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## The Military Role of the Fief of Tibnīn against the Muslims in the Age of the Crusades (AH 498-583/ AD 1105-1187)

By

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## Abstract

The Crusade movement is one of the most important occurrences of medieval history. It took place throughout two centuries in the Levant and affected both Muslims and Crusaders and in turn changed the way in which West and East related to one another.<sup>1</sup> When the Crusaders took control of the Holy Land and many Islamic cities in the Levant, they transferred their feudal European system there. They established four main fiefdoms or lordships, Jerusalem, Edessa, Antioch and Tripoli. In addition, there were another twelve secondary fiefdoms,<sup>2</sup> of which Tibnīn was one. Tibnīn was called “Toron” by the Crusaders. Once the Crusaders had captured Tibnīn, they began building its fortified castle, from which the fief of Tibnīn gained its importance throughout the period of the Crusades.

This paper traces the military role of Tibnīn and its rulers in the Latin East against the Muslims until 1187/ 583. Tibnīn played a key role in overcoming the Muslims in Tyre and controlled it in 1124. It also played a vital role in the conflict between Damascus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Tibnīn participated in defending Antioch, Banyas, Hebron and Transjordan several times. Furthermore, its soldiers and Knights joined the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to capture Ascalon in 1153, and joined the campaigns of Amaury I, King of Jerusalem, against Egypt from 1164 to 1169. The military situation of Tibnīn under the rule of the royal house until its fall to the Muslims in 1187/ 583 will be studied as well.

Keywords: Tibnīn, Toron, Tyre, Damascus, Humphrey II, Kingdom of Jerusalem, Latin East, Emad al-Dīn Zingy, Nour al- al-Dīn Zingy, Hebron, Crusades.

### The Strategic Location of Tibnīn and Its Castles:

Tibnīn “تبنين”, lies on mountain of Amil (Arabic: جبل عامل Jabal ‘Āmil)<sup>3</sup> between Damascus and Tyre,<sup>4</sup> a mountainous region of southern Lebanon, which was an important area in the period of the Crusades. Tibnīn was an ancient city and a castle was built there by the Aramaic King Hazael (842-805 B.C) when his conquests reached Palestine. The castle was built to dominate the commercial roads that linked Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula. It was named Tibnīn, which in Aramaic means “constructed and fortified building”. The castle was destroyed by the hands of

<sup>1</sup> Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades 1095-1291* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Aly Ahmed Mohamed al-Sayed, *al-Khalīl wa al-Haram al-Ibrāhīmī fī ‘Aṣr al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah AH 492-583 / AD 1099-1187 (Hebron in the Age of the Crusades)* (Cairo, Dar al-fikr al-‘Araby, 1998), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This area was known as Jabal ‘Amilah, and later as Jabal ‘Amil. Most historians have thought that the naming of this land goes back to the tribe of Banu ‘Amilah “بنو عاملية”, which emigrated from Yemen to the Levant in pre-Islamic times and settled in these lands, because of a flood caused by the destruction of the Maārib Dam “سد مارب”. It was also named Jabil al-Jālīl and Jabal al-Khalīl. Jabil ‘Āmil included several mountains and areas: Jabil Tibnīn, Jabil Hunin, the coast of Tyre, Shaqif Arnun and others. See: Ismā‘īl ibn-‘Alī Abū-al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Ākhhbār al-Baṣhar (The Summary of the History of People*, vol. 1. ed. Mohammed Zenhom et al (Cairo: Dar al-Mā‘ārif, nd), p. 133; Mohamed Jabir al-Ṣafā, *Tārīkh Jabal ‘Āmil (History of Jabal Amil)* (Beirut: nd), p. 24; Ali al-Zein, *Libaḥṭh ‘an Tārīkhanā fī Lebnaṅ (Search for our History in Lebanon)* (Beirut: 1973), p. 25; Mohammed Taqy al-Faqīh, *Jabal ‘Āmil fī al- Tārīkh (Jabal Amil in the History)* (Beirut: Dār-al-‘Aqdūā‘, 1986), p. 18

<sup>4</sup> Yākut al- Hamawy, *Mu‘egam al-Buldān {Lexicon Countries}*, ed. Farid Abdel Aziz El Gendy, vol. 2 (Beirut: 1990), p. 14.

the Assyrians and the Chaldeans and was rebuilt in the Greco-Roman period, when it was garrisoned to protect the commercial caravans.<sup>5</sup>

Tibnīn Castle was located on the top of Jabal ‘Amil, between Damascus and Tyre,<sup>6</sup> at a distance of 25 kilometers southeast of the city of Tyre. Geographically, it belonged to Upper Galilee (الجليل: *Galīl*).<sup>7</sup> Tibnīn is the Arabic equivalent of the crusader name “Toron”. Hugh Saint-Omer, the first lord of Tibnīn in the age of the Crusades, built the castle of Tibnīn, which he called Toron, on the highest ridge of the mountain between 1103 and 1105/496-499.<sup>8</sup> It looked down on the Wadi al-‘Ain, and the largest part of the city of Tibnīn was on a lower ridge and south west of the castle.<sup>9</sup> Western historiographical sources and Latin charters mention it under the name of Toron. It is called Tibnīn, the original name, in the Arabic sources. This study often uses and mentions the original name, Tibnīn.

Once the castle of Tibnīn was built by Hugh of Saint-Omer in AD 1103-05 / AH 496-99, it became a base from which the Crusaders could launch invasions in the area of Galilee in the northern part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It thus played an important military role in the north of the Kingdom of Jerusalem throughout the period of the Crusades. Owing to this, the Muslims constantly attempted to regain it and did so in 1187. However, the Emperor Frederick II succeeded in recapturing it in 1129, so that it resumed its political, military and economic role under the Latin rule until it fell eventually and forever to the Muslims in 1266. This Paper only examines the military role of Tibnīn throughout the twelfth century until its downfall at the Muslims’ hand in 1187.

Tibnīn played a pivotal role in capturing the city of Tyre, which had received military reinforcements from Damascus before its fall to the Crusaders’ in 1124. From that time, Tibnīn and Tyre became important military and economic Crusader settlements. The fief of Tibnīn was vital for the Kingdom of Jerusalem, because it included fertile agricultural lands, was a tax collection centre, and because it controlled the Damascus-to-Tyre commercial route. It controlled the area north of Galilee, which was a very important region for the Crusader States and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, because in addition to the importance of the defensive and offensive role of its castle in the north of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,<sup>10</sup> the rulers of Tibnīn played a major role in forming the history of the Latin East. They were key figures in the political and military events of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as will be discussed throughout this work.

The Latin forces captured the city of Jerusalem in 1099 and advanced to control the other cities southwards and northwards up to Tibnīn.<sup>11</sup> There was a great conflict between the

<sup>5</sup> Sulaymān Zāhir, *Mu‘jam Qurā Jabal ‘Āmil* { Lexicon of the Villages of Jabal Amil }, vol. 2, (Lebanon: 2006), p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> al-Hamawī, *Mu‘egam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Mathias Piana, "The Crusader Castle of Toron: First Results of its Investigation" *Journal of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, vol. 5, p.173.

<sup>8</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Bacoock and A.C. Krey, vol. I (New York: 1943), p. 469; Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.102.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Robinson, E. Smith, and Others, "Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions," *Journal of Travels in the Year of 1852*, ed. Robinson (Boston, London: Crocker and Brewster: 1856), p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 (USA: Cambridge University Press, 15<sup>th</sup> ed, 1995), p. 95; Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Historians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Pp. 112, 135.

<sup>11</sup> Adrian J. Boas, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: The Frankish Period: A Unique Medieval Society Emerges." *Near Eastern Archaeology*. vol. 61, no. 3 (Sep., 1998), p. 154.

Crusaders and the Muslims in the west of Galilee.<sup>12</sup> Hugh of Saint-Omer, who pursued an aggressive policy against the Muslims, had the castle of Tibnīn built in 1105 to protect his fief, Galilee in the west, and to defend the north of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well, because he was the counselor to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem at that time.<sup>13</sup> Tibnīn was strategic for attacking the Muslims in Upper Galilee region<sup>14</sup> and the city of Tyre, and it controlled the commercial roads between Damascus, Banyas<sup>15</sup> and Tyre. From the time the Crusaders captured Tibnīn and built its castle in 1105, the Muslim forces launched repeated attacks on the castle of Tibnīn, but the Crusaders eventually managed complete control of the area in 1117 / 510.<sup>16</sup>

King Baldwin I (1101-1118) followed a military strategy resembling the blitzkrieg, turning his army quickly from the north to the south and from the east to the west as needed. The castles were one of the most important pillars for carrying out this military policy and for overcoming the problem of the deficiency in the number of fighters.<sup>17</sup> The castle of Tibnīn played an important role in implementing this policy and allowed the Crusaders to control the city of Tyre. Moreover, a number of the knights of Tibnīn contributed to the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, because every fief in the Latin east, according to the administrative and military system of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was required to send a number of soldiers and knights to participate in the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup>

### The Full Military Control of Tibnīn and the Seizure of the City of Tyre in 1124

When Hugh of Saint-Omer ruled Galilee, he sallied forth from Tiberias, Galilee's capital, to attack the Muslims at Tyre. His soldiers were in considerably danger while crossing the distance of thirty miles back and forth between the two cities, because there was no fortified castle in this area. Hugh of Saint-Omer therefore had the castle of Tibnīn built to protect the Crusader army marching to Tyre,<sup>19</sup> and it became a base to counter the incursions of the Muslim garrison in Tyre.<sup>20</sup> In 1106, Hugh of Saint-Omer led seventy knights to attack the Muslims, engaging in a battle against thousands of Damascenes. Although he was hit by a fatal arrow and died in the same year, the Muslims lost about two hundred soldiers in this battle and the Crusaders took two hundred horses.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Aly Ahmed al-Sayed, "Emārit al-Jālīl Taht Ḥukm al-Latīn wa Durha al-Sīāsī fi al-Šir'a al-Šalībī al-Islāmī 1099-1154 / 492-549, (The Principality of Galilee under the Latin Rule and Its Political Role in the Crusader-Islamic Conflict in the Levant)." (Master Thesis, Alexandria University, Faculty of Arts, Egypt, 1988), p.181.

<sup>13</sup> Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, p. 95; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp.123-24.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Deschamps, *Les Chateaux des Croises en Terre-Sainte, la Defense du Royaume de Jerusalem*, II. (Paris: 1939), p.118; Sir-al-Khitm Osman Ali, "Madīnat Suūr fi al-Qarnīn al-Thāny Ashar wa al-Thālith Ashar 1097-1291 (The City of Tyre in Twelfth and Thirteen Centuries 1097-1291)" (PhD.diss, Cairo University, Faculty of Arts, Egypt: 1971), Pp. 42-43.

<sup>15</sup> Banyas, "Belinas or Paneas in ancient Caesarea Philipp," located on the major road between the city of Tyre and Damascus. Murry, *The Crusades an Encyclopedia*, p. 151.

<sup>16</sup> Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, Pp. 95-96; Robin Fedden, *The Castles of the Crusades: A Brief Study in the Military Architecture of the Crusaders* (London: 1950), p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Saeīd 'Ashour, *al-Ḥarakah al-Šalībīyah (The Crusade Movement)*, vol. 1(Cairo: 1963), p. 291,

<sup>18</sup> al-Sayed, *al-Khalīl*, p. 175.

<sup>19</sup> William of Tyre, vol. I, p. 469; Fedden, *The Castles*, p. 18; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 217.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley, vol. A (Amsterdam, New York, Oxford: North Holland Publishing Company, 1979), p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> William of Tyre, vol. 1, Pp. 469-70; Ashour, *al-Ḥarakah al-Šalībīyah*, vol. 1, p. 306.

After Hugh of Saint-Omer died, Humphrey I of Tibnīn held the hilly area, strongholds, and fields between Tyre and Tibnīn in peace, and launched sudden attacks against the city of Tyre from the strongly fortified castle of Tibnīn.<sup>22</sup> Because of the extreme importance of the city of Tyre in controlling the coast for both the Crusaders and Muslims, in addition to its commercial and military role, the Latin forces at Tibnīn mounted constant attacks against Tyre. The leaders of the Fatimid army at Tyre called for Damascus to join them to defend Tyre and to attack Tibnīn.<sup>23</sup>

Ezz al-Malik Ānushtukīn, Prince of Tyre, and Ṭughtikīn (Toghtekin), ruler of Damascus agreed to fight the Crusaders at Tibnīn.<sup>24</sup> Ezz al-Malik attacked Tibnīn in 1107 /501 and killed some of its Latin inhabitants. When King Baldwin I learned of this, he immediately marched to defend it and Ezz El-Malik withdrew to Tyre.<sup>25</sup> These military events confirm the importance of Tibnīn for both the Crusaders and Muslims. At the same time, this illustrates that the Crusaders did not so far have full control Tibnīn. Baldwin I renewed his attacks against Tyre in 1108/501, but he failed to take it,<sup>26</sup> though he did alleviate the Muslim pressure on Tibnīn.

In November 1111 / Jumada I 505, King of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, attacked the city of Tyre. Ṭughtikīn immediately dispatched some of his forces and mounted fighters to attack the Crusaders' holdings in Tibnīn and north Galilee, trying to control this area in order to surround King Baldwin I.<sup>27</sup> The Damascene forces attacked King Baldwin I and his troops from the mountainous region between Tibnīn and Tyre.<sup>28</sup> Some of the volunteers from the mountain of 'Amil, where Tibnīn is located, attacked the Crusader army by crossing this mountain as well, in order to distract them from the siege of Tyre. This led to the failure of the siege of Tyre,<sup>29</sup> and King Baldwin ordered his army to return to Acre in April 1112.<sup>30</sup>

The strategy of Ṭughtikīn was to put pressure on the Crusader strongholds in the Tibnīn area and the north of Galilee, and he succeeded in disrupting the Latin expansion in this region for a long time. For their part, the Crusaders were eager to preserve their agricultural crops of wheat and vines in the area of Tibnīn and Marj Banī Amir, so they withdrew from Tyre in 1112 /505.<sup>31</sup> The conflicts between Crusaders and Toghtekin erupted numerous times in the mountains of Tibnīn and Tyre, but there were no decisive outcomes.<sup>32</sup>

According to Ibn al-Qalānisī and Abū al-Maḥāsīn; the Muslim inhabitants who lived in the area of Jabal 'Amil and Tibnīn, helped their brothers in Tyre.<sup>33</sup> This meant that the area of Tibnīn

<sup>22</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 19-20.

<sup>23</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 218.

<sup>24</sup> Osman, "Madīnat Suūr," Pp. 47-48

<sup>25</sup> Abū Y'alī Ḥamzah al-Ṭimīmy Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq* (Beirut: 1908), p. 151; Sibṭ ibn-al-jūzī, *Mi'rāt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Ā'iyān { The Chronicle of Mirror of Time in the History of Notables}*, vol. 8, section 1 (Ḥīdār Ābād: 1951-1952), p. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Osman, "Madīnat Suūr," Pp. 47-48; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 226.

<sup>27</sup> Abū-al-Maḥāsīn, *al-Nujūm al-Zahirah fī Mulūk Misr wa al-Qāhirah (The Brilliant Stars in the History of Kings of Egypt and Cairo)*, ed. Mohamed Hassan Shams- al-Dīn, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmyah, 1992), p. 178.

<sup>28</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana [History of the Journey to Jerusalem]*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Pp. 833,835; 'Izz ad-Din Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Mohamed Yusuf, vol.9. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmyah, 4<sup>th</sup> ed, 2003), Pp. 145-46.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 178 : Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. II, p. 94.

<sup>30</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 230.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 9, p. 146.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, Pp. 227-29; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp.211-12; Sibṭ al-jūzī, *Mi'rāt al-Zamān*, vol. 8, sec. I, p. 111.

<sup>33</sup> Abū-al-Maḥāsīn, *al-Nujūm al-Zahirah*, vol. 5, Pp.178-80; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 178.

and Jabal 'Amil was not completely subject to the Crusaders until 1112 / 505, in spite of the fact that the Crusaders controlled the castle of Tibnīn.

Tibnīn remained a point of conflict between the Muslims and the Crusaders. In 1113/506, King Baldwin resumed his military activities against the Muslims in the area of Tibnīn and Tyre, and he took control of the commercial roads between Damascus, Tibnīn and Tyre.<sup>34</sup> Ibn al-Qalānisī reported that Baldwin became frustrated at not being able to achieve any compromise with Ṭughtikīn of Damascus, who had stopped the progress of the Crusaders toward Tyre, so he increased his attacks against the area of al-Thamānīn, which was located in Jabal 'Amil.<sup>35</sup> al-Thamānīn was most likely Tibnīn, because the city of Tibnīn and its castle are located in this area.<sup>36</sup>

Latin sources mention that some pilgrims, about fifteen hundred, wanted to return to Europe from Jerusalem after Easter in 1113/507. The King ordered three hundred soldiers to accompany them until they crossed the mountains area between Tibnīn of Tyre, in order to defend them against the attacks of Muslims. As he expected, five hundred Muslim soldiers attacked the pilgrims outside the city of Tibnīn. When the King heard about this, he marched to attack these soldiers and defend the pilgrims. Although many of Muslim soldiers were able to retreat to the city of Tyre, the King captured and killed hundreds of them.<sup>37</sup>

The Crusaders used their Galilean bases, Tiberias and later Tibnīn, to try to capture Tyre, but they failed due to the resistance of Tyrians and help from the Muslims of Jabal 'Amil. They were unable to impose their sovereignty over all the lands of Tibnīn. However, they succeeded in controlling the rural region, which extended between Tibnīn and Tyre.<sup>38</sup>

The difficult geographical nature of the region between Tyre and Tibnīn played a strategic role in the military relations between the Muslims of Tyre and the Crusaders in Tibnīn and Galilee. This terrain was complicated and difficult, the land from Tyre rising gradually in altitude until Tibnīn. However, it also contained cultivated lands that produced good crops and timber, and the city of Tyre got its water from the springs and wells present there as was mentioned previously.<sup>39</sup> The Crusaders realized that control of this region would help them to seize Tyre.

The most important battle affecting Tibnīn was the battle of al-Ṣonburah (الصنبرة) in 1113 / 507, which took place on the land of Galilee. King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and Jocelyn, Lord of Galilee, led the Crusader forces and Sharaf al-Dīn Maūdūd, Ṭoghtakīn's son, was the leader of Muslim army in this battle.<sup>40</sup> Maūdūd had launched numerous attacks against the Crusaders in Edessa, so in early 1113 / Rajab 506, the Latin forces attacked and seized a large Muslim trade convoy heading from Damascus to Egypt through Tibnīn.<sup>41</sup> In reply, the attacks of the Damascenes against the Crusaders were intensified. King Baldwin I ordered Jocelyn to negotiate with Ṭughtikīn and his son, Maūdūd, to identify the common boundaries between them in this region and to negotiate a truce as well.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Albert of Aachen, Pp. 827-33, 231; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 231.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p.184; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 234.

<sup>36</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp. 234, 302.

<sup>37</sup> Albert of Aachen, p. 839.

<sup>38</sup> Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) , p. 112.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn-Jubair Muhammad, *al-Riḥlah*, (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, nd) , p. 283; William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 8-9, 19-20

<sup>40</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p.160.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 9, p. 149-150; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp. 160,183.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 184; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. II, Pp. 847-48 .

The Crusaders offered to leave the al-Thamānīn area, Tibnīn and Jabal‘Amil to the Damascenes, in return for keeping the castle of Habīs-Jaldik<sup>43</sup> and half of al-Saūād. Ṭughtikīn refused,<sup>44</sup> and the clashes between them were renewed. Maūdūd pretended that he would attack the city of Jerusalem, and while his main army marched to attack the east side of Galilee, he dispatched some knights of Tyre and Damascus to attack Tibnīn.<sup>45</sup>

The Latin forces withdrew beyond Tibnīn and returned to the fortress of Tiberias and the Muslims advanced to the west Galilee and Tibnīn.<sup>46</sup> The Fatimids at Ascalon took advantage of this situation and launched a raid on the city of Jerusalem. They reached the outer wall and set fire to the harvest of the Latin peasants there, but in the evening of this day, they retreated to Ascalon.<sup>47</sup>

In spite of the fact that the outcomes of these engagements were indecisive, the Muslims raided Tibnīn and Galilee, which led the Muslim inhabitants to rebel against the Latin rule in these areas. Because of this rebellion, King Baldwin invited the Syriac Christians near the Kingdom of Jerusalem to settle in this region of Jabal Amil, Tibnīn and Galilee.<sup>48</sup>

Although the military activities of Maūdūd "Maledoctus" greatly frightened the Latin inhabitants in the region of Tibnīn and Galilee,<sup>49</sup> Fulcher praised him in his chronicle; "Maledoctus was very rich and powerful and very renowned among the Turks. He was extremely astute in his actions but could not resist the will of God. The Lord permitted him to scourge us for a while but afterwards willed that he should die a vile death and by the hand of an insignificant man."<sup>50</sup> The death of Maūdūd ended his invasion in the lands of Tibnīn and Galilee area.<sup>51</sup>

Humphrey I of Tibnīn held the castle of Hunin, which was located between Banyas and Tibnīn, in 1115 / 509,<sup>52</sup> in order to defend his fief eastwards and to help increase Crusader attacks against Damascus. In 1116-1117/510-511, King Baldwin ordered Jocelyn of Galilee to build the castle of Alexandrium (*Scandalium*) between Tyre and Tibnīn, to protect the western side of Tibnīn. With Hunin in the east and Alexandrium in the west, the Crusaders took completely control of Tibnīn in 1117, from which they were then able to capture Tyre.<sup>53</sup> The two castles, Alexandrium and Tibnīn, gave the Crusaders the support they needed to move forward to capture Tyre quickly.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, Jocelyn controlled the arable lands and orchards in the region between Tyre and Tibnīn, and he was now able to tighten up his control of this area and to surround it militarily and economically.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Habīs Jaldik (in Arabic: **حبيس جلد**) was a castle in the neighborhood of Damascus, which was called the area of al-Saūād (السواد). It was an important strategic location for Damascus. al-Hamawy, *Mu‘agam al-Bildān*, vol. II, p. 216.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisi, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp.184; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades, et du Royaume France de Jerusalem*, tome 1 (Paris: 1948), p. 848.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisi, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 184; Albert of Aachen, p. 839; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp. 306-07.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 149-50.

<sup>47</sup> Fulcher Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan, Sisters of St. Joseph, ed. with an Introduction by Harold's Fink (USA: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 208.

<sup>48</sup> Grousset, *Croisades*, vol.1, p. 484; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 327-28

<sup>49</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 327.

<sup>50</sup> Fulcher Charters, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 209.

<sup>51</sup> Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. 1, p. 484.

<sup>52</sup> Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom*, p. 79.

<sup>53</sup> William of Tyre, vol. I, Pp. 514-515.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 238.

When the Fatimid ruler of Tyre heard about the intention of the Crusaders and their preparations to attack the city, he sent to the Caliph to ask him for help. The Fatimid Caliph decided to return the rule of Tyre to Ṭughtikīn so that he would continue to defend it. Nevertheless, the Crusaders laid siege the city, and Ṭughtikīn had to surrender it in July 1124 /Jumada I 518, in return for safety.<sup>56</sup> Some sources mention that the weakness of the Fatimid rulers was the main reason to fall Tyre.<sup>57</sup> When the city of Tyre came under Latin rule in 1124 / 518, Tibnīn took on a defensive role for both of Tyre and Galilee against the Muslims.<sup>58</sup>

There is no doubt that the desire of Damascus to maintain its monopoly over the commercial routes and to protect its caravans was the main reason for its conflicts with the Crusaders at Tibnīn and Tyre, which were the main cities overlooking the commercial roads. Because of this, Damascus constantly tried to regain Tibnīn as well as Tyre.

### Tibnīn, Damascus, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem after the Fall of Tyre in 1124

After the city of Tyre fell in 1124, Ṭughtikīn of Damascus continued to fight the Crusaders in Tibnīn and Tyre. The Crusader-Damascene strife around Tyre and Tibnīn was one of the most important episodes of conflict between Muslims and Crusaders in the Levant at that time. Damascus had an important role in fighting the Crusaders throughout the twelfth century, because of its geographical location in the north and its being the strongest Muslim power in the Levant at the time.<sup>59</sup> The dominance of the Crusaders over Tyre and Tibnīn was the source of severe political, military, and economic disadvantage for Damascus in particular, and for the Muslims in general. Tyre was the main commercial seaport for Damascus, and Tibnīn was the overland commercial gate to Damascus.

Ṭughtikīn formed an alliance with the Assassins (al-Ḥashshāshīn)<sup>60</sup> and granted them Banyas, the neighboring city of Tibnīn and its castle in 1126, in return for fighting the Crusaders at Tibnīn and Tyre and preventing them from advancing toward Damascus. When Tāj al-Mulūk al-būrī ruled Damascus after the death of Ṭughtikīn in 1228, his prime minister, al-Mzdaghany and the Ḥashshāshīn conspired with the Crusaders against Damascus in 1129/523, in exchange for giving them the city of Tyre. The ruler of Damascus discovered this conspiracy and killed about 6,000 of the Ḥashshāshīn, but Ismail, leader of the Ḥashshāshīn and the ruler of Banyas, had already surrendered Banyas to the Crusaders.<sup>61</sup> Banyas was closer to Damascus than Tibnīn and control of it by the Crusaders helped to fortify Tibnīn against the Damascene's attacks. At the same time, the Crusaders were now able to launch attacks on Damascus from Banyas.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 227-29; Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp.211-12; al-jūzī, *Mi'rāt al-Zamān*, vol. 8, Sec. I, p.111.

<sup>57</sup> Abū-al-Maḥāsīn, *al-Nujūm al-Zahirah*, vol. 5, p.178 ; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. II, p. 94.

<sup>58</sup> Deschamps, *Les Chateaux des Croises*, p. 112; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," p. 219 .

<sup>59</sup> Mohamed Kurd Ali, *Khuṭaṭ al-Shām (Sham's Maps)*, vol. 1 (Damascus: 1925) , p. 305.

<sup>60</sup> In Arabic حشاشين Ḥashshāshīn or باطنيان Bāteniān was derived from Shiites' Ismailia, and this expression was used by Muslims sources metaphorically in the abusive sense, meaning persons who were socially and religiously outcasts. The European use of this term to mean intoxicated, hashish-consuming assassins is rooted in the imagination of medieval Westerners and their ignorance of Islamic doctrine. Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrine* ( England, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Pp. 12-13 .

<sup>61</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 9, Pp. 236, 250-51; Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp.215, 221, 224; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp. 350-58.

<sup>62</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp. 155, 359-60.



In 1131 / 525, King Baldwin II died and Fulk of Anjou (1131- 1143) succeeded him.<sup>63</sup> Tāj al-Molūk al-Būrī, ruler of Damascus, died in the same year and his son, Shams al-Molūk, succeeded him.<sup>64</sup> There were no military activities against Tibnīn at this time, but the forces of Shams al-Molūk invaded the lands of Galilee and reached the city of Acre and Tyre.<sup>65</sup> This invasion reached the city of Tiberias and Nazareth and the neighboring cities, but its aim was to pillage and to plunder only.<sup>66</sup> This means that the forces of Shams al-Molūk must have marched to Tiberias and Nazareth through the region of Tibnīn, because they would have had to cross Tibnīn to reach these cities; it is therefore possible that Tibnīn was also attacked.

In February 1137 / 531, 'Emad al-Dīn Zingy, ruler of the city of Mosul, took control of the city of Homs, which belonged to Damascus, and demanded that Ma'īn al-Dīn Ānar (معين الدين أنار), the ruler of Damascus, surrender Damascus to him. However, Zingy withdrew on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1136/20 Shawwal 531, when he learned that the Crusaders were marching to fight him.<sup>67</sup> Now both the Crusaders and the Damascenes were preparing to fight 'Emad al-Dīn Zingy, who was an enemy of both. This led to the formation of an alliance between them against Zangy.<sup>68</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr reports that when 'Emad al-Dīn Zangy learned that the Crusaders were underway to fight him at Homs, he marched to meet them at the fortress of "Ba'ērīn"<sup>69</sup> on August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1137 / 30<sup>th</sup> Dhu'l-Qa'dah 53.<sup>70</sup>

William of Tyre mentions that 'Emad al-Dīn Zingy took advantage of the death of the Count of Tripoli and launched a siege on the castle of Montferrand "Ba'ērīn". Humphrey II of Tibnīn, who was described by William as "a young man without experience in warfare," joined the Latin forces to defend this castle. The forces of Zingy besieged King Baldwin III, Humphrey II of Tibnīn, and other Crusader princes inside the castle for a long time, and their situation became extremely desperate. They therefore made an agreement with Zingy and surrendered the fortress to him, in exchange for their safety conduct.<sup>71</sup>

Although the Damascenes had allied themselves with the Crusaders against Zingy,<sup>72</sup> the Second Crusade came to the Levant in 1148 and the Crusaders attacked Damascus. When the army of the Second Crusade reached Acre, they held a council to decide which part of the Muslim lands to attack. They besieged Damascus, but in the end failed to capture it. Humphrey II of Tibnīn was present at this council, as he was one of the lay nobles in the Latin East.<sup>73</sup> Thus, the knights of Tibnīn under the leadership of Humphrey II participated in the army of the Second Crusade against Damascus.

'Emad al-Dīn Zingy died in 1146 / 541. His son, Nūr al-Dīn, who succeeded him, was more dangerous than his father for both the Crusaders and the rulers of Damascus. Damascus formed

<sup>63</sup> William, vol II, Pp. 71-72.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 9, p. 265.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp. 242-43.

<sup>66</sup> al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp.375-76.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 9, Pp. 298-99; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 258.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 243; al-Sayed, "al-Jālīl," Pp. 376-77.

<sup>69</sup> Ba'ērīn (بعرين) is a town between the city of Homs and the coast, and between the city of Hamah and Aleppo. al-Hamawī, *Mu'agam al-Bīldān*, vol. I, Pp. 321, 452 ; "This castle was situated in the land of Tripoli on the heights above the city of Raphania." William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 298-99.

<sup>71</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 85- 87, 91.

<sup>72</sup> Ashour, *al-Ḥarakah al-Ṣalībīyah*, vol. 2, p. 600; Grousset, *Croisades*, tome. II, p. 143.

<sup>73</sup> William of Tyre , vol. II, P.185-86.

an alliance with the Crusaders to fight him, but Nūr al-Dīn brought it under his rule in 1154 / 549.<sup>74</sup>

### Tibnīn an Offensive-Defensive Base in the North of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

After Zingy's death, the Crusaders were ambitious to regain the cities they had lost to Zingy, launching attacks against the Muslim possessions in the north of Syria from Antioch. Nūr al-Dīn moved to fight them on the borders with Antioch, and he destroyed the fortress of Haram. Raymond, Prince of Antioch, engaged in a battle with the forces of Nūr al-Dīn at Inab in 1149 where he was killed along with many of his knights.<sup>75</sup> Tibnīn was one of the most fortified cities in the north of Syria and the center from which the forces of the Kingdom sallied forth to defend the other cities in the north. In June 1149/ early 544, when the King of Jerusalem and the Lord of Tibnīn learned of the death of Raymond, Prince of Antioch, they collected their forces and rode to defend Antioch.<sup>76</sup>

While Nūr al-Dīn was attacking the Latin strongholds in the north, Sultan Massoud of Iconium, son of Qilij Arslan, moved down into Syria, attacking many cities and castles in this area and laying siege to Turbessel (Talbāshir تال باشير).<sup>77</sup> Baldwin III dispatched sixty knights under the leadership of Humphrey II of Tibnīn to reinforce the castle of Ezaz (عزاز) in the north of Syria.<sup>78</sup> It is interesting that William of Tyre mentions Humphrey II of Tibnīn as the Constable in 1149. He writes, "The King sent Humphrey the Constable with sixty knights to protect the fortress of Ezaz,"<sup>79</sup> although the Lord of Tibnīn was actually appointed as Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1152. This fact that was confirmed by William of Tyre himself, when he said that King Baldwin III appointed Humphrey II as Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and commander of the army in 1152.<sup>80</sup>

This perhaps means that Baldwin III had appointed Humphrey of Tibnīn as his commander and his constable for this military campaign, but that he was not the Constable of the Kingdom. Baldwin III was under the regency of his mother at this time, in 1149, and the Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was Manasses of Hierges.<sup>81</sup> Later, when Baldwin became King in 1152, he officially appointed Humphrey as Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1152. Thus, when Humphrey II of Tibnīn joined King Baldwin to defend Antioch and Ezaz in 1149, he participated in this campaign as the Lord of Tibnīn.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 398-99; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp. 327-29.

<sup>75</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 362-63; ; Alex Mallett, "The Battle of Inab, *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2013), Pp. 48, 53, 56. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2012.744699>

<sup>76</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, P. 200; Hans Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," in *Dumbarton*, vol. 26 (1972), p. 129 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291317>; Mallett, "The Battle of Inab," p. 49.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 362-63; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp. 308-10; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, p. 329.

<sup>78</sup> Shīhab al-Dīn Abū-Shāmah al-Maqdīsī, *Eiūn al-Raūḍatīn fī Akhbār al-Daūlataīn al-Nūrīah wa al-Ṣalīhīah*, ed. Ahmed al-Besomy, vol. 1 (Damascus: 1991), Pp. 212-13; William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 200.

<sup>79</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 200.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> Mayer, "Queen Melisende," Pp. 95,168; John La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* (USA: the Medieval Academy of America, 1932), p. 18.

Unpleasant news came to Baldwin III. Jocelyn, the Count of Edessa had been captured by the Turkmen nomads and sold to Nur al-Dīn.<sup>82</sup> Edessa and Antioch became entirely without defenders, and Nūr al-Dīn and his forces captured many of the castles in this area including Turbessel and Ezaz.<sup>83</sup> Muslims threatened all the Latin territories in Edessa and Antioch. Consequently, King Baldwin III accepted the offer of the Emperor of Constantinople, Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180 /538-576), which stipulated that the Emperor would receive some of the crusader fortresses and cities, in return for which the imperial forces would defend the remaining Crusaders' possessions in Edessa and Antioch.<sup>84</sup>

Humphrey of Tibnīn rejected this agreement, but he could not convince King Baldwin to repeal his consent. On the return march of Baldwin III and Humphrey of Tibnīn, Nur al-Dīn's forces assaulted them.<sup>85</sup> The King and his forces hastily turned around to the fortress of Hantab (عنئاب) for protection. Humphrey told the King that he would protect this fortress of Hantab, and that he wished to continue in charge of it so as to hold and use this fortress against the Muslims. Baldwin III rejected this offer and said no one had adequate strength for this task and, insisting on maintaining his agreement with Manuel Comnenus, he surrendered the place to the Emperor's men.<sup>86</sup>

After sunset the next day, Humphrey proved to the King that he was able to defend the Crusader's lands when some Turkish forces attacked them again. Humphrey of Tibnīn and the Count of Tripoli led their forces to resist these attacks. The Turkish forces withdrew and Humphrey followed them with his bow. One of the Turkish soldiers talked to Humphrey II - he was a confidential messenger from one of the Turkish nobles who had a good relation with Humphrey. This soldier informed the Lord of Tibnīn that Nūr al-Dīn and his army could not pursue the Crusaders, because he would have to return to his land at night. Humphrey went to the King and informed him of this news, and they resumed their march towards Antioch without danger.<sup>87</sup>

Humphrey II of Tibnīn became the most prominent commander in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and was closely allied with the King. He supported the King in his conflict with his mother regarding the throne of Jerusalem. He also accompanied Baldwin III to take control of Ascalon.<sup>88</sup> Humphrey led his forces and reached Ascalon on Sunday, January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1153 /27<sup>th</sup> Shawwal 547. There were internal conflicts between the Fatimids in Egypt, which allowed the Crusaders to surround Ascalon and lay siege to it for five months with a severe blockade under the leadership

<sup>82</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 310; Hans E. Mayer, "Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron." *Z.D.P.V.*, vol. 101, 1985), Pp.74-75; Mallett, "The Battle of Inab," p. 58.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 369-370.

<sup>84</sup> John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M.Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), Pp.141-43; William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 207-08.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 314 ; William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 210.

<sup>86</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 210-11; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, 329.

<sup>87</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 211-12.

<sup>88</sup> Abu-Shamah, *aL-Raūḍataīn*, vol. 1, p. 234 ; Marshall Baldwin, "Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric 1143-1174, " in *Setton*, vol. 1(Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin, 1969), p. 537.

Ascalon was one of the five Palestine cities. It was located on the coast in southern Palestine. The Crusaders did not succeed in conquering it in 1099, and it remained in the Fatimids' hands until its fall to the Crusaders in 1153. Alan V. Murry, ed. *The Crusades an Encyclopedia* (United States: Library of Congress, 2006), p. 112; William of Tyre described it as being in the form of a semicircle upon the seacoast, "the chord or diameter of which extended along the shore, while the arc or bow lies on the land looking toward the east. The entire city rests in a basin, as it was, sloping to the sea and is surrounded on all sides by artificial mounds, upon which rise the walls with towers at frequent intervals." William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 219.

of the lord of Tibnīn. Eventually, Ascalon fell on August 22<sup>th</sup>, 1154 /29<sup>th</sup> Jumada I 548.<sup>89</sup> This war against Nūr al-Dīn and the Egyptians was the most significant event in the reign of Baldwin III.<sup>90</sup>

With Tibnīn in the north-west of Galilee and east of Tyre, with Hebron and with Ascalon, Humphrey II and the Crusaders took control of the overland commercial routes between Damascus in the north and Egypt in the south. This enabled Tibnīn to play a very considerable role in defending the north of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This role will be made clearer by the following events, during which the territory of Tibnīn was a central base for many of the military movements against the forces of Nūr al-Dīn and the Muslim forces.

Tibnīn guarded Banyas,<sup>91</sup> northeast of Tibnīn, which included one of the granaries of the Crusader Kingdom, so it was too important.<sup>92</sup> Humphrey II of Tibnīn married the daughter of Renier de Brus, Lord of Banyas and thus inherited Banyas in 1157/552,<sup>93</sup> The Hospitallers of St John joined equally in defending the castle of Tibnīn in Banyas in return for one-half of the city of Banyas and all outlying dependencies. Baldwin III confirmed this agreement between the Hospitallers and Humphrey II in the charter dated 4<sup>th</sup> October 1157.<sup>94</sup>

Nasr al-Dīn, Prince of Miran and brother of Nūr al-Dīn, directed a surprise attack on the city of Banyas and killed some of the Latin forces there. Meanwhile, the Knights Hospitallers and Humphrey II advanced from Tibnīn to defend the city, but the forces of Nūr al-Dīn fiercely attacked them. The reason for the hostilities was that the Crusaders had violated a treaty and truce which had been agreed between the two sides after these forces had attacked and killed the Turkmen, Arabs shepherds at the forest of Banyas.<sup>95</sup> A huge number of Humphrey's forces and the Hospitallers were killed. At Banyas, Nūr al-Dīn's men captured the city on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1157/7 Rabi II 552 and laid siege to Humphrey and his knights in the castle of Banyas, which they called Qala'at al-Subayba (قلعة الصبيبة).<sup>96</sup>

Owing to their defeat at Banyas and because they were afraid of a new disaster, the Hospitallers withdrew from their agreement with Humphrey II of Tibnīn and returned one-half of Banyas him.<sup>97</sup> Humphrey II and his son, Humphrey III, continued to defend their hereditary

<sup>89</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 391-92; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp. 321-22; William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 218.

<sup>90</sup> La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 18.

<sup>91</sup> Banyas (Bāniyās) was recovered by the Damascenes in 1132/527. It came under the control of 'Emad Zangy in 1137. The Crusaders then captured it in 1140/ 534, when it was granted to the noble Rene or Bruce. See: Abū-al-fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar fi Ākhhbār al-Bashar*, vol. 3, Pp. 2, 7; Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp' 286, 14; William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 73-74.

<sup>92</sup> Sarah Kate Raphael, *Climate and Political Climate: Environmental Disasters in the Medieval Levant* (Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 35.

<sup>93</sup> Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.18; Mayer, "Hebron," p. 73.

<sup>94</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 256; Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (MXCVII –MCCXCI) (Libraria Academica Wageriana: 1893), Doc. 325, p. 83-84.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp. 338-39; Mustafa Mohamed al-Ḥenawy, "Jamāat al-Esbitāriah wa Dūrahā fi al-Širāā al-Eslamy al-Šalīby fi 'Asr al-Ḥurūb al-Šalībīyah 1099-1291/493-690 {The Hospitaller Knights and Their Role in the Crusader-Islamic Conflict in the Age of the Crusades}" (Master Thesis, Alexandria University, Faculty of Arts, Egypt, 1980), Pp. 145-46.

<sup>96</sup> Kamal al-Dīn Ibn-al-'Adim, *Dhubdat al-Halab fi Tārīkh Ḥalab( about the History of Aleppo)*, vol. 2, ed. Suhail dakkār (Damascus, Cairo: Dār al-Kitab al-'Araby, 1997), p. 308; Abū-Shāmah, *Eūn al-Raūḍatīn*, vol. 1, p. 107; Richard, *The Latin Kingdom*, vol. A, p. 44.

<sup>97</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 257; Deschamps, *Les Chateaux des Croises*, p.156.

lands at Banyas, but they offered to surrender the city in exchange for their safety - however, no one responded them. King Baldwin III quickly led his army to help Humphrey at Banyas. When Nūr al-Dīn learned this news, he withdrew from the city. He saw that the city had been fully destroyed and that the Crusaders would not be able to fortify it again soon. He was therefore sure of being able to recapture it at some later date - but for the present he could avoid engaging in a battle with the King at this time, the outcome of which was uncertain.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the King released Humphrey and his forces, who were inside the castle.

Ibn al-Qalanisi mentions that King Baldwin III came from the mountain of “al-Jabal” to rescue Humphrey at Banyas.<sup>99</sup> This indicates that he marched to Banyas through the mountains of Amil and Tibnīn. Humphrey in Banyas received reinforcements from the castle of Tibnīn, which was located near Banyas, and the King marched via Tibnīn to help his Constable.

When Humphrey left Banyas, he gave control of the city to his relative, Guy of Scandaliam. Nūr al-Dīn reiterated his attacks on Banyas<sup>100</sup> and took the lower town, but he could not capture the citadel, which was about two miles away, up a steep mountain, where Humphrey had already been able to hold it.<sup>101</sup> On October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1157/27<sup>th</sup> Sha’ban 552, after the King of Jerusalem returned to Acre, he convinced the Hospitallers to maintain their agreement with Humphrey and granted them the castle of Hunin and other possessions in Tibnīn as well.<sup>102</sup>

While Humphrey II of Tibnīn was with the King of Amaury I fighting his war against Egypt, Nūr al-Dīn took over the city of Banyas in 1167 / 560.<sup>103</sup> This opened the way to Tibnīn directly, and the Muslims were now established within a few miles of Tibnīn. However, Tibnīn continued to protect the Latin possessions in Jabal Amil and participated in defending the south of the Kingdom as well.

Humphrey II was responsible for the defense of Hebron since 1149, became responsible for Transjordan as well when his son, Humphrey III, married Stephanie of Milly, Lady of Transjordan in 1163/558.<sup>104</sup> Humphrey II of Tibnīn realized the importance of the contact between Damascus and Egypt, so he refortified the castles of Tibnīn, Kerak and Montroyal (al-Shūbuk) in Transjordan, and others, in order to control the commercial and strategic roads that linked the north and south of the Kingdom. In April 1170 / Rajab 565, Humphrey led his mounted knights to defend Kerak, because he learned that Nūr al-Dīn had attacked and laid siege to this fortress for four days. Nūr al-Dīn led several attacks against the Crusaders but then returned to Damascus in response to news of a strong earthquake that had taken place in Syria, and which had caused horrible destruction for both the Crusaders and the Muslims. Many

Paul Deschamps reports that Humphrey of Tibnīn took control of the town of Banyas, after which the Hospitallers retained their responsibilities at the castle of Banyas(Qala'at al-Subayba) See: Deschamps, *Les Chateaux des Croises*, p.156 n. 3; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St.John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p.72. n3 ; Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships*, Pp.16-18.

<sup>98</sup> Abū-shāmāh, *Eīn al-Raūdatīn*, vol. 1, p. 107-08; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 341; Willam of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 263-64

<sup>99</sup> Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, Pp.339, 341.

<sup>100</sup> Willam of Tyre, vol. II, p. 263; al-Ḥenawy, “al-Esbitārīah,” p. 148.

<sup>101</sup> Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, p. 343 ; Hamilton A.R.Gibb, "The Career of Nur-ad- din", *In Setton*, vol. I (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin, 1969), p. 524.

<sup>102</sup> Röhrich, *Regesta* (1893) Doc. 325, Pp. 83-84; al-Ḥenawy, “al-Esbitārīah,” p. 148.

<sup>103</sup> Abū-Shāmāh, *al-Raūdatīn*, vol. 1, p. 277-278; Abū-al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p .55.

<sup>104</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 401; Grousset, *Croisades*, vol. II, p. 554.

Muslim and Crusader cities were destroyed. Both Muslim and Crusader forces returned to rebuild their cities and castles, because each of them was afraid of the other.<sup>105</sup>

According to Aly al-Sayed, Humphrey III was the leader of the crusader army in this campaign, being the ruler of Hebron.<sup>106</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr also mentions that the Crusader army was under the leadership of Humphrey and described him as a “Knight of the Franks فارس الفرنجة”,<sup>107</sup> which means the leader of the crusader forces. Ibn-Kathīr described Humphrey, who was the Latin leader in these clashes as “The bravest of the Frankish Knights أشجع فرسان الفرنجة”.<sup>108</sup> These sources confirm that Humphrey II of Tibnīn was the leader of the crusader army defending Kerak in 1170, and it is logical that his son, Humphrey III of Hebron, who died in the same year, 1170, joined him.

In 1172/567, Nūr al-Dīn renewed his attacks against Kerak, and Humphrey II of Tibnīn continued to defend this fortress, which was now legacy of his grandson, Humphrey IV.<sup>109</sup> At this time, Malih, who was the brother of Thoros, Prince of Armenia, wanted to seize all Armenian lands after the death his brother, so he formed an alliance with Nūr al-Dīn to gain his support against his rivals amongst the Armenians and Byzantines.<sup>110</sup> King Amaury I and Humphrey II marched to Antioch to convince Malih to maintain the peace.<sup>111</sup> Nūr al-Dīn took advantage of this situation and attacked Kerak; Humphrey hastily led his troops to defend it. Some disputes occurred between Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn at that time, which led to the withdrawal of Nūr al-Dīn from Kerak and his returned to Damascus.<sup>112</sup>

### Tibnīn and the Campaigns of Amaury I against Egypt (1164-1169 / 559-564)

Tibnīn not only played a role in defending the north of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but it also joined the Latin forces in attacking Egypt between 1164-1169 /559-564.<sup>113</sup> The internal Egyptian situation was extremely bad and disordered because of the death of Fatimid Caliph al-Fayez (الخليفة الفاييز) in 1160 / 555. He was succeeded by Caliph al-ʿAḏid (العاقد). There was a power struggle between the senior commanders to gain control, and the defense situation became dangerously weak. King Amaury I exploited this dissention to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs and attacked it. Nūr al-Dīn dispatched the leader of his army, Shīrkūh, and Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn, nephew of Shīrkūh, to fight the Crusaders and to prevent them from capturing Egypt.<sup>114</sup>

Humphrey II of Tibnīn led his forces to catch up with King Amaury I at Egypt in 1164/ 559. When he reached Egypt, he was welcomed in the Crusader camp, because he was the kind of brave and powerful fighter they needed. Humphrey found the forces engaged in a battle with

<sup>105</sup> Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah (The Beginning and the End)*, vol. 16, ed. Abd-Allah al-Turkey (Egypt: Dar Hajar, 1998), p. 442; Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, Pp. 23-24; al-Sayed, *al-Khalīl*, p. 216.

<sup>106</sup> al-Sayed, *al-Khalīl*, p. 216.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 10, p. 23.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, p. 442; Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 23.

<sup>109</sup> Abū-shāmāh, *ʿĪyūn al-Raūḍatīn*, vol.1, Pp. 322-23; Issa al-Khitti, “Iqtāʿeiat Sharq al-Urdun fī ʿAsr al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah 492-583/1099-1187 (The Fief of Transjordan in the Age of the Crusades 492-583/1099-1187)” (Master thesis, Damanhur University, Faculty of Arts, Egypt, 2008), p. 132.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 46; Ibn-Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, p. 465.

<sup>111</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 386-88.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, Pp. 35-36; Ibn-al-ʿAdīm, *Dhubdat al-Halab*, vol. 2, Pp. 339-41; Abū al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 69.

<sup>113</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 326; al-Sayed, *al-Khalīl*, p. 214.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, Pp. 466-67; Ibn-Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sūltānīyah*, Pp. 75-76.

Muslims troops at Mahalla Island,<sup>115</sup> which was about eight miles below their camp. Humphrey of Tibnīn and the other Crusader leaders had decided to attack this island at night, and they succeeded in taking it.<sup>116</sup> The warfare continued between Shīrkūh's troops and the Crusaders in various places in Egypt for a long time, and both sides achieved some victories and suffered some defeats, but there were no decisive outcome.<sup>117</sup> During this Egyptian campaign, Nūr al-Dīn captured Banyas, which opened the way to Tibnīn directly. Humphrey and the King negotiated a truce with Shīrkūh and returned quickly to rescue Tibnīn and other holdings.<sup>118</sup>

The interests of the Crusaders in the Levant came into extreme danger when Caliph al-ʿAāḍid appointed Shīrkūh as his minister in Egypt. After the death of Shīrkūh, his nephew, Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn, succeeded him in 1169 / 564, later becoming Sultan of Egypt in 1171 / 565, after the death of Fatimid Caliph. Nūr al-Dīn died in May 1174 / 569, and Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn united Syria and Egypt under his rule, becoming Sultan of Ayyubid State in the Levant. As a consequence of this union, the Crusader States were in grave danger.<sup>119</sup>

King Amaury I decided to direct a nautical campaign against Egypt in October 1169/565, in the fifth year of his reign. He marched overland through the desert and the fleet followed him by sea.<sup>120</sup> Humphrey II of Tibnīn led some of his troops and joined the king. When the Crusader fleet arrived in Egypt and entered the Nile River, the Egyptian navy blocked the river with many of ships to prevent it reaching King Amaury. The Lord of Tibnīn advanced with a number of horsemen to take control of the other shore of the Nile River, so that the fleet could meet the Latin army without difficulties. There was a rumor that Shīrkūh was approaching Humphrey and his knights, so the plan was changed, and the King ordered the fleet to sail back out to sea and return to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>121</sup> Owing to this and to the sustained resistance of the Egyptian army, this campaign failed and Humphrey also returned to Tibnīn. This was the last contribution of Tibnīn to the war of King Amaury against Egypt, but Tibnīn continued to play a defensive role against the Muslims in the north.

King Amaury I died in November 1174 / Safar 569, and Baldwin IV succeeded him under the regency of Milon of Plancy, who married Stephanie, mother of Humphrey IV.<sup>122</sup> Humphrey II remained the Constable of the King and the commander of the army under the leadership of Baldwin IV. Tibnīn not only was an important fortified city in the north but it also joined the Latin forces to attack the Muslims in the city of Homs near Damascus at this time. After the death of Nur-al-Dīn in 1174, Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn became the Sultan of Egypt and Syria. He took

<sup>115</sup> "It has a very productive soil and abounds in all good things. the waters of the Nile separate at this point and form this island, and the branches which part here do not again join the main stream until they reach the sea" William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 327. Now: the city of Mahala belonged to the cities of the Nile Delta, which is located between the Damietta branch and the Rosetta (رشيد) branch; it lies midway between Mansoura, Kafr al-Sheikh and Tanta, about 25 km from each of these cities.

<sup>116</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 325-27.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, Pp. 421-22; Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, Pp. 4-5; William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 228-33.

<sup>118</sup> Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, Pp. 411, 469-70; William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 310.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn-Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī ʿAyyūb* (A Chronicle about the Ayyubids), ed, Jamal al-Dīn al-Shaiyal, vol. 1 (Egypt: Cario, 1953), p. 179; Bahaa al-Din Ibn-Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sūltānīyah wa al-Maḥāsīn al-Yūsufīyah*, ed. Jamal al-Dīn al-Shīāl (Cario: Maktabat al-Khndjy, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 1994), Pp. 79-81; Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, Pp. 430-31.

<sup>120</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 351; Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, p. 440.

<sup>121</sup> Ibn-Kāthīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, Pp. 440-41; William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 353-54.

<sup>122</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 400-01.

control of the city of Homs in December 1174/ 570, which was extremely important for maintaining communication with Damascus.<sup>123</sup>

The rulers of Aleppo and Homs sent to Raymond III, Count of Tripoli, to fight Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn to regain Homs in exchange for releasing the crusader prisoners at the castle of Homs. Humphrey II of Tibnīn joined the campaign of Raymond III against Homs. When Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn learned of this, he made an agreement with Raymond III and released all the crusader hostages. Although Lord of Tibnīn joined this assault on Homs, he played a diplomatic role and was the mediator in these negotiations between Raymond and Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn. William of Tyre mentioned that Humphrey had a close relationship with Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn.<sup>124</sup>

In 1176/571, King Baldwin IV appointed Reynald of Châtillon the commander in chief of the army, Constable of the King, and he appointed Jocelyn de Courtenay a counselor to him in the same year. The authority of Lord of Tibnīn was thus weakened in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his signature appears after that of Joscelin of Courtenay in the charters from this time onwards.<sup>125</sup> However, Humphrey II was known locally as the constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until his death in 1179,<sup>126</sup> and Tibnīn continued to play a leading military and economic role on the road from Damascus to the south. Humphrey is known to have marched from Tibnīn to defend Ascalon in 1177 so it is clear that Tibnīn had participated in capturing Ascalon in 1154/ 548 and it defended it in 1177.

When the crusader army advanced to surround the fortress of Harem near Antioch in 1177, Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn invaded Ascalon that the same year. Humphrey marched to defend Ascalon; although he suffered he was dangerously ill at the time.<sup>127</sup> When the troops of Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn withdrew from Ascalon, Humphrey II returned to Tibnīn and increased dramatically his control of the roads from Damascus to Tibnīn. He recovered from his illness and refortified the fortress of Hunin in 1178 near Tibnīn, on the road from Banyas to Tibnīn.<sup>128</sup> This strengthened the advantage of Tibnīn economically, strategically, and militarily.

In the summer of 1178, the King of Jerusalem ordered the walls of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, and he marched to fight the Muslims and capture Damascus.<sup>129</sup> Humphrey II had refortified Tibnīn and Hunin, from which he launched an attack on the Muslims near Damascus. In reply, Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn ordered his forces to attack Humphrey at Hunin in 1179. Humphrey was defeated and died from the fatal wounds he received in this battle in April 1179/Dhu'l-Qa'dah 574.<sup>130</sup> In

<sup>123</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 67; Ibn-Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, vol. p. 179; Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Pp. 86, 98

<sup>124</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp.409-410; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, p. 396; Hamilton, *The Leper King*, Pp. 98-99.

<sup>125</sup> Rohricht, *Regesta* (1893) Doc. 553

<sup>126</sup> al-Sayed, *al-Khalīl*, Pp. 222.

<sup>127</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, Pp. 426-27.

<sup>128</sup> Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London and New York: Rutledge, 1999), p. 100; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. II, p. 418; Hamilton, *The Leper King*, Pp. 108, 133, 141.

<sup>129</sup> Badr al-Dīn al-'Ainī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Aḥl al-Zamān*, ed. Mahmud Rizq, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub wa al-Wathāiq al-Qaūmīah, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 2010), p. 272; Hamilton, *The Leper King*, p. 141.

<sup>130</sup> Abū-Shāmah, *Eṭīn al-Raūdatīn*, vol. 2, p. 56; al-'Aynī *'Iqd al-Jumān*, vol. 1, Pp. 272-73; Robert L. Nicholson, *Jocelyn III and the Fall of the Crusader States 1134-1199* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1973), p. 86; Richard, *The Latin Kingdom*, vol. A, p. 52. al-Āṣfahānī described the wounds of Humphrey II that he had received in this battle; he said that his teeth were broken, many arrows injured him in his legs, knee, and chest, and his ribs were broken....etc. The following is the original text;



the chronicle of Sibṭ al-Jūzū, it was recounted that this battle was at Marj al-'uyūn (مرج العيون), near the fortress of Shàqīf arnūn (شقيف أرنون).<sup>131</sup> This illustrates that the Muslim army wanted to capture Hunin and Tibnīn, from which the Crusaders had been mounting intermittent attacks against Damascus. Humphrey's death was clearly a severe loss for the Crusaders in the Latin East.<sup>132</sup>

After the death of Humphrey II, Tibnīn became indefensible without his protection. His grandson, Humphrey IV was young and under the guardianship of his mother, Stephanie, and her husband, Reynald of Châtillon. A number of the nobles demanded that Humphrey IV abandon Tibnīn, and the charters in 1181/577 mention that someone called Baldwin became the protector and the Lord of Tibnīn.<sup>133</sup> This meant that Tibnīn had come under the direct control of King Baldwin IV and his mother Queen Agnes. Ibn Jubayr confirmed this, when he visited Tibnīn in 1183 /579. He said that Tibnīn was under the dominion of Queen Agnes, mother of King Baldwin IV and Queen of Acre,<sup>134</sup> and that Agnes and her relatives ruled it until 1187 / 583.<sup>135</sup> This indicates the importance of Tibnīn for the Kingdom of Jerusalem and for its security, as well as illustrating the desire of Queen Agnes and the royal house to seize control of the commercial roads through Tibnīn.

Humphrey IV, who was the Lord of Tibnīn in name only at this time, joined Reynald of Châtillon to defend Galilee against an attack by Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn on September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1183 / 29 Jumada I 579.<sup>136</sup> However, the forces of Humphrey IV were defeated and the Muslims forces killed most of his soldiers.<sup>137</sup> In July 1187 / Rabi II 583, Humphrey IV participated in the Battle of Hittin, where the Crusader army was defeated. Humphrey IV, Guy of Lusignan, and a number of Crusaders princes were captured<sup>138</sup> and Reynald of Châtillon was killed.<sup>139</sup>

### Muslims and the Restoration of Tibnīn

After the defeat of the Crusaders in Hittin, Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn dispatched his nephew, Taqī al-Dīn, to subdue Tibnīn and its castle with the aim of protecting commutation with Damascus in the

حمل هنفري جريحا وأودع بعد يومين ضريحا وناح في نواحيهم النادب بندوب صريعهم صريحا وحاز هنفري جراحات فاز الهوى منها براحات " إحداهما نشابه وقعت في مارنه فجدعته ونفذت إلى فيه ومرت بضرسه فقلعته وخرجت من تحت فكه ففكته وصرعته وأخرى في مشط رجله نفذت إلى أخمصه وأخرى في ركبته جرعه صاب أوصابه وغصته وكان هلاكه بليت في جنبه كسر له ضلعين وقرب له حين الحين وقتلت عدة من الخيالة وثلاث ثلة من الرجال فما انضم طرفهم حتى انتظم تلفهم وما نابت روعتهم حتى بانث عورتهم وما ارتفع عثيرهم حتى اتضع عاثرهم وما لغب ناظمهم حتى غلب ناثرهم وما راع فارسهم حتى عراه فارسه وما نهض راجلهم حتى محصه ممارسة وما زالت الرماة يرمونهم ويرامونهم ويدنون منهم ويدانونهم "حتى نفصت الكنائن وانفضت الضغائن (Imad al-Dīn al-Āṣfahānī, *al-Barq al-Shāmī*. ed. Faliḥ Salih Husain, vols. 3 (Jordan: 1987), p. 151

<sup>131</sup> Sibṭ Ibn-al-jūzī, *Mi'rāt al-Zamān*, vol. 8, p. 223.

<sup>132</sup> Abū-Shāmāh, *Eīūn al-Raūdatīn*, vol. 2, p. 56; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. 2, p. 419.

<sup>133</sup> Röhrich, *Regesta* (1893), Doc. 606, 615; Mayer, *Hebron*, p. 77-78.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn-Jubair, *al-Rihlah*, p. 892.

<sup>135</sup> Tibble, *Monarchy*, p. 91.

<sup>136</sup> Ibn-Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sūltānīah*, p.110; Ibn-Kāthīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 16, Pp. 565-66; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. II, Pp.437-38.

<sup>137</sup> William of Tyre, vol. II, p. 499; Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 128.

<sup>138</sup> Peter W. Edbury, trans., "The Battle of Hattin (4 July 1187) and its Aftermath," in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (USA: Ashgate, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 1998), p. 161; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sūltānīah*, p.127-130; Runciman, *The Crusades*, vol. II, p.459.

<sup>139</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol. 10, 148; al-Faṭḥ Ibn Ali al-Bindārī, *Sanā al-Barq al-Shāmī*, ed. Faṭḥīah al-Nabrawy (Cario: Maktabat al-Khanjy, 1979), p. 296.

north. Taqī al-Dīn found Tibnīn impregnable, so he requested his uncle to send military reinforcements to overcome it.<sup>140</sup> The forces at Tibnīn, heavily beleaguered, offered to surrender the city in return for their safety and released one hundred Muslim prisoners who had been held in the castle.<sup>141</sup> Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn accepted their offer and gave them five days to move out with their goods and families. When the Crusaders had left the city, Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn sent some of his soldiers to protect them until their arrival at the city of Tyre. The Muslim forces entered Tibnīn on Sunday, July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1187 / 18<sup>th</sup> Jumada II 583.<sup>142</sup>

Ibn Shaddād recounts that Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn took over the castle of Tibnīn by force. He describes it as a heavily fortified castle and describes that a mangonel (“Mangānīk”) and powerful and professional fighters were needed to subdue it.<sup>143</sup> This indicates that the castle struggled to survive for a long time, but could not endure the seige and was surrendered. Queen Stephanie, Humphrey IV’s mother, asked the Sultan to release her son in exchange for her surrendering the Fortress of Kerak, which she had controlled. Her offer was accepted,<sup>144</sup> and all the lands of Humphrey’s dynasty came under Muslim rule.

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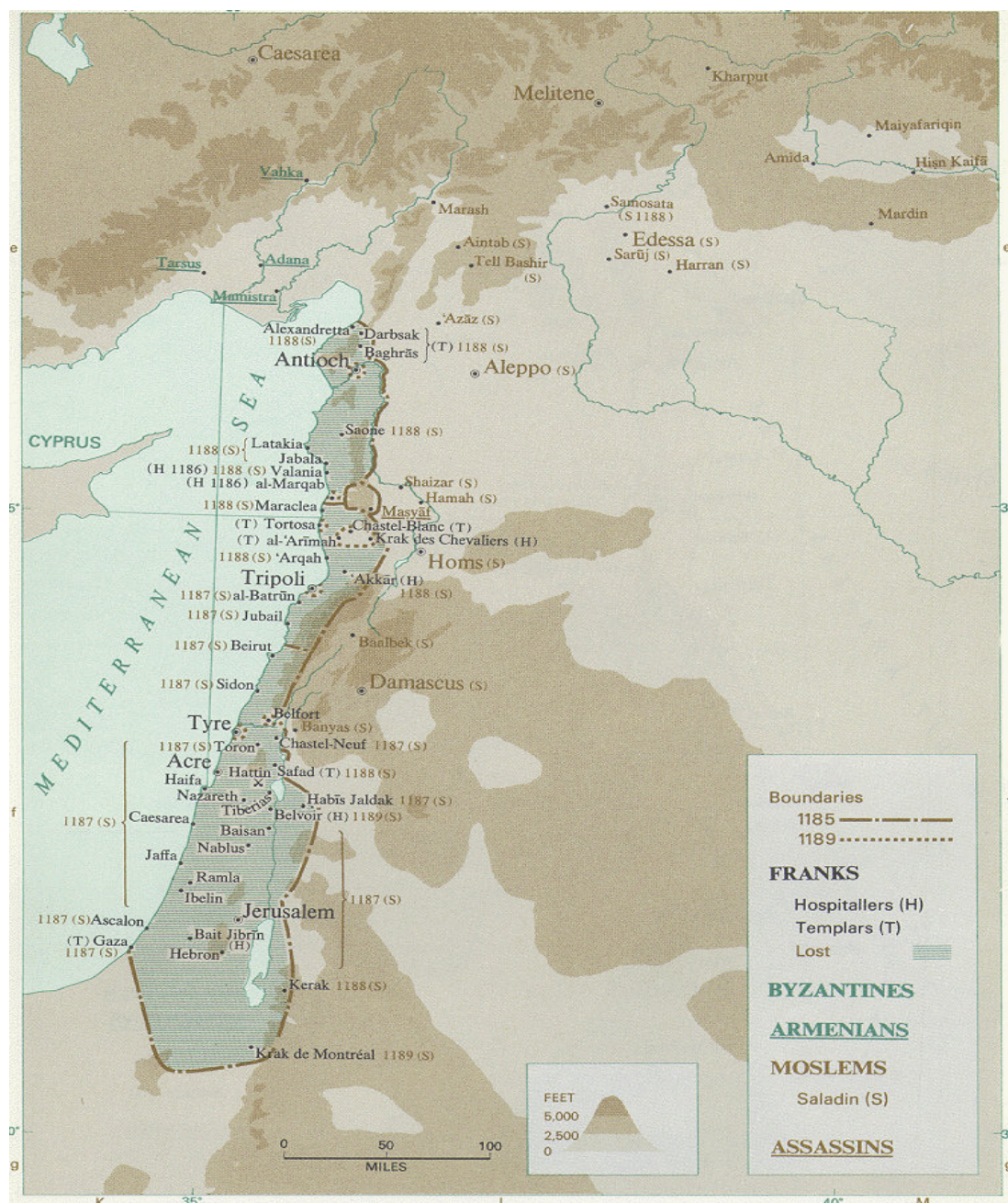
<sup>140</sup> Ibn-al-Āthīr, *al-Kāmil* vol 10, 151; Abū-al-Yaman al-‘Ualāīmy, *al-Ānas al-Jalīl Bitārīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl {In the History of Jerusalem and Hebron}*, vol. 1 (Beirut: 1966), p. 325.

<sup>141</sup> Edbury, "The Battle of Hattin," Pp. 162-63; Abū-al-Yaman al-‘Ualāīmy, *al-Ānas al-Jalīl*, vol.1, p. 325.

<sup>142</sup> ‘Imad al-Dīnal-Āṣfahānī, *al-Faḥ al-Qussī fī al-Faḥ al-Qudsī*, ed. Mohamed Subaih (Cario: Dar al-Manār, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, 2004), Pp. 58-59; al-Bindārī, *Sanā al-Barq al-Shāmī*, p. 296.

<sup>143</sup> Ibn-Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sūlṭānīah*, p. 132.

<sup>144</sup> al-bindārī, *Sanā al Barq alshāmī*, p. 312-313; Ernoul, *La Chronique d'Ernoul*, edited by Bernard le Trésorier (Paris: 1871), p. 240.



Map 1: The conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 1185-1189, in Setton, vol. 1, p. 602.

There were many repercussions for the Crusaders from the fall of Tibnīn and their defeat in the Battle of Hittin. A significant number of the Crusader knights and men of Tibnīn were killed, and the Muslims captured many of the crusader forces. Tibnīn controlled the commercial route to the north of the Kingdom and this control fell to the Muslims the Crusader's loss of Tibnīn. With control of the Damascus-to-Tyre route, to the Muslims were able to besiege the surviving Crusader forces at Tyre. There is no doubt that Tibnīn was extremely important for the conquest of Tyre in 1124 / 518, and it played the same role for the Muslim's subduing the Crusaders at Tyre in 1187 / 583.

## Conclusion

From the time the Crusaders first invaded the Levant, they went ahead to expand their possessions and to conquer one city after another. Damascus represented a considerable danger to the Crusaders from the north, as did Tyre on the coast. Hugh of Saint-Omer had the castle of Tibnīn built in 1105. The castle overlooked the road between Damascus and Tyre, and from here, the Crusaders launched their campaign to capture Tyre and attack Damascus. For the first two decades of the twelfth century, Tibnīn managed to defend the north of Galilee and to attack Damascus, as well as to ward off attacks from Damascus.

Tibnīn overlooked the main and commercial road between Damascus and Tyre and linked the Muslims' power centers in the north and south. For this reason, Damascus and Tyre mounted constant attacks against Tibnīn to regain control of this route. The lands of Tibnīn were a center of conflict between the Muslims and the Crusaders, although the latter had controlled the castle from 1105. Humphrey I of Tibnīn held the castle of Hunin in 1115/509 and King Baldwin ordered Jocelyn of Galilee to build the castle of Alexandrium (Scandalium) between Tyre and Tibnīn in 1116-1117/510-511. This helped to defend Tibnīn from the east and the west, and give Tibnīn complete control of the region in 1117. With this advantage the Crusaders increased their attacks against Damascus and were eventually able to capture Tyre in 1124.

In the next years, the force of Tibnīn joined the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to fight Emad al-Dīn Zingy until his death in 1146. Nūr al-Dīn controlled Damascus in 1154 and was able to increase his attacks against the Kingdom of Jerusalem from this closer power base in the north. Tibnīn under the rule of Humphrey II usually played a defensive role, reinforcing the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in defending the Latin possessions in the north, including Antioch, Banyans, and other cities. It also contributed towards defending the south, i.e. Kerak, Hebron, and Transjordan. And finally, Tibnīn played an offensive role with the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to capture Ascalon in 1153 and to invade Egypt between 1164- 1169.

There is no doubt that Tibnīn was highly important militarily in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, overlooking as it did the commercial route between the north and south. This was the main reason the royal house took control of Tibnīn in 1180-81. Following the death of its powerful ruler, Humphrey II, in 1179, as the castle and control of the commercial road was inherited by his young grandson, Humphrey IV under the guardianship of his mother. Tibnīn fell into Muslim hands in 1187 and reversed its position to play a military, strategic, and political role against the Crusaders, its former owners. This will be studied further in the next studies.