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“The State of These Countries... Is Truly More Astonishing than Our Story Can Fully Convey”: The Crusader States in the Late-Twelfth Century from the Perspective of Three Pilgrims

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“The State of These Countries... Is Truly More Astonishing than Our Story Can Fully Convey”:
The Crusader States in the Late-Twelfth Century from the Perspective of Three Pilgrims

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in History from
The College of William and Mary

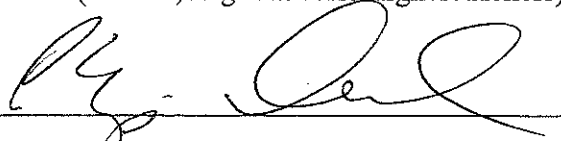
by

Alaric James Powell

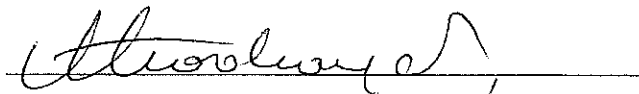
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To Ronald and Lisa Powell, for convincing me to pursue what I love,
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Introduction

With Pope Urban II's fateful speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095, the landscape of Christian-Islamic relations was forever altered, as a people hardly known by most Europeans became one of the vilest races of pagans known to man and the tyrannical occupiers of Jesus Christ's homeland. The centuries of Crusades that followed this moment would see the precursor to European colonialism take effect in the Levant, starting with the major territorial gains of the First Crusade made by a multinational coalition of knights, holy men, and settlers looking to recover the Holy Land in the name of Christianity. This initial salvo in the Holy War reached its peak with the capture of Jerusalem by Crusader forces on July 15, 1099, when thousands of the city's inhabitants were slaughtered and the empty streets of the holiest city on Earth exclusively belonged to this cosmopolitan group of Europeans. The decades that followed would see scattered periods of peace and war between the Latins and their Muslim neighbors, as Saracen forces began to push back on the inroads made by those first Crusaders. Islamic leaders like Zengi, Nur al-Din, and Saladin led the Muslim counterattack over the course of the twelfth century, as they attempted to retake the lands their predecessors had lost. Throughout this tumultuous century, the Crusader states and their societies persevered, as people from across Eurasia and Africa continued to travel through the Levant.

Those who made their way to the Holy Land during this time arrived for reasons both religious and secular in nature. European knights and nobles during the major Crusading initiatives would come for promises of indulgences, a sense of purpose, and the glory to be found in defending the Holy Land. Among European and Muslim civilians, trade with the inhabitants of the Crusader states was a major incentive for entering the territory while conducting business. Others outright immigrated to the Crusader states from Europe, seeking to find a new life in the

Levant. Oftentimes, those who came into the Crusader states were pilgrims seeking to venerate some of the most holy sites of the major monotheistic religions before returning to their homelands.

The three men who form the focus of this thesis' research – John of Würzburg, Theoderich, and Ibn Jubayr – were all pilgrims traveling through this part of the world in the late twelfth century. Both John and Theoderich were visiting Jerusalem and various sites throughout the Holy Land from their native Germany, while Ibn Jubayr entered the region to board a boat back to his native country of Spain after having made his pilgrimage to Mecca. Their journeys through the Levant spawned accounts of their travels that were copied and spread across Europe for centuries, forming a critical basis for the scholarship of the Crusades.

Arising first in the fourth century, pilgrim guides have proved to be invaluable sources of material for histories of the Christian world, particularly the accounts made by those who sought to make the ultimate pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This tradition can be dated back to the anonymous Bordeaux pilgrim, who traveled from his native France to the Levant between 333 and 334, mere decades after the Edict of Milan had formally legalized Christianity within the Roman Empire. Pilgrim guides served a variety of needs, depending on the intentions of the writer and the background of the reader. They could function as literal guides for those who intended to make a pilgrimage, describing how to reach holy sites while offering the religious context of these attractions, or they could act as a “spiritual pilgrimage” for those readers who were unable to make the physical journey to these Holy Places.¹ A number of pilgrim guides were composed during the nearly two centuries of Crusader rule within the Levant, with accounts written by

¹ John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and W.F. Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., vol. 167 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), 2.

Christians from England, Russia, Iceland, and continental Europe who all came to visit the land of Christ. The Crusader pilgrim guides saw a shift from previous iterations, which viewed the Holy Land as a collection of “various sacred spaces, which float as distinct ethereal entities in some abstract proximity to one another,” to depictions of a landscape where there were “both sacred and profane spaces existing adjacent to and interconnected with one another,” allowing historians to glean even more information about the society and more secular elements of the Holy Land under Latin rule.² Two of these accounts from the first century of Crusader occupation, John of Würzburg’s *Description of the Holy Land* and Theoderich’s *Guide to the Holy Land*, each contribute especially valuable information pertaining to the colonial society of the Crusader states.

John of Würzburg was a priest within the German town of Würzburg who visited the Holy Land in the latter half of the twelfth century, later writing an account of his journey soon after 1200. In the preface to his 1890 English translation of the text, Aubrey Stewart places John’s pilgrimage sometime between 1160 and 1170, based on his depiction of a Crusader-occupied Jerusalem and the description of Church of the Holy Sepulchre corresponding with its state just prior to its restoration.³ John Wilkinson et al. place John’s pilgrimage at about 1170, based on a “conjectural date” for the rebuilding of the church at Gethsemane in Jerusalem, described by John in the text.⁴

The origins of Theoderich are less clear than John of Würzburg’s. Stewart – who translated Theoderich’s pilgrim guide in 1897 – suggests that Theoderich was a Rhinelander who

² Basit Hammad Qureshi, “A Hierophany Emergent: The Discursive Reconquest of the Urban Landscape of Jerusalem in Latin Pilgrimage Accounts from the Twelfth Century,” *The Historian* 76, no. 4 (2014): 731.

³ Aubrey Stewart, preface to *Description of the Holy Land*, by John of Würzburg, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society, 1890), x.

⁴ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 21.

served as the Bishop of Würzburg “for one year, two months, and fourteen days” between 1223 and 1224.⁵ However, it has been proposed that instead of serving as the Bishop of Würzburg, Theoderich might have been a monk at the Hirsau Abbey – roughly 150 kilometers southwest of Würzburg – based on interpretations of the guide’s original Latin text and an abbreviation of his native city.⁶ As for the date of his pilgrimage, Stewart believes it took place sometime between 1171 and 1173, since King Amalrich (r. 1162-73) was not included in Theoderich’s description of the Tomb of the Kings in Jerusalem, and the town of Paneas was described as being lost by the Crusaders, which occurred in 1171.⁷ Wilkinson et al. calculate a broader timescale of 1169-74, based on the appearance of the Belvoir castle (the Hospitallers were granted the land in 1168 to build the fortification) and a reference to Nur al-Din (d. 1174) as an enemy in the present tense, while Ronald Musto finds a date around 1172 to be the most likely.⁸

It appears that there may have been some sort of connection between John of Würzburg and Theoderich, either on a personal or a purely textual level. In his Dedicatory Epistle, John “wishes health and a sight of the heavenly Jerusalem to his beloved friend and follower Dietrich,” a name which scholars have long interpreted as a possible synonym for Theoderich.⁹ Regardless of whether the two actually knew one another, Theoderich was very much aware of John of Würzburg’s account, quoting and paraphrasing sections of its text throughout his own work, a practice typical of medieval pilgrim guide writing.

⁵ Stewart, preface to *Description of the Holy Land*, ix-x; Aubrey Stewart, preface to the first edition of *Guide to the Holy Land*, by Theoderich, trans. Aubrey Stewart, 2nd ed. (New York: Italica Press Inc., 1986), xi.

⁶ Ronald G. Musto, introduction to *Guide to the Holy Land*, xxii.

⁷ Stewart, preface to the first edition of *Guide to the Holy Land*, xiv-xvi.

⁸ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 22; Musto, introduction to *Guide to the Holy Land*, xxi.

⁹ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 1.

Many sections of John's text utilized by Theoderich actually originated in what Wilkinson et al. identify as *The Work on Geography*,¹⁰ an anonymous piece of literature composed sometime between 1128 and 1137, which has since been lost. This guide, which would have drawn extensively on Saint Jerome's fourth-century *Liber locorum*, was a survey of the Holy Places found within the Levant. John utilized passages from the work that described parts of the Holy Land he was unable to visit, in an effort to provide the most comprehensive pilgrim guide for his audience. Since Theoderich only quotes sections of *The Work on Geography* that appear within John of Würzburg's account, it can be determined that Theoderich must have used John's *Description of the Holy Land* while writing his own work, without access to *The Work on Geography*.¹¹

Similar to *Guide to the Holy Land* and *Description of the Holy Land*, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*¹² was published after the Valencian author completed a religious pilgrimage, traveling from his native Spain to Mecca. Born in 1145, Abu 'l-Husayn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Jubayr rose through the bureaucratic ranks, becoming the secretary to the Governor of Granada by 1182. The inspiration to commence his first Hajj was supposedly born out of an episode with the Governor, where he was pressured to drink seven cups of wine; a drink forbidden under Islamic law. The Governor immediately regretted his command and as an apology, he was said to have filled Ibn Jubayr's wine cup with gold dinars seven times. After this incident, Ibn Jubayr decided to conduct the Hajj not only to fulfill his obligation as a Muslim, but also as an attempt

¹⁰ Previous scholarship had noted the similarities between John of Würzburg and Theoderich's text long before this identification by Wilkinson et al., with Stewart referring to "a brief geographical and historical account of the Holy Land and its neighbourhood which was then much in men's hands and which will here for the sake of shortness be called 'the old compendium.'" See Stewart, preface to the first edition of *Guide to the Holy Land*, xi-xii.

¹¹ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 12-15, 21.

¹² The original title of Ibn Jubayr's work was *Tadhkira bi'l-Akhbar 'an Ittifaqat al-Asfar*, which translates as "An Account of the Events that Befell upon Certain Journeys." See Ian Richard Netton, *Seek Knowledge: Thought and Travel in the House of Islam* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), 96.

to seek forgiveness from Allah for his actions. He began his excursion on February 3, 1183, boarding a Genoese ship bound for Egypt. Via camel and boat, Ibn Jubayr would travel to the Red Sea and cross it to reach Arabia, where he reached his destinations of Mecca and Medina. For his return trip, he travelled with a caravan to Baghdad, crossing through Iraq into northern Syria, arriving in Damascus. From there, he made his way into the Crusader states, eventually departing from the Latin-held city of Acre in a boat bound for Spain. The ship wrecked off the shores of Sicily, where the island's king, William II, took him into his court for three months before Ibn Jubayr departed, arriving in his homeland on April 25, 1185. Ibn Jubayr would make another eastward voyage between 1189 and 1191, but passed away during his final expedition, in the city of Alexandria on November 29, 1217.¹³

Ibn Jubayr's account of his first two-year pilgrimage is viewed as the prototype of the *rihla* genre of Islamic literature, a form of writing based on the experiences of Muslim travelers. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* was compiled from the journals that he maintained throughout his journey, causing Ian Netton to remark that the man "must have been a frequent, careful and punctilious diarist."¹⁴ Ibn Jubayr's notes were edited by one of his pupils and published soon after his return to Spain, retaining the structure of its source material in the form of a narrative firmly divided by the Islamic months of the year.¹⁵ This is in contrast to the Christian pilgrim guides of John of Würzburg and Theoderich, where the accounts were separated into a sizable number of small sections, each pertaining to either one site of veneration or a number of Holy

¹³ Roland Broadhurst, introduction to *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, by Ibn Jubayr (1952; repr. New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2013), 15-9; Methal R. Mohammed-Marzouk, "Knowledge, Culture, and Positionality: Analysis of Three Medieval Muslim Travel Accounts," *Cross-Cultural Communication* 8, no. 6 (2012): 6; Netton, *Seek Knowledge*, 95-100.

¹⁴ Netton, *Seek Knowledge*, 127-30.

¹⁵ William Wright, preface to *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, by Ibn Jubayr, rev. ed. (1907; repr., Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2007), 13-20; Netton, *Seek Knowledge*, 127-30.

Places close to one other. The different approaches are indicative of how the three pilgrims wished to present their final product. The two Christians were writing a guide that would serve as a detailed account of the Holy Land and its Holy Places that a reader could then attempt to either physically or mentally visit. In contrast, Ibn Jubayr's account spans the course of over two years and multiple continents, with the intention of being a piece of literature rather than a utilitarian tool for those wishing to experience a similar pilgrimage.

All three of these men were merely travelers to the Crusader states in the late twelfth century, casting a passing glance at the new cosmopolitan society being created in the Levant. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, County of Tripoli, and Principality of Antioch consisted of a wide variety of individuals: Syrian Christians and Muslims native to the land, European Crusaders from a number of nations all across the continent, and a variety of other non-indigenous minorities like the Maghrebis. The Latin East saw a unique concentration of social interaction across nationalities and ethnicities, as groups from different backgrounds attempted to settle within newly established states operated by those whose "homeland" was thousands of miles away. These three men witnessed this world first-hand, and through their accounts historians have been able to piece together elements of Crusader society in conjunction with other sources such as (but not limited to) Christian and Muslim chronicles by William of Tyre and Ali ibn al-Athir, letters to and from the Crusader states, legal tracts from the Latin administration, archeological work in the Holy Land, and a diverse selection of other sources.

The first chapter of this thesis examines the observations of these three authors – with special attention paid to John of Würzburg and Theoderich – on places of worship, as the Crusaders attempted to "restore" their specific brand of Latin Catholicism to the Holy Places of the Levant and thereby cement the legitimacy of their rulership. During this campaign, the Latins

appropriated buildings and traditions directly from their former owners, both Christian and Muslim, and would create their own novel venerations fit to match their own expectations of how the land of Christ should be treated. The second chapter analyzes the society of the Crusader states in the late-twelfth century, using anecdotes and social encounters from all three pilgrim-writers to portray a Latin administration seeking to create a multiethnic society that could integrate a wide variety of nationalities underneath Crusader rule, particularly in relation to its Latin Christian and Muslim communities. The accounts reveal critical issues in the Crusader states, where interconnected problems such as external pressures, the lack of a colonizing population, and dependence on other entities foretold the imminent collapse of the Crusader states. All three of these pilgrim-writers are well known within Crusader scholarship, with modern historians having studied their accounts since the nineteenth century, and the conclusion of this paper will address the historiographical significance of its findings. From all of this, a picture of the Crusader states can be gleaned: a view of this colony established by outsiders from the vantage-point of three individuals who were themselves outsiders to the Levantine world.

Chapter 1: The Perception of the Holy Land

Upon the arrival of the Crusaders, Latins strove to understand the holy topography of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, which had been under the rule and care of Byzantines, Eastern Christians, and Muslims for centuries beforehand. The Crusaders instituted a policy of restoring Christianity – specifically their own Latin Catholicism – to the region, which involved the appropriation of both Muslim and Christian religious sites, turning them into Latin Christian places of worship. While reestablishing what they believed to be the “true” biblical history of the Holy Land, the Crusaders could misidentify or mangle the provenances of Holy Places and religious buildings, and the Latins could disagree amongst themselves over the exact nature of these venerations. In all of these respects, the most prominent example of Crusader appropriation emerges in their treatment of the Dome of the Rock.

John of Würzburg encountered this structure not too long after his arrival in the Holy Land, having landed in Acre and continued on through well-established pilgrim routes to reach Jerusalem. Like many other Crusader pilgrims, he misidentified the structure as the Jewish Temple, which also once stood on the Temple Mount. This trend among Christians dates back to the time of Abbasid rule in Jerusalem, when Christians were banned from entering the Temple Mount. The Dome of the Rock and the nearby Al-Aqsa Mosque were respectively considered to be the Jewish Temple and Solomon’s Palace.¹⁶ The former was venerated as a Christian house of worship known as the Temple of the Lord, or *Templum Domini*, and was officially dedicated in 1141.¹⁷

¹⁶ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 28-38.

¹⁷ Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098-1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 249.

John perceives the Dome of the Rock as the Third Temple, a restoration of the Temple destroyed by the Romans during the first century CE, referring to the structure in the twelfth century as “this present Bethel,” but also remarking that “it is not known exactly in what king's reign it was restored.” John lists a number of possibilities that had been suggested by other individuals: Helena (the mother of Emperor Constantine), Emperor Heraclius, and Emperor Justinian were all Byzantines from centuries before John’s lifetime who were rumored to be the founder of the *Templum Domini*. The fourth patron that John of Würzburg lists was “some Emperor of Memphis in Egypt,” presumably a reference to the Fatimid caliph or one of the caliphate’s predecessors there.¹⁸ This theory of the building being a Muslim construction appears to have been held by at least some of the Crusaders and potentially all of the Greeks in twelfth-century Jerusalem.¹⁹ John’s language here is particularly interesting, as he notes how this leader would have constructed the Temple “in honour of *Allah Kebir*, that is, ‘God most high,’ because to Him all languages join in rendering their devout service.”²⁰ In his article detailing shared veneration of Holy Places by Christian and Muslims during the Crusades, Andrew Jotischky states that this line from John of Würzburg demonstrates that “he recognises some spiritual affinity between Muslim and Christian worship of a single, omnipotent God.”²¹ This is a surprising admission on the part of John, given the tendency of his contemporaries to regard the words “Muslim” and “pagan” as synonyms.²² This type of statement indicates a slightly more

¹⁸ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 10-11.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 41-3.

²⁰ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 11.

²¹ Andrew Jotischky, “Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Crusader States,” in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, eds. Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 246.

²² John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 105-6.

nuanced approach employed by some Latins to understanding the Muslim population and their practices in the Crusader states.

As was the case for John of Würzburg, the Dome of the Rock plays a significant role in Theoderich's *Guide to the Holy Land* and the misidentifications in John's work appear here once again. Like his fellow pilgrim, Theoderich attempts to identify who exactly commissioned the construction of the Templum Domini. He offers a brief history of Solomon's Temple and its reconstructions, starting with the original building, which he notes was "not in a round form as we see it today, but oblong," a realization that most learned Christians pilgrims were able to identify from the Bible's descriptions of the Temple.²³ He then moves on to the Second Temple reconstructed by the Jewish people under the rule of Cyrus the Great. Theoderich sees the crackdown by the Syrian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes as the destruction of the Second Temple, which was then "rebuilt and restored" by Judah Maccabeus, marking the Third Temple. Then Herod "razed this Temple to the ground and built another greater one of more elaborate skill," marking its fourth construction, which was later obliterated by the Romans during the Siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE.²⁴

Theoderich sees the current Templum Domini as the fifth restoration of the Temple, "built by the Empress Helena and her son the Emperor Constantine in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy mother."²⁵ Theoderich's conclusion on the building's origins do provide a larger historical context for the Temple than John of Würzburg, although what Theoderich construes as the third and fourth reconstructions of the Temple are typically viewed as still being

²³ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 29; Pamela Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple: The Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 78-9.

²⁴ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 29.

²⁵ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 29.

within the realm of the Second Temple. His ultimate conclusion is also far more assured than John, who had provided a number of rulers only rumored to have rebuilt the Temple. Theoderich places the patronage squarely on Helena and Constantine, putting its construction along the same early fourth-century timeline as other buildings attributed to the two Byzantine leaders in the Levant, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – whose location was said to have been discovered during Helena’s pilgrimage – and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. With this context, the Templum Domini can be seen as a church that was transformed into a mosque by the Muslims after their conquest of Jerusalem, then restored to its original Christian status with the arrival of the Crusaders in 1099. This historical backdrop further accentuates the line of thought that placed the Crusaders as the liberators of Jerusalem from Muslim oppression and highlights a Christian heritage to a reconstruction of the Temple.

Perhaps part of the reason why Theoderich and other Latins were so assured that the Dome of the Rock was indeed a Christian church was because of its most prominent and titular feature: the dome. When describing the nearby Palace of Solomon, Theoderich said the building was “supported by columns within like a church” and that a section of the building was “covered by a great round dome, so that, as I have said, it resembles a church.”²⁶ The architects and builders of the Dome of the Rock were quite influenced by Byzantine architecture, which often utilized domes in its churches. The Dome of the Rock’s titular feature even has a diameter which almost exactly corresponds with the dome featured in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The purpose and layout of the structure also bear a strong resemblance to the fifth-century Church of the Kathisma. Located between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the building was an octagonal church that featured a sacred rock in its central space, where it was said that Mary had rested after

²⁶ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 30.

feeling the birth pangs associated with Christ on her way into Bethlehem. As for its connections to the Jewish Temple, it is not known with absolute certainty if the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik was explicitly attempting to build a structure associated with the Temple during the Dome of the Rock’s construction. However, accounts from a variety of Jewish and Muslim historians after its creation seem to indicate that there was an awareness of the site’s history, and that the Dome of the Rock could have been built as a successor – thought not a reconstruction – of the Jewish Temple.²⁷

The Dome of the Rock had been built to surround the Foundation Stone, the location where Muhammad was said to have ascended to Heaven during the Mi’raj. Upon their arrival, the Crusaders created their own veneration surrounding the Stone, as John of Würzburg remarked that the Stone had “been trodden on and [bore] the mark of the Lord’s foot, when He alone by Divine strength withstood so many men and cast them forcibly out,” a reference to the Cleansing of the Temple.²⁸ Before the Crusaders, this footprint on the Foundation Stone had been identified by Muslims as that of Muhammad, from his last step on the earthly plane before mounting Buraq and beginning his journey to Heaven. Perween Hasan suggests that this original veneration could have been “the Muslim answer to the Christian relic” found at the nearby Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, where there are said to be footprints of Christ made by him before he began his own ascension to Heaven.²⁹ The Muslim traveler al-Harawi confirmed that the veneration at the Dome of the Rock had been given a new Christian context during his visit to the Holy Land in the 1180s, writing that “they put... over the place of the [Prophet’s] foot a small gilded dome with raised marble pillars and they said it was the place of

²⁷ Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple*, 35-53.

²⁸ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 13.

²⁹ Perween Hasan, “The Footprint of the Prophet,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 335.

the Messiah's foot."³⁰ The Christian ties to the footprint would not last long, as they were once again venerated as Muhammad's mark after Saladin retook Jerusalem in 1187.³¹

To have the Latins attribute a new meaning to a Muslim relic that itself was a response to an older Christian tradition is an especially interesting concept. The situation becomes even more jarring when it is considered that all of this is occurring within a structure built by the Umayyad caliphate but misidentified by the Latins as either a Greek or Fatimid recreation of an ancient Jewish temple. It speaks to the level of religious and political fluctuations in the Holy Land, as new religions and empires take control of the mythical aspects of the region and attempt to recreate it in their own distinct image. Appropriation and emulation were critical to interpretations of Jerusalem and the rest of the Holy Land, especially for the Crusaders, as they attempted to craft their own unique identity within a colonial structure.

During the building's tenure as the *Templum Domini*, the Latins installed a marble slab over the Foundation Stone and an iron gate to surround it. The marble was mounted sometime soon after the Augustinian canons were installed as guardians of the site in 1112, allowing for an altar to be placed there.³² The metalwork, in a French Romanesque style, was completed sometime between the church's official rededication in 1141 and c. 1150, when an anonymous Icelandic pilgrim noted its presence, causing Jaroslav Folda to credit the gate as "the earliest Crusader work mentioned in the *Templum Domini* by any of the pilgrim accounts."³³ After detailing the appearance of the grille in *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, Carole Hillenbrand "tentatively offers" a suggestion of deeper symbolism behind the appropriations and

³⁰ Quoted in Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple*, 80.

³¹ Martin S. Briggs, "The Architecture of Saladin and the Influence of the Crusades (A.D. 1171-1250)," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 38, no. 214 (Jan. 1921): 19.

³² Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple*, 79.

³³ Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusades*, 136-7, 249-51.

modifications made by the Latins to Islamic sites across the Crusader states, stating that “the Franks seem to have been interested in superimposing large public symbols of Christian domination on key Muslim monuments... rather than altering the basic fabric of the buildings.”³⁴ I would object to this line of argument, especially in relation to the Foundation Stone and additions such as the gate. While the Christians were aware that the site was being utilized and venerated by the Muslims, most of the twelfth-century Crusaders saw the Dome of the Rock as the Jewish Temple reconstructed by their fellow Christians (or at least some variant of this story). They were quite well aware that Muslims did not appreciate their presence within the Dome of the Rock, but they did not view any of their modifications to the site as a form of “Christian domination” over the Muslims, because they did not see the building as an inherently Muslim construction. The attempts on the part of the Crusaders to add Christian elements to the Dome of the Rock was more of a “Christian restoration,” as the Latin clergy aimed to return what they believed to have originally been a Christian church back to its roots.

The Christian appropriation of the Dome of the Rock extended beyond the individual veneration in the building, as the Crusaders added their own inscriptions to surround its interior and exterior in an attempt to clearly highlight the very nature of this place of worship. The entire circuit of the *Templum Domini*'s exterior was encircled with eight quotations from the Bible, done in a mosaic of Latin text that blessed the building as the “house of the Lord,” with one line for each side of its octagonal structure. The last of the quotations, “the house of the Lord is well built upon a firm rock,” (Matthew 7:25) can be seen as a reference to the Foundation Stone located within the *Templum Domini*. Both of the Christian pilgrim-writers noted the appearance of this text, although Theoderich's description appears to have been more precise than John's,

³⁴ Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 372.

which seems to have gotten some of the verses out of order. Biblical passages can also be found above the arches across the interior, including an excerpt from 1 Kings 8:28-9, Solomon's dedication of the First Temple: another example of the Latins further inserting the narrative of the Dome of the Rock as a reconstruction of the Temple.³⁵

Other locations on the Temple Mount offered venerations and connections between all three of the major monotheistic religions and saw the Crusaders attempt to categorize these Holy Places within their own version of Jerusalem. John of Würzburg noted, twenty-two paces from the Templum Domini, the former location of an altar where "Zacharias, the son of Barachias, suffered martyrdom, and upon this altar the Jews in the Old Testament used to offer turtle-doves and pigeons." He claims that Muslims later adapted it into a sundial, and how "many Saracens come to it to pray, as it points towards the south, the direction in which they pray."³⁶ John's observation here offers a different approach to the ideas of appropriation, showcasing Muslims engaging in their own transformations of the religious landscape of the Temple Mount that survived Christian occupation. This alteration is ultimately quite different from the changes made by the Crusaders to Holy Places such as the Dome of the Rock and its Foundation Stone, since their conception of the sundial lacks any sort of ties to religious history, and instead serves a more utilitarian purpose of telling time and direction.

During his description of the Templum Domini, Theoderich makes an observation regarding the Well of Souls that reveals the lengths to which the Crusaders went to justify the links between the Holy Places throughout Jerusalem. Theoderich describes a pool underneath the Temple, "from which it is said there is a subterranean connection with the Church of the Holy

³⁵ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 25-6.

³⁶ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 15.

Sepulchre, through which the holy fire that is miraculously lighted in that church on Easter Eve is said to be brought underground to the Temple of the Lord.”³⁷ It appears that Theoderich is referring to the Well of Souls here, the cavernous site of worship below the Foundation Stone. However, there is no physical connection between the two buildings. Theoderich here is proposing an inherit link between the two Christian structures of the Templum Domini and the tomb of Christ, when it is known that the two sites came from different religions and were built centuries apart from one another.

The rumored connection brings up the veneration of the Holy Fire, a miraculous event that occurs the night before Easter, when oil lamps surrounding the Holy Sepulchre are spontaneously lit. This Eastern Christian tradition dates back to the ninth century, while Jerusalem was still under Muslim rule, and was appropriated by the Latins after their arrival in 1099. One of the earliest pilgrim accounts after the Latin occupation, from Daniel the Abbot’s journey sometime between 1106 and 1108, details the arrival of the Holy Fire and how “the grace of God comes down unseen from heaven and lights the lamps in the Sepulchre of the Lord.”³⁸ Theoderich also bears witness to it on Easter Eve, as an audience of clergymen, lay persons, and secular leaders arrive at daybreak, “waiting with great and anxious expectation” for its arrival.³⁹ Jotischky notes that the audience was a critical part of the ceremony as individuals offered prayers to spur on the arrival of the Holy Fire, “participating in the ritual in order to affirm [the] miracle” of its appearance.⁴⁰ The time of its arrival was erratic, but the Holy Fire’s appearance would bring jubilation among the crowd and, apart from the Patriarch lighting his

³⁷ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 23.

³⁸ Daniel the Abbot, “The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land,” in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, trans. John Wilkinson, eds. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and W.F. Ryan, 166-70.

³⁹ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 14.

⁴⁰ Jotischky, “Pilgrimage, Procession, and Ritual Encounters,” 252.

candle with the Holy Fire, it was “customary to present it to the Temple of the Lord before anyone.”⁴¹ This latter part of the ceremony definitely would not have been performed before Crusader rule, as Christians were still banned from entering the Temple Mount. Regardless of whether there was a tunnel that physically linked the Holy Sepulchre and the Templum Domini, the Crusaders felt that there was some sort of spiritual connection between these two structures, and they were willing to appropriate and modify a centuries-old Eastern Christian tradition in order to further venerate their newly liberated church.

Theoderich’s descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre highlight not only the duality of Greek and Latin patronage throughout the structure, but also the many different sects of Christianity that also operated within the Church. Since the structure was originally built by Constantine and maintained by the Greek Orthodox Church, its roots are present throughout Theoderich’s descriptions, which mention how “the lower string course, which runs around the whole church, is covered with inscriptions in Greek letters.” But there are examples that Theoderich is able to identify where the two groups can be seen intertwined, such as a mosaic “above the arch of the sanctuary,” and on the “surface of the wall that lies between the middle and upper string courses,” which depicts the Annunciation, with the Christ-child, Mary, and Gabriel. The image was not an “ancient craft,” as Theoderich maintained, but likely a product of a mid-eleventh century restoration campaign by the Byzantines.⁴² This image also featured some text: “Hail Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee, blessed among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb.” Theoderich says that the “salutation is written in both Latin and in Greek around

⁴¹ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 15.

⁴² Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 12; Thomas Sherr Ross Boase, “Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria,” in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard, vol. 4 of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 117-8; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, 231.

the Lord Christ himself,” a coming-together for the two sects of Christianity represented through their languages.⁴³ While the presence of Greek text was certainly a normal element in Byzantine works of art, used to manage the relationship between the viewer and an icon, Latin text was virtually unheard of. The addition was likely made after the Crusader takeover of the Church, a part of the Latin Christian restoration process taking place all across the Holy Land, allowing Crusaders to engage with the icons of their predecessors in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Theoderich also discusses the Syrian altar utilized just outside the Choir of the Canons, an addition made by King Godfrey to the Church for Catholic ceremonies. After the Latin services came to an end, Theoderich remarked that “the Syrians usually sing their hymns either there outside the choir, or in one of the apses of the church; indeed, they have several small altars in the church, arranged and devoted to their own peculiar use.” The Syrians are not the only Eastern Christian denomination described in this way, as he notes the other sects that practice there – which include the Armenians, Jacobites, and Nubians – “all... differ from one another both in language and in their manner of conducting divine service.” In his descriptions of these other sects and their rituals, Theoderich does not seem to hold any negative bias against his fellow Christians. The strongest language he uses is describing the Syrian altar as being dedicated to their “own peculiar use,” which speaks more to a recognition of their services being different than his own Latin Catholic ceremonies rather than any sort of outright aversion.⁴⁴

As was the case with the history of who created the *Templum Domini*, there were disagreements amongst the Latins regarding some of the new venerations established under their rule, especially within the Temple of the Lord. One contested site of worship pertained to the

⁴³ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 12.

⁴⁴ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 14.

story of Jacob's Ladder. After noticing a painting nearby the Foundation Stone, accompanied by text that claimed Jacob had dreamt about his Ladder to Heaven while he laid his head upon the Stone ("The King of Kings, of virgin mother born,/Was here presented. This is holy ground./Here Jacob saw the ladder; here he built/His altar. Well may we hang gifts around"), John says that "with all respect to the Temple, this is not true... [it] did not take place here, but a long way off, as he was on his way to Mesopotamia—to wit, near the greater Mahumeria," a location that is known today as al-Bireh.⁴⁵ Theoderich seems to accept the narrative at the Templum Domini that Jacob rested at the Foundation Stone and dreamt of ascending to Heaven, as he relates the lines of texts associated with this veneration but does not offer the dissenting opinion that John gave.⁴⁶ John does seem to be correct here, as there is no connection between Jerusalem and the site of where Jacob rested.⁴⁷ This case of a mistaken identification not only demonstrates the desires of John of Würzburg and undoubtedly other Latin pilgrims to truthfully tell the story of the Bible in relation to the contemporary Holy Land, but a tendency for Latin leaders in the Levant to venerate more impressive sites over the more humble ones that held a real connection with the biblical story associated with them.

The anonymous Second Guide, a pilgrim account from around 1170, runs into a similar situation regarding the Sheep Pool in Jerusalem. The Pool was a small cistern under the Church of Saint Anne, which was said to have held the Wood of the Cross and still retained healing powers in its waters. In this case, the pilgrim describes the real Sheep Pool, but notes how "the Templars show you another pool, and say that is the Sheep Pool." This other cistern was the Birket Israil, a larger and more impressive example, which the Templars would have found to be

⁴⁵ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 14.

⁴⁶ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 26-7.

⁴⁷ See n. 32 in Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, 253.

far better fit for the story that surrounds the Sheep Pool.⁴⁸ Through adding yet another connection to the Old Testament in the Templum Domini in the form of Jacob's Ladder, or choosing a more grandiose location for the Sheep Pool, the Latins sought to bolster their own mythical perception of Jerusalem in their attempts to make the twelfth-century reality just as massive and awe-inspiring as the visions in their imaginations. When the opportunity presented itself, adjustments could be made to the environment to meet the myth.

Different interpretations of sites also emerged between the two Christian pilgrim-writers, as shown by their reactions and observations to the cross on top of the Templum Domini, one of the most overt symbols of Christian appropriation that cemented the building as a church for their faith. Based on the Muslim traveler Muhammad al-Idrisi not witnessing the cross during his visit to the Templum Domini in 1154, and both John of Würzburg and Theoderich noting its appearance, Folda dates the placement of the cross between 1154 and 1170.⁴⁹ Theoderich simply described the cross on top of the church's dome, where he saw "a great ball with a gilded cross above it," without any extra commentary on the cross.⁵⁰ John of Würzburg takes a more detailed approach, observing how this addition to a Holy Place of Islam was naturally met with ire by the Muslims of Jerusalem, noting that its placement was "very offensive to the Saracens, and many of them would be willing to expend much gold to have it taken away." With a hint of amazement, he recounts how the Muslims continued to venerate the Dome of the Rock; even though they "do not believe in Christ's Passion, nevertheless they respect this Temple, because they adore their creator therein." John may have still had some of the details wrong, because

⁴⁸ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 21 and 74-5; "Second Guide," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, trans. John Wilkinson, eds. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and W.F. Ryan, 240.

⁴⁹ Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, 251.

⁵⁰ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 25.

these Muslims would have known that the Dome of the Rock was a creation of their own people and certainly not a Greek reconstruction of the Jewish Temple, but his recognition of their respect for the structure regardless of its consecration as a Christian church is a powerful statement regarding the resilient character of the Muslims during these years of occupation. John illustrates at least some understanding of this group that goes beyond the stark hatred that categorizes other accounts of Muslims by his contemporaries from Europe, who had a tendency to regard the Saracens as an evil pagan foil for all of Christendom to face, to the point where even pagans from antiquity were referred to as Saracens. This association of paganism and Islam would last from the twelfth century well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, maintained by Christians who had not developed a direct relationship with Muslim lands.⁵¹ John is not a wholly tolerant man by any means; immediately after acknowledging their continued respect for the Dome of the Rock, John declares that Islam “must be regarded as idolatry on the authority of Saint Augustine, who declares that everything is idolatry which is done without faith in Christ.”⁵² But the image fostered by John in his account of Muslim interactions at the Temple Mount shows an attempt on his part to at least appreciate these Saracens as a religious people transcending the pagan stereotype.

At the other end of the spectrum of these pilgrim-writers is Ibn Jubayr, who primarily concerned himself with the mosques and Holy Places of Islam when he went into detail regarding the religious perception of the Holy Land. During his time in Acre and Tyre, Ibn Jubayr dealt with the presence of mosques within these cities, oftentimes in relation to how these structures had been modified by the Crusaders. While in Acre, he noted that virtually all

⁵¹ Tolan, *Saracens*, 105-6, 126-134.

⁵² John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 18.

mosques from before the Latin occupation were fully converted to churches, apart from a single structure, where he remarked that “God kept undefiled one part of the principal mosque, which remained in the hands of the Muslims as a small mosque where strangers could congregate to offer the obligatory prayers.” The other city that Ibn Jubayr visited, Tyre, kept multiple Islamic houses of worship under Muslim control, as he described a visit to “one of the mosques that remained in Muslim hands.” As was the case with the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and a whole hosts of other mosques throughout the Levant, Crusaders would convert these places of worship to Christian churches and monasteries. Ibn Jubayr describes the situation in Acre as “mosques became churches and minarets bell-towers.”⁵³

In these cases, the sanctity of the building was preserved, and typically very little was done in terms of major architectural work on the structures in the conversion process from an Islamic to a Christian setting. Decorations from the Muslims were even occasionally left in these sites, as was the case of the Green Mosque in Ascalon, which was converted to the Church of the Virgin Mary in the mid-twelfth century. In the ceiling of the building, there was an inscription from the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir from 1035. During his visit to the church in the 1180s, al-Harawi wrote that the “whole inscription, the gold mosaic foliages as well as the Qur’anic verses and the caliphs’ names above the door have been left intact by the Franks.”⁵⁴ Some Islamic elements were also retained within the *Templum Domini*; John of Würzburg mentions a door on the northern side known as the *Bab el-Jenneh* (Gate of Paradise), where “upon the lintel whereof many Saracen letters are inscribed.”⁵⁵

⁵³ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Roland Broadhurst, 318-21.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 362, 371-2; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 63-4.

⁵⁵ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 16

The issue of the Holy Places of Islam within the Crusader states was in the minds of many Muslim travelers and pilgrims during this time, including Ibn Jubayr. As noted by al-Harawi, many cemeteries and burial sites of holy men went into disrepair during this time or were even forgotten by the local populations, the result of demoralization, a lack of resources to maintain them, and a dearth in education about these locations among the lower-class Muslims who remained in the Crusader states, unable to flee like the wealthy.⁵⁶ Other sites like those on the Temple Mount banned Muslims from entering, with the exception of those who were able to foster good relations amongst the Latins like Usama ibn Munqidh, who was permitted to worship within the al-Aqsa Mosque.⁵⁷ But a variety of holy sites were still available for Muslims to worship at, thanks to a co-veneration they might share with Christians. Jotischky names a number of Holy Places both within and outside of Jerusalem that Muslims would visit: the Tombs of the Patriarch in Hebron, the Fountain of the Virgin, the site of the Burning Bush, and John the Baptist's birthplace, among many others.⁵⁸ Ibn Jubayr encounters one such site while in Acre called the *'Ayn al-Baqar*, or Spring of the Cattle, where it was said that God provided cattle for Adam. The spring is located beneath a former mosque that was converted into a church, where the *mihrab* of its former self was preserved, and both Christians and Muslims prayed at this location. Ibn Jubayr thanks God after detailing the situation there, writing that "in the hands of the Christians its venerableness is maintained, and God has preserved in it a place of prayer for the Muslims."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 361-2.

⁵⁷ Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. and ed. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2008), 147.

⁵⁸ Andrew Jotischky, "Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters," 247-9.

⁵⁹ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 318-9.

The Crusader campaign of attempting a “Christian restoration” of the Holy Land was a critical piece of their broader initiative to assert their place as both the religious and secular leaders of their territory. While the Crusader states were certainly not a theocracy, the Latin ecclesiastical leadership used its power to appropriate places of worships from the Muslims, Greek Orthodox Church, and the assorted Syrian Christian sects to fit the needs of the Latin Christians. The Crusaders were not always in perfect harmony regarding this operation, as disagreements emerged over specific veneration and histories. But the power of these appropriations were undeniable, as the Crusaders attempted to form a deep connection to the Jerusalem of Christ’s time through the buildings of the present day.

Chapter 2: The Society of the Holy Land

During their time in the Crusader states, the three pilgrim-writers encountered a diverse population, as a variety of European nationalities attempted to forge a society amongst themselves and the equally (if not more) diverse indigenous population of Christians and Muslims. They observed the European-dominated administration attempting to function with hostile neighbors, a minuscule Latin population, and a dependency on foreign entities that resulted in an incredibly unstable situation preceding the fall of Latin Jerusalem in 1187. The stark – sometimes downright grim – realities of the Latin East can be found in their work, as they both consciously and unintentionally critique Crusader society.

As Ibn Jubayr's caravan traversed the Crusader states to its destination of Acre, it encountered the agrarian culture within the rural areas of the Crusader states. Ibn Jubayr witnessed "continuous farms and ordered settlements, whose inhabitants were all Muslims, living comfortably with the Franks," where the Saracen farmers "surrender half their crops to the Franks at harvest time, and [they] pay as well a poll-tax of one dinar and five qirat for each person." Other than "a light tax on the fruits of trees," they experienced no other forms of taxation or economic interference by the Latin administration. Ibn Jubayr also remarks that the Muslims retained full ownership of their possessions and homes, and that "all the coastal cities occupied by the Franks are managed in this fashion, their rural districts, the villages and farms, belonging to the Muslims."⁶⁰

While some of Ibn Jubayr's comments here can be sources of invaluable information, it also illustrates the need to cross-check details gathered from individuals like him with concrete

⁶⁰ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 316.

facts from other sources. Ibn Jubayr would have only witnessed a small portion of Crusader society on the coast of the Levant for just over a month, much of that time being spent in the cities. The details he provides to the reader must be taken as what they are: a glance at the coastal Crusader society, and not an all-encompassing depiction of the entire Crusader states. This limited perspective is most apparent in his claim that agricultural society depended entirely of Muslim labor. While it has been a common thread in Crusader scholarship to maintain that virtually all of the Latin population stayed within the comfort of the metropolitan centers and left the tending of fields to the indigenous Muslims, recent evidence has found that this might not have necessarily been the case. Between 1985 and 1991, Ronnie Ellenblum was able to identify over two hundred rural sites settled by Latins from all across the Crusader states. They commonly fell into two categorizations, similar to that of their contemporaries in Europe: “*rural burgi* attached to fortified castles and *maisons fortes*, located in remote areas and organized around the manor for agricultural exploitation, including pathways to the fields and extensive irrigation.”⁶¹ In these feudal conditions, the indigenous Muslims would also not have maintained the full property rights that Ibn Jubayr claims they held, although they may have still held a semi-autonomous relationship amongst their own people and their subculture in the Crusader states. While Ibn Jubayr certainly might have witnessed exclusively Muslim farming communities during his time between Crusader cities, it is important to note that his observations should not be taken as representative of the entire Latin society in the Near East.

⁶¹ Paul L. Sidelko, “Muslim Taxation under Crusader Rule,” in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 73; Ronnie Ellenblum, “Settlement and Society formation in Crusader Palestine,” in *The Archeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. Levy (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 503-11.

That being said, the details on the native Muslim farming communities found here can be particularly useful for studying the agricultural world of the Crusader states. Ibn Jubayr says that the Muslims in these settlements handed over half their harvest to their landlords as a form of rent, and also paid both a poll-tax and a small tax on fruit. Paul L. Sidelko argues that such fees were not remnants of the *kharaj*, *jizya*, *zakat*, or *'ushr* taxation policies of the Muslims in the pre-Crusader Levant, another assumption often found within Crusader scholarship.⁶² Paying a feudal lord a percentage of the crop's yield was not uncommon in Europe; one form known as *terrage* had been used in France since at least 869, where rates could run between one-seventh to one-third of the harvest (although the majority of payments ran around one-fourth). The *facherie* in the Provence region of France saw anywhere between one-quarter to one-half the crops going back to the landlord. For the German *métayage*, which unlike the *terrage* or *facherie* systems saw the lord offer a partial or full investment in the materials for farming the land, a peasant could pay up to half for a vineyard or cereal crop's yield. The poll-tax in the Crusader states appears to have applied to all non-Christians and effectively substituted the tithes that would otherwise be paid by Christians to their local church.⁶³ Finally, the small fruit taxation would appear to be another form of toll found within European feudalism. From this, it appears that the forms of taxation and rent gathered from the Muslim farmers encountered by Ibn Jubayr were not peculiar to the subjugated population, given that Christians in Europe were being charged similar fees and crop yields. Nor were they true adaptations of the tax policy of the previous Muslim administration, because their origins appear to be more firmly rooted in decentralized

⁶² The *kharaj* was taken as a land tax paid to the state, the *jizya* acted as a head tax on all able-bodied Muslim men, and the *zakat* saw ten percent of the value of a Muslim's property yearly given over to the state's treasury for distribution to the needy (the *'ushr* was a secular land tax, enacted if evasion of the *jizya* was rampant). See Sidelko, "Muslim Taxation under Crusader Rule," 67-71.

⁶³ Sidelko, "Muslim Taxation under Crusader Rule," 67-71.

European feudalism that benefited a landlord, rather than imperial Islamic caliphates and their bureaucracies.

With his caravan just miles away from Acre, Ibn Jubayr came across a peculiar situation involving Latin-Muslim relations. His party had reached a farmstead, where “its headman [was] a Muslim, appointed by the Franks to oversee the Muslim workers in it.” They stayed there for the night, within a large room in his home, where he served them with gracious hospitality before the caravan left for Acre the next morning. Having individuals left in charge of the peasantry was not unheard of by any means in Europe. This was especially true in the Crusader states, where feudal lords would often choose to live within a more secure and cultured city rather than reside on their own lands in the isolated countryside. But to have a Muslim in charge of a group of his fellow men just miles from the key Crusader port and economic center of Acre indicates some reliance on Muslim supervisors. Muslim participation within the Crusader administration was virtually unheard of after the first decade of the twelfth-century, and those working within any trade were largely looked down upon by the Latins (with some limited exceptions for medical doctors, who were often far better trained than their European counterparts).⁶⁴ The relationship in this situation could be one of necessity, where the lord needed an individual who could lead in his absence and speak the language of his workers, regardless of the relative proximity that this semi-autonomous group had to a Crusader city. Or a more trusting, personal relationship could have developed. It is impossible to say which of these could have been the situation in this specific case, and to apply this example as a universal fact of Crusader feudalism could make for inaccurate history, but it certainly seems possible that these relationships might have been even

⁶⁴ Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant,” in *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 156-60.

more common in the more isolated farming communities, far from metropolitan centers of the Levant.

Ibn Jubayr's opinion of this economic situation between the native Muslims and the foreign Latins is not very positive, as one might expect. He believes that these indigenous Saracens' "hearts have been seduced, for they observe how unlike them in ease and comfort are their brethren in the Muslim regions under their (Muslim) governors." Ibn Jubayr bemoans how the Islamic community under Muslim rule complains of "the injustice of a landlord of its own faith, and applauds the conduct of its opponent and enemy, the Frankish landlord, and is accustomed to justice from him."⁶⁵ Ibn Jubayr sees the conditions of the subjugated Muslims as fairly comfortable, fostering a docility that he finds contemptible, but it shows the policies of the Crusader rulers generally working to their advantage. The Muslims under their jurisdiction were not heavily taxed and were largely left to themselves as a social group in the rural areas. They were surely second-class citizens, facing discrimination throughout Crusader society, but their standard of living was fairly comparable to that of lower-class Muslims across the Islamic world. Perhaps Ibn Jubayr saw this Muslim complacency under Crusader rule as a threat to the clear dichotomy in the Islamic perception of the world between the *Dar al-Islam* and *Dar al-Harb*, causing this hostile response.

One of the agricultural sites that Ibn Jubayr encountered saw Latins and Muslims working in the same fields, just outside of the zone of Crusader occupation in Belinas. There Ibn Jubayr witnessed a number of farms and settlements, noting that "the cultivation of the vale is divided between the Franks and the Muslims, and in it there is a boundary known as 'The

⁶⁵ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 316-7.

Boundary of Dividing'. They apportion the crops equally, and their animals are mingled together, yet no wrong takes place between them because of it." The situation at Belinas, which Ibn Jubayr seems to be almost perplexed by, is the result of the town existing in the borderlands between the Crusader states and Muslim lands, and having experienced a fair amount of turmoil in the latter half of the twelfth century. After having been in Latin hands since the First Crusade, the town proper was taken in 1165 by forces under Nur al-Din, along with a Frankish fortress located a few miles away, Château Neuf. By 1178, the castle was retaken by the Crusaders, as observed by Ibn Jubayr, but Belinas remained under Muslim control. Just three years after Ibn Jubayr's visit in 1184, the fortress would be retaken by Saladin, followed by the fall of Jerusalem a few months later.⁶⁶ Belinas was in a state of political flux over these two decades, but it seems that population's demography was not much affected by the changes in ownership. The two ethnic groups tend to the Muslim-held land, suggesting that the Latins were not necessarily always expelled after a Saracen occupation in the countryside. While the two sides might not be actively working with one another, they do appear to divide the lands between themselves fairly and do not let matters like livestock grazing – an affair that can be difficult to manage – lead to conflict.

One of the most interesting passages from the three pilgrim-writers regarding Latin-Muslim interaction in the rural parts of the Crusader states comes from Theoderich's personal experience. While traveling from Mahumeria to Nablus, Theoderich had one of his very few direct contacts with Muslim individuals:

As we passed along this road we were met by a multitude of Saracens, who were proceeding with bullocks and asses to plough up a great and beautiful plain, and who, by

⁶⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 315; Briggs, "The Architecture of Saladin and the Influence of the Crusades," 18; "Hunin Fortress: Preliminary plan for conservation and development," Israel Antiques Authority, accessed March 14, 2015, http://www.iaa-conservation.org.il/Projects_Item_eng.asp?site_id=50&subject_id=8.

the hideous yells that they thundered out, as they usually do whenever they set about any work, struck no small terror into us. Indeed, numbers of infidels dwell there throughout the country, as well in the cities and castles as in the villages, and they till the earth under the safe conduct of the king of Jerusalem or that of the Templars or the Hospitallers.⁶⁷

Theoderich's tone in reference to this group of Saracens makes it clear that he does not care for them very much. He sees them as disruptors of an idealistic view; a rude interruption.

Theoderich envisions this single, beautiful piece of land as a part of the Holy Land, one of the most hallowed and pristine regions on Earth. This is a place that he and countless other pilgrims trekked thousands of miles to reach. Their ancestors had launched the initial Crusade that freed the Holy Land from the grips of Muslim oppression, with many martyring themselves in the process. Crusaders were still dying at this time, whether they were fighting Muslim advances on their territories or simply passing away during the expedition, like Theoderich's companion Adolf, a pilgrim from Cologne was buried in a graveyard set aside for pilgrims on Palm Sunday, just outside the Church of St. Mary in Jerusalem.⁶⁸ Every Latin involved in the Levant had to make major emotional, monetary, and life-threatening sacrifices in order to journey to the Holy Land. And now, Theoderich watches as the sacred land itself is penetrated, ploughed, and disturbed by Muslims for their own purposes. On top of this, farming is a routine task, done by simple workers with basic livestock. The Holy Land is supposed to transcend the earthly, mundane life of humans and Theoderich is watching this notion being disrupted right in front of him by non-Christians.

Based on the history of Muslims within the Nablus area, it would appear that the people who Theoderich encountered were probably freemen and part of the fairly autonomous Muslim community found there. Its history can be found in the later years of the First Crusade; Nablus

⁶⁷ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 60.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

was pillaged by a group of Crusaders, but the Muslim residents of the town held out in a nearby castle. The two parties reached an agreement that the people of Nablus would surrender the town if Jerusalem fell, and they promptly handed over the city once Jerusalem was captured. No prisoners were taken, and the massacres that were often associated with cities seized by Crusaders never occurred there. Tancred, one of the Norman leaders who negotiated this deal, may have been influenced to make a more lenient arrangement with the people of Nablus than his fellow Crusaders due to the Normans' relationship with their own Sicilian Muslims. Benjamin Z. Kedar said that the deal reached at Nablus was "instrumental in setting the precedent for Frankish rule over an indigenous, largely Muslim population."⁶⁹ The community in Nablus that developed in the decades after the First Crusade was largely its own self-sufficient society, with the account of Diya' al-Din al-Maqdisi (1173-1245) accounting for a multitude of professions among the Muslims there, such as farmers in the fields and fruit orchards, shepherds of sheep and cattle, basket-makers, cloth-wrap producers, weavers, musicians, and local religious positions like the *mu'adhdin* and *imams*.⁷⁰ More than likely, Theoderich came across a group of farmers and laborers from this community.

The action that seemed to unsettle Theoderich the most is "their hideous yells that they thundered out, as they usually do whenever they set about any work." This statement suggests that Muslims living and working within the occupied Levant continue to practice songs or prayers from their own culture. The retaining of such customs comes from the Crusader policy that largely left the Muslim communities to continue practicing their own religion and enforce their own laws, encouraging the semi-autonomous nature of these "minority" groups in the rural

⁶⁹ Kedar, "Muslims of the Levant," 144-5.

⁷⁰ Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 107.

parts of the Crusader states. Muslims could still be brought before a Frankish court of law, and the peasants were often subject to fees for their feudal Frankish landowners, but by remaining somewhat docile and by producing goods for their lords, Muslims could for the most part be left alone to congregate among their own people and practice their religion.⁷¹ Theoderich's claim that these vocalizations were typical among laboring Muslims indicates that either himself or those Latins he associated with during his pilgrimage witnessed these types of Muslim laborers on multiple occasions, enough to notice this characteristic as something "they usually do" while they work. These types of repeated interactions in the countryside would have been very possible. The twelfth century did see the creation of a "moderate number of... free towns," where Latin settlers could pay fairly modest fees and fractions of their crops to their landlords, but these Crusader settlements appear to have been in the minority compared to the feudal farms established for the Syrian Christians and Muslims that made up a vast majority of the rural population of the Crusader states.⁷² For Theoderich or his associates to stumble upon a number of these "minority" groups while traveling from town to town during their pilgrimage would have been completely possible, providing them with a large number of possible interactions with the Muslim people of the Crusader states.

Theoderich also wrote about another group of self-sufficient Muslims in the Crusader states, this time at a market for Saracens where the Dan River ends in the Medan plain. While Theoderich does not seem to personally witness this particular interaction, he writes about how an "innumerable multitude of people assemble on this plain every year at the beginning of the

⁷¹ Kedar, "Muslims of the Levant," 160-72.

⁷² Jean Richard, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States," in *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, vol. 5 of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 261-3.

summer, bringing with them all manner of things for sale.”⁷³ The tradition of meeting there to sell goods continued on for centuries after the Crusaders left the Levant, as Bernhard von Breydenbach still observed the market meeting in the Medan plain during the fifteenth century, where he witnessed Saracens “pitching their tents of diverse colours (beautiful to behold), [to] hold a fair there through the whole summer.”⁷⁴ Theoderich also detailed the security for these affairs, where “a vast number of Parthians and Arabs [come] to protect the people and their flocks, which remain in those parts throughout the summer.”⁷⁵ From this information, it appears that the Muslim population had at least some sort of economic autonomy in the outskirts of the Crusader states where they could freely trade in a protected commercial space that offered peace of mind for themselves and their flocks of livestock.

In comparison to the semi-autonomous Muslim communities in the sparse countryside, the cities of the Crusader states saw a variety of relationships emerge between Muslims and Christians, as shown by Ibn Jubayr’s reactions and receptions in Tyre and Acre. Acre is portrayed as a filthy place – a common stereotype among Muslims – where “unbelief and unpiety there burn fiercely, and pigs [i.e. Christians] and crosses abound,” but Tyre is seen as a cleaner city, whose inhabitants are “by nature and habit... kinder to the Muslim stranger.” The gentler manner of the people allowed for healthier relations to develop, as the “state of the Muslims in this city is easier and more peaceful.”⁷⁶ This better disposition towards Muslims could be attributed to a greater local population of Muslims in Tyre than in Acre. While Acre was a commercial hub that Ibn Jubayr described as the “meeting-place of Muslim and Christian

⁷³ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 65.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Alexander Crawford Lindsay, *Letter on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), 357.

⁷⁵ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 65.

⁷⁶ Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 274-82; Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 318-9.

merchants from all regions,” it seems that – as detailed in the previous chapter – only one of its mosques was not appropriated by the Christians for their own use. Ibn Jubayr describes this place as a “small mosque where strangers could congregate to offer the obligatory prayers.” His description of the mosque’s attendants as “strangers” seems to hint that the place of worship did not have a stable congregation from Acre and instead served the Muslim travelers and merchants who passed through the city. Tyre, however, seems to have kept a number of mosques in operation, as Ibn Jubayr described resting within and meeting a Muslim elder of Tyre in “one of the mosques that remained in Muslim hands.”⁷⁷ From this information, it can be said that Tyre must have held onto a sizable population of Saracen inhabitants, enough to warrant multiple unconverted mosques. Perhaps this larger group of Muslims in Tyre made the Latin denizens of the city more tolerant of Muslims both from and outside of their city. While scholars like Kedar warn that it can be risky to generalize from Tyre’s mosque situation to other Crusader-held cities, it is true that other metropolitan centers besides Tyre surrendered under terms and could have maintained control over their mosques.⁷⁸

Ibn Jubayr’s conversation with the elder of Tyre and the traveler’s responses are also key to understanding the mindset of Muslims who remained in the Levant. The individual told Ibn Jubayr that he was a resident of Tyre when the city was invaded by Frankish forces in 1124. The Muslim inhabitants had drawn up plans to “gather their wives and children into the Great Mosque and there put them to the sword, rather than that the Christians should possess them,” and then the remaining men would launch a suicidal assault on the Crusader forces. However, the “jurisprudents and some of their godly men” were able to convince the other Muslims to flee

⁷⁷ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 318-21.

⁷⁸ Kedar, “Muslims of the Frankish Levant,” 138-9.

the city for Islamic lands. After the city was abandoned, some of the exiled Muslims came back, as their “love of native land impelled them to return.” An agreement was reached between the Latins and Muslims of Acre, offering a “safeguard” for the Muslims who chose “to live amongst the infidels” in the city.⁷⁹ While a longing for their lost homeland could have been a genuine motivating factor for some Muslims of Tyre – poets such as Ibn Munir and Ibn al-Qaysarani wrote works that lamented their own forced exiles after Crusader invasions – the concerns of those who were not of the upper class may have included other, more economic reasons for choosing to return home and live under Crusader rule. Many of these individuals would simply have been unable to afford a relocation to a completely new land, and would have chosen to acquiesce under a new leadership, a story that applied to most of the lower class, indigenous Muslims of the Crusader states. Like those from Tyre who had intended to kill their families and engage in a final attack on the Latins, many of those who did not have the wealth to flee came to the “realistic acknowledgement that submission was more sensible than conflict.”⁸⁰

Immediately after delivering the elder’s story from sixty years before, Ibn Jubayr gives a quotation from the Quran and a few invocations of Allah before harshly criticizing any Muslim who chooses to remain in “infidel country.” He claims that these people would have to endure “pains and terrors such as the abasement and destitution of the capitation and more especially, amongst their base and lower orders, the hearing of what will distress the heart in the reviling of him [Muhammad],” along with a number of other critiques of Latin society, such as the previously mentioned stereotype of their uncleanness in a metaphorical and literal sense.⁸¹ The level of his critiques are fairly strong; Hillenbrand considers them to be “uncomprehendingly

⁷⁹ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 321.

⁸⁰ Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 358-9.

⁸¹ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 321-2.

judgmental” of the native population.⁸² As someone who is from thousands of miles away and a privileged member of a royal court in his native Granada, Ibn Jubayr may have just been unable to understand why the locals did not decide to flee to Islamic lands rather than stay in the economic security of Crusader occupation.

While the Crusaders may have held a strong disdain for Muslims, they still had to live and work in a land completely surrounded by the Saracens, meaning that relationships had to be developed between the Latin East and its neighbors, often in the form of commerce. Regulations, customs agencies, and revenue services were developed for the Crusader states to better manage the trade between Latins and Muslims who came from beyond the Crusader holdings. Ibn Jubayr’s firsthand experiences with these institutions are among the most interesting topics that he delves into while in the Crusader states, especially because they went largely unaddressed by Christian pilgrim-writers like John of Würzburg and Theoderich. Latin merchants are required to pay a tax on goods that are brought into lands occupied by the Muslims, and the Muslim merchants paid the same in Crusader states. Ibn Jubayr notes that “agreements exist between them, and there is equal treatment in all cases,” but that the Crusader taxes on Muslim goods offered the Latins “full security,” indicating that the Crusader taxation may have been as much of a tax to defend the internal economy of the Crusader states as it was a revenue device.⁸³ This was certainly a very real concern for the Latins, as Muslim interventions in trade could have major ramifications. For instance, the domestic agricultural market was in fairly dire straits during the twelfth century, with Jean Richard estimating that between 1120 and 1187, “Frankish Syria necessarily fell into political and economic dependence on those countries that could provide

⁸² Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 363.

⁸³ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 301.

supplies,” particularly in terms of foodstuffs. While the neighboring Muslim lands could experience their own famines and low-production seasons, they still had the ability to flood the market. In 1185, with a major drought looming, Raymond III of Tripoli brokered a truce with the Saracen forces he was at war with, so that agricultural trade might resume to its fullest extent. The Muslims were able to bring so much wheat into the Crusader states that prices plummeted.⁸⁴ While this scenario occurred at a point when food was desperately needed, its effect on prices illustrated that the Saracens had the ability to undercut the costs of Latin-produced goods, and that taxation could act as a buffer between the Muslim and Crusader products.

As Ibn Jubayr’s party crossed from the Muslim-held Belinas into Crusader-occupied territory, they arrived at a Latin fortress called Tibnin. The highest tax that could be extracted from an individual there was “a Tyrian dinar and a qirat of a dinar” – Ibn Jubayr says that his party was not taxed to the fullest extent – while those who were merchants were not required to pay the toll. Instead, they would pay at the customs in Acre, where “the tax there is a qirat in every dinar (worth of merchandise),” working out to a twenty-fourth of the total worth of their cargo.⁸⁵ Based on the fortress’ location so close to the Saracen lands, and the merchants’ tolls being postponed until they reached Acre, it would appear that Tibnin was a major stop before reaching the metropolitan centers within the Latin territories. The substantial lump sum costs for individuals seeking to travel through Crusader territory hint at a hesitation to admit non-Christian visitors who did not offer any visible economic benefits to the Crusaders, an especially interesting policy given that so much of the Crusader states’ economy and overall existence was dependent on the arrival of Christian individuals on pilgrimage.

⁸⁴ Richard, “Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States,” 264-8.

⁸⁵ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 316.

Once the members of Ibn Jubayr's party reached Acre, they found themselves taken to a building specifically reserved for customs procedures. The predominate form of customs-housing in the Crusader states would have been the *fondaco* (pl. *fondaci*), an evolution of the later Roman-era *funduq* (pl. *fanadiq*) buildings, which were for-profit combinations of an inn, tavern, and brothel. The *funduq* would continue on as an institution in the Byzantine world, eventually working its way into Islamic territories in the tenth century as either free or for-profit inns. They existed in both rural and urban settings, with animals and goods kept on the first floor, and the human patrons either surrounding the courtyard of a single-story *funduq* or on the top floor of a two-story building. The *fondaci* emerged in Egypt and Crusader-controlled Syria in the twelfth century as buildings to house Latins, intended to be for-profit institutions that could regulate trade. The major cities of the Crusader states all had a number of *fondaci*, often funded by Italian city-states like Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. Unlike the isolationist nature of the *fondaci* in Muslim-held regions like Egypt, which were intended to provide Christian traders with a sense of diplomatically-ensured protection while in Saracen lands, the *fondaci* of the Crusader states gave traders of all Christian nationalities a space for short-term lodging and storing their goods.⁸⁶

Ibn Jubayr describes the customs-facility in Acre as something very similar to a two-story *fondaco* complex, providing storage below for goods while they were inspected with the merchants "lodged in the upper storey." Yet, as a Muslim, he would not have been permitted to stay in a *fondaco*. Overtime, it appears that the Muslim *fanadiq* system began to take on elements of the European *fondaco*, and the buildings began to take on applications for urban commerce, including the usage as a customs-house that Ibn Jubayr witnessed in Acre. However, he actually

⁸⁶ Olivia Remie Constable, "Funduq, Fondaco, and Khān in the Wake of Christian Commerce and Crusade," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 145-151.

refers to the building as a “khan prepared to accommodate the caravan.” The *khan* (pl. *khanat*) began as a Persian institution, often as a publicly-funded place but potentially a commercial venture, which started to overtake the *fanadiq* system in the Near East around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were often rural institutions, with minimal (if any) staffing. The terminology of the *khan* appears a number of times in Ibn Jubayr’s travels through Syria. He spends four nights at “the Khan of Abu ‘l-Shukr” in the suburbs of Aleppo before a three-day, two-night journey towards Hama. Ibn Jubayr spent those nights in two different “highly fortified” *khanat*, and would later rest in a *khan* located between Homs and Damascus in the Eastern Christian village of al-Qarah, whose *khan* he described as resembling “a towering fortress” with a spring-fed cistern in its center. As Ibn Jubayr enters Tyre for the first time, his group “lodged in a khan in the town for the reception of pilgrims.”⁸⁷ The semantics between these three types of buildings can become overwhelming, and their shifting nature can be seen as a result of the commercial implications of the Crusades, where the economies of regions like the Levant saw a spontaneous and paradigm-shifting move towards European interaction and commerce. With this came a need for an infrastructure that could support the new economy, built upon the groundwork of Islamic trade that had existed in the region for centuries beforehand, resulting in fusions of buildings and terminologies that would have created uncertainty for any traveler, especially a Spanish outsider like Ibn Jubayr.

The staff of the customs-house also illustrates another one of the ethnic and linguistic dynamics of Crusader society, as local populations are utilized by the European rulers. During his stay there, he notes that the employees are “Christian clerks of the Customs” and that “they write Arabic, which they also speak.” The leader of the operation has an Arabic title, *Sahib al-*

⁸⁷ Constable, “*Funduq, Fondaco, and Khān*,” 151-5; Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 260-71, 317-9.

Diwan (Chief of the Customs), and is referred to as *al-Sahib* (the Director or Master) by those who serve under him.⁸⁸ From this, it can be gathered that the workers at this customs-house were not only literate in Arabic, but that it was their primary language; the one that they utilized when speaking amongst one another and referring to their own hierarchies. Syrian Christians were in high demand for this line of work as scribes and clerks employed by the Frankish administration, in order to facilitate communications between their government and the indigenous people under their jurisdiction. Some Muslims who were former bureaucrats under the Islamic administration were also employed by the Latins, but the majority of those employed from the Levant would have been these Eastern Christians who were literate in Arabic.⁸⁹

While going through customs procedures in Tibnin, Ibn Jubayr observed one Muslim minority group that faced a particular amount of scrutiny from Latin officials: the Maghreb people. The Maghrebis are typically associated with North Africa, but Ibn Jubayr was able to identify them as a minority among the Muslims both traveling and residing in the Levant. The Maghreb people (particularly those who practiced Sufism) held a special veneration for Jerusalem and the al-Aqsa Mosque, with the city serving as a prime stop during the Hajj. In 1193, less than a decade after Ibn Jubayr's visit to the Holy Land, a religious endowment by al-Malik al-Afdal – a son of Saladin – ensured the creation of the Maghrebi Quarter of Jerusalem, intended to assist Maghrebi pilgrims coming into the city.⁹⁰ Ibn Jubayr reports how a “gallant company” of Maghrebis accompanied Nur al-Din in taking a Latin stronghold, reaping the rewards of becoming “manifestly rich and famous.” According to Ibn Jubayr, the Crusader

⁸⁸ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 317.

⁸⁹ Kedar, “Muslims of the Frankish Levant,” 156-60.

⁹⁰ Shamsuddīn al-Kīlānī, “The Muslim Fascination with Jerusalem: The Case of the Sufis,” *Islamic Studies* 40, no. 3/4 (Autumn-Winter 2001): 618-26.

administration criticized the Maghrebis, saying that they were well-treated in the Latin East yet “interfered in the war, joining with their brother Muslims against [the Franks].” As a response, the Latins placed an extra dinar of taxation on any Maghreb who crossed through Crusader territory. Ibn Jubayr says that they were the only Muslim group given extra scrutiny, with “those from all other Muslim lands being unmolested.” Their response to the added burden was fairly surprising, as Ibn Jubayr noted how upon payment of such tolls, Maghrebis “are pleasingly reminded of their vexing of the enemy, and thus the payment of it is lightened and its harshness made tolerable.”⁹¹

A certain amount of subversion can be noted in their response, as recollections of offenses against the Franks are brought to mind. While the Muslims in the Crusader states remained largely docile during their occupation, relations were certainly far from perfect. An undercurrent of antagonism seemed to be held by many Muslims against their Latin overlords, but the threat of retaliation and the memories of entire cities being massacred in the First Crusade appear to have kept these feelings below the surface in most cases. However, if Muslim military forces appeared to be on the way to liberate a village or city, uprisings could occur. The residents of Nablus assisted their religious compatriots in sacking the city upon their arrival in 1187, and the “Saracen rustics of the mountain area” attacked Christians who were fleeing from Jerusalem as the Khwarezmians approached to seize the city in 1244.⁹² The Maghrebis’ audacious joining with Nur al-Din’s forces seems to have been a point of pride not only for the Maghreb people, but for Ibn Jubayr and other Muslims, who saw the attack as a rejection of total Crusader dominance over the Muslims within the Crusader occupation.

⁹¹ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 316.

⁹² Kedar, “Muslims of the Frankish Levant,” 154-6.

Ibn Jubayr dedicates a fair amount of time in his account of the Crusader states to the Maghrebis, especially regarding their status as a minority among the already-oppressed Muslims within the Levant. He claims that when Muslims from Syria and elsewhere composed wills, they bequeathed parts of their wealth to the “liberation of the Maghribis in particular because of their remoteness from their native land and because, after Great and Glorious God, they have no other to deliver them.” The establishment of the Maghrebi Quarter in Jerusalem is an excellent example of the amount of charity given to this group of people within the Levant. Nur al-Din also gave aid to the Maghrebi people after their support in his military campaigns, as he paid twelve thousand of his own dinars towards the ransoms of captured Maghrebis in Syria, since they are “strangers and have no kindred (here).” Ibn Jubayr praises two Maghrebi businessmen operating in Damascus, Nasr ibn Qawam and Abu ‘l-Durr Yaqut, whose work in the Crusader states brought them great wealth and power, so much so that their “influence over the Muslim and Frankish princes [was] great.” The two men also gained fame as they utilized their wealth to pay the ransoms of Maghrebis and other Muslim prisoners in Syria.⁹³

The level of influence that these two Maghrebi merchants held in the Crusader states is just one of the many testaments to the power of commerce between the Latins and the Muslims outside of Crusader territory. Even as late as Ibn Jubayr’s visit in 1184, when Saladin’s unified forces were on a campaign against the Crusader states that would result in the capture of Jerusalem in just three years, trade continued between the two factions. After recently joining a caravan of merchants departing Damascus to trade their goods in Acre, Ibn Jubayr encountered the returning forces of Saladin’s army. After abandoning a siege of the castle Kerak upon hearing of Crusader reinforcements, Saladin launched a surprise attack on Nablus, where many Christian

⁹³ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 322-3.

and Jewish prisoners were taken and “the Muslims acquired plunder it is not possible to estimate.” Ibn Jubayr’s encounter with the tail-end of this triumphant return of wealth and Latin prisoners was an odd circumstance for him, noting that “one of the strangest things in the world is that Muslim caravans go forth to Frankish lands, while Frankish captives enter Muslim lands.” Ibn Jubayr sees this situation as a testament to the power of the Muslims, able to absolutely conquer in battle, leaving the Crusaders so feeble that they are forced to remain dependent on the Saracens for commercial trade, attributing the state of affairs as a testament to “the temperateness of the policy of Saladin.”⁹⁴ As noted earlier, Raymond III of Tripoli was forced the year after Ibn Jubayr’s visit to declare a truce with Saladin, so that he could further open the importation of foodstuffs into his lands that were plagued by famine.⁹⁵ For much of the twelfth century, the Crusader states were fairly dependent on other nations for their continued existence in the Levant, be it through the immigration and donations from Europe or the trade between themselves and the Saracen lands. The situation Ibn Jubayr encounters on the way to Acre is a very symbolic representation of this relationship, where even military expeditions launched by the Saracens could not force the Latins to cut off the trade that supplied goods desperately needed by the Crusader populace and its economy. The crossing of paths between prisoners and traders also hints at the decentralization of power in the Levant, where the Saracen attack of a Crusader-held city fifty miles away does not seem to have an effect on the trade between Muslims and the Latins of Acre.

The Latins of the Crusader states were certainly not a homogenous group by any means, and the divisions among the Crusaders manifested themselves in disagreements over Wigger of

⁹⁴ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 313-4.

⁹⁵ Richard, “Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States,” 264-8.

Swabia and his tomb. Wigger was said to have been a German knight who participated in the First Crusade but perished during the Siege of Jerusalem in 1099. John of Würzburg details this battle and the dates associated with it, noting July 18 as the “anniversary of noble Duke Godfrey of happy memory, the chief and leader of that holy expedition, who was born of a German family.”⁹⁶ In truth, Godfrey of Bouillon was born to a French father and German mother – Eustace II, Count of Boulogne and Ida of Lorraine – but perhaps due to a combination of John’s own German roots and the fact that it was Godfrey’s maternal side of the family that “enabled [him] to acquire title and influence” in the lead-up to the Crusades, John decides to classify Godfrey as a German.⁹⁷ This distinction of Godfrey as a German member of the army assembled for the First Crusade becomes a flashpoint for John, because while Godfrey is celebrated on July 18, “the taking of the city [of Jerusalem] is not credited to him with his Germans, who bore no small share in the toils of that expedition, but is attributed to the French alone.” This general feeling of a lack of appreciation for the German efforts during the First Crusade (and ultimately the entire Crusader-era) is exemplified by the treatment of Wigger of Swabia after his demise:

Some disparagers of our nation have actually obliterated the epitaph on the famous Wigger [of Swabia], made glorious by so many brave deeds, because they could not deny that he was a German, and have written over it the epitaph of some French knight or other; as may at this day be seen on the spot; for his coffin is visible and still exists outside in a corner between the great church [i.e. the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] and the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, with his name struck out and another name written there.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 40.

⁹⁷ John C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, Indiana University Publications Social Science Series no. 5 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1947), 9.

⁹⁸ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 40. C.W. Wilson believes that the tomb in the name of a Frenchman, Philip d’Aubigny, may be the same tomb that John is referencing here. See John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 40 n. 1.

John's ire against the Franks was further amplified by the new epitaph that the French had replaced the original with:

One thousand and one hundred years, save one.
 Since Blessed Mary bore her glorious Son;
 When rose upon July its fifteenth sun,
 By Frankish might Jerusalem was won.

As a satirical response to the French substitution for Wigger of Swabia's epitaph, John offers a new one of his own creation:

Not Franks—Franconians,⁹⁹ warriors far more brave,
 From Pagan yoke Jerusalem did save;
 Franconian Wigger was, each Frank well knew;
 Franconian Guntram,¹⁰⁰ and Duke Godfrey, too,
 And easy 'twere to prove my words are true.¹⁰¹

From all of these complaints and snipes issued towards the Frankish people, it is clear that John of Würzburg does not believe that the relationship between the Franks and Germans is particularly healthy. The afterlife of Wigger of Swabia serves as a symbol for the bitterness held between these two groups, whose relationship had begun to turn sour with the beginning of the Crusades. In *Feudal Germany*, James Westfall Thompson contends that “the different blood groups in France... in contact with one another and in contact with Germans through whose country they passed to the Holy Land developed an acute feeling towards the Germans unknown before,” with their relations hardly ever improving during the rest of the Crusades. French

⁹⁹ Franconia also contained the town of John's namesake, Würzburg.

¹⁰⁰ Guntram was the King of Burgundy in the late sixth century. See Henry H. Howorth, “The Ethnology of Germany—Part 3: The Migration of the Saxons,” *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 7 (1878): 309-10. While Franconia and Burgundy were some distance from one another, it is worth noting that Burgundy was at least part of the Holy Roman Empire in the twelfth century.

¹⁰¹ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 40.

criticism of the Germans during the early years of the Crusades often related to claims that the Franks were the only nationality truly leading Europe's army of holy warriors and that German participation was minimal at best.¹⁰² With Wigger of Swabia, John was able to formulate a response to the Franks with a prime example of their mistreatment of the Germans, to the point where he frames them as rewriting history in their favor.

Regardless of the internal squabbles between the Crusaders, the Latin East was still facing an extraordinary amount of pressure from hostile forces on their dangerous borderlands, which required an enormous amount of effort on the part of the Crusaders to maintain. Theoderich's experience at a pilgrimage site on the Jordan River is a particularly enlightening example of this, given its detail on both the actions of pilgrims there and the defensive measures in place to protect them. According to Theoderich, the site where Jesus was said to have been baptized was in the Garden of Abraham, known today as the Jordan Valley. The Christian military orders maintained fortifications in the Jordan Valley, as Theoderich described how "many towers and large houses are possessed there by the power of the Templars, whose practice, as also that of the Hospitallers, is to escort pilgrims who are going to the Jordan and to watch that they are not injured by the Saracens either in going or returning, or while passing the night there." The pilgrims coming to visit both the sites of Christ's baptism on the Jordan River and his temptation by the Devil at Mount Quarantana would often spend the night in the Valley, at a location where they could be "protected on three sides by the garden itself from the ambushes of the infidels; on the fourth side they are guarded by patrols of the Hospitallers and Templars." During his visit here, Theoderich joined a ritual procession (with, according to his

¹⁰² James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, vol. 1 (1928; repr., New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962), 380-3.

estimate, nearly sixty thousand others) to the location of Christ's baptism at twilight, when all of the participants and their candles could be "seen by the infidels from the mountains of Arabia beyond Jordan."¹⁰³

Theoderich's description of this pilgrimage site emphasizes the perilous situation out on the frontiers of the Crusader lands, where the porous borders put the countryside in a state of paranoia over the Muslim other. These feelings can also be explained by the fundamental demographics of the Crusader states in the late-twelfth century, where the Crusaders were a minority. There were somewhere between a hundred to a hundred and twenty thousand Latins within the Crusader states at this time, with most of them living in either one of the three largest cities (Jerusalem, Tyre, and Acre) or twenty smaller urban centers. The estimates of the Eastern Christian and Muslim populations within the Crusader states can vary, but they significantly outnumbered the Latins, with a three-to-one margin entirely within the realm of possibility.¹⁰⁴ The Crusaders tended to flock to cities, where they could congregate amongst themselves socially, economically, and religiously, while maintaining the ability to easily fortify within the walls of these urban centers if threatened by Saracens. While there were at least some efforts made to colonize the Crusader states' more rural areas, the countryside of the territories was often left to the native Christians, Muslims, and a small minority of Latins. The Jordan River also served as a border between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Judean lands, marking it as a key defensive line for the Crusaders to maintain.¹⁰⁵ A combination of these extremely low numbers outside the coastal cities, porous borders, and an equally insecure political situation

¹⁰³ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 46-8.

¹⁰⁴ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 153-4; Kedar, "Muslims of the Frankish Levant," 148.

¹⁰⁵ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 54.

between the Latins and the various Saracen sects led to dangerous conditions for those who did not have some form of significant protection. For Theoderich, this contributed to a sense of paranoia that permeates his entire description of the Garden of Abraham, as he and his fellow pilgrims are entirely dependent on the Hospitallers and Templars for protection from a threat that is ready to strike them down at a moment's notice, even while they sleep. High-traffic pilgrimage locations such as the site of Christ's baptism required the constant defense of a massive amount of civilians on a daily basis during pilgrimage season, even as men and supplies were always in short numbers in the Crusader states.¹⁰⁶

The fortification of monasteries and churches within the Crusader states was another consequence of the insecurity that Theoderich bore witness to during his time there. Wilkinson et al. argue that the mid-twelfth century saw an increasing focus on fortifying the territories that were under Latin control, with Crusader kings contracting out the defense of these areas to military orders by granting tracts of land for them to construct their own castles on. Some pilgrimage sites previously open to the public were closed out of security concerns, such as those around the Sea of Galilee, which were personally visited by pilgrim guide authors through the first half of the twelfth century, but afterwards were only seen from the view on Mount Tabor.¹⁰⁷ Other religious structures sought to fortify themselves rather than exclusively rely on military orders for protection. Theoderich describes Mount Zion as “strongly fortified with ditches and barbicans,” and the Church of the Ascension being “strongly fortified against the infidels with towers both great and small, with walls and battlements and night patrols.” Two structures in

¹⁰⁶ Most pilgrims left Europe in the spring, for the *passagium vernale*, the rest in the summer for the *passagium aestivale*, with all returning around September or October. See Musto, introduction to *Guide to the Holy Land*, xxviii.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 79-80.

Bethany, the Church of St. Lazarus as well as the Church of Mary and Martha, were both “fortified not less by the nature of the ground than by the strength of the works there.” The Church of the Holy Cross is also said to have been “strongly fortified with towers, walls, and battlements against the treacherous attacks of the infidels.”¹⁰⁸ All of these holy locations, apart from Mount Zion, were located outside of the safety of Jerusalem (or any other major metropolitan center) and had to rely on what they could muster on their own if they wanted to defend themselves against a possible attack.

The consequences of those who went without proper protection in the frontier were also known by Theoderich. While in the Jordan River, he mentions a church on its banks where “six monks who inhabited it were beheaded by Sanginus, the father of Noradin.”¹⁰⁹ In his endnote for this story, Musto points out that Sanginus was a corruption of the name of Turkish ruler Zengi, which “afforded the Latins a suitable allusion to his *sanguinary* character,” a technique also utilized by the chronicler William of Tyre.¹¹⁰

These sorts of Muslim attacks against the Latins appear to have taken a significant economic toll on the Crusader states, as shown by a few of the cases highlighted by Theoderich. The first mention of Muslims in the *Guide to the Holy Land* pertains to this topic, as he describes the houses of Jerusalem. Theoderich says that the homes there “are lofty piles of carefully wrought stonework” that feature flat roofs, although it appears from the descriptions of other Crusader-held cities like Acre and Tyre that small huts made up of “wattle material daubed with clay” were in popular use in the Crusader states.¹¹¹ However, wood was in short supply in

¹⁰⁸ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 7, 43, 45, 56.

¹⁰⁹ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 48.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 48 n. 11.

¹¹¹ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 6; Urban Tignor Holmes, “Life among the Europeans in Palestine and Syria in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard,

Jerusalem during Theoderich's time, rendered prohibitively expensive "because Mount Libanus – the only mountain that abounds in cedar, cypress, and pine wood – is a long way off from them, and they cannot approach it for fear of the attacks of the infidels."¹¹² This appears to match with the geographic situation in the Crusader states, as Mount Libanus (better known as Mount Lebanon) was known for being a prominent supply of lumber in the Holy Land.¹¹³ Wood would have been essential to create homes built with wattle and daub in Jerusalem, along with a multitude of other domestic and commercial applications, and the threat of Saracen attacks on suppliers created a substantial shortage in the market for such a utilitarian resource.

A similar case was encountered by Theoderich while visiting Jericho, a town within the Jordan Valley, highlighting the issues behind having such a small Latin population in the Crusader states. Theoderich praised the Valley for its agricultural potential, as "it has soil fit for growing all manner of fruit, and it abounds in wood... we saw the [Garden of Abraham] itself, full of trees bearing innumerable apples but of a small size; and we also saw ripe barley there." The town of Jericho, which lies under the jurisdiction of the Church of St. Lazarus in Bethany, was "situated on fertile soil, where all fruits soon ripen... [and] it is also remarkable for large and excellent grapes." However, Theoderich laments how the thriving city had been "reduced to a small town" and the lands remain largely uncultivated "on account of the inroads of the Saracens."¹¹⁴ Jericho would have been primed for cultivation with the Jordan River for irrigation, along with its soil being "especially fertile because of its alluvial deposits."¹¹⁵ The lands went undeveloped thanks to violent conflicts in these borderlands that would have made the security

vol. 4 of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 9-11.

¹¹² Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 6

¹¹³ Holmes, "Life in Palestine and Syria," 13.

¹¹⁴ Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 46-9.

¹¹⁵ Richard, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States," 253-5.

situation too risky for the few prospective Latin farmers to risk establishing a small community. Without the presence of indigenous Muslim willing to work under Crusader occupation here, the land essentially had no one willing to tend to it.

The issue of simply not having enough Latins in the Crusader states had been a problem since the Latin forces had taken Jerusalem in 1099. John of Würzburg was quite cognizant of the lack of actual Crusaders in the Crusader lands, and right after recounting the story of Wigger of Swabia, John attempts to explain how the German people lost their claim to the early history of the Crusades and thereby details one of the critical faults of the expedition to the Holy Land as a colonialist, occupying force. John heaps praise on the German leaders like Godfrey and Baldwin who stayed in the Holy Land after Jerusalem fell, but wrote that “only a few of our people remained there with them, and very many of the others with great haste and homesickness returned to their native land, [and now] the entire city [of Jerusalem] has fallen into the hands of other nations—Frenchmen, Lorrainers, Normans, Provencals, Auvergnats, Italians, Spaniards, and Burgundians, who took part in the crusade.” According to John, this allowed the Franks to keep the “glory of delivering the Holy City” to themselves and rule the Crusader states alongside the other nationalities who stayed in the Levant. If the German Crusaders had stayed after the conquest of Jerusalem, John firmly believes that “this province of Christendom would long ago have extended its boundaries beyond the Nile to the southward, and beyond Damascus to the northward.”¹¹⁶

John was certainly not alone in this feeling that many of the First Crusaders had abandoned the Holy Land after 1099. This was a fear that stretched across all the Europeans who

¹¹⁶ John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, 41.

participated in the First Crusade and remained in the foreign land of the Levant with little hope of reinforcements. Letters from the religious and royal leaders of the Crusader states to their equivalents in Europe in the twelfth century often primarily dealt with the lack of men and resources after Jerusalem had been taken. One of these letters was written in April 1100 by Dailbert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to “all the prelates, princes and Catholics in the German lands.” He details how most of the Crusader forces – with special attention paid to the German members of the army – left Jerusalem soon after it was taken or waited until Easter of that year (April 1), departing on “Pisan and English ships for the most part.” After telling his audience that the Germans have “received more wealth from God than any other peoples,” Dailbert stresses their need for soldiers and men to come to the Holy Land, or to at least send “large sums of money and gifts” that could be used to essentially bribe those few fighters who remained in the Holy Land to stay and defend the Crusader states.¹¹⁷ Those that did choose to remain in the Latin East were left responsible for maintaining order in a hastily established colony, with long borderlands that required constant vigilance in the defense against local and distant Saracen forces. Because John is a transient pilgrim in the Holy Land, his concerns tend to drift away from the immediate militaristic situation to matters of history, glory, and politics. For him, the rulership of the Crusader states is a macro-sized companion to the issue of Wigger of Swabia, as the Franks (and other nationalities) write the German people out of the Crusades.

All of these observations on Crusader society by John of Würzburg, Theoderich, and Ibn Jubayr share a characteristic of keen awareness, as the pilgrims attempted to detail and observe the world around them in their accounts. There were certainly still issues with the ethnic

¹¹⁷ Dailbert to All the Prelates, Princes and Catholics in the German Lands, April 1100, in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 38-9.

backdrop of the Latin East, as the Crusaders attempted to negotiate their conglomerated population into a feasible society. And a number of the flaws that had plagued the Crusader states since their establishment were coming to the forefront in these final years before Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in 1187. The three pilgrim-writers depicted this unusual society with an extraordinary amount of detail, and prove to be essential sources of information for how the Crusader states functioned in the late-twelfth century.

Conclusion

Within the accounts of John of Würzburg, Theoderich, and Ibn Jubayr are glimpses into the conditions of the Crusader states in the late-twelfth century, as seen by individuals who spent relatively short amounts of time within their confines. During their time there, each was a witness to the forerunner of the European colonial institution as we know it, observing the relations between the multitudes of ethnicities and nationalities present there, the campaign of Latin Christians to revitalize the topography of the Holy Land in their favor, and the hints of the Crusader states' virtual collapse that was rapidly approaching.

The question of whether or not the Crusader states were an early example of European colonialism received a flurry of attention in twentieth-century Crusader scholarship in the West, thanks in part to the worldwide decolonization movement.¹¹⁸ John Ward described the Crusades as a “movement of violent white supremacist colonialism,” and parallels have been drawn between the Crusader states' colonialist society and the twentieth-century system of apartheid in South Africa.¹¹⁹ However, there are some issues with making direct comparisons to the colonies that Europe would establish in the following centuries. While they were often dependent on other nations for their continued survival, the Crusader states were not explicitly bound to any other political entity; at least in this respect, they were a sovereign, independent institution. The Latin territories were also not established to be revenue-making ventures, a characteristic that exemplified the colonial campaigns of early modern European nations. The original intentions

¹¹⁸ Khurram Qadir, “Modern Historiography: The Relevance of the Crusades,” *Islamic Studies* 46, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 535-6.

¹¹⁹ John Ward, “The First Crusade as Disaster: Apocalypticism and the Genesis of the Crusading Movement,” in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1995), 255; Joshua Prawer, “The Roots of Medieval Colonialism,” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1986), 34.

sought to liberate fellow Christians in the East and the city of Jerusalem (specifically its Holy Sepulchre) from the rule of the pagan Saracens, and was viewed as an entirely defensive war for Christianity as a whole. Committing to a Crusade was hardly a profitable venture; rich and poor Europeans were willing to save their wealth for years, or sell their belongings and holdings, in order to raise the funds needed to go on an incredibly costly expedition to the Holy Land.

Recent scholarship has seemed to gravitate away from Crusaders being merely motivated by “greed and self-interest,” evolving into “an acceptance of their sincerity and idealism, combined with a recognition that altruistic and selfish motives were unconsciously mixed in the minds of individual crusaders.”¹²⁰ This would seem to be a correct diagnosis of the situation in the Latin East; the sincere faith in the Crusader mission that motivated Europeans to travel thousands of miles or caused them to initiate their own unofficial Popular Crusades seems to have been a strong motivational trait that transcended socioeconomic backgrounds, a driving force that has been gaining scholarly attention since the latter half of the twentieth century.¹²¹ There were certainly ways to make some profit in the Crusader states. Its geographic position enabled direct access to both European and Muslim trade routes, the exploitation of the indigenous workforce in the farmlands could sustain a pleasurable life for a lord in the cities of the Levant, and the raiding nature of medieval warfare offered the possibility of loot for a holy warrior. But the expedition was certainly not intended to be anything like the colonization initiatives that would occur in the centuries after the Crusader states fell. Joshua Prawer even suggests that the Crusaders may have viewed their efforts against a Muslim occupying force as –

¹²⁰ Giles Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 15.

¹²¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The Crusading Movement and Historians,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 10.

to put it in a modern term – decolonization.¹²² Based on these conditions, it would be fair to deem the Crusader states as a proto-colony for Christian Europe at large, as it exhibited a number of the basic characteristics of a colonial society, but lacked key features and motivations that went into the colonialist mindset of early modern Europe.

The Crusaders were still attempting to negotiate how their states could function in a multiethnic sense, a point that is very evident in the accounts of these three pilgrims. Praver described the Crusader states as being forced into the “establishment and permanent existence of two societies in the frame of the new state in search of a *modus vivendi*,” the two societies in question being that of the Crusaders and a catch-all society for all those who were native to the conquered territory.¹²³ I would disagree with Praver on the concept that there were only two societies at odds within the Crusader states; the various nationalities of European Crusaders, the Eastern Christians (which composed of a number of individualized sects), and the indigenous Muslims were all bringing their own societies into the establishment of the Crusader states. Neither the Crusaders nor the local population could be confined into an easy grouping – even if the Europeans and the native population were more than willing to generalize to this level – making the issue of a state working within this system even more daunting.

The Latins essentially left their native Muslim populations within autonomous enclaves across the Crusader states, a characteristic that the three pilgrims – especially Ibn Jubayr – noted in their works. While attempts were made at colonizing the rural areas of the Crusader states by Latin farmers, most of the agricultural communities consisted of the native population, with an emphasis on a Muslim labor force. Those in the fields were still forced to abide within the

¹²² Praver, “The Roots of Medieval Colonialism,” 24.

¹²³ Praver, “The Roots of Medieval Colonialism,” 26-7.

restrictions of European feudalism, handing over a certain percentage of their crops to their Latin lord, along with paying a poll-tax and other forms of taxation. Thanks to Latin landowners opting to remain in the more secure urban centers, a variation in western feudalism emerged, where there were virtually no examples of demesne land on their properties, the Muslim serfs were not subjected to *corvée* labor, and fellow Muslims could be found in leadership roles in their communities as representatives of the Latin lord. The autonomy and low taxation of the Muslim population of the Crusader states was envied, even in Muslim lands. Interactions and observations of Muslims in Nablus and the Medan plain also indicate that Muslim societies and economies carried on with incredibly limited oversight by the Crusader forces. Those Muslims who remained in the Levant were exploited as a labor resource by the Crusaders, with a *laissez faire* attitude towards their society that not only emphasized keeping the peace, but allowed the Christians to largely remain in urban communities where they could securely make up a majority of the population. The massive slaughters of civilians in the First Crusade installed an element of fear into the local populace, as shown by the elder Muslim of Tyre, whose people nearly resorted to mass suicide while under a Frankish siege. This early policy in the Levant hinted at “the creation of an ethically more or less homogenous state,” but such tactics were ineffective and doomed to fail against such a massive population.¹²⁴ Instead, the Crusaders opted to exploit the indigenous population with the agricultural work they could not – or did not – want to do.

The Crusader states also had to contend with the presence of foreign Muslims who wished to interact with the Latins in a largely peaceful manner. Commerce was critical to the continued survival of the Christian occupation within the Levant, and lines of trade were established between the Crusaders and the Saracens from beyond their borders. Customs

¹²⁴ Praver, “The Roots of Medieval Colonialism,” 27.

agencies operating within a hierarchical system were established to enforce the taxation of both individual travelers and merchants, with well-known trading routes and stops integrated into their network of cities and frontier fortresses. These transactions did not cease when the Crusader states went to war, as cities continued to deal with Muslim traders while towns and villages were under attack. The treatment of the Maghrebi people by Crusader customs officials indicates that the Latins could differentiate between various sects of Saracens at some level, as their people were targeted for higher tax rates after joining an attack on a Crusader stronghold years before Ibn Jubayr's arrival.

While Pope Urban II's call that initiated the Crusades sought to liberate the Eastern Christians from the rule of the Saracens – and perhaps unite the divided Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches – the reality of the Crusader states saw a very different treatment of the indigenous Christians. Crusaders were often hostile towards any other sects of Christianity during the First Crusade's conquests, deeming them to be heretics.¹²⁵ Those who remained after the Latin conquest were often relegated to the same status as the native Muslims, leaving those in the rural areas united in serfdom. Norman Daniel testified to the Latin Christian mindset, writing that any of their references to “lands that had once been Christian, and particularly to the Holy Land, must be understood to have been made on the assumption that these were lost provinces belonging by right to the Latin Church.”¹²⁶ These lost lands also included Eastern Christian holdings, especially in Jerusalem, where Latin Christians took ownership of their churches, replacing the indigenous clergy with their own members and venerations. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its Holy Fire tradition were appropriated by the Crusaders, who installed a

¹²⁵ Praver, “The Roots of Medieval Colonialism,” 25.

¹²⁶ Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), 109.

European laity and the position of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, both of whom oversaw the Holy Fire while the city was held by the Crusaders in the twelfth century. The subjugation and contempt for the various Eastern denominations was not necessarily universal; John of Würzburg's reactions to the Syrian rites in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre certainly seem to reflect an interest in their unusual practices rather than a fiery hatred of heretics. Regardless, the relationship between Eastern Christian and Latin relations was certainly not a reflection of the idealistic unification that Pope Urban II attempted to convey at the launch of the First Crusade.

The Crusades in the Levant were often fraught with tension and conflict between the various nationalities of European Crusaders, and the tale of Wigger of Swabia certainly confirmed this sentiment. Giles Constable wrote that the histories and accounts of the Crusades written by contemporaries "became part of the ongoing propaganda, both official and popular, for the crusading movement," and this certainly applied to John of Würzburg's story of the German knight from the First Crusade who saw his epitaph replaced to make it seem as if he had been a courageous Frank.¹²⁷ The Europeans who joined the Crusades often spoke other languages, came from entirely different cultures, and did not necessarily hold their fellow Crusaders in high regard. These divides, along with the growing supremacy of the French as the rulers of the Levant, created issues amongst the Europeans attempting to be a dominant force in the Latin East.

The external pressures on the Crusader states by Saracen forces was a major issue that the Latin East faced throughout its two centuries in the Levant, and was one of the more obvious indications that a collapse of the European settlement there was imminent. The paranoia that

¹²⁷ Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusade," 5.

gripped the borderlands is palpable in the pilgrim guide of Theoderich, as he wrote of the ever-present threat of a Saracen assault in the Jordan Valley. Military orders, castles, and fortified churches were present throughout the Crusader landscape, as settlers, soldiers, and clergymen attempted to defend themselves as best they could against a massive border with an enemy that was ready to strike at any moment. While trade may have gone on regardless of warfare, this did not mean that the Crusader economy was safe, as important resources like lumber and farmlands were left untapped thanks to the threat of Saracen encroachment. Ibn Jubayr's report of a massive number of Latin prisoners being led to Damascus after the unexpected attack on Nablus was just one example of the Crusaders' fears coming to life. The period of time when these three writers visited the Holy Land saw a territory on the brink of a total invasion that would soon become a reality, as Saladin's forces would eventually overpower the Crusaders by 1187 and bring the Latin East to its knees.

While the inherent nature of a territory surrounded by enemies was the most pressing threat to the security of the Crusader states, the lack of a colonizing population exasperated their defense issues, along with a number of other difficulties in the Latin territories. After the massive army of the First Crusade conquered Jerusalem, many left to return to their homelands, leaving the remaining soldiers and settlers to defend and solidify their control over the Holy Land. The situation brought on what Praver described as an "identity crisis" for those who chose to stay, as they attempted to determine exactly how they would go about life in a European settlement within the Levant. There were simply not enough men to properly defend the entirety of the Latin East, nor were there nearly enough immigrants to settle the rural areas and farmlands that made up the majority of the Crusader landholdings. Praver concluded that the Crusaders there must have come to terms with the "demographic reality" of their situation: they would most

likely remain a minority amongst an “overwhelmingly hostile majority.”¹²⁸ However, those in positions of ecclesiastic and secular power in the Holy Land would continue to request more Europeans to venture to the Crusader states and serve there throughout the Latin occupation of the Levant.¹²⁹ It would certainly seem that the Crusaders were quite cognizant of their low population woes and their dramatic effects on both the stability and future of their settlement, but they had yet to accept their permanent status as a minority by the late-twelfth century.

The hostile borders and an inadequate number of colonizing Europeans both contributed to the Crusader states being completely dependent on other entities for their survival in the Levant. Be it in the form of largely independent military orders, European countries, the Catholic Church, or the various Muslim entities operating in the Near East, the Crusaders were reliant on the continued cooperation of outsider groups to maintain the Crusader states in the twelfth century. The security of the Crusader states was always an issue during their existence, and the Latins there were absolutely reliant on the military orders that protected the pilgrims, churches, cities, and countryside. Major crusading initiatives were frequently requested by the inhabitants of the Crusader states, and the letters from those in charge of the Latin territories to Europe would also emphasize the need for supplies and wealth to sustain both the secular and religious aspects of the territory. For much of this period of time, the Crusaders were not able to produce enough food to feed their population, relying on importations from Europe and the Saracens who surrounded them. Trade with the latter group was forced to continue through warfare since the need for goods and foodstuffs trumped the ideological desires to halt commercial ventures with the enemy.

¹²⁸ Praver, “The Roots of Medieval Colonialism,” 24-6.

¹²⁹ Barber and Bate, eds., *Letters from the East*, 37-81. The letters numbered 10, 15, 18, 19, 34, 39, and 44 especially deal with the dependent relationship the Crusader states held with Europe from 1100-1187.

One key tactic utilized by Crusader leaders to bolster their rule in the Latin East was to conduct Christian appropriations and transformations of existing religious structures and sites in the Holy Land. Their interpretations of and work on the seventh-century Dome of the Rock can be seen as the prime example of what this campaign sought to create. While sources like John of Würzburg and Theoderich indicate that the building's provenance was not known for certain in the late-twelfth century by the Crusaders, many seemed to view it as a centuries-old reconstruction of the Jewish Temple by the Byzantines as a Christian church, later converted into a Muslim house of worship during Islamic rule of Jerusalem. The building was "restored" to its perceived Christian origins and rechristened the *Templum Domini*. The modifications were largely cosmetic in nature, as they added or modified existing veneration associated with the site and its Foundation Stone, with some of their alterations hinting at a preference for accenting the holiness of a grandiose space over historical accuracy, as shown by John of Würzburg's observations regarding the celebration of Jacob's Ladder at the Foundation Stone. Crusaders modified and Christianized mosques and other Islamic holy places across the Crusader states, as a way of producing churches without having to conduct an expensive campaign of church-building. This tactic came with the added benefit of utilizing Muslim sites that would have otherwise gone into disuse under a Crusader rule that did not take kindly to the needs of the indigenous Muslim population. The symbolism in the cases observed by the three pilgrim sources certainly did not seem to be lost on them, as the Latin Christians attempted to revitalize the holy (Christian) geography of the Levant that they believed they were rightfully entitled to, and the Christian pilgrim guides of John and Theoderich assisted in the attempts to "legitimize

the manifold realities of Latin dominion over Jerusalem” in both the Crusader states and Europe.¹³⁰

During their limited time in the Crusader states, John of Würzburg, Theoderich, and Ibn Jubayr were all witnesses to the European proto-colony created in the Levant, just years before the territory would reach its weakest condition since the establishment of the Latin East. Their observations on the agriculture, taxation, venerations, commerce, and social interactions within Crusader society have all become essential to understanding how this peculiar territory functioned, seemingly against all odds. After observing Muslim caravans entering the Crusader states while Latin prisoners were simultaneously being led to Damascus by Saladin’s army, Ibn Jubayr wrote that “the state of these countries in this regard is truly more astonishing than our story can fully convey.”¹³¹ Yet the accounts of these pilgrims are able to illustrate a great deal about the Crusader states, with details that would have otherwise been sorely missed by Crusader scholars. Their accounts paint a picture of a Latin society that saw itself as the protectors of Christianity and its most holy sites, and how those souls who settled there attempted to create and sustain one of the most fascinating subjects in medieval history: the Crusader states.

¹³⁰ Qureshi, “A Hierophany Emergent,” 747.

¹³¹ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 300-1.

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