

NMC277H1S (LEC0201)
Topics in Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations:
THE CRUSADES: ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES



INSTRUCTOR: F. Ragheb (fadi.ragheb@utoronto.ca)

CLASS TIME & LOCATION: Mondays and Wednesdays 1:30 P.M. - 3:30 P.M.; Victoria College VC215

OFFICE HOURS & OFFICE LOCATION: Tuesdays 1-3 P.M., BF 311B

Course Description

The Crusades have had a lasting impact on Muslims and the Islamic world. The epoch-forming movement influenced the central Islamic lands in many ways, affecting the region militarily, ideologically and culturally. This course will provide a historical and thematic survey of the Crusades from an Islamic perspective. It will examine the Muslim response to the Crusades from the beginning of the movement in 1096 to the end of the Crusader presence in the region in 1291. The course will begin with an overview of the Muslims' politico-military reactions to the Crusade expeditions and the development of the Muslim *jihad* policies during the 12th and 13th century. It will then explore major themes such as the Arabic sources on the Crusades, the Muslim views of the Franks, and the systematic efforts of major Muslim leaders, such as Zangi, Nur al-Din, and Saladin, to form cultural unity among the Muslims through the establishment of madrasas, Sufi shrines, and advancing the Sunni revival movement. Attention will also be given to aspects of Frankish-Muslim coexistence and cooperation, cultural and economic exchanges, and the role of Shi'i minorities during this period. The survey will conclude by examining the legacy of the Crusades in the modern Middle East and their depiction in modern politics and modern history writing in Arabic.

Overview of Course Content

- I. Introduction: What were the Crusades? What were the Muslim responses to the Crusades?
- II. The central Islamic lands at the eve of the First Crusade (1099)
- III. First Crusade to the fall of Frankish Edessa (1096-1146)
- IV. Second Crusade to the Frankish loss of Jerusalem (1148-1193): Nur al-Din, Saladin, and *jihad* intensification
- V. Later Ayyubids, Mamluks, Mongols, and end of Crusades (1193-1291)
- VI. Arabo-Islamic Sources on the Crusades
- VII. Religious, Cultural, and Institutional Responses to the Crusades: Sunni Revival, Sufism, and Extolling Jerusalem
- VIII. Shi'ism and the Crusades: The Isma'ilis
- IX. Muslim Views of the Crusaders and Muslim-Frankish Coexistence and Cooperation
- X. The Crusades Today: the modern Middle East and the legacy of the Crusades

Objectives of the Course

1. To acquire a competent understanding of the general politico-military history of the Muslim responses to the Crusades.
2. To gain a strong understanding of the main Muslim individuals, battles, and events involved during the Age of the Crusades.
3. To acquire a strong familiarity of several major themes relating to the Islamic perspectives on the Crusades.
4. To closely read and critique secondary scholarly literature on the Islamic history of the Crusades and to become familiar with modern scholarly debates on several topics within the field.
5. To introduce students to Arabic primary sources in translation relating to the Crusades.

Course Tests and Assignments: Evaluation (See A&S Marking Scheme Form)

Attendance & Participation	N/A		15 %
Quizzes (20%=5 quizzes x 4%)	Mon July 6	Quiz #1	4 %
	Wed July 8	Quiz #2	4 %
	Wed July 15	Quiz #3	4 %
	Mon July 27	Quiz #4	4 %
	Wed July 29	Quiz #5	4 % (20% total)
Map Test	Mon July 13		10 %
Midterm	Mon July 20		20 %
Faculty Final Examination	TBA (August 11-17)		35 %

COURSE WEBSITE ON BLACKBOARD (Bb)

Readings will be posted under the Course Materials folder. Lecture outlines and/or PowerPoint class presentations will be posted after each lecture. All announcements regarding the course will be emailed to students via Blackboard. Please make sure you visit Bb course website regularly.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

You are expected to complete required readings for each lecture before class. Readings for each class are listed below in the Tentative Lecture and Reading Schedule. Readings that are not part of the course textbooks will be posted on Blackboard. You are encouraged to read further on your own.

REQUIRED TEXTS

There are three required texts for the course. You must purchase the following two texts from the University of Toronto Bookstore:

- (1) Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- (2) Niall Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic Sources*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Also, you must download the following textbook from the University of Toronto Library (UTL) Catalogue:

- (3) Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*. Taylor & Francis e-Library edition. New York: Routledge, 2009 (UTL online).

TERM WORK

Attendance and participation (15%): You are expected to attend every lecture. This mark will reflect your attendance of lectures. There will be NO EXTRA POINTS FOR ASKING QUESTIONS. The attendance grade will only reflect your presence in the classroom and your participation in ANSWERING questions posed to students sometimes by the instructor during the lecture. That being said, I very much welcome any questions students might raise about the lecture content.

Map Test (10%): A sense of geography is essential to the study of Islamic history. This 15-minute map test is intended to familiarize you with the location of some major geographical features (regions, rivers, seas, cities, etc.), knowledge of which is necessary to an understanding of the Islamic Middle East during the Age of the Crusades and even the current events in the modern Middle East today.

The map test will take place at the beginning of Lecture 4, Monday July 13. Students are expected to answer a number of questions relating to geographical locations and then placing the answer for each question on a provided map.

Five (5) In-class Quizzes (5 x 4% = 20%): Five (5) in-class quizzes will test your reading and understanding of the required readings for the lecture on which each one of the five quizzes is scheduled. They will consist of short answers, fill in the blanks, multiple choice questions, chronology, and/or geographical knowledge.

In-class quizzes will take place at the beginning of the lecture. Quizzes will last 10-15 minutes. In order to have ample time to complete the quiz, and out of respect to your colleagues, please make sure you arrive to lectures on time.

Midterm (20%): The two-hour in-class midterm will test that you have read all required readings up to the midterm, followed and understood the lectures, and read and analysed the primary documents assigned for each lecture. The midterm will check your knowledge of major terms, concepts, individuals, events, chronology, and geographical knowledge and will identify your understanding and analysis of major issues in the field. The structure of the midterm will consist of a map exercise, short questions/fill in the blanks/choose the correct answer questions, a primary document analysis, and an essay question.

Faculty Final Exam (35%): The Faculty Final Exam is a cumulative/comprehensive exam and thus will cover the material from readings and lectures for the entire course. The Faculty Final Exam is three hours long. Its format will be similar to the midterm but longer. The Faculty Final Exam will take place during the official exam period (August 11-17). It is administered by the Registrar's office. Therefore, if you happen to miss the Faculty Final, you will have to petition to take a deferred exam (medical note and/or other supporting documents will be MANDATORY). **Do not make travel plans during the exam period until your exam schedule is confirmed.**

GRADING:

Please see the *Arts & Science Calendar for Summer 2015*. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with the Faculty of Arts and Science regulations, definition of grade categories (what is an A?, etc.), and other useful information.

ACCESSIBILITY NEEDS:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING COMPLETION OF TERM WORK:

You are responsible for completing the term work for this course (in-class map test, in-class quizzes, midterm, final exam, attendance) by the deadlines indicated. If you are experiencing personal difficulties or health problems during the course, you should consult with your college registrar immediately, not after the missed deadline or test!!! Faculty regulations will apply regarding all term work and exams. See relevant sections of the *Arts & Science Academic Handbook* or *Calendar Summer 2015*.

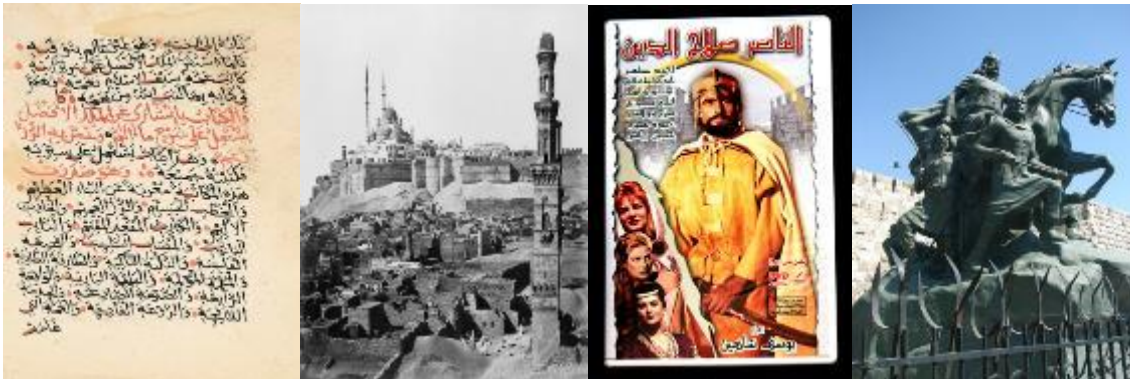
Medical excuses must be submitted on the University of Toronto Student Medical Certificate form; doctors' notes are no longer accepted. See the *Arts & Science, St. George Campus, Registration Handbook & Timetable, Summer 2015*.

CHEATING AND PLAGIARISM:

Cheating during quizzes, midterm, and/or final exam will not be tolerated. Students caught cheating shall be immediately asked to leave the classroom and will receive a zero. Further penalties may be applicable. Please consult the Faculty of Arts and Science Calendar and regulations. Although there are no take-home writing assignments, you are still expected to know what constitutes plagiarism. It is an academic offence which may have serious consequences. Please make sure you familiarize yourself with what constitutes plagiarism. Consult the writing website from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the Faculty's calendar and regulations.

COPYRIGHT IN COURSE LECTURES:

Please be advised that **to reproduce course material in any manner without the instructor's written permission is an infringement of copyright. You may NOT record a lecture without the instructor's written permission.** See *Arts & Science Calendar Summer 2015*, Copyright in Course Lectures.



**NMC277H1S – THE CRUSADES: ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES
LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE**

NOTE: Not all required readings and required primary sources for each lecture are from the three assigned textbooks for this course. Required readings and required primary sources that are not from the three assigned textbooks will be provided by the instructor on Blackboard under the “Course Materials” folder.

Monday June 29

LECTURE 1 – Course Introduction; Overview: Crusades and Muslim Counter-Crusades

Required Readings:

- Barker, “Crusades”, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. London, 1911, ONLY sections 1 (Meaning of the Crusades) and 2 (Historical Causes of the Crusades)
- Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 14-30.
- Irwin, “Muslim Responses to the Crusades”, pp. 43-49.
- Saunders, *History of Medieval Islam*, “The Christian Counter-Crusade”, pp. 154-67

Wednesday July 1 – NO CLASSES – Canada Day

Monday July 6

LECTURE 2 – The Political and Religious Landscape of the Islamic World at the Eve of the First Crusade

*****QUIZ #1*****

Required Readings:

- Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, Vol. II, “The Formation of the International Political Order, 945-1118,” pp. 12-28, 32-61 (SCAN ONLY – excellent for context)
- Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, pp. 6-17
- Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 31-50
- Humphreys, “Zengids, Ayyubids and Seljuqs” in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part II, pp. 721-32
- Leiser, “The Turks in Anatolia before the Ottomans” in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 2, pp. 299-305.
- Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040-1797*, “Institutions of Saljuq Government: Steppe and Sedentary Traditions”, pp 34-40.
- Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*, pp. 7-12.

Required Primary Sources:

- al-Jahiz, “From the Merits of the ‘Turks,’” in McNeil and Waldman, *The Islamic World*, pp. 113-17
- Allen and Amt, eds., *The Crusades: A Reader*, pp. 31-34 (Matthew of Edessa on the Seljuk Conquests)
- Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol*, pp. 37-44 (Account of Ibn al-Jawzi of Battle of Manzikert) (SCAN ONLY)

Wednesday July 8

LECTURE 3 – From the First Crusade to the Fall of Frankish Edessa (1096-1146): Muslim Disunity, Early Muslim Responses, and the Rise of ‘Imad al-Din Zangi

*****QUIZ #2*****

Required Readings:

- Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, pp. 18-29
- Hillenbrand, *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 50-84
- Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 38-57 (excellent survey of the events of the First Crusade)
- Irwin, “Islam and the Crusades, 1096-1699” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* pp. 211-227
- Humphreys, “Zengids, Ayyubids and Seljuqs”, pp. 732-37
- Dajani-Shakeel, “*Jihad* in Twelfth-Century Arabic Poetry: A Moral and Religious Force to Counter the Crusades”, pp. 96-103

Required Primary Sources:

- Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095 (Read first version by [Fulcher of Chartres](#), *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium*)
- Christie, pp. 127-128 (Doc 4), 129-131 (Doc 5i(a)-(c) ONLY), 133-135 (Doc 6)
- Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 17 (The effects in Baghdād of the events in Syria), 22-24 (The defeat and death of Roger of Antioch at Balāt– “Battle of *Ager Sanguinis*”), pp. 25-33 (excerpts on Zangi)

Monday July 13

LECTURE 4 – From the Second Crusade to the Fall of Jerusalem (1148-1193): Nur al-Din, Saladin and the intensification of *jihad*

*****MAP TEST*****

Required Readings:

- Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, pp. 30-57
- Hillenbrand, *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 116-195
- Humphreys, “Zengids, Ayyubids and Seljuqs”, pp. 737-47
- Tabbaa, “Monuments with a message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur al-Din” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, pp. 223-40
- Gibb, “The Achievement of Saladin”, pp. 44-60
- Holt, “Saladin and his Admirers”, pp. 235-239
- Talmon-Heller, “Islamic Preaching in Syria during the Counter-Crusade (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries)”, pp. 61-75

Required Primary Sources:

- Christie, pp. 135-37 (Doc 7), 138-39 (Doc 9)
- Gabrieli, pp. 39-43, 72-75, 83-102, 125-127, 133-40 (SCAN ONLY)



Wednesday July 15**LECTURE 5 – From Disunity to Final Muslim Victory (1193-1291): the Later Ayyubids, the Mamluks, Mongols, and the end of the Crusader presence in the Levant*******QUIZ #3*****Required Readings:

- Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, pp. 88-114
- Hillenbrand, *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 195-248
- Humphreys, “Zengids, Ayyubids and Seljuqs”, pp. 747-52.
- Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, “Introduction” and “Chapter 1”, pp. 1-23
- Saunders, *History of Medieval Islam*, Chapter 11, “The Mongol disaster,” pp. 170-86.

Required Primary Sources:

- Ibn Khaldun, “On the Mamluks (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries”, in Lewis, ed., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 97-99.
- Christie, pp. 153-158 (Docs. 16-17 – Fifth Crusade; Frederick II)
- Gabrieli, pp. 168-180 (Crusade of Louis IX and his capture; end of Ayyubids in Egypt)
- Christie, pp. 158-159 (Battle of ‘Ayn Jalut), 161-163 (Doc 20)

Monday July 20 – *MIDTERM*******Wednesday July 22****LECTURE 6 – Arabic Historiography of the Crusades: Arabic Sources on the Period**Required Readings:

- Guo, “History Writing” in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 4, pp. 444-53
- Gabrieli, “The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades,” pp. 98-107
- Ahmad, “Some Notes on Arabic Historiography during the Zengid and Ayyubid Periods (521/1127 – 648/1250),” pp. 79-97
- Dajani-Shakeel, “A Reassessment of Some Medieval and Modern Perceptions of the Counter-Crusade”, pp. 41-70
- Mallett, “Islamic Historians of the Ayyūbid Era and Muslim Rulers from the Early Crusading Period”, pp. 241-52
- Holt, “The sultan as ideal ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk prototypes”, pp. 122-37

Recommended (NOT REQUIRED) Readings:

- Hillenbrand, “Sources in Arabic,” pp. 283-304
- Little, “Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk epochs”, pp. 412-432
- Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic historiography: Authors as Actors*, pp. 15-42



Monday July 27

LECTURE 7 – Religious, Institutional, and Cultural Responses to Crusades: Sunni Revival, Madrasa Institution, Sufism, and Extolling Jerusalem

*****QUIZ #4*****

Required Readings:

A. *Sunni Revival and Madrasa Institution*

- Tabaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art During the Sunni Revival*, pp. 11-24
- Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800*, “A Sunni Revival?”, pp. 189-202
- “Madrasa” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., READ ONLY section 4 “4. The origin and spread of the madrasa proper” (UTL online)
- Leiser, “The madrasa and Islamization of the Middle East – The Case of Egypt”, pp. 29-47

B. *Sufism*

- Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, pp. 77-81
- Ephrat and Mahamid, “The Creation of Sufi Spheres”, pp. 1-20 (SCAN only).
- Makdisi, “Sunni Revival”, 155-68 (SCAN only but focus on role of Sufism in Sunni Revival)

C. *Extolling Jerusalem and Merits of Pilgrimage*

- Sivan, “The Beginnings of the *Faḍā'il al-Quds* Literature”, pp. 263-71
- Dajani Shakeel, “Al-Quds: Jerusalem in the Consciousness of the Counter-Crusade”, pp. 201-21

Required Primary Sources:

- Gabrieli, p. 103 (Saladin instituting madrasas)
- Christie, pp. 137-138 (al-Wasiti, Extracts from *The Merits of Jerusalem* (Doc. 8))

Wednesday July 29

LECTURE 8 – Shi'ism and the Crusades: The Isma'ilis

*****QUIZ #5*****

Required Readings

- Daftary, “Varieties of Islam” in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol.4, pp. 122-30, 136-39.
- Haidar, *Shi'i Islam*, pp. 123-137
- Bernard Lewis, “The Isma'ilis and the Assassins”, 99–132
- Daftary, *The Isma'ilis in Medieval Muslim Societies*, “The Syrian Ismailis and the Crusaders: History and Myth”, pp. 149-70

Monday August 3 – NO CLASSES: CIVIC HOLIDAY



Wednesday August 6

LECTURE 9 – A. Muslim Views of the Crusaders;

B. Muslim-Frankish Cultural, Diplomatic, and Economic Exchanges

Required Readings:

A. *Muslim Views of the Crusaders*

- “*djuḡhrāfiyā*” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, (UTL online) (SCAN ONLY to understand the richness of geography and travel accounts in medieval Islamic history)
- Hillenbrand, *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 257-283, 286-291, 308-310, 336-341, 347-351

B. *Cooperation and Coexistence: Cultural, Diplomatic, and Economic Exchange*

- Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, pp. 62-76
- Hillenbrand, *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 352-363, 370-378, 381-420
- Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant”, pp. 190-99
- Limor, “Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem Between Christianity, Judaism and Islam,” pp. 219-231.

Required Primary Sources:

- Christie, pp. 125-127 (Doc. 3: Al-Mas’udi on the Franks); pp. 159-161 (Qalawun’s Treaty with the Lady of Tyre, 1285) (Doc 19))
- Gabrieli, pp. 44-48 (from Usama b. Munqidh’s *Book of Wisdom*), 49-51

Monday August 10

Lecture 10 – The Crusades Today: the Modern Middle East and the Legacy of the Crusades

Required Readings:

- Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders*, 112-119
- Hillenbrand, *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 589-614
- Abouali, “Saladin’s Legacy in the Middle East before the Nineteenth Century”, pp. 175-185
- Chamberlain, “Imagining Defeat: An Arabic Historiography of the Crusades”, pp. 21-62 (full text online on google)
- Peters, “The Firanj Are Coming—Again” (2004), pp. 3-17
- David Ohana, “Are Israelis the New Crusaders?”, pp. 36-42

August 11-17 – *FINAL EXAM (TBA)*****



BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ASSIGNED READINGS

Abouali, Diana. "Saladin's Legacy in the Middle East before the Nineteenth Century" *Crusades* 10 (2011): 175-185.

Ahmad, M. Hilmy M. "Some Notes on Arabic Historiography during the Zengid and Ayyubid Periods (521/1127 – 648/1250)," in Bernard Lewis & P.M. Holt, ed., *Historians of the Middle East*, 79-97. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Allen, S.J. and Emilie Amt, eds. *The Crusades: A Reader*, second edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Azzam, A. R. *Saladin*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009.

Barker, Ernest. "Crusades." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. London, 1911, sections 1 (Meaning of the Crusades) and 2 (Historical Causes of the Crusades) only (online: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Crusades).

Berkey, Jonathan P. "A Sunni Revival?" *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 189-202 (UTL online).

Chamberlain, John M. "Imagining Defeat: An Arabic Historiography of the Crusades", M.A. Dissertation, Naval Postgraduate Academy, 2007.

Christie, Niall. *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic Sources*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Daftary, Farhad. "Varieties of Islam" in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 4, edited by Robert Irwin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Daftary, Farhad. *The Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies, 149-70*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Dajani Shakeel, Hadia. "Al-Quds: Jerusalem in the Consciousness of the Counter-Crusade." In *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, edited by V.P. Goss, pp. 201-21.

Dajani-Shakeel, Hadia. "A Reassessment of Some Medieval and Modern Perceptions of the Counter-Crusade." In *The Jihad and its Times*, edited by *idem* and Ronald A. Messier, 41-70. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Centre for Near Eastern and North African Studies, University of Michigan, 1991.

Dajani-Shakeel, Hadia. "Jihad in Twelfth-Century Arabic Poetry: A Moral and Religious Force to Counter the Crusades" *The Muslim World* 66.2 (1976): 96-113.

"djughrāfiyā", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

Ephrat, Daphna and Hatim Mahamid. "The Creation of Sufi Spheres in Medieval Damascus (mid-6th/12th to mid-8th/14th centuries)" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Series 3* (October 2014): 1 – 20.

Gabrieli, Francesco. "The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades," in Bernard Lewis & P.M. Holt, ed., *Historians of the Middle East*, 98-107. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Gabrieli, Francesco. *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, Taylor & Francis e-Library edition. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Gibb, H. A. R. "The Achievement of Saladin" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952-53): 44-60.

Guo, Li. "History Writing" in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 4, edited by Robert Irwin, 444-457. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Haider, Najam. *Shi'i Islam*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Hillenbrand, C. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Hillenbrand, Carole. "Sources in Arabic," in Mary Whitby, ed., *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources 1025-1204*, 283-340. Oxford: British Academy, 2007.

Hillenbrand, Carole. *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: the Battle of Manzikert*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

Hirschler, Konrad. *Medieval Arabic historiography: Authors as Actors*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

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Holt, P. M. "Saladin and his Admirers" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46.2 (1983): 235-239.

Holt, P. M. "The sultan as ideal ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk prototypes." In *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: the Ottoman Empire in the early modern world*, edited by Metin Kunt & C.Woodhead, 122-137. London: Longman, 1995.

Holt, P.M. *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh century to 1517*. London; New York : Longman, 1986.

Humphreys, Stephen. "Zengids, Ayyubids and Seljuqs" in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part II, edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 721-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 (UTL online)

Irwin, Robert. "Islam and the Crusades, 1096-1699" in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, edited by Jonathan Riley-Smith. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999 (UTL online).

Irwin, Robert. "Muslim Responses to the Crusades" (1997), *History Today* 47.4: 43-49 (online UTL).

Irwin, Robert. *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the early Mamluk sultanate, 1250-1382*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986.

Kedar, Benjamin Z. "Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant" in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, edited by James Muldoon, 190-99. Gainesville, 1997.

Leiser, Gary. "The madrasa and Islamization of the Middle East – The Case of Egypt" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 29-47.

Leiser, Gary. "The Turks in Anatolia before the Ottomans" in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 2, 299-312. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 (UTL online).

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Lewis, Bernard. "The Isma'īlīs and the Assassins." In *A History of the Crusades*. Vol.1, *The First Hundred Years*, edited by Marshall W. Baldwin, 99–132. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

Limor, Ora. "Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem Between Christianity, Judaism and Islam," Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (eds.), *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar* (Aldershot, 2007) 219-231.

Little, Donald P., "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk epochs" in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Vol. 1, edited by Carl F. Petry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

MacEvitt, Christopher. *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

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Mallett, Alex. "Islamic Historians of the Ayyūbid Era and Muslim Rulers from the Early Crusading Period: A Study in the Use of History." *Al-Masāq* 24.3 (2012): 241-52.

Mayer, Hans Eberhard. "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" in *The Eastern Mediterranean frontier of Latin Christendom*, edited by Jace Stuckey, 355-67.

Mayer, Hans Eberhard. *The Crusades*. Translated by John Gillingham. translated by John Gillingham, 2nd edition. New York : Oxford University Press, 1988.

McNeill, William H. and Marilyn Robinson Waldman, eds. *The Islāmic world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Morgan, David. "Institutions of Saljuq Government: Steppe and Sedentary Traditions" in *Medieval Persia, 1040-1797*, pp 34-40.

Ohana, David. "Are Israelis the New Crusaders?" *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture* 13.3 (2006): 36-42.

Peters, Edward. "The Firanj Are Coming—Again" *Orbis* 48.1 (2004): 3-17.

Pope Urban II, Speech at Clermont, 1095 (version by [Fulcher of Chartres](#): *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium*), online: Medieval Sourcebook, Fordham University <<http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/urban2-5vers.asp#Fulcher>>.

Saunders, J. J. *History of Medieval Islam*. London; New York: Routledge, 1990.

Sivan, Emanuel. 1971. "The Beginnings of the *Faḍā'il al-Quds* Literature." *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 263-71.

Tabaa, Yasser. *The Transformation of Islamic Art During the Sunni Revival*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Tabbaa, Yasser. "Monuments with a message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur al-Din" in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, edited by V.P. Goss, 223-40. Kalamazoo, 1986.

Talmon-Heller, Daniella. "Islamic Preaching in Syria during the Counter-Crusade (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries)" in *In laudem hierosolymitani: studies in Crusades and medieval culture in honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, edited by Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 61-75. Aldershot, U.K.; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.