

Jurisprudence and Political Leadership in the Syrian Coastal Towns of Tripoli and Jabala: *Qādīs* during the 11th-12th Centuries

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Qādīs (judges) played key judicial and political roles in Muslim society. According to al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), *qādīs* took charges of the following ten areas of jurisprudence: (1) resolving disputes, (2) obtaining rights from delinquents, (3) establishing guardianship over persons having no power to act in their own behalf, (4) looking after endowments (*waqf*), (5) disposing of legacies (*waṣāyā*) according to the wishes of the testators, (6) re-marrying divorced women to suitable husbands, (7) carrying out legal punishment, (8) looking after the interests (*maṣāliḥ*) of their districts, (9) examining witnesses and clerks, and (10) dealing impartially in judgements concerning both the strong and the weak.¹⁾ E. Tyan, who did a comprehensive study on Islamic jurisprudence based on such legal works as al-Māwardī's, states that *qādīs* during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods also came to participate in administration through acting as the sultans' secretaries and controllers of the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*).²⁾ Tyan's study mainly concerns *qādī* activities in the central administration, but *qādīs* in local society also deserve attention in order to understand better the substantial roles they played in Muslim society.

Regarding the local society in Syria (Bilād al-Shām), a lot of research has been done on the characteristics of autonomous government under town heads (*ra'īs al-balad*) or influential *qādīs*. E. Ashtor, who followed the pioneering work of Cl. Cahen,³⁾ discussed provincial administration in 12th century Syria focusing on the roles of *ra'īs*. In this interesting article, he viewed comparatively the cases of Damascus, Aleppo, Jabala, 'Asqalān, Jubayl and Ḥarrān.⁴⁾ A. Havemann, who studied on the *ra'īs*es and *qādīs* of Syrian cities from the 10th to the 12th centuries, improved our understanding of self-government and leadership by local notables.⁵⁾ A comprehensive study on the history of Tripoli by U. A. Tadmurī also attracts our attention in the thorough examination of source materials and careful methodology.⁶⁾ M. D. Yusuf's *Economic Survey of Syria* is useful for understanding the substantive background of *qādīs* in Syrian cities under the Fatimids and the Seljuqids.⁷⁾ Furthermore, one work of P. M. Holt is indispensable to properly evaluating the political and social activities of *qādīs* or

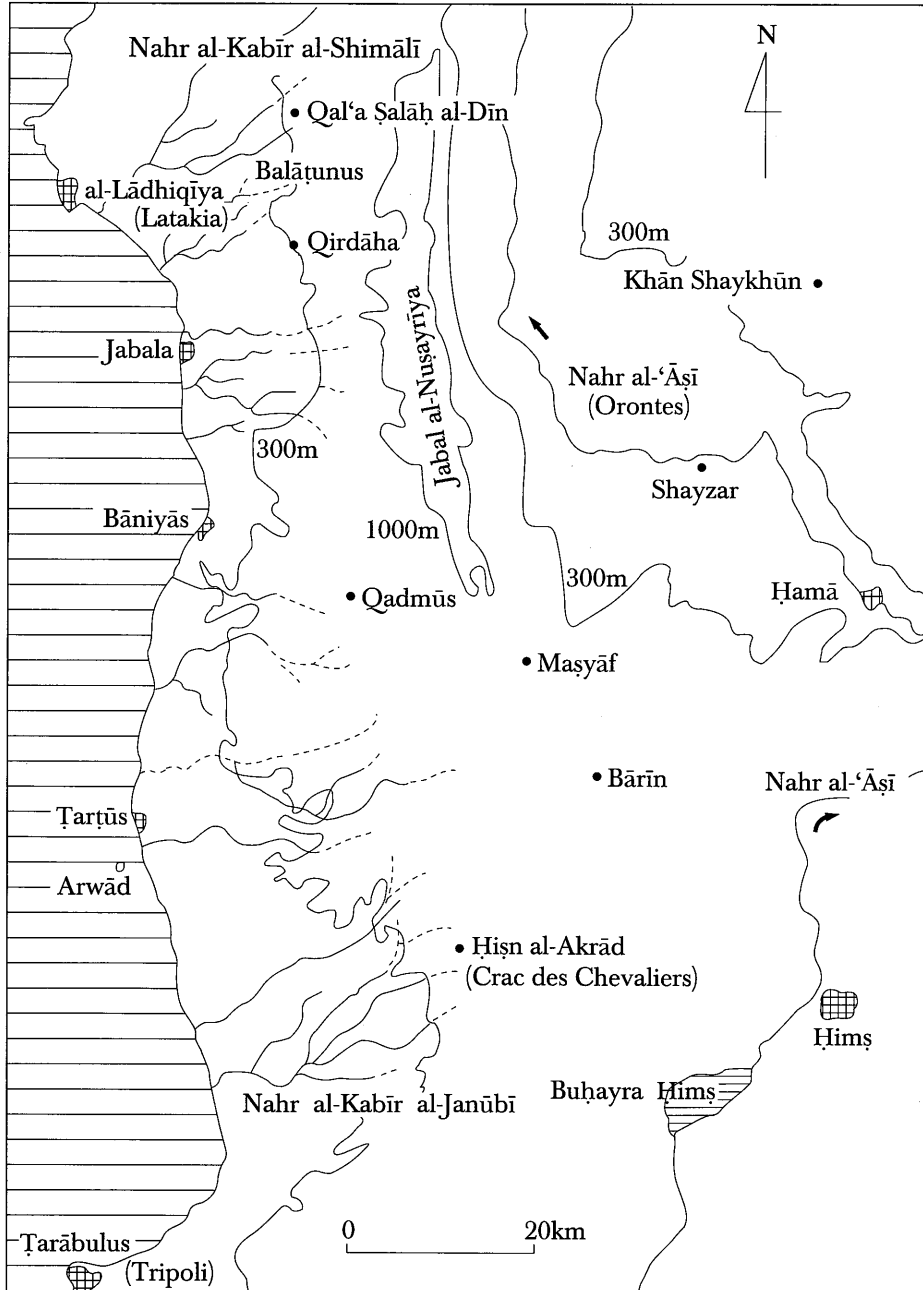
ra'ises in the history of Syrian society during the age of the Crusades.⁸⁾

However, the scope of these studies lies within the time when local notables established self-government, and does not refer to periods when Syrian cities were under the rule of the Byzantines (al-Rūm) or the Crusaders (al-Firanj). In these studies on the "age of self-government", we even find several facts and dates that need to be corrected based on the Arabic primary sources. Therefore, in the present article I will try to explain the actual roles played by *qādīs* in the Syrian coastal towns of Tripoli and Jabala during early medieval times. Tripoli is an old and large port town which has played an important role in the Mediterranean commercial activities, while Jabala, although it has a long history since the Phoenicians, is now a small fishing port town north of Tripoli, where there stands the old mosque of Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. 161/777-8), a famous Sufi saint, attracting even today many Muslim pilgrims.⁹⁾ The reason why Tripoli and Jabala were chosen is; in addition to the fact that they provide plenty of information on the subject, both towns separated each other by a distance of 120 kilometers, kept, interestingly enough, close contact during the historical changes brought about by the Seljuqid advance on and the Crusaders' invasion into the coastal towns of Syria. The present article is the second of my three historical treatments of Jabala, through which Islamic history will be considered from the view point of local history.¹⁰⁾

1. The *Qādīs* of Tripoli

During the mid-11th century, the three great powers of the Fatimids in Cairo, the Seljuqids in Damascus, and the Byzantines in Constantinople continuously struggled with each other to win control over such coastal towns as Tripoli, Jabala, Ṣūr (Tyre), and Jubayl.¹¹⁾ For example, in 455/1063 'Ayn al-Dawla b. Abī 'Aqīl, *qāḍī* of Ṣūr under the Fatimids, became independent of its rule and continued to maintain autonomy until his death in 465/1075.¹²⁾ Ibn Abī 'Aqīl was a man of property who engaged in business with trade vessels. S. D. Goitein has introduced a letter sent by a Jewish merchant at Alexandria to his master in Fustāt, which says, "The large ship of Ibn Abī 'Aqīl has arrived; likewise, the barge of (Abu?) 'I-Faraj, and that of the qadi of Tripoli, Syria. Please buy 500 pounds of sugar and send them to me."¹³⁾ Even after his death, the rulership of Ṣūr under his sons continued for about twenty-seven years, until 482/1089, when the Fatimid army retook Ṣūr and Ṣayḍā.¹⁴⁾

During these years the *qāḍī* self-government was established also in Tripoli by Amīn al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan from the ruling family, Banū 'Ammār. According to previous research, Amīn al-Dawla is said to have won independence in 462/1070, after the death of Mukhtār al-Dawla, the Fatimid governor in Tripoli.¹⁵⁾ This view is based on the accounts contained in *Mir'āt al-Zamān* and *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh*, but they relate only that Amīn al-Dawla was the ruler



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in Tripoli and acted independently as its lord (*ṣāhib* Ṭarābulus), managing the town and issuing orders.¹⁶⁾ However, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256) states in an account dated 459/1066-7.

A serious situation occurred in which nothing remained except war between Maḥmūd (reigned 452-453/1060-61, 457-467/1065-75), the Mirdāsīd ruler in Aleppo, and 'Aṭīya, his uncle, who had entered into friendly relations with the Fatimids. Then Ibn 'Ammār [Amīn al-Dawla], *qāḍī* of Tripoli, intervened in the struggle between them, indicated the amount of settlement money, and swore them to acknowledge the lord of Egypt [Caliph al-Mustanṣir].¹⁷⁾

The Mirdāsīd dynasty (415-472/1024-80) in Aleppo was founded by the northern Arab tribe of Kilāb, which migrated from the lands along the Euphrates. However, from around 456/1064 Maḥmūd and 'Aṭīya had repeatedly fought to take over control of Aleppo.¹⁸⁾ The above account indicates that Amīn al-Dawla had already held significant political power as a mediator, but it makes no mention of any status as the ruler (*ṣāhib* or *ra'īs*) of Tripoli. Therefore, it may be properly said that Amīn al-Dawla took control over Tripoli both in name and reality during the years 459/1066-7 and 462/1070.

The ancestors of the 'Ammār family were from the Shī'ite Berber tribe of Kutāma which formed a core of the Fatimid army in Egypt during its founding years. When Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār was installed as minister (*wazīr*) by the newly ascended Caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021), he dispatched Abū Tamīm Sulaymān b. Ja'far al-Kutāmī from the same family to Damascus. Sulaymān sent his brother, 'Alī b. Ja'far, to Tripoli as its governor (*wālī*) in 386/996 and opened the way for his family to survive there, even after the 'Ammār family lost power in Egypt during the first half of the 11th century.¹⁹⁾ Among the 'Ammār family, Amīn al-Dawla was the first to attain the *qāḍī*ship of Tripoli and established self-government there. Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285) has the following to say about his career in *al-A'ṭāq al-Khaṭīra*.

Qāḍī Amīn al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār ruled over the town of Tripoli until his death in 464/1072. This Ibn 'Ammār, a Shī'ite jurist (*faqīh*), was a man of exceeding intelligence, and had an opinion of his own. He constructed the House of Science (*Dār al-'Ilm*) in Tripoli, where over a hundred thousand volumes were preserved. He also compiled (*san-nafa*) a book entitled *Revival of the Soul* (*Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*) attributed to Jirāb al-Dawla.²⁰⁾

According to this account, Amīn al-Dawla, a Shī'ite *qāḍī* of learning, constructed an institute in Tripoli with the same name as one in Cairo (*Dār al-*

Hikma or *Dār al-ʿIlm*) constructed by Caliph al-Ḥākim. But, what is the real meaning of the part “compiling (ṣannafa) a book entitled *Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*”? Tadmurī thinks that Amīn al-Dawla wrote a book with the same name as that of Jirāb al-Dawla,²¹⁾ however, the available bibliographies cannot confirm that Amīn al-Dawla wrote a book by that title. Consequently, it may well be supposed that he actually did compile *Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*, verifying the manuscript and transcribing it with annotations.

When Amīn al-Dawla died in Rajab 464/March-April 1072 leaving his infant son, Shams al-Mulk Muḥammad as heir to his estate, a severe heir struggle broke out between his brother, Abū al-Kaṭāʾib Aḥmad, and his nephew, Jalāl al-Mulk Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī, who finally exiled Abū al-Kaṭāʾib from Tripoli with the assistance of Amir Sadīd al-Mulk Ibn Munqidh and succeeded in inheriting the status of his uncle.²²⁾ According to Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Ibn Shaddād, Amir Sadīd al-Mulk Ibn Munqidh Thaʿbān b. Muḥammad, who was also from the Kutāmī tribe, took sides with Jalāl al-Mulk and provided him his *mamlūks* to exile Amīn al-Dawla’s brother from Tripoli.²³⁾ Consequently, Jalāl al-Mulk continued to rule over the town as *qāḍī* of Tripoli for nearly thirty years until he died at the end of Shaʿbān 492/mid-July 1099. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) says, “Since he maintained public order, his uncle’s death caused no disturbance to the town.”²⁴⁾ It is related that Jalāl al-Mulk did not subject himself to Wazīr Amīr al-Juyūsh in Egypt, but rather sent presents to the Turks in Damascus to stay on friendly relations with them.²⁵⁾ This shows that Jalāl al-Mulk, although he personally belonged to the Shīʿite school, was willing to form an alliance with the Sunnite Seljuqids in order to check the Shīʿite Fatimids in Egypt.

In 473/1080-1, ten years after Jalāl al-Mulk took control of Tripoli, Philaretos Brachamios, Byzantine governor of Antioch and Jabala, arrested the *qāḍī* of Jabala.²⁶⁾ The real reason for his arrest is unknown, but Jalāl al-Mulk, hearing of the news, sent an emissary to Philaretos and had the *qāḍī* of Jabala released from the Byzantine authorities and reinstated in his former position. When Jalāl al-Mulk requested him to cooperate in surrendering Jabala to the Muslims in return for his safety, the *qāḍī* of Jabala responded by demanding that armies be sent to the town from the sea. About this Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī states in *Mirʿāt al-Zamān*,

Ibn ʿAmmār [Jalāl al-Mulk] dispatched the army of Tripoli (*Jund Ṭarābulus*), made up of 300 Turkmān and sailors (al-Baḥrānīya), to Jabala under the command of a slave soldier (*ghulām*) surnamed ʿAyn al-Zamān. The army arrived at Jabala at night, and the *qāḍī* opened the gate for them, after deceiving the sleeping guards, and guided them into the town. [After a successful operation], they read the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) both for [the Abbasid Caliph] al-Muqtadī (467-487/1075-94) and for [the Seljuqid

Sultan] Malik Shāh (465-485/1073-92).²⁷⁾

According to this account, the *qāḍī* of Tripoli maintained an army, although small in size, formed by cavalry and sailors. However, this body was different from the voluntary *aḥdāth* in Damascus and Aleppo consisting of native youth²⁸⁾ in that this *jund* had been recruited from the immigrant Turkmāns and others. At any rate, with the cooperation of both *qāḍīs*, Jabala was released from Byzantine rule after an interval of one hundred and fifteen years, and was then put under the control of Tripoli, which had already acknowledged both suzerainties of the Abbasid caliphs and the Seljuqid sultans. Now, what kind of person was this *qāḍī* of Jabala, who first appeared in this historical event of the year 473/1080-1?

2. The *Qāḍīs* of Jabala

Jabala, which had been under the control of Arab-Muslim rulers since the conquest by 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī in 17/638, was ruled by the Byzantines after the attack of Emperor Nikephoros II (963-969) in 357/968.²⁹⁾ About the famous *qāḍī* of Jabala during the period of Byzantine rule, Ibn al-Athīr relates.

Father of Ibn Ṣulayḥa, Maṣṣūr, had the task of settling disputes among the Muslims as head of the town of Jabala (*ra'īs* Jabala) during the years of rule by the Byzantines (al-Rūm). Even after the power of the Byzantines decreased in favor of the Muslims and Jabala was put under the rule of Jalāl al-Mulk, lord of Tripoli (*ṣāhib* Ṭarābulus), this Maṣṣūr continued to oversee the town according to local customs (*'āda*).³⁰⁾

This account clearly shows that *Qāḍī* Maṣṣūr was settling disputes among the Muslims as head of the town during the early years of the Byzantine rule, and continued to retain power over the town even after Jabala was put under the control of Tripoli at the end of the 11th century.

After the death of Maṣṣūr, his son Ibn Ṣulayḥa Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh b. Maṣṣūr inherited his father's position as *qāḍī*. Ibn Ṣulayḥa was very interested in military affairs (*jundīya*)³¹⁾ and mustered so many soldiers that his sagacity and boldness (*shahāma*) became widely known.³²⁾ Jalāl al-Mulk in Tripoli, who was afraid of Ibn Ṣulayḥa's growing influence, sought to arrest him. However, Ibn Ṣulayḥa outwitted Jalāl al-Mulk, according to Ibn al-Athīr's account of the year 494/1101.

Realizing the intention of Jalāl al-Mulk beforehand, Ibn Ṣulayḥa revolted against him and cited the *khuṭba* for the Abbasid caliph [al-Mustaẓhir].

Jalāl al-Mulḳ sent money to [the Seljuḳid lord in Damascus] Duḳāq b. Tutuḣ (488-497/1095-1104) and asked him to surround Ibn Ṣulayḩa in Jabala. Duḳāq eventually tried, but without success.³³⁾

In other words, Ibn Ṣulayḩa maintained independence for Jabala with his military forces by officially acknowledging the suzerainty of the Abbasid caliphate. We can not confirm the exact year of his move,³⁴⁾ but Ibn Ṣulayḩa, who was fighting the pressure applied both by the lord in Tripoli and by the Seljuḳids in Damascus, still retained independence even as late as the beginning of the year 492/1099, when the Crusaders (al-Firanj) first surrounded Jabala.³⁵⁾ Afterwards, in Sh‘bān 492/July 1099, Fakhr al-Mulḳ Abū ‘Alī ‘Ammār b. Muḩammad inherited the position of *qāḁī* in Tripoli after his brother, Jalāl al-Mulḳ, died there.³⁶⁾

When the Crusaders, or the Franks (al-Firanj), first surrounded Jabala, Ibn Ṣulayḩa succeeded in inducing a pagan army retreat by circulating a false rumor that the Seljuḳid army was approaching the town.³⁷⁾ However, Godfroy of Lorraine and Robert of Flanders repeatedly continued their efforts to take Jabala. Ibn Ṣulayḩa fought bravely against them commanding his followers (*aṣḩāb*), but he realized that he could not sustain his efforts with such a small army, so in Sha‘bān 494/June 1101, he sent an emissary to the amir of Damascus, Ṣahīr al-Dīn Atābek, and proposed giving the governorship of Jabala to the Seljuḳids.³⁸⁾ Ibn al-Qalānisī relates what happened next.

Atābek responded to Ibn Ṣulayḩa’s request and promised to send him his son, Amir Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī, to the above-mentioned coastal town [Jabala]. At that time, the lord of Damascus, Shams al-Mulūk Duḳāq, was not in Damascus, but in Diyār Bakr. When he came back at the beginning of Shawwāl/July, the matter had turned out as Ibn Ṣulayḩa had wished. Tāj al-Mulūk went to Jabala with his followers (*aṣḩāb*), and Ibn Ṣulayḩa turned over the town to him.³⁹⁾

In Shawwāl 494/August 1101 Ibn Ṣulayḩa left Jabala for Damascus with his followers (*aṣḩāb*, *asbāb*), cattle (*kurā’*), animals (*dawābb*), and all the estates he clasped, after surrendering the town to Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī.⁴⁰⁾ Jabala thus came under the control of the Seljuḳids, but the new ruler, Tāj al-Mulūk, became unpopular among the townsfolk. Although he was gentle and generous,⁴¹⁾ he did them injustice, and governed contrary to the custom of rule with justice (*‘adl*) and fairness (*inṣāf*).⁴²⁾ Dissatisfaction grew among the people, who finally requested the *qāḁī* of Tripoli, Fakhr al-Mulḳ, to send someone whom they could trust to rule over Jabala. Ibn al-Athīr states what happened next in an account of the year 494/1101.

He [Fakhr al-Mulk] sent his army (*'askar*) to Jabala in response to their request. It entered the town, joined with the people, and fought against Tāj al-Mulūk and his followers. The Turks finally retreated, and the army of Fakhr al-Mulk then took control over the town of Jabala. They eventually captured Tāj al-Mulūk and sent him under escort to Tripoli. Fakhr al-Mulk [in Tripoli] treated the captive politely and sent him back to his father [Zahīr al-Dīn Atābeg] in Damascus.⁴³⁾

According to this account, Jabala came again under the control of Tripoli after only a few months of Seljuqid rule, and the actual governor of Jabala under the new regime was once again a *qāḍī* by the name of Ibn al-Naqqār al-Jubayrī (d. 533/1139), who had studied in Tripoli and now managed the affairs of the *khuṭba* (Friday sermon), *ṣalāt* (prayer), and *waqf* (endowment) in Jabala until the year 501/1108, when Fakhr al-Mulk escaped from Tripoli.⁴⁴⁾ Ibn 'Asākir also states that he was born in Damascus at the end of 464/1072 and moved to Tripoli where he studied *al-Qur'ān*, and managed the *khuṭba*, *ṣalāt* and *waqf* in Jabala until he moved to Damascus after Fakhr al-Mulk left Tripoli. In Jabala he was known as an impartial notary public (*min al-shuhūd al-mu'addalīn*), writer of legal affidavits (*shurūt*, sing. *shart*), and frequent reciter of *al-Qur'ān*.⁴⁵⁾

However, due to the threat of the surrounding Crusaders, the situation of Tripoli and Jabala became more and more tense. During these years Raymond of Toulouse and Fakhr al-Mulk entered into a peace treaty (*hudna*) under which the suburbs of Tripoli belonged to Raymond, who agreed not to interrupt traffic connecting the town with the outside.⁴⁶⁾ In 498/1105 Raymond died, and due to the death of one party to the treaty, the situation of Tripoli became even more serious. In Sha'bān 501/March-April 1109, exposed to relentless attacks by the Crusaders, Fakhr al-Mulk finally moved to Baghdad with his army of 500 cavalry and foot-soldiers and asked the Seljuqid Sultan Muḥammad (498-511/1105-18) to send reinforcements to Tripoli. These negotiations with the sultan seemed to go well, but his nephew, Shams al-Mulk Abū al-Manāqīb, whom Fakhr al-Mulk had appointed as his deputy in Tripoli, revolted and took sides with the Fatimids in Egypt,⁴⁷⁾ but was soon arrested by followers (*aṣḥāb*) of Fakhr al-Mulk. Meanwhile, Fakhr al-Mulk came back from Baghdad and decided not to enter Tripoli, but go to Jabala instead, because he was unsure about the intentions of the people in Tripoli at that time.⁴⁸⁾

The Fatimid vizier, al-Afdal b. Badr al-Jamālī (d. 515/1121), sent a great fleet (*uṣṭūl*) to Tripoli upon the request of the townspeople. However, its arrival was too late, and Tripoli was forced to surrender to the Crusaders on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 502/13 July 1109. Those who avoided the initial killing were captured, and the books preserved at *Dār al-'Ilm* were confiscated.⁴⁹⁾ The Crusaders then proceeded north to surround Jabala. Fakhr al-Mulk surrendered the town to the Crusaders after its safety (*amān*) was guaranteed, then, escaped from Jabala

and entered the protection of Ṭughtekīn, the lord of Damascus,⁵⁰⁾ who granted him al-Zabadānī and its surroundings as an *iqṭā'*.⁵¹⁾ We have no information about his activities in the town of al-Zabadānī, but the *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*) during this period were able to levy taxes on peasants and townspeople in their district in return for military service to their lords.⁵²⁾ At any rate, the *qāḍī* governorships of Tripoli and Jabala, which had continued for nearly a half century, thus collapsed under the military pressure of the Crusaders.

3. The Liberation of Jabala and Latakia by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn

The fates of the two Syrian towns was determined by the mode of Frankish takeover: Tripoli by force and Jabala by treaty. According to the research of B. Z. Kedar, three modes of takeover actually existed: (1) When a town was taken by assault, Muslims and Jewish inhabitants were usually massacred or enslaved; (2) Fear of massacre led some Muslims to flee for safety even before the entry of the Crusaders; and (3) Bloodless submission under a formal treaty was with no Muslim dislocation.⁵³⁾ However, as J. Prawer relates, after the Muslim inhabitants disappeared almost entirely from all the fortified towns and fortresses in Syria during the ten years of Crusader conquest, they began to return under greater security in the coastal towns. Consequently, Tripoli and Jabala, as well as Beirut and Latakia, once again came to boast large Muslim populations reaching majority proportions.⁵⁴⁾

Let us turn to question of how the Muslim inhabitants were governed in the towns under the rule of the Crusaders. Almost all the Arabic sources keep silent on this subject, except Ibn al-Athīr, who merely states.

[After the liberation of Jerusalem in Rajab 583/ October 1187], Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn marched his army to the foot of Crac des Chevaliers (Hisn al-Akrād). Maṣṣūr b. Nabīl, *qāḍī* of Jabala, visited Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn there and proposed that he surrender the town of Jabala. Under the rule of Bohemond, lord of Antioch and Jabala, the *qāḍī*'s word was trusted being held in high esteem. Based on its relationship of trust with Bohemond, he had governed all the Muslims in Jabala and its surrounding districts.⁵⁵⁾

As to Maṣṣūr b. Nabīl, we find no other sources disclosing his career; however, the fact that he was respected by the people and governed all the Muslims in the town of Jabala and its surrounding rural areas is indeed very interesting. We may well suppose similar activities by *qāḍīs* in Syrian towns other than Jabala, since according to J. Rily-Smith, the control of Muslims under the rule of the Crusaders was customarily entrusted to *qāḍīs* as local notables.⁵⁶⁾

While still under the rule of the Crusaders, Maṣṣūr began to plan the liberation of Jabala, Latakia and other northern coastal towns of Syria as his call-

ing. He urged Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to take the town of Jabala, saying "Muslims in Jabala are ready to surrender the town to you."⁵⁷⁾ In response to his proposal, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn advanced his army and arrived at Jabala via Ṭartūs and Marqab on 18 Jumādā I 584/16 July 1188. Maṣṣūr who returned to Jabala before him informed his people of the imminent arrival of the Muslim army, and demonstrated their intention to surrender by hoisting Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's yellow flags (*a'lām*) on the town walls.⁵⁸⁾ Against the attack by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the Crusaders stationed at Jabala barricaded themselves in the fort (*ḥiṣn*) facing the Mediterranean.⁵⁹⁾ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), a distinguished historian during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who participated in the campaign, relates in his *al-Faḥ al-Qussī*,

The *qāḍī* of Jabala mediated between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the Crusaders and finally decided that the Crusaders be assured security after they release the hostages (*rahā'in*) who had been detained in Antioch and surrender their arms, horses, treasure and crops to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.⁶⁰⁾

The Crusaders accepted *qāḍī* Maṣṣūr's proposal and surrendered the fort to the Muslim army the next day (19 Jumādā I 584/17 July 1188). Jabala was thus liberated without a drop of blood being shed. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Maṣṣūr took the Frankish hostages (*rahā'in al-Firanj*) and kept them beside him until Bohemond released the Muslim hostages. When the Muslim hostages were released, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn settled the situation of Jabala and appointed Amir Sābiq al-Dīn 'Uthmān b. al-Dāya, lord of Shayzar, to defend it.⁶¹⁾

After the liberation of Jabala, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn then marched his army to the port town of Latakia (al-Lādhiqīya), thirty kilometers north of Jabala, arriving there on 24 Jumādā I 584/22 July 1188 and surrounding the town.⁶²⁾ The Crusaders, who retreated to two citadels (*gal'a*) located outside the town (*madīna*), fought fiercely against the Muslim army, but when they realized the futility of further armed resistance, they requested the *qāḍī* of Jabala to mediate for them and lay down the conditions of a peace treaty (*amān*). Due to the mediation efforts by *qāḍī* Maṣṣūr, both sides arrived at an agreement providing that the lives of the Frankish cavalymen, women and children would be secured on condition that they surrender all their foodstuffs, arms and cattle to the Muslims. The liberation of the town on 27 Jumādā I 584/25 July 1188 was marked by Muslim flags being hoisted over the two citadels.⁶³⁾

When 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī entered Latakia, he saw a town characterized by spacious court-yards, a compound of buildings, and proportionately structured houses with gardens and marble pavilions.⁶⁴⁾ However, the Muslim soldiers destroyed many houses in the town and removed the marble to sell it. Then, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn granted the town to his nephew, Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, who endeavored to restore it and fortify the citadel. Taqī al-Dīn attached particular

importance to the fortification of citadels, as seen in the case of Ḥamā.⁶⁵⁾

Manṣūr b. Nabil, *qāḍī* of Jabala, who played a crucial part in the liberation of Jabala and Latakia, was praised by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for distinguished service. His privately owned land (*milk*) was approved as family *waqf* and he was authorized to manage his ancestral estates (*amlāk ābā'ih*). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also surprisingly guaranteed Manṣūr's governorship and judgeship (*wilāyat ḥukmih wa-qadā'ih*) in Jabala and its environs,⁶⁶⁾ in the sense that he was able to retain his previous status and rights under the new regime.

Conclusion

During the decades from the middle of the 11th century to the beginning of the 12th century in the Syrian coastal towns of Ṣūr, Tripoli and Jabala, autonomy of *qāḍīs* was established within the interstices created among the three great powers of the time, the Fatimids, the Byzantines and the Seljuqids. Most of these *qāḍīs* owned plentiful estates, and maintained their own forces of cavalry, foot soldiers and sailors. They were responsible for keeping political and social order in addition to their original judicial duties.

The research to date has paid particular attention to the characteristics of self-governments under these *qāḍīs*. However, the *qāḍīs* were not only responsible for controlling their townspeople during the period of self-government, but also such *qāḍīs* as Amīn al-Dawla in Tripoli had authority to mediate in power struggles among the Mirdasids before he became independent. In Jabala under the rule of the Byzantines, Manṣūr, father of Ibn Ṣulayḥa, had throughout authority to settle disputes among the Muslim population as head of the town. When Jabala was placed under the rule of Tripoli after the flight of Ibn Ṣulayḥa, *Qāḍī* Ibn al-Naqqār stood in his place, managing the affairs of *khuṭba*, *ṣalāt* and *waqf*. Moreover, even under the Crusaders, *Qāḍī* Manṣūr b. Nabil governed the Muslims in Jabala and its surrounding districts, based on a relationship of trust with Bohemond.

It has been generally held that although the *qāḍīs* in the Arab countries were integrated into the Ottoman regime as provincial administrators, they played a relatively small part in local administration before that period.⁶⁷⁾ However, as shown from the examples of Tripoli and Jabala during the 11th-12th centuries, the *qāḍīs* played key roles in maintaining law and order, not only during the period of self-government. Accordingly, it may well be considered that self-government itself was established not by accident, but through the everyday activities of the *qāḍīs* during that time. We still have no substantial case studies of *qāḍīs* under the Ayyubid and the Mamluk dynasties,⁶⁸⁾ but overall a more positive approach in studying their political and social activities will go far in improving our understanding of local society prior to the Ottoman period.

Notes

- 1) al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniya* (Cairo, 1966), 70-71; English tr. by W. H. Wahba, *The Ordinances of Government* (Reading, 1996), 79-80; Japanese tr. by T. Yukawa, *Tōchīno Shokisoku, Isuramu Sekai*, vols. 19 (1981), 22 (1984), 27 · 28 (1987).
- 2) E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 424-429. See also T. Miura, "Kādī to Kōshōnin" (in Japanese), *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, no. 717 (1998), pp. 59-69.
- 3) Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades* (Paris, 1940), pp. 194-195, 233-234, 461-462.
- 4) E. Ashtor, "L'administration urbaine en Syrie médiévale," *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, 36 (1956), pp. 73-128.
- 5) A. Havemann, *Ri'āsa und Qadā* (Freiburg, 1975). Concerning loyalty and leadership in Iraq and Iran during the 10th-11th centuries, see the important work by R. P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton, 1980).
- 6) U. A. Tadmūrī, *Ta'riḫ Ṭarābulus*, 2 vols. (Tripoli, 1978-81).
- 7) M. D. Yusuf, *Economic Survey of Syria during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Berlin, 1985).
- 8) P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London and New York, 1986), pp. 16-30, 67-81. Concerning the studies in Japan, we may cite an article "Harabu-shi no nakano ra'īs-tachi" (in Japanese) by J. Taniguchi, *Seinan Ajia Kenkyū*, 49 (1998). It is important in the sense that the author intends to clarify the substance of 'autonomy' in Aleppo, but his scope does not expand to the situation in the coastal towns of Syria during the 11th-12th centuries.
- 9) T. Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (Tokyo, 1988); Concerning Ibrāhīm b. Adham, see R. A. Nicholson, "Ibrāhīm b. Adham," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 26 (1912), pp. 215-220; G. Saadé, "Un grand saint musulman-Ibrahim fils d'Adham," *Levante*, 15 (1968), pp. 25-44; T. Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), p. 166.
- 10) Part one is an article entitled "Nusairī Kyōto no Hanran-Jabala: February 1318" (in Japanese), *The Tōyō Gakuhō*, 71-1·2 (1989), pp. 115-139; English tr. "The Revolt of the Nuṣayrī Peasants in Jabala," in Sato, *State and Rural Society*, pp. 162-176. And part three will be an article on the legend of a famous Sufi saint, Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. 161/777-8), who was believed to be buried in Jabala.
- 11) As to the Seljūqs of Syria during this period, see T. K. El-Azhari, *The Saljūqs of Syria during the Crusades 463-549A.H./1070-1154 A.D.* (Berlin, 1997), which deals albeit lightly with the coastal towns of Tripoli and Jabala.
- 12) Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wal-Jazīra*, II, ed. by S. al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1963), 165. Based on the account of *al-Kāmil*, Havemann relates that Ibn Abī 'Aqīl became independent in 462/1070 (*Ri'āsa*, p. 106), but in fact the account only informs us that Ibn Abī 'Aqīl had already ruled Ṣūr by that year. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'riḫ*, ed. by C. J. Tornberg, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1853; repr. Beirut, 1965-66), X, 60. In 1070 a group of Turkomans led by Qurlu was summoned by Ibn Abī 'Aqīl to help him defend Ṣūr against Badr al-Jamālī's advance from Egypt (Yusuf, *Economic Survey of Syria*, p. 21). See also El-Azhari, *The Saljūqs of Syria*, p. 30.
- 13) S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, 1973), p. 158.
- 14) Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Ta'riḫ Dimashq*, ed. by S. Zakkār (Damascus, 1983), 197. Concerning the trading vessels owned by Ibn Abī 'Aqīl, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1

- (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), p. 296; id., *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 158.
- 15) Havemann, *Ri'āsa*, p. 107; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, pp. 70-71; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (EI.), s. v. 'Ammār.
 - 16) Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhayl Ta'rikk Dimashq*, ed. by H. F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1908), 97, note 1; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 60; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1955-57), I, 105.
 - 17) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, ed. by A. Sevim (Ankara, 1968), 133.
 - 18) K. Ohta, "Mirudāsu-chō no guntai-hensei" (in Japanese), *Isuramu Sekai*, 25 · 26 (1986), pp. 36-37.
 - 19) Tadmurī, *Ta'rikk Tarābulus*, vol. 1, p. 337f. Concerning the activities of the 'Ammār family in Egypt and Syria, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-Wizāra*, ed. by A. Mukhlis (Cairo, 1924), 33-34; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 71; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, p. 71; Yusuf, *Economic Survey of Syria*, pp. 115, 138.
 - 20) Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*, II, 107. cf. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Ta'rikk Dimashq*, 262. Al-Nuwayrī cites the account of *al-A'lāq* in his *Nihāyat al-Arab fi Funūn al-Adab*, vols. 1-31 (Cairo, 1954-92), XXXI, 51. Jirāb al-Dawla, whose personal name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, was a man of letters during the reign of Caliph al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-932). See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 5 vols. (Leiden, 1937-49), vol. S1, p. 599; 'Umar R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 2 (Damascus, 1957), p. 128; Tadmurī, *Ta'rikk Tarābulus*, vol. 1, p. 356.
 - 21) Tadmurī, *Ta'rikk Tarābulus*, vol. 1, p. 356.
 - 22) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 71; Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fi Akhbār al-Bashar*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1325H), II, 188; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Ta'rikk Ḥalab*, ed. by S. al-Dahhān, 3 vols. (Damascus, 1951-68), II, 35; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*, II, 108; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, XXXI, 51. Yāqūt mistook Jalāl al-Dīn for Amīn al-Dawla's nephew (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, II, 105). Tadmurī thinks that Jalāl al-Mulk and Abū al-Kaṭā'ib were two brothers of Amīn al-Dawla (*Ta'rikk Tarābulus*, vol. 1, p. 359); however, according to Ibn al-Athīr, the personal name of Jalāl al-Mulk was 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār, which indicates that he was Amīn al-Dawla's nephew, as written accurately by P. M. Holt (*The Age of the Crusades*, p. 71). Concerning Jalāl al-Mulk, see also M. G. Wiet, "Une inscription d'un prince de Tripoli de la dynastie des Banu 'Ammar," *Mémorial Henri Basset*, II (Paris, 1928), pp. 279-284.
 - 23) Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, II, 399; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*, II, 108.
 - 24) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 71. cf. Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*, II, 108.
 - 25) Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Ta'rikk Dimashq*, 182.
 - 26) Philaretos is written as al-Firdūs or al-Filārdūs in Arabic sources (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 138-139, 413; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, II, 86). As to Philaretos, see A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, III (Bruxelles, 1935), pp. 122-123, 143-144. Tadmurī states that the *qāḍī* of Jabala was arrested in 469/1076-7, but without any source citation (*Ta'rikk Tarābulus*, vol. 1, p. 364).
 - 27) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Ankara), 208.
 - 28) Cl. Cahen, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen age," I, *Arabica*, 5 (1958), pp. 225-250; Ashtor, "L'administration urbaine," pp. 118-121; Havemann, *Ri'āsa*, pp. 89-104.
 - 29) Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, pp. 38-41.
 - 30) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 310. Manṣūr's son, Ibn Ṣulayḥa, is inscribed as Ibn Dalī'a in *Mu'jam al-Buldān* by Yāqūt (II, 105), and Ibn Ṣulay'a in *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, 23 vols. (Beirut, 1981-85) by al-Dhahabī (XIX, 298). In the present article, the contemporary usage as "Ibn Ṣulayḥa" will be followed. Concerning the activities of *qāḍī* Manṣūr and his son Ibn Ṣulayḥa, we find also a brief description in the following work: G. Hoffmann, *Kommune oder Staatsbürokratie?* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 85-86.
 - 31) Al-Dhahabī relates that Ibn Ṣulayḥa was enamoured with chivalry (*furūsiya*) (*Siyar*, XIX,

- 298).
- 32) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 310; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, II, 105.
- 33) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 310. See also El-Azhari, *The Saljuqs of Syria*, p. 175.
- 34) Havemann states that Ibn Ṣulayḥa revolted in 494/1101 (*Ri'āsa*, pp. 107-108), but there is no doubt that he became independent before the Crusaders surrounded Jabala in 492/1099 (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 310).
- 35) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 310. Godfroy of Lorraine and Robert of Flanders first surrounded Jabala at the beginning of 492/1099 (M. W. Baldwin ed., *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1, Madison, 1969, pp. 328-329; Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, p. 43).
- 36) al-'Azīmī, *Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, ed. by I. Za'rūr (Damascus, 1984), 360; Ibn Shaddād, *al-'lāq al-Khaṭira*, II, 108. Tadmurī states that the surrounding of Jabala by the Crusaders took place after the death of Jalāl al-Mulk (*Ta'rikh Ṭarābulus*, vol. 1, 375), but the actual order of events is the reverse.
- 37) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 310.
- 38) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 311; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIX, 299; al-'Azīmī, *Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, 360.
- 39) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 226. Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī (478-526/1086-1132) was named Būrī b. Ṭughtekīn Abū Sa'īd, who took rule over Damascus after his father, Ṭughtekīn, died in 521/1127 (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. by 'Umar b. Ghallāma, X, Beirut, 1995, 409).
- 40) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 311; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIX, 299; Une chronique syrienne du VI^e/XII^e siècle: "*Bustān Al-Jāmi'*," ed. by Cl. Cahen, *BEO* 7-8 (1937-38), 115; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II, 213; al-'Azīmī, *Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, 361. Ibn Ṣulayḥa left Jabala for Damascus with his followers (*aṣḥāb*), associates (*asbāb*), cattle (*kurā*), riding animals (*dawābb*), and money (*māl*). However, he was deprived of all his assets by Sultan Barkiyāruq (487-498/1094-1105) in Iraq on the way from Damascus to Baghdad. See Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 226; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 307-308, 311-312; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIX, 299. According to Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Ṣulayḥa was deprived of 1,200 pieces of jewels and 30,000 dīnārs other than clothes and instruments (*al-Muntaẓam fi Ta'rikh al-Mulūk wal-Umam*, vols. 5-10, Hyderabad 1357-58H, IX, 124). See also Hoffmann, *Kommune*, p. 86.
- 41) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq*, X, 409.
- 42) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 226; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 312; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, II, 213.
- 43) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 312.
- 44) Ibn Badrān, *Tahdhīb Ta'rikh Ibn 'Asākir*, 6 vols. (Damascus, 1329-49H), IV, 356-357.
- 45) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq*, XIV, 311. According to the above account of Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-Naqqār's full name was al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Naqqār al-Jubayrī.
- 46) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, VIII, 13.
- 47) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 257-258; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 452-453; Ibn Shaddād, *al-'lāq al-Khaṭira*, II, 110-111. Concerning the revolt in Tripoli, some sources relate that Shams al-Mulk declared loyalty (*shī'ār*) to the Fatimid caliph (Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 257; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 452), while other sources say that the people in Tripoli declared loyalty to Egypt (Ibn Shaddād, *al-'lāq al-Khaṭira*, II, 109; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, XXXI, 52-53). According to Tadmurī, the people in Tripoli considered that it was more profitable for them to be allied with the nearer Shī'ite power in Egypt (*Ta'rikh Ṭarābulus*, vol. 1, pp. 432-433).
- 48) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 452; Ibn Shaddād, *al-'lāq al-Khaṭira*, II, 111; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-Duwal wal-Mulūk*, vols. 7-9, ed. by Q. Zarīq (Beirut, 1936-42), VIII, 78.
- 49) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 262; Ibn Shaddād, *al-'lāq al-Khaṭira*, II, 111; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, VIII, 27; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 475; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalb fi*

- Ta'rikh Halab*, ed. by Ali Sevim (Ankara, 1976), 158-159.
- 50) ʿUḡhtekin, *atabeg* of Duqāq, even after Duqāq's death in 497/1104 continued to rule in Damascus as regent (*atabeg*) to Duqāq's infant son, who died shortly afterwards. ʿUḡhtekin himself died in 522/1128 (Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, p. 68; El-Azhari, *The Saljūqs of Syria*, p. 219).
- 51) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, VIII, 27-28; Usāma b. Munqidh, *Kitāb al-'itibār*, ed. by P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), 96; *Bustān al-Jāmi'*, 116; al-'Aẓīmī, *Ta'rikh Halab*, 364. Both Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-'Adīm mistakenly relate that Jubayl, not Jabala, surrendered in Dhū al-Hijja 503/June 1110 (*al-Kāmil*, X, 476; *Bughyat al-Talib*, 158-159). Al-Zabadānī is a district between Damascus and Ba'labakk, and the River Baradā rises here (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, 130; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, repr. Beirut, 1965, p. 553).
- 52) On the *iqṭā'* system during the 11th-12th centuries, see Sato, *State and Rural Society*, pp. 9-10, 42-76. El-Azhari also gives a general description of the *iqṭā'* system in Syria under the Seljuqids (*The Saljūqs of Syria*, pp. 308-311).
- 53) B. Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," in J. M. Powell ed., *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* (Princeton, 1900), pp. 143-152.
- 54) J. Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: the 'Minorities'," in N. P. Zaccar and H. W. Hazard eds., *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 5 (Madison, 1985), p. 61.
- 55) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 7; Ahmad al-Ḥanbalī, *Shifā' al-Qulūb fī Manāqib Bani Ayyūb*, ed. by N. Rashīd (Baghdad, 1978), 153-154; Abū Shāma, *ʿUyūn al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, ed. by A. al-Baysūmī, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1991-92), II, 188; Ibn Wāṣil, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh al-Ṣāliḥī* (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS. Fatih 4224), fol. 205r. See also Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, p. 428; Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims," pp. 141-142.
- 56) J. Rily-Smith, "The Survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim Administration," in P. M. Holt ed., *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), p. 10. Kedar also relates that although nothing is known of the Muslims of Jabala during the period between the departure of *qāḍī* Ibn 'Ammār in 1110 and the rise of *qāḍī* Manṣūr b. Nabil in 1188, there were possibly other *qāḍīs* in existence during the intervening period ("The Subjected Muslims", pp. 142).
- 57) 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-Fatḥ al-Qudsī*, ed. by M. M. Ṣubḥ (n.p., 1965), 228.
- 58) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 7-8; 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī*, 233.
- 59) The fort at present is called "Roman Theater" (al-Mudarraj al-Rūmānī). During the age of the Crusades, a part of the theater was fortified and used as a fort by the Crusaders and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. See Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, pp. 20-21.
- 60) 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī*, 233.
- 61) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 8. See also 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī*, 233; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniya wal-Mahāsin al-Yūsufiya*, ed. by J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1964), 89-90; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 103, 135; Ibn Abī al-Hayjā', *Ta'rikh Ibn Abī al-Hayjā'* (Tunis, MS. Aḥmadiya-Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabīya, Ta'rikh 945), fol. 188v: *Bustān*, 147; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, III, 73; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, II, 255-256; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, English tr. by E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), 328; anon., *al-'Ām wal-Tabayn fī Khurūj al-Firanj*, ed. by S. Zakkār (Damascus, 1981), 84-85, 87. Ibn al-Rāhib relates that Jabala was released by treaty securing safety (*amān*) (*Ta'rikh Abī Shākir*, Arabic text and Latin tr. by L. Cheikho, Beirut, 1903, 92).
- 62) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 9; Ibn Saddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniya*, 89; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 103.
- 63) Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniya*, 89-90; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 9; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 103; *Ta'rikh Ibn Abī al-Hayjā'*, fol. 188v; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, III, 73; *Bustān*, 147; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, II, 256.

- 64) 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Fath al-Qussī*, 238. Aḥmad al-Ḥanbalī relates that both the towns of Jabala and Latakia were granted to Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar in 584/1188 (*Shifā' al-Qulūb*, 157).
- 65) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 9.
- 66) 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Fath al-Qussī*, 234; Ibn Wāṣil, *al-Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, II, 259.
- 67) For example, see *EI*.ⁿ s.v. Ḳāḏī; R. Levy, *Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 324-325; M. A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982), pp. 105, 112, 119.
- 68) The important work by J. S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Mazālim under the Bahri Mamlūks, 662/1264-789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985) depicts the actual conditions of *mazālim* and legal institutions.