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Eden Zoe Vigil

Candidate

History

Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Sarah Davis-Secord, Chairperson

Michael A. Ryan

Timothy Graham

Emotional Villages in the Medieval Mediterranean:
Territorial Language of Emotional Expression, 644–1508 C.E.

by

Eden Zoe Vigil

Bachelor of Arts, History and Intercultural Communications, UNM

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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History

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DEDICATION

I first and foremost want to thank my fiancé Robert Douglass Esquibel, without whom this work would not have been possible. Thank you for the Middle English translation in this thesis. You have been with me through some of the hardest transitions of my life. Your support and constant cheering for the past year and a half have helped me more than words will ever convey. I love you more than I can express, and I cannot wait to be your wife. I am a better person for having known and loving you.

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Emotional Villages in the Medieval Mediterranean:
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by

Eden Vigil
B.A., Intercultural Communications and History, University of New Mexico, 2018
M.A., History, University of New Mexico, 2022

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the concept of an emotional village as one that embodies territorial emotions. The emotions themselves are categorically defined based on modern conventions, but utilizes the author's words to expose the fluidity of emotion language amongst cultures and traditions. My research presents emotional villages in four sections to expose these modalities of feeling amongst cultures. The first section looks at devotion, wonder, and reverence; the second, loss, grief, and nostalgia; the third, fear and anger; the fourth, disgust and hatred. The fifth section is dedicated to the emotional village that is medieval Jerusalem. Emotions are merely the language of humans, and they do not belong 'categorically' to one group or another. However, the language of emotion, depending on the feeling itself, is more territorial in nature than not, and exposes the inner realities of these authors, tumultuous as they were.

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Introduction

This thesis will focus on exploring Islamic, Hebrew, and Christian-European emotional expressions within medieval sources. The emotions will be listed in categories, each section representing a different emotion. There is no one location that is the focus, but instead the whole Mediterranean, generally. I am not intending to display a history of emotion or discuss the psychology of emotional understanding in the medieval period. My goal is to create a narrative of emotional expression throughout the medieval period. The years included are as early as 644 C.E. and as late as 1508 C.E.

What are emotions?

First, an explanation of what is meant by 'emotions' is necessary. The definition is not self-evident. Emotions are communicators, and a way for one to both tribute to, and understand external stimuli, the composers as well as the orchestra. Emotions both are hard-wired into the brain and social constructs. They are the *physical* states that can be observed before feeling even begins. From a psychological perspective, which is outside of my understanding, emotions are "cognitive, behavioral, expressive, experiential and physiological/neuroendocrinological systems that operate in a relatively coordinated and synchronized manner" while being "generated and maintained in a dynamic transactional process between organism and environment."[1] What is interesting is this formal definition maintains *feeling* is a transactional process.

[1] Changiz Mohiyeddini, Michael W. Eysenck, and Stephanie Bauer, *Handbook of Psychology of Emotions: Recent Theoretical Perspectives and Novel Empirical Findings*, Handbook of Psychology of Emotions (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc, 2013), 4.

In his chapter "Structures of Feeling," Raymond Williams defines these structures as "characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity."[2]

One cannot discuss emotion history without discussing Barbara Rosenwein and her excellent work, *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages* (2006). It established the existence of "emotional communities," defined as "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value — or devalue — the same or related emotions."[3] Rosenwein's *Emotional Communities* exists as the foundation for inclusion of emotions within history, to be focused within the same realm as ecology and gender. She states her book is "an invitation to others to add to the picture that it sketches."[4] However, her study only included European sources, and was limited to the early medieval period, and ended in the eighth century with the Carolingian hegemony.

In the study of emotions and their influence on medieval society, Barbara Rosenwein discusses William Reddy, who was in favor of emotional liberation, as one who understood emotions as "the real world-anchor of signs" and elaborates that in his mind, emotions both "exist" and "that they take the form that we know them in the context of the signs—which depend on the cultures—that elicit them."[5] These "real world-anchor of signs" provides the basis for this examination of Islamic historiography. This may be better framed as a question:

---

[2] Raymond Williams, "Structures of Feeling," in *Marxism and Literature* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1977), 132.

[3] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2.

[4] Ibid., 29.

[5] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 17.

How did these "anchors" influence the way medieval historians wrote about the world, and in what ways? These anchors are not necessarily the emotional weight of signs, but the grounding and consequences of the event experienced by the author.

While these emotional anchors are not as transparent within the works of Arabic historians and poets, their grief, anger, fear towards the crusaders, and each other, can be read between the lines. Anger is often obvious, reflected in a sudden break in a sentence to insert a curse of damnation upon then. Grief, on the other hand, had the most tangible anchors, but appeared sparingly within the narratives. All types of emotions are rather difficult to assess, especially in writing, and especially in a foreign language, but their nuances and subtleties are present. These emotions had political and spatial purpose. The best example of emotions can be witnessed in Arabic poetry. Most poems in Arabic were "*jihad*-like," meant to both rouse men to fight and inspire. This is best expressed here, "And your Syrian brothers sacrificed their resting place…We call you to urgently stare and gaze at war. And if you do not *get angry* after this, we [will] shoot towards our enemies with their crimes."[6] In a desire to properly struggle in jihad together, poetry that was heard publicly could be both a rallying cry and a call for awareness of the enemy.

All Islamic historical works in the medieval period were palimpsests with originals constantly being reviewed. Arabic histories often began with the Islamic creation of Adam. As such, it included stories within the narrative which were "used to help the listener [or] reader frame the historical narrative that he or she was about to hear [or] read."[7] It provided a

---

[6] Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Hirfī, الحروب الصليبية وأثرها على الشعر العربي [*The Crusades and the effect they had on Arabic poetry*], (Saudi Arabia, Al-Riyadh: Dar al-Nashr bi-al-Markaz al-Àrabi lil-Dirasat al-'Amniya wa-al-Tadrib bi-al-Riyadh: 1989), 44. Translation my own.

[7] Khaled Keshk, "How to Frame History," *Arabica*, no. 4/5 (2009): 381.

narrative frame in three ways. The first required familiarity; "the...story follow[s] a certain pattern than the listener/reader is familiar with." The second was the use of "story as a *moral* micro-narrative of what is about to occur," framing the narrative. Finally, the third way was to create a lead-in; "that is, the narrator would like the listener/reader to understand the protocols of certain actions."[8] This helped the historian focus their writing utilizing the form of *khābar*, an "overtly factual style" through the device of men called *isnāds* "that were meant to protect and advertise the accounts' adherence to truth."[9] In this framing of history, events and feelings considered factual by the author could slip through the cracks of miscommunication and be recorded without considering their implications in posterity.

The challenge with studying emotions historically is the modern connotation and understanding of a particular emotion being forced onto the past. While I cannot address the litany of scholarship on this topic, I am obliged to explain my method. This thesis attempts to rectify this problem by exploring an array of primary and secondary sources from a wide range of time to attempt to give voice to these emotions. I postulate a new definition of emotional *villages* in the medieval period as groups that not only expanded and grew with its circumstances, but created a level of emotional continuity amongst cultures and languages. I argue that these emotional villages do "adhere to the same norms of emotional expression" but what makes them distinct is the emotion itself and its impact upon these supposed villages.

The language of emotion is one that is universal. There is not a "Christian" or "Islamic" or "Jewish" range of emotion or expression; feelings and emotions are merely the

---

[8] Keshk, "How to Frame History," 382.

[9] Nicola Clarke, "Excusing and explaining conquest: Traitors and collaborators in Muslim and Christian sources," in *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 103.

voice of humanity. However, my thesis utilizes works from each of those faiths to prove the seamless continuity of emotive expression because those were the main groups during this time. Emotional villages differ from emotional communities in the unification and "neighboring" that the word implies. Villages are territorial municipalities, whereas communities can be *any group of people with similar modes of understanding*. I argue that emotions are territorial in nature, and members of each faith examined embody territorial emotions based on their circumstances.

A Brief History of the History of Emotions

This question has been examined in a variety of ways. It has been dissected in Barbara Rosenwein's *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages*, and her subsequent work, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700*. Stephen J. Spencer examined emotions of fear the crusaders experienced in *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291*. Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy's exemplary work *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotion in the Middle Ages* examines a unique pathway of the Christianization of emotion, and how much medieval emotion language was influenced by the Passion. In my research, I have not found a scholarly equivalent that addresses this question in the way that the present work does. I examine historical, poetic, polemical, and mystical devotional works in search of emotive language or emotional context by category of feeling. I begin with devotion, wonder, and reverence, then dissect loss, yearning, and grief; and I finish with fear and anger. I then examine the mystical emotional context of Jerusalem. Each section of emotions presents its own "emotional village" based on the feeling itself.

Chapter 1: Devotion, Wonder, and Reverence

This section focuses on the rich emotional menagerie discovered in different regions of the Islamic world and Europe. These small sections seek to exemplify the continuity of emotional expression throughout the medieval period. In this chapter, I explore various *modalities of feelings* of devotion, wonder, and reverence as seen in the Islamic travels of Ibn Battūta, Ibn Ḥamdīs, Ibn Jubayr, and Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī. For the European sources, I examine the poetic, historical, and mystical and spiritual work of Shem Tov Ardutiel, Raymond of Aguilers, and Margery Kempe. These authors also wrote much poetry that serves as a lens of emotion, some of which are copied to completion within this section.

Shem Tov Ardutiel (Santob de Carrión) (late 1300s–c.1345–)

In the late early fourteenth century, Shem Tov Ardutiel Jew from Spain wrote under the name Santob de Carrión, *Proverbios morales*. He also wrote in Hebrew *Milhamot HaEt veHaMisparayim* or The Battles of the Pen and the Scissors. The following poem is from that work, titled "To Praise the Pen."

> Are there words enough in all of song
> to praise the pen? Who else could bear
> the burden of bringing back the past
> and preserving it then as though with myrrh?
>
> It has no ear with which it might hear,
> or mouth with which to offer answers;
> and yet the pen, in a single stroke,
> at once does both—observes and remembers.[10]

This poem praises the pen as an instrument for recording the past, to preserve it for the sake of memory. The pen, as a tool, "observes and remembers" in its work. This poem begins with

[10] Shem Tov Ardutiel, "To Praise the Pen," in *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain, 950–1492*, ed. Peter Cole (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 291.

the question, “are there words enough?” to express the wonder of the pen. The pen, a tool utilized throughout history to record feelings, deeds, and experiences.

Ibn Battūta (1304–1369)

Ibn Battūta’s premier work *Rihlah*, or the Travels, is his account of his journey all over the world initiated by his duty for pilgrimage. Born in Tangier, Morocco in 1304, he left for his pilgrimage, or ḥajj in 1325, the sacred duty in Islam that every Muslim must try once in their life. His accounts were recorded by Ibn Juzayy, the man whom he told his tales to. The ḥajj consists of traveling to the city Mecca, the birthplace of prophet Muḥammad, and Medina, the location of his death. In Islam, Mecca is the land Allāh gave Abraham and his son Ismāil as a “place of worship that was to be pure (without idols, the worship…to the One True God).”[11]

Ibn Battūta’s journeys began as part of his ḥajj to Mecca and Medina, but he traveled as far as China, Iraq, and Baghdad. Of importance is his experience in Damascus and the mosque of the Umayyads, the fourth holiest site in Islam.[12] A seventh-century Qur’ān written by the third Caliph Uthmān was sent to a mosque in Damascus. Six centuries later, Ibn Battūta comments on the reverence the holy book receives:

> In its eastern corner opposite the mihrab is a great chest which contains the Noble copy of the Qur’an which the Commander of the Faithful ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affam dispatched to al-Shām. That cabinet is opened every Friday after the noon prayer. The people crowd around to kiss that noble Qur’an. There the people make their debtors swear on it and those against whom they have a claim.[13]

---

[11] The Qur’ān, trans. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Fourth U.S. Edition, (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur’an Inc., 2002), 857n.2797. There is a commandment and entire chapter within the Qur’ān to visit Mecca and Medina.

[12] Mecca is first, Medina is second, Jerusalem third, and the Great Mosque of Damascus the fourth.

[13] Josef W. Meri, “Aspects of *Baraka* (Blessings) and Ritual Devotion Among Medieval Muslims and Jews,” *Medieval Encounters* 5 no. 1 (1999): 48. For the sake of brevity, the best definition for the word بركة is in

While continuing his journey, Ibn Battūta comments, "Damascus is the city which surpasses all other cities in beauty and takes precedence of them in loveliness."[14] A poem is added by Ibn Juzayy, quoted after Ibn Battūta's description, "Damascus! My longing for her is a lover's torment, let false friends importune, let critics condemn as they please!" Ibn Battūta's wonder at both the architecture and the holiness of the mosque is part of a cultural phenomenon, with belief that "the prayer in the mosque of Damascus is equivalent to thirty thousand prayers."[15] This is especially important for Muslims, but the following anecdote relays an interesting similarity between all three faiths.

Ibn Battūta relays that during Black Death, specifically July 1348, the Damascene people displayed "a remarkable instance of the veneration." A three-day fast was ordered for the people by the viceroy of Damascus. On the third day, a Thursday, Muslim "amirs, sharifs, qadis, doctors of the Law, and *all* other classes" assembled in the Umayyad Mosque and stayed overnight praying. They performed their morning prayer on Friday, then "went out together, walking barefoot and carrying Qur'ans in their hands." They were joined by "the entire population of the city" with Jews holding the Torah, and the Christians held their Bible, "in tears and humble supplications, imploring the favor of God through His books and His prophets."[16] In this comment, Ibn Battuta relays an interesting thought of solidarity in emotive and spiritual practice. God is the same in this space during this time. During the plague in Damascus, God is not specifically Jewish, Muslim, or Christian; the emotive need

---

Lane's Lexicon, "blessing, good of any kind, prosperity or good fortune, increase, etc." (p. 193, root برك, definition 3, Arabic Almanac ejtaal.net). This blessing is sought by all faiths.

[14] Ibn Battutah, *The Travels of Ibn Battutah*, ed. and trans. Tim Mackintosh-Smith (London: Picador, 2002), 36.
[15] Ibid., 37–8.
[16] Ibid., 39.

for worship by all faiths is an almost magical experience. Ibn Battuta appears to be in awe at everyone's faith and reverence.

Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī (958–1030)

Ibn Darrāj was born in Portugal and died in Denia. He was a court poet, and was considered one of the most famous in al-Andalus. He worked closely with Umayyad ruler al-Manṣūr of Córdoba. His following poems are in praise of the al-Manṣūr's success at capturing Santiago de Compostela in 997 C.E.

> A sword whose edges do not leave a soul,
> who has seen himself in the two iron plates.
> Your enemy came back with two disappointments:
> false hopes and the loss of life.
> Thus infidelity has two causes for disgrace,
> While Islam has one of the two good results [victory and martyrdom]:
> Earnings that no one can document,
> except the two angels who keep score.
>
> Oh swords of steel, you cannot be blamed
> For what you accomplished from threads of silver,
> Or from the stabbing of noble and generous ones,
> And the striking of glorious and courageous ones.
> Pulpits belong to God on the day they boast
> A victory that came on the heels of good news.
> If it is called a "conquest" on earth,
> Its nickname is the "fulfillment of grace."[17]

This poem is in praise of the sword wielded by al-Mansūr and what it did for the growth of Islam in Christian Spain. Santiago de Compostela was a stronghold for Christian forces, the supposed burial ground of St. James the Greater. Ibn Darrāj states that "if it is called a

[17] Olivia Remie Constable, "Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī, Ode in Praise of al-Mansur's victory" in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012): 97.

"conquest" on earth, its nickname is the "fulfillment of grace"" in Heaven and to Allāh.[18] The fulfillment of grace on earth was the destruction of Christian shrines, which makes the deeds of Islam complete and superior. He states, "Your enemy came back with two disappointments: false hopes and the loss of life. Thus, infidelity has *two* causes for disgrace." Al-Mansūr's enemies were even more disappointed when they lost Santiago de Compostela, their hope for victory and death of their people created two reasons for disgrace.

Usāma ibn Munqidh (1095–1188)

Usāma ibn Munqidh was a member of a clan that ruled northern Syria, the Banu Munqidh. Born in 1095 in Shayzar, he was next in line to rule after his father, Murshid, and his uncle named Sultan. Usāma's father was not interested in political duties, and instead withdrew from the responsibilities of leadership, leaving his brother, Sultan, the throne. When Sultan became ruler of the ancestral castle, and having no male heirs, Usāma naively believed he would collect his birth-right when of age. That changed when Sultan had a son in 1131 named Muḥammad, who would be the next ruler. To ensure an unproblematic succession, in June of that same year, Usāma embraced his exile after being banished by his uncle Sultan. After this, he went to Homs, a city north of Damascus, and while he was there, it was sacked by the Atabeg of Mosul, Zangi. He became his prisoner and eventually joined the service of Zangi.

[18] Constable, "Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī," 97.

In Damascus, Usāma worked under the command of the Burid dynasty, lord Shihab al-Din Mahmud ibn Buri, and his atabeg Mu'in al-Din, who was a benevolent and kind ruler.[19] Usāma wrote this poem for him:

> Mu'in al-Din, how many necklaces have you bestowed,
> like the rings of a dove, upon my neck?
> Benevolence has enthralled me to you in obedience;
> For to the noble, in benevolence lies bondage.
> I find myself tracing my lineage back to your friendship,
> Even though I was once of glorious ancestors,
> self-ennobled.[20]

These lines of poetry reveal reverence for Mu'in al-Din. The ruler's benevolence has given Usāma permission, and desire, to remain there and work for him. The poem is rather long, and not copied to completion here. Usāma created an image of reverence of Mu'in al-Din by the denotation of the "rings of a dove" in alignment with the ruler's benevolence, his friendship the reason for Usāma's being, in the tracing of his lineage.

In an anecdote, Usāma relays a story from a chief intendant named Abdallah, who was put into prison in Hayzan. The man escaped after the Prophet appeared to him in a dream. He escaped by slipping through a hole in the outer wall, but left footprints and evidence of his fall, and was certain he would be captured. He hid in a cave in the slope of a mountain, and God sent a heavy snowfall that hid his tracks and allowed him to leave the area safely.[21] This miracle was noteworthy enough for Usāma to record it, which shows he believed it was God's will to save that man.

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[19] The Burid dynasty (r. 1104–1154) oversaw Damascus (r. 1135–1139). An atabeg is essentially a governor of a province. See Lapidus, "From Islamic Culture to Islamic Society: Iran and Iraq, 945–c. 1200," in *A History of Islamic Societies*, 112–32.

[20] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 14.
[21] Usama ibn Munqidh, 107.

Much later in life, Usāma laments the act of survival to the age of ninety. He no longer has control over himself as he did in his youth, he can no longer fight in battle, and rests constantly, fearing his eventual rotting:

> I have always been the firebrand of battle: every time it abated
> I lit it again with the spark struck by applying the sword to the heads of the enemy
> But now I have become like an idle maid who lies
> on stuffed cushions behind screens and curtains.
> I have become also rotten from lying still so long.[22]

Ibn Battūta and Usāma ibn Munqidh: Anecdotes of Faithfulness

Usāma ibn Munqidh and Ibn Battūta lived three hundred years apart, but their tales of their travels and experiences were similar in nature. They both experience wonder while in strange lands, homesick for their places of birth. In Damascus, Ibn Battūta reveres the holy Qur'ān in the mosque of the Umayyads, with a journey to the holy land as the beginning of a much longer journey. This following section will focus on the two anecdotes each author relays.

Ibn Battūta states that during the Black Death, specifically July 1348, the people of Damascus displayed "a remarkable instance of the veneration."[23] People of all three faiths were praying for the end of the plague, with unity in prayer and desire for safety. The depiction of this unification was unique enough for Ibn Battūta to mention it had the desired outcome: "the number of deaths in a single day reached a maximum of two thousand, whereas the number rose in Cairo and Old Cairo to twenty-four thousand in a day."[24] God

[22] Carole Hillenbrand, "How the Muslims Saw the Franks: Ethnic and Religious Stereotypes," in *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009): 260.

[23] Ibn Battutah, *The Travels*, 39.
[24] Ibid.

showed favor to the Damascene people, and Ibn Battūta needed to relay it in his travel companion.

Usāma relays the story of Abdallah, prisoner of Hayzan, whose great faith in God saved him from being tracked. The Prophet appeared to him in a dream and told him to leave the prison. Right away, this creates an image of a pious Muslim, saved by God and his messenger. This relays a faithfulness that Usama was impressed by. These two aspects of ideal faith, regardless of religion, provide a lens of power and unity. The plague in Damascus was lessened in severity in the same way the man's footprints were hidden by fresh snowfall. If the man Abdallah had not listened to his vision of the Prophet, he would have been killed in prison. Similarly, the plague would have killed as many people in Damascus as in other cities. Whether or not that happened is irrelevant, because the markers of faith displayed were enough for it to at least *feel like* it lessened the severity.

Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217)

Ibn Jubayr was born in 1145 in Valencia, al-Andalus. He began writing his chronicle on 25 February 1183 when he left to go on his pilgrimage to Mecca three weeks prior.[25] His two-year journey was initiated out of guilt and a need for religious purification. The events that led to his "sinning" began when Ibn Jubayr summoned one day in 1182 by the governor of Granada, 'Uthman ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min. During this meeting, the governor offered him wine, but as a devout Muslim, Jubayr refused his offer.[26] Offended, al-Mu'min then forced

[25] Christine Chism, "Memory, Wonder, and Desire in the Travels of Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta," *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), 30. His journey began three weeks before he started writing his chronicle. In the translation from 1952 by R.J.C. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: The Camelot Press LTD) states the date as 3 February 1183 (p. 15).

[26] It is forbidden to drink in Islam.

him to drink seven cups.[27] This caused great psychological and spiritual distress to Ibn Jubayr, which then hurt the governor. Overcome by guilt, al-Mu'min gave him seven cups full of golden dinars. To repent for his consumption of the forbidden drink, Ibn Jubayr used that money to fund his pilgrimage. This exposé of guilt leading to action is relevant for many reasons. It shows that the importance of the emotion as a call for action for repentance is not limited to any faith.

During his journey, he traveled to Egypt. In Alexandria, he noted the vast beauty of the architecture:

> We observed many marble columns and slabs of height, amplitude, and splendor[sic] such as cannot be imagined. You will find in some of its avenue's[sic] columns that climb up to and choke the skies, and whose purpose and the reason for whose erection none can tell. It was related to us that in ancient times they supported a building reserved for philosophers and the chief men of the day.[28]

Ibn Jubayr was in wonder of these displays of beautiful architecture and states that their height and splendor "cannot be imagined." He explains that the mosque of Alexandria, in its wonder and beauty, provided "such marvels of construction" that it "cannot be faithfully described."[29] He traveled through Cairo, where he visited the tomb of Husayn's head, grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad.[30] He witnessed many displays of devotion to this tomb. He describes the scenery: Husayn's head lay in a silver casket with a mausoleum over it, which was covered with a kiswah (كسوة) or pall. There were numerous "men kissing the

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[27] Ibn Jubayr was almost 40 when this event occurred, which leads one to wonder about just how *much* that event upset him psychologically. Being forced to drink seven cups of wine when completely sober must have rendered Jubayr belligerent and in great distress.

[28] Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, 32.

[29] Ibid., 33.

[30] Shi'ite Muslims believe in blood succession of the Prophet Muḥammad as leaders of Islam. While the Prophet did not have any sons, his daughter Fatimah married her father's cousin Husayn ibn Ali; out of their union and lineage came the Shi'ite-Sunni split. Sunnis believe in general election by majority for succession.

blessed tomb, surrounding it, throwing themselves upon it, smoothing with their hands the Kiswah that was over it, moving round it in a surging throng, calling out invocations, weeping and entreating Glorious God to bless the hallowed dust." Ibn Jubayr ends his description of the awe-inspiring mausoleum with a written invocation, "May God in his grace and favor sanctify the noble bones that are within in it."[31] Here are excerpts from Ibn Jubayr's poem for Saladin:

> How long have you been hovering among them,
> a lion hovering in the thicket?
> You have broken their cross by force
> and what a fine breaker you are!
> Their kingdom has retreated in Syria
> and has turned its back as if it has never been.
> You have avenged the religion of corrections on your enemies.
> God has chosen you as avenger.[32]

Ibn Jubayr composed the above poem for Salah al-Din. It is sixty-two lines of verse in total, each section detailing a different aspect of Salah al-Din.

> You stood up for victory for God so you were named al-Malik al-Nāsir.
> You keep yourself awake for the sake of the One who will please you for alertness.
> You have conquered the Holy Land so it returned to its original pure description.
> You came to the chosen Holy Land and purified it from the hand of the unbeliever.
> And you raised up the minaret of guidance and gave life to the dead ruins.
> For you is the honor of God in these conquests. [33]

Ibn Jubayr held deep respect and reverence for Salah al-Din as the unifier of Islamic forces. He describes in the poem the ways Salah ad-Din deals with his duty that God had given him: sleepless nights, fierce battles to purify the Holy Land, all with the honor of God in his

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[31] Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, 37.

[32] Carole Hillenbrand, "Jihad Poetry in the Age of the Crusades," in *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, eds. Thomas F. Madden, James L. Naus, Vincent Ryan (London: Routledge, 1991), 14–5. This poem is unfortunately not in the translation by R.J.C. Broadhurst of Ibn Jubayr's travel account.

[33] Osman Latiff, *The Cutting Edge of the Poet's Sword: Muslim Poetic Responses to the Crusades* (Leiden, Brill: 2018,) 123.

actions. The ‘dead ruins’ of Jerusalem were revitalized by the reconquering force of Islam. In its state of decay, Salah ad-Din purified it and created something new: the minaret for the call for prayers. In this, he resurrected the land and gave it freshness. As the avenger of the Islamic God, Saladin was the honored patron. He achieved what no other Islamic ruler had done before him, which was unify the taifa states and disparate lands.

Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (1287 –1366)

Ibn Nubātah al-Misrī lived in Mamluk-era Cairo during the Black Death (r. 1250 – 1517). There is not a lot written on Ibn Nubātah because the transcripts we do have of his poetry (his work entitled *Dīwān*) are not well understood. Reverence also shows up in poetry such as the laments of Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, whose work eulogizes his dead partner.[34] Later sections go into more detail on his experience and on the state of his relationship. The following line describes his devotion after her death: “She, pure as gold, rests deep down in the earth; I know now that the earth, too, is a precious mineral.”[35] His lover’s body is no longer with him on the physical plane, but that does not decrease her worth and beauty. His works were not limited to his own personal affairs and experiences, but he did seek approval from rulers. He wrote many eulogies, in tune with the theme of the time where “poetry had come to be closely associated with eulogy.”[36]

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[34] The term partner was chosen because I am not in favor of the woman Ibn Nubātah is mourning being either his wife or concubine. There are even authors that argue they are the same woman. See Adam Talib, “The Many Lives of Arabic Verse: Ibn Nubātah al Miṣrī Mourns More Than Once,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 44 (2013): 258n.3, 262. ‘Umar Mūsā Bāshā (Cairo: 1992) comments, “In the elegy for his wife, he appears to be mourning her as a pious sage, whereas in elegizing his concubine, he speaks like a passionate lover” (Talib, 262).

[35] Ibn Nubātah al-Misrī, “I have renounced,” in *Classical Arabic Literature: A Library of Arabic Literature Anthology*, trans. Geert Jan Van Gelder (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 86.

[36] Salma Khadra Jayyusi, “Arabic Poetry in the post-classical age,” in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, eds. Roger Allen and D.S. Richards (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 33.

Ibn Nubātah's wrote a collection of poems in praise of al-Malik al-Muʾayyad al-Ayyūbī, Syrian ruler of Hama, prince of the Ayyūbid family.[37] The following is an example of devotion in his poetry:

> He stood, gazing with dark eyes that taught me madness in consequence of melancholia,
>
> a young gazelle on the temples of whom ants were crawling so that the poets' minds were confounded.
>
> He is a garden of beauty; the jewelry on his body sings – welcome to the lush garden full of rustling!
>
> They blamed me for my love of him and incited desire, so that the love for him became a banner marking incitement.[38]
>
> Who can aid me against the ardor of a love that is aflame even in the water of my tears,
>
> and against a beloved who inflicts on my heart things that only enemies are used to inflicting on each other?
>
> He sways in the form of a tender bough and stretches his neck like a light-brown gazelle.
>
> O you, who resemble boughs: Have mercy on an ardent lover who, in his passion, moans with the dark gray doves,
>
> while he remembers the days of intimacy with al-ʿAqīq, so that he weeps a red tear out of love.
>
> Oh what a tear on the cheek: Red that appeared from the black [eyes] [and runs down] on a yellow cheek!
>
> It is as if I would bear the emblem of Ayyūb's scion on my

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[37] Hama was ruled by the Ayyubid dynasty (r. 1183–1260), house of the descendants of Salah ad-Din (d. 1193). They ruled Egypt (1193–1250) and Syria until 1260. The family was divided into smaller kingdoms with Kurdish and Turkish troops and slaves. See Ira Lapidus, "The Arab Middle East," in *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 283–98.

[38] Thomas Bauer, "Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works, Part II: The Dīwān of Ibn Nubātah," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 30–31. See page 36 for the following lines, a different edition of Ibn Nubātah's *Diwan*: "A tyrant, his heart is (hard as) stone/*Ṣakhr* to me, and my weeping for him is like the weeping of al-Khansāʾ!"

cheek, so great is my devotion![39]

Ibn Ḥamdīs (1055/6–1132/3)

Ibn Ḥamdīs was born in Syracuse, Sicily in 1055/1056 C.E. and died around 1132/1133.[40] The auspicious timing of his "self-imposed exile" was the beginning of a unique career as a famous court poet; he left Sicily voluntarily in 1078 when Roger I invaded Palermo, the beginning stages of a Sicilian Muslim diaspora. Ibn Ḥamdīs was just one of millions of Muslims removed from their homeland by European powers. Over the next decade of his life, he traveled across the North African desert, composing poetry, and finding his way into the courts. The following is a poem dedicated to ruler al-Mu'tamid:

> You spin the wheels of generosity,
> and your justice lends support to every man in need.
> People who hope flock to you, and with your very mention
> they inhale the aroma of your musk and find a cure in you.
> You never disappointed one seeking your magnanimity,
> and you never turned away a man in exile.
> I now have no distance in my distance wandering from my homeland;
> Since I departed you rendered Hims a country for me.
> As a substitute for my closest kin I was given your kin;
> may God not separate me from them in all eternity.
> How many of my people in far away lands does the earth embrace?
> I could not see any of them because of my separation.
> The death of my father did not compel me to travel from your abode,
> though the death of a father greatly distresses the son.
> You did not obstruct my path to return to them;
> you made my separation from them a blessing.
> This most tender loving care, whose sweetness abounds in my heart,
> cools the scorching heat of my sorrow.[41]

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[39] Thomas Bauer, "Ibn Nubātah, Part II," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 30 – 31.

[40] Nicola Carpentieri, "Towards a Poetics of Ageing: Private and Collective Loss in Ibn Ḥamdīs' Late Verse," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 3, nos. ½ (2016): 119.

[41] William Granara, "Sicilian Poets in Seville: Literary Affinities across Political Boundaries," in *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* eds. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette (University of Toronto Press, 2013), 207.

Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Nubatāh, and Ibn Ḥamdīs: Revering the Islamic 'Other'

These men had very similar poetic themes, although they lived in different periods. Their poems are in praise of rulers they each worked under. Ibn Jubayr's poem for Salah ad-Din is less personal than to Ibn Ḥamdīs's poem for al-Mu'tamid, which is probably accorded to the fact Ibn Ḥamdīs had a personal relationship with al-Mu'tamid. These two rulers are marked as 'others' because of their political position and status, with their qualities of being both Muslim men allowing room for kinship.

In an almost romantic statement, Ibn Nubātah says of his patron, "He is a garden of beauty; the jewelry on his body sings –welcome to the lush garden full of rustling! They blamed me for my love of him and incited desire, so that the love for him became a banner marking incitement."[42] This shows a display of wonder and love, the deepest level of devotion one could have. There is reverence and awe for the physical displays of wealth with "singing jewelry."

Ibn Jubayr states of the magnanimous Saladin, "You have broken their cross by force and *what a fine breaker you are*! Their kingdom has retreated in Syria and has turned its back as if it has never been."[43] Ibn Jubayr praises Salah ad-Din for breaking the Christian footholds in the holy land. Of ruler al-Mu'tamid, Ibn Ḥamdīs remarks, "You spin the wheels of generosity, and your justice lends support to every man in need. People who hope flock to you, and with your very mention, they inhale the aroma of your musk and *find a cure* in you."[44] These lines create a display of reverence in the people that had been similarly helped

[42] Bauer, "Ibn Nubātah, Part II," 30–31.

[43] Hillenbrand, "Jihad Poetry," 14. Emphasis mine.

[44] Granara, "Sicilian Poets in Seville," 207.

by the man al-Mu'tamid. Ibn Ḥamdīs relays the receipt of support shown, he found hope with his patron.

Raymond of Aguilers (c. 1050–after 1101?)

Raymond of Aguilers authored *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (History of the Franks who captured Jerusalem) which was completed around 1101. He was chaplain to Count Raymond IV of Toulouse. When the Crusaders had finally captured the city, he noted an event of praise by the people: "With the fall of the city it was rewarding to see the worship of the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre, the clapping of hands, the rejoicing and singing of a new song to the Lord. Their souls offered to the victorious and triumphant God prayers of praise which they could not explain in words."[45] Raymond relays an emotional response of the common people, the pilgrims, not the fighters or Crusaders who actively participated in the capturing of the city. The action of clapping hands and singing is an affective display of worship, which was so powerful they "could not explain in words" what they experienced. The "victorious and triumphant God" was the cause of their victory, and thus was deserving of praise and supplication.

Moshe Ben Nachman/Naḥmanides (1194–1270)

Naḥmanides was born in Gerona in Catalonia, Spain. He was the leading Jewish scholar in that part of Spain, and is most famous for his tenacity in the Barcelona Disputation

[45] Simon John, "The 'Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem': Remembering and reconstructing the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1099–1187," *Journal of Medieval History* 41, no. 4 (2015): 414.

of 1263.[46] Below is a poem titled "Before the World Ever Was." He states this poem was written about a king, though it reads like a praise poem to God.[47]

> From the beginning, before the world ever was,
> I was held on high with his hidden treasures.
> He brought me forth from nothing and in
> the end I will be withdrawn by the King.
>
> My being flowed from the spheres' foundation,
> which endowed it with form in evident fashion.
> The craftsmen's hands weighed its creation,
> so I would be brought to the vaults of the King.
>
> He appeared to reveal what once he concealed,
> on the left and on the right as well.
> He sent me down the stairway leading
> from Siloam's pool to the groves of the King.

This praise poem to an earthly king reveals the magnitude of his power, bringing Naḥmanides from nothing to the golden land of creation. The "craftsman's hands" weighed the poet, who was solely created for exploring the vault of the King, to learn what needed to be revealed. This poem gives the perspective of a very loyal subject, in awe of the benevolence and grace of his King, who would continue to reign. While this poem claims to be about a human, it reads like a worship poem to God, who "appeared to reveal what once he concealed, on the left and on the right."

Margery Kempe (c. 1373–after 1438)

Margery Burnham was born c. 1373 in Bishop's Lynn, modern-day King's Lynn, Norfolk, England, about one hundred miles north of London. The town of Lynn was a

[46] The Barcelona Disputation of 1263 was called by King James I of Aragon (1213–1276) to settle the topic concerning the Messiah in Christianity and Judaism. The debate occurred between a Dominican friar named Paul, an adult convert from Judaism to Christianity, and Naḥmanides. See Nina Caputo and Liz Clarke, *Debating Truth: the Barcelona Disputation of 1263, A Graphic History* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

[47] Cobb, Dream of the Poem, 234.

successful commercial port. Her father, John Burnham, was the local tradesman and government; he was a coroner, justice of the peace, five times mayor, and Member of Parliament in the fourteenth century. It is sufficient to say that Margery was neither a peasant, nor was she necessarily part of a nobility.[48] When she turned 20, Margery married John Kempe, who was much older than her, and she took care of him during his last years while he suffered from dementia. She truly toiled during this process, "for his last days he turned childish and lost his reason."[49] When they were first married, she fell very ill, and it was during this period that she had her first revelations and visions of Christ. Her conversion was experienced aurally and with great emotion. There was wonderful music from heaven, and she wept profusely anytime she heard it.

Her book was not written until twenty years later by an anonymous monk she dictated to. This may be the reason "the text refers to Margery in the third person," but it created "some distance between herself and her narrative persona."[50] Often categorized as a description of her pilgrimage, Margery never used the term herself because she did not believe she was a pilgrim, nor did she really participate in the things that make a journey a "pilgrimage." For example, holy relics and indulgences from the Holy Land were of importance during this time to Christian pilgrims–their receipt meant less time in purgatory–but Margery does not mention receiving one.[51] She also does not go into detail about the sites, and she is very much isolated from the others on her journey.

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[48] Anthony Bale, introduction to *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Oxford University Press: 2015), xiii.

[49] Margery Kempe, trans. Anthony Bale, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 162.

[50] Anne E. Bailey, "The Problematic Pilgrim: Rethinking Margery's Pilgrim Identity in *The Book of Margery Kempe*," *The Chaucer Review* 55, no. 2 (2020): 173.

[51] Bailey, "The Problematic Pilgrim," 184.

Never referred to by her name, the monk uses "this creature" instead. In fact, the only time her name is spoken is by Christ when he appeared to her. While in Yorkshire, she and her companions were arrested for heresy. While in prison, she awakened to Christ calling her name. The voice came from *everywhere* telling her gently, "it is more pleasing to me that you suffer humiliation and scorn, injustice and distresses, than if your head was chopped off three times a day, every day for seven years." Christ reminded Margery it was prudent for her to not fear any man because with "sorrow you have suffered for it, you have great reason to be joyful for, when you come home to Heaven, then every sorrow shall be turned to joy for you."[52] Christ told her that "the tears of compunction, devotion and compassion are the greatest and surest gifts that I can give on earth."[53] Here, Margery is comforted. In her most desperate moments, Margery remains deeply contemplative in her faith, taking great comfort in it when her surroundings are dismal.

Does devotion really take a village?

These ten different authors paint a picture of the emotional connection of devotion and wonder across boundaries of faith. The wonder presented at the mere instrument of writing, a pen, as seen in the work of Hebrew by Shem Tov Ardutiel, mirrors the wonder of Naḥmanides, whose work of mysticism presents a different path of devotion. Naḥmanides' poem about the foundations of the world or "before the world ever was" shows the majesty of his creator; though he claims his work was meant for an earthly king, it does not read that way. His poem reveals the necessity of devotion in his life, his existence merely tied to the

[52] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 119.

[53] Jessie Gutgsell, "The Gift of Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination of Western Medieval Christianity," *Anglican Theological Review* 97, no. 2 (2015): 250.

wonderous. Margery Kempe's work of tearful Christian mysticism, in her constant tears over the crucifixion, presents a model of reverence for the contemplative medieval Christian to follow. Raymond of Aguilers' work on the fall of Jerusalem presents a view of the emotional rhetoric of the crusaders. Usama ibn Munqidh gives voice to the wonders of God's will in his life. The Muslim authors Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Nubatāh, and Ibn Hamdīs create wonder for their surroundings by invoking their respective leaders that they admire. Ibn Jubayr's poem for Salah ad-Din shows the depth of respect for the ruler that conquered Christian lands. These displays of wonder and reverence create a narrative of emotional needs being met by the circumstances. Usama ibn Munqidh's *Book of Contemplation* is precisely that; he contemplates the miracles of God throughout his turbulent and tumultuous life. Ibn Jubayr's travel collection is full of wonder and emotion, as is Ibn Hamdīs' collection of poetry.

These authors vary in the time that they wrote, showing that there is continuity of emotional expression across vast spans of time. However, each version of emotion represented by wonder, devotion, and reverence, creates room for the concept of the emotional village. The emotion itself is fluid in transmission, but its reception, both in modernity and in the past, is anything but fluid. These emotional villages are solid foundations of thought based upon social conventions. Examining wonder, reverence, and devotion provides the pathway to the medieval imagination of piety, regardless of its religious nature. It did not exist solely in the Muslim, Christian, or Jewish range of emotion. It merely pervaded as a response to having some type of needs met.

Chapter 2: Loss, Yearning, and Grief: The Nostalgia of Longing

Poetry of loss is abundant within the history. The theme of loss ranges from loss of home, family, loved ones, to loss of self. Nostalgia can be wistful, and it can be painful. These emotions are easily visible within elegies and poems, but also within the descriptions of people's lives. This section will examine the work of pre-Islamic poet Al-Khansā, in comparison to Margery Kempe's tearful devotional work. It will also include authors mentioned in the first chapter showing their range of emotion.

Al-Khansā (575–645 C.E.)

Tumādir bint 'Amr, known as Al-Khansā' (snub-nosed, like a gazelle), was born ca. 575 C.E. into the Sulaym tribe from the plateau Najd, northwest of Mecca.[54] Her father was the head of their tribe. She was married twice; her first marriage to a man named 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza produced a son, and her husband squandered their wealth. It is not certain if they were divorced or if he died. Her second and final marriage to a man named Mirdas produced four sons and a daughter. When he was killed, she did not remarry.[55] Writing in the pre-Islamic period, her work is part of "al-muaallaqat." Her poetry even entertained the Prophet Muḥammad, and she would compose and recite poetry at his gatherings.[56]

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[54] Raymond Farrin, "Making the Remembrance Dear," in *Abundance from the Desert: Classical Arabic Poetry* (New York.: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 72. Snub-nosed is another designation for gazelle, so it can be assumed al-Khansā was attractive.

[55] Ibid., 73.

[56] Rym Ghazal, "Arabic Treasures: The beauty of Al-Khansa's melancholic verses refuses to fade," *The National*, February 7, 2017. What is interesting about al-Khansā is how little there is of her. Her importance to the development of poetry has been rivaled to that of Greek poet Sappho, yet there are little translations of her work.

Al-Khansā became famous for her many elegies for her two brothers, Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya (d. circ. 612), who died from injuries sustained in battle with the Murra and Asad tribes, two of the largest in pre-modern Saudi Arabia.[57] The events that led to the skirmish was rather typical. Her brother, Mu'āwiya accidentally called a woman, whom he assumed was a sex worker, over, and she was incredibly offended. Unfortunately for him, and his brother, she was a member of a Murra sheikh's household. He was killed shortly after, which initiated Ṣakhr's bloody drive for revenge. Ṣakhr took it upon himself to kill Durayd, the brother of Mu'āwiya's killer, and was killed by Murra tribesmen three years later.[58]

The following poem dedicated to Ṣakhr is written like a letter to herself, or perhaps her own eyes, imploring them to keep crying. The poem begins with the lines,

> Be generous, my eyes, with shedding copious tears
> and weep a stream of tears for Ṣakhr!
> I could not sleep and was awake all night;
> it was as if my eyes were rubbed with grit.
> I watched the stars, though it was not my task to watch;
> at times I wrapped myself in my remaining rags.[59]

She begs her eyes to continue to sob over his death, meaning that for al-Khansā, there could not be enough tears to shed. In the passage above, describes her sleepless nights after she learned of his death. Immediately, al-Khansā' makes her pain palpable. She sets the scene with her emotions, making her pain a historical reminder of these tribal skirmishes.

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[57] The story of what led to the tribal battles is explained in Farrin, "Making the Remembrance Dear," 73–4.

[58] Farrin, "Making the Remembrance Dear," 74.

[59] Al-Khansā', "An Elegy" in *Classical Arabic Literature: A Library of Arabic Literature Anthology*, trans. Geert Jan Van Gelder (New York: New York University Press, 2013), p. 12. Her poetry here is part of a genre called *mārāthī* or poetic elegies.

She continues in her lament, “I shall weep for you as long as ringdoves wail, as long as night stars shine for travelers.”[60] After stating she will weep incessantly, Al-Khansā’ promises she will “not make peace with people that you fought, until black pitch turns white.” Here, there are multiple mentions of her weeping. She writes that the man who killed Ṣakhr “was your cousin, one of yours, a guest of yours, someone you never turned away.”[61] Her display of feeling recounts for the historian the ways grief was experienced, her poetic imagery of pain constant. It provides a lens of coping with death, while also allowing al-Khansā the agency of feeling.

This pain was an unceasing one, accompanied by deep sadness and constant tears. She could not control her tears, and wept loudly and often. She was even “reproved by the caliph ‘Umar and by ‘Ā’isha for her unreasonable mourning for her brothers” revealing that her new faith “had no real influence upon her and her poems.”[62] She did not experience grief differently after her conversion, but knowing her pagan brothers died in battle before knowing Allāh increased her grief tenfold; “I used to cry over Ṣakhr because of his slaying,” she said, “but now I cry for him because he is in Hell.”[63] Her grief was unceasing, even with the comfort of her new faith and knowing her eternal destination.

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[60] Ibid., lines 8-9, p. 13. In another source, these lines are translated as, “And I will cry for you as long as the dove coos, And as long as the stars light the night for travellers.” Marlé Hammond quotes Abu Suwaylim’s translation in “Al-Khansā: Representing the First-Person Feminine,” in *A Companion to World Literature, Volume 2: 601 CE to 1450*, eds. Ken Seigneurie and Christine Chism (Hobokan, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2020), 4.

[61] Ibid., lines 18-19, p. 13.

[62] Hammond, “Pagan or Muslim? “Structures of feeling” and religious ambiguity in al-Khansā,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 22, no. 1 (2019): 41.

[63] Ibid., 39.

The art of lament

Al-Khansā is known for always weeping. This does not limit her agency as a female poet, though, if anything, it strengthened it. It is prudent to discuss the genre, as well as the role of female poets within pre-modern Arabia. Poetry was an important tradition, but was very much shadowed by larger societal roles. Women were regulated to the composition of elegiac mourning poetry. Elegy (*rithā*) and calls for revenge (*taḥrīḍ*) often go hand in hand. In pagan Saudi Arabia, there were "female-dominated rituals of lamentation and the professional female mourners (*nāʾiḥāt*)…were often called upon to assist the bereaved in their mourning"[64] These rites of mourning were as much a public spectacle as it was personal; mourners would physically embody their grief by shaving their heads, tear at their chest coverings, scratch and slap their cheeks, and hit their faces with their sandals. With the introduction of Islam, this physical display of lamentation was considered idolatrous and was essentially banned, along with the act of "invoking the planets in order to receive rain" [and] "attacking genealogies."[65] The pagan roots of pre-Islamic Saudi Arabia were vanquished in order to create a pure Islamic narrative.

Feminine Agency in Tears: Al-Khansā and Margery Kempe

This section will compare the "feminine agency" of tears portrayed within both accounts of Al-Khansā and Margery Kempe. Al-Khansā's elegies differ vastly on the surface of Kempe's work (Islamic pagan mourning vs. Christian supplication) but there are very similar themes that exist within both. First, they both perform affective displays outside of their

[64] Hammond, "Pagan or Muslim?" 44.

[65] Ibid.

gendered expectations in very different, but similar, patriarchal societies. Second, both were mothers and widows. Margery married at a young age and had fourteen children. Al-Khansā had four sons, whom she encouraged to fight to the death for their new faith in the battle of Qadisiyah in 636 C.E.[66] This section is titled "feminine agency" because tears were an affect display within their gender, and was expected of their gender, but for different reasons. They both reclaimed their respective status as mystic and mourner *with* their tears; it was not the other way around. Al-Khansā wept ceaselessly over the death of her brothers, specifically Ṣakhr. Margery did not weep for men, but instead in her meditations, sobbed over images of Christ's sacrifice.

Both women existed within a masculine display of emotion; Margery's crying was often seen as excessive by her companions, who ridiculed and abandoned her many times. Al-Khansā's experience was emboldened by the expectation of her sorrow– her displays of emotion were part of larger ethos of mourning poetry, which was a female dominant practice. Margery's sobbing was common with female mystics at the time because weeping was synonymous with piety; in fact, weeping was "encouraged as part of the formal liturgy."[67] However, Margery's displays were in response to her direct and very personal visions/experiences of Christ. She would "conjure up images of Jesus' pain, 'bathing Him in bitter tears of compassion.'"[68] Her ability to "conjure" both these images and subsequent tears provided Margery the agency of her own religious expression. She acted within her own

[66] Ghazal, "Arabic Treasures."

[67] Gutgsell, "The Gift of Tears," 242.
[68] Ibid., 251.

religious boundaries because she performed a specific role within her narrative: a pious newly converted Christian woman that wanted to experience her journey as Christ did.

The experiences of al-Khansā differ from Kempe because her excessive mourning and high emotionality was part of her healing, whereas Kempe's loud sobbing and wailing was used to create an image of perfect female piety. Al-Khansā was a woman that experienced her own mourning within her own body and reclaimed the spiritual status as mourner. Margery, in her piety, wept for herself and the sins of the world. With a vision of herself as Mother Mary's handmaiden, Margery creates an image of devotion.

Ibn Ḥamdīs

Ibn Ḥamdīs was born in Syracuse, Sicily in 1055/1056 C.E. and died around 1132/1133.[69] The auspicious timing of his "self-imposed exile" was the beginning of a unique career as a famous court poet. He left Sicily voluntarily in 1078 when it was captured by the Normans, the beginning stages of a Sicilian Muslim diaspora. Ibn Ḥamdīs was just one of millions of Muslims removed from their homeland by European powers. Over the next decade of his life, he traveled across the North African desert. He never reunited with his homeland, but over the course of his almost eighty years, he wrote multiple works about Sicily. Below is just one example describing his longing:

When she approaches at night I extend my cheek in joy,
and I greet her with a kiss on the hand,
I enjoin my affections to her soul,
so that they may cool the burning of a broken heart.
She strokes my face with the palm of her hand like an enchantress,
and her veil is like a bouquet of sweet-scented flowers moistened with dew.
I recognize her approach by the whiff of her sweet aromas,
Just as a patient recognizes a physician among his visitors.

[69] Nicola Carpentieri, "Towards a Poetics of Ageing: Private and Collective Loss in Ibn Ḥamdīs' Late Verse," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 3, nos. ½ (2016): 119.

What is it with me that I endure a long estrangement from my homeland?
Have I been born fated to live in exile?[70]

His homeland is personified as a hypnotizing woman, described in a way that is lovingly haunting. Reverence and desire are shown with the lines, "I greet her with a kiss on the hand," and likewise Sicily "strokes [his] face with the palm of her hand like an enchantress" in response. Examining those line closely, the word 'hand' is used twice. He kisses his homeland upon the hand, a sign of respect, and Sicily, in all her enchantment and wonder, responds by stroking his face with her palm gently. This poem reads like a nostalgic lover waiting to be reunited with their long-lost love, but the reader is brought to the harsh reality of the poet's exile at the end.

These lines provide a clear portrait of his Sicily, his beloved homeland, always near enough for him to "recognize her approach" yet always further than he can reach. His 'poetics of nostalgia' mourn the loss of his homeland as he aged. His aging body is a metaphor for the pain of separation of his homeland: the loss of youth to time, and the loss of home to outsiders, were both unstoppable forces. His poetry exemplified these types of loss using well-crafted oppositions: old age/youth, darkness/light, voluntary journey/forced exile, morning/evening, hope/despair, permanence/transience.[71] In the following lines from another poem, Ibn Ḥamdīs writes:

> You tortured me with the two elements:
> a flame in my heart, water in my eye
>
> You cloaked me in sickness:
> I see that you too wear it in your eyes

[70] William Granara, *Narrating Muslim Sicily: War and Peace in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2019), 106

[71] Carpentieri, "Towards a Poetics of Ageing," 138.

My body is a phantom that
approaches you, seeking its due

I've become invisible because of sickness:
I am safe from the glance of enemies
And if I am protected from death,
it is because he cannot find me.[72]

When Ibn Ḥamdīs arrived in Seville in 1086, he was welcomed to a taifa state controlled by 'Abbadid ruler Al-Mu'tamid ibn Abbad (r. 1069-1091). A story of his first days in Seville is relayed by a seventeenth-century historian al-Maqarri's *Nafh al-Tib*. When he first arrived at the palace, he was "offered a seat and then asked…to rise and look out a window" to see in the distance a woman opening and closing the doors to a furnace. Al-Mu'tamid released a line of poetry describing the fire, then challenged Ibn Ḥamdīs to match him. After a few rounds, the ruler al-Mu'tamid was impressed and invited him to join his royal retinue of poets.[73]

I remember Sicily, as agony stirs in my soul
all remembrances of her.

An abode for the pleasures of my youth that has been
abandoned,
where once inhabited by the noblest of people.

For I have been vanished from Paradise,
and I [long to] tell you her story.

Were it not for the saltiness of tears,
I would imagine my tears as her rivers.

I laughed at twenty years old out of youthful passion,
now at sixty I cry for her crimes.[74]

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[72] Karla Mallette, "Texts in Translation," in *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100-1250: A Literary History* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 138.

[73] Granara, "Sicilian Poets in Seville: Literary Affinities across Political Boundaries," 205.
[74] Granara, *Ibn Hamdis the Sicilian: Eulogist for a Falling Homeland* (London: Oneworld Academic, 2021), 18.

Here is a love poem written by Ibn Ḥamdīs:

> Oh, garden of love
> Scorched now by the fire of your scorn
>
> Oh, for your fragrance,
> Bursting with basil, ever sweet
>
> And the honeyed dew,
> Distilled from the kohl of your eyes
>
> Take pity! Your little servant falls
> wounded by desire
>
> He takes aim, but he cannot strike
> the distant target that he desires
>
> Who will lift him from his bed
> to stand before the rising sun?[75]

Usama ibn Munqidh (1095–1188)

Usama was set to rule and monitor the city Hama in west-central Syria under Zangi's general al-Yaghisiyani. In 1137, his father died and that next spring of 1138, Shayzar was under siege by a Frankish-Byzantine army.[76] When Usama went against Zangi's direct order to stay in Hama, his general al-Yaghisiyani "did something that broke [his] heart and inflamed [his] suspicion" and seized his home in Homs. Usama describes the scene as "an immense and frightful disaster" and one can sense the pain of loss as he explains the ransack further. The soldiers "took up all the tents, weapons and baggage that were there, seized most of those beloved to me and tracked down my companions."[77] In those lines, one can sense the

[75] Mallette, "Texts in Translation," in *The Kingdom of Sicily*,137. See especially 137n.20.

[76] Cobb, trans., introduction to *The Book of Contemplation*, xxvi.
[77] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, 12.

betrayal Usama must have felt. His heart was broken and suddenly, the benefits from working with Zangi were gone.

Ibn Nubātah al-Misrī

Out of 34 works Ibn Nubātah al-Misrī achieved in his lifetime, 15 were poems. The remaining works were commentaries on other poets and prose, as well some of the author's own prose. He lived to be 79, an old age for that time. His sorrow was so present within his work that a contemporary, named Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363), wrote that Ibn Nubātah's suffering was made even more intolerable because none of his sons survived past the age of seven:

> His misfortune was heightened by the fact that none of his sons survived, and he was forced to bury, I believe, something like sixteen sons, who as soon as they had matured a bit and reached five or six or seven years of age, were taken by their creator. For this reason, he was grievously pained and composed beautiful and delicate elegies on them.[78]

Amongst his poems that have survived, only seven of them were on the death of children.[79] He made a living writing elegies and eulogies, which was viewed as a waste of his talent by other poets, but was very favorable for Nubātah himself, witnessed in the effort in his poetry: "almost all his longer poems are eulogies or elegies on important personages."[80] Syrian ruler

[78] Talib, "The Many Lives of Arabic Verse," 258. This source includes a critical edition of Ibn Nubātah's poetry, translated by the author.

[79] Ibid., 260. Talib goes further to say that it is interesting al-Safadī's mention the loss of sons, not daughters. "Their time on earth, even their father's presumed grief, is excluded from the historical record…" (Talib, 259).

[80] Jayyusi, "Arabic Poetry in the Post-Classic Age," 55.

of Hama al-Mu'ayyad al-Ayyūbī seems to have honored Ibn Nubātah, and the poet wrote many eulogies on him, also elegizing him when he died in 1331.[81]

> O you who've shackled my mind with sorrow
> while tears run wild down my cheeks.
> People say, "You've worn your eyelids out with tears."
> Yes! But my eyes were made to weep.
> Let these tears be-brother my wounded eyes.
> For I've lost that cheek that was once a brother dear![82]

This poem was meant specifically for al-Ayyūbī was a description of pure anguish, shackling his "mind with sorrow."

> I have renounced and given up all speech sublime,
> no glorious deeds, no more seductive charms!
> How can I bear to pair fair words in rhyme
> when I have lost the one with whom I was a pair?
> She, pure as gold, rest deep down in the earth;
> I know now that the earth, too, is a precious mineral.
> I don't know if it is for her sweet ways
> [t]hat I am crying, or for her sweet looks.
> I've buried you, the form of my beloved: if
> you saw me, you would say you've buried me,
> Each of us crying for the days gone by;
> Although the keenest pain is hidden in the heart.
> My grievance is with God; till Judgment Day
> The day I lost you is a Day of Fraud.[83] (I have renounced)

> Observe the rights of grief, you two: the time is now!
> I mourn a morning sun that set at noon.
> Do not be stingy with your blood-stained tears,
> That, if I horded them, would scald me deep within;
> For one who left, though in my heart she is still there,
> As if I had moved her from my eyes into my heart.
> They say, how long will you go crying for a mere girl?
> But they don't know the bliss that I have lost.
> My love in all its six directions you possessed:

[81] Ibid., 55.

[82] Talib, "The Many Lives of Arabic Verse," 272.

[83] Ibn Nubātah, "Two Elegies on the Death of his Concubine," 85–86.

One could correctly say that you directed me.[84] (Observe the rites of grief)

Ibn Nubatāh and Usama ibn Munqidh: Will of God in Loss

Usama ibn Munqidh experienced great loss when he was banished from his homeland. He was unable to reclaim that distance and spent the rest of his life longing for home. His work, while historiographical in nature, gives insight into his experience working with various Muslim leaders. As a "book of contemplation" Usama's work categorizes his experiences by years, showing his life being directed by God's will. His exile from his home and rightful rulership of it pained him until he died, but it was one of the aspects of his life that he had given up. He was unable to reconcile with his cousin Muḥammad, and was under the patronage of Nur al-Din. He died the year after Saladin captured Jerusalem. In his work, the will of God reigned even as he faced calamity and loss over the course of his long life. This theme accepting God's will appears within the poetry of Ibn Nubatāh as well.

Ibn Nubatāh worked for ruler and patrons, while still composing poetry ascribed to the loss of his children and lover. He longs for his lover in his lines, remarking his "grievance with God" will last until Judgment Day. These poems show a deep loss of self and a faithlessness witnessed in his mourning; he renounces his very existence to the death of his beloved. There was no moving forward or experiencing love; she was the only one. He "mourns a morning sun that set at noon" which could imply that her death was very sudden. Her purity, akin to gold, rests in the earth, though he feels he had been buried too. There was no reason to continue to write without her; "how can I bear to pair fair words with rhyme?" There is a reluctance in those lines, a marked inability. It was not just hard; it was *impossible* to move on.

[84] Ibid., 87.

Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī (1267)

Not much is known about al-Rundī, except that he was from Ronda, a taifa kingdom in North Africa, and died in 1285.[85] The following poem is a rallying call for Islamic military support, but it also shows pain at the loss of al-Andalus:

> The evil eye has struck [the peninsula] in its Islam so that [the land] decreased until whole regions and districts were despoiled of [the faith].
>
> Therefore ask Valencia what is the state of Murcia; and where is Játiva, and where is Jaén?
>
> Where is Córdoba, the home of the sciences, and many a scholar whose rank was once lofty in it?
>
> Where is Seville and the pleasures it contains, as well as its sweet river overflowing and brimming full?
>
> [They are] capitals which were the pillars of the land, yet when the pillars are gone, it may no longer endure!
>
> The tape of the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover weeping at the departure of the beloved,
>
> over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and are now inhabited by unbelief;
>
> in which the mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be found.
>
> Even the mihrabs weep though they are solid; even the pulpits mourn though they are wooden![86]

The author describes the loss of the abode of Islam. Once "pillars of the land," the various cities fell like stone pillars destroyed in battle. The mosques have been defaced with bells and crosses. The mihrabs, which show the direction of Mecca, weep; the pulpits are in mourning.

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[85] A taifa kingdom is best explained as a principality.

[86] Constable, "Lament for the Fall of Seville (1267)," in *Medieval Iberia*, 290–92.

This rhetorically shows the loss of Islam and infiltration of Christianity, the mourning so overwhelming, even inanimate objects were able to feel the loss. The capitals of Islam were stripped to their bare necessities, and could no longer endure under the pressure of war.

Avraham Ben Shmu'el (ce. 1250)

There is next to nothing known of Avraham Ben Shmu'el. All that is known is this poem, written sometime during the second half of the thirteenth century.

To whom among the avengers of blood can I cry,
when my blood has been shed by my own two hands?

The hearts of those who despised me I've tried,
and none have despised me more than my heart.

The enemy's blows and wounds have been mighty,
and none have wounded or struck like my soul.

The corrupt have beguiled me into destruction,
But what like my own two eyes beguiles?

From fire to fire I've passed alive,
And nothing has burned like my own desire.

In nets and snares I have been trapped,
but nothing has trapped me like my tongue.

Snakes and scorpions have bitten and stung me,
but my teeth bite into my flesh more fiercely.

Princes pursued me swiftly on horseback,
but none have pursued like my own two feet.

My anguish has swelled and long overwhelmed me,
but stubbornness brings me much greater grief.

My heart's sorrows are many –
and greater still are my sins…

To whom, then, could I cry – and who could I condemn?
My destroyers emerge from within me.

Nothing I've found in life surpasses

seeking refuge in your compassion.

Cast your mercy on hearts that are weary,
O Lord, my king on the Throne of Mercy.[87]

Tears in Mourning: Avraham Ben Shmu'el and al-Rundī

Both author's lives were rather ambiguous. Al-Rundī was a Muslim, and it can be assumed Ben Shmu'el was Jewish. Al-Rundī's words show the pain of the loss of al-Andalus. The physical spaces being part of the mourners is a unique perspective in his poetry, "the mihrabs weep though they are solid; even the pulpits mourn, though they are wooden."[88] The threat of Christianity replacing Islam is just one fear made reality, "the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover, weeping at the departure of the beloved, over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and are now inhabited by unbelief."[89] The metaphorical weeping of the lover over the beloved is much like the loss of Islam in those spaces. The lover, or Islam, is still standing, so the Muslims could only mourn what they knew before. Al-Rundī's poetry shows mourning over Islamic Spain, keeping the reader gripped by each cataclysmic loss: Valencia, Murcia, Játiva, Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville. By listing out the cities, then imploring these "pillars" of Islamic society to beware the evil eye, Al-Rundī creates a sensation of duty in the reader. This poem was meant to be a call to his Muslim brethren to prevent more losses from happening.

The poem "To Whom Among the Avengers of Blood" is an incredibly powerful mourning poem. Ben Shmu'el's work has not been largely studied. The author is expressing

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[87] Avraham Ben Shmu'el, "To Whom Among the Avengers of Blood," in *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain, 950–1492,* ed. Peter Cole (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 253.

[88] Constable, "Lament for the Fall of Seville (1267)," 291.

[89] Ibid.

mourning of his own blood, perhaps a brother. He exposes himself and his deeds, he had killed his blood; and amongst the "nets and snares," the worse pain was being plagued by the reality of what he did. The poet cries out, "My heart's sorrows are many– and greater still are my sins." His "destroyers emerge from within" so there was no escape.[90] He looked to God for mercy and compassion, but could not find it. It almost reads like a poem written by Cain after killing Abel and being banished to Nod, east of Eden.[91] Ben Shmu'el beseeches the "avengers of blood" to have mercy on him for his actions.

These two authors express similar depths of loss. While the poem by Al-Rundī describes the slow creeping threat of Christianity to the loss of Islamic cities, Ben Shmu'el relays the internal state of one unable to cope with their decisions. Though pursued by attackers, his own feet got in his path, and he stumbled anyway. While enemies attacked with mighty blows, he hurt himself more than anyone ever could. Al-Rundī expresses resignation for the loss of the abodes of Islam, "in which the mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be found." The cities themselves had been defaced of their wholeness, the overflowing rivers, and pleasures of the land, barren. Much like the heart and pain of Ben Shmu'el, al-Rundī understands the depth of loss in each aspect of the conquest. Their only view of compassion and mercy lay with God.

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[90] *The Dream of the Poem*, ed. Cobb, "To Whom Among the Avengers of Blood," 253. Cobb states the poem was "in all probability, composed to accompany the liturgy." For the source of Ibn Shmu'el's potential influence, see Cobb, Avraham Ibn Ezra (c. 1093–1167) "I Bow Down," 188–89.

[91] The Bible, NIV, Genesis 4:10. The Lord said, "What have you done? Listen! Your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground. Now you are under a curse and driven from the ground, which opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand." The true origin of Avraham Ben Shmu'el's influence, outside of Ibn Ezra, is rather ambiguous. If meant to "accompany the liturgy," the voice of the poem could be an expression of regret and pain felt by Cain.

Joseph ben Samuel (1025)

Joseph ben Samuel, an eleventh-century Jewish accidentally signed a "conditional bill of divorce" but did not wish to divorce his wife.[92] Joseph ben Samuel was born in Tunisia, but lived in Egypt where he met his wife and married. He ended up shipwrecked in North Africa. Once settled in Palermo, he wished for his son and wife to join him, but feared his wife would divorce him regardless. In pain at leaving, he wrote,

> "And, oh God, oh God, my Lord, the little boy! Concern yourself with him in accordance with your religious observance, which is so well known to me. When he becomes stronger, let him pass time with a teacher."[93]

Here, there is a glimpse of this man's faith in action, imploring God to take care of his son if he could not. He was faithful, stating his religious activities are "so well known to [him]." These emotions are seen in the crying out of "oh God, oh God, my Lord" which reads as his voice choking through tears. With a notion of utter dread in that statement, "the little boy!" He beseeches the Lord, "[c]oncern yourself with him" with the understanding that he may never see his son again. In these statements, even with his pain, his voices enough to gather a glimpse into his piety. He expresses his desire to pass that onto his son in the case of his death.

Ibn al-Qaysarānī (1085–1154)

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[92] Medieval Jewish traders often signed a conditional bill of divorce (*geṭ*). These were put in place before they left so that in the case of their death overseas, their wives could remarry. Jewish law prevents widows from remarrying, and in orthodox Judaism, a *geṭ* is the "only valid instrument for severing a marriage bond." See *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Geṭ" accessed April 2, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/get.

[93] David Abulafia, "Crossing the Boundaries between Christendom and Islam, 900–1050," in *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 265.

His full name was Muḥammad ibn Nasṛ Ibn Ṣaghīr but derived al-Qaysarānī from the Arabic word for Caesarea, which he went by for the remainder of his life.[94] He was born in Acre in 1085, but moved with his family to Caesarea in Palestine when the Fatimids invaded the coast. He and his family were uprooted once again when the First Crusade began. He then moved to Damascus.[95] His works are severely understudied. Yearning is an emotion that is seen often in poetry about loss of land or home, or during travel, and especially during war. It is a separate feeling than loss, but loss usually brings about yearning. The poem below describes al-Qaysarānī's longing for his homeland:

> In Anbār, I resided with a burning desire divided between two lovers.
> I yearn for my family in Damascus,
> and in Baghdad, the share of the heart and the eye.
> For in reuniting with the one, there is departing from the other.
> Tell me: when shall I be rid of this separation [dilemma].[96]

Another poem of his describes his desire to return to Caesarea,

> Woe to me from a town across the frontier,
> which smiles as though it were a front-teeth.
> By it, there are palaces resembling churches inside which the icons do speak!
> In their abodes, I journeyed and left a heart,
> which I wished [it] was unwaveringly hard.
> I have since envied those living in their terrain,
> for the sake of nearness, I have even envied those who they detain![97]

Abraham Abulafia (1240–c. 1291)

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[94] Nizar F. Hermes, "The Poet(ry) of Frankish enchantment: the Ifranjiyyāt of Ibn Qaysarānī," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 20, no. 3 (2017): 268.

[95] Ibid., 269.
[96] Ibid., 270–1.

[97] Hermes, "Poetry of Frankish Enchantment," 275.

Abraham Abulafia was born in Saragossa in Aragon in 1240, residing in al-Andalus until 1260 when he left for Jerusalem for the "fabled River Sambatyon."[98] Abulafia's work on Jewish mysticism "lends itself from the outset to the notion that Jewish mystical revelation is of a rational and intellective nature."[99] He believed Christianity to be demonic. Abraham Abulafia was influenced by Moses Maimonides, and he read *The Guide of the Perplexed* earnestly in the 1260s. Here is a poem of wonder in Abulafia's *The Book of the Letter*:

> And the letter is longing,
> and sky desire
> to know the will
> that moves Him and lends
> grace to spirit
> and mercy to power
> to rectify action,
> Kingdom now foremost
> and Law behind,
> now Law foremost
> and Kingdom behind–
> and the letter and vowels
> and song reveal
> the mystery of blood.[100]

This poem is expresses desire to know God's wonders through the miracle of language. Words, letters, and speech itself was created for knowing "mercy to power to rectify action." This poem is devotional, and it describes the longing Abulafia felt, to know the "the letter and vowels and song" that would reveal the "mystery of blood." This desire to learn of the

[98] Robert J. Sagerman, *The Serpent Kills or the Serpent Gives Life: The Kabbalist Abraham Abulafia's Response to Christianity* (Leiden, Brill: 2011), 1.

[99] Ibid., 37.
[100] Abraham Abulafia in Cole, *The Dream of the Poem*, 247.

mysteries of God through "grace to spirit" must have been Abulafia's reasoning for further developing the Kabbalah.[101]

Villages of Longing Through Loss

In this section, nostalgia and longing were symptoms of grief and loss. Al-Khansā's mourning over her brothers speaks of a loss so monumental, it ultimately changed her life. She created a banner of emotion, known as the "weeping woman." Her emotional response to her brother Ṣakhr death created a modality of loss in pre-Islamic Saudi Arabia. Ibn Ḥamdīs, in his longing for his homeland, created a narrative of Sicilian Muslim loss. While he was not the only Muslim to leave Sicily during the Norman invasion, his poetry speaks of the emotional loss that is universal for the diasporic Muslim. His longing of Sicily seen in the lines, described as "[a]n abode for the pleasures of my youth that has been abandoned, where once inhabited by the noblest of people."[102] Ibn Qaysarānī states of his homeland Caesarea, with a hint of sadness, "By it, there are palaces resembling churches inside which the icons do speak! In their abodes, I journeyed and left a heart, which I wished [it] was unwaveringly hard. I have since envied those living in their terrain."[103] In Caesarea, he had "left [his] heart" and was envious of the people that lived in his land, that he never could return to.

Usāma ibn Munqidh's contemplative work expresses the depth of means to an end. His betrayal by Zangi's general created a deep sorrow. As an "immense and frightful disaster," Usāma was unable to properly prepare for his home being ransacked, which "broke

[101] For more on the mystical and esoteric experiences of Abraham Abulafia, see Moshe Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, trans. Jonathan Chipman (Albany, State University of New York Press: 1988).

[102] Granara, *Ibn Ḥamdīs the Sicilian*, 18.

[103] Hermes, "Poetry of Frankish Enchantment," 275.

[his] heart and inflamed [his] suspicion."[104] Ibn Nubātah al-Misrī's longing for his dead partner is present in the line, "that day I lost you is a Day of Fraud."[105] The loss was so unreal to him, he would always have a grievance with God.

Likewise, al-Rundī describes the loss and pain of the Christianization of al-Andalus–thus the loss of the abode of Islam– "like a passionate lover weeping at the departure of the beloved." [106] He mourns for his faith, much like Avraham Ben Shmu'el mourns his own heart's sins and his own actions; "To whom among the avengers of blood can I cry, when my blood has been shed by my own two hands?" His pain was so prevalent that he was unable to function, "my anguish has swelled and long overwhelmed me, but stubbornness brings me much greater grief."[107] Mentioned above, this poem reads like a letter from Cain after killing Abel. Ben Shmu'el speaks to the horrors of his deeds, but was unable to accept what he had done because the horrors were incomparable to those that "have wounded or struck like [my] soul."[108] If it was meant to accompany liturgy, then the narrator of the poem must be Cain. The poem could be a letter from Cain, to God, after he was banished. He pleads at the end for God's plentiful and abundant "mercy on hearts that are weary" which may have never been granted.

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[104] Usama ibn Munqidh, *Book of Contemplation*, 12.

[105] Ibn Nubātah in *Classical Arabic Literature*, 85.

[106] Constable, "Lament for the Fall of Seville (1267)," 291.

[107] Avraham Ben Shmu'el in *The Dream of the Poem*, 253.

[108] Ibid.

Chapter 3: Fear and Anger: Humanity Within

Islamic Anger

Anger in medieval Islamic literature is sparse. When anger is discussed, it is specifically God's anger towards that is relevant. In Islam, the "People of the Book" is a designator for Jews and Christians. They belonged in scripture, but misinterpreted Allāh's true meanings, and were therefore the subject of wrath. Over a third of the Qur'ān is dedicated to God's anger at Jewish people for not following the true path.[109] The Ḥadīth was a work written by multiple Muslim men after the death of the Muḥammad about the deeds and words of the Prophet. elaborates on Qur'ānic condemnation of infidel arrogance and the call for "humbling the infidels and lowering their pride" so that they "exchange the state of lowliness for the glory of dignity and freedom," as the ninth-century authority al-Tabari put it (d. 922-3).[110] Ḥadīth literature, or the work that focuses on the Prophet's actions that was written separately from, then later added to, the Qur'ān, reveals a triangle of anger: God's, the Prophet himself, and the Prophet's wives.[111] The Prophet Muḥammad was fully capable of anger, stating, "Don't you know that I've put only one condition on God and said: 'I am a human being, and I am satisfied like the rest of humans, and *I get angry like the rest of humans.*'"[112] This stands to show that the Prophet was simply a man, fully capable of the

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[109] Zouhair Ghazzal, "From Anger on Behalf of God to "Forbearance" in Islamic Medieval Literature," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara. H. Rosenwein (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 207.

[110] Kiril Petkov, ""To Disdain the Truth and Look at Others with Contempt:" Byzantines and Muslims on Latin Pride and Arrogance, ca. 1100–1300," *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 19, vol. 2 (2010): 105.

[111] Ibid., 209.

[112] Ghazzal, "From Anger on Behalf of God," 212.

array of emotion. It may be present to also signify the purity of God's anger, in comparison to that of humans.

In the early Islamic period, fear had a specific religious purpose. "Taqwā" is best defined as "fear of the prospect of punishment." Being in fear of God's punishment was a sign of high piety and intense faith, because even if "a man has to his credit the work of 70 prophets, he would still fear not escaping the evil of Resurrection Day."[113] It was an act to be revered, fear a marker of utter subservience to Allāh. If one is in constant fear of their eternal punishment, they cannot anger God. It is explained here that "perfect *taqwa* is that the servant fears God until he fears him over a measure of corn; until he leaves some of what he considers licit for fear (*khashyah*) that it be forbidden, to be a screen between himself and the forbidden."[114] An example of this deep fear of God's punishment is witnessed in the line, "By God, O son of Adam, if you have read the Qur'an and then believed in it, let your sadness in the world be prolonged, let your fear in the world be severe, and let your weeping in the world be plentiful."[115] This is written like a warning. If one was a true Muslim, they needed to weep in abundance. In early Islam, true faithful taqwā was a marker of piety.

The larger narrative present within Arabic historiography was the Christian aggression violent and fearful. The Christians believed "the end was so close that convulsive evangelism of the Muslims must be rushed to immediate success…the paranoia and level of violence was not to abate with time but held steady for generations."[116] To the Muslims, the

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[113] Christopher Melchert, "Exaggerated fear in the early Islamic Renunciant Tradition," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21, no. 3 (2011): 287.

[114] Melchert, 284.

[115] Melchert, 289.

[116] Robert I. Burns, "Societies in Symbiosis: the Mudejar-Crusader Experiment in Thirteenth-Century Mediterranean Spain," *The International History Review* 2, no. 3 (1980): 350.

Christians of the North were dangerous enemies that were to be feared, external enemies of God.[117] Within the narratives, there are hints to the Islamic acceptance of the inevitability of Muslim lands being conquered, acknowledged by the Islamic authors.[118] The Islamic explanation for the attacks of the Franks was due to their own error, the result of Islamic disunity, and purposeful aversion to one's duty of *jihad* was the cause for the loss of divine favor. This loss of divine favor was depicted sparingly within the histories but was considered "a punishment of Muslims everywhere for having let the duty of jihad lapse" because of political and spiritual fragmentation.[119] The threat of Islamic expansion forced the "confronting European Christians with an Islamic 'Other', which then came under joint attack by the proponents of crusades, Reconquista, and missionary expansion."[120] These attempts upon the destruction of Christianity created impetus for the attempt to fight back and succeed.

Fear and anger are easily seen in accounts of the First Crusade. Various Arabic historiographical works, such as those of Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Qalānisī, focus on the First Crusade and the Crusader's conquest of Jerusalem. In these accounts, it is evident the contemporary understanding was that the Jerusalem massacre was nothing more than what happens when a city is sacked, containing "no evidence of large-scale carnage of the town's

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[117] Maribel Fierro, "Christian success and Muslim fear in Andalusi writings during the Almoravid and Almohad periods," in *The Almohad Revolution in Variorum Collected Studies Series* (Vermont: Ashgate Variorum, 2012), 162.

[118] Ibid., 160.

[119] Paul M. Cobb. *The Race for Paradise: an Islamic History of the Crusades*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 39.

[120] Daniel König, "Arabic-Islamic Records on Latin-Christian Europe," *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3.

population that was *any greater* than that which took place in cities and towns such as Antioch, Caesarea or Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān."[121] This is the understanding of violence, and the response to, during the Crusading period. There already had been a continuous assault on Islam before the First Crusade was official in 1095, so when the attacks began and Jerusalem fell in 1099, it was to no surprise of the Muslims living there. Ibn al-Athīr's account is the most heavily studied of the fall of Jerusalem, but even he records the works of other Muslim historians.

Al-Ṭurṭūshī (ce. 1059 –1126)

Al-Ṭurṭūshī was born in al-Andalus, and left to go on his pilgrimage in 1084. He records the earliest account of the Battle of Manzikert (1071). The Battle of Manzikert was a war between Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes, and Alp Arslan, ruler of the Seljuk Turks. His account relays the fear of the Byzantines fighting the Seljuk army led by Alp Arslan:

> So the Muslims [Seljuk Turks] passed the night of Friday whilst the Byzantines were in a number which nobody except He who had created them could enumerated and the Muslims had nothing with them except gnawing hunger. The Muslims remained silent with fear about what had befallen them. When they got up on the Friday morning, they looked at each other. What the Muslims saw of the great number, strength and equipment of the enemy terrified them.[122]

Here, the exaggeration of the number of Byzantines noted earlier in the account, six hundred thousand, is important to state. It only amplifies the fear noted by the Muslim army, and

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[121] Konrad Hirschler, "The Jerusalem Conquest of 492/1099 in the Medieval Arabic Historiography of the Crusades: From Regional Plurality to Islamic Narrative," *Crusades 13*, eds. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Phillips, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (England: Routledge Press, 2014), 38. Emphasis mine.

[122] Hillenbrand, "The twelfth-century accounts of the battle of Manzikert," in *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 27. This work of al-Ṭurṭūshī is titled *Sirāj al-mulūk* or Mirror For Princes, dedicated to Fatmid vizier al-Ma'um ibn al-Bata'ihi. The chapter it is from is titled *An account of the management, stratagems and rules of war* which is where he relays the account for the battle of Manzikert. See Hillenbrand, 26–30.

makes them even more victorious. If only "He who had created them could enumerate" and comprehend their number, then their victory was even more glorious. Al-Ṭurṭūshī transmitted the seventh-century *Pact of 'Umar*. The *Pact of 'Umar* provided regulations for non-believers living under Muslim rule.[123]

Ibn al-Qalānisi (1140s, d. 1160)

Ibn al-Qalānisī was from Damascus, a contemporary of Nur ad-Din and Zengi. He describes the capturing of Jerusalem during the First Crusade with horror, "Some of the inhabitants withdrew to David's Tower and many were killed. The Jews assembled in the synagogue, and they burned it over their heads."[124] This layer of fear to the account of the Jews is relevant for a Muslim historian to relay, especially because brevity is given to the Muslims that were killed in Jerusalem, but he later comments the sacking of Antioch had "innumerable" victims.[125] In al-Qalānisi's account of Damascus in 1151, Nur ad-Din sent a message seeking capitulation which said, "I seek nothing but the good of the Muslims and *jihad* against the associators (*mushrikeen, i.e.*, the Franks) and the release of the prisoners in

[123] The Pact of 'Umar was a document signed by the second Rashidun caliph Umar I (634–44), the father-in-law of the prophet Muḥammad. It relays the rules and regulations of Christians as a protected people (dhimmī) while living under Islamic rule. Al-Ṭurṭūshī transmitted the seventh-century *Pact of 'Umar*. The *Pact of 'Umar* provided regulations for non-believers living under Muslim rule. In the version Al-Ṭurṭūshī relays, Christians living under Muslim rule promised "we shall only ring bells (*nāqūs*) in our churches very gently. We shall not use loud voices in our church or in the presence of Muslims, nor shall we raise our voices when following the dead." See Constable, "Regulating Religious Noise: The Council of Vienne, the Mosque Call and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Late Medieval Mediterranean World," *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010): 67.

[124] Hirschler, "The Jerusalem Conquest of 492/1099," 42.

[125] Ibid.

their hands. If the army of Damascus appears with us and aids us in the *jihad*, and matters go agreeably and appropriately, that is the extent of my wish and desire."[126]

In another description, he relays Nur ad-Din's victory in Damascus, and the swell of people that came to see him, "An uncountable number of the townsfolk–old men, young men, women, and children–came to see what God (exalted is his name) had granted the whole body of Muslims in this brilliant victory, and they multiplied their praises and glorification to God, and their fervent prayers for al-Malik al-'Adil Nur ad-Din, their defender and protector."[127]

Abu al-Muzaffar al-Abiwardi (11th and 12th Century)

There is not much known about this poet except that he lived in Baghdad while the First Crusade happened. He was not personally affected, but still wrote a poem trying to rally his fellow Muslim forces:

> This is war, and the man who shuns the whirlpool to save his life shall grind his teeth in penitence.
> This is war, and the infidel's word is naked in his hand, ready to be sheathed again in men's necks and skulls.
> This is war, and he who lies in the tomb at Medina seems to raise his voice and cry: "O sons of Hashim!
> I see my people slow to raise the lance against the enemy: I see the Faith resting on feeble pillars.
> For fear of death the Muslims are evading the fire of battle, refusing to believe that death will surely strike them."
> Must the Arab champions then suffer with resignation, while the gallant Persians shut their eyes to their dishonor?[128]

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[126] John M. Chamberlin, "Imagining Defeat: An Arabic Historiography of the Crusades" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), 15.
[127] Ibn al-Qalanisi, "On Zengi and Nur ad-Din," *Crusades: A Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. S.J. Allen, Emilie Amt (ON, University of Toronto Press: 2014), 123.
[128] Abu l-Muzaffar al-Abiwardi, "On the Fall of Jerusalem," in *Crusades: A Reader*, 79.

This poem relates the words of the Prophet Muḥammad to his fellow Muslims, urging them to strike back against the infidel forces. Using the Prophet's voice, "I see the Faith resting on feeble pillars," to motivate his brethren. The "fear of death" kept them from unifying against the Crusader forces. This poem was one of many to arouse the Muslim response of jihad.

Crusader accounts of fear

Robert the Monk's account of the Battle of Ascalon in 1099, shortly after the crusader's captured Jerusalem, is an example of emotion-driven storytelling. In the *Gesta Francorum*, Robert ascribed to al-Afdal, Fatamid ruler of Egypt, a past in which he could not bear unpleasant news "because he always preferred to be in joy." This bit of background was to perhaps have a large contrast with Al-Afdal's emotional reaction to the defeat at Ascalon, where he wept. Robert wrote with understanding, as most of his men were slaughtered, Al-Afdal "had every reason to weep."[129] The humanity ascribed to ruler of Egypt, Al-Afdal, can mirror the weeping of al-Khansā over the loss of her brothers. Her tears were overflowing, Al-Afdal was described as one who wept over the loss of his home. Loss and fear of loss are both crippling emotions, and each of the works presented here proved that. Sadness and anger are usually masks of each other.

Crusader accounts of weeping and fear have been interpreted as markers of intense dread. This article analyzes two specific textual indicators of emotions within the First Crusade: fear, and the marker of emotion, weeping. Spencer challenges the descriptions as evidence of the crusader feeling dread and fear but argues that instead the crusader had faith

[129] Stephen J. Spencer, "Emotions and the 'Other': Emotional Characterizations of Muslim Protagonists in Narratives of the Crusades (1095–1192)," *Literature of the Crusades* (2018): 53.

in God.[130] It is important to remember the accounts contain the idealized "crusader" and that even contemporary scholars knew not to take them literally. In the *Gesta Francorum*, St. Andrew told Peter Bartholomew to "tell the people of God to have no fear, but to trust steadfastly with their whole heart in the One True God."[131] Bartolf of Nangis explained fear as a powerful motivator for crusading for Christ, whose sacrifice rendered him the ultimate crusader:

> the Franks prepared themselves for battle, hesitating over nothing, fearing nothing with regard to the great number and endless quantity of enemies, but as if one man, all unanimously went at the same time to overthrow the enemies of Christ. And they went to fight bolding not only for the freedom of themselves but also for Christ, and, in truth, if it were required, they would not have hesitated to meet and undergo death in a cheerful spirit.[132]

There was no need to fear, but instead their fear could be replaced by direct devotion to God. God would reward their sacrifice if it came to it. Raymond of Aguilers' account of a vision experienced by Stephen of Valence in June 1098 where Christ asked: 'If they are Christians, why do they fear the multitude of pagans?' reveals the true mindset of the Christian crusaders.[133] Granted, the crusader narrative had a specific purpose of marking the 'other' as inferior and reveal the superiority of Christianity, seen in their gallant attempts at reclaiming the Holy Land.

Emotion is within the crusader's narrative; they fear the "Saracen other" inasmuch they fear Islam. In their descriptions of battle, Muslim "anger, joy and insincere affective

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[130] Spencer, "The Emotional Rhetoric of Crusader Spirituality in the Narratives of the First Crusades," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 58 (2014): 68.

[131] Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2019), 31.

[132] Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context*, 33.

[133] Ibid., 31.

displays" where emotions were rhetorically used to vilify the Muslim antagonist. By using the words *furor* and *rabies*, the Latin accounts emphasized the Christian crusader as one imitating Christ with justified anger because of their faith. The crusader's emotions were righteous and "divinely sanctioned."[134] All other displays of similar emotions were therefore subhuman and only Christians were given the right to their pious crusade because of Christ's ties to the land of Jerusalem.

Angry Fearful Villages

These villages of fear and anger created a distinct definition amongst the Islamic and Christian accounts examined here. The anger of the Prophet Muḥammad created a notion of what it means to be human and experience anger, "Don't you know that I've put only one condition on God and said: 'I am a human being, and I am satisfied like the rest of humans, and *I get angry like the rest of humans.*'"[135] Early Islamic traditions provided regulations for Islamic fear, "perfect *taqwā* is that the servant fears God until he fears him over a measure of corn."[136] This creates a distinct Islamization of fear and what it means to be pious.

On the other side of the spectrum, Christian crusaders were given commands to not fear. They were unable to fully experience fear, seen in the statement of St. Andrew to Peter Bartholomew, "tell the people of God to have no fear, but to trust steadfastly with their whole heart in the One True God."[137] The emotive experiences of the crusaders was a tool for

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[134] Spencer, "Emotions and the 'Other': Emotional Characterizations of Muslim Protagonists in Narratives of the Crusades (1095–1192)," *Literature of the Crusades* (2018): 45.

[135] Ghazzal, "From Anger on Behalf of God," 212.

[136] Melchert, "Exaggerated fear," 284.

[137] Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2019), 31.

furthering their belief. Though they feared the "Saracen other" and their encroachment on the Christendom, their anger was righteous and justified against the loss of land.

Fear creates its own community during the narrative of the crusades. The righteous warriors of Christ were commanded to be fearless, whereas the Muslims were implored to weep out of fear of the last judgment. Fear thus had different narrative purposes during the early medieval period based upon faith. Muslims were implored to fight, to not fear death, seen in the poetry of al-Abiwardi of the Prophet's words, "O sons of Hashim! I see my people slow to raise the lance against the enemy: I see the Faith resting on feeble pillars. For fear of death the Muslims are evading the fire of battle, refusing to believe that death will surely strike them."[138] For Islam to succeed against the impending Christian threat, they needed to avoid "resting on feeble pillars" and instead, rise again and not let their duty lapse or pause.

[138] Abu l-Muzaffar al-Abiwardi, "On the Fall of Jerusalem," in *Crusades: A Reader*, 79.

Chapter 4: Disgust, Revulsion, and Hatred: (Mis)representations of the 'Other'

Ahmad ibn Faḍlān (877–c. 960)

Ibn Faḍlān was an emissary for the Baghdadi Abbasid caliphate. He was "one of the most trusted clergy of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir."[139] In Ibn Faḍlān's *Risāla*, or travel description, he expresses his disgust for the people of Rūs (modern day Russia) and their bathing habits:

> Every day, without fail, they wash their faces and heads in the filthiest and most foul water possible. A slave girl comes every morning carrying a large bowl filled with water. She presents it to her master, and he washes his hands and face, and the hair of his head which he also washes, and combs it into the bowl with a comb. Then he blows his nose and spits into it, and indeed there is no filthy deed that he refrains from doing in that water. When he has finished whatever is necessary, the girl carries the bowl to the one next to him, who engages in the same activity as his colleague. She continues to pass it around from one to the other until she will have taken it to all those in the house, each one of whom would in turn blow his nose, spit, and wash his face and hair in it.[140]

Ibn Faḍlān expresses his disgust right away, describing the water used as "the filthiest and most foul." This description would be enough to make anyone recoil from using a community bowl of water in Rūs. He explains that after the man "has finished whatever is necessary" the bowl is passed around until everyone is done. One can gather from the wording here that none of these acts were necessary for cleanliness, which adds to Ibn Faḍlān's disgust.

Raymond of Aguliers (ce. 1050–after 1101)

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[139] Hermes, "'Ifranjlism': The [European] other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture, 9th–12th Cenutury (A.D.)" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 136. Al-Muqtadir, or his full name, Abu'l-Faḍl Jaʿfar ibn Ahmad al-Muʿtaḍid, was the Abbasid caliph from 908–932 C.E.

[140] James E. McKeithen, "The Risalah of Ibn Fadlan: An Annotated Translation with Introduction," (PhD diss., Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Indiana University, 1979.)

Raymond of Aguilers authored *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (History of the Franks who captured Jerusalem) which was completed around 1101. He was chaplain to Count Raymond IV of Toulouse during the First Crusade. He relates, "We pray that the Lord may...exact judgment on His enemies, who obtained unjustly the places of his Passion and burial, and defiled them."[141] This language of defilement creates "a degree of hostility or a measure of erroneousness" attributed to the Muslim enemy.[142] Raymond states that God appeared to Peter Bartholomew and said that he was disappointed with the Jewish people, hinting that the crusaders were now the most favored.[143] The *History of the Franks* provides a lens for how the crusaders thought about Muslims. Their defilement of the holiest spaces created disgust.

In the siege on Jerusalem, Raymond relays at the Temple of Solomon, "men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins," the city of Jerusalem so filled with blood, it ran in its streets.[144] This was a wonderful and joyous occasion for the Crusaders, he later states, happy their promised land was cleansed with the blood of God's enemies.

Peter the Venerable (1092/94–1156)[145]

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[141] Shachar, "Pollution and Purity," 231.

[142] Shachar, "Pollution and Purity," 230.

[143] Valentin Portnykh, "God Wills It! Supplementary Divine Purposes for the Crusades according to Crusade Propaganda," *Journal of Ecclesasitcal History* 70, no. 3 (2019): 486.

[144] Raymond of Aguilers, "On the Fall of Jerusalem," in *Crusades: A Reader*, 69.

[145] Irven Resnick, ed, introduction to Peter the Venerable's *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 3.

Peter the Venerable (of Montboisser) was the ninth grand abbot of Cluny from 1122–56. His works were polemical in nature, and he wrote many treatises about Jews and Muslims. His main work *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews* (*Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*) has five chapters.[146] This polemical work maintained its exegetical roots in its attempt to "prove that Christ was the Son of God as foretold by the prophets, that He was truly the deity, that His kingdom was eternal and Heavenly, and that the Messiah had already come."[147] This very statement is implicit in his rejection of the Talmud.

The Talmud–a collection of the works of Jewish rabbis debating the Torah through the second and fifth century–was antithetical to his point. Peter states "I would condemn it [The Talmud] and its perpetrators to the flames."[148] In his condemnation of the Talmud, he shows indelicately that the Jewish people had finally outlived "their function as book bearers" of Christ's truth, and were no longer deserving of protection.[149] His anger and hatred continue toward the New Testament rejecting Jew, the reality of his "emotional-religions hatred" spilled over into his present. Another justification for the hatred of the Talmud, Peter insists, to his error, the prophet Muḥammad "wove the Qurʾān in part, out of the filthy cloth of the Jews' Talmud."[150] In his condemnation of the Jews, he states, "The threefold *nescio utrum homo sit* – I do not know if the Jew is human, I doubt that he who has a heart of stone could

[146] Yvonne Friedman, "Christian Hatred of the Other: Theological Rhetoric vs. Political Reality," in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, eds. Cordelia Heb and Jonathan Adams (De Gruyter, 2015), 190.
[147] Ibid., 188.
[148] Ibid., 190.

[149] Friedman, "Christian Hatred of the Other," 190.

[150] Irven Resnick, "Peter the Venerable on the Talmud, the Jews, and Islam," Abstract, *Medieval Encounters* 24 (2018): 510.

be called human."[151] The venomous tone in that statement, "I do not know if the Jew is human" creates an image of the opposite of humanity. That which is not human, is not treated with any respect or any of the God-given rights to humanity. Peter's depiction of the Jew's inhumanity goes even further with this question, "Were you not dogs, when like dogs you thirsted for blood and so very rabidly almost licked it up saying 'His blood be upon us and upon our children'?"[152]

Ibn al-Qulzumī (1127)

Yūḥannā ibn Ṣāid ibn al-Qulzumī was a Coptic Christian from Cairo. The following passage, concerning the fall of Jerusalem and the nearby cities, was composed before the fall of Tyre in 1124.[153]

> In the days of the afore-mentioned Patriarch Michael, armies of the Byzantines (Rūm) and the Franks arrived from the Byzantine and Frankish lands in Syria in great multitudes.They gained possession of Antioch and its district and most of Upper Syria. It was at that time in the hands of the Khurasanian Ghuzz, and nothing remained of it [Syria] in the hands of the Ghuzz except Damascus and its district. Then they gained possession of the venerated town of Jerusalem and its district in the month of Ramadan in the lunar year 492 [= 23 July–21 August 1099]. We, the Community of the Christians, the Jacobites and the Copts did not join in the pilgrimage to it, nor were we able to approach it, on account of what is known of their hatred of us as well as their false belief concerning us and their charge against us of impiety.[154]

In the passage above, the author al-Qulzumī describes the fear of the Coptic Christians against journeying to Jerusalem, because it was captured by the Crusaders. He even states that the Crusader's hatred was misplaced because of false understanding and supposed

[151] Ibid., 191.

[152] Ibid., 190.
[153] Hirschler, "Jerusalem Conquest," 51.
[154] Hirschler, "Jerusalem Conquest," 51–2.

"impiety." This provides an even clearer picture of what Crusaders considered "the other" to be.

Ibn al-Munir (1080–1153)

Ibn al-Munir fled his hometown Tripoli when it was conquered by the Crusaders in 1102. He composed this praise poem to Nur ad-Din after he conquered Tortosa, a Latin-controlled city in Syria in 1152.[155]

> The land in the villages [around Tortosa] bore infidelity.
> On the day before, Nur al-Din treated
> the fortification to a ritual cleansing, [purifying it]
> from its filths.
> On the day after, the coastal plains were destroyed
> Such that [Nir al-Din] did not leave in all the land between 'al-Hawlatayn'
> and 'al-Amid'
> A cushion for the vengeful or blood-thirsty man.
> And [Nur al-Din] has removed the idols from the region and
> turned the trinity into negation.[156]

This poem states the spaces that were filthy before Nur al-Din captured it. The Christian's infidelity and lack of Islamic faith infected the space with disbelief, so it needed a "ritual cleansing." But through Nur al-Din's conquest and removal of "the idols," his Islamic victory negated the Christian trinity. Their infidelity was reason for the fifth. Through the righteousness of Islamic purity, the land became pure again.

William of Tyre (1130–1186)

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[155] Uri Shachar, "Pollution and Purity in Near Eastern Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Crusading Rhetoric," in *Entangled Histories: Knowledge, Authority, and Jewish Culture in the Thirteenth Century*, eds. Elisheva Baumgarten, Ruth Mazo Karras, and Katelyn Mesler (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 233.

[156] Ibid.

William of Tyre's *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* is an important Latin text that describes the Crusades from an eye-witness perspective. He was born in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and studied in France and Italy. He became archdeacon of Tyre in 1167.[157] He states, on the history of the First Crusade, "The Church of the Holy resurrection, the resting place of the dormant Lord, endures the rule [of the Muslims], and is *desecrated by the filth* of those who have no part in the resurrection, but are destined to burn forever, as straw for everlasting flames."[158] Here, the non-believers are an afterthought in the holy space they are a part of. As part of the kindling for the eternal fires of Hell, they hold no part in the holiness of the space.

To understand the emotive response to the supposed desecration of the Holy Sepulchre, requires a notion of what is holy and pure. Theoderich (c. 1172) explains that the holiness existed in Jerusalem "not because it is holy in itself, or by itself, but because it has been glorified by the presence of God himself, and of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy mother, and by the dwelling there, the doctrine, the preaching, and the martyrdom of patriarchs, prophets, Apostles, and other holy people."[159] So the space itself, as an object of holiness, existed *regardless* of who dwelled in it. But that is what makes the space even more precious to maintain its purity that lay simply in its own inertia. To maintain that constant flux of purity, the Muslims needed to leave.

William continues, "The impious Saracens, heretical devotees of a defiled religion, have pressed for a long time with tyrannical violence the holy places, where the feet of the

[157] Phillip D. Handyside, introduction to *The Old French William of Tyre* (Leiden, Brill: 2015), 2.

[158] Shachar, "Pollution and Purity," 231. Emphasis mine.

[159] Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, (New York: Italica Press, 1986), 5

Lord had stood."[160] The mere presence of the Muslims in the holiest of holies created a layer of filth and impurity, that could only be cleansed with their destruction. The Muslims, by their presence, both defiled and were "defiled *because* of this space." The language demanded a complete ritual purification.[161] William says the Muslims were impious in their actions at the Holy Sepulchre, an important judgement against their faith. However, the language itself denotes disgust in just their mere presence as "heretical devotees of a defiled religion." If the mere presence of Muslims as impious heretics of a corrupt religion creates the opposite of purity, disgust is a natural response in the pious, devout Christian, which William of Tyre was.[162] To make it worse, the Muslims stood "where the feet of the Lord had stood" and that notion alone imparts disgust and dismay. The Muslims, who did not tremble in fear at the miracle of Christ, were just as unsacred and unholy as any other heretic.

Impurity and Impropriety: Role of Disgust in Ibn al-Munir and William of Tyre

Ibn al-Munir's disgust with the impurity the Christians created in the city of Tortosa. This disgust can be examined in larger contexts, the mere *presence* of an infidel created an impure space. William of Tyre, in his crusading rhetoric, denotes the level of disgust: the Muslims have no place in the holiness of the resurrection, and their existence in holy places is defiling. Their presence necessitated a cleansing ritual. The pious worshippers needed to cleanse the space before their rituals and prayers could be resumed.

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[160] Shachar, "Pollution and Purity," 231.

[161] Ibid.

[162] William of Tyre was the archbishop of Tyre. I am certain he believed himself to be pious.

William of Tyre's disgust with the Muslim presence in the Holy Sepulchre and their erroneous faith and supposed disregard for Christ creates a narrative of Christian holiness and purity. But this concept is not unique to Christianity; Muslims believed the "sanctity of the land" (and thus, health of the land) was directly tied to whoever lived on it.[163] This idea similarly could be used as Crusader rhetoric, cleansing the land as they retake the lands inhabited by non-believers. The Muslims both defiled and were "defiled *because* of this space" and the Christians, likewise, created their own pollution in Islamic spaces. These two accounts do show a continuity of emotive disgust amongst Christians and Muslims. There are no real boundaries between these two emotional villages. There is instead a close-knit emotional response to the other's presence.

These two accounts depict impurity as a symptom of faithlessness. The holy spaces became defiled *because* the impure were stationed there. For William of Tyre, only inhabiting Christians could cleanse the space, but for Ibn al-Munir, Nur ad-Din's destruction of Christian idols was enough to make the space pure again. These two versions of disgust reveal similar descriptions of it, for similar reasons: the religious other inhabiting one's holy space.

Notions of Disgust and Impurity: Laced with Hate

Ahmad ibn Faḍlān's work shows the mentality of Muslims forced to be amongst a European other. The community bowl of water for cleansing was enough to make Ibn Faḍlān declare the people of Rūs as the foulest. Raymond of Aguilers describes the defilement the spaces of Jerusalem received and the error of the Muslims who "obtained unjustly the places

[163] Shachar, "Pollution and Purity," 233.

of his Passion and burial" as a means of creating an even clearer representation of the Muslim other. These different layers of disgust, witnessed in the vitriolic words of Peter the Venerable, "I do not know if the Jew is human" molds his hatred to the inhumanity of the other. Coptic Christian al-Qulzumī reveals that the Egyptian Christians were unable to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem "on account of what is known of their [crusaders] hatred of us."[164] Ibn al-Munir describes Nur al-Din's sanctification of Tortosa with his "ritual cleansing, [purified it] from its filths."[165] This was meant to reveal the true nature of the infidel, and the purity, and thus, 'trueness' of Islam.

[164] Hirschler, "Jerusalem Conquest," 51–2.

[165] Shachar, "Pollution and Purity," 233.

Chapter 5: Jerusalem: City of Emotion, Sanctity, and Ritual

This section examines the role of Jerusalem in emotion history. The city of Jerusalem represents a blend of spiritual, mystical, and cultural history. From the time of its foundation, it has been the focus of lament, of longing. Jerusalem has been the most contested city in history. It holds a place for sacristy and ritual in the medieval imagination of Jews, Christians, and Muslims. These ties to the city are not solely spiritual, but emotional as well. There are more similarities between the three faiths regarding this city and their emotions than there are differences; namely, the devotion the city receives through liturgical processes and rituals. It attempts to prove that Jerusalem itself was the most important emotional village within the medieval period. Jerusalem holds a separate and distinct place within the history of emotions because of the city's place within history. It is a space like no other, and that was the medieval understanding of the city.

Christian Jerusalem: Maintaining Sacristy

The Christian decentralizing of Jerusalem as the physical location of holiness to an internal connection was part of the change the aftermath of the First Crusade brought. The spiritual center was internalized as a direct relationship with God, the earthly Jerusalem no longer significant. Through an act of imitation, heavenly Jerusalem was the true end-goal of Christians, the "New Jerusalem" descending as told in the apocalypse of John in Revelations, "I saw no Temple in it." This added to the spiritual impetus Jerusalem created; a separation from the physical and a focus on the internal, spiritual center that was also located in Heaven. This shift was paramount in the aftermath of the First Crusade with Jerusalem in the hands of the Christians in 1099 until the rise of Nur ad-Din and Salah ad-Din in the 1140s and 1170s.

This spiritual and emotional reckoning was just part of the warfare and rhetoric against the Islamic forces of Jerusalem.

The maintenance of Jerusalem became task-oriented and ritualistic, seen in the fire ritual of the Holy Sepulchre during Holy Week. This ritual was seen in the early ninth century until the fourteenth century, and it provided a structural framework for the power relations in the Holy Land.[166] Symbolically, the light meant to represent the Resurrection. This ritual developed in the ninth century and had no clear origins, but may have "emerged specifically for pilgrims, as an enacted confirmation of their devotional commitment to Jerusalem."[167] This fire ritual utilized the holy space and was only enacted by "a community who were subject to a politically or militarily dominant group."[168] As a solely Christian ritual, the ceremony itself was a mix of Orthodox and Oriental Christians, as well as Latin Catholics, and "each participating community held its own service."[169] This grouping of different Christian denominations is rather unique to this specific, unique ritual in the Holy Sepulchre, at least within Jerusalem.

The fire ritual in the Holy Sepulchre involved holy fire that had to be created "without human agency" and had to be produced from the striking of a flint on a stone which was meant to represent Christ, "the stone the that [the] builders rejected" that "was never exported or repeated…in spaces other than the Holy Sepulchre."[170] Theoderich describes this

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[166] Andrew Jotischky, "Holy fire and Holy Sepulchre: Ritual and space in Jerusalem from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries." *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, ed. Frances Andrews, (Donington, U.K.: Shaun Tyas, 2011), 45.

[167] Jotischky, "Holy fire and Holy Sepulchre," 48.

[168] Ibid., 52.

[169] David Jacoby, "Intercultural Encounter in a Conquered Land: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century," *Europa im Geflecht der Welt* 20 (2012): 145.

[170] Jotischky, "Holy fire and Holy Sepulchre," 45.

fire ritual on the eve of Easter. All of the churches in Jerusalem put their lights out "to await the coming of light from heaven for the reception of which light one of the silver lamps, seven of which hang there."[171] Afterwards, the bishops, patriarchs, and clergy, as well as laypeople, all prayed loudly until the fire appeared sporadically, "sometimes it appears about the first hour, sometimes about the third, the sixth, or the ninth, or even so late as the time of compline." Theoderich understood the event as a miraculous occasion, not of human origin, but he does state "it comes sometimes to the sepulcher itself, sometimes to the Temple of the Lord, and sometimes to the Church of St. John," which means the fire did not exist solely in the Holy Sepulcher during his lifetime.[172] This reverence shown for this 'miraculous' act of God relays a degree of magic.[173]

Jewish Jerusalem: Revered by the Other

The Temple Mount, or Mount Moriah, the Jewish space of Abraham's offering of Isaac to God, later transformed into the Dome of the Rock, or *Haram al-Sharif* around 691 to 692 C.E. This location in Jerusalem, a truly holy location "at the intersection of cultures and religions," represents not one, but three faiths.[174] As the location of Isaac's attempted sacrifice, the metaphorical and religious importance is inexplicable. This was first seen in King Solomon's construction of the Temple, where "its holiness was acquired rather than

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[171] Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 14

[172] Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 15.

[173] The holy fire of Jerusalem was in fact caused by human origin. See Jay Rubenstein, "Holy fire and sacral kingship in post-conquest Jerusalem," *Journal of Medieval History* 43, no. 4: 479.
[174] Guy Stroumsa, "Jerusalem as Cultural Memory: Three Essays," RoundedGlobe 2017.

native."[175] The Temple existed because of God's dwelling therein, not because of its location; this made the destruction of the Temple that much more devastating because it represented the loss of connection to the divine.

Description of Reverence in Meshullam Ben Menahem of Volterra (d. 1508)

Meshullam was an Italian Jew from Florence who journeyed to Jerusalem to visit the holy sites. While in the city, he notes the respect the Jewish holy sites receive by Muslims. The Temple was "covered with lead, and they [the Muslims] say that it is doubtless the Holy of Holies." He explains the rituals that necessitate purity of the spaces: "The Muslims[sic] only go inside after bathing five times, and they do not approach a woman three days previously. Many Muslim[sic] servants in a state of purification are there and they light seven lamps inside."[176] The description of the purity necessary for entrance to the Dome of the Rock relates reverence for the space. He later relates what happens during the holy fire ritual, "the Jews go to Synagogue on the eve of the 9th of Ab all the lamps in the Temple Court go out of their own accord, and cannot be kindled again."[177]

This quick description within his travel work relays various wonders at the respect given by the other. He describes the holy fire ritual within the Temple Mount, and follows up with the fact the Muslims observe "somewhat like the Jews" the 9th day of the Tisha B'Ab.[178] Meshullam's notice of the ritualistic lighting of seven lamps by the Muslims creates notions

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[175] Ibid.

[176] Meshullam ben Menahem, "Jerusalem," in *Jewish Travellers*, trans. and ed. Elkan Nathan Adler (Routledge, 2004), 190.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Tisha B'ab is a Jewish holiday for annual fasting for, and mourning of, the loss of Solomon's Temple and the Second Temple, and the calamities the Jewish people had experienced since.

of wonder; if the Muslims observe a similar holiday with similar rituals, then the holiness of the Temple is a shared concept. Here, Meshullam describes an emotional village ritual. This shared spiritual practice denotes emotional attachment to the Temple Mount. The seven lamps lit by the Muslims shows that there was recognition of the sacredness of the space, which reveals a potential shared emotional and spiritual response to the presence of the Temple and its representations within Jerusalem's history.

Devastation previously unknown: The Fall of Jerusalem

Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233)

Ibn al-Athīr was born into a family of scholars in Mosul. He authored the chronicle *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* (The Complete History), the most comprehensive and authoritative work of an Islamic historian of the Crusades. he provided an extensive introduction in defense of the discipline of history with views typical of medieval historians; history had "positive use" when used as the base of practical and moral lessons.[179] Within his chronicle, Ibn al-Athīr implemented the philosophy of *tazkirah*: history's purpose is to remind humanity.[180] This account is written in typical chronicler format, focusing on important events year by year. Islamic historiography was a frame of reference, a story of events. Each year held importance, and each event was significant. There were sections of "other" events, such as lectures, winds, rain, and a list of names of those that died during the year served as an obituary. The deaths of prominent figures, and even poets, were recorded in addendum.

[179] 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil Fī'l-Ta'rīkh. Part 1*, trans. Donald S. Richards. Vol. 13. Crusade texts in translation. (Aldershot, Hants, England; Vermont: Ashgate, 2006), 5.

[180] Azmul Fahimi Kamaruzaman, Norsaeidah Jamaludin, and Ahmad Faathin Mohd Fadzil, "Ibn Al-Athīr's Philosophy of History in *Al-Kamil Fi Al-Tarikh*," (National University of Malaysia: Malaysia, 2015), 28.

In this record of Christian assault on Islam, Ibn al-Athir viewed the Franks as "primarily invaders animated with warlike ambitions and desire for conquest, often showing great bravery."[181] Both the minor and major events are described, but for the purpose of this work, the focus will be on the larger events and their consequences. With the desire to remind humanity of the events, records of the First Crusade in *Al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh* have emphasis on the Frankish conquest of Antioch in 1097 and in 1099 the conquest of Jerusalem.

Ibn al-Athīr states explicitly on the siege of Antioch: "If all the Franks who died had survived they would have overrun all the lands of Islam."[182] A page later, he describes the methods the Franks used–a blatant act of chicanery–with a deal was made between one of the men responsible for one of the towers around Antioch, "the Franks sealed their pact with [him], God *damn* him! and made their way to the water-gate. They opened it and entered the city."[183] This simple curse shows anger at the seizure and the man that made the deal.

After this deal is made in the chronicle, the ruler of Antioch Yaghi Siyān fled the city, repented for fleeing rather than fighting, and when he realized what he had done, "began to groan and weep for his desertion of his household and children. Overcome by the violence of his grief, he fell fainting from his horse."[184] This record did not view those that ran from a fight with much honor or high regard, and the grief that was described as the result of his cowardice was received almost like a punishment.

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[181] Françoise Micheau. "Ibn al-Athīr" in Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant, edited by Alex Mallett. The Muslim World in the Age of the Crusades Ser.: Vol.2. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 73.

[182] Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 5.

[183] Gabrieli, 6. Emphasis mine.

[184] Ibid.

Describing the actions of the Franks and fragmentation of Muslim forces, Ibn al-Athīr had this to say:

> When the Franks – *may God frustrate them* – extended their control over what they had conquered of the lands of Islam and it turned out well for them that the troops and the kings of Islam were preoccupied with fighting each other, at that time opinions were divided among the Muslims, desires differed and wealth was squandered.[185]

The squandered wealth and constant infighting amongst the Muslims led to their demise. This curse, "may God frustrate them" shows anger and annoyance, but what was most upsetting than the loss of land was the fact the Islamic leaders were so fragmented. He states later, "The inhabitants became a prey for the sword. For a week the Franks continued to slaughter the Muslims. A group of Muslims took refuge in the Tower of David and defended themselves there…In the Aqsa Mosque the Franks killed more than 70,000, a large number of them being imams, ulema, righteous men and ascetics."[186] This quick and violent description of nearly one hundred thousand being killed is mentioned to emphasize the ultimate destruction the Franks caused. It was especially heinous to Ibn al-Athīr that the religious and righteous men were killed in the mosque, on a Friday, their day of worship.

Siege Literature: Jerusalem's Fate in Mythos

Siege literature is another needed analytical tool for gauging medieval emotional response. When discussing the fall of Jerusalem, historians are either referring to the first century destruction and capture by Roman forces in 70 C.E., or the work relating the Crusader's capture of Jerusalem during the First Crusade. Siege literature holds a unique

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[185] Hillenbrand, "The First Crusade and the Muslims' Initial Reactions to the Coming of the Franks," 31.

[186] Tamar M. Boyadjian, "The Lost City: Ibn al-Abīwardī, Ibn al-Athīr, and the Lament for Jerusalem," in *The City Lament: Jerusalem across the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2018), 70.

place in the study of emotions; there is special rhetorical language representative of the Crusader ideology and imagery.

The fourteenth-century anonymous *Siege of Jerusalem* "recounts the conquest of the city by Titus and Vespasian in the first century but implicitly recounts the crusader attack on Jerusalem by consistently depicting the Romans in terms of medieval Christian warriors."[187] The prologue of the poem creates imagery of Christ during the Passion to convey the Jewish inhabitants are thus the persecutors of Christ, giving space for the author to villainize them even more:

> A pyler pyght was doun upon the playn erth,
> Hist body bondon thereto, and beten with scourgis.
> Whyppes of quyrboyle by-wente His white sides
> Til He al on rede blode ran, as rayn in the strete.[188]

The pillar, or cross, was placed into the earth, Christ's body bound and beaten with hardened leather, and his blood was like "rayn in the strete." This poem places the responsibility of Christ's suffering on the Jews. This provides a clear and distinct image of Christ's suffering. In the sieged Jerusalem, under attack by Christian invaders, the Jewish inhabitants are viewed "lacking food and water, they are pitiable; as the enemies of Christ and the Church, however, they are contemptible."[189] This deliberate placement of emotional rhetoric creates an even simpler picture: the besieger, as aggressor, and the besieged, as those that experience

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[187] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Erasing the Body: History and Memory of Medieval Siege Poetry," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 158.
[188] Patricia DeMarco, "Imagining Jewish Affect in the *Siege of Jerusalem*," in *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion*, eds. Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 47. This Middle English poem has been translated by my fiancé Robert Esquibel, seen here:
"A pillar of wood was put down upon the level earth,
His body in bonds there, and beaten with lashes.
Whips of hardened leather lashed (went to) his white sides
Til he ran red with blood, as rain in the street."
[189] DeMarco, 47.

suffering.[190] The poem expresses Christ's suffering, with emphasis on the damage the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem caused.

[190] Akbari, "Erasing the Body," 163.

Conclusion

This thesis examined close to a thousand years of emotions. I do not claim this is the most definitive or the most complete explanation of emotional villages, but I do wish to emphasize the fact that this has not truly been done before in the manner that I have proposed. Each of the five chapters here sought to express what these feelings were and what they meant to the author chosen. I do acknowledge my biases in using more Arab-Islamic sources than Latin Christian or Jewish; however, that is my area of (slight) expertise. Beginning with devotion, wonder, and reverence, I sought to explain similar modalities of these emotions amongst the three major faiths during the medieval period, but without forcing the authors into a particular 'category of thought' based on their religious context.

Each of these emotions creates an understanding of reality. Reverence and wonder provide a method of ritualistic expression of awe and majesty. The authors examined in chapter one each formed their own emotional contexts. The first chapter began with Shem Tov Ardutiel, better known to posterity by his ghostwriting name, Santob de Carrión. The first chapter then explored Islamic authors Ibn Battūta, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Ḥamdīs, Usama ibn Munqidh, and lesser-known authors Ibn Darrāj and Ibn Nubātah. It then examined Raymond of Aguilers and Margery Kempe, and Naḥmanides. These authors proved that devotion does take a village of feeling to express it. The fluidity of feeling was present within each author, showing this emotional continuity. The second chapter reviewed the nostalgia of longing seen in loss and yearning poetry and other works. It began with the famous poetess Al-Khansā, whose sorrowful work was dedicated to her brothers. It then looked different works of Ibn Ḥamdīs and Ibn Nubātah. The third chapter examined fear and anger within Islamic and Christian sources. The fourth chapter explored disgust and revulsion, and subsequent

hatred, and how these feelings led to misrepresentations of the "other." The fifth and final chapter discussed Jerusalem's large emotional context, and the devastation of the fall of Jerusalem.

Emotions are universal, but the way they were utilized created a territoriality of emotional language. Each work here had a purpose for the author's emotions; whether that was merely the cathartic release of pain, or to better express amazement with their surroundings, the emotions themselves created what I call the *territoriality of feeling*. The four sections of emotions that began with wonder, reverence, and devotion and concluded with hatred and disgust. In between, I discussed loss, yearning, and grief, and the various notions of disgust and impurity. I concluded with Jerusalem as the prime example of an emotional village. There was continuity within the modes of feeling that made the feelings territorial.

Emotions provide a lens into the past that would otherwise be ignored within historiography. Focusing on the emotions felt, without putting the authors into categories of anything other than feeling, grants the medieval author a chance to plead their own voice. These villages of feeling expose the values of medieval people, and the ways emotional rhetoric was used to enhance or create a version of reality. These villages are still present in modern-day emotional rhetoric.

Emotional rhetoric plays with the human psyche to elicit a response. This was utilized heavily during the crusades, Reconquista, and Islamic expansionism. The exceptionalism of the emotional other is defined by the one viewing and experiencing the other, but there was no attempt at true understanding or communicating this. There were consequences to this lack of understanding in the medieval period, just as there are now. These emotional villages

continue to exist today through modern media, propaganda, and religion. However, since history is meant to be instructional, perhaps of what *not to do*, we can choose to exist within our emotional contexts without impeding on one another.

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