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0521458382 - Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193 - Second Edition

R. C. Smail

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This is a revised edition of R. C. Smail's classic account of the military achievements of the Crusaders in the context of a 'feudal society organized for war'. A new Bibliographical introduction and an updated Bibliography have been provided by Christopher Marshall, while most of the original plates have been replaced by new subjects. In covering the period 1097-1193, this edition also complements Dr Marshall's own *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*, also available in a paperback edition.

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With a Bibliographical introduction by

CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL



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PREFACE (1954)

European feudal society during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was organized for war, yet little is known of the ability displayed by the knights and their leaders in military operations. The most accessible sources of information, for students and general readers alike, are histories of the art of war which survey the whole medieval period. Since no one scholar can hope to master the sources for the history of so great a subject through a millennium, such works need to be rooted in the more limited researches of specialists. Attempts at synthesis have been only partially successful because such special studies are comparatively few in number. More are needed for the better understanding of medieval warfare, and therefore of an important aspect of medieval life, and that need is the justification for this book. Many historians of the art of war have recognized the interest of its subject, and have written on it with distinction; but their treatment has been brief, and none has been able to undertake a study in the detail now attempted.

There is a further difference. Most of these scholars have confined their interest in war to events on the battlefield, and have looked no further. As a result military history too often stands unnaturally isolated from other fields of historical study. In this book an attempt is made to give due importance to the fact that warfare was an integral part of the whole life of Latin Syria, and that it affected, and was affected by, other aspects of that life. Political and social institutions in the crusaders' states are therefore considered in connexion with their warfare, and a little is thereby added to our knowledge of Frankish society. In particular it further reveals the high abilities of the early Latin kings of Jerusalem in the military sphere of government. So far from being rulers, as they are sometimes represented, with no more than theoretical powers, the

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history of warfare shows that they could organize campaigns and command in the field with impressive authority.

The authors of the main sources on which this book is based were Franks of Europe or of Syria. Their work has been used because they either took part in the military events which they described, or else witnessed them, or because they had unusually good knowledge of Syrian affairs. The Muslim, Syriac, Armenian, and Greek sources normally used by historians of the Crusades have been laid under contribution, but only those which are available in translation. Scholars better equipped for research into Byzantine and Arabic sources might well take this subject further, and it is to be hoped that one of them will do so.

The sources used have all been in print for many years, most of them for at least a generation, many for a century. The only exceptions are the monuments of the Franks in Syria, of which a large number remain virtually unexplored by students of the Crusades. I should like therefore to record my gratitude to those whose generosity made it possible for me to undertake research in Syria as well as in this country: the Governing Body of my College, the Governors of Christ's Hospital, and the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. I am deeply indebted to Sir Ernest Barker, whose interest in my work has enabled it to survive all interruptions, and who during many years has given me so much of his time and learning; to the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and to Mr C. N. Johns, who have so generously placed at my disposal their great knowledge of the medieval monuments of Syria; to Dr J. Prawer, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, foremost among those scholars whose researches are now deepening our knowledge of the Latin settlement in Syria; to the Editor of this series for indispensable help and unexampled patience.

R.C.S.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Albertus Aquensis in <i>RHC, Hist. occ.</i> iv.
AHR	<i>American Historical Review.</i>
AM	Ibn al-Athir, <i>Atabecs de Mosul</i> , in <i>RHC, Hist. or.</i> II.
Anna	Anna Comnena, <i>Alexiad</i> , trans. Dawes.
Anon.	<i>Anonymi gesta Francorum</i> , ed. Bréhier.
AS	Abu Shamah, <i>Livre des deux jardins</i> , in <i>RHC, Hist. or.</i> IV.
AS, v	<i>Idem</i> , in <i>RHC, Hist. or.</i> v.
BD	Beha ed-Din, <i>Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie du Sultan Youssouf</i> in <i>RHC, Hist. or.</i> III.
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes.</i>
Cart. Hosp.	<i>Cartulaire des Hospitaliers</i> , ed. Delaville le Roulx.
Delbrück	Delbrück, <i>Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte.</i>
Delpech	Delpech, <i>La Tactique au XIIIème siècle.</i>
Doc. arm.	<i>Documents arméniens.</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review.</i>
Ep. mor.	<i>Epistola de morte Friderici</i> , ed. Chroust.
Eraclès	<i>L'Estoire de Eraclès empereur et la conquête de la terre d'outremer; la continuation de l'estoire de Guillaume arcevesque de Sur</i> in <i>RHC, Hist. occ.</i> II.
Ernoul	<i>Chronique d'Ernoul</i> , ed. Mas Latrie.
Est.	<i>Estoire de la Guerre Sainte</i> , ed. Paris.
Fulcher	Fulcherius Carnotensis in <i>RHC, Hist. occ.</i> III.
Galt.	Galterius Cancellarius, ed. Hagenmeyer.
Grousset	Grousset, <i>Histoire des croisades.</i>
Heermann	Heermann, <i>Gefechtsführung abendländischer Heere im Orient.</i>
HEF	<i>Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris.</i>
HEp	<i>Epistulae et chartae</i> , ed. Hagenmeyer.

xiv	ABBREVIATIONS
<i>Hist. occ.</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux.</i>
<i>Hist. or.</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux.</i>
HP	<i>Historia peregrinorum</i> , ed. Chroust.
IA	Ibn al-Athir, <i>Kamel-Altevarykh</i> , in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Hist. or.</i> I.
IA, II	<i>Idem</i> , in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Hist. or.</i> II.
<i>Ibelin</i>	<i>Le Livre de Jean d'Ibelin</i> , in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Lois</i> , I.
IQ	Ibn al-Qalanisi, <i>Damascus Chronicle</i> , ed. Gibb.
<i>Itin.</i>	<i>Itinerarium peregrinorum</i> , ed. Stubbs.
JV	Jacobus de Vitriaco, ed. Bongars.
KD	Kemal ed-Din, <i>Chronique d'Alep</i> , in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Hist. or.</i> III.
KD in <i>ROL</i>	<i>Idem</i> , continued in <i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i> .
Köhler	Köhler, <i>Kriegswesen in der Ritterzeit</i> .
<i>Libellus</i>	<i>De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus</i> , ed. J. Stevenson.
ME	Matthew of Edessa, <i>Chronique</i> , in <i>RHS</i> , <i>Doc. arm.</i> I.
Odo	Odo de Diogilo, <i>La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France</i> , ed. H. Waquet.
Oman	Oman, <i>History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages</i> . 2 vols.
RA	Raimundus de Aguilers in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Hist. occ.</i> III.
RC	Radulfus Cadomensis, in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Hist. occ.</i> III.
<i>Reg.</i>	<i>Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i> , ed. Röhricht.
<i>Règle</i>	<i>La Règle du Temple</i> , ed. Curzon.
<i>RGKŷ</i>	Röhricht, <i>Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem</i> .
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades</i> .
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i> .
Runciman	Runciman, <i>History of the Crusades</i> .
Survey	Conder and Kitchener, Survey of western Palestine.
Usamah	Usamah ibn Munqidh, <i>Memoirs</i> , ed. Hitti.
WT	Willermus Tyrensis in <i>RHC</i> , <i>Hist. occ.</i> I.
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> .

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

This note reviews some of the key studies which bear upon the themes of *Crusading Warfare*. Smail's approach to his subject has provided the framework for my survey.¹

PRIMARY SOURCES

There have been a number of new editions of relevant sources. For the First Crusade, there are the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*² and Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia*.³ Smail had had to use nineteenth-century editions of both of these works. The account of another writer on the First Crusade, Peter Tudebode, has also been published in a new edition.⁴ All three of these sources are important because the authors were eye-witnesses to the events, including military engagements, which they described. Another eye-witness, from later in the twelfth century, was William, the archbishop of Tyre. A valuable new edition of his work has been published by Robert Huygens.⁵ Part of what has, until now, been treated as a variant of 'Eracles', the Old French translation and

¹ So far as the Crusades are concerned, I therefore deal only with those expeditions which journeyed to the Holy Land and not the many others which, recent scholarship has shown, were similarly regarded by contemporaries as Crusades. For a summary of current thinking, see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London, 1992).

² *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962).

³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969).

⁴ Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977).

⁵ William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63, 63A) (2 vols., Turnhout, 1986). There is a considerable body of literature devoted to the career and writings of William of Tyre. P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre. Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), is the best recent study. The authors looked at William as an historian and, then, what his writings revealed about his attitudes.

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continuation of William of Tyre, has been published covering the period 1184–97. The position of the author (an eye-witness and a supporter of Raymond of Tripoli) makes this text particularly important for coverage of events such as the battle of Hattin and the later stages of the Third Crusade.⁶

One Arabic source unavailable to Smail was a biography of Saladin, *al-Fath al-Qussi fi'l-fath al-Qudsi*, written by his secretary, Imad-ad-Din, and covering the period from early 1187 to the sultan's death. This account is full of detail, but the question of the author's objectivity needs constantly to be borne in mind.⁷

SECONDARY WORKS

When Smail surveyed the available secondary literature in 1956, he found that most works which dealt with the military history of the Latin East did so either as part of a study of the Crusades and the Latin settlement, or within an analysis of the art of warfare in medieval western Europe.

The Crusades and the Latin settlement

A significant amount of material has appeared since 1956. One of the largest and most diverse of the general histories began to emerge the year before the publication of *Crusading Warfare*, and was not completed until 1989. *A History of the Crusades* suffered from the number of different contributors and the sheer size of the project, although that did mean that certain topics were covered which were not, otherwise, readily accessible. The first volume, which dealt with the period to 1187, reflected, to a great extent, an image of the Latin Kingdom, most strongly expressed in the writings of John La Monte,⁸ as a pure feudal state in which the king

⁶ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982). See also M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), especially pp. 163–7, 180–1. For the beginnings of a new study into the relationship between the 'Eracles' text and William of Tyre's chronicle, see J. H. Pryor, 'The Eracles and William of Tyre: An Interim Report', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 270–93.

⁷ Imad-ad-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. H. Massé (Paris, 1972).

⁸ J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

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was a *primus inter pares*. In the early 1950s, however, writers such as Jean Richard and Joshua Prawer had begun to reassess the constitution of the Latin Kingdom, emphasizing the authority of the crown and the dynamic nature of this feudal society. The resultant narrative histories are to be preferred for this reason, besides which their accounts benefit from the cohesion of a single author's work.⁹ The views expressed in these narrative accounts and constitutional studies are important, because they attempt to define relationships within a feudal society and, therefore, the terms on which the feudatories were expected to provide military service in return for the land and revenues granted to them. We shall return to this point later.

The three major crusading expeditions to the East during this period were fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of the Latin settlement. There has been detailed consideration of Christian thought concerning the Just War and the Crusade. James Brundage¹⁰ and Frederick Russell¹¹ dealt with the writings of canon lawyers, whilst Carl Erdmann¹² and Jonathan Riley-Smith¹³ took a broader theological view. On individual crusade expeditions to the East, useful studies have included, for the First Crusade, Robert Somerville (who considered events at the council of Clermont in 1095)¹⁴ and Riley-Smith;¹⁵

⁹ J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1979); J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (2 vols., Paris, 1969–70). See also H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1988). Jonathan Riley-Smith (in *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973)), argued that Richard and Prawer somewhat underestimated the power of the nobility, though not to the extent of the image created by La Monte. More recently still, Steven Tibble (in *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989)), has suggested that the feudal structure was far more fluid than hitherto imagined, and that the kings of Jerusalem were in a strong position, through manipulation of that structure, to exercise control over the feudatories.

¹⁰ J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969).

¹¹ F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975).

¹² C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977). See also the important article by John Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083–1141', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 37–45.

¹³ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History*, 65 (1980), pp. 177–92; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*

¹⁴ R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II: 1. Decreta Claromontensia (Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum. Supplementum i (1972))*.

¹⁵ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986). John France's new study, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*, is due to be published by Cambridge University Press in mid-1994.

for the Second, Giles Constable;¹⁶ and for the Third, John Gillingham.¹⁷

So far as the Latin states themselves are concerned, the studies by Claude Cahen (for Antioch) and Richard (for Tripoli) remain essential starting-points.¹⁸ Works dealing with constitutional developments have already been noted. Bernard Hamilton's book on the Latin church is the best introduction to that subject.¹⁹ For studies of the crusader sites in Palestine, one should begin with the general introduction by Meron Benvenisti.²⁰ For a range of maps covering, amongst other topics, the Crusades to the east and the Latin settlement, there is an atlas edited by Riley-Smith,²¹ although Praver and Benvenisti provide more detail for individual sites in Palestine.²² The military history of the Latin states after the period covered by *Crusading Warfare* is dealt with by Christopher Marshall.²³

General military historians, the Crusades and the Latin East

Smail's analysis of the work of military historians who had studied Latin Syria showed that most had looked at the subject from the sole perspective of the battlefield. This approach was, by and large, the one adopted by J. F. Verbruggen in *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*. However, this author did go beyond simply recounting details of some of the battles fought in Latin Syria. He noted, for example, the importance of discipline to an army in the field, using information from the *Rule* of the Templars. And from accounts of engagements in western Europe, he considered, in greater detail than Smail had been able to do, the organization of mounted forces prior to the commencement of

¹⁶ G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9 (1953), pp. 213-79.

¹⁷ J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978). This study looks at the whole of Richard's career, but a substantial amount of space is devoted to the Crusade.

¹⁸ Both these works were used by Smail and are cited in his bibliography.

¹⁹ B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980).

²⁰ M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970). See below for more detailed studies of individual, or small groups of, sites.

²¹ J. S. C. Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London, 1991).

²² J. Praver and M. Benvenisti, 'Crusader Palestine'. Sheet 12/ix of the *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1960).

²³ C. J. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291* (Cambridge, 1992).

battle. Verbruggen's book is, in some ways, a useful supplement to Smail's. It paints a realistic picture of what western European knights were able to do on the battlefield.²⁴

But *Crusading Warfare* goes far beyond the analysis of battlefield tactics. Warfare was generally about the acquisition and defence of land. Seen from this perspective, battle becomes just one means – and an inherently risky one – by which opposing armies could attain their limited objectives. Philippe Contamine, in *War in the Middle Ages*, shared Smail's approach but applied it to a wider stage, both in time (from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries) and place (the whole of western Europe, and the Latin East). Developments in military organization during the period 1150–1300 were shown to reflect changes in society as a whole. So, for example, economic and administrative developments from around the mid-twelfth century contributed to increased use of money payments in return for military service. At the same time, differences, in both the social standing and the defensive armour of individual combatants, began to emerge within the ranks of the mounted troops. Contamine made occasional use of material relating to the Latin states. This included estimates of the size of armies, brief accounts of the contributions of the Military Orders, and evidence of the nature of military obligations. Contamine presented an extraordinarily diverse range of material: as a general introduction to the wider relationship of warfare and society, his work is unlikely to be surpassed.²⁵

We now turn to studies which throw further light on specific aspects of *Crusading Warfare*.

Policy aims and military strategy

In an article entitled 'Crusader Security and the Red Sea', Prawer tried to show that, throughout the twelfth century, military strategy

²⁴ J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 1977), especially pp. 65–79, 189–92. See also M. Bennett, 'La Règle du Temple as a Military Manual or How to Deliver a Cavalry Charge', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 7–19.

²⁵ P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984), especially pp. 59–118. For a study of the language used to describe the knights and other mounted troops, and the social and military backgrounds to changes in terminology, see below, pp. 106–11. See also M. H. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 23–43.

was influenced by the desire to secure the frontiers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the period to 1110, this required, first, the conquest of the coastal cities of Palestine. Here, Prawer and Smail are in agreement. Acquisition of the sea ports was essential for the establishment of communication links between the Latin states and Europe.²⁶

Secondly, there was the frontier facing Damascus. The capture of Safad, Tiberias, and Mt Tabor established Frankish dominion in the Galilee region. By 1108, the Franks and Damascenes had concluded a condominium arrangement covering the Transjordan area between Mt Hermon and the River Yarmuq. Just to the south of this area, a strongpoint was built at Habis Jaldak. Further south still, and from the middle of the second decade of the twelfth century, a series of strongpoints were established at al-Salt, Karak in Moab, Tafila, Shawbak, Hurmuz, Celle, le Vaux Moysi, and Aila.

These are the facts. But according to Prawer, this is evidence of a 'strategy of secure frontiers', and a 'policy to reach the desert and make it a natural frontier'.²⁷ He developed a similar argument with reference to the south-west of the Latin Kingdom.²⁸ Here, we should briefly consider Prawer's analysis of the situation in the Transjordan area, since it conflicts with Smail's views on both the Franks' strategic motives and the functions of castles. Without stealing Smail's thunder, we can point out that the castles listed by Prawer were not entirely contemporaneous with one another; that castles' functions in this period were not exclusively of a military nature; that the ability of castles to prevent the movement of an invading army was limited; and finally, that if a system of frontier defence in the Transjordan area had been planned, one would have

²⁶ J. Prawer, 'Crusader Security and the Red Sea', in his *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 472–3. See below, p. 27. The Muslims' gradual loss of the sea ports caused the initiative at sea to shift from the Fatimid squadrons to the Franks. The latter's conquest of Tyre in 1124 was particularly important: the Fatimid fleet no longer had any watering facilities north of Ascalon, and that site did not have a harbour. J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 112–16. A good study of naval warfare in the region during this period is S. M. Foster's 'Some Aspects of Maritime Activity and the Use of Sea Power in Relation to the Crusading States, 1096–1169', unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1978.

²⁷ Prawer, 'Crusader Security and the Red Sea', in his *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 473–77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 477–82.

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expected there to have been, from an early time, strongpoints covering routes across the Jordan at Jacob's Ford and al-Sannabra.

'Franks, Armenians, and Syrians'

One of Smail's fundamental points in this chapter – that the Franks took advantage of existing arrangements to exploit the indigenous peoples of the conquered territories – has been both supported and developed in a number of subsequent studies.

Riley-Smith, in two articles, focussed on the extent to which Muslim administration remained in place following the Frankish conquest. He showed that within villages the headman, known by the Franks as the *rays*, carried out a variety of supervisory and intermediary tasks on behalf of the lord. This continued practices which had existed before the arrival of the Franks.²⁹ Similarly, the origins of two other officials, the *dragoman* and *scriba* (not necessarily natives), who represented the lord in his dealings with the local populace, lay in the Muslim past. Riley-Smith concluded, based on his analysis of administration in both the villages and the commercial centres, that the Franks had at their disposal a sophisticated system of administration which gave them the potential to exploit the available sources of revenue. This, as Smail suggests (below, p. 99), had implications for the size of the military establishment in the granting of fiefs in the form of money, rather than land.³⁰

Two studies by Prawer considered broader aspects of the Franks' relations with their subject peoples, and the latter's status in Latin Syria. In terms of religious affairs, Prawer showed that the Orthodox churches were worse off under the Franks than they had been under the Muslims, whilst the Armenians and Jacobites fared rather better.³¹ Prawer then looked at the extent to which a system of servitude in the countryside, based largely on earlier Muslim practice, became generalized under the Franks, who

²⁹ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria', *English Historical Review*, 87 (1972), pp. 1–26.

³⁰ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim Administration', in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), pp. 9–22.

³¹ Smail deals briefly with the Orthodox church: see below, pp. 50–1. See also the detailed study by Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 159–211.

classed all non-Frankish peasants as villeins. This, Prawer argued, compounded the non-Franks' status as second class citizens. In the towns, the position was somewhat different. Here, it was through taxation that the non-Franks were discriminated against.³²

The comparable tax burdens of Franks and Muslims was also the subject of a study by Hans Mayer. He contended that, whilst the Muslims in Latin Syria may have been better off economically than their co-religionists in neighbouring Muslim states, they were certainly taxed more heavily than the Franks and did not enjoy even the most basic religious or civil liberties. In his consideration of Muslim attitudes towards the Franks, Mayer argued that Ibn Jubair's view of life for Muslims in Latin Syria is a most dubious source of evidence. He also supported Smail's argument that, whilst the Muslims were generally prepared to offer passive loyalty to their Frankish rulers, this allegiance was always suspect when placed under strain – most obviously, as Smail demonstrates, at times of military crisis.³³

The Muslims

The best general introduction to the Muslim states neighbouring Latin Syria is now Peter Holt's *The Age of the Crusades*. In a concise account, he makes the important point that Muslim rulers such as Zanki, Nur al-Din and Saladin had concerns which went far beyond the issue of the *jihād*.³⁴

For the careers of individual rulers, three articles by Sir Hamilton Gibb are still of value.³⁵ Nikita Elisséef's biography of Nur al-Din is an enormously detailed account, from the Muslim point of view, particularly for the period 1146–74. As a supplement to *Crusading Warfare*, this study is especially valuable for the

³² J. Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Crusader States: The "Minorities"', in *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, vol. v (Madison, 1985), pp. 59–115; J. Prawer, 'Serfs, Slaves and Bedouin', in his *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 201–14.

³³ H. E. Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *History*, 63 (1978), pp. 175–92. For Smail's views on the evidence of Ibn Jubair, see below, p. 54.

³⁴ P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986).

³⁵ H. A. R. Gibb, 'Zengi and the Fall of Edessa'; 'The Career of Nur-ad-Din'; and 'The Rise of Saladin, 1169–1189', all in *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, vol. 1 (Madison, 1969).

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information it contains on aspects of the Muslim armies' organization and tactics.³⁶

There have been a number of biographies of Saladin published in recent years. Gibb's (1973) took the same eulogistic perspective on the sultan as in that author's article noted above.³⁷ Andrew Ehrenkreutz's (1972) view was far less positive.³⁸ A more balanced verdict is to be found in the recent work by Malcolm Lyons and Peter Jackson (1982). Based largely on original sources – including a number of letters issued by Saladin and his entourage which have not previously been analysed – this study contains a wealth of information and is of immense value for an understanding of relations between the Franks and their Muslim neighbours during the period 1163–93. Details of campaigns against the Latin states are integrated into a full account of Saladin's acquisition of power in Egypt and Syria. Thus, for example, Amalric's attacks on Egypt are analysed as an important part of the background to Saladin's appointment as sultan. Then, using new information from Saladin's letters, Lyons and Jackson are able to add to Smail's account of the battle of Mont Gisard in 1177 (below, p. 185). The same is true of the battle of Hattin. Finally, the authors present a full account of events after Hattin and the progress of the Third Crusade. Once again, Saladin's correspondence provides an interesting new slant on this aspect of crusading history.³⁹

One of the most important recent studies to deal with Muslim military history is William Hamblin's 'The Fatimid Army during the Early Crusades'. In a number of areas, it throws further light on points made in *Crusading Warfare*.

³⁶ N. Elisséef, *Nur ad-Din* (3 vols., Damascus, 1967).

³⁷ H. A. R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin* (Oxford, 1973).

³⁸ A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (New York, 1972).

³⁹ M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), especially pp. 8–38, 122–5, 243–361. As an interesting extension to Lyons and Jackson's analysis of Saladin's strategy in the period after the battle of Hattin, see W. J. Hamblin, 'Saladin and Muslim Military Theory', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Kedar, pp. 228–38. Hamblin considered how one particular military manual, al-Harawi's 'Stratagems', could throw light on Saladin's campaigns, both in particular (concerning the siege of Bourzey castle) and, more generally, in the campaign post-Hattin. Hamblin acknowledged, however, that since al-Harawi's work was actually written after Saladin's major victories, its full significance requires further research to be done on Islamic military thought.

The maximum size of the Fatimid army was around 25,000 men. However, a typical field army, mobilized for action in Palestine, would have been much smaller – probably between 5,000 and 10,000 men, of whom between one-third and two-thirds were cavalry. Hamblin emphasized, for the period of al-Afdal's rule (1094–1121), the role of the Armenians in the Fatimid military establishment. Depending on one's interpretation of the figures, they provided between 2,000 and 7,000 soldiers, both mounted and infantry. The former, significantly, would have included mounted archers. The Fatimid army of this period also included large numbers of Sudanese soldiers: they probably performed mainly as lighter-armed infantry. Arab bedouin were employed by the Fatimids as irregulars. The Turks, on the other hand, did not play an important role in the Fatimid armies of the first quarter of the twelfth century, but they became more important in the following period. There were, however, occasions when (as Smail points out, see p. 86 below), Turkish troops were provided as allies by Damascus.

So far as equipment is concerned, some of the cavalry were heavily armed, whilst the infantry – a key element in the Fatimid army – used maces, javelins, bows and crossbows, slings and pikes. Hamblin argued that Fatimid armies were not as vulnerable to the Franks as has previously been assumed. He produced some evidence to show that Fatimid infantry, when properly organized and supported by mounted troops, could actually withstand a Frankish cavalry charge.

The Fatimids faced a number of logistical problems in their conflict with the Franks. Perhaps most significant were difficulties in mobilizing a force to deal with a Frankish assault on one (and it could be any one) of the Palestinian coastal towns. Hamblin calculated that it took an average of two months, from the outbreak of hostilities, for an Egyptian field army to reach the scene of the action. The Franks, on the other hand, could mobilize their forces in a matter of days. Moreover, they would not, then, face the supply difficulties which the Fatimids would typically encounter. Looking at wider aspects of the Fatimid/Frankish struggle, Hamblin concluded that, as long as the former held a forward military base, such as Ascalon, there were few grounds for extensive military commitment in Palestine.

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Fatimid policy tended, therefore, to be passive, rather than proactive.⁴⁰

The Latin armies

Smail analyses the contributions made by the feudal host, the *arrière ban*, mercenaries, pilgrims, and the Military Orders. Subsequent studies have added to our understanding of several of these elements. Peter Edbury investigated military service and feudal tenure through the writings of the thirteenth-century feudal jurists. The opening decades of the twelfth century saw the introduction of feudalism in the Latin East. Two features of that period – manpower shortages and a state of continual warfare – affected the development of feudal institutions. Feudal incidents were limited in scope and there seems to have been no commutation of service. It was the military services owed that mattered to the lord. And the knights and sergeants who held fiefs could be required to serve, in person, for the whole year.⁴¹

Edbury also provided examples of mercenary troops serving in the Latin armies. He used information concerning the twelfth-century law of succession (which allowed a lord whose vassal inherited two fiefs to take over responsibility for one of them) as possible evidence for the comparative lack of mercenaries in this period: later, the law would be changed so that a vassal inheriting two fiefs could provide *compaignons* to meet the demands of the *servitium debitum*.⁴² As Smail shows (p. 94 below), earlier in the century there may also have been a shortage of money to pay for mercenaries.

Two other potential sources of manpower were the regular influx of merchants, and the pilgrims whose main purpose was to visit the

⁴⁰ W. J. Hamblin, 'The Fatimid Army during the Early Crusades', unpublished PhD thesis, Michigan University, 1984.

⁴¹ P. W. Edbury, 'Feudal Obligations in the Latin East', *Byzantion*, 47 (1977), pp. 331, 344–5, 351. On the question of length of service, this should not be taken to mean that service might have had to be performed indefinitely (see below, p. 98). For a detailed study, using both legal texts and narrative sources, of military service outside the kingdom, see H. E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, New Series, 5) (Paris, 1984), pp. 93–161. Negotiations between king and vassals had to precede each campaign beyond the kingdom's borders, whilst the vassals' subsequent service would always be for pay.

⁴² Edbury, 'Feudal Obligations', pp. 339–40, 350–2.

Holy Places. An important article by Riley-Smith has shown that foreign merchants and Crusaders were sometimes members of confraternities dedicated to the defence of the Holy Land. Most of the available evidence relates to confraternities which operated in the thirteenth century, but the *Societas Vermiliorum*, a Pisan confraternity, is known to have helped Conrad of Montferrat to defend Tyre against Saladin in 1188.⁴³

We turn now to the Military Orders. The two most important during this period were the Templars and Hospitallers. The former's military role began at the time of their foundation, when they offered protection to pilgrims on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. The Hospitallers, on the other hand, started out as a charitable institution devoted to the care of sick pilgrims. By the end of the twelfth century, both Orders enjoyed positions of enormous strength and influence in the Latin East.

The state of research in this area has moved forward considerably since 1956. By far the best general introduction presently available is Alan Forey's *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*. This author considers not only the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, but also smaller Orders such as St Thomas of Acre and the leper Order of St Lazarus. His work is wide-ranging, placing under review the Orders' operations in the Holy Land, the Iberian peninsula, central and eastern Europe and (when they occasionally took place), western Europe.

After describing the emergence of the Military Orders, Forey focusses on military activities; resources and manpower; structure and regulations; and, finally, the need to respond to criticism and changed circumstances in the fourteenth century. Forey's approach allows him to make valuable comparisons across the different fields of conflict. One point which he brings out most clearly is the extent to which adequate levels of income – particularly from property and various financial operations – were crucial if military obligations were to be met. Income often proved insufficient, however, and even Orders like the Templars, which enjoyed considerable support

⁴³ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), pp. 301-8.

from the West, were frequently reduced to making desperate appeals for help.⁴⁴

An up-to-date account of the history of the Templars has now been written by Malcolm Barber. He analyses, in considerable detail, the origins of the Order, looking at the support it received from the kings of Jerusalem, the papacy and both clergy and laity in the West; the Order's structure; and its growth in the period before the Second Crusade. Major developments in France, Iberia, and England are contrasted with the position as it appears to have existed in Latin Syria, although Barber argues that the Templars probably enjoyed a greater prominence there than the available evidence generally suggests. He then looks at the attitudes and conditions which facilitated the development of the concept of a militarized monastic order. Some contemporaries were critical of the Templars – either, like Walter Map, the archdeacon of Oxford, for their very existence or, like William of Tyre, for what the Order had become. Feelings of unease about this 'unnatural hybrid' would persist until the Templars' suppression in 1312.

Later in his book, Barber produces a detailed account of Templar life, based largely on the Order's *Rule* and additional clauses and hierarchical statutes. However, most valuable, perhaps, for its contribution to issues relevant to *Crusading Warfare* is the chapter which deals with the Templars' development in Latin Syria in the twelfth century. During the Second Crusade, and in terms of money, manpower and key diplomatic initiatives, the Templars achieved a high profile. Then, in the period up to the battle of Hattin, the Templars were granted control of significant numbers of castles and dependent lands. The Order's involvement in the politics of the region is re-examined. This involvement was inevitable, given the Templars' increasing responsibility for the defence of the Latin East. Decisions which had political implications (for example, the withdrawal of support for Amalric's invasion of Egypt in 1168), were justifiable on both moral and strategic grounds. Moreover, in many instances (perhaps most notably, the events prior to the battle of Hattin), a chronicler's own stance could make him inherently hostile towards the Templars

⁴⁴ A. J. Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992).

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and particularly, on that occasion, the actions of the Templars' Grand Master, Gerard de Ridefort. As both Barber and Smail show (below, pp. 191–5), the reality was certainly more complex than a writer such as 'Ernoult' may have been prepared to show.⁴⁵

For a clear account of the development of the Hospitallers' military and political roles in the twelfth century, one should refer to Riley-Smith. He showed that, despite the grant of the castle of Bait Gibrin in 1136, there is actually very little evidence of Hospitaller military activity until c. 1160. A number of fortresses were acquired in the period 1136–86, but at many of these sites, the garrisons may have been provided by mercenaries and vassals performing duties of castle-guard.

Smail, in his brief discussion of the role of the Military Orders, suggests that they showed 'opportunism in gaining freedom from control' through their agreements with Latin rulers (below, p. 103). This statement does require some modification in the light of Riley-Smith's work. He was able to demonstrate that, whilst the Hospitallers' privileges were often extensive, these tended to apply in frontier areas where central government was keen to be rid of its responsibilities. On occasion, grants of land included areas not under Christian control: suitable privileges were needed to make attempts at recapture and defence worthwhile. The Hospitallers' acquisition of Margat in 1186 was the first occasion when they actually took the initiative in acquiring a Saracen march. As an aside, it is interesting to note that there was some concern, from within the Hospitallers, about the Order's military commitments, especially following its participation in the abortive invasion of Egypt in 1168. Those reacting against militarism had the support of Pope Alexander III, but eventually the military wing of the Hospital triumphed.⁴⁶

The Latin field army in action: battles, raids, and sieges

Smail includes (below, pp. 189–97) a detailed account of the battle of Hattin. A complement to this analysis has been provided by

⁴⁵ M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁴⁶ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 32–84, 106–19, 124–36, *passim*.

Prawer, in a study which is particularly valuable for its careful reconstruction of the routes and manoeuvres of the two armies, using both historical and topographical information. Prawer was able to show some of the ways in which the twelfth-century road system and terrain may have influenced events on 3–4 July 1187. However, sections of his analysis need to be treated with some caution. First, as Smail demonstrates, the aim of the Franks in marching towards Tiberias was to relieve the city. This would inevitably involve fighting, but a pitched battle with Saladin was not the intended outcome. Secondly, the Turcoples, who were native troops or westerners using native equipment, probably performed a number of functions in the Frankish armies. They were not, as Prawer stated, simply ‘mounted archers who fought like the Saljuq or Turkish contingents’.⁴⁷ Finally, as Smail shows, the desertion of the footsoldiers at the height of the battle on 4 July is best seen as a symptom, not a cause, of the final defeat.⁴⁸

Gillingham presented a view on broader aspects of campaigning, seen principally through the generalship of Richard I. He focussed, to a great extent, on ‘routine’ campaigns – that is, warfare when opposing armies were in the field but no major confrontation took place. Starting from Smail’s proposition that the main aim of war was to acquire, or defend, territory (or rather, the strongpoints within that territory), Gillingham made two important points. First, he emphasized the importance of supply. The main objective of a defender, attempting to force an invading army to withdraw without recourse to battle, would normally be to deny that invading force access to food and water. Considerations to do with supply became a problem for Saladin in 1183 (below, p. 154); and, as Gillingham showed, Richard I faced similar difficulties in his

⁴⁷ J. Prawer, ‘The Battle of Hattin’, in his *Crusader Institutions*, p. 492.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 484–500. B. Z. Kedar, in ‘The Battle of Hattin Revisited’, in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Kedar, pp. 190–207, offers further clarification of the road system in the area around Hattin, besides important information on water supplies from springs in the region (which may have affected the Franks’ decision-making on 3–4 July). He also makes use of Saladin’s letter about the battle: see ‘Saladin’s Hattin Letter’, ed. and tr. C. P. Melville and M. C. Lyons, in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Kedar, pp. 208–12. For another version of events at Hattin, again making use of both texts and on-site investigations, see P. Herde, ‘Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin und der Untergang des Kreuzritterheeres (3. und 4. Juli 1187)’, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 61 (1966), pp. 1–50.

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attempts to march on Jerusalem in 1191 and 1192. Secondly, Gillingham made the point that, for the aggressor, the first stage in a process leading to the capture of strongpoints would be to ravage the countryside. This would deprive the defenders themselves of supplies and prepare the ground for subsequent siege campaigns.⁴⁹

Given that ownership of land depended upon possession of the fortified sites in an area under dispute, then siege warfare must assume great importance. Smail addresses two aspects of the subject. First, in analysing the forms and functions of castles, he provides important information on the strongpoints' defences and the use made of some of the sites as counter-forts during siege campaigns. Secondly, he considers the role of the field army in threatening an invading force, and thereby making effective siege operations more difficult. However, he does not look at the technology or logistics of siege warfare, as practised by either Latins or Muslims, in any detail. So far as the Latins are concerned, this makes Randall Rogers's *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* a valuable supplement to *Crusading Warfare*.

Rogers draws on material from throughout the Mediterranean area. So far as the Latin East is concerned, he deals mainly with the First Crusade and the subsequent capture of sites on the Palestinian coast. A variety of different machines and techniques are shown to have been used. However, with the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, a characteristic form of assault during this period, particularly for attacks against coastal sites, is shown to have emerged. This involved the use of mobile wooden siege towers supported by artillery pieces. Inland (though Jerusalem was one exception to this), a common approach was to blockade a site. When a direct attack was undertaken, artillery and mining operations were prominent.⁵⁰

Rogers also analyses the organization of the siege. Finance, the

⁴⁹ J. Gillingham, 'Richard I and the Science of War in the Middle Ages', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 78–91.

⁵⁰ R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 1–90. Rogers's analysis throughout this section is thorough. One point which he does not cover in detail is the threat posed to a besieging force by a Muslim field army operating in the vicinity. However, he explicitly states (p. 17) that he does not wish to extend his analysis into more general areas of military history such as this.

supply of food and water, and the availability of materials and personnel to manufacture siege engines were all key factors in the success or otherwise of a campaign, and they receive detailed consideration. Particularly interesting in these respects is Rogers's discussion, in a later chapter on seaborne siege warfare, of the significant role played by the Italian maritime states in the twelfth century. These city republics were able to provide, at sieges throughout this period, both timber and other important construction materials. They also contributed, from amongst their personnel, naval engineers and other craftsmen whose skills were equally useful in the preparation of siege engines. There is evidence that, in twelfth-century Genoa, certain individuals were specifically associated with the construction of siege machinery and towers. Finally, the Italians provided additional combatants for siege campaigns. Rogers concludes this chapter on seaborne siege warfare with a detailed examination of the siege of Acre by the armies of the Third Crusade. He argues that this siege in some ways marked the end of the pre-eminent role played by siege towers in campaigns throughout the twelfth century. Later sieges tended, for a number of reasons, to rely more on artillery attacks. Finally, Rogers considers the significance of the First Crusade and the campaigns against sites on the Palestinian coast for the development and spread of siege warfare techniques. The Crusade concentrated, in a single campaign, both the most talented exponents of siege warfare from throughout western Europe and the resources necessary to meet the challenge presented by Muslim fortifications. It was this combination of factors that encouraged the development of siege warfare technology.⁵¹

Castles

It is now widely acknowledged, following Smail's analysis, that castles in the Latin East performed functions which extended far beyond what might be termed the purely military. In the broadest sense, 'they were centres of authority . . . the physical basis of overlordship' (below, pp. 60–1).

Denys Pringle, in a series of studies, has emphasized these

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1–90, 201–46, *passim*.

broader aspects of the castles' roles. In *The Red Tower*, he explored, using architectural, archaeological, and documentary evidence, a number of Frankish sites in the Sharon Plain (part of the Lordship of Caesarea). This area contained no major towns, but there were six or seven castles or towers, probably all constructed in the first three decades of the twelfth century. In terms of purely military value, this was the period of greatest importance for the sites in question. In 1123, for example, troops from Tiberias, Ascalon, Caesarea, and Jerusalem gathered at Qaqun to oppose an Egyptian assault on Jaffa (see also below, pp. 84, 87). By c. 1140, the castles and towers were no longer of particular significance militarily, but they continued to perform administrative functions and serve as a symbol of the Franks' authority. Qaqun is amongst the best documented in this respect. There were Frankish settlers dependent on the castle: a viscount was mentioned in 1131, 1135, and 1175, suggesting the possible existence of a burges court to deal with disputes amongst local Franks. At Qalunsawa (a Hospitaller site by 1128), there was, by 1166, another Frankish settlement. These sites help to illustrate the way in which the security provided by a castle could facilitate colonization activities.⁵² (For similar activities centred on Tell es Safi and Bait Jibrin, see below, p. 213.)

As Smail remarks at the very end of *Crusading Warfare*, only more detailed field work will lead to well-founded generalizations about the different forms of crusader castles (below, pp. 243-4). Many studies which have appeared since 1956 have continued to base their conclusions on this inadequate state of research.⁵³ In some respects, however, the situation is improving, and Smail's call for 'patient and exhaustive exploration of individual sites' is being answered. Belvoir, for example, could only be described in the most general terms by Smail. He suggests, moreover, that there may have been a great tower at the site (below, p. 231). This is now known

⁵² R. D. Pringle, *The Red Tower* (London, 1986).

⁵³ See, for example, T. S. R. Boase, 'Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria', in *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, vol. iv (Madison, 1977), pp. 140-64; W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders* (London, 1966). One honourable exception to this is P. Deschamps, *La Défense du comté du Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche* (Paris, 1973), the final volume of his *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre-Sainte*. A new study by Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, is due to be published by Cambridge University Press in the second half of 1994.