



ST. MARY THE VIRGIN

Sovereign Military Order of the Temple of Jerusalem

Sieges and Battles of the Crusades

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Prepared by



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The Crusades

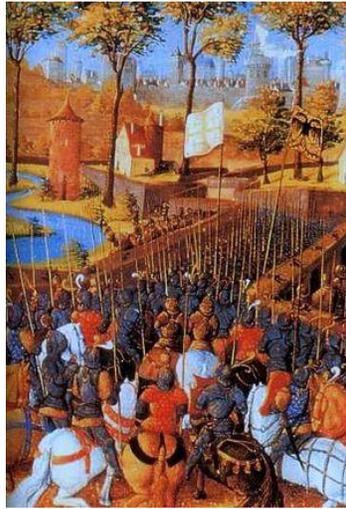
On November 27, 1095, Pope Urban II makes perhaps the most influential speech of the Middle Ages, giving rise to the Crusades.

Pope Urban II called for the First Crusade in a sermon at the Council of Clermont in 1095. He encouraged military support for the Byzantine Empire and its Emperor, Alexios I, who needed reinforcements for his conflict with westward migrating Turks colonizing Anatolia. One of Urban's aims was to guarantee pilgrims access to the Eastern Mediterranean holy sites that were under Muslim control but scholars disagree as to whether this was the primary motive for Urban or those who heeded his call. Urban's strategy may have been to unite the Eastern and Western branches of Christendom, which had been divided since the East–West Schism of 1054 and to establish himself as head of the unified Church. The initial success of the Crusade established the first four Crusader states in the Eastern Mediterranean: the County of Edessa, the Principality of Antioch, the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli. The enthusiastic response to Urban's preaching from all classes in Western Europe established a precedent for other Crusades. Volunteers became Crusaders by taking a public vow and receiving plenary indulgences from the Church. Some were hoping for a mass ascension into heaven at Jerusalem or God's forgiveness for all their sins. Others participated to satisfy feudal obligations, obtain glory and honor or to seek economic and political gain.

Modern historians hold widely varying opinions of the Crusaders. To some, their conduct was incongruous with the stated aims and implied moral authority of the papacy, as evidenced by the fact that on occasion the Pope excommunicated Crusaders. Crusaders often pillaged as they travelled, and their leaders generally retained control of captured territory instead of returning it to the Byzantines. During the People's Crusade, thousands of Jews were murdered in what is now called the Rhineland massacres. Constantinople was sacked during the Fourth Crusade. However, the Crusades had a profound impact on Western civilization: Italian city-states gained considerable concessions in return for assisting the Crusaders and established colonies which allowed trade with the eastern markets even in the Ottoman period, allowing Genoa and Venice to flourish; they consolidated the collective identity of the Latin Church under papal leadership; and they constituted a wellspring for accounts of heroism, chivalry, and piety that galvanized medieval romance, philosophy, and literature. The Crusades also reinforced a connection between Western Christendom, feudalism, and militarism.

First Crusade (1095-1102)

The First Crusade was a military campaign by western European forces to recapture Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Muslim control. Conceived by Pope Urban II following an appeal from the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, around 60,000 soldiers and at least half again of non-combatants set off on their quest. After campaigns in Asia Minor and the Middle East, great cities such as Nicaea and Antioch were recaptured and then, on July 15, 1099 CE, Jerusalem itself. Many more Crusades would follow, objectives would widen, as would the field of conflict, so that even Constantinople would come under attack in subsequent campaigns.



Siege of Xerigordos

The Siege of Xerigordos pitted Germans of the People's Crusade under Reinald against the Turks commanded by Elchanes, general of Kilij Arslan I, the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm.

The army of the Crusade landed in Asia Minor on August 6, 1096, and camped at Helenopolis to the north-west of Nicaea, at that time capital of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm. The young Sultan, Kilij Arslan I, was in the middle of a military campaign to the east, fighting the Danishmend emirate.

DANISHMEND

The Danishmend dynasty was a Turkish Beylik that ruled in north-central and eastern Anatolia from AD1104 to AD1178.

While waiting for the main Crusader army, the disorganized "People's Crusade" army began to attack the villages surrounding Nicaea. The Norman raiding party returned unhindered many times with their booty, at some point even defeating the garrison of Nicaea when it tried to stop them. Reinald led 6,000 Germans (Lombards and Alemanni), including 200 knights, on similar raids. Reinald was unsatisfied with the pillaging results near Nicaea and went farther to Xerigordos, a fortress four days march to the east, to set up a pillaging base. On September 18, 1096, Reinald easily defeated the Xerigordos garrison.

Kilij Arslan ordered his general, Elchanes, to deal with the Crusader's raiding parties with his troops, mostly mounted archers.

Elchanes arrived three days after Reinald occupied Xerigordos, on September 21, and besieged the Crusaders tightly. The speed of the Turkish mounted troops surprised the Germans; they had not expected to be besieged and were unprepared and without adequate supplies.

Our people were in such distress from thirst that they bled their horses and asses and drank the blood; others let their girdles and handkerchiefs down into the cistern and squeezed out the water from them into their mouths; some urinated into one another's hollowed hands and drank; and others dug up the moist ground and lay down on their backs and spread the earth over their breasts to relieve the excessive dryness of thirst.

Relief forces never came. Some accounts mentioned that Turks sent two spies to the Crusaders' camp at Civetot to make them think that Xerigordos was still safe, and even that Nicaea had been conquered by Reynald. Other accounts mentioned that Crusader leaders on the field were forced by their troops to advance, but could not make the decision until news of the Xerigordos surrender arrived on October.

For eight days, the Crusaders resisted thirst and a rain of arrows and smoke from the Turks. After, the leader of the Germans offered to surrender and to fight for the Turks. The fort surrendered on September 29, 1096. Some of the Crusaders who converted to Islam became slaves, while others who refused to abandon their faith were killed.

There are various accounts on Reynald's fate. Some mention that he was killed at the beginning of the siege while trying to ambush the Turks' own water source in front of the fortress, others that he died during the siege, and one that claims he converted to Islam.

Kilij Arslan I became more confident and sent his army to ambush the People's Crusade army at the Battle of Civetot en route to Nicaea.



Battle of Civetot

After the disastrous defeat for the Crusaders in the Siege of Xerigordon, two Turkish spies spread a rumor that the German element of the People's Crusade, who had taken Xerigordon had also taken Nicaea. This had the effect of causing excitement among the main camp of Crusaders to share in the looting of the city as soon as possible. The Turks were waiting on the road to Nicaea. Peter the Hermit, the nominal leader of the Crusade, had gone back to Constantinople to arrange for supplies and was due back soon, and most of the leaders argued to

wait for him to return (which he never did). However, Geoffrey Burel, who had taken command, argued that it would be cowardly to wait, and they should move against the Turks right away. His will prevailed and, on the morning of October 21, 1096 the entire army of 20,000 marched out toward Nicaea, leaving women, children, the old and the sick behind at the camp.

Three miles from the camp, where the road entered a narrow, wooded valley near the village of Dracon, the Turkish army was waiting. When approaching the valley, the Crusaders marched noisily and were immediately subjected to a hail of arrows. Panic set in immediately and within minutes, the army was in full rout back to the camp. Most of the Crusaders were slaughtered (upwards of 60,000 by some accounts); however, women, children, and those who surrendered were spared. Three thousand, including Geoffrey Burel, were able to obtain refuge in an abandoned castle. Eventually the Byzantines under

PEOPLE'S CRUSADE

The People's Crusade was a popular Crusade and a prelude to the First Crusade that lasted roughly six months from April to October 1096. It is also known as the Peasants' Crusade, Paupers' Crusade or the Popular Crusade as it was not part of the official Catholic Church-organized expeditions that came later.

Constantine Katakalon sailed over and raised the siege; these few thousand returned to Constantinople, the only survivors of the People's Crusade.

Siege Engines

Siege weapons were made to order! They were far too cumbersome to move from one place to another. In a siege situation the commander would assess the situation and the siege weapons design requirements to break a siege. Engineers would instruct soldiers as to the design and construction of siege weapons and siege engines. The most famous Medieval Siege Weapons were the:

- Battering Ram and the Bore were used to literally 'batter' down, pound, punch and shake and drill into castle gates, doors and walls
- Ballista was similar to a Giant Crossbow and worked by using tension
- Mangonel - Missiles were launched from a bowl-shaped bucket at the end of the one giant arm
- Trebuchet consisted of a lever and a sling and was capable of hurling stones weighing 200 pounds with a range of up to about 300 yards
- Siege Tower was usually rectangular with four wheels and a height equal to that of the wall, or sometimes even higher



FIGURE 1 Godfrey of Bouillon, (Sep 8, 1060 – Jul 18, 1100)

Siege of Nicaea

Nicaea (İzmit), located on the eastern shore of Lake Askania, had been captured from the Byzantine Empire by the Seljuk Turks in 1081, and formed the capital of the Sultanate of Rum. In 1096, the People's Crusade, the first stage of the First Crusade, had plundered the land surrounding the city, before being destroyed by the Turks. As a result, Sultan Kilij Arslan I initially felt that the second wave of Crusaders were not a threat. He left his family and his treasury behind in Nicaea and went east to fight the Danishmends for control of the Melitene.

The Crusaders began to leave Constantinople at the end of April 1097. Godfrey of Bouillon was the first to arrive at Nicaea, with Bohemond of Taranto, Bohemond's nephew Tancred, Raymond IV of Toulouse, and Robert II of Flanders following him, along with Peter the Hermit and some of the survivors of the People's Crusade, and a small Byzantine force under Manuel Boutoumites. They arrived on May 6, severely short on food, but Bohemond arranged for food to be brought by land and by sea. They put the city to siege beginning on May 14, assigning their forces to different sections of the walls, which were well-defended with 200 towers. Bohemond camped on the north side of the city, Godfrey on the south, and Raymond and Adhemar of Le Puy on the eastern gate.

On May 16, the Turkish defenders sallied out to attack the Crusaders, but the Turks were defeated in a skirmish with the loss of 200 men. The Turks sent messages to Kilij Arslan begging him to return, and when he realized the strength of the Crusaders he quickly turned back. An advance party was defeated by troops under Raymond and Robert of Flanders on May 20, and on May 21, the Crusader army defeated Kilij in a pitched battle which lasted long into the night. Losses were heavy on both sides but in the end the Sultan retreated, despite the pleas of the Nicaean Turks. The rest of the Crusaders arrived throughout the rest of May, with Robert Curthose (accompanied by Ralph de Guader) and Stephen of Blois arriving at the beginning of June. Meanwhile Raymond and Adhemar built a large siege engine, which was rolled up to the Gonatas Tower in order to engage the defenders on the walls while miners mined the tower from below. The tower was damaged but no further progress was made.

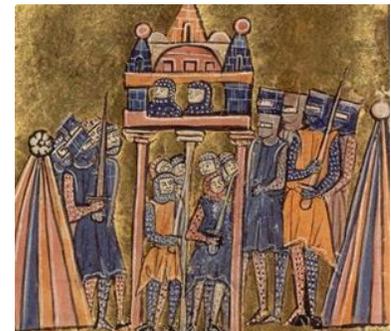


FIGURE 2 Illuminated manuscript illustrating the Siege of Nicaea and mining under the tower.

Byzantine emperor Alexios I chose not to accompany the Crusaders, but marched out behind them and made his camp at nearby Pelecanum. From there, he sent boats, rolled

over the land, to help the Crusaders blockade Lake Ascanius, which had up to this point been used by the Turks to supply Nicaea with food. The boats arrived on June 17, under the command of Manuel Boutoumites. The general Tatikios was also sent, with 2,000 foot soldiers.

Boutoumites had been instructed by Alexios to secure the surrender of the city to imperial forces, and not to the Crusaders. Already from the outset of the siege, Boutoumites, through numerous letters, tried to entice the Seljuks to surrender to him, whether through promises of amnesty or threats of a wholesale massacre should the Crusaders capture the city by force. The Turks had entered negotiations, allowing Boutoumites to enter the city. Two days later, at the news of the approach of a relief force under Sultan Kilij Arslan I (r. 1092–1107), they forced him to leave. After the relief force was defeated by the Crusaders, however, and as an imperial squadron under Boutoumites gained control of the city's open supply route through the Ascanian Lake and 2,000 Byzantines under Tatikios joined the Crusaders in the siege, the city's inhabitants determined to accept Alexios's terms: Boutoumites entered Nicaea and showed them the Byzantine emperor's chrysobull, offering generous terms and honors for the Sultan's wife and sister, who were in the city. Boutoumites, however, kept the deal a secret, and arranged with Tatikios for a renewed assault by the Crusaders and Tatikios's men, in which the city would ostensibly be captured by the Byzantines. The ruse worked: the day of the final assault was set for June 19, but when the assault began at dawn, the Byzantines, allowed in through the lake-ward gates, raised their standards on the battlements, leaving the Crusaders outside. The Turks surrendered to Boutoumites.

Although by and large the Crusaders accepted the outcome, the event soured relations. The Crusader leaders felt cheated at having been left out of the loop after the casualties they suffered in defeating the Turkish relief force, but the resentment was greater among the Crusader rank and file, who were deprived of the prospect of plunder and outraged at the Byzantines' respectful treatment of the Muslim captives. In the aftermath of the city's fall, Boutoumites was named by Alexios as *doux* of Nicaea. He was successful both in keeping the Crusader rank and file, still eager for pillage, in check – they were not allowed into the city except in groups of ten – and in soothing their leaders through gifts and securing their pledge of allegiance to Alexios.

D O U X

Dux is Latin for "leader" (from the noun *dux*, *ducis*, "leader, general") and later for duke and its variant forms (doge, duce, etc.).

Boutoumites also expelled the Turkish generals, whom he considered just as untrustworthy. Kilij Arslan's family went to Constantinople and were eventually released without ransom. Alexios gave the Crusaders money, horses, and other gifts, but the Crusaders were not pleased with this, believing they could have had even more if they had captured Nicaea themselves. Boutoumites would not permit them to leave until they had all sworn an oath of vassalage to Alexios, if they had not yet done so in Constantinople. As he had in Constantinople, Tancred at first refused, but he eventually gave in.

The Crusaders left Nicaea on June 26, in two contingents: Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Flanders, and Tatikios in the vanguard, and Godfrey, Baldwin of Boulogne, Stephen, and Hugh of Vermandois in the rear. Tatikios was instructed to ensure the return of captured cities to the empire. Their spirits were high, and Stephen wrote to his wife Adela that they expected to be in Jerusalem in five weeks.



Battle of Dorylaeum

The first Battle of Dorylaeum took place on July 1, 1097, between the Crusaders and the Seljuk Turks, near the city of Dorylaeum in Anatolia.

The Crusaders had left Nicaea on June 26, with a deep distrust of the Byzantines, who had taken the city without their knowledge after a long siege. On June 29, they learnt that the Turks were planning an ambush

near Dorylaeum (Bohemond noticed that his army was being shadowed by Turkish scouts). The Turkish force, consisting of Kilij Arslan I and his ally Hasan of Cappadocia, along with help from the Danishmendids, led by the Turkish prince Danishmend Gazi, the Persians, and the Caucasian Albanians. Contemporary figures place this number between 25,000 and 30,000, more recent estimates are between 6,000 and 8,000 men. Back then numbers were mentioned absurdly high in order to give it a heroic twist, 150,000 men according to Raymond of Aguilers, which was not possible due lack of logistic support, men and since Turks fought a hit and run guerrilla-tactic indicating a small army.

In addition to large numbers of noncombatants, Bohemond's force probably numbered about 10,000, the majority on foot. Military figures of the time often imply perhaps several men-at-arms per knight (i.e., a stated force of 500 knights is assumed to contain perhaps 1,500 men-at-arms in addition), so it seems reasonable that Bohemond had with him approximately 8,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 cavalry.



FIGURE 3 Battle of Dorylaeum by Gustave Doré.

On the evening of June 30, after a three-day march, Bohemond's army made camp in a meadow on the north bank of the river Thymbres, near the ruined town of Dorylaeum. On July 1, Bohemond's force was surrounded outside Dorylaeum by Kilij Arslan. Godfrey and Raymond had separated from the vanguard at Leuce, and the Turkish army attacked at dawn, taking Bohemond's army (not expecting such a swift attack) entirely by surprise, shooting arrows into the camp. Bohemond's knights had quickly mounted but their sporadic counterattacks were unable to deter the Turks. The Turks were riding into camp, cutting down noncombatants and unarmored foot soldiers, who were unable to outrun the Turkish horses and were too disoriented and panic-stricken to form lines of battle. To protect the unarmored foot and noncombatants, Bohemond ordered his knights to dismount and form a defensive line, and with some

trouble gathered the foot soldiers and the noncombatants into the center of the camp; the women acted as water-carriers throughout the battle. While this formed a battle line and sheltered the more vulnerable men-at-arms and noncombatants, it also gave the Turks free rein to maneuver on the battlefield.

The Turkish mounted archers attacked in their usual style - charging in, shooting their arrows, and quickly retreating before the Crusaders could counterattack. The archers did little damage to the heavily armored knights, but they inflicted heavy casualties on the horses and unarmored foot soldiers. Bohemond had sent messengers to the other Crusader army and now struggled to hold on until help arrived, and his army was being forced back to the bank of the Thymbris River. The marshy riverbanks protected the Crusaders from mounted charge, as the ground was too soft for horses, and the armored knights formed a circle protecting the foot soldiers and noncombatants from arrows, but the Turks kept their archers constantly supplied and the sheer number of arrows was taking its toll, reportedly more than 2,000 falling to horse-archers. Bohemond's knights were impetuous - although ordered to stand ground, small groups of knights would periodically break ranks and charge, only to be slaughtered or forced back as the Turkish horses fell back beyond range of their swords and arrows, while still shooting at them with arrows, killing many of the knights' horses out from under them. And although the knights' armor protected them well (the Turks called them 'men of iron') the sheer number of arrows meant that some would find unprotected spots and eventually, after so many hits, a knight would collapse from his wounds.

Just after midday, Godfrey arrived with a force of 50 knights, fighting through the Turkish lines to reinforce Bohemond. Through the day small groups of reinforcements (also from Raymond, and Hugh, as well as Godfrey) arrived, some killed by the Turks, others fighting to reach Bohemond's camp. As the Crusader losses mounted, the Turks became more aggressive and the Crusader army found itself forced from the marshy banks of the river into the shallows. But the Crusaders held on, and after approximately 7 hours of battle, Raymond's knights arrived (it is unclear if Raymond was with them, or if they arrived ahead of Raymond), launching a vicious surprise attack across the Turkish flank that turned them back in disarray and allowed the Crusaders to rally.

The Crusaders had formed a line of battle with Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen on the left wing, Raymond, Robert of Flanders in the center and Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Hugh on the right, and they rallied against the Turks, proclaiming "*hodie omnes divites si Deo placet effecti eritis*" ("today if it pleases God you will all become rich"). Although the ferocity of the Norman attack took the Turks by surprise, they were unable to dislodge the Turks until a force led by Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, the Papal legate, arrived in mid-afternoon, perhaps with Raymond in the van, moving around the battle through concealing hills and across the river, outflanking the archers on the left and surprising the Turks from the rear. Adhemar's force fell on the Turkish camp, and attacked the Turks from the rear. The Turks were terrified by the sight of their camp in flames, and by the ferocity and endurance of the knights, since the knights' armour protected them from arrows and even many sword cuts, and they promptly fled, abandoning their camp and forcing Kilij Arslan to withdraw from the battlefield.

The Crusaders did indeed become rich, at least for a short time, after capturing Kilij Arslan's treasury. The Turks fled and Arslan turned to other concerns in his eastern territory. Arslan punitively took the male Greek children from the region extending from Dorylaeum to Iconium, sending many as slaves to Persia. On the other hand, the Crusaders were allowed to march virtually unopposed through Anatolia on their way to Antioch.

With the Crusader army moved onwards towards Antioch, the Emperor Alexios I achieved part of his original intent in inviting the Crusaders in the first place: the recovery

of Seljuk-held imperial territories in Asia Minor. John Doukas re-established Byzantine rule in Chios, Rhodes, Smyrna, Ephesus, Sardis, and Philadelphia in 1097–1099.



Siege of Antioch

On October 20, 1097 the Crusaders reached a fortified crossing, known as Iron Bridge, on the Orontes River 12 miles (19 km) outside Antioch. Robert II, Count of Flanders and Adhemar of Le Puy, the Catholic Bishop of Puy-en-Velay, led the charge across the bridge, opening the way for the advancing army. Bohemond of Taranto took a vanguard along the river's south bank and headed towards Antioch on October 21, and the Crusaders established themselves outside the city's north wall. The Crusaders divided into several groups. Bohemond camped outside Saint

Paul's Gate near the northernmost corner of the city walls and immediately to the west were Hugh I, Count of Vermandois; Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy; Robert II, Count of Flanders; and Stephen II, Count of Blois. Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, took up positions outside the Dog Gate either side of where the Orontes penetrated Antioch's defenses. Godfrey of Bouillon was stationed west of the Duke's Gate in the northwest of the city walls. The bridge across the Orontes outside Antioch's west walls remained under Yaghi-Siyān's control at this point. The ensuing nine-month siege has been described as "one of the great sieges of the age".

The leaders resolved to maintain the siege until the city was forced into submission. One of the problems of camping so close to the city was that it left the besiegers vulnerable to sorties from the garrison and even missiles. For the first fortnight of the siege the Crusaders were able to forage in the surrounding area as the defenders chose not to leave the safety of the city walls, however in November Yaghi-Siyān learned that the Crusaders felt the city would not fall to an assault so was able to turn his attentions from the defensive to harrying the besiegers. He mobilized his cavalry and began harassing the besiegers. With the immediate area stripped clean, the Crusaders' foraging parties had to search further afield for supplies leaving them more vulnerable and on several occasions were attacked by the garrisons of nearby fortifications. Yaghi-Siyān's men also used the Dog Bridge, outside the Dog Gate to harass the Crusaders. Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond IV's men, who were camped closest to the bridge attempted to destroy it using picks and hammers but made little impact on the strong structure while under missile fire from Antioch's defenders. Another attempt was made to render the bridge unusable, this time with a mobile shelter to protect the Crusaders, but the garrison sortied and successfully drove them away. Soon after three siege engines were built opposite the Dog Gate. In the end, the Crusaders erected a blockade on the bridge to obstruct potential sorties.



FIGURE 4 Bohemond of Tarranto (c. 1054 – Mar 3, 1111)



FIGURE 5 Raymond IV (c. 1041 – Feb 28, 1105)

As the Crusaders' food supply reached critical levels in December, Godfrey fell ill. Though local Christians brought food to the Crusaders they charged extortionate prices. The famine also affected the horses, and soon only 700 remained. One in five Crusaders died from starvation during the siege and the poorer members were probably worse off. The famine damaged morale and some knights and soldiers began to desert.



Battle of the Lake of Antioch

As the Crusaders were besieging Antioch, word reached the Crusader camp that a large relief force led by Radwan, the Seljuq ruler of Aleppo, was on the way. Bohemond of Taranto gathered all remaining horses and marched in the night to ambush the Muslim army on a hill between the Orontes River and the Lake of Antioch. After several successful cavalry charges the Crusader knights routed the numerically superior Muslim army on February 9 1098, forcing Radwan to retreat back to Aleppo.

In April a Fatimid embassy from Egypt arrived at the Crusader camp, hoping to establish a peace with the Christians, who were, after all, the enemy of their own enemies, the Seljuks. Peter the Hermit, was sent to negotiate. These negotiations came to nothing. The Fatimids, assuming the Crusaders were simply mercenary representatives of the Byzantines, were prepared to let the Crusaders keep Syria if they agreed not to attack Fatimid Palestine, a state of affairs perfectly acceptable between Egypt and Byzantium before the Turkish invasions. But the Crusaders could not accept any settlement that did not give them Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the Fatimids were treated hospitably and were given many gifts, plundered from the Turks who had been defeated in March, and no definitive agreement was reached.

The siege continued, and at the end of May 1098 a Muslim army from Mosul under the command of Kerbogha approached Antioch. This army was much larger than the previous attempts to relieve the siege. Kerbogha had joined with Ridwan and Duqaq and his army also included troops from Persia and from the Ortuqids of Mesopotamia. The Crusaders were luckily granted time to prepare for their arrival, as Kerbogha had first made a three-week-long excursion to Edessa, which he was unable to recapture from Baldwin of Boulogne, who had taken it earlier in 1098.

The Crusaders knew they would have to take the city before Kerbogha arrived if they had any chance of survival. Weeks earlier, Bohemond had secretly established contact with someone inside the city named Firouz, an Armenian guard who controlled the Tower of the Two Sisters. Firouz's motivation was unclear even to Bohemond, perhaps avarice or revenge, but he offered to let Bohemond into the city in exchange for money and a title. Bohemond then approached the other Crusaders and offered access to the city, through Firouz, if they would agree to make Bohemond the Prince of Antioch. Raymond was furious and argued that the city should be handed over to Alexios, as they had agreed when they left Constantinople in 1097, but Godfrey, Tancred, Robert, and the other leaders, faced with a desperate situation, gave in to Bohemond's demand.



FIGURE 6 A 14th-century depiction of the Crusaders' capture of Antioch.

On June 2, Stephen of Blois and some of the other Crusaders deserted the army. Later on the same day, Firouz instructed Bohemond to feign a march south over the mountains to ostensibly confront Kerbogha, but then to double-back at night and scale the walls at the Tower of the Two Sisters where Firouz held watch. This was done. Firouz allowed a small contingent of Crusaders to scale the tower (including Bohemond), who then opened a nearby postern gate allowing a larger contingent of soldiers hiding in the nearby rocks to enter the city and overwhelm the alerted garrison. The

Crusaders subsequently massacred thousands of Christian civilians along with Muslims, unable to tell them apart, including Firouz's own brother. Yaghi-Siyan fled but was captured by Armenian and Syrian Christians some distance outside the city. His severed head was brought to Bohemond.



FIGURE 7 An illustration of Kerbogha besieging Antioch, from a 14th-century manuscript

By the end of the day on June 3, the Crusaders controlled most of the city, except for the citadel, which remained in hands of Yaghi-Siyan's son Shams ad-Daulah. John the Oxite was reinstated as patriarch by Adhemar of Le Puy, the papal legate, who wished to keep good relations with the Byzantines, especially as Bohemond was clearly planning to claim the city for himself. However, the city was now short on food, and Kerbogha's army was still on its way. Kerbogha arrived only two days later, on June 5. He tried, and failed, to storm the city on June 7, and by June 9 he had established his own siege around the city.

Meanwhile, in Antioch, on the 10th of June an otherwise insignificant priest from southern France by the name of Peter Bartholomew came forward claiming to have had visions of St. Andrew, who told him that the Holy Lance was inside the city. The starving Crusaders were prone to visions and hallucinations, and another monk named Stephen of Valence reported visions of Christ and the Virgin Mary. On June 14 a meteor was seen landing in the enemy camp, interpreted as a good omen. Although Adhemar was suspicious, as he had seen a relic of the Holy Lance in Constantinople, Raymond believed Peter. Raymond, Raymond of Aguilers, William, Bishop of Orange, and others began to dig in the cathedral of Saint Peter on June 15, and when they came



FIGURE 8 Discovery of the Holy Lance

up empty, Peter went into the pit, reached down, and produced a spear point. Raymond took this as a divine sign that they would survive and thus prepared for a final fight rather than surrender. Peter then reported another vision, in which St. Andrew instructed the Crusader army to fast for five days (although they were already starving), after which they would be victorious.

Bohemond was skeptical of the Holy Lance as well, but there is no question that its discovery increased the morale of the Crusaders. It is also possible that Peter was reporting what Bohemond wanted (rather than what St. Andrew

wanted) as Bohemond knew, from spies in Kerbogha's camp, that the various factions frequently argued with each other. Kerbogha of Mosul was indeed suspected by most emirs to yearn for sovereignty in Syria and often considered as a bigger threat to their interests than the Christian invaders. On June 27, Peter the Hermit was sent by Bohemond to negotiate with Kerbogha, but this proved futile and battle with the Turks was thus unavoidable. Bohemond drew up six divisions: he commanded one himself, and the other five were led by Hugh of Vermandois and Robert of Flanders, Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Adhemar, and Tancred and Gaston IV of Béarn. Raymond, who had fallen

ill, remained inside to guard the citadel with 200 men, now held by Ahmed Ibn Merwan an agent of Kerbogha.



FIGURE 9 Raymond of Aguilers carrying the Holy Lance at the Battle of Antioch.

Battle of Antioch

On Monday June 28, 1098 the Crusaders emerged from the city gate, with Raymond of Aguilers carrying the Holy Lance before them. Kerbogha hesitated against his generals' pleadings, hoping to attack them all at once rather than one division at a time, but he underestimated their size. He pretended to retreat to draw the Crusaders to rougher terrain, while his archers continuously pelted the advancing Crusaders with arrows. A detachment was dispatched to the Crusader left wing, which was not protected by the river, but Bohemond quickly formed a seventh division and beat them back. The Turks were inflicting many casualties, including Adhemar's standard-bearer, and Kerbogha set fire to the grass between his position and the Crusaders, but this did not deter them: they had visions of three saints riding along with them: St. George, St. Mercurius, and St. Demetrius. The battle was brief and disastrous for the Turks. Duqaq deserted Kerbogha and this desertion reduced the great numerical advantage the Muslim army had over its Christian opponents. Soon the defeated Muslim troops were in panicked retreat.

As Kerbogha fled, the citadel under command of Ahmed of Merwan finally surrendered, but only to Bohemond personally, rather than to Raymond; this seems to have been arranged beforehand without Raymond's knowledge. As expected, Bohemond claimed the city as his own although Adhemar and Raymond disagreed. Hugh of Vermandois and Baldwin of Hainaut were sent to Constantinople, although Baldwin disappeared after an ambush on the way. Alexios, however, was uninterested in sending an expedition to claim the city this late in the summer. Back in Antioch, Bohemond argued that Alexios had deserted the Crusade and thus invalidated all of their oaths to him. Bohemond and Raymond occupied Yaghi-Siyan's palace, but Bohemond controlled most of the rest of the city and flew his standard from the citadel. It is a common assumption that the Franks of northern France, the Provençals of southern France, and the Normans of southern Italy considered themselves separate "nations" and that each wanted to increase its status. This may have had something to do with the disputes, but personal ambition is more likely the cause of the infighting.

Soon an epidemic broke out, possibly of typhus, and on August 1, Adhemar of le Puy died. In September the leaders of the Crusade wrote to Pope Urban II, asking him to take personal control of Antioch, but he declined. For the rest of 1098, they took control of the countryside surrounding Antioch, although there were now even fewer horses than before, and Muslim peasants refused to give them food. The minor knights and soldiers became restless and starvation began to set in and they threatened to continue to Jerusalem without their squabbling leaders. In November, Raymond finally gave in to Bohemond for the sake of continuing the Crusade in peace and to calm his mutinous starving troops. At the beginning of 1099 the march was renewed, leaving Bohemond behind as the first Prince of Antioch, and in the spring the Siege of Jerusalem began under the leadership of Raymond.



Siege of Ma'arra

After the Crusaders successfully besieged Antioch, they started to raid the surrounding countryside during the winter months. The Crusaders had been ineffective in assessing and protecting their supply lines, which led to widespread hunger and lack of proper equipment within the Crusader armies.

In July 1098, Raymond Pilet, a knight in the army of Raymond de Saint Gilles, led an expedition against Maarat, an important city on the road south towards Damascus. His troops met a much larger Muslim garrison in the town and they were completely routed with many casualties. For the rest of the summer the Crusaders continued their march south and captured many other small towns, and arrived again at Maarat in November.

Around the end of November, thousands of Crusaders started to besiege the city. The citizens were at first unconcerned, since Raymond Pilet's expedition had been such a failure, and they taunted the Crusaders. The Crusaders could also not afford to conduct a lengthy siege, as winter was approaching and they had few supplies, but they were also unable to break through the city's defenses, consisting of a deep ditch and strong walls.

The defenders of the city, mostly an urban militia and inexperienced citizens, managed to hold off the attacks for about two weeks. The Crusaders spent this time building a siege tower, which allowed them to pour over the walls of the city, while at the same time a group of knights scaled the undefended walls on the other side of the city.

The Crusaders occupied the walls on December 11. The Muslims retreated into the city, and both sides prepared to rest for the night, but the poorer Crusaders rushed through and plundered Maarat. On the morning of December 12, the garrison negotiated with Bohemond, who promised them safe conduct if they surrendered. The Muslims surrendered, but the Crusaders immediately began to massacre the population. Meanwhile, Bohemond seized control of the walls and towers while Raymond of Toulouse took control of the interior of the city, continuing their dispute over who would rule conquered territories.

Maarat was not as rich as the Crusaders had hoped and they were still short of supplies and food as December progressed. Most of the soldiers and knights preferred to continue the march to Jerusalem, caring little for the political dispute between Bohemond and Raymond, and Raymond tried to buy the support of the other leaders. While the leaders negotiated away from the city, some of the starving Crusaders at Maarat reportedly resorted to cannibalism.

The Crusaders began destroying Maarat's fortifications, forcing Raymond to finally agree to continue the march south toward Damascus.



Siege of Arqa

At the end of December or early in January, Robert of Normandy and Bohemond's nephew Tancred agreed to become vassals of Raymond, who was wealthy enough to compensate them for their service. Godfrey of Bouillon, however, who now had revenue from his brother's territories in Edessa, refused to do the same. On January 5, Raymond dismantled the walls of Maarat. On January 13, he began March dressed as a pilgrim, followed by Robert and Tancred

and their respective armies. Proceeding south along the coast, they encountered little resistance.

Raymond planned to take Tripoli for himself to set up a state equivalent to Bohemond's Antioch. First however, he besieged nearby Arqa. Meanwhile, Godfrey, along with Robert of Flanders, who had also refused vassalage to Raymond, joined together with the remaining Crusaders at Latakia and marched south in February. Bohemond had originally marched out with them but quickly returned to Antioch in order to consolidate his rule against the advancing Byzantines. At this time, Tancred left Raymond's service and joined with Godfrey, due to some unknown quarrel. Another separate force, though linked to Godfrey's, was led by Gaston IV of Béarn.

Godfrey, Robert, Tancred, and Gaston arrived at Arqa in March, but the siege continued. The situation was tense not only among the military leaders, but also among the clergy. Since Adhemar's death there had been no real leader of the Crusade, and ever since the discovery of the Holy Lance by Peter Bartholomew in Antioch, there had been accusations of fraud among the clerical factions. Finally, in April, Arnulf of Chocques challenged Peter to an ordeal by fire. Peter underwent the ordeal and died after days of agony from his wounds, which discredited the Holy Lance as a fake. This also undermined Raymond's authority over the Crusade, as he was the main proponent of its authenticity.

The siege of Arqa lasted until May 13, when the Crusaders left having captured nothing. The Fatimids, the Egyptians who ruled over Jerusalem, had attempted to make a deal with the Crusaders, promising freedom of passage to any pilgrims to the Holy Land on the condition that the Crusaders not advance into their domains, but this deal was rejected. Iftikhar ad-Daula, the Fatimid governor of Jerusalem, was aware of the Crusaders' intentions. Therefore, he expelled all of Jerusalem's Christian inhabitants. He also poisoned most of the wells in the area. On May 13 the Crusaders came to Tripoli, where the Emir there, Jalal al-Mulk Abu'l Hasan, provided the Crusader army with horses. He also vowed to convert to Christianity if the Crusaders defeated the Fatimids. Continuing south along the coast, the Crusaders passed Beirut on May 19 and Tyre on May 23. Turning inland at Jaffa, on June 3 they reached Ramlah, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants. The bishopric of Ramlah-Lydda was established there at the church of St. George (a popular Crusader hero) before they continued on to Jerusalem. On June 6, Godfrey sent Tancred and Gaston to capture Bethlehem, where Tancred flew his banner over the Church of the Nativity.

On June 7, the Crusaders reached Jerusalem and began the siege.



Siege of Jerusalem

Fatimids had attempted to make peace, on the condition that the Crusaders do not continue towards Jerusalem, but this was ignored; Iftikhar ad-Daula, the Fatimid governor of Jerusalem, was aware of the Crusaders' intentions. Therefore, he expelled all of Jerusalem's Christian inhabitants. The further march towards Jerusalem met no resistance.

On June 7, the Crusaders reached Jerusalem, which had been recaptured from the Seljuqs by the Fatimids only the year before. Many Crusaders wept upon seeing the city they had journeyed so long to reach.¹ As with Antioch, the Crusaders put the city to a siege, in which the Crusaders themselves probably suffered more than the citizens of the city, due to the lack of food and water around Jerusalem. The city was well-prepared for the siege, and the Fatimid



FIGURE 10 Siege of Jerusalem

governor Iftikhar ad-Daula had expelled most of the Christians. Of the estimated 5,000 knights who took part in the Princes' Crusade, only about 1,500 remained, along with another 12,000 healthy foot-soldiers (out of perhaps as many as 30,000). Early in the siege, some low-class knights claimed to have been visited by Adhemar, the papal legate for the Crusade, who recently died of typhus after the Siege of Antioch. They claimed that this would be similar to the Battle of Jericho, and that he instructed them to march around the city walls barefoot. They did so for a few days, singing holy chants. After this Peter the Hermit held religious sermons in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, in the Garden of Gethsemane, and on the Mount of Olives, sending the crusading knights lost into religious zeal. It was at this time that they were ready for a siege. Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy (who had now also left Raymond to join Godfrey) besieged the north walls as far south as the Tower of David, while Raymond set up his camp on the

western side, from the Tower of David to Mount Zion. A direct assault on the walls on June 13 was a failure. Without water or food, both men and animals were quickly dying of thirst and starvation and the Crusaders knew time was not on their side. Coincidentally, soon after the first assault, two Genoese galleys sailed into the port at Jafa. The Crusaders also began to gather wood from Samaria in order to build siege engines. They were still short on food and water, and by the end of June there was news that a Fatimid army was marching north from Egypt.

On the night of July 14, the Crusaders launched a two-pronged assault on the walls. One tower was to the south, the other to the northwest. The Muslims knew that if one siege tower breached the walls, Jerusalem would fall. The Muslims pelted the first siege tower with flaming arrows and pots of oil until it went up in flames. Now, only one siege tower was left, to the northwest under the command of the revered Duke Godfrey. Godfrey's tower took two hours to reach the weak spot of the walls near the northeast corner gate. According to the *Gesta* two Flemish knights from Tournai named Lethalde and Engelbert were the first to cross into the

city, followed by Godfrey, his brother Eustace, Tancred, and their men. Raymond's tower was at first stopped by a ditch, but as the other Crusaders had already entered, the Muslim guarding the gate retreated.

Atrocities committed against the inhabitants of cities taken by storm after a siege were normal in ancient and medieval warfare. The Crusaders had already done so at Antioch, and Fatimids had done so themselves at Taormina, at Rometta, and at Tyre. However, the massacre of the inhabitants of Jerusalem may have exceeded even these standards.

Tancred claimed the Temple quarter for himself and offered protection to some of the Muslims there, but he was unable to prevent their deaths at the hands of his fellow Crusaders. Additionally, the Crusaders claimed the Muslim holy sites of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa mosque as important Christian sites, and renamed them *Templum Domini* and *Templum Salomonis*, respectively. In 1141, the *Templum Domini* would be consecrated, and the *Templum Salomonis* would become the headquarters for the Knights Templar.



FIGURE 11 The Discovery of the True Cross by Gustave Doré.

Following the battle, Godfrey of Bouillon was made *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri* ("advocate" or "defender of the Holy Sepulchre") on July 22, refusing to be named king in the city where Christ had died, saying that he refused to wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ wore a crown of thorns. Raymond had refused any title at all, and Godfrey convinced him to give up the Tower of David as well. Raymond then went on a pilgrimage, and in his absence Arnulf of Chocques, whom Raymond had opposed due to his own support for Peter Bartholomew, was elected the first Latin Patriarch on August 1 (the claims of the Greek Patriarch were ignored). On August 5, Arnulf, after consulting the surviving inhabitants of the city, discovered the relic of the True Cross.



Battle of Ascalon

The Crusaders had completed their primary objective of capturing Jerusalem. In early August, they learned of the invasion of a 20,000-strong Fatimid army under vizier al-Afdal Shahanshah. Under Godfrey's command the 10,200-strong Crusader army took the offensive, leaving the city on August 10, to risk everything on a great battle against the approaching Muslims. The Crusaders marched barefoot, carrying the relic of the True Cross with them, accompanied by patriarch

Arnulf of Chocques. The army marched south from Jerusalem, approaching the vicinity of Ascalon on the 11th and capturing Egyptian spies who revealed al-Afdal's dispositions and strength.

The Fatimids army consisted of Seljuk Turks, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Kurds, and Ethiopians. al-Afdal Shahanshah was intending to besiege the Crusaders in Jerusalem, although he had brought no siege machinery with him; he did however have a fleet, also assembling in the port of Ascalon. The precise number of Crusaders is unknown, but the number given by Raymond of Aguilers is 1,200 knights and 9,000 infantry. The highest estimate is 20,000 men but this is surely impossible at this stage of the Crusade. Al-Afdal camped in the plain of al-Majdal in a valley outside Ascalon, preparing to continue on to Jerusalem and besiege the Crusaders there, apparently unaware that the Crusaders had already left to meet him. On August 11, the Crusaders found oxen, sheep, camels, and goats, gathered there to feed the Fatimid camp, grazing outside the city. According to captives taken by Tancred in a skirmish near Ramla, the animals were there to encourage the Crusaders to disperse and pillage the land, making it easier for the Fatimids to attack. However, al-Afdal did not yet know the Crusaders were in the area and was apparently not expecting them. In any case, these animals marched with them the next morning exaggerating the appearance of their army.

On the morning of the 12th, Crusader scouts reported the location of the Fatimid camp and the army marched towards it. During the march the Crusaders had been organized into nine divisions: Godfrey led the left wing, Raymond the right, and Tancred, Eustace, Robert of Normandy and Gaston IV of Béarn made up the center; they were further divided into two smaller divisions, and a division of foot-soldiers marched ahead of each. This arrangement was also used as the line of battle outside Ascalon, with the center of the army between the Jerusalem and Jaffa Gates, the right aligned with the Mediterranean coast, and the left facing the Jaffa Gate.

According to most accounts (both Crusader and Muslim), the Fatimids were caught unprepared and the battle was short, but Albert of Aix states that the battle went on for some time with a fairly well prepared Egyptian army. The two main lines of battle fought each other with arrows until they were close enough to fight hand-to-hand with spears and other hand weapons. The Ethiopians attacked the center of the Crusader line, and the Fatimid vanguard was able to outflank the Crusaders and surround their rearguard, until Godfrey arrived to rescue them. Despite his numerical superiority, al-Afdal's army was hardly as strong or dangerous as the Seljuk armies that the Crusaders had encountered previously. The battle seems to have been over before the Fatimid heavy cavalry was prepared to join it. Al-Afdal and his panicked troops fled back to the safety of the heavily fortified city; Raymond chased some of them into the sea, others climbed trees and were killed with arrows, while others were crushed in the retreat back into the gates of Ascalon. Al-Afdal left behind his camp and its treasures, which were captured by Robert and Tancred. Crusader losses are unknown, but the Egyptians lost 10,000 infantry and 2,700 residents of Ascalon, including militia, killed.

The Crusaders spent the night in the abandoned camp, preparing for another attack, but in the morning they learned that the Fatimids were retreating to Egypt. Al-Afdal fled by ship. They took as much plunder as they could, including the Standard and al-Afdal's personal tent, and burned the rest. They returned to Jerusalem on August 13, and after much celebration Godfrey and Raymond both claimed Ascalon. When the garrison learned of the dispute they refused to surrender. After the battle, almost all of the remaining Crusaders returned to their homes in Europe, their vows of pilgrimage having been fulfilled. There were perhaps only a few hundred knights left in Jerusalem by the end of the year, but they were gradually reinforced by new Crusaders, inspired by the success of the original Crusade.

Crusade of 1101

The Crusade of 1101 was a minor Crusade of three separate movements, organized in 1100 and 1101 in the successful aftermath of the First Crusade. It is also called the Crusade of the Faint-Hearted due to the number of participants who joined this Crusade after having turned back from the First Crusade. Calls for reinforcements from the newly established Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Pope Paschal II, successor to Pope Urban II (who died before learning of the outcome of the Crusade that he had called), urged a new expedition. He especially urged those who had taken the Crusade vow but had never departed, and those who had turned back while on the march. Some of these people were already scorned at home and faced enormous pressure to return to the east. The defeat of the Crusaders allowed Kilij Arslan to establish his capital at Konya, and also proved to the Muslim world that the Crusaders were not invincible, as they appeared to be during the First Crusade. The Crusaders and Byzantines each blamed the other for the defeat, and neither of them were able to ensure a safe route through Anatolia now that Kilij Arslan had strengthened his position. The only open route to the Holy Land was the sea route, which benefitted the Italian maritime republics. The lack of a safe land route from Constantinople also benefitted the Principality of Antioch, where Tancred, ruling for his uncle Bohemond, was able to consolidate his power without Byzantine interference.

Aftermath of the First Crusade

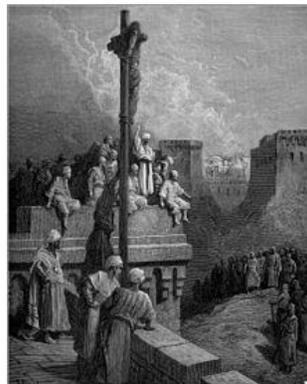
The First Crusade succeeded in establishing the "Crusader states" of Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Tripoli in Palestine and Syria (as well as allies along the Crusaders' route, such as the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia).

However, there were many who had gone home before reaching Jerusalem, and many who had never left Europe at all. When the success of the Crusade became known, these people were mocked and scorned by their families and threatened with excommunication by the Pope. Many Crusaders who had remained with the Crusade all the way to Jerusalem also went home; there were only a few hundred knights left in the newfound kingdom in 1100. Godfrey himself only ruled for one year, dying in July 1100. He was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin of Edessa, the first person to take the title King of Jerusalem. Among the Crusaders in the Crusade of 1101 were Stephen II, Count of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois, both of whom had returned home before reaching Jerusalem. This Crusade was almost annihilated in Asia Minor by the Seljuqs, but the survivors helped to reinforce the kingdom upon their arrival in Jerusalem. In the following years, assistance was also provided by Italian merchants who established themselves in Syrian ports, and from the religious and military orders of the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, which were created during the reign of Baldwin I.

Back at home in Western Europe, those who had survived to reach Jerusalem were treated as heroes. Robert of Flanders was nicknamed "Hierosolymitanus" (from *Hierosolyma* – Jerusalem) thanks to his exploits. The life of Godfrey of Bouillon became legendary even within a few years of his death. In some cases, the political situation at home was greatly affected by Crusader absences. For instance, while Robert Curthose was away on Crusade the throne of England had passed to his brother Henry I of England instead, and their resultant conflict led to the Battle of Tinchebray in 1106.

Meanwhile, the establishment of the Crusader states in the east helped ease Seljuq pressure on the Byzantine Empire, which had regained some of its Anatolian territory with Crusader help, and experienced a period of relative peace and prosperity in the 12th century. The effect on the Muslim dynasties of the east was gradual but important. In the wake of the death of Malik Shah I in 1092, political instability and the division of the Great Seljuq Empire prevented a coherent defense against the Latin states. Cooperation between them remained difficult for many decades, but from Egypt to Syria to Baghdad there were calls for the expulsion of the Crusaders, culminating in the recapture of Jerusalem under Saladin later in the century when the Ayyubids had united the surrounding areas.

Sieges and Battles between Crusades



Siege of Arsuf

Arsuf was an ancient city in Judea dating from the late Roman era, situated on a cliff above the Mediterranean Sea, about 21 miles south of Caesarea, now in Israel. The city fell to the Muslims in 640 and was fortified to protect against attacks by the Byzantine armies. Godfrey of Bouillon attempted to capture the city in 1099, but failed for want of ships.

During the siege, while the Crusaders pounded the walls with catapults, the Fatamids had one of Godfrey's knights, Gerard of Avesnes, hung from the mast of old ship that had been lying in the city. They raised Gerard up to be in view of the attacking Crusaders. Gerard begged Godfrey to take pity on him. Godfrey responded that while Gerard was the bravest of knights, but he could not call off the attack. Godfrey said that he was better for Gerard to be the sole casualty than to Arsuf to remain a danger to Christian pilgrims. Gerard then asked that his property be donated to the Holy Sepulchre, which Godfrey was Defender, instead of king. The Crusaders continued their attack. Gerard was wounded multiple times, though he managed to survive and make it back to Jerusalem.

The city rulers offered to surrender to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, but Godfrey refused. Raymond even encouraged the garrison at Arsuf to hold out against Godfrey, touting his perceived weakness. Within Godfrey's army, Franco I of Maasmechelen, a relative of Godfrey, is known to have died in the battle.

Baldwin I started the second siege and finally took the city on April 29, 1102, after a siege by land and sea, allowing the inhabitants to withdraw to Ascalon, and his troops rebuilt the city. In 1187, Arsuf was captured by the Muslims, but fell again to the Crusaders on September 7, 1191 after the Battle of Arsuf, fought between the forces of Richard the Lionheart and Saladin.



Battle of Melitene

In the Battle of Melitene in 1100, a Crusader force led by Bohemond I of Antioch was defeated in Melitene in eastern Anatolia by Danishmend Turks commanded by Malik Ghazi Gumushtekin.

After acquiring the Principality of Antioch in 1098, Bohemond allied himself with the Armenians of Cilicia. When Gabriel of Melitene and his Armenian garrison came under attack from the Danishmend state to their north, Bohemond marched to their relief with a Frankish force.

Malik Ghazi's Danishmend ambushed the expedition and "most of the Crusaders were killed." Bohemond was captured along with Richard of Salerno. Among the dead were the Armenian bishops of Marash and Antioch. Bohemond was held for ransom until 1103, and his rescue became the object of one column of the ill-fated Crusade of 1101.

The battle ended the string of victories enjoyed by the participants of the First Crusade. Baldwin, Count of Edessa and later king of Jerusalem, successfully relieved Melitene afterward. However, while the Crusaders were negotiating the ransom of Bohemond, the Danishmend seized the town in 1103 and executed Gabriel of Melitene.



Battle of Mersivan

The Seljuqs, under Kilij Arslan I allied with both the Danishmends and Ridwan of Aleppo. In early August, 1101 the Crusaders met this combined Muslim army at Mersivan.

The Crusaders organized into five divisions: the Burgundians, Raymond and the Byzantines, the Germans, the French, and the Lombards. The Turks nearly destroyed

the Crusaders' army near the mountains of Paphlagonia at Mersivan. The land was well-suited to the Turks—dry and inhospitable for their enemy, it was open, with plenty of space for their cavalry units. The Turks had been troublesome to the Latins for some days, at last making certain that they went where Kilij Arslan I wanted them to be and making sure that they only found a small amount of supplies.

The battle took place over several days. On the first day, the Turks cut off the crusading armies' advances and surrounded them. The next day, Duke Conrad led his Germans in a raid that failed miserably. Not only did they fail to open the Turkish lines, they were unable to return to the main Crusader army and had to take refuge in a nearby stronghold. This meant that they were cut off from supplies, aid, and communication for an attack that may have taken place had the Germans been able to provide their own military strength.

The third day was somewhat quiet, with little or no serious fighting taking place, but on the fourth day, the Crusaders made an intensive effort to free themselves from the trap that they were in. The Crusaders inflicted heavy losses on the Turks, but the attack was a failure by the end of the day. Kilij Arslan was joined by Ridwan of Aleppo and other powerful Danishmend princes.

The Lombards, in the vanguard, were defeated, the Pechenegs deserted, and the French and Germans were also forced to fall back. Raymond was trapped on a rock and was rescued by Stephen and Conrad. The battle continued into the next day, when the Crusader camp was captured and the knights fled, leaving women, children, and priests behind to be killed or enslaved. Most of the Lombards, who had no horses, were soon found and killed or enslaved by the Turks. Raymond, Stephen of Blois, and Stephen of Burgundy fled north to Sinope, and returned to Constantinople by ship.

PECHENEGS

The Pechenegs were a semi-nomadic Turkic people from Central Asia.



FIGURE 12 William II of Nevers (1083 – Aug 20, 1148)

Battle of Heraclea

Soon after the Lombard contingent had left Nicomedia, a separate force under William II of Nevers arrived at Constantinople. He had crossed into Byzantine territory over the Adriatic Sea from Bari, and the march to Constantinople was free of incident, an unusual occurrence for a Crusade army. He quickly marched out to meet the others, but in fact never caught up with them, although the two armies must have been close to each other on numerous occasions. William briefly



William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (Oct 22, 1071 – Feb 10, 1127)



Hugh of Vermandois (1057 – Oct 18, 1101)



Welf I, Duke of Bavaria (c.1030/40 – Nov 6, 1101)

besieged Iconium (Konya) but could not take it, and he was soon ambushed at Heraclea Cybistra by Kilij Arslan, who had just defeated the Lombards at Mersivan and was eager to stamp out these new armies as soon as possible. At Heraclea almost the entire contingent from Nevers was wiped out, except for the count himself and a few of his men.

As soon as William II left Constantinople, a third army arrived, led by William IX of Aquitaine, Hugh of Vermandois (one of those who had not fulfilled his vow on the First Crusade), and Welf I, Duke of Bavaria. They had pillaged Byzantine territory on the way to Constantinople and had almost come into conflict with the Pecheneg mercenaries sent to stop them, until William and Welf intervened.

From Constantinople, the Aquitanian-Bavarian army split in two, with one half travelling directly to Jaffa by ship. The rest, travelling by land, reached Heraclea in September, and, like the previous army, were ambushed and massacred by Kilij Arslan. William and Welf escaped, but Hugh was mortally wounded; the survivors eventually arrived at Tarsus, where Hugh died on October 18.

First Battle of Ramla

The first Battle of Ramla took place on September 7, 1101 between the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Fatimids of Egypt. The town of Ramla lay on the road from Jerusalem to Ascalon, the latter of which was the largest Fatimid fortress in Palestine. From Ascalon the Fatimid vizier, Al-Afdal Shahanshah, launched almost annual attacks into the newly founded Crusader kingdom from 1099 to 1107. It was thrice the case that the two armies met each other at Ramla.

The Egyptians were led by Saad el-Dawleh, former governor of Beirut, while the Crusaders were under the command of King Baldwin I. Baldwin had only 260 cavalry and 900 foot soldiers under his command, leaving him severely outnumbered by the Egyptian army. Upon sighting the Fatimid army Baldwin arrayed his forces in six divisions, commanding the reserve force himself. In the initial attack the first two Crusader divisions were wiped out while the vanguard took heavy casualties too, with Geldemar Carpinel among the slain. The battle seemed to be lost but when the third division was pursued after being routed by the Egyptians, Baldwin ordered a counter-attack and committed his reserve. In vicious close-quarter combat, the Crusaders repulsed the Egyptian forces, who retreated in panic as rank after rank buckled under the force of Baldwin's attack. After pursuing the fleeing Fatimids to Ascalon, Baldwin returned to Ramla to plunder the Egyptian camp. This success secured the Kingdom of Jerusalem against the Fatimid Caliphate's advances for the campaigning season. The Fatimids lost around 5,000 men in the battle including their general Saad al-Daulah. However, Crusader losses were heavy too, losing 80 knights and a large amount of infantry.

RAMLA

The town of Ramla lay on the road from Jerusalem to Ascalon, the latter of which was the largest Fatimid fortress in Palestine.

The battle had so nearly been a defeat for the Crusaders, and while the Fatimid survivors fled to Ascalon the remnants of the vanguard that was crushed earlier in the battle themselves fled to Jaffa. So great was the confusion after the battle that around 500 Fatimid troops advanced to the walls of Jaffa, where survivors of the Latin vanguard informed Baldwin's wife Arda that the king and all his men were dead. A letter was immediately sent north to Antioch to ask Tancred, regent of Antioch in the place of

Bohemond of Antioch, for assistance. Jaffa did not immediately capitulate, and when Baldwin returned victorious the following day the remaining Egyptian forces quickly scattered. Ascalon remained in Fatimid hands, however, and a miscalculation would prove very costly to Baldwin when the two sides once again met at Ramla the following year on May 17, 1102.



Second Battle of Ramla

The second Battle of Ramla took place on May, 17 1102. Despite defeat to the Crusaders at the first Battle of Ramla the previous year, al-Afdal was soon ready to strike at the Crusaders once again and dispatched around 20,000 troops under the command of his son Sharaf al-Ma'ali. Baldwin I of Jerusalem was in Jaffa when news reached him of the Fatimid invasion force, seeing off survivors of the defeated Crusade of 1101. William of Aquitaine had already departed but many others such as Stephen of

Blois and Count Stephen of Burgundy had been forced back due to unfavorable winds and consequently joined Baldwin's force in order to help in the battle. Due to faulty reconnaissance Baldwin severely underestimated the size of the Egyptian army, believing it to be no more than a minor expeditionary force, and rode to face an army of several thousand with only two hundred mounted knights and no infantry.

Realizing his error too late and already cut off from escape, Baldwin and his army were charged by the Egyptian forces and many were quickly slaughtered, although Baldwin and a handful of others managed to barricade themselves in Ramla's single tower. Baldwin was left with no other option than to flee and escaped the tower under the cover of night with just his scribe and a single knight, Hugh of Brulis, who is never mentioned in any source afterwards. Baldwin spent the next two days evading Fatimid search parties until he arrived exhausted, starved and parched in the reasonably safe haven of Arsuf on May 19.

The situation of the remaining knights in Ramla deteriorated when Fatimid forces stormed the town on the morning after Baldwin's escape, with only the tower remaining under Crusader control. The Fatimids ruthlessly attacked the tower, undermining walls and setting fires to smoke out the desperate defenders. After a day of desperately holding their ground the remaining knights, all but abandoned by their king, decided to launch a suicidal last stand and charged the besiegers. Almost all of the meagre force was immediately slain including Stephen of Blois, who finally restored the honor that he lost when he deserted the Siege of Antioch four years previously. However, Conrad of Germany, the constable of Henry IV who had previously led a contingent at the Crusade of 1101, fought so valiantly that even after everyone around him was dead he still fought on, holding off the Fatimids to the point that his awestruck foe offered to spare his life if he surrendered.



Siege of Tripoli

After the capture of Antioch (June 1098) and the destruction of Ma'arrat al-Numan (January 13, 1099), the Syrian emirs were terrified of the advancing Crusaders and quickly handed over their cities to the Franks. On January 14, Sultan ibn Munqidh, emir of Shaizar, dispatched an embassy to Raymond IV of Toulouse, one of the leaders of the Crusade, to offer provisions and food for men and horses, as well as guides to Jerusalem. In February, the emir of Homs, Janah

ad-Dawla, who had fought bravely at the siege of Antioch, offered horses to Raymond. The *qadi* of Tripoli, Jalal al-Mulk, from the Banu Ammar, sent rich gifts and invited the Franks to send an embassy to his city. The ambassadors marvelled at the splendors of the city, and an alliance was concluded. The Crusaders moved on to Arqa, which they besieged from February 14 to May 13, before continuing south to Jerusalem.

Q A D I

The term "qadi" was in use from the time of Muhammad and remained the term used for judges throughout Islamic history and the period of the caliphates.

The Siege of Jerusalem was a success and led to the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Most Crusaders returned home afterwards; a second movement set out, encouraged by the success of the First Crusade, but it was mostly annihilated by the Seljuk Turks in Anatolia. Raymond participated in this Crusade as well, and returned to Syria after escaping from his defeat at the hands of Kiliç Arslan I in Anatolia. He had with him only three hundred men. Fakhr al-Mulk, *qadi* of Tripoli, was not as accommodating to Raymond as his predecessor had been, and called for assistance from Duqaq of Damascus and the governor of Homs. However, the troops from Damascus and Homs defected once they reached Tripoli, and the *qadi* was defeated at the beginning of April, losing seven thousand men. Raymond could not take Tripoli itself, but captured Tortosa, which became the base of all future operations against Tripoli.

The following year, Raymond, with the aid of Byzantine engineers, built Mons Peregrinus, "Pilgrim's mountain", in order to block Tripoli's access inland. With the Genoese Hugh Embriaco, Raymond also seized Gibelet. After the Battle of Harran in 1104, Fakhr al-Mulk asked Sokman, the former Ortoqid governor of Jerusalem, to intervene; Sokman marched into Syria but was forced to return home.

Fakhr al-Mulk then attacked Mons Peregrinus in September, 1104, killing many of the Franks and burning down one wing of the fortress. Raymond himself was badly wounded, and died five months later in February, 1105. He was replaced as leader by his nephew William-Jordan, count of Cerdanya. On his deathbed, Raymond had reached an agreement with the *qadi*: if he would stop attacking the fortress, the Crusaders would stop impeding Tripolitanian trade and merchandise. The *qadi* accepted.

In 1108, it became more and more difficult to bring food to the besieged by land. Many citizens sought to flee to Homs, Tyre, and Damascus. The nobles of the city, who had betrayed the city to the Franks by showing them how it was being resupplied with food, were executed in the Crusader camp. Fakhr al-Mulk, left to wait for help from the Seljuk sultan Mehmed I, went to Baghdad at the end of March with five hundred troops and

many gifts. He passed through Damascus, now governed by Toghtegin after the death of Duqaq, and was welcomed with open arms. In Baghdad, the sultan received him with great spectacle, but had no time for Tripoli while there was a succession dispute in Mosul. Fakhr al-Mulk returned to Damascus in August, where he learned Tripoli had been handed over to al-Afdal Shahanshah, vizier of Egypt, by the nobles, who were tired of waiting for him to return.

VIZIER

A vizier is a high-ranking political advisor or minister.

The next year, the Franks gathered in force outside Tripoli, led by Baldwin I of Jerusalem, Baldwin II of Edessa, Tancred, regent of Antioch, William-Jordan, and Raymond IV's eldest son Bertrand of Toulouse, who had recently arrived with fresh Genoan, Pisan and Provençal troops. Tripoli waited in vain for reinforcements from Egypt.

A compromise decided in the course of a dispute beneath the walls of the city, and arbitrated by Baldwin of Jerusalem, allowed the city to be captured: the County of Tripoli would be divided between the two claimants, William-Jordan, as a vassal of the Principality of Antioch, and Bertrand, as a vassal of Jerusalem.

The city crumbled on July 12, and was sacked by the Crusaders. One hundred thousand volumes of the Dar-em-Ilm library were deemed "impious" and burned. The Egyptian fleet arrived eight hours too late. Most of the inhabitants were enslaved, the others were deprived of their possessions and expelled. Bertrand, Raymond IV's illegitimate son, had William-Jordan assassinated in 1110 and claimed two-thirds of the city for himself, with the other third falling to the Genoans. Thus Tripoli became a Crusader state.



Battle of Harran

The Battle of Harran took place on May 7, 1104 between the Crusader states of the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa, and the Seljuk Turks. It was the first major battle against the newfound Crusader states in the aftermath of the First Crusade marking a key turning point against Frankish expansion.



FIGURE 13 Joscelyn I, Count of Edessa (d. 1131)

In 1104 Baldwin II of Edessa had attacked and besieged the city of Harran. For his further support Baldwin sought help from Bohemond I of Antioch and Tancred, Prince of Galilee. Bohemond and Tancred marched north from Antioch to Edessa to join with Baldwin and Joscelyn of Courtenay, accompanied by Bernard of Valence the Patriarch of Antioch, Daimbert of Pisa the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Benedict, the Archbishop of Edessa.

The Seljuks, under Jikirmish, governor of Mosul, and Sokman, the Artuqid lord of Mardin, gathered in the area of the Khabur, perhaps at Ra's al-'ain. In May 1104 they attacked Edessa, perhaps to distract the Crusaders from Harran, perhaps to take the city while the Crusaders were elsewhere engaged.

The Seljuks feigned retreat in the preliminary skirmishes while the Crusaders continued their pursuit south. Baldwin and Joscelyn commanded the Edessan left wing while

Bohemond and Tancred commanded the Antiochene right. Ralph of Caen says that the Crusaders were caught unawares when the Seljuks turned to fight, so much so that Baldwin and Bohemond fought without armor.

During the battle itself, Baldwin's troops were completely routed, with Baldwin and Joscelin captured by the Turks. The Antiochene troops along with Bohemond were able to escape to Edessa. However, Jikirmish had only taken a small amount of booty, so he purloined Baldwin from Sokman's camp. Although a ransom was paid, Joscelin and Baldwin were not released until sometime before 1108, and 1109 respectively.

The battle was one of the first decisive Crusader defeats with severe consequences to the Principality of Antioch. The Byzantine Empire took advantage of the defeat to impose their claims on Antioch, and recaptured Latakia and parts of Cilicia. Many of the towns ruled by Antioch revolted and were re-occupied by Muslim forces from Aleppo. Armenian territories also revolted in favor of the Byzantines or Armenia. Furthermore, these events caused Bohemond to return to Italy to recruit more troops, leaving Tancred as regent of Antioch.



Third Battle of Ramla

The third Battle of Ramla took place on August 27, 1105 between the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Fatimids of Egypt. From Ascalon the Fatimid vizier, Al-Afdal Shahanshah, launched almost annual attacks into the newly founded Crusader kingdom from 1099 to 1107. Of the three battles the Crusaders fought at Ramla early in the twelfth century, the third was the most bloody.

Egyptian armies of the period relied on masses of Sudanese bowmen supported by Arab and Berber cavalry. Since the archers were on foot and the horsemen awaited attack with lance and sword, an Egyptian army provided exactly the sort of immobile target that the Frankish heavy cavalry excelled in attacking. Whereas the Crusaders developed a healthy respect for the harassment and surround tactics of the Turkish horse archers, they tended to discount the effectiveness of the Egyptian armies. While overconfidence led to a Crusader disaster at the second battle of Ramla, the more frequent result was a Fatimid defeat. The Franks never, until the reign of Saladin, feared the Egyptian as they did the armies from Muslim Syria and Mesopotamia.

As at Ramla in 1101, in 1105 the Crusaders had both cavalry and infantry under the leadership of Baldwin I. At the third battle, however, the Egyptians were reinforced by a Seljuk Turkish force from Damascus, including mounted archery, the great menace of the Crusaders. After they withstood the initial Frankish cavalry charge the battle raged for most of the day. Although Baldwin was once again able to drive the Egyptians from the field of battle and loot the enemy camp he was unable to pursue them any further. Despite the victory the Egyptians continued to make annual raids into the Kingdom of Jerusalem with some reaching the walls of Jerusalem itself before being pushed back.



Battle of Artah

After the great Crusader defeat at the Battle of Harran, all of Antioch's strongholds east of the Orontes River were abandoned. In order to raise additional Crusader reinforcements, Bohemond of Taranto embarked for Europe, leaving Tancred as regent in Antioch. The new

regent began to patiently recover the lost castles and walled towns.

With a force of 1,000 cavalry and 9,000 infantry, Tancred laid siege to the castle of Artah, which is located 25 miles east-northeast of Antioch. Ridwan of Aleppo tried to interfere with the operation, gathering a host of 7,000 infantry and an unknown number of cavalry. 3,000 of the Muslim infantrymen were jihad volunteers. Tancred gave battle and defeated the army of Aleppo. The Latin prince is supposed to have won by his skillful use of ground. The Franks may have gained a tactical advantage by using the device of a feigned retreat. The Muslim infantry entered the Crusader camp after the initial Crusader retreat and were then surprised and killed by the Crusaders, with only a small number escaping.



FIGURE 14 Ridwan of Aleppo (d. 1113)

Norwegian Crusade

The Norwegian Crusade, led by Norwegian King Sigurd I lasted from 1107 to 1111, in the aftermath of the First Crusade. The Norwegian Crusade marks the first time a European king personally went to the Holy Land.



Siege of Sidon

In the summer of 1110 a Norwegian fleet of 60 ships arrived in the Levant under the command of King Sigurd (c. 1090 – Mar 26, 1130). Arriving in Acre he was received by Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem. Together they made a journey to the river Jordan, after which Baldwin asked for help in capturing Muslim-held ports on the coast. Sigurd's answer was that *"they had come for*

the purpose of devoting themselves to the service of Christ", and accompanied him to take the city of Sidon, which had been re-fortified by the Fatimids in 1098.

Baldwin's army besieged the city by land, while the Norwegian came by sea. A naval force was needed to prevent assistance from the Fatimid fleet at Tyre. Repelling it was however only made possible with the fortunate arrival of a Venetian fleet. The city fell after 47 days.

By order of Baldwin and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Ghibbelin of Arles, a splinter was taken off the holy cross and given to Sigurd.



Battle of Shaizar

Beginning in 1110 and lasting until 1115, the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad I in Baghdad launched annual invasions of the Crusader states. The first year's attack on Edessa was repelled. Prodded by the pleas of some citizens of Aleppo and spurred by the Byzantines, the Sultan ordered a major offensive against the Frankish possessions in northern Syria for the year 1111. The Sultan appointed Mawdud ibn Altuntash, governor of

Mosul, to command the army. The composite force included contingents from Diyarbakir and Ahlat under Sökmen al-Qutbi, from Hamadan led by Bursuq ibn Bursuq and from Mesopotamia under Ahmadil and other emirs.

At the approach of the large Muslim army, the small Frankish forces of the County of Edessa withdrew within the walls of their two major towns. Although the Seljuks moved with impunity through the lands of the Latin state, they were unable to make an impression on first Edessa and later Turbessel. Soon the thwarted Seljuk host moved to Aleppo. At that city, the forces of Damascus led by Toghtekin joined Mawdud's army.

Even though the majority of Aleppo's citizens were well disposed to the Seljuk army, the ruler of the city, Fakhr al-Mulk Radwan refused to open the city's gates. Radwan regarded the Sultan's army as a threat to his authority. Both Bursuq and Sukman al-Qutbi were ill and quarreled with each other. When Sukman's health failed, he withdrew from the army with his followers, but died before he got home. Bursuq also quit the army and took his contingent home. Anxious to receive Sukman's territories, Ahmadil left the army to press his claims with the Sultan.

By this time Tancred had called up his Antiochene army and based it at the castle of Rugia near Jisrash Shughur, a bridge over the Orontes south of Antioch. Receiving a plea for help from the independent Munqidh rulers of Shaizar, Mawdud's army moved south-southwest from Aleppo to camp outside that town.

At Tancred's call for assistance, King Baldwin I brought both his own army from the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Count Bertrand's forces from the County of Tripoli. They were joined at Rugia by a contingent from Edessa under Count Baldwin. After uniting their forces, the Crusaders advanced first to the Christian-held town of Afamiya, then toward the Muslim host outside Shaizar.

Mawdud's army employed harassing tactics, which were directed to the objects of cutting off supplies from the Franks, and of preventing their watering their horses in the Orontes. The Christian host refused to be provoked into battle, but instead moved in a closed up array. When the Turkish horse archers pressed them too closely, they fought to push them back. Rather than a battle, the action was a constant running skirmish in which the Seljuks failed to stop the advance of Baldwin's army.

The Franks camped near Shaizar but within two weeks they were forced to fall back on Afamiya because the Turks cut off their supplies. During the withdrawal, they were harassed again, but did not allow themselves to be drawn into a pitched battle. At this, Mawdud's warriors, discouraged by their lack of success and plunder, dispersed for home.

The drawn battle, really a running skirmish, allowed King Baldwin I and Tancred to successfully defend the Principality of Antioch. No Crusader towns or castles fell to the Seljuk Turks during the campaign.



Battle of Al-Sannabra

After the draw in the Battle of Shaizar, the Muslim leader's army dispersed because of its lack of success and plunder. In 1113, Mawdud joined Toghtekin of Damascus and their combined army aimed to cross the Jordan River south of the Sea of Galilee. Baldwin I offered battle near the bridge of Al-Sannabra. Mawdud used the device of a feigned flight to entice Baldwin I into rashly ordering a charge. The Frankish army was surprised and beaten

when it unexpectedly ran into the main Turkish army.

The surviving Crusaders kept their cohesion and fell back to a hill west of the inland sea where they fortified their camp. In this position they were reinforced from Tripoli and Antioch but remained inert. A number of Christian pilgrims also rallied to the army after Al-Sannabra.

Unable to annihilate the Crusaders, Mawdud watched them with his main army while sending raiding columns to ravage the countryside and sack the town of Nablus. Mawdud was unable to make any permanent conquests after his victory. Soon afterward, he was assassinated and Aq-Sunqur Bursuqi took command of the failed attempt against Edessa in 1114.



Battle of Sarmin

In November 1114, a severe earthquake struck the Principality of Antioch, damaging many of its castles. The following spring, while supervising the repair of his strongholds, Prince Roger of Salerno heard rumors of a Turkish invasion. Since 1111, the Seljuk Sultan of Baghdad had directed a series of attacks on Antioch and the County of Edessa.

In 1115, the Sultan sent Bursuq ibn Bursuq against Antioch. Jealous that their authority would be diminished if the Sultan's forces proved victorious, several Syrian Muslim princes allied themselves with the Latins.

Roger sent spies to observe his enemy's movements, gathered provisions for his army and put his principality into a state of defense. His 2,000-man army, which included both knights and infantry, assembled 12 mi. northeast of Antioch at Jisr al-Hadid, a bridge over the Orontes River. He then advanced to Atharib, about 37 mi. east of Antioch and 22 mi. west of Aleppo. Here Roger came to an agreement with his Muslim allies, Toghtekin of Damascus, Ilghazi of Mardin and Lulu of Aleppo. Subsequently, both Christians and Muslims were embarrassed by this pact.



Turcoples

During the period of the Crusades, Turcoples (from the Greek: "sons of Turks") were locally recruited mounted archers and light cavalry employed by the Byzantine Empire and the Crusader states. Turcoples served in both the secular armies of Outremer and the ranks of the military orders. In the latter, Turcoples had lower status than the Frankish sergeants and were subject to various restrictions. These included having to eat at a separate table from the other mounted soldiers of the Templars or Hospitalers. In contrast to the unsalaried brother-knights and brother-sergeants of the fighting orders, Turcoples were paid warriors. The Turcoples had their own leaders called turcopoliers who outranked ordinary sergeants, at least in battle. The senior office-holders of the Knights Templar included a turcopolier who commanded both the mercenary cavalry recruited by the Order in the east and the sergeant-brothers. The personal attendants of the Grand Master of the Temple included a turcopole - possibly as an interpreter or orderly.

The allies moved south to the walled town of Afamiya. This move placed the combined army where it could maneuver to protect Aleppo, Damascus or Antioch. Once he was certain the Turks were on the march, Roger sent a messenger to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem requesting assistance. Bursuq's army suddenly appeared and stormed Hama, a Muslim town only 19 mi. southeast of Afamiya. The Turkish commander soon made his camp at Shaizar, northwest of Hama.

Baldwin immediately mobilized 500 knights and 1,000 foot soldiers from the Kingdom of Jerusalem and started north. On his way, he added Count Pons with 200 knights and 2,000 infantry from the County of Tripoli to his army. He sent a message forbidding Roger from engaging the enemy before his reinforcements arrived.

Bursuq's forces soon closed around Roger's armed camp, attempting to lure the Antiochenes and their allies into a premature attack. Their harassing attacks severely provoked the Latins. Such was the eagerness of the Frankish knights to close with their enemies that Roger threatened to put out the eyes of any man who sallied out of the camp without permission. Later, he rode through the camp with his sword drawn to emphasize his point.

When Bursuq heard of Baldwin's relieving force, he withdrew to the east. Counting the 5,000 followers of his Muslim allies, Baldwin's combined army may have been as large as 10,700 men. The allies advanced to Shaizar and burned the lower town as punishment for aligning itself with the Seljuks. When Bursuq didn't turn back to defend the town, the allied leaders assumed the campaign was over. The Muslim Syrians and the Christian princes took their followers home.

As soon as the allied host dispersed, Bursuq invaded again and captured the Christian-held town of Kafr Tab, near Afamiya. Warily, Roger recalled his Antiochene army and took to the field again. Some forces from the nearby County of Edessa also participated. Meanwhile, Bursuq took his army in the direction of Zerdana, east-southeast of Antioch. Roger based his army south of Antioch at the castle of Rugia, at a bridge on the Orontes near Jisr al-Shughur, Syria.

Early on September 14, 1115, Roger received intelligence that his opponents were carelessly going into camp at the Tell Danith watering point, near Sarmin. He rapidly advanced and took Bursuq's army by complete surprise. As the Crusaders launched their attack, some Turkish soldiers were still straggling into the camp. Roger marshalled the Frankish army into left, center and right divisions. Baldwin, Count of Edessa led the left wing while Prince Roger personally commanded the center. The Crusaders attacked in echelon with the left wing leading.

On the Frankish right, the Turcoples, who were employed as archers, were thrown back by a Seljuk counterattack. This disrupted the knights who faced tough fighting before repulsing their enemies on this part of the field. Roger decisively defeated Bursuq's army, ending the long campaign.



Battle of Ager Sanguinis

In 1117 Aleppo came under the rule of the Artuqid atabeg Ilghazi. In 1118 Roger of Solerno captured Azaz, which left Aleppo open to attack from the Crusaders; in response, Ilghazi invaded the Principality in 1119. Roger marched out from Artah with Bernard of Valence, the Latin Patriarch of Antioch. Bernard suggested they remain there, as Artah was a well-defended fortress only a short distance away from Antioch, and Ilghazi would not

be able to pass if they were stationed there. The Patriarch also advised Roger to call for help from Baldwin, now king of Jerusalem, and Pons, but Roger felt he could not wait for them to arrive.

Roger camped in the pass of Sarmada, while Ilghazi besieged the fort of al-Atharib. A force under Robert of Vieux-Pont set out to break the siege, and Ilghazi feigned a retreat, Robert's men were drawn out from the fort and ambushed.

Ilghazi was also waiting for reinforcements from Toghtekin, the Burid emir of Damascus, but he too was tired of waiting. Using little-used paths, his army quickly surrounded Roger's camp during the night of June 27. The prince had recklessly chosen a campsite in a wooded valley with steep sides and few avenues of escape. Roger's army of 700 knights, 500 Armenian cavalry and 3,000 foot soldiers, including Turcopoles, hastily formed into five divisions. These drew up in a V-shaped line with the tip farthest from the Muslim battle array. From left to right, the divisions were commanded by Robert of St. Lo, Prince Roger, Guy de Frenelle, Geoffrey the Monk and Peter. Meanwhile, Roger told off a sixth division under Renaud Mansoer to protect the Antiochene rear.

GEOFFREY THE MONK

Geoffrey the Monk was the count of Marash in the Principality of Antioch from around 1114 to 1124.

As the Muslim army waited, the *qadi* Abu al-Fadl ibn al-Khashshab, wearing his lawyer's turban but brandishing a lance, rode out in front of the troopers. At first they were incredulous at being harangued by a scholar but at the end of his passionate evocation of the duties and merits of the jihad warrior, according to Kamal ad-Din, the contemporary historian of Aleppo, these hardened professionals wept with emotion and rode into battle.

That morning, June 28, the battle was begun by an archery duel between the Antiochene infantry, posted in front of the knights, and the Turkish bowmen. The Crusader army was at first successful when the right-hand divisions of Peter and Geoffrey the Monk attacked and defeated the Artuqids opposed to them. Guy de Frenelle's center division had some success also, but the battle was soon decided on the left flank. Robert of St. Lo and the Turcopoles were driven back into Roger's division, disrupting it. A north wind blew dust in the faces of the Antioch knights and footmen, confusing them further. Soon, Artuqid flanking forces enveloped the Crusaders.

During the fighting, Roger was killed by a sword in the face at the foot of the great jeweled cross which had served as his standard. The rest of the army was killed or captured; only two knights survived. Renaud Mansoer, took refuge in the fort of Sarmada

to wait for King Baldwin, but was later taken captive by Ilghazi. The massacre led to the name of the battle, *ager sanguinis*, Latin for "the field of blood."

The Turks captured 70 knights and 500 soldiers of inferior rank. The high-ranking prisoners were ransomed and 30 men who could not pay their way out were executed.



FIGURE 15 Baldwin II of Jerusalem (d. Aug 21, 1131)

Battle of Hab

After the Battle of Ager Sanguinis, the Muslim leader's army captured a number of strongholds in the Latin principality. As soon as he heard the news, King Baldwin brought a force north from his Kingdom of Jerusalem to rescue Antioch. On the way, he picked up a contingent from the County of Tripoli under Count Pons. Baldwin assembled the remnants of Antioch's army and added them to his own soldiers. Then he moved toward Zerdana, 65 kilometers east-southeast of Antioch, which was besieged by Ilghazi. While camped at the Tell Danith watering point, Baldwin found out that Zerdana had fallen. Accordingly, the Crusaders prepared to retreat to the stronghold of Hab, southwest of Zerdana.

On the morning of August 14, 1119, Baldwin carefully arranged the Frankish army for its retreat through open country. Leading the way were three squadrons of 700 knights. Behind them marched the several thousand infantryman, composed of bowmen and spearmen. Count Pons with his Tripolitan knights guarded the right flank. A body of Antiochene knights under Robert Fulcoy protected the left flank. More knights from Antioch guarded the rear. Baldwin led a reserve of mounted knights from Jerusalem, but it is not clear in what part of the formation he marched.

ARTUQUIDS

The Artquids or Artquid dynasty was a Turkmen dynasty that ruled in Eastern Anatolia, Northern Syria and Northern Iraq in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Artquids hoped to provoke the Frankish cavalry into launching a premature charge or to open gaps in the enemy infantry formation. When such a favorable opportunity presented itself, they closed in to fight it out with lance and sword.

As anticipated, the Artquid horse archers began harassing the column at dawn. Ilghazi's attacks soon increased in intensity and the Crusader army was probably brought to a halt fairly early in the day. The three vanguard squadrons were dispersed and the main body of Latin infantry came under serious attack. The infantry sturdily defended itself, but, without its normal cavalry support, suffered heavy losses.

On the left flank, Robert Fulcoy overcame the force opposed to him. But, after pursuing the Artquids, he rode off with his knights to look into the possibility of retaking his stronghold of Zerdana. Meanwhile, the knights under Count Pons were scattered and some fled as far away as Antioch and Tripoli, spreading the news of a disaster. Count Pons and a handful of knights rallied to join Baldwin's reserve where they continued the contest.

With adroit use of his reserve knights, Baldwin saved the day. By intervening at each threatened sector, he held his army together during the long and bitter fight. Eventually, the Artuqids admitted defeat and withdrew from the battlefield.

In Baldwin's narrow tactical victory, the Crusaders suffered serious losses. It may be surmised that the Turkish army also took painful losses. Strategically, it was a Christian victory which preserved the Principality of Antioch for several generations.



Battle of Jaffa

The Venetian Crusade of 1122–24 was an expedition to the Holy Land launched by the Republic of Venice to take Tyre. In 1122 the Doge of Venice, Domenico Michiel, launched the seaborne Crusade. The Venetian fleet of more than 120 ships carrying over 15,000 men left the Venetian Lagoon on August 8, 1122. This seems to have been the first Crusade in which the knights brought their horses with them. They invested Corfu, then a possession of the Byzantine Empire, with which Venice had a dispute over privileges. In 1123 Baldwin II was captured by

Balak of Mardin, emir of Aleppo, and imprisoned in Kharput. Eustace Graverius became regent of Jerusalem. The Venetians abandoned the siege of Corfu when they heard this news, and reached the Palestinian coast in May 1123.

DOGE OF VEINCE

The Doge of Venice was the chief magistrate and leader of the Republic of Venice between 726 and 1797.

The Venetian fleet was informed about a Fatimid fleet, of around a hundred sail, sailing towards Ascalon in order to assist the Emir Balak at his siege. Thus the Venetian fleet sailed south in order to meet it and Doge Michele ordered the division of the fleet into two parts with the weaker force at the helm and the stronger one hiding behind it. With the intent to divert the fleet off Ascalon. The Egyptians fell into the trap assuming an easy victory they were now caught between two Venetian squadrons and outnumbered. Some 4,000 Saracens were killed including the Fatimid admiral and 9 vessels captured with the Venetians adding to their triumph the capture of 10 merchant vessels en route back to Acre.

SARACEN

Saracen was a term widely used among Christian writers in Europe during the Middle-Ages to refer to Arabs and Muslims.

On this the other ships followed in haste and fell almost all the other enemy ships around. A fierce battle commenced, both sides fought with great bitterness, and there were so many killed, that those who were there, most emphatically assure you as unlikely as it may sound, that the victors waded in the enemy's blood and the surrounding sea was dyed red from the blood that flowed down from the ships, up to a radius of two thousand steps. But the shores, they say, were so thickly covered with the corpses that were ejected from the sea, that the air was tainted and the surrounding region contracted a plague. At lengths the fight continued man against man, and most beatedly one side was trying to advance while the other side tried to resist. Finally, however, the Venetians were with God's help victorious. (William of Tyre).



Siege of Tyre

On February, 15 1124, the Venetians and Franks began the siege of Tyre. The seaport of Tyre, now in Lebanon, was part of the territory of Toghtekin, the Atabeg of Damascus. The Latin army was led by the Patriarch of Antioch, the doge of Venice, Pons, Count of Tripoli and William de Bury, the king's constable.

The Venetians and Franks built siege towers and machines that could throw boulders to shatter the city walls. The defenders of Tyre also built engines, hurling rocks at the siege towers. As the siege dragged out the citizens began to run short of food and sent urgent calls for help. Balak died while besieging the city of Hierapolis. Toghtekin advanced towards Tyre, but withdrew without fighting when the forces of Count Pons of Tripoli and Constable William rode to confront him. Toghtekin sent envoys in June 1124 to negotiate peace. After lengthy and difficult discussions it was agreed that the terms of surrender would include letting those who wanted to leave the city to take their families and property with them, while those who wanted to stay would keep their houses and possessions. This was unpopular with some of the Crusaders, who wanted to loot the city.

Tyre surrendered on June 29, 1124. Baldwin II was in captivity during the conquest of Tyre, but was released later that year. He immediately broke the terms of his release. Baldwin II granted the Venetians extensive commercial privileges in Tyre, and thus ensured that they would maintain a naval presence in the Latin East. The privilege included guarantees of property rights for the heirs of Venetians who were shipwrecked or who died in Tyre.

Many of the people who left Tyre moved to Damascus. Baldwin II resumed hostilities against Aleppo and Damascus, and obtained tribute from both states.

The Venetian fleet passed through the Aegean Sea on the return voyage. The Venetians again pillaged Greek islands. The Greeks were forced to abandon the dispute and confirm the commercial privileges of Venice.



Battle of Yibneh

In 1121, al-Afdal was assassinated. Meanwhile, Jerusalem was weakened by the capture of King Baldwin II by the Artuqids in northern Syria; the kingdom was at this time governed by the regent Eustace Grenier.

In 1123, the new vizier organized a major invasion of Crusader lands. The Fatimids planned to capture the coastal city of Jaffa. In this era, the Egyptian armies usually deployed with Sudanese archers on foot, supported by dense formations of Arab and Berber light cavalry. Unfortunately for the Fatimids, this relatively immobile array provided the Frankish heavy cavalry with an ideal target.

At Yibna, near the later site of the castle of Ibelin (built 1141), the Fatimid invasion force encountered the Crusader army of knights and men-at-arms on horseback and spearmen and bowmen on foot. The fighting lasted only a short time as the Egyptian host was unable to withstand the shock of the Crusader cavalry charges. The defeat was decisive.



Siege of Aleppo

In 1124 Baldwin II was released, and almost immediately he laid siege to Aleppo on October 8, 1124. This caught the attention of il-Bursuqi, the Seljuk atabeg of Mosul. Il-Bursuqi marched south to relieve the siege of Aleppo, which was nearing the point of surrender in January 1125 after a three-month siege. In spite of the city being "the greatest prize the war could offer", Baldwin cautiously withdrew without a fight.

Battle of Azaz

Following the withdrawal from Aleppo, Baldwin II, Leo I of Armenia, Joscelin I, and Pons of Tripoli, with a force of 1,100 knights from their respective territories (including knights from Antioch, where Baldwin was regent), as well as 2,000 infantry, met il-Bursuqi outside Azaz, where the Seljuk atabeg had gathered his much larger force. Baldwin pretended to retreat, thereby drawing the Seljuks away from Azaz into the open where they were surrounded. After a long and bloody battle, the Seljuks were defeated and their camp captured by Baldwin, who took enough loot to ransom the prisoners taken by the Seljuks.

Al Bursuqi retired to Aleppo, leaving his son Masud as governor and crossed the Euphrates to Mosul, where he gathered troops to renew the fight. Apart from relieving Azaz, this victory allowed the Crusaders to regain much of the influence they had lost after their defeat at Ager Sanguinis in 1119.



Battle of Marj al-Saffar

After winning the Battle of Azaz, Baldwin II led an army of Franks to attack Damascus in early 1126. Baldwin's army consisted of the usual mounted knights and men-at-arms supported by spearmen and bowmen on foot.

At Marj al-Saffar, outside Damascus, the

Crusaders encountered the army of Damascus which offered battle. Toghtekin, founder of the Burid dynasty, ruled Damascus at that time.

BURID DYNASTY

The Burid dynasty was a Turkish Muslim dynasty which ruled over the Emirate of Damascus in the early 12th century.

Only a few details are known about the battle. The sources are not in agreement about tactical details, but they concur that the Crusaders failed to seize Damascus. The Franks lost many men to Turkish archery in a very close-fought engagement. *"But a strong attack made late in the day gave them a hard-won victory. Their tactical success left them unable to achieve their object in undertaking the campaign, which was the conquest of Damascus."*

Another historian writes, "Crusader forces had a clear win but were unable to press home their advantage." A third writer notes that the Crusader victory occurred because Toghtekin "fell from his horse and, thinking that he had been killed, his companions fled."

Because of their heavy casualties, the Crusaders were forced to retreat.



FIGURE 16 John II Comnenus
(Sep 13, 1087 – Apr 8, 1143)

Battle of Ba'rin (Mont Ferrand)

When Imad ad-Din Zengi became ruler of Mosul in 1127 and Aleppo in 1128, the Crusaders were faced with a dangerous opponent. For several years afterward, Zengi gained power at the expense of neighboring Muslim states. By occasionally allying itself with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Muslim emirate of Damascus successfully resisted Zengi's efforts to conquer that city.

In early 1137, Zengi invested the castle of Ba'rin, about 10 miles northwest of Homs. When King Fulk marched with his host to raise the siege, his army was attacked and scattered by Zengi's forces. Nothing is known about the battle. The Christian chronicler William of Tyre "gave no tactical information, and neither did the Arab historians."

After their defeat, Fulk and some of the survivors took refuge in Ba'rin castle, which Zengi surrounded again.

"When they ran out of food they ate their horses, and then they were forced to ask for terms." Meanwhile, large numbers of Christian pilgrims had rallied to the army of Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus, Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin II of Edessa.

With this host approaching the castle, Zengi suddenly granted Fulk and the other besieged Franks terms. In return for their freedom and evacuation of the castle, a ransom was set at 50000 dinar. The Franks, unaware of the imminent arrival of the large relieving army, accepted Zengi's offer.



Siege of Shaizar

Freed from immediate external threats in the Balkans or in Anatolia, having defeated the Hungarians in 1129, and having forced the Anatolian Turks on the defensive by a series of campaigns from 1130 to 1135, the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–1143) could direct his attention to the Levant, where he sought to reinforce Byzantium's claims to

LEVANT

The Levant is an approximate historical geographical term referring to a large area in the Eastern Mediterranean.

suzerainty over the Crusader States and to assert his rights and authority over Antioch. These rights dated back to the Treaty of Devol of 1108, though Byzantium had not been in a position to enforce them. The necessary preparation for a descent on Antioch was the recovery of Byzantine control over Cilicia. In 1137, the



Crusader States

The Crusader states, also known as Outremer, were a number of mostly 12th- and 13th-century feudal Christian states created by Western European Crusaders in Asia Minor, Greece and the Holy Land, and during the Northern Crusades in the eastern Baltic area. The name also refers to other territorial gains (often small and short-lived) made by medieval Christendom against Muslim and pagan adversaries. The Crusader states in the Levant were the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Principality of Antioch, the County of Tripoli and the County of Edessa. The people of the Crusader states were generally referred to as "Latins".

emperor conquered Tarsus, Adana, and Mopsuestia from the Principality of Armenian Cilicia, and in 1138 Prince Levon I of Armenia and most of his family were brought as captives to Constantinople.

Control of Cilicia opened the route to the Principality of Antioch for the Byzantines. Faced with the approach of the formidable Byzantine army, Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, and Joscelin II, count of Edessa, hastened to acknowledge the Emperor's overlordship. John demanded the unconditional surrender of Antioch and, after asking the permission of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, Raymond of Antioch agreed to surrender the city to John. The agreement, by which Raymond swore homage to John, was explicitly based on the Treaty of Devol, but went beyond it. Raymond, who was recognized as an imperial vassal for Antioch, promised the Emperor free entry to Antioch, and undertook to hand over the city in return for the cities of Aleppo, Shaizar, Homs, and Hama as soon as these were conquered from the Muslims. Raymond would then rule the new conquests and Antioch would revert to direct imperial control.

In February, on the Byzantine emperor's orders, the authorities in Antioch arrested all merchants and travelers from Aleppo and other Muslim towns to prevent them from reporting on military preparations. In March, the imperial army crossed from Cilicia to Antioch and the contingents from Antioch and Edessa, plus a company of Templars, joined up with it. They crossed into enemy territory and occupied Balat. On April 3 they arrived before Biza'a which held out for five days. It had been hoped that Aleppo could be surprised. However, the most powerful Muslim leader in Syria, Zengi, was besieging nearby Hama, which was held by a Damascene garrison. He had enough warning of the Emperor's operations to quickly reinforce Aleppo. On April 20, the Christian army launched an attack on the city but found it too strongly defended. The Emperor then moved the army southward taking the fortresses of Athereb, Maarat al-Numan, and Kafartab by assault, with the ultimate goal of capturing the city of Shaizar. It is probable that Shaizar was chosen because it was an independent Arab emirate, held by the Munqidhite dynasty, and therefore it might not be regarded by Zengi as important enough for him to come to its aid; also possession of Shaizar would have opened the city of Hama to attack.

The Crusader princes were suspicious of each other and of John, and none wanted the others to gain from participating in the campaign. Raymond also wanted to hold on to Antioch, which was a Christian city; the attraction of lordship over a city like Shaizar or Aleppo, with a largely Muslim population and more a situation exposed to Zengid attack, must have been slight. With the lukewarm interest his allies had in the prosecution of the siege, the Emperor was soon left with little active help from them.

Following some initial skirmishes, John II organized his army into three divisions based on the nationalities of his soldiery: Macedonians (native Byzantines); 'Kelts' (meaning Normans and other Franks); and Pechenegs (Turkic steppe nomads). Each division was equipped with its characteristic arms and equipment, and was paraded before the city in order to overawe the defenders.

Although John fought hard for the Christian cause in the campaign in Syria, his allies Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin of Edessa remained in their camp playing dice and feasting instead of helping to press the siege. Due to their example, the morale of their troops was undermined. The Emperor's reproaches could only goad the two princes into

perfunctory and fitful action. Latin and Muslim sources describe John's energy and personal courage in prosecuting the siege. Conspicuous in his golden helmet, John was active in encouraging his troops, supervising the siege engines and consoling the wounded. The walls of Shaizar were battered by the trebuchets of the impressive Byzantine siege train.



FIGURE 17 John II Comnenos negotiating with the Emir of Shaizar

The city was taken, but the citadel, protected by its cliffs and the courage of its defenders, defied assault. Tardily, Zengi had assembled a relief army and it moved towards Shaizar. The relief army was smaller than the Christian army but John was reluctant to leave his siege engines in order to march out to meet it, and he did not trust his allies. At this point, Sultan ibn Munqidh, the Emir of Shaizar, offered to become John's vassal, pay a large indemnity and pay yearly tribute. Also offered was a table studded with jewels and a ruby encrusted cross said to have been made for Constantine the Great, which had been captured from Romanos IV Diogenes by the Seljuk Turks at the Battle of Manzikert. John, disgusted by the behavior of his allies, reluctantly accepted the offer. On May 21, the siege was raised.

Zengi's troops skirmished with the retreating Christians, but did not dare to actively impede the army's march. Returning to Antioch, John made a ceremonial entry into the city. However, Raymond and Joscelin conspired to delay the promised handover of Antioch's citadel to the Emperor, and stirred up popular unrest in the city directed at John and the local Greek community. Having heard of a raid by the Anatolian Seljuks on Cilicia, and having been besieged in the palace by the Antiochene mob, John abandoned his demand for control of the citadel. He insisted, however, on a renewal of Raymond and Jocelyn's oaths of fealty. He then left Antioch intending to punish the Seljuk sultan Mas'ud (r. 1116–1156) and subsequently to return to Constantinople.

John had little choice but to leave Syria with his ambitions only partially realized. The events of the campaign underlined that the suzerainty the Byzantine emperor claimed over the Crusader states, for all the prestige it offered, had limited practical advantages. The Latins enjoyed the security that a distant imperial connection gave them when they were threatened by the Muslim powers of Syria. However, when Byzantine military might was directly manifested in the region, their own self-interest and continued political independence was of greater importance to them than any possible advantage that might be gained for the Christian cause in the Levant by co-operation with the Emperor.

John II returned to Syria in 1142 determined to take Antioch by force and impose direct Byzantine rule. His death in spring of 1143, the result of a hunting accident, intervened before he could achieve this goal. His son and successor, Manuel I (r. 1143–1180), took his father's army back to Constantinople to secure his authority, and the opportunity for the Byzantines to conquer Antioch outright was lost.



Siege of Edessa

The County of Edessa was the first of the Crusader states to be established during and after the First Crusade. Edessa was the most northerly, the weakest, and the least populated; as such, it was subject to frequent attacks from the surrounding Muslim states ruled by the Ortoqids, Danishmends, and Seljuk Turks.

In 1144, Joscelin of Courtenay was able to make an alliance with Kara Arslan, the Ortoqid ruler of Diyarbakır, against the growing power and influence of Zengi. Joscelin marched out of

Edessa with almost his entire army to support Kara Arslan against Aleppo. Zengi, already seeking to take advantage of Fulk's death in 1143, hurried north to besiege Edessa, arriving on November 28. The city had been warned of his arrival and was prepared for a siege, but there was little they could do while Joscelin and the army were elsewhere.

The defense of the city was led by the Latin Archbishop Hugh, the Armenian Bishop John, and the Jacobite Bishop Basil. John and Basil ensured that none of the native Christians would desert to Zengi. When Joscelin heard of the siege he took the army to Turbessel, knowing that he could never dislodge Zengi without help from the other Crusader states. In Jerusalem, Queen Melisende responded to Joscelin's appeal by sending an army led by Manasses of Hierges, Philip of Milly, and Elinand of Bures. Raymond of Antioch ignored the call for help, as his army was already occupied against the Byzantine Empire in Cilicia.

Zengi surrounded the entire city, realizing that there was no army defending it. He built siege engines and began to mine the walls, while his forces were joined by Kurdish and Turcoman reinforcements. The inhabitants of Edessa resisted as much as they could, but had no experience in siege warfare; the city's numerous towers remained unmanned. They also had no knowledge of counter-mining, and part of the wall near the Gate of the Hours collapsed on December 24. Zengi's troops rushed into the city, killing all those who were unable to flee to the Citadel of Maniaces. Thousands more were suffocated or trampled to death in the panic, including Archbishop Hugh. Zengi ordered his men to stop the massacre, although all the Latin prisoners that he had taken were executed; the native Christians were allowed to live freely. The citadel was handed over on December 26. One of Zengi's commanders, Zayn ad-Din Ali Kutchuk, was appointed governor, while Bishop Basil, apparently willing to give his loyalty to whoever ruled the city, was recognized as leader of the Christian population.

The campaign underlined the limited nature of Byzantine suzerainty over the northern Crusader states and the lack of common purpose between the Latin princes and the Byzantine emperor.



FIGURE 18 Baldwin III
(1130 – Feb 10, 1163)

Battle of Bosra

In 1147, Altuntash, the emir of Bosra and Salkhad squabbled with his nominal superior, Mu'in ad-Din Unur, ruler of Damascus. Offended, Altuntash allied himself with the Crusaders and agreed to hand over his two cities. King Baldwin III concentrated his army, crossed the Jordan River and moved toward Bosra, about 65 miles south-southeast of Damascus and 50 miles east of the Jordan.

Soon after the Crusader march began, the Damascene army showed up in great strength to contest their advance. Many Latin soldiers were eager for battle, but more cautious heads prevailed. Posting extra guards to watch for a surprise attack, the Frankish army made camp and spent the night. After a council of war the next day, Baldwin and his officers determined to continue the expedition to Bosra in a fighting march. The Latin army moved in the usual formation when opposed by an army of Turkish horse archers. Provision was made to oppose attacks on the van, the flanks and the rear. The Frankish foot soldiers marched in close formation with foot archers ready to fire back at the Turkish horse archers and spearmen ready to repel a direct attack. "In order to maintain the solidity of the column, the pace of the mounted troops was made to conform to that of the infantry."

For four days, the Crusaders advanced toward their intended goal, under constant archery and probing attacks. Further, the soldiers were bedeviled by thirst in the hot summer weather. When they arrived at Bosra, the Franks managed to obtain water and other supplies. The Crusaders' high hopes were dashed when they found that Altuntash's wife, made of sterner stuff than her husband, had introduced a Damascene garrison into Bosra's citadel. Unwilling to chance a siege close to an enemy host, Baldwin elected to withdraw.

The Franks suffered even worse on their return march from the heat, dust and constant harassment by the Turks. One day, the Saracens set fire to the dry brush upwind of the Franks, adding to their misery. The Crusaders carried their dead and wounded with them so that their enemies would not be encouraged by their losses. *"Any man who left his place in the ranks was threatened with severe penalties."* Leaving the ranks without permission was forbidden. However, one exception was that a knight was allowed to rescue a Christian if he was about to be killed by a Muslim.

As the Franks neared their own territories, the Saracens redoubled their attacks on the Latin rearguard, trying to separate it from the rest of the formation. Near the moment of crisis, a Turk fighting with the Crusaders rode out without leave and killed an opponent in personal combat. This so dismayed the Damascenes and encouraged the Franks that "excuses were found for his breach of orders." Ultimately, the Saracens were unable to stop the Crusader army from re-crossing the Jordan and safely returning to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The running battle lasted twelve days.

Second Crusade (1147-1149)

The Second Crusade was started in response to the fall of the County of Edessa in 1144 to the forces of Zengi. The county had been founded during the First Crusade (1096–1099) by King Baldwin of Boulogne in 1098. While it was the first Crusader state to be founded, it was also the first to fall.

The Second Crusade was announced by Pope Eugene III, and was the first of the Crusades to be led by European kings, namely Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, with help from a number of other European nobles. The armies of the two kings marched separately across Europe. After crossing Byzantine territory into Anatolia, both armies were separately defeated by the Seljuk Turks. The main Western Christian source, Odo of Deuil, and Syriac Christian sources claim that the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos secretly hindered the Crusaders' progress particularly in Anatolia, where he is alleged to have deliberately ordered Turks to attack them. Louis and Conrad and the remnants of their armies reached Jerusalem and participated in 1148 in an ill-advised attack on Damascus. The Crusade in the east was a failure for the Crusaders and a great victory for the Muslims.

ZENGI

Imad ad-Din Zengi was a Oghuz Turkish atabeg (a governor of a nation or province) who ruled Mosul, Aleppo, Hama, and Edessa. He was the namesake of the Zengid dynasty.



Second Battle of Dorylaeum

The second Battle of Dorylaeum was not a single clash but consisted of a series of encounters over a number of days.

Following escalating friction between the Byzantine Empire and the German Crusader army, including armed clashes, the Germans were ferried from the environs of Constantinople to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus. With inadequate supplies, the Crusaders moved into the interior of Anatolia, intending to take the overland route to the Holy Land. As the Crusaders crossed into the Anatolian plateau they entered an area of debatable

frontier districts between the Byzantines and Seljuk Turks. Once beyond effective Byzantine control, the German army came under constant harassing attacks from the Turks, who excelled at such tactics. The poorer, and less well-supplied, infantry of the Crusader army were the most vulnerable to hit-and-run horse archer attack and began to take casualties and lose men to capture. The area through which the Crusaders were marching was largely barren and parched; therefore the army could not augment its supplies and was troubled by thirst. When the Germans were about three days march beyond Dorylaeum, the nobility requested that the army turn back and regroup. As the Crusaders began their retreat, on October 25, 1147 the Turkish attacks intensified and order broke down, the retreat then becoming a rout. Conrad, himself, was wounded by arrows during the retreat.



FIGURE 19 Manuel I Komnenos (Nov 28, 1118 – Sep 24, 1180)

On regaining lands under firm Byzantine control Turkish attacks ceased. The failure of the Crusaders was partly blamed on Byzantine treachery by the contemporary chronicler William of Tyre, the Greek guides and local population were accused of being in league with the Seljuks. However, convincing evidence or motivation for this scenario is lacking. German losses are difficult to estimate, William of Tyre stating that only a remnant of the army was left. Of the 113 named men in the army, 22 are recorded to have died on the Crusade, 42 to have survived and 49 unaccounted for. Though these would have been of the knightly and noble class, and therefore more likely to survive being better armored and provisioned than the infantry, the idea of the German army being completely destroyed near Dorylaeum is untenable. The Germans subsequently joined forces with the French Crusaders, led by Louis VII of France, at Nicaea, before proceeding along the coastal route around western Anatolia. The joint forces came under renewed Seljuk attack, and Conrad and the elite of his force took ship at Ephesus. Conrad returned by sea to Constantinople, where he was reconciled with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. The remainder of the German Crusaders, in company with the French, moved on to Attalia, some were then shipped to Antioch. Of those who attempted the overland route to Antioch there is no accurate record of the number of survivors.



FIGURE 20 Louis VII of France (1120 – Sep 18, 1180)

Battle of Ephesus

The Battle of Ephesus took place on December 24, 1147. King Louis VII led the French army on the march across Europe and Asia Minor to Jerusalem. The army decided to march along the coast of Asia Minor, because the defeat of Emperor Conrad of Germany and his army at Dorylaeum had made it clear that marching inland was too dangerous. In early December 1147, the army stopped to rest at the ancient town of Ephesus before continuing through the Meander Valley to reach the major port of Adalia. Upon arrival at Ephesus, Louis was warned by messengers of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel, that the surrounding area was overrun by Seljuk Turks and that it would be wiser for Louis to garrison his army in the Imperial strongholds for the time being, especially considering that

he could not rely on the local Greek population for intelligence or military help. Louis refused to listen to this advice and led his troops out of Ephesus at the end of the month.

The Turks ambushed the Crusaders in the Decervium Valley, just outside Ephesus, as they were resting. Details of the battle are scarce, but according to the witnesses, the courage of the Crusaders prevented the Turks from achieving success.

Battle of the Meander

The French Army under King Louis decided to march along the coast of Asia Minor, because the defeat of Emperor Conrad of Germany and his army at Dorylaeum had made it clear that marching inland was too dangerous. In December 1147, the army was marching across the valley of the river Maeander to reach the major port of Adalia.



FIGURE 21 Conrad III of Germany (1093 – Feb 15, 1152)

The Turks launched a particularly heavy ambush as the Crusaders attempted to finally cross the river. They used their usual tactic of attacking and then quickly retreating before the enemy could regroup and counter-attack. On this occasion however, Louis had already placed his strongest knights to the front, side and rear, allowing these tough troops to engage the Turks before they could do much damage. The Turks suffered heavy casualties, although many were able to escape back into the mountains on their swift horses.

The victory was not enough to stop the Turkish attacks. Just days after the Battle of the Meander, the French army suffered a catastrophic defeat at Mount Cadmus.



Battle of Mount Cadmus

The Battle of Mount Cadmus took place near Laodicea on January 6, 1148. The ill-disciplined Crusaders, especially in the German Crusade, had caused a number of incidents with the passage of the crusading army through the Balkans. The Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus, feared that the troops of the Crusaders would strengthen the Principality of Antioch, which he wanted to restore to his sovereignty, and also would weaken the Byzantine-German alliance against Roger II of Sicily. While Conrad III and Louis VII refused to pay homage to the Byzantine emperor in the autumn of 1147, they retained the Byzantine troops. Consequently, Roger II seized Corfu and Cephalonia, and plundered Corinth and Thebes.

The French and Germans decided to take separate routes. Conrad's army was defeated at the Battle of Dorylaeum October 25, 1147.

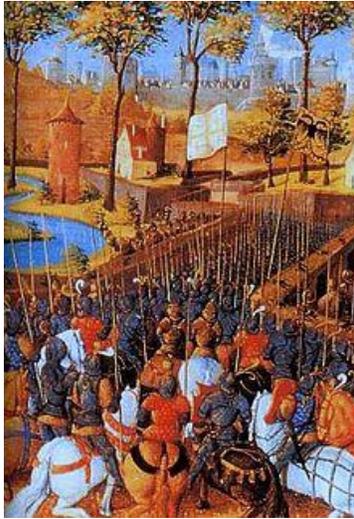


FIGURE 22 Roger II of Sicily (Dec 22, 1095 – Feb 26, 1154)

The remnants of the army of Conrad were able to join the army of the king of France. The armies followed the path left by the first Crusaders advance to Philadelphia in Lydia. In this city, the Germans were still exposed to attack and decided to return to Constantinople. Conrad III, reconciled with Manuel, captured Acre with Byzantine ships. The troops of Louis VII followed the coast and then took the road to the east. The Seljuks waited on the banks of the river Meander, but the Franks forced the passage and marched to Laodicea, which they reached on January 6, the day of the Epiphany. They then marched to the mountains that separate the Phrygia of the Pisidia.

The vanguard, led by Geoffrey de Rancon, was recklessly placed too far ahead of the army. King Louis, with the main column, ignored that fact, and proceeded onward. The French soldiers walked with confidence, convinced that their comrades occupied the heights in front of them. However, the Seljuks had the advantage when the French ranks broke and rushed upon them swords in hand. The French retreated to a narrow gorge, bordered on one side with precipices and crags on the other. Horses, men, and baggage were forced into the abyss. King Louis VII was able to escape the fray, leaned against a tree and stood alone against multiple attackers. At night, the king took advantage of the

darkness to join the vanguard of his army, which had been believed dead. After the battle, the army of the king of France, which had suffered heavy losses, barely reached Attaleia on January 20.



Siege of Damascus

The siege took place between July 24 and 29th, 1148. The original focus of the Crusade was Edessa (Urfa), but in Jerusalem, the preferred target of King Baldwin III and the Knights Templar was Damascus. At the Council of Acre, magnates from France, Germany, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem decided to divert the Crusade to Damascus.

The Crusaders decided to attack Damascus from the west, where orchards would provide them with a constant food supply. They arrived at Daraiya on July 23, with the army of Jerusalem in the vanguard, followed by Louis and then Conrad in the rearguard. The densely cultivated gardens and orchards would prove to be a serious obstacle for the Crusaders.

Aftermath of the Second Crusade

The Second Crusade had begun with high hopes. After the fall of the County of Edessa, European powers were again motivated to come to the aid of the fragile Crusader States. The kings of France and Germany, Louis VII and Conrad III, led their large forces in person. In contrast, the Muslim world was still disunited. The prospects had seemed so good, and yet, worse than nothing resulted: the Christian world shattered along several fault lines while the Muslims gradually gathered their forces for a concerted counterattack.

The enterprise soured even before the kings made their rendezvous in Jerusalem. The armies, which proceeded over land through Byzantine territory, came into conflict with their hosts. The Byzantines were wary of foreign armies engaging in looting under the name of forage, while the westerners saw the Byzantines as obstructionist, not least because of their truce with the Turks. To conclude the inauspicious opening of the Crusade, the Germans, who led the column, suffered significant losses in their first battles with the Turks.

Relations with the leaders of the Crusader States were little better than they had been with the Byzantines, despite kinship ties, because the local rulers made their proposals with an eye toward their own advantage. In the long run, this was not really illegitimate. The Crusades could only have succeeded as an enterprise if they were capable of laying down lasting roots, providing the resources for existing projects and the future replenishment of losses through its own stores. To the European lords, however, it seemed as if their local cousins had allowed personal interest to interfere with the grander goals of the Crusade. As a result, some measure of personal pique joined with greed in the decision to attack Damascus.

Wendish Crusade

The Wends are made up of the Slavic tribes of Abrotites, Rugians, Liutizians, Wagarians, and Pomeranians who lived east of the River Elbe. The lands inhabited by the Wends were rich in resources, which played a factor in the motivations of those who participated in the Crusade. The mild climate of the Baltic area allowed for the cultivation of land and livestock. Animals of this region were also thickly furred, supporting the dependence on fur trading. Access to the coast line also developed fishing and trade networks. The land was attractive for the resources it boasted, and the Crusade offered an opportunity for noble families to gain part of it. By the early 12th century, the German archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg sought the conversion to Christianity of neighboring pagan West Slavs through peaceful means. During the preparation of the Second Crusade to the Holy Land, a papal bull was issued supporting a Crusade against these Slavs. The Slavic leader Niklot preemptively invaded Wagria in June 1147, leading to the march of the Crusaders later that summer. They achieved an ostensible forced baptism of Slavs at Dobin but were repulsed from Demmin. Another crusading army marched on the already Christian city of Szczecin whereupon the Crusaders dispersed upon arrival. The Christian army, composed primarily of Saxons and Danes, forced tribute from the pagan Slavs and affirmed German control of Wagria and Polabia through colonization, but failed to convert the bulk of the population immediately.

Damascus was a rich prize, and for the pious, its eventual capture was something of a priority, but under existing circumstances, it was a disastrous choice. The Burid kings who ruled it were actually allied with the Crusader States against the steady encroachment of Nur ad-Din. As it happened, the disposition of the siege was bungled, and after four days, with Nur ad-Din on hand to take advantage of any further mistake, the kings were persuaded to lift the siege. Jerusalem's Damascene allies had been driven to the camp of Nur ad-Din without anything to show for it, and the remaining westerners began to see treachery in every turn of events against them. In the waves of recrimination that resulted, the Christian participants turned against each other, even as their Muslim foes coalesced.

Tensions between Orthodox and Catholic rose, with the ironic exception of the ties between the King of Germany and the Byzantine Emperor. Even though the Germans had suffered a worse reception than the French on their way to the Holy Land, their respective kings did have common opponents in Italy, and on the return home, the two monarchs enjoyed a surprisingly warm rapprochement. Sentiment elsewhere in Europe, however, saw the Byzantines as traitors to the cause, and some already suggested the prospect of a Crusade against Byzantium itself. While these ideas did not come directly to fruition, they did lay the groundwork for the eventual course of the Fourth Crusade, in which Constantinople was indeed seized by the Crusaders.

German ties with Byzantium exacerbated tensions between the French and the Germans, although the Byzantine alliance was itself based upon common interests in the face of French policy in southern Italy. What is important here is that national politics became more important than the common effort, a characteristic that would appear again when the Third Crusade arrived at the end of the century.

The relations between the lords who had settled in the Holy Land and their European cousins had taken a serious blow. The Europeans saw the local lords as being soft, and too strongly influenced by eastern culture, as well as being too motivated by their own political prospects. For their part, the local lords saw the short-term Crusaders as boors who sabotaged their own chances of success because they failed to take the political realities into consideration.

This rift was to have lasting consequences as well. The Crusader States were to spend the next thirty-nine years in a vain effort to build up their domains into lasting kingdoms, even as their foes gathered strength. Their numbers were too small, however, and progress was correspondingly slow. Substantial European aid might have made a difference, but the tensions outlined above ensured that little aid came, and when it did, it was short-lived and amateurish. Typically, the arrival of a European contingent meant that the crusading forces would be pressured into making an offensive against their Muslim opponents; it was a regular phenomenon, and the Muslims understood that existing truces would temporarily be abrogated for such events. Under these circumstances, the truce would be restored without negative consequences as soon as the newcomers embarked on the voyage home. More than anything else, this was true because during this period, both sides needed the truce as they struggled to resolve their own internal disputes and prepare for a more meaningful combat in the future.

The trouble for the Crusaders lay in the fact that time favored the Muslims. The Muslims had the advantages of a far more substantial pool of manpower, if only they could be united, and the appearance of leaders like Nur ad-Din and Saladin who were capable of

doing precisely that. During this period, the Crusaders had no one who might compare with these leaders, and so the gap in strength continued to widen.

The only hope that the Crusaders might have had against such leaders was conflict within the Muslim world. The Sunni-Shi'ite dispute was a real factor holding back the unification of the Muslims against the Crusaders, and it was a dispute that was, in fact, used to a lesser degree: in another of the ironies of the Crusades, the Knights Templar and the Ismaili sect of Assassins made common cause against the dominant Sunni leadership. More substantial ties of alliance had become impossible, however, as a result of the Second Crusade. The march of the Crusaders against Damascus robbed them not only of a particular ally, but also of their prospects for future alliances.

For all of these reasons, the Second Crusade had made possible the rise of Saladin and the catastrophic losses that precipitated the Third Crusade. The abortive siege of Damascus laid the foundations of the Battle of the Horns of Hattin and the siege of Jerusalem. The Second Crusade began as an effort to reclaim the County of Edessa, the easternmost of the Crusader States; in the event, it did worse than nothing. It led to the loss of Jerusalem itself, and an end to the dream of making Outremer, the land beyond the sea, a self-sustaining Christian kingdom.

Sieges and Battles between Crusades



Battle of Inab

In June 1149, Nur ad-Din invaded Antioch and besieged the fortress of Inab, with aid from Unur of Damascus and a force of Turcomans. Nur ad-Din had about 6,000 troops, mostly cavalry, at his disposal. Raymond and his Christian neighbor, Count Joscelin II of Edessa, had been enemies since Raymond had refused to send a relief army to Edessa in 1146. Joscelin even made a treaty of alliance with Nur ad-Din against Raymond. For their part, Raymond II of Tripoli and the regent, Melisende of Jerusalem refused to aid the Prince of

Antioch. Feeling confident because he had twice defeated Nur ad-Din previously, Prince Raymond struck out on his own with an army of 400 knights and 1,000 foot soldiers.

Prince Raymond allied himself with Ali ibn-Wafa, leader of the Hashshashin and an enemy of Nur ad-Din. Before he had collected all his available forces, Raymond and his ally mounted a relief expedition. Amazed at the weakness of Prince Raymond's army, the atabeg at first suspected that it was only an advance guard and that the main Frankish army must be lurking nearby. Upon the approach of the combined force, Nur ad-Din raised the siege of Inab and withdrew. Rather than staying close to the stronghold, Raymond and ibn-Wafa camped with their forces in open country. After Nur ad-Din's scouts noted that

H A S H S H A S H I N

The Hashshashin, the assassins, first got their start in Persia, Syria, and Turkey and eventually spread to the rest of the Middle East.

the allies camped in an exposed location and did not receive reinforcements, the atabeg swiftly surrounded the enemy camp during the night.

On June 29, Nur ad-Din attacked and destroyed the army of Antioch. Presented with an opportunity to escape, the Prince of Antioch refused to abandon his soldiers. Raymond was a man of "immense stature" and fought back, "cutting down all who came near him". Nevertheless, both Raymond and ibn-Wafa were killed, along with Reynald of Marash. A few Franks escaped the disaster. Much of the territory of Antioch was now open to Nur ad-Din, the most important of which was a route to the Mediterranean. Nur ad-Din rode out to the coast and bathed in the sea as a symbol of his conquest.



FIGURE 23 Nur ad-Din (Feb 1118 – May 15, 1174)



Battle of Aintab

Zengi, Nur ad-Din's father, had seized Edessa in 1144. Deprived of their capital, the western lands of the County of Edessa continued a precarious existence for six more years. They came under increasing pressure from the Muslim states surrounding them. In 1150, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos expressed an interest in acquiring the rump of the County of Edessa. As their feudal overlord, Baldwin III was required to defend them in case of attack. Recognizing that the Crusaders were unlikely to hold on to these territories for much longer, Baldwin agreed to turn them over to the Byzantines.

Baldwin met with Manuel's agents at Turbessel to negotiate the transfer of territories. Franks or Armenians who wished to remain under Latin rule were allowed to march back to the Principality of Antioch with the king, taking their possessions with them. Baldwin's small army consisted of 500 mounted knights and an unknown number of foot soldiers.

Nur ad-Din's forces fell upon the withdrawing Latin column between Dülük and Aintab. By deploying his soldiers in battle order, Baldwin was able to get his non-combatants safely into the town of Aintab, where the Latin force spent the night.

The following day the Franks organized their soldiers to protect the refugees and the baggage train. Baldwin led the advance guard while Antiochene knights protected the right and left flanks. Raymond II of Tripoli and Humphrey II of Toron directed a strong rear guard.

FRANKS

Christian Crusaders were called *Faranji* – Franks – by Muslims, during the Crusades.

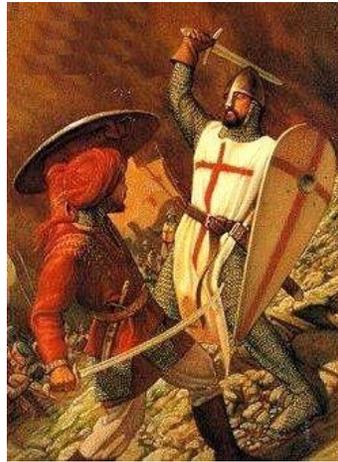
Nur ad-Din's Turks attacked in the traditional manner, surrounding the column and subjecting it to "arrows in such showers that the appearance of the baggage soon resembled a porcupine." All day long, the Turks tried to break up the Crusader formation or cause a collapse of morale. But the Franks plodded ahead, keeping a strict march discipline and making partial charges when their enemies pressed too close. Nur ad-Din,

discouraged by his lack of success and short on supplies, withdrew at sunset. The Crusader column delivered the refugees to Antiochene territories without further trouble.

Baldwin had calculated correctly. Within a year, the remaining territories of the former County of Edessa fell to the Turks. The skirmish had been a tactical success because the Crusaders escaped serious losses and successfully protected the pro-Latin civilians. But the permanent loss of the County of Edessa represented a strategic defeat.

Gaza City

Gaza's history of habitation dates back 5,000 years, making it one of the oldest cities in the world. Located on the Mediterranean coastal route between North Africa and the Levant, for most of its history it served as a key entrepôt of the southern Palestine and an important stopover on the spice trade route traversing the Red Sea. The Crusaders conquered Gaza in 1100 and King Baldwin III built a castle in the city for the Knights Templar in 1149. He also had the Great Mosque converted into the Cathedral of Saint John. In 1154, Arab traveler al-Idrisi wrote Gaza "is today very populous and in the hands of the Crusaders." In 1187 the Ayyubids, led by Sultan Saladin, captured Gaza and later destroyed the city's fortifications in 1191. Richard the Lionheart apparently refortified the city in 1192, but the walls were dismantled again as a result of the Treaty of Ramla agreed upon months later in 1193. Ayyubid rule ended in 1260, after the Mongols under Hulagu Khan completely destroyed Gaza, which became his southernmost conquest.



Second Siege of Ascalon

Ascalon was Fatimid Egypt's greatest and most important frontier fortress. The Battle of Ascalon was fought outside the city in 1099 in the aftermath of the First Crusade and the fall of Jerusalem to the Crusaders. Although the Crusaders were victorious, internal disputes in their camp allowed Ascalon to remain in Egyptian hands. Thereafter, the Fatimids were able to launch raids into the kingdom every year from this fortress, and the southern border of the Crusader kingdom remained unstable. If this fortress fell, then the gateway to Egypt would be open. Therefore, the Fatimid garrison in Ascalon remained strong and large.

After the failure of the Second Crusade in 1148, Conrad III of Germany attempted to besiege the fortress, but was forced to withdraw when no help was forthcoming from Jerusalem or other Crusaders. Meanwhile, the territory to the east and north of Jerusalem was united under Nur ad-Din Zangi, who ruled Mosul and Aleppo and brought Damascus under his influence after the Second Crusade. In 1149 Nur ad-Din defeated the Principality of Antioch at the Battle of Inab. Nur ad-Din was unable to overrun Antioch entirely, nor was he able to penetrate far into the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but likewise there was little Jerusalem could do in the north and the east with the whole area united under one strong ruler. The Crusader kingdom would have to look towards Egypt if they wanted to expand.

Around 1150, Baldwin III of Jerusalem rebuilt the Gaza City, which at that point lay in ruins. The city was handed over to the Knights Templar, and provided some defense against the continual raids from Ascalon, 10 miles to the northeast. Since the establishment of the kingdom, other fortresses had also been built to watch Ascalon. These were Ibelin about 20 miles northeast of Ascalon near the coast, Blanchegarde about 15 miles east-northeast, Beth Gibelin about 19 miles east and Montgisard near Ramla 28 miles to the northeast.

However, Jerusalem itself was soon divided by civil war. Baldwin III was the legal heir to the kingdom, but his mother Queen Melisende had been ruling as regent since 1143. In 1152 Baldwin finally demanded full control of the kingdom; after some brief fighting he



FIGURE 24
Melisende (1105 – Sep
11, 1161)

was able to accomplish this goal. Later that year Baldwin also defeated a Seljuk Turkish invasion of the Kingdom. Encouraged by these victories, Baldwin decided to make an assault on Ascalon in 1153. With the entire army of Jerusalem he marched to the fortress and began to destroy the surrounding orchards in January. Patriarch Fulcher was also present, along with Raymond du Puy de Provence and Bernard de Tremelay, the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars respectively, and all the other great barons of the kingdom, including Hugh of Ibelin, Philip of Milly, Humphrey II of Toron, and Raynald of Châtillon. The siege was undertaken both by land and by sea, with the fleet commanded by Gerard of Sidon. The Crusader force was also bolstered by a large group of pilgrims, who happened to be on their way to Jerusalem at the time.



FIGURE 25 Raymond du Puy de Provence (1083–1160)

On the Fatimid side, the city was garrisoned by members of the local Kananiyya tribe, as well as a cavalry contingent from Cairo, some 400 to 600 strong, that was rotated into the city every six months. In response to the Crusader attack, the vizier Ibn as-Sallar began preparing reinforcements for the city in March, as well as a naval expedition. The army set off and got as far as Bilbays, while Ibn al-Sallar supervised the final preparations of the fleet, including a naval review and the payment of the crews. The army commanders at Bilbays, led by Ibn al-Sallar's stepson Abbas ibn Abi al-Futuh, hatched a plot to kill the vizier, which was carried out on April 3. The army returned to Cairo, where Abbas became vizier, leaving Ascalon largely to its fate. The Fatimid fleet sailed to Ascalon and easily dispersed the weak Crusader squadron of 15 ships, but as the city's harbor was unsuitable for sustaining a fleet for long periods of time, it had to return to Egypt.

Siege towers were constructed, and for five months there were many skirmishes and victories and defeats on both sides. Ascalon was vast and virtually impenetrable; behind its massive walls and gates were twice as many defenders as there were besiegers outside, and there were supplies of food to last for years. In May the Egyptian fleet arrived to resupply the city; Gerard of Sidon's little fleet could do nothing to stop them. However, a setback for Ascalon occurred in August when the besieged tried to burn down one of the Crusader siege towers; the wind pushed the fire back against their own walls, causing a large section to collapse.

By now the Crusaders were becoming fatigued and it was suggested that they abandon the siege. The Hospitallers and the Patriarch, however, convinced the king that they were on the verge of victory. Three days later another assault was made, and another entrance was forced. After bitter fighting the city fell to the Crusaders on August 19, and the fortress was formally surrendered to them three days later. The citizens were allowed to leave in peace; most fled back to Egypt.



Battle of Lake Huleh

In 1154, Nur ad-Din Zangi achieved his goal of seizing Damascus and welding Syria into a Zengid empire. Instead of confronting a group of Muslim emirates and being able to play them off against one another, the Crusader states (Kingdom of Jerusalem, County of Tripoli and Principality of Antioch) faced a unified threat to their existence.

Each year, the Damascenes pastured large flocks in the area of Banias on the Franks' territory, whose permission they had secured. In February 1157, Baldwin unwisely attacked them, seizing the animals to pay his kingdom's debts. This act of aggression violated a truce. Infuriated, Nur ad-Din immediately began launching raids on the Franks in the vicinity.

Mount Hermon

The Epic of Gilgamesh mentions that Mount Hermon split after Gilgamesh killed Humbaba, the Guardian of the Cedar Forest. One translation of Tablet V states, "The ground split open with the heels of their feet, as they whirled around in circles Mt. Hermon and Lebanon split." In the Book of Enoch, Mount Hermon is the place where the Watcher class of fallen angels descended to Earth. They swear upon the mountain that they would take wives among the daughters of men and take mutual imprecation for their sin (Enoch 6). The mountain or summit is referred to as Saphon in Ugaritic texts where the palace of Ba'al is located in a myth about Attar. The Book of Chronicles also mentions Mount Hermon as a place where Epher, Ishi, Eliel, Azriel, Jeremiah, Hodaviah, and Jahdiel were the heads of their families. Various Temples of Mount Hermon can be found in villages on the slopes. There is a sacred building made of hewn blocks of stone on the summit of Mount Hermon. Known as Qasr Antar, it is the highest temple of the ancient world.

Nur ad-Din laid siege to the fortified town of Banias at the foot of Mount Hermon. In June, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem assembled a Frankish army and marched to the relief of Banias and its Knights Hospitaller defenders. While Baldwin and his knights camped near Lake Huleh in the upper Jordan River valley, they were surprised and defeated by forces under Nur ad-Din. Baldwin and his surviving soldiers took refuge in the nearby castle at Safad. Losses were considerable.

Beyond the heavy casualties suffered in the combat, few consequences attended the Christian defeat. Banias remained a Latin territory until 1164. Nur ad-Din fell ill soon after his victory, and in his absence, Baldwin mounted a campaign in northern Syria. The Franks failed in a siege of Shaizar but recovered the castle of Harim for the Principality of Antioch in the winter of 1157.



Battle of al-Buqaia

Nur ad-Din proved to be one of the most dangerous enemies the Frankish kingdom had ever faced. Starting out as Emir of Aleppo, he steadily increased his territory at the expense of his Muslim and Latin neighbors, until he gained the great city of Damascus in 1154. He seriously defeated the Crusaders at the Battle of Lake Huleh in 1157, but fell very ill immediately afterward. This event allowed the Franks to a chance to recover and, with the help of Thierry of Alsace and an army of pilgrims, to capture Harim castle later in the year.

However, an attack on Shaizar failed when Reynald of Châtillon, the Prince of Antioch, quarreled with the other Franks. Consequently, Shaizar soon became the property of Nur ad-Din. In 1158, Thierry and King Baldwin III beat Nur ad-Din at Butaiha, northeast of Tiberias. The year 1160 saw the capture of Reynald, who spent the next 16 years in Nur ad-Din's dungeons.

Both Amalric and Nur ad-Din soon became aware of the weakness of Fatimid Egypt, whose government had fallen into a state of decay. After the assassination of Caliph al-Zafir and a series of palace coups, Shawar seized power in 1162, was soon deposed, and

appealed to Nur ad-Din for help. Neither the Latin king nor the Muslim emir could afford to let the other capture the rich prize of Egypt. Accordingly, Nur ad-Din sent his lieutenant Shirkuh with an army to support the Egyptian vizier.

In 1163, the Crusaders and their allies inflicted a rare defeat on Nur ad-Din Zangi. While Shirkuh campaigned in Egypt, Nur ad-Din mounted an offensive in Lebanon. Following Latin policy, King Amalric took an army to support his northern vassals, Bohemund III of Antioch and Raymond III of Tripoli. Fortunately, a large group of French pilgrims led by Hugh VIII of Lusignan and Geoffrey Martel, the brother of William IV of Angoulême, joined the king of Jerusalem. In addition, Konstantinos Kalamanos, the governor of Cilicia brought his Greek warriors to assist the Crusaders. Nur ad-Din was no match for such a formidable combination of enemies and his army suffered a defeat. Both Muslims and Franks were impressed by the fighting qualities of the Byzantine soldiers. The negative result of al-Buqaia only made Nur ad-Din keener for revenge.



Battle of Harim

In 1163 King Amalric I of Jerusalem led an invasion of Egypt, leaving the Crusader states open to attack from the east. Nur ad-Din took advantage of this to invade Tripoli, but he was taken by surprise by a large combination of enemies at the Battle of al-Buqaia and was almost killed himself. He then moved north to Antioch, with assistance from his brother Qutb ad-Din in Mosul, his other vassals from Aleppo and Damascus, and the Ortoqid of the Jazira, and besieged the fortress of Harim (Harenc) in 1164.

Reginald of Saint Valery, lord of Harim, called for help, and Raymond III of Tripoli, Bohemund III of Antioch, and Joscelin III of Edessa arrived to relieve the siege. They were joined by Konstantinos Kalamanos, the Byzantine governor of Cilicia, and Thoros, and Mleh of Armenia, as well as Hugh VIII of Lusignan and Geoffrey Martel, brother of William IV of Angoulême, both of whom had recently arrived on pilgrimage.

CILICIA

In antiquity, Cilicia was the south coastal region of Asia Minor. It corresponds to the modern region of Çukurova in Turkey.

On August 12, 1164, Nur ad-Din prepared to give up the siege when they arrived, but the Crusaders, inspired by the victory at al-Buqaia, and, *"regardless of the rules of military discipline ... recklessly dispersed and roved hither and yon in pursuit of the foe."* Nur ad-Din's troops defended against their charge and led a counterattack, pushing the Crusaders into a swamp, and they were massacred *"like victims before the altar."*

It is possible that Nur ad-Din was only feigning a retreat in order to draw the Crusaders into an ambush, but abandoning a siege when a relief army arrived was a standard tactic and Nur ad-Din presumably had no way of knowing the Crusaders would follow him. William's assertion that this was a reckless move is further evidence of this. Only the Armenian Thoros, who had forseen the Turkish maneuver and had not set off in pursuit, escaped from the disaster". Mleh also avoided capture. Konstantinos Kalamanos, Hugh, Raymond, Bohemund, and Joscelin were captured and imprisoned in Aleppo.

Nur ad-Din resumed the siege and captured Harim a few days later. With Amalric absent in Egypt, all three Crusader states were now without their rulers.

Siege of Bilbeis

Amalric had his own designs on Egypt. Therefore, when Shawar invited him into Egypt in 1164, he could not turn down such an offer. At Bilbeis, Amalric together with Shawar his Shi'ite ally, besieged Shirkuh. However, Nur ad-Din moved his forces against the Crusader state of Antioch and despite being a Byzantine protectorate (Manuel was in the Balkans) defeated and captured Bohemond III of Antioch and Raymond III of Tripoli at the Battle of Harim. Amalric immediately raced north to rescue his vassal. Even so, Shirkuh evacuated Egypt too so it was a victory for Shawar who retained Egypt.



Saladin

An-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, known as Salah ad-Din or Saladin (1137 – Mar 4, 1193), was the first sultan of Egypt and Syria and the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. A Sunni Muslim of Kurdish ethnicity, Saladin led the Muslim military campaign against the Crusader states in the Levant. At the height of his power, his sultanate included Egypt, Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, the Hejaz, Yemen and other parts of North Africa. He was originally sent to Fatimid Egypt in 1164 accompanying his uncle Shirkuh. Saladin climbed the ranks of the Fatimid government by virtue of his military successes against Crusader assaults against its territory and his personal closeness to al-Adid. At the height of his power, his sultanate included Egypt, Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, the Hejaz, Yemen and other parts of North Africa.



Battle of al-Babein

Amalric I was the king of Jerusalem, and held power from 1163 to 1174. Amalric had been an ally and nominal protector for the Fatimid government. In 1167, Amalric wanted to destroy the Zengid army sent by Nur al-Din from Syria. Amalric depended on his Military Orders for his invasion of Egypt. The Military Orders is a Christian

order of Knighthood. The Military Orders were set down for the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar to go against pagans or Muslims, or in the Holy Lands, to anyone who persecuted the Christian beliefs and practices. Amalric's obsession was to take over Egypt, after first trying to befriend the nation.

Because Amalric was an ally and protector of the Fatimid government, fighting in the Battle of al-Babein was in his best interest. He invaded Egypt several times during his reign. These campaigns were not very successful, as they always ran into complications leading to failure each time. Nur al-Din organized the battle strategy on the Muslim side. Nur al-Din was the Muslim leader who unified Syria. The troops were led by Shirkuh. Since both sides wanted to be in charge of Egypt, whoever won the battle would accomplish that goal. This contest brought on the Battle of al-Babein on March 18, 1167.

King Amalric ordered only his mounted forces to chase Shirkuh and the Muslims out of Egypt at the beginning of the battle. Amalric chased Shirkuh's troops up the valley of the Nile and across the river to Giza. The chase almost worked, but the Muslims turned to fight Amalric where the cultivated ground ended and the desert began. The steep slopes and soft sand reduced the effectiveness of the Latin army. King Amalric I's army was weakened because he only took a handful of men with him to pursue Shirkuh. He commanded 374 armed Frankish horsemen along with the mounted archers known as Turcopoles. The Christian knights also sided with Amalric I in order to go after Shirkuh's army.

Shirkuh came up with a plan to draw the Franks, along with Amalric, away from the battlefield. Shirkuh's plan was for the Latin cavalry charge to find no worthy target.



FIGURE 26 Amalric I (136 – Jul 11, 1174)

Shirkuh hoped to lessen the severity of the fight. He wanted the Franks to think that all his best men were in the center surrounding him. Among those in the center line was Saladin, Shirkuh's nephew. Saladin, under Shirkuh's orders, was to retreat once the Franks moved closer.



Mamluk

Mamluk is an Arabic designation for slaves. The term is most commonly used to refer to Muslim slave soldiers and Muslim rulers of slave origin. The most enduring Mamluk realm was the knightly military caste in Egypt in the Middle-Ages, which developed from the ranks of slave soldiers. These were mostly enslaved Turkic peoples, Egyptian Copts, Circassians, Abkhazians, and Georgians. Many Mamluks were also of Balkan origin (Albanians, Greeks, and South Slavs). Over time, Mamluks became a powerful military knightly caste in various societies that were controlled by Muslim rulers. Particularly in Egypt, but also in the Levant, Mesopotamia, and India, Mamluks held political and military power. In some cases, they attained the rank of sultan, while in others they held regional power as emirs or beys.

Amalric fell for Shirkuh's plan. Amalric sent his main attack toward the center of Shirkuh's troops. Saladin then drew Amalric and the Franks away from the battlefield. The fight broke off into smaller skirmishes. Some of the skirmishes were won by the Franks and others by the Turks.

When Amalric returned from pursuing Saladin, he rallied his troops together. Amalric lined up his troops and marched straight through the enemy lines, fighting all enemy opposition along the way. Amalric then marched off the battlefield with his army. Neither side left with a victory. The Franks lost one hundred knights and failed to destroy Shirkuh's army. This also cost Amalric's chance to become the ruler of Egypt.

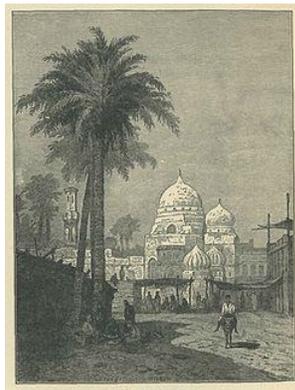


FIGURE 27 A drawing of Fustat, from Rappoport's History of Egypt

Battle of Bilbeis

At this point in time the Crusaders should have focused on strengthening their position against Syria, but instead Amalric was tempted by the Hospitaller Knights to attack Egypt and take it. Manuel Komnenos received the idea well. The alliance was still being finalized when Amalric launched a quick attack against Bilbeis in 1168, massacring the population. Shawar appealed to Damascus and Shirkuh returned. When faced with an imminent attack by Amalric, Shawar ordered the burning of his own capital city, Fustat. Shirkuh then fought off Amalric, killed the untrustworthy Shawar, and seized power. Shirkuh himself died two months later and his nephew, Saladin took power as regent.



Siege of Damietta

At Damietta, the Byzantine-Crusader alliance materialized into a siege of the port. The Crusaders attacked late while the Byzantines, after three months abandoned the siege. In 1171, after the death of Caliph Al-Adid, Saladin proclaimed himself Sultan while the Crusaders under Amalric were forced to retreat, having lost many men due

to disease and warfare. The Knights Hospitaller became bankrupt after the operation but made a quick recovery financially. The same could not be said for the Kingdom.

Battle of Montgisard

The Battle of Montgisard was fought between the Ayyubids and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1177, the 16-year old King Baldwin IV, and Philip of Alsace who had recently arrived on pilgrimage, planned an alliance with the Byzantine Empire for a naval attack on Egypt; but none of these plans came to fruition. Meanwhile, Saladin planned his

AYYUBIDS

The Ayyubid was a Muslim dynasty of Kurdish origin founded by Saladin and centered in Egypt.

own invasion of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from Egypt. Learning of Saladin's plans, Baldwin IV left Jerusalem with only 375 knights to attempt a defense at Ascalon, but Baldwin was stalled there by a detachment of troops sent by Saladin. Saladin left part of his army to besiege Gaza and a smaller force at Ascalon and marched northward with the rest.

Saladin continued his march towards Jerusalem, thinking that Baldwin would not dare to follow him with so few men. He attacked Ramla, Lydda and Arsuf, but because Baldwin was supposedly not a danger, he allowed his army to be spread out over a large area, pillaging and foraging. However, unknown to Saladin, the forces he had left to subdue the King had been insufficient and now both Baldwin and the Templars were marching to intercept him before he reached Jerusalem.

The Christians, led by the King, pursued the Muslims along the coast, finally catching their enemies at Mons Gisardi, near Ramla. But Saladin's baggage train had been apparently mired. Saladin was taken totally by surprise. His army was in disarray: part had been held up by the mired baggage train while another part of his force had scattered into raiding parties across the countryside. The horses were tired from the long march. Some men had to hurry to collect their weapons from the baggage train. Saladin's army, in a state of panic, scrambled to make battle lines against the enemy. King Baldwin ordered the relic of the True Cross to be raised in front of the troops. The King, whose teenage body was already ravaged by aggressive leprosy, was helped from his horse and dropped to his knees before the cross. He prayed to God for victory and rose to his feet to cheers from his army.

The Jerusalem army attacked the hurriedly arranged Muslims, inflicting heavy casualties. The King, fighting with bandaged hands to cover his sores, was in the thick of the fighting. Egyptian effective command was under Saladin's nephew Taqi ad-Din. Taqi ad-Din apparently attacked while Saladin was putting his Mamluk guard together. Taqi's son Ahmad died in the early fighting. Saladin's men were quickly overwhelmed. Saladin himself only avoided capture by escaping on a racing camel. By nightfall, those Egyptians that were with the Sultan had reached Caunetum Esturnellorum near the mound of Tell el-Hesi.

Baldwin pursued Saladin until nightfall, and then retired to Ascalon. Deluged by ten days of heavy rains and suffering the loss of roughly ninety percent of his army, including his personal bodyguard of Mamluks, Saladin fled back to Egypt, harassed by Bedouins along the way. Only one tenth of his army made it back to Egypt with him.



Battle of Marj Ayyun

In 1179, Saladin again invaded the Crusader states, from the direction of Damascus. He based his army at Baniyas and sent raiding forces to despoil villages and crops near Sidon and the coastal areas. Farmers and town people impoverished by Saracen raiders would be unable to pay rent to their Frankish overlords. Unless stopped, Saladin's destructive policy would weaken the Crusader kingdom.

In response, Baldwin moved his army to Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee. From there he marched north-northwest to the stronghold of Safed. Continuing in the same direction, he reached Toron castle east-southeast of Tyre. Together with the Knights Templar led by Odo of St Amand and a force from the County of Tripoli led by Count Raymond III, Baldwin moved northeast.

On June 10, 1179, the Crusader army led by King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem decided to descend to the plain and attack at once. As the Frankish army moved downhill, the mounted troops soon outstripped the foot soldiers. After a few hours' delay, the Crusader army reassembled, then encountered and easily defeated the Saracen raiding forces, who were returning from their forays.

Believing the battle won, the Franks let their guard down. Raymond's knights and Odo of St Amand's Templars moved onto some high ground between the Marj Ayyun and the Litani River. The Crusader infantry rested from their hurried march earlier in the day.

Suddenly, Saladin's main army attacked the unprepared Crusaders, defeating them badly. Observers of the time blamed the defeat on Odo of St Amand, who was captured in the battle. King Baldwin barely escaped capture; unable to mount a horse because of his crippling disease, he was carried to safety by a knight as his bodyguard cut a path through the Saracens. Many Frankish survivors of the struggle fled to shelter at Beaufort Castle.

Saladin immediately took advantage of his victory by destroying the newly built Le Chastellet stronghold at the Battle of Jacob's Ford.



Siege of Jacob's Ford

Jacob's Ford is approximately one hundred miles north of Jerusalem at the Jordan River and was a key river crossing on one of the main roads between Acre and Damascus. Jacob's Ford was also one of the safest crossings of the Jordan and, because of its location and importance, was utilized by Christian Palestine and Muslim Syria as a major intersection between the two civilizations. In the twelfth century, Baldwin and Saladin continually contested over the area on which Jacob's Ford was situated. As a

bold strategic move and as a result of his military victory at Mont Gisard, Baldwin decided to march to Jacob's Ford and build a defensive fortress on its territory. The king and his Crusaders theorized that such a fortification could protect Jerusalem from a northern invasion and put pressure on Saladin's stronghold at Damascus.

Between October 1178 and April 1179, Baldwin began the first stages of constructing his new line of defense, a fortification called Chastellet at Jacob's Ford. While construction was in progress, Saladin became fully aware of the task he would have to overcome at Jacob's Ford if he were to protect Syria and conquer Jerusalem. At the time, he was unable to stop the erection of Chastellet by military force because a large portion of his troops were stationed in northern Syria, putting down Muslim rebellions.

On August 23, 1179, Saladin arrived at Jacob's Ford and ordered his troops to shoot arrows at the castle, thus initiating the siege. While the archers distracted the men inside the fortification, miners were digging a tunnel to breach the stone and iron walls at the north-east corner of Chastellet. Once the tunnel was dug, Saladin's forces placed large amounts of wood inside and set it alight. This process, called sapping, was a method in which the tunnel's supports were burnt away forcing the walls to eventually collapse under their own weight. The walls didn't collapse, because the tunnel was too narrow. Sapping initially failed for Saladin and his troops, so the troops were forced to put out the fire with buckets of water and were paid one gold piece per bucket to do so. After the fire was extinguished, the miners were instructed to broaden the tunnel and eventually relight the fire. At the same time, Baldwin, having learned of this attack, called for reinforcements from Jerusalem. However, communications between Baldwin and Chastellet were slow and, by this time, the siege had been under way for several days.

Baldwin's forces inside the castle began to reinforce the main gates around the castle. Shortly after, the Muslims relit the fire in the tunnel under the castle, and the walls collapsed. As a result, the Crusaders' attempts to refortify the castle were in vain and, approximately six days after the siege began, Saladin and his troops entered Chastellet. By



FIGURE 28 Ruins of the Crusader fortress at Jacob's Ford.

August 30, 1179, the Muslim invaders had pillaged the castle at Jacob's Ford and killed most of its residents. On the same day, less than one week after reinforcements were called, Baldwin and his supporting army set out from Tiberias, only to discover smoke permeating the horizon directly above Chastellet. Obviously, they were too late to save the 700 knights, architects, and construction workers who were killed and the other 800 who were taken captive. Baldwin and his reinforcements turned back towards Tiberias and Saladin ordered the remains of the fortification to be torn down.

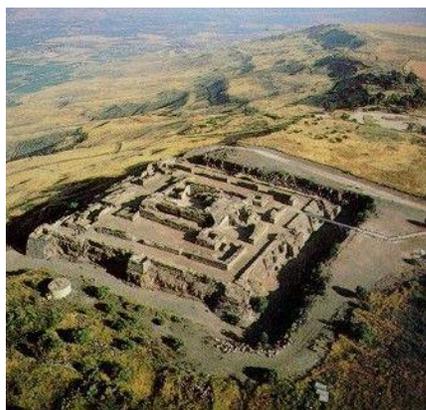


FIGURE 29 Ruins of Belvoir Castle

Battle of Belvoir Castle

In 1180, Saladin arranged a truce between himself and two Christian leaders, King Baldwin and Raymond III of Tripoli. But two years later, the lord of the Transjordan fief of Kerak, Reynald of Châtillon, attacked Muslim caravans passing through his lands. Resenting this violation of the truce, Saladin immediately assembled his army and prepared to strike.

On May 11, 1182 Saladin left Egypt and led his army north toward Damascus via Ayla on the Red Sea. As he moved north, his army entered lands belonging to the fiefs of Montreal and Kerak.

Saladin encamped at Jerba and launched raids on Montreal, which did great damage to the crops. At a council of war, the Crusader princes pondered two courses of action. They could move across the Jordan River to protect the exposed fiefs. Raymond of Tripoli argued against this strategy, saying that would leave too



Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem

Sibylla (c. 1160–1190) was the Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon from 1176 and Queen of Jerusalem from 1186 to 1190. In 1176, King Baldwin IV and Raymond III of Tripoli arranged for Sibylla to marry William Longsword of Montferrat. William died by June the following year, leaving Sibylla pregnant. In the tradition of the dynasty, Sibylla named her son Baldwin (V). The widowed princess remained a prize for ambitious nobles and adventurers seeking to advance themselves and take control of Jerusalem. Sibylla did not remarry until 1180 when she married Frankish knight Guy of Lusignan. Sibylla bore Guy two daughters, Alice and Maria. Baldwin IV died in spring 1185, leaving Sibylla's son as sole king. Baldwin V died at Acre in the autumn of 1186, his solo reign lasting just over a year. Sibylla was crowned queen by Patriarch Eraclius and later as sole Queen.

few soldiers to protect the kingdom. The aggressive Baldwin overruled Raymond and the Crusader army moved to Petra in the Transjordan, thus defending the lands of his vassal.

Meanwhile, Saladin's nephew, Farrukh Shah, led a force from Damascus to ravage the now-undefended Latin Principality of Galilee. In this destructive raid, the emirs of Bosra, Baalbek and Homs and their followers joined Farrukh. Before returning to Damascus, the raiders seized the cave castle of Habis Jaldak in the Yarmuk Valley from its weak Frankish garrison.

Out in the Transjordan, the main armies still faced each other. A Frankish plan was proposed to occupy the water points, thus forcing Saladin into the desert, but the Crusaders were unable to carry this out. The Muslim commander moved north and reached Damascus on June 22. The Crusaders re-crossed the Jordan into Galilee and concentrated their army at La Sephorie, six miles northwest of Nazareth.

After a three-week breathing spell, Saladin marched out of the Damascus on July 11 and advanced to Al-Quhwana on the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee. From there he sent forces to raid the Jordan valley, Grand Gerin and the district of St Jean d'Acre. One raiding column attacked Bethsan but was driven off. Saladin took his main army, crossed to the west side of the Jordan and moved south along the high ground.

As soon as reconnaissance patrols revealed the Muslim leader's maneuver, the Frankish leaders determined to move their field army into close contact with Saladin's army. After adding reinforcements by stripping nearby castles of most of their garrisons, the Crusader army marched to Tiberias then turned south. In the vicinity of Belvoir castle, Baldwin's men spent the night in their closely guarded camp. The next morning, the Ayyubid army confronted the Crusaders.

The Franks advanced in their usual formation when in contact with their enemies. The infantry marched in close order, with the spearmen guarding against direct attack and archers keeping the Saracens at a distance. Shielded by the footmen, the cavalry conformed to the pace of the infantry, ready to drive back their enemies with controlled charges.

For their part, Saladin's soldiers tried to disrupt the Crusader formation by raining arrows from their horse archers, by partial attacks and by feigned retreats. On this occasion, the Franks could neither be tempted into fighting a pitched battle nor stopped. Unable to make an impression on the Latin host, Saladin broke off the running battle and returned to Damascus.

The tireless Saladin spent the next twelve months campaigning in Syria and Mesopotamia, adding Aleppo and a number of other cities to his growing empire. He would invade the Kingdom of Jerusalem again in September 1183. Free of his adversary, in October 1182 Baldwin recovered Habis Jaldak in the Transjordan. In December, Raymond of Tripoli launched a raid in the same area and Baldwin took a



FIGURE 30 Guy of Lusignan (c. 1150–Jul 18, 1194)

mounted force within a few miles of Damascus. But these were mere pinpricks.



Battle of Al-Fule

Following the campaign and Battle of Belvoir Castle, the Crusader lands were badly damaged by Saracen raiders. By September 1183, Baldwin, crippled by leprosy, could no longer function as monarch. Guy of Lusignan, who had married Baldwin's sister Sibylla of Jerusalem in 1180, was appointed regent.

On August 24, 1183, Saladin returned to Damascus, having conquered Aleppo and several cities in Mesopotamia for his empire. In September, he mounted a major invasion of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Crossing the Jordan River, the Ayyubid host plundered the abandoned town of Baisan. Continuing west, up the Jezreel Valley, Saladin established his army near some springs about southeast of Al-Fule. At the same time, the Muslim leader sent out numerous columns to damage as much property as possible. The raiders destroyed the villages of Jenin and Afrabala, attacked the monastery on Mount Tabor and wiped out a contingent from Kerak that was trying to join the Crusader field army.

Expecting an attack, Guy of Lusignan mustered the Crusader host at La Sephorie. When intelligence reports detected Saladin's invasion route, Guy marched the field army to the small castle of La Fève. His army was swollen by pilgrims and Italian sailors to a size of 1,300–1,500 knights, 1,500 Turcopoles and over 15,000 infantry. This was said to be the largest Latin army assembled.

The Frankish army advanced in its usual fashion toward the water points at Ain Jalut. The exact formation cannot be reconstructed, except that the infantry spearmen and bowmen kept the Turkish horse archers at a respectable distance while the mounted knights launched local charges to drive away any Saracens who approached too closely.

Unable to halt his enemies or to provoke them to fight a pitched battle, Saladin withdrew his army from the springs and moved downstream. The Latin army camped around the springs and remained passive for eight days, refusing battle. The Saracens tried to incite the Franks into an attack while intercepting the Crusaders' supply convoys. Since the local Crusaders brought provisions for only three days while the pilgrims and the sailors brought none, the supply situation soon became critical. By great good luck, the Latin soldiers found quantities of fish at Ain Tuba'un and this prevented them from starving until some food convoys got through the Ayyubid blockade.

Saladin then moved toward Mount Tabor, hoping to lure the Franks into an ambush. Instead, Guy retreated to La Fève. During this move, the Ayyubid army quickly returned and pounced on the Crusaders again, but they were unable to halt or disrupt the march. Saladin, also short of supplies, concluded the campaign on October 6. At this, Guy marched back to his main base at La Sephorie.



FIGURE 31 Kerak Castle

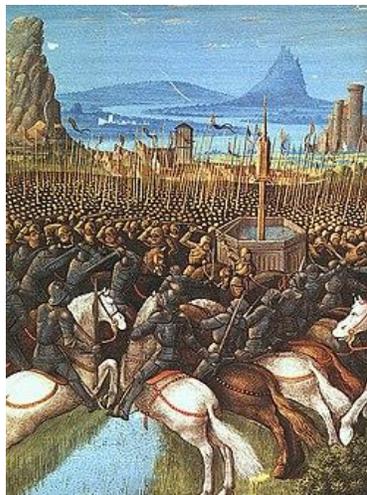
Siege of Kerak

The Muslims had sought to take Kerak for several years, in 1183 they stretched its defenses to the breaking point. At one point, nine catapults were bombarding the walls and inhabitants within.

Inside the walls, a royal marriage was taking place. Humphrey IV of Toron, Raynald's stepson and heir, was to take the hand of Isabella of Jerusalem, the King's half-sister. As the wedding

ceremonies continued, Saladin instructed his troops to avoid bombarding the young couple's quarters, but pressure on Kerak continued. Messengers managed to escape the town and take word to the King, Baldwin IV.

Baldwin immediately marched with a relief force, accompanied by his regent, Raymond III of Tripoli. Baldwin's determination to frustrate Saladin's attempt was such that he led personally, although he had to be carried on a stretcher. The Christian forces arrived while Saladin was still struggling against the heavy fortifications. Knowing he risked being crushed between the royal army and the walls of Kerak, Saladin lifted the siege.



Battle of Cresson

The political situation in Jerusalem was tense because of factional rivalries between two branches of the royal house. Raymond III of Tripoli, who had previously been regent for the kingdom, refused to accept Guy of Lusignan as king, following the death of the child king, Baldwin V (Guy's stepson) the previous year. Gerard of Ridefort, master of the Knights Templar; Roger de Moulins, master of the Knights Hospitaller; Balian of Ibelin, Joscius, Archbishop of Tyre; and Reginald Grenier, lord of Sidon, were sent to Tiberias to negotiate with Raymond and try to bring him back into the Christian fold.

Meanwhile, Saladin had sent a small force towards Tiberias led by Muzaffar ad-Din Gökböri, seeking revenge for an attack on a Muslim caravan by Raynald of Châtillon. Raymond III hoped Saladin would ally with him against Guy, and allowed this force to pass through Tiberias on April 30, although he warned the Christians in Nazareth about the army's presence. Hearing this, Gerard quickly assembled a small army, consisting of the Templar garrisons from Qaun and al-Fulah and the royal knights stationed at Nazareth, only about 130 knights in total. Gerard reached Cresson on May 1.

The Muslims feigned a retreat, a common tactic which should not have fooled Gerard; nevertheless, he ordered a charge, against Roger's advice, and the knights were separated from



Kings of Jerusalem

The King of Jerusalem was the supreme ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Crusader state founded by Christian princes in 1099 when the First Crusade took the city.

Godfrey 1099-1100
Baldwin I 1100-1118
Baldwin II 1118-1131
Melisende 1131-1153
Fulk 1131-1143
with Melisende
Baldwin III 1143-1163
with Melisende until 1153
Amalric I 1163-1174
Baldwin IV 1174-1185
with Baldwin V from 1183
Baldwin V 1183-1186
with Baldwin IV until 1185
Sibylla 1186-1190
with Guy
Guy of Lusignan 1186-1190/1192
with Sibylla until 1190
Isabella I 1190/1192-1205
with Conrad until 1192
with Henry I 1192-1197
with Amalric II from 1198
Conrad I of Montferrat 1190/1192-1192
with Isabella I
Henry I of Champagne 1192-1197
with Isabella I
Amalric II of Lusignan 1198-1205
with Isabella I
Maria 1205-1212
with John I from 1210
John I 1210-1212
with Maria
Isabella II 1212-1228
with Frederick from 1225
Frederick 1225-1228
with Isabella II
Conrad II 1228-1254
Conrad III 1254-1268
Hugh 1268-1284
John II 1284-1285
Henry II 1285-1324
in title only after 1291

the foot-soldiers. The Muslims easily repulsed a direct Christian attack, killing both the exhausted knights, and, later, the foot-soldiers. Gerard was wounded, but survived; however, almost all the others were killed.



Battle of Hattin

Guy of Lusignan became king of Jerusalem in 1186, in right of his wife Sibylla, after the death of Sibylla's son Baldwin V. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was at this time divided between the "court faction" of Guy, Sibylla, and relative newcomers to the kingdom such as Raynald of Châtillon, Gerard of Ridefort and the Knights Templar; and the "nobles' faction", led by Raymond III of Tripoli, who had been regent for the child-king Baldwin V and had opposed the succession of Guy. Raymond III of Tripoli had supported the claim of Isabella of Jerusalem and

her husband Humphrey IV of Toron, and he led the rival faction to the court party. Open warfare was only prevented when Humphrey of Toron swore allegiance to Guy, ending the succession dispute.

In late May, 1187, Saladin assembled on the Golan Heights the largest army he had ever commanded, around 20,000-30,000 men including about 12,000 regular cavalry. He inspected his forces at Tell-Ashtara before crossing the River Jordan on June 30. The opposing Crusader army amassed at La Saphorie; it consisted of around 18,000-20,000 men.

On July 2, Saladin, who wanted to lure Guy into moving his field army away from their encampment by the springs at La Saphorie, personally led a siege of Raymond's fortress of Tiberias while the main Muslim army remained at Kafr Sabt. The garrison at Tiberias tried to pay Saladin off, but he refused. The fortress fell the same day. A tower was mined and, when it fell, Saladin's troops stormed the breach killing the opposing forces and taking prisoners.

On July 3 the Frankish army started out towards Tiberias, harassed constantly by Muslim archers. They passed the Springs of Turan, which were entirely insufficient to provide the army with water. At midday Raymond of Tripoli decided that the army would not reach Tiberias by nightfall, and he and Guy agreed to change the course of the march and veer to the left in the direction of the Springs of Kafr Hattin, only 6 miles. From there they could march down to Tiberias the following day. The Muslims positioned themselves between the Frankish army and the water so that the Franks were forced to pitch camp overnight on the arid plateau near the village of Meskenah. The Muslims surrounded the camp.

On the morning of July 4, the Crusaders were blinded by smoke from the fires set by Saladin's forces. The Ayyubid army was arrayed in three divisions: the center under Saladin, the right under his nephew Al-Muzaffar Umar (Taki ad-Din) and the left, commanded by Gökböri. The Franks came under fire from Muslim mounted archers from the division commanded by Gökböri, who had been resupplied with 400 loads of arrows that had been brought up during the night. Gerard and Raynald advised Guy to form battle lines and attack, which was done by Guy's brother Amalric. Raymond led the first division with Raymond of Antioch, the son of Bohemund III of Antioch, while Balian and Joscelin III of Edessa formed the rearguard.

Thirsty and demoralized, the Crusaders broke camp and changed direction for the springs of Hattin, but their ragged approach was attacked by Saladin's army which blocked the route forward and any possible retreat. Count Raymond launched two charges in an attempt to break through to the water supply at the Lake Tiberias. The second of these enabled him to reach the lake and make his way to Tyre.

After Raymond escaped, Guy's position was now even more desperate. Most of the Christian infantry had effectively deserted by fleeing in a mass onto the Horns of Hattin where they played no further part in the battle. Overwhelmed by thirst and wounds, many were killed on the spot without resistance while the remainder were taken prisoner. Their plight was such that five of Raymond's knights went over to the Muslim leaders to beg that they be mercifully put to death. Guy attempted to pitch the tents again to block the Muslim cavalry. The Christian knights and mounted sergeants were disorganized, but still fought on.

Now the Crusaders were surrounded and, despite three desperate charges on Saladin's position, were broken up and defeated. Prisoners after the battle included Guy, his brother Amalric II, Raynald de Chatillon, William V of Montferrat, Gerard de Ridefort, Humphrey IV of Toron, Hugh of Jabala, Plivain of Botron, Hugh of Gibelet, and other barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Perhaps only as few as 3,000 Christians escaped the defeat.



Second Siege of Jerusalem

Following the defeat at Battle of Hattin on July 4, 1187, most of the Crusader nobility were taken prisoner, including King Guy. By mid-September, Saladin had taken Acre, Nablus, Jaffa, Toron, Sidon, Beirut, and Ascalon. The survivors of the battle and other refugees fled to Tyre, the only city able to hold out against Saladin, due to the fortuitous arrival of Conrad of Montferrat.

In Tyre, Balian of Ibelin had asked Saladin for safe passage to Jerusalem in order to retrieve his wife Maria Comnena, Queen consort of Jerusalem and their family. Saladin granted his request, provided that Balian not take up arms against him and not remain in Jerusalem for more than one day; however, upon arrival in the holy city, Patriarch Heraclius of

Jerusalem, Queen Sibylla, and the rest of the inhabitants begged him to take charge of the defense of the city. Heraclius, who argued that he must stay for the sake of Christianity, offered to absolve him of the oath, and Balian agreed.

He sent word of his decision to Saladin at Ascalon via a deputation of burgesses, who rejected the sultan's proposals for a negotiated surrender of Jerusalem; however, Saladin arranged for an escort to accompany Maria, their children, and all their household to Tripoli.

Balian found the situation in Jerusalem dire. The city was filled with refugees fleeing Saladin's conquests, with more arriving daily. There were fewer than fourteen knights in

the whole city, so he created sixty new knights from the ranks of the squires and burgesses. He prepared for the inevitable siege by storing food and money. The armies of Syria and Egypt assembled under Saladin, and after conquering Acre, Jaffa, and Caesarea, though he unsuccessfully besieged Tyre, the sultan arrived outside Jerusalem on September 20, and began the siege.

After a brief reconnoiter around the city, Saladin's army came to a rest before the Tower of David and the Damascus Gate. His archers continually pelted the ramparts with arrows. Siege towers/belfries were rolled up to the walls, but were pushed back each time. For six days, skirmishes were fought with little result. Saladin's forces suffered heavy casualties after each assault. On September 26, Saladin moved his camp to a different part of the city, on the Mount of Olives where there was no major gate from which the

GREEK FIRE

The composition of Greek fire remains a matter of speculation and debate, with various proposals including combinations of pine resin, naphtha, quicklime, calcium phosphide, sulfur, or niter.

Crusaders could counter-attack. The walls were constantly pounded by the siege engines, Greek fire, crossbows, and arrows. A portion of the wall was mined, and it collapsed on September 29. The Crusaders were unable to push Saladin's troops back from the breach, but at the same time the Muslims could not gain entrance to the city. Soon there were only a few dozen knights and a handful of remaining men-at-arms defending the wall, as no more men could be found even for the promise of an enormous fee.

At the end of September, Balian rode out with an envoy to meet with the sultan, offering surrender. Saladin told Balian that he had sworn to take the city by force, and would only accept an unconditional surrender. Saladin told Balian that Saladin's banner had been raised on the city wall, but his army was driven back. Balian threatened that the defenders would destroy the Muslim holy places, slaughter their own families and the 5000 Muslim slaves, and burn all the wealth and treasures of the Crusaders. Saladin, who wanted to take the city with as little bloodshed of his fellow Muslims as possible, insisted that the Crusaders were to unconditionally surrender but could leave by paying a ransom of ten dinars for men, five for women and two for children; those who couldn't pay would be enslaved. Balian told him that there were 20,000 in the city who could never pay that amount. Saladin proposed a total of 100,000 dinars to free all the 20,000 Crusaders who were unable to pay. Balian complained that the Christian authorities could never raise such a sum. He proposed that 7,000 of them would be freed for a sum of 30,000 dinars, and Saladin agreed.



FIGURE 32 Balian of Ibelin surrendering the city of Jerusalem to Saladin



Tyre

Tyre is an ancient Phoenician city and the legendary birthplace of Europa and Dido (Elissa). Tyre was founded around 2750 BC according to Herodotus and was originally built as a walled city upon the mainland. Tyre originally consisted of two distinct urban centers: Tyre itself, which was on an island just off shore, and the associated settlement of Ushu on the adjacent mainland. Alexander the Great connected the island to the mainland by constructing a causeway during his siege of the city, demolishing the old city to reuse its cut stone. The original island city had two harbors, one on the south side and the other on the north side of the island. It was the two harbors that enabled Tyre to gain the maritime prominence that it did.

On Balian's orders the Crusaders surrendered the city to Saladin's army on October 2. The take-over of the city was relatively peaceful.



Second Siege of Tyre

The remnants of the Crusader army flocked to Tyre, which was one of the major cities still in Christian hands. Reginald of Sidon was in charge of Tyre and was in the process of negotiating its surrender with Saladin, but the arrival of Conrad and his soldiers prevented it. Reginald left the city to refortify his castle at Belfort, and Conrad became the leader of the army. He immediately began to repair the defenses of the city, and he cut a deep trench across the mole that joined the city to the shore, to prevent the enemy

from approaching the city. The Muslim army arrived on November 12, 1188 and started the siege. The rest of the army arrived 13 days later.

The fight was hard. Saladin's army had seventeen siege engines that constantly attacked the city's walls, while the ships of the Crusaders, filled with archers, crossbowmen and stone throwing engines, harassed the attacking army.

All of Saladin's attacks failed, and the siege dragged on, with occasional sallies by the defenders, led by a Spanish knight named Sancho Martin, better known as the "green knight" due to the color of his arms. His bravery and skill were said to cause admiration in both the Christian and Muslim armies, and particularly in Saladin. It was said that Saladin offered him many riches if he would convert to Islam and fight in his army. Nevertheless, he refused and kept leading the Christian attacks against the Muslim army.

It became clear to Saladin that only by winning at sea could he take the city. He summoned a fleet of 10 galleys commanded by a North African sailor named Abd al-Salam al-Maghribi. The Muslim fleet had initial success in forcing the Christian galleys into the harbor, but through the night of December 29–30, a Christian fleet of 17 galleys attacked 5 of the Muslim galleys, inflicting a decisive defeat and capturing them. Muslim chroniclers claim that Al-Faris Bedran's incompetency led to the defeat. The remaining galleys were ordered to retire, given their low numbers. After this naval setback, Saladin's forces made a final attempt to take the city, but they were defeated again, suffering heavy losses.

After these events, Saladin summoned his emirs for a conference, to discuss if they should retire or keep trying. The opinions were divided, but Saladin, seeing the state of his troops, decided to retire to Acre. The siege ended on January 1, 1188.

After the victory, Conrad's prestige received a huge boost. For Saladin, it constituted a turning point in his career. It proved the incapacity of his army to sustain long sieges. For the Crusaders, it was a very important victory because Tyre became a rallying-point for the future Christian revival during the Third Crusade. Had Tyre not held out, it is likely that the Third Crusade would have been much less successful.

Aftermath of the Second Crusade

Each of the Christian forces felt betrayed by the other. A new plan was made to attack Ascalon and Conrad took his troops there, but no further help arrived, due to the lack of trust that had resulted from the failed siege. This mutual distrust would linger for a generation due to the defeat, to the ruin of the Christian kingdoms in the Holy Land. After quitting Ascalon, Conrad returned to Constantinople to further his alliance with Manuel. Louis remained behind in Jerusalem until 1149. The discord also extended to the marriage of Louis and Eleanor, which had been falling apart during the course of the Crusade. In April 1149, Louis and Eleanor, who were barely on speaking terms by this time, pointedly boarded separate ships to take them back to France.

Bernard of Clairvaux was humiliated by the defeat. Bernard considered it his duty to send an apology to the Pope and it is inserted in the second part of his *Book of Consideration*. There he explains how the sins of the Crusaders were the cause of their misfortune and failures. When his attempt to call a new Crusade failed, he tried to disassociate himself from the fiasco of the Second Crusade altogether. He would die in 1153.

In Germany, the Crusade was seen as a huge debacle with many monks writing that it could only have been the work of the Devil. Noble families in Germany were ransoming back knights who had been taken prisoner in Anatolia using Armenian middle-men. The camp followers who had been taken prisoner and sold into slavery by the Turks were not so lucky. Of the 113 individuals known by name to have been involved in the Crusade, 22 died, 42 returned home while the fate of the last 49 is a mystery. Despite the distaste for the memory of the Second Crusade, the experience of the Crusade had notable impact on German literature, with many epic poems of the late 12th century featuring battle scenes clearly inspired by the fighting in the Crusade.

Relations between the Eastern Roman Empire and the French were badly damaged by the Crusade. Louis and other French leaders openly accused the Emperor Manuel I of colluding with Turkish attacks on them during the march across Asia Minor.

In the East the situation was much darker for the Christians. In the Holy Land, the Second Crusade had disastrous long-term consequences for Jerusalem. In 1149, the *atabeg* Anur died, at which point the amir Abu Sa'id Mujir al-Din Abaq Ibn Muhammad finally began to rule. The *na'is* of Damascus and commander of the *abdath* military Mu'ayad al-Dawhal Ibn al-Sufi feel that since his *abdath* had played a major role in defeating the Second Crusade that he deserved a greater share of the power, and within two months of Anur's death was leading a rebellion against Abaq. The in-fighting within Damascus was to lead to the end of the Burid state within five years.

Baldwin III finally seized Ascalon in 1153, which brought Egypt into the sphere of conflict. Jerusalem was able to make further advances into Egypt, briefly occupying Cairo in the 1160s. However, relations with the Byzantine Empire were mixed, and reinforcements from Europe were sparse after the disaster of the Second Crusade. King Amalric I of Jerusalem allied with the Byzantines and participated in a combined invasion of Egypt in 1169, but the expedition ultimately failed. In 1171, Saladin was proclaimed Sultan of Egypt, uniting Egypt and Syria and completely surrounding the Crusader kingdom. Meanwhile, the Byzantine alliance ended with the death of Emperor Manuel I in 1180, and in 1187, Jerusalem capitulated to Saladin. His forces then spread north to capture all but the capital cities of the Crusader States, precipitating the Third Crusade.

Third Crusade (1189-1192)

The Third Crusade was an attempt by European Christian leaders to reconquer the Holy Land following the capture of Jerusalem by the Ayyubid sultan, Saladin. It is also known as the Kings' Crusade for its main leaders, kings Richard I of England and Philip II of France.



FIGURE 33 Frederick Barbarossa (1122 – Jun 10, 1190)

Battle of Philomelion

The elderly Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa responded to the call immediately. He took up the Cross at Mainz Cathedral on March 27, 1188 and was the first to set out for the Holy Land on May 11, 1189 with an army of 12,000–15,000 men, including 4,000 knights.

After marching through Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire, the Imperial army crossed over the Dardanelles to Anatolia by March 28, 1190. The Anatolian plateau was held by the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm. The passage of the Crusader army provoked armed resistance from the local Byzantine populations in Anatolia. The Crusaders' horses suffered from a lack of grasslands.

Having secured in advance Turkish promises of safe transit and the preparation of markets for the Crusader army, Frederick's troops were surprised by hit-and-run Turkish attacks on them upon entering Turkish territory. A Turkish attack on the Imperial camp was defeated on April 30. On May 2, the Crusaders defeated another Turkish attack. The next day, the Imperial soldiers were ambushed by the Turks and hit with arrows and rocks. A knight named Werner was killed while Frederick VI, Duke of Swabia was wounded along with nine other knights. The Crusaders climbed up a mountain to reach the ambushers and killed sixty of them.

The Crusaders camped near the city of Philomelion in May, 1190. The Turks believed the Imperials to be completely exhausted from hunger and attacked the camp with 10,000 cavalry and infantry in the evening. The attack was accompanied by missile fire and stones. The Crusader army sallied forth from the camp with 2,000 men, with the infantry followed by the cavalry. The Turks were completely routed and the survivors were saved only by nightfall and the mountainous terrain.

SWABIA

Swabia was one of five stem duchies of the medieval German kingdom, and its dukes were thus among the most powerful magnates of Germany.



Battle of Iconium

The Crusaders under Barbarossa continued their march until they reached the Seljuk capital city of Iconium on May 13, 1190. On May 14, the Crusaders found and defeated the main Turkish army, putting it to rout. Turkish records attribute the Crusader victory to a devastating heavy cavalry charge which supposedly consisted of 7,000 lancers in white clothing and

mounted on snow-white horses. On May 15, the Crusaders replenished their surviving horses at a bog, but the next day, 60 Crusaders were killed in a Turkish attack. That same day, the Turks offered to let Barbarossa and his army pass through their territory for the price of 300 pounds of gold and "the lands of the Armenians". Barbarossa refused, supposedly saying "*Rather than making a royal highway with gold and silver, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose knights we are, the road will have to be opened with iron.*"

On May 17, the Crusaders camped outside the city, where they found plenty of water. Meanwhile, Qutb al-Din regrouped and rebuilt his forces after the first defeat, and retaliated on May 18. Barbarossa divided his forces into two: one commanded by his son the Duke Frederick of Swabia leading the assault to the city, and the other commanded by himself facing the Turkish field army. The city fell easily; Duke Frederick was able to assault and take the walls with little resistance, and the garrison failed to put up much of a fight before surrendering altogether.

While crossing the Saleph River on June 10, 1190, Frederick's horse slipped, throwing him against the rocks; he then drowned in the river. After this, much of his army returned to Germany by sea in anticipation of the upcoming Imperial election.

After the failure of the Second Crusade, the Zengid dynasty controlled a unified Syria and engaged in a conflict with the Fatimid rulers of Egypt. Spurred by religious zeal, King Henry II of England and King Philip II of France (known as Philip Augustus) ended their conflict with each other to lead a new Crusade.



FIGURE 34 Richard the Lionheart marches towards Jerusalem. James William Glass (1850).

King Henry II of England died on July 6, 1189 after a surprise attack by his son Richard the Lionheart and King Philip II. Richard inherited the crown and immediately began raising funds for the Crusade. In the meantime, some of his subjects departed in multiple waves by sea. Some of them together with contingents from the Holy Roman Empire and France conquered the Moorish city of Silves in Iberia during the summer of 1189, before continuing to the Holy Land. In April 1190,

King Richard's fleet departed from Dartmouth under the command of Richard de Camville and Robert de Sablé on their way to meet their king in Marseille. Parts of this fleet helped the Portuguese monarch Sancho I defeat an Almohad counterattack against Santarém and Torres Novas, while another group ransacked Christian Lisbon, only to be routed by the Portuguese monarch. Richard and Philip II met in France at Vézelay and set out together on July 4, 1190 as far as Lyon where they parted after agreeing to meet in Sicily; Richard with his retinue, said to number 800, marched to Marseille and Philip to Genoa. Richard arrived in Marseille and found that his fleet had not arrived; he quickly tired of waiting for them and hiring ships, left for Sicily on August 7, visiting several places in Italy *en route* and arrived in Messina on September 23. Meanwhile, the English fleet eventually arrived in Marseille on August 22, and finding that Richard had gone, sailed directly to Messina, arriving before him on September 14. Philip had hired a Genoese fleet to transport his army, which consisted of 650 knights, 1,300 horses, and 1,300 squires to the Holy Land by way of Sicily.



Acre

Acre occupies an important location, sitting in a natural harbor at the extremity of Haifa Bay on the coast of the Mediterranean's Levantine Sea. Aside from coastal trading, it was also an important waypoint on the region's coastal road and the road cutting inland along the Jezreel Valley. The first settlement during the Early Bronze Age was abandoned after a few centuries but a large town was established during the Middle Bronze Age. Continuously inhabited since then, it is among the oldest continuously-inhabited settlements on Earth.



Siege of Acre

Saladin had released King Guy from prison in 1189. Guy attempted to take command of the Christian forces at Tyre, but Conrad of Montferrat held power there after his successful defense of the city from Muslim attacks. Guy turned his attention to the wealthy port of Acre. He amassed an army to besiege the city and received aid from Philip's newly arrived French army. The combined armies were not enough to counter Saladin, however, whose forces besieged the besiegers. In summer

1190, in one of the numerous outbreaks of disease in the camp, Queen Sibylla and her young daughters died. Guy, although only king by right of marriage, endeavored to retain his crown, although the rightful heir was Sibylla's half-sister Isabella. After a hastily arranged divorce from Humphrey IV of Toron, Isabella was married to Conrad of Montferrat, who claimed the kingship in her name.

During the winter of 1190–91, there were further outbreaks of dysentery and fever, which claimed the lives of Frederick of Swabia, Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem, and Theobald V of Blois. When the sailing season began again in spring 1191, Leopold V of Austria arrived and took command of what remained of the imperial forces. Philip of France arrived with his troops from Sicily in May. A neighboring army under Leo II of Cilician Armenia also arrived.

King Richard arrived at Acre on June 8, 1191 and immediately began supervising the construction of siege weapons to assault the city, which was captured on July 12. Richard, Philip, and Leopold quarreled over the spoils of the victory. Richard cast down the German standard from the city, slighting Leopold. In the struggle for the kingship of Jerusalem, Richard supported Guy, while Philip and Leopold supported Conrad, who was related to them both. It was decided that Guy would continue to rule but that Conrad would receive the crown upon his death. Frustrated with Richard (and in Philip's case, in

poor health), Philip and Leopold took their armies and left the Holy Land in August. Philip left 7,000 French Crusaders and 5,000 silver marks to pay them.

On June 18, 1191, soon after Richard's arrival at Acre, he sent a messenger to Saladin requesting a face to face meeting. Saladin refused, saying that it was customary for kings to meet each other only after a peace treaty had been agreed, and thereafter "it is not seemly for them to make war upon each other". The two therefore never met, although they did exchange gifts and Richard had a number of meetings with Al-Adil, Saladin's brother. Saladin tried to negotiate with Richard for the release of the captured Muslim soldier garrison, which included their women and children. On August 20, however, Richard thought Saladin had delayed too much and had 2,700 of the Muslim prisoners decapitated in full view of Saladin's army, which tried unsuccessfully to rescue them. Saladin responded by killing all of the Christian prisoners he had captured. On August 22, Richard and his army left the city.

The Crusader army marched south, with the sea to their right and Saladin's army following them to their left. On September 7, 1191, they met at the Battle of Arsuf, north of Jaffa.



Battle of Arsuf

Following the capture of Acre, Richard was aware that he needed to capture the port of Jaffa before making an attempt on Jerusalem, Richard began to march down the coast from Acre towards Jaffa in August 1191. Saladin, whose main objective was to prevent the recapture of Jerusalem, mobilized his army to attempt to stop the Crusaders' advance.

The Crusader army's pace was dictated by the infantry and baggage train; the Ayyubid army, being largely mounted, had the advantage of superior mobility. By early September, Saladin had realized that harassing the Frankish army with a limited portion of his troops was not going to stop its advance. In order to do this he needed to commit his entire army to a serious attack. Fortuitously for Saladin, the Crusaders had to traverse one of the few forested regions of Palestine, the "Wood of Arsuf", which ran parallel to the sea shore for more than 12 miles. The woodland would mask the disposition of his army and allow a sudden attack to be launched.

At dawn on September 7, 1191, as Richard's forces began moving out of camp enemy scouts were visible in all directions, hinting that Saladin's whole army lay hidden in the woodland. King Richard took especial pains over the disposition of his army. The probable posts of greatest danger, at the front and especially the rear of the column, were given to the military orders. They had the most experience of fighting in the East, were arguably the most disciplined, and were the only formations which included Turcopole cavalry who fought like the Turkish horse archers of the Ayyubid army.

The vanguard of the Crusader army consisted of the Knights Templar under Robert de Sablé. They were followed by three units composed of Richard's own subjects, the Angevins and Bretons, then the Poitevins including Guy of Lusignan, titular King of Jerusalem, and lastly the English and Normans who had charge of the great standard mounted on its wagon. The next seven corps were made up of the French, the Flemmings, the barons of Outremer, and small contingents of Crusaders from other lands. Forming the rearguard were the Knights Hospitaller led by Garnier de Nablus. The twelve corps were organized into five larger formations, though their precise distribution is unknown. Additionally, a small troop, under the leadership of Henry II of Champagne, was detached to scout towards the hills, and a squadron of picked knights under King Richard and Hugh of Burgundy, the leader of the French contingent, was detailed to ride up and down the column checking on Saladin's movements and ensuring that their own ranks were kept in order.

POITEVINS

Poitevin is a language spoken by people from Poitou, France.



FIGURE 35 Garnier de Nablus (1147-Aug 31, 1192)

The first Saracen attack did not come until all the Crusaders had left their camp and were moving towards Arsuf. The Ayyubid army then burst out of the woodland. The front of the army was composed of dense swarms of skirmishers, both horse and foot, Bedouin, Sudanese archers and the lighter types of Turkish horse archers. Behind these were the ordered squadrons of armored heavy cavalry: Saladin's Mamluks, Kurdish troops, and the contingents of the emirs and princes of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. The army was divided into three parts, left and right wings and center. Saladin directed his army from beneath his banners, surrounded by his bodyguard and accompanied by his kettle-drummers.

In an attempt to destroy the cohesion of the Crusader army and unsettle their resolve, the Ayyubid onslaught was accompanied by the clashing of cymbals and gongs, trumpets blowing and men screaming war-cries. The Bedouin and Nubians on foot launched arrows and javelins into the enemy lines, before parting to allow the mounted archers to advance, attack and wheel off, a well-practiced technique. Crusader crossbowmen responded, when this was possible, although the chief task among the Crusaders was simply to preserve their ranks in the face of sustained provocation. When the incessant attacks of skirmishers failed to have the desired effect, the weight of the attack was switched to the rear of the Crusader column, with the Hospitallers coming under the greatest pressure. Here the right wing of the Ayyubid army made a desperate attack on the squadron of Hospitaller knights and the infantry corps covering them. The Hospitallers could be attacked from both their rear and flank. Many of the Hospitaller infantry had to walk backwards in order to keep their faces, and shields, to the enemy.

Saladin's best efforts could not dislocate the Crusader column, or halt its advance in the direction of Arsuf. Just as the vanguard entered Arsuf in the middle of the afternoon, the Hospitaller crossbowmen to the rear were having to load and fire walking backwards. Inevitably they lost cohesion, and the enemy was quick to take advantage of this opportunity, moving into any gap wielding their swords and maces. For the Crusaders, the Battle of Arsuf had now entered a critical stage. Garnier de Nablus repeatedly pleaded with Richard to be allowed to attack. He was refused, the Master was ordered to maintain

Bedouin

The English word *bedouin* comes from the Arabic *badawi*, which means "desert dweller".

Nubians

Nubians originate from the early inhabitants of the central Nile valley (Nubia).

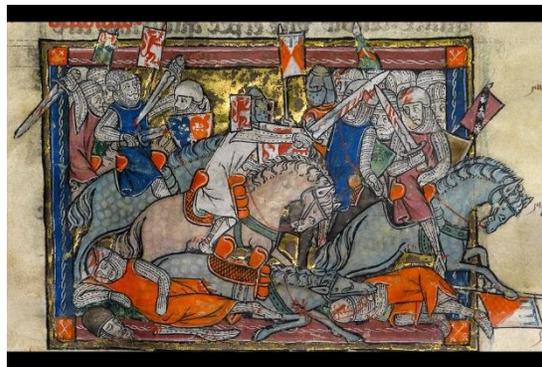
position and await the signal for a general assault, six clear trumpet blasts. Richard knew that the charge of his knights needed to be reserved until the Ayyubid army was fully committed, closely engaged, and the Saracens' horses had begun to tire. Goaded beyond endurance, the Master and another knight, Baldwin de Carron, thrust their way through their own infantry and charged into the Saracen ranks with a cry of “*St. George!*”; they were then followed by the rest of the Hospitaller knights. Moved by this example, the French knights of the corps immediately preceding the Hospitallers also charged.

Alert to the danger presented to his scattered ranks, Richard halted and regrouped his forces once more after a further pursuit. The Ayyubid cavalry turned once again, showing they still had stomach to renew the fight. However, a third and final charge caused them to scatter into the woodland where they dispersed into the hills in all directions, showing no inclination to continue the conflict. Richard led his cavalry back to Arsuf where the infantry had pitched camp.

Arsuf was an important victory. The Ayyubid army was not destroyed, despite the considerable casualties it suffered, but it did rout.



FIGURE 36 Richard the Lionheart and Saladin at the Battle of Arsuf, by Gustave Doré.



Battle of Jaffa

In late November 1191, the Crusader army advanced inland towards Jerusalem. In early December Saladin was under pressure from his emirs to disband the greater part of his army, which he reluctantly did on the twelfth of that month. Learning this, Richard pushed his army forward, spending Christmas at Latrun. The army then marched to Beit Nuba, only 12 miles from Jerusalem.

During the winter months, Richard's men occupied and refortified Ascalon, whose fortifications had earlier been razed by Saladin. The spring of 1192 saw continued negotiations and further skirmishing between the opposing forces. The Crusader army made another advance on Jerusalem, coming within sight of the city before being forced to retreat once again because of dissension amongst its leaders. During this period, Richard began to receive disturbing news of the activities of his brother John and the French king, Philip Augustus. As the spring gave way to summer, it became evident that Richard would soon have to return to his own lands to safeguard his interests.

By July 5, 1192, Richard began his withdrawal from the Holy Land. Having realized that Jerusalem would not be defensible if it were to be captured, he began the retreat of Crusader forces from hostile territory. Almost immediately after Richard's withdrawal, Saladin, still smarting from his recent defeat at Arsuf, saw a chance for revenge and, on the July 27, laid siege to the town of Jaffa which had served as a base of operations for Richard during his previous march inland towards Jerusalem. The defending garrison, although taken by surprise, fought well before the odds against them proved too great. Saladin's soldiers successfully stormed the walls after three days of bloody clashes; only Jaffa's citadel held out and the remaining Crusaders managed to send word of their plight.

Richard subsequently gathered a small army, including a large contingent of Italian sailors, and hurried south. Upon seeing Muslim banners flying from the walls, he falsely believed the town to be a lost cause, until a defender swam out to his flagship and informed him of the citadel's dire situation.

Still in his sailor's deck shoes, Richard leaped into the sea and waded through the waves to reach the beach. The King again showed his personal bravery and martial prowess, leading fifty-four knights, a few hundred infantrymen, and about 2,000 Genoese and Pisan crossbowmen into battle. The Muslim army began to panic at the sudden offensive launched by Richard's newly arrived force; they feared it was but a spearhead of a much larger army coming to relieve Jaffa. The English king fought in person at the forefront of his attack, and Saladin's men were routed. Many of the Christian prisoners who had surrendered earlier also seized their arms and resumed combat, for their captors were in such disarray that they were unable to stop them. Saladin's fleeing army spilled out of Jaffa and escaped in a disorderly manner; Saladin was unable to regroup his forces until they had retreated more than five miles inland.

When Saladin received reports that more of the Franks were coming down from Caesarea, he decided to launch a counterattack on Jaffa to recapture it before these additional reinforcements could arrive. On the early morning of August 4, Muslim troops massed around the walled town, concealing themselves in the fields and intending to attack at dawn the next day. Just before sunrise, however, a Genoese soldier out for a stroll discerned the hidden enemy; the neighing of horses and glinting of armor only served to confirm his suspicions. The sentries promptly raised the alarm, and Richard quickly assembled his knights, infantry and crossbowmen for battle. He ordered his infantry, including unmounted knights, to form a defensive hedge of spears by kneeling and driving their shields and the shafts of their spears or lances into the ground, with the spearheads pointing towards their opponents. The crossbowmen stood behind the protective wall of spearmen, working in pairs; one shooting whilst the other loaded. In front of the infantry sharp tent pegs were hammered into the ground to help deter horsemen. Richard kept his handful of mounted knights as a reserve in the rear.

The lightly armored Turkish, Egyptian and Bedouin cavalry repeatedly charged. However, when it was evident that the Crusaders were not going to break ranks, they veered away from the spears without coming to blows. Each Ayyubid attack lost heavily to the barrage of missiles from the many crossbows. The armor of the Christians proved better able to withstand the arrows of the Saracens than the armor of the Saracens could withstand crossbow bolts. Also, being entirely cavalry, the many horses of Saladin's force were particularly vulnerable to missile fire. After a few hours' onslaught, both sides began to tire. Having suffered considerably from the barrage of crossbow bolts without having

Caesara

Caesara was built by Herod the Great about 25–13 BCE as the port city Caesarea Maritima. It served as an administrative center of Judaea Province of the Roman Empire, and later the capital of the Byzantine Palaestina Prima province during the classic period. Following the Muslim conquest in the 7th century, in which it was the last city to fall to the Arabs, the city had an Arab majority until Crusader conquest. Caesarea was under Crusader control between 1101 and 1187 and again between 1191 and 1265.

been able to dent the Crusaders' defenses, Saladin's cavalymen were in a demoralized state and their mounts were exhausted. They were put to flight by a charge of the knights, only 10 to 15 of whom were mounted, and spearmen led by the king himself.

While the battle raged, a group of Ayyubid soldiers were able to outflank the Crusader army and enter Jaffa. The Genoese marines who had been entrusted with guarding the gates offered little resistance before retreating to their ships. Before the Muslims could exploit their success, however, Richard himself galloped into the town and rallied all of its fighting men. By evening, it had become clear to Saladin that his men had been soundly defeated and he gave the order to withdraw. Leaving their dead on the field, the Ayyubid force began a long, weary, march back to Jerusalem. Once back in the city Saladin strengthened its defenses in case Richard were to advance against it again.

The repulse from Jaffa marked the end of Saladin's counter-offensive and the end of the Third Crusade.

Treaty of Jaffa

The Treaty of Jaffa was signed on September 2, 1192 between the Muslim ruler Saladin and Richard I, King of England. The treaty guaranteed a three-year truce between the two armies. The treaty guaranteed safe passage of Christians and Muslims through Palestine whilst also stating that the Christians would hold the coast from Tyre to Jaffa. However Ascalon's fortifications were to be demolished and the town returned to Saladin.

Aftermath of the Third Crusade

Although the Third Crusade, in the end, failed to retake Jerusalem, a three-year truce was eventually negotiated with Saladin. The truce, known as the Treaty of Jaffa, ensured that Christian pilgrims from the west would once again be allowed to visit Jerusalem. Saladin also recognized the Crusaders' control of the Levantine coast as far south as Jaffa. Both sides had become exhausted by the struggle, Richard needed to return to Europe in order to protect his patrimony from the aggression of Philip of France, and Palestine was in a ruinous state. Richard left Acre on October 9, 1192.

Richard was arrested and imprisoned in December 1192, by Leopold V, Duke of Austria, who suspected Richard of murdering Leopold's cousin Conrad of Montferrat. Leopold had also been offended by Richard casting down his standard from the walls of Acre. He was later transferred to the custody of Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor, and it took a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks to obtain his release. Richard returned to England in 1194 and died of a crossbow bolt wound in 1199 at the age of 41.

In 1193, Saladin died of yellow fever. His heirs would quarrel over the succession and ultimately fragment his conquests.

Henry of Champagne was killed in an accidental fall in 1197.



FIGURE 37 Richard I bidding farewell to the Holy Land.

Fourth Crusade (1202-1204)

The Third Crusade reclaimed an extensive amount of territory for the Kingdom of Jerusalem, including the key towns of Acre and Jaffa, but had failed to retake Jerusalem. The Crusade had also been marked by a significant escalation in long standing tensions between the feudal states of Western Europe and the Byzantine Empire, centered in Constantinople. The experiences of the first two Crusades had thrown into stark relief the vast cultural differences between the two Christian civilizations. The Latins (as the Byzantines referred to them because of their adherence to the Latin Rite) viewed the Byzantine preference for diplomacy and trade over war as duplicitous and degenerate, and their policy of tolerance and assimilation towards Muslims as a corrupt betrayal of the faith. For their part, the educated and wealthy Byzantines maintained a strong sense of cultural, organizational, and social superiority over the Latins.

Pope Innocent III succeeded to the papacy in January 1198, and the preaching of a new Crusade became the prime goal of his pontificate, expounded in his bull *Post miserabile*. His call was largely ignored by the European monarchs: the Germans were struggling against Papal power, and England and France were still engaged in warfare against each other. However, due to the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly, a crusading army was finally organized at a tournament held at Écry-sur-Aisne by Count Thibaut of Champagne in 1199. Thibaut was elected leader, but he died in 1201 and was replaced by an Italian count, Boniface of Montferrat.

Boniface and the other leaders sent envoys to Venice, Genoa, and other city-states in 1200 to negotiate a contract for transport to Egypt, the stated objective of their Crusade; one of the envoys was the future historian Geoffrey of Villehardouin. Earlier Crusades focused on Palestine had involved the slow movement of large and disorganized land hosts across a generally hostile Anatolia. Egypt was now the dominant Muslim power in the eastern Mediterranean but also a major trading partner of Venice. An attack on Egypt would clearly be a maritime enterprise, requiring the creation of a fleet. Genoa was uninterested, but in March 1201 negotiations were opened with Venice, which agreed to transport 33,500 Crusaders, a very ambitious number. This agreement required a full year of preparation on the part of the Venetians to build numerous ships and train the sailors who would man them, all the while curtailing the city's commercial activities. The crusading army was expected to consist of 4,500 knights (as well as 4,500 horses), 9,000 squires, and 20,000 foot-soldiers.

The majority of the crusading army that set out from Venice in early October 1202 originated from areas within France. It included men from Blois, Champagne, Amiens, Saint-Pol, the Île-de-France, and Burgundy. Several other regions of Europe sent substantial contingents as well, such as Flanders and Montferrat. Other notable groups came from the Holy Roman Empire, including the men under Bishop Martin of the Pairis Abbey and Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, together in alliance with the Venetian soldiers and sailors led by the doge, Enrico Dandolo. The Crusade was to be ready to sail on June 24, 1203 and make directly for the Ayyubid capital, Cairo. This agreement was ratified by Pope Innocent, with a solemn ban on attacks on Christian states.



Siege of Zara

The Siege of Zara or Siege of Zadar was the first major action of the Fourth Crusade and the first attack against a Catholic city by Catholic Crusaders. The Crusaders had an agreement with Venice for transport across the sea, but the price far exceeded what they were able to pay.

The agreement between the Venetians and the Crusaders had set the date for the arrival of the host in Venice before the end of April 1202, in order to provide for a departure in time for a summer crossing at the end of June. The Crusade leaders had counted on raising the money still owed to the Venetians through the collection of passage money from the individual Crusaders. However, the first Crusader groups did not leave France until April and May, others straggled along throughout the summer and

some of the French nobles chose to sail instead from Marseilles and other ports. Therefore, after the Venetians had suspended their regular commercial operations for a year to build and crew the ships, only about 12,000 Crusaders showed up at Venice to man and pay for them. Boniface and the nobles added what money they could spare, and pledged their gold and silver plate to the Venetian moneylenders. Still the Crusaders found themselves only able to pay 51,000 marks to the Venetians. In response, the Venetians indicated that they would accept the invasion of Zara (now Zadar, Croatia), a Catholic city on the coast of the Adriatic, as well as nearby Trieste, in lieu of payment for the time being; the Crusaders were then to pay the rest owed to the Venetians out of their initial gains in the Crusade. Zara had rebelled against the Venetian Republic in 1183, and placed itself under the dual protection of the Papacy and King Emeric of Hungary (who had recently agreed to join the Crusade). Though a large group of Crusaders found the scheme repulsive and refused to participate, the majority agreed (despite the written protests of Innocent III), citing it as necessary to attain the larger goal of taking Jerusalem.



FIGURE 38 Innocent III (1160 or 1161 – Jul 16, 1216)

Once the agreement was made, the Crusaders and Venetians began boarding the ships. The Crusaders used the 50 amphibious transports, 100 horse carriers and 60 warships designed and built for them by the Venetians. Their transports were approximately 30 m long, 9 m wide and 12 m high, with a crew of 100. Each one could carry up to 600 infantry. The horse carriers featured specially designed slings to carry their cargo of horses, and featured a fold-out ramp below the waterline that could be opened to allow mounted knights to charge directly onto shore. The Venetian warships were powered by 100 oarsmen each and featured a metal-tipped ram just above the waterline as their primary weapon. They also carried more than 300 siege weapons.

The Venetian fleet led by Doge Enrico Dandolo left harbor on October 1, towards Istria and imposed Venetian supremacy over Trieste, Muggia and Pula. Most of the Crusader forces left Venice on October 8. The two armies met near Pula and sailed together towards Zadar. Doge Dandolo was in no hurry as he planned on staying in Zadar over winter



FIGURE 39 Enrico Dandolo (1107 – May 1205)

On the eve of St. Martin's Day the fleet arrived at Zadar. The attack on Zadar took the form of an amphibious landing followed by a brief siege. Chains and booms were laid across the mouth of Zadar's harbor as a defense, but the Crusaders burst through them in their Venetian ships and landed their troops and equipment near the city, where they made a camp. Citizens of Zadar hung flags with crosses on the walls, showing that they were a Christian city. Some of the Crusader leaders, including Simon de Montfort, Robert de Boves and Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, refused to take part in the siege and requested that the city be spared. On behalf of the Pope, Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay forbade the conquest of the city "because it is a city of Christians, and you are pilgrims". However, most of the Crusaders sided with Enrico Dandolo, while Simon de Montfort and other Crusaders who refused to participate in the siege camped further away from the city.

On November 13, siege engines were placed and used to bombard the city's walls. Zadar fell on November 24, 1202. Most of the population of Zadar fled to Nin and Biograd or the surrounding islands.

In 1203, Pope Innocent III excommunicated the entire crusading army, along with the Venetians, for taking part in the attack. He would later grant an absolution to the entire army.

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Siege of Constantinople



When the Crusaders arrived at Constantinople on June 23, 1203, the city had a population of approximately 500,000 people, a garrison of 15,000 men (including 5,000 Varangians), and a fleet of 20 galleys. For both political and financial reasons, the permanent garrison of Constantinople had been limited to a relatively small force, made up of elite guard and other specialist units. At previous times in Byzantine history when the capital had come under direct threat, it had been possible to assemble reinforcements from frontier and



Constantinople

Constantinople was the capital city of the Roman/Byzantine Empire (330–1204 and 1261–1453), and also of the brief Crusader state known as the Latin Empire (1204–1261).

Byzantium took on the name of *Konstantinoupolis* ("city of Constantine", *Constantinople*) after its re-foundation under Roman emperor Constantine I, who transferred the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium in 330 and designated his new capital officially as *Nova Roma*, "New Rome". From the mid-5th century to the early 13th century, Constantinople was the largest and wealthiest city in Europe.

Constantinople was famed for its massive and complex defenses. The first wall of the city was erected by Constantine I, and surrounded the city on both land and sea fronts. Later, in the 5th century, construction of the Theodosian Walls began, which consisted of a double wall lying about 1.2 mi. to the west of the first wall and a moat with palisades in front.



FIGURE 40 Alexios III Angelos (c. 1153–1211)

across the narrow strait, where Alexios III had lined up the Byzantine army in battle formation along the shore, north of the suburb of Galata. The Crusaders' knights charged straight out of the horse transports, and the Byzantine army fled south. The Crusaders followed south, and attacked the Tower of Galata, which held one end of the chain that blocked access to the Golden Horn. As they laid siege to the Tower, the Greeks counterattacked with some initial success. However, when the Crusaders rallied and the Greeks retreated to the Tower, the Crusaders were able to follow the soldiers through the Gate, and the Tower surrendered. The Golden Horn now lay open to the Crusaders, and the Venetian fleet entered.

On July 11, the Crusaders took positions opposite the Blachernae palace on the northwest corner of the city. Alexios IV was paraded outside the walls, but the citizens were apathetic, as Alexios III, though a usurper and illegitimate in the eyes of the westerners, was an acceptable emperor for the Byzantine citizens. The siege began in earnest on July 17, with four divisions attacking the land walls, while the Venetian fleet attacked the sea walls from the Golden Horn. The Venetians took a section of the wall of about 25 towers, while the Varangian guard held off the Crusaders on the land wall. The Varangians shifted to meet the new threat, and the Venetians retreated under the screen of fire.

Alexios III finally took offensive action, and led 17 divisions from the St. Romanus Gate, vastly outnumbering the Crusaders. Alexios III's army of about 8,500 men faced the Crusader's 7 divisions (about 3,500 men), but his courage failed, and the Byzantine army returned to the city without a fight.

On July 18, 1203 the Crusaders launched an assault on the city, and Alexios III immediately fled into Thrace. The next morning, the Crusaders were surprised to find that the citizens had released Isaac II from prison and proclaimed him emperor, despite the fact that he had been blinded to make him ineligible to rule. The Crusaders forced Isaac II to proclaim his son Alexios IV co-emperor on August 1, effectively ending the siege.

provincial forces. On this occasion, the suddenness of the danger posed by the Fourth Crusade put the defenders at a serious disadvantage. The main objective of the Crusaders was to place Alexios IV on the Byzantine throne so that they could receive the rich payments he had promised them. Conon of Bethune delivered this ultimatum to the Lombard envoy sent by the Emperor Alexios III Angelos, who was the pretender's uncle and had seized the throne from the pretender's father Isaac II. The citizens of Constantinople were not concerned with the cause of the deposed emperor and his exiled son; hereditary right of succession had never been adopted by the empire and a palace coup between brothers was not considered illegitimate in the way it would have been in the West.

To take the city by force, the Crusaders first needed to cross the Bosphorus. About 200 ships, horse transports and galleys would undertake to deliver the crusading army

GOLDEN HORN

The Golden Horn is a major urban waterway and the primary inlet of the Bosphorus in Istanbul, Turkey.



Sack of Constantinople

On August 1, 1203, the pro-Crusader Alexios Angelos was crowned Emperor Alexios IV of the Byzantine Empire, who then tried to pacify the city. But riots between anti-Crusader Greeks and pro-Crusader Latins broke out later that month and lasted until November, during which most of the populace began to turn against Emperor Alexios IV.

On January 25, 1204, the death of co-Emperor Isaac II set off rioting in

Constantinople in which the people deposed Alexios IV, who turned to the Crusaders for help but was imprisoned by the imperial chamberlain, Alexios Doukas, who declared himself Emperor on February 5. Emperor Alexios V then attempted to negotiate with the Crusaders for a withdrawal from Byzantine territory, but they refused to abandon their old treaty with Alexios IV. When Alexios V ordered Alexios IV's execution on February 8, the Crusaders declared war on Alexios V. In March 1204, the Crusader and Venetian leadership decided on the outright conquest of Constantinople, and drew up a formal agreement to divide the Byzantine Empire between them.

By the end of March, the combined Crusader armies were besieging Constantinople as Emperor Alexios V began to strengthen the city's defenses while conducting more active operations outside the city. By the first week of April, the Crusaders had begun their siege from their encampment in the town of Galata across the Golden Horn from Constantinople.

On April 9, 1204, the Crusader and Venetian forces began an assault on the Golden Horn fortifications by crossing the waterway to the northwest wall of the city, but, because of bad weather, the assault forces were driven back when the troops that landed came under heavy archery fire in open ground between Constantinople's fortifications and the shore.

On April 12, 1204 weather conditions finally favored the Crusaders as the weather cleared and a second assault on the city was ordered. A strong north wind aided the Venetian ships near the Golden Horn to come close to the city wall, which enabled attackers to seize some of the towers along the wall. After a short battle approximately 70 Crusaders managed to enter the city. Some Crusaders were eventually able to knock holes in the walls large enough for a few knights at a time to crawl through; the Venetians were also successful at scaling the walls from the sea, although there was extremely bloody fighting with the Varangians. The Crusaders captured the Blachernae section of the city in the northwest and used it as a base to attack the rest of the city, but while attempting to defend themselves with a wall of fire they ended up burning down even more of the city. Emperor Alexios V fled from the city that night and escaped into the countryside to the west.

The Crusaders looted, terrorized, and vandalized Constantinople for three days. The great Library of Constantinople was destroyed. Despite their oaths and the threat of excommunication, the Crusaders systematically violated the city's holy sanctuaries.

According to a subsequent treaty, the empire was apportioned between Venice and the leaders of the Crusade, and the Latin Empire of Constantinople was established. Boniface was not elected as the new emperor, although the citizens seemed to consider him as such; the Venetians thought he had too many connections with the former empire because of his brother, Renier of Montferrat, who had been married to Maria Komnene, empress in the 1170s and 1180s. Instead they placed Baldwin of Flanders on the throne. Boniface went on to found the Kingdom of Thessalonica, a vassal state of the new Latin Empire. The Venetians also founded the Duchy of the Archipelago in the Aegean Sea. Meanwhile, Byzantine refugees founded their own rump states, the most notable of these being the Empire of Nicaea under Theodore Laskaris (a relative of Alexios III), the Empire of Trebizond, and the Despotate of Epirus.

Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade

Only a relatively small number of the members of the Fourth Crusade finally reached their originally intended goal of the Holy Land. Research indicates that about a tenth of the knights who had taken the cross in Flanders arrived to reinforce the remaining Christian states there, plus about half of those from the Île-de-France. During the ensuing half century the unstable Latin Empire siphoned off much of Europe's crusading energy. The legacy of the Fourth Crusade was the deep sense of betrayal felt by the Greek Christians. With the events of 1204, the schism between the Churches in the East and West was not just complete but also solidified.



The Children's Crusade

The Children's Crusade was a failed popular Crusade by European Christians to regain the Holy Land from the Muslims, said to have taken place in 1212. The Crusaders left areas of Northern France, led by Stephen of Cloyes, and Germany, led by Nicholas. The traditional narrative is likely conflated from some factual and mythical events which include the visions by a French boy and a German boy, an intention to peacefully convert Muslims in the Holy Land to Christianity, bands of children marching to Italy, and children being sold into slavery. Many children were tricked by merchants and sailed over to what they thought were the holy lands but, in reality, were slave markets.

Fifth Crusade (1217-1221)

Pope Innocent III had already planned since 1208 a Crusade to recapture Jerusalem. In April 1213 he issued the papal bull *Quia maior*, calling all of Christendom to join a new Crusade. This was followed by another papal bull, the *Ad Liberandam* in 1215.

In 1215 Pope Innocent III summoned the Fourth Lateran Council, where, along with the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Raoul of Merencourt, he discussed the recovery of the Holy Land, among other church business. Pope Innocent wanted it to be led by the papacy, as the First Crusade should have been, to avoid the mistakes of the Fourth Crusade, which had been taken over by the Venetians. Pope Innocent planned for the Crusaders to meet at Brindisi in 1216, and prohibited trade with the Muslims, to ensure that the Crusaders would have ships and weapons. Every Crusader would receive an indulgence, including those who simply helped pay the expenses of a Crusader, but did not go on Crusade themselves.

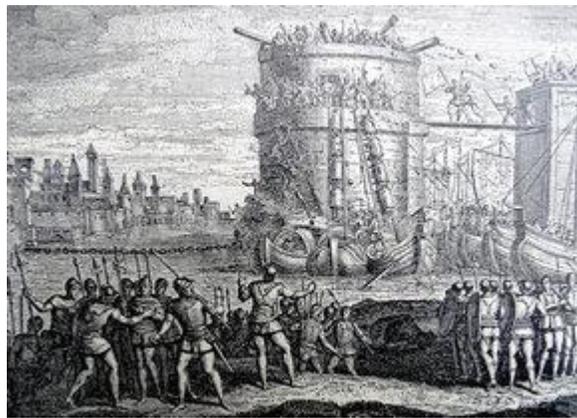


FIGURE 41 Andrew II of Hungary (1177 – Sep 21, 1235)

The first to take up the cross in the Fifth Crusade was King Andrew II of Hungary. In July 1217, Andrew departed from Zagreb, accompanied by Leopold VI of Austria and Otto I, Duke of Merania. King Andrew's army was so large—at least 10,000 mounted soldiers and even much more "uncountable" infantrymen—that most of it stayed behind when Andrew and his men embarked in Split two months later. They were transported by the Venetian fleet, which was the largest European fleet in the era. Andrew and his troops embarked on August 23, 1217, in Split. They landed on October 9, on Cyprus from where they sailed to Acre and joined John of Brienne, ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Hugh I of Cyprus, and Prince Bohemond IV of Antioch to fight against the Ayyubids in Syria. Until his return to Hungary, King Andrew remained the leader of Christian forces in the Fifth Crusade. In October 1217, the leaders of

the Crusaders - Masters of Hospitallers, Templars and Teutons with the leaders and dignitaries of the Crusade - held a war council in Acre, over which King Andrew II presided.

King Andrew's well-mounted army defeated sultan Al-Adil I at Bethsaida on the Jordan River on November 10, 1217. Muslim forces retreated in their fortresses and towns. In Jerusalem, the walls and fortifications were demolished to prevent the Christians from being able to defend the city, if they did manage to reach it and take it. Muslims fled the city. The Crusaders' catapults and trebuchets did not arrive in time, so they had fruitless assaults on the fortresses of the Lebanon and on Mount Tabor. Afterwards, Andrew spent his time collecting alleged relics. At the beginning of 1218 Andrew, who was very sick, decided to return to Hungary. Andrew and his army departed to Hungary in February 1218, and Bohemund and Hugh also returned home.



Second Siege of Damietta

At the beginning of the Fifth Crusade, it was agreed that a force would attempt to take the Egyptian port city of Damietta, located at the mouth of the river Nile. The city of Damietta was well fortified, with 3 walls, 28 towers, and a moat. The Crusaders then planned to use this city as a launching point for the southern portion of a pincer attack upon Jerusalem from Acre and Suez. Control over the area would also provide

wealth to finance the continuation of the Crusade, and reduce the threat from the Muslim fleet.

In March 1218, the Crusader ships of the Fifth Crusade set sail to the port of Acre. In late May, the forces assigned to besiege Damietta set sail. The first ships arrived on May 27th, although the main leaders were delayed by storms and further preparations. The crusading force included a group of Knights Templar, Knights of St. John Hospitaller, fleets from Frisia and Italy, and troops amassed under numerous other military leaders.

Upon the arrival of the first Crusader ships to Damietta, Simon III, Count of Saarbrücken was chosen as a temporary leader until the arrival of the remaining ships. Under his command, the force established a landing site on May 29th without any loss of blood. Later that day, the remaining ships arrived.

The first objective of the Crusaders was to take the defensive river tower that protected the fortress of Damietta and anchored one end of a chain across the harbor. However, the approaches to the tower were limited by the large iron chain to the east, and the shallow depth of the river to the west. Assaults upon the tower began on June 24th, but they repeatedly failed. As a result, the Crusaders created a new type of naval siege weaponry, sometimes attributed to the chronicler Oliver of Paderborn; two ships were bound together, and four masts and sailyards were built, with a siege tower and ladder



FIGURE 42 Simon III (c. 1180–1243)

constructed on top. The structure was then covered with a layer of animal skins to protect from enemy attacks. On August 24th, the engine was brought to the tower; the next day, the men in the tower surrendered. The use of this remarkable siege engine aided the Crusaders in taking the tower, and opening the way for the fleet to attack the fortress.

Once the river tower was captured, the fleet of the Crusaders attempted to support the land forces with an attack on the city from the river. However, Al-Kamil blocked the river with sunken ships, and the Crusaders had to spend time clearing out an old canal so that their ships could surround the city. The siege was further stagnated by the arrival of winter, storms, disease, and leadership disputes.

In September, Cardinal Pelagius, Bishop of Albano and Legate of the Apostolic See arrived at the Crusader camp and proceeded to challenge the command of John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, claiming that the Church held greater authority than a secular leader. To add to their difficulties, in late November 1218, a storm wrecked several of the Crusader ships and destroyed supplies.

On February 25, 1219, the Crusaders received welcome news. The Sultan Al-Kamil had retreated, leaving the river bank near the city unoccupied by hostile forces. The Crusaders quickly advanced, and spent the spring and summer fighting the Muslim troops with varying success. On August 29, the Crusaders attempted a large-scale attack on the enemy camp, but they quickly became disorganized and the Sultan's counterattack was fairly successful.

Soon after, a temporary truce was established, and peace terms were offered by the Sultan. The terms were highly favorable to the Crusaders; the Muslim leaders had agreed to surrender the city and kingdom of Jerusalem, the Holy Cross, and all Christian captives in Egypt and Damascus, only withholding the fortresses of Kerak and Montreal. They even agreed to supply funds to repair Jerusalem's walls. King John advocated for accepting the peace terms, backed by the French and German troops. On the other hand, Cardinal Pelagius, backed by the Templars, Hospitallers, and Italians, opposed it. Eventually, the terms were denied, and the fighting continued.

Damietta was to be the only success of the campaign for the Crusaders. Taking advantage of the Crusader's indecision as to what to do next, al-Kamil, as a precaution, moved his army 25 miles south, still hugging the Nile. Meanwhile, the Crusaders debated over who should control their new prize. The Pope's representatives wanted to keep it for Frederick while John of Brienne wanted it for himself, and to better stake his claim, he even started minting coins. In the end, a compromise was reached with gave John custody until Frederick arrived. Even more crucial to the Crusade was the debate over the next step of the campaign: march on and take Cairo or use Damietta as a bargaining chip to gain territory in Palestine, including Jerusalem. Incredibly, it took a year and a half and the arrival of a force from Germany under the command of Ludwig of Bavaria for the Crusaders to decide on the former action, and even then, in the spring of 1221, they moved like snails by land and river towards their goal.

Meanwhile, al-Kamil had been able to take advantage of the enemy's indecision to fortify his camp at Mansourah and call upon the support of his allies in Syria and Mesopotamia. In July 1221 the Crusaders moved to attack the enemy at Mansourah. However, al-Kamil had chosen his site wisely, and it was easily defended thanks to its position at the joining of a tributary to the Nile River itself. Also, within a month, the annual rising of the Nile would occur. Although the Crusaders seemed in no particular hurry, time was on the Muslim's side, not theirs.



Holy Roman Emperors

The Holy Roman Emperor was the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire (800/962-1806 AD, from Charlemagne/Otto I to Francis II). The title was, almost without interruption, held in conjunction with the rule of the Kingdom of Germany. Emperors through Frederick II were:

- Charles I, *the Great* (Charlemagne) – 800-814
- Louis I, *the Pious* – 813-840
- Lothair I – 823-855
- Louis II – 855-875
- Charles II, *the Bald* – 875-877
- Charles III, *the Fat* – 881-888
- Guy I – 891-894
- Lambert I – 892-898
- Arnulph – 896-899
- Louis III, *the Blind* – 901-905
- Berengar I – 915-924
- Otto I, *the Great* – 962-973
- Otto II, *the Red* – 967-983
- Otto III- 996-1002
- Henry II – 1014-1024
- Conrad II, *the Elder* – 1027-1039
- Henry III, *the Black* – 1046-1056
- Henry IV – 1056-1106
- Henry V – 1111-1125
- Lothair II – 1133-1137
- Frederick I – 1155-1190
- Henry VI – 1191-1197
- Otto IV – 1198-1215
- Frederick II – 1220-1250

Al-Kamil, eagerly awaiting a support army and the coming floods, now choose his moment to offer a new truce deal with the enemy, perhaps in an attempt to further delay them. The Crusaders rejected the terms, though, and, after defeating a small raiding party, rashly moved to attack al-Kamil's fortified camp in August. The Muslim leader allowed them to move forward unchecked and then sank four ships behind the Crusader army to prevent any quick withdrawal. Meanwhile, the Muslim armies had arrived from the north and, taking up position to the north-east, they blocked any land retreat by the Crusaders. It was at this moment that the Nile waters started to rise. The Crusader ships began to flounder in the now treacherous waters, and a chaotic retreat ensued. When al-Kamil opened the sluice gates in the surrounding fields, the whole area was flooded waist-deep. On August 28, 1221, the Crusader army surrendered and a truce was agreed upon. Al-Kamil got Damietta back and all Muslim prisoners. The Crusader army returned home unmolested.

Aftermath of the Fifth Crusade

In the years after the Fifth Crusade, there was much debate and finger-pointing as to who exactly was to blame for the disaster. Nevertheless, the decision by the West to directly attack Egypt and not Jerusalem did perturb the Ayyubids as to what might happen if a larger Crusader army made a second, more decisive attempt.

Sixth Crusade (1228-1229)

The Sixth Crusade began in 1228 as an attempt to regain Jerusalem. It began seven years after the failure of the Fifth Crusade and involved very little actual fighting. Frederick II, Holy



FIGURE 43 Frederick II (Dec 26, 1194 – Dec 13, 1250)

Roman Emperor, had involved himself broadly in the Fifth Crusade, sending troops from Germany, but he failed to accompany the army directly, despite the encouragement of Honorius III and later Gregory IX, as he needed to consolidate his position in Germany and Italy before embarking on a Crusade. However, Frederick again promised to go on a Crusade after his coronation as emperor in 1220 by Pope Honorius III.

In 1225 Frederick married Isabella II of Jerusalem (also known as Yolande), daughter of John of Brienne (nominal ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem) and Maria of Montferrat. Frederick now had a claim to the truncated kingdom, and reason to attempt to restore it. In 1227, after Gregory IX became pope, Frederick and his army set sail from Brindisi, Italy, for Acre (then the capital of the truncated Kingdom of Jerusalem), but an epidemic forced Frederick to return to Italy. Gregory took this opportunity to excommunicate Frederick for breaking his Crusader vow, though this was just an

excuse, as Frederick had for years been trying to consolidate imperial power in Italy at the expense of the papacy.

Gregory stated that the reason for the excommunication was Frederick's reluctance to go on Crusade, dating back to the Fifth Crusade. Frederick attempted to negotiate with the pope, but eventually decided to ignore him, and sailed to Syria in 1228 despite the excommunication, arriving at Acre in September.

Instead of heading straight for the Holy Land, Frederick first sailed to Cyprus, which had been an imperial fiefdom since its capture by Richard the Lionheart on his way to Acre during the Third Crusade. The emperor arrived with the clear intent of stamping his authority on the kingdom, but was treated cordially by the native barons until a dispute arose between him and the constable of Cyprus, John of Ibelin. Frederick claimed that his regency was illegitimate and demanded the surrender of John's mainland fief of Beirut to the imperial throne. Here he erred, for John pointed out that the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem were constitutionally separate and he could not be punished for offences in Cyprus by seizure of Beirut. This would have important consequences for the Crusade, as it alienated the powerful Ibelin faction, turning them against the emperor.

**HOUSE OF
IBELIN**

The House of Ibelin was a noble family in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 12th century. They rose from humble beginnings to become one of the most important families in the kingdom, holding various high offices and with extensive holdings in the Holy Land and Cyprus.

Acre, as the nominal capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the seat of the Latin Patriarchate, was split in its support for Frederick. Frederick's own army and the Teutonic Knights supported him, but Patriarch Gerald of Lausanne (and the clergy) followed the hostile papal line. Once news of Frederick's excommunication had spread, public support for him waned considerably. The position of the Knights Hospitaller and Knights Templar is more complicated; though they refused to join the emperor's army directly, they supported the Crusade once Frederick agreed to have his name removed from official orders. The native barons greeted Frederick enthusiastically at first, but were wary of the emperor's history of centralization and his desire to impose imperial authority. This was largely due to Frederick's treatment of John of Ibelin in Cyprus, and his apparent disdain for the constitutional concerns of the barons.

Even with the military orders on board, Frederick's force was a mere shadow of the army that had amassed when the Crusade had originally been called. He realized that his only hope of success in the Holy Land was to negotiate for the surrender of Jerusalem as he lacked the manpower to engage the Ayyubid Empire in battle. Frederick hoped that a token show of force, a threatening march down the coast, would be enough to convince al-Kamil, the sultan of Egypt, to honor a proposed agreement that had been negotiated some years earlier, prior to the death of al-Muazzam, the governor of Damascus. The Egyptian sultan, occupied with the suppression of rebellious forces in Syria, agreed to cede Jerusalem to the Franks, along with a narrow corridor to the coast.

In addition, Frederick received Nazareth, Sidon, Jaffa, and Bethlehem. The Muslims retained control over the Temple Mount area of Jerusalem, the al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Dome of the Rock.

Frederick entered Jerusalem on March 17, 1229, and attended a crown-wearing ceremony the following day. It is unknown whether he intended this to be interpreted as his official coronation as King of Jerusalem; in any case the absence of the patriarch, Gerald, rendered it questionable. There is evidence to suggest that the crown Frederick wore was actually the imperial one, but in any case proclaiming his lordship over Jerusalem was a provocative act. Legally, he was actually only regent for his son Conrad II of Jerusalem, only child of Yolande and the grandson of Maria of Montferrat and John of Brienne, who had been born shortly before Frederick left in 1228.

The Barons' Crusade

The Barons' Crusade, also called the Crusade of 1239, was in territorial terms the most successful Crusade since the First. Called by Pope Gregory IX, the Barons' Crusade broadly spanned from 1234-1241 and embodied the highest point of papal endeavor "to make crusading a universal Christian undertaking." Gregory called for a Crusade in France, England, and Hungary with different degrees of success. Although the Crusaders did not achieve any glorious military victories, they used diplomacy to successfully play the two warring factions of the Muslim Ayyubid dynasty against one another for even more concessions than Frederick II gained during the more well-known Sixth Crusade. For a few years, the Barons' Crusade returned the Kingdom of Jerusalem to its largest size since 1187.

As Frederick had matters to attend to at home, he left Jerusalem in May. It took a defeat in battle later in 1229 for the Pope to lift the excommunication, but by now Frederick had demonstrated that a Crusade could be successful even without military superiority or papal support.

Aftermath of the Sixth Crusade

Jerusalem would remain in Christian hands until 1244 CE, although throughout Acre remained the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. With the emperor gone and his two nominated regents unpopular, the Latin nobles continued, as before, with their damaging rivalry for control of the Crusader states. Meanwhile, al-Kamil received criticism for his peace deal from Muslims far and wide, even from amongst the Ayyubid princes, but he did finally take control of Damascus. The Muslim control of the Middle East was greatly strengthened when a large Latin army was defeated at the battle of La Forbie in October 1244. These events resulted in the Seventh Crusade.

Battles between Crusades



Battle of La Forbie

Also known as the Battle of Hiribya, was fought

KHWAREZMIANS

The Khwarezmid Empire was founded in the 12th century. Khwarazm is a large oasis region on the Amu Darya river delta in western Central Asia.

October 17, 1244 – October 18, 1244 between the allied armies and the Egyptian army of the Ayyubid Sultan as-Salih Ayyub, reinforced with Khwarezmian mercenaries. The capture of Jerusalem by the Khwarezmians in August had caused great

alarm among both the Christian and the Muslim states. Al-Mansur, the Emir of Homs and an-Nasir Dawud, ruling Kerak, joined the Templars, the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, the Order of Saint Lazarus and the remaining forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to take the field against the Egyptian Sultanate.

The two armies met near La Forbie, a small village northeast of Gaza. On the allied side, Al-Mansur was present in person, commanding about 2,000 cavalry and a detachment of troops from Damascus. The overall Christian command was given to Walter IV of Brienne, Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, although Robert of Nantes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Philip of Montfort, Constable of Jerusalem, were also present. The Christian army consisted of about 1,000 cavalry and 6,000 foot soldiers. The Transjordanian forces were under the command of Sunqur al-Zahiri and al-Waziri, and consisted of about 2,000 mounted Bedouin. The Egyptian army was commanded by a Mamluk officer named Baibars which was slightly inferior in strength to its opponents.

Battle was joined on the morning October 17, with the Christian knights repeatedly charging the Egyptians and fighting up and down the line. The Egyptian army held its ground. On the morning of October 18, Baibars renewed the fight and threw the Khwarezmians against the Damascene troops in the center of the allied line. The center was shattered by their furious attack, after which they turned on the allied left and cut the

Bedouin to pieces. The Emir's cavalry held stubbornly, but they were nearly annihilated; Al-Mansur finally rode from the field with 280 survivors; all that remained of his troops.

Threatened by the Egyptians in front and the Khwarezmians on their flank, the Crusaders charged the Mamluks facing them and were initially successful, pushing them back and causing Baibars some concern. Their assault gradually lost momentum as the Khwarezmid tribesmen attacked the rear and the flanks of the Christian forces, which were defended by disorganized infantry. The well-armed knights fought on doggedly and it took several hours for their resistance to collapse.

Over 5,000 Crusaders died. 800 prisoners were taken, including Walter of Brienne, William of Chastelneuf, Master of the Hospital, and the Constable of Tripoli. Of the troops of the knightly orders, only 33 Templars, 27 Hospitallers and three Teutonic Knights survived; Philip of Montfort and the Patriarch of Jerusalem Robert of Nantes also escaped to Ascalon. However, Armand de Périgord, the Master of the Temple, the Marshal of the Temple, the archbishop of Tyre, the bishop of Lydda and Ramla (St. George), and John and William, sons of Bohemond, Lord of Botron, were all killed.

The battle of La Forbie marked the collapse of Christian power in Outremer.

Seventh Crusade (1248-1254)

The fall of Jerusalem was no longer an earth-shattering event to European Christians, who had seen the city pass from Christian to Muslim control numerous times in the past two centuries. This time, despite calls from the Pope, there was no popular enthusiasm for a new Crusade. There were also many conflicts within Europe that kept its leaders from embarking on the Crusade.

Pope Innocent IV and Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor continued the papal-imperial struggle. Frederick had captured and imprisoned clerics on their way to the First Council of Lyon, and in 1245 he was formally deposed by Innocent IV. Pope Gregory IX had also earlier offered King Louis' brother, count Robert of Artois, the German throne, but Louis had refused. Thus, the Holy Roman Emperor was in no position to Crusade. Béla IV of Hungary was rebuilding his kingdom from the ashes after the devastating Mongol invasion of 1241. Henry III of England was still struggling with Simon de Montfort and other problems in England. Henry and Louis were not on the best of terms, being engaged in the Capetian-Plantagenet struggle, and while Louis was away on Crusade the English king signed a truce promising not to attack French lands. Louis IX had also invited King Haakon IV of Norway to Crusade, sending the English chronicler Matthew Paris as an ambassador, but again was unsuccessful. The only king interested in beginning another Crusade therefore was Louis IX, who declared his intent to go east in 1245. A much smaller force of Englishmen, led by William Longespée, also took the cross.

For three years Louis collected an ecclesiastical tenth (mostly from church tithes), and in 1248 he and his approximately 15,000-strong army that included 3,000 knights, and 5,000 crossbowmen sailed on 36 ships from the ports of Aigues-Mortes, which had been specifically built to prepare for the Crusade, and Marseille. Louis IX's financial preparations for this expedition were comparatively well organized, and he was able to raise approximately 1,500,000 *livres tournois*. However, many nobles who joined Louis on

the expedition had to borrow money from the royal treasury, and the Crusade turned out to be very expensive.

They sailed first to Cyprus and spent the winter on the island, negotiating with various other powers in the east. He landed in 1249 at Damietta on the Nile. Egypt would, Louis thought, provide a base from which to attack Jerusalem, and its wealth and supply of grain would keep the Crusaders fed and equipped.



Third Siege of Damietta

On June 6, Damietta was taken with little resistance from the Egyptians, who withdrew further up the Nile. Louis was able to build a stockade for the whole Crusade camp with the wood from 24 captured Egyptian trebuchets. The flooding of the Nile had not been taken into account, however, and it soon grounded Louis and his army at Damietta

for six months, where the knights sat back and enjoyed the spoils of war. Louis ignored the agreement made during the Fifth Crusade that Damietta should be given to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, now a rump state in Acre, but he did set up an archbishopric there (under the authority of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem) and used the city as a base to direct military operations against the Muslims of Syria.

RUMP STATE

A rump state is the remnant of a once much larger state, left with a reduced territory.



Battle of Al Monsurah

The fall of Damietta caused a general emergency to be declared, and locals from Cairo and from all over Egypt moved to the battle zone. For many weeks, the Muslims used guerrilla tactics against the Crusader camps; many of the Crusaders were captured and sent to Cairo. As the Crusader army was strengthened by the arrival of

Alphonse de Poitiers, the third brother of King Louis IX, at Damietta, the Crusaders were encouraged by the news of the death of the Ayyubid Sultan, as-Salih Ayyub. The Crusaders began their march towards Cairo. Shajar al-Durr, the widow of the dead Sultan, concealed the news for some time and sent Faris ad-Din Aktai to Hasankeyf to recall Turanshah, the son and heir, to ascend the throne and lead the Egyptian army.

The Crusaders approached the battle by the canal of Ashmum which separated them from the Muslim camp. An Egyptian showed the Crusaders the way to the canal shoals. The Crusaders, led by Robert of Artois, crossed the canal with the Knights Templar and an English contingent led by William of Salisbury, launching a

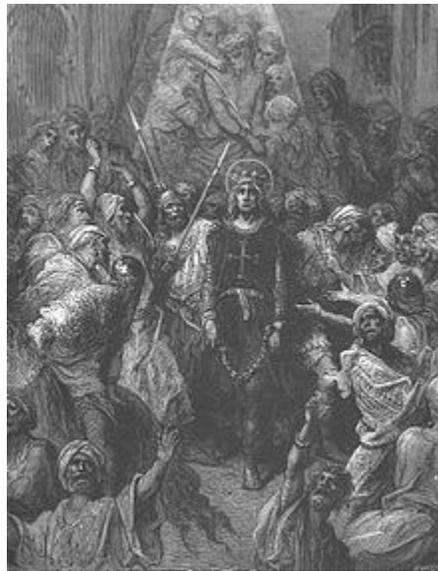


FIGURE 44 Louis IX (Apr 25, 1214 – Aug 25, 1270)

The Shepherd's Crusade

When news of Louis' defeat and capture reached France, both nobles and peasants were deeply distressed; the king was well-loved and it was inconceivable to them that such a pious man could be defeated by heathens. Louis sent his brothers to France to get relief, where despite the efforts of Blanche of Castile, it was seen that neither the nobility nor the clergy were helping the king. One of the outpourings of support took the form of a peasant movement in northern France, led by a man known only as "the Master of Hungary". The Master claimed to have been visited by the Virgin Mary, who instructed him to lead the shepherds (*pastoreaux*, hence the common name *Crusade of the Pastoreaux*) of France to the Holy Land to rescue Louis. His followers, said to number 60,000, were mostly young peasants, men, women, and children, from Brabant, Hainaut, Flanders, and Picardy. They followed him to Paris in May, where the Master met with Blanche of Castile. The crowd of shepherds split up after leaving the city. Some of them went to Rouen, where they expelled the archbishop and threw some priests into the Seine River. In Tours they attacked monasteries. The others under the Master arrived in Orléans on June 11. Here they were denounced by the bishop, whom they also attacked, along with other clerics, including Franciscans and Dominicans. They fought with the university students in the city as well, as Blanche might have feared would happen in Paris. Moving on to Amiens and then Bourges, Blanche responded by ordering the crowds to be rounded up and excommunicated.

surprise assault on the Egyptian camp in Gideila, two miles from Al Mansurah, and advancing toward the royal palace in Al Mansurah. The leadership of the Egyptian forces passed to the Mamluks Faris Ad-Din Aktai and Baibars al-Buduqdari who contained the attack and reorganized the Muslim forces. This was the first appearance of the Mamluks as supreme commanders inside Egypt. Shajar al-Durr, who had full control of Egypt, agreed with Baibars' plan to defend Al Mansurah. Baibars ordered the gate be opened to let the Crusaders enter the town. The Crusaders rushed in, thinking the town deserted, only to find themselves trapped inside. The Crusaders were besieged from all directions by Egyptian forces and the local population, and they took heavy losses. Robert of Artois, who took refuge in a house, and William of Salisbury were both killed along with most of the Knights Templar. Only five Templar Knights escaped alive. The Crusaders retreated to their camp in disorder, and surrounded it with a ditch and wall. Early on the morning of February 11, 1250, the Muslim forces launched a devastating offensive against the Frankish camp. On February 27, the new sultan Turanshah arrived in Al Mansurah to lead the Egyptian army, and the death of as-Salih Ayyub was formally announced in Egypt. Ships were transported overland and dropped in the Nile behind the Crusader ships blocking the reinforcement line from Damietta. The Egyptians used Greek fire, destroying and seizing many Crusader supply vessels. The besieged Crusaders soon began suffering from famine and disease.



Battle of Fariskur

In March 1250, Louis tried to return to Damietta. King Louis IX proposed to the Egyptians the surrender of Damietta in exchange for Jerusalem and some towns on the Syrian coast. The Egyptians, aware of the miserable situation of the Crusaders, refused the besieged king's offer. On April 5, covered by the darkness of night, the Crusaders evacuated their camp and began to flee northward towards Damietta. In their panic and haste they neglected to destroy a pontoon bridge they had set over the canal. The Egyptians crossed the canal over the bridge and followed them to Fariskur where the Egyptians destroyed the Crusaders on April 6. Thousands of Crusaders were killed or taken prisoner. King Louis IX and a few of his nobles who survived were captured in the nearby village of Moniat

Abdallah where they took refuge. Louis IX surrendered to a eunuch named al-Salihi after he was promised he would not be killed and together with his two brothers, Charles d'Anjou and Alphonse de Poitiers he was taken to Al Mansurah where he was imprisoned in the house of Ibrahim ben Lokman, the royal chancellor, chained and under the guard of another eunuch named Sobih al-Mozami. King Louis' coffin was exhibited in Syria. While the house of Ibrahim ben Lokman was used as a prison for Louis IX and the nobles, a camp was set up outside Al Mansurah to shelter thousands of war prisoners.

Louis fell ill with dysentery, and was cured by an Arab physician. In May he was ransomed for 800,000 bezants, half of which was to be paid before the King left Egypt, with Damietta also being surrendered as a term in the agreement. Upon this, he immediately left Egypt for Acre, one of few remaining Crusader possessions in Syria.

Louis made an alliance with the Mamluks, who at the time were rivals of the Sultan of Damascus, and from his new base in Acre began to rebuild the other Crusader cities, particularly Jaffa and Saida. Although the Kingdom of Cyprus claimed authority there, Louis was the *de facto* ruler. In 1254 Louis' money ran out, and his presence was needed in France; thus ending the Seventh Crusade.

Aftermath of the Seventh Crusade

The defeat of the Crusaders and the capture of King Louis IX in Fariskur created shock in France. The Seventh Crusade was the last major offensive undertaken by the Crusaders against Egypt. The Crusaders never could recover Jerusalem and the kings of Europe, except Louis IX, began to lose their interest in launching new Crusades.

Shortly after the battle of Fariskur, the Ayyubid Sultan Turanshah was assassinated at Fariskur itself and the Mamluks, the same victorious champions of Al Mansurah, became the new rulers of Egypt. The power map of the southern and eastern Mediterranean basin became divided among four main dominions: Mamluk Egypt, Ayyubid Syria, the Franks of Acre and Syrian Christian beach-heads and the Levantine Christian state of Cilician Armenia.

In 1258 CE the Mongols captured Baghdad, the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate, and two years later, also Aleppo and Damascus. They were then defeated by the Mamluks at the battle of Ain Jalut in 1260. In the same year, the Mamluk leader Baibars became the Sultan of Egypt, and he expanded his territory in the Middle East throughout the 1260s.

Eighth Crusade (1270)

Despite the failure of the Seventh Crusade, King Louis IX did not lose interest in crusading. He continued to send financial aid and military support to the settlements in Outremer from 1254 to 1266. While the Crusade of the King's brother Charles of Anjou against the Hohenstaufen Kingdom of Sicily occupied Papal attention for some years, the advance of Baibars in Syria during the early 1260s became increasingly alarming to Christendom. The War of Saint Sabas between Genoa and Venice had drawn in the Crusader States and depleted their resources and manpower. The exhausted settlements were systematically overrun by the methodical campaigns of Baibars. By 1265, he had raided Galilee and destroyed the cathedral of Nazareth, captured Caesarea and Arsuf and temporarily took Haifa. In late 1266, Louis informed Pope Clement IV that he intended to go on Crusade again.



Siege of Tunis

Louis formally took the cross on March 24, 1267 at an assembly of his nobles. A second ceremony took place on June 5, 1267 before a papal legate in Notre-Dame de Paris. Louis's son-in-law, King Theobald II of Navarre, who had also taken the cross, was also present. The response was less enthusiastic than to his calling of the Seventh Crusade.



Death of Louis IX

Louis IX gave final instructions to his eldest son before he died. The opening paragraphs are as follows: *"Fair son, the first thing I would teach thee is to set thine heart to love God; for unless be love God none can be saved. Keep thyself from doing aught that is displeasing to God, that is to say, from mortal sin. Contrarwise thou shouldst suffer every manner of torment rather than commit a mortal sin."* *"If God send thee adversity, receive it in patience and give thanks to our Savior and bethink thee that thou hast deserved it, and that He will make it turn to thine advantage. If He send thee prosperity, then thank Him humbly, so that thou becomest not worse from pride or any other cause, when thou oughtest to be better. For we should not fight against God with his own gifts."*

On August 24, Louis received the last sacraments. On the 25th, he was unable to speak from nine till noon. Then he raised his eyes and repeated the words of the psalm: "Lord, I will enter into Thine house; I will adore in Thy holy temple, and will give glory to Thy name." At three, he spoke again — "Into Thy hands I commend my soul" — and died. Louis was 56 at the time of his death.

The Crusade was set to sail from Aigues-Mortes in early summer 1270 in Genoese and Marseillois shipping. An Aragonese contingent under James I of Aragon sailed from Barcelona in September 1269, but was caught in a storm and badly damaged; most of the survivors returned home, while one squadron under the King's natural sons Pedro Fernández and Fernán Sánchez reached Acre. Too weak to engage Baibars, they soon returned to Aragon as well.

Louis' initial plan was to descend on the coast of Outremer by way of Cyprus. However, a new plan was developed in 1269, wherein the fleet would first descend on Tunis. This change has often been attributed to the King's brother Charles of Anjou, whose newly-conquered Kingdom of Sicily would benefit from a renewal of its traditional influence on Tunis.

A large and well-organized fleet under Louis IX sailed from Aigues-Mortes about a month late, on July 1, 1270. The following day a second fleet under the King of Navarre sailed from Marseille. The two fleets joined up at Cagliari on the southern coast of Sardinia. They landed on the Tunisian coast on July 18. The Crusaders built a fortified camp on the ruins of Carthage and awaited the arrival of the Sicilian contingent under Charles of Anjou. The North African summer bred pestilence, and an epidemic of dysentery swept through the crusading ranks. Louis' Damietta-born son John Tristan died of the disease on August 3. Soon Louis, too, fell sick, and died, in penitence, on a bed of ashes on August 25, 1270. His brother Charles arrived just after his death.

Because of further diseases the siege of Tunis was abandoned on October 30, by an agreement with the sultan. In this agreement the Christians gained free trade with Tunis, and residence for monks and priests in the city was guaranteed. A war indemnity of 210,000 ounces of gold and a doubling of the tribute paid to the King of Sicily were also included in the terms.

Ninth Crusade (1270)

The Eighth Crusade is sometimes counted as the Seventh, if the Fifth and Sixth Crusades of Frederick II are counted as a single Crusade. The Ninth Crusade is sometimes also counted as part of the Eighth.

On May 9, 1271, King Edward I of England finally arrived at Acre. He brought a small but not insignificant contingent of no more than 1,000 men, including 225 knights. Edward arrived at Acre while it was still under siege. His arrival caused Baibars to change his plans and turn away from Acre.

The forces under Edward's command were much too small to take on the Mamluks in a straight battle, being unable to even stop the Mamluks from seizing the nearby Teutonic Montfort Castle. They settled for launching a series of raids. After capturing Nazareth by storm and putting its inhabitants to the sword, Edward raided St Georges-de-Lebeyne, but accomplished little other than burning some houses and crops, on top of losing a few men to the heat.



FIGURE 45 Edward I (Jun 16, 1239-Jul 7, 1307)

Later, the arrival of additional forces from England and Hugh III of Cyprus, under the command of Edward's younger brother Edmund, emboldened Edward. He launched a larger raid with the support of the Templar, Hospitaller, and Teutonic Knights on the town of Qaqun. The Crusaders surprised a large force of Turcomans. The Muslim commander of the castle was forced to abandon his command. However, Edward did not take the castle itself, and retreated before Baibars could respond in kind.

In December 1271, Edward and his troops saw some action when they repelled an attack by Baibars on the city of Acre.

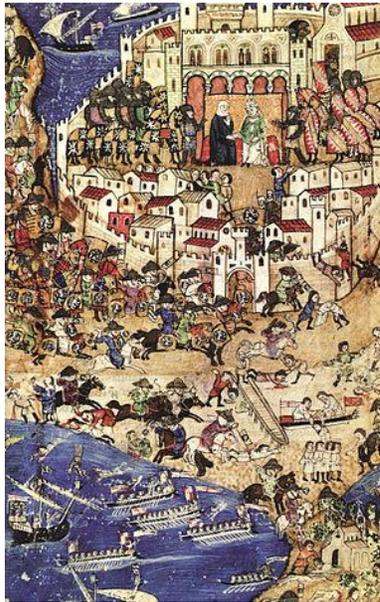
Baibars came to suspect there would be a combined land-sea attack on Egypt. Feeling his position sufficiently threatened, he endeavored to head off such a maneuver by building a fleet. Having finished construction of the fleet, rather than attack the Crusader army directly, Baibars attempted to land on Cyprus in 1271, hoping to draw Hugh III of Cyprus and his fleet out of Acre, with the objective of conquering the island and leaving Edward and the Crusader army isolated in the Holy Land. He disguised 17 war galleys as Christian vessels and attacked Limassol. However, in the ensuing naval campaign the fleet was destroyed off the coast of Limassol and Baibars' armies were forced back.

Following this victory, Edward realized that to create a force capable of retaking Jerusalem it would be necessary to end the internal unrest within the Christian state, and so he mediated between Hugh and his unenthusiastic knights from the Ibelin family of Cyprus. In parallel to the mediation, Prince Edward and King Hugh began negotiating a truce with Sultan Baibars; a 10-year-10-month-and-10-day agreement was reached in May 1272, at Caesarea. Almost immediately Prince Edmund departed for England, while Edward remained to see if the treaty would hold. The following month, an attempt to assassinate Edward was made. Edward killed the assassin but received a festering wound from a poisoned dagger in the process, further delaying Edward's own departure. In September 1272, Edward departed Acre for Sicily, ending the Ninth Crusade.

Aftermath of the Ninth Crusade

Pope Gregory X called for a new Crusade at the Council of Lyons in 1274, but nothing came of this. Meanwhile, new fissures arose within the Christian states when Charles of Anjou took advantage of a dispute between Hugh III, the Knights Templar, and the Venetians in order to bring the remaining Christian state under his control. Having bought Mary of Antioch's claims to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he attacked Hugh III, causing a civil war within the rump kingdom. In 1277, Roger of San Severino captured Acre for Charles.

Although the internecine war within the Crusaders' ranks was debilitating, it provided the opportunity for a single commander to take control of the Crusade in the person of Charles. However, this hope was dashed when Venice suggested a Crusade be called not against the Mamluks but against Constantinople, where Michael VIII had recently re-established the Byzantine Empire and driven out the Venetians. Pope Gregory would not have supported such an attack, but in 1281 Pope Martin IV assented to it; the ensuing fiasco helped lead to the Sicilian Vespers on March 31, 1282, instigated by Michael VIII, and Charles was forced to return home. This was the last expedition launched against the Byzantines in Europe or the Muslims in the Holy Land.



Siege of Tripoli

The County of Tripoli, though founded as a Crusader State and predominantly Christian, had been a vassal state of the Mongol Empire since around 1260, when Bohemond VI, under the influence of his father-in-law Hethum I, King of Armenia, preemptively submitted to the rapidly advancing Mongols. Tripoli had provided troops to the Mongols for the 1258 sack of Baghdad, as well as for the 1260 Mongol invasions of Syria, which caused even further friction with the Muslim world.

After the destruction of Baghdad and the capture of Damascus, which were the centers of the Abbasid and Ayyubid caliphates, by the Khan Hulegu, Islamic power had shifted to the Egyptian Mamluks based in Cairo. Around the same time, the Mongols were slowed in their westward expansion by internal conflicts in their thinly spread Empire. The Mamluks took advantage of this to advance northwards from Egypt, and re-establish dominion over Palestine and Syria, pushing the Ilkhans back into Persia. The Mamluks attempted to take Tripoli in the 1271 siege, but were instead frustrated in their goal by the arrival of Prince Edward in Acre that month. They were persuaded to agree to a truce with both Tripoli and Prince Edward, although his forces had been too small to be truly effective.

The Mongols, for their part, had not proven to be staunch defenders of their vassal, the Christian state of Tripoli. Abaqa Khan, the ruler of the Ilkhanate, who had been sent envoys to Europe in an attempt to form a Franco-Mongol alliance against the Muslims, had died in 1282. He was succeeded by Tekuder, a convert to Islam. Under Tekuder's leadership, the Ilkhanate was not inclined to defend vassal Christian territories against Muslim encroachment. This enabled the Mamluks to continue their attacks against the remaining coastal cities which were still under Crusader control.

Tekuder was assassinated in 1284 and replaced by Abaqa's son Arghun, who was more sympathetic to Christianity. He continued his father's communications with Europe towards the possibility of forming an alliance, but still did not show much interest in protecting Tripoli. However, the Mamluks continued to expand their control, conquering Margat in 1285, and Lattakiah in 1287.

The Mamluk Sultan Qalawun still had an official truce with Tripoli, but the Christians afforded him an opportunity to break it. The Christian powers had been pursuing an unwise course. Rather than maintaining a united front against the Muslims, they had fallen into bickering among themselves. After Bohemond VII's premature death in 1287, his sister Lucia of Tripoli, living in Apulia with her husband Narjot de Toucy (died 1293), rightfully should have succeeded



FIGURE 46 Lucia of Tripoli (died aft. 1292 or ca 1299)

Feudal System

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Western Europe had no countries.

Numerous tribes fought for domination over territories, but there were no central governments or national armies. To control such a large territory, Charlemagne instituted a feudal system of government. In feudalism, the king owned all of the land. The king granted fiefs (portions of land) to nobles (lords or barons) in return for loyalty, protection and service. The king could also grant fiefs to vassals (knights) in exchange for military service. Many knights were professional warriors who served in the lord's army. In return, the lord provided the knight with lodging, food, armor, weapons, horses and money. Peasants, or serfs, farmed the land and provided the vassal or lord with wealth in the form of food and products. The peasants were bound to the land, so it was in the vassal's interest to protect them from invaders. Fiefs -- and the obligation to serve the king -- were inherited by the eldest son of the ruling nobleman. Feudalism did offer a means for a person to advance himself within society through military service and knighthood. Knights were members of the gentry in that they held a place in society above the peasants, but they weren't necessarily members of the noble ruling classes or royalty. Knighthood was not an inherited position -- it had to be earned. So, it was an appealing means for a younger son of a lord to advance himself. A knight could make a fortune either by a grant of land from a king or by being a paid professional in service to a lord.

him. Two other sisters, Isabelle and Marie, had predeceased him. His mother Sibylla of Armenia however, attempted to reappoint the Bishop of Tortosa Barthélémy Mansel to rule on her behalf. Sibylla ultimately was unsuccessful because Lucia arrived to claim leadership.

The knights and barons united in 1288 to countermand the Bohemond family's dynastic claims and replace it with a republican style commune under the leadership of Bartolomeo Embriaco of Giblet, Lord of Besmedin in Jubail. They petitioned Genoa for support. The Genoese consuls agreed, on the condition that they receive larger quarters in the old part of Tripoli and increased residency privileges. Benedetto Zaccaria, an adroit Genoese merchant magnate was seconded to Tripoli to negotiate terms. Benedetto had no scruples about brokering secret and conflicting compacts. He persuaded Lucia to extend Genoa's concessions, on the threat, according to the Templar of Tyre, of bringing out fifty galleys from Genoa and assuming control himself. Bartolomeo also secretly negotiated with Lucia, agreeing to recognize her title provided she accept the authority of the commune and not grant the Genoese any additional concessions. When the arrangements between Lucia and Benedetto became public, concern was voiced about the unfair advantage of Genoese maritime trading operations in the region. The "Templar of Tyre" reports that "two people went down to Alexandria" to apprise the sultan that the Genoese, if left unchecked, would potentially dominate the Levant and obstruct or eliminate Mamluk trade.

Qalawun started the siege of Tripoli in March 1289, arriving with a sizable army and large catapults. In response, Tripoli's Commune and nobles gave supreme authority to Lucia. In the harbor at the time, there were four Genoese galleys, two Venetian galleys, and a few small boats, some of them Pisan. Reinforcements were sent to Tripoli by the Knights Templar, who sent a force under Geoffrey of Vendac, and the Hospitallers sent a force under Matthew of Clermont. A French regiment was sent from Acre under John of Grailly. King Henry II of Cyprus sent his young brother Amalric with a company of knights and four galleys. Many non-combatants fled to Cyprus.

The Mamluks fired their catapults, two towers soon crumbled under the bombardments, and the defenders hastily prepared to flee. The Mamluks overran the crumbling walls, and captured the city on April 26, marking the end of an uninterrupted Christian rule of 180 years, the longest of any of the major Frankish conquests in the Levant. Lucia managed to flee to Cyprus, with two Marshals of the Orders and Almaric of Cyprus. The commander of the Temple Peter of Moncada was killed, as well as Bartholomew Embriaco. The population of the city was massacred, although many managed to escape by ship. Those who had taken refuge on the nearby island of Saint-Thomas were captured by the Mamluks on April 29.

Tripoli was razed to the ground, and Qalawun ordered a new Tripoli to be built on another spot, a few miles inland at the foot of Mount Pilgrim. Soon other nearby cities were also captured, such as Nephin and Le Boutron.

Two years later Acre, the last major Crusader outpost in the Holy Land was also captured.



Siege of Acre

The Crusader states continued to deteriorate from continuing attacks and political instability. Following the fall of Tripoli, King Henry II, son of Hugh III, sent

seneschal Jean de Grailly to warn European monarchs of the critical situation in the Levant. Pope Nicholas IV supported Jean by writing letters urging

SENECHAL

A seneschal was an official in a medieval noble household in charge of domestic arrangements.

European potentates to act. However, the Sicilian question overshadowed calls for a new Crusade, and Edward I of England was too entangled by troubles at home. Decades of communications between the Europeans and the Mongols failed to secure a meaningful Franco-Mongol alliance.

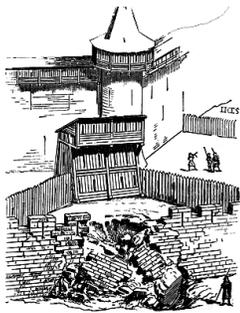
Sultan Qalawun dissolved the truce with Acre and the Mamluks began mobilizing by October 1290. Qalawun died in December and was succeeded by his son, Al-Ashraf Khalil. Guillaume de Beaujeu (Grand Master of the Knights Templar) received a message from Khalil, which stated the latter's intention to attack Acre and to refuse peace overtures. Nonetheless, the Crusaders dispatched a peace delegation, led by Sir Philip Mainebeuf, to Cairo; the delegation was imprisoned. Khalil set out from Cairo in March 1291.

The assembled Mamluk army greatly outnumbered the Crusaders. Khalil called upon Syria to reinforce his Egyptian army; he was answered by contingents from Damascus, Hama, Tripoli and Al-Karak. A significant portion of the troops were volunteers. The army included a substantial artillery train drawn from fortresses across the Mamluk empire.

The Crusaders appeals for aid met with little success. England sent a few knights, including Otto de Grandson of Savoy. The only noteworthy reinforcements came from Henry II of Cyprus, who fortified the walls and sent troops led by his brother Amalric. Burchard von Schwanden suddenly resigned as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and left Acre or Europe; he was succeeded by Konrad von Feuchtwangen. The only major contingent to leave were the Genoese, who concluded a separate treaty with Khalil. Many women and children were evacuated from Acre to Cyprus in March.

Sultan Khalil and the Egyptian army arrived at Acre on April 6, 1291, with the Syrian contingents arriving two days later with siege engines. The Mamluk encampment spanned from one coast to the other. There was little fighting during the first eight days as the besiegers established their camp. From days nine to eleven the Mamluks pushed forward barricades and wicker screens until they reached the fosse before the outer wall; Carabohas, rapid-fire siege engines, were brought up. The besiegers began mining and bombarding the walls. Acre's gates remained open - but heavily defended.

The Crusaders launched multiple attacks on the Mamluk camp. An amphibious assault on the Hamans - stationed on the northernmost section of the line by the sea - was successful although the Crusaders suffered heavy casualties. In another raid, three hundred Templar, led by Jean Grailly and Otto de Grandson, rode out under moonlight



Undermining

Tunnel warfare is a general name for war being conducted in tunnels and other underground cavities. It often includes mining or undermining in order to attack or defend. In warfare during the Middle-Ages, a "mine" was a tunnel dug to bring down castles and other fortifications. Attackers used this technique when the fortification was not built on solid rock, developing it as a response to stone-built castles that could not be burned like earlier-style wooden forts. A tunnel would be excavated under the outer defenses either to provide access into the fortification or to collapse the walls. These tunnels would normally be supported by temporary wooden props as the digging progressed. Once the excavation was complete, the attackers would collapse the wall or tower being undermined by filling the excavation with combustible material that, when lit, would burn away the props leaving the structure above unsupported and thus liable to collapse. Later, explosives like gunpowder were used for even greater effect.

to attack Haman artillery with Greek fire; while the artillery was not destroyed, the Templar engaged over 1000 Mamluks and returned with trophies and captured supplies. Khalil punished some subordinates for the humiliation caused by the Templar. In general, Crusader attacks failed to disrupt Mamluk preparations for a direct assault on the walls.

Henry II of Cyprus arrived on May 4 with reinforcements of 700 troops aboard 40 ships. The king's arrival temporarily buoyed morale, but an inspection of the city convinced Henry II to attempt a negotiated settlement; the Crusaders believed that tribute could buy a truce. On May 17, William of Villiers, a knight, and William of Caffran, of Guillaume de Beaujeu's household, were sent to negotiate with the Sultan. The negotiations were unsuccessful. The Crusaders refused to surrender, and appealed to Khalil to lift the siege and accept peace for the sake of the civilian inhabitants. Khalil remained intent on conquering the city, perhaps encouraged by the popularity of the cause among his troops; his counteroffer to allow the defenders to surrender and leave with their lives and property was rejected. Toward the end of the meeting, a Crusader artillery stone landed near the *dibliz*; the Sultan was greatly angered and ordered a full assault the following day. The messengers returned to the city unharmed.

The Mamluk assault was preceded by weeks of preparation. Multiple towers and parts of the wall were collapsed by undermining, and sections of the fosse filled in. The collapsed of the Tower of the King was particularly demoralizing among the defenders, and the evacuation of women and children accelerated.

The Mamluk army assembled before dawn on May 18, and attacked the entire length of the wall to the sound of trumpets and drums carried on 300 camels. The Mamluks poured through the breaches; by 9 a.m. the outcome seems to have been beyond doubt. By the night of May 18, Acre was in Mamluk hands, except for the seaside Templar fortress at the western tip of city. The fortress held out for ten more days, during which Matthew of Clermont, a Hospitaller marshal, was killed.

After a week, Sultan Khalil and Peter de Severy, the leader of the remaining Templar, negotiated a settlement to grant those in the fortress safe passage to Cyprus. The agreement collapsed when the Mamluks supervising the evacuation inside the fortress were killed by the Templars after trying to enslave women and boys. Templar Thibaud Gaudin and a few others left the fortress under the cover of darkness, taking the Templar treasury with them to Sidon. The following morning de Severy led a delegation to negotiate with Khalil; the delegation was executed in reprisal and there were no further negotiations. On May 28, 200 Mamluks stormed the fortress through a wide breach. The fortress collapsed, killing the Templars and half of the Mamluks.

News of Mamluk victory caused celebrations in Damascus and Cairo. In Damascus, Khalil entered the city with chained Crusader prisoners and captured Crusader standards - carried upside-down in defeat. The Sultan returned to Cairo with the gate of the Church of Saint Andrew from Acre, which was used to construct a mosque.



Siege of Ruad

With the fall of Acre, the Crusaders moved their headquarters north to Tortosa on the coast of Syria, but lost that too on August 4, as well as the stronghold of Atlit (south of Acre) on August 14. The remaining elements of the dwindling Kingdom of Jerusalem relocated their headquarters offshore to the island of Cyprus.

In 1298–99 the Mamluks attacked Syria, capturing Servantikar and Roche-Guillaume. This marked the capture of the last Templar stronghold in the Levant. The Grand Master

of the Templars, Jacques de Molay, and the leader of the Hospitallers, Guillaume de Villaret, apparently participated in the ineffective defense of these fortresses, the losses of which prompted the Armenian king Hethum II to request the intervention of the Mongol ruler of Persia, Ghazan.

In 1299, as he prepared an offensive against Syria, Ghazan had sent embassies to Henry II of Jerusalem and to Pope Boniface VIII, inviting them to participate in combined operations against the Mamluks. Henry made some attempts to combine with the Mongols, and in the autumn of 1299 sent a small fleet of two galleys, led by Guy of Ibelin and John of Giblet, to join Ghazan. The fleet successfully reoccupied Botrun on the mainland and for a few months, until February 1300, began rebuilding the fortress of Nephin.

Ghazan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mamluks on December 22, 1299, at the Battle of Wadi al-Khazandar near Homs in Syria. He was assisted by his vassal Hethum II, whose forces included a contingent of Templars and Hospitallers from Little Armenia. But Ghazan then had to retreat the bulk of his forces in February, due to a revolt in the East during the Mongol civil war, as he was being attacked by one of his cousins, Qutlugh-Khoja, the son of the Jagataid ruler of Turkestan. Before leaving, Ghazan announced that he would return by November 1300, and sent letters and ambassadors to the West so that they could prepare themselves. Ghazan's remaining forces in the area launched some Mongol raids into Palestine from December 1299, until May 1300, raiding the Jordan River Valley, reaching as far as Gaza and entering multiple towns, probably including Jerusalem. The Mongols' success in Syria inspired enthusiastic rumors in the West that the Holy Land had been conquered and that Jerusalem was to be returned to the West. In May however, when the Egyptians again advanced from Cairo, the remaining Mongols retreated with little resistance.

In July 1300, King Henry II of Jerusalem and the other Cypriots set up a naval raiding operation. Sixteen galleys combining the forces of Cyprus with those of the Templars and Hospitallers, and accompanied by Ghazan's ambassador Isol the Pisan, were able to raid Rosetta, Alexandria, Acre, Tortosa and Maraclea.

In November 1300, Jacques de Molay and the king's brother, Amaury of Lusignan, launched an expedition to reoccupy Tortosa. Six hundred troops, including about 150 Templars, were ferried to Ruad in preparation for a seaborne assault on the city. The

hopes were that in synchronization with the naval assault, there would also be a land-based attack by the Mongols of the Ilkhanate, as Ghazan had promised that his own forces would arrive in late 1300. While the Templar Grand Master had high hopes for the operation, the attempt to reoccupy Tortosa lasted only twenty-five days, and the Crusaders acted more like plunderers, destroying property and taking captives. They did not stay permanently in the city, but set up base on Ruad. However, Ghazan's Mongols did not show up as planned, being delayed by the rigorous winter, and the planned junction did not happen.

In February 1301 the Mongols, accompanied by the Armenian king Hethum II, finally made their promised advance into Syria. General Kutlushka went to Little Armenia to fetch troops and from there moved south past Antioch. The Armenians were also accompanied by Guy of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and John of Giblet. While Kutlushka had a force of 60,000, he could do little else than engage in some perfunctory raiding as far as the environs of Aleppo. When Ghazan announced that he had canceled his operations for the year, the Crusaders, after some deliberations, decided to return to Cyprus, leaving only a garrison on Ruad.

From his stronghold of Limassol, in Cyprus, Jacques de Molay continued to send appeals to the West to organize the sending of troops and supplies. In November 1301, Pope Boniface VIII officially granted Ruad to the Knights Templar. They strengthened its fortifications, and installed a force of 120 knights, 500 archers and 400 servants as a permanent garrison. This represented a considerable commitment: "close to half the size of the normal complement [of Templars] for the twelfth-century Kingdom of Jerusalem". They were under the command of the Templar marshal Barthélemy de Quincy.

Ruad was to be the last Crusader base in the Levant. In 1302, the Mamluks sent a fleet of 16 ships from Egypt, to Tripoli, from which they besieged the island of Ruad. They disembarked at two points and set up their own encampment. The Templars fought the invaders, but were eventually starved out. The Cypriots had been assembling a fleet to rescue Ruad, which set out from Famagusta, but did not arrive in time.

On Ruad, Brother Hugh of Dampierre negotiated a surrender to the Mamluks on September 26, under the condition that they could safely escape to a Christian land of their choice. However, when the Templars began to emerge, the Mamluks did not respect the agreement, and combat ensued. Barthélemy de Quincy was killed in the conflict, all the bowmen and Syrian Christians were executed, and dozens of the surviving Templar knights were taken as prisoners to Cairo. About forty of the Templars were still in prison in Cairo several years later, refusing to apostatize. They eventually died of starvation after years of ill-treatment.

With the loss of the island, the Crusaders lost their last foothold in the Holy Land. Attempts at other Crusades continued for centuries, but the Europeans were never again able to occupy any territory in the Holy Land until the 20th century, during the events of World War I.

Legacy of the Crusades

The Kingdom of Jerusalem was the first experiment in European colonialism creating a 'Europe Overseas' or *Outremer*. The Arabs had come to dominate trade in the Mediterranean after their conquests. Before the Crusades, Fatimids had trade relations with Italian city-states like Amalfi and Genoa. Amalfian merchants are attested to have lived in Cairo in 10th century by Cairo Geniza documents and were allowed to live in Jerusalem around 1060 by al-Mustansir. In return for assisting the Crusaders, Genoa, Pisa and Venice were granted wide privileges in matter of land, trade and jurisdiction. Amalfi however didn't participate. The raising, transportation, and supply of large armies led to flourishing trade between Europe and the *Outremer*. The Italian city states of Genoa and Venice flourished, creating profitable trading colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean. The colonies allowed them to engage in trade with eastern markets. This trade was sustained through the middle Byzantine and Ottoman eras, and the communities were often assimilated and known as Levantines or Franco-Levantines.

The Crusades consolidated the papal leadership of the Latin Church, reinforcing the link between Western Christendom, feudalism, and militarism and increased the tolerance of the clergy to violence. The growth of the system of indulgences became a catalyst for the Protestant Reformation in the early 16th century. The Crusades also had a role in the creation and institutionalization of the military and the Dominican orders as well as the Medieval Inquisition.

Many historians argue that the interaction between the western Christian and Islamic cultures was a significant, ultimately positive, factor in the development of European civilization and the Renaissance. The many interactions between Europeans and the Islamic world across the entire length of the Mediterranean Sea led to improved perceptions of Islamic culture, but also make it difficult for historians to identify the specific source of various instances of cultural cross-fertilization. The art and architecture of the *Outremer* show clear evidence of cultural fusion but it is difficult to track illumination of manuscripts and castle design back to their sources. Textual sources are simpler, and translations made in Antioch are notable but considered secondary in importance to the works emanating from Muslim Spain and the hybrid culture of Sicily. In addition, Muslim libraries contained classical Greek and Roman texts that allowed Europe to rediscover pre-Christian philosophy, science and medicine.

ST. MARY THE VIRGIN

Sieges and Battles of the Crusades
