HONG KONG JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

香港社會科學學報

第一的第 61 期 (2023 春/夏)

Vol. 61 Spring/Summer 2023

Open Access Article

ttps://doi.org/10.55463/hkjss.issn.1021-3619.61.24

Salahuddin Al-Ayyubi Letters to the Abbasid Caliphate: A Creative Reading

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Received: March 7, 2023 • Reviewed: April 10, 2023

• Accepted: May 12, 2023 • Published: June 30, 2023

Abstract:

This article aims to analyze Saladin Ayyubi's letters to the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad through creative reading to explore embedded ideas reflected within the lines and highlight fragmented ideas and hidden agendas the lexical choices hold within. A historical and analytical approach was used to read, characterize and analyze the letters and examine evidence to come to an understanding of the past. The results revealed that the most prominent historical resources that recorded Saladin's life and letters rely primarily on Abū Shāma's The Book of the Two Gardens on the History of the Two Reigns. Moreover, the ensuing impacts of Saladin's letters had contributed to the establishment of Saladin's state and the expansion of the Abbasid Caliphate on the west side. Maintaining good relations with the Abbasid Caliphate greatly benefited Saladin in his conflict with Muslim princes who opposed him and vowed for power, including the Zengids. Saladin wanted his legitimacy claimed by the Abbasid Caliphate, though he knew its weakness. Saladin's letters to the Caliphate are found scattered in Islamic Heritage books such as Ibn Wasil's Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyub and al-Qalqashandi's Subh al-A'sha by al-Qalqashandi. The Arabic and Islamic worlds were at their cultural peak during the High Middle Ages, they exchanged information and creations via Al-Andalus, Sicily, and the Crusader kingdoms in the Levant. A lot of literature has been dedicated to study and analyzing Saladin Ayyubi. Such studies have provided information about the Abbasid Era in general and the Ayyubi Era in particular. Nevertheless, no particular study was dedicated to the unique relations between Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyubi, commonly known as Saladin, and the Abbasid Caliphate, significantly that the relations had been consolidated through formal correspondences through al-Kādī al-Fādil, the Excellent Judge, who was the vizier of Sultan Saladin.

Keywords: Saladin, Abbasid Caliphate, Al-Nāṣir Li-Dīn Allāh.

萨拉赫丁•阿尤比写给阿拔斯王朝哈里发的信: 创造性阅读

摘要:

本文旨在通过创造性阅读来分析萨拉丁・阿尤比写给巴格达阿拔斯王朝哈里发的信件、探索字里行间所反

映的内在思想,并突出词汇选择中蕴藏的支离破碎的思想和隐藏的议程。使用历史和分析方法来阅读、描述和分析这些信件,并检查证据以了解过去。结果显示,记录萨拉丁生平和信件的最重要的历史资源主要依赖于阿布·沙玛的《关于两个王朝历史的两个花园之书》。此外,萨拉丁信件的后续影响促进了萨拉丁国家的建立和阿拔斯哈里发在西侧的扩张。与阿拔斯哈里发保持良好关系,使萨拉丁在与反对他并发誓要获得权力的穆斯林王子(包括曾吉德王朝)的冲突中受益匪浅。萨拉丁希望阿拔斯哈里发国承认他的合法性,尽管他知道它的弱点。萨拉丁写给哈里发的信散布在伊斯兰遗产书籍中,例如伊本·瓦西尔(伊本瓦西尔)的穆法里吉·库鲁布·阿赫巴尔·巴尼·阿尤布和卡尔卡尚迪(盖尔卡尚迪)的苏卜·阿沙。阿拉伯和伊斯兰世界在中世纪盛期处于文化顶峰,他们通过安达卢斯、西西里岛和黎凡特的十字军王国交换信息和创作。许多文献致力于研究和分析萨拉丁·阿尤比。此类研究提供了有关阿拔斯时代的总体信息,特别是阿尤比时代的信息。然而,没有专门研究萨拉丁·优素福·本·阿尤比(俗称萨拉丁)与阿拔斯哈里发之间的独特关系,值得注意的是,这种关系是通过阿尔·哈迪·法蒂尔(法迪尔)的正式通信得到巩固的。贾奇是苏丹萨拉丁的大臣。

关键词: 萨拉丁, 阿拔斯哈里发, 阿拉纳西尔・利丁・阿拉。

1. Introduction

Considerable literature has been dedicated to study and analyzing Saladin Ayyubi. Such studies have provided a wealth of information about the Abbasid Era in general and the Ayyubi an Era in particular. Nevertheless, no particular study has been dedicated to the unique relations between Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyubi, commonly known as Saladin, and the Abbasid Caliphate, significantly that the relations had been consolidated through formal correspondences through al-Kādī al-Fādil, the Excellent Judge, who was the vizier of Sultan Saladin. This study, through creative reading, addresses and examines Saladin's letters sent to the Abbasid Caliphate as the primary focus of the research, referring to Abū Shāma's The Book of the Two Gardens on the History of the Two Reigns (1267 A.D./ 665 H) as the closest resource to the given period among other resources. Saladin's letters to the Caliphate are found in a scattered way in Islamic Heritage books such as Ibn Wasil's Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyub (Mufarrij Al-kurub in the News of Ayubb's Family) (1957) and al-Qalqashandi's Subh al-A'sha by al-Qalqashandi (1418). The researcher must go deeper into the manuscripts and reread the letters to extract the truth, collect fragmented ideas, see Saladin's most outstanding values alongside the literary and prosaic features, and read hidden messages and descriptions of events. It is important for readers to view about Arab and Islamic history. The Arabic and Islamic worlds were at their cultural peak during the High Middle Ages, they exchanged information and creations via Al-Andalus, Sicily, and the Crusader kingdoms in the Levant.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Saladin Ayyubi and the Succession of the Sultanate

Salah al-Din was born in 532 H / 1138 A.D. in Tikrit Castle in Iraq and lived with his father Najmuddin Ayoub Ben Shathi in Tikrit city. He and his father moved to Mosul where he grew up. Then they moved

together to al-Sham, Great Syria, where his father was appointed Baalbek governor in the time of Atabeg Zenki. At that time, Saladin showed signs of outstanding qualities and aspects that made him supreme and unique among others that Alamliku aladilu (The Righteous Ruler) Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zengī favored Saladin and counted on him. He noticed him, brought him closer, and singled him out. It seems like the more he progressed in age, the more it was evident that he qualified for a higher position. He stayed there until his uncle Asad ad-Dīn Shīrkūh decided to move to Egypt in 1163 A.D. / 558 AH (Ibn Shadad, 1994; Ibn Khallikan, 1978; Al-Magrīzī, 1956; Ibn Taghri Bardi, n.d.). Saladin, 26 years old at that time, accompanied his uncle to Egypt, where the latter allied with the Egyptian vizier Abu Shuja ibn Mujeer Al-Saadi against his enemy Dhirgham ibn Siwar, and helped him reclaim his Sultanate once again as the vizier was given the title "Sultan" at that time. Later in the same year, they left Egypt for Al-sham (Ibn Shadad, 1994; Abo Abū Shām, 1997; Magrizi, n.d.)

The Egyptian vizier, Shawar, was aware of Asad ad-Dīn Shīrkūh's desire to resume position in Egypt after the former had broken his promises to Nūr al-Dīn Zengī, whom he had asked for assistance in reclaiming the Sultanate from Dhirgham (Ibn Wasil, 1957). Shawar wrote to the crusaders, agreeing to let them enter his country and completely empower them in exchange for helping him push Asad ad-Dīn Shīrkūh's armies out of Egypt (Al-Azdi, 1999; Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Shadad, 1994; Ibn Wasil, 1957). When Alamliku al-adilu Nūr al-Dīn and Asad ad-Dīn learned of Shawar's plan with the crusaders, they were terrified for Egypt if the unbelievers took it over. Asad ad-Dīn prepared for war, and Nūr al-Dīn dispatched troops under his command and ordered Saladin to march to Egypt with his uncle in 562 AH/1167 A.D. Shawar conspired against both Asad ad-Din and the Egyptians with the crusaders. Many wars and extreme events occurred. Both the crusaders and Asad ad-Din eventually departed Egypt. Asad ad-Dīn's decision to leave Egypt was prompted by military weakness after enduring hardship, terror, and war turmoil while fighting both the Crusaders and the

Egyptians. Asad ad-Din did not leave Egypt until the crusaders and him agreed that they should all evacuate. He returned to Al-Sham for the remainder of the year. Apart from his desire to rule Egypt, Asad ad-Din was concerned about the crusaders' threats to the country. He was aware that the crusaders navigated the territory in the same way that he did and that they knew the land in the same way that he did. He remained in al-Sham with only a modicum of commitment, and fate kept pulling him toward something that was destined for somebody else without his knowledge. (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Shadad, 1994; Abū Shāma, 1997; Al-Maqrizi, 1956; Al-Maqrizi, n.d.).

In 564 AH / 1169 A.D., Saladin and his uncle returned to Egypt at Shawar's request, who feared the return of the crusader to Egypt. Egypt was important to Asad ad-Din. They all unanimously decided to arrest Shawar, whose removal as Sultan was entrusted to Asad ad-Din. Saladin was in charge of the proceedings, serving as both the executor and the leader (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Shadad, 1994; Abū Shāma, 1997; Al-Nuwayrī, 2004; Washa, 2020). The same year saw the passing of Asad ad-Din, who succumbed to a fatal illness. The Sultan was given complete control over everything. There were then established norms and rules, circumstances were created to the greatest extent possible, and money was generously spent. The Sultan was surrounded by men renounced the world, and still was successful in every way. Not only was he in charge of the affairs of the people, but as a "Wazir" (The Sultan), he was also tasked with the responsibility of enforcing Sunnism and raising the level of scientific literacy, Fiqh (jurisprudence), Sufism, and faith across the country. All across the place, people are flocking to him. In this respect, he does not fail to provide (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Shadad, 1994; Al-Magrizi, 1956). The Sultan maintained his authority up to al-'Ādid li-Dīn Allāh's death (on Monday 10th of Moharram, 1172 A.D. / 567 AH), at which point all concerns about Egypt came to an end. Sultan Saladin later ascended to the throne. In the last days of al-id li-Din Alla's reign, Sultan Saladin gave a speech in which he began by honoring the Bani Abbas (Abbasid Dynasty), most specifically al-Mustadi. The rules remained unchanged throughout. Whenever he comes into possession of a treasury, he gives it all away, leaving nothing for himself. The Sultan began to prepare to confront the invaders, prepared to march into enemy territory and institute martial law. (Asfhani, 2002; Ibn Shadad, 1994; Al-Magrizi, 1956). Sultan Saladin passed away in 589 AH / 1193 A.D. (Asfahani, 2002; Asfahani, 2004; Al-Jazari, 1997; Shakeel, 1993).

2.2. The Abbasid Caliphate in Saladin Ayyubi's Time

Following his father's death in 566 AH / 1171, the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mustadi bi Amrillah Abu Muhammad Hasan ibn Yusuf al-Mustanjid ibn al-Muqtafi ibn al-Mustazhir Ahmad ibn al-Muqtadi Al-Hashmi Alabbasi ascended to the position of Muslim caliph in Baghdad. Caliph Al-Mustadi had already

attained the position of Caliph when Saladin came to power. he was inaugurated Caliph On Friday, the 7th of Rabī al-Ākhir – the Private pledge of allegiance, when he was 29 years, 8 months, and 8 days old, and the public pledge of allegiance ceremony was held a day later. Advocated for Adud Al-Din to be selected for the position of vizier (Ibn Wasil, 1957), to which the Caliph agreed. Forbearance, patience, leniency, and charity were all traits that were associated with the Caliph Al-Mustadi. Egypt's Fatimid State collapsed under his rule. Official support for the Abbasid Caliph came to be announced, and benefits have arrived since then. Minarets and mosque domes were erected. Allegiance to him in Yemen and Burqa was declared. A vizier was chosen for the Caliph, and several monarchs swore allegiance to him. Sunnism prevailed. Safety spread across the country (Dhahabī, 1985).

Saladin freed a charitable property to convert it into a school for the Shafi sect of Sunni Islam. Earlier there were no facilities for teaching Shafi or any other teachings in the country as the Isma'ili system controlled, and they had no interest in these doctrines. Subsequently, he established "Dar Al-Ghazal" as a place to educate people on the Maliki doctrine. The Isma'ili doctrine was eradicated and never recognized again after he appointed Sadr al-Din' Abd al-Malik ibn Darbas Al-Shafi as the chief judge. Sadr al-Din' Abd al-Malik ibn Darbas Al-Shafi, in turn, appointed Shafi judges to serve under his administration. As a result, the Shafi doctrine flourished (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Al-Magrizi, 1956).

On Muharram of the second year of the reign of the new Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mustadi, Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh's name was dropped from Friday sermons and prayers in favor of the name of the new Abbasid Caliph (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957). In 575 AH / 1180 A.D., Al-Mustadi, the Caliph, fell ill and struggled through his illness. As a direct consequence of this, the Vizier Dhahir al-Din ibn al-Attar announced disobedience, took up arms, and shut Caliph's office. He demonstrated rebellion and shocking behavior. On Friday, the 12th of Shawwal, the ailing Caliph decreed that a pledge of allegiance be held for his son and heir, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn al-Hasan al-Mustaḍī) (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957).

Al-Mustadi ruled for nine years. He became ill in Shawwal in 575 AH / 1180 A.D., his wife tried but failed to conceal his illness and the country suffered greatly as a result. Following the news of the sick Caliph, there was looting and theft of property in Baghdad. After that, sermons were given to inaugurate the name of the heir, the next Caliph, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Abū al-ʿAbbās. It was a momentous occasion, and to mark it, the preachers, imams, and members of the congregation were showered with gold. Al-Mustadi died of fever the same year at the age of 39 and was buried in "Dar al-Nasr" as he stated in his will. He had two sons, the heir al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Abū al-ʿAbbās, and Abo Mansour Hashim (Ibn Katheer, n.d.).

2.3. Caliph Al-Nāṣir Li-Dīn Allāh Ibn Al-Mustadi

Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Abū al-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Mustadi Ibn al-Muqtafi was announced a Caliph in 575 AH/1180 A.D. He was born during his father's grandfather, Al- Muqtafi's, reign. He was 23 years and one month old at the time. A sermon was delivered in his honor as the New Caliph. Money was lavishly spent on sermons. He was lauded by one of Iraq's most influential poets at the time, Amin Ad-dawlah, Abo al-Alfath ibn Obaidellah. During his reign, he won numerous conquests and increased the Abbasid presence in regions such as Khuzestan province, al-Jabal, and vast lands of Persia. The Abbasid kingdom had a privileged position that no other state had held for centuries (Al-Jazari, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957).

Saladin relayed the news of his victory over the Crusaders in the Battle of Hittin in 583 AH / 1187 AD via a young man from Baghdad named al-Rashid Boshangi, who had fled to al-Sham and was infamous there for his cowardice (Abū Shāma, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Ibn Katheer, n.d.). The Caliph was insulted by Saladin's choice of messengers, and he condemned Saladin's action as a result. This, in turn, provided the opportunity for Saladin's adversaries at Caliph's court to turn on Saladin for his diplomatic gaffe. Saladin embarked on defaming him at the court: "It was impolite of him to continue to attach his name to al-Nasir (even more so when he attached his name to the most privileged name, "Al-imam al-Nasir"), revealing his intention to incite against the Caliph and shift his allegiance, as he did previously in Egypt, now that he is surrounded by armies and owns vast lands. "They made further derogatory statements against Saladin, which infuriated the judge (Abū Shāma, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957).

Al-Imad al-Katib's brother delivered Saladin Caliph's severe reply to his previous letter. The letter contained numerous references to Saladin's infamous messenger, pursuing the conflicts between doctrines, Saladin's brother's attempt to revive the occult of the Oarmatians Yemen, in communication with the disloyal Turkmens and Kurds, threatening to revoke the legitimacy the Caliph had previously granted him (Abū Shāma, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957). As for Saladin's usage of the regnal title (Laqb), al-Nasir, he said that it was not a recent one because he had been using it since the days of al-Mustadi, the Muslim Caliph; this was something that he took great honor in. He further mentioned that the objectives of his battles were to finish off the Caliph's conquests and exterminate the non-believers (Abū Shāma, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Ibn Katheer, n.d.). Al-Nir's reign of li-Din Allah, the Caliph, lasted so long. He desired to personally resolve people's issues and was dedicated to his rule. At night, he would wander the streets and alleyways of Baghdad to become familiar with the concerns of his subjects and the dynamics between them. People in high positions would fear the Caliph as if he were watching them from within their homes. His spies and messengers were many at governors' quarters

and elsewhere throughout the region. The Caliph al-Nasir died in 622 AH/1225 A.D. (Ibn Taqtaqi, 1997).

2.4. The Book of the Two Gardens on the History of the Two Reigns

It is a book in history that was written by Abu Shama al-Maqdisi, a jurist (Faqih) and a historian, who chronicled an era of approximately half a century (from 540 AH/1146 A.D. to 589 AH/1193 A.D.) during which two states reigned: the Nuriyya State (Zengids' state) ruled by Nūr al-Dīn Zenki (511 AH/1117 A.D. to 569 AH / 1174 A.D.) and Salahiyya state established by Saladin Ayyubi until his death (589 AH/1193 A.D.). Using official records and war poetry that he collected and meticulously catalogued, Abu Shama traces back all of Nur ad-Din and Saladin's achievements, such as the state and conflicts, including army movements, weaponry features, battles, forts, warships, and military confrontations. The approach that the author took to quote and collect material is one of the sources of the book's value; the book has many transcripts that were obtained from other works, such as those written by Ibn Asakir, Imad Asfahani, Ibn Atheer, Ibn Shadad, and al-Qadi al-Fadil (the excellent Judge).

The book focuses mostly on two notable figures: Sultan Nur ad-Din Zenki and Sultan Saladin (al-malik al-Nasir). The author exerted great effort to describe their duties and states, depending on his predecessors who had meticulously recorded the news concerning these two Sultans. The researcher used the verified version of the book, which was published by Resalah Publishing House in Beirut. There are five parts to this edition: the first covers the years up to and including 560 AH/1165 AD, the second covers the years 561 AH/1166 AD through 573 AH/1178 AD, the third covers the years 574 AH/1179 AD through 584 AH/1187 AD, and the fourth covers the years 584 AH/1188 AD through 597 AH/1201 AD.

3. Methodology

A historical and analytical approach was used to read, characterize and analyze the letters. Historical analysis is a method of the examination of evidence in coming to an understanding of the past. It is particularly applied to evidence contained in documents, although it can be applied to all artifacts (Thorpe & Holt, 2008).

4. Results and Discussion

Saladin was affiliated with the Abbasid Caliphate due to his ties with the Zengids, whose leader was Nur ad-Din Zenki, who respected and supported the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadi, who reciprocated Nur ad-Din's attitudes by maintaining protocols and honors in their correspondences and urging his provinces to ally with Zenki against the crusaders. Saladin's relations with the Abbasid Caliphate were never bad, or at least never became so hostile. It may have subsided for a while, but it was never hostile (Hashmi, 2006).

In 567 AH/1172 A.D., Saladin first established ties

to the Abbasid Caliphate while serving as the Fitimid Caliph's vizier. When Saladin interrupted a sermon praising the Fatimid Caliph al-Adid in order to praise the Abbasid Dynasty and proclaim his commitment to the Abbasid Caliph, the relationship between the two parties began to improve (al-Maqrizi, 1956; al-Hashimi, 2006; al-Jadbah 2016). The relations consummated through correspondences between the Caliphate in Baghdad and Saladin Ayyubi in Egypt. These correspondences were included in earlier resources written in Saladin's era. Abu Shama, for instance, included several such letters in his book the Two Gardens in the News of Two Reign, which is the main reference in this research.

The correspondences that were exchanged between the Caliphate in Baghdad and Saladin Ayyubi in Egypt were how the contacts were conducted. This correspondence was compiled and included in the earlier resources that were created during Saladin's time. For example, Abu Shama included several letters like this in his book The Two Gardens in the News of Two Kings, which serves as the primary resource for this investigation.

As mentioned earlier, the most important reference is Abu Shama's book (1997), which included the letters in a dispersed manner in between the pages. The letters in their entirety were not compiled under a single title; rather, portions of the letters were included in the form of a paragraph within the context of a specific event. The author used the letters as examples of the events that he was relating to in his narrative. It was unusual for a letter to arrive in its complete form. The investigator may be able to find some of these letters in other late resources, such as those written by Qalqashandi (1418) in his books titled Subh al-Asha.

The researcher chose Abu Shama's book as a source because it is historically closer and more relevant to the targeted period. The research intended to survey and investigate all letters contained in all available resources; however, it proved to be beyond the scope of the research paper and would be more appropriate for a dissertation. Finally, the researcher decided to investigate only the letters included in Ab Shama's book, with the hope of investigating the remaining letters in a future research paper. Saladin wrote approximately 43 letters to the Abbasid Caliph. The following are the specifics for each letter:

- 1. A tribute from Sultan Saladin to the Vizier of Baghdad, written by Shams al-Din Ibn Abi Mada in 567 AH / 1269 CE (Abu Shama, 1997). Saladin details his service to the Abbasid Caliphate in this letter and concludes by requesting legitimacy.
- 2. In a letter that Sultan Shams al-Din Ibn Abi Mada sent to the noble court, Al-Qadi al-Fadil (the Excellent Judge) detailed Saladin's role in fighting against the Franks during Nur ad-Din's reign, as well as his conquests in Egypt and Yemen and vast land in the Moroccan Frontiers, and how he delivered a sermon honoring the Abbasid Caliphate in 568 H / 1270 A.D. (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Al-Qalqashandi,

1418).

- 3. Another tribute was written by al-Fadil in which he mentioned Saladin's roles and contributions (Abu Shama, 1997).
- 4. Another tribute written by al-Fadil in which he mentioned Saladin deliverance of a sermon praising the Abbasid Caliphate for the second time (Abu Shama, 1997) in $570 \, \text{H} / 1272 \, \text{A.D.}$
- 5. Another tribute (Abu Shama, 1997) in 570 AH / 1272 A.D.; it was a short letter that included thanks and praises to Allah.
- 6. Another tribute (Abu Shama, 1997) in 570 AH / 1272 A.D., in which Sultan Saladin's efforts to combat against the Franks under the reign of Nur ad-Din were acknowledged.
- 7. Saladin's letter to the vizier of Baghdad, written in al-Fadil's style (Abu Shama, 1997) in 570 AH / 1272 A.D., made an intercession for a prince.
- 8. A lengthy letter written by Al-Fadil and delivered to Baghdad on behalf of the Sultan in 570 AH / 1272 A.D., discussing the people of Aleppo and Mosul (Abu Shama, 1997).
- 9. A letter written by al-Fadil to Baghdad describing a fort (Abu Shama, 1997) in 573 AH describing the status of the unbelievers' troops following battles in al-Sham and Hamah.
- 10. Another letter written by al-Fadil (Abu Shama, 1997,3: 42; Ibn Wasil, 1957) in 575 AH, describing "Bait al-Ahzan" fort.
- 11. Another letter written by al-Fadil (Abu Shama, 1997,3: 43; Ibn Wasil, 1957) in 575 AH, describing "Bait al-Ahzan" fort.
- 12. Another letter was written by Al-Fadil and delivered to the vizier of Baghdad on behalf of the Sultan (Abu Shama, 199744) in 575 AH, describing the battle of "Bait al-Ahzan Fort."
- 13. A letter to describe the situations in Baghdad using Imadi's style (Abu Shama, 1997) in 557 AH.
- 14. Another letter was written by Al-Fadil (Abu Shama, 1997) in 557 AH, describing the situation in Baghdad.
- 15. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 557 AH, describing the situation in Baghdad.
- 16. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 557 AH, describing the situation in Baghdad.
- 17. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 557 AH, describing the situation in Baghdad.
- 18. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 557 AH, describing the situation in Baghdad.
- 19. A letter in al-Fadil's style to the Court (Abu Shama, 1997107) in 578 AH depicting the fight against the Franks in al-Sham.
- 20. Another sophisticated letter, written in al-Fadil's style, from the Sultan to the Court after crossing the Euphrates River (Abu Shama, 1997) in 578 AH, detailed the fighting circumstances and Sultan Saladin's efforts to serve the Caliphate.
- 21. Another letter to Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 578 AH, describing the conditions Muslim fleet in pushing back the belligerent ships targeting the Hijazi

and Yemeni ships.

- 20. Another book to Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 578 AH, in which he describes the events of a battle with Frank's fleets coming to Akka.
- 21. Another letter, written by al-Fadil on behalf of the Sultan to the court in Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 579 AH, in which he mentions receiving the Caliph's letters.
- 22. Another letter, written by al-Fadil on behalf of the Sultan to the Vizier of Baghdad (Abu Shama; Ibn Wasil, 1957) in 579, depicts the conditions and preparations for the battle.
- 23. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 579, in which the Sultan expressed his gratitude for a victory he made in a city.
- 24. A letter written by al-Fadil (Abu Shama, 1997) in 579 AH, in which he explained the events of "Tal Khalid" Battle.
- 25. Another letter by Sultan Saladin, in which he told the news about victory in Aleppo and Harem.
- 26. A letter issued from "Naseebin" to Baghdad in 578 AH (Abu Shama, 1997), in which he listed his efforts and services for the Caliphate.
- 27. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 579 m in which he explained his intention to proceed and his plans.
- 28. Another letter written by al-Fadil to Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 579 AH, in which he describes events in fighting the unbelievers.
- 29. Another letter was sent to the Vizier of Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 579 AH, describing the circumstances in a battle.
- 30. A letter from the Sultan to the Court (Abu Shama, 1997) in 581 AH, explaining the state with Tikrit's ruler.
- 31. Another letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in 581 AH about a poem.
- 32. A letter written by al-Fadil to Baghdad after conquering Akka and Hattin's seizure (Abu Shama, 1997) in 583 AH.
- 33. Another letter to the noble Court in Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 583, bringing the good news of conquering Jerusalem.
- 34. Another letter by al-Fadil about some battles (Abu Shama, 199785) in 585 AH.
- 35. A letter to the Court (Abu Shama, 1997) in 585 AH, depicting the state after entering Jerusalem.
- 36. A letter by the Sultan (Kitab Sultani) (Abu Shama, 1997) in 586 AH explaining the enemy's movements and his state.
- 37. A letter by al-Fadil to Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997140) in 586 AHm explaining the Franks' circumstances in Akka.
- 38. A letter to Baghdad (Abu Shama, 1997) in 586 AH, depicting the enemy's state.
- 39. A letter by al-Fadil to the Court (Abu Shama, 1997) in 587 AH, depicting the state among battles.

In this context, the researcher emphasizes that quotations from letters to support the themes extracted from the creative reading will be limited to a few for quoting rather than counting because the scope of the study does not permit incorporating all the letters.

After reviewing the previous letters sent from Saladin to the Abbasid Court, the scholar notes that Saladin has many good attributes that other kings did not have. He was strong and held all the cards. The Abbasid Caliphate compromised and agreed with him. Therefore, the researcher opts to survey all letters collectively, not on a case-by-case basis to avoid identifying the same themes more than once. Some common threads and facts can be seen throughout all of Saladin's correspondence.

1. Saladin's constant references to himself as a "servant" and a "Mameluke" (i.e., the slave) in his communication with the Abbasid Caliph demonstrate his unwavering devotion and subjection to the Caliph's religious authority. A letter from Saladin to the Vizier of Baghdad, for example, begins with the words "The servant has written this..." (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Qalqashandi, 1418).

While repeating his service to the Caliphate by restoring the Caliph's authority in Egypt, Yemen, and Morocco, Saladin writes to the court in Baghdad, "Allah's great will is manifested through the great deeds of His slave "Mamluke", who burdened the surrounding Kingdoms with his might." (Abu Shama, 1997), and he continued using the word again: " Unless he wanted to keep his word to Nur ad-Din, may he rest in peace, the Mamluke (slave) would not have left his home to battle the foes in Egypt and al-Sham; the Mamluke (i.e. Saladin) protects the land and water, while Nur ad-Din watches over the plains and terrains of al-Sham (Abu Shama, 1997). Saladin, when he was in al-Sham, sent another letter to the Caliph in Baghdad to tell him that his navy had defeated the Franks in the Mediterranean and that his army had won some battles in Morocco. He continues, "The Servant has his troops in Morocco, and their victories have reached the edges of Africa" (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957).

The word "servant" appears numerous times in Saladin's letters to the Caliphate, including his address to Baghdad describing the events of the Hittin Battle: "The servant came in the morning... the servant set a fire... the servant slaughtered... the servant issued" (Ibn Wasil, 1957). There are many other instances in which Saladin used the words "slave" or "servant" in his letters to the Caliphate. Saladin frequently referred to himself in his correspondence with the Caliphate as a "slave" or "servant." To prevent the repetition, the researcher will not provide further instances beyond those already provided.

2. Saladin frequently used the unadorned word "loyal" to stress his undying allegiance to the Caliphate. Saladin used the term directly in a letter he sent to the Vizier of Baghdad in which he detailed his efforts and victories: "The servant (i.e. Saladin) wrote this from his lodging, declaring loyalty ("al-walaa" i.e. the expression of brotherhood, kindness, and compassion Muslims ought to have for one another) (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957). In another letter, Saladin wrote:

"The servant has been blessed in his obedience, which the good ones adopted and by which the foes were defeated (Abu Shama, 1997).

3. The people who wrote the letters made excessive use of prayers in general throughout the letters, regardless of the subjects or goals of the letters. Their prayers can deepen the significance of homage and respect by imploring Allah to sustain and bless the prince, increase the abundance of Allah's gifts to him, and ensure that the prince's life continues to be filled with good fortune and joy throughout the ages. This phenomenon clearly exists in all types of letters. Saladin always praises the Caliph, reminding him of his relation to the divine message of Prophet Mohammad. Saladin, cognizant of Caliph's inherent superiority, expresses a yearning for Caliph's graces empowerment. In a letter written by al-Qadi al-Fadil "the Excellent Judge" and sent by Sultan Saladin to the Caliph telling him the good news of his conquest in Aleppo and Harem: "May Allah continue to bestow his blessings on the esteemed Court and ensure that the homes of the kingdom remain the subject of regard and grace. May Allah bring about the unification of the realm under Caliph's rule" (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Qalqshandi, n.d.).

In another letter, the following was written: "All praise be to Allah, Who has fulfilled His promise to His good worshipers by making them the rulers and using them to conquer the unbelievers and the transgressors. Praise be to Allah, who distinguishes the Honorable Court's Sultan by selecting him to be the Caliph, empowering his faith, replacing fear with security, and granting the high conquest and the happy victory by the hands of a servant who is full of pride and loyalty (Abu Shama, 1997).

4. Intertextuality: and the term "text" implies the meaning of "highlighting" or "making prominent". As for intertextuality, it involves uniting one piece of literature with a prior text or the presence of one text in another, for instance, quoting a saying, a verse, or any other text.

"Involving a text structure borrowed from other texts, thereby establishing a connection in which the borrowed texts are incorporated into the generated text," is another way to put this definition. Or, a collection of texts that can be "squeezed" into one larger text, either in the mind of the writer, the mind of the reader, or the mind of the book itself (Hadid, 2011). Saladin's letters were exemplary displays of cleverness because of the way he skillfully braided his lines together using sophisticated vocabulary to bring out meaning, summoning passages from the Quran, Hadith, poetry, and Arabic proverbs. This was not new in Arabic literature. The fact that the successor was inspired by the predecessor, either lexically or thematically, is proof of the openness and connection linking literary genres together was not new in Arabic literature. The following are some examples of intertextuality in Saladin's letters:

A. The Holy Quran is the supreme ideal of rhetoric

and the unchanging constitution of human life. Miracles of language abound in it. For Muslims, reciting passages from the Quran is an act of worship and a last resort. Saladin's use of Quranic verses in his letters may have been an act of worship; doing so gave them an air of eternity and permanence. Saladin cited verses from the Quran to make his vocabulary even clearer and more profound, thus establishing that he had a correct knowledge of the Quranic text and its applicability to the events that were occurring at the time. In a letter that included the Sultan's services to the Caliphs, Saladin quotes:" for every term appointed, there is a record (or decree) that keeps it" and "They are but as the cattle" (Abu Shama, 1997) in another letter.

B. In another letter, the following verse was quoted: "Let not the free disposal (and affluence) of the disbelievers throughout the land deceive you" (Abu Shama, 1997). He often opened his letters with Quranic verses; in a letter sent to the court, it reads: "Allah hath promised such of you as believe and do good works that He will surely make them to succeed (the present rulers) in the earth even as He caused those who were before them to succeed others); and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved for them, a will give them in exchange safety after their fear." (Abu Shama, 1997346). B. Poetry: writers have been used to including some poetic verses into their prosaic writings, and this was not exclusive to Saladin's letters; it was a common practice followed by his predecessors. Saladin used poetry to prove his viewpoints. In his letter, carried by prince Shams al-Din al-Khatib to the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir, Saladin, highlighting his efforts in freeing the Islamic lands after suffering the unbelievers' injustice and oppression, says "ومن الغرائب أن تسير غرائب ... في الأرض لم يعلم (In Arabic) بها المأمول كالعيس أقتل ما يكون لها الظما ... والماء فوق ظهورها (Being an outsider in the middle of a desolate region is a peculiar experience. Similar to how white camels, which are the most noble of all camel species, will succumb to thirst even when they are carrying water on their backs) (Abu Shama, 1997)

C. Saladin's viewpoint in freeing the lands was not targeted at removing the Fatimids; instead, he had a strategic long-term vision- that is, to demolish the franks and all of the Muslim enemies and unify the regions under the Abbasid rule. He had excellent knowledge of the region, as clearly shown in his letters. In a letter he sent to the Vizier of Baghdad, in which he talked about his victories and accomplishments and his confrontations with the Shiite, he confirmed his longterm vision in fighting the Franks: "The sword will always be unsheathed, and nights will not be slept to remove the Franks" (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957). In some letters in which he recounted his ceaseless efforts to serve the Abbasid Caliphate, Saladin says: "It is no secret that the Franks freaked out after knowing our plan and rushed to help the Christian lands. They marched with their cross, accompanied by their allies, reminding their tyrannical rulers of the resurrection. They also sent letters and saints' pictures to the prelates and ecclesiastics, alerting them of the irreparable disaster that could not happen if they did not act. The rulers of Constantinople, Sicily, Germany, the lands beyond the sea, Venice, Peshaniya, Genoa and others have prepared their fleets and legions. Islam faith is the best advocate as they, the franks and their allies, advocated for falsehood, while Islam led by the prince of believers (Amir almo'mineen) advocates the truth. he worships Allah, and they worship a human" (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957).

D. Saladin's writings reveal Saladin's wide knowledge in religious sciences, lowering the value of the Shiite dogmas and deeming them wrong. He improved Abbasid's image as they had ties with the prophet's divine message, deeming them right. In a letter in which he mentioned his victories and conquests, Saladin declared: "It is now one religion, not many as it was before. When the wrongdoers are reminded of the Caliphate, they fall upon it deaf and blind. Heresies are stagnant. The Shiites are humiliated as they took humans as their gods and Allah's enemies as their loyal friends, split up, and dispersed the Muslim nation after it was unified" (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957). In a letter he sent to remind the Court of his victories and conquests in Egypt, Morrocco, and Yemen, Saladin says: "Our messengers in Egypt sent us that revealed the bad conditions mismanagement the country suffered. The inferior dominated the superior. The system was corrupted. Islam weakened. The Franks gave them huge amounts of money. Sunni's voice though it was there, yet it was oppressed. Islam's rules and laws existed in name only. Heresies prevailed and overpowered. Their dogma became an integral part of people's lives. They erected shrines for worship. Allah is raised far above those. Woe to him who were deceived by the [uninhibited] movement of the disbelievers throughout the land." (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957; Qalqashandi, 1418).

E. Saladin asked the Abbasid Caliphate to give him legitimacy, protocols, grants, and appreciation as these are in the first place benefits for the Abbasid Caliphate more than for him. In a letter he sent to the Abbasid Caliph, Saladin said: "He needs to be thanked for the admonition he gives, to be given the lands he conquers, to accomplish what he plans, to claim his rights with no reduction, to feel home in any place he moves to, to be honored by the noble protocols, to be provided with huge supplies and reinforcements, to be supported with his plans and battles, to be spared all obstacles and hardships, and to be facilitated with all I need. As these all are for the benefit of the nation, which he jeopardizes his life to protect and unleashes his sword to make the nation above all. He (i.e. Saladin) entered the proper doors and asked for help from the abundance. He trusted the good reply. He is pleased to convey his wishes and to receive what he deserved" (Abu Shama, 1997; Ibn Wasil, 1957).

F. Understatement and overstatement: the writing style of letters in terms of understatement and

overstatement vary. Depending on the letter's topic, the length depends on the letters topic. Understatement refers to words lacking to convey the truth. As for overstatement, it means to show and convey, which is achieved only by concentration and persuasion. Understatement involves containing a lot of meaning in few words that convey the intended meaning very well. Overstatement involves using a lot of words to convey, intensify and emphasize the intended meaning (al-Hashimi, n.d.). These two stylistic features in Saladin's letters are Abu Shama's letters. The most representative examples of overstatement in Abu Shama's book were included in the second letter sent to the noble court, Al-Qadi al-Fadil (the Excellent Judge) detailed Saladin's role in fighting against the Franks during Nur ad-Din's reign, as well as his conquests in Egypt and Yemen and vast land in the Moroccan Frontiers, and how he delivered a sermon honoring the Abbasid Caliphate in 568 AH / 1173 A.D. (Abu Shama, 1997).

Examples of understatement are abundant in the fourth letter in which Sultan Saladin mentions establishing the Abbasid power in Egypt. In this letter, Saladin says: "Until he came to the world to get things done and to embitter Allah's enemies, brighten the faces and unburden chest of the black-cloaked, take their revenge others forgot to take, inform the beguiled with the truth, hoping for a (sure) trade gain that will never perish (Abu Shama, 1997). A few words are used in the previous lines, which are enough to explain everything.

G. There are some prominent rhythmic features in Saladin's letters, such as assonance, which has a role in lending the letters a different timbre that attracts the reader's attention, urging them to continue reading. Assonance means the repetition of a similar sound in two or more words in proximity to each other in prose. Assonance plays a vital role in producing a musical timber that attracts the listeners' attention and ignites their minds. Assonance had been prevalent in the writings of the Islamic era and became a prominent feature in the letters and other genres of the Abbasid era. Assonance in prose is parallel to rhyme in poetry. The music is produced by the repetition of similar sounds in two or more words. Assonance is one of the most rhetorical devices that prevailed in the listed letters.

There are many representative examples of assonance in Saladin's letters as:

"أدام الله أَيَّام الدِّيوَان الْعَزِيز وَلَا زَالَت منَازِل مَمْلَكَته منَازِل التَّقْدِيس والتَّطْهِير وَالْوُقُوف باقصى المطارح من أبوابه مُوجبا للتقديم وَالتَّقْدِير وَالْأمة مَجْمُوعَ هَ الشمل بإمامته جمع السَّلامَة لا جمع التكسير، الْخَادِم يُنْهِي أَن الَّذِي يفتتحه من الْبِلَاد ويتسلمه إمَّا بِسُكُون التغمد أو بحركة مَا في الأغماد إنَّمَا يعده طَرِيقا إلَى الاستنفار إلَى بِلَاد الْكَفَّار ويحسبه جناحا يُمكنه به المطار إلَى مَا يلابسه الْكَفَّار من الاقطار"

Which translates into: "May Allah bless the days of the noble Court, whose kingdom's houses are still sacred and purified. The nation is unified under the Caliph's good ruling. The servant finishes his speech saying that conquering the lands by protecting the lands or fighting is just to pave the way to travel the lands where the unbelievers rule. Assonance appears in words where the libelievers rule. Itselfiel itself. Itselfield and الاستنفار، الكفار، الأقطار، الأقطار، الأقطار، المعار، التكسير and التحسير التكسير التكسير

Alliteration contributes to producing rhythm and acoustic harmony, arising from musical compatibility among words. It means two words similar to pronunciation but different in meaning. It gives a musical consistency and compatibility between words that are saturated in terms of weight and sound. This musical device appeared in letters as a literary genre, and it involves combining the thing and its opposite and two similar words (two words, nouns, or verbs) that are totally opposite in meaning. Saladin's letters abound with examples of assonance (complete and incomplete types of assonance). In the first letter (Abu Shama, 1997), Saladin says: الْجُمُعَة جَامِعَة (which translates into: Friday's (prayer) unifies), which is an example of incomplete assonance as the word (جمعة) refers to "Friday's prayer", and the word "جامعة" means "that which unifies people". In the same letter, Saladin says:" where ""وَنَثَرت أَقَلَام الظبي حُرُوف رؤوسهم نَثر الْأقلام للحروف "، the first "أقلام" means "tools of combat", which comes as a simile; while the second "أقلام" means "pencils used in writing". Moreover, the first word "حروف" means "the tip", and the second word means "letters used to form words". In Saladin letters, he mentioned "التشريفات "الشريفة", which means "special equipment", while the word "شریفة" means "noble"; and this makes a representative example of incomplete assonance. In a "واستفتح بلباس السواد الْأَعْظُم الَّذِي جمع الله :letter, Saladin says in which he refers to the black color عَلَيْهِ السوَاد الْأَعْظم"، in the first "السواد", while he means "common people" in the second "السواد الاعظم".

In a letter, Saladin mentions: " "يعود إِلَيْهِ بِمَا يطوي اللَّهِ عِمَا يطوي اللَّهِ السَّرف فِي عقبه الرَّجَاء فضل عقبه ويخلد الشَّرف فِي عقبه " in which the first "عقبه" relate to the "time" and the second "عقبه" refers to "the son"; and (عقب، عِقب) are good examples of complete assonance.

4.1. Counterpoint

Saladin's letters included several examples of counterpoint, which adds to the subtlety and beauty of the style. The most representative examples of counterpoint are mentioned in the first letter such as: "ويمناً وشاما", which is an example of positive counterpoint that occurs between the word and its opposite. This is similar to " الأَمْهُ وَكَانَ مجتمعا", where counterpoint is represented in the pair (فرقوا أَمْر الْأُمْهُ وَكَانَ مجتمعا") " where counterpoint is represented in the pair "اشدَ عقد خَلَفُ وحل , a verb and a noun. Moreover, "شدَ عقد خَلَفُ وَقَامَ بدولة وَقعد " " شدَ عقد خَلَفُ وَقَامَ بدولة وَقعد " are examples of counterpoint.

H. In the field of "imagistic features", Saladin's letters abound with imagistic devices such as similes, metaphors, and metonyms. A simile is a rhetorical and stylistic device, which relates to imagination, the beauty of visualization, and the writer's ingenuity. Simile intensifies the meaning and contributes to its clarity. The writers during that era used simile significantly as it highlights, explains, and emphasizes the meaning.

The number of similes used varies according to letter types. Examples of similes in Saladin's letters are "ولْكُنَّا قد بِلْينًا" :included in the letter No. 15, when he says 'بقوم كالفراش أو أخف عقولا وكالأنعام أو أضل سَبيلا (Abu Shama, 1997), in which people are likened to "flies" due to their "simple cognitive abilities", which is an example of "detailed simile". As for the "metaphor", it is one of the most prominent rhetorical devices and a pillar for expressing feelings. It contributes to visualizing the intended meaning and proof of the writer's craftmanship. It is also an integral component that any poet or prose writer needs. Metonymy is a rhetorical aspect that cannot be comprehended except by those who have sensitive attitudes, as metonymy presents the truth in a new way and has an important impact on readers. Metonymy uncovers the writer's ingenuity and his/her ability to manipulate the language as he/she intends. Examples of metaphors are mentioned in the fourth letter (Abu Shama, 1997), in which Saladin says: " in , "أَدْرِكَ لَهُم بِثَأْرِ نَامَتْ عَنْهُ الْهِمِم which the word "الهمم" (which means "spirits") are imaged as a sleeping person to mean that "spirits" became weak and fragile that cannot be strong. As for metonymy, it – like metaphors and similes – adds to the eloquence of the letters. The most representative examples of metonymy are those mentioned in the "حتى أتى الدنيا ابن fourth letter (Abu Shama, 1997) in "بجدتها, which is a metonymy that refers to "erudition"; thus, he means "I am knowledgeable, and the pronoun "in "بجدتها" refers to "the world" (al-Maydani, n.d.).

Finally, Saladin refers to his good relation to the Abbasid Caliphate when he mentions the conflicts with other Muslim princes who defied him and aspired to overpower him, especially the Zengids. He always kept the Abbasid Court updated on his accomplishments and victories, justifying his passion to protect and serve the Abbasid Caliphate and that he wanted to get legitimacy and approval from the Caliph, though he knew the weakness of the Abbasid Caliphate at those times in al-Mustadi' reign. Undoubtedly, the Abbasid Caliphate had achieved a great victory as it annexed Egypt to the Sunni Islamic Front, thus making Egypt one of the pillars supporting the Abbasid Caliphate and a center from which other Islamic emirates could be unified under the Abbasid Caliphate Control. One of the most significant factors that added to the Abbasid Caliphate's power in the region was its wide knowledge of the ongoing events and all military actions and transitions Saladin made at that time. Saladin would always send the court information about his military actions, gaining approval and legitimacy from the Caliphate. When Saladin became a Sultan in Egypt, he started taking deliberate steps to unite the Islamic world with the support and blessing of the Abbasid Caliphate. He expanded his power in North Africa. He had asked for permission from Nur ad-Din Zenki, who immediately sent his approval, culminating in the Abbasid Caliphate's blessing.

The Caliph al-Nasir sent "Shaikh al-Shuyoukh" in charge to grant the approval and legitimacy to Saladin

and gave him some Sunni titles such as: "Almaliku alajjal" (the most reverent King), Nasir al-Islam (the Islam advocate), Imad Addawlah (the state pillar), Fakhr al-millah (the millet's pride), Saffy al-khilafa (The Caliphate chosen one), Taj al-molook wa alsalateen (the crown of kings and sultans), Qahir alkhawarij (the conqueror of the unbelievers. Shaikh al-Shuyoukh, on the Caliph's behalf, commanded Saladin to fear Allah, be committed to collective prayers, avoid sacrilege and taboos, well-treat the subjects, quest for justice, protect the borders, fight the unbelievers, refer to the religious and virtuous for consultations, and show gratitude to the Caliphate for its generous acts. The Abbasid Caliphate did not grant any of the princes or any in the inner circle, who were under Saladin's authority, permission to wear black turbans and gowns to show Saladin respect and to distinguish him from others. The Caliph wanted to maintain good relations with Saladin. However, the Caliph, who granted Saladin titles and legitimacy, sent Saladin a letter reproaching him for some acts that the Caliph deplored.

5. Conclusion

This is one of the first studies to address the unique relations between Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyubi, commonly known as Saladin, and the Abbasid Caliphate, in that the relations had been consolidated through formal correspondences through al-Kāḍī al-Fāḍil, the Excellent Judge, who was the vizier of Sultan Saladin.

Saladin's letters revolve around several themes or topics. Some of these letters have a unifying role, calling for unifying the lands under Islamic ruling, political letters that pictured the events that occurred at that point of time starting from Saladin's appearance to the principles of fighting "aljihad", and descriptive letters that included descriptions of battles, fights, killing, and fighting equipment and tools. It is worth noting that these letters reflect the leader's viewpoint toward events at that time. Saladin sent letters to the Abbasid Caliph picturing political circumstances in Great Syria (Bilad al-Sham), explaining the Crusaders making use of the anarchy there to their interest. He also mentioned his efforts to demolish the Fatimids ruling in Egypt, reestablish the Abbasid's presence there, confrontations with the crusaders in the invasion of Egypt, and motives to annex Yemen. After composing these lengthy letters, Saladin asked the Caliph to give him legitimacy to rule Egypt, Morocco, Yemen, and Great Syria. Saladin's letters and their implications all contribute to building Saladin's state and expanding Abbasid's kingdom in the western side. The Caliph responded to Saladin's demands and bestowed him legitimacy to rule Egypt. The Caliph saw Saladin as a good replacement for Nur ad-din after his death. The caliph also admitted Saladin as a Sultan as the Caliph considered Saladin as the only competent person able to defend the Islamic nation. In 570 AH / 1175 A.D., the Caliph sent Saladin, during his siege of Hamah, a letter including the Caliph's blessing,

approval, admission, and authorization, which all added to Saladin's caliber and value in front of other princes as well as the crusaders, which were frightened by Saladin's success. Saladin's rejection to accept the Caliphate's gifts relates to fears of being fully controlled. It was enough for Saladin to get emotional and spiritual support and resort to the Caliphate during crises to resolve fights. Saladin realized that resorting to the Abbasid army might lead the army to interfere in his state's affairs, which might disturb the relationship.

5.1. Limitations and Further Study

This study was limited to Saladin's letters sent to the Abbasid Caliphate, referring to Abū Shāma's The Book of the Two Gardens on the History of the Two Reigns (1267 A.D./ 665 H). It is good to enrich the understanding of the biography of Saladin and his contribution, especially with the Abbasid caliphate, by studying the memorial texts engraved on several of his buildings of exceptional importance. It gives us the opportunity, by analyzing it, to form an idea of his policies and kingship, such as the inscription installed above the entrance to the amphitheater in the Citadel of Cairo, which was constructed by Saladin himself.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the Translation Center at the University of Jordan for their help with translating this manuscript from Arabic into English.

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