The Crusades, 1095-1192: Scheme of Work

*All page references to SHP textbook unless stated*

**Introduction: crusades essentials**

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<td>• Pope Urban II; Louis VII; Conrad III; Saladin; Richard I</td>
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<td>The stability of the Muslim empire until the 10th century</td>
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| Why was there stability until the 10th century? | | |

- King David, King Solomon, King Herod
- The Emperor Constantine & the tradition of pilgrimage
- The Muslim capture & Muslim pilgrimage
- The nature of the Muslim Empire; Muslim rule of Jerusalem & Christianity; the continuance of pilgrimage; the strength of the Muslim empire
- Why was there stability until the 10th century?
The preaching of, and responses to the call for, the First Crusade

- The Origins of the Crusades (1): the Byzantine Empire

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| The First Crusade | - Clermont  
- Pope Urban II | Pp12-13 | Why did the first Crusade Erupt in 1095?  
(we are going to answer this via the Enquiry, p13) |
| Instability in the Near East in the 10th-11th centuries & the rise of the Seljuk Turks | - Abbasids, Fatimids, Arabs, Caliph Hakim  
- The Seljuk Turks  
- Antioch | Pp16-17 |  
- Show how the decline of the Abbasids & their rivalry with the Fatimids destabilised the Near East  
- Show how the rise of the Seljuk Turks destabilized the region further |
| The weakness of the Byzantine Empire by 1081 | - The battle of Manzikert & the Seljuk incursion into Anatolia  
- The Sultanate of Rum  
- The Danube  
- Robert Guiscard; the Normans | P17 | Show how the empire was in decline  
- Military decline  
- Pagan incursions to the north  
- The Seljuk presence in Anatolia; confrontation & conflict, the end of the border  
- Norman incursions into Italy & the threat to the Balkans |
| The threats to Alexius I | - Alexius (Alexios) I (Comnenus), Anna Comnena  
- Bohemond of Taranto  
- Henry IV (German emperor)  
- Italian city states: Venice, Pisa, Genoa  
- Vikings  
- Malik Shah | Pp18-19 | How did Alexius I deal with the threats he faced?  
- His seizure of power in 1081  
- The weakness of the Byzantine position & the Norman invasion of the Balkans  
- Financial recovery  
- Military recovery: mercenaries the Venetians & their navy  
- The defeat of the Normans  
  - The Norman threat  
  - The deal with Henry IV |
| o Typhoid  
| o The defeat of the northern pagans  
| o The threat of the Turks  
| o Further Turkish incursions in Anatolia  
How strong was Alexius by 1095?  
Why did he take the decision to try and drive the Turks out of Anatolia?  
Show how Alexius had greatly increased Byzantine connections with the Latin west & how this might have given him the confidence to take on the Turks; why look west for help?  
Have we explained why he sought help from Urban II?
**Introduction 2 – The Latin West, the Western Church & the Papacy to the 11th century**

*Nb – this will very much help explain the section on motivations for the Crusades too*

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| Western Christendom & the faith of the people | • Penance & confession  
  • Purgatory  
  • Acts of penitence  
    o Devotions, alms, fasting, chastity, mortification  
    o Relics  
    o Pilgrimage  
    o Indulgences | pp20-21 | The centrality of Christianity  
  • How Christianity explained the nature of the world  
  • Heaven and hell, sin and purgatory  
  • The spiritual power of the church to save you |
| Western society | • Charlemagne & the idea of the Roman Empire  
  • Feudalism  
  • St Augustine  
  • A Just War | | The centrality of war and violence  
  • The power of the lords & the weakness of kings & emperors  
  • Knights, younger sons & small scale war; the landed classes as the warrior caste  
  • The scale & nature of violence in western society  
  • The involvement of the church; war as sin?  
  • The special case of the Normans |
| The power of the Papacy & the reform movement c1040-1095 | • Pope Gregory VII  
  • Anselm of Lucca  
  • *Libertas*  
  • Gregorian  
  • Peace (and Truce) of God movement | pp24-26 | The reform movement wanted to strengthen the church & papacy  
  • Regaining the liberty of the church  
  • Reform of the Church  
  • The Investiture Contest  
  The church and war  
  • How Gregory supported war against Henry IV & the Seljuk Turks |
| Great Schism of 1054 | The development of the Just War theology  
| Cluny (Cluniac) | Attempts to restrain Christian up[on Christian violence  
| | Papal support for war (use the examples on p25)  
| | How Urban II wanted to strengthen the papacy  
| | reform the church & increase popular piety  
| | unite the Latin Church: how he relied on Norman military support against the empire & military support in Spain  
| | end the Great Schism  
| | Have we explained how Alexios’ call for help suited Urban’s wider European objectives? |
**The preaching of, and responses to the call for, the First Crusade**

- The Origins of the Crusades (1): the Byzantine Empire
- The Origins of the Crusades (2): the Council of Clermont & the response to Urban II's call for a Crusade

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<tr>
<td>Alexius I believed he could win western support</td>
<td>Who did Alexius call pagans?</td>
<td>p27</td>
<td>How did Alexius justify his call for aid? Why did he mention Jerusalem? Did he really mean to recapture it?</td>
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<td>Pope Urban II had good reasons for wanting to offer support to Alexius</td>
<td>Council of Piacenza Church council</td>
<td>p27</td>
<td>Why did Urban react so favourably? How far did it suit his wider objectives (<em>see above</em>)?</td>
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| Urban was very effective in winning support | | Pp27-31 | Show how Urban won support
- The administration of oaths
- Planned a Church council at Clermont & travelled widely through France; his ability to appeal to Frankish nobles
- His promises resonated with them
- The reform movements improvements in the church made spreading the message easier

| Why did the First Crusade erupt in 1095? | | P29 | Conclude your enquiry
Have we explained it all yet? What is left? Can we fully answer that without looking at the First Crusade itself? |

Do we really know what Pope Urban actually at Clermont?
The preaching of, and responses to the call for, the First Crusade

- The Rise of the Seljuk Turks & the problems of the Eastern Empire
- The Council of Clermont & the response to Urban II's call for a Crusade
- Motivations & incentives: lay piety, religious zeal & material interests

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| The motivations of the Crusaders | Lay piety  
Hermit  
*Milites Christi* (knights of Christ)  
Robert of Normandy  
Hugh of Vermandois  
Robert II of Flanders  
Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy  
Raymond of Toulouse  
Stephen of Blois  
Baldwin of Boulogne  
Peter the Hermit (Little Peter) | Pp34-36  
P46  
Pp130-31 | What can we add to the religious motivations outlined above?  
What do we know of the motives for going on Crusades?  
- From the nobility *(also answer the Q p 36, then answer the same Q using the evidence on p46)*  
- The lower orders (can we know much about their motives?) | How far does the evidence of actual crusaders support the idea of a primarily religious motive? |

See the blog post on the Crusades and the Jews:  
The First Crusade
• The campaigns of the Crusade, including the People’s Crusade
• Crusading warfare: strategy and tactics
• Reasons for success

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<td>Why was the First Crusade Successful?</td>
<td>The Rhineland; Hungary • Semlin • Nish • Nicea • Walter Sans Avoir (Sansavoir)</td>
<td>Pp32-33</td>
<td>Should we be surprised by the success of the First Crusade? (We are going to do the enquiry p33 for each section)</td>
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<td>The People’s Crusade</td>
<td>The Princes’ Crusade • Charters</td>
<td>P34</td>
<td>Why was the People’s Crusade such a disaster? Can it tell us anything about why the First Crusade succeeded? (also see notes below) Why is the People’s Crusade interesting to historians?</td>
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<td>The Preparation</td>
<td>The Bosphorus • Palestine, Syria (Damascus &amp; Aleppo), Egypt • Nicea, Dorylaeum, Edessa • Baldwin of Boulogne; Tancred of Hauteville • Taticius (Tatikios) • Manuel Boutoumites • Malik Shah, Kilij Arslan • Sunni &amp; Shi’ah</td>
<td>Pp35-37</td>
<td>How well prepared was the First Crusade? Answer the Q, p37</td>
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<td>From Constantinople to Antioch (May-Oct 1097)</td>
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<td>Pp38-40</td>
<td>How did the crusaders manage to arrive at Antioch with an army intact? • well enough prepared and disciplined • Alexios I won them over and got them to take an oath of loyalty • The Muslims were divided and weakened • Byzantine and crusaders worked together to defeat the Turks at Nicaea • The crusaders won a victory at Dorylaeum, then re-took the former Byzantine Anatolia • Baldwin of Boulogne took control of Edessa Answer the Q, p 40</td>
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| The siege of Antioch (Oct 1097-July 1098)  | • Mosul  
• Kerbogha of Mosul  
• Ridwan of Aleppo  
• Peter Bartholemew  
• The Holy Lance | Pp41-43 | How did the crusaders manage to win the siege of Antioch?  
- Why it seemed unlikely:  
  - Antioch was very strong, conditions & supplies were against the crusaders;  
  - the desertion of Taticius;  
  - Kerbogha;  
  - the desertion of Stephen of Blois;  
  - desertions from Antioch  
- Why they won:  
  - How Adhémar helped make them more committed;  
  - divisions in Muslim Syria;  
  - Bohemond;  
  - Baldwin in Edessa;  
  - the holy lance & religious zeal;  
  - Kerbogha’s mistakes & defeat |
| Antioch to Jerusalem (Aug 1098-Aug 1099)   | • Genoese  
• Ma’arrat  
• St George | Pp43-46 | Why were the crusaders able to capture Jerusalem?  
- Why it seemed unlikely:  
  - Failure to go straight to Jerusalem  
  - Divisions amongst the crusaders; absence of leadership; Raymond of Toulouse & Bohemond of Taranto  
  - Peter Bartholemew  
  - Divisions amongst the crusaders; absence of leadership; Raymond of Toulouse & Bohemond of Taranto  
  - Peter Bartholemew |
The People's Crusade and chaos

If Little Peter’s rag-tag army began their crusading with a wave of anti-Semitic violence and rhetoric, they proved no less averse to violence when confronted with their fellow Christians. Initially, things began well enough when at Semlin his lieutenant, Walter Sans Avoir, negotiated safe conduct and access to markets in the hungriest days of the year, early summer: unfortunately, arguments over arms purchases led to sporadic violence. The same happened when Walter was denied access to markets in the Byzantine run city of Belgrade. The far bigger main force brought far more trouble when an argument over the price of shoes led to his force sacking Semlin and then open fighting through Hungary and the plundering of Belgrade. When Peter’s force arrived at Nish, open conflict broke out thanks to hotheaded leaders and Peter lost something like one third of his men. By the time Peter’s force was at Constantinople they had temporarily recovered their cohesion, but not for long. His captains were soon unable to resist the urge to break out form the base Alexius I provided for them and soon foraging turned into pillage. It was that urge that led some to Nicea, and disaster. Little Peter had been reduced to little more than a figurehead, and his out of control men were annihilated: it was a lesson the First Crusade would have to learn.
The Latin East, 1099–1144, and the rise of Zengi

- The creation of the Crusader States
- Life in the Crusader States: survival
- The military orders

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| The nature of the crusader States | • Outremer  
  o Kingdom of Jerusalem  
  o County of Tripoli  
  o Principality of Antioch  
  o County of Edessa  
  • Acre, Tyre, Beirut Tripoli, Antioch | Pp51-52 | The Outremer:  
  • What sorts of states were formed?  
  • How did they survive?  
  • What were relations like between Christians & Muslims  
  Assimilation, segregation, or the messy mixture?  
  The nature of the Outremer: geography, trade, no borders. *Briefly outline the history until 1291* (p51) |
| The role of rulers in the consolidation of the Latin East against the Muslims c1097-1152 | • Queen Melisende  
  • Fulk of Anjou  
  • Joscelin I & II  
  • Tancred of Lecce  
  • Roger of Salerno  
  • Reynald of Châtillon  
  • William Jordan  
  • Bertrand of Tripoli  
  • Count of Pons  
  • Raymond II of Tripoli  
  • Raymond III of Tripoli  
  • Saracens  
  • Armenians  
  • Occidentals, Orientals | Pp53-56, Pp61-62 | Outline the roles of the following in securing the kingdom of Jerusalem against Muslim rulers *(also use notes below)*  
  • Baldwin I  
  • Baldwin II  
  • Fulk |
| Politics and the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | Fulcher of Chartres  
Hugh of Jaffa  
Arda of Armenia  
Adelisa of Sicily  
Raimond Masoir  
Tuhtegin of Damascus  
Hamdan Ibd al-Rahmin  
Alan of Al-Atharib  
Zengi  
Bernard of Valence  
Aimery of Limoges  
Roger II of Sicily  
Henry I of England  
The Angevins  
Raymond of Potiers (prince of Antioch)  
The Assassins | P54  
Pp61-63 | Outline the political problems faced by the Franks themselves *(also use the notes below)*  
how Baldwin I won the kingship in 1100  
the conflict between Baldwin I & Tancred of Antioch in 1106  
how Baldwin II had to secure the succession to his throne by the marriage of Melisende to Fulk  
how Fulk had difficulties with Melisende, especially over Hugh of Jaffa  
how Baldwin III had to defeat Melisende to win power  
the problems of Antioch in the 1130s  
Outline the problems faced by the Franks form their Christian neighbours  
King Leon of Armenia in Antioch  
Bohemond’s 1108 crusade  
The threat from John Comnenus  
Outline how Frankish rulers sometimes cooperated with Muslim rulers |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| The role of the Church the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | Patriarchs  
Calvary, Golgotha  
Nazareth, Bethlehem  
Cistercians, Cluniacs | The ways in which the church helped consolidate *(use the notes below)* | |
| The creation of the military orders and the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | Knights Templar, Knights of St John (Hospitallers)  
William of Tyre | Pp59-60 | The development of the military orders  
Their increasing role in defending the crusader states; growing wealth and power |
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| The role of crusader castles in the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | - Krak des Chevaliers (Crac des Chevalliers)  
- BAGRASS  
- Marqab  
- Gaza  
- Margat  
- Belvoir  
- Concentric castles  
- Postern gate | Were crusader castles built to protect a vulnerable Frankish minority?  
Outline Ellenblum’s three generations of crusader states  
How did Ellenblum change our view of the significance of crusader castles and the nature of the crusader states?  
Why were castles built in the crusader states? What do they tell us about the nature of those states? Is Riley-Smith’s concept of the great frontier useful? | Pp68-71 |
| The relationship between Frankish rulers and their nobility and its role in the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | - Feudalism  
- Lordship; lordships  
- Fief; fiefdom | Weak kings and over-mighty nobles?  
Show how the kings of Jerusalem extended their authority over their nobles (use the notes below) | |
| The nature of Frankish settlement & the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | | What does the work of Ronnie Ellenblum show us about the relationship between the Franks and their Muslim neighbours? | Pp64-65 |
| The involvement of Italian sea power in the consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152 | | How significant a role did the Italian city states play? | |
The military consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152: the kingdom of Jerusalem

1100  Baldwin of Boulogne, later Baldwin of Edessa, crowned Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem (1100-1118) upon the death of his brother, Godfrey of Bouillon. It took what amounted to a palace coup in Jerusalem, and the absence of Bohemond of Antioch in Muslim imprisonment and secure control over Edessa to make it possible. Fulcher of Chartres wrote he must ‘conquer the Muslims or… compel them to make peace’.

1101  Baldwin took Arsuf & Caesarea, with help from Genoese who were granted property (a Genoese quarter) and special rights in return, a pattern Venice & Pisa would emulate. Baldwin appealed for men; armies came including Stephen of Blois (whose wife had shamed him into returning, calling him a coward for his desertion in the First Crusade). As they crossed Asia Minor, they lost many men in attacks by Muslim armies, but many cavalry arrived. This is often referred to as the 1101 crusade.

1102  Conclusive battle of Ramla, in which Stephen of Blois was killed; battle of Jaffra; end of 1101 crusade.

1104  Baldwin took Acre

Battle of Haran, Count Baldwin of Edessa defeated & captured

1105  Fatamid attacks from Egypt repelled (as were ones in 1107 & 1111)

1109  Series of attacks from Mosul & Damascus in the north repelled, ending in 1115

1118  Final campaign against the Fatamids, buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, beside Godfrey. His cousin was elected as Baldwin II (1118-31)

1119  The battle of the Field of Blood saw Muslim Syrian forces destroy those of Prince Roger of Antioch’s army (he was killed). Baldwin had to move north and defeat the Syrians. In the 13 ears of his campaign he fought 19 military campaigns

1120  A church council at Nablus sends an appeal to Pope Calixtus II for a new crusade; the crusade of 1120-24 was launched

1123  Baldwin captured

1124  Tyre is besieged and taken 5 months later. Baldwin released and embarks upon a series of successful campaigns over the next two years

1131  Baldwin died, to be succeeded by Fulk (1131-43)
The Dynastic Politics of Jerusalem & the crusader states

It is possible to view the history of the crusader states as one in which power often devolved down to Italian maritime power, military orders or local lordships. It is also possible to see the history of the various rulers of those states, and their nobilities, in the context of a history of the region centered on rapidly rising (and falling) warlords, of whom the kings of Jerusalem could be counted. The rulers of the crusader states were also, however, western European, with dynastic links and political rivalries with their origins in France, England, the empire, Italy and Norman Sicily. Increasingly, there came to be created a distinctly crusader dynastic politics, centered on the rulers of the kingdom which saw itself, and often was, the natural overlord of the crusader states, Jerusalem.

The starting point was the remarkable Baldwin I (1100-1118), the man who created the kingdom of Jerusalem, having only 300 knights in his company in 1100. Baldwin was the epitome of the younger Frankish son on the make. He was destined for a career in the church, but then abandoned the church for worldly affairs. He may well have been homosexual, his inseparable companion as king was a converted Muslim. He was also married three times. After the death of his first wife in 1097, he married an Armenian princess, Arda, to help secure the county of Edessa he created in 1098; he later repudiated her, claiming she had been raped by a Muslim, but really to secure a third, politically advantageous and probably bigamous marriage to Adelisa of Sicily, which ended in 1216. Baldwin promised not to remarry, and with no children a succession crisis loomed. In the end, an attempt to call upon Baldwin's older brother Eustace of Boulogne was stymied when his cousin, Baldwin le Bourq (hitherto the ruler of Edessa) was installed as Baldwin II (1118-31). Even so, it Baldwin was not crowned until 1119, and when he was a captive in 1123-24 the same Boulogne faction thought of replacing him. He did not receive papal recognition until 1128.

As proactive warlords and astute politicians the two Baldwins served their kingdom well. Dynastically, they were less successful. The thrice and unsuccessfully married Baldwin I left no heir; the happily married Baldwin II left only daughters. The solution was to marry his eldest daughter, Melisende, to the grandly connected Fulk V of Anjou. Indeed, by arranging the marriage of his eldest son, Geoffrey to Matilda, the only surviving legitimate child of Henry I of England, he would create the Plantagenet dynasty that would rule England from 1154, beginning with Henry II (who also held much of France) until Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth Field in 1485. Indeed, Raymond of Piotiers, prince of Antioch from 1136, was from Henry I's household. On his deathbed, Baldwin complicated the succession: Fulk (1131-43) would rule jointly with Melisende (1131-52), and her infant son Baldwin would inherit as Baldwin III (1143-63): Melisende and Fulk were thus jointly crowned in 1131, the first rulers of Jerusalem to be crowned in the church of the Holy Sepulchre itself, rather than Bethlehem.
Indeed, Baldwin II’s daughters were to be of no little importance in the subsequent history of the other crusader states, thanks to the marriages he arranged. Dynastic politics counted. The revolt against Fulk led by Hugh of Jaffa, a relative of Melisende’s, was a result of the resentment of the growing influence of Fulk’s Angevin family; Hugh was exiled, but Melisende ruled jointly thereafter. When Fulk was killed a hunting accident in 1143, Melisende seamlessly continued, so much so that after Baldwin III came of age she continued to wield power until what amounted to civil war between son and mother in 1152 secured his authority. Baldwin III died childless, and his brother Amalric (1163-74) succeeded only once he had ended a possibly bigamous marriage. Baldwin IV (1174-85) was a leper, and his nephew Baldwin V (1185-6) inherited as a sickly child of nine, in the midst of another succession crisis in which the Leper King’s mother, Agnes de Courtenay, alongside Raymond III of Tripoli and Bohemond III of Antioch, who her party saw as the preferable and more militantly aggressive candidates, at least to be regent, was rejected by the nobility of Jerusalem precisely because they might well be effective rulers and thus reduce the power of those nobles; in essence, the nobles wanted one of their own.

Crisis point came when Baldwin V died, and his sister shoehorned her new husband Guy of Lusignan (1186-92) into power, held jointly with Sybilla (1186-90), Baldwin IV’s brother and father of the just deceased Baldwin V, in the same manner as Fulk had done. However, it was under Guy that Jerusalem was lost, and whilst Richard the Lionheart was able to compensate him well with the crown of Cyprus (1192-94), his credibility as king of Jerusalem was shot. The kings of Jerusalem kept the title, through the many marriages (see below) of Amalric’s daughter Isabella I (1192-1205), but after its capture these kings were de facto kings of Acre, so different from the warlords of yore.

See the blog post on the dynastic politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem
The consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152: Christians vs Muslims?
From the beginning, the Muslims of the Levant were divided, and did deals with the Christians: Kilij Asrhan did not have the support of the Muslims he ruled; in 1098, the Fatimids offered the crusaders an alliance. Kerbogha’s army was divided when defeated at Antioch; in 1097, Damascus was at war with Aleppo and Antioch; the Fatimids reconquered Jerusalem in 1098. Most of all, Arab leaders hated the Turks, offering support to the crusaders on the journey to Jerusalem or offering tribute. In 1099, the Emirs of Hama and Tripoli promised not to attack the crusaders. Christians joined in Muslim wars too: in 1114, Roger of Antioch fought alongside the Muslims of Damascus and Mardin against the sultan of Baghdad’s forces.

Nor were the Christians always united: in 1105, Tancred of Antioch and Baldwin I fought each other; both sides had Turkish allies. In 1106, Prince Bohemond I of Antioch was released from captivity & went to western Europe to appeal for support from the pope, then in France & England, receiving a hero’s welcome. He married Constance (daughter of Philip I of France) & sought to raise a new crusade, initially against the Byzantine empire to thus secure Antioch, only then heading to the Holy Land; the 1108 crusade was thus launched. It laid siege to the Byzantine port of Durazzo (in modern day Albania), but was defeated. The 1108 Treaty of Devol saw him acknowledge Byzantine overlordship for both Antioch and Edessa and accept a Greek Patriarch in Antioch. Bohemond then retired to Italy; his brother Tancred rejected the treaty.

In 1137-38, and again in 1142, the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus brought armies to Antioch to enforce his claim as overlord. On both occasions Antioch (temporarily) acknowledged him, but Prince Raymond was able to avoid swearing homage until he was compelled to visit Constantinople in 1145.

In Antioch in the 1130s, there was a near civil war when the widow of Prince Bohemond II of Antioch decided to rule as regent on behalf of her infant daughter, Constance. Taking advantage, the Christian king of Armenia (and former ally of the Franks) Leon seized some parts of Antioch. First Baldwin II, then Fulk (twice) intervened thanks to nobles who wanted Alice to marry again. The solution came when Constance was married to Raymond of Poitiers. Fulk’s political relationship with his wife was less than straightforward, notably over her dealings with Hugh of Jaffa (see above & pp61-63). When Fulk died, Queen Melisende ruled as regent on behalf on her son, Baldwin III, and even when he came of age in 1145 she expected to continue to govern. It was not until 1152 that he was able to gather enough support. In what amounted to a civil war, which divided the nobility down the middle. In the end he felt compelled to lay siege to the citadel of Jerusalem and force his mother to back down.
The consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152: the role of the Church

After its conquest, Jerusalem was purged of non-Christians (though Muslim pilgrims would later be permitted access once again). This new Frankish rulers made sure the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch were Latin, though Antioch would later see John Comnenus impose an Orthodox one. In the north, most of the orthodox clergy remained and were initially retained, but gradually the demands of their new Frankish flock led to their replacement by Latins; in the south most of the orthodox clergy had fled before the first crusade and so were replaced easily. Whilst Orthodox Christians remained and were permitted to worship, as were the many other varieties of Christianity in the region, the Latin Church took over the main sites of pilgrimage. Most notably, in the 1130s, they started the new church of the Holy Sepulchre incorporating Calvary and the Hill of Golgotha. The Dome of the Rock was turned into the Templum Domini; other holy sites included the cathedral of Nazareth and the church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem. The patriarchs themselves were, of course, politically important figures in their own right, as Patriarch Heraclius’ doomed mission to the west in 1144-45 illustrates.

Pilgrims followed, as did clerks to man the sites. The main times of pilgrimage were Easter and Christmas, and an industry devoted to pilgrimage grew up, from souvenirs to guides or guidebooks. A relic, believed to be part of the true cross was venerated and, like the holy lance, taken into battle: Fulcher of Chartres gives it the credit for victory in the battle of Jaffa in 1102. One of the primary motives of the crusading orders and for the Third Crusade was the to defend and enable pilgrimage.

The churches in the west continued to support, encourage, preach and pressurise their flock to both support and, indeed, go on crusade. When asked, the papacy did lend support, as did the Church. The new monastic orders, notably the Cistercians and the Cluniacs, whilst supportive of the ideal, were fiercely opposed to their men and the monastic orders in general going, and would remain so until the second half of the 12th century. In some ways, the new crusading orders filled the breach.

Above all else, the Church provided the spiritual motivation for the crusader states and at crucial times, religious fervour would prove vital though as often from ordinary lay people of clergy, as from the church’s leadership.
The consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152: the Frankish nobility & the kings of Jerusalem
The kingdom of Jerusalem created by Baldwin I was a skilful amalgam of aggressive violence, diplomacy and patronage, in a society in which the larger settled civilian majority were habitually ruled by often little more than extended military households, and in which cities and towns already dominated the countryside and its resources. Thus non-Latin Christians were welcomed into cities; after the capture of Sidon in 1110, the mass expulsion or slaughter of local inhabitants ceased. The native populations were one thing, but the most difficult to rule were often the Frankish adventurers who made up the new noble elite.

Broadly speaking, there are three interpretations of the nature of the Frankish nobility and its relations with the kings of Jerusalem. In the 1930s La Monte depicted a weak monarchy in thrall to a dominant nobility, one which caused the upheavals seen in the later reign of Baldwin IV, for example. By the 1950s, this view was challenged: in the 1970s Riley-Smith saw the monarchy as strong and whilst the nobility was not as weak as some had assumed, it was still very much sublimated to that of the king. By 1989, Tibble used charter evidence in addition to Riley-Smith’s to further emphasise the monarch’s determination to exert their authority.

The writings of a 13th century lawyer, John of Ibelin, Tibble argues, have distorted our view by depicting a fixed legal relationship between the monarchs and their nobles: the reality was far more fluid. The legal basis was feudal: the crown granted land or rights in return for military service, the size of which grants reflected the standing of the individual noble. Early on, of necessity, this created large powerful lordships which could, as in the case of Hugh of Jaffa, could threaten royal authority. However, high mortality rates, rebellion and bankruptcy (crusader nobles were prone to all three) resulted in a shift in the balance, when the lands or rights reverted to the crown. This gave the crown the options of creating new smaller lordships to reward loyal followers, creating nobles reliant on the crown; the crown could retain the land itself (as Fulk did in 1134 with Hugh of Jaffa’s lordship); or, the crown could give a lord small fiefs in geographically dispersed areas; again, the crown could retain a castle within a lordship. Thus, the crowned heads of Jerusalem increased their authority until the calamity of Baldwin IV, and that did not occur until 1174.

A word about crusader castles
Crusader castles were vital. The first is the fact that they were often cited in strategically important locations: the Templar castle at Bagrass commanded the Beylan pass at Antioch, Marqab the coast road to Tripoli, the emplar castle of Gaza guarded the crusader states against Muslim forces from Egypt and Ascalon. Likewise, after 1187, great Hospitaller castles such as Margat, Krak de Chevalliers and Belvoir enabled the Franks to keep footholds as disaster ensued. In the words of Jonathan Riley-Smith, in the absence of clear borders, they were the Outremer’s ‘great frontier.’
The military consolidation of the Latin East c1097-1152: Italians & the crusades

In the middle ages, northern Italy was the richest and most urbanized part of Europe, and was ruled by independent city states such as Venice, Pisa and Genoa. These were great trading and maritime powers in the Mediterranean; as such, they were vital to the success of the crusades. For them, trading rights and the creation of Italian quarters were a promising reward. Thus, the great city states all saw involvement in the crusades. In 1101, the Genoese took part in the capture of Caesarea, earning impressive rewards of gold and pepper. Venetian involvement (at the pope’s behest) in the capture of Tyre in 1124 won them substantial rewards of land and trading rights though not, as was thought, any kind of independence from the crown. Nonetheless, for the Italians, crusading paid.

A quick tour of the other crusader states: Edessa

Edessa was the first of the crusader states, established in 1098 by Baldwin of Boulogne, who became King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1100. He was succeeded by his cousin, Baldwin le Bourq, who held Edessa as a fief from him. In 1102, he sought to strengthen his position by marrying Morphia of Meletine, a local Armenian princess, and recruiting Joscelin of Courtenay (later, Joscelin I) to effectively run western Edessa on his behalf. The vulnerability of Edessa was all too clearly shown when a united Muslim force led by Soqman of Mardin in 1104. In their four years of imprisonment, the extent of their dependence of the power of Antioch was shown by the fact Tancred, until 1105, then Roger of Salerno, ruled as regents. After Baldwin’s release, and Baldwin fought over Tancred’s claim, as regent of Antioch, of over lordship over Edessa: both fought against each other alongside Muslim allies; after Tancred’s death in 1112, his successor Roger of Salerno married Baldwin’s sister. In 1113, Baldwin’s relations with Joscelin became so bad that Baldwin had him arrested and exiled. Nonetheless, when Baldwin succeeded his brother, Joscelin was given Edessa as a fief from Baldwin.

Joscelin I proved an energetic warlord, despite a brief period of capture in 1123. Like his predecessor, he was not above fighting fellow Christians, as in 1127 when he fought alongside the Turks against Bohemond II of Antioch. Joscelin did in 1137, leading his men to battle carried on a litter as a death bed; his successor, Joscelin II was more diplomat than warlord.

In truth, Edessa was always an outpost, short of the resources needed to defend itself effectively and thus dependent on the support of Jerusalem and Antioch, and Muslim disunity. When its defenders and neighbours were otherwise engaged, and Zenghi had reunited and revivified Muslim power, Zenghi was able to opportunistically take western Edessa along with the city itself in 1144. After the failure of the Second crusade, along with civil war in Jerusalem saw Nur al-Din take the rest of Edessa in 1150. Joscelin II was captured and spent the last nine years of his life imprisoned in Aleppo; Edessa was lost the crusaders for good.
A quick tour of the other crusader states: Antioch

Geographically, and politically, Antioch found itself between its would-be Byzantine overlord and Jerusalem, its de facto protector and real overlord most of the time. Originally established by Bohemond I, the real father of the crusader state of Antioch was his nephew, Tancred of Lecce (later Tancred I), twice as regent for his imprisoned or absent uncle, then as prince in his own right (1108-12). Tancred and his successor, Roger of Salerno (1112-19), developed a system of marcher lordships and forts to extend his authority and defend Antioch in depth, whether against Muslim or Christian rivals. After the calamity of the Field of Blood, in 1119, those defences enabled Baldwin II of Jerusalem, twice regent (1120-26, 1130-31), to restore Antioch’s forces and fight back.

The marcher lordships also offer us a glimpse of the realities of power in what, after Christopher Tyerman, we might think of as the age of the warlords. Three examples might suffice. Raimond Masoir was of obscure origins yet built himself such a strong lordship in the south that he married Tancred’s widow, Cecilia (herself the bastard daughter of Philip I of France), and acted as de facto regent after the death of Bohemond II. Tughtegin of Damascus fought alongside Roger of Salerno against the Seljuk Turks in 1115; in 1119, it was Tughtegin that personally decapitated Roger. The Muslim chronicler Hamdan ibd Abd al-Rahmin acted as a regional administrator for the marcher lord Alan lord of Al-Atharib; in 1128, he switched sides to Zenghi, and when Zenghi had captured the region Hamdan administered it on behalf of his new master.

In Antioch itself, the Greek Patriarch fled in 1100, and his Latin successors, the first being Bernard of Valence, 1100-35, played key political roles. Not all was stable, however: Aimery of Limoges, 1140-93, fell out so badly that he was beaten up by Reynald of Chatillon’s men and spent the remainder of that reign in exile. For much of the time, however, the Latin patriarchy offered administrative continuity.

When Bohemond I had fought and lost to the empire in 1107-8, the treaty of Devol called for the princes of Antioch to pay homage to the emperor and accept a Greek patriarch. The patriarch remained Latin, and it was only when a resurgent Comnenian empire compelled it by the threat of arms was homage paid: twice by Prince Raymond (1137, 1142) and once by Prince Reynald (1159). When Manuel I entered Antioch in 1161, it was to marry Bohemond III’s sister Maria. In return, Manuel got a title as overlord. The political reality the underpinned that alliance might be better seen in the light of the close family connections between the family of Bohemond I and Tancred I, and Norman Sicily, which was a serious threat to Byzantine power in the Adriatic and had, once, been Byzantine territory. When, as regent in 1136, Fulk of Jerusalem chose the Frenchman Raymond of Potiers as the new prince of Antioch, Norman politics got in the way. Roger II of Sicily tried to deny him access to southern Italy’s ports because Raymond was a supporter of the Norman king of England, Henry I.
That was the last time the politics of the west were so closely intertwined with those of Antioch. Long before then, the most important influence on Antioch was its richer, more powerful and prestigious neighbour, the kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin II and Fulk were both regents, and on at least ten occasions the kings of Jerusalem directly interfered in the succession. To put it simply, Antioch mattered: when it was unstable, it threatened the stability of all, and its princes had an unfortunate of getting themselves killed in battles of their own choosing. Thus, when Roger of Salerno was killed on the Field of Blood, Baldwin II of Jerusalem acted as regent until Bohemond II (1126-30) was of age, and Bohemond married Baldwin II’s daughter Alice. When Bohemond II was killed in battle (and had his head embalmed by the victor and sent as a present to the caliph of Baghdad), first Baldwin then Fulk of Jerusalem took the regency again (1130-36). When the vigorously martial Raymond of Potiers (1136-1149) was killed in the battle of Inab (his arm and head were similarly sent as gifts to the caliph), his wife Constance succeeded him (1149-1153; 1161-1163): the first time marrying Reynald of Chatillon (1153-61), until he ended up spending sixteen years as a prisoner of the Muslims. A succession crisis ensued.

A quick tour of the other crusader states: the county of Tripoli

Raymond of Toulouse created the county of Tripoli, having been forced out of Antioch and Jerusalem. Whilst laying siege to the city, Raymond built his castle at Mount Pilgrim, a castle which remained in crusader hand continuously until 1289, longer than any other. Upon Raymond’s death, William Jordan (1105-9) was made his successor. Raymond’s mother and infant son returned to Toulouse to claim his title and lands, whereupon his bastard son Bertrand arrived off the coast of Tripoli with a substantial force, a Genoese fleet, and the support of Baldwin I of Jerusalem. When William Jordan died in mysterious circumstances, Bertrand (1109-12) took the city, from the Muslims and was succeeded by his son, the count of Pons (1112-37), and in turn by his son Raymond II (1137-52), who married Baldwin II of Jerusalem’s daughter, Hodierna.

Tripoli was in an especially vulnerable position, and power increasingly devolved to the Genoese and the military orders, thus balancing Jerusalem’s influence a little. When Raymond of Toulouse’s legitimate son, Alfonso-Jordan of Toulouse, born at Mount Pilgrim, arrived with the Second Crusade, he was clearly a challenge to Raymond II. The ensuing conflict was won after Alfonso-Jordan had died suddenly and mysteriously, and his bastard son Bertrand was defeated by Raymond with the help of Muslim allies, including Nur ad-Din. When Raymond II was murdered in 1152 by Assassins, an extreme Isma’ili Muslim sect, he was succeeded by Raymond III, who would go on to be a very important figure in the kingdom of Jerusalem. But, he was important because he was of the line of Baldwin, not because he was ruler of a still disparate Tripoli: dynasticism ruled.
## The Latin East, 1099–1144, and the rise of Zengi

- The creation of the Crusader States
- Life in the Crusader States: survival
- The military orders
- **The challenges of Zengi and the fall of Edessa**

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The preaching of, and responses to the call for, the Second Crusade

- The main events, campaigns
- Crusading warfare and reasons for failure

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<td>• Why the Byzantines were unlikely to offer logistical support</td>
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**Was the Second Crusade doomed from the start?**

- the significance of the outbreak of anti-Semitic violence *(see notes above)*
- his role in the launching of the Iberian and Baltic Crusades
- the ways in which the motives and ideas of the crusaders changed
- the ways in which Bernard helped the Second Crusade. Were there any way in which he hindered it?

**Why was the Second Crusade launched?**

**Why was the Second Crusade so successful in gathering crusaders and support?**
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Bernard of Clairvaux & the new crusades

Though the *Quantaum praedecessores* set the initial tone, it should be remembered that Pope Eugenius III was Bernard of Clairvaux’s protégé. Similarly, whilst many other churchmen and lay people played a vital role, it cannot be denied that such was Bernard’s status and brilliance that it was he, above all, that contributed to a change in focus in the crusading movement and its supporters. This was evident in his personal charisma, his famously grueling seven month tour preaching tour was without precedent. This was accompanied by licensed preaching and official letters. Beyond that, there grew a wave of popular crusade culture: we still know eleven popular crusading songs. There were reports of miracles; unauthorised preachers stoked the fire (provoking a wave of anti-Semitism in Germany).

In doing so, the emphasis of crusading shifted. There were hints from Eugenius, crusading was for ‘all Christians’; Bernard spoke of the opportunity for personal salvation crusading brought. Whether deliberately not, the Second Crusade spread the crusading movement to the Iberian peninsula (notably Lisbon, which was captured from its Muslim rulers by crusaders on their way by sea to the Holy Land in 1147; similarly parts of southern Spain). The same year also saw the launch of the Baltic crusade, with Bernard’s enthusiastic and bellicose support: ‘they shall either be converted or wiped out.’ Most of all, the crusading movement was inflamed by a new and more violent rhetoric.
The Latin East, 1149–1187, and the rise of Nur ad-Din and Saladin

- Life in the Crusader States: survival, problems, the Kingdom of Jerusalem
- Muslim unity under Nur ad-Din and Saladin; the events of 1187

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**Why were the crusader states weaker by 1180? These notes will help with the first part of the section on the Third Crusade**
The Other Crusades
The Second Crusade saw the movement’s ambit widen to the Iberian and Baltic crusades. It used to be supposed that the Second Crusade was waylaid on its way to Lisbon, but it is now thought that the fleet was intending to campaign in Portugal. Thus, they successfully laid siege to Lisbon in 1147. After wintering there, some left for the Holy Land, but some went campaigning with King Afonso Henriques. This was not new: they had been previous Iberian crusades, but now outside forces were becoming involved, including the Genoese. Iberian crusades became an enduring feature of subsequent history until the 15th century reconquest of Granada.

If the idea of an Iberian crusade was not new to the Second Crusade, the Baltic crusade was. The idea of campaigning against the pagan peoples found on the north-eastern borders of the German empire was not new, but doing it with the papal sanction of a crusade was. When Bernard of Clairvaux preached crusade in Germany in 1147, the assembled Saxon nobility at Frankfurt simply refused to campaign in the Holy Land until they had dealt with their own infidels, the Wends. At Bernard’s behest, recognising a fait accompli, Pope Eugenius III issued his bull *Divina dispensation II*, sanctioning the crusade against the Slavs. Bernard set the tone: We utterly forbid that for any reason whatsoever a truce be made with these peoples… until such a time as, by God’s help, they shall be either converted or wiped out. Thus it was in 1147 that a crusader army of Danes and Saxons, accompanied by an array of north German bishops, attacked pagan Malchow and had to dissuaded from sacking Christian Stettin. Nothing else, bar plunder, was achieved.

Whilst there was not another crusade bull for the Baltic until 1171, war against the Slavs was always now accompanied with the rhetoric of holy war. However, it remained primarily the more familiar cocktail of territorial expansionism of German and Danish power, but now with forcible conversion or death offered to the conquered. The irony is, even when applied to Greek Orthodox communities the Baltic, forced conversion endured as did the adoption of German names and culture in areas that would become primarily German not by migration, but by adoption. The language of crusades became dominant, as the creation of the Teutonic Knights in the 13th century would show. Unlike in the Holy Land, but like the Iberian crusades, the Baltic crusades did bear harvest, even if the final conversion of pagan Lithuanians was accomplished by dynastic marriage rather than Holy War.

The other crusade was even closer to home, in France itself, against the heretical Cathars of the Languedoc. The Albigensian Crusades, 1209-29, were a brutal mixture of dynastic war and religious terror.

Thus, the crusading movement had broadened way beyond its initial ideal, and its initial aims: the defence of fellow Christians in the east and the winning of Jerusalem. In so doing, the crusading movement cannot be said to have lost zeal, as the five crusades of the 13th century all too clearly testify. However, it might be felt that the zeal was thus diffused.
Christian faiths?
It makes life easy if we look at the Christian world of the 11th century and imagine it divided between East and West, Latin and Greek. If only it were so simple. The Great Schism divided the church, but there were many other varieties of Christian, of those deemed to be heretical and thus beyond the Christian pale. The Armenian church, established in the 4th century, was the first national church and was wholly separate and theologically distinct from the Greek or Latin churches. The Coptic church, its origins in Alexandria, was distinct again. Beyond that there were movements in the Middle East which the Latin clerics that accompanied the First Crusade defined as Gnostic, and therefore heretical. Indeed, there may be some connection between and Armenian sect with Bulgaria’s Bogomils and the Cathars of the Languedoc. The crusades arose at a time when the Roman church was increasingly concerned with unorthodox and heretical belief, a concern perhaps deepened by their exposure to different sects and beliefs in the crusades.
### The Latin East, 1149–1187, and the rise of Nur ad-Din and Saladin

- Life in the Crusader States: survival, problems, the Kingdom of Jerusalem
- Muslim unity under Nur ad-Din and Saladin; the events of 1187

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The Latin East, 1149–1187, and the rise of Nur ad-Din and Saladin

- Life in the Crusader States: survival, problems, the Kingdom of Jerusalem
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• Aleppo  
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• Saladin’s illness & the decision to focus on Jerusalem |
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| The fall of Jerusalem | | P103 | • Why did Hattin ensure that Jerusalem was at Saladin’s mercy? (do the Enquiry, p91)  
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The preaching of, and responses to the call for, the Third Crusade

- Crusading warfare: campaigns, strategy and tactics
- Richard I's role
- Partial success and failure

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<td>Show how Richard I &amp; Philip II had differing priorities at home, and Richard was threatened by John; rivalry &amp; the tensions between John &amp; Richard, how the ruling house of Jerusalem could be seen as a junior branch of Richard’s Angevin family, how their journeys to the holy land illustrate the tensions between them, how there were disagreements over whether to head for Jerusalem or Egypt, how the death of William II, the debt owed to Richard by Tancred of Lecce, the loss of the support of a Sicilian fleet &amp; Richard’s proposed marriage affected the crusade, how the death of Frederick I affected the crusade, why Richard had to take leave of the crusade to deal with Philip and John</td>
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The course of the Third Crusade

- The siege of Acre, 1191
- The march to Jaffa, 1191
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- The first and second marches on Jerusalem
- The treaty of Jaffa
- Sappers; Greek fire

Did the leadership of the Third Crusade scupper its chances before it even arrived?

Why did the Third Crusade end in the truce of 1192?

Do the Enquiry Focus on p105 & p117

Was the Third Crusade really a failure at all?

The Latin West in the 1180s

A primary reason for the failure of the West to return to the crusades in the 1180s, was its internal politics. Going crusading could, previous events had already shown crusading could be bad for your political health: Robert of Normandy's political struggle with his brother Henry I ended in defeat for him, and he was in part undermined by going on the First Crusade. In England, the 12th century had seen a brutal and protracted civil war between Henry I's daughter, the Empress Matilda and King Stephen. In the end, that was resolved in a deal that saw Matilda's son take the throne upon Stephen's death. Henry II was one of the great kings of England, but much more than that. As well as being Duke of Normandy, he inherited the vast Angevin estates from his father Geoffrey of Anjou (son of Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem) and then added Aquitaine to that estate, by way of his marriage to Louis VII's widow Eleanor of Aquitaine. Thus Henry was lord of something akin to half of France, and for his Angevin lands and Aquitaine was, nominally at least, a vassal of the Capetian crown. Any thoughts Henry may have entertained of backing the crusades, and he did propose to in both 1171 and 1173, would have been long gone by the 1180s, when the ageing king was beset by the threat of Philip II and rebellions fermented by his wife and led by his sons; likewise, the crusading zeal his second son Richard had was very effectively side-lined into leading rebellions against his father.

Meanwhile, in 1180, a new young French king had come to the throne, Philip II. He was determined to assert himself against Henry, so much so that they went to war twice, the second time with Philip allied to Richard and Henry's third son, John. Thus neither the royal houses, nor the nobility of England and France, were ever likely to go on crusade whilst they were thus preoccupied. It could be argued that it was Henry's death in 1189 that made the decision of both Richard the Lionheart and Philip II to go on crusade possible. Having made peace with Philip, Richard could turn to another piece of family business, the fortunes of Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem, like him a direct descendant of Fulk of Anjou. In other words, the Third Crusade was both holy war and yet another branch of the Angevin family business.
It is the context of the Capetian-Angevin rivalry that helps explain the failure of Alexander III’s appeal for crusades. When Henry II considered going on crusade in 1173, he was in part responding to the pope’s most recent call. His most direct appeal came in 1181. Saladin’s victory at Marj Ayyun (after he had failed to buy the crusaders off) and the fall of the crusader fortress of Jacob’s Ford prompted Alexander III to issue a bull and appeal directly to Henry and Philip, with no effect bar a small crusade led by Henry, Duke of Lotharingia, which arrived in 1183. Given Henry’s more immediate priorities, the failure of this appeal was hardly surprising.

So parlous was the situation in Jerusalem by 1144 (the weak Baldwin IV, Saladin and the antipathy between Constantinople and the crusader states) that Patriarch Heraclius led a delegation west, alongside the masters of both the Templars and Hospitallers. They met Pope Lucius III at Verona, who promptly issued a bull for a crusade. The delegation moved onto France, where as they had in 1169, they offered the king the keys to Jerusalem: Philip declined. They went on to meet Henry II in 1185: he was moved to tears by their tale of woe, but not to action. Heraclius, after berating both kings, returned a sadder and perhaps wiser man as a few nobles took the cross, but not the two kings.

Even on crusade, Philip and Richard famously fell out, just as Richard did with Leopold of Austra. It would seem that the two kings decided that Leopold’s small entourage (he started with ten men of note, which was reduced to one by the time he arrived in the holy land did not entitle Leopold a share of the booty from the capture of Acre and thus ordered his banner, as a symbol of conquest and thus to the spoils, to be taken down. Leopold and a number of other Germans left the Holy Land in disgust, and he would later famously imprison Richard: hell hath no fury like a Babenberg scorned.

Reynald of Châtillon, the raid on the Arabian Peninsula and Saladin
In many ways, Reynald of Châtillon was a hark back to the warlord adventurers of the crusades’ early days. One of his more remarkable adventures, the raid on the Arabian Peninsula of the winter of 1182-83, was to have a particularly unfortunate outcome. After Saladin had been defeated at Montségur in 1177 and La Fobelet in 1182, and then driven away after blockading Beirut by a Frankish and Pisan fleet, Reynald decided to strike. He had five Frankish warships built in kit form and transported them by camel to the gulf of Aqaba on the Red Sea. After plundering at least seventeen ships, as well as several towns and caravans inland, they were finally captured. Saladin ordered the Christians to be executed in various towns and cities across his lands, and had two ritually killed at Mecca in front of the assembled pilgrims, thus depicting himself as the true defender of the Muslims. Reynald was not captured: Saladin swore he would kill him.

It was in response to what Saladin believed to be collusion with the Franks that Saladin decided to take Aleppo in 1183, and thus bolster his position as the leader of the Muslim world against the Franks. Not that Saladin’s rise, nor previous experience, seemed to knock any sense into Reynald. It was his raid on a Muslim caravan travelling from Cairo to Damascus in the winter of 1186-87, and his killing of the Muslim traders in it, that gave Saladin his *causus belli* in 1187 and would, ultimately, cost Reynald his life at Saladin’s own hand.
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