- على أنها انتصارات الكاهن يوحنا .

وبناءً على ما سبق، فإذا نظرنا للأمر من زاوية واقعية سنجد أنَّ المسلمين آثروا بناء السلام رغم أنَّ ذلك سيعني أن يتخلوا عن كثير من المكاسب التي حاذوها منذ عام 1187م . وكان من المنطقي أن يقبل الصليبيون عروض السلام التي كانت ستمكنهم من الاستيلاء على القدس مرةً أخرى . ولكننا نجد الصليبيين يرفضون عروض السلام مرتين رغم إنهم كانوا ليضعوا أيديهم على غالبية المواقع التي استردَّها منهم صلاح الدين في حروبه معهم . فلو أنهم قد وافقوا على أحد تلك العروض السخية لبناء السلام دون أن يُبالغوا في قدرات الكاهن يوحنا، لكان تاريخ الشام وشرق العالم وغربه قد تغيَّر تماماً . إلا أنَّ الفكر الخيالي والإيمان بأسطورة الكاهن يوحنا كان له بالغ الأثر على سير الأحداث التاريخية على أرض الواقع .

(93) ابن واصل، مفروج الكروب، ج.4، 16-17.



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Llibres d'ordinacions and strategies for peacekeeping among different communities in Sardinia.

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Abstract

This research has as objective the analysis of the different *Llibres d'Ordinacions* of different royal cities of the Crown of Aragon, between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries⁽¹⁾.

These documentary collections that regulate the municipality's life, will expand in the major part of the Crown's territories, following the example of Barcelona, with as objective to preserve and maintain public order in the city.

This kind of documentation, therefore, along with other municipal documentation attached to them, are the provisions of royal power through the municipality, and become an excellent material for the study of different aspects of city life during the period concerned. Furthermore, they are very useful for the study of coexistence and strategies for peacekeeping between Christian, Muslim communities and other ethnic minorities.

In this paper we will give particular attention to the Sardinian *ordinacions*, especially those of Cagliari.

Introduction

This research aims to focus on the analysis of various *Ordinacions* of the royal cities of the Crown of Aragon, during the 14th and 15th centuries.

The books or compilations of ordinances come under the name of good governance local or municipal *Ordinacions* and are found in the context of Catalan law tradition, with the numerous municipalities of the Crown of Aragon and with the Ordinances of Barcelona being the model they imitated. These ordinances governed the municipal and public life of the cities and other smaller places and many of them were to be valid at least until the Nueva Planta decree of 1716⁽²⁾.

(1) This publication was possible thank to the project: *Progetto Bilaterale tra ISEM-CNR e ARST*: "Peacebuilding between East and West XI-XVI".

(2) The local law of Barcelona, based on the *Recognoverunt proceres* - a compilation of privileges and cus-



Therefore, the ordinances constituted dispositions issued by the royal power through the municipality and are interesting to be able to study various aspects of life in the Late Middle Ages: from trades, to prices and consumption products, gaming, thefts, fights, the rulings regarding slaves, Jews, Saracens and other ethnic minorities, prostitutes, public order and, in short, maintaining urban peace⁽³⁾.

Therefore, the *Ordinacions* along with other municipal documentation, provide us with interesting material for studying the various aspects of urban life. Taking into account the Christian perspective of those who ruled on them, this type of documents will also be useful for studying the harmonious living and the strategies for maintaining peace between the various communities that made up the city. In fact, these ordinances usually devote different chapters to manage urban spaces for common use, delimiting residential areas and the development of activities typical of other religions (in this case in particular, Jews and Muslims as well) or ethnic groups (the Sardinian population). In the same way, these ordinances usually dedicate a great deal of space to impose sanctions on those who disturbed the urban peace, with substantial nuances, often according to the status, age, gender, ethnic group or belief of those accused⁽⁴⁾.

toms of the thirteenth century and the *Ordinacions de Santacília*, in the middle of the Fourteenth Century, with norms of King James II and later developed by jurists- expands all over Catalonia, arriving thanks to the Mediterranean expansion also in Sardinia. Francesc Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 11 (1923-26): 293-335, 365-431; 12 (1926-28): 37-63, 121-153, 189-208, 286-295, 368-380, 419-423, 520-533. Francisco A. Roca Traver, *Ordenaciones municipales de Castellón de la Plana durante la Baja Edad Media* (Valencia: Instituto valenciano de estudios históricos, Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1952), 9-11. Josep Maria Font i Rius, "Ordinacions locals en terres del Baix Llobregat i Penedès," *Estudios Históricos y documentos de los Archivos de protocolos*, 5 (1977): 76-78. Josep M. Mas i Solench, *Mil anys de dret a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1989), 52. Tomàs De Montagut, "Les universitats de les ciutats i viles medievals de Catalunya i el seu dret: dels usos, costums, privilegis i llibertats a les ordinacions municipals," in *Actes de les Jornades d'Estudi sobre el municipi abans de la Nova Planta (1716). El cas de la Fatarella*, coord. Josep Serrano (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 2013), 25-38. Evandro Putzulu, "La prima introduzione del municipio di tipo barcellonese in Sardegna: lo statuto del Castello di Bonaria," in *Studi Storici e giuridici in onore di Antonio Era* (Padova: Cedam, 1963), 321-336. Giancarlo Sorgia, "Le città regie," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell and Francesco Manconi (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984), 51-58. Anna M. Oliva, "L'Archivio Comunale di Cagliari ed il fondo Carte reali," in *Lettere Regie alla città di Cagliari. Le carte reali dell'Archivio comunale di Cagliari, I (1358-1415)*, eds. Anna M. Oliva and Olivetta Schena (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2012): LXVII-LXXIX. About Catalan law in Sardinia see also José O. Anguera de Sojo, *El dret català en l'illa de Sardenya*, ed. Ramon Felipó (Barcelona: Llibres de l'Índex, 2015). For an exhaustive bibliography about *Ordinacions* in the Crown of Aragon see also: Antoni Furió and Ferran Garcia-Oliver, eds., *Llibre d'establiments i ordenacions de la ciutat de València, I (1296-1345)* (València: Universitat de València, 2007), 40-41.

(3) Michele Pinna, *Le ordinazioni dei Consiglieri del Castello di Cagliari del secolo XIV* (Cagliari: Giovanni Ledda, 1927), XVI. Raffaele di Tucci, *Il libro verde della città di Cagliari* (Cagliari: SEI, 1925).

(4) Francesco Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari (1346-1603)* (Sassari Fondazione Banco di Sardegna, 2005), p. 59. Ítem *que alguna persona de qualche condició sia no gos ferir ne tochar irosament ne offrendre de ffet ne de paraula ne injuria fer a algun Sard ne Sarda ne alguna atra nació qui vingua en Castell de Càller ne coses llurs tochar ne pendre sens voluntat llurs ans sien acullits e tractats*



In the current state of the research, a comparative study has been started between various ordination codexes, particularly from Catalonia and Sardinia, placing special emphasis on the difference between the sanctions applied to those accused of a crime, with regard to their status, belief or social belonging.

It should be said that what we are presenting here today, a short summary of the first results of the analysis of the Sardinian *Llibres d'ordinacions* (Cagliari and Alghero) which only aim to be a brief presentation of the potential of such document for more exhaustive studies that we hope to be able to carry out in the future⁽⁵⁾.

The Ordinacions in Sardinia

Looking directly at the case of Sardinia, we focus mainly on the study of the Cagliari *Ordinacions*⁽⁶⁾, and to a lesser degree, on those of Alghero. The first are two codexes that govern the public life of the city, covering a time span that goes from the 14th century through to the beginning of the 17th century. Those from Alghero date back from 1526 and include all the previous ordinances⁽⁷⁾.

«*En nom de Déu sia, e de la verge benaurada madonna sancta Maria*», this is the introductory sentence of the Cagliari *Ordinacions*, that gives one a glimpse of the nature of the text and the mixture of time and spiritual power that make up the way of imposing order and punishing people who do not comply with the rules laid out to preserve urban peace and also the respect of rules of harmonious living and among the various religious communities⁽⁸⁾. Looking at the study of the Sardinian ordinances, in them, we see a series of elements that could be taken as aspects which, going beyond governing urban life, made it easier for harmonious living among all the members of the city, obviously seen from the point of view of the Christian authority that wrote them up.

benignament e bona ells e totes coses llurs e qui contrafarà pagarà de ban Vint sous (10 sous in 1346-1347). On the other hand, in 1346 the Council of the city dictates the ordinance of not throwing rubbish in some houses of the *Call* of Cagliari. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 32.

(5) About the coexistence of minorities into Crown of Aragon, see: Brian A. Catlos “«Entre eulx pluseurs Sarrazins...». Els jueus, els musulmans i el regne de Martí I,” in *Martí l'Humà: el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410): l'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. M. Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), 483- 499; Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, ca. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). M. Teresa Ferrer, *Els sarraïns de la Corona catalanoaragonesa en el segle XIV* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científiques, 1985).

(6) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni dei Consiglieri del Castello di Cagliari*. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*. See also Esther Martí, “Buen gobierno, orden y moralidad en las ciudades bajomedievales sardas a través de los libros de Ordinacions,” *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 5 (2010): 189-223, accessed January 12, 2017. Esther Martí, “«En nom de Déu sia, e de la verge benaurada madonna sancta Maria’». Buen gobierno y espiritualidad en las ciudades bajomedievales sardas a través de las *Ordinacions* de Cagliari,” *eHumanista* 24 (2013): 360-379, accessed January 12, 2017.

(7) Rafael Caria, “Les Ordinacions Municipals de L'Alguer (1526),” *Revista de Llengua i Dret* 22 (1994): 45-70.

(8) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari*, 46.



Thus, in the Cagliari ordinances, the Citizen Council confronted the argument of respect towards what was sacred. Therefore, those who were blasphemous were to receive a hard punishment, whatever their nationality, social class or social condition. Those who disregarded this order were to be punished with corporal punishment, combining physical pain with ridicule⁽⁹⁾. In fact, it is quite common to find the term *negú, neguna persona* or “*hom o fembra de qualsevol condició*” in the Catalan ordinations to refer to all the inhabitants, without distinction, or, more explicitly “*ningú om, ni niulla feimbra, crestià o crestiana, jueu o juliya, sarray o sarrayna, de qualque condició sia*”, or “*a totes gens de qualunque condició o estament*”, or “*xptià, ni jueu, ne saray*”⁽¹⁰⁾.

The Cagliari ordinances also envisage that whosoever should take God’s or the Virgin Mary’s name in vain should pay 3 *lliures* (pounds) every time they did so, and that if they should not pay they were to spend 30 days in prison, or an entire day in the *pedra de la vergonya*⁽¹¹⁾, to be decided by the leaders of the Citizen Council, as occurred in other contemporary Sardinian codexes, such as the Sassari Statutes, the Chiesa Brief or the Logu Charter and as also stipulated in the *Constitucions de Catalunya*⁽¹²⁾. In the same way, Jews who took God’s or the Virgin Mary’s name in vain were punished and had to pay 10 *sous* (wages)⁽¹³⁾.

(9) (...) *segons ordonaren los Consellers e prohòmens de Castell de Càller que alguna persona de qualque condició, nació o stament sia no gos dir mal de Déu ne de Madona Sancya Maria mare sua ne dels seus Sants e qui contrafarà correrà la villa ab grans açots e serà- li mesa una pua de ferre per mig la llengua.* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari*, 9, 46. See too the *Ordinacions de Barcelona: Ordonareu los Conseylers e els prolioms de la Ciutat. que, nulla persona estranya ne priuada. no gos du mal d Deu ne de iiostra dona Sta Maria, ne de sos sant, a joch ne en altra maiiera. E qui contra asò farà. pagarà per ban c. soli; e siliols pot pagar. que serà escobat, caualcan en j. ase, ab j. feire en la lengua, e estarà tot nuu en bragiies, el costell ij. Dies.* Carreras Candi, “Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya” num. 11, 304.

(10) Carreras Candi, “Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya” num. 12 (1926-28): Balaguer (1313-1337), 419, 421; Fullola (1385), 189-190, 202; Valls (1299-1325): 370. Jaume Codina and Sabí Peris, “Ordinacions de Girona de l’any 1358,” *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins* 28 (1985): 192-197, 202-203.

(11) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni*, 92. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari*, 46, 137.

(12) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni*, XXIII- XXIV. Angelo Castellaccio, “L’amministrazione della giustizia nella Sardegna aragonese,” in *Alghero, la Catalogna, il Mediterraneo*, dir. Antonello Mattone and Piero Sanna (Sassari: Gallizzi, 1994), 138-155. Pasquale Tola, *Codice degli Statuti della Repubblica di Sassari (1316)* (Sassari: Chiarella, 1983). Elisabetta Artizzu, “La pena nella Carta de Logu,” *Annali della Facoltà de Scienze della Formazione dell’Università di Cagliari* XXII (1999): 37-48. Elisabetta Artizzu, “Il concetto di reato nella legislazione statutaria sarda.” *RiMe. Rivista dell’Istituto di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea* 4 (2010): 259-270, accessed January 11, 2017. For the Crown of Aragon see also, for example, Anicet Masferrer, “L’element sancionador i el contingut penal de les ordenacions municipals catalanes : Especial consideració a les ordenacions de Girona de 1358,” in *El Món Urbà a la Corona d’Aragó del 1137 Als Decrets de Nova Planta*, ed. Salvador Claramunt, vol. 3 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), 523-551. Francisco Luis Cardona Castro, “La ciudad de Barcelona en el siglo XIV a través de sus ordenanzas municipales.” *Cuadernos de Historia económica de Catalunya* 17 (1977): pp. 59-60; Francisco Gimeno Blay and María Luz Mandingorra, *Sermonario de San Vicente Ferrer del Real Colegio-Seminario del Corpus Christi de Valencia* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia-Gráficas Ronda, 2002), 91.

(13) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 46.



A person who dared to assault his parents would be the object of an exemplary punishment, differentiating according to the sex or the age of the accused, but not according to their condition or social status⁽¹⁴⁾. Anyone who lied to accuse another, uttered a false oath or forged a document would be severely punished as his hand would be cut off and his would have to pay a fine⁽¹⁵⁾.

In the same way, the courts of Cagliari punished anyone who tried to dishonour someone before the chief magistrate, with a fine to be paid or prison. This punishment could vary depending on the social condition of the person who had lied or of the injured party and depending on the offences that had been made⁽¹⁶⁾.

In the Codex of the *Ordinacions*, we also find numerous dispositions aimed at combating trickery in the everyday life of the city, often related to urban supplies, trades and the sale of basic products. In the case of breaching these dispositions, monetary fines were applied, including, in extreme cases, cutting off the hand of an accused person who was unable to pay, or sending them to prison, without distinction of the social status or religious community to which they belonged. There were important fines related to wine. Its unauthorised transport was persecuted, both for the seller as well as for the purchaser, without taking into account their social condition, with the offender even being sent to prison⁽¹⁷⁾. Weighers (*pesadors*) were also punished with a fine of 100 *sous* and being banned from the trade. It often happened that these people, taking advantage of their situation, confiscated products from Sardinian people or anybody else, with it being clear that if this was explicitly mentioned, these abuses must have been frequent among the Sardinian population and other minorities⁽¹⁸⁾. Bakers who did not want to bake bread or who charged more than they should have

(14) Ítem que tota persona qui batrà son pare o sa mare (...) sien penjats per lo coll. E si son l'om de menor edat dels XVIII anys e la fembra menor dels dits XVI (...) que li sia levat lo puny dret. (...) Si donchs lo dit menor (...) matava lo dit pare o mare (...) ordina que li sia levat lo puny dret e sia penjat o penjada per lo coll en guisa que muyra. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 105.

(15) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 106.

(16) Ítem que alguna persona no gos dir deshònries ne deshònries a alguna persona devant lo Veguer o sotsveguer en Juhí o fora Juhí en pena de Vint sous. E si pagar no.ls porà Dos jorns a la presó. Encara sarà punit més o menys segons la calitat o condició de la persona qui haurà dita la injuria e d'aquella a qui serà dita, o encara segons les injuries haurà a coneguda dels Consellers e prohòmens. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 52.

(17) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 20, 35-36, 53-56. About the importance of wine in Crown of Aragon see: Mercè Aventín, "Ordinacions medievals de viles-mercat catalanes sobre el comerç i consum del vi," *Estudis d'història agrària* 17 (2004): 115-128. Pinuccia Simbula, "Produzione, consumo e commercio del vino nel basso Medioevo," in *Storia della vite e del vino in Sardegna*, eds. M. Luisa Di Felice and Antonello Mattone (Roma: Laterza, 2000), 38-63.

(18) (1346) *Ordonaren los consellers e ls prohòmens de Castell de Càller que alcun pesador o regent lo pes del [dit C]astell ne.l bastax d'aquell no gosen ne presumesquen damanar o f[er dama]nar ne pendre o fer pendre per grat ne per força lana formatges [ne alt]res qualsevol coses d'alcun sart ne d'altre qualsevol persona de q[ui pes]en les dites coses o d'alcuna d'aquelles per aquells de qui pesaran per mera liber[alitat l'ús] sien donades salvant lo dret ordon[at de pagar per lo dit pes]. [E qui] contrafarà pagarà per pena cada vegada [.C.*



done were also punished with a fine of 5 *sous* (10 *sous* in 1422), as also happened in the ordinances of Alghero, regardless of the social condition of those involved⁽¹⁹⁾. In addition, the importance of wheat in mediaeval Sardinian society was evident and there were many dispositions regarding this product. People who resold it or took it out of the city without authorisation were punished with a significant sum to be paid and the offender could end up in prison, without specifying differences according to their social condition⁽²⁰⁾.

In the Ordinances of the capital of Sardinia, thefts were also followed up on, for example imposing a fine of 5 *sous* to anyone who stole anything from the carts of the Sardinians or from the others, inside the city, in addition to returning what they had stolen⁽²¹⁾. The ordinances also punished, with greater or lesser severity, people who did not respect other's property, with different monetary fines, and even sending offenders who did not want or were unable to pay to prison, without specifying their status or condition⁽²²⁾. This codex also provides information about the carrying of weapons in Cagliari, forbidding anyone who was not Catalan-Aragonese from doing so⁽²³⁾.

Blood crimes were also punished with exemplary sentences, depending on the severity of the wound, and in extreme cases people were hung⁽²⁴⁾. People who attacked, wounded or offended Sardinians or other foreigners who were in Cagliari were also punished, although without excessive hardness, by imposing a fine⁽²⁵⁾.

Also, with the aim of controlling the morality of the city inhabitants, in the Cagliari ordinances, similar to many others of the same time, it was established that prostitutes should live in a certain area. To prevent contact between the whores and other women, it was stated that the former could only use the castle baths on Fridays⁽²⁶⁾. To make it easy to recognise

sols e serà privat del offiç]. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 27-28.

(19) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 16, 67. Caria, "Les Ordinacions Municipals de L'Alguer", 57-59, 65-66.

(20) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 34-35. Regarding the Wheat Trade in the late medieval Crown of Aragon see: Josefina Mutgé, "L'abastament de blat a la ciutat de Barcelona en temps d'Alfons el Benigne (1327-1336)," *Anuario de Estudios medievales* 31/ 2 (2001): 649-692.

(21) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni*, 122-123.

(22) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 16-17, 57-58, 69, 102,120. For Barcelona see, for example: Francisco Luis Cardona Castro, "La ciudad de Barcelona en el siglo XIV a través de sus ordenanzas municipales." *Cuadernos de Historia económica de Cataluña* 17 (1977): 57-73.

(23) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 9, 46. For Barcelona, see Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya" num. 11, 304-305.

(24) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 9-10, 46-51.

(25) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 59.

(26) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 50, 56. María del Carmen García Herrero, "El mundo de la prostitución en las ciudades bajomedievales." *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 4 (1996): 89-100. M. Carmen Peris, "La prostitución valenciana en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV." *Revista d'Història Medieval* 1 (1990): pp. 179-99.



them, they were not allowed to wear a cloak, on the understanding that they would forfeit it and have to pay 100 *sous*⁽²⁷⁾. In the same way, punishment was exemplary for adulterers, who were only differentiated by sex and not by their social condition. Therefore, bigamist men were given a punishment that combined physical pain with ridicule, while women were expelled from the city forever⁽²⁸⁾.

These ordinances were often rich in details regarding the rules for ensuring harmonious living within the city between Christians and those of other religions. Thus, the Hebrew communities in Sardinia took on some weight, with the one in the capital and the one in Alghero being the most populated ones⁽²⁹⁾. The Cagliariarian Jews lived confined in the Jewish quarters, as throughout the entire Crown, and they were not allowed to run any business outside it, under threat of a 25 *lliures* fine⁽³⁰⁾. It was also forbidden for Christians to live among the Jews, under threat of a 60 *sous* fine in 1448⁽³¹⁾. In the same way, the Cagliariarian Hebrews were forbidden from working inside the city on Sundays and official festivals, like all the inhabitants, although they were allowed to do so in their houses, under threat of a 10 *sous* fine in 1346 and 40 *sous* in 1422⁽³²⁾.

Cagliariarian Jews, as in most of the other cities of the Crown were obliged to wear on their clothes a wheel made of a different material from their clothing, under threat of a 20 *sous* fine or 10 days with imprisonment. Jews were not allowed to wear long cloaks either, or to wear clothes with luxurious ornamentation outside the Jewish quarter⁽³³⁾.

Although the religious practices of the other communities or ethnic groups were generally respected in Cagliari (at least judging by the municipal documentation and referring in par-

(27) Ítem que d'açì avant neguna fembra errada o pública no gos portar anant per vila mantell en pena de perdre lo dit mantell que aportarà e de pagar Cent sous per cascuna veguada que contrafarà pagadors a la cort del dit senyor. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 116.

(28) Ítem que tot hom qui sia trobat que haja dies mullers vives o més que corregua la vila ab los collons clavats en una taula ab quatre aguts. E si alguna fembra serà trobada que haja dos marits vius corregua la vila e sia exellada per tots temps. (...) Ítem que tot hom qui serà atrobat ab dona maridada en corregua pena de Vint-e Cinh lliures. E si pagar no les porà stiga mig any en la presó. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 39, 110-112.

(29) Cecilia Tasca, *Gli ebrei in Sardegna nel XIV secolo: società, cultura, istituzioni* (Cagliari: Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Sardegna, 1992). Cecilia Tasca, *Ebrei e società in Sardegna nel XV secolo: fonti archivistiche e nuovi spunti di ricerca* (Firenze: Giuntina, 2008). Joan Armangué, "Gli ebrei nelle prime 'ordinanze' di Castello di Cagliari (1347), Nota per una rilettura etnologica," *Insula* 3 (2008): 11-21. Gabriella Olla Repeto, "La condizione ebraica della Sardegna aragonese (1323-1492)," in *Ricordando Alberto Boscolo. Bilanci e prospettive storiografiche*, eds. M. Giuseppina Meloni, Anna M. Oliva and Olivetta Schena (Roma: Viella, 2016): 457-491.

(30) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 68.

(31) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 68.

(32) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 18, 67.

(33) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 18, 67, 112-113. Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina, "Vestit i societat: Les ordinacions sumptuàries de Cervera (1344)," *Miscel·lània ceriverina* 2 (1984): 29-30.



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ticular to Jews and Sardinians), Hebrews and Muslims who did not kneel to the passing of the body of Christ during processions were severely punished (20 *sous* if they were Jews, 25 lashes (30 in 1422) if they were Muslims), although they were given the opportunity to hide if they did not want to prostrate themselves⁽³⁴⁾.

The Hebrews were only allowed to use the baths at certain times, and offenders were fined with 60 *sous*, unlike the 20 wages that were imposed on prostitutes⁽³⁵⁾.

Sardinian ordinances also forbade helping a slave to escape, particularly mentioning the Saracens, Greeks and even those who were baptised. The sentence to be applied was that of death, although the way in which the sentence was applied changed depending on the faith of the offender. Christians were to be hung, while slaves and Jews were dragged along the ground until they died. If the slave was a Saracen, the other Saracen slaves would pay their price to the owner, if the slave was Greek, baptised or of any other nation, the other slaves would be those who would pay the damages caused to the owner⁽³⁶⁾.

These ordinances gave greater details about Saracen slaves. It was said that they should wander through the city with their legs bound in shackles, but they could not leave after nightfall, under the threat of a 20 *sous* fine to their owner⁽³⁷⁾. Slaves who were not at the personal service of their owners were to remain closed under lock and key after this time, under the threat of 50 lashes to the slave and five *sous* to be paid by the owner⁽³⁸⁾. These amounts were doubled at the beginning of the 16th century, when the danger of Turkish attacks increased⁽³⁹⁾.

(34) *Que Juheus e Sarrahins se degen agenollar al cors de Jhesu Xpist. Ítem que tot Juheu e tot Serrahí com vege anar lo cors de Jhesu Xpist per vila se dege agenollar ho que s'amach en pena de Vint sous al Juheu, e al Sarrahí de Trenta açots e darà tres sols al açotador.* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 18, 68.

(35) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 56-57.

(36) (...) *Ítem que [alcun]a persona no gos tractar ne donar obra que alcun sclau sarrahí o grech o [bestiat] ne esclava fuge per mar ne per terra. E qui contrafarà si ès Crestià serà [penjat] en guisa que muyra. E si serà Sarahí batiat o grech serà roçegat en guis[a que] muyre. E ço que.l dit esclau aurà costat serà esmanat e pagat al senyo[r da q]ui serà entre tots los altres sclaus del dit Castell o per lurs senyors. (1343-1346). Qui serà trobat començador de fer fugir sclaus. Ítem que algun hom de qualque condició o nació sia qui sia tractador o comensador a fer fugir en alguna manera per terra o per mar o se'n menarà algun sclau Sarrahí ho sarrahina grech o gregua, batiat o batiada o de qualsevol nació sia, si crestià serà aquell qui açò farà que sia penjat per lo coll en guisa que muyra. E si serà sclau o Juheu serà roceguat per terra en guisa que muyra. E si lo dit sclau qui per la dita rahó serà roceguat serà Serrahí serà esmenat al senyor de qui serà entre tots los altres sclaus Serrahins de la terra. E si serà sclau grech o bateiat o bateiada o altra nació serà esmenat entre tots los altres sclaus de la terra lo preu que costat li haurà (1422-1603).* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 19, 62.

(37) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 19.

(38) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 61.

(39) (...) *que tot sclau ho esclava serà trobat de nits après tocada la campana del Seny sen slum stiga a la presó .XV. dies ho li sien dats Sinquanta asots a la pedra de lla Vergonya ni ningun taverner ni tavernera no. Is gossesn aculir en lurs casses de nits e de dia sits penas de tres liures sens gràcia e mercè alguna (1488-1491).* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 139, 143. For the same argument in Valls see too Carre-



The Cagliari ordinances established hanging in the case of slaves or servants who were found with a female slave belonging to the same owner. If a slave died during childbirth, the person responsible for the grievance had to pay the price of the slave to her owner. If the guilty person was also a slave, he would have to be common to the owner of the female slave and his previous owner⁽⁴⁰⁾. The Cagliaritanian ordinances also punished giving loans, or buy, to slaves or servants of any condition, under the threat of a 20 -100 *sous* fine and the loss of the amount lent⁽⁴¹⁾.

All people, without discrimination of their condition, nation or status were forbidden from playing games of chance. This prohibition was also valid for Hebrews who allowed gaming in their hostel, although in this case the fine rose to 100 *sous*, as opposed to the 10 imposed on Christians⁽⁴²⁾.

Thus, we see that with respect to the Sardinian *Ordinacions*, the sanctions imposed were often substantially different, not just with reference to the money to be paid, but also the type of punishment, which could be economic or corporal, depending on the social status of the offender and of the injured party. The Cagliari ordinances stated that the punishment for hitting someone else should be 60 *sous*, but the jurors of the city could increase or decrease this fine depending on “*la condició de la persona qui l’haurà rebut he qui l’haurà donat*”. In the same way, anyone who hit someone else for money would lose their hand. If the injured party were a prostitute, a slave or a servant, the attacker would only be given a fine of 20 *sous* or five days in prison⁽⁴³⁾.

Because of all this, and as a conclusion, we believe that this kind of municipal document, along with others that complement it, provides different nuances and perspectives for studies of the urban peacekeeping strategies in the Mediterranean during the Late Middle Ages.

ras Candi, *Ordinacions urbanes*, num. 12, 370. About slavery in Late Medieval Crown of Aragon see: Roser Salicrú, *Esclaus i propietaris d’esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV. L’assegurança contra fuges* (Barcelona: CSIC, 1998). Josefina Mutgé, “Les Ordinacions de Barcelona sobre els esclaus.”, in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l’Edat Mitjana. Actas del col.loqui internacional celebrat a Barcelona, del 27 al 29 de maig de 1999* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000), 245-265. Josep Hernando, “Els esclaus sarraïns: De l’esclavitud a la llibertat. Blancs, negres, llors i turcs,” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat*, 213-245.

(40) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 111. (1422)

(41) Ítem que [alcuna persona no gos ne presomesque co]mprar alcuna roba d’alcun sclau o esclava ne aquell esclau o esclava] fer préstec sobre roba alcuna. E qui contrafarà pagarà per cada vegada .C. sols. (...) Ítem que alguna persona cristiana ço és a ssaber ne jueu ne d’altre ley no gos ne presumesque prestar sobre algun sclau o esclava o catiu d’altre ne encara alcun macip o servicial o macipa qui estia ab altre e qui contrafarà perdrà ço que prestat aurà e la penyora que reebuda n’aurà e no –res–menys pagarà per pena cada vegada .XX. sols sens tota remissió e merçè. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 19-20, 28-29. For Barcelona see Carreras Candi, “Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya” num. 11, 309.

(42) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 28, 55, 67-68. For the same argument see: Codina and Peris, “Ordinacions de Girona de l’any 1358.”: 196-197.

(43) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 48.



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Llibres d'ordinacions e strategie per il mantenimento della pace tra le differenti comunità della Sardegna.

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Abstract

L'obiettivo della ricerca è l'analisi dei *Llibres d'Ordinacions* di diverse città regie della Corona d'Aragona, tra il XIV e il XVI secolo⁽¹⁾.

Queste raccolte documentali che regolano la vita del municipio si espanderanno in gran parte dei territori della Corona, seguendo l'esempio di Barcellona, con l'obiettivo di preservare e mantenere l'ordine pubblico nella città.

Le ordinazioni, dunque, insieme ad altra documentazione municipale a esse collegata, costituiscono le disposizioni del potere regio attraverso il municipio, e diventano un eccellente materiale per lo studio di diversi aspetti della vita della città nel periodo interessato. Nondimeno, saranno di grande utilità per lo studio della convivenza e delle strategie per il mantenimento della pace tra le comunità cristiane, musulmane e le altre minoranze etniche.

In questo studio si dedicherà particolare attenzione alle *ordinacions* sarde, in concreto quelle di Cagliari.

Introduzione

Questa ricerca vuole focalizzarsi sull'analisi di diverse *ordinacions* delle città regie della Corona d'Aragona, tra i secoli XIV e XV.

I libri o raccolte di ordinanze, che ricadono sotto la classificazione di *ordinacions* locali o comunali di buon governo, e fanno parte della tradizione del diritto catalano, esistono in molti località della Corona d'Aragona, essendo le *Ordinacions* di Barcellona il modello a seguire. Queste governano la vita pubblica delle città e di altri centri minori, e molte di esse rimarranno in vigore almeno fino al Decreto di *Nova Planta* del 1716⁽²⁾.

(1) Questa pubblicazione è stata realizzata nell'ambito del progetto: Progetto Bilaterale CNR/ASRT "Peacebuilding between East and West XI-XVI c."

(2) La legge locale di Barcellona, basata sul *Recognoverunt proceres* – una compilazione di privilegi e usi del XIII secolo e le *Ordinacions de Santacilia*, di metà del XIV secolo, con normative del re Giacomo II e poste-



Pertanto, le ordinanze costituiscono disposizioni emanate dal potere regio attraverso la città e sono interessanti poiché offrono la possibilità di studiare i vari aspetti della vita nel tardo Medioevo, dalle compravendite, ai prezzi e ai prodotti di consumo, ai giochi, ai furti, alle risse, alle disposizioni in materia di schiavi, su ebrei, saraceni e altre minoranze etniche, sulle prostitute, l'ordine pubblico e, in definitiva, per il mantenimento della pace urbana⁽³⁾.

Inoltre, le *ordinacions* insieme ad altra documentazione comunale, costituiscono un materiale interessante per lo studio dei vari aspetti della vita urbana. Di conseguenza, e senza scordarci dell'ottica cristiana di chi le ha scritte, questo tipi documentali diventano utili anche per lo studio della vita armoniosa e delle strategie per il mantenimento della pace tra le varie comunità che compongono la città. Infatti, queste ordinanze, nel caso in questione, di solito dedicavano diversi capitoli alla gestione degli spazi urbani a uso comune, alla delimitazione di zone residenziali e allo sviluppo delle attività tipiche di altre religioni (in questo caso, in particolare degli ebrei, ma anche dei musulmani) o altre etnie (soprattutto la popolazione sarda). Allo stesso modo, queste ordinanze dedicano una grande quantità di disposizioni normative all'imposizione di sanzioni a coloro che disturbano la quiete urbana, con sfumature sostanziali, spesso in base a condizione, età, sesso, etnia o credo degli accusati⁽⁴⁾.

riormente sviluppate dai giuristi – si espanse per tutta la Catalogna, arrivando, grazie all'espansione mediterranea, anche in Sardegna. Francesc Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 11 (1923-26): 293-335, 365-431; 12 (1926-28): 37-63, 121-153, 189-208, 286-295, 368-380, 419-423, 520-533. Francisco A. Roca Traver, *Ordenaciones municipales de Castellón de la Plana durante la Baja Edad Media* (Valencia: Instituto valenciano de estudios históricos, Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1952), 9-11. Josep Maria Font i Rius, "Ordinacions locals en terres del Baix Llobregat i Penedès," *Estudios Históricos y documentos de los Archivos de protocolos*, 5 (1977): 76-78. Josep M. Mas i Solench, *Mil anys de dret a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1989), 52. Tomàs De Montagut, "Les universitats de les ciutats i viles medievals de Catalunya i el seu dret: dels usos, costums, privilegis i llibertats a les ordinacions municipals," in *Actes de les Jornades d'Estudi sobre el municipi abans de la Nova Planta (1716). El cas de la Fatarella*, coord. Josep Serrano (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 2013), 25-38. Evandro Putzulu, "La prima introduzione del municipio di tipo barcellonaese in Sardegna: lo statuto del Castello di Bonaria," in *Studi Storici e giuridici in onore di Antonio Era* (Padova: Cedam, 1963), 321-336. Giancarlo Sorgia, "Le città regie," in *I catalani in Sardegna*, eds. Jordi Carbonell and Francesco Manconi (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984), 51-58. Anna M. Oliva, "L'Archivio Comunale di Cagliari ed il fondo Carte reali," in *Lettere Regie alla città di Cagliari. Le carte reali dell'Archivio comunale di Cagliari, I (1358-1415)*, eds. Anna M. Oliva and Olivetta Schena (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2012): LXVII-LXXIX. Sul diritto catalano in Sardegna si veda inoltre José O. Anguera de Sojo, *El dret català en l'illa de Sardenya*, ed. Ramon Felipó (Barcelona: Llibres de l'Índex, 2015). Per una esaustiva bibliografia sulle *Ordinacions* nella Corona d'Aragona si veda anche: Antoni Furió and Ferran Garcia-Oliver, eds., *Llibre d'establiments i ordenacions de la ciutat de València, I (1296-1345)* (València: Universitat de València, 2007), 40-41.

(3) Michele Pinna, *Le ordinazioni dei Consiglieri del Castello di Cagliari del secolo XIV* (Cagliari: Giovanni Ledda, 1927), XVI. Raffaele di Tucci, *Il libro verde della città di Cagliari* (Cagliari: SEI, 1925).

(4) Francesco Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari (1346-1603)* (Sassari Fondazione Banco di Sardegna, 2005), p. 59. Ítem *que alguna persona de qualche condició sia no gos ferir ne tochar irosament ne offrendre de ffet ne de paraula ne injuria fer a algun Sard ne Sarda ne alguna atra nació qui vinguia en Castell de Càller ne coses llurs tochar ne pendre sens voluntat llurs ans sien acullits e tractats*



Allo stato attuale della ricerca, è stato avviato uno studio comparativo tra i vari codici di *ordinacions*, in particolare della Catalogna e della Sardegna, ponendo particolare enfasi sulla differenza tra le sanzioni applicate a coloro che sono accusati di un crimine, in sintonia con il loro *status*, la loro fede o la loro appartenenza sociale. A ogni modo, è necessario precisare che, questo articolo vuole essere soltanto un breve riassunto dei primi risultati dell'analisi dei *Llibres d'Ordinacions* sardi (Cagliari e Alghero), che ha la sola finalità di essere una breve presentazione delle potenzialità di questo tipo di documentazione in altri studi più esaustivi, che ci auguriamo di poter svolgere in futuro⁽⁵⁾.

Le ordinacions in Sardegna

Guardando direttamente il caso della Sardegna, ci si concentra principalmente sullo studio delle *Ordinacions* di Cagliari⁽⁶⁾, e, in misura minore, su quelle di Alghero. Le prime sono in realtà due codici che regolano la vita pubblica della città, che ricoprono un arco temporale che oscilla dal XIV fino all'inizio del XVII secolo. Quelle di Alghero, invece, risalgono al 1526 e costituiscono anche un compendio di tutte le ordinanze precedenti⁽⁷⁾.

«*En nom de Déu sia, e de la verge benaurada madonna sancta Maria*», questa è la frase introduttiva delle ordinanze cagliaritanee, che anticipa la natura del testo e la miscela di potere temporale e spirituale che conforma la maniera di imporre l'ordine e punire coloro che non rispettino le norme sancite per preservare la pace urbana e il rispetto delle regole di convivenza tra le diverse comunità religiose⁽⁸⁾.

Entrando pienamente nello studio delle ordinanze sarde, possiamo vedere in loro un certo numero di elementi che possono essere individuati come aspetti che, al di là di regolare la

benignament e bona ells e totes coses llurs e qui contrafarà pagarà de ban Vint sous (10 sous in 1346-1347). Inoltre, nel 1346 il governo della città emanava l'ordinazione che nessuno buttasse immondezza nelle case del *Call* di Cagliari. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 32.

(5) Sulla coesistenza delle minoranze all'interno della Corona d'Aragona, si veda: Brian A. Catlos ««Entre eulx pluseurs Sarrazins...»». *Els jueus, els musulmans i el regne de Martí I*, in *Martí l'Humà: el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410): l'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. M. Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), 483- 499; Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, ca. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). M. Teresa Ferrer, *Els sarraïns de la Corona catalanoaragonesa en el segle XIV* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científiques, 1985).

(6) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni dei Consiglieri del Castello di Cagliari*. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*. Si veda anche Esther Martí, «Buen gobierno, orden y moralidad en las ciudades bajomedievales sardas a través de los libros de *Ordinacions*», *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 5 (2010): 189-223, controllato il 12 di Gennaio 2017. Esther Martí, «“En nom de Déu sia, e de la verge benaurada madonna sancta Maria”. Buen gobierno y espiritualidad en las ciudades bajomedievales sardas a través de las *Ordinacions* de Cagliari», *eHumanista* 24 (2013): 360-379, controllato il 12 di Gennaio 2017.

(7) Rafael Caria, «Les *Ordinacions Municipals* de L'Alguer (1526), » *Revista de Llengua i Dret* 22 (1994): 45-70.

(8) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari*, 46.



vita urbana, facilitavano uno spazio di convivenza tra tutti i membri della città, naturalmente visto dalla prospettiva delle autorità cristiane che le redigevano. Così, nelle ordinanze dettate dal consiglio comunale di Cagliari viene affrontato l'argomento del rispetto per il sacro. In questo modo ricevevano una dura punizione i blasfemi, di qualsiasi nazionalità, *status* e condizione sociale fossero. A chiunque non eseguisse quest'ordine veniva inflitta una pena corporale, che univa il dolore fisico alla pubblica derisione⁽⁹⁾. A questo proposito, risulta abbastanza frequente trovare il termine *negú*, *neguna persona* o "*hom o fembra de qualsevol condició*" nelle ordinanze catalane in riferimento a tutti gli abitanti, senza distinzione, o più esplicitamente "*ningú om, ni niulla feimbra, crestià o crestiana, jueu o juliya, sarray o sarrayna, de qualque condició sia*", o ancora "*a totes gens de qualunque condició o estament*", o "*xptià, ni jueu, ne saray*"⁽¹⁰⁾.

Altresì, le *Ordinacions* di Cagliari prevedevano che chi giurasse su Dio o sulla Vergine, dovesse pagare 3 *lliures* ogni volta che lo facesse e che, se non potesse pagarle, fosse costretto a subire 30 giorni di reclusione, o una intera giornata sulla *pedra della Vergonya*⁽¹¹⁾, come deciso dai notabili del consiglio comunale, e in modo simile agli altri codici sardi contemporanei, come gli Statuti di Sassari, la Breve di Chiesa o la Carta di Logu, e come anche stabilivano le *Constitucions* della Catalogna⁽¹²⁾. Allo stesso modo, gli ebrei che aves-

(9) (...) *segons ordonaren los Consellers e prohòmens de Castell de Càller que alguna persona de qualque condició, nació o stament sia no gos dir mal de Déu ne de Madona Sancya Maria mare sua ne dels seus Sants e qui contrafarà correrà la villa ab grans açots e serà- li mesa una pua de ferre per mig la llengua*. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari*, 9, 46. Si vedano altresì le *Ordinacions de Barcelona: Ordonareu los Conseylers e els prolioms de la Ciutat. que, nulla persona estranya ne priuada. no gos du mal de Deu ne de iiostra dona Sta Maria, ne de sos sant, a joch ne en altra maiiera. E qui contra asò farà. pagarà per ban c. soli; e siliols pot pagar. que serà escobat, caualcan en j. ase, ab j. feire en la lengua, e estarà tot nuu en bragiies, el costell ij. Dies*. Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya" num. 11, 304.

(10) Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya" num. 12 (1926-28): Balaguer (1313-1337), 419, 421; Fullola (1385), 189-190, 202; Valls (1299-1325): 370. Jaume Codina and Sabí Peris, "Ordinacions de Girona de l'any 1358," *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 28 (1985): 192-197, 202-203.

(11) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni*, 92. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers della Città di Cagliari*, 46, 137.

(12) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni*, XXIII- XXIV. Angelo Castellaccio, "L'amministrazione della giustizia nella Sardegna aragonese," in *Alghero, la Catalogna, il Mediterraneo*, dir. Antonello Mattone and Piero Sanna (Sassari: Gallizzi, 1994), 138-155. Pasquale Tola, *Codice degli Statuti della Repubblica di Sassari (1316)* (Sassari: Chiarella, 1983). Elisabetta Artizzu, "La pena nella Carta de Logu," *Annali della Facoltà de Scienze della Formazione dell'Università di Cagliari* XXII (1999): 37-48. Elisabetta Artizzu, "Il concetto di reato nella legislazione statutaria sarda." *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 4 (2010): 259-270, controllato il 11 di Gennaio 2017. Riguardo alla Corona d'Aragona si veda anche: Anicet Masferrer, "L'element sancionador i el contingut penal de les ordenacions municipals catalanes : Especial consideració a les ordenacions de Girona de 1358," in *El Món Urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 Als Decrets de Nova Planta*, ed. Salvador Claramunt, vol. 3 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), 523-551. Francisco Luis Cardona Castro, "La ciudad de Barcelona en el siglo XIV a través de sus ordenanzas municipales." *Cuadernos de Historia económica de Cataluña* 17 (1977): pp. 59-60; Francisco Gimeno Blay and María Luz Mandingorra, *Sermonario de San Vicente Ferrer del Real Colegio-Seminario del Corpus Christi de Valencia* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia-Gráficas Ronda, 2002), 91.



sero nominato Dio o la Vergine Maria invano erano puniti, imponendogli una multa pari a 10 *sous* ⁽¹³⁾.

D'altra parte, chi fosse accusato di aver aggredito i loro genitori era soggetto a una punizione esemplare, differenziando la pena da scontare a seconda del sesso o dell'età dell'accusato, senza interferire, però, la sua condizione o status sociale⁽¹⁴⁾. Inoltre, era punito con severità chi mentiva per incolpare un'altra persona, giurava in falso, o falsificava un documento, tagliandoli una mano e applicando una multa pecuniaria⁽¹⁵⁾.

Allo stesso modo, i giurati di Cagliari punivano chiunque tentasse di disonorare un altro davanti al magistrato, con una multa o la reclusione. Questa pena poteva variare tenendo conto dello status sociale di chi avesse mentito o della persona vituperata, e anche in base alle offese proferite⁽¹⁶⁾.

Troviamo altresì nel codice di *Ordinacions* numerose disposizioni intese a combattere la frode nella vita quotidiana della città, spesso in relazione al rifornimento urbano, al commercio e alla compravendita dei principali prodotti basici per la sussistenza e le professionalità a essi legate. In caso di violazione di tali disposizioni, si applicavano sanzioni pecuniarie, potendo arrivare all'amputazione della mano degli accusati se non potessero saldare questo debito, o potendo questi persino finire in carcere, a prescindere dalla classe sociale o comunità religiosa di appartenenza. In questo modo, sul vino, ad esempio, si riscotevano pesanti sanzioni. Veniva perseguito il suo trasporto non autorizzato, multando tanto il compratore come il venditore, a prescindere dal loro *status* sociale, potendo incarcerare anche il contravventore⁽¹⁷⁾. Erano puniti altresì i pesatori accusati di frode, applicando loro una sanzione di 100 *sous* e la perdita del lavoro. Così era comune che, approfittando della loro situazione, questi trattenessero per sé prodotti di sardi o di qualsiasi altra persona, evidenziando il fatto che se si cita esplicitamente la popolazione sarda, e altre minoranze, tali

(13) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 46.

(14) Ítem que tota persona qui batrà son pare o sa mare (...) sien penjats per lo coll. E si son l'om de menor edat dels XVIII anys e la fembra menor dels dits XVI (...) que li sia levat lo puny dret. (...) Si donchs lo dit menor (...) matava lo dit pare o mare (...) ordina que li sia levat lo puny dret e sia penjat o penjada per lo coll en guisa que muyra. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 105.

(15) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 106.

(16) Ítem que alguna persona no gos dir deshònries ne deshònries a alguna persona devant lo Veguer o sotsveguer en Juhí o fora Juhí en pena de Vint sous. E si pagar no.ls porà Dos jorns a la presó. Encara sarà punit més o menys segons la calitat o condició de la persona qui haurà dita la injuria e d'aquella a qui serà dita, o encara segons les injuries haurà a coneguda dels Consellers e prohòmens. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 52.

(17) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 20, 35-36, 53-56. Sull'importanza del vino nella Corona d'Aragona si veda: Mercè Aventín, "Ordinacions medievals de viles-mercat catalanes sobre el comerç i consum del vi," *Estudis d'història agrària* 17 (2004): 115-128. Pinuccia Simbula, "Produzione, consumo e commercio del vino nel basso Medioevo," in *Storia della vite e del vino in Sardegna*, eds. M. Luisa Di Felice and Antonello Mattone (Roma: Laterza, 2000), 38-63.



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abusi dovevano essere frequenti⁽¹⁸⁾. Inoltre, i panettieri che si rifiutavano di cuocere il pane, o che pretendevano più soldi di quelli dovuti, erano puniti con una multa di 5 *sous* (10 *sous* nel 1422), in modo simile alle ordinanze di Alghero, a prescindere dalla condizione sociale delle persone coinvolte⁽¹⁹⁾. Inoltre, l'importanza del grano nella società medievale sarda era evidente, e non mancavano le disposizioni su questo prodotto. Così, si sanzionava con una grossa somma coloro che lo rivendessero o prendessero dalla città senza autorizzazione, potendo finire in carcere l'autore del reato, a prescindere della sua posizione sociale⁽²⁰⁾.

Nelle ordinanze della capitale della Sardegna, erano perseguitati anche i furti, ad esempio imponendo una multa di 5 *sous* a coloro che rubassero nei carri di sardi o di altri, all'interno della città, costringendoli inoltre a restituire quello che era stato sottratto indebitamente⁽²¹⁾. Allo stesso modo, le ordinanze imponevano punizioni, di diversa gravità, a coloro che non rispettassero la proprietà di un altro, applicando diverse sanzioni pecuniarie, e potendo persino portare all'incarceramento dell'imputato che si rifiutasse, o non fosse in grado, di affrontare la contravvenzione, senza specificare il suo status o condizione⁽²²⁾. Questo codice fornisce anche informazioni sul porto d'armi a Cagliari, vietando a chi non fosse catalano-aragonese di portarle⁽²³⁾.

D'altra parte i delitti di sangue erano perseguitati con severità, prendendo in considerazione la gravità della ferita contestata, potendo arrivare alla condanna alla forca dell'incolpato nei casi estremi⁽²⁴⁾. Inoltre, le persone che osassero attaccare, ferire o offendere i sardi, o altri stranieri che si trovavano in città, erano punite, pur senza eccessiva durezza, imponendo loro una sanzione pecuniaria⁽²⁵⁾.

D'altra parte, al fine di controllare la moralità degli abitanti dell'urbe, le ordinanze di Ca-

(18) (1346) *Ordonaren los consellers e ls prohòmens de Castell de Càller que alcun pesador o regent lo pes del [dit C]astell ne.l bastax d'aquell no gosen ne presumesquen damanar o ffer dama]nar ne pendre o fer pendre per grat ne per força lana formatges [ne alt]res qualsevol coses d'alcun sart ne d'altre qualsevol persona de q[ui pes]en les dites coses o d'alcuna d'aquelles per aquells de qui pesaran per mera liber[alitat l'ús] sien donades salvant lo dret ordon[at de pagar per lo dit pes]. [E qui] contrafarà pagarà per pena cada vegada [.C. sols e serà privat del offici].* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 27-28.

(19) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 16, 67. Caria, "Les Ordinacions Municipals de L'Alguer", 57-59, 65-66.

(20) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 34-35. Riguardo al commercio del grano nel tardo Medioevo catalanoaragonese si veda: Josefina Mutgé, "L'abastament de blat a la ciutat de Barcelona en temps d'Alfons el Benigne (1327-1336)," *Anuario de Estudios medievales* 31/ 2 (2001): 649-692.

(21) Pinna, *Le ordinazioni*, 122-123.

(22) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 16-17, 57-58, 69, 102, 120. Per Barcelona, si veda, ad esempio: Francisco Luis Cardona Castro, "La ciudad de Barcelona en el siglo XIV a través de sus ordenanzas municipales." *Cuadernos de Historia económica de Cataluña* 17 (1977): 57-73.

(23) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 9, 46. Per Barcellona si veda: Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya" num. 11, 304-305.

(24) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 9-10, 46-51.

(25) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 59.



gliari, in maniera simile a molte altre dello stesso periodo, stabilivano che le prostitute vivessero in una zona particolare della città. Per evitare il contatto delle meretrici con le altre donne, si stabilì anche che le prime potessero accedere ai bagni del quartiere di Castello solamente il venerdì⁽²⁶⁾. Allo stesso modo per facilitarne il riconoscimento, esse non dovevano indossare alcun mantello, sotto pena di perderlo e dover pagare 100 *sous*⁽²⁷⁾. Allo stesso modo, la punizione era esemplare per gli adulteri, distinguendo l'applicazione della pena solo per sesso e non per condizione sociale. Così, agli uomini bigami veniva imposta una pena che infrangeva dolore fisico e scarno pubblico, mentre le donne accusate di bigamia venivano espulse della città per sempre⁽²⁸⁾.

Queste ordinanze sono spesso ricche di dettagli sulle norme per facilitare la convivenza all'interno della città tra i cristiani e le altre religioni. Così, le comunità ebraiche in Sardegna acquisirono un peso importante, essendo quelle della capitale e di Alghero le più popolose⁽²⁹⁾. I giudei cagliaritari vivevano confinati nel quartiere ebraico, come in tutta la Corona, e non era permesso loro avere qualsiasi attività fuori del quartiere, sotto pena di 25 *lliures*⁽³⁰⁾. Dello stesso modo era vietato ai cristiani vivere tra gli ebrei, e veniva imposta una sanzione di 60 *sous* agli contravventori in 1448⁽³¹⁾. Allo stesso modo, agli giudei cagliaritari era proibito lavorare in città la domenica e nei giorni di precetto, come a tutti gli altri abitanti, tollerando però che potessero farlo nell'interno delle loro abitazioni, sotto pena di 10 *sous* nel 1346 e 40 *sous* nel 1422⁽³²⁾.

I giudei cagliaritari, come nella maggior parte delle altre città della Corona, erano tenuti

(26) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 50, 56. María del Carmen García Herrero, "El mundo de la prostitución en las ciudades bajomedievales." *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 4 (1996): 89-100. M. Carmen Peris, "La prostitución valenciana en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV." *Revista d'Història Medieval* 1 (1990): pp. 179-99.

(27) Ítem que d'açí avant neguna fembra errada o pública no gos portar anant per vila mantell en pena de perdre lo dit mantell que aportarà e de pagar Cent sous per cascuna veguada que contrafarà pagadors a la cort del dit senyor. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 116.

(28) Ítem que tot hom qui sia trobat que haje dies mullers vives o més que corregua la vila ab los collons clavats en una taula ab quatre aguts. E si alguna fembra serà trobada que haje dos marits vius corregua la vila e sia exellada per tots temps. (...) Ítem que tot hom qui serà atrobat ab dona maridada en corregua pena de Vint-e Cinh lliures. E si pagar no les porà stiga mig any en la presó. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 39, 110-112.

(29) Cecilia Tasca, *Gli ebrei in Sardegna nel XIV secolo: società, cultura, istituzioni* (Cagliari: Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Sardegna, 1992). Cecilia Tasca, *Ebrei e società in Sardegna nel XV secolo: fonti archivistiche e nuovi spunti di ricerca* (Firenze: Giuntina, 2008). Joan Armangué, "Gli ebrei nelle prime 'ordinanze' di Castello di Cagliari (1347), Nota per una rilettura etnologica," *Insula* 3 (2008): 11-21. Gabriella Olla Repeto, "La condizione ebraica della Sardegna aragonese (1323-1492)," in *Ricordando Alberto Boscolo. Bilanci e prospettive storiografiche*, eds. M. Giuseppina Meloni, Anna M. Oliva and Olivetta Schena (Roma: Viella, 2016): 457-491.

(30) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 68.

(31) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 68.

(32) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 18, 67.



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ad indossare nei loro abiti un ruota di un materiale diverso a quello dell'abito indossato, sotto pena di 20 *sous* o di dover scontare 10 giorni di detenzione. Allo stesso modo, le loro donne dovevano vestire un lungo mantello, e non indossare capi con decorazioni lussuose al di fuori del quartiere ebraico⁽³³⁾.

Anche se le pratiche religiose delle altre comunità o gruppi etnici furono generalmente rispettate a Cagliari (almeno a giudicare dalla documentazione comunale e facendo riferimento in particolare agli ebrei e ai sardi), si punivano con severità gli ebrei e i musulmani che non inginocchiavano al passaggio del Corpo di Cristo durante le processioni (20 *sous* per gli ebrei contravventori, 25 frustate per i musulmani (30 nel 1422), dando loro la possibilità di nascondersi se non desideravano prostrarsi⁽³⁴⁾.

Inoltre, alle ebreo era concesso entrare nei bagni solo in determinate ore, multando le contravventrici con 60 *sous*, a differenza dei 20 che si applicavano alle prostitute⁽³⁵⁾.

Le ordinanze sarde proibivano anche di aiutare uno schiavo a fuggire, con particolare riferimento agli schiavi saraceni, greci e anche aquelli battezzati. La condanna da applicare ai contravventori era la pena capitale, anche se il modo in cui era eseguita cambiava a seconda della fede del trasgressore. I cristiani venivano impiccati, mentre gli schiavi e gli ebrei erano trascinati lungo il terreno fino alla morte. Se lo schiavo era un saraceno, gli altri schiavi saraceni dovevano pagare il suo prezzo al proprietario, se lo schiavo era greco, battezzato o di qualsiasi altra nazione, gli altri schiavi erano tenuti a pagare i danni causati al proprietario⁽³⁶⁾.

Queste ordinanze aggiungono altresì ulteriori dettagli sugli schiavi saraceni. Così si stabiliva che essi dovessero spostarsi per la città con le gambe legate da ferri, e non potessero

(33) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 18, 67, 112-113. Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina, "Vestit i societats: Les ordinacions sumptuàries de Cervera (1344)," *Miscel·lània ceriverina* 2 (1984): 29-30.

(34) *Que Juheus e Sarrahins se degen agenollar al cors de Jhesu Xpist. Ítem que tot Juheu e tot Serrahi com vege anar lo cors de Jhesu Xpist per vila se dege agenollar ho que s'amach en pena de Vint sous al Juheu, e al Sarrahi de Trenta açots e darà tres sols al açotador.* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 18, 68.

(35) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 56-57.

(36) (...) *Ítem que [alcun]a persona no gos tractar ne donar obra que alcun sclau sarrahi o grech o [bestiat] ne esclava fuge per mar ne per terra. E qui contrafarà si ès Crestià serà [penjat] en guisa que muyra. E si serà Sarahi batiat o grech serà roçegat en guis[a que] muyre. E ço que l dit esclau aurà costat serà esmanat e pagat al senyo[r da q]ui serà entre tots los altres sclaus del dit Castell o per lurs senyors. (1343-1346). Qui serà trobat començador de fer fugir sclaus. Ítem que algun hom de qualche condició o nació sia qui sia tractador o comensador a fer fugir en alguna manera per terra o per mar o se'n menarà algun sclau Sarrahi ho sarrahina grech o gregua, batiat o batiada o de qualsevol nació sia, si crestià serà aquell qui açò farà que sia penjat per lo coll en guisa que muyra. E si serà sclau o Juheu serà roceguat per terra en guisa que muyra. E si lo dit sclau qui per la dita rahó serà roceguat serà Serrahi serà esmanat al senyor de qui serà entre tots los altres sclaus Serrahins de la terra. E si serà sclau grech o bateiat o bateiada o altra nació serà esmanat entre tots los altres sclaus de la terra lo preu que costat li haurà (1422-1603).* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 19, 62.



uscire dopo il tramonto, sotto pena di 20 *sous* al suo proprietario⁽³⁷⁾. Gli schiavi che non fossero addetti al servizio personale del proprietario dovevano rimanere rinchiusi a chiave dopo questo orario, sotto pena di 50 frustate e una multa di 5 *sous* al loro proprietario⁽³⁸⁾. Questi importi furono raddoppiati all'inizio del XVI secolo, quando il pericolo di attacchi turchi era in aumento⁽³⁹⁾.

Inoltre, le ordinanze Cagliari impongono la forca per lo schiavo o servo che venga trovato con una schiava dello stesso padrone. Allo stesso modo, se la schiava morisse di parto, il considerato responsabile del torto dovrà pagare il prezzo della donna al suo proprietario. Nel caso in cui l'autore di questo reato fosse uno schiavo, quest'ultimo dovrà essere di proprietà comune, a partire da allora, del signore della schiava e del suo padrone precedente⁽⁴⁰⁾. Le ordinanze cagliaritanes miravano anche a realizzare prestiti o a comprare a schiavi o servi di qualsiasi condizione, sotto la minaccia di una multa che oscillava fra i 20 -100 *sous* e la perdita della somma prestata⁽⁴¹⁾. Allo stesso modo il gioco d'azzardo era severamente vietato a chiunque, senza discriminazioni di condizione, nazione o condizione sociale. Tale divieto si applicava anche ai giudei che consentivano il gioco nel loro ostello, anche se in questo caso la multa ammontava a 100 *sous*, di fronte ai 10 imposti ai cristiani per lo stesso reato⁽⁴²⁾.

Così vediamo che, per quanto riguarda le *ordinacions* sarde, spesso le sanzioni imposte sono sostanzialmente diverse, non solo come importo monetario, ma anche come forma di punizione, che può essere soltanto economica o corporale, a seconda dello stato sociale

(37) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 19.

(38) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 61.

(39) (...) *que tot sclau ho sclava serà trobat de nits après tocada la campana del Seny sen slum stiga a la presó .XV. dies ho li sien dats Sinquanta asots a la pedra de lla Vergonya ni ningun taverner ni tavernera no. ls gosses aculir en lurs casses de nits e de dia sits penas de tres liures sens gràsia e mercè alguna (1488-1491)*. Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 139, 143. Riguardo lo stesso argomento in Valls si veda anche: Carreras Candi, *Ordinacions urbanes*, num. 12, 370. About slavery in Late Medieval Crown of Aragon see: Roser Salicrú, *Esclaus i propietaris d'esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV. L'assegurança contra fuges* (Barcelona: CSIC, 1998). Josefina Mutgé, "Les Ordinacions de Barcelona sobre els esclaus.", in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana. Actas del col.loqui internacional celebrat a Barcelona, del 27 al 29 de maig de 1999* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000), 245-265. Josep Hernando, "Els esclaus sarraïns: De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Blancs, negres, llors i turcs," in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat*, 213-245.

(40) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 111. (1422)

(41) Ítem que [alcuna persona no gos ne presomesque co]mprar alcuna roba d'alcun sclau o esclava ne aquell esclau o esclava] fer prèstec sobre roba alcuna. *E qui contrafarà pagarà per cada vegada .C. sols. (...) Ítem que alguna persona cristiana ço és a ssaber ne jueu ne d'altre ley no gos ne presumesque prestar sobre algun sclau o esclava o catiu d'altre ne encara alcun macip o servicial o macipa qui estia ab altre e qui contrafarà perdrà ço que prestat aurà e la penyora que reebuda n'aurà e no –res-menys pagarà per pena cada vegada .XX. sols sens tota remissió e mercè.* Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 19-20, 28-29. Per Barcellona si veda: Carreras Candi, "Ordinacions urbanes de Bon govern a Catalunya" num. 11, 309.

(42) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 28, 55, 67-68. For the same argument see: Codina and Peris, "Ordinacions de Girona de l'any 1358.": 196-197.



dell'accusato o della parte lesa. Così, le ordinanze di Cagliari prevedono che la pena per aggredire un altro sia di 60 *sous*, ma i giurati della città possono aumentare o diminuire questa somma, a seconda de «*la condició de la persona qui l'haurà rebut he qui l'haurà donat*». Allo stesso modo, chiunque colpisca un altro per denaro sarà punito con la perdita della mano. Nel caso in cui l'aggredito fosse una prostituta, uno schiavo o un servo, all'aggressore sarà imposta soltanto una multa di 20 *sous*, o 5 giorni di carcere⁽⁴³⁾.

Pertanto, e a modo di conclusione, riteniamo che questo tipo di documentazione comunale, insieme ad altra che serva a completarla, offra varie sfumature e interessanti prospettive per approfondire lo studio delle strategie di pace nel Mediterraneo durante il Medioevo.

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(43) Manconi, ed., *Libro delle ordinanze dei consellers*, 48.



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Travelling Towards Egypt Between the Late XIV and the XVI Century ⁽¹⁾

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1. *Introduction. The travelling experience between the Middle Ages and the modern age.* Travelling, namely departing from the place where one's certainties lie, corresponds to the need to reify the places of one's everyday actions and life, to recognize and re-elaborate them from a cultural as well as a material viewpoint. That is, to recognize oneself in a place else which has been mythicized, dreamed of, longed for. We also need to explore "other" places, to connect our own truths and certainties with the unknown and the territorial "emptiness". In other words, we need to expand our knowledge and to experience new geographic realities (Spagnoli 2011). The passage from one dimension to another – from the known to the unknown, from the familiar to the uncertain – has always characterized human societies.

In fact, moving, roaming, shattering, and fragmenting on the earth's surface is a distinctive feature of human communities. Sometimes this happens in a traumatic and conflicting way. Some others, in a conciliating one. "Dispersion can bring about the clash with other groups [...]. Often [nonetheless] the expansion of the space submitted to a community takes place after an individual exploration which led to the knowledge of new spaces, more conducive to settlement" (Turri 1993, 11). Sometimes, the myth is at the origin of the movement – thus, of travelling –, that is the ideal of a more extraordinary elsewhere, which is more congenial to one's existence and where the wishes and utopias of a reality laden with expectations meet and intersect, disrupting the pace of everyday life.

Therefore, when one has to embark on a journey, to take innovative paths in search of new realities to be moulded and of more pioneering complexities to be re-discovered, they are aware of the numerous reasons for the departing. Some are forced to travel, like those who had been enslaved and then moved to distant places. Some others, instead, travel because

(1) This paper is the joint work of the three authors. Paragraphs 1 and 4 are by Luisa Spagnoli, paragraphs 2, 3 and 6 are by Anna Maria Oliva, paragraph 5 is by Arturo Gallia. Unless otherwise specified, the translations are by the authors.



they are driven by the allurements of "other" places, moved by varied interests: merchants, men of God, princes, intellectuals, scientists, pilgrims, adventurers who, between the late XIV and the XVI century, for various reasons, embarked on journeys and pilgrimages towards the East, reaching also Egypt.

The itineraries were varied due to political, diplomatic, religious, economic, commercial, spiritual, and pedagogic reasons, but they were also driven by the thirst for fame and power. All the mentioned reasons, though different as they may be, share the account of the tiring journey undertaken, the description of places and of their anthropic and geographical features, the political and diplomatic relations, the account of the emotions and territorial experience enjoyed by every traveller.

Between the XIII and the XIV century, the routes towards the East were travelled by Polo, Pian del Carpine, Rubruk, Vivaldi and many others who were drawn towards the knowledge and conquest of new horizons and the expansion of trade routes (Spagnoli, 2008). All these thrusts are also reflected in the travel experience driven by the tales and legends of other travellers – either itinerant or theoretical – who, either fictitiously or not, represented perfect and imaginative worlds, lands of Plenty, where richness, prosperity, and happiness were the distinctive features.

The constant search for *terra repromissionis sanctorum*, whose recovery put the *Navigatio Sancti Brandani*⁽²⁾ to an end; the continuous longing for the discovery of the Garden of Eden; the wish to find a place on earth for the kingdom of Prete Gianni⁽³⁾; all these are myths and legends that represent the very essence of reality and knowledge: travelling also needs to be explained, "rationalized", and spread through the creation of a new world, a distant, different – maybe better, maybe worse – one (Spagnoli 2011).

In the pre-modern age – when the spatial experience was still at its beginning, as the geography of the world struggled to gather into a global vision and representation – the drive towards the knowledge of new horizons brought about the will to go beyond the threshold of the unknown, beyond the seemingly closed and limited space. The medieval spatial perception is emblematically represented by any *mappamundi* that does not allow the viewers to let their look "broaden": the world is drawn within a well-defined circle which schematizes reality in the attempt to mirror the theological concept of the known Universe. Therefore, the need to distinguish between what is "here" (the habitual space) and what is "elsewhere" (unknown lands, still undiscovered, whose mythicization gradually crumbled

(2) *Navigatio* is a Christian text characterized by the joint of late-Hellenistic teratological origins with hints of leitmotifs of Irish genres, where travel is the central theme and aims at not only the search for solitude, but rather the conversion to the word of God. It represents an alternative to Heaven's eastern location, by placing it in an island west of Ireland.

(3) During the Middle Ages, according to the historical-geographical tradition of the time, the legend of Prete Gianni was created. He is considered the monarch of the Christian East. The hypothesis of his reigning in Ethiopia is confirmed: at some point in time, people believed they could find the Garden of Eden in the country.



away between the XV and the XVIII century) became concrete reality.

Yet, during the XIII century, the spatial experience was no longer so limited, as it was replaced by the wish to expand one's knowledge, to cross those tightening borders, in search of unlimited horizons. Then, the limits of the medieval world in the Christian West contracted and expanded, carrying the image of horizons swinging between the real and the oneiric, the inherited and authoritative knowledge and a «thick blanket of legends» which will be slow in fading away (Lago 2007, 700). The real and the fantastic are the two sides of the same coin: medieval geography swung between conjectural knowledge (the expression of the classic tradition and of the authority of the Scriptures) and the empirical knowledge, based on travelling and navigation. Thus, the spaces mainly enclosed into circles, ellipses or rectangles, represented by the *mappaemundi* where every dimensional relation is neglected and the phenomena displayed, are "reality, creation, divine sign" (Milanesi 1983, 12)]. Moreover, they are joined by «endless stretches, built on the rays of the Compass Rose» (Baltrusaitis 1960, p. 250)], which mirror the "open and lay" concept of the world. The conjectural element of medieval cosmographies is replaced by observing and measuring (Romanelli 1990, 21), which are now at the service of travels and navigation. However, in spite of the mentioned drive towards "modernity", which is in search of a new cartographic language, the imaginative aspect persists for some time. In fact, it was not a coincidence that merchants, monks, pilgrims embarked on numerous journeys from the XII-XIII century and crossed the reassuring border of their own "finite" world, not for the sake of an actual discovery, but to re-find what had been handed down by the texts of Antiquity. «Ever since, in the mid-XIII century, the West started to go through the streets of the world, starting with Marco Polo and the early pioneers in Asia, the ancient myths provided an overall picture to read and interpret reality» (Spila 2010, 13). In fact, the Middle Ages did not invent so much, did not created anything new either, but re-elaborated, interpreted, amplified what the ancient times had handed down: the medieval *mirabilia* were mainly the same on which the Greek literature had practiced (Orlandi 1983, 528-529; Spagnoli 2008, 74). Consequently, when the West started crossing the boundaries of the world and going through its countless streets, it carried a baggage of news and beliefs whose roots were deep in ancient myths and legends.

As the modern age slowly approached, nonetheless, undeniable changes occurred and became manifest in the travelling mode, in the way travelling was told and perceived. Humanism spread Spila's "idea of the world as an object to be experienced, a singular taste for the new, which, in literary terms, resulted from the impulse of "merchants" driven towards unknown countries and new trade places. There is no land where the deeds of these tenacious and bold men (conquerors, but also narrators) did not leave a mark" (Spila 2010, 18). It was the Renaissance spirit, with its intellectual and political forces, with its renewed store of knowledge and techniques, which imposed the new spatial logics and accelerated the major geographical discoveries that unavoidably brought about a new vision of the world. "The Renaissance man penetrated into unknown paths, by sea and by land, beyond the



customary limits of the world", pushed by a mixture of ideological and practical reasons (Spila 2010, 19).

Although one cannot deny that, between the late XV and the early XVI century, travelling increased (especially amongst Italian navigators) as much as the spread of the news regarding exploratory and commercial enterprises, the fundamental role of the Italian commercial expansion towards the Middle East at the end of the XIII century must be highlighted, along with the stabilization of the commercial monopoly in the eastern and western Mediterranean, despite the end of the crusades and the Islamic re-conquest.

Among the journeys to the Middle East, the Holy Land was one of the most desired destinations and generated an actual narrative genre, the one related to pilgrimages. Between the XI and the XII century, the flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem was particularly consistent, though it experienced a setback from the late XII century, when the "holy city" came under the rule of the Mamluks. Nonetheless, from around the mid-XIV century, as the papal ambitions to reconquer the Holy Land slowly faded, the service of transporting pilgrims, based in the port of Venice, recovered its strength: the last decades of the XIV and the first ones of the XVI century may be considered the golden years of pilgrimage. Whereas the traditional route started from Venice, reached several ports in the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean Sea to land in Jaffa or Beirut and then went on towards the holy places overland, the route occasionally headed from Rhodes or Methoni (in the Peloponnese) and went on towards Alexandria, Cairo, and, once crossed the desert, reached the Sinai and, then, Palestine⁽⁴⁾. This was the case of Niccolò Lionardo di Frescobaldi's well-known journey to the Holy Land. His traveller story and the memories handed down by his travelling companions, Giorgio Gucci and Simone Sigoli, offer us a testimony of the late XIV century pilgrim's feelings: he is seen as less prone to penance and piety, more inclined to commercial exchanges and relations and/or to see to political-diplomatic matters⁽⁵⁾. As meaningful was the experience of those who preceded them almost forty years earlier, Franciscan Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who left us an account which can be regarded as the archetypal book about travelling to the Holy Land. His work was given due consideration by other travellers and was somewhat

(4) Among the known travels towards Egypt, we need to mention that Niccolò Martoni, a Neapolitan notary, left Gaeta on June 17th 1934 to get to Alexandria on July 25th of the same year (*Io notaio N. de Martoni* [...] 2003). Another interesting itinerary was Marco Bartolommeo Rustici's (*Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai*, also known as "Codice Rustici"): he left Firenze in the middle of August 1441 and landed in Egypt around the first ten days of October (Gai 1982; *Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro* [...] 2015). The well-known itinerary of Filippo Pigafetta is worth a mention (*Viaggio dell'Egitto, dell'Arabia, del mar Rosso et del Monte Sinai*): he went straight to Egypt, with no deviation, between 1576-1577 (see Magnaghi 1910; Da Schio 1982).

(5) As Franco Cardini maintains, «Lionardo, heading towards the Holy Land to admire the places of the story of our Saviour, and especially to check the Saracens' harbours and strongholds, on behalf of the king of Naples, was quite far from any concept of penance related to pilgrimage. Indeed – though he never confessed it –, he was ready also to make some trade deals or at least ponder their feasibility. On the contrary, he constantly underlined the regard received and the privileges enjoyed» (Cardini 1991a, p. 27).



interpreted as both a guide for pilgrims and a narrative text which tells about unknown countries, cities, people, animals, and above all, places laden with “sanctity”, though in rather colourful tones (Spila 2010).

What pushed XIV-XV century men to embark on a “wider” pilgrimage – as Franco Cardini put it (1991a, 29) – that is to say, to take a longer way by going through Alexandria and Cairo in the wake of the steps of early medieval pilgrims⁽⁶⁾, can be traced back firstly in a safer and more stable political situation, as the area between the Nile and the Jordan was controlled by the Mamluks. Moreover, there were both economic and commercial reasons, as the Western Christian ships were familiar to Egyptian ports, and spiritual ones, connected to the humanist revival of the patristic thinking (Cardini 1991a)⁽⁷⁾.

In the XVI century, travelling took on a definitely different aspect and was due to different reasons, as different as XVI century travellers were, namely driven by an even less ardent devotion than the those of the previous century. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land became less frequent because the Mamluks had ceded their power to the Ottomans. Consequently, a nearly complete disruption occurred in the transport of pilgrims from the port of Venice to Middle-Eastern ports (including Egyptian destinations). Cardini put that economic reasons should not be overlooked, as they brought about the abandonment of «expensive galleys» in favour of definitely cheaper and less comfortable merchant ships (Cardini 1991a, 42). Ludovico de Varthema⁽⁸⁾, by way of an example, travelled towards the East, initially driven by economic interests, which led him to spend some time in Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus during the first years of the XVI century.

In other words, an almost uninterrupted genre which has collected the memories of numerous Italian travellers as they “walked” towards the East, whose stories have sparked curiosity and stimulated the European courts, triggering an actual cultural revolution, especially in the light of other travels which were the stage for the chronicles of XV and XVI century great explorations.

The travel stories and travellers to Egypt and the Middle East can be addressed, however, only if the phenomenon will be considered in a wider historical framework, that allows to understand the relationships between Egypt and European domains during the Mamluk Empire, with a particular attention to the events of XV century. This historical phase is very important because it puts forward following tensions, which in turn also invest the journey and its modalities.

(6) It was the circuit made by travellers between the IV and the VII century and, in particular, «since 527, that is to say since Justinian had founded, around the small Constantinian Church, the great monastery of “Saint Catherine in Sinai”, subsequently abandoned because of the Islamic conquest (Cardini 1991a, 29).

(7) «The incipient humanistic spirituality had brought patristic texts back into fashion, together with the familiarity towards regions like Egypt and the Holy Land itself (one should just think of Saint Jerome, who was especially worshipped and studied in Florence)». (Cardini 1991a, 29).

(8) As for *Itinerario*, see: Amat di San Filippo 1878, 1-73; Caraci 1991b; Luzio 1949, 511-514; Barozzi 1977, 413-427; Barozzi 1983, 349-368.



Relations between East and West

Various Studies: Medieval and Contemporary Ages

2. *The Historical and Political Context.* – For better understand many meanings of the “travel” in Egypt and, with a historical background of the proposed theme, it is very important the reconstruction of the political and diplomatic relations between Mamluk Sultanate and Italian potentates. Great attention will be dedicate to those between the papal Curia and the Sultan of Egypt in the second half of the fifteenth century. A scientific perspective, this, almost altogether absent from the historical debate.

The papal policy of the second half of the XV century, after the fall of Constantinople under the Ottoman Empire Strikes (1453) (Pertusi 1997), was marked by repeated and failed attempts of the popesto promote a crusade against the Turks (Pastor 1912; Setton 1978; Pellegrini 2013) and by disaffection instead of Italian and European potentates distracted by an Italian and European politics increasingly complex and conflictual (Chittolini 2001, 191-217; Lazzarini 2003). Pontiffs emblematic in the second half of the XV century to combat the danger Turkish and for Crusader activism were Alfonso Borgia, Pope Callistus III (1455- 1458) (Navarro 2006) and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pope Pius II (1458-1464) (D’Ascia 2001; Sodi and Antoniutti 2007), also Innocent VIII, just elected (1484), found himself having to counter balance the aggressive expansionism of Bayezid, sultan ascended the throne in 1481 after his father Mohammed II death, trying several times to promote a crusade (Pastor 1912, 210-233).

The papal policy, however, was not limited in that project long cherished but never realized. The theme of the crusades, although important in European history of those years, does not exhaust the broader issue of the relationship between the Curia, potentates and Muslim sultanates. Neither such reports were limited to vigorous bans and heavy fines that the papacy from the mid-thirteenth century emanated with less and less conviction against those who traded with Muslims (TrenchsOdina 1980; Coulon 1013, 161-192). They also developed a whole complex and diverse set of contacts between the European chancelleries and the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, thatthe Italian and foreign historians have not yet studied in depth.

The Muslim world did not end with the Ottoman Empire, but gathered an articulated framework of various potentates who sometimes followed the same political strategies, but sometimes fought hard. The years, object of this first early research on the relationship between papal Curia and Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, concern the time of Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492) (Pellegrini 2000, 1-13; Pellegrini 2004, 450-460), – a pontificate that still awaits a deep re-reading and reflection – and at the time of Sultan Qā’it Bay, – ascended to the throne after a long period of internal fights –, who ruled for twenty-nine years showing political wisdom and capacity of government and opening his kingdom to contacts with other powers in the Mediterranean.

In the second half of the fifteenth century diplomatic relations between European chancelleries and Sultan of Egypt became more frequent also for the role that the Mamluk Sultanate had assumed in the balance of the Mediterranean: his leadership and his independent



policy against Turkish empire, which, many times, resulted in hard fights with the Sultan of Istanbul, made him a very important player for the Italian and European potentates who were trying to cope with the Ottoman expansionism in Europe and the Mediterranean (Ashtor 1982, 296-351; Montesano 2010, 17-25; Babinger 1967, 323-444; Pastor 1912, 210-233).

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there had been a change in the policy framework and international trade. Following that event Alexandria had become the main market of the eastern Mediterranean spices. On the political level then the Sultan found himself engaged in the Turkish-Egyptian conflict many time exploded into open war, became an important partner of the Christian powers and the papacy, as a guarantee for trade routes to the ports of Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut and the Levant, which were fundamental at that time to the affairs of the Italian and European merchants (Findlay and O'Rourke 2007, 131-133, Abulafia 1987, 402-473; Lopez 1987, 306-401; Ashtor 1983, 3-64; Coulon 2016, 561-581)⁽⁹⁾. Also, the Mamluk Sultanate, which stretched from Egypt even to Syria, had also the Holy Land, a place of constant and intense Christian pilgrimage. The Mamluk sultans knew that in the negotiations with the Western powers could bring to claim their role on the Holy Land (Régnier-Bohler 1997, 1227-1287; Abulafia 2016, 365-366). The sultanate played, so, a strategic role in relations with Turkish Empire and with the Christian world. That is why the need to reach an agreement with the Sultan of Egypt became strategic to the European powers.

The opposition to Turkish Empire not only fought with threat of crusade. At that time the Mediterranean was crossed by conflictual, political and commercial interests (Venetian, Florentine, Catalan, Spanish, French, Knights of Rhodes, subjects of the kingdom of Naples and Turks faced each other). The strong fear of the papacy, Italian and European chancelleries was that Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean fell into the hands of the Ottoman Sultan. That is why the role of the Mamluk Sultanate was strategic (Rossi 1988, 24-25).

3. *Diplomatic relations between Mamluk Sultanate, Italian Potentates and Pontifical Curia.* The need to find an agreement with the Mamluk Sultan Qa'it Bay in key anti-Turkish had pushed the different powers to send ambassadors to his court. The Eighties of the XV century were also the years that saw protagonist, although passive, Prince Djem who, from 1481 – year of his father's death, the great Turkish Mohammed II, Sultan of Constantinople – to 1495 – year of his death – to escape his brother, Bayezid II, who was trying to delete him to win the Sultanate, relied before on Mamluk Sultan and then on knights of Rhodes, and on French King (Babinger 1967, 210-233). Afterwards, the Mamluk Sultan, the pope and the major European chancelleries tried to have him (Vatin 1997; Pastor 1912, 210-233).

All contenders sought to have him in their availability to use him a deterrent and as a tool

(9) For Economic effect of Turkish conquest of Mamluk Empire, Braudel 1953, 691-694.



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of blackmail against the Sultan Bayezid II. We know these events for their political implications, less known however is the relationship that there was between Pope Innocent VIII and the Sultan of Cairo about this and that continued even after Innocent VIII obtained, in 1489, that Prince Djem arrived in Rome (Thuasne 1892; Giordani 1907, 638-650). The relationship continued for the Egyptian insistence to acquire the illustrious prisoner, in opposition to Bayezid II, threatening to favor a return to Constantinople of Djem who would endanger his brother's throne, with greater effectiveness than they did Westerners.

All major European powers were interested in having in their hands an important hostage. The court of Sultan Mamluk then became one of the backgrounds where several diplomats were active. The topics discussed were the fate of Djem but in a wider political context that saw the protagonists of Italian politics to face Turks and Mamluks.

On the delicate diplomatic relations in these years there have been published some reports of Venetian (Rossi 1988) or Florentine (Corti 1958, 247-266; Babinger 1963, 305-361; Meli 2009, 243-273; Tripodi 2010, 411-440) Milanese (Wijntjes 2013, 549-561) ambassadors sent to the court of Sultan Qa'it Bay in 1487-1489 which, in the partial silence of Roman sources, provide information, even if indirectly, of the relations between the papacy and the Mamluk Sultan.

The careful reading of these reports, the precious correspondence, now published, that the various speakers accredited to the main Italian chanceries sent regularly to their lords, those of the Florentine ambassadors accredited in Naples (Scarton 2005; Meli 2011) and Rome (Scarton 2007) and some Roman chronicles (Burcardo 1906, 252-256; Infessura 1890, 240-242), has collected interesting information on the diplomatic mission of Ibn-Mahfuz (Malfot) ambassador Mamluk sent to Florence in 1487 and then to Rome, where he was received by the Pope in the Consistory in 1489 and the role played by Filippo Canonici (Brizzi 1975, 166-167) ambassador of Pope Innocent VIII in Alexandria and Cairo to the Sultan Qa'it Bay.

In the contest of the diplomatic relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the European and Italian potentates (Beihammer, Parani and Schabel 2008), relations between Egypt and the papal Curia still constitute a scientific perspective almost entirely absent from the historical debate.

The finding also at the Vatican Secret Archives (*Guida delle Fonti per la storia dell'Africa del Nord* 2005, 234) to some sources related to a papal embassy to the Sultan of Egypt *Particulares instructions Innocentii VIII datae cuidam Philippo ad Soldanum Egipti nuncio designato* and another on the question of the Prince Djem: *Instructio Innocentii VIII de Zizimo Turcarum regis fratre captivo* has piqued our interest, confirming the possibility to open a line of research almost new and suggested the opportunity to deepen the nature and weight of such relationships.



4. *For a geo-historical approach towards the collection of travel stories.* – Narrative modes vary through every age. Before the XVI century, travel literature had expressed itself mainly through the form of more or less realistic, and more or less fictitious itineraries, written during the journey itself or entirely theoretically. But, as Ilaria Caraci (1991, XIX-XX) underlines, from the XVI century we can rely on different genres: from familiar letters, «written, in general, once back home or during the final phase of the journey», to official letters; from the diary to the actual report, «expressly meant to be spread, [which] in many respects [...] can be connected to the medieval travel literature, often referring to Polo's model».

As the XV century approached, the pattern of pilgrimage diaries lost its original features, which made it similar to a practical description of distances, costs, things, places, and became a genre as composite as possible. The pattern of the traditional *itinerarium* was added with «aspects of chronicle-writing, of familiar memory», to which in turn «news from trade manuals were often added; sometimes one could hear echoes of short-story writing, of chivalric novels, and more often those of travel and exploration diary» (Cardini 1991b, 76).

Such diversity proves that pilgrims, merchants, spies acted on the basis of many different cultural filters and that these people were willing to observe, tell, describe, and remember, each one with their own sensitivity and intentions, according to the mentioned filters. How is such diversity to be handled?

The inclusion of literature into the field of historical geography can be of some use. The relationship between geography and literature has increasingly intensified since the 1970s, as the criticism to Neopositivism and new humanistic currents developed within geography. The currents paved the way to new research methods and instruments, going over the complex society-environment relationship again. By adopting a new way of interpreting geographic facts and focusing on individuals and on their way of perceiving and experiencing places, geography has found in literary works (travel stories and descriptions) a considerable source of inspiration. Thus, it was able not only to restore objectivity (geographic facts) within subjectivity (literature), but first of all subjective experiences linked to certain environments or landscapes; cultural subjectivity of human being and his spatial experiences (Lando 1993; 1994).

Thus, geography inscribes itself within a perspective of cooperation with literature, in the attempt to investigate the relationships between human communities and space. In this way, it restores the knowledge of spatial contexts, beyond the mere denotative dimension, in order to combine objectivity and subjectivity. Understanding reality through the study of the material dimension – of places, landscapes, diverse spaces on Earth, habits, customs – is definitely an essential condition, and it is fundamental to realize that objective knowledge never guarantees absolute truth (Dardel 1986). In fact, the level of values escapes an approach exclusively oriented towards grasping the tangible aspects of reality. Therefore, the geographic perspective goes beyond the mere recording of real objects and facts and their relations: its aim is to get a language as the starting point for expanding its view and



identify the symbolic meanings of the territories represented. The earth becomes a narrative locus, some sort of writing to be deciphered. Thus, «the language of the geographer effortlessly becomes the language of the poet. Direct and transparent language, which can address imagination without any difficulty, definitely better than the objective speech of the man of science, as it faithfully records the writing traced by the ground» (Dardel 1986, 12).

On this basis, the research methodology of the geographic approach will proceed by taking into account the existence of two overlapping lines: one regards the analysis of objectivity in the unavoidable subjectivity of what is being told and represented; the other one implies understanding the “territoriality” which concerns the individual, the community, and the socio-cultural dimension of the environment described.

Consequently, travel stories shall be taken into consideration with the awareness that the description, the way of looking at things (both geographic and not), the encounter with different realities shall depend mainly on the cultural filters at the narrators disposal, on the goals of their journey and especially of their narration. The aspects that may impress, bore, surprise them shall bring to light their territorial dimensions and the particular moment in history of the social system to which they belong. Culture influences the representation code of individuals and their schematization of the real. This is a matter of fact. Therefore, adopting a geographic methodology means interpreting the different realities (territories, landscapes, and places) as they are reproduced by travellers, both searching for – as already highlighted – the fact in “fiction”, that is the materiality of the shapes and characteristics of territories, and investigating the “sense of the place” and the spatial experiences of human beings.

In this sense, the narrative text becomes a sort of historical memory of the territoriality belonging to a given people, of its habits and customs, of a specific community, which can provide us with fundamental information also about more or less distant historical phases. The memory and the history of places become knowable through the story, as an instrument endowed with clear and lively potential.

These stories shall be investigated as well, if possible, by taking into consideration the meaning of coeval historical cartography and the cartography correlated to the travel stories analysed. Many of these modern-age texts have a benefit that is often represented by their figurative element. Private travellers – and not only them – frequently reproduced graphically what they had seen and observed, and left us drawings, vistas, profiles, plans.

Moreover, one should bear in mind that these very centuries experienced a vast increase as for cartographic representation. It was a significant change that brought about the overlap of figurative styles and canons, supported by a “visual” need, which would later turn into a sort of “obsession” with what it is true and real. This aspect shall not be overlooked especially if one aims at integrating the cartographic “discourse” – corographies, topographies, views – of travel accounts with the cartographic production of the time. After all, the role of cartography in the reconstruction of territorialization process is not recognized only by geographical field,



but also by the tradition of historical studies. This tradition, since the last decades of XX century, has highlighted instrumental value of cartography in order to contribute to interpretation and representation of the historical dimension of territorial phenomena.

This is the only possible way to contribute to a more significant spatial realization of the geographic description and narration of territories. Cartographies, in fact, allow us to delve into the knowledge of the territory, meant as a space of shared cultural values, as a place for historical-cultural sedimentation and stratification which, within the complex system of relations between natural environment and human settlement, remain stable, fixed, and long lasting. In other words, the added value provided by cartography and by its interpretation consists in letting the story of landscape continuity emerge, but above all the story of the cultural and identity values inherited from the previous cycles of territorialization.

5. *Egypt in the journey of Filippo Pigafetta (1576-1577): the case-study.* – The so indicated methodological guidelines allow to reflect about the numerous descriptions and stories of Egypt, considering the different social, cultural and political-economic aspects, the geographical and cultural elements arousing the interest of travelers. Among these, the element that appealed more, and attracted much of narrators' attention was the Nile, the river that allowed the life of those populations and that, for this reason, was feared and revered since ancient times. One of the oldest stories of its course and the use of its water is drawn by Herodotus who traveled to Egypt in the mid-fifth century BC. Since then, the Nile has been the subject of numerous stories, narratives and descriptions, as well as several explorations, most of which meant to discover its source, like the well known one accomplished in 1860 by Speke and Grant, who recognized the Lake Victoria as a tributary of the river. Many of those stories, and especially some written in the modern age, seem to tap into a variety of information just from the text of Herodotus, as the literary dissertation on the Nile floods by Girolamo Borro from Arezzo (1577)⁽¹⁰⁾.

Has different purposes, instead, the report – private – *Viaggio dell'Egitto, dell'Arabia, del mar Rosso et del Monte Sinai (Journey of Egypt, Arabia, the Red Sea of Mount Sinai)* by Filippo Pigafetta⁽¹¹⁾, carried out by the humanist from Vicenza on behalf of the Roman Curia between 1576 and 1577 (Schio 1982). The survey was conducted - however briefly - bearing in mind the material aspects of the described landscapes and the subjective aspects of the narrative. It is essential, in fact, to bring out even that is not explicitly mentioned, but that is part of the traveling culture, its narrator and the narration itself, because there is always involved the interpretation and sensibility of who made the journey.

(10) For more detailed descriptions on the Nile in the modern age, see Gallia (2015).

(11) Filippo Pigafetta should not be «confused with the more famous [traveler] of the same family, Antonio, companion of Magellan» whom in the text he calls «uncle», although he has remoter kinship (Filesi 1990, 282 and see 288-289). On Antonio Pigafetta see Tucci (1949, 81-82) and Luzzana Caraci (1991a, 509-571).



Although not explicitly stated by the author, several critical studies point to the diplomatic nature of this expedition:

"We see in him above all an ambassador and even when he does not turn officially invested with a mission, and although he does not always declare the aim of his wanderings [...] nevertheless his quality is evident: the very fact that the his writings are mostly unpublished, and that several copies are possessed proves the peculiar interest of ambassadors relations. We may add the extraordinary frequency of his trips and the special care he has in describing the fortresses and military assets and the complex political and economic conditions in different countries: all this proves that he must not move just for pastime and if that he showed he could also do it not to be too exposed and not to show he was traveling and watching on behalf of others" (Magnaghi 1910, 149).

It is a diplomatic mission from which he returns with a *Relatione*, not published in the contemporary age, full of "precise indications of geographical, topographic, military, economic and ethnic details" (Filesi 1990, 292). The main intent is to provide a detailed description of Ottoman expansion along the shores of the Mediterranean, the course of Nile and the coast of the Red Sea and the commercial potential of the Papal State. A matter of great importance is the possibility for merchant ships to pass from sea to sea. That is why he accurately describes the Isthmus of Suez region, the eastern channels of the Delta and those excavated in the past in order to put in communication the two seas. Among all, Pigafetta focuses on the so-called "Trajan ditch" leading the Nile water since the beginning of the Delta up to Suez, as a real aqueduct" (Filesi 1990 293), which, however, at the time of the survey was totally underground (Aubert 2004; Cooper 2009).



Figure 1. The course of the Nile in the Egyptian section with details of the arms to the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez (Pigafetta 1591, detail. A copy of the table is retained loose in BNF, *Cartes et plans*, GE D-9187)



The humanist from Vicenza also reflects on the possibility to carry out a direct excavation of the isthmus of Suez, without having to go through the channels of the Delta. This hypothesis had been previously rejected for the fallacy of the great difference in altitude between the waters of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea and the fear that consequent flood would have submerged the mainland Greece, its islands and 'Anatolia', dramatic occurrence that he very simplistically refuted by saying that «much water of Red Sea Ocean and by to the grave of Our had entered, as much would come out through the Strait of Gibraltar, which is the gateway to the Mediterranean [...] and would disperse in that infinite open sea» (Filesi 1990, 294). Fallacy that, however, prevented him from continuing on this project and that, in fact, was refuted only three centuries later, when the engineer Luigi Negrelli from Trento performed several studies in the region and designed the channel excavation that was later commissioned by Ferdinand de Lesseps, demonstrating the equality of the water level of the two seas. He still performed an analysis, not only technical, on the possibility of communication between the two seas, underlining «the value, to trade and to relations between peoples and continents, the opening of such a waterway would have conferred» (Filesi 1990, 294).

The rest of *Relatione* is a very prudent and meticulous description of the Egyptian territory. In particular, the analysis of the Delta between the cities of Alexandria and Cairo shows the care taken in describing the communication routes and the points of geographical and strategic interest, accompanied by notes of political and military nature, even on the distribution and navigability of the channels of Delta itself, making then plausible the assumptions asserting Pigafetta's espionage action.

The strategic role of the Nile in the center of all social and economic activities emerges clear and it is possible to propose some considerations on the circulation of geographical knowledge in the modern age and its persistence over time. Besides the undoubted assurance of Herodotus' legacy in spreading cultural and scientific circles of the early modern period, a reference point in the travel reports focusing on Egypt and the Middle East in general, the characteristics and peculiarities of the *greatriver* are observed and described with great care. Among the aspects analyzed there is the description of the floods and flooding of the land, for the benefit of the crops. Sometimes, the texts linger in trying to understand the motivations of these hydrodynamic movements, citing scientific motivations alternated with other less solid. Little geographic and scientific considerations are expressed when addressing the issue of the springs of the river: astrology and mythology are tiled without much difficulty to meteorology and hydrology to try and uncover the mystery of their location.

Pigafetta instead focuses on the practical aspects and the communication routes offered by the rivers. The Delta region, almost obligatory crossing zone for all travelers in Egypt, catches the narrator's attention because it represents a geographic *unicum* in terms of features and amplitude. The abundance of channels, natural and artificial, and the hydraulic wisdom evident even to an untrained observer, stimulates many reflections about. The focus is on the works carried out in the past, also many centuries earlier, reflecting an histori-



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cal memory linked to water persisting since the Potamic civilization; also it is assumed the construction of new channels capable to connect the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, either directly or through the Nile and its channels. Finally, its description was supported by cartographical products to permit to visualize the areas described (fig. 1)⁽¹²⁾.

Egypt, therefore, is not only a land of transition for travellers heading to the Holy Land, but it also becomes subject of the interest and attention by Europeans. Political and economic issues above all, followed by cultural and religious ones, move travellers, merchants and diplomats to the North coast of Africa, where they find a different culture, but not necessarily hostile, demonstrating, again, that in the Mediterranean fragmentation there is the awareness of being part of a whole *holos* (ὅλος). Thus, the Mediterranean coasts are porous frontiers where different cultures can communicate and interact constantly.

6. *Conclusion. Some historiographical considerations* –The reflections on the history of the Eastern Mediterranean for the Middle Ages and the modern age, at least in the Italian context, have always focused on the strong contrast between the papacy, Christian's potentates and Turkish Empire. Among the protagonists of those events rarely appears the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (Ashtor 1982, 296-351; Ayalon 1996) that instead entertained important relationships with the main Christian and Muslim powers in the Mediterranean and played or at least tried to carve out a political and diplomatic role between the two opposing blocs Ottomans and the Christian powers⁽¹³⁾.

Many travelers, for different reasons, visited Egypt in the Middle Ages and in modern times and left their memories and their diaries. The research wants to show that all travel sources (diplomatic, literary, geographical, public and private, secular and religious) offer very interesting ideas for a geographical-historical approach, regardless of the different narrative modes, because it allows you to focus on some significant elements of Egypt as it was at a given time and as travelers have described them. Research is just beginning, but, having opened this new perspective, could allow to reconstruct a segment of the Mediterranean history not much known that you could reveal more rich, detailed and complex than the traditional historiography has until now highlighted.

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(12) There's not any map attached to this *Relatione*, that it was unpublished, but he proposed a detailed map of Egypt in later report on Congo (Pigafetta, 1591).

(13) The Mamluk Kingdom has been studied in its relationship with some of the protagonists of the Mediterranean history, but often selectively: Mamluks and Genoa (Ashtor and Kedar 1975); Mamluks and Catalans (Ashtor 1984; Coulon 2004).



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Viaggiare Verso L'egitto tra la Fine del Trecento e Il Cinquecento⁽¹⁾

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1. *Introduzione. L'esperienza del viaggio tra medioevo ed età moderna.* Viaggiare, allontanarsi dallo spazio delle proprie certezze corrisponde a un bisogno di reificazione dei luoghi del proprio agire e della propria quotidianità, di un loro riconoscimento e di una loro rielaborazione culturale, oltre che materiale. Riconoscere, cioè sé stessi in un altrove sognato, mitizzato, a lungo anelato. Non solo; c'è anche un bisogno di esplorare gli spazi «altri», di mettere in comunicazione le verità e le certezze con il non conosciuto e i "vuoti" territoriali. C'è in altre parole un bisogno di ampliare, di allargare le conoscenze e di sperimentare nuove realtà geografiche (Spagnoli 2011). Questo passaggio dall'una all'altra dimensione – dal noto all'ignoto, dal familiare all'incerto – da sempre caratterizza le società umane.

È proprio delle comunità umane, infatti, muoversi, spaziare, frantumarsi e frammentarsi sulla superficie terrestre, talvolta in maniera traumatica, conflittuale, talaltra in modo conciliante. «Nella dispersione può esserci lo scontro con altri gruppi [...]. Sovente [tuttavia] l'ampliamento dello spazio asservito da parte d'una comunità avviene semplicemente al seguito di un atto esplorativo individuale che ha portato a riconoscere spazi nuovi, più favorevoli all'insediamento» (Turri 1993, 11). Capita pure che all'origine del movimento – e quindi del viaggio – ci sia il richiamo del mito, dell'ideale di un altrove straordinario e più congeniale alla propria esistenza, nel quale s'incontrano e s'intersecano desideri e utopie, che animano una realtà piena di aspettative, in virtù della quale si rompe con i ritmi della vita.

Quando si tratta, dunque, di intraprendere un viaggio, di incamminarsi su nuovi sentieri alla ricerca di nuove realtà da plasmare, di più innovative complessità da ri-nvenire, si è consapevoli della varietà di ragioni che ci inducono all'allontanamento. C'è chi viaggia forzatamente, com'è avvenuto per coloro che, una volta resi schiavi, sono stati trasferiti

(1) Sebbene frutto di un lavoro comune, sono da attribuirsi a Luisa Spagnoli i paragrafi 1 e 4; ad Anna Maria Oliva il 2,3,6; ad Arturo Gallia il 5.



in luoghi diversi dalla propria terra d'origine. C'è chi, invece, lo fa perché animato dalla seduzione di spazi «altri», mosso dagli interessi più diversi, come è stato per mercanti, uomini di Dio, principi, intellettuali, scienziati, pellegrini, avventurieri che, tra la fine del XIV e il XVI secolo, a vario titolo, hanno intrapreso viaggi e pellegrinaggi verso l'Oriente, raggiungendo tra le altre mete anche l'Egitto.

Si tratta di itinerari, appunto, di diverso tipo determinati da ragioni politiche, diplomatiche, religiose, economiche, commerciali, spirituali, pedagogiche, di conquista di fama e potere, che, a fronte delle loro diversità notevoli, condividono il racconto del faticoso viaggio intrapreso, la descrizione dei luoghi e delle loro caratteristiche antropiche e geografiche, dei rapporti diplomatici e politici, la narrazione delle emozioni e dell'esperienza territoriale compiuta da ogni viaggiatore.

Sulle strade verso l'Oriente si mettono in cammino tra il XIII il e XIV secolo i Polo, Pian del Carpine, Rubruk, i Vivaldi e molti altri che come loro hanno condiviso un'indubbia tensione verso la conoscenza, la conquista di nuovi orizzonti, l'allargamento delle rotte commerciali (Spagnoli 2008). Quest'insieme di pulsioni trova il suo riflesso anche in quell'esperienza di viaggio stimolata da racconti, da leggende di altri viaggiatori – vuoi itineranti vuoi da tavolino – che, tra finzione e realtà, hanno saputo rappresentare mondi perfetti e immaginifici, paesi di Cuccagna, in cui ricchezza, prosperità e felicità sono stati i segni distintivi.

La continua ricerca della *terra repromissionis sanctorum*, con il cui rinvenimento si conclude la *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*⁽²⁾, l'anelito continuo alla scoperta del Paradiso Terrestre, il desiderio di trovar posto sulla terra al regno del Prete Gianni⁽³⁾; miti e leggende, dunque, che nell'insieme rappresentano l'essenza stessa della realtà e della conoscenza: il viaggio deve anche essere spiegato, “razionalizzato” e veicolato attraverso la costruzione di un altro mondo, lontano, diverso, magari migliore, magari peggiore (Spagnoli 2011).

In epoca pre-moderna – periodo in cui l'esperienza dello spazio è ancora agli inizi, allorché la geografia del mondo stenta a ricomporsi in una visione e rappresentazione globale – la tensione verso la conoscenza di nuovi orizzonti ha determinato la volontà di spingersi oltre l'ignoto, oltre lo spazio apparentemente chiuso e limitato. La percezione dello spazio medievale è emblematicamente rappresentata da una qualsiasi *mappamundi* che non permette all'osservatore di far “spaziare” lo sguardo: il disegno del mondo è delimitato e racchiuso all'interno di un cerchio ben definito che schematizza la realtà nel tentativo di rispecchia-

(2) La *Navigatio* è un testo cristiano, al quale si mescolano ascendenze teratologiche tardo-ellenistiche con alcuni accenni a motivi ricorrenti nei generi di derivazione irlandese, che assume il viaggio come tema centrale, il cui scopo non è solo la ricerca della solitudine, quanto piuttosto la conversione alla parola di Dio. Essa rappresenta un'alternativa alla posizione orientale del Paradiso, collocandolo in un'isola posta a ovest dell'Irlanda.

(3) Durante il medioevo, secondo la tradizione storico-geografica dell'epoca, si crea la leggenda del Prete Gianni che si reputa essere monarca dell'Oriente cristiano. È avvalorata l'ipotesi che regnasse in Etiopia, luogo in cui, a un certo momento, si è reputato fosse possibile rinvenire il Paradiso Terrestre.



re la concezione teologica dell'Universo conosciuto. Si sostanzia, dunque, la necessità di distinguere ciò che è "qui", che focalizza lo spazio abituale, da ciò che è "altrove", le terre incognite, ancora da svelare, la cui mitizzazione, tra il XV ed il XVIII secolo, andrà progressivamente sbriciolandosi.

Eppure già durante il XIII secolo l'esperienza dello spazio non è più così limitata, sostituendosi ad essa un desiderio di ampliare le conoscenze, di varcare quei confini stringenti, alla ricerca di orizzonti illimitati. I confini del mondo medievale nell'Occidente cristiano, dunque, si contraggono e si ampliano, portando con sé l'immagine di orizzonti che oscillano tra il reale e l'onirico, tra un sapere ereditato e autorevole e una «fitta coltre di leggende» che tarderà a dissolversi (Lago 2007, 700). Il reale e il fantastico sono le due facce di una stessa medaglia, vale a dire che la geografia medievale oscilla tra un sapere congetturale, espressione della tradizione classica e dell'autorità delle Sacre Scritture, e una conoscenza empirica, basata sull'esperienza dei viaggi e della navigazione. Così, a quegli spazi racchiusi prevalentemente in cerchi, ellissi o in rettangoli, rappresentati dalle *mappaemundi*, in cui ogni rapporto di dimensioni è trascurato e i fenomeni descritti sono «realtà, creazione, segno divino» (Milanesi 1983, 12), si affiancano «distese senza fine, costruite sui raggi delle rose dei venti» (Baltrusaitis, 1960, p. 250) che rispecchiano una concezione «aperta e laica» del mondo, laddove l'osservazione e la misurazione soppiantano, al servizio dei viaggi e della navigazione, l'elemento congetturale delle cosmografie medievali (Romanelli 1990, 21). Nonostante, comunque, questo impulso alla "modernità", alla scoperta di un nuovo linguaggio cartografico, l'aspetto immaginifico resiste ancora per diverso tempo: non a caso, infatti, i numerosi viaggi che mercanti, monaci, pellegrini effettuano già a partire dal XII-XIII secolo, per oltrepassare il rassicurante confine del proprio mondo "finito", non tendono tanto ad una vera e propria scoperta quanto piuttosto a ri-trovare ciò che viene tramando dai testi dell'antichità. «Da quando, alla metà del secolo XIII, l'Occidente, prima con Marco Polo e poi con i primi pionieri dell'Asia, inizia a solcare le strade del mondo, sono i miti antichi a fornire un quadro di lettura e di interpretazione della realtà» (Spila 2010, 13). Perché il Medioevo non inventa un gran che, non crea niente di nuovo, bensì rielabora, interpreta, amplificando quanto già l'antichità aveva tramandato: i mirabilia medievali sono in gran parte gli stessi su cui la letteratura greca si era esercitata (Orlandi 1983, 528-529; Spagnoli 2008, 74). E così, quando l'Occidente comincerà a varcare i confini del mondo, solcandone le innumerevoli vie, porterà con sé un bagaglio di notizie e di credenze che affondano le radici nei miti e nelle leggende antiche.

Man mano che si procede verso l'età moderna, tuttavia, non si può negare che cambiamenti nelle modalità del viaggio, nel suo racconto, nella sua percezione si cominciano a manifestare. Sempre per tornare a Spila, con l'Umanesimo si diffonde «un'idea del mondo come oggetto da sperimentare, un peregrino gusto per il nuovo che, in pieghe letterarie, risponde allo slancio dei "mercanti" verso paesi ignoti e nuove piazze di traffico. Non v'è terra che non sia stata segnata dalle gesta di questi tenaci e audaci uomini che oltre a conquistatori furono narratori» (Spila 2010, 18). È lo spirito del Rinascimento, con le sue forze intellettuali, politiche, con il suo rinnovato bagaglio di saperi e tecniche a dettare le nuove logiche spaziali, a imprimere un'accelerazione alle grandi scoperte geografiche che portano seco



un'inevitabile nuova visione del mondo. «L'uomo rinascimentale si inoltra nelle vie ignote, vie d'acqua e di terra, oltre i consueti limiti del mondo», mosso da motivazioni di tipo ideologico che si mescolano a quelle di ordine pratico (Spila 2010, 19).

E seppure è innegabile che tra la fine del XV secolo e l'inizio del successivo la stagione dei viaggi compiuti dai navigatori, soprattutto italiani, si sia intensificata, al pari della diffusione delle notizie frutto delle imprese esplorative e mercantili, non si può tacere il ruolo fondamentale dell'espansione commerciale italiana verso il Medio Oriente già dalla fine del XIII secolo, nonché la stabilizzazione del monopolio commerciale nel Mediterraneo orientale e in quello occidentale, nonostante la fine delle crociate e la riconquista islamica.

Tra i viaggi in Medio Oriente, l'itinerario verso la Terrasanta è uno dei più ambiti, tanto da generare un vero e proprio filone narrativo, quello relativo al pellegrinaggio. Particolarmente significativo fra l'XI e il XII secolo, il flusso di pellegrini diretti a Gerusalemme, che, tuttavia, subisce una battuta di arresto a partire dalla fine del XII secolo con la caduta della "città santa" sotto il dominio dei Mamelucchi. Ciononostante, a partire dalla metà circa del Trecento, quando oramai le ambizioni papali di riconquista della Terrasanta tendono ad affievolirsi, il servizio di trasporto dei pellegrini, che aveva la sua base nel porto di Venezia, riprende vigore, a tal punto che gli ultimi decenni del XIV secolo e i primi del XVI possono essere considerati gli anni d'oro del pellegrinaggio. Se la rotta tradizionale partiva da Venezia e raggiungeva diversi scali nell'Adriatico, Ionio ed Egeo per approdare a Giaffa o a Beirut e per poi proseguire verso i luoghi santi via terra, non è raro incontrare itinerari particolari che da Rodi o Modone (nel Peloponneso) proseguivano verso Alessandria, Il Cairo e successivamente, attraversato il deserto, raggiungevano il Sinai e, quindi, la Palestina⁽⁴⁾. È questo il caso del noto viaggio di Niccolò Lionardo di Frescobaldi in Terrasanta di cui abbiamo testimonianza anche grazie alle memorie che ci hanno tramandato i suoi compagni di viaggio, Giorgio Gucci e Simone Sigoli, che ben rappresenta lo stato d'animo del viaggiatore/pellegrino del tardo Trecento, non tanto incline a penitenze e devozioni spirituali, quanto piuttosto a intrattenere scambi e relazioni commerciali e/o ad attendere a questioni politico-diplomatiche⁽⁵⁾. Altrettanto significativa l'esperienza di chi

(4) Tra gli altri viaggi noti verso l'Egitto si possono annoverare: quello di Niccolò Martoni, notaio napoletano, che parte da Gaeta il 17 giugno del 1394 per arrivare ad Alessandria d'Egitto il 25 luglio di quello stesso anno (Legrand 1895; Piccirillo 2003); altro itinerario interessante è il viaggio di Marco Bartolommeo Rustici (*Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai*, anche noto come "Codice Rustici") che, partito da Firenze a metà agosto del 1441, approda in Egitto intorno ai primi dieci giorni di ottobre (Gai 1982; Guerrini 2015); nonché l'altrettanto conosciuto itinerario di Filippo Pigafetta (*Viaggio dell'Egitto, dell'Arabia, del mar Rosso et del Monte Sinai*) il quale, senza alcuna deviazione, si dirige direttamente alla volta dell'Egitto tra il 1576-1577 (da Schio 1982; Magnaghi 1910).

(5) Come sostiene Franco Cardini: «Lionardo, avviato verso la Terrasanta senza dubbio per contemplare i luoghi della storia del Salvatore, ma anche per controllare per conto del re di Napoli porti e fortezze dei Saraceni – e, per quanto egli non lo confessi, pronto altresì a sbrigare qualche affare di mercatura o almeno a studiarne le possibilità-, è ben lontano da qualunque concetto di penitenza connesso col pellegrinaggio: anzi, sarà sua costante il sottolineare i riguardi ricevuti e i privilegi goduti» (Cardini 1991, p. 27).



li ha preceduti di quasi quarant'anni, il francescano Niccolò da Poggibonsi, il quale ci ha lasciato un racconto che può essere considerato l'archetipo dei libri di viaggio in Terrasanta (Spila 2010, 76). Un'opera, la sua, tenuta in debita considerazione da altri viaggiatori/scrittori che si è posto, per certi versi, come guida per i pellegrini, ma, al tempo stesso, ha assunto la foggia di testo narrativo che, con toni anche piuttosto coloriti, racconta di paesi, città, persone, animali sconosciuti e, soprattutto, di luoghi carichi di "santità" (Spila 2010).

Ciò che spinge l'uomo del Trecento-Quattrocento a intraprendere un pellegrinaggio "più ampio" – come scrive Franco Cardini (1991, 29) – vale a dire ad allungare il percorso passando per Alessandria e Il Cairo, ricalcando le orme dei pellegrini altomedievali⁽⁶⁾, è rintracciabile innanzitutto in una situazione politica maggiormente stabile e più sicura, essendo l'area compresa tra il Nilo e il Giordano passata sotto il controllo mamelucco del Cairo. Ma non solo, si aggiungono anche motivazioni a carattere economico-commerciale, vista la familiarità delle navi del mondo cristiano occidentale con i porti egiziani, e ragioni più strettamente spirituali che si legano alla riscoperta tutta umanistica del pensiero dei Padri della Chiesa (Cardini 1991)⁽⁷⁾.

Diverso sicuramente il viaggio nel Cinquecento, diverse le sue motivazioni, diversi i viaggiatori mossi da una devozione ancor più smorzata di quella che aveva caratterizzato gli itinerari del secolo precedente. A rendere meno frequente il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta, il passaggio di potere e di comando dai Mamelucchi agli Ottomani, causando, conseguentemente, l'interruzione, pressoché totale del servizio di trasporto dei pellegrini dal porto di Venezia a quelli medio-orientali (comprese le mete egiziane). Da non trascurare anche le motivazioni economiche che, sempre sulla falsariga di Cardini, decretarono l'abbandono delle «costose galee» per scegliere le navi mercantili certamente più economiche e meno confortevoli (Cardini 1991, 42). Ludovico de Varthema⁽⁸⁾, a titolo esemplificativo, si ritrova a viaggiare verso l'Oriente, spinto, almeno agli inizi, prevalentemente da interessi commerciali, che lo conducono a soggiornare tra Alessandria, Il Cairo, Beirut e Damasco, nei primi anni del Cinquecento.

In altre parole, un filone quasi ininterrotto che ha raccolto le memorie dei tanti viaggiatori italiani "in cammino" verso l'Oriente, i cui racconti hanno sollecitato stimoli e curiosità presso le corti europee, innescando di lì a poco una vera e propria rivoluzione culturale, soprattutto alla luce di altri viaggi che decretarono l'epopea delle grandi esplorazioni del

(6) Si tratta del circuito che i viaggiatori percorrevano tra il IV e il VII secolo e, specialmente, «dal 527, da quando cioè Giustiniano aveva fondato attorno alla chiesetta costantiniana il grande monastero di Santa Caterina nel Sinai», che successivamente era stato abbandonato a causa della conquista islamica dei territori» (Cardini, p. 29).

(7) «L'incipiente spiritualità umanistica aveva ricondotto in auge i testi patristici e, con essi, la familiarità nei confronti di regioni quali l'Egitto e la stessa Terrasanta (basti pensare a San Girolamo, che proprio in Firenze godeva di un culto e di studi speciali)» (Cardini, 29).

(8) Per l'*Itinerario* si cfr: Amat di San Filippo 1878, 1-73; Caraci 1991; Luzio 1949, 511-514; Ragazzi 1956, 756-758; Barozzi 1977, 413-427; Barozzi 1983, 349-368.



XV e XVI secolo.

Il racconto dei viaggi e dei viaggiatori verso l'Egitto e il Medio Oriente potrà, tuttavia, essere affrontato solo alla luce di un più preciso inquadramento del fenomeno in una più ampia cornice storica che consenta di comprendere i rapporti tra i Egitto e domini europei all'epoca dell'impero mamelucco con particolare attenzione alle vicende del XV secolo, una fase molto importante che anticipa le tensioni successive, le quali a loro volta investiranno anche il viaggio e le sue modalità.

2. *Il quadro storico-politico.*— Per meglio comprendere i molteplici e complessi significati del “viaggio” in Egitto e nell'ottica di un inquadramento storico del tema proposto, è molto importante la ricostruzione dei rapporti politici e diplomatici tra il regno mamelucco e i potentati italiani. Particolare attenzione verrà rivolta a quelli intercorsi tra Curia pontificia e sultano d'Egitto nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Una prospettiva scientifica, questa, quasi del tutto assente dal dibattito storiografico.

La politica pontificia del secondo Quattrocento, dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli sotto i colpi dell'impero Ottomano (1453) (Pertusi 1997) è stata caratterizzata dai reiterati tentativi dei pontefici, peraltro falliti, di promuovere una crociata contro i Turchi (Pastor 1912; Setton 1978; Pellegrini 2013) e dalla disaffezione invece dei potentati italiani ed europei distratti da una politica italiana ed europea sempre più complessa e conflittuale (Chittolini 2001, 191-217; Lazzarini 2003). Pontefici emblematici nella seconda metà del XV secolo per il contrasto al pericolo turco e per l'attivismo crociato sono stati Alfonso Borgia, papa Callisto III (1455- 1458) (Navarro 2006) ed Enea Silvio Piccolomini, papa Pio II (1458-1464) (D'Ascia 2001; Sodi and Antoniutti 2007), anche Innocenzo VIII, appena eletto (1484), si trovò a dover contrastare l'espansionismo aggressivo del sultano Bayezid II, salito al trono nel 1481 dopo la morte del padre Mohammed II, tentando più volte di promuovere una crociata (Pastor 1912, 210-233).

La politica pontificia, tuttavia, non si esauriva in quel progetto a lungo coltivato e mai realizzato. Il tema delle crociate, pur rilevante nella storia europea di quegli anni, non esaurisce l'ampia problematica dei rapporti tra Curia, potentati cristiani e potentati musulmani. Né d'altra parte tali rapporti si esaurivano nei vigorosi divieti e nelle pesanti sanzioni che il papato dalla metà del XIII secolo emanava con sempre minor convinzione contro coloro che commerciavano con i musulmani (Trenchs Odina 1980, 237-320; Coulon, 2013, 161-192). Si svilupparono anche tutta una serie complessa e diversificata di contatti tra le cancellerie europee ed il sultanato mamelucco di Egitto e Siria di cui la storiografia italiana in generale non ha sino ad ora tenuto adeguatamente conto.

Il mondo islamico non si esauriva, infatti, con l'impero ottomano, ma ricomprendeva un panorama articolato di potentati diversi che a volte perseguivano le stesse strategie politiche, ma a volte si combattevano aspramente. Gli anni, oggetto di queste prime ricerche sui rapporti tra Curia pontificia e sultanato mamelucco di Egitto e Siria, si addensano all'epoca di papa Innocenzo VIII (1484-1492) (Pellegrini 2000, 1-13; Pellegrini 2004, 450-460) un



pontificato che attende ancora una profonda rilettura e riflessione e all'epoca del sultano Qā'it Bāy, salito al trono dopo un lungo periodo di lotte intestine, che regnò per ventinove anni dimostrando saggezza politica e capacità di governo ed aprendo il proprio regno ai contatti con le altre potenze del Mediterraneo.

Nella seconda metà del XV secolo i rapporti diplomatici tra cancellerie europee e sultano d'Egitto si intensificarono anche per il ruolo che andava assumendo il sultanato mamelucco negli equilibri del Mediterraneo: la sua politica di autonomia e il protagonismo nei confronti dell'impero turco, che a più riprese lo videro combattere aspramente il sultano d'Istanbul, lo resero una pedina molto interessante per i potentati italiani ed europei che cercavano di fronteggiare l'espansionismo ottomano in Europa e nel Mediterraneo (Ashtor 1982, 296-351; Montesano 2010, 17-25; Babinger 1967, 323-444; Pastor 1912, 210-233).

Dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli nel 1453, vi era stato un cambiamento nel quadro politico e commerciale internazionale. A seguito di quell'evento Alessandria era diventata il mercato principale di spezie del Mediterraneo orientale. Sul piano politico poi il sultanato d'Egitto, che nel corso degli anni Ottanta si trovò impegnato nel conflitto turco-egiziano più volte esploso in guerra aperta, si trasformò in un interlocutore importante delle potenze cristiane e del papato, quale garante per le rotte commerciali verso i porti di Alessandria, del Cairo, di Beirut e del Levante in generale, fondamentali in quel momento per gli affari dei mercanti italiani ed europei (Findlay and O'Rourke 2007, 131-133; Abulafia 1987, 402-473; Lopez 1987, 306-401; Ashtor 1983, 3-64; Coulon 2016, 561-581)⁽⁹⁾. Inoltre il regno mamelucco, che si estendeva dall'Egitto sino alla Siria, deteneva anche la Terra Santa, meta di un costante ed intenso pellegrinaggio di cristiani. I sultani mamelucchi sapevano che nelle trattative con le potenze occidentali avrebbero potuto far pesare il loro ruolo sulla Terra Santa (Régnier-Bohler 1997, 1227-1287; Abulafia 2013, 365-366). Quel sultanato svolse, quindi, un ruolo strategico nei rapporti con l'impero turco e con il mondo cristiano. Per questo l'esigenza di raggiungere una intesa con il Sultano d'Egitto diventava strategica per le potenze europee.

Il contrasto all'impero turco non si combatteva solo con la minaccia della crociata. Il Mediterraneo di quegli anni era attraversato da interessi politici e commerciali contrastanti, si fronteggiavano veneziani, fiorentini, catalani, spagnoli, francesi, cavalieri di Rodi, sudditi del regno di Napoli e turchi. Il timore forte del papato e delle cancellerie italiane ed europee era che Cipro e dunque il Mediterraneo orientale cadessero nelle mani del sultano ottomano. Questo rendeva particolarmente strategico il ruolo del sultanato mamelucco (Rossi 1988, 24-25).

3. *Relazioni diplomatiche tra Sultanato mamelucco, potentati italiani e Curia pontificia.*— L'esigenza di trovare una intesa con il sultano mamelucco Qā'it Bāy in chiave antiturca aveva spinto le diverse potenze ad inviare ambasciatori presso la sua corte. Inoltre gli anni

(9) Per i risvolti economici della conquista turca dell'impero mamelucco (Braudel 1953, 691-694).



Ottanta del Quattrocento sono anche gli anni che vedono protagonista, anche se passivo, il principe Djem. Egli dal 1481 – anno della morte del padre, il gran turco Mohamed II, sultano di Costantinopoli – al 1495, – anno della sua morte – per sfuggire al fratello Bayezid, che cercava di eliminarlo per garantirsi il trono, si consegnò prima al sultano mamelucco per poi passare con i cavalieri di Rodi e quindi in Francia (Babinger 1967, 210-233). In seguito venne conteso dal sultano mamelucco, dal pontefice e dalle principali cancellerie europee (Vatin 1997; Pastor 1912, 210-233), tutti i contendenti cercavano di averlo nella propria disponibilità per usarlo come deterrente e come strumento di ricatto contro il sultano Bayezid. La vicenda è nota nei suoi risvolti di politica internazionale, meno approfonditi invece risultano i rapporti che per questa vicenda intercorsero tra papa Innocenzo VIII e il sultano del Cairo e che continuarono intensi anche dopo che Innocenzo VIII ottenne nel 1489 che il principe Djem gli venisse consegnato e trasportato a Roma in Curia (Thuasne 1892; Giordani 1907, 638-650). I rapporti continuarono per le insistenze egiziane di acquisire l'illustre prigioniero da contrapporre a Bayezid, minacciando di favorire un ritorno a Costantinopoli di Djem che avrebbe messo in discussione il trono del fratello, con maggior efficacia di quanto non facessero gli occidentali.

Tutte le principali potenze europee erano interessate ad avere nelle proprie mani l'importante ostaggio. Alessandria e la corte del sultano mamelucco diventavano quindi uno degli scenari dove si confrontavano e affrontavano le diverse diplomazie. I temi in discussione erano sì il destino di Djem, ma in un contesto politico più ampio che vedeva i protagonisti della politica italiana confrontarsi con turchi e mamelucchi.

Sui delicati rapporti diplomatici di questi anni sono state edite alcune relazioni di oratori veneziani (Rossi 1988), fiorentini (Corti 1958, 247-266; Babinger 1963, 305-361; Meli 2009, 243-273; Tripodi 2010, 441-440) e milanesi (Wijntjes 2013, 549-561; Ghinzoni 1875, 255-277), inviati alla corte del sultano Qā'it Bāy nel 1487-1489 che, nel parziale silenzio delle fonti romane, danno conto, indirettamente, anche dei rapporti tra papato e sultano mamelucco. La rilettura attenta di queste relazioni, della preziosa corrispondenza, ora edita, che i vari oratori accreditati presso le principali cancellerie italiane inviavano regolarmente ai propri signori, soprattutto quelle degli oratori fiorentini accreditati a Napoli (Scarton 2005; Meli 2011) e a Roma (Scarton 2007) e di alcune cronache romane (Burcardo 1906, 252-256; Infessura 1890, 240-242), ha consentito di raccogliere interessanti notizie sulla missione diplomatica di Ibn-Mahfuz (Malfot) oratore mamelucco inviato a Firenze nel 1487, a Roma dove venne ricevuto dal pontefice in Concistoro nel 1489 e sul ruolo svolto da Filippo Canonici (Brizzi 1975, 166-167) ambasciatore di papa Innocenzo VIII ad Alessandria e a Il Cairo presso il sultano Qā'it Bāy.

4. *Per un approccio geografico-storico alle raccolte di viaggio.* – A seconda delle epoche storiche, la letteratura di viaggio ricorre a modalità narrative differenti. Se negli anni precedenti il Cinquecento, essa si è espressa principalmente attraverso la forma dell'itinerario, più o meno realistico, più o meno immaginario, composto giù durante il viaggio o interamente



elaborato a tavolino, dal XVI secolo – secondo Ilaria Caraci (1991, XIX-XX) – possiamo fare affidamento su generi diversi che vanno dalla lettera familiare, «scritta quasi sempre al ritorno o durante la fase terminale del viaggio», a quella ufficiale; dal diario alla vera e propria relazione di viaggio, «scritta cioè espressamente per essere divulgata, [che] per molti aspetti [...] si ricollega alla letteratura odeoponica medievale, spesso rifacendosi al modello poliano». Man mano che si procede dal Trecento al Quattrocento lo schema del diario di viaggio per i pellegrini perde le sue originarie caratteristiche che tanto lo facevano assomigliare a una descrizione pratica di distanze, costi, cose, luoghi, per diventare un genere il più composito possibile. Al modello dell'*itinerarium* tradizionale si sommano «i toni della cronistica, della memoria familiare, ai quali si aggiungevano spesso notizie del tipo riferito anche di manuali di mercatura; talvolta si sentono gli echi della novellistica, del romanzo cavalleresco, e più spesso quelli del diario di viaggio e d'esplorazione» (Cardini 1991, 76).

Come ci si pone di fronte a tanta diversità che testimonia l'esistenza dei più disparati filtri culturali sulla base dei quali operano e agiscono pellegrini, mercanti, spie i quali, ognuno con le proprie sensibilità e i propri intendimenti, esercitano la capacità di osservare, raccontare, descrivere e ricordare?

L'acquisizione "letteraria" nel campo geografico-storico può aiutare in tal senso. Il rapporto che nel corso del tempo si è instaurato tra geografia e letteratura è andato sempre di più accentuandosi a partire dagli anni settanta del Novecento, con la critica al paradigma neopositivista e lo sviluppo di nuove correnti umanistiche della geografia, le quali hanno aperto la strada a nuovi metodi e strumenti di ricerca, rileggendo il complesso rapporto uomo-ambiente. Adottando un nuovo modo di intendere i fatti geografici e focalizzando l'attenzione sull'uomo e sulle sue *modalità di percezione e di sperimentazione dei luoghi*, la geografia ha trovato nelle opere letterarie (racconti e descrizioni di viaggio) un'importante fonte d'informazione. Capace, così, non solo di restituire l'oggettività (i fatti geografici) nella soggettività (la letteratura), ma anzitutto le esperienze soggettive legate a determinati ambienti o paesaggi; la soggettività culturale dell'uomo e le sue esperienze spaziali (Lando, 1993; 1994).

La geografia si pone, quindi, in un'ottica di collaborazione con la letteratura, nel tentativo di indagare i rapporti tra le comunità umane e lo spazio terrestre e, così facendo, restituire la conoscenza dei contesti spaziali, andando oltre la mera dimensione denotativa per coniugare oggettività e soggettività. Certamente, la comprensione del reale attraverso lo studio della dimensione materica – dei luoghi, dei paesaggi, dei diversi spazi della Terra, delle abitudini, dei costumi dei popoli – è una condizione imprescindibile, ma è altrettanto importante tener conto del fatto che la conoscenza oggettiva non è mai garanzia di verità assoluta (Dardel, 1986). Il piano valoriale, infatti, sfugge a un approccio esclusivamente orientato a cogliere gli aspetti tangibili della realtà. È per tali ragioni che la prospettiva geografica va al di là dell'unica registrazione di oggetti e fatti reali e dei loro rapporti, con la finalità di acquisire un linguaggio a partire dal quale ampliare il suo sguardo e rintracciare anche i significati simbolici dei territori rappresentati. La terra è una scrittura da decifrare e così «il linguaggio del geografo diviene senza sforzo quello del poeta. Linguaggio diretto, trasparente, che parla senza difficoltà all'immaginazione, senza dubbio meglio del discorso



oggettivo dell'uomo di scienza, perché esso trascrive fedelmente la scrittura tracciata dal suolo» (Dardel 1986, 12).

Su tali presupposti, la metodologia di ricerca propria dell'approccio geografico si muoverà tenendo presenti due binari che si sovrappongono: l'uno relativo all'analisi dell'oggettività nella inevitabile soggettività di ciò che viene raccontato e rappresentato; l'altro della comprensione della "territorialità" che riguarda l'individuo, la collettività e la dimensione socio-culturale dell'ambiente descritto.

Il racconto di viaggio dovrà essere considerato, quindi, con la consapevolezza che la descrizione, il modo di guardare le cose (geografiche e non), l'incontro/scontro con realtà differenti dipenderà specialmente dai filtri culturali di cui il narratore dispone, dalle finalità del suo viaggio e soprattutto della sua narrazione. Le cose di cui potrà rimanere colpito, annoiato, sorpreso porteranno alla luce la sua dimensione territoriale e il particolare momento storico del sistema sociale cui appartiene. È un dato di fatto che la cultura influenzi il codice di rappresentazione di ogni individuo e la sua schematizzazione del reale. Questo per sottolineare che metodologicamente muoversi in ambito geografico significa interpretare le realtà (i territori, i paesaggi e i luoghi) così come sono restituite dai viaggiatori, sia ricercando – come già evidenziato – il fatto nella "finzione", cioè la materialità delle forme e delle caratteristiche dei territori, sia indagando il "senso del luogo" e le esperienze spaziali degli esseri umani.

In questo senso, il testo narrativo diventa una sorta di memoria storica della territorialità di un determinato popolo, con i suoi usi e costumi, di una specifica collettività, in grado di fornirci indicazioni fondamentali anche su fasi storiche più o meno lontane. La memoria, la storia dei luoghi diventano conoscibili attraverso il racconto, in quanto strumento dalle chiare e vivaci potenzialità.

Le "nostre" narrazioni saranno anche indagate, laddove possibile, considerando il significato che assume la cartografia storica coeva e quella strettamente legata e correlata ai resoconti di viaggio analizzati. Molte di questi testi compilati in età moderna possiedono un valore aggiunto che è rappresentato spesso volte dall'elemento figurativo. I viaggiatori privati, e non solo, in molte circostanze hanno riprodotto graficamente ciò che hanno visto e osservato, lasciandoci traccia di disegni, vedute, profili, piante.

Non si trascuri poi il fatto che proprio questi sono secoli che conoscono un'accelerazione profonda per quanto concerne la rappresentazione cartografica. Si tratta di un rinnovamento significativo che porterà a una sovrapposizione di stili e canoni figurativi, sostenuto da un bisogno "visivo", che si tradurrà più in là in una sorta di "ossessione" per il vero/reale. Questo aspetto non dovrà essere trascurato a maggior ragione se si punterà a integrare il "discorso" cartografico – corografie, topografie, vedute – presente nelle relazioni di viaggio con la produzione cartografica dell'epoca. Del resto, il ruolo della cartografia nella ricostruzione del processo di territorializzazione non è riconosciuto unicamente dalla disciplina geografica, ma anche dalla tradizione di studi storici che, a partire dagli ultimi decenni del secolo scorso, ha evidenziato il suo valore strumentale per contribuire all'interpretazione e rappresentazione della dimensione storica dei fenomeni territoriali.



Solo così sarà possibile contribuire a una più significativa resa spaziale della descrizione/narrazione geografica dei contesti territoriali. Le cartografie, infatti, ci consentono di approfondire la conoscenza del territorio, inteso come spazio di valori culturali condivisi, come luogo di sedimentazione e di stratificazioni storico-culturali che nel sistema di relazioni tra ambiente naturale e insediamento umano rimangono fissi, stabili e durevoli nel tempo. In altre parole, il valore aggiunto della cartografia e della sua interpretazione consiste nella possibilità di far emergere il racconto delle permanenze paesaggistiche, ma soprattutto dei valori culturali e identitari ereditati dai precedenti cicli di territorializzazione.

5. *L'Egitto nel viaggio di Filippo Pigafetta (1576-1577): il caso di studio.* – Le indicazioni metodologiche così evidenziate consentono di riflettere sui numerosi racconti e descrizioni di viaggio relativi all'Egitto da cui emergono i diversi aspetti sociali, culturali, politico-economici, gli elementi geografici che destavano l'interesse dei viaggiatori. Tra questi, l'elemento che ricorreva maggiormente, che attirava gran parte dell'attenzione dei narratori era il Nilo, il fiume che permetteva la vita di quelle popolazioni e che, per questo, era temuto e venerato fin dall'antichità. Una delle più antiche narrazioni del suo corso e dell'utilizzo delle sue acque è quella redatta da Erodoto che viaggiò in Egitto nella metà del V secolo a.C.. Da allora, il Nilo è stato oggetto di numerosi racconti, narrazioni e descrizioni, nonché di diverse esplorazioni, molte delle quali volte alla scoperta delle sue sorgenti, come quella ben nota compiuta nel 1860 da Speke e Grant che riconobbero il Lago Vittoria come tributario del fiume. Molti di quei racconti, e in special modo alcuni redatti in età moderna, sembrano attingere diverse informazioni proprio dal testo di Erodoto, come la dissertazione letteraria sulle inondazioni del Nilo dell'aretino Girolamo Borro (1577)⁽¹⁰⁾.

Diverse finalità ha, invece, il resoconto – privato – del *Viaggio dell'Egitto, dell'Arabia, del mar Rosso et del Monte Sinai* di Filippo Pigafetta⁽¹¹⁾, effettuato dall'umanista vicentino per conto della Curia Romana tra il 1576 e il 1577 (Da Schio 1982). L'indagine di questo racconto è stata condotta – seppure in brevemente – tenendo presente gli elementi materiali dei paesaggi descritti e quelli soggettivi della narrazione. È indispensabile far emergere dal racconto anche ciò che non è esplicitamente detto, ma che fa parte della cultura viaggio, del suo narratore e della narrazione stessa, perché c'è sempre in gioco l'interpretazione e la sensibilità di chi compie il viaggio.

Infatti, sebbene non sia esplicitamente dichiarato dall'autore, diversi studi critici sottolineano il carattere diplomatico di questa spedizione:

«Noi vediamo in lui soprattutto un ambasciatore: e anche quando non ci si presenta investito

(10) Per un maggiore approfondimento sulle descrizioni del Nilo in età moderna, si veda Gallia (2015).

(11) Filippo Pigafetta non deve essere «confuso col più famoso [viaggiatore] della stessa famiglia, Antonio, compagno di Magellano» che egli nel testo chiama «zio», sebbene abbia legami di parentela più remoti (Filesì 1990, 282 e 288-289). Su Antonio Pigafetta cfr. Tucci (1949, 81-82) e Luzzana Caraci (1991a, 509-571).



ufficialmente d'una missione, e sebbene egli non ci dichiara sempre lo scopo delle sue peregrinazioni [...] pure quella sua qualità è evidente: il fatto stesso che le sue scritture sono per la maggior parte inedite, e che di alcune si posseggono varie copie sta a provare ch'esse erano spesso di carattere riservato e presentavano l'interesse particolare delle relazioni degli ambasciatori. S'aggiunga la frequenza straordinaria dei suoi viaggi e la cura speciale ch'egli ha nel descrivere le fortezze e l'assetto militare e il complesso delle condizioni politiche ed economiche dei vari paesi: tutto questo prova ch'egli non doveva muoversi solo per passatempo, e se ciò lasciava apparire, poteva anche farlo per non dar troppo nell'occhio e non far vedere che viaggiava e osservava per conto di altri» (Magnaghi 1910, 149).

Si tratta di una missione diplomatica dalla quale egli torna con una *Relatione*, non pubblicata in età coeva, ricca di «precise indicazioni di particolari geografici, topografici, militari, economici, etnici» (Filesi 1990, 292). L'intento principale è quello di fornire una descrizione dettagliata dell'espansione ottomana lungo le sponde del Mediterraneo, il corso del Nilo e la fascia costiera del Mar Rosso e delle potenzialità commerciali per lo Stato Pontificio. Una questione di rilevante importanza è la possibilità da parte di navi mercantili di passare da un mare all'altro. Per questo egli descrive con accuratezza la regione dell'istmo di Suez, dei canali più orientali del Delta e di quelli scavati nel passato per mettere in comunicazione i due mari. Tra tutti, Pigafetta si sofferma sulla «cosiddetta “fossa” Traiana che portava l'acqua del Nilo dall'inizio del Delta fino a Suez, come un vero acquedotto» (Filesi 1990, 293), che, però, al momento della ricognizione era del tutto interrata (Aubert 2004; Cooper 2009).



Figura 1. Il corso del Nilo nel tratto egiziano con l'indicazione dei bracci verso il Mar Rosso e l'istmo di Suez (Pigafetta 1591, dettaglio. Una copia della tavola è conservata sciolta in BNF, *Cartes et plans*, GE D-9187)



L'umanista vicentino riflette, inoltre, sulla possibilità di effettuare uno scavo diretto dell'istmo di Suez, senza dover passare per i canali del Delta. Questa ipotesi era stata in passato rifiutata per la credenza del forte dislivello tra le acque del Mar Rosso e quelle del Mar Mediterraneo e per la paura che la conseguente "inondazione" avrebbe sommerso le terre emerse della Grecia continentale e insulare e l'Anatolia «drammatica evenienza ch'egli molto semplicisticamente confutava affermando che "quant'acqua dell'Oceano del Mare Rosso e per la fossa del Nostro fosse entrata, altrettanta sarebbe uscita fuori per stretto di Gibraltar, che è la porta del Mediterraneo [...] e sarebbesi dispersa in quell'infinito pelago"» (Filesì 1990, 294). Credenza che tuttavia gli impedì di proseguire su questo progetto e che, di fatto, fu confutata solamente tre secoli dopo, quando l'ingegnere trentino Luigi Negrelli compì diversi studi nella regione e progettò lo scavo del canale che fu poi fatto realizzare da Ferdinand de Lesseps, dimostrando l'uguaglianza del livello dell'acqua dei due mari. Egli compì comunque un'analisi, non solo tecnica, sulla possibilità di comunicazione tra i due mari, sottolineando «il valore che, ai traffici e ai rapporti tra i popoli e continenti diversi, l'apertura d'una tale via d'acqua avrebbe conferito» (Filesì 1990, 294).

Il resto della *Relatione* è una descrizione molto accorta e puntigliosa del territorio egiziano. In particolar modo, l'analisi del Delta tra le città di Alessandria e il Cairo evidenzia l'attenzione posta nel descrivere le vie di comunicazione, i punti di interesse geografico e strategico, accompagnata da appunti di natura politica e militare, anche sulla distribuzione e navigabilità dei canali dello stesso Delta, rendendo plausibili le ipotesi che sostengono l'azione spionistica di Pigafetta.

Il ruolo strategico del Nilo al centro di ogni attività sociale ed economica emerge quindi chiaramente ed è possibile proporre alcune considerazioni in merito alla circolazione dei saperi geografici in età moderna e alla loro persistenza nel corso del tempo. Oltre all'indubbia certezza della diffusione dell'opera di Erodoto negli ambienti culturali e scientifici della prima età moderna, punto di riferimento nelle relazioni di viaggio che avevano come oggetto l'Egitto e il Medio Oriente in generale, le caratteristiche e le peculiarità del *grande fiume* sono osservate e descritte con grande cura. Tra gli aspetti analizzati vi è la descrizione delle piene e delle inondazioni dei terreni, a beneficio delle coltivazioni. Talvolta, i testi si soffermano nel cercare di comprendere le motivazioni di questi movimenti idrodinamici, adducendo motivazioni scientifiche alternate ad altre meno solide. Considerazioni poco geografiche e scientifiche vengono espresse anche quando si affronta la questione delle sorgenti del fiume: astrologia e mitologia vengono affiancate senza troppe difficoltà alla meteorologia e all'idrologia per cercare di disvelare il mistero della loro ubicazione.

Pigafetta, invece, si sofferma sugli aspetti pratici e sulle vie di comunicazione offerte dai corsi d'acqua. La regione del Delta, zona di attraversamento pressoché obbligato per tutti i viaggiatori in Egitto, attira l'attenzione del narratore perché rappresenta un unicum geografico per caratteristiche e ampiezza. La ricchezza di canali, naturali e artificiali, e la sapienza idraulica evidente anche a un osservatore poco esperto, stimola numerosi ragionamenti in merito. L'attenzione è sulle opere eseguite nel passato, anche molti secoli prima, a testimo-



nianza di una memoria storica legata all'acqua che persiste fin dalle civiltà potamiche, così come viene ipotizzata la costruzione di nuovi canali in grado di connettere il Mediterraneo al Mar Rosso, per via diretta o passando per il Nilo e i suoi canali.

L'Egitto, dunque, non è solo una terra di passaggio per i viaggiatori diretti in Terrasanta, ma diviene esso stesso oggetto di interesse e attenzione da parte degli Europei. Le questioni politiche ed economiche per prime, seguite poi da quelle culturali e religiose, muovono viaggiatori, commercianti e diplomatici alla volta della costa settentrionale dell'Africa, dove trovano una cultura altra, ma non necessariamente ostile, a dimostrazione, ancora, che nella frammentazione mediterranea vi è la consapevolezza di essere parte di un unico *holos* (ὅλος). Le coste mediterranee sono, così, frontiere permeabili dove culture diverse continuamente comunicano e interagiscono.

6. *Conclusion. Alcune considerazioni storiografiche.* – Le riflessioni sulla storia del Mediterraneo orientale tra Medio evo ed età moderna, almeno in ambito italiano, hanno sempre messo a fuoco il forte contrasto tra papato, potentati cristiani e impero turco. Tra i protagonisti di quelle vicende raramente compare il sultanato mamelucco di Egitto e Siria (Ashtor 1982, 296-351; Ayalon 1996), che invece intrattene importanti rapporti con le principali potenze cristiane e musulmane in campo nel Mediterraneo e svolse o almeno tentò di ritagliarsi un ruolo politico e diplomatico tra i due blocchi contrapposti Ottomani e potenze cristiane⁽¹²⁾.

Molti viaggiatori, per motivi diversi, hanno visitato l'Egitto nel Medioevo e in epoca moderna e hanno lasciato i loro ricordi e i loro diari. La ricerca intende dimostrare che tutte le fonti di viaggio (diplomatiche, letterarie, geografiche, pubbliche e private, laiche e religiose) offrono spunti molto interessanti per un approccio storico-geografico, indipendentemente dalle diverse modalità narrative, perché permette di mettere a fuoco alcuni elementi significativi dell'Egitto come era in un dato momento e come i viaggiatori li hanno descritti. La ricerca è solo all'inizio, ma, aver aperto questa nuova prospettiva, potrebbe consentire di ricostruire un segmento della storia del Mediterraneo e dei rapporti tra cristiani e musulmani poco noti che si potrebbe rivelare più ricco, articolato e complesso di quanto la storiografia tradizionale abbia sino ad ora posto in evidenza.

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(12) Il regno mamelucco è stato studiato nel suo rapporto con alcuni dei protagonisti della storia del Mediterraneo, ma sempre in modo selettivo Mamelucchi e Genova (Ashtor e Kedar 1975); Mamelucchi e catalani (Ashtor 1984; Coulon 2004).



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The Egyptian-Hungarian Peaceful Relations During the Events of 1956, and the Italian Situation

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Abstract

The main objective of this study is to show the bilateral peaceful relations between Egypt, Hungary and Italy during the great and serious events of 1956. In addition to the development of the close interconnection between the Suez Crisis and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, that directly effected the Suez aggression on the Hungarian situation, as the two crises influenced and affected one another.

The foremost part of my article is focused on the supporter Hungary to Egypt (within the nationalization of the Suez-Canal, and the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt), and connections between the two series of events, namely the Hungarian Revolution and the Suez Crisis. In this article, we will summarize what we know about the connection between the two parallel crises. A great deal of historical research has been done on the two crises individually, but there has been limited scientific research completed in relations to the connection between them both. The relationship was of significant importance in influencing the Soviet decision to use brutal military force, to suppress the Hungarian Revolution and in explaining the depth of bitterness in the rift between Britain and the United States over the Suez Crisis. The Suez Crisis had left its more than effective mark on the international community. The major world powers were highly critical of the action taken by Israel, France and the United Kingdom in Suez. The Soviet Union threatened Paris and London with nuclear reprisals while the United States, complained that it had not been consulted beforehand. Based on archival materials and publications it seems that there was not only a temporal coincidence between the Suez and Hungarian crises, during the Fall of 1956. The two events met not only in the columns of the world press and in the different forums of the UN – which had been functioning mainly as a propaganda device for a while anyway.

In this next part I will now focus on how the Italian's role played out during the Suez Crisis and some of the influential factors, which demonstrate the strong Egyptian-Italian relations.

I used the documents of the Foreign Ministry of Egypt which can be found in the Egyptian National Archives, and documents of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára “MNLOL”) concerning Egypt in 1956–1957. I studied the most



important Arabic newspapers including the Al-Ahram, Al-Gumhoriya, Al-Shabb, Youm7, Sout Al-Omma, Akher Saah, and Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, in addition to La Bourse Égyptienne, and Le Progrès Égyptien in French. Furthermore, I studied 8 English-language newspapers: Bangor Daily News, The Miami News, Tuscaloosa News, Sarasota Journal, The Free Lance-Star, Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, The Milwaukee Sentinel, and Glasgow Herald.

Egypt and Hungary

The strong relationships between Egypt and Hungary, as well as the tight coordination between these two countries was not a result of coincidental momentous events that permeated in 1956, specifically, i.e. the Suez Crisis and the Hungarian revolution, but there were strong and peaceful relations between these two countries through different time periods. We can divide these bilateral relations into four important intervals: the first period was between 1763-1871; second: 1882-1914;⁽¹⁾ third: 1919-1939;⁽²⁾ and the fourth: 1947-1970. ⁽³⁾

The relationship between the Suez Crisis and the Hungarian revolution was too deep rooted, as the tripartite aggression against Egypt had resulted in fundamental changes in the course of events in Hungary in that period, and turned all balances upside down on behalf of the Soviets and the Hungarian government, which was following them at the time.

(1) The bilateral relations have begun in 1763 through the appointment of the Austro-Hungarian consul “Francesco Agostini”, and then followed in 1792 by “Carlo di Rosetti”. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had several Consulates in Egypt (in Cairo, Alexandria, Damietta, Rosetta, Suez), which attribute the huge commercial and economic relations between the two states. After the First World War outbreak, the representative of the United States assumed the duties of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Cairo. Maxwell, British army commander, expelled the workers of the German and Austro-Hungarian consulates accredited to Egypt, and the last consular officer was arrested by in December 1915. Komár Krisztián, *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia és Egyiptom kapcsolatai 1882-1914*. (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2012), 70-83.

(2) In 1924, King Fouad had received the 1st independent Hungarian Consul General Menasce Alfred, which means the inauguration of the Consulate General of independent Hungary in Alexandria. The diplomatic relations between Hungary and Egypt were established in 1928, when king Fouad received in the royal palace the 1st Hungarian diplomatic commissioner Parcher Félix. During the period between World War I and II Horthy Miklós, son of the Hungarian regent, had visited Egypt five times. In 1932 Sedki Pasha, Egyptian Prime Minister, visited Budapest to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries. In 1938, Nazli Hanim, Queen of Egypt, and her four daughters visited the Hungarian capital for 3 weeks. In 1942, the bilateral diplomatic relations were cut. Abdallah Abdel-Ati Abdel-Salam Mohamed, *Az egyiptomi-magyar kapcsolatok a két világháború közötti időszakban*. (Szeged: JatePress, 2015), 75-88.

(3) In 1947, the consular and diplomatic relations have been restored between the two countries, and then in 1955 was Hungary’s pivotal role in the conclusion of the huge arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia. During the second half of the fifth decade of the last century, there have been reciprocal visits of senior officials, led by the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser to Hungary, the Hungarian president’s visit to Egypt, as well as the visit of the Hungarian Prime Minister to Cairo. In 1957, the «Philosophy of the Revolution» entitled book of Abdel Nasser, was translated into Hungarian, and has a very successful marketing and selling among the Hungarian Nation. J. Nagy László, *Magyar-egyiptomi kapcsolatok a második világháború után (1947–1970)* (Szeged: Jatepress, 2015), 5-22. Hereafter: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*.



We can expressly say: If there was no Suez Crisis, it may have been more difficult for the Soviets to repress the Hungarian revolution. This amply appeared in my teacher “Ádám Masát” saying: “If the Suez Crisis did not erupt in 1956, then, our situation would have changed since that year, and we would not need to wait for the great shift that had occurred in Europe in 1989-1990.”

The Middle East and Eastern Europe had become a center of global interest since the summer of 1956, as a result of the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the escalation of workers' demonstrations in Poland, and the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution.

Suez 1956

Suez Crisis in 1956 was not a local, but rather a global event, that its influence extended on a large scale over the countries of the world upon the testimony of historians and writers from all over the world. The international newspapers and meetings of great leaders were not talking about anything except this great event, as well as the United Nations agenda for more than a year. In the Office of “Andre Deutsch”⁽⁴⁾, Mr. “Pierre Pernet”, Head of the editors, says, talking to the great writer Mohamed Hassanein Heikel: “It seems that you think the Suez is a great historic event had occurred in Egypt, But the truth that we consider it as a great historic event took place in Europe and, in particular Britain”.⁽⁵⁾ The Hungarian historian and writer “Zoltán Kalmár” said that 1956 was the last breath for the traditional colonial powers in the Middle East, where France and Great Britain had lost their power and influence in the region. 1956 was a new chapter in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which began from the Israeli side through military strikes, and the emergence of the idea of pre-emptive wars.⁽⁶⁾

The great role that the Suez Canal was playing in the international trade in that period was well-known to the whole world, where 15% of the volume of world trade was passing through it. In the previous year of nationalizing this canal, more than 14,000 ships from about fifty countries passed through its channels. We can recognize the economic and strategic importance of the Suez Canal through the index of petroleum products transferring: in 1955, 12.5 million tons of crude oil was transported and 67 million tons of processed petroleum products passed through it.⁽⁷⁾ The majority of the oil, needed by 13 countries of Western Europe, was going across this canal. At the mid-fifties, Europe's consumption of oil estimated 133 million tons, more than its two-thirds generated from the Arab world. The canal's total income in 1955 counted 35 million Egyptian pounds, which seized by the

(4) Representative of the international publishers, who is responsible for publishing the books of Heikel.

(5) Mohamed Hassanein Heikel, *Suez Files ... The Thirty-year War* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Centre for Publication, Translation and Distribution, 3rd edition, 1996), 8.

(6) Kalmár Zoltán «Titkos Szerződés Szuezzel» In *Külsügyi Szemle* (Budapest: Magyar KÜM, 2009), 130.

(7) Nourredine Abdi «Az arab politikai nacionalizmustól az olajipari nacionalizmusig, avagy a dirigista orientáció». *Mediterrán Világ* 4 (2009): 55.



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Western countries, as they are the real operators and supervisors of the canal, while Egypt just got one million Egyptian pounds⁽⁸⁾ only.⁽⁹⁾

On the evening of 26th July 1956, Abdel Nasser announced the nationalization of the global company of the Suez Canal as an Egyptian joint stock company to take advantage of its revenues in funding the High Dam project. He issued a decree confirming this decision. Nasser said that nationalization is a sovereign decision,⁽¹⁰⁾ this resulted in a free and independent foreign policy of the state, which policy emanates from Egypt, not from London, Washington, Moscow or any other country he added. In the same nationalization speech in Alexandria, the president acknowledged plainly his support towards Arab nationalist movements in the face of the colonial powers of England and France. Abdel Nasser was strongly condemned by the unfair US aid policy: "I did never find any US aid directed to push the manufacturing development at all. It is quite clear that if US aid supported the processes of industrialization, this would lead to a great competition with us. But the organized goal of US aids is always kept on exploitation."⁽¹¹⁾ After the nationalization resolution, both France and England had become ready to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt, but they were discussing all the necessary mechanisms to do so. Britain proceeded its preliminary procedures through many provocative statements, and then freezing the sterling assets of Egypt, as a result, Egypt decided to be sued before the International Court of Justice. Due to President Abdel Nasser' deep insight, he anticipated the current events by making both England and France the only responsible nations for disabled navigation in the channel, or transferring the issue of the canal' nationalization to an international political issue. He said: "Egypt has always maintained and will continue to maintain navigation freely in the channel, and they will not allow any state, or any gang to detract its sovereignty & independence, Egypt will react so badly with any person or state that would harm Egyptian territory."⁽¹²⁾ Abdel Nasser, in his narrating of the secrets of the tripartite aggression, acknowledged that England was not the only country that had frozen Egypt assets, but both France and America did the same. US wheat aid stopped at that time and starvation, economic pressure, blockade and propaganda continued.⁽¹³⁾

(8) This amount was so little in comparison with the other shares, and did not suit to the Agreement on Establishing the Canal Suez Company, given to De Lesseps on 30 Nov., 1854. Iman Amer, *The Story of Canal Suez (Suez Canal, an Egyptian Epic)* (Cairo: GOCP, 2009), 15-16.

(9) Kalmár Zoltán «Nasser Alexandriai beszéde» In *Mediterrán és Balkáni Fórum* (Pécs: A PTE Kelet-Mediterrán és Balkan Tanulmányok Központja (KMBTK), 2009), 2.

(10) <http://www.youm7.com/story/20153/8//-----/2290007#.VxUEINQrK1s>; Nationalization of the Suez Canal Company; 2016. 09. 18.

(11) Lugosi Győző (szerk.) *Dokumentumok a Közel-Kelet XX. századi történetéhez* (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2006), 339.

(12) Al-Ahram: President warns Britain and France. 1956. 07. 29. P. 1.

(13) Al-Gumhoria: Abdel Nasser talks to History about the aggression of 1956. 1966. 12. 24. P. 1.



Abdel Nasser's speech raised a storm of resentment and indignation in the Western world, especially in England and France. These two countries were the top shareholders in the canal company. Their real loss was not just a material, but also political in the first place, representing in losing their influence in an unprecedented way; where the whole world had seen that they no longer control the current events in the Middle East. These two countries began a terrible campaign against Egypt, particularly, against Abdel Nasser himself, who they called him "Nazi"; because he had, according to their reasons, violated the international law, freedom of navigation, and the interests of the major powers. The most important issue that agitated the French leadership in particular is the adoption of the Egyptian president explicitly, for the first time, his support for Algerian fighters against the French colonialists since 1 November 1954. Paris took its decision to declare war on Egypt; because it believed that it could reap a quick military victory over the Algerian revolutionaries overthrow Nasser in one hand, and restoring the canal on the other hand. While Moscow and the socialist countries supported the nationalization of the Canal and presented its solidarity with Egypt, which was drafted in communiqué of Hungarian Foreign Ministry as: "We dealt with this important matter in a manner that commensurate with our interests and foreign policies and in accordance with the general principles of international law."⁽¹⁴⁾

Hungarian Revolution 1956

On the evening of October 23rd 1956, student demonstrations in Budapest erupted as the beginning of the Hungarian revolution against the communist rule in the country broke out. The Hungarian revolution supported by "Imre Nagy"⁽¹⁵⁾ and his government, which he formed and lasted 13 days only, followed by another pro-Soviet government formed by "János Kádár"⁽¹⁶⁾.⁽¹⁷⁾ The events in Hungary were rapid in succession and begun some time ago through immoral practices and violent acts by the Hungarian police, who was following the communist regime, against citizens. All of these events had formed a deep disfavor amongst Hungarians, and then the Polish revolution, that had been suppressed very

(14) Szabad Nép, 12 augusztus 1956. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 48-49.

(15) Hungarian politician (7 June 1896 – 16 June 1958), who was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers on two occasions. Nagy's second term ended when his non-Soviet-backed government was brought down by Soviet invasion in the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956, resulting in Nagy's execution on charges of treason two years later.

01937/html/szerviz/kislex/biograf/nagyimre.htm; Imre Nagy; 2016. 09. 19./http://mek.oszk.hu/01900

(16) Hungarian communist leader, Prime Minister and the General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, presiding over the country from 1956 until his retirement in 1988. His 32-year term as General Secretary covered most of the period the People's Republic of Hungary existed. Due to Kádár's age, declining health, and declining political mastery, he retired as General Secretary of the party in 1988, and a younger generation consisting mostly of reformers took over. He was born on 26 May 1912, and died on 6 July 1989. http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC07165/07202.htm; János Kádár; 2016. 09. 19.

(17) Bangor Daily News: Communist Hungary marks October 1956 Revolution. 1986. 10. 20. P. 59.



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harshly, began. Hungarians demonstrated solidarity and support towards them. “In 1956, the Hungarian workers revolted against the Stalinist regime where they had no authority, as a minority of people were ruling and governing the whole society such as state officials, who take advantage of workers for the purpose of saving money. The Soviet Union imposed a productive program directed towards constructing a manufacturing capacity in the Eastern European countries; the Soviet Union was influencing them politically and economically. The underlying goal of this program is to regenerate the military production, giving Russia the capacity of competing against western armament. The high concentration on industrial production efforts had many negative effects on the agricultural production area, where it was exposed to a dramatic decline, which, in turn, led to an acute food shortage. In fact, the economic crisis was not the only incentive of this revolution, as the Hungarian people had a strong yearning for freedom. Hungarian Revolution broke out against a dictatorial regime....”⁽¹⁸⁾

Suez Crisis & the Hungarian revolution in the press:

The events in Egypt and Hungary were the top news and analyst newspapers around the world in 1956, as well as the following year. “Chronicle Telegraph” newspaper summed up this situation through announcing the referendum results, which was conducted on the Canadian territory about the most popular news in Canadian newspapers in 1956. The news related to the events in both of Egypt and Hungary ranked the first amongst most national and international news at that period.⁽¹⁹⁾

Hungarian Embassy in Cairo issued a telegram on October 25, 1956 indicated that the Egyptian Arabic-language press was not sufficiently concerned about the Hungarian events, where it was overwhelmed by the events of North Africa and the news related to the joint Egyptian-Jordanian-Syrian Military Cooperation Convention. On the other hand the English and French-language newspapers had this as one of their main headlines. These newspapers derived their information from the embassies, and then used the western news agencies materials for reprinting them on their papers. As a result of blurred events and other political and ethnic considerations, the Egyptian press described Budapest events by several heterogeneous descriptions, for example, “a rebellion” sometimes, and “disorders” other times, and in certain cases they called it a “revolution”, but they never called it “counter-revolution” except once. The Egyptian Gazette, on 31 October, wrote that the revolution had triumphed in Hungary (they really used the “revolution” word at that time), and the Soviet forces had left Budapest. Notwithstanding, the attention of Arab states and Europe, as well as the whole world turned at this time to the raging war in the Middle East. During the Suez war, the Hungarian news decreased on Arabic newspapers, but they

(18) <https://ayman1970.wordpress.com/2011/12/24/سلسلة-تاريخ-الثورات-دروس-من-الثورة-الم/>; Hungarian events; 2016. 10. 18.

(19) Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph: Hungary and Suez made top news stories of the past year. 1956. 12. 27. P. 2.



continued publishing information about it on a regular basis. Arabic newspapers indicated for the new Soviet intervention in Hungary, and confrontations broken out from there, “Imre Nagy” appealed to the people of the world to get out of the Warsaw Pact, as well as the “János Kádár” Government formation following the “Imre Nagy” Government.⁽²⁰⁾

The German chancellor Adenauer⁽²¹⁾ recognized that we could not hold a comparison between the Anglo-French military action in Suez, and Soviet actions in Hungary with regard to the Middle East. Adenauer hoped that the events ended there quickly and to expand the western economic aid level for Egypt. The German chancellor admitted that not funding Aswan High Dam was a great mistake. As for the issue of communism and the fear of its spread in Egypt and the Arab world, he said that religious believers in the Arab world will stand against the communism to prevent its spread in these countries. In terms of the Hungarian events, he called for holding the United Nations’ Financial Committee promptly to Hungary in order to provide immediate economic aids to the Hungarians in order to contribute to restoring freedom in Hungary.⁽²²⁾

In an article entitled “Suez Crisis could happen again”, published 25 years after the events of Suez and Hungary, the German writer Don Nuechterlein, tied between the events in Suez and Hungary in 1956, wondering if these events could repeat again but this time in Poland and Libya instead of Hungary and Egypt? The German writer stated that in October 1956 there were two communist governments in Hungary and Poland, under great pressure by workers and students to make each one reform its role to determine new strategy away from Moscow’s iron fist. The demonstrations had already swept through both Poland and Hungary. Matters seem to have settled down in Hungary, and the Soviets yield to the Hungarian demonstrators’ demands. Suddenly, an Israeli military intervention occurred in October 29 against Egypt, followed by another aggression by England and France after giving an ultimatum of Egyptian forces to evacuate the Suez Canal and to allow their troops the temporary occupation of the canal. The attack on Egypt had been under a secret plan⁽²³⁾

(20) National Archives of Hungary – Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. MNL XIX-J-1-j Egyiptom 1945–1964. 1. doboz, 1050. sz. Irat.

(21) German statesman and politician (1876-1967) who served as the first post-war Chancellor of Germany (West Germany) from 1949 to 1963. He led his country from the ruins of World War II to a productive and prosperous nation that forged close relations with France, the United Kingdom and the United States. During his years in power West Germany achieved democracy, stability, international respect and economic prosperity. <http://barankovics.hu/keresztenydemokracia-adatbazis/ki-kicsoda/adenauer-konrad>; Konrad Hermann Joseph Adenauer; 2016. 11. 12.

(22) Glasgow Herald: Suez and Hungary. 1956. 11. 19. P. 7.

(23) According to most historians, the attack against Egypt was through a secret plan, which was not shared with the United States, but from my own point of view the situation is different, as the Al-Shaab newspaper wrote in its 1st page of October 30, 1956 that US has been evacuated their citizens from the Arab countries and Israel, few hours before the attack against Egypt: The number of the evacuated US citizens is about 8000. If we suppose that the United States did not know the fact of the expected aggression, why evacuated their citizens at



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that Eisenhower had not informed about, so he became so infuriated. As for the Russians, the Suez crisis represented a shift for them on the Hungarian territory, where they get in there using excessive forces while the whole world was so occupied with the Middle East events, which resulted in a revolution there.⁽²⁴⁾ Events in Hungary began to calm down after the intervention of Soviet troops, while the Anglo-French forces were facing Egyptian snipers in the canal zone, especially in the city of Port Said. All these events happened at the same time when Egypt demands the aggressor forces to clear its territory. There is already an approval of the decision by the United Nations' General Assembly last night.⁽²⁵⁾

The close relationship between the Suez crisis and the events of Hungary can be illustrated also through presenting the real causes of the aggression and the mistakes that they committed. The veteran politician "Nuri Pasha Al-Said" the Prime Minister of Iraq, who and Faisal II King hosted by Eden to have a dinner at Downing Street on the evening of 26 July 1956, advised Eden to avoid involving Israel. As a foreign minister in 1954 Eden tried his best to persuade the Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, to sign a treaty of friendship with Colonel Nasser. Churchill rejected signing such treaty with an officer had transgressed his oath to protect the constitution and the king, and then overthrow a legitimate government, that Britain has signed a friendship treaty with it 18 years ago (1936 Treaty with Mostafa El-Nahhas Pasha aiming to the evacuation of the British forces from the Suez Canal in 20-year, i.e. June 1956). Eden felt betrayed that Abdel Nasser chokes British power by controlling the Suez Canal. Eisenhower interfering against Britain was not related to the victory of the liberation movements; as he prevented spilling the Hungarian peoples blood by the hands of Soviet troops, when they demanded their freedom at the Suez Crisis.⁽²⁶⁾

Attitude of the United States and NATO towards Suez Crisis and the events of Hungary

British-French military intervention in the Middle East upset the United States in terms of principles, that its condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Hungary will look incredible in the case of supporting the British-French military intervention in Egypt. When the French ambassador handed a message from the Prime Minister, on October 30, to the US secretary of state at that time "Dulles" about the attack, the American minister just got only angrier. He recognized the British-French intervention as an applicable, inclusive Soviet plan in Hungary, but at the end of the meeting, he calmed down and apologized for his said figure.⁽²⁷⁾ Egyptian newspapers highlighted "Eisenhower" statement that he denounced

this time, and not before, taking into account that the decision of nationalization was in July 26, and the attack was on October 29, 1956. Al-Shaab newspaper: Israel is moving. 1956. 10. 30. P. 1.

(24) The Free Lance-Star: Suez Crisis could happen again. 1981. 11. 10. P. 3.

(25) Sarasota Journal: Rebel Radios Silent in Hungary. 1956. 11. 08. P. 1. No. 148.

(26) Asharq al-Awsat. Lessons of the Suez Crisis after Fifty Years. 2006. 07. 29. P. 03. No. 10105.

(27) M. Alphand, Ambassadeur de France à Washington à M. Pineau, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, le 30



the British-French intervention, describing it as an error. Analysts added, “Egypt knows that the Soviet Union and the popular democracies as well as the participating countries in the Bandung conference⁽²⁸⁾ stand behind it.” NATO also became very angry from Paris and London, where they did not consult with the member states about launching war in advance. General “Hastings Lionel Ismay”, NATO Secretary, described the British-French military intervention on the extraordinary session of the Consultative Atlantic Council that “it represents the greatest threat to the Atlantic solidarity since the establishment of the alliance.”⁽²⁹⁾

The Soviet Union, the Suez Crisis and the Hungarian events:

The speech of the Soviet President Bulganin to the Israeli prime minister, his English and French counterparts, in November 5, had a great impact on the Arab public opinion. As in his speech, Bulganin stated on the possibility of a military strike, his referring to a threat to the existence of the state of Israel even if it was all just a deception had such a great psychological pressure on those who he directed the speech to, and who did not underestimate him at all. This speech proved the English public opinion very clearly that the Soviet Union supports Egypt and Arab nationalist movements decisively. “Le Progrès Égyptien” newspaper in its issue dated 10 November wrote, “The Soviet threat played a crucial role in the cease-fire.” The Soviet Union popularity reached its peak at this time in Egypt and the Arab world generally, while its prestige in the western countries was nadir. The good news spread quickly about the quantity of thousands of volunteer soldiers, who the Soviet Union; the Republic of China, and other socialist countries will send them to give a helping hand to Egypt. They likened the protection of Port Said to the two battles of Stalingrad and Leningrad during World War II.⁽³⁰⁾ People only believed the news come out of the Eastern bloc, squares were packed with people on the news programs times, they gathered around the radio to listen to the radio broadcast of Moscow and Beijing in Arabic. They considered these radios as the only credible news. Hungary’s ambassador’s report had also confirmed that, “Western news agencies are not credible in Egypt. Wide public opinion, in the midst of his love for the socialist camp; Soviet Union and China, would not take into account as far as the committed errors in the real world at least. We have to acknowledge that the Egyptian-Hungarian relations did not affect our events. We

octobre 1956. DDF, 1956. 3. k. Paris, 1990. 93. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 51.

(28) In April, 1955, representatives from twenty-nine governments of Asian and African nations gathered in Bandung, Indonesia to discuss peace and the role of the Third World in the Cold War, economic development, and decolonization. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/19531960-/bandung-conf>; Bandung Conference; 2017. 01. 22.

(29) M. Parodi, Représentant permanent de la France au Conseil de l’OTAN à M. Pineau, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, le 31 octobre 1956. DDF, 1956. 3. k. Paris 1990. 125. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 52.

(30) La Bourse Égyptienne, 7, 8, 15 Nov., 1956; Journal d’Alger, 5, 7 Nov., 1956. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 51.



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will not find any rejection by Egypt through the development of our business in terms of international foreign policy.” Newspapers quoted “Imre Nagy” exiled to Romania by an Embassy in Budapest, which in turn created a great tension between both Yugoslavia and Hungary. They considered the wrath of the French government was due to “Imre Nagy” and his companies’ exiles to Rome as incredible, they considered it as a new evidence of its hypocrisy.⁽³¹⁾

As for the Soviet Union link to the events of Hungary, it exploited the raging war in the Middle East, specifically in Sues, to eliminate the Hungarian Revolution quickly through using excessive military force. The Soviet Union put an end to all the riots and instability which were so spread at the time there, which we have been talking about in details in advance and also in the following lines of this article.

Egyptian vision on the interdependence of Egypt and Hungary events

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the Egyptian Embassy in Budapest, Abdul Hamid Zadeh in his secret report, issued on 13 December 1956, stated that the tripartite attack against Egypt made a fundamental change in Russia’s policy toward Hungary. After Moscow had declared its approval to withdraw its troops from Hungarian territory, Russian armadillos launched towards the Hungarian territory, determined to suppress the Hungarian revolution and eliminate them as soon as possible; thus, to prevent forming another hostile front. Soviet Union had a direct border with the northeast of Hungary, so it can focus its time on supporting Egypt in its confrontation with Great Britain, France and the Jewish state. Moreover, Zadeh found that a superpower like the Soviet Union who had an influence on the popular democracy states, and took advantage of its resources and production in its own interests could not miss such potential opportunity in the British-French attack on Egypt. Through this attack, it can lay its place again in Hungary, especially as they are in dire need of Hungary’s uranium and rail vehicles and a lot of resources from the country. For this reason, the Soviet intervention in Hungary was a draconian and widely vandalism interference.⁽³²⁾

Abdul Hamid Qadri, first Secretary of the Egyptian Embassy in Moscow, in his secret report, stated that the Hungarian Revolution broke out as a result of the western destructive activities, and that the Soviet Union did not intervene to save the Hungarian people, but only they intervened at the request of the Hungarian government. Whether the Union Soviet’ reaction against the Hungarian people was good or bad, there is no doubt that this

(31) National Archives of Hungary – Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. MNL XIX-J-1-j Egyiptom 1945–1964. 5. doboz, 00930. sz. irat (Egyiptom viszonyulása a szocialista országokhoz a magyar események nyomán. Kairó, 1957. február 6.

(32) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Budapest; Portfolio: 114; File No: 1/7/220, (5th Part); Date: 1956. 12. 13; Subject: “The Revolution in Hungary and the Soviet Intervention”.



act was so inevitable to prevent the disintegration of the European socialist bloc, which would happen if the Hungarian revolution spread more and more.⁽³³⁾

The Hungarian Embassy accredited Cairo and the media expressed that the Egyptian leadership saw a close relationship between the Hungarian and Middle-Eastern events: “They believe that England and France want to handcuff the Soviet Union with the Hungary issue in Central Europe so that they can act freely in Egypt.”⁽³⁴⁾ The Egyptian ambassador in Moscow stated, in his report on 17 December 1956, that the Soviet intervention in Hungary, although it is not preferable in terms of principle, it is an interference in the affairs of an independent sovereign state. The Hungarian government and the Soviet Union confirmed that it cannot object this interference internationally, nor legally; where it was done at the request of the Hungarian legitimate government of the country that have requested help from the Soviet armed forces stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Convention. Soviet government declared that the aim of the intervention is to protect the safety of other socialist countries, and to prevent Western countries, making Hungary as a base to attack the Soviet Union, which could result in a new world war. He also added; “Maybe there were conflicting views on the Soviet intervention, but they all agreed that the Soviet Union have no physical or regional ambitions in Hungary, and no one can accuse the Soviets of colonization or exploiting the country.”⁽³⁵⁾

The Egyptian leadership was interested in the Hungarian events. The Soviets’ intervention had ripped them, as they were protecting the national independence, exactly, such as the Hungarian revolutionaries, who as Abdul Hamid Nafie Zadeh stated in his report, they want the independence of their country, and yearn for a regime that respect them and committed to their rights; freedom is their main goal.⁽³⁶⁾ Khalid Mohiuddin, El Massa editor-in-chief, who was so close to the government at the time, told the Hungarian Ambassador that the Hungarian events have made the government more conservative to the Soviet Union, but they regret for the occurrence of the Hungarian events; because the western accusations against the Soviet Union have made it harder to cooperate with it”.

(33) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Moscow; Portfolio: 675; File No: 724; Date: 1957. 05. 29; Subject: «Soviet Armies in the Hungarian Territories».

(34) National Archives of Hungary – Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. MNL XIX-J-1-j Egyiptom 1945–1964. 5. doboz, 00930. sz. irat (Egyiptom viszonyulása a szocialista országokhoz a magyar események nyomán. Kairó, 1957. február 6.

(35) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Moscow; Portfolio: 655 (4th part); File No: 226/7/1; Date: 1956. 12. 17; Subject: “Regarding the Soviet Policy in Hungary after the Recent Events”.

(36) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Budapest; Portfolio: 114 (4th Part); File No: 220/7/1; Date: 1956. 12. 13; Subject: “The Revolution in Hungary and the Soviet Intervention”.



United Nations attitude towards the Suez Crisis and the revolution in Hungary in 1956:

The connection between the Suez Crisis and the events of Hungary in 1956 goes hand in hand in the international arena, especially in the United Nations. Discussions about these two issues began in early November 1956 alongside each other. The United States tried, after raising a resolution draft to the United Nations' emergency association, to calm the situation in Egypt and in Hungary. The two resolutions had already been approved. The Egyptian resolutions percentage vote was 60-0, as each of Greece & Guatemala abstained from voting. As for Hungarian resolution, it has been voted by 53-9, where 9 countries voted against its resolution (the Soviet bloc countries) and 8 countries abstained from voting, including: Egypt, India, Greece, Guatemala, Yugoslavia, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. ⁽³⁷⁾ The Egyptian and Hungarian issue was the most popular thread in the United Nations for more than a year due to the importance of these two issues at a global level, and because of their serious effects on all levels. The American writer "Marquis Childs" says: "Despite approaching a full year later, the crisis provoked by the British- French- Israeli attack on Suez in last November still casts its shadow on the global organization discussions."⁽³⁸⁾ Abdul Hamid Zadeh, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Egyptian Embassy in Budapest, in his secret report issued in 24/11/1956, said: "Hungarians lost hope gradually that the United Nations could intervene to end their suffering; as it had always took decisions which cannot be implemented."⁽³⁹⁾

Abdul Hameed Qadri, first Secretary of the Egyptian embassy in Moscow, stated in his secret report, issued on 09/05/1957, that the report published by the United Nations regarding the events of Hungary had influenced a bad effect on the Soviet Union. The report criticized the actions of the Moscow government and blamed them on the recent events. Moreover, the US government was constantly seeking to exploit the report to defame the Soviet Union and tarnish its image; this matter upset the Soviet Union greatly. The US Congress provides a draft demanding the US government to call for convening an extraordinary session of the United Nations' General Assembly to discuss this report. The Soviet's see that the UN report is one of Mr. Lodge⁽⁴⁰⁾ tricks, the American representative on the United Nations, who invents lies even to provoke the Hungarian problem again and

(37) Tuscaloosa News: U.N. Approves U.S. Plans For Suez and Hungary. 1956. 11. 11. P. 1.

(38) The Miami News: Shadow of the Suez Crisis Still Falls across U.N. 1957 . 09. 23. P. 16.

(39) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Budapest; Portfolio: 114 (5th part); File No: 220/7/1; Date: 1956. 11. 24; Subject: "Regarding the Revolution in Hungary and the Soviet Intervention".

(40) Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (1902–1985) was a Republican United States Senator from Massachusetts and a U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, South Vietnam, West Germany, and the Holy See (as Presidential Representative). He was the Republican nominee for Vice President in the 1960 presidential election. <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=l000394>; Henry Lodge; 2017. 01. 22.



to attack the Soviet Union and the socialist regime. He made a maneuver to persuade the United Nations memberships, who are under US influence, to play a vital role in distorting the image of the Russian army. Not all these acts are comparable with the Soviet's where they did not want to discuss the Hungarian problem.⁽⁴¹⁾

Abdul Hameed Qadri also pointed out that the American interest in the issue of Hungary and the freedom of its people are involved largely on hypocrisy, that the Soviets' viewpoint about the US contrary to the attitude regarding the Hungarian events of Algeria and the Cyprus problems was so clear. Qadri said: "If we accept that America cannot change the situation in Hungary, either by its efforts or by the help of the United Nations Organization, we will conclude that the American aim of exploiting the Hungarian problem is to tarnish the image of the Soviet Union." The same report quoted the opinion of the Soviet's, who also saw that the great interest of the Hungarian issue is just hypocrisy, as at a time when the West was trying to attract the attention of public opinion to Hungary, it also supported the French brutal acts against the Algerian people, who were struggling for freedom and independence.⁽⁴²⁾

The new Hungarian government is counting the ongoing debate of Hungary and the Soviet intervention in the United Nations on the Conservatives benign situation of most Arab countries. It did its best to win their support and maintain it. The United States has taken an aggressive attitude towards the region at the same time, but the declaration of the so-called "Eisenhower Doctrine" in January 1957 happened at an unfortunate time, but it was good timing for the Soviet's then. The American President spoke about the "power vacuum" existing in the Middle East, when the Arab nationalism put invisible measures representing the power. The regional countries considered the Doctrine' vision are, in fact, unsuitable for conducting their affairs and their need for a guardian is just a humiliating matter. The American, French and British newspapers, at the same time, put enormous pressure on Egypt, Syria and Abdel Nasser, who was accused of being a follower of the Soviet Union and preparing for the introduction of communism in the region. Abdel Nasser stressed in his interview with the news agency Associated Press, "AP" that; "Egypt will never be affiliated to any forces or mercenaries or a doll in their hands. Intellectual independence is as important as political independence for them and the state should keep to its political and intellectual independence."⁽⁴³⁾

The Soviet behavior regarding the Suez Crisis on the one hand, and the West, the United States in particular, incurious attitude towards the war in Algeria on the other hand, made

(41) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Moscow; Portfolio: 675; File No: 724; Date: 1957. 07. 09; Subject: «Echo of publishing the United Nations report on the latest Hungarian incidents in the Soviet Union».

(42) Ibid.

(43) Le Progrès Égyptien, 22 Nov., 1956. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 48-49. 55.



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the Arab politicians and public opinion stand on the side of Moscow during the Hungarian crisis. They felt, based on certain reasons, that the world public opinion and politicians are ignoring an important issue for the Arabs, representing in the ongoing war in Algeria, they only remember and condemn the Soviet barbaric acts, without concerning the actions of the French army. Al-Gomhuria government newspaper wrote in its article entitled “Hungarian drama and us” the following: “Whatever the actions of the Soviet Union were barbaric, they do not differ in anything with what were committed by the West in its colonies and countries occupied by its military. If the Soviet Union had killed ten thousand innocents of the claimants for their right to have freedom in Hungary, France had killed hundreds of thousands of innocents in Algeria, and continues to commit massacres without stopping. We cannot compare the number of people who have been killed by the hands of the Soviet Union in Hungary with the infinite number of Palestinians who have died for their country which was kidnapped by the Zionist US-sponsored”.⁽⁴⁴⁾ As for “Sabah” newspaper, it wrote about this issue in a clear way in its article entitled “Why Hungary not Algeria? Saying: “I do not understand why the United Nations has published this powerful report about Hungary, while not publishing anything about the Algerian issue. United Nations has to go ahead and send a commission to Algeria!”⁽⁴⁵⁾

This popular viewpoint generally preferred by “Kádár” Government in the debate, which took place at the United Nations on the issue of Hungary. Abdul Hameed Qadri, First Secretary of the Egyptian embassy in Moscow stated in a report issued on 07/09/1957 that the Hungarian government had announced, since examining the Hungarian issue in the United Nations that this is in fact interference in the affairs of Hungary.⁽⁴⁶⁾

A Hungarian delegation led by “Károly Szarka”⁽⁴⁷⁾ Deputy Foreign Minister, traveled before the start of the United Nations’ autumn session to Egypt, specifically in August 1957. Károly, during his visit, met the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Fawzi, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Hussein Aziz; Foreign Ministry’ Permanent Secretary, Ambassador Mustafa Yusuf; Undersecretary for political Affairs, he also met on the same day “János Péter”⁽⁴⁸⁾; member of the Hungarian delegation, Abdul Latif al-Baghdadi; Chairman of

(44) La Bourse Égyptienne, 26 June, 1957. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 56.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Moscow; Portfolio: 675; File No: 724; Date: 1957. 07. 09; Subject: «Echo of publishing the United Nations report on the latest Hungarian incidents in the Soviet Union”.

(47) Hungarian diplomat and politician (1923-2005). He fulfilled the job of the deputy minister of Foreign affairs between 1956 and 1968. He was the Hungarian ambassador in Washington (1953-1956), Cairo (1968-1970), and Tokyo (1983).

<http://www.nlcafe.hu/forum/?fid=441&topicid=95827&step=3&bw=1>; Károly Szarka; 2017. 01. 12.

(48) Hungarian diplomat and politician (1910-1999). From 1949 he worked at the Presidential Office of Hungary; from 1958 1st deputy foreign minister, and Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1961 and 1973.



the People's Assembly at the time. The purpose of this trip and these intensive meetings among the Hungarian delegation and Egyptian politicians is to get the needed support for Egypt and Arab countries in the current debates on the global organization about Hungarian issue. The Egyptian foreign minister realized, at the time, that the mission of the Hungarian delegation would not be difficult. Indeed, the Egyptian government sent its ambassador to the United Nations to oppose the so-called "the Hungarian issue" on their daily agenda.

The Egyptian Politician recorded that his country would help the Hungary viewpoint to be accepted in other Arab countries as well, but it could not assure that matter in advance. When President Nasser received the Hungarian delegation in his apartment, they had been reviewing the Arab countries issues and situations. President firstly, taking into account the forces of the United Nations standards on the real ground, stressed on "It could not prevent the development of the Hungarian issue on the agenda." According to the present viewpoint, the western powers, especially the United States; England and France, are exploiting the issue occurring in Hungary as propaganda for the United Nations, especially against the Soviet Union in the first place. He added, "We are not sure of supporting both Egypt and Syria. According to the same Hungarian embassy' report in Cairo, which was addressed to the Hungarian Foreign, "The delegation had been received by the Egyptian side warmly, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs received the delegation after arriving in Cairo by an hour. Moreover, in the evening of the second day, they met President Nasser despite that day was a public holiday in Egypt."⁽⁴⁹⁾

In the second half of the fifties of the twentieth century and the beginning of the seventh decade, We can recognize that a strong nationalism boom is taking place in the Arab world, as well as the Algerian war which is part of this boom had ended (March 1962) before ending the time that the Hungarian issue takes up a great portion on the United Nations. It was in favor of the Kádár Government, who was seen - according to Abdul Hamid Zadeh secret report issued on 12/13/1956 - the Russia's military intervention in Hungary was a legitimate act, but rather, he boasted, in his speech, that his government ordered this intervention. His government's aim was to prevent the regime degradation and defeat the enemies of the communist revolution the fascists and capitalists, and to protect the revolution's positive results achieved so far, and to provide protection for the whole Hungarian people. The Minister Plenipotentiary supported the point of view through mentioning part of Kádár's speech in which he said: "We see that all painful events occurred in the beginning of the October 23rd revolution belonging to the Hungary internal affairs and no one has the right to interfere in it. The Soviet intervention in Hungary's affairs is legally justified without any doubt. According to the treaty signed among some countries, the presence of Soviet troops

http://www.tortnelmitar.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5521&catid=84:p&Itemid=67&lang=hu; János Péter; 2017. 01. 12.

(49) National Archives of Hungary – Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. MNL XIX-J-1 Egyiptom 1945–1964. 5. doboz, 004399/1. sz. irat (Magyar kormány küldöttség látogatása Egyiptomban. Kairó, 1957. szeptember 28.)



on the Hungarian territory was completely legal. Besides, these forces did not intervene in the issues of the country except only at the request of the official government. As for those who considered the Soviet intervention as illegal, then the members of the workers' movement and all progressive men in capitalist countries refuted their point of view, because they all agree that Soviet assistance not only protects the Hungarian people from the revolutionary enemies' terrorism, but it also prevents forming a new terrorist' hotbed."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Italy's attitude towards the Egyptian events in 1956:

Italy was one of the leading countries in supporting Egypt and standing against the Anglo-French interests on the issue of the Suez Crisis. Italy adopted the American point of view largely, as well as Canada, Norway and Denmark, on the other hand there were other countries belonging to NATO, which divided against itself on the nationalization issue and aggression against Egypt, supported Paris and London, such as West Germany, Netherlands and Belgium.⁽⁵¹⁾ Italy also played a prominent role in keeping on the international peacekeeping operations undertaken by the United Nations after the end of the Suez Crisis, as Egypt was trusting in Italy and its neutrality as not being one of the hostile countries towards them. Italy participated in the transfer of troops to Egypt.⁽⁵²⁾ The Italian support for Egypt was on both official and popular levels. As Talaat Mohamed Ragheb, Chargé d'Affaires of the Egyptian Embassy in Rome, stated in his report addressed to the Permanent undersecretary of the foreign affairs that the Italian press has been so advocating for the nationalization step. "L'Unità" as well as "Il Paese Sera" and "Il Popolo" famous Italian newspapers singled out articles with pictures on the nationalization issue, and also congratulating the great step taken by Egypt to maintain its peace. Moreover, Italian news agency "ANSA" persuaded and published several articles and interviews supporting the Egyptian step.⁽⁵³⁾

The good relations between Egypt and Italy was embodied in a great scene. When Mr. Majeed el-Jamal wrote in his article published in "Akher Saa" magazine on the sixtieth anniversary of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, that the Italian consul in Port Said on behalf of his country was looking for the Egyptian soldier's family, who was protecting the Italian Consulate in Port Said in order to reward him an Italian government present for his

(50) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Budapest; Portfolio: 114; File No: 220/7/1 (5th Part); Date: 1956. 12. 13; Subject: "The Revolution in Hungary and the Soviet Intervention".

(51) Christian Nuenlist and Anna Locher *Transatlantic Relations at Stake. Aspects of Nato, 1956–1972* (Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2006), 13.

(52) Manuel Fröhlich *Keeping Track of UN Peace-keeping: Suez, Srebrenica, Rwanda and the Brahimi Report – Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law (Report)*, (-, 2001, Volume 5), 207.

(53) Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Wathâiq al-Qawmiyya «Egyptian National Library and Archives», Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egyptian Embassy in Rome; Portfolio: 1501; File No: 30/45/15. (3rd part); Date: 1956. 07. 28; Subject: "Echo of Egypt's decision on the nationalization of the Suez Canal in various foreign and Italian media".



courage and sacrifice to protect the Italian consulate and its staff. This Egyptian soldier, Rifai Hamada, refused to obey the Italian consul's order to get inside the consulate building away from the battle flames, which were spreading everywhere. Entire neighborhoods have been removed from Port Said, hundreds of martyrs fell down near the consulate. This Egyptian soldier insisted on completing his duty to the end until he was killed by the occupier. There is an enlarged photograph on the national museum of Port Said immortalizing this Egyptian brave soldier standing by his weapon in front of the Italian flag, while the Italians pull him inside and he still resists strongly, They wrote under it, "an Egyptian soldier guards the Italian consulate during the aggression period." With warm welcoming, the Italian consul greeted the soldier's father telling him that the Italian government since five years ago, was looking for the martyr's family to reward them for their son's brave actions towards the Italian people in particular and for whole humanity in general, that the large monetary reward credited to him. Hamada's father replied: "We are so proud of my son. He just did what all Egyptians would have done he reacted with the principles we are raised on, values and work perfection, can do in such cases. He's just one, but a symbol of millions, who have the same characteristics. As for the reward, with our thanks and appreciation, we do our duty to serve God and our country as well as the humanity, and not waiting for a reward in return. The consul's eyes filled with tears and the whole hall heaped applauded warmly."⁽⁵⁴⁾

There is another great scene, but this time by an Italian citizen who had lived in Egypt called "Ettore Moscatelli". He became the most popular photographer in Port Said, since he managed to take photos from inside the English and French camps without any fear, he took photos relating to the suffering of the ordinary people in the tripartite aggression. He was the best one, who had documented the tripartite aggression moment by moment in Port Said. His daughter, Anna said: "My father left impressive and accurate documents which he documented them with high professionalism on the serious damage experienced by the city of Port Said as a result of the tripartite aggression in 1956. Due to his European features, he did not raise doubts among the occupation forces, as well as his courage and the spirit of adventure, he was able to get into those places where others could not to record everything through his camera. He is a unique and unrepeatable legend. Anna added; "The Egyptian military has presented a thank you letter for the photographer "Ettore Moscatelli", honoring him for documenting the tripartite aggression in 1956 in the city of Port Said. The Egyptian government has used these photos to make the whole world see tripartite aggression crimes against Egypt. "She proved her speech by a letter signed by Major General Mustafa Hassan Jamal; head of the Military Research Department of the Egyptian army."⁽⁵⁵⁾

(54) Akher Saa'. Anniversary of our Victory against the Tripartite Aggression: Tale of an Egyptian Soldier, wowed the World and was honored by Italy. 2016. 12. 20. P.-.

(55) Sout el-Omma. The Tripartite Aggression's Photographer opens its Coffers of Secrets (Photos). 2016. 12. 23. P.-.



(Ettore Moscatelli)



The official letter of the Egyptian Army to the Italian photographer

Outputs

- Middle East and Eastern Europe had become the center of global attention since the summer of 1956 in the Middle East, because of the Suez Canal nationalization, while Eastern Europe, because of the escalation of workers' demonstrations in Poland, which resulted in a revolution in Hungary.
- Abdel Nasser replied on the West declined to grant the loan because of nationalization of the Suez Canal, saying that nationalization is a sovereign decision it resulted in a free and independent foreign policy of the state.
- The real loss of England and France were the main shareholders in the canal company which was not a material loss, it was a political loss in the first place, representing in their loss of their influence and power in an unprecedented way. They seemed before the entire world as they no longer control the issues in the Middle East.
- Moscow and the socialist countries supported the nationalization of the canal and expressed their solidarity with Egypt, which can be seen clearly in the official statement issued by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.
- On the evening of 23 October 1956 student demonstrations in Budapest had begun, the Hungarian revolution against the communist rule of the country which was supported by "Imre Nagy" and his government which he had formed and lasted 13 days, followed



by another pro-Soviet government formed by “János Kádár”.

- The Suez and Hungary events were on the top news and analysis in all the newspapers around the world in 1956.
- Egyptian Arabic-language press was not concerned adequately by the Hungarian events to set them in its front-page.
- British-French military intervention in the Middle East upset the United States greatly in terms of principles, as its condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Hungary will look incredible in the case of supporting the British-French military intervention in Egypt.
- The tripartite attack against Egypt had made a fundamental change in Russia’s policy toward Hungary. After Moscow announced its approval to withdraw its troops from Hungarian regions, Russian armored vehicles launched towards the Hungarian territory, and put down the revolution.
- The Soviet military intervention’ aims in Hungary was aimed at preventing formation of another hostile front in Eastern Europe so that they could devote themselves to support Egypt in its confrontation with Great Britain, France and the Jewish state. The urgent need for the Hungarian uranium and railroad vehicles produced by its plants and a lot of other country’s goods and preserving the Warsaw Pact to be so coherent. Enhancing the safety of other socialist countries, preventing western countries from taking Hungary as a base to fight the Soviet Union which could lead to a new world war.
- Relation between the Suez Crisis and the events of Hungary in 1956 goes in parallel in the international arena, especially in the United Nations.
- The report published by the United Nations regarding the events of Hungary, had had a bad effect on the Soviet Union, where the report criticized the actions of Moscow and blamed its recent events. Furthermore, the US government was constantly seeking to exploit the report to defame Soviet Union and tarnish it’s image, which in turn, upset the Soviet Union greatly.
- The new Hungarian government on the ongoing debate over Hungary and the Soviet intervention in the United Nations, relied on the benign Conservatives or booster situation of the most Arab countries. It did its best to win their support and maintain it. The Soviet attitude regarding the Suez Crisis on the one hand, and the attitude of the West, especially the United States, incurious to the war in Algeria on the other hand, made the Arab politicians and public opinion stand in the end along with Moscow in the Hungarian crisis.
- A Hungarian government delegation, led by “Károly Szarka” Deputy Foreign Minister travelled before the start of the United Nations’ autumn session to Egypt in August 1957. They met President Nasser Foreign Minister Fawzi and his deputy, Chairman of



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the People's Assembly, as well as many of the important politicians asking for Egypt and the Arab states support to the Hungarian issue in the United Nations.

- The popularity of the Soviet Union in Egypt and the whole Arab world got its peak at this time.
- America which pushed inciting the revolution, did not pay for the Cold War in Hungary, while Russia, which suppressed the revolution, did not pay for it. Hungarian people alone paid for it. The Hungarian lands alone suffered so much that it suddenly turned into a conflict arena between these two great beasts.
- Italy was one of the leading countries supporting Egypt and standing against the Anglo-French interests in the issue of the Suez Crisis.
- The newspaper of “L'Unità”, “Il Paese Sera” and “Il Popolo” in addition to the Italian news agency “ANSA” as well as many other Italian newspapers have supported Egypt by articles, photos and press interviews.
- There is Egyptian and Italian human situations demonstrated the depth of bilateral relations between these two countries, we had listed only two of them in the body of the article.

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- <http://www.nlcafe.hu/forum/?fid=441&topicid=95827&step=3&bw=1>
- <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=l000394>

العلاقات السلمية المصرية المجرية خلال أحداث عام 1956م وموقف إيطاليا

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أكاديمية البحث العلمي والتكنولوجيا

مصر والمجر:

لم تكن متانة العلاقات بين مصر والمجر، وكذلك التنسيق بينهما وليدة تزامن الأحداث الجسام التي تخللت عام 1956 وأقصد بها تحديدا أزمة السويس، والثورة المجرية، بل كانت هناك علاقات ثنائية بينهما يمكن وصفها بالقوية وأيضاً السلمية في مراحلها الزمنية المختلفة. ويمكننا أن نقسم العلاقات بين البلدين إلى أربعة فترات هامة: الأولى كانت ما بين 1763-1871؛ والثانية: 1882-1914؛⁽¹⁾ والثالثة: 1919-1939؛⁽²⁾ والرابعة:

(1) بدأت العلاقات في عام 1763 عبر تعيين قنصل مجري-نمساوي في الإسكندرية هو "Francesco Agostini"، ثم تلاه في 1792 تعيين "Carlo di Rosetti" لكنه كان قنصلاً في القاهرة حتى 1805، الذي استقال ثم عاد مرة أخرى في 1811 وحتى 1819. في 1846 تم إعادة هيكلة الممثلات بصورة تامة: فقد ترأست القنصلية العامة بالإسكندرية كل من النيابة القنصلية بالقاهرة ودمياط، وكذا الوكالة القنصلية برشيد والسويس. وفي 17 أغسطس 1871 تم إرسال وتعيين القنصل سيلاش أوتو "Otto Szillas" بالسويس. في 1910 تمت إعادة هيكلة السلطات والتقسيم الجغرافي للمكاتب القنصلية الملكية والإمبراطورية. بعد اندلاع الحرب العالمية الأولى تسلم ممثل الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية سلطات ومهام القنصل النمساوي-المجري بالقاهرة، وقد ظل التواجد النمساوي-المجري بالقاهرة حتى سبتمبر 1914، وذلك عندما قام الجنرال ماكسويل "Maxwel" قائد الجيش البريطاني المحتل بطرد العاملين بالقنصليات الألمانية والنمساوية-المجرية بمصر، وظل بالقاهرة موظف قنصلي واحد إلي أن تم اعتقاله من قبل الإنجليز في ديسمبر 1915.

Komár Krisztián, *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia és Egyiptom kapcsolatai 1882-1914*. (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2012), 70-83.

(2) في عام 1924 تسلم الملك فؤاد الأول سنوات حكمه أوراق اعتماد القنصل المجري العام ألفريد مناشي "Menasce Alfréd"، مما يعني التدشين الفعلي للقنصلية العامة المجرية بالإسكندرية بعد الإستقلال استقلال من. قام السفير المجري بلندن في 1927 - مفوضاً من قبل حكومته - بالاتصال بالمفوضية المصرية بالعاصمة البريطانية للتباحث بشأن إقامة مفوضية دبلوماسية. في 1928 استقبل الملك فؤاد الوزير فيليكس بارتشر "Parcher Félix" المفوض المجري الأول، بالقصر الملكي، والذي قام بدوره بتسليم أوراق اعتماده إلي جلالته - وكان هو الوزير المفوض المجري الأول في القاهرة. وخلال فترة ما بين الحرب العالمية الأولى والثانية قام ميكلوش هورتي "Horthy Miklós" ابن حاكم المجر بزيارة مصر 5 مرات خلال فترة 9 سنوات. وفي عام 1932 زار صدقي باشا رئيس الوزراء المصري بودابست بدعوة من الحكومة المجرية بهدف بحث العلاقات الثنائية بين البلدين، وأعطى دفعة قوية لزيادة التعاون المشترك في شتي المجالات. في 1938 كانت زيارة نازلي هانم وبناتها الأربعة للعاصمة المجرية لمدة 3 أسابيع. وأخيراً في عام 1942 تم قطع العلاقات بين مصر والمجر أثناء الحرب العالمية الثانية.

Abdallah Abdel-Ati Abdel-Salam Mohamed, *Az egyiptomi-magyar kapcsolatok a két világháború közötti időszakban*. (Szeged: JatePress, 2015), 75-88



1970-1947⁽³⁾.

كان التشابك والترابط بين أزمة السويس والثورة المجرية قوى للغاية، حيث تسبب العدوان الثلاثي على مصر في تغييرات جوهرية في مجريات الأحداث في المجر في تلك الفترة، وقلب كل الموازين هناك لصالح السوفييت والحكومة المجرية الموالية لهم وقتها، و يمكن القول لو لم تندلع أزمة السويس في ذلك التوقيت، لكانت الثورة المجرية بالنجاح، بل وامتد تأثيرها إلى بقية الدول الخاضعة للاتحاد السوفيتي حينها، وخاصة في شرق أوروبا. ويظهر هذا جليا في مقولة أستاذي المؤرخ آدم موشات "Masát Ádám" لي، حين قال: «لو لم تنشب أزمة السويس 1956، لتغير حالنا وحال جيراننا منذ ذلك العام، ولم نكن في حاجة للانتظار التحول الذي حدث في أوروبا عام 1989-1990».

لقد أصبح الشرق الأوسط وشرق أوروبا مركزا للاهتمام العالمي منذ صيف عام 1956: وذلك نتيجة تأميم قناة السويس وتساعد مظاهرات العمال في بولندا وتمخض الثورة المجرية

السويس 1956

لم تكن أزمة السويس عام 1956م حدثاً محلياً، وإنما حدثاً عالمياً، امتد تأثيره على نطاق واسع في بلدان العالم بشهادة المؤرخين والكتاب من كافة أرجاء العالم، حيث ظلت حديث الصحف العالمية والاجتماعات على مائدة الزعماء، وكذا أروقة الأمم المتحدة لأكثر من عام كامل. ففي مكتب أندريه دويتش "Andre Deutsch"⁽⁴⁾ يقول المستر بيير بيرنيت "Pierre Pernet"، رئيس محرري النشر في مكتب دويتش، موجه حديثه للكاتب محمد حسنين هيكل: «يبدو أنك تظن أن السويس حدث تاريخي كبير جرى في مصر، والحقيقة أننا نعتبر السويس حدثاً تاريخياً كبيراً جرى في أوروبا، وفي بريطانيا بالذات». ⁽⁵⁾ ويقول الكاتب والمؤرخ المجري زولتان كالمار "Kalmár Zoltán" أن عام 1956 كان بمثابة الساعات الأخيرة للقوى الاستعمارية التقليدية في الشرق الأوسط، حيث خسرت فرنسا وبريطانيا العظمى مكانتهما في المنطقة ونفوذهما الذي امتد لقرون من الزمن. وفي نفس الوقت كان هذا العام هو فصل جديد في تاريخ الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، والذي بدأ من الجانب الإسرائيلي عبر ضربات عسكرية، وظهور فكرة الحروب الاستباقية وممارستها على أرض الواقع أيضاً. ⁽⁶⁾

(3) في عام 1947 تمت استعادة العلاقات القنصلية والدبلوماسية بين البلدين، ثم في 1955 كان للمجر دور محوري في إبرام صفقة السلاح العملاقة بين مصر وتشيكوسلوفاكيا. خلال النصف الثاني من العقد الخامس من القرن المنصرم كانت هناك زيارات متبادلة لكبار المسؤولين في البلدين، وعلى رأسهم زيارة الرئيس المصري/ جمال عبدالناصر للمجر، وزيارة الرئيس المجرى وكذا رئيس الوزراء المجرى لمصر. في 1965 أعدت وزارة الخارجية المجرية في نوفمبر من هذا العام تقريراً عن العلاقات القائمة مع الدول العربية، وأقرت فيه ما يلي: «قمنا بتوجيه الاهتمام الرئيسي خلال علاقاتنا المرتبطة بالدول العربية إلى الجمهورية العربية المتحدة. العلاقات السياسية بين الدولتين جيدة، وتتطور في أجواء ودية... توسعت العلاقات بقدر كبير للغاية بعد عام 1956 الصعب والحرج جداً بالنسبة لكلا الدولتين. تحصل كل الأشخاص العاديين أيضاً في المجر على معلومات ومعارف غزيرة عن مصر من الصحف والإذاعة والتلفاز والكتب. كان القائد السياسي الأشهر والأكثر شعبية في العالم العربي هو عبد الناصر. ظهر كتابه الذي يحمل عنوان: *فلسفة الثورة* عام 1957 باللغة المجرية أيضاً في بودابست. يرجع قدر كبير من الفضل في الصورة الإيجابية المشكّلة عن مصر إلى السياسة الخارجية والداخلية لعبد الناصر، والعلاقات الإنسانية والودية بين ساسة ومواطني الدولتين.

J. Nagy László, *Magyar-egyiptomi kapcsolatok a második világháború után (1947-1970)* (Szeged: Jatepress, 2015), 5-22. Hereafter: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*.

(4) ممثل مجموعة الناشرين الدوليين التي تملك حقوق نشر كتب الأستاذ هيكل في العالم.

(5) محمد حسنين هيكل *ملفات السويس... حرب الثلاثين سنة* (ط 3، القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للترجمة والنشر، 1996)، 8.

(6) Kalmár Zoltán "Titkos Szerződés Szuezről" In *Külügyi Szemle* (Budapest: Magyar KÜM, 2009), 130.



كان دور قناة السويس في التجارة الدولية وقتها معروفا للعالم بأسره، حيث كان يمر من خلالها 15 % من حجم التجارة العالمية، وفي العام السابق للتأميم مر عبرها ما يزيد على 14000 سفينة من حوالى خمسين دولة. ويمكننا أن نرى الأهمية الاقتصادية والاستراتيجية للقناة من خلال مؤشر نقل المواد البترولية: في عام 1955 تم نقل 12,5 مليون طن من البترول الخام، و67 مليون طن من المنتجات البترولية المصنعة من خلالها⁽⁷⁾. وكان يمر غالبية البترول الذي تحتاجه 13 دولة من أوروبا الغربية عبر القناة، وفي منتصف فترة الخمسينيات كان استهلاك أوروبا من البترول 133 مليون طن، أكثر من ثلثهم يأتي من العالم العربي. كان إجمالي دخل القناة في 1955 هو 35 مليون جنيه مصري يصبون في خزائن الدول الغربية المشغلة والمشرفة على القناة، أما ما تحصل عليه مصر من كل هذا المبلغ هو 1 مليون جنيه⁽⁸⁾ مصري فقط لا غير⁽⁹⁾.

في مساء يوم 26 يوليو 1956 أعلن عبدالناصر تأميم الشركة العالمية لقناة السويس شركة مساهمة مصرية للاستفادة من عائداتها في تمويل مشروع السد العالي، وأصدر قرارا جمهوريا بذلك، وتقرر أن تتولى إدارة مرفق المرور في القناة هيئة مستقلة يصدر بتشكيلها قرار من رئيس الجمهورية⁽¹⁰⁾. كما أضاف عبدالناصر قائلا أن التأميم هو قرار سيادي، نتج عن السياسة الخارجية الحرة والمستقلة للدولة، وهذه السياسة نابعة من مصر، وليس من لندن أو واشنطن أو موسكو أو أي دولة أخرى. وفي نفس خطاب التأميم بالإسكندرية أقر الرئيس بكل صراحة ووضوح بدعمه للحركات القومية العربية المواجهة للقوى الاستعمارية الإنجليزية والفرنسية. وأدان بشدة بالغة سياسة المساعدات الأمريكية غير العادلة: «لم أجد من قبل مساعدة أمريكية موجهة لدفع عجلة التصنيع على الإطلاق. من الواضح تماما أنها لو دعمت التصنيع فسوف يؤدي ذلك إلى منافسة معنا. إنما هدف المعونات الأمريكية دائما هو بقاء الاستغلال»⁽¹¹⁾ بعد قرار التأميم أضحت كل من فرنسا وإنجلترا على أهبة الاستعداد للتدخل في مصر، لكنهما كانتا تبحثن عن الآلية اللازمة لذلك. بدأت بريطانيا اجراءاتها الأولية عبر العديد من التصريحات المستفزة، ثم قامت بتجميد أرصدة مصر الإسترلينية، فقررت مصر مقاضاتها أمام محكمة العدل الدولية. وعبر قراءة جيدة للمشهد استبق الرئيس عبدالناصر الأحداث، وحمل إنجلترا وفرنسا كل المسؤولية عن تعطيل الملاحة في القناة، أو تحويل مسألة تأميم شركة القناة إلى مشكلة سياسية دولية، وشدد على ذلك بقوله: «مصر حافظت دائما وستظل تحافظ على حرية الملاحة في القناة، وأنها لن تسمح لأي دولة من الدول، أو لأي عصابة من العصابات، أن تنتقص من سيادتها واستقلالها، وستقابل الاساءة بالاساءة، والعدوان بالعدوان»⁽¹²⁾. كما أقر عبدالناصر في روايته لأسرار العدوان الثلاثي أن

(7) Nourredine Abdi "Az arab politikai nacionalizmustól az olajipari nacionalizmusig, avagy a dirigista orientáció". *Mediterrán Világ* 4 (2009): 55.

(8) المبلغ الذي كانت تحصل عليه مصر كان قليلا جدا، ولا يتسق ما تم الاتفاق عليه عند تأسيس القناة، فعندما حصل فرديناند ديلبس على موافقة بتأسيس الشركة العالمية لقناة السويس للملاحة البحرية في 30 نوفمبر 1854 لتتولى على نفقتها توصيل البحر الأحمر بالبحر المتوسط، وإدارة القناة لمدة 99 عاما تبدأ من تاريخ افتتاح القناة، على أن تحصل الحكومة المصرية على حصة قدرها 15% من صافي إيرادات القناة، ويتم توزيع الباقي على حملة الأسهم، وخصص التأسيس. وكان الشرط الثاني للامتياز هو أن تقوم مصر بحشد 20 ألف مصري بنظام التجنيد الإجباري للعمل بالشركة. إيمان عامر حكاية قناة السويس (قناة السويس ملحة مصرية) (القاهرة: الهيئة العامة لقصور الثقافة، 2009) 15-16.

(9) Kalmár Zoltán «Nasser Alexandriai beszéde» In *Mediterrán és Balkáni Fórum* (Pécs: A PTE Kelet-Mediterrán és Balkan Tanulmányok Központja (KMBTK), 2009), 2.

(10) موقع جريدة اليوم السابع: ننشر الوثائق البريطانية الخاصة بقناة السويس بمكتبة الإسكندرية. 3 أغسطس 2015 (<http://www.youm7.com/story/2015/8/3/-----/2290007#.VxUEINQrK1s>)

(11) Lugosi Győző (szerk.) *Dokumentumok a Közel-Kelet XX. századi történetéhez* (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2006), 339.

(12) جريدة الأهرام: الرئيس يحذر بريطانيا وفرنسا. 29 يوليو 1956/ص1.



إنجلترا لم تكن وحدها التي جمدت أموال مصر، بل قام بنفس الاجراء كل من فرنسا وأمريكا أيضا، وتوقفت معونة القمح الأمريكي آنذاك، واستمرت معارك التجويع والضغط الاقتصادي والحصار والدعاية المضادة.⁽¹³⁾

أثار الخطاب زوبعة من الاستياء والسخط في العالم الغربي، وخصوصا في إنجلترا وفرنسا. كانت هاتان الدولتان هما المساهمتان الرئيسيتان في شركة القناة. لم تكن خسارتهما الحقيقية خسارة مادية، بل كانت خسارة سياسية في المقام الأول، تتمثل في فقدانها لهيبتها بشكل غير مسبوق. حيث ثبت أمام أعين العالم بأسره أنهما لم تعدا تمسكان بزمام الأمور وخطام الأحداث في الشرق الأوسط. بدأت في هاتين الدولتين حملة مريضة ضد مصر، وبالأحرى ضد شخص عبد الناصر نفسه، الذي شبهوه بالنازي؛ لأنه حسب مبرراتهم انتهك القانون الدولي، وحرية الملاحة، ومصالح الدول الكبرى... إلخ. ما أثار سخط أوساط القيادة الفرنسية بشكل خاص هو إقرار الرئيس المصري بشكل صريح وللمرة الأولى بدعمه للثوار الجزائريين المناضلين ضد المستعمرين الفرنسيين منذ 1 نوفمبر 1954. اتخذت باريس قرار الحرب والهجوم على مصر؛ لأنها رأت أنها ستحصل فوزا عسكريا سريعا على الثوار الجزائريين بإسقاط عبدالناصر من ناحية، واسترداد القناة من ناحية أخرى. هذا بينما أيدت موسكو والدول الاشتراكية تأميم القناة وأعربت عن تضامنها مع مصر، وهو ما صيغ في البيان الرسمي لوزارة الخارجية المجرية على الوجه التالي: «تم التصرف في هذا الشأن الهام بما يتناسب مع مصالحنا وسياساتنا الخارجية ووفقا للمبادئ العامة للقانون الدولي».⁽¹⁴⁾

الثورة المجرية 1956:

في مساء يوم 23 أكتوبر 1956 انطلقت مظاهرات الطلاب في بودابست إيدانا ببدء الثورة المجرية ضد الحكم الشيوعي للبلاد، والتي كان يدعمها إمراناج "Nagy Imre"⁽¹⁵⁾ وحكومته التي قام بتشكيلها واستمرت 13 يوما فقط، تلاها حكومة أخرى موالية للسوفييت شكلها يانوش كادار⁽¹⁶⁾ "Kádár János".⁽¹⁷⁾ كانت الأحداث في المجر متعاقبة بشكل سريع للغاية، وكانت قد بدأت منذ فترة عبر الممارسات اللاأخلاقية والعنفية من الشرطة المجرية، التابعة للنظام الشيوعي، ضد المواطنين، مما شكل كرها دفيناً في قلوب المجرين حيالها، ثم بدأت الثورة البولندية التي قمعت وتم التعامل معها بقسوة شديدة، فتظاهر المجرئون تضامنا ودعماً لهم. «في عام 1956 انتفض العمال في المجر ضد النظام الستاليني. حيث لم يمتلك العمال في هذا النظام أية سلطة، وكان يحكم ويحكم المجتمع قلة فوق المسائلة من رجال الدولة الذين يستغلون العمال بغرض اكتناز الأموال. لقد فرض الإتحاد السوفيتي على دول أوروبا الشرقية، التي كانت تقع في حيز نفوذه السياسي والاقتصادي، برنامج إنتاجي موجه نحو بناء القدرة التصنيعية، وكان الهدف هو تنشيط الإنتاج الحربي مما يتيح لروسيا إمكانية منافسة التسليح الغربي. وكان لتركيز الجهود على الإنتاج الصناعي تأثيراً سلباً جداً على مجال الإنتاج

(13) جريدة الجمهورية: عبدالناصر يتكلم للتاريخ ويروي أسرار العدوان الثلاثي. 24 ديسمبر 1966/ص1.

(14) Szabad Nép, 12 augusztus 1956. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 48-49.

(15) سياسي مجري ولد في 7 يونيو 1896. شغل منصب رئيس وزراء المجر لفترتين وانتهت فترته الثانية بسقوط حكومته على يد القوات السوفيتية أثناء الثورة المجرية 1956. لعب دوراً هاماً وفعالاً في مجريات الثورة المجرية 1956، وكان من أكثر الشخصيات شعبية في المجر في تلك الفترة. تم اعدامه في 16 يونيو 1958 بتهمة الخيانة العظمى. الموقع الرسمي لمكتبة سينتشيبي الوطنية بالمجر: <http://mek.oszk.hu/01900/01937/html/szerviz/kislex/biograf/nagyimre.htm>

(16) سياسي ورجل دولة ورئيس وزراء مجري عاش في الفترة من 26 مايو 1912 وحتى 6 يوليو 1989. انضم إلى الحزب الشيوعي المجرى سنة 1932م، وأسهم مع بعض رفاقه في استرداد بعض المناطق التي كانت قد اقتطعت من المجر جراء الهزيمة في الحرب العالمية الأولى، وحينما قام الألمان بغزوها ثانية في الحرب العالمية الثانية انضم كادار إلى صفوف المقاومة التي تمكنت بمساعدة القوات السوفيتية من طرد الألمان خارج المجر سنة 1945. الموقع الرسمي لمكتبة سينتشيبي الوطنية بالمجر: <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC07165/07202.htm>

(17) مجلة بانجور ديلي نيوز "Bangor Daily News": المجر الشيوعية تصف أحداث أكتوبر 1956 بالثورة. 20 أكتوبر 1986/ص59.



الزراعي حيث شهد الأخير انخفاضاً هائلاً مما أدى إلى نقص حاد في المواد الغذائية. والحقيقة أن الأزمة الاقتصادية لم تكن هي السبب الوحيد للثورة، فقد كان هناك توقفاً شديداً للحرية من جانب الشعب المجري. لقد اندلعت الثورة المجرية ضد نظام ديكتاتوري مفرع...»⁽¹⁸⁾

أزمة السويس والثورة المجرية في الصحافة:

كانت الأحداث في السويس والمجر تحتل صدارة الأخبار والتحليلات في كافة الصحف الصادرة حول العالم عام 1956 وكذلك العام التالي. فمجريدة كرونيكال تليجراف أوجزت هذه الحالة عبر نقلها لنتيجة استفتاء تم إجرائه على الأراضي الكندية عن أكثر الأخبار تداولاً في الجرائد الكندية خلال عام 1956، واحتلت الأخبار المتعلقة بالأحداث في مصر والمجر مجتمعة المرتبة الأولى من بين العديد والعديد من الأخبار الدولية والعالمية في تلك الفترة.⁽¹⁹⁾

تشير السفارة المجرية بالقاهرة في برقيتها الصادرة بتاريخ 25 أكتوبر 1956 إلى أن الصحافة المصرية الناطقة باللغة العربية لا تكثر بالشكل الكافي بالأحداث المجرية، حيث تغطي عليها أحداث شمال أفريقيا، والأخبار المتعلقة باتفاقية التعاون العسكري المشترك المصرية السورية الأردنية. أما الصحف الناطقة باللغتين الإنجليزية والفرنسية فتهتم في المقابل بالأمر بشكل رئيسي. تستقي هذه الصحف المعلومات من السفارة، وتستخدم مواد وكالات الأنباء الغربية لتعيد نشرها على صفحاتها. وصفت الصحف المصرية - نتيجة لعدم وضوح الرؤية وأيضاً نتيجة لاعتبارات سياسية وقومية أخرى - أحداثاً بودابست بعدة أوصاف متغايرة منها على سبيل المثال بـ«تمرد» أحياناً، وبـ«الاضطرابات» أحياناً أخرى، وفي حالات بعينها يطلقون عليها «ثورة» أما لفظة «ثورة مضادة» فقد وردت مرة واحدة. كتبت الجريدة الناطقة باسم الحكومة في 31 أكتوبر أن الثورة قد انتصرت في المجر (استخدموا لفظة «ثورة» بالفعل في ذلك التوقيت)، وأن الفرق السوفيتية قد غادرت بودابست. بيد أن اهتمام الدول العربية وأوروبا، بل والعالم كله تحول في هذا الوقت إلى الحرب الناشبة في الشرق الأوسط. تراجعت الأخبار المتعلقة بالمجر في صحف الدول العربية أثناء حرب السويس، لكن ظلت تنشر معلومات عنها بشكل دوري. أشارت الصحف العربية عن التدخل السوفيتي الجديد في المجر والمواجهات القتالية المشتعلة ونداء ناج إمرا "Nagy Imre" إلى شعوب العالم والخروج من حلف وارسو، وكذلك عن «تشكيل كادار يانوش "Kádár János" حكومة خلفاً لحكومة ناج إمرا».⁽²⁰⁾

أما المستشار الألماني د. أديناور⁽²¹⁾ إنه لا يمكن المقارنة بين العمل العسكري الإنجليزي الفرنسي في السويس، والأفعال السوفيتية في المجر. ففيما يتعلق بالشرق الأوسط تمنى أديناور أن تنتهي الأحداث هناك سريعاً ويتم

(18) سلسلة-تاريخ-الثورات-دروس-من-الثورة-الم- /https://ayman1970.wordpress.com/2011/12/24

(19) جريدة كوبيك كرونيكال تليجراف "Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph": المجر والسويس يحتلون أكثر القصص الاخبارية تداولاً في العام الماضي. 27 ديسمبر 1956 ص 2.

(20) الأرشيف القومي المجري ج-1-1-XIX، مصر 1945-1964. صندوق رقم 1، وثيقة رقم 1050. (j-1-1-j) MNL XIX-1964. 1. doboz، 1050. sz. irat. (Egyiptom)

(21) كونراد أديناور "Konrad Adenauer" (1876-1967) ولد ونشأ في مدينة كولونيا. تربي في ظروف اقتصادية متواضعة. وفي عام 1917 شغل منصب عمدة المدينة بتعيين فالراف وكيلا لوزارة الداخلية وانتقاله إلى برلين، وانتخب مجلس المدينة أديناور بالإجماع كخليفة له ليصبح أصغر العمدة سناً في ولاية بروسيا. تم انتخابه رئيساً للمجلس البرلماني الذي تم تأسيسه بتوجيهات من الحلفاء الغربيين ليتولى صياغة القانون الأساسي لجمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية وانتخب لهذا المنصب من قبل رؤساء حكومات الولايات الألمانية وأيضاً من الحكام العسكريين ليصبح المتحدث باسم جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية الناشئة مما أكسبه احترام الرأي العام. ثم انتخابه من قبل الائتلاف المسيحي الديمقراطي الاجتماعي باليونديستاج ليصبح بذلك أول مستشار لألمانيا الاتحادية 1949 وقد ظل في هذا المنصب لمدة 14 عاماً. الموقع الرسمي لمؤسسة بارانكوفيتش: <http://barankovics.hu/> keresztenydemokracia-adatbazis/ki-kicsoda/adenauer-konrad



توسيع سقف المساعدات الاقتصادية الغربية الموجهة إلى مصر، واعترف المسئول الألماني الأرفع بأنه كان خطأ فادحا عدم المساعدة في تمويل السد العالي. أما عن مسألة الشيوعية والخوف من انتشارها في مصر والعالم العربي فقد صرح بأن المعتقد الديني في العالم العربي سيقف حائلا دون تمدد الشيوعية في هذه البلدان. وعلى صعيد الأحداث المجرية فقد طالب بضرورة سرعة توجه لجنة تقصي الأمم المتحدة إلى المجر على الفور وتقديم المساعدات الاقتصادية الفورية للمجريين والمساهمة في إعادة بناء الحرية في المجر.⁽²²⁾

وفي مقالة بعنوان «هل يمكن أن تحدث أزمة السويس مرة أخرى»، نشرت بعد مرور 25 عاما على أحداث السويس والمجر، يربط الكاتب الألماني نيكترلاين "Don Nuechterlein" بين الأحداث في السويس والمجر عام 1956، ويتساءل هل يمكن أن تتكرر نفس الأحداث مرة أخرى، لكن هذه المرة في بولندا وليبيا بدلا من المجر ومصر؟ يقول الكاتب أنه في أكتوبر 1956 كانت الحكومتان الشيوعيتان في المجر وبولندا تحت ضغط كبير من قبل العمال والطلاب كي تصلح كل واحدة منهما دورها وترسم لنفسها طرقا جديدة بعيدا عن القبضة الحديدية لموسكو، وبالفعل اجتاحت المظاهرات كل من بولندا والمجر، وكادت الأمور تهدأ في المجر، ويرضخ السوفييت لمطالب المتظاهرين المجريين، لكن فجأة حدث تدخل عسكري إسرائيلي في 29 أكتوبر ضد مصر، تبعه عدوانا آخرامكتملا من قبل إنجلترا وفرنسا سبقاه بتوجيه إنذار أخير للقوات المصرية بإخلاء قناة السويس والسماح لقواتهما بالاحتلال المؤقت للقناة. الهجوم على مصر تم بموجب خطة سرية⁽²³⁾ لم يطلع بها أيزنهاور فغضب بشدة. أما بالنسبة للروس فقد مثلت أزمة السويس تحولا بالنسبة له على الأراضي المجرية، حيث تدخلت هناك بقوة مفرطة في ظل انشغال العالم كله بالأحداث في الشرق الأوسط، ووأدت الثورة هناك⁽²⁴⁾ وشرعت الأحداث في المجر أن تهدأ، وتستقر بعد تدخل القوات السوفيتية، في حين أن القوات الأنجلو فرنسية تواجه القناصة المصريين في منطقة القناة، وخاصة في مدينة بورسعيد، هذا في الوقت الذي طالبت فيه مصر بجلاء القوات المعتدية من أراضيها، وبالفعل تمت المصادقة على قرار بهذا الخصوص من قبل الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة الليلة الماضية.⁽²⁵⁾

يمكن توضيح العلاقة الوطيدة بين أزمة السويس والأحداث المجرية من خلال عرض الأسباب الحقيقية للعدوان، والأخطاء التي وقع فيها: «لقد أخطأ إيدن بتنسيقه لحملة عسكرية مع الفرنسيين، الذين (استفهم عبد الناصر بدعمه للمتمردين في الجزائر، والذين كانوا قد نسقوا مسبقا مع إسرائيل لشن هجوم في سيناء، حتي يكون هناك مبررا لارسال قوات أنجلو - فرنسية للفصل بين الطرفين وحماية الممر الدولي. وكان العقلاء نصحوا إيدن بتجنب اشراك إسرائيل، وأولهم رئيس وزراء العراق الراحل السياسي المحنك نوري باشا السعيد، الذي تصادف استضافته والملك الشاب فيصل الثاني في حفل عشاء أقامه إيدن في داوونج ستريت مساء 26 يوليو 1956. حاول إيدن، كوزير للخارجية عام 1954، اقناع رئيس الوزراء السير ونستون تشرشل، بتوقيع معاهدة صداقة مع الكولونيل ناصر. ولكن عارض تشرشل التعاهد مع ضابط نكث بقسمه لحماية الدستور والملك، وأطاح بحكومة شرعية كانت بريطانيا قد وقعت معاهدة صداقة معها قبل 18 عاما (معاهدة 1936 مع مصطفى النحاس باشا لجلاء القوات البريطانية عن قناة السويس في 20 عاما أي يونيو

(22) جريدة جلاسجو هيرالد "Glasgow Herald": السويس والمجر. 19 نوفمبر 1956/ص7.

(23) السائد عند جمهور المؤرخين أن الهجوم على مصر تم عبر خطة سرية لم تطلع عليها الولايات المتحدة، إلا أن الوضع في رأي مغاير لذلك، حيث كتبت جريدة الشعب في صدر صفحاتها الأولى في 30 أكتوبر 1956 أنه تم اجلاء رعايا الولايات المتحدة من الدول العربية وإسرائيل قبل ساعات من الهجوم على مصر من قبل اليهود، وتم تقدير عدد هؤلاء الرعايا بـ8000، فإذا افترضنا جدلا أن أمريكا لم تعلم بالهجوم، فلماذا أجلت رعاياها تحديدا في هذا التوقيت، وليس قبل ذلك، مع الأخذ في الاعتبار أن قرار التأميم تم في 26 يوليو، والهجوم على مصر تم في 29 أكتوبر 1956. جريدة الشعب: إسرائيل تتحرك. 30 أكتوبر 1956/ص1

(24) جريدة زا فري لانس ستار "The Free Lance-Star": أزمة السويس يمكن أن تحدث ثانية. 10 نوفمبر 1981/ص3.

(25) جريدة ساراسوتا جورنال "Sarasota Journal": صمت أجهزة الراديو الخاصة بالتمرد في المجر. 8 نوفمبر 1956/ص1. العدد: 148.



عام 1956). شعر إيدن بالخيانة وأحس بيد عبد الناصر تخنق رقبة بريطانيا بالتحكم في قناة السويس. وتدخل أيزنهاور ضد بريطانيا لا علاقة له بنصر حركات التحرر؛ فقد تغاضى عن اراقة الدبابات السوفيتية لدماء أهل المجر عندما طالبوا بحريتهم وقت أزمة السويس.⁽²⁶⁾

موقف الولايات المتحدة والناو من أزمة السويس وأحداث المجر:

أزعج التدخل العسكري البريطاني الفرنسي في الشرق الأوسط الولايات المتحدة للغاية من منظور المبادئ، حيث أن إدانتها للتدخل السوفيتي في المجر ستبدو عديمة المصداقية في حالة تدعيمها للتدخل العسكري البريطاني الفرنسي في مصر. عندما سلم السفير الفرنسي رسالة رئيس وزرائه في 30 أكتوبر إلى وزير الخارجية الأمريكي وقتها دالاس "Dulles" بشأن الهجوم، ما كان من الوزير الأمريكي إلا أن ثار وهاج، وشبه التدخل ل البريطاني الفرنسي المخطط بالشمولية السوفيتية المطبقة في المجر، إلا أنه في نهاية المقابلة هدأ وسحبه تشبيهه السالف.⁽²⁷⁾ أبرزت الصحف المصرية بيان أيزنهاور "Eisenhower" الذي شجب فيه التدخل البريطاني الفرنسي، ووصفه بالخطأ. أضاف المحللون أن «مصر تعلم أن وراءها الاتحاد السوفيتي والديموقراطيات الشعبية والدول المشاركة في مؤتمر الباندونج⁽²⁸⁾». استشاط النانو أيضا غضبا على باريس ولندن؛ حيث أنهما لم يتشاورا مع الدول الأعضاء عن شن الحرب بشكل مسبق. وقد وصف الجنرال هاستنجز لينونيل إسماي "Hastings Lionel Ismay"⁽²⁹⁾، الأمين العام للناو التدخل العسكري البريطاني الفرنسي في الجلسة الغير عادية للمجلس الاستشاري الأطلنطي بأنه «يمثل أكبر خطر على التضامن الأطلنطي منذ نشأة الحلف».⁽³⁰⁾

الاتحاد السوفيتي وأزمة السويس وأحداث المجر:

كان لخطاب الرئيس السوفيتي بلجانين "Bulganyin" إلى رئيس وزراء الدولة اليهودية ونظيره الإنجليزي والفرنسي في 5 نوفمبر أثر عظيم على الرأي العام العربي. حيث ذكر في الخطاب إمكانية توجيه ضربة عسكرية، وكانت اشارته إلى تهديد وجود الدولة الإسرائيلية - حتى وإن كان كل ذلك خداعا بالتأكيد - قد مثل ضغطا نفسيا كبيرا على من أرسل إليهم الخطاب، والذين لم يستهينوا به على الإطلاق. أثبت الخطاب للرأي العام الإنجليزي بكل وضوح أن الاتحاد السوفيتي يدعم مصر والحركة القومية العربية بشكل حازم. كتبت صحيفة البروجريه المصرية "Le Progrès Égyptien" في عددها الصادر بتاريخ 10 نوفمبر: «لعب التهديد السوفيتي دورا حاسما في وقف إطلاق النار». بلغت شعبية الاتحاد السوفيتي في مصر والعالم العربي

(26) جريدة الشرق الأوسط: دروس أزمة السويس بعد نصف قرن . 29 يوليو 2006 العدد 10105/ص3.

(27) M. Alphand, Ambassadeur de France à Washington à M. Pineau, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, le 30 octobre 1956. DDF, 1956. 3. k. Paris, 1990. 93. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 51.

(28) عقد «مؤتمر باندونج» في مدينة باندونج بإندونيسيا عام 1955، والذي حضرته وفود 29 دولة أفريقية وآسيوية، واستمر لمدة ستة أيام، وكان النواة الأولى لنشأة حركة عدم الانحياز. شارك فيه الرئيس عبد الناصر بالإضافة إلى رئيس وزراء الهند جواهر لال نهرو، وجوزيف تيتو رئيس يوغسلافيا والرئيس السوداني إسماعيل الأزهرى. تبنى المؤتمر مجموعة من القرارات لصالح القضايا العربية وضد الاستعمار. برنامج تلفزيوني للكاتب محمد حسنين هيكل منشور نصه على شبكة الإنترنت على موقع: <http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/with-haykal/2007/2/25/%d9%87%d9%8a%d9%83%d9%84-%d9%85%d8%a4%d8%aa%d9%85%d8%b1-%d8%a8%d8%a7%d9%86%d8%af%d9%88%d9%86%d8%ba>

(29) ولد في 21 يونيو 1887 وتوفي في 17 ديسمبر 1965. ضابط في الجيش البريطاني بالهند، ثم عمل بالحقل الدبلوماسي. شغل منصب أمين عام حلف شمال الأطلسي من 1952 إلى 1957.

(30) M. Parodi, Représentant permanent de la France au Conseil de l'OTAN à M. Pineau, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, le 31 octobre 1956. DDF, 1956. 3. k. Paris 1990. 125. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 52.



بوجه عام ذروتها في هذه الآونة، في حين كانت هيبته في البلاد الغربية في الحضيض. كانت تدور أروع الأخبار عن كم آلاف الجنود المتطوعين الذين سيرسلهم الإتحاد السوفيتي وجمهورية الصين الشعبية والدول الاشتراكية الأخرى لتقديم يد العون لمصر. كانوا يشبهون حماية بورسعيد بمعركتي ستالينجراد ولينينجراد أثناء الحرب العالمية الثانية⁽³¹⁾ لم يكن الناس يصدقون سوى الأخبار الصادرة من الكتلة الشرقية وكانت الميادين تعج بالناس في أوقات البرامج الإخبارية، كانوا يحتشدون حول الراديو ليستمعوا إلى بث إذاعة موسكو وبكين باللغة العربية. كانوا يعتبرون هذه الإذاعات فقط هي ذات مصداقية. وقد أكد ذلك أيضا تقرير السفير المجري «ليست هناك مصداقية لوكالات الأنباء الغربية في مصر، الرأي العام العريض غير قابل في غمار حبه للمعسكر الإشتراكي والاتحاد السوفيتي والصين أن يأخذ في الحسبان بقدر ما الأخطاء المرتكبة في الواقع على الأقل. يمكننا أن نقر أن العلاقات المصرية لم تؤثر عليها أحداثنا. لن نجد رفضا من جانب مصر خلال تطوير نشاطنا على صعيد السياسة الخارجية دوليا». نقلت الصحف نفي ناج إمرا "Nagy Imre" إلى رومانيا من سفارة بلجرادية ببودابست، مما خلق توترا بين كل من يوغوسلافيا والمجر. كانوا يعتبرون غضب الحكومة الفرنسية بسبب نفي ناج إمرا ورفاقه أمرا عديم المصداقية، وكانوا يعدونه دليلا جديدا على نفاقها.⁽³²⁾

أما عن علاقة الإتحاد السوفيتي بأحداث المجر، فقد استغل الحرب الناشبة في الشرق الأوسط تحديدا في السويس، وقام سريعا بالقضاء على الثورة المجرية مستخدما في ذلك القوة العسكرية المفرطة، وقام بوضع حد لكل أعمال الشغب وعدم الاستقرار المنتشرة حينذاك هناك، وهذا ما تم تناوله بالتفصيل فيما سلف، وأيضا في الأسطر التالية لهذا المقال.

الرؤية المصرية من ترابط الأحداث في مصر والمجر

ذكر عبد الحميد نافع زادة⁽³³⁾، الوزير المفوض بالسفارة المصرية ببودابست في تقريره السري الصادر في 13 ديسمبر 1956 أن هجوم بريطانيا وفرنسا والدولة اليهودية على مصر أحدث تغيرا جوهريا في سياسة روسيا تجاه المجر. فبعدما أعلنت موسكو عدم معارضتها سحب قواتها من الأراضي المجرية، انطلقت المدرعات الروسية نحو الأراضي المجرية، عازمة على إخماد الثورة المجرية والقضاء عليها في أسرع وقت؛ لكي تعيق بذلك تشكل جبهة أخرى معادية لها، فلإتحاد السوفيتي حدود مباشرة مع الشمال الشرقي للمجر، وبذلك يستطيع التفرغ لدعم مصر في مواجهتها مع بريطانيا العظمى وفرنسا والدولة اليهودية. علاوة على ذلك، يرى زادة أنه من الصعب أن تقوت دولة عظمى في حجم الإتحاد السوفيتي – الذي كان له نفوذ على دول الديمقراطيات الشعبية، واستغل خيراتها وإنتاجها في مصالحه الخاصة – الفرصة الكامنة في الهجوم البريطاني الفرنسي على مصر، والتي يمكنها من خلالها أن تثبت أقدامها من جديد في المجر، خاصة أنها في حاجة ماسة إلى يورانيوم المجر وعربات السكك الحديدية التي تنتجها مصانعها والكثير من خيرات البلاد الأخرى. لهذا السبب

(31) La Bourse Égyptienne, 7, 8, 15 Nov., 1956; Journal d'Alger, 5, 7 Nov., 1956. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 51.

(32) الأرشيف الوطني المجري XIX-J-1-J مصر 1945-1964، صندوق 5، وثيقة رقم 00930. علاقة مصر بالمعسكر الاشتراكي على أثر الأحداث المجرية. القاهرة، 6 فبراير 1957. (MNL XIX-J-1-j Egyiptom 1945-1964. 5.) doboz, 00930. sz. irat (Egyiptom viszonyulása a szocialista országokhoz a magyar események nyomán. Kairó، 1957. február 6.).

(33) عمل وزيرا مفوضا بسفارة جمهورية مصر العربية ببودابست، وقفصلا لمصر في اسطنبول، وبموجب قرار الرئيس الراحل جمال عبدالناصر رقم 311 لسنة 1961 الصادر في 18 إبريل 1961 تمت الموافقة على إيفاده ممثلا لمصر في المؤتمر الدولي للمفوضين الخاص بالعلاقات والحصانات الدبلوماسية الذي عقد في فيينا ابتداء من 2 مارس سنة 1961، وكان حينها يشغل مدير إدارة المراسم بوزارة الخارجية. موقع شبكة قوانين الشرق:

<http://site.eastlaws.com/GeneralSearch/Home/articlesT/14063>



كان التدخل السوفيتي في المجر تدخلا شديداً القسوة، واسع التخريب.⁽³⁴⁾

أما عبد الحميد قدرى، السكرتير الأول بسفارة جمهورية مصر العربية بموسكو فيرى في تقريره السري أن الثورة المجرية قد اندلعت نتيجة لخطوات الغرب الهدامة، وأن الإتحاد السوفيتي لم يتدخل لإنقاذ الشعب المجري من المخاطر، وإنما تدخل فقط بناء على طلب الحكومة المجرية، وسواء أكان تصرف الإتحاد السوفيتي ضد الشعب المجري جيداً أو أكان سيئاً، فإنه ليس هناك شك أن هذا التصرف كان لابد منه لمنع تفكك الكتلة الإشتراكية الأوروبية الذي كان سيحدث إذا انتشرت الثورة المجرية وتمددت.⁽³⁵⁾

أخبرت السفارة المجرية بالقاهرة أن الأوساط القيادية المصرية أيضاً يرون ارتباطاً بين الأحداث المجرية ونظيراتها في الشرق الأوسط: «إنهم يعتقدون أن انجلترا وفرنسا أرادتا تكبير الإتحاد السوفيتي بالقضية المجرية في وسط أوروبا حتى يتسنى لهما التصرف بكل حرية في مصر». ⁽³⁶⁾ وذكر سفير مصر بموسكو في تقريره الصادر في 17 ديسمبر 1956 أن التدخل السوفيتي في المجر بالرغم من أنه ليس أمراً مفضلاً من حيث المبدأ، فهو تدخل في شؤون دولة مستقلة ذات سيادة، إلا أن الحكومة المجرية والإتحاد السوفيتي أكدا أنه لا يمكن الاعتراض على هذا التدخل لا دولياً ولا قانونياً؛ حيث أنه تم بناء على طلب من الحكومة المجرية الشرعية للبلاد التي طلبت العون من القوات المسلحة السوفيتية المتواجدة بالمجر بموجب معاهدة وارسو. صرحت الحكومة السوفيتية أن الهدف من التدخل هو حماية سلامة الدول الإشتراكية الأخرى، ومنع الدول الغربية من أن تتخذ من المجر قاعدة هجومية تهاجم منها الإتحاد السوفيتي مما قد يؤدي إلى نشوب حرب عالمية جديدة. (معلقاً بعد هذه النقطة بأن ربما هذا هو السبب الرئيسي). واسترسل قائلاً: «ربما تضاربت الآراء حول التدخل السوفيتي، إلا أن جميعها اتفق على عدم وجود مطامع مادية أو إقليمية للإتحاد السوفيتي في المجر، ولا يستطيع أحد أن يتهم السوفيتين باستعمار البلد أو استغلاله». ⁽³⁷⁾

كانت القيادة المصرية مهتمة بالأحداث المجرية، وأقلقهم تصرف وتدخل السوفييت هناك. أوقعهم ذلك في موقف صعب، وهم الذين كانوا يحمون الاستقلال الوطني بالضبط مثل الثوار المجرين، الذين رأى عبد الحميد نافع زادة في تقريره أنهم يريدون استقلال بلادهم، ويتوقون إلى نظام حكم يحترمهم ويلتزم بحقوقهم، وأن الحرية هي هدفهم الرئيسي. ⁽³⁸⁾ أخبر خالد محي الدين، رئيس تحرير صحيفة المساء المسائية والمقرب إلى الحكومة في ذلك الوقت، السفير المجري أن الأحداث المجرية جعلت الحكومة أكثر تحفظاً مع الإتحاد السوفيتي، لكنهم أسفوا إلى حد ما لوقوع الأحداث المجرية؛ لأن الاتهامات الغربية الموجهة ضد الإتحاد السوفيتي صعبت علينا التعاون معه». ⁽³⁹⁾

(34) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة بودابست؛ محفظة رقم 114، ملف: 220/7/1، ج 5؛ تاريخ 1956/12/13؛ «بشأن الثورة في المجر والتدخل السوفيتي».

(35) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة موسكو؛ محفظة رقم: 675، ملف: 724؛ التاريخ: 1957/05/29؛ «بشأن اتفاق إقامة الجيوش السوفيتية على الأراضي المجرية».

(36) الأرشيف القومي المجري J-1-J-XIX مصر 1945-1964، صندوق 5، وثيقة رقم 00930 (علاقة مصر بالدول الإشتراكية على أثر الأحداث المجرية. القاهرة، 7 ديسمبر 1956). الأرشيف الوطني المجري J-1-J-XIX مصر 1945-1964، صندوق 5، وثيقة رقم 00930. علاقة مصر بالمعسكر الإشتراكي على أثر الأحداث المجرية. القاهرة، 6 فبراير 1957. (MNL XIX-J-1-j Egyiptom 1945-1964. 5. doboz, 00930. sz. irat (Egyiptom viszonyulása a szocialista országokhoz a magyar események nyomán. Kairó, 1957. február 6.)).

(37) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة موسكو؛ محفظة رقم: 655، ج 4، ملف: 226/7/1؛ التاريخ: 1956/12/17؛ «بشأن السياسة السوفيتية بعد الأحداث الأخيرة في المجر».

(38) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة بودابست؛ محفظة رقم 114، ملف: 220/7/1، ج 5؛ تاريخ 1956/12/13؛ «بشأن الثورة في المجر والتدخل السوفيتي».

(39) نفس المصدر. منعت السلطات المصرية على سبيل المثال أسبوع الفيلم السوفيتي حتى يمكنهم فعل ذلك من خلال عرض



موقف الأمم المتحدة من أزمة السويس وثورة المجر 1956:

الترابط بين أزمة السويس وأحداث المجر عام 1956 ظل يسير جنباً إلى جنب على الساحة الدولية، وخاصة في أروقة الأمم المتحدة. بدأ تداول المسألتين في مطلع نوفمبر 1956 بالتزامن مع بعضهما البعض، وقد حاولت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية عبر مسودة قرار لها قدمته للجمعية الطارئة للأمم المتحدة لتهدئة الأوضاع في مصر وأيضاً في المجر، وبالفعل تمت المصادقة على القرارين، حيث حصل الأول الخاص بمصر على نسبة تصويت 60-0، فيما امتنعت عن التصويت كل من اليونان وجواتيمالا، أما بالنسبة للقرار الثاني الخاص بالأحداث المجرية فقد تم التصويت عليه بنسبة 53-9، حيث صوتت ضد القرار 9 دول (دول الكتلة السوفيتية)، فيما امتنعت عن التصويت عليه 8 دول، منها: مصر، والهند، واليونان، وجواتيمالا، ويوغوسلافيا، واليمن، والسعودية.⁽⁴⁰⁾ ظلت القضية المصرية ونظيرتها المجرية تتداول في أروقة منظمة الأمم المتحدة لمدة تزيد على العام نظراً لأهمية القضيتين على المستوى العالمي، ولما لها من تأثيرات جادة على كافة الأصعدة، حيث يقول الكاتب الأمريكي ماركيز تشايلدرز "Marquis Childs": «على الرغم من اقتراب مرور عام كامل، فإن الأزمة التي افتعلها الهجوم البريطاني - الفرنسي - الإسرائيلي على السويس في نوفمبر المنصرم لازالت تلقي بظلالها على مداوات المنظمة العالمية».⁽⁴¹⁾

ذكر عبد الحميد نافع زادة، الوزير المفوض بسفارة جمهورية مصر العربية ببودابست في تقريره السري الصادر في 1956/11/24 أن «المجريون فقدوا الأمل تدريجياً في أن تتدخل منظمة الأمم المتحدة لإنهاء معاناتهم؛ فطالما كانت تتخذ قرارات لا تستطيع تنفيذها».⁽⁴²⁾

ذكر عبد الحميد قدرى، السكرتير الأول بسفارة جمهورية مصر العربية بموسكو في تقريره السري الصادر في 1957/05/09 أن التقرير الذي نشرته منظمة الأمم المتحدة بخصوص أحداث المجر كان له أثر سيء في الإتحاد السوفيتي، حيث انتقد التقرير تصرفات حكومة موسكو وحملها مسؤولية الأحداث الأخيرة. زاد من غضب الإتحاد السوفيتي أن الحكومة الأمريكية كانت تسعى بشكل متواصل إلى استغلال التقرير للتشهير بالإتحاد السوفيتي وتشويه صورته. تقدم الكونجرس الأمريكي بمشروع طالب فيه الحكومة الأمريكية بأن تدعو إلى انعقاد جلسة استثنائية للجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة لمناقشة التقرير. كانت ترى الأوساط السوفيتية أن تقرير الأمم المتحدة هو أحد أعياب السيد لودج⁽⁴³⁾، مندوب أمريكا بالأمم المتحدة، الذي افترى الأكاذيب حتى يثير المشكلة المجرية من جديد ويهاجم الإتحاد السوفيتي والنظام الاشتراكي، وقام بمناورة لإقناع أعضاء الأمم المتحدة الخاضعين للنفوذ الأمريكي بأن يقوموا بدور فعال في تشويه صورة الجيش الروسي. كل ذلك لم يعجب الأوساط السوفيتية حيث أنهم لم يرغبوا في مناقشة المشكلة المجرية.⁽⁴⁴⁾

الأفلام التي تتناول للثورة المجرية. الخطوة ليست بالكبيرة، لكنها تتم عن عدم رضا القيادة المصرية عن تصرفات الإتحاد السوفيتي في المجر.

(40) جريدة توسكالوزا نيوز "Tuscaloosa News": الأمم المتحدة توافق على خطط الولايات المتحدة بشأن السويس والمجر. 11 نوفمبر 1956/ص 1

(41) جريدة ميامي نيوز "The Miami News": أزمة السويس لازالت تلقي بظلالها على الأمم المتحدة. 23 سبتمبر 1957/ص 16.

(42) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة بودابست؛ محفظة رقم: 114، ج 5، ملف: 220/7/1؛ التاريخ: 1956/11/24؛ «بشأن الثورة في المجر والتدخل السوفيتي».

(43) هنري كابوت لودج. "Henry Cabot Lodge Jr" (1902-1985) سينااتور جمهوري أمريكي، ومندوب الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لدى الأمم المتحدة في خمسينيات القرن الماضي، كما عمل سفيراً في فيتنام الجنوبية وألمانيا الغربية. حاشية

(44) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة موسكو؛ محفظة رقم: 675، ملف: 724؛ التاريخ: 1957/07/09؛ «بشأن صدى نشر تقرير الأمم المتحدة عن حوادث المجر في الإتحاد السوفيتي».



كما أشار عبد الحميد قدرى، أن الاهتمام الأمريكي بالمسألة المجرية وحرية شعبيها ينطوي على جزء كبير من النفاق، وأن ما يقوله السوفيت عن الموقف الأمريكي المتناقض بخصوص الأحداث المجرية والمشكلة الجزائرية والقبرصية، أمر واضح، لا يحتمل النقاش. وقال: «إذا ما سلمنا بأن أمريكا لا تستطيع تغيير الوضع في المجر، سواء بمجهوداتها الخاصة أو بمساعدة منظمة الأمم المتحدة، سنتوصل إلى استنتاج أن الهدف الأمريكي من استغلال المشكلة المجرية هو تشويه صورة الإتحاد السوفيتي». كما نقل في نفس التقرير رأي الأوساط السوفيتية التي ترى أيضا أن الاهتمام المبالغ بالقضية المجرية هو محض نفاق، ففي الوقت الذي يحاول فيه الغرب جذب انتباه الرأي العام إلى المجر يدعم التصرفات الفرنسية الوحشية ضد الشعب الجزائري المناضل من أجل الحرية والإستقلال.⁽⁴⁵⁾

كانت الحكومة المجرية الجديدة تعول في الجدل الجاري حول المجر والتدخل السوفيتي في الأمم المتحدة على الموقف – المتحفظ أو الداعم – الحميد لمعظم الدول العربية. وقد بذلت قصارى جهدها حتى تفوز بدعمهم وتحافظ عليه. اتخذت الولايات المتحدة في نفس الوقت موقفا هجوميا في المنطقة، إلا أن إعلان ما يسمى بـ«مبدأ أيزنهاور»⁽⁴⁶⁾ في يناير 1957 حدث في وقت غير موفق على الإطلاق، بل كان توقيته جيدا بالنسبة للسوفيت حينذاك. تحدث الرئيس الأمريكي في ذلك الوقت عن «فراغ السلطة» القائم في الشرق الأوسط، عندما وضعت القومية العربية مقاييس غير مرئية حتى ذلك الحين ومثلت القوة. اعتبرت دول المنطقة رؤية المبدأ أنهم غير مناسبين حقيقة لتسيير أمورهم الخاصة وحاجتهم إلى وصي، أمرا مذلا. مارست الصحف الأمريكية والفرنسية والبريطانية في ذات الوقت ضغطا هائلا على مصر وسوريا وشخص عبد الناصر الذي اتهموه بأنه أصبح تابعا للإتحاد السوفيتي ويعد لإدخال الشيوعية في المنطقة. شدد عبد الناصر في مقابله مع وكالة الأنباء أسوشيتد بريس "AP" على أن: «مصر لن تكون تابعة أبدا لأي قوى أو من مرتزقتها أو دمية في يدها. الاستقلال الفكري هام بالنسبة لها تماما مثل الاستقلال السياسي، والدولة تحافظ على استقلالها السياسي والفكري على السواء».⁽⁴⁷⁾

جعل التصرف السوفيتي بخصوص أزمة السويس من ناحية، وموقف الغرب، وخصوصا الولايات المتحدة، الغير مبال بالحرب في الجزائر من ناحية أخرى، السياسيين العرب والرأي العام يقف إلى جانب موسكو في الأزمة المجرية. لقد شعروا، استنادا إلى أسباب معينة، أن الرأي العام العالمي والسياسيين يتجاهلون مسألة من الأهمية بمكان بالنسبة للعرب، والتي تتمثل في الحرب الدائرة في الجزائر، ولا يذكرون ولا يدينون سوى أفعال السوفيتين البربرية، دون النظر إلى تصرفات الجيش الفرنسي. كتبت جريدة الجمهورية⁽⁴⁸⁾ الحكومية في مقالها الصادر تحت عنوان «الدراما المجرية ونحن» ما يلي: «مهما كانت أفعال الإتحاد السوفيتي بربرية، فإنها لا تختلف في أي شيء عما يرتكبه الغرب في مستعمراته والدول التي احتلها عسكريا. إذا كان الإتحاد السوفيتي قد قتل عشرة آلاف بريئا من المطالبين بحق الحرية في المجر، فإن فرنسا قتلت مئات الآلاف في الجزائر، وما زالت تقترف المذابح دون توقف. لا يمكن مقارنة من قتل على يد الإتحاد السوفيتي في المجر بالعدد اللانهائي من الفلسطينيين الذين قتلوا من أجل وطنهم، فداء للوطن الذي اختطفه الصهاينة برعاية

(45) نفس المصدر السابق.

(46) يشير إلى خطبة ألقاها أيزنهاور في 5 يناير 1957، وحسب مبدأ أيزنهاور، فإن بمقدور أي بلد أن يطلب المساعدة الاقتصادية الأمريكية و/أو العون من القوات المسلحة الأمريكية إذا ما تعرضت للتهديد من دولة أخرى. وقد خص أيزنهاور بالذكر، في مبدئه، التهديد السوفيتي بإصداره التزام القوات الأمريكية «بتأمين وحماية الوحدة الترابية والاستقلال السياسي لمثل تلك الأمم، التي تطلب تلك المساعدات ضد عدوان مسلح صريح من أي أمة تسيطر عليها الشيوعية الدولية. في السياق السياسي العالمي. الموقع الرسمي لمكتب المؤرخين بوزارة الخارجية الأمريكية:

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/eisenhower-doctrine>

(47) Le Progrès Égyptien، 22 Nov.، 1956، In: J. Nagy، Magyar-egyiptomi، 48-49. 55.

(48) أسسها مجلس الثورة سنة 1953، وكان أنور السادات هو رئيس تحريرها.



أمريكية»⁽⁴⁹⁾ تحدثت صحيفة صباح الحين بطريقة ربما هي الأوضح في مقالها المعنون بـ لماذا المجر وليس الجزائر؟ قائلة: «لا أفهم لماذا نشرت منظمة الأمم المتحدة هذا التقرير القوي بخصوص المجر، في حين لم تنشر شيئاً بخصوص القضية الجزائرية. فلترسل الأمم المتحدة لجنة إلى الجزائر!»⁽⁵⁰⁾

كان هذا الرأي المنتشر بوجه عام مفضلاً بالنسبة لحكومة كادار «Kádár» في الجدل الذي جرى في منظمة الأمم المتحدة حول القضية المجرية. ذكر عبد الحميد قدرى، السكرتير الأول بسفارة جمهورية مصر العربية في موسكو في أحد تقاريره الصادر في 9 يوليو 1957 أن الحكومة المجرية أعلنت منذ بدأ بحث المسألة المجرية في منظمة الأمم المتحدة أن هذا الأمر يعد في حقيقته تدخلاً في الشأن المجري.⁽⁵¹⁾

سافر وفد حكومي مجري بقيادة كاروي ساركا "Károly Szarka"⁽⁵²⁾ نائب وزير الخارجية، قبل بداية الجلسة الخريفية للأمم المتحدة إلى مصر تحديداً في أغسطس 1957 حيث التقى خلال زيارته مع وزير الخارجية المصري محمود فوزي ومع الرئيس جمال عبدالناصر، كما التقى ساركا مع حسين عزيز، الوكيل الدائم بوزارة الخارجية، والسفير مصطفى يوسف، وكييل وزارة الخارجية للشئون السياسية، كما التقى في نفس اليوم ايانوش بيتر عضو الوفد المجري "Péter János"⁽⁵³⁾ عبد اللطيف البغدادي، رئيس مجلس الشعب وقتها. كان الهدف من تلك الرحلة وهذه اللقاءات المكثفة بين الوفد المجري والساسة المصريين هو الحصول على دعم مصر والدول العربية في الجدل الجاري في المنظمة العالمية بشأن القضية المجرية. كان يرى وزير الخارجية المصري وقتها أن مهمة الوفد المجري عندهم لن تكون صعبة. وبالفعل وجهت الحكومة المصرية سفيرها بالأمم المتحدة بأن يعارض ما يسمى بوضع المسألة المجرية على جدول الأعمال اليومي. سجل السياسي المصري أيضاً أن بلاده تساعد في أن يتم قبول وجهة النظر المجرية في الدول العربية الأخرى أيضاً، إلا أنه لا يمكنه أن يضمن بشكل مسبق. عندما استقبل الرئيس عبد الناصر الوفد المجري في شقته تم استعراض الدول العربية وأوضاعها. أكد الرئيس في المقدمة، أخذاً في الحسبان معايير القوى في الأمم المتحدة بشكل واقعي، أنه «لا يمكن منع وضع المسألة المجرية على جدول الأعمال». طبقاً للرئيس فإن القوى الغربية، وعلى رأسها الولايات المتحدة وإنجلترا وفرنسا، تستغل المسألة المجرية في الدعايا في الأمم المتحدة، خاصة ضد الإتحاد السوفيتي في المقام الأول. أخبر أننا يمكننا أن نعتبر دعم مصر وسوريا أكيدا. وبحسب نفس تقرير السفارة المجرية بالقاهرة الموجه إلى الخارجية المجرية «قد تم استقبال الوفد من قبل الجانب المصري بكل حفاوة، حيث استقبل وزير الخارجية الوفد بعد وصوله إلى القاهرة بساعة واحدة، ثم كان لقائهم في مساء اليوم

(49) La Bourse Égyptienne, 26 június 1957. In: J. Nagy, *Magyar-egyiptomi*, 56.

(50) نفس المصدر السابق.

(51) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة موسكو؛ محفظة رقم: 675، ملف: 724؛ التاريخ: 1957/07/09؛ «بشأن صدق نشر تقرير الأمم المتحدة عن حوادث المجر في الإتحاد السوفيتي».

(52) ولد في 15 أغسطس 1923 وتوفي في 2005. التحق بالعمل في وزارة الخارجية المجرية في 1948. عمل في بداية حياته الدبلوماسية بالسفارة المجرية في لندن ونيودلهي، ثم بين 1953-1956 عمل سفيراً على رأس السفارة المجرية بواشنطن، ثم في الفترة بين 1956-1968 عمل نائباً لوزير الخارجية. ابتداء من عام 1968 ترأس السفارة المجرية بالقاهرة، وفي يوليو 1970 عمل مندوباً دائماً لبلاده لدى الأمم المتحدة بنيويورك، وتم اعفائه من هذا المنصب في يناير 1974، ليعود للعمل نائباً لوزير الخارجية مرة أخرى، وفي عام 1983 عين سفير لبلاده في طوكيو. كان عضواً في الحزب الشيوعي المجري منذ 1945.

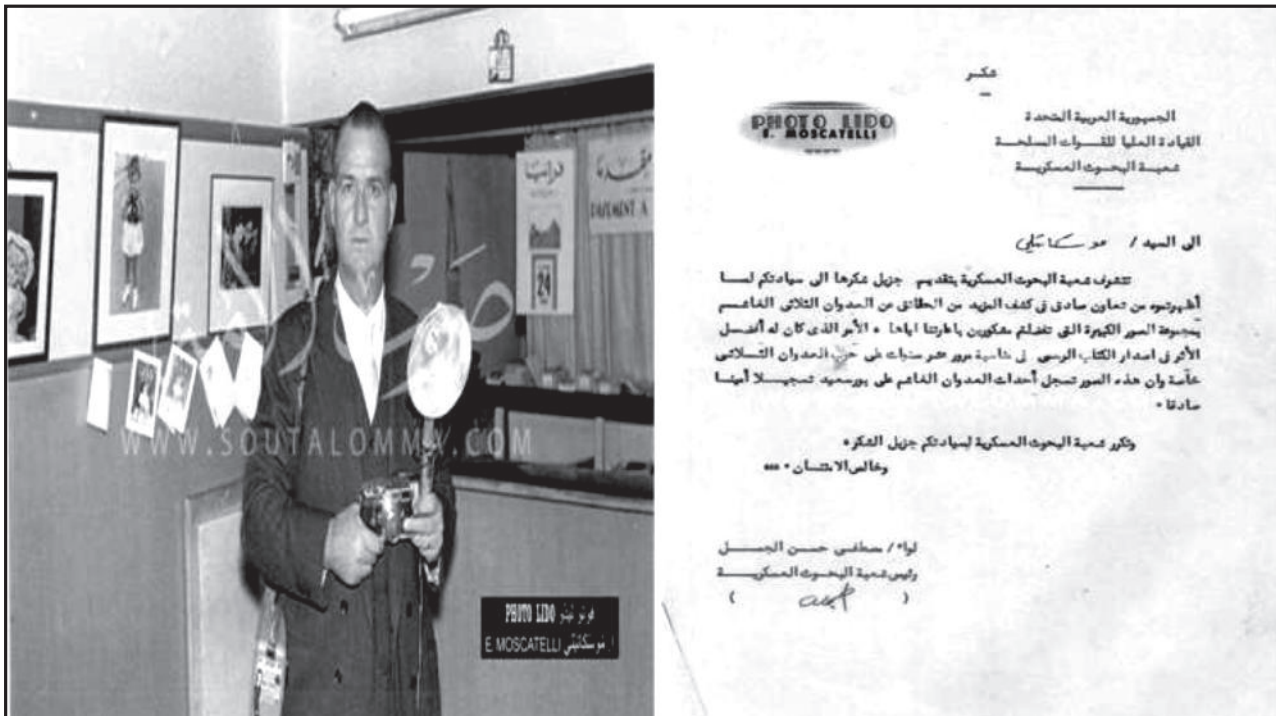
(53) ولد في 1910 وتوفي في بودابست عام 1999. عمل في سكرتارية رئاسة الجمهورية المجرية حتى عام 1949، ثم ابتداء من ديسمبر 1956 صار المفوض الحكومي لمعهد العلاقات الخارجية، وأضحى رئيساً له في 1957. تم تعيينه في منصب النائب الأول لوزير الخارجية في 19 فبراير 1958، ثم وزيراً للخارجية في 13 سبتمبر 1961 وحتى 14 ديسمبر 1973. موقع خزانة التاريخ المجري:

http://www.tortenelmitar.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5521&catid=84:p&Itemid=67&lang=hu



الثاني مباشرة بالرئيس عبدالناصر، على الرغم من أن ذلك اليوم كان عطلة رسمية في مصر.»⁽⁵⁴⁾

يمكننا أن نقر إجمالاً أن الطفرة القومية القوية الحاصلة في العالم العربي في النصف الثاني من خمسينيات القرن العشرين وبداية العقد السابع، بالإضافة إلى الحرب الجزائرية – التي تعد جزءاً من هذه الطفرة – المنتهية (مارس 1962) قبل انتهاء الوقت الذي كانت تشغل فيه المسألة المجرية حيزاً في منظمة الأمم المتحدة، كان مفضلاً (لصالح) بالنسبة لحكومة كادار "Kádár"، الذي كان يرى – طبقاً لتقرير عبد الحميد نافع زادة السري الصادر في 1956/12/13 – شرعية التدخل العسكري الروسي في المجر، بل إنه تفاخر في خطابه بأن حكومته هي التي طلبت هذا التدخل حتى تمنع تدهور النظام، وتهزم أعداء الثورة الشيوعية والفاشيين والرأسماليين، وتحمي ثمار الثورة الإيجابية المحققة حتى ذلك الحين، وتوفر الحماية للشعب المجرى بأكمله. عضد الوزير المفوض وجهة نظره بذكره لجزء من خطاب كادار الذي قال فيه: «نحن نرى أن كل الأحداث الموجعة التي وقعت في بداية ثورة 23 أكتوبر تنتمي إلى الشأن الداخلي المجرى وليس من حق أحد أن يتدخل في ذلك. إن التدخل السوفيتي في الشؤون المجرية أمر مبرر قانونياً ولا يمكن الجدل حوله. طبقاً للمعاهدة الموقعة بين بعض الدول فإن وجود القوات السوفيتية على الأراضي المجرية قانوني تماماً. إلى جانب ذلك، هذه القوات لم تتدخل إلا بناء على طلب من الحكومة الرسمية. أما من يعدون التدخل السوفيتي أمراً غير شرعي فإن أعضاء حركة العمال وكل رجل تقدمي في الدول الرأسمالية دحضوا وجهة نظرهم، لأنهم جميعاً متفقون على أن المساعدة السوفيتية لم تحم الشعب المجرى من إرهاب أعداء الثورة فحسب، وإنما منعت تشكل مركزاً جديداً للإرهاب أيضاً.»⁽⁵⁵⁾



(54) الأرشيف القومي المجرى XIX-J-1 مصر 1945-1964، صندوق 5، وثيقة رقم 004399/1 (زيارة وفد الحكومة المجرية إلى مصر. القاهرة، 28 سبتمبر 1957). (MNL XIX-J-1 Egyiptom 1945-1964. 5. doboz, 004399/1. sz. irat). (Magyar kormányküldöttség látogatása Egyiptomban. Kairó, 1957. szeptember 28.).

(55) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ مفوضية جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة بودابست؛ محفظة رقم 114، ملف: 220/7/1، ج 5؛ تاريخ 1956/12/13؛ «بشأن الثورة في المجر والتدخل السوفيتي».



موقف إيطاليا من أحداث 1956 المصرية:

كانت إيطاليا من أوائل الدول الداعمة لمصر والواقفة ضد المصالح البريطانية الفرنسية في مسألة أزمة السويس، حيث تبنت إلي حد كبير وجهة النظر الأمريكية، بالإضافة إلى كندا والنرويج والدنمارك، علي الجانب الآخر، كانت هناك دول أخرى تنتمي إلي حلف الناتو، المنقسم علي نفسه آنذاك حول مسألة التأميم والعدوان علي مصر، قد دعمت باريس ولندن، مثل ألمانيا الغربية وقتها وهولندا وبلجيكا. (56) كما أن إيطاليا كان لها دوراً بارزاً في المساعدة في عمليات حفظ السلام الدولية التي اضطلعت بها الأمم المتحدة بعد انتهاء أزمة السويس، فقد كانت مصر تثق في إيطاليا وحياديتها وبعدها كل البعد عن الدول المعادية لها، كما شاركت في نقل القوات إلى مصر. (57) وكان الدعم الإيطالي لمصر علي الصعيدين الرسمي والشعبي، حيث يقول طلعت محمد راغب، القائم بالأعمال بالنيابة بالسفارة المصرية بروما في تقريره الموجه إلى وكيل وزارة الخارجية الدائم أن الصحافة الإيطالية كانت مناصرة للغاية لخطوة التأميم، فقد أفردت صحيفة «إليونيستا» وكذا «إلبايزي سيرا» و«إلبوبولو» مقالات مدعومة بالصور ومرسلة عن موضوع التأميم، وأيضاً مهنيين بالخطوة العظيمة التي اتخذتها مصر للمحافظة على السلام. فضلاً عن قيام وكالة الأنباء الإيطالية «أنسا» ومتابعة ونشر العديد من المقالات والحوارات الصحفية المؤيدة للخطوة المصرية. (58)

العلاقات الطيبة بين مصر وإيطاليا جسدها مشهد جلل ربما لا يعرفه الكثيرون، فحينما نطالع ما كتبه أ. عبدالمجيد الجمال في «آخر ساعة» في الذكرى الستين على العدوان الثلاثي على مصر، نجد أن القنصل الإيطالي ببورسعيد - نيابة وبتكليف من بلده إيطاليا - وقت أحداث السويس ظل يبحث عن أهل الجندي المصري الذي كان يتولى مبنى القنصلية الإيطالية ببورسعيد كي يسلمه المكافأة التي قررت لها الحكومة الإيطالية لجسارته وتضحيته لحماية القنصلية والعاملين به. فهذا الجندي المصري الرفاعي حمادة رفض المثول لطلب القنصل الإيطالي بالولوج إلى داخل مبنى القنصلية بعيداً عن نيران المعركة، وألسنة اللهب المنتشرة في كل مكان، وقد أزيلت أحياء بأكملها من علي أرض بورسعيد، وسقط الشهداء في محيط القنصلية بالمتات. وأصر على القيام بواجبه حتى النهاية إلى أن طالته رصاصات الغادر المحتل. وهذا المشهد يخلده صورة فوتوغرافية مكبرة بمتحف بورسعيد القومي ترسم هذا الجندي مصري واقفاً بسلاحه أمام مبنى مرفوعاً عليه العلم الإيطالي وأحد الأجانب يجذبه للداخل وهو يقاومه بشدة وتحتها كتب «جندي مصري كان يتولي حراسة القنصلية الإيطالية وقت العدوان». وفي حفاوة بالغة استقبل القنصل الإيطالي والد الجندي حمادة وأبلغه أن الحكومة الإيطالية منذ خمس سنوات وهي تبحث عن أهل الشهيد لتكافئهم نظير الأسطورة غير المتكررة التي قدمها ابنهم للشعب الإيطالي خاصة وللإنسانية عامة، وأن المكافأة المالية الكبيرة مودعة لديه. ورد والد حمادة مخاطباً القنصل: «أما ابني الذي رفع رأسنا لم يفعل إلا ما يفعله كل المصريين الذين تتأصل فيهم المبادئ والقيم ويخلصون في عملهم وهو واحد ولكنه رمز لملايين يحملون نفس صفاته. أما عن المكافأة فمع شكرنا وتقديرنا فإننا لا نؤذي واجباً لله وللوطن وللإنسانية ونقبض مقابله ثمناً مهما كان. عندها تلالأت الدموع في عيون القنصل وضجت القاعة المكدسة بالتصفيق». (59)

(56) Christian Nuenlist and Anna Locher *Transatlantic Relations at Stake. Aspects of Nato, 1956-1972* (Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2006), 13.

(57) Manuel Fröhlich *Keeping Track of UN Peace-keeping: Suez, Srebrenica, Rwanda and the Brahimi Report - Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law (Report)*, (-, 2001, Volume 5), 207.

(58) دار الكتب والوثائق القومية المصرية؛ أرشيف وزارة الخارجية؛ سفارة جمهورية مصر العربية بمدينة روما؛ محفظة رقم: 1501، ملف: 15/45/30؛ ج3؛ التاريخ: 1956/7/28؛ «صدى قرار مصر بشأن تأميم قناة السويس في مختلف الأوساط الأجنبية والإيطالية».

(59) مجلة آخر ساعة: في ذكرى انتصارنا علي العدوان الثلاثي حكاية مُجنّد مصري أبهر العالم وكرّمته إيطاليا. 20 ديسمبر 2016/ص -.



وهناك مشهد وحقيقة أخرى، لكن هذه المرة من قبل مواطن إيطالي كان يعيش في مصر يدعى إيتوري موسكاتيلي "Ettore Moscatelli"، وقد صار أشهر مصور في بورسعيد بلا منافس حيث تمكن من التصوير داخل المعسكرات الإنجليزية، والفرنسي، دون أي قلق، فالتقطت عدسته معاناة البسطاء في العدوان الثلاثي، فكان أفضل من وثق العدوان الثلاثي لحظة بلحظة في بورسعيد. وتقول أنا "Anna" ابنته: «ترك والذي إيتوري وثائق مؤثرة ودقيقة سجلها باحترافية عالية للأضرار الجسيمة التي مرت بها مدينة بورسعيد نتيجة العدوان الثلاثي عام 1956، بواسطة كلا من إنجلترا وفرنسا وإسرائيل، فيفضل ملامحه الأوروبية التي لم تثير الشكوك لدى قوات الاحتلال، وكذلك شجاعته وروح المغامرة التي كان يتحلى بها استطاع أن يصل إلى تلك الأماكن التي لم يستطع الآخرون الوصول إليها لتسجيل، كل شيء عن طريق الكاميرا الخاصة به، فهو أسطورة لن ولم تتكرر». وأضافت أنا قائلة: «وجه الجيش المصري خطاب شكر، للمصور إيتوري موسكاتيلي، لما قام به من توثيق العدوان الثلاثي 1956 في مدينة بورسعيد، فالحكومة المصرية استخدمت صورته في تعريف العالم بجرائم العدوان الثلاثي على مصر». ويثبت كلماتها هذه الخطاب المرفق هذا الموقع من قبل اللواء مصطفى حسن الجمل رئيس شعبة البحوث العسكرية بالجيش المصري.⁽⁶⁰⁾

نتائج البحث:

- أصبح الشرق الأوسط وشرق أوروبا مركزا للاهتمام العالمي منذ صيف عام 1956: الشرق الأوسط بسبب تأميم قناة السويس، أما شرق أوروبا فنتيجة لتصاعد مظاهرات العمال في بولندا، وتمخض ثورة في المجر عنها.
- رد عبد الناصر على تراجع الغرب عن منح القرض بتأميم قناة السويس قائلا أن التأميم هو قرار سيادي، نتج عن السياسة الخارجية الحرة والمستقلة للدولة.
- لم تكن الخسارة الحقيقية - لإنجلترا وفرنسا المساهمتان الرئيسيتان في شركة القناة - خسارة مادية، بل كانت خسارة سياسية في المقام الأول، تتمثل في فقدانهما لهيبتهما بشكل غير مسبق: حيث ثبت أمام أعين العالم بأسره أنها لم تعدا تمسكان بزمام الأمور في الشرق الأوسط.
- أيدت موسكو والدول الاشتراكية تأميم القناة وأعربت عن تضامنها مع مصر، وهو ما يمكن رؤيته بجلاء في البيان الرسمي الصادر عن وزارة الخارجية المجرية.
- في مساء يوم 23 أكتوبر 1956 انطلقت مظاهرات الطلاب في بودابست إيذانا ببداية الثورة المجرية ضد الحكم الشيوعي للبلاد، والتي كان يدعمها إمراناج "Nagy Imre" وحكومته التي قام بتشكيلها واستمرت 13 يوما، تلاها حكومة أخرى موالية للسوفييت شكلها يانوش كادار "Kádár János".
- احتلت الأحداث في السويس والمجر صدارة الأخبار والتحليلات في كافة الصحف الصادرة حول العالم عام 1956.
- الصحافة المصرية الناطقة باللغة العربية لم تكن تكثر بالشكل الكافي بالأحداث المجرية وتضعها في صدر صفحاتها الأولى.
- أزعج التدخل العسكري البريطاني الفرنسي في الشرق الأوسط الولايات المتحدة للغاية من منظور المبادئ، حيث أن إدانتها للتدخل السوفيتي في المجر ستبدو عديمة المصداقية في حالة تدعيمها للتدخل العسكري البريطاني الفرنسي في مصر.
- هجوم بريطانيا وفرنسا والدولة اليهودية على مصر أحدث تغيرا جوهريا في سياسة روسيا تجاه المجر.

(60) صوت الأمة: موثق العدوان الثلاثي يفتح خزائن أسرارهِ (صور). 23 ديسمبر 2016. ص



- فبعدما أعلنت موسكو في عدم معارضتها سحب قواتها من المناطق المجرية، انطلقت المدرعات الروسية نحو الأراضي المجرية، وأخمدت الثورة.
- هدف التدخل العسكري السوفيتي في المجر: إعاقة تشكل جبهة أخرى معادية له في شرق أوروبا، وبذلك يستطيع التفرغ لدعم مصر في مواجهتها مع بريطانيا العظمى وفرنسا والدولة اليهودية؛ الحاجة الماسة إلى يورانيوم المجر وعربات السكك الحديدية التي تنتجها مصانعها والكثير من خيرات البلاد الأخرى؛ الحفاظ على كيان حلف وارسو متماسكا، وعدم السماح بفرط عقده؛ تعزيز سلامة الدول الإشتراكية الأخرى، ومنع الدول الغربية من أن تتخذ من المجر قاعدة هجومية تهاجم منها الإتحاد السوفيتي مما قد يؤدي إلى نشوب حرب عالمية جديدة.
- الترابط بين أزمة السويس وأحداث المجر عام 1956 ظل يسير جنبا إلى جنب على الساحة الدولية، وخاصة في أروقة الأمم المتحدة.
- حاولت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية عبر مسودة قرار لها قدمته للجمعية الطارئة للأمم المتحدة لتهدئة الأوضاع في مصر وأيضا في المجر، وبالفعل تمت المصادقة على القرارين، حيث حصل الأول على نسبة تصويت 60-0، أما بالنسبة للقرار الثاني الخاص بالأحداث المجرية فقد تم التصويت عليه بنسبة 53-9.
- التقرير الذي نشرته منظمة الأمم المتحدة بخصوص أحداث المجر كان له أثر سيء في الإتحاد السوفيتي، حيث انتقد التقرير تصرفات حكومة موسكو وحملها مسؤولية الأحداث الأخيرة. زاد من غضب الإتحاد السوفيتي أن الحكومة الأمريكية كانت تسعى بشكل متواصل إلى استغلال التقرير للتشهير بالإتحاد السوفيتي وتشويه صورته.
- عولت الحكومة المجرية الجديدة في الجدل الجاري حول المجر والتدخل السوفيتي في الأمم المتحدة على الموقف - المتحفظ أو الداعم - الحميد لمعظم الدول العربية. وقد بذلت قصارى جهدها حتى تفوز بدعمهم وتحافظ عليه. جعل التصرف السوفيتي بخصوص أزمة السويس من ناحية، وموقف الغرب، وخصوصا الولايات المتحدة الغير مبال فيما يتعلق بالحرب في الجزائر من ناحية أخرى، السياسيين العرب والرأي العام يقف في النهاية إلى جانب موسكو في الأزمة المجرية.
- سافر وفد حكومي مجري بقيادة ساركا كاروي "Szarka Károly" نائب وزير الخارجية قبل بداية الجلسة الخريفية للأمم المتحدة إلى مصر في أغسطس 1957، والتقى بالرئيس عبدالناصر، ووزير الخارجية فوزي ونائبه، ورئيس مجلس الشعب، والعديد من الشخصيات السياسية الهامة لطلب دعم مصر والدول العربية للقضية المجرية المتداولة في الأمم المتحدة.
- بلغت شعبية الإتحاد السوفيتي في مصر والعالم العربي بوجه عام ذروتها في هذه الأونة، في حين كانت هيئته في البلاد الغربية في الحضيض.
- أمريكا التي اندفعت تحرض على الثورة لم تدفع ثمن الحرب الباردة في المجر. وروسيا التي قمعت الثورة لم تدفع الثمن. شعب المجر وحده دفع، وأرض المجر وحدها قاست عناء أنها تحولت فجأة إلى حلبة صراع بين الوحشين الكبارين.
- إيطاليا من أوائل الدول الداعمة لمصر والواقفة ضد المصالح البريطانية الفرنسية في مسألة أزمة السويس
- صحيفة «اليونيتا» وكذا «إلبايزي سيرا» و«إلبوبولو» ووكالة الأنباء الإيطالية «أنسا» والكثير من الصحف الإيطالية الأخرى دعمت مصر بالمقالات والصور واللقاءات الصحفية المؤيدة.
- هناك مواقف إنسانية مصرية وأخرى إيطالية تبرهن على مدى عمق العلاقات الثنائية بين البلدين سردنا منها في متن المقال اثنتين فحسب.



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Az 1967-es háború és Magyarország

Prof. J. Nagy László

Szegedi Tudományegyetem - BTK

Abstract

Az 1967. június 5-én kirobbant s hat napig tartó "villámháborúban" az arab országok súlyos vereséget szenvedtek. A vereség Egyiptom és Szíria szövetségeseinek, a Szovjetunióknak és a szocialista országoknak a vereségét is jelentette. A magyar vezetők továbbra is támogatásukról biztosították az izraeli agresszió által sújtott arab népeket. Ugyanakkor bírálták is egyes arab politikusok (szíriaiak, a Palesztinai Felszabadítási Szervezet PFSZ vezetője) szélsőséges, felelőtlen, gyakran demagóg kijelentéseit. A közvélemény egy része kételkedett abban, hogy érdemes-e támogatni az arabokat, hiszen nagyon gyorsan súlyos vereséget szenvedtek. A vietnamiak viszont hősiiesen harcolnak.

A cikk írója magyar levéltári dokumentumokat (pl. a damaszkuszi nagykövetség jelentéseit) a kommunista párt iratait és a napi sajtót dolgozott fel.

A villámháború és Magyarország

A hatnapos háborúnak is nevezett fegyveres konfliktus (a harmadik arab–izraeli háború) eseménytörténete ismert. A háború kirobbanásának okairól megoszlanak a vélemények. Történészek körében elterjedt az az álláspont, hogy a háború "véletlenül", számos félreértés együttes hatásának az eredménye. Közrejátszott az „arab hidegháború” egyre feszültebb légköre, a nagyhatalmak hezitálása, Szíria és a Palesztin Felszabadítási Szervezet (PFSZ) vezetőjének szélsősége, a helyzet reális, higgadt elemzésének hiánya s az izraeli kormánykörökben teret nyert expanzív politika. Sőt olyan vélemény is létezik, amely szerint a szovjet vezetés ösztönözte volna a háború kirobbantására Egyiptomot. A szovjet pártlap, a *Pravda* közel-keleti tudósítója, a Nasszerrel is jó kapcsolatban lévő Primakov szerint legfeljebb az történhetett, hogy a Kairóban járt Grecsko marsall szerencsétlen kijelentését értelmezték rosszul az egyiptomi vezetők. A Varsói Szerződés csapatainak főparancsnoka megsemmisítve egyiptomi hadsereget kijelentette, hogy "az sikerrel oldhat meg különböző problémákat a hadszíntéren".⁽¹⁾

(1) *Evgueni Primakov: Au coeur du pouvoir. Mémoires politiques. Éditions du Syrtes, Paris. 2001. 231.* Primakov (1929-2015) az 1990-es években külügyminiszter, majd miniszterelnök volt.



Az 1960-as évek második felében a nemzetközi élet fő feszültségforrása az amerikaiak vietnami háborúja volt, amely ugyanakkor radikalizálta a világban az Amerika-ellenes erőket, s azokat is, akik a társadalmi problémák gyors – akár erőszak alkalmazása árán is – megoldásának a hívei voltak. Ezt a nézetet a „nagy proletár kulturális forradalom” lázában égő maoista Kína a szovjet "revizionizmus" támadásán keresztül még propagálta is, főként a harmadik világban. Az amerikai szupermodern haditechnikával szemben sikeresen ellenálló Vietnam példája azt az illúziót keltette, hogy a lakosság egészét mozgósító "népi háborúval" – Che Guevara szerint – több Vietnamt létrehozva (vagy inkább kiprovokálva) vereséget lehet mérni a tőkés világ vezető hatalmára.

Az arab világnak is megvolt a maga Vietnamja: Észak-Jemen, ahol Egyiptom 50 ezer katonája segítette a köztársaságiakat a szaúdi támogatást élvező monarchistákkal szemben. Mondhatni, hogy nem nagy eredménnyel. A Mediterráneum keleti medencéjének feszültségét tovább növelte a ciprusi görög-török konfliktus, amely 1967 áprilisában némi CIA segédlettel az „ezredesek” hatalomátvételéhez vezetett Görögországban.

Az arab világ is bonyolult, zavaros képet mutatott, soha nem látott megosztottság jellemezte. Követve a nemzetközi hidegháborús trendet „haladókra” és "reakciósokra" bomlott. Az előbbieket a nasszeri Egyiptom köré igyekeztek tömöríteni, az utóbbiak pedig Szaúd-Arábiát tekintették vezetőjüknek. Ez a megosztottság nem kedvezett azoknak, akik az erőteljes hangsúlyt kapott palesztin problémára megoldást reméltek. S ebben a politikájukban támaszkodni kívántak a térségben már jelentős mértékben, és minden területen elkötelezett szocialista országokra.

A magyar kormány érzékelte a feszültséget a térségben, s aggódott a szíriai kormány szélsőséges és provokatív magatartása miatt, ám ekkor még nem fordított különösebb figyelmet a palesztin problémára, de jelentőségével tisztában volt, hiszen azt egy 1966-ban készült külügyminisztériumi dokumentum „az arab-izraeli viszony kulcskérdésének” minősítette.⁽²⁾

Az amúgy is feszültséggel terhelt térségben egyre nagyobb aggodalomra adott okot az 1966 februárjában hatalomra került damaszkuszi vezetés. Ez a neobaaszista katonatiszti csoport nagyon türelmetlen volt, mind bel-, mind külpolitikai kérdésekben. Az algériai nemzeti felszabadító háború (1954-1962) és a harcoló Vietnam példájára hivatkozva "népi háború" hirdetett nemcsak Izrael, hanem az általuk reakciónak nevezett Jordánia és Szaúd-Arábia ellen is. Palesztina felszabadításában az első lépésnek tekintették az említett országok társadalmi rendszerének a megdöntését. Juszej Zuajen miniszterelnök az egyiptomi vezetőkkel folytatott tanácskozáson, 1966. novemberében azt javasolta Nasszernek, hogy minden fronton tegyék ingataggá az Izraellel kötött fegyverszünetet, vagyis provokálják Tel- Avivot. S ha háború robbanna ki és az izraeli hadsereg Damaszkuszba vagy Kairóba ér, akkor ott majd a felfegyverzett néppel találja szemben magát. Nasszer megdöbbenve

(2) A Magyar Népköztársaság és az arab országok kapcsolatainak alakulása. MNL OL XIX-J-1-j, Arab országok 1966. 116. d.



hallgatta a szíriai vezetőt: "Amit maga javasol, az a legbiztosabb út a vereséghez. Értse meg, hogy ebben az esetben nem Jordániával vagy Szaúd-Arábiával találjuk szemben magunkat, hanem Amerikával, akit két dolog érdekel az arab világban: elsősorban Izrael, aztán pedig a kőolaj."⁽³⁾ Nasszer védelmi paktumot javasolt, amit később meg is kötöttek. Figyelmeztetése, mérsékletre intése azonban hiábavalónak bizonyult, a szíriai vezetés kereste a konfliktust Szíriával.

Az események az év májusában gyorsultak fel, amikor a feszültség már olyan fokot ért el, hogy a nemzetközi közösség is aggódni kezdett. Moszkva május 13-án olyan információt juttatott el Kairóba, hogy az izraeliek több hadosztályt, szándékoznak összevonni a szíriai határ közelében. A háborús készülődést látszott erősíteni az is, hogy a nemzeti ünnepen, május 15-én Izrael Jeruzsálemben tartott katonai parádét. Tel-Avivot viszont az nyugtalanította, hogy Egyiptom az kérte a fegyverszüneti vonalon elhelyezkedő ENSZ erők visszahívását, mert így Szíriát érő esetleges támadás esetén közvetlen harci érintkezésbe kerülhetne az izraeli erőkkel. Az viszont valóságos riadalmat keltett kormánykörökben, hogy május 17-én két egyiptomi gép átrepült az atomkutató (és bombagyártó) központ, Dimona felett, s az izraeliek nem tudták elfogni őket. Nasszernek azonban nem állt szándékában háborút indítani, csak deffenzív, nyomásgyakorló lépések megtételére volt hajlandó, s kategorikusan elvetette helyettese, Amer marsall offenzív, támadó háborút akaró tervét.

Nasszer említett lépéseit Izraelben a háború kirobbantására tett előkészületekként értelmezték és propagandájukban erősen felnagyították, eltúlozták, bár tisztában voltak vele, hogy az egyiptomi vezető nem akar háborút. Ezt később az izraeli politikusok is elismerték. Az akkor vezérkari főnök Jicak Rabin a francia *Le Monde* tudósítójának, Eric Rouleau-nak adott interjújában, amely otthon és külföldön egyaránt nagy figyelmet keltett, kijelentette: „Nem hiszem, hogy Nasszer háborút akart. Május 14-én a Sinaira küldött két hadosztály nem lett volna elegendő egy offenzív háború kirobbantásához. Ezt ő is és mi is tudtuk.” Sőt a szélsőjobboldali Menahem Begin, a preventív háború legbuzgóbb híve, 1982-ben minden köntörfalazás nélkül kijelentette: "Az egyiptomi csapatösszevonások nem bizonyították, hogy Egyiptom háborút akar...legyünk tisztességesek magunkkal szemben, mi voltunk azok, akik az ellenségeskedést kezdtük."⁽⁴⁾

Ugyanakkor az izraeliek is – híven régóta óta jól bevált „kész tények” taktikájához – lényegében szintén provokálták a szomszédos országokat, elsősorban Szíriát. E taktika lényege az volt, hogy mindig az adott helyzetből kell kiindulni, s sohasem kell vizsgálni, hogy az hogyan alakult ki. Dajan tábornok erről bizalmasan 1976-ban így nyilatkozott: "Tudom, hogy legalább 80 %-a ezeknek az incidenseknek hogyan keletkezett...A következőképpen: a demilitarizált övezetbe küldtünk dolgozni egy traktort, olyan helyre, ahol még fű se nő,

(3) Hejkal: 1967 al-infjâr c. könyve (Kairó 1990. 364-367. old.) alapján idézi: *Laurens, Henry*: Paix et guerre au Moyen-Orient. L'Orient et le monde de 1945 à nos jours. Aramand Colin, Paris. 1999. 230-236.

(4) Mindkettőt idézi: *Eric Rouleau*: Dans les coulisses du Proche-Orient. Mémoires d'un journaliste diplomat (1952-2012). Fayard, Paris. 2012. 158-159.



és előre tudtuk, hogy a szíriaiak löni fognak. Ha nem lőttek, akkor a traktor tovább ment addig, amíg a szíriaiak dühbe nem gurultak, és végül lőttek. Ekkor pedig bevetettük a tü-zérséget, később pedig a légierőt."⁽⁵⁾

Az arab hírközlő eszközök (főként az Arabok Hangja rádióállomás) s egyes szíriai és pa-lesztin politikusok (elsősorban Sukeiri, a PFSZ vezetője) felelőtlen, félremagyarázható és eltorzítható, Izrael szétzúzására felszólító kijelentései, megnyilatkozásai egy újabb holo-kauszt rémképét idézték fel az izraeliekben. S ezt Tel-Aviv ügyesen kihasználta, el tudta fogadtatni a világgözüvélemény jelentős részével (elsősorban a nyugat-európaival), hogy a zsidók államának a léte forog kockán. Nasszernek semmiképpen nem ez volt a célja, ő az 1956 előtti helyzetből akart kiindulni, propagandája viszont, anélkül, hogy ezt szándékosan akarta volna, 1948 előtti volt. Ez a rendkívül negatív propaganda komolyan erősítette ko-molyan erősítette a háborúpártiakat Izraelben. A politikusok viszont (Ben Gurion is) csak az Egyesült Államok támogatásának a birtokában voltak hajlandók vállalni a fegyveres konfliktust. Ezt Washingtonból nem kapták meg egyértelműen. Johnson elnök elismerte, hogy az Akabai-öböl lezárását (május 22) – a szabad hajózás elvének megsértését – fel le-het fogni casus belliként, ugyanakkor megpróbálta lebeszélni Izraelt a háborúról. Ennek a kétértelmű álláspontnak csak az első részét hallották meg az izraeliek, akik – éppúgy, mint az amerikaiak, vagy de Gaulle – tudatában voltak katonai fölényüknek.

Nasszer viszont a johnsoni álláspont második felére figyelt. Ezt hangsúlyozta Washington is a hivatalos nyilatkozataiban. A britekről sem mondható el, hogy egyértelműen kiáll-tak volna a kardcsörtető Izrael mellett. De Gaulle pedig egyenesen felszólította , hogy ne háborúzzon. A francia elnök fegyverszállítások felfüggesztését rendelte el a térségbe és kijelentette: aki először támad azt tekinti agresszornak. Moszkva egyértelműen támogata Egyiptomot és Szíriát. Mindezek elegendő biztosítékul szolgáltak az egyiptomi vezető számára. Abban viszont tévedett – mivel az 1956-os helyzetet vélte megisméltődni – ,hogy "Izrael báb az Egyesült Államok kezében".⁽⁶⁾ Meg kell jegyeznünk, hogy Moszkva is ha-sonlóképpen vélekedett: "Izrael lépései mögött az imperialista körök állnak" – olvashatjuk a szovjet kormány május 24-i nyilatkozatában.⁽⁷⁾ Az 1967-es Izrael azonban már nem a 11 évvel korábbi. Tom Segev izraeli történész szerint a hatnapos háború a sabrák (az Izrael-ben születettek) győzelmét is jelentette az "öreg zsidók", a holokauszt túlélői fölött s egy-ben a szociáldemokrata cionizmus végét és egy új nemzeti-vallásos korszak eljövételét.⁽⁸⁾

1967. június 5-én a reggeli órákban – 7 és 8 között – végrehajtott izraeli légicsapás pusz-

(5) Idézi: *Laurens, Henry*: La question de Palestine. 3. k. 1947-1967. L'accomplissement des prophéties. Fayard, Paris 2007. 679.

(6) Feljegyzés Nasszer és Pozsidajev szovjet nagykövet megbeszéléséről, 1967. május 22. Közli: A közel-keleti konfliktus dokumentumai 1957-1967. Az Orosz Föderáció Külpolitikai Archivumának dokumentumaiból. (Főszerk.: *V.V. Namjkin*) Moszkva, 2003. 562. (oroszul)

(7) *Népszabadság*, 1967. május 25.

(8) *Tom Segev*: Nous sommes toujours en 1967. *Courrier international*, 2007. június (865. sz.)



tító erejű volt, a 419 egyiptomi repülőből 304 megsemmisült. Délig összesen 450, ebből 380 még fel sem szállt. Weizman tábornok, helyettes vezérkari főnök tíz órákor felhívta a feleségét és csak ennyit mondott: "Megnyertük a háborút".⁽⁹⁾ A rövid idő alatt elszenvedett katasztrofális vereség mindenkit meglepett – beleértve a résztvevőket is. Aziz Mohamed, az iraki kommunisták első titkára jegyezte meg Pullai Árpáddal, az MSZMP KB titkárával folytatott megbeszélésen, nem sokkal a háború befejezése után: „A közel-keleti helyzet meglepte őket. Azt tudták, hogy az arab országoknak komoly gyengeségeik vannak, de nem gondoltak arra, hogy ezek ilyen gyors és nagyarányú vereséghez vezetnek.”⁽¹⁰⁾

Magyarországon az újságok május közepétől a vezető helyen foglalkoztak a közel-keleti eseményekkel, a szír-egyiptomi közös védelmi intézkedésekkel, az ENSZ katonák elvonulásával, a Vörös tenger kikötőjének lezárásával az izraeli hajók előtt stb. Idézték Ataszi szíriai elnök harcias kijelentését: "Izrael első megmozdulására megindítjuk a felszabadító harcot."⁽¹¹⁾

Május végén Losonczy Pál államfő Nasszernek küldött üzenetében teljes támogatásáról biztosította Egyiptomot. A háború kirobbanásának másnapján pedig a kormány hivatalos nyilatkozatot tett közzé, amelyben megbélyegezte az izraeli politikát irányító szélsőséges köröket” és természetesen a mögöttük álló imperialista hatalmakat, elsősorban az Egyesült Államokat, amelyek "minden alkalmat megragadnak a nemzeti függetlenségük megszilárdításáért és a társadalmi haladásért küzdő arab államok hátba támadására". Felszólítja az ENSZ-t, tegyen lépéseket, hogy a harci cselekmények megszűnjenek és a csapatok vonuljanak vissza a harcokat megelőző pozíciójukba.⁽¹²⁾

A szovjet kormány nyilatkozatában agresszornak nevezi az "esztelenség és a politikai kalandorság útjára lépett izraeli kormányt."⁽¹³⁾ Nagyon pozitívan értékeli Nasszer június 9-i beszédét, s azt, hogy visszavonta lemondását. Bölcs réalpolitikusként nevezték.

Június 9-én Moszkvában gyűlnek össze a szocialista országok vezetői, Románia kivételével, viszont Jugoszlávia részvételével. Szolidaritásukat fejezik ki az arab országokkal és döntenek a támogatásukról. "Aadtunk valami 8 millió rubel gyorssegélyt, élelmiszerben, gyógyszerben. Felajánlottunk 8 millió, Szíriának 4 millió rubel értékű segélyt katonai felszerelésben, ezenkívül Egyiptomnak felajánlottunk mintegy 15 millió font értékű ipari, mezőgazdasági felszerelés szállítását hitelben. Mi ezt tudtuk csinálni az adott helyzetben" – olvashatjuk a Leonyid Brezsnyev és Kádár János 1967. szeptember 8-i megbeszélés-

(9) Idézi: *Benny Morris: Victimes. Histoire révisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste.* Ed. Complexe, IHTP Paris. 2003. 319.

(10) MNL OL M–KS 288.f. 32/1975. 44. ő.e.

(11) *Népszabadság*, 1967. május 23.

(12) Uo., 1967. június 7.

(13) Uo.



ről készült jegyzőkönyvben.⁽¹⁴⁾ Június 12-én Magyarország megszakította diplomáciai kapcsolatait Izraellel. Így tett a többi szocialista ország is, Románia kivételével, amelynek vezetője Ceausescu az arab országokat is felelőssé tette a háború kirobbantásáért, s nem ítélte el Izraelt.

A közel-keleti kérdés fontosságára utal, hogy az MSZMP Központi Bizottsága ülést hívott össze a megtárgyalására. A nemzetközi helyzetet mindig megvitatták, vagy beszámolókat hallgattak meg róla, a Központi Bizottságban, de hogy külön napirendként szerepeljen egy konkrét kérdés az csak vietnami háborúval kapcsolatban fordult elő. A június 23-i ülésen elfogadott határozatban leszögezték: „A Központi Bizottság elítéli Izrael agresszióját, a környező arab államok területének bekebelezésére irányuló törekvéseit, az izraeli katonai hatóságok kegyetlenkedéseit, a védtelen arab lakosság kiűzését a megszállt területekről... A Központi Bizottság kifejezve népünk baráti érzelmeit és akaratát, teljes szolidaritásáról biztosítja az agresszió által sújtott arab népeket.”⁽¹⁵⁾ A magyar párt és kormány összehangolt imperialista támadásnak minősítette a háborút, amelynek célja „visszavetni a nemzeti felszabadító mozgalmakat, elrabolni a haladás útjára lépett önálló népek nemzeti függetlenségét, megakadályozni, hogy azok maguk dönthessenek sorsuk felett, és megkísérelni gyarmati függőségük fenntartását vagy visszaállítását új formában.” – olvashatjuk még a határozatban. A szolidaritás kifejezése Egyiptom nemzeti függetlenségének és a társadalmi progresszió útján elért eredményeknek, sikereknek a védelmét jelentette. Az ennek érdekében folytatott küzdelmet az ENSZ keretein belül, politikai síkon, és nem katonai eszközökkel kívánták megvívni. Bár azzal is tisztában voltak, hogy az Egyesült Államok ellenállása miatt az igazságos rendezésre nem túl sok esély van. Ez tükröződik is az ENSZ Biztonsági tanács november 22-i, 242. sz. határozatában, amely felszólítja az izraeli fegyveres erőket az elfoglalt területekről történő kivonulásra, elismeri a térség valamennyi államának – beleértve Izraelt is – jogát a szuverenitáshoz és a területi integritáshoz. A palesztinok problémáját, amely igazán ekkor vált ismertté a világközvélemény számára, viszont *nem nemzeti, hanem csupán menekültkérdésként* kezelte, és hangsúlyozta az igazságos rendezés szükségességét.

A magyar vezetők a verség okainak vizsgálatakor és véleményük kialakításakor támaszkodtak a térség nagykövetségeinek jelentéseire, főként a különösen alapos, nagyon jó információs bázisra épülő damaszkusziéra. Illetve a Külügyminisztérium elemzéseire. Az arab országok vereségének számos oka volt. Elsősorban társadalmi-politikai, s az ebből fakadó szervezési és morális problémák, s nem a szembenálló hadseregek személyi állományának számában és a fegyverek minőségi színvonalában megnyilvánuló különbség.

(14) Kádár János külpolitikája és nemzetközi tárgyalásai. 1956-1988. k. Válogatott dokumentumok (Szerk.: Földes György) Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest. 2015. 264. Kádár János még megjegyezte, hogy a kérésekből úgy tűnik az arabok nem tudják pontosan mit is akarnak konkrétan kérni. A fegyverek pótlását a Szovjetunió végezte, illetve még Csehszlovákia.

(15) Az MSZMP határozatai és dokumentumai 1967-1970. Kossuth Könyvkiadó, Budapest. 89-90.



Mindenekelőtt, nem volt egység az arab országok között abban, hogy akarják-e valóban a háborút? Ugyanakkor egyes politikusaik, elsősorban a szíriai Baász Pártból – már említett – valóságtól teljesen elrugaszkodott, a tömegek érzelmeit felszító jelszavai a világgözüvélemény elutasítását váltották ki, s ez megsokszorozta az izraeliek erejét. A szíriai kommunisták, akiknek minisztériumi szinten voltak képviselői az állami vezetésben, hiába figyelmeztették a kormányt az Izraelt állami létében fenyegető politika negatív vonásaira "baászisták – mondta Haled Bagdas, a kommunista párt vezetője a magyar nagykövetségen tartott értékelésében július 3-án – kiadták Izrael megsemmisítésének jelszavát, és a valószínűségben még saját magukat sem tudták megvédeni".⁽¹⁶⁾

Egy korábbi, június 21-i keltezésű, a damaszkuszi nagykövetségről származó elemzés is a Baász Párt vezetőinek káros, romboló szerepére hívja fel a figyelmet. „a valóságos helyzettől elrugaszkodó, nagyon gyakran demagóg, túlzott baloldali megnyilatkozású vezető képviselői a közép-keleti helyzetet élező és háborúhoz vezető politikát folytattak.”⁽¹⁷⁾ Példaként említi Hafez al-Asszad hadügyminiszter (később államfő) május 20-i nyilatkozatát, amelyben a „sordöntő csatát” sietette.

Az arab országok nem voltak felkészülve a háborúra, az egység hangoztatása ellenére a széthúzás jellemezte őket (pl. rendkívül éles volt a szembenállás Szíria és Jordánia között). Katonai szempontból pedig elmaradtak az izraeli hagseregtől. A szovjet katonai attasé szerint hiába nagyobb potenciálisan az arab országok katonai ereje, mint Izraelé „hiányzik a szervezettség, a szekértő irányítás és a megfelelő kiképzés”.⁽¹⁸⁾

A kétségbeesés rémisztően meggondolatlan lépések megtételét is felvetette az intranzigens, balos – a kínai ultraforradalmi frázisok hatásától sem mentes – vezetőknél. A már idézett június 21-i elemzésben a következőket olvashatjuk: "Az arab országok meggondolatlanul azt is elvárták volna a Szovjetuniótól és a többi szocialista országtól, hogy a háborúba konkrétan beavatkozva hozzájáruljanak a harmadik világháború kirobbantásához."⁽¹⁹⁾ Moszkva természetesen elutasította a katonai beavatkozást, bár készültséget rendelt el a Varsói Szerződés bizonyos egységeinél. Június 12-én, a Nasszerrel történő megbeszélés után, Bumédien algériai államfő Moszkvába utazott, és "látogatása során tulajdonképpen nyílt szovjet katonai beavatkozást követelt, és figyelmen kívül hagyta azt, hogy ez világháborút válthat ki."⁽²⁰⁾

A magyar közvélemény nem alaptalanul érezte azt, hogy a harcoló vietnami vállalt szolidaritás mellett megjelenik az arab országok támogatása is, s ez újabb anyagi természetű terheket ró az emberekre. S ráadásul teljesen feleslegesen, mert míg a vietnamiak hőiesen

(16) MNL OL M-KS 288.f. 32/1967. 4. ő. e.

(17) Uo. 9. ő. e.

(18) U.o. Katonai információk, 1967, szeptember 5.

(19) MNL OL M-KS 288 9. ő.e.. f. 32/1967

(20) MNL OL XIX-J-1-j, Arab országok 1968. 6. d. 001253/1.



harcolnak, az arabok csak vesztenek. Emiatt – állapította meg az 1967. augusztusi követi konferencián felszólaló egyik diplomata – terjed az a vélemény, hogy „kidobott pénz az arabok támogatása”.⁽²¹⁾

S valóban, a magyar közvélemény, beleértve az MSZMP tagságát is, megosztott volt, nem azonosult egyértelműen – vagy egyáltalán nem – a kormány politikájával. Erről már a Központi Bizottság 13-i ülésén Kádár János is beszélt, s szankciókat helyezett kilátásba azokkal szemben, akik szembehelyezkedtek a párt hivatalos álláspontjával. Arról is beszélt, hogy "az Izraellel szembeni arab kijelentések nem voltak helyesek s világosan meg kell mondanunk propagandánkban is: a szocialista országok soha nem támogatták azt az arab propagandakampányt, hogy Izraelt meg kell semmisíteni." Ugyanakkor azt is köntörfalazás nélkül megállapította, hogy "az előállt helyzet kudarc és vereség az arabok számára, az antiimperialista és haladó arab rendszerek számára – és közvetlenül a mi számunkra is."⁽²²⁾ Az arab-izraeli konfliktussal kapcsolatos közhangulatot bemutató titkos jelentésben a következőket olvashatjuk: „a magyar zsidó kommunisták úgy ítélik meg, hogy az igazság Izrael oldalán áll az arabokkal szemben... az arabok antiszemita és antikommunisták. Nasszer olyan mint Hitler. A Szovjetunió tekintélyén nagy csorba esett.”⁽²³⁾

Kádár János a helyzet ismeretében úgy döntött, hogy a valóságos helyzetről tájékoztatni kell a párt tagságát. Ez az ún. szabad pártnapok keretében történt, amikor egy-egy intézmény, gyár, település stb. pártszervezete kibővített taggyűlést (vagyis pártonkívüliek is részt vehettek) tartott, ahol olyan információk (több is a fent említettek közül) is elhangzottak, amelyek nyilvánosan, a sajtóban, nem jelentek meg.⁽²⁴⁾

Nem lehetett azonban elkerülni, hogy valamilyen módon a sajtóban is megjelenjenek a lakosság körében meglévő ellentétes, a hivatalos irányvonallal nem egyező vélemények. S ezek valóban kifejezést is nyertek, természetesen a rendszer jellegének megfelelő sajtós formában: tudni kellett "olvasni a sorok között".

Az MSZMP hivatalos orgánumban, a *Népszabadságban* július 26-án cikk jelet meg *Az ENSZ-közgyűlés, a Közel-Kelet és mi* címen. A cikknek nem volt aláírója, ún. belső vezércikk volt, vagyis hivatalos álláspontot tükrözött. Érdeemes hosszabban idézni belőle. Először a cikk megállapítja, hogy „az események bonyolult sorozatára nálunk is többféleképpen reagált a közvélemény különböző rétege.” Őket nem konkrétan, hanem általánosságban jelöli meg. "Volt, aki arra gondolt: talán a fasizmust túlélte zsidóság egy csoportjára következnek el újabb nehéz idők, s ezt történelmileg igazságtalannak, érzelmileg fájónak minősítette.” A megfogalmazásból elég világosan kitűnik, hogy ezt a réteget elsősorban

(21) MNL OL M-KS 288. f. 32/1967. 22. ő.e.

(22) Idézi: *Kocsis András*: Magyar zsidó politika a háború végétől a kommunista rendszer bukásáig. *Múlt és Jövő*, 2003. 3. sz. 36.

(23) Uo. 37.

(24) E sorok írója is részt vett ilyen „szabad pártnapon”.



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a zsidók alkotják illetve még a velük szimpatizálók. De mit csinált, hogyan viselkedett Izrael? Határsértést követett el, háborút robbantott ki, agressziót követett el. Majd „az agresszió sikere után vezetői hetykén úgy nyilatkoztak, hogy a rablott földet nem adják vissza – nos, ezt az Izrael kellet volna talán támogatnunk? A fasizmus minden nemzetiségű, fajú, bőrszínű üldözöttjével ma is vallott szolidaritásunk miatt sem tehettük ezt.” Mint kitűnik, az arabokkal szembeni fasiszta vádak a cikk nem nyíltan, hanem burkoltan az agresszió elkövető Izrael ellen fordítja, amikor az antifasiszta szolidaritásra hivatkozva ítéli el. De, hogy a durva asszociációt elhárítsa nyomban ki is jelenti, elismertük Izraelt, nem teszünk egyenlőség jelet az izraeli nép és kormánya közé.

A cikke, anélkül, hogy egyet is idézne, elítéli a mindkét fél részéről elhangzott szélsőséges kijelentéseket, de mint "a sovinizmusba könnyen átcsapó nacionalizmus" megnyilvánulását.

És természetesen nem maradhatnak el a Dávid és Góliát harcának mítoszát cáfoló sorok sem. Ez a probléma is az ismert kifejezéssel kerül bemutatásra: "Vannak, akik Dávid és Góliát harcáról beszélnek. Ám ez már csak azért sem állja meg a helyét, mert Izrael mögött ott az Egyesült Államok, ami arrogánssá tette s nem úgy viselkedett, mint az arab tengerben fuldokló kicsiny ország, hanem úgy mint a hatalmaskodó nagyúr bizalmas csatlósa, aki biztos benne, hogy bármit tett gazdája mögötte áll."

S végül, mi a megoldás útja? A két szélsőség – a minden áron háborút illetve békét akarók – elítélése után erre is elhangzik a válasz: az agresszió következményeinek a felszámolását végső soron a békés egymás mellett élés politikájának az érvényre juttatása biztosítja.

A cikk megjelenése után néhány nappal, július 29-én, Kádár János a Ganz-MÁVAG gyárba látogatott és szokás szerint beszédet is tartott. Ebben visszatért a problémára, azt igyekezett bizonyítani, hogy "nem hiábavaló a segítség, kötelességünk segíteni."⁽²⁵⁾

Magyarország, éppúgy mint a többi szocialista ország, a konfliktus békés megoldására törekedett, s ebben Nasszer partnere volt.

(25) *Népszabadság*, 1967. július 30.

حرب 1967 والمجر

البروفيسير لاسلوي ناج "Prof. J. Nagy László"

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"Szegedi Tudományegyetem"

ملخص:

عانى العرب من هزيمة ثقيلة في حرب الستة أيام التي اندلعت في 5 يونيو 1967 والتي يطلق عليها أيضا «الحرب الخاطفة». هذه الهزيمة تعني هزيمة حلفاء مصر وسوريا والاتحاد السوفيتي والدول الاشتراكية أيضا. وعلى الرغم من هذا، إلا أن القيادة المجرية قد عبرت عن استمرار دعمها للشعوب العربية التي نال منها العدوان الإسرائيلي. في الوقت نفسه، فقد انتقدوا التصريحات العنترية والغير مسئولة التي كان يطلقها بعض السياسيين العرب (خاصة السوريين وقادة منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية). كان الرأي العام المجري حائرا حول مسألة هل يستحق العرب الدعم، بالرغم من الهزيمة الشديدة التي لحقت بهم بهذه السرعة. لقد حارب الفيتناميون بشكل بطولي مقارنة بالعرب.

كاتب هذا المقال اعتمد في مصادره على الوثائق الأرشيفية الخاصة بوزارة الخارجية (التي من بينها تقارير السفارة المجرية بدمشق) ومستندات الحزب الشيوعي المجري، بالإضافة إلى الصحافة اليومية في تلك الفترة.

الحرب الخاطفة والمجر

حرب الستة أيام هي صراع مسلح (الحرب العربية-الإسرائيلية الثالثة) معروف أحداثه التاريخية. تنقسم الآراء عن أسباب اندلاع هذه الحرب. في دائرة المؤرخين، السائد هو أن هذه الحرب لم يكن مرتبا لها من قبل، وكانت «الحرب الباردة العربية» مسيطرة على الوضع آنذاك، وكان الوضع متأزما ومحتدما، علاوة على تردد القوى العظمى، وتطرف القيادة السورية ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، وطبيعة الوضع القائم حينها، فضلا عن نقص التحليل الموضوعي للموقف السائد، وفوق كل ذلك تفوقت فكرة السياسة التوسعية في الأوساط الإسرائيلية. هناك وجهة نظر أخرى في هذا السياق مفادها أن القيادة السوفيتية هي من دفعت بمصر إلى إشعال هذه الحرب. بحسب مراسل البرافادا "Pravda"، الجريدة الناطقة باسم الحزب السوفيتي الحاكم والمقرب من الرئيس جمال عبدالناصر واسمه بريماكوف، ربما السبب في وجهة النظر هذه يعزى إلى أن القادة المصريين ربما أساءوا تفسير التصريحات الغير موفقة للمارشال جريتشكو أثناء زيارته للقاهرة، فقد صرح قائد قوات حلف وارسو أمام الجيش المصري أن «في ساحة الحرب يمكن أن تُحل بنجاح الكثير من المشكلات».⁽¹⁾

مصدر التوتر للساحة الدولية في النصف الثاني من الستينيات كانت الحرب الأمريكية الفيتنامية، والتي بسببها تجزرت وجهة النظر المعادية للقوات الأمريكية، وكذا ضد كل أولئك الذين يريدون تسخير القوة في إيجاد حلول سريعة للمشكلات المجتمعية ووجهة النظر هذه شجعتها ودعمتها «الثورة الثقافية البروليتارية الكبيرة» في العالم الثالث. وكان المثل الناجح لهذا الأمر وتصديه بنجاح للألة العسكرية الأمريكية الجبارة هي فيتنام. يقول جيفارا أنه من الممكن أن نخلق عدة فيتنام أخرى ويتم إلحاق الهزيمة بالقوى الفائزة لهذا العالم المادي.

Evgueni Primakov: Au coeur du pouvoir. Mémoires politiques. Éditions du Syrtes, (1) Paris. 2001. 231. بريماكوف (1929-2015)، تولى منصب وزير الخارجية في التسعينيات، ثم أصبح رئيسا للوزراء فيما بعد.



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كان العالم العربي أيضا لديه فيتنام أخرى: شمال اليمن، حيث كان هناك خمسين ألف جندي مصري يساعدون الجمهوريين ضد مناصري الملكية المدعومين من قبل المملكة العربية السعودية. يمكن القول أنه لم تكن هناك نتيجة كبيرة في هذا الشأن. كما أثرى التوتر في حوض شرق المتوسط الصراع بين قبرص اليونانية والتركية الذي تم في إبريل 1967 بدعم صامت من قبل المخابرات الأمريكية سي أي إيه لتسليم السلطة لصالح اليونان ومحاولة إخراج تركيا.

كان العالم العربي معقدا ويوحى بصورة غير واضحة المعالم، لم يسبق لها مثيل من قبل، في فترة كانت الساحة الدولية وقتها تعج بمعالم الحرب الباردة ومنقسم بين «التقدميين» و«الرجعيين» فحاول مؤيدي الفئة الأولى الوقوف خلف مصر عبدالناصر، وأما الفئة الثانية فقد اعتبرت السعودية قائدة لهم. هذا الانقسام لم يروق لأولئك الذين يأملون في حل للقضية الفلسطينية من خلال حصولهم على توازن ودعم كامل من كافة الأطراف.

شعرت الحكومة المصرية بالتوتر السائد في المنطقة وأعربت عن قلقها إزاء التصرفات العنترية والتحريضية التي تقوم بها الحكومة السورية، وفي تلك الفترة لم يكن هناك اهتمام كبير بالقضية الفلسطينية، والتي ظهرت أهميتها بالنسبة للجانب المجري واعتبارها «قضية جوهرية في العلاقات العربية-الإسرائيلية» حسب تصنيف الخارجية المصرية في عام 1966.

ما زاد من حدة التوتر في المنطقة هو صعود القيادة السورية إلى سدة الحكم في فبراير عام 1966. كانت هذه القيادة البعثية الجديدة المشكلة من قبل مجموعة من ضباط الجيش قليلة الصبر للغاية سواء فيما يتعلق بالسياسة الداخلية أو حتى الخارجية. فقد أعلنت «حربا شعبية» ليس ضد إسرائيل فحسب وإنما ضد السعودية والأردن المناهضتين لها وذلك على غرار حرب التحرير الوطنية الجزائرية (1954-1962) والحرب الفيتنامية. فقد اعتبرت هذه القيادة أن الخطوة الأولى في طريق تحرير فلسطين هو اقتلاع النظام المجتمعي لهذه الدول. عقد رئيس الوزراء السوري يوسف زعين مشاورات مع القيادة المصرية في نوفمبر 1966 وقد اقترح على عبدالناصر تأجيج الوضع على الحدود المصرية الإسرائيلية والعمل على استفزاز إسرائيل. وفي حالة اندلاع الحرب وأراد الجيش الإسرائيلي الوصول إلى دمشق أو القاهرة فإنه سيواجه شعبا مسلحا. استمع عبدالناصر إلى القائد السوري وهو في حالة ذهول، ثم عقب قائلا: «ما تقوله هو الطريق الأكيد إلى الهزيمة بعينها، وأعلم أننا في هذه الحالة لن نكون في مواجهة السعودية والأردن، وإنما سنكون في مواجهة مع أمريكا، والتي يههما أمرين لا ثالث لهما في العالم العربي: أولا إسرائيل، وثانيا البترول.»⁽²⁾ اقترح عبدالناصر إقامة حلف دفاعي، والذي تم تدشينه بالفعل لاحقا، إلا أن تحذيره لم يجدي نفعا، وسعت القيادة السورية إلى إشعال الحرب على الجبهة السورية.

تسارعت الأحداث في شهر مايو من هذا العام، لدرجة أن المجتمع الدولي صار قلقا على الأحداث في المنطقة بسبب مدى توتر الوضع بشكل كبير، ففي 13 مايو أوصلت موسكو معلومات إلى القاهرة مفادها أن الإسرائيليين قاموا بتحريك عدة فرق عسكرية للتمركز بالقرب من خط الحدود السورية. شبح الحرب بدأ يلوح في الأفق، وما زاد ذلك من تأكيد أن إسرائيل قامت بعمل عرض عسكري في القدس في 15 مايو. وما أثار إسرائيل هو قيام مصر بطلب رحيل قوات الأمم المتحدة المتمركزة على خط وقف إطلاق النار، لأنه في حالة تعرض سوريا إلى عدوان فإن القيادة المصرية ستدخل الحرب ضد إسرائيل. وما أثار إنذارا حقيقيا في الدوائر الحكومية الإسرائيلية هو قيام طائرتين مصريتين بالتحليق فوق المفاعل النووي الإسرائيلي ديمونة المخصص للأبحاث وتصنيع القنابل، ولم يتمكن الإسرائيليين من استهدافهما. لم يكن عبدالناصر ينوي شن حرب ضد إسرائيل، لكنه كان مستعدا للقيام بإجراءات تحذيرية لممارسة ضغوط عليها، لكن كان هناك المارشال عامر الذي كانت لديه خططا للحرب ورغبة في ذلك.

الخطوات الموضحة السالفة التي قام بها عبدالناصر تم استغلالها في إسرائيل على أنها استعدادات للحرب، وبالفعل قاموا بتضخيمها والمزايدة فيها في الاعلان، على الرغم من أنهم كانوا على قناعة تامة بأن عبدالناصر لا يريد الحرب. اعترف بهذا الأمر السياسيون الإسرائيليون في وقت لاحق. فقد صرح اسحاق رابين رئيس أركان جيش إسرائيل في لقاء - لاقى اهتماما في الداخل والخارج - مع مراسل صحيفة لوموند الفرنسية أريك رولو قائلا: «لا أعتقد أن

(2) Hejkal: 1967 al-infijâr c. könyve (Kairó 1990. 364-367. old.) alapján idézi: Laurens, Henry: Paix et guerre au Moyen-Orient. L'Orient et le monde de 1945 à nos jours. Aramand Colin, Paris. 1999. 230-236.



عبدالناصر كان يريد الحرب. فالفرقتين العسكريتين الذي تم إرسالهما إلى سيناء في 14 مايو لم يكونا كافيين لإلحاق هزيمة في الحرب. هذا الأمر يعرفه هو ونحن جيداً. «كما صرح مناحم بيغن اليميني المتطرف الذي يعد من أشد أنصار الحروب الوقائية بأن: «تجمع الفرق العسكرية المصرية لا يدول على أن مصر تريد حرباً... ولكن واضحين وصريحين مع أنفسنا، نحن كنا الذين بدأنا في العدوان».⁽³⁾

في ذلك الوقت، كان الإسرائيليون هم الآخرين يستفزون الدول المجاورة، وفي المقام الأول سوريا. فلدى الإسرائيليين تكتيك مفاده أنه دائماً يجب الانطلاق من الوضع القائم، ولا يجب فحص كيف نشأ هذا الموقف. وعن هذا الأمر ذكر الجنرال ديان في عام 1976 قائلاً: «أنا أعلم على الأقل 80% من كيفية إشعال هذه الحوادث... حدثت على النحو الآتي: كنا نرسل جراراً يعمل في القطاع المنزوع السلاح، في مكان لا زرع فيه ولا ماء، وكنا نعلم مسبقاً أن السوريين سيطلقون عليه النار. وإذا لم يطلقوا عليه النار، كان الجرار يواصل السير حتى يثير غضب السوريين فيطلقون عليه النار، وبالفعل يطلقون النار. عندئذ نستهدفهم بنيران المدفعية، ثم القوات الجوية.»⁽⁴⁾

التصريحات الغير مسئولة والتي يمكن فهمها بشكل خاطيء، والتي تنادي بإزالة إسرائيل، والتي تخرج عن وسائل الاعلام العربية (وعلى رأسها محطة راديو صوت العرب) وبعض السياسيين السوريين والفلسطينيين (على رأسهم شكري القوتلي، ورئيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية) ترسم صورة مخيفة لهولوكوست جديدة لدى الإسرائيليين. استغلت تل أبيب هذا الأمر بشكل ماهر للغاية، وتمكنت من اقناع جزء كبير من الرأي العام العالمي (خاصة غرب أوروبا) أن وجود الدولة اليهودية في خطر. لم يكن هذا هو هدف عبدالناصر على الإطلاق، فقد أراد الانطلاق من وضع ما قبل عام 1956، إلا أن وسائل الاعلام الخاصة به دون تعمد ذكرت أنه يريد الاستناد إلى الوضه القائم قبل عام 1948، أي عدم وجود الدولة اليهودية. هذا الاعلام وهذه الدعاية السلبية ساهمت بشكل فعال في تقوية المؤيدين للحرب في إسرائيل. إلا أن السياسيين الإسرائيليين (وعلى رأسهم بن جوريون أيضاً) كانوا مستعدين في دخول صراع مسلح فقط في حالة أن الولايات المتحدة تدعم هذا التحرك. وهم في إسرائيل لم يحصلوا على هذا. اعترف الرئيس الأمريكي جونسون أن غلق خليج العقبة (22 مايو) هو خرق لحرية الملاحة، وفي نفس الوقت حاول اثناء إسرائيل عن مسألة الحرب. استمع الاسرائيليون إلى الجزء الأول من حديث الرئيس الأمريكي، ولم يكثرثوا بالجزء الثاني، تماماً مثلما يفعل الأمريكيان.

أما عبدالناصر فقد تنبه إلى النصف الثاني من وجهة نظر جونسون فحسب، وقد أكدت واشنطن على هذا الأمر أيضاً في تصريحاتها. لا يمكننا أن نقول عن البريطانيين أن الأمر سيان بالنسبة لهم الوقوف بجانب إسرائيل المدججة بالسلاح، أما ديجول فقد أعطي تعليمات مباشرة بعدم الدخول في أي حرب. قام الرئيس الفرنسي بإصدار أوامر بإيقاف نقل الأسلحة إلى المنطقة وصرح قائلاً: من يهاجم أولاً يعتبر معتدياً. بالنسبة لموسكو فقد دعمت مصر وسوريا. كل هذا كان بمثابة ضمانات للقيادة المصرية حينذاك، لكنها أخطأت في تقدير الموقف، ظناً منها أنه يمكن إعادة الموقف الحاصل في عام 1956، «بأن إسرائيل ما هي إلا دمية في يد الولايات المتحدة».⁽⁵⁾ موسكو أيضاً كانت ترى أن «دوائر إمبريالية تقف بجانب إسرائيل» - نقرأ هذا في التصريح الصادر بتاريخ 24 مايو عن الحكومة السوفيتية.⁽⁶⁾ إسرائيل في عام 1967 ليست هي إسرائيل التي كانت منذ 11 عام. فبحسب المؤرخ الإسرائيلي توم سيجيف فإن حرب الستة أيام بمثابة نصراً لأولئك المولودين في إسرائيل، وتعد أيضاً إيذاناً بميلاد مرحلة قومية دينية جديدة لهذا البلد.⁽⁷⁾

(3) Mindkettőt idézi: *Eric Rouleau*: Dans les coulisses du Proche-Orient. Mémoires d'un journaliste diplomat (1952-2012). Fayard, Paris. 2012. 158-159.

(4) Idézi: *Laurens, Henry*: La question de Palestine. 3. k. 1947-1967. L'accomplissement des prophéties. Fayard, Paris 2007. 679.

(5) Feljegyzés Nasszer és Pozsidajev szovjet nagykövet megbeszéléséről, 1967. május 22. Közli: A közel-keleti konfliktus dokumentumai 1957-1967. Az Orosz Föderáció Külpolitikai Archivumának dokumentumaiból. (Főszerk.: *V.V. Namjkin*) Moszkva, 2003. 562. (باللغة الروسية)

(6) صحيفة نيبصا بدشاج، 25 مايو 1967.

(7) *Tom Segev*: Nous sommes toujours en 1967. *Courrier international*, 2007. június (865. sz.)



في ساعات الصباح الأولى من يوم 5 يونيو 1967 - تحديدا بين الساعة والسابعة والثامنة - قامت القوات الإسرائيلية بضربات جوية مدمرة أسفرت عن تدمير 304 طائرة مصرية من أصل 419 طائرة. أجرى الجنرال وايزمان مساعد رئيس أركان الجيش الإسرائيلي اتصالا هاتفيا بزوجته في الساعة العاشرة وقال لها: «لقد انتصرنا في الحرب». (8) تعجب الجميع - بما فيهم المشاركين في الحرب أنفسهم - من هذه الهزيمة الكارثية التي لم تستغرق سوى وقتا قليلا للغاية. قال عزيز محمد سكرتير الحزب الشيوعي العراقي في لقاء مع أرباد بوالي "Pullai Árpád"، مع سكرتير حزب العمال الاشتراكي المجري بعد الحرب بقليل: «لقد أزهلنا الموقف في الشرق الأوسط، كان يقال أن البلدان العربية لديها العديد من نقاط الضعف الخطيرة، لكن لم يكن أحد يعتقد أنه يمكن الوصول إلى هذه الهزيمة النكراء بهذه السرعة وبهذا الحجم الكارثي». (9)

اهتمت الصحافة المجرية بالموضع المتأزم في الشرق الأوسط ابتداء من منتصف مايو، فكتبت عن الأحداث المتلاحقة في المنطقة والاجراءات الدفاعية المصرية-السورية المشتركة وانسحاب قوات الأمم المتحدة، وغلق خليج العقبة أمام الملاحة الإسرائيلية... إلخ. بل ونشرت مقتطفات من التصريحات الداعية للحرب الصادرة عن الرئيس السوري نور الدين الأتاسي الذي قال: «ردا على أي تحرك إسرائيلي، سنطلق حرب التحرير في الحال». (10)

وفي نهاية شهر مايو أرسل رئيس الدولة المجرية بال لوشونتسي "Losonczy Pál" رسالة إلى الرئيس جمال عبدالناصر يعرب له فيها عن كامل دعمه لمصر. وفي اليوم الثاني على اندلاع الحرب أصدرت الحكومة المجرية بيانا أدانت فيه الدوائر المتطرفة التي توجه السياسة الإسرائيلية، والقوى الإمبريالية التي تقف ورائها، وعلى رأسها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. كما طالبت الأمم المتحدة باتخاذ الخطوات اللازمة لوقف العمليات القتالية وانسحاب القوات المعتدية إلى أماكنها قبل اندلاع الحرب. (11)

وفي بيان الحكومة السوفيتية فإنهم قد وصفوا الحكومة الإسرائيلية بالمعتدي. (12) كما أنهم قيموا بشكل غاية في الإيجابية حديث الرئيس جمال عبدالناصر في 9 يونيو وكذا سحبه لاستقالته، كما وسموه بأنه سياسي حقيقي.

في 9 يونيو 1967 اجتمع بالعاصمة موسكو قادة الدول الاشتراكية باستثناء رومانيا، وبمشاركة يوغوسلافيا. وقد أعربوا عن تضامنهم مع الدول العربية، كما قرروا في هذا الاجتماع تقديم الدعم للجانب العربي. «قدمنا دعما بحوالي 8 مليون روبل كمساعدات عاجلة من مواد غذائية وأدوية. كما قدمنا 8 مليون لسوريا منهم 4 مليون مساعدات عسكرية، أما بالنسبة لمصر فقد قدمنا لها دعما بقرابة 15 مليون جنيه من المساعدات الخاصة بالمعدات الصناعية والزراعية يسدد لاحقا بتسهيلات كبيرة. هذا ما تمكنا من فعله في الوضع الراهن». - هذا ما يمكننا مطالعته في محضر اجتماع برجينيف ويانوش كادار في 8 سبتمبر 1967. (13) في 12 يونيو قطعت المجر علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع إسرائيل، وهذا ما قامت به بقية الدول الاشتراكية الأخرى، باستثناء رومانيا، التي قال قائدها حينها نيكولا تشاوتشيسكو أن العرب هو المسؤولون عن اندلاع الحرب، بل ولم يدين إسرائيل.

(8) Idézi: Benny Morris: Victimes. Histoire révisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste. Ed. Complexe, IHTP Paris. 2003. 319.

(9) (الأرشيف القومي المجري - وزارة الخارجية) MNL OL M-KS 288.f. 32/1975. 44. ö.e.

(10) صحيفة نيبصا بدشاج، 27 مايو 1967.

(11) نفس المصدر السابق، 7 يونيو 1967.

(12) نفس المصدر السابق.

(13) Kádár János külpolitikája és nemzetközi tárgyalásai. 1956-1988. 2. k. Válogatott dokumentumok (Szerk.: Földes György) Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest. 2015. 264.

بحسب ما جاء في ملاحظات كادار فإن يتضح من الطلبات المقدمة أن العرب لا يعرفون بالتحديد ماذا يريدون أن يطلبوا. بالنسبة للمتطلبات من الأسلحة فقد قامت اضطلعت بهذا الدور روسيا وتشيكوسلوفاكيا.



استناداً إلى أهمية قضية الشرق الأوسط، فقد قام حزب العمال الاشتراكي المجري بعقد جلسة للجنة المركزية للباحث في الوضع. كانوا دائمون يتباحثون بشأن الموقف الدولي، أو يستمعون لتقارير بخصوصه في اللجنة المركزية، أما أن يوضع موضوع محدد على جدول أعمال خاص فهذا لم يحدث قط إلا فيما يتعلق بالحرب الفيتنامية. تم الاتفاق في جلسة 23 يونيو على أن «اللجنة المركزية للحزب تدين إسرائيل المعتدية، ومساعدتها الهادفة لزعة السلام والاستقرار على الأراضي العربية، وفضاعة تصرفات السلطات العسكرية الإسرائيلية في طرد السكان العرب العزل من المناطق المحتلة... كما تعبر اللجنة المركزية عن مشاعر ورغبة شعبنا التضامنية الكاملة للشعوب العربية التي تعاني من العدوان الإسرائيلي الغاشم»⁽¹⁴⁾. اتفق الحزب المجري والحكومة تماماً في توصيف ما حدث من حرب بأنها اعتداء إمبريالي، والذي كان الهدف منه «وَأد حركات التحرر القومية، واغتصاب الاستقلال الوطني للشعوب المستقلة التي تسير على طريق التقدم، ومحاولة منعهم من تحديد مصيرهم، واتخاذ قراراتهم بأنفسهم وإعادة الاستعمار بشكل جديد.» - يمكننا مطالعة هذا في القرار الصادر. التعبير عن التضامن مع مصر يعني حماية النتائج والنجاحات التي حققتها على طريق التقدم المجتمعي والاستقلال الوطني. وهذا الأمر كان يصب في مصلحة الكفاح في أروقة الأمم المتحدة، الذي كان من الصعب حسمه هناك بسبب مقاومة الولايات المتحدة للوصول لتسوية عادلة في هذه الشأن. وهذا ينعكس بجلاء في القرار رقم 242 الصادر في 22 نوفمبر بمجلس الأمن التابع للأمم المتحدة والذي يطالب إسرائيل بسحب قواتها المسلحة من الأراضي التي قامت باحتلالها، ويعترف بحق دول المنطقة - بما فيها إسرائيل - في ممارسة أعمال السيادة والتكامل على كافة أراضيها. أما بالنسبة للقضية الفلسطينية والتي بدأت حينها في أن تكون معروفة بالنسبة للرأي العام فقد تم توصيفها ليس على أنها قضية قومية. وإنما قضية لا جئين فحسب، وأكد على ضرورة التسوية العادلة لها.

اعتمد القادة المجرين في مسألة فحص أسباب الهزيمة وتكوين رأيهم وقناعاتهم عن تقارير السفارات المجرية المعتمدة بالمنطقة، وخاصة على التقارير الصادرة عن السفارة بدمشق التي كانت تقدم تقارير جوهرية مليئة بالمعلومات، وأيضاً على التحليلات التي تقوم بها وزارة الخارجية. كان لهزيمة العرب العديد من الأسباب، يأتي على رأسها المشكلات المجتمعية السياسية والتي نتجت عنها مشكلات تنظيمية وأخلاقية، ولم يكن السبب الرئيسي يكمن في اختلاف نوعية وكمية الأسلحة المستخدمة في الحرب بين الطرفين المتصارعين.

وقبل كل شيء، لم تكن هناك وحدة بين الدول العربية في مسألة هل يريدون حرباً أم لا؟ فمثلاً قادة حزب البعث في سوريا كانوا يؤججون مشاعر الجموع مما أدى إلى رفضهم من قبل الرأي العام العالمي، وضاعف هذا الأمر من قوة الإسرائيليين، ولم يكثر هؤلاء القادة بالتنبيهات التي كان يطلقها الشيوعيون السوريون من التأثيرات السلبية للسياسية التهديدية للوجود الإسرائيلي. فقد قال البعثي خالد البغداش رئيس الحزب الشيوعي السوري في تقييمه للوضع في لقاء بالسفارة المجرية بدمشق في 3 يوليو: «كانوا يطلقون كلماتهم بمحو إسرائيل، لكن في الواقع هم كانوا لا يستطيعون حتى حماية أنفسهم»⁽¹⁵⁾.

وفي تقرير تحليلي صادر عن السفارة المجرية بدمشق في 21 يونيو بشأن الدور الهدام لقيادات حزب البعث نقراً: «يقوم ممثلوا وقادة حزب البعث بتصريحات مغايرة عن الواقع، بل ويمارسون سياسات توجب وتشعل الوضع وأيضاً تقود إلى الحرب»⁽¹⁶⁾ ومثال على ذلك التصريح الصادر عن وزير الحربية السوري حافظ الأسد (رئيس الجمهورية فيما بعد) في 20 مايو، والذي نادى فيها وعجل بـ«معركة تحديد المصير».

لم تكن الدول العربية مستعدة للحرب، وكانت الفرقة بينهم كبيرة، على الرغم من المناادة بالوحدة والتأكيد عليها (على سبيل المثال كانت المواجهة حادة وغير عادية بين سوريا والأردن). أما من الناحية العسكرية فقد كانوا متأخرين عن الجيش الإسرائيلي. فبحسب الملحق العسكري السوفيتي، فلا جدوى من أن القوى العسكرية العربية أكبر وأقوى من

(14) قرارات ووثائق حزب العمال الاشتراكي المجري 1967-1970. الناشر كوشوت، بودابست، 89-90.

(15) (الأرشيف القومي المجري - وزارة الخارجية). MNL OL M-KS 288.f. 32/1967. 4. ö. e.

(16) نفس المصدر السابق، 9.



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التي تمتلكها إسرائيل، لكن كان ينقصها «التنظيم والتوجيه القائم على الخبرة والتدريب المناسب». (17)

وفي التحليل السياسي الصادر في 21 يونيو نقرأ الآتي: «كانت الدول العربية تتوقع من الاتحاد السوفيتي ومن بقية الدول الاشتراكية التدخل عسكرياً في الحرب». (18) رفضت موسكو التدخل عسكرياً في الصراع، على الرغم من جاهزيتها لذلك عبر بعض الوحدات طبقاً لحلف وارسو. في يوم 12 يونيو وبعد محادثاته مع عبدالناصر، قام الرئيس الجزائري بومدين بزيارة إلى موسكو، و«خلال الزيارة طالب بتدخل عسكري سوفيتي صريح، غير واضعاً في الاعتبار أن هذا الأمر يمكن أن يقود لحرب عالمية». (19)

لم يكن بلا أساس أن الرأي العام المجري بجانب دعمه المستمر للتضامن مع المقاتلين الفيتناميين أن يشعر بأنه عليه أن يقدم دعماً إلى الدول العربية هي الأخرى، ومن ثم عليه أن يتحمل أفعال جديدة على كاهله. لكن كل هذا بلا جدوى، لأن الفيتناميون يقاتلون بشكل بطولي، أما العرب فهم يخسرون فحسب. ولهذا السبب - قال أحد السفراء في مؤتمر السفراء السنوي الذي عقد في أغسطس 1967 أن «الدعم الذي يُقدم للعرب ليس سوى أموال ملقاة على الأرض لا فائدة منها». (20)

وفي واقع الأمر فإن الرأي العام المجري، بما فيه أعضاء حزب العمال الاشتراكي المجري، كان منقسماً، ولم يكن يتفق مع سياسة الحكومة. وقد تحدث عن هذا الأمر يانوش كادار في الجلسة الثالثة عشرة للجنة المركزية للحزب، بل وقام بفرض عقوبات على أولئك الذين يعارضون وجهة النظر الرسمية للحزب. تحدث قائلاً: «كانت التصريحات العربية حيال إسرائيل ليست صحيحة، ويجب علينا أن نقول في دعاياتنا أيضاً: الدول الاشتراكية لم تدعم قط حملة الدعاية العربية القائلة بأنه لا بد من تدمير إسرائيل». ثم أردف في نفس الوقت قائلاً: «سواء كان الوضع القائم ينم عن فشل أو هزيمة بالنسبة للعرب، فإن الأمر يمسننا بشكل مباشر، ومعنا أيضاً الأنظمة التقدمية العربية المناهضة للإمبريالية». (21) لكن يمكننا أن نقرأ في أحد التقارير السرية، التي تظهر السمات العام المجري حيال الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، ما يلي: «يرى الشيوعيون المجريون اليهود أن العدالة تقف إلى جانب إسرائيل ضد العرب... العرب معادون للسامية ومناهضون للشيوعية. عبدالناصر يشبه هتلر، بيد أنه يحظى بتقدير الاتحاد السوفيتي». (22)

وفي النهاية، واستكمالاً للموقف المجري الواضح في ثنايا الأسطر الماضية، فقد قام يانوش كادار في 29 يوليو بزيارة لمصنع "Ganz-MÁVAG" وكما جرت العادة فقد ألقى خطاباً هناك، وحاول التأكيد على أن: «المساعدة ليست هباء... نحن ملزمون بتقديم المساعدة للجانب العربي». (23) والخلاصة أن المجر شأنها في ذلك شأن بقية الدول الاشتراكية، فقد بذلت جهداً وحاولت الوصول إلى حل سلمي للصراع، وكان عبدالناصر شريكها في هذا الأمر.

(17) نفس المصدر السابق، معلومات وبيانات عسكرية-5 سبتمبر 1967.

(18) (الأرشيف القومي المجري - وزارة الخارجية) MNL OL M-KS 288 9. ö.e.. f. 32/1967

(19) (الأرشيف القومي المجري - وزارة الخارجية) MNL OL XIX-J-1-j, Arab országok 1968. 6. d. 001253/1.

(20) (الأرشيف القومي المجري - وزارة الخارجية) MNL OL M-KS 288. f. 32/1967. 22. ö.e.

(21) Idézi: Kocsis András: Magyar zsidó politika a háború végétől a kommunista rendszer bukásáig. *Múlt és Jövő*, 2003. 3. sz. 36.

(22) نفس المصدر السابق.

(23) صحيفة نيبابدشاج، 30 يوليو 1967



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