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Sibt Ibn al-Djawzi's Life and the Value of His Work Titled "*Mir'ât al-zamân fî ta'rîkh al-a'yân*" in Terms of Ayyûbîd History¹

Sibt Ibnü'l-Cevzî'nin Hayatı ve "*Mir'âtü 'z-zamân fî târîhi'l-a'yân*" İsimli Eserinin Eyyûbî Tarihi Bakımından Değeri

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Abstract

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, was a renowned scholar of religious sciences who left his mark as preacher and historian in the first half of the 13th century. Being the grandson of the famous scholar Ibn al-Djawzî contributed to his advanced education in Baghdad, where he was born. It is understood that Sibt, a famous preacher who had a reputation in his 20s when he came to Damascus, spent his subsequent life in Damascus with unforgettable sermons that took place in the minds of the people to unite the Islamic world. Another feature that makes him essential is his closeness with the members of the Ayyûbîd dynasty. Because of this closeness, it is understood that he was even privy to the secrets of the dynasty's members. This situation also reflected his writing of "*Mir'ât al-zamân fî ta'rîkh al-a'yân*", and the author included original information not found in other sources during his time. Sibt reflected on his observations, memories, or what he heard from the dynasty members during his period by writing in his work. In this study, Sibt's life, education, his closeness to the members of the Ayyûbîd dynasty, the ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, and the value of his work "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", in terms of Ayyûbîd history are discussed.

Keywords: Sibt Ibn al-Djawzi, Mir'ât al-zamân, Ayyûbîds, Damascus, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam.

Öz

Sibt İbnü'l-Cevzi, XIII. asrın ilk yarısına vaiz ve tarihçi olarak damgasını vurmuş dini ilimlere vakıf ünlü bir alimdir. Meşhur alim İbnü'l-Cevzi'nin torunu olması onun doğduğu Bağdat'ta ileri seviyede eğitim almasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Henüz Şam'a geldiği 20'li yaşlarında ünlü bir vaiz ve itibarlı olan Sibt'in bundan sonraki hayatı, İslam dünyasını birleştirmek için halkın zihninde yer eden unutulmayan vaazlarla Şam'da geçmiştir. Onu önemli kılan diğer bir özelliği ise Eyyûbî hanedan üyeleri ile yakınlığıdır. O, bu yakınlığı sebebiyle hanedan üyeleri arasındaki sırlara bile vakıf olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum, onun "*Mir'âtü-z-zamân fî târîhi'l-a'yân*" isimli eserini kaleme alırken de etkilemiş, müellif, yaşadığı dönemde diğer kaynaklarda bulunmayan orijinal bilgilere eserinde yer vermiştir. Sibt, kendi dönemindeki gözlemlerini, anılarını ya da hanedan üyelerinden işittiklerini eserinde kaleme alarak yansıtmıştır. Bu çalışmada, Sibt'in hayatı, eğitimi, Şam hakimi el-Melik el-Muazzam başta olmak üzere Eyyûbî hanedan üyeleri ile yakınlığı ve eseri "*Mir'âtü-z-zamân*"ın Eyyûbî tarihi açısından değeri ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sibt İbnü'l-Cevzî, Mir'âtü'z-zamân, Eyyûbîler, Şam, el-Melik el-Muazzam.

Extended Abstract

Researchers have yet to fully understand Sibt Ibn al-Djawzi's relations with members of the Ayyûbîd dynasty. This has caused "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" not to reach the value it deserves. Perhaps this is because his fame was overshadowed by his grandfather, Ibn al-Djawzî, a great scholar from Baghdad. Though he was the most famous scholar of his time, he was not studied as much as his grandfather. In his work, Sibt wrote about his memories of the Ayyûbîd rulers in Damascus and recorded the information he received from eyewitnesses. Thus, he provided original information not found in other sources. Sibt's narratives before the period of al-Malik al-'Âdil are based on the works of previous writers. In addition, it is understood that he knew many secrets of the state and witnessed even the most secret correspondence due to the trust placed in him. Sibt became a prominent figure in Damascus and its environs and was recognized by all segments of society. The fact that his fame spread beyond the country's borders and thousands of people attended his sermons is emphasized by other Islamic sources of the period. His broad appeal to the masses gave him political power, so much so that he had enough influence on the Ayyûbîd family to criticize and warn against the un-Islamic behavior of the members of the dynasty. However, his conversion to Hanafism after he met with al-Malik al-Mu'azzam of Damascus and his efforts to explain the superiority of Hanafism caused him to be considered worthy of study by theologians rather than historians. In addition to Ayyûbîd history, he also provided information about the activities of the Crusaders, one of the most important occupiers of Islamic states in the Middle Ages, in Ayyûbîd geography. He not only encouraged the people of Damascus to wage jihad but also joined them himself. In his work, he sometimes made clear statements about the numbers of the Crusaders. While Sibt sees the Ayyûbîds as a stronghold of Islam, his style in his writings about the Crusaders is based on the protection and triumph of Islam. In addition, the peaceful policy of the Ayyûbîds against the Crusaders in the period after Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî and their efforts to live together with them are also included in the work. His efforts to gather the members of the dynasty together, his embassies among them, and the love and respect for him are described in detail in his work. Sibt used clear and fluent language in writing his work. He followed historical events and facts systematically and methodically. The information Sibt gives about the history of the Ayyûbîds starts from the first part of the eighth volume. The second part of the eighth volume tells the history of the Ayyûbîds after Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî. This section provides information from 590/1194-95 until 654/1256. The author wrote his work year by year, chronologically, and biographies of famous names who died in the same year. His work, written as a general history, turned into a regional history from the beginning of the 1200s. Although Sibt provided information about Egypt and al-Jazira under Ayyûbîds rule, he focused more on the region of Damascus, where he lived. Moreover, the book occasionally touches on Turkmen and Armenians. What differentiates it from other sources is that it includes biographies of famous women, albeit in small numbers. In this study, we have examined the people from the Ayyûbî family whom Sibt met and the degree of his closeness to them. In this context, we have tried to reveal the originality of his work "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", in which he reflects all these. In light of the information, the fact that Sibt was a famous scholar caused the Ayyûbîd kings to value him very highly, so much so that the rulers were present in his assemblies and asked for his presence in their presence in private. This situation caused Sibt to witness many events, and he wrote down some of this information. In this respect, it is understood that "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", is the most essential source for the history of the first half of the 13th century, after Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî. Reading or analyzing this work is necessary to understand the building blocks of the Ayyûbîds correctly.

Introduction

Jurists and preachers enjoyed a special status under the Abbasid Caliphate and the Ayyûbîds. Sib t Ibn al-Djawzî's most remarkable characteristic was his courage in speaking the truth and rejecting what the rulers could do contrary to Islamic law. Perhaps the outstanding reputation and excessive respect for him came from here (al-Nuwayrî, 2007, XXIX, p. 99). Sib t Ibn al-Djawzî's fame was based on his oratory preaching skills. He was a highly influential figure in the region, and his fame reached the surrounding regions, especially Syria. Like the Islamic rulers, the Ayyûbîd rulers were aware of the preacher's political power, which developed in parallel with the depth of his knowledge and the size of his audience. In this situation, the rulers of the Ayyûbîd utilized his influence to either win the people's support during their hardships or to promote jihad against the Crusaders. The Ayyûbîd rulers were careful to attend the scholarly assemblies and spend money this way. In addition, despite all his criticisms, they respected him greatly.

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, was known as a writer; however, he was not as productive as his grandfather Ibn al-Djawzî². For modern historians and many of his contemporaries working on the history of the Islamic states, his most important historical work is "*Mir'ât al-zamân fî ta'rîkh al-a'yân*" (مرآة الزمان في تواريخ الأعيان: "*The Mirror of Time in the History of Notable Person*"). Dating from genesis 654/1256, a general history book, it provides a wealth of unique information about the Ayyûbîds and Damascus in particular. Moreover, the fact that he relates his observations during the first half of the 13th century increases the value of the work. Since primary sources were quite limited in this period, it is evident that "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" was a significant and fundamental source of information on the Crusaders and Muslims. "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" and its contemporary "*Mufarrij al-kurûb fî akhbâr Banî Ayyûb*" became the primary source of later Damascus historiography. "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", is one of the most important sources used by Sib t's contemporary Abû Shâma, and later authors, including al-Dhahabî, Ibn Kathîr, and Ibn Taghribirdî, and given extensive coverage in their works (Cahen, 1986, III, p. 752-753).

There are national and international studies on Sib t Ibn al-Djawzî, However, these studies have mostly focused on his life or his preacher and jurist identity because of the prominence of these aspects of his life. Studies in the West have focused on his life, the narrative of his work "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", the sources he used in writing it, its use in other works in later centuries, and especially his preaching against the Crusaders. Among these, in addition to Claude Cahen's work and the encyclopedia article, Alex Mallett's book chapter entitled Sib t Ibn al-Djawzî, is very useful for our study. In the East, studies on Sib t are more extensive than in the West. Mahmûd Muhammad al-Ruwaidî's "*Sibt Ibn al-Djawzi ve Uslubehu ve Menhecehu fî Ta'rîkh li al-Hurub al-Salibiyyah*" is the leading source that we use in our study.

Many studies have been conducted in our country on Sib t Ibn al-Djawzî's grandpa, Ibn al-Djawzî but there aren't many on Sib t, who was just as well-known as his grandfather. Most of the studies on Sib t have focused on his sect and the Seljuks and Khwarezmshahs mentioned in his work "*Mir'ât al-zamân*". In our country, there are encyclopedia articles about Sib t, Ali Sevim and Ramazan Şeşen have mentioned Sib t and his work "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" in their studies. At the same time, there are several works by Ali Sevim under the title of "*Mir'atü'z-Zaman fî Tarihi'l-Ayan'da Selçuklular*". In these studies, the 11th century information of the work of Ghars an-Nî'ma Muhammed called "*Uyûn al-tawârikh*", many parts of which are unavailable to us

² For detailed information about Ibn al-Djawzî's life and works, see: (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/2), p. 481-489).

now, and the information conveyed in "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" were taken as subjects. In these studies, Ali Sevim stated that no one else had seen this work except Sibt and discussed the value of "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" for Seljuk history, and also provided information about Togril Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malik-Shâh. Recently, a book chapter was written by Arafat Yaz under the titles of "*Sibt İbnü'l-Cevzî'nin Mirâtü'z-Zamân Fî Târîhi'l-A'yân Adlı Eserinde Harezmşahlar*" and by Burak Nazif Sarici under the titles of "*Sibt İbnü'l Cevzî'nin Mirâtü'z zaman fî Tarihi'l ayan Adlı Eserine Göre I. Kılıç Arslan*". Ramazan Şeşen, on the other hand, touched upon the life of Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî in his studies on the Ayyûbîds. While the aforementioned studies close a significant gap in their fields, their main purpose is not to reveal the importance of "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" for Ayyûbîd history. In this context, the study aims to reveal the author's closeness to the Ayyûbîd family, not only his knowledge of the events, but also his involvement in them, and aims to address his work in this direction, considering the fact that he was an influential figure within the Ayyûbîd family. The research presents actual Ayyûbîd historical facts in the simplest feasible style, each of which might be the focus of a different study. In this aspect, the study aims to contribute to the literature in this field.

1. The Life and Upbringing of Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî

Shams al-dîn Abû al-Muzaffar Yûsuf B. Kizoghlu, was born between H. 580-583³ in one of the most influential families of Baghdad. During this time, Baghdad was the center of the Abbasid Caliphate (Foroozani, 2019, p. 130). Therefore, it was the center of political, cultural, and religious activity in the Sunni world. The author, born in Baghdad, grew up here until his early twenties (Ibn Khallikan, 1900, VIII, p. 142; Mallett, 2014, p. 86; Sevim, 1997, p. 1; Sevim, 1992, p. 3). Due to his extended stay in Damascus, he was known by the nickname of al-Dimashqî. Another of his nicknames was al-Awni al- Hubayra (Brockelmann, 1983, VI, p. 141; al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 12). His father was Husâm al-Dîn Kizoghlu of Turkish origin, a freedman of the Abbasid Vizier Abû'l-Muzaffar Ibn Hubayra. Husâm al-Dîn was like a son to Ibn Hubayra and was very dear to him. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's mother was Rabi'a, who was the daughter of Abû al-Farash Ibn al-Djawzî. Thus, it is understood that he was a Turk on his father's side and an Arab on his mother's side. After the death of his father at a young age, Sibt was raised under the care of his maternal grandfather, Ibn al-Djawzî (al-Nuwayrî, 2007, XXIX, p. 380; al-Yûnînî, 1992, I, p. 39; al-Zirakli, 2002, VIII, s. 246; Ibn Taghribirdi, n.d., VII, p. 39; Sevim, 2009, p. 87).

Ibn al-Djawzî was a hadith scholar, hafiz, jurist, translator, historian, renowned preacher, and scholar who wrote on Qur'anic exegesis, Islamic law, and many other research areas (Ibn Khallikan, 1900, III, p. 140). Since he was Ibn al-Djawzî's⁴ grandson, he became known as Sibt (grandson) Ibn al-Djawzî. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî learned Hadith, Tafsir, and Fiqh from his grandfather. Growing up under his grandfather's supervision not only facilitated his learning from the notables of Baghdad but also enabled him to be present in the assemblies of the most respected and influential names of the Islamic world and to get to know many famous scholars of the city (al-Dimashkî, n. d., XIII, p. 324; al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 13). When Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî was 8-10 years old, his grandfather was accused of embezzling from the endowment of the madrasah and was exiled to Wasit. When he was kept there for five years until 595/1198-1199, Sibt was separated from his grandfather for a while (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 459; Şevki and Avcı, 1999, XX, p. 543). During this time, Sibt

³ Ibn Khallikan gave his birth date as 581 or 582. al-Dhahabî gave it as 581 (al-Dhahabî, 2003, XIV, p. 767).

⁴ Ibn al-Djawzî was the greatest imam of his time in hadith and preaching. His writings are related to history, hadith, Qur'anic exegesis, Islamic jurisprudence and many other fields of research. He wrote hundreds of works on these subjects.

Ibn al-Djawzî continued his education. When his grandfather was released, he returned to his grandfather and stayed with him until his grandfather's death on 12 Ramadan 597/16 June 1201 (Ibn Khallikan, 1900, III, p. 142; al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 13).

In 600/1204, a few years after the death of his grandfather Ibn al-Djawzî, in his early 20s, Sibṭ set out from Baghdad for Damascus (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/ (2), p. 516; al-Kutubî, 1974, IV, p. 356). During his journey, he first traveled to Erbil and then to Mosul and Harran. Later, it is understood that he came to Aleppo between 600-606 and resided there. After his initial residence in northern Syria, where he traveled to study, including Mosul, Aleppo, Hebron, and Jerusalem, he moved permanently to Damascus, settling on Mount Qaysoun and preaching in the mosque in Damascus. He spent the rest of his life in Damascus (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 516-517: 685)⁵.

Every Saturday morning, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî used to sit and preach in front of the door of Alî Ibn Husayn Zayn al-‘Abd al-Dîn in the mosque in Damascus where the preachers used to stop and preach. A large number of people attended his sermons. People would leave work to listen to him preach, compete for a seat, and spend the night in the mosque. So much so that in his talks, crowds would overflow, howling with tears. This did not happen in the assemblies of any other preacher of his time. The sermons of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî in the mosques of Damascus stayed with the people for many years. His fame was so widespread that his sermons, especially on Saturdays until dawn, caused people from all walks of life, rulers, merchants, and politicians, to flock to Damascus (al-Yûnînî, 1992, I, p. 40; Ibn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 353-354; Badr al-Dîn al-‘Aynî, 2010, I, p. 132). He had great respect and esteem among the rulers, maliks, and dignitaries inside and outside the country, and even though he openly criticized the behavior of the politicians in violation of Islamic law, they did not refrain from attending his sermons (al-Yûnînî, 1992, I, p. 40).

Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî's reputation gradually grew. For this reason, he was called “*the preacher of Damascus*” (al-Dhahabî, 2006, XVI, p. 449; al-Safadî, 2000, X, p. 174; Mallett, 2014, p. 88). In time, his fame spread beyond Damascus. He gave sermons and organized talks in cities such as Cairo, Alexandria, Mecca, Medina, Aleppo, Hama, Baalbek, Jerusalem, Damietta, Raqqa, Harran, and Urfâ (Sevim, 2011, p. 2). This undoubtedly gave him considerable political power.

While living in Damascus, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzi became prominent among the other Ayyûbîd rulers, especially in his relations with al-Malik al-Mu’azzam ‘Isâ (1180-1227), the ruler of Damascus. After he arrived in Damascus, he gained al-Malik al-Mu’azzam's appreciation and love. He served as a mudarris in many madrasas, including the Hanafiyya, Shibliyya, and Bedriyya madrasas (Ibn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 353-354).

Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî was raised in Baghdad on the teachings of ‘Imâm Ahmad b. Hanbal⁶ maintained this belief until he traveled to Damascus and became close to the Ayyûbîd family. Islamic historians have unanimously recorded him as “*a Hanbalite in his youth*” (Ibn al-‘Imâd al-Hanbalî, 1986, VII, p. 461). When al-Malik al-Mu’azzam invited him to follow Hanafi doctrine (al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 13), Sibṭ learned Hanafi

⁵ On the people he was taught by, see the same place. He traveled to Aleppo, Jerusalem, and Hebron and made three pilgrimages to Mecca in 604/1208, 613/1217, and 619/1223; despite his relatively permanent settlement in Damascus, the years after his arrival, especially from 626/1229 to 633/1235-36, were spent in Karak. The period after 638/1240-41 was spent in exile (Mallett, 2014, p. 87).

⁶ The Hanbalî sect, formed around the views of Ahmad b. Hanbal named after him, is the fourth major Sunni sect that emerged after the Hanafi, Mâlîkî and Shâfi‘î sects in terms of both the period in which the imam of the sect lived and the process of sectarianization. The jurists who belonged to this sect and the people who practiced according to the views of this sect are called Hanbalî (plural Hanabile) (Koca, 1997, p. 525).

jurisprudence and began to preach there. In this way (Brockelmann, 1983, VI, p. 14). He was believed to be Hanafi, unlike his Hanbali grandfather. This situation kept the curiosity and discussions about his sect on the agenda. Some historians have recorded that he was Hanafi for the sake of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam; However, he paid homage to 'Imâm Ahmad and did not mention his sect, but according to them, he was Hanbali in reality but Hanafi in appearance (Ibn Hadjar al-'Askalânî, 1971, VI, p. 328; al-Yûnînî, 1992, I, p. 41). While Hanbalism was the sect of his grandfather Ibn al-Djawzî, Hanafism was the traditional sect of the Ayyûbîd ruler in Damascus, and also that of the Turks, so he is probably making a connection with his late father. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî himself wrote that Hanafism was the best way of Islam. On the other side, he tried to justify the change of his denomination⁷.

Islamic historians spoke highly of Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî. They described him as mild-tempered, kind-hearted, generous, virtuous, learned, kind and prudent, thrifty in dress, skillful in preaching, with a beautiful voice, pleasant features, very dignified, virtuous, magnificent eloquence, and fond of reading and study. Islamic historians have noted that he had a deep religious knowledge and was an exemplary law, history, and biography writer. Because of the sweetness and impact of his sermons, he was widely accepted and loved by the people. The chroniclers of the period described him as a unique preacher of his time who appealed to the masses of society (al-Yâfi'î, 1997, IV, p. 104-105; Ibn Khallikan, 1900, IV, p. 356; Ibn al-'Imâd al-Hanbalî, 1986, VII, p. 460; Ibn Taghribirdi, VII, p. 208; Badr al-Dîn al-'Aynî, 2010, I, p. 132). Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî died on 21 Dhu al-Qa'dah 654/10 December 1256 in his house at the foot of Mount Qasiyun in Damascus and was buried there. The ruler of Karak attended his funeral, al-Malik al-Nâsir, and some Ayyûbîd kings, kadis, and state dignitaries (Ibn Khallikan, 1900, III, p. 142; al-Dhahabî, 2003, XIV, p. 767; al-Dhahabî, 2006, XVI, p. 449) and his death was grieved in a vast geography and mourned by the people of Iraq, Egypt, and Damascus⁸.

2. The Scientific Life of Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî

The Abbasid Caliphs focused on preserving and developing religious sciences and supported scholarly activities in many fields, including historiography, hadith, and genealogy. In addition, they had many books in Syriac and Persian translated into Arabic. In this respect, Baghdad became a center of knowledge and a place where distinguished scholars were found, and many scholars were raised in the city. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî took lessons from the leading scholars of Baghdad. He took Tafsir, Hadith, History, and Jurisprudence lessons from his grandfather and participated in scientific assemblies and sermons. He learned hadith sciences from Yahyâ b. al-As'ad, Hibatullah b. al-Hassan al-Hamdhani, Ahmad b. Sulaymân al-Harbi, Abdû'l-Majeed b. Abû'l-Qasim and Omar B. Tabar zad, the Qur'an and Hadith sciences from Mahmûd b. 'Umar b. Tabar zad, Mahmûd b. Uthmân. He took lessons in grammar, spelling, and literature from al-Mubâarak and attended Shihâb al-Dîn al-Suhraudi's jurisprudence, preaching, history and literature assemblies (al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 14).

Sibt continued his education in Damascus, where he came at a young age and took lessons from the most prominent scholars of the region. He learned Hadith, Tafsir, and Fiqh from Dâwûd B. Malaeb, Ibn Sasri al-Husayn b. Hibatullah and Muwaffaq al-Dîn al-Maqdisî. He learned Arabic language and grammar from

⁷ Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's '*al-Intisâr wa't-terjîh li'l-mazhebi's-sahîh* (al-Intisâr li-imâmi e'immat al-amsâr) (Cairo 1360/1941)' was written to provide information about the legends of Imâm al-'Azam Abû Hanîfa and the superiorities of his madhhab (Înanîr, 2020, p. 203-239; Sevim, 2009, p. 87).

⁸ For the eulogy written for Sibt, see. Badr al-Dîn al-'Aynî, 2010, I, p. 132.

Sheikh Abû'l-'Umar b. Qudama, and the history of the Prophets from Djamal al-Dîn Jamal Abdû'l-Samad. Muhammad. He began his educational career at the Al-Aziziyah-Baraniya School in Damascus. He taught the doctrine of Abû'l-Hanifa as well as the science of grammar and poetry at the Shibliye School⁹ in Damascus. Especially in his poems, he dealt with the life and death struggle to preserve the signs of Islam due to the Crusades that took place in his time by making a connection with the destruction of Islam (al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 16).

The writings of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî focused mainly on religious topics such as Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, biography of the Prophet Muhammad, and evaluations of various aspects of Islamic law. However, for modern historians of Islamic history and many of his contemporaries, some of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî's important works are as such "*Mir'ât al-zamân fî ta'rîkh al-a'yân*", "*Tadhkirat al-khawâss, al-Intisar wa'l-tarjih li'l-madhhab al-sahîh, Kanz al-mulûk fî kaifiyyat al-sulûk, Kitâb al-jalîs al-sâlih wa'l-anîs al-nâsih.*" (Sevim, 2009, p. 87-88; Mallett, 2014, p. 93).

3. The Value of "*Mir'ât al-zamân fî ta'rîkh al-a'yân*" In Terms of Ayyûbîd History

Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî, due to his closeness to the members of the dynasty, conveys the events he personally witnessed and/or bases the information he gives on eyewitnesses of the period, and his work, "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", makes a great contribution to Ayyûbîd history. In addition to the fact that he was a contemporary of the events, the fact that the information he provided was not found in other sources and that his work "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" was used by later writers makes his importance and place in Ayyûbîd history undeniable. Having said that as a writer and scholar, he had some influence on the Ayyûbîd dynasty in terms of influencing the events of the period. Sibṭ became a party to the disputes of the members of the dynasty. On the other hand, Sibṭ portrayed the conditions of the period in a lively and fluent manner in his work, reflecting his feelings. However, the work is also a primary source in terms of the information it provides about the Crusaders as well as the Ayyûbîds. Above all, "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" is one of the two most important works¹⁰ in shedding light on the history of the Ayyûbîds after Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî, a dark period in Ayyûbîd history. The work provided enlightening and detailed original information about the periods of al-Malik al-'Âdil, al-Malik al-Kâmil, al-Malik al-Salih Nadjm al-Din, as we will discuss, and became a source and reference for Islamic historians who lived after them.

The work "*Mir'ât al-zamân fî ta'rîkh al-a'yân*", was written by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî, is a great Islamic history and is considered to be one of Sibṭ's most famous and essential works. The original work, organized by years, consists of 37 manuscripts, according to al-Yûnînî (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/2), p. 516) and 40 volumes, according to Ibn Khallikan (Ibn Khallikan, 1900, III, p. 142; VI, p. 239). The work exists in two versions (Gabrieli, 1969, p. xxxiii) and includes events from creation to the author's death (654/1257). The author quoted events before his time from the works written in earlier periods. The author used the works named Muhammad B. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadani's "*Uyûn al-siyer*", 'Imad al-Dîn al-Isfahânî's al-Barq al-Shâmî and "*Kharidat al-kasr*", Ibn al-Kalânî's, "*Ta'rîkh Dimashk*", his grandfather Ibn al-Djawzî's "*al-Muntazam*", Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi's "*Ta'rîkh Mayyafariqin wa-Amid*", Ibn al-Athîr's "*al-Kâmil fî al-ta'rîkh*", Izz al-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd's "*al-A'lak al-khatira*" while writing his work. In this way, "*Mir'ât al-zamân*'s information for the 12th century is inadequate, and his reports are instead based on quotations from other

⁹ The Shibliye Madrasa, which provided education according to the Hanafi of thought, was established in Damascus in 1226. Many Hanafi scholars of jurisprudence served as lecturers in this madrasa (Dündar, 2018, p. 135).

¹⁰ The other work in question is "*Mufarridj al-kurûb fî akhbâr Banî Ayyûb*".

sources or on information he heard. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî mainly depended on his grandfather Ibn al-Djawzî for the events in the eastern part of the Islamic world in the first half of the 12th century and primarily used Ibn al-Athîr for the events in Damascus. The parts of the work that make use of the Ghars an-Ni'ma Muhammed's lost work "*Uyûn al-tawârikh*", which are not found in other sources on Seljuk history, are the original parts of his work before his own time (11th century) (Cahen, 1976, p. 10-11; Sevim, 1997, p. 2; Sevim 2011, p. 2-3; Sevim, 2009, p. 87).

"*Mir'ât al-zamân*" was highly influential in its time and was widely used and followed as a method by later historians such as Ibn Taghribirdî, Ibn Kathîr, Ibn al-Furât, al-Maqrîzî and Ibn al-Dawâdârî, Kutb al-Dîn al-Yûnînî al-Baalbekî (d. 1326) rewrote "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" in abbreviated form and wrote an addendum to the work, which ends in 1256-1257 and dates back to 713 (1314). In the work known as "*Dhayl Mir'ât al-zamân*", al-Yûnînî added many entries not found in "*Mir'ât al-zamân*". In addition, some authors shortened the work and wrote some addenda, but these addenda have not survived (Sevim, 2011, p. 3).

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî combined the two main subgenres of medieval Islamic historiography, chronology and biography, into a single work. He presented his work from beginning to end with year-by-year headings. A feature distinguishing "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" from other sources of the period is the inclusion of women among the biographies of famous people whose death dates Sibt gives (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 539). Although later authors used "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", they criticized him for contradicting himself from time to time. On the other hand, after mentioning the great importance they attached to this work of his, some authors recorded the following words about "*Mir'ât al-zamân*". "*I found it to be the most comprehensive in its purpose, the most beautiful in its meaning, the most accurate in its expression...*".

Members of the Ayyûbîd dynasty opened schools in various parts of the Islamic country, intending to teach the four Sunni schools of thought, revitalizing Sunni thought and countering the spread of Shiism (Taqqush, 2008, p. 35; Korkut, 2020, p. 175-178). On the other hand, they wanted sermons on the importance of jihad based on verses and hadiths and the rank of martyrdom in order to encourage the people to go to war against the Crusaders. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî served the Ayyûbîds by teaching the Sunni school of thought. Also, he contributed to teaching jihad, calling for jihad, and encouraging Muslims to fight the Crusaders.

As for Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's narration of the events, he disagreed with the sources he relied on in transmitting some events, so he sometimes resorted to comparisons between the events reported by historians (al-Ruwaîdî, 2009, p. 29). He, in some instances, he has quoted oral narrations: "*I heard from (al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ)...*". "*(al-Mu'azzam) ... told me*", indicating the person to whom the information belonged (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 634). Moreover, he used the phrase "*a group (from Damascus).... told me*" to describe the news he heard from a group of people (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p.590). In his narrations, Sibt sometimes relied on oral narrations circulating among the people: In this case, he would use the sentence "*.....it has been said or was said*". Sometimes, he included Sufi narrations, and sometimes, he quoted verses from the Qur'an (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1951, VIII/(1), p. 5-6), and if he doubted the transmission of the information, he used the phrase "*Allah knows best*" (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(1), p.13).

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's account of Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî (1175-1193) is based on eyewitness accounts of the events of the period and the reports of previous authors. In addition, because of his proximity to the rulers of the Ayyûbîd state and living under their patronage, Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî read some books and correspondence

between the rulers. Although quoted from them, he confirmed the existence of the work as “*it was a long book*” without any reference to it (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzi, 1951, VIII/(1), p. 293). He used simple language in conveying his information. In the chapter describing the death of Sultan Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî in 589/1193, he stated that the sultan’s lineage goes back to the Umayyads with the quote, “*He is one of the sons of the Umayyad caliphs*” (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1951, VIII/(1), p. 425).

3.1. Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî Period

The scribe and clerk al-Kâdî al-Fâdil was close to Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî. Salâh al-Dîn trusted him very much and consulted him in his affairs. For this reason, Sibt relied on al-Kâdî al-Fâdil’s information about Salâh al-Dîn’s biography and the Islamic front’s unification after Nûr al-Dîn Maḥmûd b. Zankî’s death. On the other hand, it is understood that Sibt saw al-Kâdî al-Fâdil’s documents written in his handwriting announcing the victory over the Crusaders and added them to the “*Mir’ât al-zamân*” (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1951, VIII/(1), p. 398-399; al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 35). In describing the period of Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî, Sibt also consulted the works of Ibn al-Athîr, ‘Imad al-Dîn al-Isfahânî, and Ibn Shaddâd. Sibt also included a letter written by ‘Imad al-Dîn al-Isfahânî in his calligraphy and sent to Baghdad. (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1951, VIII/(1), p. 395; al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 36).

On the other hand, in the chapter where he describes the conquest of Jerusalem, Sibt also includes a text in which Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî is held responsible for his laxity against the Crusaders. He stated that he did not consider the consequences of the events. In this context, the Crusaders, whom he allowed to leave Jerusalem, gathered in Tyre and criticized him for his lack of foresight about the future (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1951, VIII/(1), p. 398).

3.2. al-Malik al-‘Âdil Period

After 600/1204, Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî’s account of Ayyûbîd history and the Crusades is clearly understood based on his observations as a contemporary of the period or on eyewitnesses who narrated historical events. When al-Sibt arrived in Damascus, the Ayyûbîd sultan was al-Malik al-‘Âdil (1200-1218), who usually resided in Damascus. In addition to his closeness to members of the Ayyûbîd dynasty, Sibt was also close friends with some of them and openly admired some of the rulers of Damascus, such as al-‘Âdil (Mallett, 2014, p. 90). In his health, al-Malik al-‘Âdil divided the country’s lands among his sons, leaving Southern Syria, Damascus, and Palestine under the rule of al-Malik al-Mu’azzam. While al-Mu’azzam remained under his father’s command during his father’s health, his actual rule in Damascus (1218-1227) began after his father’s death. al-Malik al-Mu’azzam was known for his fondness for knowledge and attended scholarly gatherings in Damascus (Tomar, 2004, p. 71).

Beyond all this, Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî’s closeness to al-Mu’azzam is so close that it can be mentioned from the books he read. On the other hand, the work contains information on many subjects such as the relationship between al-‘Âdil and al-Zahir, relationship with the Armenians, al-Zahir’s death, his personality, his activities, the relationship between al-‘Âdil and al-Kâmil, the struggle between the Crusaders and the Ayyûbîds during al-‘Âdil’s time, al-Mu’azzam’s commercial activities, a will related to al-‘Âdil that fell into Sibt’s hands, the falling out between al-‘Âdil and al-Mu’azzam due to the destruction of the Tûr Castle and al-Mu’azzam’s victory over the Crusaders, the arrival of the Khwarezm ambassadors to al-Mu’azzam, al-‘Âdil’s death and his activities from the days of Salâh al-Dîn, the lands under his rule, the borders of his country, his

personality, administrative reforms, the concealment of his death and his burial, his children, and al-Mu'azzam's making some tax arrangements after his death.

As for Sibt, received tremendous love from all segments of society wherever he went, including Damascus. He encouraged people to wage jihad through preaching and guidance, participated in the jihad movement himself, led the volunteers he gathered from the people of Damascus, and joined the Ayyûbîd ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ. His call for Muslim unity in the face of the Crusaders' attacks on Islamic lands and his understanding of religious brotherhood are evident in his sermons and writings. On the other hand, one of the most famous of his sermons took place in 607/1210-11 at the age of 25, a few years after he settled in Damascus (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 544-545; İbn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 152; Abû Shâma, 1974, p. 69-70).

The members of the Ayyûbîd dynasty, aware of the influence and political power of Sibt, asked him to explain the status of martyrdom and the place of jihad in Islam to the people of Damascus when the harassment of the Crusaders increased. In his sermons in the mosques of Damascus and Nablus, he called on the people to resist the Crusaders. His call brought together more than 30,000 volunteers for jihad (Taqqush, 2008, p. 280).

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî gave his first sermon at the Umayyad Mosque on Saturday, 5 Rabi al-Awwal 607/27 August 1210. He told the gathered crowd the story of a woman who asked to have her long hair cut to make bridles for the Mujahideen's horses. Muslim women began to cut their hair and bring them. Impressed by the sermon in the Umayyad Mosque, the governor of Dimyât, the ayans, and the people set out for Jerusalem to wage jihad. Women cutting their hair and sending it to the rulers because of the Crusader persecution was a way for the people of the region to ask for help, and it was a typical situation in case of war. In an attempt to attract the attention of the sultan al-Malik al-'Âdil, who was interested in Ahlat and Sinjar, women cut their hair and sent it to Damascus. With this hair, they said, make a halter for your horses and come to our rescue. This was a repetition of an event that had taken place in 1168. When the Crusaders threatened Egypt, the Fatimid Caliph Adid (1160-1171) put women's hair in containers and sent them to Nûr al-Dîn Mahmûd b. Zankî had said, "*Help me if you do not want this hair to be smelled by the Crusaders*" (Turan, 2021, p. 129).

Under the influence of Sibt's sermon, Muslims from neighboring towns gathered. A large group led by Sibt marched from Damascus to Nablûs. They first went to al-Mu'azzam in Nablûs. Sibt narrated the following about this journey (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 544-545; Abû Shâma, 1974, p. 69-70; İbn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 152).

A large army, including a militia, was formed under Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî and al-Mu'azzam. They made a surprise raid on the Crusaders. They killed and captured them and took a large amount of booty (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 545; Abû Shâma, 1974, p. 70; İbn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 152).

The friendship that began in Nablûs between al-Mu'azzam, the ruler of Damascus, and Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî grew more substantial in the following periods. al-Mu'azzam and Sibt became such close friends that Sibt's information about al-Mu'azzam appears to be a fragment of their memories. al-Mu'azzam sometimes met with Sibt and told him about his troubles. One of these meetings occurred in Damiette (609/1212/1213). During the meeting, al-Mu'azzam told Sibt that his father, the Ayyûbîd Sultan al-'Âdil, and his brothers, al-Kâmil and al-Fâiz, had traveled to Damiette to fight the Crusaders because they were active in the coastal

regions and had begun to operate in Damiette. Nevertheless, meanwhile, Usama al-Jabali, the Nayib of Kaukab and Ajlun, who took advantage of his departure from Damascus, moved to take over Damascus. When this incident was heard, Sibṭ was with al-Mu'azzam. al-Mu'azzam turned to Usama and had him thrown into the dungeon (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 560-561; Ibn el-Esīr, 1987, XII, p. 256; al-Maqrīzī, 1956, I/(1), p. 174; Ibn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 160; Abū'l-Fidā, 1286, III, p. 114).

Another story that shows the degree of closeness between Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and al-Malik al-Mu'azzam is also narrated by Sibṭ. In 610/1214, Sibṭ narrated that after performing the pilgrimage, al-Mu'azzam came to Karak, where he was, with a group of dignitaries, to meet him. However, when he did not turn to any of them but saw him, he dismounted from his camel, turned towards him, and embraced him. This narration is a vital anecdote to demonstrate the value of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī in the eyes of al-Mu'azzam and the strength of their relationship (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 569-570).

In his book "*Mir'āt al-zamān*", Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī describes his closeness to other rulers and reports that he acted as a messenger, carrying highly hidden secrets. On one occasion, Sibṭ met with al-Malik al-Zahir, the ruler of Aleppo (612/1215-1216). This was because al-Malik al-Ashraf, the ruler of al-Jazira, had sent matters to al-Zahir through Sibṭ that he did not want any scribe to reach or witness. This situation shows that members of the Ayyūbīd dynasty trusted Sibṭ enough to keep him as a witness to their secret correspondence (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 579).

3.3. al-Malik al-Kāmil Period

Regarding the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil, Sibṭ provided more detailed information about his friend al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, the Malik of Damascus. The "*Mir'āt al-zamān*" treats the following subjects: The destruction of Jerusalem by al-Mu'azzam, the rebellion and activities of Ibn Mashtub, and the liquidation of his rebellion, Ibn Mashtub's entry into the service of al-Ashraf Musa and his activities, al-Mu'azzam, and Sibṭ's efforts to gather soldiers from Damascus, some schools of the period, the death and personality of Salāh al-Dīn and al-'Ādil's sister, the emergence of the Mongols, their entry into the country of Khwarezm and the places they spread to Azerbaijan, al-Mu'azzam's meetings with al-Ashraf, the falling out between al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil, the alliance between al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf against the alliance between al-Mu'azzam and Djalāl al-Dīn Khwarazm-Shah, al-Mu'azzam marching with the army of Damascus against the Crusaders in Egypt, the falling out between al-Kāmil and al-Mu'azzam and his efforts to take Damascus from al-Mu'azzam, the activities of Djalāl al-Dīn, the illness of al-Mu'azzam the death of al-Malik al-Afdal, the assignments made by al-Mu'azzam, the activities of al-Kāmil. In particular, Sibṭ's witnessing the visit of the Sicilian emperor to Jerusalem and the information he provided on this subject carries the work to an invaluable point. al-Malik al-Nāsir Dāwūd took the side against his uncle al-Kāmil, and Sibṭ supported him and instigated the people against al-Kāmil, of Ayyūbīd Sultan in a sermon he gave in the Damascus Mosque.

After his father's death, the Ayyūbīd sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil, in 1218, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam strengthened his rule in Damascus. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī's close friendship with al-Mu'azzam continued after al-Kāmil's accession. Although their friendship was deep and robust, Sibṭ did not avoid criticizing al-Mu'azzam for some of his actions. al-Mu'azzam attached great importance to Jerusalem and was meticulous in its construction. So much so that after his efforts, each of the bastions of Jerusalem resembled a fortress. In this context, if the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, it would be difficult for the Muslims to take it back (Ibn Wasil, 1972, IV, p. 32; Abū'l-Fidā, 1286, III, p. 122). al-Mu'azzam wrote to the wise politicians in Jerusalem, whom

he trusted, that if the Crusaders took the city, he would kill everyone in it and that it would be complicated to retake the city because of its walls, and ordered the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem except for Dâwûd Bastion. When the destruction began on 1 Muharram 616/19 March 1219, panic broke out among the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the surrounding towns in the belief that the Crusaders were coming. The people who feared the cruelty of the Crusaders tried to leave the city in a hurry. Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî described the evacuation of Jerusalem as very troublesome: "*On that day, there was a commotion as if the apocalypse had broken out. It was an awful event that had never been seen before in the lands of Islam*". He did not refrain from criticizing his close friend al-Mu'azzam, the ruler of Damascus (İbn el-Esîr, 1987, XII, p. 256; İbn Kesir, 1995, XIII, p. 191; Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 601; Abû Shâma, 1974, p. 115-116; İbn Wasil, 1972, IV, p. 32; al-Maqrîzî, 1956, I/(1), p. 204; al-Nuwayrî, 2007, XXIX, p. 60; al-Arif, 1999, I, p. 186).

Due to his position with al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî asked him to abandon practices that he found objectionable. In need of funds to fight the Crusaders, al-Mu'azzam reintroduced taxes that had been abolished from Muslims under al-'Âdil and liberalized alcohol. Upon being warned by Sibt, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam told him that this practice was aimed at meeting the financial needs of the Islamic State to fight the Crusaders (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 597; al-Ruwaidi, 2009, p. 20).

One of the subjects on which Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî criticized al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was his use of female spies during the fight against the Crusaders. During the wars with the Crusaders, al-Mu'azzam spent much money and used many horsewomen as spies. Spy women used to inform Damascus about the Crusaders' attacks in advance with the fire they lit. al-Mu'azzam's spending too much money on spies caused Sibt's reaction, and he condemned the action of the ruler of Damascus, stating that this situation led to waste in the treasury (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 646; al-Nuwayrî, 2007, XXIX, p. 145; Kurdish Ali, 1983, II, p. 87).

Although the public held Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî in high esteem, not all of his sermons achieved the desired goal. After the loss of Damiette during the Vth Crusade (1217-1221), the Ayyûbîd Sultan al-Kâmil asked al-Mu'azzam to go to Damascus and gather troops from there. Then, al-Mu'azzam wrote a letter in his calligraphy to Sibt, the orator of Damascus. He requested that he encourage people and recruit fighters for jihad in Damascus. Sibt read al-Mu'azzam's letter to the people at the mosque in Damascus. However, the call of the emir of Damascus did not find demand in the coastal regions. When the people were reluctant to join the jihad, al-Mu'azzam confiscated one-fifth of the wealth of the notables of Damascus and sent a message to Sibt, summoning him to his side (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 603-604; Abû Shâma, 1974, p. 117).

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî had a friendship not only with al-Malik al-Mu'azzam but also with his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf. After the Crusaders captured Damiette, Sibt was instrumental in uniting the two brothers to go to Egypt and drive the Crusaders out of Damiette. Al-Ashraf was reluctant to go to Egypt and asked al-Mu'azzam Sibt for help.

"...I met al-Mu'azzam in Homs in the month of Rabi al-Rabi'ah. He said to me, I lured al-Ashraf here by force. I reproach him daily for being late, and he sulks at me. I am afraid that the Crusaders will invade Egypt. He is your friend; he asked me about you several times. He said, "I want you to go to him and persuade him". al-Mu'azzam wrote an 80-line letter to his brother in his calligraphy. When al-Ashraf heard of my arrival, he exited his tent and greeted

me. I told him that the Muslims were in difficulty. If the Muslims take the land of Egypt, they will take possession of the region up to Hadramawt and destroy Mecca, Madinah al-Munawwarah, and Damascus. Then, al-Ashraf ordered the soldiers to remove the tents and weights. I reached Hims before him. al-Mu'azzam was waiting for his brother al-Ashraf on the road. al-Mu'azzam said, "I did not sleep yesterday, and I did not eat anything today, but I told him that your brother would be in Homs early tomorrow. The next day, al-Ashraf's troops also appeared. I have never seen such beautiful soldiers and a military unit with such excellent equipment. When al-Mu'azzam arrived, he was overjoyed." (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 619-620).

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's deep friendship with al-Mu'azzam continued until he died in 624/1226. When al-Mu'azzam died, Sibt mourned for him and sometimes cried for him during his conversations in the Damascus Mosque (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 649). On the other hand, Sibt's close relationship with al-Mu'azzam must have been reflected in other members of the Ayyûbid dynasty. It is understood that Sibt also met with other members of the dynasty besides al-Mu'azzam.

After the death of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, members of the Ayyûbid dynasty who wanted to gain the people's support used Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's power against each other. After his death, the rule of Damascus passed to his son al-Malik al-Nâsir Dâwûd. On the other hand, during the lifetime of Malik Mu'azzam, the Ayyûbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil made a treaty in 626/1229 with Frederick II, the Holy Roman-German Emperor (1220-1250), King of Sicily (1198-1250) and King of Jerusalem-Aqsa (1225-1228), and left the Haram al-Sharif, where the Dome of the Rock and the Masjid al-Aqsa is located, to the Muslims and Jerusalem outside the Haram to the Christians (Ibn Wasîl, 1972, IV, p. 241; al-Maqrîzî, 1956, I/(1), p. 230; Abû'l-Fidâ, 1286, III, p. 141; Ibn Laklak, n. d., IV/(1), p. 52; Badr al-Dîn al-'Aynî, 2010, IV, p. 204; Özbek, 2018, p. 135-136). After the treaty, the sultan evicted the Muslims from Jerusalem (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 654; Ibn Wasîl, 1972, IV, p. 243; al-Maqrîzî, 1956, I/(1), p. 231). The people were furious at the sultan for the surrender of Jerusalem to the Christians. The sultan's nephew al-Nâsir Dâwûd, the ruler of Damascus, who wanted to use the religious anger of the people, decided to win the love of his subjects by identifying his cause with the cause of Islam (Abû Shâma, 1974, p. 154; Badr al-Dîn al-'Aynî, 2010, IV, p. 206; Humphreys, 1977, p. 203). al-Nâsir, who declared mourning in Damascus due to the surrender of Jerusalem, went to his father al-Mu'azzam's friend and powerful preacher of his time, Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, and asked him to speak in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus about the virtues of Jerusalem and jihad and to explain that people were saddened by the sultan's surrender of Jerusalem to the infidels. al-Nâsir aimed to arouse the hatred of the people against his uncle al-Kâmil, to gain their support in a military campaign against him, and to make them see the war as legitimate because both sides were Muslims. The famous orator Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî preached to the great crowd gathered that day, as he had been asked to do. During the sermon, people were sobbing and crying (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 654; Ibn Wasîl, 1972, IV, p. 245-246; al-Maqrîzî, 1956, I/(1), p. 233; Abû'l-Fidâ, 1286, III, p. 141-142).

Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" also came to the forefront with the information it provides about the physical appearance, condition, demeanor, and religious beliefs of the Holy Roman-German Emperor and King Frederick II of Sicily, the leader of the VIth Crusade, which is not found in any other source. Sibt reported what he witnessed during Frederick II's visit to Jerusalem and what he heard from the attendant of the Dome of the Rock. Sibt wrote the following about Frederick II's visit to Jerusalem:

"All the emperor's staff were Muslims. When it was time for noon prayers, and the muezzins called the call to prayer, all the emperor's servants, his aides, and the emperor's Sicilian logic teacher prayed. The emperor was blond, had weak eyes, and would not be worth 200 dirhams if sold as an enslaved person. From his words, it was clear that he was Muslim. However, he hid his faith by identifying himself as a Christian." (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 656; Badr al-Dîn al-'Aynî, 2010, IV, p. 208)¹¹.

The quoted paragraph from Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî provides important, albeit dubious, information about Frederick II's view of Muslims and his religion. The scholars who note that, Frederick II. may have been a Muslim based this on Ibn al-Furât, who wrote later. Ibn al-Furât, probably received this information from Sibt¹².

3.4. al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn Peiod

Sibt narrated the following events: After the death of al-Kâmil, al-'Âdil's II. accession to the throne al-Malik al-Jawad's unrest in the country, his activities, his search for alliances and his death, al-Malik al-Nâsir Dâwûd's movements and activities, al-Malik al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn's accession to the throne and his search for alliances, the rivalry between al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn's and al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il and their search for an alliance from the Crusaders and the Khwarezms, the war between the rulers of Egypt and Damascus and the victory of al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn, activities of the Khwarezms, the activities of the ruler of Hims, al-Mansur, the siege of Damascus by al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn and the dominance of al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn in the city, the siege of Damascus by al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn and the dominance of al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn in the city, the relations between the Khwarezms and the Ayyûbîds, the struggle of the sultan against the Crusade, Shadjar al-Durr, al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn's wife and the last ruler, the activities of Emir Fakhr al-Din ibn al-Shaykh.

It is understood that Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî's narratives of the Ayyûbîd Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Nadjm al-Dîn (1240-1249) are based on events he witnessed or heard. One of the vital pieces of information about this period given by Sibt is related to the Battle of Firîbya near Gaza in 642/1244, where the allied forces of the Ayyûbîds of Damascus and the Crusaders met the forces of the Ayyûbîds of Khwarazm and Egypt. Sibt, who was in Jerusalem at the time of the battle, reported that the battle was very fierce and that such a battle had never been fought in the history of Islam, neither in the time of Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî nor in the time of Nûr al-Dîn Mahmûd b. Zankî (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2), p. 746; al-Maqrîzî, 1956, I/(2), p. 317).

After the defeat of the Damascus branch of the Ayyûbîds by the Egyptian forces in this battle, Sibt described the ill-treatment of the commander of the Damascus forces, al-Malik al-Mansur of Homs. He reported that after the heavy defeat of the judge of Homs, he was humiliated, and even when he asked for a turban cloth, his request was not met, and that al-Mansur resented this very much and cried and, in his state of helplessness (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî, 1952, VIII/(2)II, p. 746).

Conclusion

Although Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî was a very significance figure for the period in which he lived, neither he nor "*Mir'ât al-zamân*", which he wrote and which also includes his memoirs, have been given enough value. What makes Sibt and his work so essential is that he was at the center of the region and era in which he

¹¹ One of those who accompanied Frederick II. during the Crusade was Ibn al-Jusi of Palermo, his teacher of Arabic dialectics.

¹² For the information Sibt Ibn al-Djawzî gave about Frederick II's visit to Jerusalem, see (Karakas and Özbek, 2021, pp. 63-86.)

lived, namely the Ayyûbîds, and that he reflected important events related to the Ayyûbîds in his work. It is understood that he was a name that had a say in the Ayyûbîd family due to both his friendship or closeness with the Ayyûbîd family and his reputation within the country. When we consider that he recorded his memoirs in his work in this way, the importance of the work increases even more. On the other hand, it is also understood that he somehow influenced the course of Ayyûbîd history. Because in his work, it is seen that he criticized the members of the dynasty, warned the members of the dynasty that the practices that were being implemented should be abandoned, or it is observed that some dynasty members supported the rivalry, which in turn influenced the masses it appealed to. Having said that, his ability to see secret documents, the rulers' requesting him to mediate when they had disagreements, his embassy between the rulers, his help sought when they wanted to gather troops for war, his expedition against the Crusaders with al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, and his detailed and vivid descriptions of these in his work indicate his position within the country. In light of the information, he provides about the periods of the Ayyûbîd dynasty mentioned above, "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" is a unique source for the period of Salâh al-Dîn Ayyûbî's successors, and this is also valid for the period in which he lived and the Crusades that took place in the region. The information Sibt provides in his work about the Sicilian Emperor Frederick II, who is a subject of much debate in the West, and during his visit to Jerusalem is also quite striking and unique. On the other hand, the original information in Sibt's testimony was also used by later Islamic historians. The fact that researchers refer to the works of authors who lived after the Sibt, rather than this work, for the information contained in "*Mir'ât al-zamân*" in Ayyûbîd historiography gives the impression that it has not reached the necessary value.

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