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“GOD WILLS IT!”: UNDERSTANDING THE CRUSADES COURSE GUIDE



Professor Thomas F. Madden
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

“God Wills It!”: Understanding the Crusades

Professor Thomas F. Madden

Saint Louis University



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"God Wills It!":
Understanding the Crusades
Professor Thomas F. Madden



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Course Syllabus

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About Your Professor

Thomas F. Madden

Thomas F. Madden is a professor of history and chair of the Department of History at Saint Louis University. His numerous scholarly publications include *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), and *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), coauthored with Donald E. Queller. He is a recognized expert on pre-modern European history, frequently appearing in such venues as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, National Public Radio, the Discovery Channel, and the History Channel.

You will get the most out of this course if you have the following book:

The New Concise History of the Crusades by Thomas F. Madden.



Introduction

As late as 1518, plans were laid by Pope Leo X and the monarchs of Europe to set aside their internal quarrels and once more embark on a holy crusade to wrest the Middle East from the Ottoman Turks. Finding accord and even enthusiasm for the enterprise, all was on course for a multiyear military campaign to push east from North Africa through Egypt and south through the Balkans to squeeze the Turks in a pincer movement and finally oust the Muslims from the Holy Land. The great plan, however, died when Europe was once again plunged into internal strife with the death of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, who had been a leader for the crusade.

Even this event in conjunction with the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation, the rise of ever-stronger Ottoman leaders, and the political conflicts throughout Europe did not completely erase the idea of crusading. Today, the military orders of the Teutonic Knights and the Knights Hospitallers continue to care for the poor and the sick, albeit without raising armies to fight.

For over 400 years, crusaders ("those signed by the cross"), out of Christian zeal, a declared love for their fellow man, and, in many cases, a simple desire for fortune, glory, and heavenly reward, marched to the Holy Land to battle both a real and perceived threat to their way of life and their religious beliefs. The story of the many crusades are filled with an unremitting passion to keep or return the home of Christianity to Christians. It is also filled with death, destruction, disorder, greed, avarice, and self-interest on all sides.

Much of what occurred during the Crusades has come down to us today in the form of continued suspicion among religious ideologies—not only between Christians and Muslims, but also internally among Christian sects and, to some degree, among Muslim sects. There is certainly much to learn about our own history from a better understanding of the Crusades and what led so many to crusade.

Lecture 1: The Medieval Background of the Crusades

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Thomas F. Madden's *Crusades: The Illustrated History*, introduction.

I. The Middle Ages are traditionally defined as that period of European history between the fall of the Roman Empire in the West (ca. 450) and the fall of Constantinople in the East (1453).

- A. Although often called the "Dark Ages," the medieval period was in fact a time of great innovation and progress.
- B. Nevertheless, it was a world very unlike our own.
- C. The Crusades grew out of the unique conditions that existed at that time. They were a defining component of the medieval world.

II. The Rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire.

- A. Christianity spread in large urban areas.
 - 1. It was particularly popular among the lower classes as well as some aristocratic women.
 - 2. Approximately 10 to 15 percent of the Roman population was Christian by 300 A.D.
- B. Ecclesiology, or the way in which the Church was ordered, was important to Christians, for they believed that the institution was an essential conduit of revelation and salvation.
 - 1. At the highest level is God, who provides salvation through Christ and His Church.
 - 2. The Apostolic Foundation was instituted by Christ and forms the basis for the episcopacy.
 - 3. Bishops with special authority were called Patriarchs.
 - a. Initially, there were three: Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria.
 - b. Later, two more were added: Constantinople and Jerusalem.
 - 4. Divine truth could be revealed in Church Councils, which were gatherings of patriarchs and other bishops.
 - 5. The bishop, or patriarch, of Rome, known as the pope, claimed special authority because he was the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.
- C. The Roman emperor Constantine converted to Christianity after his victory at the Battle of Milvian Bridge in 312.
 - 1. Suddenly, Christianity became a true mainstream religion.
 - 2. In order to repair the Church after many persecutions and heretical movements, Constantine organized the Council of Nicea in 325. Orthodoxy was defined and a creed was written.

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- D. Under the sponsorship of the emperors, Christianity spread rapidly among all segments of the Roman population. The Romans outlawed paganism in 392, making Christianity the official religion of the Empire.

III. After the fall of Rome in the West, it continued for another millennium in the East. Historians call the Roman Empire after 476 A.D. the “Byzantine Empire.”

- A. Constantine built a new capital for the Roman Empire in the East in 330.
1. Originally a Greek town called Byzantium, Constantine renamed it New Rome. However, it was commonly called “Constantine’s city” or Constantinople.
 2. Constantinople was built on an optimum strategic location.
 3. It would remain the greatest city in Christendom for many centuries.
- B. Although the Byzantines remained interested in events in western Europe, their attention was increasingly taken up by those in the eastern Mediterranean.

IV. Germanic tribes, known as barbarians, invaded Europe and dismembered the Roman Empire there.

- A. The Germans were, to varying degrees, Romanized.
- B. Most Germans were Arian Christians, but they would later convert to Roman Catholicism.
- C. Germans settled in various parts of Europe, laying the seeds for later kingdoms.

V. The fall of Rome led to dramatic changes in Europe.

- A. Cities were depopulated.
- B. The economy became local, agricultural, and primitive.
- C. Manors became the new focus of everyday life.

VI. New military technologies like the stirrup made it necessary for Europeans to find some way of providing sufficient wealth to a new military aristocracy without a money economy or even basic literacy. The answer was feudalism.

Feudalism is based on a mutual agreement between a lord and his vassal.

- A. The lord gives the use of lands to the vassal and promises to protect him and respect his traditional rights.
- B. The vassal promises to serve the lord with military troops annually.

VII. New and enormously destructive invasions hit Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries.

- A. The invasions led to an increased militarization of Europe.
- B. The Church in Europe was hit especially hard.
1. Monastic discipline declined.
 2. Clerical abuses such as simony, nicolaism, and concubinage became common.

VIII. Beginning in the tenth century, a new breed of reformers, coming first from Cluny, began to restore discipline and piety to the monasteries of Europe.

The reformers also wished to reform the Church as a whole in order to end the abuses.

- A. All reformers agreed that papal authority over the Church must be restored.
- B. Many reformers also sought to eliminate what they saw as the root cause of the abuses: lay control over the clergy.

IX. The German Emperor Henry III put reformers in as pope in Rome.

- A. Leo IX (1049-54) was a tireless reformer, convening synods across Europe.
 - 1. Reform in Italy, however, led to friction with the Byzantine Christians in the East.
 - 2. In an attempt to end quarrels, Leo sent Cardinal Humbert to Constantinople.
 - a. Humbert and Patriarch Cerularius were antagonistic.
 - b. In 1054, Humbert excommunicated the patriarch, causing what is traditionally viewed as a schism between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches.
 - c. In fact, though, there was no schism—yet.
- B. Henry III died in 1056, leaving a very young son, Henry IV.
 - 1. Taking advantage of a weak regent government, Pope Nicholas II (1058-61) issued the Papal Election Decree in 1059.
 - 2. Nicholas made an alliance with the Normans of southern Italy.
 - 3. These moves led to increased tensions between the papacy and the German Empire (sometimes known as the Holy Roman Empire).

X. Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) pursued the next stage of the reform agenda—to remove lay control over ecclesiastical appointments.

- A. In 1075, Gregory prohibited lay investiture of clergy.
 - 1. Henry IV defied the papal edict.
 - 2. Gregory excommunicated and deposed Henry.
- B. At Canossa in 1077, Henry begged forgiveness from the pope in order to retain his throne.

XI. Church reform and an increase in papal authority in Europe will continue throughout the next century, despite attempts of the German emperors to impede them.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What sort of relationship formed between Christianity and the Roman Empire?
2. How were medieval reformers able to make their ideas become a reality in the Church?
3. How might these medieval developments have led to the Crusades?

Suggested Reading

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Cowdrey, H.E.J. *Pope Gregory VII*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

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Lecture 2: Islam: Faith, Culture, Empire

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Bernard Lewis's *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople: Politics and War*.

I. Islam began with Muhammad (570-632), an Arab merchant and resident of Mecca.

- A. Muhammad and his followers believed that in 610 he began receiving divine revelations that continued throughout the remainder of his life. For twelve years, Muhammad preached in Mecca, gaining him the enmity of the ruling aristocracy.
- B. In 622, Muhammad and his followers left Mecca to take over the government of Medina. This *Hegira*, or flight, serves as the beginning of the Muslim calendar.
At Medina, Islam became not only a religion, but a form of government.
- C. Muhammad waged wars against Mecca, finally conquering it in 630. By his death in 632, he was the ruler of all Arabia.

II. Islam as a faith has its roots in Judaism and Christianity.

Muhammad believed that he was a prophet of the God of Abraham.

- A. Muhammad's recitations were later collected in the Koran, which Muslims believe is the perfect Word of God.
- B. A firmly monotheistic faith, Islam had no mediation between God and man.
- C. The Muslim faithful are required to pray five times daily, give alms, fast during Ramadan, and, if possible, make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during one's life.

III. The concept of holy war, or *jihad* (literally "struggle"), was born during Muhammad's wars and was further developed during his successors' subsequent military conquests.

- A. Muhammad preached that the "greater *jihad*" was the internal struggle to live a good and pious life.
- B. The "lesser *jihad*" referred to wars against non-Muslims.
 - 1. The expansion of Islam through *jihad* led to the concept of the *dar al-Islam* (Abode of Islam) and the *dar al-harb* (Abode of War). It was, therefore, the responsibility of the faithful to wage *jihad* in the *dar al-harb* in order to expand the *dar al-Islam* and thus bring unity and peace to the entire world.
 - 2. People of the Book were understood to be those who accepted the God of the Jewish scriptures—namely Christians and Jews, although some included Persian Zoroastrians. Once conquered, People of the Book could retain their religion provided they paid a

special tax and accepted a second-class status. Those who were not People of the Book were to be given the option of conversion to Islam or death.

IV. After Muhammad's death, Muslim armies stormed out of Arabia seeking to conquer other lands and thereby expand the *dar al-Islam*.

- A. By 640, they had conquered Christian Syria and Palestine.
- B. In 642, they conquered Christian Egypt.
- C. By 644, Muslim armies had swept through Zoroastrian Persia, conquering the entire empire.
- D. The Christian Berbers in North Africa put up a good fight, yet by 695 the Muslims had conquered the whole region.
- E. The Muslims crossed into Europe at the Strait of Gibraltar. The Muslim armies conquered Christian Spain and then crossed over the Pyrenees into France, finally being halted at the Battle of Poitiers in 732.

V. Within a century after Muhammad's death, Muslim armies had conquered all of the Persian Empire and a good three-quarters of the Christian world. How was this possible?

- A. The great empires of Persia and Rome (Byzantium) were exhausted after a grueling two-decade long war that had ended in 628.
- B. The Monophysite Controversy in Syria and Egypt had divided Christians in their faith and their loyalty to Constantinople.
- C. There was also a fair share of military bungling that benefited the Arabs.

VI. The new Islamic empire was ruled by caliphs, or successors to Muhammad.

- A. Muhammad had no son, so the first caliphs were taken from his inner circle of followers. The capital of the empire, therefore, remained at Medina.

All of these early caliphs were victims of assassination brought about by intrigue and fierce rivalry.

- B. A dispute arose concerning the nature of the caliphate, particularly after the elevation of Othman in 644 signaled a shift to the aristocracy of Mecca. Many argued that only one related by blood to Muhammad could become caliph.
 - 1. A civil war broke out between supporters of Ali, a cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, and those of the Umayyad family.
 - 2. By 661, the Umayyads had won, yet Ali's supporters remained and continued to insist on his heirs' true legitimacy.
 - 3. Those who supported Ali and his heirs were the Shiites, while those who did not were the Sunni. Both sides would remain hostile to each other.

VII. The Umayyads moved the capital to Damascus, which was more centrally located.

- A. Power in the empire was increasingly based on Arab identity rather than simply Islamic faith. Arabs often remained separate from local populations and conversions were even discouraged.
- B. Yet conversions occurred nonetheless. Non-Arab Muslims, or *mawali*, were actively discriminated against, yet they continued to rise in power and prominence.

VIII. The *mawali* helped to overthrow the Umayyads, ushering in the new Abbasid caliphate in 750.

- A. The basis of power was once again the Islamic faith.
- B. The capital was moved to Baghdad and the caliphs adopted a Persian/Byzantine style of rulership.
- C. Although in theory the *dar al-Islam* or *umma* (community of all Muslims) was one, in reality it split into competing caliphates and emirates.

IX. The impressive victories of Islam were at the expense of its religious neighbors.

- A. Zoroastrianism was virtually wiped out, surviving only in small pockets in Persia.
- B. The most Christian areas of the world—Egypt, Palestine, and Syria—became solidly Muslim. The Christian world was reduced to parts of Europe and Asia Minor as well as Ethiopia.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How was Islam so successful so quickly?
2. In what ways did Arab Muslims react to those they conquered?
3. How might the expansion of Islam have led to the Crusades?

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Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Lecture 3: Pope Urban II and the Calling of the First Crusade

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*.

I. By the end of the eleventh century, it was clear that the papacy was winning its struggle against the German emperors.

- A. Secular lords were increasingly willing to accept the concept that election of clergy, especially bishops and abbots, should be done with a minimum of lay interference.
- B. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 brought a formal end to the Investiture Controversy.
- C. The victory of the reformers meant that the papacy was replacing the German emperors as the defender of the faith and recognized leader of western Christendom.
- D. Having reformed the monasteries and the secular clergy, reformers began to set their sights on all of Christian society.

They hoped to find a way to apply the selflessness and piety of the monastery to every walk of life, including the warriors.

II. In the East, a new and powerful people, the Seljuk Turks, had swept into the region early in the eleventh century, conquering Armenia, Syria, and Palestine.

- A. The Turks were Muslims, but not Arabs.
- B. After conquering Baghdad, they controlled puppet Abbasid caliphs.
However, since the Turks were themselves split into factions, peace in the region was seriously disrupted.
- C. The Turkish conquest of Jerusalem led to some persecutions of Christian clergy and pilgrims.

III. Turkish warriors waged *jihad* against the Christian Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor.

- A. In 1071, at the Battle of Manzikert, the Turks crushed the Byzantine army and captured Emperor Romanus IV. They then quickly overran the entire region, almost to the walls of Constantinople.
- B. Desperate for help, the Byzantines turned to the Christians of western Europe.
 - 1. Pope Gregory VII made plans to raise and lead a large army from across Europe to push back the Muslim conquests.
 - 2. However, his subsequent quarrel with Henry IV and the ensuing Investiture Controversy made such an action impossible.

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- C. A new emperor, Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), once again asked for assistance—and now the papacy was in a position to respond.

IV. Pope Urban II continued to feud with the German emperor, yet by 1094, when he was restored to Rome, he clearly had the upper hand.

- A. At the Council of Piacenza in March 1095, he received an embassy from Constantinople asking the Christians of the West to take pity on those in the East and help to restore their lost lands to them.
- B. At the Council of Clermont in November 1095, Urban II took the Byzantine request to the knights of Europe. This was the call of the First Crusade.
1. Urban realized that simply restoring Asia Minor might not be sufficient motivation for Christian knights who had never heard of the place.
He, therefore, expanded the appeal, asking them not only to push back the Turkish conquests in Asia Minor, but to restore Jerusalem itself to Christian control.
 2. Urban described the persecutions of Christians in the Holy Land and called on knights to right these wrongs.
 3. He urged the warriors to stop their destructive fighting at home and use their swords for a good and just cause.
Church leaders had tried unsuccessfully for some time to lower the level of violence in Europe, using such initiatives as the Truce of God and Peace of God.
 4. What made this a crusade, however, was the indulgence. The pope promised a full remission of the temporal penalties of sin for all those who joined the effort.
- C. The assembled knights responded with the cry, “God wills it!”

V. Preachers were sent out across Europe to proclaim the crusade.

- A. Reactions were similar everywhere. Many people were outraged at the actions of the Muslims against Christians and were determined to do something about it.
- B. Urban made clear that only warriors should answer the call.
1. Monks were forbidden to leave their monasteries.
 2. Women, children, the elderly, and the poor were told to pray for success, but not to join.
 3. Nevertheless, many noncombatants joined anyway.

VI. Urban II set August 15, 1096, as the departure date for the crusade armies. Across Europe, preparations were made. Something unprecedented in history was about to happen.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What were the factors that led to the calling of the First Crusade?
2. What was the purpose of the First Crusade? How did it compare with the request of Alexius I?
3. Was there any relationship between the idea of reform and the First Crusade?

Suggested Reading

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Lecture 4: The First Crusade

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Thomas S. Asbridge's *The First Crusade: A New History*.

I. Across Europe preparations were underway for this enormous task.

In Byzantium, Emperor Alexius I was preparing provisions and markets for the thousands of soldiers who would cross his lands to rendezvous at Constantinople before crossing the Bosphorus to Asia Minor.

II. The most famous crusade preacher, Peter the Hermit, developed a large following in France and Germany.

A. His preaching had become a crusade unto itself, sometimes called the "People's Crusade."

B. Unlike the main crusade, Peter's followers were primarily not skilled warriors, but rather common folk filled with religious zeal.

C. Peter and his followers did not wait for the official departure date, but crossed Hungary, Bulgaria, and Greece with great destruction to arrive at Constantinople in August 1096.

1. Peter's crusade was then merged with that of another popular leader, Walter Sansavoir.

2. Alexius I urged the ragtag army to wait until the main body of the crusade arrived, but they refused.

D. After some petty raiding near Nicea, the People's Crusade was wiped out by Turkish forces. Only Peter, who had been away at the time, survived.

III. Some popular movements never got as far as Peter's followers. In Germany, a motley collection of would-be crusaders following Emicho of Leiningen decided to wage war against the Jews of the Rhineland.

A. They reasoned, wrongly, that the Jews were the enemies of Christ just as much as the Muslims. Their money could be used for the crusade.

B. Despite attempts by local bishops to save the Jews, many were massacred.

IV. The main body of the First Crusade departed on time in August 1096. It included many powerful lords and their followers.

A. Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of the king of France, lost much of his army on the way to Constantinople.

B. Godfrey of Bouillon, the duke of Lower Lorraine, had liquidated much of his property to bring a sizeable army of followers, including his brother, Baldwin of Boulogne.

After crossing through Hungary, he arrived at Constantinople in December 1096.

C. Bohemond of Taranto, the son of the Norman leader Robert Guiscard, held some lands in southern Italy.

1. With his father, Bohemond had previously waged war against Alexius I, seeking to conquer much of Greece.
2. He seems to have had clear ambitions to expand his meager territorial holdings.
3. He traveled through Greece peacefully, arriving in Constantinople in April 1097.

D. Raymond of Toulouse was the most powerful and wealthy of the barons to join the crusade. His lands in southern France were exceptionally rich.

1. He was accompanied by the papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy.
2. After a difficult journey overland, he arrived at Constantinople in April 1097.

V. Alexius I was both pleased and alarmed at the size of the crusader army. This was more than he had expected or probably wanted.

He insisted that each of the major barons swear an oath that all lands that had previously belonged to the Roman Empire be returned to him.

- A. After some cajoling, all took the oath except Raymond.
- B. The count of Toulouse swore to respect Alexius's rights and that was all.

VI. The capital of the Turkish sultan in Asia Minor was at Nicea, a city of importance to Christians for many centuries.

The crusaders, joined with some Byzantine forces, marched to the city and surrounded it.

- A. The Turkish leader, Kilij Arslan, attacked the crusaders, but was defeated.
- B. Nicea capitulated, surrendering to the Byzantine officials.

VII. With Nicea once again restored to Christian hands, the crusade began the difficult march across central Anatolia during the heat of summer.

- A. Another attack by Kilij Arslan was deflected.
- B. In October 1097, the crusade finally arrived at the great city of Antioch, one of the ancient patriarchal sees of Christianity.

VIII. The crusade camped outside the mighty walls of Antioch throughout winter 1097-98.

- A. Hunger and starvation were rampant.
- B. In such difficulties, many saw visions of Christ, the Virgin, and saints who promised victory and assistance.
- C. News arrived that the atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha, had assembled a large army and was coming to Antioch to crush the crusaders.

D. Desertions soared.

1. Stephen of Blois, fleeing across Anatolia, informed Alexius I that the situation was hopeless. As a result, the emperor retreated back to Constantinople.

When news of the retreat reached Antioch, many repudiated their oaths to the emperor.

2. Even Peter the Hermit fled, although he returned and was forgiven.

E. Bohemond was able to corrupt a captain of the guard in Antioch.

In June 1098, the crusaders entered the city under cover of darkness and captured it.

F. Kerbogha arrived and invested Antioch. The situation seemed hopeless.

1. A mystic claimed to have discovered the Holy Lance, which Raymond henceforth carried into battle.
2. The crusaders sallied forth in late June. The Turkish forces collapsed almost without a fight.

IX. During the summer of 1098, the crusade remained in Antioch.

- A. It was decided that Bohemond would rule the city and its region as the first ruler of the new Principality of Antioch.
- B. Similarly, Baldwin of Boulogne had come to control nearby Edessa, thus creating the County of Edessa.
- C. Raymond was given the command of the crusade.

X. In January 1099, Raymond led the crusade army south into Syria.

- A. The previous year, Egyptian armies under the Fatimid caliphate, a rival to the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, had attacked and expelled the Turks in Palestine.

Thus, the Turks in Syria had no interest in protecting Jerusalem, since it was held by their enemies.

- B. Provided that the crusaders left the various cities unmolested, the Turkish emirs were willing to allow the crusade army to pass.

XI. In June 1099, the crusade arrived at heavily fortified Jerusalem.

- A. Supplies were low and the summer heat was horrendous.
- B. The first attack failed.
- C. After several visions and a sermon by Peter the Hermit, they attacked again on July 13. The battle raged day and night until July 15, when the city fell to the crusaders.
- D. Some of the inhabitants were massacred, although most were allowed to leave.
- E. The First Crusade, against all odds, had succeeded.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Was the First Crusade successful? Why or why not?
2. Why were the Jews targeted by some crusaders?
3. How did the First Crusade affect relations between the crusaders from the West and the Byzantines?

Suggested Reading

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Lecture 5: What Were the Crusades? Who Were the Crusaders?

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Jonathan Riley-Smith's *What Were the Crusades?*

I. Unlike Islam, Christianity had no concept of holy war or even a well-formed belief on the morality of war during its early centuries.

- A. Unlike Muhammad, Jesus Christ had no armies at his disposal or any desire to conquer neighboring people. Unlike the early caliphs, the Apostles did not lead armies across the known world.

Early Christians debated whether they could take part in war or serve in the military and whether wars could ever be just.

- B. After the conversion of Constantine, when Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman Empire, questions of warfare were again examined.

- C. St. Augustine of Hippo laid the foundation for Christian attitudes toward war.

1. Provided one lived a good and honest life, one could serve in the military and still be a good Christian.
2. Wars could be just if they were a last resort and if the alternative was worse than the war.
3. Nevertheless, warfare was a sometimes necessary evil, but it could not be sanctified. It certainly could not be used as a tool for expanding Christianity.

II. In the Byzantine Empire, where Christianity and the Roman state were joined tightly together, all warfare had at least some element of religious trappings.

- A. During the Persian War, Emperor Heraclius (610-41) characterized the Byzantine efforts as a war against unbelievers in defense of the Christian faith.
- B. Yet this rhetoric did not resurface when the Muslim Arabs attacked, conquering most of the Byzantine Empire.
- C. Christians in the East accepted that war was necessary, but they nonetheless held that killing, in whatever form, was inherently sinful. Christian soldiers in the East would do penance for the enemy that they killed.

III. In western Europe, popular concepts of holy war grew out of the circumstances Christians found themselves in.

- A. The Muslim conquest of Spain brought Europeans in direct contact with *jihad*.

1. A thin strip of Christian-held territory became famous for Santiago de Compostela, where the relic of St. James was discovered. An important pilgrimage site, it became the rallying point for the *reconquista*.
 2. Church leaders urged Christian warriors to turn back the Muslim conquest of Spain, yet they did not offer spiritual rewards or sanctify the war.
 3. Christian and Muslim soldiers, however, naturally saw themselves as involved in holy war.
- B. During the struggle between the German Empire and the papacy, popes sometimes offered spiritual incentives for those who fought to defend the Church.

IV. In declaring the First Crusade, Urban II did not break with St. Augustine's teaching on warfare.

- A. The word "crusade" was not known or used at the time. Instead, the movement was known as a pilgrimage.
1. The crusade was an armed pilgrimage—something very common at this time, although not on this scale.
 2. The crusade indulgence was a pilgrim's indulgence.
- B. To the practice of pilgrimage, Urban added concepts such as Christian charity.

V. Crusade preachers brought the idea of crusading to people across Europe.

- A. Crusading was an act of love—the love of neighbor.
- B. Crusading was an act of justice, for the Christians in the East had lost their properties and sometimes their lives as a result of unprovoked attacks.
- C. Crusading was akin to an act of feudal duty, for as the servants of the Lord, knights were bound to restore God's patrimony, the Holy Land.

VI. The decision to join a crusade entailed taking a vow similar to existing pilgrims' vow. This was called "taking the cross."

- A. The crusader swore to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher.
- B. His arms were blessed to avenge the injuries done to Christians and to Christ Himself.
- C. Those under the cross received privileges and protections until their vow was complete.

VII. Crusading was extremely expensive, costing three or more times one's annual income.

- A. For this reason, crusade armies crystallized around wealthy lords, who could afford not only to support themselves, but also others.
1. Frequently, vassals would join, sometimes at their own expense.
 2. Family members frequently joined as well. Some families acquired long traditions of crusading.

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- B. It was once wrongly believed that crusaders were “second sons” with no wealth.
1. In truth, it was those with the most to lose who took the cross.
 2. Tangible returns were scarce. Booty was rare. The vast majority of crusaders desired only to complete their task and return home.
- C. Almost half of all crusaders never came home.

VIII. What motivated crusaders?

- A. Above all, a desire for eternal salvation.
1. Europe's feudal aristocracy was a warrior class intensely aware of their sinfulness.
 2. Monasteries, the recipients of noble largess, were the conduit of both reform and crusade ideas to the aristocracy.
- B. The culture of chivalry enjoined warriors to help the weak and defenseless against those who preyed upon them.
- C. Muslim attacks on Christendom became the basis of a family vendetta-type response.
- D. Many joined because of family or feudal ties.
- E. Some hoped for booty or lands. Pious and profane goals were in no way seen as contradictory.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What were the differences and similarities between *jihad* and crusade?
2. What was the relationship between the traditional practice of Christian pilgrimage and crusading?
3. If crusading was so costly, why did so many do it?

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Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *What Were the Crusades?* Third edition. San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2002.

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Lecture 6: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is P.M. Holt's *The Crusader States and Their Neighbours*.

- I. When the First Crusade began, the general assumption was that the Byzantine emperor would receive back any lands that the crusaders conquered.**
 - A. Alexius I's failure to assist at Antioch caused most of the crusaders to repudiate that idea.
 - B. Who then should rule in Jerusalem?
 - 1. Some believed that the Church should govern the Holy Land, just as it did in the Patrimony of St. Peter in Italy.
 - 2. A crown was offered to Raymond of Toulouse, but he coyly refused it.
 - C. Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the title Protector of the Holy Sepulcher.
- II. Godfrey unified the remaining crusaders, including Raymond, and led a surprise attack against the Egyptian forces at Ascalon.**
 - A. Most of the crusaders returned to Europe shortly thereafter.
 - B. On July 18, 1100, Godfrey died. His brother, Baldwin of Edessa, became King Baldwin I (1100-1118).
- III. The Crusade of 1101 was actually the last phase of the First Crusade.**
 - A. Those who delayed or were delayed set out to win victories just as the main body had done.
 - 1. Deserters, like Stephen of Blois, were shamed into returning.
 - 2. Many of these armies were crushed by Turkish forces.
 - B. The Republic of Venice sent a large fleet that helped to conquer Haifa.
- IV. The main task of the fledgling kingdom was to establish strategic control of the coast.**
 - A. Several coastal cities were captured by the Crusade of 1101.
 - B. The Genoese helped Baldwin I to conquer Acre in 1104.
 - C. Raymond of Toulouse, with the help of Baldwin I, conquered Tripoli and its lands in 1109.
 - D. With the help of the Norwegian King Sigurd, Baldwin captured Sidon and Beirut in 1110.

V. The new king, Baldwin II (1118-31), called on Europeans to take up the crusade to help the kingdom.

- A. Venice organized a massive fleet led by the doge himself.
- B. In 1123, the Venetian fleet destroyed the Egyptian navy.
- C. In 1124, the Venetians helped to conquer Tyre, giving the Christians control of the coast.

VI. The permanent presence of a Latin kingdom in the Holy Land and the need to safeguard the ever-growing number of pilgrims led to the creation of military orders.

- A. These represented the culmination of ideas for the complete reform of the warrior classes, fusing together the monastic and military.
- B. The Order of Knights Templar began with Hugh of Payns, a knight of Champagne, who began a small group of warriors living under monastic vows and devoted to protecting pilgrims.
 - 1. St. Bernard of Clairvaux championed the concept in his work, *On the New Chivalry*.
 - 2. The Templars were officially authorized in 1128.
 - 3. As they grew, the Templars took on two different roles.
 - a. In the Holy Land, they provided a permanent fighting force and built mammoth fortifications.
 - b. In Europe, they established houses to collect funds for the Holy Land and to provide banking services for pilgrims.
- C. The Knight of the Hospital of St. John (Knights Hospitaller) began in 1113 as an organization to provide services for poor pilgrims.

As time went on, they were entrusted with various strongholds and therefore developed a military arm of the order.

VII. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was organized at the highest levels according to the only system that the Europeans understood: feudalism. It consisted of the following:

- A. The crown lands of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.
- B. The County of Tripoli.
- C. The County of Edessa.
- D. The legal status of the Principality of Antioch was never clear, but it was a crusader state and closely associated with Jerusalem.

VIII. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was able to prosper and grow only because of rampant disunity in the Muslim world.

- A. Few Muslims knew or cared about crusades or crusading. The Europeans were simply the Franj—one more group vying for power in the turbulent region.
- B. Occasionally, there were calls for *jihad* against Christians, but disunity kept these calls from being realized.

IX. The Muslim leader of Aleppo and Mosul, Imad ad-Din Zengi, was the first to use the rhetoric of *jihad* in order to consolidate more power for himself.

- A. Although his power grew, he was unable to capture Muslim Damascus, which made an alliance with the Christians.
- B. In 1144, Zengi and his Turkish and Kurdish forces conquered Edessa and the entire county. It was the first of the crusader states to fall.
- C. In 1146, Zengi was murdered by a household slave.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did Europeans approach the administration of the new crusader states?
2. Why were military orders necessary?
3. Why did it take so long for Muslims to unify in order to fight the crusader states?

Suggested Reading

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Lecture 7: The Second Crusade

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Thomas F. Madden's *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, chapter 3.

I. The conquest of Edessa in 1144 sent shock waves across Europe.

- A. The rise of Zengi threatened the survival of the crusader states and Christian control of the Holy Land.
- B. Two generations had been nurtured on the heroic deeds of the First Crusade. It was natural that they would view their own responses in light of that expedition.

II. Pope Eugenius III issued *Quantum praedecessores* on December 1, 1145.

- A. This crusade bull became the standard for all subsequent crusade calls.
- B. It looked back on the First Crusade and mourned recent events in the East.
- C. It granted privileges to crusaders, including suspension of debts and protection of property.

III. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, a member of the Cistercian order (a reformed Benedictine order), was famous across Europe for his holiness.

- A. Bernard, who had already championed the "new chivalry," embraced the new crusade.
- B. In his writings, he formulated many important concepts of the crusading ideal.
 - 1. With the Holy Land already in Christian hands, pilgrimage could no longer be a primary rationale for the expedition.
Although crusaders would remain pilgrims and would visit Jerusalem, that was not the primary goal of the crusade.
 - 2. The loss of Edessa was, Bernard wrote, a rare gift, for it gave this generation the opportunity to win salvation by doing God's work.
 - 3. Just as the First Crusade had been blessed by victories, so would this crusade, for it too marched for God.
- C. Bernard sent Cistercian preachers across Europe to promote the crusade. Bernard himself preached to the king of France and the king of Germany.

IV. King Louis VII of France (1137-80) and his wife, Queen Eleanor, both took the cross from Bernard.

- A. Louis was a pious man who had long wanted to crusade.
- B. Eleanor, who was the heiress of Aquitaine, was a product of the sophisticated culture of southern France.
- C. Roger II of Sicily attempted to use the crusade to his advantage. He offered to transport the French army by sea if they would help him against his Byzantine enemies.

Louis, who wanted to walk in the footsteps of the First Crusade, declined.

V. Pope Eugenius had previously made an alliance with the Germans, Byzantines, and Venetians against the Normans in Italy. He did not want Germany involved in this crusade.

- A. Bernard, however, was forced to travel to Germany to stop another rash of anti-Jewish pogroms. His presence brought the crusade to Germany.
- B. He personally preached to Conrad III (1138-52), who took the cross and began assembling a large army.
- C. The Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus (1143-80), was unhappy with the crusade, for it disrupted his plans to reconquer southern Italy as well as his peaceful relations with the Turks.

A truce with the Turks gave further evidence to Europeans that Byzantines were apostates and weak.

VI. Conrad III and his German crusaders arrived at Constantinople in September 1147.

- A. The trip across the Byzantine Empire had been destructive. The German troops were equally troublesome in the suburbs of the capital.
- B. Manuel I, eager to salvage the anti-Norman alliance, attempted to reason with Conrad.

Because of the disruptive nature of the Germans, Manuel at last transported them to Asia Minor.

- C. Just as the First Crusade had done, the Germans marched to Nicea, which was still in Christian hands.
- D. Still following the First Crusade, Conrad led his troops across Anatolia toward Antioch.
 - 1. Just as had happened during the First Crusade, an army of Turks attacked the crusaders near Dorylaeum.
 - 2. However, the Turks were now well acquainted with Western forces and tactics. They crushed the Germans, killing most of the crusade army.

- E. Conrad and the remnants of his forces returned to Nicea to await the French.

VII. Louis VII and the French crusade forces arrived at Constantinople in October 1147. After a brief stay in the opulent city, they crossed the Bosphorus and went to Nicea.

Louis and Conrad decided to take the coastal route to Antioch, thus remaining in Byzantine territory as long as possible.

- A. Conrad later fell ill, so he returned to Constantinople, where he was cared for by Manuel. He later sailed directly to Jerusalem.
- B. The crusade's march through Byzantine territory was disastrous.
 - 1. Unhappy with the availability and price of provisions, crusaders often took what they wanted.
 - 2. Byzantine forces frequently skirmished with crusaders to defend Byzantine property.
- C. Louis VII became increasingly convinced that Manuel was purposely weakening the crusade on behalf of the Turks.
- D. At Adalia, it became clear that the only safe way to Antioch was by sea. Yet the Byzantines could not provide a fleet large enough.

Much of the French army was forced to make the overland journey. Only a few made it to Antioch.

VIII. Antioch was ruled by Raymond, the uncle of Queen Eleanor.

- A. Raymond urged Louis to help him to capture Aleppo and enlisted his niece's support.

Rumors spread of an affair between Raymond and Eleanor.
- B. Eleanor threatened to seek annulment of her marriage to Louis if he did not join forces with her uncle and attack Aleppo.

Louis placed Eleanor under house arrest and departed Antioch, heading for Jerusalem.

IX. In June 1148, the kings of Germany and France convened an assembly of all of the barons of the crusader states.

- A. Edessa was no longer a realistic goal.
- B. They decided to attack Damascus, despite its alliance with the king of Jerusalem.
 - 1. The siege in July lasted only four days before it was declared untenable and abandoned.
 - 2. Damascus was now a close enemy.

X. The crusade was over.

- A. In September, Conrad returned to Constantinople to plot with Manuel against the Normans.
- B. Louis remained in Palestine during the winter, hoping to convince Eleanor to relent. He finally returned home in Spring 1149.
 - 1. Eleanor received her annulment and shortly afterward married Henry Plantagenet, thus later becoming queen of England when he was crowned Henry II.

2. Louis blamed his defeat on the Byzantines and vowed to organize a crusade against them.

C. Europeans were stunned at the defeat of the Second Crusade.

1. Bernard of Clairvaux provided an explanation. God was punishing Europe for its sinfulness. Success in the East could only come through the purification of Christian society.

2. This concept would reverberate throughout the Middle Ages.

XI. The Second Crusade made matters worse in the crusader states, not better.

Damascus surrendered to Zengi's heir, Nur ed-Din, making him the strongest Muslim leader the Christians had yet faced.

Like Zengi, Nur ed-Din called for a unifying *jihad* against the Christians.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What role did Bernard of Clairvaux play in Europeans' understanding of crusading?
2. Why did the Second Crusade fail?
3. How did the Second Crusade affect relations between the Christian West and East?

Suggested Reading

Madden, Thomas F. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*. Revised edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.

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Lecture 8: The Third Crusade

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is John Gillingham's *Richard I*.

I. In the aftermath of the Second Crusade, Nur ed-Din continued to consolidate and expand his power in Syria, becoming a dangerous threat to the Christian kingdom.

- A. The Shiite Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt was crumbling, torn by factionalism. Nur ed-Din hoped to extend his control over it, thus unifying the Muslims in the region.

He was opposed by the kings of Jerusalem, who also intervened in Egypt to acquire it outright or at least keep it from Nur ed-Din.

- B. Nur ed-Din became the theoretical power in Egypt when his man, Saladin, became vizier in Cairo.

1. In September 1171, Saladin deposed the last Fatimid caliph, thus unifying the Muslims behind the Sunni Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, who was controlled by Nur ed-Din.

2. In reality, though, Saladin had a great deal of power in Egypt, which Nur ed-Din feared would be used against him.

II. Like Nur ed-Din, Saladin believed that Muslims in the region could be united under the banner of *jihad* against the crusader states.

- A. He believed that God would grant success only by purifying Islamic society. To that end, he built schools, ended unjust taxation, and enforced Islamic law.

- B. When Nur ed-Din died in May 1174, Saladin claimed to be his heir.

1. Saladin quickly occupied Damascus and waged war against his rivals to consolidate his power in Syria.

2. Thus Saladin succeeded in uniting Syria and Egypt under his control.

- C. Saladin was further helped by the Battle of Myrioccephalum in 1176, in which the Byzantine forces under Manuel I Comnenus were crushed by the Turks of Asia Minor.

1. As a result, the Byzantine emperors could no longer afford to play a role in Syria, Palestine, or Egypt.

2. In 1180, Saladin made an alliance with the Turkish sultan.

3. He subsequently made a treaty of friendship with Emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1183-85).

a. When news of this treaty reached the West, it led to bitter recriminations against the Byzantines.

- b. Relations between Christians in the West and East had reached a new low, as the massacre of Europeans in Constantinople in 1182 made plain.

D. With the crusader states isolated, Saladin continued to beat the drum of *jihad*, waiting for an opportunity to break his previous truce with the Christians.

III. The King of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV (1174-85), was a leper and not expected to live long. He was incapable of producing an heir. He had two sisters, Sybilla and Isabella.

- A. The aristocracy of the kingdom was torn by factionalism as players jockeyed for position when the inevitable occurred.
- B. After the death of Baldwin IV and his young nephew, Baldwin V (1185-86), the Kingdom of Jerusalem broke apart into civil war.
- C. Sybilla and her husband, Guy of Lusignan, were crowned, but opposed by Raymond of Tripoli.
- D. Reynald of Châtillon, a ruthless French adventurer, declared his own lands autonomous to Jerusalem and began attacking Muslim caravans. Enraged at this breach of the truce, Saladin declared war against the Christians. The great *jihad* began.

IV. With Muslims of the region united under his rule, Saladin raised an enormous army, which met the combined Christian forces at the Battle of Hattin in July 1187.

- A. Saladin outwitted the Christians, leading them into a trap. The defeat of the Christian forces was total.
 - 1. King Guy and most of the barons were captured as well as thousands of other soldiers.
 - 2. Thousands of Knights Hospitaller and Knights Templar were executed.
 - 3. The relic of the True Cross, which the Christians carried into battle, was captured and brought back to Damascus to be defiled.
- B. With most of the Christian forces in the region dead or in prison, the crusader states were nearly defenseless. Saladin swept through them.
 - 1. Acre surrendered to Saladin in July.
 - 2. Ascalon surrendered in September.
 - 3. Finally, on October 2, Jerusalem itself surrendered to Saladin. Saladin agreed not to massacre the inhabitants in return for leaving the Muslim holy sites untouched.
 - 4. Tyre surrendered, but was saved at the last moment by the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat and his forces.

V. The loss of both Jerusalem and the True Cross shook Europe to its core. No Christian was unaffected by the news.

- A. Pope Gregory VIII at once issued the crusade bull, *Audita Tremenda*, which called for enlistment of the military and spiritual resources of Europe to turn back the recent conquests.

- B. The Norman King William II of Sicily took the cross and led a sizeable fleet to Tripoli, which they saved from conquest. William died soon afterward.

VI. The Third Crusade would enlist the most powerful kings in Europe.

- A. King Henry II of England (1154-89) and King Philip II of France (1180-1223) agreed to cease their current war against each other and depart on crusade in 1189.
- B. Henry's subsequent death left the crown of England to his son, Richard the Lionheart (1189-99).
 - 1. Richard, the son of Eleanor of Aquitaine who had taken part in the Second Crusade, was the product of courtly, chivalric culture. He had taken the cross even before his father.
 - 2. The "Saladin Tithe" in England brought Richard a great deal of money with which to prosecute his crusade.
- C. The German Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-90) also took the cross.
 - 1. He led a massive army across the Byzantine Empire toward Constantinople.
 - 2. The Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185-95) had made a secret treaty with Saladin to impede the crusade.
 - 3. After briefly seizing Adrianople, Frederick's forces crossed into Asia Minor in April 1190.
 - 4. In May 1190, the Germans won a resounding victory against the forces of the Turks.
 - 5. On June 10, 1190, Frederick died while crossing a river. Most of his army returned home.

VII. Conrad of Montferrat, having saved Tyre, took command of the remaining Christian forces and the city.

- A. In June 1188, Saladin released King Guy and most of his barons on the promise that they would not take up arms against him. They traveled to Tyre. Conrad refused to recognize Guy's rights.
- B. Guy, joined by new crusader arrivals, went to Acre and laid siege to the city. His forces continued to grow.
- C. Although Conrad relented, accepting Guy as king, he retracted his approval after the death of Guy's wife, Sibylla, in October 1190.
 - 1. The only heir to the crown was Isabella, who was married already.
 - 2. Conrad had her marriage annulled and married her himself.
 - 3. Conrad withdrew from Acre to Tyre to await the arrival of the kings.

VIII. In July 1190, the combined forces of Richard and Philip departed from Marseilles. They spent the winter at Sicily.

- A. Relations between Richard and Philip were tense.

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1. Although Philip's vassal for his French lands, Richard had much more money and greater authority among the troops than Philip.
 2. Richard had broken his engagement to Philip's sister.
- B. Philip departed in the spring and arrived at Acre in April 1191. He placed his support behind Conrad of Montferrat to be king of Jerusalem.
- C. Richard and his fleet left shortly thereafter.
1. Tossed by storms, several of their vessels wrecked at Cyprus.
 2. The ruler of Cyprus, a Byzantine rebel called Isaac Comnenus, captured the people and refused to surrender them.
 3. Richard attacked Cyprus, quickly conquering the entire island. It became a crucial base for the Third Crusade and a stronghold for Christians in the East for centuries.
 4. While at Cyprus, Guy came to Richard to ask for his support. Richard agreed.
- D. Richard's fleet arrived at Acre in June 1191, destroying a Muslim reinforcement convoy on the way.
- E. Acre surrendered on July 12, 1191.
- When Saladin failed to keep his end of the bargain, Richard ordered the massacre of the Muslim garrison.
- F. Richard, Philip, and the barons decided the dispute between Guy and Conrad.
1. Guy would retain the crown for life.
 2. Conrad and his heirs would claim it subsequently.
- Displeased with this, Conrad removed his forces to Tyre, refusing to take part in the crusade.
3. Philip returned home to France and began attacking Richard's French lands.

IX. Richard led the crusade south to Jaffa.

- A. In September 1191, Saladin and his armies ambushed the crusade at Arsuf. Richard defeated Saladin soundly. Saladin would never again risk open battle with Richard.
- B. Saladin abandoned Jaffa and Ascalon, heading to Jerusalem.
- C. Richard marched inland to Jerusalem, but in January 1192, retreated without attacking.

X. Richard realized that he could not remain in the East.

- A. In order to create a lasting solution to the problem of the crown, he agreed to allow Conrad to be crowned king of Jerusalem.
 1. Guy of Lusignan received Cyprus.
 2. In April 1192, Conrad was killed by a radical Muslim sect known as the Assassins.
 3. Henry of Champagne became the new king.

B. The crusade again marched to Jerusalem in June 1192.

Richard judged that it was impossible to hold and suggested an attack on Egypt instead.

C. In September 1192, Richard and Saladin agreed to a three-year truce.

1. The Christians had to return Ascalon, but could keep the rest of the coastal cities.

2. Jerusalem was opened for unarmed Christian pilgrims.

D. Richard vowed to return.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Why was the Kingdom of Jerusalem in such a desperate condition?
2. How had the role of the Byzantine Empire changed?
3. Was the Third Crusade a success or failure?

Suggested Reading

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Lecture 9: The Fourth Crusade

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Jonathan Phillips's *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*.

I. A new and energetic pope, Innocent III (1198-1216), was determined to restore Jerusalem and the True Cross to Christian control.

- A. The state of the Holy Land was seen as a mirror of the state of Christendom. Only by pious reform, good works, and devotion to Christ and His Church could it be restored.
- B. Innocent hoped to harness all of Europe's energies for a great crusade, which he called during the first year of his pontificate.
 - 1. He instituted an unprecedented tax on the clergy, which would be used to fund crusaders and support the crusader states.
 - 2. The laity were enjoined to make contributions at the parish level.
 - 3. Prayers and fasting were called for across Europe.
- C. Because the march across the Byzantine Empire had become so difficult, Innocent envisioned a large crusade traveling by sea to the East.
 - 1. He sent a legate to Venice, asking that they have mercy on the Holy Land by joining a great crusade.
 - 2. The Venetians, led by Doge Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205), were willing, provided that a crusade army materialized.
- D. Innocent sent another legate to France to broker a truce between Richard the Lionheart of England and Philip II of France.
 - 1. No crusade could depart with France's nobles busy with this war.
 - 2. Innocent may have hoped that Richard would make good on his vow to return to the Holy Land.
- E. In March 1199, Richard was killed in a siege. Enthusiasm for the crusade waned.

II. Several powerful barons attending a knightly tournament in November 1199 agreed to take the cross.

- A. Thibaut of Champagne was the brother of Henry of Champagne, who had previously ruled the kingdom of Jerusalem.
- B. Thibaut's cousin, Count Louis of Blois, also joined.
- C. In February 1200, Count Baldwin of Flanders took the cross, along with his wife, Marie of Champagne.
- D. With these barons came many other lesser lords and vassals. The crusade was beginning to come to life.

III. The leading barons met at Soissons in March 1200 to decide on how best to proceed.

- A. They agreed to travel by sea to Egypt to crush the basis of Muslim power in the region.

The destination, however, would be kept secret from the rank-and-file crusaders.

- B. In order to acquire vessels and provisions, six trusted envoys were sent with blank parchments to make the best possible arrangements.

Among these was Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the Marshal of Champagne, who later wrote a chronicle of the Fourth Crusade.

IV. The envoys went to Venice and appealed to Doge Dandolo and his people to assist them in the crusade.

- A. After some negotiations, the Venetians agreed to provide a fleet and provisions for 33,500 men and 4,500 horses for one year for 85,000 silver marks.

- B. In addition, the Venetians agreed to join the crusade themselves with fifty well-armed war galleys.

- C. All booty would be split evenly between the Venetians and other crusaders.

- D. The fleet would be ready to sail by June 1202.

- E. The treaty was sent to Pope Innocent III, who ratified it.

V. Thibaut of Champagne died in May 1201, leading the barons to offer command of the crusade to Boniface of Montferrat, the brother of Conrad of Montferrat.

VI. At enormous expense, the Venetians fulfilled their part of the treaty. All was in readiness for the crusaders.

- A. Unfortunately, many crusaders decided to find their own way to the East.

1. Approximately 11,000 men arrived in Venice during the summer.

2. The lack of men meant that the crusaders were unable to pay for what they had ordered.

3. The summer passed with no resolution.

- B. To break the impasse, Dandolo and the Venetians offered to loan the crusaders their outstanding debt until they could acquire it in booty.

1. No interest would be charged; however, the crusaders would have to travel with the Venetians to restore Zara, a rebellious city, to Venetian control.

2. Some crusaders objected to attacking a Christian city.

- C. Doge Enrico Dandolo took the cross himself and the fleet departed in October 1202.

VII. The crusade captured Zara in November and remained there for the winter.

- A. Because Innocent III had forbidden the attack, the crusade was automatically excommunicated.
- B. The crusaders requested absolution, but the Venetians did not.
- C. With most of their provisions consumed and little left of the year's lease on the vessels, the crusade was in desperate straits.

VIII. Alexius Angelus, a Byzantine claimant to the throne, contacted the crusaders.

- A. Alexius's father, Isaac II, had been deposed and blinded by his own brother, who was then crowned Alexius III (1195-1203). Alexius claimed that he was the rightful emperor and asked for the crusaders' help.
- B. In return for placing him on the throne in Constantinople, Alexius offered the following:
 - 1. Two hundred thousand silver marks.
 - 2. To join the crusade for one year with 10,000 men.
 - 3. To establish a permanent garrison of 500 knights in the Holy Land.
 - 4. To place the Orthodox Church in submission to the pope in Rome.
- C. After much contention, the crusaders agreed to make a detour to Constantinople.

IX. The crusade arrived at Constantinople in June 1203.

- A. Although Alexius had promised that the people would overthrow his uncle, this did not happen.
- B. In July, the crusade attacked Constantinople's northern walls.
 - 1. Fires set by the Venetians caused considerable damage in that part of the city.
 - 2. Fearing a coup, Alexius III fled during the night.
- C. Blind Isaac II was restored to the throne. His son, Alexius, was crowned coemperor Alexius IV (1203-4).
 - 1. Alexius paid half of the money he promised, but soon found it impossible to do more.
 - 2. He was becoming extremely unpopular with the Byzantine people.
- D. Alexius IV asked the crusaders to spend the winter at Constantinople to give him time to consolidate his power and pay them their due. They agreed.

X. Relations between the westerners and Byzantines quickly began to sour.

- A. In August 1203, some resident Pisans with the help of some crusaders set fires in the city that soon spread to become one of the greatest urban conflagrations in human history.

The hatred for the westerners was now so great that Alexius could no longer pay them and keep his throne.

- B. Tired of waiting, the crusaders demanded payment in November and were chased out of the city. Hostilities erupted as the crusaders began to “pay ourselves.”
- C. Isaac II died and Alexius IV was unable to stop the crusader attacks.

XI. A palace functionary, Mourtzouphlus, arranged a coup against Alexius in February 1204.

- A. After having Alexius strangled, Mourtzouphlus was crowned Alexius V.
- B. The crusaders were appalled by the coup.

With no money or provisions, the crusaders could neither go forward, backward, or stay where they were.

- C. The crusade clergy made a ruling that the murder of Alexius and the Byzantine failure to accept the primacy of Rome made Constantinople a legitimate target of a crusade.

This was in direct opposition to the commands of Innocent III, who forbade any attack on Christians and especially on Constantinople.

- D. On April 8, 1204, the crusade made a failed attack on the northern harbor walls.
- E. On April 12, 1204, the crusade made a second attack at the same location.

Because of the efforts of a small group of knights, and an armed priest named Alleumes of Clari, the crusaders gained entry into the city.

- F. Mourtzouphlus attempted to rally the citizens to resist the crusaders, but failed.

XII. On April 13, the city was handed over to the crusaders.

- A. They put it to the sack for three days—one of the most profitable sacks in history.

Enormous amounts of gold, silver, precious gems, and holy relics were transported to Europe.

- B. When Innocent III heard of the conquest of Constantinople, he was at first overjoyed that the rebellious city that had foiled previous crusades was in Catholic hands.

When he learned of the sack of the city, however, he bitterly rebuked the crusaders and the clergy.

XIII. The crusaders elected a new emperor, Baldwin of Flanders, who became the first ruler of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

- A. There was great hope in the West that this would lead to Christian unity and great successes in the Holy Land. It did neither.
- B. The Latin Empire was always teetering on the brink of destruction, preyed upon by various Byzantine successor states.

This led popes to call crusades to prop up the empire, thus diverting European crusading energy away from the Holy Land.

- C. The conquest of Constantinople would also have a long-lasting effect on relations between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, which remains to this day.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was at the root of the Fourth Crusade's troubles?
2. Was the failure of the Fourth Crusade planned or the result of an accident?
3. The Fourth Crusade is usually characterized as a great fiasco. Is this justified?

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Other Books of Interest

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Madden, Thomas F. *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

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Lecture 10: Crusades in Europe

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Jonathan Sumption's *The Albigensian Crusade*.

I. The concept of waging war to defend the Catholic faith and church was older than the Crusades.

- A. For centuries, popes had blessed and promoted the campaigns to reconquer Spain from the Muslims, known as the *reconquista*.
- B. Charlemagne (768-814) had waged wars in Saxony to capture territory and convert pagans.
- C. Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) had called on warriors to defend the Church against the German Empire.

II. Because the purpose of the Crusades was to defend against the enemies of Christ and His Church, it was natural enough to direct them not only against Muslim conquerors of Christian lands, but also to those in Europe who set themselves against the faith or the pope.

Historians refer to "political crusades" as those expeditions called by popes and blessed with indulgences that were aimed at militarily defeating the enemies of the pope.

- A. These enemies could be, and usually were, Christians. Yet they were also excommunicates actively working against the interests of the papacy.
- B. Innocent III, for example, called a crusade in 1199 against Markward of Anweiler when the latter usurped papal authority in southern Italy and Sicily.
- C. There were numerous such crusades throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern period.

III. There were continuous crusades in northern Europe directed against pagans.

During the Second Crusade, St. Bernard of Clairvaux obtained papal authorization to direct some of the German crusaders against the pagan Wends, living east of Elbe River.

- A. The purpose of the Wendish Crusade was to put a stop to attacks on Christians, but this, Bernard believed, was possible only if the Wends were converted to Christianity.
- B. Crusading in the Baltic continued throughout the Middle Ages.
Popes regularly renewed crusade privileges for those fighting in the region.

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- C. The Teutonic Knights, a military order based in Germany, received in 1226 charters from the emperor and pope confirming that any pagan lands conquered in Prussia would belong to the pope and would be held in perpetuity by the Knights.

The Teutonic Knights and other military orders built prosperous Christian states in the region.

IV. The largest of the crusades against medieval heresy was the Albigensian Crusade.

- A. Heresy in the Middle Ages was not a matter of religious diversity. It was seen as a deadly cancer on the political, cultural, and spiritual body of western Europe. Heresy doomed the heretic and endangered all Christians.
- B. Among the most resilient medieval heresies was Catharism, a dualist belief.
1. Dualists held that the universe was locked in a struggle between evil matter and good spirits.
 2. Cathars were of two sorts:
 - a. Perfects were a clergy, ministering to the faithful and living according to strictest regulations.
 - b. Believers corresponded to the laity. They were not required to obey all of the rules, although they were enjoined to do their best.
 3. Catharism took root in the prosperous port areas of northern Italy and southern France.
 - a. It appealed especially to the aristocracy in the sophisticated court culture of the Languedoc.
 - b. Catharism was particularly prevalent in the area of Albi, and thus was also called Albigensianism.
 - c. Because it gained noble adherents and support, Catharism was in little danger of persecution there, and so it flourished.
- C. Pope Innocent III sent several papal legates to the region in order to reform the Church and see that secular lords did their best to combat the heresy.
1. The legates were opposed by local church leaders and lay lords.
 2. Raymond VI of Toulouse, the most powerful magnate in the region, was openly hostile to the legates and favorable to the Cathars.

In 1207, Innocent excommunicated Raymond and placed his lands under interdict. Raymond ignored it.
- D. Innocent III also sought to bypass the corrupt or lethargic local clergy.
1. He authorized the creation of the first mendicant order, the Dominicans.
 2. Led by St. Dominic, the Dominicans were well trained in theology and rhetoric, so that they could openly preach and debate with heretics.
 3. Their apostolic poverty was an effective counter to the asceticism of the perfects.

E. Despite these measures, Catharism continued to enjoy popularity.

In January 1208, the papal legate to Toulouse was assassinated after being threatened by Raymond. This was the last straw.

V. In March 1208, Innocent III proclaimed a crusade to capture the lands of those lords who were either heretics themselves or refused to combat heresy.

A. Unlike crusading to the East, pilgrimage clearly had no role to play in the Albigensian Crusade. How then was the crusade vow to be fulfilled?

Innocent decreed that forty days of service constituted the fulfillment of the crusade vow.

B. The response in northern France was tremendous.

C. Raymond of Toulouse quickly changed his mind. In June 1209, he repented of his sins and joined the crusade.

D. In the summer of 1209, the crusade conquered Béziers and Carcassonne, two hotbeds of Catharism.

E. Control of these conquered areas needed to go to someone. Simon de Montfort, who had previously taken part in the Fourth Crusade, was chosen as permanent leader of the Albigensian Crusade.

Simon was faced with the problem of short-term vows, which made each season's victories difficult to hold.

F. Raymond of Toulouse began to work against the crusade, and so he was once again excommunicated in 1211.

G. King Peter of Aragon, who had recently won a great victory against the Muslims in Spain, placed Toulouse under his protection in 1212.

1. Peter attempted to end the crusade, but was unsuccessful.

2. At the Battle of Muret in September 1213, Peter was killed by the Albigensian Crusade.

H. A final settlement of the crusade was decided at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

1. Simon de Montfort's conquests were confirmed as his property.

2. Raymond VI of Toulouse was deprived of his lands.

Provence was to be held until his son, Raymond VII, came of age.

3. With that settled, the crusade indulgence was revoked so that energies could be put into the newly called Fifth Crusade.

I. When Raymond VII came of age, he led an initially successful rebellion against Simon.

1. However, King Louis VIII of France (1223-26) declared war and forced Raymond to back down.

2. At the Peace of Paris in 1229, Raymond VII was absolved and allowed to keep some of his lands. However, the lands would be inherited by the children of his daughter, Joan, who was married to Alphonse of Poitiers, a member of the Capetian royal family.

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- J. The crusade paved the way for the coming of the Inquisition, which eventually extinguished the heresy.

VI. Although not officially crusades, numerous popular uprisings occurred that claimed to have that status.

- A. Popular piety was at extraordinary levels in the high and late Middle Ages.
1. All Christians were deeply troubled by the state of Jerusalem and the True Cross as well as the repeated failures of crusades to the East.
 2. This led some to believe that only the “Holy Poor” could rectify the situation.
- B. During 1212, there were multiple popular movements that historians have referred to collectively as the “Children’s Crusade.”
1. A young man, Nicholas of Cologne, led a popular movement through the Rhineland and across the Alps.
Many remained in Genoa. A few others went to Rome or even to join the Fifth Crusade.
 2. In France, a young shepherd, Stephen of Cloyes, received a letter from Jesus and began a large procession to give it to the king.
 3. Neither of these movements, or others like them, were crusades.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How was it possible to have a crusade that never left Europe?
2. How could one justify calling a crusade against a heresy?
3. What conditions might have led to popular uprisings like the Children's Crusade?

Suggested Reading

Sumption, Jonathan. *The Albigensian Crusade*. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 2000.

Other Books of Interest

Barber, Malcolm. *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*. New York: Pearson Education, 2000.

Christiansen, Eric. *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100-1525*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1981.

Housley, Norman J. *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

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Lecture 11: The Fifth Crusade

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Thomas F. Madden's *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, chapter 7.

I. The state of Jerusalem and the True Cross, both in Muslim hands, remained a constant source of concern for all Christians in western Europe.

- A. Despite the failure of the Fourth Crusade and the necessities of the Albigensian Crusade, Innocent III remained determined to restore Jerusalem to Christian control.
- B. By 1213, he had already suspended the indulgence for the Albigensian Crusade to free up crusaders to go to the East.
- C. In April 1213, he proclaimed a new crusade to rescue Jerusalem in the papal encyclical, *Quia maior*.
 - 1. The crusader states were in danger. Muslim forces were fortifying Mount Tabor, the site of the Transfiguration, to begin a final assault.
 - 2. All Christians, no matter who they were, were enjoined to take part.
 - a. Warriors could take the cross and join the crusade.
 - b. Those unable to fight should pray, fast, and contribute funds to support the crusaders.
 - 3. Crusade preaching was to be strictly controlled by the pope.
 - 4. Innocent was determined that this crusade would not spin out of his control like the Fourth Crusade.
- D. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, plans for the crusade were hammered out.
 - 1. All crusaders were to depart on June 1, 1217.
 - 2. All clergy were to be taxed to support the crusade.

II. There was great enthusiasm for the crusade throughout Europe.

- A. Duke Leopold VI of Austria joined with many of his vassals.
- B. King Andrew of Hungary, who had long put off his crusading vow, boarded vessels to join the effort.
- C. The young Emperor Frederick II of the German Empire (1212-50) and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies surprised everyone by taking the cross and promising to put considerable resources behind the restoration of the Holy Land.

III. Austrian and Hungarian crusaders arrived at Acre, the new de facto capital of the crusader kingdom, in 1217.

- A. They were joined by local barons, including John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem.

In council, they decided to follow the advice of Richard the Lionheart and the original plan of the Fourth Crusade—to attack Egypt in order to secure permanent control of Jerusalem.

- B. Because Frederick II and his armies were expected soon, the crusaders decided to wait. They did attack the fortification on Mount Tabor, without success.
- C. Andrew of Hungary declared his vow fulfilled and returned home.
- D. Oliver of Paderborn and his German crusaders soon arrived to fill the gap. This would occur throughout the Fifth Crusade. Recruits would arrive, others would leave.

IV. In May 1218, the crusade left Acre and landed near the Egyptian port city of Damietta.

- A. After capturing the chain tower blocking access down the Nile, the crusaders began a long siege of the city.
- B. The papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, arrived and at once was at odds with John of Brienne.
- C. The sultan of Egypt, al-Kamil, was in danger of being overthrown. He made several offers to the crusaders to convince them to leave Egypt.
- D. In August 1219, St. Francis of Assisi arrived and went to speak with the sultan. His attempts to convert him were not successful.
- E. Al-Kamil made another offer: he would hand over Jerusalem and almost all of the former Christian territories as well as the True Cross if the crusaders would leave Egypt.

Pelagius and the military orders refused to accept the deal.

- F. On November 4, 1219, Damietta fell to the Fifth Crusade.

V. The crusade stalled at Damietta for more than a year as they waited for the arrival of Frederick II.

Frederick's vassal, Duke Louis of Bavaria, arrived in May 1221, but was told to await Frederick before major operations.

VI. In July 1221, an expeditionary force of crusaders made their way up the Nile to attack al-Kamil at Mansurah.

- A. Using the flooding Nile waters, al-Kamil defeated and captured the entire crusade army.
- B. He demanded the return of Damietta.
- C. Al-Kamil reentered the city in September and the defeated crusaders went home.

VII. The shocking reversal at Damietta was blamed on Pelagius and Frederick II.

A. Frederick had repeatedly delayed completion of his vow and continued to do so even after the events in Egypt.

1. To avoid excommunication, Frederick promised in the Treaty of San Germano that he would depart in August 1227 or be automatically excommunicated.
2. To merge the imperial crown with that of Jerusalem, Frederick married Isabella, the daughter of John of Brienne in November 1225.

Despite his promises, he immediately claimed the crown.

B. Al-Kamil was at war with his brother and could not afford another crusade attack.

He sent an envoy to Frederick offering Jerusalem and his kingdom in return for the emperor's help against Damascus. Frederick accepted.

VIII. As promised, Frederick and his crusade departed in summer 1227.

A. Frederick, however, fell ill and so he and his convoy returned to Otranto while the remainder of his forces sailed on to Acre.

The new Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) enforced the provisions of San Germano and excommunicated the emperor. Frederick ignored it.

B. Still excommunicated, Frederick departed on crusade in May 1228, arriving in Acre in September.

1. Most of the Christian forces refused to follow him.
2. Al-Kamil's war was over, yet he was willing to make a deal to avoid too much trouble from Frederick.

C. Frederick and al-Kamil signed a treaty that included a ten-year truce. The Muslims would also hand over Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem and a thin strip of territory joining them to the sea.

1. Jerusalem's fortifications, though, were destroyed.
2. Muslims in Jerusalem were to remain there, keeping their property and holy places and living under their own separate law.
3. Both Christians and Muslims condemned the treaty when they learned of it.

D. Frederick entered Jerusalem in March 1229. After a brief ceremony in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, he left.

E. After disarming the Christian forces in Acre, Frederick left in May 1229 never to return again.

Frederick's acquisition of Jerusalem is sometimes heralded today. In the Middle Ages, though, it was considered an abomination.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What accounted for the failure of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt?
2. How had the strategy for securing Jerusalem changed in the thirteenth century?
3. Was Frederick's crusade a success?

Suggested Reading

Madden, Thomas F. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*. Revised edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.

Other Books of Interest

Abulafia, David. *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*. Canada: Random House, 2002.

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Lecture 12: The Crusades of St. Louis

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Thomas F. Madden's *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, chapter 8.

I. Conditions in the crusader states continued to decline in the years after the Fifth Crusade.

- A. Frederick II's truce expired in 1239 and the Muslims quickly ejected the Christians from Jerusalem.

Although Jerusalem would change hands several times subsequently, the Muslims took it permanently in 1244.

- B. Although Frederick had attempted to control the kingdom of Jerusalem through his agents, his power continued to wane. Eventually, Hohenstaufen authority was replaced by the local family of the Ibelin.

II. King Louis IX of France (1226-70) came to the throne as a child. His mother, Blanche of Castille, skillfully governed as regent until Louis came of age. France had become one of the wealthiest and most powerful states in Europe.

- A. Louis was a man of enormous piety. He believed that he was called by God to use the resources at his disposal to restore Jerusalem and the True Cross.

- 1. In December 1244, he took the cross along with his brothers and leading vassals.

- 2. Blanche, who would resume control of France during the king's absence, was opposed to the crusade. Louis stood firm.

- B. Enormous resources, provisions, troops, and funds were amassed, making Louis's crusade the largest thus far. It was very much a French crusade.

III. In August 1248, the crusade left from Marseilles and landed at Cyprus.

- A. After a council of war, it was decided that the crusade would seek to succeed where the Fifth Crusade had failed—by attacking Egypt.

- B. In June 1249, the crusade fleet landed at Damietta and prepared for a long siege, just as occurred during the Fifth Crusade.

- 1. Memories of that brutal siege, though, softened resistance.

- 2. Because of several blunders, the garrison and people of Damietta abandoned the city, leaving it to the French.

- C. Louis waited until the arrival of his brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, before calling another council of war to decide on the next move.

1. Louis's brother, Robert of Artois, favored attacking the capital at Cairo.
2. A majority of the council urged an attack on Alexandria so that both cities could be traded for Jerusalem.
3. Louis, who believed that God's favor was demonstrated by the miraculous fall of Damietta, decided to press on to Cairo.

IV. In November 1249, the crusaders began their march up the Nile.

- A. Sultan as-Salih had withdrawn to the fortified town of Mansurah, just across a tributary to the Nile.
- B. Louis secured his supply lines, spending a month to arrive at the wedge of land across from Mansurah.

After several months of attempting to cross, an informant provided information to the crusaders about a ford further down the tributary.

- C. Early in the morning of February 7, 1250, Robert of Artois led a contingent across the ford to establish a secure base. There he was supposed to await Louis and his men.
 1. Instead, Robert seized the moment and led his men against the still-slumbering Muslim camp outside the town, killing most of the soldiers.
 2. He then led his men into the city. Without open spaces, the mounted cavalry were useless. Robert and his men were killed.
- D. When Louis crossed the ford, he was met by a large Muslim force.
 1. He fought his way along the tributary all day until finally capturing the military camp.
 2. Although the French had taken the camp, they now had too few to attempt to take the town or even to consider moving on to Cairo.
- E. Hearing rumors of uprisings in the Muslim slave armies, Louis hoped that internal chaos might provide an opportunity for victory.
 1. At last, Louis was forced to order a retreat back to Damietta in March.
 2. Very few made it.

- F. Louis was forced to surrender to the sultan.

The sultan ordered the execution of the poor and sick in the crusade army. The rest, including Louis, were imprisoned until ransom could be paid.

The ransom was steep: The return of Damietta, the evacuation of Egypt, and 800,000 bezants.

- G. The slave army, known as the Mamluks, did overthrow the sultan, but after some consideration, accepted the deal with Louis with some modifications.
 1. Louis was released after the return of Damietta and the payment of 400,000 bezants.
 2. The remaining hostages were held until the remainder of the money was paid.

V. Despite meticulous preparations, the crusade had ended just as had the Fifth Crusade.

As the crusaders were returning home, Louis announced that he would go to the crusader states, where he would continue to try to do some good.

VI. Louis would remain in the Holy Land for more than three years.

- A. Because of his reputation, Louis was welcomed by everyone in the crusader states.
- B. He took advantage of animosities between the Muslims in Syria and Egypt to advance the position of the Christians and secure the release of the remaining French hostages.
- C. He spent a great deal of money on rebuilding and expanding fortifications and promised to continue to send money annually for those projects all of his life.
- D. At last, he returned to France in 1254.

VII. Louis believed that only by becoming a model Christian king would he be judged worthy to restore Jerusalem to Christ.

- A. Conditions were not good for a crusade in the next decade.
 - 1. The Byzantine recapture of Constantinople led to crusades being called to restore the Latin Empire.
 - 2. Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, waged a crusade against the Hohenstaufen in Sicily to win that kingdom's crown.
- B. Finally, in 1267, Louis and his three sons announced that they would crusade again.
 - 1. Many of Louis's advisors, even those who accompanied him on his first crusade, were opposed to it.
 - 2. Nevertheless, it became an enormous enterprise.

VIII. In July 1270, Louis and his second crusade departed, stopping off at Sardinia to decide on their destination.

- A. They agreed to go to Tunis.
 - 1. Louis may have believed that capturing Tunis would make an assault on Egypt more successful.
 - 2. There were rumors that the emir of Tunis would consider becoming a Christian if he had an army to protect him.
 - 3. Charles of Anjou may also have argued for Tunis to help him in Sicily.
- B. The crusade made camp outside Tunis in late summer 1270 and waited for the impending arrival of Charles of Anjou.
- C. In the summer heat, plague descended on the camp. Louis himself contracted the disease and died on August 24, 1270.
- D. When Charles of Anjou arrived, he made a treaty of peace with the emir and the crusade disintegrated.

IX. Although both of Louis's crusades failed, he was remembered as a saintly crusader king throughout Europe.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Why did Louis lead his crusades against North Africa?
2. How did his first crusade shape Louis's idea of himself and his reign?
3. Why would Louis be well remembered in medieval Europe when his crusades failed so spectacularly?

Suggested Reading

Madden, Thomas F. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*. Revised edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.

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Richard, Jean. *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*. Trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Lecture 13: The Fall of the Crusader States

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Sylvia Schein's *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*.

I. Although the Latin East benefited from the largesse of Louis IX, they were greatly harmed by internal factionalism and the growing power of Muslim states in the thirteenth century. The gravest threat, however, came from the Mongols.

- A. An Asiatic people, the Mongols had created an enormous empire by conquering civilizations from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea.
 - 1. Their aim was simple: world conquest. Those in their path were given a choice of destruction or assimilation.
 - 2. Unlike Muslims and Christians, the Mongols did not identify themselves or their empire by religious belief.
- B. The Christian world cheered when the Mongols easily conquered Muslim-controlled Anatolia, Syria, Persia, and Mesopotamia.
 - 1. The fact that some Mongols were Nestorian Christians led Europeans to wonder whether the Great Khan was the long-hoped-for Prester John come to save them.
 - 2. Responses to letters from Louis IX and the pope made it clear that this was not the case.
- C. After conquering Damascus, the Mongol commander, Kitbogha, a Nestorian Christian, sent envoys to Cairo demanding the submission of Egypt to the Mongol Empire.
 - 1. The Mamluk sultan refused, sending his general Baybars at the head of the slave armies to fight the Mongols.
 - 2. At the Battle of Ain Jalud in September 1260, the Mamluks dealt a stunning defeat to the Mongol forces, depleted because of the recent death of the Khan.
 - 3. The Mamluks moved quickly to capture all of Syria.
- D. Baybars' unification of Syria and Egypt could only be bad news for the crusader states.

II. Rivalries between various groups within the crusader states caused weakness.

- A. The Templars and Hospitallers had become fierce rivals.
- B. A dispute between Venetian and Genoese residents erupted into the War of St. Sabas (1256-58), in which the military orders all took part.

III. After securing his position as sultan, Baybars turned his attention to the crusader states. With Syria and Egypt under his control, he was determined to end the Christian presence once and for all.

Unlike Saladin, Baybars regularly broke his word, negotiating surrenders of cities and fortresses and then massacring the Christian populations.

- A. In 1263, he destroyed the cathedral of Nazareth.
- B. In 1268, he captured and brutally sacked Jaffa.
- C. In 1268, he attacked Antioch, capturing it after only four days.
 - 1. The entire population was massacred and all of the churches desecrated.
 - 2. Baybars wrote a gleeful letter to Bohemond VI describing in detail the carnage.

IV. Urgent appeals for aid from the Kingdom of Jerusalem went to Europe.

- A. Louis IX organized a great crusade, yet it disintegrated in Tunis.
- B. Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, purchased the crown of Jerusalem from the pope in 1277.
 - 1. The pope hoped that Charles would put the resources of his kingdom in Sicily to the task of saving the Holy Land.
 - 2. Charles sent agents and troops to Acre, yet he received only partial recognition.
 - 3. Many of the local barons accepted Hugh of Cyprus as their king, adding further division to the remnants of the crusader states.
 - 4. The Revolt of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 ejected Charles from his kingdom and he was, therefore, forced to withdraw his troops from Acre.
- C. The barons joined behind Henry of Cyprus, the son of Hugh, as the new king of Jerusalem.

V. Baybars died in 1277, yet he was succeeded by the equally ruthless Kalavun in 1280.

- A. After completing the conquest of the Principality of Antioch, Kalavun broke a peace treaty with Tripoli, capturing the city and county in March 1289.
- B. The last stronghold of crusader power was at Acre.
 - 1. In April 1291, Kalavun, with a vast army, laid siege to the city.
 - 2. The Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights summoned all brothers, including the Grand Masters, to take part in the defense.
 - 3. In May 1291, the city finally fell.
- C. With the fall of Acre went the last remnant of Christian military power in the region. Tyre and the rest of the kingdom of Jerusalem surrendered.

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- D. All that remained was the island of Cyprus, which became home for many of the refugees.

VI. The fall of the crusader states was mourned across Europe.

- A. At once, Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) made preparations to call a great crusade to restore the lost kingdom. Yet his dispute with King Philip IV of France (1285-1314) kept it from ever happening.
- B. Numerous people drafted and published elaborate plans to recapture all of the lands conquered by Muslim armies. None of them was ever put into effect.
- C. Many people blamed the military orders for the fall of the crusader states.
1. Their wealth and independence from local control made them easy targets. Their continued usefulness was also in question.
 2. Philip IV, in desperate need of cash, ordered the arrest of all Templars in France and seizure of their wealth.
 - a. Trumped up charges were used to confiscate all that the Templars had.
 - b. Under pressure from the kings, Pope Clement V suppressed the Templars in 1312.
 3. The Knights Hospitaller avoided the fate of the Templars by becoming relevant.
 - a. In 1307, they captured the island of Rhodes, which they would henceforth use as a base to wage war against the Turks.
 - b. They were subsequently often known as the Knights of Rhodes.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What factors led to the fall of the crusader states?
2. How did the arrival of the Mongols change the situation in the Levant?
3. Why were the Knights Templar such easy targets after 1291?

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Lecture 14: Later Crusades and the Legacy of the Crusades

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Norman Housley's *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*.

I. Although the Crusades were originally conceived as errands of mercy and armed pilgrimages, that intent changed over the next two centuries.

- A. By the thirteenth century, crusades were any papally sanctioned wars against the enemies of the faith that carried an indulgence.
- B. The continued growth of Muslim power also transformed the Crusades from efforts to help Christians overseas into desperate attempts to save Europe from conquest.
- C. The rise of royal authority in Europe also made it less possible for kings or greater lords to take the cross.

II. The greatest threat to Christendom would come from the rise of the Ottoman Turks.

- A. A Turkish leader, Osman, picked up the pieces after the Mongol conquest of the Seljuk Turks in Anatolia and forged a new dynasty.
By the mid-fourteenth century, his son, Orkhan, had captured all of Asia Minor.
- B. In 1354, Turkish armies secured the straits at Gallipoli, allowing them to cross over into Europe itself.
 - 1. The Turks quickly captured Greece and pressed on deeper into southeast Europe.
 - 2. The Byzantine Empire was reduced to little more than its dilapidated capital of Constantinople.
- C. With the Turkish armies approaching his kingdom, King Sigismund of Hungary (1387-1437) appealed to the king of France and the pope for help. The result was the Crusade of Nicopolis.
 - 1. A large crusade army was assembled at Buda in 1396.
 - 2. After crossing the Danube into Ottoman-controlled Bulgaria, the crusaders laid siege to the city of Nicopolis.
 - 3. Sultan Bayazid I (1389-1402) abandoned his own siege of Constantinople and marched to relieve Nicopolis.
 - 4. The Turks destroyed the crusaders. Thousands of the captured were bound, brought before the sultan, and decapitated.

III. The Ottomans were delayed in the conquest of Europe by the arrival of Timur, a half-Turkish, half-Mongol Muslim warlord who had defeated both the Mamluks of Egypt and the Turks in Anatolia.

A. When the Ottomans were again in a position to expand, Europe had done little to prepare.

The Great Schism, plague, and other controversies were more immediate problems.

B. A massive Turkish siege of Constantinople in 1422 failed, but barely.

C. In 1437, the Byzantine emperor, patriarch, and upper clergy came to the Council of Florence to accept formal union with the Catholic Church.

1. Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47) responded by calling a crusade to push the Ottoman Turks out of former Byzantine territories.

2. Soldiers in eastern Europe took up the call, forming what would be called the Crusade of Varna.

3. In 1444, they entered Ottoman-controlled Serbia and then pressed on to Bulgaria, where they besieged Varna.

4. Sultan Murad II (1421-51) brought his armies forward and crushed the crusade.

D. In 1453, Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81) finally achieved the dream of centuries of Muslim leaders. He conquered Constantinople.

1. What had been the greatest Christian city in the world became the capital of the most powerful Muslim empire in history.

2. Mehmed swore that he would conquer Rome and all of Italy as well.

3. Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) called a crusade to reconquer Constantinople, but it never materialized.

His successors did the same, with similar lack of success. The popes were simply no longer powerful enough to organize great crusades.

E. The Ottoman Empire continued to grow in strength in the sixteenth century.

1. Sultan Selim I (1512-20) conquered Syria and Egypt, greatly extending Ottoman power.

Although popes continued to call crusades and monarchs promised to join, nothing happened.

2. The coming of the Protestant Reformation made crusades even more difficult.

Protestants rejected two of the central foundations of the crusade: the authority of the pope and the spiritual benefits of indulgences.

IV. Other factors were at work in Europe that would ultimately lead to world hegemony. Yet it was a crusade that dealt the first real blow to Ottoman expansion.

In 1571, at the Battle of Lepanto, a crusade consisting of forces from Venice, the papacy, and Spain destroyed the Ottoman navy.

Psychologically, it was an important victory for Europeans, who had come to believe that Christendom was doomed.

V. As Muslim power waned and Europeans spread across the planet, the Crusades were left behind. However, the memory of the Crusades would continue to shape events.

A. During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, intellectuals decried the Crusades, which they saw as acts of savage zealotry.

B. During the nineteenth century, an idealized memory of the Crusades was often invoked by European imperial powers.

France and England especially dressed their imperial exploits in the clothing of crusade, particularly in the Middle East.

C. After the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century, European powers reorganized the Middle East, creating many of the current states.

1. Muslims, who knew nothing at all about the Crusades, learned about them from the Europeans.

2. For Islamists and Arab nationalists, the Crusades became the first act of European imperialism and an example of what they must continue to resist.

D. Today, the Crusades are remembered in the Middle East, yet that memory is very young, having been created by European imperial powers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions and Essays

1. How did the rise of Ottoman power change the Crusades?
2. Why were the Crusades abandoned by the West?
3. How has the memory of the Crusades shaped the modern Middle East?

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GLOSSARY



Abbasid: Sunni Arab dynasty, 750–1258, 1261–1517.

Anatolia: Central Asia Minor.

Caliph: Literally “successor.” The title of the ruler of the Islamic state.

Emir: Turkish local governor or commander.

Excommunication: Ecclesiastical sanction barring one from the sacraments.

Fatimids: Shiite dynasty, 909–1171.

Fief: Land or incomes given by a feudal lord to a vassal in return for military service and fealty.

Frank: A name used by Byzantines and Muslims in the Middle Ages to refer to most western Europeans.

German Empire: See *Holy Roman Empire*.

Holy Roman Empire: Loosely organized state encompassing central Europe and northern Italy. Ruled by a German king, who could be crowned emperor by a pope. Also called *German Empire*.

Hospitallers: The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Also known as the Knights of Rhodes and the Knights of Malta.

Imam: Muslim religious leader.

Mark: Approximately 8 ounces (usually of silver).

Normans: Originally Scandinavian people who settled in southern Italy, Sicily, northern France, England, and elsewhere.

Papal legate: One who is empowered to act in the name of the pope.

Seljuks: Sunni Turks who conquered Iran and Iraq before invading Syria and Asia Minor.

Shia: Minority Muslim sect that recognizes Ali and his successors as the legitimate rulers of Islam.

Sultan: Muslim ruler.

Sunni: Majority Muslim sect.

Vassal: One who swears fealty and military service to a feudal lord in return for lands or money.

Wends: Pagan Slavs living along the Baltic Sea.

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