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The Pilgrimage of Ibn Jubayr: A Microhistory of Travel During the Late Twelfth Century

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THE PILGRIMAGE OF IBN JUBAYR:

A MICROHISTORY OF TRAVEL DURING THE LATE TWELFTH CENTURY

By

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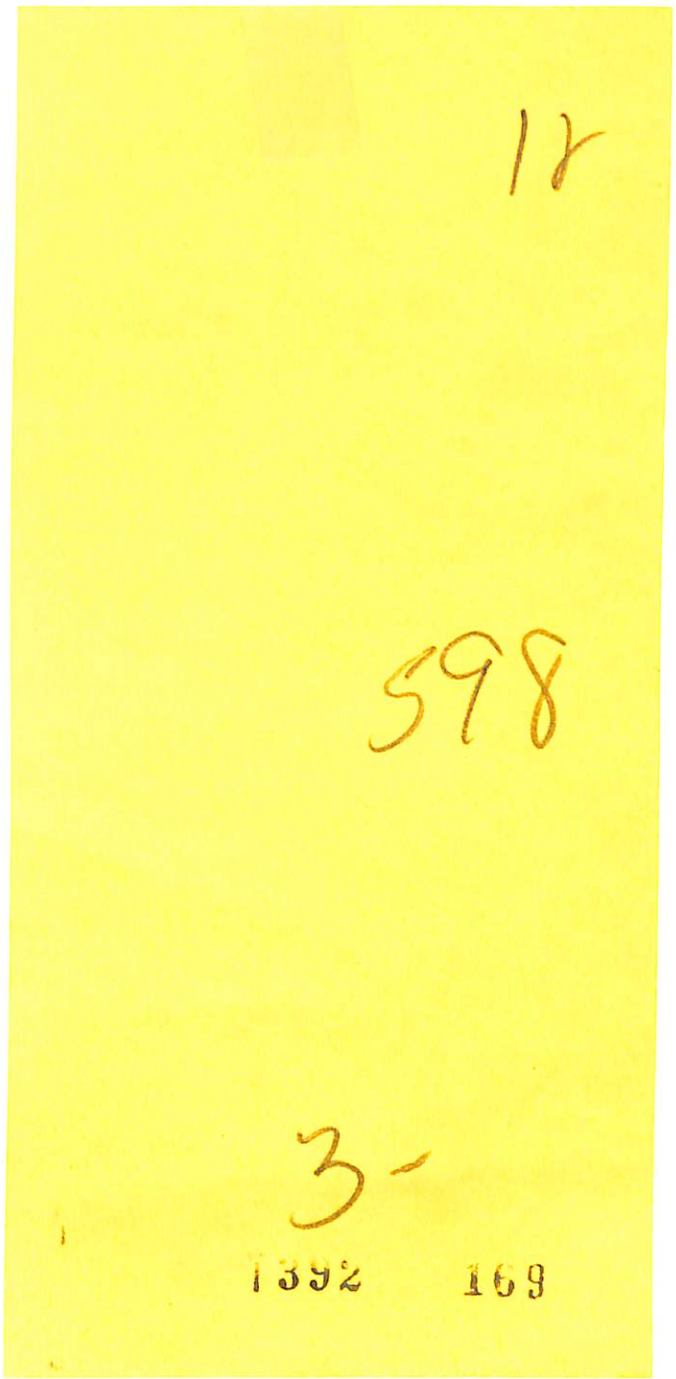

ABSTRACT

TREVOR DAVID JOHNSON: The pilgrimage of Ibn Jubayr: A microhistory of travel during the late twelfth century

(Under the direction of Nicolas Trépanier)

This thesis focuses on *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. Ibn Jubayr was a Muslim pilgrim from medieval Spain who made a religious pilgrimage to Mecca between 1183 and 1185. Temporally this places him on the eve of the Third Crusade. Ibn Jubayr traveled throughout the Mediterranean world and the Arabian Peninsula. It is his travelogue that provides a template for understanding the conditions of travelling that Ibn Jubayr and his contemporaries would have faced. The primary research question of my study is: what did travel in the late twelfth century entail? The core of this thesis revolves around the aspects of travelling that a medieval traveler would encounter, including: the importance of economic institutions, the spheres of military influence, the logistics of travelling, and the complications that the average traveler might expect to encounter on his or her journey. This thesis highlights that although military structures were in place, the economic institutions that were present shaped the pilgrimage of Ibn Jubayr to a much greater degree.

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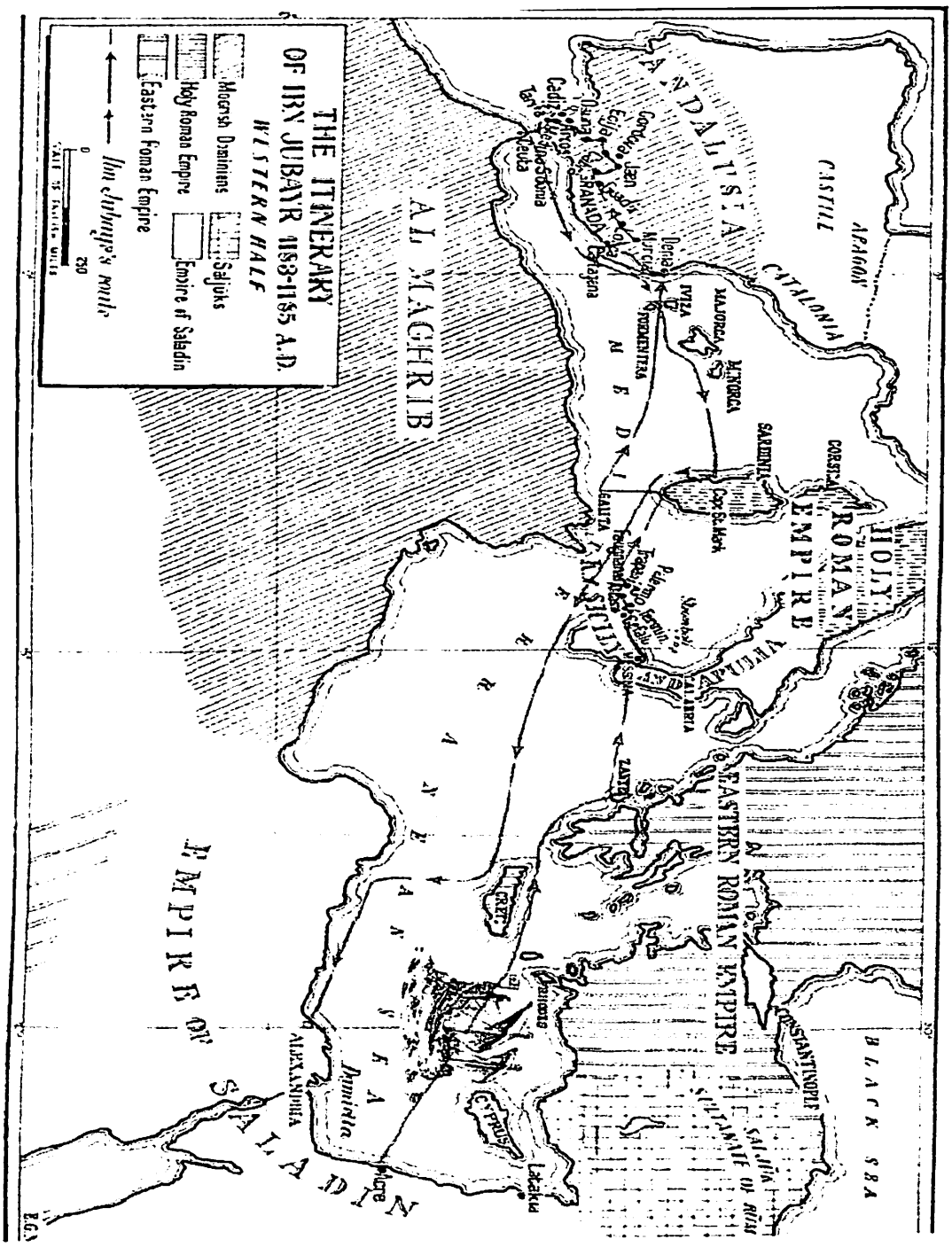

[1]

[1] Beatrice Spade *Traveling to Jerusalem: Ibn Jubayr (Abu al-Husayn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jubayr al-Kinani)*

Map 2


THE ITINERARY
OF IBN JUBAYR
EASTERN HALF
Eastern Roman Empire
Saljuks
Empire of Saladin
Crusader States
The Caliphate (Iraq)
Arabia (Bedouins)
Ibn Jubayr's route
0
200
300
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
SALJUK SULTANATE OF RUM
SALJUKS
Iconium
KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
DIYARBAKIR
Saruj
Harran
Al Bayda
Nasibin
Ra's al 'Ain
MOSUL
Nineveh
Al Raqqah
Latakia
Al Ma'arrah
ASSASSINS
Hamah
Hisn al Akrad
Hims
Al Nabk
DAMASCUS
CYPRUS
ALEXANDRIA
JERUSALEM
Nablus
Kerak
Tiberias
DEAD SEA
Damanhur
Qalyub
CAIRO
Misr
BEDOUINS
Takrit
Samarra
BAGHDAD
Al Hillah
Al Kufah
Al Najaf
Al Qadisiyah
Waqisah
BASRA
Aqabat al Shaytan
Fayd
Samirah
Al Hajir
ARABIA
Medina
Al Rawha
Al Safra
Badr
Khulays
Usfan
Jiddah
MECCA
Ta'if
Aydhab
Uswan
NUBIA
Qus
Qift
Qina
Akhmim
Munyat ibn al Khasib
Manfalut
Asyut
Ayla
'Aqabah
EMPIRE OF SALADIN
AL HIJAZ
RED SEA
EMPIRE OF KHWARIZM
THE CALIPHATE (IRAQ)
PERSIAN GULF
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

2

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[2] *Ibid.*

Introduction

When Ibn Jubayr reached the major Crusader port of Acre in October 1184, he had completed a large portion of his journey. His pilgrimage to Mecca had taken him from Andalusia to Egypt and throughout the Arabian Peninsula, and his journey neared its conclusion as he lodged near the site that was important to the existence of the Crusaders in the region: Acre. The city was a fortified position that operated both as a military defensive position, and it was also a port that facilitated trade. Ibn Jubayr was a traveler passing through the region. He was able to complete his journey largely due to the economic and military structures that were in place during the era of the Crusades.

The Crusades left a considerable mark on Western thought. The traditional understanding of the Crusades is that it was series holy wars that were inspired and fueled by religious fanaticism. This thesis intends to explore a different dimension of history of the Crusades which is traditionally focused on Crusader conquest and European implications. It follows the footsteps of Ibn Jubayr, a twelfth century Muslim pilgrim, in an attempt to understand the complications and challenges that a traveler would have encountered during a period that is often viewed as politically unstable and rife with religious warring. Specifically, I am concerned with what factors were present in the twelfth century that influenced how travel was accomplished.

As a historical figure, Abu 'l-Husayn Muhammad ibn Ahmed ibn Jubayr pales in comparison to the grand figures of the Third Crusade such as Salah al-Din and Richard the Lionheart. He does not capture the imagination in the manner that these leaders did. After all, he was just a court secretary in Grenada, and yet his example offers a unique insight into the social, political and economic atmosphere of the late twelfth century in the Middle East. More specifically, he provides us with the perspective of a common traveler during the twelfth century. He is able to give anecdotes on a variety of different regions throughout the Mediterranean world, which in turn provides the modern reader with an image to how people interacted with each other and their environment as they were travelling. For the purposes of this thesis, Ibn Jubayr provides an insight into understanding how one would have traversed the entire span of the Mediterranean Sea, the problems he or she would have encountered, and the solutions to those problems.

It is worth mention that Ibn Jubayr made two more significant journeys into the Mediterranean world after his pilgrimage to Mecca (in 1189-1191, and again in 1217 where he died while travelling). Just like the movements of other travelers in that period, neither of these journeys is known to be chronicled, which makes the account of his pilgrimage to Mecca something of an anomaly.[3] The novelty of writing in the beginning of his journey could affect the lack of detail in the beginning of his travelogue. Ibn Jubayr matures as a chronicler throughout his travelogue, and he provides a better description of events and more details about the people and places he encounters towards the end of his account than he does at the beginning. Thus, it is unfortunate that the

[3] Charles Pellat, "Ibn Djubayr." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2013.

amount of description given at the start of his journey is comparatively less to the latter part.

Ibn Jubayr's perspective is uniquely interesting because he was from the Spanish Maghreb which was under control of the Almohad Empire.[4] He comes from a politically neutral background, as far as the Crusades are concerned at least, that allows him to write his journal with no predisposition to political alignment. Inherently, his actions in the region are religious and not political in their nature. Ibn Jubayr is making the pilgrimage to Mecca as an unarmed pilgrim to fulfill his religious duty. The importance of this is he is able to provide perspective on the regions through which he passes without being beholden to any local political. As a result, we are left with an account that is likely more honest to the reader than an account that would have been written in order to please a benefactor.

However, Ibn Jubayr's travelogue is not completely without bias, as he does treat his depiction of Muslims in a much kinder light than Crusaders and Christian Pilgrims. It is not surprising that he shows preferential treatment to Muslims, since he is a Muslim himself and on a religious trip. It is because of this bias that it was necessary for me to incorporate secondary sources that were able to provide a temporal context for the events and situations with which he was involved.

The hajj is the fifth pillar of Islam. It constitutes a duty for Muslims to make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetime. Consequently, it served to supplement

[4] At its furthest extent, the Almohad Empire extended from North Africa to the Iberian Peninsula in the middle of the twelfth century. The empire lost its last vestige of power before the close of the thirteenth century.

trade as merchant and pilgrims stopped along sea and land routes.[5] Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage took place between 1183 and 1185 during the reign of Salah al-Din, and just a few years before the "start" of the Third Crusade when Salah al-Din entered Jerusalem at the end of 1187.[6] Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage took him along the Spanish coast, to the Italian islands of Sicily and into the port of Alexandria. From Alexandria he travelled along the Nile River before crossing the Red Sea and staying for a few months in the city of Mecca. He continued on from Mecca to Baghdad before travelling to Syria and into Crusader territories. From Syria, he returned via the Red Sea to Italy before finally returning to Spain.[7]

It is important to understand that as Ibn Jubayr was travelling he was first and foremost a pilgrim on a spiritual journey. He also encountered several Crusaders who performed a pilgrimage of their own, albeit an armed one. Thus, this thesis would be incomplete without discussing the role of pilgrimage to some extent. A few general rules can be applied to pilgrimage regardless of whether the individual was Muslim, as Ibn Jubayr was, or Christian as were the Crusaders which he encountered.

The act of pilgrimage is universally an act that is individual and voluntary.[8] Although Islam commands followers to make the hajj to Mecca at least once in their lifetime, they are only required to do so if they have the funds and physical capability.[9] It needs to be understood that although pilgrimage to Mecca is the duty of all Muslims to attempt, the individual only attempted if they had the ability. In introduction to the

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[5] Dionisius A. Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam: From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean*. 65.
[6] Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to The Crusades*. 152.
[7] See Map 1 on page vi
[8] Richard Barber, *Pilgrimages*: 4.
[9] *Ibid*: 30.

travelogue, translator Roland Broadhurst explains that Ibn Jubayr was overcome with guilt after being forced to drink an alcoholic beverage by the Governor of Granada.[10] Pilgrimage in Islam was not necessarily an act of penance, however this anecdote given suggests that penance may have been a contributing factor for this particular Muslim to perform his religious obligation.

If penance for the individual was a contributing factor to Ibn Jubayr making his pilgrimage to Mecca, then he can be compared to his Crusader contemporaries in some regards because one of the primary motivations for the common person to go on the Crusades was penance. At the Council of Clermont in 1095 Urban II promised for the absolution of sins for those who died while campaigning to recapture Jerusalem thereby inaugurating the historical phenomenon known as the Crusades.[11] This theme of the absolution of sins is present in the call to Crusade by Urban's papal successors.[12] This means that the promise of the absolution of sins was an enticing prospect for the Crusaders who made the journey to Jerusalem. There was a trope present where a difficult physical and spiritual journey provided the individual with forgiveness for sins. It is unclear whether or not Ibn Jubayr would have been exposed to this trope, but given the proximity of Muslim Spain to Christian Europe there is a very real possibility that the absolution of his sins was a contributing factor for him performing the hajj.

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[10] Roland Broadhurst, trans. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. 15. It should be noted that the consumption of alcohol is prohibited in Islam

[11] Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1, pp. 382 f., trans in Oliver J. Thatcher, and Edgar Holmes McNeal, eds., *A Source Book for Medieval History*, New York: Scribners, 1905, 513-17

[12] See Eugene III's Summons to a Crusade (Doeberl, *Monumenta Germania Selecta*, Vol 4, p. 40, trans in Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1910, pp. 333-336 and Innocent III's Summons to a Crusade (trans in Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1910, pp. 337-344)

While performing the hajj Ibn Jubayr would have enjoyed a distinct advantage travelling in the Middle East over his Crusader counterpart on pilgrimage: his knowledge of the Arabic language. Arabic is the language of scripture used in the Qur'an, and it was also in widespread use throughout the Middle East when Ibn Jubayr traveled.[13] This is not to suggest that colloquial dialects would not have existed in the regions through which he travelled. Instead he would have had the basic vocabulary to communicate with the locals. The advantage here is that Ibn Jubayr would not have needed to find a translator that he could trust, unlike his Crusader counterparts.[14] Further, the Crusaders originally entered the region as a belligerent military force which likely would have negatively impacted relationships between Crusaders and the local Muslim populations. As a result, they would likely not have been privy to the same information on routes with shelter and water resources that an unarmed pilgrim such as Ibn Jubayr would have been had.

Scholars do not study Ibn Jubayr's travelogue without running into a few problems. The primary obstacle to accessing the text is language. Ibn Jubayr wrote in classical Arabic. In order to properly work on this thesis, I used the 1907 revision made by M.J. de Goeje to William Wright's 1852 edition of the original text from the manuscript at the Leiden University Library. Additionally I used Roland Broadhurst's 1952 translation as a complementary aid. The footnotes referring to Ibn Jubayr's travelogue indicate Broadhurst's translation because I felt that version of the text would be more accessible to the majority of my readers. Although Broadhurst provides a very

[13] Ibn Jubayr does encounter a language barrier at the Cape of St. Mark where the locals speak "the Rumi tongue" [Greek]. (Broadhurst 27) However, he does not mention problems with communication afterwards.

[14] Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages* 44.

good translation of the text into English, it is inherently limited because it is a translation. A writer imposes certain tones and inflections upon a subject by the vocabulary he or she chooses to use. It is difficult, if not impossible for a translator to capture the proper tone of the original text. Translations can be quite useful in helping one get started in the study of a historical text, but that study is incomplete if the scholar does not access the original transcript as well. This is why I referred to the original Arabic text when I needed clarification on the words that Broadhurst used in his translation.

For example, one problem regarding the English translation of the travelogue is that it does not comfortably accommodate the distinctions that Ibn Jubayr makes is where he makes a distinction between the Muslim Pilgrims (*al-hajjaj*) and Christian Pilgrims (*al-bilghriyin* transliterated from the Latin *pellegrini*, which is the equivalent to the English pilgrim). Ibn Jubayr explains that *al-bilghriyin* are *hajjaj* to the city of Jerusalem.[15] The discrepancy is a clear indicator that Ibn Jubayr deemed it necessary to distinguish between the two groups and did not see them as kindred spirits. The two groups are performing spiritual journeys, but it is obvious from the choice of language that Ibn Jubayr wishes to separate himself as much as possible from his Christian counterparts.

Another problem arises with the place names which have taken a separate spelling or pronunciation from their original language into English. For example, Granata becomes Granada. Further, other towns have completely different English names than the Arabic ones that Ibn Jubayr uses in his account. For example, the city of Tyre also bears the Arabic name of *Sūr*. It should be understood that it is possible for a single

[15] Ibn Jubayr; Wright, William, ed.; revised by Goeje, M.J. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. 315.

geographic point on a map to be called several different names. Where these discrepancies occur, I follow Broadhurst unless there is a more recognizable English name available. For example, Broadhurst uses the name "Iviza" instead of "Ibiza" to refer to the island off of the Spanish coast.

There are a few occasions where I break this rule because I fear it would otherwise cause a historical mischaracterization. It is obvious to the modern reader familiar with geography what the expression "Spanish coast" refers to. However, this common knowledge would not have been common Ibn Jubayr, who was actually born in Spain. This is because the modern state of Spain did not exist in the twelfth century. For this reason, I use the term Andalusia (and derivations from it) to refer to Spain. I encountered the opposite problem with the usage of "Syria". The historical understanding of Syria stretches beyond the borders of the modern state. The geographic area that I refer to as Syria includes the modern states of Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria.

Likewise, Ibn Jubayr used a few identifying names for groups of people which I have adopted for my own use. I follow the IJMES Transliteration System when Arabic is incorporated into the thesis. Ibn Jubayr uses the term *Maghribi* to identify himself and several of the people that he travels with or encounters throughout the travelogue. *Maghribi* in modern Arabic usage refers to a person of Moroccan nationality, but the literal definition of the word is "western person". Thus, we should understand that Ibn Jubayr was using the term to refer to peoples from the western extent of the Muslim world (the Almohad Empire which included modern Spain and Morocco).

He also uses *Rumi* on numerous occasions throughout the chronicle. *Rumi* is the Arabic derivation of Roman. However, he uses the term to primarily refer to make a distinction between Eastern (Christians from the Byzantine Empire) and Western Christians (European Christians), although he often includes the Genoese merchants with the Rumi instead of the Western Christians.[16] When Ibn Jubayr is referring to Rumi, he is referring to Byzantines, except in cases where he uses the phrase *jenuw'a rumi* or "Genoese Rumi". For the purposes of this thesis, the Genoese are referred to simply as Genoese, and the term Rumi should be understood to refer to Byzantines.

As discussed further in the historiography chapter, the term "Crusader" is a modern invention. Ibn Jubayr uses the term *al-franj* (the Franks) to refer to western Christians. However, I chose to use the term Crusaders instead of the Franks because using the term "Franks" would imply that all of the people who took part in Crusading activities were ethnically Frankish. The Crusaders were not exclusively Franks, nor did all Christians partake in Crusading activities. For this reason, the term "Crusader" is a better characterization than the one that Ibn Jubayr used.

This thesis is separated into three chapters: the survey of historiography on the Crusades, a chapter on land travel and a chapter on sea travel. The body of the thesis is divided between two broad chapters: Land Travel and Sea Travel. I have broken the chapters down thematically in order to extrapolate information that may not be as readily apparent had I attempted to explain events in chronological order. For example, the chapter on Land Travel examines the presence of fortresses and water sources in different

[16] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 367.

segments. It is in this respect that we are able to examine Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage categorically and able to draw new lessons from the text.

The purpose of the historiographical review is to examine how the Crusades have been studied, and more specifically it addresses the Eurocentric manner in which scholarship on the Crusades has been performed. As a result of this perspective, the Middle Eastern perspective has been comparatively neglected. The effects of the Crusades on European factions are fairly well documented and studied, whereas there is less historical scholarship to draw from concerning the Middle East. It is because of this disparity that I felt the analysis of a segment of the Muslim perspective was necessary.

The Land Travel chapter is divided into five sections: Fortresses, Caravans, Lodging, Water, and Rivers and Bridges. Breaking this chapter down into these five sections provides a cross-section of the various situations that a medieval traveler might encounter in the Middle East. I felt it was necessary to deal with the question of how he traversed the land and where he lodged in subsequent order as both had economic implications and were established as a part of trade networks that were affected by the presence of fortresses. In order to supplement these two sections, I included a segment on potable water because the trade networks that were established could not have existed without the resource of drinking. The final division is concerned with Rivers and Bridges. This unit focuses on the waterways Ibn Jubayr encountered while travelling by land and it is meant to highlight the military and economic factors discussed in earlier in the chapter.

The Sea Travel chapter is broken down into five sections as well: Routes, Speed and sailing conditions in the Mediterranean, Ships, Ports, and Customs. The section on Routes is concerned with the economic maritime trade networks that were established in the late twelfth century. The presence of these established routes eased Ibn Jubayr's journey considerably, otherwise he would have had to find a land route from Granada to Mecca. The next section examines the speed of passage on board a vessel in the Mediterranean and the complications that he encountered. After the section on speed I examine the ships that he would have boarded and draw comparisons to different maritime traditions that would have developed independently from one another. The last two sections in the Sea Travel chapter assess the roles of ports and customs that a traveler would have dealt with. The port was essential in facilitating large-scale maritime trade, but the other sections needed to be adequately addressed before discussing the role of the port in travel. The sections on customs is included because it was a point of transition from land travel to sea travel and a critical part of Ibn Jubayr's interaction with locals.

The thesis is focused primarily on travel. However, information on military and economic spheres are overwhelmingly present throughout Ibn Jubayr's travelogue. Thus, the task of discussing travel is difficult to do without addressing the role that these to spheres had on Ibn Jubayr's travels. Ultimately, this study has the perspective of one man at its core: Ibn Jubayr. We are outsiders to the time period and culture that is recorded by Ibn Jubayr and discussed in this thesis. Thus, we approach the subject with the eyes of an outsider: a traveler.

Chapter I

Historiography on the Crusades

The historiography of the Crusades dates back to the beginning of the twelfth century, and it generally marks the Pope Urban II's call to the Crusade as the beginning of the phenomenon. Urban originally campaigned for the Crusades at the end of the eleventh century. Essentially, historical analysis of the Crusading phenomenon occurred within a generation of its onset, and it continued until now. There is almost a constant stream of scholarly work being done to not only chronicle the events, but also to try and understand the greater implications of the Crusades as a pivotal point in history, at least from the European perspective. A dichotomy thus emerges concerning Muslim and Christian historiographies: Christian writers saw the event as an extension of divine undertaking, while Muslims medieval writers viewed the Frankish invasion as one among many other foreign invasions.[17] By the very nature of different perspectives, historians of the Christian tradition (European) gravitated towards the concept of studying such a pivotal event in western history; the subject simply did not captivate the Muslim perspective in the same manner.

The beginning of the historiography of the Crusades dates back to William of Tyre in the twelfth century. William of Tyre was born around 1130 and lived in the

[17] Carole Hillenbrand *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*: 2.

Kingdom of Jerusalem which was under Crusader dominion, but he did spend 20 years studying in Europe. His work *Historia rerum partibus transmarinis gestarum* is often credited as the first analytical history of the First Crusade.[18] William of Tyre drew his research from the historical archives which contained many historical first-hand accounts in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He is set apart from chroniclers of the period because he was concerned to construct a history from several accounts as opposed to merely recording a narrative of events.

European historians from later centuries would use William's *Historia* as a basis for their works on the Crusades.[19] The major drawback for this account, and those that would later be based on it, is the concentration on purely the Crusader populations and provided almost no description to the Muslim populations. Entire generations of scholarly work focusing on the Crusades in the Middle East lacked the perspective of the indigenous population. Understanding the Crusades in the Middle East is next to impossible if one only concentrates on the Latin Kingdoms as the whole of the study, rather than a part.

Eurocentrism is at the heart of the very early studies of the Crusades. This is quite understandable for William of Tyre and the succeeding generations. Religious pilgrimage was at the root of motivation for the early Crusaders. Pope Urban II's call was primarily focused on obtaining the control of the Holy Land from the Seljuk Turks in the name of Christ.[20] Thus, the motivation for Crusades was fully religious in nature: after all, religious motivation for the salvation of one's sins does not readily lend itself to

[18] Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to The Crusades*. 257.
[19] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily A. Babcock and A.C. Krey.
[20] Lock, *op. cit.*: 139.

gain knowledge of the "Other" as it is often a journey of individual cleansing. Thus, the Eurocentric focal point is understandable in early works because of the context of a Crusade in of itself.

The first major European group to concentrate on "Eastern" sources (sources written in Arabic, Turkish and Persian in particular) emerged with the Maurists during the 16th century. The group largely translated the works as a form of spiritual meditation. Robert Irwin considers that the Maurists were "lay scholars" who were aided by monks with their knowledge of chronology, numismatics, and translation of Eastern sources.[21] Notably Barthelemy d'Herbelot and Antoine Galland emerged from this group. D'Herbelot concentrated on the history and literature of Arabic, Turkish and Persian origin. He died before publication of his work *Bibliotheque orientale* at the close of the 17th century.[22] The *Bibliotheque*'s publication was overseen by Galland, who popularized *The Thousand and One Nights* in Europe. Both Galland and d'Herbelot believed that understanding Islam and Arabic sources would further the understanding of the Crusades.[23] However, both men were more concerned with translation over interpretation.[24]

The first scholar to do a considerable amount of source work with Eastern and Western languages within the same body of work was Friedrich Wilken in his eight volume *Geschicte der Kreuzzuge nach morgentlandischen und abendlandischen*

[21] Peter Irwin, "Orientalism and the early development of crusader." In *The Experience of Crusading*: 215
[22] Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* [1697], Maestricht 1776.
[23] Irwin, *op. cit.*: 215.
[24] *Ibid*: 216

Berichten.[25] Wilken was a 19th century German scholar who had knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Notable Crusade historian Jonathan Riley-Smith claims that Wilken was able to provide a more complete and detailed history of the Crusades because he took the "other side" into account.[26] The model he set forth solidified a view of Islamic East versus Christian West. This model is somewhat flawed because it provides an image of two homogenous hegemonic camps that were directly and constantly at odds with one another. This meant that Wilken painted with a broad stroke, providing an image of "us" (Christian West) and "them" (Islamic East). The problem with categorizing both groups in such a way is that it doesn't readily provide the lay audience with the intricate details that varied widely in the two groups themselves. Wilken follows a dualist narrative that requires explanations with some sort of opposing forces (e.g. light and dark, good and evil, right and wrong).

Despite the initial flaws, Wilken's model of providing a more rounded history that took the Muslim perspective into account was definitely a positive step towards understanding crusading history because Wilken took the time to interpret local sources alongside the European sources. However Riley-Smith charges Wilken's work of being dull, especially in comparison with his contemporaries: the Critical Romantics and the Romantic Imperialists.[27] While Wilken's work should have been more influential in the development of historical understanding of the period because he used sources from "both sides" involved in the Crusades, it did not captivate academic discussion as much as his contemporaries because it was not nearly as "exciting". Thus, we are left to make

[25] Freidrich Wilken, *Geschicte der Kreuzzuge nach morgentlandischen und abendlandischen Berichten* (8 volumes)
[26] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*: 299.
[27] *Ibid.*

the conclusion that, for better or worse, influential works are at times more exciting than enlightening.

The Critical Romantics and the Romantic Imperialists were intellectual descendants of Enlightenment ideas.[28] Notably, Voltaire wrote 'Histoire des Croisades' which used the Crusades to delve into the ignorance of mankind rather than tell a formal history of events. [29] The Crusades were vilified as the extremist holy wars of the "uncultured" prior generations.[30] During the Enlightenment Era, Europe was moving towards a more secular society, while the Crusades were a decidedly more conservative endeavor. Undoubtedly, the issue that arose was that Enlightenment Era thinkers were performing an exercise in philosophical thought rather than addressing true motivations of the Crusaders. Hayden White would argue that ultimately every historian has a motive to prove or disprove a certain aspect within their research, and that the historian is influenced by their own contemporary viewpoints and cannot fully detach from these contemporary notions. White's thesis certainly helps argue some of the validity away from the Enlightenment Era histories.[31]

Sir Walter Scott was among the original Critical Romantics whose works stemmed from Enlightenment ideas. These ideas are evident in his book *The Talisman*.[32] Sir Walter Scott portrays Saladin as a gentleman and the Crusaders as brutish and violent beings.[33] The major issue that comes to the front is that Saladin's character is more based on Scott's contemporary idea of being a European gentleman, rather than an accurate

[28] Lock, *op. cit.*: 259.
[29] Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire, 'Histoire des Croisades' in *Mercure*.
[30] Lock, *op. cit.*: 259.
[31] Richard J. Murphy, "Hayden White on "Facts, Fictions and Metahistory"." *Entretiens: Interviews*.
[32] Walter Scott, *The Talisman*.
[33] Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*:

representation of Saladin. Put another way, Saladin fulfilled a literary role for Scott and provided stark contrast to the Crusaders. The Critical Romantic idea emerged during the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, and abhorrence of religious fanaticism came with Enlightenment. Crusaders perfectly embodied religious fanaticism for the Critical Romantics. They were easily portrayed as a brutish and destructive group that brought violence to far-flung regions in the name of religion.

On the other side of the coin, Romantic Imperialists provide the exact opposite view of the Crusader to their contemporary opponents. Joseph Francois Michaud penned *Histoire des croisades*.[34] *Histoire* was at the forefront of Romantic Imperialist thought, and Michaud's works were based on the idea that European nations who took part in the Crusades were culturally enriched from the experience.[35] Not only were the nations enriched from the experience, but the Crusaders brought culture to the regions they entered. In this interpretation, the Muslim population becomes the unenlightened fanatics while the Crusaders play the role of the gentleman. This is the most profound distinction between the Romantic Imperialists and Critical Romantics: two opposing interpretations of the same group of characters.

The problem with both interpretations is that both are trying to interpret historical phenomena within the context of a modern setting. Rather than trying to truly understand the motivations of the powers that be, both sides are projecting characteristics of the Enlightenment or Nationalist to groups which may or may not have understood these concepts. The concern here is that the language and discourse of the time is weighing too

[34] Joseph Francois Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* 1841
[35] Lock, *op. cit.*: 262-3.

heavily on the historical account. This idea coincides with Hayden White's idea about metahistory. The authors are familiarizing the unknown along the lines of what is already known.[36]

The rise of Nationalism in Europe when incorporated the Crusades is a source of pride and national history. The common interpretation by western historians is that Saladin was a forgotten leader in the Muslim world until in the beginning of the renewal of cultural exchange in the 19th century.[37] Saladin had been built up by both the Romantic Imperialists and Critical Romantics as a larger than life figure who fit the mold of an Enlightenment Era European Gentleman. The fact that this narrative did not exist in the Muslim world did not reflect a lack of historical awareness. In the beginning of the 20th Century, Kaiser Wilhelm rebuilt Saladin's tomb in an effort to remind the Arab people of the great leader they once had, but forgotten about as a people.[38] It is visible here that the Muslim world had a different perception of the Crusades than the European world did at the time turn of the 20th century.

However, scholarship in recent years has tended to depart from the nationalistic overtones of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When Stephen Runciman penned *A History of the Crusades* in 1951,[39] Bernard Lewis proclaimed that the work would "take its place as the standard modern history of the Crusades".[40] This is a bold claim at the time of publication as a panel of American scholars had been working on a forthcoming history of the Crusades, and Runciman himself doubted the strength that the work of one

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[36] Murphy, *op. cit.*: 5.
[37] Diana Abouali, "Saladin's Legacy in the Middle East before the nineteenth century." *Crusades*: 175.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Stephen Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*
[40] Bernard Lewis, "Steven Runciman: A History of the Crusades." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies:* 398.

author could hold up to a panel of experts. Lewis further claimed that the French Mandate in Syria decidedly shaped the French historiography on the Crusades, but the British Mandate system did not have a similar effect on the British historiography of the Crusades.

Lewis goes so far as to claim that Runciman goes against the grain of the traditional bias against the Muslim factions that had overwhelmed Crusade literature at the time, and Runciman occasionally takes the viewpoint of the Byzantines who saw the Crusaders as unwanted Barbarians. This viewpoint would match Runciman's other works that focused on the Byzantine Empire and Eastern Orthodoxy. The major drawback to Runciman's account is that there is little consideration to the Islamic side of the story. Lewis dismisses this drawback by stating that the resources simply weren't available as translations for Runciman, although a similar complaint exists with Runciman's treatment of Russian sources when talking about Eastern Orthodoxy.

The work of the American scholars that Runciman refers to is the six volume *History of the Crusades* edited by Kenneth Setton (also known the Pennsylvania Histories where it began publication, or more commonly as the Wisconsin Histories where it was published starting in 1969).[41] The first volume of the book was published in 1955, and it was a collaborative effort of several prominent historians over several decades, in fact at the time of publication it was difficult to find a reviewer for the work because of the prominence of the authors who worked on the volume.[42] The work is heralded as an in-depth study of the Crusades and interpretations of the consequences they held for both

[41] K.M. Setton, (editor-in-chief) *A History of the Crusades*. 2nd ed. 6 volumes.
[42] R.N. Frye "Kenneth M. Setton and Marshall W. Baldwin, edd., A History of the Crusades, I: The First Hundred Years (Book Review)." *Speculum*: 684.

Europe and the Middle East. The criticism levied against this work is that it is at times inconsistent because of the many authors who wrote for it.[43] It seems that this minute detail is willingly overlooked by scholars in the field, and the Wisconsin Histories became a well renowned work that became a foundation for scholarship in the latter half of the twentieth century.

With Runciman and Setton completing major studies considering the effect of Crusaders on the regions they were involved in, the topic of debate shifted to defining what a Crusade was. Efforts are being made in the field to classify the Crusades in a broader context of the Medieval Age. With these efforts two camps have emerged: the traditionalists and the pluralists. Traditionalists focus on the idea that the Crusades were phenomena unique to the Middle East where the primary objective was reaching Jerusalem. Pluralists would argue that the Crusades were a larger effort of the Church against all other belief structures and not contained to the Middle East but extended to other regions in Europe and on its margins.

The debate over the definition of the word seems to be a debate over semantics as it was not a term of self-identification for the Crusaders, nor was it an identifying term for the forces that fought against them in the Middle East. The vernacular expressions such as *croiserie* and *croisement* (Crusade) were not in widespread usage until the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[44] It took until the middle of the nineteenth century for the equivalent term *al-salibiyyun* to enter the Arabic vernacular.[45] It was not until

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[43] James A. Brundage, "Setton, Kenneth M., and Hazard, Harry W., eds. A History of the Crusades (Book Review)." *Manuscripta*: 114.
[44] Lock, *op. cit.*: 292.
[45] *Ibid*: 289.

1750 that the term "Crusade" was firmly linked to the act of military campaigning.[46] Simply put, the term "Crusade" or "Crusader" is an invented word which came to describe taking up the sign of the cross. Determining which region it was confined to seems counterproductive.

One of the more renowned traditionalist scholars is Hans Mayer. Mayer narrowly defined a Crusade as a Christian expedition with the goal of gaining control of the Holy Sepulcher.[47] What this means in regards of studying the Crusades, is that only expeditions with the goal of controlling Jerusalem could be considered as a Crusade. This description fits with a popular understanding of what a Crusade is. However, this narrow approach poses severe limitations on the historian who should be diligently aware of the larger implications of the Crusades within the temporal context. In other words, emphasizing the importance of Jerusalem could drastically limit a deeper understanding of the Crusades as a cultural phenomenon.

Joshua Prawer is also of the traditionalist mindset and would have fiercely defended that only a military campaign with the Holy Land as a destination could be considered a Crusade. Additionally, his work focused on the interplay of archaeology with historical record. However, he is more well-known for his portrayal of Crusaders as proto-colonialists.[48] Crusaders serving as protocolonialists would have drawn a link with the twentieth century mandate system and provided a continuing context for current military operations in the Middle East. Within this context, Prawer focuses on the

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[46] *Ibid*: 258.
[47] Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., trans John Gillingham
[48] Lock, op. cit: 282.

introduction and altercations of western values into the Levantine region. In other words, he was concerned with the effects of cross-cultural exchange and interaction.

On the other side of the coin, the man credited as the father of the pluralist movement in Crusader historiography is Giles Constable. It was in 1953 that Constable linked the Crusades in Syria with military expeditions in Andalusia and Central Europe around a thesis that the expeditions were part of a larger collective effort rather than unrelated movements.[49] He further defines the meaning of the word "crusade" as well as other methodologies that are vital in studying and understanding the history and historiography of the Crusades in his book *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*.[50] Constable pinpoints that interest in the Crusades today stems from political and ideological differences that stems from European colonialism and tensions between western and non-western societies, particularly in the Middle East.[51]

Another well-known promoter of the pluralist viewpoint is Jonathan Riley-Smith. He expands the aims of the Crusades to military expeditions that were directed with papal authority against the enemies of Christianity. It is appropriate then that Riley-Smith's original focus of research began with military orders and eventually moved to the laymen involved in the crusading process. Riley-Smith's boldest claim is that the Crusades were a response to the aggression of Islam into traditional European territories, but it is not widely accepted despite the popularity of his account of the Crusades.

Additionally, Norman Housley is of the same pluralist mindset as Riley-Smith. However, in his acclaimed book, *Contesting the Crusades*, he examines both the pluralist

[49] Riley-Smith, "The Crusading Movement"
[50] Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*.
[51] *Ibid.*: 5.

and traditionalist viewpoints and presents developments in recent scholarship of Crusading historiography.[52] In addition to surveying the historiography, Housley aims to "reconstruct the 'lived experience' and the 'state of mind' of the participants".[53] Stated otherwise, Housley attempts to recreate a historical perspective for groups that participated in the Crusades. Of particular importance to Housley's is the clout that religion held in the motivations of the Crusades.

Carole Hillenbrand is one of the most influential modern scholars in the field of Crusading history. This is because her primary focus lies with the Islamic perspective, and the bulk her work is done with Arabic source material. This is completely different from the other historians mentioned because their primary focus was with the Crusaders, and the Muslim perspective is often provided as a short chapter in their books. Her book *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* lays the ground work for potential work to be furthered on a comprehensive Islamic account of the Crusades.[54] She does not include western sources in her analysis, reasoning that the book is not intended to be comprehensive. Rather she wishes to shed light on the "neglected side of the question" concerning the impact of the Crusades on the Middle East. It is in this regards that Hillenbrand errs by providing an incomplete history, in a similar fashion to her counterparts who only take western sources into account.

With the notion of an incomplete history in mind, it should be noted that my historiography itself is decidedly Eurocentric, but not without reason. The Muslim

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[52] Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*

[53] Hussein Anwar Fancy, "Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land." *Comparative studies in society and history*: 211.

[54] Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*.

historiography of the Crusades is comparatively young. The idea that the Crusades were distinct phenomena that shaped the course of human history is distinctly Western in its origin. The appearance of the Franks in Muslim controlled territory was often coupled with the arrival of the Mongols by medieval Islamic writers.[55] As mentioned earlier, terms regarding the Crusades as a distinct identity did not appear until the middle of the 19th century. It only appeared as Arab authors began to translate European works on Crusader activities.[56] In 1865, Muhammad Mazlum was the first to translate the work of a French author Monrod, *Tarikh al huruub al-muqaddasa*.[57] *Al-akhbar al-saniyya fi 'l-hurub al-salibiyya* by Sayyid 'Ali al-Harriri was the first history written on the Crusades in Arabic, and al-Harriri drew extensively from medieval Islamic sources.[58]

The work that has been done by Muslim historians has a distinctly nationalist flavor to it. Al-Harriri makes the claim that Europe was carrying out a Crusade against Abdulhamid II in the form of a political campaign during his own lifetime, thus attempting to define a historical phenomenon within a contemporary context.[59] Al-Harriri's intellectual heirs inherited the view of the West continuing a Crusade against the Middle East in light of colonialism, Arab nationalism, and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.[60] It is interesting that advancement of Crusade historiography has become a largely Arab endeavor in the Middle East. Concretely, what this means is that there is a tendency to underplay the importance of the involvement of groups like the Turks during the period. While the involvement of the Arab viewpoint as scholars should

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[55] *Ibid*: 2.
[56] *Ibid*: 592.
[57] *Ibid*: 614.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] Sayyid Al-Harriri from Hillenbrand, *op. cit.*: 592.
[60] Hillenbrand, *op. cit.*: 4.

be viewed as a welcome addition to the development of studies on the Crusades, it should be noted that it is only a piece of the whole. Involvement of other groups of scholars in the Islamic world would greatly benefit the progression of the study of the Crusades.

Hillenbrand's book was published in 1999; nine centuries after Pope Urban II's first call to Crusade in 1095 and approximately eight centuries after the publication William of Tyre's *Historia* in the twelfth century. In the course of Crusade historiography, it took 900 years for a historian do a comprehensive survey of the Islamic perspective of the Crusades. The simplest explanation of this lack of scholarship is the impact that Orientalism has had on the field of study. Eurocentric views have dominated scholarship in the past as a means to justify the Crusades.

In the Orientalist perspective, it is necessary for the "Other" to exist in order to clearly define what the self is. It is easy to define the self by saying what it is not and then assigning those characteristics to the "Other". However the "Other" cannot be studied in depth, lest the false veneer peel away and we are all left to realize that we know little about ourselves and indeed the "Other" does not match the proper description either.

This is why the current direction of scholarship on the Crusades is aimed towards contributing to fix the still prudent Eurocentric view of historiography. Perhaps one of the most prominent areas of need is a more comprehensive Islamic history, meaning that historians will follow along the lines of Hillenbrand's work in understanding the role of the people and governments in the Middle East during the crusading era. In addition to understanding the role of the Muslim world in the Crusades, the active efforts of

pluralists is to understand the Crusades as a phenomenon during the Medieval Period in Europe. Historians are trying to understand the influence that the Crusades had on the larger part of European history as well as what circumstances existed during the era that inspired holy war in the Middle East.

Chapter II

Land Travel

Ibn Jubayr travelled from the western border of the Mediterranean world in Andalusia to its eastern extent in Syria. In addition to sailing throughout the Mediterranean, Ibn Jubayr went beyond the coast line and journeyed extensively throughout the Muslim world. He spent a majority of his time in areas that were under Muslim control. This chapter intends to examine his account of traversing the various regions he encountered and methods he used. Of particular interest is the role that local political powers had over the local populations and travelers as well. The examination of Ibn Jubayr's journal gives insight into how travelers, more specifically Muslim pilgrims, would have interacted with the various environments and populations they would have encountered in the Mediterranean world and Arabian Peninsula.

Fortresses

Among the most prominent elements of human geography that Ibn Jubayr and other medieval travelers encountered during his travels was the fortress. Fortresses were constructed as defensive positions. The common conception is that Crusader fortresses existed primarily to maintain political control over the region. However, the role of the fortress is much more nuanced than a feature which merely secured a political geographic border

Essentially the account that Ibn Jubayr provides evidence against the theory that Crusader fortresses existed as a line of defense that repelled Muslim incursion into Crusader territory. If the purpose had been to repel all Muslims, then Crusaders would not have allowed the Muslim population to maintain farming activities in the area and it is highly unlikely they would have allowed the passage of Muslim travelers through their region. Although the Crusaders that Ibn Jubayr encountered were weary of Maghribi pilgrims, they still allowed passage through the territory they controlled after they exacted a higher tax than the one imposed on local Muslim populations.[61] This was done because the Crusaders feared that western Muslims were travelling to Syria in order to aid their Muslim brethren against the Christian kingdoms. At least on the boundaries of Muslim and Christian controlled areas, there was a level of relative peace that could be attained between Muslim and Christians. Accordingly, it is much more likely that fortresses were used by the Crusaders to maintain their positions rather than drive out the indigenous population.

The area under the protection or control of a Crusader fortress undoubtedly varied in the Middle East, but the population that was under its influence was not exclusively all Christian or all Muslim. Nor was movement of either population restricted. This is evident in Ibn Jubayr's account of Banyas (Belinas)[62] which was on the frontier of Muslim territory during the twelfth century. The idea that the Crusades were distinctly divided between a Muslim faction and a Christian faction is an antiquated notion, and fails to integrate the idea that the common person in the region would likely have regular interaction with the "Other" faction. According to Ibn Jubayr, a boundary divided the

[61] Roland Broadhurst, trans. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. 251.
[62] See Map 2 on page vii

land that was cultivated and the livestock of Muslims and Franks intermingled regularly with each other.[63]

The idea that Crusader fortresses were built along a unified line to work in unison protecting Frankish territories is also an outdated hypothesis.[64] Nineteenth century historians such as Claude Reignier Conder hypothesized that definite borders existed much like modern-state borders exist today.[65] That is to say he hypothesized those distinct political boundaries extended to a certain geographical extent that was maintained by the presences of Crusader fortresses. Rather, the presence of Crusader fortresses stemmed largely from the lack of manpower and the need for security, and the extent of their political control likely did not stretch far from their outer walls.[66] The appearance of fortresses stemmed from an existential threat to the Crusader presence in the Middle East. After all, Crusading was essentially an act of armed pilgrimage: a military expedition. A sustained military expedition by its very nature requires military infrastructure. This infrastructure was manifested in the presence of fortresses in the late twelfth century.

Armed pilgrimage presents two inherent problems. First, it was armed, meaning that the pilgrims involved would have approached the endeavor with a more aggressive and militant mindset. Secondly, because it was a pilgrimage, which meant that a majority of the participants involved did not wish to settle, much like Ibn Jubayr who made his pilgrimage and returned home after its completion. Substantially, this meant that the

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[63] *Ibid*: 315.
[64] Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* 105-6.
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] *Ibid*: 115.

Crusaders undertook hostile actions in the region but did not maintain the population for a sustained long-term presence. As a result, fortresses were essential to the continued military and political presence of Crusaders in the region. The existence of a permanent fortified structure in the Middle East helped the Crusaders maintain control of territories even with the size of the Crusader population constantly in flux. The need for a large standing army would have been smaller as long as the Crusaders had the necessary infrastructure to support their position as a foreign threat.

An exception to the rule of using Crusader fortress as a defensive position was Reynald of Chatillon (r. 1163-1187) in Karak.[67] His position in Karak forced caravans to detour farther east or alter a route completely, such as Ibn Jubayr did by going through Egypt.[68] For this reason that the protection of Salah al-Din's (r. 1174-1193, commonly spelled Saladin in English) army was required was because of the proximity to Reynald of Chatillon in Karak. The latter's Kingdom of Oultrejordain clearly discouraged performance of the hajj route via a land from Egypt and Syria.[69] Reynald formed alliances with Bedouin tribes and beleaguered trade caravans that negotiated the trade route between Damascus and Alexandria. The presence of these forces along the routes used by caravans and pilgrims necessitated a military presence to provide a greater level of security. The absence of military support likely altered Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage and caused him to brave the harsh desert climates in Egypt instead of chance crossing Reynald's territory in Syria.

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[67] See Map 2 on page vii
[68] F. E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*. 90.
[69] Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. 292.

The involvement of Bedouin tribesmen needs to be emphasized here. They intervened on the sides of Crusaders against other factions in the Arab world shows that there was not a clean split between Muslim and Christian interests. This can be seen as the Bedouins in alliance with Reynald attacked trade caravans and pilgrimage routes to Mecca.[70] Political and economic motivations would have certainly come into play, and they likely outweighed religious incentives. Reynald used his base of operation in Karak to extend his territory to Eilat, and maintain control of 'Aqaba from his position there.[71] Essentially, laying claim of the land between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea.

It is necessary then to review his accounts of Muslim fortified structures as well. Perhaps the Muslim fortress that Ibn Jubayr encountered that most resembles its Crusader counterparts is the ancient fortress of Fayd[72] in the Hejaz.[73] The fact that he called the fortress ancient means that its construction was not a response to the perceived threat from the Crusaders. The fortress at Fayd was a large turreted fortress, under the control of Bedouins. Fayd was a fortified location located about halfway between Mecca and Baghdad, which served to protect provisions that pilgrims wish to store inside the walls on their journey to Mecca. Ibn Jubayr stated that Fayd functioned primarily as a storage facility for pilgrims making the hajj from the eastern Islamic world.[74] If the pilgrim could be ensured his or her goods would be protected, then leaving provisions at a halfway point between Baghdad and Mecca meant that the pilgrim would have provided two enormous benefits. First, there would be resources guaranteed to the pilgrim on his

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[70] *Ibid*: 293.
[71] Alex Mallett, "A trip down the Red Sea with Reynald of Chatillon." from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 151.
[72] See Map 2 on page vii
[73] Broadhurst, op. cit: 214.
[74] *Ibid*: 214.

or her return. Second, the burden of carrying supplies through the desert would have been lightened as a result. The convenience of being able to use a secure location to store material would have greatly eased travelling for a pilgrim.

Among the fortified positions under the control of the Bedouin tribes were along the route from Baghdad to Syria were where water tanks were present. Ibn Jubayr proclaimed that, "We had passed many tanks, and there was not one that had not beside it a Bedouin-built castle."[75] It is abundantly clear that water is a precious commodity to peoples living in the desert, and it is apparent that the protection of that commodity is at a premium. According to Ibn Jubayr, the tanks along the road were cisterns built to collect rainwater for the benefit of the pilgrim making the journey from Iraq to Syria (or vice versa). He did not mention a tax being levied on the pilgrim, which leads one to believe that a cost for using the tanks was absent. Thus, it appears that the facilities were primarily available to protect the traveler and their goods from highway banditry.

Caravans

Travelling with a caravan as opposed to by oneself appears to be preferred method of traversing desert. Very few pilgrims made the pilgrimage to Mecca by foot, as most made use of a mount.[76] Ibn Jubayr was one among countless Muslims who made the journey with a caravan. The traditional Arab usage of a caravan could be done by the use of camels, asses, or mules.[77] The method that Ibn Jubayr used primarily to traverse the desert is on camelback. Although when Ibn Jubayr joined a trade caravan in Nasibin,

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[75] *Ibid*: 217.
[76] Peters, *op. cit.*: 149.
[77] Uri Rubin, "Caravan." Encyclopaedia of the Qur?ān. General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Georgetown University, Washington DC. Brill Online, 2013.

he mentioned the use of asses and mules and leaving camels behind with a party of pilgrims.[78] This could mean a number of different things concerning travelers and the animals that accompanied them.

First, it is entirely possible that Ibn Jubayr thinks that travelling by camel was the most comfortable and affordable option. He only switched to riding an ass when the caravan he is travelling with no longer continued in the same direction as he did, into Syria. It appears that the usage of the camel was a popular consensus among his contemporaries. Ibn Jubayr observed a caravan of four hundred camels arrived in Mecca.[79] In the Egyptian desert, as he traveled from the Nile River to 'Aydhab on the coast of the Red Sea, he mentioned the litters called *shaqadif* which were able to support two travelers on the back of one camel in relative comfort. The traveler was able to recline in the litter and is also covered by a canopy that protects him or her from the harsh desert sun. The use of the canopy protecting a traveler on the back of a camel was not exclusive to Egypt. In Mecca, Ibn Jubayr witnessed men, women and children travelling with the Emir of Baghdad on camelback. They were also protected by a canopy on wooden litters called *qashwat*.[80] Both examples show a need for sophistication and comfort when travelling that had developed by generations of using the camel to travel through the desert.

Second, even though it appears that the camel was the preferred vehicle through the Egyptian desert and from the Hejaz region to Iraq, pilgrims were subjected to the transportation available in the region at the moment when they are in the region. When

[78] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 249.
[79] *Ibid*: 135.
[80] *Ibid*: 181.

the camel was available to Ibn Jubayr, it appears this was his preferred mode of transportation. As mentioned previously, Ibn Jubayr traveled with a caravan that used asses and mules to get to Syria because that is what was available to him to continue on his journey. Horses do appear in the writings, but it appears to have been exclusive to the traveling party of the Emir of Baghdad.[81] It is likely that caring for camels, asses, and mules would have been a cheaper and simpler endeavor than caring for a horse. The expense of caring for the horse caused it to be viewed as an aristocratic animal.[82]

Finally, the use of a caravan appears to be crucial for the safety and protection of travelers and the goods that they carried. Apparently, the safety of the group from an external threat would have improved significantly as the size of the party grew. Ibn Jubayr noted as he travels from Mosul in Iraq to Dunaysar[83] in Syria that he was on guard from the attacks of Kurdish robbing parties along the highway.[84] Although the purpose of his travel was to perform the hajj, the merchants Ibn Jubayr traveled with expected him to aid in the protection of his person and the travelling party.

Political leaders held a certain amount of responsibility for the safety of pilgrims travelling through their territory. Ibn Jubayr mentioned that a large party of pilgrims arrived in Mecca alongside the Emir of Baghdad in order to receive protection while they travelled.[85] It was not merely Emir's duty to provide societal stability for the people who lived in his territory, but the he was also responsible to provide a reasonable degree of safety for pilgrims passing through his territory. Since Ibn Jubayr was a pilgrim

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[81] *Ibid*: 129.
[82] F. Viré, "Faras." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2013
[83] See Map 2 on page vii
[84] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 249.
[85] *Ibid*: 150.

travelling through a foreign land, he relied on the protection of the various political leaders from regional powers that threatened travelers. It is with this responsibility in mind that the conflict between Reynald of Chatillon and Salah al-Din needs to be reexamined because the conflict involving the two men would have likely been a topic of conversation for Ibn Jubayr amongst his fellow pilgrims.

As noted earlier, Reynald attacked trade and pilgrim caravans that traversed Syria from his position in Karak. Alex Mallett suggests that Reynald's motivations may have been twofold: to disrupt the economic infrastructure of Salah al-Din's kingdom, and to discredit Salah al-Din in the eyes of larger Muslim community.[86] The motivation of disrupting trade in order to undermine Salah al-Din's economy is easily understood. The prices of goods that made it to market, if any made it at all, would have reflected the hardship undertaken by the merchant to bring them to their destination. The long-term implication is a sustained threat to Salah al-Din's economy would jeopardize his ability to maintain military operation against the Crusaders.[87]However, undermining the credibility of Salah al-Din as an effective leader would have served an equally important role in the long-term success of the existence of Crusader presence in the Middle East.

Essentially, Mallet suggests Reynald's actions may have been a part of a larger strategy to portray Salah al-Din as an impotent leader. If Reynald would have been able to control the easiest route Egypt to Mecca (via 'Aqaba) for a sustained period of time, then Muslims performing the hajj would have had to continually use the route through 'Aydhab like Ibn Jubayr or find a more circuitous route in order to reach their destination.

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[86] Mallet, *op. cit.*: 145.
[87] *Ibid.*

Effectively, Salah al-Din needed to dispose of Reynald because Reynald continued to attack pilgrimage and trade caravans in spite of truces that were in place.[88] In order to maintain his own prestige, Salah al-Din needed to eliminate Reynald and provide a reasonable amount of security for travelers through his territory. Perhaps the reason that Ibn Jubayr held Salah al-Din in such high regard is because of the protection he provided for pilgrims, this is despite the fact that Ibn Jubayr still had to take the detour to 'Aydhab. Since Reynald was likely the largest threat to Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage, the role of the conflict between Salah al-Din and Reynald cannot be underestimated.

Lodging

While on his pilgrimage, Ibn Jubayr slept and rested in a variety of different settings and locations. He took temporary residence in hostelries, inns, houses, and mosques. The various places in which he stayed varied with the geographical regions he encountered, but there are a few commonalities that the various institutions shared. It is interesting to mention that Roland Broadhurst translated the Arabic term *funduq* to the English term "inn", but he did not attempt to translate the word *khan* in the English version. In the glossary provided at the end of his translation, Broadhurst defines a *khan* as "an inn or caravanserai".[89] Interestingly, Broadhurst defined both *funduq* and *khan* using the same English translation, but he feels that there is enough of a significant difference between the two that he wishes to make this distinction by the vocabulary he uses and this is a warranted distinction.

[88] *Ibid*: 144.
[89] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 394.

An additional point to the vocabulary used, Ibn Jubayr also creates the word *muharis*, which Broadhurst translates as a "hostel".[90] Broadhurst's translation seems to be accurate, especially when one compares the description that Ibn Jubayr gives to the description of European contemporary hostelries, which would provide a room for extended stay to travelers and university students.[91] Likewise, Ibn Jubayr records that Salah al-Din had several *mudaris* (colleges) and *muharis* (hostels) erected for students. Broadhurst asserts that the *mudaris* and *muharis* were collegiate mosques where the student was boarded and studied Sunni doctrine.[92] Further, travelers could stop in, lodge, and be afforded the extent of the hostel's amenities such as a place to store goods, animals and keep valuables for safe protection.[93]

This is worthy of mention because the fourteenth century traveler Ibn Battuta took note of the usage of the two words as he describes an Egyptian institution where he lodged outside of Cairo as: "*Funduq*, which they called a *khan* where travelers alight with their beasts."[94] This note from Ibn Battuta shows that his Egyptian contemporaries viewed a *funduq* and a *khan* as serving much of the same functions. Ibn Battuta thought that the *funduq* and *khan* were two distinct institutions. A closer examination of the two terms provides that there may have been distinctions between the two institutions beyond the linguistic level.

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[90] The word *muharis* appears once in the text. Its literal definition is "place of the sentry", and it is absent from dictionaries. It appears to be absent even from Edward Lane's Lexicon. The reason Ibn Jubayr uses this word seems to be because it rhymes with *mudaris* (schools or universities) which is found in the passage as well. The choice of this word seems to be a stylistic one and likely refers to *funduq*.

[91] Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*. trans. George Holoch. 112.

[92] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 368.

[93] *Ibid*: 33.

[94] Ibn Battuta from Olivia Remie Constable, "Funduq, Fondaco, and Khan in the Wake of Christian Commerce and Crusade." *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies*. 155.

Despite the fact that there appears to be little distinction made by medieval chroniclers between *funduq* and *khan*, other than Ibn Battuta, scholarly effort have been made to determine if there was a difference between the two. *Funduq* (plural *fanadiq*) derives from the Greek word *pandocheion* which generally referred to hostelry that was run for profit.[95] It referred to locations where animals and humans could both lodge. In Ibn Jubayr's account he stays in a *funduq* in Egypt.[96] The Greeks had a long presence in Egypt from the Hellenistic period and throughout the Byzantine era as well, so it is not at all surprising that the word was among the relatively few words that passed from Greek into Arabic usage.

The existence of a *funduq* on the route a pilgrim traveled seemed to vary. Some operated as "for profit" hostelries as the Greek loanword suggests that it would, while others provided free lodging to travelers and were supported by the use of a *waqf* (an endowment for charitable purposes) in accord with traditions that had been established throughout the Islamic world.[97] It seems that the *funduq* in Egypt had evolved into an institution that primarily served pilgrims, as opposed to merchants, by the time that Ibn Jubayr travelled through the region at the end of the twelfth century. Again, the *funduq* has similar characteristics to the European counterpart: the inn.[98] Both the *funduq* and the European inn were institutions were geared to primarily serve travelers.

[95] Constable: *op. cit.*: 146.
[96] R. le. Tourneau, "Funduk." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2013
[97] Constable, *op. cit.*: 147.
[98] The similaritites between the two institutions is likely the reason that Broadhurst chose to translate a "*funduq*" as an "inn".

More importantly, the *funduq* that Ibn Jubayr stayed in is outside the city of Munyah in Egypt.[99] It seems that both the *funduq* and the *khan* were traditionally located outside of the city gates.[100] Being located outside of the city gates meant that the traveler would have been able to find lodging regardless if a town was protected by walls and the gates were closed at night. Furthermore, foreigners would have been kept on the outskirts of a city and away from the indigenous population. Simply, this means that a common security measure was to keep strangers at a distance.

Khan (plural *khanat*) is a Persian term which functioned to describe an institution that was quite similar to the *funduq*. In a similar fashion to several *fanadiq*, a *khan* provided space for the travelers and merchants to rest apart from their livestock.[101] A *khan* was established along trade routes where water was scarce and protection was needed from bandits.[102] The scarcity of water entails that the population was sparse in areas where the *khanat* were located. Additionally, the presence of these structures alongside the route that Ibn Jubayr took speaks volumes to the fact that economic trade helped enable pilgrimage. At the very least, stations that were set up for trade served to facilitate and aid a pilgrim along his or her journey.

Unlike a *funduq*, the *khanat* existed along commercial highways and were provided for public use, and they were generally a *khan* would have been lightly staffed, if at all.[103] That is not to say that a *khan* would have only been present in the middle of a desert far from a settled area. Ibn Jubayr encounters *khanat* outside of the Syrian cities of

[99] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 58.
[100] Verdon, *op. cit.*: 110.
[101] Constable, *op. cit.*: 152.
[102] N. Elisséeff, "Khān." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2013.
[103] *Ibid.*

Aleppo and Homs.[104] The major criterion for the location of a khan was that it had to be on the roadside of a trade route. Again it should be stressed that the *fanadiq* in Egypt served the needs of travelers, as opposed to the fact that *khanat* were geared towards protecting merchants, caravans, and their cargoes.

A feature of the *khanat* in which Ibn Jubayr lodged between Iraq and Syria was that they were fortified structures. This representation that he makes in his travelogue reinforces the idea that a *khan* existed first and foremost in order to protect trade. There is no doubt that pilgrims would have sought refuge and relief inside the structure much like Ibn Jubayr and his travelling party did. Ibn Jubayr left a group of pilgrims and joined a trade caravan in Nasibin.[105] This means that merchants and pilgrims would have occupied a *khan* at the same time, and they would have likely joined parties in order to gain the security of a larger group.

Fortifying a position in the desert was done with commercial aims in mind. Pilgrims did not carry much material value on their person, so they would not have been a primary target for robbers along the routes, whereas merchants would have traversed the highway carrying considerably more in monetary value. It is because merchants carried more material goods that they needed to have more protection available to them. As a result of this necessity, the pilgrim was provided with a more secure location to lodge.

Olivia Remie Constable hypothesizes that the Crusades may have very well provided a catalyst to stabilize trade relations and practices. This does not mean that

[104] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 263 & 269.
[105] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 249.

trade was nonexistent before the advent of the Crusades. Rather, trade between Europe and the Middle East would have increased with a stronger European presence. She asserts that because of the increased violence and warring between Christian and Muslim factions during the Crusades, merchants wished to establish, regulate and institutionalize their commercial affairs.[106] It is with this in hypothesis in mind that she suggests a series of inns called *fondaco* were built with this commercial context in mind.[107] *Fondaco* were established by Italian Merchants in Muslim controlled Egypt in order to maintain economic relations and provide safety for foreign merchants in the midst of the military and political tensions.[108] In addition to providing a sense of security for the merchants, the *fondaco* allowed for the governing powers to keep foreign merchants isolated in one area.[109]

Isolating foreign merchants from the indigenous populations would have served beneficial aims for both the merchants and the government. From the perspective of the merchant, they would have been essentially living in a community of peers that was accorded various rights and laws separate from what the local population was subject to (i.e.: tax privileges, alcohol consumption and a curfew).[110] From the perspective of the governing body, it was easier to control and monitor an insulated foreign population. Any outside threat of violence and disturbance to the local populations could be limited because they were concentrated in one location rather than dispersed throughout their territory and allowed to mingle with the locals.

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[106] Constable, *op. cit.*: 151.
[107] *Fondaco* is an Italian term, and the Arabic word *funduq* was still used to describe the institution. Although, it is almost certain that Ibn Jubayr would not have stayed in an institution established for European merchants.
[108] Constable, *op. cit.*: 151.
[109] *Ibid*: 149.
[110] *Ibid*.

The establishment of the *fondaco* in Salah al-Din's kingdom shows that he was aware of the benefits of trading with European Christian merchants. However, he did not open access to his territory to them completely. This means that trade with Europe was being established as a crucial part of his economy, but he did not wish for the culture and influence that the merchants brought with them to spread throughout the population under his control. This is a form isolationist policy that may or may not have been necessary, but it was certainly useful for the long-term health of Salah al-Din's political clout. By isolating the merchants, Salah al-Din was insulating any political alignments they may have harbored. This policy is one that is "strictly-business", and it stands in stark contrast to the nature in which he welcomes and protects Muslim pilgrims in his territory.

Water

Mankind absolutely needs three things in order to survive: food, water, and shelter. These three necessities are not always readily available to a traveler in the desert, where Ibn Jubayr spent a vast majority of his journey. Thus, it was necessary for Ibn Jubayr and other travelers to have provisions on their person or acquire them by other means. The route that Ibn Jubayr took through the desert required careful consideration to where drinking water is available. Although it was not uncommon for Ibn Jubayr to carry a few days' worth of water with him, regular stations to refill water were necessary. The suggestion here is that the fear of complications arising from thirst was overwhelmingly present in the mindset of people travelling through the desert.

Crossing the desert in Egypt from the city Qus on the Nile River to the city 'Aydhab on the Red Sea was the first stretch of inhospitable land that Ibn Jubayr

traversed. A stopping point in between the two cities was at the watering hole of al-ʿAbdayn.[111] The location of this water source was immensely important, and Ibn Jubayr hints at two reasons for its significance. First, there were no signs of cultivation, meaning that the conditions of the region were too harsh for one to attempt agricultural activity, either because of a lack of water, extreme temperatures, unfavorable soil conditions, or a combination of the above. Second, Ibn Jubayr gives the origin of the spring's name al-ʿAbdayn [the two slaves]. According to the story that Ibn Jubayr was told, which he also recorded, two slaves wandered the desert and died of thirst before reaching the water supply. This story highlights the importance of water in the hot and arid conditions of the desert. In other words, if there was not an accessible potable water source, then the only water that was available to the traveler in the medieval world was what he or she carried with him or her. It was not outside the realm of possibility to die from thirst and exposure if the traveler was not adequately prepared.

Since water is such a scarce resource in the Egyptian desert, Ibn Jubayr notes that they carried enough water to last three days for them to reach the next spring, where they burdened themselves again with more water before reaching the port city of ʿAydhab.[112] Part of pilgrimage via the Egyptian desert meant one was subjecting oneself to the harsh conditions of an inhospitable environment. However, the awareness of how much water was needed to make it from one spring to the next proves that despite the danger, the route was taken frequently enough for the guides to know how much water would be needed for the journey.

[111] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 59.
[112] *Ibid.* For more on the role of 'Aydhab in the pilgrimage see page 57 in the chapter on Sea Travel

While the route that Ibn Jubayr used in Egypt was dictated by the availability of water from natural springs, the one he took through the Arabian Peninsula (particularly from Mecca to Baghdad) featured manmade storage facilities for water. Although Ibn Jubayr mentioned of one of the tanks as being fed by an aqueduct, this seems to be the exception.[113] Rather, a majority of the tanks he came across were filled with rainwater. This means that tanks and cisterns would have been located in locations that received rainfall. This is not to suggest that every tank was constantly full to the brim because Ibn Jubayr encountered a "well-filled tank" as well as an empty on the same day.[114]

Tanks would have likely been in locations where they would have received adequate rainfall. We can make the assumption that the cisterns encountered by Ibn Jubayr were similar to the traditional cisterns that exist throughout the Arabian Peninsula today. These traditional cisterns on the Arabian Peninsula are fed by run-off water.[115] Therefore, in order to maximize the effectiveness of water collection in a water-deficient environment, cisterns would have likely been constructed in locations to maximize their potential. That is to say, cisterns would have been constructed in areas where they would have been regularly fed by run-off water. Routes through the desert would have been affected by the presence of water availability. As a result, trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula would have been indirectly affected by the amount of rainfall that the area received. Water indirectly shaped pilgrimage and trade routes.

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[113] *Ibid*: 216.
[114] *Ibid*: 217.
[115] W. Zimmerman "Cistern, well and water tanker: the stride from traditional to modern means of water supply in the Sultanate of Oman." *Applied Geography and Development*. 115.

Water is the prerequisite to the existence of all human society. The existence of structures that Ibn Jubayr encountered is indicative of water sources that would have been necessary for a medieval traveler to successfully go from one populated area to the next comfortably. The human body needs approximately two liters of water every day to survive.[116] Without sufficient water available, the traveler would have had one of two options: carry the amount of water necessary to complete the journey, or die of thirst. The latter option is obviously problematic to the traveler, but the first option would have provided complications too. The water necessary for one person to travel through the desert without a regular supply of drinking water would have been immensely heavy and required extra effort in order to transport. The sources of water that Ibn Jubayr came across while travelling through the desert were essential in easing the burden of travel.

Rivers and Bridges

In his travelogue, Ibn Jubayr came to rivers which he needed to cross on a handful of occasions. There are two ways in which he crossed: over a bridge or by a ferry. The methods by which Ibn Jubayr crossed the rivers provide a deeper understanding to both the military importance of the bridges and the economic impact provided by the ferries. Ferries operated by carrying goods and peoples across the waterway, and existed in areas where bridges were not constructed. Although bridges could and did serve economic functions, it seems overwhelmingly that bridges were constructed with military usage as a primary motivation.

[116] Mayo Clinic Staff *Water: How much should you drink every day?*

Notably in Egypt and Baghdad, Ibn Jubayr praised the political rulers for their benevolence in building bridges for the travelers to cross. However the bridges provided more than ease of access for a weary traveler, they provide the rulers with a military advantage and a presentation of grandeur. Prior to the construction of the bridges in Egypt, Ibn Jubayr noted that the Nile flooding had prevented troop movement in the past. Although the construction of bridges eased the movement of Salah al-Din's forces, it also caused apprehension among the locals that he bridges could be used by the threatening forces of the Almohades.[117]

Furthermore, examples of military strategic importance can be drawn from the bridges over the Euphrates and the Nile rivers. Salah al-Din was being proactive in Egypt by building a bridge for his troops, but it is important to keep in mind that he was actively engaged with the Crusaders in Syria. His role in the conflict required ensuring the quickest and most efficient movement of his troops, in order to ensure his long-term success. Factors such as fatigue, loss of morale, and an inadequately sized army could all come into play if Salah al-Din did not have the means to move his army quickly and in a cost-efficient manner. Although it appears that Salah al-Din built his bridges primarily for military use, that the structures could also be used by the civilian population.

In addition to the military advantages, some of the bridges were built in locations where they would affect the psychology of the populations using them. Specifically, Salah al-Din built his bridges near the pyramids.[118] Undoubtedly, he wished for the juxtaposition of his bridges near the ancient wonders to purvey an air strength and

[117] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 45.
[118] *Ibid*: 45.

magnitude akin to that of the ancient Egyptians. The location was chosen deliberately in order to increase Salah al-Din's own prestige alongside the backdrop of preexisting monuments. The Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li din Ilah's (1180-1225) political intentions for building bridges are apparent. The locations where he built bridges were deliberate: along the hajj route.[119] It is clear that one of the intentions of building bridges across the Euphrates River was in order present an image of benevolence to Eastern Muslims travelling to and from Mecca.

The seat of the Abbasid Caliphate was situated in Baghdad. The Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li din Ilah (r.1180-1225) ordered bridges to be built sometime during the first half of the 1180s; Ibn Jubayr traveled with Eastern Muslims who remarked they had made their original trip to Mecca by crossing the river in boats.[120] It seems unlikely that the Caliph would have knowingly constructed bridges that were incapable of supporting the traffic of people returning from their hajj.

Ibn Jubayr was delighted to see the bridges over the Euphrates River as he journeyed towards Baghdad. Again Ibn Jubayr praised the benevolence of the ruler for providing for the welfare of the pilgrim.[121] However, we see the military application of the bridges as Ibn Jubayr describes the state in which they affect his party. The bridges were not built to sustain the large travelling party that Ibn Jubayr has accompanied all the way from Mecca, and the groups of pilgrims slowly dispersed into smaller groups as the crossed. "If this throng of men had rushed headlong on to the bridges they could never

[119] *Ibid*: 221.
[120] *Ibid*: 221.
[121] *Ibid*: 221.

have crossed them, and would have fallen in heaps upon each other."[122] The bridges had a limited capacity for the mass of humanity that utilized them, and this was controlled by men who guarded the road.

It is unclear from Ibn Jubayr's account to the reasons why the bridges are so flimsy in their construction. On the one hand, it is possible that the inferior construction of the bridges resulted from a fear of pilgrims entering his territory. By building inferior bridges the Caliph restricted the movement of his own troops, but at the same time he is limiting foreign movement into territories under his direct control. The Caliph was able to place troops at the bridges that are not only able to regulate traffic, but they were also able to defend their position from potential threats. It is apparent from the presence of the troops that the administrators in the region were aware of the inferiority of the bridge, whether or not this was done intentionally would require examination of archaeological evidence that is absent because Ibn Jubayr does not provide us with materials used or construction methods involved. The bridges into Baghdad likely served a more defensive purpose than their counterparts in Egypt.

However, the flimsy structure of the bridges could also be due to the quality of building materials in the region. Ibn Jubayr mentions that a bridge over the Tigris River in Baghdad was swept away in a flood.[123] Timber resources in Iraq were not and still are not bountiful and it would have difficult to for the Caliph to justify an extreme expenditure of money on a structure that was susceptible to being washed away in floodwaters. After all, the maintenance of bridges even in the lumber rich regions of

[122] *Ibid*: 223.
[123] *Ibid*: 234.

Europe was an expensive endeavor and often subjected travelers to tolls in order to keep the bridge in proper condition, and the bridges were still susceptible to being washed away by a flood.[124] The Caliph was not bearing the brunt of Crusader invasion like his counterpart Salah al-Din. The quick and decisive movement of his military forces was not as crucial to the Ayyubid Sultan in the north. Thus, a flimsy infrastructure and the use of boats to cross the river would have been sufficient for the purposes of the region.

Although the Sultan in Egypt and the Caliph in Iraq appeared to build bridges for military usage, it appears that bridges could have been used for economic purposes. In fact, Ibn Jubayr comes to a bridge constructed from stone over the Orontes River outside the city of Hamah (Ephiphania) in Syria[125]. It appears that the bridge exists to accommodate trade because upon crossing, Ibn Jubayr finds a market and several *khanat* outside of the city walls.[126] As discussed earlier, *khanat* accommodated merchants as they travelled. The existence of a marketplace beside the *khanat* outside a city in Syria appears to be intentional. The bridge was constructed in order to bring the merchants and their goods to the inhabitants of the city. It seems the function of this bridge had a more economic purpose than its counterparts in Iraq and Egypt.

As mentioned earlier, Ibn Jubayr came across a bridge over the Tigris River which had been washed away in a flood. To compensate the loss of the bridge, the inhabitants of Baghdad used *zuwariq* [rowboats] to cross the river.[127] Ibn Jubayr said that these boats were used for primarily pleasure crossings by the locals and that the traffic

[124] Verdon, *op. cit.*: 41.
[125] See Map 2 on page vii
[126] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 266.
[127] *Ibid*: 234.

crisscrossing the river was an endless affair.[128] If Ibn Jubayr is to be trusted in this regard, his recollection proves that there was a semblance of leisure time for some portions of the population in medieval Baghdad. Indeed other medieval Arab chroniclers have noted that party vessels belonging to members of royalty were present on the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers as early as the ninth century.[129] However, Ibn Jubayr does not mention the social class of the people enjoying leisure trips across the Tigris River.

Missing from the account of Ibn Jubayr are economic purposes of river crossings on the Tigris River. Undoubtedly, boats crossing the river for economic purposes existed because Ibn Jubayr proclaims that Baghdad was divided into Eastern and Western halves by the Tigris River.[130] It seems entirely impossible for the economies of the two halves of the entire city to be independent of one another. If the bridges were washed away, then it would have been necessary for the boats to fill the economic need for goods to be transported from one side of the river to the other.

The idea of river boats being economic vessels seems to be an apt comparison for the ferries that Ibn Jubayr utilized in the Nile River during the twelfth century. He calls the boat used for crossing the Nile *murakib ta'dya* which is a ferryboat for carrying goods, meaning that the ship Ibn Jubayr used was specifically designed for carrying cargo.[131] The use of cargo boats to transport people across rivers can be used to explain the fact that every time Ibn Jubayr disembarked from a boat on the Nile River, he found

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[128] *Ibid.*

[129] Dionisius A. Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam: From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean.* 299.

[130] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 234.

[131] It is difficult to tell from the terminology used if the *murakib* was an oared ship or a sailing vessel. It appears that the term can be applied to a ship with either form of propulsion, or both forms. It also appears that it can be used as a synonym for *zuwariq*.

himself in a market where he could stock up on supplies.[132] In this regard, the river boats in Egypt functioned similarly to the bridge Ibn Jubayr encountered over the Orontes River. Essentially, both the boats and the bridge over the Orontes provided a highway for goods and people to come to established markets.

It can be derived from Ibn Jubayr's accounts that river crossings were utilized in trade and the transportation of goods to markets. If these passages were also utilized by pilgrims, then the ferries also would have brought income into the river-ports in the form of travelers passing through the town. This is not to suggest that markets existed for the sake of the traveler. Rather, the market existed in a settled location, and it benefitted from an influx of people and money coming from an outside source. It appears that ferry travel had an enormous impact on commercial activity much like the bridge in Syria over the Orontes River. It is likely that the ferries had a more substantial impact than the bridges that were constructed for military purposes which did not lead directly into the markets in Egypt and Iraq.

Conclusion

There were two important spheres of activity that provided infrastructure that Ibn Jubayr used extensively throughout his pilgrimage: military and trade. Although the Crusades are popularly viewed as acts of military aggression, they had both negative and positive effects on pilgrimage. The presence of militarized, fortified structures altered the mindset of pilgrims travelling through the area. Pilgrim parties could feel so unsafe travelling through the territory of a particularly aggressive warlord that they would only

[132] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 57 & 58.

do so with the accompaniment of an armed guard or redirect their route completely. Yet despite the presence of aggressors in the regions he crossed, the military structures provided means for Ibn Jubayr to make his pilgrimage quicker. Most notably, the bridges designed to move troops across waterways were utilized by pilgrims who would have not had to wait for ferries to help provide them passage.

More important than military activity, trade and the infrastructure it established were absolutely crucial to Ibn Jubayr. It is evident throughout Ibn Jubayr's travelogue that trade and the hajj were closely intertwined by the time that Ibn Jubayr travelled to Mecca at the end of the twelfth century. The routes pilgrims used in order to traverse the desert were well established trade routes that provided them with shelter and water. Without either of these two amenities, it is doubtful that mass pilgrimage to Mecca would have been possible. The usage of guides on routes that were well-established not only made the pilgrimage to Mecca possible, but it likely saved countless lives. The usage and importance of trade routes was crucial to Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage.

Chapter III

Sea Travel

The Mediterranean Sea and Red Sea were the two major crossing which Ibn Jubayr undertook on his pilgrimage to Mecca. Regardless of the reason for which he began writing a travelogue, it is worthy to mention that he began doing so while he was at sea. Among the topics that will be analyzed in this chapter are the routes used, the speed of travel, the vessels used, the ports he landed in, and customs practices he encountered.

Routes

As Ibn Jubayr traveled through the Mediterranean Sea he did so by island hopping. In the western part of the Mediterranean Sea during the twelfth century, trade vessels did not stray far from the coastline. Medieval navigation relied heavily on sailing from one coastal landmark to the next.[133] The first water crossing that Ibn Jubayr notes is to Tarif, an island that is just off the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. After arriving in Tarif, Ibn Jubayr's party crossed the Strait of Gibraltar the next day.[134] From there they travelled to Sabtah (Ceuta) and disembarked on board a Genoese ship headed for Alexandria.[135] Ibn Jubayr noted that the ship's course lay along the Andalusian

[133] Robert Gardiner, ed. *Conway's History of the Ship: Cogs, Caravels, and Galleons: The Sailing Ship 1000-1650:* 131.
[134] Roland Broadhurst, trans. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*: 25.
[135] *Ibid*: 26.

coast;[136] from Ibiza to Alexandria with stops at Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete.[137] While this route was not the most direct, it is important to keep in mind that Ibn Jubayr boarded merchant vessels while he was travelling through the Mediterranean. This means that although the itinerary called for the ship to reach Alexandria, it would do so after it had made stops elsewhere. Navigation techniques did not need to be developed for open water because negotiating the coastline was a sufficient way for navigation since merchants would have to land and do their business on shore.

The group of merchants that Ibn Jubayr most often interacted with in the Mediterranean in order to secure passage on board a ship was the Genoese.[138] The Genoese merchants were major figures on the Mediterranean Sea by the late twelfth century. Their trading activity extended throughout most of the year in the western Mediterranean: from Andalusia to Sicily to Northern Africa.[139] However, it was not until the 1170s that Genoese merchants had secured trading privileges in Alexandria.[140] The significance of Ibn Jubayr securing passage on a Genoese ship bound for Alexandria cannot be underestimated. Essentially, this meant that the Christian Genoese merchants were actively trading in the Muslim port of Alexandria.

Before Alexandria was open to Italian merchants, trade ships in the Mediterranean focused on trade with Constantinople and the Syrian coastline once it came under

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[136] *Ibid.*

[137] See Map 1 on page vi

[138] Venetians and Pisans were also operating in similar economic facets in the Eastern Mediterranean and Alexandria as well. However, the scope of this thesis does not allow for in-depth analysis of the involvement of these groups. Since Ibn Jubayr only mentions Genoese merchants, this study will focus exclusively on their role.

[139] Eugene H. Byrne, "Commercial Contracts of the Genoes in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*: 131.

[140] Gerald W. Day, "The Impact of the Third Crusade upon Trade with the Levant." *The International history review*: 162.

Crusader control at the end of the eleventh century.[141] During that period, goods were shipped from Alexandria to Syria or Constantinople via ship or overland routes, thereby increasing the cost of shipping and affecting price of goods in the markets of the various locales. The obvious remedy to lower the price of goods destined to trade in the western Mediterranean was for Italian merchants to become directly involved with trading in Alexandria. This measure would serve the purpose of avoiding a circuitous route around the Mediterranean and drastically decrease the cost of shipping.

This opening of trade is significant because it represents a monumental shift in trade during the late twelfth century. Opening the port was a calculated military and economic decision on the part of Salah al-Din. He was aware of the strategic importance of Crusader strongholds on the Syrian coast to the of Crusader territories. However, he lacked the natural resources to build a sizeable fleet to combat the Crusaders at sea.[142] Salah al-Din wanted to challenge the Crusader coastline both from land and sea. Salah al-Din's opening the port to trade brought an influx of material goods and wealth that would help procure building materials to construct a naval fleet. Alexandria sat as a terminal point of the spice route that went through the Red Sea from the Indian Ocean.[143] However, the port was scarcely used by the Latin traders (specifically traders from the Italian city-states of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa) before the Crusades.

By opening the port of Alexandria and offering privileged trading conditions to Latin merchants in the 1170s, economic activity was diverted from the ports of the

[141] *Ibid*: 161.
[142] Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*: 556.
[143] Day, *op. cit.*: 160.

eastern Mediterranean.[144] Salah al-Din was undermining the economies of the Crusader States and Byzantine Empire, while simultaneously strengthening his own economy. Effectively, Salah al-Din was waging economic warfare against the Crusaders and Byzantines by opening the port of Alexandria to Italian Merchants.

The papal office was not oblivious to the weakening of the economies in Crusader stronghold positions. The papacy issued threats of excommunication for Christians who traded with Muslims and worked aboard Muslim vessels.[145] However, these threats of excommunication do not seem to have affected the Christian merchant class' desire to continue trading with Muslim partners. Ibn Jubayr's passage to Alexandria on a Genoese vessel shows that not all interactions between Muslims and Christians were religiously motivated or violent. The example that the Genoese merchants provides is that relationships, at least in an economic form, can exist in a tense politically and religiously charged atmosphere.

From this we can better understand what vital functions in military, trade, and pilgrimage ports in the medieval world served. Crucial in the development of the ports was the involvement of Genoese trade. Incidentally, the advent of Genoese trade in Syria directly coincided with their involvement in the Crusades, as they helped facilitate travel into the region as well as used the opportunity to establish commercial colonies.[146] It seems obvious that an alliance between the Genoese and the Crusaders would have existed; however upon closer inspection, it appears that this was either non-existent to Ibn

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[144] For more on trading rights granted see page 40 in the Land Travel chapter
[145] Sophia Menache, "Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period." from *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*: 239.
[146] Byrne, *op. cit.*: 130.

Jubayr or miniscule because of the fact that Genoese vessels and sailing crews helped facilitate pilgrimage throughout the Mediterranean.

From Alexandria, Ibn Jubayr and his party ascended the Nile by a combination of traveling by land and using ferries to cross the river before arriving at 'Aydhab.[147] He chose this route as a direct result of the Crusader activity in Syria. The shortest pilgrimage route would have been for his party to travel from Egypt to the port of 'Aqaba and continuing there to the city of Medina. However, Ibn Jubayr's route was altered because the Franks were garrisoned nearby and they would not allow passage.[148] Had Ibn Jubayr arrived in Egypt a year earlier, it is likely that his party would have travelled with Salah al-Din's army for protection.[149]

The reason that the protection of Salah al-Din's army would have been required was because of the proximity to Reynald of Chatillon in Karak. His Kingdom of Oultrejordain clearly discouraged the use of the hajj route via a land route from Egypt and Syria.[150] Rather, political and economic motivations would have certainly come into play alongside religious incentives. Reynald's presence in Karak was the most influential impact of Crusader activity on Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage. Reynald uses his base in Karak to extend his presence as far south as the Eilat. From there, he hassled ports along the Red Sea through the use of piracy.[151]

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[147] See Map 2 on page vii

[148] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 67.

[149] Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to The Crusades*: 67.

[150] Hillenbrand, *op. cit.*: 292.

[151] David Peacock and Andrew Peacock, "The Enigma of 'Aydhab: a Medieval Islamic Port on the Red Sea Coast." *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*: 37.

Reynald's piracy raids targeted 'Aydhab along with other ports on the Red Sea.[152] 'Aydhab served a primary role as a major hub for pilgrims travelling to Mecca via Jeddah. Secondarily, 'Aydhab existed for commercial reasons. The provisions for the city, both food and drink, were imported.[153] There was no vegetation for the local population to cultivate, and their shelters were made of reed. The city itself had no walls to protect the population.[154] This suggests that there was nothing of great strategic importance to the city of 'Aydhab other than pilgrimage, and due to the harsh conditions it wouldn't exist unless pilgrimage necessitated it. However, pilgrimage was dependent on trade, and both trade and pilgrimage helped maintain 'Aydhab as an important port on the Red Sea.

Undoubtedly, 'Aydhab was a major travel hub as a result of Reynald's presence, but Ibn Jubayr did not return to Andalusia through 'Aydhab. There are a few possible reasons why Ibn Jubayr continued his journey into Baghdad instead of returning to Egypt on a similar route that took him to Mecca. The first reason was the unpredictability of sailing from Jeddah to 'Aydhab. Sailing winds generally took ships on the return voyage into Sudan, where, according to Ibn Jubayr, most pilgrims died of thirst trying to make the land trek back to 'Aydhab.[155] The second possible reason why Ibn Jubayr did not make the return journey via 'Aydhab is because of the harsh treatment that he received from the environment at 'Aydhab, and from the cruelty at the hands of the ship's proprietors in 'Aydhab. He recommended that his readers avoid the city in his journal, he advised future pilgrims to travel to Iraq via Syria so that they could travel with the Emir

[152] *Ibid.*
[153] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 67.
[154] *Ibid*: 63.
[155] *Ibid*: 65.

of Baghdad.[156] The final reason for which he altered his route is because by travelling to Baghdad and then into Syria, Ibn Jubayr was able to avoid the territory under control of Reynald of Chatillon.

Ibn Jubayr made a conscious effort to avoid certain territories, regardless of whether the faction in control was Muslim or Christian. In fact, he entered into the heart of the Latin East on his journey home. This means that he felt there was a certain degree of safety he could be provided as a Muslim pilgrim in Crusader kingdoms, making the egregious actions of Reynald an exception to the rule rather than a common example of how Muslims were treated in Christian territories during the latter part of the twelfth century. The parallel of his avoidance of returning to 'Aydhab, coupled with Reynald's presence at Karak proves that pilgrims could be subjected to the cruelty at the hands of either practitioners of Islam or Christianity, but was by no means a common trait experienced in every province.

After Ibn Jubayr arrived in Syria, he secured passage aboard a boat that was returning to Europe. Ibn Jubayr embarked with drinking water and provisions on a large ship from Acre to Messina. The ship on which he was travelling wrecked off the coast of Messina before it made it in to harbor, but Ibn Jubayr was rescued by the King of Sicily's men.[157] He stayed on the island until he was able to secure passage on another boat headed for Andalusia. From Sicily, Ibn Jubayr found passage on a ship and finally returned to Andalusia in May 1185.[158]

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[156] *Ibid*: 66.
[157] *Ibid*: 337
[158] *Ibid*: 365.

The route that Ibn Jubayr took was largely determined by trade routes that had been established and settlements of people that were along the way. Put another way, Ibn Jubayr was following routes that had been understood by his predecessors who had performed the hajj. Ibn Jubayr was not unique in taking the route that he did; there is evidence of other Maghribis who had stopped in the same locales as he did can be spotted throughout the entire travelogue. Furthermore, because of the relative ease that Ibn Jubayr navigated the landscape, it is likely that his party had a source of prior knowledge on which routes to take.

Speed and sailing conditions in the Mediterranean

Ibn Jubayr's accounts concerning speed and distance are sporadic at best. Calm waters with favorable winds provided easy passage and often allows for more expeditious travel. In one of his early entries, Ibn Jubayr remarked how easy and quickly he had been able to traverse the distance along the Andalusian coast.[159] However, this leg of the journey is one of the few times that he recorded experiencing good sailing. This is not to say that he only experienced good sailing at the very beginning of his journey and never again after that. Rather, in contrast to rough conditions and storms at seas, smooth sailing was entirely unremarkable. Thus, there is an unequal representation of rough conditions to smooth conditions.

With this hypothesis in mind, it can be assumed that under favorable conditions, a twelfth century sailing vessel could travel from Andalusia to Alexandria in approximately two months. This approximation of time is fairly equal to Ibn Jubayr's return trip from

[159] *Ibid*: 26.

Sicily to Andalusia. Both trips took place in the spring, indicating that western Mediterranean would have enjoyed fairly cooperative conditions to propagate trade all the way from Andalusia to North Africa on a regular basis. Indeed commercial trade was frequent throughout the year between these regions in fairly stable conditions.[160]

It is the return trip from Syria in the eastern part of the Mediterranean that seems to cause the most problems. Ibn Jubayr noted that travelers heading west wait for prevailing eastern winds that occur in spring and autumn. The winds lasted for approximately six weeks in the spring and only about two weeks during the autumn. Ibn Jubayr's party was waiting for a prevailing wind in the middle of October.[161] The conditions for sailing vessels in late autumn had such a narrow window for success, it is surprising that the ship attempted such a perilous feat after remaining stranded for days in harbor due to a lack of wind. The captain of the ship likely disembarked in order to fulfill his contracts, and likely put the lives of many of his passengers on board at risk because of the time of year that the ship left Syria.

On the voyage back, Ibn Jubayr mentioned that his party slept ashore at night. It is unclear if this is the only sea voyage during which he does not sleep on board the ship or not. It is likely that the ship took advantage of favorable sailing conditions, which forced Ibn Jubayr to hire an oared ship to ship to overtake the sailing vessel so they could rejoin it the next morning.[162] The weather had been so unfavorable to the crew at that point that the ship had to leave in order to take advantage of the favorable conditions regardless of whether all their passengers were on board the ship. This does not seem to

[160] Byrne, *op. cit.*: 131.
[161] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 326.
[162] *Ibid*: 327.

be standard practice of the Genoese merchants, because one of the ships in Ibn Jubayr's convoy had waited for her passengers in the Gulf of Oristano on Ibn Jubayr's initial journey to Alexandria.[163]

Conditions only worsened as storms in November blew the ship erratically off course around the Aegean Islands.[164] Ibn Jubayr's ship was at sea for 40 days after pulling up anchor before it encountered other ships who had suffered from erratic winds in the eastern Mediterranean.[165] They eventually arrived in Sicily, where many of the pilgrims quickly disembarked to find food because even the most prudent travelers only brought 30 days' worth of provisions while most had only planned for two to three weeks.[166]

The ship Ibn Jubayr sailed on did not fare much good luck after floundering at sea for months; it ran aground near the city of Messina on Sicily.[167] The ship that Ibn Jubayr sailed on had a limited window of opportunity to reach its destination. Unlike his voyage in the western Mediterranean, the ship was not able to make frequent stops in port. Conditions at sea on Ibn Jubayr's return journey from Syria stranded the boat and caused greater hardship for the passengers on board who did not have the provisions for an extended stay on the water.

In comparison to sailing in the western Mediterranean, sailing in the eastern Mediterranean was a much more perilous task for sailors in the twelfth century. This

[163] *Ibid*: 27.
[164] *Ibid*: 329-330.
[165] *Ibid*: 333.
[166] *Ibid*: 335.
[167] *Ibid*: 336.

could be one of the many reasons that voyages to and from Syria were so infrequent.[168] Weather conditions were particularly harsh and made the journey difficult and unpredictable. Unfavorable winds could strand a ship at sea for prolonged periods of time resulting in the loss of life of both crew and passengers.

The speed of sailing was most obviously affected by conditions on the sea. Countless times, Ibn Jubayr remarked the delays that weather conditions can cause while the boat was in harbor. It is clear that the boats on which he traveled relied primarily on sailing as a form of propulsion; he remarked when favorable winds provide easy travelling and when a lack of wind extends the length of the journey. However, storms were the largest factor in delay. The month long ordeal in the Mediterranean on his return trip was exacerbated by frequent storms that blew the ship off course and eventually led to shipwreck in Messina. Travelers were very much at the mercy of the elements during the twelfth century.

Ships

The information given on the Genoese ships in the Mediterranean Sea is comparatively scarce compared to the information about *jilab* on which he traveled aboard in the Red Sea. In fact, details about his ship on his initial voyage in the Mediterranean are nonexistent. Luckily, we are provided with the details of the Genoese ship when Ibn Jubayr was stranded at sea. Ibn Jubayr claims that more than 2,000 Christian and Muslim pilgrims boarded the ship in Acre.[169] The importance of this number is not necessarily whether or not it does not necessarily lie in its accuracy, but

[168] Byrne, *op. cit.*: 132.
[169] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 325.

rather in the fact that this is by far the highest occupancy for a boat that Ibn Jubayr mentions for any of his voyages. Comparatively, fifty Muslim passengers boarded three ships that were headed from Trapani to Andalusia.[170]

It is likely that the ship from Acre was carrying a considerable amount of cargo as well, as it was well stocked with foodstuffs that could be sold to passengers on board.[171] It is unlikely that these provisions were procured for the benefit of the passengers aboard, but were goods headed for markets. What this means is that the Genoese would have been more likely to use larger ships for long distance trade in the Mediterranean. A larger ship would have provided more room for cargo and passengers; thus the ship-owner would have had the ability to make more money on the longer and more dangerous venture that was undertaken with less frequency than trade in the western Mediterranean.

Ibn Jubayr set sail with fifty Muslims from Trapani towards Andalusia in three Genoese ships.[172] Eventually, the three ships met up with a fourth carrying more than 200 Maghribi pilgrims Ibn Jubayr had met in Mecca. Two things become evident in this passage. First, there was no standard size for ships that traversed between Italy and Andalusia at this point in history.[173] Clearly, the conditions in the western Mediterranean allowed for ships of many sizes to make the journey with relative ease compared to the eastern Mediterranean. Second, cooperation between ship-owners was a means of providing extra security for their cargo and passengers. It was not an uncommon practice for merchants to band together as a means to protect their holds from pirates, thus

[170] *Ibid*: 361.
[171] *Ibid*: 329.
[172] *Ibid*: 361.
[173] For a better understanding of the sizes and types of ships that were present in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages, *Conway's History of the Ship: Cogs, Caravels, and Galleons* (ed. Robert Gardiner) is helpful as it provides a deeper understanding of sailing practices alongside illustrations.

achieving the naval equivalent and functioning in the same fundamental manner as a caravan would on land. [174]

The ship from Acre has a square rig.[175] which is odd because the lateen sail (a triangular rig) had become predominant in Mediterranean by the ninth century.[176] The use of the lateen sail provided ships with a higher level of maneuverability, while the use of the square sail provided ships the ability to make use of lighter wind currents.[177] If the use of the square rig was common of ships that traversed the entire distance of the Mediterranean. then it likely was an anomaly Ibn Jubayr saw as worth noting because there were not many ships fashioned to make the entire trek.

The design of Mediterranean vessels was heavily influenced by European shipbuilding traditions. whereas the vessels that Ibn Jubayr found in the Red Sea were derived from a separate shipbuilding tradition. The *jilab* is the only ship that Ibn Jubayr mentioned being present in the port of 'Aydhab. It is likely that a more detailed description of the *jilab* in his narrative because its construction would have been more exotic to his contemporary reader than a Mediterranean vessel. It is entirely possible that Ibn Jubayr would not have commented in such great detail on the ship had it been common in the Mediterranean Sea.[178] Dionisius A. Agius suggests that the *jilab* was a shallow draft boat that had higher maneuverability, and it is likely that the details of the larger cargo ships that were present in the harbor were explained sufficiently enough in

[174] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 364.
[175] *Ibid*: 332.
[176] Gardnier, *op. cit.*: 67.
[177] *Ibid*: 69
[178] Dionisius A. Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam: From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean*: 166.

Ibn Jubayr's mind. It is likely that the *jilab* was used as a ship to transfer passengers to Jeddah as well as delivering goods along the coast of the Red Sea.

Ibn Jubayr said the *jilab* was a sailing ship which has sails woven from the leaves of the *muql* tree (a gum tree) the wood and fiber used in its construction was imported from India. The ship was not nailed together, but rather lashed together from cord made of coconut fibers. Ibn Jubayr said that this was done, along with greasing the ship with shark oil, because of the high number of reefs in the Red Sea. On Ibn Jubayr's crossing they encountered several reefs that required careful navigation.[179] The reason that the ship was sewn together was to create a more flexible vessel that would not have been as likely to be wreck as a ship constructed of nails with a more rigid structure would have if it struck a coral reef while sailing.

The *jilab* seems to have been propelled entirely by sail, because Ibn Jubayr's party waited in port the first day because there was no wind, and his journeys on the second and third day were prolonged by light winds before a storm drives the ship off course.[180] The wind also delayed the ship from entering port.[181] Ibn Jubayr reported that the sailing gear often tangled and broke with the raising and lowering of the sails and anchors.[182]

In addition to the physical description of the ship, Ibn Jubayr mentioned the sailing conditions for pilgrims aboard the ship. Ibn Jubayr accused captains of exacting high prices for the crossing of the Red Sea with little care or concern for the passengers

[179] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 68, 69.
[180] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 67.
[181] *Ibid*: 69.
[182] *Ibid*: 70.

they took aboard. Ibn Jubayr related that a common saying shared among sea captains was "Ours to produce the ships: the pilgrims' to protect their lives."[183] He likened himself and fellow travelers to being livestock crammed into cages and exploited as resources instead of passengers.

The ships in the Red Sea were subject to different conditions from the ships in the Mediterranean Sea. From the descriptions given, the ships traversing the Red Sea would have needed a much higher degree of maneuverability because of the abundance of coral reefs that are present in this body of water. On the other hand, the ships in the Mediterranean did not to develop the same maneuverability due to the comparative lack of obstructions in the water, and the developments we see likely evolved from sailing in coastal waters.

Ports

The first port that Ibn Jubayr mentioned in any real detail is Qusmarkah (Cape of St. Mark in the Gulf of Oristano on the island of Sardinia).[184] There was an ancient building visible from the moorings, and Ibn Jubayr indicated that Jews used to inhabit the place. A party from the boat traveled into the inhabited town nearby and witnessed a slave market where kidnapped Muslims were being sold.[185] Ibn Jubayr made the distinction to say that the party went further inland by foot to the nearest inhabited parts from the harbor. Contemporary European writers incorporated the name of minor

[183] *Ibid*: 65.
[184] See Map 1 on page vi
[185] *Ibid*: 27.

landing places with associated settlement sites, but Ibn Jubayr did not make the same assumptions.[186] Rather, he identified the port as different from the city.

Ibn Jubayr did not describe the features of the port of Alexandria. Instead, he wished to focus his writings about the Alexandria harbor on the customs officials, which is unfortunate given both the military and economic importance of the site. From a military perspective, Salah al-Din used the port as a base to stage naval attacks on Crusader positions along the Syrian Coast.[187] Salah al-Din was the first Muslim leader to launch naval attacks on the coastal possessions of the Crusaders.[188]

Additionally, Alexandria served as an increasingly major hub for trade and pilgrimage. Alexandria was becoming a major port of call for the Genoese by the middle of the twelfth century.[189] Since Ibn Jubayr recommended that his contemporary reader to join the Emir of Baghdad via Syria in order to reach Mecca, Alexandria would have been an important landing location for Muslim pilgrims, if they wished to travel safely to Syria.[190] It is unclear if Alexandria increased in importance on the pilgrimage route during the Crusades, but it clearly maintained a very significant role.

The reasons for Alexandria's importance are practical. Genoese merchant ships enjoyed dominance in trade on the Mediterranean in the twelfth century.[191] It would have been comparatively easier for Muslims pilgrims to buy passage on a Genoese boat headed for Northern Africa and continue to Syria by land than to procure arrangements

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[186] Peacock, *op. cit.*: 42.
[187] Gary Leiser, "Alexandria (early period) ." in Encyclopaedia of Islam.
[188] Hillenbrand, *op. cit.*: 556.
[189] Day, *op. cit.*: 161.
[190] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 66.
[191] Valeria Fiorani Piancentini, "The Golden Age of Genoa's Eastwards Trade (13th-15th Centuries)." from *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*: 25.

on a ship all the way into Syria because trade was freely performed to Alexandria year round.[192] However, commercial ventures into Syria were undertaken in a much more limited scope because of the expense, danger, and favorable weather conditions for travel into Syria arose only in the fall and spring.[193] Additionally, trade was occasionally suspended during years of warfare in Syria, most notably during the beginning of the Third Crusade in 1187-1189. Trade to Syria was suspended, but Crusaders still chartered ships into the region. It seems unlikely that a Muslim pilgrim would find passage aboard one of these ships destined for Syria. Thus, the prominence of Alexandria as a port for Muslims who lived on the Mediterranean would have increased.

From Alexandria, the next port that Ibn Jubayr entered was the port of 'Aydhab on the western coast of the Red Sea. The earliest accounts of 'Aydhab mention it as a port of export for gold mined by the Sudanese in the 9th century, but it had been established as a major pilgrimage port for the hajj by the middle of the 11th century.[194] Accordingly, the importance as a pilgrimage port grew as the Crusader occupation of Syria was deemed a threat to Muslim pilgrimage. 'Aydhab developed a reputation of great importance on the Red Sea despite the excessive dangers it posed to the traveler. Among the reasons for its infamy was that the nearest fresh water source was 10 miles away, and food had to be imported into the town as well.

Additional problems in 'Aydhab included high taxes placed on pilgrims, and it was established as a place of exile. Archaeologists in 1926 also discovered that the site

[192] Byrne, *op. cit.*: 131.
[193] *Ibid*: 132-3.
[194] Peacock, *op. cit.*: 33.

of 'Aydhab had a disproportionately large cemetery to the size of the town.[195] The disproportionate size of the cemetery can likely be attributed to large numbers of pilgrims travelling through 'Aydhab. The explanation for the seemingly high mortality rate in a small village is also congruent with the image that 'Aydhab was harsh to the pilgrim.

Disembarking from 'Aqaba on the northern coast of the Red Sea was the preferable alternative to travelling through 'Aydhab. Salah al-Din had regained control of the port from the Crusaders in 1171.[196] However, the proximity of Reynald of Chatillon in his Kingdom of Oultrejordain clearly discouraged the use of the hajj route via 'Aqaba. Reynald's presence in Karak was clearly the most influential impact of Crusader activity on Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage. Reynald used his base in Karak to hassle ports along the Red Sea through the use of piracy.[197] In addition to pirate activities on the water, he also disrupted and attacked trade caravans that traversed between Alexandria and Damascus despite peace treaties that were in place.[198]

The use of 'Aydhab as an alternative to 'Aqaba shows that the Muslim pilgrims preferred to risk their lives with the elements rather than enter he territory controlled by Reynald of Chatillon. Ibn Jubayr did not subject himself to any comparable risk to his health and well-being again in his journey. He showed discontent about travelling through Crusader territories, but he did not outright avoid them like he did with Oultrejordain.

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[195] *Ibid*: 36.
[196] Renate Dieterich, " al-'Aqaba ." from Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE.
[197] Peacock, *op. cit.*: 37.
[198] Hillenbrand, *op. cit.*: 291.

Tyre also received some of Ibn Jubayr's attention. There were two gates which guard the city, one facing landwards and the other seawards. At the entrance to the harbor, there were two towers which could prevent the entry to or exit from the port. Ibn Jubayr was struck by the beauty of the port's features, and he remarked that Acre matches a similar description, the only major difference between Acre and Tyre is Tyre's ability to support large ships in the harbor.[199] The ports of Acre and Tyre served as important locations to the Crusaders, which needed to be fortified.

The existential threat that the Crusaders felt from outside forces is evident in the style of construction of the fortifications around the port and city. Tyre was by far the most heavily fortified position that Ibn Jubayr describes. Acre and Tyre were among the major targets of Salah al-Din's fleets that were launched from Alexandria, and maintaining their locations held great strategic importance. The idea that Acre and Tyre held strategic importance is furthered by the absence of gardens around the city. There are no gardens in the immediate proximity of either town, and they rely on neighboring locations for their produce.[200] Ibn Jubayr found the absence of gardens remarkable enough to comment on, meaning he would expect a city of that size to have a source of fresh produce nearby. The absence of a garden most likely is due to the constant threat of attack on the location which would have made it difficult or impossible to maintain a crop or provided shelter for attacking forces.

[199] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 321.
[200] *Ibid*: 325.

As mentioned earlier, ports in Syria were difficult for Genoese trade ships to access. From 1154 to 1164, only five commercial ventures were made into Syria.[201] The frequency of the commercial ventures to the region only increased slightly over the next 50 years.[202] Indeed, given the low frequency at which ships entered and left Syria for the western Mediterranean, it is remarkable that Ibn Jubayr only spent three months in the region. The ports themselves should be seen as defensive positions that maintained the Crusader position in the region, and as hubs that facilitated travel for Crusaders, pilgrims and trade as a secondary function. It is from the port of Acre that Ibn Jubayr disembarks for his home in Andalusia.

However, the ship Ibn Jubayr traveled on did not make it to its final destination. Instead, the ship wrecked off the coast of Sicily near the city of Messina.[203] Even without the shipwreck, Ibn Jubayr would have stopped in the city because it was a regular port of call for ships in the region. He takes specific note of the deep harbor that could accommodate large ships close to shore rather than require the use of other boats for loading and unloading.[204] A few details can be ascertained from what Ibn Jubayr says in this section. The first bit of information is that the storm that drove the ship aground would have been a particularly violent storm in a shipping season that had already been difficult for Ibn Jubayr's ship up to that point.

Ibn Jubayr also noted that Tyre was able to accommodate larger ships than Acre, meaning the deep water port at Tyre was much more comparable to the harbor in

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[201] Byrne, *op. cit.*: 132.
[202] *Ibid*
[203] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 336.
[204] *Ibid*: 338.

Messina.[205] Further, this suggests that the typical method of loading and unloading cargo and passengers would have been to use of much smaller vessels in open water without the protection of a harbor.

Ibn Jubayr recorded at first that there were no Muslims living in Messina, but he later rectified his error and stated that there were a few Muslims that pay a biannual tax to live in the region.[206] It makes sense that Muslim populations would have remained in the city because it had been under Muslim control from the ninth century until the Normans conquered the city in 1061, and eventually the Crusaders took Messina in 1190.[207] The fact that Muslims remained despite losing territorial control over the city illustrates that the religion of those in power did not determine the religion of the population of whom they controlled. Since the Muslim population remained in place, it is demonstrated that the outright conversion, extermination or removal of indigenous populations were not necessarily primary goals during the Crusades. Although, Messina was not located in a region that was considered holy, the example of Messina shows that Christian and Muslim populations were able to live side-by-side.

Trapani was the last major port of call that Ibn Jubayr wrote about.[208] He arrived in Trapani after being shipwrecked off the coast of Messina in Sicily. Trapani was a small city that is surrounded on three sides by water, and connected by a small strip of land to the rest of the island. Ibn Jubayr mentioned that the inhabitants of the city feared that Trapani would one day sink into the ocean. As for the military infrastructure of the

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[205] See Map 1 on page vi
[206] *Ibid*: 337-8.
[207] "Messina" *Philip's Encyclopedia 2008*. London: Philip's, 2008. *Credo Reference*.
[208] See Map 1 on page vi

town. Trapani was a walled city. It does not seem as though the defenses on the city are as extreme as those encountered in Acre and Tyre. The level of security concerns also became more evident as Ibn Jubayr noted the neighboring uninhabited island that served as a site to an empty fortress-like building. He noted that this would be a great vantage point from which an enemy could launch an attack.[209] Tyre and Acre actively sought unconventional measures to protect their harbor, wheras Trapani was seated in an area that is not under nearly the same amount of military activity.

According to Ibn Jubayr, Trapani also had markets that boasted low prices. He attributed the low market prices to abundant resources available to the locals which led to an easy life for the residents of the city. Ibn Jubayr went further to say that Christians and Muslims have both have places of worship in Trapani as a result of the easy lifestyle.[210] However, despite both places of worship existing side-by-side, Ibn Jubayr noted that Muslim residents are held accountable to Muslim law by a Christian king.[211] A degree of religious freedom existed in the small city. This is not the only historical example of peoples of different religions being subject to different codes of law in the same region. It seems that this form of governing was in parallel with the millet system that served the Ottoman Empire in later centuries. However, it is notable here that the Muslim population is allowed a certain degree of religious freedom despite the Christian control of Trapani.

The examples of Messina and Trapani provide that Muslims existed in communities under Christian control, and it seems that a certain level of submission was

[209] Broadhurst, *op. cit.*: 352.
[210] *Ibid*: 351.
[211] *Ibid*: 357.

expected from them for their continued existence, in the form of taxation. Ibn Jubayr stated that there was no excuse for a Muslim to stay in Christian controlled lands, save if he was passing through, because he would be subject to abasement and destitution.[212] It is apparent then, that Ibn Jubayr's estimation of the treatment of Muslims in Christian territories was may have been extreme, because the idea of subjecting oneself to a political leader of a different religion was not influential enough to cause migration every time territorial control changed hands. To relocate one's family, home, and business simply would have been easier said than done. The impracticality of relocation was perhaps one of the largest contributors to the Muslim population remaining in place despite a level of perceived societal abasement.

Overall, the importance of a port was that it allowed for the movement of people and goods. It was unique in its functions to other locations because it necessitates an influx of foreign imposition. It was in port cities that Ibn Jubayr had the most interactions with non-Muslim populations. Thus, it is likely that interactions in a port city would have been much more indicative of cross-cultural relationships for the common person than the interactions that existed on the battlefield during the Crusades.

Customs

Alexandria and Jeddah were the only cities where Ibn Jubayr explicitly mentions encountering customs agents. Except for being shipwrecked in Messina, these were the only ports, where there was a clear transition between modes of transportation. Both ports are under Muslim control, yet Ibn Jubayr stated that pilgrims were treated most

[212] *Ibid*: 322.

unfairly by the officials. It is here that one wishes Ibn Jubayr would have disembarked in a Christian controlled port to have a point of reference of the treatment of Muslim pilgrims from the same account.

Alexandria was the first city where Ibn Jubayr mentioned customs agents.[213] In his dealings with the agents in Alexandria, Ibn Jubayr specifically mentioned that Muslims were brought forward one at a time to give their names and countries. It is unclear whether or not Muslims were the only ones subjected to the inquiries of the customs officials, but this is most likely the case. The only mention that Ibn Jubayr made of Christians aboard his ships was of the Genoese sailors and merchants who would have been concerned with trade and possibly a separate set of customs.

In contrast to the Genoese that may have held some political clout and bargaining power, Ibn Jubayr and his fellow Maghribis were pilgrims passing through the territory. The pilgrim's influence on the region would have been much more minor and much briefer, thereby making them to be subject to harsher customs practices. Most of the Muslims aboard the ship were on their way to perform pilgrimage and were taxed despite their bare provisions. Throughout the customs process, the belongings of the pilgrims were put under the care of attendants and some of them were subsequently lost or stolen. Ibn Jubayr claimed that the injustices and shame accosted to the pilgrims were not the fault of Salah al-Din, because he would have put an end to the practices if he was aware of the injustices.[214] This means that Ibn Jubayr believed that the customs officials acted

[213] *Ibid*: 31.
[214] *Ibid*: 32.

on their own accord with little regard to laws that were in place because there was no official oversight in place.

The second encounter that Ibn Jubayr had with customs officials was in the port of Jeddah. Ibn Jubayr lauded Salah al-Din for his treatment of pilgrims. According to Ibn Jubayr, Salah al-Din provided the Emir of Mecca with money and provisions in lieu of the pilgrim having to pay the customs fee.[215] However, Ibn Jubayr and his travelling party are arrested upon arrival because their dues had not yet arrived from Salah al-Din's government. He blames the unjust treatment of pilgrims on sectarians and schismatics, and says that they would not occur were it not for the sultan's war with the Franks in Syria. Further, he called for the Hejaz to be purified of these heretical groups by the sword.[216]

Ibn Jubayr mentioned that in both ports, the injustices only occurred because Salah al-Din was unaware of them. Whether or not this is a fair assumption on Ibn Jubayr's is debatable. Either way, the Crusades had a deep impact on the pilgrimage to Mecca via the Mediterranean Sea. The routes were altered because of the presence of warring factions along the quickest route. As a result, the pilgrims were left to find alternate routes to perform their religious duty. Despite the fact that there were governmental oversights in place to prevent the mistreatment of pilgrims (who travelled with very little material value) they were still subjected to abuses because the head governmental figure was more concerned with military ventures outside of his governmental control. Ibn Jubayr admired the reputation that Salah al-Din had built up

[215] *Ibid*: 71.
[216] *Ibid*: 72.

through series of conquest and acts of benevolence towards pilgrims, despite the countless failures of administration which Ibn Jubayr encountered.

Conclusion

The most important lesson that is drawn from Ibn Jubayr's travel at sea is that Muslim pilgrimage, at least in the late twelfth century was closely tied with maritime economic activity. There were trade networks in place that Ibn Jubayr utilized in order to cross major bodies of water. Although the Crusades are renowned today for the high level of military activity, economic activity and buildup was much more prevalent along the routes that Ibn Jubayr sailed.

That is not to suggest that conditions throughout the entire medieval world were the same. In fact, the problems and challenges faced by different groups become apparent upon closer examination of details given, such as the details Ibn Jubayr gave about the boats. Two different shipbuilding traditions developed in the Red Sea and Mediterranean Sea respectively. The differences stemmed from two separate groups requiring different sets of tools to deal with separate environmental challenges.

Finally, it should be remembered that Ibn Jubayr was not the man who forged a new path to reach Mecca or travel anywhere in the Middle East. He always found passages on vessels that were heading in the proper direction. The ease in which he was able to find a route to Mecca not only suggests that the route was fairly common, it also implies that Ibn Jubayr had some prior knowledge of the route; he likely encountered Muslim pilgrims who had made the journey previously and advised him of the routes and methods to consider. In other words, what Ibn Jubayr was witnessing would not have

been entirely unique to his journey. Other pilgrims would have likely been subjected to the same hardships and experiences that Ibn Jubayr encountered.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine travel during the late twelfth century. In order to accomplish this, the thesis divided Ibn Jubayr's travels into two very broad categories: land and sea. However, that does not mean that aspects of either realm were necessarily exclusive from the other nor does it mean that a few general statements cannot be drawn from the entirety of his pilgrimage. Two minor themes emerge in the shadow of major focus on travel: the role of trade, and the presence of military.

In a very broad sense, the impact of economic trade networks is visibly present throughout his pilgrimage. At the very least, Ibn Jubayr's use of the trade networks and the facilities that they brought about (such as lodging facilities and port customs) means that the hajj was dependent on trade during the late twelfth century. There is little evidence that, conversely, that twelfth century trade would have been dependent on pilgrimage. Trade would have existed with or without the hajj. After all, the Genoese merchants who helped facilitate travel on the Mediterranean were not fulfilling the religious duty of the hajj; they were actively engaged in trade with various locales along the Mediterranean coastline. While the intentions of the various merchants who aided Ibn Jubayr throughout his journey are unclear, Ibn Jubayr needed their assistance to a much greater degree than they need his presence.

In addition to trade, the role of military infrastructure and institutions were present throughout Ibn Jubayr's travelogue. The presence of bridges, ports and fortresses illustrate this idea to some extent. The construction of bridges and fortresses served to facilitate the movement of troops and establish bases for military operation. But the presence of military was not as strong and overbearing as one might expect when he or she approaches a topic related to the Crusades. It is certain that military expeditions had a profound impact on the populations who were involved, but it is important for the reader to realize that violence and war was not the sole characterization of the region and people living during the Crusades. Ibn Jubayr encounters Crusading factions in Syria and Europe exclusively. Although Ibn Jubayr's positive opinion towards Muslim political leaders and distaste for Christian pilgrims suggests that he was aware of the Crusading activities, it is not an overbearing tone throughout his travelogue. This means that he and the sedentary groups he encountered had only sporadic contact with Crusader and anti-Crusader forces. It is not my intention to understate the violence of war with this statement. Rather, this statement is meant to remind the reader not to approach new topics with preconceived expectations.

In addition to the themes of economy and military appearing throughout this study, there are secondary insights and observations beyond those related to the economy and the military that can be drawn. For example, the chapter on land travel discussed caravans. People traveled in large caravans in order to increase safety and worked together to ensure the protection of the goods and people in the caravan from highway banditry. A parallel to the convoys discussed in the chapter on sea travel, ships sailed together in groups in order to protect passengers and cargo from piracy. Fundamentally,

the caravans on land and the convoys at sea that Ibn Jubayr traveled with functioned in similar fashions: they relied on the safety of numbers to protect them from attack and theft. Thus, we can see that similar problems can emerge in different environments but still have overlap in the ingenuity used to solve these problems.

Finally, we must remember that Ibn Jubayr was a traveler. Ibn Jubayr was first and foremost a pilgrim who journeyed through foreign lands in order to fulfill his religious duty as a Muslim. By undertaking this task and recording it in a journal, he left us with an account that allows for the examination of the conditions and complications of travel during the late twelfth century. The account of his pilgrimage allows us a glimpse into a world that existed temporally and culturally separate from our own. Thus, it is appropriate that we should consider ourselves akin to Ibn Jubayr; we are travelers who can only gain a passing understanding of structures and institutions in place during the Crusading era.

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