

The Controversy of the 1108 Alliance between Muslims and Crusaders of the East

Jamal M. H. Al-Zanki

Associate Professor in Islamic History, Kuwait International Law School,
State of Kuwait
jamal.alzanki@gmail.com

Abstract

Before the First Crusade forces marched to the east in 1097, Muslims were suffering internal strife between the Abbasid caliphate, dominated by the Saljūks, and the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt over Syria. In addition, the Saljūks themselves had endured internal discord since the death of the last great Sultan, Malik-Shāh, in 1092. The Crusaders would succeed in establishing their powers in the east within a few years and threatened Muslims in Syria and Mesopotamia. The kingdom of Aleppo would face a serious threat from the Crusaders of Antioch, while governor of Mosul (Jāwlī) in Mesopotamia would defy his lord the Saljūk Sultan Muhammad's attempt to suppress him; however, the Crusaders of the east would suffer from internal discord as well. The principality of Antioch was threatening its Crusader neighbor, the County of Edessa. All this dissension would facilitate establishment of a strange alliance in 1108 that joined several different powers differing in religion and purpose. Jawli of Mosul convinced former leaders of Hilla in southern Iraq to join his party with the Crusaders of Edessa and Armenians of Kaysum. This party concentrated their power against the Crusaders of Antioch led by Tancred and his Muslim ally Ridwan of Aleppo. This analytical study traces the roots of that alliance and shows how it emerged.

Keywords: Seljuk History, the Crusades, Alliance between Muslims and the Crusaders.

Introduction

In 1095, Latin Europe launched a religious war against the Muslims of the East in Syria and Mesopotamia that would become well known as the Crusades. From 1097 until the date of shaping of the alliance of 1108 between Muslims and the Crusaders of the East, the Crusaders were very busy establishing their powers in the East, while Muslims were suffering from internal political and religious dissent. The Abbasid caliphate was dominated by the Saljūk sultans and Turks. On the other hand, the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt was ruled by Armenian wazīr al-Afdal Ibn Badr al-Jamali. Both caliphates were involved in severe conflict over Syria before the march of the Crusaders towards the East in 1097. In addition, the Saljūk sultanate itself had internal dissension after the death of the last great Sultan, Malik-Shāh, in 1092, only three years before the launch of the crusade by Pope Urban II. During that internal conflict in the Saljūk sultanate, some Muslim leaders emerged to exploit this confusion. These leaders would be the main figures in establishing the alliance of 1108. On the other hand, the Crusader states in the east would also suffer interior conflict, especially between the principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa.

This study traces the emergence of this alliance that would join Muslims and Crusaders of the east in 1108 against each other. Jāwlī of Mosul joined forces with the enemy of the Saljūk sultan, sons of Sadaqa ibn Mazyad of Hilla, his former Crusader prisoner Baldwin of Edessa, and with the Armenians of Kaysūm in Mesopotamia. The opposing party was led by the Tancred prince of Antioch and his Muslim ally, King Ridwān of Aleppo. Before the shaping of that alliance, Ridwān faced a real threat from Tancred of Antioch; however, when Jāwlī of Mosul became a threat to both Ridwān and Tancred, they would forget their differences and became allies.

The main Latin sources of the early crusading period, including Fulcher of Charters and William of Tyre, give no important details concerning the alliance. Most Muslim

sources, except Ibn al-Athīr, give a little information, including Ibn al-Qalānisī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm. Ibn al-Athīr discusses the alliance in his main study, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, as he examines the history of the Saljūk sultanate, especially when he discusses the reign of Sultan Muhammad. An anonymous Syriac chronicle gives us some information related to the freeing of Baldwin of Burg, Count of Edessa in 1108 and his kinsman Joscelin of Courtenay in 1107. I particularly depended on Ibn al-Athīr's narration by comparing it with other Islamic and Latin sources. I hope this study will fill the gap in understanding of that unique alliance.

Dissension of Saljūk Sultanate

In the late eleventh century, the Abassid caliphate was dominated by the Saljūk Sultan Malik-Shāh ibn Alp-Arslān. This Turkish sultan ruled a great empire that expanded east to Khorāsān. In the west it expanded to most of Asia Minor and Syria, including Persia and Iraq.⁽¹⁾ The boundaries of this empire approached the capital of the Byzantine empire, Constantinople. This great empire would weaken after its ruler's death in 1092, only three years before the launch of the crusade by Pope Urban II.⁽²⁾

Since the dissension between Sultan Malik Shāh's sons regarding succeeding their father is not relevant to this study, it will be mentioned only briefly. Tarakān Khātūn al-Jalāliyah, the widow of Sultan Malik Shāh, set up her son Mahmūd as a new Sultan. Mahmūd, who was four years old, took his legitimacy as a new sultan from the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadī.⁽³⁾

Tarakān Khātūn imprisoned Barkiyārūq, the elder son of Malik Shāh, in the city of Asphahan, in case he was planning to succeed his father; however, Barkiyārūq was released by followers of former wazīr Nidhām al-Mulk, who then raised him as a sultan.⁽⁴⁾ Zubayda bint Yāqūtī became "a de facto regent" of her son Barkiyārūq, who was twelve years old. The Saljūk sultanate now came to be dominated by

women's authority. Fifteen months after the recognition of Mahmūd, the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadī recognised Barkiyārūq as the legitimate sultan instead of his half-brother Mahmūd. ⁽⁵⁾ The caliph al-Muqtadī died on the 3rd of Feb. 1194, a day after his recognition of Barkiyārūq, when his son al-Mustadher succeeded his father. The new caliph, Al-Mustadher, confirmed the recognition of Sultan Barkiyārūq. ⁽⁶⁾

At one point, not only had Mahmūd and Barkiyārūq both been recognised as sultan, but their uncle Tutush of Syria and Mesopotamia also joined the contention. King Tutush decided to take over the sultanate when he knew that his elder brother, Sultan Malik Shāh, had died. Furthermore, King Tutush accepted Tarakān Khātūn's offer and married her. It seems that Tarakān Khātūn was trying to be in power, either by keeping the sultanate for her son Mahmūd, or by becoming the wife of the future sultan, Tutush. When Tarakān Khātūn died in 1094, she left her son Mahmūd under the regency of amīr Unar. She also left ten thousand knights, who variously joined the two main rivals, Barkiyārūq and his uncle Tutush. The infant Sultan Mahmūd followed his mother in death two months later. ⁽⁷⁾

Tutush won an easy victory over his nephew Barkiyārūq near Irbil in Oct. 1094. ⁽⁸⁾ Five months later, however, he was defeated by Barkiyārūq near al-Ray. Not only was he defeated, but he was also killed by one of his mamluks during the battle. ⁽⁹⁾ Tutush's dream to be the sole sultan had been dissolved. Ridwan, his elder son, inherited a kingdom from him that included most of inter Syria and Diyār Baker in Mesopotamia. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Sultān Barkiyārūq did not withdraw his cousin Ridwān from authority in his father's kingdom. King Ridwān submitted to his cousin Sultān Barkiyārūq, and he selected the city of Aleppo to be his capital. He was afraid that his younger half-brother Duqāq would contend his legitimacy, so he kept him prisoner in the citadel of Aleppo. Duqāq escaped from Aleppo to the city of Damascus. He then made himself king of Damascus in south Syria. During that time, Sultan Barkiyārūq freed one of Tutush

leaders, named Tughtekīn, who married Duqāq's mother, named Safwat al-Mulk. Tughtekīn then became atābek of King Duqāq. Tughtekīn had been taken prisoner of war after his lord Tutush was defeated in al-Ray a few months before. Then, Tughtekīn became the de facto ruler of the kingdom of Damascus during the reign of King Duqāq.⁽¹¹⁾

Tutush's kingdom suffered after his death, when it was divided into two parts. The northern part was the kingdom of Aleppo, under the authority of Ridwān. As for the southern part, it was the kingdom of Damascus, under the authority of Duqāq. King Ridwān did his best to keep his younger brother, King Duqāq, under his authority. Meanwhile, Sultān Barkiyārūq accepted nominal authority over his nephews, Ridwān of Aleppo, Duqāq of Damascus, and Qilij Arsalān ibn Sulaymān ibn Qutolmish in mid-Asia Minor. Also; he confessed the authority of the Danishmends in northeast Asia Minor, and of his-half brother Sanjar of Khorāsān.⁽¹²⁾

These divisions among Muslim powers in Syria, Iraq, and Asia Minor would weaken them as they faced the Crusader threat preparing, at that time, to march to the East.

The Crusaders Establish Their Power in the East

While these events crushed Muslims in the east, the Crusaders were marching east to establish settlements there. Pope Urban II did not appoint a commander for the First Crusade but sent only Bishop Adehmar of le Puy as his legate with Count Raymond of Toulous, who led ten thousand men from the south of France. Duke Godfrey of Boughon led ten thousand men from northeastern France and west Germany. He was joined by his brother Lord Baldwin of Boughon and his cousin Baldwin of Bourg. Prince Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard of Taranto from the south of Italy, led five thousand men from Normans of south Italy. His nephew Tancred joined him and played a great role in the campaign. The Crusaders besieged the city of Nicea for five weeks before it surrendered. This city was the capital of the

Muslims of Saljūk, called Roman Saljūk. King Qilij Arsalān could not thwart the siege of his capital; therefore the defenders of the city surrendered to the commander of the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus. This commander had joined the Crusaders as a representative of the Byzantine emperor. The Crusaders then marched to Anatolia without orders, where they were attacked by the forces of Qilij Arsalān. They managed to defeat the Muslims after suffering many losses in Dhyrolium on the 1st of July 1097. ⁽¹³⁾

As a result of severe losses in this battle, the commanders of the Crusaders were ordered not to leave the main army without permission from their leaders. The Crusaders then camped in Mar'ash for several weeks before marching to lay siege to the city of Antioch in late October 1097. While they were camping there, Tancred and Baldwin of Boughon left with their men without permission from the joint leaders of the expedition. Baldwin of Bourg joined his cousin Baldwin of Boughon and became one of his sincere vassals. Baldwin of Bourg would play a great role in shaping the alliance of 1108, the topic of this study. ⁽¹⁴⁾

Tancred marched towards the fortress of Tarsūs in Cilicia, which belonged to the Muslims. Muslim forces withdrew from the fortress, allowing the Armenian inhabitants to get control of it. The Armenians of Tarsūs welcomed Tancred and surrendered the fortress peacefully to him. The following day, Baldwin of Boughon arrived at the fortress with his forces and asked Tancred to let him enter. Tancred allowed him and his forces to enter Tarsūs. When Baldwin entered the fortress, he ordered Tancred and his forces to leave. Tancred was forced to leave the fortress because he had fewer forces than his rival Baldwin, by approximately two hundred men. Tancred marched to the fortress of Mamistra in early October and took over the fortress from the Armenians after the Muslim defenders fled. Baldwin followed Tancred to Samosata and took it over, as he had done with Tarsūs. Tancred then fiercely attacked Baldwin's forces, but he was defeated, and many of his men were

taken prisoner, including his cousin Richard of Salerno. Although peace had been established between the two rivals, Baldwin allowed Tancred to keep Samosata for himself. Tancred would never forgive this humiliation. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Nevertheless, Tancred joined the main army in Mar'ash, which marched to besiege the city of Antioch in late October 1097. On the other hand, Baldwin visited his brother Duke Godfrey in Mar'ash to instigate him in action against Tancred. Not only did Baldwin fail to instigate his brother against Tancred, but he was also forced to apologise to Tancred for his insult. ⁽¹⁶⁾ In addition, Baldwin of Boughon and his cousin Baldwin of Bourq would not join the main Crusaders' army, which would march to lay long siege to the city of Antioch in north Syria in late October. They spent five months in Cilicia in southeastern Asia Minor before advancing to Edessa in southwest Mesopotamia. In February 1097, Thourus, the Armenian Amīr of Edessa, welcomed Baldwin and his forces. Within only three weeks, Baldwin of Boughon, with the support of the Armenians of Edessa, revolted against this amīr. They killed him and raised Baldwin as the first Crusader ruler in the County of Edessa, in late March. While Baldwin was staying in Edessa after his plot against his previous lord, Thourus, his rival Tancred would play a great role in the besieging of the city of Antioch. ⁽¹⁷⁾

On 3rd of July 1098, the Crusaders occupied the city of Antioch after eight months siege of the city. The Saljūk Sultan (Barkiyārūq) sent a great relief campaign to rescue Antioch, but the Muslim army reached the city a couple days after its fall in the hands of the Crusaders. The great Muslim army besieged the Crusaders in the city for couple weeks. The Crusaders could not tolerate the siege, so their leaders proposed that the Muslims surrender Antioch to them and requested a peaceful exit. Kerbogha, the Muslim leader, refused to let them leave peacefully and insisted on their surrender. Nevertheless, the Crusaders easily defeated the great Muslim army on the 28th of June 1098 and kept the city of Antioch for themselves. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Prince

Bohemond of Tarento and Count Raymond IV of Toulouse competed to rule the city independently, but no one could do so at that time. Bohemond took over the majority dominions of the city, including the citadel, but Raymond would not permit him to rule the city. ⁽¹⁹⁾

The Crusaders spent six months in Antioch before marching to occupy the city of Jerusalem, the primary objective of the First Crusade. In the meantime, they occupied the Rūj valley and Jabal al-Summaq plateau region northeast of the city of Antioch. These regions contained important fortresses belonging to the kingdom of Aleppo, including Albara, Kafartāb, and Ma'arat al-Nu'man. These regions were located on the main road connecting the kingdom of Aleppo with its southern neighbours, the Muslims of Shyizar and Hims. Shayzar was ruled independently by the Arabs of Banū Munqidh, while Hims was ruled by Janah al-Dawla Husayn, the disobedient atābek of King Ridwān of Aleppo. The Kingdom of Aleppo would pay a great price and face serious threats because of establishing the principality of Antioch. ⁽²⁰⁾

The Crusaders advanced towards the Rūj valley. They took over the fortress of Ma'rat al-Nu 'man, which belonged to the kingdom of Aleppo, in April 1098. Prince Bohemond and Count Raymond competed against each other for ownership of that fortress. Bohemond's conditions to Raymond were to surrender his remaining holdings in Antioch, and in return he would allow Raymond to keep Ma'rat al-Nu'man for himself; however, they did not reach an agreement. Bohemond exploited the situation and marched with his forces towards the city of Antioch. He dismissed Raymond's forces from the city and announced himself as the sole prince of the new Crusader's principality. In the first decade of the Crusades, princes of Antioch would concentrate their powers on expanding their dominions at the expense of their Muslim neighbours in the kingdom of Aleppo and the emirate of Shayzar. ⁽²¹⁾

On the 14th June 1099 the Crusaders fulfilled their main objective by capturing the city of Jerusalem from the Fatimids of Egypt after five weeks of fighting. According

to Ibn al-‘Ebrī, the Crusaders slaughtered seventy thousand Muslims in the holy mosque of Al-Aqsā. ⁽²²⁾ The struggle for power now exploded between the clergymen and the laymen over ownership of the holy city. The clergymen lost their main leader priest, Adehmar, who died after the capture of the city of Antioch. Pope Urban II did not send another representative in time. The clergymen insisted on appointing a Catholic patriarch for the holy city before selecting a new layman political leader. The laymen did not care about the clergymen's opposition and selected Duke Godfrey of Boughon as a new ruler of the holy city with the title of advocate of Jerusalem. On the other hand, the clergymen sent a letter to Pope Urban II urging him to appoint a new Papal legate in the east instead of Adehmar. The Pope died only two weeks after the capture of Jerusalem, and his successor, Pope Piscal, did not send a new representative until late December 1099. ⁽²³⁾

Prince Bohemond of Antioch, Count Baldwin of Boughon, and Priest Dambert visited the city of Jerusalem together in late 1099 to resume their pilgrimage. Dambert was appointed new patriarch of Jerusalem by approval of Pope Piscal, and in January 1100. He forced Duke Godfrey to accept his condition of surrendering Jerusalem to him if Godfrey (himself) died without leaving an heir. ⁽²⁴⁾

In June 1100, Bohemond defeated King Ridwān of Aleppo in Kella. He easily occupied Kafartāb and Hadir and all regions between both fortresses except Tall Manus. One month later, he received a letter from Armenian Amīr Jabriel of Melitene, offering his fortress of Melitene as fief and accepting him as his vassal. Bohemond accepted the offer and marched with five hundred knights to receive Melitene from Jabriel. ⁽²⁵⁾

While he was advancing towards Melitene, he was attacked and captured in late June 1100 by the Muslim leader Amīr Kumushtekin Ibn al- Daneshmind of Siwas in northeast Anatolia. When Count Baldwin of Edessa was informed of the capture of Bohemond, he led his forces to rescue Melitene from Kumushtekin, who withdrew

towards Siwas. ⁽²⁶⁾ According to William of Tyre, Baldwin advanced within three days of the distance to free Bohemond, but he turned back home because he was afraid of Muslim attack in his own land. It seems that Baldwin was not serious about rescuing his neighbor rival Bohemond of Antioch. Nevertheless, Patriarch of Antioch took control of the principality after the capture of Bohemond, until Tancred came from Jerusalem to rule the principality as deputy of his captive uncle Bohemond. It is worth noting that Tancred became one of Godfrey's vassals, and he received the region of Galilee and Tiberia as a fief from his lord Godfrey. ⁽²⁷⁾

In the meantime, Duke Godfrey of Jerusalem died on 18 July after being injured during his campaign against the city of Acre. Patriarch Dambert of Jerusalem insisted on receiving the holy city of Jerusalem because of the obligation of Duke Godfrey to relinquish the holy city, while the laymen leaders sent Count Baldwin of Edessa to receive the holy city as successor to his brother Duke Godfrey. When Patriarch Dambert discovered that the laymen leaders had unanimously agreed to set up Baldwin as a ruler, he sent a letter to Bohemond asking him to take power in the holy city. Dambert did not know that Bohemond had been captured by the Muslims of Siwas. Regardless, Baldwin managed to take overpower of the holy city as a de facto ruler in August 1100. Four months later, Patriarch Dambert was compelled to coronate Baldwin of Boughon as the first king of Jerusalem. In the meantime, King Baldwin I granted County of Edessa to his cousin Baldwin of Bourg as one his vassals. ⁽²⁸⁾

During his four years as deputy ruling Antioch (from 1100 till 1103), Tancred concentrated his powers on expanding the principality of Antioch. He succeeded in reoccupying the region of Cilicia and the port of Ladhqiyya from the Byzantine Empire. It seems that Tancred spent huge amounts of money to capture the port of Ladhqiyya, while he did not pay a ransom for release of his lord Bohemond. Ironically, his rival Count of Edessa, Baldwin of Bourg, with the help of patriarch

Bernard of Antioch and Armenian Amīr Kogh Vāsīl of Kaysūm, paid the ransom for Bohemond to Amīr Kumeshtekīn Ibn al-Daneshmend of Siwās, who had captured Bohemond four years earlier.⁽²⁹⁾ It seems that Tancred was quite pleased to rule the principality of Antioch independently, while his uncle Bohemond was in prison.

New Dissension in the Saljūk Sultanate

While the Crusaders were expanding in Syria and Mesopotamia at the expense of the Saljūk sultanate and the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt, the Saljūk sultanate itself was involved in an internal division. King Muhammad revolted against his brother Sultan Barkiyārūq in Sep. 1099, only a couple of months after the Crusaders occupied the holy city of Jerusalem. He was recognised by the Abbasid caliph as a sultan instead of his half-brother (Barkiyaruk). The conflict between the rivals lasted five years, while the Abbasid caliph gave recognition to whoever was the victor against the other side. This conflict between Saljūk leaders would weaken the Saljūk sultanate and facilitate the Crusaders in building their states in Syria and Mesopotamia.⁽³⁰⁾

In Jan. 1104, the two rivals reached a compromise to end their long conflict. In the terms of the compromise, Barkiyārūq kept the title of sultanate, while Muhammad kept the title of king in his dominion. Barkiyārūq controlled al-Jabal, Tabristān, Khusistān, Persia, Hijaz, and Iraq except Mosul and the south of Iraq, which was under the authority of Sadqa Ibn Mazyad of Hilla, who was loyal to King Muhammad. This Sadqa would be killed in a battle against sultan Muhammad four years later, and a couple of his sons would join the alliance of 1108. The peace treaty gave King Muhammad southern Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Mesopotamia, including Diyār Baker and the city of Mosul.⁽³¹⁾

King Muhammad led his forces to Mosul to receive it from its governor, Jekormish, who was loyal to Sultan Barkiyārūq. Although the compromise included the condition that Mosul must surrender to Muhammad, Jekormish refused to do so.

Sultan Barkiyārūq died the following year, on the 22nd of Dec. 1104, so Jekormish gave up the city to King Muhammad. ⁽³²⁾

Since Sultan Barkiyārūq was succeeded by his elder son Malik Shāh, who was an infant, amīr Iyāz became atābek “regent” for the infant sultan. Iyāz decided to switch his allegiance from Sultan Malik Shāh II to King Muhammad as sole sultan for all Saljūks. He did his best to persuade his leaders to agree with his decision. Only Isbohidh Sabāwa and Yanāl al-Husāmī refused to be under Muhammad’s sultanate. ⁽³³⁾ Eventually Isbohidh Sabāwa, would join the alliance of 1108, four years later.

Disunity among the Crusaders of the East

Sultan Muhammad accused Iyāz of preparing a plot against him; therefore, he assassinated Iyāz a few months after he had announced his loyalty to Muhammad. ⁽³⁴⁾

Ibn al-Athīr mentions the date of compromise between Barkiyārūq and Muhammad as Jan. 1104, though he does not mention the date of the battle of Harrān, between the Muslims and Crusaders, in the same year. According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, that battle must have taken place, three months after the compromise. Anyhow, Prince Bohemond of Antioch and Baldwin of Bourq, Count of Edessa, joined an alliance to take over the fortress of Harrān in west Mesopotamia, about twenty-five miles south of the city of Edessa. ⁽³⁵⁾

This alliance between Antioch and Edessa had been arranged only a few months after the freeing of Prince Bohemond of Antioch in 1103, which had been orchestrated by Baldwin, count of Edessa, patriarch of Antioch and Armenian amīr of Kaysūm, as mentioned above.

Muslim defenders of Harrān decided to surrender to the Crusaders. According to the anonymous Syriac chronicle, Baldwin secretly persuaded the defenders not to surrender to the Crusaders, but rather to challenge the siege. If the defenders had

followed his advice, the ally Crusaders would have been forced to leave the siege. Baldwin would then come again with only his own forces to conquer the fortress. In the meantime, Tancred suggested to Baldwin that they might work hard together to take over the city before the arrival of the Muslim relief campaign of Mārdīn and Mosul, then marched to face the Muslim relief forces. If the Crusaders succeeded in defeating them, Harrān would have been granted to Baldwin. But if the Crusaders were defeated by the Muslims, they would withdraw to Harrān to take it as a refuge. Baldwin of Boughon did not accept this offer. The anonymous Syriac chronicle does not give the details of this offer, specifically whether, if the Crusaders were defeated, the city would be under joint ownership.⁽³⁶⁾ This division occurred only between Baldwin and Tancred; Bohemond himself did not join this quarrel. This rivalry between Baldwin and Tancred was probably a continuation of their struggle on Tursus and Sumaista seven years earlier, as described above.

On the 7th of May 1104, the Muslim forces of Mārdīn, led by Soqmān ibn Ortuq, and troops of Mosul, led by Jekormish, attacked the Crusader forces outside Harrān near the river of al-Balīkh. According to Ibn al-Athīr, forces of Antioch hid behind a mountain there to attack the Muslims when they engaged with the Edessans. The Muslim forces easily defeated the Edessans while Bohemond and some of his forces stayed behind the mountain until dark; then he fled with his forces to Antioch. Many Latin forces of Edessa were killed or taken prisoner while Bohemond and his nephew Tancred fled with their troops. The Muslim chronicles say the Crusaders lost about twelve thousand people, but this estimate seems to be an exaggeration. Count Baldwin of Edessa and his cousin Joscelin of Courtenay were taken prisoner by the Soqmān forces, but Jekormish of Mosul rudely stole both prisoners from Soqmān's camp, hoping to get a great ransom for the Crusaders.⁽³⁷⁾ It seems that his hope to benefit from the ransom would vanish, since none of the Crusader leaders seemed interested in freeing their prisoners, including King Baldwin I, who was the cousin

of Baldwin of Bourq. Armenian amīr of Melitene Gabriel also took no action to release his son-in-law, Count Baldwin of Edessa, and Kogh Vasil, the Armenian amīr of Kaysūm, made no attempt to free his sincere friend Baldwin while he shared Baldwin himself in paying a ransom to free Bohemond of Antioch, as mentioned above.

It seems that Tancred and his uncle Bohemond succeeded in avenging Baldwin's plot with the Muslim defenders of Harrān. Bohemond took revenge on recently enthroned King Baldwin of Jerusalem, who had probably informed amīr Kumushtekin Ibn al-Danishond of Siwas about his march in 1099 to receive Melitene from Gabriel; thus Bohemond himself fell into the hands of that Muslim amīr, as mentioned above. Now Bohemond retaliated against the plot of the former count of Edessa and current king of Jerusalem by conspiring against his cousin Baldwin of Bourq, who ruled Edessa as a vassal of the king, as described above. Leaders of Antioch kept the County of Edessa for themselves, while Count Baldwin and his main leader Joscelin were taken prisoners by Jekormish of Mosul. ⁽³⁸⁾

King Ridwān of Aleppo exploited the victory of Harrān to restore his dominions, which had been lost to the principality of Antioch after the battle of Kella four years earlier. He succeeded in freeing several fortresses, including al-Fu'a, Sarmīn, Ma'rrat Masrīn, al-Jazer, Hāb, Ma'rrat al-Nu'mān, Kafartāb, and Suran. ⁽³⁹⁾

Only a few months after this event, Bohemond left Antioch for his dominion in Apulia, in southern Italy, to launch a new crusade, not against Muslims, but against the Byzantine Empire. Bohemond, who had fought against Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus in Balqan twenty years earlier, now arranged an alliance with King Philip I of France against Byzantine emperor Alexious Comnenus. He accused the Byzantine emperor of plotting against the Crusaders. Bohemond left his nephew Tancred in the east as his deputy in the principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa. Tancred then appointed his cousin, Richard of Salerno, as his deputy in the

County of Edessa, while he himself ruled Antioch as a deputy of his uncle Bohemond. According to Williām of Tyre and the anonymous Syriac chronicle, Richard treated Armenians of Edessa unjustly, confiscating their properties. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

Disunity in Syria between Muslims

Some information concerning Muslims of southern Syria in the kingdom of Damascus is relevant to this study, so we will next turn to them. As mentioned, King Duqāq established his power in Damascus after he had fled from his brother, King Ridwān, in 1095. Tughtekīn became the atābek of King Duqāq and a de facto ruler of Damascus from that date. ⁽⁴¹⁾

King Ridwān managed to get rid of his atābek, Janah al-dwla Husayn of Hims, in 1097, only two years after succeeding his father, Sultan Tutush, while King Duqāq of Damascus kept his atābek Tughtekīn. ⁽⁴²⁾ Tughtekīn approved his efficiency in ruling the kingdom of Damascus, which had been threatened by King Ridwān of Aleppo and the Crusaders of Jerusalem. King Ridwān treated the kingdom of Damascus as an insurgent, while the Crusaders of Jerusalem treated the kingdom of Damascus as a prospective territory for expansion. When King Duqāq died on the 17th of Jun. 1104, King Ridwān marched with his forces to lay siege to the city of Damascus, exploiting this opportunity to annex Damascus to his kingdom. Tughtekīn hurried to make Tutush, who was only one year old, successor to his father Duqāq, while pretending to be loyal to Ridwān, so Ridwān withdrew to Aleppo. ⁽⁴³⁾

Meanwhile, Tughtekīn freed Artāsh, brother of King Duqāq, who had been kept as a prisoner by Duqāq. Then he expelled the infant Tutush and announced Artāsh, who was only twelve years old, as the new king of Damascus. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ It seems that Tughtekīn had set up Artāsh to eliminate the authority of Ridwān, who considered Tughtekīn an insurgent against his authority. King Artāsh believed himself to be the real ruler of Damascus, while Tughtekīn became the de facto ruler. In any event, Artāsh fled

to the Crusaders of Jerusalem, asking King Baldwin I for help against his atābek Tughtekīn. Baldwin put off Artāsh and his instigator, Aytekīn al-Halabī walī of Busrā. It could be that Baldwin did not want to risk losing his long friendship with Tughtekīn to support his new ally Artāsh. Tughtekīn then dethroned Artāsh and returned the infant Tutush as king of Damascus. Dethroned King Artāsh stayed near al-Rahba, in the desert, concealing himself for two years until 1107, when Jāwlī Siqawa of Mosul received al-Rahba from a disloyal follower of sultan Muhammad. Jāwlī would exploit King Artāsh in 1108 for his interest and use him as a hostage. Within a few months after Tughtekīn had set up the infant king Tutush, this king died; therefore, Tughtekīn named himself Amīr of Damascus without consulting King Ridwān or the Saljūk sultan Muhammad. He eventually ruled the emirate of Damascus as an independent country. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ He and his successors would keep their independence for fifty years, until 1154, when King Nur al-dīn Mahmūd Ibn-Zangī would annex Damascus to his kingdom. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

While chaos dominated Damascus, Soqmān of Āmid and Kāyfā won a great victory against the Crusaders in Harrān, as mentioned above. Also at that time, Aleppo faced a serious threat from Tancred, prince of Antioch. King Ridwān of Aleppo was forced to establish a friendly relationship with his neighbors, the Crusaders of Antioch, and he annually paid a huge tribute to Tancred of Antioch. This tribute weakened the Muslims of Aleppo while strengthening the principality of Antioch. In any event, in spring 1105, the people of Artah expelled its Latin garrison and surrendered their fortress to King Ridwān. At the same time Tancred, with one thousand knights and nine thousand infantry troops, hurried towards Artah. Ridwān marched with his great forces, estimated at three thousand knights and seven thousand footmen, to rescue Artah from the Crusaders of Antioch. Tancred asked Ridwān for peace when he saw his great forces. Ridwān was inclined to accept peace, but one of his leaders, Isbahbudh Sabāwa, dissuaded him. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

As mentioned, this Sabāwa was a main leader of the previous sultan, Barkiyārūq. After Barkiyārūq died a few months earlier, Iyāz, the atābek of the infant sultan Malik Shāh II, had been inclined to accept the authority of Sultan Muhammad, the uncle of Malik Shāh II. Only two leaders, including Sabāwa, supported atābek Iyaz against Muhammad. Now, again, Sabāwa convinced Ridwān to engage in battle. On the 20th of April 1105, Ridwān lost the battle of Artah, including three thousand men.⁽⁴⁸⁾ He also lost all fortresses except al-Atharib in western Aleppo, that had been restored to him after the victory of Harrān only one year earlier.⁽⁴⁹⁾

After the battle, Sabāwa fled to Tughtekīn of Damascus to serve under his power.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Four months later, Sabāwa led thirteen hundred knights from Damascus to join the Fatimid forces led by Sanā al-Mulk Husayn, son of wazīr al-Afdal. The Crusader forces of Jerusalem, led by King Baldwin of Boughon, faced the Muslim forces in a place between 'Asqalān and Jafa. The forces were well matched; no one could defeat the enemy, and each party lost two thousand men.⁽⁵¹⁾

Tughtekīn of Damascus postponed his campaign to take over Busrā from King Artāsh and his ally, Āytekīn al-Halabī of Busrā, because he had sent his forces with Sabāwa. When Sabāwa was returning with his remaining forces to Damascus, Tughtekīn marched to Busrā. King Artāsh and his ally then fled to al-Rahba and hid there. Later, Tughtekīn received Busrā from its defenders, who had secured peace from Tughtekīn.⁽⁵²⁾

When Jāwālī would receive al-Rahba two years later, in 1107, from Sultan Muhammad, he kept Artāsh as a hostage and would not inform the sultan where Artāsh was. He would use Artāsh as a bargain in the alliance of 1108, when he would revolt against Sultan Muhammad.⁽⁵³⁾

In Oct. 1105, Tughtekīn led his Damascene forces to destroy a fortress of 'Al'āl that had just been built by the Crusaders of Jerusalem, about forty-eight miles northwest

of the city of Damascus. He succeeded in his mission and killed or captured the Crusaders in the fortress, comprising two hundred cavalries.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In addition, the Amīr of Tripoli, Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ‘Ammār, attacked the Crusader fortress Tall al-Hijjāj, “Mount of Pilgrims,” that had just been built by Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, beside the city of Tripoli. Raymond was seeking to annex the city of Tripoli to his future county. Fakhr al-Mulk set the fortress on fire then withdrew to Tripoli. While Raymond and his leaders were watching the fire, a ceiling dropped down on them. Raymond was seriously injured and died ten days later from the effects of his injury.⁽⁵⁵⁾ He was succeeded by his nephew William Jordan.⁽⁵⁶⁾

On the other hand, King Qilij Arsalān of Qunia marched with his forces and laid siege to the city of Edessa, which was under the authority of Richard of Salerno, a deputy of Tancred of Antioch. The defenders of Harrān, under the authority of Jekormish of Mosul, asked Qilij Arsalān to receive their fortress, which was under threat from the Crusaders of Antioch. Qilij Arsalān left the siege of Edessa and marched to receive Harrān. The people of Harrān were greatly pleased at his coming and his announcing of jihād (sacred war) against the Crusaders.⁽⁵⁷⁾

As mentioned, Jekormish of Mosul submitted to Sultan Muhammad after the death of his lord, Sultan Barkiyarūq on the 22nd of Dec. 1104. However, Jekormish did not meet with the approval of Sultan Muhammad; therefore, the sultan dismissed him two years later and appointed Jāwlī Saqāwa as a new governor of Mosul and Diyār Bakr in Mesopotamia.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Jāwlī had been exploiting the five years of conflict between Barkiyarūq and Muhammad (1099–1104) to rule independently in the region between Persia and Khusistān. He had ruined that region and offended its people. When Sultan Muhammad took control of the whole Saljūk sultanate in 1105, Jāwlī yielded to his authority. Jāwlī visited the sultan in Asphahan and gained his favour. When the sultan was planning to get rid of Jekormish of Mosul, Jāwlī visited him in Asphahan.

By mistake, the sultan appointed Jāwlī as the new governor and ordered him to march to take over Mosul, and later to march to fight the Crusaders to liberate all regions under their authority in the east. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

Jāwlī marched with his forces in Oct. 1106 to take over Mosul from Jekormish, who had done his best to keep his authority there. With one thousand knights, Jāwlī defeated Jekormish, who led two thousand cavalries in Bakaba, a village in Irbil. Jekormish was imprisoned at the hand of Jāwlī, who ordered him to surrender the city of Mosul to him. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ The defenders of Mosul appointed Zangī ibn Jekormish as a deputy for his father until his release. Zangī was eleven years old; therefore, his regent was one of Jekornish's mamluks, called Quzaqlī. ⁽⁶¹⁾

Jāwlī threatened the defenders of the city with killing Jekormish if they did not surrender to him. The defenders sent messengers asking for help from Sadaqa Ibn Mazyad of Hilla and Qilij Arsalān of Qunya. In the meantime, Jekormish died while Jāwlī was using him as a hostage to conquer Mosul. While Sadaqa refused to rebel against his lord the sultan, Qilij Arsalān marched with his small army to besiege Mosul. He suffered from a shortage of assembled troops, because he had sent many forces to Balqan to help the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus against Bohemond, prince of Antioch. At that time Bohemond was launching a holy war against the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus with the support of the king of France, Philip I. ⁽⁶²⁾

Then Qilij Arsalān received Nusaybīn, and his forces increased. It could be that Nusaybīn belonged to Il- Ghāzī of Mārdīn. When Jāwlī heard of Qilij Arsalān's march, he left the blockade of Mosul to Sinjār, where was assisted by Īl-Ghāzī Ibn Qrtoq of Mārdīn and some disloyal forces from Jekormish. His army numbered four thousand cavalries. While Jāwlī was camping there, he received a request from King Ridwān of Aleppo asking for help against the Crusaders of Antioch, who were expanding into Bilād al-Shām, which currently includes Syria, Palestine, Lebanon,

and Jordan. ⁽⁶³⁾

Ibn al-Qalānisī offered a different narration; he said that King Ridwān had joined Jāwlī's forces when Jāwlī had asked for his support. On the other hand, he added that Ridwān had arranged a peace agreement at that time with Tancred of Antioch. In addition, according to Ibn al-Qalānisī, when Joscelin of Tall Bāshir knew that Ridwān had left Aleppo to help Jāwlī, he marched with his forces and looted the countryside around Aleppo. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ This information indicates that Jekormish of Mosul had freed his prisoner Joscelin before he was dethroned by the Saljūk sultan.

It might be that Ridwān had submitted to Sultan Muhammad's order to support Jāwlī and therefore cooperated with him. There is no doubt that the sultan was planning to subdue his real authority over the entire Saljūk sultanate, including the kingdom of Aleppo. As also mentioned above, the former Sultan Barkiyārūq had accepted nominal authority over the two kingdoms of Aleppo and Damascus, whereas Sultan Muhammad had now decided to subjugate all his officials, including his cousin King Ridwān.

King Qilij Arsalān advanced from Nusaybīn towards Mosul to take it from the defenders. He took the city and dropped the name of Sultan Muhammad from Khutbah, announcing himself as the legitimate and sole sultan. This was the first time Qilij Arsalān had dared to drop the name of the sultan. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

While Qilij Arsalān was taking Mosul, Jāwlī took al-Rahba from Ibn-Sābiq after some skirmishes. Jāwlī kept King Artāsh Ibn-Tutush, former king of Damascus, as a hostage in al-Rahba. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ Qilij Arsalān then marched with his forces, estimated to be four thousand men, towards al-Khābūr river. He waited for a while for his forces, which were on their way to help him after achieving their mission in the Byzantine Empire, but they could not come on time, and Jāwlī exploited this obstruction to achieve an easy victory over Qilij Arsalān's forces on the 13th of July 1107. Qilij

Arsalān himself drowned in the river while attempting to flee. Jāwlī hurriedly marched to Mosul and took over the city. He took the son of Qilij Arsalān, Malik Shāh, as a hostage. This Malik Shāh was only eleven years old. He had remained in Mosul as a deputy of his father when his father had marched to fight Jāwlī a few weeks before. Jāwlī sent Malik Shāh to Sultan Muhammad, though he did not inform the sultan that he had also kept King Artāsh, former king of Damascus, as a hostage as well. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ It seems that Jāwlī was planning to use this king as a bargaining chip later, when he would get in a conflict with Sultan Muhammad, who used to suppress his disloyal leaders.

When Jāwlī took Mosul, King Ridwān soon returned home. According to Ibn al-Qalānisī, Ridwān was anxious about Jāwlī and therefore abandoned him. ⁽⁶⁸⁾ It could be that Jāwlī had incited Ridwān to revolt against Sultan Muhammad as sole sultan. Jāwlī was planning to dominate the entire Saljuk saltanate by becoming an atābek of the future sultan, Ridwān. It seems that Ridwān discovered that Jāwlī was disloyal to the sultan and wanted to exploit him for his personal interest. It appears that Būrī ibnTughtekīn had married a daughter of Jāwlī's at that time. There is no doubt that political marriage would work against King Ridwān.

In the meantime, Īl-Ghāzī of Mārdīn was arrested as a hostage by Jāwlī, who demanded a ransom to free him. The followers of Īl-Ghāzī attacked Jāwlī's forces, and Jāwlī was forced to free Īl-Ghāzī. Nevertheless, Sultan Muhammad got rid of his disloyal governor of Mosul, Jekormish, and granted Jāwlī a great iqtā, or fief, in the territories of Mosul and Mesopotamia. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

On the 4th of March 1108, Sultan Muhammad suppressed and killed Sadaqa Ibn-Mazyad, amīr of Hilla in southern Iraq. Sadaqa had been one of the main loyal vassals of Sultan Muhammad during his conflict with his brother, Sultan Barkiyārūq. He was well known for giving refuge to anyone who asked. This good instinct caused Sadaqa many troubles and the loss of his life. Some of Sadaqa's rivals accused him of

advocating in Batinia, a terrorist sect of the Ismā'īliya. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ They also instigated the sultan against his governor Surkhāb. Surkhāb of Sāwa fled from the sultan to Sadaqa, asking for his refuge. Sultan Muhammad accused Surkhāb of killing the former walī of Sawa. ⁽⁷¹⁾

Sadaqa refused to surrender to anyone who requested his protection including this Surkhāb, thus Sultan Muhammad accepted the mediation of the caliph al-Mustadher to solve this dispute with Sadaqa. Even after long mediation, no agreement was reached between the two sides. Interestingly during that meditation, Sadaqa warned the sultan that many leaders, including Jāwlī, governor of Mosul, and Īl-Ghāzī of Mārdīn, would offer him their help to fight the sultan. ⁽⁷²⁾

Sultan Muhammad decided to test the loyalty of his vassal Jāwlī and therefore ordered him to join his forces to suppress Sadaqa. Jāwlī apologised to the sultan because he was intimidated by him. But Ibn al-Athīr says that Jāwlī was sent to Sadaqa, inciting him against the sultan and offering his help. ⁽⁷³⁾ It could be that Jāwlī was hesitant to support Sadaqa, probably because he would be fighting for Sadaqa's cause and not for his own interests. Anyhow, his refusal of the order of the sultan gave the sultan justification to get revenge on him.

Sultan Muhammad led his forces to defeat Sadaqa's forces near al-Hilla on 4th of March 1108. Sadaqa was killed, and his younger sons Badrān and Mansūr fled. His eldest son Dubays was taken prisoner. The sultan apologised to the widow of Sadaqa for killing her husband and freed her son Dubays after he had pledged not to revolt against the sultan again. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

Dubays would keep his pledge, and both Badrān and Mansūr would join the alliance of 1108 a few months later. They would stand with Jāwlī, the most likely candidate for punishment from the sultan. ⁽⁷⁵⁾

In April 1108, only three months after the suppression of Sadāqa of Hilla, Fakhr al-

Mulk Ibn-‘Ammār of Tripoli went to the sultan in Baghdad asking him help against the Crusaders, who were threatening his capital Tripoli. At the same time, the sultan was planning to send a campaign, led by Mawdūd Ibn al-Nutikīn, to eliminate Jāwlī of Mosul; therefore, he ordered Mawdud first to march with his forces to take over Mosul from Jāwlī, then he might march to Bilād al-Shām (Syria) to help Ibn-‘Ammār protect his capital, the city of Tripoli, from the Crusader’s threat. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

It seems that Ibn- ‘Ammār understood from the sultan's order that Tripoli and the cause of fighting the Crusaders were not the primary interest of the sultan; therefore, he did not join Mawdūd's campaign against Jāwlī of Mosul. While he was returning to his capital of Tripoli, the city submitted to Fatimid's forces; therefore, he went to Damascus, to Tughtekīn, who helped him protect Jabala, the only fortress wrested from his emirate. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

Ibn al-Athīr mentions that Mawdūd’s campaign laid siege to Mosul in April 1108, and Ibn- ‘Ammār reached Baghdad, also in Ramadān of the same year, returning home in August 1108. ⁽⁷⁸⁾ It seems from the chronicle of the series of events that the visit of Ibn- ‘Ammār to Baghdad had taken place earlier than this date.

When Jāwlī learned of Mawdūd's march to Mosul, he fortified the city well and dismissed the ahdāth, the military militia of the city. He was quite fearful that these ahdāth would revolt against him while the city was under siege. What is astonishing is that Jāwlī marched with about half his forces towards Nusaybīn, leaving his capital under his wife’s authority to protect from the sultan’s forces. His wife, the daughter of amīr Bursuq (one of the great amīrs of the Saljūk sultans), proved to be a reliable leader. It seems that Jāwlī had been informed that the sultan's campaign included his brothers-in-law, so he relied on them not to harm their sister. He left fifteen hundred cavalymen and several hundred footmen with his wife in Mosul. ⁽⁷⁹⁾

Then Jāwlī took two thousand cavalymen and his prisoner, Baldwin of Edessa, with

him when he left for Nusaybīn to arrange an alliance with Īl-Ghāzī of Mārdīn. As mentioned above, Joscelin, cousin of Baldwin, had been freed by Jekormesh, the former governor of Mousl. ⁽⁸⁰⁾

While Jāwlī was on his way to Nusaybīn, he sent a letter to Īl-Ghāzī of Mārdīn asking for his help against the sultan. Īl-Ghāzī did not reply to the request and marched to Mārdīn. He left his son in Nusaybīn in case Jāwlī took over the city. When Jāwlī heard about this action, he advanced to Dāra and sent another letter with his messenger to Īl-Ghāzī in Mārdīn. While Īl-Ghāzī was receiving the messenger, Jāwlī himself slipped into Mārdīn. Jāwlī tried to gain the confidence of Īl-Ghāzī, who had taken him hostage about sixteen months previously, as mentioned above. Anyhow, Īl-Ghāzī pretended to agree to form an alliance with Jāwlī against the sultan. ⁽⁸¹⁾

The two supposed allied forces marched to Sinjār to convince its walī to join the alliance. When the governor of Sinjār did not reply to their request, they left the siege of Sinjār and marched to al-Rahba, which belonged to Jāwlī. When they had reached R‘ubān on the al-Khābūr river, Īl-Ghāzī fled at night from the camp towards his dominion in Nusaybīn. Now Jāwlī was dispirited from arranging an alliance with Īl-Ghāzī and therefore resumed his march to al-Rahba. When Jāwlī reached Māxīn, on his way towards al-Rahba, he freed Count Baldwin of Edessa. Not only did he free him, but he also bestowed a robe of honor upon him. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Baldwin went to Antioch to meet Tancred, and he asked him to return the city of Edessa to him since he was now freed. Tancred rejected Baldwin’s request; therefore, Baldwin went to Tall Bāshir, which belonged to him. As mentioned above, Joscelin had been freed by Jekormish, former governor of Mosul, probably one year earlier. He had taken Tall Bāshir when the Armenian Kokh Vasiel of Kaysūm had helped him do so. Joscelin surrendered himself to Jāwlī as surety until the ransom of Baldwin was paid to Jāwlī. Jāwlī then freed both Baldwin and Joscelin and relinquished the ransom of Baldwin. He also arranged an alliance with them. Joscelin

came back to Tall Bāshir while Baldwin waited there. Baldwin was immensely pleased to see his kinsman, Joscelin. ⁽⁸²⁾

While Jāwlī was at al-Rahba, he met Badrān and Mansūr, sons of Sadaqa who were living under the protection of Sālim Ibn Mālik, governor of Qal‘at Ja‘bar. They were obliged to help each other. Jāwlī promised he would help them regain al-Hilla from the sultan. They also agreed to set up King Artāsh as the new sultan instead of Sultan Muhammad. This action seemed to indicate that Jāwlī would rule the Saljūk Sultanate by being the atābek of the future sultan, who was well known to be foolish. As they arranged this alliance, Asbahoth Sabāwa joined them. ⁽⁸³⁾

The allies advanced to Qal‘at Ja‘bar to resume the alliance with its owner Salim Ibn Malik and Joscelin of Tall Bashir. Joscelin had come to Qal‘at Ja‘bar to produce himself as surety for Baldwin so Baldwin himself would pay ransom to Jāwlī to free Joscelin, who was kept in Qal‘at Ja‘bar. Joscelin admired his prisoner Jāwlī, when he saw him doing military exercises in his captivity in Qal‘at Ja‘bar, therefore, Jāwlī relinquished him from the ransom of Baldwin and decided to arrange an alliance with his former prisoner. While Joscelin was busy arranging the alliance with Jāwlī, his cousin Baldwin was devoting his power to convincing Tancred to surrender the city of Edessa to him. Joscelin reminded him that his lord Bohemond had been obliged, before leaving for Italy in 1104, to return the whole County of Edessa to him, as Baldwin was being freed. Nevertheless, Tancred conditioned himself to surrender his county to him to be under authority. No doubt, Baldwin refused to be a vassal of his opponent Tancred; therefore, he could not get back his capital, Edessa. He thus made Tall Bāshir a temporary capital until he could regain his capital, even allying with Muslims such as Jāwlī of Mosul. ⁽⁸⁴⁾

According to Ibn al-Athīr, Sabāwa persuaded Jāwlī to march to Bilād al Shām (Syria), which had no troops from the Saljūk Sultanate since the Crusaders had occupied many places there. Sabāwa also persuaded Jāwlī not to march to Iraq, due

to the power of the Sultan there. It seems that Jāwlī was in no need of advice from this gambler Sabāwa, who was well known for bad advice, as mentioned above; therefore, he marched to Qal‘at Ja‘bar to arrange the alliance. ⁽⁸⁵⁾

According to the anonymous Syriac chronicle, Sālim, “a renowned man and good mediator,” arranged the freeing of Baldwin and his alliance with Jāwlī. The terms of the agreement were that Jāwlī would free Baldwin when Joscelin gave himself as surety under the protection of Sālim of Qal‘at Ja‘bar. Baldwin must pay his ransom, seventy thousand Mikhilate dinars. ⁽⁸⁶⁾ It could be that Jāwlī was not serious about requiring a ransom to free Baldwin, but that he was planning to ally with Baldwin to achieve his goal of being the Atabek of the future sultan after he took over Aleppo from King Ridwān. When Jāwlī reached Qal‘at Ja‘bar, Sālim asked him to help restore al-Rīqqa from Banū Numīr, who had occupied this fortress from Sālim. According to Ibn al-Athīr, when King Ridwān had been informed of Jāwlī's coming to Qal‘at Ja‘bar, he marched with his forces towards al-Rīqqa. On his way, near Sefīn, he met a caravan of twenty Crusaders carrying the ransom for Baldwin, which had been sent to Jāwlī. Ridwān arrested the caravan and took the ransom for himself. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ This offensive action by Ridwān undoubtedly aggravated his bad relations with Jāwlī.

Anyhow, Ridwān blockaded al-Rīqqa then left the siege when he took money from Banū Numīr. Ridwān may have left the siege after he was informed that Jāwlī was on his way to al-Rīqqa. Jāwlī spent seventy days besieging the fortress, but he left the blockade after receiving money and horses from Banū Numīr. He sent to Sālim, giving him justification for his leaving the siege, saying, I am interested in an important issue more serious than taking al-Rīqqa." I am facing an enemy; we must concentrate on challenging him. I am determined to march towards Iraq. When I have achieved my purpose, al-Rīqqa and others will be yours."⁽⁸⁸⁾ From this, we can conclude that Jāwlī's purpose was to march to Aleppo to take over the Kingdom of

Aleppo from Ridwān, not to advance to Iraq as Ibn al-Athīr said.

While Jāwlī was in Qal‘at Ja‘bar, a mediator from the sultan called amīr Husayn Ibn atābek Qatelyhtekīn came to reach an agreement with Jāwlī. Husayn required Jāwlī to surrender his dominions to the sultan’s forces, and then to join the sultan’s campaign to rescue the city of Tripoli from the Crusaders. Jāwlī agreed on these conditions, showing his obedience to the sultan, and asked Husayn to go to Mosul to convince the leaders to leave the siege of the city. In addition, he was obliged to give his son as surety to the sultan until he himself would surrender Mosul to him. When Husayn came to Mosul, he ordered the sultan's leaders to leave the siege. All the leaders consented to do so except Mawdūd. Mawdūd required a direct order from the sultan, not from his mediator. Mawdūd not only refused Husayn's order, but also arrested the representative of Jāwlī, who had come with Husayn. ⁽⁸⁹⁾

While Husayn was trying to persuade the leaders to leave the siege of Mosul, Jāwlī took the city of Bālis, which belonged to Ridwān, on the 16th of Sept. 1108. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ It could be that Ridwān thought Jāwlī's purpose was to annex his Kingdom of Aleppo to his dominions.

King Ridwān was sent to Tancred of Antioch, reminding him of Jāwlī's cunning and warning of his attempt to take over Aleppo. He cautioned Tancred that Jāwlī would threaten the principality of Antioch if he succeeded in capturing Aleppo. Not only did Ridwān ask for Tancred’s help against Jāwlī, but also requested that he reach a peaceful agreement. Ridwān consented to his request and sent six hundred knights to help him against Jāwlī. When Jāwlī heard of this agreement, he sent to his ally Baldwin of Edessa, requesting help. ⁽⁹¹⁾

Baldwin hurried with forces to Menbig to help his ally (Jāwlī). While they were meeting in Manbij, bad news reached Jāwlī of the capture of his capital Mosul by Mawdūd's forces. The fall of Mosul encouraged many of his forces to desert him,

with only one thousand cavaliers remaining loyal. Other volunteers then joined his army while he was on his way to Tall Bāshir, which belonged to his ally, Baldwin of Edessa. ⁽⁹²⁾

This strange alliance of 1108 was thus established among different factions. One party comprised Muslims led by Jāwlī of Mosul, disloyal to Sultan Muhammad. This party also included sons of Sadaqa of Hilla, Sālim of Qal‘at Ja‘bar, Isbohidh Sabāwa, the Crusaders of Edessa, and probably the Armenians of Kaysūm, while the other party comprised only Muslims of Aleppo and the Crusaders of Antioch. It seems that we now can understand how that alliance was shaped.

Furthermore, Tancred led fifteen hundred knights in addition to six hundred cavalymen from Aleppo to face Jāwlī and his ally near Tall Bāshir. ⁽⁹³⁾ The battle took place in the land of Gubba between Cyrhus and Dulūk. ⁽⁹⁴⁾

Jāwlī managed to defeat the footmen of Antioch, while Tancred, with his knights, defeated the forces of Edessa in the heart of the army. When Jāwlī turned back to face the cavalry of Antioch, his forces turned against their allies of Edessa and attacked them. Jāwlī's forces then left the battlefield without permission from their leader. Jāwlī commanded them to come back and fight, but they did not respond. Tancred won the battle, and Jāwlī fled towards al-Rahba. Isbohidh Sabāwa ran away the city of Damascus, while the sons of Sadaqa Ibn Mazyad fled to Ibn Malik of Qal‘at Ja‘bar. Baldwin and his kinsman Joscelin fled to Tel Bāshir, where many injured Muslims were given refuge with their allies for medical care. Those finding refuge in Tel-Bāshir indicated that the city of Edessa was still under Tancred's authority, as mentioned above. ⁽⁹⁵⁾

As Jāwlī was fleeing to al-Rahba, he accidentally met the sultan's forces, from whom he managed to flee. He then decided to go to the Sultan, asking for his forgiveness through the meditation of his friend, Amīr Husayn Ibn atābek Qatelyhtekīn. Husayn

succeeded in this mission, and Jāwlī surrendered himself to the sultan near Asphahan. Sultan Muhammad accepted his appeal and forgave him, but he also ordered him to surrender King Artāsh. Jāwlī easily submitted Artāsh, even though a few weeks earlier he had been planning to set him up as sole sultan instead of his lord the sultan Muhammad himself.⁽⁹⁶⁾ This strange, complicated alliance, which had been shaped quickly, also dissolved quickly, like salt dissolving in water.

Conclusion

After a long discussion concerning the roots of the alliance of 1108 between Muslims and the Crusaders of the east, this controversy still appears to be a problematic issue. Clearly, the self-interests of each party pushed each to join in an alliance. These interests extended throughout the preceding ten years before the shaping of the alliance. Such an alliance, during that era, was almost unheard of. The division between Muslim powers and the Crusaders of the east pushed these powers to join this strange alliance without regard for the consequences. The main orchestrator of the alliance appears to have been Jāwlī of Mosul. He succeeded in convincing several different powers to join his parties, including the Crusaders of Edessa and Armenians of Kaysūm. But his defeat in the battle of Gubba demolished his dream of being the de facto ruler of the Saljūk Sultanate. On the other hand, Tancred was forced to join the alliance with his enemy, King Ridwān of Aleppo. Nevertheless, the Saljuk Sultan Muhammad did his best to suppress his disloyal vassal, Jāwlī of Mosul, who facilitated the shaping of this alliance. I hope I have given the reader a reasonable interpretation of the way this strange alliance was established.

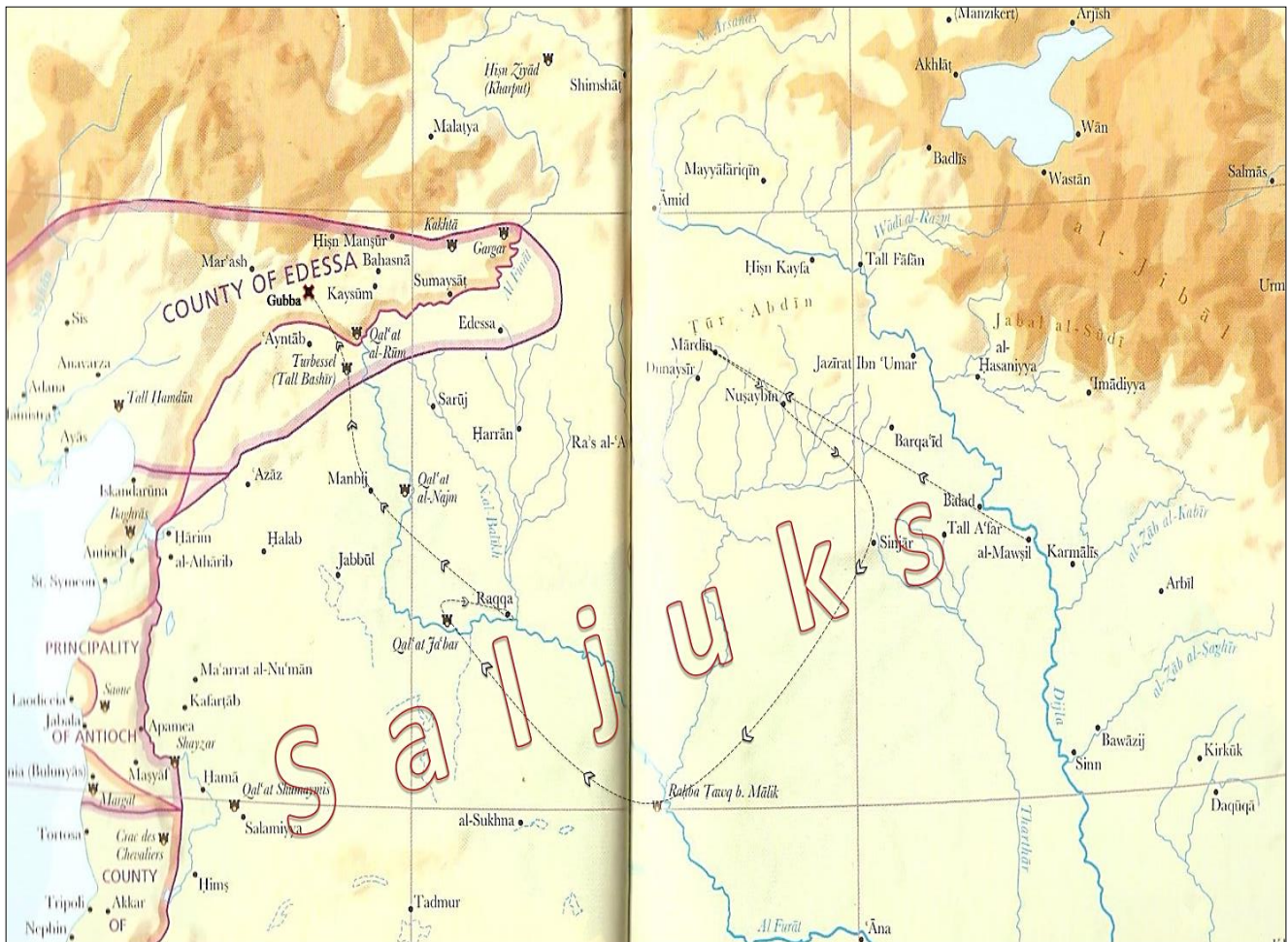
Bibliography

Primary Sources:

1. Anna, Comena. *The Alexiad* (Eng. trans. by E.R. Sewter). Penguin Group, London, 1979.
2. Anonymous Syriac Chronicle (Eng. trans. by A. S. Tritton as *The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, with notes by H.A.R. Gibb). *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, 1933, pp. 69-101.
3. Al-Fāriqī, Ibn al-Azraq. *Tārīkh al-Fāriqī*, ed. B.A.L. 'Awād, rev. M. S. Chorbāl, Cairo, 1959.
4. Al-Dhhabi, al-Hafiz, al- Ibar fi khabar man ghabar. Ed by Muhammad al-Sa id Zaghlul, Vol.ii, Dar al-Kutob al- Ilmiyah, Beirut.
5. Fulcher of Chartres. *Historia Hierosolymitana. Chronicle of the First Crusade*. (Eng. Trans. by M.E. McGlinty, ed., with an introduction by J. LaMonte). University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1941.
6. *Gesta Francorum, the Deeds of the Franks* (ed. and trans. by R. Hill). London, 1945.
7. Ibn al-'Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Umar, *Zubdat al- halab min tārikh Halab*, 2 vols. (ed. S. Dahhān). Damascus, 1954.
8. Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al Dīn Abu'l Hasan 'Alī, *al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh* (ed. Group of historians) Vol. 10, Dār Sader, fifth edition, Beirut, 1995.
9. Ibn al-'Ibrī, Ghrihuryūs al-Māltī, *Tārīkh mukhtasar al-duwal*. (Ed. Anton al-Yasū'ī). Beirut, 1958.
10. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Hamza. *Asad Abu Ya'la, Dhayl tārikh Dimashq*. (Ed. H. F. Amedroz). Leyden, 1908.
11. William, Archbishop of Tyre. *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. (Trans. Emily Babcock and A. C. Krey), 2 vols. Columbia University Press, New York, 1943.

Secondary Sources:

- 1- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*. Athlone Press, London, 1993.
- 2- Asbridge, Thomas. *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*. Boydell Press, Rochester, NY, 2000.



Endnotes

- ¹ Al-Fariqi, p75; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol.10, pp. 210-211; al-Dhahbi, Vol.ii, p.350.
- ² Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 210; Ibn al- Adim, Vo II, p.106.
- ³ Al-Fariqi, p.89; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 211, 214; Ibn al -‘Ibri, p.194.
- ⁴ Al-Fariqi, p.89; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 214-215.
- ⁵ Ibn al- Qalanisi, p.127; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 229.
- ⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp125-126; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 229-231; al-Dhahabī, p.353.
- ⁷ Al-Fariqi, pp.92, 95; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 219, 234, 240; al-Dhahabī, pp.350-315.
- ⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 234.
- ⁹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp.129-130;Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 244-245; Ibn al-‘Ibri,p.195.l
- ¹⁰ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p130; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 246.
- ¹¹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp130-131; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 247-248; al-Dhahabī, p356. *Atabek*: when the Saljuk sulatan got a son from one of his odalisques, he divorced her. He then chose one of his main leaders to marry this odalisque. This leader would be *Atabek* of his son.
- ¹² Al-Fariqi, pp.95, 106; Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp.131-132; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 265, 269; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.196.
- ¹³ Fulcher of Chartres, pp.17-18, 21-24, 29-33; The Alexiad of Anna Comnena, pp.334-338,341-342; Riley-Smith, pp.13, 36, 43, 58-59.
- ¹⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, pp.34-37; Asbridge, pp. 16-17; Riley-Smith, p. 58.
- ¹⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, p39; Asbridge, pp. 19-23; Riley-Smith, p. 58.
- ¹⁶ William of Tyre, pp.187-188; Asbridge, pp. 23-24.
- ¹⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, pp.38-41; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 282-284, 286; William of Tyre, vol. I, pp198-194.
- ¹⁸ Fulchr of Chartres, pp41-55; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p136; Riley-Smith, p. 59; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.196; Ibn al Adim,pp.133-134.
- ¹⁹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p136; Aspridge, pp. 36, 37; Riley-Smith, p. 59.
- ²⁰ William of Tyre, pp.309-312.; al-Dhahabī, p.364; Aspridge, p. 49; Riley-Smith, p. 59.
- ²¹ Fulcher of Chartres, pp.59-60., The Alexiad of Anaa Comnena, p325; William of Tyre, pp.312-314; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 271; Ibn al- Adim, p.142; Aspridge, pp. 40-42.
- ²² William of Tyre, pp.371-373; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 283, 284.
- ²³ Fulcher of Chartres, p71; William of Tyre, pp.403-406; Riley-Smith, pp. 60, 75, 90, 114.
- ²⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, pp78-79; William of Tyre, pp.400-403; Riley-Smith, p. 60; Tyerman, p178.
- ²⁵ Ibn al- Adim, p.144; Fulcher of Chartres, pp81-82; Aspridge, p. 51; Tyerman, p.186.
- ²⁶ Ibn al- Adim, p.145; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p.300; al-Dhahabī, p.367; Aspridge, p. 51.
- ²⁷Fulcher of Chartres, p.75; William of Tyre, pp.412, 428; Aspridge, p. 52.
- ²⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, p82; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 324; The Alexiad, p.355; William of Tyre, pp.427-428.
- ²⁹ William of Tyre, vol. I, pp. 450-460; Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 81-82; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 300, 324, 345, 461; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.199. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Kogh Vāsīl was Muslim, but he and his people returned to their old religion, Christianity, when the Crusaders of the first crusade came to the East.Ibn al-‘Ibri mentioned the real name of Kogh Vasil was Basil al-Armani. Accordnig to Ibn al-‘Ibri the meaning of Kogh is the theaf.
- ³⁰ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p137,139,147; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 287-289, 294-295, 296-298, 303-304, 369; al-Dhahabī, p.365.
- ³¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 370; Ibn al-‘Ibri, pp.197-198m; al-Dhahabī, p.373.
- ³² Ibn ai-Qalanisi, p147; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 380-381; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.197.
- ³³ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p147; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 384-388.

- ³⁴ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p147; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 387-389.
- ³⁵ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p143; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 370, 374-375.
- ³⁶ “The First and Second Crusades” from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1933, translated by A. S. Tritton, with notes by H.A.R.Gibb, p. 79.
- ³⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p143; Ibn al- Adim, p.148; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 374-375, 382-384; William of Tyre, vol. I, pp. 456-459. According to William of Tyre, Bohemond and Tancred joined the battle, but they fled before the battle was finished.
- ³⁸ William of Tyre, vol. I, p. 459; Tyerman, p.186.
- ³⁹ Ibn al-‘Adīm, vol II, pp. 148-149.
- ⁴⁰ The Alexiad, p.423; William of Tyre, vol. I, pp. 460-464; Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, p. 80; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 425; Ibn al-‘Adīm, vol. I, p. 149.
- ⁴¹ Al-Fariqi, p 95; Ibn al- Adim, pp.121-122; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 247-248; Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 130-131; al-Dhahabī, p356.
- ⁴² Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 246; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 133; Ibn al- Adim, p.127.
- ⁴³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 375-376; Ibn al-‘Adīm, p. 150; al-Dhahabī, p.362.
- ⁴⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 375-376; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 145.
- ⁴⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 375-377; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 145; al-Dhahabī, pp.374-375.
- ⁴⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 327.
- ⁴⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p148; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 393; al-Dhahabī, p.376.
- ⁴⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 393-394.
- ⁴⁹ Ibn al-‘Adīm, vol. II, pp. 150-151.
- ⁵⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 394.
- ⁵¹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp.148-149; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 394-395; al-Dhahabī, p.376.
- ⁵² Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 148-149.
- ⁵³ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 157.
- ⁵⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 399-400; Ibn al-Qalanci, 149; al-Dhahabī, p.378.
- ⁵⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 412; al-Dhahabī, p.378.
- ⁵⁶ William of Tyre, vol. I, p. 462.
- ⁵⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p150; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 415.
- ⁵⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 422.
- ⁵⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 422.
- ⁶⁰ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p156; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 423-424.
- ⁶¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 424; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.198.
- ⁶² Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp.156-157; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 424-426.
- ⁶³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 426.
- ⁶⁴ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 157.
- ⁶⁵ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p156; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 426-427; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.199.
- ⁶⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 428.
- ⁶⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p157; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 429-430; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.199; al-Dhahabī, p.379.
- ⁶⁸ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 158.
- ⁶⁹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 158; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 422.
- ⁷⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 440.
- ⁷¹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p.159; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 441.

- ⁷² Ibn al-Qalānisī, p159; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 441-443.
- ⁷³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 457.
- ⁷⁴ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p159; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 444-449; al-Dhahabī, pp.381-382.
- ⁷⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 462.
- ⁷⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisī, p160; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 452-453.
- ⁷⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 160-161; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 453-454.
- ⁷⁸ Ibn al-Qalānisī, PP160-161; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 452, 458.
- ⁷⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 458-459. The Ahdāth were young people and a mob in the city.
- ⁸⁰ Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, p. 81; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 157; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 459.
- ⁸¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 459.
- ⁸² Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 460-461.
- ⁸³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 460-462.
- ⁸⁴ Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, p. 81; Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 157; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 459.
- ⁸⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 462.
- ⁸⁶ Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, p. 81.
- ⁸⁷ Al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 462-463.
- ⁸⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 463.
- ⁸⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 463-464.
- ⁹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 464. It might be that Jāwlī took over the city of Bālis earlier than this date, which Ibn al-Athīr mentions.
- ⁹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, pp. 464-465.
- ⁹² Al-Fariqi, p108; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 465; Ibn al-‘Ibri, p.199.
- ⁹³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 465.
- ⁹⁴ Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, p. 82.
- ⁹⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 465.
- ⁹⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, p. 466.