

II

THE IMPACT OF THE CRUSADES ON MOSLEM LANDS

Rich in picturesque episodes and dramatic events, the crusades were poor in the contribution they made to the edification or enlightenment of the area of their operation. The chain reaction of counter-crusades and of the anti-Christian and anti-western feeling they generated has not ceased. The festering sore they left refuses to heal, and scars on the face of the lands and on the souls of their inhabitants are still in evidence. As late as the twentieth century the anticrusading ghost was invoked in connection with the mandates imposed on Syria and Iraq and the Anglo-French attack on Egypt in 1956.

At the launching of the crusading movement the religious unity of Islam had already been shattered, and its political state was fragmented. The caliphate, which personified the double unity, was then itself triple. The Umayyad caliphate of Cordova was a traditional enemy of its counterpart in Baghdad, and both were considered illegitimate by the Shī'ite imamate of Cairo. The Baghdad caliphate had been subordinated since 1055 to newly Islamized Selchūkid (Seljuk) Turks, whose loosely united — if not utterly disjointed — states and statelets had mushroomed all over the area, extending into Byzantine Anatolia. Almost every sizable city in Syria had its own Selchūkid or Arab ruler, often at odds one with the other. Hostility between Rīdvan (1095–1113) in Aleppo, who had Ismā'īlite leanings, and his orthodox brother Dukak (1095–1104) in Damascus formed, together with battles against crusaders, the central theme of their reigns. Shaizar on the Orontes near Hamah was defended by the Sunnite Arab Banū-Munqidh. Tripoli was under the Shī'ite Arab Banū-'Ammār. The Byzantines were seizing and losing towns along the coast and on Syria's northern frontier. Jerusalem, the ultimate crusading goal, was being tossed from one hand to another: in 1070 the Selchūkid general Atsīz had wrested it from the Fāṭimids; in 1096 it had reverted to their control.

At the advent of the crusaders, therefore, not only was the unity of Islam fundamentally impaired but the possibility of its repair under Turkish or Arab aegis looked equally hopeless.¹ In fact, throughout its history, except for a short period under the Orthodox caliphs and another under the Umayyads, Moslem unity was more nominal than real.

Into this semichaotic politico-military situation the crusading element was injected, and to it was owed the initial success, which constituted the bulk of the total success. One after another the states in the way of the crusaders were wiped off the map. First to fall (1097) was the most substantial and consolidated, that of Selchükid "Rûm," based on Nicaea. This victory restored to emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) his lost province and delayed the Turkish—in the event, Ottoman—invasion of Europe for two and a half centuries. Next came Edessa (ar-Ruhā', Urfa), whose large Armenian population prompted a special detour. Unhesitatingly, Armenian Christians cast their lot with crusading Catholics. With them they shared common feelings of hostility to Turks and antipathy toward Byzantines. Edessa's ruler Ṭoros of the Ṭoupenid dynasty enthusiastically welcomed Baldwin (February 6, 1098) and formally declared him son and heir. A month later the adopted son replaced the father (d. 1098). Antioch's surrender three months later, through the treachery of an Armenian officer commanding one of its towers, ended a long and arduous siege. Tripoli's Arab governor Ibn-'Ammār bought off the invaders, and contacts were established between the Franks and the Maronites, who furnished guides and forces. No serious resistance was offered until Jerusalem was reached. The fall of the third-holiest city in Islam evoked no more than an expression of regret from al-Mustaẓhir, the caliph-defender of Islam at Baghdad. But in the words of a contemporary poet:

Tears are the least effective of weapons,
when swords illumine the fires of war.²

On Christmas day of 1100, count Baldwin of Edessa was crowned at Bethlehem as ruler of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. A few years thereafter Tripoli was captured by Raymond of Toulouse (d. 1105). With the creation of the kingdom, to which the county of Tripoli,

This chapter was edited by Harry W. Hazard, after the author's death.

1. For a different view see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (3 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1951-1954), III, 472-474.

2. Ibn-al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī-t-ta'rikh*, ed. Carl J. Tornberg (14 vols., Leyden and Uppsala, 1851-1876), I, 194.

the principality of Antioch (including Cilicia), and the county of Edessa were loosely held by feudal bonds, the mission of the cross-wearers was fulfilled, all within the compass of a few short years.

As refugees from Palestine flocked into Baghdad, a group of Sūfīs, merchants, and *faqīhs* (canon lawyers) headed by a noble Hāshimite, forced the preacher in the grand mosque to descend from the pulpit, which they tore to pieces. At last the Arab caliph al-Mustazhir and the Selchūkid sultan Berkyaruk bestirred themselves; they sent a token contingent.

Response to the challenge came from an unexpected quarter. It started with the son of a Turkish slave, Zengi, who from Mosul spread his domain through northern Syria and in 1144 took Edessa. The first to be lost, Edessa was the first to be regained. Its restoration marked the beginning of the end of the Latin states. With it the spirit of the holy war (*jihād*) shifted to the Moslem camp. It sparked a dormant pan-Islamic spirit which materialized in counter-crusades that continued until the last crusader was thrown out of the land.

Zengi ushered in a series of counter-crusader heroes which included his son Nūr-ad-Dīn and culminated in the Kurdish Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn (Saladin) and the Mamluk Baybars. Nūr-ad-Dīn's capture of Damascus in 1154 removed the last barrier between his expanding kingdom and that of the Latins in Jerusalem. Saladin managed to inherit the Nūrīd territory and built on the foundation of a united Syrian monarchy laid by his two predecessors. By the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187, following the dramatic victory at Hattin, the watershed in the military history of the crusades was reached and the unification of all Syria was potentially assured. Saladin's destruction of the Shī'ite Fāṭimid imamate of Cairo in 1171 was more than the ending of a dynasty; it was the destruction of the possibility of the future development there of a dissident Moslem power. Saladin's sultanate now extended from Diyār-Bakr to Nubia and included Hejaz. Thus did the crusades unwittingly contribute to reversing the centrifugal forces in political Islam and to halting sectarian expansion in religious Islam. A devout Sunnite, Saladin suppressed heterodoxy, championed orthodoxy, and more than any other Moslem hero personified the counter-crusading pan-Islamic spirit. With him the disunity, incompetent leadership, and low morale which had characterized Islam at the end of the eleventh century completed the shift to the enemy's side.³

This achievement, which began with Zengi and culminated in Sala-

3. For more details on early Moslem reaction to the crusades consult Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade* (Paris, 1968), pp. 28-35.

din, may be considered the first both in chronology and in significance of the positive effects of the crusades on Moslem lands. The liquidation of the Selchükid and petty Arab states was the first of the negative effects.

Baybars resumed with telling effect the devastating blows of his great predecessor, specializing in taking Templars' and Hospitallers' castles, the main strongholds of the crusaders. His seizure of Antioch in 1268 ended the career of the second-oldest, and at this time the strongest, of the Frankish states. Not much more was left than mopping up.

The military ventures which technically began with pope Urban II's speech in 1095 and ended with the fall of Acre to Mamluk armies in 1291 had antecedents which may be traced back through Byzantine, Roman, and Alexandrian periods to earlier wars with Persians in the fifth century before Christ. Their counter-crusading sequels extended for centuries.⁴

The reawakened, vitalized combatant spirit of Islam found expression in the literature of the age. The war from the west had been waged on both hot and cold levels and had to be met accordingly. Christian propaganda was met by Moslem counterpropaganda. True, *jihād* was a basic and favorite theme in Islam, approaching the status of a sixth pillar, but now, as it stood in confrontation with a Christian counterpart, it assumed new meaning and urgency. In the new literary genre not only was the military aspect emphasized but new merits (*faḍā'il*) of the places held or menaced by foreign intruders were discovered, and the promised advantages of visits (*ziyārāt*) to them were multiplied. The holy pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) to Mecca had been established as a pillar of faith by the Koran, but the new literature contended that to perform a complete pilgrimage the faithful must include in their visitations not only the tomb of the Prophet at Medina but tombs of his companions who fell in battle and other prophets, mostly of biblical origin, mentioned in the Koran. As Moslems wrested from Franks cities with Islamic associations, veneration of those cities was intensified. The value of holy shrines was enhanced by their temporary loss and by the struggle for their restoration. The new literary output urged visits to such cities and shrines—promising all kinds of religious rewards—and provided the pilgrims with helpful information and polemical material. New treatises served as guidebooks

4. Aziz S. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, Ind., 1962), pp. 146 ff., considers even the Ottoman Turkish invasion of Europe a counter-crusade.

and counter-crusade propaganda in which Jerusalem, the most cherished city after Mecca and Medina, of course figured prominently. A Baghdad historian, Ibn-al-Jauzī (d. 1201), wrote *Faḍā'il al-Quds* (The merits of Jerusalem),⁵ which served as a model for other productions. A preacher in the Umayyad mosque at Damascus, Ibn-al-Firkāḥ (d. 1329), assured his readers that the Prophet had declared that a believer's prayer in his own home is worth but one prayer, whereas if offered in the Aqṣā mosque of Jerusalem it becomes worth fifty thousand prayers, the exact equivalent of a prayer at the mosque of Medina and exceeded only by a prayer in the mosque of Mecca.⁶ Ibn-al-Firkāḥ wrote another treatise (unpublished) entitled *Al-i'lām fī faḍā'il ash-Shām* (Information about the merits of Syria). His example was followed by a Palestinian, Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ḥāfiẓ al-Maqdisī, who in 1350 entitled his book *Muthīr al-gharām fī ziyārat al-Quds wa-sh-Shām* (Arousing love for visiting Jerusalem and Syria).⁷

In 1401 as-Su'ūdī wrote *Al-kawākib as-saiyārah fī tartīb az-ziyārah fī-l-qarāfatāin al-kubrā*, in which instructions for pilgrims to the venerated tombs in Cairo and a description of those tombs are given. Abū-l-Fidā' at-Tadmurī (d. 1429), a preacher in the mosque of Hebron, wrote *Muthīr al-gharām li-ziyārat al-Khalīl 'alaihi as-salām* (Arousing love to visit [Abraham] the friend [of God], peace be upon him), in which the readers were told that the Prophet had said, "Whoever cannot make pilgrimage unto me [in Medina] let him make it unto the tomb of Abraham al-Khalīl."⁸ Moslem tradition locates the tomb in Hebron. This type of literature extended to the early sixteenth century, but its excessive veneration for shrines produced a theological reaction which was first vehemently voiced by a Damascene teacher, Ibn-Taimīyah (d. 1328). Four centuries later Ibn-Taimīyah's doctrines would germinate in the puritanical Wahhābī movement of Nejd.

One other noticeable effect of the crusades on the literature of the age is the widening of the authors' horizon. Hitherto eastern Moslems had known very little indeed about western Christians, the only contact having been limited to a few pilgrims and fewer merchants. To them practically all Europeans were Rūm ("Romans", Byzantines), with a few exceptions of Saqālibah (Slavs). Now, however, a new peo-

5. MS. in Princeton University library, tr. as a Ph.D. dissertation by Jibrā'īl Jabbūr, Princeton, 1947.

6. "Bā'ith an-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-mahrūs" (Arousing souls to visit Jerusalem the Guarded [by God]), in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XV (1935), 58; tr. Charles D. Matthews, *Palestine—Mohammadan Holy Land* (New Haven, 1949), p. 10.

7. MS. in Princeton University library.

8. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XVII (1937), 192-193; tr. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

ple was discovered: Iفرانج,⁹ Franks, whose religious background and military practices aroused Moslem interest.

Next to the political, the economic transformation was the most pronounced and important effect on Moslem lands. The crusader impact had its negative economic effects in the form of destruction of life and property, but, it should be remembered, the periods of peace were of longer duration than those of war. Trade—at least in the case of Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans, the shrewdest money-makers of the age—was a primary motivation in the venture.

Hitherto trade had flowed mostly from east to west, but now there was a strong reverse current, while the east-west stream was both enhanced and accelerated. The textile industry, as old as Phoenicia, the trade in spices, which went back to Sabaean-Roman days, the export of pottery and glassware from Sidon and Tyre, of drugs and perfume from Damascus, wines from Gaza, and sugar from the maritime plain—all these activities received fresh impetus as a result of opening new markets and widening old ones. Goldwork, ironwork, the manufacture of swords, silk, and soap, and the weaving of rugs flourished as never before. The incoming Europeans introduced no new techniques in industry, but crusaders, pilgrims, businessmen, and sailors returned to their homelands with newly acquired or developed desires and tastes for semitropical oriental products. Fabrics such as muslin (from Mosul), baldachin (from Baghdad), damask (from Damascus), sarcenet (from Saracen), and atlas (*aṭlas*) were increasingly in demand. New tastes, acquired for attar (*ʿiṭr*), sugar (*sukkar*), ginger (*zanjabīl*), and other aromatics, spices, and products of India and Arabia, had to be satisfied on behalf of returning crusaders through commercial channels. The Syrian merchant enlarged his traditional function as the middleman between east and west, between Europe on the one hand, and Arabia, India, and the Far East on the other, for the route around the Cape of Good Hope was not yet known. After Tyre, Acre, “the rendezvous of Moslem and Christian merchants from the four quarters of the world,”¹⁰ became a flourishing center of maritime trade. From their Beirut warehouse (Ar. *funduq*, from Gr.) Venetians lost in value in one day 10,000 dinars’ worth of pepper, a figure which gives an idea of the enormous riches accumulated in the agencies or factories of the Levant.¹¹

9. This term is still used in Arabic for Europeans, especially western, and Americans.

10. Ibn-Jubair, *Riḥlah*, ed. William Wright (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, 5; London, 1852); revised by Martin J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1907), p. 303.

11. See Ṣāliḥ ibn-Yaḥyā, *Taʾriḥ Bairūt*, ed. Louis Cheikho (Beirut, 1902), p. 62.

Woolen fabrics from England, Flanders, France, and Italy went first to Venice or some other Italian port and thence on galleys to Syrian and Egyptian ports.¹² Venetians in Syria exchanged western for eastern glassware; Genoese and Florentines carried on the same kind of trade. Besides wool, linen was a desired commodity. Linen from Rheims normally passed through Marseilles on its route eastward. Pisa, Genoa, and Venice had with their fleets assisted in the conquest of the land and in return enjoyed commercial and political privileges, including the occupation of special quarters in certain cities. There their merchant colonies grew. From Syrian ports, trade found its way into the interior, into Mesopotamia, Persia, and even Central Asia.

In Cairo merchants who imported western cloth occupied a special bazaar known after them by the name *sūq al-jauwākhīn*.¹³ A kind of European cloak became so popular that the "Franks imported unlimited quantities of it".¹⁴ *Al-bunduqī* (the Venetian), for cloth imported from Venice, became a familiar word in Arabic.¹⁵ Mamluk soldiers wore *bunduqī* cloaks. The same term was also used for a sequin struck in Venice.¹⁶ "Sequin" comes from Arabic *sikkah*, a die or stamp.

Brisk trading and manufacturing enabled Moslem merchants, especially in the interior cities, to amass huge fortunes. Ibn-Jubair, who visited Syria in the 1180's, cites the case of two such Damascene merchants.¹⁷ He was impressed with the uninterrupted and unimpeded march of caravans between Egypt and Damascus through the "land of the Franks."¹⁸ His and later evidence leaves no doubt that Aiyūbid Syria enjoyed a period of unusual prosperity. By that time the shock of the invasion had abated and the two sides had evidently adjusted themselves to the strange new life. One scholar goes so far as to say that the occupation of Syria revolutionized the entire economy of commerce in the Mediterranean, helped to raise the country to the international level, and bestowed on it a prosperity previously en-

12. Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du levant au moyen-âge*, tr. Furcy Raynaud, II (Leipzig, 1886; repr. Leipzig, 1936, Amsterdam, 1967), 706.

13. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-khiṭaṭ*, ed. Muḥammad Riyāḍah (2 vols., Cairo, A.H. 1270 [1853/4]), II, 98; cf. R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 127-131.

14. Al-Maqrīzī, *loc. cit.*

15. *Idem*, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, tr. Étienne Quatremère (2 vols. in 4, Paris, 1837-1845), I-1, 252; II-1, 81, n. 88; Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, "Ta'rikh ad-duwal," in Silvestre de Sacy, ed., *Chrestomathie arabe* (Paris, 1826), I, 87.

16. Ibn-Taghribirdī, *An-nujūm az-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1920-1929), VI, 668.

17. *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288, 298.

joyed only under the Romans.¹⁹ Another, however, representing the German school, dwells on the miseries of the natives—which they no doubt suffered in the early stages—and claims that Moslem citizens were expelled or exterminated systematically, native Christians were put to flight, and Palestine assumed a desolate aspect.²⁰

To meet the financial needs of the new situation a larger supply and a more rapid circulation of money became necessary. The *byzantinus saracenus*, probably the earliest gold coin struck by Latins, was minted in the Holy Land and bore an Arabic inscription. The Templars began to issue letters of credit and perform other banking functions. In fact, all three military orders—Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights—which had started as charitable religious organizations and evolved into military institutions, gradually became to a certain extent commercial companies. The earliest consul in history was a Genoese accredited to Acre in 1180. Saif-ad-Dīn (the sword of religion, “Saphadin”) al-Ādil (1199–1218), younger brother and successor of Saladin, allowed the Venetians to establish markets with inns in Alexandria and allowed the Pisans to institute consulates there. Al-Kāmil (1218–1238) followed in the footsteps of his father and signed a commercial treaty with Venice. Clearly occasional military clashes did not prevent members of the Aiyūbid dynasty from inaugurating a series of trade treaties with Christian countries.

Uncultured though they were, the Mamluk successors of the Aiyūbids followed the precedent of enlightened foreign relations and extended their economic horizon beyond the Italian cities. Kalavun (1279–1290) signed trade treaties not only with the Genoese but also with Peter III, the king of Aragon and Sicily. The monumental manual for the secretaries of the chancery completed by al-Qalqashandī in 1412 and titled *Subḥ al-aʿshā* has preserved numerous documents relating to European trade. Thanks to this commercial intercourse Syria and Egypt maintained their positions as transit lands for the rich Indian trade of the Italian republics and other European states. These treaties formed the antecedent of the capitulations later granted by Ottoman sultans, traces of which have lingered to the present day. It was largely from the great revenues of this international trade that the Mamluks were able to undertake their huge building projects, including mosques, schools (*madrasahs*), and mausoleums that rival or excel those of any other Arab era and still attract tourists to the valley of the Nile.

19. Henri Lammens, *La Syrie: Précis historique* (2 vols., Beirut, 1921), I, 235.

20. Hans Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1964), pp. 93, 95, 145.

Two common words in finance testify to this international trade relationship promoted by the crusades and continued in the post-crusading period. English "check" is related to Arabic *ṣakk*, which appears perhaps for the first time in a geography written about 975 by Ibn-Ḥauqal.²¹ This Arab geographer states that in the Maghrib he saw an I.O.U. (*ṣakk*) for 42,000 dinars. An Arabic word still used for a unit of currency is *ghirsh* (colloquial, *qirsh*), originally from Latin *grossus* (thick), but borrowed from German *Groschen* through Turkish.²² The coin was first struck in France by Louis IX, himself a crusader, in 1250. It had its first official mention in Turkish in a document of Bayazid I in 1392. A Danish traveler²³ found it current in Yemen. The term occurs in an Arabic report sent by an agent of France in Mocha (Mukhā) to Napoleon.²⁴

For the lower strata of Moslem society the conquest probably meant little by way of direct economic change. To them it was an exchange of one set of rulers, the Selchūkids, strange in race and language, or native emirs unconcerned with their subjects' welfare, for another set of rulers, Europeans, equally strange and unconcerned. Local sultans and emirs, whether Turks or Arabs, had previously accorded territorial concessions (*iqṭā'āt*) to their lieutenants for services rendered by troops under them. The mass of people lived as serfs on those feudal lands. Their daily life now went on unaffected. In country places a clearcut differentiation in treatment between Frankish-held and native-held domains hardly existed; only cities were delimited and subjected to customs duty. The crusaders belonged mostly to urban, not farming, populations, and when they lost a city to Moslems, it was usually stipulated that they evacuate it. Traces of European feudalism, however, did linger in the land, as indicated by linguistic evidence. In his encyclopedic work the Egyptian an-Nuwairī (d. 1332) remarks that Syrian fief-holders used a word *faṣl* (vassal) of Frankish derivation. He coins a past participle from it (*maḥṣūlah*), applying it to lands once held as fiefs, and uses *rabb al-iqṭā'*, an obvious translation of "feudal lord".²⁵

Pilgrimage, whether Moslem, prompted by the new propaganda in the aftermath of the crusades, or Christian, stimulated by the Frankish possession of the land, contributed substantially to its econ-

21. *Al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. Martin J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1872), p. 42.

22. Cf. Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

23. Carsten Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie* (Copenhagen, 1773), p. 191.

24. De Sacy, *op. cit.*, III, 353-354.

25. An-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab fī funūn al-adab*, VIII (Cairo, 1931), 261, 260, 201.

omy. From the dawn of the Christian era there were those who felt the urge to set foot on the soil rendered hallowed by the steps of Jesus, but the practice did not develop into an institution until the mid-fourth century, after Constantine I and his mother, Helena, had marked the sacred sites with monuments and basilicas. It was then that the cult of the holy places was firmly established. The influence of St. Jerome and the rise of asceticism in the east increased interest in the pilgrimage. The eastward march of the pilgrims' caravan was hampered in the mid-seventh century, on the morrow of the conquest of Islam, but not stopped. Intensified in the days of Charlemagne, who in 800 received a delegation from George, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the keys of the church of the Holy Sepulcher from caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the practice was again checked when the Selchūkids lorded it over Anatolia and northern Syria. The disabilities imposed on pilgrims by the Turks and the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1009 by the Fāṭimid imam al-Ḥākīm (996-1021) were among the contributory causes of the crusades. What pope Urban had in mind, as he preached the first crusade at Clermont, was not a purely military expedition but a combination of pilgrimage and holy war.

With the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the two principalities of Antioch and Tripoli, the cause of the pilgrimage was naturally greatly promoted and improved. Once in Palestine, the pilgrim felt Lebanon with its cedars, Damascus of Paul, and Antioch of Peter beckoning to him. Of the native shrines, Notre Dame de Sardenay (Ṣaidnāyā),²⁶ north of Damascus, and St. Catherine of Sinai were special objects of pilgrimage. The image of Notre Dame was said to sweat oil that had healing properties; the account of its miraculous sweating lingered for centuries. Bertrandon of La Broquière, who was shown the image and told the story in 1432, thought "it was a mere trick to get money."²⁷ Not only the Christians but "the Saracens" were said to be utterly devoted to this Mary.²⁸

The church of St. Catherine was built in the days of Justinian I (527-565) but often altered since. No priest or layman could enter it except barefoot, as in the case of mosques. In fact this saint attracted Moslem visitors also. Then there was Notre Dame of Tortosa (Anṭarṭūs, modern Ṭarṭūs), whose cathedral is the best-preserved religious structure of the crusades. This Mary, too, achieved so many

26. On the name, consult Ḥabīb Zaiyāt, *Khabāyā az-zawāyā min ta'rikh Ṣaidnāyā* (Ḥariṣā, 1932), pp. 12-15.

27. "Travels," in *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. and tr. Thomas Wright (London, 1848), p. 306.

28. James of Vitry, *Histoire des croisades*, ed. F. P. G. Guizot (Paris, 1825), p. 318.

healings that, we are told, even Saracens took their children there in great numbers to receive baptism.²⁹ Pilgrims who reached Antioch were often tempted to pay homage to St. Simeon Stylites, who for thirty years before his death in 459 had chosen to make his domicile atop a high pillar. The ruins of the church which was built there stand today among the most monumental of the early Christian structures. Pilgrims included prelates, priests, and laymen. Some brought guides with them from the Syrian colony in Gaul, whose origins go back to Merovingian days. Some of the pilgrims settled in the land.

The remains of churches rising in cities along the coast and of castles crowning Lebanese hills form the most conspicuous of crusader relics in Syria. The first church to be built was St. Paul of Tarsus, finished before 1102 in the Romanesque style of northern France. Later (1149) the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was restored in the same style, after its destruction by lightning. Many churches have since been converted into mosques. The church of Sidon, built by Hospitallers, is now al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr (the great mosque); that of St. John of Beirut, erected by Baldwin I in 1110, is today al-Jāmi' al-'Umarī (mosque of 'Umar). Belmont, built south of Tripoli by Frankish monks in 1157, is at present Dair al-Balamand, a Greek Orthodox monastery and seminary. Its chapel is genuinely crusader, and its belfry the only one of its kind in Lebanon. The cathedral of Notre Dame of Tortosa, the most magnificent of all, was recently equipped with a minaret. A doorway taken from the church of Acre and incorporated in the mosque of an-Nāṣir in Cairo is the most artistic relic of those days. The extensive alterations made by crusaders in the church of the Holy Sepulcher are still traceable.

Of the castles, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krak des Chevaliers) stands out as the best preserved of all medieval structures of its kind. Until a few years ago it housed an entire Moslem village. Al-Marqab (watchtower, Margat) still looks like a dreadnought perched on a crest overlooking the Mediterranean and the road between Tripoli and Latakia (Laodicea). Qal'at ash-Shaqīf (Shaqīf Arnūn, Belfort) rises above the pass along the Litani (Leontes), linking the maritime plain between Sidon and Tyre with the inland plateau.

Many of the crusader cathedrals and castles stood on the sites of earlier Christian churches and Moslem fortresses respectively. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād perpetuates in its name the memory of a Kurdish garrison which was housed therein in precrusading days. "Krak" in its name (originally Crat) is a corruption of *Akrād* (Kurds, colloquial *Krād*)

29. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

and should be distinguished from its analogue in Krak de Montréal and Krak des Moabites (Kerak, al-Karak). This "krak" is a corruption of *karak*, originally Aramaic for town. Such Arabic words as *qaṣr* (citadel, palace, from L. *castrum*), *burj* (tower, from *burgus*) and *qaṣṭal* (castle, water pipe, from *castellum*), said to have been introduced into the language in this period,³⁰ were rather popularized now but had been introduced earlier, in the Byzantine-Roman age, into Aramaic, whence they were borrowed by Arabic. Al-Qaṣṭal, as the designation of a fortress in Transjordan, was used by a Moslem historian who died about 965 and who ascribes the structure to a Ghassānid prince of the mid-sixth century.³¹

Crusaders from Normandy and Italy brought with them a substantial knowledge of military masonry, but what underlay the military crusading architecture was mainly the Byzantine art of fortification, with which Arabs were already familiar. Such castles as Shaizar on the Orontes, which was defended by the family of Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh,³² and Maṣyāf and al-Qadmūs in the Nuṣairiyah ('Alawite) region, which were occupied by the Assassins, antedate the crusades. The architecture of the citadel of Cairo, the greatest architectural monument of Saladin, betrays crusading influence. The church bell and its tower were evidently introduced into the Near East at this time from the west. Previously Near Eastern churches had used only the gong. But on the whole, in architecture as in other fields, the crusaders borrowed more than they lent.

In the minor as in the fine arts, the easterners possessed an older, richer, and more highly developed tradition, placing the westerners almost entirely on the receiving end. Likewise in science, letters, and other purely intellectual achievements the Arabs had more to give than to receive, especially since soldiers and merchants formed the bulk of the colonists. When two differing cultures stand in confrontation, the normal flow is from the higher to the lower, and this case was no exception.

In his delightfully entertaining memoirs Usāmah (d. 1188) presents the most elaborate details about contemporary social intercourse between Moslems and Franks. A warrior, hunter, gentleman, poet, and

30. Cf. Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

31. Ḥamzah al-Ṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-anbiyā'*, ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt (Leipzig, 1848), p. 117.

32. Consult Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh, *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, ed. Philip K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. iv-vi; tr. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* (CURC, 10; New York, 1929; repr. Beirut, 1964), pp. 4-6.

man of letters, he defended his picturesque castle, Shaizar on the Orontes, in times of war and fraternized with the Franks in times of peace. In and around Hamah (Epiphania), in Ascalon ('Asqalān) and other Palestinian towns, in Sinai and Egypt, in Mosul and other places of Mesopotamia, he witnessed or took part in battles against Franks and Arabs, Christians and Moslems. The information he offers is often first-hand, candid, and unique. His appraisal of Frankish character no doubt reflects the then-prevailing Moslem public opinion. To him "the Franks are void of all zeal and jealousy" in sex affairs;³³ their methods of ordeal by water and duel are far inferior to the Moslem judicial procedure;³⁴ their system of medication appears odd and primitive when compared with the more highly developed system of the Arabs.³⁵ Usāmah credits them with possessing "the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else."³⁶ Again and again Usāmah draws the distinction between the outlandish, rude "recent comers" and the "acclimatized" Franks in Moslem lands.³⁷ One knight was on such intimate terms of friendship with Usāmah that he began to address him as "my brother."³⁸

Many crusaders must have realized that baggy clothes and heavy headgear were preferable in a warm climate, and they consequently adopted native dress.³⁹ Their preference for native dishes is also attested. A Frank in Antioch who shunned European dishes employed an Egyptian cook, and never had pork in his kitchen,⁴⁰ but we know of no cases of Arabs adopting European clothes or preferring western food. For one thing, Islamic dietary laws involving pork and the manner of slaughter would stand in the way. Nor do we know by name any Moslem attracted by a visit to Europe. When the knight who called Usāmah "brother" asked Usāmah to permit his fourteen-year-old son to accompany the knight to Europe, Usāmah felt as if there fell upon his ears words which would never come out of the mouth of a sensible man.⁴¹ Nevertheless, he apologetically told his friend that the only reason for rejecting the request was the unusual attachment of the grandmother to her grandson.

33. *I'tibār*, p. 135; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 164.

34. *I'tibār*, pp. 138-139; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 167-168.

35. *I'tibār*, pp. 132 ff.; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 162 ff.

36. *I'tibār*, p. 132; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 161.

37. *I'tibār*, pp. 134-135, 140-141; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 163-164, 169-170.

38. *I'tibār*, p. 132; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 161.

39. Emmanuel G. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie* (Paris, 1883), pp. 11 ff.; Gustave Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878; repr. Graz, 1954), p. 45.

40. Usāmah, *I'tibār*, pp. 140-141; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 169-170.

41. *I'tibār*, p. 132; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 161.

Physicians served at times to bridge the social gap between the two peoples. Some of these were native Christian doctors, as in the case of one Thābit, of whom an anecdote is charmingly told by Usāmāh.⁴² So impressed was king Amalric, when on a visit to Egypt, by the skill of an Arab physician, abū-Sulaimān ibn-abī-Fānah, that he offered him through the reigning caliph the position of court physician and took him back with his five children to Jerusalem.⁴³ But when the "king of the Franks in Ascalon" sought the services of a physician from the Egyptian court, and Maimonides was offered the position, he flatly refused.⁴⁴ It was a Saracen who cured John of Joinville (d. 1319) of a malady contracted while captive in Egypt.⁴⁵

Knighthood was another social link. It is reported that early in his career Saladin was consecrated knight by the lord of Krak de Montréal (ash-Shaubak).⁴⁶ His nephew al-Kāmil was knighted with full ceremony by Richard the Lion-Hearted. It is probable that more than one emir sought the privilege. The order of *futūwah*, through which Islamic chivalry antedated in its origin the crusades, was reformed and patronized by the 'Abbāsīd caliph an-Nāṣir (d. 1225), who might have been impressed by reports about Templars and Hospitaliers. The caliph granted the hereditary rank of *futūwah* to various persons and elaborated the ceremonies of initiation, which included wearing spread trousers (*sarāwīl* or *libās al-futūwah*)⁴⁷ and drinking the *fityān's* cup (*ka's al-fityān*). The catechisms of initiation show degrees of *futūwah* which roughly correspond to degrees of European chivalry. The *futūwah*, however, was and remained a Moslem institution with a deeply rooted religious basis, and it participated in the character of the guild, whereas European chivalry was based on a regulated system of land grants.

Intermarriage is a fair criterion of social equality and relationship, but such marriages were contracted mostly between European men and native, generally Christian, women. Baldwin I set an early example by marrying (1098) an Armenian princess, Arda. Armenian princesses figured in the courts of Antioch and Jerusalem.⁴⁸ One of these,

42. *I'tibār*, pp. 132-133; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 162.

43. Ibn-abī-Uṣāibi'ah, *Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. August Müller (Königsberg, 1882), II, 121.

44. Al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. Julius Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 318.

45. *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1868), cap. 324 (p. 176).

46. Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier, *Chronique*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 35-36.

47. Ibn-al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, XII, 268; Ibn-at-Ṭīqtaqā, *Al-Fakhrī*, ed. Wilhelm Ahlwardt (Paris, 1860), p. 370; Ibn-Jubair, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

48. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey (*CURC*, 35; 2 vols., New York, 1943), I, 415-416, 461.

Isabel (Zabēl), daughter of the last Rōupenid prince Leon II, married the Latin Philip of Antioch, who in 1222 was elevated to the Armenian throne on condition that he accept the Armenian faith. Especially in the principalities of Antioch and Edessa mixed marriages were numerous. Richard the Lion-Hearted proposed a marriage between his sister Joan and Saladin's brother al-'Ādil with the hope that the wedlock might contribute to ending the strife between east and west. The half-caste progeny of native mothers, designated *poulains* (young ones), lived mostly in cities, jealously secluded their wives, and often followed the mothers' religion rather than the fathers'.⁴⁹ Moslems on rare occasions married Christian wives but often used female captives as concubines. Usāmah's father, Murshid (d. 1137), once presented a friend of his, the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar, with a beautiful captive maid. The son of this union succeeded his father, but the mother ran away and married a Frankish shoemaker.⁵⁰

After the annihilation of the crusading power in Syria, some families no doubt settled in the land and were ultimately fully assimilated. Names and traditions of certain Christian families—such as Ṣalībī (crusader) and Faranjīyah—suggest European origin.⁵¹ Among place names Ṣanjīl (or Ṣinjīl, Saint Gilles), ar-Rainah (Reynaud), both in Palestine, and Sabkhat Bardawīl (Baldwin) in Sinai perpetuate Frankish names.

Two serious barriers to social intercourse and cultural cross-fertilization were, and remained, language and religion. We know of several crusaders' studying and mastering the Arabic tongue but we know of no Syrian or Egyptian Moslem by name who controlled Latin or French. For one who spoke the "tongue of the Angels," studying such a foreign language was not only useless but sheer condescension. Some native Christians, especially among the clergy and merchant class, were no doubt versed in European tongues. Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) mentions a Jacobite physician from Antioch who mastered Latin, migrated to Europe, and settled in the court of Frederick II, but later became so homesick that he fled on a ship bound for Acre.⁵² A number of Syrian-born Europeans, such as William of Tyre and William of Tripoli, knew not only the colloquial but the classical Arabic, too. In their writings they used Arabic historical and literary works. A Pisan named Stephen translated in Antioch (1127) 'Alī ibn-al-'Abbās

49. James of Vitry, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138; see below, chapter IV, note 1.

50. Usāmah, *I'tibār*, p. 130; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 159-160. The lord was Mālik ibn-Sālim, the son Badrān.

51. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 2nd ed. (New York and London, 1962), p. 319.

52. *Mukhtaṣar ad-duwal*, ed. Anṭūn Ṣāliḥānī (Beirut, 1890), pp. 477-478.

("Haly Abbas", d. 994) al-Majūsī's *Al-kitāb al-malakī* (The royal treatise) into Latin. This medical work was the only known major scientific text rendered into a western tongue throughout the crusading period. Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, high officials in the courts of Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch, and envoys to native rulers could communicate in Arabic. Reginald of Châtillon, lord of Kerak (d. 1187), who audaciously made an attempt on Mecca and Medina, was especially facile in the use of Arabic. Saladin's biographer reports a visit to the sultan by Reginald Grenier, the lord of Belfort, "who knew Arabic and was able to speak it; he also possessed some knowledge of history."⁵³ Joinville singles out certain compatriots who could express themselves in Arabic.⁵⁴

Certain Moslems, no doubt, made it a point to acquire control over the French tongue. This was especially true of the Assassins, dissident Moslems, who entertained friendly relations with the Franks and at times allied themselves with them. When Saladin was pressing the siege against Acre he received from the Old Man of the Mountain, Rāshid-ad-Dīn Sīnān (d. 1193), two messengers who spoke "Frankish" (*faranjī*) and offered their services to kill the king of the Franks.⁵⁵ But when Louis IX in Acre received a friendly delegation from the Old Man, two knights served as interpreters.⁵⁶ We know of no Latin or French work rendered into Arabic at this time.

About 1172 Sīnān had sent an envoy named abū-'Abd-Allāh to Amalric to negotiate the possibility of conversion to Christianity on the part of his Assassins in consideration of the remittance of the 2,000-gold-piece annual tribute which the Assassins were then paying the Templars. As ultra-Shī'ites, Assassins could practice dissimulation in religion. The king agreed, but the envoy was killed by the knights after passing Tripoli on his way back.⁵⁷ The ranks of both religious camps were recruited from slaves and prisoners of war who found it to their advantage to be converted. Among the Frankish captives who fell into the hands of Usāmah's father was a lad with his mother and sister. The youth accepted Islam, was offered a home and a wife by his master, and produced two sons. When they were about six years old the father took them with their mother and the

53. Bahā'-ad-Dīn, *Sirat Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn* (Cairo, A.H. 1317 [1899/1900]), p. 80; tr. Charles W. Wilson and Claude R. Conder, *The Life of Saladin by Behā' ed-Dīn* (PPTS, XIII; London, 1897), p. 142.

54. *Op. cit.*, caps. 354, 361, 444 (pp. 192, 196, 242).

55. Stanislas Guyard, "Un Grand Maître des assassins," *Journal asiatique*, 7th ser., IX (1877), 408-411, 463-466.

56. John of Joinville, *op. cit.*, cap. 454 (p. 248).

57. William of Tyre, tr. Babcock and Krey, II, 392.

furniture of the house and joined the Franks in Apamea (Afāmiyah), where they all reverted to Christianity.⁵⁸ Joinville relates the story of a knight from Provins who embraced Islam and established himself in Egypt.⁵⁹ *The Arabian Nights* (no. 895–896) tells the story of a Frankish woman captive of Acre bought by an Upper Egyptian linen merchant; a ransom was later offered to secure her return to her knight husband, which she spurned. A Mamluk sultan, Lājīn (1296–1298), is said to have been originally a Teutonic Knight who fought in Syria. James of Vitry (d. 1240) reports some Saracens who took refuge in the grace of the baptism of Jesus Christ.⁶⁰ But such cases were undoubtedly sporadic. On the whole, it may be assumed that the typical attitude of the Moslems was that expressed by Usāmah when a Frank in Jerusalem exhibited a picture of Mary with Jesus and offered to show Usāmah “God as a child” and Usāmah remarked: “God is exalted far above what the infidels say about him!”⁶¹

The Christian military venture left Islam more militant, less tolerant, and more self-centered. In its formative stage Islamic culture enthusiastically entered upon the Greek heritage through the intermediacy of Syrian (Syriac-speaking) Christians. But the lowering of the crusading curtain shut it off entirely from that source. The venture created another barrier between Moslems and their Christian countrymen. The alienation between the two societies has lingered to the present.

But whereas Islam can show some items on the credit side of the balance sheet, eastern Christianity has hardly any to show. Its followers, upholders of a tradition more venerable than that of Rome or Byzantium, entrepreneurs of classical science and philosophies, liaison officers between east and west, were by the end of the crusading period weakened to the point of impotence. The enterprise which had its inception in the urge to defend Christendom came near to destroying Christendom’s eastern wing.

We have thus far treated the area as a Moslem land with a Christian minority. But in Syria-Lebanon-Palestine the Christian minorities in total must have amounted to a majority at the dawn of the crusades, though not a united one.⁶² In the aftermath of the crusades they

58. Usāmah, *I’tibār*, pp. 130–131; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 160.

59. *Op. cit.*, caps. 395–396 (pp. 214–216).

60. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

61. *I’tibār*, p. 135; *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 164.

62. Consult Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l’époque des croisades et la principauté franque d’Antioche* (IFD, BO, I; Paris, 1940), pp. 190–191.

dwindled into an insignificant minority. Especially strong were the Armenian and Greek Orthodox elements in Antioch, Edessa, and the rest of northern Syria, extending through Cilicia. In Palestine the Greek Orthodox alone probably formed half the total population. The western branch of the Syrian (Suryānī) church, commonly called Jacobite and once based in Edessa, was spread all over the area. Maronites controlled northern Lebanon. Copts were not numerous but did figure in the Egyptian population and manned high administrative and government positions. True, all these Christians were second-class citizens in the Moslem state, but their rights and obligations were clearly defined by the Koran and Islamic law and the adherents were generally reconciled to their status. The crusaders' advent introduced a most disturbing factor. It gave Moslems occasion to suspect their Christian neighbors of sympathy with their western coreligionists, and offered native Christians the temptation to turn collaborationists.

The Latins considered eastern Christians as schismatics, and Rome considered it its duty to "reunite" them with the mother church. Through pressure or persuasion and for political reasons certain groups yielded to the new disruptive force, were then cut off from their respective denominations, and became separate "Uniate" sects. But Moslems, rulers and ruled, were not fully cognizant of that fact and of its implications. To them Gregorian Armenians, Syrian Jacobites and Nestorians, Lebanese Maronites, Egyptian Copts, and Latin Franks were all simply Christians. They had to pay a heavy price after the restoration of Moslem control. Certain communities were decimated, others converted. With the exception of Lebanon, the area began to assume the Moslem aspect it still maintains.

First among the Christians to establish close relations with crusaders were the Armenians. This community in Cilicia and northern Syria cherished nationalistic memories of an Armenian kingdom farther east and yearned for independence from Selchūkid and Byzantine yokes. Even before the crusaders' advent an Armenian bishop had gone to Rome to seek help from pope Gregory VII (1073-1085). The first arrivals from the west found Armenians ready to make common cause against their Christian and Moslem enemies; hence the welcome accorded Baldwin on his entry into Edessa in 1098.

In Antioch, it will be recalled, it was through the treachery of an Armenian officer that the city fell into the hands of storming knights in June 1098. Two years later a Latin patriarch was installed⁶³ in the

63. William of Tyre, tr. Babcock and Krey, I, 297; he was Bernard of Valence (1100-1135).

city where the Christians were first so named. The gradual extension of Latin ecclesiastical domination over native Christian churches was consequent upon the establishment of Latin patriarchates first in Antioch and then in Jerusalem.

Eighteen years before the first crusaders entered Edessa, Armenian refugees fleeing Selchükid destruction of their kingdom had sought safety behind the Taurus and established a principality under a Roupenid. From the hills Roupenid princes had extended their control to the plains and laid the basis of Lesser or Cilician Armenia. Friendly intercourse characterized the relations of the principality with the Franks on both the religious and the secular levels. Though Monophysite in its theology, the Armenian church was not now treated by Rome as heretical. Negotiations for recognition were initiated early by the catholicos Gregory II (d. 1105), who received the pallium from the pope.⁶⁴ Certain Armenian bishops of Cilicia in common with those of Edessa advocated full union with Rome. Nersēs of Lampron, archbishop of Tarsus (d. 1198), an eloquent and persuasive champion of the movement,⁶⁵ received support from the ruling prince, Leon II, whose main ambition was to obtain a royal crown, which he did in 1198 under Frankish aegis. The establishment of this kingdom may, therefore, be considered a direct result of the crusades. The rapprochement between the two communions culminated in the acknowledgment (1307) by the synod of Sis, the Armenian capital city, of Roman supremacy. But the action, to a large extent politically motivated, was so unpopular that serious riots broke out.

In 1342, when the male succession of the Heṭoumids came to an end, the crown passed to Guy de Lusignan of Cyprus, whose mother, Isabel (d. 1323), was the daughter of king Leon III (1269–1289); Guy ruled as Constantine III (1342–1344). Thirty-three years later (1375) the last Armenian fortified city, Sis, fell to the Egyptian Mamluks, who in 1266, 1273, and 1275 had subjected the country to punitive expeditions for its alliance first with the crusaders and later with the Mongol invaders. Armenian independence therewith ended, though for a few years thereafter the kings of Cyprus continued to bear the title king of Armenia, and down to the present the Armenian word for “mister” (master) remains our word for baron, a relic of borrowed feudal institutions.

The West Syrians (Jacobites), who once formed the basic Christian

64. Henry F. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* . . . (Paris, 1910), p. 164; John T. McNeill et al., eds., *Environmental Factors in Christian History* (Chicago, 1939), p. 261.

65. Nersēs of Lampron, in *RHC, Arm.*, I, 576 ff.

element of northern Syria, were at the advent of the crusaders dispersed over the whole area extending to Palestine. Like their Armenian neighbors, Jacobites courted closer relations with the Roman church as a measure of self-protection if not self-preservation. The crusaders, on their part, reciprocated and for reasons of policy allowed them to practise their religious rites in peace. When the crusaders took possession of Jerusalem, they found the Jacobite metropolitan seat vacant, bishop Cyril and other high clergymen having fled to Egypt before Selchükid fury. When the metropolitan returned he claimed and was given back the vacated ecclesiastical properties. The renowned Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), asserts that the Franks "never raised any difficulty on the subject of faith."⁶⁶ A successor of his, Ignatius II (1222-1252), visited Jerusalem in 1237 and offered his submission to Rome in the presence of the Dominican provincial, a submission reiterated ten years later in a letter to Innocent IV,⁶⁷ but this was not considered binding by his church as a whole. The union was evidently as insincere and unpopular as that of its Armenian precedent.

The Greek Orthodox was the largest eastern denomination and, by virtue of its Byzantine associations, the least responsive to Latin advances. When the crusaders seized Jerusalem they found the patriarchal seat vacant, its incumbent, Symeon II, having retired to Cyprus under Selchükid oppression. The higher clergy had followed him into exile, where he died. Arabic-speaking parishioners were not reluctant to accept the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the newly established Latin patriarchate. But years later the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin included among its results the restoration of the Greek patriarchate, which to the present day maintains its seat in Jerusalem with a Greek-speaking occupant.

In Antioch, which with its Greek-speaking settlers had remained a stronghold of orthodoxy, even under the Selchükids, union with Rome presented more difficulties. After prolonged negotiations the Latins offered the maintenance of the autonomy of the Orthodox church with its own hierarchy and Greek ritual. In the 1240's the patriarch David accepted these terms, but his successor, Euthymius, rejected papal authority and was excommunicated by the Latin patriarch of the city and banished.⁶⁸ Damascus became the new seat, whose

66. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. Jean B. Chabot (4 vols., Paris, 1899-1924), III, 222.

67. Rey, "Les Dignitaires de la principauté d'Antioche," *ROL*, VIII (1900-1901), 155.

68. For further details consult Runciman, *op. cit.*, III, 281. The Latin patriarch was Opizo Fieschi (1247-1268).

incumbent has since the end of the nineteenth century been an Arabic-speaking native of the land.

In their inter-Christian relations in the Near East the Latins achieved no enduring results except among the Maronites of Lebanon. For a time the Armenian and Jacobite communions professed interest in or full union with Rome, but the ultimate failure of the crusading venture radically changed the situation. Centuries had to pass before French Catholic missionaries succeeded in detaching sufficient members to form two new Uniate communions.

As the first crusaders wound their weary way along the eastern Mediterranean coast they passed through the territory of the Maronites, who furnished them with guides and later provided the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem with a contingent of archers. The Maronites formed then the largest and certainly the most cohesive Lebanese Christian community. James of Vitry (d. 1240) found them established in Lebanon and Palestine, to which they must have drifted as a result of the crusades. This French prelate, who became bishop of Acre and a cardinal, was impressed by their skill in battle and in the use of the bow and arrow. Referring to their religion he calls them followers of "one Maro, a heretic, who taught that Christ had one will and one energy."⁶⁹ In this charge of monothelism he was preceded by William of Tyre. William goes on to say that in 1180 the Maronites repudiated their heresies and returned to the Catholic church.⁷⁰ They were subsequently accorded all the privileges of the Latins, both ecclesiastical and civil, and enjoyed the juridical rights of the Latin bourgeoisie.⁷¹ Maronite scholars, however, have claimed continuous orthodoxy for their church throughout the ages. The fact remains that it was during this period that the rapprochement between Rome and the national church of Lebanon was inaugurated, a rapprochement which culminated in union in the eighteenth century.

The first Maronite patriarch to visit Rome was Jeremiah of 'Amshīt (Irmīya al-'Amshītī) in about 1213.⁷² On his return, he undertook several "reforms" relating to liturgy and ordination. Through his legate, pope Innocent III (1198–1216), who brought papal power to its height, prescribed baptism with three immersions. This marks the beginning of the Romanization of the Maronite rite. Since then several pontifical letters have highly commended this church of Lebanon, likening

69. James of Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 156. This Maro flourished about 700.

70. William of Tyre, tr. Babcock and Krey, II, 459.

71. René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (3 vols., Paris, 1934–1936), II, 758.

72. Pierre Dib, *L'Église maronite* (Paris, 1930), p. 192.

it to a rose among thorns and to a firm rock in the midst of dashing waves. In 1584 pope Gregory XIII founded in Rome a seminary designed to train Maronite students for clerical life. The seminary graduated a number of men who distinguished themselves as historians, bishops, and patriarchs and who contributed to the process of Romanization. The final touch came when a graduate of this institution, the renowned as-Sam'ānī ("Assemani"), in 1736 participated in the Maronite synod in Lebanon as a delegate of the pope. This church of Lebanon, however, has retained to the present its Syriac liturgy and noncelibate clergy. Its friendship with the French, dating from the crusading period,⁷³ is still cherished. Louis IX is still popular in Lebanon. A Maronite family, al-Khazin, supplied France with a number of consular agents for Beirut, beginning with abū-Naufal, who was appointed in 1655 by Louis XIV.⁷⁴ This *amitié traditionnelle* has since been repeatedly invoked by both sides and was strengthened in 1860, when Napoleon III sent troops to halt the civil war, and at the close of the first World War when the French mandate was established over Lebanon.

In their Christology Copts, like Jacobites, embraced the Monophysite doctrine. For both sects it was one way of expressing their independence from Byzantium and Rome. Under the Fāṭimids Egyptian Christians had two disastrous experiences, first under al-Ḥākīm (996–1021), who imposed humiliating disabilities on *dhimmīs*, and later under al-ʿĀḍid (1160–1171), by whose vizir's orders 20,000 pounds of naphtha were poured over the old capital Fustat and set ablaze to save it from falling into the hands of Amalric, king of Latin Jerusalem. The incredible conflagration rendered thousands of Copts destitute overnight.

Saladin inaugurated his regime by replacing high government officials — Moslems and Christians — with relatives and friends from Syria. As clerks, secretaries, tax collectors, and treasurers, Copts had filled a national need in the country. Under Saladin's successors, Arabic began increasingly to replace Coptic. The worst was yet to come under the Mamluks, who in 1250 superseded the Aiyūbids. Not only did they follow the policy of discrimination against Coptic employees but whenever the government treasury needed replenishing, as it frequently did, they found a ready source to tap in the cash or property

73. René Ristelhueber, *Les Traditions françaises au Liban*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1925), pp. 42 ff.; Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099–1516)," *Arabica*, IV (1957), 288.

74. Ristelhueber, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.

of their Christian subjects.⁷⁵ Conversions to Islam mounted. When in 1249 Louis IX landed in Egypt and gained possession of Damietta, he found the Coptic element of its citizens ready to welcome him. In turn he treated them with special consideration. But when a later crusade was directed against Alexandria (1365) and temporarily occupied it, its Christians were pillaged by the Franks no less than were their Moslem neighbors. The ninth Mamluk, Muḥammad an-Nāṣir, reactivated the discriminatory laws against *dhimmīs*, and the end of his reign in 1341 may be considered as marking the extinction of an effective Christian presence in the valley of the Nile. Between 1279 and 1447 no less than forty-five churches and unnumbered monasteries in the Cairo region were reportedly destroyed.

As the Sunnite Mamlūks began to establish their ascendancy over Syria, the day of reckoning came not only for the Christians but also for the schismatic Moslem minorities. It should be recalled, however, that at times native Christians fought side by side with Moslems against crusaders, and Sunnite Moslems fought on the side of crusaders against fellow Moslems. Several Moslem cities of Syria and many beduin tribes on more than one occasion sought Latin aid, and more than one native state allied itself with a Latin state.⁷⁶ At one time the Assassins (Ismāʿīlites), whose fortresses in the north formed a frontier between crusaders and Moslems, ceded their stronghold in the south, Banyas (Bāniyās), to the Franks. The Latin kingdom had in its service a body of light cavalry, Turcoples (sons of Turks), recruited mainly from Moslems.

As new professors of Islam, the Mamluk sultans were eager to impress their subjects with their zeal. They also endeavored to keep aflame the spirit of *jihād*. In their hostility toward their Christian subjects they may have been reacting against the contemporary treatment of Moslems in Spain by rising Christian states. On the Lebanese coast the Egyptian sultans followed a scorched-earth policy and methodically ravaged Lebanon, razed its forts, and deported its population; even the earth was to be punished. They also insisted on conformity on the part of all dissident Moslems. Ismāʿīlites and Nuṣairīs, who had compromised their loyalty, were now systematically decimated. Baybars (1260–1277) forced the Nuṣairīs (ʿAlawites) to build mosques in their villages, but could not force them to pray in them. Large

75. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London and Notre Dame, 1968), p. 97.

76. Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Henry F. Amedroz (Beirut, 1908), pp. 289–290, 314, 316; Ibn-Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-l-khabar fī aiyām al-ʿArab wa-l-ʿAjām wa-l-Barbar* (Cairo, A.H. 1284 [1867/8]), VI, 7–8.

numbers of Nuṣairīs had been slaughtered by the first crusaders. Even the Druzes, who had generally cast their lot with the Moslems, were now enjoined to conform. Between 1292 and 1305 three punitive expeditions were directed against the Maronites and heterodox Moslems in Kasrawān. The last, by Muḥammad an-Nāṣir, practically annihilated the Shī'ite population of Kasrawān.⁷⁷ This sultan's reactivation of the anti-*dhimmi* laws was applied in the area; thousands of Maronites fled to Cyprus. They had begun their migration earlier, at the time of Saladin's occupation of Beirut. Documents establish their existence in Cyprus even earlier.⁷⁸ After the occupation of the island by Guy of Lusignan in 1192 more Maronite refugees flocked to it. An estimated 80,000 Maronites once flourished in Cyprus; some 4,000 still do, mainly in Kormakiti, which today has a Maronite cathedral. Their colloquial speech, a mixture of Syriac and Arabic, is reminiscent of their twelfth-century ancestral tongue. Northern Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, which for a time had been oriented westward, reassumed the general cultural aspects that they maintained till the early nineteenth century.

Not only the territories of minorities but the entire maritime coast felt the disastrous effects of the aftermath of the crusades. Fearing the return of the Franks, some of whom had simply moved to nearby Cyprus, the Mamluks undertook the dismantling of such cities as Ascalon, Acre, Arsuf, Caesarea, Tyre, and Tripoli. The Mongol invasions of Syria, which began with Hulagu after the destruction of Baghdad (1258), added to the disastrous effects upon the country in general and the minorities in particular. In the battle of Homs (1299) Armenians and Franks fought in the ranks of the Mongol army. In the following year Druze bowmen from Lebanon harassed the Mamluk army on its retreat. Ibn-Jubair in 1185 found Tyre a fortified town;⁷⁹ abū-l-Fidā' (d. 1331) a century later found it utterly desolate.⁸⁰ Especially striking are the observations of Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, who traveled in that area in 1326: "I journeyed to the fortress of Ascalon, now a heap of ruins. . . . Then I arrived in Acre, once capital of the Franks in Syria but today a ruin. . . . Thence I journeyed to Tyre, which is a ruin, with a populous village outside it. Next I went to Tiberias, once a large imposing city of which nothing remains today

77. Ṣāliḥ ibn-Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

78. Dib, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

79. *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

80. *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. Joseph T. Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 243; he was twelve years old at the time.

but vestiges witnessing to its former size and glory.”⁸¹ Bertrandon of La Broquière, who visited Syria in 1432, reported in Jaffa nothing but tents covered with reeds, in Acre not more than three hundred houses, and Beirut “has been more considerable than it is now.”⁸²

One interesting and enduring byproduct of the crusades was the initiation of missionary work among Moslems. With the failure of Christians to subdue the “infidel” by force, the theory prevailed that his soul might be subdued by persuasion. The possibility of substituting peaceful, spiritual conquest for a military one took root as a reaction from the crusading methods and as a result of the newly generated interest in the east. Launched in the early thirteenth century, the missionary activity, with its many ramifications, has persisted down to the present time.

The two earliest missionary organizations were the Franciscan and the Dominican, both originating in Syria. Francis of Assisi himself started the mission named after him when in 1219 he arrived in Acre and sent eleven disciples across the land. This city became the headquarters of the Franciscan effort. He also presented himself before the Aiyūbid al-Kāmil, nephew of Saladin, in Egypt and discussed religion with him. About the same time the Dominican mission was launched; it established a convent in Damascus and another in Tripoli. The Carmelite order, monastic and contemplative rather than missionary, also had a Syrian origin; it was organized earlier by a veteran crusader and took its name from a Palestinian mountain. Ṣāliḥ ibn-Yaḥyā (fl. about 1437) refers to a Franciscan convent and church in Beirut which his ancestors had converted into a stable.⁸³

The results of this early missionary effort among Moslems were disappointing. The protagonists thereupon sought new channels directed toward native Christian communities. The creation of the Uniate churches, Syrian and Greek, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the crowning achievement of Catholic missionary activity.

As the idea of converting Moslems was germinating in Christian minds, Mongol hordes were pouring into western Asia, thus providing the missionaries with a wider field for their activity. The victorious march of the Mongols landed them in Syria, where they and the crusaders found themselves facing a common enemy—the Moslems.

81. *Tuḥfat an-nuẓẓār fī ghara'ib al-amṣār wa-'ajā'ib al-asfār*, ed. and tr. Charles Defrémery and Beniamino R. Sanguinetti, 3rd ed. (4 vols., Paris, 1893), I, 126, 129, 130, 132.

82. *Op. cit.*, pp. 286, 292.

83. *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

Negotiations were carried on for concerted action. Embassies were exchanged with popes and kings. For a time these heathens from Central Asia flirted with Christianity. Hulagu, whose wife, Toqūz Khātūn (d. 1265), was a member of the east Syrian church, sympathized with this faith. His general Kitbogha, who had led the army triumphantly into Palestine, professed the same form of Christianity. But the routing of the Mongol army in 1260 at 'Ain Jālūt, the first major check the Mongols experienced, and the subsequent expulsion of the Franks from the land must have convinced these heathens that Islam was the more powerful religion.⁸⁴ In 1295 their seventh il-khān, Ghazan, adopted the Arabic name Maḥmūd and declared Islam to be the Mongol state religion.

In Europe the champion of the policy of peaceful penetration was a Catalan, Raymond Lull, who persuaded the king of Majorca to found a school of Arabic studies to train missionaries whose only weapons would be "love, prayers, and the outpouring of tears." Acting on Lull's plea the Council of Vienne in 1312 ordered the teaching of Arabic in the universities of Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. The study of Arabic led to the study of other oriental languages. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Catholic bishoprics were established not only in Syria, Armenia, and Persia but also across Central Asia to eastern China.⁸⁵

In the wake of the missionary went the trader. Travelers and merchants, especially from Italy, penetrated by land from Acre to Peking. Others circumnavigated southern Asia from Basra to Canton. Both of these land and sea routes had been known to Moslems and frequented by them for centuries; but to Europeans the experience amounted to a discovery of anterior Asia and the Far East, resulting in an expansion of geographical knowledge that ranks in importance second only to that entailed by the discovery of the New World two centuries later.

84. Laurence E. Browne, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia . . .* (Cambridge, Eng., 1933), p. 154.

85. See chapter X, below.