

The Pact of Umar Ibn Khattab(C. 637)

- In 637, Muslim Arabs reached the gates of Jerusalem. Caliph Umar, the second of the first four, came in person to sign a treaty. Here is how it begins:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the assurance of safety which the servant of God, Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, has given to the people of Jerusalem. He has given them an assurance of safety for themselves, for their property, their churches, their crosses, the sick and healthy of the city, and for all the rituals which belong to their religion. Their churches will not be inhabited by Muslims and will not be destroyed. Neither they, nor the land on which they stand, nor their cross, nor their property will be damaged. They will not be forcibly converted. No Jew will live with them in Jerusalem...

Sanctity of the Holy Places

- By 1098, a Shiite dynasty, the Fatimids of Egypt, had regained control of Jerusalem and the coastal towns/ports of Asqalon, Akka (Acre), and Tyre (Sur) (Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 633-34). A general assumption would be that regardless of the sectarian differences between Shiite Fatimids and Sunni Muslims, the rulers of the area must respect some four-centuries-old sanctity of Caliph Umar's assurances.
- By the beginning of the eleventh century, at least one of these rulers had violated Umar's pact.
- By 1095, Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus and Pope Urban II shared the view that Islam increasingly threatened Christendom and holy places in the East.

Eastern Christendom

- Christendom had followed different paths of growth in the East and the West. The Papal assessment of the situation counted because it emerged from a stronghold of Christianity.
- Since the seventh century, Islam had challenged the eminence of Christian powers in the Middle East, North Africa, and Southern Europe.
- Muslim rulers were responsible for the non-Muslim religious communities that held a special status in their realms.

Who is a Christian?

- For the monotheistic belief system, Islam recognized a community of the “people of the book” with a revealed scripture.
- The belief systems that Islam encountered, however, were not monolithic. While the Quran revered Jesus, Hazrat Issa, as God’s prophet and the book revealed to him, it did not specify any specific denomination of Christianity.
- So, Islam interacted indiscriminately with diverse forms of Christendom in the East.

Who is a Christian?

- Christianity developed a rich tradition of debate and thinking about its doctrine. Initial forums to discuss these nuances were councils of the Church, four of them held between 325 and 451.
- The Council of Nicaea, in 325, formulated the Nicene Creed, as the foundational articulation of Christian faith.
- The Council of Antioch 341, non-ecumenical, produced a counter creed reflective of the Arian position.
- The Council of Constantinople 381 failed to resolve the differences.
- Nestorianism led to the convening of the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Council decided against Nestorianism which was eventually declared a heresy.

Who is a Christian

- The Council of Chalcedon 451 reaffirmed Nicaea, and Ephesus, and denied Monophysite doctrine. Monophysites believed that Christ had only the divine nature.
- By the time Islam appeared in the seventh century and encountered the Christian communities in the areas it conquered, it met three major denominations of Christianity: the Syriac Christianity, Eastern Orthodox of the Byzantine Empire, the Monophysites, or the Coptic Christianity, in Egypt and Ethiopia, and more widely spread-out Nestorians.

Who is a Christian?

- Although the Eastern Orthodox and the Catholic Church had their differences, they considered both the Monophysites and the Nestorians as heretics.
- Monophysite Coptic Christianity remained intact in Egypt for another five hundred years despite the Islamic conquest in 640.
- The Red Sea areas of Nubia (Sudan) and Axum (Ethiopia) (beginning in the fourth century) remained a Christian civilization for 1000 years using Greek liturgy and Churches built along Coptic and Byzantine fashion.
- Islam prevailed in Sudan only from 1300 onwards.

Who is a Christian?

- While Eastern Christendom existed, shrank, or grew in diverse forms, Catholic Christianity dominated Europe.
- In 1095, they were the ones who responded to Byzantine's appeal for help against Turks in Anatolia to a wider and spiritually powerful mission to reclaim the Holy Lands the Christian rulers had lost to Islam in 637.
- We can think of the response as a prolonged World War for a religious cause that targeted the Holy Land but also another monotheistic religion. Immediately, it resulted in an upsurge in antisemitism, manifesting in physical and rhetorical violence within Europe.

Who is a Christian?

- In Rhineland, one antisemitic leader commented, “Avenge the crucified one upon his enemies who stand before you; then go to the war against Muslims...” (Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 282).
- Bernard de Clairvaux, a priest, warned the perpetrators in these words, “The Jews are not to be persecuted, killed, or even put to flight...The Jews are for us the living words of Scripture, for they remind us always of what our Lord suffered...” (Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 283).
- Edward I participated in the Eighth and Ninth Crusades. In 1290, he signed a decree to expel all Jews from his Kingdom.

Latin West

- After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Christianity continued to grow in Europe, but denominational differences with Byzantium also developed. These divergences resulted in the mutual ex-communication by the religious leaders of each other in 1054, half a century before Alexius Comnenus reached out to the Catholic Church for assistance for control over his empire and the holy places of Christendom.
- By then, Alexius Comnenus faced growing threats to his throne from the Seljuq Turks who had squarely defeated him at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. Although Constantinople would not fall until 1453, the Turks would continue to threaten Byzantium from all sides.

Latin West

- The Pope mobilized the large-scale movements of nine successive crusades to reclaim the Holy Land beginning in 1095 and continuing for two centuries.
- We will discuss the Eastern Crusades only, excluding the missions within Europe, to the Iberian Peninsula, Scandinavia, and the Baltic Sea areas to spread Christianity.
- The Eastern Crusades manifested the Papal and European capacity to organize, finance, transport, recruit, and, above all, sustain large-scale human endeavors to defend a deeply religious cause in distant and foreign lands.

Incentives

- Besides fundraising, enabling the imposition of tithes and taxes, and engaging the elites, the Church utilized its own material and financial resources to begin the process.
- The church also offered multiple incentives to the participants.
- In worldly terms, the Crusaders could count on the Church to take care of their properties in their absence if they shared an inventory with their diocese.
- For families, the wives could not be unilaterally divorced.
- In spiritual terms, the rewards were more consequential and tempting. The Crusades secured the blessing of penitence for all the confessed and future sins of the participants.
- Once in the field, the Crusaders also found satisfaction in material possessions, offices of authority, booty, and attractive Eastern products and luxuries.

Military Campaigns

- The Crusaders entered stranger lands and geophysical realities. Their immense devotion to their religious mission sustained their courage over difficult and occasionally hostile mountainous and desert paths.
- They began in 11th-century Europe and ended the Levantine segment of their Crusade by the end of the thirteenth century. There is four centuries of distance between them and the beginning of European imperialism. In retrospect, however, they have a lot to teach future military campaign planners.

Military Campaigns

- The Crusaders' destination was Jerusalem, but they needed a reliable supply chain. The Levantine coast embraced them, and they were able to set up military outposts from Edessa and Antioch to Acre.
- The growing use of maritime routes also enhanced the significance of Mediterranean ports and islands. Richard I, for example, conquered Cypress on his way to the Holy Land.



Military Campaigns

- While the Crusaders understood the strategic significance of coastal outposts, the local rulers failed to defend them outrightly.
- These Crusader outposts extended the battlefield to most of the Levantine coast and the belt running along the sea. They also provided the most crucial logistics, and backup support or fallback options for the massive number of old and fresh European troops.
- These outposts also foregrounded the limitations of the invaders to penetrate further inland. The inland location of Jerusalem, for example, became the most insurmountable barrier to sustaining the Crusaders' initial advantage of 1099.

The Outposts

- The military outposts also turned out to be the great points of interaction between the natives and their “Frankish” visitors.
- Besides instances of indiscriminate violence, these outposts offered other modes of interaction. The local elites on both sides, for example, could contract temporary truces. Some of these truces offered long spells of non-violence, spread over three to five years.

The Outposts

- Philip K. Hitti (p 643) viewed the military outposts as a remarkable historical experiment for the following reasons:
 - They enhanced awareness of what was Muslim faith. They were not idolaters.
 - Enabled local populations to interact with the Crusaders who hired them as farmers and workmen.
 - Hunting parties secured safe passage through negotiations.
 - Travelers and traders also obtained safe conduct.
 - Native clothing and food with generous use of sugar and spices found their way to the outposts.
 - Appreciation for oriental architecture grew.
 - Intermarriages occurred.

Nine Crusades

- The Crusades were a massive military operation, a highly organized holy war that Pope Urban II and his successors managed to mobilize, fund, transport, deploy, and prolong for nine iterations (1095-1291), with equal fervor and a sense of commitment.
- Pope Urban II became the prime mover of these Crusades. For the first one, we find him extensively touring the French regions on the way to the Clermont Conference of 1095 and later, activating extensive Church networks for enhancing awareness of the Muslim sacrilege of the Holy Places, mobilizing, and regulating the participation of the elite and the commoners.

Mobilization

- Besides the European warrior elite and commoners, nobility and royal houses responded to the call for holy war.
- Conrad III and Louis VII joined the Second Crusade.
- Richard I, the Lionheart, of England, and King Phillip II of France joined the Third Crusade which followed the 1187 capture of Jerusalem by Salahuddin Ayubi, Saladin.
- Emperor Frederick Barbarossa attempted to join the Third Crusade but drowned himself in a Slavic river on the way, disheartening and terminating the campaign for his armed contingent as well.

Mobilization

- Andrew II of Hungary and Leopold led the Fifth Crusade.
- Frederick II joined and led the Sixth Crusade, 1228-29.
- Louis IX joined the seventh and the eighth Crusades.
- Edward I, while Duke of Gascony, joined the eighth and led the ninth crusade.

Mobilization

- Highly motivated, the volunteers were not immune to the situation in Europe, or about the length of time they served.
- The turnover of the mobilized communities was rapid and rather transitory. At some point, they preferred to return unless they found a more enticing role in the agricultural and economic life of the military outposts.
- The Lionheart faced bad health and a critical challenge to his royal stature in England and had to quit without ever entering Jerusalem. He preferred to return overland in disguise but was discovered and imprisoned for ransom by his Austrian and German opponents. The British had initially paid a “Saladin tithe” for his Crusade. Then, they mobilized funds for another thirteen months to secure his release.
- King Phillip II of France returned even before Lionheart to suppress threats to his throne.

The Religious Military Orders

- While most mobilized participants followed a temporary deployment, two religious military orders emerged during the Crusades, the Hospitallers and Templars.
- King Alfonso I of Aragon bequeathed his wealth to the canons of the Holy Sepulcher and these two orders. Besides this, they also gained financial support from the properties donated to them within Europe and secured strategic locations in the Mediterranean.
- Clement V suppressed the Templars in 1312 and transferred all their material assets to Hospitallers who endured.

The Religious Military Orders

- In the east, Muslim armies specially targeted their organizational strength and martial spirit.
- While Saladin remained less vindictive after the 1187 fall of Jerusalem, he took harsh action against Hospitallers and Templars.
- The Mamluks repeated similar treatment during the final campaign against military outposts between 1263 and 1271.



CROISADE

- Godefroy de Bouillon
- Robert Courteheuse
- Hugues de Vermandois
- Raymond de Saint-Gilles
- Bohémond de Tarente
- Route commune
- - - Baudouin de Boulogne

- Hiérarchie des villes**
- <10.000 hab.
 - 10 à 20.000
 - 20 à 30.000
 - 30 à 40.000
 - 40 à 50.000
 - 50 à 75.000
 - 150 à 200.000
 - > 200.000 hab.

Espace ~7 millions km²
 Espace maritime : **46%**
 (Méditerranée: 33%)
 Terres émergées: **54%**

Longueurs :
 Maximum : ~4500 km
 Barcelone-Acre : >3000 km
 Marseille-Acre : >2800 km

Largeurs :
 Moyenne : 2500 à 2800 km
 Niš-Tunis : 1300 km
 Antalya-Alexandrie : >630 km



D'après **Arnaud de Vachon** : "Sur la route de Jérusalem. Considérations géostratégiques sur les croisades" in: "Revue de géographie historique" n° 21-22, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.4000/geohist.6624>>, <<https://journals.openedition.org/geohist/6624>>. Cl. Mutaflan, É. Van Lauwe, Atlas historique de l'Arménie, Autrement 2005. (ISBN 978-2-7467-0100-7), Yael Azoulay, Histoire du Peuple Juif, BiblesEurope 2009

Nine Crusades

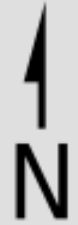
- By 1097, 150,000 participants responded to the Deus Vult, God wills it, the call of Pope Urban II for the First Crusade (1097-1101), the most consequential of all. They enabled Alexius to assert control over Nicaea and Dorylaeum (Eski Shahr) and established several outposts along the way to Jerusalem. Antioch, for example, one of the first, remained in their control for the next 175 years.
- By July 1099, the Crusaders had entered Jerusalem as about 1000 Fatimid troops failed to defend it.
- The Crusaders settled governance issues. Godfrey of Bouillon, count of Lorraine, became the first emperor.
- By August 1099, they also held the port of Asqalon which opened the sea route to Egypt and future maritime connection between Jerusalem and Europe. The maritime route will become a preferred and expeditious highway for the future Crusades.



Atlantic Ocean

Black sea

Mediterranean sea



- Latin Christian States of the West
- Orthodox Christian States
- Latin Christian States of the East and Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia around 1140
- Islamic lands

- Expedition of Zengi
- Expedition of Conrad III
- Expedition of Louis VII
- Expedition of the Flemish, Frisian, English and Scottish detoured by the siege of Lisbon
- Crusader Victory
- Islamic Victory

Dartmouth

London

Cologne

May 1147
Departure of Conrad III

June 1147
Departure of Louis VII

Paris

Metz

Mainz

March 1146
Bernard of Clairvaux preaches the crusade

Regensburg

Vienna

Budapest

Lyon

Venice

Belgrade

Porto

Madrid

Barcelona

Marseille

Genova

Rome

Naples

Messina

Tunis

Lisbon

Siege
July-October 1147

Cordoba

Trabzon

Sofia

Adrianople

Durres

Constantinople

Nicaea

Dorylaeum
October 1147

Iconium (Konya)

Edessa

Fell in
December 1144

Antioch

Aleppo

Tripoli

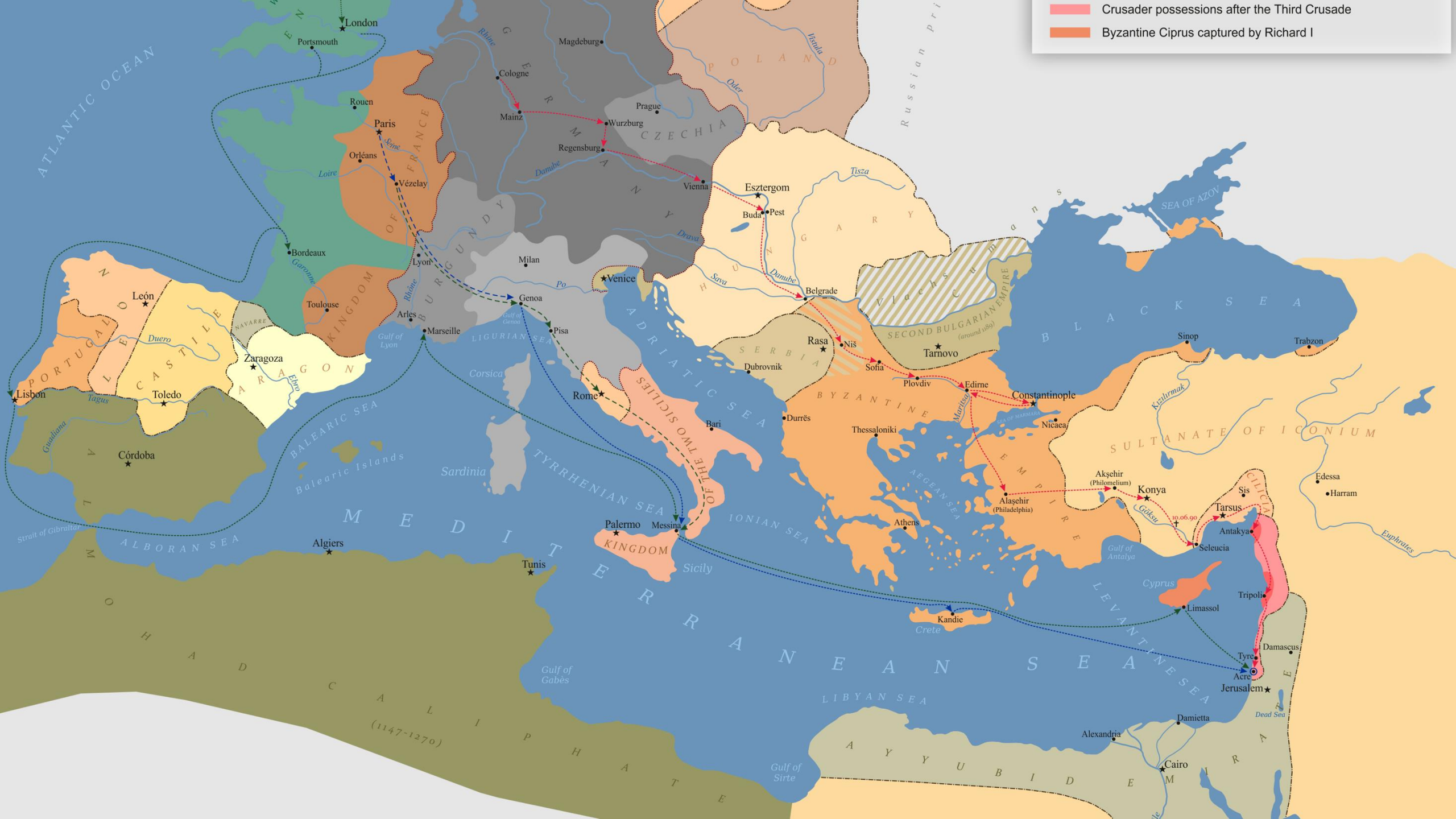
Damascus

July 1148

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo



Crusader possessions after the Third Crusade
Byzantine Cyprus captured by Richard I

Nine Crusades

- Imad-al-Din Zangi took al-Ruha (Edessa), one of the first outposts, in 1144. This Muslim reconquest mobilized the Second Crusade 1147-49, with Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France leading it. It lacked the depth of purpose because the participants could not equate it with the commitment they had towards the Holy Land.
- Edessa remained in the Muslim hands.
- The Third Crusade (1190-1192), led by Philip Augustus, the King of France, and the Lionheart, was as consequential as the first one but in a different way. By 1187, Saladin had regained Jerusalem. In November 1192, the Lionheart was able to reassert Crusaders' control over crucial military outposts, including the strategic port of Akka, Acre. He also struck the first deal with Saladin for granting "unmolested access" to the pilgrims of the two faiths and peaceful coexistence within and beyond the Holy City (Frederick II and Louis IX obtained similar agreements later). Saladin also consented to the Crusaders' control over the coastal belt while they had to respect the Muslim supremacy over the interior.

Nine Crusades

- The Fourth Crusade (1202) targeted Byzantium. Because of a twisted turn of events, it conquered Constantinople. This was the only one that the Pope canceled in 1205. We will discuss it under the role of Venetians.
- The Fifth Crusade (1217-1221), under the leadership of Andrew II of Hungary and Leopold VI of Austria proceeded to conquer Egypt from the Holy Land. Al-Kamil defeated them on their way to Cairo and thus also regained the port of Damietta the Crusaders had held for two years.
- The Sixth Crusade, led by Frederick II, 1227-1229 resulted in a surprising yet short-lived alliance between him and the Egyptian ruler, al-Kamil because of internal Muslim infighting. Kamil ceded Jerusalem and Acre to the Crusaders for their support against his opponents. The Crusaders also regained Beirut, Safad, Tiberius, and Asqalon.
- In 1244, the Khwarazm Turks restored Jerusalem to the Ayubis of Egypt.

Nine Crusades

- Louis IX joined the seventh and the eighth Crusades.
- During the seventh, while Louis faced serious health and hygiene issues, the Mamluk ruler of Egypt imprisoned him and most of his army and exchanged them for 800,000 Bezants. Ransomed, Louis IX continued to the holy land for a four-year stay and worked on the reinforcement of infrastructure. He continued to fund and support the “Frankish Outremer” in his absence as well.

Nine Crusades

- For his second and last, the eighth crusade, Louis IX chose North African Tunis, where he died because of a disease that killed several of the participants as well. A storm on the way back smashed the plans to re-reroute.
- The Pope canonized Louis IX in 1297.
- The Ninth Crusade was an offshoot of the Eighth. Edward I, as Duke of Gascony, had joined Louis IX and returned, but the next year in 1271, he took a small contingent to the holy land for an inconsequential stay of a year.

Military Campaigns

- Logistics for the Crusades was a major enterprise. The Lionheart alone used 200 ships including three loaded with a special Sicilian flint stone. On their retreat from Tunis, the Eighth Crusade lost 40 vessels to a storm.
- The tiny Republics but major Maritime Powers of Genoa and Venice, the Italian city of Pisa, the Kingdom of Sicily, and later, the port of Aigues-Mortes in Southern France became preferred points of departure.
- The Genoese and the Venetians leveraged their merchant navy experience to provide transportation, logistics, and strategic bases along the way to the Levant within the Mediterranean. They were consistently able to bring fresh supplies of personnel, materials, and edibles to the Crusaders.
- Besides this, they also solidified their trading and military capacity, opening and guarding new routes and protecting their interests.

Military Campaigns

- Here is an example of the Venetians undertaking a gigantic service to the Crusaders but also finding ways to manipulate them to promote their trading interests (Christopher Tyerman, *God's War*, P 540-554).
- Boniface, the Marquis of Montferrat, from northern Italy was the leader of the Fourth Crusade, making decisions consulting the traditional structure of hierarchy in Europe.
- After prolonged negotiations, the Venetians concluded a deal with the Crusaders in 1201 which enables us to appreciate the size of the task involved.

Military Campaigns

- The 1201 deal sealed the following quid pro quo:
- The Venetians:
 - To provide special vessels for 4,500 horses and 9000 squires.
 - Line up ships for 4500 knights, and 20,000 foot-sergeants.
 - Supply enough water, wine, wheat, flour, fruits and vegetables.
 - Ensure the provision of fresh horses for a year.

The Crusaders:

- Pay 85,000 marks in four installments, i.e., 4 marks per horse and two per person.

Military Campaigns

- The problems began as the mobilization fell short of the expected 33,500 participants. The organizers missed the estimated target by forty percent.
- In September, the Venetians suggested a way out to meet the shortfall: attack the Christian Dalmatian port of Zara to pay us back out of the booty. They were to retain the conquered port.
- Over later Papal prohibitions, the Crusaders acted accordingly.

Military Campaigns

- At Zara, Alexius Angelus, a claimant of the Byzantine crown dangled a more rewarding suggestion. If the Crusaders deposed his uncle Alexius III and enthroned him, he will:
 - Ensure the union of the Greek Orthodox church with Rome.
 - Offer a gift of 200,000 silver marks.
 - Deploy 10,000 Greeks to accompany the Crusade (its secret destination being Egypt).
 - Install a permanent garrison of 500 knights in the Jerusalem area.
- The Crusaders accepted the offer. The Venetians shipped them to Constantinople.
- The Pope excommunicated the Venetians, but the organizers kept it a secret.
- The Pope also canceled the Crusade in 1205, but the Crusaders held the city until 1261.

What is Sacred?

- In retrospect, we can explore this question. While Islam emphasizes the sacred perimeter of the House of Allah, the Kaba, in Mecca, or Al-Aqsa Masjid in Jerusalem, it also requires Muslims to cultivate a universal outlook. The earth belongs to the Creator. There is no intermediation or place restriction on the believer to approach the Creator. You can pray on any part of the Creator's earth to interact with the Almighty.
- The Prophet of Islam decided to migrate, Hijra, in the face of adversity from Mecca to Medina. On the Creator's earth, the mission continued at another Arabian city.
- What did the fall of Jerusalem, therefore, mean? It did not create an equally passionate response among the Muslim rulers of the time. The most resourceful Arab empire, the Abbasids, were then half a century away from the Mongols ravaging Baghdad even though facing internal strife when the delegations from Homs (Aleppo) and Turablas (Tripoli) arrived to seek help. The Abbasids were the least moved. They probably considered it a loss of their rival Fatimid empire.

What is Sacred?

- The task of ousting the invaders fell to the fragmented, sub-regional leadership of Syria-Palestine. This is a struggle that first took place within these regional actors of predominantly Turkic, Kurd, and Mamluk families. It occurred in at least phases.
- First, in the struggle for the leadership of al-Sham, Syria.
- Second, the elimination of the Shiite Fatimid empire. Saladin accomplished it and steered the Egyptian elite to the Sunnite fold of Islam.
- Third, Saladin moved against the Franks in 1187 and expelled the Godfrey/Bohemund monarchy from there.
- Fourth, the Mamelukes of Egypt ended the Ayubi dynasty, ruled from 1250 to 1517. Between 1263 and 1291, they expelled the Crusaders from every military outpost they had established since 1097.

What is Sacred?

- Salahuddin Ayubi reconquered Tiberius in July and, in the same first week, demolished the army of the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan at the Battle of Hattin. He arrested the King and entered the Holy City in October 1187.
- Historians point to a phenomenal difference between the Crusaders' victory of 1099 and Saladin putting an end to it in 1187. There were no rivers of blood and the ferocity of over four centuries of pent-up violent energy that the Crusaders unleashed on the Jerusalemites in 1099.
- Between 1187 and 1192, Saladin also gained Damascus and regained the coastal outposts except for Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli.

What is Sacred?

- The Reconquista of Jerusalem did not close the chapter. The military outposts and the religio-spiritual fervor, mobilization, transportation, and logistics network had tremendous momentum left in them.
- After his death, Saladin's descendants failed to match his stature.
- Muslim West, in the meantime, faced a whirlwind challenge from the eastern interior as the Mongols ravaged the Muslim empires.

What is Sacred?

- In 1260, the unstoppable Mongol hordes invaded Damascus. The Mamelukes miraculously reversed that tide at Ain-al-Jalut.
- This tremendous victory motivated the Mameluke contingents to end the Frankish Outremer. They did.
- The fourth Mameluke, al-Malik al-Zahir Baybars, made it his life's mission to fold the Frankish outposts. He succeeded.
- Between 1263 and 1271, the Mamelukes expelled the Franks from all the supply line forts.
- Jaffa and Antioch fell in 1268. About 116,000 residents of these outposts met a miserable end.

What is Sacred?

- Baybars' successors relented initially but then continued his mission.
- They reached truces with the Templars of Antartus (Tartus) in 1282, and the princes of Beirut in 1285.
- In 1289, they conquered Tripoli.
- In 1291, Acre fell and so did Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Antartus of the Templars.

What is Sacred?

- After 1291, the Crusaders did not return.
- Gregory X pursued the idea but over divergent views. After he died in 1276, the Church shelved and then abandoned the idea (Tyerman, p. 816).
- Well, to the great surprise of the Ottomans, Napoleon, supposedly their ally, besieged Acre in 1799, from his base in Egypt. This time, the Orthodox Russians and Protestant British rescued the Ottomans and chased their nemesis out of both places.

What is Sacred?

- Up to this point, note that the discussion about the sacred is between Islam and Christianity.
- In 1917, General Allenby, with heavy support from Arab contingents and Muslim soldiers of the British Indian Army, entered Jerusalem.
- This time, the conversation about the sacred occurred between Judaism and Christianity. Judaism claimed and received Jerusalem, and that situation to date remains unchanged.

Comments and
Questions

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