

The Era of the Crusades

Part I

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Table of Contents
The Era of the Crusades
Part I

Professor Biography	i
Course Scope	1
Lecture One	2
The Heirs of Rome	2
Lecture Two	5
Byzantine Orthodox Civilization	5
Lecture Three	8
Byzantine Zenith in the Macedonian Age	8
Lecture Four	11
The Failure of the Heirs of Basil II.....	11
Lecture Five	13
Abbasid Baghdad and Fatimid Egypt.....	13
Lecture Six	16
The Coming of the Seljuk Turks	16
Lecture Seven	18
The Recovery of Western Europe.....	18
Lecture Eight	21
Kings and Princes of Western Europe.....	21
Lecture Nine	24
Warfare in Western Europe	24
Lecture Ten	27
The Papacy and Religious Reform	27
Lecture Eleven	30
Piety and Pilgrimage.....	30
Lecture Twelve	33
Christian Offensives in Spain and Sicily	33
Timeline	36
Glossary	44
Maps	50
Biographical Notes	Part III
Bibliography	Part II

The Era of the Crusades

Scope:

The Crusades (1095–1291) have been hailed as the climax of medieval Western Europe or condemned as the first thrust of European imperialism into the Muslim Near East. But the Crusaders forever altered the three medieval civilizations: Latin Christendom, Islam, and the East Roman or Byzantine Empire. The Crusades were a primary force for profound changes in political, cultural, religious, economic, and social life that gave birth to the early-modern age, and these changes still influence the present world.

The first 12 lectures examine the causes for the Crusades. The immediate cause for the First Crusade (1095–1099) was the collapse of the Byzantine Empire before the Seljuk Turkomen of Central Asia, who burst into the Near East and revived Muslim power in the late 11th century. The Seljuk Turks provoked the First Crusade because their victory over the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071 and subsequent conquest of Asia Minor disrupted the long-established pilgrimage routes of Western Europeans to the Holy Land. But the crusading expeditions were only possible because of great changes wrought in Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. These changes in Western Europe can be appreciated only by comparison to developments with the more sophisticated civilizations of Byzantium and Islam. All three medieval civilizations were rooted in Late Antiquity, but each had recast its Classical heritage in new ways. Orthodox Christian Byzantium will be examined first, because it had the strongest claim to the Roman legacy as a great bureaucratic empire. Then, the world of Islam will be discussed with attention to the issues of Muslim holy war (*jihad*), political and religious institutions, and the Turkish impact. Six lectures follow on the changes in European warfare, political and religious life, and revival of prosperity so vital for launching the Crusades.

The second 12 lectures deal with the first century of the Crusades, spanning the era from the preaching of the First Crusade by Pope Urban II in 1095 to the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the Battle of Hattin in 1187. By their stunning victories, the princes of the First Crusade founded the Crusader states in the Levant. Crusaders proved equally adept in adapting native institutions to create a provincial society in Outremer (“overseas”) that endured for two centuries. These lectures deal with the nature and impact of European settlement in the Near East, as well as the struggle by Crusaders to defend the holy cities against superior Muslim power. Four lectures examine the changes in letters and visual arts and the profound transformation of the Mediterranean economy in the 12th century.

The last 12 lectures cover the last century of the Crusades, commencing with the Third Crusade (1189–1192), led by the chivalrous King Richard the Lion-hearted. This era witnessed great royal crusades to retake Jerusalem, but the efforts ended in the failure of the Seventh Crusade, led by King Louis IX of France in 1250. Yet these ventures were a testimony to the maturity of the Western European monarchies and the commercial revolution effected by the Italian merchant republics of Venice and Genoa. In the same century, the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople, and so ended Byzantine power. This action was the climax of a century of ill will between Catholic Westerners and Orthodox Byzantines. It forced Byzantines to reinvent their own identity and rediscover their Hellenic, “Greek” heritage. It also was a decisive step in redefining *crusade* as a more general religious war and, thus, opened the way to the wars of religion and the Inquisition of early-modern Western Europe. Crusader efforts to retake Jerusalem in the 13th century galvanized the Turkish military elite and assisted in the realignment of the Muslim world away from Baghdad and the lands of eastern Islam to Cairo of the Mamluk sultans and Istanbul of the Ottoman Porte. Final Muslim victory over the Crusaders in 1291, in turn, compelled Western Christians to rethink their identity, and Latin Christendom began to give way to Western Europe.

Lecture One

The Heirs of Rome

Scope: Until the last 50 years, the Crusades were hailed in the Christian West as the epitome of a noble venture undertaken in the name of God. Europeans invoked the appeals of the Crusades during their expansion overseas since the 15th century. Hence, ventures to right any injustice are still dubbed *crusades*. But the glittering image of chivalrous knights in medieval romance and modern novels has been tarnished. Today, Crusaders are just as likely to be branded as the first oppressive Western imperialists, whether fanatical knights slaughtering innocents or venal Italian merchant princes. All these images are caricatures. Crusading emerged from a tradition of pilgrimage to the holy places of Palestine since the late 4th century A.D. For two centuries (from 1095–1291), repeated Crusades drew together the three distinct medieval worlds that had emerged since the collapse of the Roman Empire: Western Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic world. Each society, although rooted in the late classical world, had evolved into a distinct civilization. The Crusades drew these worlds back together, and the ensuing war, commerce, and cultural exchange decisively reshaped the future of Europe and the Middle East.

Outline

- I. This series of lectures begins by defining the era of the Crusades, examining popular perceptions and misperceptions, and looking at the three civilizations that were involved.
 - A. By historical convention, there were eight Crusades, among them, the first and most successful, preached in 1095; the third, led by Richard the Lion-hearted; the pivotal fourth, which took Constantinople; and the last four, led by Frederick II and St. Louis of France.
 - B. Other minor crusades were more on the order of armed pilgrimages. The eight canonical Crusades of our interest were significant expeditions launched by the nobles and monarchs of Europe, involving as many as 100,000 people moving east with the aim of taking Jerusalem.
 - C. The period of the Crusades ended in 1291 when Jerusalem was no longer the objective.
- II. The Crusades have given rise to many different perceptions.
 - A. The widespread romantic perception of the Crusades dates from the Middle Ages.
 - 1. Princes and knights of Western Europe “assumed the Cross,” pledging to liberate Jerusalem out of a sense of chivalry or family honor.
 - 2. Western Europeans defined chivalry by their conflict with Muslims. For instance, Sultan Saladin, a Muslim commander, was seen as a better exemplar of chivalry than the Western Europeans.
 - 3. The romantic view of Crusaders as defenders of the faith was transmitted in epic and poetry and remains a powerful image today.
 - B. Recent generations have also seen a darker side of the Crusades.
 - 1. The dramatic expansion of national states in Western Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries led to a reinterpretation of the Crusades.
 - 2. In the 19th century, for example, the French stressed the Crusades as the first step in their benevolent imperialism in Africa and East Asia.
 - 3. The Germans recast Crusader King Frederick Barbarossa as the first great national king of Germany.
 - 4. After World War II, the Crusades were seen as the first of many European imperial ventures into the Islamic and Greek Orthodox worlds. The Crusaders were seen as brandishing their swords in the name of religion but motivated by avarice.
 - 5. Some events support this view, such as the sack of Jerusalem in 1099, when the Christians butchered the Jewish and Muslim populations.
 - C. The Crusades, a remarkable phenomenon of the Middle Ages, are still debated today and still seen as having influenced our world, especially the Middle East.
 - D. Neither the romantic nor the imperialistic view of the Crusades tells the whole story. Religious warfare and fanaticism were not the monopoly of the Western Europeans; all three medieval civilizations involved agreed on the validity of religious war.

1. Islam had an articulated ideology of *jihad* (“holy war”) that advocated expansion of Islam and war against the unbelievers.
2. Western Europeans reached beyond the New Testament to Roman notions of “just war,” and Old Testament visions of religious war.
3. Byzantine armies went into battle under religious symbols.
4. All three civilizations believed that war to defend or expand the faith was justifiable.

III. The Crusades brought the civilizations of Islam, Byzantium, and Western Europe together; they saw the climax of institutional changes, economic and religious developments that could all be traced back to a common parent—the late Roman world.

- A. In 1095, the Islamic world was without a doubt the most successful of the three civilizations.
 1. It was premised on the notion that political and spiritual authority rested in a single person, the caliph, who was a successor of Muhammad, the final prophet of God.
 2. The Koran was the uncreated word of God, the direct revelation by God through Muhammad. The caliph ruled over an *umma*, a community of believers that embraced all Muslims.
 3. There was no split between the spiritual and secular world. In this, the Islamic world was in line with the vision of the emperor Constantine, who had established the Christian-Roman state and saw himself combining spiritual and secular authority.
 4. On the eve of the Crusades, Muslims were divided over who had claim to that religious authority. In 1095, a civil war raged between the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad and the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo. This division played to the advantage of the Crusaders.
 5. The Islamic world was also politically fragmented. Dynasts carved out independent regional states while protesting their loyalty to the Abbasid caliph. The majority populations in these states were non-Muslims.
- B. The Byzantine Empire was the successor to the late Roman world and a great bureaucratic state.
 1. Spiritual and secular authority were closely associated, because the emperor and the patriarch of the Orthodox faith both resided in Constantinople.
 2. Until a generation before the Crusades, Byzantium was the greatest state in Christendom. It suffered a crushing defeat at Manzikert in 1071. The Crusades were ignited, then, by an appeal of the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I, for military aid from Western Europe to take back lands lost to Seljuk Turkish invaders.
- C. Western European society underwent dramatic changes as a result of two centuries of crusading.
 1. The impact on Western Christendom highlighted the fact that the era of the Crusades encompassed much more than just those eight military expeditions. The era had a significant impact on political institutions, economic development, and religious life—indeed, the very identity of Western Europeans.
 2. At the start of the Crusades, Western Europe was below the level of the other two civilizations.
 3. In 1095, the religious capital of Europe was Rome. Popes traced their lineage directly to Peter and gained legitimacy because Rome had been capital of the Roman Empire.
 4. Secular authority, however, was not centered in Rome but in European kingdoms and principalities of Germanic or Celtic origin. These feudal states gave allegiance to the pope as their spiritual father, but their governments were regional. Power rested at the local level, primarily among feudal lords.
 5. Spiritual and political authority were divided in Western Europe. Ultimately, the Crusades led to the emergence of the European nation-state order—an order distinct from Islam or Byzantium.
- D. The consequences of the Crusades for each of these civilizations were profound.

Readings:

Mayer, H. E. *The Crusades*.

Riley-Smith, J., ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How have perceptions of the Crusades been shaped by those of the Middle Ages? How have succeeding generations come to terms with the impact of the Crusades?

2. What was the relationship of the three great civilizations of Islam, Byzantium, and Western Europe on the eve of the Crusades? How did the experience of the Crusades change this relationship?

Lecture Two

Byzantine Orthodox Civilization

Scope: In 1000, Byzantium, the world of medieval Hellenism, had a direct claim to the classical legacy. In law and politics, Constantinople was the New Rome; Byzantine emperors ruled over a bureaucratic state based on a professional army and taxation of their subjects. Byzantine emperors, who traced a direct line of succession to the first Christian emperor, Constantine, looked with disdain on the Frankish or German Holy Roman Emperors in Western Europe. In faith, Constantinople was the New Jerusalem. Byzantines had defined their Orthodox faith in the Iconoclastic Controversy (726–843), and their missionaries had carried the faith to the Slavic peoples of Eastern Europe. Although the patriarch of Constantinople adhered to the doctrines of the Council of Chalcedon (451), he disputed the pope's claims to spiritual supremacy as St. Peter's successor. In letters, arts, and aesthetics, Constantinople was akin to classical Greece, and its nobility prized an education that stressed proper diction and comportment, quite in contrast to their co-religionists in Western Europe.

Outline

- I.** This lecture examines the Byzantine world in the time of Basil II, or Basil the Bulgar-slayer.
 - A.** Basil's reign represented the epitome of the middle Byzantine state.
 - B.** The Crusaders, in 1095, encountered many of the institutional, religious, and cultural features of the Byzantine world seen in Basil's time.
- II.** Basil ruled from Constantinople, which had been founded by the emperor Constantine in 330 A.D.
 - A.** Byzantines insisted that Constantinople was the New Rome, the “Queen of Cities,” and that the old Rome was inferior.
 - B.** Basil ruled over a powerful bureaucratic state with its core in Asia Minor (Turkey), the Aegean Islands, Greece, and the lower Balkans.
 - C.** Basil's empire also exerted religious influences beyond its borders among South Slavs and Russians converted to Christianity.
 - D.** Byzantine emperors were the heirs to late Roman political and ideological traditions.
- III.** Byzantine emperors worked in partnership with patriarchs, spiritual leaders of the Orthodox Church.
 - A.** Byzantium was a single Orthodox community administered by emperor and patriarch.
 - B.** Clashes between emperor and patriarch were not seen as a struggle between church and state so much as a *schism*, or “cutting,” within the single Orthodox community.
- IV.** In the two centuries before Basil II, Byzantine emperors elaborated a great ceremonial role for themselves.
 - A.** Ceremony glorified emperors and served as a diplomatic weapon.
 - B.** The emperors promoted Roman architectural traditions, meant to impress. Indeed, Russian visitors are reputed to have converted upon witnessing a mass in the Hagia Sophia.
 - C.** By the time the Crusaders arrived, classic Byzantine religious art with its icons and rites was firmly established.
 - 1.** The Macedonian dynasty, the family of Basil II, sought legitimacy by upholding the veneration of icons.
 - 2.** They endowed churches, monasteries, and schools, establishing Orthodoxy as the religion of victory.
 - 3.** When the Crusaders arrived, they found a rich Christian architectural and religious tradition.
- V.** Basil II commanded an impressive professional bureaucracy and army.
 - A.** Political power was localized in themes or provinces, but the Byzantine Empire was not feudalized as in Western Europe.
 - B.** The Byzantine Empire, in contrast, retained the professional institutions of Rome. The emperor had the power to tax his subjects and to impose imperial will in law and administration.

- C. The Byzantine court and administration was staffed by salaried officials, traditions that impressed Europeans as curious.
 - 1. Anna Comnena, a princess turned historian, reveals that Crusaders misunderstood the protocol of the Byzantine court.
 - 2. Indeed, the Crusaders often reacted to the court with envy and uncertainty.
- D. Although it declined rapidly after Basil II's death, the Byzantine army was an impressive professional force.
 - 1. The emperor had two forces, a field army in Constantinople known as the *scholae*, or "schools," and the *themes*, or "provincial armies," quartered in different districts of the Byzantine Empire.
 - 2. The *scholae* were units with a sense of integrity, drilled to ruthless professionalism.
 - 3. The emperor's elite bodyguard was part of this force.
 - 4. The soldiers of the *theme* armies were given land in return for imperial service. This system seems similar to the fiefs of medieval Western Europe, but under the Byzantine system, central authority was maintained.
 - 5. Basil II also created three field armies on the frontiers, in Italy, Syria, and the Upper Euphrates.
 - 6. From 1000 on, many Western Europeans served in the Byzantine armies as mercenaries.

VI. In addition to being the New Rome, Constantinople was also thought of as the New Jerusalem, the religious center of the Christian world.

- A. Many early relics had been transported to the city. Emperors poured money into rebuilding the city as the Christian capital.
- B. The Byzantines believed that Constantinople was the center of the world, as Earth was the center of the universe, a view reflected in the ceremonial arrangements of the court.
 - 1. The strict hierarchy of seating at court was one manifestation.
 - 2. The hierarchy served as a method of focusing imperial power.
- C. Membership in the Orthodox faith was all-important. The Byzantines had experienced a veritable religious civil war in the Iconoclastic Controversy which had defined the role of images and the Orthodox liturgy.

VII. When the Crusaders arrived, they encountered a rich Orthodox tradition.

- A. The patriarch of Constantinople exercised more central power and authority over his church than the pope did in Western Europe.
 - 1. The patriarch presided over a central imperial church; he was not just the emperor's chaplain.
 - 2. The patriarch had authority to make appointments to monasteries and bishoprics.
 - 3. Prelates who spent the most time at Constantinople were influenced by patriarchal patronage.
 - 4. The patriarch also had at his disposal a number of powerful monasteries.
 - 5. In disagreements with the emperor, the patriarch could call on 10,000 Studite monks to riot in the streets.
- B. The patriarch and emperor believed that they jointly wielded a spiritual authority for the wider Orthodox world.
 - 1. Just as the Byzantine Empire was more than its political boundaries, so, too, was the spiritual world of Byzantine Orthodoxy.
 - 2. Eastern Orthodox populations living outside the empire were considered to be under the spiritual authority and protection of the emperor and patriarch in Constantinople.
- C. Patriarchs had maintained their spiritual authority as independent of the papacy since the 5th century.
 - 1. Popes and patriarchs had disputed their respective spiritual supremacy since the late Roman period.
 - 2. Popes believed that, as the successors of Peter, they could speak on doctrine, but patriarchs held that such issues must be solved by an ecumenical council.
 - 3. These disputes culminated in the Great Schism in 1054.

VIII. By 1096, the Eastern and Western Christian worlds had moved in different directions, and the arrival of the Crusaders highlighted these differences.

Readings:

Runciman, Steven. *Byzantine Style and Civilization*.

Whittow, M. *The Making of Byzantium, 600-1025*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the ceremonial pretensions and real powers of the Byzantine emperor on the eve of the Crusades? Did imperial claims to universal authority in the Christian world compromise imperial war and diplomacy?
2. What was the role of the patriarch in Orthodox Christianity? What were the main points of contention with the papacy in Rome?

Lecture Three

Byzantine Zenith in the Macedonian Age

Scope: At the dawn of the second millennium, the Byzantine Empire stood as the premier Christian power under Basil II. In 1001, Basil concluded an alliance with the Fatimid caliphate at Cairo to protect Christian pilgrims bound for Jerusalem. Orthodox Christianity had secured the loyalty of the Slavic princes of Eastern Europe; hence, Basil presided over a wider Byzantine commonwealth. Basil also forged a professional army, carved out a second imperial heartland in the Balkans, imposed his will on his officials and courtiers, and broke the power of the aristocrats of Asia Minor. Few emperors ruled East Rome as effectively, but Basil II ruled in splendid isolation and, thus, failed to leave heirs. Yet the majesty of imperial Constantinople long endured as a powerful image after Basil's death, influencing Crusader and Muslim perceptions of the empire down to the sack of 1204.

Outline

- I. Basil II, by his policies of imperial expansion and forging institutions, allowed the Byzantine Empire to survive the catastrophic defeat at Manzikert, which sparked the summoning of the Crusades.
 - A. Basil II played an important role in expanding the pilgrimage trade.
 - B. The severing of that trade by the Seljuk Turks after 1071 was the immediate cause of the First Crusade.
- II. Basil II conquered Bulgaria in 986–1016, thereby creating a second imperial heartland in the Balkans.
 - A. For centuries, Byzantine emperors had drawn recruits and resources from Anatolia.
 - B. The Balkan provinces, including most of Greece, had been overrun by Slavic invaders in the 7th and 8th centuries.
 - C. Byzantium controlled the coastal cities of Greece, Aegean islands, and Thrace, hinterland of Constantinople.
 - D. At the Battle of Cleidon Pass, Basil broke two decades of Bulgarian resistance.
 - 1. As a result, Basil secured the Balkan regions that were rich in mines and forests.
 - 2. The Byzantine frontiers now bordered on Hungary, giving the empire political access to Western Europe.
 - 3. Basil proved to be an able administrator who respected local institutions of the conquered and rewarded nobles with positions at court.
 - 4. When the Byzantines lost Asia Minor to the Seljuk Turks after Manzikert, the second heartland in the Balkans sustained political recovery under the Comnenian emperors.
 - E. Basil consolidated the eastern frontiers, particularly on the Upper Euphrates.
 - 1. Basil broke the power of the eastern military elite.
 - 2. Imperial frontiers and regional field armies were reorganized on the Upper Euphrates and in northern Syria.
 - F. Basil annexed much of Armenia including the Kingdom of Vaspurakan, now in eastern Turkey.
 - 1. Armenia commanded strategic routes into Asia Minor. By bringing the warring Armenian kings and princes under imperial control, Basil provided a shield for his empire.
 - 2. Basil also feared Armenian princes as allies to Byzantine aristocrats and rebels in Asia Minor.
 - 3. But Armenians resented imperial control. When the Crusaders appeared, the Armenians welcomed them as allies against the Byzantines.
- III. Basil II, because of his military victories, had the power to break the power of the great landed magnates, the *dynatoi* ("powerful").
 - A. Emperors since Romanus I had legislated on behalf of soldiers in the *themes* and peasants.
 - 1. Legislation limited acquisition of peasant properties by imperial officials, members of the clergy, and army officers.
 - 2. The amassing of large estates by *dynatoi* endangered the imperial government's access to taxpayers and recruits.

B. Basil's reign was a climax to a series of laws to curtail the power of the landed magnates.

1. Basil II passed his laws after the revolts of Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas, scions of great Anatolian families.
2. By these *novels*, or “new laws,” Basil II ensured the supremacy of Constantinople over the provinces.

IV. Basil II had important dealings with Western European and Muslim powers.

- A. Basil II had mixed feelings about Western Europeans.
 1. They were useful allies; Byzantium had formed alliances and trade links with leading Italian maritime republics.
 2. Basil also saw some Western Europeans as potential foes, notably the Lombard princes, who often rebelled or attacked imperial possessions in southern Italy.
- B. The Lombards found support from the Holy Roman Emperor, who by Basil's time, was also the king of Germany.
 1. In 962, Otto I, the Saxon king of Germany, was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. He claimed all of Italy, resulting in clashes between the German Empire and the Byzantine Empire.
 2. To end the enmity, Otto II was married to Theophano, a Byzantine princess and cousin of Basil, in 971.
 3. Another marriage alliance was attempted in 1001, when Basil sent his niece Zoe to Venice to marry Otto III.
 4. Despite these efforts, the two courts saw each other as rivals.
- C. In their frontier wars in southern Italy, Basil and the Lombards hired the Normans as mercenaries.
 1. The Normans, from northern France, were descended from Vikings who had adopted Christianity and the French language.
 2. The Norman knights were the finest heavy cavalry in Europe.
 3. Ultimately, the Normans carved out their own kingdom in southern Italy, conquered Sicily, and aimed to capture Constantinople.
- D. Basil's policies in the West were rather disappointing.
 1. He lacked the money and manpower to reconquer Sicily.
 2. He could impose his hegemony in Italy only by alliances, and this structure collapsed after his death in 1025.

V. Basil assumed a defensive policy in the East.

- A. Three times in the 10th century, a succession crisis had enabled a powerful eastern general to force himself on the throne as a co-ruler.
 1. Hence, these “regent” emperors favored expansion in Syria and Armenia.
 2. Basil II, who had endured two of these regent emperors, halted eastern expansion; instead, he stabilized the eastern frontiers and brought Armenians under imperial control.
- B. In 1001, Basil II concluded a treaty with Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim to protect Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and Bethlehem.
 1. Pilgrimage increased because Basil II imposed peace in the Balkans and Asia Minor.
 2. Europeans, who could not afford travel by sea, could cross imperial domains, then travel safely across Fatimid Syria to Jerusalem.
- C. When the Seljuk Turks disrupted this trade, Western Europeans responded with the First Crusade.

VI. Basil died in 1025, regarded as the greatest warrior of his age.

- A. Most Christians thought of Constantinople as the capital of the historic Christian empire.
- B. The rapid demise of that empire in a generation after Basil's death was dramatic and precipitated the First Crusade.

Readings:

Psellus, Michael. *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*. Translated and revised by E. R. A. Sewter.

Whittow, M. *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How important were imperial domains in Italy, and why did the German kings, as Holy Roman Emperors, pose such a significant threat?
2. How did Western Europeans, Eastern Christians, and Muslims view the Byzantine Empire of Basil II? How important was the increase of the numbers of pilgrims and other travel by Christians across political frontiers?

Lecture Four

The Failure of the Heirs of Basil II

Scope: The collapse of Byzantine power in 1025–1071 opened Asia Minor to conquest and settlement by the Seljuk Turkomen and southern Italy to the Normans. Byzantine defeats sprang from the ineptitude of Basil II's nieces and heirs, the notorious empresses Zoe and Theodora, as well as institutional weaknesses. Constantine IX (1042–1055) plunged the empire into fiscal and monetary crisis. His frivolous expenditures at court and cuts in the military budget compromised imperial defense. With the demise of the Macedonian dynasty in 1056, the empire faced succession crises as bureaucratic aristocrats of capital and landed military nobles struggled to control the throne. In 1071, at Manzikert in eastern Armenia, the emperor Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–1072) suffered a crushing defeat and was captured by Sultan Alp Arslan. Turkomen tribal armies migrated into Asia Minor and carved out independent Muslim states. Alexius I (1081–1118), who restored Byzantine unity, summoned allies from Western Europe to expel the Seljuk Turks from Asia Minor and, thus, unwittingly launched the First Crusade.

Outline

- I.** The dramatic political collapse of the Byzantine state resulted from several causes.
 - A.** Michael Psellus, a courtier, philosopher, and historian of the period, is the prime source for the failure of Basil II's heirs.
 - B.** One reason for Byzantine collapse were new foes: Normans in the West and Seljuk Turks from the East.
- II.** The imperial government after Basil II also faced serious institutional weaknesses.
 - A.** Basil, out of fear of rivals, never married, and never arranged marriage alliances for his nieces so he left a succession crisis.
 - B.** When Basil died in 1025, he was succeeded by his co-emperor, an elderly brother named Constantine VIII.
 - 1. Constantine was both learned and feckless. He fancied himself a patron of the arts but seems to have mistaken depravity for culture.
 - 2. Constantine, fearful of rivals, prevented the appointment of men of ability at court or in the army.
 - C.** Constantine married his older daughter, Zoe, to Romanus III, an elderly aristocrat.
 - 1. Romanus III initially indulged his elderly, childless wife, but later ignored her.
 - 2. Romanus III failed to win legitimacy, after suffering defeat in Syria.
 - 3. Zoe fell under the sway of John the Many-eyed, the chief eunuch minister who dominated the court patronage.
 - 4. John introduced Zoe to his younger brother Michael, whom she married after Romanus was murdered.
 - D.** Michael IV proved to be just as weak as Romanus.
 - 1. Michael was hampered by his lack of knowledge of court etiquette.
 - 2. As an epileptic, he was seen as cursed by God.
 - 3. Zoe was indulged in her reckless spending; she and her husbands cut military spending because they feared a powerful general would challenge the throne.
 - E.** Michael IV saw the succession problem and arranged to adopt his nephew, Michael V.
 - 1. When Michael V took power in 1041, he dismissed John the Many-eyed and deprived Zoe and Theodora of power.
 - 2. Zoe and Theodora had the loyalty of the Orthodox Church, the court, and even elements of the army.
 - 3. This institutional support played against Michael V. An uprising of the imperial aristocracy deposed Michael V, and returned the two sisters to power.
 - F.** Since the court aristocracy judged Zoe incapable, she was married to the corrupt courtier Constantine IX.
 - 1. Constantine slashed military and administrative budgets and debased the currency.
 - 2. Constantine IX indulged Zoe and spent recklessly in building programs.
 - G.** The reign of Constantine IX marked the irreversible decline of the empire.
 - 1. After the death of Constantine IX, Theodora ruled briefly on her own, then adopted an emperor, Michael VI.

2. From 1056 on, rival aristocracies vied for power.
3. The provincial populations were increasingly alienated by heavy taxation and corruption.

III. These inept rulers failed to confront new frontier threats, the first of which was the Normans.

- A. The Normans first came to southern Italy as Byzantine mercenaries in the 1030s.
 1. William the Strong-arm ruled as count in southern Italy.
 2. William's younger brother, Robert Guiscard, succeeded and created the Norman state.
- B. The Norman success in central and southern Italy drove the papacy, the Byzantine Empire, and the Holy Roman Empire into alliance.
 1. In 1053, Pope Leo IX, a reformer, sent a delegation under Cardinal Humbert to negotiate a military alliance with Constantine IX.
 2. Cardinal Humbert became embroiled with the patriarch and was provoked to issue a papal bull of excommunication.
 3. In return, the patriarch issued his own excommunication, resulting in the *Great Schism* between the churches.
- C. As a result, the military alliance collapsed so that Normans overran southern Italy by 1071.

IV. The other threat to the Byzantine Empire was from the Seljuk Turks, who unexpectedly appeared on the eastern Byzantine frontiers in the 1050s.

- A. These nomadic warriors had been converted to Islam in the early 11th century through contact with Muslim merchants.
 1. The Turkomen, heirs to the traditions of the *ghazi*, "nomadic warriors," were superb light horsemen.
 2. In 1055, Sultan Tuhgril Bey united the Turkomen tribes, entered Baghdad, and restored the Abbasid caliphate.
- B. The sultan's objective was Cairo, the seat of the rival Fatimid caliphate, but Tuhgril Bey had to secure his northern frontier against Byzantium, a Fatimid ally.
 1. The *ghazi*, sent to raid the Byzantine frontier, met no serious resistance.
 2. With Theodora's death, power in Constantinople oscillated between a military elite and bureaucratic elite. The imperial government failed to check Turkish raids.
 3. In 1068, Romanus IV was proclaimed emperor to halt Turkish raids.
 4. These campaigns culminated in 1071. Romanus hurriedly put together a large army, but many of the soldiers were mercenaries, so the force had no traditions of victory or cooperation.
 5. In August 1071, Romanus IV was decisively defeated by Sultan Alp Arslan at Manzikert. The imperial army was annihilated and Asia Minor was open to Turkish conquest.
- C. In the next decade, the Turks carved out Muslim states in what had been the traditional Byzantine heartland. At the same time, the Normans invaded Greece.
- D. Out of the ensuing civil wars, Alexis I Comnenus seized power, repelled the invaders, and sent a summons for Western European mercenaries.

Readings:

Psellus, Michael. *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*. Translated and revised by E. R. A. Sewter.

Jenkins, Romilly. *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, 610–1081*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the empire face continual succession difficulties after 1025? How did courtiers and officials manipulate imperial succession to their advantage?
2. How dangerous were the threats posed by the Normans and Seljuk Turks? Could Romanus IV have reformed the Byzantine state if he had won a decisive victory at Manzikert in 1071?

Lecture Five

Abbasid Baghdad and Fatimid Egypt

Scope: Islam and China were the most successful of the Eurasian civilizations in the 11th century. The Abbasid caliphate is still perceived as the golden age of medieval Islam, because this empire, stretching from the Atlantic to the Indus, was founded on the teachings of the prophet Muhammad (570–632) as the community of believers (*umma*). The Abbasid caliphs ruled as Muhammad's descendants. Caliph al-Mansur (754–775) constructed a new capital at Baghdad and fell heir to the traditions of sacral monarchy of Persia and imperial Rome. Abbasid thinkers established the canons of orthodox, or Sunni, Islam; artists, poets, and scholars set the standards for Muslim visual arts and letters. But the Abbasid caliphate fragmented in the 9th century as emirs carved out independent realms under the caliph's nominal authority. Shi'ite and Alid sectarians refused to accept the orthodox caliphs, and the most successful, the Fatimids (909–1171), swept across North Africa, conquering Egypt and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. From 969, the Fatimids ruled as rival caliphs at Cairo; for the first time, the Muslim world was divided.

Outline

- I.** Muhammad claimed to be the last of a series of prophets that included Hebrews and Christians, culminating in Jesus.
 - A.** Around 610, Muhammad began to have visions. Muslims came to believe his sayings were the direct words of God.
 - 1. He preached against pagan cults and sacrifices.
 - 2. He advocated a purification of belief.
 - 3. He saw the need to return to the single God of Abraham and submit to God's will.
 - B.** Muhammad's teachings were initially not successful. He was driven out of Mecca in 622 and migrated to Medina. There, he continued to have revelations, some of which were connected to the *sharif* (the "leaf of law"). From the start, his vision was not just that of a prophet but also that of a statesman.
 - C.** Forming a single community (*umma*), Muhammad's followers and the people of Medina prevailed in a series of wars over Mecca (630–632).
 - D.** For the first time in Arabian history, a community existed that transcended the typical boundaries of blood and kin.
- II.** On the death of Muhammad, successors, known as *rashidun* ("rightly guided caliphs"), directed the expansion of the Islamic Empire.
 - A.** The first three caliphs—Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman—conquered a world empire that would stretch from the Atlantic to the Indus.
 - B.** In the fourth generation after Muhammad, governors of the Islamic Empire pushed into Spain and Central Asia and conquered the Indus Valley, the former heartland of Hindu civilization.
 - C.** From the start, Islam was associated with *jihad* ("holy war").
 - 1. The world was divided into the House of Islam—those who submitted to the will of God—and the House of War—the land of unbelievers. Muslims felt justified to advance Islam at the expense of the unbelievers.
 - 2. Their conquests across Eurasia confirmed to leaders that God favored the Islamic faith.
- III.** By the 11th century, Islam as a world religion had impressive credentials, but a succession crisis complicated the situation.
 - A.** The first three caliphs after Muhammad had been elected by a college of leading Muslims. In all three elections, Ali, a cousin of Muhammad and husband to Fatima, the prophet's only daughter, was a prime candidate. Some saw Ali as the logical successor to Muhammad, but he was not popular with the original leadership of the Muslims and was passed over twice for the caliphate.
 - B.** In 657, the Arab army in Egypt rebelled, marched on Medina, and murdered the then-reigning caliph, Uthman.

- C. Egyptian partisans, later known as Shi'a or Shi'ites, offered the caliphate to Ali, and he accepted. He was opposed by Muawiyia, governor of Syria, and civil war ensued.
- D. The war ended in 661 when sectarian extremists killed Ali. Muawiya was proclaimed caliph, the first of the orthodox, or Sunni, Umayyad caliphs and established a dynastic empire centered at Damascus.
- E. Ali's followers, the Shi'ites ("of the party"), did not give up. They came to the world in apocalyptic terms and believed that the overthrow of the Umayyad regime would usher in a new era of purity for Islam.

IV. The Umayyad caliphs have not been well remembered by Muslims, but they created the first Islamic state.

- A. They built an effective administration and assimilated classical traditions into the emerging Islamic culture. Their armies overran North Africa, Spain, Central Asia, and the Indus valley. But the Umayyads, perceived as impious, were unpopular among dissidents.
- B. In 674–678 and 717–718, the Umayyads failed to conquer Constantinople. Their defeats compromised the regime.
- C. The Umayyads were overthrown in 749–750 by the Abbasids..
 - 1. The Abbasid caliphs drew on the administrative and intellectual talent and resources of Iran and the lands of eastern Islam.
 - 2. Baghdad, dedicated as capital of the empire in 762, had been an immense undertaking.
 - 3. The cities of Iraq became engines that fueled economic development in the Islamic Empire.
 - 4. By shifting the axis of civilization from Syria to Iraq, the Abbasid caliphs depended on their Persian subjects, including non-Arab converts (*mawali*). As a result, the Abbasid court was seen favorably by later Muslims as proselytizing Islam.
- D. The Abbasid caliphate transformed the Arabic Empire into the first true Islamic Empire.
 - 1. Its administration was staffed by non-Arabs, who had been denied advancement under the Umayyad caliphate.
 - 2. Its military used mercenaries and slave soldiers, especially Turks, Kurds, Africans, and even Europeans who proved loyal and devoted to the caliph.
 - 3. Caliphs were henceforth spared the clashes between rival tribal regiments.
- E. Conversion to Islam was not forced, but conversion enabled advancement in the empire.
 - 1. Initially, many cities surrendered on terms, and religious leaders such as bishops or rabbis represented the conquered communities.
 - 2. Conversion by the sword was not practiced, but conditions favored conversion. Given the success of the caliphate, merchants embraced Islam to gain the protection of Muslim law.
 - 3. Further, non-Muslims paid a head tax and were prohibited from riding horses or learning the use of arms. Converting to Islam lifted these restrictions.

V. Despite their achievements, the Abbasids failed to establish a lasting regime. The empire began to fragment in the 9th century.

- A. The Abbasids had started their revolution with Shi'ites, but once they took power, they liquidated their former allies. Later groups of Shi'ites flourished in the new cities of the Islamic world and became popular with non-Arab converts. These groups were always sources of discontent in the caliphate but disputed among themselves.
- B. Among the Shi'ites were the Fatimids. In 909, their leader, al-Mahdi, emerged from hiding in Morocco, rallied Berber forces, and swept across North Africa.
- C. In 962, these forces overran Egypt, occupied Cairo, Medina, and Mecca, and then pushed into Syria against Abbasid forces.
- D. For the first time, the Sunni Abbasid caliphs faced a serious Shi'ite opponent. Eastern sectarians hailed the Fatimids as their deliverers, those who would bring in the new era of pure Islam.
- E. The Fatimid caliphs, who moved their seat to Cairo in 973, settled into the political routines of the Near East.
 - 1. By the early 11th century, the Fatimid caliphs ruled as Shi'ite versions of the Abbasids. Both regimes had caliphs as figureheads. Both had powerful ministers and military officials who ran the government.

2. Sectarians such as the “Assassins” grew disenchanted with the Fatimids.
- F. By the mid-11th century, the Islamic world was in a political and religious stalemate—the ideal of a single authority had been shattered.
 1. This stalemate was broken by an unexpected development—the arrival of the Seljuk Turks, who swept through the Near East, restored the Abbasid caliphate, and battered the Fatimid caliphate in the name of Islam.
 2. With the Seljuk Turks came the rejuvenation of Islam and a decisive defeat of Byzantine power that brought down the Byzantine state and ushered in the Crusades.

Readings:

Ashtor, E. *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*.

Donner, Fred M. *The Early Islamic Conquests*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the relationship of religious and political authority in the early Islamic state? What were the consequences for Islam as a world religion by its immediate acquisition of an empire in the 7th and early 8th centuries?
2. What accounted for the initial success of the Umayyad caliphs (661–751), and why did they fail to win wider support? How was their imperial order Arabic rather than Muslim in character?

Lecture Six

The Coming of the Seljuk Turks

Scope: From the steppes of Central Asia, Tuhgril Bey and his Seljuk Turks swept across Iran and entered Baghdad in 1055. As converts to Sunni Islam, the Seljuk Turks recognized the Abbasid caliphate. Tuhgril Bey and his successors styled themselves as *sultans* (“guardians” to the caliph) and saw in Fatimid Egypt their ideological foe. The Seljuk Turks, who combined the ethos of the *ghazi* warrior with *jihad*, were horse archers well versed in tactics of stealth and ambush. The Seljuk sultans, who sought to restore Muslim unity, directed their warriors to raid Byzantium, an ally of Fatimid Egypt. Seljuk raids climaxed in the unexpected victory at Manzikert (1071). The independent Turkish bands that carved out states in Anatolia disrupted Christian pilgrimage routes and drove the emperor Alexius I to appeal for Western aid.

Outline

- I. The Seljuk Turks arrived in a divided Islamic world in the 11th century, with the Fatimids centered in Cairo and the Abbasids in Baghdad. In some ways, the Turks were quite destructive, but in the political and military sphere, they regenerated the Abbasid caliphate. Who were these invaders?
 - A. Between the late 4th and 7th centuries, Turkic-speaking tribes migrated west from their traditional pastures along the northern and western frontiers of China to Central Asia and the steppes of southern Russia.
 - B. These were steppe nomads who practiced seasonal pastoralism, following the seasons to herd animals.
 - C. In the western arm of the steppe zone, the people first spoke Iranian languages; in the early Middle Ages, these Jianiou speakers were displaced by Turkic speakers.
 - 1. By the 11th century, the whole of the steppes was linguistically related through Turkic dialects.
 - 2. Nomads, however, had divided themselves into tribes and clans. Early Turkomen society was based on a kinship group known as the *yurt*.
- II. In the 7th century, Islamic armies overran the Sassanid Empire in Persia.
 - A. Turkomen warriors had perfected light cavalry warfare. They were experts with the composite bow, used leather armor, and were able to conduct campaigns over long distances. They wore down their opponents with a strategy of attacking and retreating.
 - B. Islamic armies hired large regiments of Turkomen soldiers or purchased them as slaves.
 - C. Turks found Islam congenial, embracing the faith upon entering military service. Turks also acquired Islam when they hired themselves out to protect the trade routes between the cities of northeastern Iran, Central Asia, and the Chinese Empire.
 - 1. Certain elements of Islam corresponded to Turkic beliefs, such as devotion to ancestors and the tradition of the *shaman*.
 - 2. Some scholars have argued that Central Asian steppe nomads were almost destined to convert to Islam because of their religious traditions and because of their location relative to the “vodka-hashish” dividing line. In the forest zones of Russia, where vodka was consumed, Christianity prevailed. The steppe nomads who used hashish inclined to Islam.
- III. By the 11th century, many of the Turkomen people embraced Sunni Islam, and these tribes were some of the most effective military powers on the fringes of the Islamic world. When they entered Baghdad, they brought both Sunni Islam and Iranian culture.
 - A. In 1037, Tuhgril Bey emerged amid constant tribal warfare on the frontier. He consolidated the tribes into an army and, by 1040, had defeated his rivals. His forces saw themselves as defenders of Islam and secured the caravan routes of Central Asia.
 - B. Tuhgril Bey’s forces then overcame Iran; in 1055, they entered Baghdad and restored the authority of the then-reigning caliph, who invested Tuhgril Bey as the *sultan* (“guardian”).
 - C. The caliph was still the religious and political authority of Sunni Islam, but he entrusted the military power to wage war to his Turkish sultan.

- D. Over the 11th and 12th centuries, Turkish commanders carved out regional states with their tribal armies but legitimized themselves by receiving the commission from the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad.
- E. Tuhgril Bey was a superb general, and his tribes settled on the grasslands of northern Iraq and southern Turkey.

IV. Tuhgril Bey saw the Fatimid caliphate, which controlled the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as the ideological foe of Sunni Islam.

- A. Turkomen armies clashed with Fatimid forces in the Levant.
- B. Turkish sultans, aware of the Fatimid alliance with Byzantium, attacked Byzantine Anatolia to secure their flank.
- C. Few Muslims were favorable to the Turkish newcomers.
 - 1. The Turks restored Baghdad politically, but throughout the era of the Crusades, the Turkish military elite was unpopular in the eyes of most Muslims.
 - 2. Turkish soldiers were seen as barbarians. They were ferocious warriors but hard masters.
 - 3. By ordering raids against Byzantine Anatolia, the sultans removed their unruly tribal regiments from Muslim cities.
 - 4. Under Tuhgril Bey's successor, Alp Arslan, Turkish warriors raided across Asia Minor and met little resistance from the Byzantines, leading to the decisive battle of Manzikert in 1071.

V. Despite the initial successes of Turkish arms, with the accession of Malik Shah, the Seljuk empire fragmented.

- A. Malik Shah, concerned with the eastern lands of the empire, assigned his brother Tutush the conduct of the war in Syria against the Fatimids. In 1086, the Seljuk capture of Antioch disrupted European pilgrimage routes.
- B. Other Turkomen tribes migrated into Asia Minor, founded their own Seljuk states, and disrupted the pilgrimage routes.
 - 1. The ghazi warrior Sulayman founded the most important Seljuk state on the plateau of Asia Minor at Konya.
 - 2. Another Turkish group, led by Malik Danishmend, seized control of northeastern Turkey, including cities along a trade route and Byzantine military highway.
- C. In Syria, Tutush's two sons, Ridvan and Duquq, disputed the leadership.
- D. Numerically, the Turkish armies posed an impressive threat, but politically, they had become divided by 1095.
- E. The Turks, who had moved into Asia Minor as a military elite, were on the fringes of the Islamic world.
 - 1. Constantinople saw the Turks as mercenaries and possible converts rather than just foes.
 - 2. The Byzantines needed military aid from Western Europe if they were to subjugate the Turks to imperial authority.
- F. By 1096, the promise of reunification under the Seljuk Turks had passed, and these agents of Abbasid restoration still faced a tough opponent in Fatimid Egypt. Above all, the Turks had sparked a reaction from Western Europeans that would launch the First Crusade.

Readings:

Cahen, Claude. *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*.

Sinor, Denis, ed. *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What factors drove the Seljuk Turkomen to enter Iran and revive the Abbasid caliphate?
2. How decisive was the Battle of Manzikert in 1071? How violent was the initial Turkish conquest, and what was the demographic, economic, and social impact of this conquest in the 11th century?
3. Why did the disruption of pilgrimage routes in 1071–1095 provoke such strong reactions in Western Europe?

Lecture Seven

The Recovery of Western Europe

Scope: The Crusades are often depicted as a migration of desperate, landless peasants and unwanted younger sons of nobles. The Byzantine princess Anna Comnena described the People's Crusade in 1096 as a "swarm of locusts." But this interpretation is incorrect. In fact, the Crusades were possible because of the economic and demographic recovery of Europe since the early 10th century. With heavy ploughshares and harnesses for teams of oxen, European peasants cleared virgin forests and vastly expanded the arable land. Manors, based on the sowing of a three-field system, were the basis of the power and prosperity of feudal lords and knights who went on Crusade. Simultaneously, trade revived, primed by renewed minting of silver coinages and innovations in ship design, so that Western Europe was again linked by sea and river routes that terminated at the Mediterranean ports of France and Italy. The Crusades accelerated this economic growth and promoted banking and circulation of money as nobles mortgaged their estates for hard cash and Italian cities reaped profits in supplying and shipping Crusaders.

Outline

- I.** This lecture looks at economic and social changes in Western Europe leading up to the Crusades.
 - A.** During the 150 years before the Crusades, Western Europe moved from relatively low levels of development in agriculture, technology, and trade to levels exceeding those of the Roman Empire.
 - B.** The resulting economic prosperity allowed for the launching of the Crusades.
 - C.** Developments in agriculture prompted advancements in demography, technology, and trade.
- II.** The Romans had developed agricultural techniques organized around the villa in the empire's northwestern provinces, including Britain, Gaul, northern Italy, and Spain.
 - A.** The medieval manorial system, which evolved from the Roman villa, is first recorded in the Carolingian inventories kept by Charlemagne and his heirs.
 - B.** The manor in northwestern Europe was based on the exploitation of serf labor.
 - 1.** Serfs were not free—they were under the authority of their lords—but they were in a different category than slaves.
 - 2.** By the 9th century, serfs were defined as those who owed labor services, such as harvesting and transporting crops, to their lords. In addition, serfs worked their own fields, from which they paid rents in the form of produce, animals, and labor.
 - C.** This arrangement, which characterized Western Europe in the 8th and 9th centuries, resulted in low levels of productivity.
 - 1.** Tools were scarce, and most were made of wood, rather than iron. The range of crops was limited, and the diet of the population was boring and spare. Forest lands were reserved for hunting.
 - 2.** Life was localized; lords restricted the activities and movement of their serfs.
- III.** From this elementary system, Western Europe made great strides over a period of, perhaps, 400 years. In the last 150 years before the Crusades, the pace of this development accelerated.
 - A.** One reason for the accelerated pace of change was the wider availability of iron tools.
 - B.** Better management of agriculture, specifically the shift from the two-field to the three-field system, also allowed manors to maximize productivity. With this shift in management, food production increased by 50 percent, and labor was reduced by one-sixth.
 - C.** The development of the coulter plough and horse collar increased the speed and efficiency of labor on the manor.
 - D.** Villages expanded, and village life, which included fairs and markets, began to blossom.
 - E.** Further improvements included the construction of mills and windmills and developments in tools that allowed clearing of forests for cultivation.
 - F.** By 1095, the time of the preaching of the First Crusade, the economic recovery of Europe was substantial.

IV. The demography of Western Europe also recovered as a result of these agricultural improvements.

- A. Beginning in the 6th century A.D., a cycle of plagues had led to demographic collapse in Europe. Populations in many regions were reduced by half.
- B. The political breakup of the Roman Empire also disrupted trade routes and town life. Many towns, especially in Italy, were simply abandoned.
- C. This collapse was restored by the success of European agriculture starting in the 10th century.

V. Agricultural successes also led to a far more diversified economy for Western Europe, spurring development in mining, timber harvesting, and textile production. These activities, in turn, spawned a revival of regional trade, which eventually tied into international trade.

- A. Increases in trade were assisted by improvements in shipbuilding, specifically, the shift from the labor-intensive *shell* system of ship construction to the cheaper and more efficient *skeleton* system.
 - 1. Scandinavians developed the *long ship*, which was ideal for Viking raids, and the *knarr*, or cargo ship, capable of withstanding the rough waters and harsh weather of the North Atlantic.
 - 2. These shipbuilding techniques of northern Europe were readily transmitted to the Mediterranean shores of Italy and southern France and Spain. These techniques produced the galleys and cargo vessels that would transport the Crusaders to the Levant.
- B. Along with increased trade came the revival of the use of coined money.
 - 1. From the late 7th century, only a single silver denomination (denier in French; penny in English) circulated primarily to pay rents and fines.
 - 2. Deniers were alloyed with copper until they were quite debased by the mid-10th century, when freshly mined specie allowed for new surges of minting.
- C. By 1000, monetized markets came to characterize a line of trade routes starting in Italy, running across the Alps, down the Rhine, and to the North Sea. The flow of goods and money increased along these trade routes, linking Western Europe to Byzantium and the caliphate.
 - 1. Italian cities, such as Genoa, Venice, and the south Italian ports, were particularly important.
 - 2. The variety and number of goods increased. By 1095, Europeans were importing silks, ivories, relics, weapons, and utensils—all produced in the Byzantine and Islamic worlds.
- D. Also by 1095, the Italians had become well versed in using the trade routes of the Mediterranean.
 - 1. The Byzantine fleet was still the dominant Christian naval power, but the trade routes and climate favored Western Europeans.
 - 2. The Western Europeans had the resources, such as hardwoods and pitch, to build more sophisticated ships. In this enterprise, the Muslims were at a disadvantage.
 - 3. Through the Rhine river system, trade fell into the hands of the Germans. By 1095, English and German skippers had perfected the sailing skills necessary to move Crusaders from the shores of the Atlantic, through the Straits of Gibraltar, and into the Mediterranean.

VI. The First Crusade came at a point when economic development was booming in Western Europe, and the Crusades accelerated this development.

- A. In 1096–1097, 100,000 Western Europeans marched off to the Holy Land. Most took overland routes, but they were sustained by fleets.
- B. This was the first major military expedition launched from Western Europe since the Roman age, a period of nearly seven centuries.
- C. The launching of the First Crusade was made possible by the economic and social changes that had taken place in Western Europe over the preceding 150 years. Most of that change rested on the backs of the peasants, who had transformed the European economy.

Readings:

Hodges, Richard, and David Whitehouse. *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe*.

Spufford, Peter. *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*.

White, Lynn, Jr. *Medieval Technology and Social Change*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the decisive breakthroughs in shipbuilding in the early Middle Ages? Why were these so important for the expansion of trade and, ultimately, the Crusades?
2. How important were the Italian ports in the growth of the Western economy? How did Italian cities act as vital conduits in the trade between Latin Christendom and the Byzantine and Muslim worlds?

Lecture Eight

Kings and Princes of Western Europe

Scope: In 1095, the bellicose nobles of Western Europe went on Crusade. None of the three great monarchs of Christendom—the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, King Philip I of France, or King William Rufus of England—assumed the cross. Each ruled a feudal realm that lacked the institutions to endure a lengthy royal absence. Instead, dukes and counts, who, as vassals, owed fealty for their lands in return for military service, possessed the determination and means to set out on holy war. These restless princes and their knights, devoted to Christ rather than his Commandments, prayed to the warrior saints in battle. Most of the princes of the First Crusade shared a common tongue in vernacular French, the court and literary language that united the warrior elite, whether in London, Paris, Cologne, or Palermo. Only the southern French who spoke Provençal were viewed as distinct. Therefore, princes and barons of Europe proved the natural leaders of the First Crusade.

Outline

- I. In the 800s, the Frankish King Charlemagne had united the Christian lands of Western Europe. He ruled France, the Low Countries, what was until recently West Germany, northern and central Italy, and modern Switzerland and Austria.
 - A. Charlemagne's empire was the core of Christendom, although Christians also dwelled in a small kingdom in northwestern Spain and small kingdoms and chiefdoms in the British Isles.
 - B. By 1095, the borders of Latin Christendom had expanded considerably; three great monarchies in England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire had emerged.
- II. The Franks were Germanic tribes who entered the Roman world in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and became the most important newcomers for the future of Western European civilization.
 - A. Under the Merovingian kings, the Franks conquered Roman Gaul. Their most famous king, Clovis, converted to Catholicism and brought the Franks respectability.
 - B. Clovis and his successors ruled by hereditary right until the dynasty was deposed by the Carolingians in 751.
 - 1. The Merovingians adapted Roman institutions and handed out territories to *comes* ("counts"), who administered at the local level.
 - 2. This parcelling out of territories led to increasing decentralization; by the mid-7th century A.D., the Merovingian kings had ceased to exercise authority outside their own domains.
 - C. Merovingian and other Germanic kings were heirs to late Roman political institutions. The Carolingian monarchs forged the first precocious effective order in Western Europe.
 - 1. The Carolingians began as *majores domos* ("greater men of the household") in the royal court of the Merovingians.
 - 2. A succession of these *majores domos*, starting with Charles Martel and his son, Pepin the Short, consolidated power in Gaul. Ultimately, Pepin the Short claimed the kingship and was legitimized by a papal coronation.
 - 3. Pepin's son, Charlemagne, re-created an imperial order in Western Europe for the first time in more than three centuries.
 - 4. Charlemagne built the Carolingian empire by conquering northernmost Germany, campaigning in the Slavic lands, incorporating northern and central Italy, and crossing the Pyrenees to drive back Arab raiders.
 - D. On Christmas Day 800, Charlemagne was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the pope, establishing himself and his heirs as successors to a Christian Roman vision of empire. His coronation, however, did not change the political decentralization of his domain.
 - 1. Charlemagne insisted on a hereditary succession and transmitted his empire to his son, Louis the Pious. In contrast, commonly, medieval realms were treated as private property divisible among heirs.
 - 2. Charlemagne's coronation linked his state with the papacy and the Christian justifications for a righteous royal monarchy.

- E. Louis's sons fought for partition, and ultimately, Charlemagne's kingdom was divided by his grandsons at the Treaty of Verdun in 843.
 - 1. Charles the Bald received the western Frankish kingdom, corresponding roughly to France.
 - 2. Louis the German received the eastern Frankish kingdom, which included western Germany and parts of Switzerland and Austria.
 - 3. The oldest of Louis's sons, Lothar, received the middle kingdom, which stretched from the Low Countries, up the Rhine, across the Alps, and into central and northern Italy.
- F. This division into three kingdoms was not arbitrary.
 - 1. All three rulers in the partition gained about the same amount of royal property (*fisc*).
 - 2. The borders took into consideration existing boundaries among various vassals.
 - 3. Lothar received the title of Holy Roman Emperor and the two capitals, Aachen and Rome.
 - 4. This division into three kingdoms became the premise behind all the political developments in Western Europe thereafter.
- G. The Carolingian world also saw the beginnings of an important evolution on the local level that allowed for the reconstruction of political stability in Western Europe, that is, the shift to the *fief*.
 - 1. The fief was a means of rewarding royal supporters. With coined money in short supply, kings could not pay for armies so lands were granted in return for military service.
 - 2. The Carolingian world saw a steady shift to this type of political organization. Lands were granted to vassals, who would, in turn, grant fiefs to lesser vassals, and so on. Each vassal owed military service to his immediate lord.
- H. With the partition at Verdun in 843, the Carolingian empire endured civil wars, and attacks from Vikings and Hungarians. For over a century, from 843 to 955, Western Europe was virtually under siege.
- I. The Carolingian world lost its cohesion, and the political institutions at the top lost control to the vassals at the local level.

- III.** In the two other areas of Christendom outside the Carolingian world, the pattern was quite different.
 - A. In England, the monarchy that emerged did not evolve the institutions that led to feudalism. Instead, feudal arrangements were brought to England by the Norman Conquest in 1066.
 - B. The English monarchy was also regional in basis, but it built on local institutions at the county, or *shire*, level.
 - C. King Alfred the Great and his descendants unified all of England under the House of Wessex. They devised a remarkable monarchy that drew on the local institutions of Britain.
 - D. In Spain, the situation was far more precarious. Asturias, in the northwestern corner of Spain, was ruled by Christian kings who, in the 8th and 9th centuries, held off a Muslim conquest and depended on support from their Christian allies.

- IV.** By 1095, three great feudal monarchies had emerged from the Carolingian world.
 - A. In France, King Philip I was ruling from Paris by right of hereditary succession.
 - 1. Philip was descended from Hugh Capet, who had been elected monarch by the nobility of France.
 - 2. Hugh had insisted on hereditary succession to a single heir. The Capetian kings were also sanctified by the French church and could work through the senior clergy to affect aspects of the realm that might otherwise be beyond their control.
 - 3. On the other hand, French kings were weak in comparison to those of England and the Holy Roman Empire. During the breakdown of the Carolingian Empire, vassals in France had asserted their power as independent rulers.
 - 4. By 1095, political authority had broken down to the point that it had to be rebuilt from the bottom up.
 - B. In England, the Battle of Hastings (1066) had put a French vassal, William the Conqueror, the Duke of Normandy, on the English throne.
 - 1. William imposed the system of feudal tenures on England but kept close control over his vassals. England became one of the most effectively governed kingdoms in Western Europe.
 - 2. The kings of England fell heir to legal and administrative traditions of the Anglo-Saxons, particularly the common law. Nonetheless, England was not on the same level of bureaucratic development as Byzantium.

3. William and his descendants based their rule on the good will of their vassals. Further, the Norman kings of England were vassals of the kings of France, so that the two monarchies were rivals.
- C. The third great monarchy was the Holy Roman Empire, encompassing Germany, the Alpine regions, the Low Countries, northern and central Italy, and eastern France.
 1. The monarchy in Germany also gained control of the imperial title over the lands of the middle kingdom. Therefore, the kings of Germany were linked to northern and central Italy.
 2. The Holy Roman Emperors never succeeded in making their position hereditary. The political authority in the empire never broke down to the extent that it had in France, but five dukes retained the power to elect the emperor.
 3. The electors were important in consolidating the political and economic institutions of the Holy Roman Empire at the local level.
- V. When Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade in 1095, his response came from the nobles of the Holy Roman Empire and France, not the monarchies.
 - A. The feudal lords had consolidated local power, refined the traditions of homage and vassalage, pioneered new techniques in warfare, and brought political and social order back to Western Europe.
 - B. The kings were still in the first stages of constructing effective monarchies and still ruled their domains from horseback.
 - C. It was logical, then, that the nobles answered the call for Crusade.

Readings:

Geary, Patrick J. *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World*.

Riché, P. *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*. Translated by Michael I. Allen.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the early Carolingian rulers Charles Martel and Pepin the Short construct an effective monarchy? What were the long-term consequences of the alliance between the papacy and the Frankish monarchy?
2. How did civil wars and incursions by Vikings, Hungarians, and Muslims transform the political and religious order of Western Europe in the 9th and 10th centuries? How did the different regions of Latin Christendom, such as France, Germany, and Anglo-Saxon England, respond to these threats?

Lecture Nine

Warfare in Western Europe

Scope: On the eve of the First Crusade, heavily armed knights, astride mighty chargers and on saddles with stirrups, dominated the battlefields of Western Europe. The Bayeux Tapestry is the best guide to their weapons and armor. Clad in coats of chain mail and sporting conical helmets, knights carried kite-shaped shields and fought with lance and sword. Commanders deployed knights in tandem with archers and infantry, as the Normans did at the Battle of Hastings. Cavalry charges were expertly timed. The princes of the First Crusade were seasoned commanders. At Antioch (1098), Count Bohemond displayed tactical brilliance in directing a decisive charge against superior Turkish forces. Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond IV of Toulouse had learned logistics and siege warfare in the Italian wars of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V and operations against the Muslims in Spain. The simple *motte and bailey* castle, constructed by Normans in Sicily or England, provided bases for waging wars of attrition against determined foes. Hence, Crusaders, contrary to hostile reports by Byzantine authors, numbered many experienced soldiers with exceptional discipline and bravery.

Outline

- I. What were the weapons and military traditions of Western Europe in the early Middle Ages?
 - A. Western European warriors inherited the military traditions of Rome or those of Celtic and Germanic origins.
 - B. Most armies in the Middle Ages were overwhelmingly infantry. But by 1100, knights were a decisive element in the armies.
 - C. Infantry warriors were armed with the spear, sword, and ax. Their armor was composed of overlapping leather scales; few could afford chain mail armor, with steel rings tightly fitted together backed by thick padding. These warriors also wore chain mail hoods and open helmets.
 - D. To achieve this level of armament was a long evolution. Not until Charlemagne was it possible to equip men adequately.
 - E. Most infantry and cavalry troops in the Middle Ages depended on leather jackets or quilted armor, and their primary defensive weapon was a reinforced wooden shield.
- II. Key changes in warfare came in the development of the cavalry, which was the result of several technological innovations.
 - A. The first of these innovations was the stirrup. By 600 A.D., the Byzantine army was mounting heavily armed cavalry on horses with stirrups. Men could henceforth carry out charges without fear of flying off their horses.
 - B. With the stirrup came improved saddles and spurs. By the 8th century, these were also known in Western Europe.
 - C. Byzantines and Arabs depended heavily on cavalry. The Byzantines used heavy shock cavalry and horse archers, while the Arabs used mounted bowmen supported by an infantry of archers and spearmen.
- III. In Western Europe, the combination of cavalry and infantry was in line with the development of military technology at the time, but it was here that the heavily armed, powerful, mounted warrior known as the knight evolved.
 - A. Even a small number of knights operating in effective teams could decide a battle. Knights were well equipped and able to fight in close order and push their opponents off the battlefield.
 - B. These warriors operated quite well in the densely wooded terrain of northern Europe, which did not lend itself to the light cavalry tactics of the steppes or the arid climates of the Middle East.
 - C. To maintain these knights, who were increasingly specialized and expensive, vassals of a lord were given property. The vassals then had to equip an adequate number of men to meet their military obligations.
 - D. With improvements in armaments, knights emerged as the premier warriors of Western Europe. By the 11th century, knights were so specialized they emerged as a distinct aristocratic order.

IV. The warriors of Western Europe mastered siege and positional warfare.

- A. A common tactic in Europe was for a noble to move into a region and erect a *motte and bailey* castle. This was essentially a circular stockade that was easily constructed and defended.
- B. The Western Europeans also deployed *engines of war* to capture fortified towns and castles. They understood the use of torsion weapons, such as the catapult and trebuchet, used to hurl stones against walls.
- C. The construction of storming towers, sheds, and the Latin *agger*—a ramp used to move a tower closer to a wall—were all known by Western Europeans on the eve of the Crusades.
- D. Italians were especially skillful in constructing these types of weapons because they were heavily engaged in shipbuilding.
- E. Western Europeans did not have Greek fire, an incendiary product that could be shot at ships and towers. The Byzantines kept this weapon as their state secret.
- F. In addition to siege warfare, Western Europeans had learned how to mobilize, equip, and support armies in long expeditions.
 - 1. Since most clashes were regional and positional, there were few large-scale battles. A noble would move into an area, build a castle, and try to wear down his opponents by attrition. This action might climax in a battle or in negotiations.
 - 2. By the 11th century, there were some larger expeditions. The Holy Roman Emperor, for example, marched armies of 15,000–20,000 men out of the Rhineland, into Italy, and onto Rome.
 - 3. Command and logistics learned on these expeditions proved that the Western Europeans were not undisciplined warriors.

V. In 1066, William the Conqueror led 6,000 men across the English Channel and met the forces of Harold II in Hastings. This encounter pitted the two traditions of European warfare against each other.

- A. Harold's army was more conservative, based on traditions of infantry of the early Middle Ages.
 - 1. Harold had some 2,000 soldiers, known as *housecarls*, who fought out of Germanic loyalty to their lord and were equipped with the double ax, chain mail, and round shields.
 - 2. These soldiers assumed dense infantry positions, forming the shield wall for defense and attacking in the wedge (*cuneus*).
 - 3. Harold's *housecarls* were also supported by local *levies* of bowmen and spearmen.
 - 4. Harold's full army might have been slightly larger than William's, but many of his soldiers, including his archers, were on the road, returning from a battle with the Norwegians that had taken place several weeks earlier.
- B. William achieved victory through a combination of cavalry attacks, barrages of archers, and feigned retreats.
 - 1. To feign a retreat, the Normans would fall back in disarray; the untrained levies would then surge forth, and the Normans would turn and butcher them.
 - 2. Late in the day of October 14, 1066, Harold was mortally wounded and lost control of his forces. The Normans broke the English resistance.
 - 3. The *housecarls* went down fighting with their lord. Reputedly, none survived.
- C. The Battle of Hastings illustrates the strategies and equipment that gave the Western Europeans their success in such battles as Antioch and Dorylaeum in the First Crusade, including the feigned retreats, the use of a combination of knights and archers, protection of the knights by an infantry shield, careful timing of charges, and the inspiration of the commanders.

Readings:

France, John. *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000–1300*.

Oman, C. *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*. Two volumes.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. What accounted for the changes in weapons and tactics in Carolingian Europe? What was the impact of these changes on Western society? How did contemporaries view the knight?

2. How expensive and complex was warfare in the 11th century? How important was generalship and logistics? What vital lessons were learned by the future leaders of the First Crusade?

Lecture Ten

The Papacy and Religious Reform

Scope: Pope Urban II could inspire but hardly command Crusaders, because he possessed a bureaucracy that was rudimentary even by the standards of feudal Europe. Since the mid-8th century, the papacy sought protectors among the kings of Western Europe. With the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, religious and secular authority were split in the West, quite in contrast to Byzantium and the caliphate. The Ottonian and Salian kings of Germany, who ruled as Holy Roman Emperors over northern Italy, the Rhineland, and the Lowlands, restored the prestige of the papacy. But churchmen schooled in the Cluniaic traditions feared lest secular interference undermine the church's spiritual mission. In this spirit, Gregory VII disputed the right of Emperor Henry IV to invest bishops, and the ensuing *Investiture Controversy* redefined the medieval church. Popes Gregory VII and Urban II, wishing to assert the superiority of the spiritual over the secular, saw in holy war the means whereby they could harness the warlike rulers to the service of Christ.

Outline

- I.** On the eve of the First Crusade, Western Europeans were beginning to accept a division of secular and spiritual authority that differed from the unity seen in the contemporary Byzantine Empire and the caliphate.
 - A.** The caliphate was much closer to the late Roman idea of Constantine that political and religious authority rested in one place.
 - B.** In Western Europe, a unique historical premise had developed in which faith and politics were distinct.
 - C.** At the time of the launching of the First Crusade, this issue of the relationship between the secular and spiritual had not yet been decided.
 - 1.** Popes traced their ascendancy as far back as the 3rd century A.D., when the doctrine of papal supremacy was first voiced. Rome was the sole Petrine authority in the western half of the Roman Empire.
 - 2.** In the 7th and 8th centuries, Greek-speaking popes developed this notion that the papacy had doctrinal primacy in all matters pertaining to the Christian faith.
 - D.** The 8th century saw a dramatic change in the position of the papacy. The emperor in Constantinople could no longer protect the popes in Rome.
 - 1.** As a result, the popes formed an alliance with Pepin the Short, who was given a papal coronation as king of the Franks.
 - 2.** The *donation of Pepin* (the future papal states) established the papacy as the political power in central Italy.
 - 3.** Henceforth, the Frankish monarchy was tied to the papacy, a link that climaxed in 800, when Charlemagne was crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
- II.** By historical accident, then, the West experienced a physical separation between the location of political and military power and that of religious authority. This was not the case in the Byzantine and Muslim worlds.
 - A.** Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, failed to maintain the Christian empire which Charlemagne had constructed.
 - B.** By 843, what Charlemagne had idealized as the restoration of the old Roman Empire in Latin Christendom had been divided among his three grandsons.
 - C.** Over the course of the next century, the boundaries among those divisions shifted, and the eastern Frankish state—the German kingdom—emerged as the most effective. In 962, Otto I had taken over the old middle kingdom of the former Carolingian Empire and was crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
 - D.** Otto built his state by turning to the episcopacy in Germany and Italy to support his position.
 - 1.** To assert royal authority over his diverse realm, Otto gave secular powers to bishops, abbots, and archbishops to administer estates and imperial monasteries. By the 11th century, prelates were expected to campaign with emperors as part of the conditions for administering these properties.

- 2. Over the course of the 10th and 11th centuries, the kings of Germany turned the episcopacy into their top administrative class. Otto and his successors justified this situation, because they saw themselves as having dominion over *Imperium Christianum*, the Christian empire.
- 3. The German kings could also legitimately claim they had restored the integrity of the papacy because Rome had suffered from the political breakdown and civil wars that followed the division of the Holy Roman Empire in 843.
- 4. There were dangers, however, because German kings could turn the episcopacy into their own officials so that the pope would become nothing more than the chaplain of the emperor.
- E. Another set of precedents reinforced the German kings' special position as Christian emperors.
 - 1. In several disputed papal elections in the 11th century, the German king had intervened and settled the issue of succession.
 - 2. To the German kings, this was a logical reversal. If the popes could create an emperor, as they had with Charlemagne, then in certain circumstances, the emperor could create a pope.
 - 3. This powerful notion in the Holy Roman Empire was one way of reconciling the issue of secular versus spiritual authority.

III. The popes had a different view of the relationship between the papacy and the imperial crown.

- A. In 911, Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine endowed a Benedictine monastery at Cluny with the condition that the monks be free from lay interference.
- B. Often in the Middle Ages, powerful secular protectors regarded bishoprics, nunneries, and monasteries as their private property and involved themselves in the election of spiritual leaders, admission of members to the clergy, handling of monies, and so on. Of course, the possibilities for abuse in this system were abundant.
- C. Abbot Berno of Cluny changed these practices and returned the monastery to the model that St. Benedict had preached.
- D. Abbot Berno and his successors were remarkably successful in their efforts. Over the 10th and 11th centuries, Clunaic monks reformed more than 1,000 monasteries so that Cluny became one of the leading international institutions of Western Europe.
- E. Clunaic monks emphasized the superiority of spiritual over secular authority and advanced a vision of pristine Christianity and of papal elections free from control of the emperors.
- F. The turning point came in the pontificate of Leo IX.
 - 1. Influenced by Clunaic ideas, Leo initiated reforms in the church and appointed men to the College of Cardinals who believed that the two authorities should be separated.
 - 2. This vision clashed with premises of the administration of the Holy Roman Empire.
- G. The dispute climaxed in the reigns of Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII.
 - 1. Under the regency of Empress Agnes for her son Henry IV, popes had advanced reformist views unchallenged for nearly two decades.
 - 2. The irascible Pope Gregory VII quickly clashed with Henry IV, determined to assert his own authority.
 - 3. Gregory also entertained notions of helping the Byzantines in the first serious effort at a crusade, but that expedition never came to pass because war erupted between Henry and Gregory.
 - 4. The war was fought over a specific issue, the investiture of bishops, which probably could have been resolved through compromise, but behind this issue was the larger question of secular versus spiritual authority.
 - 5. Pope Gregory insisted that the emperor had no right to invest bishops, that this power should belong to Rome. Henry rejected this idea, and Gregory excommunicated him. The nobility of Germany, who had other reasons for opposing Henry, raised the standard of rebellion and were sanctified as soldiers of St. Peter.
 - 6. At Canossa in 1077, Henry gained Gregory's forgiveness and absolution. The "soldiers of St. Peter" were henceforth insurgents and ruthlessly suppressed by Henry IV.
 - 7. Henry, excommunicated again for failing to honor his promises, invaded Italy and besieged Rome in 1082–1083. The fighting climaxed in the Norman intervention and sack of Rome in 1085.

H. As a result of the Investiture Controversy, the Holy Roman Emperors had to move away from using ecclesiastical officials.

IV. Pope Urban II was elected in the aftermath of this complicated war.

- A.** Urban faced the need to restore papal moral authority after the diplomatic defeat at Canossa, rebuild after the Norman sack of Rome, and still resolve the issue of who had the right of investiture.
- B.** It was no accident that Urban had the idea of launching the First Crusade, which he did as a result of correspondence sent by Alexius I.
- C.** Urban did not resolve the issue of secular versus spiritual authority, but merely widened the arena where the issue would be played out.
- D.** This unresolved issue made the Crusades all the more perplexing to the Muslims and Byzantines and highlighted a fundamental difference between Western society and the worlds of Byzantium and the caliphate. As these expeditions came out of the West, their opponents wondered: Who was in charge?

Readings:

Barraclough, Geoffrey. *The Medieval Papacy*.

Southern, R. W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*.

Questions to Consider:

1. On the eve of the First Crusade, how did Byzantines or Muslims perceive the divided authority between the spiritual and secular in Latin Christendom?
2. How did the pontificate of Leo IX represent a turning point? Why did Urban II preach the First Crusade in 1095? In what ways did he hope to promote spiritual renewal and ecclesiastical reform in Christendom?

Lecture Eleven

Piety and Pilgrimage

Scope: Many adventurers trekked east in the name of holy war, but crusade remained for most Christians an armed pilgrimage. Since the 4th century, European Christians had yearned for the spiritual renewal gained from visiting the holy places. For them, Jerusalem stood at the center of the world. The desire for pilgrimage, when fused with the Germanic warrior ethos and Christian ideals of holy war, resulted in crusade. The military elite of Western Europe venerated Christ as the Lord of Hosts and compared themselves to the righteous kings of Israel. Churchmen since St. Augustine upheld the *just war* in the defense of the faith. In southern France, prelates since the 10th century proclaimed the *truce of God* to halt endemic warfare and urged bellicose knights to turn their arms against the heathens. Inspired by the power of God and a desire to reach Jerusalem, Crusaders won stunning victories, often against heavy odds, and crusading came to be seen as the ultimate expression of piety for medieval Europe.

Outline

- I. The tradition of pilgrimage played a remarkable role in Western European society.
 - A. Pilgrimage answered a yearning to see the holy places that could be traced back to the 4th century for many Christians.
 - B. The act of travel to these shrines was seen as offering spiritual rejuvenation or renewal.
 - C. The idea that traveling to holy places was a common goal for all Christians and expressed an act of Christian love contributed to the Crusaders' ability to overcome impossible odds and daunting foes.
 - D. Islam, too, had rules of pilgrimage; every pious Muslim should travel to Mecca.
 - E. For the Byzantines, pilgrimage was a more convenient journey to Constantinople.
 - F. Western Europeans had to evolve the notion of crusade because Christian literature did not articulate a notion of holy war as in Islam.
- II. How had Christians come to view pilgrimage since the 4th century?
 - A. When Constantine, the first Christian emperor, reunited the Roman world in 324 A.D., he commissioned the founding of a new Christian capital, Constantinople.
 - 1. Constantine rededicated the old Jewish homeland in Palestine as a new sacred landscape for Christians and ordered the transformation of Jerusalem into a Christian city.
 - 2. Constantine and his mother, St. Helena, sponsored excavations of Christian sites, notably the site of the Crucifixion and the holy sepulcher.
 - 3. From Constantine's reign until the conquest of the Arabs in the 7th century, the old Roman province of Palestine was transformed. Palestine became the focus of a new Christian Jerusalem with numerous shrines that Christians would make an effort to see.
 - 4. Constantine and St. Helena also constructed monasteries, hospitals, and other accommodations for the traveling faithful.
 - B. A tradition grew of accommodating and facilitating the movement of pilgrims from Western Europe to Palestine.
 - 1. A series of itineraries was developed, the most remarkable of which was compiled by a Gallic woman, Aetheria, who traveled to Asia Minor in the later 4th century. Her description of the sites she saw served as a model itinerary throughout the period of the Crusades and beyond.
 - 2. By 600 A.D., just before these Byzantine regions passed under Muslim control, the pilgrimage trade had become well developed.
 - C. Pilgrimage was also associated with the notion of intercession. A petitioner prayed before—not to—an icon or relic of a saint or the Virgin Mary for intercession with God.
 - 1. Relics were believed to give Christians a window into the other world, in the same spirit that traveling to a sacred spot brought one closer to God.
 - 2. On their return, pilgrims brought back relics, icons, and tales of the traditions of Palestine. Relics, such as saints' bones, were high-value items and were brought to the West in great numbers.

3. Christians in the Byzantine world did not attach quite the same importance to pilgrimage as the Western Christians did, but they understood the motives of the Westerners.

III. The 7th and 8th centuries saw the collapse of Byzantine power in the Mediterranean world and the breakdown of communication needed to sustain this high level of pilgrimage trade.

- A. Pilgrimage did not end, but the numbers of pilgrims seen in the late Roman world declined once the Byzantines and the Arabs were battling for control of the Mediterranean.
- B. In response, Western Europeans developed their own shrines as pilgrimage destinations. For example, the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela became a major pilgrimage attraction in the era before the Crusades, as did the shrine of St. Martin of Tours.
- C. Charlemagne also concluded a treaty with the Abbasid caliph, Harun ar-Raschid, to extend the pilgrimage and provide security.
 - 1. Hence, during the first half of the 9th century, Western European pilgrims increased slightly. Italian cities, such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, that carried Western European pilgrims, benefited from this surge. The Venetians were especially adept at smuggling relics out of the Holy Land.
 - 2. Macedonian emperors, especially Basil II, imposed security in the Balkans and Asia Minor. Once again, the numbers of Western European pilgrims rose in the 10th and 11th centuries to probably the highest levels since the 5th and early 6th centuries.
- D. Western Europeans who went on pilgrimage included prominent figures, such as Thorvald Kódransson Vidtförli, who brought Christianity to Iceland, and Harold Haradara, later king of Norway. The retinues of these travelers could be enormous, numbering as many as 10,000.

IV. The second tradition of piety feeding into the evolution of the Crusades was the notion of the *just war*, which Christians began to articulate at the same time as they refined their ideas about pilgrimage.

- A. Christians did not have a coherent theology about holy war. The Crusades are often compared to *jihad*, but biblical texts do not support this opinion.
 - 1. Some passages in the Old Testament make references to holy war, as did the Roman tradition of the *bellum iustum* ("just war").
 - 2. St. Augustine married the Roman and Old Testament traditions to justify the idea that in certain situations, such as to defend or extend the faith, a just war was legitimate.
- B. By the 10th and 11th centuries, the notion of just war was also fused with the martial ethos of the Germanic and Celtic peoples.
 - 1. Sermons, prayer books, miniaturist paintings, and Romanesque sculptures all emphasized the battles against the heathens from the later books of the Old Testament.
 - 2. Further, Western European churchmen had a distorted view of Roman history and tended to write it with an emphasis on the Christian emperors, such as Constantine and Theodosius.
 - 3. The justifications of holy war circulated among Christian literate classes who disseminated such views to other ranks of society.
 - 4. The Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic peoples had their own traditions of a warrior ethos, well attested in Germanic epics.
- C. Western Europeans accepted the idea that Christianity could be defended and pagans could be converted by the sword. By 800, when Christendom was assaulted on all sides by Vikings, Hungarians, and Muslims, this vision intensified.
- D. The righteousness of this vision was intensified because Western Europeans did not have many people of other religions in their midst.
 - 1. Some Jewish communities existed in the Rhineland, France, and the Low Countries, but they were a tiny minority.
 - 2. Inasmuch as Christians did not rule over a large subject population of another faith, they did not develop the ideology of the Abbasid caliphate that all fellow monotheists should be tolerated.
 - 3. To Western Europeans, the world was divided into those of the new Israel and idolaters or heathens. Throughout the Crusades, the Muslims were simply lumped in with the pagans.
- E. As mentioned earlier, many peoples of Western Europe still, in some ways, believed in the traditions of their pagan ancestors, especially in the Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic lands.

1. Europeans were long Christians in name, and so Benedictine monks had to overcome ancient superstitions and pagan practices.
2. Western Europeans lived in dense forests and marsh lands, places where demons, witches, and the old gods were thought to dwell.
3. There was a superstition that an inimical world existed, a demon and spirit world hostile to Christianity that had to be warded off.
4. Pagans were thought to be in league with demonic forces. Hence, many prelates of Western Europe rode into battle fighting for the Christian cause against the forces of darkness and evil.

F. The tradition of holy war, the martial ethos, and the fear of the dark spiritual world all stood behind efforts of Clunaic and later reformers to regulate and direct the bellicose nobility of Western Europe.

1. These efforts included sponsorship of the *peace of God* and the *truce of God*, proclamations by bishops in their dioceses to protect noncombatants in battle or not to fight on feast days.
2. There were also attempts to ban the crossbow as a weapon used against Christians because it could penetrate chain mail.
3. Bishops believed that just war should be guided in the right direction.
4. The Investiture Controversy and the wars of the popes in Italy during the 11th century also stressed holy war.

V. By 1095, the popes had established a strong tradition of summoning the warriors of Europe on their behalf and on behalf of the faith. Urban II combined all these beliefs and images on November 27, 1095, when he preached the First Crusade; the response he received was overwhelming.

Readings:

Erdmann, C. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*.

Riley-Smith, J. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*.

Russell, F. H. *The Just War in the Middle Ages*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What accounted for the enduring popularity of pilgrimage to Jerusalem throughout the Middle Ages? How did armed pilgrimage differ from crusade?
2. How did the fighting of the Investiture Controversy and claims of Gregory VII lead to the formation of crusade as preached by Pope Urban II?

Lecture Twelve

Christian Offensives in Spain and Sicily

Scope: In the 11th century, Christian monarchs in Spain, citizens of the Italian maritime city-states, and Norman adventurers redefined border wars against Muslim foes as part of a wider conflict between Christendom and Islam. In 1064, King Ferdinand I of Leon and Castile first summoned French and Norman knights in return for a promise of indulgences from Pope Alexander II. His son, Alfonso VI, similarly appealed to Christian allies north of the Pyrenees in campaigns that climaxed with the capture of Toledo in 1085. With papal blessing, the Italian maritime republics of Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi regained the initiative in the western Mediterranean, destroying Muslim pirate dens in Sardinia and North Africa and supporting the Norman advance in Sicily. These wars accustomed princes and knights to large-scale campaigning in the name of Christianity, and Italian fleets became expert in sustaining overseas expeditions. Although the wars were not the dress rehearsal of the First Crusade, they inclined many Christians to respond to the appeals of Pope Urban II in 1095.

Outline

- I.** This lecture looks at Christian offensives in the western Mediterranean, Spain, and Sicily against Muslim opponents. We examine three important aspects of these offensives that prepared a coalition of Western Europeans to respond to the appeals of Pope Urban II.
 - A.** The first topic we shall examine is the naval war in the Mediterranean, waged primarily by citizens of cities in Italy, southern France, and Christian Spain.
 - B.** We then shall turn to the situation in Spain between native Muslim powers and Christian kingdoms in the northwest, which had steadily increased in size and importance since the time of Charlemagne.
 - C.** Finally, we shall look at the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, which served as a laboratory for the Normans to learn how to conquer a Muslim area and adapt its institutions.
- II.** Arab armies pushed into the western Mediterranean in 696 when they captured Carthage, the seat of a Byzantine administration in the west.
 - A.** Carthage surrendered to a Muslim governor, Musa ibn Nusair, and with him came Arab corsairs (“pirates”), who attacked Christian bases in the western Mediterranean.
 - B.** Over the course of the 8th and 9th centuries, the extent and range of Arab attacks increased, because no effective political and military authority existed in Western Europe.
 - C.** Between 827 and 878, Arab forces overran the island of Sicily, and turned Palermo into a major naval base for Arab power.
 - D.** Arabic freebooters operating out of Spain and North Africa also seized positions on the Italian coast and in southern France.
 - E.** Arab freebooters or emirs conducted local attacks on their own initiative, but they could have extended Islam.
 - F.** In the 10th and early 11th centuries, the Byzantine government in Constantinople made a serious effort to put down this piracy.
 - G.** Macedonian emperors retook southern Italy, launched campaigns to recover Sicily, and formed alliances with the papacy and European princes to suppress piracy.
 - H.** By the opening of the 11th century, the balance was shifting to the Christian side. Many Arab bases had been shut down, and Italian city-states, particularly Pisa and Genoa, were assuming the offensive.
 - 1.** Genoa was responsible for clearing out the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and the Pisans cooperated with the Normans in their capture of Sicily.
 - 2.** By the 1060s, the Italian city-states were raiding North African ports—the bases that had supported the Arabic naval effort.
 - 3.** Italian maritime republics learned to cooperate with Christian princes in these wars against the Muslims. They also gained seafaring experience and became familiar with coalition warfare.

4. By 1095, the Italians enthusiastically responded to the call of Urban II because they had been fighting the Muslims for generations.

III. In 711, a force of Moors (Berbers and Arabs controlled by Musa ibn Nusair) crossed into Spain on an exploratory raid. They achieved a decisive victory over the Visigothic army of King Roderick and overran the Spanish Peninsula in the next several years—all except the extreme northwest.

- A. By 713, Moorish forces were crossing the Pyrenees and attacking the Mediterranean shores of France.
- B. The Muslims found the central regions of Spain, its Mediterranean shoreline, and the far south congenial. The Arab conquerors built a Muslim state based on the urban Roman society.
- C. In 756, the Umayyad prince Abd al-Rahman was welcomed by the Arab tribal armies as their emir. Henceforth, the Muslim administration in Spain operated independently from Baghdad.
- D. Muslim Spain was hailed as the epitome of toleration. Jews, Christians, and Muslims came into contact and cultural exchange ensued. On the other hand, the court of Cordova had no doubt that the entire peninsula should be brought into the House of Islam.
- E. The Arab conquerors had little interest in the tough, mountainous regions of northwest Spain.
 - 1. The Christian nobility who had survived the disaster of 711–713 had fled to the northwest districts and claimed to hold out there in the name of the old Visigothic kings.
 - 2. By the end of the 9th century, Christian kings ruled from the cities of Leon, Barcelona, and Navarre. Their nascent realms in the northern parts of the peninsula could pose a local challenge to Muslim authorities on the other side of the border.
 - 3. The government in Cordova controlled the region bounded by what is today known as the “line of the olive trees.” Rulers there were not interested in the regions north of that line, but they launched raids into the Christian kingdoms to humiliate the Christians and extort tribute.
- F. The Christians were much more serious about these border wars. They wanted to bring the peninsula back under Christian control.
 - 1. From the 8th through 11th centuries, Christian Spain witnessed internecine wars among Christian rulers and frontier clashes with Muslims.
 - 2. In 977, the then-commander of the Umayyad armies, al-Mansur, invaded Castile and Leon and sacked the pilgrimage shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela. This act of humiliation for the Christians underlines the religious sense of warfare that was felt between Christians and Muslims.
 - 3. In the 11th century, the Christian kings were ever more effective in pushing back the Muslims. They also called on their coreligionists in France and farther east to assist in these endeavors.
 - 4. With the capture of Toledo in 1085, Christian power was consolidated in central and northern Spain.

IV. The Normans, who had invaded southern Italy and dislodged the Byzantines by 1071, cast their eyes toward Sicily, a beautiful and prosperous island of the Mediterranean world.

- A. Robert Guiscard could not launch his own attack on Sicily but recruited his brother Roger of Calabria for assistance.
 - 1. Roger landed in Sicily at the invitation of an emir and intervened to support one Muslim dynast against another. After he fulfilled his contract, he went into business for himself.
 - 2. The Normans with Roger claimed to be fighting under a papal banner. They showed their brilliance for positional warfare, steadily extending the range of their territory by erecting castles, ravaging the countryside, and reducing the populations to submission.
 - 3. At the time of Roger’s death in 1094, most of Sicily was under Norman authority.
 - 4. Roger’s son, Roger II, went on to unite Sicily and Italy and create a model of efficiency among the kingdoms of Western Europe.
- B. In fighting the Muslims, the Normans proved some of the most indomitable warriors in Western Europe. They cultivated a ferocious, violent image and believed with conviction that they were favored in battle by St. George and St. Leonard.
- V. From these experiences, the Normans in Sicily, the Italian merchant republics, and the Christians living on the shores of Spain and France were more than ready to respond to the appeals of Urban II.

Readings:

Kreutz, B. *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Christian offensives in Italy, Sicily, and Spain define the Muslim foe? In what ways did these clashes contribute to notions of crusade?
2. In what ways were the Normans the successors to the Byzantine and Muslim regimes in Italy and Sicily? What accounted for the extraordinary success of the Normans?

Timeline

325–330 Foundation of Constantinople (New Rome) by Emperor Constantine (r. 306–337)
Rebuilding of Jerusalem and rise of pilgrimage (325–600)

395–489 Migration of the Germanic tribes into the Roman Empire

476 Fall of western Roman Empire

496 Conversion to Christianity of Clovis, king of the Franks (r. 484–511)

610–641 Reign of Heraclius: Birth of Middle Byzantine State (610–1204)

622 *Hegira* (“Flight”) of Muhammad (570–632) from Mecca to Medina
Proclamation of Islam and unification of Arabia (622–634)

632 Accession of Caliph Abu Bakr (r. 632–634)

634–644 Reign of Caliph Umar: Arabic conquests of Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Persia

644–657 Reign of Caliph Uthman

656–661 Civil war in Islamic Empire; division into Sunni and Shi’ites
Establishment of Umayyad Caliphate at Damascus (661–751)

711–713 Musa ibn Nusair conquers Visigothic Spain

732 Battle of Tours: Charles Martel, major domo of Franks, defeats Muslims

749–751 Establishment of Abbasid Caliphate (749–1258)
Islamic cultural and religious flowering (750–1000)

754 Pope Stephen II (r. 752–757) crowns Pepin I king of Franks (751–768)

756 Donation of Pepin: Papal monarchy in Italy
Umayyad Emir Abd al-Rahman (r. 754–788) declares independence in Spain

762 Foundation of Baghdad as Abbasid capital by Caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775)

768–814 Reign of Charlemagne and creation of the Carolingian Empire

800 Pope Leo III crowns Charlemagne Emperor of the West

814–950 Invasion in Western Europe by Vikings and Hungarians
Rise of feudal order

827–878 Muslim conquest of Sicily

843 Treaty of Verdun: Partition of Carolingian Empire among Lothar (r. 840–855), Charles the Bald (r. 840–875), and Louis the German (r. 840–876)

867 Accession of Basil I (r. 867–886)
Political revival and renaissance under Macedonian Dynasty (867–1056)

870 Accession of Alfred the Great, king of Wessex (r. 870–899)
Unification of England by Anglo-Saxon kings (870–959)

911 Duke Rollo (r. 911–925) enfeoffed with the duchy of Normandy
Abbot Berno (r. 911–927) makes Cluny a model of Benedictine monasticism

919 Henry I, “the Fowler” (r. 919–936), elected king of Germany, first of Saxon dynasty

936 Accession of Otto I (r. 936–973) as king of Germany

962 Otto I crowned Holy Roman Emperor

969 Fatimid Caliphate proclaimed at Cairo (969–1171)

976–1025 Reign of Basil II, “the Bulgar-slayer”: Zenith of Byzantine power
 Rise of pilgrimages from Western Europe to Jerusalem

986 Hugh Capet (986–996), duke of Paris, declared king of France
 Establishment of Capetian Dynasty in France

997 Muslims sack St. James at Santiago de Compostela

1001 Alliance of Basil II with Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim to protect pilgrimage routes

1009 Repair of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem

1015–1016 Pisans and Genoese capture Corsica and Sardinia from Muslim pirates

1025 Accession of Constantine VIII (1025–1028)
 Crises in imperial succession (1025–1056)

1028 Accession of Zoe and Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034)
 Domination of court by John the Many-eyed

1034 Accession of Michael IV (1034–1041), second husband of Zoe
 Normans under William the Iron-arm arrive in Italy (1034–1038)

1037–1043 Tuhgril Bey (1037–1063) and Seljuk Turks overrun Khoresan and Central Asia

1042 Accession of Constantine IX (1042–1055), third husband of Zoe
 William the Iron-arm conquers county of Apulia (1042–1046)

1045 University of Constantinople reorganized and endowed

1046 Robert Guiscard assumes leadership of Normans and conquers Byzantine Italy

1048 Election of Pope Leo IX (1048–1054)
 Triumph of reformist movement at papacy

1053 Battle of Civitate: Robert Guiscard defeats and imprisons Pope Leo IX

1054 The Great Schism

1055 Death of Constantine IX and accession of Theodora (1055–1056)
 Tuhgril Bey enters Baghdad and is declared sultan
 Restoration of Abbasid Caliphate

1056 Death of Theodora and end of Macedonian Dynasty
 Clash between military and civil Byzantine aristocracies

1057 Robert Guiscard, as duke of Apulia, consolidates Norman rule in southern Italy
 Accession of Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (r. 1057–1106)

1061 Roger initiates the Norman conquest of Sicily (1061–1094)

1063 Accession of Alp Arslan as sultan of Seljuk Turks (r. 1063–1072)
 Turkomen raids into Asia Minor (1064–1071)

1066 Battle of Hastings: Norman Conquest of England

1068 Accession of Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–1072)

1071 Battle of Manzikert: Defeat of Romanus IV by Sultan Alp Arslan
 Turkomen settlement of Asia Minor (1071–1081)
 Robert Guiscard and Normans capture Bari and end Byzantine rule in Italy

1073 Sancho II of Castile under papal banner captures Barbastro
 Accession of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085)

1075–1122 Investiture controversy between papacy and Holy Roman Emperors

1081 Alexius I (1081–1118) founds Comnenian Dynasty

Battle of Dyrrachium: Robert Guiscard defeats Alexius I and invades Greece (1081–1085)

1082 Venetian-Byzantine military and commercial treaty

1085 Alfonso VI, king of Castile, captures Toledo

1086 Fall of Antioch to Seljuk Turks; disruption of pilgrimage routes
Almoravids revive Muslim power in Spain

1092 Fiscal and administrative reforms of Alexius I
Alexius writes appeals to Pope Urban II and Western princes

1094–1099 Exploits of Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, “El Cid”

1095 Council of Clermont: Pope Urban II calls for the First Crusade (1096–1099)

1096 People’s Crusade under Peter the Hermit
Hugh of Vermandois and Godfrey of Bouillon arrive at Constantinople

1097 Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Raymond IV of Toulouse, and Bohemond arrive at Constantinople
Battle of Dorylaeum: Crusaders defeat Sultan Kilij Arslan I of Rum

1098 Baldwin enters Edessa and is crowned count
Fall of Antioch to the First Crusade; Bohemond declared prince of Antioch

1099 Crusaders capture Jerusalem (July 15)
Godfrey of Bouillon elected Advocate of Holy Sepulcher (r. 1099–1100)

1100 Bohemond captured by Danishmend Turks
Baldwin I summoned as King of Jerusalem (r. 1100–1118)
Baldwin II Le Bourg crowned count of Edessa

1101 Tancred assumes regency at Antioch
Crusade of 1101

1103 Count Raymond IV besieges Tripoli; release of Bohemond

1105 Bohemond leads crusade against Constantinople (1105–1107)

1108 Treaty of Devol; Bohemond recognizes Byzantine suzerainty over Antioch

1109 Crusaders capture Tripoli; Count Betram offers homage to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem

1112–1119 Roger of Salerno serves as regent in Antioch

1118 Accession of Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem (1118–1131)
Accession of Joscelin I, count of Edessa
Accession of John II (1118–1143), Byzantine emperor

1119 Battle of *Ager Sanguinis* (“Field of Blood”)
Emir Ilghazi defeats and slays Roger of Salerno
Foundation of the military monastic orders of the Hospitallers and Templars

1124 Capture of Tyre by Crusaders and Venetians

1127 Zengi appointed emir of Mosul (r. 1127–1146)

1130 Roger II (1127–1154) crowned king of Norman Sicily
Succession crisis at Antioch (1130–1131)

1131 Accession of Fulk of Anjou and Melisende to Kingdom of Jerusalem
Accession of Joscelin II, count of Edessa (r. 1131–1150)

1136 Marriage of Raymond of Poitiers and Princess Constance at Antioch
Raymond succeeds as prince of Antioch (1136–1149)

1137 Accession of King Louis VII of France (r. 1137–1180)
 Marriage of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine (1137–1152)

1137–1138 First expedition of Emperor John II against Antioch

1142–1143 Second expedition of John II against Antioch

1143 Accession of Manuel I (1143–1180) as Byzantine emperor
 Queen Melisende regent of Baldwin III (1143–1163)

1144 Zengi captures Edessa

1145 Pope Eugenius III proclaims the Second Crusade

1146 St. Bernard of Clairvaux preaches the Second Crusade at Vézelay
 Nur-ad-Din retakes Edessa

1147 Departure of Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France on the Second Crusade
 Outbreak of the Norman naval war (1147–1155)
 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, leads northern crusade

1148 Defeat of Second Crusade at Damascus; departure of Louis VII and Conrad III

1149 Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by Baldwin III
 Nur-ad-Din defeats and slays Prince Raymond of Antioch

1150 Nur-ad-Din captures and imprisons Count Joscelin II of Edessa

1152 Assassins murder Count Raymond II of Tripoli
 Accession of Count Raymond III (1152–1187)
 Accession of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–1190)
 Marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry Plantagenet

1153 Reynald of Châtillon crowned prince of Antioch (r. 1153–1160)
 Surrender of Ascalon to King Baldwin III

1154 Nur-ad-Din occupies Damascus
 Accession of Henry Plantagenet II as king of England (r. 1154–1189)

1158 Marriage of Baldwin III to Theodora, niece of Manuel I
 Expedition of Emperor Manuel I against Antioch (1158–1159)

1160 Capture of Reynald of Châtillon; King Baldwin III assumes regency of Antioch

1163 Accession of Amalric I, king of Jerusalem (1163–1174)
 Bohemond III (1163–1201), prince of Antioch, attains his majority
 First expedition of Amalric I against Fatimid Egypt

1164 Intervention of Shirkuh, general of Nur-ad-Din, in Cairo

1167 Second and third expeditions of Amalric I into Fatimid Egypt
 Marriage of Amalric I to Maria Comnena

1168 Fourth expedition of King Amalric I into Fatimid Egypt

1169 Saladin assumes power in Fatimid Cairo
 Fifth expedition of Amalric into Egypt

1171 Saladin restores Abbasid authority in Egypt; end of Fatimid Caliphate

1174 Accession of Baldwin IV, “Leper King” (1174–1183)
 Saladin unites Muslim Syria and Egypt

1176 Battle of Myriokephalon: Defeat of Manuel I
 Battle of Legnano: Defeat of Frederick Barbarossa by Lombard League

1177 Battle of Mount Gisard: Baldwin IV defeats Saladin

1180 Marriage of Sybilla and Guy of Lusignan
 Accession of John II (1180–1182); decline of Byzantine Empire
 Accession of Philip II Augustus of France (r. 1180–1223)

1182 Reynald of Châtillon raids Muslim ports on Red Sea
 Outbreak of anti-Latin riots in Constantinople
 Andronicus I (1182–1185) overthrows Alexius II

1185 Death of King Baldwin IV; accession of Baldwin V (1185–1186)
 Guy and Sybilla clash with Humphrey IV of Toron and Isabel over regency
 King William II of Sicily invades Byzantine Empire
 Riots in Constantinople and accession of Isaac II Angelus (r. 1185–1195)

1186 Succession of Sybilla and Guy of Lusignan

1187 Battle of Hattin: Saladin annihilates Crusader army and captures King Guy
 Saladin captures Jerusalem and overruns Outremer
 Conrad of Montferrat defends Tyre (1187–1190)

1188 Pope Clement III (1187–1191) preaches Third Crusade (1189–1192)
 Dispute between Conrad of Montferrat and Guy Lusignan over kingship

1189 Departure of Frederick I Barbarossa on Third Crusade
 King Guy and Pisan fleet commence siege of Acre

1190 Death of Frederick I in Asia Minor and dispersal of German Crusade
 Departure of King Richard I and Philip Augustus on Third Crusade
 Death of Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem
 Marriage of Conrad of Montferrat to Isabelle, titular queen of Jerusalem

1191 Richard I and Philip II clash over strategy and succession in Outremer
 Richard I captures Acre
 Battle of Arsuf: Victory of Richard I

1192 Treaty between Richard I and Saladin; end of Third Crusade
 King Guy Lusignan purchases Cyprus
 Murder of Conrad Montferrat
 Henry of Champagne marries Isabelle and succeeds as king of Jerusalem

1193 Death of Saladin; Sultan al-Adil battles for Ayyubid Sultanate (1193–1200)

1194 Unification of Holy Roman Empire and Sicily under Henry VI (r. 1191–1197)
 Accession of Amalric II Lusignan as king of Cyprus

1195 Overthrow of Isaac II and accession of Alexius III (1195–1203)

1197 Death of Henry of Champagne
 Death of Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI and end of German Crusade
 Marriage of Amalric II and Isabel: Unification of Acre and Cyprus (1197–1205)

1198 Pope Innocent III (1199–1216) preaches Fourth Crusade (1198–1204)
 Accession of Philip of Swabia as king of Germany (1198–1208)
 Civil war in Hohenstaufen Empire (1198–1215)

1199 Tournament at Écry; Count Theobald III of Champagne assumes the cross

1200 Sultan al-Adil secures Egypt and Syria

1201 Crusaders conclude Treaty of Venice
 Boniface III Marquis of Montferrat succeeds to command of Fourth Crusade

1202 Doge Enrico Dandolo commits Venice to the Fourth Crusade
 Fourth Crusade captures Zara
 Treaty of Zara: Crusaders pledge to restore Alexius IV to Byzantine throne

1203 Fourth Crusade restores Alexius IV at Constantinople
 Rising tensions between Byzantines and Crusaders

1204 Fourth Crusade captures Constantinople
 Election of Count Baldwin IX of Flanders as Latin emperor (1204–1205)
 Venetians and Crusaders partition the Byzantine Empire
 Boniface of Montferrat founds kingdom of Thessalonica
 Geoffrey Villehardouin and William Champlite conquer Achaea (Peloponnesus)
 Otto de le Roche conquers Athens and Thebes
 Theodore I Lascaris (1204–1222) founds Orthodox Empire at Nicaea
 Splinter empires founded in Epirus and at Trebizon

1205 Election of Thomas Morosini as patriarch of Constantinople
 Latin emperor Baldwin I defeated and captured by Tsar Kalojan of Bulgaria
 Jenghiz Khan (1205–1227) unites the Mongols

1208 Pope Innocent III preaches Albigensian Crusade (1208–1229)

1212 Children's Crusades of Stephen of Cloyes and Nicholas of Cologne
 King Peter II of Aragon defeats Moors at Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa

1214 Battle of Bouvines: Philip II Augustus and Frederick II defeat Otto IV

1215 Fourth Lateran Council: Call for the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)
 Succession of Frederick II (r. 1215–1250) as king of Sicily
 Unification of the Two Sicilies and the Holy Roman Empire by Frederick II

1216 Election of Pope Honorius III (1216–1227)
 Jenghiz Khan concludes conquest of northern China (1205–1216)

1217 Honorius III preaches the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)
 Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, vows to go on crusade

1218 Fifth Crusade besieges Damietta, Egypt
 Sultan al-Kamil (1218–1238) succeeds to Ayyubid Egypt

1219 Fall of Damietta to Fifth Crusade

1220 Coronation of Frederick II as Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Honorius III
 Frederick II renews his Crusader vows
 Jenghiz Khan conquers Korezmian and Central Asia (1220–1223)

1221 Defeat of the Fifth Crusade and surrender of Damietta to Sultan al-Kamil

1222 Accession of John III Vatatzes (1222–1254) as emperor of Nicaea

1224 Thessalonica occupied by Theodore, Byzantine despot of Epirus
 Collapse of Frankish rule in northern Greece

1225 Marriage of Frederick II to Yolande-Isabel, heiress of Jerusalem
 Frederick renews his vows to go on crusade

1226 King Louis VIII of France assumes direction of the Albigensian Crusade
 Accession of St. Louis IX (1226–1270) as king of France

1227 Accession of Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241)
 Gregory IX excommunicates Frederick II for failure to honor crusade vows

1228 Succession of Baldwin II (1228–1261) as Latin emperor
 Frederick II sails on Sixth Crusade (1228–1229)

1229 Treaty between Frederick II and Sultan al-Kamil
 Jerusalem and Bethlehem returned to the Christians
 Peace of Paris: End of Albigensian Crusade

Ogatai Great Khan (1229–1241) divides the Mongol Empire

1230 Battle of Klokotnitsa: Tsar John Asen crushes army of Theodore of Epirus

1232 Outbreak of civil war in Outremer
Barons under John of Ibelin oppose Hohenstaufen rule (1232–1243)

1237–1241 Russian campaigns of Batu, khan of the Golden Horde

1239 Crusade of Theobald V of Champagne (1239–1240)
Pope Gregory IX preaches a crusade against the Hohenstaufen (1239–1266)

1240 Batu and Mongols invade Russia: Sack of Kiev
Crusade of Richard of Cornwall (1240–1241)

1241 Battles of Liegnitz and Mohacs
Mongol Khan Batu destroys German and Hungarian armies

1243 Battle of Köse Dag: Mongols crush Seljuk army
Mongols impose lordship on Muslim Anatolia, Cilician Armenia, and Georgia
End of Hohenstaufen rule in Outremer

1244 Korezmian Turkomen mercenaries seize and sack Jerusalem
Battle of La Forbie (Gaza): Ayyubid-Korezmian army decisively defeats Franks
King Louis IX of France vows to go on crusade

1245 Council of Lyons: Pope Innocent IV deposes Frederick II
Welf nobility of Germany rebel against Frederick II
Mission of Giovanni Plano Caprini to the Mongols (1245–1246)

1246 Nicene forces occupy Thessalonica
Accession of William II Prince of Achaea (1246–1278)

1248 Louis IX sails for Cyprus on Seventh Crusade (1248–1254)
Mission of Friar Andrew of Longjumeau to Mongols (1248–1251)

1249 Louis IX and Seventh Crusade capture Damietta

1250 Battle of Mansurah: Mamluks check advance of Seventh Crusade
Retreat and surrender of Louis IX
Surrender of Damietta and ransoming of Crusaders at 800,000 *livres tournois*
Mamluks overthrow Ayyubid sultanate and institute military sultanate at Cairo
Louis IX at Acre rules Outremer (1250–1254)

1253 Mission of William Rubruquis to the Mongols sent by Louis IX

1254–1261 War of St. Sabas between Venice and Genoa
Civil war in Outremer

1256 Hulagu, Ilkhan of the Mongols, captures Alamut and destroys Assassin Order

1258 Hulagu and Mongols sack Baghdad: End of Abbasid Caliphate

1260 Battle of Ain Jalut: Mamluks defeat Mongols
Baybars (1260–1277) seizes the Mamluk sultanate
Election of Kublai Khan as Great Khan of Mongols (1260–1294)

1261 Treaty of Nymphaeum: Michael VIII (1258–1282) concedes commercial privileges to Genoa
Michael VIII occupies Constantinople and restores the Byzantine Empire

1266 Battle of Benevento: Charles of Anjou defeats Hohenstaufen rival Manfred
Angevin rule established in southern Italy and Sicily

1267 Charles of Anjou imposes hegemony over Frankish Greece

1268 Louis IX of France leads the Eighth Crusade (1268–1270)

- 1270 Siege of Tunis; death of Louis IX and end of Eighth Crusade
- 1271 Baybars captures Krak des Chevaliers
- 1277 Charles of Anjou purchases right to Latin throne of Constantinople
- 1282 Sicilian Vespers: Collapse of Angevin rule in Sicily
Accession of Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328)
- 1286 Henry II (1285–1324) unites the thrones of Cyprus and Jerusalem
- 1291 Mamluk capture of Acre: End of Outremer

Glossary

akritai (“borderers”): The semi-independent warlords and soldiers who patrolled the borderlands of the Byzantine Empire.

al-Almoravids: Berber tribesmen in Morocco who followed the fundamentalist preaching of Yusuf ibn Tashuf (1061–1101). In 1086, Yusuf crossed to Spain and imposed Almoravid authority over Muslim Spain.

Albigensians: See **Cathars**.

Alids: Sectarians favoring the establishment of a caliphate ruled by descendants of Ali (r. 657–661) and Fatima. See **Shi'ites**.

assarting: The process of clearing forest, marsh, and wasteland as arable land by tenants of a lord in return for reduced manorial dues

Assassin (Arabic: *hashashin*, “hashish”): Nizarite (i.e., Shi’ite) sectarians based at Alamut in Iran who murdered Sunni or Christian leaders on the expectation that their own deaths would grant them entrance into paradise. Assassins were reputedly inspired with images of paradise from narcotic- induced experiences; hence, the derivation of their name.

augustalis (pl: *augustales*): The gold coin (5.30 g) introduced by Frederick II in 1231 for use in his Italian domains. The *augustalis*, bearing Roman imperial iconography, was the first gold trade coin in Western Europe since the 5th century.

baron: The general term to designate lesser feudal lords, but the term came to denote a lesser feudal lord below the viscount; see **count**.

basileus (pl.: *basileis*): The Byzantine Greek title for emperor used from the reign of Heraclius (610–641) in place of Latin *imperator*, “emperor.”

basilica: Roman public building with apses at each end and a central hall, or *narthex*. The design was applied to a Christian church in the 4th century. A basilican church, entered from the west, has a courtyard (*aula*), narthex (entrance hall), and main hall, or *nave*, flanked by two aisles and terminating at the east end in an apse where the altar is located. The longitudinal axis of the basilica was distinct from the centrally planned church in the form of a square and with a dome at the intersection—the design favored in the Middle and Late Byzantine ages.

Byzantium, Byzantine: Byzantium was the name of the Greek colony founded on the site of modern Istanbul in 668 B.C. In 330, Constantine refounded the city as Constantinople, or New Rome. Byzantium is applied to the East Roman state of the 4th through 15th centuries to distinguish it from the parent state of Rome. Byzantine refers to East Roman civilization.

caliph (“successor”): The religious and political heir of the prophet Muhammad. The first four orthodox caliphs (632–661) were followers of Muhammad. The Umayyad caliphs ruled as hereditary monarchs from Damascus (661–759); the Abbasid caliphs succeeded and ruled from Baghdad (749–1258). A Shi’ite or sectarian Fatimid caliphate ruled from Cairo in Egypt (969–1171).

castallen: The guardian of a castle (Latin: *castellum*; pl: *castella*) in feudal France.

cataphraci: Shock heavy cavalry, armed with composite bow, lance, and lamellar armor, of the late Roman and middle Byzantine armies.

catapult: A torsion-propelled field artillery piece that hurled arrows or stones. The onager was a siege artillery piece for hurling large stones. See **trebuchet**.

Cathars: “Perfect ones”; reputedly dualist heretics of southern France whose doctrines were based on those of the Manichees of Late Antiquity. Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) preached the Albigensian Crusade against these heretics in 1208–1229.

Catholic (“universal”): The term used to designate the Western medieval Latin-speaking church that accepted the doctrines of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) and the primacy of the pope at Rome. See also **Orthodox**.

chain mail (Latin: *lorica hamata*; Germanic: *byrnie*): Body armor composed of interlocking steel links worn over a thick leather padding. A linen surcoat or gown was worn over the armor. A chain mail hood (*haubek*) and conical helmet (*coif*) with nose guard completed the body armor typical of knights in the Crusader era. See **lamellar armor**.

charisticum: An imperial grant of ecclesiastical properties by Comnenian and later emperors to lay tenants who were to administer the properties and, from the rents, maintain soldiers for imperial service. See **pronoia**.

comes (pl: *comites*): See **count**.

commune: The republican civic government of cities in northern Italy that emerged in the late 11th and 12th centuries. Communes were modeled after Roman municipalities and sought charters from the Holy Roman Emperor to free themselves from feudal lords. See **Lombard League**.

commutation: The conversion of manorial rents in kind or labor services into cash payments to the lord. It is also the conversion of the military service of a fief into money payment; see **scutage**.

count: The hereditary rank of feudal nobility below a duke. The term was derived from the Roman military rank *comes*. In Merovingian Gaul, a *comes* was empowered with judicial and administrative powers by the king. The viscount and baron were reckoned as descending ranks below count. In England, the earl is the equivalent rank.

Crusader States: See **Outremer**.

danishmend: The inspired shaman of Turkomen society of Central Asia who was later identified with the Muslim *iman*.

demesne: Property of the lord of the manor that was exploited by the customary labor services of serfs. The *demesne* comprised arable, woodlands, meadows, and wasteland.

denier (Latin: *denarius*): The prime silver coin of medieval Europe. In 755, Pepin the Short (r. 751–768) introduced a *denier* struck on flans cut from hammered sheets of metal (18–22 mm in diameter). Charlemagne fixed the standard at 1.70 g, but standards varied widely after 840. In 1204, Philip II Augustus (r. 1180–1223) adopted as the royal currency the *denier tournois* (1.01 g) and its multiple of four, the *gros*. See also **penny**.

dhimmi (“people of the book”): Non-Muslim monotheists whose religious institutions were tolerated by Muslim rulers. Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians were so classified.

Dictatus Papae (1075): The pronouncements of popes collected by Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) as proof of the superiority of papal primacy.

Digenes Akrites: The epic celebrating the legendary warlord on the Cappadocian frontier during the Byzantine Dark Age.

dinar: Introduced by Caliph Abdal-al-Malik in 696 as the prime Muslim gold coin (4.25 g, 98.5% fine), with Arabic inscriptions professing the Muslim faith.

dirhem: The prime Muslim silver coin (2.97 g, 98% fine) introduced by Abd al-Malik in 696. The *dirhem* was exchanged at 14–16 to the gold *dinar*.

Donation of Constantine: Reputedly a treaty of the Roman emperor Constantine (r. 306–337) investing Pope Sylvester (r. 314–335) with authority over the Western Empire. Pope Gregory VII cited the document in the Investiture Controversy as proof of the superiority of spiritual authority. The Renaissance scholar Lorenzo Valla (1406–1457) proved the document to be a forgery, probably by Frankish monks in the late 8th century.

ducat (*ducato d'oro*): The gold coin of Venice (3.56 g), introduced in 1284, which became the trade coin of the Mediterranean world.

duke (Latin: *dux*; pl: *duces*): The highest ranking hereditary title of a feudal noble.

dynatoi (“powerful ones”): The term used in Macedonian legislation to designate the nobility.

emir or **amir**: The Arabic title of a governor entrusted with authority by the caliph. In Norman Sicily, the title was retained in its Latin form, *admiral*, to denote the commander of the fleet.

fief: The grant of hereditary rights in land (known as *seisin* in Anglo-Norman law) by a lord to a vassal in return for military service, most commonly a requisite number of knights (*servitium debitum*) for 30 or 40 days service. The vassal performed homage as a religious act of loyalty to his lord. These rights and obligations are collectively known as feudalism.

filioque (“from the son”): The phrasing stressing the doctrine of the procession inserted into the Nicene Creed by prelates of the Spanish church to combat Arianism in 569. The phrasing was employed in the Frankish church from the early 8th century. Pope Leo III (r. 795–816) upheld the papal right to make such changes in the creed. This papal claim, rather than the doctrine itself, provoked opposition from the Orthodox church.

florin (*fiorino d’oro*): The gold coin of Florence (3.54 g), introduced in 1252, which became the trade coin of Western Europe.

fyrd: The general levy of Anglo-Saxon England. A select *fyrd* of infantry was raised from every unit of five *hides* (or six *carcurates* in the Danelaw) in each shire.

galley: The prime warship of the Mediterranean world from the 11th century.

gasmouloi (sing: *gasmoulos*): Members of a military caste in Frankish Greece who were the offspring of Crusaders and their Greek wives.

ghazi: The nomadic Turkmen warrior, who was recast as the defender of Islam in the 11th century.

Great Schism (July 16, 1054): The mutual excommunication of the Catholic Western and Greek Orthodox churches resulting from the clash of the legates of Pope Leo IX and Patriarch Michael I. Pope John XXIII raised the papal bull of excommunication in 1969; see **schism**.

Hagia Sophia (“Holy Wisdom”): The present church in Constantinople is the third on the site; it is a centrally planned church of Justinian that was completed in 532–537, with the great dome dedicated in 548.

heresy (“choice”): A doctrine condemned by formal council as outside the accepted Christian theology and teachings.

Hospitallers: Members of the military monastic order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which was organized in 1119. The Hospitallers were entrusted with many strategic castles in Outremer after the Second Crusade (1147–1148). After the fall of Acre, the Hospitallers waged war against the Ottoman Turks from bases at Rhodes and Malta.

housecarl: An Anglo-Danish professional warrior wielding the double-headed ax. Canute, the Danish king of England (r. 1016–1035), formed a royal guard of 2,000 housecarls. The Varangian Guard at Constantinople was a Byzantine version of the unit.

hyperpron (pl: *hyperpra*): The gold coin (4.54 g) introduced by Byzantine emperor Alexius I in 1092 and struck at 85% fine. The coin, a prime trade coin in the Mediterranean world, was called a *bezant* by Crusaders.

icon, image: The depiction of Christ, Mary Theotokos, or a saint on perishable material before which the believer prays for intercession before God.

iman (Persian: *ayatollah*): An inspired prophet of Islam. Shi’ites anticipate the arrival of an inspired *iman* or *mahdi* who will restore the purity of Islam. The *mahdi* is to be descended from Husain (626–680), son of Caliph Ali (r. 657–661), and Fatima, daughter of the prophet Muhammad. In 760, Shi’ites disagreed over the succession. Those who favored Ishmail, elder son of Jaffar al-Sadiq and seventh *iman* from Ali, were henceforth known as the Severers. Those who favored the younger son, Musa al-Kazim, were known as Twelvers, because their last visible *iman* and the twelfth since Ali, Muhammad al-Mahdi, disappeared in Samarra in 873. A reign of hidden *imans* thus ensued until the apocalypse. See **danshimend**.

indulgence: The promise of remission of sins and salvation to Crusaders who died in battle against infidels.

Investiture Controversy (1075–1122): Erupted between Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) and Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (r. 1057–1106) over the authority to invest prelates with temporal properties and jurisdiction. A compromise over the investiture of prelates was reached at the Concordat of Worms (1122).

jihad: The religious duty of holy war for the extension of Dar-as-Islam (“house of Islam”) against the unbelievers who dwell in Dar-ar-Harib (“house of war”).

just war (Latin: *bellum iustum*): Holy war in the defense of Christianity; first articulated in the writings of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo Regius (354–430).

knörr, knarr: Cargo vessel perfected by Scandinavians (850–1000).

lamellar armor: Composed of interlocking plates or scales sewn together. This armor was favored by the Turkomen warriors. See **chain mail**.

Latin Empire: The feudal state carved out of the European possessions of Byzantium by members of the Fourth Crusade (1204–1261).

Lombard League: Organized by Milan to unite the communes of northern Italy in 1167–1177 against Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I. See **commune**.

long ship: The premier warship perfected by Scandinavians in 800–1000 and designed for raiding. In the 11th century, larger dragon ships were devised that inspired design of warships and cogs (commercial vessels) in the Crusading era.

Lyons, France: The site of the Council of 1274, where Emperor Michael VIII embraced Catholicism in return for Western military aid.

mahdi: See **imam**.

major domo (“mayor of the palace”): The hereditary position held by Carolingian dynasts who acted as the protectors of Merovingian kings.

Mamluk: A Turkish slave soldier in Ayyubid Egypt (1171–1250). In 1250, the Mamluks overthrew the Ayyubid sultanate and, henceforth, chose leading generals as sultans of Egypt (1250–1517).

manor: The prime residence of a lord, who exacted rents and labor services from his serfs.

mark: A unit of account weighing two-thirds of a pound of silver. In Plantagenet England, a pound sterling (92.5% fine) was reckoned at 240 pennies; the mark comprised 180 pennies.

mawali: The non-Arabic converts to Islam.

metropolitan: The equivalent of an archbishop in the Orthodox church.

military monastic orders: Organized in the 12th century under papal authority as a religious order (*ordo*; pl: *origines*) of knights of noble origin who assumed monastic vows. The knights were dedicated to the defense of Christendom. See **Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights**.

ministerialis (pl: *ministeriales*): A servile administrator or knight bound in service to the Holy Roman Emperor. Salian and Hohenstaufen promoted this caste to replace the use of prelates as administrators of imperial properties.

money fief: A feudal grant of the profits of justice, offices, or commercial plantations given in lieu of land in return for knight service.

Monophysites: Christians who profess the doctrine stressing the single nature of Christ (monophysitism). The doctrine, condemned by the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon (451), was accepted by the Coptic Egyptian, the separated Armenian, Syrian Jacobite, and Ethiopian churches in the era of the Crusades.

Morea (“land of mulberry”): The Byzantine name for the Peloponnesus, derived from the mulberry tree that fed the silk worms.

motte and bailey castle: An earth-and-timber castle comprising a wooden tower and stockade erected atop a mound raised by excavating an outer moat.

Mozarabs: Christians in Muslim Spain who spoke Arabic and adopted the urban culture of the caliphate of Cordoba.

nepotism: The abuse of appointing unqualified relatives to ecclesiastical offices.

Nestorians: Sectarians who were condemned at the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus (431). The Nestorians established churches in caravan cities from Central Asia to China.

Orthodox (“correct”): The term used to designate the Greek-speaking church of the Byzantine Empire that accepted the doctrines of the Council of Chalcedon (451). It was extended to include those Slavic and other churches that acknowledged the spiritual authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.

Outremer (“overseas”): Comprised the four feudal kingdoms (the Crusader states) established in the Levant as a result of the First Crusade: the kingdom of Jerusalem, county of Tripoli, principality of Antioch, and county of Edessa.

Partitio Romaniae (“Partition of the Roman Empire”): The agreement concluded in March 1204 governing the partition of the Byzantine Empire by the Crusaders and Venetians.

patriarch (“paternal ruler”): The Greek equivalent of the Latin pope (*papa*, “father”). The patriarch of Constantinople is the head of the Orthodox church.

Peace of God (pax Dei), Truce of God (treuga Dei): Efforts by Clunaic clergymen in southern and central France to prohibit fighting on holy days and to extend protection to non-combatants, respectively.

penny: The prime English silver penny, struck from hammered flans, was introduced by King Offa of Mercia (r. 757–796). In 1156, King Henry II (r. 1154–1189) fixed the penny on a sterling standard (92.5%) weighing 1.46 g. The English penny was henceforth the preferred coin of medieval Europe. A quantity of 240 pennies was reckoned as comprising 20 shillings, or one pound of uncoined silver. See **denier**.

Petrine Sees: The five great apostolic sees founded by Peter or his disciples. The order was fixed at the Fourth Ecumenical Council as Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Rome claims primacy, and Constantinople claims equality with Rome.

pfennig (pl: *pfennige*): The German equivalent of the English penny. The *pfennig* of Cologne was fixed at the sterling standard.

pronoia (“forethought”): Middle and late Byzantine imperial land grant held at the will of the emperor in return for military services. The Western Europeans after 1204 turned the tenure into a fief. See **charisticum**.

Reconquista (“reconquest”): The term applied to efforts of Christian Spanish kings to retake the Iberian peninsula from the Muslims during the 12th and 13th centuries.

Saxons: A West Germanic tribe dwelling between the North Sea and Elbe, who were conquered and compelled to accept Christianity by Charlemagne in 772–785.

schism (“cutting”): A dispute resulting in mutual excommunication that arose over matters of church discipline or organization rather than theology. See **heresy**.

scutage (“shield money”): The term in Anglo-Norman law for the commuting of military service into a cash payment; see **commutation**.

sharif: A dictate of Muslim religious law based on the Koran.

Shi’ite (“sectarians”), **Sunni** (“orthodox”): The two main religious divisions of the Muslim world resulting from the civil war between Ali (656–661) and Muawiya (661–680). Shi’ites came to view the overthrow of any Sunni caliphate as the first step in an apocalyptic restoration of a pure Islam. See **Alids**.

simony: The abuse of the sale of ecclesiastical offices.

splinter empires: The Byzantine successor states founded after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade: the empire of Trebizond, empire of Nicaea, and despotate of Epirus. Michael VIII of the Nicene Empire recaptured Constantinople (1261).

strategos (“general”; pl: *strategoi*): Military governor of a *theme*. See **theme**.

sultan (“guardian”): The Turkish commander defending the caliph, who was henceforth regarded as the religious leader of Islam. Tuhgril Bey was proclaimed the first sultan in 1055 when he occupied Baghdad. See **caliph**.

sura (“verse”): Inspired direct revelations of the prophet Muhammad (570–632), speaking the direct, uncreated word of God, which was collected into the Koran.

Templars: Members of the military monastic order of the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon, founded in 1119. In 1123, King Baldwin II gave to the order a new headquarters at the Temple of Solomon (al-Aksa mosque), hence the name Templars. Templars, who defined knighthood as a noble rank, were recruited from the nobility across Europe. The order assumed the defense of castles in Outremer, amassed properties, and engaged in banking. In 1312–1314, King Philip IV of France confiscated the order’s properties and burned at the stake Grand Master Jacques de Malay and leading knights on grounds of heresy and immorality.

Teutonic Knights: Members of the order of the Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary of the Teutons at Jerusalem. German knights engaged in the siege of Acre (1188–1190) founded the order. Grand Master Hermann von Salza (1210–1239) redirected the activities of the order in the lands of the East Baltic.

theme: Originally a military unit, it came to designate a province in the Middle Byzantine state.

trebuchet: A siege piece that hurled a stone by a sling and large counterweight. See **catapult**.

Turcopoles: Light-armed horse archers armed in the Turkomen fashion. Crusaders recruited such units from among the native Christians of the Levant.

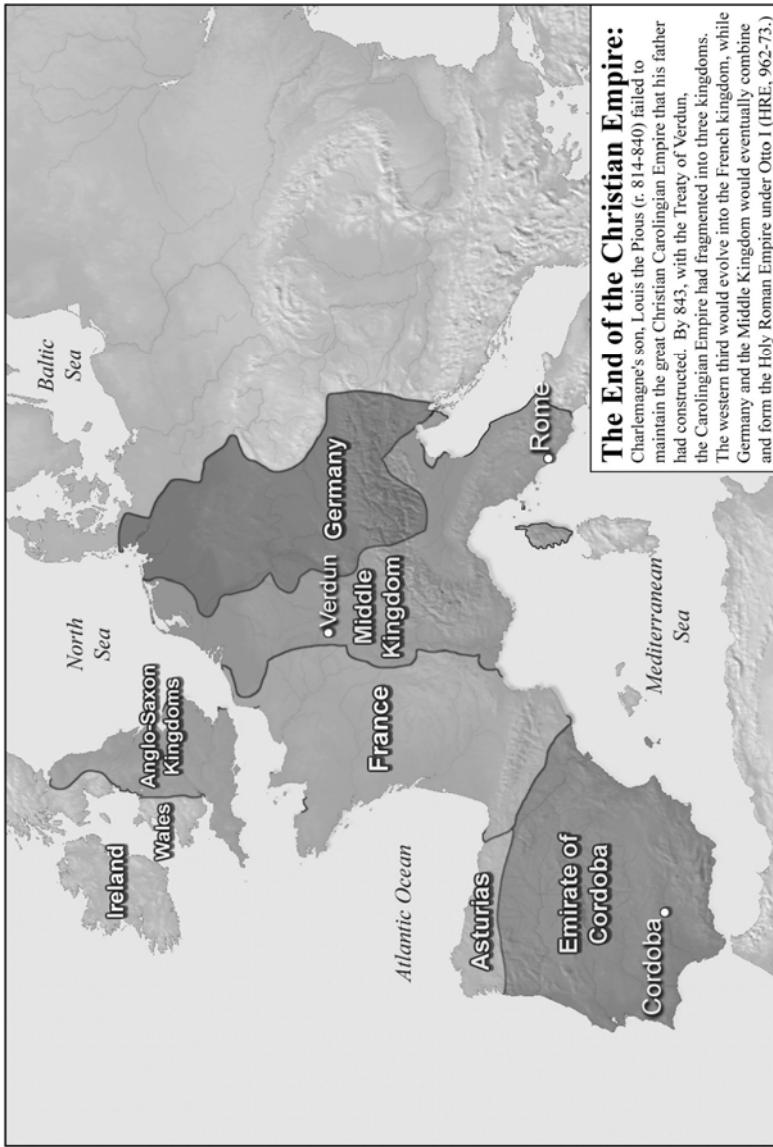
Turkomen: The Turkic-speaking nomads dwelling on the steppes, as opposed to Turks who speak a Turkish language

umma: The community of believers, Muslims, which transcends all other ties.

Varangian Guard: An elite infantry unit of 6,000 ax-wielding warriors created by the Byzantine emperor Basil II in 989. The Varangians, or Rus, were Scandinavians who had settled in Russia.

Zoroastrianism: The monotheistic state religion of Sassanid Persia based on the teachings of the Iranian prophet Zoroaster, who perhaps had lived in the 6th century B.C. Zoroastrians were classified as *dhimmi*.



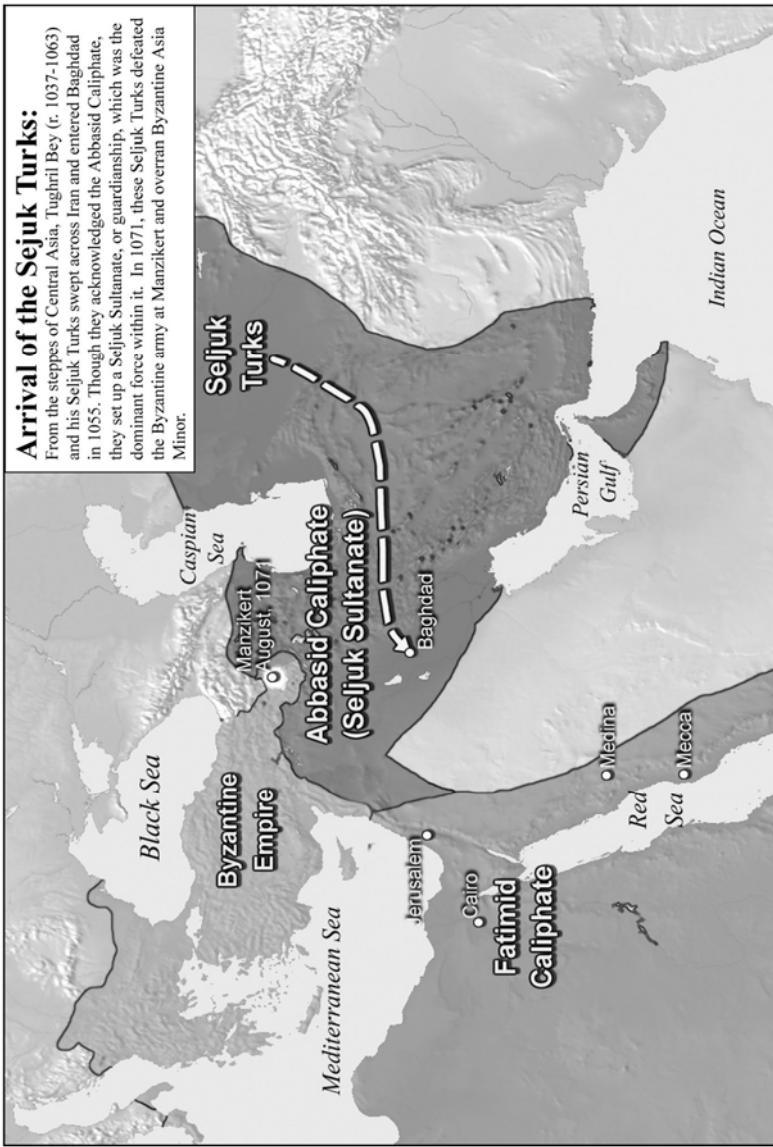


The End of the Christian Empire:

Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious (r. 814-840) failed to maintain the great Christian Carolingian Empire that his father had constructed. By 843, with the Treaty of Verdun, the Carolingian Empire had fragmented into three kingdoms. The western third would evolve into the French kingdom, while Germany and the Middle Kingdom would eventually combine and form the Holy Roman Empire under Otto I (HRE, 962-73.)

Arrival of the Seljuk Turks:

From the steppes of Central Asia, Tughril Bey (c. 1037-1063) and his Seljuk Turks swept across Iran and entered Baghdad in 1055. Though they acknowledged the Abbasid Caliphate, they set up a Seljuk Sultanate, or guardianship, which was the dominant force within it. In 1071, these Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantine army at Manzikert and overran Byzantine Asia Minor.



The Era of the Crusades

Part II

Professor Kenneth W. Harl



THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

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Kenneth W. Harl, Professor of Classical and Byzantine History, joined the faculty of Tulane University after he completed his Ph.D. in history at Yale University in 1978. Professor Harl teaches courses on Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader history from the freshman to graduate levels. He has won numerous teaching awards at his home university, including the coveted Sheldon H. Hackney Award (twice voted by faculty and students), as well as the Robert Foster Cherry Award for Great Teachers from Baylor University. Professor Harl, a recognized scholar on coins and classical Anatolia, takes Tulane students on excursions to Turkey or as assistants on excavations of Hellenistic and Roman sites in Turkey. He is currently working on publishing coins from the excavations of Metropolis and Gordion.

Table of Contents
The Era of the Crusades
Part II

Professor Biography	i	
Course Scope	1	
Lecture Thirteen	Alexius I and the First Crusade	2
Lecture Fourteen	From Clermont to Jerusalem.....	4
Lecture Fifteen	Conquest and Defense of Outremer.....	7
Lecture Sixteen	Frankish Settlement of Outremer.....	10
Lecture Seventeen	Comnenian Emperors and Crusader Princes	14
Lecture Eighteen	The Second Crusade	17
Lecture Nineteen	The Empire at Bay	20
Lecture Twenty	The Rise of Saladin.....	23
Lecture Twenty-One	Byzantine Recovery under the Comnenians	26
Lecture Twenty-Two	A Renaissance of Byzantine Letters and Arts	29
Lecture Twenty-Three	Trade and Currency in the Mediterranean	32
Lecture Twenty-Four	Cultural Exchange in Gothic Europe.....	35
Bibliography		38
Maps		45
Timeline		Part I
Glossary		Part I
Biographical Notes		Part III

The Era of the Crusades

Scope:

The Crusades (1095–1291) have been hailed as the climax of medieval Western Europe or condemned as the first thrust of European imperialism into the Muslim Near East. But the Crusaders forever altered the three medieval civilizations: Latin Christendom, Islam, and the East Roman or Byzantine Empire. The Crusades were a primary force for profound changes in political, cultural, religious, economic, and social life that gave birth to the early-modern age, and these changes still influence the present world.

The first 12 lectures examine the causes for the Crusades. The immediate cause for the First Crusade (1095–1099) was the collapse of the Byzantine Empire before the Seljuk Turkomen of Central Asia, who burst into the Near East and revived Muslim power in the late 11th century. The Seljuk Turks provoked the First Crusade because their victory over the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071 and subsequent conquest of Asia Minor disrupted the long-established pilgrimage routes of Western Europeans to the Holy Land. But the crusading expeditions were only possible because of great changes wrought in Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. These changes in Western Europe can be appreciated only by comparison to developments with the more sophisticated civilizations of Byzantium and Islam. All three medieval civilizations were rooted in Late Antiquity, but each had recast its Classical heritage in new ways. Orthodox Christian Byzantium will be examined first, because it had the strongest claim to the Roman legacy as a great bureaucratic empire. Then, the world of Islam will be discussed with attention to the issues of Muslim holy war (*jihad*), political and religious institutions, and the Turkish impact. Six lectures follow on the changes in European warfare, political and religious life, and revival of prosperity so vital for launching the Crusades.

The second 12 lectures deal with the first century of the Crusades, spanning the era from the preaching of the First Crusade by Pope Urban II in 1095 to the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the Battle of Hattin in 1187. By their stunning victories, the princes of the First Crusade founded the Crusader states in the Levant. Crusaders proved equally adept in adapting native institutions to create a provincial society in Outremer (“overseas”) that endured for two centuries. These lectures deal with the nature and impact of European settlement in the Near East, as well as the struggle by Crusaders to defend the holy cities against superior Muslim power. Four lectures examine the changes in letters and visual arts and the profound transformation of the Mediterranean economy in the 12th century.

The last 12 lectures cover the last century of the Crusades, commencing with the Third Crusade (1189–1192), led by the chivalrous King Richard the Lion-hearted. This era witnessed great royal crusades to retake Jerusalem, but the efforts ended in the failure of the Seventh Crusade, led by King Louis IX of France in 1250. Yet these ventures were a testimony to the maturity of the Western European monarchies and the commercial revolution effected by the Italian merchant republics of Venice and Genoa. In the same century, the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople, and so ended Byzantine power. This action was the climax of a century of ill will between Catholic Westerners and Orthodox Byzantines. It forced Byzantines to reinvent their own identity and rediscover their Hellenic, “Greek” heritage. It also was a decisive step in redefining *crusade* as a more general religious war and, thus, opened the way to the wars of religion and the Inquisition of early-modern Western Europe. Crusader efforts to retake Jerusalem in the 13th century galvanized the Turkish military elite and assisted in the realignment of the Muslim world away from Baghdad and the lands of eastern Islam to Cairo of the Mamluk sultans and Istanbul of the Ottoman Porte. Final Muslim victory over the Crusaders in 1291, in turn, compelled Western Christians to rethink their identity, and Latin Christendom began to give way to Western Europe.

Lecture Thirteen

Alexius I and the First Crusade

Scope: In 1092, Alexius I Comnenus appealed to the Western princes, who were long familiar with mercenary service in the Byzantine Empire, and to Pope Urban II. In part, Alexius was following a traditional policy of hiring Western adventurers so that he could mount an offensive against the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia. But Alexius also stressed to the pope the Turks' violation of the holy places. By mixing spiritual appeals with a summons to war, Alexius struck a powerful chord among Western Europeans. At the Council of Clermont on November 27, 1095, Pope Urban II, a French cleric who was imbued with the spirit of the reforms of Gregory VII, called on his countrymen to take up arms to liberate Jerusalem. Within six months, tens of thousands across Europe enthusiastically assumed the cross. Whatever the origins of crusading, Urban II launched the First Crusade, the first significant military operation of Europeans since the Roman Empire.

Outline

- I. The usurper Alexius I Comnenus unwittingly launched the First Crusade with his appeals to Pope Urban II and Western princes for knights in his planned wars against the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor.
 - A. Alexius faced several threats simultaneously, especially from the Seljuk Turks and the Normans.
 - B. Alexius ultimately checked the Norman invasion of Robert Guiscard in 1081 and threats from the north and the east in 1092. At the time of his appeal to Urban II, he was in danger of being besieged in his capital.
 - C. In appealing for aid, Alexius followed a tradition of hiring mercenaries in Western Europe, but he played on Western Europeans' devotion to Jerusalem and the fact that Seljuk Turks were disrupting pilgrimage routes.
 - D. Alexius probably wrote to many leading princes of Western Europe, such as Count Robert of Flanders, as well as to Urban II. Alexius intimated that he might heal the Schism of 1054.
- II. Urban II used the appeal of Alexius to assert his spiritual authority.
 - A. In 1095, Urban traveled to northern Italy, held a preliminary council at Piacenza, and then crossed the Alps into France. He combined this tour with efforts to crack down on abuses in the French Church.
 - B. The pope contacted Count Raymond IV of Toulouse and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, the latter his legate on the First Crusade.
 - C. This tour climaxed with a dramatic speech delivered at Clermont on November 27, 1095.
 - 1. Five versions of Urban's speech survive, none of which is verbatim, but each includes themes repeated by Urban and preachers to inspire Crusaders.
 - 2. The version of Robert the Monk contrasts the Western Europeans, those "chosen by God," with the "accursed race" of Turks, who committed atrocities against Christians.
 - 3. The pope also appealed to his listeners to emulate their ancestors Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.
 - 4. Urban promised remission of sin for those who undertook the Crusade and an assured place in heaven.
 - 5. Urban's appeals were repeated in sermons that fired crowds across Europe.
- III. Urban fixed the departure date for the Crusade on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1096.
 - A. Urban urged planning before the Crusaders set off, but prelates who repeated his message were not as careful in this regard as he.
 - 1. One of these preachers was Peter the Hermit, who attracted a crowd of German and French villagers, as well as knights. Such groups set out in March and April of 1096, well in advance of the date Urban had proclaimed.
 - 2. These groups streamed down the Rhineland, crossed the Danube, and entered Hungary. Few had military training; most were ill-armed pilgrims with little discipline.

3. Zealous members of the People's Crusade attacked Jewish communities in the Rhineland.
4. Even in the more well-disciplined forces that departed in August 1096, there were always large numbers of the "pious poor," unarmed pilgrims, along with knights and their families.

B. Even though the Crusaders departed in 1096, they did not reach Jerusalem until 1099. In the course of traveling, a new society was created and transformed.

1. The movement was not static, and the Crusaders forged an identity for themselves along the way. By 1099, there were few Crusaders left who were not versed in war.
2. Over the journey, the First Crusade was a veritable society in transition, as political alliances among the leaders shifted.
3. There was no overall commander, but the leaders of the six major armies as well as the lesser contingents shared the same religious goals. Those who sought to lead had to be capable and eloquent.

IV. Many French nobles who responded to Urban's appeal brought their own expertise.

- A. From northern France, feudal armies departed under the most illustrious families.
 1. Philip I sent his brother, Hugh of Vermandois, on Crusade to represent the interests of the Capetian monarchy. Hugh, while an important noble, lacked the charisma to lead men.
 2. Count Stephen of Blois assumed the cross at the insistence of his wife Adelaide, daughter of William the Conqueror.
 3. Robert Curthose mortgaged his duchy in Normandy to go on Crusade.
 4. The northern French nobles were thus related and motivated to uphold their family honor and personal piety.
 5. Knights and vassals accompanied these nobles, and many of the poor attached themselves to each expedition so that every noble was obliged to care for poor pilgrims.
- B. Godfrey, a veteran of the wars of the Investiture Controversy, was a fine commander.
- C. Prince Bohemond and his nephew Tancred ably commanded Normans from southern Italy; each was motivated by a desire to gain a principality.
- D. Count Raymond IV of Toulouse commanded the Provençals, who were perceived as foreigners by the French and Normans.
- E. The Italian city-states, particularly the Pisans and the Genoese, played a decisive role in supporting the expeditions.

V. The underlying theme that tied all the Crusaders together was the need to liberate the Holy Land. This had been the prime appeal in Urban's original message. In return, the Crusaders would receive remission of their sins and admission into heaven.

Readings:

Peters, Edward, ed. and trans. *The First Crusade: The Chronicle and Other Source Materials*.

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. Vol. I, pp. 1–120.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Urban II plan to use the First Crusade to advance papal primacy in Western Europe? In what ways did Urban II motivate Christians to undertake crusade?
2. What were the motives for undertaking crusade? How did the First Crusade represent the climax of developments in Europe since the Carolingian age?

Lecture Fourteen

From Clermont to Jerusalem

Scope: On July 15, 1099, members of the First Crusade stormed into Jerusalem and celebrated their triumph in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher amidst a slaughter of the Muslim inhabitants. The capture of Jerusalem was the climax to an extraordinary expedition. In overcoming Turkomen and privations, Crusaders redefined religious warfare. The princes saw victory as God's favor and carved out principalities for themselves in defiance of oaths sworn to the emperor Alexius I. In 1096, Alexius I had exploited the rivalries among the leading princes, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond IV of Toulouse, and Bohemond, who had promised to return former imperial lands. Alexius, who was unfairly blamed for the failure of the earlier *People's Crusade*, lost control over the Crusaders as they marched across Anatolia. The Crusaders gained confidence by victories at Dorylaeum and Antioch. Baldwin and Bohemond each seized an old imperial city, Edessa and Antioch, respectively, as the seat of his own principality. The Crusaders, upon capturing Jerusalem, elected Godfrey of Bouillon as advocate of the Holy Sepulcher.

Outline

- I.** The followers of Peter the Hermit and other popular preachers departed months in advance of the date fixed by Pope Urban II in what is known as the *People's Crusade*.
 - A.** This first wave of Crusaders arrived in Byzantine imperial territory and engaged in looting and attacking Byzantine subjects.
 - B.** In the wake of the pillaging of Byzantine territories by this first wave of Crusaders, Alexius's Bulgarian and Serbian subjects grew restive.
 - C.** Alexius realized this force with few knights and trained soldiers was militarily useless.
 - D.** Alexius restricted Crusader entrance into Constantinople. The People's Crusade was shipped to Civetot in Asia Minor with instructions to await for the main army.
 - E.** The Crusaders, heedless of Alexius's advice, engaged disciplined Turkish cavalry in an effort to advance on Nicaea on October 21, 1096.
 - F.** The Crusaders were annihilated; the survivors later accused Alexius and the Byzantines of treachery.
- II.** Between autumn 1096 and spring 1097, the disciplined armies of the Frankish nobles arrived at Constantinople.
 - A.** The first to arrive was the small army of Hugh of Vermandois. Godfrey soon followed with an impressive force. Following in the wake of the People's Crusade, Godfrey had encountered supply problems so that tensions were high between Crusaders and Byzantines.
 - B.** Later groups arrived with fewer difficulties. The Byzantines feared most the veteran army of Normans under Bohemond.
 - C.** In the spring of 1097, the Crusaders, transported to Asia Minor by the imperial fleet, advanced against Nicaea, capital of Sultan Kilij Arslan.
 - 1.** Alexius had taken oaths of homage from the Crusader princes who promised to return any reconquered lands of the empire.
 - 2.** Alexius was concerned about his lost provinces in Asia Minor, but the Crusaders had a religious objective: Jerusalem.
 - 3.** Byzantine authors claimed they provided technical assistance and money necessary to sustain the Crusades, but the Western Europeans were quite familiar with siege warfare.
 - D.** In mid-May 1097, the Crusaders bombarded Nicaea's walls in preparation for a general assault.
 - E.** On the morning of the day fixed for the assault, June 19, 1097, the Crusaders awoke to discover the city had capitulated to Alexius.
 - 1.** Most Crusaders were perplexed and angry, but the princes had been privy to the negotiations with the Turkish garrison.

- 2. The Turkish garrison, demoralized by Sultan Kilij Arslan's failure to raise the siege, sought terms from Alexius, who wished to spare the Greek Orthodox residents a sack.
- 3. Two days later the Crusade set out for Antioch, accompanied by a Byzantine detachment commanded by Tacitus.
- F. The siege of Nicaea highlighted the tensions between the Byzantines and the Western Europeans.
- G. Some Crusader princes requested that Alexius lead them east from Nicaea, but he declined. He did command the imperial field army to sweep Asia Minor of Turkish garrisons and secure the land routes for the Crusaders.

III. The crossing of Asia Minor was a test for the Crusaders, which they compared to Exodus. Shortly after the fall of Nicaea, the Crusaders won their first victory over the Seljuk Turks.

- A. On June 30 or July 1, 1097, the Crusader army entered the pass at Bozüyük in the direction of Dorylaeum.
- B. Bohemond, while leading the first column through the pass, was attacked by Turkish cavalry from ambush.
- C. Sultan Kilij Arslan launched a typical Turkish cavalry attack. Bohemond sent his knights forward and ordered the infantry to fortify a camp to which the knights rallied when driven back by the Turks.
- D. Bohemond defended the camp and summoned the main army. The Turks, believing the main Crusader force was trapped, failed to notice the main column under Godfrey and Raymond advancing in relief.
- E. Godfrey supported Bohemond's hard-pressed right; Raymond, by concealed movement, moved down the pass and took the Turks in the rear.
- F. Bohemond rallied his forces and launched a counterattack; the Turks retreated in disarray.
- G. Losses were heavy on both sides; probably about 4,000 for the Crusaders and 3,000 for the Turks.

IV. This first victory confirmed the Crusaders' belief in God's favor. They marched on across Asia Minor and, by October 1097, stood before the walls of Antioch.

- A. The march to Antioch was horrendous; thousands died from lack of water and in Turkish raids. By the time the Crusaders reached their destination, their numbers had probably been reduced by half.
- B. Antioch, which had passed into Turkish hands in 1086, was held sacred by the Crusaders as a holy city.
- C. During the march to Antioch, Baldwin and Tancred, each junior members of princely armies, had split off from the main forces to seek their own principalities. Baldwin eventually set up his state in Edessa, which proved decisive to the Crusaders during the siege of Antioch.
- D. When the Crusaders arrived in October 1097, they found before them a great city, situated in a fertile plain. Provisions were plentiful, and the Crusader army was able to recover from its long march.
- E. Raymond urged an immediate assault of Antioch, but the other princes hesitated. They believed that Alexius was on his way with the imperial army.
- F. The Crusaders blockaded Antioch by building towers and ravaging the countryside.
- G. During the siege, Bohemond demonstrated his bravery, leadership, and tactical brilliance, defeating two Turkish relief forces from Damascus and Aleppo.
- H. In May 1098, the Crusaders learned of the approach of a third Turkish relief army under Kerbogha of Mosul.
 - 1. While Kerbogha was delayed in an abortive siege of Baldwin in Edessa for three weeks, Bohemond secured the capture of Antioch through treachery of the disgruntled Armenian official Firuz on the evening of June 2, 1098.
 - 2. The Crusaders broke off the siege, marching west to lure the Turkish garrison into believing the siege was abandoned. At midnight, the Crusaders turned back to Antioch.
 - 3. Bohemond and 60 knights, by prearranged signal, ascended a ladder provided by the traitor Firuz and captured the wall. The Crusaders burst through the gates and captured the city with the usual massacre.
 - 4. Two days later, Kerbogha's army arrived to besiege the Crusaders in Antioch.

5. On June 28, 1098, the Crusaders under Bohemond sallied forth and defeated Kerbogha in a stunning victory.
- I. The Crusade nearly disintegrated because Bohemond kept Antioch, alleging Alexius had failed to arrive, and so founded the second Crusader state.
- J. Raymond and Godfrey, intriguing for leadership of the remaining Crusaders, pressed on to Jerusalem in 1099.

V. In the spring of 1099, the Crusaders marched more than 300 miles south and arrived before Jerusalem.

- A. On July 15, 1099, the Crusaders stormed the city, slaughtering both the Muslim population and Jews who had taken refuge in the synagogue.
- B. The Crusaders had done what no Byzantine army had been able to do in 350 years—entered the holy city.
- C. Against all expectations, the Crusaders had triumphed, and their success confirmed belief in God's favor and inspired Western Europeans to go on crusade for the next 200 years.

Readings:

France, John. *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*.

Peters, Edward, ed. and trans. *The First Crusade: The Chronicle and Other Source Materials*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the logistical difficulties overcome by the First Crusade to attain their objectives? How important was Byzantine assistance?
2. What were the prospects for future cooperation between Byzantines and Crusaders after 1099?

Lecture Fifteen

Conquest and Defense of Outremer

Scope: Baldwin I, count of Edessa, was crowned the first king of Jerusalem on the death of his brother Godfrey of Bouillon. What Baldwin lacked in Godfrey's chivalrous manners, he made up in cool resolve, for Baldwin exploited Muslim divisions. By offering trade concessions, Baldwin obtained from Pisa, Genoa, and Venice naval support to capture all the Levantine ports except Tyre and Ascalon. Baldwin not only extended his kingdom but imposed his suzerainty on Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli. In 1100, Baldwin could field only 3,000 soldiers to defend his isolated kingdom, because most Crusaders were pilgrims who returned home. Reinforcements failed to arrive. The three columns of the so-called Crusade of 1101 were independently destroyed by Turkomen armies of Anatolia. Hence, Baldwin encouraged settlers to seek fiefs and fortunes in Outremer, "the Christian overseas." His successors, Baldwin II and Fulk of Anjou, inherited a splendidly run kingdom and continued Baldwin's judicious policies.

Outline

- I. Within a decade of the fall of Jerusalem, four feudal Western states emerged in the Levant: the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, the county of Tripoli, and the kingdom of Jerusalem.
 - A. These principalities were the unintended results of the First Crusade, and their creation was an extraordinary achievement.
 - B. The fact that these states endured and expanded through most of the 12th century is a credit to those who organized them, to the European institutions brought in to run them, to the backing of the Italian maritime republics, and to the adaptability of those who decided to stay in Outremer and learn from the native populations.
 - C. This lecture examines three aspects of the process of creation of the Crusader states: (1) the geographic, strategic, and political conditions after the First Crusade; (2) the failure of Antioch, despite its promising beginnings, to become the premier state in Outremer; and (3) the effectiveness of Baldwin I and his successors in making Jerusalem the leading state.
- II. The Crusaders had faced daunting odds in reaching Antioch and Jerusalem, but in 1100, they faced even more daunting odds in defending their conquests.
 - A. Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem were geographically separated and isolated; Jerusalem was more than 300 miles south of Antioch.
 - B. Furthermore, these areas were difficult to control. The Crusaders were vastly outnumbered, and the arid conditions of the region were harsh for the Western Europeans.
 - C. Reinforcements were essential to maintaining the Crusader states.
 1. The new pope, Paschal II, preached another Crusade to reinforce Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem, but this so-called Crusade of 1101 was poorly led.
 2. The Crusade crossed Asia Minor in three columns. One column advanced across northern Anatolia to rescue Bohemond, a captive of the Danishmendid emir. These Crusaders blundered into an ambush at Merzifon and were slaughtered. The two other columns were ambushed by Seljuk Turks in southern Anatolia.
 3. Few of the Crusaders of 1101 ever reached Outremer.
 - D. Although massive reinforcements failed to arrive, from 1101 on, European merchants, pilgrims, and settlers came to the Levant.
 1. Although there was no massive settlement of Western Europeans to the Crusader states, lesser nobles, such as the Ibelins, arrived to take up fiefs and form a military caste.
 2. By 1140, perhaps 150,000 Western Europeans were living in the four Crusader states. The native population was over 3 million.

E. Given the distances involved, the difficulties in communication, and the disparity in numbers between ruling and subject populations, it is extraordinary that the Crusader states survived.

III. Given its promising beginnings, it is remarkable that Antioch did not assume the primary role among the Western Crusader states.

- A. Part of the blame rested with Bohemond who, although a brilliant general, was not an effective ruler because of his restless ambitions.
- B. In the summer of 1100, Bohemond was captured by the Danishmenid Turks. His nephew Tancred was summoned from Jerusalem to assume the regency of Antioch.
 - 1. Tancred, lord of the Galilee and the greatest vassal of Baldwin I, aspired for the crown of Jerusalem in 1100.
 - 2. Tancred, resentful of his liege Baldwin I, eagerly accepted the offer from Antioch.
 - 3. When Tancred returned to Antioch, he created an effective state. He extended his sway over Cilicia, instituted taxes, and capitalized on the commercial value of the city as a pilgrimage shrine.
 - 4. Tancred ran the state of Antioch until his death in 1112.
- C. When Bohemond was released in 1103, he returned to Italy and raised forces with the intention of capturing Constantinople.
 - 1. In 1106, Bohemond invaded Greece, but Alexius checked the Norman army.
 - 2. In 1108, Bohemond was compelled to agree to the Treaty of Devol, recognizing Antioch under Alexius's authority. But Tancred repudiated the treaty.
- D. Bohemond returned to Italy and died in 1111. His son, Bohemond II, became prince of Antioch but was too young to send to the Levant, and the state remained in the hands of regents.
 - 1. Roger of Salerno, Antioch's regent from 1112, was defeated and slain by Emir Ilghazi of Mardin at "the field of blood" (*campus sanguinis*) on June 28, 1119.
 - 2. The crushing defeat checked the fortunes of Antioch. King Baldwin II of Jerusalem had to govern the principality until Bohemond II attained his majority.
- E. The peculiar political conditions at Antioch had major consequences.
 - 1. The princes of Antioch, by expanding into imperial Cilicia, clashed with the Comnenian emperors.
 - 2. Alexius I and his heirs sought to assert imperial rights over Antioch, perceived as a threat because it was governed by Normans, already imperial foes in Italy.
 - 3. The Comnenian emperors were also concerned about Antioch because it was the seat of a patriarchate and home to many Orthodox Christians.
 - 4. Finally, in 1108, Bohemond had agreed that Antioch was under imperial authority, but Comnenian emperors had to mount major expeditions into Syria to enforce the terms of the Treaty of Devol.
- F. Antioch failed to become the leading Crusader state because of the leadership.
 - 1. The defeat in 1119 was just one of a number of ill-planned battles. So many Norman knights and nobles fell that their heiresses had to turn to the French and Provençals for husbands.
 - 2. The Norman character of Antioch gave way to a French one, and henceforth many nobles were linked by blood and language to their counterparts in Jerusalem.

IV. It was equally remarkable that Jerusalem, despite the ruthless sack in 1099, emerged as the premier Crusader state.

- A. The Crusaders at first decided that no king should rule in Jerusalem. As a compromise, Godfrey, a leading figure during the siege, was elected advocate of the Holy Sepulcher.
- B. Godfrey secured the hinterlands of Jerusalem and administered the city just over a year. His death in 1100 presented a succession crisis. His brother, Baldwin I, Count of Edessa, was invited by the nobles to ascend the throne as king of Jerusalem.
 - 1. Baldwin I, a brilliant king, checked the threats from Fatimid Egypt and Turkish Damascus.

2. Through clever diplomacy, Baldwin enlisted the aid of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice to bring under his control all but two of the ports on the Levantine shore. By securing these ports, he ensured the survival of his kingdom.
3. Baldwin also backed the two sons of Raymond in capturing the northern port of Tripoli and establishing a principality there.
4. Baldwin adroitly played upon Western European piety to promote pilgrimage to and settlement at Jerusalem.
5. Baldwin ruled with the consent of his vassals. When he died in 1118, he had no heirs, and the nobility of Jerusalem turned to his cousin, Baldwin II, count of Edessa.

C. Baldwin II deserves credit for the institutional development of the kingdom.

1. He achieved several breakthroughs, including the capture of Tyre (1124), the one major port still outside of Crusader hands.
2. Baldwin II twice intervened in crises at Antioch, and so secured the northern states from Turkish attack.
3. He settled native Christians at Jerusalem and secured caravan routes, thus ensuring the prosperity of the kingdom.
4. Above all, Baldwin II secured for the kingdom a stable succession. He had four daughters, the oldest of whom was married to Fulk of Anjou, a leading noble of France. Fulk succeeded upon Baldwin II's death.

D. When Fulk died, his kingdom had achieved stable institutions and defensible frontiers. The king of Jerusalem was liege lord of all the Crusader states and had powerful connections in Western Europe.

Readings:

Prawer, J. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*.

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. Vol. II, p. 3–246.

Questions to Consider:

1. What geographic and political difficulties did the Crusaders overcome to forge effective states in 1110–1143? What was the relationship among the four Crusader states of Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli?
2. Why did the Crusade of 1101 fail? How was Alexius blamed for the disaster?

Lecture Sixteen

Frankish Settlement of Outremer

Scope: At the death of King Fulk, perhaps 50,000 Western Europeans ruled as a military elite over 3 million residents of Outremer. Since Europeans never migrated in great numbers to the Holy Land, the majority population always comprised native Christians with significant numbers of Jews and Muslims. Frankish and Norman lords, who received fiefs, did not impose European manorial arrangements, based on labor services and rents in kind, on their native tenants. Instead, they learned to exploit cash crops, textiles, and spices for markets in Europe and exacted tolls on the caravan trade. Italian bankers and merchants established autonomous communities in the ports, and their commercial values penetrated the ruling classes. Crusader rulers minted imitative Fatimid gold dinars for international trade in the Near East, but in the reign of King Baldwin III, European-style silver deniers were produced for internal use. Although many natives might have found Frankish rule distasteful, they nonetheless prospered, because the newcomers from Europe quickly adapted to the settings of their new homes.

Outline

- I.** This lecture explores the economic and social changes that occurred in Outremer during the first half of the 12th century.
 - A.** The Crusaders who settled in the Holy Land were able to exploit the resources around them; to make use of taxpayers, merchants, and specialists among the local populations; and to adapt European institutions to the Levantine environment.
 - B.** This lecture looks at three major aspects of the Crusaders' adaptation to their new states as follows:
 1. How geography and demography dictated the settlement of Crusaders in Outremer.
 2. The nature of Crusader impact on the local scene, notably in agriculture, trade, and town life.
 3. How the Crusaders, in response to local conditions, adapted their feudal and military institutions.
- II.** The four Crusader states were part of what is generally known as the Fertile Crescent, but the conditions varied greatly with each principality.
 - A.** Antioch enjoyed favorable political conditions and natural resources so that it was a question of how effectively princes of Antioch could impose their control and exploit these resources.
 1. Antioch also had an excellent port and was linked to the Byzantine ports in southern Asia Minor and the rich island of Cyprus.
 2. The connection with Cyprus proved important. The Byzantine administration there was rather friendly to Antioch, and the two regions were linked by trade.
 3. The princes of Antioch periodically also extended their sway over Cilicia, a humid area of alluvial plains with possibilities for timber harvesting and mining.
 4. Antioch, thus, had abundant natural resources and a largely Christian population that could be taxed and counted on, at least in part, to support the Norman princes.
 - B.** Edessa, east of the Euphrates, was home to Armenian and Jacobite Christians and strategically situated on the grasslands of southeastern Turkey today.
 - C.** Both the counts of Edessa and the princes of Antioch could exploit their revenues.
 1. Rulers of both states issued Byzantine-style bronze coins.
 2. The rulers also ruled cities with brisk markets and skilled Christian populations from which they could draw taxes.
 - D.** The kings of Jerusalem in the south faced a more complex situation.
 1. The ports along the Levantine shore stretching from Tripoli to Gaza received European pilgrims, settlers, and merchants.
 2. The coastal plains in the north bounded by the Amanus Mountains (the mountains of Lebanon) and in the south in Palestine were under intensive cultivation.

3. In the hill countries of Judah and Israel (the historic Hebrew kingdoms) and in the Jordan Valley resided diverse Christian and Muslim villagers. Beyond the Jordan (the regions that the Crusaders called Outrejordain) was a mixture of settled zones, oases, and desert.
4. The kingdom was dotted with villages and had a far greater population of Muslims, including numerous Bedouins (Arab Muslims) who seasonally crossed the political frontiers.

E. Given that all these states offered great opportunities, the question was how the Crusaders would exploit them.

III. The Western Christians remained a minority that never attempted to assimilate the local populations into their ranks.

- A. The Crusaders were remarkably tolerant by the standards of the day. The first generation of Crusaders quickly learned to come to terms with this largely non-Catholic population. Normans and Provençals were long familiar with other societies composed of non-Catholic populations.
- B. In Antioch, there were efforts to replace members of the Greek clergy, more because they might politically align with Constantinople rather than on any kind of religious grounds.
- C. Native Christians, who shared many saints, religious practices, and icons with their Western co-religionists, were tolerated.
- D. Native and European Christians had frequent contact and even intermarried.
 1. Crusader princes married ladies of noble Armenian families, while lower members of society often married native Christians.
 2. By the time of the Second Crusade, a provincial Frankish race had emerged in Outremer.
- E. Despite some remarkable individual conversions, there was no massive conversion from Islam to Christianity, and Jews retained their faith.

IV. European immigration replenished Crusader ranks.

- A. Outremer needed from Europe trained warriors and the horses of Western Europe.
- B. Many noble families of Outremer were descended from obscure families in Europe. The adventurer Reynald of Chatillon, hailed from family of minor rank and so sought opportunity in the East. The kings of Jerusalem and the princes of Antioch encouraged the immigration of such men.
- C. Large Italian populations settled in the ports. Italian merchant families intermarried with the Frankish military elite, who shared many of the same values.
- D. The northern French language (as distinct from Provençal and Italian dialects) defined identity of the ruling classes in the Outremer known by Muslims as “Frangi.”

V. The Crusaders had a significant impact on the society of the Levant.

- A. The Italians, Franks, and Normans who settled in the Levant engaged in the export of foodstuffs, exotic goods, and finely crafted items to Western Europe for cash. They took over existing plantation systems rather than imposing the European manorial system of agriculture.
- B. The so-called Lordship of Tyre in circa 1200 is documented to have comprised 250 square miles with more than 120 villages.
 1. Most of these villages farmed commercial crops such as sugar, olives, and citrus fruits.
 2. About a third of the plantations and villages were held by the king; the others were held by major royal vassals or the military monastic orders.
- C. Notions of feudalism were adapted to this very commercialized farming. Lords were granted *money fiefs* by which the fief was the revenues (rather than the land itself) of these plantations and villages.
- D. Under the Muslim custom, Crusaders collected rents at the usual rates, somewhere around 10 percent.

VI. The 12th century witnessed far more changes in attitudes and behaviors among Crusader lords rather than farmers and villagers of Outremer.

- A. Crusader lords did not live on a manor or a *demesne* but rather in the political capitals or cities of the Levantine shore.
- B. The nobility became more cosmopolitan, ruling as absentee landlords who held markets, fairs, and other activities in their villages and plantations.
- C. The farming techniques and profits in the 12th century probably differed little from those documented from the Ottoman period in the 16th century, for both eras enjoyed exceptional prosperity.
 - 1. Contrary to popular notion, the Crusaders, after the destruction of the initial conquest, protected and exploited the profits from cities.
 - 2. The Crusaders did not exterminate native populations who were needed to cultivate the fields.
 - 3. A European arriving in the Levant was almost automatically classified as a *burgess* (that is, a merchant), if not a knight.
- D. Despite Muslim objections to the Crusaders as non-believers ruling over lands of Islam, in many ways, the Crusaders brought a measure of prosperity.
 - 1. In the two decades immediately before the Crusaders arrived, the Levant had been a battleground between the Seljuk Turks and the Fatimid armies.
 - 2. The Crusaders imposed order and encouraged agriculture and trade—an order preferred to the disorder in the 1080s and 1090s.
 - 3. Furthermore, Muslim sects agreed on their dislike of rule by the rapacious Turkish military elite so that rule by judicious Christian lords might have been viewed as acceptable.
- E. The economic transformation of Outremer depended on trade, in which the Western Europeans excelled.
 - 1. By 1124, Italians of the maritime republics controlled all the major Levantine ports.
 - 2. Republics negotiated quarters in a city, in exchange for naval support.
 - 3. Such arrangements gave the participating naval power commercial and residential quarters in the city.
 - 4. With Levantine ports in the hands of Italian merchant communities, exotic Near Eastern goods could be exported to European markets. This rising trade in the 12th and 13th centuries fueled the prosperity of Italian cities in the late Middle Ages.
 - 5. The Italians imported European silver. The import of silver enabled the striking of substantial silver coinages by Muslim authorities from the 13th century on.
 - 6. A symbiosis emerged between Europeans carrying out trade in the Mediterranean and producers of the goods in the Near East.
- F. The city of Jerusalem did not fare as well as the ports for a number of reasons.
 - 1. In 1099, the city had been sacked, and its population massacred.
 - 2. Baldwin I and Baldwin II encouraged settlers but the city remained small.
 - 3. Jerusalem, with limited banking and commercial opportunities, did not attract Italians.
 - 4. The kings sought to rescue Jerusalem, initiating pilgrimage and building programs, notably the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1149.

VII. Finally, economic and social changes in Outremer transformed the Crusaders.

- A. The Crusaders evolved a system of money fiefs. A fief included the revenues from fines and tolls that might be levied, a clever alternative to handing out manors.
- B. The military monastic orders of Hospitallers and Templars were another instance of Crusaders adapting their institutions to conditions in the Levant.
 - 1. The Hospitallers and the Templars, that is, the Knights of the Hospital and the Knights of the Temple, respectively were organized in Jerusalem with the blessing of King Baldwin II.
 - 2. Both orders originally operated hospitals in Jerusalem to care for pilgrims, but the monks hired knights to defend the pilgrimage route from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

3. The military branches of both orders were recognized by papal bulls in the 1120s as independent orders whose members, while warriors, were granted the status of the clergy.
4. By this arrangement, Crusader princes could draw on the money and manpower of Western Europe to support the Crusader states. Those who entered the Templars or the Hospitallers dedicated themselves as soldiers of Christ and pledged their estates to the order.
5. Steadily, from the 1140s on, the military monastic knights assumed the defense of many of the castles in Outremer.
6. The orders were thus an adaptation of European religious and military traditions to the Levantine setting. The orders would not have emerged had the kings of Jerusalem been able to field large feudal armies.

VIII. The Crusaders proved successful in adapting to new conditions, and so forging a distinct political order and society that endured for 200 years.

Readings:

La Monte, J. *The Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*.

Prawer, J. *Crusader Institutions*.

Smail, R. C. *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How successfully did the Crusaders adapt to the geographic, economic, and social conditions of Outremer? What were the limits to Crusader colonization?
2. In what ways did the Crusaders innovate on native institutions? Why did the Crusades have a limited impact on the religious life of Eastern Christians? How did the Crusaders come to view their Muslim neighbors and foes?

Lecture Seventeen

Comnenian Emperors and Crusader Princes

Scope: The Comnenian emperor Alexius I and his successors, John II and Manuel I, viewed Antioch and Edessa as theirs, and they feared for the welfare of Orthodox clergy and Christians under Frankish rule. In 1098, Bohemond secured Antioch for himself, thereby renouncing his imperial allegiance, but he was captured and held for ransom by the Danishmend Turks. His nephew Tancred, lord of the Galilee, assumed the regency, occupied imperial cities in Cilicia, and inspired Armenian sectarians and Byzantine rebels. In 1105–1108, Bohemond, released from captivity, invaded Greece in the guise of a “crusade,” but Alexius compelled Bohemond to recognize imperial suzerainty by the Treaty of Devol. Tancred and successive princes of Antioch refused to acknowledge this treaty. The emperor John II, in 1137–1138 and 1142–1143, and the emperor Manuel I, in 1159, mounted expensive expeditions to assert imperial rights over Antioch. Comnenian emperors were, thus, distracted from their more deadly foes, the Normans of Sicily and the Seljuk Turks, whereas the Crusaders lost their potentially most valuable ally in Constantinople. Hence, the marriage alliances of Manuel, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, and King Amalric of Jerusalem failed to produce cooperation in the face of Islamic resurgence.

Outline

- I. Most of the information we gain about Byzantine perceptions of the First Crusade and its aftermath comes from Anna Comnena, who was Alexius’s older daughter and court historian.
 - A. Her history—which was not a history of the Crusades but of the reign of her father, Alexius—covers the political and military history of the Byzantine world and its surrounding regions.
 - B. Anna, a self-styled politician who schemed to seize the throne with her husband when Alexius died in 1118, was relegated to writing history after her coup failed.
 - C. Anna, who betrays her bitterness, idealized her father and detested her brother John II, Alexius’s heir.
 - D. Anna witnessed events after her father’s death, notably the Second Crusade. Hence, her account on the First Crusade is written from retrospect, but she obtained information from Taticus, the Byzantine commander who had accompanied the First Crusade.
 - E. Anna gives us some of the best information about how Byzantines at the Comnenian court reacted to Western Europeans with a mixture of awe and disdain.
 - 1. Most Byzantines admired the Frankish knights as indomitable warriors.
 - 2. But Anna suspected the ambitions of Crusader princes, and she likens the Crusade to a barbarian migration. She refers to the Westerners repeatedly as Celts (*Keltoi*), a derogatory term equating the Europeans with primeval barbarians.
 - 3. Yet, at the time of Anna’s death, numerous Westerners served at the court of Manuel I, the emperor. Manuel appreciated Franks, adopting many of their mores.
 - F. With Anna’s account as the main source, it is possible to examine how Byzantine emperors reacted to the nascent Crusader states in former imperial territory.
- II. Byzantines never forgot that the First Crusaders’ unexpected victory in the East rested on their alliance with Alexius I.
 - A. In 1097, as the Crusaders trekked east, Alexius landed and the imperial field army swept the Seljuk Turks out of the western third of Asia Minor.
 - B. In 1098, Alexius, after wintering in Constantinople, returned with his field army with the objective of marching to Antioch in support of the First Crusade.
 - 1. Alexius encountered the same supply problems that the Crusaders had experienced in 1097.
 - 2. He received mixed reports about the First Crusade. Stephen of Blois reported that the Crusade must have been destroyed.

- 3. Given the reports received at Philomelium, Alexius retired rather than risk a summer march across the Anatolian plateau to assist Crusaders who may well have been destroyed by the Turks.
- C. Later, when Hugh of Vermandois arrived with reports of the victories at Antioch, Alexius must have regretted his decision because his hesitation was held as a failure to adhere to the oaths.
 - 1. Bohemond retained Antioch, announcing *diffidatio*, that is, a declaration releasing him from obligations to his lord, Alexius, who had failed the Crusaders.
 - 2. Thereafter, relations between Norman Antioch and Byzantium were strained.
 - 3. Alexius compelled Bohemond to recognize imperial suzerainty over Antioch by the Treaty of Devol in 1108, but the regent Tancred ignored the treaty's terms.
 - 4. From the Byzantine perspective, the Crusader states were havens for Byzantine exiles and served as examples to dissidents within the Byzantine state.
 - 5. Although the Comnenian emperors had affected political recovery, the Anatolian provinces were disrupted by 20 years of Turkish rule so that frontier defense was invested in local lords. The Seljuk Turks, still controlling the plateau, raided imperial territory.
- D. At the death of Alexius in 1118, Byzantine-Crusader relations were unresolved. John II and Manuel were determined to reckon with Antioch and Edessa, potential allies of the Norman king of Sicily, who was the most dangerous opponent in the Mediterranean.
- E. Byzantine rulers feared that the existence of Latin Crusader states increased the possibility of more Crusades, a threat that was borne out by the Crusade of 1101. Hence, the stream of Western Europeans to reinforce Outremer was potentially dangerous to the Byzantine Empire.
- F. Crusades put an enormous strain on the imperial budget, disrupted the imperial heartland in the Balkans, and led to more mutual misunderstanding.
- G. John II, heir of Alexius I, at the onset saw the rising Turkish powers to the east of the Crusader states as potential allies against Norman Antioch.

III. The Byzantine emperors pursued several policies to bring the Crusader states under imperial control.

- A. First, emperors John II and Manuel pursued matrimonial alliances with princely families of Outremer, particularly as a means of returning Antioch to imperial control.
- B. Another approach was a show of imperial force. John II and Manuel each personally commanded expeditions into Cilicia (southeastern Asia Minor) and northern Syria.
 - 1. These expensive undertakings compelled both emperors to sacrifice other concerns.
 - 2. The expeditions revealed the provisional nature of the imperial recovery in Asia Minor, because the imperial field army, supported by a fleet based at Antalya, marched east along the rugged southern shore of Asia Minor rather than along the traditional route across Asia Minor which had been used by the First Crusade.
- C. By his Syrian expeditions in 1137–1138 and 1142–1143, John II pressured Count Raymond, the titular prince of Antioch, into concessions.
 - 1. In 1138, Raymond agreed to cede Antioch to imperial control and join the campaign of John II against Aleppo, the main Muslim power in northern Syria.
 - 2. In compensation, Raymond was to receive Aleppo as an imperial fief upon the surrender of the city, but the campaigns against Aleppo failed before the Muslim fortress of Shazier.
- D. On his second Syrian expedition, John II, mortally wounded in a hunting accident, crowned as his successor his youngest son, Manuel I.
- E. In 1143, Manuel suspended operations in Syria and returned to secure Constantinople. Manuel was only able to return to Syria to impose his suzerainty over Antioch in 1158-1159.
- F. Manuel also pursued marriage alliances with Kings Baldwin III and Amalric I of Jerusalem, and Manuel himself married a Latin princess Maria of Antioch in 1161.

G. Manuel followed the policy of Alexius I in expressing willingness to the papacy in reuniting the Orthodox and Catholic churches. This strategy was part of a wider Comnenian diplomacy plan to bring the Crusader states into the Byzantine orbit without campaigning in Syria.

IV. Comnenian emperors courted the Italian maritime republics in an effort to isolate the Crusaders.

- A. In 1082, Alexius had issued a *chrysobull*, that is, an imperial edict, granting privileges to Venetian merchants in the imperial domains. The empire retained the right to tax and to recruit Venetian citizens. In 1108, Alexius gave a similar arrangement to the city of Pisa.
- B. John II and Manuel renewed and extended these commercial privileges; their treaties emphasized that the Italians were under imperial law. Furthermore, concessions were granted only in Aegean waters; the Italians were excluded from the Black Sea, which was vital to Byzantine interests.
- C. Such treaties were intended to isolate and to force the Crusaders into cooperation with Constantinople so that the aim was diplomatic—to impose authority on the Latin states, rather than economic—to avoid the expense of maintaining an imperial fleet.

V. Comnenian policies had important consequences for the relationships between the Byzantines and Crusaders during 12th century.

- A. First, the Comnenian emperors pursued a dangerous diplomacy by courting Western monarchs with offers of alliance or by intimating to the papacy willingness to reunite the churches. These diplomatic moves against the Crusaders and their allies, the Normans in Sicily, committed the Comnenians to expensive commitments in Western Europe.
- B. Second, the Comnenian court came to see the Western kings, particularly the Capetian kings of France, as overlords and allies of the Franks in Outremer.
- C. Above all, this expensive diplomacy of ceremonies, subsidies, and military expeditions against Antioch conveyed the illusion that Constantinople was more powerful than she really was.
- D. At the accession of Manuel I, princes, in Europe and Outremer, assumed that Constantinople, which had initially summoned the Crusaders, could pay for later Crusades. When Byzantine support was not forthcoming, most Western Europeans grew disappointed or angry.
- E. The widening gap between the perception of imperial power and its reality was a major factor in the misunderstanding between the Crusaders and Byzantines that ultimately led to the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Readings:

Cinnamos, John. *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*. Translated by C. Brand.

Lilie, J.-R. *Byzantium and the Crusader State, 1096–1204*. Translated by J. C. Morris and J. E. Ridings.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the long-term consequences of Bohemond's "crusade" in 1105–1108 and the Treaty of Devol?
2. How sound were the policies of John II and Manuel I toward the Crusaders? How did their ambitious diplomacy and military operations cost the empire prestige and money?

Lecture Eighteen

The Second Crusade

Scope: The Turkomen general and *atabeg* Zengi waged holy war against the “Franks of the coast” with a commission from the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad. In 1144, Zengi captured Edessa. Count Joscelin II briefly reoccupied his capital, but Edessa fell to Zengi’s son and successor, Nur-ad-Din. Nur-ad-Din, with his invincible Turkomen and Kurdish cavalry, aimed to unite Muslim Syria and to blot out Outremer. Pope Eugenius III thus preached the Second Crusade, inducing King Louis VII of France and the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad III to assume the cross. Conrad III met with disaster in an ambush near Dorylaeum in 1147. One month later, the French Crusade arrived and suffered grievous losses in a winter march across Anatolia. In the spring of 1148, only the two kings, along with their courts and knights, reached Antioch. The Crusade was diverted from an offensive against Nur-ad-Din to an abortive siege of Damascus. The humiliating defeat suffered by the Crusaders outside of Damascus left Nur-ad-Din free to unite Muslim Syria.

Outline

- I.** Pope Eugenius III preached the Second Crusade (1146–1148) in response to the Islamic *jihad* proclaimed by Zengi, emir of Mosul, and his son and successor, Nur-ad-Din.
 - A.** The immediate cause of the Second Crusade was the capture of the city of Edessa by Zengi in 1144.
 - B.** The Second Crusade was thus not launched on invitation of the Byzantines but rather in response to appeals of the princes in Outremer.
 - C.** Furthermore, Jerusalem was not this Crusade’s objective, although Jerusalem was perceived as threatened by Nur-ad-Din.
 - D.** The Second Crusade faced an Islamic opponent who was redefining *jihad*.
 - 1.** In early Islamic tradition, Muslim armies summoned to *jihad* had gained confidence by an unbroken series of victories that had advanced the faith into the 9th century.
 - 2.** Emir Zengi’s capture of Edessa and call for *jihad* against the “Franks of the coast” marked the first time that holy war was preached to recover Islamic lands in the hands of unbelievers.
 - E.** With Jerusalem in Christian hands, Pope Eugenius III, too, extended the concept of *crusade* from recovering the holy places to extending the frontiers of Christendom against any heathens.
 - 1.** Eugenius III, by extending the logic of crusade, allowed for new types of religious war.
 - 2.** The ambitious notion that various campaigns would be waged simultaneously against various opponents of the faith actually undermined, in some ways, the expedition sent to the East, because it took resources away from it.
 - F.** The Second Crusade and its impact must be seen in light of the crisis that brought it on.
 - 1.** First, it is necessary to analyze political and strategic conditions in the Latin states.
 - 2.** Next, it is necessary to define the nature of the revival of Islamic power.
 - 3.** Then, it is possible to elucidate the preaching and ignominious failure of the Second Crusade.
- II.** The complicated political situation in Outremer resulted in Crusader disunity.
 - A.** In 1131, Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, and Joscelin I, count of Edessa, died. The two rulers had cooperated, and their deaths marked the passing of the first generation of Crusaders. Their successors represented a new generation with no memory of the initial conquest.
 - B.** Baldwin II was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk of Anjou, who was married to Baldwin’s eldest daughter, Melisende; Joscelin I was succeeded by his son, Joscelin II.
 - C.** Baldwin II had married his second daughter, Alice, to Bohemond II so that their daughter, Baldwin’s granddaughter, Constance, was heiress to Antioch. Henceforth, the ruling families of Outremer were related, and they intermarried with the members of the high nobility who formed a new ruling caste.

- D. The rulers of Outremer were also linked to the royal houses in France and England by marriage, kinship, and hospitality. King Baldwin II established the precedent of consulting the king of France, starting with Louis VI, in marital and succession issues so that the Capetian kings of France were viewed as overlords of Outremer.
- E. King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, under the regency of Queen Melisende and Raymond of Poitiers, ruling Antioch as husband of Constance, failed to provide effective leadership against Zengi or Nur-ad-Din in 1144–1146.

III. The balance of power shifted decisively to the Islamic world in the second quarter of the 12th century.

- A. The Turks in Asia Minor and Syria regained their confidence, but their victories in 1101 and 1119 did not coalesce into a campaign to drive out the Franks. Instead, *jihad* was invoked as a means for Turkish generals to recruit allies and seize border castles at the expense of the Franks.
- B. But this situation changed in 1127, when the charismatic Turkmen commander, Zengi, arrived in Mosul with an Abbasid commission to wage war against the Franks.
- C. Zengi consolidated his hold over northern Syria, but he was opposed by the Turkish regime in Damascus.
 - 1. In the name of *jihad*, Zengi captured Edessa in 1144, and the Crusaders lost their first significant territory.
 - 2. From 1144 on, Zengi, and then his son, Nur-ad-Din (who retook Edessa, which Joscelin II briefly recovered in 1145), threatened Antioch and, indirectly, Jerusalem.
- D. Count Raymond in Antioch and Queen Melisende in Jerusalem appealed to Pope Eugenius III.
 - 1. Eugenius III preached a Second Crusade, but the eloquent St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the abbot of the leading Cistercian monasteries, inspired thousands to assume the cross.
 - 2. Preaching continued in 1144–1146, even though Europe received conflicting reports about the situation at Edessa, because Pope Eugenius III was determined to launch a great crusade.
- E. Eugenius extended the notion of *crusade* by offering indulgences to those serving in Spain and in the Baltic, even though the main effort was to be directed toward defending Jerusalem.
 - 1. Bernard of Clairvaux easily persuaded King Louis VII of France, who saw the crusade as a way to expiate his sins for the “massacre of innocents at Vitry.”
 - 2. Louis’s ministers, headed by Abbot Suger of St. Denis, argued that the monarchy could not survive the royal absence but failed to dissuade Louis VII.
 - 3. Louis’s brilliant wife, Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine, was the niece of Count Raymond, titular prince of Antioch, and the granddaughter of the Crusader Duke William IX.
 - 4. Eleanor, who commanded far more powerful vassals than her husband, Louis VII, gave the French monarchy the appearance of a respectable power.
 - 5. Eleanor, who traveled east with a brilliant court, scandalized her dull husband, and the mismatched couple divorced on their return in 1152—to the detriment of Capetian power.
- F. Conrad III, Hohenstaufen king of Germany, went on Crusade reluctantly, because he faced powerful Welf opponents, and he was never Holy Roman Emperor.
- G. In the summer of 1147, two great royal armies departed East to the delight of the pope and with the high hopes of Western Europeans.

IV. The accomplishments of the Second Crusade fell far short of the expectations.

- A. The Byzantine emperor, Manuel I, who had not summoned this Crusade, concluded, by treaty, a successful war against Sultan Masud of Konya so that he could return to Constantinople and meet the great royal armies crossing his domains in 1147.
- B. The German army arrived first at Constantinople in autumn 1147. Manuel adroitly courted Conrad and secured a marriage alliance against their mutual foe Roger II of Norman Sicily, who was waging a naval war against Byzantium.

- C. Conrad, ignoring Manuel's advice to await Louis VII, advanced into Asia Minor and fell into a Turkish ambush at Dorylaeum in September of 1147. The discredited Conrad was abandoned by many German nobles who departed for home.
- D. Louis VII reached Constantinople in October 1147. An ally of Roger II of Sicily, Louis VII mistrusted Manuel, and some French nobles advocated the seizure of Constantinople.
 - 1. Louis, heedless of Manuel's advice and zealous to reach Jerusalem, attempted a winter crossing of Asia Minor in 1147–1148, while Conrad III wintered at Constantinople.
 - 2. Louis VI, attacked by Seljuk Turkomen forces in the Maeander Valley, fought his way at great loss to the port of Attaleia in southwestern Turkey. There was no shipping available to convey the Crusade, because the Byzantine fleet was deployed against the Normans.
 - 3. In spring 1148, Louis, his court, and the knights took ship to Antioch, whereas the majority of infantry and pilgrims traveling along the southern shore of Asia Minor failed to arrive.
- E. At Antioch, Louis VII, joined by Conrad III, heard the appeal of King Baldwin III to attack Damascus rather to recover Edessa from Nur-ad-Din.
 - 1. Louis VII changed the objective because he wished to accomplish great deeds, and Nur-ad-Din was perceived as too powerful, but it was ill advised to attack Damascus, for the city was a potential ally against Nur-ad-Din.
 - 2. In the summer of 1148, the Second Crusade had to withdraw from an abortive siege of Damascus, and the two kings departed for Europe in disgrace.

V. Given the efforts and planning, the Second Crusade proved a disappointing setback.

- A. In 1154, Nur-ad-Din occupied Damascus and unified Syria, but of even more long-term consequence was the antipathy felt by members of the Second Crusade toward Byzantium.
- B. Odo of Deuil, the chaplain of Louis VII on the Second Crusade, penned an account blaming Byzantine perfidiousness for Crusader failure—an opinion circulated at the court of Louis VII.
- C. Despite the failure of the Second Crusade in 1148, no new crusade was immediately preached because the crisis passed quickly. Nur-ad-Din, after his capture of Damascus, lost interest in *jihad* and, instead, won legitimacy by pious activities.
- D. After 1148, King Baldwin III, who asserted his rule at Jerusalem, felt no urgency for a new crusade. Instead, the most significant long-term consequence was the growing tension between Constantinople and the Western rulers.

Readings:

Gibb, H. A. R. "Zengi and the Fall of Edessa." In *A History of the Crusades*, edited by K. M. Setton, volume I, pp. 449–462.

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*, volume II, pp. 247–402.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Zengi and Nur-ad-Din preach *jihad*? What accounted for their success?
2. What were the motives for Conrad III to undertake the Second Crusade? For Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine? How much was Louis VII at fault for Crusader failure? Why did Western Europeans see the threat as passed by 1150?

Lecture Nineteen

The Empire at Bay

Scope: Manuel I genuinely appreciated Western Europeans and engaged them in his service, but he inherited an empire at bay. Manuel negotiated matrimonial alliances with the kings of Jerusalem, because he faced more deadly foes in the Normans and Seljuk Turks. But Manuel failed in courting the princes of Outremer, who were linked by marriage, language, and culture to France and Norman Italy. Crusaders perceived King Louis VII as their liege lord, and many would have approved of his plans to seize Constantinople. The French also sided with the Norman King Roger II in his naval war against Byzantium. Therefore, Manuel could never concentrate his attention against the Seljuk Turks, who waged a desultory frontier war in Anatolia. In 1176, Manuel I suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Seljuk Turks at Myrioccephalon. The sultans of Konya henceforth enjoyed the initiative and forged the first Islamic state in Anatolia within a generation. The Franks of Outremer lost their best ally in Manuel so that henceforth they could be reinforced only by sea.

Outline

- I.** The failure of the Second Crusade had major consequences for the emperor Manuel I and the Byzantine world.
 - A.** The Second Crusade proved the turning point in Frankish-Byzantine relations. It is argued that the failure to prevent Nur-ad-Din from capturing Damascus led directly to the unification of Muslim Syria and Egypt under Saladin and so doomed Outremer, but such a position is overstated.
 - B.** It is difficult to argue the inevitability of the rise of Saladin, because it was only after his unexpected victory at Hattin in 1187 that Saladin could forge a great Muslim state.
 - C.** Instead, the political situation was far from predetermined after 1148, and so it is necessary to examine the immediate consequences for the Byzantine Empire, the Islamic world, and Latin Christendom. This lecture concentrates on the impact on the Byzantine world.
 - 1. Emperor Manuel I looked upon the Second Crusade as an unwanted venture by Western Europeans who threatened imperial security and were in league with imperial foes.
 - 2. Further, the Second Crusade distracted Manuel from more pressing matters, and it cost the imperial government money with no tangible results.
 - 3. At the death of Manuel in 1180, the Byzantine Empire faced political and fiscal crisis, but the imperial weaknesses were not revealed until the sack of Constantinople in 1204.
 - D.** This lecture covers three topics. The first is Manuel's position and objectives as emperor. The second is his relationships with Western Europeans, especially with the Norman kingdom of Sicily and Crusader principalities. The third topic concerns Manuel's failure to deal with the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor, to the detriment of imperial power.
- II.** Manuel was motivated to play the traditional role of the benevolent and cultured Orthodox prince who was the arbiter of Christendom.
 - A.** Manuel appreciated individual Western Europeans for their skills, but he also harbored animosity toward the Western Europeans, as expressed in the pages of Anna Comnena.
 - 1. Both of his wives, Bertha of Sulzbach and Maria of Antioch, were European princesses, and he adopted the chivalry and pageantry of Western European courts.
 - 2. Manuel staffed his army with Western Europeans, many of whom gave their loyalty to the generous emperor.
 - B.** Manuel courted the Holy Roman Emperors as allies against the Normans in Sicily and Italy and rewarded Italian merchants with commercial concessions to check the princes of Outremer.
 - C.** Manuel defended Orthodoxy and encouraged cultural pursuits, initiating building programs in Constantinople. In part, he projected an image of imperial power through such activities.

D. In many ways, Manuel was forward-looking in his policies concerning Western Europeans. His cultural and artistic patronage followed high standards set in the Macedonian age. But such patronage proved expensive.

E. The Second Crusade complicated Manuel's relations with the Normans in Sicily and, through them, the courts of Western Europe and Outremer.

III. Norman Sicily (including the southern third of the Italian peninsula) was a dangerous foe, because this prosperous kingdom was astride the strategic routes in the Mediterranean.

A. King Roger II imposed Byzantine and Arabic central administration on his unruly vassals in southern Italy and Sicily.

B. The Norman kings exploited the king's diverse resources to advance royal power, because they aspired to rule in Constantinople.

C. At the onset of the Second Crusade, Roger II waged a naval war against Byzantium. In late 1147, he captured the island of Corfu, off the coast of western Greece, as a base to raid into the Aegean.

D. In 1147–1148, the Normans plundered Greek cities, deporting craftsmen and silk weavers to Italy to staff royal industries. Manuel I was forced to battle the Normans down to 1158.

E. Manuel, who viewed King Louis VII as an ally of Roger, distrusted the French Crusading army before Constantinople in 1147.

1. The French nobles who urged Louis VII to seize Constantinople were the fathers (and, in one case, the grandfather) of the nobles commanding the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

2. Hence, Manuel I had cause to distrust the French nobility, who favored the Normans and their kinsmen in Outremer.

F. Manuel failed to capitalize on his alliances with Conrad III and Frederick I Barbarossa against the Normans, because the German monarchs were rivals, rather than allies, in Italy.

G. In 1155, Byzantine forces occupied Brundisi briefly, but King William I rallied the Normans and expelled the Byzantines. In 1158, a treaty ended the inconclusive war that cost the Byzantine treasury more than 2 million gold *hyperpyra*.

H. Norman animosity persisted, and in 1185, a Norman army invading northern Greece under William II sacked Thessalonica, second city of the Byzantine Empire.

I. The naval war against the Normans cost Manuel diplomatically, because he was distracted from the threat posed by the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor.

IV. As to the third topic of this lecture, events in Asia Minor during Manuel's reign were shaped by the Second Crusade.

A. At his accession, Manuel viewed the subjection of the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia as a priority.

1. The Comnenian emperors had restored urban Hellenic life in western Asia Minor.

2. Imperial territories in western Asia Minor, along with the Hellenic cities of the southern and northern littorals, required aggressive defense.

B. Byzantine Asia Minor was a frontier zone, because the long frontier shifted seasonally with the migrations of the Turkomen tribes.

C. Manuel I strove to impose control over the Turkish states in central Anatolia and assimilate them into the Byzantine commonwealth. The Seljuk Turks preserved their political independence and ensured that a Turkish Muslim civilization ultimately prevailed in Anatolia.

D. The Second Crusade was an important point in tipping the balance in favor of the Seljuk Turks.

1. After 1148, Byzantine frontier commanders waged desultory battles against Turkomen raiders, and these clashes eroded the institutions that sustained imperial rule.

2. By 1180, frontier warfare destroyed roads, cisterns, bridges, and irrigated farming in western Asia Minor to the detriment of urban Christian, Hellenic society.

- E. Sultan Masud I of Konya, at war with Turkish rivals, posed no threat to Manuel, but without the restraining hand of a strong sultan, the *ghazi* warriors raided imperial lands.
- F. Sultan Kilij Arslan II, by threatening to unite Turkish Anatolia, forced Manuel to take the offensive action.
- G. Manuel revived the ambitious project, in abeyance since the Second Crusade, to impose his authority over Konya and curb Turkomen raiders.
 - 1. Manuel had long courted the sultans of Konya to embrace the Orthodox faith as the first step in assimilating the Seljuk Turks, but this policy had failed by 1176.
 - 2. In 1176, Manuel was compelled to take the field against Konya; he presented his expedition as a crusade, in part, to allay Western criticisms of Byzantium voiced since the Second Crusade.
 - 3. By capturing Konya, Manuel would have secured the military highway across Asia Minor and ensured imperial domination of Antioch. But such a victory would have also benefited future Crusaders, who could cross without the harassment of Turkomen armies.
 - 4. For the Western Europeans, an insecure route across Asia Minor compelled Crusaders to sail to the Levant. As a result of Manuel's failure in Asia Minor, later Crusaders, such as King Richard I and Philip II during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), opted for the sea route.
- H. Advancing along the key military highway, Manuel was ambushed at Myriophalon, "the place of 10,000 heads," west of Konya, on September 17, 1176.
 - 1. The Seljuk Turkomen attacked from the high ground, striking panic in the imperial army in a line of march, but they forfeited decisive victory by plundering the imperial wagon train.
 - 2. Many Byzantines fell in a confused route, and Manuel suffered a tactical defeat.
- V. Kilij Arslan II gained few territorial concessions by his victory, but Manuel's defeat ruined the Byzantine military reputation and henceforth denied Christians the military highways across Asia Minor.
 - A. The defeat at Myriophalon proved a serious fiscal and political setback. After Manuel's death in 1180, the Byzantine state was plunged into repeated crises.
 - B. Victory enabled Kilij Arslan to unite the Turks and construct an effective Muslim state on the Anatolian plateau, to the detriment of Crusaders and Byzantines. The victory at Myriophalon also made possible the emergence of a Muslim Turkish civilization in Asia Minor.

Readings:

Cinnamos, John. *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*. Translated by C. Brand.

Lilie, J.-R. *Byzantium and the Crusader State, 1096–1204*. Translated by J. C. Morris and J. E. Ridings.

Questions to Consider:

1. What advantages did the Norman kings of Sicily possess? Why did the Sicilian Normans under Roger II emerge as a great Christian power?
2. Why did the Seljuk Turks ultimately prove to be the most successful opponents of the Byzantine Empire? How was Anatolia transformed, economically and culturally, by the wars of the 12th century?

Lecture Twenty

The Rise of Saladin

Scope: The failure of the Second Crusade placed the entire Christian East in jeopardy. Many Franks agreed with the court historian of Louis VII, Odo of Deuil, in blaming the Byzantines for defeat. In 1154, Nur-ad-Din entered Damascus. With the wealth of a united Muslim Syria, Nur-ad-Din could field the army needed to conquer Fatimid Egypt. King Amalric realized that Jerusalem would be henceforth won or lost on the banks of the Nile. Five times in 1163–1169, Amalric intervened to back the decadent Fatimid regime in Cairo against Shirkuh, the Kurdish general of Nur-ad-Din. In 1169, Saladin, the brilliant nephew of Shirkuh, occupied Cairo and secured military power in Egypt. In 1171, Saladin deposed the Fatimid caliph and returned Egypt to Sunni Islam. Saladin swiftly secured Muslim Syria and northern Iraq upon the death of his former master, Nur-ad-Din, and proclaimed a new holy war against “the Franks of the coast.” The isolated Crusaders faced an unequal struggle against one of Islam’s greatest conquerors.

Outline

- I.** This lecture examines the consequences of the failure of the Second Crusade for Western Europe, Outremer, and the Islamic world.
 - A.** Scholars still debate the effects of the failure of the Second Crusade on Western Europe. It is argued that that Europeans experienced a loss of faith in crusading and that this disillusionment influenced their attitudes for the next generation. But this view is misleading.
 - B.** In the generation after the Second Crusade, many Western Europeans went on armed pilgrimages, or “mini-Crusades.” Settlers and adventurers to the Levant arrived in considerable numbers.
 - C.** If massive disillusionment does not account for the failure to send out a new crusade immediately after 1148, it is necessary to examine events in Western Europe, Outremer, and the Islamic world between the Second and Third Crusades.
- II.** In Western Europe, Louis VII and Conrad III each returned from the Second Crusade to face a crisis in his kingdom that prevented the dispatch of a new royal crusade.
 - A.** Louis VII returned to a marriage and a kingdom in disarray, and he spent the remainder of his reign curbing unruly vassals and reasserting royal rights.
 - B.** In 1152, Eleanor divorced Louis VII, who thereby lost the Aquitaine, and she married Henry II Plantagenet, heir to the throne of England.
 - 1. Henry Plantagenet was the most powerful peer in France, for he was count of Anjou and Maine, duke of Normandy, and overlord of Brittany.
 - 2. In 1154, Henry II succeeded to the English throne. Henceforth, vast domains in southern and central France, ruled by Eleanor, were united with those of her husband Henry II. Henry II and Eleanor ruled as the greatest monarchs in Europe since Charlemagne.
 - 3. The Capetian king in Paris, Louis VII, paled by comparison so that the princes of Outremer henceforth looked to Henry II, “the great king across the seas,” as their protector.
 - C.** Crusader princes sent their appeals to Henry, who was a kinsman of Kings Baldwin III and Amalric I of Jerusalem. Henry encouraged prominent vassals to go on pilgrimage, but Henry himself felt no need to assume the cross until the catastrophe at Hattin in 1187.
 - D.** Conrad III, King of Germany, likewise returned discredited and to a dangerous situation.
 - 1. Conrad III’s difficulties in Germany and northern Italy were magnified by his absence on crusade. His failure in Outremer did little to improve his relations with the papacy.
 - 2. Conrad’s nephew and heir, Frederick I Barbarossa, participated in the Third Crusade, in part, to redeem the Hohenstaufen reputation in the face of Conrad’s disgrace.
 - 3. Conrad faced a rival in Henry the Lion, the Welf duke of Saxony, who had waged a successful crusade against the pagan Wends of the Baltic.

- 4. In 1152, the electors of Germany chose Frederick Barbarossa as the successor of Conrad, because Frederick linked the Hohenstaufen and Welf houses. He was a veteran commander who would restore German arms and imperial rights in northern Italy.
- 5. Frederick, crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1154, battled the Lombard League and Pope Alexander VI down to 1177 and could spare no aid to Jerusalem.
- E. The kings of Western Europe after 1148 were not inclined to risk their throne by going on crusade. Furthermore, the crisis in the East passed rather quickly.

III. In 1153, King Baldwin III captured the port of Ascalon, which was the gateway to Egypt.

- A. The Fatimid garrison at Ascalon had, since 1098, defied Crusader attempts to capture the city. From 1153 on, the Crusaders held the strategic initiative and could attack Egypt.
- B. Baldwin III imposed his authority over the northern Crusaders after Prince Raymond was killed in 1149 and Count Joscelin II of Edessa fell into Turkomen hands in 1150.
- C. In 1153, Baldwin III married Constance, heiress of Antioch and the widow of Count Raymond of Poitiers, to his vassal Reynald de Chatillon who acted as regent for Bohemond III.
 - 1. The audacious Reynald proved an adventurer whose depredations alienated neighboring rulers and the emperor Manuel I at Constantinople.
 - 2. In 1156, he raided the Byzantine island of Cyprus, and repeatedly violated truces and armistices with Muslim rulers. Later, in 1182-1183, he committed his greatest outrage by attacking Muslim pilgrims traveling on the Red Sea to Mecca.
 - 3. Reynald, removed from the regency in 1163, fell into Muslim hands and was held captive.
- D. In 1158, Baldwin III concluded an alliance with Manuel I, marrying the emperor's niece, Theodora Comnena, in return for Byzantine aid.
- E. In 1167, King Amalric I, after divorcing his first wife Agnes of Courtney, married Maria Comnena, grandniece of Manuel I, in return for naval aid against Egypt.
- F. In 1163-1169, Amalric I led five expeditions into Egypt to support the vizier Shawar, who dominated the Fatimid court.
 - 1. The vizier Shawar needed Frankish military assistance against his domestic opponents, but the Muslim ruling elite was alienated by the presence of a Christian army in Cairo.
 - 2. In return, Amalric was paid subsidies of 100,000 or 200,000 gold dinars for each intervention.
 - 3. Based on these expeditions, Crusaders believed a conquest of Egypt would be easy—a misperception behind the failures of the Fifth and Seventh Crusades who based their strategy on the belief that Jerusalem could be won on the banks of the Nile.
 - 4. Pilgrims from Western Europe returned, reporting Crusader successes in Fatimid Egypt in the 1160s, so that few Christians perceived any crisis in Outremer.
- G. Nur-ad-Din was compelled to counter Amalric's interventions in Egypt.
 - 1. In 1163-1169, Nur-ad-Din matched each Crusader intervention by sending veteran Turkomen regiments under his loyal Kurdish officer, Shirkuh.
 - 2. Shirkuh and his nephew, Saladin, as Kurds, were unpopular with the Turkish military elite and could be counted on to defend the interests of Nur-ad-Din.
 - 3. In 1169-1170, Saladin succeeded to Shirkuh's command in Egypt, after deposing vizier Shawar. Saladin, invested as sultan of the last Fatimid caliph in 1169, overthrew the Fatimid regime and restored the authority of the Sunni Abbasid caliphate in 1171.
- H. Saladin, with possession of the bureaucratic kingdom of Egypt, faced a civil war with his former master, Nur-ad-Din, but the latter's sudden death in 1174 left Saladin master of Muslim Syria.
- G. Saladin, with the wealth of Egypt and Turkomen armies of the al-Jazirah, launched *jihad* against "the Franks of the coast."

I. But the Crusader states were not inevitably doomed in 1174. Saladin, perceived as a Kurdish usurper, was resented by the Turkish military elite. He was marked for death by the Assassins. It was only his victory at Hattin in 1187 that elevated Saladin into the ranks of Muslim conquerors.

Readings:

Lyons, M. C., and D.E. P. Jackson. *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War*.

Tyerman, C. *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the successors of Pope Eugenius III fail to preach new Crusades?
2. On what institutions did Zengi and Nur-ad-Din base their power?
3. What were the objectives of King Amalric for intervening in Egypt in 1163–1169? Would a Crusader victory have tipped the balance of power in the Near East?

Lecture Twenty-One

Byzantine Recovery under the Comnenians

Scope: In 1092, Alexius I instituted fiscal and monetary reforms to restore imperial revenues and prosperity. Later Comnenian emperors funded expensive wars, diplomacy, and patronage. Aristocrats who had lost estates in Anatolia to the Seljuk Turks were compensated with new lands in the Balkans and hereditary titles of imperial rank. The Comnenians settled immigrants on vacant lands and rewarded mercenaries, including many Westerners, with land grants (*pronoia*). In 1082, Alexius I issued the first of many chrysobulls granting commercial privileges to Italian maritime republics and revived the carrying trade in the Aegean. Growing populations in Constantinople and provincial cities stimulated agriculture and trade in consumables. Even the Turks of central Anatolia were drawn into the Comnenian economic orbit as they exchanged their pastoral products in the markets of Byzantine towns. The Crusaders viewed with avarice and envy the wealth from imperial economic recovery in the 12th century.

Outline

- I. The political recovery effected by the Comnenian emperors in the 12th century rested on economic success.
 - A. Scholars have long argued that the Byzantine Empire in the 12th century was in an economic decline that limited the Comnenian recovery, but a new school of economic historians has challenged this traditional view.
 - B. In reassessing economic life under the Comnenian emperors, it is necessary to reconsider three major issues.
 1. First, it is critical to assess the nature of the Byzantine economy in the 10th and 11th centuries.
 2. Second, it is necessary to assess the economic aspects of the Turkish migration into Asia Minor and of the First Crusade.
 3. Based on this reassessment, we will argue that the collapse of Byzantine power after 1180 resulted far more from Comnenian political and fiscal policies than from economic decline.
- II. Byzantine prosperity on the eve of Manzikert had attained levels unequaled since Late Antiquity.
 - A. In 1000, Byzantium enjoyed a diversified economy that impressed Western European travelers in comparison to that of their homelands.
 1. The lands centered on the Aegean Sea practiced Mediterranean dry farming based on winter grains intercultivated with olive trees, fruits, and legumes. This farming differed markedly from the manorial agriculture of northwestern Europe.
 2. In the Balkans and on the plateau of Asia Minor, stock raising, timber harvesting, and mining were practiced.
 - B. Despite political changes, Byzantine agriculture showed remarkable continuity between the 10th and 13th centuries, and it met the pressure of rising populations and Comnenian fiscal demands.
 - C. Constantinople and provincial cities played pivotal roles in Byzantine economic life.
 1. Constantinople and provincial cities were major stimuli, offering markets and absorbing excess population from the countryside, with demographic recovery from 850 on.
 2. The imperial government's building program in the 10th and 11th centuries stimulated many related industries, such as the production of bricks, the quarrying of stone, and the harvesting of timber.
 3. The high death toll in cities was replenished so that cities acted as a safety valve from overpopulation.
 - D. Demands to maintain the imperial bureaucracy and army, as well as trade in exotic goods, such as silk and relics, to the Western Europeans, sustained trade and monetized markets, leading to revival in provincial towns from the 9th century on.
 - E. The Turkish conquest of Asia Minor (1071–1086) and the First Crusade had a mixed impact on the Byzantine economy.

1. Initially, the Turks proved destructive, and Western chronicles of the First Crusade report devastation of Asia Minor.
2. Turkish settlement of central Anatolia also denied the imperial government access to recruits and war materiel.
3. The Turkomen settlers, numbering perhaps 500,000, brought their stock-raising patterns from Central Asia and entered into economic symbiosis with Christian agriculturalists.
4. The desultory frontier wars in Asia Minor were balanced by the integration of Turkomen tribes into the peninsula's economic life in the 12th century.
5. Likewise, the 100,000 Crusaders and pilgrims crossing the Byzantine Empire in 1096–1097 spent money and stimulated markets.
6. Many Western Europeans and Italian merchants settled in Byzantine cities.
7. It was a sign of success that the Byzantine economy could support the First Crusade.

F. Given the mixed impact of Crusaders and Turkomen, the Byzantine economic system was not in a general decline. Some of the policies of the Comnenian emperors contributed to economic revival.

1. In 1092, Alexius I reformed imperial currency, based on a new gold coin, the *hyperpyron*, that circulated as the trade coin in the Mediterranean into the 13th century.
2. Comnenian emperors rebuilt the imperial army by land grants to soldiers (*pronoia* and *charisticum*) and relieved the imperial treasury of directly maintaining soldiers.
3. The grants of privileges to the Italian city-states increased the number of ships available for the carrying trade, and the ensuing commerce yielded lucrative revenues

G. In the 12th century, the Byzantine Empire, while it had suffered economic setbacks, still presented to Crusaders an image of a land of fabulous prosperity.

III. This reassessment of Byzantine economic success raises questions about the causes of rapid decline of Byzantine power after 1180.

A. In 1180, the imperial government faced bankruptcy due to the costly wars of Manuel I.

B. The Angelan emperors met fiscal shortfalls by debasing the currency in 1180–1204 and undermined monetary stability.

C. The Angelan emperors failed to tax the widespread prosperity, and they were committed to high levels of expenditure on arts, religion, and ceremony to project the image of a powerful state.

D. Byzantine prosperity, generated in the 10th and 11th centuries and revived in the 12th century, benefited provincial dynasts.

1. Alexius I compensated aristocrats with hereditary, imperial-sounding titles that carried an obligation of service so that a proud imperial aristocracy of 30 great families emerged by 1180.
2. By 1180, the consortium of 30 families that had profited from the empire's prosperity dominated politics at Constantinople.
3. In contrast to the imperial government, great families with regional power bases could draw on the tax base and its recruits and, thus, carve out independent states in the provinces. The rebel emperors Isaac Comnenus in Cyprus in 1184 and Alexius Comnenus at Trebizon in 1204, as well as the Bulgarian tsar Asen I in 1197, were such dynasts.

F. These centrifugal political and economic changes explain why provincial governors sent no assistance to Constantinople during the siege of 1203–1204 and why the Crusaders were able to adapt their feudal institutions to the Byzantine economy after 1204.

Readings:

Harvey, A. *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200*.

Hendy, Michael H. *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the state of the Byzantine economy at the time of the Battle of Manzikert in 1071? What led to the revival of Byzantine prosperity since the late 9th century?
2. What economic factors limited the ability of Alexius I and his successors, John II and Manuel I, to revive Byzantine power to the level of 1025?
3. Why did imperial power decline so rapidly after 1180? Why did Crusaders still view Constantinople as wealthy in 1204?

Lecture Twenty-Two

A Renaissance of Byzantine Letters and Arts

Scope: Comnenian emperors revived imperial patronage of letters and arts, combated heresy, and upheld Orthodox worship. John II and Manuel I undertook ambitious building programs of palaces, churches, and monasteries stretching from the Third to the Fifth Hills of Constantinople along the Golden Horn. Later Crusaders gazed in awe at the Comnenian skyline of the “queen of cities.” Artists pioneered new mannerist styles in mosaics and frescoes, as seen in the upper southern galleries of Hagia Sophia and such Greek country churches as Daphne. In letters, Byzantine scholars still edited and commented on the classical works. The princess, Anna Comnena, and Nicetas Choniates penned superb contemporary histories. With the capture of Constantinople, Westerners acquired artworks and manuscripts, initiating a cultural exchange that contributed to the Florentine Enlightenment in the 14th century. In response, Byzantine writers redefined their identity as Hellenes. Crusading thus led to the rediscovery of the Hellenic heritage by both Christian worlds.

Outline

- I.** The cultural achievements of the Byzantine world in the Comnenian age represented a revival of the Macedonian renaissance of the 10th and early 11th centuries.
 - A.** The fiscal reforms and patronage of Alexius I led to a new surge in cultural activities that continued into the 13th century.
 - B.** The achievements in visual and literary arts had a profound impact on the Byzantine world and, ultimately, Western Europe in the rediscovery of its Hellenic classical past.
 - C.** There are three significant aspects of the Comnenian renaissance to consider: literature, the visual arts (notably, architecture and the decorative arts), and the extent of cultural change and exchange.
- II.** In letters, the Byzantine world witnessed major contributions from the reign of Alexius I.
 - A.** First-rate histories were penned in which authors strove to describe causes and effects, as well as reveal the character of participants; these histories offer insights into the Crusaders.
 - 1. Anna Comnena penned a history of the reign of her father, Alexius I, in the style of Thucydides, the Athenian historian of the 5th century B.C.
 - 2. John Cinnamus wrote an account of the reigns of John II and Manuel I, inspired by the style and methods of the classical historians Herodotus and Xenophon.
 - 3. Nicetas Choniates, an historian of the first caliber, recorded the events after 1180, presenting the Byzantine perspective on the capture of Constantinople in 1204.
 - B.** In philosophy, Michael Psellus revived interest in the study of Plato, penning important commentaries on Platonic dialogues.
 - C.** In the Comnenian era, Byzantine scholars, “the scholiasts,” collected information about ancient authors, edited texts, and published epitomes. Patriarch John Xiphilinus, a leading intellectual, published an epitome of the Roman historian Cassius Dio.
 - D.** The fables of Aesop and the tales of Lucian inspired Byzantine authors; members of the literate elite had learned by heart Homer and Athenian dramas.
 - E.** This literate culture percolated to the lower levels of society, as evidenced by the popularity of hagiography (saints’ lives) and the epic poem of Digenes Akrites, “the Christian Achilles.”
 - F.** In 1047, Constantine IX reorganized the imperial school of law and philosophy that offered a possible Byzantine equivalent of a Western-style university. But universities failed to emerge because of sporadic imperial patronage and a conservative intellectual climate in the 12th century.

III. The Comnenian emperors lavishly patronized the visual arts.

- A. The Comnenian emperors undertook ambitious building programs in Constantinople. Members of the Fourth Crusade gazed in wonder at the northern section of the city, overlooking the Golden Horn.
 - 1. On the hills overlooking the Golden Horn, the river bounding the city's northern side, the Comnenian emperors and aristocrats built spectacular churches and palaces.
 - 2. Churches followed the now-standard cross-and-square design. Most were mortuary churches or private chapels, such as the Church of the Pantocrator, or Christ the All-Powerful.
- B. Manuel I also rebuilt the section of the northern walls defending the northern quarter around the Blachernae palace.
- C. The 12th century also witnessed developments in painting, mosaics, and decorative arts.
- D. In religious arts, patrons and artists favored linear and abstract styles. This metropolitan art, that is, the art favored at the capital, was transmitted to the provinces.
 - 1. Hagia Sophia, constructed by Justinian, was decorated with dedicatory mosaic panels in the upper galleries between the 9th and 13th centuries.
 - 2. On the southeast wall, next to the apse, are two panels that illustrate the differences between Macedonian and Comnenian styles. The earlier panel of Zoe and Constantine IX shows classical features, whereas the later of John II, Irene, and their son Alexius is done in a flatter style with a stark linearism.
 - 3. A third panel of the mid-13th century shows John the Baptist and Mary interceding before Christ in stunning mannerist and naturalist style.
- E. These varied artistic traditions seen in the Comnenian renaissance led to the magnificent paintings of the later Church of the Savior in Chora and paintings in Mistra. This tradition was transmitted to Italy and Western Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries.

IV. The extent of the transmission of Byzantine arts and letters to Western Europe during the era of the Crusades is still a matter of scholarly debate.

- A. The literary works were not readily transmitted to Western Europe, because of the lack of Latin translators. Few bilingual scholars were known in the 12th century, and Latin translations of Greek works were only possible when the situation changed in the 14th and 15th centuries.
- B. The transmission of Byzantine art and architecture to Western Europe was facilitated by the Crusading movement and the development of Mediterranean trade.
- C. Crusaders, although aware of Byzantine architectural principles, preferred to use their own Romanesque or Gothic styles in Outremer. In Italy, both Byzantine architecture and mosaics were adopted, as seen in the Church of San Marco at Venice and the Norman cathedrals in Sicily at Cefalu and Monreale.
- D. Decorative arts traveled to the West, notably tapestries, jewelry, and furniture, and these works were received as privileged and, thus, influenced European styles and tastes.
- E. A brisk trade in relics inspired construction of churches and reliquaries. The relic trade alone ensured that other arts were transmitted to Western Europe.
- F. This increased contact between Byzantines and Crusaders led to a reassessment of the Hellenic identity and heritage.
 - 1. In Late Antiquity, *Hellene* ("Greek") was a derogatory term associated with worshipers of the pagan gods. Byzantines thus called themselves *Romans* rather than Greeks or Byzantines.
 - 2. The Crusades created a situation that prompted Byzantines to rediscover their Hellenic pagan heritage. As result of Crusader rule in Greece, Byzantine intellectuals from the 13th century saw themselves as heirs to the Greek pagan tradition, as well as to the church fathers and the Roman political legacy.
 - 3. This seed, planted in the 13th century, germinated in the 14th and 15th centuries with the rediscovery by Byzantines of the classical past on its own terms.
 - 4. This rediscovery also sharpened the sense of identity of Western Europeans.

5. Therefore, the greatest legacy of this exchange might have been the rediscovery of a Hellenic classical past that profoundly influenced Byzantine and Western European civilization.

Readings:

Demus, O. *Byzantine Art and the West*.

Hussey, J. M. *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867–1185*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the prime concerns and methods in Byzantine education? How did popular epic and hagiography reflect classical inspiration?
2. How was Constantinople architecturally transformed in the 12th century? What were the roles of Venice, Norman Sicily, and Outremer in the transmission of Byzantine arts, aesthetics, and material goods to Western Europe in the 12th century?

Lecture Twenty-Three

Trade and Currency in the Mediterranean

Scope: By the mid-12th century, Europeans dominated the carrying trade in the Mediterranean world, and Venice, Genoa, Palermo, Marseilles, and Barcelona emerged as the conduits of the rising volume of trade between Christendom and the Islamic and Byzantine worlds. Crusading propelled innovations in shipbuilding that produced the great warships and transports of the 13th century. This long-distance trade monetized the markets, transformed banking practices, and stimulated the growth of towns and cities across Europe. In 1231, Frederick II minted the first European gold coin since the Dark Ages, *augustalis*. Venetians and Florentines followed suit with their ducat and florin, destined to become the coins of international trade. The trade accompanying the Crusades decisively shifted the financial axis from Constantinople to Western Europe. The revived prosperity of Islam in the 13th century depended on European silver and specie brought into Near Eastern markets by the Venetians and Genoese.

Outline

- I. Development of trade, seaborne commerce, and currency in the eastern Mediterranean in 1100–1300 transformed the Mediterranean and Western European economies.
 - A. This lecture builds on two earlier lectures, notably Lectures Seven and Twenty-One, which dealt with the recovery of the European and Byzantine economies, respectively.
 - B. The economic changes in the 12th and 13th centuries had profound consequences that led to greater prosperity and new class distinctions in Western Europe.
 - C. These economic changes in the Italian maritime republics, primarily Genoa and Venice, as well as Western Europe, at times paralleled developments in Constantinople and the Byzantine world.
 - D. Economic changes also dictated the objectives of the later Crusades in the 13th century.
- II. Shipbuilding offers the best way to understand economic change in the 12th and 13th centuries.
 - A. Since the 10th and 11th centuries, Christian Europe made great strides in ship technology, because technologies and ideas were readily exchanged between the two shipbuilding zones, one centered on the North and Baltic Seas and one in the Mediterranean ports of Spain, France, and Italy. The two regions were linked by the river systems of France and central Europe.
 - B. The Crusades propelled the development of larger and more diverse ships, both warships and cargo vessels. Italians, Provençals, and Catalans were in the forefront of these changes.
 - 1. Shipwrights perfected the galley, a warship well known in the 11th century; it had a low freeboard, was propelled by oars in battle, and used sundry sails for long-distance travel.
 - 2. Modifications turned these galleys into more effective warships. Galleys were mounted with *castles*, towers at the bow and stern, to accommodate archers and artillery.
 - 3. With improved galleys, the Christians launched the finest warships of the 12th century, and the Muslims could not compete with these fleets.
 - C. Sundry transport vessels, classified as *round ships*, were adapted to shipping more supplies and passengers east. Documentation tells us that such ships weighed 600 tons and could carry a crew of 100, along with 50–100 warhorses and many passengers.
 - D. The improved ships, although designed for conducting warfare and conveying pilgrims, were also available for seaborne commerce in the cities engaged in shipbuilding. The construction and maintenance of these fleets further augmented commerce in the 12th and 13th centuries.
 - E. Shipbuilding in the Mediterranean influenced ships designed for northern waters. The Scandinavian long ship and *knaar* (a traveling vessel) were refined by Germans, Frisians, and the English to withstand the rough waters of the North Atlantic in the 12th century.

III. Shipbuilding across Europe responded to the increased demands of Crusading warfare, which led to important changes in commerce and banking.

- A. In Venice and Genoa, investors devised partnerships in different vessels and commodities to avoid the risk of investing too much capital in a single ship. These arrangements prompted the development of *bills of exchange*, that is, promissory notes, and the extension of credit.
- B. The banking and loan system developed rapidly in the Mediterranean, again in response to the increased shipbuilding and the needs of the Crusades. The Venetians met this demand by establishing a state-run arsenal and dockyards with salaried officials.
- C. The range and diversity of economic transactions in the Mediterranean world were extended in the 12th and early 13th centuries. As a direct benefit of Crusading activity, goods were easily moved from Outremer and the Muslim world to Western Europe.
- D. In the Levantine ports, Italians, Catalans, and Provençals possessed their own dockyards, storage facilities, tables of exchange, and residential quarters administered under their own laws.
 - 1. Any citizen from a maritime republic, such as Venice, was assured credit and sureties for the conduct of business in the Levantine ports.
 - 2. Trade proceeded predictably under a rule of law and accepted exchange rates.
 - 3. The extent and range of goods, including relics, silk, and spices, passing through Levantine ports increased dramatically.
 - 4. The trading network in the Mediterranean led to expansion of river transportation across France and the Rhineland inasmuch as eastern goods were exported to northern Europe.
- E. The old route between the Baltic to the Black Seas across Russia that had linked Constantinople to Europe diminished in importance as the axis shifted to the Mediterranean, to the Italian cities, and to Western Europe.
- F. Trade was fed by major silver strikes across Western Europe in the 12th century, and the outpouring of specie allowed for the minting of silver currencies based on the *denier*, or penny.
 - 1. English short-cross pennies at 92.5 percent fine were prized as trade coins in the Rhineland. Without any significant mines of their own, the kings of England struck their pennies from silver imported in payment for English textiles.
 - 2. The French kings based a new royal silver currency on the *denier tournois*. In Germany, the *pfennig* (the German equivalent of the penny) of Cologne was preferred.
 - 3. In 1231, Frederick II introduced the first standard gold coin issued in Western Europe since the 7th century, known as the *augustalis*. Florence and Venice each followed with the florin and ducat, destined to become the international standard into the 16th century.
 - 4. The Ottoman Empire, for all of its political and military success, was always tied to the European currencies and depended on imported specie from European markets.

IV. The changes in the Mediterranean economy had profound repercussions across Europe in other fields of activity.

- A. The increase in commerce and coined money made monetized markets common to Europeans.
- B. Prosperity increased the number of iron tools available and spread the use of the coulter plough and horse collar. Hence, agricultural productivity rose, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe.
- C. The three-field system was widely adopted. Lords, preferring cash crops, developed *demesne* farming of their own estates by planting specialized crops destined for markets.
- D. Monastic manors, too, were commercialized. For instance, the vast estates held by Cluny were subdivided into *deanaries* under lay overseers who produced cash crops.
- E. Relationships between lords and serfs changed as lords increasingly preferred payment of rents in cash rather than in kind or labor services.
- F. Lords desired cash to purchase prestige goods of the nobility; religious institutions purchased ever more liturgical objects and relics and commissioned construction programs.

- G.** With the quickening pace of the economy, the nobles of Europe, who amassed profits from trade and *demesne* farming, redefined themselves in a more complicated social hierarchy.
- H.** Royal taxation and justice also improved. Henry II, for example, levied the Saladin's tithe (10 percent tax on his subjects and clergy) to support the military monastic orders and the kingdom of Jerusalem.
- V.** A comparison in the financing of Crusades conveys a sense of the extent of economic change in the 12th century.
 - A.** In 1096, five noble families were needed to send one soldier to the First Crusade. They had to mortgage estates to relatives or moneylenders to raise cash.
 - B.** By 1190, King Richard I of England and Philip II of France could simply tax their clergy and their population to fund the Third Crusade. In 1250, Louis IX paid in ransoms for the Seventh Crusade 800,000 *livres tournois*, or 192 million deniers. Such sums of money, and the royal fiscal institutions to collect them, were a testimony to European economic growth in the era of the Crusades.

Readings:

Lane, F. C. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*.

Unger, R. *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Crusades influence the direction and scale of seaborne commerce in the Mediterranean world? What were the economic repercussions of these changes?
2. Why did Venice, Genoa, and Florence emerge as the new financial centers of Europe? How did the Muslim Near East and Constantinople come to depend on the financial centers of Europe?

Lecture Twenty-Four

Cultural Exchange in Gothic Europe

Scope: The European renaissance of the 12th century received Arabic medicine and Aristotelian logic from Norman Sicily and Spain rather than Outremer. Such Crusaders as Count Raymond III of Tripoli knew colloquial Arabic, whereas Frederick II was versed in Arabic letters and theology in Sicily. Crusader churches, known today from floor plans and literary descriptions, were simple Romanesque basilicas decorated with figural sculpture. In military architecture, the Crusaders excelled, adapting Byzantine and Islamic principles to create the quintessential medieval castle. Foremost, the Crusades fired the imagination of Europeans in the Gothic age. William of Tyre composed a history, rather than a chronicle, of the Crusades. Later Crusades inspired the finest European historians, including Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Jean de Joinville. Chivalry and courtly manners were defined by the Crusading experience. The same spirit was imbued in the first great vernacular literary monuments of Gothic Europe—*chansons de geste*, Arthurian romances, and the cycle of the Ring.

Outline

- I.** This lecture deals with cultural achievements of Western Europe and Outremer and the role of the Crusades in cultural exchange.
 - A.** The prosperity of the 12th century sustained the cultural achievements that witnessed the evolution from late Romanesque into Gothic Europe.
 - B.** The 12th century, dubbed as a renaissance by C. H. Haskins, witnessed new levels in European education and intellectual activity.
 - C.** This intellectual revival was accompanied by changes in visual arts, notably the shift from Romanesque architecture to Gothic architecture.
 - D.** It is often argued that early Gothic Europe embodied the spirit of the Crusades, but cultural events, such as the transition from Romanesque to Gothic architecture, were independent of the Crusades.
 - 1.** In the architecture of France, the simple Romanesque basilican church, darkly lit and decorated with figural sculpture of Celtic or Germanic origin, yielded to a Gothic cathedral, which was a masonry skeleton for stained glass.
 - 2.** Figural sculpture, stained glass, and painting witnessed a shift in religious tone from the stark God of the Old Testament to the sacrifice of the Crucifixion and the Virgin Mary.
 - E.** Nonetheless, the Crusades enriched or directed the pace of European cultural and intellectual developments in the 12th century.
- II.** The Crusades were a major impetus to the writing of history, because the Crusades provided a noble theme that inspired historians to write first-rate analyses of the causes and effects of human events.
 - A.** Well into the 11th century, historical accounts were largely chronicles, bare narratives of events. The First Crusade inspired two important historians to write accounts in Latin.
 - 1.** Fulcher of Chartres wrote a detailed narrative history from the Council of Clermont to the reign of Baldwin II.
 - 2.** Raymond de Agilers, a contemporary Provençal who accompanied Count Raymond of Toulouse, penned his account from the Provençal perspective.
 - B.** These accounts are significantly above the level of European historical writing of the last five centuries. Every major Crusade, except for the Sixth, inspired similar histories.
 - C.** Odo of Deuil, versed in Latin oratory and rhetoric, penned sermons, letters, and ecclesiastical works, as well as the narrative of the journey of Louis VII to the East.
 - D.** Two fine accounts of the Fourth Crusade survive in vernacular French, one by Robert of Clari and one by Geoffrey Villehardouin, both eyewitness participants. By the late 12th century, vernacular French, Provençal, or German was preferred to Latin.

1. Villehardouin, a leading noble who participated in negotiating the Treaty of Venice, explains how the Fourth Crusade was diverted to Constantinople.
2. Villehardouin preserves vivid insight into the motives of the Crusader leaders and describes the arduous conditions.
- E. Jean de Joinville, a seneschal of France, wrote an eyewitness account of the Seventh and Eighth Crusades, combining elements of biography on St. Louis IX with historical narrative.
- F. William Bishop of Tyre, the greatest historian of Outremer, transmitted a vision of the Crusades as a great venture and writes with accuracy and insight on the court of Jerusalem.
- G. Collectively, these historians represent, both in Latin and in their vernacular languages, a major advance in European historical writing and in European intellectual and abstract reasoning.
- H. The Crusades also stood behind epic poetry, both in Latin and vernacular verse, that became typical of European society in the shift from the Romanesque to the Gothic.
 1. For example, many versions exist of an epic called the *Chanson de Antioch*, an epic about the siege of Antioch. Hence, events of the First Crusade were quickly recorded in both historical accounts and in epic meter in the style of *chansons de gestes*, ("songs of deeds").
 2. Poems of complaint, as well as troubadour poems dealing with themes of love, made use of allegorical language and images drawn from the crusading experience.
 3. For example, comparison of personal love to the Crusader's yearning to see Jerusalem, while poetic convention, was recognized by all levels of European society.
 4. *La Chanson de Roland*, composed in its current form before the First Crusade, was circulated in illuminated manuscripts that echoed the Christian valor epitomized by Crusaders.
- I. The Crusading experience enriched European literature with many new themes and images rather than inspired new genres or the use of vernacular languages in the 12th and 13th centuries.

III. The Crusading period witnessed a greater cultural exchange between Western Europe and the Byzantine world in the visual arts.

- A. The Crusaders brought to the Levant the European traditions of painting, mosaics, and decorative arts, best seen in the illuminated manuscripts surviving from the kingdom of Jerusalem
- B. Sculpture and architecture (along with paintings and mosaics) were largely destroyed by the Mamluk sultans; thus, monumental art is often inferred from lesser arts and literary sources.
- C. Western Europeans, while favoring their own traditions of illuminated manuscripts and stained-glass windows, employed Byzantine, Armenian, and Syrian Christian craftsmen trained in their own traditions of ivory works, mosaics, and tapestries.
- D. Crusader princes prized many of the Byzantine arts. King Fulk and Queen Melisende decorated their European-style churches with Byzantine paintings and mosaics, thereby quickening the transmission of Byzantine visual arts to Western Europe.
- E. Transfer of Muslim artistic traditions was restricted to decorative elements used in sculpture and architecture, because the Crusaders favored the Christian traditions of the Near East.

IV. The fusion of these traditions is seen in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which covers the tomb of Jesus and is the holiest of places for all Christians.

- A. This basilican church rested on foundations of the 4th and 6th centuries, but Crusaders found a Byzantine style rebuilt by Basil II and Constantine IX.
- B. This modest church, built on a cross-in-square plan and decorated with impressive Macedonian-style mosaics, centered on the tomb itself. A rotunda was constructed over the tomb, and a series of Byzantine-style private chapels was erected to the south of the tomb.
- C. Paucity of funds after 1099 delayed reconstruction of the church, but in 1149, King Baldwin III rededicated the church to mark the 50th anniversary of the Christian capture of Jerusalem.
- D. The Crusader church was Romanesque in plan, with a huge nave to accommodate large crowds of pilgrims. The earlier Byzantine chapels were demolished to make room for the nave.

- E. The architects of the kings of Jerusalem also incorporated other sites into the complex, including Calvary, the hill where Christ was crucified, and the place of the anointing of Christ.
- F. Although Romanesque in its overall conception, the church was adorned with beautiful Byzantine mosaics of the 11th century and presented an impressive mix of styles.
- G. Simultaneously, Crusader princes promoted church construction by all their Christian subjects, most of whom employed their own architectural traditions.
- H. The diversity of churches in Outremer magnified the universality of the Christian message to Western pilgrims, because it stressed that many different peoples were united in a single faith of Christ.

V. Finally, the Crusades led to important innovations in military architecture, foremost castles.

- A. The Crusaders learned many techniques in masonry from the public and private buildings in Outremer, but the fusion of European and Near Eastern architectural traditions is epitomized in the creation of the *krak*, Old French for “castle,” which was then exported to Western Europe.
- B. Krak des Chevaliers, the Hospitaller bastion protecting the route to Tripoli, was a monument to the ingenuity of Crusaders in adapting military architectural traditions.
- C. For their castles, Crusaders selected impregnable positions with water sources. Castles were built to be defended by a minimal garrison, and they had to be on a main route so that they could be relieved by Crusading armies. Krak des Chevaliers met all those requirements.
- D. Krak des Chevalier, on a crag overlooking a strategic route, illustrates Crusaders’ adaptation of Muslim and Byzantine military masonry for their own requirements.
 - 1. Crusaders did not build rectangular and square fortifications, as in Byzantine architecture, but favored round or irregular circuits that could be guarded by a minimum of defenders.
 - 2. In the center of the castle was a *keep*, that is, an impressive tower, where artillery could be mounted and defenders could retreat if the lower walls were carried.
 - 3. In the 13th century, the castle was extended. A set of outer walls was added, as were round projecting towers to accommodate even more artillery.
- E. Our notion of the medieval castle, seen at Krak des Chevaliers, was created in Outremer and exported to Western Europe in the 13th century.

Readings:

Folda, J. *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*.

Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were the Crusades regarded as a theme worthy of historical narrative? How did these histories differ from traditional chronicles?
2. Why were the Crusaders more receptive to Byzantine or eastern Christian decorative arts, tapestries, painting, and mosaics?
3. Why did Crusader rule in Outremer lead to a surge in building during the 12th century?

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Bulliet, R. W. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979. Statistical study with important chapters on the status of *dhimmi*.

Cahen, Claude. *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968. The best study of Seljuk Asia Minor, by the leading historian of the subject.

Collins, R. *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Important study, with excellent discussion of the early success of Islamic armies.

Cronne, P. *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Study of the role of the tribal and slave Turkish soldiers.

Daniel, N. *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*. New York: Longman Group Limited, 1975. Important essays on the Muslim impact in culture and medicine, as well as Western European misconceptions of Islam.

Donner, Fred M. *The Early Islamic Conquests*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. Best modern study of the political and military rise of Islam.

Ehrenkreutz, A. D. *Saladin*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972. The most readable biography on Saladin currently available in English.

Humphreys, R. Stephen. *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977. Institutional study of Ayyubid Syria but with wider implications for the revival of Muslim power.

Lassner, J. *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980. Recommended introduction.

Lyons, M. C., and D.E. P. Jackson. *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. Detailed military and political analysis.

Powell, J. M., ed. *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Important study on the religious and intellectual challenge posed to Islam by the Crusades.

Rice, T. T. *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1961. Best introductory study, with fine chapters on Seljuk art.

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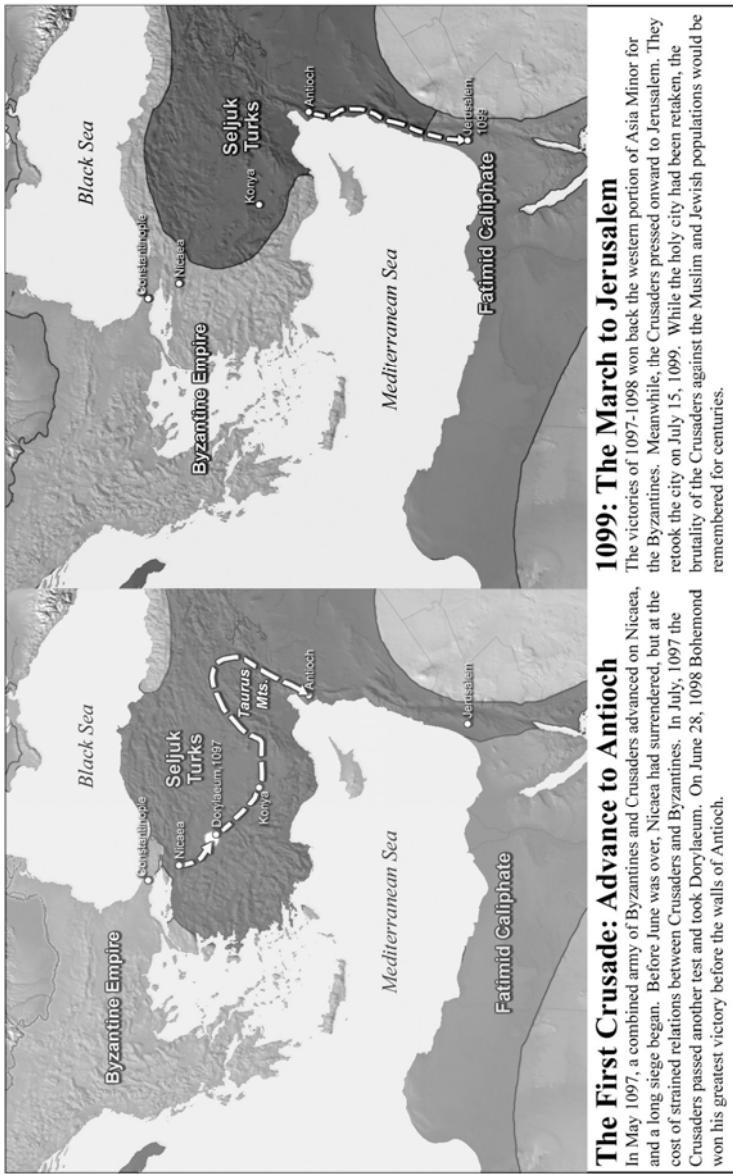
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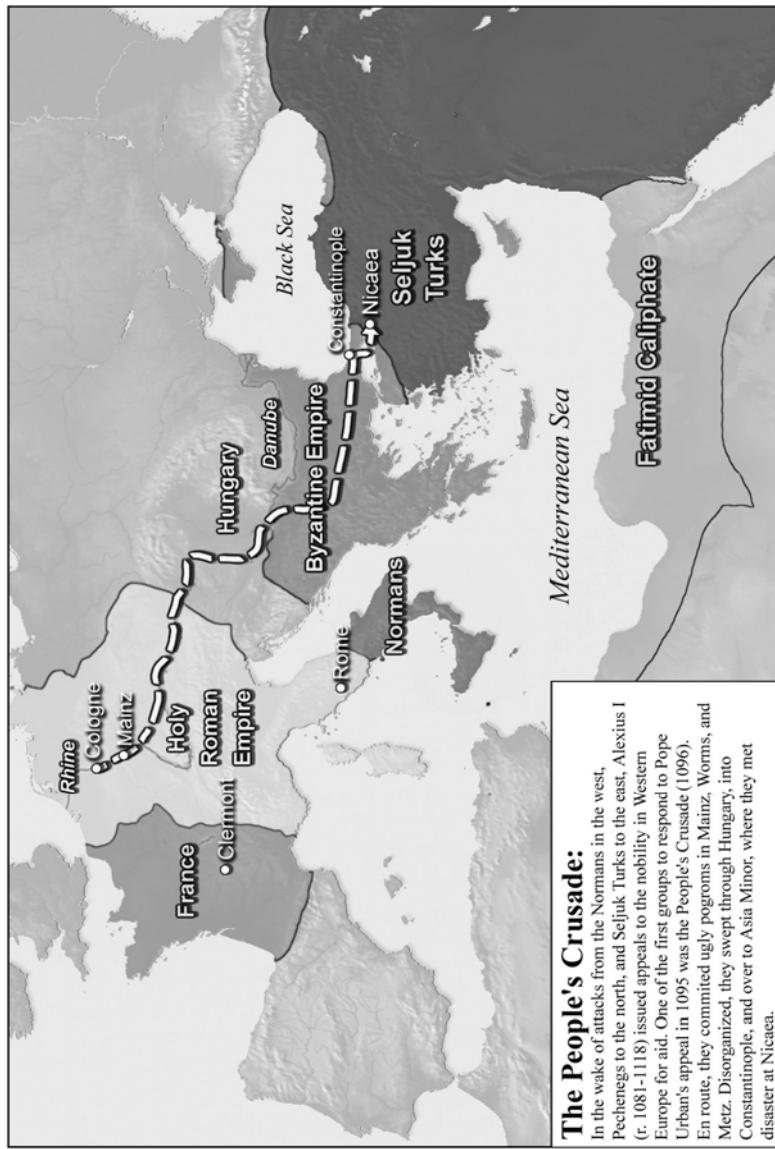


The First Crusade: Advance to Antioch

In May 1097, a combined army of Byzantines and Crusaders advanced on Nicaea, and a long siege began. Before June was over, Nicaea had surrendered, but at the cost of strained relations between Crusaders and Byzantines. In July, 1097 the Crusaders passed another test and took Dorylaeum. On June 28, 1098 Bohemond won his greatest victory before the walls of Antioch.

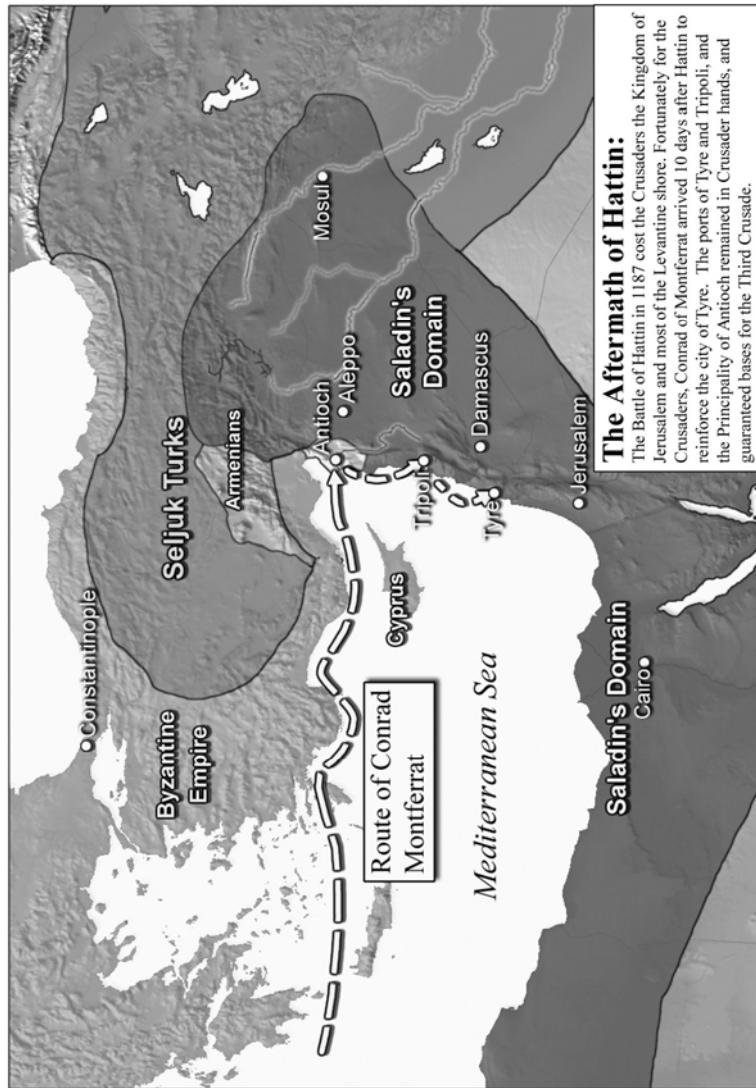
109: The March to Jerusalem

The victories of 1097-1098 won back the western portion of Asia Minor for the Byzantines. Meanwhile, the Crusaders pressed onward to Jerusalem. They retook the city on July 15, 1099. While the holy city had been retaken, the brutality of the Crusaders against the Muslim and Jewish populations would be remembered for centuries.



The People's Crusade:

In the wake of attacks from the Normans in the west, Pechenegs to the north, and Seljuk Turks to the east, Alexius I (r. 1081-1118) issued appeals to the nobility in Western Europe for aid. One of the first groups to respond to Pope Urban's appeal in 1095 was the People's Crusade (1096). En route, they committed ugly pogroms in Mainz, Worms, and Metz. Disorganized, they swept through Hungary, into Constantinople, and over to Asia Minor, where they met disaster at Nicaea.



The Era of the Crusades

Part III

Professor Kenneth W. Harl



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Kenneth W. Harl, Ph.D.

Professor of Classical and Byzantine History, Tulane University

Kenneth W. Harl, Professor of Classical and Byzantine History, joined the faculty of Tulane University after he completed his Ph.D. in history at Yale University in 1978. Professor Harl teaches courses on Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader history from the freshman to graduate levels. He has won numerous teaching awards at his home university, including the coveted Sheldon H. Hackney Award (twice voted by faculty and students), as well as the Robert Foster Cherry Award for Great Teachers from Baylor University. Professor Harl, a recognized scholar on coins and classical Anatolia, takes Tulane students on excursions to Turkey or as assistants on excavations of Hellenistic and Roman sites in Turkey. He is currently working on publishing coins from the excavations of Metropolis and Gordion.

Table of Contents
The Era of the Crusades
Part III

Professor Biography	i
Course Scope	1
Lecture Twenty-Five	2
The Horns of Hattin.....	2
Lecture Twenty-Six	5
The Third Crusade.....	5
Lecture Twenty-Seven	8
From Jerusalem to Constantinople.....	8
Lecture Twenty-Eight	11
The Sack of Constantinople.....	11
Lecture Twenty-Nine	14
The World of Frankish Greece.....	14
Lecture Thirty	17
Splinter Empires and Orthodox Princes.....	17
Lecture Thirty-One	19
Ayyubid Egypt and Seljuk Anatolia.....	19
Lecture Thirty-Two	22
Crusader Cyprus and the Levant.....	22
Lecture Thirty-Three	25
Venice and Genoa.....	25
Lecture Thirty-Four	28
The Mongols and the Legend of Prester John.....	28
Lecture Thirty-Five	31
The Royal Crusaders.....	31
Lecture Thirty-Six	34
The Passing of the Crusades.....	34
Biographical Notes	37
Maps	51
Timeline	Part I
Glossary	Part I
Bibliography	Part II

The Era of the Crusades

Scope:

The Crusades (1095–1291) have been hailed as the climax of medieval Western Europe or condemned as the first thrust of European imperialism into the Muslim Near East. But the Crusaders forever altered the three medieval civilizations: Latin Christendom, Islam, and the East Roman or Byzantine Empire. The Crusades were a primary force for profound changes in political, cultural, religious, economic, and social life that gave birth to the early-modern age, and these changes still influence the present world.

The first 12 lectures examine the causes for the Crusades. The immediate cause for the First Crusade (1095–1099) was the collapse of the Byzantine Empire before the Seljuk Turkomen of Central Asia, who burst into the Near East and revived Muslim power in the late 11th century. The Seljuk Turks provoked the First Crusade because their victory over the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071 and subsequent conquest of Asia Minor disrupted the long-established pilgrimage routes of Western Europeans to the Holy Land. But the crusading expeditions were only possible because of great changes wrought in Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. These changes in Western Europe can be appreciated only by comparison to developments with the more sophisticated civilizations of Byzantium and Islam. All three medieval civilizations were rooted in Late Antiquity, but each had recast its Classical heritage in new ways. Orthodox Christian Byzantium will be examined first, because it had the strongest claim to the Roman legacy as a great bureaucratic empire. Then, the world of Islam will be discussed with attention to the issues of Muslim holy war (*jihad*), political and religious institutions, and the Turkish impact. Six lectures follow on the changes in European warfare, political and religious life, and revival of prosperity so vital for launching the Crusades.

The second 12 lectures deal with the first century of the Crusades, spanning the era from the preaching of the First Crusade by Pope Urban II in 1095 to the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the Battle of Hattin in 1187. By their stunning victories, the princes of the First Crusade founded the Crusader states in the Levant. Crusaders proved equally adept in adapting native institutions to create a provincial society in Outremer (“overseas”) that endured for two centuries. These lectures deal with the nature and impact of European settlement in the Near East, as well as the struggle by Crusaders to defend the holy cities against superior Muslim power. Four lectures examine the changes in letters and visual arts and the profound transformation of the Mediterranean economy in the 12th century.

The last 12 lectures cover the last century of the Crusades, commencing with the Third Crusade (1189–1192), led by the chivalrous King Richard the Lion-hearted. This era witnessed great royal crusades to retake Jerusalem, but the efforts ended in the failure of the Seventh Crusade, led by King Louis IX of France in 1250. Yet these ventures were a testimony to the maturity of the Western European monarchies and the commercial revolution effected by the Italian merchant republics of Venice and Genoa. In the same century, the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople, and so ended Byzantine power. This action was the climax of a century of ill will between Catholic Westerners and Orthodox Byzantines. It forced Byzantines to reinvent their own identity and rediscover their Hellenic, “Greek” heritage. It also was a decisive step in redefining *crusade* as a more general religious war and, thus, opened the way to the wars of religion and the Inquisition of early-modern Western Europe. Crusader efforts to retake Jerusalem in the 13th century galvanized the Turkish military elite and assisted in the realignment of the Muslim world away from Baghdad and the lands of eastern Islam to Cairo of the Mamluk sultans and Istanbul of the Ottoman Porte. Final Muslim victory over the Crusaders in 1291, in turn, compelled Western Christians to rethink their identity, and Latin Christendom began to give way to Western Europe.

Lecture Twenty-Five

The Horns of Hattin

Scope: Saladin, despised as a Kurdish usurper by the Turkomen military elite and hated by such sectarian extremists as the Assassins, was committed to *jihad* against the Crusader states to secure his own legitimacy. The network of castles, manned by the military monastic orders of the Hospitallers and Templars, restricted Saladin's attacks into Outremer. Baldwin IV, the "leper king," pursued a judicious strategy of attrition, denying Saladin a decisive victory. After his defeat at Mount Gisard in 1177, Saladin agreed to a truce, but the nobility of Outremer was bitterly divided over policy and succession with the tragic death of Baldwin IV. Reynald of Châtillon, an adventurer recently arrived from Europe, provoked Saladin to renew *jihad*. The feckless King Guy de Lusignan suffered a crushing defeat on the Horns of Hattin on July 4, 1187. King Guy and many of his nobles were captured, and Saladin overran Outremer and entered Jerusalem in triumph.

Outline

- I. The Battle of the Horns of Hattin on July 4, 1187, the decisive defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Saladin, was the climax to political events in both the kingdom of Jerusalem and Saladin's domains.
 - A. The Battle of Hattin led to the immediate collapse of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Within months of the victory, Saladin occupied all of Outremer, except the cities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre and several castles, including Krak des Chevaliers.
 - B. In retrospect, Saladin's victory appears inevitable. Hailed as the greatest conqueror of the Muslims, Saladin commanded veteran Kurdish-Turkomen armies and ruled over Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and the al-Jazirah; by comparison, the Crusaders seemed doomed.
 - C. The outcome at Hattin was not predetermined. Muslim victory was owed to the inspired generalship of Saladin and the incompetence of King Guy of Jerusalem.
 - D. The Battle of Hattin closed the first century of Crusader history and opened a new period of crusading to recapture Jerusalem.
 - E. The Battle of Hattin was the culmination of a succession crisis in the kingdom of Jerusalem since the death of King Amalric I.
- II. The succession crisis in Jerusalem after 1174 bitterly divided the nobility of Outremer.
 - A. In 1174, King Amalric I left three heirs from two marriages. His unpopular first wife, Agnes of Courtney, had long schemed in the interests of her children, a daughter, Sibylla, and a younger son, the future Baldwin IV, the "leper king".
 - B. By his second wife, Maria Comnena, Amalric had a granddaughter of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I, a daughter, Isabella, who was married as a child to Count Humphrey IV of Toron.
 - C. Raymond III, count of Tripoli, headed the regency for Baldwin IV, whose leprosy doomed the young monarch to an early death. Hence, the nobility was divided over the succession between the two heirs presumptive, the half-sisters Sibylla and Isabella.
 - 1. Raymond III perceived the unpopularity of Saladin among his Turkomen emirs and soldiers, who revered the memory of Nur-ad-Din.
 - 2. Thus, Raymond followed a policy of denying Saladin a decisive battle so that the sultan would be overthrown by his restive Turkomen soldiers or murdered by the Assassins.
 - 3. Raymond, as regent of Baldwin IV, never risked a general engagement with Saladin, but his policy of attrition alienated many nobles, who were clamoring for action against the Muslims.
 - 4. Upon attaining his majority in 1177, Baldwin IV, pursued Raymond's strategy and defeated Saladin in an ambush at Mount Gisard.
 - D. As his health failed, Baldwin IV had increasing difficulty checking his mother, Agnes, who schemed to set up a faction against Raymond III and Humphrey of Toron.
 - 1. Agnes of Courtney advanced the interest of Baldwin's older sister, Sibylla, mother of the future Baldwin V by her first marriage to William Montferrat, "Longsword."

2. In 1180, Sibylla married the adventurer Guy of Lusignan, who alienated many leading nobles of Outremer because he aligned with such unpopular figures as Reynald de Châtillon and the Templars' grand master Gerard de Ridfort, a personal enemy of Count Raymond III.
3. Baldwin IV distrusted not only the faction of Agnes and Guy, but also that of his stepmother, Maria Comnena, who had married Count Bailan of Ibelin and advanced his half-sister, Isabella, and her feckless husband, Humphrey of Toron.
4. By his will in 1183, Baldwin IV denied the throne to his brother-in-law Guy and designated as heir his nephew, the child Baldwin V. Upon the death of the sickly Baldwin V, a commission chosen by the kings of England and France, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the papacy was to elect a new king of Jerusalem.
5. On the death of Baldwin V in 1186, Agnes, backed by the unsavory patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem, secured the throne for her daughter, Sibylla, who crowned Guy of Lusignan.
6. The nobility bowed to King Guy rather than risk civil war, but the weak-willed Guy needed to win the respect of the traditional nobility.

III. Guy, given his unpopularity and lack of character, was willing to risk a battle with Saladin to gain legitimacy.

- A. A great battle between two large armies, such as the one at Hattin, had to be fought by agreement; Guy chose a general engagement over the effective traditional war of position and attrition.
- B. King Guy also inherited forces that had repeatedly checked Muslim incursion and defeated Saladin in 1177; his army was skilled in countering Turkomen armies.
- C. From 1186, Saladin could preach *jihad* against a weak opponent, King Guy and his ally Reynald de Châtillon, hated by Muslims for his attacks against Muslim pilgrims on the Red Sea in 1182–1183.
- D. Events moved so swiftly in 1186–1187 that Western Europeans, long complacent as to the security of Outremer, failed to see a crisis.
- E. In early 1187, Saladin, with an army of 25,000 men, invaded Galilee and besieged the castle near Tiberias, which was defended by Eschiva, the wife of Count Raymond III.
- F. In July 1187, King Guy mobilized 15,000 infantry and 1,200 knights at Sepphoris, where Raymond III urged a traditional strategy of raising the siege at Tiberias by a deliberate advance that would force Saladin to withdraw and, thus, put his throne in jeopardy.
- G. Instead, King Guy decided to fight a decisive battle on the evening of July 2, 1187.
 1. Initially, Guy adopted the policy of Count Raymond, but the king was persuaded to force a major battle by Gerard de Ridfort, grand master of the Templars.
 2. On July 3, the Crusader army suffered grievously by marching across the barren hills of Galilee to surprise Saladin.
 3. The Crusaders reached the heights of the “Horns of Hattin” overlooking the Sea of Galilee, but Saladin occupied the wells and descent.
 4. On July 4, 1187, the Crusaders, after bivouacking on the Horns of Hattin, drew up in a defensive formation. Saladin had the strategic initiative from the start.
 5. Turkomen cavalry attacks, backed by archers, wore down the Crusaders. The Turkish cavalry, by feigned retreats, lured many of the Crusader infantry into ambushes.
 6. Two bands of knights, one led by Raymond III and the other by Reynald of Sidon, fought out of the encirclement, but King Guy and his nobles on the summit were overwhelmed.
 7. Numerous Christians were taken prisoner. King Guy and his nobles were treated honorably; Reynald de Châtillon was beheaded on Saladin's orders. The Hospitallers and Templars (totaling 500 knights) fell fighting or were executed.
 8. The majority of these prisoners were ransomed, including King Guy in 1188. By autumn 1187, all the cities, including Jerusalem, had surrendered, except Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch.
- H. By his victory at Hattin, Saladin destroyed the kingdom of Jerusalem, but Saladin committed a fatal mistake by not storming Tyre, where Conrad of Montferrat rallied the defenders and secured a vital port for the Third Crusade.

Readings:

Baldwin, M. W. *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140–1187)*.

Kedar, B. Z., ed. *The Horns of Hattin*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the succession crises after 1174 divide the courts and nobility of Outremer so bitterly? How did these crises compare to earlier political crises? Was the catastrophic defeat at Hattin the inevitable result of these crises?
2. What were the objectives and resources of Saladin? How did he exploit and transform the concept of holy war to secure his position as sultan? Did Saladin plan to conquer Outremer after 1174?

Lecture Twenty-Six

The Third Crusade

Scope: When they received the news of the defeat at Hattin, the great kings of Christendom assumed the cross in the Third Crusade. The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa led the most formidable force, but with his accidental death in southeastern Anatolia, the German Crusaders disbanded. In 1191, King Richard the Lion-hearted of England and Philip Augustus of France each arrived by sea. The two rival kings failed to act in concert, supporting opposing candidates to Jerusalem's throne. Richard prevailed, imposing on the throne Guy de Lusignan over Conrad Montferrat, and Philip abandoned the venture. In 1191–1192, Richard recaptured the ports of Outremer. His daring generalship won admiration and a truce from Saladin. The Christians regained the Levantine ports and safe conduct to visit the holy places, but Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands. The treaty, while a pragmatic conclusion for Richard, proved disappointing in Europe, and calls were immediately raised for new crusades.

Outline

- I. The Third Crusade, even more than the First, has proved memorable for its royal participants.
 - A. The Third Crusade was led by the three great monarchs of Europe: Richard the Lion-hearted of England, son of Henry II; Philip II of France, son of Louis VII; and Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, who is still revered as a national hero by Germans today.
 - B. The failure of the Third Crusade to attain its objective of liberating Jerusalem proved a turning point in crusading.
 - C. Western Europeans learned important logistical and military lessons from the Third Crusade, and their resentment of perceived Byzantine perfidiousness was a significant step in justifying later crusades against the disloyal Orthodox Greeks, heretics, and even papal political foes in Italy.
- II. Pope Celestine III received enthusiastic response in his call for the Third Crusade.
 - A. Western Europeans, long unaware of a crisis in Outremer, were moved to avenge the humiliating defeat at Hattin and liberate Jerusalem.
 - B. In the winter of 1187–1188, encouraging news reached Europe of the defense of Tyre by Conrad of Montferrat and pledges of aid by Bohemond III, who held Antioch and Tripoli.
 - C. The Sicilian fleet, under Admiral Margarit, supported the strategic Levantine ports in Christian hands, but King William II of Sicily died before he could embark on crusade.
 - D. Henry II also died before he could depart on crusade, but his charismatic son and heir, Richard I Lion-hearted, mobilized an army from his French and English vassals.
 - E. Philip II of France, lest he might be eclipsed by his vassal Richard, assumed the cross. Philip wished, too, to remove the humiliation of his father, Louis VII, on the Second Crusade.
 - F. The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, another great warrior king who had served on the Second Crusade, raised veteran forces in Germany and Italy.
 - G. The combined strength of the three royal armies might have been 45,000 men, or three times King Guy's and twice Saladin's army. The problem was delivering this power decisively.
 - 1. Financing and transporting the Third Crusade resulted in contingents arriving piecemeal.
 - 2. In addition, many small contingents of vassals set out independently to Outremer.
- III. The political situation in Outremer was in disarray, because the nobles were divided over leadership.
 - A. Saladin was ever the magnanimous conqueror in ransoming prisoners. Early in 1188, he released King Guy; as Saladin anticipated, this produced dissension in the Crusader camp.
 - B. Guy faced as a rival Conrad of Montferrat, who controlled Tyre and had married Isabella, the surviving half-sister of Baldwin IV. Most of the nobles of Outremer supported Conrad.
 - C. When Sibylla, and her two daughters died in early 1188, Guy had no claim to the throne. Guy audaciously put Acre, a traditional port in the kingdom of Jerusalem, under siege.

- D. Crusader contingents arriving in 1189–1190 joined Guy at Acre; thus, King Guy acquired allies and legitimacy, because he had initiated the offensive against Saladin, while Conrad remained at Tyre.
- E. In 1189–1190, Conrad of Montferrat expected to be elected king of Jerusalem by Philip II and Frederick I under the terms of Baldwin IV, but events proved otherwise.
 1. In 1189, Frederick I marched overland to Constantinople, accompanied by 50,000 pilgrims and soldiers. Frederick intimidated into cooperation the emperor Isaac II, an ally of the Seljuk Turks.
 2. In 1190, Frederick, who considered seizing Constantinople, swept aside Turkish resistance in Asia Minor and occupied Konya, capital of Sultan Kilij Arslan II.
 3. On June 10, 1190, Frederick was drowned while crossing the river Calycadnus in southeastern Asia Minor. Most of the German army returned home; Duke Leopold V of Austria arrived at Acre with a small force, but Saladin never faced his most formidable Christian opponent.
- F. In 1190, the other two crusading kings, Richard I and Philip II, departed from the ports of southern France, but Richard delayed the crusade by intervening in civil war in Norman Sicily.
 1. Richard was the greater warrior, but Philip II, although as colorless as Louis VII, proved the abler politician and would make the French monarchy. From the start, the kings were rivals.
 2. In spring 1191, Philip sailed from Sicily to Acre. He championed Conrad of Montferrat.
 3. Richard was delayed by the pleasures of Sicily and his conquest of Cyprus. Richard overran Cyprus when the Byzantine petty dynast Isaac Comnenus had intrigued to seize Richard's wife, Berengaria, and sister, Joanna, who had been shipwrecked off the Cypriot coast.
 4. Once before Acre, Richard I assumed command and backed Guy of Lusignan to the throne of Jerusalem against Conrad, supported by most of the native nobility and Philip II.
 5. Richard deserved the credit for the audacious capture of Acre on July 21, 1191. Shortly afterward, King Philip sailed home to France and conspired with Richard's brother John to raise rebellions in England and in Richard's French domains.
 6. Richard also erred in offending Leopold of Austria, who also left the Crusade.

IV. Richard, with sole command of the Third Crusade, advanced from Acre to the strategic port of Jaffa, which communicated with Jerusalem.

- A. Saladin was powerless to halt Richard's disciplined advance and capture of Jaffa. At Arsuf in September 1191, Saladin suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Richard.
- B. In the winter of 1191–1192, both Saladin and Richard pursued a negotiation and gained admiration and respect for each other.
- C. In 1192, an armistice was declared for five years; the Christians kept the Levantine ports, and Saladin, who retained Jerusalem, guaranteed the safety of Christian pilgrims to the holy city.
- D. Richard, eager to return to Europe, sailed prematurely and was shipwrecked on the coast of Italy, near Venice. While en route through Germany, he was captured and held for ransom by Leopold V, in violation of crusading indulgences. Richard escaped in 1194.
- E. Richard was revered as a great Crusader, while Philip II returned home to a tarnished reputation, but Philip capitalized on Richard's absence to sow dissension in the Plantagenet domains.

V. The Third Crusade proved disappointing, because the three greatest kings of Europe had secured only a truce, and Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands.

- A. The maritime republics, notably Venice and Genoa, prospered by the recovery of the ports.
- B. Western Europeans learned important logistical and political lessons from the Third Crusade.
 1. The Third Crusade failed because rival monarchs had pushed their own objectives at the expense of overall strategy.
 2. The Crusaders learned to avoid the route across Asia Minor and, henceforth, would travel by sea—a strategy with fateful political and logistical consequences.
 3. From this point forward, Constantinople was viewed as a treacherous, schismatic power; Isaac II had fatally compromised Byzantium in Western eyes by his alliance with Saladin.
 4. Richard I, by seizing Byzantine Cyprus (which was bought by Guy of Lusignan in 1192), established a precedent for Crusaders to capture Constantinople in the name of Christendom.
 5. Popes Celestine III and Innocent III preached new crusades to liberate Jerusalem.

C. The Fourth Crusade (1198–1204), launched to recover Jerusalem, instead captured Constantinople and destroyed Byzantine power.

Readings:

Lyons, M. C., and D.E. P. Jackson. *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War*.

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*, volume III, pp. 3–75.

Questions to Consider:

1. Did Conrad of Montferrat save the Holy Land from complete conquest by Saladin? Did the reckless bravery of King Guy in laying siege to Acre contribute to Crusader recovery?
2. How much did ill fortune prevent the Third Crusade from retaking Jerusalem? Would the arrival of Frederick I and his army have proved decisive?

Lecture Twenty-Seven

From Jerusalem to Constantinople

Scope: The Third Crusade taught Christians lessons that dictated the course of crusading in the 13th century. Given that rival kings on crusade failed to agree on strategy, Pope Innocent III called on the nobility of Europe to liberate Jerusalem. By then, many in Europe regarded Constantinople with suspicion, because the Angelan emperor Isaac II had allied with Saladin. The resistance Frederick Barbarossa encountered from the Seljuk Turks revealed that Anatolia was henceforth closed, and travel by sea was the only strategy. In 1191, Richard the Lion-hearted set a precedent when he seized Byzantine Cyprus. The island, which passed into the hands of King Guy of Lusignan, was transformed into a Crusader bastion. Finally, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI defrayed his aborted crusade's expenses by blackmailing the Byzantine government. The members of the Fourth Crusade who gathered before Venice were inclined to capture schismatic and perfidious Constantinople in the name of the faith.

Outline

- I.** Within a decade of the conclusion of the Third Crusade, the ambitious leaders of the Fourth Crusade (1198–1204) seized and sacked Constantinople.
 - A.** The sack of Constantinople in 1204 influenced the Byzantine world, Outremer, and the course of crusading throughout the 13th century.
 - B.** The clashes among the great monarchies of Western Europe, in part, dictated the preaching and outcome of the Fourth Crusade.
- II.** The inconclusive outcome of the Third Crusade profoundly influenced Western Europe.
 - A.** Western Europeans, disappointed by the Crusade's meager gains, were disenchanted with crusading and sought explanations for the failure.
 - B.** With the death of Saladin, the Ayyubid sultanate lapsed into civil war; Western Europeans perceived an opportunity to launch a new crusade.
 - C.** The papacy was committed to a new crusade to restore its credibility, which had been shaken by the seizure and ransom of King Richard, in violation of papal protection of the persons and property of Crusaders.
 - D.** In 1192, King Guy had bought Cyprus from the Hospitallers. At Nicosia, Guy styled himself king of Jerusalem.
 - 1. Many nobles of Outremer accepted from Guy fiefs in Cyprus, but others resided in the Levantine ports with hopes of recovering the estates they had lost in 1187. Many noble families owed homage to both Guy, who ruled from Nicosia, and Conrad, based at Acre.
 - 2. By agreement in 1192, Guy ruled as king of Jerusalem, but at his death, the royal title was to pass to Conrad and his wife, Isabelle, the sole surviving heir of King Amalric I.
 - 3. When Conrad was murdered by Assassins in 1192, Isabelle was married to Henry of Champagne, and Alice, her eldest daughter by Conrad, was recognized as heiress to the throne of Jerusalem.
 - 4. Upon the death of Guy in 1195, Henry of Champagne assumed the title king of Jerusalem and ruled from Acre.
 - 5. In Cyprus, the nobility chose Amalric Lusignan to succeed Guy; the nobility of Jerusalem remained split in their loyalty during most of the 13th century.
 - 6. Therefore, two kingdoms succeeded to Jerusalem. Cyprus, with a Greek Orthodox population, was the more defensible island, and wealthy Acre, the main port and financial capital of the old kingdom, had the claim to Jerusalem.
 - 7. After the death of Henry of Champagne, Cyprus and Acre were briefly united by the marriage of Isabella and Amalric Lusignan, but the kingdoms were split on their deaths in 1205.
- III.** The situation in Outremer demanded a major crusade led by a great warrior king who could recover Jerusalem and establish his royal authority.
 - A.** In 1193, Pope Celestine III appealed to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, who assembled a new crusade.

1. Henry VI was heir to the throne of the Norman kingdom of Sicily by his marriage to Constance, the aunt of King William II. Their son Frederick II was destined to unite the Holy Roman Empire and the Norman kingdom of Sicily and southern Italy.
2. The papacy feared the unification of the Holy Roman Empire and Norman Sicily.
3. Celestine III recognized the claims of Henry VI on the understanding that the realms were not to succeed to a single heir. In turn, Henry VI gained coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in return for a pledge to lead a crusade.

B. In 1197, advance Hohenstaufen forces arrived in Outremer, but Henry died before he could depart.

C. With Henry's death, the Holy Roman Empire was plunged into a succession crisis. Pope Innocent III strove to prevent the emergence of a powerful Hohenstaufen monarch.

IV. The dynastic struggle in Western Europe after 1197 influenced the preaching, composition, and strategy of the Fourth Crusade.

- A. In 1198, Innocent III, an astute diplomat, pressed for a crusade to restore the papal reputation in Europe. Innocent also had the administrative institutions to enforce papal policy in the Western church.
- B. Innocent opposed King Philip of Swabia, who aimed to unite the Holy Roman Empire and Norman Sicily. Innocent backed the Welf emperor Otto IV, nephew of King John of England. The Hohenstaufen rulers Philip and, later, Frederick II found an ally in King Philip II Augustus of France.
- C. Because Western Europe was divided by the struggle between the Hohenstaufens and Welfs, no great king was ready to go on crusade, but many nobles with divided feudal allegiances and a family tradition of crusading were receptive to the summons of Innocent III in 1198.
- D. Innocent III modeled his crusade after the First Crusade. Popular preachers assisted, such as Fulk de Neuilly, who inspired Counts Theobald III of Champagne and Louis of Blois to assume the cross at a tournament at Ecry in 1199. Their example inspired nobles across France, Germany, and northern Italy to join the Fourth Crusade.

V. The Fourth Crusade (1198–1204) faced difficulties in strategy, leadership, and finances from the start.

- A. The leaders concealed from the majority of Crusaders that the strategic objective was Egypt.
 1. Based on campaigns of Amalric I, Crusader leaders planned to invade Egypt, with the port of Damietta as the first objective.
 2. By threatening to advance on Cairo, it was expected that the Ayyubid sultan would negotiate the return of Jerusalem.
- B. The strategy, while sound, was hardly popular, because enthusiastic preachers had stressed the liberation of Jerusalem. Throughout the Fourth Crusade, the leaders pursued goals at odds with those of the majority of the membership.
- C. In May 1201, Count Theobald of Champagne died, and the nobles selected as their new leader Boniface of Montferrat, a Hohenstaufen vassal and rival to Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, who aspired to direct the Crusade. Boniface and Baldwin repeatedly clashed.
- D. The Crusaders, given civil wars in the Holy Roman Empire, contracted for a fleet with Venice.
 1. In 1201, *Doge* ("duke") Enrico Dandolo negotiated a treaty with the historian Geoffrey Villehardouin to provide a fleet and provisions at 85,000 marks of Cologne.
 2. The Venetians suspended their shipping for a year to build the fleet, which would accommodate 4,500 knights, 9,000 squires, and 34,000 infantry.
 3. In April 1202, only half the Crusaders arrived; they defaulted on 34,000 marks and faced financial ruin.
 4. Venice deferred the debt and joined the Crusade in return for the Crusaders' aid in recapturing their Dalmatian port of Zara, then under protection of the Hungarian king.
- E. The Crusade leaders, fearing lest the expedition disintegrate, joined the Venetians in capturing Zara, a Latin Christian city, where the victors wintered with the intention of sailing to Egypt in 1203.
- F. Innocent III excommunicated the Crusaders, although he later lifted the ban on the Crusaders, but not the Venetians, whom he held responsible for the sack of Zara.

- G.** In 1203, the Crusader leaders, facing defections and financial difficulties, willingly listened to the overtures of the exiled Byzantine prince Alexius Angelus, the brother-in-law of Hohenstaufen King Philip of Swabia, who was the liege lord of Boniface of Montferrat.
- H.** Alexius Angelus, son of the deposed Isaac II, promised support in return for Crusader assistance to regain the Byzantine throne from his uncle Alexius III.
 - 1.** Alexius Angelus agreed to pay off the debt owed Venice, join the expedition with 10,000 men, and maintain a garrison of 500 knights in Jerusalem.
 - 2.** It was ironic that this exiled Byzantine prince, the future Alexius IV, agreed to these terms by oaths to Crusaders. The incident illustrated how far the empire had fallen from 1097, when the Crusaders took oaths to the emperor Alexius I.
- I.** On June 26, 1203, the Crusaders arrived before Constantinople, only to discover, when they were greeted with an artillery bombardment, that Alexius Angelus had exaggerated his influence. Unexpectedly, the Fourth Crusade found itself in grave danger.

Readings:

Joinville, Jean de, and Geoffrey de Villehardouin. *Chronicles of the Crusades*. Translated by R. B. Shaw.

Queller, Donald E., and T. F. Madden. *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed., rev.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did Popes Celestine III and Innocent consider the recovery of Jerusalem a priority? How sound were the plans and preparations for crusades in 1192–1203?
- 2. How did dynastic conflicts in Western Europe hinder the launching of new crusades at the end of the 12th and opening of the 13th centuries? What were the issues dividing the great monarchs of Europe?

Lecture Twenty-Eight

The Sack of Constantinople

Scope: At the tournament of Écry in 1199, Count Theobald III of Champagne and the nobles of France vowed to liberate Jerusalem, but this Fourth Crusade (1198–1204) was ill fated from its inception. The nobles secretly planned to invade Egypt. On Count Theobald's premature death, Boniface of Montferrat was elected leader. A loyal Hohenstaufen vassal, Boniface was a foe to the papacy and the French nobility. Further, the Crusaders had overestimated their numbers and were indebted to Venice for their fleet and provisions. Doge Enrico Dandolo committed Venice to the Crusade and recouped some of the debt by the capture of Zara in 1202. Next, Boniface and Dandolo diverted the expedition to Constantinople and restored the exiled Alexius IV. Alexius IV, discredited by his alliance with the Crusaders, was overthrown by Alexius V in a popular coup to resist “the Latins.” On April 13, 1204, 20,000 Crusaders and Venetians audaciously stormed and sacked the imperial capital in the macabre profession of the defense of the faith.

Outline

- I. The tragic sack of Constantinople on April 13, 1204, ended Byzantine power, as the Crusaders turned their swords against fellow Christians.
 - A. The Fourth Crusade's original objective was to attack Egypt in the hopes of pressuring the Ayyubid sultanate to relinquish Jerusalem.
 - B. Each major participant has been blamed by at least one conspiratorial explanation.
 - 1. The Venetians have been regarded as the wily Italians who misled the northern European Crusaders and diverted the Crusade against Constantinople to destroy a commercial rival.
 - 2. The Crusader leaders, notably Boniface of Montferrat or his rival Count Baldwin IX, have been accused of using the Crusade to advance private ambitions.
 - 3. Innocent III has been accused of favoring the use of the Crusade to subject the Greek Orthodox church, inasmuch as his letters of protests came too late to affect events.
 - 4. The Byzantine emperors themselves were at fault. Alexius IV foolishly promised impossible concessions; the cowardly Alexius III fled at the decisive moment in 1203; the irresponsible Alexius V had no military force to back up his anti-Latin policy.
 - C. From another perspective, a series of mishaps moved this Crusade to Constantinople by June 26, 1203; another set of mistakes led to the assault on April 13, 1204.
 - D. But the sources point to other interpretations between these two extreme views. We must review the events that led the Crusaders to Constantinople in 1203–1204.
- II. From the First Crusade to 1203, a long history of tension had been brewing between the Crusaders and the Byzantines.
 - A. This tension had resulted from oaths taken by the Crusaders in 1097 in expectation of Byzantine support. The Europeans perceived the Byzantines as not paying their share of holy war; thus, at Zara in 1202, they seized on the promises of Alexius IV.
 - B. Crusaders several times considered seizing Constantinople as a bastion for the war of the faith.
 - C. Innocent III, although he inherited the issue of reunion with the Orthodox church, to his credit, never advocated that a crusade should be waged to end the Great Schism.
 - D. The Byzantines, long contemptuous of the Western Europeans, vented their hatred in anti-Latin riots in Constantinople in 1182 and popular demonstrations against reunion with Rome.
 - E. Furthermore, Byzantine political impotence invited intervention. After 1185, the weak Angelan emperors repeatedly invited foreign princes as allies in internal struggles.
 - F. Therefore, all the participants, save for Innocent III, by their mistrust and perceptions, must share in the blame for the sack of Constantinople.
 - G. The sack itself was an audacious act: Never have so few besieged so many.

1. In 1203–1204, the city of Constantinople, with a population of at least 650,000, was defended by 14 miles of Theodosian walls and professional forces, including the Varangian Guard.
2. The Crusaders themselves, numbering at most 20,000, were awed by the city's size and grandeur, best expressed by the historian Geoffrey Villehardouin.

III. On June 26, 1203, when the Crusaders presented Alexius IV, they were greeted with jeers from the walls of Constantinople and were compelled to besiege the city.

- A. The Byzantines protected their vulnerable northern sea walls by stretching a boom, or a chain, to Galatea, thereby closing the Golden Horn off from the Venetian ships.
- B. On July 5, 1203, the Venetians captured the Galatea Tower, breached the boom, and sailed up the Golden Horn. The Crusaders disembarked to besiege the northeastern district of Blacharnae, defended by the walls of Manuel I.
- C. The Crusaders had the tactical advantage, because they could assault from the Golden Horn.
 1. On July 16, 1203, Crusaders assaulted the land walls, while Venetians attacked and seized thirty towers of the walls along the Golden Horn.
 2. Imperial forces repelled the Crusaders; the Venetians covered their withdrawal by setting fires that reduced large sections of the city to ashes.
 3. On the evening of July 16–17, the panicked Alexius III fled the city.
 4. On July 17, 1203, Crusaders, while repulsed the previous day, hailed Alexius IV as emperor, but the court aristocracy cleverly outmaneuvered the Crusaders by placing on the throne the blinded Isaac II, who invited his son Alexius IV to join him as co-emperor.
 5. Once in Constantinople, Alexius IV was dominated by court officials, who pointed out that it was impossible to pay the Crusaders the 200,000 marks of Cologne (4 million gold *hyperpera*) promised by Alexius IV. The sum was four times the annual imperial income.
- D. Relations deteriorated in the autumn of 1203, as Alexius IV was unable to provide the money and supplies to enable the Crusade to sail to Palestine.
- E. The imperial aristocracy chose to delay payment, hoping that the Crusaders would depart. Neither Alexius IV nor his delusional father, Isaac II, could provide strong leadership.
- F. The Western Europeans, facing a winter outside the walls of Constantinople, pressed Alexius IV for payment. In early 1204, anti-Latin riots drove out Italian residents and resulted in major fires.
- G. In January 1204, Alexius V Mountzouphlos ("the bushy-eyebrowed") exploited anti-Latin sentiment, murdering Isaac II and Alexius IV, and seized the throne.
- H. Alexius V ordered the Crusaders to depart in the spring of 1204 without payment.
 1. But the Crusaders lacked provisions and money. Their ranks had been swelled by Latin refugees, especially Pisans, who had fled the city.
 2. In spring 1204, the Crusaders, angered over Greek perfidy, determined to attack Constantinople rather than to allow the Crusade to disintegrate in humiliation.

IV. In late March 1204, the Crusaders and the Venetians drew up an agreement, *Partitio Romaniae*, for the partition of the Byzantine state. A general assault was fixed on April 12, 1204.

- A. The Crusaders attacked the Blacharnae area, while the Venetians assaulted the walls along the Golden Horn. After 36 hours of fierce fighting, Byzantine resistance collapsed and Alexius V fled. The Crusaders and Venetians burst into the city on April 13, 1204.
- B. The Crusaders thoroughly sacked the city, amassing specie and precious objects valued at 400,000 marks of Cologne (more than 5 million gold *hyperpera*). In three days, the capital wealth of the Byzantine Empire was liquidated to pay out for the Crusades.
- C. On May 16, 1204, Count Baldwin IX was elected "emperor of the Romans," and the Fourth Crusade was, thus, committed to conquering the Byzantine Empire rather than recapturing Jerusalem.
- D. Although the Crusaders had pulled off a stunning victory, they failed to build a political order in the Aegean world that could reinforce Outremer. The political legacy of this sack was to drive a wedge thereafter between Orthodox and Catholic Christians.

Readings:

Queller, Donald E., and T. F. Madden. *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed., rev.

Robert of Clari. *The Conquest of Constantinople*. Translated by E. H. McNeal.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the legacy of more than a century of misunderstanding and suspicions contribute to the crisis at Constantinople in 1203–1204? Did these ill feelings on the part of Byzantines and Westerners prevent compromise and cooperation?
2. How did political and fiscal weakness at Constantinople invite Western intervention? How much were the heirs of Manuel I at fault for creating the conditions that led to the sack of Constantinople? Could the Angelan emperors in 1203–1204 have prevented the sack of their capital?

Lecture Twenty-Nine

The World of Frankish Greece

Scope: On May 16, 1204, members of the Fourth Crusade elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, as emperor of the Romans and the Venetian prelate Thomas Morosini as patriarch. Yet most of this “Latin Empire” remained to be conquered. Baldwin, short of funds and soldiers, was defeated and captured by Tsar Kalojan of Bulgaria in the following year. The Venetians, with a new colonial empire in the Aegean, pursued their own interests. The Frankish dukes of Athens and princes of Achaea offered but token fealty to their liege in Constantinople. From magnificent castles, they promoted an opulent world of tournaments and troubadours. Frankish lords were content to draw revenues from trade and silk plantations, and they maintained order through the *gasmouloi*, the caste of offspring of Frankish knights and Greek women. Frankish Greece attracted settlers and Italian investors away from doomed Outremer, and its princes were deaf to the appeals of the Latin emperor, who faced Orthodox rivals at Nicaea.

Outline

- I.** The sack of Constantinople in 1204 resulted in establishment of the Latin Empire and Frankish feudal principalities in the Greek homeland.
 - A.** This lecture discusses the Crusaders’ establishment of a Latin Empire and associated feudal states; the next lecture deals with the Byzantine dynasts who founded their own Orthodox “splinter empires.”
 - B.** Between 1204 and 1261, Constantinople was the prize in the struggle between Crusaders and Byzantines, but Europeans also successfully settled in central and southern Greece.
 - 1. Crusaders and Italian investors who settled in Greece owed a distant loyalty to the Latin emperor in Constantinople and forged a distinct society of their own.
 - 2. Venice, with a commercial empire in the Aegean, linked Constantinople and Frankish Greece.
- II.** Constantinople was, from the start, the capital of a troubled “Latin Empire.”
 - A.** On May 16, 1204, a commission of Crusaders and Venetians elected Count Baldwin IX of Flanders as emperor of the Romans, to the anger of Boniface Montferrat, leader of the Crusade.
 - 1. As emperor, Baldwin received many privileges and 25 percent of the plunder taken in Constantinople.
 - 2. The election of Baldwin, who was supported by the Venetians, enraged Boniface, who founded a northern Greek kingdom at Thessalonica and defied Baldwin’s authority.
 - 3. Baldwin inherited a capital, Constantinople, emptied of wealth, craftsmen, and administrative classes. He depended on aid from Western Europeans and his vassals, such as Boniface of Montferrat, who carved out feudal principalities in the former Byzantine Empire.
 - B.** Baldwin I and his successors were committed to holding a city that could not function as the capital of a bureaucratic state.
 - 1. Still, the city had symbolic and religious significance. The Venetian patriarch Thomas Morosini appointed Italians as prelates of the Orthodox church, who exploited ecclesiastical properties in the realms controlled by Venetians or Crusaders.
 - 2. Orthodox princes, incensed by the imposition of the Latin rite and union under Rome, as well as by Venetian exploitation of church properties, aimed to recapture Constantinople.
 - C.** It was ironic that the Fourth Crusade generalized the notion of *crusade*, thereby denying Latin emperors in Constantinople reinforcements, because most Crusaders served in other holy wars. Venetians and Franks arriving in the Aegean concentrated on Crusader Greece.
 - D.** The Latin emperors at Constantinople survived as long as they did, because Orthodox princes battled among themselves over who should have the honor of recapturing the city.
- III.** The situation in Greece was quite different. Lesser nobles of the Fourth Crusade, as vassals of the Latin emperor in Constantinople, secured lucrative fiefs in southern and central Greece.
 - A.** William de Champlite and his fellow knight Geoffrey Villehardouin (the nephew and namesake of the historian of the Fourth Crusade) were the most successful adventurers.

1. These two French barons conquered the Peloponnesus (Morea). In 1205, William assumed the title prince of Achaea and attracted many vassals by handing out fiefs.
2. With the death of Prince William I, Geoffrey Villehardouin succeeded and secured the Villehardouins as hereditary princes of the Peloponnesus.

B. The Burgundian knight Othon de la Roche, styling himself grand duke, founded a feudal state in central Greece based on Athens and Thebes, the centers of silk manufacturing.

C. The Crusaders in central and southern Greece, just as the Crusaders had done in the Levant, successfully adapted and exploited local institutions. Most were French in origin and had links to Outremer. Italian investors also arrived to exploit the commercial advantages.

1. Imperial administrative posts and monopolies in the manufacture of luxury goods, such as silk, were parceled out to vassals as money fiefs.
2. The Franks tolerated and even intermarried with the Orthodox population; the *gasmouloi*, offspring of French Crusaders and Greek women, emerged as a distinct caste of knights.
3. Orthodox parish priests administered the faith; there was no policy to impose the Latin rite.

D. The courts of Achaea and Athens hosted the troubadour poets and tournaments. The pageantry of 13th-century France was transplanted to Greek soil and sustained by a symbiosis between the Frankish military elite and the Greek population.

E. The Frankish princes marketed commercial products to the Venetians, who exported these luxury goods to Western markets through their ports of Modon and Coron.

1. This financial success is evidenced by widespread castle building in Frankish Greece.
2. Frankish princes imported the specie to mint a European-style silver coinage, in contrast to the impoverished Latin emperors at Constantinople, who minted no significant trade currency.

F. There was a real contrast between these two Crusader worlds. While the Franks created a successful society in Greece, the Latin Empire at Constantinople was a fragile state under siege.

IV. On August 15, 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus, a general who usurped the Nicene throne, occupied Constantinople and restored Orthodox imperial rule.

A. The last Latin emperor, Baldwin II, ended as an exile in Western Europe.

B. In 1267, Baldwin II sold off his rights to Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis IX of France and the ambitious ally of the papacy.

1. Charles of Anjou was summoned to southern Italy as a papal ally against Manfred, the son of Frederick II and heir to the Holy Roman Empire and Norman kingdom.
2. After Gregory IX, popes applied the logic of 1204 to preach crusades against their Hohenstaufen foes in Italy.
3. In 1266, at the Battle of Benevento, Charles of Anjou ended Hohenstaufen rule and was crowned as the king of Sicily (that is, southern Italy and Sicily).

C. In 1259, Michael VIII overran Thessaly and compelled Prince William II Villehardouin of Achaea to cede Mistra (Sparta), the strategic gateway to the Peloponnesus.

D. The Frankish lords of Greece invited Charles of Anjou to intervene against Michael VIII. Charles himself aimed at the conquest of Constantinople.

E. Charles was prevented from intervening in Greece because of rebellions among his Italian subjects and the diplomacy of Michael VIII.

1. In 1282, at the connivance of Michael VIII, the Sicilians rose to slaughter the French in the “Sicilian Vespers” and invited Peter of Aragon to rule as their king.
2. Thereafter, Charles of Anjou was preoccupied in defending his Italian domains, and the Franks in Greece were left alone to face a resurgent Byzantium.

F. Byzantine forces based at Mistra reconquered Achaea during the 14th and 15th centuries. Ironically, the little-known colonization and provincial society created in Frankish Greece in the 13th century were far more successful than the more memorable and dismal Latin rule at Constantinople.

Readings:

Lane, F. C. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*.

Longnon, J. "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311." In *A History of the Crusades*, edited by K. M. Setton, volume II, pp. 235–276.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Latin emperors at Constantinople fail to forge an effective state on the foundations of the Byzantine Empire? What were the institutional weaknesses? How effective were the Latin emperors?
2. How did Latin domination of the Orthodox church worsen relations between Christians? Was the reunion of Catholic and Orthodox churches ever a possibility? How did the Orthodox population under Frankish rule perceive changes in ritual and claims of papal primacy?

Lecture Thirty

Splinter Empires and Orthodox Princes

Scope: After the sack of Constantinople, Theodore I Lascaris rallied Byzantine forces and organized an imperial government at Nicaea in northwestern Anatolia. By adroit diplomacy, Theodore secured the neutrality of Venice. He repelled Crusaders invading his domains and defeated rival Orthodox emperors of Epirus and Trebizond. The Nicene emperors forged an effective *splinter empire* in Asia Minor, but the usurper Michael VIII Palaeologus sacrificed this state to recapture Constantinople in 1261. Michael acquired a ruined capital and too many commitments. By submission of the Orthodox Church to Rome, Michael mobilized allies to counter Charles of Anjou, who aimed to conquer Frankish Greece and Constantinople. Michael's son and successor, Andronicus II, paid the price of victory, inheriting an empty treasury and Orthodox subjects hateful of Latin rule. Yet Andronicus and his successors bitterly realized that salvation rested in crusades preached to halt the rising power of the Ottomans.

Outline

- I. The fall of Constantinople had immediate and profound consequences for the Orthodox world—it shattered the image of a Byzantine commonwealth.
 - A. In the provinces, imperial aristocrats founded Greek Orthodox *splinter empires*, Byzantine-style governments pledged to drive out the Crusaders and retake Constantinople.
 - B. Initially, emperors of the three leading splinter empires vied for Constantinople as the prize. In 1261, Michael VIII of the empire of Nicaea retook the imperial city and restored Orthodox rule.
 - C. Furthermore, in 1180–1204, leading members of the great Byzantine families had long aspired to carve out their own dynastic states; the sack of 1204 provided a pretext to do so.
- II. With the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders, each Byzantine dynast could style himself as the restorer of Orthodoxy and a true emperor.
 - A. The rugged terrain of northwestern Greece, home to sturdy imperial soldiers, offered a basis for a splinter empire that was distant from the control of the Latin emperor in Constantinople.
 - 1. At Arta in central Epirus, Michael Angelus declared himself despot; his half-brother and successor, Theodore Comnenus, forged an effective state.
 - 2. In 1224, Theodore occupied Thessalonica and secured Venetian neutrality by trade concessions to isolate Latin Constantinople.
 - 3. Theodore faced a powerful rival in Tsar Asen II of Bulgaria, who defeated and killed Theodore at the Battle of Klokotnitsz in 1230.
 - 4. The Nicene emperor John III exploited the Bulgarian victory to occupy Thessalonica in 1246 and, thus, ended the aspiration of the Epirote despots to retake Constantinople.
 - B. The second major splinter empire was founded in western Asia Minor at Nicaea, where Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law of Alexius III, was proclaimed emperor
 - 1. Theodore received at Nicaea the elite classes and Orthodox clergy who fled Latin rule.
 - 2. In 1204–1208, Theodore had to ward off attacks by the Latin emperors to conquer Asia Minor, as well as Greek forces from the third splinter empire at Trebizond.
 - 3. Theodore and his successor, John III Vatatzes, gained cooperation from Venice and Genoa by granting commercial privileges in Aegean ports.
 - 4. Nicaea faced potential danger from the Seljuk Turks to the east. For several reasons, the Nicene emperors had an advantage over the Seljuk Turks and inflicted some impressive defeats.
 - 5. John III annexed Thessalonica and Epirus, and he exploited the weakness of the Seljuk Turks after their defeat by the Mongols in 1243. Whether they realized it or not, the Nicene emperors were confronted with a policy decision.
 - 6. The Nicene emperors, styling themselves as legitimate, made the fateful decision to retake Constantinople rather than to forge an effective Anatolian realm.
 - 7. In 1261, by the Treaty of Nymphaeum, Michael VIII granted major trade concessions in the Black Sea to the Genoese in return for naval support to retake Constantinople.

- 8. Michael VIII retook a ruined capital and, henceforth, depended on the good will of Venice and Genoa, maritime states that controlled the carrying trade in the Aegean and Black Seas.
- C. The third splinter empire was founded at Trebizond (classical Trapezus) on the northeastern shores of the Black Sea.
 - 1. Manuel I had broken the power of the Gabras family and confiscated their estates. In March 1204, the brothers Alexius and David Comnenus, scions of Manuel's family, rebelled.
 - 2. They postured as defenders of Orthodoxy when they received news of the Crusader capture of Constantinople.
 - 3. Alexius, crowned emperor of the Romans, sent David west to retake Constantinople, but Nicene forces drove off the Trapezantine army.
 - 4. Thereafter, the Trapezantine emperors ruled successfully as regional dynasts over a compact Orthodox kingdom rich in silver and timber and linked commercially to Genoa down to 1461.

- III. Michael VIII, as all Nicene emperors, was trapped in the vision of restoring the old imperial order at Constantinople.
 - A. Michael VIII and succeeding Palaeologan emperors, who ruled to 1453, maintained the illusion of imperial power for the next two centuries by adroit diplomacy.
 - B. Michael sacrificed his Anatolian realm at Nicaea in the pursuit of reconstituting the Byzantine Empire. His son and successor, Andronicus II, had to pay the costs of this policy.
 - C. After 1261, Byzantine commercial life was in the hands of the Venetians and Genoese.
 - D. In 1274, at the Council of Lyons, Michael VIII embraced the Catholic faith to win Western aid, but in so doing, he alienated his Orthodox clergy and subjects by accepting papal primacy.
 - E. After 1261, Michael distrusted and, thus, disbanded his frontier in Asia Minor, thereby opening Byzantine Asia Minor to Ottoman conquest. In 1302–1309, Andronicus II bankrupted the empire in his abortive effort to hire the Catalan Company to expel the Ottoman Turks from Asia Minor.
 - F. Michael VIII brilliantly checked the invasion of Charles of Anjou, but he had compromised imperial finances and power, ultimately to the benefit of the Turks of Asia Minor.

Readings:

Argold, M. J. *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea*.

Bryer, A. A. M. *The Empire of Trebizond and Pontos*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. In 1204, which splinter empire appeared to have the best chances for recapturing Constantinople and restoring the Byzantine state? Why did the despots of Epirus fail? What were the advantages enjoyed by the Nicene emperors?
- 2. How did the fighting in 1204–1261 undermine chances of an effective restoration of the Byzantine Empire? How did regional landlords and princes profit from the fighting? What were the limitations faced by any Greek emperor at Constantinople in reimposing effective administration after 1261?

Lecture Thirty-One

Ayyubid Egypt and Seljuk Anatolia

Scope: On Saladin's foundations, the Ayyubid sultans built a new political order in Egypt, Syria, al-Jazirah, and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Ayyubid princes ruled their far-flung domains as a family consortium. Sultan al-Kamil enrolled crack units of Mamluks, Turkomen slaves purchased on the Russian steppes, who repelled both the Fifth and Seventh Crusades. The princes and nobles of Outremer realized that their survival depended on Ayyubid goodwill and the financial power of Venice and Genoa. Simultaneously, the sultans of Konya, Kay-ku Kay-Ka'us I and Kay-Qubasdh I, forged political institutions, promoted trade, and fostered a new Muslim Turkish civilization that integrated Anatolia into the wider Muslim world. By the mid-13th century, Crusaders found Ayyubid Egypt and Seljuk Konya far too formidable as foes. These two states, in turn, laid the foundations for the Ottoman Porte.

Outline

- I.** Two Muslim great political orders emerged in the early 13th century from the battles against the Christians: the Seljuk sultanate in Anatolia and the successors of Saladin, that is, the Ayyubid sultans.
 - A.** Both of these political orders represented a new unity in the political, cultural, and economic power of medieval Islam.
 - 1. The Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad centered on the lands of eastern Islam, which had lost primacy after 1200.
 - 2. Cairo and Konya emerged as the foci of new political and cultural orders that laid the foundations of the future Porte, or the Ottoman Empire.
 - B.** Seljuk Anatolia and Ayyubid Egypt were created and shaped by the Crusades.
- II.** The Ayyubid sultanate in Egypt posed the gravest danger and was the target of the Fourth Crusade.
 - A.** The leaders of the Fourth Crusade revived the strategy of King Amalric I of Jerusalem, that is, to invade Egypt and pressure the Ayyubid sultan to return Jerusalem under treaty.
 - B.** When the Fourth Crusade failed to reach Acre, the senior Ayyubid al-Adil, the brother of Saladin, consolidated control over the Turkomen tribal armies of al-Jazirah.
 - C.** In 1200–1201, al-Adil secured Egypt and reigned as sultan with the blessing of the Abbasid caliphate; the Ayyubid princes in Syria were subjected to his authority.
 - D.** As in the case of Zengi, Nur-ad-Din, or Saladin, al-Adil maintained order and his legitimacy by preaching *jihad* against the Franks of the coast.
 - E.** Al-Adil was, fortunately, not tested by the Fourth Crusade; instead, he faced the daunting task of consolidating the Ayyubid state after Saladin's death.
 - 1. In 1194–1198, the Ayyubid civil war might have decisively weakened Muslim power, enabling the Fourth Crusade to invade Egypt successfully.
 - 2. Al-Adil had the dual task of maintaining Egypt, the source of his revenues, as well as al-Jazirah, home to the veteran Turkomen tribal armies.
 - 3. Al-Adil and his son, al-Kamil, built up a new source of military power by enrolling Mamluks, Turkomen slave soldiers from southern Russia. The Mamluks, who numbered between 10,000 and 20,000 emerged as a powerful military caste in Egypt.
 - F.** Ayyubid sultans reigning at Cairo had the difficult task of imposing their authority over their kinsmen ruling in Syria, who controlled the communications between Egypt and al-Jazirah.
 - 1. The Ayyubid sultans of Egypt, when facing Crusader invasions, distrusted the loyalty of their kinsmen ruling in Syria and the al-Jazirah, who might ally with the Crusaders.
 - 2. Hence, the Ayyubid sultans of Cairo recruited professional slave soldiers and built institutions that were foundations for the more powerful Mamluk state (1250–1517).

III. The Ayyubid sultans of Egypt established Cairo as the new political and cultural center of Islam.

- A. By 1200, Cairo emerged as the Muslim center of learning. The sultans also fostered commercial links with the Genoese and Venetians.
 - 1. The sultans of Egypt no longer had direct access to the recruiting grounds for Turkomen cavalry and relied on Turkish slaves imported by the Genoese and Venetians from Russia.
 - 2. The Venetians imported silver specie (vital for Ayyubid coinage), as well as timber, naval stores, pitch, and metal—all vital war materiel.
 - 3. The Ayyubid sultanate, which depended on Venice and Genoa for the materiel and manpower of its armies, awarded trade concessions to the Italians and protected the pilgrimage trade until Jerusalem was seized by Turkomen freebooters in 1244.
- B. The Ayyubid sultans promoted Islam, patronizing building programs and life at Cairo and, to a lesser extent, Aleppo and Damascus; the 13th century was a period of cultural revival.
- C. Although the Ayyubid sultanate was overthrown in 1250, these sultans forged the institutions that enabled the Mamluk military elite to consolidate Muslim power and finally drive out the Crusaders.

IV. The second Islamic power that emerged after 1200 was the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor, who owed their success to the Crusaders' destruction of Byzantine power at Constantinople.

- A. During frontier wars of the 12th century, Seljuk Turkish states of Asia Minor were living in the cultural and political shadow of Constantinople.
- B. The sack of Constantinople in 1204 enabled the Seljuk sultans of Rum to build an effective Turkish state and Muslim civilization at Konya.
- C. The reign of Kay-Khusraw II initiated several important developments that transformed Christian Byzantine Asia Minor into Muslim Turkey.
 - 1. Henceforth, sultans at Konya employed Muslim officials, usually from Iran, and adopted Arabic and Persian as administrative languages.
 - 2. The sultans of Konya promoted commerce at such ports as Alanya and by building the network of *caravansaray*, or “caravan palaces,” which linked Asia Minor to the Islamic Near East.
 - 3. Adapting Byzantine and Armenian architecture, the sultans launched the first major building programs in Asia Minor in almost 400 years. Anatolian cities acquired a new Muslim skyline showcasing the minarets of mosques and religious schools, *medresses*.
 - 4. Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the *Mevlana*, “inspired one,” reorganized the Sufi Maulawiayah order (“whirling dervishes”), whose inspirational teaching and dance converted to Islam the Christians in the villages and towns of Asia Minor.
- D. Within a generation of the sack of Constantinople, the political and cultural foundations of Seljuk Asia Minor were crystallized under the Seljuk sultans, who no longer faced a Byzantine competitor.
- E. Therefore, in 1243, when the Mongols crushed the Seljuk army at Kose Dag and imposed a loose overlordship, Islam and Muslim institutions not only endured, but flourished in Asia Minor.
- F. Ultimately, the Ottoman sultans gave political unity to Turkish Asia Minor and, in 1453, captured Constantinople as their capital. Ottoman Constantinople and Mamluk Cairo, the two great political orders emerging from the Middle Ages, were the basis of the Ottoman Porte, destined to rule the Middle East until the early 20th century and broken up into the existing states of the Middle East today. Yet, ironically, both these Muslim centers were forged in response to the Crusades.

Readings:

Cahen, C. *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*.
Gibb, H. A. R. “The Ayyubids.” In *A History of the Crusades*, edited by K. M. Setton, volume II, pp. 693–714.

Questions to Consider:

1. What accounted for the success of the sultans al-Adil and al-Kamil? How did they impose unity on the consortium of Ayyubid princes?
2. In what ways did the Ayyubids restore prosperity and stability to the Muslim Near East? How important were their military and administrative reforms? What was the role of trade? Why did Cairo and Egypt succeed the positions once held by Baghdad and Iraq? How did the prosperity of the Muslim Near East encourage more Christians in Syria and Egypt to convert?

Lecture Thirty-Two

Crusader Cyprus and the Levant

Scope: The Third Crusade restored the fortunes of the princes of Antioch and the Lusignan kings of Jerusalem, but they still depended on military and financial assistance from Western Europe. The Frankish conquest and settlement of Byzantine Greece, as well as crusades preached against the Albigensian heretics in southern France and the Hohenstaufen monarchs in Italy, diverted men and resources from Outremer. An impressive array of European nobility, scions of great crusading families, led the Fifth Crusade against Ayyubid Egypt. Sultan al-Kamil contained the Crusaders at Damietta and compelled their withdrawal. In the wake of this defeat, the Lusignan kings turned to exploiting their domains in Cyprus. Frankish lords, headed by the powerful Ibelin clan, shifted to banking, cash crops, and textiles exported from the ports recovered by Richard the Lion-hearted. Despite their prosperity, the Franks of Outremer looked for deliverance from the mighty monarchs of Western Europe and the great khans of the Mongols.

Outline

- I. The situation in Outremer and Cyprus in the early 13th century was affected by the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople and the redefinition of crusading that opened new theaters for crusades that were not aimed at retaking Jerusalem.
- II. Richard I, for all his victories in 1191–1192, left the political order of Outremer in disarray; many Crusaders still looked to the West for a warrior king to restore Jerusalem.
 - A. In 1192, Richard's settlement had split the Crusader nobility and the monarchy between two courts at Nicosia and Acre.
 - 1. Guy's brother, Amalric I of Cyprus, reigned in Nicosia and briefly reigned as king of Jerusalem, when he married Isabelle in 1197. When the couple died in 1205, Jerusalem and Cyprus were divided again.
 - 2. Crusader rulers sought legitimacy; hence, in 1197, Amalric Lusignan, Prince Bohemond IV of Antioch and Tripoli, and Cilician King Levon II gave homage to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, the son of Frederick Barbarossa.
 - 3. While weak rulers in Outremer sought alliances with the powerful monarchs of Western Europe, the nobility in the Levant and Cyprus amassed fortunes and political power by exploiting commercial crops and trade in tandem with Italian investors.
 - B. Queen Maria, the eldest daughter of Isabella and Conrad Montferrat, succeeded in 1205, and in 1210, she married John of Brienne, titular king of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that is, the ports of Palestine with the capital at Acre but without the cities of Jerusalem or Bethlehem.
 - C. As a king, John had little credibility. In 1214, with the death of Maria, John ruled as regent for his daughter, Yolanda-Isabel, and factions of nobles dominated politics.
 - D. John Ibelin, the lord of Beirut, directed the High Council at Acre and directed politics in both kingdoms. John championed aristocratic privileges by complying with the judicial edicts known as the *Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, later advanced against the Emperor Frederick II.
 - E. The principality of Antioch and Cilician kingdom of Armenia were rocked by succession crises and clashes among competing aristocratic factions after 1201.
 - F. Aid in the form of a great royal crusade was not forthcoming, because of the division of the European monarchies over the succession to the Holy Roman Empire and the resulting wars down to 1214.
 - 1. In 1214, at the Battle of Bouvines, Frederick II and his ally Philip II Augustus decisively defeated the Welf emperor Otto IV, who was backed by King John of England and Pope Innocent III, thereby ending conflict in Western Europe.
 - 2. In 1216, Pope Innocent III announced a new crusade under Frederick II Hohenstaufen, who promised that the Holy Roman Empire and the Regno (formerly Norman Sicily and southern Italy) would not be united under a single crown

III. Simultaneously, four operations revealed the changing nature of Crusader warfare—the Albigensian Crusade, the *Reconquista* in Spain, the northern Crusades in the Baltic, and the Children’s Crusade.

- A. By the end of the 13th century, kings and nobles were reluctant to assume the cross, despite strong family traditions, because they had other means of expressing their piety in holy war.
- B. The Albigensian Crusade (1208–1229) was the first crusade directed against Christian heretics.
 - 1. In 1208, Innocent III, who had opposed the use of crusade against Orthodox Byzantines in 1204, preached a crusade against *Cathars*, that is, heretical Christians of southern France.
 - 2. The Fourth Crusade had altered perceptions, and future popes, starting with Innocent III, preached crusades against any foe of Christendom without reference to Jerusalem.
 - 3. The heretics in southern France, the so-called Cathars, were identified with the Manicheans, early Christian heretics who are mentioned in St. Augustine’s writings. The Cathar heresy was the creation of churchmen writing in the late 12th century who classified traditional respect paid to healers by local people as evidence of a heretical church.
 - 4. In 1208, Innocent III excommunicated Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, for failure to put down what was likely a nonexistent Cathar church and preached the Albigensian Crusade (1208–1229) against the heretics of southern France.
 - 5. Northern French Crusaders, led by Simon de Montfort, ravaged southern France, ultimately to the benefit of the Capetian monarchy when war was concluded by the Treaty of Paris in 1229.
 - 6. This Crusade led to the first Inquisition, administered by Dominican friars in 1239–1241, marking a shift from holy war to persecution of religious thought.
 - 7. The Albigensian Crusade denied vital reinforcements to Outremer.
- C. In the name of *Reconquista*, King Pedro II of Aragon decisively defeated the Almohad army at Las Navas de Tolosa on July 15, 1212, ending the Muslim threat in Spain; Christian rulers then occupied the entire peninsula, save for Muslim Andalusia (Granada).
- D. In the southern and eastern lands of the Baltic Sea, the Teutonic knights subjected the native pagan populations, imposing Western manorial institutions and founding German-style cities.

IV. Yet the significance of Jerusalem to the Christian faith was still powerful, as revealed by the Children’s Crusade, a movement of the humble that was comparable to the People’s Crusade in 1096.

- A. The Children’s Crusades comprised two independent movements of adolescents and peasants in northern France and western Germany, traditional recruiting grounds for Crusaders.
 - 1. Stephen, a peasant boy from Orleans turned visionary, failed to move King Philip II of France to crusade, but Stephen moved many adolescents of humble rank in May 1212.
 - 2. This Children’s Crusade converged on Marseilles in the summer of 1212, convinced that the prophet Stephen would part the waters and lead them to Jerusalem.
 - 3. The crusade disintegrated when the miracle failed to take place. Later legends report that those who booked passage to Palestine with William the Pig and Hugh the Iron were sold by the two merchants in the Tunisian slave markets.
- B. Nicholas, a peasant boy from the region of Cologne, was inspired by visions to preach a crusade in the summer of 1212. Most of the German adolescents who responded died while crossing the Alps, and the rest either settled in Genoa or disbanded.
- C. These two efforts of the Children’s Crusade revealed the enthusiastic piety to recover Jerusalem that led to the preaching of the Sixth through Eighth Crusades. It was only after 1300 that pilgrimage to Jerusalem lost its primacy, when Christian millenarian movements, focusing on the creation of a New Jerusalem, emerged and redefined Christian identity.

Readings:

Strayer, Joseph R. *The Albigensian Crusades*.

Zacour, Norman P. “The Children’s Crusade.” In *A History of the Crusades*, edited by K. M. Setton, volume II, pp. 325–342.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did repeated succession crises undermine the effectiveness of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1192–1250? How did the failure to unite Acre and Cyprus deny the Crusaders of Outremer needed resources?
2. How did the rivalries among the monarchs of Western Europe and the papacy prevent the launching of crusades to the Levant in the early 13th century? Was the papacy strengthened or weakened in both its moral authority and political power?

Lecture Thirty-Three

Venice and Genoa

Scope: In the 13th century, Venice and Genoa turned their privileged communities in Levantine and Byzantine ports into commercial empires that increasingly dictated the destinies of Outremer. The Italian merchant republics excelled in shipbuilding and controlled the carrying trade in goods and pilgrims. With the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Venice acquired an overseas empire in the Aegean, while the Genoese took over the economic life of Cyprus and the Levantine cities of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Venetians and Genoese, even more than Muslim victories, undermined the crusading ethos, because they preferred ordered trade with Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Hence, Venice and Genoa opposed papal appeals for new crusades after 1291. The Lusignan King Peter I, a romantic knight errant, launched the last crusade to regain Jerusalem. The venture achieved little save the anger of the citizens of Venice, who suffered financial loss with the sack of Alexandria. King Peter himself was murdered at the hands of disaffected nobles, and his death marked the passing of the crusading era in the eastern Mediterranean.

Outline

- I.** The Italian merchant republics of Venice and Genoa emerged from a position of privilege to centers of seaborne commercial empires in the 13th century.
 - A.** Genoa and Venice outstripped all the other maritime republics involved in crusading, notably Pisa, Amalfi, Barcelona, and Marseilles, for several reasons.
 - B.** In part, Genoa exploited the opportunities afforded the Third Crusade and restoration of Byzantine rule in 1261; Venice capitalized on the opportunities of the Fourth Crusade.
 - C.** After 1291, when Acre fell to the Mamluks, Venice and Genoa, vital for launching new crusades, lost interest in holy war, although they defended their economic interests against Muslim rulers and pirates.
 - D.** The stress on business and profits over honor and victory on the battlefield was probably far more detrimental to the crusading spirit than Islamic resurgence under the Seljuk Turks and Mamluks.
- II.** The changing nature of commerce resulting from the Third and Fourth Crusades put Venice and Genoa in the forefront.
 - A.** A number of commercial republics participated in the First Crusade (1096–1099) or assisted the kings of Jerusalem in capturing Levantine ports. Many cities, such as Pisa and Marseilles, had battled Muslims in the western Mediterranean during the 11th century.
 - B.** As the 13th century progressed, Genoa and Venice became the primary naval powers, because they held several advantages that other cities did not possess.
 - 1.** Both cities occupied protected positions on the Italian shore and enjoyed independence from secular or ecclesiastical lords. Both cities developed civic institutions and societies based on commerce, spawning a merchant elite.
 - 2.** Both Genoa and Venice had access to seamen and naval stores, and they exported the timber, pitch, and other materials needed to build fleets in the Mediterranean.
 - 3.** The Venetians had already gained an exceptional status as early as 1124, when King Baldwin II issued the *pactum Warmundi*, defining Venetian privileges in return for naval aid in capturing Tyre. Venice received one-third of the city and the right to try her citizens in her own courts, establishing an independent Venetian community in Tyre.
 - 4.** By such agreements, Venice extended her commercial power after 1204. The Genoese concluded similar arrangements with the restored Byzantine emperors in Constantinople.
 - C.** In 1201–1202, the Venetians constructed a fleet of 50 galleys and at least 450 transports to convey the Fourth Crusade. With this fleet, Venice was to dominate the Byzantine trade networks after 1204.
 - III.** In 1204, Venice acquired a colonial empire, and the republic was transformed from a Byzantine city-state into a great power.
 - A.** The Venetians, with concessions and communities in Outremer, gained the ports and islands of the former Byzantine Empire in the Aegean under the *Partitio Romaniae*.

- B. The Venetians established colonial administrations for the strategic islands of Corfu and Crete and in the lucrative Peloponnesian ports of Modon and Coron, from which the luxury goods of Frankish Achaea were exported to Western Europe.
- C. The Venetians maximized profits and minimized responsibilities. Prominent Venetian citizens were encouraged to accept fiefs from the Latin emperors. For example, Marco Sanudo, as duke of Naxos, imposed order in the Cyclades to the benefit of Venetian commerce.
- D. By 1225, Venice controlled the Adriatic and Aegean lanes and shared with Genoa dominance of the eastern Mediterranean waters. The Venetians, with a “factory” at Alexandria, controlled the export and import trade into Ayyubid and, later, Mamluk Egypt.
- E. By 1300, Venice controlled all ports along her vital trade routes with colonial administration. Hence, the Venetians became adept diplomats and developed diplomatic protocols still used today.

IV. Genoa likewise emerged as a great power in the 13th century.

- A. In 1103, Genoa obtained concessions in Acre in return for naval support in the capture of the city by King Baldwin I. Genoa also gained important concessions in the county of Tripoli in 1108–1109.
- B. The Genoese quickly eclipsed their competitors in Outremer; leading Genoese citizens, such as Hugh Embriaco, lord of Jebail, acquired fiefs and intermarried with the Frankish nobility.
- C. The Genoese profited from King Richard’s recovery of the Levantine ports, and the Lusignan kings turned to Genoese bankers and merchants to develop the plantations and trade of Cyprus. In 1378, the Genoese took control of Cyprus as a colonial possession.
- D. The Genoese gained positions in ports on the southern shores of Asia Minor and tapped into the caravan trade, promoted by the sultans of Konya, that linked Anatolia and the Near East.
- E. In the War of St. Sabas (1254–1261), the Genoese lost their position in Acre and their access to the trade into Egypt.
 - 1. In Acre, an incident over possession of the monastery of St. Sabas escalated into a naval war in which the Venetians decisively defeated the Genoese and expelled them from Acre.
 - 2. The Genoese relocated their community to Tyre, previously a Venetian factory.
 - 3. The Genoese, in alliance with the Hospitallers, henceforth operated in the northern Levantine ports and supported the Nicene emperors against the Latin emperor and Venetians.
- F. Under the Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261, the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII rewarded Genoa for her naval aid by granting the district of Pera, on the northern shores of the Golden Horn; concessions in the Black Sea; and access to the termini of the caravan routes across the Eurasian steppes promoted by the Mongol khans. The Genoese colony at Kaffa in the Crimea was the conduit for the export of European silver in payment for luxury goods.

V. The construction of the fleets and the development of these colonies overseas led to commercial and banking improvements by the end of the 13th century. Two other consequences were the erosion of the crusading ethos and the influx of money into the Islamic world.

- A. Venice and Genoa became more interested in securing their trade networks rather than in backing crusades to retake Jerusalem. Crusades interfered with the lucrative trade pursued by the Venetians.
- B. Genoa and Venice also exported European silver specie to the Muslim Near East which, ironically, funded Islamic military recovery.
 - 1. At Acre, the Venetians minted imitative Ayyubid silver coins with Arabic inscriptions for use in Muslim markets until banned by Cardinal Odo in 1250. Instead, imitative silver *dirhems* with Arabic inscriptions and a cross were struck, but these coins were rejected.
 - 2. This incident gives an insight into the changes that were taking place as Europeans shifted from crusade to commerce. Ultimately, the Muslim world, even under the Ottoman sultans, depended on the banking and money of Genoa and Venice.

Readings:

Edbury, P. W. *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*.

Lane, F. C. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Crusades alter the balance of power among the maritime republics in the 12th and 13th centuries? What were the peculiar advantages enjoyed by Venice and Genoa?
2. How did breakthroughs in shipping, contracts, and currency lead to the redefinition of naval power in the Mediterranean world? Who were the prime allies and trading partners of Genoa and Venice in the 13th century? How did these two city-states influence the politics of Outremer and the Byzantine world?

Lecture Thirty-Four

The Mongols and the Legend of Prester John

Scope: Repeated defeats raised apocalyptic expectations among Western Europeans, who were fed garbled reports originating among Nestorian monks that a mighty Christian lord from the depths of inner Asia would arise to smite the Muslims. In 1165, Pope Alexander VI received letters reputedly from such a king, Prester John, but a papal mission sent out in response vanished without trace (1177). In 1220, Jenghiz Khan was greeted as the heir of Prester John, when his Mongols swept through. But the Mongolian invasion of Eastern Europe in 1240–1241 terrified Christians, who henceforth dreaded the Mongols as “Tartars,” a monstrous race sprung from Tartarus. The fall of Jerusalem (1244) compelled Pope Innocent IV and King Louis IX to seek a Mongol alliance. But their missions failed because the great khans demanded the submission of all Christian sovereigns. In 1256–1260, the Mongol army of Hulagu wreaked destruction across the Middle East, destroying Assassin strongholds and sacking Baghdad. The Crusaders gained little advantage, and in the wake of Mongol defeat at Ain Jalud (1260), they faced a resurgent Mamluk Egypt determined to drive out the Franks of the coast.

Outline

- I. This lecture discusses two related topics: One is the European expectations of a legendary figure, known as Prester John (“Priest-King John”), who would arise from the distant East and recover Jerusalem. The other topic is the Mongols, who played a decisive role in the 13th century.
 - A. The legend of Prester John became popular in Europe at the end of the 12th century; he or his descendants were expected to come from central Asia and assist the Western Europeans in further crusades. Surprisingly, the people who came to play the role of Prester John were the Mongols.
 - B. The Mongol invasion into the Islamic world and the destruction of Baghdad in 1258 was a shock far greater than any the Muslims had suffered from the Crusaders. The Mongols are still remembered as among the rare conquerors of unbelievers, who for a time, held sway over the heartland of Islam.
 - C. It is noteworthy that the other great traditional civilization of the 13th century, the Sung Empire of China, fell before the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan, and his descendants ruled China until 1369.
 - D. In understanding the role of the Mongols, it is necessary to examine Western European perceptions and attitudes toward the Mongols, as well as the Mongol impact itself.
- II. As Western Europeans grew disappointed with Byzantium, they looked to a savior from the Far East.
 - A. The German chronicler Otto of Freisingen reports that in 1145, Pope Eugenius III received envoys claiming to represent a king from the distant East, known as Prester John, who sought an alliance with his co-religionists against the Muslims. (*Prester* is a rendition of “priest.”)
 - B. Such reports on Prester John originated from Nestorian clergy and merchants, who were members of a Christian sect that had founded a network of churches stretching from Iraq to China. The Nestorians numbered many converts among the Turkish and Mongol tribes of central Asia.
 - C. Initial reports probably stemmed from a victory near Samarkand in 1141, in which the Nestorian khan Yeliln Tashi, ruler of a confederation of Turkish tribes (Kara Khitai), defeated Seljuk Turkmen tribes, who were primarily Muslims. This event was magnified into a tale of a great figure in the East coming to restore Jerusalem to the Christians.
 - D. Such reports continued. In 1165, Pope Alexander III received letters reputedly from Prester John. A papal mission sent out to find Prester John disappeared.
 - E. These reports reflected the hopes and fears of Western Europeans. On the one hand, Christians might view this legendary king as the ruler who would bring in the new age after the apocalypse. On the other hand, this new ruler might be viewed as leading the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, the devil’s horsemen, which is eventually how the Mongols were remembered.
 - F. In the 1220s, Europeans hailed the Mongols as the soldiers of Prester John, and Jenghiz Khan was identified with David, the supposed son of Prester John—a perception that soon changed.

III. It is necessary to turn to the Mongols themselves and examine why they proved the greatest conquerors of the steppes and transformed the civilizations of Western Europe, Islam, and China.

- A. Before Jenghiz Khan, the Mongols were minor nomads in eastern Mongolia.
- B. In 1205, Jenghiz Khan (“universal emperor”), born Temujin, united the Mongolian and Turkish tribes who had patrolled the northern frontiers of China. In 1205–1216, Mongol forces overran northern China.
- C. Jenghiz Khan imposed discipline and exploited the tactical greatness of Mongol and Turkish light cavalry. A military genius, he imposed his will on the battlefield and communicated his vision and military discipline to his subordinates.
- D. Jenghiz Khan displayed strategic genius; his first major western campaign in 1220, against the Muslim state of Khorezm in central Asia, ruled by Muhammad Shah, serves as an example.
 - 1. Jenghiz Khan conducted a brilliant campaign that was well over 1,000 miles from his base and, by speed and audacity, outmaneuvered the army of Khorezm.
 - 2. The Mongols also displayed their expertise in siege warfare, capturing the fabled caravan cities of central Asia. They used terror to demoralize foes by ruthlessly sacking cities.
 - 3. By their victories in 1220, the Mongols dominated central Asia. In 1220–1222, the Mongol generals Jebe and Subetei swept through Iran, Transcaucasia, and southern Russia.
- E. Western Europeans hailed these events as the arrival of Prester John, their savior, but these expectations turned to dread when Mongol armies returned to the West after 1237.
 - 1. After the death of Jenghiz Khan in 1227, his third son, Ogatai, was elected as Great Khan. Ogatai assigned domains to the grandsons of Jenghiz Khan. Foremost were the Batu, who ruled the western districts (the later Golden Horde), and Hulagu, Ilkhan of central of Asia, who commanded the Mongol offensive against the heartland of Islam.
 - 2. In 1237–1240, Batu invaded and sacked the cities of Russia, and in early 1241, he smashed and defeated the Polish-German army at Liegnitz and the Hungarian army at Mohacs. Batu withdrew into central Asia on hearing of the death of Great Khan Ogatai.
 - 3. Batu’s invasion struck terror in the Western Europeans, who henceforth viewed the Mongols as “Tartars,” that is, creatures from Tartarus, or the Devil’s horsemen.
- F. In 1256, Hulagu, Ilkhan of Asia, invaded Iran, sacking cities and slaughtering populations on a mass scale, including Alamut, the Assassins’ stronghold.
- G. In 1258, Hulagu captured and sacked Baghdad, massacring the population, destroying the Abbasid caliphate, and subjecting eastern Islam to Mongol rule.
- H. In 1260, Hulagu, just as Batu had done, halted his western campaign so that he could return to the Mongol capital, Karakorum, to participate in the election of a new khan. In 1260, Mongol forces in Syria were decisively defeated at Ain Jalut by the Mamluks, who were hailed as saviors of Islam.

IV. Muslims saw the Mongols as enemies of Islam, but the Western Europeans had mixed perceptions.

- A. Western Europeans initially saw the Mongols as allies. This view generated a series of diplomatic exchanges that revealed Crusader attitudes about the Mongols and the importance of Jerusalem.
- B. In 1244, Khorzemian Turkomen, expelled from central Asia by the Mongols in the 1220s, seized the city of Jerusalem, which had been in Christian hands since 1229. In response, Pope Innocent IV preached the Seventh Crusade.
- C. In 1245–1247, Pope Innocent IV also sent a mission by the Franciscan friar John of Plano Caprini, who approached the Great Khan Kuyuk with offers of alliance. The Great Khan, however, accepted these offers as submission by the Christian kings of the West. Furthermore, the khan showed no interest in conversion but tolerated all faiths in his empire.
- D. In 1248, King Louis IX of France, while on Cyprus, dispatched his own mission to the Mongols, headed by Friar Andrew de Lonjemeau. In 1253, a second mission followed under Flemish Friar William de Rubruquis. The missions revealed the Mongol lack of interest in Jerusalem.
- E. Yet these three missions revealed a new world to the Western Europeans that was far beyond their conceptions. In the later 13th century, some Europeans abandoned their apocalyptic hopes and fears about Mongols and shifted their expectations to potential commerce.

V. Hence, the travels of the Venetian Polo family, who served at the court of Kublai Khan, marked a shift from the spirit of the Crusades to the future European age of discovery.

- A. In 1274–1294, the Venetian brothers Nicolo and Matteo (who had served on an earlier mission to the Mongols), along with Nicolo’s son, the famous Marco Polo, served as agents of Kublai Khan. The Polo missions marked a shift away from religious missions to discovery and commerce.
- B. Marco reported his travels in an account written while he was a prisoner of the Genoese, and his work excited European imagination.
- C. The Mongol conquest and domination of the Eurasian continent opened up contact among Latin Christendom, the Islamic world, and China. For two centuries, trade and technology exchange (such as gunpowder) followed.
- D. It can be argued, therefore, that the European experience with the Mongols (as well as the failure of later Crusades), in part, stood behind the launching of the later European age of discovery.

Readings:

Cahn, Claude, “The Mongols and the Near East.” In *A History of the Crusades*, edited by K. M. Setton, volume II, pp. 715–734.

Slessarev, V. *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What accounted for the appeal of the legendary figure Prester John? Why did Western Christians so readily accept the Mongols as their deliverers from the Muslim foe in the early 13th century? In what ways did the Western Christians misunderstand Mongol policy and objectives?
2. What accounted for Mongol success? How did Jenghiz Khan display genius in his organization, tactics, and strategy? What was the impact of the conquest of Jenghiz Khan on the Muslim world? How did the Mongol invasions alter the military and political situation in the Near East by 1227? How did Muslims respond to the first Mongol invasions?

Lecture Thirty-Five

The Royal Crusaders

Scope: Popes Honorius III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV toiled to forge a coalition of the kings of Christendom to recover Jerusalem after two generations of failure. An impressive array of European nobility led the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) against Ayyubid Egypt, but these nobles were compelled to withdraw. Frederick II led his “Sixth Crusade” (1228–1229) once he married Yolande, the child-heiress of Jerusalem. Well-versed in Arabic letters, he won the admiration of Ayyubid Sultan al-Kamil, who agreed to return Jerusalem. But Crusader nobles led by the Ibelin family resented Hohenstaufen rule and pressed for recovery of the hinterland. Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem were but distant outposts to Frederick, who waged war against the papacy. In 1244, Khwarezmian mercenaries seized Jerusalem and joined the Mamluk army, then annihilated the greatest Christian army raised since Hattin near Gaza. The Seventh Crusade (1246–1254), under St. Louis IX, king of France, met with ignominious defeat in Egypt. St. Louis himself was captured and ransomed at a ruinous sum of 800,000 *livres tournois*. With the departure of St. Louis, the scattered Christian fortresses along the Levantine shore were doomed before the rising Mamluk sultanate.

Outline

- I. The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, often known as *stupor mundi*, the “marvel of the world,” and St. Louis IX of France were two great royal Crusaders of the 13th century.
 - A. Frederick II was a brilliant, cynical, and pragmatic statesman who ruthlessly pursued his own interests. In many ways, he would have been more fitting as an emperor of Constantinople or even a sultan in Cairo, rather than a feudal king of Western Europe.
 - B. Louis, in contrast, was venerated as a saintly king and was canonized soon after his death. Jean de Joinville, writing an account of Louis’s crusades, gives us a picture of a pious monarch who endowed monasteries, supported the church, and deferred to the papacy.
 - C. Frederick failed to lead the Fifth Crusade. He departed on the Sixth Crusade (1228–1229) under a papal bull of excommunication, yet secured the return of the city of Jerusalem under treaty. Louis IX led the grand Seventh and Eighth Crusades; both ended in defeat.
 - D. The failures of both these kings contributed to the abandonment of crusading warfare soon after the Eighth Crusade concluded in 1270.
- II. Frederick II campaigned in Outremer to extend his domains and strengthen the union of his Hohenstaufen Empire with the kingdom of Sicily.
 - A. Frederick, reared at the court of Palermo, was imbued with the political traditions of Norman Sicily. Fluent in several languages (including Arabic), he kept a brilliant court at Luceria, in southern Italy, surrounding himself with Arab savants and a Muslim bodyguard.
 - B. Frederick, whose unconventional opinions outraged many churchmen, repeatedly clashed with the papacy. In 1220, Pope Honorius III crowned Frederick Holy Roman Emperor with the understanding that he would join the Fifth Crusade then besieging Damietta in Egypt.
 - C. At the Lateran Council (1215), Innocent III called for a Fifth Crusade; it was his successor, Honorius III, who preached this Crusade in 1217.
 - 1. The leaders of this crusade had learned strategic lessons from the 12th century. They announced Egypt as the objective and took measures to secure funds, ships, and supplies.
 - 2. In 1217–1218, Crusaders planned to capture the port of Damietta, then advance up the Nile against Cairo.
 - 3. In May of 1218, the Crusaders invaded Egypt but were stalled by a siege of Damietta for 18 months. Emperor Frederick II delayed his departure to Egypt in a ploy to extort papal concessions.
 - 4. John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, and the ever-changing cast of nobles could provide no effective leadership. Cardinal Pelagius, legate of Honorius III, by default, directed the Crusade.
 - 5. During the siege of Damietta, the Crusaders suffered huge losses.

- D. After the capture of Damietta in 1219, the Crusaders suffered from plague, lack of funds, and low morale; many contingents departed, and Emperor Frederick II failed to appear.
- E. In 1220, the Ayyubid sultan, al-Kamil, offered to return Jerusalem and Bethlehem and to pay tribute for his control of the castles in Outrejordain in return for a Crusader withdrawal. The Crusaders rejected his offer as a sign of weakness and advanced on Cairo.
- F. In the summer of 1221, the Crusaders advanced up the Nile from Damietta, but they were halted by fields flooded by the Egyptians. On August 29, 1221, the Crusader nobles and Cardinal Pelagius agreed to evacuate Egypt by September 1221 under generous terms.
- G. Sultan al-Kamil, fearing his kinsmen in Syria, let the Crusader army depart under generous terms, but Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands.
- H. Most Western Europeans blamed the failure on Frederick II, because he never arrived with the imperial army, but the Crusade had also suffered from lack of financing and poor timing.

III. In 1225, Frederick concluded with Pope Honorius III the Treaty of San Germano, pledging to go on crusade by 1227 or to face excommunication.

- A. In 1225, Frederick II married the child heiress of Jerusalem, Yolande-Isabel, becoming titular lord of Outremer.
- B. But Frederick delayed his departure until 1228, after the bull of excommunication took effect.
- C. In 1229, Frederick negotiated the return of Jerusalem from Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil and imposed Hohenstaufen administration on the reluctant lords of Outremer.
- D. He then departed for Italy, leaving an imperial force under Richard Filangieri to administer Outremer. The Cypriot and Palestine nobility opposed Hohenstaufen rule. Down to 1244, the Crusader nobility was divided in loyalty between the imperialists (representing Frederick's heir, Conrad IV) and the Ibelins who championed Luisgnan candidates.
- E. Although Frederick II returned in triumph, with Jerusalem and Bethlehem again in Christian hands, he faced rebel German nobles and the Lombard League, and in 1239, Gregory IX even preached a crusade against Frederick and his successors.

IV. The political clashes raging in Outremer between the imperialists, that is, the supporters of Frederick's son, Conrad IV, and the Ibelins, have been characterized as legalized anarchy.

- A. In 1244, Turkomen mercenaries from Khorezm, who had been ousted from central Asia by the Mongols, seized Jerusalem, then took service with Najam ad-Din, Ayyubid sultan of Egypt.
- B. Najam ad-Din, in the name of *jihad*, invaded the Christian Levant with an army of Mamluks and Turkomen allies. He was opposed by a coalition of Frankish Crusaders and the Ayyubid emirs of Syria.
- C. At La Forbie, on October 17, 1244, the Crusaders and their Ayyubid allies were defeated in a catastrophe comparable to the Battle of Hattin.
- D. Sultan Najam ad-Din imposed his control over the Ayyubid Empire, and the news of the Christian defeat moved Pope Gregory IX to preach the Seventh Crusade (1246–1250) at Lyons.

V. St. Louis IX, king of France, dutifully assumed the cross and launched perhaps the best equipped and well-financed crusade.

- A. He undertook the Seventh Crusade from genuine piety and a sense of honor to remove the humiliation of Louis VII and Philip Augustus.
- B. Ruling by custom and the council of his nobles, he was an ideal king for Outremer. He also had the royal institutions to tax his clergy and subjects to pay for the Crusade.
- C. From Joinville's account, we learn that Louis had solved a number of the problems that plagued the Fifth Crusade, although he, too, pursued the strategy of invading Egypt.
 - 1. In 1249, Louis IX, after careful preparations in Cyprus, invaded Egypt and carried the city of Damietta almost immediately.
 - 2. Louis solved the financial and logistical problems of the Fifth Crusade.
- D. But Louis lacked generalship and could not impose his will on the battlefield or his subordinates, notably his brother, Charles of Anjou.

1. In November 1249, Louis advanced against Cairo, but the Mamluks checked the French with a fortified canal.
2. On February 8, 1250, Louis flanked Mamluk fortifications and crossed the Nile, but his lead column, under Robert of Artois, was pursued recklessly and ambushed in Mansurah. The Mamluks rallied, and Louis gained only a bridgehead across the canal at heavy loss.
3. Louis IX then faced a siege on the bridgehead. In April of 1250, the French army failed in an attempt to break the encirclement, and Louis surrendered himself and his army.
4. The Ayyubid sultan Turan Shah was embarrassed by the number of French prisoners. Joinville reports that many of the wounded were slain by the Mamluks.
5. Louis agreed to a huge ransom of 800,000 *livres tournois*. Once released, Louis ruled as a veritable king of Outremer at Acre from 1250–1254.
6. In 1254, Louis IX had to return to France, although he maintained a French garrison at Acre.

E. In 1268, Louis went on an ill-considered Eighth Crusade in response to Mamluk advances into Palestine, but this Crusade was diverted against Tunis. On August 25, 1270, Louis died, and with his death, unknown to the participants, the crusading venture had passed.

Readings:

Abulafia, David. *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*.

Joinville, Jean de, and Geoffrey de Villehardouin. *Chronicles of the Crusades*. Translated by R. B. Shaw.

Questions to Consider:

1. What led to the failure of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221)? How much blame can be placed on the nature of Crusader armies? Was there a failure of leadership on the part of King John of Brienne and Cardinal Pelagius? How important was the failure of Frederick II to arrive to take command?
2. What were the motives of Frederick II for undertaking the Sixth Crusade? Why did he and Sultan al-Kamil agree so quickly to terms in 1229? How did Frederick's wars in Italy and his policy of imposing imperial authority create political disorder in Outremer? Why did so many nobles in Outremer find Hohenstaufen rule objectionable?

Lecture Thirty-Six

The Passing of the Crusades

Scope: The Mamluk sultans, using Turkomen slave soldiers from southern Russia, overthrew Ayyubid rule in 1250 and restored Muslim arms. The Mamluk general Baybars, architect of the victory over St. Louis, seized the sultanate after his decisive victory over the Mongols at Ain Jalut in 1260. Baybars transformed Cairo into the seat of Sunni Islam by establishing an Abbasid caliph. Baybars, as commander of the faithful, all but eliminated Crusader rule in the Levant with the capture of Antioch (1268). In 1291, the Mamluks stormed into Acre, ending Crusader rule in the Levant. But Mamluk sultans fostered a trade with Venice for specie and commodities of Europe and protected and profited from the pilgrimage trade of Christians. Meanwhile, the Ottoman sultans, heirs of the ghazi warriors of Turkomen legend, drove the Byzantines out of northwestern Anatolia and, in 1356, crossed into Europe. The Ottomans defeated the last European Crusades preached in 1396 and 1447. With the conquest of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet II created the Porte, the new Muslim imperial order in the Balkans and the Middle East.

Outline

- I.** This final lecture addresses two subjects: the destruction of the last Christian bastions of Outremer, climaxing with the siege of Acre in 1291, and the consequences of this triumph of Islam. The events of the 200 years of crusading influenced subsequent developments in the civilizations of Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam. Some of these repercussions are still with us today.
- II.** The Christians of Outremer faced an unequal struggle after the departure of St. Louis IX in 1254.
 - A.** In 1250, the Mamluks overthrew the Ayyubid sultanate at Cairo, and their most talented general, Baybars, seized the sultanate after his defeat of the Mongols at Ain Jalut in 1260.
 - B.** Baybars, a relentless foe of the Crusaders, captured Antioch, prompting the preaching of the Eighth Crusade (1268–1270), which never reached Outremer.
 - C.** Western Europeans realized that Baybars, the architect of Mamluk victory over the Mongols in 1260, would not tolerate the rule of the Christian infidels.
 - D.** The Mamluk sultans inherited the institutions of the Ayyubid caliphate and waged war with ruthless professionalism. The Mamluk sultan, who was chosen by a combination of election and heredity, held supreme authority so that he could press the Crusader cities.
 - E.** Under those circumstances, it is remarkable that no more crusades were preached after 1270. In part, this failure can be explained by the demise of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, but this does not explain why the successors of Louis IX or the nobility of Europe failed to assume the cross.
 - F.** European kings and nobles, who were more concerned with their own realms, were reluctant to mount risky crusades against powerful Muslim foes in Outremer.
 - G.** In 1270–1291, the last Crusader fortresses in the Levant were doomed. Acre, defended heroically by Lusignan King Henry II, fell to the Mamluks on May 8, 1291.
 - H.** Later crusades preached against the Ottoman Turks in support of Constantinople ended in defeat in 1396 and 1447, but these expeditions were never intended to liberate Jerusalem. Hence, after 1291, crusading was over.
- III.** Yet the two centuries of fighting among Muslims, Christians, and Byzantines had profoundly altered the medieval world.
 - A.** For the Muslim world, the success of the Crusades—unbelievers had ruled in the heartland of Islam—had proved a humiliation that led to a redefinition of *jihad*.
 - 1.** Furthermore, Crusader success in establishing kingdoms required Islam to counter with large and more effective political orders to drive these Franks of the coast out of Outremer.
 - 2.** The Muslims had been put on the defensive until 1291 by Christian foes, who faced great difficulties in sustaining overseas expeditions.

3. The resulting wars accelerated or altered changes already in process in the Islamic world. The Crusades influenced the decisive shift in the axis of Islamic power to Cairo and Asia Minor, away from Baghdad, and the eventual creation of the Ottoman Empire.
4. The Crusades also confirmed the supremacy of the Turkish military elites. This development, in turn, raised issues of authority in the Muslim world that were resolved when Ottoman Sultan Selim assumed the caliphate in 1517.
5. Cultural and religious exchange between Muslims and Christians was limited. If anything, the Crusades hardened attitudes among Muslims against the Christians and led to the conversion of the Middle East into a majority Muslim world.

B. For the Byzantine world, the Crusades resulted in the destruction of imperial power by the sack of Constantinople in 1204.

1. But the Crusaders were more receptive to the culture and achievements of the Byzantine world. The expeditions initiated the possibility of transmitting the Hellenic classical tradition from Constantinople to Italy and, ultimately, to Western Europe.
2. The Byzantines had to come to terms with their Orthodox faith and the political power of Constantinople, so that Byzantines, too, had to separate spiritual and secular authority.

C. The Crusades had perhaps the longest lasting impact on Western Europe.

1. The Crusades tested and shaped the great monarchies of Western Europe, especially England and France, in the 12th and 13th centuries.
2. The Western political institutions had come a long way since the First Crusade, when most of the kings ruled their domains from horseback. By the time of the Seventh Crusade, Louis could mount a significant expedition, pay for his ransom, and spend almost five years running Outremer, while his institutions continued to function in France.
3. Ironically, these political institutions were also one of the main reasons why crusades were not launched after 1270. The kings of Europe were the only ones who could mount expeditions to retake Jerusalem, but they were unwilling to risk their kingdoms and remove themselves to Outremer.
4. The Crusades also transformed the Republics of Venice and Genoa into maritime empires that preferred commerce to crusading by 1300.
5. Finally, the Crusades shifted the axis of Christian civilization from Constantinople to Italy, through France and Germany, to London. Europe—as opposed to Christendom—began to take shape.

IV. The development of Europe leads to two final considerations, the first of which is how the Crusades contributed to the definition of Europeans and Christians.

A. Zealous Crusaders were fanatical, as exemplified in the pogroms against Jews in 1096 or the Albigensian Crusade, against supposed heretics in southern France. The Inquisition of 1239–1241 has been viewed as the first step to a new type of persecuting society that characterized early-modern Europe and led to the wars of religion of the 15th through 17th centuries.

B. Some rulers, such as Frederick II or his papal opponents, made cynical use of crusades for their own immediate political aims.

C. Most Western Europeans had to come to terms with the fact that the religious center of the world—Jerusalem—was in Muslim hands. This fact eventually forced a redefinition of the faith in terms of belief, as opposed to place and ritual.

D. In a positive light, the Crusades opened a wider world to the Europeans and fostered a sense of position for Western Christendom within this wider world. The Crusades also promoted trade and contact with other realms, ultimately leading to the age of discovery in the 15th and 16th centuries.

E. The descendants of the Crusaders, who would launch this new wave of European colonization and exploration, owed something to their Christian ancestors, who had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and had fought their way to the holy city. They, too, went out in an age of discovery and conquest.

Readings:

Edbury, P. W. *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*.

Siberry, E. *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Mamluk victory at Ain Jalut (1260) over the Mongols signal the end of Outremer? Why were the Mamluk sultans determined to destroy the remaining Crusader states? How were the Mamluk sultans viewed by the Islamic world?
2. Why did popes, monarchs, and nobles of Western Europe fail to launch new crusades to recover Jerusalem after 1291? How did Venetian and Genoese commercial interests influence decisions on later crusading?

Biographical Notes

Abd al-Rahman I, Emir of Cordoba (r. 756–788). Escaped the murder of the Umayyad princes ordered by Abbasid Caliph as-Saffra and founded the Umayyad emirate in Spain.

Abd al-Rahman III, Caliph of Cordova (r. 912–961). Waged wars against the Christian kingdoms of Spain. In 929, he declared himself caliph.

Abu Bakr, Caliph (r. 632–634). Friend and associate of Muhammad who succeeded as the first of the Rashidun, or “rightly guided caliphs,” after the prophet’s death.

Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy (c. 1050–1098). The papal legate on the First Crusade and friend of Count Raymond IV of Toulouse.

al-Adil, Ayyubid Sultan at Diyarbakr (r. 1195–1200) and in Egypt (r. 1200–1218). The brother of Saladin. He forged the institutions of Ayyubid Egypt.

Agnes of Courtney (c. 1135–1186). The daughter of Count Joscelin II of Edessa (r. 1131–1150). In 1160, she married the future King Amalric I of Jerusalem and gave birth to the future Queen Sybilla and Baldwin IV, the “leper king.” Agnes, unpopular with the nobility of Outremer, was divorced in 1167 so that Amalric I could marry Maria Comnena. Agnes intrigued against Maria Comnena after 1174 and Count Raymond III of Tripoli. She secured the succession of her daughter, Sibylla, and Guy of Lusignan in 1185.

Alexander III, Pope (r. 1159–1181). An adroit diplomat who wove the alliance of the Lombard League, the Normans, and the Welf nobility of Germany against the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa.

Alexius I Comenus, Byzantine emperor (r. 1081–1118). Domestic of the East, Alexius seized power and established the last effective dynasty of the Middle Byzantine state. He restored finances, cemented relations with Venice, and regained important lands lost in western Asia Minor by the efforts of the First Crusade.

Alexius II, Byzantine emperor (r. 1180–1183). Son of Manuel I who succeeded under the regency of his mother, Maria of Antioch. He was deposed and murdered by his cousin Andronicus II (r. 1183–1185).

Alexius III, Byzantine emperor (r. 1195–1203). This Angelan emperor deposed his brother Isaac II and failed to halt imperial decline. He fled Constantinople after the initial attack by the Fourth Crusade.

Alexius IV, Byzantine emperor (r. 1203–1204). Son of Isaac II, this Angelan prince invited the Fourth Crusade to restore him to his throne. He, along with his father, was deposed and murdered by Alexius V Ducas (1204), who faced the final Crusader attack.

Alexius I Comnenus, Emperor of Trebizond (r. 1204–1222). A scion of the imperial family, he rebelled against the Latin emperor in Constantinople and founded a successful splinter empire in northeastern Asia Minor.

Alfonso VI, King of Castile (r. 1072–1109). Drove the Moors out of central Spain and captured the city of Toledo. Later chroniclers saw his reign as marking the start of the Reconquista.

Ali, Caliph (r. 656–661). The fourth of the Rashidun, or “rightly guided caliphs.” The cousin of the prophet Muhammad, Ali married the prophet’s only daughter, Fatima (606–632). Ali was twice passed over for the caliphate. As caliph in 656, he faced opposition from Muawiya in the first Muslim civil war. Ali was slain by sectarian extremists, and in later Shi’ite theology, he was elevated to prophetic status almost on par with Muhammad.

Alp Arslan. Second sultan of the Seljuk Turks (1063–1072), this nephew of Tughril Bey defeated Romanus IV at Manzikert (1071) and opened Anatolia to Turkish settlement.

Amalric I, King of Jerusalem (r. 1163–1174). The second son of King Fulk (r. 1131–1137) and Queen Melisende; pursued an aggressive policy to master Fatimid Egypt.

Amalric II, King of Jerusalem (r. 1197–1205), and as Amalric I, King of Cyprus (r. 1194–1197). Brother of King Guy, Amalric succeeded the Lusignan realm in Cyprus. In 1197, he married Isabelle, daughter of Amalric I and Maria Comnena, and reigned Jerusalem jointly with his wife.

Andrew Longjemeau. Franciscan friar who was sent as an emissary from King St. Louis IX to the Mongol court in 1248–1249.

Andronicus I, Byzantine emperor (r. 1183–1185). Fourth son of Manuel I (born 1123) and adventurer in the borderlands of Asia Minor. In 1182, he exploited the anti-Latin riots in Constantinople to seize the throne. He was overthrown in a riot after the Norman capture and sack of Thessalonica in 1185.

Andronicus II, Emperor (1282–1326). The second Palaeologan emperor and a devout Orthodox ruler, he hired the Catalan Company to regain northwestern Asia Minor from the Ottomans. The Catalans, short on pay, revolted, besieged Constantinople, and occupied central Greece (1302–1311). This failure marked the demise of Byzantine power.

Augustine, Saint and Bishop of Hippo Regius (354–430). Brilliant intellect whose prolific writing defined the theology and institutions of medieval Latin Christianity. He defined the concept of the *just war*.

Baldwin I. Younger brother of Godfrey of Bouillon and first king of Jerusalem (r. 1100–1118), he was an inspired leader of the First Crusade. Baldwin carved out the county of Edessa (1098) before he was summoned to be king of Jerusalem.

Baldwin II. The second king of Jerusalem (r. 1118–1131) and nephew of Baldwin I, he was first count of Edessa. He built the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem.

Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem (r. 1143–1163). Son of Queen Melisende and King Fulk, he was long under the regency. He captured Ascalon in 1153 and sought a Byzantine alliance by marrying Theodora Comnena, niece of Manuel I. He dedicated the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1149.

Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem (1174–1185). He succeeded as a minor on the death of his father, Amalric I. Known as the “leper king,” he proved a talented ruler, but his untimely death signaled a succession crisis in the Crusader East.

Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (r. 1184–1186). Sickly young son of Queen Sibylla and William Longsword; succeeded his uncle Baldwin IV. His death precipitated a succession crisis.

Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders (r. 1195–1205). See **Baldwin I**, Latin emperor.

Baldwin I, Latin emperor (r. 1204–1205). A prominent leader of the Fourth Crusade, he was elected the first Latin or Crusader emperor in Constantinople. He was defeated and captured by the Bulgarians outside of Adrianople.

Balin II of Ibelin (1176–1193), Lord of Ramleh (r. 1189–1193). He was the second husband to Maria Comnena, the widow of King Amalric I and, thus, opposed King Guy Lusignan.

Basil I, “the Macedonian,” Byzantine emperor (r. 867–886). Of humble origin, Basil seized power in a court plot. Founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil conducted wars of reconquest and initiated the cultural renaissance of the Middle Byzantine state.

Basil II, “Bulgar-slayer,” Byzantine emperor (r. 976–1025). He ascended the throne as a minor in 963, and after 976, he ruled in his own right. His reign was the zenith of the Middle Byzantine state. Basil II broke the power of the eastern military families, legislated on behalf of the poor and soldiers, conquered Bulgaria, and established diplomatic relations with Fatimid Egypt.

Batu, Khan of the Golden Horde (r. 1227–1255). Grandson of Jenghiz Khan, he ruled the western Mongol domains. He subdued the Russian principalities in 1237–1241, and his victories at Leignitz and Mohacs terrified Western Europeans.

Baybars, Mamluk Sultan (r. 1260–1277). Ruthless general who distinguished himself in defeating the Fifth and Seventh Crusades. The architect of the victory over the Mongols at Ain Jalut (1260), he seized the sultanate after the battle. Baybars relentlessly waged war against the Crusaders.

Bernard, Saint and Abbot of Clairvaux (1091–1153). Leading theologian of the Cisterian monastic order, he preached the Second Crusade.

Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch (r. 1098–1111). Bohemond (c. 1056–1111) was the son of Robert Guiscard and count of Taranto. He proved the most able general of the First Crusade. In 1098, Bohemond kept the city of Antioch and ruled thereafter as prince.

Bohemond II, Prince of Antioch (r. 1126–1130). Son of Bohemond II who succeeded to the principality as an infant in 1111. A string of regents administered Antioch until Bohemond arrived in Outremer to assume his inheritance. His death plunged the principality into a series of succession crises until 1163.

Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch (r. 1163–1201). Son of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance, he succeeded to the county of Tripoli on the death of Count Raymond III (r. 1152–1187).

Bohemond IV, Prince of Antioch (r. 1201–1233). Son of Bohemond III, he faced repeated challenges from his nephew Raymond Roupen (r. 1216–1219) and the Cilician Armenians.

Bohemond V, Prince of Antioch (r. 1233–1251). Son of Bohemond IV, he maintained the principality by allying with the Cilician Armenians and courting Mongol aid.

Bohemond VI, Prince of Antioch (r. 1251–1268). Son of Baldwin V, he lost Antioch to Mamluk Sultan Baybars but ruled as count of Tripoli until 1287. His son, Bohemond VII, was titular prince of Antioch and participated in the final defense of Acre.

Boniface III, Marquis of Montferrat (r. 1192–1205). Leader of the Fourth Crusade, he carved out the feudal kingdom of Thessalonica (r. 1205–1207) in northern Greece.

Charlemagne, “Charles the Great,” King of the Franks (r. 768–814). This Carolingian ruler was crowned Roman emperor in 800 and founded the Holy Roman Empire. He built the first effective state in Western Europe since the collapse of Roman power.

Charles the Bald, King of France (r. 842–875). Son of Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), he succeeded to the Western domains of the Carolingian Empire.

Charles, Duke of Anjou (r. 1246–1266). Accompanied his brother, King St. Louis IX, on the Seventh Crusade (1246–1250). With papal blessing, he was declared the title king of Sicily (1266–1285) after defeating his Hohenstaufen rival, Manfred, at Benevento. In 1267, he accepted the homage of the Franks of Greece, but he was prevented from attacking Byzantium by the rebellion known as the Sicilian Vespers in 1282.

Charles Martel, “the Hammer.” Carolingian major domo (r. 719–741), he defeated the Muslims at the Battle of Tours (732).

Cinnamus, John (1145–1190). Byzantine historian; wrote an account of the reigns of John II and Manuel I after the style and method of the classical historians Herodotus and Xenophon.

Clement III, Pope (r. 1187–1191). Preached the Third Crusade (1187–1189) and authorized monarchs to exact tithes and taxes from the clergy to support the Crusade.

Clovis, King of the Franks (481–511). This Merovingian ruler converted from paganism to Catholic Christianity. He forged the Frankish kingdom, destined to reunite the Christian West.

Conrad III, King of Germany (r. 1138–1152). Conrad led the German contingents of the Second Crusade that met with disaster at the hands of the Seljuk Turks near Dorylaeum. He concluded a marriage alliance with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I.

Conrad Montferrat, Lord of Tyre (r. 1187–1192). The son of William IV, “the Old,” Marquis of Montferrat (r. 1135–1188). Conrad defended Tyre against Saladin and was accepted as king of Jerusalem by the nobility of Outremer. In 1190, he married Isabelle. He was to inherit the royal title from King Guy Lusignan upon the latter’s death, but Conrad was struck down by Assassins in 1192.

Constance, Princess of Antioch. Daughter of Bohemond II and Alice (daughter of King Baldwin II), twice ruled as regent in tandem with her two husbands, Raymond of Poitiers (r. 1136–1149) and Reynald de Châtillon (r. 1153–1163).

Constantine I, “the Great,” Roman emperor (r. 306–337). Son of Constantius I, Augustus in the West (r. 305–306), he was declared emperor by the Western army and reunited the Roman Empire in 324. At the Milvian Bridge (312),

he converted to Christianity. He summoned the First Ecumenical Council (325) and built a new Christian capital at Constantinople (330).

Constantine VIII, Byzantine emperor (r. 1025–1028). He succeeded his distinguished older brother, Basil II. Constantine failed to secure the positions of his daughters Zoe and Theodora, which prompted a dynastic crisis after his death.

Constantine IX Monomachus, Byzantine emperor (r. 1042–1055). Third husband of the empress Zoe, he patronized arts but neglected affairs of state. His debasement of the currency and military cutbacks were responsible for later imperial defeats at the hands of the Seljuk Turks.

Constantine X Ducas, Byzantine emperor (r. 1059–1067). Candidate of the civil aristocracy, he proved unequal to the task of reforming government and confronting the Seljuk Turks. With his death, the Eastern aristocrats compelled his widow, Eudocia, to marry the general Romanus IV Diogenes.

Cosmas Indicopleustes (fl. c. 525–550). A native of Alexandria, he visited the lands around the Indian Ocean. In his *Christian Topography*, he reconciled geography with biblical testimony, proposing a geocentric universe with Jerusalem at the center of a flat Earth.

Dandolo, Enrico, Doge of Venice (r. 1192–1205). He led the Venetian fleet during the Fourth Crusade and ensured Venetian naval domination in the eastern Mediterranean after 1204. He died at Constantinople and is buried in Hagia Sophia.

Duquq, Turkish Emir of Aleppo (r. 1095–1104). The son of Tutush and rival of his brother Ridvan of Damascus. He failed to raise the Crusader siege of Antioch in 1097.

Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine (c. 1122–1204). On the death of her father, William X, in 1137, she reigned as duchess of Aquitaine. She married Louis VII. She was estranged from her husband on the Second Crusade and divorced Louis in 1152; she immediately married Henry Plantagenet, who succeeded as Henry II of England (r. 1154–1189). Eleanor was the mother of Kings Richard I Lion-hearted and John.

Eugenius III, Pope (r. 1145–1153). Preached Second Crusade and extended indulgences to crusading operations in Spain and the Baltic lands. In 1145, he also received an appeal from Prester John, an alleged Christian king of central Asia.

Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor (1154–1189). This Hohenstaufen emperor was regarded as a brilliant general and led the German contingent of the Third Crusade. His drowning in the river Calycadnus (modern Göksuyu) led to the breakup of the German Crusade.

Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1215–1250). Son of Henry VI (r. 1191–1197) and the Norman princess Constance (1152–1198). He was nicknamed *stupor mundi* (“marvel of the world”). He succeeded to the Norman kingdom upon the Regno, upon the death of Constance. He succeeded as king of Germany in 1215 and was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1220. He failed to join the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). In 1225, he married Yolanda-Isabel, heiress to the throne of Jerusalem. While under excommunication, he led the Sixth Crusade (1228–1229) and received back the holy cities under treaty, but his autocratic manner drove the Crusader nobility into rebellion. He spent his last two decades battling the papacy, Lombard communes, and rebels in Germany.

Fulk V of Anjou, King of Jerusalem (r. 1131–1143). A leading vassal of France who married Melisende, daughter of Baldwin II, in 1129. The couple succeeded as rulers after the death of Baldwin II.

Geoffrey IV Plantagenet, Count of Anjou (r. 1129–1149). The son of Fulk, king of Jerusalem. Geoffrey married Matilda, the empress (1102–1167), daughter of King Henry I of England (r. 1100–1135). Their son, Henry II, succeeded to the throne of England and to the Norman and Angevin domains in France.

Geoffrey de Villehardouin (1150–1218). Historian and participant in the Fourth Crusade. He negotiated the Treaty of Venice and wrote a detailed account of the Fourth Crusade.

Geoffrey de Villehardouin I, Prince of Achaea (r. 1209–1229). The nephew and namesake of the historian. He succeeded his comrade William de Champlite and organized the feudal order of the Frankish Peloponnesus.

Godfrey of Bouillon (r. 1088–1100). A brave warrior, he was a senior Frankish prince of the First Crusade. He briefly ruled at Jerusalem as *advocatus* of the Holy Sepulcher (1099–1100).

Gregory VII, Pope (r. 1073–1085). Born Hildebrand, he was the irascible proponent of papal supremacy and clashed with Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (r. 1057–1106) in the Investiture Controversy.

Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem (1186–1192). Second husband of Queen Sibylla, daughter of King Amalric I, he was regarded as an adventurer by the nobility of Outremer. He was responsible for the disastrous defeat of the Crusader army at Hattin (1187) at the hands of the sultan Saladin.

Harold II Godwinson, King of England (r. 1066). Last Anglo-Saxon king, who seized the throne on the death of Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–1066). He was defeated and slain at the Battle of Hastings, October 14, 1066.

Harun ar-Raschid, Abbasid Caliph (r. 786–809). He was celebrated for his patronage of letters and arts. He concluded a treaty with Charlemagne guaranteeing the safety of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, but with his death, the caliphate fragmented.

Henry I, King of England (r. 1100–1154). The third son of William the Conqueror, he defeated the efforts of his brother Robert Curthose to reclaim Normandy (1106). His heir, William Clito, drowned when the White Ship sank in 1120, and a succession crisis ensued.

Henry II Plantagenet, King of England (r. 1154–1189). The greatest monarch in Christendom in the 12th century and supporter of Outremer. Henry (born 1133) was the son of Duke Geoffrey IV and Matilda, daughter of King Henry I of England. As duke of Anjou and Normandy, he married Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152. In 1154, he succeeded as king of England. A savvy diplomat and indomitable warrior, he bullied his liege lord, King Louis VII. A brilliant legalist, he developed the common law.

Henry I, “the Fowler,” King of Germany (r. 919–936). Duke of Saxony, Henry was elected king of Germany by the great dukes on the death of the last Carolingian monarch and, thus, established the line of Saxon kings.

Henry IV, King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1056–1106). Son of Henry III, he was long under the regency of his mother, Agnes of Poitou. From 1075, he clashed with Pope Gregory VII over the Investiture Controversy.

Henry V, King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1106–1125). Settled the Investiture Controversy with Pope Callixtus II (r. 1119–1124) at the Concordat of Worms in 1122.

Henry VI, King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1190–1197). Son of Frederick I, he married Constance (1152–1198), aunt and heiress of Norman King William II (r. 1166–1189). From 1194, he prepared to go on Crusade, but he died before he could depart with the main forces in 1197.

Henry I of Champagne, King of Jerusalem (r. 1194–1197). The third husband of Queen Isabelle, he pressed Emperor Henry VI to lead a crusade. He suffered an ignominious death at Jaffa.

Henry II, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus (r. 1285–1324). Headed the defense of Acre in 1291. Thereafter, he ruled as a Cypriot dynast.

Henry, Latin emperor (r. 1205–1216). Brother of Baldwin I. He arrived at Constantinople with reinforcements from Europe. He checked Bulgarian Tsar Kalojan but ceded the ports on the Asian shores of the Sea of Marmora to the Nicene emperor Theodore I.

Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony (r. 1139–1180) and Bavaria (r. 1156–1180). Born in 1129, he led the Baltic Crusade against the Wends in 1147–1148. In 1168, he married Matilda, daughter of Henry II. He opposed Frederick I after 1175 and was stripped of his lands in 1180. He was twice exiled, in 1182 and 1189, and restored by Henry VI in 1190; died in 1195.

Hugh of Vermandois (born c. 1055). Younger brother of King Philip I (1060–1108) of France, he represented the French monarchy on the First Crusade and again during the Crusade of 1101.

Hulagu, Ilkhan of central Asia (r. 1256–1263). Grandson of Jenghiz Khan who conquered the lands of eastern Islam. He destroyed Alamut, seat of the Assassins, and Baghdad, capital of the Abbasid caliphate.

Humphrey IV, Count of Toron (r. 1179–1198). The ineffectual first husband of Isabelle (daughter of King Amalric I), who failed to oppose Queen Sibylla and Guy Lusignan.

Ilghazi, Artuqid Emir of Mardin (r. 1104–1122). He annihilated the Norman army at *ager sanguinis* (the “field of blood”) in 1119 but failed to capitalize on the victory.

Innocent III, Pope (r. 1198–1216). Among the greatest of medieval popes, he sought to keep the Fourth Crusade on the path to Jerusalem. A brilliant canon lawyer, he summoned the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215–1216.

Innocent IV, Pope (r. 1243–1254). Vigorously prosecuted the crusade against Frederick II and his son and successor, Conrad IV (1250–1254). The conflict distracted the papacy and Holy Roman Empire from supporting Outremer.

Irene (born Piriska of Hungary), Byzantine empress (died 1134). She was the wife of John II (r. 1118–1143) and ordered the rebuilding of the Church of the Pantocrator in 1120–1124.

Isaac I Comnenus, Emperor (1057–1059). He was proclaimed by the eastern army, but when he failed to reform the corrupt bureaucracy, he retired to monastic life.

Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195). This first Angelan emperor, he lost Bulgaria (1186) and nearly lost his throne to Frederick I Barbarossa and the Third Crusade. He was deposed and blinded by his brother Alexius III, then briefly restored with his son by the Fourth Crusade in 1203–1204.

Isaac Comnenus, usurper in Cyprus (r. 1184–1191). Revolted from Andronicus I and ruled as a “tyrant” over the island. He foolishly angered Richard the Lion-hearted, who swiftly defeated and captured Isaac in 1191, then sold the island to the Hospitallers.

Isabelle, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1192–1205). The daughter of King Amalric I and Maria Comnena. She married Count Humphrey of Toron (r. 1179–1198) first. In 1190, she was divorced and remarried to Conrad Montferrat, lord of Tyre (1187–1192). The couple was to succeed King Guy, but Conrad was murdered by Assassins in 1192. Isabelle was then married to Henry of Champagne (r. 1192–1197) and, later, Amalric II Lusignan (r. 1192–1205).

Jean de Joinville (1224–1317). Descended from a noble crusading family. He participated on both the Seventh and Eighth Crusades, penning a perceptive biography of St. Louis IX, king of France. His account of the Seventh Crusade is rich with details.

Jenghiz Khan (r. 1193–1227). Born Temujin in 1167, he succeeded to the khanate of the Mongols in 1193. In 1205, upon uniting the Mongolian tribes, he was acclaimed Jenghiz Khan, “universal lord.” One of the greatest of conquerors, he overran northern China in 1205–1209 and imposed his hegemony over the Turkomen tribes of central Asia. He overthrew the Empire of Khorzem in 1218–1223 and opened the lands of eastern Islam to Mongol conquest.

John I Tzimisces, Byzantine emperor (r. 969–976). Nephew and assassin of Nicephorus II, he seized the throne as the second regent emperor of Basil II and Constantine VIII. He campaigned deep into Syria (974–975).

John II Comnenus, Byzantine emperor (r. 1118–1143). Son of Alexius I, this able emperor imposed his authority over the Crusader princes of Antioch.

John III Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea (r. 1222–1254). The son-in-law of Emperor Theodore I Lascaris. A gifted administrator, he defeated Turkomen raiders and exploited divisions in the Balkans to conquer Thessalonica and northern Greece in 1246.

John, King of England (r. 1199–1216). John intrigued against Richard while Richard was on Crusade and held in captivity in 1192–1194. As king, he lost Normandy to King Philip II in 1204. His policy of supporting his nephew Otto IV to the imperial throne ended in the defeat at Bouvines (1214).

John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem (r. 1210–1225). A penniless knight from Champagne, he married Queen Maria of Jerusalem in 1210. Widowed in 1212, he ruled only as regent for his infant daughter, Yolanda-Isabel. He proved an indifferent leader on the Fifth Crusade, and in 1225, he married his daughter to the emperor Frederick II. Because John was deprived of real power, he took service under Pope Gregory IX against Frederick in Italy. He ended his career as regent Latin emperor in Constantinople (r. 1231–1237).

John of Ibelin I, Lord of Beirut (r. 1198–1236). The son of Queen Maria Comnena and Balian of Ibelin. Statesman and jurist, he was a leading noble of Outremer, serving as constable (1194–1205) and *bailie* (1205–1210) of

Jerusalem. John opposed Hohenstaufen rule, and as *bailee* of Cyprus (1227–1236), he expelled imperialist forces from the island. As mayor of Acre (1232–1236), he opposed Richard Filangeri at Tyre.

John of Plano Caprini. Franciscan friar commissioned by Pope Innocent IV to head the first mission to the Mongols in 1245–1247. He penned an account of his extraordinary journey.

Joscelin I of Courtney, Count of Edessa (r. 1118–1131). The cousin of Baldwin Le Bourg, he succeeded as count when the latter was acclaimed king of Jerusalem. He waged war relentlessly against the Turkomen of the al-Jazirah.

Joscelin II, Count of Edessa (r. 1131–1150). Son of Joscelin I and a reckless and proud count. The loss of Edessa, in 1144 and 1146, reduced him to an adventurer. In 1150, he was captured and blinded by Nur-ad-Din and died in captivity in 1159.

al-Kamil, Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt (r. 1218–1238). Son of al-Adil, he defeated the Fifth Crusade. He campaigned to bring to heel the Ayyubid princes of Syria. To this end, he signed a treaty with Frederick II in 1229 restoring the cities to Christian control.

Kay-Khusraw II, Sultan of Rum (r. 1237–1246). Presided over the birth of the Turkish Muslim civilization based at Konya. He was defeated by the Mongols in the Battle of Kose Dag (1243).

Kerbogha, Turkish emir of Mosul (r. 1095–1102). Led the third relief expedition to raise the Crusader siege of Antioch. He was decisively defeated before Antioch on June 28, 1098.

Kilij Arslan I, Sultan of Rum (r. 1092–1107). He brought to heel the *ghazi* of Asia Minor but suffered defeats in 1097–1098 that undermined his authority over the Turkomen of the Anatolian plateau.

Kilij Arslan II, Sultan of Rum (r. 1156–1192). Restored the power of Konya. With his victory over Manuel I at Myriokephalon (1176), Kilij Arslan secured eastern Anatolia.

Kublai Khan, Great Khan of the Mongols (r. 1260–1294). Grandson of Jenghiz Khan, Kublai Khan was born in 1216. In 1252–1279, he conquered China, founding his capital on the site of what is now Beijing. A convert to Buddhism, he ruled as Chinese emperor and founded the Yuan dynasty. Host to Marco Polo, Kublai Khan employed the Venetian visitor as his secretary and emissary.

Leo IX, Pope (r. 1048–1054). Native of Lorraine and kinsman of Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II, he reformed the church in Italy but failed to contain the Normans. He was defeated at Civitate (1053) and died a prisoner of Robert Guiscard. His legates in Constantinople delivered the papal bull of excommunication that led to the Great Schism.

Leopold V, Duke of Austria (r. 1156–1198). A loyal vassal of the Hohenstaufen family, he clashed with Richard I at Acre in 1191. In 1192, he captured Richard and sold his captive to Emperor Henry VI, who held Richard in the Trifels for ransom in violation of crusading privileges.

Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona (r. 961–972). He was emissary from Otto I to the Byzantine court in 952, and again in 968–969 to arrange the marriage between Theophano and Otto II. He penned an acerbic account of his second mission.

Lothar, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 840–855). Eldest son of Louis the Pious (r. 814–840). At the Treaty of Verdun, he succeeded to the Middle Kingdom and imperial crown.

Louis the Pious, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 814–840). Son of Charlemagne who faced civil wars initiated by his sons and raids by Vikings, Hungarians, and Moors based in Spain. His reign witnessed the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire.

Louis VII, King of France (r. 1137–1180). First husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122–1204), he led the French contingent on the Second Crusade. His army suffered losses during the march over Asia Minor, and he failed to capture Damascus.

Louis the German, King of Germany (r. 840–876). Son of Louis the Pious, he succeeded to the east Frankish kingdom, or Germany.

al-Mahdi, Fatimid Caliph (r. 909–934). Emerged as the “hidden iman,” descended from Fatima, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, and overran the Maghreb and Sicily.

al-Mansur, Abbasid Caliph (r. 754–775). Founded Baghdad as the new Muslim capital in 762.

Manuel I Comnenus, Byzantine emperor (r. 1143–1180). Grandson of Alexius I, he sought marriage alliances with the Western European and Crusader monarchs and favored Westerners at his court. His defeat by the Seljuk Turks at Myriokephalon ended the Comnenian revival.

Maria of Antioch, Empress (r. 1161–1182). Daughter of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance, she was the second wife of Manuel I and mother of Alexius II (r. 1180–1183). An unpopular regent, she was overthrown and murdered by Androicus II.

Maria Comnena, Queen of Jerusalem (died 1219). A grand-niece of Manuel, she was the second wife of King Amalric I and, thus, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1167–1174). After Amalric's death, she married Balian II of Ibeln, lord of Ramleh (1176–1193). She advanced the interests of her daughter, Isabelle.

Maria Montferrat, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1205–1212). Daughter of Conrad Montferrat and Queen Isabelle, she was heiress of the kingdom. In 1210, she married John of Brienne and died soon after giving birth to Yolanda-Isabel.

Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem (died 1161). Daughter of Baldwin II, she married Fulk of Anjou in 1129. She ruled jointly with her husband and as regent for her son, Baldwin III. Melisende gained a notorious reputation, and her son removed her from power in 1151 after the fiasco of the Second Crusade.

Mevlana, born as **Jalal ud-din Rumi** (1207–1273). This Persian poet founded the Mevlevi mystical order of Sufism whose members, “the dervishers,” converted Anatolia to Islam.

Michael IV, Byzantine emperor (r. 1034–1041). Second husband of the empress Zoe, he was an epileptic of humble origins and manipulated by his brother, John Orphanotropheus, the corrupt senior minister. His reign marked a worsening of the political fortunes of the Byzantine Empire. He prevailed on his wife, Zoe, to adopt his nephew, Michael V (r. 1041–1042), as their successor, but this ruler proved unpopular and was overthrown.

Michael VI, Byzantine emperor (r. 1056–1057). A senior court official, he was adopted as heir by the empress Theodora, last member of the Macedonian house. He alienated the eastern army and was deposed by the first military emperor, Isaac I Comnenus.

Michael VII Ducas, Byzantine emperor (r. 1072–1078). Son of Constantine X and protégé of the historian Michael Psellus, he proved incompetent in dealing with the Turkish migrations after 1071. He was overthrown in a military coup.

Michael VIII Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor (r. 1258–1282). Nicene general, he usurped the throne and reoccupied Constantinople in 1261. He courted Western aid by adopting Catholicism at the Council of Lyons (1274), and he restored imperial rule in northern Greece.

Michael Angelus, Despot of Epirus (r. 1204–1215). Rallied imperial forces in the Balkans at Arta and founded a splinter empire.

Michael I Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1043–1058). A strong-willed defender of Orthodoxy, he provoked the Great Schism with the Western church in 1054.

Morosini, Thomas, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1205–1211). Appointed Venetians to the sees and abbeys of the former Byzantine Empire. His rapacious manner and devotion to the Latin rite alienated Greek Orthodox Byzantines.

Muawiya, Caliph (661–689). The general of the Syrian army and father of the Arabic navy, he refused to accept Ali, cousin of Muhammad, as fourth caliph, because Ali was implicated in the murder of Caliph Uthman (644–656). Muawiya triumphed over the forces of Ali and so founded the first hereditary Umayyad caliphate at Damascus.

Muhammad (570–632). The prophet of God (Allah), he called for the cleansing of the religion of Abraham and founded Islam. His revelations, the direct, uncreated word of God, were collected into the Koran. Driven from his native Mecca in 622, Muhammad created a *umma* (“community of believers”) at Medina that defeated the Meccans. At his death, Muhammad had united all Arabia under Islam.

Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969). This Anatolian general married the empress Theophano, widow of Romanus II (957–963), and assumed the regency for the brothers Basil II and Constantine VIII. Nicephorus warred against the Arabs and clashed with Otto I in Italy.

Nicetas Choniates (died c. 1215). Byzantine historian and participant in the events of 1203–1204, he wrote an account of the reigns of the successors of Manuel I. He opposed Emperor Alexius V. Nicetas also penned a tract on the destruction of the antique statues by the Crusaders in 1204.

Nur-ad-Din, Sultan of Aleppo (1148–1174). He united Muslim Syria and threatened to sweep the Crusaders out of the Levant. He died en route to battle his rebellious general Saladin, who had conquered Egypt.

Odilio, Saint, Abbot of Cluny (r. 999–1048). Odilio was a respected abbot who extended the influence of Cluny across Europe, including at the College of Cardinals at Rome.

Odo de Deuil (died 1162). Chaplain of Louis VII, he wrote a virulently anti-Byzantine eyewitness account of the expedition of Louis VII to Antioch during the Second Crusade (1147–1148).

Odo, Saint, Abbot of Cluny (r. 927–983). Made Cluny an international center of Christian piety, reforming numerous other monasteries and founding daughter institutions.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1036–1097). Half-brother of William the Conqueror, engaged in politics and war, accompanying Robert Curthose on the First Crusade. He commissioned the Bayeux Tapestry, depicting the Norman Conquest of England (1066–1076).

Ogatai, Great Khan (r. 1229–1241). Third son of Jenghiz Khan, who succeeded his father in 1227, although the election by the Mongol assembly was delayed. He partitioned the empire among his nephews and sons and directed his efforts against Sung China.

Othon de La Roche, Duke of Athens (r. 1205–1225). A Burgundian noble who participated in the Fourth Crusade and carved out a feudal principality in central Greece.

Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 936–973). Duke of Saxony and son of Henry the Fowler, Otto was elected king of Germany. In 950, he married Adelaide, titular queen of Carolingian Italy. In 962, he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor, and he restored papal prestige and imperial domains in Italy.

Otto II, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 973–983). Son of Otto I, campaigned to extend his sway over Lorraine, France, and Italy. Because he had married the Byzantine princess Theophano in 972, he laid claim to Byzantine Italy, but he was decisively defeated by an Arab army at Cortone in southern Italy in 982.

Otto III, Holy Roman Emperor (983–1002). Son of Otto II and Theophano, supported missions to the Slavic peoples and resided at Rome in 998–1002, working in tandem with the papacy to create an *Imperium Christianum*, or universal Christian empire.

Otto IV of Brunswick, King of Germany (r. 1198–1205). Son of Henry the Lion and Matilda, daughter of King Henry II of England. Backed by King John and Pope Innocent III, Otto headed the Welf opposition against Philip of Swabia. He was defeated at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 and died in exile in 1215.

Otto of Freising, chronicler (1110–1158). A nephew of the emperor Frederick I. His chronicle provides a detailed narrative of the German expedition of the Second Crusade and early Italian wars of Frederick I. He reported the first letter of Prester John.

Paschal II, Pope (r. 1099–1118). Preached the Crusade of 1101. He was pressured by Bohemond to sanction the Norman invasion of Greece (1106–1108) as a Crusade.

Pelagius, Bishop of Albano and Cardinal (r. 1213–1230). The papal legate on the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). He directed the Crusade as a result of the absence of Frederick II and the uninspired leadership of John of Brienne.

Pepin the Short, major domo (r. 741–751), King of the Franks (r. 751–768). He legitimized his seizure of the throne by securing a coronation from Pope Stephen II in 754. In return, Pepin defeated the Lombards and endowed the papacy with the lands of the former Byzantine exarchate in central Italy in 756. This “Donation of Pepin” became the basis of the Papal States.

Peter I, King of Cyprus-Jerusalem (r. 1359–1369). In 1365, this Lusignan king raided and sacked Alexandria, to the anger of the Venetians, in the name of crusade. His expensive policies alienated his nobility and led to his assassination.

Peter (Pedro) II, King of Aragon (r. 1196–1213). Decisively defeated the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The victory led to the collapse of Muslim power in Spain.

Peter Bartholomew (died 1099). A Provençal pilgrim who found the Holy Lance of Antioch based on instructions he received from Christ in a dream. The lance was carried as a talisman into battle on June 28, 1098. Peter, charged with fraud, failed the ordeal of fire and died of his wounds.

Peter the Hermit (c. 1050–1115) and **Walter the Penniless** (c. 1050–1097). An itinerant hermit and knight who led the first wave of humble Crusaders known as the People's Crusade (1096–1097).

Philip II Augustus, King of France (r. 1180–1223). The son of Louis VII, he vied with Richard I of England for control of the Third Crusade. He departed for home in 1091 to conspire with John, brother of Richard, to undermine the Angevin realm.

Philip of Swabia, Hohenstaufen King of Germany (r. 1198–1208). Succeeded his brother, Henry VI, as king of Germany. He was married to Irene, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II, and was the brother-in-law of Alexius IV.

Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (r. 858–867; 876–886). Photius revived serious study of Plato and clashed with Pope Nicholas I in the so-called Photian Schism (869–870).

Polo, Marco (died 1324). The Venetian traveler who accompanied his uncle, Matteo Polo, and father, Nicolo Polo, on their return to the Mongol court at Karakorum in 1274. While a prisoner in a Genoese dungeon in 1298–1299, Marco dictated his account of his 20 years in East Asia (1274–1294) as secretary of Kublai Khan.

Prester John. “Priest John” was a legendary Christian king in inner Asia, probably inspired by garbled reports about Yeliln Tashi, Nestorian ruler of the Kara Khitai, who defeated the Seljuk Turks in 1141. Jenghiz Khan was later hailed as Prester John or his descendant David.

Psellus, Michael (1018–1096). Philosopher, courtier, and monk, he penned the *Chronographia*, a lurid account of emperors following Basil II.

Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (r. 1136–1149). The second son of Duke William X of Aquitaine; married Constance, heiress of Antioch. His allegedly scandalous conduct with his niece Eleanor of Aquitaine angered King Louis VII during the Second Crusade. In 1149, Raymond was ambushed at Inab and slain by Nur-ad-Din.

Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse (r. 1088–1105), and as Raymond I, Count of Tripoli (r. 1103–1105). He led the Provençals on the First Crusade. He and his descendants, who established the county of Tripoli, allied with the Comnenian emperors against the Normans.

Raymond II, Count of Tripoli (r. 1137–1152). Son of Pons (r. 1112–1137), he pressed for the siege of Damascus during the Second Crusade. He was the first major Crusader murdered by Assassins.

Raymond III, Count of Tripoli (r. 1152–1187). He rallied the native Crusader nobility against King Guy and urged a moderate policy against Saladin. Guy failed to heed Raymond's warning not to risk battle at Hattin.

Reynald de Châtillon, Prince of Antioch (r. 1153–1160). Adventurer from Limousin, he married Constance of Antioch and ruled as prince until his capture and imprisonment (1160–1174). When released, he married the heiress Stephanie and ruled as lord of Outrejordain (r. 1174–1187). He supported Guy of Lusignan. His naval raid in the Red Sea in 1182–1183 outraged Saladin, who ordered the immediate execution of Reynald upon his capture at the Battle of Hattin (1187).

Richard I Lion-hearted, King of England (r. 1189–1199). The son of Henry II (r. 1154–1189) and Eleanor of Aquitaine. A knight and troubadour, he was perceived as the greater monarch on the Third Crusade (1189–1192), but he failed to recover Jerusalem.

Richard Filangeri, Hohenstaufen marshal in Outremer and *bailie* of Jerusalem (r. 1231–1243). Alienated the Crusader nobility, who expelled Hohenstaufen forces from Cyprus. From 1233, Richard Filangeri, with the support of the Hospitallers and Genoa, resided at Tyre in opposition to the nobility led by John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut.

Robert I, Count of Artois (r. 1236–1250). Third son of King Louis VIII of France (r. 1223–1226), he was entrusted by St. Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) with the advance force crossing the Ashmun Tannah Canal on February 7, 1250. His reckless pursuit and death at Mansurah strategically jeopardized the Seventh Crusade.

Robert Curthose (1054–1134). The eldest son of William I (r. 1066–1087), he succeeded as duke of Normandy. He was an indifferent leader of the First Crusade and returned to lose his duchy to his brother, King Henry I (r. 1100–1135) at the Battle of Tinchebray (1106).

Robert Guiscard (1015–1085). He succeeded his brother, William the Strong-arm as count of the Normans in southern Italy. He took the title duke of Apulia (r. 1059–1085), expelled the Byzantines from Italy (1071), and invaded Greece (1081–1085).

Robert I, Count of Flanders (r. 1071–1093). Departed on pilgrimage in 1086 and battled Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor and Syria (1089–1091). In 1092, the emperor Alexius I wrote to Robert requesting military aid.

Robert II, Count of Flanders (r. 1093–1111). Son of Robert I, he was a cousin of Robert Curthose of Normandy. His contingent on the First Crusade comprised well-disciplined veterans.

Robert of Clari (died after 1218). A pilgrim and foot soldier of the Fourth Crusade. He penned an eyewitness account that presents the perspective of the humbler members.

Robert the Monk (c. 1050–1125). Native of Rheims, wrote a chronicle on the First Crusade completed in c. 1122. He witnessed the Council of Clermont and penned the earliest version of Pope Urban II's speech.

Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar, “El Cid” (c. 1040–1099). Vassal of King Alfonso VI of Castile, Rodrigo was banished from court in 1081. He lived as a soldier of fortune in the borderlands between Christian and Muslim Spain. His exploits gained him the title of El Cid (Arabic: “Sayyid”). He ruled as lord of Valencia (r. 1094–1099) and nominal vassal of Alfonso VI. In Spanish literature from 1140, he was recast as the chivalrous knight devoted to Reconquista.

Roger I, Count of Sicily (r. 1061–1101). Brother of Robert Guiscard, he conquered Muslim Sicily. He assumed the title count in 1071.

Roger II, King of Sicily (r. 1101–1154). Succeeded his father, Roger I, as count of Sicily. In 1127, he succeeded as duke of Apulia. In 1130, Pope John XIX crowned Roger king of Sicily, or the *Regno*.

Roger de Flor (1280–1307). A Templar of German ancestry, he commanded the defense of Acre (1291).

Rollo, Duke of Normandy (r. 911–925). A Viking warlord who settled in northern France as a vassal of King Charles the Simple (r. 989–923).

Romanus I Lecapenus, Byzantine emperor (r. 919–944). *Drungarius* (“admiral”) of the imperial fleet in 919, he seized power and ruled as regent emperor for Constantine VII.

Romanus III Argyrius, Byzantine Emperor (r. 1028–1034). A senior courtier, he was the first husband of the empress Zoe. He proved unequal to the task of imperial government. He was murdered by Zoe and her paramour, the future Michael IV.

Romanus IV Diogenes, Byzantine emperor (r. 1068–1072). A leading general of the eastern army, he married Eudocia, widow of Constantine X, in a bid to reform the state and halt Turkish invasions. He was betrayed at the Battle of Manzikert and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sultan Alp Arslan (1071).

as-Saffah, Abbasid Caliph (r. 749–754). Overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 749–750 and founded a Muslim, as opposed to Arabic, state based on the lands of eastern Islam.

Saladin, Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt and Syria (r. 1171–1193). A general of Nur-ad-Din who faced hostility from the Turkish military elite because of his Kurdish origins; he led holy war (*jihad*) against the Crusaders. A generous and intelligent ruler, he destroyed the Crusader army at Hattin (1187) and thwarted the Third Crusade from retaking Jerusalem.

Shirkuh (died 1169). The veteran Kurdish commander of Nur-ad-Din (r. 1146–1174) who checked Crusader interventions in Egypt. He was uncle and mentor to Saladin.

Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1186–1190). Daughter of Amalric I and Agnes of Courtney, she was a vain woman who married Guy Lusignan over the objections of her brother, Baldwin IV. In 1186, she seized the throne and crowned Guy as king. She accompanied her husband to the siege of Acre, where she died of fever.

Stephen, Count of Blois (c. 1056–1102). Married to Adelaide, daughter of King William I (1066–1087). He was a reluctant Crusader, but his letters are a vital source of information for the First Crusade.

Tancred (1078–1112). The nephew of Count Bohemond, he was a dashing knight of the First Crusade who briefly held the lordship of Galilee. From 1103, he served as regent for his uncle, Prince Bohemond of Antioch.

Tatius. Byzantine general of Turkish origin who accompanied the First Crusade with an imperial detachment (1097–1098). He was the likely source for Anna Comnena.

Theobald (Thibaut) III, Count of Champagne (r. 1197–1201). Enthusiastically joined as leader of the Fourth Crusade. The gallant young count died prematurely, but he willed substantial funds to the expedition.

Theodora, Empress (1042; 1055–1056). The second daughter of Constantine VIII, she ruled briefly with her sister, Zoe, then alone after the death of her brother-in-law, Constantine X.

Theodora Comnena, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1158–1163). The grand-niece of Manuel I. In 1158, she married King Baldwin III as part of a Frankish-Byzantine alliance against Fatimid Egypt.

Theodore I, Pope (r. 642–649). Theodore of Tarsus fled to Italy in the wake of the Arabic conquest and opposed reconciliation with the Monophysites. Devoted to the doctrines of Chalcedon, this Greek-speaking pope advanced claims of papal primacy.

Theodore I Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea (r. 1204–1222). The son-in-law of Alexius III who rallied Byzantine forces at Nicaea in 1204 after Constantinople fell to the Crusaders. He was crowned emperor in 1208. He founded the splinter empire of Nicaea.

Theodore Comnenus, Despot of Epirus (r. 1215–1224) and Emperor of Thessalonica (r. 1224–1230). He briefly aspired to retake Constantinople from the Latins, but he was defeated and captured by Tsar Asen II at Klokotnisa in 1230.

Theophano (c. 955–991). She was a Byzantine *prophyrogenita* (“born in the purple”) and cousin of the emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025). In 971, she married Holy Roman Emperor Otto II. She was mother to Otto III (r. 983–1002).

Tughril Bey, first great Sultan (1037–1063). He welded together the Turkmen tribes of central Asia, invaded Iran, and restored the power of the Sunni Abbasid caliphate at Baghdad in 1055.

Turan Shah, Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt (r. 1249–1250). Defeated the Seventh Crusade of St. Louis IX, but immediately after his victory, he was murdered by his Mamluk soldiers.

Tutush, Turkish Emir of Syria (r. 1078–1094). The brother of Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah (r. 1072–1094) who defeated Fatimid forces in Syria and captured Byzantine Antioch in 1086.

Umar I, Caliph (r. 634–644). Second of the Rashidun, or “rightly guided caliphs.” He directed the conquests of Byzantine Syria, Egypt, and Libya and the Sassanid Empire of Persia.

Urban II, Pope (r. 1088–1099). This French pope reformed papal administration and preached the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095).

Uthman, Caliph (r. 644–656). Third of the Rashidun. He headed the powerful Umayyad clan but lacked the will to govern effectively from Medina. He was slain by mutinous soldiers of the Egyptian army, who then offered the caliphate to Ali.

William I, the Conqueror, King of England (r. 1066–1087). Illegitimate son of Duke Robert the Devil of Normandy (r. 1028–1035), William married Matilda, daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders (r. 1036–1067). In 1066, he conquered England, defeating Harold II at Hastings, and founded the Norman kingdom.

William II Rufus, King of England (r. 1087–1100). Second son of William I, acquired the duchy of Normandy from his brother, Robert Curthose, mortgaged at 10,000 marks (1.6 million silver pennies).

William I, “the Bad,” King of Sicily (r. 1154–1166). Son of Roger II, he defeated Manuel I’s attempt to reconquer Italy. He supported Pope Alexander III against Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa.

William I (French: Guillaume), “the Pious,” Duke of Aquitaine (r. 886–918). Founded the Abbey of Cluny (911) and extended his protection to the monastic order. He upheld the Truce and Peace of God in his domains to curb over-mighty vassals.

William IX, “the Troubadour,” Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou (b. 1071; r. 1086–1127). He maintained a brilliant court of troubadour poets and participated on the Crusade of 1101.

William X, Duke of Aquitaine (r. 1127–1137). Arranged the marriage of his daughter Eleanor to King Louis VII of France (r. 1137–1180). His brother, Raymond of Poitiers, married Constance, heiress to the principality of Antioch (r. 1136–1149).

William de Montferrat, “Longsword,” Count of Jaffa and Ascalon (r. 1176–1177). The first husband of Sybilla and father of Baldwin V.

William III, “the Old,” Marquis of Montferrat (r. 1135–1188). A leading Hohenstaufen vassal in northwestern Italy and father to William Longsword, Conrad, Rainer, and Boniface. He participated on the Second Crusade and supported his grandson, King Baldwin V. He was captured by Saladin at the Battle of Hattin and released when his son Conrad refused to surrender Tyre in 1188.

William the Iron-arm, Count of Apulia (r. 1042–1046). The son of the petty Norman lord Tancred de Hauteville, he led the Norman migration into Byzantine Italy.

William I de Champlite, Prince of Achaea (r. 1205–1209). As a vassal of the Latin emperor, he reduced Byzantine Morea, thereby founding the Frankish state in southern Greece.

William II de Villehardouin, Prince of Achaea (r. 1246–1276). Faced the resurgence of Byzantine power. He submitted to Charles of Anjou in 1267, inviting Angevin intervention into the Morea (Peloponnesus).

William of Tyre (1130–1190). A brilliant historian, he penned an account of the Crusades and Outremer until 1184. Born at Tyre, he became the city’s archbishop (r. 1175–1187). He served as chancellor and confidant to King Baldwin IV (1174–1183).

William de Rubruquis. A Flemish friar and emissary from King Louis IX of France to the Mongol court in 1253–1254.

Xiphilinus, John, Patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1064–1075). A brilliant scholar of Platonic philosophy and history who had headed the imperial university. He produced an epitome of the Roman history of Cassius Dio.

Yagi-Sivan, Emir of Antioch (r. 1095–1098). Commanded the Turkish garrison during the Crusader siege of Antioch in 1097–1098, but he had foolishly alienated both Duquq and Ridvan, the leading Turkomen rulers in Syria. He surrendered on terms to Bohemond and was spared.

Yolanda-Isabel, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1225–1229). The daughter of John of Brienne and Maria Montferrat. At age 13, in 1225, she was married by proxy to the emperor Frederick II. She died soon after bearing her son, Conrad IV (r. 1250–1254), future Holy Roman Emperor and heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Yusuf ibn Tashuf (r. 1061–1101). Commander of the fundamentalist Almoravids of Morocco, who were inspired by the teachings of prophet Abu Bakr. In 1086, he crossed to Spain, defeated Alfonso VI at Zallaq, and imposed Almoravid hegemony over the petty Muslim kingdoms (*Mulk ar-Tawa’if*).

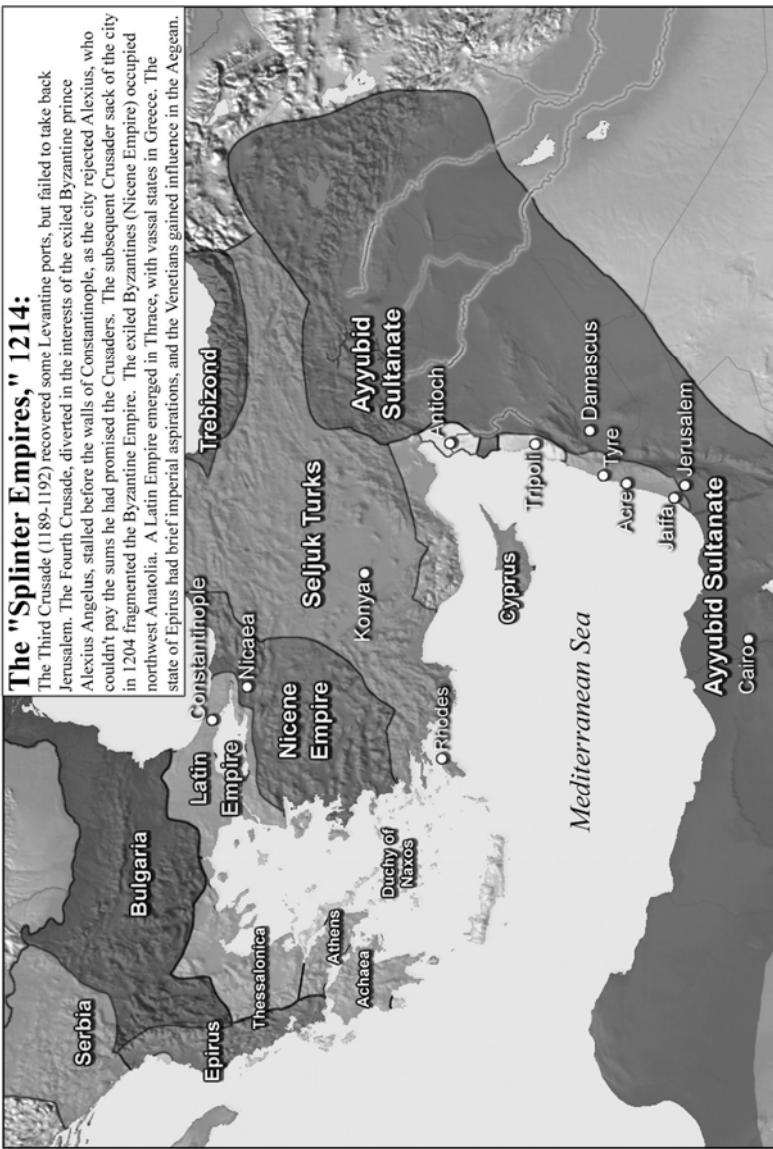
Zengi. The brilliant Turkish emir of Mosul (1127–1146) who conquered Aleppo and recaptured Edessa from the Crusaders, thus precipitating the Second Crusade.

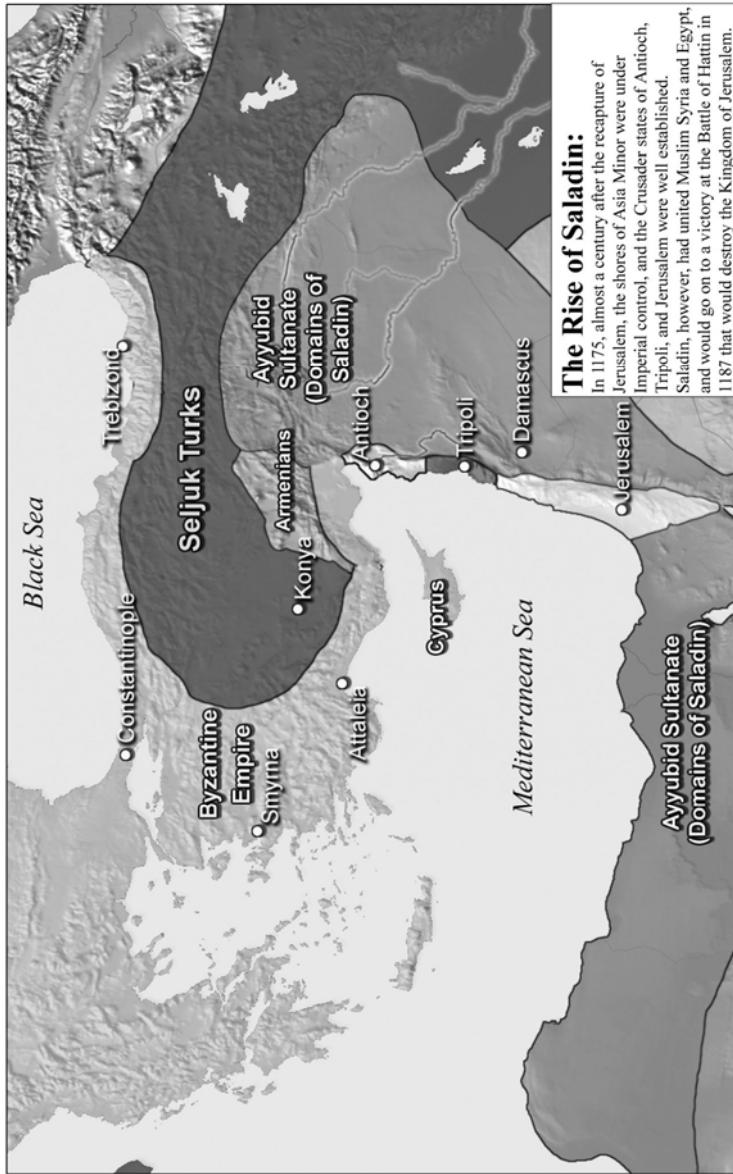
Zoe, Byzantine Empress (r. 1042). The daughter of Constantine VIII, she was childless and nearly 55 at the death of her father. A vain and foolish woman, she was easily controlled by her ministers, who arranged her marriages to weak husbands, Romanus III, Michael IV, and Constantine X. She ruled briefly with her sister, Theodora, in 1042.

Zoe Carbospina. Byzantine empress and fourth (uncanonical) wife of Leo VI, she assumed the regency of her son, Constantine VII (915–919). She forged an alliance with Pope John X (r. 914–928) to defeat the Arab brigand army at the Battle of Gargliano (915), but she was driven from power by the admiral Romanus I Lecapenus.

The "Splinter Empires," 1214:

The Third Crusade (1189-1192) recovered some Levantine ports, but failed to take back Jerusalem. The Fourth Crusade, diverted in the interests of the exiled Byzantine prince Alexius Angelus, stalled before the walls of Constantinople, as the city rejected Alexius, who couldn't pay the sums he had promised the Crusaders. The subsequent Crusader sack of the city in 1204 fragmented the Byzantine Empire. The exiled Byzantines (Nicene Empire) occupied northwest Anatolia. A Latin Empire emerged in Thrace, with vassal states in Greece. The state of Epirus had brief imperial aspirations, and the Venetians gained influence in the Aegean.





The Rise of Saladin:

In 1175, almost a century after the recapture of Jerusalem, the shores of Asia Minor were under Imperial control, and the Crusader states of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem were well established.

Saladin, however, had united Muslim Syria and Egypt, and would go on to victory at the Battle of Hattin in 1187 that would destroy the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

